THE ICON

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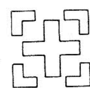


Kurt Weitzmann

THE ICONS produced by Latin artists in the Crusader Kingdom became widely known only when the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai (1956–65) discovered over 120 of these images among the more than 2,000 owned by St. Catherine's Monastery. Outside the monastery a few more such "Crusader icons" have been recognized, but it is on the St. Catherine collection that our study will center. The discovery is so recent that many of the questions it raised are as yet unanswered; our observations must therefore be considered preliminary.

St. Catherine's always had ecclesiastical and cultural ties with Jerusalem. In the twelfth century, Western-style icons came only sporadically to the monastery as gifts; but thirteenth-century examples have been found there in such quantity that we must assume the presence of Latin painters in the monastery itself, for three reasons. First, there are large, coherent groups of icons, which are the products of individual painters and their assistants and pupils. This precludes the possibility that they came as single gifts and suggests the existence of at least temporarily established ateliers in the area. Secondly, there are two iconostasis beams (pp. 222, 223, 229, and 230) which, because of their precise measurements, must have required the actual presence of the artists. Finally, many of the icons have an explicitly Sinaitic iconography (pp. 211, 217, 221, 228, and 235), which presupposes an intimate knowledge of the monastery's many chapels and the holy sites (loci sancti) in the neighborhood.

THE EARLIEST CRUSADER ICON we have been able to identify represents *Christ in Majesty,* blessing and holding an open book on which no text is written—perhaps revealing the artist's indecision whether to inscribe it in Latin or Greek. The style recalls that of the English Channel region. The painter may have been French but was more likely English, considering the similarities between the icon and English miniatures of the same period, the first half of the twelfth century. It is hard to decide whether we are dealing with an import, or whether an English artist

executed this panel in Palestine. The natural proportions of the figure compared to the over-elongation seen in English art of the time make it rather likely that this icon was indeed painted in Palestine, perhaps Jerusalem.

A key work surely made in Jerusalem is a psalter manuscript now in London, produced between 1131 and 1143 for Queen Melisende. Here the attribution problem is the opposite: the Byzantine style is imitated to such a degree that the artist's nationality is difficult to discern. At Sinai there is a stylistically similar icon of about the same period, with a cycle of the Twelve Feasts, executed by an artist undoubtedly Latin but of unknown nationality.

We have assigned to the end of the twelfth century a Crusader icon with six saints arranged in two rows (p. 209). In Byzantium, for the sake of the hierarchic order, the upper row of such a work would contain divine beings, the Deesis (cf. p. 33) or the Virgin between angels; but the Western artist fills both rows with saints, the more important ones in the upper tier. Most prominent is St. James the Greater in the upper center, who takes precedence over St. Paul on his right. This placement may be an indication that the icon was made in Jerusalem, of which St. James, according to tradition, was the first bishop. If so, it may well have been produced before 1187 when the city fell into the hands of Saladin.

On James' left stands Stephen, who was martyred in Jerusalem. Thus, the saints in the upper row point to the Holy Land, while those of the lower are thoroughly Western: St. Martin of Tours in the center is flanked by St. Lawrence on his right and St. Leonard of Limoges, the patron of prisoners characterized by a pair of manacles, on his left (p. 210). The latter two saints are French, but their cults had spread into other Western countries. We believe the artist came from southern Italy, perhaps Calabria, but this must remain an open question. What is significant is his inclusion of saints who are associated with Jerusalem while his style is essentially Western.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL the thirteenth century that Western artists expressed a serious desire to absorb the Byzantine style with sympathy, but once this happened, they sometimes reached the point where it becomes difficult to distinguish them as "Crusader" or "Byzantine." Flourishing ateliers were established by French and Italian artists. The attribution of some icons to French masters is based primarily on similarities to French miniatures produced in Acre, the capital of the Latin Kingdom after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244; for example, a Missal in Perugia, and in the Arsenal Library in Paris a Bible that was made for St. Louis while he was in the Holy Land from 1250 to 1254. An icon of the *Crucifixion* (p. 211) shows the same idiosyncratic gestures as the Crucifixion miniature of the Perugia Missal: the Virgin touching the corner of her mouth with her thumb (p. 214) and St. John touching his nose with his little finger. Most characteristic of the Acre miniatures and the icons related to them are the wide-open eyes with rolling eyeballs—a "trademark" of the French ateliers. The emotional pitch is far more intense than in a Byzantine *Crucifixion*, as can be seen in the weeping angels (p. 214).

The frame of the icon is filled with busts whose general arrangement is clearly inspired by a Grand Deesis, but the Latin artist took a liberty no Byzantine artist would have been permitted. The Deesis group at the top (Christ between the Virgin and St. John the Baptist) is flanked by Moses and Elijah, who take the place which Archangels occupy in the Orthodox scheme, obviously in order to make the icon a Sinaitic locus sanctus image. Then follow, in lateral pairs down the sides of the frame, Peter and Paul as the sole representatives of a full Apostolic collegium and, continuing in the correct hierarchical order, the soldier-saints George and Theodore; two of the Cappadocian church fathers, John Chrysostom and Basil; and the female saints Catherine (the patron saint of the monastery; p. 213) and Irene. Catherine wears the Byzantine imperial garment, the *loros,* and holds the imperial orb of Western tradition. Another Sinaitic reference is the placement of St. Simeon Stylites (p. 212), to whom a special chapel is dedicated in the basilica, at the center of the bottom, a very prominent position. Simeon is flanked by Paul of Thebes, and Onufrius (pp. 212–213), who lived in a cave not far from the monastery. In the corners are depicted Maximus the Confessor and St. Dometius. The artist's familiarity with the "personalities" associated with Sinai suggests that he probably came from Acre but actually worked, at least temporarily, in St. Catherine's.

Another important product of the French workshop is a pair of triptych wings in a style very close to that of the miniatures of the Arsenal Bible. The left wing shows at the top the *Coronation of the*

Virgin, a typical Western theme that was never accepted by the Byzantines. However, below this there is a representation of the *Koimesis,* the *Death of the Virgin* (pp. 215–216), which is in every detail Byzantine, even including the Greek version of the apocryphal story of Jephonias, who tried to overthrow the bier and was punished by an angel who cut off his hands. Again, the agitation of the mourning Apostles reflects the Byzantine tradition (cf. p. 26), while the Western element asserts itself in the humanized Christ, who holds the soul of the Virgin with affection.

The right wing is also organized so that the scene at the top, *Christ Among the Doctors,* reflects Western iconography, while the bottom, the *Lamentation,* follows Byzantine tradition. Christ, instead of sitting in the center of a semicircular presbyter bench amid the doctors, is placed between them and his humbly approaching parents, who are drawn into the scene to humanize the situation (for which we find significant parallels in the contemporary Parisian *Bibles moralisées*). In the *Lamentation* underneath, the painter has adhered more closely to the Byzantine tradition, but here also he makes a characteristic change. The Byzantine model showed Christ laid on a porphyry plaque, the "tombstone," which was a famous relic in Constantinople; here he is depicted in a strangely suspended manner, above an open tomb.

The stuccoed filigree in the background of this scene appears in many icons of the French group. However, the center of the triptych with a *Virgin Enthroned,* and the backs of the wings with *St. Nicholas* (p. 233) and *St. John the Baptist,* were executed by an Italian artist. Such a collaboration is quite understandable in St. Catherine's, where each of the painters is represented by a considerable number of other icons.

Our belief that this workshop was located in Sinai is reinforced by an icon that may actually have been painted by the same French hand. It depicts the Virgin holding the Christ Child suspended, rather than seated, and flanked by three saints (pp. 217–218). This is the type of the *Virgin of the Burning Bush,* though here as in other early representations the burning bush is absent. This Virgin, as is to be expected, occurs in many Sinai icons, and may be termed a locus sanctus image. Following proper Sinaitic iconography, the Virgin is flanked by Moses, who received the tablets of the law at Sinai, and Elijah, who was fed by a raven there. On the right stands St. Nicholas, the most popular of all the church fathers, to whom a special chapel was dedicated at Sinai. As in all Crusader icons, Moses has a short, shaggy beard, a compromise between his clean-shaven appearance in Byzantine art (cf. p. 65) and his long beard in Western images.

The emotional expression in the faces of the Virgin and the three saints is typical of all the works of the French master and is much stressed also in the bust of the *Virgin Hodegetria,* a variant known as the Dexiokratousa in which she carries the Child on her right arm (p. 219). This is the same type as the Constantinopolitan mosaic at Sinai (cf. p. 64), which quite possibly was the inspiration for the Crusader icon. A comparison reveals clearly that the Western artist attempted to follow his model closely although he did not comprehend the Byzantine Virgin's aloofness. In the French icon the Virgin's head is more inclined, signifying a greater human attachment—a fundamentally different concept of the relationship between the divine and the human.

The normal type of the *Virgin Hodegetria,* full-length and holding the Child on her left arm, is depicted in another icon of the French atelier (p. 221). (The archetype of this Virgin was an image in the Monastery of the Hodegon, one of the holiest of icons. The palladium of the city of Constantinople, it was carried in processions and into battle. According to tradition, it was painted by St. Luke and sent from Jerusalem to Constantinople in the fifth century by the empress Eudocia.) Rendering the Virgin larger than the flanking saints and standing her on a footstool, the artist follows a well-established Byzantine hierarchical concept (cf. p. 45). His inclination toward greater emotionalism is conveyed by Christ's right arm, wrapped affectionately around the Virgin's neck. Flanking her are SS. Peter and Paul, who had a chapel within the walls of the monastery. Despite the artist's endeavor to follow closely a Byzantine model (cf. pp. 70 and 71), their firm stance, greater corporeality, and softly treated garments are signs of the realism evolving in Western art. The two outer saints are monks much venerated at Sinai: St. Euthymius and St. Anthony, to whom an important chapel is dedicated in the monastery. In the spandrels are depicted Moses receiving the tablets and Elijah being fed by a raven. Mount Horeb is portrayed more naturalistically than in Byzantine art, which rendered landscape by accumulated cubes of rocks. Once more the iconography reveals the painter's acquaintance with the

holy sites in the neighborhood of the monastery: a chapel had been built on the spot where the raven stands, two thirds of the way up to the peak of Djebel Musa.

There are other icons we would like to attribute to French artists, icons that do not belong to coherent groups. In one of them, *St. George and St. Theodore on Horseback* are depicted very much in the Byzantine manner (p. 220). The soulful glance of St. Theodore links this icon with the preceding group, but it was obviously made by a different master. The lances with pennants showing a red cross on white ground are a typical Crusader attribute. At the bottom kneels a donor figure, next to whom is a Greek inscription, "Pray for the servant of God, George of Paris"—a Frenchman, probably a pilgrim in the Holy Land, who commissioned the icon from a compatriot.

Of equal importance and even wider range are the icons executed by Italian masters. Their nationality is easy enough to determine by style, but when we try to distinguish localities, the difficulties begin. The most outstanding trading centers with the eastern Mediterranean were Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. We have so far been unable to detect Pisan style among the Crusader icons, and of Genovese painting we know almost nothing. The strongest connection was apparently with Venice, much intensified after the sack of Constantinople by the Venetians in 1204.

We have an iconostasis beam (c. 1256–58; pp. 222, 223, and 224), which is similar in style to one of the few irrefutably Venetian paintings of the thirteenth century, a precious diptych with miniatures under rock crystals made at the end of the century for Andreas III, King of Hungary (now in Bern). The peculiar dotted highlights in the faces and the heavyset proportions, approaching plumpness, of the angels are particularly Italian. The beam was apparently made for a chapel serving Latin monks who had adopted this element of Orthodox church architecture.

The beam contains a cycle of the great feasts in which, to the twelve canonical events, was added a representation of the *Last Supper.* The overall iconographic scheme deviates from the Byzantine tradition by omitting the Deesis in the center. Characteristically, Crusader artists adhered closely to Byzantine models in some feast pictures, while in others we notice the conscious assertion of specifically Western elements. More or less in agreement with Byzantine iconography are the *Annunciation,* the *Presentation in the Temple,* the *Baptism,* the *Transfiguration,* the *Entry into Jerusalem,* the *Harrowing of Hell*—though in mirror image—and the *Ascension.* On the other hand, strong Western elements appear in the *Nativity.* Here a realistic tendency is noticeable in the remarkable individualization of two of the three Magi (p. 222): one, wearing a fur cap, is clearly a Westerner, and another is unmistakably a Mongol. In 1249, about the time this beam was made, St. Louis sent an embassy to the Great Khan at Karakorum, to engage him as an ally against the Muslims. We should like to identify the third Magus with the Mongol general Kitbuga, a Nestorian Christian who claimed to be a descendant of one of the three Magi.

Also quite un-Byzantine is the figure of Lazarus in the scene of his *Resurrection:* instead of standing in the opening of the tomb, he sits erect on the lid of a sarcophagus. In the *Crucifixion,* the Virgin and St. John are depicted with the typical French gestures, touching chin and nose. The strongest Western accent, however, is seen in the *Pentecost* scene. In any Byzantine rendition of this theme, Peter and Paul, the princes of the Apostles, share the center, but the Latin artist asserts his "Romish" inclination by placing Peter alone in the dominant spot. Also deviating from the Byzantine canon is the representation of the *Death of the Virgin,* the *Koimesis.* Where as a counter-figure to Peter at the head of the Virgin's bier we would expect Paul, the Crusader artist has placed a group of four Archangels. Whenever they occur in Byzantine *Koimesis* scenes, Archangels carry candles, but in our beam they carry orbs, apparently an allusion to the Virgin as Queen of Heaven.

Venice had another style, different from that of the Andreas diptych, which can be seen in two panels, one of *St. John the Baptist* and the other of *St. Andrew,* in the Museo Correr in Venice. It is characterized by the pronounced linear treatment of faces and drapery and by sharp highlights—features of many Crusader icons at Sinai. They form such a large group that we must once again posit an atelier within the monastery. Most striking is a huge bilateral icon with the *Crucifixion* on one side and the *Harrowing of Hell* on the other (pp. 225–226). Bilateral icons are usually thought to have been intended for processional use (cf. p. 72), but our panel is much too big and heavy for such a purpose. Perhaps it was inserted into an iconostasis, with the *Crucifixion* facing the nave and the *Harrowing of Hell* the altar.

This *Crucifixion* is the third example in which the Virgin's and St. John's fingers are displayed ostentatiously. These gestures are almost the "trademark" of Crusader *Crucifixions,* confirming once more the cross-fertilizing influence of artists of different nationalities. In this icon, the Italian temperament asserts itself particularly in the Herculean figure of Christ. Also typically Western is the nailing of Christ's feet with one nail, a detail that originated in northern Europe and was quickly adopted in Italy. This is one of the comparatively few instances in which the painter used Latin rather than Greek inscriptions.

The *Harrowing of Hell,* being the Easter picture, would take precedence over the *Crucifixion* in the Orthodox Church; but our Crusader artist, by setting the *Crucifixion* against a resplendent gold ground and the *Harrowing of Hell* against a subdued dark blue starry sky, has reversed the order of rank. The expressive faces of Adam and Eve (p. 226) reveal a close connection with the two panels in the Museo Correr, supporting our attribution of the icon to a Venetian master. Once more we see an artist who tries intensely to absorb Byzantine influences, without abandoning his Western temperament. The haggard Eve with wrinkled face is in contrast to the youthful Eve of Byzantine art—we are reminded of the gaunt prophetess Hannah in Nicola Pisano's *Presentation in the Temple,* in the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa.

A diptych we believe to be by the same Venetian painter is a copy of two much-venerated icons, one of which was an image of *St. Procopius* that was probably housed in a church outside the walls of Jerusalem. Apparently this holy image was of particular splendor, with inlaid enamels not unlike those used for the *St. Michael* icons in Venice (cf. pp. 42–43), a technique clearly reflected in our Sinai icon. The other wing shows a *Virgin with Child* (p. 227) that copies the famous *St. Luke Virgin,* known as the *Kykkotissa,* of the Monastery of Kykko on Cyprus. In certain details—for example, the Virgin's ornamented veil and the sashes over Christ's breast—the Western copyist is more faithful than an eleventh-century Constantinopolitan painter had been to the traditional image (cf. p. 48), but he omits the dogmatically significant motif of Christ receiving the scroll, the *logos,* out of the Virgin's hand. The realistic interpretation foreshadows the future development of Italian art.

The question may be raised why this diptych could not have been painted in Jerusalem, where the famous *Procopius* icon was housed, or at Cyprus, where the *Kykkotissa* was kept. A Sinaitic origin is suggested primarily because of the frames, which are filled with figures and busts like those surrounding the French *Crucifixion* (p. 211). This is particularly obvious in the *Virgin* icon. At the top is a bust of the Virgin before the burning bush, one of the earliest representations of the bush consumed by flames and thus a realistic rendering of the locus sanctus. The Virgin is flanked by the busts of Joachim and Anna, to whom a special chapel is dedicated in the basilica—another locus sanctus. On the lateral frames we see in pairs first Moses and John the Baptist, then Basil and Nicholas, who were all also honored by special chapels (the chapel of St. Nicholas is no longer in existence), and finally St. Climacus, a holy monk of Sinai, and Onufrius, who had lived in a nearby cave. At the bottom is the bust of St. Catherine flanked by Constantine and Helena, to whom again a chapel is dedicated within the basilica. The program could not be more Sinaitic. The frame of the *Procopius* icon also contains saints, most of whom can be connected with Sinai chapels.

The various means by which this remarkable Venetian painter came to grips with his Byzantine models may be demonstrated by a third example that can be attributed to him (p. 228). Here he depicts the *Virgin of the Burning Bush* in the same iconographically exact form—without the bush—as did the French painter (see p. 217). She is flanked by a St. John the Baptist with contracted brows and disheveled hair and by a beardless Moses, both revealing the artist's keen understanding of a Byzantine model. The choice of the Virgin type and the two Prophets is once more thoroughly Sinaitic; but even here the greater corporeality, the sharp design of the faces, and the simplified, more realistic drapery reveal the Italian hand unmistakably.

The most ambitious work of our painter is an iconostasis beam (pp. 229, 230, and 231), which must have been made on-site for a chapel in the monastery. We know that there was a chapel at Sinai called St. Catherine of the Franks, in which the well-known eighteenth-century traveler Pococke was able to celebrate the Latin mass; but we have already seen another Crusader beam (cf. pp. 222–223) and cannot be sure which of the two was made for this particular chapel. Instead of the Twelve Feasts, this second artist painted busts of the *Apostles.* Apparently because of the small size of the chapel, he

was not able to accommodate all twelve and so selected six: Peter and Paul (the one with a scroll and keys and the other with a codex) and the four Evangelists, Matthew and Mark behind Paul and John and Luke behind Peter. In good Byzantine fashion, the artist added two saints, George and Procopius; but in keeping with his Western origins he placed them under Gothic pointed arches.

In one respect this Crusader artist understood the Byzantine tradition better than the other—he placed a Deesis group, omitted in the other beam, in the center of his composition. Nevertheless, he was not free of compromises with the Western tradition. John, for example, who in Byzantine art is usually depicted white-bearded and in Western art beardless, is here quite exceptionally rendered with a dark beard. And it comes as no surprise that an Italian artist, intent on increasing the element of realism in his work, would be rather conventional in his depiction of Christ and the Virgin, but expressive in the depiction of the characterful heads of *St. John the Baptist* (pp. 230–231) and *St. Paul* (p. 229), both drawn with sharply delineated facial wrinkles.

Another Italian artist, who had collaborated with the French painter of the four scenes on the inner sides of the wings of a triptych (cf. p. 215), filled its outer sides with the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas. The facial features of *St. Nicholas* (p. 233) reveal the careful study of a Byzantine model that may very well have been the prominent *St. Nicholas* icon painted at Sinai a little earlier in the thirteenth century by a Byzantine artist (cf. p. 67). The Crusader artist placed a mitre on the saint's head and a crozier in his hand, consciously turning the Byzantine Nicholas of Myra into the Nicholas of Bari, whose relics had been claimed by the citizens of that town in 1087. Whether the painter of our Nicholas figure came from southern Italy must, for the time being, remain an open question, but *a priori* it seems quite likely.

Another southern Italian, perhaps of Apulian origin, may be proposed for an icon of *St. Sergius* on horseback (p. 232). The donor is a kneeling woman, wearing a black veil, in attire and posture clearly a Westerner. What distinguishes the rider-saint from Byzantine parallels is the emphasis on the huge pennant on the lance, bearing a red cross on white ground. The artist is so intent on the display of this emblem that he repeats it on the inside of the shield and on the saddle. The pennant, once thought to be the banner of the Knights Templar, must be taken as an emblem for Crusader knights in general. There is also a distinctly Oriental influence discernible in the shape of the quiver, hardly a surprising feature in a product of the Holy Land, the crossroads of so many cultures and artistic styles.

Like so many icons described in this chapter, this is not a stray piece but one of a series, evidence that it was created in the Holy Land, probably right at Sinai. In another icon the artist repeated the figure of St. Sergius on horseback with all the characteristics described above and paired him with St. Bacchus, dressed in the same fashion. This icon is bilateral and depicts on its obverse a bust of the Virgin Hodegetria in a very faithful rendering of a good Byzantine model, though lacking somewhat in spirituality—another of the striking cases where Western and Byzantine elements are uncompromisingly placed side by side.

There exist about half a dozen icons of the same style and size with frontal standing saints, these also probably produced in the monastery. One of them represents in typical Byzantine fashion the three most important soldier-saints: *George, Theodore, and Demetrius* (p. 234). The general impression is much like that of the Comnenian icon of *SS. Procopius, Demetrius, and Nestor* (cf. p. 51). In both panels the saints wear the long tunic and the chlamys, but in the Crusader icon the *tablion* on the chlamys is missing and chain mail is added between the long court tunic and the chlamys, turning Byzantine saints clad in ceremonial court costumes into Crusader knights. In spite of these Western features, the artist (perhaps a Greek from southern Italy), by means of the stiff poses, the lack of a firm stance, and the aloofness of the faces, has caught the Byzantine spirit more convincingly than the emotional French painter (cf. p. 220).

To the same presumably Apulian master can be attributed an icon with the typically Sinaitic *SS. Catherine and Marina* (p. 235). Catherine had become the titular saint of the monastery (originally dedicated to the Virgin) in the tenth or eleventh century, and one of the side chapels of the basilica had been dedicated to St. Marina. The numerous *Catherine* and *Marina* icons at Sinai must, therefore, be considered locus sanctus images. Although the hieratic appearance of the saints, their robes—that of an empress for St. Catherine and of a nun for St. Marina—and the crosses of martyrdom they hold, are all features of the strict Byzantine tradition, there is one detail which reveals the Western influence: the

orb in St. Catherine's hand, an attribute she holds in French and Venetian icons (cf. p. 213) but never in Byzantine. This is one of the many cases in which Western, in this case imperial, iconography is effortlessly infused into an otherwise thoroughly Byzantine image.

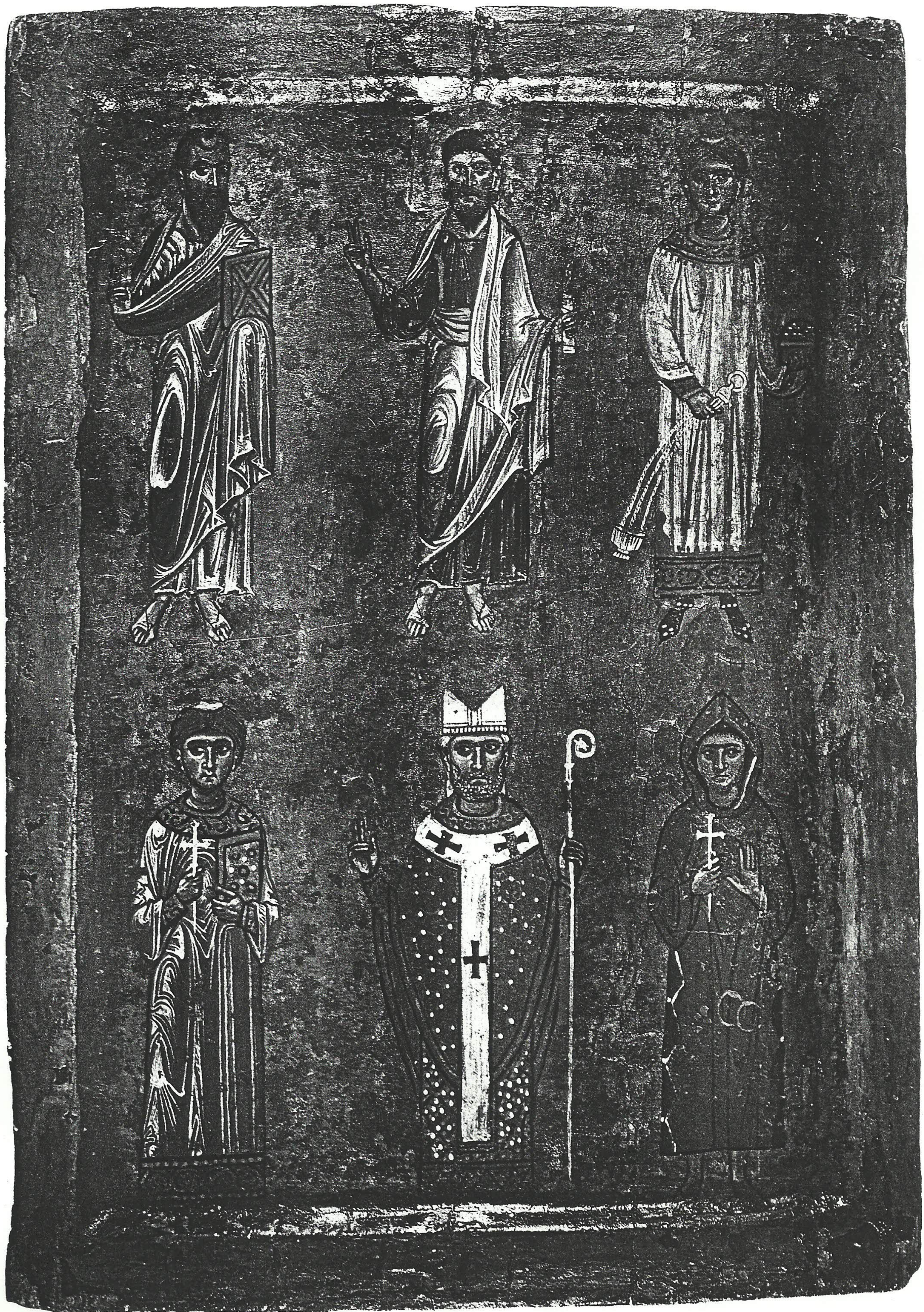
Our examples of Crusader icons were chosen from three substantial groups, many with a distinct Sinaitic iconography. In our opinion, their origin in the monastery can hardly be doubted. However, there also exist many single icons that were brought to St. Catherine's as gifts. For the most part they were created in the territories controlled by the Crusaders: Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus. It is due to St. Catherine's fortunate isolation in the rocky desert that so much was preserved there while the rest of the Holy Land was exposed to continuous plunder and destruction. Yet there is still hope that when the Sinai material is completely known, additional Crusader icons will be found in other places.

The main point emerging from a discussion of Crusader art is that a clear distinction must be made between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In the earlier period we are dealing with individual icons, probably created by migrating artists. This concept corresponds with what we know about Crusader art in general. The most famous twelfth-century works in the Holy Land are marble capitals of the highest quality made around 1250 at Nazareth by a Burgundian artist. There is no evidence that he and his co-workers established a workshop with the intention of staying. The fact that no other works can be traced to him suggests that after having completed his commission, he returned to France. The same situation seems to have prevailed, as far as our scanty knowledge permits any generalization, for the icon-painters of the period.

The situation is fundamentally different in the thirteenth century. We purposely chose for our study groups of icons that indicate the establishment of large workshops, most of them evidently located within the monastery itself. But there is literary evidence that artists' colonies had sprung up in Acre, and there is every reason to believe that their activities were as lively as those that led to such a variegated production in the monastery. The repeated presence in Acre of St. Louis, the French king, between 1250 and 1254 must have been a great stimulus. He was one of the greatest art patrons of his time, for whom the Bible in the Arsenal Library in Paris was made at Acre. It seems quite reasonable to assume that he was also interested in the panel paintings of the French artists who resided in that flourishing commercial center.

What makes these Crusader icons, painted mainly by French and Italian artists sojourning in the East, look so different from their output at home? The impact of Byzantine art, especially on thirteenth-century Italy, had already been noted by Renaissance critics who had coined the terms "maniera greca" and "maniera bizantina" to describe the Duecento style. Western artists who worked in the East were surrounded by an unlimited wealth of genuine Byzantine art, which they often imitated with such empathy that the work became indistinguishable from the models; while back at home the Byzantine influence was absorbed in the well-established styles of Italy and western Europe. Thus the Crusader icons play an intermediary role between Eastern and Western painting. The emphasis of our brief sketch has been on the adaptation of Byzantine style by Western migrants who were often the equals of their Levantine colleagues. However, many of them had acquired a firmly developed style of their own before they embarked on their adventure, and infused new elements—for example, a pronounced realism in the rendering of the human body—into Byzantine art. The story of that influence has still to be written.

Opposite:
SS. Paul, James the Greater, Stephen, Lawrence, Martin of Tours, and Leonard of Limoges
Tempera on wood, 33.3 x 23.7 cm. (13⅛ x 9⅜ in.); perhaps southern Italian (Calabria ?), 1150–1200; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.



Left:
St. Leonard of Limoges with Manacles as Patron of Prisoners
Detail from *SS. Paul, James the Greater, Stephen, Lawrence, Martin of Tours, and Leonard of Limoges*

Opposite:
Crucifixion and Busts of Saints
French artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 37.3 x 26.8 cm. (14¾ x 10½ in.); mid-thirteenth century.

Above left:
St. Catherine
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Left:
St. Paul of Thebes
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Above left:
St. Onufrius
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Left:
St. Simeon Stylites
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Above:
Weeping Angel
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Left:
Virgin of the Crucifixion
Detail from *Crucifixion and Busts of Saints*

Opposite:
Death of the Virgin
French artist working at Sinai
Lower scene of left wing of a triptych; tempera on wood; triptych: 56.8 x 47.5 cm. (22⅜ x 18¾ in.); mid-thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Above:
Mourning Apostles
Detail from *Death of the Virgin*

Opposite:
Virgin of the Burning Bush Between Moses, Elijah, and St. Nicholas
French artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 32.3 x 25.7 cm. (12¾ x 10⅛ in.); mid-thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Opposite:
Virgin of the Burning Bush Between Moses, Elijah, and St. Nicholas, Detail

Virgin Hodegetria
French artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 32 x 25.6 cm. (12⅝ x 10⅛ in.); mid-thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

St. George and St. Theodore on Horseback
French artist working in the Holy Land
Tempera on wood, 32.5 x 22.2 cm. (12¾ x 8¾ in.);
1250–1300; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Opposite:
Virgin Hodegetria Between Peter and Paul and St. Anthony and St. Euthymius
In the spandrels: Moses and Elijah
French artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 31 x 24.8 cm. (12¼ x 9¾ in.);
mid-thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Opposite:
Nativity
Detail of the first of three sections of an iconostasis beam
Venetian artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 28.9 x 68 cm. (11⅜ x 26¾ in.); c. 1256–58 (?).

Above left:
Angel of the Annunciation to the Shepherds
Detail from *Nativity*

Left:
Two of the Three Magi
Detail from *Nativity*

ΗΓΕΝ
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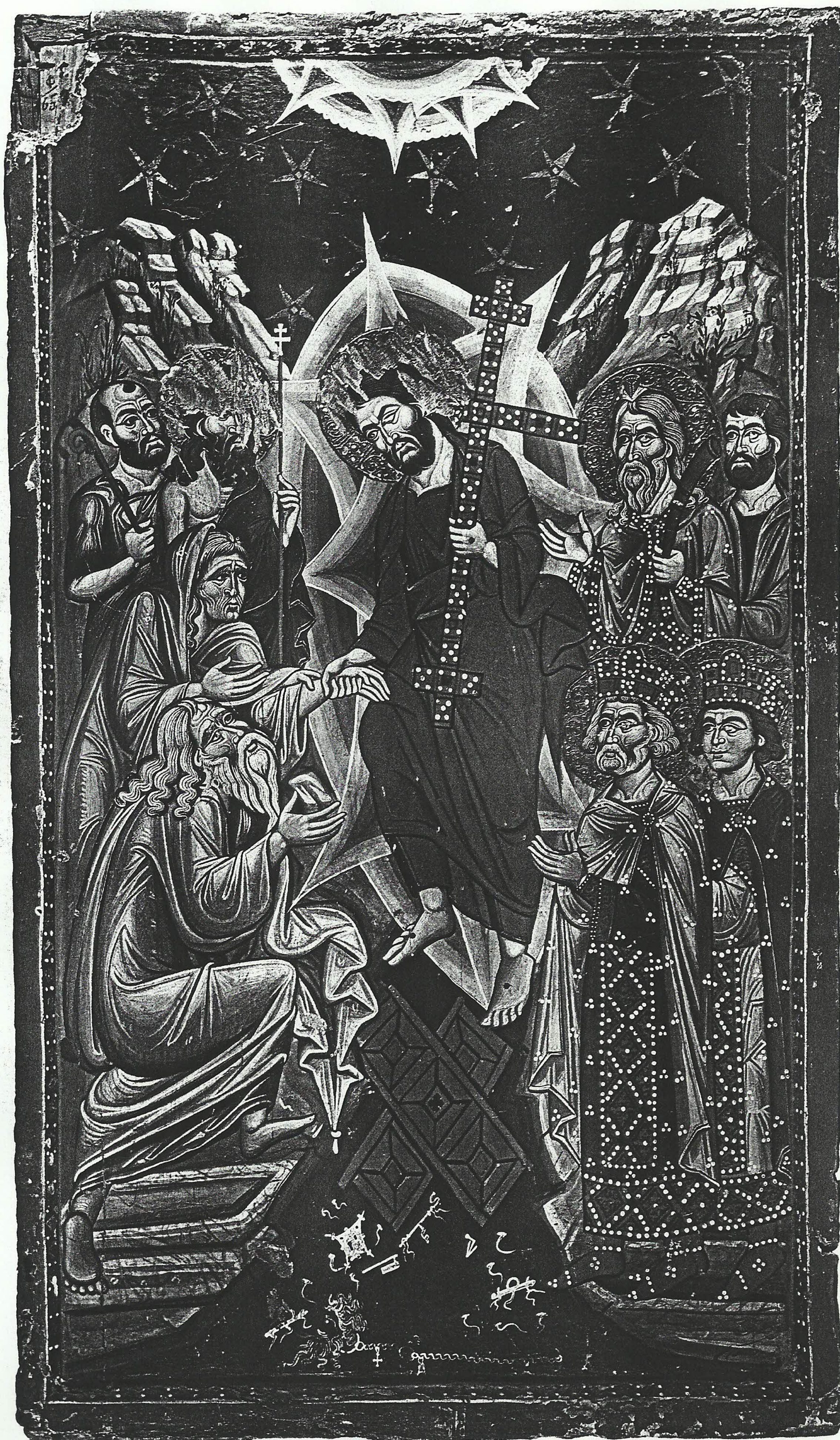
Bathing of the Christ Child
Detail from *Nativity* (see p. 223)

Opposite:
Harrowing of Hell
Venetian artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 120.5 x 67 cm. (47½ x 26⅜ in.); 1250–75.



Opposite:
Adam and Eve
Detail from *Harrowing of Hell* (see p. 225)

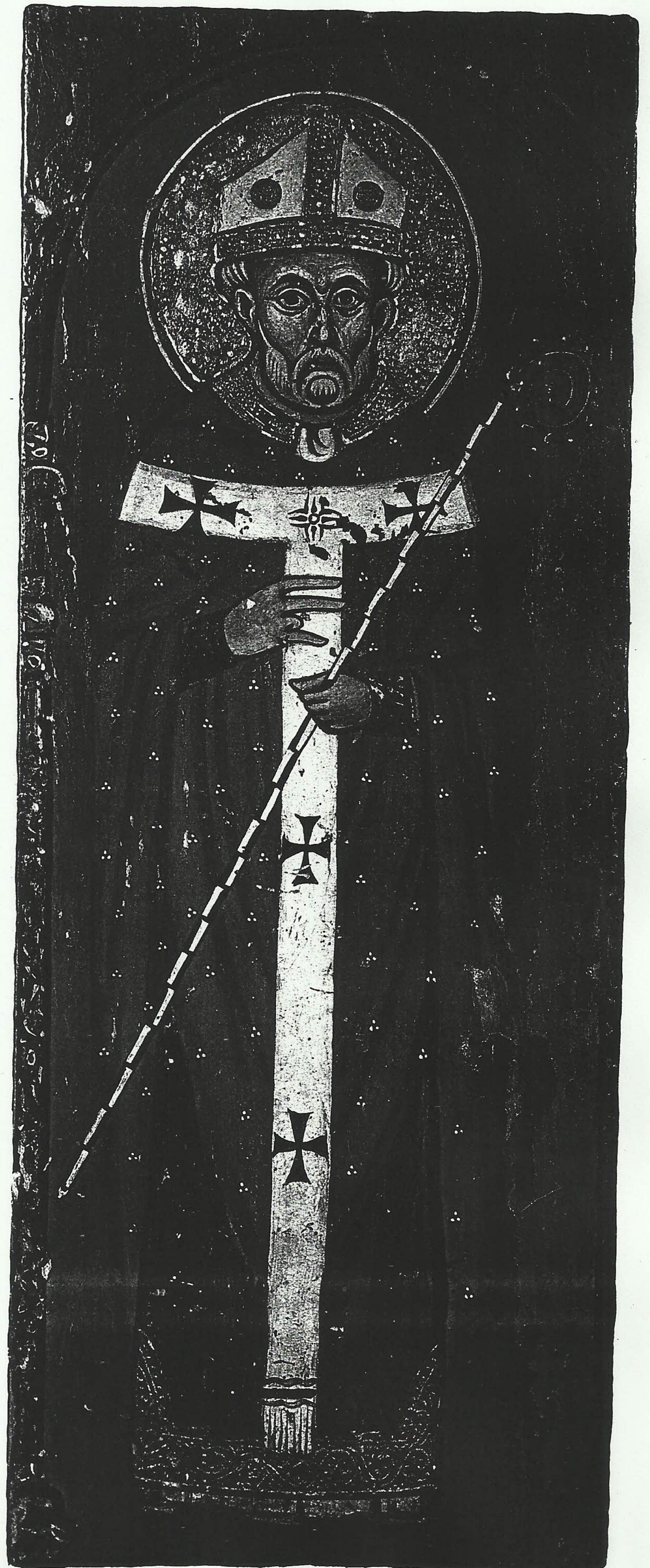
Virgin with Child, called *Kykkotissa,* Detail
Venetian artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 50.6 x 39.7 cm. (19⅞ x 15⅝ in.);
1250–75; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Virgin of the Burning Bush Between St. John the Baptist and Moses
Venetian artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 41.6 x 33 cm. (16⅜ x 13 in.);
1250–75; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Opposite:
St. Paul
Detail of an iconostasis beam
Venetian artist working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 43.3 x 168.5 cm. (17 x 66⅜ in.);
1250–75; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

Above and opposite:
St. John the Baptist
Detail of the iconostasis beam shown on page 229.

St. Sergius
Italian artist, perhaps Apulian, working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 28.7 x 23.2 cm. (11¼ x 9⅛ in.);
thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.



St. Nicholas
Outside of the left wing of a triptych
Tempera on wood, total measurement
56.8 x 47.5 cm. (22⅜ x 18¾ in.);
mid-thirteenth century; St. Catherine's
Monastery, Sinai.

SS. George, Theodore, and Demetrius
Perhaps Greco-Italian artist from Apulia working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 34.4 x 25.5 cm. (13½ x 10 in.); thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.

SS. Catherine and Marina
Perhaps Greco-Italian artist from Apulia working at Sinai
Tempera on wood, 34.6 x 24 cm. (13⅝ x 9½ in.); thirteenth century; St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.