

# Visual and Textual Narratives: Shifts in the Identity of the Byzantine Croce degli Zaccaria

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The True Cross, understood by the Christian faithful as the wood on which Christ was crucified, was legendarily discovered by Helena, the mother of Byzantine Emperor Constantine I, in 362 CE in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> This discovery established imperial Byzantine control of the Cross and its relics, limiting their movement out of Byzantium.<sup>2</sup> With the Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204, reliquaries of the True Cross became more accessible. Many were taken west into the treasuries of Western European churches, where they can still be found today.<sup>3</sup> The reception of these objects varied, but often, western viewers imposed new identities on these reliquaries by refashioning them or assigning them new narratives.<sup>4</sup> One such reliquary of the True Cross that

traveled from Byzantium to the west is now known as the *Croce degli Zaccaria* (Figure 1).<sup>5</sup> In the pages that follow I will examine how the Byzantine identity of this reliquary was perceived as it moved through the medieval world.

This staurotheke was commissioned in the ninth century by one Caesar Bardas to be deposited at the Basilica of Saint John in Ephesus, now modern-day Turkey.<sup>6</sup> By 1470 it was documented as being in Genoa, gifted by a family of merchants, and thus had left its Byzantine audience.<sup>7</sup> I argue that the identity of this reliquary underwent two shifts in the medieval period. First, in Ephesus, the Cross was refashioned in conscious imitation of an earlier Byzantine form. I demonstrate that this served to evoke an older tradition of cross reliquaries, emphasizing the object's Greek Orthodox provenance and Byzantine history. Second, when the reliquary was removed from Byzantium, its new owners invented a textual narrative, meant to provide the visually Byzantine reliquary with a western identity.

Early study of this object focused on the description of the reliquary and its iconography, as in the work of Gustave Schulmberger and Silvio Giuseppe Mercati.<sup>8</sup> In his seminal study of the True Cross, Anatole Frolow also describes this reliquary and identifies the likely figures named in the inscription.<sup>9</sup> These works do not discuss the reception of the reliquary, nor its changing identity. When, in more recent scholarship, the *Croce degli Zaccaria* is discussed, it is included in discussions of the history of the Zaccaria family or the tradition of processional crosses.<sup>10</sup> The reliquary itself has not been the primary focus of these studies.

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- 1 W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992). Drijvers provides a thorough studies of the legends surrounding Helena and the discovery of the True Cross.
- 2 Lynn Jones, "Medieval Armenia Identity and Relics of the True Cross (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> Centuries)," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 12 (2003): 43-53. According to Jones, for much of the medieval period, the imperial Byzantine court exclusively controlled access to relics of the True Cross. Other Christian states could only gain fragments of the Cross through the Byzantine court, which would distribute these relics in order to promote orthodoxy or confer political legitimacy to certain individuals. See also Nicole Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantine du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle au Xe," *Revista di studi bizantini e slavi* 1 (1999): 205-218.
- 3 Anatole Frolow, *La Relique de La Vraie Croix: Recherches Sur Le Développement D'Un Culte* (Paris: Edité par Institut Francais d'etudes Byzantines, 1961). Frolow's seminal study catalogues many of these reliquaries.
- 4 In this paper I follow the method of study established by Jones in her work on medieval reliquaries of the True Cross, which calls for close analysis of the creation and context of the object, as well as study of primary sources to question contemporary understanding of these reliquaries and the ways in which their identities were manipulated or altered. In particular, I point to Jones, "Medieval Identity," 43-53; Lynn Jones, "Perceptions of Byzantium: Radegund of Poitiers and Relics of the True Cross," in *Byzantine Images and their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 105-124; and Jones, "The Enkolpion of Edward the Confessor: Byzantium and Anglo-Saxon Concepts of Rulership," in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, eds. Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov, (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), 369-386.

- 5 Frolow, *La Relique*, 438-439, cat. 556, provides a description and history of this reliquary.
- 6 Piotr Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints: Tradition and Iconography in Byzantine Iconography (843-1261)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2010), 338-339. Staurotheke comes from the Greek, *stauros* or "cross" and *theke* "container."
- 7 William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert Publisher, 1964), 284-313.
- 8 Gustave Schlumberger, "La Croix Byzantine Dite Des Zaccaria (Tresor de La Calhedrale de Genes)," *Monuments et Memoires de La Fondation Eugene Piot* 2, no. 1 (1895): 131-136; Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, "Sulla Croce Bizantina degli Zaccaria nel Tesoro del Duomo di Genova," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 13, (1959): 29-43.
- 9 Frolow, *La Relique*, 438-439, cat. 556.
- 10 The reliquary is discussed in these contexts in Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 284-313 and Grotowski, *Arms and Armour*, 338-339.

## Description and History

In its current form, the *Croce degli Zaccaria* is a 54 by 40-centimeter silver-gilt cross with a tang at its base.<sup>11</sup> The reliquary has flared arms and medallions that extend beyond the end of its arms. Two fragments of wood, arranged in a cruciform pattern, are set in the center, encased in rock crystal. Fifty-seven gemstones, including rubies, sapphires, and amethysts, decorate the reliquary's front.<sup>12</sup> These stones are set in high-relief scalloped prong settings, which elevates them from the gilt base. There are also forty-four large pearls on the front, which are drilled through their center and attached to the reliquary by peg settings. A continuous rope of smaller pearls runs around the edges of the cross (Figure 1).

On the back of the reliquary, at the terminals and in the center, are repoussé bust medallions of holy figures with identifying inscriptions. The *Theotokos*, the mother of God, is in the central medallion. Christ is depicted in the medallion at the top of the cross. On either side of the *Theotokos*, on the cross arms, are medallions with the archangels Michael and Gabriel. Saint John the Evangelist is depicted in the medallion at the foot of the cross. Surrounding these medallions is a repoussé Greek inscription in majuscule which reads, "Bardas had this divine weapon shaped; Isaac, Archbishop of Ephesus, had it restored when it had been degraded by time" (Figure 2).<sup>13</sup>

This inscription reveals much about the reliquary's origins. According to Frolov, the "Bardas" referenced is likely Caesar Bardas (d. 22 Apr. 866), the uncle of Byzantine emperor Michael III (840-867).<sup>14</sup> Bardas held the title Caesar from 862 to 866, providing a date range for the creation of the reliquary.<sup>15</sup> During this period, he gifted the Cross to the Basilica of Saint John in Ephesus.<sup>16</sup> The inscription also tells us that the reliquary was restored by Isaac, archbishop of Ephesus. Frolov identifies an Isaac who occupied that seat in Ephesus from 1260 to 1283, dating this restoration to the late thirteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

Shortly after this refashioning, in 1304, Seljuk forces invaded Ephesus and took the reliquary as loot, later trading it in exchange for wheat in the city of Phocaea, on the

western coast of Anatolia.<sup>18</sup> In Phocaea the reliquary became the property of the Zaccaria, a family of Genoese merchants who ruled the city and its surrounding islands after receiving them as a gift from Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (r. 1261-1282).<sup>19</sup> A member of the Zaccaria family then offered the *Croce degli Zaccaria* to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa.<sup>20</sup> Frolov suggests that Ticino Zaccaria offered the reliquary to the church in 1336, while Miller argues that the reliquary was not taken to Genoa until 1459 by John Asen Zaccaria, the illegitimate son of Centurione II Zaccaria.<sup>21</sup> Church documents confirm the reliquary was in the Cathedral by 1461.<sup>22</sup> Based on this history, I distinguish two different identities created by the reliquary's owners: in Byzantium, the reliquary's Byzantine history was visually emphasized, while in Genoa, an invented narrative is textually asserted which distanced the reliquary from its Byzantine provenance.

## The Byzantine Use and Identity of the Reliquary

The first shift in the use and identity of the *Croce degli Zaccaria* occurred in the 13th century, when the reliquary was refashioned. Frolov claims that, based on the style of stone settings and metalwork, no original, ninth-century parts of the reliquary remained after this refashioning.<sup>23</sup> I agree with Frolov, but suggest that the reliquary also visually evokes an older tradition of cross reliquaries. The jeweled front of the reliquary matches ninth-century ornamentation of Byzantine jeweled crosses, and the inscription on the reliquary's reverse evokes an older Greek letter form.<sup>24</sup> Despite these archaizing elements, the form of the Cross is in a style popular in the 13th century and the stones on the front are in, what I suggest are, a later technique of Byzantine gem setting. I suggest that, when refashioning the reliquary, Archbishop Isaac of Ephesus sought to mimic an earlier tradition of reliquaries, imitating the material and paleography of the original reliquary, while the workshop that refashioned it updated the form and stone settings. This imitation of earlier cross reliquaries would emphasize the object's Orthodox history at a time when Ephesus faced increasing attacks from both Latin European merchants and Muslim Seljuk forces.<sup>25</sup>

11 This tang suggests that the reliquary was used as a processional cross. Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

12 Schlumberger, "La Croix Byzantine," 132, identifies these stones in his description of the reliquary. Mercati, "Croce Bizantina," 29-30, agrees.

13 I follow translations given by Frolov. The original Greek inscription reads, "Τούτο το θειον οπλον Βάρδας μεν ετεκτηνατο. Εφεσου δ' αρχιθυτης 'Ισαάκ παλαιωθεν ανεκαινισεν" See Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

14 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556. Frolov suggests that "Bardas" in the inscription refers to Caesar Bardas, rather than another Byzantine Bardas, due to his dating of the object, which fits squarely in the date range that Bardas held the Caesar title.

15 A basic introduction to Caesar Bardas can be found in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. See Paul A. Hollingsworth and Anthony Cutler, "Bardas," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

16 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

17 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

18 Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 288, discusses how the reliquary came into the hands of the Zaccaria.

19 The Zaccaria family ruled over multiple lands in the Mediterranean, including Phocaea, for several generations. The complex history of this family will not be discussed here, but an in-depth biography can be found in Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 285-287.

20 Once in Genoa, the reliquary was processed during ceremonial elections of the Genoese Doge until the elimination of that office in 1797. It was also used in processions celebrating the feast day of Corpus Christi. For the use of the reliquary in Genoa, see "Croce Degli Zaccaria," Museo del Tesoro, n.d., <http://www.museidigenova.it/en/content/croce-degli-zaccaria>.

21 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 288.

22 A 1461 commission for a pedestal is extant in the Cathedral archives. Mercati, "Croce Bizantina," 30.

23 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

24 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556, claims that the inscription has an "archaic" quality.

25 Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 285-288.

The *Croce degli Zaccaria* then serves as both visual evidence of the continued practice of Orthodoxy in Ephesus and as a reminder to the faithful of the power of God, reassuring the Ephesians that they would prevail against these invading forces, if it is God's will they do so.<sup>26</sup>

The reliquary's jeweled front is a clear emulation of earlier Byzantine *crux gemmata*, or jeweled cross reliquaries. To my knowledge, there are no extant 13<sup>th</sup> century examples of these reliquaries, whose frontal decoration consist almost entirely of gemstones. They are instead common earlier in the early Byzantine period.<sup>27</sup> A well-known 6<sup>th</sup> century example is the *Crux Vaticana*, a processional cross commissioned by Emperor Justin II (Figure 3). This cross has no figural decoration, instead featuring large gems and a Greek inscription. Closer in date to the *Croce degli Zaccaria* is a ninth-century Constantinopolitan *crux gemmata* (Figure 4). Looted from Constantinople in 1205, and now in the treasury of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, this reliquary features bezel-set gemstones in high relief on a gilt base with a rope of pearls running around the edges—much like the *Croce degli Zaccaria*.<sup>28</sup>

The inscription on the *Croce degli Zaccaria* also provides evidence for the importance of its history. Frolov states that the letter form of the inscription has an archaic quality and suggests that the re-fashionser was inspired by the original lettering.<sup>29</sup> I suggest that, in addition to this archaizing script, the wording of the inscription was meant to emphasize the continuity of Orthodoxy in Ephesus. The inscription specifically names two people: Bardas and Archbishop Isaac, drawing attention to their involvement and the reliquary's continued use over a span of five centuries.

A more detailed inscription was once found on a container built to hold the staurotheke. Created in the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the behest of an Ephesian Archbishop, this now-lost container featured an inscription that read:

"The Caesar Bardas adorns the very precious wood of gold, jewels and pearls and deposits it on the altar of the Theologian; Kyriakos, bishop of this church, fashioned the reliquary of gold. Both of these offerings having been damaged by time; Isaac, first in the celebration of the sacrifices

and also in the accomplishment of his duties, has put them in a better state."<sup>30</sup>

The inclusion, in this inscription, of the 11<sup>th</sup> century bishop, Kyriakos, is evidence of the importance of the reliquary's history. These inscriptions allow us to create a timeline for the Zaccaria Cross—emphasizing the relic's origin in the ninth century and its continued use and refashioning in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. This history emphasizes the Byzantine identity of the reliquary—authenticating it as a Byzantine piece of the True Cross and making it venerable for both its contact with Christ and its historic lineage.

While these elements of the reliquary are archaizing and therefore emphasize the reliquary's history, other aspects were updated. I suggest that both the form and the method of stone setting of the reliquary were changed as a result of 13<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine workshop styles.

The form of the Zaccaria Cross is standard for late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine reliquaries of the True Cross, which also feature round medallions and protrusions at the end of the cross arms.<sup>31</sup> Examples from the 12<sup>th</sup> century are a bronze pectoral cross from Constantinople and a bronze enkolpion (Figures 5 and 6). The form of both of these crosses matches the *Croce degli Zaccaria*. Reliquaries of the True Cross created in the ninth century, the suggested date of the original creation of the *Croce degli Zaccaria*, are of a different form, with straight arms and no finials or finial medallions.<sup>32</sup>

The gemstones on the *Croce degli Zaccaria* are set in distinctive prong settings with scalloped supports, which match 13<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine jewel setting practices. Prong-set stones are soldered to their bases and held in place by claw-shaped tines. I suggest that in the ninth century—when the reliquary was originally created—gems were more commonly bezel set. Bezel set gems are held in place by a metal rim that completely encircles the gemstone. This technique can be seen on the Limburg Staurotheke, which features

26 The militant intercessory power of God is discussed, along with the concept that reliquaries could serve as weapons of war for the Byzantines, as representations of God's power in Robert Nelson, "And So, With the Help of God': The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011-2012): 63-90.

27 John A. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994).

28 *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels: Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1982) 148-149.

29 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556.

30 Frolov, *La Relique*, 438, cat. 556. While the original container is now lost, a seventeenth-century reproduction preserves its inscription, which, in the original Greek, reads: "Βάρδας [ο] καισαρ υπερεντιμον ξυλον/ χοσμει χρυσω τε και λιθοις και μαργαροις/ χειμηλιον θειε εστια Θεηγορο./ Κυριακος δε [την] χρυσην αυτω θιβην/ προεδρος ειργασατο της εκκλησιας./ Θραυσθεντα [δ'] αυτα τω μαχρω λιαν χρονω/ Ο Ισαακ ηγαγεν εις χρειπτα θεαν./ Πρωτος θυμασι[ν], αλλα και τοις πρακτεοις."

31 Brigitte Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales Byzantines En Bronze* (Paris: Picard, 2006) 29-39, describes the forms used in representations of the True Cross and identifies the typical style used for the cross in different time periods. She classifies Byzantine cross reliquaries into ten types. Her formal type 10 has roundels at the end of the arms and teardrop appendages extending beyond the arms, matching the Zaccaria Cross.

32 Pitarakis identifies this as "formal type 1." Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires*, 30-31. For examples of "formal type 1" reliquaries, I point to Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires*, 29-39.



dozens of bezel-set stones (Figure 7).<sup>33</sup> A ninth-century Constantinopolitan paten, now in the Louvre, also has bezel-set gems around its rim (Figure 8).<sup>34</sup>

To my knowledge, prong-settings were not used in Byzantium until the 10th century; at which point the technique begins to appear in conjunction with bezel settings on *crux gemmata*. A 10th century Byzantine staurotheke, now in the Treasury of Saint Mark's Cathedral in Venice, shows an early use of prong-set stones (Figure 9). There are no extant examples of prong-set stones before the 10th century, but both setting styles continue to be used on Byzantine creations after this point. The use of prong settings on the *Croce degli Zaccaria* reveal the influence of later Byzantine workshop practices after the reliquary's original construction.

Once the Cross was "denigrated by time," Archbishop Isaac of Ephesus made a conscious choice to refashion the object, emulating earlier Byzantine staurotheques. While both the form of the cross and the setting of the gems on the *Croce degli Zaccaria* are in the 13th century fashion, the reliquary displays a conscious mimicry of an earlier style of decoration and an earlier letter form. I argue that the nature of the refashioning connected the object visually and textually to its historic lineage, emphasizing the Orthodox, and therefore Byzantine, identity of the reliquary. This emphasis on the reliquary's history did not displace the relic's importance, rather, the contemporary Byzantine viewer was able to hold these polyvalent understandings simultaneously, valuing the reliquary both for its spiritual significance and historic lineage.<sup>35</sup>

#### The Genoese use and identity of the Reliquary

As we have seen, the refashioned Cross was taken from Ephesus by Seljuk forces and then traded at Phocaea, where it became the property of the Zaccaria.<sup>36</sup> I argue that the Zaccaria family deemphasized the Byzantine identity of the reliquary, creating a new narrative for the object based on an invented textual tradition of the relic's translation. This textual narrative was used by the *Croce degli Zaccaria*'s western owners to obscure the reliquary's Byzantine creation. However, in the hands of these western viewers, the *Croce degli Zaccaria*'s legitimacy was still visually communicated by the Byzantine reliquary, which communicated the authenticity of the wooden relic as a piece of the True Cross.

The translation narrative invented by the Zaccaria was first recorded in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Ramon

Muntaner, a Catalan pirate who invaded Phocaea in 1308.<sup>37</sup> He recorded the legend as told to him by Ticino Zaccaria, Lord of Phocaea.<sup>38</sup> According to Zaccaria, at the time of Christ's death, Saint John the Evangelist took from behind the head of Christ a piece of the True Cross and brought it to Ephesus. He then had it encased in gold and precious stones "of untold value."<sup>39</sup> Muntaner claims he was told that Saint John then wore this relic daily on a gold chain around his neck.<sup>40</sup>

Muntaner conveys this legend as if the relic of Saint John he describes is the exact reliquary the Zaccaria owned. I suggest that the Zaccaria advanced their invented narrative in order to create a western identity for the reliquary, made easier due to the collapse of the Byzantine empire in 1453, roughly the same time they offered the reliquary to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.<sup>41</sup> This narrative was then accepted and spread in the west.<sup>42</sup>

This new western-focused identity was communicated textually; I stress that in the hands of the Genoese, the Zaccaria Cross was not visually changed. I suggest that the new translation narrative served to balance the Byzantine appearance of the reliquary, which would have been obvious and valued to a merchant population like Genoa, which frequently traded with Byzantium and had their own quarter in Constantinople.<sup>43</sup>

In summary, the Byzantine *Croce degli Zaccaria*, originally created in the 9th century, underwent two changes to its identity in the medieval period as its ownership shifted. The 13th century Ephesian refashioning of the reliquary used an older formal style and stressed the object's history in its inscription in order to emphasize its continued use and power as an intercessory object. When the reliquary moved west, its Ephesian identity was displaced in favor of a new translation narrative, which coexisted with the Byzantine appearance of the object.

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33 The dimensions of the Limburg Staurotheke are 48 x 35 x 6 cm. The reliquary has been extensively studied, appearing in Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) and Herausgegeben von Anton Legner, ed., *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst Und Künstler Der Romanik* (Köln, 1985), 129-131. To my knowledge, no one has discussed the jewel setting techniques used on this or other reliquaries.

34 Evans and Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium*, 68-69.

35 Nelson, "And So, With the Help of God," 178.

36 Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 287-288.

37 Ramon Muntaner, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Lady Goodenough (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1981). Muntaner was a Catalan mercenary who led excursions in the Mediterranean. He wrote a chronicle of his life which records his experiences in the Mediterranean and his interactions with the Zaccaria family.

38 Conflict between Bendetto Zaccaria's sons over the inheritance of Phocaea led to the contraction of a group of Catalan pirates who invaded the city on Easter 1307. Under the direction of Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336), these mercenaries forcefully took the *Croce degli Zaccaria*, along with "infinite" other goods. It is unclear how the reliquary came back into the hands of the Zaccaria—or indeed, if Ramon Muntaner ever truly had it—but the *Croce degli Zaccaria* certainly returned to the family at some point in this century. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 288. The invasion is described in Muntaner, *Chronicle of Muntaner*, 560-561.

39 Muntaner, *Chronicle of Muntaner*, 560-561.

40 Muntaner, *Chronicle of Muntaner*, 560-561.

41 Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 287-288.

42 For examples of other reliquaries which took on new identities in the west, see Jones, especially, "The *Enkolpion* of Edward the Confessor," 369-386.

43 Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 283-285.

Figure 1. *Croce degli Zaccaria*, front. Silver-gilt, gems, wood, 54 x 40 cm. Treasury of San Lorenzo, Genoa.





Figure 2. *Croce degli Zaccaria*, reverse. Silver-gilt, gems, wood, 54 x 40 cm. Treasury of San Lorenzo, Genoa. Image source: Gustave Schulmberger, *La Croix Bizantine*.





Figure 3. Crux Vaticana, front, 6th century. Silver-gilt and gems. Treasury of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome.







Figure 5. Pectoral cross, front, 12th century. Bronze. Constantinople. Image source: Brigitte Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*.

Figure 4 [facing page]. Cross reliquary, front, 8th to 9th century. Treasury of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris.



Figure 6. Enkolpion, front, 11th-12th century. Bronze. Archaeological Museum, Komotini, Greece. Image source: Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*.

Figure 7 [facing page]. Limburg Staurotheke, front, lid closed, 920-959 and 968-985. Wood, gold, silver, enamel, gems, pearls, 48 x 35 x 6 cm. Cathedral, Limburg an der Lahn. Image source: Nancy Ševčenko, *The Limburg Staurotheke and Its Relics*.



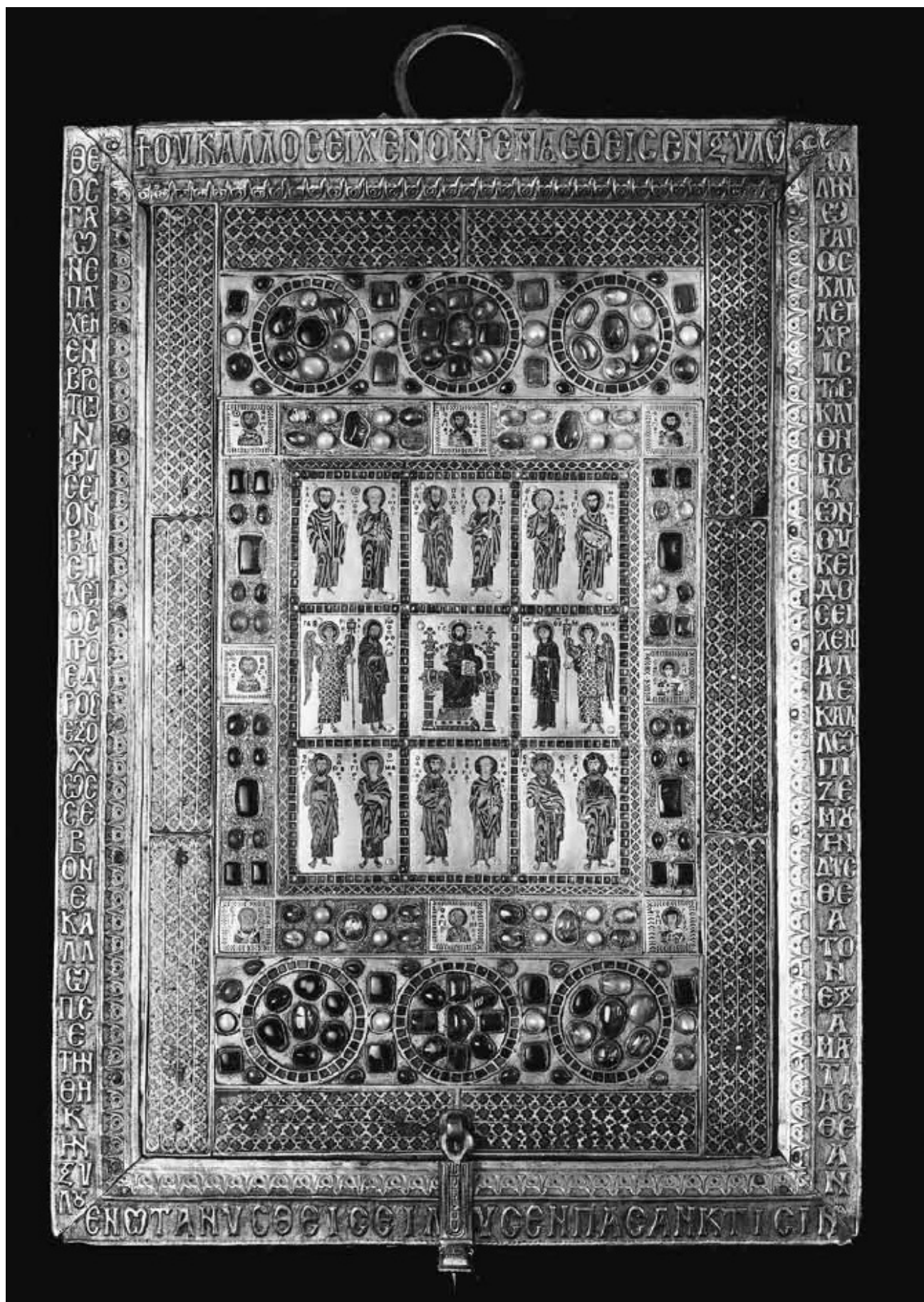






Figure 8. Paten, late 9th-mid 10th century. Agate, silver gilt, cloisonné enamel, and gemstones. Musée du Louvre, Paris.  
Image source: *The Glory of Byzantium*.



Figure 9. Reliquary of the True Cross, late 10th - early 11th century. Silver-gilt on wood, gold cloisonné enamel, stones, 270 x 220 mm. Treasury of San Marco, Venice. Image source: Mario Carrieri, *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*.