



Fig. 8. Icon, Andreas Ritzos, *Ascension, Hetoimasia, Hospitality of Abraham and Single Saints*, tempera on wood. Tokyo, National Museum for Western Art.

is compared with the Sarajevo icon (fig. 2) signed by Nikolaos Ritzos, which has been assigned to that period.³⁵ Thus, the iconographic affinities between the composition of the Walters Annunciation and paintings connected with the Ritzos workshop are complemented by the stylistic affinities of the icon with the Ritzos workshop.

A Triptych by Angelos Bitzamanos

This triptych was acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti collection in 1902. Today its three panels are separated, but they were not during the last

decades of the nineteenth century, when it was exhibited in Rome in the Accoramboni Palace.³⁶ A photograph presumably taken soon after 1902 (fig. 9) shows that the triptych was still whole during the first years after its acquisition. It further shows that the frame of the central panel is not original. (This may explain why the triptych was dismembered.) Though not the original, the frame in the photograph is certainly the same shape as the original, because something like this would have been required to attach the lateral wings to the central panel, which is slightly shorter. This is a highly unusual way of putting the three panels of a triptych together.

The central panel (fig. 10), measuring 20.5 x 16.2 cm., shows the Virgin in bust holding the Christ Child.



Fig. 9. Triptych, Angelos Bitzamanos, photographed soon after its acquisition in 1902, tempera on wood, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.626.

Fig. 10. (below) Central panel of triptych in fig. 9, *The Virgin Holding the Christ Child*.



The left wing (fig. 11), measuring 20.7 x 8.8 cm., shows, on its inner side, St. Jerome in the desert; the right wing (fig. 11), measuring 20.9 x 8.4 cm., shows St. John the Baptist. The outer side of each wing, which is painted red, shows a coat of arms on the lower part (half on each wing) and a cross with the symbols of the Passion and the abbreviations IC XC (=IHCOYC XPICTOC) in the upper part (fig. 12). The top corners of the exterior display a vegetal decoration, consisting of tendrils rendered in gold on the red background.

The triptych was painted by the Cretan artist Angelos Bitzamanos, as an inscription on the inside of the left wing (fig. 11) clearly indicates: *ANGELUS BI/ZAMANUS/PINXIT*. This painter was active in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth.³⁷ However, the triptych was dated "around 1150" in the old catalogues of the Massarenti collection, a reasonable conjecture at a time when the documents concerning the painter's

life and career were unknown. Today we know that Angelos Bitzamanos worked in Crete, Dalmatia, and Italy. The earliest document connected with his activity is a contract of apprenticeship, signed on April 24, 1482, in Candia, between the Cretan painter Andreas Pavius and the father of Bitzamanos, Nikolaos.³⁸ In the contract, it is agreed that Andreas Pavius will teach the art of painting to the young Angelino Vicimano (=Bitzamano) for a period of five years. The next document is from 1518 and relates to a commission for the execution of an altarpiece Angelos Bitzamanos undertook to paint for the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Komolac, Dalmatia.³⁹

For the execution of this altarpiece—of which only the *predella* (the lower frieze) survives today (figs. 13 and 14), in Dubrovnik⁴⁰—Bitzamanos moved to Komolac. After Dalmatia, Bitzamanos, together with his brother(?) Donato, went to Italy, working in Otranto and Barletta. A *terminus* for his stay in Otranto is the year 1532, a date given by an icon by Angelos Bitzamanos showing the Virgin with the Christ child and the young St. John, which is in Leningrad.⁴¹ Perhaps he stayed in Otranto for as long as Donato did, who signed an icon there in 1539.⁴² Angelos's presence in Barletta is documented by one of his icons; indeed this is the last trace of him.⁴³ The activity of Angelos Bitzamanos is indicative of the conditions existing on Crete during the period of the Venetian occupation, when the travel and even the emigration of Cretan painters to Venetian-held territories, such as Dalmatia, or to Italy itself was facilitated.

The central panel of the triptych shows the Virgin holding the Christ child (fig. 10). The atmosphere of the composition is very westernized; the Virgin is an Italian *Madonna*, not a Byzantine *Panaghia*. The western look of her face is further emphasized by the garments she is wearing: an inner vestment with a golden stripe around the neck and sleeves, a transparent *velum*, and a mantle so heavily decorated in gold that it acquires a *brocat* appearance. Christ is also very western looking, with his fat, round face and curly hair. His vestments too are completely Italian, both in type and color. A further western element is his small halo. Christ's posture is unusual, as is the way he is gazing upwards to the right, where St. John the Baptist appears on the wing. Though the icon is western in manner and Cretan painters were often commissioned by western clients to execute icons of the Virgin "*alla latina*," the preferred type was usually the *Madre della consolazione*.⁴⁴ Though this triptych shares features with the *Madre della consolazione*, such as the fixed, undirected gaze and the transparent *velum*, they are relatively minor.



Fig. 11. Left and right wings of triptych in fig. 9, inner side, St. Jerome (no. 37.626A) and St. John the Baptist (no. 37.262B).

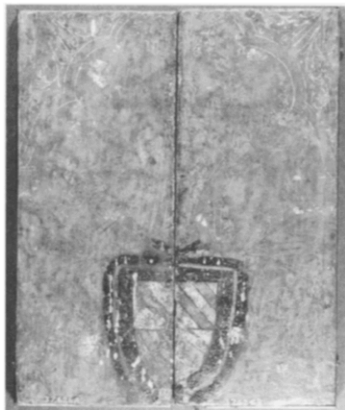


Fig. 12. Rear of triptych in fig. 9.



Fig. 13. Predella, Angelos Bitzamanos, *Five Saints*, tempera on wood, Dubrovnik, Monastery of the Franciscans (from Weitzman et al., *The Icon* [New York 1982], 326).

On the inner side of the left wing (fig. 11), the penitent St. Jerome is depicted. He is kneeling before a cave and, turning to the right, gazes upwards towards a crucifix. St. Jerome has a stone in his right hand, and his arm is extended, ready to beat his chest. With his left hand he is grasping the border of his *himation* close to his chest, which is left uncovered. Behind him on a rock lies his cardinal's hat and just above appears the inscription.

A representation of St. Jerome is also found in another painting by Angelos Bitzamanos: the *predella* of Komolac (figs. 13 and 14). The two representations, though they both display the iconographic type of the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness, have very few specific features in common. The Komolac Jerome has been completely transformed into a western saint. This is especially evident in the Italianate background, which is a very important part of this iconographic theme. On the other hand, the Walters St. Jerome displays Late Byzantine features, such as the type and shape of the cave and the rocky landscape with the tiny bushes.⁴⁵ A third representation of St. Jerome, also associated with Angelos Bitzamanos, is found in a



Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 13, St. Jerome.

composite icon in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens (figs. 15 and 16).⁴⁶ The icon, which shows the Virgin of the Passion, scenes from the Virgin's life, and single saints, has been convincingly attributed to Angelos Bitzamanos. The saint is again shown penitent in the wilderness, but his representation has an even deeper western character. What is common to all three representations is that the serpent, scorpions, and skull, which constitute current elements of this composition, have been omitted; the lion was included only in the Komolac St. Jerome.

The representation of St. Jerome, a saint especially venerated in the Latin church, in the work of a Cretan painter is not peculiar. It is consonant with the conditions on Crete during the Venetian occupation and reflects the fact that Cretan icons were meant for both Orthodox and Catholic clients. Furthermore, the co-existence of Cretans and Venetians, especially in the urban centers of Crete, resulted in some western saints gaining popularity even among Orthodox Cretans. This is the case with St. Francis, representations of whom are included even in Cretan churches.⁴⁷ As for St. Jerome, depictions of his iconographic cycle are to be found in Late Byzantine churches, as well as single representations of him curing the lion's paw.⁴⁸ The surviving representations of St. Jerome in Cretan painting indicate that among his various iconographic schemes the one that gained the greatest popularity is the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness, which is a western theme. We have already seen three representations of the penitent St. Jerome in works either signed or attributed to Angelos Bitzamanos. To these examples may be added four more: a Cretan triptych in the Vatican, with St. Jerome on the outer side of the right wing,⁴⁹ presumably of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a composite icon including St. Jerome on the lower-right corner, which dates from the late-fifteenth century, in the Museum of Art and History in Geneva,⁵⁰ and two icons of the fifteenth to sixteenth century, one in the Byzantine Museum and the other in Ravenna.⁵¹

The image of the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness has been shown to represent the medieval conception of the holy man.⁵² It has also been shown that the penitent St. Jerome was especially venerated by orders of hermits founded in the late fourteenth century and dedicated to St. Jerome. The most important of these orders, the Hieronymites, were settled in the area of Florence (Fiesole). Their activities have been associated not only with the veneration of St. Jerome, but also with the representation of that saint in fifteenth-century Florence. It is believed that this iconographic subject was established in Florence, possibly in the workshop of Lorenzo Monaco, whence it spread all over Italy.⁵³ The contribution made by Venetian artists to the establishment of the type is also undeniable.⁵⁴ The penitent St. Jerome was frequently a popular subject in works of art for private cult and devotion as well. He was considered to offer an ideal example for the conduct of personal life. His representation on the triptych of the Walters Art Gallery, an object relating to a private cult, must support this idea.

St. John the Baptist is shown on the inner side of the right wing of the triptych (fig. 11). He is turned to the left, dressed in his usual garments, the sheepskin (*melote*) and the *himation*. He is holding in his right hand a long staff topped with a lozenge bearing a representation of the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*), toward which he points with his left hand. Before his feet is the bowl with his decapitated head. The background is rocky and consists of two diametrically opposed triangular mountains.

The main iconographic features of this representation are current in fifteenth-century Cretan icons. In fact, the posture of St. John (with one leg bent and turning his body toward the side), his garments, his decapitated head in a bowl before his feet, the shape of the bowl, and the type of the landscape are all to be found in icons of St. John the Baptist painted by



Fig. 15. Icon, *The Virgin of the Passion, Scenes, and Single Saints*, tempera on wood, Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum, no. 7.

Angelos (Akotantos) in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 17).⁵⁵ What is different from these icons is that St. John is here not winged and he is carrying the long staff with the Lamb of God. (He is also carrying it in the *predella* of Komolac [fig. 13] by Bitzamanos.) This feature derives from fourteenth-century Italian panel paintings, where it usually has the shape of a disk and not a lozenge.⁵⁶ Tracing the origin of this feature, however, we are taken back to the sixth-century throne of the archbishop Maximian



Fig. 16. Detail of fig. 15, the lower part of the icon.



Fig. 17. Icon, *Angelos, St. John the Baptist*, tempera on wood, Malines, Museum Hof van Busleyden (from *Golden Light* [Antwerp, 1988]).

in Ravenna.⁵⁷ This element was also employed by thirteenth-century Crusader painters, as is shown by a triptych at Mount Sinai, depicting St. John on the left wing.⁵⁸ The *Agnus Dei* is the only purely western element in the representation of St. John the Baptist on the right wing of the Walters triptych. All other elements have a strong Late Byzantine character. On the other hand, the depiction of St. John on the Komolac *predella* has a deeply western character, which is further emphasized by the background.

The Walters triptych has brought into conjunction three iconographic themes—St. Jerome, the Virgin and Child, and St. John the Baptist—which are interconnected through the image of Christ included in all of them. This combination exists in a large number of western triptychs and panels.⁵⁹ Furthermore, St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist represent the ideal of eremitic life. They have also been combined in another Cretan triptych of the fifteenth century, now in the Vatican.⁶⁰ A representation of these two saints together with the Crucifixion is also mentioned in a document of 1640 signed in Candia.⁶¹

It is reasonable to ask who might have been the owner of this triptych. The medium itself and the object's size point in the direction of an individual. The inscriptions of the painter's and the saints' names in Latin may indicate a western individual, presumably

a nobleman, as the coat of arms on the outer side of the wings shows. The form of inscription with the painter's name gives ground for further speculation: *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS PINXIT*—without mention of the place of the painter's origin or the place where this triptych was executed, as some Cretan icons do. For example, an icon of the Crucifixion by Andreas Pavius says *ANDREAS PAVIAS PINXIT DE CANDIA*⁶² and others of the Virgin of the Passion by Andreas Ritzos say *ANDREA RICCO DE CANDIA PINXIT*.⁶³ We tend to believe that such icons were meant to be sent outside Crete. Angelos Bitzamanos himself signed an icon he painted in Otranto, Italy with the inscription *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS GRECUS CADIOTUS PINXIT IN OTRANTO*.⁶⁴ Does the simplicity of the inscription's information on the triptych indicate then that it was painted in Candia and it was meant for a Venetian also living in Candia? This hypothesis is supported by the iconographic and stylistic evidence of the triptych. It displays all the qualities and principles evident in Cretan painting of the fifteenth century: a Late-Byzantine character mingled with elements from Italian painting, and a combination of compositions rendered either *alla maniera greca* (St. John the Baptist) or *alla maniera italiana* (the Virgin and Child, St. Jerome). These are the lessons Angelos Bitzamanos might have been taught by Andreas Pavius, in whose workshop he stayed for five years (1482–1487). The icons by Andreas Pavius clearly illustrate the skill and ability of Cretan painters to work in two manners.⁶⁵ This is evident in the work of his pupil Angelos Bitzamanos and especially in the Walters triptych.

An Icon of the Visitation by Angelos Bitzamanos

The icon (fig. 18) measures 22.5 x 17.9 cm. and is in a very good state of preservation. It belonged to the Massarenti collection and was mentioned in the catalogues of 1881 and 1897.⁶⁶ Before that the icon was in the possession of Seroux d'Agincourt.⁶⁷ D'Agincourt included it in the third volume of his monumental work *Histoire de l'art par les monuments depuis sa décadence au IV^e siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVI^e*, which was published in Paris in 1823. He made a very faithful drawing of the icon (fig. 19), in its original size, and suggested a date from the fifteenth to sixteenth century.⁶⁸ The drawing of the icon by d'Agincourt was included in the article of M. Bianco-Fiorin on Angelos and Donato Bitzamanos,⁶⁹ the

Fig. 18. Icon, Angelos Bitzamanos, *The Visitation*, tempera on wood, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.748.



author was unable to trace the location of the icon. In an exhibition catalogue of 1988,⁷⁰ the icon is mentioned as being located in the National Museum of Naples.⁷¹ Only recently, was the icon rediscovered in the storerooms of the Walters Art Gallery.

An inscription on the lower right corner reads: *ANGELUS BIZA/MANUS GRECUS CADIoTUS PINXIT/A OTRANTO*. It is obvious that this is one of the icons Angelos Bitzamanos painted during the years he stayed in Otranto. The icon illustrates the Meeting of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth, the mother of St. John the Baptist, while they were both pregnant (Luke 1:40–56). Elizabeth is on the right, and kneeling before the Virgin, extends her right hand to greet and welcome her. The Virgin stands on the left, opposite Elizabeth. High above her haloed head the abbreviations MHP BV are written. Both women are dressed in rich garments with heavy folds. Behind the Virgin stands Joseph accompanied by two angels. Behind Elizabeth stand three young-looking women in front of an arched structure with a rectangular doorway, flat roof and an oblique frieze with mouldings; this build-

ing presumably indicates Elizabeth's house, where the Meeting took place. A walled city occupies part of the background of the composition, while the rest is covered by high mountains.

This is a completely western composition and has no connection with Late Byzantine or Cretan representations of the theme, where it never existed as an independent scene, but it was part of the Virgin's cycle or the *Akathistos* (*Oikos V*). In these examples the compositional scheme is very simple and includes only the two embracing women; the background consists of a long wall, sometimes interrupted by two rectangular buildings.⁷² On the other hand, the Walters icon is an independent, multifigured composition and the background is rich in architectural details and landscape elements. It is reasonable to suggest that Bitzamanos, during his stay in Otranto, could easily have become aware of current western representations of the Visitation and copied one of them.⁷³ In fact, he appears to have copied a representation of the Visitation, which we managed to locate in Books of Hours (fig. 20) printed in Paris between 1505 and



Fig. 19. Drawing by Seroux d'Agincourt of the icon in fig. 18 (from Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art* [London, 1847], pl. XCIII).

1511 by Thielman Kerver.⁷⁴ We do not know how Angelos Bitzamanos became aware of a woodcut representation either created or presumably just used by this very printer and engraver. It is more reasonable to suppose that this representation of the Visitation, after it was carved on wood, could have been produced in large numbers and circulated throughout Europe. Judging from the style of the woodcut, used by Kerver, its origin must be looked for in northern Europe, possibly in Flemish art. The German origin of Kerver himself points in the same direction. The style of the Bitzamanos' Visitation, however, is more Italianate. The figures are less elongated than in the woodcut and the architectural background, especially the walled city, has lost its North-European, medieval character and taken the appearance of an Italian Renaissance city. Did Bitzamanos himself convert the North-European style of the scene into an Italianate composition, or did he simply copy the work of an unknown Italian artist, who had already borrowed this representation either through Flemish art or through the Kerver Books of Hours and had given to it an Italian style? For as long as the surviving material can-

not support such hypothesis, these questions must remain open. The Walters Visitation is a Cretan icon only in the sense that it was painted by a Cretan painter and it is an icon only because it shows a religious subject; in this case the term panel seems more appropriate.

The case of Angelos Bitzamanos, a Cretan painter who became aware of western painting while still living on Crete and who came into more direct contact with western art after he left the island and went to Italy, is not unique. It is however one of the earliest documented cases. Neither is the fact that he left Crete after having undertaken a commission for an altarpiece in Dalmatia unique, although this too is one of the earliest documented cases.

The example of Angelos Bitzamanos foreshadows the activity of Cretan painters such as Michael Damaskinos (ca. 1535–1592/93) and Domenikos Theotokopoulos (ca. 1541–1614). The former stayed in Venice between 1574 and 1584 and carried out the decoration of the parish church of San Giorgio dei Greci.⁷⁵ The latter left Crete in 1567/68 wishing to explore the full depth of western art, to reach the extremes of a



Fig. 20. *The Visitation*, Book of Hours. Thielman Kerver, Paris, March 31, 1511. Printed Book. London, The British Library, c. 29 g. 9, fol. 90^v.

style of painting he already knew from Crete. His stay in Venice and Rome enriched his artistic vocabulary, but his arrival in Spain was the most decisive step towards his transformation into a western artist, albeit one who would always keep his Greek identity.⁷⁶

University of Crete
Rethymnon, Crete

NOTES

I had the opportunity to study these icons when I was on a Dumbarton Oaks fellowship in the summer of 1989. Dr. Gary Vikan was extremely helpful in putting everything at my disposal during the visits I paid to the Walters Art Gallery. I want to thank Dr. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Director of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, for the photographs in Figures 15 and 16, and Mr. S. Stassinopoulos, conservator of the Benaki Museum, for the photographs in Figures 2, 5, 13, 14, 17.

1. L. Olschki, "Manuscrits très précieux," *La Bibliofilia*, 16 (1914-15), 49-50, pls. III, IV; A. Luttrell, "Federigo da Venezia's Commentary on the Apocalypse: 1393/94," *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 27-28 (1964-65), 57-65, figs. 1, 2; D. I. Pallas, "Hoi Venetokretikes mikrografies Olschki 35398 tou etous 1415," *Pepragmena tou Deltiou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Chania 1966*, A' (Athens, 1967), 362-372 ff., pls. PKA' PKB'; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 70-71, fig. 25; *idem*, "Auftraggeber der spätbyzantinischen Bildhandschrift," *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968 (Venice, 1971), 176, fig. 18; M. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts de l'école crétoise et la question de l'école dite italogrecque," *Mnemosynon S. Antoniadis* (Venice, 1974), 197, pl. 26 (hereafter, Chatzidakis, "Les débuts").

2. A. Xyngopoulos, "Kretika Meletimata. A'. Dyo erga kretikes zografikes eis ten Walters Art Gallery tes Valtimores," *Kretika Chronika*, 10/3 (1956), 323-332, pls. A-AB'.

3. *Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece*, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, etc., 1988-90 (Athens, 1988), no. 70 (M. Vassilaki) (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *Holy Image*).

4. *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 9-12, esp. 11; W.R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), 2.

5. We know of similar cases, such as a twelfth-century icon of the Virgin between the Apostle Peter and the martyr-saint Natalia. For this unusual selection of saints the explanation given was that "La famille du donateur devait en effet compter parmi ses membres un Pierre et une Nathalie." See T. Veilmans, "Rayonnement de l'icone au XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle," *XVe Congrès International d'Études byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III. Art et Archéologie (Athens, 1976), 214. On a pair of fifteenth-century sanctuary doors the Apostle Andrew was included for bearing the same name as its donor, Andreas Limogallos. See C. Baltoyannis, "Parastasse Evangelismou kato apo neoteri epizografisse sto vemothyro E. 737 tou Vyzantinou Mouseiou," *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 17/1-2 (1984), 70 (hereafter, Baltoyannis, "Parastasse").

6. M. Massarelli, *Catalogue d'une collection de tableaux de diverses écoles spécialement des écoles italiennes* (Rome, 1881), no. 4 (hereafter, *Catalogue*, 1881); *idem*, *Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni premier étage Place Rusticucci*, No. 1'8

Près du Vatican. Première partie. Tableaux (Rome, 1897), no. 8 (hereafter, *Catalogue*, 1897). The saint (George) was erroneously identified as St. Michael.

7. For example, in the sanctuary apses of the churches of St. George (ca. 1436-1445) in Apano Symi, Viannou painted by Manuel Phokas, and of Hagioi Pateres (1462/1470) in Apano Floria, Selinou painted by Xenos Digenes. See M. Borboudakis, "Ho naos tou Hagioi Georgiou Apano Symi Viannou," *Pepragmena tou Tritou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Rethymnon 1971*, B' (Athens, 1974), pl. 46; M. Vassilakis-Mavarakakis, "Ho zografos Xenos Digenes kai he ekklesia ton Hagion Pateron sta Apano Floria Selinou tes Kretes," *Pepragmena tou Tetartou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Heraklion 1976*, B' (Athens, 1981), 558-560, pl. 146.

8. A comparable Annunciation is depicted singly in two icons, one in Recklinghausen (*Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Recklinghausen, Ikonen-Museum* [Recklinghausen, 1981], no. 204 pl. 10), and the other in a private collection in Prague (J. Myslivec, *Ikona* [Prague, 1947], pl. 13), and among other scenes in two composite icons, one in the Museum of the Ancient Serbian Church in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia (K. Weitzmann, G. Alibegashvili, A. Volskaya, G. Babić, M. Chatzidakis, M. Alpatov, and T. Voinescu, *The Icon* [New York, 1982], pl. on page 321 [hereafter, Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*]), and the other in the Benaki Museum, Athens (N. Chatzidakis, *Icons of the Cretan School, 15th-16th Centuries*, Benaki Museum, Athens, 1983 [Athens, 1983], no. 18 [exhibition catalogue] (hereafter, Chatzidakis, *Icons*)).

9. This is the Sticherarion, cod. 1234 in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. A colophon gives the name of the scribe, John Plousiadenos, and the year 1469. See K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973), 30-31, fig. 44.

10. They are to be found in Thessaloniki (A. Xyngopoulos, "Vemothyron Kretikes technes eis ten Thessaloniken," *Makeloniika*, 3 [1954], 116-125, pls. 1-3), in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 43-72 esp. 51-60, color plate), in Patmos [M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos: Questions of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Painting* (Athens, 1985)], no. 11 [hereafter, Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*], Naxos (N. Zias, "Vyzantina kai neotera mnemeia nesson Aigaïou," *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 26 (1971), *Chronika*, 483, pl. 500), and one in a private collection in New York (Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 54, fig. 6).

11. It is in a private collection in Athens. The altar, which is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, includes a triptych painted by Silvestros Theocharis (attested 1633-1638). See Chatzidakis, *Icons*, no. 40; *From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek Frescoes and Icons*, exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987 (London, 1987), no. 71 (L. Bouras) (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *From Byzantium*).

12. Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 51, fig. 4. The left wing of the triptych depicting the Annunciation, is in a private collection in New York, while the rest is in the Temple Gallery, London, *Icons: A Sacred Art*, 30th Anniversary Exhibition Catalogue, The Temple Gallery, London (London, 1989), no. 6 (M. Vassilaki) (sale catalogue).

13. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, 157; Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 51.

14. Specifically, mosaic icons in Florence depicting the *Dodekaorton* and in the Victoria and Albert Museum depicting the Annunciation. They are both attributed to the same artist. See V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 368, figs. 489, 492 (hereafter, Lazarev, *Storia*); Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*, pls. on 74, 77.

15. To my knowledge, the Virgin is shown seated in the Annunciation on the right leaf of a sanctuary door in Patmos (Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, no. 38) and in a composite icon with scenes from the life of the Virgin in Cairo (L. A. Hunt, "Note on an Unknown 'Italo-Cretan' Icon in Cairo," *Byzantion*, 58.2 [1988], 394-399, esp. 395-397, figs. 1,4).

16. M. Cattapan, "I pittori Andrea e Nicola Rizo da Candia," *Thessaurismata*, 10 (1973), 238-282 (hereafter, Cattapan, "I pittori"); *idem*, "I pittori Pavia, Rizo, Zafuri da Candia e Papadopulo dalla Canea," *Thessaurismata*, 14 (1977), 219-225.

17. See above, note 8.

18. See above, note 8, and Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, no. 124.

19. T. Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes en Crète et dans les îles après Byzance*, Europalia, Greece, 1982 (Charleroi, 1982), no. 9 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes*).

20. See above, note 10 (the pair of sanctuary doors in Patmos).

21. See above, note 12.

22. For example, both these features occur in the composite icon by Andreas Ritzos in Tokyo (fig. 8). See K. Koshi, "Über eine kretische Ikone des 15. Jahrhunderts von Andreas Ritzos im Nationalmuseum für westliche Kunst in Tokio," *Bulletin annuel du Musée national d'art occidental*, 7 (1973), 37-44, figs. 1, 15, 22.

23. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 169-211; *idem*, "Essai sur l'école dite 'italogrecque' précède d'une note sur les rapports de l'art vénitien avec l'art crétois jusqu'à 1500," *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, 2 (Florence, 1974), 69-124; *idem*, "La peinture des 'madonneri' ou 'véneto-crétoises' et sa destination," *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVII), Aspetti e Problemi*, Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana (1973), 2 (Florence, 1977), 675-690.

24. M. Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Mediaeval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *Art Bulletin*, 47 (1965), 261-265, figs. 1-52; *idem*, "Unsettling Evidence in Some Panel Paintings of Simone Martini," *La pittura nel XIV e XV secolo. Il contributo dell'analisi tecnica alla storia dell'arte*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di storia dell'arte, a cura di H.W. van Os and J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 3 (Bologna, 1982), 211-223, figs. 1-29 (hereafter, *La pittura*); E. Skaug, "Punch Marks. What are they Worth? Problems of Tuscan Workshop Interrelationships in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Ovile Master and Giovanni da Milano," *La pittura*, 253-278, figs. 1-25.

25. Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*, 311, pl. on pp. 322-323; Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 184-185, pl. 14.1; M. Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri, Cretese del Quattrocento, e una sua inedita 'Madonna,'" *Arte Veneta*, 37 (1983), 166, fig. 2 (hereafter, Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri").

26. L. Bouras, "Eikona tou Angelou me ton Hagio Georgi kavalari, dorea tou hidrymatos A.G. Leventis," *Ta Nea ton Filon tou Moussiou Benaki* (Jul.-Sept. 1986), 26-27, fig. 20; P. Vokotopoulos, "Dyo eikones tou zografou Angelou," *Filia Hepe*, 2 (Athens, 1987), 410-414, pls. 66a, b, 69c; M. Vassilaki, "A Cretan Icon of Saint George," *The Burlington Magazine*, 131 (March, 1989), 208-214, figs. 23, 26 (hereafter, Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon").

27. Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon," 213.

28. In the representation of St. George included in the polyptych of San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. See M. Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia* (University Park and London, 1970), 101-102, figs. 96-97.

29. These representations are found in the metal cross of Tchekhari (Ch. Amiranchvili, *L'art des ciseleurs Georgiens* [Gründ./Paris, 1971], fig. 97) and above the entrance door in the church of St. George in Alaverdi (I thank Father Chr. Walter for the information).

30. M. Manoussakas, "He diatheke tou Angelou Akotantou (1436), agnostou kretikou zografou," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*, series 4th, B' (1960-61), 143, 147, 150.

31. Cattapan, "I pittori," 262, no. 19.

32. Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon," 213, figs. 27-29.

33. Chatzidakis, *Icons*, no. 4.

34. See above, note 22.

35. See above, note 8.

36. *Catalogue*, 1881, no. 1; *Catalogue*, 1897, no. 1.

37. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 195, 196; M. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività dei pittori Angelo e Donato Bizamano: precisazioni ed aggiunte," *Bollettino d'Arte*, 27 (1984), 89-94, figs. 1-2, 5-8 (hereafter, Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività"); C. Gelao, "Tra Creta e Venezia. Le icone dal XV al XVIII secolo," *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento*, exhibition at Bari, 1988 (Bari, 1988), 36-38, 141 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, Gelao, "Icone").

38. M. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Thessaurismata*, 9 (1972), no. 17, 221.

39. The document is kept in the State Archives of Dubrovnik. C. Fisković, "Slikar Angelo Bizamano u Dubrovniku," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 11 (1959), 74, note 4 (hereafter, Fisković, "Slikar").

40. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," pl. 26.1; Fisković, "Slikar," figs. 29-34; Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," figs. 1-2; Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*, pl. on page 326.

41. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," 89; Gelao, "Icone," 36, 141.

42. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," 90, fig. 3; Gelao, "Icone," 143, no. 50.

43. The icon in S. Mauro Forte shows the Ecce Homo image of Christ. An inscription on the lower right corner reads: *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS GRECUS CADIOTUS PINXIT I BARLETA*. Gelao, "Icone," no. 47.

44. The establishment of the type in Cretan icon-painting is closely associated with Nikolaos Tzafouris, active during the second half of the fifteenth century. Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri," fig. 1; *From Byzantium*, no. 42.

45. The shape of the cave is identical with that of the cave of Patmos in Cretan representations of St. John the Theologian and Prochoros from the first half of the fifteenth century. Compare, for example, the miniature on folio 3 in the manuscript W.335 of 1415 in the Walters Art Gallery (see above, note 1; Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," pl. 26), and an icon by Angelos at Mount Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *Ikonen aus dem Katharinenkloster auf dem Berge Sinai*, [Berlin, 1980], no. 22, pl. 22).

46. *Affreschi e icone dalla Grecia*, Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, 1986 (Florence, 1986), no. 76 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou) (exhibition catalogue).

47. M. Vassilakis-Mavarakakis, "Western Influences on the Fourteenth-Century Art of Crete," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II/5, Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/5 (1982), 304, fig. 6.

48. An iconographic cycle of St. Jerome is included in the fresco-decoration of the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos (ca. 1320-1330) in Thessaloniki. A. Tsitouridou, *He entoichia zographike tou Hagioi Nikolou ste Thessalonike* (Thessalonike, 1978), 142-144, figs. 70-72 (hereafter, Tsitouridou, *He entoichia*). A single representation of St. Jerome curing the lion's paw is included in the wall-decoration of the monastery-church of Varsamonero (early 15th century). M. Chatzidakis, "Toichografies sten Krete," *Kretika Chronika*, 6 (1952), 73.

49. A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana provenienti dalla biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1928), pl. XIV; M. Vassilaki, "A Cretan Icon in the Ashmolean: the Embrace of Peter and Paul," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 40 (1990).

50. M. Lazović, St. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Les icônes du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Genève* (Geneva, 1985), no.3. The iconography and style of the icon is closely associated with that of Nikolaos Tzafouris.

51. The Byzantine Museum icon is unpublished. I want to thank

Professor N. Chatzidakis and Mrs. C. Baltyannis, Curator of the Byzantine Museum, for providing the information. For the icon in Ravenna, see P. Angiolini-Martirelli, *Le icone della collezione classense di Ravenna* (Bologna, n.d.), no. 161.

52. M. Meiss, "Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome," *Pantheon*, 32 (1974), 134-140; D. Russo, *Saint Jerome in Italy. Étude d'icongraphie et de spiritualité. XIIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris/Rome, 1987), 117-140.

53. See the preceding note, and B. Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen, 1984), 73-88, figs. 35, 37, 39.

54. *Ibid.*, 202, 203, 211, figs. 35-39.

55. There are four icons of St. John the Baptist by Angelos in the Museum of Malines, Belgium, in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, in the Museum of Zante, and in the Hodegetria Monastery in Crete. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Une icône d'Angélos au Musée de Malines et l'iconographie du St. Jean Baptiste aillé," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th series, 48 (1976), 121-143, figs. 1-6; *idem*, "Une icône d'Angélos et l'iconographie du Saint Jean-Baptiste aillé," *Byzantion*, 53/1 (1983), 7, 8; *Golden Light: Masterpieces of the Art of the Icon*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone kunsten, Antwerp, 1988 (Antwerp, 1988), no. 119 (exhibition catalogue); Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes*, no. 2; Chatzidakis, *Icons*, no. 2.

56. For example in a triptych of 1345-55 by Tomaso da Modena in Modena (L. Coletti, *Tomaso da Modena* [Venice, 1963], fig. 98), in a polyptych by Paolo Veneziano in the Art Institute of Chicago (R. Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del trecento* [Venice-Rome, 1964], fig. 171) and in another polyptych by Lorenzo Veneziano in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (*ibid.*, fig. 499).

57. For a brief reference, see I. Hutter, *The Universal History of Art and Architecture: Early Christian and Byzantine* (New York, 1971), fig. 87.

58. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), 344, fig. 44. The triptych formerly attributed to "The Master of the Knights Templars" has now been ascribed to a "South Italian Painter."

59. In a triptych by Simone dei Crocifissi (1355-99) in the study collection of the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. (F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XIII-XV century* [London, 1966], K1201, 72, fig. 195 [hereafter, Shapley, *Kress Collection*]), and another by Sano di Pietro (1408-81) in the Metropolitan Museum (F. Zeri and E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Siense and Central Italian Schools* [New York, 1980], pl. 54), in the Placidia altarpiece by Matteo di Giovanni (1452-95) in Siena (K. Christiansen, L. B. Kanter and C. Brandon Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena: 1420-1500*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988 [New York, 1988], fig. 1 on 274, [exhibition catalogue]), in panels by Girolamo dai Libri in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona (L. Coletti, *Pittura veneta del Quattrocento* [Novara, 1953], pl. 111, [hereafter, Coletti, *Pittura veneta*]), by Sano di Pietro in the Lowe Art Gallery of the University of Miami (Shapley, *Kress Collection*, fig. 391), and by Giambattista Cima in the National Gallery of Washington (Coletti, *Pittura veneta*, pl. 175).

60. See above, note 49.

61. "Una imagine de Crocifisso, piccolo, con san Zuane et san Gerolamo, con la sua cornegion, vecchio, per lire otto." M. Konstandoudaki, "Martyries zografikon ergon sto Handaka se eggrafta tou 16ou kai 17ou aiona," *Thesaurismata*, 12 (1975), 46.

62. Chatzidakis, *Icons*, no. 20.

63. The icons in the Museum Bandini, Fiesole, in the Parma Art Gallery and in Ston, Dalmatia. Cattapan, "I pittori," nos. 1-3, pls. A, B1.

64. This is the icon presented below.

65. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 197-211.

66. *Catalogue*, 1881, no. 2; *Catalogue*, 1897, no. 2.

67. Jean Baptiste Louis George Seroux d'Agincourt (1730-1814), initially an army officer, spent the last thirty-six years of his life (1778-1814) in Italy travelling around and exploring the remains of archaeological sites and works of art. He settled in Rome and worked on the preparation of his monumental work *Histoire de l'art* . . . which he started publishing in Paris in 1808, but left unfinished. This work was carried on by M. Gence and was completed in 1823. For a quick reference see *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v., "Seroux d'Agincourt;" Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 14/1 (Paris, 1982), 606. See also the *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti pubblicata sotto l'alto patronato di S.M. Il Re d'Italia*, 31 (Rome, 1936-1939), 445. For an evaluation of Seroux d'Agincourt's work see H. Loyrette, "Seroux d'Agincourt et les origines de l'histoire de l'art médiéval" *Revue de l'art*, 48 (1980), 40-56.

68. D'Agincourt, *Histoire*, vol. 3, 115, pl. XCIII.

69. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," fig. 8.

70. Gelao, "Icone," 141.

71. Trying to verify the location of the icon, mentioned in the catalogue, I wrote to the Director of the National Museum of Naples, Prof. N. Spinosa. The answer I received on the 20th December, 1990 says that "l'icona della Visitazione firmata da Angelo Bizamano non risulta né appartenere né essere appartenuta alle collezioni del Museo Nazionale."

72. I cite some representations of the Visitation in Palaeologan churches, such as St. Nicholas Orphanos (ca. 1320-1330) in Thessaloniki (Tsitouridou, *He entoichia*, 108, fig. 53), the Virgin's Church at Peć (ca. 1330), Yugoslavia (M. Ivanović, *The Virgin's Church in the Patriarchate of Peć* [Beograd, 1972], fig. 36), and in the fourteenth-century Cretan churches of St. Anne at Anisaraki, and of the Virgin at Lambini and Thronos (K. Kalokyris, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* [New York, 1973], 157). *Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst*, 2 (Stuttgart, 1971), cols. 1093-1099 (K. Wessel).

73. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien. Iconographie de la Bible*, 2/II (Paris, 1957), 195-210, esp. 199-204; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2 (Rome-Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1970), cols. 229-235 (M. Lechner); G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1 (London, 1971), 55-56. Schiller argues that the Visitation became an independent scene in western art from the fifteenth century onwards, after it was introduced in the Roman Catholic Church calendar as a Feast from 1389 onwards.

74. Thielman Kerver was born in Koblenz, Germany and was active in Paris between 1497-1522. Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1965), 223-225. His printed Books of Hours date from 1497 to 1522. I was able to carry out my research in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where I managed to find a complete series of Kerver's Books of Hours. For a list of these printed Books of Hours I consulted the *Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in France and of French Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Library*. Supplement (The British Library, 1986), 180-181; *Livres d'Heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris*, Catalogue par P. Lacombe (Paris, 1907), 79-129; *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*, par Br. Moreau, 1. 1501-1510 (Paris, 1972), *passim*, 2. 1511-1520 (Paris, 1977), 82-85. It was only in the editions of 1505-1511 that Th. Kerver introduced this iconographic variation for the Visitation.

75. M. Chatzidakis, *Hellenes zographoi meta ten Halose (1450-1830)* (Athens, 1987), 241-254; *idem*, *Ikônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Venice, 1964), 51-73.

76. J. Brown, "El Greco, the Man and the Myths," *El Greco of Toledo*. Exhibition Catalogue (The Toledo Museum of Art, 1982), 15-33; see also *El Greco of Crete*, exhibition catalogue edited by N. Hadjinicolaou (Heraclion, 1990), *passim*. It is interesting to note that in his painting of the Visitation, which he executed between 1607-1613, El Greco adopted the simple Byzantine formula of the two embracing women. The painting is in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C. *El Greco of Toledo*, no. 52, pl. 65.

Photographs: Figs. 1, 9-12, 18, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; figs. 2, 5, 13, 14, 17, S. Stassinopoulos, Benaki Museum, Athens; figs. 15, 16, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Byzantine Museum, Athens.