

Byzantium Revisited:

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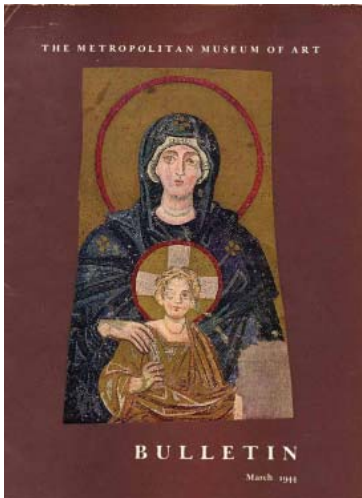


figure 1

In March 1944, “The Metropolitan Museum Bulletin” had a royal purple cover showing in color the plaster cast of one of the most important images of the Virgin and Child in the Byzantine world, that of the apse of Hagia Sophia. The church, the great monument of Byzantine Constantinople and contemporary Istanbul, was built in the sixth century by the Emperor Justinian after the Nike riots of 532 had destroyed the earlier church dedicated to Holy Wisdom on the site. His Empire, that we call Byzantium, had been established with the transfer of the imperial capital of the Roman Empire from Rome in Italy to the New Rome of Constantinople in 330 A.D. Under his reign its territories once again stretched around the Mediterranean, evoking the imperial territories of ancient Rome. In ordering the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia, Justinian sought to create a power-



figure 2

ful symbol of his power and that of the religion of the state. Designed by the leading mathematician/architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, the vast dome rose more than 100 feet into the air. Procopius, Justinian's contemporary, was so overwhelmed at the sight that he wrote that the dome appeared "as though suspended from heaven by a golden chain."¹

The impact of the building, the seat of the patriarch of the Orthodox Church, did not diminish over time. In 988, the envoys sent by Vladimir, ruler of Rus' to Constantinople, would report that he and his people should become Christians in the Orthodox tradition because "they did not know if they were in heaven or on earth" when they attended services at Hagia Sophia.²

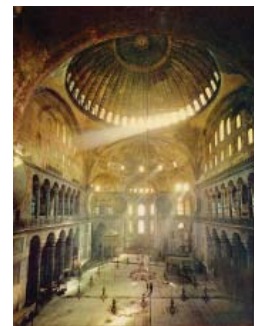


figure 3

In the 12th century, Abbot Suger who built St. Denis, the burial church of the kings of France and one of the wellsprings of French Gothic art, would ask to be reassured by returning Crusaders that the liturgical objects of St. Denis were as grand as those of Hagia Sophia.³ And between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, Byzantine emperors would frequently add monumental mosaics to the interior, the mosaics that I am going to discuss today.

Located at the heart of Constantinople by the Senate and the Imperial Palace, Hagia Sophia was one of the great monuments of Christianity for more than nine hundred years. When the city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the church was made a mosque, as the four minarets

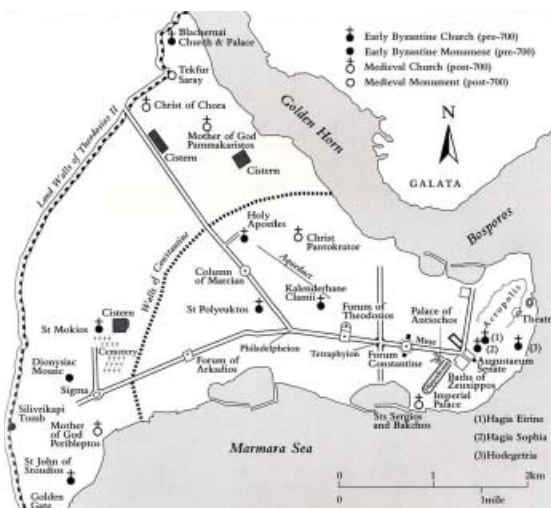


figure 4



figure 5

that flank it today show. Over the centuries that followed, the imperial and religious images worked in mosaic that had decorated the great church during its Christian era were slowly covered with plaster and painted decorations. Thomas Whittemore, Director of the Byzantine Institute, would tell the Metropolitan Museum in 1943 that “Nobody knows exactly when the figures of the mosaics were covered. Evliya Effendi in the 17th century made some drawings of mosaics he saw and Cornelius Loos did some too in 1710. Uniform covering of everything was done between 1847-1849.”⁴

The nineteenth century project was under the direction of the Fossati brothers, Italians who, in restoring Hagia Sophia at the request of the Ottoman ruler, H. M. Sultan Abdul Medjid, recorded the location and description of many of the mosaics before replastering over them.⁵ The view across the narthex of the church to the nave shows an image of Christ and a kneeling emperor over the doorway as you see it today. On the right is the same panel as it was restored and covered by the Fossati with a geometric pattern based on sixth century motifs in the building.

The fate of the mosaics of the great church was changed by the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in the twentieth century. The result of that transformation was displayed at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1944 in an exhibition titled, “Art under the Republic of Turkey.” Curated by William H. Forsyth of the Museum’s Medieval Department, the exhibition traced the transformation of the mosaics from hidden images to gloriously visible masterpieces of art. The Museum’s News Release stated that the reason the works were allowed to be uncovered was that

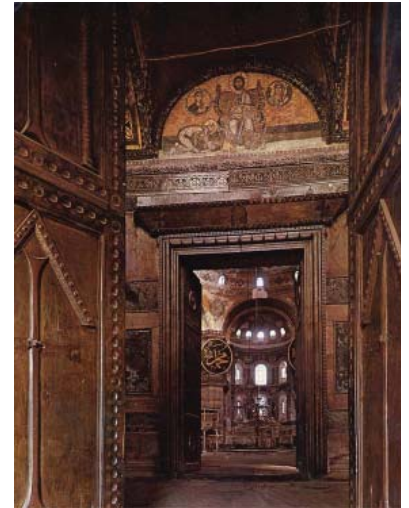


figure 6



figure 7

“In the interest of art, the Turkish government allowed the experts of the Byzantine Institute, an international body of scholars, to uncover the ancient mosaics, and the work was begun in 1931 and continued to 1938. Hagia Sophia was declared a museum by the Turkish government, in order to allow the work to proceed.”⁶ The introductory label to the exhibition added “In 1934, eleven years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the building was secularized. It was opened as a museum in 1935.”⁷ The monument remains a museum today.

The plans for the exhibition were briefly outlined in a letter of October 4, 1943, from Forsyth, to Professor Charles R. Morey of Princeton University. In the letter, Forsyth says “only the mosaics from Hagia Sophia are being exhibited, together with tracings of other mosaics and a hundred odd photos of the Byzantine Institute showing the progress of cleaning and reconditioning the mosaic walls. Mr. Whittemore has insisted, rightly I think, that we confine ourselves to Hagia Sophia.”⁸ Notes of a meeting between Mr. Henry Francis Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum, and Mr. Whittemore on June 3, 1943, say the “show [is] to cover only work done by Americans in Constantinople.”⁹

While the exhibition would be the first time that the mosaics were widely presented to the public, the work of the Byzantine Institute had been noted in various publications in the 1930’s. A letter in the Museum’s files of April 13, 1944, from the Secretary of the Byzantine Institute, Seth T. Gano, provides a list of all the newspapers and journals that he knew that had reported on the “uncovering and conserving of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul under the direction of Thomas Whittemore” between 1931 and 1938. Included were articles for newspapers and magazines in Istanbul, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., London, Boston, Berlin, Paris, Prague and even Gibraltar.¹⁰ While there was no press coverage listed after that date, a letter of October 2, 1943, states that “the work [is proceeding] even through the war.”¹¹

The Museum’s exhibition “Art in the Republic of Turkey” opened on February 29th, 1944, with a section devoted to

The Museum's exhibition "Art in the Republic of Turkey" opened on February 29th, 1944, with a section devoted to - "Decorative Arts of the Islamic Era" that consisted of works from the Museum's collections and "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia" - "Casts and tracings of the mosaics of the Imperial Byzantine church at Istanbul which have recently been uncovered by the Byzantine Institute of America with the co-operation of the Turkish Government."¹² The mosaics were so popular that the exhibition was kept open for nearly a year, not closing until January 1, 1945.¹³ The exhibition survives today in photographs of the installation, records of the press comments, and some objects and labels from the exhibition, all in the collections of the Medieval Department of the Metropolitan Museum.

Having rediscovered the forgotten files in 1987, I made a mini exhibition of some of the surviving labels and photographs in my office when I became an assistant curator in the Medieval Department in 1991.¹⁴ As they are an important record of how recently we have had access to the spectacular mosaic works of Byzantine art that were created between the ninth and thirteenth centuries at Hagia Sophia, I want in this talk to evoke something of the excitement the exhibition generated in 1944. The copies and photographs on view then revealed almost mythic images, known of but not seen for decades and thought to be hidden from the world forever. With their emergence through the Museum's exhibition and the scholarly studies related to them, the images would come to be widely known and often illustrated in modern books on Byzantium. Yet it was little more than sixty years ago that the originals became available for study.



figure 8



figure 9



figure 10



figure 11

In the exhibition, black and white photographs assisted the visitor. Exterior and interior views of the church provided an identification of the site and the location of the mosaics. The great bulk of Hagia Sophia was shown through an aerial view where the domes of the gigantic complex dominate the upper left corner of the image. A view from the street showed the church in 1944 still looming over its neighboring buildings in much the way that it must have done in the sixth century. An interior view of the nave and apse gave a sense of the scale of the building while another photograph of the side aisle captured the spatial ambiguity and mystery of the interior.



figure 12



figure 13



figure 14



figure 15

The exhibition photographs also offered insight into the process and difficulty of the restoration. Scaffolding was shown being erected in the eastern apse where the Byzantine Institute staff appear as tiny figures in comparison to the three tiers of scaffolding. The completed scaffolding was shown - eight stories tall with the restoration work being done behind the canvas at the top. Byzantine Institute "technical assistants", as they are called on the label on the back of the photograph, were shown applying a grid to the Fossati decorative patterns in preparation for uncovering the mosaics of the dome. In a later stage of restoration, the numbers of the grid were clearly visible as a body of

men worked carefully revealing each tessera of the mosaic. The exhibition label describing the cleaning of the mosaics recognized the contribution of the Fossati in discovering the mosaics and then covering them with a softer plaster that was used as an aid in rediscovering the works. The label stressed: “No restorations were made. The sole purpose of the work, as defined by Whittemore, was to uncover and to conserve the mosaics that were still in existence, not to reconstruct what had been lost.”¹⁵

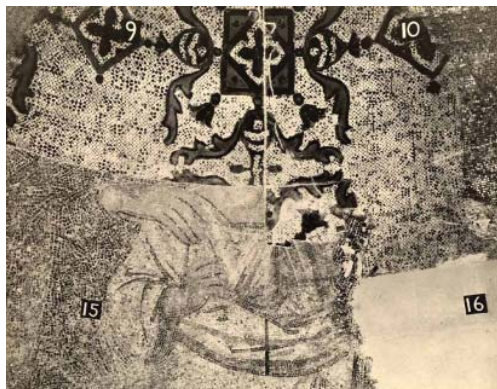


figure 16

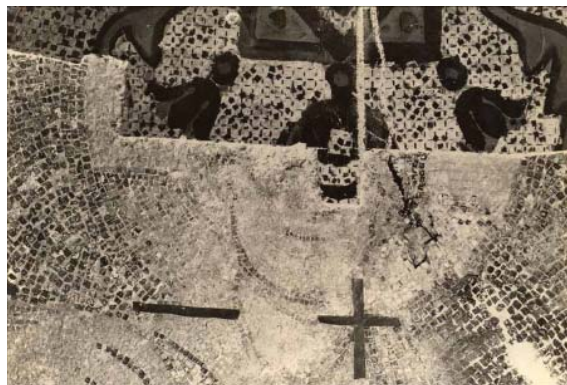


figure 17



figure 18



figure 19

carving of the base of the apse visible, a photograph probably taken as the scaffolding was being removed. The Mother of God and Christ Child in the apse and the Archangel Gabriel to the right side of the apse were also shown as they were revealed after the scaffolding was removed.

The excitement of revealing the figures that had been little more than legends for centuries is caught in photographs that show both the Fossati decorated plaster and the emerging, still uncleaned details of the figure of the Mother of God and Child in the apse. As the face of Christ appeared so did cracks and losses to the tesserae on the right of his halo. The exhibition documented the image of the Mother of God and Christ Child before it was conserved. The crack by the face of the Christ Child in fact extended the length of the figure with other losses numbered on the figure and to the sides. The conserved image was documented as it appeared in the apse with the lacelike stone



figure 20



figure 21

The importance of revealing these works was fully understood by the Byzantine Institute. The exhibition photography displayed the process by which tracings and plaster casts of the images were made after restoration. Mr. George Holt of Bennington College was hired to develop a method by which the casts could be made. Interest in his efforts was such that various newspaper articles appeared on the topic.¹⁶ One photograph showed him working on the preparation for the cast of the Mother of God with the Christ Child as Mr. Whittemore in the bowler hat watched.¹⁷ Holt's process was considered so innovative that he would publish his method for reproducing tesserae.¹⁸

The complete traced copy of the Mother of God and Christ Child from the apse and the detailed plaster casts of the heads of the Mother of God and Christ Child and the Archangel Gabriel were displayed in New York. The exhibition label for the image identified the mosaic as laid “after 842” and said “Mary, the Mother of God, was the protectress of the Great Church of

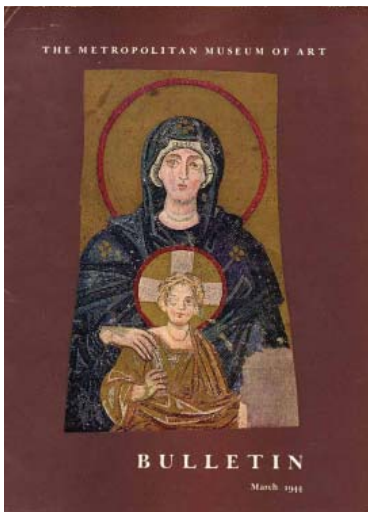


figure 22

Hagia Sophia ...and Constantinople. She is said to have appeared at a critical time in a siege in the seventh century and in gratitude for deliverance the city afterwards held her in especial reverence. Set within the golden shell of the apse about a hundred feet above the worshipper, this figure must have looked like a heavenly vision.”¹⁹ Whittemore was specific in his discussions with the Museum that the term Mother of God, not Virgin, should be used in the labels for these works.²⁰ The enthusiastic reception of the plaster cast of the Mother of God and Christ Child is shown by the fact that it was selected as the cover of the Museum’s Bulletin of March 1944, which functioned as a catalogue of the exhibition.²¹

Having the actual angle of each tessera recorded and being able to recognize how that resulted in the effect of the mosaic on the viewer was important to Whittemore. Notes in the Museum’s files of September 27th and 28th, 1943, describe the color and setting of tesserae used to make the mosaics: “The golden tessellae are set at an angle, the angle of setting of cubes has the purpose to construct color, while a flat surface only reflects light. The angling relation to the light is important and the angle is determined by the direction of the light and therefore is individual for each location. The angling has been used only on flat surfaces, as curved surfaces did not need angling. The tessellae are mostly glass, but a few are stone. All flesh tints, such as faces and hands, are Algerian marble.”²² Elsewhere those notes read: “Some figures are located in the church about 40 meters (about 125’) above pavement, such as Mother of God and Arch. Gabriel in the Apse In the mosaics there is no vanishing-point perspective used; thus the integrity of the wall is preserved (contrary to what happens in the frescoes of the Renaissance). For these Byzantine representations the focal point is in you, and the picture is coming toward you, not from you and going away.”²³ In the exhibition, there would also be a label on the tesserae stating: “Paul the Silentiary, a Byzantine Court officer of the sixth century [describing] the gold mosaics of Hagia Sophia [said that]: “Now the vaulting is formed of many a little square of gold cemented together. And the golden stream of glittering rays pours down and strikes the eyes of men, so that they can scarcely bear to look.”²⁴



figure 23



figure 24



figure 25



figure 26



figure 27

The Byzantine Institute successfully uncovered other mosaics visible from the nave of the church – the surviving archangel to the side of the apse and images of saints along the lateral walls beneath the windows. A photograph showed the scaffolding, stools and chairs used by the men working on the Archangel Gabriel.²⁵ Another image showed the wooden braces supporting the conservation of a “spongy area (outlined in the photograph) “after cramps were inserted to push [the] mosaic against the wall.”²⁶

As the work neared completion the commanding standing figure was seen through the scaffolding, and at a distance with the scaffolding removed. The restoration of the archangel remains vibrantly visible today high above the viewer’s head. A label regarding the image in the exhibition repeated the legend that “such a flaming

figure appeared to a boy during the construction of the church [Hagia Sophia]. The boy was guarding the workmen's tools when the angel appeared and ordered him to find the workmen, who had stopped for lunch, and to bring them back to their labors immediately. The heavenly visitor swore 'by the Holy Wisdom whose temple is now being built' that he would stand guard until the boy's return. The emperor, overjoyed at this sign of divine favor, at once decided to call the temple Hagia Sophia and to forbid the boy's going back, so that the angel, true to his promise, would guard the church forever."²⁷ In the exhibition, close-up details of the elaborate sixth century carving and marble inlays beneath the image were also shown, amazing testimony to the elaborate carved and inlaid veiling that obscured the massive structure of the church.



figure 28

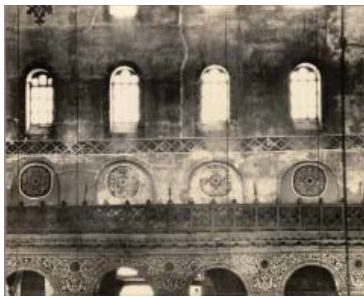


figure 29



figure 30



figure 31

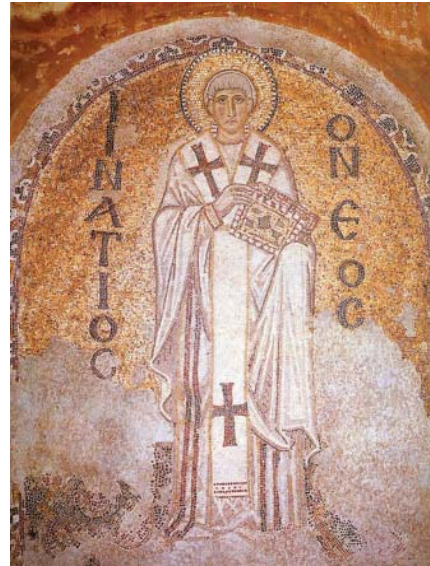


figure 32

The lunettes beneath the windows on the north side of the nave had been filled by the Fossati with huge variations on the intricate sixth century decorations of the church. Hanging suspended over the nave at a great height, the Byzantine Institute staff began to uncover the mosaic images

under the Fossati's decorations. The tools used were documented as well as the emerging figures of two saints – John Chrysostom and Ignatius of Antioch. The commanding figures of the lunettes on their vivid gold grounds are still visible today, as seen in this image of St. Ignatius the Younger.



figure 33



figure 34

The south gallery of the church is thought to be where the ladies of the imperial court set during church services. There the Byzantine Institute exposed monumental imperial portraits that had been installed in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Unlike the mosaics of the apse and nave, which were located far above those standing in the church, these mosaics were immediately beside anyone in the gallery and thus the monumental images towered over the viewer. A photograph showed the youthful early twelfth century ruler Alexios Komnenos as the plaster covering his figure was removed. A detail of the workmen's scaffolding showed the image of Alexios and beside him on the long wall, his parents, the emperor John II Komnenos and his empress Irene

offering gifts to an image of the Mother of God and the Christ Child. The exhibition showed colored copies of the



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photograph showed three heads emerging from layers of plaster and faux marble. They were revealed to be Emperor Constantine XI Monomachos and his Empress Zoe, who reigned in the eleventh century, offering gifts to an enthroned image of Christ. As before the process of copying the work was also on display through photographs. The head of Constantine was shown hanging on the far wall of the church's vast gallery as work went on another copy. Coats hanging near the head showed mundane details of the process of restoration that occupied most of the 1930's. The careful study of the mosaics that occurred, as they were uncovered, was revealed in the exhibition label. Reworking of details of the mosaic was recognized and the original form of the mosaic identified: "the head and name in the inscription have been changed, and it is likely that the figure originally represented Romanos III, the first husband of Zoe."²⁹ This mosaic so impressed the exhibition's reviewers in 1994 that details of the faces of Constantine, Zoe and Christ were shown in *The New York Times* immediately after the opening of the exhibition on Sunday, March 5, 1944.³⁰



figure 40



figure 41



figure 42



43

mosaics that revealed that the empress had red hair. The exhibition label identified her as "a Hungarian princess, daughter of Saint Ladislav, King of Hungary," certainly the explanation for her hair, and urged the viewer to note that "Many of the tesserae from the face of the Emperor have fallen out revealing the color washes on the plaster beneath which were used as a pattern for the mosaicists to follow."²⁸

Another imperial couple was uncovered on the same eastern wall across the window from the Komnenian royal family. One



figure 36



figure 37



figure 38



figure 39

One monument to the 1944 exhibition remains on display at the Metropolitan Museum today, a full size copy of a mosaic, also from the gallery of Hagia Sophia, of the Deesis. As the face of Christ, the Mother of God, and John the Forerunner, the Baptist, emerged from the plaster, cracks were revealed as well as extensive losses. The photographs documented the process with each stage revealing more and more of the beauty of the almost painterly images. The conserved image was part of the photographic documentation of the work. Portions of Christ's throne and the lower body of John the Baptist revealed that the figures were originally full-length images. Seen in the gallery of Hagia Sophia today the figures remain as overwhelmingly beautiful as the copy appeared in 1944.

After the image was conserved, Mr. Alwyn A. Green, painted a detailed copy of each of the figures, which could be joined to recreate the whole. The exhibition label for the photography identified him by name and stated "Three processes were

used to make the reproduction. First, a tracing in black and white was made from the original. Next, blueprints, mounted on canvas, were struck off. And finally the blueprints were painted, tessera by tessera, in the presence of the original.”³¹ The Metropolitan Museum acquired the copy of the Deesis, whose reproduction had been approved by the Turkish Government.³²



figure 44

Mr. Green’s copy of the Deesis now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum in the Medieval Sculpture Gallery. Shown here in a recent photograph, the rolls of his paintings that were joined to form the life size image are clearly visible. The excitement aroused by this colored copy of the original can be grasped through the Museum’s News Release for the show, which stated that “Charles R. Morey, Marquand Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University and a member of the Byzantine Institute, says of this panel: “The Deesis is the most important

item in the corpus of Byzantine art that this writer can think of.”³³ The exhibition label went so far as to identify the head of Christ as “the model for many other figures of Christ in Greece, Sicily, and, later, Russia. This bearded type was the source of inspiration for our modern conception of the Savior. Russian art took over from Byzantine art not only this representation of Christ but also the representation of the Deesis. ... The Western representation of the Last Judgment is also dependent upon the Deesis.”³⁴ Debates over the dating of the mosaic swirled through much of the second half of the twentieth century. While attributed to the eleventh century in the Museum’s 1944 exhibition, it is currently attributed to the restoration of Byzantine power in Constantinople in the thirteenth century after the end of the Latin Occupation of the city.³⁵

Two other monumental imperial mosaics completed the exhibition. One was in the narthex of the great church, in the lunette over the monumental central door into the nave. There the Byzantine Institute uncovered an imperial portrait partially obscured by the Fossati’s plaster and painted motifs. A photograph showed the work proceeding on the project on enclosed scaffolding erected over the door in the narthex. The revealed image displayed an enthroned Christ holding a text carefully identified on the exhibition label as reading “Peace be with you, I am the Light of the World.”³⁶



figure 46

The medallions to each side present the Mother of God and an archangel, whom the exhibition label identified as “life-long protectors of the Emperor Leo VI, called the Wise (886-912), who is probably here represented at Christ’s feet.” Even in 1944 the identification was uncertain, as the exhibition label was titled “Christ Adored by an Emperor.”³⁷ Today, sixty years after the tracing was displayed in New



figure 45

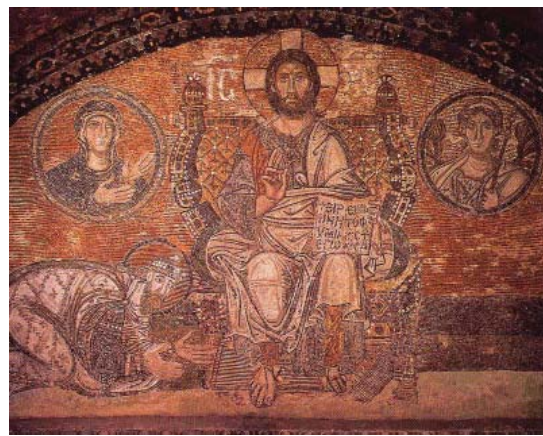


figure 47

York, the emperor's identity remains debated.³⁸



figure 48

was first seen in New York in a half page reproduction in *The New York Times* in 1935 with a caption stating, "The art of Byzantium reappears after five centuries: one of the mosaics of St. Sophia, in Istanbul. Recently uncovered by Thomas Whittemore, Director of the Byzantine Institute, by Authority of the Turkish Government. The Mosaic represents the Emperor Justinian (left) offering the Church and the Emperor Constantine (right) offering the City of Constantinople to the Mother of God and Her Son."³⁹ On the exhibition label the mosaic was dated to the ninth century and described as symbolizing "The close relationship between Church and State in the Byzantine empire."⁴⁰

In presenting so many of the images from the Museum's 1944 exhibition, I have attempted to recreate some of the excitement felt then as these immense works emerged vibrantly powerful after centuries of obscurity. The mood of a world still at war was evoked in the brochure for the exhibition that concluded "If there comes a time when violence destroys the Church of Holy Wisdom in Istanbul, they [the mosaic copies] may remain the only semblance on earth of one of the great arts of Byzantium."⁴¹ In the American Russian press, Vera Ostia, a member of the Muse-



figure 49

um's staff, wrote how important it was for Russians that there had been a "resurrection" of the mosaics adorning "Tsargrad," their name for Constantinople.⁴² Press coverage of the exhibition reflected the excitement generated by seeing the images as seen in articles in *The New York Times*, *The New York World Telegram*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, and *The National Herald*.⁴³ Professor Charles Rufus Morey would review the exhibition saying that the works "equal[s] in relative importance the Elgin marbles from the Parthenon."⁴⁴ Several writers, as in *The National Herald*, believed that Byzantine mosaics would influence modern art.⁴⁵ The artist Fernand Léger wrote about the mosaics that "Everything that preceded the Italian Renaissance is infinitely interesting to us modern artists because of its nearness to our conception of an art form which invents, and not merely copies."⁴⁶ And the scholarly community began its debates about the works. In the Museum's *Bulletin* of March 1944, Professor Charles Rufus Morey offered his datings of "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia."⁴⁷ Thomas Whittemore offered his rebuttals in the Summer 1946 issue of the *Bulletin*. And as I have mentioned tonight, questions of identification and dating continue today.

Constantine founded Constantinople. Justinian built the domed Hagia Sophia. Subsequent emperors between the ninth and thirteenth centuries embellished the great church with magnificent, monumental mosaics. But it would not be until the twentieth century that these masterpieces appeared again through the generosity of the Turkish Republic and the efforts of the Byzantine Institute. And it would be The Metropolitan Museum of Art that presented the works to the larger world in 1944. The public and scholarly interest that resulted in the twentieth century has rightly restored these works to a place of preeminence in the history of Byzantine art.

Thank you!

copyright Dr. Helen C. Evans
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List of figures and their sources

1. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. II, no. 7, March, 1944.
2. Image courtesy of Robert C. Evans, Jr.
3. Image courtesy of Dr. Sarah Brooks, after Jannic Durand, *Byzantine Art*, eng. ed., 1999, p. 22.
4. Map from Thomas F. Mathews, *Byzantium from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, New York, 1988, p.19, fig. 8.
5. Image courtesy of Robert C. Evans, Jr.
6. Images courtesy of Dr. Sarah Brooks, after Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., 1998, p.fig. 4, p. 5.
7. All images listed as exhibition photographs are from the original photographs mounted for display in the Museum's 1944 exhibition "Art under the Turkish Republic" or from the Museum's installation photographs of the exhibition.
8. Aerial view of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
9. Exterior of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
10. Interior Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
11. Ambulatory of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
12. Scaffolding going up in eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
13. Scaffolding completed in eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
14. Men gridding the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
15. Uncovering the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
16. Mother of God and Christ Child emerging in the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
17. Head of infant Christ in the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
18. Mother of God and Christ Child in the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
19. Mother of God and Christ Child in the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
20. Full view the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
21. Whittemore and Holt making cast of the Mother of God and Christ Child in the eastern apse of Hagia Sophia, exhibition photograph
22. Cover March 1944, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
23. Men working on preparing the tracing of the archangel, exhibition photograph
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26. Archangel Gabriel after scaffolding removed, exhibition photograph
27. Image courtesy of Dr. Sarah Brooks, after Jannic Durand, *Byzantine Art*, eng. ed., 1999, p. 22 and John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London, 1997, fig. 100, p.178.
28. Sculptural decoration at base of Archangel Gabriel, exhibition photograph
29. Lunettes under windows on north side with Fossati plaster and decoration, exhibition photograph
30. Interior of hanging scaffolding with cleaning tools and emerging saints, exhibition photograph
31. Hanging scaffolding for work on the lunettes by the Byzantine Institute, exhibition photograph
32. Image courtesy of Dr. Sarah Brooks, after Jannic Durand, *Byzantine Art*, eng. ed., 1999, p. 22, and Thomas F. Mathews, *Byzantium from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, New York, 1988, p. 58, fig. 38.
33. Emerging bust of Alexios Komnenos, exhibition photograph
34. Workmen's scaffolding with Alexios and parents, emperor John II Komnenos and Irene, exhibition photograph
35. Imperial Komnenian portraits restored, exhibition photograph
36. Eastern wall of gallery with imperial portraits, exhibition photograph
37. Emperor Constantine XI Monomachos and empress Zoe emerging from the plaster, exhibition photograph
38. Emperor Constantine XI Monomachos and his Empress Zoe offering gifts to Christ, exhibition photograph
39. Working on copies of the gallery images, exhibition photograph
40. Exhibition gallery with archangel and Deesis, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1944
41. Deesis mosaic in process of being uncovered, exhibition photograph

42. Deesis mosaic partially revealed, exhibition photograph)
43. In situ photograph of the Deesis, image courtesy of Robert C. Evans, Jr.
44. Deesis in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, courtesy of Thomas C. Vinton, Principal Technician, The Medieval Department, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York City, New York, February, 2006.
45. Fossati decoration of lunette. Image after Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., 1998, p. 5, fig. 4.
46. Scaffolding in narthex, exhibition photograph
47. Image of kneeling emperor and enthroned Christ in the lunette, John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London, 1997, p. 191, fig. 105.
48. Constantine and Justinian mosaic conserved, exhibition photograph, description from text on the back of the exhibition photograph, on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.
49. Constantine and Justinian lunette mosaic, color, Image courtesy of Robert C. Evans, Jr.

Notes

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¹ Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, 1972, pp. 72-78; Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, Milan, 1978, pp. 59-69 for general information on the monuments and the quote; the quote by Procopius was also on the label about "The Nave of Hagia Sophia" in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, "Art under the Turkish Republic,"* held February 28, 1944 – January 1, 1945. Label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

² Olenka Z. Pevny, "Kievan Rus'," *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1997, p.282.

³ "I used to converse with travelers from Jerusalem and, to my great delight, to learn from those to whom the treasures of Constantinople and the ornaments of Hagia Sophia had been accessible whether the things here could claim some value in comparison with those there, Suger, "De administratione [XXII]," in Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, Princeton, 1979 reprint, pp. 64-65.

⁴ From "Notes taken on October 2nd, 1943, (Mr. Whittemore Present)" in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York, to discuss the rules for many of the labels for the Museum's exhibition on the Byzantine Institute's work at Hagia Sophia and to provide information on the history of the mosaics after the Ottoman conquest. On the back of one exhibition photograph there is a note that the Mother of God image in the apse was "described by Grelot in 1680 (*Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*, Paris), pp. 148, 152."

⁵ For a study of the materials of the Fossati and Byzantine Institute restorations of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia in the files of Dumbarton Oaks, see Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., 1998. The Byzantine Institute's files are at Dumbarton Oaks.

⁶ "Byzantine Mosaics and Turkish Art in Two Exhibitions at Metropolitan Museum," News Release, February 28, 1944, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

⁷ Text from exhibition label "The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia" on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York City.

⁸ From a letter in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York that requests Professor Morey to write for the Museum Bulletin that would serve as a catalogue of the exhibi-

tion.

⁹ Notes of the meeting in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York City, New York.

¹⁰ Letter in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

¹¹ From “Notes taken on October 2nd, 1943, (Mr. Whittemore Present)” in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

¹² Invitation in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York showing that the exhibition opened with a reception held on February 29th, 1944, at nine in the evening sponsored by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Municipal Art Society of New York, and The Byzantine Institute.

¹³ From a letter of September 14, 1944, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

¹⁴ The rediscovery of the files was assisted by Martin Fleischer, Principal Technician of the Medieval Department in 1987, when I spent a year there as the research assistant for the Early Christian and Byzantine collections. Brief references to the exhibition based in part on access to the Museum’s files have been included in two recent publications: Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., 1998, pp. 59-60 and Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950: holy wisdom modern monument*, Chicago, 2004, pp. 182-184.

¹⁵ Text from exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York

¹⁶ *The National Herald* on Sunday, April 2, 1944, in its article “Mosaics from Aghia Sophia Adorn the Walls of The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” had as its lead sentence “Mosaics, the most brilliant part of the Interior of Aghia Sophia, can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art thank[s] to the effective method of Mr. George Holt who developed the casting of the cubes.”

¹⁷ Identification of the figures from information on the back of the exhibition installation photograph on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York. Mr. Holt’s daughter, Charlotte Holt Menasveta, has provided the files of the Medieval Department and of Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D. C., with excerpts from her father’s diaries in 1939, 1940 and 1941 that relate to his work on the mosaics.

¹⁸ George Holt, “A Casting Method for Reproducing Mosaics,” *Technical Studies*, Vol. VII, no. 4, April, 1939, pp. 182-190.

¹⁹ Text from the exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²⁰ “Notes taken on October 2nd, (Mr. Whittemore Present)” state that “Mother of God should be said everywhere, never to call Her the Virgin.” Text on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²¹ *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. II, no. 7, March, 1944.

²² From “Notes taken on Sept. 27th and 28th. (1943),” which possibly are quoting Whittemore, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²³ “Notes taken on Sept. 27th and 28th. (1943),” which possibly are quoting Whittemore, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York. The underlining is in the notes.

²⁴ Text from the exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²⁵ The figure to the right is identified on the back of the exhibition photograph as “N. K. Kluge who made a great many of the tracings exhibited here.” Photograph on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²⁶ Identification from notes on the back of the photograph and from the label copy in the exhibition, both on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²⁷ Text from exhibition label in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

²⁸ Text from the label on file in the Department of Medieval Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York. Photograph of the mosaic in situ today courtesy of Robert C. Evans, Jr.

²⁹ Identification from the exhibition label and from information on the back of the photograph in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³⁰ *The New York Times*, “Byzantine Mosaics,” Sunday, March 5, 1944, on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³¹ Text from the exhibition label in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³² The Deesis copy was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1941 (41.137). The process for the copy is briefly identified on the back of the photograph. Mr. Green is identified there as a “Yorkshireman, a textile worker as a boy, and graduate of the Royal College of Art, London” with the photograph dated to August, 1943.

³³ “Byzantine Mosaics and Turkish Art in Two Exhibitions at Metropolitan Museum,” News Release, February 28, 1944, p. 2, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³⁴ Text from exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³⁵ Eleventh century date on the exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York. *Current dating in Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2004, p. 6; John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, London, 1997, pp. 388-391.

³⁶ Text from exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³⁷ Text from exhibition label copy on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

³⁸ Cyril Mango, “Hagia Sophia: Hagia Sophia in Constantinople,” *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, p. 894.

³⁹ Copy of *The New York Times* picture of June 16, 1935, p. 1, in the files of the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York.

⁴⁰ Text from the exhibition label on file in the Medieval Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. The mosaic is now generally dated to the 10th century as in Cyril Mango, “Hagia Sophia: Hagia Sophia in Constantinople,” *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan, New York, 1991, vol. 2, p. 894.

⁴¹ Thomas Whittemore, “The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul: Uncovered by the Byzantine Institute,” exhibition brochure, for “The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, March 1 – June 30, 1944.

⁴² From translation of an article “The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople: Exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, March 1, 1944.

⁴³ *The New York Times*, March 1, 1944, “Turkish Art Show Opens Here Today”; March 5, 1944, “Byzantine Mosaics: Famous Examples Reproduced in Show at Metropolitan – Other Events”; *The New York World Telegram*, March 4, 1944, “Byzantine Mosaics Premiere at the Metropolitan”; *The New York Herald Tribune*, April 16, 1944, “Antiquity at the Metropolitan”; *The National Herald*, April 2, 1944, “Mosaics from Aghia Sophia Adorn the Walls of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.”

⁴⁴ Charles Rufus Morey, “The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia,” *Magazine of Art*, The American Federation of Arts, April, 1944, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 142-144.

⁴⁵ *The National Herald*, April 2, 1944, “Mosaics from Aghia Sophia Adorn the Walls of The Metropolitan Museum of Art” by Arisotodemos Kaldis states “The recent restoration of Mosaics in Soviet Russia and Turkey, coupled with the systematic work carried on in Greece, had already influenced modern painting.”

⁴⁶ Fernand Léger, “Byzantine Mosaics and Modern Art,” *Magazine of Art*, The American Federation of Arts, April, 1944, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 144-145.

⁴⁷ Charles Rufus Morey, “The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, March 1944, vol. II, no. 7, pp. 201-210.