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The church of St. Mary of the Admiral in Palermo:
some recent photographs

By

Maria Vaiou[1]

The Church of St. Mary of the Admiral at Palermo is also known as Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio or San Nicolò dei Greci, or Martorana and is situated in the heart of the city of Palermo. The name Ammiraglio ("admiral") derives from the founder of the church, the Greek admiral and principle minister of the first king of Sicily, Roger II (1130-54) [2], George of Antioch (1146-1151).[3] He founded the church as a private chapel within his palace to offer his thanks to the Virgin Mary for the favours he had bestowed on him.[4] The name Martorana is attributed to Geoffrey of Marturano, mag-

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complesso musivo della "Martorana" di Palermo', *Byzantino-Sicula II. Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi* (Palermo, 1975), 507-12; B. Rocco, 'La Martorana di Palermo: chiave ermeneutica', Beni culturali e ambientali: *BCA* 3 (1982), 11-37; H. Karge, 'Die geborgte Tradition. Zu den Mosaikbildnissen der normannischen Könige in der Martorana in Palermo und im Dom von Monreale', in A. Köstler, E. Seidi (eds.), *Bildnis und Image: Das Porträt zwischen Intention und Rezeption* (Köln, 1998); X. B. Altet, 'Gli inserti figurativi nel mosaico pavimentale della Martorana come indicatori culturali', in *L'officina dello sguardo: scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro* (Vol. 1-2), (Rome, 2014), 63-8; C. Bellanca, 'La chiesa di Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (La Martorana) a Palermo', in M. Caperna G. Spagnesi (eds.), *Architettura: processualità e trasformazione ; atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, Castel Sant'Angelo, 24 - 27 novembre 1999* (Roma, 2002), 189-96l A. Paribeni, '**Il ruolo degli alberi nel programma decorativo dei mosaici della Martorana a Palermo. Con una nota di Alessia A. Aletta'**, in F. Guidobaldi A. Paribeni, *Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico, Venezia 20-23 gennaio 1999* (Ravenna, 2000), 669-84.

[2] *ODB*, 3, 'Roger II', 1801-2; H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A ruler between East and West,* tr. by G. A. Loud and D. Milburn (Cambridge, 2002). For various descriptions of his qualities, see Houben, *Roger II of Sicily,* 177-81; E. Caspar, *Roger II und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904; rpt. Darmstadt, 1968); see also F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907; rpt. New York, 1960). For a general history on the Muslim period, including relations between the Muslims and Greeks, see M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed., C. A. Nallino (Catania, 1933), I, 606-10; H. Kennedy, 'Sicily and al-Andalus under Muslim rule', *NCMH,* iii, c. 900-c. 1024, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), 646-669; P. E. Chevedden, 'A Crusade from the First': the Norman conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060-1091'*, al-Masaq* 22.2 (2010), 191-226; D. M. Smith, A *History of Sicily*, vol. I, *Medieval Sicily, 800-1713* (New York, 1975), 3-12; L. T. White Jr., *Latin monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA, 1938), 27-37. See B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), 144-5; T. Goskar, 'Material worlds: the shared cultures of southern Italy and its Mediterranean neighbours in the tenth to twelfth centuries', *al-Masaq* 23.3 (2011), 189-204; A. Guillou and K. Tchérémissinoff, 'Note sur la culture arabe et la culture slave dans le Katepanat d' Italie', *Mélange de l' École Française de Rome. Moyen Age au temps moderm,* LXXXVIII (1976), 680-5.

[3] For his biography, see, A. De Simone, 'Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall'Islam africano', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo visto dall' Europa e dal mondo mediterraneo. Atti delle tredicesime giornate normanno-sveve Bari, 21-24 ottobre 1997, a cura di G. Musca,* (Bari 1999), 276-85; eadem, 'Note sui titoli arabi di Giorgio di Antiochia', *Byzantino-Sicula IV,* 283-308; J. Johns, *Arabic administration in Norman Sicily. The royal dīwān* (Cambridge, 2002), 74-84; A. Acconcia Longo, 'Gli epitaffi giambici paer Giorgio di Antiochia, per la madre e per la moglie', *QFIAB* 61 (1981), 40-6; B. Lavagnini, 'L' epitafio in Palermo di Donna Irene consorte di Giorgio l' Ammiraglio', *Studi in onore di Francesco Gabrieli nel suo ottantesimo compleanno* (Roma, 1984), 435-42; M. Puccia, 'L' anonimo Carme di Supplica a Giorgio di Antiochia e l' elaborazione dell' idea imperiale alla corte di Ruggero II', in *Byzantino-Sicula IV,* 231-62; also *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L' arte della politica in Sicilian el XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l' Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Palermo, 19-20 Aprile 2007) a cura di Mario Re e Cristina Rognoni* (Palermo, 2009) [ISSBN, Quaderni17]; V. Prigent, 'L' archonte Georges prôtos ou émir?', *REB* 59 (2001), 193-207.

[4] E. Kitzinger, *The mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington 1990) [DOS 27], 264.

ister justitiarius of William II (1166-1189)[5], who founded a convent of Benedictine nuns in 1193-94 on adjacent property. After the convent absorbed the church it has been commonly known as S. Maria de Marturana. It was also called S. Maria Nova and was dedicated to Virgin. Next to St. Mary's, another church was founded in 1154 by Maio of Bari, the king William I's (d. 1166)[6] prime minister, and dedicated to S. Cataldo[7]. The Arab traveller Ibn Jubayr visited the church in 1184, and in his description of Palermo praised it as "the most beautiful monument in the world."[8]

In 1219 pope Honorius III (1150-1227) ruled in favour of the church in a legal dispute between the Marturana and the Admiral's church. Two years later he placed it under papal protection and made sure that it would continue to be served by Greek clergy.[9] It became a benefice of the administration of the canons of the Cappella Palatina in later years[10]. In 1282 the confederation between the cities of Palermo and Corleone was founded in the platea (courtyard) S. Cataldi. Later, the building of a 'camera pro consiliis' was required by the organisation of the municipality in Palermo, which brought additional duties and functions to the premises of the foundation of St. Mary. They are in mentioned historical events such as the meeting after the Sicilian Vespers[11] of 1282 of the island's nobility that resulted in the Sicilian crown being offered to Peter III of Aragon (1276-85).[12] It has also been suggested that the Palermo school of philosophy was in some way related to the church.[13].

It served as a place of meetings and the performance of the municipal administration of the city. The baiulus (later magistrate), would keep the acts of the curia with the judges and notaries of the city in the atrium of the church.[14] The church is mentioned in 1312 in the context of problems caused by the pestilence of 1187, which threatened the city, to have reached its flanks. The task of rescuing it was given to Pietro de Cisario. The church features again in the context of the processions made for the recovery of King Frederick III (1296-1337) and his son Peter at the end of 1328, and the transportation of the body of St. Christina in the streets of the city from the Cathedral to the church of the Admiral before the icon of Virgin 'Santa Maria Monaca'.

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[5] A. Schlichte, *Der "gute" König: Wilhelm II. von Sizilien (1166-1189)* (Tübingen, 2005).

[6] Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009), index, 314.

[7] R. Di Liberto, 'La chiesa normanna di S. Cataldo a Palermo', *Palladio* 17 (1996), 17-32.

[8] Ibn al-Jubayr, *The travels*, tr. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), 349ff.

[9] Kitzinger, *The mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral*, 22 n. 46, 47.

[10] Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 22. That the church belonged to the administration of the canons of Cappella is recalled in a document of 1309.

[11] *ODB*, 3, 'Sicilian Vespers', 1891.

[12] See J. R. Strayer, 'The Crusade against Aragon', *Speculum*, vol. 28 .1 (Jan. 1953), 102-13.

[13] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily. A ruler between East and West*, 102; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Friedrich II. und die Griechen im Königreich Sizilien', in A. Esch and N. Kamp (eds.), *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994* (Tübingen, 1996), 235-62, 242-3.

[14] M. Scarlata, 'La spazio del potere civile e religioso nel la Palermo normanna. S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio', *Byzantino-Sicula V*, 336. The atrium was essentially more or less a large courtyard, a space bordered by arcades, under which various activities are held; see Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 22 n. 50.

A multitude of people is attested in sources to have participated in the event praying outside and inside the church, in the atrium and the platea. Little by little the municipality, which had used up to a certain point the church of the Admiral, put root in neighbouring area, and built in stages the city palace. Moreover, the management of the church built by the royal chaplains confirmed and kept the ancient lineage, but when the link with the crown disappeared then it suffered.[15] In later years the church suffers abandonment until the reckless actions of the last centuries[16]. Its decline started in 1433-34, under the rule of king Alfonso of Aragon (1396-1458)[17] when it was absorbed by the Benedictine convent of the Martorana. The nuns modified the church between the 16th century and the 18th century, making major changes to the structure and the interior decoration. [18] The convent was abolished when Sicily became part of Italy in the context of the secularisation of church property in the 19th century and part of the church which functioned as post office until 1869. Suffered neglect until the government took it then and restored it as national monument.[19] The church was used by the Albanian community of Palermo whose parish church was destroyed by a bomb. In 1935 Benito Mussolini[20] returned the church to the control of Palermo's Greek Orthodox community. Today, it is used by the Italo-Greek Catholic Church for their services and shares cathedral status with the church of San Demetrio in Piana degli Albanesi.[21]

The church was expanded in three phases, through the addition of a narthex to house the tombs of George of Antioch and his wife (ca. before 1151);[22] the addition of a forecourt and exonarthex[23], and the construction of a centrally-aligned campanile[24] at the west, which still serves as the main entrance to the church. Later additions and architectural changes took place in the sixteenth century, a further period of building activity from 1683 to the mid eighteenth century[25], including the baroque façade

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[15] Scarlata, 338.

[16] Scarlata, La spazio del potere civile ', 339.

[17] See A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: king of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford, 1990).

[18] On the 1588 repairs and the enlargement of the church, see Demus, Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 77; on the transformation phase, the 'baroque' style changes, and the construction of the cappelone which replaced the original apse, see Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 23-4.

[19] Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 24-6.

[20] See for example, E. M. Robertson, *Mussolini as empire-builder: Europe and Africa, 1932-36* (London, 1977).

[21] It is an Italian comune, or municipality and the most important and populous Arbëresh i.e. the variety of Albanian language spoken by the group of Albanian-speaking minorities in Sicily and it is the episcopal see of the Byzantine Catholic church; see www.en.wikipedia.org.

[22] The first extension probably took place after the construction and before the decoration of the church; see Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 42; for a study of the architecture of the church, see S. Ćurčić, 'L'architettura della chiesa', in E. Kitzinger, *I mosaici di Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio a Palermo* (Palermo, 1990), 27-67.

[23] Kitzinger, 48-52.

[24] Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 52-62.

[25] The frescoes in the middle part of the walls are from the 18th century, and are attributed to Guglielmo Borremans. C. Siracusano, *Guglielmo Borremans tra Napoli e Sicilia* (1990).

(1752) which today faces onto the piazza. Giuseppe Patricolo[26], who aimed to restore the church to its original state, made a restoration in the early 1870, and removed for example the chapel of St. Benedict, which had been erected on the north of building in 1683. Despite a major operation, the church represents a 'conservation compromise' as much evidence on its phases of restoration was destroyed corresponding to no particular state of the building's historical development. In the late 19th century it underwent another restoration with the keeping of elements of baroque modifications.[27]

The foundation charter of the church of St. Mary, written in Greek and Arabic, which is taken to show the growing elaborate character of the royal dīwān, is preserved in the archive of Cappella Palatina and dates to 1143[28]. The document shows that George's mother, sister Theodula had ended her earthly life in a monastery called Santa Maria, which probably fell in the same place, and he in compliance with what has been recommended to her contributed to the maintenance of it with a generous bequest.[29] George entrusted the nuns of a nearby convent with the duty to pray for the royal family and his own[30]. The church's construction may already have begun at this point. It had certainly been completed by the death of George in 1151, and he and his wife were interred in the narthex[31]. George built the church from its foundations and in his charter he speaks of the building and its decorations. He probably built the church as a burial place for him and his family which is clearly implied in the Virgin's message in the scroll in the admiral's panel where his role is glorified for building the church and forgiveness of his sins is emphasised clearly reflecting his concern over salvation after death.[32]

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[26] G. Patricolo, 'La chiesa di Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio in Palermo e le sue antiche adiacenze', *Archivio Storico Siciliano* ii/fasc.1 (1877), 18-171.

[27] Kitzinger, 115ff.

[28] Mortorana, Deed of endowment [1143, bilingual] =Archives of Palatine chapel=S. Cusa, *I diplomi Greci ed Arabici di Sicilia*, vol. 1 (Palermo, 1868), 68, no v.; also A. Garofalo, *Tabularium Regiae ac Imperialis Capellae Collegiatae Divi Petri in Regio Panormitano Palatio* (Palermo, 1835); for its Arab component, see Johns, *Arabic administration*, 109-11, 306; the church must have housed the tomb of George's mother as early as 1140 based on evidence from inscriptions and documents: see A. A. Longo, 'Considerazioni sulla chiesa di S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio e sulla Cappella Palatina di Palermo', *Nea Rome* 4 (2007), 267-93; another document related to the church is a contract written in Greek in 1146 and refers to the sale to the clergy of the church of a property in its vicinity and stresses the existence of Greek clerics; Kitzinger, 16 n. 12; Demus, Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 75 n. 25; G. Cozza-Luzi, 'Per la Martorana. Documento Greco dell'anno 1146', *ASS* XV (1890), 322-32. Its importance lies in the fact that on the verso are written 3 poems which refer to early history of church. The poems are the epitaphs of the founder, his wife, and his mother; on the epitaphs, see Kitzinger, *The mosaics,* 17-9, n. 16, on the poems, see idem, *The mosaics*, 20-21; on another document which was written in the church dated 1172 A.D. 6681 A.M.; see Johns, *Arabic administration*, 312; on the decline in Greek in the Norman chancery from 1145, see Falkenhausen, 'Friedrich II. und die Griechen im Königreich Sizilien', 239-40.

[29] Scarlata, 319.

[30] Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 44, n. 112.

[31] Kitzinger, *The mosaics,* 17-9; on funerary inscriptions, Houben, *Roger II of Sicily* , 113 n. 34.

[32] Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 44.

Relations between the Byzantines and Roger II were characterised by an intense rivalry. Similar to the Umayyads, the Normans considered the Byzantines as the great enemy whom they had to defeat and replace.[33] At a time of internal problems especially when the leader of the church Bernard of Clairvaux[34] after the papal election of 1130 led a propaganda for a coalition of Catholic powers to crush the 'tyrant' Roger after his lack of support for pope Innocent II (1130-1143)[35] branding him as a usurper and 'champion of a heretic' for his support of Anacletus II (d. 1138) exercising an influence to the Western emperor as well-the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus (1118 to 1143) decided to seek help from the Western emperor, Lothair II (d.1137), against the invasion of Roger, who raised claims to the lands and cities in Apulia that had been conflicting with those of the 'Roman empire and church'. The political idea of a restoration in southern Italy of the rights of 'the Roman empire'[36] was the main theme. In addition, the Sicilian advance in the Mediterranean, Syria and their success in Tunisia caused anxiety in the emperor[37]. A German—Byzantine alliance between emperor John, and king Conrad III (1093-1152) was concluded against the common enemy on land and on sea. Roger, anxious by this alliance, tried to win over emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1118-1180) by suggesting a marriage between one of his sons and a princess of the imperial house, and Manuel, reciprocated and sent ambassadors to the Sicilian court. But Roger's condition for an alliance was recognition of his royal lands and title, and equality in status with the Basileus. This demand caused the failure of negotiations and the ambassadors' imprisonment by the furious emperor who could not give legal sanction to the usurpation of crown and lands, which were considered part of the imperial sphere of jurisdiction. During the Second Crusade (1147), the issue of the dubious legitimacy of Roger is voiced in the context of the savage raids he conducted against the coasts and islands of Greece: they revealed his "tyrannical" character, and the writers of the period Kinnamos or Choniates see in Roger the authentic tyrant, the insular dragon, the common enemy of Christians and, above all, the cruel ruler "who kept the Sicilian land under his tyrannical sway'.[38] It

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[33] See L. Travaini, 'The Normans between Byzantium and the Islamic world', *DOP* 55 (2001), 179-96; for earlier relations, see W. B. McQueen, 'Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071-1112', *B* 56 (1986), 428-37.

[34] G. R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux (Great Medieval Thinkers)* (Oxford, 2000).

[35] His propaganda against Roger denouncing him as usurper and tyrant are explored in the writers of the period, see H. Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, in twelfth-century political thought', *Spec* 38.1 (Jan. 1963), 46-78, 54f.; see D. Clementi, 'Relations between the Papacy, the Western Roman empire and the emergent Kingdom of Sicily and South Italy, 1050-156', in *Bulettino dell' Instituto Storico Italiano per il medioevo* 79 (1968), 191-212; R. Elze, 'Ruggero II e I papi del suo tempo', in *Società potere e popolo nell' età di Ruggero II :Atti delle terse giornate normanno-sveve, Bari,* 1977 (Bari, 1979), 27-39.

[36] Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, in twelfth-century political thought', 60ff.

[37] **H.** Wieruszowski, 'The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades', in R. L. Wollf and H. W. Hazard (eds.), The later crusades, 1189-1311, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1969), 3-42; repr. eadem, *Politics and culture in medieval Spain and Italy*, Storia e Letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi 121 (Rome, 1971), 3-49; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 160f.

[38] Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily', 63 n. 72.

was by the treaty of 1153 with Pope Eugenius III (1080-1153), that the regnum Siciliae came to belong to the Western empire under the papal sphere of interests with the pope's role as protector of the honor imperii from all enemies.

Roger II had established Palermo as a center of Sicilian administration and of his court. The legitimacy of his position is exemplified in the theory of a 'restitutio regni Siciliae' stressing his reviving of an old kingdom and not creating new laws.[39] The importance of a cautious usage of precedents from the Sicilian past has been pointed out.[40] His residing at the site of the Kalbid emirs (332-944-436/1044)[41] has been seen as reviving this tradition by following the ways of Muslim[42] princes in his life, cultural activities, and surroundings. Officials and rulers were knowledgeable of the Arabic language and despite its widespread use its 'dissociation of Islam' was the main factor that enabled the Sicilian kings to appropriate forms from Islamic sources.[43] In addition the use of Greek[44] influences in government can be seen in the employment of Greek personnel in prominent positions and the Greek language, which was the main language used for royal and diplomatic protocol and Byzantine notions of authority flourishing under the reign of Roger II[45]. Similarly, Roger's rep-

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[39] Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily'.

[40] Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily', 50f.

[41] On Kalbid Sicily, see W. Granara, *Political legitimacy and jihad in Muslim Sicily* (PhD University of Pennsylvania 1986), 21-34; Kennedy, 'Sicily and al-Andalus under Muslim rule', *NCMH,* iii, c. 900-c. 1024.

[42] The Arabic element was essential in the articulation of Norman statecraft seen in the use for example of Arabic titles, and in the fiscal royal administration (*dīwān*) with influences from the Fatimid Egypt; see Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy,* 147-59; J. Johns, 'I titoli arabi dei sovrani normanni di Sicilia', *Bollettino di numismatica*, XVI (1986), 13-56; idem, 'Malik Ifriqiya: The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Fatimids', *Libyan Studies*, XVIII (1987), 89-101; idem, 'The Norman kings of Sicily and the Fatimid Caliphate', in *Anglo Norman Studies 15: Proceedings of the Battle Conference and of the XI Collòquio medievale of the Officina di studi medievali* 1992, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1993), 133-59; Kennedy, 'Sicily and al-Andalus'; A. Noth, 'I documenti arabi di Ruggero II', in C. Brühl, *Diplomi e cancellaria di Ruggero II* (Palermo, 1983), 189-222; see also the Normans' interest in incorporating the Muslim communities in Sicily into their realm during the early years of the conquest, see Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily,* 33.

[43] Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 246.

[44] On Greek officials, see L. R. Ménager, *Amiratus-Αμηρας', L' émirat et les origines de l' amirauté XieXIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1960); H. Takayama, *The administration of the Norman kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden, 1993), 44-5, 49-53, 66-8; V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell' Italia meridionale dal IX all' XI secolo* (Bari, 1978); eadem, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9 bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967); eadem, 'I funzionari greci nel regno normanno', *Byzantino-Sicula IV,* 165-202; eadem, 'Cristodulo', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1985), vol. 31, 49-51; E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily: his life and work and the authorship of the Epistola ad Petrum and the istoria Hugonis Falcandi Siculi* (London, 1957); A. Guillou, 'Grecs d' Italie du sud et de Sicile au moyen age', in *Mélanges d' archeologie et d' histoire de l' École Française de Rome* 75 (1963), 79-110; repr. eadem, *Culture et societé en Italie byzantine (VIᵉ-XIᵉ s.)* (London, 1978) [Variorum Collected Studies 76], XIII. On the program of Roger II which represented a continuation of his father's policy of reviving Orthodox foundations but also demonstrated a continuity of building typology initiated under his father's reign, see Ch. Nicklies, 'Builders, patrons, and identity: the domed basilicas of Sicily and Calabria', *Gesta* 43.2 (2004), 99-104.

[45] On the importance of the Graeco-Arabic knowledge before his time, in Salerno and in the court of William I, and also on the flourishing of the Greco-Byzantine culture in Roger's time seen in his use of Byzantine symbols, Greek translations, military campaigns and methods he used, and the use of Greek in over half of

resentation of power based on a perception of a duality of roles is expressed in iconography, insignia and buildings which project him both as a Christian and Islamic ruler.

George of Antioch, the founder of St. Mary, was one of the most influential personalities in Norman court, as his title as amīr of amīrs, archon of archons and wazīr (chief minister) attest.[46] He was Greek Orthodox, born in Syria, bilingual, with experience in the Byzantine administration of Antioch and the Arab-Islamic in Zirid Africa where he was employed in fiscal matters, an able naval commander who led attacks upon al-Mahdīya (Tunis)[47] in 1140/1, and 1148, an ambassador to the Fāṭimids, an 'architect' of the royal dīwān, with a valuable knowledge of Arab-Islamic lands and cultures; and al-Maqrīzī, in his biography of George, underlines his role and duties and no doubt its contribution is essential in understanding the evolution and formation of the early Norman kingdom.[48]His foundation of the church should be seen in the general context of favourable treatment of Greek monasticism in Sicily and the encouragement of patronage of monasteries of Greek families[49]

The church is renowned for its interior, which is dominated by a series of 12th century Norman-Byzantine mosaics[50] executed by Byzantine craftsmen. Similar to the king's Byzantine orientation in the mosaic in the interior of the church, his interest in introducing Byzantine art in the church was mainly to his desire to imitate the splen-

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his royal charters, see Houben, *Roger II*, 100-1, 108, 176; for arguments in favour of the production of the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript, a richly illustrated illuminated manuscript of the 'Synopsis of Histories' (Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν), by the Byzantine historian John Skylitzes (12th c.) at the court of Roger II manifested in the structure of visual narrative and its purpose, see E. Boeck, 'The art of being Byzantine: history, structure and visual narrative in the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript' (PhD Yale, 2003); idem, 'Engaging the Byzantine past: strategies of visualizing history in Sicily and Bulgaria', in *History as literature in Byzantium. Papers from the Fourtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007,* ed. R. Macrides (Farnham, 2010), 215-35; on the promotion of Arab learning in his court, see Houben, *Roger II of Sicily,* 102; idem, 'Between Occidental and Oriental cultures: Norman Sicily as a Third space?', in S. Burkhardt, Th. Foerster (eds.), *Norman tradition and transcultural heritage:exchange of cultures in the 'Norman' peripheries of medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 2013); and W. Granara, 'Islamic education and the transmission of knowledge in Muslim Sicily', in *Law and education in medieval Islam*, ed. J. E.Lowry, D. J. Stewart and Sh. M. Toorawa (Cambridge, 2004), 150-73; and J. Hysell, '*Pacem Portantes Advenerint* ambivalent images of Muslims in the chronicles of Norman Italy', *al-Masaq* 24.2 (2012), 139-56.

[46] V. Prigent, 'L' archonte Georges, prôtos ou émir', in *REB* 59 (2001), 193-207; L. R. Ménager, *Amiratus-Ἀμηρᾶς* (Paris, 1960).

[47] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia campaign of 1087', *EHR* 92 (1977), 1-29.

[48] Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 126; see Johns, *Arabic administration*, 80-90.

[49] For the reasons, see Demus, Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 74 n. 15., 17.

[50] The mosaics are not mentioned in the foundation charter. Kitzinger says that mosaic decoration was not undertaken until several years after 1143; on mosaics and date, see Demus, 'Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 73-90, 78-82, 82-4. Kitzinger, *The mosaics*; review V. Pace, *Speculum*, 69, No. 3 (Jul., 1994), 816-8; on the resemblance of the chapel's pavement with the Capella which is probably attributed to the employment of the same marmorarii, see W. Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997), 32f; on Byzantine influences under Roger II, see W. Tronzo, 'Byzantine court culture from the point of view of Norman Sicily: the case of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo', in H. Maguire, B*yzantine court culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC., 1997), 101-14.

dour of the Christian court of Constantinople. This church is among the other two, the Cappella Palatina[51] and the Cathedral in Cefalu[52] which received mosaics during Roger II's reign and which reflect the so-called 'classical system of Byzantine church decoration'.[53] Similar to the concept of imperial iconography, which appealed to Roger II, this system should be seen in the context of imperial ideology where the earthly kingdom was the mirror of heavenly in which Christ presided as is exemplified in the 'Book of Ceremonies'. Kitzinger points out the main features of this system, which was permeated by the concept of Orthodox theology and Christology,[54] were a domed, central-type church, the position of Pantocrator in the summit of the dome, symbolising the incarnation of Christ seen in human form, the presence of other figures such as angels, prophets, apostles, martyrs and bishops partaking in the mystery of incarnation and message of Christ to humanity, in addition to scenes from the life of Christ. In other words, the use of Byzantine art in churches served to show the liturgical space presided by the Pantocrator, the place of God on earth and the place of the Allruler. The church, although it was 'central type' building, was not a pure representative of the 'classical system'. The mosaics show many iconographic and formal similarities to the roughly contemporary programs in the Cappella Palatina, in Monreale Cathedral[55] and in Cefalù Cathedral[56], although they were probably executed by a distinct atelier. The mosaics were overseen by George of Antioch himself probably about 1146/7.

The original church was built in the form of a cross-in-square type, supported by four columns in centre, a common south Italian/Sicilian variation on the standard middle Byzantine church type; there is a blend of influences in the building as the ground

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[51] W. Tronzo, *The cultures of his kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, 1997); Johns, 'Appendix. The description of the Cappella Palatina by Philagathos of Kerameos', in E. J. Grube and J. Johns, *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina. Supplement I to Islamic art* (Genova, 2005).

[52] Grube, Johns, 'Part IV. Studies on the paintings decorating the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina and their background. IV. 1 The Cappela Palatina and Cefalu', in *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina.* 341-6.

[53] E. Kitzinger, 'Mosaic decoration in Sicily under Roger II and the classical Byzantine system of church decoration', *Italian church decoration of the middle ages and early renaissance, functions, forms, and regional tradition*, ed. W. Tronzo I, (1989), 147-65; Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 17.

[54] Kitzinger, 'Mosaic decoration', 148.

[55] Demus, 'Monreale', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 91-177; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 209-14; on the two king's panels in the cathedral of Monreale which have as their models those of St. Mary of the Admiral, see Kitzinger, *The mosaics*, 189-211; see also Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', who argues that the royal panels cannot be seen as models for those in the cathedral of Monreale because they served different aims and in different iconographic schemes. Yet these royal panels projected similar perceptions of kingship either being part of a decorative cycle or by simply employing religious motifs to ideas of kingship to demonstrate power and prestige.

[56] Demus, 'Cefalù', in *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 3-24 [with good bibliography]; M. G. Aurigemma, *Il cielo stellato di Ruggero II. Il soffitto dipinto della Cattedrale di Cefalù* (Milano, 2004); M. Andaloro, *I mosaici di Cefalù dopo il restauro, CIII Colloquio Internazionale sul mosaico antico; a cura di R. Farioli Campanati* (Ravenna, 1983); M. J. Johnson, 'The episcopal and royal views at Cefalù', *Gesta* 33.2 (1994), 118-31.

plan and general type are Byzantine and details of decoration and construction are Sicilian.[57] Kitzinger points out that the system had undergone reinterpretation according to George's personal wishes. Among the main features, which are not typical of the 'classical Byzantine system', were the theme of Pantocrator and the four archangels which surround him: his role was not that of the ruler and 'oversee' of the universe but of the recipient of 'a distinct act of worship' offered by the archangels who in their turn perform a heavenly liturgy, a heavenly counterpart of the priest's in the altar. Also Christ's redemptive role is not dominant as the incarnation is presented mainly by the theme of the Nativity. Kitzinger attributes the changes of the mosaic in the dome to the changes made in the system in the twelfth century.[58] There were many similarities though between the mosaics of the court chapel, which served as the model for St. Mary's, and manifest the divine hierarchy, as seen in the similar selection of prophets, the position of martyrs in the north, south, and west arches. There were many differences, such as the emphasis on the scenes of Virgin Mary presenting it into a 'Marian cycle' in the church of St. Mary's: the designer kept clearly those scenes where the Virgin featured as a main figure. The central figure is Mary and this concept should be viewed in the context of the cult of Virgin Mary in the East and West in the 11th and 12th centuries.[59]

The church also exemplifies the trend where churches, and religious art in general, were sponsored by laymen for their spiritual welfare. George's private interests and concerns are marked not only in the changes seen in the mosaic decoration but also in the mosaic on the northern side of the aisle where he appears kneeling in front of the Virgin and dedicating Martorana to Her. Virgin Mary holds a document in her hand a petition for George's personal salvation which she was to give to her Son. In this panel God appears on the right side in a celestial space and holds an unfolded scroll and blesses the Virgin, who unfolds the rolled scroll of God with the following words: 'O child, thou Holy Word, shield from all adversities George the first of all Archons who has erected this my house from the foundations, and grant him forgiveness of his sins, for thou, being the only God, hast the power'.[60]

Inside the entrance a second significant mosaic taken from the original Norman façade, probably once situated in the inner narthex and later enlarged into nave in which it now stands, depicts king Roger II[61], receiving the crown of Sicily from Jesus

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[57] Demus, Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 76, n. 29; on the architecture of the building, see Kitzinger, *The mosaics,* 27-67.

[58] Kitzinger, 'Mosaic decoration', 162.

[59] Kitzinger, 'Mosaic decoration', 164.

[60] Demus, Martorana', *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 90.

[61] E. Kitzinger, 'On the portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo', *Proporziioni* 3 (1950), 30-5; repr. idem, *The art of Byzantium in the medieval West: selected studies* (Bloomington, 1976), 320-5; idem, 'Mosaic decoration in Sicily under Roger II and the classical Byzantine system of church decoration', *Italian church decoration of the middle ages and early Renaissance: functions, forms and regional tradition*, ed. W. Tronzo (Bologna, 1989), 147-65; P. Rassow, 'Zum byzantinisch-normannischen Krieg, 1147-49', *Mitteilun-*

Christ raising his hands in homage to Him. This is not a official portrait but reflects George's perception of him and the dominant ideology at court. Roger is depicted in the Byzantine dimension of his kingly power in similitude with the notion expressed in the Cappella Palatina. There the eastern portion of the sanctuary was conceived as a Byzantine church whereas the nave as an Islamic –style reception hall, expressions clearly of his perception of roles which was those of a Christian and Muslim ruler[62].

Roger is dressed in a jewelled Byzantine costume, reflecting the Norman court's Byzantine orientation. The ceremonial costume is not to be taken as an indicator for current practices at court but rather as a 'pictorial construction' modelled probably on the ivory of Constantine VII.[63] Archangels along the ceiling wear the same costume. The depiction of Roger was highly significant in terms of its iconography. As Kitzinger points out, the mosaic is a political statement of sorts: the concept of the king's imagery, dressed in Byzantine clothing, which is evident also in coins[64] and seals[65] in his reign, manifests a parallel in ideology with the Byzantine basileus.[66] It was by this title that Roger II demanded to be addressed[67] and reflect his desire to imitate and vie the emperor; besides ideas he nurtured of establishing the Latin kingdom on Bosphorus are not far from true.[68] In addition Roger is shown to have been crowned by God himself. In Western Christian tradition, kings were customarily crowned by the Pope or his representatives; however, Roger reflects the notion that his monarchy was 'intermediary' between the divine and human as seen in the 'hieratic' attitude he displayed imbedded in the public manifestations of his power. He clearly follows the Byzantine tradition of imperial iconography and points to the fact he owes the crown

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gen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 62 (1954), 213-8; also, D. Abulafia, 'The crown and economy under Roger II and his successors', *DOP* 37 (1983), 1-14.

[62] Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom*, 143; idem, 'The case of the Cappella Palatina', 110.

[63] A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts (*Berlin, 1934), II, no 35; Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 41.

[64] Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom*, 141 n. 26; Houben, *Roger II of Sicily,* 121-2.

[65] Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, 119-21.

[66] H. L. Ménager, 'L'Institution monarchique dans les états normands d'Italie', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 2 (1959), 303-31, 445-68, 311 says that the Byzantine borrowing on state symbolism and ceremonial should not be exaggerated, and that influences did not affect political institutions but only political ideas at court; Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily', 46-78; H. Maguire, 'Style and ideology in Byzantine imperial art',' *Gesta*, Vol. 28.2 (1989), 217-231. However Roger is also depicted in an Islamic costume in Cappella Palatina; see Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom*, 142; on the representations of the king in this church and the cathedral of Monreale which are clearly attested in the decorative cycles in contrast with the Cappella Palatina or in the Cathedral of Cefalu, see Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 18ff.; for similarities of Roger's portrait with the mosaic in the churches of Gerace and Cefalu, see M. J. Johnson, 'The lost royal portraits of Gerace and Cefalu cathedrals', *DOP* 53 (1999), 237-62.

[67] See for example Philagathos' address of the king in his preaching in his presence, in Houben, *Roger II of Sicily,* ,102; see Filagato da Cerami, *Omelie per I Vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l' anno*, a cura di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi (Palermo, 1969); B. Lavagnini, 'Filippo-Filagato promotore degli studi di Greco in Calabria', *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 28 (1974), 3-12.

[68] Kitzinger, 'Mosaic decoration', 165.

to God alone and makes clear his ecclesiastical[69] and secular power similar to that of the basileus. His effort to be assimilated to the imperial image shows that he was a sovereign ruler 'a rex imperator in regno suo' (the king is an emperor in his own land).[70] However, there is a departure from Byzantine tradition in this imagery seen in the resemblance between Roger and Christ, which clearly does not share the theoretical concept in the empire against the portrayal of any person in the likeness of Christ.[71] This notion of similitude was a 'christomemesis' act, a visual medium, which clearly manifested, as in the Cappella Palatina, the relationship between art and the role of the emperor[72], aiming to be understood by the wider audience. The image is complemented by the words 'Ρογέριος ρήξ seen in the inscription, the former word in Greek, the latter in Latin, where Roger is referred to as rix (king) avoiding a direct comparison with basileus.[73]

The Byzantine portrayal of the king, George's mosaic and the other mosaics in the interior dominated by the Pantocrator image were doubtless aimed to appeal to the Graeco-phone audience which had access to George's private church. In addition to the Greek inscription in the mosaic of Roger and George, a frieze bears a dedicatory inscription in Greek[74] runs along the top of the exterior walls. No doubt the two panels represent the founder's aim to manifest himself and his powerful position which

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[69] He became king after his recognition by the church by Anacletus II to legitimise his authority. See A. Marongiu, 'A model state in the middle ages the Norman kingdom of Sicily', in *Comparative studies in society and history,* 6.3 (1964), 307-20, 308-9.repr. xi; Wieruszowski, 'Roger II of Sicily', 48ff.

[70] Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom*, 141; J. Dickinson, 'The medieval conception of kingship and some of its implications, as developed in the Policraticus of John of Salisbury', *Spec* I (1926), 308-37, 308; Kitzinger argues that he aimed at opposing the pope and the barons of his kingdom by imitating the Byzantine idea of government, see E. Kitzinger, 'On the portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo', *Estratto da 'proporzioni'* 3 (1950), 30-5, 33.

[71] Kintzinger, 'On the portrait of Roger II', 32; on the 12th century imperial rhetoric where the similarity between emperor and God reaches its peak, see Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom,* 148 n. 48; H. Maguire, 'Style and ideology in Byzantine art', *Gesta* 28 (1989), 217-31; on the different representation of God and the king in the cathedral of Monreale, where God is enthroned and has a more central position and the image of the king is smaller than him, whereas in St. Mary both the king and God occupy a central position, see Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 41 who also explains the symbolism of such iconographic motifs.

[72] Tronzo, 'The case of the Cappella Palatina', 108-9.

[73] Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 148.

[74] S. Matranga, *Monografia sulla grande iscrizione greca teste scoperta nella chiesa di Sta. Maria dell' Ammiraglio* (Palermo, 1872); also in A. Salinas, 'Restauri nella chiesa dell' Ammiraglio detta la Martorana', in *Rassegna Archeologica Siciliana* 4 (1872), 7; idem, *Rivista Sicula,* Feb. (1872) [inscripton on top of the church]; G. Cozza-Luzi, 'Delle epigrafie greche di Giorgio ammiraglio, della madre e della consorte', *ASS* NS XV (1890), 22-34; On the Greek dedicatory inscription of 1143 next to the mosaic of Pantokrator in Cappella, where Roger II is called the ruler who carries the sceptre, see Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, 129; J. Siciliano, 'The Greek religious and secular community of southern Italy and Sicily during the later middle ages' (Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 1983); A. Guillou, 'La lingua greca nella Sicilia della prima metà del secolo dodicesimo', *Byzantino-Sicula IV,* 155-63; A. Venditti, *Architettura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale* (Naples, 1967), II, 906-13; P. Lojacono, 'L'architettura bizantina in Calabria e Sicilia', in *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, Rome, 1936* (Rome, 1940), 192-5; R. F. Campanati, 'La cultura artistica nelle regioni bizantini d'Italia dal VI all'XI secolo', in *I bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo (Milan, 1982).

was legitimised by the king Roger II who was crowned by God and thus appeal to the Christian audience. The two mosais/panels are situated on the eastern part of a later addition on the western part of the original church.[75]

Certain other elements of the original church show the influence of Islamic[76] architecture on the culture of Norman Sicily. It has been argued that the Normans created by adopting Norman, Greek and Muslim influences at court culture and architecture (seen e.g. in the domed basilicas)[77] a unique culture which although it was based on distinct traditions and forms managed to retain its character. This was not a systematic or deliberate attempt for integration but a statement characterised of tolerance and goodwill and a desire to break with past prejudices.[78] The church of St. Mary has been compared with the Cappella Palatina[79], which exhibits a similar sense of Byzan-

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[75] Kitzinger, *The mosaics,* 189; see Bacile, 'Stimulating perceptions of kingship', 46.

[76] On Norman architecture in the south in a general context of its relationship to the Islamic world, see Nicklies, 'Builders, patrons, and identity', 99-114; H. Bresc, 'Arabi per lingua, greci per rito, I Mozarabi di Sicilia con e dopo Giorgio', in *Byzantino-Sicula IV,* 263-82; A. Nef, *L' Élément islamique dans la Sicile normane: identities culturelles et construction d' une nouvelle royauté (XIe-XIIe siècles), dottorato dell' Università di Paris X-Nanterre* (15 dicembre 2001); on Islamic influences on the early Norman architecture of Calabria and the Valdemone, see F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania, 1975); for builders working in the Islamic tradition in the Valdemone and in Sicily, see U. Scerrato, 'Arte islamica in Italia: L'architettura', in *Gli Arabi in Italia*, ed. F. Gabrieli and U. Scerrato (Milan, 1979); G. Bellafiore, *Architettura in Sicilia nelle età islamica e normanna (827-1194)* (Palermo, 1990), 72-79; D. Matthew, *The Norman kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), 91; C. G. Canale, 'Aspetti della cultura architettonica religiosa del Sec. XI in Sicilia e in Calabria', in *Cronache di archeologia e di storia dell'arte*, VI (1967), 92-106; on Islamic influences in the church of St. Mary, see Kitzinger, 40; for more Islamic influences of the Martorana, see L. Kapitaikin, 'The daughter of al-Andalus": interrelations between Norman Sicily and the Muslim West', *Al-Masaq*, 25:1 (2013), 113-34, 129ff.

[77] On the seven churches, which were in the Val Demone in eastern Sicily, S. Maria at Mili,(f. 1091), SS. Pietro e Paolo at Itala, (f. 1093) S. Alfio at San Fratello, (late eleventh or early twelfth century ; and in Calabria, S. Giovanni Vecchio at Bivongi, (late eleventh or early decades of the twelfth century); S. Maria de Tridetti at Staiti, (between the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries); S. Filomena at Santa Severina, (b. probably after the mid-eleventh century); and S. Maria di Terreti near Reggio-Calabria, (probably completed during the last third of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century), and also SS. Pietro e Paolo d'Agrò near Casalvecchio Siculo (probably dated in 1130-1194), see Nicklies, 'Builders, patrons, and identity', 100f, who argues of Byzantine as well as Islamic elements in these churches that entered Sicily from Egypt and North Africa especially the region of Ifriqiya.

[78] See Nicklies, 'Builders, patrons, and identity', 110; Johns suggests that a concept of *populus trilinguis* in which the Arabic-speaking, Greek-speaking, and Latin-speaking populations were fused into a "single Sicilian people' did not appear in written or visual forms in numismatics, art, and architecture until the monarchical period (1130-1194). However, Nicklies argues that it appeared in the earlier comital era that is from about 1091 to 1130 during the comital reigns of Roger I de Hauteville, his widow, Adelaide, and their son, Roger II; see also Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, 247-53.

[79] Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom.*; E. J. Grube, J. Johns, *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina. Supplement I to Islamic art* (Genova, 2005); O. Demus, ''Palatine chapel', in *The mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 25-72; J. Johns, 'The date of the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo',in *The painted ceilings of the Capella Palatina,* 1-14; Tronzo, 'Byzantine court culture', *Byzantine court culture*, ed. Maguire, 101-14; J. Johns, 'Appendix. The description of the Cappella Palatina by Philagathos of Kerameos', in *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, 13-4; D. Knipp, 'Image, presence, and ambivalence: the Byzantine tradition of the painted ceiling in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo', in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft: frühmittelalteriliche Residenzen: Gestalt und Zeremoniell: internationales Kolloquium 3./4. Juni 2004 in Istanbul,*

tine and Islamic forms. The frieze's architectural form relates to the Islamic architecture of north Africa. Also the recessed niches on the exterior walls are likewise derive from the Islamic architectural tradition. There are also inscriptions in Arabic aiming probably at the Arabic-speaking Christians of eastern churches as is attested by Ibn al-Jubayr who says that a Arab-Christian woman entered the church at Christmas 1184. The presence of women in the audience is also attested for the Cappella Palatina as images of women are depicted in mosaics.[80] In the interior, in a series of wooden beams at the base of the dome bear a inscription of a Byzantine hymn called the Epinikios and the Great Doxology in transliterated Arabic; the text is derived from the Christian liturgy. The church also possesses a pair of carved wooden doors, today installed in the south façade of the western extension, which relate to the artistic traditions of Fatimid[81] North Africa. There are also Arabic inscriptions which may indicate the aim to communicate to converts from Islam. The two columns with Arabic inscriptions allude to Roger and George and were initially used in the porticoes of the fore court.[82]

The church of St. Mary serves as an example of the 'pan Mediterranean' culture of the twelfth century Norman Sicily. Its importance lies in the living testimony it provides on the history of its founder, and architecture of the building whose multicultural dimension underlines the historical context of much complexity of cultural and artistic interchanges. This is an area which deserves to be examined further.

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herausgegeben von F. A. Bauer (Istanbul, 2006).[Byzas 5]; Grube, 'The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and their relation to the artistic traditions of the Muslim World and the middle ages', in *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, 15-34; idem, 'Part 1. The historical setting', in *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, 283-318 [bibliography on background of Cappella Palatina and Muslim and Norman Sicily]; idem, 'Part VII. Studies on iconographical elements in the Cappella Palatina paintings', in *The painted ceilings of the Cappella Palatina,* 418-441 [bibliography]; idem, 'Part IV. Studies on the paintings decorating the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina and their background. IV. 1 The Cappela Palatina and Cefalu', 341-6 [bibliography]; idem, 'Part III. The mosaic decoration of the Cappella Palatina and of Norman Sicily and their background', 338-40 [bibliography]; idem,'Part II. Architecture. Ii. 1. The architecture of the Cappella Palatina and of Norman Sicily', 319-29; 'II.2, 'The architecture of the Muslim world as background to the architecture of Norman Sicily', 329-36; 'II. 3. The architecture of the medieval west and Byzantium as comparative material', 336-7.[bibliographies]

[80] Tronzo, *The cultures of His kingdom.* 123 n. 80.

[81] Johns, 'The Norman kings of Sicily and the Fatimid caliphate', 133-59; idem, *Arabic administration*, 267 n. 49.

[82] Johns, *Arabic administration*, 280; Kitzinger, 49-51.
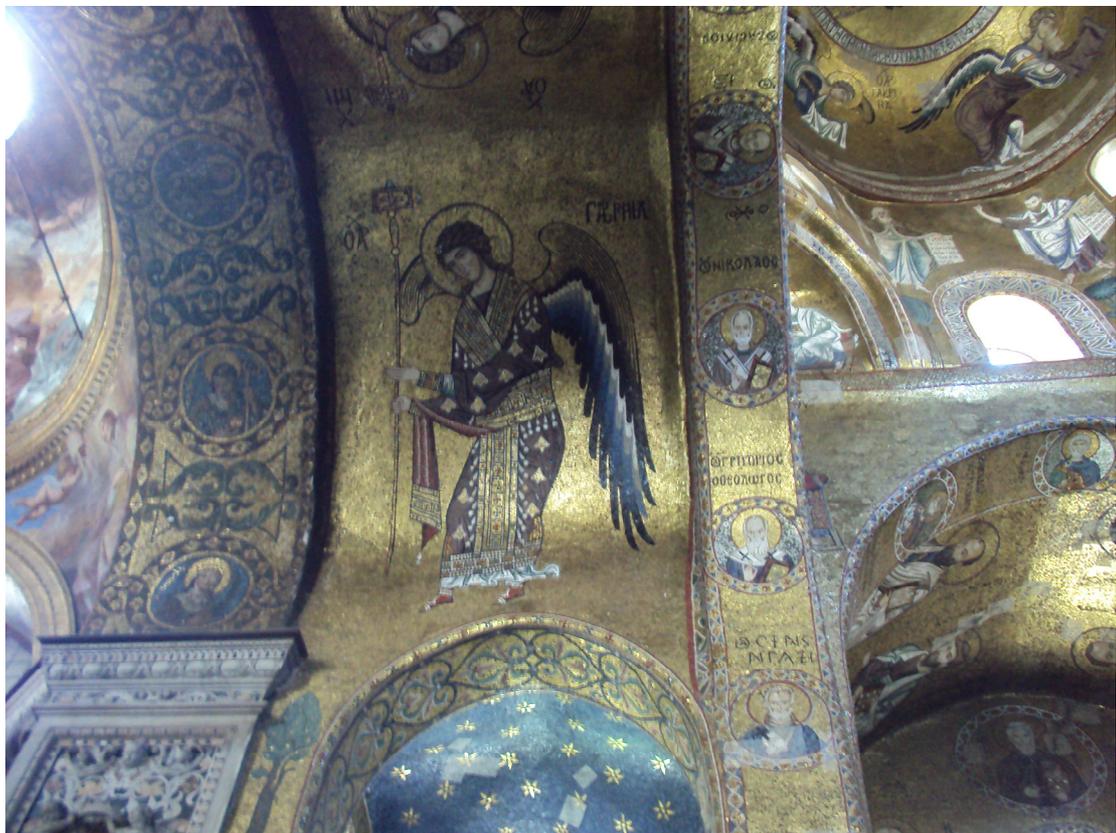
Baroc altar in the east end (photo: author)

Golden mosaics in the interior (photo: author)

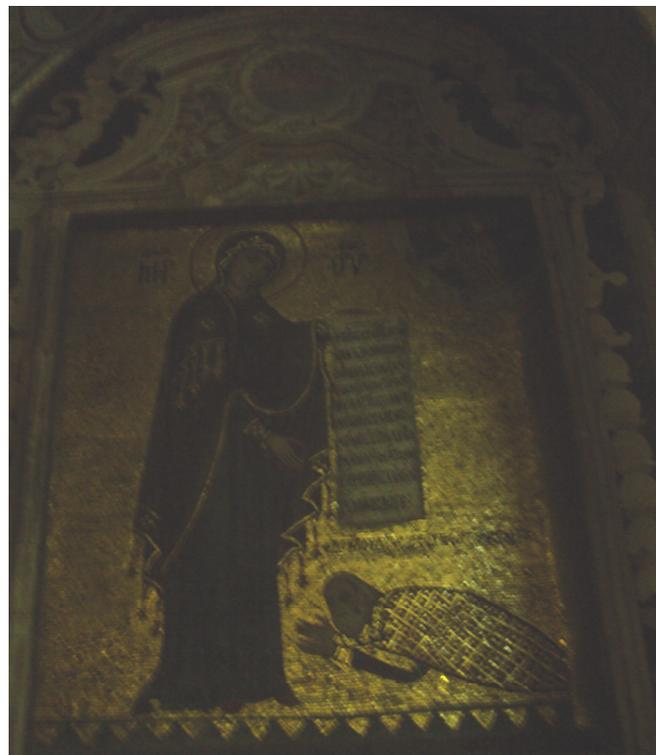*Arabic inscription (photo:author)*

Mosaic of the apostles (photo: author)

Interior. Cupola with a mosaic of Christ (photo: author)

Roger II's coronation panel

Admiral's panel

exterior

Campanile from northwest

Church from the north

*The church of St. Cataldo (b. 1154) on the left of the church of St. Mary (photo: au*thor)

Dr. M. Vaiou