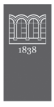
Pontes academici

Migrations in Visual Art

Edited by: Jelena Erdeljan, Martin Germ,
Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić, Marina Vicelja Matijašić



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Contents

Jelena Erdeljan

Introduction

Migrations in Visual Art is an edited collection of essays from different fields of humanities and social sciences that addresses the issue of the power and meaning of images and the visual in general in the context of migrations of people, ideas, knowledge, artifacts, art works and symbols through the prism of postcolonial and cultural translation theories, from antiquity to the present. The complex question of migrations in visual art involves far more than just art, all the more so because many fields in the humanities and social sciences have in recent times taken the "pictorial turn". Moreover, and especially at this point in history, any discussion of the power of images and their role in migrations in visual culture is unavoidably also positioned in the context of current changes in global relations as well as in the growing impact of social media. This issue also opens the question of the de-territorialization of images and how, as Walter Benjamin had already indicated, technical reproduction has moved the artwork from its original context. The topics opened for interdisciplinary discussions at the conference and printed in this volume include the following: West Balkans - Migration and Cultural transfer, Migration as Cross-cultural Communication, Migration of Ideas and Concepts, Migration of Works of Art, and Migration of Symbols.

The circulation of images is, of course, as old as civilization itself. It is crucial in the creation of multiple ways in which images impact society, both the individual and the collective habitus, as well as in cross-cultural communication. Likewise, the narratives, imagery and iconography of migration(s) have been present in visual art from antiquity to the present, most recognizably sublimated in the figures of ancient epic protagonists like Odysseus and Aeneas or biblical patriarchs like Abraham and Moses. The collective and/or individual migrations are even more intense in modern era and at the very moment we are confronted with grand scale migrations of thousands of people from the Middle East and Africa to Europe. The consequences, their complexity and dimensions in social and cultural sphere are yet to be seen in the future years and decades.

The idea of the present volume originates in the International Conference of Doctoral Students and Recent Doctoral Graduates held at the Faculty of

Philosophy, University of Belgrade, in September 2016, consecrated to different issues related to migrations in visual art and culture. The book clearly demonstrates how in the global era, the connection between (visual) culture and migration has become all-encompassing, influencing politics, economics and social practices. Any aspect of the visual is never simply an expression of one culture but rather part of a process of constructing meaning in a field characterized by similarities as much as by differences.

Jelena Anđelković Grašar

Imaging the Feminine during the Migration Period on the Territory of the Central Balkans: Transferring Ideas and Ideals

Abstract

Events and changes that happened during the Migration Period affected the demographic image of the Central Balkans and shaped cross-cultural communications between the people who used to live there with those who arrived. Also, religious transformations were reflected in visual culture of the time with all shifts that resulted with new or revisited concepts of former ideas and ideals. The aim of this paper is to research ways of how these historical circumstances and religious transitions influenced images of women, primarily from the Roman cultural milieu in this region; namely ideas and ideals of their self-representation.

Keywords: *image, women, migration, ideas, ideals, Central Balkans*

Introduction

Just as migrations of people were affected by historical circumstances, so too these migrations shaped the cultural history of regions. The territory of the Central Balkans is one of these regions in which the geographic position of the main ancient crossroads led toward the encountering of various peoples, their heritages, beliefs, ideas and ideals. Very well known historical events that occurred within the region generated migrations that affected changes within the society which was based upon the strong Roman heritage.

Since the second half of the 4th century barbarian tribes had been threatened the Danubian limes and Hunic penetration in 441 led to the devastation of major urban centres within the Central Balkan territory.[1] The presence of the Goths in the army and their settlement in Pannonia marked the new ethnic element in an already heterogeneous Roman state.[2] A brief restoration of the former glory of the Empire during the reign of the emperor Justinian was marked with the renovation of urban

1 В. Поповић, Јужнодунавске провинције у касној антици од краја 4. до средине 5. века, in: *Sirmium: град царева и мученика*, ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, 201-237.

2 More on the topic in: Н. Зечевић, *Византија и Готи на Балкану у IV и V веку*, Belgrade 2002.

centres, but already at the end of the 6th and in the 7th century an Avarian and Slavic onslaught signified the end of the Roman domination of this territory.[3]

Migrations that appeared due to this historical background affected the demographic image of the Central Balkans region, but migrations of ideas and ideals that occurred owing to the cross-cultural communication influenced personal beliefs, customs and images, both iconic and mental ones, that have survived as testimonies of these transitions. Images of Roman women from the Central Balkan territory can also be interpreted as testimonies of these various influences and they correspond with religious and cultural changes as well.

Migrating Ideas and Ideals in Female Imagery

Migrations with an impact on cross-cultural interchanges already occurred during the reign of the Severian dynasty when the population of Eastern origin became present in the army and inhabited major urban centres of the *Moesia Superior*. These ethnic changes led to the appearance of religious syncretism, which was noticeable in funerary rites, epigraphic inscriptions, icons or funerary goods.[4] Traces of Eastern influences and the possible ethnicity of people from this region are noticeable on the site "Pećine" from Viminacium, where the sarcophagus of the mummified woman was discovered, dated to late 3rd or the first half of the 4th century; an exceptional example on the territory of the Central Balkans.[5] Mummification suggests the Egyptian origin of the deceased woman and presumes her to be a follower of the Isis cult, although there are not so many preserved sculptures of this goddess in the region. Discovered artefacts from her sarcophagus, which include textile fragments with the golden embroidery, veil or net, leather shoes, earrings with rubies and various hairpins, suggest the importance of these objects in the female comprehension of fashion, as well as the significance as status symbols. On the other hand, these female accessories, aside from the fact that they were

3 М. Мирковић, *Централне балканске области у доба позног Царства*, in: *Историја српског народа, прва књига*, ed. Д. Срејовић, J. Ковачевић at al., Belgrade 1981, 89-105; J. Ковачевић, *Досељавање Словена на Балканско полуострво*, in: *Историја српског народа, прва књига*, ed. Д. Срејовић, J. Ковачевић at al., Belgrade 1981, 109- 124.

4 Љ. Зотовић, Јужне некрополе Виминацијума, *Виминациум* 1 (1986), 41-59; Р. Марић, *Антички култови у нашој земљи*, Belgrade 1933, 105-119; Д. Спасић-Ђурић, *Виминацијум, главни град,* Pozarevac 2002, 167, 184-185; id., *Град Виминацијум*, Pozarevac 2015, 95-97, 100-103.

5 Д. Спасић-Ђурић, Мумија из Виминацијума, *Viminacium* 13-14 (2003), 59-86.

part of woman's everyday life and important for creation of her mental image within the concept of afterlife, also were present within the female imagery in various artistic media.[1]

One of the most representative examples of the use of these fashion-status symbols can be seen on the portrait of a deceased lady from the "Pagan tomb" from Viminacium, dated in the middle of the 4th century (fig. 1).[2] This portrait is a typical representation of a noble woman who wished to be remembered in the majesty of her social status as well as beauty. On the one hand she is represented with all signs that a dignified matron had; a festive position, a fashionable hairstyle with a net, valuable jewellery and an ornamentally decorated collar of her tunica as well as the golden embroidery of her palla.[3] This image represents the ideal of a Roman matron and all of the motifs and symbols in the tomb suggest her mistress's role within the idea of the afterlife, but according to some of the painted motifs that coincide with the abovementioned funerary goods and stylistic characteristics of the fresco decoration, her ethnic origin can be related to the East.[4] The ideal of beauty and ideas about the beautification in the lives of Roman women were very important and on this portrait highlighted with the highest artistic standards, as well as a finely modelled glass bottle in the lady's hand (one can note the suggestion of the function of *balsamaria*.) Most probably this isolated symbol can be related to the scene of mistresse's toilette known from the Silistra tomb or Projecta's casket.[5] Sometimes this scene of female beautification is well developed or it could be simplified with a couple of main attributes, such as *balsamaria*. The basic idea of beautification rests on the

1 Cf. I. Popović, Jewelry on the Representations of the Deceased Women, in: *Funerary Sculpture of the Westrn Illyricum and Neighbouring Regions of the Roman Empire*, eds. N. Cambi and G. Koch, Split 2012, 541-556; J. Anđelković Grašar, Funerary Images of Women in Tomb Frescos of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period from the Central Balkans, in: *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC - 10th Century AD)*, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram and J. Hargrave, Oxford 2015, 269-275.

2 M. Korać, Late Roman Tomb with Frescoes from Viminacium, *Starinar* 42 (1991), 107-122; id., *Slikarstvo Viminacijuma*, Belgrade 2007, 69-100.

3 J. Anđelković Grašar, *Funerary Images of Women in Tomb Frescos*, 270-272; J. Anđelković Grašar, M. Tapavički-Ilić, Mural Painting of a Roman Lady from Viminacium: From Roman Matron to the Modern Icon, *Exarc Journal Digest* 2 (2015) 17-19; online: http://journal.exarc.net/issue-2015-2/int/mural-painting-roman-lady-viminacium-roman-matron-modern-icon

4 M. Korać, *Slikarstvo Viminacijuma*, 117; Д. Спасић-Ђурић, *Град Виминацијум*, 115.

5 G. Atanasov, Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and its Master, *Pontica* 40 (2007), 447-468; H. Danov, T. Ivanov, *The Silistra tomb, Antique tombs in Bulgaria, Sofia 1980*, 105-121; J. Elsner, Visualising Women in Late Antique Rome: The Projecta Casket, *in: Through a Glass Brightly: Festschrift for David Buckton*, ed., C. Entwhistle, Oxford 2003, 22-36.

idea of the goddess Venus's toilette as it can be seen on Projecta's casket. In funerary art this mythological ideal can be associated with the goddess Venus only indirectly, through the use of funerary goods that could contain shells or mother of pearls, or even motifs of Cupids that could indicate the cult of *Venus Funerariae*, as well as many of objects associated with the woman beautification, such as mirrors which were often decorated with the motif of goddess Aphrodite/Venus.[6]

Objects that were painted as part of the misstressses toillete or funerary banquet, esspecially those associated with a woman's beautification or her noble status are also present as funerary goods. Among them can be recognized fibulae, jewelry, hair pins, bottles, mirrors, balsamaria, suggesting the idea that motifs that were painted within the tombs decorations, actually were present in the earthly life of the deceased women, pointing to the idea that these women wished to be remembered in the glorious appearance even within the atmosphere of their *domus aeterna*.[7]

The idea of beauty and ideal of beautification over time migrated from Roman to early Byzantine society and the lives of women, even when ideals of exemplary Christian life were subordinated to modesty. The attitude of early Christians toward these Roman-pagan ideals was ambivalent. The ideal of portrait as remembrance of the ancestors as well as the highest way of self representation, self promotion, memory associated with the apotheosis in one moment was abandoned and a deceased woman, together with the three deceased men was buried in the "Christian tomb" from Viminacium, where the Christ monogram was placed on the western wall of the tomb, once dedicated for portraits of deceased persons.[8] These Christians clearly abandoned the earlier pagan view of death and afterlife, and wished to be identified and remembered by the idea of resurrection that was glorified under the main Christian symbol. On the other hand, a woman buried within the lead sarchopagus (G 2047)

6 А. Јовановић, Култ Venus Funerariae у Горњој Мезији, *Зборник Народног музеја у Нишу* 9 (2000), 11-19; M. Tapavički-Ilić, J. Anđelković Grašar, Symbol as Key to the Question of Roman Woman's Afterlife, *Acta Mvsei Caransebesiensis, Tibiscvm, Caransebeş* 3 (2013), 65-85; B. Milovanović, M. Mitić, I. Kosanović, New Find of Lead Mirror Frames from Rit (Viminacium), *Arheologija i prirodne nauke* 11 (2016), 9-22.

7 M. Tapavički-Ilić, J. Anđelković Grašar, Symbol as Key, 74-75.

8 J. Anđelković Grašar, E. Nikolić, D. Rogić, "Tomb with Cupids" from Viminacium: a Contribution to Research of Construction, Iconography and Style, *Starinar* 63 (2013), 82-83; M. Korać, *Slikarstvo Viminacijuma*, 259-260.

from the western area of the central part of the three conch memoria at "Pećine" site from Viminacium, suggests the early Christian funerary practice from the middle of the 4th century.[9] Rich funerary material that includes fragmented textile made of purple brocade and golden embroidery, leather shoes, golden necklace, silver needle used as fibulae, glass *balsamaria* and a small wooden spindle, suggest the Eastern origin of the deceased and the notion that early Christian women were not ready to abandon some pagan practices that easily, especially those associated with ideas and ideals of beauty.[10]

Among the funerary goods, wedding rings testified to the most intimate act in a woman's life – marriage. This idea of marriage as one of the most important events in a woman's life was the ideal ever known and ever present in woman's history. The Christian church took over the Roman wedding custom with very little changes, with the main things left such as the signing of the wedding agreement and the act of shaking hands over the dowry. The art associated with this act also inherited most of the Roman patterns but was assimilated to the Christian ideas, thus the scene *dextrarum iunctio* (fig. 2), sometimes had some Christian symbol or acclamation, such as *vivas in deo*, signifying the sacred institution of marriage.[11] By the 4th century this type of ring was common in the West, and from there it came to Byzantium, while the examples from the Central Balkans were in use between the end of the 3rd and middle of the 4th century.[12] Since the marriage was the means of achieving another ideal – maternity, women were represented with their husbands, as wives prepared for their future role. Being a woman meant achieving this biologically predominated role.

Images of women represented as mothers within the family portraits are known from objects of everyday use. Even when Christian massages were incorporated into the image such as an invocation *vivas in deo* on the glass bottom from Prahovo (*Aquae*), the woman within this family portrait is depicted with all of the designations of status symbols and with the ideals of

9 Љ. Зотовић, Рано хришћанство у Виминацијуму кроз изворе и археолошке споменике, *Viminacivm* 8-9, (1994), 61-62.

10 Д. Спасић-Ђурић, *Град Виминацијум*, 112-113.

11 G. Vikan, Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 145-163; И. Поповић, *Касноантички и рановизантијски накит од злата у Народном музеју у Београду*, Belgrade 2001, 30.

12 Ibid., 26-29, кат. 6, 7, 8, 20, сл. 2; Д. Спасић, Једна гробна целина из Виминацијума, *Гласник Српског археолошког друштва* 12 (1996), 103-104, Т. ½, Сл. 2, 2а.

beauty of a Roman matron (fig. 3).[13] On the fragmented brick from Caričin Grad, the depiction of the family portrait is schematized and all the figures are depicted in the *orans* position. In the Christian centre such was Caričin Grad, the main ideal of the faithful was expressed with the hands upraised toward the heavens, while within the ideal of family portraiture the image of a woman was simplified with a linear drawing closer to the schematic drawing (fig. 4). In such a picture, only traces of what was once important for the female self representation were visible: long hair and decorative dress just determined this woman in her gender role, while all other lines (for instance of face or body) are the same for all three figures.[14] As can be seen in these few examples the ideals of marriage and later maternity were of greatest importance for ordinary woman, and not only for them, but for empresses too. Religious changes influenced female lifestyles and thus their images were subordinated to the new Christian ideals. For Christians two figures were the most important ideals for this image: the Theotokos and the mother of the first Christian emperor Constantine, Helena.

According to what is said, feminine images served the aim of their memory as respectable wives and thus mothers. And that is visible by the funerary goods, as well as portraits in their fresco decorated tombs.

For an ordinary noble woman, who aspired to represent herself in the majesty of her social role, it was necessary to create the most exemplary image that followed the highest role model of the time – an empress. Imitation was the imperative. In order to imitate this ideal women used patterns of successful representation, a profile or an en face solemn image, a hairstyle with buns, wreaths, nets, diadems, decorative dress, jewellery, anything that could be a status symbol. All of these marks are noticeable on cameos with the female idealized representations and sometimes it is very hard to distinguish these images as standardized representations of empresses or their imitations (fig. 5).[15] Aspirations toward the ideal of the empress image that at a certain point became the desirable type of image for feminine representations, continued to be dominant in the 5th and 6th centuries. These standardized images are known from the objects of everyday use or

13 Ј. Ранков, Касноантичко стаклено дно рађено у техници fondo d`oro, *Зборник Народног музеја у Београду* 11/1 (1983) 85-89, 85; Ј. Кондић, *Римски царски градови и палате,* кат. 131.

14 В. Кондић, В. Поповић, *Царичин Град*, Belgrade 1977, 188, T. IV, 5; M. Jeremić, Briques et tuiles, 90, Fig. I, 42a.

15 I. Popović, Roman Cameos with Representation of Female Bust from Middle and Lower Danube, *Glyptique romaine, Pallas. Revue d`études antiques* 83 (2010), 203-224.

jewelry.[16] They are characterized by an en face portrait and schematically rendered face features, as well as the spiritual look dominated with accentuated eyes, strait hair falling down to the level of the ears, in an overall impression much more similar to masks than the human faces, as can be seen on the oil lamp from Pontes (fig. 6).[17] What has been left from the previous glory of idealized but far more realistic image can be recognized in traces of jewellery, decorative dress or fashionable hairstyle, as can be seen on the bone plaque of pyxis from Caričin Grad, on the image that appears as the most simplified and stylized ideal of an empress (fig. 7).[18]

At the end it should be said that women of non Roman origin appeared as a strong factor in the acculturation of barbaric tribes into Roman society during the Migration Period when people of the highest rank of German origin adopted the Roman way of clothing fashion as their wish to represent themselves equal to the Roman aristocracy. Grave goods from the female grave from Ulpiana as well as jewellery from the National Museum of Belgrade testify to this tendencies.[19]

Conclusion

As a conclusion it can be stated that female images from the 4th to 6th centuries represent the continuity of Roman ideals of fashion and beauty, sometimes achieved in the best artistic manner, sometimes as a fair reflection of a glorious ancient past. In the 6th century when the Roman state restored previous borders and thus the glory of the past, female images became again more frequent prominent, but much more represented as stylized and standardized versions of the ancient models. Owing to the historical circumstances it is expected that in the 5th century images of women of Roman origin lack in production, since the artistic centres were located in the cities which were mostly destroyed. But on the other hand, foreign elements that arrived into the culture of this region showed that even women of German origin aspired toward the look of an empress, and not just any empress, but the Byzantine one.

16 И. Поповић, *Камеје из касноантичке збирке Народног музеја у Београду*, Belgrade 1989 , 403.

17 S. Petković, M. Tapavički-Ilić, J. Anđelković Grašar, A Portrait Oil Lamp from Pontes – Possible Interpretations and Meanings within Early Byzantine Visual Culture, *Starinar* 65 (2015), 79-89.

18 В. Кондић, В. Поповић, *Царичин Град*, 188, Т. III, сл. 2.

19 И. Поповић, *Касноантички и рановизантијски накит* 64-65, 98, кат. 75; М. Милинковић, тзв. Женском германском гробу из Улпијане, in: *Споменица Јована Ковачевића*, eds. Ж. Микић and Р.Бунарџић, 143-177; id. Археологија моде као археологија идентитета - неколико примера, *Ниш и Византија* 2 (2003), 185-196.

Fig. 1: Portrait of the lady from the "Pagan tomb" from Viminacium (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Fig. 2: Wedding ring from the National Museum of Belgrade (after: Константин Велики и Миланski едикт 313, 2013, cat. 41)

Fig. 3: Glass bottom from Prahovo (Aquae), National Museum Belgrade (source: http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/event/konstantin-veliki-i-milanski-edikt-313-radjanje-hriscanstva-u-rimskim-provincijama-na-tlu-srbije-2/, accessed 20.09.2013)

Fig. 4: Fragmented brick from Caričin Grad (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Fig. 5: Medalion with cameo from Remesiana, National Museum Belgrade (after: Константин Велики и Миланski едикт 313, 2013, cat. 50)

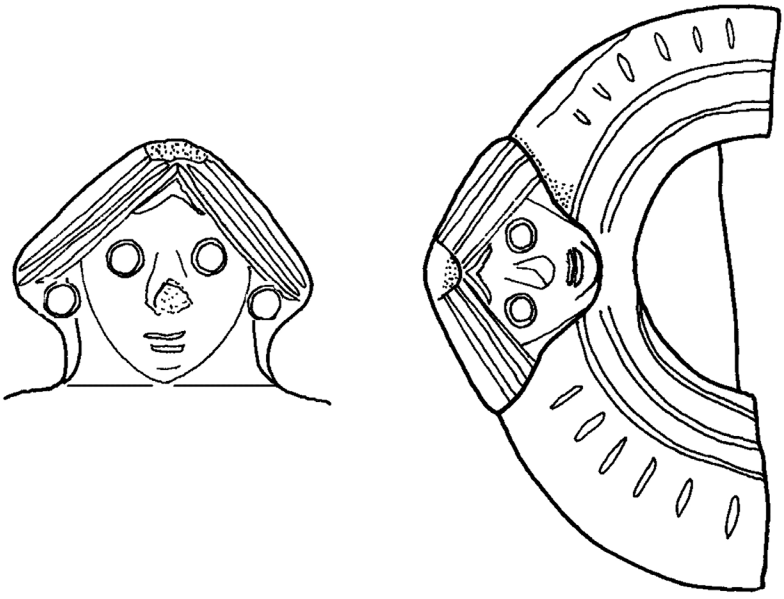

Fig. 6: Oil lamp from Pontes (drawing: M. Tapavički-Ilić)

Fig. 7: Bone plaque of pyxis from Caričin Grad (documentation of the Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade)

Jakov Đorđević

Macabre Goes East: A Peculiar Verse among Funerary Inscriptions of the Orthodox Christians in the Late Medieval Balkans[1]

Abstract

This paper discusses the inclusion of the characteristic verses from the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead on funerary inscriptions of the Orthodox Christians in the Late Middle Ages. It also discusses reasons for the hostility toward the macabre images in the East, as well as the possibility of interpreting certain Byzantine depictions as the appropriate doubles for the western macabre imagery.

Key words: *macabre, Byzantine tomb, Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, arcosolium, Ostoja Rajaković, intercessory prayer, purgatory, bodily decay*

Introduction

Preparing for one's own death through the meditation of a decaying corpse is a well-known topos, which has a long history that goes back to early Christian times. And yet the physical renderings of this highly unpleasant vision did not come into usage until the end of the 13th century when the mental image finally got its material support in the West.[2] The Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead was the first fully defined *macabre* theme and already by the beginning of the 14th century it was widely disseminated through Western Europe, both in text and in image.[3] It tells a story of three noblemen who encounter three animated corpses as a mirror of their future fate. In the poems[4] this mirroring is emphasized by the characteristic words which the dead address to the living: "We once were what you are now; you will become what we are

1 This paper contains some of the results achieved in the project no. 177036, supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

2 P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation,* London, 1996, 135. Also by the end of the 13th century the figure of cadaverous death was introduced in the apocalyptic iconography, for the image see J. Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague and Death in the Later Middle Ages*, New York 2001, 188.

3 See, for example, P. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 134-138; A. Kinch, Image, Ideology, and Form: The Middle English "Three Dead Kings" in Its Iconographic Context, *The Chaucer Review* 43/1 (2008), 48-81; C. Kralik, Dialogue and Violence in Medieval Illuminations of the Three Living and the Three Dead, in: *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. S. Oosterwijk and S. Knöll, Newcastle upon Tyne 2011, 133-154.

4 For the text of French poems, see S. Glixelli, *Les Cinq Poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs*, Paris 1914.

now". It is more than obvious that these words can be identified as *memento mori* warning ("remember that you have to die"). And yet to stop here means not to bring into discussion the ancient social codes which lay at the base of medieval society and which defined relations within communities. One of the core principles was the enduring idea of gift-exchange as a fundamental means of establishing bonds. Every gift required a proper counter-gift without which the imbalance would become intolerable, even threatening to the receiver.[5] This "formula" was embedded into medieval society and can be discerned in numerous customs. If we look at the story of the Three Living and Three Dead, we will see that the moral lesson could be interpreted as a gift that had to be repaid because, as Jean-Claude Schmitt stated, "in Christian society a dead person could provide no greater service than to invite a living person to prepare for death".[6] And the duty of every *civilized* man, *i.e.* Christian, was to provide prayer for the deceased. Therefore, prayer could be seen as an appropriate counter-gift.[7]

Even though we encounter neither the depiction nor the poem of the Three Living and the Three Dead in the East, it is interesting to note that by the second half of the 14th century certain tombs of learned monks and nobles on the Balkans started to incorporate the famous verses amidst the lines of their inscriptions.[8] The most intriguing one is the tomb of Ostoja Rajaković in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid (fig. 1) because it is the only surviving example among the funeral monuments that has the figural representation beside the characteristic inscription. It is actually a typical painted Byzantine niche tomb, *i.e.* an arcosolium, designed for a member of an aristocratic family.[9] The deceased is shown in his lavishly embroidered garments approaching the Virgin seated on

5 P. J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 1994, 78.

6 J.-C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, Chicago 1998, 75.

7 The tale of the grateful dead illustrates this point most eloquently – a man who was accustomed to pray for the souls of the dead while passing through the cemetery was saved by those very dead when he was attacked by his enemies. For the story, see K. H. Broekhuijsen, The Legend of the Grateful Dead: A Misinterpreted Miniature in the Très Riches Heures of Jean de Berry, in: *"Als Ich Can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr Maurits Smeyers*, ed. B. Cardon, J. Van der Stock and D. Vanwijnsberghe, Leuven 2002, 213-230. On prayers in relation to the idea of gift-giving, see J. Đorđević, Made in the skull's likeness: of transi tombs, identity and memento mori, *Journal of Art Historiography* 17 (2017), 1-19.

8 These tombs are enumerated and only briefly analyzed in Д. Поповић, Прилог познавању средњовекових надгробних плоча у манастиру Сопоћани, *Новопазарски зборник* 7 (1983), 39-52, 46-49; and ead., Градачки надгробни натписи, *Саопштења* 24 (1992), 51-62, 54-56.

9 For painted byzantine niche tombs, see S. T. Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead: Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration (Mid-Thirteenth to Mid-Fifteenth Centuries)*, Ph.D. diss., New York University 2002.

throne with the young Christ on her knees. Gestures of the nobleman suggest his prayer and the gestures of the divine persons imply their acceptance of the deceased. While nothing is quite unusual with the fresco, the inscription above reads: "The servant of God Ostoja Rajaković, Ugarčić of old, kinsman of king Marko and son-in-law of zhoupan [Andrea] Gropa, passed away in 6888 [1379], in the month of October on the tenth day, in the third indiction. And you, my beloved brethren, from you who read I do beseech, redeem [pray for] this servant of God, *for you can become as I am, and yet I can never be as you are*."[10] The characteristic words from the Legend are employed here in order to enhance compassion toward the deceased, which should have resulted in prayer for his salvation. The same use is attested to in the West on numerous contemporary funeral monuments.[11]

Even though we do not encounter the tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead in the East and even though the phrase *I once was what you are now, and you will become what I am now* is not particularly creative so that it could not have had several unrelated places of origin,[12] it is its creative manner of employment in devotional context that suggests the migration from West to East: here too the words did not function as a simple warning, but as a plea for the intercessory prayer. However, the strange thing is that despite the fact that these words act as an obvious trigger for the mental image, among the orthodox Christians in the Balkans one does not find the macabre imagery. Why?

Byzantine *Macabre*?

Byzantine iconography actually had its share in visualizing the bodily dissolution. A considerable number of Last Judgment representations contain amidst the punishments of the damned the torment named "the worm that never sleeps" implying that the newly resurrected bodies of

10 "Престави се раб божији Остоја Рајаковић, по гуслама Угарчић и суродник краља Марка, зет жупана Гропе, лета 6888, месеца октомврија десетога, индиктиона трећег. А вас молим, братијо моја вољена, који читате, простате раба божија, пошто ви можете бити као ја, а ја пак као ви никада." (*Стари српски записи и натписи*, ed. М. Павић, Belgrade 1986, 76). I would like to thank prof. Jelena Erdeljan for helping me with the English translation.

11 See K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Berkeley 1973, passim.

12 The fate of the buried body is same everywhere and it should not be surprising that we find variations of the characteristic words from the Legend on Roman tombs, as well as in the 6th century Arabian poetry (see ibid., 25). This does not mean that these examples influenced each other, but that they drew on the common human experience.

the unrighteous will suffer eternal decay.[13] This was usually rendered as a heap of skulls placed in an enclosed space that resembles an open tomb.[14] Yet the most eloquent are some late examples like the one in Visoki Dečani monastery (fig. 2) where agonized bodies are immersed in stone, almost as in a sepulcher, and covered by worms.[15] It actually echoes composition of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which might have had some influence in its creation, but almost certainly in its perception. Relying on cognitive studies we may assume that the viewer might have transferred the experience of uneasiness gained in front of the well-known scene into similar compositional forms, reinforcing his consciousness of represented somatic tension.[16] Still, while the worm that never sleeps is quite direct in its meaning, there are other representations which indicate bodily dissolution as well, only in a subtler manner.

By the late Byzantine period a person had been long understood as a psychosomatic unity where body was a necessary part for the completeness of the self.[17] Even though this is acknowledged in theological writings, where this idea was argued in various ways bearing different implications,[18] when it comes to iconography, traces or echoes of this rather important notion haven't been noticed yet by today's scholars. However, codex Dionysiou 65 can provide the perfect example. This psalter, designed for privet devotion and dated to the first half of 12th century,[19] cherishes one particularly informative miniature (fol. 12r) for the purpose of this discussion

13 This is one of the four torments that await sinners as mentioned in the Bible (Mark 9:44, 46, 48; Isaiah 66:24). Some examples of this scene are enumerated in P. A. Underwood, Third Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute, 1956, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12 (1958), 236-265, 256-257.

14 For the image, see N. P. Ševčenko, Images of the Second Coming and the Fate of the Soul in Middle Byzantine Art, in: *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*, ed. R. J. Daly, Grand Rapids 2009, 250-272, 252, fig. 14.1.

15 For the Last Judgment scenes in Dečani monastery, See А. Давидов-Темерински, Циклус Страшног суда, in: *Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана: грађа и студије*, ed. В. Ј. Ђурић, Belgrade 1995, 191-211, especially 206. Similar composition of the worm that never sleeps can be found in Chora monastery. See S. Der Nersessian, Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion, in: *Kariye Djami*, Vol. 4, ed. P. Underwood, New York 1975), 305-349, 329.

16 For the cognitive approach in art history, cf. P. Sheingorn, Making the Cognitive Turn in Art History: A Case Study, in: *Emerging Disciplines: Shaping New Fields of Scholarly Inquiry in and beyond the Humanities*, ed. M. Bailar, Houston 2010, 145-200; and H. Roodenburg, The Visceral Pleasures of Looking: On Iconology, Anthropology and the Neurosciences, in: *New Perspectives in Iconology: Visual Studies and Anthropology*, eds. B. Baert, A.-S. Lehmann and J. Van den Akkerveken, Brussels 2012, 211-229.

17 N. Constas, "To Sleep, Perchance to Dream": The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), 91-124, 115, 122.

18 Ibid., passim.

19 G. R. Parpulov, Texts and Miniatures from Codex Dionysiou 65, in: *Twenty-fifth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts*, College Park 1999, 124-126.

– the image of a soul trapped in Hades (fig. 3). A figure of a naked man representing the soul, with arms tied behind his back and skin covered in sores, is violently set as a captive in a cave above which the figure of Christ is shown with the gesture of benediction. The foul flesh is characteristic for the representations of those in great suffering and physical pain and by looking at the soul, images of Job and the beggar Lazarus (from the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus) can easily come to mind. These two are particularly telling because while the Book of Job played an important role in understanding the future resurrection of the body, the later parable was of key importance in constructing the Christian imagination of the afterlife. It should also be noted that caves in Byzantine visual culture quite often alluded to entombment. One need only look at a few examples of the Raising of Lazarus, Entombment of Christ, or even Nativity scenes with their poetic allusions between cradle and sepulcher to acknowledge the equivalence of the dark stony entrances with the burial places. Of no less importance are the monks' cells usually depicted as rooms set in caves, *i.e.* under earth, and therefore imagined as a grave's womb. This was convenient indeed considering that a person was ritually dying for the society by taking a monastic oath, living from then on in a liminal space between the two worlds.[20] An illuminated manuscript of John Climacus' *Heavenly Leader*, Vat. gr. 394, illustrates this liminality in great detail by showing monks set in caves and devoted to their purifying penance.[21] Especially reviling is the first miniature on fol. 46r (fig. 4) following the passage describing the most repulsive bodily mortifications.[22] The "holy criminals", as these anchorites are called in the fifth chapter, are visualized here as animated corpses with only a thin layer of skin covering their bones. Their act of cleansing is described as similar to the process which a buried body has to undertake in earth, implying thus that the putrefaction of flesh is simultaneous with the purification of the soul. It is also indicative that the fifth chapter of the *Heavenly Leader* resembles otherworld journey narratives.[23] Following this train of thought, the captured soul in Dionysiou 65 can be easily equated not only to the inhumed body, but to the decaying corpse. And yet for the overall meaning of the miniature the figure of Christ is

20 S. T. Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, 137; N. Constas, The Middle State of Souls, 123. Cf. R. C. Finucane, Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages, in: *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. J. Whaley, London 1981, 40-60, 44-45.

21 On Vat. gr. 394, see J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton 1954, 47-87; and for the relevant miniatures, see ibid., fig. 83-93.

22 For the English translation of the passage, see: ibid., 62.

23 I am grateful to Saskia Dirkse for pointing this to me.

crucial. His gesture unequivocally suggests the positive outcome and the soul's eventual liberation. Indeed, though only sporadically mentioned in theological texts,[24] it was believed that before the Last Judgment, when the final decision will be made, the dead could be delivered from the depths of Hades.[25] Therefore, the emphasis on bodily suffering must have invited the viewer to connect the soul's fate with the fate of the corpse buried in the ground, paralleling again bodily dissolution with the soul's cleansing.

In the perambulatory that surrounds the chapel dedicated to St. George at the top of the homonymous six-story tower, belonging to the Chilandar monastery, the two walls of the chapel's façade were painted in the 13th century with scenes devised from the kanon for "He Who Is at the Point of Death".[26] This text is written in first-person narrative and describes experiences of a dying man and his journey to the depth of Hades where he will eventually be imprisoned.[27] The story on the chapel's southern façade is organized in two registers and should be followed from the upper left to the lower right with one interruption since the final scene of the kanon is actually depicted as the last image of the upper register instead of the lower one.[28] However, this peculiarity in the narrative flow can be understood if we realize that the corresponding upper and lower scenes could be observed simultaneously – the upper recounting the body's journey to the grave, and the lower the soul's journey to Hades (fig. 5). It should be noted that the body eventually does not end up buried in earth, but, as a special sign of penance,[29] is thrown away to be devoured by beasts (fig. 6). Digestion is an ancient symbol of bodily dissolution, in both the East and the West,[30] and here it corresponds to the soul's captivity in Hades. On the other hand, for this very symbolism the idea of digestion was also

24 Obviously this belief raised up problematic questions for theologians. Cf. V. Marinis, "He Who Is at the Point of Death": The Fate of the Soul in Byzantine Art and Liturgy, *Gesta* 54/1 (2015), 59-84, 74. Generally speaking, byzantine views on the afterlife cherished numerous traditions intertwined and scattered, sometimes even contradicting each other, but truly pregnant with the potential of finding various ways of salvation. They began taking somewhat firmer shape only in theological debates with the Latin Church. N. Constas, The Middle State of Souls, 94.

25 Cf. V. Marinis, The Fate of the Soul, 78.

26 For the chapel of St. George, see Б. Тодић, Фреске XIII века у Параклису на Пиргу Св. Георгија у Хиландару, *Хиландарски зборник* 9 (1997), 35-73.

27 On the kanon, see V. Marinis, The Fate of the Soul. For the full English translation of the kanon's text, see ibid., 80-84.

28 Б. Тодић, Фреске XIII века, 59-60.

29 The same motive is present in the *Heavenly Leader*, J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder*, 62.

30 C. W. Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, New York 1995, 186-199 and passim.

embedded in the obese figures of Hades, personification of the underworld and death itself, often found in Byzantine tradition.[31] Hence, cleansing through decomposition is implied in the tower of St. George too and salvation is guaranteed this time by the image of the Virgin's intersession in the last image of the upper register (though the halo around the soul's head anticipates it through the whole journey as well).

Still, for the present discussion one detail of the devouring scene deserves special attention – the group of men praying for the soul of the departed monk. They are the passing strangers moved to prayer by the horrific sight, just as the dying man hoped for in the kanon.[32] Throwing body to be eaten by beasts as an accessible spectacle to the accidental viewers is the way of securing sincere prayer intertwined with the expression of profound humbleness of the dead. Therefore, these men can be considered the perfect doubles for the readers of Ostoja Rajaković's inscription, readers who were supposed to encounter the mental image of the same sort and thus be encouraged to pray for the departed nobleman. The humbleness is embedded in the inscription of Ostoja Rajaković too through the deliberate opposition between his proud belonging to noble houses and the pitiful state he is enduring after death. This principle is an important part of numerous western funerary monuments, especially *transi* tombs crowned with the representation of a decaying corps as the ensuring vehicle that the harsh meaning will be transmitted.[33] But the question remains: why were the aforementioned visual formulations of bodily suffering unsuited for the tombs in the East when their rendering in arcosolia would have enhanced further the desired notion of the deceased in need for (intercessory) help? On the other hand, the general lack of the western macabre imagery in the East, in spite of the fact that the similar sentiments can be found in Byzantine visual culture, might also be considered as curious.

Same Image, Different Meaning

To get a full understanding of Ostoja Rajaković's tomb one should take a closer look at the images of arcosolia in general. By trying rough classification, two types of representation are to be expected: the first group is

31 Cf. A. Eastmond and L. James, Eat, drink . . . and pay the price, in: *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium*, eds. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou, Aldershot 2007, 175-189, 179-182.

32 Perhaps passing strangers, seeing the bones dragged by dogs, will be moved by compunction and cry: help, mistress, the soul of this wretched body. (VI.4. as in V. Marinis, The Fate of the Soul, 82).

33 K. Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 48-83.

made of portraits of the deceased men and women positioned in relation to Christ, the Virgin and other saintly figures, sometimes even accompanied by their still living relatives, whereas the second encompasses elaborate funeral scenes with the deceased represented as lying on a catafalque. While the first group is more prominent, the latter is found, it seems, in arcosolia belonging to persons whose cult was expected to be established.[34] Thus, being the images of the (new) saints whose cults were supposed to be instigated at the places of their burial, it might have seemed convenient to represent them similar to the usual ending depictions of saints' vita cycles, i.e. funeral scenes. In turn, this connection would have prompted the viewers to identify the represented dead body on the catafalque as an incorruptible relic, a relic which is actually buried below the very scene of arcosolium. Whatever the case may be, this discussion goes beyond the scope of the present paper and deserves further investigation. Because Ostoja Rajaković's tomb belongs to the first group of arcosolia, the analysis here will be focused on them.

By looking at those images a few patterns become obvious:[35] the deceased is usually represented as approaching Christ, whether seated on a throne, or shown as a child on his mother's lap. Sometimes the deceased is led by the patron saint, his protector even in death, or Archangel Michael, the one in charge with the weighing of souls. Donor compositions are very similar to these scenes in arcosolia, which is not surprising taking into account that the act of donation was perceived as a votive gift intended to ensure future salvation.[36] The Virgin is always represented as accepting the deceased, and Christ's gesture is always that of benediction. On many examples Christ and the Virgin bear certain epithets that, interestingly enough, do not necessarily coincide with the iconographic types and icons to which they belong.[37] While Christ's epithet "the merciful" (ὁ ἐλεήμων) emphasizes his loving nature toward humans, it simultaneously identifies him as

34 Cf. C. Walter, Death in Byzantine iconography, *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1976), 115-127, 120-122; B. Cvetković, The Living (and the) Dead: Imagery of Death in Byzantium and the Balkans, *IKON* 4 (2011), 27-44, 30.

35 On these type of arcosolia images, see S. T. Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, passim; T. Παπαμαστοράκης, Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις κατά τη μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο, *Δελτίον XAE* 19 (1996-1997), 285-304. One should also consider byzantine funerary panels as part of this same context, cf. K. Marsengill, Imperial and Aristocratic Funerary Panel Portraits in the Middle and Late Byzantine Periods, in: *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić,* eds. M. J. Johnson, R. Ousterhout and A. Papalexandrou, Farnham 2012, 203-219.

36 Cf. T. Παπαμαστοράκης, Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις, 292 and especially 259-296.

37 S. T. Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, 114-118.

the judge.[38] The Virgin's epithets, on the other hand, celebrate her as the great intercessor.[39] Thus Christ the Judge and the Virgin intercessor both indicate that images in arcosolia actually represent the moment of judgment when the fate of the deceased will be decided. There are even some rare images where the scene is set amidst a flowery garden foreshadowing the positive outcome of the judgment, just like the gestures and epithets do.[40] Hence, the context of acosolium is devoted to the Last Judgment ideas and every image in this context would have been understood in relation to those ideas, suggesting salvation. Consequently, this leads to the conclusion that the macabre imagery, as well as any of the discussed Byzantine representations for that matter, with their stress on decay would have been perceived in the context of arcosolium, the Last Judgment context, as the images of the hell torment the worm that never sleeps because of their essential similarities. They would have condemned the deceased to the irrevocable punishment destined for the unrighteous after the general resurrection and, therefore, would have been highly undesirable.

Purgatory – Dividing Line

Appropriating Legend's words and rejecting the accompanying image may also be discussed in a broader context that can shed new light on the general hostility toward the macabre imagery in the East.

Today we know that the outbreak of the Black Death in the middle of the 14th century had nothing to do with the emergence of macabre representations.[41] While they could have been intertwined in specific contexts with the fear of the plague,[42] their origin should be sought in the last decades of the 13th century,[43] the time when laity was ever more introduced to the new patterns of devotion characteristic for monastic communities through the missionary work of mendicant orders, and the time when beliefs in purgatory started to get firmer boundaries and harsher limitations in church teachings. Numerous popular tales of animated corpses

38 Ibid., 114.

39 Ibid., 118.

40 Ibid., 110-111.

41 See E. Gertsman, Visualizing Death: Medieval Plagues and the Macabre, in: *Piety and plague: from Byzantium to the Baroque*, eds. F. Mormando and T. Worcester, Kriksville 2007, 64-89, especially 78-85. On the Black Death, see remarkable article by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., The Black Death: End of a Paradigm, *The American Historical Review* 107/3 (2002), 703-738.

42 E. Gertsman, Visualizing Death, 84.

43 See n. 1.

which roamed around attacking the living, and even worse, helping them so that they could not have been easily interpreted by the Church as demonic possessions, stood in deep opposition to Christian teachings on purgatory and resurrection of the body.[44] The role of macabre imagery in taming such ill-suited beliefs, which has too often been overlooked, should not be underestimated.[45] The story of the Three Living and the Three Dead was a tale with breathtaking elements and yet was in absolute harmony with the official church understandings of the afterlife:[46] the dead were physical apparitions from purgatory and their bodily decomposition manifested their *purifying pains*.[47]

It is quite possible that this is the main reason why we do not encounter macabre imagery in the East. Purgatory was one of the steppingstones in the process of conciliation between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church as attested to by the Second Council in Lyon and the Council in Florence.[48] This would explain why macabre iconography was never employed even in devotional manuscripts designed for personal use in the East, manuscripts where the ideas of contemplating one's own death were clearly

44 See N. Caciola, Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture, *Past & Present* 152 (1996), 3-45.

45 The insistence on corpses as apparitions from purgatory is attested in more than one version of the poem and it was those poems that found the particular appeal with the nobility. Interactive character of the western transi tombs can be also observed in this particular context for it performed the same encounter as in the Legend. The tomb's cadaverous image with its inscription given in direct speech appeared before the viewer as a ghost from purgatory or a good revenant who was passing through the purgatorial pains. See J. Ђорђевић, Лепота лобање: Посмртни остаци обичних мртвих у култури и визуелној култури касног средњег века, in: *Језици и културе у времену и простору* IV/1, Novi Sad 2015, 43-54, 51.

46 The Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead fulfilled as a moralizing tale all aspects that a good medieval exemplum should have aimed for. And yet it was its emphasis on (re)establishing bonds with the dead that was crucial for its success among the late medieval nobility who adapted it into a number of different devotional contexts. See A. Kinch, *Image, Ideology, and Form*.

47 See J. Ђорђевић, Лепота лобање, 49-52; id., Made in the skull's likeness, 2-6. For manifestations of the soul's state in the afterlife on the corpse, cf. also C. W. Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, 295-296; P. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, New York 1982, 360.

48 It is important to bear in mind that while the delivered western arguments on purgatory at those councils seem to represent a unified notion on the afterlife, it becomes obvious that it was far from reality when we encounter some contemporary beliefs and practices in other sources. The councils actually represent only the development of the favorable official notion by the Latin Church. That is why only the purgatorial fire was discussed. Cf. fol. 113v of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry in order to see different possible purgatorial pains also present in contemporary beliefs (among which are those of the buried bodies as well). On the other hand, the same is true for the Orthodox Church. It is not by chance that Mark Eugenikos failed to mention the tradition of the aerial toll-gates. However, this does not mean that other western notions could not have been known in the East (*i.e.* the Legend's implication) as a product of dynamic encounters and interactions (especially in the Balkans). Still, this is a subject for a separate study. Beside the pivotal book of Jacques Le Goff (*The Birth of Purgatory*, Chicago 1984), see also the intriguing discussion on purgatory in B. Newman, On the Threshold of the Dead: Purgatory, Hell, and Religious Women, in: ead., *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*, Philadelphia 1995, 108-136.

present.[49] While the words of Ostoja Rajaković's inscription demonstrate a certain affinity to western practices – the verse from the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead was used with the same purpose of inspiring prayer for the deceased – the absence of the suitable image in the East should again suggest familiarity with all meanings which the image of body in a state of decay bore in the West.

In conclusion, while the verse from the poem of the Three Living and the Three Dead was appropriated to be used in the same *creative* way as it was in the West, the explicit image of a decaying body was rejected because it was understood to promote the doctrine of purgatory.

Fig. 1: Arcosolium tomb of Ostoja Rajaković, the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, 14th century (Photo by: Miloje Đorđević)

49 For example in the *Serbian Psalter*, now in Munich, one can see on fol. 2r the image of bones in the open tomb, but never the very dissolution of body.

Fig. 2: The worm that never sleeps, Dečani monastery, 14th century (Photo by: Miloje Đorđević)

Fig. 3: The soul trapped in Hades, cod. Dionysiou 65, fol. 12r, 12th century (from: S. M. Pelekanidis et al., The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated manuscripts, vol. 1, Athens 1974)

Fig. 4: The ascetic penance, Vat. gr. 394, fol. 46r, 11th century (from: J. R. Martin, The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Princeton 1954)

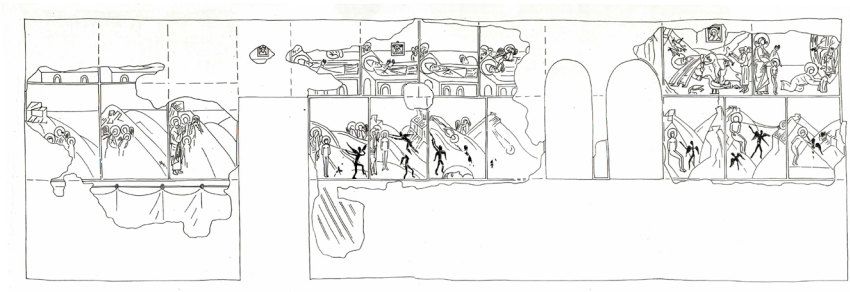

Fig. 5: Kanon for He Who Is at the Point of Death, St. George chapel in the tower of St. George belonging to Chilandar monastery,13th century, drawing of the chapel's southern façade by B. Živković (from: Б. Тодић, Фреске XIII века у Параклису на Пиргу Св. Георгија у Хиландару, Хиландарски зборник 9 (1997), 35-73)

Fig. 6: The devouring scene, St. George chapel in the tower of St. George belonging to Chilandar monastery, chapel's southern façade, 13th century (site: http://www.monumentaserbica.com/mushushu/story.php?id=52)

Olga M. Hajduk

From Italy do Poland – Case Study of Santi Gucci Fiorentino

Abstract

This article aims to present one of the most outstanding artistic personalities of the second half of the 16th century – the Florentine artist who was active in the Polish royal court and worked in the service of high-ranking nobility – Santi Gucci (della Camilla). The author presents a closer look at the reasons leading to his arrival in Poland, the steps he took to achieve it, and the organization of artistic life outside Italy.

Key words: *Renaissance sculpture, Early Modern Poland, Santi Gucci, Renaissance Florence, Benvenuto Cellini workshop*

Despite the fact that versatile and complex Italian enterprises in Europe, and by extension, in Poland in the Renaissance period have been a popular subject of research and interest, as is the art history of this period, there is one more area that should be thoroughly researched and analyzed – not only single works of art that have been preserved but, first and foremost, both the way in which artistic workshops of that period operated as well as their migration across Europe. Italians who sought their fame, fortune, and accolades traveled to countries which were consolidated and in the process of economical development, where it was easier to make a career and gain recognition. That process was facilitated by the omnipresent popularity of the Italian style, closely related to the golden age of humanism and Renaissance culture, spawning plenty of talented artists thus creating a 'demand' for creative Italians, particularly those of Florentine origin. Their presence in Poland would sometimes take the form of intended emigration, most of the time however, they undertook short-term trips, by the invitation of monarchs or nobles.

In this article, I aim to present one of the most outstanding artistic personalities of the second half of the 16th century – the Florentine artist who was active in the Polish royal court and worked in the service of high-ranking nobility – Santi Gucci (della Camilla).[1] I would like to take a closer look at the reasons leading to his arrival in Poland, the steps he took to achieve it, and the organization of artistic life outside Italy.

1 See O. M. Hajduk, *Santi Gucci Fiorentino*, in: Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV-XVIII wieku, ed. J. Sito, P. Migasiewicz, H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, Warszawa 2016, 192-197.

Santi Gucci – the Florentine

Archival sources related to Gucci offer, first and foremost, a wide range of data on both the artist's family and financial matters during his stay and activity in Poland as well as some works attributed to him. Extracts from Florentine records, performed by Gaetano Milanesi for Marian Sokołowski contain information about the artist's family. Santi Gucci was born to the restorer of the Florentine cathedral – Giovanni di Niccolo Albenghi Gucci, known as Giovanni della Camilla, and his second wife, Marietta. The *Registry of Baptisms* of Santa Maria del Fiore says that "on the Friday of the 11th of July 1533, at four o'clock, Santi Romolo was born, a son of Giovanni di Niccolo d'Arrigho, a sculptor from the S. Piermaggiore parish".[2] This document does not simply correct the prior findings pertaining to the Florentine's date of birth but it also offers a valuable source of information about his family environment, making it evident that Santi was the son of a stonemason, Giovanni di Niccolo d'Arrigo, and by extension, 'Santi's step-brother - Francesco Camilliani.

Thanks to the extracts from Florentine archives collected by Fernando Loffredo we also know that Gucci's family resided in the San Giovanni district, in the parish of San Pier Maggiore. The 1552 population census of Florence says that "maestro Giovanni di Nic[col]o scarpellino lived at *Via della Crocetta ovvero del Rosario*", and that his family at that time consisted of seven men and three women.[3] *Descrizione delle bocche della citta e stato di Fiorenza fatta l'anno 1562*[4] indicates that at that time the family consisted only of one man, the patriarch Giovanni, and two women, which means that all sons have left the family home by then.

Santi Gucci as the son of Giovanni – an artisan employed at the Santa Maria del Fiore cathedral, had Baccio Bandinelli himself as his supervisor, and as the brother of Bandinelli's disciple Francesco Camilliani was most likely acquainted with the artist [Baccio Bandinelli] and knew his works. He most likely took his first steps in learning the craft in his father's workshop, situated at Via della Crocetta, nearby the Camilliani place of residence, in same area as the workshops of sculptors such as Baccio da

2 *Archivo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Battesimi, maschi 1533-1542, k. 6 r.*, quoted from F. Loffredo, Un contributo alla biografia Fiorentini di Santi Gucci, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* LXIX (2007), no. 1-2, 32.

3 *Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Miscellanea Medicea, 314, k. 162 v.* The faulty signature (Miscellanea Medicea, 314, c. 162v) is cited by Fernando Loffredo, see Un contributo alla biografia Fiorentini di Santi Gucci.

4 *Descrizione delle bocche della citta e stato di Fiorenza fatta l'anno 1562,* an anastatical copy [in:] I Fiorentini nel 1562, ed. S. Meloni Trkulja, Firenze 1991, Alberto Bruschi Editore, k. 118 r. Quoted from F. Loffredo, Un contributo alla biografia Fiorentini di Santi Gucci, 34.

Montelupo, Francesco da Sangallo, Zanobi Lastricati, or Giambologna. It is also worth noting that it was at the corner of Via della Crocetta and Via della Pergola where Benvenuto Cellini had made the cast of his famous sculpture of *Perseus* – a work which the twenty-year old Santi Gucci had an opportunity to participate in (fig. 1).[5] According to a document published by Francesco Tassi in 1829, between approximately 7th February and 7th May 1553 Santi was responsible for chiseling the decorations on the pedestal.[6] It is also known that at barely seventeen years of age, the artisan "created a marble statue of Venus", the perfection of which was highly praised by the Medici diplomat in the Venetian Republic, Cosimo Bartoli in his dialogue "Il Martello" from the "Regionamenti accademici" collection.[7] Thus, Santi Gucci was bound to be familiar (directly or indirectly, through the knowledge of their creation) with artists such as Andrea di Pietro Ferrucci, Giovanni Antonio Montorsoli, Bartolomeo Ammanati, Andrea, Jacopo and Francesco Sansovino or Michelangelo Buonarroti himself.[8]

Apart from the pedestal of Cellini's sculpture of "Perseus and the Medusa", which was the work of 20-year-old Santi, none of his Italian works have been preserved. Additional difficulty stems from the fact that archival research up until now was conducted in relation to the Polish 'nickname' Gucci – which was, as Loffredo concluded – originated in the course of the phonetic evolution of the Latin form of Giovanni di Niccolo's grandfather – Arrigo. According to that rule, the diminutive of the name Arrigo goes through the following forms – Arriguccio, Guccio, finally into Gucci.[9]

As Santi della Camilla departs from Florence to Cracow in early 1550s, he somehow becomes Santi Gucci. The existing hypothesis suggests that he took the name from other Italians with the last name Gucci who were active in Cracow at that time. It is very likely that Matteo and Alessandro Gucci were in fact relatives, cousins, or perhaps even brothers of Giovanni (Santi's father), and Arrigo was their common ancestor. Their patronym has transformed into a last name which Santi took upon his arrival in Poland, due to ties both to his blood, as well as an already existing favorable reputation.

5 *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, orefice e scultore Fiorentini,* ed. Francesco Tassi, vol. III, Firenze 1829.

6 See M. Cole, *Cellini in Florence, 1545-1562,* in: Benvenuto Cellini. Sculptor, Goldsmith, Writer, ed. M. A. Gallucci, P. L. Rossi, *58-59*

7 F. Loffredo, Un contributo alla biografia Fiorentini di Santi Gucci, 31.

8 Influences of sculptural realization of this artist are visible in the early works of Santi Gucci in Poland (The Family Kryski's tombstone in Drobin).

9 F. Loffredo, Un contributo alla biografia Fiorentini di Santi Gucci, 33.

The Gucci Family(?) in the Renaissance Cracow

By the Reign of Zygmunt I, the area of the Polish Crown (as distinct from the Commonwealth, to which the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with its vast territories in modern-day Belarus and Ukraine, belonged) had a grown to approximately 265,000 square kilometers and a population of 4 million. The Crown's ethnically Polish core consisted of Małopolska (Little Poland), where the magnate class was concentrated, with its major city of Cracow.[10] Italian artisans, merchants and professors had already begun to arrive in Poland in considerable numbers, when, in 1518, Zygmunt I married his second wife, Bona Sforza from Bari, the sole surviving child of Gian Galeazzo Sforza of Milan and Isabela of Aragon. An immediate consequence of the marriage was an influx of Italians into Poland. In Bona's train were 287 Italians, of which at least half remained in Poland. In the first half of the sixteenth century, courtiers formed the largest group of Italian immigrants in Poland; their numbers were surpassed by Italian merchants and craftsmen in the second half of the century. Among the various national groups in this country at the time, the Italian group was more numerous than any other. Royal accounts reveal that from 1500 to 1550, between 180 and 185 Italians found employment at the courts of Cracow and Vilnius; the number ranged from a maximum of 61 in 1518 to a maximum of 24 in 1560. They were enterprising, resourceful and clever, and upon gaining considerable money and property, were easily included into the ranks of Polish gentry. Italians filled important posts in the royal chancery as secretaries or treasurers to the queen, her husband, and her son.[11]

At this point I want to refer to the family affinity, and the possible relationship between the Italians in Poland and Santi Gucci's future career. It is linked to the cultural relation between Poland and Italy, and the Tedaldi and Gucci families[12] who were prominent during the 16th century. They were among the most prominent Italians of that time. They were a merchant family on a large scale, and had extensive business relations with different towns in Poland. One of the courtiers to Queen Bona was Carlo Calvanus Gucci from Florence, who came to Poland along with her.[13] He

10 A. Markham Schulz, *Giammaria Mosca called Padovano, a Renaissance Sculptor in Italy and Poland,* The Pennsylvania University Press 1998, 93.

11 Ibid., 90.

12 The author is still working on this topic in the Italian and Polish archival sources.

13 K. Pieradzka, Gucci Carlo Calvanus, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny,* vol. 9, 131.

became a fully-fledged citizen of Cracow as late as 1550. He had a brother, Casper, whom due to a conflict in 1545 he had brought to Hungary. He was married to Anna de Wezerow, they had two sons – Octavian and Regnier. It is important to note that Octavian took a polonized name – *Guczewski*. Another fact of significance to the topic of the development of Santi's life and career was the fact that Carlo Calvanus Gucci was a "żupnik ruski"[14] – a salt mine manager (Latin: *zupparius salis*). In 16th century these officials fulfilled an important role – they oversaw operations in royal salt mines and salt-works. One of the major responsibilities was overseeing transport – and in the context of the development of Santi's career as an artist-entrepreneur with his own sculpting workshop, somehow obliged to transport materials and works – being acquainted with a salt mine manager was priceless. Casper Gucci died in 1551 as a merchant and a city councilor in Cracow. In 1534 he came to Cracow and became a citizen. He was a city councilor in the years 1537 to 1554, and a supplier of cloth and silk to the royal court in the years 1540 – 1547. He maintained a wide network of business relations in various Polish cities, mainly in Poznań, often as an intermediary between traders from Lvov and Florence.

Sources also provide information about Matteo Gucci[15] – he was an artist – sculptor from an Italian family, a Florentine one to be precise, who settled in Lvov, Przemyśl, and Cracow. His work includes the Renaissance reconstruction of the old synagogue in Cracow and minor work on Wawel Castle.[16] He was a brother to Alessandro Gucci[17] and Francesco, on whom there is scarce information available. Based on the few writings in the city records, it is known that Alessandro Gucci was embedded in the Italian circles in Cracow and cooperated with other Italian constructors. He was the owner of a brickyard in Dębniki near Cracow. He died in 1572. Records also speak of a Maciej Gucci, a stonemason living in Cracow in the middle of the 16th century.

There are endless complications related to the Gucci's active in Poland. At this time, it is very difficult to determine their family connections and relations. It is however possible to assume that they cooperated with one

14 *Żupnik ruski,* between 13th and 18th century, was a manager which oversaw the operations of a mining district, often in the name of the king.

15 Z. Wencel-Homecka, Gucci Mateusz, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny,* vol. 9 , 132.

16 I. Rodov, *The Development of Medieval and Renaissance Sculptural Decoration in Ashkenazi Synagogues from Worms to the Cracow Area*, Thesis Submitted for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy to the Senate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003, vol. 2, 307

17 Z. Wencel-Homecka, Gucci Aleksander, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, 131.

another and their strong position in Cracow may have been the cause of young Santi Gucci's choice to move to Poland in particular. Another reason for his migration could have been the sheer number of outstanding sculptors and stonemasons active in Florence at that time. Furthermore, cooperating with a talented but a criminally inclined individual, Benvenuto Cellini was an obstacle in the development of his career. Santi's step-brother – Francesco Camilliani, also decided against pursuing a future in Florence. Instead, he chose to travel to the south of Italy (howewer he returned after to Florence). It was not an isolated case. Giorgio Vasari's work on "the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects" mentions a Florentine painter, Giovanni Battista, known as Il Rosso (1494-1541). His biography is rather intriguing because the painter, as Vasari points out – "has found the popularity that he could not find neither in Rome nor in Florence, in the country of France, and the fame he attained would fulfill every ambition that may exist in the life of an artist".[18] It is very likely that Gucci was not satisfied with his position in Italy and that is why he chose to seek his fame in a foreign country.

Work in Poland

The very first mention of Gucci's activity in Poland comes from the bills of the Cracow city council in 1557.[19] It is however very probable that Gucci arrived in Poland before that time. One of his first works is the tombstone of the Kryski family in Drobin (fig. 2) and the mascarons from the attic of the Cracow Cloth Hall (Sukiennice).[20] In the years to follow Gucci worked in the service of the king as a royal servitor and on commission for aristocrats, performing a variety of tasks in the areas of sculpture and architecture. The latter are outside the scope of my research interests since according to the sources the architectural works included only sculpting details. From 1570s onward, Gucci created and developed his own sculpture workshop in Pińczów. He built a family by marrying a Polish woman, and employed a number of people to enable mass-production. The only

18 See G. Vasari, *Vita del Rosso, pittor fiorentino,* in: Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri (1568), vol. 4, ed. G. Milanesi, 472. Translated by author. Oryginally: "*Le quali, se in Roma et in Fiorenza non furono da quei che le potevano rimunerare sodisfatte, trovò egli pure in Francia chi per quelle lo riconobbe di sorte, che la gloria di lui poté spegnere la sete in ogni grado d'ambizione che possa 'l petto di qual si voglia artefice occupare*".

19 See O. M. Hajduk, *op.cit.*

20 See O. M. Hajduk, *Santi Gucci Fiorentino – włoska proweniencja a pierwsze realizacje rzeźbiarskie na ziemiach polskich*, in: Artyści włoscy na ziemiach południowo-wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych. (Artisti Italiani nelle terre sud-est della Repubblica Polacca nell'epoca moderna), ed. P. Łopatkiewicz, Rzeszów – Łańcut 2016, 99-118.

work bearing his signature is the royal statue of king Stefan Batory from the Wawel cathedral (fig. 3). There are also no contracts to be found. However, the lack of signatures is a more complex issue which affected almost every artist active in Poland in the 16th century. However, if we take a look at Santi Gucci's house mark – in the form of a two-handle amphora, and make a deduction based on the analysis of a decoration which filled pilasters, commonly used by the artist, we can suspect that it was what the artist used as his mark – a kind of a sculptor's signature.

The Italian Provenience

Both architecture, figural art, as well as ornamental decoration of the works attributed to Santi Gucci which includes mainly tomb statues, follows the repertoire of forms used by a group of Italian artists active in Florence, Venice, and Rome, in the first half of the 16th century. In particular, the Italian origin is evident in the configuration of sitting figures and the anthropo- and zoomorphic ornamental forms which were not used in funeral art in Poland.

The configuration of a recumbent figure, leaning on one hand bent, and the other positioned along the body, with one leg straight and the other bent at the knee can be found in the sculptures of Florentine masters. Some of the figure configurations which represent this type in particular are: Mario Nari by Ammanati, cardinal del Monte from the Rome statue in San Pietro in Montorio by Ammanati, bishop Rafaello Maffei from the tombstone of Silvio Cosini, but also the figure representing the personification of the River Nile from the Orion fountain by Montorsoli. The configuration of sitting figures on the tombstone, known to be used only by Santi Gucci was otherwise not adopted in the Polish environment at all. His sculptures – the tombstone of the Kryski and Jordan families (fig. 4) also originate from the Italian style of funeral art. Some of the earliest examples of tombstones with sitting figures include the grave of Jacopo Sanseverino by Giovanni Marigliano in the church of SS. Severino e Sosio in Naples, and the statue of Ludovico Gonzadino by Giovanni Zacchi from Santa Maria dei Servi in Bologna. Sitting figures in funeral sculpture were however used most extensively by Michelangelo Buonarroti and his figures of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici from the graves in the Florentine San Lorenzo are considered to be the origin for the concept of the sitting figure of Paweł Kryski in the Drobin tombstone.

In regard with the ornamental forms, it is important to note the manner in which the framings are shaped. In Gucci's works it takes the form of a scrollwork with 'leathery' elements, shallowly cut edges, curled into rhythmically repeated rollers, which originated in Italy. Cartouches resembling forms used by Santi Gucci's workshop are typical in the works of Baccio Bandinelli, with whom the young Gucci had most likely cooperated. Other elements from Bandinelli's repertoire which can be noticed in the work of the Florentine are lion masks, ribbons, fruit garlands, or fantastical heads which decorate the pedestal of the "Hercules and Cacus" sculpture group, or lion heads from the well at the Florentine Villa Le Tre Pulzele, Herms, forms of medusas, or finally the cartouches from the pedestal of the "Perseus with Medusa's head" statue by Cellini to which Gucci had contributed, are reflected in the significant group of Polish tombstones attributed to Gucci. The ornamental urns and candelabras which are indicative of Gucci's style often appear in a form similar to the works of Montorsoli, for example in the main altar and the presbytery of the Bologna church of Santa Maria dei Servi. Gucci's artistic biography also includes cartouches used by Montorsoli, with fantastical masks woven into them. The latter are also typical in the works of Michelangelo. Winged mascarons with whispers decorating the figures of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici from the San Lorenzo grave are very similar to their equivalent forms used in the tombstones of Kryski family, Jordan's, Koczmerowska (fig. 5), and first and foremost in the statue of Batory. These forms are particularly related to the works of Ferrucci whose sculptures contain a parallel manner of candelabra decoration on the pilaster shafts, like the one from the central pilaster dividing the niches of the first level of the Drobin grave. An entire group of ornamental motifs, starting from herms, winged angel heads, to the motifs of stylized and a female head, present in the later works of Gucci are also represented in the baptismal font of the Santa Trinità church by Battista Lorenzi (fig. 6).

In conclusion, the work of Santi Gucci Fiorentino resonated in funeral art, beginning from the last third of the 16th century up to the first third of the 17th century. After his death, around 1600, his prosperous workshop in Pińczów continued to operate and the forms introduced by the artist into the circulation can still be found in the first half of the 17th century. A continuation of work on a thorough description of his oeuvre and the question of his family relations requires further arduous archival research, which poses an ambitious challenge.

Fig. 1: Benvenuto Cellini, the base of statue of Perseus, detail of Mercurius, 1545-54, Florence, The National Museum of Bargello, (photo by Olga M. Hajduk)

Fig. 2: Tombstone of Paweł, Anna and Wojciech Kryski, c. 1563-69, Drobin, parish church, (photo by Mariusz Smoliński)

Fig. 3: Tombstone of King Stefan Batory, 1595, Cracow, Wawel Cathedral, (photo by Grażyna Chromy)

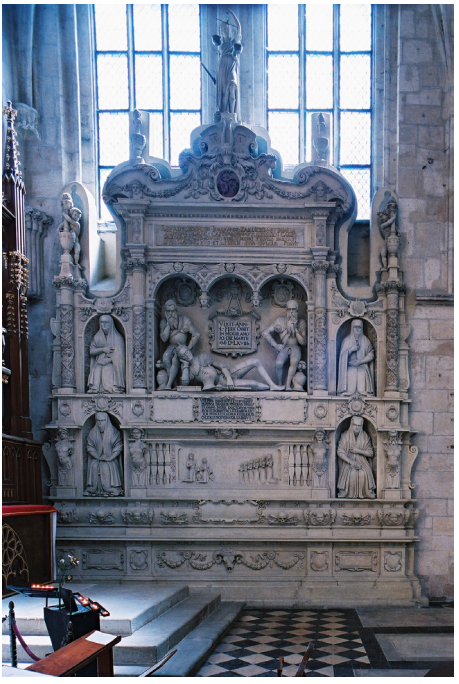

Fig. 4: Tombstone of Spytek Jordan and his family, 1568-84, Cracow, Saint. Catherine's church (photo by Michał Wardzyński)

Fig. 5: Tombstone of Magdalena Koczmerowska, Czchów, parish church (photo by Michał Wardzyński)

Fig. 6: Battista Lorenzi, Baptismal font, Florence, church of Santa Trinità, (photo by Olga M. Hajduk)

Martin de la Iglesia

Japanese Art in the Contact Zone: Between Orientalism and 'Japansplaining'

Abstract

After WWII, Japan came to be economically and politically at eye level with its former enemy nations. Therefore, one cannot say that the Western reception of Japanese artworks takes place within an actual context of an asymmetrical power relation. Yet, European and American audiences often approach Japanese art from a position of perceived superiority. Overt and subtle traces of this attitude can be detected in reviews and other texts on Japanese artworks ranging from the films of Akira Kurosawa to the photographs of Nobuyoshi Araki.

Keywords: *Araki, Nobuyoshi; contact zone; film; Japan; Kurosawa, Akira; Orientalism; photography; post-WWII; reception history; transculturation*

Traditionally, the word 'migration' is used to denote the cross-cultural movement of people. When, however, the meaning of this term is extended to include also the movement of "ideas, knowledge, artefacts, art works and symbols",[1] it is of interest to evaluate whether certain theoretical concepts that have been developed with regard to the migration of people can be meaningfully applied to the migration of artworks too. In this paper, this applicability is tested on two examples of artworks that migrated from Japan to the Western world in the 20th and 21st centuries, namely Akira Kurosawa's film *Rashōmon* and the photographs of Nobuyoshi Araki.[2]

The theories in question will first be briefly introduced, beginning with Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone. 'Contact zone' is a term coined relatively recently in Pratt's conference paper "Arts of the Contact Zone" from 1990, published in 1991,[3] as well as in the introduction to her book *Imperial Eyes* from 1992.[4] Her main example in these texts is a literary work, so she

1 CFP: Migrations in Visual Culture (Belgrade, 8-10 Sep 16), *H-ArtHist*, February 16, 2016, <http://arthist.net/archive/12236>.

2 In this text, Japanese names are given in the Western order of given name – family name, as opposed to the Japanese order.

3 M. L. Pratt, Arts of the Contact Zone, in: *Professing in the Contact Zone. Bringing Theory and Practice Together*, ed. J. M. Wolff, Urbana 2002, 1-18.

4 M. L. Pratt, Introduction. Criticism in the Contact Zone, in: *Postcolonialism. Critical concepts in literary and cultural studies*, vol. V, ed. D. Brydon, London 2000, 1920-1928.

speaks of "writing" when she defines contact zones: "[...] writing in what I like to call 'contact zones,' social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other".[5] Later in the same text, Pratt says, "'contact zone' is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect".[6]

In other words, a 'contact zone' is a hybrid culture comprised of natives and immigrants, and the art works produced in such a contact zone presumably have specific qualities that other art works produced in different, ethnically homogeneous cultures do not have. Pratt hints at these qualities only with regard to a specific kind of contact zone with which she is primarily concerned: the aforementioned quotation continues, „social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, *often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today*" (my emphasis).[7] These asymmetrical relations are believed to somehow inform the art works produced in the contact zone.

Mary Louise Pratt acknowledges that her concept of the contact zone is based on a much older one: transculturation, a term coined by Fernando Ortiz in 1940. Transculturation is defined as the cultural transformation process that occurs when different cultures meet as the result of migration.[8] Ortiz emphasises that this process is not about simply adopting a foreign culture, but rather a mutual process in which both parties, the immigrants and the natives alike, abandon some of their old cultural phenomena ('deculturation'), adopt some phenomena of the other party ('acculturation'), and even create entirely new phenomena ('neoculturation').

The concept of transculturation appears to be very similar to Pratt's contact zone. The main difference is Pratt's emphasis on asymmetrical power relations and subordinated or marginal groups, which she ironically attributes to Ortiz himself[9] even though asymmetrical power relations are not part of his definition of transculturation.[10] Recently, an update to the

5 Ibid., 1922.

6 Ibid., 1925.

7 Ibid., 1922.

8 F. Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint. Tobacco and Sugar*, Durham 1995, 97-103.

9 M. L. Pratt, Introduction, 1924.

10 M. Millington, Transculturation. Taking Stock, in: *Transculturation. Cities, Spaces and Architectures in Latin America* (Critical Studies 27), ed. F. Hernández, M. Millington and I. Borden, Amsterdam 2005, 204-233.

concept of transculturation was proposed by Elizabeth Kath: "in a global era it no longer makes sense to focus only on the cultural transformations that occur in borderlands (the embodied places where different cultures meet). In a world where images, ideas, sounds and other abstracted cultural forms fly around the globe faster than people ever could, we can no longer consider transculturation only in the context of face-to-face encounters and mutual influences between different cultures."[11]

From an art historical perspective, this idea implies that transculturation can also be based on something in between human individuals and abstracted cultural forms, namely, on objects or artifacts that are 'flown around the globe' from one culture to another, and more specifically, on works of art. When this reasoning is applied to Pratt's concept of the contact zone, works of art can be regarded not only as products of the contact zone, but also as agents or media that enable the formation of contact zones, and which may substitute for the migration of people. Thus, when there is a cross-cultural migration of artworks, their reception, i. e. the discourse around these art works, should show signs of asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination. It is discussed below whether this is actually the case.

However, when considering reception in asymmetrical power relations, the question arises whether this very issue has been conceptualised already before Mary Louise Pratt namely by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* from 1978. Said defines Orientalism as a mode of discourse that the Western world has established for dealing with the Orient.[12] In his book, Said deals primarily with European and North American discourse about the Middle East, but Said's concept of Orientalism allows for the whole Orient, including the Far East, to become the object of Orientalism as well,[13] and even the entire Third World, that is, the former European colonies in Africa and Latin America.[14]

Characteristically, Orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".[15] This attitude of domination might be based on actual economic, political, and military superiority

11 E. Kath, On Transculturation. Re-enacting and Remaking Latin American Dance and Music in Foreign Lands, in: *Narratives of Globalization. Reflections on the Global Condition*, ed. J. C. H. Lee, London 2016, 21-35.

12 E. W. Said, *Orientalism*, London 1978, 3.

13 Ibid., 17, 120, 285.

14 Ibid., 25.

15 Ibid., 3.

at some time in history,[16] but one of Said's points is that, once Orientalism had been established, it created a persistent tradition of thinking and writing about the Orient that is hard to escape from, even in the contemporary, post-colonial world.[17] Both Said's Orientalism and Pratt's contact zone share an emphasis on asymmetrical power relations, but a major difference between these two concepts is that Orientalism looks at only one side of the discourse – the Western or dominant side – whereas for the contact zone, the mutual influence of dominant and subordinate culture and the possible hybridization of the two are of greater importance.

These concepts are applied below to two examples of works of art that have migrated from the Orient to the Occident, the first one being the film *Rashōmon* from 1950, directed and co-written by Akira Kurosawa. *Rashōmon* was not the first Japanese film to be shown abroad,[18] but it was the first to receive widespread success and critical acclaim as evidenced by winning a Golden Lion at the 1951 Venice Film Festival and an Academy Honorary Foreign Language Film Award in 1952.[19] For many people in the Western world, it was the first Japanese film they had ever seen, so reactions towards it are of particular interest here.

The film is set in medieval Japan[20] and opens with a framing narrative in which three people seek shelter from the rain at a ruined city gatehouse, the eponymous Rashōmon.[21] They talk about a recent crime and its court hearing, which some of them attended. Four different eye-witness accounts of the crime are then shown in the film mainly as flashback sequences one after another.

The incident in question is a rape and possible murder that happened in a nearby forest. However, all four testimonies contradict each other, so only one witness tells the truth and the others must be lying, but we do not know which. The film ends at the gatehouse again when the three men find an abandoned baby, and one of them decides to adopt it.

An early review of *Rashōmon* was published in the New York Times from December 1951, written by Bosley Crowther, which concludes with the

16 Ibid., 4-6.

17 Ibid., 11, 20-21.

18 D. Richie, *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film. A Concise History*, Tokyo 2001, 61-62.

19 Id., *The films of Akira Kurosawa*, Berkeley 1984, 79-80.

20 Different authors interpret the setting as either late Classical Japan (6th – 12th c.) or early Feudal Japan (12th – 17th c.).

21 See also *Rashomon. A film by Akira Kurosawa*, ed. D. Richie, New York 1969.

following words: "Whether this picture has pertinence to the present day—whether its dismal cynicism and its ultimate grasp at hope reflect a current disposition of people in Japan—is something we cannot tell you. But, without reservation, we can say that it is an artful and fascinating presentation of a slice of life on the screen."[22]

The 'current disposition of people in Japan', or more precisely, Western ideas about what this disposition might be, are highly interesting here. In 1951, when the review was written, Japan was officially still under Allied Occupation,[23] and memories of the Japanese as defeated enemies in World War II were still fresh. With its 'ruined gatehouse', 'desolate country' and 'disillusioned people',[24] the medieval Japan presented in *Rashōmon* was probably not much different from how Westerners in 1951 imagined contemporary Japan.

To see *Rashōmon* as a reflection of postwar Japan is an interpretation that other critics have expressed too, most extensively James F. Davidson in an essay in *The Antioch Review* from 1954 entitled "Memory of Defeat in Japan. A Reappraisal of 'Rashomon'". In this text, Davidson describes the beginning of the film like this: "the picture opens on the ruined Rashomon: once the great architectural symbol of the capital of Japan, now the crumbling reflection of a devastated city whence the seat of power has moved. It is deluged by a relentless, windless rain. Under the gate sit the priest and the woodcutter, exchanging mute glances and headshakes. The priest slowly recites the kinds of disaster that have befallen. 'And now this. I may lose my faith.' [...] It is hard to believe that a Japanese audience was not being led to refer to their own experience and to see the events of the story accordingly."[25]

About the ending of the film, Davidson says, "Surely the epilogue of 'Rashomon' points, after the unanswerable questions raised in the story, to a basic belief and duty for Japanese to hold to. The old vision of a hopeful future springing from a glorious past is lost, and the way to its recovery lies through a maze of doubtful thoughts about misfortune, guilt and shame. Yet there is a new Japan, which demands love and care, like the abandoned child, not because of its auspicious or legitimate beginnings, but because it is alive and will perish without them."

22 B. Crowther, Movie Review. Rashomon, *The New York Times*, December 27, 1951. https://www.nytimes.com/1951/12/27/archives/the-screen-in-review-intriguing-japanese-picture-rashomon-first.html

23 D. Richie, *A Hundred Years of Japanese Film. A Concise History*, Tokyo 2001, 115.

24 Crowther, Rashomon.

25 J. F. Davidson, Memory of Defeat in Japan. A Reappraisal of "Rashomon", *The Antioch Review* 14 (1954), 492-501.

The most explicit connection to postwar Japan is Davidson's commentary on one particular scene in the film: "Even small touches may strike a chord. For example, when the bandit pleads with the woman to go with him and then, impatient at getting no reply shakes her roughly and shouts, 'Say yes, will you!' some might see something of the ambivalent attitude of SCAP [Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, i.e. General Douglas MacArthur]."

Another ideological interpretation that makes a connection to the Japanese postwar era is offered by Donald Richie in his book on Kurosawa, first published in 1965: "It is interesting that *Rashomon* should have been an historical film […] because this limitation of spirit, this tacit agreement (social in its scope) that one *is* and cannot *become*, is one feudalistic precept which plagues the country to this day. This was as useful to the [12th – 14th c.] Kamakura Government as it proved to the administration during the last war. In *Rashomon*, […] Kurosawa is presenting an indictment of feudal remains. That he sets the scene in the [8th – 12th c.] Heian-period [sic] is merely due to [author of the source texts Ryunosuke] Akutagawa's having used it, and where the director follows the author in this film, he does so literally. The people, and their way of thinking, are – twelfth century or present day – completely feudal. It is as though in this film he is holding up a mirror" (Richie's italics).[26]

In this American tendency to see *Rashomon* as a reflection of a defeated postwar Japan, it is easy to recognise the asymmetrical power relations of both Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone and Edward Said's Orientalism, with the United States or the Western world as the dominant and Japan as the subordinate culture.

This perception of Japan as a subordinate culture was about to change in the decades after *Rashōmon*, when the industry and economy of Japan not only recovered but eventually for some time even outmatched those of most Western countries. We shall see if this changed perception of Japan is reflected in the Western reception of more recent works of art using the example of Nobuyoshi Araki's photography.

Since the 1960s, Araki had numerous solo exhibitions in Japan, and since the early 1990s also in Europe and America.[27] His motifs include still lifes, street scenes, landscapes and portraits, but he is best known for his nude

26 D. Richie, *The films of Akira Kurosawa*, 76.

27 T. Sato, Chronology, in: *Nobuyoshi Araki. Self, Life, Death*, exh. cat., ed. A. Miki, Y. Isshiki and T. Sato, London 2005, 711-716.

photography, and particularly for his nudes bound in ropes. In the catalog of an Araki exhibition in Wolfsburg, Germany, in 1995, Gijs van Tuyl says:

> Photography is a kind of handwriting [for Araki], enabling the photographer to give women individuality and expression, to free them from the rigid patterns of a life which offers few prospects for the future other than travelling, shopping, watching tv and marriage. A session with Araki is a special event in a woman's life, with a concrete souvenir in the form of a photograph to boot. For a few hours a woman forgets her humdrum existence; she is a star.[28]

Another quote in a similar vein often repeated in reviews of Araki's exhibitions is Jean-Christophe Ammann stating that Araki's bondage photographs are "metaphors for the restricting code of conduct of the Japanese in general and women in particular" (my translation).[29] Furthermore, several authors on Araki have traced his binding practice back to the Japanese tradition of erotic bondage, *kinbaku* or *shibari*, and the martial art of tying-up prisoners, *hojōjutsu*, e.g. Veit Görner in the catalog for Araki's exhibition in Hannover in 2008:

> [...] the bindings which are professionally photographed in lavish sets with numerous personnel and are supervised by a recognized binding-master. *Shibari* is the erotic art of binding, which developed out of the traditional military art of typing-up [sic] known as *Hoj jutsu* [i.e. Hojōjutsu]. There are dozens of Shibari techniques ranging from simple knots to complicated bindings of the entire body. Many serve simply for rendering a person incapable of movement, while others are intended to emphasized [sic] the beauty of most often the feminine body. Those who are not familiar with the traditional Japanese background of bindings often criticize Araki's photographs as purely pornographic. The works depicting binding are so complex because of the ambiguity of the metaphor of tying-up, the imprisonment in conventions, the connections to the artistic traditions of both *Shibari* and calligraphy […].[30]

28 G. van Tuyl, Life and Death Photography. Nobuyoshi Araki – Tokyo Novelle, in: *Nobuyoshi Araki – Tokyo Novelle*, exh. cat., trans. R. Koenig Wolfsburg 1995, x-xiv. Araki has worked with both professional and amateur models; see e.g. G. Weisenfeld, Reinscribing Tradition in a Transnational Art World, *Transcultural Studies* (2010), 78-99, <http://dx.doi.org/10.11588/ts.2010.1.6175>.

29 Quoted in Die Frau als Mobile, *Der Spiegel* no. 9, 1998, 210-211, and A. Searle, Nobuyoshi Araki. The Erotic and the Everyday, *The Guardian*, June 5, 2001, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2001/jun/05/artsfeatures.arts>.

30 V. Görner, Hajime, in: *Nobuyoshi Araki*, exh. cat., ed. V. Görner and F.-T. Moll, Heidelberg 2008, 7-12.

The rhetorical device used in such statements has recently been termed 'japansplaining'.[31] 'Japansplaining', a term not yet theorised, derives from 'mansplaining', which denotes a man explaining something to a woman in a condescending manner.[32] 'Japansplaining' means to explain a specific aspect of something from Japan by Japanese culture in general, thus asserting a greater knowledge about Japan, in an equally patronising way. In this case, van Tuyl, Ammann and Görner, as well as some other authors on Araki, 'japansplain' Araki's bondage pictures when they imply, those who, unlike them, are not familiar with the role of the woman in Japanese society or the Japanese tradition of bindings may misunderstand Araki's photographs and possibly mistake them for pornography or expressions of misogyny.

This rhetorical mode of 'japansplaining', which can be found in many Western texts about Japanese art,[33] has the effect of rendering Japanese art more foreign and esoteric: ostensibly, it cannot be understood on its own, but needs experts – 'japansplainers' – who can make it palatable to the majority of purportedly ignorant Westerners. Such interpretations of Araki's bondage photographs as metaphors for women restricted by a Japanese code of conduct are once again typical of a contact zone or Orientalist[34] discourse in that they contain an assessment of an asymmetrical power relation between Japan and the West (or more precisely, an attitude of superiority rather than actual domination). This time, however, it is not about military or economic power, but the presumed moral inferiority or backwardness of the Japanese society in which women are oppressed, and the supposed superiority of Western society in which women are liberated and, therefore, do not require to be photographed in bondage.

To conclude, the point of this paper is not to claim that the Western authors on Japanese art cited above have completely wrong ideas about Japan. Certainly works of art do correspond in some way, however vaguely, to the culture within which they were made, so a cultural perspective on art is as legitimate as other perspectives. For instance, more universal approaches

31 N. A. Theisen, Of Ghosts and their Shells, or When "Whitewashing" Arguments Fall Flat, in: *What Is Manga?*, April 17, 2016, <https://whatismanga.wordpress.com/2016/04/17/39-of-ghosts-and-their-shells-or-when-whitewashing-arguments-fall-flat/>.

32 M. Peters, "Mansplaining" Spawns a New Suffix, in: *Visual Thesaurus*, October 29, 2013, <https://www.visualthesaurus.com/cm/dictionary/mansplaining-spawns-a-new-suffix/>.

33 Examples also include texts on *Rashōmon*, such as in this quotation by Richard Rowland: „This is a device, of course, familiar enough to those who have seen or read a Noh play [...]" (R. Rowland, Films from Overseas, *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 7 (1952), 48-57, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1209757>).

34 Orientalism in connection with Araki has also been mentioned in Weisenfeld, Reinscribing Tradition in a Transnational Art World.

have identified qualities in both Akira Kurosawa and Nobuyoshi Araki that Westerners and Japanese alike can identify with,[35] while other, more specific approaches insist on the uniqueness and cultural independence of these two individuals.[36] However, as Edward Said reminds us, we must be aware that our encounters with foreign art are always tinted by a tradition of discourse that was motivated by the desire to dominate the foreign culture, and that it is hard to break free from this tradition.

To end on a positive note, Mary Louise Pratt's insistence on the asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination in the contact zone might serve as a helpful reminder of a fact that is often overlooked, namely that works of art are neither produced nor perceived in a cultural void, but always under specific circumstances, which are shaped by, among other factors, power relations between cultures.

Fig. 1: Still from Rashōmon

Fig. 2: Still from Rashōmon

35 See e.g. H. R. Haller, *Rashomon* (Berühmte Filme 5), Zürich 1959, and D. Richie, *The films of Akira Kurosawa*, 80.

36 See e.g. F.-T. Moll, Arakis I-Photography, in: *Nobuyoshi Araki*, exh. cat., ed. V. Görner and F.-T. Moll, Heidelberg 2008, 115-133.

Fig. 3: Nobuyoshi Araki, untitled photograph from the Wolfsburg exhibition

Fig. 4: Nobuyoshi Araki, installation view from the Hannover exhibition

Ivana Lemcool

The Zodiac in Early Medieval Art: Migration of a Classical Motif Through Time and Space

Abstract

Zodiac signs could be seen all across the ancient Roman Empire. Following the fall of its Western part, their images became sparse, only to reappear at the beginning of the 9th century. Due to its strong pagan connotations, Zodiac was not depicted in Christian art of the earlier periods; thus its emergence in visual cultures of Christian societies in the latter part of the Early Middle Ages seems perplexing. Considering that representations of the zodiac appear in both Byzantine and Carolingian cultures almost concurrently, this paper will explore possible ways that cross-cultural exchange affected their distinctive processes of appropriation of this Classical motif into ecclesiastical art.

Key words: *Zodiac, Classical culture, appropriation, cross-cultural exchange, transmission of knowledge.*

Images of the Zodiac signs are highly recognizable in contemporary global visual culture. It would be safe to say that most people today are familiar with representations of the twelve signs. Yet, in the long history of the Zodiac, that had not always been the case.

The Zodiac as a concept was devised in the 5th century BCE. Since they developed from zodiacal constellations, images of the individual signs predate the invention of the Zodiac. Depictions of the Zodiac as a whole are not found before the Hellenistic period. However, the majority of the examples from Classical art are dated to the Roman Imperial age.

Representations of the Zodiac were truly ubiquitous in the visual culture of the Roman Empire. Rendered in various artistic media, they permeated different spheres of Roman life: Zodiac signs could be seen in public and private spaces, on devotional objects and on measuring devices, as a part of decoration of everyday items as well as of grand imperial monuments. Zodiac could be encountered across distant reaches of the ever-expanding Empire: from the deserts of Syria and Libya, through Iberian Peninsula, to British Isles, and many other regions of the Roman world.

Following the fall of the Western part of the Empire and with the rise of organized Christianity, images of the Zodiac became sparse. They were not to be seen in artistic production of Western Europe until the 9th century. Whilst many Classical motifs have been appropriated into Early Christian art, Zodiac was not one of them.[1] To a higher degree than perhaps any other ancient motif, Zodiac carried pagan associations; it was often depicted in the arts of various religious cults; it possessed imperial overtones, due to its representations on public monuments and coins; it also had magical connotations, as it was used in amulets and charms. But the most problematic aspect preventing the inclusion of the Zodiac into visual programmes of sacred art must have been its astrological meaning and application. Christian opposition towards magic and divination, and astrology in particular, was clearly expressed by many Church Fathers.[2] But the very fact that they continually tackled these issues in their writings is evidence of the persistence of these practices, alongside other written accounts and material evidence.[3]

For all the above-mentioned reasons, it seems understandable and almost self-evident why Zodiac was not depicted in Early Christian art.[4] How it

1 In certain cases, it may be speculated that Zodiac was depicted on artwork made for Christian patrons, such as the lost manuscript of the famous Chronograph of 354, which could have had illustrations of the Zodiac signs, as some of its later copies do. M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*, Berkley 1990, 32. The original manuscript was made by a well-known calligrapher Filocalus for a Roman senator named Valetinus, both of whom were Christian. Another instance could be found in the mosaic floor with Zodiac signs discovered in the 5th century villa on Thessaloniki's Aiolou Street, whose owner must have been of high rank and quite possibly a Christian. The mosaic has been detached and transferred to the city's Museum of Byzantine Culture (BΨ 67). R. Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues - Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research*, Leiden 2013, 379. However, we do not have any evidence of the Zodiac being represented in ecclesiastical or devotional art of the Early Christian period.

2 For an overview and analysis of attitudes towards astrology expressed in patristic writing, see T. Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, New York 2007.

3 This point has been emphasized by H. J. Klauck in his survey of astrological beliefs present in the time of Early Christianity, H. J. Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions*, Edinburgh 2000, 249. As an evidence of such beliefs among Christians of that time, we can mention epitaphs of persons identified as Christian by other engravings on their tombs, which also state astrological signs of the deceased. J. McCaul, *Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries*, Toronto 1869, 54-55. Papyri containing horoscopes of people who can be recognised as Christian by their names have been found in Egypt. R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in the Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 274. In the writings of Tertullian and Origen, we can learn about members of their congregations who practiced astrology, and Irenaeus and Hippolytus provide us with information on certain heretical groups which incorporated astrological beliefs into their teachings. Tertullianus, *De Idolatria*, 9,1, eds. J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. van Winden, Leiden 1987; Origen, *Homilies on Joshua*, 5, 6, trans. B. J. Bruce, Washington DC 2002; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, I, 15, 6; I, 24, 7, trans. A. Roberts and W. Rambaut, Buffalo NY 1885; Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*, 4.46-50, trans. J. H. MacMahon, Buffalo NY 1886.

4 The exclusion of Zodiac from Early Christian art was deemed as deliberate and not accidental by Thomas F. Matthews. He sees this absence as stemming mostly from the Zodiac's astrological associations and its incompatibility with Christian worldview. T. F. Matthews, *The Clash of Gods, A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Princeton 1993, 149.

eventually found its way into visual cultures of religiously more hegemonic Christian societies in the latter part of the Early Middle Ages is a more complex matter. Many factors need to be taken into consideration if we wish to gain insight into this phenomenon. Since images of the Zodiac emerge in both Carolingian and Byzantine cultures almost simultaneously, the possibility of their interconnectivity and interdependence in the process of appropriation of this motif also needs to be explored. To that end, the present paper will focus on the cross-cultural exchange between these two societies and its impact on the development and transmission of zodiacal imagery.

Considering that this motif was appropriated from Classical art, the status of the Classical tradition within both societies also needs to be taken into account. Even though many ancient texts were preserved and copied within the Eastern Roman Empire and thus salvaged for posterity, the role of Byzantium in the transmission of Classical culture is to a large extent downplayed or ignored in modern historiography. This issue has been emphasized in recent scholarship, but still needs to be considered within the study of visual imagery and its translation from Classical art.[5]

The Zodiac, in all its manifestations and uses, was strongly embedded in Classical culture. First conceived as an astronomical tool – as a coordinate system for determining positions of celestial bodies, the Zodiac also found application in time measuring and time keeping, as well as in agriculture and medicine. Invention of the Zodiac was also prerequisite for the emergence of horoscopic astrology – a form of divination in which predictions are made based on planetary positions for any given date. Knowledge and practice of all these disciplines remained, for the most part, uninterrupted in the Eastern Roman Empire.[6] On the other end, in Western Europe, some of them were only beginning to be rediscovered during the Early Middle Ages. Charlemagne's educational reforms led to a revival of Classical learning in the Frankish lands. Classical texts were being collected and copied as a part of an organized effort. Many of those texts made mention

5 A. Cameron, *The Byzantines*, Malden 2006, 47; id. *Byzantine Matters*, Princeton 2014; E. Jeffreys, We need to talk about Byzantium: or, Byzantium, its reception of the classical world as discussed in current scholarship, and should classicists pay attention?, *Classical Receptions Journal* 6/1 (2014), 158–174; M. Mavroudi, Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition, *Speculum* 90/1 (2015), 28-59.

6 P. Magdalino, The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology, in: *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Tradition in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Holmes and J. Varing, Leiden 2002, 33-57, 34-9.

of the Zodiac. Descriptions and information regarding the circle of the twelve signs could be found in the works of Cicero, Vitruvius, Pliny, and late antique compilers and commentators such as Calcidius, Martianus Capella, and Macrobius.[7] Knowledge of the Zodiac was also transmitted through early medieval authorities, such as Isidore of Seville and Venerable Bede.[8] Copies and excerpts of their works were often illustrated with diagrams. Some of those diagrams include the signs of the Zodiac, but mostly in their written form.

In the manuscript containing Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum*, now kept in Basel, we find an exception to the rule. On fol. 23r, Zodiac signs are depicted within a circular diagram. They are considered to be the earliest visual representations of the signs produced in the medieval West (fig. 1).[9] The manuscript was previously housed in the monastery of Fulda, where it was most probably made, around 800 CE. The style of the Zodiac figures seems very crude and it can be said that they markedly differ in their appearance from their antique and late antique predecessors. It seems as if the artist responsible for them did not have any visual prototypes which he could follow. Still, upon closer examination, we can notice that he was willing to obey certain iconographic rules in representing Zodiac signs. The figure of Virgo holds in her hands something that looks like an ear of wheat, which is a common iconographical feature representing Spica, or Alpha Virginis, the brightest star of the constellation. The Aquarius figure is equipped with a strange object, which was probably meant to represent an amphora or some kind of a water vessel, also a standard attribute of the sign. In all probability, the artist was provided with some sort of guidance regarding the way Zodiac signs are supposed to look, but it appears that no actual pictorial models were available to him. That also seems to be the case with the artist who painted the figures in the miniature of the Zodiac on fol. 73r of the so-called "Munich Computus", dated to the first decades of the 9th century (fig. 2).[10]

7 On ancient texts containing astronomical and astrological information available to western medieval readers, see C. Burnett, Astrology, in: *Medieval Latin, An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, eds. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg, Washington D.C. 1996, 369-383, 370; B. S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens, Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Leiden 2007.

8 Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, 11;16, trans. F. Wallis, Liverpool 1999; id. *On the Nature of Things*, 17, trans. C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis, Liverpool 2010. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, III, 25; XII, 9, trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, O. Berghof, Cambridge 2006.

9 B. Obrist, La représentation carolingienne du zodiaque. A propos du manuscrit de Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 15a, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 173 (2001), 3-33.

10 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14456.

On the other side of Christendom, in the Eastern Roman empire, around approximately the same time, images of the Zodiac were being made, quite similar to Classical ones. They can be seen in the famous "Vatican Ptolemy".[11] On the full-page miniature on fol. 9r, all twelve signs are depicted on the circular diagram representing Sun's table (fig. 3).[12] The exceptional quality of the illuminations and the lavishness of the materials used point to Constantinople as the place where the manuscript was produced, most likely, during the reign of Constantine V (741-775).[13]

Another full page miniature of the Zodiac circle in a Greek manuscript can be found in the oldest surviving copy of the Christian Topography, dating from the 9th century.[14] The work itself was composed in the 6th and preserved in two more copies from the 11th century.[15] Even though the miniature is badly damaged, it can be observed that Zodiac signs in the outermost ring are represented in a conventional iconographic manner.

What can be deduced from these two examples, the earliest ones in Byzantine art, is that the artists were certainly acquainted with renditions of the Zodiac in Classical art. As written sources and surviving evidence suggest, ancient monuments with Zodiac decoration could still be seen in

11 Vat. Gr. 1291. This manuscript represents the oldest surviving copy of Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*, as well as the only one to receive miniatures with figural decoration. B. W. Anderson, *World image after world empire: the Ptolemaic cosmos in the early middle ages, ca. 700-900*, Ph.D. diss, Bryn Mawr College 2012, 90.

12 This is the most famous miniature from the manuscript. Zodiac signs are also represented on two constellation maps of northern and southern hemispheres on folios 2v and 4v. Individual signs are also depicted in the lunettes at the top of various tables found on fols. 22r-37v. Iconographic and stylistic differences between these depictions of the signs in the manuscript have been noted, which are probably due to the presence of several artists in its production. L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680-850): The Sources, an Annotated Survey*, Aldershot 2001, 40.

13 Constantinopolitan origin of the manuscript and its possible connections with the imperial court have been proposed and argued by several authors. I. Ševčenko, The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800, in: *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan, Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), eds. A. Cutler and S. Franklin, Washington D.C. 1992, 279-293, 287; L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680-850), 38; P. Magdalino, The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology, 36; B. W. Anderson, *World image after world empire*, 87. The proposed dating is according to David Wright, who conducted the analysis following the suggestion of I. Ševčenko. D. H. Wright, The Date of the Vatican Illuminated Handy Tables of Ptolemy and of Its Early Editions, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 78 (1985), 355-62. This dating has generally been accepted, although some scholars still follow previous analyses which posit that the manuscript was made some time in the first half of the 9th century. For an overview of different hypotheses concerning the date of the "Vatican Ptolemy" see B.W. Anderson, *World image after world empire*, 79-86.

14 Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 43v.

15 Laur. Plut. IX. 28; Sin. Gr. 1186. See M. Kominko, *The World of Kosmas, Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography*, Cambridge 2013.

Constantinople and in the other parts of the Empire at that time.[16] Mosaics with the circle of the Zodiac were still being produced on its territory up until the 6th century.[17] Even though no surviving examples remain, Zodiac signs were probably included in the decoration of ancient manuscripts. Illustrations were also an integral part of Christian Topography, as the text itself refers to images.[18] Thus, the original manuscript from the 6th century must have contained the image of the universe according to the pagans, as depicted on the 9th century copy, and on both manuscripts from the 11th. In this work, the author, later given the name of Cosmas, criticizes cosmological theories of the Classical world, epitomized by those expounded in the works of Ptolemy. Zodiac presented on its pages simply illustrates how the universe was envisioned by the ancients, and those adhering to their ideas.

Neither this image nor the example from the *Handy Tables*, possess any religious or Christian implications. The only possible hint at Christianizing can be noticed in the "Vatican Ptolemy", in the central medallion of the Sun's table where a cross shape can be seen on the quadriga of Sol. Also, the way the whip is painted, flying above the globe in his hands in such a manner that it creates a form resembling a globe cruciger.[19] But all this was probably meant to be evocative of representations of Christian rulers, or rulers *per se*, who at the time of the manuscript's production were most certainly Christian.

Representations of the Zodiac in Byzantine art are not found in a religious context before the first quarter of the 12th century, when the *opus sectile* floor

16 The 8th century compilation, *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikae,* recounts how Justinian removed the statuary from the old cathedral of St. Sophia and had it dispersed across the city. Among those, sculptures of the Zodiac signs are also mentioned. A. Cameron, J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikae: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, 11, Leiden 1984. In the 10th century "Life of Patriarch Eutichios", we read about bronze sculptures of the Zodiac signs that could be seen on the Hippodrome. *Vita Eutychii patriarchae CP*, trans. P. Karlin-Hayter, Bruxelles 1970, 128. It should come as no surprise that antique statuary representing the Zodiac signs could be seen across the Eastern Roman Empire, considering how prevalent zodiacal imagery was in visual culture of antiquity and late antiquity. Some of those monuments survive to this day, like the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, which contains the image of the Zodiac circle on the east face of the south pier, now badly damaged.

17 There are several examples preserved in modern day Greece, such as 4th century mosaics, one from a Roman villa in Sparta, and the other one from Tallaras baths on the island of Astypalaea in the Aegean, as well as the afore-mentioned 5th century mosaic in Thessaloniki. There is also a group of Zodiac mosaic floors found in the synagogues in the land of Israel that were made during the Byzantine period. The oldest one, in Hammat Tiberias, is dated to the 4th century CE, the one in Sephoris to the beginning of the 5th, and the remaining mosaics- at Beth Alpha, Na' aran, Huseifa, and Yafiya- are dated to the 6th century.

18 M. Kominko *The World of Kosmas*, 70.

19 This detail and its connection to imperial iconography has been emphasized by Benjamin Anderson in his doctoral dissertation, B.W. Anderson, *World image after world empire*, 108.

of the katholikon of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople was made.[20] By that time, exteriors and interiors of many churches in the West were already being decorated with zodiacal imagery. In the following centuries, renditions of the Zodiac in various visual forms came to proliferate in many parts of Western Europe, to a much greater extent than in the lands of the Byzantine commonwealth. Although the Zodiac can be encountered in post-Byzantine art, it is not as common as in the Western art of later periods. The process of inclusion of the Zodiac into the iconographic repertoire of Christian art had also begun much earlier in the West. Already in the third quarter of the 9th century, signs of the Zodiac could be found in religious art. They adorn the pages of such notable examples as the Utrecht Psalter (fig. 4) and the First Bible of Charles the Bald (fig. 5).[21] They were also included in the decoration of liturgical books and objects, as can be seen in the Sacramentary of Marmoutier and the Quedlinburg ivory casket (fig. 6).[22]

The afore-mentioned examples also reveal drastic improvements in depiction of the signs. Stylistic progress and iconographic accuracy in their representation can be observed already in the first half of the 9th century, in some of the so-called *Aratea* manuscripts. These manuscripts contain a Latin translation of the astronomical poem *Phaenomena*, written by Aratus of Soli in the 3rd century BCE. The poem received three Latin translations in the Roman period, and it enjoyed great popularity in Carolingian times as well: the total of thirteen copies have come down to us from the 9th century alone. All of them, with the exception of two, have illustrations.[23] Among them, images of the Zodiac signs can be found. They mostly represent zodiacal constellations, depicted either individually or within celestial maps. Some of the manuscripts also contain the image of the whole circle of the Zodiac.[24] The amount

20 R. Ousterhout, Architecture, Art and Komnenian Ideology at the Pantokrator Monastery, in: *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu, Leiden, Boston 2001, 133-153.

21 MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32, fol. 36r; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1, fol. 8r.

22 From Marmoutier, this sacramentary came to Autun, where it is currently kept in the city library under the mark MS. 19 bis. The Quedlinburg casket was used as a reliquary and it is also known as the St. Servatius reliquary, but its primary use could have been that of a portable altar, as Evan Gatti had suggested. E. A. Gatti, Reviving the Relic: An Investigation of the Form and Function of the Reliquary of St. Servatius, Quedlinburg, *Athanor* 18 (2000), 7-15.

23 M. Dolan, *The Role of Illustrated Aratea Manuscripts in the Transmission of Astronomical Knowledge in the Middle Ages*, Ph.D. diss, University of Pittsburgh 2007, 1, 172. In the dissertation, the list of all the surviving Aratea manuscripts can be found in the Appendix A, 312-321.

24 Some of them included the circle of the Zodiac enclosing personifications of the Sun and the Moon, as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12957, fol. 72r, and two copies from St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 250, p. 515, and Ms. 902, p. 100.

of preserved copies of *Phaenomena* is indicative of growing interest in celestial matters present in Carolingian times, which can also be evinced from other astronomical and cosmological texts that often accompany this work. Manuscripts containing solely the poem are also found, which testify to the symbolic importance accorded to the text, despite its lack of practical value.[25] The oldest manuscript of that kind is the famous "*Leiden Aratea*" (fig. 7). It is generally agreed that the manuscript was made during the reign of Louis the Pious. The richness of its materials and the quality of illumination has led many scholars to believe that it was produced for a member of the court, perhaps even for the king himself.[26] Louis was noted for his interest in celestial matters. His biographer, known as the "the Astronomer", informs us of the king's concern over the appearance of Halley's Comet in the year 837.[27] Louis' father, Charlemagne, shared this interest, as is revealed by his biographer Einhard, as well as by his correspondences.[28] From Charlemagne's letters to Alcuin, and later to Dungal of St. Denis, we learn that the king consulted these two learned clerics over his own calculations and that he enquired about the appearances of solar eclipses.[29] Comets and eclipses were considered powerful portents, even in the old Babylonian times. Their occurrences were related to events and prospects of the state itself, and more particularly to the future of the sovereign.[30] Gregory of Tours,

25 As Marion Dolan demonstrated in her doctoral dissertation, information given by Aratus in his poem could not be used by medieval readers for calculating time or for computus, since it does not account for more specific local times of risings and settings of the stars. Neither is it very useful for identifying constellations, since their descriptions are not always accurate. It could mostly serve for memorizing myths associated with them, as a kind of a mnemonic aid. M. Dolan, *The Role of Illustrated Aratea Manuscripts*, 268-9, 274-6. "A person who consulted an *Aratea* manuscript could learn the names and relative positions of the constellations from the text, and they could learn the general appearance of the mythological figures from the illustrations and the celestial map. But there is no way the text or pictures could teach you any practical astronomy or help you locate the constellations, if you didn't already know where they were, and what they looked like." Ibid., 274-5.

26 Leiden MS Voss. lat. Q. 79. It is also one of the oldest surviving copies of the Germanicus translation. There are also speculations that the manuscript was made for Lothar I, Louis' eldest son, or Judith, his second wife. Ibid., 211-2.

27 *The Astronomer*, *The Life of Emperor Louis*, 58, in: *Charlemmagne and Louis the Pious, The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer*, trans. T. F. X. Noble, Philadelphia 2009, 226-303.

28 Einhard, *The Life of Charles the Emperor*, 25, in: *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer*, trans. T. F. X. Noble, Philadelphia 2009, 21-51.

29 Alcuini, *Epistolae*, 126, 145, 148, 149, 155, 170, 171, in: *Epistolae Karolini Aev*i, tomus II, ed. E. Duemmler, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica), Berlin 1895; Dungalus, *Dungali Scotti Epistolae*, 1, in: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, tomus II, ed. E. Duemmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin 1895.

30 H. Hunger, D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Leiden 1999, 6; M. Ross, Eclipses and the Precipitation of Conflict: Deciphering the Signal to Attack, in: *The Religious Aspects of War in the Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome*, ed. K. Ulanowski, Leiden 2016, 99-120.

Isidore, and Bede warn that comets announce wars, epidemics, but also changes on the throne.[31] Thus it seems that the study and observation of the heavens was promoted and driven not only by practical issues like calculating time and dates of Easter, but also by more personal interests. Those interests could have been concealed under the guise of concern for the end of times. Since scriptural accounts of the apocalypse mention the signs in the sky preceding the Second coming, and darkening of the Sun specifically, conversations regarding solar eclipses could thus be justified.[32] From the letter of Dungal, we learn of a certain Greek bishop staying at the court and informing Charlemagne of an eclipse that was visible in Constantinople.[33] This detail is revealing of two things: diplomatic contact existing between the two empires at the time, and of celestial phenomena being discussed during their encounters.

This was not the first time a Byzantine shared pieces of astronomical knowledge with the Westerners. In the 7th century, Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, who lived and studied in Constantinople, moved to the British Isles where he taught astronomy and computus, as well as astrology.[34] Another example of a person relocating from Byzantium to Western Europe can be found in Alexander of Tralles. This famous 6th century physician travelled and resided in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. His works contained elements of astrological theory, as did most Classical medicine.[35]

While we do not have evidence of scientific astrology being practiced in the West during the Early Middle Ages, or any horoscopes surviving from that time, primitive forms of astrology can be found in contemporaneous Latin manuscripts. In the diagram from Fulda, predictions are written for some of the signs: "in Scorpio, it is good to arrange a marriage and take a wife; in Pisces, they who shall be born shall have enmity…"[36] Zodiac was

31 Gregorii Turonensis Episcopi, *De cursu stellarum*, 58, 59, ed. F. Haase, Wroclaw 1853; Isidore, *The Etymologies*, III. lxxi. 16; Bede, *On the Nature*, 24.

32 Matthew 24:29; Mark 13:24-25; Luke 21:25.

33 This bishop was perhaps part of an embassy visiting Aachen in 811. B.S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens*, 46, ft. 35, 125, ft. 47.

34 Bede relates that Theodore taught astronomy and computus, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England*, IV, 2, trans. A. M. Sellar, London 1907. Aldhelm, Theodore's pupil and later bishop of Sherborne, claims that he learned from his teacher about the twelve signs of the Zodiac and how to cast nativities. Aldhelmi Opera, *Epistolae*, 1, ed. R. Ehwald (Monumenta Germaniae Historica), Berlin 1919.

35 L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol I, New York 1929, 575-584.

36 Translation according to H. S. Crawford, Notes on the Irish Zodiac Preserved in the Library at Basel, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 15/2 (1925), 130-135, 132.

an important element in these early medieval prognostical texts. Some of them belonged to the genre of zodiologia in which predictions were made based on the position of the Moon within the Zodiac. Greek words are often found in these texts, and parallels between Greek and Latin texts have been noted.[37] On the diagram from the "Munich computus", next to the unidentified figure, SPEKIB is written in Greek letters, which is bikeps read backwards, probably meaning biceps, or two-headed.[38]

Transmission and development of zodiacal iconography in Carolingian art were undoubtedly carried through manuscripts. It is mostly in manuscripts that we find images of the Zodiac. Even though ancient monuments with zodiacal decoration could be seen on Frankish territories, more minute iconographical details could hardly be observed on larger scale representations.[39] Book illumination was a much more suitable medium for that purpose, and the texts they illustrated provided context for understanding the images.

Books were also sent as gifts.[40] Diplomatic contact between Byzantine and Frankish states was very lively during the Carolingian period.[41] When choosing gifts, the Byzantines gave much attention to recipient's desires and ambitions. Since they must have had awareness of Western rulers' predilection for prognostics, astronomy, and Classical learning in general, they could have considered an illustrated copy of *Phaenomena* as a suitable gift. Whilst the possibility of a Classical prototype coming from Byzantium was entertained by some scholars, it can only remain a hypothesis

37 C. Burnett, Late Antique and Medieval Latin Translations of Greek Texts on Astrology and Magic, in: *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, eds. P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi, Geneva 2006, 325- 361, 332-3.

38 E. Graff, The thirteenth figure in the Munich computus zodiac, *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 36/24 (2005), 321-334, 325.

39 The Arch of Dativius Victor in Mainz provides a good example. Zodiac signs surround the figures of Jupiter and Juno on the upper section of the 3rd century monument which was later built into the city walls. The stones were recovered and reconstructed in the late 19th century and are currently housed in the Mainz *Landesmuseum*, while a replica stands in a park nearby. K. Cassibry, Provincial Patrons and Commemorative Rivalries: Rethinking the Roman Arch Monument, *Mouseion: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada*, 8/3 (2008), 417-450, 421.

40 Manuscript of Pseudo- Dionysius' Celestial Hierarchy (BN grec. 257) was presented to Louis the Pious' court in 827 CE. M. McCormick, Byzantium and the west, 700-900, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II c. 700- c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 2008, 349- 383, 374.

41 Michael McCormick emphasized the role of diplomatic contacts in cultural exchange between these two states, counting a total number of thirty embassies sent between Byzantine and Frankish courts during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. M. McCormick, Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium down to the accession of Charles the Bald, in: *Eriugena: East and West. Papers of the Eighth International Symposium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenean Studies*, eds. B. McGinn and W. Otten, Notre Dame 1994, 15-48.

until more direct evidence surfaces.[42] Regardless, we need to acknowledge the ways Byzantium influenced attitudes towards disciplines that enabled accommodation of the Zodiac motif into Christian art. Although zodiacal imagery emerged in these cultures almost concurrently, the paths of its appropriation later diverged. By discerning their distinctions in that process, we could further elucidate how ideas and knowledge migrating across space enabled migration of the Zodiac motif through time.

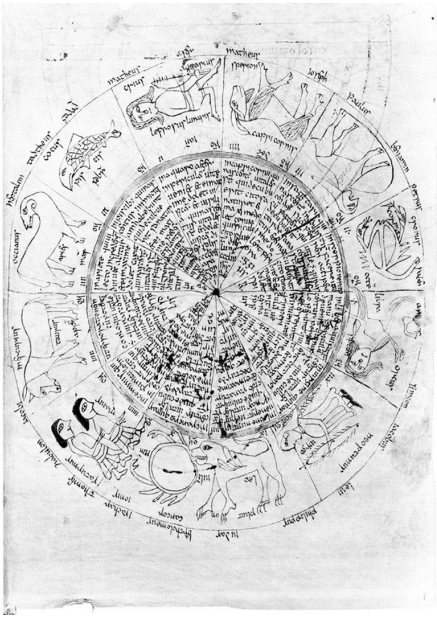

Fig. 1: Diagram with Zodiac, Manuscript from Fulda, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 15a, fol. 23r. (Obrist 2001, fig. 1)

Fig. 2: Diagram with Zodiac, "Munich Computus", Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14456, fol. 73r. (Graff 2005, fig. 1.)

42 M. Dolan *The Role of Illustrated Aratea Manuscripts*, 302. E. Dekker, The Provenance of the Stars in the Leiden *Aratea* Picture Book, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 73 (2010), 1-37, 28.

Fig. 3: Sun's table, Manuscript of Ptolemy's Handy Tables, Vat. Gr. 1291, fol 9r, (S. Cohen, Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art, Leiden 2014, fig. 11)

Fig. 4: Illustration for the Psalm 64, Utrecht Psalter, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32, fol. 36r (© Universiteit Utrecht)

Fig. 5: Initial D, First Bible of Charles the Bald, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat 1., fol. 8r (© Gallica BnF)

Fig. 6: Quedlinburg casket, back side, Treasury, Church of St. Servatius, Quedlinburg, 13.6 x 24.9 x 12.4 cm, (photo: Ann Münchnow, copyright bpk Webg, Garrison 2010, PL.4.)

Fig. 7: Planetary diagram, "Leiden Aratea", Leiden MS Voss. lat. Q. 79, fol. 93v, (Eastwood 2007, fig. 3.12)

Matko Matija Marušić

Devotion in Migration: The Employment of Religious Poetry in Thirteenth-Century Zadar and Split

Abstract

This short study looks into three examples of poetry-to-object migrations in the thirteenth-century Adriatic. By analysing the verse inscriptions on two Romanesque crucifixes from Zadar and Leo Cacete's epitaph from Split, the primary concern of the paper is to situate these objects into the frame of migrations in visual and devotional culture of the later Middle Ages. To that end, the paper will tackle the issues of extraction, display and usage of devotional verse inscriptions etched on the objects in question.

Key words: *Romanesque crucifixes, devotional objects, Hildebert of Lavardin, Pseudo-Bernard of Clairveaux, medieval devotional practices, religious poetry, medieval Zadar, medieval Split*

In numerous cases poetry has had considerable resonance in the visual arts, in medieval and modern times alike. Among recent contributions to the topic, Maximos Constas has examined the twelfth-century incorporation of Joseph the Hymnographer's writings into the major decorative programs and panel painting of the Middle Byzantine period. Constas concludes that artists and their high-status patrons were "studying and absorbing poetic themes and images, and increasingly visualizing them in painting and other visual media."[1] These artworks, one can say, are a product of migrations from poetry to painting, and were generated by their well-educated commissioners.

The migration I propose to examine in this essay is more explicit – the themes from poetry were not transposed into the pictorial medium, but, rather, the verses were directly applied onto the artworks. More precisely, the portions of text from the twelfth-century ecclesiastical poems were extracted from their original, i.e. textual, context and then displayed on two

* I would like to thank to Hideko Bondesen, Claudio Cerretelli and Elisa Marini for furnishing me with the illustrations, as well as to Bratislav Lučin for his assistance.

1 Fr. M. Constas, Poetry and Painting in the Middle Byzantine Period: A Bilateral Icon from Kastoria and the Stavrotheotokia of Joseph the Hymnographer, in: *Viewing Greece: Cultural and Political Agency in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel, Turnhout 2016, 13-31.

monumental crosses from Zadar and an epitaph from Split. These verses cannot be used as historical sources in the narrow sense of the word since they do not exhibit dating formula or the name of the master/commissioner, and, as such, have played little to no part in the existing scholarship on these objects. Moving beyond traditional trajectories of art historical analysis by placing verses in the centre of attention, it is my aim to examine how they partake in the inexhaustible phenomenon of migrations in both visual and devotional culture of the later Middle Ages.

The Zadar Crucifixes and their Verse Inscriptions

Much has been written about the style and the Byzantine-driven shallow relief of the mid-thirteenth-century Saint Michael's crucifix from Zadar (fig. 1).[2] Since no convincing stylistic and typological parallel has been found, this object remains an "unsolved mystery", as Igor Fisković has defined it together with other Romanesque crucifixes from Zadar.[3] More importantly for the present discussion, under the arms of the Suffering Christ, a double-rimmed verse written in golden capital letters in English translation runs as: + *The King dies, she cries, the beloved one grieves, the impious one prays*.[4]

This verse can rightfully be defined as 'migrating' since it was widely disseminated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For instance, it is crowning the relief of the Deposition from the Cross in the cloister of the Santo Domingo abbey in Silos, Spain (fig. 2).[5] Nearly two thousand kilometres air distance from Silos lies Ribe, the medieval Danish city known for its cathedral, whose main portal as well presents the scene of Deposition from the Cross and exhibits the very same "Rex obit" verse (fig. 3). The list of objects displaying this inscription continues, and a dozen manuscripts scattered all over Europe attest to considerable

2 For the most recent account on the crucifix, including bibliography, see E. Hilje, R. Tomić, *Slikarstvo: umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije*, Zadar 2006, 98-99 (*Cat. No. 17 Zadarski majstor (?). Slikano raspelo, XIII. stoljeće*).

3 I. Fisković, Painting, in: *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: A Cultural Survey*, ed. I. Supčić, London 1999, 508. Fisković was referring to the so-called Franciscan crucifix, but his remark most certainly holds true for the Saint Michael crucifix as well. Bearing in mind the fact that the text displayed on the cross has not yet been properly studied, Fisković's remark is even more appropriate.

4 M. M. Marušić, Verses of Faith and Devotion. Seeing, Reading and Touching Monumental Crucifixes with Inscription (12th–13th Century), *Studia Ceranea* 6 (2016), 397-421.

5 + REX OBIT HEC PLORAT CARVUS DOLET IMPIVS ORAT; P. S. Brown, The Verse Inscription from the Deposition Relief at Santo Domingo de Silos: Word, Image, and Act in Medieval Art, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1 (2009), 87-111.

dissemination of this verse – in different geographical areas and in different original settings.[6]

The common denominator of all these disparate artefacts is the verse they display. What connects the listed examples is the initial line of religious poem nicknamed *Copenhagen octave*, most probably produced in Liège, and usually ascribed to Hildebert of Lavardin (ca. 1055–1133).[7] The final line reveals its probable reading on the occasion of the celebration of the Virgin's feast. Furthermore, the word 'sumite', the plural imperative of verb 'sumo', clearly addresses the congregation at the mass. The Latin poem reads as follows:

> *Rex obit, hec plorat, carus dolet, impius orat,*
> *sol fugit, astra tremunt, pavet hostis, corpora surgunt.*
> *In cruce Christus obit, sepelitur et inde resurgit,*
> *corpus in hoc magni sanguis sanccitur et agni,*
> *per carnis culpam mortem gustaverat Adam,*
> *per panis speciem passuram sumite carnem*
> *Iste sapor vivi fluxit de vulnere Christi.*
> *Unaquaque die celebremus festa Marie*.[8]

While discussing the migration and dissemination of this verse, however, it is important to stress how the initial verse on the above mentioned objects was not necessarily extracted from this specific liturgical text. As a matter of fact, medieval poetry had circulated in various forms as well as under different names, while the verses were often changed or rewritten relying upon the 'original'. Besides variability and instability of medieval literature, false attributions to Church fathers or celebrated poets is another commonplace of poetry production, in the first place devotional.[9] The "Rex obit" verse is a case in point since it has circulated separately from Hildebert's supposed original. It was occasionally followed by the

6 Besides the understated objects, the list includes: twelfth-century manuscript now treasured at Zürich, but probably produced in Paris, twelfth-century French copy of *De laude sanctae Mariae* by Guilbert de Nogent (today in the Vatican library), early-twelfth century sacramentary now in Florence's Biblioteca Riccardiana, in the later, twelfth-century, additions to tenth-century manuscript of Anglo-Norman liturgical miscellanea, today in Rouen (Bibliothèque municipale), manuscript of miscellanea now in Lucca (Biblioteca Statale), but produced in Paris, and the list of known examples concludes with early-thirteenth century manuscript in the Madrid's Biblioteca National. For detailed information on these examples see, P. S. Brown, The Verse Inscription, 88-89.

7 The poem is known from the late-twelfth century manuscript today treasured in Copenhagen, but originally belonging to the Benedictine monastery in Liesborn, Westphalia; ibid., 88.

8 Ibid., 95.

9 T. H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, Philadelphia 1996, 12-14.

second verse of the poem in form of a distich, and, as such can be traced to the later twelfth-century collections of devotional poetry.[10] Therefore, the source from which this particular verse was extracted, and applied onto the Zadar crucifix, seem impossible to verify.

Maybe an even more captivating example of the poetry-to-object transfer can be found on the now-lost crucifix from Zadar, treasured in the Benedictine Nunnery of Saint Mary up until its destruction in the Second World War.[11] Probably dating from the middle of the thirteenth century, the crucifix carried two verse inscriptions (fig. 4). The origin of the lower one (+ *The sun is hiding, the world is trembling, the cliff is shaking, this one dies*) still remains to be examined.[12] However, the motifs in the verse are to some extent comparable to those from the second line of the *Copenhagen octave*. As has already been noted, this verse was occasionally combined with the "Rex obit" line fused in a distich, and, as such, has witnessed a considerable diffusion.

Above the arms of the Living Christ, the thirteenth and the fourteenth verse from the Pseudo-Bernard of Clairveaux's "Hortatory poem to Rainald" (*Carmen paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*) were displayed: *Whoever loves Christ does not love this world, but scorns its love as it scorns a stench*.[13] Observing the inscriptions more closely, it is important to highlight the different epigraphy of the lower and upper inscription. Given the fact that the upper inscription exhibits the fourteenth-century letter forms and numerous ligatures, it seems as if Pseudo-Bernard's lines have been incised onto the object after the execution of the crucifix in the middle of the previous century, and display of the lower verse in capital lettering.[14] Therefore, the Benedictine cross most probably has two layers of inscriptions, as well as two different stages of their display.

10 R. Favreau, Sources des inscriptions médiévales, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 153/4 (2009), 1295-1296. Moreover, the *Rex obit* verse was occasionally combined with the verse *Derogat his, gemit hec, obit is, dolet hic, rogat iste*, thus forming a different distich; R. Favreau, Sources, 1295. Furthermore, different alternations, as for instance on the book cover of a Gospel Book from Hildesheim, now in Trier, or the small enamel plaque showing the Crucifixion in the Paris' Musée de Cluny, both dating from ca. 1170; P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800-1200*², London 1994, 210-211.

11 I. Petricioli, Umjetnička baština samostana sv. Marije u Zadru, in: *Kulturna baština samostana svete Marije u Zadru*, ed. G. Novak, V. Maštrović, Zadar 1968, 86.

12 + SOL LATET, ORIBISQVE TREMIT, SAXVM CREPITAT, ISTE CEDIT. Translation according to G. Gamulin, *The Painted Crucifixes in Croatia*, Zagreb 1983, 50.

13 QVISQVIS AMAT CHRISTVM MVNVDVM NON DILIGIT ISTVM / SED QVASI FETORES SPERNET ILIVS AMORE. Translation according to G. Gamulin, *The Painted Crucifixes*, 50.

14 It seems, therefore, that the Benedictine cross originally had only one verse inscription, as is case with the Saint Michael cross, as well as the Franciscan cross, both from Zadar; M. M. Marušić, Verses of Faith and Devotion.

Religious Verses as Epitaph Inscriptions

The third example stands out from the previous two. At issue here is not a lavishly decorated devotional object but a rather simple gravestone, now walled in the cloister of the Saint Francis friary in Split (fig. 5). The epitaph marked the burial place of Leo Cacete, his son Stephen and their heirs.[15] As recorded in the text, Leo died in 1296 and the text for his resting place was most certainly composed around that time. Although the funerary inscription had been previously known,[16] only recently has the provenance of the verses been taken into further consideration. Bratislav Lučin has explained that the epitaph is actually a puzzle-poem brought together by combining various lines from Pseudo-Bernard's *Carmen*, the same poem employed on the Benedictine cross in Zadar.[17]

The six inscribed verses were extracted from the original poem in which they did not follow one another. Set together forming a patchwork displayed on the epitaph, certain verses were displayed on Leo's gravestone. Lučin's transcription of the epitaph, combined with his enumeration of verses from the original poem, faithfully copied or rewrote (in brackets), reveals how the poem was composed:

> *Quam miser est et erit qui gaudia mundi querit,* (187)
> *Nam sua dulcedo delabitur ordine fedo:* (96)
> *Prebet sub mellis dulcedine pocula fellis.* (87)
> *Cuncta relinquentur nec plus hic invenientur.* (81)
> *Nonne vides mundum miserum et in omnibus nudum* (34)
> *Omnibus hoc Leo dico ne se dent inimico,* (93)
> *Nam sic viventes facit et miseros et egentes.* (164)
> *Cordis in aure repone me moriente Leone* (6)
> *Abiectoque foris ceno carnalis amoris.*[18]

15 Practically nothing in known on Leo Cacete (reading of the name according to Bratislav Lučin), and his background. See Alberti, Lav (Leo de Albertis?), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. I, ed. N. Kolumbić, Zagreb 1983, 61-62.

16 A. Duplančić, Nekadašnje groblje kod splitskih konventualaca, *Kulturna baština* 16 (1985), 45-56, 50.

17 B. Lučin, *Još jedan splitski srednjovjekovni epitaf*, blog entry at the *MARVLUS ET AL.*, URL: http://marcusmarulus.blogspot.hr/2011/06/jos-jedan-splitski-srednjovjekovni.html (7. 11. 2016.). The poem is included in the electronical collection *Croatiae auctores latini* (CroALa): Anonymus (fl. 1296) [1296], *Epitaphium Leonis Spalatensis, versio electronica* (Split), 9 versus, verborum 97, ed. B. Lučin, URL: http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.20:1.croala.3503 (7. 11. 2016).

18 The end of the epitaph reads: *Dominus Leo Cacete istum elegit locum sue quietis pro se et suo filio Stephano ac suis omnibus heredibus, in quo loco et quiescit sepultus. Anno Domini MCCXCVI, mense Decembri, die XX*. Lučin, Još jedan splitski srednjovjekovni epitaf.

It can be presumed that in all three cases the extracted verses were particularly important to their commissioners and users. This is particularly clear in the case from Split since many medieval epitaphs exhibit poetry, either composed for that purpose, or compiled from other sources.[19] The same phenomenon can be traced in other types of contemporary texts as well. Joško Belamarić has recently analysed the proem of the Split Statute from 1312, and therefore slightly posterior to Leo's epitaph. The author of the proem, Perceval of Fermo, is the actual composer of the last two lines, while others rely upon a wide range of sources, Classical and contemporary (medieval) alike.[20]

To that extent the "reuse and repackaging" of verses was a commonplace of medieval written culture. When it comes to devotional literature, on the other hand, the choice of particular verses from larger poems should be understood as extraction of portions of text, particularly important to their users. Indeed, repeatedly read religious literature was used selectively, that is, not being read from the first to the last line, and returning to certain verses in order to meditate upon the passion of Christ was indeed encouraged.[21] At the same time, new prayers were regularly added both to personal prayer books and liturgical books, out of which the verses displayed on objects in question were most probably extracted.[22]

Devotional Transfer and its Response

Still, bearing in mind that Pseudo-Bernard's verses were inscribed on the Benedictine cross sometime later than its manufacturing, this act requires further scrutiny. The physical trace left on the object of devotion can be observed through the lens of graffiti in the form of acclamations and short prayers engraved on effigies of saints and walls of sacred spaces since early Christian times.[23] Ann Marie Yasin's insight, although the focus of her study

19 See R. Katičić, *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranog hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*[2], Zagreb 2007, 538-559.

20 J. Belamarić, Proemij splitskog statuta, in: *Splitski statut iz 1312. godine: Povijest i pravo, povodom 700. obljetnice. Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog od 24. do 25. rujna 2012. godine u Splitu*, ed. Ž. Radić, M. Trogrlić, M. Meccarelli, L. Steindorff, Split 2015, 509-526. Belamarić underlines the importance of collections of proverbs, poetry and religious literature in general, in circulation among upper classes of medieval urban laity, see ibid., 512.

21 F. Holy, *The Devout Belief on the Imagination. The Paris Meditationes Vitae Christi and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy*, Turnhout 2009, 84-85.

22 K. M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces. How Medieval Readers Customized Their Manuscripts*, Cambridge 2016, 88-98.

23 See L. Miglio, C. Tedeschi, Per lo studio dei graffiti medievali. Caratteri, categorie, esempi, in: *Storie di cultura scritta. Studi per Francesco Magistrale*, ed. P. Fioretti, Spoleto 2012, 605-628.

were graffiti up to the seventh century, seems particularly useful. Apart from material manifestations of devotional practices, engravings of this type were communicated to subsequent viewers, and were, Yasin explains, transforming the landscape of a sacred space.[24] What is more, they existed as concretized presence of the audience. Composed primarily in the form of written personal names, acclamations, and short prayers, they were signalising the specific site within the devotional topography of the church interiors.[25]

The case of devotional verse on the Benedictine crucifix is different because this act was far more delicate. Both the lettering and the layout of inscriptions point to a professional hand rather than to any worshiper. The fact that someone had a right to inscribe two verses on a devotional object inclines me to think of its patron as the most probable individual to perform the act.[26] If this is correct, the usage of verses from the same devotional poem by imprinting them on the epitaph and crucifix is comparable since the choice of religious poetry was determined by devotion of those who wanted to display them, and were privileged to do so.

On a more general level, borrowing Matthew Champion's title of his recent book on medieval graffiti, these verses can also be perceived as the "lost voices."[27] Although our knowledge of how the intended audience might have responded to objects in question is still insufficient, the pious formulas etched on them can be recognised as graffiti-voices of celebrated poets such as Hildebert or Pseudo-Bernard and their widely-known verses. To that extent, these verses are similar to epigrams on icons in the Byzantine world. As in the cases here discussed, many epigrams were composed as independent poems, and were only later (sometimes even a century later) displayed on images.[28]

The full-scale insight into the very process of original usage of verses in texts and their employment on objects still awaits future examination. While dealing with more or less analogous cases from the East, Henry Maguire

24 A. M. Yasin, Prayers on Site: The Materiality of Devotional Graffiti and the Production of Early Christian Sacred Space, in: *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. A. Eastmond, New York 2015, 36-60, 40.

25 Ibid., 44.

26 Indeed, there are examples of lay individuals or religious groups that claimed patronage over monumental crucifixes, as is, for example, attested in the eleventh-century Naples, see S. D'Ovidio, Spazio liturgico e rappresentazione del sacro: crocifissi monumentali d'età romanica a Napoli e in Campania, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 20/2 (2014), 756-757.

27 M. Champion, *Medieval Graffiti: The Lost Voices of England's Churches*, London 2015.

28 H. Maguire, Art and Text, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack, Oxford 2008, 724.

tends to see acts of "inscribing a particular poem on a particular work of art" as an "act of viewer response."[29] Relying upon Maguire's observation, a distinction between originally displayed verses and those subsequently added should be underlined. While it can be argued that in both cases the commissioners had chosen the text displayed on objects, seeing inscriptions as graffiti enables us to perceive the additional verses as a physical interaction not only with images, but with the 'migrating' text, as well.

Devotion to Crosses and Inscriptions

From what has so far been set forth, the question arises as to how inscriptions worked in their devotional and spatial context. Were the verses applied onto the objects read and contemplated upon as a part of image-driven devotion to crucifixes,[30] or was their very presence enhancing the spiritual experience? Inscriptions, we can speculate, did not serve solely as an additional feature on these objects that accompanied the imposing figure of the Crucified. Their versification is a strong argument for their oral performance, as well as for their accessibility in sacred spaces.[31] The vocalised style of reading, moreover, helped in deciphering a written text for only marginally lettered laymen, especially when reading simple (i.e. short) devotional texts.[32]

Furthermore, it is important to underline the highly probable interaction between the Zadar crucifixes and their users. Inscriptions in these cases were not framing a certain depiction (as on Silos or Ribe reliefs), but, being cut by the figure of Christ in two, were merged with the imagery. In this light, moreover, we cannot overlook the yellowish golden-like rendition of letters which gave them a special aura of sacredness by infusing the written word with divine presence.[33] At the same time, it is also true that verses

29 Ibid., 724.

30 On the issue of late-medieval crucifixes in sacred spaces, see D. Cooper, Projecting Presence: The Monumental Cross in the Italian Church Interior, in: *Presence: The Inherence of Prototype within Images and Other Objects*, ed. R. Maniura, R. Shepherd, Aldershot 2006, 47-70; M. Bacci, Shaping the Sacred: Painted Crosses and Shrines in Thirteenth-Century Pisa, in: *Mittelalterliche Tafelkreuze. La Croce dipinta nel Medioevo. Akten des Studientags der Bibliotheca Hertziana am 3. und 4. November 2005. = Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 38, ed. K. Ch. Schüppel, Münich 2010, 113-129.

31 H. L. Kessler, Inscriptions on Painted Crosses and the Spaces of Personal and Communal Meditation, in: *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces = Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 24, ed. K. B. Aavitsland, T. Kalsen Seim, Rome 2011, 161-84.

32 D. C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2006, 12-14.

33 E. Thunø, Inscription and Divine Presence: Golden Letters in the Early Medieval Apse Mosaic, *Word & Image* 27/3 (2011), 279, 281.

did not actually have to be read in order to be perceived as a distinguished feature on these objects.[34] The wider perspective of inscriptions in sacred spaces reveals that they were visual, rather than linguistic phenomena: seeing them was equally as important as reading them.[35]

Further evidence can be drawn from a number of medieval depictions showing beholders before crucifixes, of crucial interest for the present discussion being the fresco in the 'vaults' of the Prato cathedral (fig. 6). It depicts a devotee in prayerful state, kneeling down with his hands upraised in prayer and eyes fixed on the crucifix. On the altar table there is an open book with the initial verse of the Psalm Fifty.[36] Not surprisingly, the passages from the Holy Scripture and various liturgical texts were commonly used in devotional performance, while certain verses were also occasionally applied on church buildings.[37]

The closest example to Zadar crosses is the silver crucifix from Vercelli. Dated around 1000, it bears an inscription beneath the arms of the Living Christ, an elaboration of the passage from the Gospel of John (19:26) (fig. 7).[38] Chronologically closer is the mid-twelfth century Rosano Cross (fig. 8), which displays a number of verses of different origin, including the commentary of Biblical scenes, as well as verses possibly authored by poets such as Hildebrand of Lavardin or Fulcoius of Beauvais.[39]

Eastern Adriatic objects discussed here partake in the same phenomena or employment of sacred and religious texts. The difference, however, lies in the nature of the texts inscribed: they were not elaborations of the Biblical passages, but direct quotations from medieval poetry that enjoyed great popularity at the time. From books fashioned for personal devotion, the verses in question were transferred onto objects of

34 J. F. Hamburger, *Script as Image*, Paris 2014, 1-2, 52.

35 Bente Kiilerich, Visual and Functional Aspects of Inscriptions in Early Church Floors, in: *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces = Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 24, ed. K. B. Aavitsland, T. Karlsen Seim, Rome 2011, 61.

36 The inscription reads: MISERERE MEI DEVS SECVNDVM MISERICORDIAM TVAM; V. M. Schmidt, *Painted Piety. Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany*, Florence 2005, 83, 85.

37 See, for instance, C. Tedeschi, Preghiere incise nella pietra. Tre iscrizioni liturgiche a Bominaco, in: *Segni per Armando Petrucci*, ed. L. Miglio, P. Supino, Roma 2002, 265-281.

38 The inscription reads: MVLIER ECCE FILIVS TVVS E AD DISCIPVLUM AVTEM ECCE MATER TVA; A. Peroni, Effigi di culto in oreficeria: precedenti e paralelli delle croci dipinte, in: *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII. Riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a seguito del restauro della croce di Rosano*, ed. C. Frosinini, G. Wolf, A. Monciatti, Firenze 2012, 91-106.

39 S. Riccioni, La Croce di Rosano oltre il Lazio e la Toscana. Riflessi 'europei' della 'riforma Gregoriana', in: *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII. Riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a seguito del restauro della Croce di Rosano*, ed. C. Frosinini, G. Wolf, A. Monciatti, Florence 2012, 119-132.

collective devotion in the public realm of sacred space, thus reaching a much wider audience.

* * *

In all these examples, what can initially be defined as the use or reuse of the popular and widely-circulating religious texts on the newly commissioned objects of devotion, outlines what Peter Scott Brown has called the "pan-European frontier" of devotional culture and text-image studies of the medieval Continent.[40] While Silos relief, Ribe portal and Zadar crucifix are rooted in the medieval artistic production of the Iberian Peninsula, Scandinavia and the Eastern Adriatic respectively, they are all endowed with the same pious formula in form of the "Rex obit" inscription. The geographical distance was bridged by way of circulation of liturgical manuals and collections of ecclesiastical poetry so that the verse(s) composed in the twelfth century northern Europe could have easily been read and applied onto an object in the late thirteenth-century Adriatic. Therefore, while the study of the formal characteristics of Zadar crucifixes is rightfully limited to the Adriatic region,[41] the perspective of their verses is necessarily much broader.

Having stated that, it is my hope that the questions outlined in this essay propose exciting possibilities for future research on medieval devotional and book cultures. For the later middle ages archival sources such as the last wills or inventories of goods enable scholars to encapsulate the bulk of religious literature, which has been read in certain cities.[42] For the earlier centuries, on the other hand, only secondary sources such as the verses on objects here discussed can help us better understand the interplay of poetry and objects in medieval devotional practices. As a result, the Zadar crucifixes are not only impressive examples of religious images, but along with the Split epitaph, they are an illuminating window into the religious book culture in the Adriatic and beyond.

40 P. S. Brown, The Verse Inscription, 89.

41 Cf. I. Fisković, Dva drvena plastička raspela iz romaničkog doba u Istri, *Peristil* 35-36 (1993), 33-45; L. Mor, Per una geografia artistica della scultura lignea monumentale nell'Alto Adriatico: alcuni Crocifissi tardo-romanici tra l'Istria e l'isola di Sansego, in: *Medioevo adriatico: circolazione di modelli, opere, maestri*, ed. F. Toniolo, G. Valenzano, Rome 2010, 87-112; I. Fisković, Slikano raspelo Sv. Franje iz 13. stoljeća u Splitu, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 36 (2012), 97-112; Ž. Matulić Bilač, Christus triumphans – Slikano raspelo iz crkve Sv. Andrije na Čiovu, *Portal* 4 (2013), 73-103.

42 Among latest archival-based research on the topic, see G. Budeč, Kultura čitanja u kasnosrednjovjekovnom Šibeniku, *Zbornik Odsjeka povijesnih znanosti Zavoda povijesnih i društvenih znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 32 (2014), 79-98.

Fig. 1: Saint Michael cross, ca. 1250, Saint Michael, Zadar (© Krešimir Tadić; Gamulin, Painted crucifixes in Croatia)

Fig. 2: Deposition from the Cross, twelfth century, Santo Domingo abbey, Silos (source: http://www.lib-art.com/imgpainting/4/1/37714-descent-from-the-cross-romanesque-sculptor-spanish.jpg, accessed 19 May 2017)

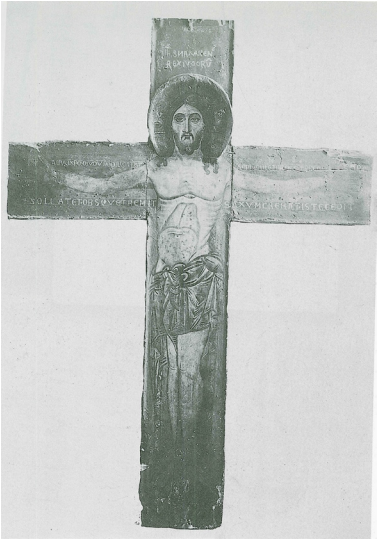

Fig. 4: Benedictine cross (destroyed), ca. 1250, Saint Mary, Zadar (© Gamulin, Painted crucifixes in Croatia)

Fig. 3: Deposition from the Cross, late twelfth century, The Cat's Head portal (Katzenkopfportal), Our Lady Maria Cathedral, Ribe (© Malene Thyssen)

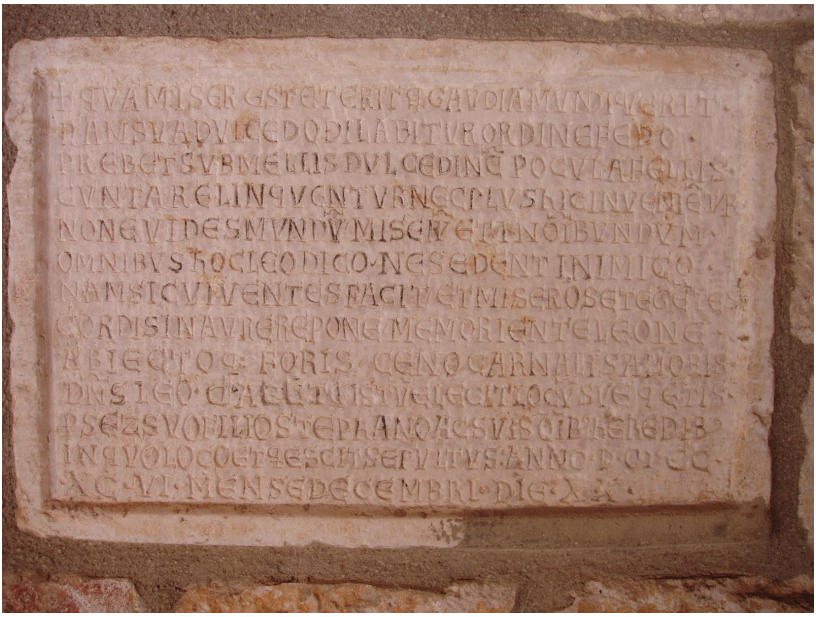

Fig. 5: Epitaph of Leo Cacete, 1298, Saint Francis friary, Split (© Branko Jozić, Marulianum, Split, http://marcusmarulus.blogspot.hr/2011/06/jos-jedan-splitski-srednjovjekovni.html)

Fig. 6: Antonio di Miniato, Sepoltura del canonico Filippo di Domenico, 1417, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo – "Volte" della Cattedrale, Prato (© courtesy of Fototeca Ufficio Beni Culturali Diocesi di Prato)

Fig. 7: Lombard workshop, Crocifisso del vescovo Leone, ca. 1000–1020, Sant'Eusebio Cathedral, Vercelli (© courtesy of Curia Arcivescovile di Vercelli, Ufficio Beni Culturali)

Fig. 8: The Rosano Cross, ca. 1130–1150, Saint Mary's Monastery, Rosano (© courtesy of the Ministero per le beni e attività culturali – Opificio delle Pietre Dure di Firenze, Archivio dei restauri e fotografico)

Miriam Oesterreich

Migrations of the 'Exotic' in Early Advertising Pictures: Travelling between High and Low, Here and There, Idea and Thing

Abstract

Around 1900, consumer goods – especially so-called 'colonial goods' – are for the first time massively advertised with pictures. Hence, stereotypical images of 'exotic' people circulate within Europe and beyond to an extent hitherto unknown. The spectacularized 'exotic bodies' refer to a contemporary collective visual memory adapted from other genres such as baroque allegories or Orientalist painting, among others. In the process of these - here analysed - complex transfers and transgressions of media, time and modes, questions about gender and ethnic conceptions are raised.

Keywords: *advertising, 19th-20th-century's art history, exoticism, gender stereotypes, colonial history*

The last third of 19th century pictorial advertising constituted a completely new visual phenomenon[1] that, nevertheless, is striking by representing noticeably similar bodies and iconographies, especially in the very common representations of 'exotic' bodies. With the latter, just any kind of product could be advertised, but especially the then so-called colonial products abounded with dark, half-naked, wild interpretations of non-European bodies. These pictures as a mass medium were extremely popular, they were not only printed on posters, postcards and in magazines but also massively on the etiquettes of the products themselves, thereby blurring the consumption of the product, the picture and the idea transmitted by the picture. Especially those pictures depicting 'exotic' bodies resemble one another strikingly and follow stereotypical pictorial strategies. 'Exotic' people appear eroticized, feminized and infantilized, essentialized and naturalized as well as de-historicized. Such stereotypings were probably in the rarest cases used consciously by graphic designers and promotional strategists; they rather followed discursive stipulations, which staged the

1 I will focus on early advertising pictures staging so-called 'exotic' bodies, especially in middle and Western Europe (with a special focus on the German *Kaiserreich*) in *fin-de-siècle* and turn of the century era, ca. 1880 (when the pictures popped up massively in daily culture) and 1914 (when with World War I the iconography changed towards more nationalistic imaginations).

'exotic' spectacularly in diverse media. These discursive requirements included a contemporary collective pictorial memory, a repertoire of known pictures of the fine arts as well as of popular image cultures, so the new advertising pictures were always located within a frame of the already known, in the production as well as in the reception of images. Hence, the advertising images interact and communicate with other genres of the contemporary pictorial memory in the most diverse ways. Influence is just one of the parameters of transfer that the pictures underwent. Transgressions, transmissions, breaks and continuities, overlays and appropriations are more precise terms to describe the not only iconographic migrations of pictorial ideas within genres, eras and geographies. Consequently, the advertising pictures migrate in various understandings. Firstly, the material products are sold internationally with the same pictorial fantasies adorning its etiquettes. Normally the same pictures are used to sell the product anywhere, only made distinguishable with captions in the national language. Even the 'colonial goods' – made of colonial raw materials – are often brought back to the colony itself as an industrial product with all the same pictorial images. So, secondly, along with the material pictures also the images of 'exotic' people depicted on their surface migrate. Alongside the latter, thirdly, stereotypes, concepts and ideas circulate in a complexly entangled colonial world. The advertising pictures can be termed with what Aby Warburg had called 'Bilderfahrzeuge', travelling between time, space and mode, crossing the borders of their intended context.[2] As a consequence, they are recoded and take on new semantic meanings.

While *travelling* rather describes a temporary change of location with stark connotations of bringing new insights back to where one came from, *migration* does imply a definitive leaving of one place, replacing it with another, new surrounding, a real cultural dislocation and eradication. William Mitchell writes: "It is important at the outset that we differentiate quite firmly between the neutral notion of images in *circulation*, moving freely, circulating basically without consequences, and the concept of *migration* which suggests something much more fraught with contradiction, difficulty, friction and opposition."[3] Only in this migrational understanding

2 Aby Warburg coined the term of the 'image vehicles' methodologically applying his idea of migrating images especially in his Mnemosyne-Atlas: A. Warburg, *Der Bildatlas Mnemosyne*, ed. H. Bredekamp, Berlin 2000. He had used the term first in his 1907 essay on *Arbeitende Bauern auf burgundischen Bildteppichen*, in: A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. I. 1, 2, Berlin 1998, 223.

3 W. J. T. Mitchell, Migrating Images. Totemism. Fetishism, Idolatry, in: *Migrating Images. Producing... reading...transporting...translating*, eds. P. Stegmann and P. C. Seel, Berlin 2004, 14-24, 15.

of pictures is it possible to describe the hybrid entanglements of different genres in the context of exoticism and a modern mass culture.[4]

Investigating the interaction of advertising pictures and other genres of the contemporary visual memory, it becomes very obvious that the imagined dichotomy of 'high' and 'low' culture is a structural one, as in reality there does not exist *one* reference genre, much less one single reference picture, but rather several pictorial traditions overlap and coincide. It becomes evident as well that this referencing, overlapping and influencing does not happen consistently and that it can be named only at an initial level iconographic or formal. At a second level, it can be assumed that references far beyond formal similarities relate one genre to the other and that in these transfer processes in each case parts of the other pictorial conception are also transmitted, if not congruently. So, the pictures have their visual foundations in very diverse genres, from which they take over iconographic as well as other aspects, but at the same time they are also positioned in their own epoch and reflect contemporary discourses. It is also noticeable in this context that, at least regarding advertising pictures, high and low visual cultures are by no means independent of each other. They rather stand in a close reciprocal relationship and overlap manifoldly.

In this essay, an example of such long traditional anchorages of some special advertising pictures representing effeminate 'exotic' men will be discussed.

In early advertising for colonial products 'exotic' bodies were oftentimes analogized with exotic products, such as coffee, cacao, rum, or cigarettes. For the most part 'exotic', highly sexualized *women* present the goods and beguile to buy them. The eyes of the beholder gets tempted by the physical appeal of the 'exotic' woman and will, consequently, consume the goods substituting them for the female body. Through the two-dimensional, timeless juxtaposition of the erotic body and the ready-to-consume product in the picture surface, some aspect of this sexualized wildness will always be transferred osmotically from the first to the latter as well as vice versa.

Besides such exotistic staging of 'femininity', however, often enough there are, exotic *men*, who, in the course of colonial degradation of their position,

4 See ibid., 14, where W. J. T. Mitchell suggests to see images like migrants: "as immigrants, as emigrants, as travellers, who arrive and depart, who circulate, pass through, thus appear and disappear [...] as coming from elsewhere, perhaps the 'Gastarbeiter' on the one side, the illegal alien, the unwanted immigrant on the other".

are represented as being effeminate. Pictures of indigenous people with décolleté, androgynous features, the wearing of jewelry or the male execution of activities that are traditionally connoted as female, not only obscure the gender identity of the 'other' men (and consequently place themselves under the – legal, ideological, social – authority of white Western men) but also assign them with a differing ethnical identity and social position.

On the one hand, female physical characteristics are simply awarded to male bodies, on the other hand, the male figure can be visually assigned to 'female territories', such as nature or the private interior. The *Laffolie*'s 1906 tobacco ad combines both practices (fig. 1). The testimonial poses amidst a palm-tree studded landscape; the 'exotic' man appears in a paradise-like surrounding. The title of the picture, at the same time brand of the article, hints at the depiction of a woman: *The Beauty of the Westcoast.* In the heteronormative colonial discourse actually only women were called 'beauties' (like in another 1905 ad of a different perfume producer that shows two decidedly feminine and eroticized women – fig. 2). The person here called a beauty is predominantly disturbing because of gender ambivalence. Coquettishly, the figure holds a fan, s/he wears jewelry and seems to be naked, at least the torso. However, the visual signa of the female oppose the male ones: muscular and unclothed arms, short frizzy hair, and, above all, the black shadow able to be interpreted as a moustache, transforming the person into a grotesque creature without any specific gender.

The *El Indio de Cuba* tobacco ad also presents a gender ambivalence: feather decorations and skirt as well as the undressed body evoke the concept of the 'wild', the 'primitive' or the non-civilized (fig. 3). The indigenous man also shows a décolleté marking him as totally 'other'. The parrot he carries on his shoulder was used as early as in early modern times to symbolize sensuality and sexual ecstasy,[5] both characteristics which were projected onto both women and exotics in the 19th century.

However, men are not only effeminate by way of female physical traits or the embedding into female connoted natural surroundings, but also by showing them in female-coded roles: the black man holding a coffee mill between his knees, carries out work that is in the European tradition normally linked to the female domestic sphere (fig. 4). His facial features are grotesquely exaggerated and monstrous, and they seem to be animalistic,

5 P. Mason, Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic, Baltimore/London 1998, 158.

non-human. Many details are represented as non-masculine: the intensively red lips could be made-up; jewelry and finger rings are suggestive of a vulgar exaggeration. The scenario of the feeble and effeminate 'other' man is completed by the evident and naked neckline. The coffee mill substitutes the non-visible phallus, which Stuart Hall identified (referring to Frantz Fanon) as the fetishized body part of black men.[6]

Precisely comparing the picture with a similar one, also promoting coffee, showing a white woman who likewise holds the coffee mill to her bosom, the transfer of the category 'race' (i.e. from a white person to a black one) also to the category 'gender' becomes evident (fig. 5): The white woman is undoubtedly a woman, she dresses in a 'female' way, her physiognomy is female, a female connoted individual but virtuous smile accentuates her face. The other picture shows a gender-ambivalent man evoking monstrous associations, a creature who not only 'racially' transcends borderlines but also questions gender, mental health, and not the least the affiliation to the human species.

Finally, men in advertising are feminized by projecting them into formal and iconographical art traditions of typical female representations. Two examples shall specify this aspect: advertising pictures referring to the allegories of the continents and, second, those referring to orientalism. Like in the advertising of the *Thorbecke* company, nearly undressed men are frequently presented in early tobacco advertising, incorporated into a rich landscape setting, mostly pleasurably smoking (fig. 6). Self-indulgently they are located – surrounded by cornucopias, tobacco products, shipping packages and a view to the ocean where the colonial rulers' fleet awaits the products to ship them to Europe – they seem not to pay any attention to what is happening around them. The body of the man is lying outstretched, feeble, there is no tension at all in his limbs, his body curves are a bit chubby, his gaze goes dreamily into the empty space. The picture parallels depictions of the allegories of the continents such as an early 19th-century French textile print that shows the allegory of *America* reclining comfortably on a grassy plateau (fig. 7). Similar to the advertising man, the figure casually rests her arm, her pose – one leg stretched, one angled

6 S. Hall, Das Spektakel des 'Anderen', in: *Ideologie, Identität, Repräsentation. Ausgewählte Schriften* 4, eds. J. Koivisto and A. Merkens, Hamburg 2004, 108-166, here 113. Hall cites here Frantz Fanon: "One is no longer aware of the Negro but only of a penis; the Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He is a penis." [F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London 1986 [1952], 169-70]. Hall declares fetishism a representational practice that doesn't show phantasies explicitly, but that can rather be made visible through phantasy (S. Hall, Das Spektakel des 'Anderen', 151).

– conveys calm. Behind her body, banana plants tower, huge leaves also grow in the foreground, dreamily she looks at a parrot sitting on her outstretched hand. Arrows lie next to her body on the ground, she holds the bow inadvertently in her arm. The belligerent element of traditional representations of *America* is here reduced to a sole allusion that is just able to guarantee recognition. Her small, firm breasts define her as of the female sex, whereas the muscular abdomen and her strong arms rather associate antique heroes, male ones, as a matter of course.

Köllmann and Wirth state for allegorical depictions of the continents in modern times, that their gender is, according to the Latin names of the continents, female.[7] Although there do exist male allegories at all times and though the explanation of allegorical femininity through the grammatical article is insufficient in terms of a cultural history, nonetheless, in profane and sacral art the embodiments of continents are mostly symbolized through *female* bodies. It is all the more surprising that precisely in early advertising for colonial goods visual concepts were chosen whose iconography is, in fact, well-known, but whose female bodies are replaced by male ones.

Normally, pictures of delightfully resting men are known in European art and cultural history solely in situations of rest after a specifically masculine activity, i.e. after sexual intercourse in mythological scenes or after military battles. Men are usually rather depicted executing action as the latter directly symbolizes their manly power. The representation of resting men rather implies weakness.

The biblical figure of Samson, whose hair symbolizes his God-given physical strength, is overwhelmed while sleeping: his lover Delila cuts his hair, consequently he loses his manly power. Only when the god of war Mars is asleep, Love and Peace are able to defeat him. Holofernes has to be drunken, bewitched with love and weakened by pleasure before Judith can behead him asleep.[8] However, the advertising pictures of such resting men are not rooted in a tradition of specifically masculine narratives but are in close relation to another European pictorial tradition of resting *women*: the Sleeping Venus.

7 See E. Köllmann and K.-A. Wirth, Erdteile, in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. 5, ed. O. Schmitt, Munich 1967, 1160.

8 Simson and Delila: Judges 16,4-22 / Venus and Mars: i.e. the Sandro Botticelli painting: Venus and Mars, ca. 1485, Tempera and oil on wood, 69,2 x 173,4 cm, National Gallery, London. Gudrun Pamme-Vogelsang names a Lucretian text on Venus and Mars as inspiring Botticelli: http://www.art-refresher.de/monatsbild-200803.html, 18.4.2011 / Judith 13,1-10.

Venus as well lies passively in the foreground, her beautiful body relaxed and inserted into the natural landscape. The implicit pleasure of not only sleep itself but also voyeuristic desire, the erotic originating from the apparently ready-to-receive female body, which can be viewed calmly and without the beauty opening her eyes, looking back to the spectator, thus-the picture is suspensefully eroticized.

The picture of the erotically presented sleeping woman was a popular and prestigious motif at the time of the beginning of pictorial advertising. In 1863, Cabanel's aesthetically outstretched pale Venus was praised by the official *Salon*.[9] Her body is artfully twisted, arms and legs sleepily tightened, the long hair flooding onto the waves. Jean-Jacques Henner emphasized the carnality and noble paleness of his *Woman on Black Divan* through the contrast to the deep black sofa she is situated on (fig. 8). The face averted from the observer and the body twisted, every single erotic body part is presented comfortably for the curious gaze of the beholder. So, what kind of change occurred when 'other' men were represented in such a pictorial tradition of passive, receiving women? Attributes, costume, their undressed bodies and their skin color do not leave any doubt about their 'exotic' status. Their unorthodox representation in female connoted pictorial iconographies makes their gender identity blurred and ambivalent.

In the 19th century, nakedness itself had female connotations. Abigail Solomon-Godeau describes the early 19th century as an era of 'crisis' in the representation of the (white) male nude. This 'crisis', according to her, means a time when the desirable male nude disappeared from representation because of bourgeois regimes of gaze and was replaced by the female nude, the latter was all the more erotically staged, as seen in the examples. Her argumentation that the rare depiction of particularly 'feminine' male nudes found an explanation for this era in a kind of transfer of power, in which the male spectator's own masculinity is confirmed just in the moment he is confronted with the picture of the feminized and beautiful young man[10] will here be analogously investigated for the effeminate representations of 'exotic' men. Solomon-Godeau argues that

9 Cabanel's painting was acquired by Napoleon III in 1863. See F. Cachin, *Manet*, (cat. Exh. Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Cologne 1991, 53. Alexandre Cabanel, *Naissance de Vénus*, 1863, oil on canvas, 130 x 225 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

10 A. Solomon-Godeau, Irritierte Männlichkeit, Repräsentation in der Krise, in: *Privileg Blick. Kritik der visuellen Kultur*, ed. C. Kravagna, Berlin 1997, 223-239, here 234-235. See also A. Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble. A Crisis in Representation*, London 1997.

the gaze regimes at stake in depictions of the explained 'male trouble', irritated masculinity, rather correspond to the conventional relation between male spectator and the woman as image.[11] This relationship was extremely characterized by conceptions of dominion and possession; thereby, the 'instable' pictures of an ambivalent gender consolidate and confirm the masculinity of the white male spectator.[12] However, precisely because of the entanglement of the categories of 'race' and gender in the shown pictures not only the masculine white spectators' identity is consolidated visually, but through ethnical discrimination strategies also heterosexual white women can feel confirmed in their superior social position. With their chubby curves and virtually lascivious sucking of their pipes the resting men also refer to a second tradition of representations of effeminate men: The delicate and delightful men resemble strikingly the inviting erotic beauties of harem sceneries in Orientalist painting and photography.

Malek Alloula has shown in detail how the turn-of-the-century orientalist-erotic postcards representing allegedly harem ladies worked with set pieces to create an illusion of orientalist essence. He suggests the shisha pipe as one of these set pieces, together with coffee ceremony and the fantasy of the odalisque they are the ultimate signs of pleasure, excess and a male heterosexual desire.[13] Through the exclusive gaze of the photographer-voyeur the latter can, according to Alloula, substitute the imagined oriental pasha. So, the tenure of the oriental man towards oriental women is transferred onto a Western man.[14]

Based on this assumption, in some advertising motifs 'oriental' men seem effeminate as they are represented as feeble, feminized and ailing. Although in advertising pictures referring to orientalist iconographies men are normally recognizable as men, in the same instance of recognizing masculinity there but occurs a visual degradation through the simultaneous remarking of 'false', 'degenerated' masculinity. This 'degenerated' masculinity is expressed through the ever-same use of pictorial elements such as the shisha pipe and inactive sitting, but also

11 Ibid.

12 See ibid., 236.

13 M. Alloula, *The Colonial Harem. Images of Subconscious Eroticism*, Manchester 1987, 74-78.

14 The desire onto orientalist harem phantasies, in Alloula imagined as purely male, heterosexual and white, is diversified and extended through perspectives of a gaze regime of white women i.e. by R. J. DeRoo, Colonial Collecting: French Women and Algerian Cartes Postales, in: E. M. Hight and G. D. Sampson (eds.), *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, London 2002, 159–171.

soft body contours or chubby shapes. A delicate little table serves an 'Oriental' man, casually dressed in broad, pyjama-like cloth,[15] to situate his cigars in comfortable proximity (fig. 9). Suggested plants with huge leaves, a cloth diagonally spanned throughout the room, which frames the elegantly resting figure, as well as the cushion onto which he leans his elbow, all support the boudoir character of the interior. His graceful right foot projects beyond the frame and relates his sphere with that of the spectator and consumer.

Lecomte de Noüy's female *White Slave* (1888) presents the famous topos of the white woman, victim of the cruelty of barbarous 'Oriental' slaveholders, therefore object of pity of the spectator and a good reason to look at her body without the shame that would be implied if she was depicted as a non-victim in a Western surrounding (fig. 10). The postcard of the stereotypically staged Algerian woman smoking the shisha makes use of both the motifs of leaning elbows and the closed, in this case even barred interior space (fig. 11).

The boudoir as a small private place of retreat of noble women and the Rococo dressing room in Europe stands in a long tradition of decidedly female connotations. If, like here, an 'Oriental' man is situated in such a boudoir, this transfer also shows a transmission of female connotations projected onto the man. So, Madame de Pompadour on baggy cushions of luxurious material in Boucher's painting[16] as well as the woman – dozed off while reading – in Freudeberg's copperplate (fig. 12), sensually and artfully twisted into the picture, enjoying idleness, are classical examples. Even the gesture of resting the elbow is present in both interpretations of the boudoir theme.

Although in advertising pictures referring to orientalist iconographies men are mostly identifiable as men, at the same moment of detecting the masculinity, a pictorial depreciation takes place through the remark of the kind of 'wrong' masculinity described earlier. This 'degenerate' masculinity is expressed through the always-same stereotypical pictorial elements including the smoking of shisha and inactive sitting, but also smooth, flowing body shapes, which do not show muscles or body tension. The transfer of the subject into photography is remarkable. Here as well, 'Oriental' men are represented smoking a water pipe and enjoying idleness.

15 The Turkish traditional costume consisting of 'harem pants', shirt and vest is called *Sal Sapik*.

16 See François Boucher, *Portrait of Mme de Pompadour*, oil on canvas, ca. 1750, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.

Even more explicitly than in the advertising motifs, the pictures are moralized through the loose and unmotivated mimics of the represented men. In a photograph of the 1880s, the *Young Turkish Man* looks indifferently to the camera (fig. 13). There are present all attributes of the "Sick man of Europe"[17]: the delicate table with mocha cup, the water pipe, the interior with seat cushions. With sloping shoulders, he sits slightly bent forwards, his hands hang passively in the bosom, his slight squint leaves the pictorial frame and seems disinterested. His whole appearance expresses faintness and is bare of any drive.

Ayshe Erdogdu discusses the popular photographs of Ottoman men in the 19th century and notices that 'Oriental' men in general were described as 'racially', politically and economically negatively deviating from the defined colonial-western norm.[18] It is argued here that this deviance could also be read gendered: The men were described not only as lazy, poor, 'Oriental' and delicate but – with Reina Lewis's thesis that the 'Orient' is female[19]– consequently also depreciated as 'unmanly' or 'effeminate'.

The projection of femininity onto colonized men bundled, according to John Tosh, the antagonistic emotions of disparagement and desire.[20] Thus, he interprets for England: "The dominant code of manliness in the 1890s, so hostile to emotional expression and so intolerant of both androgyny and homosexuality, can be interpreted as a by-product of a raised imperial consciousness – especially with regard to the imperial frontier and the manly qualities required there."[21]

17 In 19th century, the former Ottoman empire was in discourse as well as in media satirized as "Sick man of Europe". Probably, the term was introduced into the discourse in 1852 by the Russian Czar Nicholas I when he used it in a conversation with the British ambassador about the "Eastern question", i.e. about how a weakened Ottoman empire could persist. On this occasion specifically referring to Sultan Abdülmecid I, the term soon gained proverbial character, was used to name the whole disintegrating empire and is still applied to satirize Turkey.

18 See A. Erdogdu, Picturing Alterity. Representational Strategies in Victorian Type Photographs of Ottoman Men, in: *Colonialist Photography. Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, eds. E. M. Hight and G. D. Sampson, London 2002, 107-125, here especially 107-117.

19 Said's dictum of the Orient made available to Europe as the 'Orient' and its analogies to feminist theory of female impotence when faced with the male possibility to inscribe the 'female canvas' with male projections was extended by Reina Lewis observing that the 'Orient' is itself imagined as female. See R. Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism. Race, Femininity, and Representation*, London 1996; M. Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies. Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge 1998; M. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity. The 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late 19th century*, New Delhi 1995.

20 See J. Tosh: What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?, in: id., *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire,* Harlow (UK) 2005 [History Workshop Journal 38 (1994), 179-202], 29-60, here 50.

21 J. Tosh, *What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?*, ibid., 49.

If in the above discussed advertising pictures *'exotic' men* are awarded to nature as the 'territory of the female', integrated into traditionally female iconographies or simply represented in female poses, roles or with female body markers, they are paralleled and adjusted to the discursive gender of *white women*. In the era of early advertising the 'other' men are obedient, submissive and subject – values that in conservative European circles were precisely treated as female virtues. The linkage of these 'virtues' with the 'vices' of excessive pleasure and laziness denigrate the represented men furthermore as not only 'effeminate' but also 'bad' people.

Fig. 1: Trademark of the company for perfumery products Wilh. de Laffolie (Hildesheim) for the perfume The Beauty of the Westcoast, 1906, Deutsches Patent- und Markenamt (DPMA) Berlin

Fig. 2: Trademark of the company for perfumery products Oehmig-Weidlich for the perfume Beautés d'Orient, 1905, DPMA Berlin

Fig. 3: Trademark for the tobacco product El Indio de Cuba, Cuba, ca. 1920, Oficina de patentes y marcas (OCPI), Havanna

Fig. 4: Unknown graphic designer, Kaffee Importhaus H.G. Engelmann, before 1914, lithography, 95 x 57 cm. In: Michael Scholz-Hänsel, Das Exotische Plakat, Stuttgart 1987, 80

Fig. 5: Trademark for the company of coffee-surrogates Heinrich Franck Söhne (Ludwigsburg), 1895, DPMA Berlin

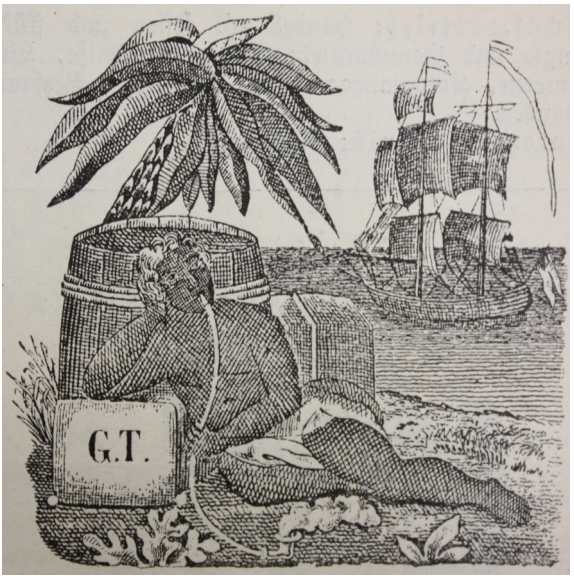

Fig. 6: Trademark for the company Gebrüder Thorbecke (Osnabrück) for tobacco goods, 1895, DPMA Berlin

Fig. 7: Unknown artist, America (detail), from a series representing the four continents, textile print on cotton, France, ca. 1820-30. In: Michael J. Wintle, The Image of Europe. Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages, Cambridge et al. 2009, 304

Fig. 8: Jean-Jacques Henner, Woman on Black Divan, 1865, oil on canvas, 193 x 180 cm, Musée des Beaux Arts Mulhouse. From: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1865_Jean-Jacques_Henner_-_Woman_on_a_black_divan.jpg, 30.09.2014.

Fig. 9: Trademark for the company G. Theodorus Salim (Munich) for tobacco goods, 1896, DPMA Berlin.

Fig. 10: Jean Jules Antoine Lecomte du Noüy, L'Esclave Blanche, 1888, oil on canvas, 146 x 118 cm, Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes. From: http://www.museedesbeauxarts.nantes.fr/Jahia/Accueil/Collections/XIX?indiceName_33273=3&containerId=376 13, 30.09.2014

Fig. 11: Algérie. Meriem fumant le narguileh, photopostcard, ca. 1900. In: Malek Alloula, The Colonial Harem: Images of Subconscious Eroticism, Manchester 1987, 77

Fig. 12: Pierre Maleuvre after Sigismond Freudeberg, Le Boudoir (detail). From the series Suite d'estampes pour servir à l'histoire des moeurs et du costume des Français dans le dix-huitième siècle: années 1775-1776, 1775, copperplate, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes. From: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5558649c/f15.item.zoom, 20.12.2016

Fig. 13: Guillaume Berggren: w/o title (Young Turkish Man), photography, 1880s. In: Eleanor M. Hight (ed.), Colonialist Photography. Imag(in)ing Race and Place, London et al. 2002, 112

Dijana Protić

Migration and Usage of the Designers' Concept *Balkan Typeface System*

Abstract

In contemporary society, design and typography are very important parts of visual communication and culture. I will analyze migration and usage of the designers' concept Balkan Typeface System, created by the designers Marija Juza and Nikola Đurek in 2012. The Balkan Typeface System is a part of the experimental project Balkan Visual Systems, which raises questions about visual identity of the Balkans.

In the past, both scripts, Latin and Cyrillic-were bearers of cultural, ethnic, religious and political identities. Today, the Balkan Typeface System is used on many different occasions that connect and communicate within the cultures of the Balkans. As the authors point out, the typeface system Balkan is primary a font, then a translator and a converter between Croatian Latin and Serbian Cyrillic. The Balkan Typeface System is a series of fonts that decode Latin and Cyrillic; it demystifies and de-politicizes both letters for the purposes of education, tolerance and cultural communication. I will analyze the typeface system from three different perspectives. First, as a design and art concept I will analyze it in relation to the theory of design and visual communications. I will describe the use of color, styles and the relationship between the Latin and Cyrillic. The second perspective analyzes the Balkan Typeface System primarily according to the theory of the Language of New media by Lev Manovich.

In the third part I will apply migration and cultural transfer theories to the three examples of usage of the Balkan Typeface System. These examples are visual material for the film Atomski z desna, by Srđan Dragojević, headline font for the independent Serbian weekly magazine Novosti and the last example is a project called Balkan floods. Usage of the Balkan Typeface System is an excellent example of the migration of the idea and concept and also example of cross cultural communication. Five years since the creation of the Balkan Typeface System, it has successfully migrated throughout the common cultural area of the Balkans and the rest of the world.

Key words: *Balkan Typeface System, Balkan, Cyrillic, culture, font, image, Latin, migration, text, usage, visual communication*

The history of the Balkans is marked by hostility toward everything that is connected with national and religious identities and that is suggesting dissimilarities of other inhabitants of the Balkans. The violence was directed towards cultures, art, religious buildings, monuments, books, and letters. "In the Balkans, we have a poetic-military complex." (Slavoj Žižek).[1] The people of the Balkans share a common geographic and cultural space and a rich cultural and artistic heritage which implies numerous transfers and migrations in visual culture, mutual cultural influences and similarities, as well as linguistic similarities of language and writing. Along the lines of reconciliation and understanding between the Cyrillic and Latin scripts, which are historically present in the entire Balkans, Croatian designers Marija Juza and Nikola Đurek created the designer's concept *Balkan Typeface System* (2012).

It is chosen as an example for the recent migration in visual culture. The migration of *Balkan Typeface System* is still ongoing and will only be in a position to be analyzed fully after the process is over. Migration and usage of the designer's concept in visual culture of the Balkans and globally are analyzed through the text from three perspectives. The first part discusses the *Balkan Typeface System* and analyzes it in relation to the theory of design and visual communications, describes the use of color and font styles. The second part analyzes the *Balkan Typeface System* from the perspective theory of the *Language of New Media* by Lev Manovich. The following includes theories of cultural transfer and migration in culture and the last part analyzes the context of migration and the usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* by way of three examples. Selected examples differ in some of the three main factors of the concept of cultural transfer as well as in the context and purpose of usage. The first purpose of usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* is as the part of visual communication in materials of art projects that are made in collaboration between Croatian and Serbian artists. The second purpose of usage is in the projects of international recognition. In this type of visual materials the scripts, Cyrillic and Latin, place those projects in the common cultural context of the Balkans.

Artistic concepts that are based on dual literacy of Slavic people have been known since the avant-garde movements. One of the most significant representatives is Ljubomir Micić, editor and publisher of the *Zenith* (1915-1946), a magazine for culture and art. Besides Marija Juza and Nikola Đurek, the designers of *Balkan Typeface System*, including Croatian artist

1 N. Đurek, M. Juza, *Balkan Type Specimen*, Zabok 2012, 8.

Siniša Labrović also used Cyrillic and Latin scripts together in the performance *Breaking the Latin* (2016).

It is necessary to outline the basics of typography, as the *Balkan Typeface System* is a part of graphic design and thus possesses the principles of visual communication (fig.1).

"Typography (Greek *typos* – stamp, mark + *graphein* – to write) is a term that can be defined as: the science of letters, art of using typographic characters, skills of making, drafting, design and functional usage of letters. Along with logotype and color, typography is the third main component of the visual identity".[2] Nowadays typographic systems consist of computer-designed fonts, which are defined as a set of characters (glyphs) within one style of the typeface. The *Balkan Typeface System* is an example of a professional typographic system, which combines two scripts, Cyrillic and Latin and at the same time communicates with both the audience and the cultural context of its creation. As the authors points out: "The *Balkan Typeface System* is a hybrid that decodes Latin and Cyrillic; it demystifies, de-politicizes and reconciles them for the sake of education, tolerance and, above all, communication. Except from primarly being a font, it is an automatic translator and can also be used to convert Croatian Latin into Srbian Cyrillic and vice versa. One could, therefore, think of it as an educational software capable of reconciling discrete scripts."[3] The basic elements of the *Balkan Typeface System* are characters, in this case Latin and Cyrillic. "In general, the most common and important geometric elements of characters are- starting or upper lines, curves or rounded part, the final curves, ascender, descender (...) and finishing line or serif. (...) Typeface style is a certain stylization of a typeface. One typeface may have several different styles (bold, italic, black, heavy, thin...). All styles of a typeface constitute a typeface family."[4] The main colors in *Balkan Typeface System* are red and blue, while the typefaces are Balkan Sans and Balkan Sans Stencil. "They consist of four styles – three of them with different alignments where Latin is the upper part and Cyrillic is the lower part and one style in which Cyrillic is the upper part and Latin is the lower part of the typeface"[5] (fig. 2).

Authors of the *Balkan Typeface System* based designer's concept on the study the of phenomenon of Balkan Sprachbund. "This term is used for a

2 M. Tomiša, *Determination of qualitative design criteria of graphic products in the process of graphic communication*, Ph.D. diss., University of Zagreb 2012, 59.

3 N. Đurek, M. Juza, *Balkan Type Specimen,* 6.

4 M. Tomiša, *Determination of qualitative design criteria,* 59.

5 M. Juza, N. Đurek, *Balkan Type Specimen*, 6.

Balkan language community, which consists of unrelated languages from different branches of 'Indo-European' languages (Albanian, Greek, Romani, Turkish, South Slavic and Romance languages). Despite their cultural differences, those languages have come to share the same grammatical and phonological features because they are written and spoken by people from the same region"[6] (fig. 3).

Throughout the history of the Balkans, three scripts were present: Glagolitic, Latin and Cyrillic. Today, Cyrillic and Latin in dual use are characteristic for Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. "Historically, both scripts were bearers of cultural, ethnic, religious and political identities, but their communicative and symbolic functions were often out of step for the sake of multi-ethnicity. On the other hand, close development of languages and scripts throughout history resulted in shared properties. Today some regional languages of the Western Balkans are so similar as to be dialects of the same language."[7]

The *Balkan Typeface System* has been used for ten different purposes so far, which are*: Balkan Type Specimen* (2012), Visual identity for exhibition *Monuments and transition*, (2012), a proposal for visual intervention by *changing* the inscription of Cinema Europe into Cinema Balkan during the Subversive Film Festival in Zagreb (2012), Headline font (logotype) of newspapers *Novosti*, (2013), Typojanchi, Seoul international Typography Biennale (2013), Font on the poster for the film *Atomski z desna*,[8] by Srđan Dragojević (2014), *Balkans floods* (2014) Young Balkans designers, (2014, 2015) *Exhibition of Croatian design* (2016).

The *Balkan Typeface System* is the contemporary concept of graphic design and as such can be analyzed from the perspective of the theory of new media. The *Balkan Typeface System* will be analyzed considering basic concepts of the theory written by Lev Manovich in the book *The Language of New Media*. According to Manovich, forms of new media are comprised of database and narrative. "After the novel, and subsequently the cinema, privileged narrative as the key form of cultural expression of the modern age, the computer age introduced its correlate-the database."[9]

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 English title of this movie is *From Zero to Hero*.

9 L. Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, Cambridge 2001, 218.

The *Balkan Typeface System* consists of a database and a narrative. "As a cultural form, database represents the world as a list of items, and it refuses to order this list. In contrast, a narrative creates a cause- and- effect trajectory of seemingly unordered items (events). Therefore, database and narrative are natural enemies. Competing for the same territory of human culture, each claims an exclusive right to make meaning out of the world."[10] In the *Balkan Typeface System* - database there are Cyrillic and Latin characters, which can be used as a translation system to convert Croatian Latin in Serbian Cyrillic. The database is also the usage of the font as an educational software. In the future, the database could be expanded to include other Cyrillic alphabets. The *Balkan Typeface System* also consists of narratives. Over the centuries, narratives were created by the inhabitants of the Balkans, on the other side narratives and prejudices about inhabitants of the Balkans were created by others. Some of the well-known narratives are the perception of the Balkans as a *Land of blood and honey*.[11] The Balkans are also known as a homeland of vampires and savages. There are many theories about the origin and meaning of the word 'Balkan'. Narratives about the Balkans were thoroughly studied in the book written by Katarina Luketić, *The Balkans: from geography to phantasy* and in the academic papers of Maria Todorova. When the authors of the *Balkan Typeface System* worked on the concept, they could not and did not want to avoid the narratives about the Balkans, so they explained "There are several theories about the origin and meaning of the word 'Balkan'. It is believed that the word derives from Turkish and stands for 'mountain' or 'mountain forests'. Balkan also describes the historical and vaguely defined geographic and cultural region of Southeastern Europe."[12] The fact is that the word 'Balkan' implies many meanings, associations and narratives, while the *Balkan Typeface System* does contain some of these multiple meanings, on the other hand, it is a very specific database with Latin and Cyrillic script. Therefore, the *Balkan Typeface System* maintains the relationship between narrative and database and precisely this relationship creates dynamics, which is, according to Manovich, very common in new media.

The theory of cultural transfer can also be connected with migration of the *Balkan Typeface System* in visual culture. "The core concept of cultural transfer processes comprises transmission and mediation of cultural artifacts

10 Ibid., 225.

11 *In the Land of Blood and Honey* (2011) title of the film directed by Angelina Jolie.

12 M. Juza, N. Đurek, *Balkan Type Specimen*, 6.

(literary and other texts, discourse, media, etc.) between the cultural systems. As a methodological concept, cultural transfer includes three main factors. The first one is a review of the selection process (the logic of choosing and transferring texts, media discourse, etc.), the second one is to observe the processes of mediation (various types of intercultural mediators are processed – individuals, groups, institutions), and the third, trying to cover the overall process of reception".[13] These three factors are applicable to the *Balkan Typeface System* as whole. Hence, the first factor is the selection process; in this case the example for observing the selection process is the *Balkan Typeface System*. The process of mediation is visual and linguistic. And the third factor is the process of reception; so far the *Balkan Typeface System* was used more than ten times for different purposes. Following is the application of the theory of cultural transfer on three different examples.

The first example of usage and migration of the *Balkan Typeface System* is on the poster for the film *Atomski z desna* (2014) by Serbian director Srđan Dragojević. The film is a comedy, while the font is used on the poster, in the title of the film and film credits. The film is set in a hotel resort on the Adriatic coast, where various characters from whole territory of the former Yugoslavia spend their summer (fig. 4).

It is about the transfer of posters and film credits that include the font *Balkan Typeface System*. In the center of selection process is the *Balkan Typeface System.* In the process of mediation are participating individuals, groups and institutions, in this the case production companies Delirijum and Artikulacija, Radio Television of Montenegro, Film and Music Entertainment , and the distributor of the film is Turkish company Movimax Festival. In the process of reception the whole audience who saw the poster and a film takes part. The *Balkan Typeface System* migrated from Zagreb, Croatia to Belgrade, Serbia and then to all the cities of the region where the film was distributed. The second example of usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* is the headline font for *Novosti*, "Serbian independent weekly magazine which has informative character and as such publishes critical writings about all the relevant political, social and cultural events."[14] The weekly magazine *Novosti* is published by the Serbian National Council in Croatia and it has been using Balkan Typeface System as a headline font since 2013.

13 M. Car, Proceedings on the transfer in culture, The art of words, *Jurnal of Literary, Theatre and Film Studies* 56 (2012), 213-217, http://hrcak.srce.hr/109217

14 http://snv.hr/eng

The difference between the movie poster and credits- is that the front page of *Novosti* is much more common because it is published once a week every month during the year. Institutions are participating in the process of mediation which in contrast to commercial distributors of the film, have a greater national importance; they are the Serbian National Council, the Council for National Minorities Croatia, the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, and the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. The Serbian minority in Croatia, readers of newspapers, both print and online edition participate in the process of reception (fig. 5).

The migration and the usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* starts again from Zagreb and in this case still takes place every week at the newsstands in Croatia and in other countries where the news is distributed, as well as in all countries where the website of the *Novosti* is opened.

The third example of the usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* is the project *Balkan floods*. In May 2014, large floods hit the Balkans, particularly Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, where areas and settlements along the Sava River were damaged. A *Balkan flood* is conceived as a donor project for the rehabilitation of the flooded areas. The *Balkan Typeface System* is applied to different artifacts, such as T-shirts and paper bags. Money from the purchase of artifacts is donated to charity. Authors of the *Balkan Typeface System* also waived the fees for the distribution and actively participated in the project; while the concept proposal was created on the initiative of "Cause. works team consisting of members of the Rijeka association Kombinat."

The project was presented in May 2014., in Zagreb on D-Day, which is an event organised by the Croatian Designers Association. In this example, the selection process besides *Balkan Typeface System* consists of T- shirts and paper bags. The mediation process does not include state institutions nor commercial distributors, but rather the authors and members of the Kombinat and organization team of D-Day. All visitors of D-Day and the purchasers of those artifacts participate in the process of reception, while indirectly also people whose homes were devastated by floods, for whom the money from the sale was intended also participate. Migration in this case took place from Zagreb and Rijeka to Zagreb and indirectly to all areas affected by floods (fig. 6).

The paper analyzes the migration and usage of the *Balkan Typeface System* in visual culture from multiple perspectives. The *Balkan Typeface System* is

analyzed with consideration to basics of typography, then in relation to the theory of new media and in relation to the concept of cultural transfer. The *Balkan Typeface System* participates in the selection while differences existed in the process of mediation, particularly in institutions involved in migration. In the first case, it was the Turkish production company, in the second the state institutions of Serbia and Croatia, while in the third case it was a creative cluster of young freelancers and authors who aimed to help. In further research, a detailed analysis of the process of reception is possible to carry out. The migration of the *Balkan Typeface System* mainly started in Zagreb and continued to migrate to other cities of the region. Migration of *Balkan Typeface System* in visual culture is still ongoing and specific analysis can be made about the completion of migration or by observing migration in a specific time period. The *Balkan Typeface System* exists as a font that can be purchased through the website so it is complicated to follow all the migrations. Further research should include the comparative analysis of the *Balkan Typeface System* and two other artistic concepts that are based on the dual literacy of Balkan nations. Research should include *Zenith*, an avant-garde magazine for arts and culture edited by Ljubomir Micić and the performance *Breaking the Latin* by Siniša Labrović.

Fig. 1: Example of Balkan Typeface System, quote by Slavoj Žižek, Private archive by Marija Juza

Fig. 2: Example of Balkan Typeface System, quote by Maria Todorova, Private archive by Marija Juza

Fig. 3: Balkan Sprachbund, Screenshoot from film Balkan Visual System by Marija Juza, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dz7Lg1leDqY&t=60s

Fig. 4: The poster for the film Atomski z desna, Private archive by Marija Juza

Fig. 5: Balkan Typeface System as headline font for Novosti, visual design by Parabureau, Private archive by Marija Juza

Fig. 6: Examples of artifacts, Private archive by Marija Juza

Nirvana Silnović

Migration of Objects, Ideas, and Meanings: The Case of the Mithras Cult

Abstract

This article explores the complex nature of Mithriac images, and the important role images have played in the Mithras cult. The first part of the article reflects upon the role of the Mithraic images. The preference of the visual mode of expression is justified by the double nature that cult images have embodied: cultic and votive. In the absence of religious texts, the highly standardized iconography of Mithraic images served didactic purposes, and moreover, to establish a common cultural identity among the cult members. Stone medallions, carried about and transferred to considerable distances, are further evidence of the overall coherence of Mithraic visual codes. Both cult icons and miniature stone medallions testify to the primacy of the images, and, as argued in the second part of the article, to the essentiality of the refined dynamics of migration of objects, ideas, and meanings. Dominated by images, Mithraic culture is treated as an example of 'the pictorial turn.'

Key words: *Mithras cult, Mithraic art, tauroctony, Mithraic medallions, 'imagetext', 'pictorial turn'*

> *The uses of images in different periods as objects of devotion or means of persuasion, of conveying information or giving pleasure, allows them to bear witness to past forms of religion, knowledge, belief, delight, and so on. Although texts also offer valuable clues, images themselves are the best guide to the power of visual representations in the religious and political life of past cultures.*[1]

The Centrality of the Image

The pertinence of the images for the study of the Roman cult of Mithras has long been acknowledged.[2] The reason for their importance is twofold:

1 P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London 2001, 13.

2 M. Clauss asserts that "der Mithras-Kult ist ein Beispiel für den Bilderreichtum der Antike," in: *Mithras: Kult und Mysterium*, Darmstadt 2012 (1990), 26; R. Heyner similarly characterized the cult as "einen besonderen Bilderreichtum," Aus dem Felsen geboren…Die Ikonographie des Mithras-Kultes, in: *Imperium der Götter. Isis, Mithras, Christus. Kulte und ReligionenimRömischen Reich*, ed. C. Hattler, Darmstadt 2013, 219.

first, it stems from the mere nature of the evidence, which subsequently determined the direction Mithraic scholarship has taken.[3] The lack of Mithraic sacred texts, accompanied by some sporadic references in contemporary ancient sources, is contrasted with the abundance of monuments, including various media such as reliefs, sculpture in the round, frescoes, pottery, etc. Starting with Franz Cumont, a founding father of the modern study of Mithraism, and his seminal work on the cult of Mithras, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, the iconography of the 'monuments figurés' served as a starting point for reconstructing the myth of Mithras, and ultimately for establishing the cult's doctrines and beliefs.[4] While the 'Cumontian approach' has recently received some criticism,[5] it remains the starting point of any study dealing with the cult of Mithras.[6] Perhaps the most direct expression of his methodology can be found in the words of Robert Turcan:

> Le mithriacisme nous est accesible sourtout et directement par l'iconographie. C'est dire l'importance des monuments figurés qui doivent servir de base à toute discussion sur les origines, la formation et la signification du culte gréco-romain de Mithra.[7]

Second, the focus and the essential element of each *mithraeum* was the cult image representing tauroctony, i.e. Mithras killing the bull.[8] Placed prominently at the end of the *mithraeum* (fig. 1), "a dramatic and strikingly memorable image," whose "ubiquitous presence" was the only standard component of the cult apart from the *mithraea* itself, it naturally became

3 An overview of Mithraic scholarship is offered by R. Beck, Mithraism since Franz Cumont, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.17.4 (1984), 2002-2115; id., Mithraism after 'Mithraism since Franz Cumont,' 1984-2003, in: *Beck on Mithraism. Collected Works with New Essays*, ed. J. Hinnells, Aldershot 2004, 3-23; A. Mastrocinque, Note panoramique sur les mystères de Mithra après Cumont, in: F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, eds. N. Belayche and A. Mastrocinque, Torino 2013, LXIX-LXXXVIII.

4 F. Cumont, *Texteset monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1896, 1899; F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1903.

5 R. Beck, Old Ways: The Reconstruction of Mithraic Doctrine from Iconography, in: id., *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*, Oxford 2006, 16-25; A. Mastrocinque, Note panoramique, LXXIII-LXXVIII; a critical reassessment of the iconological approach to images has recently been offered by K. Lorenz, *Ancient Mythological Images and Their Interpretation. An Introduction to Iconology, Semiotics, and Image Studies in Classical Art History*, Cambridge 2016; it is no longer common to talk about the 'Mithraic doctrine,' as we do not possess knowledge of any "systematic and coherent body of teaching transmitted to the initiates," R. Beck, Four Stages on a Road Describing the Mithraic Mysteries, in: *Beck on Mithraism. Collected Works with New Essays*, ed. J. Hinnells, Aldershot 2004, xxii.

6 N. Belayche, L'homme de Mithra, in: F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra,* eds. N. Belayche and A. Mastrocinque, Torino 2013, XIII-LXVIII.

7 R. Turcan, *Mithra et le mithriacisme*, Paris 1993, 45.

8 R. Beck, *Old Ways*, 21; R. Gordon, Institutionalized Religious Options: Mithraism, in: *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. J. Rüpke, Oxford 2007, 398.

the focus of scholarly investigations as well.[9] The central role that images played in the cult of Mithras has led scholars to conclude that "Mithraism's chosen medium of expression was visual art."[10]

What made the images quintessential for the cult of Mithras? According to Margalit Finkelberg, there were two types of cult images in ancient Greece: 'images of gods which functioned as cult objects but were not intended as objects of contemplation,' and 'images especially designed as objects of contemplation but which were not regarded as cult objects proper.'[11] This distinction between 'cult image' and 'votive image', and between 'image of the god' and 'image offered to the god' was transformed in ancient Rome into the distinction between 'the images of the gods' (*simulacra deorum*) and 'the ornaments of temples' (*ornamenta aedium*).[12] The further change in the nature of the cult image in late antiquity was examined by Jaś Elsner, who, by comparing the imagery of the official Roman religion and the cult of Mithras, argued that Mithraic cult icons embodied both cultic and votive functions.[13] The cult icon became "a simulacrum of a spiritual journey which those viewers could be reasonably expected to see themselves as making."[14] Elsner explained the exceptional importance of images for the cult of Mithras in terms of reversal:

> Where Roman religious art imitated Roman sacrificial practice, Mithraic ritual imitated the Mithraic cult image. It is this fundamental reversal that catapulted images in the mystery cults into a position of incomparable importance, for the image is no longer parasitic on actuality, but rather, religious practice becomes in some sense a mimesis of the cult icon.[15]

What actually happened with the nature of the cult icon is what Elsner calls "the most remarkable and radical change in society that the Western

9 L. H. Martin, Performativity, Narrativity, and Cognition. "Demythologizing" the Roman Cult of Mithras, in: *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianities*, ed. W. Braun, Ontario 2005, 196-197.

10 R. Beck, The Mysteries of Mithras, in: *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, eds. J.S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson, London 1996, 176.

11 M. Finkelberg, Two Kinds of Representation in Greek Religious Art, in: *Representation in Religion. Studies in Honor of Moshe Barasch*, eds. J. Assmann and A. I. Baumgarten, Leiden 2001, 38-39.

12 S. Estienne, *Simulacra Deorum* Versus *Ornamenta Aedium*. The Status of Divine Images in the Temples of Rome, in: *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. J. Mylonopoulos, Leiden 2010, 257.

13 J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art From the Pagan World to Christianity*, Cambridge 1995, 212.

14 Ibid., 88.

15 Ibid., 241.

world has seen."[16] Essential to this change was the transformation of the nature of the art from literal into symbolic; the image was no longer a god but a symbol of the god which required 'mystical viewing', wherein a cult icon became "a text in its own right – a particular polysemic arrangement and commentary that demands to be read within the ideology of its time and in its own unique way."[17]

a) Cult Image - Tauroctony

What did the Mithraic cult icons look like? If one observes the various tauroctonies from across the Roman Empire (fig. 2), the relative uniformity of Mithraic art becomes apparent. It has usually been described as "repetitive, provincial, often poorly executed, above all, eclectic and derivative."[18] Some scholars regard this 'stereotypical' nature of Mithraic art as a tool of the cult's claim to legitimacy.[19] The emergence of the rich plurality of the cults on the so-called 'religious market'[20] of the Roman world served as an impetus for their self-definition and self-affirmation, achieved through the uniformity of their art and iconography (observable particularly in the case of the Mithras cult), which furthermore contributed to the establishment of a common cultural identity among the cult's adherents.[21]

The iconographical stability of Mithraic art allows one to define its basic elements easily (fig. 2). Mithras, typically dressed in an 'oriental suit', i.e., long-sleeved tunic, long trousers with boots, a cloak and a Phrygian cap on his head, is usually shown pressing the back of the already slumped bull with his kneeling left leg, while his right leg is stretched backwards over the bull's rump and right hind leg. With his left hand Mithras grabs the bull by its nostrils and pulls his head backwards, while with his right

16 Ibid., 245.

17 Ibid., 88, 124, 218-219. More about this point later in the text.

18 R. Gordon, Viewing Mithraic Art: The Altar From Burginatium (Kalkar), Germania Inferior, *Antigüedad: Religiones y Sociedades* 1 (1998), 227.

19 R. Gordon, A New Mithraic Relief from Rome, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1/2 (1976), 171; J. Elsner, *Roman Eyes. Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text*, Princeton 2007, 250.

20 J. North, The Development of Religious Pluralism, in: *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, eds. J. Lieu, J. North and T. Rajak, London 1992, 174-193. For a critical review of the "religious market model" see G. Woolf, Isis and the Evolution of Religions, in: *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis. Proceedings of the Vth International Conference on Isis Studies, Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13-15, 2011*, eds. L. Bricault and M. J. Versluys, Leiden 2014, 62-92.

21 J. Elsner, *Roman Eyes*, 250, 255, 258, 268.

arm he stabs the bull in the shoulder with a dagger.[22] If not looking at the wound, Mithra is directing his gaze either towards the observer or, over his right shoulder, towards the raven perched on his billowing cloak, or sometimes shown standing on a rim of a symbolically indicated cave, or towards the Sol in the upper left corner of the composition. The bull's tail occasionally appears to end in an ear of wheat. Torchbearers, Cautopates and Cautes, flank the two main actors of the scene, standing with their legs crossed and holding lowered and raised torches respectively. On most of the compositions, Cautopates is on the left side, directly below Sol (represented as a bust or as a full figure in a *quadriga* drawn by the horses), while Cautes stands on the right side, below Luna (also represented as a bust or drawn in a *biga* by oxen). Besides the raven, a dog, a snake, and a scorpion are found among Mithras' usual companions. The dog and the snake are shown striving towards the blood dripping from the bull's wound, while the scorpion pinches the bull's genitals. In addition to the basic type of the cult icon, showing exclusively the scene of the tauroctony, a complex type of the cult icon, found particularly in the German provinces and in the Danube region, elaborates the myth with additional scenes surrounding the central tauroctony (fig. 2. b).[23]

Regardless of its general uniformity and normativity, Mithraic art simultaneously demonstrates a vast array of iconographic motifs and a myriad of variations in its compositions, wherein some regional features and elements of style can be detected.[24] Although until quite recently Mithraic art was not perceived as a particularly valuable contribution to Roman

22 The placement of the wound on the bull's shoulder is unique to the Roman cult of Mithras, following G. Palmer, Why the Shoulder?: A Study of the Placement of the Wound in the Mithraic Tauroctony, in: *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston, Austin 2009, 314-323; it has been argued recently that Mithras is not killing, but wounding the bull instead, in C. A. Faraone, The Amuletic Design of the Mithraic Bull-Wounding Scene, *Journal of Roman Studies* 103 (2013), 96-116.

23 The two basic types of Mithraic cult reliefs were established by E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain. Contribution à l'histoire de l'art de l'Empire romain*, Paris 1955; R. Gordon, *Institutionalized Religious Options*, 398.

24 See for example G. L. Vrkljan, "Posebnosti tipologije i ikonografije mitrijskih reljefa rimske Dalmacije" [Typological and iconographical particularities of the Mithraic reliefs in the Roman province of Dalmatia], Ph.D. diss., University of Zagreb 2001; id., Some Examples of Local Production of Mithraic Reliefs from Dalmatia, in: *Religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici: akti VIII. Međunarodnog kolokvija o problematici rimskog provincijalnog stvaralaštva*, eds. M. Sanader and A. R. Miočević, Zagreb 2005, 249-258. Ž. Miletić, Typology of Mithraic Cult Relief from South-Eastern Europe, in: *Religija i mit*, 269-274; G. Sicoe, Lokalproduktion und Importe: Der Fall des mithraischen Reliefs aus Dakien, in: *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds*, eds. M. Martens and G. de Boe, Brussels 2004, 285-302; id., *Die mithräischen Steindenkmäler aus Dakien*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014; C. Sagona, *Looking for Mithra in Malta*, Leuven 2009; A. Hensen, *Mithras. Der Mysterienkult an Limes, Rhein und Donau*, Darmstadt 2013.

(classical) art, in light of the recent post-colonial turn in archaeology and the growing importance of the study of provincial art, it is now considered an important source for our understanding of local social, religious, civic, and cultural identities.[25] Various departures from the 'canonical image' are considered to have the ability to "personalize the images and make them more potent," wherein the "seemingly shared repertoire" of iconographic motifs and style can be used in order to "invent unique identities or imagined traditions," and to further "elaborate their own peculiar ideas and beliefs."[26] Despite the multifarious local visual idioms employed, the unique and innovative tauroctony scene remains recognizable across the Roman Empire with a high degree of consistency and coherence, an exceptional case in the "religious market" of the time.[27]

The ensuing question refers to the idea behind every tauroctony that, regardless of the local facets, connected each Mithraic community into one coherent and universal cult.[28] According to Roger Beck, "Mithraic mysteries, across their axioms, motifs, domains, structures, and modes, communicated symbolically in a peculiar *idiom*. This idiom is a form of jargon of one of Graeco-Roman culture's most pervasive languages, the

25 R. Gordon, *Viewing Mithraic Art*, 227; *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, eds. S. Scott and J. Webster, Cambridge 2003; *Roman in the Provinces. Art on the Periphery of the Empire*, eds. L. R. Brody and G. L. Hoffman, Chicago 2014; *Beyond Boundaries: Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome*, eds. S. E. Alcock, M. Egri, and J. F. D. Frakes, Los Angeles 2016.

26 L. Dirven and M. McCarty, Local Idioms and Global Meanings: Mithraism and Roman Provincial Art, in: *Roman in the Provinces*, 127; A. Chalupa, Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Found? Larger Theoretical Assumptions Behind Roger Beck's *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire*, *Pantheon* 7/1 (2012), 13; contrary to what L. Dirven and M. McCarty argue in their article, esp. note 24, by saying that variations should be seen as a result of local artistic traditions, and not as an expression of deviant religious notions (Hawarte being an exception), I am more inclined to accept the opinion of A. Chalupa; for the discussion on Hawarte frescoes as evidence of the adaptation of the Mithras cult to local needs see R. Gordon, Trajets de Mithra en Syrie romaine, *Topoi* 11/1 (2001), 77-136; R. Beck, *Mithraism After*, 7.

27 On the uniqueness of Mithraic sacrifice in the Graeco-Roman world see R. Gordon, Authority, Salvation and Mystery in the Mysteries of Mithras, in: *Image and Mystery in the Roman World. Three Papers Given in Memory of Jocelyn Toynbee*, eds. J. Huskinson, M. Beard and J. Reynolds, Cambridge 1998, 49; for the innovative elements of the tauroctony composition see L. H. Martin, *Performativity, Narrativity, and Cognition*, 197; on the discussion about recognizability of tauroctony see L. Dirven and M. McCarty, *Local Idioms and Global Meanings*, 125-136.

28 Not all scholars agree on the existence of a set of common core features, for example see L. H. Martin, Reflections on the Mithraic Tauroctony as Cult Scene, in: *Studies in Mithraism: Papers Associated with the Mithraic Panel Organized on the Occasion of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, ed. J. R: Hinnells, Rome 1990, 217-224; id., *Performativity, Narrativity, and Cognition*, 196; id., Ritual Competence and Mithraic Ritual, in: *Religion as a Human Capacity. A Festschrift in Honor of E. Thomas Lawson*, eds. T. Light and B. C. Wilson, Leiden 2004, 261; id., The Amor and Psyche Relief in the Mithraeum of Capua Vetere: An Exceptional Case of Graeco-Roman Syncretism or an Ordinary Instance of Human Cognition?, in: *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston, Austin 2009, 287.

language of astronomy and astrology."[29]According to the widely accepted interpretation offered by Beck, tauroctony represents an organized and coherent symbolic system, a so-called 'star-talk,' wherein tauroctony serves as a map of the heavens, i.e. a map of a soul's celestial journey towards immortality.[30] An apparently intricate and specifically Mithraic idiom, 'star-talk' was indeed comprehensible to the initiates who learned how to 'read' the turoctony.[31]

b) Small and Miniature Reproductions of Mithraic Icon

A conference focusing on the evidence of the so-called 'small finds' in Roman Mithraism, held in Tienen (Belgium) in 2001, marked an important turning point in the study of the Roman cult of Mithras.[32] On that occasion, scholarly attention focused on the broad range of small finds (coursewares, archaeofloral and –faunal records, timber, pollens, food remains, animal by-products, etc.), whose potential has traditionally been neglected and which rarely appeared in publications.[33] 'Minor' or 'small' finds have opened some new perspectives in the study of the Mithras cult, and have made scholars think anew about some long established hypotheses.[34] One

29 R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult*, 7.

30 R. Beck, A Note on the Scorpion in the Tauroctony, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1976), 208-209; id., Cautes and Cautopates: Some Astronomical Considerations, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 2 (1977), 1-17; id., *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras*,Leiden 1988; id., In the Place of Lion: Mithras in the Tauroctony, in: *Studies in Mithraism: Papers Associated with the Mithraic Panel Organized on the Occasion of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, ed. J. R: Hinnells, Rome 1990, 29-50; id., *The Religion of the Mithras Cult*; various responses to Beck's notion of "star-talk" have been published in *Pantheon* 7/1 (2012), 3-124.

31 R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult*, 66; L. H. Martin, "Star Talk": Native Competence; Initiatory Comprehension, *Pantheon* 7/1 (2012), 59-69.

32 *Roman Mithraism*, eds. M. Martens and G. de Boe; an important study on small finds appeared recently, *Small Finds and Ancient Social Practices in the Northwest Provinces of the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Hoss and A. Whitmore, Oxford 2016.

33 Exemplary of such approach are, for example, publications dealing with the Mithras cult in Dalmatia. K. Patsch published only a short catalogue of small finds from the *mithraeum* in Konjic, see: Mithraeum u Konjicu [Mithraeum in Konjic], *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 4 (1897), 629-656; id., Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Römischen Provinz Dalmatien III, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* 6 (1899), 186-211; small finds from another important *mithraeum* in Dalmatia have been published in a form of a short list, see D. Sergejevskij, Das Mithräum von Jajce, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 49/1 (1937), 11-18; B. Gabričević, the author of the first comprehensive study of the Mithras cult in the Roman province of Dalmatia, dedicated a paragraph to the Mithraic motifs on the "instruments and jewelry," only to conclude that there are no such objects preserved, see id., *Mitrin kult na području rimske Dalmacije* [Mithras cult in Roman Dalmatia], Ph.D. diss., University of Zagreb 1951, 58.

34 See for example C. Szabó, Notes on the Mithraic Small Finds from Samizegetusa, *Ziridava Studia Archaeologica* 28 (2014), 135-147; N. Silnović, To Carry the Universe in One's Own Pocket: A Miniature Mithraic Relief from the Archaeological Museum in Split, (forthcoming 2017).

such important and novel contribution was made by Richard Gordon who identified a whole new class of "small and miniature reproductions of the Mithraic icon."[35] Although admitting that these objects form only a small segment of all the known Mithraic images, Gordon nevertheless pointed to some crucial questions that their existence has raised. On the one hand, Gordon asked whether we can talk about one single significance of the iconography of the Mithraic reliefs, while on the other hand, he expressed his doubt about the organized Mithraic community as the only form of the cult; finally, and perhaps of greatest importance for the present discussion, Gordon questioned the validity of the assumption of the "centrality in Mithraic practice of the temple focused upon a cult-relief."[36] In the first, and so far the only comprehensive study of small and miniature reproductions of Mithraic icon, Gordon distinguished three main classes of these objects, according to their context and function:

1) house-reliefs (small and very small reliefs and statuettes, whose dimensions are less than 0.50 x 0.45m),
2) images – emblems (pottery and various utilitarian objects used in the ritual),
3) images for devotional use:
   a) stone medallions,
   b) personal ornaments,
   c) gems as private icons.[37]

Even though, as previously stated, the total number of these objects is negligible in comparison with the total amount of preserved Mithraic images, they cannot all be treated here due to the space limitations of this study. Therefore, the focus will be placed on the first subgroup of the third class of small and miniature reproductions of the Mithraic icon, namely the stone medallions. Since there are very few of them known today, and since, as it will be argued, their nature seems to support the main idea of the present paper, they appear to be a logical choice.

As noted by Gordon, images utilized for devotional use fulfilled the needs of the personal or individual cult of piety, and due to their miniature size, they could have been easily carried about and transported

35 R. Gordon, Small and Miniature Reproductions of the Mithraic Icon: Reliefs, Pottery, Ornaments and Gems, in: *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds*, eds. M. Martens and G. de Boe, Brussels 2004, 259-283.

36 Ibid., 260. More about this point further in the text.

37 Ibid., 263.

considerable distances.[38] So far, only four of them have been identified (fig. 3): two come from northern Dacia (CIMRM 2187, 0.15 x 0.12m; CIMRM 2246, 0.13 x 0.10 x 0.04m),[39] the third one was found in Lentia (today Linz (Austria), CIMRM 1415, diam. 0.15m), while the remaining one was found in Caesarea Maritima in Palestine (diam. 0.075m) (fig. 3). What they all have in common is that they are all made of marble, they are less than 0.015m thick, they have a circular or oval shape, and, according to Gordon, they were all designed in Moesia Superior or southern Dacia.[40]

Medallions from Lentia and Caesarea Maritima were found as votives in *mithraea*, the latter one most probably mounted on the wall beneath the main cult-fresco by a military or custom official.[41] The first two, according to Gordon, belonged to the veterans who had returned home from their posts somewhere along the Danube.[42] As is evident, the persons carrying these miniature medallions belonged to the most mobile members of Roman society. Besides the army, recent studies have emphasized the importance of the custom officials in the local spread of the cult of Mithras.[43] Together with the movement of military and customs

38 Ibid., 263, 273; Gordon further emphasized that 15% of all Mithraic images were intended for private religious purposes, ibid., Mithras (Mithraskult), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 24 (2012), 780; on the growing importance of the notion of personal religion see J. Rüpke, Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning 'Cults' and 'Polis Religion,' *Mythos* 5 (2011), 191-204; R. Raja and J. Rüpke, Appropriating Religion: Methodological Issues in Testing the 'Lived Ancient Religion' Approach, *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1/1 (2015), 11-19; J. Kindt, Personal Religion: A Productive Category for the Study of Ancient Greek religion?, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 135 (2015), 35-50.

39 CIMRM = Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I-II*. Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956-1960.

40 R. Gordon, *Small and Miniature Reproductions*, 273.

41 Ibid., 273; id., *Trajets de Mithra*, 93; R. Bull, A Mithraic Medallion From Caesarea, *Israel Exploration Journal* 24 (1974), 190; although Bull is of the opinion that the medallion did not have a purely decorative role, but a central role in liturgy instead, Gordon is right to conclude that it could not have been visible from the podia, suggesting that it was dedicated as a personal memento after the long journey from the Danube to Palestine.

42 R. Gordon, *Small and Miniature Reproductions*, 274.

43 For example, we know of Titus Iulius Saturninus, member of *publicum portorii Illyrici*, who is attested on Mithraic inscriptions in Apulum (Dacia), Poetovio (Noricum), and Senia (Dalmatia), see M. Abramič, Opaske o nekim spomenicima starog Poetovija, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 28 (1933), 140; M. Glavičić, Natpisi antičke Senije, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 33 (1994), 68-69; id., *Kultovi antičke Senije*, Zadar 2013, 95-97. C. Szabó, The Cult of Mithras in Apulum: Communities and Individuals, in: *Culti e religiositá nelle provincie Danubiane*, ed. L. Zerbini, Bologna, 2015, 413; on the importance of the customs ofiicials for the spread of Mithras cult see P. Beskow, The Portorium and the Mysteries of Mithras, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 3/1-2 (1980), 1-18; on the recent re-evaluation of the Mithras cult as predominantly 'military religion' see R. Gordon, Who worshipped Mithras?, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), 463; R. Beck, Four Men, Two Sticks, and a Whip: Image and Doctrine in a Mithraic Ritual, in: *Theorizing Religions Past. Archaeology, History, and Cognition*, eds. H. Whitehouse and L. H. Martin, Walnut Creek 2004, 88; R. Gordon, The Roman Army and the Cult of Mithras. A Critical Review, in: *L'arméeromaine et la religion sous le Haut-Empire romain: Actes du quatrième Congrès de Lyon (26-28 octobre 2006)*, eds. C. Wolff and Y. Le Bohec, Lyon 2009, 379-450.

personnel, easily transportable objects like our miniature medallions, along with the accompanying religious ideas, could have been disseminated across the Empire.

Another striking feature of these objects is the mediocre to poor quality of their execution, which appears to be standard for these types of reliefs.[44] Nevertheless, despite their miniature size and superficial treatment, these medallions encapsulate all the necessary elements of the tauroctony, and are even further elaborated with subsidiary scenes placed in the lower register.[45] In their iconography they are indistinguishable from the cult-relief, and moreover, according to Gordon, since they are all made of stone, they allude to and derive their legitimacy from the cult-icon.[46] Finally, the fact that miniature medallions retained strong iconographic uniformity while found scattered among remote provinces of the Roman Empire, reveals that the cult maintained an overall coherence.[47]

Migration of Objects, Ideas, and Meanings

Both cult icons and stone medallions are a testimony to the vital role that images have played in the Roman cult of Mithras. Moreover, as the complete absence of sacred texts indicates, images had an important didactic role, and were therefore instrumental in representing the cult's fundamental claims.[48] Mithraic images are in this sense a type of Mitchell's 'imagetexts,' standing at the crossroads between visual and textual.[49] As suggested by the highly unified iconography of the Mithraic images, observable on cult icons and miniature stone medallions as well, both "iconic and performative imagery" were used for the transmission of Mithraic knowledge.[50] It has recently been argued that during a ritual a *mithraeum* became a place of re-enactment of the sacred narrative depicted on the cult relief, a *tableau*

44 R. Gordon, *Small and Miniature Reproductions*, 266.

45 In their division of the main field and the lower register subdivided in three fields, medallions follow the so-called Danubian relief scheme; the scenes on the lower register fields are as follows: scene 2) and 3) are the same on all four medallions, and they show Mithras and Sol dining, and Mithras ascending Sol's carriage; CIMRM 1415: 1) Unrecognizable; CIMRM 2187: 1) Lion's head; CIMRM 2246: 1) Upper part of Mithras' body; Caesarea Maritima: 1) Sol kneeling before Mithras. CIMRM 2246 has even a representation of Mithras *taurophorus* (Mithras carrying the bull on his back) added to the main scene.

46 R. Gordon, *Small and Miniature Reproductions*, 260.

47 R. Gordon, *Institutionalized Religious Options*, 400.

48 Ibid., 260.

49 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, Chicago 1994, 91, 327.

50 L. H. Martin, *Ritual Competence*, 260-261.

vivant.[51] As mentioned earlier in the paper, Elsner has similarly noted that in the case of the Mithras cult religious practice becomes a mimesis of the cult icon, thus making the cult participants contemporaries with the mythic event, which, in turn, resulted in "establishing a collective identity and a closeness to the divine."[52] Entering a *mithraeum* meant entering a "special world," a world of a "shared and highly specialized culture."[53] By witnessing the dramatic performance, which was surely an intense emotional experience, members of the cult became familiar with the 'special' narrative of the myth and the specific visual codes used to represent it.[54] Possessing a distinct visual language helped members of the cult to define their collective identity, which, in turn, could have been successively transmitted only through "action, enactment, performance."[55] In this sense, cult icons, and particularly miniature stone medallions, are transformed into symbols, a 'visual catechism' whose function is to evoke.[56] This is further corroborated by the example of miniature medallions, a type of memory aid evoking the emotional experiences, ritual practices, and "iconic and performative imagery" witnessed at the *mithraeum*.[57] The interconnectedness of iconography, sacred narrative, ritual space, and performance might account for the high degree of visual coherence established across space and time.[58]

As it becomes apparent, the idea of migration was deeply embedded in the cult of Mithras. On the one hand, one can talk about the migration of people, i.e. members of the cult, mostly belonging to the military and customs personnel. By travelling across the Empire, they carried with them not only religious objects like miniature medallions, but a whole set of associated religious ideas

51 L. Dirven, The Mithraeum as *tableau vivant*. A Preliminary Study of Ritual Performance and Emotional Involvement in Ancient Mystery Cults, *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1/1 (2015), 20-50.

52 Ibid, 20, 45-46; J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer*, 241.

53 R. Gordon, *Viewing Mithraic Art*, 228, 258.

54 On the emotional involvement during the Mithraic ritual see R. Gordon, The Mithraic Body: The Example of the Capua Mithraeum, in: *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston, Austin 2009, 289-313; ibid., Temporary Deprivation: Rules and Meaning; in: *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, eds. R. Raja and J. Rüpke, Malden 2015, 194-206.

55 R. Gordon, The Mithraic Body: The Example of the Capua Mithraeum, in: *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, eds. G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston, Austin 2009, 290; on the close relationship between group identity and specific visual codes see M. Bal and N. Bryson, Semiotics and Art History, *The Art Bulletin* 73/2 (1991), 174-208.

56 On the evocative properties of Mithraic images see R. Gordon, *Small and Miniature Reproductions*, 263, 258; id., *Viewing Mithraic Art*, 228, 236; id., Reality, Evocation and Boundary in the Mysteries of Mithras, *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 3 (1980), 19-99; R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult*, 157-164; id., *Beck on Mithraism*, xxii.

57 R. Gordon, *Trajets de Mithra*, 93.

58 L. Dirven, *The Mithraeum as tableau vivant*, 46.

and experiences. On the other hand, asattested to by the highly homogeneous visual repertoire, the migration of "threads and continuities of the dense network of Mithraic meanings"was an essential facet of the cult.[59]

The Mithras cult, as shown in the previous discussion, was a culture dominated by images, and a world in which images substituted the words. Mitchell described such a state as "the pictorial turn."[60] Contrary to the idea that 'the pictorial turn' is unique to the contemporary world, Mitchell himself claimed that there were other 'pictorial turns' in history.[61] We can certainly recognize one of them in the Mithraic culture.

Abbreviations

CIMRM Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionumet Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I-II.* Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956-1960

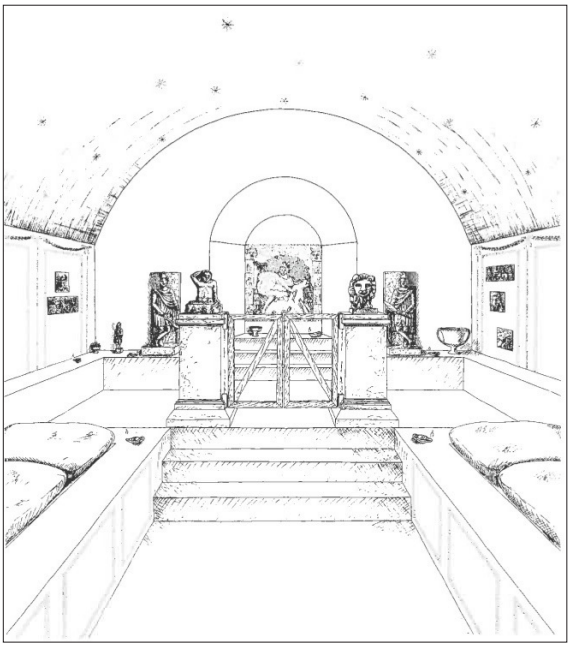

Fig. 1: Reconstruction of the Mithraeum II in Frankfurt-Heddernheim (M. Clauss, Mithras. Kult und Mysterium, Darmstadt 2012, 55)

59 R. Gordon, *Viewing Mithraic Art*, 258.

60 W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 11-34.

61 W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago 2005, 348-349.

Fig. 2: a) Tauroctony from the mithraeum below S. Stefano Rotondo (Castra Peregrinorum), Rome; 0.905 x 1.48 x 0.075m; end of 3rd century CE (Imperium der Götter, ed. C. Hattler, Darmstadt 2013, 250); b) Tauroctony from Heidelberg-Neuenheim; 2.26 x 2.40m; second half of 2nd century CE (Imperium der Götter, ed. C. Hattler, Darmstadt 2013, 224); c) Tauroctony from Dura–Europos; 0.67 x 1.05 x 0.10m; ca. 170-171 CE (http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html; accessed August 15, 2016); d) Tauroctony from Prološac Donji, Postranje (Dalmatia); 0.58 x 0.53 x 0.13m; second half of 3rd/beginning of 4th century CE (Lj. Gudelj, Od svetišta Mitre do crkve sv. Mihovila, Split 2006, 2)

Fig. 3: a) White marble medallion from Dacia; 0.15 x 0.12m (G. Sicoe, Die mithräischen, 329); b) Mithraic medallion from Caesarea Maritima; diam. 0.075m (R. Bull, A Mithraic Medallion, plate 30); c) Marble relief found at Kadine-Most, Moesia Superior; 0.13 x 0.10 x 0.01m (CIMRM, fig. 622); d) Circular relief from Linz; diam. 0.15m; (CIMRM, fig. 362)

Olga Špehar

Sirmium – Thessaloniki – Iustiniana Prima: The Migrations of Late Antique Cults and Architectural Concepts

Abstract

Three cities, Sirmium, Thessaloniki and Iustiniana Prima had very prominent role during Late Antiquity. Their position was apparent through their wealth, their cults and their architecture, primarily of Christian religious buildings. Also, all three of them had one more important thing in common – they were connected by migrations of populations, first from the northern part of the Empire towards the Mediterranean, namely from Sirmium to Thessaloniki, and then once again from the Mediterranean to its hinterland, namely from Thessaloniki to Iustiniana Prima. The consequences of those migrations were the translation of relics and cults, and the appearance of one specific architectural type, the basilica with a transept.

Key words: *cults, St. Demetrius, Sirmium, Thessaloniki, migrations, Late Antiquity, basilica with transept, Iustiniana Prima*

One of the main topics of a recent presentation by Enrico Zannini considered the problem of defining the late antique city as the 'city of people' as opposed to the 'city of monuments', as is the common point of view of different disciplines when dealing with the cities of the mentioned period.[1] He listed some important, although mostly disregarded criteria that define the urban way of life, i.e. not only great public monuments and temples but water supply, housing, trading, etc. In this paper I would like to discuss another important yet often disregarded feature of a late antique city – namely the nourishing of saintly cults, presented by examples of three large urban centers: Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Thessaloniki and Iustiniana Prima (Caričin Grad near Lebane).

Although established in the 1st century AD, the ancient city of Sirmium gained its importance only at the beginning of the 4th century as the *sedes imperii*.[2] Numerous public buildings were erected at that time, like the

1 E. Zanini, Coming to the End: Early Byzantine Cities after the mid-6th Century, in: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Plenary Papers, Belgrade 22-27 August 2016,* ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić, Belgrade 2016, 127-140.

2 В. Поповић, Sirmium – град царева и мученика, in: *Sirmium. Град царева и мученика (сабрани радови о археологији и историји Сирмијума),* ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, 42; M. Mirković, *Sirmium. Istorija rimskog grada od I do kraja VI veka*, Sremska Mitrovica 2008, 30, 64.

large baths or the imperial palace with hippodrome for example.[3] Yet, the beginning of the 4th century in Sirmium was not only marked by the fact that the city had a high imperial status, but also by some less pleasant events. Namely, the earliest known Christian community in Sirmium produced its first martyrs during the Diocletian's persecutions 303-305, so the city started to be mentioned in written sources as the city of martyrs.[4] Their number was quite large because the city was the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum until the invasion of Huns in 441.[5] During these persecutions, the cruelest in Roman history, Sirmium acquired martyrial cults as one of its most important characteristics, which helped the town acquire the title of the Christian bishopric and pilgrimage center. It maintained such a position until it was entirely ruined by fire in 583, a year after Avars conquered the city.[6] The testimonies to Sirmium's status among other important centers of martyrial cults can be found in written sources and epigraphic monuments, but the most remarkable can be traced in the remains of the architecture of the Christian martyrial shrines.[7]

Martyrologia are the main source that allow us insight into the names and acts of several important saints who were put to death in Sirmium, and whose cults were known and celebrated throughout the Empire. One example is the cult of Quattuor Coronati, actually five Pannonian sculptors, to whom the titulus in Rome was dedicated.[8] Another is that of the Sirmian bishop Irenaeus, whose cult was also popular in many parts of the Empire.[9]

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3 В. Поповић, E. Ochsenschlager, Касноцарски хиподром у Сирмијуму, *Старинар* 26 (1975), 57-70; И. Поповић, Сирмијум – царска резиденција, панонска метропола и хришћанска „глава Илирика", in: *Константин Велики и Миланski едикт 313. Рађање хришћанства у римским провинцијама на тлу Србије*, ed. И. Поповић, Б. Борић-Брешковић, Belgrade 2013, 108.

4 H. Delehaye, *Les origines du cultes des martyrs*, Bruxelles 1912, 293-295; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l`empire Romain*, Roma 1967, 79-104; M. Mirković, *Sirmium*, 115; M. Jarak, Ranokršćanski mučenici Panonije, in: *1700 godina svetih srijemskih mučenika: Zbornik radova s međunarodnog simpozija o 1700. obljetnici Sirmijsko-panonskih mučenika (304.-2004.)*, ed. D. Damjanović, Đakovo 2011, 54.

5 *Iust. Nov. XI*, ed. Iul. Pacius, Genevae 1580.

6 M. Mirković, *Sirmium*, 109-111.

7 О. Шпехар, Сирмијумски мученици и креирање идентитета ранохришћанског града, *Зборник Народног музеја* 21/2 (2014), 25-52, with bibliography.

8 *Analecta Bollandiniana, Tomus II*, eds. C. de Smedt, G. van Hooff and J. de Backer, Paris-Bruxelles, 1883, 31; H. Delehaye, *Les origines*, 295; П. Мијовић, Сирмијумски скулптори и каменоресци - Quattuor coronati, in: *Sirmium и на небу и на земљи (1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика)*, ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2004, 114; P. Tóth, Syrmian martyrs in exile. Pannonian case-studies and a re-evaluation of the St. Demetrius problem, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103/1 (2010), 159-161; M. Jarak, Ranokršćanski mučenici, 58.

9 *Acta Sanctorum, Martii, Tomus Tertius*, colligere coepit J. Bollandus, G. Henschenius et D. Papebrochius, Parisiis et Romae 1865, 553; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes*, 79-81; Р. Поповић, *Рано хришћанство на Балкану пре досељења Словена*, Belgrade 1995, 42; В. Поповић, Блажени Иринеј, први епископ Сирмијума, in: *Sirmium: град царева и мученика,* ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, 260;

Even more famous was the cult of Anastasia, a young maid who also suffered and died for Christ in Sirmium at the beginning of the 4th century.[10] The migration of her relics is well known to us, thanks to her importance. Primarily, at the second half of the 5th century her earthly remains were transferred to the capital, to the newly erected temple dedicated to her. After regaining the dominance in Diadora the Byzantine emperor gave her relics as a gift to this city as a sign of forgiveness, at the beginning of the 9th century. The relics were still in the city in the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959). The cult was also very popular among Ostrogoths, maybe as a result of the fact that they spent some time in Pannonia. After moving to the northern part of the Apennine peninsula, they even dedicated a church to her in their own capital, Ravenna. Her relics were also mentioned in Carolingian monastery of Fulda around 815.[11]

Despite interesting transfers of relics and cults, the biggest challenge yet, for all of those who research the cultural history and the visual culture of the late antique Balkans, is the tracing of possible paths through which the cult of Sirmian deacon Demetrius was spread through the Empire. St. Demetrius was a deacon in the time when bishop Ereneus led the Christian community in the city, and they were both martyred in April 304.[12] More than a century later, one written source - *Passio Secunda* of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki - linked the cult of Sirmian saint to a Thessalonian martyr of the same name, thus providing a very interesting topic for many future researchers.[13]

Пасија св. Иринеја Сирмијскога (translation and notes by M. Милин), in: *Sirmium и на небу и на земљи (1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика),* ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2004, 186-187.

10 About the different versions of legends cf. P. Tóth, Syrmian martyrs, 157-159.

11 *Theophanis Chronographia,* Vol. 1, recens. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883, 111; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio,* English translation by R.J.H. Jenkins, ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, Budapest 1949, 139; И. Николајевић, „Martyr Anastasia" у Фулди, in: *Sirmium и на небу и на земљи (1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика),* ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2004, 124-125; D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, 174-175; Д. Прерадовић, Преноси реликвија из Византије на Јадран у периоду између VI и XI века, in: *Ниш и Византија* XI, ed. M. Ракоција, Niš 2013, 192, 195-197.

12 H. Delehaye, *Les origines*, 293; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes*, 79-83; Р. Поповић, *Рано хришћанство*, 42-44.

13 Some of the works that deal with the problem of the relationship between Sirmian and Thessalonian martyr are: H. Delehaye, *Les origines*, 263-264; J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes*, 81–83; M. Vickers, Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A Critical Examination of the St. Demetrius Legend, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 67 (1974), 337-350; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueiles des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans, T. II, Commentaire*, Paris 1981, 199-202; Р. Поповић, *Рано хришћанство*; В. Поповић, Култ светог Димитрија Солунског у Сирмијуму и у Равени, in: *Sirmium: град царева и мученика*, ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, 279-289; M. B. Panov, The creation of the cult of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica: Byzantine invention?, *Гласник на Институтот за национална историја* 52 (2008), 75-86; P. Tóth, *Syrmian martyrs*; M. Jarak, Ranokršćanski mučenici, 62; D. Dimitrov, Who executed St. Demetrius? An attempt at a forensic report, in: *Serdica Edict (311 AD): concepts and realizations of the idea of religious toleration*, eds. V. Vachkova and D. Dimitrov, Sofia 2014, 133-141.

At the time when the Huns invaded the Balkans, destroying all the important towns on their way, Sirmium was not spared. The bishop and the prefect of Illyricum, followed by the numerous refugees, moved to the safer place, to Thessaloniki, the largest urban centre in that part of the Empire. The text of Justinian's XI Novella testifies to this, providing the information that the former Sirmian prefect Apremius or Appenius was among those who moved to Thessaloniki and that he continued to perform there the same duty, since Thessaloniki became the new seat of the Prefecture.[14] Together with the civil, church and military administration, and with the common people, the cults 'moved' as well, first and foremost because they represented the guarantees for the wellbeing, but also because the relics were the most valuable possessions of any Christian town, defining its position within the entire Christian world. It seems that it was during these turbulent times that the cult of St. Demetrius of Sirmium somehow became entwined with the already existing cult of the local Thessalonian saint of the same name, as is suggested by the vague passages in *Passio Secunda* of St. Demetrius. The text provides the information about one prefect of Illyricum, named Leontius, whose seat was at that time in Thessaloniki. In his town he built the church of St. Demetrius after the saint`s relics healed him of some illness he gained while staying in Dacia. Afterwards, Leontius undertook a voyage to Sirmium, in order to build there a church dedicated to the same saint. He actually wanted to transfer some of saint`s relics to Sirmium, but in a dream the saint told him not to dislodge or to move his earthly remains but to take a piece of *orarium* and his *chlamys* in a silver reliquary instead. Prefect obeyed and, after arriving to Sirmium, he erected the church of St. Demetrius in the vicinity of the church dedicated to St. Anastasia.[15] One possible archaeological proof of the existence of St. Anastasia`s church in Sirmium is today preserved in the Museum of Srem in Sremska Mitrovica (fig. 1).[16] It is an inscribed stone plate, which testifies to the fact that the basilica dedicated to this very popular female saint was indeed situated somewhere in or around the town, but there is still no positive proof about its location or about the church of St. Demetrius in its vicinity.

The part of *Passio Secunda* that considers described events is very interesting and inspiring,[17] but as a legend it must be taken with some degree of

14 *Iust. Nov.* XI.

15 M. Vickers, Sirmium or Thessaloniki?, 342-343; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueiles*, 200-201.

16 I. Popović, S. Ferjančić, A new inscription from Sirium and the basilica of St. Anastasia, *Starinar* 63 (2013), 101-114.

17 C. Walter, St. Demetrius: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika, in: id., *Studies in Byzantine Iconography (Collected Studies Series)*, London 1977, 159.

caution. Therefore, we must turn to tangible visual culture in order to discover the possible ties between the two cities. Unfortunately, as is already mentioned, the archaeological proofs of the cult of St. Demetrius in Sirmium are completely lacking so far, except for one church that can, primarily by its architectural features, be linked to late antique Thessalonian church architecture. Namely, the intramural church of Sirmium, a three-aisled basilica with a transept dated to the 5th century (fig. 2),[18] reveals certain similarities to the large 5th century basilica of St. Demetrius in Thesaloniki (fig. 3).[19] Of course those similarities are mostly formal and consider the disposition of architectural spaces, above all the very type of the basilica with wide semicircular eastern apse and a transept, which even from the time of erecting the Old saint Peter in Rome became associated, among others, to the martyrial function.[20] But the Tessalonian and Sirmian churches were both built inside the city ramparts, i.e. closer to the idea of the Constantinian Lateran Basilica or the later church of St. Thecla in Milan, also built with transept,[21] which define them as urban churches. Presented information led some scholars to state that the Sirmian church is dedicated to St. Demetrius,[22] but this relatively new hypothesis must be taken with great reservation, since there are no definite proofs for it yet. Still, the available data indeed testify to the strong cultural relations between two major metropolises, which may well be the result of the migration of Sirmian people and their settling in Thessaloniki, as well as of the migrations of cults that somehow tied together two saints named Demetrius.

The cult of saint can be traced in Sirmium until the 11th century,[23] but there are not enough information about it later on. However, it must be pointed out that the modern name of Sirmium - Sremska Mitrovica - suggests

18 В. Поповић, Култ светог Димитрија, 288; М. Јеремић, Култне грађевине хришћанског Сирмијума, in: *Sirmium и на небу и на земљи. 1700 година од страдања хришћанских мученика*, ed. Д. Познановић, Sremska Mitrovica 2004, 67.

19 P. Lemerle, Saint-Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrion et du transept, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 77 (1953), 660-694; R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia. A Study of the Origins and the Initial Development of East Christian Art*, London 1963, 125-155; R. Krautheimer, S. Ćurčić, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, New Haven 1986, 125-129; S. Ćurčić, Christianization of Thessalonikē: The Making of Christian „Urban Iconography", in: *From Roman to Byzantine Thessalonikē. Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, eds. L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis and S.J. Friesen, Cambridge Mass. 2010, 227-228.

20 R. Krautheimer, Il transetto nella basilica paleochristiana, in: *Actes du Ve congrès international d`archaéologie chrétienne, Aix-en Provence 13-19 septembre 1954*, Città del Vaticano-Paris 1957, 288.

21 Ibid., 289.

22 И. Поповић, *Сирмијум*, 115.

23 S. Andrić, Bazilijanski i benediktinski samostan sv. Dimitrija u Srijemskoj Mitrovici, *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 40 (2008), 115-185.

that it once was the city of Demetrius, more precisely of Saint Demetrius. Yet, the cult continued to develop in Thessaloniki as one of the city's main cults, since St. Demetrius was treated as a miracle worker and healer, as was recorded in *Passio Prima* and in *Passio Secunda*. Thessalonian church dedicated to him became a focus of religiosity as well as of pilgrimage.[24]

After the Hunic raids and until the end of the 5th century, there was no centralized rule in the central Balkans. The process of its re-establishing started at the very end of the 5th century, during the time of emperor Anastasius (491-518), and it was finished in the time of Justinian I (527-565).[25] During the reign of the latter, migrations obviously struck this part of the Empire once again, this time from Thessaloniki to the newly founded endowment of Justinian – the city of Iustiniana Prima.[26] The scholars are unanimous in identifying this town with the one discovered on the site of Caričin Grad near Lebane. It was an imperial city built by the emperor to mark the place of his birth, like many of his ancestors did before him.[27] The official court historian Procopius informs us that the emperor built the city provided with all the necessities for a large urban center and administrative seat to function.[28]

The founding of a city *ex novo* in a previously non-urbanized place utterly changed the way of life in a wider area in its vicinity, and it demanded a completely functional civil, military and church administration. Written sources are mostly silent about the way the government was established in the city which, like Iustiniana Prima, was built *ex novo.* Despite that, it can be assumed that the administration, as well as the church prelates, arrived most probably from some other city of the Empire, which had already been administratively well organized. We can think of Thessaloniki as the hypothetical provenance of the inhabitants of the Justinian's new town. This assumption is based on the Iustiniana Prima's geographic position, and on the notice in the Justinian`s *XI Novellae*.[29] In the *Novellae XI*, dated to April 14th 535 and addressed to Catelianus, the first Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima,

24 L. Brubaker, Elites and Patronage in Early Byzantium: The Evidence from Hagios Demetrios at Thessalonike, in: *Elites Old and New in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. Studies on Late Antiquity and Early Islam 6*, ed. J. Haldon, Princeton 2004, 64.

25 A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*, London 1993, 118.

26 O. Špehar, The Cruciform Church on Caričin Grad: Thessalonian architectural influence on the central Balkans in the 6th century, *Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности* 42 (2014), 69.

27 One earlier Roman example is that of Philip the Arab and the founding of Philipopolis, cf. H. W. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City. Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, New York 2015, 21-24.

28 Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, IV. 1. 104.20-107. 2, ed. J. Haury, Leipzig 1913.

29 O. Špehar, *The Cruciform Church on Caričin Grad*, 69.

it is categorically stated that Iustiniana Prima was supposed to take all the jurisdictions from Thessaloniki.[30] Most of the scholars have doubts whether this transition of power ever actually happened,[31] but despite that, *Novellae* provides proof of the close connections between the two cities. Once again we must look at what the material culture, above all the architecture, can offer us. The most confident suggestion can be observed in the sacred topography of Iustiniana Prima, which reflects the late antique migrations of architectural concepts from one large urban centre with a long history to the *ex novo* founded imperial city. Of course, the most distinctive features of this imperial city were created under the metropolitan influence that came directly from the capital – it is visible in the appearance of circular forum, in the existence of *via sacra* that connected all Christian temples into one cohesive structure dependant on stational liturgy, as well as in some distinctive Constantinopolitan architectural features, such as polygonal apses of several churches.[32] But we can also trace, mostly thanks to the architectural remains of once lavishly furnished and decorated temples, another path by which influences came from the Mediterranean into its hinterland and this path led from Thessaloniki to Iustiniana Prima. The diversity of church plans in Iustiniana Prima and sculptural, mosaic and fresco decoration, suggest wealthy and well educated *ktetors* who must have found the inspiration for their endowments in their homeland. It seems clear enough that the administrative, church and military officers in Iustiniana Prima were those *ktetors*, whose provenance could be tied to Thessaloniki as the seat of Prefecture. Since the basilicas are dominant in newly founded Justinian's city, the most probable origin of the prevailing architectural type was indeed Greece.[33]

We must not forget that in the *ex novo* built town there were no previous traces of religious life, pagan or Christian, so the relics for such an important city, an imperial endowment, must have also been brought form different places. There has been no certain data about the cults and saints worshipped in

30 *Iust. Nov. XI.*

31 В. Кондић, В. Поповић, *Царичин град: утврђено насеље у византијском Илирику*, Belgrade 1977, 167; B. Bavant, Caričin Grad and the Changes in the Nature of Urbanism in the Central Balkans in the Sixth Century, in: *The Transition to Late Antiquity. On Danube and Beyond* (Proceedings of the British Academy 141), ed. A. Poulter, Oxford 2007, 368; V. Ivanišević, Caričin Grad – the Fortifications and the Intramural Housing in the Lower Town, in: *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Teil 2,2: Schauplätze,* eds. F. Deim and J. Drauschke, Mainz 2011, 747.

32 O. Špehar, The imperial city of Iustiniana Prima as a paradigm of the Constantinopolitan influence in the Central Balkans, in: *The Danubian Lands Between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC – 10th Century AD). Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities (Belgrade, 17-21 September 2013)*, eds. G.R. Tsetskladze, A. Avram and J. Hargrave, Oxford 2015, 231-232.

33 R. Krautheimer, S. Ćurčić, *Early Christian,* 117-134.

Iustiniana Prima, but the total number of eleven churches, some of them detected very recently by geophysical survey but not yet excavated, suggest the existence of a quite large number of saints' relics.[34] For this paper, the most interesting is the one of the best preserved churches on the site - the three-aisled basilica with transept situated in the Lower City (fig. 4).[35] It is not the only church in Iustiniana Prima that demonstrates apparent Thessalonian influence,[36] but its architectural features are of great importance for presenting how the basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki continued to be a model for various architectural solutions in the Balkans. The basilica with transept in Iustiniana Prima had a large atrium in its western part, rectangular side chambers west of the naos and a transept in front of the polygonal apse. One must have in mind that it was a time when basilicas with transept were substituted with basilicas with the dome over the central nave,[37] so the direct influence for this type of building must be searched for in some earlier architecture. The analogue examples are two basilicas in Phillipi; one of them built as a basilica with transept in the 5th, and the other as a basilica with dome in the 6th century – completely in accordance with the popular architectural type of the period.[38] The 4th century shrines with transept, such as Old St. Peter in Rome, do not seem to explain adequately the problem of transfer of architectural concepts. Bearing in mind the fact that the connections with Thessaloniki were obviously very strong, which is testified by the sources such as mentioned Justinian's *XI Novellae* or the *Life of St. David of Thessaloniki*,[39] as well as the fact that the shrine of St. Demetrius was extremely important in the time of Justinian, who even wanted saint's relics to be transferred to Constantinople,[40] one can search for the possible architectural model in the most important Thessalonian pilgrimage place. Therefore, the basilica with transept dedicated to the towns' eponym saint is the most probable model, although the problem of polygonal apse in the east, the Constantinopolitan influence, still remains open.

34 V. Ivanišević, Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima): A New-Discovered City for a "New" Society, in: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016,* ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić, Belgrade 2016, 118.

35 В. Кондић, В. Поповић, *Царичин град*, 109-117.

36 O. Špehar, *The Cruciform Church on Caričin Grad*. More about the similarities between the church of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki and the basilica with transept in Caričin grad, cf. Ђ. Мано-Зиси, Ископавање на Царичином Граду 1949-1952, *Старинар* 3-4 (1952-1953), 130, 133.

37 R. Krautheimer, S. Ćurčić, *Early Christian*, 203, 239; В. Корać, М. Шупут, *Архитектура византијског света*, Belgrade 2010, 69, 73.

38 R. F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches,* 169-173, 188-193.

39 *Iust. Nov.* XI; A. Vasiliev, Life of David of Thessalonika, *Traditio 4* (1946), 115-147.

40 Ch. Bakirtzis, Pilgrimage to Thessalonike. The Tomb of St. Demetrios, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002), 177; C. Walter, St. Demetrius, 158.

All above presented suggests that throughout the Late Antiquity spiritual and artistic links between the northern borders, central Balkans and Thessaloniki were tighter and lasted longer than has been usually considered. The inland of the Balkan Peninsula was an integral part of the Mediterranean late antique world, which is demonstrated by its architectural monuments and art in general. The so called sacred topography of the Balkans shows that influences were transferred along the imagined geographic vertical line, from the northern frontier of the Roman Empire, situated on the banks of the Danube, to the south of the Peninsula; that is the direction to follow the influences spreading from Sirmium to Thessaloniki and vice-versa. When it was founded in the 6th century, and considering the fact that at that time Sirmium lost its importance, Iustiniana Prima gained the role of religious and cultural centre of northern Illyricum. What we have learned from historical sources is further testified to, even strengthened, by the results of the research of the church architecture. The disappearing type of basilica with transept can serve as a proof of the strong relations between the eastern part of the Mediterranean and its hinterland. Despite various attempts to describe this period of history as a decline and fall of the old antique values,[41] it seems quite the opposite – Late Antiquity only brought a completely different view of religiosity and sacredness, but all of its merits were still deeply rooted in ancient times, to which testify the connectivity of people, cities and cults through commerce, wars, religion as well as migrations.

Fig. 1: Inscription with reference to St. Anastasia discovered in Sirmium (from: Popović, Ferjančić, 2013, 102, fig. 1)

41 J. W. Ermatinger, *The decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, London 2004; B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of the Civilisation*, Oxford 2006; A. Marcone, A Long Late Antiquity? Considerations on a Controversial Periodisation, *Journal of Late Antiquity 1/1* (2008), 6-7.

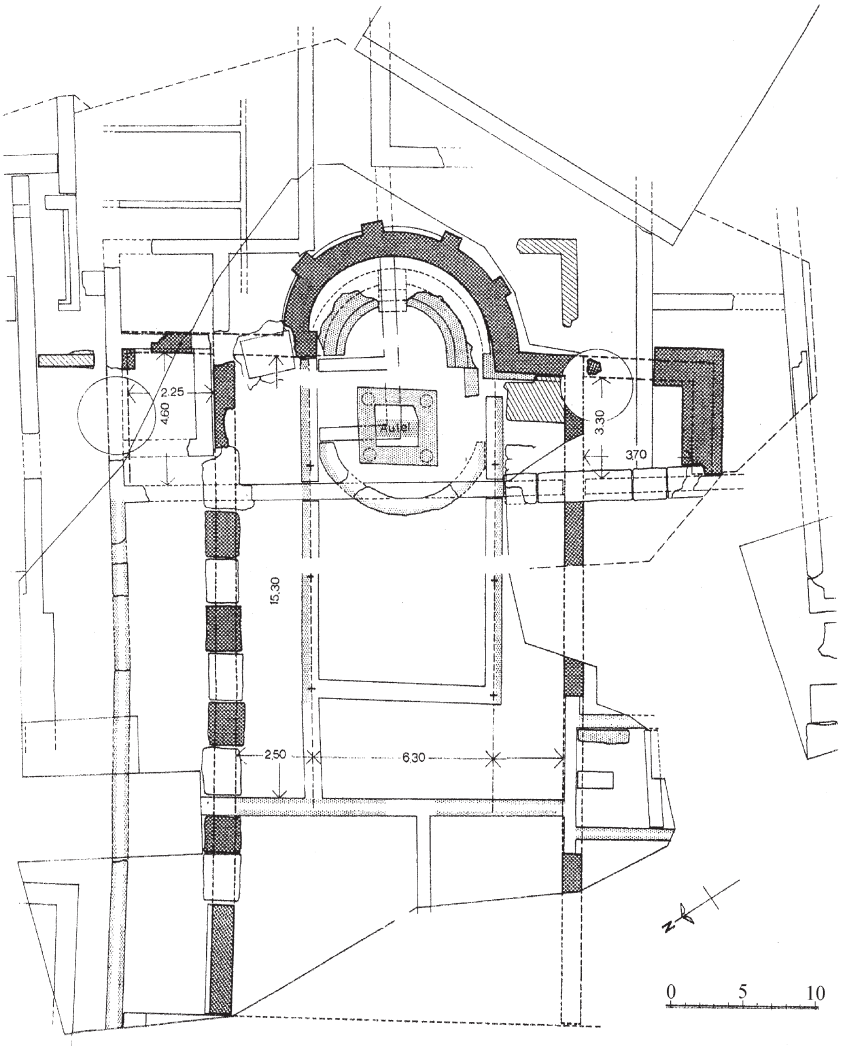

Fig. 2: Urban basilica in Sirmium, ground plan (from: Јеремић, 2004, 60, сл. 17)

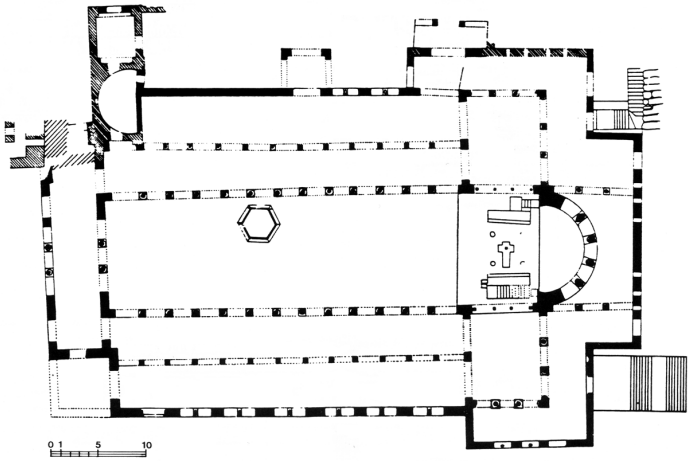

Fig. 3: Church of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, ground plan (from: Корać, Шупут, 2010, 22, сл. 7)

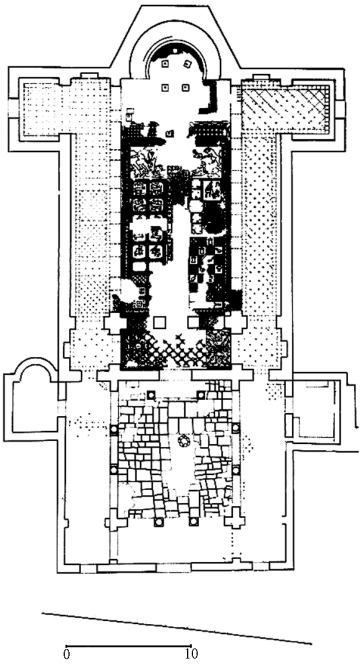

Fig. 4: Basilica with transept in Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima, ground plan (from: Кондић, Поповић, 1977, 110, сл. 82)

Danijela Tešić-Radovanović, Branka Gugolj

The Menorah as a Symbol of Jewish Identity in the Diaspora and an Expression of Aspiration for Renewing the Jerusalem Temple

Abstract

The Jewish relation to representational art is determined mostly by the Second Commandment, which states: "You shall not make for yourself a carved image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them nor serve them... "(Ex 20:4) As science has observed, the commandment has not always been honoured to the letter and its understanding has been changing depending on the actual circumstances a community is facing. At times of political crises and religious pressures, resistance to figural representations grew. A period from the late 1st to the 7th century CE, particularly from the 3rd to the first half of the 7th century is an exception. Actually, when coming into contact with Greco-Roman civilisation and under the influence of cultural and religious syncretism, quite characteristic for the period of Late Antiquity, the Jewish culture became more open to representational arts. On the walls in synagogues and catacombs there are figural images, of which the most representational ones are the scenes from the Old Testament, discovered in the Dura-Europos synagogue. However, many more non-figural objects have been preserved, mostly architectural structures and religious objects resembling the Jerusalem Temple. A repeated image of the menorah stands out, occurring on grave stones, synagogue mosaic floors, catacomb walls, lamps and objects of applied art found not only in Palestine but all over the Jewish diaspora. The seven-branched lampstand is designed according to the God's instructions for the service in the Tabernacle or King Solomon's Temple. When the menorah was taken to Rome after the destruction of the Second Temple, it became an expression of an aspiration for a renewal of the Jerusalem Temple and a symbol of Jewish identity.

The paper examines and analyzes a motif that evolved from a Divine prototype to an image of an object which stands in the Jerusalem temple, to representation that becomes not only a substitute for the Temple, but also a common symbol of a nation in the diaspora. We will try to connect the evolution of the motif with the migration of the Jews, after the fall of the Second Temple and to show that the occurrence of the motif in different parts of the Mediterranean and/or the Balkans confirms the presence of a Jewish community.

Key words: *menorah, lampstand, Jerusalem Temple, diaspora, late Antiquity*

The Jewish relation to representational art is determined mostly by the Second Commandment, which states:

> You shall not make for yourself a carved image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them nor serve them. For I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generations of those who hate Me, but showing mercy to thousands, to those who love Me and keep My Commandments.[1]

As science has observed, the commandment has not always been honoured to the letter and its understanding has been changing depending on the actual circumstances a community is facing. In times of political crises and religious pressures, resistance to figural representations grew. A period from the late 1st to the 7th century CE, particularly from the 3rd to the first half of the 7th century is an exception. Actually with Greco-Roman civilisation and under the influence of cultural and religious syncretism, quite characteristic for the period of Late Antiquity, the Jewish culture became more open to representational arts. On the walls in synagogues and catacombs there are figural images, of which the most representational ones are the scenes from the Old Testament, discovered in the Dura-Europos synagogue.[2] However, many more non-figural objects have been preserved, mostly architectural structures and religious objects resembling the Jerusalem Temple. A repeated image of the menorah stands out, occurring on grave stones, synagogue mosaic floors, catacomb walls, lamps and objects of applied art found not only in Palestine but all over the Jewish diaspora[3] (fig. 1).

The menorah, the seven-branched lampstand was designed according to God's instructions for the service in the Tabernacle or King Solomon's Temple. Today the menorah is often represented as a seven-branched candlestick. However, there is a host of recorded and material evidence that testify that the original menorah was a stand for oil lamps.[4] The oldest

1 Ex 20:4-5.

2 K. Weitzmann, The Late Roman World, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35/2 (1977), 1-100, 59; B. Narkiss, The Jewish Realm, in: *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann, New York 1979, 366-389; J.Elsner, Archaeologies and Agendas: Reflections on Late Ancient Jewish Art and Early Christian Art, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003), 114-128; id., Late Antiquity: A Period of Cultural Interaction, in: *Transition to Christianity : art of Late Antiquity, 3rd-7th century AD*, ed. A. Lazaridou, New York 2012, 26-32.

3 B. Narkiss, The Jewish Realm, 370-371; J. Elsner, Late Antiquity, 28.

4 Besides descriptions in the Old Testament, there are numerous texts and also a huge number of

evidence is, certainly, a description of menorah in the Old Testament. How the menorah looked in the Tabernacle of the Covenant was described in the Second Book of Moses:

> You shall also make a lampstand of pure gold; the lampstand shall be of hammered work. Its shaft, its branches, its bowls, its ornamental knobs, and flowers shall be of one piece. And six branches shall come out of its sides: three branches of the lampstand out of one side, and three branches of the lampstand out of the other side... Their knobs and their branches shall be of one piece; all of it shall be one hammered piece of pure gold. You shall make seven lamps for it, and they shall arrange its lamps so that they give light in front of it. And its wick-trimmers and their trays shall be of pure gold. It shall be made of a talent of pure gold, with all these utensils. And see to it that you make them according to the pattern which was shown you on the mountain.[5]

A lot of effort has been put into an attempt to recreate the look of the oldest of the menorahs, but it is still in the domain of speculation and arbitrary reconstructions.[6] The fact is that because representations were forbidden, the oldest menorah images date back to Herod's time, and even then they were rather stylised and simplified (fig. 2).

In her book *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum: Origin, Form, and Significance* from 2001, Rachel Hachlili gives a detailed overview of the subject in an attempt to cover all the known menorah presentations. But more recent research and a host of material leave some of the questions open, which the author herself points out in her Introduction.[7] Among the menorah representations that have not found their place in the book are some examples from the Balkans.

In short, a story of the menorah starts when God gives instructions to Moses that in the Tabernacle, beside the Ark of the Covenant, there should always be a lampstand. And there should always be light burning, symbolising

visual representations. It has been a frequent subject in literature, see: R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, Leiden 1988; R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum: Origin, Form, and Significance,* Leiden 2001; S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology*, New York 2005.

5 Ex 25:31-40.

6 R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology*, 236- 255; id., Adam, Aaron, and the Garden Sanctuary, *Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology* XXII/4 (2013), 5-12.

7 R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum*, 1-4.

the presence of the invisible God.[8] In the world of pagan Antiquity, where gods used to be materialised in various forms of statues and idols, they had to find a physical confirmation of the presence of the invisible God, Jehovah. The light and the fire, as common attributes of deities in various civilisations were the most logical choice.[9] And this practice, established in the Tabernacle, is present today as well, in synagogues through Eternal Light – Ner Tamid, as well as in the Christian temples.[10]

The menorah was probably a part of the ritual artefacts that the Jewish priests brought to Jerusalem and placed in the Temple when it was built.[11] The first thing that is unknown is the fate of the menorah in the period of the Babylonian captivity. It is not mentioned as a part of the loot that Nebuchadnezzar took to Babylon,[12] but still some sources (Jeremiah the Prophet, Flavius Josephus, etc) mention a menorah or menorahs in Babylon.[13]

The return of the Jews to Jerusalem and the renewal of the Temple implied the existence of the menorah, but it is unknown whether the menorah was among the objects that were returned from the exile or perhaps a new one was made, recreating the old one.[14] This menorah, as part of the loot, was taken by Antiochus Epiphanes.[15] When in 168 BC Judah Maccabee took

8 Ex 27: 20-21; Lev 24:1-3.

9 А. Д. Охоцимский, Образ-парадигма Божественного огня в Библии и в христианской традиции, in: *Иеротопия огня и света в культуре византийского мира*, ed. А. М. Лидов, Moscow 2013, 45-81; В. В. Иванов, Огонь, Солнце и Свет в языках и культурах древней и средневековой Евразии, in: *Иеротопия огня и света в культуре византийского мира*, ed. А. М. Лидов, Moscow 2013, 20-36; С. С. Хоружий, Свет Плотинов и свет Фавора: мистика света в неоплатонизме и исихазме, in: *Иеротопия огня и света в культуре византийского мира,* ed. А. М. Лидов, Moscow 2013, 37-44.

10 Although the symbolism of light in Christianity was partly adopted from Judaism, from the understanding of a Christian temple as an image of the Tabernacle, i.e. the Temple of Solomon, the menorah image in Christianity was used in a limited framework. Adopting a visual representation of the menorah in Late Antiquity can be interpreted as a consequence of interlacing the Christian and Jewish iconography. Thus, in this process, the image of the menorah is taken over (gravestones, monuments, lamps, vessels), but not its universal meaning. J. Elsner, Archaeologies and Agendas, 115-118; S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World*, 156-157; S. Fine, The Menorah and the Cross: Historiographical Reflections on a Recent Discovery from Laodicea on the Lycus, in: *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations*, ed. E. Carlebach et al., Leiden 2012, 46-47.

11 1Kgs 8:4. Here, menorah is not mentioned explicitly, but all the sacred objects in the Sacred Tent.

12 2 Kgs 25:13-16.

13 Jer 52:19; Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews 10.8.5, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*. trans. William Whiston, A. M. Auburn and Buffalo, 1895. http://sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/ accessed 15.12.2016.

14 R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum*, 7; R. S. Boustan, The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple at Rome and Constantinople Jewish Counter-Geography in a Christianizing Empire, in: *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. G. Gardner et al., Tübingen 2008, 330-331.

15 1 Macc 1:21.

over the city, restored and consecrated the Temple once again, he had a new menorah made.[16] It was not made of gold but from the metal weapons. Later on, the Maccabees made another one, most probably of gold, as well as the completely new temple equipment. Also, there was a change in the ritual practice when the table and the vessels on it were moved from the sanctuary to the temple nave[17] (fig. 3). The menorah remained in the Temple until the year 70 CE, when it was demolished. Then the sacred vessels along with the seven-armed lampstand were taken to Rome. They were carried in a procession of Titus's Triumph and were represented on the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum.[18] In a way, this very menorah, represented on a Roman Triumphal Arch has become a remarkable symbol of Jewish identity, as it clearly and unequivocally pointed to the origin of the spoils the Romans were bringing. After those events, the fate of the menorah was unclear. According to Procopius, the menorah was taken from Rome to Carthage by the Visigoths, only to become part of the spoils of Justinian's general Belisarius, and as a part of his Triumphal Procession was carried through the streets of Constantinople.[19] This information stands in contradiction to another account from Procopius, where he claims that the Temple treasures, along with the menorah, were taken from Rome by Alaric. When Alaric died in Cosenza, the treasures were either buried with him or the Goths took them to Gaul.[20]

Similar to the vague fate of the object, the look of the menorah was also an uncertainty by the end of the Hasmonean period when evidence built up of a menorah as a seven-arms lampstand. One of the oldest preserved representations dates exactly from the period of the last Hasmonean king Mattathias Antigonus. In a conflict between King Herod, who would be supported by Octavian August and Mattathias Antigonus, the latter asserted his priesthood and legitimate heritage by presenting the Temple vessels.[21] A menorah

16 1 Macc 4:48-50.

17 R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum*, 8.

18 Flavius Josephus, The Wars Of The Jews 7.5.5; *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston, A.M. Auburn and Buffalo http://sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/ accessed 15.12.2016.

19 Procopius, History of the Wars, 4.9.1-9, *Procopius*, ed. H. B. Dewing, Harvard 1923, [2005 eBook #16765], http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16765/16765.txt accessed 17.12.2016.

20 Ibid., 5.12.41-2; the reference to the Temple objects and the menorah as late as in the time of Justinian can be interpreted as part of a general interest in Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon, induced by translating the Jewish religious topography into the Christian one in Jerusalem, and further from Jerusalem to Constantinople and other Christian cities. R. S. Boustan, The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple, 356-362; Ј. Ердељан, *Изабрана места. Конструисање Нових Јерусалима код православних Словена*, Београд 2013, 83-94.

21 R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum,* 23.

representation on Antigonus's coins is a rather simplified one, lacking the burner cups detail.[22] There are a number of menorah representations dating from the 1st century CE. An engraved drawing in a plaster wall of a house in Jerusalem, the Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter, is the oldest preserved representation of a decorated menorah with burner cups. The Roman invasion and the influences of the Greco-Roman culture among the Jews resulted in the frequent occurrence of visual representations of the menorah. It is present on houses, on everyday objects, in tombs, on synagogue walls and floors.[23]

This period is marked with a change in its meaning. As Rachel Hachlili states, there was a transformation from a motif into a symbol. As one of the most frequent motifs in Jewish art, the menorah was a part of the Temple objects, signifying, "the priestly offices and their duties".[24] Only after the destruction of the Second Temple, was the image of the menorah transformed, "from a limited official emblem into a well-recognized Jewish symbol".[25] The reasons for that seem to be obvious and there is no need to go into details. The vents speak for themselves: when the Holy of Holies was lost, followed by the exodus of Jews from Jerusalem, the Jewish community, that in the Holy Land as well as that in diaspora, was forced to defend its religious identity.[26] The most evident change is the Torah Shrine, which was from that time on placed in synagogues "on the Jerusalem-oriented wall—with its assumed similarity to the Jerusalem Temple façade design" in order to preserve the memory of the Temple.[27] Also numerous motifs were introduced, having the same role, the most important one being an image of the Tora Shrine, but also "the menorah, *shofar*, incense shovel, *etrog* (a fruit used on the festival of Sukkot), the ark for the scrolls and a spiral conch shell that initially appears as a decorative motif, evolving into a symbolic motif representing the Torah Shrine. These symbols acquired prominence only after the destruction of the Temple; they preserve a memory of the Temple and its ceremonies."[28] Besides this obvious threat to Jews from the Roman invaders, that is the period of the emergence of Christianity, its rise and triumph as a new religion

22 Ibid., 41-2.

23 Ibid., 24.

24 Ibid., 2.

25 Ibid., 2.

26 E. Assis, Family and Community as Substitutes for the Temple after Its Destruction: New Readings in Psalms 127 and 133, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 85/1 (2009), 55.

27 R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art,* 161-2; id., Synagogues: Before and After the Roman Destruction of the Temple, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 41 (2015), http://cojs.org/synagogues-before-and-after-the-roman-destruction-of-the-temple accessed 17.12.2016.

28 Ibid.

that emerged from Judaism and was still linked to it in religious and cultural terms. Unlike the previous religious conflicts, now it was not enough just to abstain from making idols, since Christianity also respected the commandment.[29] It was necessary to find symbols that would express the identity of a Jewish community in a clear and unequivocal manner, as an equivalent to the cross, the Christogram. The menorah, an ancient object from as early as the time of Moses, stands out in its characteristic and readily recognisable form among other visual motifs that, as already mentioned, preserve the memory of the Temple.[30] A more or less decorated lampstand, consisting of one central shaft and six branches, which, as Flavius Josephus said, differs from that used in everyday life,[31] now becomes a symbol of the Temple where it once stood, a keeper of a community identity and an expression of an aspiration for the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple.[32] Comparatively, the greatest number of visual representations is preserved from the period of Antiquity, although up to the present day the menorah has remained an outstanding symbol of the Jewish identity.

As a confirmation of this transformation from a motif to a symbol, we can provide an overview of the menorah representations in the Balkan region. The existence of the Jewish communities in the Balkans in the period of late Antiquity has been documented in written, epigraphic and archaeological sources. Also, synagogues have been confirmed in Philippi, Stobi, Plovdiv, Saranda, Mursa, Thessaloniki, Athens, Corinth, etc.[33] All over the Balkans numerous menorah representations have been found on everyday

29 R. Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues - Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research*, Leiden 2013, 285.

30 Multilayer symbolism of the menorah is reflected in its understanding, whose light is a metaphor for the presence of God and its 7 arms suggest the 7 days of Creation. The menorah is also recognized as an object made according to an archetype given by God for the service in the Temple, expressing a wish for the Temple renewal and the coming of the Messiah, thus becoming an eschatological symbol. All this produced a great number of representations of the menorah and the ability to recognize it as a Jewish symbol even outside the Jewish minority. Ibid., 312-3; S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World*, 154-5; H. Young, Markers of Jewish Identity in Ancient Rome, *Hirundo: The McGill Journal of Classical Studies* 10 (2011-2012), 78-80.

31 Flavius Josephus, The Wars Of The Jews 7.5.5.

32 H. Young, Markers of Jewish Identity,79.

33 Acts 17:1; Acts 17:17; Acts 18:2-4; A. Panayotov, The Jews in the Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire: the Evidence from Bulgaria, in: *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire*, ed. J.M.G. Barclay, London 2004, 63-4; A. Panayotov, The First Jewish Communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, in: *Сборник в памет на професор Велизар Велков*, ed. H. Popov et al., Sofia 2009, 480-2; A. Panayotov, Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean until the twelfth century, in: *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. K. Aitken et al., New York 2014, 55-75; L. V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, Leuven 1998, 101-2.

objects, in graves, on a number of epitaphs, lead seals and other objects,[34] which is usually taken as evidence of an existing Jewish community in the region.[35] A Jewish diaspora in the Balkans, as well as in other parts of the Empire, usually dates to the second half of the 1st and the 2nd centuries CE, i.e. the Titus's campaign to Jerusalem, when the Temple was destroyed, and Hadrian's response to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, when Jerusalem itself was razed to the ground. Prior to this period, there had probably been slaves of Jewish origin, but only a few organised communities.[36]

Like most of the immigrants from the east, the Jews settle in major city centres. The existence of synagogues, as places of religious and social gatherings, is clear evidence of a Jewish community in an area. In places where there are no synagogues or none have been discovered, symbols, cults and inscriptions are analysed.[37]And as already stated, the presence of menorah is viewed as a reliable sign and a confirmation of a Jewish community in a certain territory.[38]

In the ancient Salona, a Jewish community had been notable, which has been confirmed in epigraphic material and the menorah representations as well[39] (fig. 4). The most outstanding is the one on a sarcophagus fragment. The sarcophagus was found in a cemetery dated to the third or early fourth century.[40] The sarcophagi of the period were commonly produced in the same workshops for different religious communities.[41] The iconography is an expression of religious syncretism, and the themes and motifs

34 A. Panayotov, Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, 55-75; L. V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage,* 84, 115-6; R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum* 41-82.

35 A specific shape of the menorah, which could be easily reduced to its basic form and still remain recognizable, and the unbreakable link with the Temple of Solomon made the menorah a symbol which the Jews used most frequently to mark their „visual space". S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World,* 154.

36 A. Panayotov, The First Jewish Communities in the Balkans, 480-1.

37 Ibid., 480-92.

38 Although the menorah is sometimes found in a Christian context, mostly on objects of applied art, it seems that there are always some iconographic inconsistencies: the number of the menorah arms can vary, instead of the usual Jewish symbols, it is flanked with crosses, etc. In a way, it could be said that it was about taking over a motif in one period, but eventually, the understanding of the menorah as a decidedly Jewish symbol was predominant. S. Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World,* 155; S. Fine, The Menorah and the Cross, 47-50.

39 A. Panayotov, Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, 55; B. Gabričević, Židovska vjerska općina u Saloni, in: *Studije i članci o religijama i kultovima antičkog svijeta*, ed. B. Gabričević, Split 1987, 234-42; F. Bulić, Jevrejski spomenici u rimskoj Dalmaciji i jevrejsko grobište u Solinu, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 49 (1926-27), 116-24.

40 Ibid., 120-1.

41 L.V. Rutgers, Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction of Jews and Non-Jews in Late Antiquity, *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992), 101-118, 104.

are taken from various cults. So the recognisable symbols, like the menorah, indicated a confessional affiliation of the customers. The Salona sarcophagus is severely damaged, but there is one example from Rome with a distinct pagan theme, where only a menorah in a clypeus held by two female figures indicates a religious identity of the customers.[42] There is an image of a menorah in a glass medallion,[43] as well as on a ceramic lamp from Salona,[44] confirming the representation of a religious identity symbol in a private environment and at home[45] (fig. 5).

In the territory of the Roman Praevalitana in Doclea, a grave was discovered with painted Jewish symbols, a menorah among them. A seven armed lampstand is shown as the central motif on the north wall, flanked by garlands and birds.[46] In a mixed necropolis, where the dead of various religious affiliations were buried, once again the menorah is a marker of identity.[47]

In the territory of the present-day Serbia, in the regions that are geographically in the Balkans, no menorah representations have been found. However, in the north of Serbia, in Čelarevo, the Ciglana site of an Avar necropolis, drawings of a menorah have been found on bricks pertaining to a funerary context. The cemetery is dated to the 8th century.[48] That is not the only find of the menorah in the Roman Pannonia, but it stands out because of the context it was found in. While some researchers, rather arbitrarily, argue that such a find confirms conversion of some Asian peoples (the Khazars) to Judaism, others interpret the brick with the menorah as a spolia from earlier times, reused in the Avar grave. There are some opinions that the bricks with the menorahs were used on a huge, mixed necropolis to mark the graves of those belonging to the Jewish community, thus

42 Ibid., 104-5.

43 Such medallions had an apotropaic role. F. Bulić, Jevrejski spomenici u rimskoj Dalmaciji, 118-19.

44 Ibid., 119.

45 Particularly interesting are the menorah graffiti chiselled on the walls of Diocletian's Palace, which some authors view as testimony that a part of the Salona Jewish community found refuge in the present-day Split, fleeing from the Avar invasion. http://www.zost.hr/selected.php?id=2&jezik=EN accessed 16.12.2016.

46 A simple and stylized representation of the menorah, without the burner cups, was made by engraving and is more of a relief in style than a fresco drawing. A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, D. Srejović, Jevrejska grobnica u Duklji, *Jevrejski almanah* (1963-64), 57-59.

47 A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović, D. Srejović, Jevrejska grobnica, 61-63; A. Panayotov, Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, 55.

48 P. Wexler, *The Balkan Substratum of Yiddish: A Reassessment of the Unique Romance and Greek Components,*Wiesbaden 1992, 32; *Naučni skup Menore iz Čelareva*, transcript, ed. J. Kovačević et al., Beograd 1983; R. Bunardžić, *Čelarevo, Risultat delle ricerche nelle necropoli dell'alto medioevo*, Roma 1985.

making the symbol a marker of identity[49] (fig. 6, fig. 6a).

In the Roman Upper Moesia, the existence of the Jewish communities has been confirmed in epigraphic terms – in Gigen, Bulgaria, and there is a fragmented inscription with a menorah drawing.[50] Analogous to the neighbouring provinces, investigations of the large necropolises along the Roman cities in Upper Moesia could, in the future, provide some more representations of the menorah.

Unlike Upper Moesia, where there is little evidence of Jewish communities and very few menorah representations, in the neighbouring Thrace and Macedonia the picture is quite different. Furthermore, it is to be expected as all the major trade, military and migration roads from the East run through those regions. Here we shall draw attention to Plovdiv, the ancient Philippopolis and Stobi where the existence of synagogues has been confirmed.

The first synagogue in Stobi was built in the 2nd century CE and it was renovated in the 4th century. There is a menorah graffiti preserved from that period, chiselled in the wall plaster.[51] In the synagogue a lead seal was found with a menorah and an inscription, today kept in the National Museum in Belgrade.[52] With an inscription on a column dating from the 2nd century, which mentions the construction of a synagogue, those finds of the menorah enabled a certain identification of the structure in a multilayer site, having several construction phases when at some point the synagogue was replaced with an early Christian church.[53]

In ancient Philippopolis, an important administrative, military and trade centre leading to the East, a synagogue was discovered, built in the first half of the 3rd century. The east section of the building is lavishly decorated and on the mosaic floor there is a partially preserved panel with a menorah representation and some festive palm branches, the lulav. A monumental golden menorah, made in yellow and ochre hues, has elaborate

49 As the archaeologists estimated, it was a necropolis of 800 graves. In the hitherto investigated graves, 83 brick fragments were found with a menorah image chiselled in, so it could be said that it was a funerary practice obviously associated with Judaism. *Naučni skup Menore iz Čelareva,* 24-5; ibid., 54-5.

50 A. Panayotov, The Jews in the Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire, 56-7; id., Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, 55-6.

51 A. Panayotov, Jews and Jewish communities in the Balkans and the Aegean, 56; id., The First Jewish Communities in the Balkans, 485-6; S. Fine, The Menorah and the Cross, 34; R. Kolarik, Synagogue floors from the Balkans religious and historical implications, *Niš and Byzantium* 12 (2014), 118.

52 L.B. Popović et al., *Antička bronza u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1969, 158, cat. no. 343.

53 S. Fine, The Menorah and the Cross, 34.

ornamentation and indicates a Biblical description of the Temple Menorah.[54] It is shown with lit oil lamps on top. Several researchers are of the opinion that it was made by an artist from the east, someone who was well aware of the Jewish iconography[55] (fig. 7).

From the times of Alexander the Great's campaigns and the spread of the Hellenistic culture in the east, the Jews were facing a dilemma of how to successfully interact with others whilst preserving their own heritage.[56] The links seem to have been the strongest in late Antiquity, a completely different picture from isolated communities in the Middle Ages. When the objects of material culture and visual representations are considered, the Jews in the diaspora adopt a visual language of pagan Antiquity. In this context we have recognisable symbols like the menorah, playing a key role in marking an object created as part of a mass production in a workshop, or of a grave in a mixed cemetery, or of objects expressing personal piety, used in a private cult. Therefore, the Balkan finds (just) make the picture complete.

Fig 1: Dura Europos Synagogue, Torah Niche, National Museum of Damascus, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dura_Synagogue_ciborium.jpg

54 R. Kolarik, Synagogue floors from the Balkans, 121-2; R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum* 78,357; A. Panayotov, The Jews in the Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire, 64-5.

55 R. Kolarik, Synagogue floors from the Balkans,121.

56 L.V. Rutgers, Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction, 102.

Fig 2: Prutah of Mattathias Antigonus and the Temple Menorah (40–37 BCE). Photo © Israel Museum, Jerusalem

Fig 3: Arch of Titus, Spoils from Solomon Temple "Rome: The Arch of Titus - detail of the interior," 3000 Slides Project: Codename "Shalosh Eleph", accessed December 23, 2016, https://www.lrc.lsa.umich.edu/eliav/shalosh-eleph/items/show/5326.

Fig 4: Salona sarcophagus (fragment), photo Živko Bačić, Photo © Židovska općina Split

Fig 5: Salona medalion, photo Živko Bačić, Photo © Židovska općina Split

Fig 6: Menorah bricks from Čelarevo, Photo © City Museum of Novi Sad / Muzej grada Novog Sada

Fig 6a: Menorah bricks from Čelarevo, Photo © City Museum of Novi Sad / Muzej grada Novog Sada

Fig 7: Plovdiv, Synagogue mosaic detail, Regional Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv, photo after Kolarik "Synagogue Floors from the Balkans: Religious and Historical Implications," Niš and Byzantium, 12 (Niš 2014), 115-128, figure 7

Nadezhda N. Tochilova

Transition Style in Scandinavian Art, late 11th – first half of 12th Century

Abstract

Works of art that belong to the so called 'Transitional style' display a combination of Scandinavian Viking ornaments and European Romanesque stylistic elements. Many of these transitional monuments (the end of 11th – the first half of 12th century) give us an opportunity to trace the development of art from the Viking epoch to the Romanesque. Transition style is a result of the migration of Romanesque images and stylistic elements into the art of Scandinavian countries. This process was conditioned by the christianization of Scandinavia during the 11th–12th centuries. In this article we suggest to look afresh at a few examples of Norwegian wooden carving portals of medieval stave churches and other examples of monumental wooden and stone decorated carvings such as capitals, fonts, liturgical furnishing and metal works from Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The iconographic method applied to all those images enabled us to discern the main features of Scandinavain 'Transitional style'.

Key words: *Scandinavian art, Medieval art, Viking art, Decorative art, 'Transitional style'*

Decorative and applied arts are good indicators of stylistic changes which is a gradual process with no fixed dates. Monuments labeled as "Transitional style" display a combination of Scandinavian Viking ornaments and European Romanesque stylistic elements. Many of these transitional monuments (the end of 11th – the first half of 12th century) give us a possibility to trace the development of art from the Viking epoch to the Romanesque. The main research on stylistic development of Viking art has been done by Professor S. H. Fuglesang, published in a series of illuminating articles.[1]

Changes of styles in Scandinavian art of 10th–12th centuries have a strict progression: from Mammen style to Ringerike style; from Ringerike to Urnes style; from Urnes to Romanesque style[2] (fig. 1). The last stage can be

1 S. H. Fuglesang, Stylistic groups in late Viking and early Romanesque art, *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 8/1 (1981), 79-125.

2 Ibid.

described in two ways: Scandinavian elements, while retaining their traditional iconography vary stylistically. Ornament, gradually losing elongation and refinement of forms, becomes more rounded and robust. Such is the northern portal of Hopperstad, where Scandinavian elements were largely subjected to the influence of Roman art, but were easily recognizable (fig. 2). Hence, carving elements of this portal seem to be influenced by Romanesque art: new types of predatory beasts, combining Scandinavian and Romanesque features, appear in this period.

The portal from Lem church (Jutland, Denmark) has a false doorway, made with two semi columns with bases and undecorated capitals. The arch of the doorway is constructed as two tendrils, integrated by a loop, which formed a central part of the composition.

On the other hand, a new type of beasts emerged in reliefs, combining Romanesque features and Scandinavian iconography. Among the Romanesque elements, there are feathered wings, legs, resembling bird's legs, heads, with a clear transition from the forehead to the front of the muzzle, which looks like a beak, large teardrop-shaped eyes and small pointed ears. As an example, we can refer to the fragment of a bench from Sakshaug church (12th c., Trøndelag, Norway**)** or the western portal of Hopperstad church (12th c., Sogn, Norway) (fig. 3).

Three stages of 'Transitional style' can be distinguished from one another. Early objects of 'Transitional style' show stylistic unity with the art of the Viking Age. This period of monumental and decorative carving Scandinavian art has not been preserved much. These are fragments of church decoration from Torpo (11th c., Buskerud, Norway) and Hemse (11th c., Gotland, Sweden). The surviving fragments of carved reliefs of these churches are quite flat, bare and resemble the carving of runic stones. Patterns, despite the large number of nodes and interlacing tails, are devoid of depth and multidimensional space, characteristic of Scandinavian works of ornamental art.

Another example of Late Viking art is a small fragment of carving from Torpo**,** which demonstrates a development of Scandinavian 'Transition Style' (fig. 4). Ornament was made in low relief of high quality: the ornament's design was made skillfully, well detailed with smooth lines. The character of the carving is reminiscent of a stone relief. The Runic stone from Øland (Sweden, Sandbychurch) can be a comparative example. Two

images of 'Urnes' beasts with small wings are saved on this fragment. The body of the main dragon is a saved fragmentary, like a flat ribbon, which is crossing a visual surface. Two smaller dragons are crossing this line parallel to each other and forming a composition of a double cross. The style of this relief looks quite archaic, but dragon's wing and legs refer to Romanesque influences.

A few wooden carving fragments of this period were found in Sweden. The first ones of note are five fragments from Hemse church (fig. 5). Two of them have concentric ornaments; others have plant-beast ornaments. One fragment is saved as part of a doorway. It provides a possibility for reconstruction of the church entrance. The carving represents a plate network with quite symmetrical cells and loops in points of intersection and two fragments of beast bodies. One of them looks like a dragon from Torpo with a thin, long elongated body and a wing with detailed feathers. The second dragon is only as a small fragment with a pair of bird legs.

The flourishing of the 'Transitional style' can be associated with the creation of works of monumental and decorative objects as portals of churches at Hopperstad and Ulvik (12th c., Sogn, Norway). These works have repeatedly drawn the attention of researchers who noted the stylistic unity of this two works of art. The carvings of these portals stand out for their extreme expression, which is a characteristic of Scandinavian art. The ornament consists of the complex interweaving of graceful symmetrical plant shoots with heavy buds at the end and twisted bodies of 'Transitional style' winged serpentine animals.

The portal from Ulvik (fig. 6) can be considered to be a classical example of 'Transitional style'. All elements of this portal are symmetrical. A composition of the top area was lost, but it was similar to the Hopperstad portal. Two identical tails of the main dragons and fragments of two smaller dragons under them have been preserved. Beasts with serpent looped bodies, wings, bird's legs and head are depicted on the portal jambs. The beasts are similar to the Hopperstad ones, but their bodies are thinner and twisted, the composition is more compact and is concentrated in the lower part of the portal. Ulvik provides us with the best example of the main principals of Scandinavian 'Transitional style': a proportion ratio of the main and smaller beast's bodies or plant ornaments with small snaky beasts; the gradual broadening and narrowing of dragon's bodies; sharpness of the ornament; a correlation between the ornament and background.

The final stage of 'Transitional style' as a rule is characterized by clarity of compositions, elegance and refinement. Ornaments with a plastic expression lose their characteristic disorder and multidimensionality - in order to understand the image, the viewer does not have to track the gaze of each individual tail or escape. The images are "read" easily.

The capitals from Urnes church (the second quarter of 12th c., Sogn, Norway) provide a broad field of study of the development of Norwegian art of the 12th century (fig. 7). Carving of these capitals can be described as Romanesque style, but it was made in the Scandinavian tradition: animal's bodies are elongated or wound around themselves.[3] Beasts look like winged snakes or have thin looped tails. The bestiary on the Urnes capitals can be divided into several groups. One of them includes animals which were made in the tradition of Viking art:

1. Quadrupeds or 'lions'; beasts of prey with thin legs, long neck and small head with or without mane hair. 'Lion's' muzzle has a strong resemblance to a wolf's head with drop-shaped eyes and sharp ears. A sharp-toothed mouth is open; a long and thin tongue is hanging down. A long tail with plant elements the hindquarter of the body and ending with a plant scroll. Sometimes the beast has a looped neck and is biting itself.
2. Beasts with twisted bodies. Fantastic animals which look like 'lions' with a twist in the middle of the body.
3. 'Dragons' with ribbon looped bodies, small wings, thin legs, feet looking like a plant shoot and twisted tails. The heads, with small keen ears and drop-shaped eyes, are similar to a wolf's head. Iconography of these beasts derives from the Romanesque tradition, but the character of carving, elongated silhouettes, looped lines testify that the reliefs are still a part of Viking Age art.

Another example of the late 'Transitional style' is a subtle thread of the bench from Kungsora church (1100-1150, Västmanland, Sweden) (fig. 8). The bench's back side is decorated with a relief, depicting two frontally positioned and intertwined dragons with long necks. The beasts' heads are very small with well-developed eyes, ears and mouth. Dragons have elongated bodies and tails that are twisted in a variety of loops. Each dragon has a pair of legs, resembling a bird with feathers and wings. The whole image has a central axis and symmetry, so that the composition becomes static.

3 E. B. Hohler, The capitals of Urnes church and they Background, *Acta Archaeologica* 46 (1975), 1-60.

'Transitional style' is reflected not only in objects of monumental wooden carving, but also in decorative arts. We can present as an example the ornamental freezes of an altar from Liseberg (1135, Jutland, Denmark), a baptismal fonts of St. James church (1140, Avebury, Wiltshire), and from Vamlingbo (Gotland, Sweden), a relief from St. Nicolas church (1000, Ipswich, England) (fig. 9).

In conclusion, it is important to note, that 'Transitional style' should not be studied like a process of substitution of Viking art by the Romanesque. Works of this period provide not only an understanding of the specific process in art of Scandinavian countries, but also reveal the way of thinking and the value system of medieval people. Analyzing the key features of the 'Transitional style' we can emphasize the following: Scandinavian elements, while retaining its traditional iconography, vary stylistically. An ornament gradually loses elongation and refinement of forms and becomes more rounded and robust. The most important point is the emergence of a new type of predatory animal, a winged dragon, combining Romanesque features and Scandinavian iconography.

It should be noted that the phenomenon of 'Transitional style' indicates the resistance of Norse art. Innovations in art came with the Christian faith and were part of the official art associated with large cities and the construction of stone cathedrals, introduced into the artistic life of the country, of which many parts are isolated by mountains and fjords. The rest of the artistic and spiritual life in Scandinavia for a long time remained under the auspices of former aesthetic ideologies. Carved wooden portals can be regarded as provincial art, despite the fact that they were created by outstanding carvers. The Romanesque elements of these work, which include portals of Ulvik or Hopperstad, are reduced to a single solution, while the elements that match the 'Transitional style' make up the bulk ornamental composition.

At the same time, in the category of monuments, ornamental elements which include hybrid images of combining features of Romanesque art and Old Norse, include not only the above mentioned sites, but many others that are not related to wood carving, and which were created decades earlier and later. Diffusion of this process on the one hand reveals the stability of the art system and, on the other, shows the appearance of the works of art extending from the Viking Age, but not yet arriving at the Romanesque style. Nevertheless, certain stylistic and iconographic schemes

suggest the existence of the intermediate Nordic style, which reflects the features of Christian and pagan art, showing a very slow process of the change of the strong traditions of Viking Age art. This allows several different points of view in the history of art of the Scandinavian countries, of Norway in particular, which is usually quite sharply divided into Christian and pagan art. Instead, we have before us a picture of alternative art in Northern Europe, indicating a more independent development.

Fig. 1: (a) Cammen casket, Mammen style, 10th c.The original was lost after the Second World War. Copy in the Muzeum Historii Ziemi Kamien'skiej; (b) Stone slab in the Ringerike style, c. 980-1070, found in the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral, London; (c) Northern portal from Urnes church, Urnes style, 1060-1080, Sogn, Norway

a

b

Fig. 2: (a) Fragment of northern portal from Hopperstad church, 12th c., Sogn, Norway; (b) Portal from Lem church, 12th c., Jutland, Denmark

a *b*

Fig. 3: (a) Relief from Lem church, 12th c., Jutland, Denmark; (b) Fragment and reconstruction of portal from Hemse church, 11th c., Gotland, Sweden

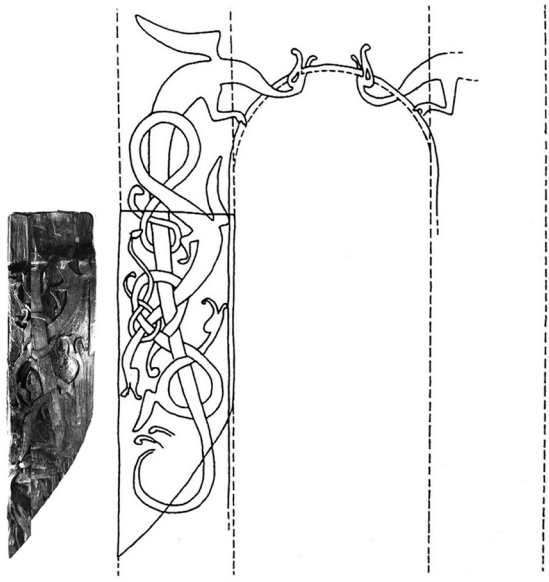

Fig. 4: Fragment and reconstruction of wooden portal from Torpo church, 11th c., Buskerud, Norway

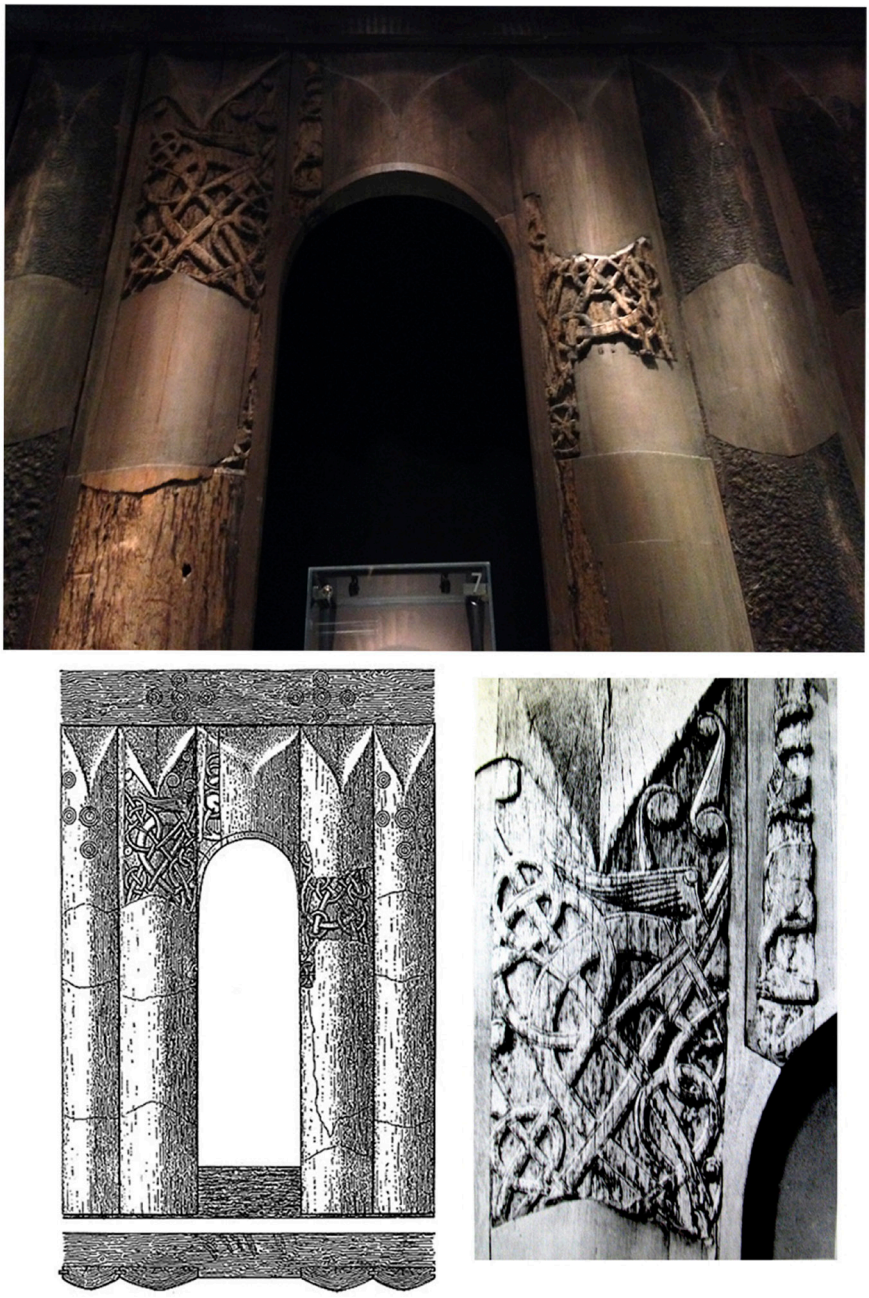

Fig. 5: Fragment and reconstruction of portal from Hemse church, 11th c., Gotland, Sweden

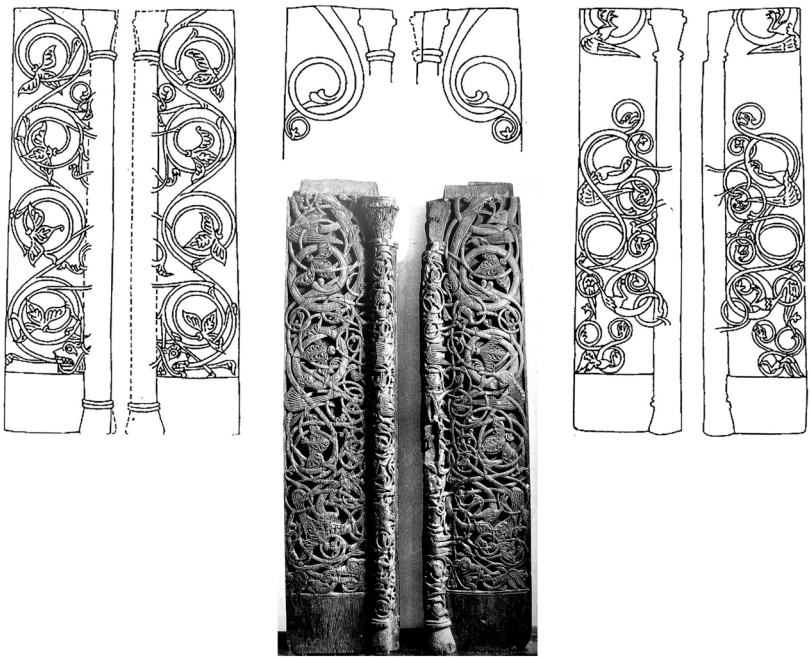

Fig. 6: Portal from Ulvik church, 12th c., Hordalan, Norway

Fig. 7: Capitals from Urnes church, 12th c., Sogn, Norway; a beast with twisted body and a dragon

Fig. 8: Bench from Kungsora church, 1100-1150, Västmanland, Sweden

a

b

Fig. 9: (a) Baptismal font from Vamlingbo church, 12th c., Gotland, Sweden; (b) Baptismal font from St. James church, 1140, Wiltshire, England

Milena Ulčar

"Guarda che quel Christo, come è magro": Migrations of the Holy in the Venetian Bay of Kotor[1]

Abstract

In her highly influential article Migrations of the Holy: Explaining Religious Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe (2014), Alexandra Walsham poses challenging questions regarding the ways in which historical development is conceptualized and explained. This provocative call implies awareness of constant tension between a decisive moment of change, such as the Reformation, and "ambiguities, anomalies and ironies" that followed it in practice.[2]

The aim of this paper is to examine the ways in which transition between medieval and early modern attitudes towards the sacred body was experienced by the 17th and 18th centuries' believers in the Bay of Kotor. During this dynamic period of Venetian government most churches in the Bay were redecorated with new, Baroque artefacts, used together with the ones dating back from previous centuries. This change, although thoroughly explained from the angle of style and iconography, proved to be more complex seen through the eyes of contemporary citizens of the Bay.

Key words: *reliquaries, naturalism, Bay of Kotor, early modern body, historical change*

In the relic chapel of Saint Tryphon's cathedral in Kotor dozens of naturalistically fashioned early modern reliquaries stand on the shelves next to their, equally numerous, medieval counterparts (fig. 1).[3] This shiny and silver sacred group, viewed form the distance at least, seems to be very coherent in shape and material and very eloquent in stating the holiness of the space they inhabit. Inspected in detail, however, these artefacts reveal stylistic variations that could be without hesitation labelled as 'medieval' and 'early

1 This research is part of a project "Representation of Identity in Art and Verbo-Visual Culture of the Early modern period". Project is sponsored by the Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of the Republic of Serbia, project number: 177001.

2 A. Walsham, Migrations of the Holy: Explaining Religious Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44/2 (2014), 242-280, 242. I would like to thank Professor Walsham for comments that greatly influenced ideas outlined in this paper.

3 For various examples of reliquaries from St Tryphon's cathedral see: *Zagovori Svetome Tripunu: blago Kotorske biskupije. Povodom 1200. obljetnice prijenosa moći svetoga Tripuna u Kotor*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009.

modern' (fig 2, fig 3). The reliquaries from the 14th century offer an image of a knightly armoured limb, lavishly decorated with ornaments and covered with gems. At first glance, the reliquaries from the 17th century appear simple, without any extensive decoration or jewels. Instead of knightly armor and ornamental ribbons we can see a part of an 'ordinary' human body with a combination of rippling muscles, wrists and palpitating veins. In both latter examples the observer is struck by the palpability of flesh instead of the previously emphasized materiality of jewels and ornamented ribbons.

This change is usually interpreted as a part of a broader process of the early modern naturalization of body, which the Renaissance elegantly introduced after not so elegant a breakthrough of humanistic efforts to transform the medieval ways of understanding the world. Similar transformations thus can be observed in other visual media, such as icons, paintings, and sculpture. In addition to that, the endeavours of both Aristotelian and neo-Platonic philosophers, poets, physicians, autobiographers or scientists to present the human being as an aware individual, positioned in the centre of the universe, were greeted as very welcome evidence of the same change. The writings of various theorists, such as Vasari's, only contributed to the later, Burckhardtian glorification of a modern man.[4] Therefore, dissecting both pairs of reliquaries by using instruments of style or technique would eventually give an expected result in recognizing the 'liberation' of the body during the period.

This narrative could probably be seen as a satisfactory depiction of cultural change, but only until other criteria than that of artistic style was introduced. In both of the 14th century containers the bone is hidden from the beholder's gaze by a small square door with the possibility - which mustn't be disregarded - of occasionally being opened. By contrast, it seems that the latter examples offer their substance more explicitly. Behind the prominent circular glass holes, the beholder can clearly observe the bone particles. Thus, the faculty of touch occupied a central role in the medieval believer's encounter with the bones. On the other hand, later examples, with larger oval openings allowed a direct view of the most sacred compartment. Physical contact was not necessary to facilitate this type of communication. Once again, this change might be perceived as an

4 G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists: A Selection*, trans. G. Bull, Baltimore 1965, 58; J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of Renaissance Italy*, New York 2010. For more recent explanation of Renaissance individualism see: J. J. Martin, *Myths of Renaissance individualism*, New York 2004; S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, Chicago 2005.

early modern tendency to prioritize the sense of sight as more noble and spiritual than seductive and potentially sinful touch. On the other hand, and this view is spreading very fast across the field of history of senses, the medieval approach could be seen as more intimate, carnal and creative than an early modern regulated view from the distance.[5] Therefore, another narrative, seemingly quite contradictory to the aforementioned one, could be employed in explaining the same transition over two periods – a narrative of repression.

What further complicates interpretation of these morphological and functional changes is the performative potential that these artifacts often implied. Rarely were they seen as part of a one-to-one interaction between object and subject (be they contemporary art historians or early modern believers). More often than not they were displayed as a part of a group[6] – inside of the relic chapel, on the altars or during the processions in the streets. On the other hand, their beholders usually participated in this as part of a broader congregation, gathered inside or outside the church. Thus, dynamic mechanisms of their mutual agency could complicate these convenient interpretations of the naturalization and regulation of the body. Was early modern man able to perceive the change in representation of the holy body part, crowded in the street during the procession, beholding a pyramid of reliquaries, both medieval and modern, gathered in the specially designed carrier? Moreover, were the common laymen capable of recognizing these changes, if constantly encouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities to experience the sacred in a particular manner?

Written sources that can be used in this argument are very rare, and even when they are available a certain amount of speculation is necessary in order to reach any relevant conclusion. The manuscript of a trial dating back to 1719 could be a useful source in answering at least a part of the aforementioned questions.[7]

At the beginning of the 18th century a man called Romano found himself in front of the ecclesiastical court of Kotor, accused of sacrilege and misuse of holy objects. As was confirmed during the interrogation, Romano had

5 On the history of senses see, among others: ‚Touch me, touch me not: Senses, Faith and Performativity in Early Modernity: Introduction', *Open Arts Journal*, eds. E. Benay and L. M. Rafanelli, 4 (2014/2015); *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. W. de Boer and C. Göttler, Leiden 2013; *The Sensuous in Counter-Reformation Church*, eds. M. B. Hall and T. E. Cooper, Cambridge 2013.

6 C. Hahn, What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?, *Numen* 57 (2010), 284-316, 298.

7 BAK Church Archive in Kotor, Fond I, 345 (I-CCCXLV) XXIX *Hyachinthus Zanobetti 1719-1732*.

collected host wafers from different churches in town in order to feed his dog, after previously frying them in oil. He did so firmly convinced that it would make him invisible and able to "go to the different places", including Rome – his home town. After that, he went with his friends to the village near Kotor where he "mocked a holy mass", using bread (*focaccia*) and wine for the purpose of enacting his own Eucharistic ceremony. In addition to that, he mocked the physical appearance of Christ on the cross during the procession of *Settimana Santa*. As his actions reveal, Romano was very interested in the physical aspects of Christ's nature, testing occasionally his understanding of incarnation by trying to gain powers necessary for his everyday life. Not surprisingly, church authorities condemned his interest and accused him for blasphemy after a careful interrogation. However, a more detailed look into his heretical behaviour might give us insight into an early modern perception of the religious change. His misuse of the hosts collected in the churches of Kotor was actually a very common way of practicing magic across Europe. Inquisitorial records are full of stories of early modern men and women who believed in the power that small round wafers could wield if saved after the communion.[8] One witness, describing Romano's behaviour said that he "fried these *Christs*" in oil.[9] Thinking about the concomitant nature of Christ, of his coexistence in Earth and Heaven, was something that a believer was able to learn through different media of transmitting knowledge in an early modern period. What is somewhat unusual are Romano's words in front of the antropomorphical body of Christ on the cross. According to the majority of witnesses he yelled: "Look at this Christ, how skinny he is, how ugly, and dry, and sad he is!" Also, he proposed that some clothes should be made to cover his naked body.[10]

As records reveal, during the Holy Week in Kotor the cross was held in a procession, calling people to join the prayer. Romano saw this object in the street, and estimated (Christ's) appearance as somehow very offensive. What bothered him was Christ's naked body, more precisely his ascetic physical constitution. According to him, the holy body shouldn't be that "skinny and dry". Taking into account the change that happened in the visual fashioning

8 For the other examples of similar processes see: J. Seitz, *Witchcraft and Inquisition in Early Modern Venice*, Cambridge 2011; L. Čoralić, Hrvati u procesima mletačke inkvizicije: treći dio: Magija i ostali procesi, *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 20/38 (1996), 1-44; ead., Hrvati u procesima mletačke inkvizicije: Peti dio: Magija i svodništvo, *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 22/41 (1998), 71-116.

9 *XXIX Hyachinthus Zanobetti 1719-1732*: „friger quelli Christi".

10 Ibid.: Romano's words are transcribed in different ways, according to the various testimonies. Almost all of them contains these elements: "Guarda che quel Christo, come che è nudo (…), come magro, brutto, secco e triste! (…) Bisogna vestito, (…) li volemo fare una baretta, un paio di braghezze alla Morlacca (…)"

of the body during the early modern period, it could be concluded that Romano preferred (or was used to) the new, different way for its representation – a muscular, strong, naturalistic body of Christ that could be found all across early modern Europe. His disgust with the tormented corporality of the Saviour thus could be interpreted as a rather successful spreading of taste in naturalistic qualities of body during the period. However, one of the written testimonies complicates this conclusion. According to the one witness Romano said in front of the crucifix: "Look how skinny this Christ is; he is skinny just like I am!"[11], after which he proposed making new clothes for the figure. Apparently, Romano's view of naturalism significantly differed from the contemporary one. What he found offensive in the image of Christ was, actually, the naturalism of its representation, in Vasari's own words: his form that derives "accurately from life".[12] In Romano's view, the holy body should be easily distinguished from ordinary human's appearance, full of imperfections, usually underfed and weak. It seems that what he wanted to see instead was an idealized image of the sacred body – strong, healthy, and recognizable by the visible veins and muscles. Romano's possible *idealized* body, as opposed to the one that imitates nature in details, recalls, in fact, the body that we usually categorize as *naturalistic*.

What can we make of this story, in which objects and people were connected through a complex web of negotiation and tension between approved and restricted use and misuse? In order to untangle the change that occurred in visual representations of the body after the Reformation (or Tridentine council, Renaissance, Columbus' discovery, or scientific revolution), a distant comparison between medieval and early modern objects and attitudes should not be enough. What could be more rewarding, although more challenging at the same time, is careful analysis of contemporary reception of this transition. This effort should appreciate different settings in which objects were used, as well as diverse situations in which early modern people could perceive them. Therefore, instead of examining Romano's reasons for blasphemy in negative terms of lack of education, possible poverty, superstition or his status as a foreigner in Kotor, it would be worth asking questions with a positive connotation.[13] Instead of asking

11 Ibid., "Guarda che quell Christo, come è magro, è magro come me!"

12 G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, 58.

13 On the responsibility of a historian dealing with the inquisitorial processes: J. Arnold, The Historian as Inquisitor: The ethics of interrogating subaltern voices, *Rethinking History* 2/3 (1998), 379-386; *The Unorthodox Imagination in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. S. Page, Manchester 2011.

what he *could not know* it should be asked what he *could see* in a broader context of the early modern Venetian commonwealth. More precisely, in which situations the citizens of the Bay were able to observe and comment on the medieval representations of body

Fortunately, both visual and archival sources can be very helpful in answering these questions. The very prominent presence of medieval artifacts in post-Tridentine Europe is usually explained in terms of the importance of tradition for contemporary ecclesiastical efforts in reshaping early modern Catholicism.[14] In accordance with that, medieval icons and reliquaries often continued their lives throughout the subsequent centuries as objects of cult, miraculous epicentres of villages, towns and states. Therefore, the presence of medieval artifacts in the Venetian Bay of Kotor is not in any way an unusual phenomenon. What complicates this explanation is the way in which these objects were displayed and presented to the believers. Only very rarely did they remain unchanged. The reliquary of Saint Tryphon's head, the most important holy object of Kotor, was renewed in the mid-17th century – a new, golden calotte replaced a medieval, silver one.[15] The rest of it preserved its medieval appearance (fig. 4). The medieval icon of Our Lady of the Rock, the most important sacred object in Perast[16], was given a new, silver cover, which permitted only faces of Mother and Son to be visible (fig. 5) - displayed among figures of saints and angels as a part of the baroque altar. Therefore, apart from physical metamorphosis, performative changes were quite common. During the processions in Kotor medieval reliquaries were carried together with their early modern neighbours in the wooden carrier, made probably during the 18th century. Moreover, the busts of medieval Italian patron saints were dressed in lavish baroque clothes while being carried through the streets.[17] In addition to that, the 'makeover' could have been conducted

14 H. Belting, Religion and Art: The Crisis of the Image at the Beginning of the Modern Age, in: id., *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, Chicago 1996, 458-484; K. Noreen, Serving Christ: The Assumption Procession in the Sixteenth-Century Rome, in: *Remembering the Middle Ages in Early Modern Italy*, eds. L. Pericolo and J. N. Richardson, Turnout 2015, 231-245.

15 Venetian goldsmith Benedetto Rizzi made the golden calotte in 1622: K.R. II 1630-1680: 155; M. Ulčar, Sensations of the Glorious Head: Veneration of the Saint Tryphon's Reliquary through the Liturgical Year, in: *Beyond the Adriatic Sea: A Plurality of Identities and Floating Boarders in Visual Culture*, ed. S. Brajović, Novi Sad 2015, 151-172.

16 For the extensive analysis on Our Lady of the Rock see: S. Brajovic, *U Bogorodicinom vrtu. Bogorodica i Boka Kotorska. Barokna pobožnost zapadnog hrišćanstva*, Belgrade 2006.

17 Famous example of this practice is the reliquary bust of St. Januarius in Naples: H. Hills, Beyond Mere Containment: The Neapolitan Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro and the Matter of Materials, *California Italian Studies* 3/1 (2012), 1-21.

in more semantic than physical terms. The striking and very detailed example of this kind of transformation could, in a sense, recall the Romano case. The Book of Ceremonies in Perast describes in detail the procession that occurred during the *Settimana Santa*.[18] On Good Friday two carefully arranged processions with crucifixes from eastern and western parts of the town met in the central square. One part of the procession was led by the figure of 'a dead Christ', whose head was sadly bowed and body tortured. At the forefront of another procession was the cross with "the living Christ", his body straight and the gaze lifted to Heaven (fig. 6). Skinny Christ, to use Romano's words, was labelled as dead and used to introduce the resurrected and alive one.

We can only speculate whether Romano saw *his* skinny Christ as a part of a broader baroque setting. What we know is that the occasion of their encounter was calling for the Forty hours' prayer during the Holy Week. Therefore, it was not one of the 'main' processions during Easter time, when other figures of apostles, saints and reliquaries of the True Cross were usually displayed. It might be possible that an elaborated physical or metaphorical makeover was absent, which made the medieval object more (susceptible) to Romano's criticism.

What does the story of visual transformation of reliquaries from the beginning of the paper have in common with Romano's disgust towards a medieval sacred body? Answers to this question seem to mutate rapidly, transforming themselves into numerous questions. Nevertheless, it could be possible to state a few observations that became visible during the untangling of these examples. Firstly, the change in artistic fashioning of the holy body is visible through comparison of medieval and early modern reliquaries. Usually, this change is labelled as naturalism, a new, early modern, true-to-life style. Simultaneously, medieval artifacts, more materialistic then illusionistic in bodily features[19], continue to be employed by the church. These objects, although widely used, were usually somewhat transformed by various physical, metaphorical or theatrical tools. Therefore, the tension between the naturalistic and non-naturalistic way of depicting the body was present, although mitigated to some extent through adaptation of older images. When a common layman revealed his

18 PA Historical Archive Perast, Maritime Museum in Perast, *Book of Ceremonies*, PA I XXIIIa, 1742-1743.

19 On this problem see: C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, New York 2011.

repulsion towards the image of the medieval body he was accused of being a heretic. This part of the story is not surprising (he would be probably equally accused if yelling in front of the baroque image), especially when compared with the terms he used to portray his abhorrence. It seems that every stylistic box that we made is somehow inverted in his words – the medieval body is awfully naturalistic, the figure of Jesus resembles an ordinary man in a problematic way, the holy body is too mundane instead of being idealized and beautiful (not skinny, ugly, dry, and sad).

Is there no Renaissance naturalism for the lower classes? Or is naturalism not the right term from the beginning? Obviously, according to Romano, naturalism does not mean 'liberating' the body from previously 'static' and 'rigid' representations. Is seems that for him imitation of nature is not a welcomed quality when encountering the holy body of Christ. Vasari's or Burckhardt's celebrated naturalization is nowhere near Romano's explanation. Apparently, what was offered to believers as naturalistic representation of the sacred could have been easily grasped by its beholders as an idealistic image - different and beautiful in its holiness.

The notion of naturalism, hence, was more complex than it appears to be only by reading prescriptive and theoretical writings of the period. When we allow for the existence of more porous limits between subjects and objects in the early modern period,[20] the picture is significantly changed. It seems that there was not only one explanation of an already complex relation between naturalism, idealism and materiality in early modern period.

Thinking in terms of not only spatial, but also chronological migrations of objects can help us understand the change in representation of the body after the Middle Ages – the perceived and experienced one, not only theoretical and prescriptive. Furthermore, this can allow conceptualizing the change as a process, which exceeds a form of imperative imposed from the above, usually explained as an instrument of counter reformation and papal control. There is a missing verb here. Incomplete sentence. The presence of medieval artifacts during the latter centuries should be more carefully inspected through the subtlety of change that this migration brought to them, through the makeover that unveiled a different attitude towards the

20 On the problem of materiality and subject-object relationship see: *The materiality of devotion in late medieval northern Europe. Images, objects and practices*, eds. H. Laugerud, S. Ryan and L. K. Skinnebach, Dublin 2016; *Things that talk: Object lessons from art and science*, ed. L. Daston, New York 2004; *Things: Religion and question of materiality*, eds. D. Houtman and B. Meyer, Fordham 2012.

holy and ordinary human body. The body that was revealed as naturalistic could easily be experienced as an ideal and privileged form of holiness while numerous and dry regulations could be accepted and used as creative tools of communication. Therefore, analysing the change in visual and verbal representations of the sacred body after the Middle Ages should be open for interpretations that exceed the theoretical frames of the period. In addition to discerning sometimes a very puzzled dialogue between subject and object it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of the choir, where numerous voices convey sometimes very diverse messages from the past. Therefore, historical change could be fluid and comprehensive, susceptible to the fashioning by the hand of members of all social classes. Above all it is often gradual, sometimes successive, sometimes spiral.[21] We should not forget that by simplifying it as momentous and loud.

Fig. 1: Arm-shaped reliquaries, XIV-XVII century, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by author)

21 Alexandra Walsham proposes three-dimensional, spiral process of conceptualizing the historical change: A. Walsham, Migrations of the Holy, 264, 265.

Fig. 2: (a) Arm-shaped reliquary, XIV, XV century, silver, glass, 50 x 7.5 cm, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by Stevan Kordić) (b) Arm-shaped reliquary of St Modest, 1687, silver, glass, 59 x 7.5 cm, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by Stevan Kordić)

Fig. 3: (a) Leg-shaped reliquary, XIV century, silver, 45 x 11cm, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by Stevan Kordić) (b) Leg-shaped reliquary, XVIII century, silver, glass, 35 x 15.5 cm, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by Stevan Kordić)

Fig. 4: Reliquary of the St Tryphon's Head, XV-XVII century, gold, sliver, enamel, rock crystal, jewls, 43 x 27 x 23 cm, Kotor, St Tryphon's relic chapel (photo by Stevan Kordić)

Fig. 5: (a) Lovro Dobričević, Icon of Our Lady of the Reef, 1452; (b) Silver revetment, XVII century, Perast, Church of Our Lady of the Reef (photos by Dragan Babović)

Fig. 6: (a) Wooden crucifix, Church of Saint Anthony, Perast (b) Wooden crucifix, Church of Saint Nicholas, Perast (photos by Milena Ulčar)

Ljubica Vinulović

The Miracle of Latomos: From the Apse of the Hosios David to the Icon from Poganovo. The Migration of the Idea of Salvation

Abstract

The main preoccupation of this paper will be iconographical analysis of depictions of the Miracle of Latomos, and the way in which this scene migrated from Greece to Bulgaria and Serbia. Firstly, we will discuss the historical background of the Miracle of Latomos and its composition, which is very specific in Byzantine art. Given the fact that it is depicted only three times in Byzantine art, in the mosaic in the apse of the church of Hosios David in Thessaloniki, in the mural painting in the ossuary in Bachkovo monastery in Bulgaria and in the double-sided icon from Poganovo, it has aroused great interest among art historians. The mosaic from Hosios David was discovered in 1927, and since then to (up until) the cleaning of the Icon from Poganovo in 1959, the composition of the Miracle of Latomos has had various, interpretations. We will try to explain how this composition has changed its iconography over the centuries and also discuss the question of patronage of the Icon from Poganovo. We will use the iconographic method and try to prove that this composition in all three cases has eschatological character.

Key words: *Miracle of Latomos, Theodora, Thessaloniki, Hosios David, Ossuary in Bachkovo monastery, Icon from Poganovo, Virgin Kataphyge, John the Theologian, Helena Mrnjavčević*

The Miracle of Latomos can be traced back to the end of the third century AD, and it is closely related to the city of Thessaloniki and to princess Theodora who was a daughter of August Maximian, co-ruler with the Emperor Diocletian, who ruled in Milan during the fourth century.[1] This information is probably inaccurate. Theodora lived in Thessaloniki. At that time, August Galerius was ruling in Thessaloniki, so most likely, Theodora was the daughter of Galerius. At the end of the third century she was secretly baptized, during an era in which Christians were still murdered and persecuted by the Roman authorities.[2] Under the pretext that she was ill, and that she needed peace,

1 V. Grumel, La mosaïque de 'Dieu Sauveur' au monastère du 'Latome' à Salonique (découverte en août 1927), *Échos d'Orient* 29 (1930), 157-175, 161; T. E. Gregory, *Maximian*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. 2, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al., London 1991, 1321.

2 V. Grumel, La mosaïque de 'Dieu Sauveur', 164; Г. Суботић, Икона василисе Јелене и оснивачи манастира Поганова, *Саопштења* 25 (1993), 25-40, 26.

she asked her father for permission to erect a palace in the upper part of the city's walls. The palace had a bathroom, the central part of which ended with a semicircular apse.[3] She ordered an artist to depict the Virgin Mary in mosaic technique in the apse. One morning when the princess went to see how the work was going, she saw something strange. In the apse was an image of Christ and not an image of the Virgin. During the night the Virgin's image miraculously turned into the image of Christ, seated on a rainbow encircled by the mandorla and four animals – symbols of the four evangelists.[4] This miraculous transformation of the Virgin's image into Christ's image, is called The Miracle of Latomos. Theodora thought that happened because of God's will, and forbade the artist to change the mosaic. The mosaic was covered with mortar to be hidden, because some of her servants told her parents that she was a Christian. When they found out what had happened, her father ordered her arrest and she was locked up in the tower. The palace was burnt to the ground, but the mosaic stayed preserved by God's will. The place where the palace stood was named Latomia, according to the Greek word for stone, because the whole palace was built of stone. In 1921, the church was dedicated to the local saint Hosios David.[5] Today, in the apse of this church Theodora's mosaic can be seen. The mosaic stayed preserved during the Ottoman period because it was covered with mortar. The Legend of the Miracle of Latomos was registered in two medieval manuscripts. The first manuscript, which tells the story of the Miracle, today is kept in Moscow in the Patriarchal Library.[6] The second manuscript is from 1307, and today it is treasured in Kosinitca. The *Diegesis* manuscript from the twelfth century, written by monk Ignatius, tells the story of the Miracle in Hosios David. The manuscript tells the story of monk Senoufias who came from the mountains of Nitria to the monastery of Hosios David.[7] He was praying in front of the apse to see Christ in the form in which he would appear at the End of the Time. One day while the monk was alone in the church, a storm raised and shook the ground and foundations of the church. The mortar fell down from the walls,

3 V. Grumel, La mosaïque de 'Dieu Sauveur', 164.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., 167; O. Špehar, The cruciform church on Caričin grad: Thessalonian architectural infulence on the central Balkans in VI century, *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 42 (2014), 61-76, 67.

6 V. Grumel, La mosaïque de 'Dieu Sauveur', 165.

7 A. Semoglou, La théophanie de Latôme et les exercices d'interprétations artistiques durant les 'renaissances' byzantines, Les noveuax signifiants de (la vision de) Dieu, in: *Byzantium Renaissances: Dialogue of Cultures, Heritage of Antiqiuty Tradition and Modernity*, ed. M. Janocha et al., Warsaw 2012, 231-239, 233-234; J. Snyder, The Meaning of the 'Maiestas domini' in Hosios David, *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 143-152, 146-147.

and the image of Christ appeared magically in the apse of the church. The monk thanked God and passed away.[8] He was buried at the place where he passed away. The image of Christ in the apse is the same image which appeared in Theodora's palace's apse.

Today, the mosaic in Hosios David is very well preserved. Researchers have given differing interpretations of this composition. The center of the composition depicts Christ enthroned on a rainbow, set within the aureole of blue light. The symbols of the four evangelists holding books are emerging from the aureole (fig. 1). In his right hand Christ holds a scroll with written words.[9] Beneath Christ's feet is a hill from which the four rivers of Paradise rise, while at his left side a male figure who is supposed to represent the personification of the Jordan River can be found. The whole scene is flanked by figures of two prophets. The right prophet is standing and holding his arms and palms opened in a gesture of amazement. The prophet on the left side is sitting on a rock, and holding a book on his lap (fig. 2). The prophets' names are not inscribed, which led to varying interpretations of their identity among researchers. André Grabar argued that the prophets are St. Peter and Paul, and that this scene represents Traditio Legis.[10] Athanassios Semoglou considered that the prophets are the evangelists John and Matthew, and that the scene is the Second Coming of Christ.[11] The book, which is being held by the prophet on the left bears the words "Son of man, eat this scroll". (Reve. 10:9) This scene is closely connected to the vision of the prophet Ezekiel that he had on the River of Chebar. During his vision God showed himself in the form of light surrounded by four animals. God gave him to eat the book so that he could preach.[12] On the other hand, the prophet Habakkuk had a similar vision. God presented himself to him in the form of rays and light, like the Moon, stars and the Sun approaching him.[13] According to their visions, we can conclude that the prophets in the composition are Ezekiel and Habakkuk, and that the composition represents The Old Testament Theophany.

8 V. Grumel, La mosaïque de «Dieu Sauveur», 163; Snyder, 'Maiestas domini', 147.

9 "Behold, this is Our Lord, in whom we hope and rejoice in our salvation, he will give a rest to this house" (Isa. 25:9).

10 A. Grabar, À propos d'une icône byzantine du XIVe siècle au Musée de Sofia (Notes sur les sources et les procédés des peintres sous les Paléologues), *Cachiers archéologiques* 10 (1959), 289-304, 296.

11 A. Semoglou, La mosaïque de Hosios David à Thessalonique. Une interpretation neotestamentaire, *Cahiers archéologiques* 54 (2011), 5-16, 12-13.

12 Ezek. 1:1-8; 2:8-9.

13 Habakk. 3:10-11.

Bachkovo Ossuary

We met the composition of the Miracle of Latomos for the second time in Byzantine art, in mural paintings in Bachkovo monastery in Bulgaria. The monastery was founded around 1083 by two brothers named Pakourianos.[14] They ruled in Bulgaria in the name of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus.[15] During the same period, the monastery's ossuary was built near to the church, and it has two floors. The upper floor is the church dedicated to The Holy Trinity, while the lower floor is the ossuary with fourteen niches in the floor. The mural painting is from the twelfth century.[16] In the naos of the ossuary the west wall presents the painted Vision of the prophet Ezekiel. The prophet is shown in a standing pose holding a scroll. Beside him is a broad field with skulls and bones above which several figures rise representing resurrected humans (fig. 3).This scene illustrates a part from the Book of the prophet Ezekiel. God spoke to him and took him to the place where the rambling human bones were.[17] The composition represents the resurrection of the Israelites' bones. In the naos, beside this scene stands a composition of The Last Judgment, which covers the walls and the ceiling. These compositions are connected with the idea of the resurrection. On the Last Judgment Day the dead will be resurrected.

On the upper floor of the building we can see a monumental scene with Christ in the center.[18] Christ is enthroned on a rainbow, encircled with the aureole of light. In one hand he is holding a scroll. On both sides stand figures of the prophets (fig. 4).The text on the Christ's scroll is from the Book of the prophet Isaiah.[19] André Grabar and Elka Bakalova argued that this composition is the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel. Grabar also considered

14 E. Bakalova, *The ossuary of the Bachkovo monastery*, Plovdiv 2003, 11-12; R. Jordan, Pakourianos: Typikon of the Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo, in: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders's Typika and Testaments*, eds. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, Washington, D.C. 2000, 507-563, 507-508.

15 В. Лазарев, *Историја византијског сликарства*, Belgrade 2004, 108; E. Bakalova, *The ossuary of the Bachkovo monastery*, 14-16.

16 В. Лазарев, *Историја византијског сликарства*, 108.

17 "Prophesy on these bones, and say to them, O you dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus said the Lord God to these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and you shall live: And I will lay sinews on you, and will bring up flesh on you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the Lord" (Ezek. 37:4-6).

18 В. Лазарев, *Историја византијског сликарства*, 108; E. Bakalova, *The ossuary of the Bachkovo monastery*, 63-65.

19 "See, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation" (Isa. 25:9).

that the painted prophets are Ezekiel and Habakkuk. The scene had its model in the mosaic from Hosios David.

The Icon from Poganovo

From the middle of the twentieth century, the Icon from Poganovo was the subject of research among scientists. This icon was kept in the crypt of the Cathedral Church of Alexander Nevsky in Sofia, in Bulgaria.[20] Before that, it was in the monastery of John the Theologian near Poganovo. It was recently moved to the Archeological Museum in Sofia. The icon is double-sided, and on one side the Miracle of Latomos is depicted (fig. 5). On the other side are depicted the Virgin and John the Evangelist. The Virgin bears the epithet *Kataphyge*, and John the *Theologian* (fig. 6). The Virgin's epithet is very interesting, and it does not occur often in painting.[21] *Kataphyge* means *refuge* in Greek.[22] Grabar wrote about this epithet in his work. He concluded that it was often used in poetry and less in painting.[23] Based on its stylistic features, many researchers have concluded that the icon belongs to the art of the late fourteenth century. On the other hand, the researchers have given differing, interpretations of the composition of the Miracle of Latomos. Grabar has interpreted this scene as Christ as the life-giving spring. He concluded this according to the image of the Virgin and John. He connected those characters with the moment that happened during the Crucifixion. While Christ was on the Cross, John the Evangelist proclaimed that blood and water, which were spurting from Christ's wound are the life giving spring.[24] André Xyngopoulos presented another approach immediately after the conservation of the icon. Namely, he considered that this scene does not have a direct model in the mosaic from Hosios David, but it was depicted according to a miniature from the twelfth-century *Diegesis* text.[25] Demetrios Pallas argued that this icon was associated with another liturgical feast, with the celebration of The Easter.[26] On the other hand, Voordeckers linked the scene in the icon to The Metastasis of John the Evangelist. He considered that the prominent

20 B. Pentcheva, Imagined Images: Vision of Salvation and Intercession in Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 139-153, 139.

21 Г. Суботић, *Икона василисе Јелене*, 26; A. Grabar, À propos d'une icône, 302.

22 A. Grabar, À propos d'une icône, 302.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 351-389; Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 141-142; John. 19:34.

25 A. Xyngopoulos, Sur l'icone bilatérale de Poganovo, *Cachiers archéologiques 12* (1962), 341-350.

26 D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi, der Ritus. Der Ritus-das Bild*, Munich 1965, 147-160; B. Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 141-145.

figure on the icon was John the Evangelist, and that the icon was set on the iconostasis as a title icon.[27]

The Miracle of Latomos in the Icon from Poganovo is depicted in a different way from that in the mosaic in Hosios David and Ossuary in Bachkovo. Christ Emmanuel is depicted enthroned on a golden rainbow, surrounded with the aureole of blue light. Mandorla is composed of seven blue rings. Christ is dressed in a golden chiton, and he raises his right hand while in the left hand he holds an open scroll with written words.[28] His arms and feet bear marks of the Crucifixion. Around him is the inscription: "Jesus Christ of the Miracle of Latomos."[29] Christ is encircled with the symbols of the four evangelists. They emerge from the fifth ring of the mandorla. Above their heads their initials are inscripted. In the lower zone of the icon, below Christ is a mountainous landscape with a water basin, where seven fish swim. The prophets flank this composition. On the right side is depicted Ezekiel in a standing position. His head and arms are raised up. His palms are open in a gesture of awe and amazement. He is depicted as an elderly man dressed in a chiton with long gray hair and grey beard. Habakkuk is represented as a young man without a beard, seated on the rocks. He holds an open book on his lap with a written text.[30]

The whole scene is imbued with the blue light which emanates from Christ's mandorla. The composition depicted in this way can be interpreted as Theophany.[31] Ezekiel and Habakkuk saw God in the form of light surrounded by the four tetramorphs which are actually symbols of the four Evangelists. The inscription around Christ's head and torso directly connects this icon with the mosaic from Hosios David. As we have already said, the whole composition is slightly different from that in Hosios David. In the icon Christ is depicted with wounds on his hands and feet, while in the mosaic he does not have wounds. Also, in the icon, the prophets' names are clearly inscribed, while in the mosaic they are not. Given the fact that Christ is depicted with wounds, it is clear that this scene indicates the moment after the Crucifixion.

27 E. Voordeckers, L' interprétation liturgique de quelques icônes byzantines, *Byzantion* 53/1 (1983), 52–68; B. Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 145-148.

28 "Behold, this is Our Lord, in whom we hope and rejoice in our salvation, he will give a rest to this house" (Isa. 25:9).

29 B. Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 142.

30 "Son of man, eat this scroll" (Ezek. 3:1).

31 B. Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 142-143.

The seven rings of the mandorla and seven fish that swim in the water basin point to the symbolism of the Last Judgment. Based on these facts, Gordana Babić confirmed that this scene indeed is Parousia.[32] During the Revelation of John the Theologian, God showed himself to John in the form of light on a throne, surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists. She confirmed her opinion with the sentence: "Son of man, eat this scroll", which is written on the book of the prophet Habakkuk. During the vision in Patmos, God gave John the same order that he gave to Ezekiel.[33]

The issue of the patron's identity aroused a great deal of interest among researchers, since it was cleaned and preserved in 1959.[34] On the front side are painted the Virgin *Kataphyge* and John the Theologian, and in the lower zone between their figures is in quite damaged condition the donor's inscription printed in red: "In Christ God the faithful *basilissa* Helena"[35] (fig. 6). Todor Gerasimov read this inscription immediately after the conservation, and concluded that the donor of the icon was Helena Dragaš, the Byzantine empress.[36] The icon was kept in Poganovo monastery in the church dedicated to John the Theologian. The conclusion that the donor of the icon was Helena Dragaš, Gerasimov based on medallions with inscriptions on a facade of the church. The medallions are inscribed with the names of "Mr. Constantine", "Mrs. Helen", and "John the Theologian".[37] He supported this theory with evidence from the historical resource. In historical texts only Constantine Dragaš had the title of *mister*.[38] Given the fact that the donor's inscription mentions the title *basilissa*, Gerasimov literally translated this title as an *empress*. He argued that Helena Dragaš could order the icon only after she came to the Byzantine court and after she became the empress, probably after 1395, when her father died in the Battle of Rovine.[39] He considered that Helena sent a gift to the monastery dedicated to John the Theologian in Poganovo in memory of her father with whom she built it.

32 G. Babić, Sur l'icône de Poganovo et la vasilissa Hélène, in: *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays Balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XVIe siècle*, ed. D. Davidov, Belgrade 1987, 57-65, 62-65.

33 Rev. 10:9.

34 Г. Суботић, *Икона василисе Јелене*, 25.

35 T. Gerasimov, L'icône bilatérale de Poganovo au Musée archéologique de Sofia, *Cahiers archéologiques 10* (1959), 279-288, 284; B. Pentcheva, Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo, 141.

36 Helen Dragaš was the daughter of the Serbian ruler of the southern regions Constantine Dragaš and wife of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425). She became his wife around 1392. И. Ђурић, *Сумрак Византије. Време Јована VIII Палеолога (1392-1448)*, Belgrade 2007, 66-70.

37 T. Gerasimov, L'icone bilatérale de Poganovo, 284.

38 И. Ђурић, *Сумрак Византије*, 69-70; С. Мишић, *Историјска географија српских земаља, од половине 6. до половине 16. века*, Belgrade 2014, 48.

39 С. Мишић, *Историјска географија српских земаља*, 48.

Gordana Babić offered a different hypothesis about the patron's identity. She argued that the title *basillisa* used in the inscription could not refer to a Constantinopolitan empress. This title was applied for the wife of a despot. She came to this conclusion based on the inscriptions in documents and frescoes.[40] Babić's work opened a new line of interpretations of the icon's patron. Based on the facts she mentioned, we can conclude that the patron of the icon was *basillisa*, wife of a despot and not the Byzantine Empress Helena Dragaš Palaiologina. According to the iconography, Babić argued that the patron of the icon was Helena Mrnjavčević, a daughter of the Serbian ruler of Drama, Caesar Vojihna, and wife of John Uglješa, Serbian ruler of Serres, who was a brother of Vukašin Mrnjavčević.[41] Helena had the title *basilissa* because she was a wife of a despot. According to the complex iconography of the icon, Babić drew the most logical conclusion. The composition of the Miracle of Latomos was depicted for the first time in Serbian art in the icon from Poganovo. According to this fact, Babić concluded that the patron of the icon could only be an educated and talented basilissa from Serres, Helena Mrnjavčević.[42]

On the reverse side of the icon are depicted Virgin Kataphyge and John the Theologian. The Virgin stands on the left side, dressed in a blue maphorion. Her head is lowered, and she is in deep sorrow. She is depicted similarly to the composition of the Crucifixion. Next to her head is the inscription printed in red, *Kataphyge*. This was the first use of that epithet in Serbian art. The whole story of the Miracle of Latomos began in Thessaloniki where the cult of the Virgin Kataphyge was extremely developed. The monastery dedicated to the Virgin Kataphyge is closely linked to the torturing of St. Demetrius who is patron of the city.[43] St. Demetrius lived in Thessaloniki during the reign of Emperor Maximian. He was secretly preaching Christianity in the underground galleries of the church of the Virgin Kataphyge. During one of his sermons, Maximian's soldiers broke into the church and arrested him. They took him to the Emperor who was at the Hippodrome in the center of town. There he was firstly tortured and then executed. The Church of the Virgin Kataphyge has an important role in the liturgical feast in the evening before the feast day of St. Demetrius on the 26th of October.[44]

40 G. Babić, Sur l'icône de Poganovo, 58-60.

41 Ibid., 61-62.

42 Ibid., 65.

43 A. Kazhdan and Nancy P. Ševčenko, Demetrios of Thessalonike, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. 1, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al., London 1991, 605-606, 605.

44 Ibid.

The epithet *Kataphyge* is closely linked with the life of the patron of the icon. Helena Mrnjavčević had a tragic destiny. Helena had a son, Uglješa Despotović. He died at a very young age.[45] His mother identified her grief with Virgin's grief for Christ. Through the Virgin, Helena was searching for refuge, *kataphyge* in this life. Soon after the death of her son she lost her husband. He was killed at the Battle of Černomen in the valley of the Maritsa River in 1371.[46] After the defeat of the Serbian army, the Byzantine despot Manuel II, the future Byzantine Emperor entered Serres, and Helen lost her home.[47] Then she moved to Thessaloniki. Finally, she went to the court of Prince Lazar in Kruševac, and lived under his protection for several years. But her peace didn't last for long. Prince Lazar was killed at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.[48]After that, Helena took the monastic vows becoming nun Euphemia, and she was initially settled in Županja monastery. Later she moved to Ljubostinja monastery. Helena found refuge at the court of Prince Lazar, just as the Virgin, according to the apocryphal sources, found refuge in John's house after Christ's death.

Next to the Virgin, John the Evangelist is depicted. The written inscription next to his head is John the *Theologian*. He is depicted as an elderly man, with a bald head and grey beard, dressed in chiton. With his right hand he gestures to the other side of the icon. This iconographic type is connected with John's vision in Patmos. He is depicted as an Old Testament prophet, and the author of the Revelation, at the same time. The Battle of the Maritsa River took place on the 26th of September. On this day the church celebrates the Metastasis of John the Theologian.[49] John Uglješa shares the name of the patron saint, John the Theologian, and he died on the saint's day. Through this icon, Helena was praying for salvation of her husband's soul. After she left Serres, she moved to Thessaloniki, where she probably attended the procession on the day of St. Demetrius and heard the story of the Miracle of Latomos.

This icon has eschatological character, since Helena was praying Christ for protection through the Virgin and John. The composition of the Miracle of Latomos expands the legend of the healing power of the place where

45 M. Vassilaki, Female Piety, Devotion and Petronage: Maria Angelina Doukania Palailogina of Ioannina and Helena Uglješa of Serres, in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg (13-15 mars 2008)*, eds. J. M. Spieser and É. Yota, Paris 2012, 221-234, 222.

46 С. Мишић, *Историјска географија српских земаља*, 42.

47 Ibid., 45.

48 Ibid., 47.

49 J. Irmscher, A. Kazdhan and A. W. Carr, John in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. 2, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al., London 1991, 1043.

it happened, and it could be interpreted as a wish of the patron to find peace and refuge after personal tragedy. The Second Coming of Christ represents salvation for her. During the Resurrection of the dead she will be reunited with her husband and son. According to all the facts that we presented, we consider that the icon was commissioned as a votive gift for the commemoration of the patron. Patron Helena Mrnjavčević ordered this icon for the Salvation of herself and her loved ones.

Fig. 1: The Miracle of Latomos, Hosios David, Thessaloniki, 5-6th century

Fig. 2: The Prophet Habakkuk, detail from the Miracle of Latomos, Hosios David, Thessaloniki, 5-6 century

Fig. 3: The Vision of the prophet Ezekiel, ossuary, Bachkovo, 12th century

Fig. 4: The Miracle of Latomos, upper part of the ossuary, Bachkovo, 12th century

Fig. 5: The Miracle of Latomos, Icon form Poganovo, Archeological Museum, Sophia, 14th century

Fig. 6: The Virgin Kataphyge and John the Theologian, Icon from Poganovo, Archeological Museum, Sophia, 14th century

Branka Vranešević

Aniconism on Early Christian Floor Mosaics in the Mediterranean

Abstract

Non-figural, aniconic, motifs are an essential and communicative part of early Christian floor mosaics that have experienced serious devolution in the past decade. Until recently scholars have considered them decorative without giving any further consideration to their possible meaning and function. But in recent years this approach has been reevaluated and therefore changed our understanding of both floor mosaics and aniconism. As a result, they have been placed in the broader map of early Christian art, culture and religion and are no longer considered a pure decoration. This paper discusses the power and meaning of aniconic motifs (such as the cross, circle, Solomon's knot, quatrefoils, interlace, meander, etc.) on early Christian floor mosaics in the Mediterranean. It proposes that aniconic motifs could be observed as symbols, which are deeply imbued with magical agency and as a denotation of divine presence without figural image.

Key words: *aniconism, early Christianity, floor mosaics, ornaments, symbols, apotropaic*

The most recent events that include migrations, refugees, civil wars, revolutions, just to name some, have transformed our world, especially the Mediterranean, into a defragmented and chaotic place to live. Events like these have occurred in the past and from the European perspective the Roman *mare nostrum* is seen as a place of exchange and mobility, but also as a zone of long-lasting conflict, if we consider major conquests and expansions that consequently led to the development of contemporary demographic and socio-cultural stratification. The divisions, especially the spatial ones, encouraged new research approaches of an area that has been, until recently, marginalized and that, among others, include the analysis of migrations in the early Christian period through aniconic motifs on floor mosaics.[1]

1 From an art historian point of view aniconic motifs are constantly changing due to social and cultural transformations (as a sign of foreign influence or perhaps an artistic moment desiring a change is in question). It is, as J. Trilling points out, "a historical process in which everyone participates", J. Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*, Seattle 2003, 47. Then he adds "The more complex and cosmopolitan the society, the more strands of network of traditions is likely to have (…)", ibid., 49.

The Mediterranean, as we know it, is defined by its geography, the sea which is its central reference point, including shores, islands and straits that both connected and divided the space into regions and cities. Our perception of this area is defined by the legacies of earlier divisions, which continue to frame our research along the borders of culture, language, art, etc. Therefore, we need to elaborate the production and reproduction of 'borders' in and around the Mediterranean with a constant reminder that artistic, as well as historical and archaeological approaches are still largely unknown, unrecognized and unrelated within this space. But by investigating the imagery and the beliefs of the people living within those borders (their fears, desires, hopes and dreams) we can learn about the dynamics of migrations. In this paper we intend to pursue the depth and meaning of one of the aspects and different stages that are a result of movements and migrations of people and their ideas, through space and time. With the analysis of aniconic motifs on floor mosaics in early Christianity, as symbols which are, as we believe, imbued with magical agency and a denotation of divine presence, we intend to consider the role of individuals and groups and gain insight into their daily practices and experiences, their beliefs, fears, prayers and hopes through imagery. They can provide trajectories that might give us insight into the communication networks, organizations, places of production, etc.

Aniconism[2] in ancient and early Christian art marks the existence of the divine presence through the use of non-figurative or aniconic images, and as such has long been observed by former researchers in particular as an echo of the primitive[3], primarily Greek, heritage.[4] In other words,

2 M. Gaifman, *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity. Oxford studies in ancient culture and representation*, Oxford 2012; ead., Aniconism and the Idea of the Primitive in Graeco-Roman Thought and Practice, in: *Divine Images and Human Imagination in Greece and Rome*, ed. J. Mylonopoloulos, Leiden 2010, 63-86; H. Maguire, Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1994), 265-274; O. Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament,* Princeton 1992; E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, Ithaca 1979; R. E. Kolarik, *The Floor Mosaics of Eastern Illyricum*, *Hellēnika* 26 (1980), 173-203, esp. 180; M. M. Epstein, Jewish Visuality: Myths of Aniconism and realities in Creativity, *Conversations* 11 (2011), 43-51, https://www.academia.edu/2440536/Jewish_Visuality_Myths_of_Aniconism_and_Realities_of_Creativity.

3 The word 'primitive' can be understood in two ways. On one hand, it can mean a positive change on which time had no influence, or in the other it may be viewed negatively, as something completely backwards (barbaric) and therefore qualitatively worse than 'advanced' representative strategies. Supporters of the negative interpretations aniconism belong to the circle of Winckelmann, considering it inferior to a much more civilized figural art, precisely because it does not contain natural forms, see. M. Gaifman, Aniconism and the Idea, 63-86; id., *Anicomism in Greek Antiquity*, passim; H. Maguire, *Magic and Geometry,* 265-274; O. Grabar, *The Mediation of Oranament,* passim; E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order*.

4 It should be noted that the earliest Greeks worshiped 'symbols' that have marked and acknowledged the divine presence. It was only later that they turned to respect stones above all or baetylia (which is oriental in origin), but then gave way to such aniconic figural representations of deities, which

aniconism was 'condemned' as a form of art that belonged to the early stages of development of art *per se* and as a type of performance that is not affected by the forces of rationalization and cultural progress. Aniconism was used as a method of understanding the Greeks and their religious customs and ideas, and was practiced as a counterweight to figural art. An attempt to elucidate the nature of ornaments and geometric objects, with consideration of the profound transformation in its significance, proved to be difficult. But using historical backgrounds permeated with philosophy, theology and literature, weaving across visual arts we could grasp the true meaning and mediation of ornaments. Namely, ornaments are understood as the order, which reveals 'the justice and harmony of the cosmos'[5] with the focus on the relation between the artwork and a beholder. It is more than just pure aesthetics or decoration, as we look within the broader map of both the Greek and Christian world.[6] This point in Greek philosophy and consequently in art had a huge influence on early Christian understanding of the world later represented on floor mosaics, as we shall return to this subject later in this paper.

It is important to note that within Greek philosophical ideas we came to realize that divinity resides inside the monument in the form of aniconic objects. Also, the space where an aniconic monument resides, usually a pillar or a stone, is connected to a certain divinity implying at the same time that it is the only place where worship can be carried out and where divine presence is permanent.[7] Herodotus informs us that the Greeks

will have its peak in anthropomorphic representations of the classical period of Greek art. Studies of prof. Mettinger indicate that aniconic performances of Greek art are actually heritage of the Middle Eastern culture, reflected in sanctuaries in the open air and whose iconic symbolism consists of stones, sacred trees and shrines. These iconic symbols are neither anthropomorphic nor zoomorphic but are recognizable as conventional labels of the sacred space, and the presence of holiness through the sacrifices, praying and others, see T. N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image?: Israelite Aniconism and its Ancient Near Eastern Context*, Stockholm 1995.; id., The Absence of Images: the problem of the aniconic at gades and its religio-historical background, *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 21 (2004), 89-100; M. Gaifman, *Aniconism and the Idea,* 63-86; *Word and Image in Ancient Greece*, eds. N. K. Rutter and B. A. Sparkes, Edinburgh 2000.

5 C. L. Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance,* Leiden 2015, 3.

6 E. M. Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe, 1470-1540,* New Haven 2012, esp. 4-5, 50-113, 199-229. He writes about late Gothic ornament as 'pictures of geometry (…) which encourages the viewer to discover the underlying system of proportions (…) and restore a sense of order', ibid., 56-58. Cf. O. Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament,* 154, where he states that ornament is the embodiment of geometry.

7 Modern scholars tend to interpret and perceive the art of aniconism of stones, columns and wood as a continuum of ancient traditions that preceded the worship of figural imageries. Pausanias wrote about aniconic art using the term 'argoi lithoi' as he called the 'raw' (unprocessed) stone which was worshiped, making a difference between 'agalma' (statue) and 'argoi lithoi' (unprocessed stone), see. F. Hartog, *Mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writings of Herodotus*, Berkeley 1988.

learned from the Egyptians, thanks to close trade links, about the anthropomorphic representations of deities.[8] By the second century AD Clement of Alexandria in the first part of his famous trilogy *Warning Gentiles* (4, 40), in a very demeaning sense, indicates that the worship of aniconic objects is a sign of primitive.[9] But, regardless of the concept of the Greco-Roman tradition, anti-pagan culture of the early Christians shaped our modern perception of this phenomenon. Aniconic art essentially encompasses all forms and phenomena in art and religion concerning the worship of non-figurative subjects (such as stones), symbols[10] (cross, Solomon's knot, quatrefoils, circles and others), empty space, calligraphy, geometric ornaments or any kind of absence of figural representations, which is today still present in Islamic and Jewish cultures.[11] All these types of aniconism are not always consistent nor can all be used in order to explain and understand ancient art or the antique perception of this phenomenon. But we are led to believe that aniconism is here so as to stand in opposition to figural, anthropomorphic art. Geometry and ornaments as forms of aniconic art continued to live in this period and had an extremely important role in setting and designing a scene for visual representations. Actually, geometry has developed into a separate, independent, field of study because, as the Greeks believed, its sovereignty (which was not only the subject of philosophical discourse) was created by the existence of a particular matter, the Soul, which produced its ideas and forms.[12] It became a part of the overall corpus of aniconic floor mosaics, which is most prevalent in early Christian art. Geometric shapes gained importance *in rebus divinis*.

8 Ibid.

9 R. Grigg, Aniconic Worship and the Apologetic Tradition: A Note on Canon 36 of the Council of Elvira, *Church History* 45/4 (1976), 428-433, esp. p. 428; Origen, *Contra Celsum,* ed. H. Chadwick, Cambridge 1953, 4.31; 7.64; Tertullian, *De idololatria,* ed. S. Thelwall, Createspace Independent Publishing Platform 2015, 4. See also L. Nasrallah, The Earthen Human, the Breathing Statue: The Sculptor-God, Graeco-Roman Statutary, and Clement of Alexandria, in: *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise [Genesis 2-3] and Its Reception History*, eds. K. Schmid and C. Riedweg, Tübingen 2008, 126-133; *The Ancient Mysteries*, ed. M. W. Meyer, Philadelphia 1999, 209-210, 243-254; E. Bevan, *Holy Images,* London 1940, 88.

10 The Greek noun 'symbolon' is derived from the verb 'symballein' meaning 'to throw together, bring together, put together' also 'to collect' and 'to compare', see. G. Ladner, Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: a Comparison, *Speculum* 54/2 (1979), 223. Here symbol as a term indicates a highly spiritual and mystical sign described in the work of Dionsysius the Areopagite 'On the Heavenly Hierarchy', see. Ibid, 224.

11 R. S. Hendel, Aniconism and Anthropomorphism in Ancient Israel, in: *The Image and the Book. Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of the Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. K. Van der Toorn, Lueven 1997, 205-228; T. N. D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image?*, passim.; id., *The Absence of Images,* 89-100.

12 E. A. Zaitsev, The Meaning of Early Medieval Geometry: From Euclid and Surveyors' Manuals to Christian Philosophy, *Isis* 90/3 (1999), 523.

By adopting pagan, polytheistic ideas, Christianity, with the use of different images, media and in different contexts, showed the diversity and high quality of work, which has survived throughout the Mediterranean. In order to promote Christian faith and dogma through the 'intelligible language' of a believer, Christians appropriated and reinterpreted pagan tradition. Church fathers, philosophers, theologians and writers had a major role in this process. The ecclesiastical tradition of exalting geometry, as a mean of cognition i.e. comprehension, is described in numerous exegetes such as Origen, Augustine, Boethius, Cassiodorus and others. They used geometry and metaphysics to shape the act of creation (especially if we consider that the word *γεω-μετρεω* in Greek means 'measuring of the world'). Since the act of creation is described in Hexameron[13] in the 1st century AD another kind of exegesis revives and it includes the presentation of artistic creation through geometry, but in the late Middle Ages by way of an example in the miniatures, God as the architect of the world is literally presented with calipers and a compass in His hands.[14] This understanding of God as the architect of the cosmos is found in Scripture, Proverbs (8: 27-29): "*I was there when he set the heavens in place, when he marked out the horizon on the face of the deep*."[15] By using calipers God creates the most perfect shape - a circle which in early Christianity has also an allegorical meaning because it contains all the other geometric shapes, and accordingly the cosmos (*orbis terrarum*). Here the world is ornament, in the 'sense of everything'.[16] Aniconic motifs or ornaments in Greek and early Christian understanding represent 'universal ordering' that is 'the created world as an exemplar of ornament and paradigm for works of artifice'.[17]

Subsequently aniconic objects or patterns enter into a concept of meaning, an idea that occupied the thoughts and papers of modern scholars. Here we must note that ornaments are and should be seen as motifs (patterns) but they also carry cosmological meaning that goes further to the act of creation as Plato writes in Timaeus 28b "*the fairest of all that has become*". By creating

13 C. L. Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament,* 41.; F. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature,* Chicago 1912.

14 Bible moralisée. God the Father measures the world, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fol.1r, in: *Romanesque. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. R. Toman, Cologne 1997, 448.

15 E. A. Zaitsev, *The Meaning of Early Medieval Geometry,* 536, 540.

16 C. L. Guest, *The Understanding of Ornamen,* 39.

17 Ibid*,* 12, esp. 43-44. Here through the hexaemeral tradition the ornament of the world fills it with living creatures; and stars are associated with ornaments as Plato calls them embroidered ornament (*kosmon pepoikilimenon*). Basil personifies the earth as the 'universal mother' when speaking of the ornament of vegetal life.

rhythm (rhythmically repeated cycle[18]) and using symmetry the 'power' of ornament increases.[19] Geometric patterns that are repeated are believed to have a magical function, in terms of apotropaic, protective, especially when they are found on early Christian floor mosaics, textiles and objects of everyday use.[20] In other words, geometrical patterns have a magical function in the apotropaic sense of the word.[21] As Oleg Grabar in his study of Islamic ornament 'The Mediation of Ornament' discusses Plato's description of Eros as *daimon* or a figure for mediation of ornament. Eros, or putto, is an activating force "who links ornament in speech as a means of manipulation with love and magic".[22] Therefore, magic and ornaments have the same purpose in procuring advantages by magical means concerning the universal order. What remains as an open issue, around which in the early Christian period a heated debate developed, relates to the determination of which symbols, motifs or ornaments carry magical powers. Of course, providing an answer is impossible due to the fact that numerous archaeological sites demonstrate the existence and use of different amulets, apotropaic symbols, and papyrus with witchcrafts.[23] It is our belief that geometrical motifs such as a circle, cross, Solomon's knot, quatrefoils and others, that are dominant on most early Christian monuments, are considered to have evolved from a "magical and mythological awareness of human development" in the drawings of abstract and geometric forms, which were later expressed in anthropomorphic forms.[24] Therefore, we tend to believe that magical significance of these ornaments contains important meaning in the art of the Christian world.[25] Here we must note that magic and magical symbols have a lot to do with Slavic culture that contributed much to the meaning and dissemination of

18 C. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology,* New York 1960, 188.

19 J. Erdeljan, B. Vranesevic, Eikōn and Magic. Solomon's knot on the Floor Mosaic in Herakleia Lynkestis, *IKON 9* (2016), 99-108. With the most recent researches we associate repetition with mechanical process but in reality it increases the power of a symbol depicted.

20 H. Maguire, *Magic and geometry,* 265-274; id., *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A. D. 843-1261*, eds. H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, New York 1997, 290; *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. Maguire, Washington, D. C. 1995.

21 H. Maguire, *Magic and geometry,* 265; id., *Byzantine Magic,* passim; W. R. Caraher, *Church, Society, and the Sacred in Early Christian Greece*, Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University 2003, 158, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/!etd.send_file%3Faccession%3Dosu1057071172%26disposition%3Dinline

22 C. L. Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament,* 55.

23 J. Kirsten Smith, *Visual Strategies in the Greek Magical Papyri: The Productive Integration of Image and Text*, 2000, https://www.academia.edu/7051973/Visual_Strategies_in_the_Greek_Magical_Papyri_The_Productive_Integration_of_Image_and_Text

24 Д. Миловановић, Орнаментална перцепција света, in: *Освежавање меморије,* ed. id., Belgrade 2013, 15-16.

25 H. Maguire, *Magic and geometry,* 265-274; id., *The Glory of Byzantium,* 290.

talismans and magical texts in the Byzantine world, and they are to this day left unexamined.[26]

Through word-image order ornament is conceived and appears in art through large geometric (aniconic) carpets, which spread from the eastern Mediterranean to the area of present-day Greece, and then to the Balkans. This primarily refers to the churches in Epidaurus, Daphnousion, Pisidian in Antioch, only to find their place on almost every floor mosaics in large centers such as Stobi, Herakleia Lynkestis, Caričin Grad, Philipy, Philipopolis, Sandansky, Amphipolis, etc. If we take as an example geometric ornaments on floor mosaic of the palace in Apamea in Syria (fig. 1) we can see the sun disc of eight rays in the middle of the floor. This motif can also be found in the papyri, magical amulets or jewelry, jewelry boxes, etc. Then the motif of concentric circles, as we can see on the floor mosaic in Beit Méry (fig. 2), is also very common on mirrors, with the function of warding off evil.[27] Another symbol that appears on this mosaic is Solomon's knot, represented twice in a squared form.[28] This motif framed by concentric rings can be found in Herakleia Lynkestis (fig. 3) where, as demonstrated, carries apotropaic meaning[29] and the church at Shuneh Nimrin in Jordan where Solomom's knot is followed by the inscription 'God with us'.[30] Other examples include northern transept of the basilica D and G in Nea Anchialos, in Epidaurus, in Theotokou in Thessaly (placed at the entrance to the nave with a starry disc and a tree, and in the center a peacock), Episcopal basilica and baptistery in Philipopolis, just to name some.[31] The cross is one of the most common motifs like in the Basilica with transept in Caričin Grad (fig. 4) or in Episcopal basilica in Stobi (fig. 5), than quatrefoil, interlace, etc. Numerous aniconic pagan symbols of the time served in the defense against evil forces and can be seen on amulets, papyri, as well as

26 H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, 155-178.

27 H. Maguire, *Magic and geometry,* 267.

28 E. Kitzinger, The Threshold of the Holy Shrine: Observations on Floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem, in: *Kyriakon, Festschrift Johannes Quasten II,* eds. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungman, Münster 1970, 639-647, esp. 641-642.

29 J. Erdeljan, B. Vranesevic, Eikōn and Magic, passim; H. Maguire, *Magic and Geometry,* 268; G. Cvetković-Tomašević, Mosaïques Paléochétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis, in: *La mosaïques gréco-romaine,* II, Paris 1975, 385-99, figs, 183-192

30 M. Piccirillo, A Church at Shuneh Nimrin, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 26 (1982), 335-342; id., *I mosaici di Giordania*, Rome 1986, 94.; H. Maguire, *Magic and geometry,* 268.

31 H. Maguire, Profane Icons: The Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art, *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (2000), 25; Е. Кесякова, Мозай от епископската базилика на Филипопол, in: *Изследвания в чест на Стефан Бояджиев*, ed. S. Stanev et al., Sofia 2011, 173-210, esp. 196.; W. R. Caraher, *Church, Society, and the Sacred,* 158.; Г. Цветковић-Томашевић, *Рановизантијски подни мозаици. Дарданија – Македонија - Нови Епир,* Belgrade 1978.

objects of everyday use. Mostly they can be traced at the entrances, thresholds, city walls, etc.[32] If we rely on the meaning of the sacred (religious) symbols, as explained by M. Eliade, we will see that he supported the idea that each symbol has multiple meanings, especially when pointing out that many scholars have tried to explain *coincidentia oppositorum*.[33]

We can conclude that with the rise of Christianity numerous pagan motifs were incorporated on church floor mosaics. What has changed is the conception of perceiving aniconic objects, geometrical patterns and ornaments that goes beyond their aesthetic and artificial display. Crosses, squares, circles, and other motifs had a role not just to sustain figural images but also, as recent finds show, protect beholders and catechumeneons. They become the manifestation of one's desires and hopes, a medium between forces of good and evil. We have to add that our understanding of ornaments and their meaning has yet to be discovered with the analysis of Christian writings and preserved material culture. We hope that, in the future, we will provide answers and change our perspective of early Christian art as a whole. But, absolute confirmation and definition of aniconic motifs, at this point, is rarely possible as their meanings are transitory and change within different cultures.

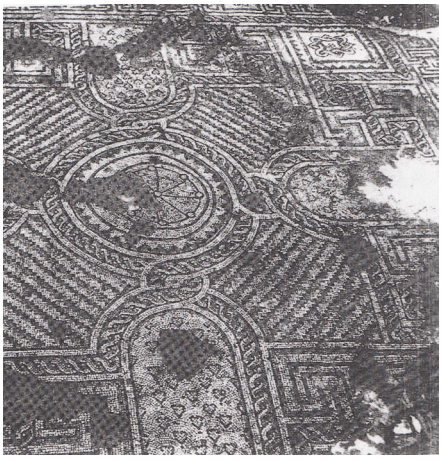

Fig. 1: Floor mosaic with a sun disc in its center, Apamea, Syria (from Maguire, 1994, fig. 3)

32 Д. Миловановић, *Орнаментална перцепција света*, 24; С. Јаблан, Љ. Радовић, Класификација орнамената, in: *Освежавање меморије*, ed. Д. Миловановић, Belgrade 2013, 73; С. Мартиновић, Орнамент измештен из времена и простора, in: *Освежавање меморије*, 45-68; *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Cain and N. Lenski, Aldershot 2009, 237-248.

33 M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism*, New York 1961, 39.

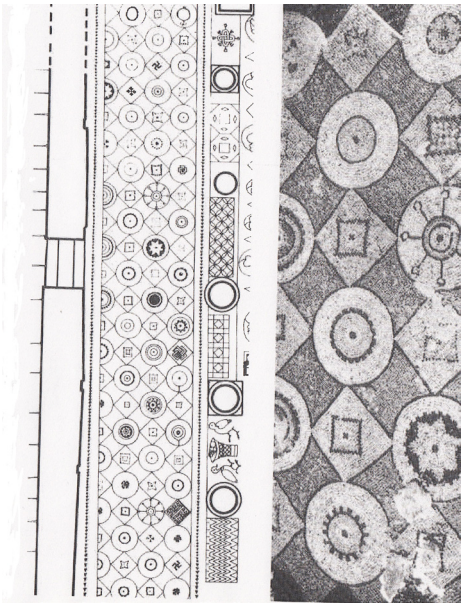

Fig. 2: Floor mosaic with an eight-rayed star, Beit Méry, Lebanon (from Maguire, 1994, fig. 2)

Fig 3: Floor mosaic with Solomon's knot from the catehumeneon of the Large Basilica, Herakleia Lynkestis, FYR Macedonia (Wikimedia Commons)

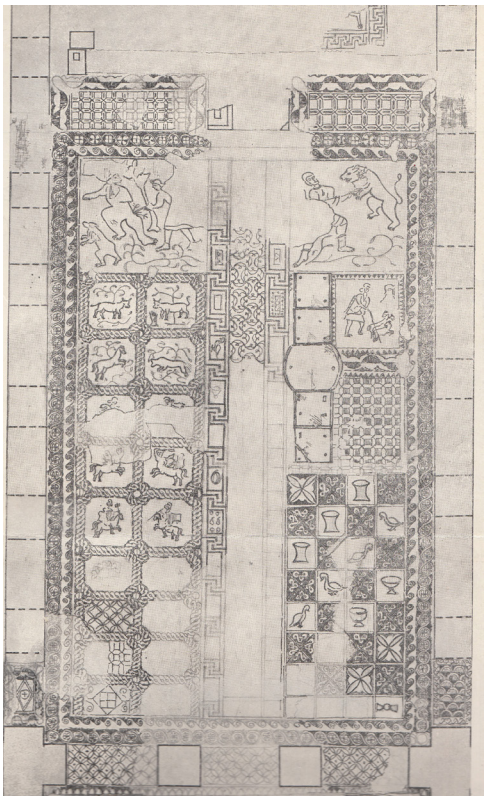

Fig 4: Basilica with transept, Caricin Grad, Serbia (from Мано-Зиси, 1952-1953)

Fig 5: Episcopal basilica, Stobi, FYR Macedonia (Wikimedia Commons)

Summaries

Jelena Anđelković Grašar

Imaging the Feminine during the Migration Period on the Territory of the Central Balkans: Transferring Ideas and Ideals

Summary

Being at the crossroads between Eastern and Western parts of the Roman Empire, the Central Balkans was under various influences and visual culture testifies to historical background as well as religious transformations of the time shortly before and during the Migration Period. Due to these circumstances the lives of ordinary people changed altogether with their experiences that were based upon the strong Roman heritage.

Images of women from this region indicate these migration processes and their impacts on the comprehension of feminine ideas and ideals of beauty, marriage, maternity, etc. During the 3rd century, migrations of people from Eastern origin affected the female ideas of fashion and self representation that can be noticeable owing to the material culture, namely grave goods and images that are specific for both, motifs represented within fresco painted tombs and their painting style. Expensive textiles with golden embroidery and wealth jewellery had pointed toward the ideal of Roman matron and the importance of status symbols. Ideas and ideals of beautification were important for pagan and Christian women, although the Christian church propagated modesty as the most important virtue. Cosmetic containers still were present within the funerary goods or painted motifs suggesting a lady's most intimate part of life – toilette, which was based upon the idea of the goddess Venus's toilette. This idea of beautification and preparation of a woman for her husband pointed to another ideal in a woman's life – marriage. This step in a woman's life initiated her biologically predestinated role of mother. The Ideal of maternity was ever present and within the concept of Christian religion it coincided with the two most important maternal ideals: the Theotokos and Constantine's mother Helena. Thus a woman was depicted within the family portraits, sometimes according to the standardised Roman model of matron or within the schematically rendered drawings in which the massage was primary and her figure recognisable only by a few indications that suggest her gender.

On cameos or objects of everyday use, images of women were represented according to the idealised image of an empress. During the 4th century these two types of images were very similar and it would be hard to distinguish whether the depiction is of some ordinary, noble woman or an empress. Later, when images of empresses became standardised, images of ordinary women were adapted to the

new ideal of representation. They are characterised with schematism, spirituality and details that contribute to the gender differentiation.

Finally, the process of acculturation of barbaric tribes with Roman society during the Migration Period led toward the new transferring of ideas and ideals of beauty, fashion and status symbols. Women from the highest social class of German origin took over Roman way of clothing and jewellery fashion, aiming to represent themselves as equal to the Roman aristocracy.

Jakov Đorđević

Macabre Goes East: A Peculiar Verse among Funerary Inscriptions of the Orthodox Christians in the Late Medieval Balkans

Summary

This paper discusses the inclusion of the characteristic verses from the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead on the funerary inscriptions of the Orthodox Christians in the Late Middle Ages, as well as the apparent absence of the appropriate macabre imagery. The main focus represents the tomb of Ostoja Rajaković in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid. By the iconological analysis of specific representations such as the worm that never sleeps in Dečani monastery, the miniature of the trapped soul in Codex Dionysiou 65 and the one of ascetic penance in Vat. gr. 394, as well as the devouring scene in the chapel of St. George which belongs to Chilandar monastery, it is argued that Byzantine visual culture had its own way of expressing bodily decomposition. However, while the words from the Legend were employed like a cry for help that would have encouraged prayer for the deceased, as in the West, the appropriate representations would have been highly undesirable in the context of funerary monuments because, placed in arcosolia above the tombs, they would have borne negative implication for the fate of the deceased in the afterlife. It is also argued that general hostility toward the western macabre imagery, depictions of explicit bodily decay, in the East was based on the rejection of purgatory, which was actually implied by those very images.

Olga M. Hajduk

From Italy do Poland – Case Study of Santi Gucci Fiorentino

Summary

Santi della Camilla Renaissance architect and sculptor from Florence, known in Poland as Santi Gucci is one of the most important artist in the second half of sixteen centuries in Poland. Florence and Rome dominated in Renaissance Italy, with significant clustering because of the artists' birthplaces and domestic migration. Many artists from Italy migrate at this time also to the north, an example is Santi Gucci. This artist was active at the royal court, and the circle of the nobles and apparently made most importantly sculptural and architectural projects at this time. He left behind tremendous legacy in the form of a workshop and the disciples and very numerous works. In the study of his oeuvre are crossing each alike issues related to Florence origins of his work and education. In this article, the author will present the works of Santi Gucci as an example of the impact of the works of Florentine renaissance artists on his activities.

Martin de la Iglesia

Japanese Art in the Contact Zone: Between Orientalism and 'Japansplaining'

Summary

Whenever migrations of works of art and other artifacts become the subjects of scholarly analysis, those that originate in one culture and end up within a different culture are the ones that generate the most interest. Scholars who study such cross-cultural migrations operate within a methodological paradigm that has been shaped by theories such as Fernando Ortiz's transculturation and, building upon it, Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone.

These theories suggest that artifact-based communication between different cultures – including the reception of works of art – often takes place „in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt). Such contexts have been strikingly examined by postcolonial studies, which identify these relations between colonising and colonised cultures, First and Third World countries, etc. Most famously, Edward Said located such a relation between Occident and Orient. The Orient, however, is where we find an example (though probably not the only one) that at first glance does not quite fit this paradigm.

After WWII, Japan has come to be economically and politically at eye level with its former enemy nations. Therefore, one cannot say that the Western reception of Japanese artworks takes place within an actual context of an asymmetrical power relation. Yet, European and American audiences often approach Japanese art from a position of perceived superiority. Overt and subtle traces of this attitude can be detected in reviews and other texts on Japanese artworks ranging from the films of Akira Kurosawa to the photographs of Nobuyoshi Araki.

The phenomenon of 'Japansplaining', i.e. attempting to explain Japanese culture (often in order to help make sense of Japanese works of art), is a characteristic rhetorical device in this discourse and, at any rate, an indicator of the perceived foreignness of Japanese art. This paper seeks to discuss this and the other aforementioned concepts related to the idea of the contact zone, and on that basis to critically examine the theoretical and methodological foundations underlying the study of cross-cultural migrations in visual culture.

Ivana Lemcool

The Zodiac in Early Medieval Art: Migration of a Classical Motif Through Time and Space

Summary

Images of the Zodiac signs were not always prevalent and recognizable to most viewers as they are today. From the time their iconography was standardized, in the first centuries of the Common Era, to the present day, their appearance has remained mostly unchanged. During that long time span, a period existed, more than four centuries long, in which we do not find any evidence of zodiacal imagery being produced in the European West. Whilst images of the Zodiac were ubiquitous in the visual culture of the Roman world, present in different spheres of life and visible in many regions of the Empire, after the fall of its Western part, these images were not encountered in the artistic production until the beginning of the 9th century. Along with the general decline of Classical culture in Western Europe, into which Zodiac was strongly embedded, other reasons that might account for this lacuna can be surmised. Because of its strong pagan connotations, and its imperial, magical, and astrological associations, Zodiac could not have been considered an appropriate motif for visually expressing Christian cosmological and eschatological ideas. Yet, in the later part of the Early Middle Ages, images of the Zodiac emerge in visual cultures of two Christian societies-Byzantine and Carolingian, chronologically not distant from one another. Earliest renditions of the Zodiac signs in Western medieval art seem very crude in their execution and at times deviate from standard iconographical forms. Their Byzantine counterparts, on the other end, exude familiarity with Classical prototypes. All of these examples are found in manuscripts with astronomical and cosmological content. Elements of astrological theories could often be found in these texts or they could have been used for making horoscopic calculations and predictions. In the West, some of these disciplines were only beginning to be rediscovered through antique and late antique texts that were being copied in monastic scriptoria in the Frankish lands as a part of an organized effort instigated by Charlemagne's educational reforms. In the Eastern Roman Empire, the knowledge and practice of most liberal arts was uninterrupted. Classical texts, some of which were forgotten or unknown in the West, were preserved and copied in Byzantium and thus saved for posterity. Despite of that, the role of Byzantium in transmission of Classical tradition is largely ignored or minimized in modern historiography. Its impact on the translation and dissemination of visual imagery from Classical art is similarly neglected. In Constantinople and

other parts of the Empire, ancient monuments with representations of the Zodiac signs could be seen; some of them survive to this day and of others we learn from written sources. There is a strong possibility that the Zodiac was not deemed inappropriate for depicting in secular art of the Early Byzantine period; it was also represented in the art of other religions produced on the territories under Byzantine dominion, as exemplified by mosaics on the floors of Palestinian synagogues from the 5th and 6th centuries. Although ancient monuments with Zodiac images could be seen all throughout the lands formerly under the Roman rule, the signs could not be recognized for what they were if the spectators were not familiar with their meaning. Also, minute iconographic details could hardly be observed on a large scale stone sculpture, for example. To that purpose, books could serve as a more suitable medium. With the proliferation of Aratea manuscripts in the Latin West, improvements in representation of the signs can soon be observed in Carolingian art. Zodiac signs begin to be represented in religious art in the West much sooner than in the Byzantine Empire. Whilst earliest surviving examples of the Zodiac in Byzantine ecclesiastical art date from the first quarter of the 12th century, images of this motif were present in decoration of sacred books and objects produced in Western Europe already in the second half of the 9th century. Also, the Zodiac was much more prevalent in Western art of the High and Late Middle Ages than in any period of Byzantine and post-Byzantine art. It was represented in various media throughout the Middle Ages, yet during the Carolingian period, it is mostly in books that we find depictions of the Zodiac. Great number of manuscripts containing texts dealing with celestial matters, in which we predominantly find Zodiac images, testify of the great attention given to these subjects during the 9th century. Interest in celestial objects and phenomena and calculations regarding their movements and appearances is evidenced for several members of the Carolingian dynasty. They promoted and supported the study of astral sciences for the purpose of advancing computus and general knowledge of the heavens, but also, quite probably, for gaining insight into future events. It has been established that many prognostical texts were translated from Greek and some of them retained Greek words in their original form. Astrological and astronomical knowledge was also transmitted to the West by people who relocated from Byzantium, as has been determined in the case of Alexander of Tralles and Theodore of Tarsus. Diplomatic contact between Byzantine and Frankish states was very lively at the time the Zodiac motif came to be represented in their respective visual cultures. Books were sent as diplomatic gifts and there is a possibility that manuscripts containing astronomical data or zodiacal imagery were to be found among them. For all the above-mentioned reasons, it is

necessary to consider the impact of cross-cultural exchange between Byzantine and Frankish societies on the development and transmission of zodiacal iconography if we wish to understand migration of this motif from Classical art to the art of medieval Christendom.

Matko Matija Marušić

Devotion in Migration: The Employment of Religious Poetry in Thirteenth-Century Zadar and Split

Summary

The paper discusses the verses of three objects from the thirteenth-century Adriatic. The verses displayed on the so-called Saint Michael crucifix (Hildebert of Lavardin), and the so-called Benedictine cross in Zadar as well as Leo Cacete's epitaph in Split (Pseudo-Bernard of Clairveaux) are analysed in the context of migrations in late medieval devotional culture. My primary concern is to grasp the stages of display of verses, including the choice of particular verses of larger poems, their extraction from their original context, and finally, their application onto the object of devotion (crucifixes), or their usage as a funerary inscription. Relying upon previous studies (Peter Scott Brown, Henry Maguire), my aim is to examine objects in question in the context of devotional culture, as well as to briefly compare them with more or less contemporary examples of the poetry-to-object transfer.

Miriam Oesterreich

Migrations of the 'Exotic' in Early Advertising Pictures: Travelling between High and Low, Here and There, Idea and Thing

Summary

Around 1900, consumer goods – especially so-called 'colonial goods' – are for the first time massively advertised with pictures. Hence, stereotypical images of 'exotic' people circulate within Europe and beyond to an extent hitherto unknown.

The spectacularized 'exotic bodies' refer to a contemporary collective visual memory that placed the new advertising pictures always in the context of the already known. Advertising pictures e.g. adapted and modified baroque pictures of the allegories of the continents or Orientalist pictorial phantasies, among others. Hence, the pictures form part of an entangled net of different media, epochs, pictorial understandings and modes of reception; here to be seen in the example of calmly resting 'Oriental' men referring to allegorical depictions of 'America' as well as to Orientalist harem imaginations and the tradition of the sleeping Venus. The pictorial transfer of men into female connoted iconographies also brings with it morally denigrating implications.

Dijana Protić

Migration and Usage of the Designers' Concept *Balkan Typeface System*

Summary

The text is about migration and usage of designer's concept Balkan typeface system, it is created by Croatian designers Marija Juza and Nikola Đurek in 2012, and it is chosen as an example for the recent migration in visual culture.

The first part discussed the Balkan Typeface Systemand analyzes in relation with the theory of design and visual communications, describes the use of color, font styles, and relationship between the Latin and Cyrillic.Through history on the Balkans all three scripts were present: Glagolitic, Latin and Cyrillic. Today, Cyrillic and Latin in a dual use are characteristic for Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia.

„The Balkan Typeface System is a hybrid that decodes Latin and Cyrillic; it demystifies, de-politicizes and reconciles them for the sake of education, tolerance and, above all, communication. Except from primarly being a font, it is an automatic translator and can also be used to convert Croatian Latin into Srbian Cyrillic and vice versa. One could, therefore, think of it as an educational software capable of reconciling discrete scripts." The Balkan Typeface System has been used for ten different purposes so far, which are: Balkan Type Specimen (2012), Visual identity for exhibition Monuments and transition, (2012), a proposal for visual intervention by changing the inscription of Cinema Europe into Cinema Balkan during the Subversive Film Festival in Zagreb (2012), Headline font (logotype) of newspapers Novosti, (2013), Typojanchi, Seoul international Typography Biennale (2013), Font on the poster for the film Atomski z desna[1], by Srđan Dragojević (2014), Balkans floods (2014) Young Balkans designers, (2014, 2015) Exhibition of Croatian design (2016). The second part discusses the Balkan Typeface System and analyzes it in relation to the theory of new media and cultural transfer. According to Manovich, forms of new media are comprised of database and narrative.

In the Balkan Typeface System - database there are Cyrillic and Latin characters, which can be used as a translation system to convert Croatian Latin in Serbian Cyrillic. The database is also the usage of the font as an educational software. In the future, the database could be expanded to include other Cyrillic alphabets. The

1 English title of this movie is From Zero to Hero.

Balkan Typeface System also consists of narratives. Over the centuries, narratives were created by the inhabitants of the Balkans, on the other side narratives and prejudices about inhabitants of the Balkans were created by others. Some of the well-known narratives are the perception of the Balkans as a land of blood and honey The Balkans are also known as a homeland of vampires and savages. There are, many theories about the origin and meaning of the word Balkan.

When the authors of the Balkan Typeface System worked on the concept, they could not and did not want to avoid the narratives about the Balkans.

The theory of cultural transfer can also be connected with migration of the Balkan Typeface System in visual culture. As a methodological concept, cultural transfer includes three main factors: a review of the selection process (the logic of choosing and transferring texts, media discourse, etc.), the observation of the processes of mediation (various types of intercultural mediators are processed – individuals, groups, institutions), and trying to cover the overall process of reception". These three factors are applicable to the Balkan Typeface System as whole. Hence, the first factor is the selection process; in this case the example for observing the selection process is the Balkan Typeface System. The process of mediation is visual and linguistic. And the third factor is the process of reception; so far the Balkan Typeface System was used more than ten times for different purposes. Following is the application of the theory of cultural transfer on three different example. The first example of usage and migration of Balkan Typeface System is on the poster for the film Atomski z desna (2014) by Serbian director Srđan Dragojević. The second example of the usage of Balkan Typeface System is the headline font for Novosti. The weekly magazine Novosti is published by the Serbian National Council in Croatia and it has been using Balkan Typeface System as a headline font since 2013.

The third example of the usage of the Balkan Typeface System is the project Balkan floods. In May 2014, large floods hit the Balkans, particularly Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, where areas and settlements along the Sava River were damaged. The Balkan Typeface System is applied to different artifacts, such as T-shirts and paper bags. Money from the purchase of artifacts is donated to charity.

Further research should include the comparative analysis of the Balkan Typeface System and two other artistic concepts that are based on the dual literacy of Balkan nations. Research should include Zenith, an avant-garde magazine for arts and culture edited by Ljubomir Micić and the performance Breaking the Latin by Siniša Labrović.

Nirvana Silnović

Migration of Objects, Ideas, and Meanings: The Case of the Mithras Cult

Summary

This article explores the complex nature of Mithriac images, and the important role images have played in the Mithras cult. The first part of the article reflects upon the role of the Mithraic images. The preference of the visual mode of expression is justified by the double nature cult images have embodied: cultic and votive. In the absence of religious texts, the highly standardized iconography of Mithraic images served didactic purposes, and moreover, to establish a common cultural identity among the cult members. Stone medallions, carried about and transferred to considerable distances, are further evidence to the overall coherence of Mithraic visual codes. Both cult icons and miniature stone medallions testify to the primacy of the images, and, as argued in the second part of the article, to the essentiality of the refined dynamics of migration of objects, ideas, and meanings. Dominated by images, Mithraic culture is treated as an example of "the pictorial turn".

Olga Špehar

Sirmium – Thessaloniki – Iustiniana Prima: The Migrations of Late Antique Cults and Architectural Concepts

Summary

The ancient city of Sirmium gained its importance as the sedes imperii at the very end of the 3rd and, especially, at the beginning of the 4th century. It was also the time when the first members of the Sirmian Christian community were martyred. Their number is large because, until 441 and the breakthrough of Huns, the city was the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum. Then, the city`s bishop and the prefect of Illyricum, as well as numerous refugees, migrated to Thessaloniki, which is testified by the text of Justinian`s Novellae XI. Simultaneously with the people, their cults spread. Therefore, some important cults arrived from Sirmium to Thessaloniki, the most popular of them being the cult of Sirmian deacon Demetrius, which somehow entwined with the cult of the Thessalonian saint of the same name. This is primarily suggested by the Passio Secunda of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki, which mention an Illyrian prefect Leontius who erected one church dedicated to St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki and another, also dedicated to him, in Sirmium. When considering the architecture of an intramural church in Sirmium, and the famous basilica of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, one cannot avoid noticing that both are basilicas with transept dated to the 5th century. Those churches must not be used as positive proof of the legend from Passio Secunda, but they certainly prove strong cultural relations between these two cities, dependant primarily on the migrations of people and cults.

After reestablishing the centralized rule in this part of the Balkans in the time of Justinian I (527-565), the migrations happened once again, this time from Thessaloniki to the newly founded endowment of Justinian – the city of Iustiniana Prima, identified with the one on the site Caričin Grad near Lebane. Once again, architecture is the best means to gain insight into the courses of those migrations. The most reliable proofs can be observed in the case of transept basilica in Iustiniana Prima, which reflects the late antique migrations of architectural concepts from Thessaloniki to this newly founded city.

Danijela Tešić-Radovanović, Branka Gugolj

The Menorah as a Symbol of Jewish Identity in the Diaspora and an Expression of Aspiration for Renewing the Jerusalem Temple

Summary

The menorah is an object that according to the Old Testament, since the time of Moses, has had a significant role in ritual practice. It was made according to God's instructions and the lights of the lamp symbolised, among other things, the presence of God in the Tabernacle, i.e. in the Temple of Solomon. As a motif in visual culture, it appears in the Hasmonean period when it symbolised the priesthood and the duties in the Temple. An important change in the motif's meaning would occur in the period after the destruction of the Temple, when the menorah became a widely known Jewish symbol and an expression of an aspiration for renewing the Temple. At the same time, an image of the menorah had a significant role in Jewish eschatology. The universality of the motif has had its impact on the great number of representations, which made the menorah recognisable outside the Jewish community.

The paper provides an overview of some of the numerous menorah representations found in the Central Balkans. Like in other parts of the Roman Empire, there was a noticeable increase in the Jewish migrants after Hadrian's intervention in Jerusalem. The establishment of Jewish municipalities can be traced from the 3rd century, which is confirmed by the epigraphic material and also by the visual representations. Among the visual representations the menorah occupies an outstanding place as one of the most frequently occurring motifs. A ritualistic object from the Tabernacle, later the Temple, associated with Moses because of its ancient nature, for the Jews in the diaspora was an expression of their traits and identity, but also a reminder of the Temple and its renewal, a herald of future salvation.

Nadezhda N. Tochilova

Transition Style in Scandinavian Art, late 11th – first half of 12th Century

Summary

This article deals with transition forms in Scandinavian art of late 11th and the first half of the 12th centuries, which was named "Transitional style". During these period features, while retaining their traditional iconography, vary stylistically. Ornaments, gradually losing elongation and refinement of forms, become more rounded and robust. Decorative elements of "Transitional style" monuments seem to be influenced by Romanesque art: such is the new type of predators, combining Romanesque features and Scandinavian iconography. Among the Romanesque elements, there are feathered wings, legs, resembling bird's legs, heads, with a clear transition from the forehead to the front of the muzzle, which looks like a beak, large teardrop-shaped eyes and small pointed ears. The beast's torso, however, remains in the context of Scandinavian art. It retains the S-shaped form, the proportions of the various parts of the body, and the tail in the form of loops, which end as plant shoots.

Three main stages should be pointed out in the development of "Transitional style". Early objects of "Transitional style" show stylistic unity with the art of the Viking Age. Few artefacts survive from this period of monumental and decorative woodcarving in Scandinavia. These are mostly fragments of carved reliefs from wooden churches. These decorations are quite flat, bare and resemble the carvings of runic stones. Patterns, despite the large number of nodes and interlacing tails, devoid of depth and multidimensional space, are typical of Scandinavian ornamental art.

The flourishing of the "Transitional style" can be associated with the creation of works of monumental and decorative objects, such as portals of the 12th century Norwegian churches (Hopperstad and Ulvik, Sogn, Norway). These works have repeatedly drawn the attention of researchers, who note the stylistic unity of decorative forms of both periods. Carvings of these portals stand out for their complex expressivenes, characteristic of Scandinavian art. The ornaments consist of elaborate interweaving of graceful symmetrical plant shoots with heavy buds at the end, and twisted bodies of "Transitional style" winged serpent-like animals.

The final stage of "Transitional style" is, as a rule, characterized by clarity of composition, elegance and refinement of images. Ornaments become even more elaborated and clear-cut without losing their plastic expression.

The phenomenon of "Transitional style" indicates a resistance in Norse art system. Innovations in art that came along with the Christianity, became part of the official art associated with large cities and especially with the construction of stone cathedrals, while the rest of the artistic life in Scandinavia remains for a long time under the auspices of former aesthetics. Stylistic and iconographic schemes of "Transitional style" artefacts suggest the existence of an intermediate Nordic style, which reflects the features of both Christian and pagan art, indicating a very slow process of change from the strong traditions of the Viking Age art to Romanesque style.

Milena Ulčar

"Guarda che quel Christo, come è magro": *Migrations of the Holy* in the Venetian Bay of Kotor

Summary

In 1719 a man named Romano found himself in front of the ecclesiastical court of Kotor, accused of sacrilege and misuse of holy objects. Among other accusations he had to face the charges for mocking the appearance of Christ on the cross during the procession of Settimana Santa. According to the majority of witnesses he yelled: "Look at this Christ, how skinny he is, how ugly, and dry, and sad he is!" After a careful interrogation, it was revealed that Romano also said: "Look how skinny this Christ is; he is skinny just like I am!", after which he proposed making new clothes for the figure. What bothered him so intensely was Christ's naked body, more precisely his ascetic physical constitution, as well as the life-like quality of his representation. What he found especially offensive in the image of Christ was, actually, the naturalism of its representation, in Vasari's own words: his form that derives "accurately from life".

This episode, preserved in the Church Archive in Kotor, raises challenging questions about the complex relationship between naturalism, idealism and materiality in the early modern period. In order to untangle the change that occurred in visual representation of the body in the post-Tridentine period, a stylistic or iconographic comparison between medieval and early modern artefacts is not the only satisfactory model of analysis. What proved to be more rewarding is careful observation of objects that migrated in time, as well as the ways in which this transition was perceived by a contemporary audience. Therefore, it is worth examining in which situations the citizens of the Bay of Kotor were able to observe and comment on the medieval representations of the body.

Examining the "afterlife" of medieval holy objects, along with the agency of their early modern neighbours could be a fruitful way of inspecting the historical change that occurred after the Reformation. Notions of naturalism and body discipline, the most prominent features of the early modern period in historiography proved to be more complex and fragile after the records allow us to "eavesdrop" across time and hear the voices of the common folk.

Ljubica Vinulović

The Miracle of Latomos: From the Apse of the Hosios David to the Icon from Poganovo. The Migration of the Idea of Salvation

Summary

At the end of the third century AD the mosaic depiction of the Virgin Mary miraculously turned into Christ's image, and that is what we today call the Miracle of Latomos. This mosaic is today connected with Hosios David church in Thessaloniki. The Miracle of Latomos was painted on the walls of the ossuary in the monastery of Bachkovo in the eleventh century. At the end of the fourteenth century, the most detailed composition of the Miracle of Latomos was painted on the Icon of Poganovo. Classical iconography was taken from Hosios David, but on the double-sided Icon of Poganovo, the scene was enriched with a depiction of a lake with seven fish. On the reverse side we can see the Virgin Kataphyge and John the Theologian. The donor of this icon was Helena Mrnjavčević, who had a tragic life, so she needed a kataphyge. Due to the complexity of its symbolic meaning and based on all the information presented, we can conclude that all three depictions of the Miracle of Latomos represent soteriological ideas of the patrons.

Branka Vranešević

Aniconism on Early Christian Floor Mosaics in the Mediterranean

Summary

This paper deals with aniconism in early Christian art represented on floor mosaics throughout the Mediterranean with the analysis of its Greek origins. The adaptability of aniconic motifs is one of its key aspects that allowed it to spread quickly and easily. Herodotus implies that Greek religion lacked figural representations of gods, while Pausanias asserted that litholatry was common for all Greeks before the veneration of daidala. In its deeper meaning aniconic motifs, geometrical patterns, ornaments are symbols of cosmos and an alternative to figural representations connected Greek with early Christian religion, culture and art. At the same time, they had an apotropaic function, especially when multiplied and in rhythmical repetition, which allowed their power to increase. Therefore, many of those motifs such as crosses, squares, knots are found on early Christian floor mosaics.

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