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**“FOR THE ENTRANCE TO THE TENT MAKE A CURTAIN”:
ORNAMENTS, CURTAINS AND PASSAGES IN EARLY
BYZANTINE SACRED CONTEXT**

Ornaments used on textiles and in architectural sculpture were inextricably connected in Byzantine visual culture.¹ The aspiration of this paper is to explore the phenomena of synchronous usage of a wide repertoire of ornaments embroidered on Byzantine textiles dating mainly from 6th century, and how the same ornaments were interpreted in imagery in an overall architectural setting.² Additionally, the aim is to capture decorative patterns of several textiles, their symbolic meaning and influences on the active beholder in the church.³ Much has been written about the dating of the domestic textiles from Byzantium, about their techniques, and about the sources of their iconography in relation

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¹ Selected bibliography on this topic: P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*, London 1967, 2; J. Beckwith, *Byzantine Tissues*. In M. Berza & E. Stanescu (eds.), *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des études byzantines*, Bucharest 1974, 37-47; H. Papastavrou, *Le voile, symbole de l'incarnation*, Cahiers archéologiques 41(1993), 141-168; A. Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, London, 1995; Eadem, *Byzantine Silk Weaving, A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200*, Vienna 1997; M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images, Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th centuries)*. Leiden-Boston 2003, 172, 179-183; D. Jacoby, *Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West*, *DOP* 58 (2004), 197-240; A. Walker *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.* Cambridge-New York 2012, 25-30, 36, 188.

² A. Gonosová 1981 *The Role of Ornament in the Late Antique Interior; with Special Reference to Intermedia Borrowing of Patterns*, Ph.D. diss, Harvard University 1981, 10; Eadem, *The Formation of Early Byzantine Floral Semis and Floral Diaper Patterns Reexamined*, *DOP* 41(1987), 227-237.

³ R. Cormack, *The Emperor at St. Sophia: Viewer and Viewed*, In A. Guillou & J. Durand (eds.), *Byzance et les images*, Paris 1994, 223-253; H. Kessler, *Turning a Blind Eye: Medieval Art and the Dynamics of Contemplation*. In J. F. Hamburger & A.-M. Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, 413-439.

to other works of art, especially book illustrations.⁴ As documented by primary sources and visual representations, textiles played a prominent role in imperial, ecclesiastical, and domestic architectural spaces in the Byzantine world.

In the historiography of Byzantine art, less attention has been paid to *the function of the images in these textiles*, and especially their role in Byzantine sacred space and terminology in Byzantine sources. Ornamental decoration functioned in two ways: on the one hand, it enabled the beholder's mental transition from the natural into the supernatural realm; on the other, it eloquently sublimated the core dogmas turning them into message signs of the Divine Revelation.⁵ Subtle vocabulary of ornaments on textiles interacted with other parts of sacral programme in order to reinforce theological messages and define Byzantine aesthetics of that time.⁶

The most accessible point of entry into the analysis of textiles themselves is provided by the ornaments and their symbolism. Some of them appear in other contexts (on objects, in manuscripts, *etc.*), which additionally facilitates the task of discerning their symbolic meaning. These ornaments fall into the figurative-representational and non-iconic groups, sometimes called 'aniconic'.⁷ It will be shown that both were endowed with the ability to convey noetic concepts by themselves and through relative combinations with each other. In fact, an ornamental unit represents one image, highly codified and dehumanized because "all that is intangible, formless (or amorphous) and presented with material things does not belong to our analogies; these analogies are accomplished in their own similarities".⁸

It is known fact that usage of textiles was mandatory in Byzantine sacred space and in the Mediterranean area. Weaving was initially established in a number of textile factories in the 4th century, where the position of Constantinopolitan factories was predominant.⁹ From the 6th century onwards existed private manufacturers of textiles began to be attested in extent historical sources.¹⁰ One difficulty about describing the embroideries is that the words

⁴ H. Kessler *Gazing at the Future: The Parousia Miniature in Vatican gr. 699*. In Ch. Moss & K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West*, Princeton 1995, 365-376; A. Muthesius *Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, London 1995, 201-215.

⁵ A. Karahan, *Beauty in the Eyes of God. Byzantine Aesthetics and Basil of Caesarea*, Byzantion, *REB* 82 (2012), 166.

⁶ E. Bolman, *Painted Skins: the Illusions and Realities of Architectural Polychromy, Sinai and Egypt*, In S. E. J. Gerstel & R. S. Nelson (eds.), *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, Turnhout 2010, 119-140.

⁷ L. Brubaker, *Aniconic Decoration in the Christian World (6th-11th Century): East and West*. In *Cristianità d'Occidente e cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI), 24-30 aprile 2003*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 51. Spoleto 2004, 573-590.

⁸ R. V. Popović *Lettre du pape Grégoire II au patriarche German*, 5^{ème}, 6^{ème} et 7^{ème} Conciles ecuméniques de Constatinople, Belgrade 2011, 286.

⁹ A. Muthesius, *Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, 255-316 (with further bibliography).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 280-290.

used in sources are not always easy to understand.¹¹ In preserved sources such as Proclus and on many paragraphs in Byzantine patristic literature are mentioned prerogatives of “purity” of textile and silk which adorned sacred interiors of the church.¹²

In recent years, the study of the various qualities of textiles and especially silk in Byzantium has represented a fruitful field of research in Byzantine. Sometimes known as the “iconology of textiles”, it assumes that physical matter made of ornamented textile has a certain symbolic value established by written sources. This signification enhances our understanding of the textiles from which the veils and dresses as insignia were made.¹³ Furthermore, the study of textiles and their metaphoric significance has become a useful tool for interpreting how visible textiles capture invisible matters. Namely, scholars have demonstrated that there were a ‘real absence’ in medieval art and living images so that “any possibility that they would be taken as a real presences”.¹⁴

The Byzantine textile workshops set the usage of a wide repertoire of motifs and patterns in different ideological and religious circumstances. For instance, it is interesting to note that Epiphanius of Salamis, known as the defender of Orthodoxy and composer of *Panarion*¹⁵ *tore down embroidered curtains with the image of Christ, because he saw pushing as improper movement by believers touching His holy face during the rite of passage. Maybe that could be indication why curtains and veils often display geometric patterns.*¹⁶

The motifs decorating textiles used in sacred spaces were chosen according to specific circumstances, the iconoclastic era saw the raise of aniconic ornaments as main “language” of the epoch. Nevertheless certain aniconism or usage of ornaments as ‘speechless’-meaning stayed in semantic repertoire of visual art and filled the walls of sacred spaces until the end of Byzantine Empire.¹⁷

¹¹ Such example is a note of George Cedrenus who reminded in 11th century on occasion that Emperor Heraclius found 638 “tapestry worked with a needle” in the Palace of Chosroes II. Cf. Walter & Johnstone 1968, 408-411.

¹² L. Kortzsche ‘Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung. Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Szenenfolge’. In *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im Spantanken Ägypten*, 183-194. Riggisberger Berichte I. Riggisberg 1993, 183-194; S. Mariev, *Proklos and Plethon on Beauty, Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium*, In S. Mariev & W.-M. Stock (eds.), Berlin, 2013, 66.

¹³ A. Babuin, Standards and insignia of Byzantium, *Byzantion* 71/1 (2001), 7-59.

¹⁴ H. Kessler, Real absence: early medieval art and the metamorphosis of vision, *Spiritual seeing: picturing god’s invisibility in medieval art*, Philadelphia 2000, 144.

¹⁵ E. Kitzinger, *The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm*, *DOP* 8 (1954), 92-93.

¹⁶ C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972, 41-43.

¹⁷ A. Muthesius, *Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, 44-57.



Fig. 1., Fig. 2. Embroidered arch with gemmed cross, textiles from Egypt (Coptic, unknown place of production), 5th-6th century, Gift of Nanette B. Kelekian, in honor of Nobuko Kajitani, 2002, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Сл. 1. и Сл. 2. Вез са мотивом крста украшеног драгим камењем, Египат, 5-6-век, поклон Нанет Б. Келекијан, Метрополитен музеј у Њу Јорку

Problems of terminology and understanding of the meaning of silk and its usage in Byzantine church challenge numerous questions which are of utmost importance for interpretative horizons of exposing the material, setting the textiles in the interior of church (e.g., veils on doors or iconostasis).¹⁸

Taken in this light it is interesting to consider the role of the ornaments on textile. Different patterns as cubes, squares, leaves, chess-fields supposed to be motifs of power, motifs with highly imbued significance. When used in any media in Early to Middle Byzantine imagery these motifs had precious meanings for believers. For instance, in the *Life of Theophanou*, it is mentioned that when the wife of Leo VI the Wise deceased her dress became a powerful medium for the miracles, a sort of multisensory clothing relic. The writer of these lines about Theophanou also mentioned how embroidered dress of the empress revealed miraculous cures for different illnesses and sick people who came in touch with her clothes.¹⁹

Alongside the symbolic nature of individual architectural spaces, textiles used during the Liturgy had the same meaning as embroidered imagery possessed direct links with liturgical texts. John Chrysostom wrote "Thus we believe that Christ lies on the altar as though in the tomb and has already completed his suffering. For that reason the deacons who spread the linens on the altar provide an image of the burial cloths". That exactly is the symbol of wrapped body of Christ Himself in the linen clothes.²⁰

¹⁸ E. Bolman, *Veiling Sanctity in Christian Egypt: Visual and Spatial Solutions*. In Sh. Gerstel (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, Washington, D.C 2006, 72-104

¹⁹ O. Z. Pevny, *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors: 843-1261*, New York 2000, 30.

²⁰ Saint John Chrysostom continues in his Homily on the Gospel by mentioning the Mathew warns against adorning the Church building at the expense of caring for the suf-

Proces of using of embroidered 'sign' begun under the Justinian with the altar of St. Sophia Church where silken hangings divided liturgical spaces.²¹ In the famous sixth-century description of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the court-writer Procopius relates the sacred building directly to the appearance and glory of the Heavenly sphere. This is just one in the long line of Byzantine *ekphrases* that speak of the direct link between the physical, experienced beauty and the ineffable, mystical character of the Divine.²² In such descriptions the author usually enumerates the rich materials used in the decoration of the interior, the play of light on various polished surfaces, the magnificent visual impression they leave, and the surrounding 'special effects', such as the burning of incense and chanting of hymns that amplify the impression of an other-worldly realm. Indeed, the care and expense that went into decorating church interiors indicates that they were places of particular significance. This is hardly surprising considering that the Byzantines believed that the space of the church was made holy during the performance of the Divine Liturgy. The creation of the 'sacred space' clearly demanded special treatment.²³ How did people perceive and experience the veils, textile ornaments while viewing them within their daily environment? One can begin to answer this question by looking at the physical evidence of embroidered ornaments themselves. As an example of such optical imagery and semiotics it is possible to use textiles dated at the beginning of 6th century which originate from Egypt (**figs. 1, 2**).²⁴ One of the two pieces of textiles shows a jeweled motif of the Cross and that of the arch with interplay of floral ornamentation and little crosses. Above these ornaments is the arch with 'S' profilation motif which stretches along the whole width of preserved material. Both the preserved pieces were probably once part of one large hanging embellished with a series of arches supported by columns. On the right edge of this embroidered fragment is depicted one capital adorned with grape clusters and a portion of a column. The yellow cross under the arch has been

fering members of Christ's body, that is the Church in the truest sense: "What is the use of providing the table with cloths woven of gold thread, and not providing Christ himself with the clothes he needs? (...) You do not take him in as your guest, but you decorate floor and walls and the capitals of the pillars. You provide silver chains for the lamps, but you cannot bear even to look at him as he lies chained in prison. Once again, I am not forbidding you to supply these adornments; I am urging you to provide these other things as well, and indeed to provide them first. No one has ever been accused for not providing ornaments, but for those who neglect their neighbour a hell awaits with an inextinguishable fire and torment in the company of the demons. Do not, therefore, adorn the church and ignore your afflicted brother, for he is the most precious temple of all." Hom. 50, 3-4, PG 58, 508-509.

²¹ R. Taft, *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*, Aldershot 1995, section 1, chapters 1-2.

²² C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 72-102.

²³ A. M. Lidov, *Hierotopy. Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History*. In A. Lidov (ed.), *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, Moscow 2006, 32-58.

²⁴ Two examined textiles are given to Metropolitan Museum of New York by Nanette B. Kelekian. Photographs used in this article are property of Metropolitan Museum New York archives [Access for Scholarly Content], accession number: 2002.239.16. Second one (accession number: 2002.239.15) is very similar in repertoire of motifs. The only one difference is vividness of colors.



Fig. 3. Textile from Sheikh Shate, 5th-6th century, Gift of Arthur S. Vernay Inc., 1922, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Сл.3. Застор из Шейк Шате, 5-6 век., поклон Артура С. Вернеја из 1922, Метрополитен музеју Њу Јорку.

combined with the Greek letter chi (X) to form a variant on the Christogram widely used by the early church as an abbreviation for the name of Jesus Christ. The patterns on the textile replicate those found on contemporary architectural carvings in stone, which would have been painted in similar brilliant colors. When complete, the hanging with this ornamental narration has been used in a doorway or to screen off an interior part of a church.²⁵

Similar textile panels used in doorways and between the columns are known from Sheikh Shata in the Delta.²⁶ On this embroidered panel (fig. 3) the two columns separated by small lotus branches which evoke Paradisiac atmosphere often described in Early Byzantine sources as an enclosed garden filled with fruit-laden trees and intoxicating scents.²⁷ What is of particular importance here is that on the left column, although embroidered in darker colors, are visible multiple Herakle's knot stretched from the capital with palm leaves to the pedestal. The other one has *ombré* red, yellow and blue interlaced motifs which together create the similar pattern but positioned diagonally. Below, on pedestal patterns of gemmed stones shaped as square and rhombs are embroidered. The knots are formed by a shaft on both columns, descending from the top to the basis, but visually it is possible to track these patterns in reverse: from the pedestal to the capital of column. This particular motif, together with square and rhombs below as anticipation of Celestial Jerusalem, represents a powerful transmitter of complex exegetic messages.²⁸

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²⁵ S. Averintsev, Some constant characteristics of Byzantine Orthodoxy, *Byzantine Orthodoxies*. In A. Louth & A. Casiday (eds.), *Papers from the Thirty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23-25 March 2002*, Ashgate 2006, 220.

²⁶ A. M. Stauffer, *Textiles of the Late Antiquity*, New York 1995, 20.

²⁷ Images suggesting Earthly Paradise are found on other large-scale textiles and in floor mosaics of this period. On the Paradise as metaphor: Morris & Sawyer 1992, 117-166 (with bibliography and sources). Concerning representations of Paradise in the architecture cf. J.S. Ćirić, *Décryptage du mur: l'Arbre de Vie dans l'architecture byzantine tardive*, In A. Kadijević (ed.), *Collection of Works "Spaces of Memory: Art, Architecture and Heritage"*, Belgrade 2012, 19-31.

²⁸ For the Tent of the Covenant see Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne* 2 (Livre V), ed. W. Wolska-Conus, Sources Chrétiennes 159, Paris 1970, 54-57, 71, 89; Lavin The Ceiling Frescoes in Trier and Illusionism in Constantinian Painting, *DOP* 21 (1967), 106.

We should ask one question: what exactly is the meaning of the above-described jeweled Cross and what exactly is the meaning of placing the textile panels between columns as sort of delusional veil? It is possible to identify this Cross as *Crux Gemmata*, Cross with precious stones placed in arch which resembles architectural setting. Our knowledge of Early and Middle Byzantine symbolism of precious stones is based on certain allegorical writings dealing with stones, but above all on the numerous commentaries by medieval exegetes on the Revelation, in the 21st chapter of which John describes the Celestial Jerusalem descending from Heaven. The City is all of gold, its wall is of jasper, gates of pearls and its foundations are decorated with twelve precious stones.²⁹ Pictorial representations of crosses typically make extensive use of pearls and jewels. The jeweled style is suggestive of the aforementioned Biblical account of the Heavenly Jerusalem that is described as being built of gold and precious stones.³⁰ The *crux gemmata*, the prototype of which has been erected at Golgotha, was a sign of divine power and the victory of Christianity. These crosses in several media used in Early Christian art were strongly evocative of an eschatological interpretation signifying the ultimate Christian victory and the Salvation, embodiment of the transfigured Divine Light.³¹ In Late Antiquity, no matter if in question is mosaic decoration or textile representation of this symbol, the jeweled cross had highly imbued eschatological connotation. The Gospel of Mathew 24:30 is most probably the earliest preserved example and allusion to the transfigured sign of the cross of the so-called *Parousia* (Christ's Second Coming).³² Association with *Parousia* is more explicitly stresses in the *Epistola Apostolorum* from 2nd century C.E.³³ Addressing his disciplines in the 16th epistle Jesus Christ said "Truly I say you I will come, as the Sun which bursts forth. Thus, will I, shining seven times brighter than it in glory while I am carried on the wings of clouds in splendour with my cross going on before me, come to the earth to judge the living and the dead".³⁴ Cyril of Jerusalem claims that "a sign of a luminous cross shall go before the King, plainly declaring him who was formerly crucified... the sign of the cross shall be a terror to his foes; but joy to his friends who have believed in Him or preached Him, or suffered for His sake".³⁵ For Cyril, the cross is the unequivocal symbol of the Christ's power, mentioned also by John Chrysostom in *De cruce et latrone* according to which Christ had taken the cross with him to Heaven to bring it in his Second

²⁹ Revelation 21, 18-20.

³⁰ R. M. Jensen *Understanding Early Christian Art*. London-New York 2000, 68 (with bibliography).

³¹ Eadem, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 105. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 193, especially chapter 4.

³² F. J. Dolger *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens IX, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 10, 1967, 12.

³³ *Apostolic Fathers I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, Barnabas, The Shepherd of Hermas, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, The Epistle of Dio*, ed. Lake Kirsopp, London-Cambridge, MA 1913, 6.

³⁴ J. K. Elliott *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford 1993, see The Epistle of Apostles 1, 16.

³⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechese, XV, 22*.

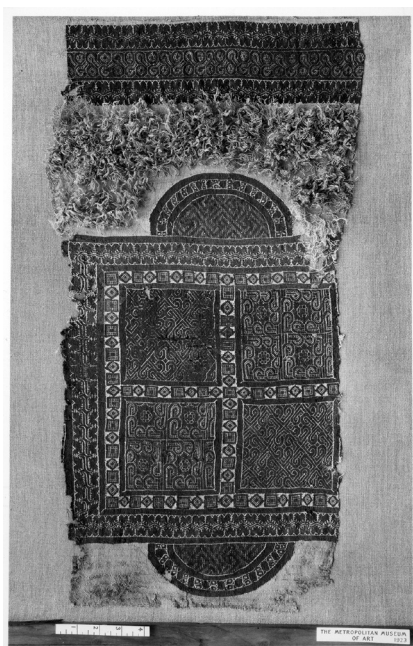


Fig. 4. Coptic textile from 6th century, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Сл.4. Коптски застор из 6. века, Метрополитен музеј у Њу Јорку

Coming.³⁶ These crosses of the light symbolized the luminous cross of the *Parousia*. Through its association with the Heavenly Jerusalem as the City of Light that ‘had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of the God lighten it’.³⁷

Crosses, in different media, were often identified as aniconic imagery. In the middle of 11th century Michael Psellos wrote concerning the nature of miracle – working cross dedicated to the Archangel Michael.³⁸

Another example of textile (fig. 4) showing an architectural representation of the ground of the sacred space is also from Coptic Church. This is an unknown textile fragment dating back to the end of the 6th century, presently on display in the Metropolitan Museum New York. This hanging represents one of the most fascinating examples which shows how building techniques, decorating techniques in mosaic and textile weaving closely were connected

Beholder is faced with rectangular image divided on four equal squares framed with the ornament of jeweled stones. In diagonal squares from upper left to the bottom right is ornament of Heracles’ knot³⁹ and the upper right and bottom left square are filled with modification of similar motif which encircles floral motif in the center. The shape of this knot is found in the borders of floor mosaics as sort of framing device, luminal space which divide and prevent evil from entering into the particular space. That is powerful symbol of protection, later used often at the windows and door openings.⁴⁰ Above and below this square are half circles which reminds on the apses of Early Christian baptisteries.⁴¹ Nevertheless, of utmost importance is the rep-

³⁶ John Chrysostom, *De cruce et latrone*, 309-418; M. Loconsole *Il simbolo della croce tra Giudeo Cristianesimo e tarda antichità: un elemento. della translatio Hierosolymae*. Liber Annus 52, Jerusalem 2002.

³⁷ Revelation 20: 23.

³⁸ Vita Theophanou in: *Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophanou, die Gerhahlin Kaisers Leo VI*, ed. E. Kurtz, St. Petersburg 1898, 120-141, especially 124-125.

³⁹ A. M. Nicgorski, The magic knot of Hercules: the propaganda of Alexander the Great and tomb II at Vergina. In L. Rawlings & H. Bowden (eds.), *Herakles and Herkules: Exploring Greco-Roman Divinity*, Swansea. 1969, 97-128; in *Byzantine heraldry: R. Ousterhout Byzantium between East and West and the Origins of Heraldry*. In C. Hourihane (ed.), *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies*, Tempe, Arizona. 2009, 153-170.

⁴⁰ G. Darenberg et al., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Paris 1878-1916, 1926, N-Q, 87-88.

⁴¹ R. Jensen,, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theolo-*

resentation of the ornament which fills the semi-circular shape. This register is filled with particular needlework which forms motif of diagonally positioned swastika which is oriented from the left to the right side. It is interesting to notice that this motif is made with so-called rope motif which incorporates aforementioned swastika meander.⁴² These motifs are very densely arranged, in an expression of *horror vacui* and there is a clear tendency towards continuous/carpet designs, equally antique origin but incomparably more commonly present in Byzantine art.⁴³ The narrative voice of these patterns plays substantial role in Early Byzantine architecture: the entire surface of textile is turned to sacred skin stretched between the columns and church turns into a kind of tapestry. Even in literary sources, John Chrysostom notes that nature of textile: “the chastely veiled eye itself exercises an irresistible attraction” and that the mind “had a marvelous ability to re-create in its interior spaces spectacles once seen.” Based on this conditioning of the Byzantine eye, the mere sight of any curtain must have piqued the interest of the viewer.⁴⁴ Although investigation along squares and meanders should certainly be further pursued,⁴⁵ it seems that of swastika at upper and lower register motif at this textile appear to offers powerful stimulus for rather different optics. Like a vast membrane, illusionism of embroidered veils reveals the hidden mystery performed behind the altar.⁴⁶ It creates illusion that the space between columns is transparent; it is a paradoxical vision which gives rise to the effect of the walls having been de-materialised and composed in new compartments. The membrane-like curtain falls down between the columns and around the church, draping the body of the edifice, like a new skin.⁴⁷ That composition of motifs relies on the same imagery as on the carved cornice above the floor of Hagia Sophia (fig. 5),⁴⁸ synchronous image of the Ocean at the mosaic at Āin Témouchent Setif in the northeastern province of Algeria,⁴⁹

gical Dimensions, ,, Baker Academic,, 2012, , 44, 160, 207.

⁴² H. Maguire, *Magic and Geometry in Early Christian floor mosaics and textiles. Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art*, Ashgate 1998, 267.

⁴³ Extensive bibliography on the motif and its symbolism from Antiquity to the Renaissance is given by E. Thomas *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, Oxford 2007, 320 (n. 12).

⁴⁴ B. Leyerle John Chrysostom on the Gaze, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1993), 165.

⁴⁵ C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music*, London 2004.

⁴⁶ N. Isar Le mur aboli: Le sacrement de la Parole dans les absides des églises moldaves. *Byzantinoslavica* 60.2 (1999), 611-632.

⁴⁷ A. Grabar *L'âge d'or de Justinien*, Paris 1966, 14, 17. For archaeological evidences that curtains were stretched between the columns cf. mosaics of Sant' Apollinare in Classe (Ravenna, Italy) where curtains were tied around columns. Also nowadays are visible drilled holes in the columns of the churches in Pella. Smith & Preston-Day *Pella of the Decapolis, 2: Final Report on the College of Wooster Excavations in Area IX, The Civic Complex, 1979-1985*, Wooster 1989, 45.

⁴⁸ R. Mainstone *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*. London 1988, 2nd ed. 2001, 32, figs., 32, 33.

⁴⁹ K.M. D. Dunbabin *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, Oxford.1978, 151-152, table 143; H. Maguire, *Nectar and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*. Oxford 2012, 20, 26.

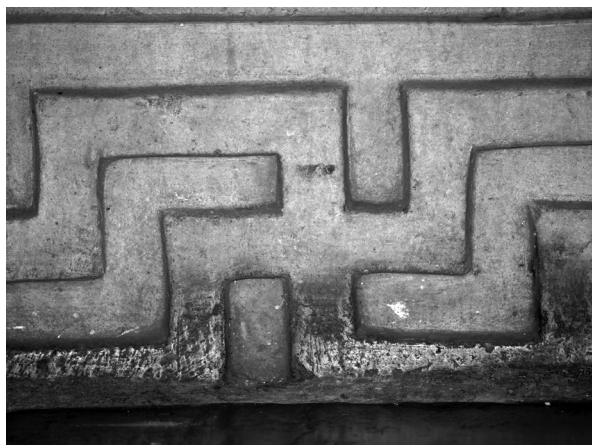


Fig. 5. Cornice above the floor of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. 6th century, photo: author.

Сл.5. Венац непосредно изнад патоса цркве Св. Софије у Цариграду, фото: аутор

the same as at the mosaic from Misis Mopsuestia in Cilicia (Adana province, Turkey).⁵⁰ That is a reference to synchronicity and heuristic of adaptation⁵¹ and entering in the secret spaces and church Mystery: μετεμορφώθη and transubstantiation μετουσίωσις in Eucharistic manner.⁵² Through these intervisual devices one entered the hypostasis⁵³ of the womb, the church as Incarnation of the Word - Logos and its spreading through the teachings of the Church. With the passing into the interior of the building and coinia one was transferred into a different sphere, oriented towards accentuating *movement*, a dynamic interplay realized by directions of distribution of crosses, labyrinth

and similar motifs, expressed with polichromatic mosaics and needlecraft.⁵⁴ Moment of the bodyness and body movements through the labyrinth could be in direct nexus with the idea that every passage through portal and Christ as the Door (“*I am the Door*: Those who come in through me will be saved” John 10:9) and renewal through the Baptism. The essence of Christianity is in the focus in the act of passage: it is necessary to follow Christ in order to reach promised eternal life. In eschatological sense of speaking it means that it is necessary to follow the footsteps of Christ *as one would in a labyrinth*. Gregory of Nyssa described this act as marching of faithful throughout the maze and continuous following the Redeemer who knows the exit.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ L. Budde *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien*, Recklinghausen 1969, fig. 31. For later interpretations and revivalism of this motif in the late Byzantine architecture: J.S. Ćirić “Ev τούτῳ νικά”: brickwork narrative in Constantinopolitan Architecture during the period of Palaiologoi, *Niš and Byzantium* 12 (2014), 231-244.

⁵¹ R. Nelson *The Chora and the Great Church: Intervisuality in Fourteenth – Century Constantinople*, *BMGS* 23 (1999), 67-101, esp. 71.

⁵² V. Marinis *Structure, Agency, Ritual, and the Byzantine Church*. In B. Wescoat & R. Ousterhout (eds.), *The Architecture of the Sacred*, Cambridge 2012, 338-364.

⁵³ Philosophical tradition provided a number of established technical terms, such as individual (ἄτομον) and particular (τὸ κατὰ μέρος). Theologians, came to retain an altogether different one, namely hypostasis. H. Dörrie “Υπόστασις, Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte”, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1955, 35-92; J. Hammerstaedt ‘Hypostasis’, *Realexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 16, Stuttgart, 986-1035.

⁵⁴ J. Chrysostomos, *Homilia II Oratio in crucem et in confessionem latronis, recitata in Sancta et Magna Parasceve, et quod oporteat pro inimicis*, PG XLIX, 408-409.

⁵⁵ *The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa*, eds. L. Francisco Mateo-Secco, G. Maspero, transl. S. Cherney, Leiden-Boston 2010, 92. Similar is mentioned by Romanus Melo-

Generally speaking, during certain periods of Byzantine art, women who participated in *koinonia*, no matter of their participation and secretly pronounced prayers were restricted to the upper galleries of the building, where they were separated from the congregation of men in the nave. Later in his 10th-century *Life of John Chrysostom*, Symeon Metaphrastes notes the use of curtains in the upstairs galleries of a church in order to hide the women.⁵⁶ The curtains, therefore, were similar to a screen: the light from the *policandilia* in the interior of the church reflected all, making them appear opaque to the men standing below, but transparent to the female beholders standing behind them.⁵⁷ The whole space of the Early Christian church is lasting vision of a skin of incarnated body with curving paths and dancing lines which enchant all materials contextualized in building substance, both stone and textile veils.⁵⁸ The spatial and narrative shifts of the ornaments play on textiles, invited a transformation of the identity of the spectator- θεωρός, from viewer to participant,⁵⁹ more specifically from viewer of narrative and body in the nave to participant in the Liturgy.⁶⁰ The artists of Early Christianity operated with different media (τύπος), created powerful images on textiles stretched between the columns or doors, same as it was noted in the Exodus 26: 36: “For the entrance to the tent make a **curtain** of blue, purple and scarlet yarn and finely twisted linen—the

dus and his comments on Hades and Christ’s descent in Hades: “While they slapped my face with prophecies, psalms, and hymns, Women arose and prophesied, dancing in triumph over me”. *On the Resurrection II, Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*, ed. M. Carpenter, Columbia 1970, 266.

⁵⁶ T. F. Mathews *Early Churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy*, 1971, 164; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversio S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, chapter 27 in: PG, ed. Jacques- Paul Migne, vol. 114, col. 1113.

⁵⁷ L. Garland *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204*. London 2002, 27; B. Caseau *Experiencing the Sacred*. In *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011*, Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 18. Ashgate, 2013, 60-77, esp. 62-63.

⁵⁸ “The distinction found in cosmos and Church, that is the reason for one being an image of the other, is a matter of relationship rather than separation; it is a matter of connection, and not division, and it is an ordered connection, the visible pointing to the invisible realm, so that the visible finds its meaning in the invisible, and the invisible finds its expression in the visible, and in this way reflecting the close relationship between sanctuary and nave in a church”. See A. Louth *The Ecclesiology of Saint Maximos the Confessor, International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* Vol. 4, No. 2 (2004), 111.

⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa found a relation between spectator and seeing object since the word θεός comes from θεῖσθαι “to see” (Eun. II. 585), and it signifies “the one who sees”. In *Quod non sunt tres dii*: “We name the divinity from vision (θεῖα) and we call god (θεός) the one who contemplate us (θεωρός)”. See J. Daniélou, *Gregoire de Nysse, La Vie de Moïse, Sources Chrétiennes* 1, Paris, 1955, 131.

⁶⁰ About the role of beholder and reception of optic phenomena of the images: D. Freedberg, *Movement, Embodiment, Emotion*. In *Cannibalismes disciplinaires. Quand l’histoire de l’art et l’anthropologie se rencontrent: Actes du colloque Histoire de l’art et anthropologie organisé par l’INHA et le musée du quai Branly (21 et 23 juin 2007)*, Paris 2010, 38; W. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*. Oxford studies in Byzantium, Oxford-New York 2012.

work of an embroiderer”. Despite the architectural dependence, every element on stretched textiles has its own symbolic weight. The first layer of meaning is a scriptural narrative that supplements the story told in sacred context. There are no anomalies in textile narration, if glanced from the topographical point of view. The church is wrapped in textiles as in Christ’s skin and flesh⁶¹ and ornaments shown are sparkling by textile movements on the surfaces as gem of the Logos, shaping the sacred space into the glittering surface which much later appeared in descriptions of *Nea Ekklesia*. In description the specific verb *katapoikillo* (kata – down; poikillo – embroider, but it means also means variegated and colourfull) was used. This gives the meaning to the aesthetic principle of ‘clothing’ the walls with the visual devices but *invisible meaning*.⁶² Context is the key to unlocking even the most straight forward reading of the Early Christian ornaments and its terminology.

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„ЗА УЛАЗ У ШАТОР СВЕДОЧАНСТВА НАЧИНИ ЗАСТОП“: ОРНАМЕНТИ,
ЗАСТОРИ И УЛАЗИ У РАНОВИЗАНТИЈСКОМ САКРАЛНОМ КОНТЕКСТУ

Циљ овог рада је испитивање феномена синхроне употребе орнамената извезених на текстилу и засторима у рановизантијском сакралном контексту. Циљ рада је уочавање орнамената и њихово прецизно дефинисање као и покушај утврђивања њиховог егзатног значења. У историографији византијске уметности мање пажње је посвећено сликама изведеним на засторима, а посебно њиховој специфичној позицији у храму, која се неретко помиње у изворима.

Орнаменти изведени на засторима функционисали су у два правца: с једне стране омогућавали су умозрење тј. ментални прелаз у обожени храм, а са друге стране приказују поруке Откровења. У познатом опису цркве Св. Софије у Цариграду, Прокопије из Цезареје помиње небеску сферу, где између осталог помиње и изглед застора који су постављени између стубова као својеврсна таписерија. Такође код Јована Хризостома се помиње умозрење изведеним орнаментима на текстилу. На основу више анализираних извора, текст показује перцептивне могућности застора на улазима и пролазима, који су подједнако ангажовали истоврсне орнаменте који се и данас могу упоредити са изведеним орнаментима на мозаицима или клесаним деловима црквеног мобилијара и ентеријера.

⁶¹ The symbolism of the curtain as the flesh of Christ is mentioned in St. Paul’s Epistle to Hebrews. According to the Epistle the veil is designed as the flesh of Lord the Savior “the new and living way which He opened for us through the curtain that is through his flesh.” (Heb 10: 19-20).

⁶² C. Angelidi, *Designing Receptions in the Palace (De Ceremoniis 2.15)*. In A. Beihammer et al. (eds.), *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Ages*, Leiden 2013, 465-486, esp. 473, 474.