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## Spatial icons : a hierotopic approach to Byzantine art history

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# *Spatial Icons. A Hierotopic Approach to Byzantine Art History*

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The present paper is based on the concept of Hierotopy, which I proposed nine years ago. It deals with a new field of art historical and cultural studies focusing on the making of sacred spaces considered to be a particular form of human creativity<sup>1</sup>. A significant phenomenon of spatial icons has been discussed in this context. This phenomenon stands for the iconic images not depicted figuratively, but presented spatially as a kind of vision that extends beyond the realm of flat pictures and their ideology, still dominant in our minds and preventing us from establishing an adequate perception of hierotopical projects<sup>2</sup>. In such a case it seems crucial to recognize and acknowledge the intrinsic spatial nature of iconic imagery as a whole: in Byzantine minds the icon was not merely an object or a flat picture on a panel or wall, but also a spatial vision emanating from the picture and existing between the image and its beholder. This basic perception defined the iconic character of space in which various media were interacting. From this point of view the creation of a sacred space is such organization of concrete spatial imagery that typologically (i.e. according to a type of representation and its perception), can be considered quite like Byzantine icons<sup>3</sup>.

This artistic phenomenon, as I have argued elsewhere, creates a methodological difficulty, as it contradicts to the basic principle of the traditional art history - the opposition 'image versus beholder'<sup>4</sup>. The relationship between the image and the beholder could be most complicated, yet their structural opposition presents a kind of pivot of all art-historical discussions. The most characteristic feature of hierotopic phenomena, however, is

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<sup>1</sup> LIDOV 2006a; LIDOV 2009.

<sup>2</sup> LIDOV 2007; LIDOV 2004; LIDOV 2004a; LIDOV 2006.

<sup>3</sup> On this phenomenon see: LIDOV 2007; LIDOV 2007a.

<sup>4</sup> LIDOV 2006a, 40-43.

the participation of the beholder in the spatial image<sup>5</sup>. The beholder finds himself within the image as its integral element along with various representations and effects created by lights, scents, gestures, and sounds<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, the beholder, as endowed with collective and individual memory, unique spiritual experience and knowledge, in a way participates in the creation of spatial imagery. Simultaneously, the image exists in objective reality as a kind of dynamic structure, adapting its elements according to an individual perception - some aspects of the spatial entity could be accentuated, or temporarily downplayed. Creators of sacred spaces kept in their minds the factor of the prepared perception, connecting all intellectual and emotional threads of the image-concept into a unified whole.

It is noteworthy, that Byzantine “spatial icons”, most unusual in modern European context, have a typological parallel in the contemporary art of performances and multi-media installations, which have nothing to do with the Byzantine tradition historically or symbolically<sup>7</sup>. What they share in common is the basic principle of absence of a single source of image, the imagery being created in space by numerous dynamically changing forms<sup>8</sup>. In this situation the role of the beholder acquires major significance, as he actively participates in the re-creation of the spatial imagery. With all the differences of the contents, technologies and aesthetics one may speak about one and the same type of the perception of images.

Recent studies of spatial icons and of hierotopy in general, required serious reconsideration of existing methodology and elaboration on the new notions, one of which I am going to discuss in the present paper. It seems to be of major importance for the understanding of a number of phenomena of world art in general and the Eastern Christian tradition specifically.

I will argue that in many cases the discussion of visual culture can not be reduced to a positivist description of artefacts, or to the analysis of theological notions. Some phenomena can be properly interpreted only on the level of images-ideas, I prefer to term them “image-paradigms”, which do not coincide with the illustrative pictures or ideological conceptions and, as it seems, might become a special notion and a useful *instrumentum studiorum*, which helps to adopt the spatial imagery into the realm of our mostly positivist discourse. That image-paradigm was not connected with an illustration to any specific text, although it did belong to a continuum of literary and symbolic meanings and associations. This type of imagery is quite distinct from what one may call an iconographic device. At the same time the image-paradigm belonged to visual culture, it was visible and recognizable, but it was not formalized in any fixed state, either in a form of the pictorial scheme or in a mental construction. In this respect the image-paradigm

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<sup>5</sup> ISAR 2000; LIDOV 2004a, p. 319–21; LIDOV 2007, 355–57.

<sup>6</sup> Some characteristic examples have been recently discussed: WEYL CARR 2006; BAKALOVA/LAZAROVA 2006.

<sup>7</sup> ISAR 2008, 465.

<sup>8</sup> ISAR 2006.

resembles of the metaphor that loses its sense in re-telling, or in its de-construction into parts. For the Byzantine world such irrational and simultaneously 'hieroplastic' perception of the phenomena could be the most adequate evidence of their divine essence. It does not require any mystic perception but rather a special type of consciousness, in which our distinct categories of the artistic, ritual, visual, spatial are interwoven into the inseparable whole. This form of vision determines a range of symbolic structures as well as numerous specific pictorial motifs; in addition, it challenges our fundamental methodological approach to the image as illustration and flat picture.

Some previous years I tried to present some reconstructions of particular image-paradigms that existed in the Byzantine world. Among them the image-paradigm of Heavenly Jerusalem was the most perceptible, existing practically in every church where the Heavenly City was not formally depicted but appeared as a kind of vision created by various media which included not only architecture and iconography but particular rites, sounding liturgical prayers, dramaturgy of lightings, organization of incense and fragrance. It is clear, that the level of sophistication and esthetical quality of the project was quite different in the Byzantine capital and in a remote village but the principle of the image-paradigm, visual and at the same not depicted, remained crucial in the concept of a sacred space. Probably, Heavenly Jerusalem was the most powerful image-paradigm but, certainly, not even one. We may speak about the entire category of Byzantine images neglected for a long time. Some more specific examples, like image-paradigms of the "Blessed City of Edessa" or of the Priesthood of the Virgin, have been recently revealed and discussed<sup>9</sup>.

In the present paper I would like to deal with another characteristic example of the "image-paradigms" which played a great role in the Christian culture. This is the paradigm of *the Iconic Curtain*. I would like to demonstrate that the curtain was a powerful vehicle of the Byzantine culture definitive of the iconic imagery from the very beginning. It goes back to the prototype of the Temple Veil and to the Jewish and Christian tradition of its theological interpretation<sup>10</sup>.

Already the first mentioning of the Veil (*paroket*) of the Tabernacle (Exod. 26:31; 36:35), separating the holy place from the Holy of Holies and screening the Ark and the seat of God, indicates that it was a kind of image, *the skilled work*, woven from blue, purple, crimson and linen, and embroidered with cherubim. The Jewish tradition perceived the Veil as a symbolic representation of cosmos and eternity.

Josephus, writing at the end of the first century AD, stated that the veil, which had been embroidered with flowers and patterns *in Babylonian work*, depicted a panorama of the heavens. He explained that the colors woven together had a symbolic meaning: the scarlet signified fire, the linen symbolised the earth, the blue - the air and the purple - the

<sup>9</sup> LIDOV 1998; LIDOV 2006; LIDOV 2007.

<sup>10</sup> On this tradition, see recently: BARKER 2005, 202–28.

sea. The veil, thus, represented the matter, the substance of the visible creation, and of the universe<sup>11</sup>. The later Jewish mystic theology suggested that the veil was also an image of the sacred time simultaneously representing the past, the present and the future. The book of *Enoch III* describes how Ishmael the high priest was taken up into heaven and shown all the history of the world on the reverse side of the veil, as on a great screen.

Philo gave the same explanation of the colours of the veil as symbolizing the four elements of the world. A crucial point of his interpretation is that the veil was the boundary between the visible and the invisible creation. The world beyond the veil was unchanging and without a temporal sequence of events, but the visible world outside the veil was a place of change<sup>12</sup>. This statement of Philo seems to me of great significance for the tradition of the icon worship and deserves more careful analysis. He introduced not merely an opposition between the earthly and the heavenly worlds, but also defined a concept of interaction of these two sacred realms, the holy and the most holy, which belong to different ontological models. The most holy realm, placed beyond the veil and existing outside time and matter, creates the eternal pattern for the changing sacred environment in front of the curtain. Some traces of Philo's vision could be found in the Byzantine theology of icons. The holy image, following the curtain paradigm, is not just 'the door to heavens' (this traditional interpretation seems to be too simplified), but also the living spatial and transparent boundary connecting two heterogeneous sacred realms. It provides an explanation of the special concept of time and space, which one may discover while contemplating icons. From this point of view every icon could be interpreted as a curtain signifying the boundary of the dynamic space of prayer, unifying the beholder and the image in a space of unchangeable divine presence.

In the Christian tradition, the tearing of the temple veil (*katapetasma*) at the moment of Christ's death (Mat. 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45) becomes a new source of interpretation. According to St Paul's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the veil is designated the flesh of the Lord: "The new and living way which he opened for us through the curtain (*katapetasma*), that is through his flesh" (Heb. 10:19-20). There are some important aspects derived from the Christian vision of the veil. The eternity of Christ, who had passed beyond the veil and thus beyond the time, has been confirmed. Through the veil torn in two He opened the Holy of Holies to the faithful and a way to salvation. The temple curtain became an image of His redemptive sacrifice with its liturgical connotations. The symbolism of the veil as the flesh of Christ was one of the most influential and widespread topics in Christian culture. A theological interpretation of the apocryphal story of the Virgin weaving the Temple veil

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<sup>11</sup> JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Ant.* III 6, 4; III 7, 7 and *War* V 5, 4 (ed. Whiston, vol. 1, p. 224–25, 233–34; vol. 4, p. 183).

<sup>12</sup> PHILO, *Questions on Exodus* II 91 (ed. Marcus, p. 140).

became a popular theme of early Byzantine hymnography and homiletics where it was the weaving of the veil came to be compared to the Incarnation of the Logos<sup>13</sup>.

From early Christian time onwards, the veil was perceived as a powerful iconic image having various connotations ranging from the idea of the Incarnation to that of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In contrast to the Jewish tradition a *topos* of the open curtain was highly emphasized. It seems quite natural, then, that in the period of Iconoclasm the Temple veil became one of the arguments of the icon-worshippers presented at the Second Council of Nicaea: "Thus, this Christ, while visible to men by means of the curtain, that is His flesh, made the divine nature – even though this remained concealed – manifest through signs. Therefore, it is in this form, seen by men, that the holy Church of God depicts Christ". This vision was incorporated into the contemporary iconography.

The "Parousia miniature" from the ninth-century Vatican manuscript of the *Christian Topography* (*Cod. gr. 699*, fol. 89r) provides the most characteristic example, which has been recently discussed by Herbert Kessler<sup>14</sup>. The composition of the Second Coming (fig. 1.) is actually structured by the tabernacle, following a two-part scheme used for the Ark of the Covenant in the Jewish tradition and later in Byzantine iconography. The arched upper part represents the Holy of Holies, the rectangle lower part symbolizes the Holy place, which is interpreted as a tripartite hierarchy of the heavenly, earthly and underground beings. Christ is represented in the Holy of Holies in the background of a magnificent gold cloth decorated with a trellis pattern filled with *fleurs-de-lis*. The ornamentation was probably inspired by Josephus' description of the Temple Veil embroidered with flowers and patterns. As Kessler has noticed, the same decoration of the Veil appeared in the depiction of the entrance into the Tabernacle in other miniatures of the *Christian Topography*.

The curtain is at once the background and the major iconic representation, which is symbolically inseparable from the image of Christ because the Veil, in Pauline and patristic interpretation, is the flesh of Christ. Through Christ and the Temple Veil the viewer may gain access to heaven represented by the blue background. This is a visual embodiment of the New Testament's words about "the new and living way" that Christ opened for us to the Holy of Holies when the Screen-Veil was torn in two at the moment of the Redemptive Sacrifice. The idea of entrance into heaven is emphasized by the Greek inscription above the Vatican Parousia: "You have my Father's blessings" and further, according to St Matthew (25:34) "come, enter and possess the kingdom that has been ready for you since the world was made". The creator of the miniature suggests a fundamental idea of all icons perceived as mediating realms.

In this respect, the icon of "Christ-Veil" operates as an ideal iconic image. It is noteworthy that the curtain is closed and open at the same time. The idea of boundary seems cru-

<sup>13</sup> CONSTAS 2003, chap. 6.

<sup>14</sup> KESSLER 2000, 60–87.



Fig. 1. The 'Parousia miniature' from the ninth-century Vatican manuscript of the Christian Topography (from KESSLER 2000)

cial, but the possibility of crossing this threshold is no less significant. As the open curtain, the icon is a sign of passage and transfiguration, in which the idea of *theosis*, or deification, is realised as a dynamic process, a dialectic interaction of the holy and the most holy realms

with the active participation of the beholder. One may assume that the curtain as potentially transparent sacred screen could be regarded as a basic principle of iconicity.

It is important to note that the icon-curtain has not received a formalized pictorial scheme in iconography. Most probably, Byzantine image-makers deliberately avoided limiting the all-embracing symbolism of the veil to a particular pattern but rather used it as a recognizable paradigm of icon-screen appearing each time in a new form.

The image-paradigm of the iconic curtain has been revealed through real curtains and veils hanging in actual Christian churches<sup>15</sup>. In Syrian sources from the fourth century onwards, there are several testimonies to the use of altar curtains, which were conceived as an interactive system of veils concealing, respectively, the door of the sanctuary barrier, the ciborium, and the holy gifts on the altar-table. Theologians identified these curtains with the Temple veils – the symbolism is reflected not merely in commentaries but even in the terminology of the church spaces divided by curtains. The evidence of written sources is confirmed by archeological data indicating traces of hangings in the Early Syrian sanctuaries.

In one of the oldest Byzantine liturgical commentaries, ascribed to Sophronius of Jerusalem, it is said that the *kosmites* (architrave of the sanctuary barrier) is a symbolic image of the *katapetasma*, i.e. the temple veil<sup>16</sup>. Multiple sources mention curtains in different contexts of imperial ceremonies or miraculous events in Constantinople. The Byzantine accounts fit well with the contemporary evidence from *Liber Pontificalis* on the numerous icon-curtains presented by Roman popes to the main basilicas of their city<sup>17</sup>. The most characteristic example is Paschal I (817–824) adorning Santa Maria Maggiore in 822–824<sup>18</sup>. He presented to this church several dozens of textiles belonging to different types of decoration (among others “the clothes of Byzantine purple”); most were for the altar area of the basilica. There were at least three different sets of icon-curtains, decorating spaces between columns of the sanctuary barriers. A year later, Pope Paschal added an extra set of icon-curtains representing another cycle: Christ’s Passion and Resurrection.

Another group of curtains displayed on that basilica’s great beam was connected with the sanctuary barrier’s decoration. The most significant among them was “a great veil of interwoven gold, with 7 gold-studded panels and a fringe of Byzantine purple”. According to Krautheimer, this large veil with seven images displayed beneath the triumphal arch was for the wider central opening of the *pergola* (barrier)<sup>19</sup>. Thus, it had to serve as an actual replica of the Temple Veil over the sanctuary door. This great curtain hung in juxtaposition to another one placed at the entrance to Santa Maria Maggiore, “a great Alexandrian curtain,

<sup>15</sup> The discussion of written sources and the available archeological data from Syria to Constantinople, see: MATHEWS 1980, 162–71.

<sup>16</sup> KRASNOSELTSEV 1894, 201.

<sup>17</sup> CROQUISON 1964, 577–603; PETRIAGGI 1984.

<sup>18</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*: C. Paschalis (817–824), XXX–XL (ed. Duchesne: vol.1, 60–63; translation: Davis 27).

<sup>19</sup> KRAUTHEIMER 1937/77, vol. 3, 52.



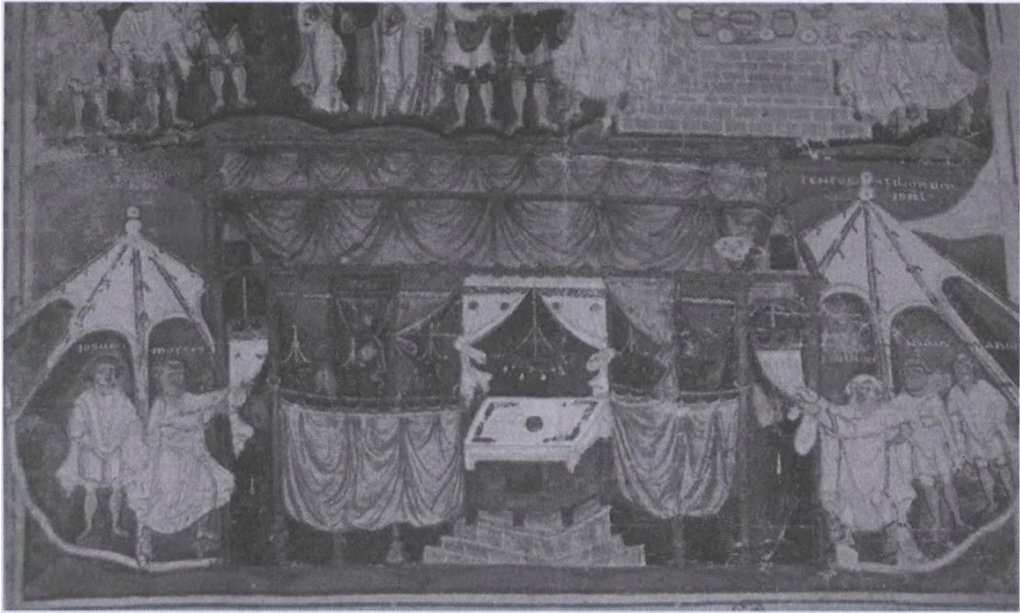


Fig. 2. The Tabernacle. The seventh-century miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (from K. Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, New York 1977, pl. 46)

embellished and adorned with various representations”. These two veils engaged in a visual and symbolic dialogue with the third one, which was situated on the same horizontal axis, probably, behind the throne in the opening of the central arcade. It is noteworthy that in many cases the *Liber Pontificalis* indicates the manner of making the curtains, emphasizing their being manufactured out of four different materials “of fourfold-weave”. The symbolic aspect of this technology seems quite clear: it connects Roman textiles with the Temple Veil that was made of blue, purple, crimson and linen (Exod. 26:31; 36:35).

We have mentioned just few examples of the elaborated system of curtains creating a multi-layered structure of sacred screens, dynamic, changing, and interacting. One can imagine that Santa Maria Maggiore, as well as other Roman churches, looked much more like cloth tabernacle than a stone church. A good impression of this imagery may be found in the seventh-century miniature of the *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Cod. lat. 2334*, fol. 76r) representing the *Old Testament* tabernacle as a Christian church with the eight different types of curtains arranged as a system of sacred screens (fig. 2). The evidence of the *Liber Pontificalis* allows us to see in this iconographic pattern a reflection of contemporary church interiors, embodying the most powerful image-paradigm, which for centuries played such a great role in the Mediterranean visual culture, extending beyond fluid borders of the West and the East. It is noteworthy that it was not an illustration of a particular theological notion, though it had several symbolic meanings, deeply rooted

in the Jewish tradition and its Christian interpretation, revealing in every church the imagery of the Tabernacle.

The all-embracing symbolism of the icon-curtain could be found in almost all church decoration – presented on different levels, from a concrete pictorial motif to a general structure. In this connection one should examine the well-known iconographic theme of curtains in the lower register of church walls. Curtains had already appeared in early Byzantine art (in the murals of the Bawit monasteries, or of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome; fig. 3) and they became an established device in the Middle-Byzantine period (fig. 4). Scholars have suggested different interpretations of this motif<sup>20</sup>. In our view, however, its connection with the Temple Veil symbolism seems the most probable. Some new arguments can be provided. The representations of curtains were accumulated in the

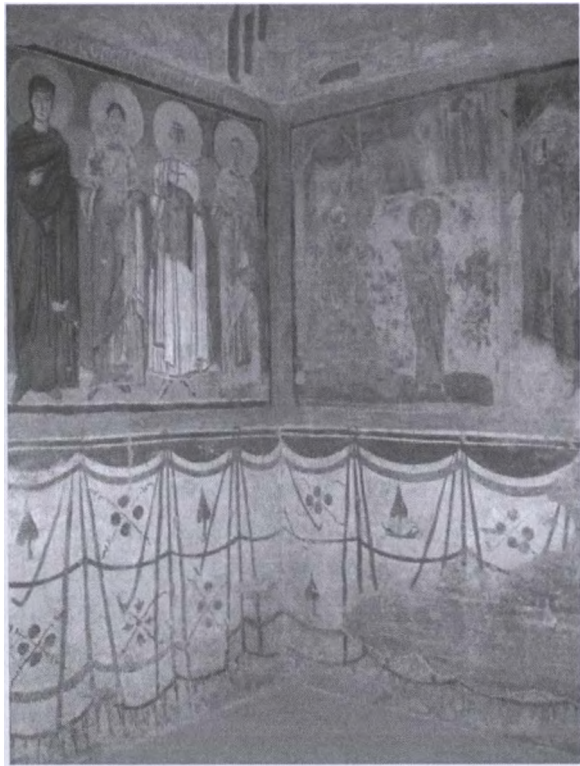


Fig. 3. The curtains in the eighth-century murals of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome (Photo: Author)

sanctuary area while in the naos of the church plates imitating marble were depicted. On the curtains, represented in the altar of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Russian church of Sts Boris and Gleb in Kideksha<sup>21</sup>, one finds a pattern in form of the candlestick with seven branches, an iconography pointing to the Tabernacle and the Temple service. However, we find the most striking example in the decoration of the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century upper church of the Boyana monastery near Sofia, Bulgaria. An original inscription that has survived on the curtains in the lower register of the northern wall clearly identifies the meaning of the image, “kourtina rekoma zavesa – kourtina, called the veil”. So, the curtains in the lower zone are not the ornamental margins but an integral part of an ancient symbolic concept that goes back to the early Byzantine church iconography. Going a step further in our interpretation, the holy figures above the curtains can be viewed as the images on the Veil and beyond the Veil, coming from Heavens and becoming

<sup>20</sup> John Osborne has discussed some interpretations in conjunction with Roman murals: OSBORNE 1992, 312–51.

<sup>21</sup> ORLOVA 2002, 35–38.



Fig. 4. The curtains in the sanctuary of the twelfth-century ossuary church of the Petritsion monastery (Bachkovo) in Bulgaria (Photo: Author)

visible and accessible because the Temple Veil was opened forever by the sacrifice of Christ. In this way the entire pictorial space of the church can be identified with the icon-curtain, as I have earlier suggested in case of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (fig. 5) with the mosaic vaults recalling the ornamental veils and in Roman basilicas wherein the image of the tabernacle-curtain received a key position at the top of the altar apse.

A sort of imagery that I attempted to disclose and discuss in the present paper leads to an important methodological statement: the iconic curtain as well as some other important phenomena of the Mediterranean visual culture can not be described in traditional terms of art history. They challenge our fundamental methodological approach to the image as illustration and flat picture, being quite distinct from what one may call iconography. The artists, operating with various media, including standard depictions, could create in minds of their experienced beholders the most powerful images which were visible and recognizable at any particular space, yet not figuratively represented as pictorial schemes. These images revealed specific messages, being charged with profound symbolic meanings and various associations. At the same time they existed beyond illustrations of theological statements or

ordinary narratives. So, it concerns a special kind of imagery which requires, in my view, a new notion of image-paradigms. The introduction of this notion into contemporary art history, and humanities in general, will allow us to acknowledge a number of phenomena, not only “Medieval” and “Mediterranean”, which defined several symbolic structures as well as numerous concrete pictorial motifs. We still do not have an adequate terminological language to operate with image-paradigms but it seems already clear that beyond image-paradigms our discussion will remain foreign to a medieval way of thinking and any analysis would be limited to merely the external fixation of visual culture.



Fig. 5. The sixth-century mosaic vaults recalling the ornamental veils of the Tabernacle. Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Photo: Author)

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