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FROM “ICONS IN SPACE” TO SPACE IN ICONS:
PICTORIAL MODELS FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
RITUAL IN THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MOSAICS
OF SAN MARCO IN VENICE

In his seminal book, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, Otto Demus argued that in the aftermath of iconoclasm a new “classical system” of church decoration was designed for the more intimate spaces of monastic churches such as the Katholikon of Hosios Lukas near Delphi and the Monastery of the Koimesis at Daphni near Athens¹. Holy images were displayed within an ideal hierarchy of space and time, descending from the Pantokrator at the apex of the dome, through the prophets, the narratives of the incarnation at the base of the dome and finally to the saints on the vaults and intradoses of the lower level. Although the images themselves were represented against a transcendent gold ground with minimal suggestion of physical space, Demus contended that their careful placement within the architectural setting transformed them into what he termed “icons in space” — images which took advantage of curving surfaces of squinches, domes and arches to present the figures as interacting with the beholder across the real space of the viewer within the church building². The same system, he suggested, was adapted to churches in Western Europe such as the basilica of San Marco in Venice. Although the iconographic program had to be extended to accommodate five domes in this case, the essential iconic style and hierarchy of images in space were maintained.

What Demus didn't explain was precisely how the medieval beholder would have interacted with, or used the monumental mosaics and how their function was transformed over time. Critiquing Demus' model, Thomas

¹ *Demus O.* *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium.* London, 1948; rpt. New Rochelle, 1993.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13–14.

Mathews has addressed the problem of how the “icon in space” functioned by interpreting the Pantokrator in the dome of Middle Byzantine churches as the site of transformation. Using the analogy of the eucharist itself, Mathews has argued that the beholder who enters the space beneath the dome is transformed into the image of Christ, assimilated to the body of Christ, by virtue of the presence in the image³. Charles Barber, in turn, questions Mathews’ eucharistic analogy of transformation, noting that post-Iconoclastic sources were careful to separate images from worship, and they distinguished the real presence of Christ in the eucharist and the essential absence of Christ from a material image⁴. Nonetheless, he still argues that the monumental images of the Pantokrator serve as sites of “desire” — non-representational, pictorial spaces in which the beholder can visualise and project the ideal relationship between the absent and the present, the holy and the human. Setting aside the questions of presence and transformation, Staale Sinding-Larsen and Alexei Lidov offer a more dynamic model for the interaction of images, beholders and space. Sinding-Larsen uses the notion of “media interplay” to suggest ways in which the space of San Marco is activated through ritual, portable images and monumental images that evoke the ritual significance and “conceptual space” beyond the physical, architectural setting of sacred space⁵. Similarly, Lidov’s notion of “hierotopy” or sacred space is that of an ongoing creative process, which encompasses ritual performance and the choreography of movement over time and within space as well as the images and architecture themselves⁶. It is within this more elastic framework that I propose to analyse two narratives that were added to the original mosaic program of San Marco in Venice in the thirteenth-century: The Agony in the Garden and the Miracle of the *Apparitio* or reappearance of the relics of Saint Mark. Both compositions can certainly be connected to specific feasts, the former to the universal liturgical commemoration of Maundy Thursday, the latter to a more local miracle celebrated only in the Venetian calendar. But these two images are remarkable from the standpoint of their formal language in that they break from the self-contained, relatively two-dimensional Byzantine feast icons to present different phases of the

³ Mathews T. The Transformation Symbolism in Byzantine Architecture and the Meaning of the Pantokrator in the Dome // *Church and People in Byzantium* / Ed. R. Morris. Birmingham, 1990, p. 191–214.

⁴ Barber C. From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm // *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), p. 7–16.

⁵ Sinding-Larsen S. The Burden of the Ceremony Master. Image and Action in San Marco, Venice, and in an Islamic Mosque. Rome, 2000, esp. p. 57–104, 191–205.

⁶ Lidov A. Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Space as a form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History // *Hierotopy. Studies in the making of Sacred Spaces* / Ed. Alexei Lidov. Abstracts of International Symposium. Moscow, 2004, p. 32–33.

same narrative which involve concrete ritual actions that transpire within believable exterior or interior architectural space. The key to their interpretation lies, I believe, not so much in the artificial notion of stylistic change for the purposes of illusionism itself, but rather in a new synthesis of sacred space and representational space in which images serve as powerful models for behaviour. The images on the walls, I suggest, thus contribute to the constant refashioning or recreation of sacred space in Venice.

The mosaic of the Agony in the Garden (fig. 1), dating from the 1220s depicts an unusually expansive narrative of Christ praying in an unprecedented series of six distinctive moments, spread out in an illusionistic landscape setting that draws the viewer into the solitary prayer of Christ before his Passion⁷. The larger narrative is broken down into three acts. Proceeding from left to right, we first encounter Christ prostrate in prayer on a rocky outcrop in the Garden of Gethsemane, while his disciples slumber below. Christ appears a second time standing to the right of the same group of disciples to reprimand Peter. In the middle scene, Christ appears a second time in prayer, but in this case, Christ is shown kneeling and he raises his head to behold the arc of heaven. To the right, Christ descends again to confront Peter, who now appears alone in pensive pose, leaning his head on one arm. Finally, in the third part, Christ appears in yet another attitude of prayer: here, he kneels with his upper body fully upright and is connected directly to the arc of heaven by rays of light; behind him an angel appears with outstretched arms. To the right, Christ addresses Peter a third time, and the apostle raises himself up from the ground in response to his master's warning that his betrayer is approaching. Finally, the theme of prayer that is so strongly emphasized by the three separate prayer gestures of Christ is underlined by the inscription, which reads in translation: "While the king kneels in prayer, his disciples slumber; to them he draws near and rebukes them for this"⁸.

The essential iconography of the mosaic is based on Middle Byzantine models⁹. In the mid-eleventh-century Gospel Lectionary from the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos, for example, Christ appears three times within the framed miniature and a fourth time within the text of John's gospel below¹⁰. At the top of the mount of Olives, he prays in the prostrate pose of the first

⁷ *Demus O.* The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice. 2 vols. Chicago, 1984, II, p. 6–21.

⁸ DUMMODO REX ORAT SUPPLEX SUA TURBA SOPORAT AD QUOS MOX TENDIT ET EOS SUPER HOC REPREHENDIT. Transcribed by *Demus*, *idem*, p. 6.

⁹ For a survey of the iconography of Gethsemane, see: *Schiller G.* Iconography of Christian Art / Trans. by Janet Seligman. 2 vols. Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society, 1971, p. 48–51.

¹⁰ Dionysiou, Cod. 587m., fol. 66r. See: *Pelekanides S. M., Christou P. C., Tsioumis Ch. & Kadas S. N.* The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts / Trans. by Philip Sherrard. Athens, 1974, vol. 1, p. 185, pl. 226, pp. 439–440.

figure at San Marco, as an angel appears behind to comfort him. Further down the slope to the left, he prays a second time, standing. At the lower right, he admonishes Peter, seated in the same pensive pose as the middle figure at San Marco, at the head of slumbering disciples. Finally, Christ appears a fourth time in the historiated initial of the text to admonish his disciples to pray and be vigilant. While individual elements are anticipated here, however, even this extensive cycle does not account for the six-part narrative of the Venetian mosaic, and its provision of distinct landscape settings for three separate moments of Christ's prayer on the Mount of Olives. This is all the more remarkable when we compare the Venetian mosaic with examples in monumental cycles. In the late twelfth-century mosaic of Monreale Cathedral, for example, only a single moment of prayer is shown, coinciding with the left third of the San Marco mosaic: Christ kneels in prayer atop the mount, while his disciples slumber in the lower foreground¹¹.

The unusually complete narrative at San Marco may be explained in part by the increasing emphasis, in the course of the thirteenth century, on the Agony in the Garden as a model of prayer and meditation, and further as a focal point within the liturgy of Maundy Thursday¹². Although many patristic sources consider Christ as a model for prayer, it is only at the end of the twelfth century that corporeal gestures of prayer are translated into visual models for devotional practice.

A remarkable, illustrated text composed by the Parisian canon, Peter the Chanter (1130–1197), *De oratione et speciebus illius*, outlines seven variations on three essential postures for prayer — standing, kneeling and prostration¹³. This text, was widely disseminated in the following two centuries and manuscript copies of the text were produced both at Padua and Venice early in the thirteenth century. Although Peter's text is not necessarily the specific source for the more detailed images of prayer gestures at San Marco, it does provide a useful conceptual framework for the use of visual images as models for corporeal attitudes of prayer around the turn of the thirteenth century. As Richard Trexler has shown, Peter saw the text of the Bible as the primary source of models of prayer for the clergy, and pictorial images, in turn, as models for the laity¹⁴. What is more, these outward poses or "gestures" of prayer were understood as outward manifestations on inner, spiritual states.

¹¹ Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, pl. 147.

¹² See *Hamburger J. Nuns as Artists. The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997, p. 80–94, who focuses on German examples.

¹³ *Trexler R. C. The Christian at prayer: an illustrated prayer manual attributed to Peter the Chanter (d. 1197)*. Binghamton, N.Y., 1987; and *idem, Legitimizing Prayer Gestures in the Twelfth Century: The De penitentia of Peter the Chanter // History and Anthropology* 1. 1984, p. 97–126.

¹⁴ *Trexler. The Christian at Prayer*, p. 49–53.

According to Peter, “the gesture of the body argues for and proves one’s mental devotion. For the state of the exterior man tells us about the humility and affect of the interior man”¹⁵. Thus, Peter associates his fifth mode, in which the supplicant prostrates himself with face to the ground, with those who are not worthy to raise their eyes to heaven on account of their wickedness. Citing as his authority the text of Psalm 43:25: “For our soul is humiliated in the dust, our belly adheres to the ground”, Peter goes on to argue that the soul, in this passage, stands for the body, that the sinner knows himself to be but dust and ashes, and that he thus embraces the earth with his body in order to lament his sins¹⁶. Although Peter explicitly identifies this pose with one of Christ’s gestures in Gethsemane, the specific variation shown at San Marco at far left coincides with Peter’s seventh mode in which knees and elbows touch the ground, as shown in the Venetian and Paduan manuscripts of his text (figs. 2, 3). The choice of this variation of prostration by the mosaicist would seem to have been dictated by a number of factors. Most important, perhaps, the pose in the Venetian mosaic more closely resembles the Byzantine pose of penitence known as proskynesis, and thus represents the continuing fidelity of Venetian art to Byzantine models¹⁷. It is also has particular associations with penitence in public art of the west, including the celebrated figure of Eve analysed so aptly by Werckmeister¹⁸.

The second and third praying figures of Christ at San Marco are shown in a kneeling pose. This was the primary attitude of prayer recommended in the setting of the church, and Peter frequently condemns those able-bodied persons who sit rather than kneeling. He also specifies how one should or should not kneel. He thus denounces the use of kneelers, which he calls “artificial feet” and advocates that one should kneel with one’s knees and toes at the same level¹⁹. It is also significant that in describing this mode of prayer, the

¹⁵ *Peter the Chanter*. De oratione et speciebus illius, ll. 1395–1396 / Ed. Trexler // The Christian at Prayer, p. 39 and 208: “Gestus vero corporis est argumentum et probatio mentalis devotionis. Status autem exterioris hominis instruit nos de humilitate et affectu interioris”.

¹⁶ *Peter the Chanter*. Ibid., ll. 630–666 / Ed. Trexler, p. 188.

¹⁷ A key example is the mosaic over the Imperial Doorway of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, showing a Byzantine emperor (often identified with Leo VI) in proskynesis before the enthroned Christ. For its penitential connotations as well as its liturgical functions, see: *Barber*. Art and Worship, p. 11–16; *Cormack R*. Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul // Art History 4 (1981), p. 131–149; *Gavrilović Z*. The Humiliation of Leo VI the Wise (The Mosaic of the Narthex at Saint Sophia, Istanbul) // Cahiers archéologiques 28 (1979), p. 87–94; and *Oikonomides N*. Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Hagia Sophia // DOP 22 (1968), p. 151–166.

¹⁸ *Werckmeister O. K*. The Lintel Fragment representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun // Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 35 (1972), p. 1–30.

¹⁹ *Peter the Chanter*. De oratione et speciebus illius, ll. 2261–2276, 2313–2322 / Ed. Trexler. p. 42, 231–233.

fourth in his system, again evokes the example of Christ's Agony in the Garden, in this case, as recounted in Luke 22:42: "And getting down on his knees, (Christ) prayed, saying: 'Father, if it be your will, take this chalice from me'"²⁰. The fact that the mosaic differentiates the third pose from the second by showing Christ's torso upright is also significant. Seen as a series, these three poses suggest a progression from humiliation and penitence to a more upright pose of spiritual revelation. Similarly, in describing the practice of prayer at the end of his treatise, Peter appears to advocate a sequence of prayers and related corporeal actions as the supplicant enters the church. Just inside the door of a church, one is first to throw oneself flat on the pavement... on his face, then later in the same location, to "put his knees to the earth". Only after many "genuflections" and shedding of tears, is it appropriate for the supplicant to stand up and proceed into church assuming an upright mode of prayer with hands over head²¹.

Besides providing specific corporeal attitudes of prayer for the worshipper on a daily basis, the mosaic of the Agony in the Garden in San Marco would have been activated more specifically as a focus for prayerful meditation during Holy Week. As the celebrated text of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* reveals, it was common by the end of the thirteenth century to use the episode of Gethsemane as a primary focus for meditating on the Passion²². In addition to texts on meditation and prayer, the liturgy itself helped bring alive the most poignant episodes of Christ's Passion. At San Marco in Venice, the different phases of the Passion narrative on Maundy Thursday were dramatised by liturgical performance. The Washing of the Feet was re-enacted with the Doge himself playing the role of Christ, and it is perhaps not mere coincidence that the mosaic of the same episode is placed on the south barrel vault of the crossing facing the porphyry pulpit known as the *bigonzo*, whence the Doge attended festal masses²³. Christ's evening prayers in the garden of Gethsemane, were likewise re-enacted orally at the evening service in the selected versicles

²⁰ *Peter the Chanter*. De oratione et speciebus illius, ll. 596–597 / Ed. Trexler, p. 187.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46 and 227–228, ll. 2120–2159. A similar emphasis on the dynamics of praying in a sequence of distinct poses is found later in the thirteenth century in the nine modes of prayer of Saint Dominic. See: *Schmitt J.-C.* Between text and image: The prayer gestures of Saint Dominic // *History and Anthropology* 1 (1984), p. 127–162.

²² For the text and illustrations of the *Meditations*, see: *Meditations on the Life of Christ* / Ed. R. Green, I. Ragusa. Princeton, 1961. For the role of Gethsemane as a model for Franciscan prayer and obedience, see: *Johnson T. J.* The Soul in Ascent. Bonaventure on Poverty, Prayer and Union with God. Quincy University, 2000, p. 58–65. I thank Amy Neff for this reference.

²³ For the Maundy Thursday ritual see: *Sinding-Larsen S.* Christ in the Council Hall. *Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic* // *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, V. Rome, 1974, p. 200 and n. 5; and *Cattin G.* *Musica e Liturgia a San Marco*. Venice, 1990, II, p. 76–77, and III, p. 43–45.

and responses excerpted from the biblical narrative. In the fourteenth-century antiphony of San Marco, the narrative of the Agony is interspersed throughout the evening liturgy²⁴. At the first nocturn, we find the following sequence of responses and versicles: “(18v–19r) *Resp.* On the Mount of Olives he prayed to the Father; *Vers.* Truly not as I wish but according to your will. *Resp.* My soul is sad even unto death. (19v) *Vers.* Watch and pray... Now you shall see the betrayer cometh”. Again in the third nocturn, a further part of the Gethsemane narrative is acted out in Christ’s words: “(23v) *Resp.* You could not wait one hour to watch over me. *Vers.* Sleep then and be still”. Finally, a vespers antiphon refers to Christ accepting the chalice of the Passion.

This sequence of responses reveals an emphasis on prayer comparable to that of the mosaic. I would also argue that the formal presentation of the narrative within a more detailed landscape, setting out three distinct moments and places, provides a visual equivalent to this liturgical re-enactment within the space of the church. Although I have no direct evidence that the specific gestures of prayer found in the mosaic were imitated in the oral representation of the Agony in the Garden, the sixteenth-century *Ritum Cerimoniale* of San Marco, a compendium of both contemporaneous and earlier medieval practices, does specify gestures of prayer in the vicinity of the mosaic at different points during Holy Week²⁵. On Maundy Thursday, before the removal of relics of the Passion from the sanctuary of the treasury and their procession through the south aisle beneath the Gethsemane mosaic, all those present were to kneel while reciting appropriate antiphons²⁶. On Good Friday, the cantors again kneel during the veneration of the cross relic by the Doge from his throne in the Cappella San Clemente, but in this instance the congregation is required to assume a prostrate pose²⁷. At the end of the same day after compline, the procession of the Doge and Clergy, returning from the Ducal palace, pauses in the south aisle of the church, beneath the Gethsemane mosaic where all kneel,

²⁴ For the following versicles and responses, see: *Cattin*. *Musica e Liturgia*, II, p. 76–77.

²⁵ *Ritum Cerimoniale*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. III. CLXXII (2276). The manuscript is partially transcribed in: *Sinding-Larsen*. *The Burden of the Ceremony Master*, p. 255–323 (fols. 1–21 of the 16th century manuscript); and in: *Cattin*. *Musica e Liturgia*, III (excerpts for major feasts interspersed throughout commentary).

²⁶ *Ritum Cerimoniale*, fol. 8r; *Sinding-Larsen*. *Burden of the Ceremony Master*, 291 (8/4): “...vel antequam leventur reliquie de sanctuario, quatuor cantores flexis genibus incipiunt cantare aliquid in laudem salvatoris nostris quod tamen pertineat ad passionem sicque ceter qui adsunt genua flectunt. Postea surgens omnes et proceditur de sanctuario ad pulpitem ex quo ostenduntur reliquie ut dictum est”.

²⁷ *Ritum Cerimoniale*, 9r; *Sinding-Larsen*. *Burden of the Ceremony Master*, 292–293 (9/1): “De-tegit tabellam in qua insertum est lignum crucis, et elevatus brachia quantum potest, vertit se circumcirca ad partem cathedrae Domini Ducis, et cantores flexis genibus prosequuntur cantando, in quo salus mundi pendit, etc., et omnes in Ecclesia sunt prostrati in terra”.

then continues to the end of the aisle where all kneel again before the marble relief icon of the Deesis²⁸.

The role of pictorial models for ritual action in San Marco is strengthened in the mosaics of the *Apparitio* miracle added in the 1250s to the adjacent wall of the south transept²⁹. According to thirteenth-century liturgical texts, the Venetians no longer knew the location of Mark's relics when they completed the rebuilding of the church in 1094. After fasting and praying for three days, however, the relics were miraculously revealed by the saint himself within the hollow pier to the right of the present sanctuary, immediately opposite the mosaics. The *Preghiera* mosaic (fig. 4) shows the Venetian citizens, led by the Patriarch of Venice and the Doge, praying for the recovery of the lost relics of Saint Mark. The miracle itself is shown to the right witnessed by the Patriarch, the Doge and Venetian patricians and their families (fig. 5).

What is striking about these new mosaics is the concrete representation of ritual action within the actual basilica of San Marco. In contrast to the symbolic architecture of the twelfth-century mosaics of Saint Mark's translation to Venice, both compositions represent interior views of the church, which together present a complete image of the most significant architectural features and liturgical furnishings of the church on the two main axes. The *Preghiera* mosaic (fig. 4) shows an interior, east-west cross section of the basilica, detailing the arcade with its marble revetment, the barrel-vaulted gallery with its new thirteenth-century balustrades, the five domes, here rearranged on a single axis for the sake of visibility, and finally the eastern apse. It also includes in the background the newly installed, double tiered pulpit, complete with cupola, modeled on, and perhaps appropriating spolia from, the ambo of Hagia Sophia³⁰. Echoing the models of prayer in the Gethsemane mosaic, the Venetian citizens here display variations of three modes of prayer, including proskynesis by the clergy, kneeling or genuflection, by some of the laity, and

²⁸ *Ritum Cerimoniale*, 10v; *Sinding-Larsen*. Burden of the Ceremony Master, 297 (10/4–5): “postea flectimus ad parietem capellae baptismi et procedimus usque ad tres sanctos (Tre Santi: relief with Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist, in the south aisle, near the entrance). Inde flectimur ad dexteram usque ad portam magnam Ecclesiae, et ibi vertimur recta versus chorum per medium Ecclesiae”.

²⁹ On the *Apparitio* mosaic and its textual sources see: *Demus*. *Mosaics of San Marco*, II, p. 27–44; *Muraro M.* Il pilastro del miracolo e il secondo programma dei mosaici marciani // *Arte Veneta* 29 (1975), p. 60; and *Dale T.* Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000–1300 // *DOP* 48 (1994), p. 53–104, esp. 85–88.

³⁰ On the two “pulpits” assembled in the thirteenth century from spolia, see: *Minguzzi S.* Elementi di Scultura tardoantica a Venezia: Gli Amboni di San Marco // *Felix Ravenna* 141–42 (1991–1992) [appeared ca. 1997?], p. 7–79; and *Lorenzoni G.* Le vie del porfido a Venezia. Gli amboni di San Marco / Ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle // *Le vie del Medioevo*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Parma, 28 settembre — 1 ottobre 1998, I convegni di Parma, 1. Milano, Electa, 2000, p. 125–129.

the standing pose with head bowed, by the primicerius, the Doge and his councillors. At the same time there is a recognizable hierarchy in the disposition of figures within sacred space: The Doge, who alone is labeled with his generic title, appears in the company of his councillors, immediately behind the patriarch at the high altar in the elevated sanctuary, while the rest of the laity are confined to the nave and transept.

The miracle scene to the right (fig. 5) is represented on the north-south axis of the transept with the central dome overlapping two subsidiary domes to suggest the intersection with the east-west axis at the crossing. In this case, we also see part of the north branch of the narthex to the left, and immediately behind the Doge appears the porphyry pulpit known as the *bigonzo*, which served as an elevated platform for his throne on major feast days including Easter and all those festivals dedicated to Mark. Here it is as if we are witnessing, not so much the original miracle, but rather a commemorative procession, headed by the patriarch and clergy, and followed closely by the Doge and his councillors with arms outstretched in prayer toward the open pier. Women and children, including an elegantly attired prince³¹ in the foreground, are shown still moving from the vestibule at the northwest corner of the transept. The main event itself, the rediscovery of the relics is depicted only indirectly. The pier opens up but the relics are no longer revealed inside, because when the mosaic was made, they had already been removed and placed in the crypt.

The empty pier itself — a marble-clad pier marked by a protective icon of the Archangel Michael — became the focus of ritual attention in commemorative ritual, because it was associated with Mark's original tomb in Venice — a holy receptacle or sacred space in its own right (fig. 6)³². The annual commemoration of the miracle on June 25 included a high mass with nine lessons recounting the *Passio* of Mark, the translation of his relics, the miracle of the *Apparitio*, and subsequent miracles in the crypt, which confirmed the relocation of the relics there³³. At vespers, the *pilastro del miracolo* itself was censed

³¹ This figure is sometimes identified as Philippe de Courtenay, son of Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople. Baldwin II (1237–1261) gave him to Venetian nobles as security for a substantial loan and he lived in Venice from ca. 1248 to 1261. See: *Demus*. Mosaics of San Marco, II, p. 30.

³² See: *Muraro*. Il pilastro del miracolo.; Dale T. Stolen Property: St Mark's first Venetian tomb and the Politics of Communal Memory // *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* / Ed. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo. Aldershot, 2000, p. 205–225; *Idem*. Столп-реликварий св. Марка. Политика чудес и иконографические программы в средневековой Венеции // Чудотворная икона в Византии и Древней Руси / Ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов. М., 1996, с. 96–116 (= *The Reliquary-Column of Saint Mark in Venice: The Politics of Miracles and Images in Medieval Venice* (in Russian) // *Miracle-Working Icons in Byzantium and Mediaeval Russia* / Ed. Alexei Lidov. Moscow, 1996, p. 96–116).

³³ For the antiphony texts on the feast of the *Apparitio*, see: *Cattin*. Musica e Liturgia a San Marco, II, p. 98–99.

after the censing of the high altar³⁴. And, as early as the 1270s, Martino da Canal records a public procession in the Piazza San Marco³⁵. The usual route of this procession as on other feast days, moved from the sanctuary, past the pilastro del miracolo through the porta media of the South transept out to the piazzetta and then piazza San Marco, returning through the narthex and into the nave of the church³⁶. We can imagine this ceremony for the thirteenth century by looking at the mosaic over the Porta di Sant' Alippio which depicts the procession of the relics into the narthex from the piazza on the feast of dedication of the church (fig. 7)³⁷. Here again we see a remarkably accurate portrait of San Marco as it looked not in 1094 when the miracle happened and the church was rededicated, but in the thirteenth century, complete with the spoils of Constantinople — the marble revetment, precious columns and the bronze horses.

Although the mosaics of the Apparitio miracle are not a straightforward illustration of the ritual, they do allude to it directly. The preghiera mosaic is not a simple prayer service but a mass, for the altar is set with lit candles, a chalice and paten. The text on the book is taken from the mass on the Apparitio feast: “we exalt you O Lord to hear the supplications of thy people”. Likewise, the second episode of the miracle itself would seem to re-enact the procession as it returns to the Pilastro del Miracolo following the circumambulation of the piazza. Indeed the mosaic depicts families with children still entering the south transept of San Marco from what appears to be the north branch of the atrium.

To conclude, I suggest that the mosaics of the Agony in the Garden and the Miracle of the Apparitio reflect a new function for pictorial narrative in Western Europe, which goes beyond Demus' more static notion of “icons in space”. Ultimately, both of these mosaics suggest a fundamental transformation of the Byzantine model of “icons in space”. Rather than projecting the sacred narrative from the abstract space of the mosaic into the space of the viewer, these thirteenth-century mosaics sacralise the space of San Marco by

³⁴ *Ritum cerimoniale*, 47v, transcribed in: *Cattin*. Musica e Liturgia, p. 127: “Et in primis Vesperis, post incensationem altaris magni, altaris Sacramenti et columni apparitionis sancti Marci...”

³⁵ *Martino da Canal*. Les Estoires de Venise, LIX, ll. 10–14 / Ed. Alberto Limentani // *Civiltà Veneziana*, Fonti e Testi, XII, Seria Terza, 3. Florence, 1972, p. 216–218: “Et la feste de monsignor saint Marc, que est el mois de jurnet, fu chantée la messe de monsignor saint Marc, après ce que ils ont fait la procession devant l'eglise de li Evangeliste. Et sachés que cele feste font les Veneciens por une bele miracle que il virent jadis, que monsignor saint Marc fist voiant iaus...”

³⁶ The processions on the festivals of Saint Mark, Christ and Mary are described already in Martino da Canal's text, *Estoires de Venise*, LXXXVII–CI / Ed. Limentani, p. 246–263. For the processional order and routes taken in the sixteenth century, see: *Ritum Cerimoniale*. k 52–66; and *Muir E*. Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice. Princeton, 1981, p. 185–211.

³⁷ For the interpretation of this mosaic see: *Dale*. *Inventing a Sacred Past...*, p. 91–93.

representing palpable models for the rituals of church and state that regularly took place within its walls. The visualisation of such concrete actions and spaces in pictorial images may be understood ultimately within the broader context of a changing attitude towards vision and embodiment in the thirteenth century. The physical sense of sight was increasingly understood during this period as being intimately connected with spiritual seeing, and the new scientists of vision sought to construct a convincing geometry of “*perspectiva*” or looking through, which mapped out the path of rays of light from object to the eye and ultimately the mind³⁸. In the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and the proclamation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, there was also an increasing desire to make visible the most significant ritual of Christianity — the transformation of bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ. This was accomplished by the theatrical, highly visible act of elevating the host, and later by the display and procession of the consecrated host as a relic of the *Corpus Christi*³⁹. It was visible ritual actions that consecrated sacred space both within the church and in civic space; and it was pictorial narratives, I believe, that came to present tangible models for the ongoing re-creation of sacred space. This modified view of the role of pictorial narrative is clearly enunciated by Saint Bonaventure around the middle of the thirteenth century. After repeating Gregory the Great’s dictum that visual narratives serve as reminders of sacred history for those who cannot read, Bonaventure emphasizes a different rationale: “(pictures) were introduced ...so that men who are not aroused to devotion when they hear with the ear about those things which Christ has done for us, will at the least be inspired when they see the same things in figures present, as it were to their bodily eyes”⁴⁰. It is this more engaged devotional use of pictorial narrative that emerges in the mosaics of San Marco in the thirteenth century.

³⁸ On the changes in understanding of vision and its implication for the visual arts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see: *Camille M.* Before the Gaze: The Internal Sense and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing // *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance* / Ed. Robert Nelson. Cambridge, 2000, p. 197–223; *Hahn C.* *Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality* // *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance*. Cambridge, 2000, p. 169–196; *Biernoff S.* *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages*. New York, 2002.

³⁹ See *Mayer A. L.* Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult // *Heilige Ueberlieferung. Festschrift Idefons Herwegen* / Ed. Odo Casel. Münster, 1938, p. 234–262; *Dumoutet E.* *Le desir du voir l’Hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrament*. Paris, 1924; *Rubin M.* *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. New York, 1991; and *Snoek G. J. C.* *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A process of mutual interaction*. Leiden, 1995, esp. p. 54–64, 277–293.

⁴⁰ See: *Duggan L. G.* Was art really the ‘book of the illiterate’? // *Word and Image* 5 (1989), p. 227–251, esp. 232, 233, n. 32.

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ОТ «ИКОН В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ» К ПРОСТРАНСТВУ В ИКОНАХ:
ИКОНОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ОБРАЗЦЫ ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХ И ЧАСТНЫХ
ОБРЯДОВ В МОЗАИКАХ XIII В. В ВЕНЕЦИАНСКОМ САН МАРКО

Отто Демус в своей книге «Мозаики византийских церквей» установил основные принципы иконографии, выбора сцен и формальных особенностей византийских мозаик в сакральном пространстве средневизантийских церквей. Он утверждал, что после победы иконопочитания в новой «классической системе» декорации византийской церкви изображения располагались в согласии с идеальной иерархией пространства и времени, снижаясь от Пантократора в своде купола к святым на сводах и внутренних поверхностях арок. Далее Демус доказывал, что, хотя сами образы были выполнены на условном золотом фоне, почти никак не связанном с материальным миром, продуманное размещение в архитектурном интерьере превращало их в «иконы в пространстве» — изображения, использующие возможности изогнутых поверхностей тромпов, куполов и арок, представляли фигуры взаимодействующими в реальном пространстве зрителя, находящегося в церкви.

«Классическая система» была основана на анализе мозаик трех монастырских церквей — Неа Мони на Хиосе, Успения в Дафни под Афинами и Святого Луки в Фокиде, но Демус также утверждал, что она была принята даже за пределами Византийской империи. На примере пятикупольной базилики Сан Марко в Венеции Демус доказывал, что оригинальная система ее мозаик, сложившаяся на протяжении XII в., была адаптацией средневизантийской системы декорации церкви Святых Апостолов в Константинополе, дополненной сюжетами из жизни св. Марка и изображениями местных святых-покровителей, целью которой было воспроизведение в целом совершенно аутентичной византийской модели. В таком случае постройка пяти куполов усложняла систему и вела к большему сюжетному разнообразию, но Демус считал, что по крайней мере на центральной оси церкви, включающей купольные композиции Эммануила, Вознесения и Пятидесятницы, были соблюдены основные иерархические и формальные принципы византийской системы. И наоборот, когда Демус рассматривал две новых мозаики XIII в., изображающие Моление о чаше и чудо *Apparitio*, он предположил, что они были добавлены, дабы заполнить пробелы в большом повествовательном цикле, и были выполнены *ad hoc* без какого-либо более глубокого смысла. Так, «Моление о чаше» воспринимается как продолжение сюжета Великого Четверга, расположенного на соседнем западном своде, а *Apparitio*

(чудо обретения мощей св. Марка) — как дополнение к нарративным циклам в алтарных капеллах.

Демус не обратил внимания на своеобразный повествовательный стиль новых мозаик и на роль их сюжетов как моделей ритуального поведения в сакральном пространстве.

В настоящей статье утверждается, что обе мозаики отражают новый синтез ритуального и изобразительного пространства, специфическое западное отношение к образам и их использование в XIII в. Мозаика «Моления о чаше», датируемая 1220-ми гг., передает молитвенные движения, которые должен был совершать вошедший в сакральное пространство собора Сан Марко. В оригинальной композиции из шести сцен на фоне иллюзорного пейзажа развернуто повествование о молитве Христа. Несмотря на то, что многие отцы церкви рассматривали Христа в качестве высшего образца молитвы как духовной практики, только в конце XII в. его физические позы и движения во время молитвы стали восприниматься как образцы реального поведения в религиозной жизни, например, в наставлениях типа *De oratione et speciebus illius* Питера де Шантера.

Мозаика в южном трансепте, изображающая чудо *Apparitio*, завершенная в 1270-х гг., также показывает разнообразные молитвенные позы, но здесь они включены в контекст общественного ритуала, при совершении которого сакральное пространство церкви использовалось для политических целей. В сцене чудесного обретения реликвий св. Марка в столбе базилики, известного как Пилястро дель Мираколо, чудо не только изображено как исторический факт, но, скорее, представлено как «групповой портрет» Венецианской республики под руководством дожа в узнаваемом «портрете» собора Сан Марко, включающем хорошо различимые помосты, построенные из материалов, незадолго до этого похищенных во время Четвертого крестового похода из Константинополя. Две мозаики, расположенные напротив собственно «чудотворного столпа», служили образцами для ежегодного обряда празднования дня св. Марка и его покровительства Венеции на месте, считавшемся местом его первого погребения в этом городе. Праздник *Apparitio*, совпадавший с годовщинами важных военных побед Венеции, отмечался с огромной помпой каждый октябрь и включал ритуальное каждение столба, общую молитву о благе Венецианской республики и процессию с участием дожа, духовенства и горожан вокруг площади Сан Марко.

В целом обе эти мозаики свидетельствуют о фундаментальной трансформации византийской модели «икон в пространстве». Эти мозаики XIII в. освящают пространство собора Сан Марко и служат образцами церковных и государственных церемоний, регулярно прохо-

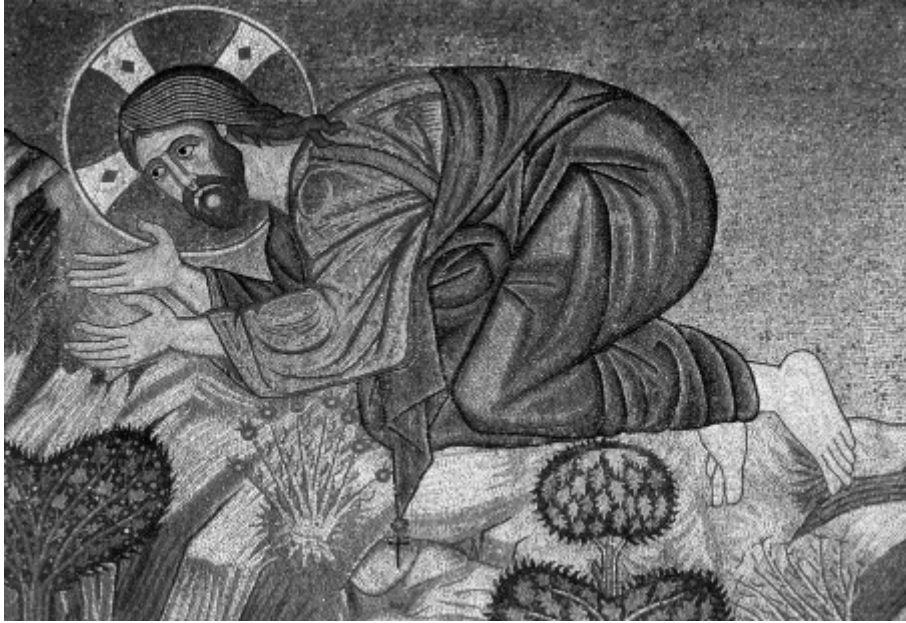
дивших в этих стенах, а не просто проецируют сакральные сюжеты из абстрактного пространства мозаики в пространство зрителя. В эпоху, когда большее внимание стало уделяться физиологии зрения и ее связи с духовным видением, сами иконы становятся пространственными, чтобы предоставить зрителю образцы ритуального поведения и духовного зрения.



1. Agony in the Garden, mosaic, San Marco, Venice, ca. 1220–1230 (Photo: Osvaldo Boehm, after *Sergio Bettini*, *Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia*. Bergamo, 1944, pl. LXXVIII).



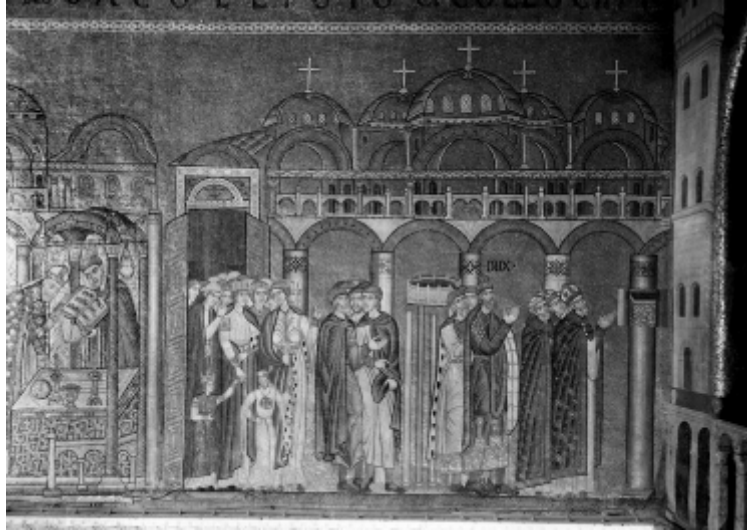
2. Peter the Chanter, 7th mode of Prayer, Archivio di Stato, Venice, (S. Maria della Misericordia in Valverde) MS b. 1 (after *Richard Trexler*, *The Christian at Prayer*. Binghamton, 1987, MODE 7, between pp. 133–167)



3. Agony in the Garden, mosaic, San Marco in Venice: detail of first figure of Christ praying (Photo: Photo Archives, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.)



4. Preghiera (Prayer for the Recovery of the Relics of Saint Mark), mosaic, San Marco in Venice, ca. 1253–1266 (Photo: Photo Archives, National Gallery of Art)



5. Apparitio (Miraculous Reappearance of the Relics of Saint Mark), mosaic, San Marco in Venice, ca. 1253–1266 (Photo: Photo Archives, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.)



6. Pilastro del Miracolo, including 12th century marble revetment and icon of the Archangel Michael, San Marco, Venice (Photo: author)



7. Translation of Relics and Rededication of San Marco, mosaic, ca. 1260, Porta di Sant'Alipio San Marco, Venice