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LATE BYZANTINE CHURCH DECORATION  
AS AN ICONIC VISION OF THE HEAVENLY  
JERUSALEM: THE CASE OF KALENIĆ

In considering the appropriate, and in this case that means not the common way to communicate the contents of this paper, that is of the monument in question, the premises stated in Alexei Lidov's introductory program defining text on hierotopy<sup>1</sup> immediately produced an awareness that, so conceived, this field of research actually arises as a form of logical, more than necessary reaction to the phenomena described by Ian Bialostocki, in the domain of art history, and Thomas Kuhn in science in general, as «weariness of method»<sup>2</sup>, that is a «conflict with the *paradigm* as a standardized set of convictions, methodological approaches and procedures which, as a rule, focus on model-problems and, as a result, offer model-solutions»<sup>3</sup>.

In full accordance with the above, the intention that the «case study» of the title should not be conveyed in a text of traditional monographic form offering data and hypotheses about and related to *one* building, was determined by some other reasons too, more closely connected with methodological models applied in the study of Byzantine architecture, and in particular of that of its late period. One of those reasons, perhaps even crucial, is found in the simple statement of Robert Ousterhout that «what we are able to say about the Byzantine building is often limited by the questions we ask»<sup>4</sup>, a

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<sup>1</sup> *Lidov A. M.* Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History // Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia / Ed. by A. Lidov. Moscow, 2006, p. 32–58.

<sup>2</sup> *Bialostocki J.* Historia sztuki wśród nauk humanistycznych (= Povijest umjetnosti i humanističke znanosti, Croatian edition). Zagreb, 1986, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Kuhn Th. S.* The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago 1970 (= Struktura naučnih revolucija, Serbian edition), Beograd, 1974, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ousterhout R.* Contextualizing the Later Churches of Constantinople: Suggested Methodologies and a Few Examples // DOP 54 (2000), p. 250.

sentence which could also be read as a basic «hierotopic» instruction, for the veracity of which the proof lie, between others, in the case of Kalenić too. For, no more convincing illustration precisely of that limitation in thinking can be found than in previously stated views on the architecture of this church, reproductions of which are found in practically all the reviews of art of the Byzantine world<sup>5</sup>, and this limitation was directly dictated by methodological view-points and the «type» of questions asked. Namely, for as long as it was «tied down» by the constrictions of being observed within the exclusive framework of local, that is provincial building practice or constructed typological classifications<sup>6</sup>, and that lasted for decades, the monument remained mute and had historiography speaking in its name, evaluating it as a perfected copy of a certain model<sup>7</sup>, a building created as a result of a reception of centuries old influences from Armenia and Georgia which remained forever understandable and never explained<sup>8</sup>, of contemporary currents in Islamic architecture or even folklore<sup>9</sup>, as a church whose facade «looks like a *bonbonnière*...almost totally lacking any sacred character»<sup>10</sup>, a structure on the exterior of which the application of decorative motifs stretches to the very limits of good taste<sup>11</sup>. The turn-about came at the moment when it became clear that the building must be pulled out of that thick fog condensed by the already mentioned «paradigm» of Kuhn, that its architecture must be viewed as a unique, specific organism, an architectural «sign of the times» as much as a sign of «architectural» times and that, as a result, questions as yet unspoken must be placed before it, questions actually suggested by all the characteristics of the building itself. And it is precisely the answers to those questions, in this instance focused on the concept and repertoire of visual instruments used for the purpose of evocation or translation of Jerusalem, are the end of an introduction to and the beginning of the story of an entirely different Kalenić.

A fundamental change of direction in the observation of the building was, thus, that crucial precondition which traced the path to the information to be communicated in this text. The usual analysis of its architectural char-

<sup>5</sup> *Mango C.* Byzantine Architecture, London 1986, pl. XXI, and recently, *BYZANTIUM: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* / Ed. by H. Evans), New York — London, 2004, p. 76; *BYZANTIO. ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΙΚΗ*, Αθήνα, 2004, φωτ. 191; *Византийский мир. Храмовая архитектура и живопись*. Москва, 2006, вк. 191.

<sup>6</sup> *Krautheimer R.* Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. Harmondsworth, 1989, p. 440.

<sup>7</sup> *Millet G.* L'ancien art serbe. Les églises. Paris, 1919, 181–191, 198.

<sup>8</sup> *Idem; Дероко А.* Монументална и декоративна архитектура у средњовековној Србији (*Monumental and Decorative Architecture in Medieval Serbia*). Beograd, 1953, 214 sq.

<sup>9</sup> *Максимовић Ј.* Српска средњовековна скулптура (*Serbian Medieval Sculpture*). Novi Sad, 1971, p. 138–144.

<sup>10</sup> *Mango*, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>11</sup> *Пустућ Б.* Моравска архитектура (*Architecture of Morava Serbia*). Kruševac, 1996, p. 108.

acteristics was not difficult to carry out, but, as it became more in-depth, it became more and more clear that the true meaning of the complex, fully late Byzantine structure of the exterior of Kalenić should not be sought in the so often applied dismemberment and interpretation of its elements one by one, but rather in their daring and utterly original connecting into a unique entity, with each element functioning both as a motif in its own right and as an organic part of the overall concept of the appearance and meaning of the church. More precisely, owing to that change of direction, at one point the exterior of the church grew into a specific architectural «image», created through an interaction of all forms and means of artistic creation, from its triconch silhouette which offered the possibility of a real tridimensional shaping of the basic masses, through the pronounced *visual intensity* of its *opus* and secondary modelling which underlines the «forces» or directions of the structure in length, height and, in particular, depth, to the polychrome stone sculpture whose repertoire and disposition has been and remained the medium of communicating messages of sacrality of the first order<sup>12</sup>. And thus, having viewed it from this point, it was logical to ask oneself what it was that such an image was *really* trying to convey to the observer, and what are the ideas hidden *behind* its surface?

A striking contrast between the lower and upper parts of the church, realized through an impeccably structured *opus listatum* and chequer-fields in three shades which cover the surfaces of the upper zones and the dome, remains to this day the momentary and dominant visual impression of anyone standing in front of its facades (fig. 1). And while the precision demonstrated in the laying of complexly sculpted stone block and bricks, in itself a unique phenomenon among the preserved monuments of Morava Serbia, naturally called to mind associations to Constantinopolitan examples, the parekklesion of Chora above all<sup>13</sup>, the latter motif, so far regularly identified in existing historiography as just one of many *decorative* applications on late Byzantine churches<sup>14</sup>, is baffling not only because of its «quantity», unique in preserved Byzantine architecture *in general*, but above all because of its placement on the most significant part of the church, carried out in gradual changes of tone achieved by the use of darker and lighter squares, that is according to all the rules of optical illusion<sup>15</sup>, and, finally, projected onto the

<sup>12</sup> An extensive analysis of the architecture of Kalenić in *Стевовић II*, Каленић. Богородичина црква у архитектури позновизантијског света (Kalenić. Virgin's church in the Architecture of the Late Byzantine World). Beograd, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> *Ousterhout R. G.* The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul // *DOSudies XXV*, Washington D.C. 1987.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Buchwald H.* Sardis Church E — a Preliminary Report // *JÖB* 26 (1977), p. 293–295.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Rickey G.* Constructivism. Origins and Evolution. London, 1967, p. 167; *Gombrich E. H.* Art and Illusion. London, 1977 (= *Umetnost i iluzija*, Serbian edition), Beograd, 1984, p. 214 sq.

fields of the uppermost zones of the apse and conchs thus clearly indicating their equal level of symbolic significance with the dome. The virtual «demaaterialized» tridimensionality achieved in this manner was an unambiguous architectural or programmatic message the origins of which had to be deciphered. In the context of one particular idea and pertaining visuality it can be observed throughout the centuries preceding Kalenić.

The motif of the square, that is of the rhomb, put together in various ways (in the form of chequer-fields, complex geometrical figures or crosses), split across the diagonal, colored in shades ranging from the darker to the lighter tones so that it assumes the form of two equilateral light-dark triangles sharing a common basis, and its endless repetition within a single image, has since antiquity been a favorite instrument in creating illusions of spatial depth and playing with the third dimension as an intimation of the otherworldly<sup>16</sup>. From that repertoire of works, in time this motif was adopted to become a part of compositions of the «real», like the lunette above the city gate of Thebes on Peutinger's tablet or the walls of Alexandria on the floor mosaic from the church of St. John in Gerasa<sup>17</sup>. We can not establish for sure whether this motif on these representations also had a «higher» meaning, but it seems very probable that the moment when such rows of adjoining squares entered the domain of Christian visual symbols of special meaning can be identified with the time of creation of such works as the icon of the Virgin known as *Salus Populi Romani*<sup>18</sup>, whose image is framed in precisely this manner, or the *Christian Topography* manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes. In the oldest preserved copy of this text ( *Vat. gr. 699* ) next to a description of the Old Testament Tabernacle, after that found in the Second Book of Moses, there are miniatures depicting the Ark and Tent of the Covenant with rhombs and chequer-fields, carried out according to the «instructions» for their making found in Exodus (2.Moses, 26, 31) (fig. 2)<sup>19</sup>. Also, we would be wise to recall at this moment the dating and contents of the «Syriac hymn», a description of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lavin I. The Ceiling Frescoes in Trier and Illusionism in Constantinian Painting // DOP 21 (1967), 106 sq, figs. 31, 38; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka P. Η ΤΕΧΝΙΚΗ ΟΡΥΣΗΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΝΤΟΙΧΙΑ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΗ. θεσσαλονικη, 1980, passim.

<sup>17</sup> Deckers J. Tradition und Adaptation. Bemerkungen zur Darstellung der christlichen Stadt // Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Roemische Abteilung bd. 95 (1988), p. 335–387, pl. 120-1, 130-2, 131-2.

<sup>18</sup> Wolf G. *Salus Populi Romani*. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter. Weinheim, 1990.

<sup>19</sup> COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTÈS, *Topographie Chrétienne* (W. Wolska — Conus), t. II, Paris, 1970, p. 54–57, 71, 89. Complete explanation of the meaning of this motif is given by Kessler H. J. *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, p. 53–63, and figs. 3.3–3.5.

the church of St. Sophia in Edessa<sup>20</sup>, and of special significance to point out that, already in those early centuries, this motif had its place in monumental painting, too, as attested by the remains of the older layer of wall paintings in the Zion church in Ateni<sup>21</sup>. Although its reception in Eastern Christian art of the latter centuries has yet to be investigated, the fact that its meaning remained clear is attested by a series of western European manuscripts from the X-XIII century, in the illumination of which chequer-fields regularly appear as a «backdrop» to the same image — that of Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>22</sup> (fig. 3, 4). Most directly, and this seems to offer definite corroboration of such an interpretation in the case of Kalenić, the same motif appeared in illustrations of the «architectural type» found in Serbian manuscripts of the XIV century (Psalter book of Branko Mladenović, Triodion of Georgios Anagnostos) (fig. 5), on which, as if by rule, the roofs of the «domes» are depicted as chequer-fields in several tones<sup>23</sup>, and also in the top register of the scene of Communion of the Apostles in the church of the Virgin Parigoritissa in Arta (fig. 6), as well as on the upper zone of the facades of the same church<sup>24</sup>.

By juxtaposing the visually expressedly diverse techniques of masonry, using the *opus* not as a routine, constructive approach but as a means of expressing the contents and universal meaning of a sacral building, on a symbolic level, the master builder of Kalenić did, in fact, raise *two churches*, and thus actually «materialized» a symphony of two dimensions of Christian existence, «transporting the worshipper from transient, linear time into eternal, divine time»<sup>25</sup>. Leaving that «secret liason» between Metochites's structure and Kalenić, noted already by the first Serbian researchers<sup>26</sup> and apparently not at all accidental, to future investigation, we shall direct our attention to a carefully thought out system of iconic signs which additionally define and round-off the idea of the temple as a substitute of unity between the earthly

<sup>20</sup> Grabar A. Le témoignage d'une Hymne syriaque sur l'architecture de la cathédrale d'Edesse au VI<sup>e</sup> et sur la symbolique de l'édifice chrétien // L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge, I. Paris, 1968, p. 31–50; McVey K. E. The Domed Church as Microcosm. Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol // DOP 37 (1983), p. 91–121.

<sup>21</sup> Вирсаладзе Т. Росписи Атенского Сиона. Тбилиси, 1984, p. 13–14.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. catalogue: Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo. Milano, 1983, passim; Kühnel B. From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millenium. Rom — Freiburg — Wien 1987, 141 sq. and illustrations 105, 106, 108.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Максимовић Ј. Српске средњовековне минијатуре (Serbian Medieval Miniature Painting). Beograd, 1983, p. 53 sq.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Papadopoulou V. N. Η ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΑΡΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ, Αθήνα 2002, εκ. 155, 172.

<sup>25</sup> Ousterhout R. Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion // Gesta XXXIV-1 (1995), p. 63.

<sup>26</sup> Петковић В. Фреске из унутрашњег нартекса цркве у Каленићу (Fresco Cycle from the Inner Nartex at Kalenić). Starinar III. Beograd, 1908, p. 121–143.

and heavenly church, transforming it ultimately into a particular spatial icon of Jerusalem.

The conceptual background of that system, which is in its own right proof of the fact that Kalenić was meant to represent a «visual code» of the church as the Tent of the Covenant, Solomon's Temple and a historical anticipation of Heavenly Jerusalem, is undoubtedly offer by its dedication to the feast of Introduction of the Virgin in the Temple. That is why there is a detailed cycles of Mary's childhood in the narthex of Kalenić<sup>27</sup>, but before we step inside the building it is necessary to point out the way in which the multilevel meaning of that feast, as a herald of the future presence of God in the Christian church, is, through the themes of the sculptural decoration of the facades, semantically integrated into the primary coordinates of the Christian universe as expressed by architecture. Although reduced and at times not too skilfully carved, which was probably why their sacral character was overlooked, all the representations in the lunettes, the window frames and colonettes were even formally arranged with utmost discipline so that one «type» of motif is always found in the same place. Observed from the semantic point of view, they are unified by the idea of *ecclesia militans*, expressed either by the presence of fantastic beasts as prefigurations of the various temptations of the terrestrial world or, as it will turn out, by those of special importance, namely representations of «the chosen», Samson triumphing over the lion, and David fighting the lion and the bear (fig. 7), according to the text of the First Book of Samuel 17, 34–37. Juxtaposed but at the same time harmonious with this thematic domain, is the fact that the *entire* repertoire of sculptural decoration in the zone above the second cordon frieze, the «foundation» of *ecclesia triumphans*, carved above the rosettes and the twisted colonettes as one of the age-old symbols of Solomon's Temple<sup>28</sup>, relies *without exception* on the shoots of vegetation, a traditional visual allusion to the Virgin as the «sprout of an unwilting new growth», «the flower of incorruptibility», in a word — to Paradise in which the Tree of Eternal Life Grows (fig. 8). Should we see this also as a visualisation of the verse from the *First Book of Kings* (7, 22) which literally says that «upon the top of the pillars was lilly work: so was the work of pillars finished»? Finally, the point of culmination which sublimates all aspects of the Virgin's role in creating the Jerusalem program on the facades of Kalenić, is undoubtedly the stone icon of the Hodegetria surrounded by cherubim (fig. 9).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Simić-Lazar D. Kalenić et la dernière période de la peinture byzantine, Skopje — Paris 1995, passim.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ward-Perkins J. B. The Shrine of St. Peter and its Twelve Columns // JRS 42 (1952), p. 21–33; Cahn W. Solomonic Elements in Romanesque Art // The Temple of Solomon. Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art / Ed. by J. Gutmann. Missoula, Mo. 1976, p. 55–56.

Placed in the lunette of the southern opening of the narthex it has rightly already been interpreted as a visual syntagm by which, according to another verse from the same Old Testament book (6, 29), the Temple is most directly identified with Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>29</sup>.

However, a fact that must not escape our attention, this image is not found above a «common» window but above a double opening, even physically much larger than the rest, a sort of spot light which even today direct daylight onto the ktetor's composition painted on the opposite, northern wall of the narthex<sup>30</sup>. And this is precisely the point «leading» into the interior of the church, an embience in which the contents and disposition of visual signs, the virtual «presence» of certain painted figures, as well as the unique «scenography» of certain parts of the interior definitely spell out the *entirety* of the idea of Kalenić and the intention of those who devised that, spoken in contemporary terms, «multimedial performance» and its true meaning.

Marked by the Virgin as the link between the terrestrial and celestial realm, the narthex of Kalenić received wall paintings the contents of which define that space as the point of overlapping or integration of sacred and real history. Elements of that congruence of time and space are found in particular among the frescoes of the second zone, the program of which is based on alternating allegorical images of the desert and the city as two types of «dwelling of the Lord», ultimately integrated precisely in Jerusalem, the Temple and the Ark of the Covenant kept inside it<sup>31</sup>. In that sense, the explicit connection between Jerusalem and Kalenić is seen foremost on the «vertical axis» of the northern wall, in the scene in which the desert king Aphrodisias welcomes Mary and Joseph bearing the infant Christ on his shoulders. This gesture, most similar to that of the priest bearing the Gospel above his head during the Great Entrance, indicates that this scene may be interpreted as a symbol of introducing the sacred presence into the Temple or the city, of the incarnation of the Logos, the Emmanuel in the Virgin. It can not be incidental that this scene is «arranged» in such a manner that the

<sup>29</sup> Radujko M. Le symbolisme ecclésial et eschatologique dans le thématique eucharistique dans la sphère artistique byzantine // *Zograf* 23 (1993–1994), p. 32–33.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Korać V. La lumière dans l'architecture byzantine tardive, en tant qu'expression des conceptions hésychastes // *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* / Ed. by D. Davidov). Belgrade, 1987, p. 125–131; see also remarks by Dell'Acqua F. Glass and Natural Light in the Shaping of Sacred Space in the Latin West and in the Byzantine East // *Hierotopy*, p. 299–318.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Popović D. Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem: the imagery of sacred space in the making (in this volume); Марјановић-Душанић С. Династија и светост у доба породице Лазаревић: стари узор и нови модели (*Dynastie et sainteté à l'époque de la famille des Lazarević: exemples anciens et nouveaux modèles*) // *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 43 (2006), 89 sq; Стевовић, Каленић, passim.

holy family stands directly above the family of the ktetor, one of the most powerful nobles of the Serbian state of the times, while, king Aphrodisias, in accordance with that concept, stands above the figure of despot Stefan Lazarević (fig. 10). Such an arrangement places an accent on the archetype of the ruler receiving the holy presence, enabling it to dwell in a certain place chosen by Divine Providence, preparing the «tents of the house of the Lord» visualised by the arcades of the apse and the conchs, and, in a word modelling his land after the celestial matrix of the ideal city<sup>32</sup>. In the reality of historical circumstances, the Serbian despot did indeed undergo a trial like his Old Testament «predecessors» of the same conviction and intention, the young David and the strong Samson from the lunettes of the windows of Kalenić, and for that reasons he was often compared to them by Constantine the Philosopher as the author of his Vita<sup>33</sup>. Even more conspicuously and more often, however, he was compared with Solomon himself<sup>34</sup>. One of the reasons, resulting from the facts discussed above, is also his certain participation in the creation of the overall program and idea of Kalenić, which can indirectly be deduced from the fact that, as opposed to all other preserved ktetors' compositions in Serbian painting of the times, this is the sole example in which the figures of the ktetors and the ruler are depicted on a 1:1 scale in matter of size, and, what's more, in such a manner that the painted model of the building is held by both<sup>35</sup>.

The «coordinate system» of painted representations on the eastern wall of the narthex expresses in a special and, indeed, theatrical manner the moment of transit from one into the other spatial — temporal dimension. The central part of the third zone is given to the scene of the feast to which the church is dedicated, the Introduction of the Virgin to the Temple, and below it, down the same axis, is a representation of a city, directly over one of the most luxuriously carved portals in Byzantine art (fig. 11). In an interaction of painting and polychrome stone sculpture, a passage through that spot lead into the space of the ultimate triumph of the church. Viewed as a whole, the preserved repertoire of frescoes in the naos bewildered previous scholars be-

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Ердељан Ј.* Београд као Нови Јерусалим. Размишљања о рецепцији једног топоса у доба деспота Стефана Лазаревића (Belgrade as New Jerusalem. Reflections on the Reception of a Topos in the Age of Despot Stefan Lazarević) // *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 43, p. 97–110; *Erdeljan J.* New Jerusalems in the Balkans: Translation of sacred space in the local context (in this volume); *Стевовић*, Каленић, 170sq.

<sup>33</sup> *Константин Филозоф.* Житије деспота Стефана Лазаревића (*Constantine the Philosopher.* Vita of despot Stefan Lazarević). Beograd, 1989, passim.

<sup>34</sup> Idem, see remarks and index, p. 153.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Цветковић Б.* Герасимов запис и ктитори Каленића (Gerasim's inscription and the ktetors of Kalenić) // *Saopštenja XXIX* (1997), p. 107–123; *Стевовић*, Каленић, 152.



cause of its «non-historic» character<sup>36</sup>, that is its choice of scenes reduced to just the usual events from the life of Christ, his miracles and post-mortual episodes, but, observed from this perspective it seems that precisely that sort of program was the only one adequately responding to the true meaning of Kalenić. Within its framework, however, for reasons expressed in the paper of Jelena Erdeljan<sup>37</sup>, there was also room for the presence, this time implicit and truly «virtual», of despot Stefan, expressed through a visualization of the two paths of an ideal Christian ruler as the leader of the chosen people, the path of the *archpriest*, along the northern axis with a gradation of significance of represented personae, from St. Sava, the founder of the Serbian church, to Solomon as the builder of the Temple of God, and the path of the *king* along the south, with images of Stefan Nemanja and king David<sup>38</sup>.

Finally, we left the phenomenon which to this day represents the key mystery of Kalenić for last. Although in some of its particulars it could offer ultimate corroboration of ideas mentioned above, scholars are still losing sleep over its meaning as a whole. Namely, at a height of approximately 70 cm there are pairs of modelled stone beams built into the walls and facing pilaster faces in the lateral spaces of the western bay and protruding from the plane of wall surface just short of 30 cm (fig. 12). The northern pair is lacking any additional carved motifs while on the lateral side of the southwestern beam there is an image of archangel Michael hoisting a model of a church (fig. 13) and the bottom surfaces of both southern beam, *visible only from the church floor* there are geometric but basically floral motifs of lilies with petals the size of a fingernail filled with meticulously chisled sketches of faces with serene smiles (fig. 14). Considered on its own, as an image of *single* meaning, such a representation of the archestratigos could be a visual message from the domain of those which since the Epistle to Ephesians (1.12) stressed that terrestrial and celestial beings, created by God and united in Him, take part in one single service<sup>39</sup>, most compellingly expressed in hymns sung on the feast of Incorporeal Powers or rather at that moment in liturgy at which the vault of the church would symbolically open and she herself lifted up to heaven. With this sort of interpretation, the image in question would be a specific sum of all the intertwined and multilayered concepts of the Christian Universe, the old and the new, historical and eter-

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Simić-Lazar, op. cit., passim.

<sup>37</sup> Erdeljan, New Jerusalems in the Balkans.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. in general Dagrón G. Empereur et Prêtre; Étude sur le «césaropapisme» byzantin (= Цар и првосвештеник. Serbian edition). Beograd, 2001.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Бабућ Г. Литургијске теме на фрескама у Богородичиној цркви у Пећи (Les thèmes liturgiques sur les fresques de l'église de la Vierge à Peć) // Архиепископ Данило II и његово доба (L'archevêque Danilo II et son époque) / Réd. V. J. Đurić. Beograd, 1991, p. 380.

nal time, of all the ideas expressed through the architecture and frescoes of Kalenić, and especially so because the sculptor seems to have gone to great lengths in order to accentuate the «foundation» of the church model with miniature twisted lacing, an element so conspicuously accentuated in the real architecture of the church, as one of the prerequisite visual attributes of Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>40</sup>. However, because of its location in the part of the church traditionally intended for the burial of the ktetor<sup>41</sup>, such an image of the archangel could also contain an entirely personal note of prayer that, within that setting, his soul, lead by the Virgin and St. Michael as the «faithful guardian of the bodies of the dead», be awarded a place worthy of an incorrupted believer, shared by those whose of the righteous whose images are carved on the lilly petals. That, however, is precisely the point at which the mentioned riddle begins because the disposition of the beams and the same sort of traces of indentations noticeable on them, logically suggests that they were used to hoist something, and, judging by the length of the bay, nearly 2 m, and their distancing from one another, could only have been made of some lighter material, in other words of wood. Let's put it directly: could the vertical connection between the holy family and that of the ktetor who, to the make the mystery complete, judging by a recently discovered document in the archive of Xeropotamos, passed away not in his own monastery but in the serenity of Mount Athos<sup>42</sup>, have actually perpetuated his role in procuring some of the eulogies which, displayed in the spot in question, stood as the true cause behind the appearance of Kalenić as a church — reliquary, as one of the key points of circulation around the Serbian Despotate, systematically described as the Holy Land, of relics from the ranks of those most revered in Eastern Christianity of the day?<sup>43</sup> Still, in view of the document from Xeropotamos and the fact that the interior of the church has yet to undergo archeological investigation, it shall come as no big surprise if, one day, beneath the beams, and foremost the «unmarked» northern pair, a tomb is discovered — ever empty.

That was Kalenić read as a historical document, in effect as an architectural «sign of the times». In investigating a *single* monument we shall con-

<sup>40</sup> See the examples from manuscript's illuminations in Kühnel, ill. 56, 59–61, 72; also Лидов А. М. Образ Небесного Иерусалима в восточнохристианской иконографии // Иерусалим в русской культуре / Ред.-сост. А. Баталов, А. Лидов. Москва, 1994, с. 15–25, and recent analysis by Peers G. Sacred Shock. Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, 61 sq.

<sup>41</sup> For the subject of ktetor's burial places in medieval Serbia see Поповић Д. Српски владарски гроб у средњем веку (The Royal Tomb in medieval Serbia). Beograd, 1992.

<sup>42</sup> Kolovos I. A *Biti* of 1439. from the Archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou (Mount Athos) // Hilandarski zbornik 11 (2004), 35–52.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Ердельян, Београд као Нови Јерусалим, passim; Erdeljan, New Jerusalems in the Balkans.

clude with one single question: where are the origins of and what are the ways in which impulses of Byzantine architectural creation of the late period are constituted and materialized? As much as it belongs to the just mentioned framework, this question belongs just as much to the domain of Kalenić as a sign of «architectural» times. Not at all by chance, we, among other things, said something on that subject in the surroundings of one other Jerusalem, that of William Blake, «on England's green and pleasant land»<sup>44</sup>.

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ПОЗДНЕВИЗАНТИЙСКАЯ АРХИТЕКТУРНАЯ ХРАМОВАЯ  
ДЕКОРАЦИЯ КАК ИКОНИЧЕСКИЙ ОБРАЗ НЕБЕСНОГО  
ИЕРУСАЛИМА: ПРИМЕР КАЛЕНИЧА

«То, что мы способны сказать о византийском здании, зачастую ограничено вопросами, которые мы задаем».

Причина цитирования здесь данного замечания, заимствованного из одного из недавних докладов Роберта Остерхута, и вынесения его в самое начало статьи заключается в том, что оно коротко и предельно обоснованно подчеркивает давно существующую потребность в некоторых переменах в самой модели традиционной методологической системы исследований византийской архитектуры, и исправления должны быть направлены на то, чтобы вернуть в центр внимания ученого сообщества отдельный памятник и проследить — может быть, не столь быстро, зато гораздо более надежно — путь его формирования, что даст нам реальные знания о течениях и связанных с ними смыслах на разных уровнях существования византийской архитектуры в целом. И все это потому, что, разделяя названное убеждение, автор данного текста был фактически вынужден извлекать церковь Введения Богородицы монастыря Каленич, с давних пор присутствующую практически во всех обзорах византийской архитектуры, из анахроничной историографической схемы, согласно которой она представляет собой образчик местной строительной школы позднесредневековой Сербии, а затем, изучив ее архитектуру как «знак времени», сформулировать четкие и до

<sup>44</sup> *Stevović I.* Late Byzantine architecture: the question of originality // *Proceedings of the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of Byzantine Studies*, vol. III. London, 2006, p. 253; see also *Стевовић И.* Архитектура Моравске Србије: локална градитељска школа или епилог водећих токова позновизантијског градитељског стварања (Serbian Architecture of the Morava Period: A Local School or an Epilogue to the leading Trends in Late Byzantine Architecture. A Study in Methodology) // *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 43, c. 231–254.

сих пор не поставленные вопросы о том, что, собственно, представляет собой эта церковь. Полученная в итоге информация не только открывает памятник в новом свете, весьма далеком от любой местной идентичности, но также позволяет выдвинуть целую серию новых признаков, указывающих на то, что здание принадлежит определенной концепции церковного строительства поздневизантийского мира, а также на конкретную архитектурную формулу, в которой выражена эта концепция.

Отправной момент подобного рода исследования определен наблюдением за сложной структурой экстерьера здания как своего рода архитектурного *образа*, вытекающего из его поразительной визуальной выразительности и контраста между совершенно исполненным *opus listatum* нижних зон церкви и трехцветным шахматным рисунком, покрывающим межколонное пространство слепой аркатуры боковых апсид, фронтонов рукавов креста и стен основания и барабана купола. В Калениче этот рисунок присутствует в целом ряде поздневизантийских, болгарских и сербских памятников, и, вплоть до настоящего времени, его постоянно определяли как всего лишь один из многих декоративных мотивов фасадов, в то время как он применялся к символически особенно значимым частям церковного строения и использовался с учетом принципов оптической иллюзии, явно выполняя двойственную функцию. Он служил средством выделения трехмерных форм основных масс здания и, в то же время, для архитектурного выражения концепции церкви как Шатра Завета, Храма Соломона и реального, исторического предвестия Небесного Иерусалима.

Подтверждение этого предположения найдено в результате широкого поиска в сфере истории применения и истинного значения данного мотива на протяжении нескольких веков его существования, а также обзора тех мест, где он применялся, начиная с античности. Хорошо известно, что с древних времен он часто использовался как инструмент создания иллюзии глубины пространства, предвещая мир за пределами земной реальности. И хотя невозможно с уверенностью установить, имел ли этот мотив в те века более высокий смысл, кажется весьма вероятным, что момент, когда комбинация линий и чередующихся светлых и темных квадратов, в соответствии с христианской интерпретацией символики геометрических фигур, стала особым визуальным символом, может быть определен как время создания таких произведений, как *Salus Populi Romani* — икона Богородицы, святой образ которой обрамлен подобным орнаментом, или «Христианская топография» Козьмы Индикоплова, в старейшем списке которой (*Vat. gr. 699*) мы находим миниатюры, представляющие Ковчег Завета, украшенный ромбами и шахматными квадратами, что соответствует указаниям «Исхода». В те ранние века этот орнамент занимал совершенно точное ме-

сто в монументальной живописи, о чем свидетельствуют остатки первого слоя стенных росписей в Сионском храме Атени. Хотя его усвоение восточно-христианским искусством последующих веков еще нуждается в дальнейшем исследовании, очевидный факт, что значение сохранившихся памятников может быть косвенно установлено на основе серии западных рукописей, изготовленных в период с X по XIII вв., где шахматный орнамент регулярно присутствует в качестве фона для изображений Небесного Иерусалима, а также, косвенно, по миниатюрам на фронтисписе в стиле архитектурного рисунка, который встречается в сербских рукописях XIII и XIV вв., где кровля куполов, как правило, покрыта шахматным орнаментом, раскрашенным в несколько цветов. Этот мотив также появляется в самом верхнем регистре сцены Причащения Апостолов в церкви Богородицы Паригиоритиссы в Арте, а также в верхней зоне фасадов того же храма.

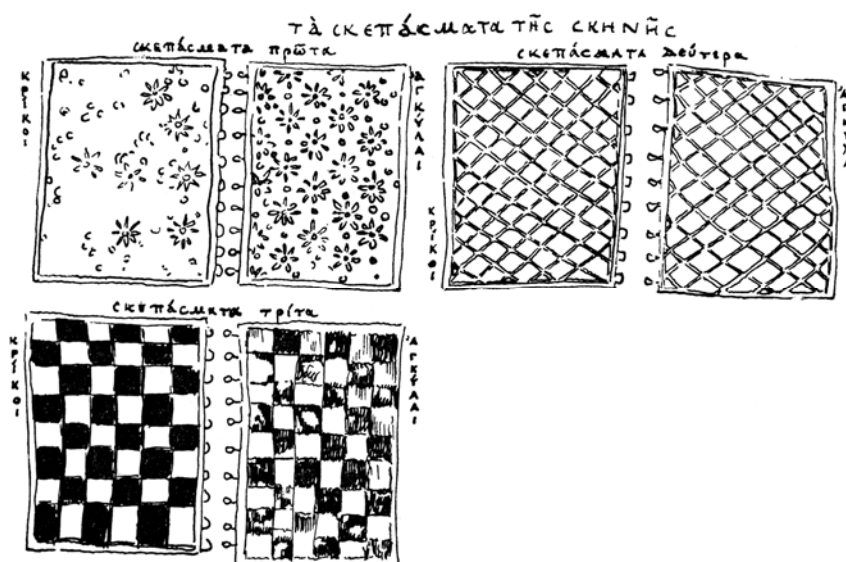
Помимо орнаментальных и архитектурных особенностей, целая серия других элементов определяет целостность церковного здания в Калениче, что также говорит о ясно обозначенной концепции и намерениях ктиторов и зодчих создать в храме архитектурное воплощение единства двух Церквей — Земной и Небесной. Здание вздымается на поразительную высоту, обладает сложным скульптурным цоколем, в люнетах окон расположены скульптурные сцены на тему «Церкви воинствующей». Между тем, скульптурная декорация арок верхней зоны фасадов, а также крупные розетки и витые колонны, созданные в подражание Храму Соломона, сведены здесь до растительных мотивов пальметты, что однозначно отсылает нас к Богородице как непорочному цветку рая, в самом сердце которого растет древо вечной жизни. Подобная архитектурная декорация является отражением посвящения церкви празднику Введения Богородицы в Храм, прославляющему Деву Марию как Ковчег Господа, вот почему ее фигура также представлена в скульптуре над южным входом в нартекс в окружении херувимов, что, согласно Первой книге Царств, свидетельствует о воплощении в храме образа Небесного Иерусалима.

Эти и другие уникальные элементы, составляющие архитектурный организм Каленича, показывают, как — на примере *одного* конкретного памятника поздневизантийской архитектуры — происходила трансформация сложных и нюансированных идей Церкви в материальную реальность за счет осмотрового использования иных материалов, оптических иллюзий, символов и образов. Однако выводов, основанных на одном частном случае, более чем достаточно для того, чтобы породить серию вопросов, которые, вне всякого сомнения, затрагивают всю совокупность строительной практики той эпохи. В данной ситуации внимание сосредоточено на строительной концепции, которая, на-

сколько нам известно, направлена на создание одинаково выразительных внутреннего и внешнего облика церковного здания, а потому проектирует сакральное пространство интерьера на фасады. Этот процесс достигает пика именно в Калениче, вся структура которого перерастает в пространственную икону Небесного Иерусалима. Другими словами, будущие исследования, безусловно, столкнутся с масштабным и серьезным вопросом об истинных причинах и импульсах, которые побудили к созданию поздневизантийских памятников в их специфических формах, столь отличных от решений, найденных в предшествующий период. Пытаясь «прочитать здание, как мы читаем текст, исторический документ», мы должны спросить себя, создается ли новая визуальная идентичность сакрального церковного пространства исключительно *декоративными* приемами или речь идет о способах передачи конкретного содержания, смысл которого нам еще предстоит разгадать. Потому что, каким бы уникальным он ни казался, исторический документ Каленича, конечно же, не был побочным продуктом в рамках идеологических аксиом в жизни позднесредневековой Сербии, напротив, можно определенно утверждать, что он был одним из элементов более широкой программы и, в частности, по этой причине является ее незаменимой частью. Среда, в которой появляется этот конкретный вид архитектуры, представляется отражением сущностных свойств явления, о котором говорит и Елена Ерделян в работе, опубликованной в данном сборнике.



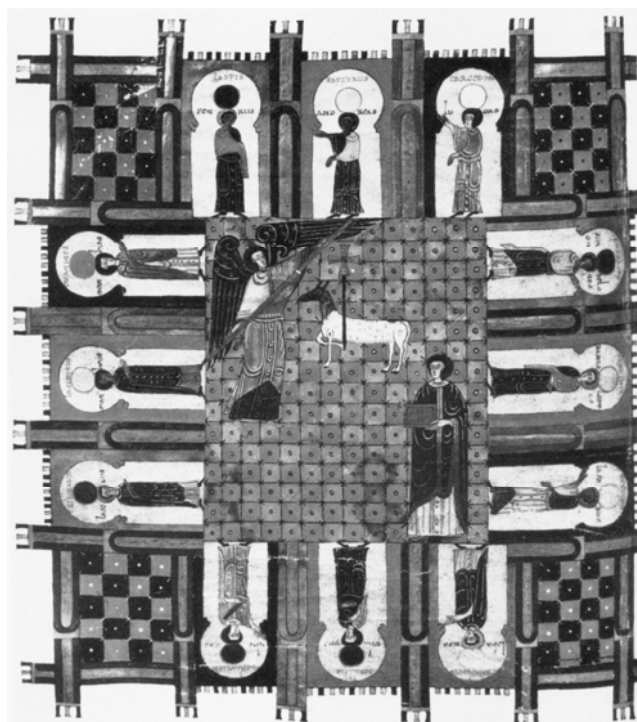
1. Kalenić, exterior looking South — East



2. *Vat. gr. 699*, Tent of the Covenant

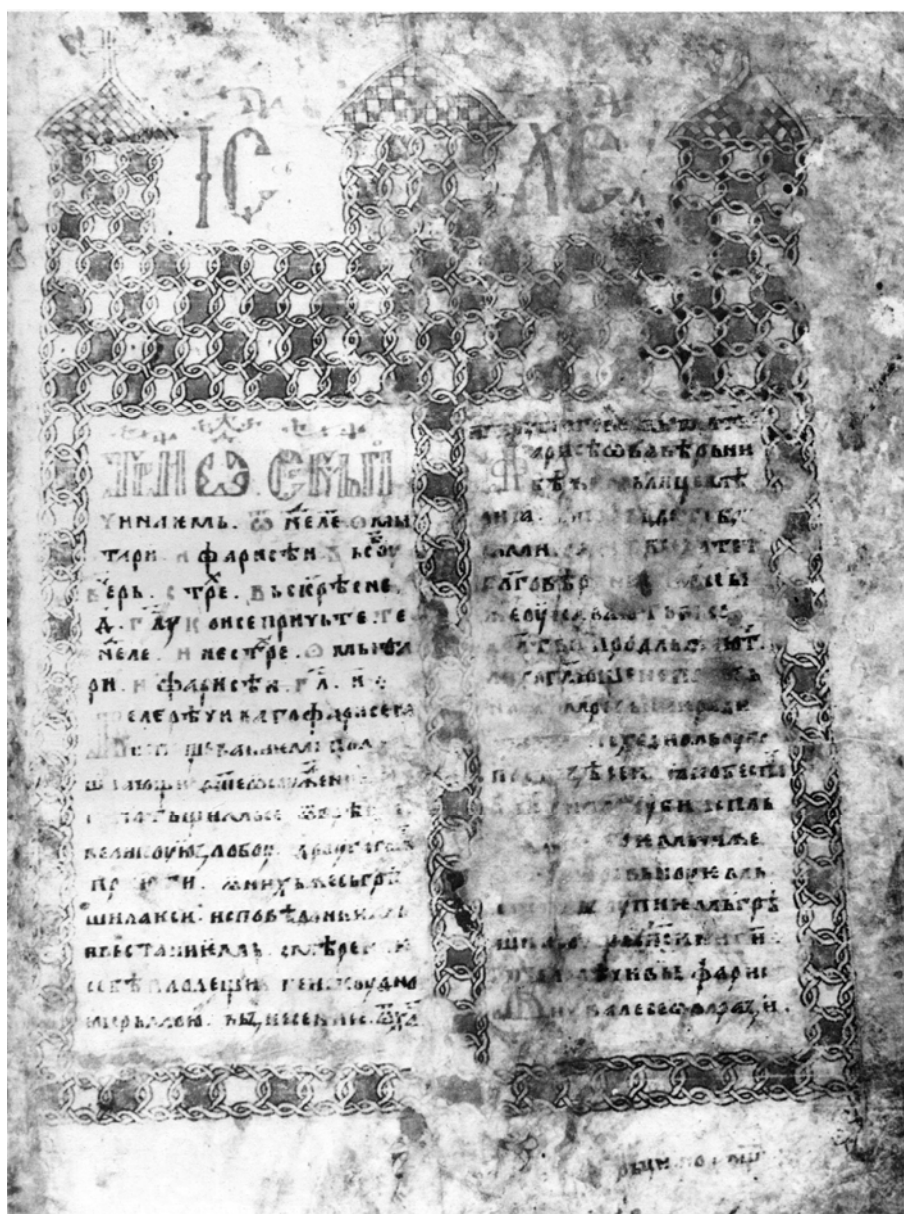


3. *Par. lat. 1366*, Heavenly Jerusalem (fols. 148<sup>v</sup>–149<sup>r</sup>)



4. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, *ms. Vitr. 14-2*, Heavenly Jerusalem (fol. 253<sup>v</sup>)





5. Zagreb, Archive Jazu, *Triodion of Georgios Anagnostos* (fol. 1)



6. Arta, Virgin Parigoritissa, apse



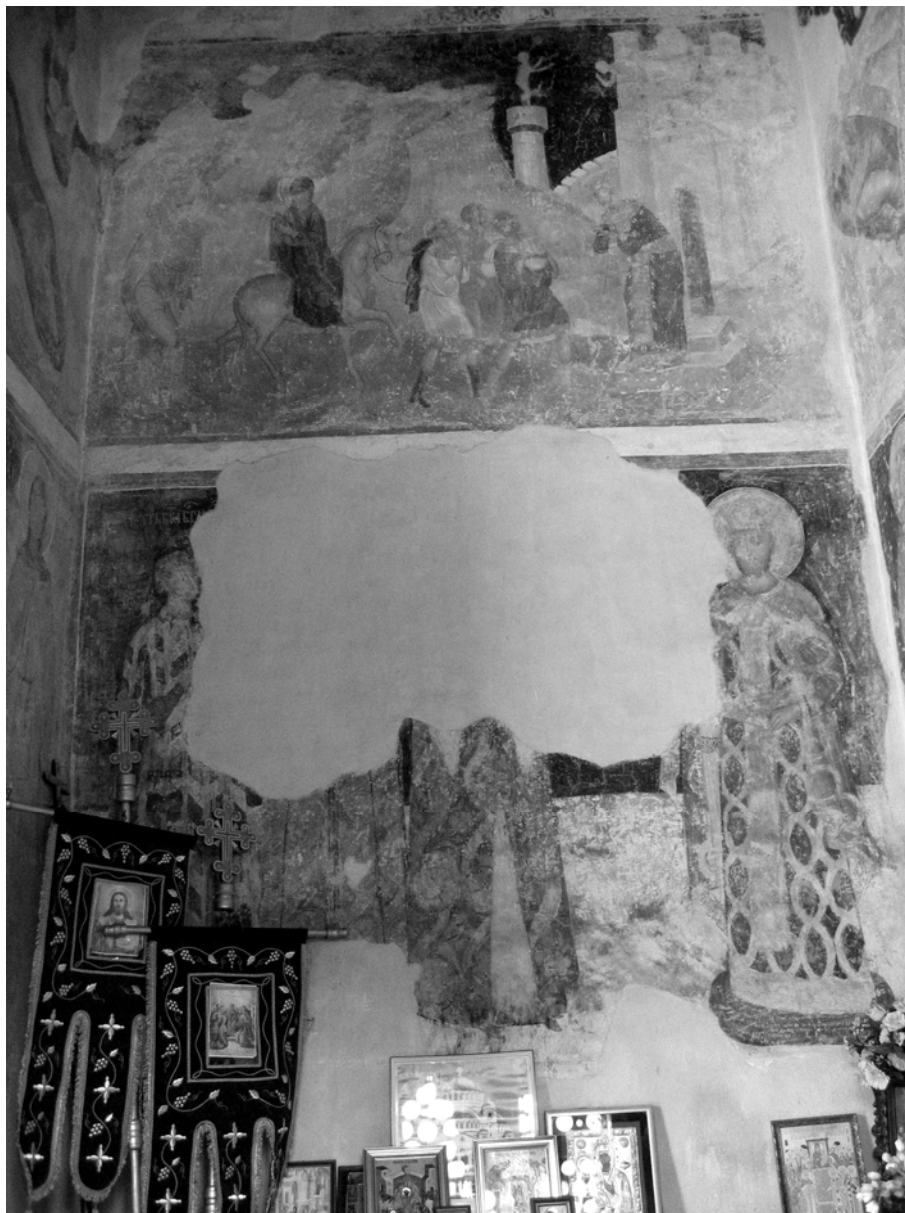
7. Kalenić, representation of David with lion and bear



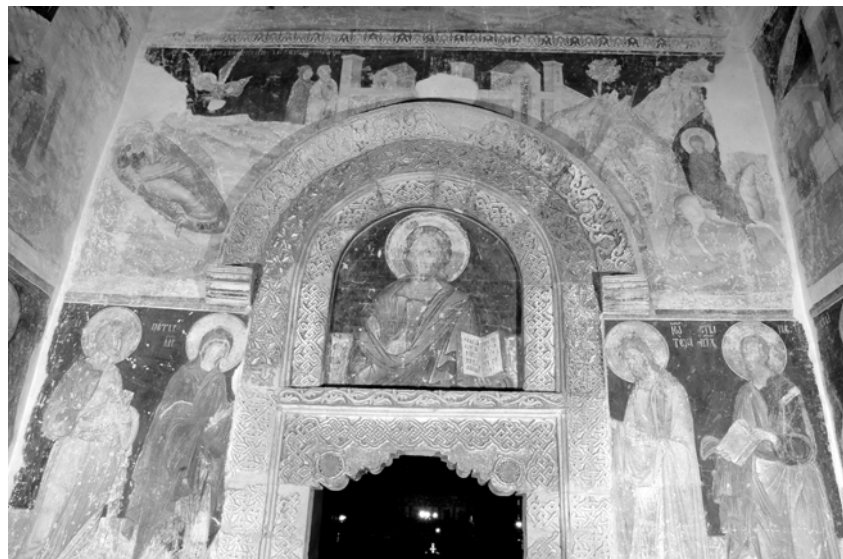
8. Kalenić, carved decoration in the upper zone of the church



9. Kalenić, representation of Virgin Hodegetria on the nartex southern wall



10. Kalenić, nartex, frescoes on the northern wall



11. Kalenić, portal to the naos of the church



12. Kalenić, naos, western bay looking south



13. Kalenić, naos, representation of archangel Michael on the southwestern beam



14. Kalenić, naos, carved motifs on the bottom surface of the southwestern beam