

ANASTASIS
Research in Medieval Culture and Art

Advisory Board:

Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, Prof. Emeritus, Université « Jean Moulin », Lyon III, France
Tereza Sinigalia, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, Romania
Gaëtan Brulotte, Prof. Emeritus, Humanities Eminent Scholar Chair, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, USA
Zvika Kfir, Rabin Netanya, Israel
Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, Prof. Ordinaire, Université de Genève, Suisse
Antonio Rigo, Prof. Ordinario, Università Ca'Foscari, Venezia, Italia
Jean-Paul Deremble Prof., Université « Charles de Gaule », Lille III, France
Danielle Buschinger, Prof. Emeritus, Université de Picardie « Jules Verne », Amiens, France
Emil Dragnev, Prof., Université d'État de Chișinău, République de Moldavie
Jean-Philippe Pierron, Prof., Université « Jean Moulin », Lyon III, France
Elka Bacalova, Membre correspondant de l'Académie Bulgare, Institut du folklore de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Bulgarie
Jean-Michel Counet, Prof., Université catholique de Louvain, Belgique
Ramona Bordei-Boca, Prof., UFR Lettre et Philosophie, Université de Bourgogne, France
Maria Urmă, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, Romania
Maud Pérez-Simon, Assoc. Prof. Université Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle, France
Blanca Solares, Prof., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexique
Atena Elena Simionescu, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, Romania
Ionel Bușe, Prof., University of Craiova, Romania
Constantin Necula, Pr., Assoc. Prof., University “Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, România
Marius Tătaru, Dr. Direktor (i. R) Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim, Deutschland
Athanasios Semoglou, Prof., Université « Aristote » de Thessalonique, Grece
Rosângela Aparecida da Conceição, Assoc. Prof., Universidade Paulista, São Paulo, Brazil.
Luana Stan, Assoc. Prof., Université de Québec à Montréal, Canada
Pilar Pérez Camarero, Prof., Universidad Autonoma de Madrid,
Eleonora Brigalda, Prof., Pedagogical University « Ion Creanga », Chișinău, République de Moldavie
Ana Taís Martins Portanova Barros, Prof., Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.
Cornelia Bordașiu, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, Romania
Ana-Maria Pascal, Assoc. Prof., dr., Regent's University, London, U.K.
Răzvan Ionescu, Pr. dr., Centre Orthodoxe d'Etudes et de Recherches "Dumitru Stăniloae", Paris, France

Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art is indexed in the following databases:

European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH PLUS)

Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL)

Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ)

EBSCO

SCOPUS-ELSEVIER

Scientific Indexing Services (SIS)

Scientific Publishing & Information Online (SCIPIO)

www.anastasis-review.ro

ISSN 2392 – 862X (print); ISSN-L 2392 – 862X ; ISSN 2392 – 9472 (on-line)

The Research Center of Medieval Art “Vasile Drăguț”

ANASTASIS
Research in Medieval Culture and Art

Volume XI, No.2/November 2024

Editors:

Codrina-Laura Ioniță, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași
Daniel-Ion Sofron, Assoc. Prof. “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași
Andreea-Irina Stoleriu, Assoc. Prof. “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași
Adrian Stoleriu, Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași

Editorial Board:

Sabina Azoitei, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România
Bogdan Gavrilean, “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, România
Diana Gradu, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Brîndușa Grigoriu, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Raluca Minea, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România
Ioana Iulia Olaru, “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, România
Paula-Andreea Onofrei, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Ana-Magdalena Petraru, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Cristina Stratulat, “George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași, România
Alina Țiței, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Luisa Țuculeanu, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România

Editorial Design and Web Design:

Codrina-Laura Ioniță, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România
Alexandru Ioniță, “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, România
Adriana Neica “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România
Andreea-Irina Stoleriu, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România
Adrian Stoleriu, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, România

Proofreading:

for French: **Diana Gradu**, Assoc. Prof., “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași
Brîndușa Grigoriu, Assoc. Prof., “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași
for English: **Paula-Andreea Onofrei**, Assoc. Prof., “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași
Ana-Magdalena Petraru, Assoc. Prof., “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași
Luisa Țuculeanu, Assoc. Prof., “George Enescu” National University of Arts Iași
for Spanish: **Alina Țiței**, Assoc. Prof., “Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași

The Research Center of Medieval Art ”Vasile Drăguț”, “George Enescu” National University of Arts from Iași, Faculty of Visual Art and Design, Str. Sărărie, nr. 189, Iași, România, e-mail: anastasis.review@unage.ro

The internet address: www.anastasis-review.ro

The opinions expressed in published articles are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not reflect the opinion of the editors, or members of the editorial board.

Table of Contents

MEDIEVAL ART AND CIVILIZATION**Laura Mesina**

*El Greco. Il paradosso dell'appartenenza / El Greco or About Not Belonging Anyway.....*9

Kateryna Mikheienko

*The 12th Century Arch-gabled Churches in the Southern Region of Old Rus (Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi) Based on the Materials of the Archaeological Excavations.....*24

Luminița Diaconu

*„Le Testament de l'âne”: réhabilitation d'une bête de somme et leçon d'humilité / „Le Testament de l'âne”: Restoring the Reputation of a Pack Animal and Teaching Humility.....*62

Hassan Kohansal-Vajargah, Parasto Masjedi Khak

*Investigation of Aspects of Religious Beliefs of the People of Guilan from Prehistory to the Historical Period (North of Iran).....*75

Florina-Mădălina Cozmescu

*The Human Model in the Byzantine Art.....*89

Maksym Hennadiiovych Saibekov, Iryna Vasyliivna Tsebrii

*Musical and Dramatic Training of Minstrels, Spielmen, and Jugglers in the Classical Middle Ages.....*101

Valerii Hromchenko, Maryna Pogrebnyak, Olena Nemkovich

*Synthesis of Music and Dance Art as a Creative Phenomenon of Medieval Culture.....*114

MEDIEVAL CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

Syakir, Bandi Sobandi, Bangkit Sanjaya, Untung, Sri Verayanti R., Riza Istanto

Batik Re-Invention in the Construction of the Identity of Indonesian Modern Painting.....133

BOOK REVIEWS

Ana-Magdalena Petraru

Romanian Poetry Tackled Through Medieval Imagery and Theatricality

Andrei C. Șerban, *Respirația cavalerului / The Breath of the Knight*, Ed. ULBS, Sibiu, 2021, 297 pages.....159

MEDIEVAL ART AND CIVILIZATION

El Greco. Il paradosso dell'appartenenza

Laura Mesina*

Abstract: *El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos), a post-Byzantine icon-painter registered in Heraklion between 1563 and 1567, first learned Catholic religious art in Italy (1567-1577), then moved to Spain (1577-1614), where, in Toledo, his artistic style matured and became highly original. The Mannerist metamorphoses in El Greco's work are eloquent of his immigrant route to the Mediterranean. However, it is difficult to pin him down to a particular artistic movement and a particular model of visibility. El Greco is a problematic subject for art history, because he cannot be categorized in relation to the artistic styles of his time.*

The artist's biography and his work were not internationally recognized until the end of the 19th century, with European modernism. The interest of the European and North American art market soon followed, creating the "grecomania" of collectors and the "grecophilia" of artists and scholars.

In the case of this artist, we can speak of a spectacular transformation both of his biography and style, as well as in the reception of his work. Therefore, I propose to analyze and interpret the paradox of his belonging with the help of new research tools in visual cultural studies, including: transculturality, emigration / immigration, the process of adaptation and cultural integration, identity crises.

Keywords: El Greco, Mannerism, transculturality, migration, Mediterranean cultures and arts.

I. (Im)migrante nel Mediterraneo. Oriente-Occidente, secoli XVI-XVII

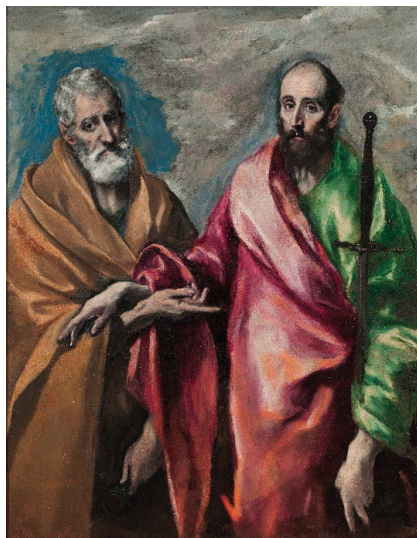
Pittore di icone di tradizione post-bizantina, attestato a Heraklion nel periodo 1563-1567, Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco (1541-1614) decide di iniziarsi all'arte religiosa cattolica, dapprima per tre anni a Venezia (che possedeva il regno di Candia/Creta fin dal 1204), poi, per altri sette anni, nel viaggio attraverso la penisola italiana e a Roma. Da qui, insoddisfatto e bandito dall'ambiente artistico locale per aver attaccato il mito di

* PhD (Philology), Associate Professor in Cultural Studies at the Doctoral School "Space, Image, Text, Territory", Center of Excellence in Study of Image & Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest, 5-7 Edgar Quinet Street, 030167 Sector 2, Bucharest, Romania, e-mail: laura.mesina@litere.unibuc.ro, <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0054-3788>

Michelangelo (che, del resto, ammirava), si reca nel 1577 in Spagna, in cerca di committenze e di un ambiente in cui trovare più facilmente il proprio posto. Al termine del suo secondo viaggio verso occidente, El Greco deciderà di lavorare a Toledo – per lui *caput mundi*, perché da qui non si recherà più da nessuna parte e non farà più ritorno né in Italia, né a Creta.

Nei dieci anni trascorsi in Italia e nei trentasette nel regno spagnolo, lo stile di El Greco si forma e matura sotto l'influenza delle culture visuali locali e nei contesti dell'epoca, le *metamorfosi* diventando di per sé emblematiche per il suo itinerario di *(im)migrante nel Mediterraneo*; rimane ancora difficile la sua affiliazione a un determinato movimento artistico e a un certo modello di visualità. In altre parole, El Greco è un soggetto problematico per la storia dell'arte. Perciò, in quale prospettiva possiamo comprenderlo meglio oggi?

Congedatosi in sequenza dalle due scuole di pittura di antica tradizione, post-bizantina e rinascimentale italiana, sebbene rispetti nello spirito le politiche visuali dell'epoca, vale a dire le decisioni del Concilio di Trento (1545-1563) e quelle della Controriforma, El Greco non le rappresenta integralmente e alla lettera. Da qui le deviazioni, che conferiscono specificità all'opera, ma che non la escludono dall'arte dell'epoca, al contrario, la integrano ancora più fortemente. La sintesi manierista che l'artista cretese realizza tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente europeo, tra Ortodossia e Cattolicesimo, è esemplificata nel dipinto degli *Apostoli Pietro e Paolo*, 1600-1605 (Ill. 1) dall'incrociarsi delle mani destre dei due fondatori della Chiesa cristiana, coi loro gesti significativi per ogni credo separatamente.



Ill. 1: El Greco, *Santi Pietro e Paolo*, 1587-1592

Il destino dell'artista di origine cretese e la sua creazione, dimenticati per due secoli – durante i quali fu ricordato soltanto da Goya e Delacroix –, sono divenuti noti a livello internazionale solo alla fine del XIX secolo, con l'interesse per lui dei modernisti – tra cui: Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cézanne, Manet, Picasso, Chagall e Modigliani; tra gli scrittori, ad esempio, Proust fa riferimento a El Greco in più luoghi della sua opera¹. Fin da questo momento, emerge anche l'interesse del mercato dell'arte europeo e nordamericano per le opere dell'artista migrante. È proprio per questo motivo che Chris Dercon, presidente dell'Unione dei musei nazionali francesi, in occasione dell'inaugurazione della mostra *Greco* tenutasi a Parigi nel 2019², ha deplorato il fatto che proprio il Paese che lo ha rilanciato nell'arte internazionale abbia celebrato la sua opera e reso giustizia con così grande ritardo alle metamorfosi del suo percorso artistico e spirituale³.

Nel caso di questo artista si può parlare a buon diritto di una trasformazione spettacolare della sua biografia e del suo stile, della sua ricezione in quell'epoca, ma anche dopo, nonché di un vero e proprio *paradosso di appartenenza* – facile da seguire da parte del pubblico internazionale di oggi, capace di comprendere la *transculturalità*, la *(e/im)migrazione*, il processo di adattamento e integrazione, nonché le sue possibili crisi.

¹ Javier Barón Thaidigsmann, "Greco et la naissance de la peinture moderne en France", in Guillaume Kientz (a cura di), *Greco*, catalogo dell'esposizione, edizione francese, Louvre Éditions, Paris, 2019, p. 68.

² La mostra *Greco* (Doménikos Theotokópoulos, 1 ottobre 1541, Heraklion – 7 aprile 1614, Toledo), mostra organizzata presso il Grand Palais di Parigi, tra il 16 ottobre 2019 e il 10 febbraio 2020, curatore della mostra: Guillaume Kientz, co-curatrice: Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau (per Parigi), col contributo di Rebecca J. Long (per Chicago, dove la mostra è stata presente presso l'Art Institute of Chicago nel periodo compreso tra l'8 marzo e il 21 giugno 2020). Organizzatori: Réunion des musées nationaux – Grand Palais, Le musée Louvre, The Art Institute of Chicago. Un'impresa eccezionale, grazie alle istituzioni museali e alle collezioni private provenienti dall'Europa e dal Nord America, che hanno partecipato con ben 76 opere (dal Muzeul Național de Artă al României: *Lo sposalizio della Vergine*, 1600 circa). L'allestimento, concepito da Véronique Dollfus come un insieme di spazi luminosi e, per lo più, sufficientemente generosi, ha reso giustizia tanto alla cronologia dell'opera, quanto anche ad alcuni aspetti salienti della stessa (nelle sezioni della mostra: Da Creta all'Italia; Ritratti; Greco e Toledo; La reinvenzione del sacro; Le varianti di alcuni motivi; La bottega; Le ultime opere). Il catalogo della mostra raccoglie saggi, dedicati all'itinerario di *(im)migrante* del pittore e alla sua tardiva riscoperta, con il portfolio integrale delle opere (immagini e didascalie). Due dei saggi si riferiscono in particolare alla ricezione dell'opera negli ambienti parigini di avanguardia.

³ Chris Dercon, Jean-Luc Martinez, James Rondeau, nel saluto congiunto di apertura, in Kientz (a cura di), *op. cit.*, p. 1.

II. L'“inclassificabile” El Greco. La prospettiva francese

Una delle prospettive più recenti sull'opera di El Greco, e che sostiene, a parer mio, questo paradosso di appartenenza, è offerta da Guillaume Kientz in riferimento al rapporto tra *originalità*, *invenzione* e *variazione*⁴.

Sebbene la scuola dove El Greco si era formato a Heraklion avesse acquisito un certo carattere ibrido, cretese-veneziano (che si propaga fino alla corte del principe Petru Rareș, in Moldavia, grazie ai maestri dell'affresco, migranti anch'essi, ma nello spazio ortodosso⁵), l'ambiente creativo locale non poteva permettersi di abbandonare i codici iconografici post-bizantini e dell'antico canone bizantino. Pertanto, sebbene nel regno di Candia “coesistessero due concezioni dell'immagine”⁶, cioè una sorta di *bilinguismo visuale*, El Greco non si accontentò, ma, al contrario, decise di intraprendere il suo primo viaggio formativo verso Occidente, all'età di ventisei anni.

Inizia quindi una ricerca in proprio, attestata tuttavia fino alle ultime opere, del 1614, e non solo dai cambiamenti stilistici a cui ho già accennato, ma anche dalle continue trattative con i suoi committenti per la quotazione e il pagamento delle opere realizzate (tentativi che spesso sfociano in processi e compromessi). Le lamentele erano generalmente suscitate dal discostarsi del pittore dai modelli stilistici dell'epoca, fatto che tuttavia non riduceva il valore delle sue opere, ma, al contrario, lo accresceva in modo esponenziale. Il più delle volte, però, sceglie lui stesso di scendere a patti, fatto che gli assicura nuove committenze, ma che assicura anche a noi che in realtà egli era più interessato alla sua vocazione e alla sua arte che ai guadagni e alla fama che queste procuravano.

È evidente che El Greco ripensa lo status dell'artista in relazione tanto al destinatario della sua opera quanto al soggetto religioso rappresentato; tutto questo, sullo sfondo di una forte crisi dell'immagine e dell'estetica del manierismo, giunte all'apogeo⁷. Sebbene in Spagna prenda importanti committenze religiose, egli diventa sempre più indisciplinato verso le norme e le soluzioni canoniche di rappresentazione; inoltre, utilizza una tecnica pittorica e una figuralità mai viste prima, diventando, come sottolinea la critica europea, un “inclassificabile”. Il *paradosso dell'appartenenza* si manifesta qui pienamente: pur essendosi formato in

⁴ Guillaume Kientz, “Greco et l'image”, in Kientz (a cura di), *op. cit.*, pp. 14-25.

⁵ Nella bibliografia del catalogo, di circa 700 opere, si trovano anche i seguenti riferimenti: Alexandru Busuioceanu, “Les tableaux du Greco de la Collection royale de Roumanie”, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai 1934, pp. 288-305 e Livia Stoenescu (ed.), *Creative and Imaginative Powers in the Pictorial Art of El Greco*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2016. Ringrazio Livia Stoenescu per la generosità con la quale ha messo a mia disposizione i suoi lavori, per la documentazione di questo articolo.

⁶ Kientz, *art. cit.*, p. 16.

⁷ Ivi, p. 19.

importanti centri della spiritualità cristiana e conoscendo stili e tecniche spettacolari, che ammira apertamente anche lui, non si assoggetta totalmente a nessuna di esse; pur rispettando le politiche religiose del tempo, si assume ogni libertà nell'adattarle, essendo interessato soprattutto a perfezionare la propria arte. Le tracce delle grandi culture e arti visive del Mediterraneo cristiano – cretese, italiana e spagnola – si vedono nella sua opera, come in un palinsesto, ma il suo stile finisce per trasgredirle, in modo decisivo e definitivo.

Assume quindi la coscienza di artista unico, con una visione plastica e una tecnica *sui generis*. Allo stesso tempo, però, crea prototipi, che poi elabora e trasforma attraverso serie di varianti, in cerca delle repliche più valide. Il suo sguardo è costantemente alla ricerca, lavorando ossessivamente con le idee e le loro forme visive. La stessa *tecnica* e lo stesso *motivo plastico migrano* in El Greco; così pure lo schema iconografico, creato, tuttavia, all'interno della propria arte, non imposto dall'esterno da un'istituzione, né ripreso da alcun modello. La venerazione dichiarata per il colore della pittura di Tiziano e per il disegno di Michelangelo, sempre paradossalmente, lo ha spinto in realtà a individuare la sua propria strada, completamente diversa, affrontando da ultimo l'immagine dal ruolo catechetico, che assume nello spirito della Controriforma, con la propria estetica delle forme e dei colori e le proprie interpretazioni spirituali.

Il suo percorso ha registrato numerose tappe, alcune consumate e superate (come le crisi personali o le crisi artistiche dell'epoca), altre costruite attraverso un esercizio ininterrotto. È ciò che Guillaume Keintz crede abbia attratto gli avanguardisti del suo tempo verso El Greco: questa coscienza “modernista”, drammatica e inquieta, testimoniata dalle ripetizioni nella sua opera, dai lavori in serie, dalla rottura dei codici canonici e dalle invenzioni stilistiche⁸. Inoltre, egli usava diversi tipi di supporti materiali, di varie dimensioni, ma anche varie formule iconografiche. Ad esempio, il paesaggio e la scenografia sono elementi narrativi nelle sue opere italiane, mentre nella sua pittura spagnola diventano il soggetto artistico principale, come in *Veduta di Toledo*, 1598-1599 (Ill. 2)⁹, oppure vengono semplificati, fino a scomparire, come in numerosi altri dipinti realizzati nella penisola iberica.

⁸ Ivi, p. 25.

⁹ Un frammento di quest'opera è riprodotto sulla copertina del catalogo *El Greco Comes to America. The Discovery of a Modern Old Master*, Inge Reist e José Luis Colomer (eds.), The Frick Collection, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, Center for Spain in America, New York, 2017.



III. 2: El Greco, *Veduta di Toledo*, 1596-1600

Toledo in particolare è stato il luogo che ne ha sostenuto l'attività e la visione, ma nello spirito ibrido della città, segnato dalla pietà e al contempo dal senso commerciale. Vecchia capitale iberica, Toledo, stava attraversando, all'epoca in cui El Greco cominciò l'opera, una grave crisi economica, per cui cercava di mantenere un certo primato su Madrid, almeno in termini artistici e spirituali. El Greco incontra qui numerose opportunità per eseguire opere di grandi dimensioni, che però, saggiamente, non solo abbozza in anticipo, preparando sempre miniature in creta dei modelli, ma memorizza anche in seguito in formati di piccole dimensioni – fatto attestato da Francisco Pacheco, in *Arte de la pintura: su antigüedad y grandezas* (Siviglia 1649), in seguito alla sua visita nella bottega del pittore, nel 1611¹⁰.

A seguito delle tesi del Concilio di Trento, vincolanti per lo statuto dell'immagine e del suo creatore, El Greco cerca, al contrario, liberamente, un nuovo modo di “vedere”/immaginare e trattare plasticamente il soggetto religioso e la figura sacra. La Controriforma valorizzava l'immagine piuttosto come illustrazione delle sue tesi, non come l'oggetto di culto principale; dava priorità invece alle reliquie, ritenute autentiche. Intendeva in questo modo limitare la creatività della pittura e imporle schemi rappresentativi più rigorosi. El Greco, tuttavia, offre una visione propria e non negoziabile; dipinge, ad esempio, il *Velo della Veronica*, 1578-1585 (Ill. 3), in cui l'oggetto-reliquia viene assorbito nell'“immagine come immagine”, il che riconferma lo statuto dell'arte e del suo creatore. Egli si auto-istituisce come mediatore e si auto-legittima come autore di schemi di rappresentazione, come in *San Luca*, 1605 (Ill. 4), in cui il modello è assente, e l'icona è dipinta

¹⁰ Jena K. Carnava, “Annexes. Chronologie”, in Keintz (a cura di), *op. cit.*, p. 227.

direttamente nel Libro Sacro, come prescrizione indiscutibile – in fondo, di El Greco – di ogni successiva immagine della Vergine col Bambino. Giunge così a un canone personale, che perfeziona attraverso la ripetizione – così come lui stesso aveva praticato un modo di lavorare nella scuola cretese e un altro in quella italiana. La sua arte diventa autoreferenziale, ma radicata nell'iconicità orientale e nel manierismo occidentale. L'impressione che “non finirà mai”¹¹ è confermata, del resto, dalla sua ultima opera, la cosiddetta *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista* (1608-1614) – come argomenterò subito di seguito.



III. 3: El Greco, *Velo della Veronica*, 1586-1595



III. 4: El Greco, *San Luca*, 1605-1610

L'(*im*)migrante El Greco, non adattandosi quindi a nessuno stile dominante, trova la propria strada, assimilando e superando nella sua arte gli incontri, le influenze e gli esercizi di percorso. Pienamente consapevole della sua originalità, la coltivò con cura e la affermò con forza, sia a Roma quando chiese pubblicamente di ridipingere il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo nella Cappella Sistina, sia in tutti i suoi atti volontari in Spagna. Ad esempio, la rilettura del gruppo greco antico del *Laocoonte*, attraverso la destrutturazione e ricomposizione dell'omonima opera, nel periodo 1610-1614 (Ill. 5), mostra come egli si considerasse un erede completamente libero dell'Ellade antica, l'unico, nel mondo cattolico, legittimato a trascendere le forme classiche e i mondi mediterranei. Tuttavia, sebbene la conclusione di Keintz, cioè che El Greco abbia rotto il legame con tutte le tradizioni per costruire e imporre la propria, sia interessante, osserviamo però come egli

¹¹ Tonia Raus, “Cette impression que l'on n'en finira jamais”, in Tonia Raus e Gian Maria Tore (éds.), *Comprendre la mise en abyme. Arts et médias au second degré*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes, 2019, pp. 7-19.

rimanga ancorato ad esse attraverso le problematiche e i riflessi di costruzione dell'opera (auto-referenzialità, serie di varianti, auto-canonizzazione).



III. 5: El Greco, *Laocoonte*, 1610-1614

Non erano questi ultimi aspetti ad affascinare i modernisti francesi, bensì la sua tecnica e la sua visione artistica. Anche rispetto a ciò *Laocoonte* resta esemplare. Ma ad esso aggiungerei almeno un'altra opera.

III. El Greco, *non-finito*

Nel perfezionismo di El Greco, oltre al rapporto con le maniere ripetitive già praticate nella scuola cretese e in quella italiana, si intravede anche una possibile filosofia personale, e cioè che l'*opera non si chiude mai su se stessa*. Completamente opposto a Leonardo da Vinci, che lasciò alcune sue opere incompiute e non riprese (per via delle circostanze della sua vita, ma anche perché era sempre attratto da nuovi progetti, soprattutto di ingegneria), il *non-finito* essendo pieno e unico in loro, El Greco ricercava questo effetto visivo, estremamente difficile da ottenere, proprio attraverso la ripetizione; al punto che gli effetti chiaroscurali, la prospettiva, i campi narrativi finivano per condensare i contenuti spirituali ed esprimerli visivamente nel modo a lui più consono (come ad esempio nella serie *Soplón*). Il *motivo iconografico migra*, a sua volta, insieme allo spirito e alla visione del pittore; in fondo, insieme a lui stesso, quale artista cristiano nell'Europa mediterranea. Anche se le variazioni di un motivo o di un tema ad un certo punto si fermano, la ricerca continua (attestata in modo edificante

dalle sue glosse a margine del testo delle *Vite* di Vasari¹²), così come la trasformazione stilistica e figurale. In realtà El Greco è perfettamente coerente nel suo percorso stilistico e tutto ciò che intraprende denota la stessa continua preoccupazione per le opere che progetta. Interessato alle discipline classiche, come la retorica (posta al centro del Manierismo), coltiva con attenzione le sue conoscenze umanistiche, seguendo soprattutto il tema della “vista”, della percezione visiva, dello sguardo (nel cogliere le ipostasi dell'estasi, delle visioni mistiche e delle sacre apparizioni, presenti in tutta la sua opera). È, in effetti, lui stesso un manierista, ma all'interno di un paradigma visivo personale (pre-barocco), dove il corpo è la fonte di luce a se stesso (come in Caravaggio o Rembrandt).

L'abbandono dell'icona canonica bizantina conduce El Greco al recupero di un altro tipo di ieratismo figurale, una *re-iconizzazione*, in una nuova accezione stilistica: volti e corpi allungati, visi sempre più simili, addirittura indefiniti. Una ricerca patetica della forma perfetta, che, proprio essa, è sempre più astratta dal figurale, come nella *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista*, 1608-1614 (Ill. 6) – *non-finito* in sé, se guardiamo ad esso come alla chiave di volta della sua opera¹³.



Ill. 6: El Greco, *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista*, 1608-1614

¹² Karin Hellwig, “El Greco’s *Giorno* as an Early Commentary on Vasari’s *Vita of Michelangelo* (1568)”, in Livia Stoenescu (ed.), *Creative and Imaginative Powers in the Pictorial Art of El Greco*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2016, pp. 129-143.

¹³ Theodore Rousseau, “El Greco’s *Vision of Saint John*”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, nr. 10 (1959), pp. 241-262. “Our picture is the climax of all this. Is it not only from the very end in their career; it is the immediate statement of his first inspiration, his first mystical vision after reading the Apocalypse”. Ivi, p. 256.

Pur apprezzando la qualità dell'analisi di Richard Mann¹⁴ – comparativa, deduttiva e molto dettagliata – del programma iconografico in cui avrebbe dovuto rientrare l'opera la *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista*, nonché dell'immagine stessa, avanzo tuttavia qualche altro commento. Innanzitutto, propongo un confronto fra il tema consacrato dell'opera, vale a dire la rottura del quinto sigillo (Apocalisse secondo Giovanni, 6: 9-11) – così come è stata identificata da Manuel B. Cossío¹⁵; identificazione combattuta con veemenza, appassionatamente da José Riello e sostituita da un'altra, della Resurrezione dopo il Giudizio¹⁶ –, e il messaggio per l'angelo della chiesa di Laodicea:

(17) Tu dici: «Sono ricco, mi sono arricchito e non ho bisogno di niente!». Tu non sai, invece, che sei infelice fra tutti, miserabile, povero, cieco e nudo.

(18) Perciò io ti consiglio di comprare da me dell'oro purificato dal fuoco per arricchirti; e delle vesti bianche per vestirti e perché non appaia la vergogna della tua nudità; e del collirio per ungerti gli occhi e vedere.

(19) Tutti quelli che amo, io li riprendo e li correggo; sii dunque zelante e ravvediti.¹⁷

A differenza della rottura del quinto sigillo, qui, nel testo che propongo come supporto di quest'opera pittorica, appare esplicitamente il tema della cecità e della vista, della visione spirituale, che preoccupò costantemente El Greco, soprattutto durante il suo periodo spagnolo; in secondo luogo, è possibile, credo, un'identificazione iconografica più appropriata delle strutture correlative del testo biblico, che ci fornisce un'altra chiave di lettura dell'immagine.

La *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista* crea indiscutibilmente una potente emozione visiva, perché interrompe, improvvisamente e drammaticamente, il *Viaggio* terreno e apre, definitivamente, quello ultraterreno. Quando è collocato relativamente allo stesso registro di altezza dello spettatore, essendo di grandi dimensioni (222 x 193 cm), il dipinto dialoga con lui frontalmente e lo coinvolge direttamente nell'esperienza estatica di Giovanni – intensamente espressa dall'allungamento del suo corpo, dalle braccia e dalle mani aperte verso il cielo, dalla posizione inginocchiata, segno di penitenza in nome di tutti. Le forme corporee in secondo piano, intrappolate nella scena come tra drappi, da loro sostenuti o che tendono a coprirle, presentano, dall'altezza umana da cui possono essere osservate, una drammaticità intensa, emozionante. Partendo da un'altra

¹⁴ Richard G. Mann, "The Altarpieces for the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist, Outside the Walls, Toledo", *Studies in the History of Art* 11 (1982): 56-VIII.

¹⁵ Manuel B. Cossío, *El Greco*, apud Mann, p. 65.

¹⁶ José Riello, "From the Bodily Disease to the Resurrection of the Flesh: El Greco at the Hospital Tavera", in Stoenescu (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

¹⁷ Apocalisse secondo Giovanni 3:17-19.

visione dell'Apocalisse di Giovanni (3: 14-22, il messaggio all'angelo della chiesa di Laodicea), potremmo dire che i ciechi stiano al di qua e al di là della soglia del quadro. Ci crediamo ricchi, siamo poveri e nudi. Solo, sulla soglia della fede, il santo ci è rivelato nel *suo* momento tra visione e penitenza, allorché ci chiama a raccolta.

E il tutto, sulla soglia della vita di El Greco, nel 1614, che il poeta e drammaturgo manierista Góngora ricorda nel sonetto scritto più avanti, nel 1627:

Iscrizione per il sepolcro di Domenico Greco, di Luís Argite y Góngora

Questa in forma elegante, o pellegrino,/ di porfido lucente dura chiave,/ il mondo priva del pennello più soave/ che diè spirito al legno, vita al lino.// Il suo nome, di maggior fiato degno,/ che nelle trombe della Fama suona,/ la fronte illustra a questo marmo grave;/ veneralo e prosegui il tuo cammino.// Giace il Greco. Ereditò Natura/ l'arte, l'Arte studio, Iride i colori,/ Febo le luci se non l'ombre Morfeo.// Tanta urna, inutilmente dura,/ lacrime beva e quanti trasuda odori/ funebre scorza d'albero sabeo.¹⁸

IV. Prospettive americane. L'opera migrante. Ancora verso Occidente: XIX-XX. La "grecomania"

Avanzerò inoltre alcuni commenti riguardanti la fortuna transcontinentale di El Greco, grazie ai collezionisti privati, che lo hanno esposto direttamente accanto ai modernisti, ma anche grazie alle grandi istituzioni museali, che lo hanno generosamente incluso nelle loro pinacoteche.

Sulla base di una fruttuosa collaborazione tra Stati Uniti e Spagna, due importanti ricercatori, Inge Reist e José Luis Colomer, hanno curato nel 2017 un prezioso volume di studi scientifici (a seguito del convegno organizzato due anni prima da The Center for the History of Collecting/ The Frick Collection, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica e The Center of Spain in America): *El Greco Comes to America. The Discovery of a Modern Old Master*. L'opera spiega in dettaglio la "grecomania" dei collezionisti americani del XIX secolo – come l'autrice dello studio, Ellen Prokop, definisce la loro ossessione per il pittore europeo. Un vero e proprio culto di

¹⁸ Luis De Góngora, *Sonetti funebri*, a cura di Piero Chiara, SE, Milano, 1997, p. 31. Si confronti di seguito l'originale: *Inscripción para el sepulcro de Domínico Greco (Luis de Góngora y Argote)*: "Esta en forma elegante, oh peregrino,/ de pórfido luciente dura llave,/ el pincel niega al mundo más süave,/ que dió espíritu a leño, vida a lino.// Su nombre, aun de mayor aliento dino/ que en los clarines de la Fama cabe,/ el campo ilustra de ese mármol grave:/ venérale, y prosigue tu camino.// Yace el Griego. Heredó Naturaleza/ arte, y el Arte estudio. Iris colores./ Febo luces si no sombras Morfeo.// Tanta urna a pesar de su dureza/ lágrimas beba y cuantos suda olores/ corteza funeral de árbol sabeo."

El Greco apparirà in seguito nelle collezioni e nei musei di Filadelfia¹⁹, Boston²⁰, New York²¹, ma anche nelle collezioni di Duncan Phillips²², della Hispanic Society of America²³ e di Henry Clay Frick²⁴. Ovviamente nella lista compare anche l'Art Institute of Chicago²⁵.

Il volume si conclude con due capitoli ugualmente appassionanti, uno sulla “stranierità” di El Greco (dedicato alle mostre newyorkesi del periodo 1912-2014)²⁶ e un altro sulla sua “stranezza”²⁷. Questi studi menzionano non solo i due orizzonti di ricezione e influenza nella modernità, europeo (presso i romantici, i simbolisti, gli spiritualisti e le avanguardie²⁸) e anglo-americano, ma anche i dipinti delle collezioni nordamericane, la storia della loro acquisizione ed esposizione. Approccio complesso, dalle informazioni corroborate interdisciplinarmente – storia culturale, storia dell’arte, storia del mercato dell’arte, storia economica e politica –, il volume è un prezioso strumento di lavoro per i ricercatori, ma anche di educazione per il grande pubblico. Esso completa in questo modo la documentazione delle mostre organizzate a Toledo e Madrid nel 2014, in occasione del 400^{mo} anniversario della morte del pittore.

V. Lo sguardo migrante. Sulle orme della creazione: Occidente-Oriente, i secoli XX-XXI. La “grecofilia”

Uso il termine “sguardo”, qui, nel senso di riflessione sull’oggetto guardato o immaginato, cioè teoria e commento interpretativo negli studi recenti sulle creazioni di El Greco; ma anche di guardarsi alle spalle, tornare al passato, tornare a una cultura, quella europea, da cui numerosi altri artisti (e non solo loro) sono partiti per un’altra.

Un esempio in tal senso è quello di Livia Stoenescu, storica dell’arte e docente di studi visuali presso il College of Architecture della Texas A&M University. La ricercatrice di origine romena parte dal suo interesse per la Controriforma, il Concilio di Trento e la loro eredità, per arrivare all’opera di El Greco attraverso ricerche personali, colloqui, dibattiti e seminari universitari dedicati alle sue opere. Mentre il volume dell’autrice *The*

¹⁹ Richard L. Kagan, “The Cult of El Greco: El Grecophilis in Philadelphia”, in Reist and Colomer (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 47-68.

²⁰ Ronni Baer, “A Painter’s Painter: El Greco and Boston”, *ivi*, pp. 69-90.

²¹ Amaya A. Ruiz, “The Madrazo and the New York Collectors of El Greco”, *ivi*, pp. 91-114.

²² J. L. Colomer, “El Greco and The Philips Collection”, *ivi*, pp. 115-136.

²³ Marcus B. Burke, “El Greco at The Hispanic Society of America”, *ivi*, pp. 137-160.

²⁴ Xavier F. Salomon, “Henry Clay Frick and El Greco”, *ivi*, pp. 161-180.

²⁵ Rebecca J. Long, “El Greco in Chicago”, *ivi*, pp. 181-202.

²⁶ Susan Grace Galassi, “Stranger in a Strange Land”, *ivi*, pp. 203-226.

²⁷ Jonathan Brown, “Epilogue: The Many Facets of El Greco”, *ivi*, pp. 227-230.

²⁸ Reist and Colomer, “Preface”, *ivi*, p. 15.

*Pictorial Art of El Greco. Transmaterialities, Temporality, and Media*²⁹ raccoglie articoli pubblicati e presentazioni a conferenze, raggruppati in modo tale da rivelare, in una nuova lettura, il rapporto tra l'immagine e il suo contesto teologico ed estetico, il volume collettivo coordinato dalla stessa specialista³⁰ offre un'altra prospettiva, esplicitamente inquadrata nella storia culturale³¹ e negli studi culturali visuali³².

Entrambi i lavori esulano dall'ambito metodologico degli studi di storia dell'arte, dirigendosi, in modo interdisciplinare, verso nuovi fertili campi di ricerca.

Livia Stoenescu indaga l'opera di El Greco, spirito modernista del suo tempo, in rapporto ai movimenti riformatori italiani (ad esempio, quelli avviati da Annibale Carracci e Federico Zuccari), ma anche alla pittura spagnola della stessa fattura; fa appello quindi a dati contestuali e determinanti; integrati, e non disgiunti. El Greco non è visto come un atipico, bensì, al contrario, come un *sintomo della sua epoca*. Abbiamo a che fare con la prospettiva di un "terzo incluso", la cui manifestazione è segno di una crisi interna, forse addirittura sistemica.

Rimane o no un inclassificabile, essendo sintomo di una crisi?, questa è la domanda che suscita in noi questa raccolta di articoli – un blocco argomentativo coerente sul rapporto contesto-testo-oggetto-immagine. "I depart from the common refrain that El Greco was a unique painter distanced from the mainstream and instead demonstrate the breadth and depth on his thinking as a painter aligned with the major artistic trends of his time"³³. Se lo esaminiamo in questo modo, in relazione al contesto dell'epoca, ci collochiamo, come abbiamo già fatto notare in precedenza, in un nuovo orizzonte metodologico degli studi culturali visuali.

Inoltre, e in modo decisivo, l'argomentazione dell'autrice è costruita su una mescolanza di discipline, che consente analisi della temporalità dell'opera d'arte e della sua transmaterialità nella posterità. Il metodo di lavoro riunisce diverse discipline e nuove domande di ricerca, attinge

²⁹ Livia Stoenescu, *The Pictorial Art of El Greco. Transmaterialities, Temporalities, and Media*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2019.

³⁰ Idem (ed.), *Creative and Imaginative Powers in the Pictorial Art of El Greco*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2016.

³¹ La prima parte, intitolata "Cultural History in El Greco's Toledo", ivi, pp. 13-110, con gli studi: Fernando Marías, "El Greco among the Conversos: The Case of the Chapel of Saint Joseph", pp. 13-48; Miriam Cera, "Pedro Salazar de Mendoza: Patron of El Greco and Bibliophile", pp. 49-82; José Riello, "From the Bodily Disease to the Resurrection of the Flesh: El Greco at the Hospital Tavera", pp. 83-110.

³² La seconda parte, intitolata "El Greco's Response to the Italian Renaissance", ivi, pp. 111-166, con gli studi: Livia Stoenescu, "History and Style in El Greco's Pictorial Art", pp. 111-128; Karin Hellwig, *art. cit.*, pp. 129-144; Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, "The Young Domenikos and the Self-Construction of an Artistic Language", pp. 145-166.

³³ Livia Stoenescu, ivi, p. 18.

criticamente a vari ambiti, adatta e integra prospettive, nozioni e schemi proposti da Alexander Nagel e Christopher S. Wood, da Hans Belting e Georges Didi-Huberman (citati dall'autrice). Questo primo orizzonte bibliografico cambia sostanzialmente il punto di vista sull'opera e sulla biografia del pittore e inquadra l'approccio di Livia Stoenescu in un nuovo paradigma, transdisciplinare, più ricco, mobile e per eccellenza dialogico.

L'“inclassificabilità” di El Greco, rivendicata dai critici d'arte francesi, appare in definitiva, nella prospettiva degli autori di quest'ultimo volume, come una crisi d'interpretazione della sua opera; soglia che può essere superata attraverso nuovi discorsi ermeneutici, contestualizzanti e pluriprospectici. Livia Stoenescu, come abbiamo visto, integra un orizzonte teorico e culturale europeo in un approccio epistemologico anglo-americano. I suoi concetti e metodi, così come, d'altra parte, l'oggetto della loro ricerca, migrano essi stessi da diversi campi scientifici, di cui portano significativamente l'eredità, che pure trascendono; proprio come l'artista stesso, (*e*)*migrando*, ha superato soglie, crisi dell'immagine, della spiritualità del tempo, della propria esistenza e ha iscritto definitivamente il suo stile e la sua opera, da esse generati, in un orizzonte culturale e identitario innovativo.

Elenco delle illustrazioni:

III.1: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *Santi Pietro e Paolo*, 1587-1592, olio su tela di cm 121,5 × 105, Museo dell'Ermitage, San Pietroburgo

III.2: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *Veduta di Toledo*, 1596-1600, olio su tela di cm 121.3 x 108.6, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

III.3: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *Velo della Veronica*, 1586-1595, olio su tela di cm 71 x 54, Museo del Prado, Madrid

III.4: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *San Luca*, 1605-1610, olio su tela di cm 100 x 76, Cattedrale di Santa María, Toledo

III.5: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *Laocoonte*, 1610-1614, olio su tela di cm 142 x 193, National Gallery of Art, Washington

III.6: Doménikos Theotokópoulos detto El Greco, *Visione di San Giovanni Evangelista*, 1608-1614, olio su tela di cm 222.2 × 193, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Bibliografia:

Kientz, Guillaume (a cura di), *Greco*, catalogo della mostra, edizione francese, Louvre Éditions, Paris, 2019.

Mann, Richard, “The Altarpieces for the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist, Outside the Walls, Toledo”, *Studies in the History of Art* 11 (1982): 56-VIII.

Raus, Tonia, Gian Maria Tore (eds.), *Comprendre la mise en abyme. Arts et médias au second degré*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes, 2019.

Reist, Inge, José Luis Colomer (eds.), *El Greco Comes to America. The Discovery of a Modern Old Master*, The Frick Collection, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, Center for Spain in America, New York, 2017.

Rousseau, Theodore, “El Greco’s Vision of Saint John”, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, nr. 10 (1959), pp. 241-262.

Stoenescu, Livia (ed.), *Creative and Imaginative Powers in the Pictorial Art of El Greco*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2016.

Stoenescu, Livia, *The Pictorial Art of El Greco. Transmaterialities, Temporalities, and Media*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2019.

The 12th Century Arch-gabled Churches in the Southern Region of Old Rus (Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi) Based on the Materials of the Archaeological Excavations¹

Kateryna Mikheienko*

Abstract: *The article deals with the churches of the 12th century found out by the materials of the archaeological excavations in Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, and Chernihiv. The study of these materials made it possible to specify the development of the arch-gabled church in the 12th century. Finding out the porches that complemented the main volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv by the archaeological excavations in the 1990s allows to consider this cathedral not only a complete model of the arch-gabled church, but also the initial stage of the development of pillar-shaped church. The peculiarities of Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi churches of the second quarter of the 12th century illustrate the initial stage of spreading Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church and thus transforming it from local to interregional. In addition, it is established the emergence of a new variant in the second quarter of the 12th century in Kyiv on the basis of Chernihiv one. It was Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which in the second half of the 12th century became interregional. The characteristic features of the planning solution of Kyiv and Chernihiv churches in the second half of the 12th century allow the fact that the pillar-shaped church gradually emerged on the basis of the arch-gabled church.*

Keywords: architecture, Kyivan Rus, 12th century, arch-gabled church, pillar-shaped church, materials of the archaeological excavations.

The arch-gabled church is the most widespread type of church architecture in Old Rus of pre-Mongol period. The defining feature of the arch-gabled church is the continuous rows of arch gables located above all the façades, which complete not only the wall parts corresponding to the ends of the ramen of the spatial cross, but also the small bays of all the corner compartments, regardless of the nature of their overlap. So, in such churches, only one part of the arch gables is constructive, that is, they fill the ends of

¹ The research was carried out within the framework of a Research Scholarship of the German Archaeological Institute (01.07.2023–31.12.2023).

* Candidate of Architecture (PhD in Architecture), Senior Lecturer of Department of Theory, History of Architecture and Synthesis of Arts, National Academy of Fine Arts and Architecture (Kyiv, Ukraine), mikheienko@ukr.net

the cylindrical vaults that overlook the façades, and the other part of the arch gables is decorative, as their semicircles are located next to the slopes of the vaults. Therefore, the arch-gabled completion of the façades should be considered as an aesthetic principle independent of the structural design of the vaults.

Since the end of the 19th century, in the Russian Empire, the opinion has prevailed in science that the arch-gabled church was borrowed from Byzantium in its completed forms. The highest stage of arch-gabled church development was considered to be the cathedrals of Moscow Kremlin (15th century), which testified the hereditary connection between the Byzantine empire and Moscovia, and later the Russian empire². The features of the local originality of pre-Mongol architecture began to be determined only in the Soviet period in the churches of pillar-shaped compositions, which were first noticed in the 1930s³. During that period, features of originality were also found in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv (chronicles give two dates of its foundation: 1017 or 1037), such as its multi-domed and pyramidal composition, which has no analogues in Byzantine architecture⁴. A concept emerged that built the line of development of the local Old Rus architectural tradition from the pyramidal St. Sophia in Kyiv to the pillar-shaped churches of the 12th century, and from them to the Russian tent churches of the 16th and 17th centuries⁵. The arch-gabled church fell out of the development line as a Byzantine borrowing that had no local specificity.

Although back in the 1930s, Aleksey Nekrasov first drew attention to the fact that decorative arch gables were unknown in Byzantine architecture. From the context of his thoughts, it is implied that the arch-gabled church was formed in Byzantium due to the use of cross vaults. But in the Kyiv of the 11th century, cross vaults were not known, as a result, decorative arch

² Андрей Павлинов, *История русской архитектуры*, Типо-литогр. Т-ва И.Н. Кушнерев К°, Москва, 1894, с. 1–96, 130–137. Алексей Новицкий, *История русского искусства с древнейших времен: в 2 т., Том 1*, Изд. В. Н. Линд, Москва, 1903, с. 34–50, 69–88, 158–177, 184–200. Игорь Грабарь, *История Русского Искусства, Том 1. Архитектура. История архитектуры. До-Петровская эпоха*, Изд-во. И. Кнебель, Москва, 1910, с. 145–254, 303–330.

³ Николай Брунов, *К вопросу о самостоятельных чертах русской архитектуры X–XII вв.* in the edition *Русская архитектура. Доклады, прочитанные в связи с декадником по русской архитектуре в Москве в апреле 1939 г.*, Гос. архитектур. изд-во Акад. архитектуры СССР, Москва, 1940, с. 123–126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, с. 121–123.

⁵ *Ibid.*, с. 126. Later, similar views were expressed by Nikolay Voronin (Николай Воронин, “У истоков русского национального зодчества” in “Архитектура СССР”, 5/1944, с. 32–37. Николай Воронин, *У истоков русского национального зодчества (Из истории зодчества периода феодальной раздробленности XI–XV вв.)* in the edition *Ежегодник Института истории искусств: Живопись. Архитектура*, Изд-во Академии наук СССР, Москва, 1952, с. 257–316).

gables emerged there⁶. However, in the 1930s, the ideas of Aleksey Nekrasov were not developed. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that Aleksey Komech determined that the arch-gabled church had not been borrowed from Byzantium, but was formed in Kyiv in the second half of the 11th century on the basis of transplanted Byzantine forms. Thus, the arch-gabled church is one of the first innovations of the Kyivan Rus architectural tradition⁷. However, the researches by Aleksey Komech are chronologically limited in the early 12th century, when regional variants of the arch-gabled church were only beginning to be formed. After his researches being published, the problems of the development of arch-gabled church were not dealt with in detail.

In recent years, we have identified in our researches several regional variants of the arch-gabled church of the 12th century⁸. The main materials for these studies were mostly preserved churches, including measurement of those that were destroyed in the 20th century. The churches known from the archaeological excavations have hardly been considered. However, without taking into account the archaeological monuments, the picture of the arch-gabled church development in the 12th century cannot be considered complete. In this article, we have analyzed the churches of the 12th century known from the archaeological researches in the southern regions of Old Rus (Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi).

To begin with, the stages of the arch-gabled church development put forward in my researches, determined mainly by the preserved monuments, are to be considered.

• From the late 10th to the first half of the 11th century

During the archaeological excavations in 1948 (led by Mikhail Karger) of the first stone church of Old Rus, the Tithe (Desiatynna) Church (989–996, almost completely destroyed during the Mongol invasion of 1240) in Kyiv, a masonry block with a fragment of the arch gable and the remains of the dogtooth cornice along its semicircle was found. The dogtooth cornice was covered in plaster and painted with a decorative fresco. The remains of a tile covering (the size of one tile being 60x30 cm)⁹ have been preserved on the arch gable, which proves that the arch gable dated back to the original period

⁶ Алексей Некрасов, *Византийское и русское искусство*, Изд-во Гос. универсал. магазина, Москва, 1924, с. 55–56.

⁷ The final monography Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. Византийское наследие и становление самостоятельной традиции*, Наука, Москва, 1987, с. 260–285.

⁸ Катерина Міхєєнко, *Закомарний храм. Регіональні традиції* in the edition *Українська академія мистецтва. Дослідницькі та науково-методичні праці*, Вип. 27, Київ, 2018, с. 33–43.

⁹ Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1961, с. 51–54, рис. 14–16.

of the church construction (end of the 10th century), in the 11th century Kyiv churches were covered with lead sheets. The location of the arch gable indicates that it was a fragment of the façade of the second floor of the western gallery, its side bay adjacent to the central one from the north. Therefore, this arch gable belongs to the western part of the church (the western gallery), so it does not provide information if there could have been a continuous arch-gabled completion of all the church façades.

In the preserved Kyivan Rus churches of the first half of the 11th century, arch gables *in situ* are known only in the Transfiguration Cathedral (founded before 1036) in Chernihiv. Here, the arch gables are only located at the ends of the spatial cross. They are all constructive and are connected to the typically Byzantine horizontal cornices above all bays of other compartments, which have retained the horizontal ending brought under the cornices¹⁰. In St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv (chronicles give two dates of its foundation: 1017 and 1037), semicircular arch gables have been preserved at the arms of the transept ends (the western one has been completely lost), and the shape of the five-naves core corner part edges under the small dome drums have not been clarified. None of the inner galleries has preserved either the overlap or the façade walls of the second floor, so it is unknown what the original completion of the façades of St. Sophia of Kyiv looked like¹¹.

The history of the formation of the arch-gabled church began with St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod (1045–1050/52), that preserved the earliest known arch gables over the small bays of the façade walls of the main core, including one decorative arch gable. In addition, the western gallery of the cathedral ends with constructive arch gables (similar to the narthex of Byzantine churches). Analysing the composition of St. Sophia of Novgorod, Aleksey Komech notes that a system of arch-gabled completion has not been developed here yet, as arch gables were combined with horizontal cornices, triangular gables, and quarter circle completion¹². Nevertheless, the process of forming the arch-gabled completion in St. Sophia of Novgorod has already begun, so it may be considered a “proto-arch-gabled” church. It is possible that the process of the emergence of arch gables over small bays of the façade walls, similar to those in St. Sophia of Novgorod, might also take place in Kyiv in the middle of the 11th century in St. Iryna’s Church, St. George’s Church and the Church in the Manor of the Metropolitan House. But these

¹⁰ Николай Холостенко, *Исследования Спасского собора в Чернигове* in the edition *Реставрация и исследования памятников культуры*, Вып. 3, Стройиздат, Москва, 1990, с. 8.

¹¹ The analysis of different variants of reconstructing the original appearance of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv is presented in the publication by Yurii Koreniuk (Юрій Коренюк, “Проблеми дослідження Софійського собору: історія та сучасність” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, Спецвип. 1/2013, с. 10–17).

¹² Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ...* с. 248.

monuments are known only from the materials of the archaeological researches, which do not give any idea of the nature of the completion of their façade walls.

• ***The second half of the 11th century***

The Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery in Kyiv (1073–1087) is considered to be the first arch-gabled church. Its main volume is an elongated west-east parallelepiped, topped by a single dome. During the dismantling of the cathedral ruins (after the explosion in 1941), a fragment of the composition of a window and two niches from the plane of the arch gable was found, which became the basis for the reconstruction of the arch-gabled completion (Mykola Kholostenko)¹³. The three-dimensional composition of the Dormition Cathedral is characterised by the lowering of side apses, so the arch gables of the eastern corner compartments were lowered accordingly (Aleksey Komech)¹⁴.

St. Michael's Church (1070–1088) of Vydubyskyi Monastery in Kyiv, built almost simultaneously with the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery, has preserved only the western part. The narthex of St. Michael's Church was completed with arch gables, it is proved that the remains of the lower parts of windows or niches that have been preserved in the semicircles that were supposed to complete the southern bay of its western wall and the southern end wall. The existence of the arch gables above the small bays of the naos is demonstrated by the preserved remains of double ledges on the lesenes, that are the lower parts of the profiling of the arch gable semicircles starting from the level of the springers of the small arches of the vaults over the choirs¹⁵.

• ***The first decade of the 12th century***

Built in 1108–1113, St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral represents the completed form of the arch-gabled church with a narthex. The volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is the same as that of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery, an elongated horizontal parallelepiped topped with a single dome (Fig. 1). St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is

¹³ Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря* in the edition *Стародавній Київ*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1975, с. 151–153.

¹⁴ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ... с. 272*. According to the reconstruction proposed by Mykola Kholostenko, all the vaults of the corner compartments of the Dormition Cathedral were lowered, and the small arch gables were lowered accordingly, their crowns were located at the level of the springers of the large arched gables in the ends of the arms of the spatial cross (Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря ... с. 153*. Микола Холостенко, *Нові дослідження Іоанно-Предтеченської церкви та реконструкція Успенського собору Києво-Печерської лаври* in the edition *Археологічні дослідження стародавнього Києва*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1976, с. 144, рис. 14, 15). However, in reality, such a lowering of the vaults was fixed only in the eastern part of the church (Микола Холостенко, *Успенський собор Печерського монастиря ... с. 151–154*).

¹⁵ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ... с. 265*.

sometimes called a smaller copy of the Dormition Cathedral. However, in St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, according to measurements and photographs by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy, when the side apses were lowered, the springers of all arch gables were on the same level¹⁶, unlike the Dormition Cathedral, that had lowered eastern arch gables. Nevertheless, the niches on the eastern arch gables were noticeably lower than those of the other small arch gables, which approximately corresponded to the level of the lowered eastern corner vaults. Thus, the rise of the eastern bays by the addition of decorative arch gables was obviously due to new tastes, while the preservation of lower niches was in line with the old tradition. Emphasising this, Aleksey Komech calls the niches on the eastern arch gables of the side façades of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral a "double decoration"¹⁷. The horizontal static volume with a narthex characteristic of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral would later become the most widespread compositional variant of the arch-gabled church.

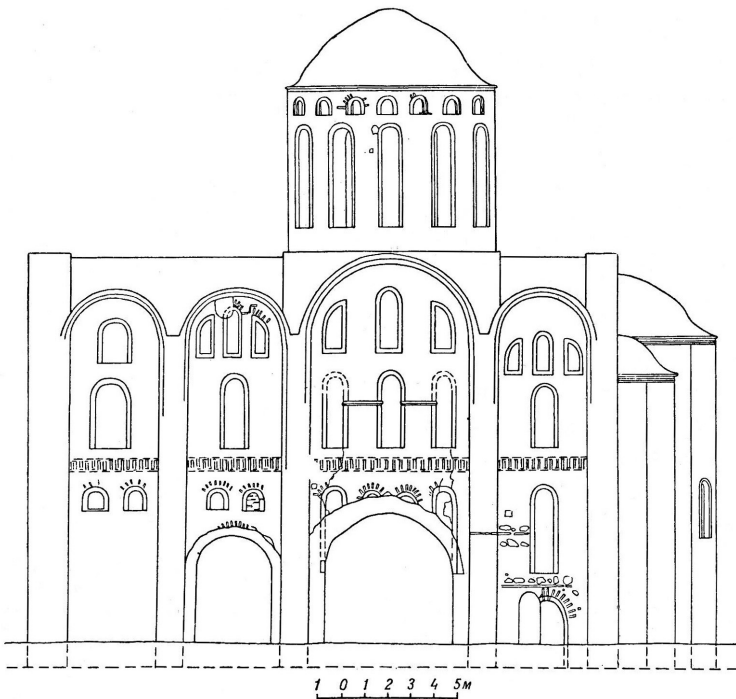


Fig. 1: Golden Domed

¹⁶ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-875, Н-884, Н-1807. Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 279, табл. XLVII.

¹⁷ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. ...* с. 280.

At the same time with St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, the arch-gabled church without a narthex emerged. The Trinity Gate Church (after 1106) of Pechersk Monastery was the first to represent that variant of church¹⁸. The Trinity Gate Church has a square plan and its façades have the same centrally symmetrical build, creating a new composition with a vertical orientation of the church volume, in contrast to the elongated parallelepiped of the churches with narthex (Fig. 2). In the three-dimensional solution of the Trinity Gate Church, the composition of the newly formed arch-gabled church undergoes certain transformations, which may be interpreted as the initial stage of the development of churches with a vertical composition. This stage is limited to increasing the height of the main volume of the church and the vertical orientation of the decorative elements of the façades.

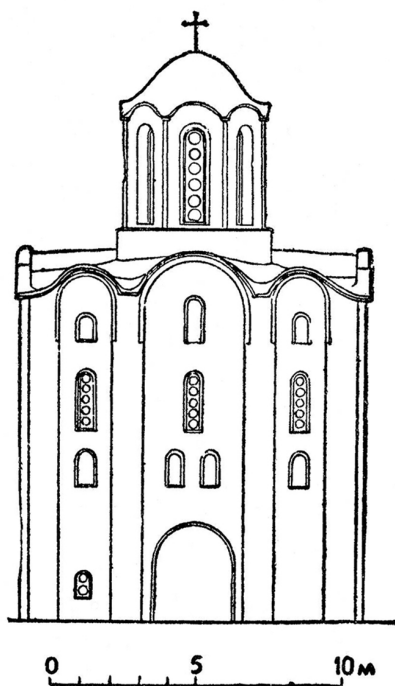


Fig. 2: Trinity Gate Church

¹⁸ The earliest known four-pillared church without a narthex is the Church of St. John the Baptist (late 11th century), which was adjacent to the northern end of the narthex of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery. But the Church of St. John the Baptist was not a separate church. The baptistery adjacent to the southern end of narthex of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral had a similar planning solution. The first known separate church, not an addition to the cathedral, was the Trinity Gate Church of Pechersk Monastery, which, probably, followed the planning solution of the church on the Golden Gate, that has not been preserved.

Similar features are inherent in another Kyiv church, the Church of the Saviour on Berestov (1113–1125). Having a narthex, the plan of this church was elongated, but its considerable height gave its three-dimensional composition a certain vertical orientation (Fig. 3). It was emphasized by the composition of windows arranged in vertical tiers between the lesenes. In addition, three porches emerge in the Church of the Saviour on Berestov, which are the elements of a stepped composition. It should be emphasized that a trefoil arch was fixed for the first time in the overlap of those porches (traces of the junction of the vault of the western porch in the form of a trefoil arch have been preserved on the western wall of the narthex). This trefoil form began to be widely used in pillar-shaped churches from the end of the 12th century. It should also be noted that the Church of the Saviour on Berestov was built only of brick with a recessed row (recessed brick technique), unlike other Kyiv monuments of the early 12th century, which used the “opus mixtum” masonry technique of stone and bricks with a recessed row. The “opus mixtum” remained unchanged in Kyiv from the time of the construction of the Tithe Church in the late 10th century to the first decades of the 12th century.



Fig. 3: Berestov

• ***The first quarter of the 12th century***

Almost simultaneously, in the early 12th century in Kyiv, with the emergence of completed forms of the arch-gabled church in two compositional types: with a narthex and without a narthex, the first regional variants of the arch-gabled church were formed in Novgorod and Chernihiv. Both of these regional variants are characterized by the location of the springers of all arch gables at the same level, with no lowering of the eastern part. Novgorod variant is a transformation of the aesthetic model of the arch-gabled church represented in St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral under the influence of St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod. All Novgorod churches of the first quarter of the 12th century have narthex, but compared to Kyiv churches, they are higher, which gives their volumes a vertical orientation. The churches of Novgorod, like those of Kyiv, were built of stone and brick using the "opus mixtum" masonry technique¹⁹. Chernihiv variant very closely follows the horizontally oriented three-dimensional composition of Kyiv St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, but implements this composition in the masonry technique "opus isodos". At the same time, Romanesque constructions (cross vaults) and decorative elements (Lombard band, deeply recessed portals, semi-columns on lesenes) emerged in Chernihiv churches. In addition, in those churches the staircase to the choirs is located in the thickness of one of the walls, unlike Kyiv and Novgorod churches, where the staircase to the choirs is located in a tower attached to partially or completely incorporated into the narthex²⁰.

• ***From the middle of the 1120s to the 1150s***

Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church widespread to the southern and southwestern regions of Old Rus (Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, Smolensk, Volodymyr-Volynskyi, and Staraya Ryazan) and becomes interregional. Accordingly, the masonry technique "opus isodos" is also spreading with it. Along with Chernihiv variant spreading, regional variants of the arch-gabled

¹⁹ The local transformation of the masonry technique "opus mixtum" is associated with using large quantities of limestone in Novgorod (Павел Раппопорт, *Зодчество Древней Руси*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1986, с. 68).

²⁰ The location of the staircase in the tower adjacent to the narthex is typical for Novgorod churches of the first quarter of the 12th century. In the 11th century, this can be seen in the Transfiguration Cathedral in Chernihiv and St. Sophia Cathedral in Polotsk. In other churches of the 11th century, stair towers are located in the narthex or built into galleries, in particular in St. Sophia of Kyiv and St. Sophia of Novgorod. A stair tower is partially included in the volume of the narthex in St. Michael's Church (1070–1088) of Vydubyskyi Monastery in Kyiv. And in Kyiv St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113), the stair tower is completely included in the volume of the narthex, its shape is not visible from the outside. It is not known how the staircase to the choirs in the Dormition Cathedral (1073–1087) of Pechersk Monastery looked like and where it was situated, according to which different opinions have been expressed (Павел Раппопорт, *Русская архитектура X–XIII вв.: каталог памятников*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1982, с. 24).

church without a narthex emerged in the second half of the 1120s. At that time, one of the first variants probably emerged in Halych land. It was distinguished from all the others by its building materials: instead of break it is limestone, carefully squared and laid on very thin mortar joins. But all the monuments of this variant are known only from archaeological excavations.

From the end of the 1120s, a deliberate search for a vertical composition was carried out within the churches of the arch-gabled type, the centre of which was Polotsk. There emerged several variants of “proto-pillar-shaped” churches, which are known mainly from the archaeological excavations²¹. A characteristic feature of Polotsk churches is that they were built of brick using the recessed brick technique, as in Kyiv Church of the Saviour on Berestov.

• *From the 1160s to the end of the 12th century*

The construction of the arch-gabled churches with a narthex is almost completely stopped. Instead, the arch-gabled churches without a narthex have become widespread, with several regional variants emerging. The churches that have the features of Chernihiv variant but do not have a narthex were built in Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Smolensk. The earliest preserved monuments of this variant are known in Smolensk and can be considered interregional in the second half of the 12th century, replacing Chernihiv variant, which used to be interregional from the middle of the 1120s to the 1160s.

In addition to the interregional variant of the second half of the 12th century, local variants of the arch-gabled church without a narthex also emerged. In Novgorod land, this is Staraya Ladoga variant, which has been developed from Novgorod one of the early 12th century, where the lack of a narthex differs Staraya Ladoga variant from Novgorod one. Another local variant of the arch-gabled church without a narthex, that did not go beyond the region of its formation, emerged in the middle of the 12th century in Vladimir-Suzdal land. Its characteristic features are the using of carefully squared limestone as building material and Romanesque decoration (a band of blind arcading supporting on ornamental colonettes, deeply recessed portals and archivolts of windows, and the introduction of exterior sculpture). It can be assumed that the basis for Vladimir-Suzdal variant of the arch-gabled church was Halych one, which emerged in the second quarter of the 12th century and was also characterized by using carefully squared limestone as building material. So, in science it is widely believed that in the middle of the 12th century craftsmen from Halych land came to Vladimir-Suzdal land²².

²¹ For more details, see Катерина Міхеєнко, “З історії храмобудування Київської Русі” in “Український історичний журнал”, 4 (565)/2022, с. 214–230.

²² Николай Воронин, *Зодчество Северо-Восточной Руси XII–XV веков: в 2 т., Том I. XII столетие*, Изд-во АН СССР, Москва, 1961, с. 107–110. Олег Иоаннисян, *Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в.* in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т., Том 2/1. Искусство 20–60-х годов XII века*, Государственный институт искусствознания, Москва, 2012, с. 143–144.

In the 1180s–1190s, churches with a set of typical features of pillar-shaped compositions emerged in different cultural centres (Smolensk, Kyiv, Ovruch, and Bilgorod), including a vertical volume with a trefoil walls completion, as well as vertically oriented elements of façade decoration, primarily figurine-shaped lesenes. During that period, there was the standardisation of the pillar-shaped type, which at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries almost completely replaced the arch-gabled type and became interregional until 1240, when the development of architecture was interrupted by the Mongol invasion.

Focusing on the defined stages of the development of the arch-gabled church, we turn to the churches of Kyiv, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, and Chernihiv, known from the archaeological materials, to detail the process of development of the arch-gabled church in the 12th century.

• ***The first decade of the 12th century***

St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv, founded by Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych in 1108 (he was buried in this church in 1113), was apparently completely preserved after the Mongol invasion of 1240. During the 17th and 18th centuries, additions were made to the Old Rus building and the cathedral got a Baroque look. The church existed in this form until 1937, when it was destroyed by the order of the Soviet authorities. In the 1970s and 1980s, Aleksey Komech determined that St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral represented the complete form of the arch-gabled type of church, because springers of all arch gables were located on the same level²³. Such an aesthetic model would become the basis for the development of regional variants of arch-gabled church during the 12th century.

The materials for the study of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral during the 20th century was based on the researches by Ipolyt Morhilevskyi, made before the destruction of the church in 1937²⁴. Based on those materials, Aleksey Komech defined the role of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral as the key stage in the development of the arch-gabled church. However, new important materials for specifying the role of St. Michael's

²³ Алексей Комеч, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в.* ... с. 280.

²⁴ The materials by Ipolyt Morhilevskyi (photos taken before and during the destruction of the cathedral, and photos of his measurement drawings) are kept in the National Conservation Area "St. Sophia of Kyiv" (Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-320, Н-387, Н-436, Н-437, Н-549–Н-551, Н-759–Н-765, Н-781–Н-792, Н-808–Н-838, Н-870–Н-873, Н-875–Н-878, Н-880–Н-893, Н-958, Н-1115, Н-1508, Н-1807, Н-1925, Н-4242, Н-4250–Н-4255, Н-4258, Н-4260, Н-4284, Н-4305, Н-4306, Н-4310–Н-4313, Н-4315, Н-4333–Н-4342, Н-4355–Н-4359). Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города*.... с. 276–277, 279, 281–282, табл. XLVII–L).

Golden-Domed Cathedral in the development of Old Rus architecture was provided by the archaeological researches in the 1990s (1992–1994 led by Viktor Kharlamov²⁵, and 1996–1997 by Hleb Ivakin²⁶). At that time, the entire area of the church plan was excavated. One of the most important results of which was the finding out of the additions to the main Old Rus church volume, that was a four-pillared with a narthex (Fig. 4). The Church of the Entry of the Lord into Jerusalem (often called the baptistery in the scientific literature) was added to the southern end of the narthex. In addition, porches were built next to the western and northern portals. While the baptistery was known in the scientific literature (the remains of its foundations were firstly recorded by Petr Lashkarev in 1888²⁷), the porches were firstly found out during excavations in 1996–1997. Based on the masonry technique and building materials, the additions (baptistery and porches) were built shortly after the construction of the main volume of the church²⁸.

²⁵ Віктор Харламов, Володимир Гончар, Геннадій Трофименко, Звіт про розкопки пам'ятки архітектури XII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1992 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1992/1, 74 арк. Віктор Харламов, Володимир Гончар, Звіт про архітектурно-археологічні розкопки пам'ятки архітектури XII–XVIII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1993 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1993/13, 39 арк.

²⁶ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, 201 арк. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IIIa. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, табл. 1–88. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IIIб. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, табл. 89–163. Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IV. Кресленки до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103, 82 кресленки. Some materials were published in the article by Hleb Ivakin (Гліб Івакін, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” in “Пам'ятки України: історія та культура”, 1/1999, с. 52–59).

²⁷ Петр Лашкарев, *Церковно-археологические очерки, исследования и рефераты*, Тип. И. И. Чоколова, Киев, 1898, с. 238–239.

²⁸ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 8.

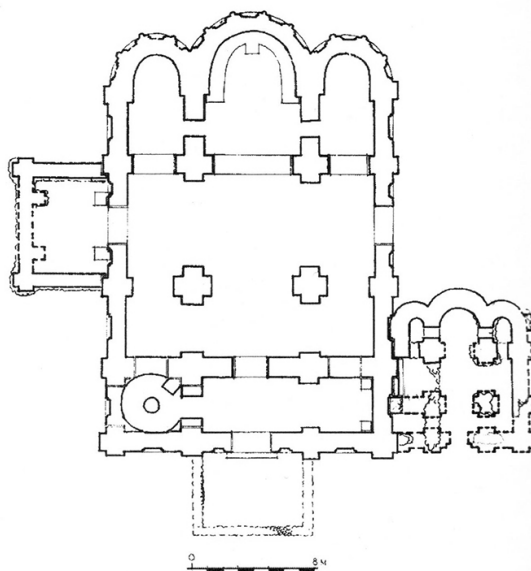


Fig. 4: Golden Domed plan

The foundation remains of Church of the Entry of the Lord into Jerusalem (baptistery), which was added to the southern end of the cathedral narthex after its final completion and plastering facade walls, have hardly ever been preserved. The baptistery was small three-apsed and four-pillared (about 10.8 m long and about 8.6 m wide)²⁹. Its altar pillars were cross-shaped (only one row of wall bricks has been preserved)³⁰. The western pair of pillars were not preserved, but the outline of the southwestern pillar was fixed from the brick prints on the mortar layer. It turned out that this pillar was not cross-shaped, but octagonal in shape. The only trace of the northwestern side, the size of which was approximately 70 cm, has been completely preserved. Obviously, the northwestern pillar was of the same shape³¹. The octagonal pillars fixed in the baptistery indicate that it is one of the earliest examples of sub-domed pillars of this form in Old Rus architecture. Before that, it was believed that octagonal pillars firstly emerged in the Nativity of the Virgin Cathedral (1117–1122) in St. Antony's monastery in Novgorod. Another important feature of the southern wall of the baptistery of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral is the lack of an inner lesene in front of the western pair of pillars. From the point of view of the scientists who took part in the excavations, this indicates the specific features of the monument overlap³², and the façades possibly had trefoil completion³³.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, арк. 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, арк. 28.

³¹ *Ibid.*, арк. 30.

³² *Ibid.*, арк. 29.

However, according to Aleksey Komech, the baptistery was completed with arch gables, similar to those of the Church of St. John the Baptist of the Dormition Cathedral of Pechersk Monastery³⁴.

The previously unknown porches to the northern and western portals (located in the central bays of the facades), found out in the archaeological excavations in 1997, were rectangular in shape in the plan. The northern porch (internal dimensions: 6.37 m in the east-west direction and 4.98 m in the north-south direction) has been better preserved. Its eastern and western walls have been preserved to the height from 3 to 4 rows of brick masonry, and only the foundation of rubble stone with signinum mortar remains from the northern wall. Inside the porch there are two pillars, which are square in the plan. The foundation of the northern wall of the porch, opposite these pillars, has internal and external lesenes of the appropriate width³⁵. The additional pillars near the northern cathedral wall, as well as the corresponding lesenes on the northern wall of the porch, testify the peculiarities of the porch overlap. The small distance between the pillars and the side (eastern and western) walls of the porch allowed the scientists of the researches led by Hleb Ivakin to assume that it had been covered with a trefoil vault, similar to the western porch of the Church of the Savior on Berestov³⁶. However, Aleksey Komech considers this assumption about the trefoil completion of the porch to be controversial³⁷. In addition, it should be noted that the drawings of the porch plan show that its corners have crosses³⁸, which is typical for Kyiv monuments built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique and is chronologically mostly limited to the first quarter of the 12th century.

Another argument in favour of the fact that the main volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral and its northern porch were built by the same craftsmen is that in the corner between the partly ruined northern lesene of the western façade and the western lesene of the northern façade a

³³ Михайло Дегтярьов, Андрій Реутов, *Михайлівський Золотоверхий монастир*, Техніка, Київ, 1997, с. 149. Гліб Івакін, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” ... с. 54.

³⁴ Алексей Комеч, *Архитектура второй половины XI – первой четверти XII века* in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т. Том I. Искусство Киевской Руси IX – первая четверть XII века*, Северный паломник, Москва, 2007, с. 385.

³⁵ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 31–33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, арк. 33.

³⁷ Алексей Комеч, *Архитектура второй половины XI – первой четверти XII века* ... с. 385.

³⁸ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Том IV. Кресленики до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. ... кресленик 20.

diagonally placed brick has been traced³⁹. The same method was traced in the main volume of the church, in particular, between the lesenes of the two western pillars and on the lesenes of the narthex walls. The researchers, who participated in the excavations, note that such a method of the diagonally placed bricks of the corners of the walls and pillars at certain intervals (every 4–8 rows of bricks) was a unique feature of the masonry of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral⁴⁰.

Next to the central bay of the cathedral western façade (narthex), among the masonry of different periods, the remains of the foundations of the rectangular western porch were found. The western porch has hardly ever been preserved. Only the foundations of the northern and western walls have been partially preserved, significantly damaged by some reconstructions in the 17th–19th centuries. This porch had a width (north-south) of about 6.8 m and a length (west-east) of about 4.7 m⁴¹.

The additions, which were found, significantly change the idea of the general composition of the volume of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in pre-Mongol period (Fig. 5) and give grounds to consider this cathedral not only the first completed church of the arch-gabled type, but also the initial stage of the formation of a stepped composition (the availability of porches that gave impetus to the development of pillar-shaped type of church).

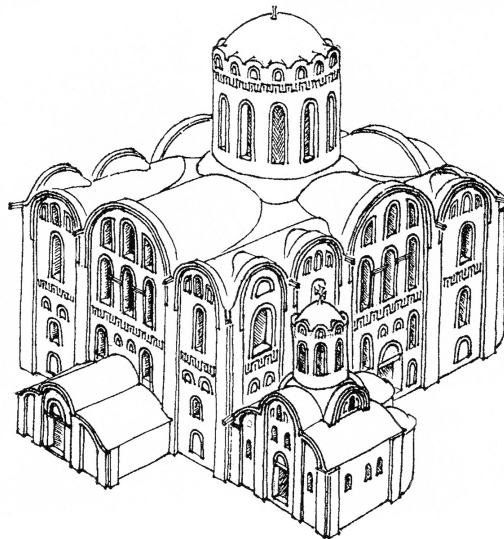


Fig. 5: Golden Domed Reutov

³⁹ Гліб Івакін, Георгій Козубовський, Віталій Козюба, Сергій Поляков, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина ... арк. 32–33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, арк. 13.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, арк. 33–34.

• ***From the middle of the 1120s to the 1150s***

It is fundamentally important to understand the development of the arch-gabled church to study the process of spreading Chernihiv variant, which from the second quarter of the 12th century began to emerge in other regions, in particular, Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi. Firstly, it is reasonable to consider the emergence of Chernihiv variant in Kyiv. The preserved monument of this variant in Kyiv is St. Cyril's Church (built after 1140, first chronicle mention in 1171), and in Kyiv land is St. George's Church in Kaniv (founded in 1144). In addition to them, Kyiv churches of the late 1120s and 1130s known from the archaeological researches can also be referred to Chernihiv variant. These are the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church in Kyiv.

The Church of St. Theodore's Monastery, according to the chronicle, was founded by Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych in 1128, and in 1132 he was buried in the church. Researchers believe that the church, which was the central building of the monastery, was probably preserved after Mongol invasion of 1240 in Kyiv. But in the middle of the 17th century, it was already in ruins, as evidenced by the drawings made by Abraham van Westerfeld of 1651⁴². Later, the church was dismantled and its building materials were used for the construction and restoration of other Kyiv churches⁴³. Based on a comparison of the archaeological excavation materials on Starokyivska Hill and the chronicle reports, in the early 1980s, Petro Tolochko proposed the location of St. Theodore's Monastery⁴⁴. But the place where the church was situated remained uncertain until 1983, when Viktor Kharlamov and Yaroslav Borovskiy found out the masonry foundation of the northwestern corner of the church in an exploratory pit. In the same year, a significant part of the foundations of the church western and northern walls were researched⁴⁵.

⁴² Яков Смирнов, *Рисунки Киева 1651 года по копиям их конца XVIII века* in the edition *Труды XIII Археологического съезда в Екатеринославе, Том II*, Товарищество типографии А.И. Мамонтова, Москва, 1908, с. 484–487, табл. VII, рис. 2, табл. VIII, рис. 1, 2. Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 431–433. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве* in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 186–187.

⁴³ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9)*. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України. Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, арк. 2. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 187.

⁴⁴ Петр Толочко, *Древний Киев*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1983, с. 195–196.

⁴⁵ Виктор Харламов, *Отчет начальника архитектурно-археологического отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции ИА АН УССР Харламова В. А. о разведке и раскопках Федоровского Вотча монастыря в Киеве за 1983 г.* *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 4 арк.

During 1984–1985, the entire area of the church plan was excavated under the supervision of Stefaniia Kiliievych and Viktor Kharlamov⁴⁶. The foundations and fragments of masonry walls of the church have been preserved.

The Church of St. Theodore's Monastery was four-pillared with a narthex. The gallery with an apse in the east, dating the late 12th – early 13th centuries, was adjacent to the southern wall of the church (Fig. 6). While conducting the excavations, several blocks of brick masonry with opus signinum mortar were found. Some of these blocks have preserved their front surface. This made it possible to determine that the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery had been built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique⁴⁷. In addition, it is important to state that the corner lesenes did not form right angles, but created crosses, and that all the lesenes lacked semi-columns⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, 14 арк. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках храма Федоровского монастыря в Киеве за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г, 22 табл. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 10 арк. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 31 табл. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Чертежи и рисунки к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а, 16 арк.

⁴⁷ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9) ... арк 6–7. Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 185.

⁴⁸ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, Чертежи и рисунки к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9) ... арк. 2, 4–6.

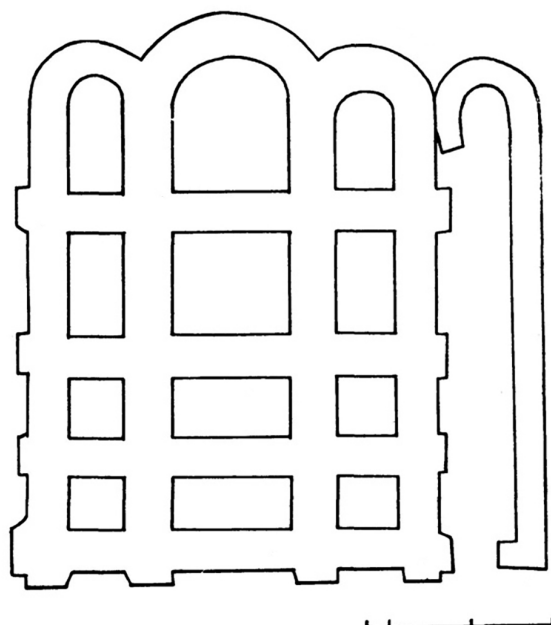


Fig. 6: St. Theodor Monastery

Thus, the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery was the first Kyiv monument built using the "opus isidos" masonry technique. Stefaniia Kiliievych and Viktor Kharlamov believed that a new stylistic trend was beginning to emerge with the construction of the church of St. Theodore's Monastery in Kyiv⁴⁹. However, based on the stages of development of the arch-gabled church, this was not a new trend, but a transfer to Kyiv of the completed variant of the arch-gabled church that had been developed in Chernihiv in the first quarter of the 12th century. Therefore, the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery can be considered as one of the first examples of the transformation of Chernihiv variant of arch-gabled church from local to interregional. But the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery still retains the features typical for Kyiv architecture of the 11th – early 12th centuries. These are the crosses at the corners and the lack of semi-columns on the lesenes, which may indicate a rather strong Kyiv tradition, and therefore there was no immediate transition to Chernihiv variant with all the features, but certain traits of Kyiv architecture were preserved.

The next monument that illustrates the process of transferring Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church to Kyiv is the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. The church was founded in 1131 by Prince Mstyslav

⁴⁹ Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, *Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в. в Киеве ...* с. 184–185.

Volodymyrovych, and its construction was completed in 1135. The church was preserved after Mongol invasion of Batu Khan in 1240. It was reconstructed during the 17th–19th centuries. In 1935, the church was demolished by the Soviet authorities, but before its destruction, Ipolyt Morhilevskyi took some photos that give an idea of the church, measured the church plan, and proposed the reconstruction of the plan⁵⁰. However, a detailed study of the church was not carried out at that time. The archaeological excavations of the remains of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church were conducted in 1976–1979 under the supervision of Kostiantyn Hupalo and Hleb Ivakin⁵¹. The walls of the church have been preserved to a height of about 2 m.

The church was four-pillared with a narthex (16.94x24.69 m). The pillars of the church were cross-shaped. The staircase to the choirs were located in the thickness of the western wall (Fig 7). The Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church was built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique. According to the plan made by Ipolyt Morhilevskyi in the 1930s before the church destruction, its corner lesenes formed right angles⁵². The Dormition

⁵⁰ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-358, Н-359, Н-561, Н-1058–Н-1068. Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города*.... с. 441, табл. LXXII.

⁵¹ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архителктурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 42 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к Отчету архителктурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 36 табл. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том I. Обмер. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 31 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 1. Натурные исследования (шурфы). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 37 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96, 60 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 36 арк. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 59 табл. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том III. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи, шурфы) по второму этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 65 арк. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том IV. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи) по третьему этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в, 42 арк.

⁵² Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-358, Н-359, Н-561. Based on the results of the archaeological excavations in 1976–1979, a plan of the

(Pyrohoshcha) Church, unlike the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery has already semi-columns on lesenes. Unlike Chernihiv monuments of the first quarter of the 12th century, these semi-columns are not made of specially moulded radial bricks, but of ordinary rectangular ones that were trimmed⁵³.

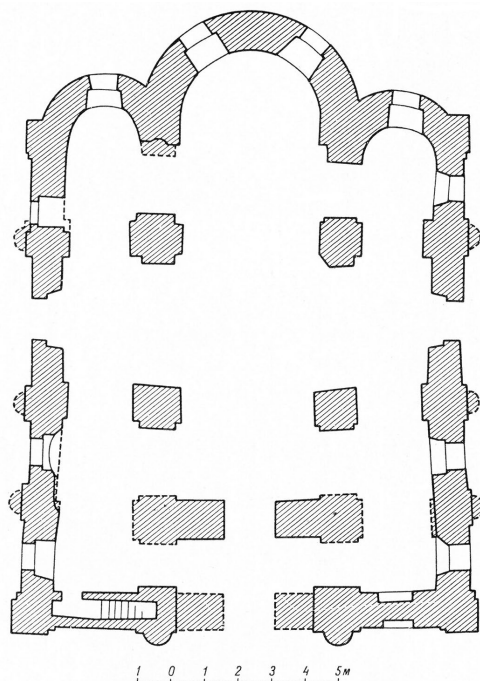


Fig. 7: Pyrohoshcha

Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church was published, on which the western corner lesenes have crosses (Глеб Ивакин, *О церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощей* in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 169, рис. 1). However, the western corners have hardly ever been preserved, which makes it impossible to unambiguously reconstruct them (Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том I. Обмер ... арк. 5. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к Отчету архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... табл. XXXVI. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи) ... арк. 16–18. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том IV. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи) по третьему этапу раскопок ... арк. 5).

⁵³ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... арк. 20–22. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи) ... арк. 5–7. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. ... арк. 7, 9. Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том III. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи, шурфы) по второму этапу раскопок ... арк. 37–39.

During the excavations, it was found out that while constructing the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church a significant amount of building remains of an older monument, which had been built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique, was used. Those were rubble stones, bricks, and masonry blocks covered with plaster with graffiti residues⁵⁴.

The Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church demonstrates the complete displacement of the local tradition in Kyiv by Chernihiv one, which took place starting from the middle of the 1130s. The church has all the characteristic features of Chernihiv variant, including corner lesenes, which form right angles without crosses and semi-columns on lesenes.

In addition to Kyiv churches, the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church, which have chronicle dates, another church of the 12th century, known from the archaeological excavations, can be referred to Chernihiv variant. This is the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi. It was firstly found and studied in 1953 by Mikhail Karger⁵⁵. For the second time, the archaeological excavation of the Church of the Resurrection was carried out in 1989 under the direction of Viktor Kharlamov, in connection with planning its reconstruction⁵⁶. The

⁵⁴ Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Михаил Сагайдак, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.) ... арк. 32. Константин Гупало, Глеб Ивакин, Людмила Степаненко, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. ... арк. 19–20. The existence in the foundations of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church of reused masonry blocks made in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique gave Pavel Rappoport grounds to express doubts that the monument found out by excavations in the 1970s was not the church mentioned in the chronicle of 1131–1135. He believed that the chronicle information referred to an earlier church (built in the “opus mixtum” masonry technique), which was destroyed for unknown reasons in the 12th century. From his point of view, the building, found out by the excavations in the 1970s, had been built using the “opus isodos” masonry technique and dated back to the 1170s–1180s (Павел Раппопорт, *Русская архитектура X–XIII вв.: каталог памятников* ... с. 19. Павел Раппопорт, *Зодчество Древней Руси* ... с. 52). However, Hleb Ivakin gave a number of arguments that the building found out by the excavations dated back to the time specified in the chronicle (1131–1135) (Глеб Ивакин, *О церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощей* ... с. 174–176. Глеб Ивакин, *Еще раз о датировке церкви Успения Пирогощей* in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 51–53). This point of view is now generally accepted, although some researchers support the version of a later date for the building of the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church found out by the archaeological excavations of 1976–1979 (Віталій Козюба, *Про датування двох подільських церков XII ст. у Києві* in the edition *Археологічні студії*, Вип. 4, Зелена Буковина, Київ–Чернівці, 2010, с. 238–248).

⁵⁵ Михайло Каргер, *Раскопки в Переяславе-Хмельницком в 1952–1953 гг.* in the edition *Археология, Том IX*, Вид-во Академії наук Української РСР, Київ, 1954, с. 19–28.

⁵⁶ Виктор Харламов, Отчет об архитектурно-археологических исследованиях памятника архитектуры XII в. Воскресенской церкви в г. Переяславе-Хмельницком Киевской области, проведенных Архитектурно-археологической экспедицией ИА АН УССР в 1989 г. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1989/29а,

masonry of the walls and pillars of the church has been preserved to a height of 1 m above the level of the original floor.

The Church of the Resurrection was four-pillared with a narthex (14.3x24.2 m) (Fig. 8). The walls and pillars of the church were built of brick using the “opus isodos” masonry technique. The corner lesenes in the Church of the Resurrection did not form right angles, but created crosses, and all the lesenes lacked semi-columns. All three pairs of pillars have a different configuration in the plan. The pillars of the narthex are cross-shaped, the western pair of sub-dome pillars is octagonal on a square base, and the eastern pair of sub-dome pillars is cross-shaped, but with additional narrow lesenes on the eastern side, corresponding to the lesenes of the ends of the semicircular apses⁵⁷.

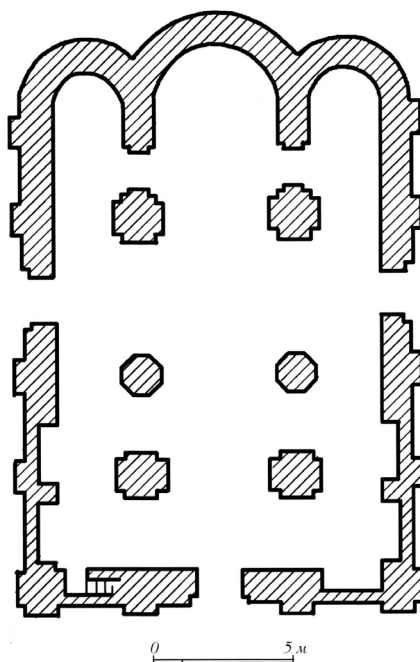


Fig. 8: Pereiaslav

During the excavations, it was found out that constructive materials from a building of the 11th century were reused to fill the foundation ditch of the

81 арк. Віктор Харламов, Геннадій Трофименко, “Нові дослідження Воскресенської церкви у Переяславі-Хмельницькому” in “Археологія”, 3/1992, с. 133–138.

⁵⁷ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.* ... с. 24. Віктор Харламов, *Отчет об архитектурно-археологических исследований памятника архитектуры XII в. Воскресенской церкви в г. Переяславе-Хмельницком Киевской области* ... арк. 24, 44, 66, 70.

Church of the Resurrection. They included fragments of bricks and pieces of smoothed plaster of the exterior walls⁵⁸. Two of the three portals of the church, the northern and southern ones, were laid with bricks made of clay mortar. These bricks also come from a building of the 11th century, as they have different dimensions and ceramic properties in comparison with the bricks of the Church of the Resurrection. In addition to the bricks, fragments of stone plates were used in the laying of the portals⁵⁹. According to Oleksandr Kolybenko, the reused materials of the 11th century came from St. Michael's Cathedral in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, which was consecrated in 1089 and damaged in a minor earthquake from 1124⁶⁰.

The Church of the Resurrection is not mentioned in written sources and its dedication is not known in pre-Mongol time. Until 1935, a wooden Church of the Resurrection, which dated back to the 18th century, was placed on that site, so the open remains of the Old Rus church were dedicated in the same way⁶¹. The researchers have proposed different variants for dating the Church of the Resurrection of pre-Mongol period. Mikhail Karger, who was the first to research the church, dated it to the middle – second half of the 12th century⁶². The Church of the Resurrection was dated by other researchers, mostly to the second quarter of the 12th century⁶³. The earliest dating of the Church of the Resurrection was proposed by Oleksandr Kolybenko. He believed that this church was built from 1124/1125 to

⁵⁸ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.* ... с. 23.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, с. 24–25.

⁶⁰ Олександр Колибенко, *Церква Воскресіння в Переяславі: Ізяслав Мстиславич, Андрій Володимирович, Всеволод Мстиславич чи Ярополк Володимирович?* in the edition *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, Вип. 2, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, Львів, 2008, с. 195–196.

⁶¹ Михайло Каргер, *Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.* ... с. 28.

⁶² *Ibid.*, с. 27–28.

⁶³ Vitalii Koziuba believed that the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi was built in the 1140s–1150s, most likely, in 1148–1149 or 1151–1154 (Віталій Козюба, *Давньоруські храми «окольного града» Переяслава (датування, стильові особливості, інтерпретації)* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 15, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2004, с. 30). Viktor Kharlamov and Hennadii Trofymenko stick to the point of view that it happened in the 1140s. (Виктор Харламов, Геннадій Трофименко, *Архитектура Переяславля Русского XI – первой половины XII века* in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 47–51). Nikolay Novoselov and Oleg Ioannisyan believed the church was built in the 1130s. Nikolay Novoselov considered that the Church of the Resurrection was built in the late 1130s (Николай Новоселов, *Церковь Воскресения в Переяславле и новгородская архитектура 30–40-х годов XII в.* in the edition *Миграции и оседлость от Дуная до Ладоги в I тысячелетии христианской эры*, Санкт-Петербург 2001, с. 127–131), while Oleg Ioannisyan in the first half of the 1130s (Олег Иоаннисян, *О двух памятниках переславского зодчества и об их месте в общей картине развития архитектуры Руси конца XI – первой трети XII века (Киев, Чернигов, Переяславль, Новгород и Псков в их архитектурном взаимодействии)* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 16, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 172–173.

1127/1128. The argument for this dating was that St. Michael's Cathedral in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi damaged in an earthquake in 1124, and the reused materials in the foundations of the Church of the Resurrection belonged to this cathedral. According to Oleksandr Kolybenko, after the construction of the Church of the Resurrection, Pereiaslav-Ruskyi craftsmen moved to Kyiv, where in 1128 they began to build the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery (1128–1132)⁶⁴.

Viewing the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi in the context of the spreading of Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church, it can be noted that it has common stylistic features with the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery in Kyiv. These are crosses at the corners and lesenes without semi-columns. Based on this, we can generally agree with the dating proposed by Oleksandr Kolybenko, considering the construction of the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi to be the second half of the 1120s. But in my opinion, in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, two developed cultural centres, the churches of Chernihiv variant emerged simultaneously and were associated with the activities of different craftsmen, because both centres had powerful local building traditions in the 1120s. Chernihiv variant in both Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi and strong local building traditions initially overlapped.

According to the archaeological excavations, there is one more known church dating back to the second quarter of the 12th century. This is the Church in Yurkivska Street in Kyiv, which was firstly found during the archaeological excavations in 2003 under the supervision of Mykhailo Sahadak and Maryna Serhieieva⁶⁵. The walls of the church have been preserved to a height of 1 m.

The Church in Yurkivska Street was four-pillared without a narthex (13.6–14.77x19.53 m), built in the “opus isodos” masonry technique (Fig 9). The church pillars are cross-shaped. The corner lesenes of the Church in Yurkivska Street form right angles, but all lesenes lack semi-columns. The western wall was thicker because of the location of the staircase to the choirs in its thickness⁶⁶. In addition, fragments of decor were found that supposed the church had Lombard band⁶⁷. Mykhailo Sahadak and Maryna Serhieieva believed that the Church in Yurkivska Street had been built a little earlier

⁶⁴ Олександр Колибенко, *Церква Воскресіння в Переяславі: Ізяслав Мстиславич, Андрій Володимирович, Всеволод Мстиславич чи Ярополк Володимирович?* ... с. 208–210.

⁶⁵ Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, *Звіт Подільської постійнодіючої експедиції ІА НАНУ про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження у Києві по вул. Юрківська, 3. Частина 1. Дослідження 2003 р. Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій, 2003/126, 128 арк.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, арк. 20–22.

⁶⁷ Михайло Сагайдак, *Про деякі спірні питання історичної топографії ранньосередньовічного Києва* in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 16, Переслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 95.

than the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church (1131–1135). The researchers justified that chronology by the fact that lesenes of the Church in Yurkivska Street lacked semi-columns, which were available in the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. At the same time, they noted the similar techniques of the foundations constructing of those two churches⁶⁸. But Oleg Ioannisyan dated the Church in Yurkivska Street to the late 1130s – early 1140s because, in his point of view, the church had semi-columns on the lesenes, which had been made of special moulded bricks⁶⁹. However, the study of the reports and publications by those who conducted the archaeological researches of the Church in Yurkivska Street refute the existence of semi-columns on its lesenes⁷⁰. Vilalii Koziuba dates the Church in Yurkivska Street to a later period. He believes that the church was built in the third quarter of the 12th century, to be more exact in the 1160s–1170s⁷¹.



Fig. 9: Yurkivska

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, с. 96–97. Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, “Невідомий давньоруський храм на Юрківській” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, 5–6/2015, с. 41.

⁶⁹ Олег Иоаннисян, *Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в.* ... с. 64.

⁷⁰ Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, Звіт Подільської постійнодіючої експедиції ІА НАНУ про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження у Києві по вул. Юрківська, 3. Частина 1. Дослідження 2003 р. ... 128 арк.

⁷¹ Віталій Козюба, *Про датування двох подільських церков XII ст. у Києві* ... с. 251–252.

In the context of considering the emergence process of Chernihiv variant in Kyiv, the Church in Yurkivska Street should take an intermediate position between the Church of St. Theodore's Monastery and the Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church. On this basis, one can agree with the dating proposed by Mikhailo Sahaidak and Maryna Serhieieva and limit it to the period of the late 1120s – early 1130s. In addition to the fact that the Church in Yurkivska Street can be seen as a link in spreading Chernihiv variant in Kyiv, it represents a new variant of the arch-gabled church that has been developed on the basis of Chernihiv variant. This is Kyiv-Chernihiv variant as it emerges in Kyiv. It has the stylistic features of Chernihiv variant, but differs from it in lacking a narthex. The Church in Yurkivska Street is considered the first church of Kyiv-Chernihiv variant.

• ***From the 1160s to the end of the 12th century***

Within that period, Kyiv-Chernihiv variant became interregional. St. Basil's Church in Kyiv can be referred to this variant. The church, according to the chronicle, was founded by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich and consecrated in 1183. During Mongol invasion in 1240, the church was damaged and fixed in the 16th–18th centuries. In 1935–1936, St. Basil's Church was dismantled by order of the Soviet authorities⁷². At that time, a detailed architectural and archaeological study of the church was not conducted. Nevertheless, Ipolyt Morhilevskyi took photos before the destruction of the church and while it was being destructed. These photos provide important materials for determining the place of St. Basil's Church in the development of the arch-gabled church⁷³.

St. Basil's Church was four-pillared without a narthex (approximately 12x17 m) (Fig 10). The pillars were cross-shaped. There were no lesenes in the interior or perhaps they had been destroyed in the 17th century⁷⁴. The corner lesenes formed right angles without crosses. All lesenes, except for the corner ones, had semi-columns⁷⁵. In St. Basil's Church, the pillars are spaced wider than in the churches of the first half – middle of the 12th century, and the ratio of the width of the side to the central nave is bigger.

⁷² Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 456–459.

⁷³ Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-880, Н-1021–Н-1045, Н-1069, Н-4318. Some of these materials were published by Mikhail Karger (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города ...* с. 460–461, табл. LXXV).

⁷⁴ Петр Лашкарев, *Церковно-археологические очерки, исследования и рефераты ...* с. 131–132.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, с. 131.

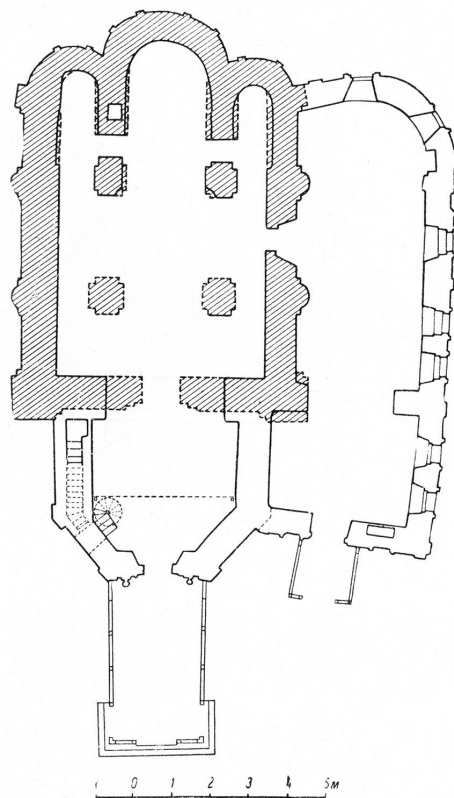


Fig. 10: St. Basil

One more church that may have been referred to Kyiv-Chernihiv variant is St. Michael's Church in Chernihiv (founded in 1174 by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovych). The remains of this church were found by chance during the laying of a water supply system in 1955. In 1956, the monument was explored by the archaeological expedition led by Boris Rybakov⁷⁶. The church has hardly ever been preserved. The foundations of the western part of the building are severely damaged, whereas its eastern part is almost completely destroyed⁷⁷. These data allow to make only a very schematic reconstruction of St. Michael's Church plan as four-pillared without a narthex (the width of the church is approximately 15 m) (Fig. 11)⁷⁸. During

⁷⁶ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24, арк. 1–16. Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24, рис. 1–24.

⁷⁷ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Текст ... арк. 7–10. Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом ... рис. 14, 22.

⁷⁸ Борис Рыбаков, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом ... рис. 23. Леонид Беляев, *Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела*

the archaeological excavations, no decorative details of the building were found⁷⁹.

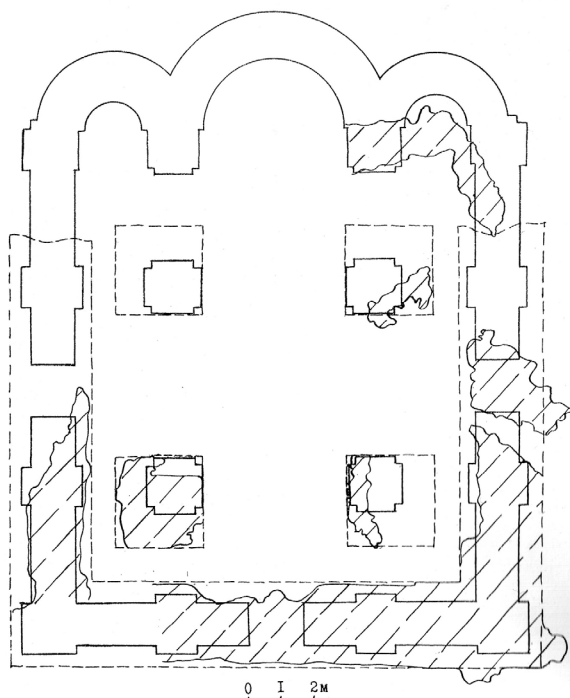


Fig. 11: St. Michael

There exists another church in Chernihiv that dates back to the last quarter of the 12th century. It was the Annunciation Church (founded by Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich, its construction completed in 1186). According to historiography, the church was damaged during Mongol invasion in Chernihiv of 1239, although there is no evidence about this from the sources. The archaeological excavations proved the building to have been destroyed between the 15th and 17th centuries. It is a well-known fact that a wooden Annunciation Church was built in that place in the 17th century and it was burned down in a fire in 1750⁸⁰. The remains of the Old Rus church were found for the first time after the demolition of the Stryzhen River bank in 1876. Almost the entire area of the Annunciation Church plan was found by

1174 г.) in the edition *Проблемы истории СССР, Вып. 4*, Изд-во Московского университета, Москва, 1974, с. 11–17.

⁷⁹ Леонид Беляев, *Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела 1174 г.)* ... с. 16.

⁸⁰ Олена Черненко, Олег Ярошенко, *Пам'ятки монументальної архітектури Північного Лівобережжя XI–XIII ст. Каталог*, SCRIPTORIUM, Чернігів, 2019, с. 9–10.

the archaeological excavations led by Boris Rybakov in 1946–1947⁸¹. In 2007–2008, during the archaeological excavations in Chernihiv Citadel conducted by Olena Chernenko, the southern gallery of the church and the area around it were researched⁸². The church foundations and sections of the walls up to 1.5 m high from the level of its floor, partially destroyed by later excavations, have been preserved. Its eastern part (the apses) was not preserved because of several destructions of the Stryzhen River bank at the floods in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Annunciation Church was four-pillared with a narthex. It was surrounded by the galleries on the north, south, and west sides (Fig. 12). According to the conclusions made by Boris Rybakov, the galleries were built simultaneously with the main core of the church⁸³. The church width, including galleries, is approximately 26 m, while without galleries it is 17.2 m. The exact length of the church has not been determined⁸⁴. The Annunciation Church in Chernihiv presents the latest known example of Chernihiv variant, as it was atypical for the second half of the 12th century. In general, churches with narthex were not characteristic of that time. The pillars of the Annunciation Church were probably cross-shaped, but this characteristic feature has not been preserved⁸⁵. The walls of both the main volume of the Annunciation Church and its galleries are made of brick of two colours, red and light yellow, using the “opus isodos” masonry technique⁸⁶. During the excavations of the church remains, in the bank landslide and on the surrounding area, figured bricks and fragments of the Lombard band were found⁸⁷.

⁸¹ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26, 111 арк. Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26, 18 арк. Борис Рыбаков, *Древности Чернигова* in the edition *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, № 11*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1949, с. 60–99. Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок* in the edition *Архітектурні пам'ятники*, Вид-во Академії архітектури УРСР, Київ, 1950, с. 55–63.

⁸² Олена Черненко, Олег Ярошенко, *Пам'ятки монументальної архітектури Північного Лівобережжя XI–XIII ст. Каталог ...* с. 9. Елена Черненко, *К вопросу об истории Благовещенской церкви в Чернигове* in the edition *Труды Государственного Эрмитажа. Том 86. Монументальное зодчество древней Руси и восточной Европы эпохи Средневековья*, Изд-во Гос. Эрмитажа, Санкт-Петербург, 2017, с. 244–256.

⁸³ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. ... арк. 78. Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок ...* с. 60.

⁸⁴ Борис Рыбаков, *Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок ...* с. 56.

⁸⁵ Борис Рыбаков, *Древности Чернигова ...* с. 77.

⁸⁶ Борис Рыбаков, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. ... арк. 22, 81–82.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, арк. 22–23, 80–81.

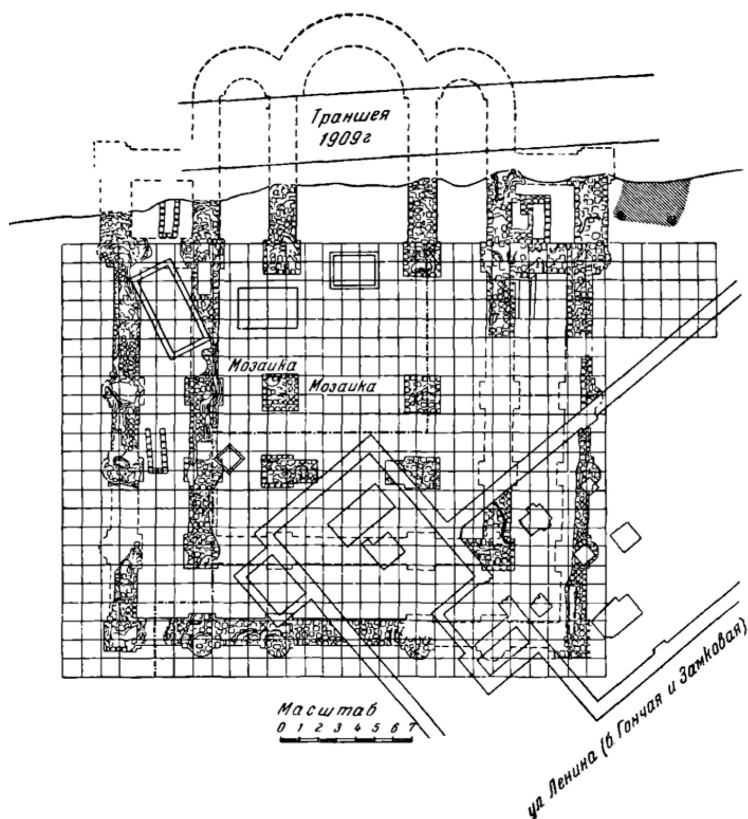


Fig. 12: Annunciation Church

Boris Rybakov noted that the pillars of the Annunciation Church are spaced wider, so the ratio of the width of the side to the central nave is bigger compared to the most churches of the 12th century⁸⁸.

The studied materials of the archaeological researches allow to detail the stages of the arch-gabled church development during the 12th century as well as the initial stage of the aesthetic model of pillar-shaped churches formation:

- The porches to the northern and western portals of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113), found by the archaeological excavations in the 1990s, change the idea of the general composition of its volume and make it possible to reassess the significance of this church in the development of Old Rus architecture. St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral, which, according to Aleksey Komech, was the first completely

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, apk. 78.

formed church of the arch-gabled type, had the elements that gave impetus to the development of pillar-shaped churches. Thus, St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral should be considered not only the stage of the final formation of the aesthetic model of the arch-gabled church, but also the initial stage of the pillar-shaped churches development, along with the Church of the Savior on Berestov and the Trinity Gate Church of Pechersk Monastery.

- The churches in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi of the second quarter of the 12th century, known from the archaeological excavations, make it possible to trace the initial process of spreading Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church and its transformation from local to interregional. As distinct from the widespread point of view that in Kyiv in the late 1120s–1130s there was formed a new stylistic trend associated with the emergence of the “opus isodos” masonry technique, Romanesque constructive and decorative elements, the archaeological materials allow to consider that it was transferring Chernihiv variant of the arch-gabled church to Kyiv. In Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, the emergence of churches in the same “opus isodos” masonry technique is traditionally referred to a later time, in particular, the construction of the Church of the Resurrection mainly to the 1130s–1140s. However, the Church of the Resurrection was also dated to an earlier time (1124–1128, Oleksandr Kolybenko), and its construction was associated with the activities of the craftsmen who worked later in Kyiv starting from 1128. Based on the archaeological researches, the analysis of the planning solution and decoration of the Church of the Resurrection and Kyiv churches makes it possible to suggest that the churches of Chernihiv variant emerged in Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi simultaneously, as both cultural centres had developed building traditions. Relying on the fact that the Church of the Resurrection in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi shares stylistic features (corner lesenes form crosses, all lesenes without semi-columns) with the Church of St. Theodor's Monastery in Kyiv, the time of its construction can be considered the second half of the 1120s.

In both cultural centres (Kyiv and Pereiaslav-Ruskyi), in the second quarter of the 12th century, Chernihiv variant was superimposed on strong building traditions (stone construction emerged in Kyiv in the late 10th century, and in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi in the 1080s). As a result, those centres lacked some of the peculiarities of Chernihiv variant. In Kyiv, one could observe a gradual transition to Chernihiv variant with its full set of characteristic features, unlike Pereiaslav-Ruskyi, where this process was not observed.

- The materials of the archaeological research of the Church in Yurkivska Street in Kyiv made it possible to determine its special significance in the development of the arch-gabled church type. On the one hand, this church is an intermediate link in spreading Chernihiv variant, and

on the other hand, it represents the first church of a new variant of the arch-gabled church. It is Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which differs from Chernihiv one in lacking a narthex. Kyiv-Chernihiv variant was one of the first regional variants of the arch-gabled churches without a narthex. The churches of the second half of the 12th century representing this variant were built in Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Smolensk. Therefore, in the second half of the 12th century, Kyiv-Chernihiv variant became interregional, replacing Chernihiv one. Studying the archaeological materials makes it possible to determine the time of the emergence and spreading of Kyiv-Chernihiv variant, which occurred on the basis of Chernihiv one in Kyiv in the second quarter of the 12th century. Relying on the preserved monuments, it was thought that the variant without narthex built in the “opus isodos” masonry technique originated not in Kyiv, but in Smolensk in the middle of the 12th century, where the earliest preserved examples of this variant are known.

• The churches of the last quarter of the 12th century, the Annunciation Church in Chernihiv and St. Basil's Church in Kyiv, illustrate the development of Chernihiv and Kyiv-Chernihiv variants, respectively. The peculiarity of these churches, in comparison with the churches of the first half – middle of the 12th century, is that their pillars are spaced wider, and the ratio between the width of the side and central nave is bigger, which is typical of pillar-shaped churches. This makes it possible to assume that the pillar-shaped churches developed gradually within the framework of the arch-gabled churches and by the end of the 12th century had become a separate type.

List of illustrations:

Fig. 1: St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113) in Kyiv. Drawing of the southern facade made by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва–Ленинград, 1961, рис. 91)

Fig. 2: Trinity Gate Church (after 1106) of Pechersk Monastery in Kyiv. The western facade (Юрий Асеев, “Каменное зодчество второй половины XI – начала XII вв.” in the edition *Всеобщая история архитектуры: в 12 т. Том 3. Архитектура Восточной Европы*, Изд-во литературы по строительству, Ленинград–Москва, 1966, рис. 28.2)

Fig. 3: Church of the Savior on Berestov (1113–1125) in Kyiv. Reconstruction of general view proposed by Grigoriy Shtender (Григорий Штендер, “Трёхлопастное покрытие церкви Спаса на Берестове (к вопросу о художественном образе храмов второй половины XI – начала XII века)” in the edition *Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Ежегодник 1980*, Наука, Ленинград, 1981, с. 541)

Fig. 4: St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113) in Kyiv. The plan made based on the materials of the archaeological excavations of 1990s (Гліб Івакін,

“Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, 1/1999, с. 52)

Fig. 5: St. Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral (1108–1113) in Kyiv. Reconstruction of general view proposed by Andrii Reutov on the basis of the materials of the archaeological excavations of 1990s (Гліб Івакін, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, 1/1999, с. 54)

Fig. 6: Church of St. Theodore’s Monastery (1128–1132) in Kyiv. Plan (Стефания Килиевич, Виктор Харламов, “Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в.” в Киеве in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, рис. 4)

Fig. 7: Dormition (Pyrohoshcha) Church (1131–1135) in Kyiv. The plan made by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1961, рис. 148)

Fig. 8: Church of the Resurrection (second quarter of the 12th century) in Pereiaslav-Ruskyi. Plan (Олег Иоаннисян, “Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в.” in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т., Том 2/1. Искусство 20–60-х годов XII века*, Государственный институт искусствознания, Москва, 2012, рис. 82)

Fig. 9: Church in Yurkivska Street (late 1120s – early 1130s) in Kyiv. Plan (Михайло Сагайдак, Марина Сергеева, “Невідомий давньоруський храм на Юрківській” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, № 5–6/2015, с. 38)

Fig. 10: St. Basil’s Church (consecrated in 1183) in Kyiv. The plan made by Ipolyt Morhilevskiy (Михаил Каргер, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1961, рис. 154)

Fig. 11: St. Michael’s Church (founded in 1174) in Chernihiv. The reconstruction of the plan proposed by Leonid Belyaev (Леонид Беляев, “Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела 1174 г.)” in the edition *Проблемы истории СССР*, Вып. 4, Изд-во Московского университета, Москва, 1974, рис. 5)

Fig. 12: Annunciation Church (construction completed in 1186) in Chernihiv. The reconstruction of the plan proposed by Boris Rybakov (Борис Рыбаков, “Древности Чернигова” in the edition *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР*, № 11, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1949, рис. 45)

Bibliography:

Асеев, Юрий, “Каменное зодчество второй половины XI – начала XII вв.” in the edition *Всеобщая история архитектуры: в 12 т. Том 3. Архитектура Восточной Европы*, Изд-во литературы по строительству, Ленинград-Москва, 1966, с. 530–561.

Беляев, Леонид, “Из истории зодчества древнего Чернигова (Церковь Михаила Архангела 1174 г.)” in the edition *Проблемы истории СССР*, Вып. 4, Изд-во Московского университета, Москва, 1974, с. 3–18.

Брунов, Николай, “К вопросу о самостоятельных чертах русской архитектуры X–XII вв.” in the edition *Русская архитектура. Доклады, прочитанные в связи с декадником по русской архитектуре в Москве в апреле 1939 г.*, Гос. архитектур. изд-во Акад. архитектуры СССР, Москва, 1940, с. 106–126.

Воронин, Николай, “У истоков русского национального зодчества” in “Архитектура СССР”, 5/1944, с. 32–37.

Воронин, Николай, “У истоков русского национального зодчества (Из истории зодчества периода феодальной раздробленности XI–XV вв.)” in the edition *Ежегодник Института истории искусств: Живопись. Архитектура*, Изд-во Академии наук СССР, Москва, 1952, с. 257–316.

Воронин, Николай, *Зодчество Северо-Восточной Руси XII–XV веков: в 2 т., Том I. XII столетие*, Изд-во АН СССР, Москва, 1961.

Грбаварь, Игорь, *История Русского Искусства, Том I. Архитектура. История архитектуры. До-Петровская эпоха*, Изд-во И. Кнебель, Москва, 1910.

Гупало, Константин, Ивакин, Глеб, Сагайдак, Михаил, Отчет архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96.

Гупало, Константин, Ивакин, Глеб, Сагайдак, Михаил, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к Отчету архитектурно-археологического исследования церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощи (1976–1977 гг.). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96.

Гупало, Константин, Ивакин, Глеб, Степаненко, Людмила, Отчет о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в.

Гупало, Константин, Ивакин, Глеб, Степаненко, Людмила, Альбом фотоиллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Пирогощи в 1978–1979 гг. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в.

Дегтярьов, Михайло, Реутов, Андрій, Михайлівський *Золотоверхий монастир*, Техніка, Київ, 1997.

Ивакин, Глеб, “О церкви Успения Богородицы Пирогощей” in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 168–180.

Ивакин, Глеб, “Еще раз о датировке церкви Успения Пирогощей” in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 51–53.

Иоаннисян, Олег, “О двух памятниках переяславского зодчества и об их месте в общей картине развития архитектуры Руси конца XI – первой трети XII века (Киев, Чернигов, Переяславль, Новгород и Псков в их архитектурном взаимодействии)” in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей, Вип. 16*, Переслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 165–177.

Иоаннисян, Олег, “Зодчество первой половины – середины XII в.” in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т., Том 2/1. Искусство 20–60-х годов XII века*, Государственный институт искусствознания, Москва, 2012, с. 32–157.

Івакін, Гліб, Козубовський, Георгій, Козюба, Віталій, Поляков, Сергій, Науковий звіт про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. Том I. Основна частина. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103.

Івакін, Гліб, Козубовський, Георгій, Козюба, Віталій, Поляков, Сергій, Том IIIа. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103.

Івакін, Гліб, Козубовський, Георгій, Козюба, Віталій, Поляков, Сергій, Том IIIб. Альбом фотоілюстрацій до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103.

Івакін, Гліб, Козубовський, Георгій, Козюба, Віталій, Поляков, Сергій, Том IV. Кресленики до наукового звіту про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження комплексу Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в м. Києві у 1996–1997 рр. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1997/103.

Івакін, Гліб, “Археологічне вивчення Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря в 1996–1998 роках” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, 1/1999, с. 52–59.

Каргер, Михайло, “Розкопки в Переяславі-Хмельницькому в 1952–1953 рр.” in the edition *Археологія, Том IX*, Вид-во Академії наук Української РСР, Київ, 1954, с. 3–29.

Каргер, Михаил, *Древний Киев. Очерки по истории материальной культуры древнерусского города: в 2 т. Том II. Памятники киевского зодчества X–XIII вв.*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва–Ленинград, 1961.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках храма Федоровского монастыря в Киеве за 1984 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1984/18г.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, Отчет о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, Альбом иллюстраций к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции храма Федоровского монастыря XII в. за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, Чертежи и рисунки к отчету о раскопках Старокиевского отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции за 1985 г. (ул. Владимирская, 7–9). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а.

Кирилович, Стефания, Харламов, Виктор, “Исследование храма Вотча Федоровского монастыря XII в.” в Киеве in the edition *Древние славяне и Киевская Русь*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1989, с. 180–187.

Козюба, Віталій, “Давньоруські храми «окольного града» Переяслава (датування, стильові особливості, інтерпретації)” in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей*, Вип. 15, Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2004, с. 25–31.

Козюба, Віталій, “Про датування двох подільських церков XII ст. у Києві” in the edition *Археологічні студії*, Вип. 4, Зелена Буковани, Київ–Чернівці, 2010, с. 238–254.

Колибенко, Олександр, “Церква Воскресіння в Переяславі: Ізяслав Мстиславич, Андрій Володимирович, Всеволод Мстиславич чи Ярополк Володимирович?” in the edition *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, Вип. 2, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип’якевича НАН України, Львів, 2008, с. 194–210.

Комеч, Алексей, *Древнерусское зодчество конца X – начала XII в. Византийское наследие и становление самостоятельной традиции*, Наука, Москва, 1987.

Комеч, Алексей, “Архитектура второй половины XI – первой четверти XII века” in the edition *История русского искусства: в 22 т. Том 1. Искусство Киевской Руси IX – первая четверть XII века*, Северный паломник, Москва, 2007, с. 362–415.

Коренюк, Юрій, “Проблеми дослідження Софійського собору: історія та сучасність” in “Пам’ятки України: історія та культура”, Спецвип. 1/2013, с. 10–17.

Лашкарев, Петр, *Церковно-археологические очерки, исследования и рефераты*, Тип. И. И. Чоколова, Киев, 1898.

Міхєєнко, Катерина, “Закомарний храм. Регіональні традиції” in the edition *Українська академія мистецтва. Дослідницькі та науково-методичні праці*, Вип. 27, Київ, 2018, с. 33–43.

Міхєєнко, Катерина, “З історії храмобудування Київської Русі” in “Український історичний журнал”, 4 (565)/2022, с. 214–230.

Національний заповідник «Софія Київська», Науково-фондовий відділ, Н-320, Н-358, Н-359, Н-387, Н-436, Н-437, Н-549–Н-551, Н-561, Н-759–Н-765, Н-781–Н-792, Н-808–Н-838, Н-870–Н-873, Н-875–Н-878, Н-880–Н-893, Н-958, Н-1021–Н-1045, Н-1058–Н-1068, Н-1069, Н-1115, Н-1508, Н-1807, Н-1925, Н-4242, Н-4250–Н-4255, Н-4258, Н-4260, Н-4284, Н-4305, Н-4306, Н-4310–Н-4313, Н-4315, Н-4318, Н-4333–Н-4342, Н-4355–Н-4359.

Некрасов, Алексей, *Византийское и русское искусство*, Изд-во Гос. универсал. магазина, Москва, 1924.

Новицкий, Алексей, *История русского искусства с древнейших времен: в 2 т., Том 1*, Изд-во В. Н. Линд, Москва, 1903.

Новоселов, Николай, “Церковь Воскресения в Переяславле и новгородская архитектура 30–40-х годов XII в.” in the edition *Миграции и оседлость от Дуная до Ладоги в I тысячелетии христианской эры*, Санкт-Петербург 2001, с. 127–131.

Павлинов, Андрей, *История русской архитектуры*, Типо-литогр. Т-ва И.Н. Кушнерев К°, Москва, 1894.

Пам’ятник архітектури XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том I. Обмер. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96.

Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 1. Натурные исследования (шурфы). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96.

Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том II, книга 2. Натурные исследования (зондажи). *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1977/96.

Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том III. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи, шурфы) по второму этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в.

Памятник архитектуры XII века церковь Богородицы Пирогощи, г. Киев, Подол. Том IV. Обмер и натурные исследования (зондажи) по третьему этапу раскопок. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1979/16в.

Раппопорт, Павел, *Русская архитектура X–XIII вв.: каталог памятников*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1982.

Раппопорт, Павел, *Зодчество Древней Руси*, Наука, Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград, 1986.

Рыбаков, Борис, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26.

Рыбаков, Борис, Раскопки в Черниговском детинце в 1946 году. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1946/26.

Рыбаков, Борис, “Древности Чернигова” in the edition *Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, № 11*, Изд-во академии наук СССР, Москва-Ленинград, 1949, с. 7–99.

Рыбаков, Борис, “Благовіщенська церква у Чернігові 1186 року за даними розкопок” in the edition *Архітектурні пам'ятники*, Вид-во Академії архітектури УРСР, Київ, 1950, с. 55–63.

Рыбаков, Борис, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Текст. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24.

Рыбаков, Борис, Отчёт советско-болгарской экспедиции 1956 г. Альбом. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1956/24.

Сагайдак, Михайло, Сергеева, Марина, Звіт Подільської постійнодіючої експедиції ІА НАНУ про архітектурно-археологічні дослідження у Києві по вул. Юрківська, 3. Частина 1. Дослідження 2003 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 2003/126.

Сагайдак, Михайло, “Про деякі спірні питання історичної топографії ранньосередньовічного Києва” in the edition *Наукові записки з української історії: збірник наукових статей, Вип. 16*, Переслав-Хмельницький, 2005, с. 94–104.

Сагайдак, Михайло, Сергеева, Марина, “Невідомий давньоруський храм на Юрківській” in “Пам'ятки України: історія та культура”, № 5–6/2015, с. 32–41.

Смирнов, Яков, “Рисунки Киева 1651 года по копиям их конца XVIII века” in the edition *Труды XIII Археологического съезда в Екатеринославе, Том II*, Товарищество типографии А.И. Мамонтова, Москва, 1908, с. 197–512.

Толочко, Петр, *Древний Киев*, Наукова думка, Киев, 1983.

Харламов, Виктор, Отчет начальника архитектурно-археологического отряда Киевской археологической экспедиции ИА АН УССР Харламова В. А. о

разведке и раскопках Федоровского Вотча монастыря в Киеве за 1983 г. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1985/29а.

Харламов, Виктор, Отчет об архитектурно-археологических исследованиях памятника архитектуры XII в. Воскресенской церкви в г. Переяславе-Хмельницком Киевской области, проведенных Архитектурно-археологической экспедицией ИА АН УССР в 1989 г. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1989/29а.

Харламов, Виктор, Трофименко, Геннадий, “Нові дослідження Воскресенської церкви у Переяславі-Хмельницькому” in “Археологія”, 3/1992, с. 133–138.

Харламов, Виктор, Гончар, Володимир, Трофименко, Геннадий, Звіт про розкопки пам’ятки архітектури XII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1992 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1992/1.

Харламов, Виктор, Гончар, Володимир, Звіт про архітектурно-археологічні розкопки пам’ятки архітектури XII–XVIII ст. Михайлівського Золотоверхого собору на території колишнього Дмитріївського-Михайлівського монастиря у 1993 р. *Науковий архів Інституту археології НАН України, Фонд експедицій*, 1993/13.

Харламов, Виктор, Трофименко, Геннадий, “Архитектура Переяславля Русского XI – первой половины XII века” in the edition *Проблемы изучения древнерусского зодчества*, Санкт-Петербург, 1996, с. 47–51.

Холостенко, Микола, “Успенський собор Печерського монастиря” in the edition *Стародавній Київ*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1975, с. 107–170.

Холостенко, Микола, “Нові дослідження Іоанно-Предтеченської церкви та реконструкція Успенського собору Києво-Печерської лаври” in the edition *Археологічні дослідження стародавнього Києва*, Наукова думка, Київ, 1976, с. 131–165.

Холостенко, Николай, “Исследования Спасского собора в Чернигове” in the edition *Реставрация и исследования памятников культуры*, Вып. 3, Стройиздат, Москва, 1990, с. 6–18.

Черненко, Елена, “К вопросу об истории Благовещенской церкви в Чернигове” in the edition *Труды Государственного Эрмитажа. Том 86. Монументальное зодчество древней Руси и восточной Европы эпохи Средневековья*, Изд-во Гос. Эрмитажа, Санкт-Петербург, 2017, с. 244–256.

Черненко, Олена, Ярошенко, Олег, *Пам’ятки монументальної архітектури Північного Лівобережжя XI–XIII ст. Каталог*, SCRIPTORIUM, Чернівці, 2019.

Штендер, Григорий, “Трёхлопастное покрытие церкви Спаса на Берестове (к вопросу о художественном образе храмов второй половины XI – начала XII века)” in the edition *Памятники культуры. Новые открытия. Ежегодник 1980*, Наука, Ленинград, 1981

***Le Testament de l'âne :* réhabilitation d'une bête de somme et leçon d'humilité**

Luminița Diaconu*

Abstract: *In the medieval world, men and animals shared a relation which was closer and more complex than one may think nowadays. For example, it is enough to mention the bestiaries written by the clerics in the 12th-13th centuries, treaties having their origin in the “Physiologus”, and which proposed inventories of real and imaginary animals believed to have spiritual and moral connotations. The literature of that time has in turn multiplied the references to the animal world, starting with the epic paradigm, which, like the courtly novel, favoured the mounted warriors. However, the literature produced in urban centers is no less rich, as this analysis of the “Le Testament de l'âne” by Rutebeuf will demonstrate. This fabliau sought both to restore the reputation of a pack animal and to impart a lesson in humility, while also engaging with the theological debates of the 13th century concerning the souls of animals and, more specifically, Christian iconography.*

Keywords: donkey, bestiaries, fabliaux, Christian iconography, animals' soul, humility

Chevalier, paysan, moine ou bourgeois, l'homme médiéval avait une relation très étroite avec le monde animal, plus étroite et, de toute façon, plus complexe qu'on ne le pense de nos jours. Les bestiaires des XII^e - XIII^e siècles en sont la preuve incontestable, même s'ils répertoriaient des animaux réels, tout comme des animaux imaginaires. Mais la littérature médiévale comporte elle aussi bon nombre de références au monde animal. Ainsi, les poèmes épiques et le roman courtois privilégient les guerriers montés à cheval, alors que la poésie lyrique des troubadours se plaît à évoquer surtout des oiseaux qui figurent *la fin'amor*, s'ils ne servent pas de messagers aux amants. Néanmoins, il faut attendre *la littérature des villes, bourgeoise ou satirique*¹, essentiellement les fabliaux et *Le Roman de Renart*, pour que les

* PhD (Philology), Associate Professor, The Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Bucharest, Romania, e-mail: luminita.diaconu@lils.unibuc.ro

¹ Nous mentionnons plusieurs ouvrages incontournables relatifs aux fabliaux : Jean Rychner, *Contribution à l'étude des fabliaux : variantes, remaniements, dégradation*, Genève, Droz (Recueil de travaux de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 28^e fascicule), 1960, 2 tomes ; Omer Jodogne et Jean-Charles Payen, *Le Fabliau et le lai narratif*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1975 ; Philippe Ménard, *Les fabliaux. Contes à rire du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1983 ; Jean Dufournet, *Fabliaux du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Flammarion,

relations homme-animal s'enrichissent de nouvelles nuances, parfois inattendues. *Le Testament de l'âne* de Rutebeuf, trouvère champenois du XIII^e siècle, en est la parfaite illustration, raison pour laquelle ce récit fera l'objet de la présente contribution, qui ne visera pas à l'examiner à travers la perspective des bestiaires, puisqu'ils ont réservé une place modeste à cet animal domestique. En revanche, elle mettra l'accent sur le contenu moralisateur du fabliau, qui nous semble non seulement plus important que sa visée divertissante, mais aussi censé conforter l'hypothèse d'une véritable réhabilitation de l'âne dans l'imaginaire médiéval.

Constitué de 170 vers et conservé à la BnF dans un seul manuscrit (ms. fr. 1535), *Le Testament de l'âne* a été probablement composé en 1253 ou 1254, une année avant la querelle éclatée au sein de l'Université de Paris, qui opposa le clergé séculier et le clergé régulier, plus précisément les théologiens de l'Université de Paris et, dans le camp opposé, les Dominicains et Franciscains, vu que les maîtres de ces ordres voulaient occuper les chaires de théologie au détriment des maîtres séculiers². Avant de procéder à l'analyse du fabliau de Rutebeuf, force est pourtant de constater que les références à l'âne sont peu nombreuses dans la littérature médiévale, alors que le cheval, très vite associé à la noblesse et à la profession guerrière, est nettement valorisé dès le XI^e siècle, par le biais de la littérature épique autant que par le biais de la littérature courtoise :

« Les chevaliers des chansons de geste et des romans ont, bien entendu, un cheval ; les chasseurs, des oiseaux et des chiens ; les paysans, les bêtes de leur ferme. On attendrait que la littérature fit une place de choix à ces compagnons de tous les jours et à l'attachement qu'ils inspirent à leur maître ou qu'ils lui témoignent. Cette place ne se fait cependant que peu à peu et reste en définitive modeste³. »

Comme l'a remarqué à juste titre Michel Zink, les animaux jugés moins nobles et les animaux domestiques, empruntés d'habitude au folklore, trouvent difficilement leur place dans la littérature des villes, mais nous

1998. Pour l'espace roumain, nous signalons un ouvrage ambitieux à plus d'un égard, malgré la distribution fort limitée des livres qui étaient publiés en Roumanie avant 1989 : Luminița Ciuchindil, *Aspects narratifs dans la littérature française. Moyen Âge – Renaissance*, Éditions de l'Université de Bucarest, 1979, p. 1-24. (Une deuxième édition augmentée de cet ouvrage a paru en 2001 à Bucarest, sous le titre *Relais narratifs dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*).

² Voir à ce sujet Michel Zink, « Introduction » à Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, texte établi, traduit, annoté et présenté par Michel Zink, édition revue et mise à jour, Paris, Librairie générale française, coll. « Lettres gothiques », 2001, p. 12-13. Toutes les citations seront prises dans cette édition.

³ Nous renvoyons également à Michel Zink, « Le monde animal et ses représentations dans la littérature du Moyen Âge », in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*. 15^e congrès, Toulouse, 1984. *Le monde animal et ses représentations au moyen-âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles)*, p. 47-71, ici p. 48.

pensons que l'iconographie médiévale remédie à cette insuffisance. Nous pencher d'abord sur ces représentations de l'âne s'impose donc, afin de comprendre la préférence pour certaines connotations dont on l'a investi à l'époque. À proprement parler, les premières représentations de l'âne dans l'art chrétien illustrent le thème iconographique de l'ânesse blanche de Balaam, symbole de pureté et de sagesse, qui, reconnaissant l'Ange envoyé par le Dieu d'Israël, parle à son maître, personnage de la Bible hébraïque. Datant du milieu du IV^e siècle, la plus ancienne représentation de l'ânesse de Balaam est présente sur une peinture murale découverte à Rome, dans la Catacombe di via Latina.

La véritable promotion de l'âne dans l'iconographie chrétienne médiévale est cependant étroitement liée à la présence de cet animal à des moments-clés de l'existence terrestre du Christ, à savoir la Nativité, la Fuite en Égypte et l'Entrée à Jérusalem. En effet, dans ces représentations, l'âne incarne l'humilité et la soumission, bien que certains théologiens du Moyen Âge aient voulu y voir encore une fois une ânesse, suite à un rapprochement excessif avec celle de Balaam⁴. La représentation iconographique la plus ancienne de ce volet est à retrouver sur un sarcophage du IV^e siècle après Jésus, qui renvoie à la séquence de la Nativité⁵ :



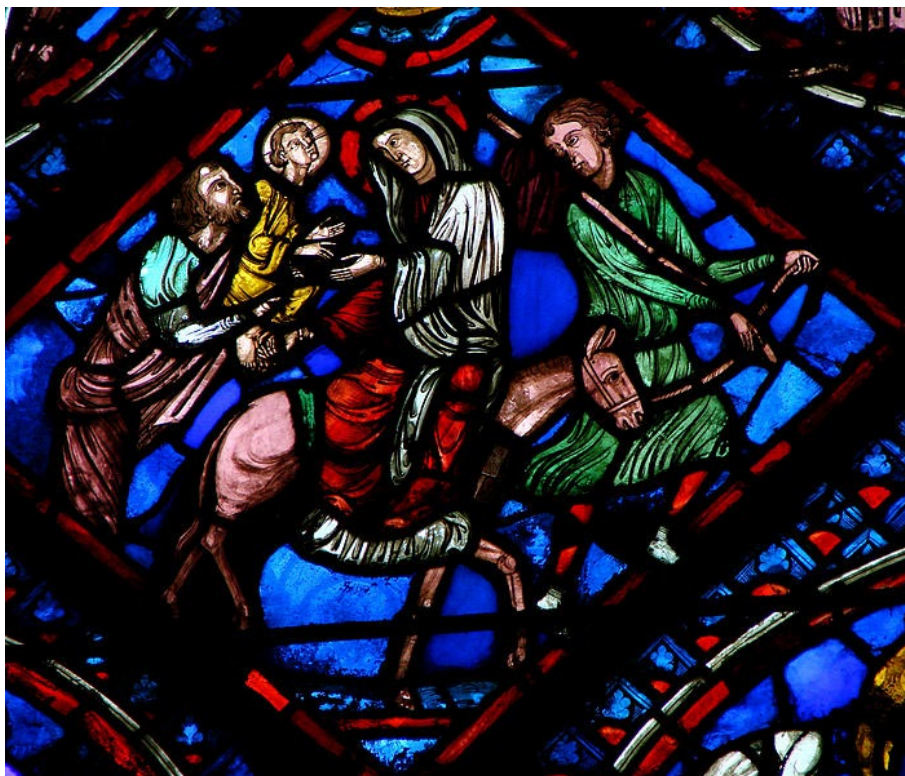
La Nativité, sarcophage romain du IV^e siècle après Jésus (le sarcophage de Stilicon), conservé dans la basilique Saint Ambroise de Milan⁶.

⁴ Cf. Michel Pastoureau, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Seuil, 2020 [1^{ère} éd. 2011], p. 128.

⁵ Cet épisode est mentionné par deux évangiles : celui de Matthieu (1,18-2,18) et celui de Luc (1, 26-2, 38), sans aucune référence aux animaux domestiques qui auraient été présents auprès de la crèche. Pour des détails, voir surtout Claudio Gianotto, « L'origine de la fête de Noël au IV^e siècle », in Gilles Dorival et Jean Paul Boyer (éds.), *La Nativité et le temps de Noël. Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003, p. 65-80, et Jean Guyon, « La naissance de Jésus dans le premier art chrétien », in Gilles Dorival et Jean Paul Boyer (éds.), *op. cit.*, p. 81-94.

⁶ Source de l'image : https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:9821_-_Milano_-_Sant%27Ambrogio_-_Sarcofago_di_Stilicone_-_Foto_Giovanni_Dall%27Orto_25-Apr-2007.jpg.

Ayant pour source l'Évangile selon Matthieu (Mt 2, 13-15), le thème iconographique de la Fuite en Égypte, souvent illustré aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, même si son schéma est fixé au V^e siècle⁷, reprend tout en les renforçant les attributs d'humilité et de soumission dont les théologiens avaient pourvu l'âne. Un vitrail de la cathédrale de Troyes, qui date du XIII^e siècle⁸, témoigne de son succès dans l'imaginaire médiéval :



La Fuite en Égypte, vitrail de la Cathédrale de Troyes (XIII^e siècle).

Enfin, le thème iconographique de l'Entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem⁹ est fort prisé dans la sculpture, dès les premiers siècles du christianisme¹⁰ jusqu'à

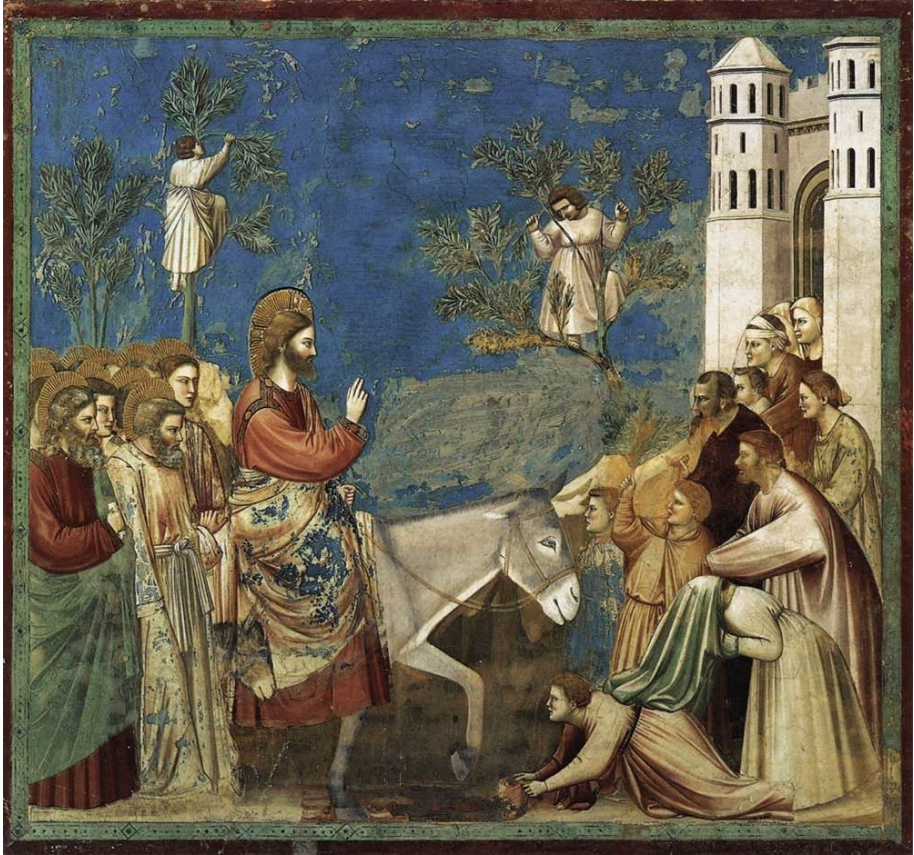
⁷ Voir à ce sujet Laurence Terrier Aliferis, « À propos de quatre représentations particulières de la Fuite en Égypte autour de 1210 dans les diocèses de Laon, Noyon et Troyes », in Pascale Charron, Marc Gil, Ambre Vilain (éds.), *La pensée du regard, Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016, p. 337-447.

⁸ Source de l'image :

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vitrail_Cath%C3%A9drale_de_Troyes_190208_01.jpg.

⁹ L'épisode est mentionné dans les quatre évangiles canoniques : Matthieu (21, 1-11), Marc (11, 1-11), Luc (19, 28-44) et Jean (12, 9-11).

la fin du Moyen Âge, mais les peintres s'en saisissent à leur tour, la fresque peinte par Giotto au début du XIV^e siècle faisant figure de repère obligé à ce sujet :



L'Entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem, fresque de Giotto, la chapelle des Scrovegni à Padoue (début du XIV^e siècle)¹¹.

Cette iconographie chrétienne coexiste avec une iconographie profane, qui insiste tantôt sur la lubricité de l'âne (l'une des sources pouvant en être le roman latin d'Apulée, *l'âne à la lyre*)¹², tantôt sur sa docilité et son

¹⁰ Nous renvoyons à cet égard à Florence Schweitzer, « Les gestes du Christ dans les représentations sculptées de l'Entrée à Jérusalem du IV^e au VI^e siècle », *Histoire de l'art*, n° 20 (*Iconographie*), 1992, p. 17-26.

¹¹ Source de l'image : https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giotto_di_Bondone_-_No._26_Scenes_from_the_Life_of_Christ_-_10._Entry_into_Jerusalem_-_WGA09206.jpg.

¹² Ce thème iconographique est représenté dans le Psautier Hunter (ms. Hunter 229, fol. 88r), conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Glasgow, psautier qui fut réalisé en Angleterre vers 1170. On peut voir une sélection de miniatures de ce manuscrit, y compris celle que nous avons mentionnée dans notre analyse, à l'adresse :

endurance comme bête de somme ou encore comme monture. Ce dernier thème iconographique est d'ailleurs présent sur un fragment de mosaïque¹³ datant de la période byzantine du V^e siècle, découvert à Constantinople et conservé au Musée du Grand Palais à Istanbul :



L'âne comme bête de somme, mosaïque du V^e siècle.

La source de cette dernière connotation est à rechercher dans les *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville (VII^e siècle), mais les bestiaires, des traités se situant dans la descendance du *Physiologus*¹⁴, de même que les encyclopédies du XIII^e siècle prennent appui sur les livres d'Isidore à plusieurs égards, en y puisant des informations telles quelles ou en les amplifiant. Les bestiaires et les encyclopédies sont de ce fait des sources précieuses si l'on veut appréhender la manière dont l'homme médiéval se rapportait aux animaux. En ce qui nous concerne, nous avons choisi de nous arrêter à l'une des premières encyclopédies, intitulée *De proprietatibus rerum* (*Le Livre des propriétés des choses*)¹⁵, puisque son auteur, Barthélémy

https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/special/images/psalter/H229_0088rdetail.jpg)

¹³ Source de l'image :

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Byzantinischer_Mosaizist_des_5._Jahrhunderts_002.jpg.

¹⁴ Pour des détails, voir Arnaud Zucker, « Morale du *Physiologos* : le symbolisme animal dans le christianisme ancien (II^e-V^e siècles) », *Rursus, Le modèle animal* (II), 2/ 2007, article consulté le 20 octobre 2024 à l'adresse : <http://journals.openedition.org/rursus/142>.

¹⁵ Rédigée en latin vers 1247, cette encyclopédie a été traduite ensuite en français, anglais, allemand, italien, occitan et même en néerlandais. Retenons aussi que, dans les années 1220, ce moine a donné des cours à l'Université de Paris. Voir à cet égard Robert Bossuat et

l'Anglais, consacre à l'âne un chapitre visiblement détaché des thèmes de l'iconographie chrétienne. En effet, ce moine franciscain ne s'y rapporte ni à l'âne de la Nativité, ni à celui de la Fuite en Égypte, ni à l'âne ou à l'ânesse de l'Entrée à Jérusalem. En revanche, il en souligne les qualités qui le rendent utile aux hommes telles l'obéissance, la robustesse qui l'aide à porter de gros fardeaux, la résistance au labeur, le peu de nourriture dont il a besoin, bien qu'il puisse être encore paresseux, oublieux, entêté ou stupide, tous ces défauts le transformant en victime des paysans, qui ne tardaient pas à le maltraiter ou à l'exploiter¹⁶. Mais il n'omet pas non plus de rappeler que, du point de vue de sa nature, l'âne est froid, sec, d'où sa résistance à la chaleur, et mélancolique (vu que la bile noire l'emporte sur les autres humeurs¹⁷), et c'est pour toutes ces raisons que sa femelle conçoit plus rarement. Enfin, Barthélémy l'Anglais insiste sur la voix horrible de l'animal, qui, lorsqu'il se met à braire, chasse les petits oiseaux de leurs nids¹⁸.

Relevant d'un paradigme littéraire dont la fin était avant tout de faire rire¹⁹, le fabliau de Rutebeuf propose à première vue une perspective *réaliste* ou *pragmatique* sur l'âne, dépourvue de toute connotation chrétienne ou morale. Une lecture attentive de ce récit nous amène pourtant à l'interpréter comme une satire de l'avarice et de la déchéance du clergé séculier autant que de sa corruption et de son hypocrisie, car les protagonistes en sont un prêtre avare, qui aimait travailler sa terre et, à la fois, épargner, et un évêque dépensier, qui adorait vivre dans le luxe, tout en restant généreux et altruiste. Si le premier peine sans relâche, aidé par un âne docile et robuste, pour tirer le meilleur profit des blés qu'il vend, l'évêque se montre, par contre, *courtois* envers tout le monde et excessivement généreux :

« L'evesques ert d'autre maniere,

Françoise Fery-Hue, « Barthélémy l'Anglais », in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises : le Moyen Âge*, eds. Geneviève Hasenohr et Michel Zink, Paris, Fayard, 1992, p. 126-127.

¹⁶ Les autorités convoquées par Barthélémy l'Anglais sont Avicenne et Aristote, auxquels il se réfère de manière explicite.

¹⁷ Récupérée par les traités médicaux du Moyen Âge, cette théorie fut premièrement énoncée dans l'un des traités de la *Collection hippocratique*, intitulé *De la Nature de l'homme*, attribué à Polybe, disciple et, à la fois, gendre d'Hippocrate. Voir à ce sujet Jacques Jouanna, « La théorie des quatre humeurs et des quatre tempéraments dans la tradition latine (Vindicien, Pseudo Soranos) et une source grecque retrouvée », *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 118, Janvier-juin 2005, p. 138-167. Nous avons consulté cet article en ligne le 10 octobre 2024 à l'adresse : https://www.persee.fr/doc/reg_0035-2039_2005_num_118_1_460

¹⁸ Nous avons consulté l'encyclopédie de Barthélémy l'Anglais par l'intermédiaire de sa traduction en français due à Jean Corbechon : Barthélémy l'Anglais, *Le grand propriétaire de toutes choses*, trad. Jean Corbechon, Paris, éditeur Jean Longis, 1556. Consacré à l'âne domestique, le chapitre VI fait partie du XVIII^e Livre de l'encyclopédie de Barthélémy (voir à cet égard le feuillet CLXXIX), alors que le chapitre LXXIV se rapporte à l'âne sauvage (les feuillets CXCIV-CXCV).

¹⁹ Voir, entre autres, Joseph Bédier, *Les fabliaux : études de littérature populaire et d'histoire littéraire du Moyen âge*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, 1893, p. 37.

Que covoiteux ne eschars n'iere,
 Mais cortois et bien afaitiez,
 Que, c'il fust jai bien deshaitiez
 Et veïst pseudome venir,
 Nuns nel peüst el list tenir :
 Compeigne de boens crestiens
 Estoit ces droiz fisiciens.
 Touz jors estoit plainne sa sale.
 Sa maignie n'estoit pas male,
 Mais quanque li sires voloit,
 Nuns de ces sers ne s'en doloit.
 C'il ot mueble, ce fut de dete,
 Car qui trop despent, il s'endete²⁰ ». (v. 43-56)

Le conflit entre les deux hommes d'Église procède d'un geste surprenant du prêtre, qui enterre son animal domestique²¹ dans le cimetière de la paroisse, en signe de reconnaissance pour son dévouement et pour sa résistance au labeur durant vingt années. Envieux, un paroissien proche de l'évêque rapporte à ce dernier la profanation du cimetière, sans omettre de lui parler de la fortune amassée par le prêtre. Ne comprenant pas qu'un homme pût nourrir une telle affection envers une bête de somme, les paroissiens et l'évêque le traitent donc tous de païen idolâtre. Et pour cause, dirions-nous, car à l'époque on avait tendance à considérer les animaux comme des bêtes impures, dépourvues d'âme, ce qui leur interdisait tout accès à la terre bénite et, par voie de conséquence, au Paradis. La seule créature qui pouvait bénéficier de la grâce divine après la mort était l'homme. En d'autres termes, le Paradis lui était réservé de manière exclusive, comme l'Enfer et le Purgatoire.

Malgré la gravité de ce geste, le prêtre rusé parvient cependant à racheter son péché au moyen d'une bourse remplie d'écus, qu'il remet en

²⁰ « L'évêque était d'un caractère tout différent./ Il n'était ni cupide ni avare./ mais courtois et rompu aux bonnes manières./ Si, étant fort malade./ il avait vu venir un homme de bien./ personne n'aurait pu le faire rester au lit ./ la compagnie des bons chrétiens./ voilà son médecin./ Sa grande salle était toujours remplie./ Rien à redire sur ceux de sa maison ./ quoi que désirât leur maître./ aucun de ses gens ne s'en plaignait./ S'il avait des biens meubles, ils étaient faits de dettes./ car qui dépense beaucoup s'endette ».

²¹ L'humanisation de l'âne est renforcée par le fait qu'il porte un nom. En effet, en dévoilant le secret du prêtre à l'évêque, le paroissien emploie le nom propre *Baudouin* pour désigner l'âne enterré dans le cimetière (v. 78), nom qui renvoie, à notre sens, non pas au sexe masculin, même si une pareille connotation est attestée en ancien français, mais bien à l'âne chargé du rôle de secrétaire du roi Noble dans le *Roman de Renart*. Ce serait donc plutôt un exemple d'intertextualité. Pour ce qui est de la désignation en ancien français de l'âne, voire du sexe masculin par le terme *baudouin*, voir <https://micmap.org/dicfro/search/complement-godefroy/audouin>. Nous renvoyons aussi à Ondřej Pešek, « Parler de foutre : la désignation des parties du corps dans les fabliaux médiévaux », *Écho des études romanes*, 2021 (vol. 17), issue 1, p. 103-116, ici p. 114.

toute discrétion à l'évêque le jour de sa confession et de son jugement. Par ailleurs, il lui avoue que l'enterrement dans le cimetière a été un désir de l'âne, qui aurait laissé cette bourse à l'évêque par l'intermédiaire d'un testament :

« Sire, ci n'afiert plus lonc conte.
Mes asnes at lonc tans vescu,
Mout avoie en li boen escu.
Il m'at servi, et volentiers,
Moult loiaument vint ans entiers.
Se je soie de Dieu assoux,
Chacun an gaaingnoit vint soux,
Tant qu'il at espairgnié vint livres.
Pour ce qu'il soit d'enfers delivres
Les vos laisse en son testament. »
Et dist l'esvesques : « Diex l'ament,
Et si li pardoint ses meffais
Et toz les pechiez qu'il at fais²² ! » (v. 148-160)

Amadoué par une pareille générosité, l'évêque pardonne en fin de compte au prêtre d'avoir profané l'espace sacré du cimetière sans même lui demander une réparation quelconque, ce qui prouve que l'intention de Rutebeuf a été moins de divertir que de critiquer les mœurs du clergé²³ :

« Rutebués nos dist et enseigne,
Qui deniers porte a sa besoingne
Ne doit douteir mauvais lyens.
Li asnes remest crestiens²⁴ ». (v. 165-168)

Mais derrière cette lecture se cache une autre couche de sens, plus profonde²⁵, qui renvoie, d'après nous, aux débats des théologiens du XIII^e

²² « "Monseigneur, un long récit serait inutile./ Mon âne a vécu longtemps,/ j'avais en lui une aide en or./ Il m'a servi de bon cœur,/ loyalement, vingt ans entiers./ Dieu me pardonne,/ il gagnait chaque année vingt sous,/ si bien qu'il a économisé vingt livres./ Et pour échapper aux peines de l'enfer,/ il vous les lègue dans son testament."/ L'évêque répond : "Que Dieu le protège,/ qu'il lui pardonne ses fautes/ et tous les péchés qu'il a commis !" »

²³ Dans la brève présentation précédant le fabliau de Rutebeuf, Michel Zink insiste sur le succès dont le motif de l'animal enterré dans le cimetière (répertorié par A. Aarne et S. Thomas) a joui dans le folklore universel, tout en précisant que les contes centrés sur ce motif, colportés notamment à la fin du Moyen Âge, se rapportaient pour la plupart au chien, symbole du compagnon fidèle. Cf. Michel Zink, *in* Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. citée, p. 103.

²⁴ « Rutebeuf nous dit et nous enseigne/ Que celui qui apporte des deniers pour avancer ses affaires/ n'a pas à craindre de se trouver dans un mauvais pas./ L'âne resta chrétien ».

²⁵ D'ailleurs, Michel Zink soulignait dès 1984 que, dans les récits du Moyen Âge, la présence des animaux devrait toujours pousser le lecteur à en rechercher les ressorts profonds : « Dans la littérature médiévale, l'animal, comme le reste de la création, n'est digne d'attention que pour autant qu'il est porteur de sens. L'élucidation de ce sens est la raison d'être des bestiaires,

siècle, dont l'objet était l'existence de l'âme des animaux, sa nature (une problématique sur laquelle La Fontaine allait revenir à son tour quelques siècles plus tard, après 1671²⁶) et, plus généralement, ce qui relève de nos jours de la psychologie cognitive, à savoir la manière dont l'âme pouvait connaître ou contempler Dieu après la mort, une fois surmonté le seuil du Jugement dernier. Or, Rutebeuf ne pouvait pas ignorer ces débats centrés sur la résurrection²⁷, puisqu'il s'est installé à Paris vers 1250 et puisqu'il a vraisemblablement fréquenté les cours de l'Université à la Faculté des Arts. En d'autres termes, l'affection étrange, voire scandaleuse du prêtre envers son animal domestique, auquel il n'hésite pas à donner une sépulture dans le cimetière, comporte une véritable réhabilitation de cette bête de somme, réhabilitation à mettre en lien, comme nous l'avons suggéré, avec les polémiques théologiques relatives à l'existence de l'âme des animaux et à leur accès au Paradis, dans le contexte de la réception en Occident de plusieurs textes de l'Antiquité, surtout de ceux de Platon et d'Aristote. Par delà la christianisation à laquelle les théologiens ont souvent soumis ces textes, la découverte de la physique aristotélicienne a sans doute favorisé la promotion de l'unité entre corps et âme²⁸ (récupérée aussi par Thomas d'Aquin), au détriment de la représentation chrétienne dominante, qui privilégiait le second terme. Cette mutation s'est achevée au XIII^e siècle, lorsque les œuvres du philosophe grec dont *Des Animaux*, *De l'âme* et *L'Éthique* deviennent des références fondamentales à la Faculté des Arts de l'Université de Paris²⁹. Une autre idée importante d'Aristote, reprise et valorisée par Thomas d'Aquin, était que l'âme ne pouvait être séparée du corps³⁰. Enfin, aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, une partie des théologiens ont admis que les animaux étaient doués d'une certaine capacité à connaître, une

qui décrivent chaque animal et ses mœurs de manière à faire apparaître sa signification allégorique, dans le domaine religieux, ou parfois amoureux ». Voir Michel Zink, « Le monde animal et ses représentations dans la littérature du Moyen Âge », in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 15^e congrès, Toulouse, 1984 (*Le monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen-Âge, XI^e-XV^e siècles*), p. 47-71, ici p. 59.

²⁶ Voir Henri Busson, « La Fontaine et l'âme des Bêtes », *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, N° 1, 1935, t. 42, p. 1-32.

²⁷ Voir Salisbury, Joyce E., "Do Animals Go to Heaven? Medieval Philosophers Contemplate Heavenly Human Exceptionalism", *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2014, p. 79-86.

²⁸ Voir, entre autres, Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale : de l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, Paris, Flammarion, 3^e éd. corrigée et mise à jour, 2006 [1^{ère} édition Aubier, 2004], p. 583-585, 592-593. Voir aussi Jérôme Baschet, *Corps et âmes. Une histoire de la personne au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Flammarion, coll. « Au fil de l'histoire », 2016, p. 193-227.

²⁹ En 1255, ces textes étaient considérés comme des enseignements officiels que les maîtres devaient assurer. Voir à ce sujet Jacques Verger, *Culture, enseignement et société en Occident aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999, p. 117-118, 172-173.

³⁰ Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale : de l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, éd. citée, p. 583-585, 592-593.

connaissance instinctuelle, donc involontaire, mais aussi d'une mémoire, outre la connaissance sensible³¹, ce qui leur ouvrirait l'accès au Paradis, où les âmes purifiées de péchés pouvaient contempler Dieu à travers la connaissance :

« For Christian authors, this view was also attractive because it was highly compatible with the doctrine of the immortality of the human soul. For if one supposes that the human soul is immaterial, it is much easier to explain how it can persist after the death of the body. Again, the details of this doctrine gave rise to many discussions. And, especially before the thirteenth century, there were also some authors, such as John Scotus Eriugena and Adelard of Bath, who held not only that human and angelic souls are immortal but the souls of nonhuman animals, as well. Yet, as in the case of the intellect's immateriality, this was not the view of a majority³² ».

Mais il y a encore un aspect qui nous fait reconsidérer l'intention moralisatrice de ce récit, à savoir la promotion des connotations chrétiennes de l'âne à travers l'iconographie, alors que les bestiaires lui réservaient une place modeste, s'ils ne le jugeaient pas comme un animal « sale et négligent, paresseux et oublieux, lent et pesant, entêté et stupide » ou carrément lubrique³³. Ne pouvant pas ignorer les polémiques des théologiens parisiens au sujet de l'âme des animaux et encore moins les thèmes de l'iconographie religieuse, le trouvère champenois se sert de l'image de cet animal pour blâmer le clergé cupide et corrompu autant que pour lui opposer un exemple d'humilité³⁴, socle de toutes les vertus chrétiennes, censée faciliter l'accès au Paradis. Indissociable du registre émotionnel et vouée à corriger les vices humains, la visée édifiante de ce fabliau devrait donc l'emporter de manière indiscutable sur *le rire*, point que Luminița Ciuchindel soulignait dès 1979, lorsqu'elle insistait sur la nécessité de ne pas réduire tous les fabliaux à la définition simpliste de « contes à rire en vers³⁵ » :

« Même si le divertissement du public reste le premier objectif, il conviendrait de juger le fabliau d'après ses thèmes, ses sujets, ses personnages, motivés dans leur ensemble par un engagement du narrateur dans la réalité qu'il vit et qu'il transfigure selon l'exigence d'instruire qui régit ce type de récit³⁶ ».

³¹ Anselm Oelze, *Animal Rationality: Later Medieval Theories 1250-1350*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, coll. "Investigating Medieval Philosophy", no 12, 2018, Chapter 5. "Animal Souls and Sensory Cognition", p. 28-35, et Chapter 6. "Human Souls and the Triad of Intellectual Operations", p. 36-43. On pourra voir aussi Joyce E. Salisbury, article cité.

³² Anselm Oelze, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³³ Cf. Michel Pastoureau, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Seuil, 2020 [1^{ère} éd. 2011], p. 125.

³⁴ Voir à ce sujet Michel Zink, *L'humiliation, le Moyen Âge et nous*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2017, p. 35-65.

³⁵ Joseph Bédier, *Les fabliaux : études de littérature populaire et d'histoire littéraire du Moyen âge*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, 1893, p. 37.

³⁶ Luminița Ciuchindel, *op. cit.*, p. 14, c'est nous qui soulignons.

Pour toutes ces raisons, *Le Testament de l'âne* de Rutebeuf réussit à notre sens à restaurer l'image d'une bête de somme si souvent méprisée et maltraitée et surtout à remettre en question les représentations médiévales de la relation âme-corps, les croyances au salut et à la connaissance de Dieu après la mort.

Corpus :

Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, texte établi, traduit, annoté et présenté par Michel Zink, édition revue et mise à jour, Paris, Librairie générale française, coll. « Lettres gothiques », 2001.

Références bibliographiques :

Aliferis, Laurence Terrier, « À propos de quatre représentations particulières de la Fuite en Égypte autour de 1210 dans les diocèses de Laon, Noyon et Troyes », in Charron, Pascale, Marc Gil, Ambre Vilain (éds.), *La pensée du regard, Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016, p. 337-447.

Barthélemy l'Anglais, *Le grand propriétaire de toutes choses*, trad. Jean Corbechon, Paris, éditeur Jean Longis, 1556.

Baschet, Jérôme, *La civilisation féodale : de l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, Paris, Flammarion, 3^e éd. corrigée et mise à jour, 2006 [1^{ère} édition Aubier, 2004].

Baschet, Jérôme, *Corps et âmes. Une histoire de la personne au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Flammarion, coll. « Au fil de l'histoire », 2016.

Bossuat, Robert et Fery-Hue, Françoise, « Barthélemy l'Anglais », in Hasenohr, Geneviève et Zink, Michel (éds.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises : le Moyen Âge*, Paris, Fayard, 1992, p. 126-127.

Busson, Henri, « La Fontaine et l'âme des Bêtes », *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, n° 1, 1935, t. 42, p. 1-32.

Ciuchindel, Luminița, *Aspects narratifs dans la littérature française. Moyen Âge – Renaissance*, Éditions de l'Université de Bucarest, 1979, p. 1-24.

Dufournet, Jean, *Fabliaux du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Flammarion, 1998.

Gianotto, Claudio, « L'origine de la fête de Noël au IV^e siècle », in Dorival, Gilles et Boyer, Jean Paul (éds.), *La Nativité et le temps de Noël. Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003, p. 65-80.

Guyon, Jean, « La naissance de Jésus dans le premier art chrétien », in Dorival, Gilles et Boyer, Jean Paul (éds.), *La Nativité et le temps de Noël. Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence, Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003, p. 81-94.

Jodogne, Omer et Jean-Charles Payen, *Le Fabliau et le lai narratif*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1975.

Jouanna, Jacques, « La théorie des quatre humeurs et des quatre tempéraments dans la tradition latine (Vindicien, Pseudo Soranos) et une source grecque retrouvée », *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 118, Janvier-juin 2005, p. 138-167.

Ménard, Philippe, *Les fabliaux. Contes à rire du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1983.

- Oelze, Anselm**, *Animal Rationality: Later Medieval Theories 1250-1350*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, coll. "Investigating Medieval Philosophy", n° 12, 2018.
- Pastoureau, Michel**, *Bestiaires du Moyen Âge*, Paris, Seuil, 2020 [I^{ère} édition 2011].
- Pešek, Ondřej**, « Parler de foutre : la désignation des parties du corps dans les fabliaux médiévaux », *Écho des études romanes*, 2021 (vol. 17), issue 1, p. 103-116.
- Rychner, Jean**, *Contribution à l'étude des fabliaux : variantes, remaniements, dégradation*, Genève, Droz (Recueil de travaux de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 28^e fascicule), 1960, 2 tomes.
- Salisbury, Joyce E.**, "Do Animals Go to Heaven? Medieval Philosophers Contemplate Heavenly Human Exceptionalism", *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts*, Volume 1, Issue 1, 2014, p. 79-86.
- Schweitzer, Florence**, « Les gestes du Christ dans les représentations sculptées de l'Entrée à Jérusalem du IV^e au VI^e siècle », *Histoire de l'art*, n° 20 (*Iconographie*), 1992, p. 17-26.
- Vergier, Jacques**, *Culture, enseignement et société en Occident aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1999.
- Zink, Michel**, « Le monde animal et ses représentations dans la littérature du Moyen Âge », in *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*. 15^e congrès, Toulouse, 1984. *Le monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen-Âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles)*, p. 47-71.
- Zink, Michel**, « Introduction » à Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, texte établi, traduit, annoté et présenté par Michel Zink, édition revue et mise à jour, Paris, Librairie générale française, coll. « Lettres gothiques », 2001.
- Zink, Michel**, *L'humiliation, le Moyen Âge et nous*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2017.
- Zucker, Arnaud**, « Morale du *Physiologos* : le symbolisme animal dans le christianisme ancien (II^e-V^e siècles) », *Rursus, Le modèle animal* (II), 2/ 2007, article consulté le 20 octobre 2024 à l'adresse : <http://journals.openedition.org/rursus/142>

Investigation of Aspects of Religious Beliefs of the People of Guilan from Prehistory to the Historical Period (North of Iran)

Hassan Kohansal-Vajargah *
Parasto Masjedi Khak **

Abstract: *Even though religious beliefs are one of the most important aspects of life in any society, the supernatural beliefs of the people of Guilan in the prehistoric period remain unknown. Long before the Aryans, natives were living on the Iranian plateau, as the most notable natives in Guilan during the migration of the Aryans and in the Median and Achaemenid empires were the Amardians, Caspians, and Cadusians. Archaeological excavations in various parts of Guilan revealed that the natives had a great culture and civilization. Archaeological findings from Guilan's prehistoric sites dating back to the Iron Age also showed that these people had faith in life after death and in social classes. They used to sacrifice animals for the gods, aiming to please them, though more data from future excavations are needed to substantiate this. The findings suggest that throughout the historical periods, the people of Guilan believed in original Aryan gods and resisted the acceptance of the Zoroastrian religion, believing in gods such as Mitra and Nahid, who were the gods of the demons group. Hence, the holy Zoroastrian book and the Iranian literature refer to these people as worshipers of demons.*

Keywords: Religious beliefs, Iron Age tombs, historical period, Guilan.

Introduction

Neither do we know for sure when the beliefs unfolded regarding supernatural forces and beliefs on the beginning and end of the universe and its creator or creators and how the universe was created, nor do we know whether the ancient people were more religious than the modern people or not; however, data suggest that religious beliefs in some societies, especially in the West, are declining. According to the research literature, none of the primitive tribes were seemingly faithless in supernatural forces that aided earthly humans. The annual permission for the growth of the flowers from beneath the soil and the blossoming of trees in spring, rainfall, and migration of birds and animals, the sunrise and the sunset, and other natural events were not regarded as accidental. Religious beliefs including, birth, marriage,

* Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, University of Guilan, Rasht, Iran, hkohansal7@yahoo.com

** Assistant Professor, Department of Archaeology, University of Neyshabur. Khorasan Razavi, Iran, Email : parastomasjedi@yahoo.com

lifestyle and death, and even burial, have greatly contributed to the development of societies until nowadays. There are two main approaches of the emergence of religion: the first one advocates for a developmental process of religions from the prehistoric era to the present time, and the second, which holds on to the monotheistic premise, emphasizes that humans were originally monotheists; however, in this study, only archaeological data are reviewed to delve into some aspects of religious beliefs, disregarding these two mentioned approaches.

Archaeologists and researchers who study prehistoric eras have always sought to identify objects or structures that pertain to religion¹. Objects such as effigies and motifs on objects are considered to be symbols of religion. Of course, one would say that the context from which the works are obtained assumes importance and serves to attribute these objects to religious beliefs. It is argued that burials serve as one of the most important cases to study religion in prehistoric eras, as this present article aims to review them throughout the prehistoric Gilan. (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1. Geographical location of Gilan province

Archaeological evidence from Ganj-Par and Darband Cave sites in Rostam Abad in Roudbar suggests that the history of human dwelling in Gilan dates back to the Paleolithic period. After this period, i.e., in the Neolithic or post-Neolithic period, no evidence of human dwelling has ever been found so far in Gilan. This area, dated using a limited number of stone

¹ Ken Dark, *Theoretical foundations of archeology*, 2008, p. 178.

tools, is referred to as the Neolithic or post-Neolithic period². The only found and published Neolithic evidence pertains to the Arg-e- Dasht site³.

From this period to the Iron Age, the situation in Guilan has remained unknown, prompting the researchers to describe this situation. Kroll and some experts held that before the Iron Age, some nomadic tribes were dwelling in a small community in Guilan (west of Guilan to Ardabil) who had no contact with the important centers of civilization of that time because of the Caspian Sea in the north and the hard-to-reach mountains and massive forests in the south.

Others maintain that Guilan was uninhabited before the Iron Age (1400-1500 BC) due to the environmental and ecological situation of the region, and it was only after the Iron Age that Guilan suddenly entered a period characterized by abundant wealth and various emirates and technology of that time. Fallahian also argues that the regional climate in prehistoric times had emptied the area from inhabitants.

There are various sources about people and tribes, including the tribes living on the southern shorelines of the Caspian Sea throughout historical periods. These tribes included those dwelling on the Iranian plateau by the time of the Aryans migration in the west called Kas-Su, whom the Greeks called Kussiyân or Kissi; the Elamites living in south-western Iran; the Kadussiyâns and Kas in the northern Guilan regions⁴; the Tapuriyâns in Mazandaran and the Amardians living with the Kadussiyâns and Tapuriyâns. Historical literature also refers to some tribes positioned in Guilan and Mazandaran under the Medes and Achaemenid empires, living in a semi-independent way free from the domination of the central government. Strabon, the Greek historian and geographer cite Aristofanos to name some tribes living in the southern shores of the Caspian Sea as Hircanians, Amardians, Aryakayan (non-Aryans), Kadussiyâns, Golha or Golan, as well as some ancient offshoots of these tribes in Guilan and Mazandaran such as Anariens, Docovsions, and derbiks⁵.

Because there is a lack of written sources on the early tribes living in Guilan and historians have largely remained silent about their prehistoric and early historical beliefs, the research method is based on archeological evidence and written artifacts to investigate the religious beliefs of these tribes. In this research, the religious beliefs of the people of Guilan from the beginning to the end of the Achaemenid period are investigated in two parts; one pertains to the prehistoric periods and the beginning of history to the early historical period.

² Fereydoun Biglari and Hossein Abdi, *The Preliminary Study Report of Khal Vasht Rock Shelter in Amarloo Area of Guilan*, 2001.

³ Gabriel Nokandeh, *Arg-e Dasht, the First Neolithic Discovered Region in Gilan Province*, 2005.

⁴ Igor M Diakonoff, *History of the Medes*, 1968, p. 54.

⁵ Ebrahim Eslah Arbani, *Gilan Book*, 1995, p. 595.

Prehistoric Religious Beliefs

Investigating the religious beliefs of the ancient people, especially those of the prehistoric period, is very appealing, albeit complex. We can speak with relative confidence about the presence of religions, names of gods, and religious practices of ancient societies whose written artifacts are still available. However, as regards prehistoric times, researchers refer to archaeological evidence and ethnographic studies of primitive people, often referred to as The Middle Range Theory, developed by Robert K. Merton; it is an approach to sociological theorizing aimed at integrating theory and empirical research. It seeks to analyze the lives of ancient people by comparing the lives of modern primitive people to help better understand the immaterial aspects of the lives of those people.

The first material representation of religious beliefs traces back to the Middle Paleolithic (200,000 to 40,000 years ago). Although beliefs in non-earthly creatures were held, archaeological evidence is yet to confirm it.

Apart from some Neanderthal effigies from the Middle Paleolithic, we come across intentional burials with special rituals. In the Levant region, this evidence was obtained from Ghafza, Sokhul, Tabun, Amud, and Kobbareh. Corpses were usually buried in a curved manner, with parts of the animals' bodies sometimes placed next to them. The body of a young individual (about 13 years old) was found from the Ghafzah Cave in 1971, laid on its back with a deer antler in its hands. Many stone tools and small bones were found from a tomb pit in the Kobbareh cave⁶.

Following this period, we have various evidence representing religious beliefs across the world. We have evidence apart from burial ceremony from the Neolithic period about 10-12000 years ago, an example of which is the Shamanism rite from the Shanidar Cave, where carcass and large hunting bird bones were found from a pit. Also, structures used to construct temples were found from the Goobkeli Tappe, NavaliChori, Chatal Hoyrak, etc.

Religious Beliefs in Prehistoric Guilan

Archaeological findings of the Iron Age sites have revealed the religious beliefs of the people of Guilan in the prehistoric era. These findings are varied and are discussed separately below.

Gifts

The gifts placed in the tombs of the dead indicate that they believed in life after death. Although the gifts were likely dedicated to the dead or gods, or to repel evil spirits or bad gods, whatever they may have been, they

⁶ O Bar-Yosef, B Vandermeersch, B Arensburg, A Belfer-Cohen, P Goldberg, H Laville, L Meignen, *The Excavations in Kebara Cave, Mt. Carmel*, 1992.

represent the religious beliefs of ancient people in Guilan. These objects were diverse and included common life tools and crafts and personal items and ornaments, indicating that they were used for life after the death of the dead.

Effigies

Burial sites of the Iron Age have revealed human and animal figures made of metal and clay. On the Marlik hill, where most Guilan effigies and figures have been excavated, animal effigies such as bison, goats, deer, rams, bears, leopards, horses and dogs, have been found, the likes of which are also found in Deghgar where Guilan tombs of the Iron Age are located. Also, the figures of birds such as eagles were excavated from this site⁷. According to Ucko and Voigt's interpretations⁸, one would say that the figures were not undoubtedly toys or training tools because they were found from the tombs of adults. All-powerful animals can be interpreted in two ways: representing a god or a deity symbol or an idol and totem for regional families.

Another interesting point is rhytons in the form of animals and humans. These rhytons were used to contain liquids with a religious and specific function, although we are not still sure about the functions of these liquids as they may have been intoxicating, hallucinogenic, or alcoholic. However, the emphasis by makers of rhytons in the form of animals, humans with strange and frightening characteristics was quite significant. Did they feel that they could be blended with the spirit of an animal or a god represented by the animal by drinking the liquid from the animal-shaped rhytons? Unfortunately, questions of this type cannot be answered; however, what is clear is that these animals, like animal figures found, symbolize power, speed, and glory.

Human Sacrifices

Killing humans for sacrifice has been common among the various ancient tribes, persisting until recently. Most of these sacrifices were dedicated by mysterious tribes to the dead or worshiped gods. These sacrifices in the Iron Age of Guilan suggest the presence of the ruling class, however, by showing servants being killed to serve the lord or the ruler in the life after death or to please the god/gods of death. Archaeological excavations by the Japanese delegation of the Kouti Castle in tombs A-III, A-V, AVI, and C-I provide examples of this reality⁹.

⁷ Ezatollah Negahban, *A Review of Fifty Years of Archeology in Iran*, 1999, p. 477.

⁸ P. Ucko, *The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines*, 1962; M. M Voigt, *Catal Hoyuk in Context: Ritual and Early Neolithic Sites in Central and Eastern Turkey*, 2000.

⁹ Namio Agami, Shinji Fukai, Seichi Masuda, *Deilaman: Archaeological Excavations in Kouti and Leslokan Castles in 1960*, 2017, p. 17.

Sacrifice was carried out by beheading, suffocation, and burning. These people were often killed in connection with the main individual's burial or following his burial, and that gifts were placed in their tombs shows that those killed were neither offenders nor convicts. There are some layers of ashes between the main person's burial and the sacrificed burial, indicating the complex ceremony held for the burials. In addition to the main body, three skulls were also found from Tomb No. 9 of Tamajan¹⁰. In Leslukan cemetery, two skeletons without skulls were found. The Iron Age people of the region seem to have believed that slaves and servants (if they were to be sacrificed) could serve their lords in the life after death.

Animal Sacrifices

In Marlik, we have three tombs where horses are buried (Tombs Nos. 49, 51, and 53)¹¹, which according to the excavator, belong to the dead of the tombs next to them. Burials of this kind are available from Joban Rudbar of Gilan¹² from Tombs Nos. 10 and 20 of Maryan Talesh¹³. This indicates the importance of horses both in the life of people and in their life after death. In Avestan texts, the horse symbolizes gods and the god of the sun, which was killed as a dedication for some gods.

For him, Hooshang Pishdadi sacrificed on the top of the Mt. Hera a hundred horses, a thousand bulls and ten thousand sheep, demanding him to bestow upon him the grandeur, the happiness "O' the good doer, the most capable, O' the strong river, i.e., Nahid, bestow on me the power so that I would rule over all nations and territories...."¹⁴ Remnants of horse bones were also excavated from tombs in Hasanlou sites in Western Azarbaijan, Babajan in Lorestan, Godin in Kermanshah and Khorram Abad in Ardabil¹⁵. Horses would be sacrificed for the combatant class¹⁶. Excavations in Ghias Abad sites from Tomb No. X where a human was buried revealed a turtle cut in half with an ax left in its body¹⁷. In addition, Tomb No. 24 of Maryan

¹⁰ Hamid Fahimi, *Iron Age Culture on the Southwestern Shores of the Caspian Sea*, 2002, p. 112.

¹¹ Ezatollah Negahban, *A Review of Fifty Years of Archeology in Iran*, 1999, p. 133-134.

¹² Ali HakEmi, *Archaeological Excavations of Rudbar, Guilan, 1968 to 1969, in collaboration with Shahin Ariamanesh*, 2017, p. 217-220.

¹³ Mohammad Reza Khalatbari, *Archaeological Excavations in the Ancient Sites of Talesh*, 2004.

¹⁴ Ebrahim Pourdavood, *Yashtha*, 1998, p. 234.

¹⁵ Reza Rezalou and Yahya Ayermlou, *Horse Burial Ritual among Scythian Tribes: A Case Study of Khorramabad Meshginshahr Cemetery*, 2014.

¹⁶ J. P Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archeology and Myth*, 1991, p. 130-136.

¹⁷ Hamid Fahimi, *Iron Age Culture on the Southwestern Shores of the Caspian Sea*, 2002, p. 120.

contained birds' bones¹⁸, though excavators did not specify the type of the birds found. From Leslukan, antelope bone was found, while sheep bones were also unearthed from the Tamajan cemetery excavations¹⁹.

Animal remnants suggest that horses had been buried like humans as they had separate tombs, while other animal remnants such as antelopes and sheep would be killed for feeding the dead in the life after death and pleasing gods and souls.

Weapon Position Pattern in Some Tombs

Here, one can refer to notable examples of Tombs X and XI in Ghias Abad, where four daggers were laid in four corners facing the sky. In another tomb in Kouti /Leslukan Castle, a strange case of weapons pattern was found. The dead in the said tomb were surrounded by other tombs westwards, probably sacrificed for them; though the buried had not been protected from the north, east and south sides, the weapons buried along with the dead were aimed at the north, east, and south sides²⁰. We do not know why this had happened and what creature or supernatural beings could have disturbed the dead from these angles.

The way commanders and objects were buried in Marlik cemeteries reveals the beliefs of life after death and of religious people of the Marlik tribes. For these tribes, combat and warriors were very important. If one of the great commanders with military honor died, his body would be laid on daggers, swords, and spears and then buried to keep his name and honor last forever²¹. Burying the dead with weapons, including swords, though it may represent the ideal form, indicates a belief similar to Scandinavian people about entering Valhalla in which the dead must be buried with a sword. These weapons were aimed to repel the evil, an example of which was found in Tomb No. A-V in Kouti Castle.

Motifs on Objects

The motif of the sun on the surviving remnants is critical, which helps researchers figure out how the head and face of the dead are positioned and linked with the sun's position during the burial. A cup embossed with winged cow motifs known as the Marlik Gold Cup was found on the Marlik hill. On the edge of this cup, there are decorative geometric chain-shaped margins with spiral geometric strips on the bottom of the cup. The motif in the middle of the cup shows the tree of life, with two winged cows seen

¹⁸ Mohammad Reza Khalatbari, *Archaeological Excavations in the Ancient Sites of Talesh*, 2004, p. 111.

¹⁹ Hamid Fahimi, *Iron Age Culture on the Southwestern Shores of the Caspian Sea*, 2002, p. 114.

²⁰ Namio Agami, Shinji Fukai, Seichi Masuda. *Deilaman: Archaeological Excavations in Kouti and Leslokan Castles in 1960*, 2017, p. 51.

²¹ Ezatollah Negahban, *Preliminary Report of Marlik Excavations*, 1964, p. 14.

climbing the tree on each side of it. In the bottom of the Marlik Gold cup, there is a neatly embossed decorative flower, in the center of which is the sun, radiating the surroundings quite orderly, with the leaves of the tree of life shining from the radiation (Figure 1). The artist has, in this cup, well portrayed the importance of the sun and the dependence of life on the presence of this luminous body²². The portrayal of the sun on the Marlik's cup bottom seems to have been inspired by the religious beliefs of Marlik people, as they had wished to reveal its importance on such objects. The burial situation in Maryan and Tandvin of Talesh cemeteries also confirms this. They used to expose the skeletons of their dead to the sunlight²³. The phenomenon of life and death has preoccupied the human mind throughout history. The beautiful images of a golden cup embossed with the motif of a legendary life in Marlik well portray this. This cup, which is 20 cm high and has a mouth of 70 cm, shows four scenes. The lower row shows an antelope breastfeeding its baby. The second row shows a young antelope feeding on the branches and leaves of the tree. In the third row, a boar is seen, and in the fourth, the body of an antelope fallen to the ground is seen being eaten by carnivores. On the top of the cup, away from the carnivore motifs, there is an animal similar to a monkey holding a stick-like object in its hand²⁴, which seems to tell the story of the fate of life and death (Figure 2).



Fig. 2. Cup embossed with winged cow motifs

²² Ezatollah Negahban, *Preliminary Report of Marlik Excavations*, 1964, p. 46.

²³ Mohammad Reza Khalatbari, *Archaeological Excavations in Talesh Archeological Sites*, 1999, p. 136.

²⁴ Ezatollah Negahban, *Preliminary Report of Marlik Excavations*, 1964, p. 34.



Fig. 3. Marlik Gold Cup with life cycle pattern

Religious Beliefs in the Historical Period (331-708 BC)

As the Aryans set foot on the Iranian plateau, they gradually dominated the natives and established Medo-Achaemenid empires in collaboration with the Medes and Persians. It is believed that the tribes dwelling in Guilan were not under the governance of the Medes as they enjoyed political independence. The remarks of the ancient historian about the connection between the Medes and the tribes living in Guilan confirm this theory. Katzias argues that the tribes living in Guilan were hostile to them during the reign of the Medes (559-708 BC)²⁵. The establishment of a strong government in the adjacency of the territory of Guilan could have caused concerns for these tribes.

Unfortunately, no data are available to describe the religious beliefs of the people of Guilan under the Median Empire. The worship of the natural symbols among the Marlik tribes, who seem to have been Amardians²⁶, inferred that the tribes living in Guilan worshiped some elements of nature.

Zoroastrian beliefs are unlikely to have influenced the Guilan region at this time, as the people of the region have seemingly practiced the beliefs of their predecessors. For example, from a traditional point of view, Zoroaster wanted to make changes to the Moghs' beliefs, who, upon their position, was forced to disseminate his own beliefs in the east²⁷.

According to Katzias, as the Achaemenid Empire was formed (331-559 BC) by Cyrus II in 559 BC, the people dwelling in Guilan began to obey

²⁵ Igor M. Diakonoff, *History of the Medes*, 1968, p. 608.

²⁶ Ebrahim Eslah Arbani, *Gilan Book*, 1995, p. 529.

²⁷ Hsan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1983, p. 220.

the founder of the Achaemenid Empire for the first time²⁸. Historical documents suggest that the tribes living in Guilan had good relations with the Achaemenid dynasty.

Unfortunately, no evidence is available about the tribes living in Guilan so far, making it hard to comment on their religious beliefs during the Achaemenid period. It appears that the relatively good political relations between the people living in Guilan, such as the Kadusis and the Caspians with the Achaemenids, must have inspired the religious beliefs of the Persians in this region. The similarity of some beliefs inherited from the ancient period in the Guilan region and its comparison with Achaemenid religious beliefs substantiates this theory.

In order not to contaminate the soil, the Persians used to rub the dead with wax before burial and position it between the ground and the corpse²⁹. Traces of ancient beliefs in Iran, especially in Guilan, such as "water is luminous" and "setting fire to a piece of cloth for removing bride infertility," can confirm the worship of elements among the tribes.

In addition to worshiping natural elements, the Achaemenids also believed in such gods as Ahuramazda, Mitra, Anahita, and Arta. For the Iranians of the Achaemenid era, Ahuramazda or the All-Knowing Ahura was regarded as a great god. In his inscription, Arshameh introduces him as the greatest of the gods³⁰.

In his inscription, Xerxes (465-486 BC) says: "The great lord Ahuramazda, who created the earth, the skies, provided comfort for all humans, and made Xerxes the king; it was he who made one of us the king to rule over others"³¹.

Ahura Mazda is considered the creator and guardian of all living creatures, and it is he who, by his own will, directed the king's authority, the authority he has bestowed upon the king³². To the people of the Achaemenid era, the fire was a cause of purity, and light and neatness were seen to be symbols of Ahuramazda as the people used to set fire to him when worshiping him. The fire was made in an open setting³³, and they used to put the holy fires out while they lit them up again after practicing the burial ceremony anew³⁴.

Following Ahura Mazda, the Achaemenids believed in single beings, not in the ranks of the great gods. These single beings must have been the holy immortals of the next centuries (Ibid). Darius the King describes this in his inscription:

²⁸ Igor M Diakonoff, *History of the Medes*, 1968, p. 169.

²⁹ Hassan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1983, p. 1528.

³⁰ R. G Kent, *Old Persian*, 1953, p. 116.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 148-149.

³² Roman Gershaman, *Iran from the Beginning to Islam*, 1986, pp. 171-172.

³³ Hassan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1984, p. 168.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 1528.

“... Let Ahuramazda help my tribe and protect this country along with the gods. Let Ahuramazda save the army from famine, us from lies, and the country from the famine and the lies. I implore this from Ahuramazda and the gods of this family...”³⁵

Ahura Mazda and single beings cannot be seen nor portrayed; thus, they cannot be worshiped anywhere. They are pure and should be offered sacrifices with pure clothes and a high place where the air is fresh³⁶.

To add to the Iranian beliefs in the Achaemenid era, one would say that the inscriptions of the Ardashir II era (355-405 BC) mention Mitra and Anahita, as he describes in his inscription: “Ahura Mazda, Anahita and Mitra protect me against any evil and what I did and made.”³⁷

In the Achaemenid era, Ahura Mazda was regarded as the great god, not the only god, indicating the importance of other gods that cannot be ignored. Some support the idea that the mentioning of Mitra and Anahita by Ardashir II is a kind of religious heresy and a clear evolution in the religious beliefs of the Achaemenid era³⁸.

It is widely acknowledged that Anahita's inspiration for Iran has originated from the Babylonian astronomical beliefs. Some claim that this has been something common among the Aryans since old times. Anahita was regarded as the god of the waters worshiped in Asia long after the fall of the Achaemenids³⁹.

As for Mitra, it is argued the Avesta had described it as the religion of the Aryans, the clear example of which is the mentioning of the name Mitra along with the names of such gods as Indra Verona and Nasatya in the Boghazkoy inscription in Turkey. The said inscription was written between the reign of Sebilolyoma, the king of Hiti, and Mativaz, the king of Mitani. What is interesting is that this inscription has named Mitra for swearing and covenants⁴⁰. Mitra, along with the god of the sun, was in close connection with the sun, considered to be the intermediate between the transcendental world (light) and the lower world (darkness). During the Achaemenid era, Mitra was the god of contracts and covenants, known since the rule of Ardashir II as its name was repeated when swearing or by the time of wars⁴¹.

The reason why Ardashir II resorted to Anahita and Mitra was for the protection they provided. Anahita and his holy temple were in Pasargad, and she saved his life against a plot made by his younger brother, the young Darius. This was seen as a kind of protection for Ardashir II. This led Darius

³⁵ R.G Kent , *Old Persian*, 1953, p. 135-136.

³⁶ Hassan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1983, p. 1528.

³⁷ R. G Kent , *Old Persian*, 1953, p. 155.

³⁸ Abdul Hossein Zarrinkoub, *History of the Iranian People before Islam*, 1985, p. 192.

³⁹ Hassan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1983, p. 169.

⁴⁰ E. Kuzmina, *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians*, 2007, p. 322; Ali Sami, *Achaemenid Civilization*, 2010, p. 66.

⁴¹ Hassan Pirnia, *Ancient Iran*, 1984, p. 169.

to break his covenant with Aradshir upon returning from Asia Minor, but he faced the wrath of Mitra and failed⁴².

No written sources indicate whether or not the people of the southern regions of the Caspian Sea in the Achaemenid and Parthian periods had faith in Ahuramazda and the Zoroastrian religion; this is while they were not probably Zoroastrians until the Sassanid period; however, in the Parthian period, a delegation from Hyrcania traveled to Rome practicing Zoroastrianism worships there. The Avesta reveals that before the holy book (Avesta) was fully developed, Mazandaran and Guilan had still been following the ancient Aryan religion, believing in gods or demons. The demons of Mazandaran (Mazan) and the lie-worshippers of Deylam and Guilan (Vern) are often cited in Avesta⁴³.

However, as for Mitra and Anahita, being pre-Zoroastrian gods, one can still find evidence of popular belief, as the belief of people in Talesh is similar to that of the Achaemenids in Mitra and Anahita, which leads us to conclude that the people in Guilan used to worship Mitra and Anahita. As stated, Mitra had a prominent role in pre-Zoroastrian religions on the Iranian plateau. Her main task was to guard the covenants and truthfulness and to punish those who violated the agreements. The people in Talesh believe in an angel who protected the covenants. She rewarded those with decent conduct and punished those with indecent conduct. The violation of the covenant culminated in the angel's wrath, as she went to the violator at some proper time and judged his/her conduct. This is also true of those who deliberately deceived others. The covenant breaker could do two things to suppress the angel's wrath and to escape her punishment. One was to provide seven-year wine called Mazou, and the other was to say a prayer exclusively for the angel that it had to be recited perfectly without any misspelling. The covenant breaker repeatedly mentioned the names of popular domestic quadruped such as goats, sheep, cows, horses, dogs, and bees and allegorically referred to the reproduction and fertility periods by mentioning the Nahid star, which symbolizes the god Anahita to ask for forgiveness⁴⁴.

Conclusion

It is concluded that the religious beliefs of the people of Guilan were impressive, and they enjoyed a great culture in the prehistoric and historic eras. They had complete faith in life after death. According to their beliefs, the dead would need food in the other world, so they placed food in their tombs. The dead were also believed to need their personal belongings for the other world. According to their beliefs, the dead could maintain their

⁴² Abdul Hossein Zarrinkoub, *History of the Iranian People before Islam*, 1985, p. 192.

⁴³ Ebrahim Pourdavood, *Yashtha*, 1998, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Ali Abdoli, *History of Caduses*, 1999, p. 239.

professional and social status after death. Servants or slaves were killed to continue serving their lords in the other world, and people with different occupations such as farmers in the other world would become farmers. In the meantime, the dead could face threats from demonic creatures, an example of which was the position of swords and weaponry in some tombs, some of which aimed towards demons. Some figures as symbols of idols or various gods or totems of tribes would be placed in tombs. In historical times, the conflict of the people of the northern region with the religious beliefs of the Zoroastrians caused the territory to be called the land of demons and liars; however, the people of this region either believed in their former gods or the original Aryan gods, the demons, especially Mitra, as sacrifices of the horses may have been related to these gods.

List of figures:

Fig. 1. Geographical location of Gilan province

Fig. 2. Cup embossed with winged cow motifs

Fig. 3. Marlik Gold Cup with life cycle pattern

Bibliography:

Abdoli, Ali, *History of Caduses*, Fekr-E-Rooz, Tehran, 1999.

Agami, Namio, Fukai, Shinji, Masuda, Seichi, *Deilaman: Archaeological Excavations in Kouti and Leslokan Castles in 1960*. Translated by Parastou Masjedi, Mostafa Khazaei Koohpar, and Kian Shahbazi, Samira Publication, Tehran, 2017.

Bar-Yosef, O., Vandermeersch, B., Arensburg, B., Belfer-Cohen, A., Goldberg, P., Laville H. and Meignen, L., *The Excavations in Kebara Cave, Mt. Carmel*, *Current Anthropology*, 33(5): 497-550, 1992.

Biglari, Fereydoun, Abdi, Hossein, *The Preliminary Study Report of Khal Vasht Rock Shelter in Amarloo Area of Guilan in Journal of Archeology and History*, no. 29-30, pp. 72-80, 2001.

Dark, Ken, *Theoretical Foundations of Archeology*, translated by Kamyar Abdi, University Press, Tehran, 2008.

Diakonoff, Igor M, *History of the Medes*, translated by Karim Keshavarz, Tehran, Scientific and Cultural Publications, 1968.

Eslah Arbani, Ebrahim, *Gilan Book*. Volume 1, Researchers Group, Tehran, 1995.

Fahimi, Hamid, *Iron Age Culture on the Southwestern Shores of the Caspian Sea*. Samira Press, Tehran, 2002.

Gershman, Roman, *Iran from the Beginning to Islam*, translated by Mohammad Moin, Scientific and Cultural Publications, Tehran, 1986.

HakEmi, Ali, *Archaeological Excavations of Rudbar, Guilan, 1968 to 1969, in collaboration with Shahin Ariamanesh*, Cultural Heritage and Tourism Research Institute, Tehran, 2017.

Kent, R.G., *Old Persian*, American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1953.

- Khalatbari, Mohammad Reza**, *Archaeological Excavations in Talesh Archeological Sites*, Cultural Heritage Organization, Tehran, 1999.
- Khalatbari, Mohammad Reza**, *Archaeological Excavations in the Ancient Sites of Talesh*, Cultural Heritage Organization of the Country, Tehran, 2004.
- Kuz'mina, E. Elena** *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians*, Series: Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series, Volume: 3, Brill, 2007.
- Mallory, J.P.** *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archeology and Myth*. Thames and Hudson, London, 1991.
- Negahban, Ezatollah**, *Preliminary Report of Marlik Excavations*, Tehran University Press, 1964.
- Negahban, Ezatollah**, *A Review of Fifty Years of Archeology in Iran*, Cultural Heritage Organization, Tehran, 1999.
- Nokandeh, Gabriel**, *Arg-e Dasht, the First Neolithic Discovered Region in Gilan Province* in Ohtsu, T., Nokandeh, J., Yamauchi, K. (eds.) *Preliminary Report of the Iran Japan Joint Archaeological Expedition to Gilan: Fourth Season*, Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, Tehran, Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo, pp. 50–56, 2005.
- Pirnia, Hassan**, *Ancient Iran*, Second Edition. Volume 1, Donyay-e-Ketab, Tehran, 1983.
- Pirnia, Hassan**, *Ancient Iran*, Second Edition. Volume 2, Donyay-e-Ketab, Tehran, 1984.
- Pourdavood, Ebrahim**, *Yashtha*, Volume 1, Asatir Publications, Tehran, 1998.
- Rezalou, Reza, Ayermlou, yahya**, *Horse Burial Ritual among Scythian Tribes: A Case Study of Khorramabad Meshginshahr Cemetery*, JHS 2014; 6 (3): 113-144.
- Sami, Ali**, *Achaemenid Civilization*, Volume 1, SAMT Publications, Tehran, 2010.
- Ucko, P**, *The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines*, in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1962, 92(1), 38-54.
- Voigt, M. M**, *Catal Hoyuk in Context: Ritual and Early Neolithic Sites in Central and Eastern Turkey*, In *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities: Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*, edited by Kuijt, Ian, Kluwer Academic, Plenum Publishers, 2000.
- Zarrinkoub, Abdul Hossein**, *History of the Iranian People before Islam*, first edition, the first volume, Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1985.

The Human Model in the Byzantine Art

Florina-Mădălina Cozmescu*

Abstract: *In art, the essential way of expressing human expressions is the representation of the human body. For the Byzantine art, the defining note is the abstract note, often using more symbolic approaches. Byzantine art has created the image of the spiritualized man by reinterpreting the anatomical elements. Composed of two essential elements, spirit and matter, the body is called to serve the spirit, destined for incorruptibility, immortality and transfiguration. As a temple of the Holy Spirit (I Corinthians 6: 19), the body considered sinful is entirely covered with ample clothing, a plastic way for Byzantine painters to convey the message only through the means of faces and gestures.*

Keywords: Byzantine, body, abstract, symbol, spiritualized.

Men of all times have been endowed with a creative desire, especially over the human appearance. Looking into history it is easy to understand how each century has shaped the image of man according to the aesthetic taste and plastic trends of the time¹. The reigns with distinct ideologies and policies left their mark on the historical periods of the Byzantine Empire, especially in terms of representation of the human body.

The representation of the human body in the Byzantine art went through a route marked by the presence of sacredness. From the first representations to the last epoch of the empire, in the plastic rendering of the body, the painter established a connection between the dogma of the church, explained by theologians, and the plastic principles. Marcel Sendrail noted that "the ascensional momentum of creation, in its wholeness, had no other purpose than to culminate in the human figure" the essence of man consisting in the bright face that he never covers². In the domain of art, the face was probably the hardest and most recurrent element that artists wanted to shape through the means they had at hand.

* PhD student, "George Enescu" National University of Arts from Iași, Faculty of Visual Arts and Design, România, e-mail: mcozmescu@gmail.com.

¹ Marcel Sendrail, *Înțelepciunea formelor*, trad. Alexandru Călinescu, Editura Meridiane, București, 1983, p. 17.

² Marcel Sendrail, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

The IVth-Vth centuries. Features of the human body in the early vision of the Byzantine canon

The fourth century marks the moment when Christian art turns into an imperial art³. It is a new era given by the freedom of Christian worship through the policy adopted by Constantine the Great, starting with the year 312. In Byzantine art, although it was formed against the background of Greek, Roman and Asian eastern arts, the plastic representation of the human body does not imitate natural patterns but expresses the illustration of abstract ideas. Byzantine art in the early centuries aimed at glorifying the Christian hero and strived to meet the spiritual needs of the communities. The decoration does not seem to have clear outlines, in such a manner that everything is spiritualized.

The main themes that contain representations of human characters have a historical, mythological, or glorifying character of sovereignty⁴. The onset of art takes place in the catacombs, the features of the faces in the parietal decoration being influenced by the images of the emperor or other personalities of the court⁵. The faces are made as schematically as possible, without details but very expressive, oriented towards the crowd, in a state of prayer⁶.

To exemplify the above-mentioned ideas, the architectural complex at Dura Europos (III century) sets the start when Christian places of worship begin to be built, representing the oldest churches. The fresco from Dura Europos (232-256) shows an important representation of Christ, in the scene of the Good Shepherd, motif taken from the Gospel of John and used in early Christian times, especially for the decoration of funerary monuments, as a symbol of the aspiration for redemption⁷. Here Christ is represented as a young man, without a beard, with his waist covered by a garment. The painter, through the symbol of the sheep placed on the shoulders, makes direct reference to the theme⁸.

The image of Christ receives new meanings in the mosaics which decorate the basilica of Santa Costanza (the IVth century). The first representation captures the moment when Christ, seated between the Apostles

³ Charles Delvoye, *Arta bizantină*, Vol. I, trad. Florica-Eugenia Condurachi, Editura Meridiane, București, 1976, p. 35.

⁴ I. D. Ștefănescu, *Iconografia artei bizantine și a picturii feudale românești*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1973, p. 20.

⁵ P. Constantinescu, *Istoria artei bizantine*, Editura Viața Românească, Iași, 1927, p. 15.

⁶ Vladimir Lossky, Leonid Uspensky, *Călăuziri în lumea icoanei*, Editura Sophia, București, 2006, pp. 33-34.

⁷ Elke Linda Buchholz, Gerhard Buhler, *Arta. Istoria vizuala a artelor plastice*, trad. Alexandru Macovei, Editura Litera, București, 2012, p. 78.

⁸ Michael Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*, Yale University Press, 2016, p. 100.

Peter and Paul, passes the law⁹; having His right hand raised and a scroll in His left hand, no beard, with light-colored hair, He seems to express the image of a young man. The scene illustrates the transmission of the Evangelical message to the Apostles.

The second mosaic pictures Christ as the ruler of the world, with large eyes and Jewish features, seated on the Globe, in a rabbi purple robe (colour which expresses His imperial traits) giving the Holy Apostle Peter the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven¹⁰. We must highlight here the different manner in which the image of Christ is depicted; the beard gives Him a note of sobriety and illustrates His authority as a monarch.

The representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd thus evolves in a mosaic from the year 450 in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Christ is depicted as the Good Shepherd, who allows His sheeps to graze in peace. He is dressed in a purple mantle, holds a cross in His hand, elements which grant an imperial atmosphere to the scene¹¹.

The VIth century. Artistic representation of the human body in the era of Emperor Justinian

The middle of the VIth century, marked by the reign of Emperors Justinian and Theodora, is the era in which the specific features and characteristics of the Byzantine decor is outlined and established, remaining constant for a long time¹². The painted characters are rendered in a simplified, abstracted and spiritualized manner; the monumental dimensions create a special sense of solemnity and the narrative story is emphasized¹³.

In the same period, the typology of certain characters begins to be shaped and defined. Jesus has two types of representations, He is either rendered in the hypostasis of a young man, like the Greek hero influenced by Greek art or an adult with a black beard, image adopted by the Byzantine monumental art due to its solemnity. The Mother of God has also several types of representations: *theotokos* with an elongated face, an imposing and serious attitude, *hodighydia* is the rendering of the Mother of God standing, holding the Baby with one arm while stretching the other out for prayer; *blachernitissa* is a bust, having in the region of the chest the image of the Christ with praying hands, framed into a medallion shape, *kyriotissa* is the hypostasis of the Mother of God standing, holding baby Jesus close to Her chest. There are also representations of Her on the throne, blessing, standing without a baby, breastfeeding, all depicting the same facial features. The

⁹ <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/santa-costanza> accesat 10.01.2022.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

¹² Mihail V. Alpatov, *Istoria artei, Vol. I Arta lumii vechi și a evului mediu*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1962, pp. 221-222.

¹³ I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

prophets appear as old men with long hair and beards, archangels as winged gods of victory from antiquity, evangelists with their specific traits, some of the apostles, such as St. Peter, Paul, Andrew and St. John the Baptist with bony faces and unkempt black hair¹⁴. A clear-cut distinction is made between the characters, both through the precise way of representation, and the other artistic elements which enrich their artistic expression.

In the Sant'Apollinare Nuovo basilica, Ravenna, one can notice the mosaic which shows the scene of Multiplication of the Loaves and Fish, dating from the year 520. The plastic artist uses deep and saturated colors which induce the feeling of a miracle. The scene does not follow realistic principles; Christ is placed in the central part of the mosaic¹⁵, being illustrated in a look familiar to the first era of Christians: young man with long hair, dressed in a purple robe, his arms blessing the apostles who hand Him the loaves of bread and fish. The gaze of Christ is fixed towards the spectator. It seems like a rigid picture in which the characters are seen from the front, the folds of the vestments reveal only the main joints¹⁶. The composition is one made up of basic elements, the chromatic nuances are no longer aimed at restoring the depth or perfection of the body. The human representations here are rendered with accents and shadows¹⁷.

The year 540 is distinguished by the mosaics of San Vitale. The representation of Queen Theodora and the Emperor Justinian and their retinue belongs to one of the most remarkable mosaics in the basilica of San Vitale. The keystone represents symbolic elements such as the mystic lamb and the cross, representations that are later replaced by images of the Savior¹⁸.

The mosaics which depict Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora in the church of San Vitale in Ravenna are unique in the Byzantine art, being century-old representations. In the first mosaic, one sees emperor Justinian along with his retinue, rendered in a timeless space. In the second mosaic is represented Empress Theodora, in a mundane setting. The portraits of the two sovereigns, along with the other characters accompanying them, have a special note of originality and expressiveness. The characters' faces are individualized, expressive and diverse. The representation of Emperor Justinian shows an idealized image with shades of gravity and severity through the fixed, dark and, at the same time, authoritative gaze. We can say about the artist that he/she was a good connoisseur of portraiture because he/she manages to go from an ascetic monk with a fanatical look, to the full-

¹⁴ P. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁵ Ernest Hans Gombrich, *Istoria artei*, trad. Nicoale Constantinescu, Editura Art, București, p. 137.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

¹⁷ <https://www.scriub.com/arta-cultura/ARTA-BIZANTINA94547.php> accesat 10.01.2022.

¹⁸ Elke Linda Buchholz, Gerhard Buhler, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

bodied face of a courtier, up to the solemn figures of the soldiers who complete the scene. The bodies of the characters give dynamism to the picture through the lateral position of the bodies, or the gesture of turning to one side. We have four central characters: Justinian, Theodora, General Belisarius and Archbishop Maximianus. The facial features are suave, thin, with lines that express depth, but also austerity¹⁹. The portraits are animated, they evoke and convey the solemnity of the imperial court and remind of the portraits on top of the Egyptian sarcophagi. The attitudes and gestures of the characters are free, natural, elegant but also punctilious²⁰.

The scene seems to transpose us into a world of spirituality and transcendence through the plastic way in which the characters are depicted. They are represented frontally and seem to be floating, not being anchored in any way in the materialism of the earthly world. The artist organizes the characters by width: Justinian and Maximian are placed at the head of a cortege²¹. We can easily see that the folds of the vestments are only a decorative element, as the bodies are transfigured. Here the faces are rendered with a slight inclination, the large eyes are accompanied by a straight and focused gaze.

The mosaic decoration of the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki dates back to the VI-VII centuries. It is made up of numerous portraits of donors. The most famous is St. Demetrius bareheaded, with an aureole, flanked by the archbishop of Thessaloniki and the governor of the city. Saint Demetrius is rendered standing, frontally oriented, and his large eyes, his gaze and the defined oval of the face also remind in this case of the Egyptian portraits. The faces of the archbishop and governor have realistic traits. The chromatics is blurred, the lack of brightness and reflexes highlights, bring into focus the expressiveness of the physiognomy of the three characters²².

Although, initially, the cult of icons was banned in the first centuries of Christianity, in the VIth century the icon became an important object of liturgical worship. The characters painted in the icons of this period are positioned centrally, the face is elongated, with static, hieratic attitudes and an ascetic expression. The representation of the Virgin with the Child on the throne, along with saints Theodore, George and two angels (VI-VII centuries) from the Monastery of St. Catherine (Mount Sinai) is an exceptional work, created most likely in Constantinople, in the encaustic technique on wood, which has a delicate, ornamental style. The vestments, the throne and the naturalness of the angelic faces are astonishing. The large eyes, the frontal

¹⁹ <https://www.scribub.com/arta-cultura/ARTA-BIZANTINA94547.php> accesat 10.01.2022.

²⁰ I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23.

²¹ Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

²² I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

posture of the characters become characteristic of all subsequent icons²³. This frontal posture of the characters is symbolic, it suggests grandeur, holiness and sacredness, but also solemnity. All this thanks to the large, wide eyes that plastic artists apply to all painted characters.

We can see that the mosaic, the technique preferred by the artists and beneficiaries of this period, have nothing realistic in it; it suggests the mystery of faith and timelessness through gold funds. As for human bodies, the mosaic technique emphasizes them by its closed outline. A line that seems to cut the character from the rest of the composition and place him in the spotlight of the viewer.

The VIIIth-IXth centuries. Repercussions of iconoclasm on the plastic rendering of the human body

The period of the VIII-IX centuries (more precisely the years 726-843) represents a turning point for Byzantine art, manifesting now the iconoclastic crisis, an era characterized by the prohibition of paintings with holy persons. Broadly speaking, iconoclasm represents the struggle against the cult of icons, and it favored the flourishing of decorative art²⁴.

The takeover of the rule of the empire by the Isaurian dynasty favours the beginning of the iconoclastic era. It is the moment when painters can no longer use anthropomorphic images in Christian art, which were substituted with symbols such as the Tree of Life, the Gospel or the Cross²⁵.

Although the iconoclastic crisis led to the loss of numerous Byzantine iconographic monuments, one of the oldest fresco paintings (the VIIIth century) in Byzantine style - Castelseprio, Lombardy - was preserved. The painting illustrates moments in the life of Christ, the scenes are rendered through an artistic style that makes us think about Roman painting through their natural aspect²⁶. The bodies are characterized by elegant physiognomy, natural gestures and diaphanous movements.

The IX-XIIth centuries. The human body and the new artistic-plastic approaches in the art of Macedonian and Komnean dynasties

The dynasty of Macedonians favours a new context, in which secular and religious painters work at the palace²⁷. In painting bodies, the authors use realistic procedures to render the expression faithfully, portraying contemporary characters and scenes from everyday life. The characters are

²³ Elke Linda Buchholz, Gerhard Buhler, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

²⁴ I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

²⁵ P. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*, pp. 95-96.

²⁶ <https://www.scribub.com/arta-cultura/ARTA-BIZANTINA94547.php> accesat 10.01.2022.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

rendered with the attitudes and features of the courtiers. The new faces can represent people like Armenians, Arabs, Slavs, Italians, and Mongols. In paintings based on a religious theme, their authors use hieratism again, and figures are divided into three types: angelic, biblical and apostolic. The bodies are drawn firmly and simply, and the chromatics is rich and varied²⁸; the figures become darker and severe, more spiritualized and ascetic, the forms of the bodies are simplified, made schematically. One notes a tendency towards the immaterial aspect. The characters have lost gestures that give the compositions a touch of clarity. The principle of size emerges during this period and, as a result, the size of the character is directly proportional to its theological importance. Jesus and the Mother of God have the largest dimensions, followed by the apostles and the rest of the saints. Other characteristics that are established are related to the particular features of some characters: John the Baptist appears with a bushy beard and unkempt hair, Solomon with a white beard, the saints are displayed according to their age. Even the monks are rendered so close to reality that the painting resembles a photograph. Painters aim to render faces in a more ingenious, balanced manner, closer to natural, without superfluous details. Art becomes more varied, more elegant and more attentive to chromatics, compared to the monumentality of Justinian's era²⁹.

We will dwell on a few examples that illustrate the compositional-artistic characteristics of the body during this period. The church of the Nea-Moni Monastery, from the island of Chios, is distinguished by the mosaic portraits (the XIth century) from the scenes depicting Christ on the Cross and the Descent to Hell. The bodies of the saints are rendered vividly, with large lines and pronounced contours. The chromatics used is strong and rich: the deep blue, the semi-precious stone red, the old enamel green. The portrait of Eve is distinguished by the artist's use of large, vivid and rough lines. The eyes are bold and simple, and the gaze eloquent³⁰.

The mosaic paintings from Dafni (Athens) date back to the same period. The portrait of the angry Christ stands out here. The anatomical knowledge of plastic artists can be observed from the way in which they contour the forehead, eyes, nose, cheeks and chin. The hands exude energy through long, flexible fingers. The tresses are highlighted by golden accents. Draperies highlight the lines of the bust³¹.

At Saint Sophia (Constantinople, the IXth-XIIth centuries), from the perspective of our chosen theme, we notice the mosaic which depicts the Mother of God in the conch of the apse (mosaic that replaced the cross, a common approach after the iconoclastic period). In this composition, the

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 128.

³⁰ I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

Mother of God is represented in a realistic manner, with the Baby on Her knees, flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. The latter, with an elongated face, firm expression and large eyes, suggests triumphal beauty and intelligence³².

The composition that best expresses the features of the characters in the mentioned type of art is the one illustrating the Emperors Constantine and Justinian, offering the Mother of God the new capital and the church of Saint Sophia. Made later than the other mosaic scenes, around 1019, the mosaic is distinguished by the chromatic faces of the Mother of God and the Baby, in which predominate shades of green, red, rose, brown and white. The drawing is rigorous, severe, the lines highlight the cheeks, stiff attitudes, flat bodies, general hieratic frame³³.

The end of the IXth century enriches the treasure of the Byzantine art through the decor of the pediment above the main entrance door. The composition illustrates a moment of prayer from the service of a church consecration. The emperor is rendered kneeling, whereas the body, hands and face are outlined with the use of shadows and light areas. The hair is emphasized, the hands are rendered according to a pattern. The face seems calligraphed, the contour lines, the accents of light form processes and systems that streak the cheeks, forehead and chin³⁴. The bodies of the characters in the plastic compositions of this period are characterized by sobriety and expressiveness, by the intensity of the gaze. The ascetic faces betray a moral severity.

The XIII-XVth centuries. Byzantine bodies from the frescoes of the Palaeologan Renaissance

Analyzing the era of Palaeologists we must consider a last moment of glory of mosaics, but also the peak of painting in fresco. A series of mosaics were made illustrating scenes from the life of Jesus and the Mother of God, along with faces and portraits of saints at the Chora church (Kharie-Djami). The figures of the characters are graceful and express fragility³⁵.

The characteristics of the artistic style of the Palaeologan era are outlined and materialized at the end of the XIIIth century and the beginning of the XIVth century, in Constantinople. All this process focuses on the humanism of the early Palaeologists' era, represented by the entourage of Theodoros Metochites, the founder of the mosaics at KahrieDjami. The Byzantine artists in the early years of the XIVth century embrace the ideals of neo-Hellenism. They are inspired by the old sources, from the manuscripts

³² Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-51.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

³⁴ I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

³⁵ P. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 181.

containing miniature images of the type rotulus, from the Vatican of Jesus Navin. Miniatures help in building spatial compositions and placing freely in space the human figure, rendered in the most complicated and surprising attitudes³⁶.

As for the rendering of bodies, the Paleologic painting focuses on the gestures and attitudes of the characters, as tools for expressing emotions. The characters have expressive glances and diverse physiognomy, sometimes conveying melancholy and fondness. The painters of palaeontologists' time were not concerned with naturalism, anatomical accuracy or problems of linear perspective. It is an artistic period in which scenes are rich in characters and accessories, thus diversifying the themes. The folds of the vestments are rendered by clear lines which define the figures, respecting the volume of the forms³⁷. In easel painting, vestments flutter on the bodies of the characters, and the expressiveness of the figures is emphasized. In the miniature approach is revealed a taste for portraiture. Ancient Greek writings are also sources of inspiration for the Byzantine art. In the representations of the Palaeologan period, the human figure is rendered in motion, full of dynamism; the faces are delicate, the chromatics is vivid. The most characteristic mosaics and frescoes of the early Palaeologus style are those of KahrieDjami (1315-1320), of FetiehDjami and VethaKilisseMedjidi (1310-1320), as well as the mosaics of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (1315)³⁸.

The characters are now rendered from one side, with expressive and vivid gestures, much closer to the human nature. With natural attitudes and gestures, the bodies receive volume under the draperies of the garments rendered with a reliable understanding of the plastic effects. The physiognomy is finer, the hard and severe lines of the faces disappear³⁹.

Starting in the middle of the XIVth century, Paleologic painting enters a new phase of development. The influence of hesychast ideas on art is becoming more and more emphasized, resulting in a series of substantial changes in style. Compositions acquire rigour and reserved attitude. The movement gives way to solemn tranquility. Once again, the preferred compositional process is given by the frontal position of the scene. The faces lose the softness of yesteryear, and the asceticism of expression is highlighted. The loose, pictorial treatment is replaced by a linear one; the body is no longer shaped with the help of vivid spots of color and boldly drawn white lines, but by thin The characters in the paintings of Sopotani (1263 - 1265) are depicted statuary, the expressiveness of their faces remind

³⁶ V. N. Lazarev, *Teofan grecul și școala sa*, trad. Vasile Florea, Editura Meridiane, București, 1974, p. 51.

³⁷ Charles Delvoye, *Arta bizantină*, Vol. II, trad. Florica-Eugenia Condurachi, Editura Meridiane, București, 1976, p. 219.

³⁸ V. N. Lazarev, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

³⁹ Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 256.

of the ancient busts of philosophers. Also, the construction of the hands proves anatomical knowledge. Some faces look similar to those found on the ancient funerary stars. Going further, in the XIVth century, at Gracanica, one notice the scene of the Assumption, in which the apostles are rendered with suggestive and personal faces, and Christ holds in his arms the soul of Mary⁴⁰.

In the age of Palaeologists, the art of icons is blooming, due to the high quality of the works and, at the same time, the considerable increase in their number. Scenes of the New Testament and hagiographic stories are added to traditional figures: Christ, the Virgin and the saints⁴¹. Maria Peribleptos is a typical example of a Byzantine icon from the time of Palaeologists. We find it at the origin of the works in Wallachia and Moldavia in the XVth century or the beginning of the next one. Mary's face is depicted according to the canon law: pronounced cheeks, distant eyes, sharp chin and visible neck folds. One can no longer feel the realistic notes, as the right hand, stretched out on the chest, with long and fine fingers, is a model of observation and style⁴².

Studying the Byzantine culture of the XIVth century, it is necessary to set a clearcut limit between the first stage of its development (involving the first third of the century) and the later stages. The flowering of neoelenism coincides with the first three decades of the XIVth century. At this stage of development, the Byzantines receive antiquity very superficially, as they continue to fiercely defend the faith of their parents and ancestors. It is the period in which the hesychast current emerges, developed as a rigorous way of living during the fourteenth and seventh decades of the XIVth century, the years in which Theophanes the Greek was formed as an artist⁴³. Hesychasm expresses aversion to the world and the human side, approach also transferred to art⁴⁴. Almost all Byzantine art in the second half of the XIVth century changed its style due to the triumph of the monastic ideals. Theophanes the Greek was formed during the period when Byzantine art gave up the free traditions of painting, specific to the early Palaeologus style, instead of the cold and rigid academic style⁴⁵.

From Theophanes the Greek remained numerous artistic works, but in the current paper we will only focus on the frescoes in the cathedral of Spas Preobrajanie (Transfiguration), Novgorod. Executed in 1378, the frescoes of the cathedral illustrate slender, noble characters that are linked to the style of KariyDjami. In Novgorod one can see the violent and passionate

⁴⁰ P. Constantinescu, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

⁴¹ Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 255.

⁴² I. D. Ștefănescu, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

⁴³ V. N. Lazarev, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

temperament of the artist⁴⁶. Human figures are highlighted by the way in which the artist renders the contour lines, by the negligence of the details. Even the chromatics used by Theophanes the Greek directs our attention to the beauty of the faces: the carnation is made more of shades, the strokes of light define and outline the tresses, beards and other features of the faces. Charles Devoye mentions in his references that the figures of Theophanes have sometimes been compared to photographic negatives, as they express a powerful show of colour⁴⁷.

Painters from the Paleologan Byzantine period are rather dedicated to reproducing a transfigured image of man, not faithful to reality, rather than stylized symbols and representations of the elements.

The artistic representation of the human body evolves into Byzantine art. The image of Christ, starting from a gentle and merciful figure, in the art of the first centuries, is rendered as a fighter in the era of heresies and the triumph of the church. After the Council of Nicaea, Christ appears as a sovereign of the Universe (Pantocrator) reminiscent of his representative on the Earth, basileus. The Holy Spirit is represented either as a luminous beam descending from heaven in the form of tongues of fire or as a dove. In the representations of angels and archangels one can notice elements such as swords, brocade tunics, chain links or different uniforms. The image of the Mother of God is often found on the throne as empress, guide of the hikers (Hodightria), with Christ the Baby on the knees or breastfeeding Him.

The influence of the Byzantine art also reached the territory of our country due to the exchanges between merchants, but the church was the main means which facilitated the use of the Byzantine principles in the arts of the Romanian Principalities. In religious paintings one can clearly notice the Byzantine influence. The painters came from the East, and the disciples they formed used the same artistic style.

⁴⁶ Charles Delvoye, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 241.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 242.

Bibliography:

Alpatov, Mihail V., *Istoria artei, Vol. I Arta lumii vechi și a evului mediu*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1962.

Buchholz, Elke Linda, Buhler, Gerhard, *Arta. Istoria vizuala a artelor plastice*, trad. Alexandru Macovei, Editura Litera, București, 2012.

Constantinescu-Iași, Petre, *Istoria artei bizantine*, Editura Viața Românească, Iași, 1927.

Delvoye, Charles, *Arta bizantină*, Vol. I, trad. Florica-Eugenia Condurachi, Editura Meridiane, București, 1976.

Delvoye, Charles, *Arta bizantină*, Vol. II, trad. Florica-Eugenia Condurachi, Editura Meridiane, București, 1976.

Gombrich, Ernest Hans, *Istoria artei*, trad. Nicoale Constantinescu, Editura Art.

Kordis, Georgios, *Ritmul în pictura bizantină*, Editura Bizantină, București, 2008.

Lazarev, Viktor Nikitich, *Teofan grecul și școala sa*, trad. Vasile Florea, Editura Meridiane, București, 1974.

Lossky, Vladimir, Uspensky, Leonid, *Călăuziri în lumea icoanei*, Editura Sophia, București, 2006.

Peppard, Michael, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art, and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*, Yale University Press, 2016.

Sendrail, Marcel, *Înțelepciunea formelor*, trad. Alexandru Călinescu, Editura Meridiane, București, 1983.

Snyder, Graydon F., *Ante pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine*, Mercer University Press, 2003.

Ștefănescu, I.D., *Iconografia artei bizantine și a picturii feudale românești*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1973.

Musical and Dramatic Training of Minstrels, Spielmen, and Jugglers in the Classical Middle Ages

Maksym Hennadiiovych Saibekov *

Iryna Vasyliivna Tsebrii **

Abstract: *The purpose of the article is to analyze the genesis of music-dramatic education using the example of the training of minstrels, spielmen, and jugglers during the classical Middle Ages. The article discusses the musical and theatrical training of minstrels, spielmen, and jugglers in the classical Middle Ages, who were to become actors and musicians. Medieval theaters were represented by jugglers settled in cities, who gradually became guild masters, spielmen of Germany, and jugglers of the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Relying primarily on foreign scientific literature, the authors of the article argue that the education of children in medieval theaters and their preparation for public performances laid the foundation for the professional education system for actors in the 19th century in Western Europe.*

Keywords: musical and dramatic training, medieval theater, the Middle Ages, principles of education and training, jugglers, showman, minstrel, troubadour, mentor, stage director.

The musical and dramatic training of minstrels, spielmen, and jugglers during the classical Middle Ages served as a foundation for the future professional training of actors in Western Europe. It is traditionally believed that professional music and theater education dates back to the turn of the 18th century to the 19th century. However, in practice, this was not the case. There was a long genesis of theatrical art and the training of the next generation, from the medieval city theater stages to the truly artistic professional education of the 19th century. The main change during the period under study was the settlement of traveling theaters in the large cities of Western Europe and the emergence of guilds of actors and musicians. To

* Acting Head of the Department of Audiovisual Techniques, Doctor of Philosophy 011, Senior Lecturer, Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk, Poltava, Ukraine
E-mail: maksimsaybekow@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5454-7181>

** Professor of the Department of Musical Art and Choreography, Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Taras Shevchenko National University of Luhansk, Poltava, Ukraine
E-mail: irynaz1958@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0844-4004>

understand the educational guidelines of modern European theater education, it is necessary to return to its origins.

In the domestic scientific literature, the musical and dramatic training of minstrels, spielmen, and jugglers during the classical Middle Ages has not been sufficiently studied. The process of jugglers settling in medieval cities and their connection with guild production is analyzed in the work of the Czech scientist Piotr Vandych, "The History of Central-Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present" (2004). City theaters as a medieval phenomenon are presented in the collective manual by domestic scholars "Western European Middle Ages: History of Culture" (Gavryushenko, Sheyko, Tyshevskaya, 2004). Similar processes in the Ukrainian lands were the subject of a study by I. Krypyakevich (1994). The genesis of theater and theater education is covered in depth in the works of foreign scientists such as Peta Zhulvil (1997) and Robles Caredo (1975). The works of Iryna Tsebrii also address this problem: "History of Music of Traditional Society from the Neolithic to the Middle of the 18th Century" (2016), "Ethical and Pedagogical Ideas in the Formation of Professional Primary and Higher Education during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance" (2003), and "Imagination of the Harmony of Human Life and Cosmological Dimensions in the Work of Antonio Ferrabosco" (2019). However, there were no comprehensive works on similar issues.

At the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, there was social stratification among jugglers: some of them became minstrels in knightly and manorial castles, while others became urban actors and musicians who settled in guilds.

Let's consider the social functions and pedagogical and theatrical work of minstrels. The most professional of them (jugglers), whose art was known throughout the country, were invited by the feudal magnates to work for them. The itinerant actor and singer who settled in the palace of the feudal lord automatically received the title of minstrel. This meant he got a permanent roof over his head and a steady salary. But this constancy was also relative. His seigneur could easily expel the minstrel if he did not like something about his behavior or work. Usually, a minstrel was hired by a gentleman who himself was engaged in artistic creation – that is, a troubadour.

Upon arriving at the troubadour's palace, the minstrel worked exclusively on his orders. From then on, all the minstrel's creativity was subordinated to the tastes of his master. Personal creative freedom came to an end. The troubadour determined the genre, form, and content direction of the future work for the minstrel. Sometimes the troubadour required the minstrel to remake a piece several times if even the smallest detail did not suit him. Sometimes the seigneur passed off the minstrel's works as his own, and the latter had to remain silent and patient.

The duties of the minstrel included teaching the seigneur's children. These lessons were individual in nature. They had nothing to do with the advice given by the bards to the children of the palace owners, where they were allowed to live for a certain time. Whether the apprentice had musical and poetic abilities or not, the minstrel was still obliged to teach him his art. The student could also be arrogant and denounce his teacher to his father, who was possibly the owner of the estate and patron of the minstrel.

Therefore, there could be no question of any authoritarian pedagogy in this case. The minstrel was obliged to plan his individual training system for each student so that the student would be interested in it and his father would be satisfied with the final (and sometimes intermediate) result. And it was not easy. To interest a student who had neither desire nor ability, one had to be a truly talented teacher. Such minstrels existed. The great French troubadour Guillaume de Machaut (14th century) remembered his teacher with great warmth. He noted not only the great love of his minstrel, the Italian Antonio, for children, but also his patience. When Guillaume and his brothers sometimes arranged an "ambush" or "little unpleasant surprises" for him, Antonio always managed to handle the situation with dignity and jokes, earning even more respect and trust from the children than before. No one could comfort them when Antonio died.

Guillaume de Machaut showed outstanding artistic abilities from a young age. From the age of seven, he played the lute and organ fluently, and from the age of nine, he composed sonnets and ballads. It was easy to teach him due to his natural abilities, but his discipline suffered because he was influenced by his older brother Francois. In his work "Pastoral Times," Guillaume de Machaut mentioned that the minstrel Antonio was always kindly dissatisfied with his works. He encouraged the work of the future troubadour:

If someone else wrote such a sonnet, I would be proud of his success, but you are capable of more. People seeing a target and hitting it with an arrow is great. But real talent hits an arrow at a target that is beyond the reach of the ordinary eye. You should aim at that.¹

However, as Guillaume de Machaut recalled, he brought his first polyphonic motet to his teacher, Antonio, who studied it very carefully, then crossed himself and wept. "I always knew you were a very talented boy," he told Guillaume, "but I never thought it was this much. I have nothing more to teach you; on the contrary, I need to learn from you." It was the highest and most valuable praise that, according to his conviction, Guillaume de Machaut had heard in his life. Guillaume had no higher authority than his first teacher.

¹ P'otr Vandych, *Istoriya Tsentral'no-Skhidnoyi Yevropy: vid Seredn'ovichchya do s'ohodennya* [History of Central-Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages to the present]. K.: Krytyka, 2004.

Guillaume's brother, François, had mediocre musical abilities and did not want to study the arts at all, as he was a natural born soldier. But the minstrel found an approach to his soul. He always told him:

Look at your younger brother. He's as skilled with a weapon as you are.

But more attention will be paid to him because he is also a poet and a musician. He will always be invited to the brightest society because educated people are loved there. And you are his older brother! You should be an example for him in everything! Prove it to him and not only to him but also to your father!²

This educational system almost always worked. François also achieved some success. But, unfortunately, he died very young, not having had time to establish himself in the "brightest" society.

Guillaume de Machaut, whose name entered the history of world art as the founder of the early Renaissance direction "Ars nova," in his work "Pastoral Times," from time to time returns to his teacher and solemnly states: "My achievements in art are his achievements. Everything I know and do is thanks to Antonio. He wanted to see me like that, that's why I became like that."³ Thus, the methods of individual training of minstrels varied. During the late Middle Ages, minstrels either turned into court musicians and poets or teachers.

One of these court musicians and teachers was V. A. Mozart's father, Leopold. Teachers at the courts of princes and dukes occupied the following place: they sat at the table before the servants but after the cooks. The fate of minstrels was not much better at the time.

Since the 11th century, the art of itinerant actors, or spielmen, flourished in Germany. The spielmen's theater was very similar to the German version of the jugglers' theater. But it was not a theater-circus; it was a musical-dramatic theater. The plays of spielmen were more reminiscent of early small mysteries than the multifaceted spectacles of jugglers. There is also a difference in the direction of the art itself. While the jugglers sharply criticized the feudal lords, were persecuted by the Catholic Church, and often ended their lives in prison (because in any society you can be free personally, but you cannot be free from the laws of the state through which you travel), German spielmen often performed at the courts of feudal lords and sometimes on the parvise. Spielmen also gave performances at fairs in villages and on city holidays.

² Alina Havryushenko, Vasyl' Sheyko, Lyubov Tyshevs'ka. *Zakhidnoyevropeys'ke Seredn'ovichchya* [Western European Middle Ages]. Istoriya kul'tury: posibnyk K.: Kondor, 2004.

³ Ivan Kryp'yakevych, Osvita y nauka. *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi kul'tury* [Education and science. History of Ukrainian Culture]. K.: Lybid', 1994.

The art of spielmen was characterized more by lyrical and courtly tones than by sarcasm. But they were very popular among the masses. Their plots were taken from life and were close to the audience. Theatrical personnel in the theater was hereditary. Parents took care of their children's education but also took talented young people to the theater, who joined them on the road and were ready for a nomadic lifestyle.

In theaters, children were taught four subjects: singing, dancing, playing musical instruments (most often the lyre), and poetry. If the child was unable to study, he still remained in the theater and helped with the technical staging of the plays. Classes were held both during stops and on the road itself. According to the sources, the spielmen, for the most part, were literate, even had transcribed literature with them, and their children learned to write with wax and chalk on blackboards.

An actor or actress who, during the journey, was engaged in teaching and raising children, rode on the same wagon with a group of young actors of about the same age. During the journey, most of them sang and composed poems, and during the stops they learned to write, play musical instruments, and wrote on blackboards. The covering of the carts of the spielmen was double – the outer layer was made of leather, and the inner layer was made of strong silk. Thus, an air space was formed between the first and second covering, making the wagons much warmer in winter than city houses, which were often unheated. Infant mortality in traveling theaters was much lower than in France and England.

As mentioned above, children necessarily studied four subjects. This was because being an actor in a German traveling musical-dramatic mini-theater meant being able to sing, act, compose poems, and dance. The training process was a group one – a single child was taught individually only in cases where they either showed great promise or were completely talentless, and there was no one to replace them in the performance.

The spielmen themselves made musical instruments not only for their own use but also for sale. Every child in their theater was provided with such instruments, as evidenced by medieval sources. So after classes, when there was a need or desire to teach a lesson on their own, there were no problems with this. The spielmen used clumsy (non-linear) notation and knew how to record musical works. Apparently, children were also taught musical literacy at the same time as selecting melodies by ear. On the boards, they learned to write not only words but also neumes (notes).

The production and sale of musical instruments provided an opportunity for artists to have additional income. This greatly eased the life of spielmen. Children also helped adults to make instruments, thus obtaining a supporting occupation. Later, this led to the emergence of professional instrument makers, who were united in separate workshops. Students learned to record their own poems, but these records were fragmentary. One text was

erased, another appeared, so that most of the texts were still kept in memory. Memory developed from generation to generation, so an excellent innate memory became a hereditary phenomenon. Of course, as with any rule, there were exceptions.

During the journey, the children were offered rhymes, and each of them could use them in their first attempts at poetry. Poetry classes took place in a creative atmosphere of competition, where everyone defended his version of the poem at the proposed end of the lines. The winner was always celebrated. The atmosphere of the competition always raised the creative spirit. Leopold of Regensburg, a famous German *spielmen*, wrote in the “Testament” for his children:

I want you to teach your children the way I taught you. Not the boring sciences that are taught to schoolchildren in the parishes, but the cheerful piety that is born in the competition, from which the children’s eyes sparkle with joy and the heart freezes in the chest from the success they are counting on.⁴

A child started dancing in the theater as soon as he could walk. There were so many musical instruments in the theater and everyone was playing, so they simply could not avoid dancing. *Spielmen* very often took part in folk festivals, where after the performance they joined the town or village society, which began with a feast and ended with cheerful rhythmic folk dances and round dances. It was great practice for beginning actors. They absorbed truly folk origins. In the same “Testament” of Leopold of Regensburg, it is discussed as follows:

Do not forget that rehearsals should take place not only when all the actors have gathered and are ready to work, but when you are in the crowd of the people, happy that they are drunk and hide nothing from your eyes. Watch and learn from them – how they dance, crouch, circle, stomp their feet. Watch them more closely. Because they are our strength.

When we are away from villages for a long time, our dances and songs lose their nature. They become similar to the dances of dukes and barons. Watch more carefully how these rich people dance. It seems that now their eyes will close by themselves, they will fall asleep or die in their dance. Don’t try to be like them. This is not our strength. Here we lose it.⁵

Spielmen often visited the estates of feudal lords. Sometimes some of them were invited there, sometimes the whole theater. In the second case, the

⁴ Iryna Tsebriy, *Istoriya muzyky tradytsiynoho suspil'stva vid neolitu do seredyny XVIII stolittya (narysy)*: Knyha 1. [History of ancient and medieval music]. Poltava, 2016.

⁵ Iryna Tsebriy, *Etyko-pedahohichni ideyi u stanovlenni profesynoyi pochatkovoyi ta vyshchoyi osvity chasiv Seredn'ovichchya i epokhy Vidrodzhennya* [Ethical and pedagogical ideas in the formation of professional primary and higher education during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance]. K., 2003.

spielmen had to entertain the gentlemen all night until dawn. Then they remembered all the performances that were given recently and earlier. Sometimes they were paid generously for such work; sometimes they were simply fed. The performances of children who sang to their own accompaniment or staged small funny skits were especially popular in the castles. Some of them were offered to stay in the castle.

On major holidays in the villages, spielmen could also perform on the porch. Here, they usually gave performances of religious content or close to religious content.

Provincial churches did not object to such actions because almost all parishioners gathered in the church at that time. For actors, it was an additional income. At the end of the 13th century, there was also a stratification among the spielmen. Among them, minstrels stood out, and most became meistersinger. Thus, we can conclude that the German mini-theater was the most efficiently organized. The material support of the theater was much better than in France, England, and Spain. This is explained by a number of reasons:

- 1) From the very beginning, the theater was musical and dramatic, with origins in German folk culture;
- 2) The theater had auxiliary earnings from the sale of musical instruments;
- 3) The theater did not conflict with secular and spiritual authorities and therefore was not persecuted;
- 4) In comparison with other mini-theaters, spielmen provided children with a more profound and well-thought-out education that met the demands of the time;
- 5) On the basis of mutual relations within the theater, the laws of actor coexistence were born, which would later form the basis of the meistersinger' guild statutes.

In contrast to the folk mini-theater, an aristocratic mini-theater emerged in France and Germany. Its members were not a traveling troupe but were quite often knights-errant. We include French troubadours and German minnesingers as part of such an aristocratic theater.

A group of German poets of the 12th and early 13th centuries brought courtly poetry of French origin to their country. Dietmar von Aist (second half of the twelfth century), Wolfram von Eschenbach (around 1170-1220), and Walter von der Vogelweide (around 1170-1230), better known as an epic poet, were central to their circle. Their works sang of great love (in Old German Minne – love), which they understood in the sense of respect and loyalty to the lady of their memories. The ideals of chivalry and courtly love were thus codified in the form of a true ceremonial.

But the minnesingers had a great command of other poetic genres, such as the folk-poetic song and poems about the Crusades, which differed from the French troubadours.

Researchers distinguish between “spring” (second half of the 12th century), “summer” (beginning of the 13th century), and “autumn” of the minnesingers, when realistic tendencies are increasingly evident in their work. Autumn minnesingers are characterized by didactic and satirical trends (gnomic trends). One of the main representatives of the “peasant” (rural) direction in Minnesang is Neidhart von Reuenthal (1190-around 1240), who was concerned with both peasant passions and the nature of the village.

In the twelfth century, another direction of Minnesang stands out – peasant-palace poetry (höfische Dorfpoesie), which later returned to the poetry of gluttony (Fresslieder). The most famous minnesinger manuscript of the early 14th century is in Heidelberg: it contains the works of 139 poets and 138 miniatures showing the minnesingers and their coats of arms.

What gives us the right to consider the minnesingers’ work professional? They had inherited possessions and funds; they did not earn a living with their creativity. The minnesinger mini-theater did not consist of the repertoire of a traveling troupe but of professional competitions organized by aristocratic poets and playwrights when they were invited to the palaces of feudal magnates. Sometimes minstrels were also invited to such competitions, which meant a challenge of elegant chivalric poetry to the city’s theatrical creativity. But mainly these were closed aristocratic competitions, the victory in which was considered not only a personal victory but also an affirmation of the highest status of the beauty of the lady chosen by the winner.

Of course, the minnesingers were not personally involved in education and never taught other people’s children. However, as a rule, they did not send their own children to study at universities but specially invited a minstrel to educate them. In the study of the “seven liberal arts of chivalry,” the emphasis was on poetry and music. Minnesang competitions were so widespread in Germany in the 12th-14th centuries that it was not known who took part in them more – spielmen, meistersinger, or minnesingers.⁶

Thus, the palace competitions of troubadours and minnesingers led to the formation of a special theater in the Middle Ages – the theater of aristocrats, who contrasted their refined and noble art with that of the common people.

The Spanish mini-theater of the Middle Ages demonstrated uniquely national achievements to Europe, formed on the basis of ancient Basque culture and the intertwining of Spanish and Arab cultures with their unique colors. In Catalonia of the 13th-14th centuries, the art of troubadours reached a high level. They were the founders of the lyrical genre of poetry in their

⁶ Iryna Tsebriy, *Uyavlennya pro harmoniyu lyuds'koho zhyttya i kosmologichni vymiry v tvorchosti Antonio Ferrabosko* [Ideas about the harmony of human life and cosmological dimensions in the works of Antonio Ferrabosco]. Filosofs'ki obriyi. 2019.

native language in Spain. While in Aquitaine and Provence the troubadours were mostly representatives of the nobility, in Spain, anyone who took part in the liberating Reconquista with weapons in hand and who also knew how to compose poems and play the lute could consider themselves a troubadour.

In their works, troubadours praised the values of chivalry and popularized the main motifs of courtly love: its poetic idealization, the cult of the Lady, and the joy that comes only in complete obedience to her will. The creativity of the troubadours, as an expression of the sophisticated community of medieval society, with its purely pagan accents, emphasizes the gap between ethics and aesthetics that was formed in the palaces of the south.

The question of the influence of Arabic poetry on the work of the troubadours of Aquitaine and Provence remains debatable. As for the Spanish troubadours, it is obvious. The development of the high genre of heroic-epic theater is connected with the Spanish troubadours. Their creativity is not limited to lyrics but also reaches epics. The epic ballads of the Catalan troubadours were usually performed by a quartet or a quintet. There were fragments of polyphonic singing, and there were also fragments of ballad performance by roles. It gave the impression of a real theatrical performance. Lyrical ballads were most often performed under the windows of the beautiful Lady in the same ensembles and according to the form indicated above, while epic ballads were performed in palaces on major holidays. Over time, this acquired features of traditional culture.

Education in the families of Spanish troubadours was also interesting. According to Osama Ibn Munqiz,

... their children (of the troubadours) do not study in Salamanca, and from the very childhood they hardly leave the saddle. From morning until dark they throw spears and rattle swords. In the evening, when the candles are lit, the whole family gathers in the hall, and during or after dinner, the father shows his sons how to play the lute, write poems, or sing. If the son wrote a successful poem, it is a great happiness for the father. They discuss it with the whole family... Not every rich family knows how to read and write. Reading, writing, and thinking are not as important for them as throwing spears or singing after dinner...⁷

Thus, the high art of troubadours was learned at home instead of through formal education, or great battles inspired the Spaniards to epic poetry, making it familiar to everyday life. But Osama Ibn Munqiz, having different thoughts about elite Spanish culture, calls troubadour art a highly professional genre:

King Alfonso IX invited the best troubadours, whose performances he really liked. Troubadours from the Order of the Knights of Alcantara

⁷ Petit Julleville, *Les musteries*. p.: Belles Lettres, 1997, 572 p.

appeared, they sang about the victory on the Tagus River, sometimes all together, sometimes individually, but no one stopped playing... I was in Provence, I saw comedians in the squares of Paris, but I have never seen such a serious spectacle anywhere. Everyone listened very attentively. King Alfonso did not even touch the food during the singing, no one touched it...⁸

The mini-theater of the troubadours was loved at the royal court, which is probably why the education of the nobility was more focused on art than on philosophy and other serious sciences. This was the national feature of the culture.

Generally appreciating the art of the Spanish troubadours, Usam ibn Munqiz speaks disparagingly of European chivalry, which destroyed Arab and Byzantine culture during the Crusades:

Rough, uncouth warriors, crusader knights in colorful helmets, captured Constantinople.

During its siege, they burned more castles than were then in the three largest cities of the French kingdom. They defiled the proud Byzantium, which did not recognize the authority of the Pope, with violence and robbery. They were not noble paladins with the name of their beloved lady on their shields and lips, but bloodthirsty savages who not only crushed the living and the dead, but also destroyed great sacred palaces...⁹

Thus, serving high art and teaching it to your children did not mean being a civilized person in the Middle Ages. It is here that the gap between ethics and aesthetics in the aristocratic education of those times is most felt.

The representatives of the low genre of the heroic-epic mini-theater were performed by the jugglers. The very division of art into high and low genres between troubadours and jugglers in Spain seemed to pave the way for the development here in the future of such ideological and artistic trends as Baroque and Renaissance realism.

The free development of the Jugglers' theater was closely connected with previous historical events. The centuries-long rule of Muslim-Arabs over the Christian population of the Iberian Peninsula did not lead to unanimity and ethnic assimilation. Jugglers moved freely in the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia. A characteristic feature of their traveling theaters was the presence of a large number of gypsies and, as a result, bilingualism and dual rites. The gypsies were fluent in Spanish, but the Spaniards did not speak Gypsy. Heroic-epic pathos dedicated to the Reconquista was characteristic of the Spanish jugglers. Songs and heroic plays were dedicated to the victory on the Tagus River (1085) and the heroic struggle of the

⁸ Robles Carcedo, *La cultura religiosa de la España visigótica* [Ideas about the harmony of human life and cosmological dimensions in the works of Antonio Ferrabosco]. *Escritos del Vedat*, 1975. N 5. P

⁹ Ibidem.

Castilian aristocrat El Cid with the Moors (poems about El Cid). Gypsies simply presented their national art to the public with songs, dances, riddles, etc.

There was one more peculiarity, characteristic only of the Catalan traveling theater — Christian religiosity. Their writings were directed against Islam and renegades, but not against the foundations of the Catholic faith and the Universal Church. All the actors wore crosses around their necks to emphasize their faith.

The Spanish jugglers were contemporaries of many liberation battles. This could only be reflected in their creativity. Catalan troubadours, coming from the middle strata of the population, often traveled alongside them, which also brought heroic-epic elements to the work of the jugglers.

The jugglers' theater was not closed. Those who wanted to flee from Spanish villages and were looking for freedom joined it on the way. But basically, theater art was hereditary. Most of the jugglers were illiterate, but fluent in the art of poetry. The actors did not know clumsy notation, but created and performed melodies by ear.

To teach their own children, jugglers used two teaching methods — the method of verbal explanation and the method of visual demonstration. Despite all the poverty of the technique, many poet-improvisers and brilliant virtuoso musicians emerged from the circle of jugglers. This was also due to the fact that the actors were constantly training on the road, from a young age to old age. They did not know any other work than their chosen acting specialty. On the road and at stops for rehearsals, when the educational process was taking place, they used an individual form of organizing classes and a group one. Special attention was paid to talented children, whose performances were associated with the main earnings of the theater.

From the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century, the instrumental music of the jugglers was separated into a distinct genre. Performances by virtuoso players on the *vielle* and duets of lute players became extremely popular. They brought the biggest profits. Since then, theaters have their own “maestros”, who began to select the most talented students for lessons and teach them individually. Since the beginning of the 15th century, noematic notation has been widespread among jugglers. Classes became really professional.

Having analyzed the development of theater and theater education during the early and classical Middle Ages, we can state that their system was quite extensive and complex.

The general didactics of training in traveling theaters developed in the middle of the classical Middle Ages (12th-13th centuries) in the folk traveling theater and were based on similar principles, methods, and forms of training. The theoretical foundations of the secular direction of theater

education of those times are especially important for us, because they are what significantly distinguish it from the education of the spiritual direction.

The principle of secularity was characterized by directing the educational process towards its final goal: the content of theatrical works and their performance should prove that the material world is the primary focus; that this world, with all its flaws and imperfections, is beautiful; especially one should enjoy life in one's youth; it is necessary to be independent of the conventions of the world and superstitions.

The principle of consistency in teaching didactics consisted of a rational (and sometimes subconscious) increase in the load on the subject of the educational process in connection with his individual capabilities and inclinations. Traveling troupes that did not adhere to this principle had a short existence – one or two generations of actors, and then disappeared from the theater stage.

The principle of accessibility consisted of setting such tasks that could be realistically embodied in the nearest theatrical practice. In the majority of theaters, in the training of young personnel, they tried to see the nearest prospects and predicted the material productivity of this or that idea. In the case of the lack of foresight of the older generation of actors, the theater was also doomed to disappear.

The principle of urgency in education and training was determined by the orientation to the audience's request regarding the theatrical material itself and the ways of its implementation in performance. The theater had to focus on the demand of the market and its requirements for the skills of young actors, directing their training and upbringing in the appropriate direction.

The principle of heredity was the main one in the system of professional theater education: actors had to pass on all knowledge, skills, and abilities to their children. They connected the birth of each child with the prospects of their own theater. It was not necessary to mechanically teach the child his own art but to reveal his talent and develop the future actor according to his capabilities and abilities. Sensitively trained actors of the second generation were always more professional than the first.

Thus, theatrical education in the theaters of the early and classical Middle Ages looked highly professional. In the system of education and upbringing that the theater defined for itself, parents directed their own children to their profession – the status of a free and traveling comedian, the income from which was supposed to ensure the existence of him and his children. The practical foundations of theater education were formed over several generations, turning into a professional system of training the young generation for theatrical activity. In the medieval theater, group and individual learning methods developed, due to the importance of one or another personality of the student for the further role of the theater. Thanks to

the interest of the magistrates of large European cities, the medieval theater existed for eight centuries, and some of its remains could be traced in the countries of Western Europe almost until the end of the 19th century.

This problem is complex and cannot be exhausted by the research available today. We consider the research of the interaction of city magistrates with the well-established work of shops and guilds of medieval actors and musicians to be a priority.

Bibliography :

Carcedo, Robles, *La cultura religiosa de la España visigótica* [Ideas about the harmony of human life and cosmological dimensions in the works of Antonio Ferrabosco]. *Escritos del Vedat*, 1975. N 5. P. 64-82.

Havryushenko, Alina; Sheyko, Vasył'; Tyshevs'ka Lyubov, *Zakhidnoyevropeys'ke Seredn'ovichchya* [Western European Middle Ages]. *Istoriya kul'tury: posibnyk* K.: Kondor, 2004. S. 282-322.

Julleville, Petit, *Les musteries*. P.: Belles Lettres, 1997. 572 p.

Kryp'yakevych, Ivan, *Osvita y nauka. Istoriya ukrayins'koyi kul'tury* [Education and science. History of Ukrainian Culture]. K.: Lybid', 1994. S. 44-52.

Vandych, P'otr, *Istoriya Tsentral'no-Skhidnoyi Yevropy vid Seredn'ovichchya do s'ohodennya* [History of Central-Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages to the present]. K.: Krytyka, 2004. 463 s.

Tsebriy, Iryna, *Istoriya muzyky tradytsiynoho suspil'stva vid neolitu do seredyny XVIII stolittya (narysy): v 2 kn.; Knyha 1. Istoriya starodavn'oyi ta seredn'ovichnoyi muzyky* [History of ancient and medieval music.]. Poltava: PNP imeni V.H. Korolenka, 2016. 188 s.

Tsebriy, Iryna, *Etyko-pedahohichni ideyi u stanovlenni profesynoyi pochatkovoyi ta vyshchoyi osvity chasiv Seredn'ovichchya i epokhy Vidrozhennya* [Ethical and pedagogical ideas in the formation of professional primary and higher education during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance]. *Neperervna profesiyna osvita: teoriya i praktyka: naukovo-metodychnyy zhurnal*. 2003. Vypusk S. 3-4

Tsebriy, Iryna, *Uyavlennya pro harmoniyu lyuds'koho zhyttya i kosmologichni vymiry v tvorchosti Antonio Ferrabosko* [Ideas about the harmony of human life and cosmological dimensions in the works of Antonio Ferrabosco]. *Filosofs'ki obriyi*. 2019. Yp. 41. S. 181-188.

Synesthesia of Music and Dance Art as a Creative Phenomenon of Medieval Culture

Valerii Hromchenko*
Maryna Pogrebnyak **
Olena Nemkovich***

Abstract: *The article is devoted to identifying a number of the most characteristic features of the development of the phenomenon of artistic performance as a creative phenomenon of medieval culture. The publication focuses primarily on artistic, musical and choreographic arts, the interaction of which is considered in the light of the specifics of the phenomenon of synthetic artistic performance in the cultural and historical period of the Middle Ages. It is established that the phenomenon of artistic performance as a synthetic creative phenomenon of medieval culture has a clear establishment in European artistic practice. Even in the times of the early Middle Ages, when the persecution of instrumental musicians, dancers, itinerant artists by the clergy was the strongest, the development of the specified artistic practice took place. The improvisational nature of the artistic performance of minstrels, jugglers, spielmen, pipers, skoromokhs laid the foundations for the development of solo performance both in the field of musical instrumental practice and in the realm of creativity of master dancers. The article claims that solo improvisation has established the corresponding components of the expressive palette of the soloist, among which the most significant are the technical perfection of the master performer, the emotional saturation of the work, the individual interpretive vision of the artistic composition by the performer.*

Keywords: artistic performance, music, dance, musical instrument, composition, soloist, Middle Ages, art, improvisation, composition, solo, performance practice.

* Valerii Hromchenko, Doctor of Study of Art, Associate Professor, Vice Rector of Research, Creative and International Work Dnipro Academy of Music 10, Liteinay str., Dnipro, 49044, Ukraine, e-mail: gromchenko.valeriy@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2446-2192>

** Maryna Pogrebnyak, Doctor of Study of Art, Docent, Head of the Department of Study of Art and Advanced Education, Poltava National Pedagogical University named after V. G. Korolenko 2, Ostrogradsky str., Poltava, Poltava region, 360003, Ukraine, e-mail: pogrebnyak.modern.ballet@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6863-6126>

*** Olena Nemkovich, Doctor of Study of Art, Head of the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology Rylsky Institute of Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology of the National Academy of Sciences Ukraine 4, Hrushevsky str., Kyiv, 01001, Ukraine, e-mail: olnemkovich@ukr.net, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0006-5720>

I. Formulation of the problem

The development of artistic culture at the current stage of the evolution of various types of art has a clear meaning in their interaction, the interpenetration of one artistic phenomenon into another, the interaction of one type of art with another. This kind of artistic symbiosis, establishing itself in the realm of today's cultural landscape, generates many questions regarding the specifics of the development of such synthetic performance, its artistic presentation, the specificities of mutual enrichment in artistic synthesis, etc.

Hence, the research of peculiar signs of the interaction of different types of art in the phenomenon of artistic performance in previous historical periods is of exceptional importance for the awareness of the current processes of interaction of different types of art, which are among the determining factors in modern art. In this sense, turning to the history of the formation of artistic synthesis in the artistic achievements of the Middle Ages is of exceptional importance.

II. Literature review

In the scientific works of contemporary musicologists, the phenomenon of performing arts is investigated with emphasis, first of all, on the corresponding artistic and performing specificity, which is determined by a certain specialization, in particular, musical and instrumental specificity (V. Apatskyi¹, V. Hromchenko², A. Karpyak³), the art of dance (M. Pogrebnyak⁴), vocal performance (O. Berehova and C. Volkov⁵), artistic and performing art in the pedagogical aspect (L. Thornton⁶, H. Zaghloul⁷). In works on the history of musicology, the processes of studying musical

¹ V.N. Apatskyi, *History of Wind Music and Performing Arts*, Zadruga, Kyiv, 2010, 320 p.

² V.V. Hromchenko, *Wind Solo in the European Academic Composition and Performance of the 20th – the Early 21st Centuries (Development Trends, Specifics, Systematics): Monograph*, LIRA, Kyiv-Dnipro, 2020, 304 p.

³ A. Karpyak, *Flute Art in the Light of the Historical Significance of Methodological Schools and Directions in Music Education: The Past and Present in Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, no. 9 (1), 2020, pp. 286-294.

⁴ M. M. Pogrebnyak, *New Directions of Theatrical Dance of the 20th - The Beginning of the 21st Centuries: Historical and Cultural Preconditions, Cross-Cultural Connections, Stylistic Typology: Monograph*, Astraia, Kyiv-Poltava, 2020, 327 p.

⁵ O. Berehova, S. Volkov, *Modern Opera of the Late 20th - Early 21st Centuries: World Trends and Ukrainian Realities in Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, no. 9 (4), 2020, pp. 217-235.

⁶ L. Thornton, *Music Education at a Distance in Journal of Music Teacher Education*, no. 29 (3), 2020, pp. 3-6.

⁷ H.S. Zaghloul, *The Theater in the Educational Context: Elements of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats in Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, no. 9 (2), 2020, 106-122.

performance processes of different historical periods in this scientific field are understood (O. Nemkovich⁸, I. Horbunova⁹). However, until now the problem of the syntheticism of article performance as a characteristic phenomenon of the culture of the Middle Ages has not been the subject of special attention.

III. The purpose of the article is to define several of the most characteristic features and manifestations of the development of artistic performance as a synthetic creative phenomenon in the Middle Ages.

IV. Basic material

Since the fall of the Roman Empire in the 5th century AD and the increasing establishment of the Christian faith in Europe, playing music on wind instruments as well as all instrumental music of that time with its inherent function of accompanying dance processions, has been subjected to cruel persecution by the church authorities. Recognizing only the vocal art in which a person glorifies God through the word, the ministers of the cult of medieval Europe imposed permanent bans on instrumental performance and the sound of instruments even to accompany medieval dance processions.

Thus, the Christian apologist and guide of the Holy Scriptures, Clement Olexandriysky, describing the extremely shameful, in his opinion, influence on people of the sounds of wind and string instruments called:

Let us therefore give flutes to shepherds, superstitious people, who rush to worship idols; we wish for the speedy expulsion of these instruments of our sober public feasts; they are more proper to cattle than to men; let them be used by fools¹⁰.

Undoubtedly, in such a situation, the huge assets of the musical culture of antiquity with its instrumental diversity, the mutual enrichment of the arts of music and dance, their genre palette, the high artistic level of performance, and the formed musical and pedagogical system did not find an appropriate assessment in the European culture of the Middle Ages. The decline of artistic performance, musical and instrumental culture in Europe, especially in the period of the early Middle Ages, is beyond doubt.

However, the prohibition of musical-instrumental performance by the ministers of the church concerned primarily those spheres of application of music that did not relate to people's everyday life. The pastoral, household

⁸ O. Nemkovich, *Ukrainian Musicology of the 20th Century as a System of Scientific Disciplines*, Stalij, Kyiv, 2006, 534 p.

⁹ I. Horbunova, *Buffoons. Ukrainsjka muzychna encyklopedija*, Vydavnytvo IMFE, Kyiv, Vol. 6, 2023, 676 p.

¹⁰ S. Levin, *Wind Instruments in the History of Musical Culture*, Muzyka, Leningrad, 1973, 264 p.

and military using of music (which did not include its combination with other arts, mainly the art of dance), where it had a clearly defined utilitarian purpose, was marked by stable traditions.

At the same time, even in folk musical life, some manifestations of virtuosity in artistic and performing practice were subjected to extremely negative evaluations by medieval clergymen. This concerned, in particular, the playing of musical accompaniment of dance processions, such as in the medieval dance genre of *estampie*. The improvisational nature of performance, which so clearly affected the culture of the ancient world, was also harshly criticized by the clergy of the Middle Ages.

The virtuoso playing of musical instruments causes particular indignation among the church fathers. They oppose chromaticism, which was the basis of improvisation. In the ancient aesthetics, chromatic order was evaluated as “sophisticated” and “gently attractive”, then the aesthetics of the church fathers perceived chromatics in no other way than “unruly” and “ugly” music¹¹. The above mentioned relationship of the clergy to the specified means of artistic expression, however, attests to the same objective fact of the presence of a tradition of solo performance on wind instruments in the Early Middle Ages. Thus, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, the playing of musical instruments particularly wind instruments, both in the instrumental and performance form of a solo, and during the accompaniment of a performer-dancer, was a very widespread phenomenon in Europe. Despite the dominance of the theological worldview and the corresponding priority of Church in the cultural process, the monopoly of vocal performance had no place in European music. Along with calls for the inadmissibility of concerts, dance performances with the participation of musicians, instrumentalists, banning the sound of instrumental music during various celebrations, choreographic actions and ceremonial processions, there were also speeches that allowed the using of musical instruments in the everyday sphere of people’s lives. The practice of musical artistic dance processions did not exclude the participation of women in this kind of performances, the attitude towards which was ambiguous at the time. “For various historically documented reasons, women have always been considered a paradigm of either virtue or perversion”¹².

Peculiarities of musical-instrumental performance in the Middle Ages, especially in the early period, were influenced by the ancient instrumental performance tradition, with which they were genetically connected.

¹¹ *Musical Aesthetics of the Western European Middle Ages*, arranged texts and introductory article by V. P. Shestakov, Muzychna Ukraïna, Kyiv, 1976, 264 p.

¹² A. Furnică, *Women’s Image and Role in Art: From Medieval Virtuous Mystics to Today’s Advertising Perverse Figures*, in *Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 2/November, 2022, pp. 145–164. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.2.07.

This tradition was characterized by virtuosity and improvisation of artistic expression, flexibility in interaction with the performer-dancer. On the anniversary of this tradition in medieval Europe, the creativity of itinerant musicians, dancers, so-called jugglers, mimes, spiel-men, strumpets, and pipes was born.

According to S. Levin, the toolkit of wandering artists consisted, first of all, of representatives of the flute and oboe arts¹³.

The nature of the street performances of these artists, their performances under the open sky was syncretic, and therefore, it formed a special universality of the artistic creative process, in which the mutual enrichment of instrumental music with theatre, dance, and circus arts played an exceptionally important role.

T. Livanova claims the following:

These jugglers (from Latin *joculatores*), minstrels, *spielmans* – as they were called at different times and in different regions for a long time were the only representatives of the secular musical culture of their time and thereby played an important historical role. To a large extent, it was precisely on the basis of their musical practice and their song traditions that various forms of secular lyrics of the 12th-13th centuries were composed. These wandering musicians did not part with musical instruments, while the church either rejected their participation or accepted it with great difficulty¹⁴.

At the end of the 11th century, the art of troubadour knights, the so-called traveling poets-musicians, emerged, which is a vivid example of secular musical and poetic lyrics arose. The creativity of troubadours, *trouveurs*¹⁵, and *minnesingers*¹⁶ is inextricably linked with the musical and performing activities of minstrelsy¹⁷.

On a contractual basis, itinerant artists (musicians, dancers, poets in one person) were invited to castles as art teachers and responsible for the instrumental part of knightly unison musical and poetic works (the vast majority of knights did not know how to play musical instruments).

Minstrels, accompanying knights-errant, usually composed the melody for lyrical texts and were fully responsible for writing preludes, returns between verses and postludes.

These sections of artistic compositions are of particular interest, because it is in them that the nature of solo artistic performance is revealed, particularly on wind instruments, in a combination of various types of arts, primarily music, dance and poetry. The improvisational nature of

¹³ S. Levin, *Wind Instruments in the History of Musical Culture*, Muzyka, Leningrad, 1973, 264 p.

¹⁴ T. Livanova, *History of Western European Music until 1789*, Vol. 1, Muzyka, Moscow, 1983, 696 p.

¹⁵ *Trouveurs* – the name of troubadours in the north of France.

¹⁶ *Minnesingers* – German itinerant poets – musicians, dancers.

¹⁷ *Minstrel* – a juggler who entered the service of a knight.

performance in chivalric works gave birth to a certain creative freedom for soloists (of course within the framework of the introduction sections, returns and postludes), which gradually stimulated the development of professional performing qualities in the artists of that time.

In accordance with the artistic content of the musical and poetic compositions of the troubadour knights, instrumental solo parts performed by minstrels acquired a certain expressiveness, emphasized the nature of the artistic compositions and emphasized their figurative content with the appropriate means of artistic expression. In the work of the troubadours, solo instrumental episodes obviously did not only formally divide musical and poetic stanzas, but highlighted the flavor of a particular song, deepened its mood.¹⁸

It should be emphasized that vocal and instrumental fragments of troubadour performances often had a contrasting nature.

The necessary convenience for a minstrel was not only created along with the possibility of using as many musical instruments as possible, but also allowed to feel a certain performance freedom, the solo nature of music making, the freedom of plasticity of the artist's movements.

According to the testimony of medieval authors, in the 13th century a traveling musician had to be able to play nine instruments, which included string, percussion and wind instruments. His traditional wind instruments were supplemented with longitudinal and transverse flutes, shalmei, krumhorn, zinc, trumpets and other wind instruments.¹⁹

M. Saponov, a researcher of minstrels' creativity, notes:

The technique of contrasting the refrain with the stanza is convenient for instrumentalists: after all, the story is told only in the stanza and in the refrains free from the plot, you can show game ingenuity, solo; here in the foreground is the opportunity, for example, to improvise or turn to the next level a new musical instrument.²⁰

This is how the artistic and expressive individuality of an instrumentalist musician as a solo performer, expresser of the figurative content of a musical composition was established.

It is important to note here a number of genre formations of solo artistic and performance practice in medieval Europe. Among the most popular and diverse in their own subspecies are the genres of estampi, cantus (ornamented, crowned) and le (descort).

¹⁸ S. Levin, *Wind Instruments in the History of Musical Culture*, Muzyka, Leningrad, 1973, 264 p.

¹⁹ V. N. Apatskyi, *History of Wind Music and Performing Arts*, Kyiv, Zadruga, 2010, 320 p.

²⁰ M. A. Saponov, *Minstrels. A Book about the Music of Medieval Europe*, Klassika – XXI, Moscow, 2004, 400 p.

Their functioning in those days did not yet outline clear gradations of instrumental, vocal or dance embodiment of compositions. Some chants were perceived as suitable both for singing and for being performed by musical instruments, in interaction with dance.

Only epic required the necessary participation of the singer, and the so-called notes, sons ("recordings") and were aimed at instrumental sound only. Otherwise, some chant (even with a text) was equally considered an occasion for both vocal and instrumental performance to improvise a kind of fantasy.

Instrumental solo performance was formed, naturally, according to its own laws, based on the effects provided by the applicative timbre, register and other possibilities of the given instrument and was not constrained by vocal genre restrictions. The chant was only a preparation for a free rhapsody on the bow, lute, harp or flute.²¹

The specified variability in the composition of the performers of medieval musical works, primarily due to the still relatively weak development of musical instrumental art, was at the same time fixed due to the reproduction in this variability of the most famous musical motif, i.e. their fixation in the collective memory, which is an extremely powerful means in the development of art. "According to Warburg, collective memory can be regarded as a medium for art, which ensures the survival of images and pathos formulas even when the violence of historical development leads to a decline of the creative spirit".²²

Variability in the composition of performers of musical compositions, syncretism of various forms, the active search for means of artistic expression, the formation of elements of the technique of instrumental performance – all this determined the extremely important role of improvisation, the natural basis of which is formed by solo performance. Therefore, solo improvisation became an integral part of the skill of the juggler, minstrel, piper, buffoon. Itinerant artists turned a suitable rhyme or motif, a certain tone or a group of tones into virtuosic, sprawling passages, so-called diminutive figures. The principle of increasing the number of notes for the same duration (dementia), revealed unlimited possibilities for the development of improvisation, virtuoso-technical skills of the performers. At the same time, the lack of clear consolidation of composition by the appropriate means of artistic expression (instrumental, vocal, choreographic, poetic), created an important prerequisite for the independent development of solo artistic performance in the medieval period. The specified variability and

²¹ Ibidem.

²² G. Badea, *Aby Warburg: The Collective Memory as a Medium for Art in Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 1/May 2021, pp. 244-254. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.1.13.

examples of the combination of different types of art became the basis for the formation of new phenomena of artistic creativity.

At the same time, in the syncretism mentioned (coexistence and interaction of different types of art), two-way processes took place – elements of dance penetrated into mainly instrumental, musical-poetic forms, and, on the contrary, musical-instrumental sound was an integral component of mainly dance forms.

In the later medieval period, despite the dominant Christian worldview, the preservation of elements of paganism in the folk environment, the often inextricable intertwining of pagan and Christian traditions is reflected. Thus, the custom of celebrating St. John's Day was popular among almost all European peoples. People gathered mainly in the forests; surrounding the fires people sang, danced and searched through the fire (jumped above the fire). The dance during the feast of St. John consisted of closed and open round dances. It is possible to have been a repetition of the pagan "dance of lights".

A number of such dances of the Middle Ages had a completely different ugly aesthetic, such as: "Triumph of Jesters"; "The Great dance in Marseilles" ("Magnum Trepidium"); "Sabbath".

In different places and in very different manners, "The Triumph of Jesters" was celebrated; it was banned in Paris in 1212 and lasted in other cities until the end of the 16th century. Each locality had its own characteristics and its own names: the festival of subdeacons and donkeys, the festival of cuckolds and others. These unbridled ceremonies were accompanied by dances of the same character and took place not only in parish churches, but also in monasteries and nunneries. Another medieval festival with pagan overtones was "The Great Dance in Marseilles". On the day of Lazarus, horses, goats, cows and other domestic animals were driven through the streets of the city. Holding hands, townspeople and villagers danced around the animals with pagan songs.

In Spain, "les Disciplinants" beat themselves to the beat of music with rods and plaits with wax balls at the ends. These religious performances ended in glitter and nightly orgies. In Venice there were processions of "du Rosaire", in which the dancers depicted triple rosaries. Gentlemen dressed as devils danced around the girls, dressed as angels. In Portugal there were ballet performances in honor of the feast days of saints. Historians claim, that in a fit of religious fanaticism the Portuguese danced in circles, singing parodies of sacred songs.

Literary works, poetic tales, works of art create a visual representation of the wild dance "Sabbath", during which the witches, who

gathered on the Brocken, on Bald Mountain in Kyiv and on various mountain peaks throughout Europe did not languish dancing in hellish ecstasy²³.

On the basis of a detailed study of images of dance on objects of material culture (jewelry, tableware, mosaics, icons etc.), scientists managed to find out that the Slavs already had an original culture in the period of late paganism including a dance culture, based on their own ancient traditions started by Veneds, Ants and Scythians.

The applied types of creative acclivity of the Slavs (particularly architecture and painting) were poorly developed in this early period, whereas dance and music were among the priority ones, that is, accessible to everyone. The dance did not contradict the pagan worldview and therefore actively developed, which is evidenced by the examples that have survived to this day and which depict different types of dance: ritualistic-ceremonial, folk-domestic, festive-theatrical²⁴. For example, a ritual song was a part of a complex synthetic whole, which is a pagan ritual.

Such a song was always collective and was accompanied by certain movements of a chorus dance. The wedding ceremony, which even after the establishment of Christianity in ancient Rus among the “common people” was still performed according to the pagan tradition for a long time, also combined “dancing and humming”, that is, dancing and playing musical instruments, especially wind instruments. The Radziwill Chronicle (15th century) contains a picture illustrating a wedding custom which depicts a performer on a wind instrument (a short tube, probably, 35–40 cm long). This same illustration shows a man who is jumping or dancing. Around his neck was hung a percussion musical instrument like a drum, probably a tambourine, which he hit with a layered whip at the end. Just like jugglers and pranksters in Western countries who represented a characteristic type of medieval artists, buffoons were not only musicians (player, piper), performers on musical instruments (mainly trumpets), but also actors, dancers, acrobats, and jokers. This term, used in Byzantium and Rus, denoted a universal performer who possessed several creative professions. In the medieval state of Kievan Rus and later, buffoons were the bearers of syncretic folk art where music, i.e., playing musical instruments and dance, were inextricably linked. It revealed the remnants of pagan rituals.

There was a solo dance – men’s and women’s (ritual, plotless and individually-improvisational; men’s pair dance and pair dance (between a man and a women) that developed the theme of love; mass-story (military and labour themes) and mass-orgiastic (improvisational, festive dance).

²³ C. N. Khudekov, *General History of Dance*, EKSMO, Moscow, 2009. 608 p.

²⁴ O. O. Yelyukhina, *Problems of the Development of Dance Art of Ukraine. Period of Kyivan Rus*, Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Art Studies, Folklore Studies and Ethnology named after M. T. Rylsky of the National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, 1996, pp. 3–24.

It was the ritual-ceremonial dance that gave birth to the first professional independent performers. Such a dance, depicted on bracelets and vases, was solo and performed by special clappers and dancers, privy to the ritual, and possibly, by the magi themselves. They were dedicated to numerous pagan gods (Perun, Veles, Simarglu, Makov and others) and the elements. These dances came from the past ages, namely from the time of the heyday of the cult of the Mother Goddess, the Great Mother Goddess, the progenitor of all living things among the agricultural Slavic tribes.

As before, the basis of the dance already existed in the arsenal of expressive means, the traditional oscillatory movements of the arms, body, hips, head, as well as various rotation. The updated essence changes semantic accents, needs new tempos and rhythms and other melodies. As a result, in connection with the new task, known means of expression and existent technical elements were changed. The previously developed technique of small sliding jumps, small movements on the foot, numerous rotations, in connection with the period from a closed space to an open one is modified as the step increases, where small jogs and, possibly, dynamic running appear; the artist's gesture becomes broad and expressive, as well as the plasticity of the whole body.

However, most importantly, as all the images of the ritual dance claim, facial expressions, turning of the head and hair, characteristic of the animic period, disappear. Now the whole nature of the performer is directed to the service of God. A high raised chin, a strict posture of the body, a cold or neutral facial expression, these are the individual features of the next, anthropomorphic period of pagan dance. An important detail of women's ritual dance was long sleeves, which become a semantic accent. They also began to dictate a new plasticity of the dance, a straight back, fixed shoulders, defined by strict plasticity of the hands, as well as increased dynamics of movement, which provided an opportunity to play with the sleeves²⁵.

Men's dance practically does not differ from women's, however, instead of long sleeves, it used certain paraphernalia (shield, sword, etc.), which dictated other improvisational moves, drawings, yet stylistic features, manner of performance, characteristic techniques related it to the dance of the dancing girl (woman).

The most expressive and important feature of the ritual Slavic dance was the absence of inversion of the legs. In all the images that have come down to our time, the feet of the performers are reproduced clearly in profile.

The new period of ancient Russian history, which began with the adoption of Christianity, determined new further ways of development of the

²⁵ O. O. Yelyukhina, *Problems of the Development of Dance Art of Ukraine. Period of Kyivan Rus*, Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Art Studies, Folklore Studies and Ethnology named after M. T. Rylsky of the National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, 1996, pp. 3–24.

entire art of Kyivan Rus, including dance art. This period began much earlier than the official date of the baptism of Russia; and was associated with numerous trade and military campaigns to Byzantium, as well as with the trip of Princess Olha to Constantinople, where she was baptized, got acquainted with the life of the luxurious imperial court with the traditional sights of the capital. Since the theatrical dance culture of Byzantium was based on ancient traditions, Princess Olha saw the highly professional stage art quite different from Slavs, which may have served as the beginning of serious cultural contacts between the two countries. In the second half of the 12th-15th centuries, a characteristic feature of Byzantine art was the transformation of the theatre into a kind of secular spectacle, the components of which were music, dance, pantomime, acrobatics, and so on. High professionalism was maintained thanks to the differentiation of specialties. Dance became independent and self-sufficient as before, which allowed it to recover, based on ancient classical traditions. The pyrrhic form became the basis for the creation of various dances for pre-state and religious holidays. This is how the renewed Bacchic dances, makelarion, military revues, Gothic games, torch dances and much more arose. In addition to the ones listed, sensual and erotic dances of the oriental type with characteristic features, movements and plasticity were also in vogue. However, these dances were intended for domestic rather than official use. Regardless of the erotic beginning, they significantly supplemented the expressive palette of the Byzantine dance, which combined various features of the ancient East.

The custom of festive meals “with playing, dancing and humming” was widespread with the upper echelons of Kyivan Rus’ society. Monuments of material culture, in particular medieval manuscripts (even of religious content), in which the specifics of everyday life were reproduced, contained images of musicians playing musical instruments, as well as dancers, that is, they testified to the inseparable interaction of musical instrumental performance and dance. Such images were found, for example, in letters and screens in ancient books.

Cultural exchange with Byzantium was two-way, mimes came to Kyiv, and Slavs performed at the court of Konstantin Bagryanorod. However, unlike Byzantium, which created new Christian art for centuries on its own, Rus took advantage of the already formed artistic system and new worldview, so the young ancient Russian state faced the difficult task of assimilating Christian culture in an environment that had long been associated with paganism.

The process of Christianization proceeded slowly, over three centuries, receiving the name “trust”.

People had difficulty changing their habits, and the upper class gravitated towards a new progressive culture. Architecture, music and painting were among the priorities and began to develop rapidly on the basis

of Christian canons, but dance and theatre, which were persecuted by Orthodox Christians for their connection with paganism, were outside the permitted types of arts. It is here that there is a reason for the negative attitude towards representatives of theatrical art: actors, comedians, dancers and buffoons.

Byzantine mimes-histrions became popular among the aristocracy during the period of Kyivan Rus, whose art was strikingly different from the Old Russian one in an unusual stage form, a wealth of decorative details, genre diversity and national characteristics.

“Thanks to them, the main genres of the Roman theatre Pantomime (solo dance by a virtuoso actor with a dramatic conflict), Pyrrhic (ensemble dance-pantomimic action), Mime (melodrama with dance and acrobatics), comedy and tragedy migrated by Byzantium from the Roman Empire and continued their existence in Kyivan Rus, gradually adapting to the requirements of new aesthetics.”²⁶

As a result of creative contacts, the Slavic troupe learned the skills of theatrical art, the stage form of performances and professional techniques. The presence of diagrams, various drawings and frescoes from the past allows us to say that dancers of that time had their own dance technique:

“built on the inversion of the legs, there was often a grand battement from the 2nd (second) position, rond de jable, en lair, echappe, jete; practiced slips and various jumps. For female dancers, typical acrobatic dances on the hands, cubism (cubism, dance on the hands in various poses) and virtuoso technique; also, a dance with balancing on the hands and head-cups and baskets.”²⁷

So, it is possible to define the following characteristic features of the virtuoso dance of mimes, which were borrowed by the dance and performing arts of Kyivan Rus: a technique built on the inversion of the legs; dances of pointe (standing on very high half-toes, on the ends of the toes, but barefoot, without special shoes) and various jumps; different rotation of the body in a plane perpendicular to the legs; for dancers, typical acrobatic cubism and virtuoso pyrrhic; popular dances with cups and baskets.

In the 12th century, juggling became very popular, reaching full bloom in the 13th century. The juggling dance was virtuosic, with a significant admixture of acrobatic movements using elevation; the legs are inside out, the toe is often extended; hands “dancing” grouping of fingers is close to the classical dance of today. The nature of the movements is sharp, flexible. Faral, quoting an expert from the 13th century story “On the juggler

²⁶ O. O. Yelyukhina, *Problems of the Development of Dance Art of Ukraine. Period of Kyivan Rus*, Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Art Studies, Folklore Studies and Ethnology named after M. T. Rytsky of the National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, 1996, pp. 3–24.

²⁷ L. Block, *Classical Dance. History and Modernity*, Art, Moscow, 1987, p. 71.

of Our Lady”, writes that this juggler dedicates his best acrobatic tricks to Out Lady (“ses plus belles acrobaties” dessus, dessous, tor: “Feet are dancing, eyes are crying”²⁸ Juggler’s dances are depicted in 9th century miniatures. In one of them, four dancers from David’s choir perform evening jumps with scarves (the bottom two) and jumps from one foot to the other (the top two). At the 9th century Vatican miniature depicts Salome performing a ball dance²⁹. Juggleries of the 12th century³⁰, depicting Salome, perform an acrobatic “cascade” through two swords which she holds in both hands, rests on them, slightly crossed, on the floor and throws herself over her head. The long skirt of the dress beautifully accompanied the soaring of the legs in cartwheels and handstands. Another type of miniature introduces us to the “hand dances” of the Middle Ages³¹.

The actual development of musical instrumental performance in the musical life of various groups of the population, which was closely combined with other types of art, became a prerequisite for the penetration of their elements into sacred culture. At the end of the 6th century, Pope Gregory I allowed the using of instrumental music in religious and ceremonial events of the Irish Church.

Taking care of the spread of the Christian faith as much as possible, about its social perception “in addition to the organ, the harp was involved in the liturgy, as well as strings, psaltery (zither), dulcimer (cymbals) and wind instruments, trumpets and flutes”³². The figurative semantic meaning of the sound of trumpets as instruments of heavenly angels was quite established and well-known in those days. “Angels have been present in the culture of mankind since its inception”³³. With the same goal, many missionary monarchs mastered playing various instruments. V. Apatskyi writes: “In the 11th century playing the harp, flute, trumpet and other musical instruments flourished in some monasteries”³⁴. From the beginning of the second millennium, a third voice appears in church canonical vocal works. Thus, its upper location, as well as significant saturation of melasmas, stimulated precisely the musical-instrumental practice of its performance. G. Blahodatov notes that this voice could be performed by an instrument³⁵.

Even in religious and ceremonial processions, various musical instruments were also used, in particular wood and brass instruments.

²⁸ G. Strehly, *L’acrobatie et les acrobates*, Paris, 1904. p. 28.

²⁹ H. Daffner, *Salome : ihre Gestalt in Geschichte und Kunst, Dichtung, bildende Knust, Musik*, Munchen, 1912.

³⁰ V. Parnac, *Histoire de la danse*, Paris, 1932, pl. 13, p. 5.

³¹ F. Menil, *Histoire de la danse à travers les âges*, Paris, 1906. p. 137.

³² O. Gh. Olijnyk, *The History of the Formation and Development of a Chamber Ensemble with a Harp in the Composition*. NOVA KNYGA, Vinnytsya, 2005, 200 p.

³³ Z. Birzu, *About Angels in Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 1/May 2021, pp. 255–263. [in English]. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.1.14

³⁴ V. N. Apatskyi, *History of Wind Music and Performing Arts*, Kyiv, Zadruga, 2010, 320 p.

³⁵ G. Blagodatov, *History of the Symphony Orchestra*, Muzyka, Leningrad, 1969, 312 p.

Figuratively, the semantic sphere of awareness of contemporary wind instruments, primarily those made of wood, was extremely diverse. Performers, as well as listeners, endowed this or that instrument, as well as the material (most often wood) from which it was made, with supernatural qualities.

“Our ancestors connected their faith to trees that were their church and body and they also hoped that, when they would die, the tree would be the bridge that would make the transition towards the Other World. There are many and varied ways of expression of this symbol and there are numberless its codes”³⁶.

Dance art gradually became associated with Christian sacred culture. In the process, dances with songs in honor of pagan deities gradually lost their meaning. In the paintings of many medieval artists, there are images of dancing angels and angelic ballets.

St. Vasil says in his letter to Gregory “that dancing is the only activity of angels in heaven and calls the one blessed who can imitate them on the Earth”³⁷. From the first centuries of Christianity, church songs have been preserved, the text of which mentions “immaculate angels” with wreaths on their heads and palm branches in their hands, dancing in the sky.

The dance of virgins existed for a long time in the Middle Ages, slowly moving during Christmas time with the Divine Child around the sacred altar, singing praises to God. Festive, peaceful dances in churches took place mainly in cities where bishops stayed. Both sexes separately introduced their festive round dances with oscillatory and slow movements.

There is information that John Chrysostom, who was the patriarch of Constantinople at the end of the 4th century, personally took part in such dance ceremonies. In the same way, Christians danced in circles at the resting places of martyrs.

Some church holidays in Seville were celebrated with solemnity, during which the action “seuses” (“шесрепо”) took place. To perform them, a special group of young men from aristocratic families was kept at the local cathedral. Quiet, measured movements of the young men, dressed in blue and white silk dresses and hats with white and blue ostrich feathers, were accompanied by the clicking of castanets and the singing of spiritual songs. The youthful procession was opened by bearers of huge dolls, with the shaking of which they tried to imitate the dance of King David around the Ark of the Covenant.

³⁶ L. Gaspar, *Representations of the Tree of Life in Ancestors' Symbolics in Anastasis Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. IX, No. 2/November, 2022, pp. 70–106. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2022.2.05

³⁷ G. Vuillier, *Dance, their History and Development*, print house of A. S. Suvorin, St. – Peterburg, 1902, pp. 19–20.

The Catholic holidays of Corpus Christi were particularly solemn. In different cities, mainly in southern France, there were endless processions of clergy and townspeople moved. Such spiritual processions, which took place since the 11th century, were called “cavalcades” in some cities. So, during the procession in honor of Saint Gertrude, sitting on a horse, a man was holding a naked maiden depicting this saint. A young man dressed in black danced in front of her, and women danced behind him.

“The pantomime of Queen of Sheba” was interesting, going to King Solomon, accompanied by a dancer holding a sword in his hands. The Queen was surrounded by a retinue of several women dancing with cups in their hands. In the same procession followed a special troupe of “big” and “small” dancers in monotonous costumes and headdresses with feathers. During the procession they performed a variety of dances with slow movements ending with a rigadon, a folk dance popular in the south of France³⁸.

V. Conclusions

Therefore, the phenomenon of artistic performance as a synthetic creative phenomenon of medieval culture had a clear establishment in European artistic practice, including in the culture of the Eastern Slavs. Even during the Early Middle Ages, when the persecution of musicians-instrumentalists, dancers, itinerant artists by the clergy was the strongest, this artistic practice existed and was spread in the culture of various layers of the population.

The work of nomadic masters was of unsurpassed importance both in the formation of instrumental folk and generally secular music, and in the formation of synthetic artistic and performing skills of artists, establishing several artistic genres.

The improvisational nature of performance by minstrels, jugglers, spielman, pipers, and buffoons laid the foundations for the development of solo performance, both in the field of musical instrumental performance and in the practice of master-dancers. Solo improvisation established the corresponding components of the expressive palette of the performer-soloist, among which the most significant are the technical perfection of the master, the emotional saturation of the work, the individual interpretive vision of the artistic composition by the performer.

The perspective of the research of the specified topic is the further study of the specifics of the interaction of various types of art, in particular, music, choreography, and literature in different eras, taking into account the worldview and artistic and aesthetic features of different cultural and historical periods.

³⁸ C. N. Khudekov, *General History of Dance*, EKSMO, Moscow, 2009, 608 p.

Bibliography:

Apatskyi, V. N., *History of Wind Music and Performing Arts*, Zadruga, Kyiv, 2010, 320 p. [in Russian].

Badea, G., *Aby Warburg: The Collective Memory as a Medium for Art in Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 1/May, 2021, pp. 244–254. [in English]. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.1.13

Berehova, O.; Volkov, S., *Modern Opera of the Late 20th-early 21st Centuries: World Trends and Ukrainian Realities in Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, No. 9 (4), 2020, 217-235. [in English].

Bîrzu, Z., *About Angels*, in *Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 1/May, 2021, pp. 255-263. [in English]. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.1.14

Blagodatov, G., *History of the Symphony Orchestra*, Muzyka, Leningrad, 1969, 312 p. [in Russian].

Block L., *Classical Dance. History and Modernity*, Art, Moscow, 1987, 556 p. [in Russian].

Daffner H., *Salome: ihre Gestalt in Geschichte und Kunst, Dictung, bildende Kunst, Musik*, Munchen, 1912.

Furnică, A., *Women's Image and Role in Art: From Medieval Virtuous Mystics to Today's Advertising Perverse Figures*, in *Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. VIII, No. 2/November, 2022, pp. 145-164 [in English]. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2021.2.07.

Gaspar, L., *Representations of the Tree of Life in Ancestors' Symbolics*, in *Anastasis. Research in Medieval Culture and Art*, Vol. IX, No. 2/November, 2022, pp. 70-106. [in English]. DOI: 10.35218/armca.2022.2.05

Ghorbunova, I., *Buffoons. Ukraïnsjka muzyčna encyklopedija*, Publishing house IMFE, Kyiv, 2023, Vol. 6, 676 p. [in Ukrainian].

Hromchenko, V.V., *Wind Solo in the European Academic Composition and Performance of the 20th-the Early 21st Centuries (Development Trends, Specifics, Systematics): Monograph*, LIRA, Kyiv-Dnipro, 2020, 304 p. [in Ukrainian].

Karpyak, A., *Flute Art in the Light of the Historical Significance of Methodological Schools and Directions in Music Education: The Past and Present*, in *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*. 2020. No. 9 (1), pp. 286–294. [in English].

Khudekov C. N., *General History of Dance*, EKSMO, Moscow, 2009, 608 p. [in Russian].

Levin, S., *Wind Instruments in the History of Musical Culture*. Leningrad, Muzyka, 1973, 264 p. [in Russian].

Livanova, T., *History of Western European Music until 1789*, Vol. 1, Muzyka, Moscow, 1983, 696 p. [in Russian].

Menil F., *Histoire de la danse à travers les âges*, Paris, 1906, P. 137.

Musical aesthetics of the Western European Middle Ages /Introductory article and texts arranged by V. P. Shestakov, Muzychna Ukraïna, Kyiv, 1976, 264 p. [in Ukrainian].

Nemkovich, O., *Ukrainian Musicology of the 20th Century as a System of Scientific Disciplines*, Stal, Kyiv, 2006, 534 p. [in Ukrainian].

Olijnyk, O. Gh., *The History of the Formation and Development of a Chamber Ensemble with a Harp in the Composition*, NOVA KNYGA, Vinnytsya, 2005, 200 p. [in Ukrainian].

Parnac, V., *Histoire de la danse*, Paris, 1932, pl. 13, p. 5.

Pogrebnyak, M. M., *New Directions of Theatrical Dance of the 20th – The Beginning of the 21st Centuries: Historical and Cultural Preconditions, Cross-Cultural Connections, Stylistic Typology: Monograph*, Astraia, Kyiv-Poltava, 2020, 327 p. [in Ukrainian].

Saponov, M. A., *Minstrels. A Book about the Music of Medieval Europe*, Klassika – XXI, Moscow, 2004, 400 p. [in Russian].

Strehly, G., *L'acrobatie et les acrobats*, Paris, 1904, p. 28. [France].

Thornton, L., *Music Education at a Distance* in *Journal of Music Teacher Education*, No. 29 (3), 2020, 3–6. [in English].

Vuillier, G., *Dance, Their History and Development*, Print house of A. S. Suvorin, St. Petersburg, 1902, 121 p. [in Russian].

Yelyukhina, O. O., *Problems of the Development of Dance Art of Ukraine. Period of Kyivan Rus*, Ph. D. Thesis. Institute of Art Studies, Folklore Studies and Ethnology named after M. T. Rytsky of the National Academy of Sciences, Kyiv, 1996, 25 p. [in Ukrainian].

Zaghloul, H. S., *The Theater in the Educational Context: Elements of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats*, in *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, No. 9 (2), 2020, pp. 106–122 [in English].

MEDIEVAL CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

Batik Re-Invention in the Construction of the Identity of Indonesian Modern Painting

Syakir*

Bandi Sobandi*

Bangkit Sanjaya***

Untung****

Sri Verayanti R.*****

Riza Istanto*****

Abstract: *The development of modern Indonesian painting until the 1970s, which was dominated by Western modern painting, fostered the spirit of identity in modern Indonesian painting. This study investigated the problem of batik re-invention in constructing the identity of modern painting in Indonesia (Yogyakarta). Historical qualitative research is reflected within a case study approach. The subject of this study is a modern Indonesian-Yogyakarta painter, having in view especially his paintings. The target of this research was modern Indonesian painters in Yogyakarta (as the forerunners of the emergence of batik painting). Data collection techniques include document study and observation. Data analysis in this study consists of the initial stages of defining and explaining, the preparatory stage, collection, and evaluation, as well as the final stage of analysis and conclusion. The results of the study consisted of three main aspects, as follows: first, modern Indonesian-Yogyakarta painters adapted the principle of batik in presenting painting works that have an Indonesian identity; second, the form of batik re-invention as a medium of modern painting between Indonesia and Yogyakarta comes in various patterns; and third, modern painters of Yogyakarta are pioneers of batik painting. This*

* Lecturer, Department of Visual Arts Education, Faculty of Language and Arts, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia. Email: kirmuharrar@mail.unnes.ac.id

** Lecturer, Department of Visual Arts Education, Faculty of Art and Design Education, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia. Email: bas@upi.edu

*** Lecturer, Department of Visual Arts Education, Faculty of Language and Arts, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia. Email: bangkitsanjaya@mail.unnes.ac.id

**** Lecturer, Department of Visual Arts Education, Faculty of Art and Design, Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia. Email: untung@unm.ac.id

***** Theacher, SMK Negeri 3 Semarang, Indonesia. Email: sriverayanti@yahoo.com

***** Lecturer, Department of Visual Arts Education, Faculty of Language and Arts, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia. Email: istantoriza8@gmail.com

research has contributed to artists' exploration of the identity of the image of modern Indonesian painting through the re-invention of batik.

Keywords: batik re-invention, identity construction, modern painting, Indonesia, decorative, abstract expressive

Introduction

The search for Indonesian identity in Indonesian art discourse has a long history. At least at the beginning of the 20th century, several debates or polemics about Indonesian identity in terms of painting emerged. Sujojono started polemics against the identity of Indonesian painting regarding the Mooi Indie movement as a response to Hopman's statement about the future of Indonesian painting. The next polemic was the emergence of two art institutions in Bandung and Yogyakarta. Trisno Sumardjo's writing entitled *Bandung Mengabdikan Laboratorium Barat* (Bandung Serves Western Laboratory) assesses the tendency of Bandung painters to be oriented towards Western influences. Through his writings, Oesman Effendi gave a harsh tone, saying that until then there was no painting with Indonesian characteristics. The controversial opinion about the identity of Indonesian painting then culminated in the *Desember Hitam* (Black December) event, a significant turning point that triggered the appearance of a new Indonesian art movement by abandoning the old ways and embracing a more indigenous approach¹².

The globalization of postmodern art principles that developed in America in the 1980s influenced Indonesia with the emergence of new ways³. This new way of encouraging modern Indonesian painters to search for their identity continues occasionally. As debates over the identity of modern Indonesian painting raged, batik painting emerged as a suitable answer to doubts. Batik painting as part of the development of contemporary painting appeared in the 1970s, when painters in Yogyakarta actively explored mediums other than oil paint on canvas⁴. In this case, modern painters from Yogyakarta played a pivotal role in the emergence of batik painting in Indonesia. Their innovative use of batik as a medium for contemporary painting, as highlighted by Iwan Tirta, an Indonesian batik designer,

¹Burhan, M. Agus, *Perkembangan Seni Lukis, Mooi Indie Sampai Persagi di Batavia, 1900-1942*, Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, 2008, pp.1-5.

²Soetomo, Ibrahim, 'Pencarian Identitas Kesenian dalam Manifesto-Manifesto Seni di Indonesia', *NATAR (Jurnal Prodi Seni Murni)*, Vol. 1, no.1, 2022, pp. 41–62.

³Supangkat, Jim, 'Seni Rupa Era 80 Pengantar untuk Biennale Seni Rupa Jakarta IX, 1993', in *Biennale Seni Rupa Jakarta IX*, Dewan Kesenian Jakarta, Jakarta, 1993, pp. 12–27.

⁴Desynifita, 'Seni Lukis Batik: Ekspresi Melampaui Fungsi', *Galeri Nasional*, 2019, p. 1 <http://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/galerinasional/seni-lukis-batik-hari-batik-nasional/>. (May 25, 2024)

underscores the uniqueness of batik as an Indonesian identity. The process involves using candles to create barriers on the fabric, resulting in a distinctive image subject⁵.

The existence of batik as an Indonesian identity cannot be doubted. According to historical data in the form of statues, at least in the Majapahit era, the existence of batik was already known in Indonesia. Temple statues such as Singasari, Penataran, and other loose finds stored in Indonesian museums are depicted wearing batik cloth. The batik approach is also used in several classical Indonesian paintings, such as kamasan paintings, wayang beber paintings, etc. The period of searching for the identity of modern Indonesian painting, by several modern painters in Yogyakarta, was chosen to answer the doubts of typical Indonesian modern painting. Nevertheless, painting with a batik approach is still ignored in the historical records of the development of contemporary Indonesian painting⁶.

The use of techniques in modern and contemporary painting today is closely related to the evolution of historical developments ranging from Prehistoric, Classical, Renaissance, Baroque, Modern, and Contemporary times. The techniques of the previous era became the basis for the development of the methods of the next era. Information on painting techniques from the past can be found in archaeological studies that many previous researchers have carried out. The “secco” technique in classical times, made from egg protein material, was found in Roman Pompeii paintings⁷. Similarly, the “fresco-secco” technique, a variation of the fresco technique that allows for more time to work on the painting, is found in the oldest (second century) frescoes in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Rommawi, that use decorative polychromatic techniques⁸. The Jinpari Tomb No. 4 mural painting found in the ancient tomb of Koguryo, made between the 3rd and 7th centuries in Pyongyang, Nampo, and Anak-gun in North Korea, shows colours layered with different fresco and secco techniques⁹. In other places, mural paintings with fresco technique are also found in the work by artist Fulvio Pennacchi,

⁵Syakir, ‘Konstruksi Identitas dalam Arena Produksi Kultural Seni Perbatikan Semarang’, *Disertasi*, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang, 2017.

⁶SP Soedarso, *Tinjauan Seni: Sebuah Pengantar untuk Apresiasi Seni*, Saku Dayar Sana, Yogyakarta, 1990, pp. 63-70.

⁷Pérez-Diez, Silvia, at.al., ‘Secco Painting Technique Revealed in Non-Restored Pompeian Murals by Analytical and Imaging Techniques’, *Microchemical Journal*, Vol.194, no.109365, 2023, pp. 1–11.

⁸Cortea, Ioana Maria, at. al., ‘First Analytical Study on Second-Century Wall Paintings from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa: Insights on the Materials and Painting Technique’, *International Journal of Architectural Heritage*, Vol. 14, no.5, 2020, pp. 751–61.

⁹ Lee, Hwa Soo and Han, Kyeong Soon ‘Contribution to the Understanding of Mural Painting Techniques of Jinpari Tomb No. 4 of the Complex of Koguryo Tombs, World Heritage’, *Crystals*, Vol. 13, no.459, 2023, pp. 1–13.

painted in 1954 in the city of São Paulo, Brazil¹⁰. Findings from research and restoration activities on medieval and Renaissance frescoes at Riga Castle in Latvia are the latest information about frescoes in chapels and decorative paintings (17th century AD) in vaults and dining room vault consoles¹¹. The paintings are presented decoratively.

Decorative painting, as a style of painting with various mediums, has been found in archaeology in multiple civilizations and nations worldwide. The results of archaeological studies have found several decorative-style paintings on historical objects or sites. Through X-ray microfluorescence (μ XRF) analysis, the elemental composition of the pigments used in these decorative paintings was successfully characterized on cardboard fragments from the Egyptian mummy sarcophagus at the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil¹². Relics of decorative painting artifacts were also found at Fengxian Dian (an ancestor worship hall within the Forbidden City where the imperial families of the Ming and Qing dynasties offered sacrifices to their ancestors) in the Forbidden City, which preserves colour paintings from the early Qing dynasty in China. Artifacts of decorative paintings have also been found on the ancestral shrines of Ming and Qing dynasty imperial families, which were used for offering sacrifices to their ancestors in the Forbidden City in Fengxian Dian. This indigo dye is used in ancient fabrics and as a widely used pigment in decorative paintings of historical buildings¹³.

Decorative-style paintings are also found in several countries, such as Italy, India, the Netherlands, and China. In the 12th and 14th centuries, decorative paintings applied to liturgical partitions were found in Verona, Northern Italy¹⁴. Distemper decorative paintings using natural materials were found in wooden buildings on India's Taj Mahal in the Mughal period, green

¹⁰ Magon, Patricia Marques and Del Lama, Eliane Aparecida, 'Material Characterization, Stratigraphy, Textures, and Painting Techniques of the Mural Painting The Allegory of the Industrial Development of São Paulo by Fulvio Pennacchi', *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 64, no.7, 2019, pp. 387–96.

¹¹ Rasiņa, Madara, et al., 'The Recent Discovery, Research, and Restoration of Medieval and Renaissance Frescoes in Riga Castle—A Treasure to the Baltic Region', *Heritage*, Vol. 6, no.3, 2023, pp. 2435–2452.

¹² Calza, C. et al., 'X-Ray Microfluorescence Analysis of Pigments in Decorative Paintings from the Sarcophagus Cartonnage of an Egyptian Mummy', *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research, Section B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms*, Vol. 263, no.1 SPEC. ISS., 2007, 249–252.

¹³ Zhang, Xiao-Mei, et al., 'Micro and Nondestructive Analysis of Blue Dyes from Silk Fabrics and Decorative Painting of Historic Building (古代丝织品及古建彩画蓝色染料的微量及无损分析张晓梅)', *Spectroscopy and Spectral Analysis*, Vol. 30, no.12, 2010, pp. 3254–3257.

¹⁴ Franco, Tiziana, 'Separazioni Liturgiche e Decorazione Pittorica in Ambito Veronese (XII–XIV Secolo)', *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium*, Vol. 25, no.2, 2019, pp. 496–505.

in the 17th and 18th centuries¹⁵. In the Netherlands, decorative-style paintings are also found in the Koopmanshuis (Merchant's House) at Rechter Rottekade 405-407 in Rotterdam, which underwent major renovations to the façade, staircase, and reception hall of the first floor in the mid-eighteenth century¹⁶. The use of traditional (natural) colours is also found in ancient artifacts in China, including pottery statues painted in purple excavated from the Chu Tombs group of the Western Han dynasty in Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province; the dark blue dye with Indigofera material derived from silk textiles in the Palace Museum; and the green pigment derived from decorative paintings on ancient architecture in the Palace Museum¹⁷.

In Indonesia, the development of modern painting shows another symptom. If decorative painting techniques and styles are raised in contemporary painting with certain techniques in other countries, then in Indonesia, these techniques and styles have been applied and developed in batik. The decorative style of batik emerged in modern Indonesian painting in the 1970s, when the identity discourse appeared to be fought for. Using techniques or approaches that show the image of the chosen batik is a symptom of identity search. If, in several countries, as mentioned above, new painting techniques are found, then in Indonesia, it is also the case. Batik technique is unique in developing modern painting in Indonesia, but this problem has escaped researchers (no further research has ever been conducted).

The study of painting based on technique and style, especially decorative styles, has been discovered by several previous researchers. However, the study of decorative style painting as a re-invention of batik to reconstruct the identity of modern painting in Indonesia with its ornamental style has not been found. For this reason, the author tries to explore through this paper, the re-invention of batik carried out by modern painters to create a distinctive Indonesian painting identity that develops in Yogyakarta as a world cultural city today.

This batik re-invention research in constructing the identity of modern painting contributes to artists maintaining and developing the treasures of modern Indonesian painting. The application of batik imagery, both technical and stylistic, in the development of contemporary Indonesian painting is an effort to construct an identity mark based on Indonesian culture.

¹⁵Pandey, Nish, '17th and 18th Century Distemper Decorative Paint in Wooden Mugals Buildings in India Painting Technique, Materials and Alteration', *International Journal of Advanced Research in Science, Communication and Technology*, Vol. 3, no.1.2023, 906–911.

¹⁶Clarijs, Jojanneke, 'A Merchant Widow's Salon Eighteenth-Century Decorative Paintings in a Rotterdam House [de Kamer van Een Koopvrouw Achttiende-Eeuwse Interieurschilderingen in Een Rotterdams Huis]', *Bulletin KNOB*, Vol. 121, no.1, 2022, pp. 21–42.

¹⁷Cheng, Xiaolin, et. al., 'Three Fabricated Pigments (Han Purple, Indigo and Emerald Green) in Ancient Chinese Artifacts Studied by Raman Microscopy, Energy-dispersive X-ray Spectrometry and Polarized Light Microscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, Vol. 38, 2007, pp. 1274–1279.

Method

The approach in this research is qualitative, using case study research¹⁸. The study was used to report findings related to the search for the identity of modern Yogyakarta paintings that are typical of Indonesia. Case studies show the efforts of several modern Yogyakarta painters in finding the identity of Indonesian painting. The following components are part of the research method.

Subject and Objectives of the Study

The re-invention of batik in the construction of the identity of modern Indonesian painting in Yogyakarta is a historical research project with several works and the creation of paintings as the focus of study¹⁹. This study's subject is a modern painter from Yogyakarta, whose work is based on typical Indonesian culture (batik). The research targets modern painters in Yogyakarta, who create painting identities based on Indonesian cultural identity. These painters are Abas Alibasyah, Widayat, Bagong Kusudiardjo, V.A. Sudiro, Ida Hadjar, and Amri Yahya. The six painters explored batik painting in the 1970s (the year in which the discourse on the search for the identity of Indonesian painting was rolling).

Data Collection Techniques

Data collection in this study was carried out through observation techniques, interviews, and document studies. The observation technique is used to obtain painting data from six modern Yogyakarta painters. The data is related to the medium of work, style, artistic embodiment, and identity of painting works. Interview techniques have been used to obtain data about the painter's profile, concept of work, work process, work identity, creativity, and historical setting. The document study technique is carried out to obtain data related to the profile of the painter, painting style, artistic performance of the work, elements of batik in the work, creativity, identity of the work, and historical setting.

Data Analysis Techniques

The evaluation of research data is based on procedures that look at special aspects attached to this study, namely the identity of modern Indonesian painting based on cultural conservation (batik). The collected data

¹⁸Yin, Robert K., *Case Study Research: Design and Method*, 3rd Edition, Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 2003, pp.17-20.

¹⁹Sumartono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Seni Rupa dan Desain* Pusat Studi Reka Racang Visual dan Lingkungan, Universitas Trisakti, Jakarta, 2017, pp. 97-111.

are analyzed inductively by applying an interactive analysis model²⁰. Through reduction, presentation, and conclusion, the scope of analysis in the study of profile analysis of six painters and visualization of their paintings is discussed. The initial stage of research defines and designs the research. It has mapped out theories that lead to research findings related to the identity of modern Indonesian painting based on cultural conservation. The second stage is preparing, collecting, and analyzing data. In the second stage, the collected data are detailed on several issues, such as: history, Indonesian culture (batik), identity, and the creativity of the paintings created. Once detailed, the data focused on key issues (analysis of themes) to understand the case's complexity. The final step relates to themes that go beyond the studied cases so that conclusions are obtained.

Findings and discussion

The Painter's Profile

The decade of the 1970s in Indonesia saw major changes in the development of fine arts. With the development of discourse from Indonesian painters in the 1970s to find an Indonesian painting identity, Yogyakarta painters flocked to discover a distinctive Indonesian painting identity. Various ways or approaches are explored by painters, including exploring the potential or cultural values of the past that became the identity of the nation, one of which is through batik. Painters in Yogyakarta have pioneered using batik as a mark of identity in creating typical Indonesian paintings (batik painting). Several painters in Yogyakarta use batik as an identity in their paintings.

1. Abas Alibasyah is a painter born in Purwakarta in 1928 who has studied at Keimin Bunka Shidoso Bandung (a cultural institution formed by Japan) since 1943. Abas then studied painting officially at ASRI (Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts), taught, and even led ASRI^{21 22}. His painting approach tends towards abstract art with masks as a hallmark.
2. Widayat is a modern Indonesian painter who has been involved in establishing *Pelukis Indonesia Muda* (Young Indonesian Painters) in Yogyakarta. He was born in Kutoarjo, Central Java, in 1923. His artistic career began at ASRI in 1949. Widayat then became a lecturer at ASRI Yogyakarta. Widayat had studied in Japan about ceramics, printing, and

²⁰Miles, Matthew B. , Huberman, A. Michael and Saldaña, Johnny, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, Third Edition, SAGE Publications Inc., California, 2014, p. 101.

²¹Rohidi, Tjetjep Rohendi, *Lintasan Peristiwa dan Tokoh Seni Rupa Indonesia Baru*, IKIP Semarang Press, Semarang, 1984, pp.5-9.

²²Rohidi, Tjetjep Rohendi, *Lintasan Peristiwa dan Tokoh Seni Rupa Indonesia Baru*, IKIP Semarang Press, Semarang, 1984, pp. 5-9.

- gardening. Even in 1991, he established a museum in Magelang²³. Widayat is a decorative painter who explores various media in his work.
3. Bagong Kusudiardjo is a versatile artist. He is not only known as a dance artist but also plays a role in the development of fine arts in Indonesia. Bagong Kusudiardjo was born in Yogyakarta on October 9, 1928. He graduated from the Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts (1950) and joined the group *Pelukis Indonesia* (Indonesian Painters) in 1953²⁴. The artist learned painting from Hendra Gunawan (1946). He also established the Bagong Kusudiardja art depot in Kembar Kasihan Village, Yogyakarta. Bagong's paintings often feature the subject of a dancer, according to his background (that of a choreographer or a dance creator).
 4. V. A. Sudiro is a painter born in Yogyakarta in 1938 and has been studying at the Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts (ASRI) since 1960. He has contributed to the construction of the National Monument²⁵. Sudiro paints in a surrealist style and often presents Semar figures in his paintings. He not only paints but also makes sculptures and crafts. In addition, he explores how to paint with batik techniques.
 5. Ida Hadjar is a painter born in Wonosobo, Central Java, 1942 who settled in Yogyakarta. He studied fine arts at the Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts (ASRI) and has held several exhibitions and awards related to fine arts both in Indonesia and abroad. Ida's paintings appear simply as decorative figures. She often features female figures in her paintings.
 6. Amri Yahya was born in Palembang on September 29, 1939. Amri Yahya studied fine arts at IKIP Yogyakarta (graduated in 1971). Amri Yahya settled in Yogyakarta and established a gallery on Jalan Gampingan No. 6, Wirobrajan Yogyakarta. Thanks to his batik painting skills, he has been recorded since 1977 as an honorary member of the *International Association of Art* (IAA) at UNESCO in Paris. The ability to create batik paintings led Amri Yahya to organize painting exhibitions in various countries, and Amri Yahya is even called the pioneer of Indonesian batik painting. Since 1962, many have made batik experiments with Japanese, Chinese, and Arabic calligraphy elements.²⁶

Characteristics and Patterns of Work

The existence of painters through their works has its characteristics and identity. This is found in the work of the six painters (Abas, Widayat,

²³Dermawan, Agus T., 'Widayat dan Retrospeksi 2000', in *Pameran 81 Tahun Widayat*, Galeri Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, 2000, p. 19.

²⁴Rohidi.

²⁵Rohidi.

²⁶Rohidi.

Bagong, Sudiro, Ida, and Amri), along with their typical Indonesian painting identities through past cultural identities, namely batik. The six Yogyakarta painters reinvented batik to create a distinctive Indonesian painting identity. Although they all use batik to form identity, each painter has a different work style. For example, Widayat's paintings combine magical decorative cubism with Indonesian and East Asian art to look oriental and classic²⁷. In the decorative style, Abas Alibasyah and Widayat arranged various visual elements (lines, colors, etc.) with a tendency to abstraction that was more dominant through visual responses obtained from the world around the painter²⁸. In developing painting, Bagong Kussudiardja experimented with traditional styles and themes²⁹. Ida Hadjar visualizes her paintings traditionally and uninfluenced by popular culture³⁰.

Different patterns or tendencies of each painter can be seen in the choice of themes and styles of embodiment or approach to the painting. Abas chose the abstract approach when presenting paintings using batik techniques. As in painting using canvas, Abas tends to paint abstractly. Often, Abas combines abstract forms with decorative masks. The batik paintings collected by the National Gallery of Indonesia entitled *Komposisi* (Composition) created in 1971 and *Tiga Wajah Vertikal* (Three Vertical Face) made in 1974 display abstractions of three face shapes that blend. The batik method Abas uses in displaying paintings is obstacle-dyeing with night, cloth, and colour to present the image's subject. His work features lines formed from hot wax marks using canting and white blocks of fabric left intact. However, in terms of the embodiment of the work, Abas's paintings are separated from the batik style, which displays motifs, patterns, and ornamental varieties.

Amri Yahya is another batik painter who chooses an abstract approach as his identity. At first glance, his batik paintings impress with the strokes of colour obtained from brushes. The impression of the paint strokes is made from applying hot wax to the cloth with brushes and canting. Small spontaneous lines are obtained by incising candles with canting, while wide strokes are obtained with a brush. Amri Yahya let go of the traditional batik method that presents motifs and patterns into expressive painting expressions. This method is done through spontaneous strokes of hot wax, resulting in abstract colour strokes. The batik approach used by Amri Yahya lies in the technique used. As for the aspect of batik visualization, it is not found in the way Amri Yahya paints. Amri Yahya does not present typical batik motifs, unlike Abas. For

²⁷Prasetya, Nova Agung; Budi, Setyo and Nurcahyanti, Desy, 'Kritik Seni Ekspresivistik Pada Karya Dekoratif Widayat', *Ars: Jurnal Seni Rupa dan Desain*, Vol. 24, no.1, 2021, pp. 1–8.

²⁸Yuliman, Sanento, 'New Indonesian Painting', in *Indonesian Artists Engage Politics, Society and History*, ed. by Elly Kent, Virginia Hooker, and Caroline Turner, ANU Press, 2023.

²⁹Küster, Volker, 'The Christian Art Scene in Yogyakarta, Indonesia', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 40, no.2, 2016, pp. 133–151.

³⁰Wulandari, Ayu, 'Kaum Perempuan Dalam Diplomasi Kebudayaan Indonesia, 1945-1960an', *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 6, no.2 2020, pp. 319–342.

example, the titles of his paintings made in 1976 show an attempt to break out of the strict tradition of batik making. For example, two paintings entitled *Batik Abstrak* (Abstract Batik) and *Bismillah*.

Besides Abas and Amri, Bagong uses solely batik techniques in painting. Bagong does not present a variety of batik ornaments in its visual expressions. This is because even though the painting uses batik techniques, what is offered is still the figure of a dancer. His approach seems more naturalist-expressive. The line drawn from the nick of a hot candle with canting shows his skill in mastering the medium. There are also sections in the form of large fields filled with full wax to enhance the white colour of the fabric. These empty fields are left empty and filled with cracks like Bakaran batik patterns. Examples of this method are his works entitled *Srikandi Belajar Panah* (Srikandi Learning Arrows) created in 1973 and *Matahari dan Bunga* (Sun and Flowers) made in 1975, collected by the National Gallery of Indonesia.

The other three painters (Widayat, Sudiro, and Ida) are painters who not only use batik (batik making techniques) but also create ways to display motifs that are typical of batik. These three painters have chosen decorative painting styles. The difference lies in the choice of themes presented and the visualization of the decorative style. Widayat has chosen daily themes varying between human-animal interaction and puppets; Ida has given women's and religious themes; and Sudiro has chosen Javanese cultural themes.

Widayat's two works, *Sapi* (Cow) made in 1974 and *Batara Guru* created in 1974, are works using batik techniques. The image's subject is made decoratively with lines and dots. The obstacle course technique with night using canting appears on the contour of the white line of the fabric's color blocked by night (the candle). There are also white patches of cloth left white due to being blocked by candles. There are two colouring processes in the batik painting, namely the choice of bright and dark colors, so there are three colour elements that can be found in Widayat's work, namely bright, dark, and white fabric. The subject of the painting does not display the presence of batik elements. Widayat does not present a variety of batik ornaments but rather its distinctive painting identity, which is primitive and magically decorative. It is worth mentioning that the ways of making fills on painting subjects are attached to the batik way.

In two works made using batik techniques collected by the National Gallery of Indonesia, Ida Hadjar presented one religious theme entitled *Adam dan Hawa* (Adam and Eve) created in 1974 and one theme about women entitled *Ke Pasar* (To Market) created in 1974. Ida Hadjar does not display batik paintings like when painting with canvas. He did not present the batik method as a distinctive ornamental variety with motifs and loops (rejection). However, in the work entitled *Ke Pasar*, there is an effort to make fillings using the batik method.

At first glance, Sudiro's batik painting looks free, like painting on canvas, but when you look at the traces of batik, it can be seen from how to make ornaments to fill in the background plane of the subject. Sudiro uses batik techniques in his work and adapts to bringing new nuances. The artist still plays with various ornaments, such as garuda motifs, circles, boxes, twists, and several fillings. The theme of batik painting raises the issue of Javanese culture, namely Javanese brides, as seen in two works collected by the National Gallery of Indonesia, namely *Dua Pengantin Berdiri* (Two Brides Standing) and *Pengantin Perempuan* (Brides), made in 1975.

Batik Invention in Modern Indonesian-Yogyakarta Painter Painting

The re-invention of batik in modern painting in Yogyakarta presents a new nuance for creating an identity of expression with an Indonesian style. The painters use the values or characteristics of batik works to present a distinctive new pattern. The resulting painted expressions show a complex diversity. According to expert records, the 1970s in Yogyakarta represented the year marked by the search for the identity of modern Indonesian painting, and some modern painters of Yogyakarta developed a way of painting with batik techniques^{31 32}. It is even said to be the pioneers of modern Indonesian batik painting. This can be seen in the work of the six painters (Abas, Widayat, Bagong, Sudiro, Ida, and Amri) who explored batik painting extensively in the 1970s.

As a professional artist, he cannot only understand the structure of the painting style that has been made, simulate it, or even independently create it, but also express what he must know, understand, and master so that the existing painting style can "come to life" in a real painting. Thus, the artist's goal is not to understand the axiomatic structure of his established painting style and create in it but to create his new painting style³³. Technically, the inherent characteristics of batik lie in a technique called *rintang celup* (dyes resist), using hot nights with canting tools written on cloth, and ornamental varieties in visualization with the complexity of the filling elements. Technically, the inherent characteristics of batik lie in a technique called dye resist using hot nights with canting tools written on cloth, as well as the use of ornamental varieties in visualization with the complexity of the filling elements. The six


³¹Supangkat, Jim, 'Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia', in *Seni Rupa*, ed. by H Soemantri, Buku Antar Bangsa, Jakarta, 2002, pp. 100–101.

³²Wisesha, A., Krishbie, B.G. and Margono, T. 'Pengantar Kuratorial Pameran Seni Rupa Koleksi Galeri Nasional Indonesia Dekade 1970-an "Piknik 70-An"', in *Katalog Pameran Piknik 70-An*, Galeri Nasional Indonesia Museum dan Cagar Budaya Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan Riset, dan Teknologi Indonesia, Jakarta, 2023, p.11.

³³Muhovič, Jožef, 'Rethinking Painting Style from the Phenomeno-Logical Perspective: Fine Art and Axiomatic Method', *Phainomena*, Vol. 28, no.108–109, 2019, pp. 127–155.




modern painters of Yogyakarta use batik characteristics to present a distinctive painting expression. In general, it can be detailed in the following table:

Table 1. Re-invention of batik in the visualization of paintings of modern Indonesian-Yogyakarta painters

No.	Painters	The title of the work, the year it was created, and the visual of the work created	How Batik is Retained	Re-invention of batik in painting
1.	Abas Alibasyah	Title: <i>Tiga Wajah Vertikal</i> (Three Vertical Faces) Created: 1974  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ³⁴	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles / fabrics	Decorative Expressive lines Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank
2.	Abas Alibasyah	Title: <i>Komposisi</i> (Composition) Created: 1971  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ³⁵	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles / fabrics	Expressive abstract Expressive lines Expressive abstract Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank

³⁴Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.


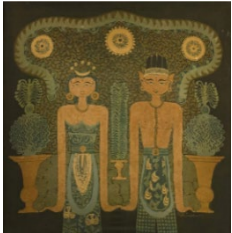

³⁵Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

No.	Painters	The title of the work, the year it was created, and the visual of the work created	How Batik is Retained	Re-invention of batik in painting
3.	Amri Yahya	Title: <i>Bismillah</i> Created: 1976  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ³⁶	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles / fabrics	Expressive abstract Expressive lines and colour strokes Pseudo-texture game Calligraphy Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank
4.	Amri Yahya	Title: <i>Batik Abstrak</i> (Abstract Batik) Created: 1976  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ³⁷	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles / fabrics	Expressive abstract Expressive lines and color strokes Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank
5.	Bagong Kusudiardja	Title: <i>Srikandi Belajar Panah</i> (Srikandi Learning Arrows) Created: 1973  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ³⁸	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles / fabrics	Decorative Expressive lines Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank

³⁶Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

³⁷Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.




³⁸Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

No.	Painters	The title of the work, the year it was created, and the visual of the work created	How Batik is Retained	Re-invention of batik in painting
6.	Bagong Kusudiardja	Title: <i>Matahari dan Bunga</i> (Sun and Flowers) Created: 1975 	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics	Decorative Expressive lines Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.
7.	V. A. Sudiro	Title: <i>Dua Pengantin Berdiri</i> (Two Brides Standing) Created: 1974 	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There are elements of ornamental variety.	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.
8.	V. A. Sudiro	Title: <i>Pengantin Perempuan</i> (Bride) Created: 1975 	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There are elements of ornamental variety.	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.

³⁹Wishesha, Krishbie, and Margono.


⁴⁰Wishesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

⁴¹Wishesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

No.	Painters	The title of the work, the year it was created, and the visual of the work created	How Batik is Retained	Re-invention of batik in painting
9.	Widayat	Title: <i>Sapi</i> (Cow) Created: 1974  Source: Photography by Riza Istanto (2023)	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There are elements of ornamental variety. There is an element of isen-isen	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.
10.	Widayat	Title: <i>Batara Guru</i> Created: 1974  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ⁴²	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There are elements of ornamental variety. There is an element of isen-isen	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.
11.	Ida Hadjar	Title: <i>Ke Pasar</i> (To Market) Created: 1974  Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023) ⁴³	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There is an element of isen-isen	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.

⁴²Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

⁴³Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

No.	Painters	The title of the work, the year it was created, and the visual of the work created	How Batik is Retained	Re-invention of batik in painting
12.	Ida Hadjar	Title: <i>Adam dan Hawa</i> (Adam and Eve) Created: 1974 	Batik technique (obstacle dye technique) Using textiles/fabrics There is an element of isen-isen	Decorative Pseudo-texture game Personal painting subjects There are fields left blank.

Source: National Gallery of Indonesia Documentation (2023)⁴⁴

Based on the data in the table above, the paintings created by the six artists can be categorized based on their artistic personality into two styles: expressive decorative and abstract. The decorative style can be seen in Abas Alibasyah's painting entitled *Tiga Wajah Vertikal* (Three Vertical Faces), Bagong Kusudiardja's painting entitled *Srikandi Belajar Panah* (Srikandi Learning Arrows), *Matahari dan Bunga* (Sun and Flowers), V. A. Sudiro's paintings entitled *Dua Pengantin Berdiri* (Two Brides Standing) and *Pengantin Perempuan* (Bride), Widayat's paintings entitled *Sapi* (Cow) and *Batara Guru*, Ida Hajar's paintings entitled *Ke Pasar* (To Market) and *Adam dan Hawa* (Adam and Eve). Meanwhile, expressive abstract-style paintings are found in Abas Alibasyah's work *Komposisi* (Composition) and Amri Yahya's paintings *Bismillah* and *Batik Abstrak* (Abstract Batik).

The description and analysis of findings related to the diversity of painting styles are in line with research reports which confirm that the conditions of different times, places, and artistic talents of artists are often the basis of different artists' styles. It is important to mention that style refers to the ideological content and creative style of a person's era, school, and literary and artistic works that show the attributes of epoch, nationality, and class⁴⁵. Using traditional art painting style classification methods based on colour space transformation can also effectively improve the image of conventional art paintings and effectively classify traditional art paintings with different

⁴⁴Wisesha, Krishbie, and Margono.

⁴⁵Guo, Wei, 'Oil Painting Art Style Extraction Method Based on Image Data Recognition', *Mathematical Problems in Engineering*, Vol. 2022, 2022, pp. 1–11.

styles, which has a strong application effect.⁴⁶With the advancement of digital technology today, genetic algorithms can help us determine the characteristics of oil painting styles⁴⁷. In addition, you can use the ANYXI classifier application, which is accurate, to introduce colour categories and classify painting styles⁴⁸.

In terms of visual appearance, only Sudiro maintains the method of ornamental variety batik. The way ornamental variety is placed is limited as a fill in the subject of painting. The ornamental variety in Sudiro's paintings does not appear as the main element in a close and regular looping pattern. Another way is to present the isen bada of the subject area, such as the batik method, but the placement is not as strict as in the batik isen. Widayat, Sudiro, and Ida Hadjar filled their subjects with lines and dots.

The novelty of how batik is used as a form of re-invention gives a touch of painting that is personal and characteristic of Indonesia. These methods are to present abstract shapes, expressive lines, texture games, and empty field games. Abas and Amri present abstract forms with batik techniques. Abas' abstract painting is more orderly with regular boundaries of planes, while Amri displays spontaneous and expressive strokes of lines and colours. In addition to having uniqueness and strength in line, texture, and composition, their paintings display the power of colour. This is in line with the findings of a case study of Islamic painting in Iran, which shows that the presence of colour in paintings strongly evokes certain emotions in the viewer compared to elements such as shape, texture, and other components⁴⁹.

The tendency or characteristic of batik is its visual appearance. Visually, batik shows elements of ornamental variety with regular repetition; motifs that become elements of ornamental variety are presented with shape-making techniques; there are decorative elements of isen-isen, where one area of fabric is full of ornamental varieties. The visual appearance shows an effort to get out of the ways of batik full of ornamental variety (re-invention), as in ethnic styles. Ethnic style characterizes the cultural conditions of heritage that have developed over a certain period. The emergence of ethnicity is influenced by factors such as the availability of various materials, production methods, popular designers, organizations, cross-cultural influences, innovation, and sustainable practices. Ethnic styles have developed geographically around

⁴⁶Zhe, Xu, 'Classification Method of Traditional Art Painting Style Based on Color Space Transformation', *International Journal of Advanced Computer Science and Applications*, Vol. 14, no.11, 2023, pp. 1005–1014.

⁴⁷Jin, Xin, 'Application of Machine Vision Based on Genetic Algorithm in Image Painting Style Method and Image Processing Optimization', *Soft Computing*, 1 (2023).

⁴⁸Costa, Vicent, et. al., 'An Art Painting Style Explainable Classifier Grounded on Logical and Commonsense Reasoning', *Soft Computing*, 2023.

⁴⁹Ranjgar, Babak, et. al., 'A Novel Method for Emotion Extraction from Paintings Based on Luscher's Psychological Color Test: Case Study Iranian-Islamic Paintings', *IEEE Access*, Vol. 7, 2019, 120857–120871.

Asia and the Pacific, Africa, Latin and Central America, North America, and Europe⁵⁰.

The method of colouring batik is often made with definite and even strokes, while what the six painters do pursues a false impression of texture. The colouring is deliberately made uneven to produce a specific texture. This method is made with expressive brushstrokes or breaking up the night barrier to produce the impression of irregular line spots. In addition to texture, lines made with night are not in directional control, giving the appearance of expressive lines, including when making isen-isen. The last method that differs from the batik method is leaving empty pieces of cloth without filling. Batik tends not to leave the field of cloth empty so that it is full of motifs, while what is done by six painters is different from the way of batik, which is to leave the empty field unfilled with painting subjects. From this, it appears that the Yogyakarta batik painters were pioneers, apart from the strict visual discipline of batik.

Efforts to reconstruct batik culture are needed in the context of its nationalization and internationalization. Various efforts to strengthen cultural identity in the field of batik have been observed in Indonesia, including the development of batik designs based on the potential and beauty of the Javanese acidic plant flora environment⁵¹. The development of tourism villages in the context of the dualism of modern versus cultural heritage transformation⁵², the development of distribution and marketing of Malangan batik production as a means of proper cultural promotion in a wide area that is adapted to the development of consumer trends in a particular era⁵³ and the development of batik designs of Ebeg and Pataruman batik motifs to strengthen the identity of Banjar City in West Java⁵⁴. Similarly, as researchers have discussed, identity construction efforts can be carried out through batik re-invention through the paintings of artists from Yogya. The image of batik affirms the identity of typical Indonesian painting. The complex and multidimensional process of

⁵⁰Venkatasamy, Nithyaprakash and Vadicherla, Thilak, 'Ethnic Styles and Their Local Strengths', in *Ethnic Fashion, Environmental Footprints and Eco-Design of Products and Processes*, ed. by Gardetti, Miguel Angel and Muthu, Subramanian Senthilkannan, Springer, Singapore, 2016, pp. 131–166.

⁵¹Syakir, at. al., 'Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica* L.): Source of Ideas Behind the Semarang Batik Motifs to Strengthen Local Cultural Identity', *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, Vol. 22, no.1, 2022, pp. 78–90.

⁵²Dewi, S. P., Ristanti, N. S. and Kurniati, R., 'The Economic Sustainability Model of Community Based Tourism in Batik Kampong Semarang', *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, Vol. 409, no.1, 2020, pp. 1–11.

⁵³Hermanto Candra, Priskardus, at. al., 'Rebranding of Malangan Batik as a Symbol of Malang's Cultural Identity through Value Chain Analysis', in *E3S Web of Conferences*, Vol. 4266, no. 02129, 2023, pp. 1–6.

⁵⁴Krisnawati, and others, 'Identity Exhibition in Batik Motifs of Ebeg and Pataruman', *SAGE Open*, Vol. 9, no.2, 2019, pp. 1–7.

identity construction in cross-national and cross-cultural work arrangements is an important aspect for understanding individual and cultural-specific traits and demonstrating how individuals with plural identities influence and transform contemporary organizations⁵⁵.

The development of batik craft art is supported by batik artisans, who have skills as master craft workers. These artisans act as resources, instructors, and people responsible for preserving batik culture to be shared with the younger generation⁵⁶. Similarly, in painting, the presence of artists who have technical and aesthetic skills also plays a role in preserving and developing the field of painting, which raises the roots of traditional culture. Thus, the emergence of batik artists and activists has also succeeded in placing batik in the hearts of many Indonesians and even the world⁵⁷.

Painting as an expression and medium of communication in traditional art⁵⁸. The application of painting techniques is associated with the image (impression) of batik as a traditional art through the application of deformation, stimulation, and *isen-isen* carried out by painting artists as new findings in typical Indonesian painting. The use of decorative batik painting images has similarities with Islamic art culture, which seeks to deform and stylize objects. This is in line with archaeological findings on pottery artwork in the Middle Ages, which show decorative images in the form of visualization of ornamental patterns and motifs in pottery designs as an impact of Islamic ideology in society in the past⁵⁹. This is reinforced by research reports that in Islamic art, the presence of flora motifs as ornaments occupies a special place, has symbolic, mythological, and sacred meanings, and has created abstract motifs⁶⁰. Thus, people's ideologies, beliefs, and views impact the formation of the works of art's artistic makeup.

As demonstrated by the table above, contemporary Indonesian-Yogyakarta painters' re-invention of batik in painting imagery demonstrates their propensity to preserve the batik-making process while presenting fresh,

⁵⁵Karjalainen, Helena, 'Cultural Identity and Its Impact on Today's Multicultural Organizations', *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, Vol. 20, no.2. 2020, pp. 249–262.

⁵⁶Norhayati, Hussin, at. al., 'The Essential Role of Master Craftworkers in Preserving Local Content in the Malaysian Cottage Industry in Malaysia', *Journal of Hunan University Natural Sciences*, Vol. 48, no.7, 2021, pp 180–191.

⁵⁷Natanegara, E. A. and Djaya, Dira, *Batik Indonesia*, Yayasan Batik Indonesia, Jakarta, 2019, pp. 33-50.

⁵⁸Cătălin Soreanu, 'From Media to Mediums of Expression. Visual Art Communication and Meaning from Fine Arts to Advertising', *Anastasis*, Vol. 7, no.2, 2020, pp. 261–276.

⁵⁹Behshid, Babak, at. al., 'The Impact of Islamic Ideology in the Society Based on Pottery Designs of Islamic Middle Ages', *Anastasis*, Vol. 9, no.2 2022, pp. 39–55.

⁶⁰Jansoz, Hamidreza and Sodaei, Bitā, 'Influence of Ornamental Motifs of the Sassanid Period on the Ornamentation of the Vegetable-Islamic Painting of the Mosques of Al-e Buya: Case Studies of the Paintings of the Georgiere Mosque, Nain Mosque, and Zawarrah Mosque', *Journal of Archaeological Studies*, Vo. 13, no.2, 2021, pp. 1–22.

individual characteristics, or the individuality of painting. The six artists employed batik painting methods in all their 1970s-era pieces. Every painter uses fabric. This indicates that the painters have not, in theory, altered the fundamental essence of batik. This discovery also demonstrates that the creative process of creating art can be carried out in several stages, including developing work conceptions, creative investigation, material processing, and actual creation of works⁶¹.

The existence of batik as a national identity lies in the characteristics of batik that appear in visual images in the form of decorative arts. Visual imagery in this batik re-invention can construct the identity of modern Indonesian painting. Batik re-invention is an effort to consciously build a new identity that departs from tradition and can be a source of creativity and affirmation for Indonesia in the global market⁶². This aligns with the statement that national identity is not born but a product of civilization. Education is a process of civilization; therefore, the development of national identity through education means that the process takes place within the scope of a culture⁶³. Identity can be understood as the socialization process of an individual or group of people influenced by various factors around them, which causes a certain form of self-recognition and makes them feel comfortable with it⁶⁴.

Conclusion

Batik painting as part of the development of modern Indonesian painting emerged in the 1970s, when painters in Yogyakarta had been actively exploring mediums other than oil paint on canvas. Abas Alibasyah, Widayat, Bagong Kusudiardjo, V.A. Sudiro, Ida Hadjar, and Amri Yahya are modern Indonesian painters living in Yogyakarta who, in the 1970s, developed a specific way of painting with the medium of batik.

The characteristics and patterns of batik paintings displayed by Yogyakarta painters show their diversity. In terms of themes, they show various types of themes: plants, animals, and humans; natural landscapes; daily human life; abstract; culture and religion. Stylistically, they can be grouped into two types, namely abstract and decorative styles.

⁶¹Ponimin and Guntur, 'Expressing the Robustness of Love in Ceramic Art: A Creative Approach Study', *Anastasis*, Vol. 7, no.2, 2020, pp. 285–306.

⁶²Moersid, Ananda Feria, 'Re-Invensi Batik dan Identitas Indonesia dalam Arena Pasar Global', *Jurnal Ilmiah Widya*, Vol. 1, no.2, 2013, pp. 121–28.

⁶³Tilar, H A.A., *Mengindonesia, Etnisitas dan Identitas Bangsa Indonesia: Tinjauan dari Perspektif Ilmu Pendidikan*, Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 2007, p. 193.

⁶⁴Khairi, Aizat; Abdul Hamid, Shamsul Effendy; and Ismail, Shaiful Bakri, 'Penonjolan Identiti Budaya Melayu Menerusi Aplikasi Batik dalam Pembuatan Bot Gentian Kaca (Fibreglass Boat) di Universiti Kuala Lumpur Malaysian Institute of Marine Engineering Technology (UniKL MIMET), Lumut, Perak', *Wacana Seni Journal of Arts Discourse*, Vol. 17, 2018, pp. 183–201.

The search for Indonesian painting identity through batik re-invention is approached in two ways: batik membatik technique (obstacle-dyeing) and visual appearance (ornamental variety method). The six painters overturn the technique of batik with cloth material. At the same time, the visualization of the painting shows an effort to get out of the tightness of the batik method (re-invention). The efforts to reinvent the batik include ornamental variety, which is presented only as filler for the main subject of painting (only done by V.A. Sudiro). Abas and Amri create abstract shapes through expressive brushstrokes and line pulls. The six painters pursue texture elements through expressive strokes of colour, break up the night barrier, and leave empty fields without motive fills.

Bibliography:

Behshid, Babak; Rezalou, Reza; Hajizadeh, Karim; and Afkhami, Behrouz, ‘The Impact of Islamic Ideology in the Society Based on Pottery Designs of Islamic Middle Ages’, *Anastasis*, 9.2, (2022), pp. 39–55.

Burhan, M. Agus, *Perkembangan Seni Lukis, Mooi Indie Sampai Persagi di Batavia, 1900-1942*, Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia, 2008.

Calza, C.; Anjos, M. J.; de Souza, S. M.F.Mendonça; Brancaglion, A.; and Lopes, R. T., ‘X-Ray Microfluorescence Analysis of Pigments in Decorative Paintings from the Sarcophagus Cartonnage of an Egyptian Mummy’, *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research, Section B: Beam Interactions with Materials and Atoms*, Vol. 263, No.1 SPEC. ISS., 2007, pp. 249–252.

Cheng, Xiaolin; Xia, Yin; Ma, Yanru; and Lei, Yong, ‘Three Fabricated Pigments (Han Purple, Indigo and Emerald Green) in Ancient Chinese Artifacts Studied by Raman Microscopy, Energy-dispersive X-ray Spectrometry and Polarized Light Microscopy’, *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, Vol. 38, 2007, pp. 1274–1279.

Clarijs, Jojanneke, ‘A Merchant Widow’s Salon Eighteenth-Century Decorative Paintings in a Rotterdam House [de Kamer van Een Koopvrouw Achttiende-Eeuwse Interieurschilderingen in Een Rotterdams Huis]’, *Bulletin KNOB*, Vol. 121, no. 1, 2022, pp. 21–42.

Cortea, Ioana Maria; Ghervase, Luminița; Țentea, Ovidiu; Pârău, Anca Constantina; and Rădvan, Roxana, ‘First Analytical Study on Second-Century Wall Paintings from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa: Insights on the Materials and Painting Technique’, *International Journal of Architectural Heritage*, Vol. 14, no. 5. 2020, pp. 751–761.

Costa, Vicent; Alonso-Moral, Jose M.; Falomir, Zoe; and Dellunde, Pilar, ‘An Art Painting Style Explainable Classifier Grounded on Logical and Commonsense Reasoning’, *Soft Computing*, 2023.

Dermawan, Agus T., ‘Widayat Dan Retrospeksi 2000’, in *Pameran 81 Tahun Widayat*. Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia, 2000.

Desynifita, ‘Seni Lukis Batik: Ekspresi Melampaui Fungsi’, *Galeri Nasional*, 2019, p. 1., <http://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/galerinasional/seni-lukis-batik-hari-batik-nasional/>, (May 25, 2024).

Dewi, S. P.; Ristianti, N. S.; and Kurniati, R., ‘The Economic Sustainability Model of Community Based Tourism in Batik Kampong Semarang’, *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, Vol. 409, no. 1, 2020, pp. 1-11.

Franco, Tiziana, ‘Separazioni Liturgiche e Decorazione Pittorica in Ambito Veronese (XII-XIV Secolo)’, *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium*, Vol. 25, no. 2, 2019, pp. 496–505.

Guo, Wei, ‘Oil Painting Art Style Extraction Method Based on Image Data Recognition’, *Mathematical Problems in Engineering*, Vol. 2022, (2022), 1–11.

Hermanto Candra, Priskardus; Widita, Anindya; Hilmy Maulida, Faishal; Shanti, Mardhatilah; and Benny Kusuma, Yoseph, ‘Rebranding of Malangan Batik as a Symbol of Malang’s Cultural Identity through Value Chain Analysis’, in *E3S Web of Conferences*, 2023, Vol. 426, no. 02129, pp. 1–6.

Jansoz, Hamidreza; and Sodaei, Bit, ‘Influence of Ornamental Motifs of the Sassanid Period on the Ornamentation of the Vegetable-Islamic Painting of the Mosques of Al-e Buya: Case Studies of the Paintings of the Georgiere Mosque, Nain Mosque, and Zawarrah Mosque’, *Journal of Archaeological Studies*, Vol. 13, no. 26 2021, pp. 107–128.

Jin, Xin, ‘Application of Machine Vision Based on Genetic Algorithm in Image Painting Style Method and Image Processing Optimization’, *Soft Computing*, Vol. 1, 2023.

Karjalainen, Helena, ‘Cultural Identity and Its Impact on Today’s Multicultural Organizations’, *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 2020, pp. 249–262.

Khairi, Aizat; Abdul Hamid, Shamsul Effendy; and Ismail, Shaiful Bakri, ‘Penonjolan Identiti Budaya Melayu Menerusi Aplikasi Batik dalam Pembuatan Bot Gentian Kaca (Fibreglass Boat) di Universiti Kuala Lumpur Malaysian Institute of Marine Engineering Technology (UniKL MIMET), Lumut, Perak’, *Wacana Seni Journal of Arts Discourse*, Vol. 17, 2018, pp. 183–201.

Krisnawati, Ekaning; Sunarni, Nani; Indrayani, Lia Maulia; Sofyan, Agus Nero; and Nur, Tajudin, ‘Identity Exhibition in Batik Motifs of Ebeg and Pataruman’, *SAGE Open*, Vol. 9, no. 2, 2019, pp. 1–7.

Küster, Volker, ‘The Christian Art Scene in Yogyakarta, Indonesia’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 40, no. 2 2016, pp. 133–151.

Lee, Hwa Soo; and Han, Kyeong Soon, ‘Contribution to the Understanding of Mural Painting Techniques of Jinpari Tomb No. 4 of the Complex of Koguryo Tombs, World Heritage’, *Crystals*, Vol. 13, no. 459, 2023, pp. 1–13.

Magon, Patricia Marques; and Del Lama, Eliane Aparecida, ‘Material Characterization, Stratigraphy, Textures, and Painting Techniques of the Mural Painting The Allegory of the Industrial Development of São Paulo by Fulvio Pennacchi’, *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 64, no. 7 2019, pp. 387–396

Miles, Matthew B., Huberman, A. Michael, and Saldaña, Johnny. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Third Edition, California: SAGE Publications Inc., 2014.

Moersid, Ananda Feria, ‘Re-Invensi Batik Dan Identitas Indonesia Dalam Arena Pasar Global’, *Jurnal Ilmiah Widya*, Vol. 1, no. 2, 2013, pp. 121–128.

Muhovič, Jožef, ‘Rethinking Painting Style from the Phenomeno-Logical Perspective: Fine Art and Axiomatic Method’, *Phainomena*, Vol. 28, no. 108–109, 2019, pp. 127–155.

Natanegara, E. A., and Djaya, Dira, *Batik Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Batik Indonesia, 2019.

Norhayati, Hussin; Syfa', Nurul; Tokiran, Mohd; Ahmad, Masitah; Sazili, Mohd; and Shahibi, Sazili, 'The Essential Role of Master Craftworkers in Preserving Local Content in the Malaysian Cottage Industry in Malaysia', *Journal of Hunan University Natural Sciences*, Vol. 48, no.7, 2021, pp 180–191.

Pandey, Nish, '17th and 18th Century Distemper Decorative Paint in Wooden Mughal Buildings in India Painting Technique, Materials and Alteration', *International Journal of Advanced Research in Science, Communication and Technology*, Vol. 3, no. 1, 2023, pp. 906–911.

Pérez-Diez, Silvia; Caruso, Francesco; Nardini, Elena Frine; Stollenwerk, Martin; and Maguregui, Maite, 'Secco Painting Technique Revealed in Non-Restored Pompeian Murals by Analytical and Imaging Techniques', *Microchemical Journal*, Vol. 194, no. 109365, 2023, pp. 1–11.

Ponimin; and Guntur, 'Expressing the Robustness of Love in Ceramic Art: A Creative Approach Study', *Anastasis*, Vol. 7, no. 2, 2020, pp. 285–306.

Prasetya, Nova Agung; Budi, Setyo; and Nurcahyanti, Desy, 'Kritik Seni Ekspresivistik Pada Karya Dekoratif Widayat', *Ars: Jurnal Seni Rupa dan Desain*, Vol. 24, no.1, 2021, pp. 1–8.

Ranjgar, Babak; Azar, Mahdi Khoshlahjeh; Sadeghi-Niaraki, Abolghasem; and Choi, Soo Mi, 'A Novel Method for Emotion Extraction from Paintings Based on Luscher's Psychological Color Test: Case Study Iranian-Islamic Paintings', *IEEE Access*, Vol. 7, 2019, pp. 120857–120871.

Rasiņa, Madara; Spārītis, Ojārs; Prikrylová, Jiřina; Racek, Martin; Kopecká, Ivana; Svobodová, Eva; and Prikryl, Richard, 'The Recent Discovery, Research, and Restoration of Medieval and Renaissance Frescoes in Riga Castle—A Treasure to the Baltic Region', *Heritage*, Vol. 6, no. 3, 2023, 2435–2452.

Rohidi, Tjetjep Rohendi, *Lintasan Peristiwa dan Tokoh Seni Rupa Indonesia Baru*. Semarang: IKIP Semarang Press, 1984.

Soetomo, Ibrahim, 'Pencarian Identitas Kesenian dalam Manifesto-Manifesto Seni di Indonesia', *NATAR (Jurnal Prodi Seni Murni)*, Vol. 1, no. 1, 2022, pp. 41–62

Soreanu, Cătălin, 'From Media to Mediums of Expression. Visual Art Communication and Meaning from Fine Arts to Advertising', *Anastasis*, Vol. 7, no. 2, 2020, pp. 261–276.

SP, Soedarso, *Tinjauan Seni: Sebuah Pengantar untuk Apresiasi Seni*. Yogyakarta: Saku Dayar Sana, 1990.

Sumartono, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Seni Rupa dan Desain*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Reka Racang Visual dan Lingkungan, Universitas Trisakti, 2017.

Supangkat, Jim, 'Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru Indonesia', in *Seni Rupa*, ed. by H Soemantri. Jakarta: Buku Antar Bangsa, 2002, pp. 100–101.

—————, 'Seni Rupa Era 80 Pengantar Untuk Biennale Seni Rupa Jakarta IX, 1993', in *Biennale Seni Rupa Jakarta IX*. Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian Jakarta, 1993, pp. 12–27.

Syakir, 'Konstruksi Identitas dalam Arena Produksi Kultural Seni Perbatikan Semarang. *Disertasi*. Semarang: Universitas Negeri Semarang, 2017.

Syakir; Sobandi, Bandi; Fathurrahman, Moh; Isa, Badrul; Anggraheni, Dini; and Verayanti, R. Sri, 'Tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica L.*): Source of Ideas Behind

the Semarang Batik Motifs to Strengthen Local Cultural Identity’, *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, Vol. 22, no. 1. 2022, pp. 78–90.

Tilar, H A.A., *Mengindonesia, Etnisitas dan Identitas Bangsa Indonesia: Tinjauan dari Perspektif Ilmu Pendidikan*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2007.

Venkatasamy, Nithyaprakash; and Vadicherla, Thilak, ‘Ethnic Styles and Their Local Strengths’, in *Ethnic Fashion, Environmental Footprints and Eco-Design of Products and Processes*, ed. by Gardetti, Miguel Angel and Muthu, Subramanian Senthilkannan. Singapore: Springer, 2016, pp. 131–166.

Wishesha, A, BG Krishbie, and T. Margono, ‘Pengantar Kuratorial Pameran Seni Rupa Koleksi Galeri Nasional Indonesia Dekade 1970-an “Piknik 70-An”’, in *Katalog Pameran Piknik 70-An*. Jakarta: Galeri Nasional Indonesia Museum dan Cagar Budaya Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan Riset, dan Teknologi Indonesia, 2023.

Wulandari, Ayu, ‘Kaum Perempuan dalam Diplomasi Kebudayaan Indonesia, 1945–1960 an’, *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya*, Vol. 6, no. 2, 2020, pp. 319–342.

Yin, Robert K., *Case Study Research: Design and Method*, 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003.

Yuliman, Sanento, ‘New Indonesian Painting’, in *Indonesian Artists Engage Politics, Society and History*, ed. by Elly Kent, Virginia Hooker, and Caroline Turner. ANU Press, 2023.

Zhang, Xiao-Mei; Wei, Xi-Ning; Lei, Yong; Cheng, Xiao-Lin and Zhou, Yang, ‘Micro and Nondestructive Analysis of Blue Dyes from Silk Fabrics and Decorative Painting of Historic Building (古代丝织品及古建彩画蓝色染料的微量及无损分析 张晓梅#)’, *Spectroscopy and Spectral Analysis*, Vol. 30, no.12, 2010, pp. 3254–3257.

Zhe, Xu, ‘Classification Method of Traditional Art Painting Style Based on Color Space Transformation’, *International Journal of Advanced Computer Science and Applications*, Vol.14, No. 11, 2023, pp. 1005–1014.

BOOK REVIEWS

Romanian Poetry Tackled Through Medieval Imagery and Theatricality

Ana-Magdalena Petraru*

Andrei C. Șerban, *Respirația cavalerului/ The Breath of the Knight*, Ed. ULBS, Sibiu, 2021, 297 pages.



This volume, authored by Andrei C. Șerban, lecturer at The Faculty of Letters and Arts, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu and literary secretary of Radu Stanca National Theatre from the same city, deals with the poetry of Virgil Mazilescu from the viewpoints of theatricality and medieval imagery as mentioned in the subtitle. The foreword entitled *Who's Afraid of Virgil Mazilescu?* drawing on the Edward Albee's 1962 play and the 1966 drama film directed by Mike Nichols that saw Virginia Woolf from the same perspective, renders Andrei C. Șerban's intentions to provide us a monography of one of the most influential Romanian poets of recent literary generations. The postwar poet is hard to label and the choice of directions in literary criticism to analyze his works, even harder, according to the author who felt necessary to go to the deep structures of the text, hence his references to medieval art and theatre terminology (pp. 1-2). Divided

* Lecturer, PhD, Faculty of Letters, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, România; alina.petraru@gmail.com

into four chapters, the work of the poet is approached from his reception in Romanian literary criticism (ch. 1) to the medieval imaginary (ch. 2), theatricality and ceremonialism (ch. 3) and defiance of the generation criterion (ch. 4).

In the first chapter we are told that the Romanian poet Virgil Mazilescu was received in our culture as a ‘problematic’ author whose work was limited quantitatively, yet versatile due to his appurtenance to surrealist aesthetic, the oneiric and similitudes with masters of European literature such as Kafka, Kavafis, Saint John-Perse or Deguy. He was also labeled a pioneer of postmodernism (p. 15) based on seminal Romanian criticism and our most important periodicals (pp. 16-17). Thus, it was argued that Virgil Mazilescu could be more easily defined through what he was not than vice versa: neither Parnassian despite his adherence to ‘lucid impassibility’, nor symbolist even if melancholy and boredom marked him decisively, he was not a romantic, yet he made use of confession in a dissimulated manner. Despite his use of dictation, he was not a surrealist and despised traditional orthography and punctuation. However, his poetry consisted of the mixture of the distinct traits above¹ (p. 24). In one of his writings, *Fragmente din regiunea de odinioară*, Ed. Cartea Românească, equal in value to his first volume, *Versuri*, the poet gives us monochord verses that devour themselves, the poetry is ‘tighter’, ‘more programmatic’, he is naïf in his ceremonial poetry, he infantilizes, a seminal feature of the work, whereas the title of the book referring to one of Klee’s drawings, grasps in a subtle characterization² (p. 35). Mazilescu was compared to a *director* that defined his own scenography, he was considered a writer that shaped his fictional universe as if it were a scene where an actor’s role and a mask are mandatory (p. 37). As a general remark, it could be noted that before 1989, a tendency of deepening the political in the discourse was noted to the detriment of detached criticism, hence the regression in the reception of Romanian literature during the period; this showed in the falling into oblivion of Virgil Mazilescu as a result of unfortunate circumstances. (p. 57)

In the second chapter, after a comprehensive overview of the term *imagery*, Andrei C. Serban discusses its relation to Virgil

¹ For more details, see Nicolae Oprea, „Din propria-i cenușă”, *Viața Românească*, year LXXIX, no. 11, November 1984, pp. 87-89.

² Cf. Dan Cristea, “Virgil Mazilescu: *Fragmente din regiunea de odinioară*”, *România literară*, anul III, nr. 8, 18 februarie 1971, p. 14.

Mazilescu's work. Emphasizing medieval imagery as understood by Jacques le Goff who recommended bringing into play literature or art to account for an imaginary cathedral such as Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*³, the author argues that Mazilescu did not simply imitate troubadour poetry and its rhetoric, but proceeded to a genuine dithyrambic which he would consolidate against the background of theatricality. From the triadic perspective of image-imagination-imagery, the fictitious medieval universe with literary or mythological names given to poets, troubadours, knights and ladies affords the critic the interpretative stance required (pp. 61-62; p. 74). The author argues that medieval imagery left quite a mark and its reminiscences can be seen to this day (chivalric literature, Dante's visions on paradise and hell, Bosch nightmare paintings, the rise of Christian Church architecture). Animal and vegetal representations in medieval art and literature, be they real or imaginary, displayed great variety in artistic forms and were strongly influenced by the notions of good and evil, angelic and demonic. The healing tradition in medicine or witchcraft (magic potions) and Christian influences (the apple seen as symbol of temptation) also had a say in vegetal elements and their symbols which extended to heraldry, politics, literature or decorations (pp. 75-76). Animals are parts of medieval bestiaries as extensions of archetypes, deep strata of unconscious and the instinct, symbols of cosmic, material and spiritual forces and principles and are associated to diseases (as in the case of the rat that brought the plague and implicitly, death)⁴. Among the heroic figures, there is the knight, along with the saint and the king as part of the triadic model proposed by historians⁵ (pp. 77-78). The author will further relate the medieval elements he outlined in his analysis to Mazilescu's poetic images and his obsession for the medieval semantic field (p. 79). Yet, verses such as '*respirația cavalerului printre cavaleri e cea mai galbenă/ the breath of the knight among knights is yellow*' should not be regarded as a clear reference to medieval imagery, argues A. C. Serban unless completed by the image of the castle in the following verse (p. 80). The poet shapes love based on the troubadour pattern completed by other essential elements as understood by the medieval soul:

³ Jacques Le Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiéval*, Gallimard, Paris, 1991, p. II, *passim*.

⁴ Cf. Jean Chevalier, Alain Gheerbrant (coord.), *Dicționar de simboluri/ Dictionary of Symbols*, translated from French by Micaela Slăvescu, Laurențiu Zoicaș (coord.), Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2009, pp. 75-76.

⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *Héros et merveilles du Moyen Âge*, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 2008, p. 16.

impossible love, the etheric hypostasis of the woman loved, affected suffering, feelings over bodily love, etc. (p. 81). At the level of lexis, flowers and trees are most encountered, the rose, also symbol of Christianity (the body of Christ, immortality) (p. 85) is associated to the fox compared to the poet's eye in his stanzas (p. 86). In another text, the rose stands near the chess game thus suggesting peace versus war, domestic fights, a protocol of political conventions in the medieval age, empathy overruling political ceremonials (p. 87). Many of the plants in the works of medieval painters can also be encountered in Mazilescu's poetry, lilac included next to other chivalric elements such as swords, honour/ betrayal or fights similar to tournaments (p. 92). Intimacy and reclusion are ensured by vegetation, surrounded by fences that bring peace to poets (p. 93). Trees on the other hand, are a reference to the body, the concrete and degradation; the poplar is associated to inferno, pain and sacrifice, tears, it fulfils the role of a funerary tree symbolizing the regressive forces of nature, memories, not hope, past time ruling over a future of rebirth reflected in Mazilescu's poetry as death and suggesting the idea of punitive isolation (p. 95).

Andrei C. Serban argues that animal imagery is a result of medieval sensibility that marked the encyclopaedic spirit of the poet who personalized his own symbolistic and the allegorical dimension of the mentality in the Middle Ages (p. 97). Many of the animal elements in medieval culture have double significance: for instance, the eagle is associated with the Saviour and one of the four Evangelists in Christian symbolism. However, in the legends of Greek Antiquity the raven is viewed as an avenging and malefic creature, whereas in Scandinavian mythology it corresponds to the great god Odin in his wisdom. Last but not least, Christianity associates this bird with the devilish part of the human soul (p. 98). Domesticated animals in Virgil Mazilescu's work include the lamb present in the first text of his debut volume. Usually associated with nouns that define the semantics of the spirit, moral and spiritual values, Christ sacrificed for the sake of truth and love in the Christian tradition, in Mazilescu's work, the animal has Christian connotations of purification (p. 102). Another important element is the dog that suggests domesticated space, while keeping the positive-negative ambivalence medieval imagery endowed it with (p. 103). Good versus evil in the animal is doubled by chromatic ambivalence ('white dogs playing in a cemetery'); the dog descends from the comfort of the *domus* as a symbol of Thanatos in medieval

nightmares painted by Bosch as can be seen from a detail of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*⁶ (16th century, Prado Museum, Spain) Andrei C. Serban includes in his research (pp. 104-105). With respect to the cat, Virgil Mazilescu draws on its malefic traits accounted for by medieval imagery reflected in a twilight universe and the numbness of insomniacs (p. 106). The author employs an image from a 13th century English bestiary to support his interpretative arguments (p. 107). The rabbit is invoked by one of Mazilescu's texts as a subtle reference to Jeanne d'Arc, one of the most prominent figures of the Middle Ages born in 1412, "*iepurele s-a născut in anno domini 1412*" (p. 113) / *the rabbit was born in anno domini 1412*. In medieval paintings, the animal is represented as active warrior, a knight (Jeanne d'Arc in this hypostasis, included) despite the negative emotions of man (fear, cowardice) it was later endowed with (p. 113). Birds such as the nightingale contribute to the atmosphere in the discourse of love (p. 115). The snake is viewed as a symbol of wisdom under the influence of European folklore, whereas the Basiliscus is portrayed in medieval poetry with its negative connotations as cunning, cruel, allegories for the torments that the lady inflicts on the troubadour (pp. 116-117). Virgil Mazilescu receives the animal biblically as a symbol of the fall, of spiritual involution recalling fallen angels such as Lucifer, whereas the lizard accompanies the troubadour's love promises (pp. 117-118). Among insects, spiders mark the passage to a lower stage of evolution and they are grasped by the poet as they harm people or are simply present in the decorum as silent witnesses of time, nocturnal beings fearing light (p. 119). The fish symbolism does not go beyond the perimeter of Christ as fisherman and is given as attribute, the old, mystic man as opposed to the modern one (p. 120). Mythological hybrids are rarely employed; a monster that recalls the sphynx or gryphon in Bosch's paintings draws on the heraldic dimension of medieval imagery in the context of tournaments, the fight for territory or barbarian invasions. In Mazilescu's poetry, sea monsters, similar to Poseidon's sea horses, complete an oneiric landscape in a declamatory courtship ritual (pp. 123-124).

⁶ The garden held a special role in the Middle Ages and art historians recreated it later. This is the case of the garden of the Museum of l'Œuvre Notre-Dame in Strasbourg founded by the museographer Hans Haug as he imagined it under his pen name, artist Balthasar. See Valentin Trifescu, "Alsacianism și muzeografie. Despre istoricul de artă Hans Haug (1890-1965)". In *Artă națională și specific regional în istoriografia de artă din perioada interbelică*, 2nd revised edition, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2023, p. 90.

Medieval architecture is functional for Mazilescu, a trigger of the socio-politic context of the medieval spirit in the troubadour's discourse (as knight, rebel spirit, martyr). The castle, as symbol of medieval urbanism, intertwines with the image of religious ruralism (p. 129). The Romanian poet also proceeds to a series of social micro universes, evoking medieval hierarchical stratification, depending on the place occupied in relation to the seniority nucleus which anticipated the disposition of social strata specific to later urban configurations (p. 134). The wise beggar is illustrated in a topos of exclusion, space of exclusion, oblivion, destruction and degradation (p. 135). The obsessive image of the angel becomes a divine extension on a spiritualized and religious plane of the mask-characters. The terrestrial and the celestial meet and we are at the crossroads; as a result, the mundane aspect is also given by the appearance of a fair, not only a place of transition between the interior and the exterior of the fortress, but also one of theatricality. On the forecourt of the cathedral, the mysteries and the passions of medieval theater rewrite passions and lives of the saints in Mazilescu's poetry (p. 140). In his preliminary conclusions to the most extensive chapter in his work, Andrei C. Șerban underlines his aim already stated in the introduction: of attempting to identify the similitudes between the medieval referent and Mazilescu's poetry, at times achieved at surface level or alluding to it (p. 146).

His postmodern label is also debated by the author, Andrei C. Șerban claiming that further justification is required in the matter (p. 152) and, based on the analysis in this volume, the comparisons between Mazilescu's work and postmodern poetry seem to lack applicability (pp. 153-154).

The third chapter purports to account for the Mazilescu's poetry from the perspective of theatricality and ceremonial justified by the musicality of his work (p. 157). After an extensive overview of the concept of theatricality, the author tells us about his intent of dealing with the discursive elements in Mazilescu's poetry based on the principles of spatiality that imitate a theatrical text (p. 168). Literariness is also aimed at and Virgil Mazilescu took it to the extreme in his poetry by mutations in his texts pertaining to theatricality (p. 174). The poet's text is full of annotations of space and time, his volumes testifying to a well-shaped geography with horizontal and vertical axes in the zone of unreality through the unexpected term associations and the nostalgic illusory tonality (p.

177). Mazilescu employs cultural nominal references (to Beethoven, Shakespeare, Konstantinos Kavafis, Eminescu, Franz Kafka) for discursive playfulness, makes use of an actor's affected emphasis, brings into play characters as masks that the discourse addresses, drawing on a premeditated director's plan (p. 203). The conclusion reached in the chapter is that Mazilescu's poetry is not simply a superficial figurative carcass, but adopts an entire arsenal in theatrical discourse specificity and, due to the multidisciplinary approaches, counterarguments for a possible surrealist aesthetic in his work can be found (p. 234).

The fourth chapter deals with Mazilescu's poetry as defiance of the generation criterion, the author justifying Mazilescu's anti modernism of troubadour inspiration pertaining to the principles of a Romanian neomodernism/ the generation of the 60s that is strictly limited to the historical sample it descends from (p. 268). In criticism he is remembered as a poet whose 'stylistics of shirk'⁷ gave specificity to a 'depersonalized' poetry, thus providing the profile of a writer suffering from 'the horror of being understood.' (p. 274)

In his final conclusions, Andrei C. Șerban advises us not to be afraid of the author suffocated by so many labels and terminological conventions as pertinent as they may be to enjoy Virgil Mazilescu's work for the pleasure of reading as R. Barthes coined it. Therefore, we recommend this book to all those interested in Romanian studies in general, poetry in particular, and a multidisciplinary perspective that Medieval Studies can afford in modern times. Theatre and drama specialists could also benefit from the know how afforded by the approach, not to mention (visual) artists that could find poetical correspondents for reputed paintings or manuscripts dating from the Middle Ages.

⁷ For more details, see Eugen Negrici, *Postfață* to the volume *va fi liniște va fi seară*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 1979, pp. 111-115.

