

Miles Ensifer

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Original scientific paper

Artist, like everybody else, are subject to events and ideologies that shape their time and space. Images artists and patrons select as the carriers of their message are created within a certain context and bear the imprint of that elusive factor, the atmosphere of the times. Our assessment of such elusive agents in the periods of the distant past must of necessity remain somewhat hypothetical since our deductions are based on scanty and incomplete documentation and our intuitions are colored by the subjective factor of each individual researcher's *weltanschauung*. Yet even such incomplete reconstruction of the historic context will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the choice, use, and meaning of artistic imagery. The goal of this study is to attempt to explain the emergence of some striking images in Medieval Art by considering them within the context and the atmosphere of the Christian Holy War – the Crusade. In doing so we will mainly rely on a work of a modern historian whose study into the ideology of the Crusade is generally accepted as a cornerstone of scholarship and on the statements of the contemporaries themselves either in the form of chronicle reports or in that of the artistic rendering of the events in epic poetry.¹

¹ I would like to thank Professors John Wilkinson and Valentino Pace for inviting me to the Symposium »Relations Between the Visual Arts in Europe and in the Latin East,« and giving me the opportunity to present the spoken version of this paper. My participation in the Symposium was made possible through generous support from Alex Manoogian Foundation, the Rackham School of Graduate Studies of The University of Michigan and of the Center for Russian and East European Studies of The University of Michigan which is here acknowledged with the sincerest gratitude.

The author interprets the appearance, duration and distribution of the artistic rendering of the warrior with sword (Miles Ensifer) within the context of European revival c. 1100 and Crusades. He cites literary sources and historic chronicles on the same topic which liken the warrior of those days to the champion of orthodoxy. He regards and analyses this phenomenon in arts (both in terms of semantics and iconography) in different monuments of European artistic heritage, e. g.: the portal of Verona Cathedral, Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures, the Baptistery in Split, the Cathedral of Ferrara, the portal at Fordington, England, the facades of St. Isidore's at Leone, Spain, at Vezelay, at St. Gilles-du Garde, stained glass windows in Strasbourg etc. . . Listed renderings and compositions epitomize a »holy«, justified war against heresy, usually Islam. The author indicates typical iconographic variants of such renderings, as well as the distinction between the »holy« (often presented as St. George) and »profane« warrior.

Almost two thousand years ago Christ ordered Peter to put away his sword². For about a millenium that followed, the Western Church tried hard to follow the message of the teacher. After the marriage (or *mesalliance*) between the Cross and the Imperium under Constantine it became increasingly difficult to maintain the anti-war position and in the East, where the Church depended on the Empire much more than it did in the West, the repugnance to physical warfare and violence disappeared much faster. In a remarkable study published in 1935, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens*, Carl Erdmann demonstrated how throughout the entire first thousand years of the Christian Era, the opposition to war remained a permanent feature of Western Christian thought. St. Augustine labored hard to define and solve the problem and espoused

My work was not only influenced but inspired by Carl Erdmann's monumental study, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935). Rita Lejeune's and Jacques Stiennon's book on *The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages* (London, 1971) was not only a source of stimulating ideas, but also of infinite pleasure. The reader will also easily recognize my indebtedness to the work of Mircea Eliade.

The lengthy (and ongoing) discussions with my friend and colleague, Professor Christine Verzar Bornstein, who also kindly read the manuscript and offered her criticism, were endlessly helpful. The credit for improvements is hers, while the errors remain my responsibility. I also want to thank the Symposium participants for their useful suggestions, in particular Professors Borg, Pace and Wilkinson.

For intellectual challenge, and also for a number of hard facts, I owe gratitude to my students in my course on Crusades and the Mediterranean Culture (The University of Michigan, Winter, 1981), Mr. Keith Voltaire Snedegar and Peter Winjum.

² »Put up again thy sword into his place.« (Matthew 26:52); »Put up thy sword into the sheath.« (John 18:11).

the theory of »just war,« one led in selfdefence or to recover stolen property, in addition to which he condoned such activities as persecutions of the Donatists as a holy act aiming at preserving the unity of the Church threatened by the heretics.³ Erdmann's book is a masterpiece of scholarship and still »remains essential to an analysis« of the problem; for an extensive discussion one is referred to the text itself and to Erdmann's bibliography, especially if read in the light of remarks and bibliographic addenda made by Professor Baldwin in the Introduction to his English translation of Erdmann's book (1977),⁴ or of some recent studies such as Friedrich Prinz's, showing how active military service of higher clergy became customary and even sanctioned already during the Carolingian times.⁵ To totally vulgarize Erdmann's work, one may say that war, even for the Holy Cause of Christianity, was met with scepticism and abhorrence by the influential thinkers well into the eleventh century (Peter Damiani was still an eminent peacenik), and that a notable change occurred in the course of the eleventh century, foremostly within the context of the Investiture Struggle – when such movements as the Pataria of Milan were greeted as a God-pleasing and legitimate activity directed against the schismatics and the enemies of the Pope, the Vicar of Christ.⁶ When the leader of the Pataria, the petty knight Erlembald, fell in 1075, he became a paradigm of a defender of the True Faith, a protomartyr of a holy cause against heretics, and the first saint-knight in history.⁷ Gregory VII tried to eternalize the idea and the institution of military support for papal policy through a »Militia Sancti Petri«, a holy assembly of warriors fighting for the Pope and against his imperial enemies, an idea which, however, did not bring much material fruit.⁸

Another context within which the war came to be regarded as a God-pleasing enterprise is that of the reconquest of the parts of Europe held by the Moslems. St. George, a military Saint venerated for a long period in the East makes his first miraculous intervention on behalf of a Western Christian army at Cerami on Sicily (1063) riding as a knight in resplendant armor and carrying a banner with a shining cross in front of the »liberating« troops of Count Roger.⁹ Another heavenly fighter, St. Michael, helped the Pisans conquer Mahdia in 1087.¹⁰ The idea of an aggressive Holy War for the expansion of Christianity became ideologically acceptable at the same time it became militarily feasible. In the earlier Middle Ages the West was mostly at



Verona. Cathedral. Main Portal.

the mercy of invaders and oppressors. Stronger leadership and improved military technology inspired a temporary come-back of the West during the Carolingian period, a rally which fizzled out in the upheavals of the disintegration of Charlemagne's Empire.¹¹ A new Christian counteroffensive was on the rise throughout the eleventh century to culminate, naturally, in the launching of the First Crusade. Once the Holy War proved to be a successful venture it could not be stopped and had to be justified. The art-historical evidence which I plan to examine and the materials brought together and discussed by Erdmann are, in my opinion, mutually reinforcing and Erdmann's reasoning will help us, I believe, to understand better some fine visual imagery created in the course of the twelfth century – the great century of the Crusade.

³ Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935); English translation: Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart, trans. and ed., *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 4–10 (the edition used throughout this study is the English one).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. XV–XXX, especially p. XXX.

⁵ Friedrich E. Prinz, »King, Clergy and War at the Times of the Carolingians,« in *Saints, Scholars and Heroes*, 2 vols., Margot H. King and Wesley M. Stevens, eds. (Collegeville, 1979), II, 301–329.

⁶ Erdmann, *The Origin*, pp. 144–146, 140–141.

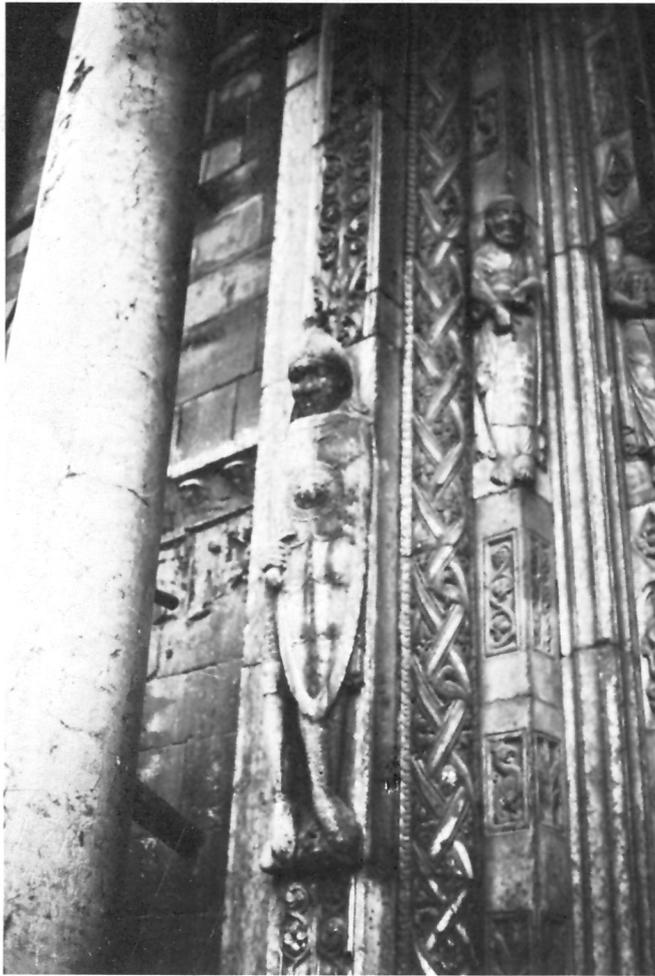
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 134–135

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 293–295.

¹¹ Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1967), chapter one.



Verona. Cathedral. Main Portal. Roland

Our key evidence will be several groups of monumental facade sculpture, which, we all know, first appears around the year 1100.¹² It is my strong belief, and essential to this discussion, that the monumental public image, *public* being the key word, emerges when, it is needed to

facilitate communication in the more complex reality of the High Middle Ages. It is one of propagandistic tools helping the masses to orient themselves in a world much more dynamic and changeable than the world of yesterday.¹³ In this paper I propose to discuss one such image, that of a man with the sword, *miles ensifer*. In order to prepare the ground and create some idea of the atmosphere of the time I will start out with a brief look at the emergence of military imagery and militant language as already announced above in two aspects of verbal communication – the chronicle and the epic – the reportage and the poetic rendering – of historic events. In doing this I will expose the reader, alas again, to an examination of Pope Urban's speech at Clermont and of the *Song of Roland*. Much of what I will have to say will appear obvious, but the obvious sometimes has to be stated to really become so.

Urban's speech, as related by contemporary and quasi-contemporary sources, can be characterized as an appeal to reenact the exemplary deeds of great ancestors. Here is Robert the Monk: The Franks are the chosen people upon whom God has bestowed glory in arms. They are reminded of the deeds of Charlemagne and his son Louis »who have destroyed the kingdoms of pagans,« and, then, of the Old Testament paradigms – the Children of Israel – and the New Testament ones – taking up Christ's Cross. Jerusalem – the navel of the world – is an exemplary, sacred place, and so also is the entire Holy Land, sanctified by the presence and the acts of the Redeemer. Liberation of this sacred territory is the task of the new generation; for which they will receive, promises Robert, not only the remission of sins but also very tangible material gains.¹⁴ The *Gesta Francorum* dwells upon the idea of the following – *imitatio* – of Christ: Take up His Cross and follow Him!¹⁵ Baldric of Dol invokes the image of the Israelite victory over the Jebusites (and of the sons of Jacob in particular), of Moses triumphing over Amalekites, of confessors and martyrs of Christ, specifically St. Stephen and St. John the Baptist, and naturally of the activity of Christ himself. For brandishing the sword against the Saracens the Crusaders-to-be are again promised both spiritual and temporal rewards.¹⁶ Guibert of Nogent calls for the imitation of Christ, whom he sees as the standard bearer of the army of the faithful; the Israelite past is recalled by a reference to the Macabees, and a strong emphasis is placed on the fact that by undertaking the Crusade the participants actually help

¹² Most recently on the rise of the monumental stone sculpture: Millard F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Ithaca, 1981).

¹³ This »political« thrust of the monumental image could be, naturally, challenged by stating that the images almost exclusively appear on or within a religious building or setting. But are not ideology and politics two faces of one and the same reality? I have no intention to discuss here at length this thorny issue, but the reader will notice that I am leaning toward a unified – »*unus mundus*« – view of the twelfth century world. After all are not such terms – in fact, *contradictiones in adiecto* – as »The Holy War,« »The Militia Christi« (or the institution of the Military Orders), joining within one concept the meekness of peace and the violence of the military action, themselves signs of this unity? Thus the appearance of the images related to the Holy War within the context of twelfth century sacred public buildings should come as no surprise. For a discussion of the »*unus mundus*« concept see Carl G. Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, 1970), p. 533 ff.

¹⁴ Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Charters and Other Source Materials* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 2–5. For our purpose it is irrelevant whether the chronicles correctly report Urban's words or not. They tell us what the representatives of the public opinion *wanted* to hear, and this is important.

My thinking about the myths and the mechanisms of archaic societies depends, as already acknowledged, on the works of Mircea Eliade; in particular on *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959), *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963), and *Images and Symbols* (Kansas City, 1961).

¹⁵ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, in Peters, *the First Crusade*, p. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8–10.

the Lord to move the wheels of history since the fulfillment of time depends on the reestablishment of Christianity in the Holy Land; the Antichrist will then descend upon the True Believers to engage and destroy them in battle promoting, however, in that way, his downfall.¹⁷ Fulcher of Chartres compares the Crusaders to the Israelites and the Macabees; he relishes in the idea of the new martyrdom through which the soldiers of God will become new witnesses of Christ. While trekking through the wastelands of the high plateau of Asia Minor the militant Fulcher witnessed, one night, the miraculous appearance of a shining sword of the sky pointing eastwards. Later, before the walls of Jerusalem, Fulcher evokes the deeds of Joshua. The Macabees are recalled at Antioch by Raymond d'Aguiliers (with an implication that *we* do it better, and the Provençal men do it best), while upon the conquest of Jerusalem Raymond calls the Crusaders the children of Apostles – a reference to the idea of reenactment of the Mission of the Apostles. The *Gesta Francorum* calls them the heirs of Christ on the same occasion. Adhemar of Le Puy, by now deceased, is remembered by Raymond as the Second Moses.¹⁸

These and many other instances which, I am sure, a student of history could easily quote, show quite explicitly what was on the minds of the people around 1100.¹⁹ Through the literary image of the simile – complete or in its abbreviated, metaphoric form – the Crusaders are likened to the Israelites, the Macabees, Moses, Joshua the Apostles and Martyrs, Charlemagne and his heroes, and, ultimately, Christ himself – all paradigms of physical and/or spiritual warfare against the forces of evil. It should be noted that the same image technique is current in the sphere of visual arts: a Christian knight fights an Infidel next to a Samson strangling a lion on the sarcophagus of Dona Sancha, an obvious comparison of the two heroic acts; the same actors appear on the »Belle Pierre« from Cluny.²⁰ A mounted knight (sometimes known as »Constantine«, in itself a complex metaphor) is occasionally also accompanied by a Samson on the facades of Western French churches.²¹ At Angoulême, the »Constantine« may have been accompanied by a Samson who at the same time was apparently identifiable as Charlemagne(!), a double, or even triple, reference to the exemplary, liberating deeds of the great ancestors.²² St. Michael fighting the dragon,



Verona. Cathedral. Main Portal. Oliver

pontificating from far above over the duel between Roland and Ferragut on a capital in the Cathedral of Salamanca (1160-65), is another such example.²³

Like the reportage, the artistic rendering of events, the epic poetry, uses much the same imagery and rhetoric. I will touch upon only the best known (and for a non-expert like myself the most accessible) poem, the *Song of Roland*.²⁴ Here, the Franks are again introduced as the

¹⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in Peters, *The First Crusade*, pp. 11-15.

¹⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in Peters, *The First Crusade*, pp. 24, 25, 54, 72, 155, 215, 216.

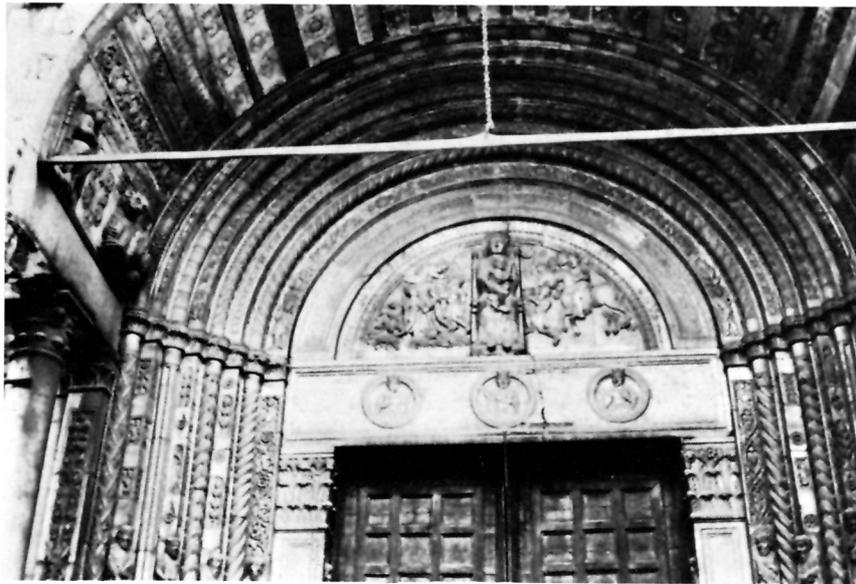
¹⁹ My analysis does not pretend to be exhaustive and a historian could undoubtedly list additional examples. I have used those which can be found in Peters' book since this work is easily available to anybody who may wish to check the context of my examples. The book is also a guide to original editions and other useful materials.

²⁰ Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1971) II, 25-27, and accompanying illustrations; Hearn (*Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 68, note 1) has questioned the date of the sarcophagus (ca. 1100) which he prefers to date toward the middle of the twelfth century. *La Belle Pierre* is datable to about the same time.

²¹ Linda Seidel, »The Holy Warriors,« in *the Holy War*, Thomas P. Murphy, ed. (Columbus, 1976), pp. 33-77 (with additional literature). Professor Seidel's stimulating book, *Songs of Glory* (Chicago, 1981), became available too late to be extensively used in my study. I would, however, like to express my pleasure that a scholar whose work I respect and admire has formulated in her book, with great erudition, several issues which I myself attempted to deal with, on a much humbler scale, in this study.

²² Pierre Dubourg-Noves, *L'iconographie de la Cathédrale d' Angoulême de 1575 à 1880*, 2 vols. (Angoulême, 1973), I, 45, 51, 61; II, 33, 40-49.

²³ Lejeune and Stiennon, *the Legend of Roland*, I, 95; II, pl. 67. Another angel on the capital succors the Christian knight.



Verona. Cathedral. Main Portal. Lunette.

chosen people, the champions of Christianity.²⁵ Charlemagne, mythically old and of superhuman stature, in hot-line communication with the powers of the Above, is succored in his battles and duels by Archangels, St. Gabriel in particular. When pursuing the enemy after Roncevaux he repeats Joshua's miracle – bidding the Sun stop – falling in line with the Old Testament models.²⁶ Archbishop Turpin who twice fights and overpowers pagan religious men repeats the victory of St. Peter over Simon the Magician.²⁷

In him we meet the quintessence of a fighting prelate who exterminates the infidel and the heretic both with the word and the sword and who has, obviously, no reservations about warfare and violence. Roland and his companions are new martyrs of Christ, a new troop of the Holy Innocents, and their souls are led to Heaven by the Archangels.²⁸ The Christians – the Franks – are right; the Moslems are wrong – as the poet explicitly states on several occasions.²⁹ The imagery and rhetoric, while being more heated, more passionate, do not substantially differ from what we hear from the chroniclers. Thus an important component of the atmosphere of the time was the preoccupation with the Holy War. Did this preoccupation play any role in the sphere of the visual arts? We believe so.

The main portal of the Cathedral of Verona is guarded by two knights (pl. 1). One on the left holds a sword. The inscription on the weapon – Durindarda – Durendal, identifies the warrior as Roland (pl. 2); consequently, the somewhat less fierce looking man on the right, holding a flail, could hardly be anybody else but Roland's brother in arms, Oliver (pl. 3). The portal dates from the end of the fourth or from the fifth decade of the twelfth century and is signed by the well-known North Italian sculptor, Niccolò.³⁰ The lunette displays an Adoration of the Magi, or, rather, a rigidly frontal and majestic »Sedes Sapientiae« flanked by the riding and dismounting Magi and by an Annunciation to the Shepherds (pl. 4). On the lintel we see the three

²⁴ Dorothy L. Sayers, trans., *The Song of Roland* (Harmondsworth, 1937/ reprint 1973).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 179, 181.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72, 145, 160, 188.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 109.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 143.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 186, 187.

³⁰ Lejeune and Steinnon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 61-71, René Jullian, *L'éveil de la sculpture italienne*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1945), I, 116-118, 122. Arthur K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, 4 vols. (New York, 1967 – reprint), III, pp. 466-479. Edoardo Arslan, *L'architettura romanica veronese* (Verona, 1939), pp. 99-113. Angiola Maria Romanini, »L'arte romanica.« in *Verona e il suo territorio*, Vittorio Cavallari, et als., eds. (Verona, 1964), II, 665-661, 716-720. Trude Krautheimer-Hess, »Die Figurale Plastik der Ostlombardei von 1100 bis 1178.« *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* IV (1928), 231-307, and »The Original 'Porta dei Mesi' at Ferrara and the Art of Niccolò.« *Art Bulletin*, XXVI (1944), 152-174. Most recently, Evelyn Kain, »The Marble Reliefs on the Facade of S. Zeno, Verona.« *Art Bulletin*, XIII (1981), 358-374.

On the identification of Oliver, in spite of the flail – an »infidel« weapon – see Lejeune and Steinnon, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68. the Crusaders did use flails and there is at least one, albeit later, famous flail, wielded by a young Frisian who captured the Sultan's banner at Damietta during the Fifth Crusade. See Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, in Edward Peters, ed., *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229* (Philadelphia, 1971) p. 67.

³¹ They are: Malachi, David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Daniel, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zacariah, Micah, Joel. For inscriptions see Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III, 476. Rich possibilities of the relationship of the portal to religious drama could be more appropriately treated in a separate study.

theological virtues, on the jambs ten prophets who had announced the arrival of Christ.³¹ The last of the prophetic precursors of Christ, St. John the Baptist, and the prophet of the future, St. John the Evangelist, are in the spandrels. A paschal lamb adorns the key stone.

The two warriors, Roland and Oliver, are as well as in the *Chansons* the soldiers of Christ. So the epic hero, and his direct descendant, the contemporary Crusader, enter the world of the heavenly court in which they perform, given their position at the door and the proudly displaced Durindarda, the role of the swordbearer and doorguard – *spatarius (ensifer)* and *ostiarius* – well-known functionaries to Early Medieval and later rulers. The prophets had announced the coming of the Messiah, the Shepherds and the Kings have recognized Him and paid Him homage. The rare image of the riding and dismounting Magi seeks to introduce the dynamic element of travel, pilgrimage, search – at the end of which there is the ultimate reward of truth and salvation.³² The new heroes of Christian Church continue the mission and defend the Kingdom of the Lord and as such they are appropriate guards for the gate of His house. Roland and Oliver also relate particularly well to the three theological virtues since – as the famous line goes, »Rolant est proz, e Oliver est sage,« they thus embody the cardinal virtues of fortitude and prudence, a fine way of reinforcing the oneness of the sacred and secular, ideological and political, sphere.³³



Split. Baptistery. King's Panel.

Roland was Charlemagne's swordbearer, an officer whose task was to carry the ruler's sword when not worn by the ruler himself, a vivid, live symbol of ruler's earthly power and his justice. Not having a swordbearer meant disgrace. »No one have I to be swordbearer,« laments an old king in the *Beowulf*, abandoned by his retainers. The chronicles have preserved us the name of Count Ansfrid, swordbearer to Otto I. Politically the office must have been of relatively limited importance – Hincmar even does not mention it in his *De Ordine Palatii* – but the figure of a warrior with the sword must have been a powerful and popular visible symbol and this made, the swordbearer, as we will immediately see, an indispensable motif of Early Medieval courtly art.³⁴ Roland, as Charlemagne's sword-

³² The idea of riding and dismounting Magi is novel. It could be seen as a conflation of the Cavalcade of the Magi and the Adoration itself, often juxtaposed in Byzantine works. See for example, the *Four Gospels* from the Laurentiana, VI. 23 (twelfth century, fol. 6v); Paris, bibl. Nat. Gr. 74 (second half of the eleventh century), fol. 3 or the *Four Gospels* in Etchmiadzin, n. 362 G (from Melitene, 1057), fol. 6v. all in Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile* (Paris, 1916), pp. 140-151, figs. 86, 100, 101. Also, for example, on the Italian bronze doors, on the doors by Bonanus for Pisa and Monreale, and on the doors of Benevento. See Albert Boeckler, *Die Bronzetüren des Bonanus von Pisa und Barisanus von Trani* (Berlin, 1953), pl. 8, 9, 71, 72; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, 11 vols. (Milan, 1904) III. fig. 643. In the sculpture of the Adriatic one finds several examples, based, naturally, on similar models. On the fragment of the choir screen of St. Lawrence in Zadar (c. 1100) one sees a representation of a Cavalcade, while the Adoration itself would have been on the lost, right hand panel. The wooden doors by Andrija Buvina for Split Cathedral (1214) show the scenes side by side; the portal of the Cathedral of Trogir (by Master Radovan 1240) has a lunette showing in the middle a Nativity and the Washing of the Child, an Annunciation to the Shepherds on the left and the Cavalcade on the right. The Adoration itself is on the vousoir above the Nativity. Radovan, trained in Antelami milieu could have seen the portal of Verona Cathedral, but more likely the iconography fairly similar to Verona was based on a direct impact of local, Byzantium-inspired sources. See Ivo Petricioli, *Pojava romaničke skulpture u Dalmaciji* (Zagreb, 1960), pp. 37-43; Ljubo Karaman, *Andrija Buvina* (Zagreb, 1960), pl. 1; Vladimir Gvozdanović, »Master Radovan and the Lunette of the Nativity at Trogir,« *Studies in Medieval Culture VIII-IX* (1976), 85-98. On Byzantine and Adriatic aspects of Niccolo's work see Krautheimer-Hess, »The Original 'Porta dei Mesi,« pp. 166-171.

³³ Laisse 87, line 1; Joseph Bédier, ed., *Chanson de Roland* (Paris, n.d.), p. 84. Since Roland with the sword – and any swordbearer in general – is also a symbol of justice, he may be seen also as a representative of this particular cardinal virtue, while the more temperate Oliver can also stand for Temperance. In connection with Roland as a symbol of justice see Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 354-363, dealing with the later medieval giant statues of the hero.

³⁴ Edwin Morgan, trans., *Beowulf* (Fildington, 1952), line 2253. W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 5 vols. (Braunschweig, 1863), I, 459; Robert Holtzman, ed., *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Mersburg und ihre Korveier Uebersetzung*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 9 (Berlin, 1935), pp. 169-171, lib. IV, c. 31-32 (»Romam sane predicto Cesare ingrediente non minimus confusus in iuvene [i.e., Ansfrido] fecit eum spatiferum suum, dicens...«). Hincmar, *De Ordine Palatii*, Maurice Prou, ed. and trans., in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Etudes*, vol. 58 (Paris, 1885), text, pp. 4-97.



Chartres. Cathedral. South Transpet Portals. Martyrs' Doorway. Right Jamb.

bearer was invested with Durendal by the Emperor himself and in the *Song of Roland* Charlemagne makes his first appearance enthroned in an orchard and flanked by Roland and Oliver; after the disaster at Roncevaux, Rabel and Guinemant receive Durendal and Oliphant and, we are explicitly told, are to succeed Roland and Oliver as the Emperor's favorite and most trusted guards.³⁵ In Verona Roland and Oliver are the favorite guards of the Heavenly King («*Hic Dominus Magnus Leo Cristus Cernitur Agnus*,» as the portal inscription runs), his exemplary and most loyal warriors, and protectors of His Home. The relationship between the ruler and the attendant knight did not change and in my opinion it is not difficult to identify the model precedents of the Verona portal idea. Emperor

Lothair in the *Lothair Gospels* from Tours (849-851) is accompanied by a swordbearer and a man with a lance, and the former displays the weapon with such an obvious gesture that he must be identified as a swordbearer and not »just any guard« as Schramm has noted.³⁶ Needless to say, the image ultimately goes back to the ancient representations of the Emperor receiving homage or the scenes of the imperial largesse (such as shown on the *flabellum* of Theodosius).³⁷ The »military« guards in the form of angels flank many a representation of the Virgin and the Child and, to quote an early example, four athletic angels protect the throne of the Virgin in the Annunciation at Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome.³⁸

The courtly setting is not infrequently expanded to include the idea of adoration, audience or presentation of gifts. Such is the scene showing the court of Charles the Bald in the *Vivian Bible*, in which, surrounded by his attendants, the swordbearer and the guard with the lance included, the Emperor is offered the Bible by Count Vivian. The same ruler is shown receiving his wife in the company of a female attendant in the *Bible of San Callisto*, the two guards standing to the Emperor's right while the four cardinal virtues crown the composition from above. In the *Bible of St. Emmeran*, made also for Charles the Bald yet another motif is added to the imperial portrait: two allegorical figures of provinces bringing gifts, the horns of plenty. The last image was almost literally copied for Henry II about a century and a half later; what is new is the addition of two more provinces, bringing the number up to four, the number of provinces paying homage to Otto II or III on the leaf from Chantilly, and on the two page representation of the court of Otto III in his *Gospel Book*.³⁹ In the last example we witness the appearance of yet another motif, of two churchmen (balancing off the two military men), standing to the Emperor's right, preferred side.⁴⁰ The two powers, temporal and spiritual are here conjoined

Josef Fleckenstein, *Grundlagen und Beginn der Deutschen Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1974), p. 82. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 16 vols. (Leipzig, 1899), IX, col. 2592, defines »schwertträger« as follows: »Der das schwert als zeichen der würde und gewalt einem vor- oder nachtrigt.« »Ensifer« is listed as the Latin equivalent.

The Oxford Dictionary, Sir James A. H. Murray, ed., 13 vols. (Oxford, 1933), X, p. 351 gives the following definition: »An attendant on a military man of rank or on a chief, who carries his master's sword when not worn.« Also: »A ruler or magistrate having authority to punish offenses.« In the connection with the latter see *Romans* 13: 4(»... for he [the ruler] beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him who doeth evil.«).

³⁵ *Song of Roland*, laisse 8, lines 8-9 (p. 55), laisse 88, line 12 (p. 95), laisse 217, lines 1-7 (p. 166).

³⁶ *Lothair Gospels*, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 266, fol. lv. See Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher, and Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1970), pl. 133; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1928), I, 49.

³⁷ André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (London, 1971), p. 89. Also Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser*, I, 49.

³⁸ Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 226

in the Majesty of the Emperor as they are also in the portal of Verona Cathedral or as they are in, probably, the most famous image of a secular figure paying homage to the King of Kings available in the West, the mosaic of Justinian at San Vitale in Ravenna. That Justinian and Theodora repeat here the act of the Magi is made explicit by the representation of the Adoration of the Magi on the mantle of the Empress.⁴¹ A Carolingian or an Ottonian model inspired a rare representation of a similar scene in Early Medieval sculpture: a swordbearer accompanying a king receiving the homage on a relief from the Baptistery of Split (tenth century?), where, most likely we witness the homage of the rector of the city of Split (or, symbolically, of the city of Split, or of the entire province of Dalmatia) to the Croatian king (pl. 5); the sword has been obliterated although the traces are still visible. This must have been done by the Venetian government after the purchase of Dalmatia in 1409, when several attempts to erase the memory of earlier rulers are known to have occurred. But here we are dealing with a fragment of a choir screen, a piece of church furniture, and not an exterior sculpture composition.⁴²

To sum up: the points of contact between the rulers' portraits in Early Medieval minor arts and the portal of the Cathedral of Verona are numerous and close – the two guards one of which is the swordbearer, the reference to the virtues, the motif of homage and presentation of gifts,

the presence of ecclesiastic figures (or of the prophets in Verona) to enhance the spiritual power of the ruler. In one case we have the terrestrial court, in the other, the court of heaven. The appearance of the »secular« hero gives the Verona portal the sense of immediacy and political urgency reminiscent of the contemporary chronicles: follow the prophets and martyrs, and also the new martyrs – the Franks of Charlemagne and the Crusaders – to discover, at the end of the pilgrimage, like the riding and dismounting Magi, Truth and Salvation as a reward of your journey. As the Church in practice and theory justified the military action for the expansion of Christendom so the *miles* left the obscurity of the book page, church furniture or interior wall surface and stepped out boldly onto the public surface of the facade. The apotheosis of the military martyr, on which Erdmann commented in case of Erlembald, seems to find here its visual correlative.⁴³

It is tempting to speculate why Niccolò used these particular ingredients for his portal in Verona. But any speculation of this kind would be, at least at this point, somewhat futile. To begin with, we do not know if the Verona portal was the first major attempt on the part of Niccolò to use the military within the context of a portal. The work on the Cathedral of Verona was probably preceded, by a couple of years, by the sculpture of the Cathedral of Ferrara (begun around 1135), and here Niccolò displays a similar interest in the holy warriors.⁴⁴ The lunette of the main portal shows St. George killing the dragon, on horseback and in the gear of a contemporary knight. This venerable military martyr played a very important role in the First Crusade and some other anti-Muslim campaigns (remember Cerami!). On a white horse and accompanied by SS. Demetrius and Mercurius he showed up at the walls of Antioch to help the Crusaders in their decisive battle and victory over Kerboga (this multiplication of the Holy Riders reminds one of what we see on the facades of the Armenian church at Aghtamar, and of some Georgian churches).⁴⁵ When he approached in a dream a priest in the army of Raymond of St. Gilles, the Saint introduced himself as the standardbearer of the Crusading army.⁴⁶ Much later, in February 1219 he reappears with a host of »white warriors« to help the Crusaders to defeat the

³⁹ *Vivian Bible*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 1, fol. 386v; *San Callisto Bible*, Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 1.; *Bible of St. Emmeran*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 5 v. See Hubert *et al.* *Carolingian Art*, pl. 129, 130, 137. *Sacramentary of Henry II* (Regensburg, 1002-14), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4456, fol. 11; fragment of a *Registrum Gregorii*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, No. 15654; *Gospels of Otto III*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, fol. 23v, 24. See Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser*, I, pp. 53-55, 56-58, 64-65, 93-96. Also, Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütterich, *Denkmale der Deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich, 1960), pp. 123, 129-130, 134-135, 136-137, 147-148, 155-156, 157, pl. 82, 108, 111. On the identification of the ruler in the *Bible of San Callisto* as Charles the Bald, see Ernst Kantorowicz, »The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura,« in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, 1965), pp. 85-94. The representation of Solomon and his court in the same book, fol. 185 v., is made along the same lines; next to Solomon enthroned there is a swordbearer and a guard with a lance (Schramm and Mütterich, *op. cit.*, p. 136, pl. 56).

⁴⁰ Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser*, p. 32.

⁴¹ Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 106-107.

⁴² On Split, Vladimir Gvozdanović, »The South East Border of Carolingian Architecture,« *Cahiers Archéologiques*, XXVII (1978): 83-100, especially 99-100; also Petricoli, *Pojava*, pp. 28-32.

Seemingly much less frequently do we find the man with the sword in Early Medieval monumental art or, more precisely, painting. If he appears he is interpreted as a donor as in the case of the knight and the churchman in the frescoes at Males; See Hubert *et al.*, *Carolingian Art*, pp. 21-23. There is, naturally, another, very famous (but totally remade) early medieval example of terrestrial potentates in attendance on numinous beings – the mosaic of the Lateran Triclinium. In the apse there is Christ with the Apostles (Mission of the Apostles), on the left Christ with Constantine and Silvester I, on the right Charlemagne and Leo III in attendance on St. Peter (796-800); see Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser*, I, 27-29, II, pl. 4 A-M, and also Adolf Katzenellenbogen, »The Central Tympanum at Vézelay,« *Art Bulletin*, XXVI (1944), 141-151, especially p. 151.

⁴³ Erdmann, *The Origins*, pp. 141-143

⁴⁴ Krautheimer-Hess, »The Original 'Porta dei Mesi,'« suggested the following chronology: Ferrara, the main portal of the Cathedral, soon after 1135; portal of the Cathedral of Verona, soon after 1140, San Zeno portal, Verona, around 1140, »Porta dei Mesi« of the Cathedral of Ferrara, around 1140 (pp. 141-143). Simultaneous involvement of Niccolò's large workshop on all four projects, say, between 1135 and 1145 should not be excluded. Evelyn Kain (»The Marble Reliefs«) links the fragments of the »Porta dei Mesi« with the biblical reliefs of the facade of San Zeno which she dates »a decade later,« i.e., toward the end of the fifth decade (p. 372).

⁴⁵ Erdmann, *The Origins*, p. 135, 273-280. Peters, *The First Crusade*, pp. 187-188. On the rider reliefs on the facades of Georgian and Armenian churches see Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Les études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1928), pp. 48, 109. A brief summary of the problem will appear in my article »Armenian Art and the West: Some Good Evidence and Hasty Conclusions,« which is in press in the *Proceedings of the III International Congress on Armenian Art* (1981).

Saracens at Danietta. St. Demetrius also reappears at Damietta and on the day of his feast helps the Christians to victory.⁴⁷ At Ferrara the St. George image is still within the customary context of a symbolic victory of good over evil but it is worth noting that evil is sometimes represented in the guise of the contemporary enemy recognizable by the rounded form of his shield as it is the case of the rider tympanum at Fordington, or the embattled St. George on the frescoes of Hardham, both in England.⁴⁸ And even in Ferrara, within a more traditional concept, the gear of a contemporary knight worn by the mounted holy warrior gives the image of St. George and the dragon a sense of contemporary immediacy.

The atmosphere of the Holy War rules also the southern door of Ferrara Cathedral, the *Porta dei Mesi*, the original form of which is known through descriptions and fragments and was reconstructed by Trude Krautheimer-Hess. Here Niccolò placed the figures of two soldiers, an elderly man with a spear and a youth with a sword both bearing the sign of the cross on their shields. It is impossible to tell who these two warriors were – most likely not the members of the Adelardi family as the local tradition had it. Their role is to flank the story of Genesis from the Creation to the Sacrifice of Abraham around a lunette showing a Christ treading upon the asp and the basilisk, and raising His hand in an act of blessing.⁴⁹ The two Crusaders, the new confessors of Christ witness His triumph in the lunette. They also may relate to the Sacrifice of Abraham since Isaac is the forerunner of the true line which descends from Abraham to the Savior, as opposed to Ishmael, the ancestors of the »Hagarenes«, the Moslem Infidel, a topic exploited as a piece of pro-Crusading pro-

paganda by another important work of the twelfth century sculpture, the Lamb Tympanum of the Church of San Isidoro at Leon, where the Sacrifice is arranged in such a way as to clearly indicate the primacy of Isaac's line over Ishmael's, Christianity over Islam.⁵⁰

With Leon we embark on a digression and briefly enter a world of different imagery which promotes the idea of the Holy War in a less explicit, »military«, way. Since the monuments we have in mind – Leon, Vézelay and St. Gilles-du-Gard – have been very ably treated by others, we list them as additional records of the atmosphere of the Holy War in monumental art and our own remarks will be brief and will center on the pro-Crusading message. We just saw how skillfully the Sacrifice of Abraham was used within this context at Leon. At Vézelay, the complex image of the central portal tympanum, integrating the themes of the Ascension, the Mission of the Apostles and of the Pentecost, calls for a new Mission of the Apostles to be performed by the Crusaders.⁵¹ The facade of St. Gilles-du-Gard, a vast New Testament program centering on the lunettes of Crucifixion, Adoration and (possibly above the central entrance) of Second Coming has been interpreted as a grandiose »poster« advertising the Second Crusade and attacking Islam as an arch-heresy. The two military figures in the left corner of the lunette of Crucifixion have been identified as the representatives of the Military Orders, the Templars and the Hospitallers both of which had at St. Gilles their western headquarters. These arm-bearers of Christ are the liberators and defenders of the »Ecclesia Orientalis« standing, in the garb of a Byzantine princess, next to the Virgin Mary.⁵² This is the Lady who cried, to use the words of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1098, »Come my beloved sons, come to me, retake the crown from the hands of the sons of idolatry who rise against me – the crown from the beginning of the world predestined for you.«⁵³ At the opposite end of the lunette we see an angel retake the crown from the queen of idolatry – the Synagogue – a crown shaped as a miniature representation of the Dome of the rock, the arch-temple of the idol worshippers.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Peters, *The First Crusade*, pp. 198-200 (from Raymond d'Aguiliers). Also the remarks by Anouar Hatem, *Les poèmes épiques des Croisades* (Paris, 1932), pp. 311, 362-370 (The *Chanson de Jerusalem* calls the Battle of Ascalon, the Battle of Ramleh, in order to place the site of a great Christian victory under the shadow of the shrine of St. George in Lydda nearby).

⁴⁷ Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Christianité et l'idée de la Croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959), II, 181-182.

⁴⁸ Arthur Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 80, hesitates between identifying the rider in the Fordington tympanum (early twelfth century) as St. George and St. James. It is interesting to note that the Fordington warrior finds a very close analogy in a Romanesque fresco at St. Botolph at Hardham, where the rider is definitely St. George killing the Infidel. See Philip M. Johnson, »Hardham Church and its Early Paintings.« *Sussex Archeological Collections XLIV* (1901), 73-115, and Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pp. 75-76. Fordington and Hardham were brought to my attention by my student Mr. Peter Winjum whose help is here acknowledged with gratitude.

⁴⁹ Krautheimer-Hess, »The Original 'Porta dei Mesi,'« pp. 152-158. Her very careful reconstruction of the lunette on the basis of the preserved fragment reveals a composition showing Christ trampling upon Evil in the form of a dragon, lion, asp, and basilisk. Such a representation is very rare in the monumental arts of the High Middle Ages but frequent in the minor arts – illumination, ivories – of the Early Middle Ages, another argument in favor of a thesis that Niccolò knew works in minor arts and could borrow his scheme for the Verona portal from an imperial portrait. A monumental example of the same scheme, one Niccolò could have indeed seen, is the mosaic in the Archbishops' Palace in Ravenna. See also Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 65.

⁵⁰ John Williams, »Generaciones Abrahæ: Reconquest Iconography in Leon.« *Gesta*, XVI (1977), 3-14.

⁵¹ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, »The Central Tympanum at Vézelay.« p. 142 (»... Thus the representation of the ascending Christ who leaves his apostles and is received into a cloud is merged with the Mission of the Apostles and with the giving of complete and final power through the Holy Spirit in what may be called an encyclopedic representation of the Mission.«).

A recent study by Michael Taylor, »The Pentecost at Vézelay.« *Gesta* XIX (1980), 9-15, while adding another possible dimension of interpretation by emphasizing the Pentecost aspect, does not, in my opinion, invalidate the brilliant essay by Katzenellenbogen. By concentrating on the »Pentecost« and disregarding almost totally the accompanying reliefs (around the lunette) Taylor impoverishes our experience of the great monument so deeply understood by Katzenellenbogen, and his study thus represents a step backward in our understanding of the Vézelay portal. On the facade of St. Gilles, Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Facade of St. Gilles-du-Gard* (New York, 1977).

⁵² O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-132.

⁵³ Peters, *The First Crusade*, p. 228.

⁵⁴ See note 52.

Leon, Vèzelay and St. Gilles-du-Gard introduce more subtle, speculative imagery which requires skillful reading. The Italians on the contrary loved to see the military hero himself. In their book on Roland Lejeune and Stiennon have put together quite a list!⁵⁵ The question why this is so since, after all it was France which created the great epic cycles, brings us back to the portals of the Cathedrals of Verona and Ferrara. The question to be posed is: Is there anything within the local context which may have stimulated the appearance of the military figures? But unfortunately, we do not seem to have enough evidence to enable us to fruitfully discuss this question. In the permanently shifting politics of the Italian cities, where coats were turned faster than the wind direction changed, it is, I am afraid, impossible to establish whether the imagery of the portals of Ferrara and Verona Cathedrals was, for example, pro-Guelf or pro-Ghibeline, pro-episcopal or pro-comital, pro-communal or anti-communal, Matildine or Henrician; in order to even intelligently approach the issue we would have to know the exact date when the program was fashioned, and we do not know that. Verona was an imperial city (not without inconsistencies) but the military imagery appears also, and maybe even before, in not-so-Ghibeline Ferrara.⁵⁶ It was, we believe an Early Medieval imperial portrait, most likely from an illuminated book, that inspired the general concept of the Verona Cathedral portal, and the imperial models must have been available in Italy where, in the twelfth century the Empire was very much, and often very painfully, present. One may

also mention that in the eleventh and early twelfth century, for some one hundred years, all Veronese bishops came from beyond the Alps and the Cathedral could have easily possessed a book of the kind we discussed above.⁵⁷ In her *Vita*, produced early in the twelfth century, Contessa Matilda of Canossa, the key supporter of Gregory VII and the papal cause, was represented enthroned and accompanied by a swordbearer and an ecclesiastic completely in the manner of the imperial portraits, and on another miniature she receives attended by churchman, Abbot Hugh of Cluny, the submission of Henry IV. Thus the imperial imagery was not only still current – it was current even in the anti-imperial camp. And Matilda's policy was not exactly a model of consistency either.⁵⁸ The only factor which Verona and Ferrara definitely share is the artist, Niccolò, who, by the way, demonstrated his interest in the epic material and the representations of the military in the lunette and on the facade on San Zeno in Verona, too.⁵⁹ This speciality makes Niccolò an interesting target for a cultural/historical study. If we only knew more about him as a person, an individual human being! Could his sculpture be an expression of a personal interest in the world of the epic and the Crusade? Does his *penchant* for the minor arts as models indicate an above average sophistication and learning? Was he in particular partial to the art of the word? Both vernacular and Latin? Was he for some reason devoted to Roland and Oliver? Travels through France? Pilgrimage to Compostella? Visits to Roncevaux, Belin, Blaye? Could his often »Adriatic« iconography stemming from the art of both the Exarchate and Byzantium itself speak in favor of a trip to the East? To the Holy Land? In what capacity? As a warrior of Christ himself? At Jerusalem? At the shrine of St. George at Lydda? Or is his interest in the epic hero and military figures an outlet for an adventurer *manqué*? It is doubtful that we may ever learn any answers to these questions, but, given the fact that we know at least something about

⁵⁵ Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, chapters 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17. The *chanson de geste Berta e Milone* (preserved in a thirteenth century manuscript in the Venetian Marciana) says that Roland was born at Imola (*ibid.*, p. 155).

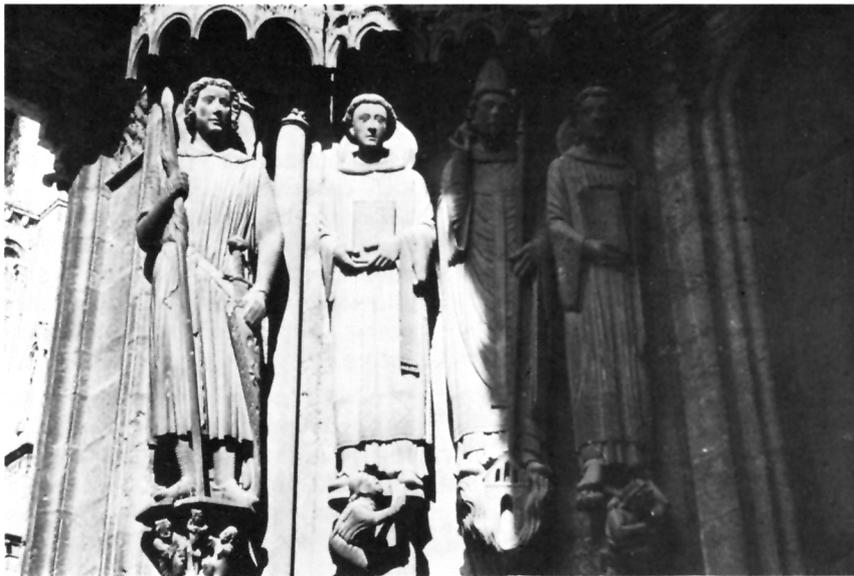
⁵⁶ On the imperial politics in Italy see Karl Hempe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett (Totowa, 1973), especially pp. 108-152. On Verona in the fourth and fifth decades of the twelfth century, Carlo Guido Mor, »Dalla Caduta dell'Impero al Comune.« in *Verona*, p. 149 ff, and Luigi Simeoni, »Il Comune.« *ibid.*, pp. 247-256. There is, to the best of my knowledge, no comparable study of Ferrara. For a brief summary of the medieval Ferrara see Renato Jannucci, *Storia di Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1958), pp. 13-15. The creation of the portal of the Cathedral of Verona may have coincided with the formation of the Comune (which seems to be referred to by the lunette of San Zeno!), and Roland was also, especially in the later Middle Ages, a symbol of justice, imperial justice in particular, and of the civic liberties. His giant statues are frequently found in the cities which claimed to have received their privileges from Charlemagne (Lejeune and Stienon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 357-363). Verona has had a strong imperial, Carolingian, tradition. The »Pipin's Tomb« is still shown at San Zeno. Pipin, Charlemagne's son and King of Italy as of 781, indeed resided in Verona in 805-806 and also probably earlier (Mor, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 67). Verona was on an important pilgrimage road, from Germany through the Brenner to Rome. But Augusto Vasina, *Le Crociate nel Mondo Italiano* (Bologna, 1973) finds little evidence of Crusading zeal, in spite of local lore, either in Verona or Ferrara.

Erdmann has emphasized that it was Italy which developed, by the end of the eleventh century, literature in apology of the Holy War. On writers such as Enselm of Lucca and Bonizo da Sutri see *The Origins*, pp. 245-246 and 248-252. Finally, Italy with her strong tradition of classical imperial art would have been, presumably, more open to »secular« figures and compositions. These, and surely other factors, could be taken into consideration when examining the context within which Niccolò created his works but at this point I am afraid that none of them can be convincingly singled out as dominant.

⁵⁷ Mor, »Dal Caduto.« pp. 145-146 (but after 1119 they were all Italian, *ibid.*, p. 161).

⁵⁸ In the early twelfth century manuscript of Donizone's *Vita Mathildis* in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. 4922), fol. 7v, 49. See Ludwig Bethman, ed., »Vita Mathildis.« in George H. Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum XII* (1856), 348-409, and plates 1 (at page 350) and 3 (at page 366).

⁵⁹ As already said, Evelyn Kain has recently offered a revision of the facade of San Zeno, involving also the two »secular« reliefs, the Hunt of Theodoric and the combat identified by Lejeune and Stiennon (I, 72-76) as the duel between Roland and Ferragut. According to Kain these were not made originally for the facade but she remains vague about their possible place of origin (»The Marble Reliefs.« pp. 372-373). The fact remains that they are by Niccolò and/or his shop. A capital from the »Porta del Zodiaco« at Sagra San Michele showing a fight also bears an inscription: »Hic locus est pacis causas deponite litium.« See Christine Verzar, *Die Romanischen Skulpturen der Abtei Sagra San Michele* (Bern, 1968), p. 80, pl. 25. If this is interpreted as an appeal in favor of the Truce of God, we would have yet another evidence of Niccolò's »political sensitivity.« A Christian warrior, identifiable as such by a pointed shield, is among the Niccolò figures in the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna. I owe this information to Christine Verzar Bornstein. Her forthcoming monograph on Niccolò will certainly answer many of the questions which I am only able to pose.



Chartres. Cathedral. South Transept Portals. Martyrs' Doorway. Left Jamb.

Niccolò – we have his signed works and inscriptions about himself, more than it is usually the case with Romanesque artists – further in-depth enquiry may unearth some bits and pieces of evidence to help us understand Niccolò's personality better. For it seems that his persistence in the use of highly personal imagery may indicate in my opinion a fair degree of freedom from patrons, or may signal that, Niccolò was at least systematically consulted in the process of creation of the programs for his sculptures.⁶⁰

The imperial imagery exploited, we believe by Niccolò, continues throughout the twelfth century in the heart of the Empire, Germany, both in minor and monumental art representations of the epic hero. The Heidelberg manuscript of the *Ruolantes Liet*, made around 1175-95, probably for Henry the Lion, contains a score of pictures of rulers, Christian and Moslem alike, accompanied by armed attendants, including the swordbearer. Roland appears throughout the book as Charlemagne's *ensifer* starting with the scene of the »Majesty« of Charlemagne between Roland and Oliver which we have already mentioned in connection with the *Song of Roland*.⁶¹ The image is repeated, on a monumental scale, by a late twelfth century

stained glass window from the Cathedral of Strasbourg – a saintly Emperor, Charlemagne, accompanied by two knights one of which, proudly displaying his sword, is identified by a cross on his sleeve as a holy warrior – Roland – his companion being, naturally, Oliver.⁶² More than three centuries have elapsed since the creation of the *Gospels of Lothair* but the image has not substantially changed – in both instances we see a Deified Emperor surrounded by his favorite guards.

Niccolò's activity as well as the sculptural programs at Leon, Vézelay and St. Gilles-du-Gard came as a belated comment of the First or as part of the warm-up of the Second Crusade.⁶³ But only one later expedition, the Fifth Crusade, recalled the epic spirit, and to some extent even the success of the First, culminating in the dramatic siege, capture, and temporary occupation of Damietta. Paul Alphandéry has written some fine pages on the analogies between the two ventures, on the atmosphere of miracles and renewed ardor surrounding the preparation for the Crusade, and on the strong spiritual involvement of a great pope, Innocent III.⁶⁴ The heroic, archaic, mythical quality is present in reports about the Fifth Crusade such as the *Capture of Damietta* by Oliver of Paderborn; one wonders if this is not so thanks to a heavy participation in the Fifth Crusade of the »less developed« among European peoples – the men of the Low Countries, the Lower Rhine and the North Sea coastland – the Frisians, the Saxons, the Northern Germans (and note, from another *antemurale* of Europe, the presence in the Holy Land of Andrew II, King of Hungary and Croatia).⁶⁵ The struggle for Damietta, the suffering, the triumph, and the eventual defeat are surrounded by the atmosphere of miracles and heroism reminiscent of the great exploits of the First Crusade – at Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Antioch and Jerusalem. Miracles abound. They both announce the Crusade and succor God's warriors in their trials. St. George and the Heavenly

⁶⁰ See the previous note.

⁶¹ Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 111-138 (with additional bibliography); II, pl. 85, 86, 92, 97, 100, 103, 113, 122, 124.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 139-144.

⁶³ Sudden launching of the First Crusade made any monumental art propaganda, naturally, impossible.

⁶⁴ Alphandéry and Dupront, *La Chretienité*, II, 149 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165 ff, 180 ff. Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, in Peters, *Christian Society*, pp. 49-139.

⁶⁶ Alphandéry and Dupront, *La Chretienité*, II, p. 181 ff.

Hosts ride again, the famous »Tower of the Nile« falls into Christian hands both through sublime acts of bravery and the help of the Lord⁶⁶ and, in spite of the ultimate failure, Oliver's book is written on an upbeat note: we fought well, we performed acts of superhuman bravery, we proved ourselves – and this counts.⁶⁷ After all the aftermath of the Fifth Crusade brought about although through different means, a temporary restitution of Jerusalem to Christian hands. The atmosphere of the renewed fervor in the first quarter of the thirteenth century could be conducive to the creation of new pro-Crusading imagery and I believe it is effected by one of the greatest sculptural works of the times, the portals of the southern transept of Chartres Cathedral.

In his exemplary analysis of the transept portals Adolf Katzenellenbogen has demonstrated how many elements of the sculpture add up to a powerful condemnation of dualist heresy, an appropriate statement, given that at the same time when the portal programs were under construction the bishop of Chartres, Renaud de Mouçon, was helping Simon de Monfort in his siege of Termes.⁶⁸ May I be allowed to add a footnote to Katzenellenbogen's masterful analysis of the transept portals, namely, that in my opinion, the southern portals expand, albeit indirectly, this message of the struggle against evil and untruth through a reference to the Crusades. The program of the southern transept portals is that of the Last Judgement, with Christ the Judge in the central tympanum while the martyrs, those who fought and died bodily for Christ, and who, bodily and physically witnessed Him, occupy the gate to His right, the confessors, who witnessed Christ through the word appearing on the portal to His Left. This is the old arrangement of Justinian's panel, the »physical« witnesses to the ruler's right, the spiritual ones to his left, or, in reverse, of the representation of Otto III receiving the homage of the provinces in his *Gospels*. Another Ottonian work could be mentioned here: the coronation (by the *Dextra Dei*) of Otto II or III in the *Liuthar Gospels* in Aachen where we find a similar grouping into »seculars« and »ecclesiastics«, two soldiers to the Emperor's right and two churchmen to his left witnessing the apotheosis of the Emperor attended by two high nobles.⁶⁹ The stratification of the composition which we find in the Coronation of Otto II or III and naturally in the Last Judgement at Chartres (present although less obviously so in earlier similar examples at Moissac or Autun) is reminiscent of Byzantine examples such as the mosaic on the western wall of the Cathedral at Torcello, a fact noticed by André Grabar who also identified as the ultimate source of the Last Judgement imagery the imperial art of the Late Antiquity (for example, the column of Arcadius).⁷⁰

Among the martyrs at Chartres there are two warriors. One is easily recognizable as St. George (a bearded, or, shall we say an »elderly« figure – like the one on the *Porta dei Mesi* in Ferrara) (pl. 6) and a youthful military martyr sometimes seen as St. Theodore (who indeed appears with St. George on some Georgian facades and at Aghtamar in Armenia), but recently quite plausibly identified by Lejeune and Stiennon as St. Roland (pl. 7).⁷¹ SS. George and Theodore would suffice to remind one of the contemporary or almost contemporary events of the Fifth Crusade and its aftermath, but the message becomes even more

poignant if the identification of the youthful soldier as St. Roland is accepted. Christ is witnessed not only by the great protomartyrs, SS. Stephen and Lawrence, and the old *miles* martyr George, but also by the head martyr of more recent campaigns against the Infidel. On the confessors' side the two holy warriors are balanced by two local confessors – SS. Avit and Laumer – and all four were added to the original program – to bring a local (and contemporary) note to the portals?⁷² Roland was certainly admired at Chartres as the Charlemagne window testifies; and some maintain that the great *Chanson* itself was composed in the vicinity of Chartres some hundred years before.⁷³

My conclusion need not be long. The examples were touched upon reinforce Erdmann's argument about the change in the attitude toward warfare in Western Christian thought. As the ideology changed to accommodate the notion of a justified, Holy War, for the expansion of Christianity, so the monumental iconography absorbed the image of the Holy Warriors. This Soldier of Christ, of the past and present, appears in several cases as a swordbearer, and/or guard of the House of the Lord. The source of this image is, we believe, in the imperial art of Carolingian and Ottonian times, and, *via* these, of the Imperial Antiquity.

Special attention should be paid to Niccolò who was responsible for at least two monumental sculptural renderings of the theme – at the portal of Verona Cathedral and at the *Porta dei Mesi* of the Cathedral of Ferrara. Further research in his career and not only from an art historical point of view, seems definitely indicated. The art of the twelfth and the thirteenth century was undoubtedly heavily influenced and programmed by theologians, but it also shows, in our opinion, a remarkable sensitivity for the living historic actuality and a capacity to react to, comment on, and promote such major political issues as the fight against the Infidel and the struggle against heresy.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Oliver's praise of the Frisians in chapter 82, Peters, *Christian Society*, p. 134.

⁶⁸ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (New York, 1964), pp. 76-77. On the southern transept, p. 79 ff. The siege of Termes occurred in 1210.

⁶⁹ On the Coronation miniature (fol. 16) from the *Liuthar Gospels* in the Cathedral of Aachen (around 990) see Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser*, I, 81-83, and Schramm and Mütterich, *Denkmale*, p. 154, pl. 103.

⁷⁰ Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 253-258.

⁷¹ Lejeune and Stiennon, *The Legend of Roland*, I, 199-203. This identification is based on an interpretation of the scene on the base of the soldier statue as Ganelon taking his oath on an idol. Wilibald Saurländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France* (London, 1972), p. 434, rejects this identification without saying why. His date for the warriors is 1230-35, but earlier dates have also been suggested (see Lejeune and Stiennon, *op. cit.*, I, 199 and accompanying footnotes). See also our footnote 42. On St. Roland, Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1959), III (part III), 1162-1164.

⁷² Avit and Laumer were saintly abbots of the Chartres Diocese (Saurländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 434).

⁷³ On the place of origin of the *Chanson*, Joseph Bédier, *Chanson de Roland* (Paris, n.d.), p. 32; Maurice Delbail, *Sur la genèse de la Chanson de Roland* (Bruxelles, 1954), pp. 94-97; Pierre le Gentil, *The Chanson de Roland* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 24-26.

What follows is an unscholarly post-scriptum. We can debate, until we are blue in our faces, whether the Crusades were a success or a failure, whether they were a supreme manifestation of heroism or an act of barbarity, whether they were »right« or »wrong«, justified or unjustified. We may list the material »results« of the Crusades for the West, pearls and peaches, spices and silks, rugs and apricots, the veneer the brutal Westerners acquired from Eastern cultures. We may add up the scores and having figured out our respective sums total, resume our quarrels. But imagine yourself in the West at the end of the eleventh century, in a world torn by the Investiture Contest and by endless feudal warfare, at mercy of famine and bad years, when the Normans still roamed around as they pleased and the Moslems threatened Christianity in Spain and Asia Minor; imagine yourselves in this world of permanent personal and economic insecurity. To this frustrated but vital world Urban gave a goal, a cause. He gave it the Jerusalem of the remission of sins and of the salvation of souls, but he gave also the land of milk and honey. Professor Kitzinger, in his infinite wisdom has written: »... aspirations, claims, ideologies, mystiques, if you will [are] powerful agents in the historical process. That claims and expectations have

their importance even if they are not, or not fully realized is, after all, a truism. While they may not correspond to actuality, they frequently are the motivating forces behind actuality. Works of art may at times be among the most concrete and tangible manifestations of these elusive agents.«⁷⁴ No wonder then that some of the great imagery of the twelfth century bears an imprint of the spirit of the Crusade. The monumental public image was not only a record, or a piece of pious education; it was a call for action. It was not only the Bible of the Poor, it was their Political Manifesto.

Centuries later, in the aftermath of the One Hundred Years War and the Great Schism, the Black Death and the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, facing an economic slump while the Turks were dismembering Eastern Christianity and were about to plunge Central Europe from Belgrade to Vienna into four centuries of pre-medieval barbarism, the West was again able to recapture the sense of direction developing a new gospel of science and expanding into colonial empires to be dismantled only in the last few decades. Today, torn by nihilism, defeatism and inflation, the West is desperately lacking the sense of mission. W. B. Yeats wrote already around 1920 about this loss of centerdness: »Things fall apart. Center can not hold...«⁷⁵ The millenium is approaching. The proliferation of Crusading studies may in itself be a sign of the spirit of the millenium descending upon us. Dyson Freeman, a noted Anglo-American physicist and a fine writer observed that the world may recover its balance the day when the impatient spirits among ourselves, those perpetually thirsting for new conquests and challenges become capable of creating new modes of life and society in the intergalactic space, a hope, if not a promise, of an intergalactic Jerusalem.⁷⁶ A call for an intergalactic Crusade. But: Do we dare, do we, indeed, dare disturb the Universe?

⁷⁴ Ernst Kitzinger, »The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Art: A Problem of Method,« *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. XXII (1972), 87-102, especially pp. 101-102.

⁷⁵ William Butler Yeats, *Collected Poems* (London, 1955), from the »Second Coming,« pp. 210-211.

⁷⁶ Dyson Freeman, *Disturbing the Universe: A Life in Science* (New York, 1979). And thank you to T. S. Eliot (together with Freeman) for paraphrasing Prufrock in our concluding sentence.

Rad »Miles Ensifer« (Ratnik Mačonoša) postavlja pitanje pojave likovnog prikaza svjetovnog ratnika u okviru buđenja Evrope oko 1100. godine i križarskih ratova. Ideja opravdanog rata u obranu kršćanstva razvijala se polako od sv. Augustina do govora Urbana II. u Clermontu, te je postala prihvatljivija kršćanskoj ideologiji Zapada, a posebno u okviru borbe protiv hereza, protiv insvetiture i za oslobođenje dijelova Evrope (Španjolska, Sicilija) pod vlašću islama. Književni izvori, historijske kronike (Fulcher iz Chartresa, Robert Monah, Gesta Francorum itd.) te epske poeme romaničkog razdoblja, poput najznačajnije *Chanson de roland*, potkrepljuju taj razvitak. U tim se tekstovima suvremeni ratnik, križar uspoređuje s borbama za pravovjerje Starog i Novog zavjeta i prikazuje se, konačno, kao sljedbenik Krista samog i nastavljač djela apostolskih.

Ključni spomenik u likovnom svijetu jest portal veronske katedrale (kipar Niccolo, oko 1138). Poklonstvo kraljeva u luneti prate na dovratnicima likovi Rolanda i Olivera, glavnih junaka Pjesme o Rolandu. Izvor za taj tip prikaza nalazimo u nizu vladarskih portreta ranog srednjeg vijeka, gdje se svjetovni vladar javlja u društvu važnih dvorskih odličnika, mačonoše (spatarius) i čuvara vrata (ostarius). Kao primjer neka nam služi niz karolinških i otonskih minijatura (Lotarovo Evandjelje, Vivijanova Biblija, Biblija sv. Kalista, Biblija sv. Emerana, Evandjelje Otona III) a u monumentalnoj umjetnosti prikaz vladara u splitskoj krstionici.

Na veronskoj katedrali umjesto zemaljskog dvora prikazuje se nebeski, a svjetovni junaci štite nebeskog vladara i vladaricu, te također, u ovozemaljskoj realnosti, kraljevstvo božje na zemlji, tj. crkvenu zgradu i crkvu kao instituciju. Na taj se način svjetovni

heroj uzdiže do svetosti, a konačno vitezovi Karla Velikog bili su smatrani mučenicima i svecima.

Oba junaka opremljena su na suvremen način i očito predstavljaju suvremenog svetog bojovnika, križara. Sličnu ideju ostvaruje Niccolo i na ferarskoj katedrali (oko 1135). Na zapadnom pročelju sv. Juraj ubija zmaja, no taj je svetac, posve očito, suvremeni ratnik. Za usporedbu valja navesti manjepoznati portal iz Fordingtona u Engleskoj (rano 12. stoljeće), gdje se svetac okomljuje na mali ljudski lik s okruglim štitom, tipičnim za prikaze »poganskih«, muslimanskih ratnika. Tako sv. Juraj postaje križar u likovnom svijetu, a na isti je način on intervenirao toliko puta na strani kršćanstva u toku križarskih ratova, u prvom kod Antiohije, u petom kod Damijete, uvijek u društvu četa svetih konjanika, što nas može podsjetiti na pojavu nizova svetih vitezova na pročeljima armenskih i gruzijskih crkava.

No sv. Juraj nije jedini spomen suvremenih događaja na ferarskoj katedrali. Na južnom, uništenom portalu nalazio se prikaz dvaju vojnika, opremljenih na križarsku (sa znakom križa na štitu), a u luneti stajao je Krist gazeći Zlo, aspa i baziliska.

Naravno, taj je tip prikaza izravna propaganda za križarski pokret. Postoje međutim i složeniji, posredniji prikazi. Žrtva Abrahamova na pročelju Sv. Izidora u Leonu u Španjolskoj (prva polovica 12. stoljeća) naglašuje prednost Isakova potomstva nad Ismajlovim (Ismajil se smatrao praocem Muslimana, Ismajlita ili Hagarena) i tako podupire stvar Kršćanstva. U Vézelayu (1120-40) nalazimo kompleksni prikaz silaska Duha Svetoga i Misije apostolske kao poziv na misionarski rad i proširenje Kršćanstva do kraja svijeta s prikazima čudesnih rasa i naroda, psoglavaca, divova, pigmeja i sličnih, koji će svi čuti i prihvatiti riječ novih apostola. U St. Gilles-du-Gard (oko 1140) Raspeće i Ekleziju prate likovi dvaju ratnika, predstavnika vojničkih redova templara i hospitalaca (St. Gilles je bio njihov zapadni glavni štab), dok s druge strane anđeo grubo ruši sinagoginu krunu u obliku sitne građevine mošeje na pećini u Jeruzalemu, simbolizirajući pad neprijatelja kršćanstva, Židova i Muslimana.

Tradicija imperijalnog portreta živi naravno i u Njemačkoj,

na primjer u knjizi *Ruolantes Liet* (oko 1175-95) s nizom prikaza Karla Velikog i drugih vladara u pratnji dvaju ratnika, ili na vitraju katedrale u Strasburgu (kraj 12. stoljeća) s prikazom Karla kao posvećenog vladara u društvu Rolanda i Olivera.

Bojovna ikonografija oživljuje opet u vezi s petom križarskom vojnom, a ponovno rođenje mističnog, herojskog i arhaičnog duha može se pripisati prisutnosti »nerazvijenih«, »zaostalih« zemalja Evrope, Frižana, Nizozemaca, Saksonaca, a u tome sudjeluju i mađarsko-hrvatski kralj Andrija II. Osvajanje Damijete, rad Olivera iz Paderborna, izvršno izražava taj bojovni, mistični duh. Izrazom atmosfere petog križarskog rata i ponovnog »osvajanja« (kroz političke makinacije Fridrika II) Jeruzalema možda se može smatrati dodatak dvaju vitezova južnom portalu katedrale u Chartresu. Jedan je očito sv. Juraj, a drugi je ne tako davno uvjerljivo identificiran kao sv. Roland (koji igra tako važnu ulogu na vitraju sv. Karla u unutrašnjosti katedrale). Dakle tamo se dva predstavnika borbe za stvar kršćanstva, »historijsko-apostolski« (sv. Juraj) i »suvremeno-križarski« (sv. Roland) stoje na straži postrance Posljednjeg suda.

Carl Erdmann, pronicljivi historičar i autor ključnog djela *Postanak ideje Križarstva* (*Enstehung des Kreuzzugedankes*, 1935), pokazao je kako je »sveti rat« postao prihvatljiv, do vremena zrelog srednjeg vijeka, zapadnom kršćanstvu. Kao što se ideologija mijenja kako bi prihvatila ideju »svetog«, opravdanog rata, tako se mijenja i ikonografija te prihvaća sliku svetog ratnika.

Svijetu Zapada jedanaestog stoljeća, svijetu borbe za investituru i beskonačnih feudalnih zadjevica, svijetu na milosti i nemilosti gladi i loših godina, – dok je Normani šetao Evropom kako mu se htjelo, islam prijetio kršćanstvu u Španjolskoj i Maloj Aziji, tom ogorčenom ali i vitalnom i kreativnom svijetu Urban je II. dao cilj – duhovni Jeruzalem, otpuštenja grijeha, no također i zemlju, ovosvjetovnu, meda i mlijeka. S toga neka nas ne čudi da neke vrlo važne umjetničke tvorevine 12. stoljeća nose pečat križarstva. Monumentalna javna slika nije tek zabilješka ili predmet vjerskog odgoja, ona je poziv na akciju. Ne stvara se isključivo kao »Biblija siromaha« već im valja služiti i kao politički manifest.

SUMMARY S

Ante Šonje

THE EARLY CROATIAN CHURCH OF ST. FOŠCA NEAR ŽMINJ, ISTRIA

A through exploration of the church of St. Fosca near Žminj, Istria, whose present-day appearance bears witness to its numerous enlargements as well as to archeological excavations, enables the author to determine the existence of an Old Croatian church on the same site in the late Middle Ages. According to the author, this was a rectangular basilica with a single nave, a semi-circular apse, and a barrel vault. This belief is substantiated with the uncovered ruins of the church foundations and parts of the walls. Discovered fragments of stone furniture within the church helped him date the ruins. The comparison with Old Croatian architecture in the Dalmatian part of Croatia indicates the early period of the 9 and 10 centuries as the time of construction.

Vladimir P. Gross

MILES ENSIFER

The author interprets the appearance, duration and distribution of the artistic rendering of the warrior with sword (Miles Ensifer) within the context of European revival c. 1100 and Crusades. He cites literary sources and historic chronicles on the same topic which liken the warrior of those days to the champion of orthodoxy. He regards and analyses this phenomenon in arts (both in terms of semantics and iconography) in different monuments of European artistic heritage, e. g.: the portal of Verona Cathedral, Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures, the Baptistry in Split, the Cathedral of Ferrara, the portal at Fordington, England, the facades of St. Isidore's at Leone, Spain, at Vezelay, at St. Gilles-du Garde, stained glass windows in Strasbourg etc. . . Listed renderings and compositions epitomize a »holy«, justified war against heresy, usually Islam. The author indicates typical iconographic variants of such renderings, as well as the distinction between the »holy« (often presented as St. George) and »profane« warrior.

Dr Marian Wenzel

BOSNIAN HISTORY AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN POLICY: SOME MEDIEVAL BELTS, THE BOGOMIL ROMANCE AND THE KING TVRTKO GRAVES

The author exposes the way in which a false view of the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, projected for political reasons by Austria-Hungary in the

early years of its occupation of the province, can still have repercussions in the work of present-day scholars of European art-history who have no reason to suspect its operation. An instance is given in which a number of falsified archeological results from early in the century have been taken at face value by later scholars and have resulted in the misdating by half a century or more of an important group of silver-gilt belts. The group is re-dated on the basis of more reliable evidence.

Grgo Gamulin

A STUDY IN SYNCRETISM

The author deals with the universal question of syncretism which fuses two heterogeneous styles. In this case they are the Romanesque painting in Italy and the Byzantine style. He also emphasises the difference between the Comnenian and Palaeologan Byzantine styles, which caused the appearance of Paolo Veneziano and the Venetian 14 c painting. He touches upon the question of symbiosis with Giotto's style, and then moves on to the 300 year long crippling phase of Italo-Cretan painting. Within are to be found: the question of eclecticism and real symbiosis; the rare great syntheses:

Giunta — Cimabue — Paolo, and the great El Greco synthesis which occurred later.

Grgo Gamulin

HARDLY DISCERNIBLE SYNCRETISM, HARDLY ACHIEVABLE SYNTHESIS

This theoretic paper for the Congress on Painter Pordenone in 1984 deals with the pending issue of mannerism in Venetian sixteenth century painting. The author once again returns to the previously explored field, trying to determine the differences among several mannerist manifestations in Venice. He emphasises the somewhat neglected phenomenon of Lorenzo Lotto and seeks distinctions regarding Pordenone's »non-functional« synthesis. Within are to be found: why his development suddenly ceased and the mannerism became soother; in what ways he differs from syncretic symbiosis, conventional mannerism and the real synthesis in El Greco's case. The study comprises some other phenomena, including still unresolved questions concerning Venetian 16 c development e. g. the question of substrate which initiated the peculiar growth of different mannerist styles. In this case it is the substrate of the Giorgione — Tizian line of descent, which clashed with the »grand manner« of Central Italy, and on some occasions with Parmigianino.