

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST: A MORPHOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

RADOVAN IVANČEVIĆ

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R. Ivančević
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Zagreb
Croatia

In the millenary artistic development in the Mediterranean cultural area, from the 6th to the 15th century, the attention should be focused not only to morphological differences that separate Byzantium from Western artistic centres, but to their structural affinities as well. From the point of view of methodology, it is probably necessary to give more precise definition of the idiomatic expression "structural unity" of the Western art and Byzantine art, because those terms are frequently being used as undoubtedly and unquestionably antithetic. The structural analysis of Eastern- and Western-European medieval works of art shows the existence of profound relations of the Pre-Romanesque, Romanesque and Gothic with, Macedonian, Comnen and Palaeologue Renaissance on the other side, to such an extent that one can talk about the parallelism between pre-Romanesque and Macedonian, Romanesque and Comnen and Gothic and Palaeologue Renaissance. The comparative analysis shows, as well, that the contemporaneous Western and Eastern art (the method of reduction of the 12th c.; narrativity of the 14th c.) show much more affinities than the successive phases of the Western and Byzantine art (Romanesque and Gothic sculpture in the West, fresco painting of the Comnen and Palaeologue period in the East).

The notion of a style is derived from the total number of monuments of a period or area. This is why stylistic categories must be periodically checked, revised and matched against the findings of current research in the field. Every new bit of information about an individual monument may have major repercussions. Even if the changes are minor, their sum may lead to major revisions of the overall definition of a style.

The changes in the interpretation of the Medieval monuments — and styles — of Western Europe must also be verified by studying Eastern European monuments, for methodological reasons, whereby the definition of one style may be supported by comparing it to the other. Styles can be delimited from the historical or geographical point of view: e.g. the differences between the Romanesque and the Gothic are based on temporal differentiation, while the difference between Romanesque and Comnen-Renaissance monuments is based on spatial considerations. Both types of delimitation become clearer after they have been subjected to comparative analysis. In accordance with this, changes on one side will have inevitable repercussions on the other. Applying the new findings on "our" territory to the art and architecture of "neighbouring" areas, one can establish their general importance which will make them applicable in the study of the other style, bringing it closer to ours, or lead to conclusions that broaden the gap between these two contiguous styles.

Research in the history of *Medieval* art in Europe has recognized for centuries the existence of two stylistic tendencies which have been legitimized as indisputable categories: the first is the art of Western Europe, the other is Byzantine art. Each tendency is studied separately as a spatial-temporal unit, and scholars are divided into "eastern" and "western" experts. We have an enormous number of specialists in each of these fields (studied diachronically), but only a very small number of scholars who study the art of the Middle Ages (VI-XV c) as a whole, or some of its temporal segments (synchronically). Although based on objective historical facts, differences are also blown up for po-

litical reasons and applied without critical distance, stressing for example the division between the two Christian Churches (The Eastern and Western) or relying on the sanctioned division of scholarship into "two spheres", travelling the whole gamut from the educational system to the way research in art history is conducted at scholarly institutions. Thus solid scholarly results are often overshadowed by generally accepted prejudices.

Among South Slav nations the Croatian art historians are particularly sensitive to this problem. While Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria are entirely immersed in the eastern cultural setting, and Slovenia in that of western Europe, in spite of belonging to the western cultural sphere, Croatia was always the most outlying western territory along which the borders with the East were drawn. It is therefore justified to consider it a "borderland region" in the sense in which this term has been seen by the Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman.¹ This is especially important in the case of Dalmatia, where eastern and western cultures overlap and merge. As early as the sixth century the *reconquista* started by Emperor Iustinian spread from Constantinople along the entire coast of the Eastern Adriatic, bringing about an impressive number of Early Byzantine monuments — in Salona, Pula, Poreč. At the time of the division effected between Charlemagne and Vasilij at the beginning of the ninth century (the peace at Aachen, 812), the Byzantine *tematus* reached as far as the islands in the Quarnero in the north, while Frankish domination spread inland across the territories of the Early Medieval Croatian State, reaching far south. These were two parallel systems, closely intertwined in several respects rather than divided by a clear borderline. Here the notion of borders must be seen dialectically: they are represented as lines on geographic maps, but in reality, and cultural reality in particular, they are a *space* of encounters, contacts and intertwinements.

In Medieval European art seen in its historical regional reality rather than in the geopolitical division into East and West so common in textbooks, the *Mediterranean* cultural sphere was dominant owing to the intensity, high artistic

achievement and the unity-in-variety of its culture. As a part of the Mediterranean area, the Adriatic basin has since the sixth century produced a unique culture which E. Dyggve has christened by the compound term *Adriobyzantinism*². Perhaps, the term *Adriowesternism* should be added to it for the sake of counterpoint. But regardless of this, it cannot be denied that in the course of the entire Middle Ages one can follow an exact and diachronically evident *parallelism of stylistic changes* in the art of Byzantium and the West, as well as a *structural relation* among the synchronic styles of these two cultural spheres.

I. The *static*³ notion of Byzantine art has been abandoned, thanks to the research of numerous byzantologists, but it is now necessary and logical to establish the *correlation of the two cultural and artistic spheres which are equally dynamic and susceptible to change* — that of the East and that of the West. Each of these spheres taken as a separate entity has been well researched, but the results of comparative study are not clearly formulated. Also, there is no general agreement concerning the fact that the styles (phases) of Western and Byzantine Medieval art (each lasting about two centuries) are chronologically contemporaneous and that by looking below the skin of their morphological differences into their hidden *structure* one finds that they are closely related.

II. It has become evident that the process of stylistic development in Eastern and Western Europe, and especially in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean proceeded in *chronologically parallel sequences* which can be divided into three stages. The three-part western schema of stylistic change *Pre-Romanesque-Romanesque-Gothic* runs parallel to the Byzantine triad *Macedonian-Comnen-Paleologue Style*. In their interpretation of Western European and Byzantine art the surveys of European art history still stress their political—religious dualism, a tendency which occasionally leads to political confrontation. Such an approach is methodologically meaningless, culturally and historically absurd and unacceptable in humanistic terms; historical objectivity and organic and logical interpretation inevitably lead us to the conclusion that the art of the Mediterranean must be studied as a whole, as a zone characterized by unity in diversity. This is especially true of the Adriatic area where the different elements are not a mere conglomerate but form an organic unity, two components of one historical truth: *the morphological diversity of two structurally unified streams of artistic creation*.

In a future history, based on cultural objectivity, and in which the Mediterranean coast and hinterland from Spain and France to Croatia and Greece will be approached as one whole, three stylistic epochs will clearly emerge: 1. *Pre-Romanesque-Macedonian* (IX-X c), 2. *Romanesque-Comnen* (XI-XII c) and 3. *Gothic-Palaeologue* (XIII-XIV c). The components of those “dual” styles are contemporaneous and apart from or even in spite of their generally acknowledged *morphological differences they remain structurally related on the stylistic level*.

III. During the last decades the interpretations of Western art and architecture have been revised; especially important was the victorious battle against the naive notion that in Italy the Gothic period was a kind of “Proto-Renaissance”. This battle was won much more easily after G. Duby proved the unity of Gothic art in Europe, basing his claim on a structural analysis of *humanism* functioning as its common denominator.⁴ If the same methods and criteria are applied in the study of thirteenth century Byzantine monuments, two conclusions are reached:

First, one can find clear *structural relations between the art and architecture of the Western-European and Byzantine Sphere* if they are understood as one spatial and temporal whole stylistically divided into three stages: the Pre-Romanesque — Macedonian of the IX-X centuries, the Romanesque-Comnen of the XI and XII centuries and the Gothic-Palaeologue of the XIII and XIV centuries.

Second, the relations between the art and architecture of two neighbouring cultural spheres (the eastern and the western) in the same chronological period (synchrony) are closer than the relations of the works produced in different epochs within one cultural sphere (diachrony).

IV. What were the structural artistic relations of the two halves of the Holy Roman Empire after its administrative division into Eastern and Western in the fourth century? The Western Empire crumbled in the fifth century, and its territory was soon invaded and divided among barbarian tribes, while the spatially reduced Eastern Empire continued to exist for another millennium. One notices that in the first phase there was a tendency to preserve the cultural *continuity* and unity of the two parts. The need to reconstitute a unified Roman Empire was seen as the basic prerequisite of European cultural identity and the reintegration of European space. This idea drove Justinian to start his *reconquista* in the sixth century, and in the ninth century made Charlemagne leave France, pushing east towards Italy and Rome, and also taking Dalmatia and Pannonia. In later ages the feeling of affinity shared by the people of both cultural spheres and ideological systems (East and West) were expressed less openly, especially after the split of the eastern and western churches in the eleventh century.

In order to reach a more comprehensive and profound understanding of the relation between western and Byzantine art during the Medieval millennium (VI-XV c), it would be necessary to make a systematic study of the recent interpretations of Western-European art and the phases of its Medieval culture, followed by a study of their repercussions in the Byzantine sphere. I will mention here several comparative analyses of “pairs” of *chronologically contemporaneous and structurally related art works of Byzantine and Western-European art* which I believe to be suggestive illustrations of this thesis. I will also analyse art works showing *divergent tendencies and incompatible contrasts occurring in different periods within the same cultural and historical sphere*.

A. STUDENICA CRUCIFIXION AND THE ZADAR CRUCIFIX, XII C

Both works represent the ideology of eternal and unchangeable states, an absence of feeling for contemporary life and the participation of real life in art, a concentration on the supernatural, *a hierarchical composition structure, linearity and two-dimensional of modelling*. The fresco of *The Crucifixion* in Studenica and the painted wooden *Crucifix from the Franciscan church in Zadar*, both dating from the twelfth century, originate from two different cultural spheres, but have a common artistic concept and principle of composition, as well as a linear, two-dimensional, additive, static, and hierarchical approach; their idealization transcends the concept of time, and they present stylized and typical figures.

In contrast, one notices the obvious *difference* between the *Crucifixion of Studenica* and the *Crucifixion in Sopoćani*, in spite of their belonging to the same cultural sphere. The differences in presenting the same theme in two dif-

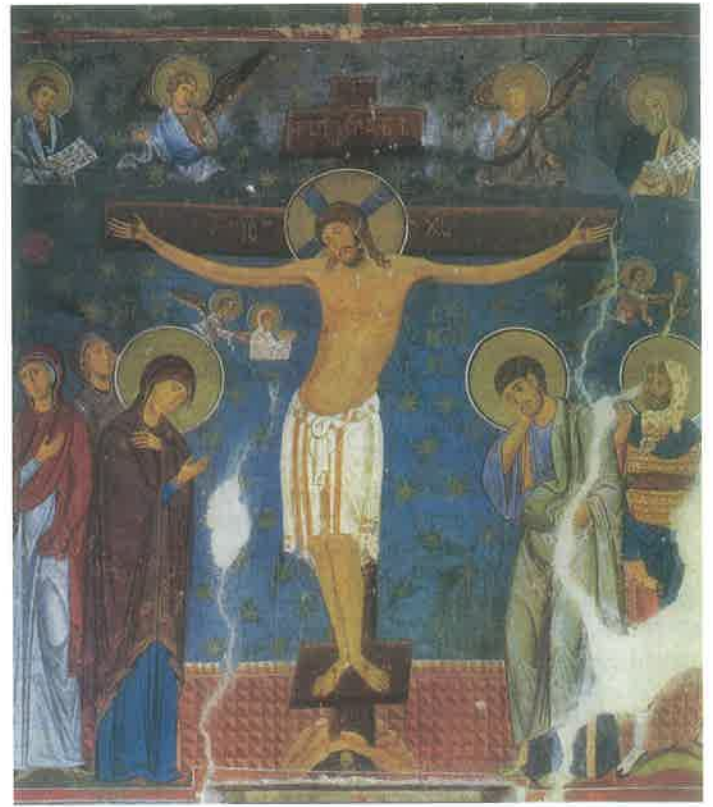


Fig. 1. The Hierarchic and Linear Style of the Western Romanesque Period and the Byzantine Comnen Renaissance:

a) Crucifix, painting on board, 12th c, Franciscan church, Zadar, Croatia; b) Crucifixion, 1208/9, Church of Our Lady, Studenica, Serbia

ferent epochs in the Byzantine cultural sphere are manifested on the morphological and structural level. However, there is a profound difference in the respective meaning and significance of the scenes depicted, turning these two works into a contrasted, *antithetical pair*. The Sopoćani Crucifixion replaces the strict symmetry of the Studenica Crucifixion with a sense of *dynamic balance*; the indifference of the participants in the scene — The Madonna and Saint John — on the Studenica fresco is replaced by strong emotional reactions, a sense of compassion (*compassio*). All these changes and differences between the Byzantine examples belonging to the *Comnen* and *Paleologue* epochs respectively, correspond to the differences in artistic expression of corresponding periods in Western art, the *Romanesque* and the *Gothic*. We can thus state with full confidence that the structural aspects which distinguish the Sopoćani Crucifixion from the Studenica Crucifixion, *correspond* to the characteristics exhibited for example by Radovan's relief of the Nativity in the lunette of Trogir Cathedral, also dating from the thirteenth century.

B. THE TROGIR NATIVITY AND SOPOĆANI CRUCIFIXION, XIII C

Aware of the awakened Gothic *emotion and sympathy* characterizing western art in the thirteenth century, one notices that all the participants of the nativity scene on the lunette of Radovan's portal (1240) are in motion and achieve mutual communication. Instead of sitting apart, turning his back on the scene which was customary in older iconography, Saint Joseph, now moved by innate human feeling



Fig. 2. The Reawakened Emotion of the Gothic Period and the Palaeologue Renaissance:

a) Birth of Christ, detail of Radovan's Portal, 1240, Trogir Cathedral; b) The Madonna and Saint John from The Crucifixion, fresco, 1260, Sopoćani

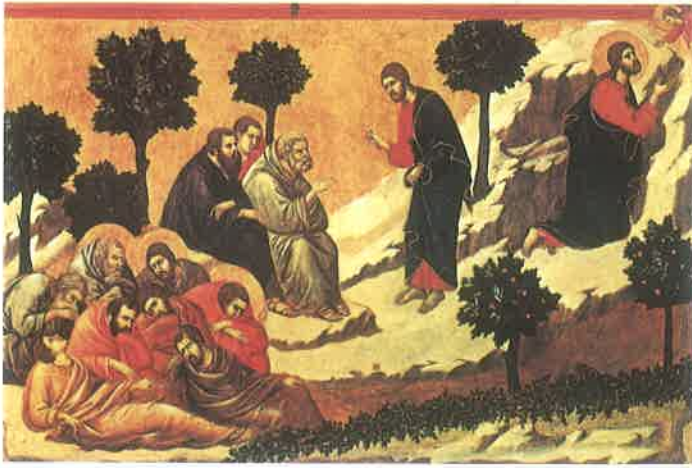


Fig. 3. The Narrative and Expressiveness of the Gothic Style and the Palaeologue Renaissance:

a) Duccio, *Agony in the Garden* (1308–1311), Cathedral in Siena; b) Eutichius et Michael, *Lamentation of Christ*, fresco, St. Klement (1295), Ohrid, Macedonia

faces the scene, is part of it, *observes and reacts* to the liveliest and most human detail of the composition, bathing the (obviously unwilling) Child; also, a scene has been introduced into the composition representing a shepherd sitting in close contact with Saint Joseph, with his hat woven of vine leaves in his hands in a gesture of greeting. In the upper part of the composition the Virgin is carefully removing the cloth covering the Child revealing his face, *presenting it to the viewers*, a gesture bringing the loving mother in *contact with the visitors*. The joy, love and sympathy felt by all the participants give life to the composition.⁵

In the same way, the *emotions* — this time tragic and painful — on the Sopoćani fresco of the Crucifixion (1260) "force" Saint John to leave the place (where he has always without exception been placed for centuries!) on Christ's left, and *move to the right* in order to support his Mother crushed by the death of her Son, literally collapsing and burying her head in Saint John's bosom. Such a strong show of emotion was unthinkable and inadmissible in the previous

epoch (in both Comnen and Romanesque representations), when the composition was dictated by theological dogma and the hierarchic norms of the Court ceremonial observed by the Heavenly Emperor and his mother, The Empress or Queen of Heaven.

On all the levels of analysis, from composition to meaning and general significance, the Trogir Nativity and Sopoćani Crucifixion are closely related structures, both of them *moving from a concept of Christ's Godly nature to the concept of his humanity*, and the same is true of the other participants in the scene.

In the same way one can compare the Trogir Nativity with the same subject represented in the Sopoćani Nativity: the embrace of the old and young shepherd on the Sopoćani fresco is dictated by the same spirit of human community as is the salute of the younger shepherd who takes off his hat before the older shepherd in the pastoral idyll carved on the relief of Radovan's lunette on the Trogir portal, as well as in a number of lively details on both representations.

C. THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN: DUCCIO AT SIENA AND THE FRESCO IN OHRID, LAMENTATION OF CHRIST

Comparing Duccio's *Agony in the Garden* (1311) to the *Lamentation of Christ* (1295), Ohrid, one finds in them similarities in approach and composition regardless of morphological difference. As both works belong to the same pe-

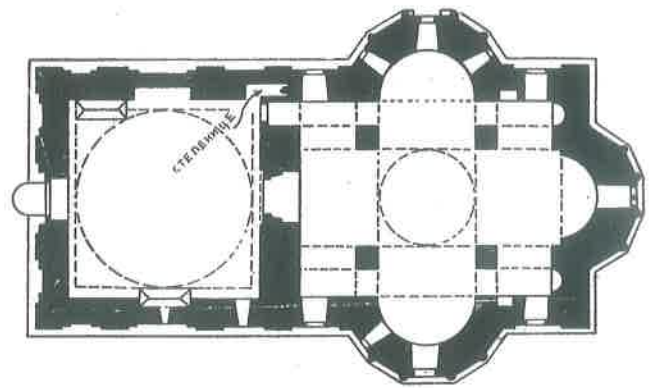


Fig. 4. The Method of Addition in the Romanesque Period and the Comnen Renaissance: a) The Holy Cross, Nin, Croatia (9th c); b) Saint Pantheleimon (1164), Nerezi near Skopje, Macedonia



Fig. 5. The Spatial Unity of the Gothic Period and the Palaeologue Renaissance:
a) Saint Francis, Pula (13th–14th c);

riod of Gothic art which contemporary scholarship interprets as the “birth of the *new humanism*” (G. Duby)⁶, they are closely related in their approach to man, life and reality, their reliance on antiquity and their realistic modelling



b) Ljubostinja (late 14th c)

(E. Carliu)⁷. They both apply a *narrative iconographic* method typical of both Gothic art and of contemporary Byzantine art (S. Radojčić)⁸ and deep emotions and *expressiveness*.

D. SAINT PANTHELEIMON, NEREZI NEAR SKOPJE AND THE HOLY CROSS IN NIN COMPARED TO THE CHURCH IN LJUBOSTINJA AND THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH IN PULA.

The development of Medieval religious architecture in Western Europe passed through two related phases: from the *additive* in the Romanesque period to the *synthetic* concept of space in Gothic, from horizontal to vertical.

The rejection of the principle of *addition* leading to the arrangement of relatively independent parts (a structural property of *Romanesque* architecture), in favour of the principle of spatial *unity* inherent to western Gothic art, was equally evident and effective in Byzantine architecture, where Comnen Renaissance monuments followed the *additive* principle, and the Palaeologue Renaissance favoured spatial *unity*. One can compare, for example, the additive nature of the volumes in the building of the small church of the Holy Cross in Nin with the structure of Saint Pantheleimon in Nerezi, and the ways in which both of these differ from the *spatial unity* of the early Gothic church of Saint Francis in Pula or the church in Ljubostinja which are also related in style. Although the latter two buildings are constructed on formally quite different types of plans and spatial models, they are related by their clearly manifested structural tendency to achieve *spatial unity*. With one basic difference: the Franciscan church follows the longitudinal spatial model, while the church in Ljubostinja follows



Fig. 6. The International Courtly Style of the Gothic Period – frescoes of the Morava School:
a) Limburg Brothers, *The Feast* (1415), *The Duke of Berry's Breviary*; b) *Marriage in Canaan*, detail, (1403–1413), Kalenić



the type of central structuring, "gathering" space around the central focal point located under its dome.

E. Many more examples would have to be mentioned in order to show the wealth of themes to be researched and methods to be used in the comparative study of contemporary phases of Western and South-Eastern European art and architecture. Before closing, a few themes can be mentioned, demonstrating to those who have studied western and eastern art in what measure the Late Gothic idealism and "international courtly style" can be related to the last products of Byzantine fifteenth century painting — the frescoes of the so-called Morava school⁹ in Serbia before the Turkish invasion. Close comparisons can also be drawn between the growing individualism in portraits of the Late Gothic and the Palaeologue Renaissance, and the use of the inverted perspective or naturalism in landscape painting etc.

Let us conclude: The Medieval art of Western and South-East Europe is based on related structural principles, a fact which can be discovered by analysing the contemporaneity of stylistic developments or changes. The contemporaneous styles of East and West — synchronically the Pre-romanesque Period and the Macedonian Renaissance, the

Romanesque and the Comnen period, the Gothic and Palaeologue phases — show affinities which are greater than those found in the diachronic analysis of chronologically contiguous phases within each of the two cultural spheres. Analysing the structure rather than the morphology of art and architecture, one discovers a greater synchronic affinity between for example Western Romanesque and Byzantine Comnen (XI-XII c) than between the Romanesque and the Gothic which were antagonistic anyway. Similarly, there is greater similarity between Byzantine Palaeologue art and Western Gothic (XIII-XIV c) than between the Palaeologue and Comnen Renaissance although these were two contiguous stages in the development of the same cultural sphere.

The unity of European Medieval art can be explained by the dominant role of the structure and development of consciousness, similar life conditions seen in sociological terms within a shared (however different in detail) feudal system. It should be obvious that ideological differences and religious antagonism, the use of different languages along with all the other differences, play a secondary role in the sphere of art, where artistic expression is seen as a universal language.

¹ Lj. KARAMAN, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti, O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva* (Problems of Peripheral Art. The Influences of the Native Background in Croatian Art), Zagreb 1965

² E. DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo 1952

³ Dealing with Byzantine art in the Balkans, and wall painting on the territory of the Serbian Medieval state, S. Radojčić introduced a three-part division into the *monumental style* corresponding to the Comnen Renaissance, the *narrative style*, corresponding to the Palaeologue Renaissance and the *style of the Morava school* comparing with the international Gothic style. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Majstori starog srpskog slikarstva* (Masters of Old Serbian Painting), Belgrade 1955

⁴ G. DUBY, *Essors d'un nouveau humanisme*, Paris 1965

⁵ On the humanist component and the synthesis of Byzantine iconography and Gothic innovation in the Nativity scene, see R. IVANČEVIĆ "Morfološka i strukturalna analiza lunete Radovanova portala" (Morphological and structural analysis of the lunette of Radovan's Portal") in *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba* (Master Radovan and His Time), Trogir 1994, pp 91—105

⁶ Cf DUBY, note 4

⁷ E. CARLI, *Vetrata duccesca*, Florence 1946

⁸ S. RADOJČIĆ, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

BIZANT I ZAPAD: MORFOLOŠKA I STRUKTURALNA ANALIZA STILA

SAŽETAK

Pojam stila izvedenica je zajedničkih svojstava iz ukupnog broja spomenika nekog razdoblja ili područja. Stoga se, usporedo s proučavanjem spomenika moraju povremeno provjeravati i stilske kategorije. Svaka nova spoznaja o individualnom umjetničkom spomeniku može se odraziti i na definiciju stila u koji se uklapa. Ma koliko promjene bile male, njihov zbroj može dovesti do revizije pojma stila.

Promjene u interpretaciji zapadnoeuropskih srednjovjekovnih spomenika — odnosno stilova — moraju se provjeravati i na istočnoeuropskim spomenicima iz metodskih razloga, jer se definicija stila podupire komparativnom analizom prema susjednom. Stilovi se međusobno "razgraničuju" vremenski i prostorno; romanika prema gotici je kronološko razgraničenje, a romanika prema komnenskoj renesansi prostorno. Tumačeći se međusobno specifičnim

razlikama, te se granice jasnije ocrtavaju. Kad se nove spoznaje na jednom području provjere na "susjednom" pokazat će ili opću vrijednost, pa će se odraziti i na tumačenje toga drugog stila, ili će se otkriti njihova još dublja različitost.

U interpretaciji povijesti srednjovjekovne umjetnosti Europe stoljećima su legitimno razdvojene i tumače se kao indiskutabilne kategorije: zapadnoeuropska umjetnost i bizantska. Svaka se struja proučava zasebno, kao prostorno — vremenska cjelina. Nasuprot ogromnom broju istraživača specijaliziranih za zapadnu ili za bizantsku umjetnost (dijakronijski), minimalan broj stručnjaka proučava cjelinu umjetnosti srednjega vijeka (VI-XV. st.) ili neki njezin vremenski odsječak ravnopravno u zapadnoj i jugoistočnoj Europi (sinkronijski). Iako se temelje na objektivnim povijesnim razlikama, različitosti se potenciraju uvažavanjem, bez

kritičke distance, političkih faktora, podjele dviju kršćanskih crkava (istočne i zapadne) i "podjelom sfera" u struci povijesti umjetnosti. Tako se nepobitnoj znanstvenoj prosudbi dodaju i općeprihvaćene predrasude.

Nije slučajno da na taj problem ukazuju znanstvenici iz Hrvatske, jer su među južnoslavenskim zemljama Srbija, Makedonija i Bugarska uklopljene u istočni kulturni krug, a Slovenija i Hrvatska u zapadni, ali je Hrvatska kulturološki bila uvijek najistureniji teritorij zapadnoga kruga, na razmeđu s istočnim. Stoga se opravdano naziva "graničnom sredinom" (Lj. Karaman), naročito Dalmacija gdje se dva kulturna kruga prožimaju. Razgraničenjem početkom IX. st. franačka dominacija prodire na području hrvatske države kopnom duboko na jug, ali bizantski temat Dalmacija seže na sjever do kvarnerskog otočja. To su dva isprepletena sustava jer je granica samo na kartama linija razgraničenja, a u stvarnosti, posebno u domeni kulture, prostor susreta i prožimanja.

U povijesnom realitetu srednjovjekovne europske umjetnosti — umjesto u literaturi uobičajene geopolitičke podjele na istok i zapad — mediteranski je kulturni krug dominantan po jedinstvu raznolikosti stvaralaštva, a unutar njega je od vi. stoljeća utemeljeno jedinstvo jadranskog bazena, po E. Dyggveu *adriobizantinizam*. Tijekom srednjega vijeka neosporan je dijakornijski paralelizam stilskih mijena u likovnim umjetnostima zapada i bizanta, a potom i strukturalna povezanost među sinkronim stilovima tih dvaju kulturnih krugova.

I. Zahvaljujući interpretaciji brojnih bizantologa, prestali smo gledati bizantsku umjetnost statično, pa je logično i nužno uspostaviti korelaciju dvaju podjednako dinamičkih i mijenama podložnih kulturnoumjetničkih krugova, istočnog i zapadnog. Iako su interpretacije svakog pojedinog od dvaju kulturnih krugova dobro poznate, nije dovoljno jasno formuliran (a još je manje opće prihvaćen) zaključak da se faze (stilovi) zapadne i bizantske srednjovjekovne umjetnosti, što traju otprilike po dva stoljeća, kronološki poklapaju i da — kad ispod epiderme morfoloških stilskih razlika — zavirimo u skrivenu strukturu likovnih djela otkrivamo duboku srodnost među njima.

II. U našem su stoljeću revidirana neka tumačenja stilova zapadnoeuropske umjetnosti, a posebno je bilo važno odbaciti tumačenje gotike u Italiji kao "protorenesanse", nakon što je G. Duby dokazao jedinstvo gotičke umjetnosti u Europi (XIII-XIV. st.) na temelju strukturalne interpretacije i *humanizma* kao njezina "zajedničkog nazivnika" Kada po istim metodskim kriterijima interpretiramo i bizantske spomenike XIII-XIV. st., dolazimo do dva zaključka:

Prvo, postoje izrazite strukturalne veze među spomenicima likovnih umjetnosti zapadnoeuropskog i bizantskog kruga, ne samo gotičko-paleološkoj XIII. i XIV. st., nego i u ostale dvije stilske etape: predromaničko makedonskoj IX. i X. stoljeća i romaničko-komnenskoj XI. i XII. stoljeća.

Drugo, dublje su srodnosti među spomenicima dvaju susjednih kulturnih krugova (istočnog i zapadnog) u istom razdoblju (sinkrono), no što su između likovnih djela istog kulturnog kruga, ali u raznim epohama (dijakrono).

III. Tročlanoj zapadnoj shemi stilskih mijena predromanika — romanika — gotika, odgovara tročlana bizantska varijanta makedonska — komnenska — paleološka renesansa, kao morfološka raznolikost dvaju strukturalno jedinstvenih tjevkova likovnog stvaralaštva. U kulturološki nepristranoj povi-

jesti, ocrtale bi se tri stilske epohe: predromaničko-makedonska (IX.-X. st.), romaničko-komnenska (XI.-XII. st.) i gotičko-paleološka (XIII.-XIV. st.).

IV. *Komparativne analize*. Autor interpretira nekoliko istočno-zapadnih "parova" kronološki suvremenih i strukturalno srodnih spomenika, kojima argumentira izloženu tezu. Analizira, također, spomenike divergentnih tendencija i nepomirljive suprotnosti po primijenjenim načelima, unutar istog kulturnoumjetničkog kruga, ali iz raznih vremenskih faza.

a. *Raspeće studeničko i raspelo zadarsko, XII. st.*

Oba djela iskazuju hijerarhijsku strukturu u kompoziciji, a limeranost i plošnost u oblikovanju. Iako su iz različitih kulturnih krugova, zajednički su im "zakon kadra", aditivnost i statičnost, idealizacija i tipizacija likova.

Očita je, naprotiv, razlika *Raspeća u Sopoćanima*, iz XIII. stoljeća, prema studeničkom *Raspeću* iako pripadaju istome krugu, tako da ih možemo tumačiti kao antitetički par. Strogu simetriju studeničkog *Raspeća* sopoćansko zamjenjuje dinamičkom ravnotežom, nezainteresiranost Marije i Ivana, smjenjuju njihove snažne emotivne reakcije, suosjećanje (*compassio*). Razlike bizantskih primjera komnenske i paleološke epohe, srodne su s razlikama njima suvremenih stilova zapadne romanike i gotike. Stoga je sopoćansko *Raspeće*, na strukturalnoj razini srodno, na primjer, Radovanovom reljefu Kristova Rođenja, iz istog stoljeća.

b. *Rođenje trogirsko i Raspeće sopoćansko, XIII. stoljeće*

U duhu probuđene emotivnosti i suosjećanja što prožima zapadnoeuropsku gotičku umjetnost XIII. stoljeća, na luneti Radovanova portala (1240), svi sudionici prizora Rođenja komuniciraju: Josip živo prati kupanje Djeteta, a Bogorodica otkriva lice djeteta pokazujući ga gledaocima, itd. Emocije radosti i ljubavi pokreću likove i određuju njihove međusobne odnose, kao što na sopoćanskoj fresci *Raspeća* (1260) tragično susosjećanje "prisiljava" Ivana da s lijeve strane od Krista (gdje je obvezno stajao stoljećima!) pređe na desnu stranu da pridržuje Majku "slomljenu bolom" zbog smrti Sina. Ovako snažno humanističko izražavanje ljudskih osjećaja, nezamislivo je i bilo bi nedopustivo u prethodnoj epohi (komnenskoj, jednako kao i romaničkoj) kada je kompozicija bila podređena teološkoj dogmi i normi dvorskog ceremonijala, nebeskoga Imperatora i Carice nebeske. Trogirsko Rođenje i sopoćansko *Raspeće* dubinski su srodne strukture, jer prebacuju težište s božanske, na ljudsku prirodu Krista.

c. *Molitva na maslinovoj gori: Duccio (1311) i Oplakivanje Krista (1295), Sv. Kliment, Ohrid.*

Oba su djela nastala u razdoblju gotike koju suvremena znanost tumači kao rađanje *novog humanizma* (G. Duby) i duboko su srodna u odnosu prema čovjeku i životu, po emotivnosti i izražajnosti kao i po *narativnoj metodi* tipičnoj za ikonografiju gotike i za istodobnu bizantsku umjetnost (S. Radojčić). Također, kasnogotički "idealizam" i "internacionalna dvorska umjetnost" Zapada može se potpisati pod posljednje izdanke bizantskog zidnog slikarstva prve polovice XV. stoljeća u Srbiji, Moravske škole.

d. *Crkva Sv. Križa u Ninu i Sv. Pantelejmona, Nerezi kraj Skopja, prema crkvi u Ljubostinji i franjevačkoj crkvi u Puli.*

Princip *adicije* relativno samostalnih dijelova strukturalno je svojstvo romaničke arhitekture, a smjenjuje ga u gotici načelo *jedinstva* prostora. To je uočljivo i u bizantskoj arhitekturi s aditivnošću komnenske arhitekture i naglašenijim

jedinstvom prostora paleološke. Prvo dokazuje usporedba srodnosti volumske aditivnosti crkve sv. Križa u Ninu i sv. Pantelejmonom u Nerezima, a drugo njihova različitost prema jedinstvu prostora u ranogotičnoj crkvi sv. Franje u Puli ili trikonhalnoj crkvi "moravske škole" u Ljubostinji, što su, pak, međusobno srodne.

Jedinstvo europske srednjovjekovne umjetnosti može se tumačiti srodnim uvjetima života unutar feudalnog sustava. Čini se da na području likovnih umjetnosti u sferi likovnoga izražavanja, kao univerzalnog jezika, ideološki i religijski antagonizmi, različiti jezici i sve ostale razlike, igraju sekundarnu ulogu.