PROCEEDINGS

FROM THE VIᵀᴴ INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ART HISTORY STUDENTS

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FROM THE VITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ART HISTORY STUDENTS

UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

INTERDISCIPLINARITY IN ART HISTORY

NOVEMBER 8TH – 10TH 2017

ZAGREB, 2022

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Preface

When we first applied for the role of organizers of the *VIth International Congress of Art History Students*, in what now seems like a very distant late 2016, we knew there would be a lot of work ahead of us. The congress had, by then, become a tradition and somewhat of a landmark event in the academic year of art history students, with an ever-growing base of international students, professors and other researchers gathering at the Croatian capital. Keeping the importance and legacy of the event in mind, while also seeing the potential for further development, we worked hard and gave all we could during the next 12 months with the goal of raising the congress to a whole new level. Of special importance for us was the congress topic of *Interdisciplinarity in art history*, taken not only in methodological or theoretical, but in a much broader sense. With it, we wanted to stress the importance of such approach, especially in the contemporary scientific community in which the humanities are often looked down upon. From usage of contemporary technologies in art historical research, to finding the common ground between related fields, we wanted to show what art history can be in the 21st century, and all the potential it holds.

During the three days in November 2017 when the *VIth International Congress of Art History Students* took place, we experienced something that exceeded even our highest expectations. While because of all our efforts (as well as a bit of luck during its organization) we were sure the congress would turn out fine, nothing could have prepared us for all the interesting people we met, all the inspiring lectures we heard and all the intense (and sometimes quite lengthy) discussions we had. We are especially proud of the fact that our congress inspired our lecturers to organize similar events at their own universities, mainly those in Belgrade and Copenhagen. Occurrences like that are the best examples of the importance and true potential of student conferences.

These proceedings thus present the final stage of our role as the 2017 congress organizers, and a digital memory of that event which was of such great importance to all of us. It is also, we believe, an interesting read in itself, presenting a series of well written, well researched, and diverse scholarly work. It may only be a small part of what was presented at the congress itself, but will hopefully inspire readers for some further "outside of the box" thinking and successfully present the power of interdisciplinary approach. In the end we would like to thank everyone who helped to create these proceedings: language editors, Imago, and especially our reviewers Dragan Damjanović, Frano Dulibić, Jasna Galjer, Sanja Gašparović, Jasenka Gudelj, Miljenko Jurković, Josipa Lulić, Nikolina Maraković, Nevena Škrbić Alempijević and Marko Špikić.

VIth ICAHS organizing committee

In Zagreb, April 2022

VI. ICAHS DAY III, Photo by: Dunja Vincetić
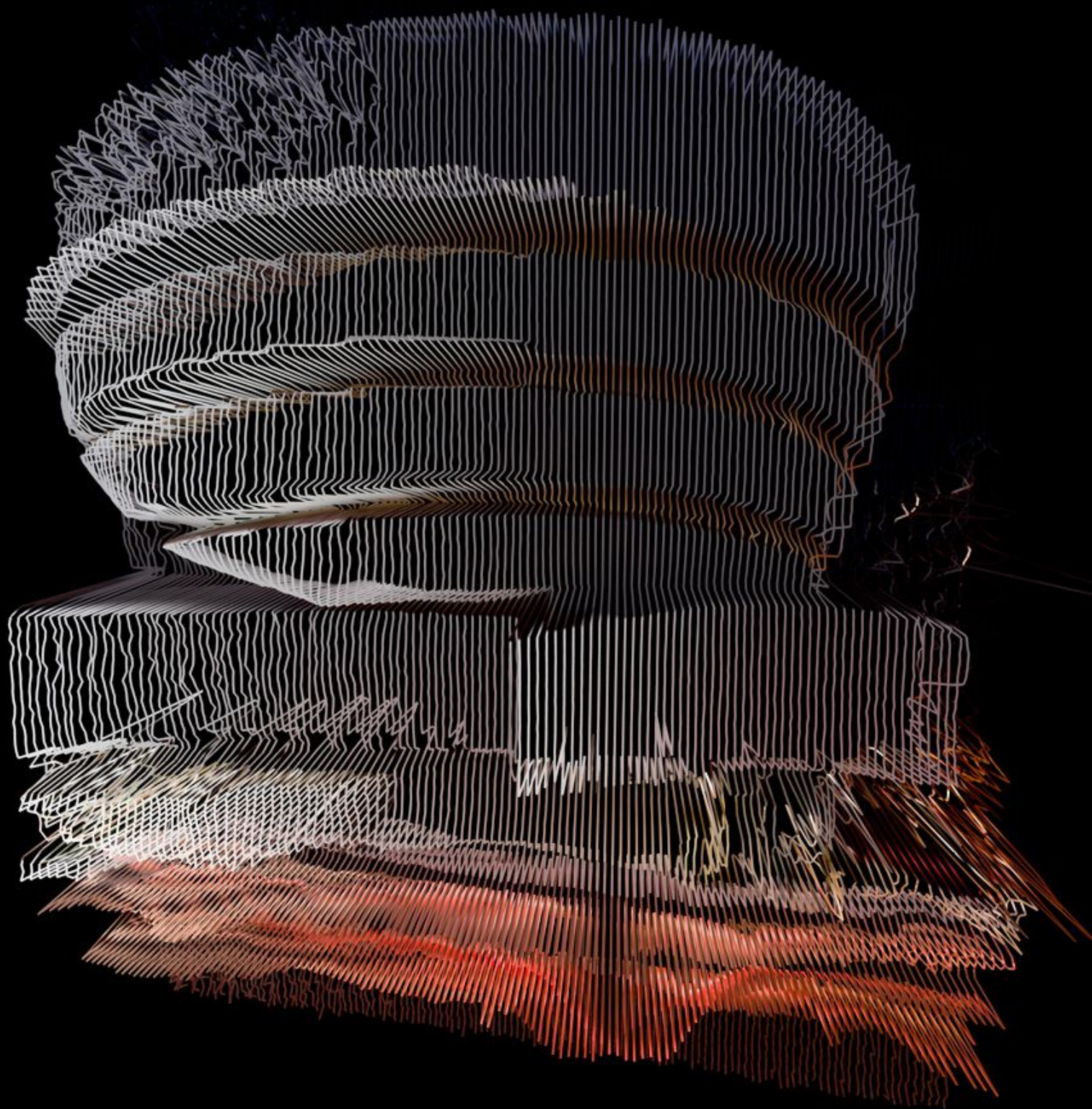
PAPERS

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A Reconsideration of the so-called Jonah Sarcophagus from Singidunum

Abstract: *This paper examines the so-called Jonah sarcophagus from the ancient Singidunum. Its unique relief decoration on the front side places it among the finest examples of Early Christian art, not just on the territory where it was found, but within the wider region of Roman Balkan provinces. The decoration contains two frequently represented Early Christian themes, the story of Jonah and the figure of the Good Shepherd. In order to better understand the sarcophagus and its production, the historical and social context of its making will be examined. The attention will be drawn to the first Christian communities of Singidunum and the development of Christianity in that area. Furthermore, the iconographic program of the sarcophagus and its funeral context will be discussed, in order to indicate several facets of its understanding.*

Keywords: *Singidunum, Jonah sarcophagus, Good Shepherd, sarcophagi, Early Christian art, Belgrade*

As one of the oldest cities in Europe, *Singidunum* was also the main urban centre within the Roman province of Upper Moesia, together with *Viminacium, Naissus, Scupi* and *Ratiaria*.[1] The name *Singidunum* derives from the word *Singid* (hillock) and *dun* (fort).[2] The important ancient road *Via Militaris* was once passing through *Sirmium*, *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*, all the way to Constantinople, connecting the provinces of Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Dalmatia.[3] Undoubtedly that its importance, in the vicinity of the Empire's frontier, *Singidunum* owed to its strategical place on the confluence of the Sava and the Danube. On this territory the Empire was permanently defended from constant invasions of different barbaric tribes, so the military legions must have been located here very early.

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1 Beljan et al. 2014, pp. 86–92. The province of Moesia was divided in 86 AD into two parts, Upper and Lower Moesia, that is Moesia Prima and Secunda.
Popović 1997, p. 1.
2 Beljan, Dijana et al. 2014, p. 86.

3 Ibid.

First reliable information about the military legions that were stationed in *Singidunum*, derive from the time of Domitian.[4] In his writings, dated to the middle of the second century, Ptolemy mentions the presence of *Legio IV Flavia* in the regions of the Danube, which Domitian moved here from Dalmatia in 86 AD.[5] It was not until the reign of Trajan that *Legio IV Flavia* was moved to *Singidunum* where it stayed to the end of Antiquity.[6] The legion camp was situated on the Upper Town of the Belgrade Fortress and it represented the main core of the city.[7] Sometime in the second century, during the reign of Hadrian, *Singidunum* gained the status of a *municipium* and by the end of the century it became a colony.[8] The city was devastated during the fifth century by the Goths, and in the sixth century by the Huns and Avars. During his big project of the restoration of the Empire, emperor Justinian also started rebuilding *Singidunum*. The city was finally captured by the Slavs in the beginning of the seventh century, when it also changed its name, for the first time, into *Velegradon*, that is *Beligrad*, which remained up to the present day.[9] In comparison to the urban core of the city, which wasn't so big, *Singidunum* had vast necropolis that surrounded it from almost every side. The south-eastern necropolis was the main one, stretching along the *Viminacium*, while the second one was the north-eastern one, covering the area of today's Dorćol.[10] It was precisely on that second necropolis that the Jonah sarcophagus was found.[11]

In 1885, during the excavation for the house of a merchant Marko Marković, at the corner of today's Captain Mišina and Jovanova streets, an exceptional example of Early Christian sarcophagus emerged.[12]

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4 Popović 1997, p. 1.
5 Mirković,1968, p. 41, According to some opinions it is not certain where Legio IV Flavia was firstly stationed, between 86–91, and it was not probable that this was in *Singidunum*, since there is no evidence of any epigraphical data. That's why it is suggested that the first camp was in Viminacium and that only later it was moved to *Singidunum*, v. Kondić 1965, p. 18.
6 Mirković 1968, p. 41; Popović 1997, p. 1; Mócsy 1974, p. 91; Beljan et al. 2014, p. 86; It is assumed that in *Singidunum* were also located camps of two other legions, namely Legio IV Scythica and Legio V Macedonica, v. Mirković 1968, p. 40; Beljan et al. 2014, p. 86.
7 Mirković 1968, p. 41; Popović 1997, p. 5.
8 Mirković 1968, p. 41, p. 44; Popović 1997, p. 1; Beljan et al. 2014, p. 86. The city is mentioned during the third century as one of the cities that was visited by the emperors Septimius Sever in 202 and Diocletian in 295. It is also a birth place of later emperor Jovian, v. Mirković 1968, p. 46; Popović 1995, p. 95.

9 Mirković 1968, pp. 46–48; Popović 1995, pp. 95–96; Popović 1997, p. 1; Beljan et al. 2014, pp. 86–87.
10 Mirković 1968, p. 42; Popović 1997, pp. 12–13; Pop-Lazić 2002, p. 21; Crnobrnja 2013, p. 316.
11 Popović 1997, p. 13.
12 Valtrović 1886, pp. 70–71; Valtrović 1891, p. 130; Pop-Lazić 2012, p. 21; Crnobrnja 2013, p. 316.; Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 220.

Fig. 1. Jonah Sarcophagus, Singidunum, 4th century (photo: T. Miladinović)

Because of its style and relief decoration, it probably dates from the end of the third to the middle of the fourth century.[13] It was first given to the National Museum of Belgrade, but today it is on display in the Great Gunpowder Magazine (Barutana) at the Lower Town of Kalemegdan.[14] The sarcophagus is made out of local limestone, which was probably dug out from the quarries in Tašmajdan.[15] The uniqueness of Jonah sarcophagus lies in its carved relief decoration of the front side that contains the Old Testament story of Prophet Jonah and a figure of the Good Shepherd.

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13 Although, there are some disagreements when it comes to date. M. Valtrović, who was the first researcher that wrote about Jonah sarcophagus, dates it to the fifth or even sixth century, because of its rough sculptoral treatment, v. Valtrović 1891, p. 142; More recent investigations date the sarcophagus from the mid to late fourth century, v. Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 220.

14 Valtrović 1886, p. 70; Valtrović 1891, p. 131; Pop–Lazić 2002, p. 21.
15 Valtrović 1891, p. 139; Kondić 1965, p. 288; Popović 1997, p. 4.

The use of sarcophagi[16] (literally 'flesh-eaters')[17] in Upper Moesia, and therefore in *Singidunum*, was linked to wider socio-cultural and political changes that appeared in the Empire during the second century and that have resulted in the emergence of a new way of burial practice, inhumation instead of the earlier cremation.[18] The Jonah sarcophagus in *Singidunum* consists of a central panel that was carved with relief decoration that doesn't cover the entire surface of the front side, and a lid in a form of a roof.[19] The lid has acroteria in its corners and in the middle, at both front and back side of the sarcophagus. Because of the tripartite division of the front side, Jonah sarcophagus can be placed in the group of Pannonian sarcophagi that in the centre have a field for an inscription, flanked with niches.[20] In our case the central field doesn't have an inscription, but a relief with a

Christian theme. That's why it is very likely that Jonah sarcophagus has been reworked, as has been noted already by Mihajlo Valtrović, and that the decoration was inserted only later onto the originally pagan monument.[21] Another fact that supports this is that the relief is framed by the Noric-Pannonian scroll decoration[22] which seems to be carved with more skill than the central theme.[23]

As we have previously said, Jonah sarcophagus contains two very popular and common Early Christian themes.[24] On the right part of the panel we can see a ship, whose masts are very noticeable and form a shape of a cross. There are two or even three sailors on the ship, it cannot be discerned well. One of them holds a paddle and the other one throws Jonah, upside down, from the deck of the ship directly into the mouth of the sea monster – *ketos*. Jonah is represented naked and from the back. The stormy sea is indicated by the waves under the boat, and there are also two fish that additionally emphasize the water environment. On the other side of the *ketos* is represented another fish that spits Jonah out. Here, Jonah is shown naked again with his arms raised

16 There is more than one opinion when it comes to the origin of the sarcophagus. Some of them highlight that they were adopted from the East, via numerous eastern immigrants. Others state that the form of sarcophagi derives from the ash chests v. Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, pp. 95-96; Elsner et al. 2011, pp. 21–22.
17 Esler 2002, p. 756; Elsner 2012, p. 179.
18 Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, p. 95; Mócsy, 1974, p. 338; Morris 1992, pp. 42-46, 52–56; Elsner et al. 2011, pp. 21–22.
19 Valtrović 1891, p. 133.; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, p. 97; Elsner 2012, p. 180. Because of the lid in the form of a roof, a sarcophagus can be seen as a house for the deceased, in that way we can talk also about the sarcophagi as separate architectural units, a kind of 'micro-architecture', v. Thomas „Houses", 2011.
20 Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, p. 96.

21 Valtrović 1891, p. 142; Mócsy 1974, p. 334.
22 Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, p. 104.
23 Valtrović 1891, p. 142.
24 The figure of Jonah was among the most frequently depicted figures in Early Christian art, v. Jensen 2002, p. 172.

and spread toward the Good Shepherd. From this image we can see that Jonah is represented as youthful and beardless.[25] Above him is a gourd plant with large fruits that hang from it. On the right part of the tree is a hardly recognizable bird.[26] Between the two *ketos* creatures is another fish, most probably a dolphin, on whose back is a little *putto* that holds some kind of a long whip in his right hand. The figure of a Good Shepherd stands on the left end of the relief. He is represented barefoot, dressed in a tunic and with a sheep on his shoulders that he holds with both hands.

During the formative period of Early Christian art, while Christianity was still a persecuted religion, the Old Testament story of Jonah was commonly represented since its moral narrative corresponded very well to some of the main Christian beliefs. The story is told in the Book of Jonah and it talks about a Jewish prophet who refused to obey God's will to go to preach to Nineveh. Instead, he decides to take a ship into opposite direction, to Tharsis. In order to

punish him, God sends a storm to the sea. The sailors from Jonah's ship, on his insistence, cast him overboard in an attempt to rescue themselves. Then God sends a sea monster, *ketos*, that swallows Jonah. After three days and three nights in the belly of the *ketos*, where he was praying all the time, Jonah is disgorged onto the dry land. Now God again orders Jonah to go and preach to the Ninevites, this time Jonah obeys. The people of the city listened to Jonah and he made them repent, so God decides to spare them. That made Jonah very angry so he asked God to take his life rather than spare the Ninevites. Jonah decides to go out of the town to take a rest and he makes himself a booth, but God sends a plant to grow over him and protect him from the Sun. But next morning, unexpectedly, God destroys the plant which was eaten by a worm. Jonah again gets mad with God and asks for death because he couldn't understand God's acts. Then God gives Jonah a moral dilemma: you complain about the death of the plant that you didn't sow, you didn't do anything about it and it lived only one day, so should I not be concerned about the great city of Nineveh and its many inhabitants that I have created? Thus, God wanted to show Jonah that whoever obeys Him will be saved.

In Early Christian art not all the parts from Jonah story were represented, and

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25 There are some instances when Jonah is shown as an older and bearded man, and in some examples, the prophet even appears to some researchers as angry, the so–called Jonah *irritatus*, v. Couzin 2013, pp. 192–193.

26 A motif that wasn't noticed by the first researchers of the sarcophagus, like M. Valtrović, but it was pointed out only last year by the detailed study of S. Pilipović and Lj. Milanović, v. Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 221, p. 228.

also some other, that are not included in Biblical narrative, were added creating a kind of an "extra-biblical" narrative.[27] For example, the part when Jonah is praying in the belly of the *ketos*, is almost never represented,[28] as well as the part when he goes to preach to Ninevites. On the other hand, Jonah is frequently shown naked[29] and falling directly into the mouth of the *ketos*, although in the story God sends fish only later when Jonah is already in the sea. This can maybe be explained as an artistic desire to shorten the story.[30] The usual way of representation of Jonah's story is through three main episodes. In the nineteenth century Otto Mitius made this division.[31] The first episode shows Jonah being cast overboard and being swallowed by the *ketos*, in the second Jonah is shown disgorged by the *ketos*, and in the last scene Jonah is depicted resting under a gourd plant.[32] Here we can see that the third scene is also

"extra-biblical", because it's not mentioned in the scripture that prophet took a rest under a gourd plant, just that the plant was destroyed the next morning.[33] It should also be noted that none other Old Testament story is being represented by the three episodes.[34]

The popularity of the Jonah cycle wasn't restricted only to the sarcophagi, it was also represented, with the same frequency, in other artistic media, by the middle of the fourth century.[35] The oldest known Jonah representation is from the third-century *Catacomb of Callixstus* in Rome.[36] It was also depicted in the mosaic, as example from fourth-century basilica in Aquileia shows, on gems, ivory, lamps, gold glass and statuettes.[37]

Maybe it seems odd that one Old Testament story was so frequent in Christian artistic repertoire, but the

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27 Even when not being represented with all the details that appear in the Biblical narrative, Jonah story could be recognizable to the beholder since only one episode would be enough to evoke the whole story, v. Couzin 2013, p. 208.
28 The only example of this representation is from the ninth century in Chludov Psalter, v. Couzin 2013, p. 187.
29 There are different explanations concerning Jonah's nakedness. It is attributed to the naturalism, Jewish precedents or use of the form of pagan Endymion, v. Couzin 2013, p. 189.
30 Jensen 2002, p. 172; Couzin 2013, p. 189.
31 Couzin 2013, p. 170.
32 Valtrović, 1891, p. 136; Grabar 1968, p. 8; Couzin 2013, p. 170.

33 Couzin 2013, pp. 189-194.
34 For example Daniel in the lions' den, Three Hebrews in the fiery furnace are always represented only by one scene, v. Couzin 2013, p. 165.
35 According to the style of the sarcophagi, it has been proposed that Jonah theme appeared in the middle of the third century, that has reached its zenith in the first part of the fourth, and that gradually vanished from Christian iconography around 325, v. Couzin 2013, p. 172.
36 Jensen 2002, p. 172.
37 Couzin 2013, p. 168; Among the finest examples of Early Christian art belong four marble sculptures of prophet Jonah from the begining of the third century, v. Wixom 1967, pp. 75-88; Weitzmann 1979, pp. 409-411; Cormack 2000, p. 14.

explanation is simple, for Christians these stories foretell the coming of Christ and his message of salvation. During the liturgy, in prayers and hymns, theologians held up episodes or characters from the Old Testament as 'types' referring to the life of Christ.[38] One important characteristic that is especially linked to the story of Jonah, and that justifies his comparison with Jesus, is that Jonah is also mentioned in the New Testament by Jesus himself. In the Gospels of Matthew (12:38–41) and Luke (11:29–32) Jesus was asked by some of the Pharisees, in order to be convinced, for a sign. He answers that this generation will only receive "the sign of Jonah the prophet". In Matthew's Gospel (12:40) Christ says: "For as Jonah was in the whale's belly three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights", whereas in Luke (11:30) Jesus refers to conversion of the Ninevites: "For as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites; so shall the Son of Man also be to this generation". Ignatius of Antioch and Justin Martyr have already wrote about the "sign of Jonah", using the Old Testament story to foreshadow Christ's resurrection.[39]

Choices regarding whether and how Jonah appeared on Christian sarcophagi may be attributed both to individual preference, reflecting different communities or personal religious understandings and commitments, as well as developments over the several generations of the theme's popularity. It is presumed that, according to its popularity, Jonah's story was generally understandable and recognizable. Patrons, viewers, Christians, or those who have yet to be converted, probably were familiar, to a certain extent, with the scenes and the scriptural narrative. Although biblical texts were available in significant number by the late third century, the majority of the people came to know these stories by hearing them during the liturgical reading.[40]

It is worth saying something about the Christian community in *Singidunum*, whose members in the end were exposed to the decoration of the Jonah sarcophagus, in order to better understand the socio-cultural context of its production. We know for certain that Christianity came to the Balkans already in the first century, since we can find such information in the New Testament. As a 'religion of the cities', Christianity in this region firstly developed in the urban centres, and some of them became Episcopal seats. Unfortunately, there is not enough material and written sources to judge about the earliest period of Christian religion in Upper Moesia and therefore in

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38 Esler 2000, p. 755.
39 Jensen 2002, p. 173; Couzin 2013, pp. 195–197.

40 Couzin 2013, pp. 181–183.

Singidunum. Archaeological remains date only from the fourth century, so all the researchers on the subject agree that Christian life in central Balkan emerged relatively late, probably at the beginning of the third century.[41] Everything we do know about the earliest Christians comes from the records about their persecutions and the first martyrs from these areas. Considering just *Singidunum*, several martyrs are known. Among the first is presbyter Montanus and his wife Maxima, who were arrested in *Sirmium* by praetorian prefect Probus,[42] during the persecutions of the emperor Diocletian that took place from 303 until 305. They were beheaded and their bodies were thrown in the Sava river, but reappeared nine miles later.[43] The cult of St. Montanus and Maxima in *Sirmium* is today lost, there are no preserved epigraphic monuments as evidence, since their bodies were translated to Rome.[44]

The next known martyrs from *Singidunum* are St. Ermilus and Stratonicus. According to Zeiller, they were probably executed during the reign of Licinius (308-324),[45] and *terminus post quem* would be 311 when Galerius announced the Edict of Toleration.[46] The story about these two martyrs is mentioned in the *Menologium of Symeon Metaphrastes* from the tenth century.[47] We find out that both of them were killed by the order of emperor Licinius and thrown in the Danube, but their bodies aroused after three days.[48] According to Metaphrastes, they were buried eighteen miles downstream from *Singidunum*, on place that is denoted as *Aureus Mons*, near present-day village Brestovik.[49]

It is regarded that *Singidunum* didn't have its episcope before 313.[50] It is only in the middle of the fourth century that it becomes an episcopal seat, together with *Sirmium*, *Margum*, *Viminacium*, *Horreum Margi*, *Naissus* and *Remesiana*.[51] The first known bishop of *Singidunum* was Ursacius. Together with the bishop of *Mursa*, Ursacius will be the most passionate supporter of Arianism in the Illyricum, for more than forty years.[52] Ursacius was succeeded by Secundian who also followed the doctrines of Arianism, but was

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41 Popović 1995, pp. 29–30, p. 36.
42 Mirković 2008, p. 115; Špehar 2014, p. 32.
43 Zeiller 1967, pp. 105–106, p. 121; Špehar 2014, p. 32.
44 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 225.
45 Mirković 1976, pp. 21–27.

46 Zeiller 1967, p. 106.
47 Ibid., p. 107.
48 Ibid., pp. 88–103; Delehaye 1912, p. 283; Popović 1995, pp. 98–99.
49 Valtrović 1907, pp. 128–138; Popović 1995, p. 100.
50 Popović 1995, p. 97.
51 Popović 1995, p. 85; et al. 2014, p. 86.
52 Popović 1995, p. 97.

condemned at the Council of Aquileia in 381 CE.[53]

After reconsidering these facts, it becomes clear that Singidunum had developed a Christian community very early. The existence of the early martyrs is the best testimony. *Singidunum* remained important Christian centre during the whole medieval period. Since not much of the earliest Christian material culture has been preserved,[54] mainly due to the turbulent past of the city which was often destroyed and then again rebuilt, the Jonah sarcophagus is thus even more significant, giving us an insight into the beliefs of *Singidunum's* initial Christians.

Although on first glance simple, the relief decoration of the *Singidunum* sarcophagus actually contains some iconographical motifs that one wouldn't expect together with the Old Testament scene, but that testify about coexisting pagan and Christian traditions. We should first of all examine these motifs separately in order to see how they fit in the funeral context of the monument,

and then combined, so we can indicate possible reading(s) of the decoration as a whole.

The most noticeable motif is the Good Shepherd on the left side of the panel. The image of the Good Shepherd belongs to the so called 'non-narrative' images of Early Christian art.[55] That means that it doesn't derive from a specific written source, but it is submissive to personal interpretation, giving opportunity to different associations and meanings. Similarly to the Jonah cycle, the Good Shepherd has been among the most frequently represented Early Christian images, both in catacomb frescoes and on sarcophagi.[56] His iconography has its antecedent in the ancient *Kriophoros* ('ram-bearer'), a figure that holds an animal that has to be sacrificed on his shoulders.[57] This name was an epithet of Hermes who was a *psychopomp*, the guide to the underworld, the one who is responsible for the salvation of the soul, so in that regard appropriate for the funeral context. But the image of the Good Shepherd, in Late Antiquity, also had some other meanings, like being a personification of winter, and some

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53 Zeiller 1967, p. 150.

54 We know about the Christian bronze lamp excavated in the vicinity of Belgrade. The lamp is in the shape of a ship and on the deck of a ship is a whale with a man who's been spit out of his mouth. So, here too we probably have a story about Jonah, v. Popović 1969, pp. 323–330; Popović, 1995, pp. 100–101. There are also some quotidian objects like vessels, and among the better examples are seven Christian lead sarcophagi, but they are not preserved, v. Pop–Lazić 2002, p. 51; Crnobrnja 2003, pp. 313–330.

55 Jensen 2002, p. 32, p. 37.

56 Ibid.

57 Krikken 2012, p. 11.

more general, such as philanthropy and charity.[58]

In this way, it was very suitable for Christians who also appreciated the same values.[59] A more important fact that enabled Christians to use the Good Shepherd in their iconography are the parallels made in the New Testament. Gospels of Luke (15:4–7) and Matthew (18:12–14) speak about the parable of the lost sheep, whereas John (10:11–16) speaks about Christ, the Good Shepherd, who will lay down His life for the sheep.[60] In the funeral context, Good Shepherd is the one that guarantees the salvation to the deceased. The representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd has begun slowly to disappear from the Early Christian repertoire in the middle of the fourth century, which is surprising since by than it was extremely popular.[61] In spite of that, Christian exegete have continued to make comparisons in their writings between Christ and the Good Shepherd until the sixth century.[62]

Just beneath the Good Shepherd is a representation of a *putto* riding on a dolphin. This is, besides the Good Shepherd, another example of using a motif which came from the pagan tradition together with an explicitly Christian theme, but it was rarely found with Jonah scenes. The dolphins are already known to us from Greco–Roman art, where they weren't depicted just in funeral contexts, but also in profane surroundings (in Hadrian's villa for example).[63] The dolphins were associated with the water element and together with a trident were one of the attributes of Poseidon.[64] More importantly, there was a common pagan belief that dolphins carried the souls of the deceased to the Isles of the

58 Grabar 1968, p. 11; Weitzmann 1979, p. 519; Jensen 2002, p. 37; Cormack 2000, p. 14; Esler 2000, p. 748.
59 In the middle of the twentieth century it was discussed does the pastoral motifs from pagan antiquity have the Christian meaning at all. The shepherds were seen as pastoral allegories or humanitas. It is important to bear in mind that this was a gradual shift and gradual process of transition from the pagan to Christian motifs, so the precise interpretations are not always possible since very frequently motifs could have both meanings, v. Jarak et al. 2016, pp. 329–330; Provoost 2004.
60 Provoost 2004, p. 30; Krikken 2012, pp. 12–14; Couzin 2013, pp. 250–251; Jarak et al. 2016, p. 328. In order to discern earlier pagan images of shepherds from the Christian image, the Good Shepherd is usually written with initial capital letters, v. Couzin 2013, p. 252.

61 One of the last representations is from the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. This sudden decline in use was usually explained regarding the new position that Christianity gained in the Empire after 313. The representation of Christ as a Shepherd wasn't suitable more, so other iconographical representations of Jesus started to develop, v. Jensen 2002, p. 40; Provoost 2004, p. 31; Krikken 2012, pp. 15–16.
62 Jensen 2002, p. 38, p. 40.
63 Vasić 1973, pp. 310–311; Jensen 2002, p. 159.
64 Vasić 1973, p. 312.

Blessed.[65] In the late Roman art, the *putto* became associated with the soul.[66] In this way, Christian observers of the Jonah sarcophagus could invest this image with new meaning, understanding the dolphin as the carrier of Christian souls to the afterlife. It is probable that the motif of a dolphin came to Upper Moesia across Dalmatia and Pannonia as they were exposed to the influences from Northern Italy.[67]

Besides the dolphin and *ketos*[68] that swallows Jonah, there is also a representation of two other fish swimming in the sea. The basic level of interpretation would of course be that they are here to indicate water environment, but the fish were also one of the first symbols used by Christians. They represent the souls of the faithful and since they are shown in the water, they indicate a heavenly, blissful place in which the faithful swim.[69] Above these fish is a ship. The ship itself symbolizes the Church as a whole. The sea is the world and the Church like a ship navigates through it.[70] On the Jonah sarcophagus this resemblance is made even more evident, since the masts form the shape of a cross. Therefore, the whole Christian community sails toward salvation.[71] It can be said that the ship in the right panel also sails towards the Good Shepherd, that is, towards the salvation.[72]

In the centre of the relief panel is an image of the gourd plant that God planted in order to teach Jonah moral values. A barely visible bird on it has been noticed only lately. It was suggested that it probably represents a peacock or a dove, since both motifs had their own symbolical meanings for which they were used in Early Christian art.[73] Peacocks were especially popular as decorative motifs, so one can find their depictions in catacomb paintings, floor mosaics and sarcophagi reliefs.[74] St. Augustin stated that the peacocks' meat is incorruptible, and that it has the ability to renew its feathers in spring.[75] In this

65 Valtrović 1891, pp. 136–137; Lawrence 1962, p. 294; Vasić 1973, p. 313; Jensen 2002, p. 159; Pilipović 2003; Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 229.
66 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 229.
67 Vasić 1973, p. 311.
68 Although in the Old Testament it is said that Jonah was three days in a belly of a great fish, and in New Testament in a belly of a whale, it is evident that fish that is represented with Jonah, in most of the cases, doesn't look like a whale at all but more like some sea monster with head of a dragon. Jonah's *ketos* derives from the Greco-Roman tradition where it was depicted in the battle with some mythical characters, such as Herakles or Perseus, v. Lawrence 1962, pp. 294–295.

69 Bleiberg 2006, pp. 27–30; Vranešević 2014, pp. 148–149.
70 Jensen 2002, pp. 138–140.
71 Pilipović et al. 2016, pp. 229–230.
72 Ibid., p. 230.
73 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 229.
74 Anđelković–Grašar et al. 2010, pp. 241–242.
75 Maguire 1987, p. 39 ; Jensen 2002, pp. 158–159 ; Vranešević 2014, p. 147.

Fig. 2. Jonah Sarcophagus, Singidunum, 4th century, front panel
(photo: T. Miladinović)

way peacocks' immortality can easily refer to the renewal and resurrection of the deceased and Christians in it saw the hope for the eternal life.[76] On the other hand, a dove could also signify resurrection and paradise, but it is also a symbol of the Holy Spirit.[77] If we do not take into account its kind, another, more general, interpretation of the bird can be proposed, that the bird is a symbol of the deceased soul.[78] Shown in a funerary context, the bird is appropriate to represent the ascending soul or the one that has already reached the paradise.[79]

When all of these motifs that form the relief decoration of the Jonah sarcophagus are taken together into account it becomes evident that, both individually and as a whole, they refer to the salvation and resurrection of the deceased. It can be noted that different kind of elements are employed in order to visualize this message. The salvation

76 Bleiberg 2006, p. 38; Anđelković–Grašar et al. 2010, p. 240.; Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 229.
77 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 229.
78 Maguire 1987, p. 29; Vranešević 2014, p. 149.

79 Maguire 1987, p. 82.

of the soul is indicated through the motifs that came from the pagan tradition, such as the dolphin, bird (peacock/dove), fish, ship, while the resurrection of the body is indicated through the Christian narrative about the prophet Jonah.[80] The decoration is made acceptable for both the pagan and Christian community who observed the decoration. The spectator could interpret the shepherd as Hermes or Christ, depending to what cultural context he or she belonged.[81] Jonah's representation as nude, while overcoming the death from the sea monster, resembles Roman mythical heroes, who were frequently represented the same.[82] At the same time, a Christian beholder would have a possibility to associate Jonah's nakedness with the catechumens during the baptism. Similarly to Jonah who escaped death from the *ketos* and was born again, the catechumens after baptism were reborn in Christ. Basil of Caesarea compared three days and nights that Jonah has spent in the belly of the fish with the triple immersion during the baptism.[83] Also, the sacrament of baptism was a guarantee for the salvation and paradise.[84] On the Jonah sarcophagus from *Singidunum*, the baptism could also be indicated in the more subtle way, by the presence of the water and a bird, if we interpret it as the Holy Spirit.[85] The decorative program of Jonah sarcophagus testifies the coexistence of pagan and Christian community in fourth-century *Singidunum*, as well as the uninterrupted use of pagan decorative motifs in Early Christian monuments.[86]

The characteristic of the Jonah sarcophagus in *Singidunum* is the prominent, almost dominant position of the Good Shepherd and the omission of the third scene, of the reclining prophet, from the Jonah cycle. Pastoral motifs are among the rarest themes from everyday life that have survived from the pagan tradition to be used in later

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80 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 230.
81 During the formative period of Early Christian Art the image of shepherd could have likewise been identified with the gods Orpheus, Dionysus, Hercules and Apollo, who also had the same youthful features, v. Jensen 2005, pp. 148–150.
82 Couzin 2013, pp. 278–279. Jonah's nakedness was usually compared with the representation of Endymion because there is some resemblance in their iconography. When Jonah is represented under the gourd plant while taking rest, his posture resembles the pose of Endymion, though it can also be argued that the iconography was borrowed from the depiction of Ariadne or Dyonis, v. Jensen 2002, p. 173; Elsner et al. 2011, p. 11; Couzin 2013, pp. 230–243.

83 Jensen 2002, p. 173.
84 As the best example for displaying the scene of Jonah and the baptism Jensen cites the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, that has juxstaposed scenes of Jonah under the gourd plant and Christ's baptism, v. Jensen 2002, p. 174.
85 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 231.
86 J. Elsner highlights that it is important not to separate pagan from Early Christian sarcophagi, it would be artificial divide, since the majority of the sarcophagi were produced in the same workshops and by the same artists, v. Elsner et al. 2011, p. 8.

Christian iconography of the sarcophagi, and most of them are found together with Jonah scenes.[87] The total number of the sarcophagi that combine the story of Jonah and the Good Shepherd is not very high, and as it is noted by Couzin, when these two motifs are joined together the formal connection between them is minimal, without any interconnection, as they have nothing to do with each other.[88] In this respect, the Jonah sarcophagus from *Singidunum* represents one of the rare examples that is an exception to this rule, since its relief very clearly confronts the Good Shepherd and Jonah, who raises his hands directly to the *Pastor Bonus* in hope of the salvation. In a certain way, the Good Shepherd replaces the omitted scene of Jonah at rest under a gourd plant, indicating that it is the Good Shepherd who will bring him eternal peace in paradise. Jonah's salvation is additionally stressed by the bird on the gourd plant.[89] Juxtaposing the Good Shepherd with Jonah reinforces the possibility of his salvation and emphasizes the soteriological character of the iconography.

Funeral decoration was, among other things, important and very favourable way of self-representation. The patron could ask for a specific imagery that would reflect his own values and strivings. In the context of Christian population, choices of different Biblical themes would highlight someone's affiliation to this community. In the *Singidunum* sarcophagus, the deceased has chosen to identify himself with Jonah, who then becomes kind of a role model. Jonah was very suitable since his endurance in faith brought him salvation. In this way, by applying Jonah's imagery, deceased hopes for the same destiny for himself and the members of his family. In context of Christian position in wider society, the Jonah theme had another more general meaning. It encouraged the faithful to stay persistent in their faith, despite severe persecutions they were exposed to in that time. Like Jonah who became *exempla ressurectionis*,[90] although he disobeyed God in the first place, all Christians should expect salvation based on their faith. The decoration of the *Singidunum* sarcophagus, which puts emphasize on the swallowing of Jonah and his disgorgement, should evoke in the mind of viewers that God has spared not just Jonah, but also the Ninevites, after they have repent, although at first they disobeyed God. As such, the story was particularly convenient for the

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87 Couzin 2013, p. 247.
88 Couzin 2013, p. 253 The *kriophoros* may be on the chest with Jonah, on the lid, or on the sides, but never in the direct connection with Jonah cycle. As the examples author suggests Jonah sarcophagus from Pisa, today in Campo Santo, Berlin sarcophagus, Child's sarcophagus from Copenhagen, St. Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, London sarcophagus, and one in the Museo Pio Cristiano, v. Couzin 2013, p. 217, pp. 429–431.
89 Pilipović et al. 2016, p. 228.

90 Huskinson 2008, p. 296.

pagan part of the spectators, who had yet to be converted, telling them that God is merciful to all of those who choose to obey Him.

The *Singidunum* sarcophagus offers some other possibilities when approaching the interpretation of Jonah's story. In the beginning of the twentieth century the Jonah cycle started to be observed from the view of cross-cultural mythological traditions and other elements of human psychology and sacred belief systems.[91] The similarity exists between some Greek legends and parts of the Jonah story. For example, Andromeda was saved from a *ketos* by Perseus at Joppa, the same port city from which Jonah left for Tharsis. Also, Jonah's story has a parallel with the legend of Heracles and Hesione, since the hero killed the *ketos* from the inside, after he has spent three days in his belly.[92] Except ethnological perspectives, the parallels with Jonah are even made in the field of psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud has compared Jonah's symbolical rebirth from the belly of the *ketos* with actual birth of a baby from mother's womb.[93] The modern-day psychology is familiar with the term 'Jonah syndrome' or 'Jonah complex' which was proposed by Abraham Maslow in the twentieth century. The term refers to the psychological condition, mainly caused by fear, which sabotages person's achievement of dreams and fulfilling his or her potentials. As Jonah has tried to run away from his fate, people often try to escape their responsibilities and destiny, preventing themselves from greatness.[94]

At first glance simple, the decoration of Jonah sarcophagus offers, as we have tried to show, several alternative experiences, mostly depending on the viewer and his or hers social and religious background. These experiences could be achieved by different viewers, or by a single viewer at different times, or even simultaneously. As Jensen has noted, viewers may fill in the rest of the plot, focus only on the episodes presented or use the image as a pointer to a completely different idea or concept.[95] Depending on religious and social provenance, as well as on familiarity with the Biblical narrative, viewer could evoke the traditional interpretation of imagery that refers to the salvation and resurrection, connecting it to several facets, namely to destinies of Jonah and Ninevites, but also to Christ and eventually to its own fate. Less instructed in Biblical narrative still have an opportunity to recognize certain iconographical motifs. Different sets of images combined make the

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91 Couzin 2013, pp. 66–267.
92 Couzin 2013, p. 265.
93 Ibid., pp. 267–270.

94 Ibid., p. 270.
95 Ibid., p. 212.

decoration understandable and acceptable to both communities that lived together in fourth-century Singidunum. Similar examples of sarcophagi with Jonah iconography are not found in the nearby provinces, thus making Jonah sarcophagus in Singidunum unique, not just in the territory of Upper Moesia, but within the wider region of the Roman Balkan provinces.[96] The existing examples of the story of the Hebrew prophet from surrounding areas are preserved in fresco painting and on one marble mensa.[97] This fact underlines even more the significance of the Jonah sarcophagus that allowed us with an insight into the belief system of the earliest Christians from the fourth-century Singidunum, who at that time shared with their pagan neighbours not just the iconography, but also some of the main human concerns about the afterlife.

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96 Mócsy, Panonnia, 334; Pilipović and Milanović "Jonah Sarcophagus", 231.
97 In the tombs from Sirmium and Sopianae we have a depiction of Jonah, and on the small fragment of a marble mensa also from Sirmium, v. Pilipović and al. 2016, pp. 231–232.

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Re-evaluation of the Historical and Cultural Landscape of the Island of Rab

Abstract: *Re-evaluation of the Historical and Cultural Landscape of the Island of Rab is an interdisciplinary scientific project involving students of the Department of Art History (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb) aimed at training them in combining traditional methodologies with new technologies within the research of the transformation of the historical landscape of the island. This paper centres on the presentation of earlier projects and systematic excavations on the island of Rab within the CROMART project, with special focus on the implementation of various different technologies and methods, such as field survey using GPS; 19th century cadastral maps layered with modern ones; RAF photos from the WWII for documenting historical sites in the GIS system; archaeological excavations; documentation and analysis of archaeological findings. The purpose of the project was to combine those different approaches to make the best possible historical and artistic topography of the island.*

Keywords: *Island of Rab, historical landscape, new technologies, archaeological excavations, student project, CROMAR*

Introduction – The project

Student scientific project *Re-evaluation of the Historical and Cultural Landscape of the Island of Rab* was organised as an interdisciplinary project focused on combining traditional methodologies used in art historical and archaeological scientific research with modern, digital technologies using the island of Rab as a case study.

The project was led by the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages (IRCLAMA) of the University of Zagreb and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Padua under the CROMART (Croatian Medieval Heritage in European Context: Mobility of Artists and Transfer of Forms, Functions and Ideas) project. Professor Miljenko Jurković, from the University of Zagreb, prof. Gian Pietro Brogiolo and prof. Alexandra Chavarria Arnau, from the University of Padua, and archaeologist Goran Bilogrivić were leaders of the project and coordinated student

activities. The field research lasted from May 29th until June 11th 2015 on the island of Rab. It was the continuation of earlier systematic campaigns and training schools organised by CROMART project and the project team members: A. Chavarria, G.P. Brogiolo, M. Jurković and R. Starac.

The island of Rab

The island of Rab belongs to the Kvarner archipelago along with the islands Cres, Krk and Lošinj. Since the 4th century BCE, with islands Lošinj and Pag it shares the name Mentorides (Pseudo–Skilaks periplus), and it was a part of ancient Liburnia.[1] The island is located beneath the Velebit massif divided by the Velebit channel (historically known as *vlaški* or *morlački)* on the north, while on the south a narrow channel separates it from the island of Pag (peninsula Lun in the western part of Pag).[2]

The first recognized historical layer of the island dates to the Bronze Age and it can be related to the Liburnian tribes. At the turn of the millennium, the island came under Roman rule, and during that period, the picture of the landscape started to change, with domicile population starting to move from the hillforts to the fertile lowlands.[3] The newcomers influenced the change in the

social structure, and the island had gradually adapted to the Roman *mores.*[4]

The first document mentioning the formation of the Roman municipality of Rab is an inscription from the time of Emperor Augustus. It recounts the construction of the defensive walls and towers in the city named *Arba (*probably with the prefix *Felix).*[5] The municipality of *Arba* is also mentioned in inscriptions on *spoliae* found in different places on the island.[6]

In the year 493, the Ostrogoths conquered the island, and in the first half of the 6th century, during Justinian's Reconquista*,* it was returned to the Eastern Roman Empire. The Slavic invasions of the 7th century were documented in archaeological layers, even though they did not significantly jeopardize the Roman population of the island. During that period, the island was under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Ravenna.[7]

Training schools

In June 2014 and September 2015, two international training schools were held on the island. First summer training school was LLP Erasmus Intensive programme: IntSYSTEM, Integrated Systems of Sources, Technologies and Methods – Remote Sensing of Historical

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1 Domijan 2001, p. 19.
2 Ibid.
3 Kranjec 2017, p. 11.

4 Ibid.
5 Nedved 1990.
6 Ibid.
7 Domijan 2001.

Landscape, organised by the University of Zagreb and the University of Padua. This training school was closely connected with the CROMART project, as its leaders, A. Chavarria, G. P. Brogiolo and M. Jurković were also involved in the project.[8]

The second summer training school Digital Recording, Study and Public Sharing of Historical Architectures: the City of Rab (Croatia) was organised by A. Chavarria, as a continuation of the one mentioned above. The main goal of both training schools was educating and training young researchers and students in new technologies and methodologies of archaeological research.[9]

Earlier excavations

The first and the second campaign

The first two excavation campaigns on the island, organized by the CROMART project and involving team members A. Chavarria, G.P. Brogiolo and M. Jurković, as well as a group of students from Universities of Padua and Zagreb, were held in summer of 2015 (June, September) on the site of Saint Lawrence in Banjol.[10]

The first campaign was carried out form June 4th to June 21st 2015. This campaign was a follow-up of the LLP Erasmus training school held on the island the year before in 2014. Two sites were

chosen for the excavations, the first one being the newly discovered church of St. Lawrence in Banjol and the second one being the structures found in the inner courtyard of the restaurant „Kuća rapske torte" located in the historical centre of the town of Rab.

The second campaign carried out in September 2015 was the continuation of the first one held in June and it resulted in the definition of plans of the two construction phases of the church of Saint Lawrence: the first, early Christian church and a smaller later one (its dating is not yet defined). Furthermore, a number of archaeological finds were discovered, the most significant one being an exceptionally preserved 6th century capital used in the smaller church as *spoliae*.[11] The excavation on the site in the historical centre of the town resulted in a discovery of a blacksmith facility from Late Antiquity, and a defensive wall, probably dating to the 6th century.[12]

The third and the fourth campaign

In June and September of 2016, the third and the fourth campaign were carried out on the island.

The third campaign was held from the June 5th to the June 12th 2016. The chosen sites for the third campaign were: the monastic garden of the

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8 CROMART 2015a.
9 Ibid.
10 CROMART 2015b.

11 Brogiolo et al. 2017, p. 666.
12 Ibid.

Benedictine nunnery of St. Andrew in the town of Rab; the urban structures in the historical centre, which continued to be excavated; and the front of the Benedictine church of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, one of the best preserved early Romanesque churches on the eastern Adriatic (under the direction of a team member R. Starac).[13] The goal of the excavation on the site in the historical centre was to carry on the excavations from 2015, but it was paused on a well-preserved medieval layer of a blacksmith workshop.[14] It raised a question about the possible preservation of this layer. After a discussion with the representatives of the community, the whole layer was strapped and stored for the future restoration. This kind of cooperation with the local community is a very important part of the CROMART project.[15]

The second excavation was held in the monastic garden of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Andrew.[16] The garden is positioned between the bell tower of the cathedral of Rab and the square in front of it. This site was chosen because the team presumed that the medieval structures of the bishop's palace and possibly remains of Classical or Late

Antique structures are located beneath it.[17]

The third excavation was performed in front of the church of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga. The main goal was tracking and mapping of the transformations of the historical landscape of the island. Conservation excavations were carried out in order to prove the existence of phases earlier than those of today's church, dating to the 11th century.[18]

The fourth campaign, held from September 18th to October 2nd 2016, was the continuation of the excavations held in June. The fourth campaign resulted in the conservation of the antique stove discovered in the inner courtyard of the monastery of St. Andrew, conducted by the restauration company Ars Restauro d.o.o. from Sinj, under the supervision of the conservator Mia Rizner (Conservation Department of Rijeka). [19]

Project and 2017 excavations
Preparation for the excavations

Before the actual fieldwork and excavations, the project was prepared in the library of *IRCLAMA,* Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (University of Zagreb). The documentation of earlier excavations

13 CROMART 2016.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.

17 CROMART 2016.
18 Ibid.
19 CROMART 2017a.

held on the island and scientific bibliography dealing with the architecture, art and history of the island were collected by a team of students. The good preparation based on the research of literature and documentation on the earlier systematic excavations was the basis for the continuation and conduction of the project.

The fifth campaign

The fifth campaign was held from May 29th to June 12th 2017 and it was co-organised by the students of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (University of Zagreb). This campaign was part of the project *Re-evaluation of the Historical and Cultural Landscape of the Island of Rab.*

The campaign was held on four sites. Two of them were located in the historical centre of the town, the first one in the inner courtyard of the restaurant, excavated during the previous campaigns, and the second one in a new location, a town park called Dorka. The team of A. Chavarria and G. P. Brogiolo (University of Padua) led both of them. Third location was in front of the church of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, a continuation of the earlier excavations. The fourth and last one was held on the location colloquially known as Ciprijanovo in the area of Kampor on the island, led by M. Jurković and G. Bilogrivić.

The first site, in the historical centre of the town, has already provided fruitful archaeological finds that prove that the town of Rab was continuously populated for 2000 years.[20] In the town's public park Dorka, the still visible remains of a medieval church were excavated.[21]

The third site was located in front of the church of St. Peter in Supetarska Draga, led again by the team member R. Starac. This site was also a continuation of earlier excavations conducted on the site, aiming to get better knowledge of the rural development of the historical landscape. The excavation resulted in a discovery of a Benedictine burial site and well-preserved wall structures of the abbey.

The fourth site was located in the area of Kampor, named Ciprijanovo, where the team excavated the remains of a church. For the campaign on this site, cleaning of the vegetation and archaeological trenches were made to define the walls of the church,[22] endangered by the construction of an asphalt road.[23] The excavation resulted in the definition of two historical phases of the church: an early Christian one, probably from the 5th century and an early medieval one.[24] Based on the

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20 CROMART 2017b.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.

results, we can presume that the long lasting continuation of the sacred site on this location is very much possible.[25]

Methodologies

The main goal of the project was the implementation of different methodologies and technologies in art historical and archaeological research. When I. Kršnjavi founded both disciplines in 1878 at the University of Zagreb, they formed one Chair of art history and archaeology.[26] With that in mind, we decided that the logical step for us to obtain the best results in our research was to combine both disciplines for the same cause: the re-evaluation of the historical and cultural landscape of the island of Rab, which is also how we named the project.

In the research of earlier periods of the human history, the combination of archaeology and art history go 'hand in hand'. It has always been necessary for art historians researching the earlier art periods to acquaint themselves with methodologies of the archaeological excavations in order to better understand the monument and sites. However, nowadays, technological advancement has given us the opportunity to study and use methods previously reserved only for a small circle of engineers and IT experts. Such

openness to new, digital, technologies yields results that traditional methods alone cannot provide. That is why today, when interdisciplinarity is a common practice in scientific research around the globe, it is our duty to adjust and keep track of the progress and, in the end, to adapt the different methodologies and modern technologies in our research.

With that premise in mind, besides the traditional methods, archival sources and modern technologies were used for the documentation of the findings and to locate the archaeological sites. Using *RAF* photos from the World War II layered over the Austro-Hungarian cadastral maps, which were later documented in the *GIS system*, we were able to locate the sites in the field.

Devices mainly used by engineers, surveyors and IT experts were used on the excavation sites, such as the UAV (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle) mapping, laser scanning technology, digital photogrammetry and the thermal camera. They were used for documenting the archaeological layers, so that the documentation could be transferred to the computers, and 3D digital models could be made. Thermal camera was used on the buildings in the city, with the purpose of identifying the building material.

The main reason for the implementation of these new approaches combined with

25 Ibid.
26 Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. „Povijest Odsjeka." 2017

traditional methodologies was to do a thorough research and to obtain the best possible results from different aspects, so that the next generations of students and scientists could have an insight into our methodology, results and publications for their own education and research.

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Katarina Jović: Garden as Ideal Landscape of Its Time – Arcadia in the Garden of the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka

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Garden as Ideal Landscape of Its Time – Arcadia in the Garden of the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka

Abstract: *The garden of the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka will be studied as an entity in which morphological and phenomenological components are inseparable – in relation to the culture of Dubrovnik villas and the Italian Renaissance and Baroque concepts, considered in the context of the longue durée. The research goal is to examine the value of the garden in the social and private life of the villa, its representational value as well as the performance in the context of locus amoenus – one of the crucial elements of the concept of Arcadia. Accordingly, the garden will be considered as the active constructor and carrier of ideas of its time, reflected in literature, philosophy, and art.*

Keywords: *garden, landscape, Arcadia, villa, Sorkočević, Dubrovnik, Renaissance, Baroque*

Introduction – Landscape, Nature and Arcadia

Landscape painting hasn't always been highly valued in art theory and criticism. *Pastoral* in art and poetry was considered to be *stilus humilis* since the Middle Ages, which influenced the reception of landscape images in art production.[1] Yet despite this fact, landscape (artistic and natural) has always been spiritually important to humans. The relationship to nature gained its essence in aesthetic expressions of gardens – places where a perfect harmony of art, nature and human beings can be fully achieved. Gardens became the display of private status and local (national) pride, tradition and philosophy, but also the places of dreams, myth and fantasy. In connection with the history of literature, philosophy and cultural anthropology, art history has succeeded to recognize, understand and explain the context in which the "ideology of garden" is created.

Symbolic potentials in natural scenery raised since the emergence of first urban residences. Since the classical period, life in nature has been regarded as a special "way of living" which evolved

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1 About the perception of Pastoral: Freedman 1983, pp. 36–38.

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into a type of ideology – with normative beliefs, conscious and unconscious convictions (individual and collective), that framed specific values of nature in public and private life. The ideology of life in nature is the reflection of symbolic meanings which humans, dissatisfied with the city-life, attributed to the natural environment. This impulse was generated by psychological rather than utilitarian needs. Ideological in that context implied a strong belief that sojourn in nature means the privilege and the opportunity to find peace in rural land.[2] That conviction involved the idealization of nature. Thus, nature became a paradigm of the *vita attiva* (enforced by agricultural activities), but also the place where humans can reach *vita contemplativa* - the world of contemplation, meditation, cognition and dream.

The idea of nature as a place of fantasy and contemplation had its deep-seated reflection in "the dream of Arcadia" – the utopian country of eternal felicity, comprehension and peace – which was a dream of the intellectual elite in many civilizations in the past. The conception of an "ideal place" – in which humans can escape the sorrowful reality – has always been the image of the idealized landscape. Arcadia (or nature) became the symbol of longing for a pure life, reflected in the mythical habitation of

herdsmen, poets, and deities. Literature, which is a primary depository of ideological myth, is the most immediate testament of the Arcadian vision. The concept of Arcadia has been present in literature since the Ancient Era: in the legacy of Theocritus (*Idylls*), Pausanias (*Description of Greece*), Polybius (*The Histories*), Lucretius (*De rerum Natura*), Ovid (*Fasti*), and, above all, Virgil (*Eclogues*) who described Arcadian land in the way which would have great influence on later poetry and art. Pastoral poetry began to treat nature as the *locus amoenus* (lovely, blissful land),[3] often as a reflection of primordial purity which was attributed to the "long gone ancient time". Thus, the concept of Arcadia encouraged the reminiscence of *The Golden Age,* manifested through dreamlike images which were always articulated by the norms of the contemporary society.[4] However, Arcadia was also depicted as a gloomy land, where humans could express all the misfortunes of the real world. But, with the help of Arcadian residents, their music and poetry, humans could also reach the enlightenment at the end of their sojourn. This ambivalence of melancholic and joyful image of Arcadia

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2 Ackerman 1990, p. 10.

3 In Renaissance, the term has been inseparable from Pastoral, which was considered to be the emotional state – the state of spirit. Later on, it has been considered to be the resting place in which humans can reach the spiritual harmony. In: Brajović 2005, p. 601.

4 Borozan 2015, p. 205.

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(or nature), with its moralistic potentials, was fully articulated in early modern literature, particularly in *Arcadia*, written by Jacopo Sannazaro.[5] This particular literary work, more than any other, affected the early modern concept of Arcadia, and in accordance with the idea *ut pictura poesis*,[6] it had a strong influence on the art production of this period.[7] Eventually, this concept of nature determined the treatments of the natural environment, landscape and architecture.

The Ideology of Life in Nature

The direct manifestation of the relationship between humans and nature can be seen in cultivation of landscape. The widespread praxis of building residences in nature was highly influenced by the humanist philosophy. Unlike the medieval scholasticism and mysticism, renaissance humanism put humans and nature *in medias res*.[8] In

this period, literary works of ancient writers were revalued and they played an important role in establishing the villa ideology: Hesiod, Cato, Varro, Columella, Cicero, Seneca, and Vitruvius.[9]

The villa had to fulfill the need which was more psychological than utilitarian: this particular need was supposed to harmonize the intimate fantasy with requirements of the reality. Villas were designed as both private and public spaces, created as *ego document* of its owner. However, they were much more intimate than palaces – a villa was a shelter from the harsh urban reality, an oasis of peace, contemplation and self-cognition, which was, according to the beliefs of early modern humans, possible to reach only in nature, fantasy, and myth. Thus, villas portrayed private, intimate lives of their owners.

The contrast between the country and the city has been an important philosophical topic since the Classical era. For example, Pliny the Younger described the pleasure of being in nature as the state of physical and mental peace.[10] However, villas were still dependent on the city, its economic wealth and urban values. People wanted to make harmony between countryside and the city in villas as two different, but

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5 Sannazaro's *Arcadia* was found on Virgils *Eclogues*. About the references to previous authors in pastoral poetry: Skoie 2006, p. 93. About other authors and their visions of Arcadia: Romano 1978, pp. 58–60.

6 "As is painting so is poetry". More about that concept in Renaissance: Rensselaer 1940, pp. 197–199.

7 About the arcadian features in painting of Giorgione, Titian, Guercino and Poussin: Freedman 1983.

8 About the uprising power of secular authorities in Italy: Viroli 2003. The same in Florence, and its affection on villa ideology: Gobbi Sica, 2007. About the identity of an early modern humans in Europe: Brajović, 2009.

9 Ackerman 1990, p. 19.

10 Ibid, pp. 13–14.

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unified principles.[11] Accordingly, dialectics of natural and artificial became one of the most important characteristics of villas architecture – referred to the harmony of nature and people, primordial and cultivated. Thus, the villa represented the ideal place. Petrarca described his own villa in Arqua in *De vita solitaria* as the shelter, in a similar manner as Boccaccio, who perceived nature as a place to escape from harm, corruption, and urban diseases.[12] In the fresco *Good Government,* Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted an idealized landscape near Siena, but with realistic details in it. Art and literature converted villa and its landscape in a cultural and mental *topos,* set between myth and reality.

Alberti's theories were crucial for the humanistic „myth of villa".[13] His depiction of the life in the villa wasn't only the record of the ambient, but much more: with plenty of philosophical references about the harmony of an active and contemplative life. In *I Libri della Famiglia,* Alberti advocated the moral component of life in a country,

because "the good people and reasonable hosts", as he believed, have always been interested in the life in the villa which was, besides its profitability, the source of pleasure and honours.[14]

The garden was an essential part of the villa, which brought the clearest reflection on the ideology of life in nature. The garden was organized to be a display of certain concepts and values. In *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* Franchesco Colonna interpreted geometrical order in a theological context. Francesco di Giorgio Martini described gardens in reference to the ancient Roman public spaces and gymnasiums, which suggested the garden as the secret place of poets and philosophers.[15] Lorenzo The Magnificent dedicated the mythological poem to the villa in Poggio a Caiano (*Ambra),* describing the nymph Ambra transforming in an island near the residence. In that way, the landscape of the villa was directly set in the mythical context.[16] These few examples indicate the mythical and symbolical in terms of land and its shaping, which was fully articulated in the garden and gardening.

Medieval gardens, with their massive fence walls, were organized as *hortus conclusus* – which had been identified

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11 Especially in Baroque, a city was associated with the path of salvation through the physical effort and nature as the way of reaching the spiritual peace. Brajović 2005, p. 587.
12 Gobbi Sica 2007, p. 18.
13 Blant 2004, pp. 5–8. About Neoplatonism in: Panofski 1975, pp. 109–110. For essential information about Alberti's life and work: Marej 2005, p. 52.

14 Gobbi Sica 2007, p. 20.
15 Ibid, pp. 69–72.
16 Ibid, pp. 22–23.

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with the heavenly shelter/*axis mundi*, since the Patristic Period.[17] The Renaissance garden was the product of new humanistic concepts. It was also the confirmation of *longue durée* and incorporated the Babylonian and Egyptian gardening features, primarily the geometrics and intonation of axis in the space. These features reflected the belief that humans depended on nature, but also the need to incorporate nature into the human concept. It was a belief not in the equality of nature and humans, but in human domination.[18] Italian renaissance gardens were developed in order to fulfill the need for leisure, but also the requirement for meditation in a natural environment. Thus, they got the potential to be *ozio intellettuale*.[19] That signification of garden was manifested through the refined contact with nature, with the adaptation of garden decorations to the features of a landscape and soil and also by reaching harmony with the natural environment.

Humanistic philosophy brought the Neoplatonic ideas in Ragusa, which enforced the idea of reaching *vita contemplativa* in a natural environment.[20] Intellectuals from Dubrovnik met the Italian concept of Arcadia and embraced it, which is clearly illustrated in early modern literature of Ragusa. Many authors from Dubrovnik wrote in pastoral atmosphere (Ilija Crijević, Nikola Vetranović, Nikola Nalješković…).[21] At the end of the 15th century, the pastoral drama (*la dramma pastorale*) was really popular in Dubrovnik.[22] It inspired the literature of idyllic pastoral poems with mythical scenery and didactic intentions, in Arcadian surrounding that was set between idyll and melancholia (the most prominent authors were Marin Držić and Mavro Vetranić).[23] For the local authors, *Arcadia* of Jacopo Sanazaro had been the favorite title.[24] Based on Roman literary academy *The Accademia degli Arcadi*, which promoted pastoral and arcadian atmosphere in writing, intellectuals in Ragusa founded *Akademija ispraznijeh* (*Accademia degli Oziosi*) at the end of the 17th century. After peaceful Renaissance, Baroque announced different circumstances in Ragusa: wars on the land and difficult sea-trade caused fear for independence and economic crisis. That was a

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17 Brajović 2006, p. 54. About the differences between medieval and renaissance gardens: Gobbi Sica 2007, p. 69.

18 Šišić 1981, p. 12.

19 Grujić 1991, p. 164.

20 According to Marsilio Ficino, *vita contemplativa* was the only way to reach the

blessedness and felicity in "this world" – which is comparable with the enlightenment of prophets. More about that: Panofski 1975, p. 116.

21 Pantić 1960, pp. 15–21.

22 More about that literary genre in Italian culture: Vodnik 1913, p. 159. About Torquato Tasso, the most prominent writer in this genre: Kolendić 1964, pp. 130–136.

23 See: Pantić 1960, pp. 21–22.

24 See: Kolendić 1964, pp. 84–87.

favorable circumstance for the ideas of Catholic Reformation, defined on the Council of Trent (1545–63), which led to the reinforcement of Catholic devotion, concepts of salvation, sin and contempt for earthly delights.[25] Consequently, the Arcadian sense in Baroque pastoral poetry of Ragusa became notably melancholic, while the nature in it came to be the world of moral enlightenment, reached through meditation about history, patriotism, concern for essential nature of humans, awareness of mundane inconsistency and the cosmic eternity. The depictions of nature as such had their manifestation in the villa ideology of The Republic of Ragusa – primarily in the context of gardening.

Compared to contemporary villas in Italy, summer houses in Dubrovnik had a moderate size and balanced decoration.[26] Although the life in the villa depended on the life in the urban area (its development and structure), an original architectural form of rural residences was created in Dubrovnik.[27] That new form depended on the ideology of villas which existed in this area. Thus, many practical functions of houses in nature, public and residential, were linked to the intimate vision of life in summer houses in Rijeka Dubrovačka.[28] The concept of Italian Renaissance garden was simultaneously spread in Ragusa.[29] Based on *bello ordine* in architectural composition, Ragusan gardens were fenced garden spaces, organized in relation to the main walkaway – cut by crossing paths, which resulted with a strict orthogonal layout.[30] There, villas with more residential function had more spacious gardens in order to enable the comfort for owners and their guests. One of them was created on the Sorkočevićs' property in Rijeka Dubrovačka.[31]

Fig.1. The Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka (photo: K. Jović)

25 Pantić 1984, pp. 25–27.
26 Some researchers consider these values as the most beautiful features of Ragusan villas, because they were considered to be the manifestation of the perfect balance between humans and nature. In: Fisković 1966, pp. 9–10.
27 Grujić 1982, p. 9.

28 Grujić 2003, p. 13.
29 About the first local architectural and sculptural guilds: Prijatelj 1956, p. 43.
30 About the orthogonal system in Ragusa: Grujić 1991, p. 62.
31 Ibid, p. 72.

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The garden of the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka as Ideal Landscape of Its Time

Villa Sorkočević in Rijeka Dubrovačka belonged to one of the oldest Ragusan families,[32] which gained a status of the most prominent local elite as early as the 14th century.[33] The Villa was built in the second half of the 16th century, with Renaissance architectural features.[34] However, the building process was continued in the Baroque period – up until the 18th century. The period in which the latest intervention on the Villa occurred is still unknown, but the wall painting of the gallery is dated in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century.[35]

The complex has multiple architectural components with different functions. Near its entrance, the first one is a cistern with a terrace and loft, which is followed by a small loggia and summer house, built in the Renaissance period. Symmetrical layout and relation between the main and side rooms indicate the tendency for "the ideal" Renaissance ground plan: „Quatro stanze, un salon, z'e la casa d'un Schiavon".[36] Warehouses were placed on the ground floor, together with other rooms which were used for different agricultural activities. Additionally, a big baroque gallery was built, with a bathroom and stairs which led to the bay on the southwest side of the complex. There was also a chapel, which was later destroyed.[37] These separate buildings are united and organized in the form of longitudinal scheme. This scheme was considered to be an appropriate form for undisturbed enjoyment in the view.[38] Behind the villa, there is a hillside, but its front façade is oriented towards the bay of Rijeka Dubrovačka – the delta of River Ombla. Between the water and the villa, there is a garden.

The garden of Villa Sorkočević is one of the biggest in Dubrovnik. The garden is fenced[39] and like the Italian Renaissance garden divided by walkways with pergolas (in Dubrovnik known as *odrina*).[40] One of the pergolas

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32 For the genealogy of the family see: Vekarić 2017, pp. 317–371.
33 Together with families Gučetić, Gundulić, Bunić, Đurđević, Menčetić i Crijević: Harris 2006, p. 187. About the aristocracy in Dubrovnik: Harris 2006; Foretić 1980; Prelog et. al. (eds.) 1987, pp. 23–24.
34 Šišić 1981, p. 89.
35 See: Šulić 2010.

36 Ibid 78.
37 About chapels as symbols of status and spiritual life in villas in Dubrovnik: Grujić 1991, pp. 96–116.
38 Some researchers consider Villa Sorkočević in Rijeka Dubrovačka to be the most representative example of this scheme in Dubrovnik: Grujić 1991, pp. 74.
39 Details about the construction of the fence wall: Šišić 1981, p. 30.
40 Pergola was present since the Ancient Egypt. It remained during the Middle Ages, but it gained a great popularity in Renaissance. More in: Grujić 1991, p. 104.

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Fig 2. The Garden of the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka (Photo: K. Jović)

contributed to the unity of the garden and the building: it led to the entrance of the house and created the green porch in front of it, which symbolized the extension of the house in the garden space (nature).[41] The pergola was richly branched in order to link the house with all the parts of the garden area. Thanks to it, the garden became an intimate place suitable for long walks. The structure had an important role in the dialogue between landscape and architecture: everything which was built above the pergola was visible from the fields and the sea, and by extension present in natural scenery.[42] Pergolas

were held by slender stone columns with capitals decorated with volutes and carved leaves, so they appeared as the sculpture decoration in the garden. The columns framed the walkways and created an architectural perspective and rhythm.[43] Vegetation was the component of living nature in the garden. Thus, it symbolized the link between nature and the "humanized" space. The authentic plans and drawings of the vegetation in the gardens are not conserved in Dubrovnik. The main source of information about vegetation can be find in written reviews of the contemporaneous travelers and beholders, who described glorious plants with fruits and flowers – oranges,

41 Šišić 1981, p. 28.
42 About the detailed construction of pergola: Ibid, p. 29.

43 About the capitals in Dubrovnik: Ibid, p. 28.

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lemons, pomegranates – which were present in all seasons.[44] The stone was the primary constructive element of the garden, but the vegetation was also used to form the scenery or to prevent soil dispersion.[45] Geomorphological and climate conditions of Ragusa and the parcels of the land were not suitable for cereal cultivation, but the land was adapted to olives, vegetables, fruits, and wine.[46] Wine has been symbolically interpreted since the Antiquity, in relation to the myth, Arcadia and the "garden of delights". Its presence in Ragusa was very valuable, and it was cultivated mostly on pergolas. The old Ragusan proverb testifies about its importance for the local community: „Rđa se od gvožđa ne ozdaje, tu ti nije gospodstva gdi ga loza ne daje".[47]

Water was understood as one of the driving forces of garden and landscape. The sea was the great Baroque topic. The image of unity between the land, the sea and the sky (which is present in Rijeka Dubrovačka) was the Baroque image of ideal space. In relation to the rocky landscape (as the Ragusan), this image achieved a deep Christian symbolism.[48] Water was important for vegetation, but it was also the creator of the sound and the dynamic element of the garden. Gardens in Ragusa didn't have spectacular water constructions which were known to the contemporaneous Italian culture (glorious fountains or water organs), but wall fountains were very popular. One of them was implied to the front facade of Sorkočević Villa in the Baroque period, decorated with the sculpture of Triton, the sea-deity, with twisted conch shells, on which, according to mythology, he blew like a trumpet to calm or raise the waves.[49] Above them, there are *putti* holding the coat of arms attributed to Sorkočević family. The coat of arms is also set above the entrance in the baroque gallery, as a "clear mark of dignity"[50] and a symbol of family presence in that space.

The gallery was also connected with an octagonal bathroom, built approximately at the same time (it was projected in 1748),[51] on the southwest part of the building. Thus, symbolical potentials of water were linked to symbolical meanings of architecture,

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44 According to Leon Bondier. Ibid, p. 31.
45 Ibid, p. 33.
46 About the soil features in Republic of Ragusa: Marčić 1937.
47 The proverb suggests that vine was a symbol of honor in Dubrovnik. Fisković 2005, p. 84.

48 In Christian symbolism, water was the archetype of life and death, joy and pain. About the connection between the rock and the water as the symbols of the Virgin: Brajović 2006, pp. 54–55.
49 About the sculptural decoration and fountains in Dubrovnik: Grujić 1991, p. 197.
50 Brajović 2005, p. 596.
51 Šulić 2010, p. 11.

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since octagonal structure – combined of squares and a circle – was considered to be "the perfect" architectural form. An octagonal structure was seen as the balance of macro and microcosms, or the harmony between humans and nature. Thus, it suggested "the intellectual sphere" which was relevant for Neoplatonic ideas about the perfect relationship between humans and nature.[52] Furthermore, the bathroom had a social purpose (being used by several people who took their baths together), and by its function and structure it was similar to ancient *laconicum* – indicating principles of the Roman bathing procedure, status and "noble taste" of the Sorkočević family. The bathroom in the Sorkočević Villa had a hypocaust, narrowed hall which was probably a dressing room, central sweating (octagonal) room with a vault and a rectangular room for a warm bath with a pool (*alveus*). Semi-circular niches with stone benches were placed on opposite (diagonal) sides, while the cistern was built below the octagonal structure, on the ground floor. The bathroom was projected in a completely regular shape and dimensions, with respect to Vitruvius's instructions and "golden ratio" in its proportions.[53]

Moreover, this dark and small place had an intimate and mystical atmosphere, which fit the mythological decorations painted in the gallery. Its spatial relations are also important for the symbolical reading of the structure. The bathroom wasn't built near the bedrooms, but in the separate building on the "warmest" part of the Villa, which was surrounded with greenery and water. It was built on *piano nobile* together with the gallery, which represented the noblest part of the Villa which can be compared to Pliny's *crypfoporticus or* Alberti's *ambulano.* This place was very important for the social and intellectual life in Dubrovnik. Since the end of the 17th century, members of the aforementioned *Akademija ispraznijeh* (*degli Osiozi*) were usual guests in Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka. These guests, together with the hosts, both with tendencies towards Arcadian atmosphere and rebirth of Renaissance and ancient values, enjoyed the symbolical ritual of the bath *all antica*. The bath in Sorkočević Villa was later presented in *De Umbla, quae antiquis Arion,* written by Đuro Ferić, as a representative of "the Arcadian image" of Ragusan life in villas.[54] In many ways, water was an important motif in Ragusan literature. For example, Ivan Gučetić wrote *Vicinis laudor sed aqvis,*

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52 Grujić 1994, pp. 73–82.
53 This structure can still be seen in Villa Sorkočević. Besides this bathroom, there was just one more bathroom with the octagonal structure in Dubrovnik – built in Bishop's Summer residence in Ploče. More about the

proportions and structure of the bathroom in Sorkočević Villa in: Ibid, pp. 89–91.
54 Ibid, pp. 92–93.

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inspired with life by the sea. The Renaissance poet Petar Hektorović used a motif of water in the decoration of his fishpond in villa Tvrdalj to memorize moralistic values, as well as in *Fishing and Fishermen's Conversation (Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje)*, his complex *ecloga piscatoria*.[55] Fishing was practically and symbolically important for the life in Dubrovnik, and thus also for the Sorkočević family. Fishponds, which „imitated the nature", make a large part of the Sorkočević property.[56] They are connected with the garden of the Sorkočević villa with canals. For the local community, these structures had the same symbolical and aesthetic quality as the „water-mirrors".[57]

Fig 4. Fishponds (Photo: K. Jović)

The connection with the natural scenery was visible in the architecture of the Sorkočević garden since the first stages of building. There were holes in the fence wall which is separating the garden and the sea, and they indicated the orientation toward the water and the intention of opening unto the landscape.[58] The moderate high wall is another indicator of the same idea – it doesn't interrupt the view and presence of natural scenery in the garden.[59] During the Baroque, wide panoramas in properties were not usual, but gardens included new architectural contents: viewpoints in architecture (*loggias* and terraces) and exterior stairs which connected the architecture with nature.[60] Throughout time, nature was more and more liberated from architectural domination, which was
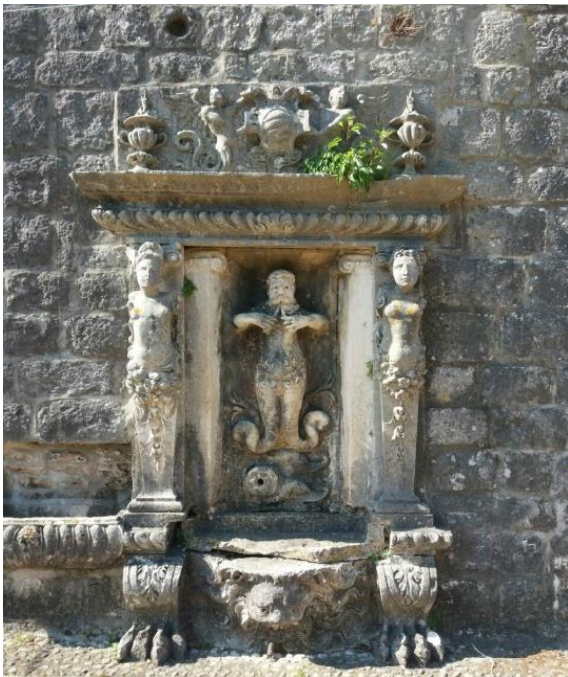

Fig 3. The wall fountain with the sculpture of Triton and the coat of arms (Photo: K. Jović)

55 Belamarić 1994, pp.76–89.
56 About fishponds in Dubrovnik: Ibid, p. 205.
57 Šišić 1981, p. 35.

58 Later, the holes were walled and closed: Ibid, pp. 7–8.
59 Grujić 1991, p. 75.
60 As *grotte* and fountains. About them in Dubrovnik: Ibid, p. 207.

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encouraged by Latin debates.[61] Villa came to be interpreted as the part of the landscape or its "pictorial element". Wild nature (*natura rudis*) – as it was engraved in the villa of Đivo Gučetić at the beginning of the 16th century, was the "place for hunting", but, in the 18th century, it became the place for a walk and discovery. Unification of organized and unorganized nature was achieved with illusionistic inclusion of water, rock and woods in the complex of a villa. In a similar manner, thanks to the external baroque stairs which led directly to the sea, Villa Sorkočević was connected with the waters of Rijeka Dubrovačka. One part of the fence wall was later removed, so the garden became more unified with the natural scenery in the background.[62] Thus, in the Sorkočević villa, we can notice the longing for the liberation of landscape, which will enounce the change in the relationship to nature and new aesthetic based on the sensuality and the participation in nature – the idea of *pittoresque*.[63]
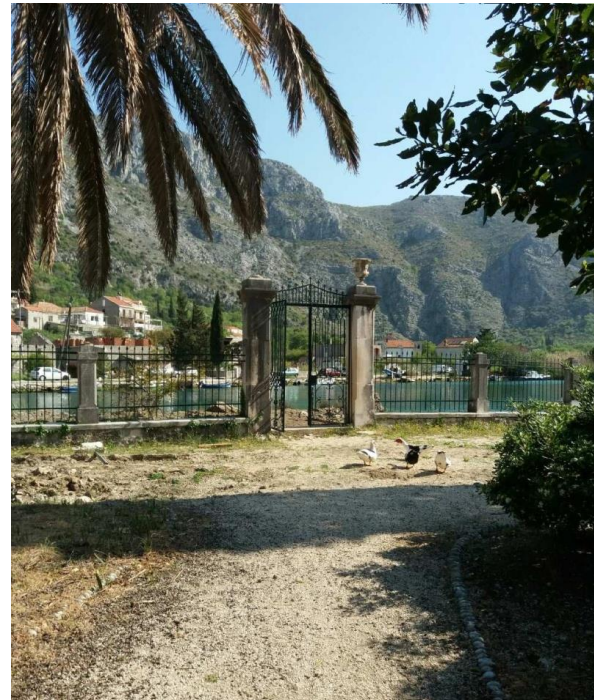
Fig 5. The walkway toward the sea (Photo: K. Jović)

Loggias, terraces and porches are places where the strongest mutual permeation of architecture and landscape could have been created. Opened towards the natural landscape and created by humans, they symbolized human presence in nature. Thus, they became an integral part of the garden.[64] The loggia in the Sorkočević Villa was built near the entrance of the complex, and it functioned as the place which could provide a delightful view, as well as a mark of the social status.[65] Terraces, which were common for buildings near the sea or river, are also present in Sorkočević Villa which is a *villa marittima*. There are two terraces in

61 See: Gobbi Sica, pp. 71–73.
62 Grujić 1991, p. 236.
63 "In the manner of a picture", see: Brajović, Bošnjak 2012, p. 60. About the French garden in: Soergel 2005, pp. 24–25.

64 See: Šišić 1981.
65 About loggias in Ragusa: Grujić 1991, pp. 90–93.

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piano nobile. First one, oriented towards the sea, was built during the Baroque period together with the stairs mentioned above, which led to the water.[66] The terrace, as well as the Baroque gallery beside, was used as a viewpoint (*belvedere*). Large windows in the gallery allowed plenty of daily light and opened the space towards the landscape.

Some baroque gardens had illusionistic fresco decoration in Dubrovnik, which complemented the world of nature with bucolic, allegorical and mythological motifs.[67] That kind of painting wasn't directly present in Sorkočević's yard with a reason – the walls in the baroque gallery have already been decorated with frescoes. Being used as belvedere – opened into the garden space with monumental windows – the painted gallery walls thus complemented the yard zone.

Fig. 6 The gallery (Photo: K. Jović)

Frescoes in the gallery are bucolic (pastoral motifs and deities on the wall with the monumental windows), allegorical (personifications of seasons) and mythological with moralistic character (*The Judgement of Paris*, *The Death of Adonis*, *Venus and Mars*, *The Contest between Minerva and Neptune*, *Odysseus and the Sirens*, *Hercules at the Crossroads* and *Hercules Resting*). The moralistic potential referred to the mythological scenes which indicated the Neoplatonic ideas about the good and the bad choices,[68] and by extension, the prudence of aristocratic class who governed the Ragusa.[69] Therefore, the fresco programme had a representative value suggesting the prudence of the

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66 Šulić 2010, p. 1.

67 See: Marković 1978, pp. 67–76. About popularity of ancient myths and concepts in Baroque: Haynes 2006, p. 44.

68 See: Marković 1980.

69 For mythology: Srejović, Cermanović 1987; Tresidder (ed.) 2004.

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Sorkočević family, one of the noblest Ragusan families, and didactic character as frescoes were created to teach the one who stayed in the room. Because of their didactic value, mythological scenes in the gallery have been interpreted as separate fragments so far. In former art history studies, they were considered to have different meanings from the rest of the programme (bucolic and allegorical scenes). Even though the certain unity of meanings between all the frescoes in the gallery has been noticed, in former interpretations the program was divided into three separated groups: „The moralistic/didactic programme, „Arcadian programme" and „The Seasons".[70] In that context, "Arcadian" referred only to the wall painted with the idealized landscape, bucolic scenes and pastoral creatures: Pan, Bacchus, putti and *The winning Love* scene (based on Neoplatonic ideas about *the divine love*, in the past considered to be an image of two lovers in the Arcadian landscape).[71] But, as we saw in the examples of "Arcadian" in Ragusan literature – Arcadia had never been just an image of idealized nature with bucolic motifs and pastoral creatures. Especially during the Baroque, the concept of Arcadia was extremely moralistic and contemplative.

As such, it was presented in Ragusan literature, and, by extension in the art of this period. Thus, the Arcadian landscape couldn't have been painted without moralistic component. Otherwise, it was considered to be mere pastoral or bucolic, but not Arcadian. Therefore, the concept of Arcadia can be recognized only in the unity of all the frescoes in the gallery, while the pastoral scenes are just one of its components. Moreover, the idyllic landscape is not depicted on the wall with the windows only. Actually, all mythological scenes have the idealized landscape in the background,[72] which refers to the Arcadian atmosphere. Unlike the pastoral, the Arcadian painting offers the gradation from gloomy to joyful atmosphere. That gradation is similar to "the path of contemplation" which would result in "the enlightenment" in Arcadia. Only through the process which led to the awareness of bad choices (suggested, for example, in scenes *The Judgement of Paris* and *The Death of Adonis*), one could understand how to live properly (suggested, for example, in *Hercules Resting*). In combination with a didactic myth in the gallery, vivid painting had a deeper purpose – the pastoral atmosphere was surpassed and the Arcadian world was created.[73] The whole gallery, thus, represented the

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70 See: Marković 1980, pp. 490–514.

71 Veronika Šulić gave the iconological analysis of this scene, which was based on *Omnia vincit amor* (A. Carraci). See: Šulić 2010, p. 5.

72 Ibid, p. 2.

73 About the arcadian atmosphere in painting: Freedman 1983, pp. 322–338.

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imaginary Arcadia of the Sorkočević family.

Fig 7. The Death of Adonis *(Photo: K. Jović)*

The vision of Arcadia in the Sorkočević Villa was depicted through myth, but, like every Arcadia, it was connected with the real world. Beside the symbolical presence of the Sorkočević family in this Arcadia (through the didactic myth which suggested the prudence of the Villa's owners, or abovementioned coats of arms),[74] these paintings refer to Dubrovnik itself – the landscape, the tradition and the community. For example, the ancient Attica landscape, depicted on the background of *The Contest between Minerva and Neptune*, resembles the Ragusan coast.[75] Thus, local landscape directly became a part

of the Arcadian myth. Apart from the similarity between the real and depicted area, the myth about the contest for the Attica was the allusion to The Republic of Ragusa in the local memory. Especially in the 16th and the 17th centuries, The Republic was compared to ancient *polis* in the local tradition. Antiquity was seen as the golden age of Ragusa – when Dubrovnik used to be ancient *Epidaurum*. That tradition was promoted by contemporaneous Ragusan literature. Thus, Ilija Crijević wrote that his compatriots were descendants of ancient Romans: „propago vera, verior colonia bis prolesque Quiritium".[76] Petar Kanavelović symbolically described Dubrovnik as Athens, where the center of Slavic poetry was created.[77] Antiquity was seen as a paragon, due to freedom and independence of ancient *poleis* – the greatest values of Ragusan autonomous community.[78] Creating Arcadia from reality was a common praxis.[79] In the novel *Planine* from the 16th century, Petar Zoranić described his homeland as Arcadia.[80] In *Dubravka*, Ivan Gundulić expressed his patriotic

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74 The author has always been symbolically present in his Arcadia. There were many examples of this in literature. The similarity between the names of Jacopo Sanazzaro and the main character of his *Arcadia* – Sincero, is the one of them. See: Sanazzaro, Corniani (ed.) 1806.

75 Marković 1980, p. 496.

76 From the poem *Ode in Ragusam,* in: Vodnik 1913, p. 74.

77 Ibid, p. 276.

78 See: Kunčević 2015. About identities in Italy: Viroli 2003.

79 For example, Virgil's Arcadia in *Eclogues* was based on Mantua and Sicily. For depiction of Mantuan landscape near Mincius, see: Vergilius Maro, Bowen (ed.) 1904, p. 60.

80 See: Vodnik 1913, pp. 135–143.

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sentiment in an Arcadian sense – the Ragusan residents were allegorically portrayed as herdsmen in the pastoral atmosphere and The Republic as "Dubravka".[81] The poet illustrated fictional Arcadian landscape which was, in actual fact, Ragusan.

During the 17th century, Arcadian and pastoral space and atmosphere in the painting were distinct in one more feature: the Arcadian landscape was much more opened, with more points of view and relations with the sea, while a pastoral view was usually obstructed by a mountain or trees.[82] Large windows opened the Sorkočević's gallery to the external natural scenery and enabled the view on the yard, sea and the "wild nature" in the background. The bucolic programme on the wall with windows, thus, had its extension in the natural scenery and was complemented with the natural landscape in the background. Consequently, the Arcadian atmosphere from the gallery expanded the real space of Rijeka Dubrovačka. Thanking to Baroque illusionistic mastery in the consolidation of architecture, painting and nature, the painting from the gallery became the component of both the interior and the exterior world – an integral part of the garden and the distant natural landscape. Thus, it became the place between the myth

and reality, which affected the special impression of the natural scenery. Moreover, with the marks of symbolical family presence in this space – through the paintings in the gallery and the coat of arms on the facade – the owners of the Villa became the characters of their own Arcadia.

Fig 8. The view from the gallery (Photo: K. Jović)

The illusionistic unification of the natural and artificial landscape in the Sorkočević Villa was "absorbed with the experience of living in that place" – the spectator's view from the gallery to the external natural scenery embraced the myth in the painting and the landscape in the background. That view framed the real landscape – the garden and the "wild nature" behind – in a pictorial manner.[83]

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81 More in: Ibid, pp. 229–230.
82 Freedman 1983, pp. 322–338.

83 Pliny the Younger also admired this kind of "view". More in: Brajović 2005, p. 605.

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The painting, the architecture and nature in the Sorkočević Villa are as different structures unified with the very same principle, an entity which can be interpreted as *bel composto*, founded on the harmony of its different components and „the contemplative dialogue" between the forms and the observer. Understanding this conception meant stimulating the intellect, will and emotions, which is why it was the perfect Baroque legacy.[84]

Summary

The Arcadian atmosphere in the Sorkočević Villa was created through the *illusionistic* unity of painting, architecture and natural scenery. Their meeting point was in the garden zone: architecture opened towards the garden – the place of perfect harmony of artificial and natural – with the attached painting from the gallery to the natural landscape of Rijeka Dubrovačka. The images of Arcadia always reflected values and ideologies of their authors, but also their homeland in literature, art and philosophy. In Sorkočević's garden, that land was embraced by the myth presented in the gallery (*belvedere*). Therefore, the myth was extended to the natural landscape of Rijeka Dubrovačka, and Dubrovnik was inserted to Sorkočević's Arcadia. This unity of "artificial" (fantastic) and "natural" affected the impression of "the real Arcadia" and "the ideal reality".

Thus, the garden in front of the Sorkočević's Villa became *Arcadia* itself and *locus amoenus*. The "humanized garden" and "wild nature" behind it – two perfect places to be – became the zone where „the mythical could be joined to the natural".[85] They were the places for contemplation and delight, just as utopian Arcadia. The noblemen and intellectuals, resting in the garden, were characterized as Arcadian passengers. In that zone, they truly were the component of the myth: surrounded by deities and bucolic symbols – carved on fountains, capitals and walls. The special „dream" of Ragusan aristocracy was revealed in this place: it called for the symbolic reading (in the paintings), and animated the real world (in the garden and landscape) – the real space that embraced the beholder.

Sorkočević's Arcadia was the world between countryside and city, collective and individual, public and private, illusive and lucid. Those ambivalences, presented in the Sorkočević Villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka, were not opposed polarities, but harmonized creators of "the ideal world".

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84 Bernini defined the phrase, which was usually related to altar designs. In: Wittkower 1973.

85 Grujić 1991, p. 239.

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Femininity and Self-Referentiality in Painting and Psychoanalysis: Degas' Art between the Mirror's Glimpse and the Spectator's Voyeurism

Abstract: *The paper will aim to offer a new perspective on Degas' dialogue with the artistic tradition, Delacroix' The Barque of Dante being of particular interest to our analysis since it will be shown to have had an essential influence on his famous Bathers theme. Furthermore, the examination will encompass paintings which reveal the self-referential dimension of his work, such as Retiring, where Degas captures the twilight moment when the nude woman turns off the light and in so doing her control over the (male?) spectator's gaze who is to be shut out is being highlighted and Madame Jeantaud at the Mirror, where the 'young' woman, still standing, turns her face away from the viewer, whilst the mirroring 'older' one, seated, looks directly at us and in so doing, shows us that she knows. In order to decipher several of Degas's abstruse pictorial codes we have opted for the approach proposed by Lacan in his XIth Seminar, where the renowned psychoanalyst not only emphasizes the power of the Gaze over the Eye leading to the inversion between the subject and object in the act of seeing, but also conditions the woman's deriving delight from being seen on her being unaware of the man knowing she knows of his gaze having been set upon her. We contend that it is precisely the perceived fracture within the perception frames which mediates between the acts of veiling, knowing and revealing, the unification between them taking place through the emergence of the Self as both object and subject of the representation.*

Keywords: *Edgar Degas, After the Bath, Eugène Delacroix, The Barque of Dante, Jacques Lacan, The Gaze, anxiety, control*

Introduction

Edgar Degas (1834–1917) is without doubt one of the most controversial artists of the nineteenth century. Already legendary, his "voyeurism" and "misogyny"[1] make it extremely difficult

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1 For a brilliant analysis see Broude 1977, pp. 95–107.

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to approach the theme of femininity in his work, the stereotype of the woman-object[2] being almost impossible to avoid. We do not wish to argue that such a manner of perceiving the world of the 'opposite' sex does not occupy an important part in Degas' oeuvre, but too often we tend to ignore the artistic qualities of the image by not differentiating between Degas the sadist and Degas the experimenter.

Perhaps one of the most widely known examples regarding this matter is his relationship with Mary Cassatt which has constantly been marked by mutual respect. If it is true Degas represents her holding Tarot cards[3] (a profession that enjoyed a rather dubious reputation at the time), he also depicts his friend as a most respectable person visiting the Louvre[4], which clearly constitutes a tribute to her artistic profession and her talent, the woman thus ceasing to be only an 'object-like' figure and becoming creative in turn.

In the present study we shall endeavor not only to track down the potential sources of inspiration for some of his compositions depicting women, but also to offer a balanced vision that will seek to detect the subtleties of the French artist's thought by analyzing several artworks where the female character triggers the self-referential dimension of the image, making it manifest itself prominently and challenge the spectator. Given the ambiguity and ambivalence that characterizes Degas' pictorial space, as well as the importance that the control/anxiety duality plays in his oeuvre, we shall analyze these works using a Lacanian interpretation matrix, which, as we shall see, will offer a most precious insight into his voyeuristic tendencies and the manner in which they shape the creator-viewer relationship.

Mirror, mirror on the wall

The first image we wish to examine is *Madame Jeantaud at the mirror*[5], who is depicted looking directly at us *from* the mirror while in the same time gazing at

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2 See also Broude 1988, pp. 640–659.
3 Hosted by the National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC.
http://npg.si.edu/portraits/search?edan_q=mary+cassatt&edan_local=1&edan_fq%5B0%5D=p.edanmdm.descriptivenonrepeating.unit_code%3A%22NPG%22&incCAP=false&op=Search (last access: 07.11. 2017)
4 See for example the Metropolitan Museum of Art version:
https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/19.29.2/ (last access: 07.11. 2017). For a thorough analysis of the theme see Callen 1995, especially chapter 6: *Privileged Sights – Sites of Privilege. Portraits, Spectators and Gender*.

5 Hosted by Musée d'Orsay
http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/works-in-focus/search/commentaire_id/mrs-jeantaud-in-the-mirror-2244.html? tx_commentaire_pi1%5BpidLi%5D=509&tx_commentaire_pi1%5Bfrom%5D=841&cHash=bff3fdfbe7 (last access: 07.11. 2017)

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herself *in* the mirror, thus throwing the viewer off balance and into the painting's imaginary space[6], forcing him or her to switch places with the protagonist – Madame Jeantaud –, and in so doing constitutes the perfect example on how to illustrate the ambiguity of the mirror-image frame of reference which arouses the anxiety of the subject/object, who both sees and is seen simultaneously.

Berthe-Marie Bachoux, cousin of Viscount Ludovic Lepic and wife of engineer Charles Jeantaud, himself a comrade to the painter during the Commune, was depicted by Degas in 1875, more or less about the time she also sat for Jean-Jacques Henner[7]. Around the same date Degas also made a not at all out of the ordinary version showing *Madame Jeantaud on her Chaise Longue with Two Dogs*[8].

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6 See also Farr 1996, pp. 305-325.
7 See Loyrette 1991, pp. 358-359, Boggs 1988, pp. 247-248. See also
http://www.art.com/products/p8112358778-sa-i5197170 /jean-jacques-henner-mme-jeantaud.htm?sOrig=CAT&sOrigID=255560&dimVals=255560&ui=37813223620A4B59AF0 5747B49FD8CB9 (last access: 07.11.2017)
8
https://www.google.ch/search?q=madame+jea ntaud+with+two+dogs&client=firefox-b-ab&dcr=0&source=lnms&tbm= isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwigpruh96nXAhWRJew KHSRGBG8Q_AUICigB&biw=1536&bih=756#imgr c=ffqWRfubVB1FOM: (last access: 07.11.2017)

The work we will submit to analysis is, on the other hand, much more complex. Berthe-Marie is shown dressed to go out and throwing one last glance at herself in the mirror, which we are confronted with directly. Therefore, we could say that we are dealing with 'two' Madame Jeantaud*s*, one who looks in the mirror and the other who looks at us. The 'first' one is more delicate, as we can see especially in the white profile of her face, while the 'second' is darker, the painter having decided to use large brushstrokes of green and brown. The first one does not look at us at all, her eyes – and much of her face – being hidden, while the second looks at the viewer almost directly. Furthermore, the left eye of the reflected woman (and, therefore, the right eye of the 'first' Madame Jeantaud) is clearly figured by the artist, whilst the other is (almost) unfinished, lost in the facial features that surround it. These duality/unity, interior/exterior and reality/virtual games capture – and freeze – not only the viewer, absorbing him into this picture, but also space-time itself as the image also reveals the intersection of two different temporal segments – the "present" time of the woman who looks at us through the mirror and the "future" time announced by the woman we see dressed to go out – but who, if we look carefully 'into' the mirror, seems to actually be sitting! – and walk the streets of Paris. Moreover, the black shades characteristic of the

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woman who looks at us contrasts the whiteness of the 'mirror' Madame Jeantaud and so a second temporal duality is revealed: the one between the age of youth and the old age, the 'chronotopic' dimension of the painting becoming thus impossible to ignore.

As we shall further see when discussing Lacan's theory concerning the gaze,[9] one would have to wonder if the woman knows that the (male) spectator watching her is aware that she knows she is being watched by him or not. As a master of ambiguity, Degas does not want to destroy the mystery and lets us immerse ourselves in the frozen lake of the mirror. Given the aforementioned particularities of the painting, we could argue that the "young" woman, with the hidden face, does not know it, while the "elderly" one looking directly at us does, this duality being also reflected in the difference between the eyes – the "right" one, the eye that knows is shown, whilst the "left" eye, the unseen eye, is hidden within the sea of color.

This particular example of the *voir-et-savoir* game shows us how the ambiguity of the pictorial codes and the anxiety of the gaze are unified in a perpetual effort to push back on the boundaries of space and time. Through the self-reflexivity of pictorial act, the temporal flow is being transformed into a bridge towards the spectator who is to enter the picture's space. As far as the possible sources of inspiration are concerned, the first images that came to mind are Velazquez' and Titian's *Venus at Her Mirror*[10],[11], which both entice the spectator to take part in an intimate scene full of erotic implications. Given Degas' vast culture and knowledge of the Renaissance and Baroque masters – proven by both his notebooks[12] and his collection[13] – it is entirely possible he had drawn inspiration from (at least) one of the aforementioned sources.

However, we can also find a similar example when considering XVIIth century Dutch painting. In Frans van Mieris's *Woman at the Mirror*[14] we can see how the 'real' woman shows us her left cheek, while the woman who is 'in the mirror' reveals all her face, looking

9 Exposed in *Du regard comme petit objet a,* part of his *XIth Seminar.* For this paper we have used Lacan 1990.

10 Hosted by the The Naional Gallery, London.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rokeby_Venus#/
media/File:RokebyVenus.jpg
(last access 07.11.2017).
11 Hosted by The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (last access 07.11.2017)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venus_with_a_Mir
ror#/media/File:Titian_-
_Venus_with_a_Mirror_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg
12 The authority on the matter is Reff 1985.
13 See Dumas 1997 and Ives et. al. 1997.
14 Hosted by Alte Pinakothek.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Van_
Mieris_l,_Frans_van_-
_Woman_before_the_Mirror_(detail)_-
_c._1670.jpg#
/media/File:Frans_van_Mieris_d._%C3%84._001.
jpg (last access 07.11.2017)

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directly at us – not at all unlike Madame Jeantaud. Moreover, the positions of the hands of the 'two' women are different to the point where it seems that the woman who looks at us is depicted seated rather than standing – once again reminding us of Degas' painting. So far there is no known connection between Degas and Frans van Mieris, however since he was well acquainted with Rembrandt and Dutch painting in general it is entirely possible that further research might reveal most interesting results on the issue.

So far, we have seen how the mirrors open up the picture's space, 'luring' the spectator and making him part of the artwork. A similar pattern will emerge when we shall discuss the following three images, but let us first get acquainted with Lacan's view on how the outside world is watching us – a most disquieting sensation on which his XIth Seminar offers us a fundamental key.

The eye of the needle

In his chapters dedicated to analysing the *Gaze* (XIth Seminar, six through nine) Lacan offers a completely different version from Lean Battista Alberti's classical theory of what seeing – and being seen – is: « Je ne suis pas simplement cet être punctiforme qui se repère au point géométral d'où est saisie la perspective. Sans doute, au fond de mon œil, se peint le tableau. Le tableau, certes, est dans mon œil. Mais moi, je suis dans le tableau. Ce qui est lumière me regarde[15]...Il me faut, pour commencer, insister sur ceci – dans le champ scopique, le regard est au-dehors, je suis regardé, c'est-à-dire, je suis tableau. C'est là la fonction qui se trouve au plus intime de l'institution du sujet dans le visible. Ce qui me détermine foncièrement dans le visible, c'est le regard qui est au-dehors. C'est par le regard que j'entre dans la lumière, et c'est du regard que j'en reçois l'effet. D'où il ressort que le regard est l'instrument par où la lumière s'incarne, et par où – si vous me permettez de me servir d'un mot comme je le fais souvent, en le décomposant – je suis *photo-graphié*[16] »

[I am not just that punctiform being which is located at the geometrical point from which perspective is captured. No doubt, deep in my eye, the picture is painted. The painting, of course, is in my eye. But I am inside the picture. What is light is watching me...I must first of all insist on this – in the scopic field, the gaze is outside, I am looked at, that is to say, I am a painting. This is the function which lies at the most intimate of the institution of the subject inside the visible. What determines me fundamentally inside the visible is the

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15 Lacan 1990, pp. 110–111.
16 Lacan 1990, p. 121.

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gaze that is outside. It is through the gaze that I enter the light, and it is from the gaze that I receive the effect. From which it emerges that the gaze is the instrument by which light is incarnated, and by which – if you allow me to use a word as I often do, by decomposing it – I am 'photo-graphed']. In order to better understand his system[17] – baffling at least at first to the unacquainted reader – Lacan narrates his famous sardine box story: while on a boat with Breton fishermen (he was eighteen at the time) he spots a shining point on the water and asks a young fisherman 'what is that?'; the boy answers him: 'it's a box of sardines – you can see it, but it does not see at you!'[18] So you are seen, you do not know by whom, and you cannot see what is beyond that point that looks at you – hence the anxiety. If you are not looked at by the world, you might just as well not exist at all.

In the following images we shall see how this mechanism functions in terms of the character – spectator relationship, but let us first draw attention to a similar experience Degas has had when he was thirty-five as it is revealed in a letter by Degas to Henry Rouart (New Orleans, 1872, December 5th): « On ne fait rien ici, c'est dans le climat, que du coton, on y vit pour le coton, et par le coton. La lumière est si forte que je n'ai pu encore faire quelque chose sur le fleuve. Mes yeux ont si besoin de soin que je ne les risque guère. »[19]

[People do nothing here, it is in the climate, only cotton, they live for the cotton, and by the cotton. The light is so strong that I have not been able to do anything on the river yet. My eyes need so much care that I do not dare risk them].

All his life Degas will be afraid that he could go blind and this fear has constantly proven to be one of his most ominous causes of his anxiety. This state of continuous intellectual turbulence reveals itself once more in one of Degas' most famous quotes which explains his famous voyeurism and sheds light on his 'discrete' manner of signing his works, especially the ones representing nudes: « Je voudrais être illustre et inconnu »[20] [I would like to be famous and unknown]. Lacan's position on the man-woman/see-being seen dualities is also not an uncomplicated one: « N'y a-t-il pas de la satisfaction à être sous ce regard…qui nous cerne, ce qui fait d'abord de nous des êtres regardés, mais sans qu'on nous le montre ? Le spectacle du monde, en ce sens, nous apparaît comme omnivoyeur… Au niveau même de l'expérience phénoménale de la

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17 Griselda Pollock is among the first to signal that one might get a better grasp of Degas' oeuvre if he or she was acquainted with Lacan's work. See Pollock 1992, esp. pp.115–119.
18 Lacan 1990, p. 110.

19 Degas 1945, p. 25.
20 See Loyrette 2012.

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contemplation, ce côté omnivoyeur se pointe dans la satisfaction d'une femme à se savoir regardée, à condition qu'on ne le lui montre pas. Le monde est omnivoyeur, mais il n'est pas exhibitionniste – il ne provoque pas notre regard. Quand il commence à le provoquer, alors commence aussi le sentiment d'étrangeté »[21]

[Is there not satisfaction in being under that gaze ... which surrounds us, which makes us first of all beings who are gazed at, but without us being shown that? The spectacle of the world, in this sense, appears to us as all-seeing ... At the very level of the phenomenal experience of contemplation, this all-seeing side is manifested in the satisfaction of a woman to know that she is being watched, provided
 that she is not shown we are aware of it. The world is all-seeing, but it is not an exhibitionist – it does not provoke our gaze. When it begins to provoke it, then the feeling of alienation begins].

So there clearly is satisfaction in a woman's knowledge of being gazed at[22] as long as she doesn't (supposedly) know the man knows she knows he's watching

her (in this context let us remember the difference between the aforementioned 'young' Madame Jeantaud's perception of the world compared to the 'older' one). Furthermore, according to Lacan, usually the world is not exhibitionist, but when that does eventually happen, when the world starts to provoke our gaze, our own feeling of alienness will start emerging. The following picture will shed new light on this mechanism.

One of Degas' most famous paintings of modern Paris is *Women in front of a cafe, in the evening*[23]. The question that arises in this case is whether the women depicted here are indeed 'working' or not. After a very elaborate analysis to which we subscribe, Hollis Clayson[24] answers this question positively by showing that the image hesitates between the two interpretations (there are several women who wait, nevertheless there is only one who has a drink in front of her, while another is leaving and a man, in the background, is hurrying to go somewhere else), but in the end it is precisely this cultivated

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21 Lacan 1990, pp. 87-88.
22 One most of course point out that *looked-at-ness,* displaying the female (body) for the enjoyment of the opposite sex, may very well end up giving birth to both voyeurism (and through the control it establishes, even sadism) and fetishistic scopophilia. See Mulvey 1999, p. 840.

23 Hosted by Musée d'Orsay.
http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no_cache=1&zoom=1&tx_damzoom_pi1
%5Bzoom%5D=0&tx_damzoom_pi1%5BxmlId%5D=001492&tx_damzoom_pi1%5Bback%5D=%2Ffr%2Fcollections%2Fcatalogue-des-oeuvres%2Fnotice.html%3Fno_cache%3D1%26nnumid%3D001492%26cHash%3Db747419439
(last access 07.11. 2017)
24 See Clayson 1992, pp. 66-69.

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ambiguity which shows that prostitution becomes a permanent 'state of being' of the woman who practices it.

For the contemporary spectator who sees the work displayed on the museum's wall, the image resembles a skillfully orchestrated scenography where each character perfectly knows its place, its entrance and his exit, as in a musical or theatrical piece. The windows in the background highlight the faceless man who is hurrying (the pictorial technique might suggest that it is raining and the space is physically closed, but such an interpretation would mean that the protagonists are 'inside' the establishment and not 'in front' of it), placing his black costume in stark contrast with the women's colorful clothing. Are we looking at the scene through an invisible window – in a manner symmetrical to the man hurrying in the background might have had? Since no character looks 'beyond' the image (even when they talk to each other the women seem to have almost closed their eyes) while the viewer is completely ignored, we would seem to be "outside" the story – somewhat like the (invisible) man leaving the stage.

What is certain is that the man does not look at the women and that the women do not look at the man, the clearly defined social differences reinforcing the contrast. Eventually it does not matter if we are "inside" or "outside" the painting, we are ignored in both cases. We will never know for certain if the women were aware of the man having stopped in front of the mirror to look at them – possibly they did, given their (imagined?) proclivities – thus inevitably turning himself into the viewer's mirror – or not. What we do know is that we are before a painting that does not look back at the viewer. This is a picture of the denied gaze.

Another image 'inviting' the viewer into the picture's space is *Dancer with a bouquet greeting on the stage*[25], which, through power of physiognomy (heavily employed by Degas[26]), illustrates a rather shocking example of the carefully constructed artificiality present in the opera world. The lead ballerina is placed in the center of the stage/image and dominates it clearly, the other ones being illustrated in a centrifugal and sketchy fashion, towards the sides. The only character who could question her importance seems to be walking towards the center of the stage from the left, but Degas makes sure that her face – all white and without defined features – is cut off by the edge of the painting. The other ballerinas grouped

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25 Hosted by Musée d'Orsay. http://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no_cache=1 &nnumid=002082&cHash= 2e246a55ef (last access 07.11.2017)
26 See for example Schaller 1995.

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around the umbrella on the right – held by a black girl, just like the other one who holds the umbrella placed in the center of the image, the 'race code' being thus revealed[27] – or elsewhere in the back seem to have a rather a decorative role.

So it would seem that the image of the world is indeed a stage and Degas wants to show us that the opera's universe that encompasses it is ontologically artificial – including the ballerinas in it. They are no more 'real' than the 'beach' or the 'rocks' or the 'sea', all present in the picture, this vision clearly illustrating his conception of the artistic act – specifically the concept of the painter as the *artifex*, who must 'reveal' a carefully constructed world to the viewer[28].

But this painting wants to tell us more. The lead dancer's almost simian face – not at all a unique occurrence in Degas' oeuvre – greets (and thanks!) us, ultimately relying that her world is not only artificial, but also grotesque, this sad irony revealing itself both in the asymmetry of the cheeks and the distortion of the mouth and also in the 'sharpened' way the artist chose to delimit the empty black eyes of the ballerina, which seemingly 'sucks in' the

entrapped[29] spectator. Degas is also shown to be weary of the power of the female gaze in *Young Woman with Field Glasses*[30], which is not only a metaphor of the augmented gaze, but also an inquiry into what lies behind the foregrounded lady's 'eyes'. Through the power of the binoculars it is the woman who 'paints' and 'photo-graphs' Degas – and the viewer – to use Lacanian language. The everlasting connection between the act of seeing and its erotic connotations is clearly revealed when the woman, during the 'aggressive' act of gazing at us so forcefully, points the binoculars – an inverted phallus – towards the viewer. We can say that in a certain way the woman is 'masked' since we cannot see her eyes which in pure pictorial terms have been replaced by (and with) black blots of color – let us remember Lacan's sardine story again – and so whatever that is behind/beyond them becomes invisible to our own gaze, prompting the feeling of uneasiness in the spectator's mind.

The Gaze, the Barque and the Bath

Let us now turn our attention to a woman gazing intently at the viewer without wearing her mask (or at least it's

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27 See also Marilyn R. Brown's essay about Miss LaLa in Brown 2017.
28 Two essential works for understanding Degas' system of thought are Reff 1976 and Kendall 1996.

29 On the Gaze that threatens and destroys, as well as how to avert it, see Olin 1996.
30 One of Degas most famous creations which has enjoyed much attention given its unique way of confronting the viewer. For its importance in the context of the Degas–Manet dialogue see Stoichiță 2005, pp. 82–84.

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not worn on the outside!). The drawing represents the wife of Frédéric Villot, curator at the Louvre Museum from 1848 to 1861, where he was responsible for a catalog of its collections organized in chronological order and by schools of painting. He was a good friend of Delacroix[31] – of whom he possessed numerous paintings, drawings and engravings – and he himself engraved a series of etchings based on works by the great artist.

We cannot know if this friendship or the seemingly successful marriage between Frédéric and Pauline played a distinctive role in Degas' choosing to buy this drawing[32], but we can observe that the way Madame Villot looks at the spectator, as well as her costume and the position of her right hand reminds the informed viewer of another composition by Degas, his famous composition[33] representing Edmondo and Thérèse Morbilli[34] (there is also a

different version dating from the 1860s at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.).

The artist's sister is shown peering at the viewer next to her imposing husband – and first cousin – Edmondo and despite Thérèse's left hand on his shoulder, the distance between the spouses is clearly illustrated (just as it is in the case of the famous *Bellelli Family*[35]). Even if the marriage with Edmondo had apparently been based on true love in the beginning, the two eventually grew apart[36]. Having lost his mother at thirteen[37], Degas never appeared to have quite broken free from a rather unhappy family history which later contributed to his often less than harmonious relationships with women, a fact which is more than transparent in his oeuvre.

The second Delacroix drawing owned by Degas to which we wish to draw attention to is a sketch for *The Barque of Dante* depicting a male character who

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31 http://www.musee-delacroix.fr/fr/les-activites/repertoire-biographique/frederic-villot-liege-1809-paris-1875 (last access 07.11.2017)

32 See Ives et. al. 1997, p. 48, Cat. No. 415.

33 Hosted by the Museum of Fine Arts Boston; (last access 07.11.2017) http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/edmondo-and-th%C3%A9r%C3%A8se-morbilli-32404

34 Let us not forget Hippolyte Flandrin's portrait of his wife, bearing a similar appearance, an important fact to consider since Degas was acquainted with his work. See for example Reff 1976, p.37. http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=15328 (last access: 07.11.2017)

35 Hosted by Musée d'Orsay; (last access 07.11.2017) http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/works-in-focus/painting/commentaire_id/the-bellelli-family-7168.html?tx_commentaire_pi1%5BpidLi%5D=509&tx_commentaire_pi1%5Bfrom%5D=841&cHash=1ca4377da1

36 This portrait probably dates from the mid1860s, a period marked by her loss of child due to her poor health. See Boggs 1988, pp.118–119.

37 For a biographical sketch of the artist see for example Götz 1985.

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is portrayed in a rather 'tortured' position[38]. In this context we must not forget that *The Barque of Dante* is also named *Dante and Virgil in Hell*[39]. More precisely here Delacroix represents the fifth circle of the Inferno where the wrathful sinners are condemned to forever fight Styx's waves. The character depicted in the sketch appears on the canvas at the center of the image right below Virgil in an inverted, mirrored position, with the head to the left and his leg to the right, furiously trying to climb into the boat. This sketch is important because it will establish, as we shall further see, a direct link between Delacroix's large canvas and Degas' *Bathers* theme to which he has dedicated not only an impressive amount of time reworking its variations using very different techniques and media, but also illustrate one of the reasons he was considered a 'sadist' - namely having had models pose for him in most uncomfortable positions for long periods of time.

Perhaps the closest to *The Barque of Dante*'s iconography is an 1895 *After the Bath* oil on canvas[40] painting which replaces the man with a woman and the boat with a tub. A true triumph of modernity! Moreover, what this sketch clearly shows is that it is very possible that Delacroix's large canvas constitutes the origin of many of Degas' images representing models in 'unnatural' positions. However, we must point out that it is unlikely the aforementioned sketch itself is at the origin of his paintings because it was bought by Degas in 1899[41] – whilst this composition dates from around 1895 - when his interest in this type of scene had already been well established. What the remarkable similarities of the sketch compared to his own compositions do show is the constant interest he held for this particular iconography. What probably happened is that after Degas had developed a special interest in *The Barque of Dante*, he started improvising – in a very modern fashion – on it and when one of the sketches used by Delacroix in the creation of the painting was up to sale, Degas bought it.

As mentioned above, the artist employed several media when depicting this theme, as his famous *Reader* monotype[42] showing a female character

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38 See Ives et. al. 1997, p. 36, Cat. No. 280.
39 Hosted by the Louvre. http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/barque-dante (last access 07.11.2017).
40 Hosted by the Getty Center. (last access 07.11.2017) http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/130756/edgar-degas-after-the-bath-french-about-1895/

41 As the date in the *Summary Catalogue* reveals.
42 Hosted by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. https://www.nga.gov/Collection/art-object-page.39227.html

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in a similar position illustrates. What is worth mentioning is that since a monotype always reveals the 'mirror' image, Degas must have worked on this composition depicting the character with the head to the left and the legs to the right – precisely as the damned man appears in Delacroix's large canvas.

Even as a photographer he decided to 'study' the more or less the same 'tormented' position, as his 1896 gelatin silver print at the Getty Center[43] shows. It is thus undoubtedly clear that he had models sit for him in such 'serpentine' positions. Five years after her death, one of his former models published in *Le Mercure de France* a series of stories[44] where she revealed what an impossible person Degas was - impulsive, stubborn, and controlling. Of course, the fact that he was no longer young and his sight was becoming increasingly poorer made things much worse.

The eye of the beholder

A common denominator for all of the *Bathers* examples discussed above is

their portrayal from the back (Degas has shown bathers' faces on several occasions but on a general note, his focus was usually on the body and not on the head when portraying nudes) and this is also the case of his famous *The Tub*[45]. The apparently unusual position of the character and the 'synecdoches' of femininity on the table - notably the vase and the brush – have led to the idea that women are on 'display', an opinion also shared by the Degas' contemporaries, who seemed genuinely shocked when such nudes were exhibited in 1886, J.K. Huysmans even ending up accusing Degas of insisting so much on their 'animal' nature that he has entirely forsaken the femininity of his characters[46]. Which in turn raises concern about the status of these women. Who are they and, also important to the XIXth century viewer (only!), are they there to serve men's pleasure or not? These are questions that have proven to be extremely difficult to answer, especially for the female spectators who do not know if they need to identify themselves with these intimately exposed women or, on the contrary, repudiate them in case they highlighted the threat of

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(last access: 07.11.2017) See also Hauptman 2016, pp.160–161.
43
http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/40541/edgar-degas-after-the-bath-woman-drying-her-back-french-1896/
44 Michel 1919. See below (last access: 07.11.2017)
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2018352/f79.image.langen
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k201836f/f53.image.langen

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45 Hosted by Musée d'Orsay. (last access: 07.11.2017)
http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/works-in-focus/search/commentaire_id/le-tub-7086.html?no_cache=1
46 See Huysmans 1908, pp. 22–27.

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prostitution. Huysmans evokes this thorny problem, but in the end his take turns into a badly hidden criticism – and even disdain – of the women's habits, who end up being blamed for their physiology[47]. However beyond his obviously misogynist view, a fundamental aspect which is addressed here is aimed at the idea that the woman is being watched while she is in the process of purifying herself, which in turn leads us to the highly tactile dimension of the painting, a sensation also reinforced by the technique used by Degas – namely large brushstrokes, almost sensual, highlighting the woman's body. Seeing – from outside of the pictorial space – and touching – within the pictorial space – go together.

Degas was, of course, aware of this game between the real and the substitute. The steep and almost incisive perspective clearly delimits the two (unequal) 'halves' of the composition: the 'real' half below – the woman in the tub – and its 'synecdoches', above, towards our point of view and – importantly – not far from Degas' signature (and accompanying date, '86'). A detail which so far has gone largely unnoticed is the fact that his name, placed right next to the almost

threatening scissors (again, a reminiscent of the control–anxiety duality), is of the same bluish color as they are. As mentioned above, Degas 'cuts' the image in two between the 'natural/biological' side of the woman and the (pictorial) '"man"–made' world, in accordance with his belief that an artist has to be a true *artifex* and should not just 'present' nature as it appears to be.

The final image we wish to submit to the reader's attention is *Retiring*[48], which displays an even less conspicuous signature – that of true voyeur –, in the bottom left, hidden between the curtain's rich colors. In this painting the main character is represented on the bed, still naked, holding a white towel in her right hand while with her left (ominous?) hand she prepares to turn off/extinguish the light (thus showing her control over the pictorial space). Her fingers are on the button of the night lamp, which is the only source of light and the only way to assign "presence" to her being, and, unavoidably, to the viewer's. The woman's face is delicate and drawn with great sensibility but, once again, not clearly visible and partially shaded. Furthermore, the chromatic richness and the details of the curtains that will eventually guard

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47 For an in-depth analysis of the historical and artistic context see Armstrong 2003, especially the chapter *Against the Grain: J.-K. Huysmans and the 1886 Series of Nudes*.

48 Hosted by the Art Institute of Chicago. http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/31813 (last access: 07.11.2017)

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and 'hide' the bed and the woman *after* everything goes dark are chiseled with much more care than the woman's features, apparently making the shell that defines the space seem more important than the pearl it is supposed to protect. But all this universe will cease to exist once she turns off the light. The space-time continuum is thus placed under the microscope of the artist-experimenter and so we can contend that this pastel is ontologically a 'photo-graph' that captures – and in so doing forces out the self-referentiality of the image through the anticipation of the act of switching the button – the last second of a universe that is about to die on its very own terms. The curtain has fallen.

Conclusion

Edgar Degas was one of the most intelligent artists of the nineteenth century and, despite his "misogyny", one of the most sensitive. A proper understanding of his works requires the art historian to leave the realm of the stereotypes and examine his creations in an unbiased fashion. Our work has aimed to offer such a perspective by examining Degas' paintings through the mirror/image of self-referentiality which in our opinion offers an original and balanced vision of the artist's work. While writing this paper we realized that the most important lesson Degas teaches us is that by viewing the relationship between sexes as a back-to-back double mirror which separates the feminine and masculine universes by showing each of them only what he or she wants will only provoke more loneliness and misunderstanding. What we need to do is walk the path towards the center and so what will be revealed before our eyes is that there is no double mirror that separates us, but in fact we are in between two all-reflecting mirrors placed face to face, each of them already behind us.

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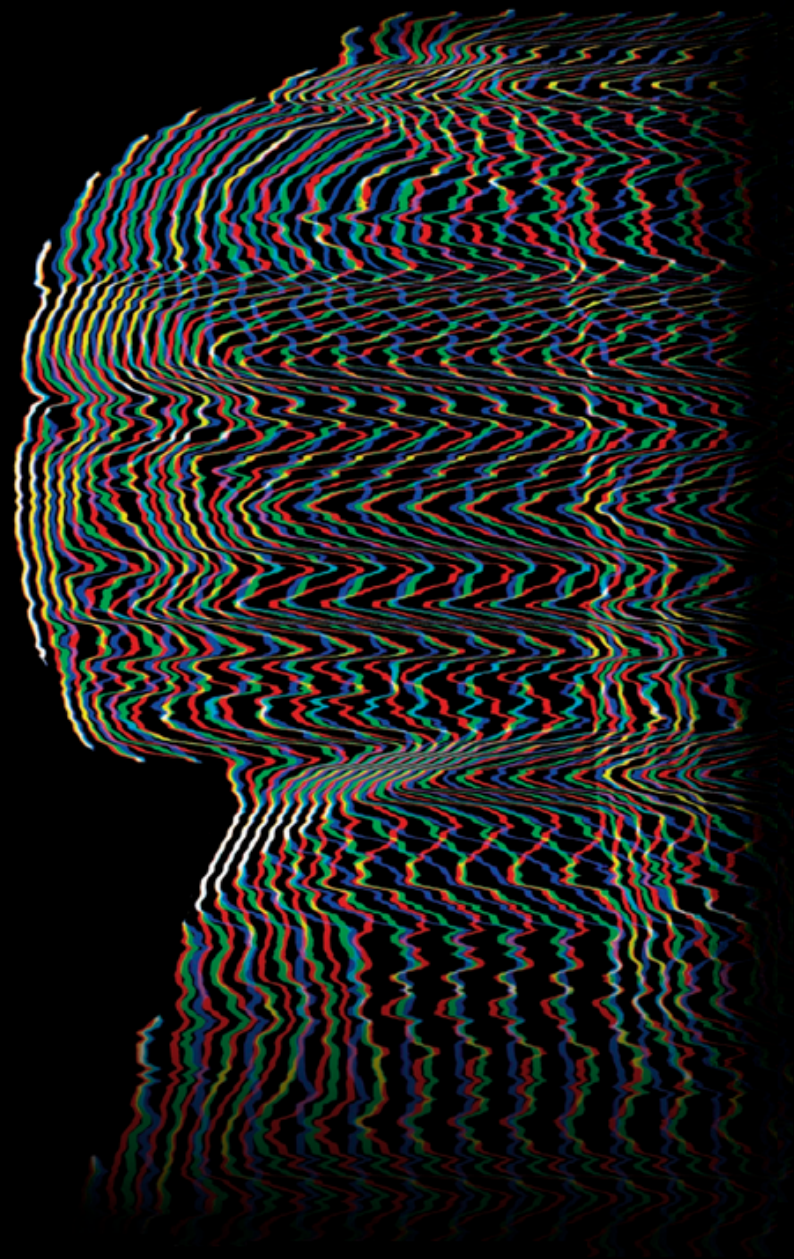
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Neo-avantgarde in the Prism of Poetry

Katalin Ladik and Mira Schendel

Abstract: *This paper is about applying dematerialized art theory for analyzing art that is not a part of the neo-avantgarde canon. The comparative analysis of the Hungarian neo-avantgarde poet and performer Katalin Ladik (1942 Novi Sad, Serbia) and the Brazilian postwar artist Mira Schendel (1919 Zürich, Switzerland – 1988 São Paulo, Brazil) shows how performitivity and medium-extention occur in different artistic strategies. The analysis will prove that there are more similarities between the two artists, which can be interpreted within the neo-avantgarde. Both show common interest in defining their art as a development of poetry. The comparison of their works brings the attention to the re-reading of the neo-avantgarde canon and emphasizing the linguistic elements in the neo-avantgarde art itself.*

Keywords: *neo-avantgarde, Mira Schendel, Katalin Ladik, fragility, dematerialization, peformance, Lucy R. Lippard, language*

Framing neo-avantgarde

Mira Schendel (1919-1988) and Katalin Ladik (1942) do not seem to have common space. Schendel is a Brazilian post-war artist who emigrated from Italy to Brazil and painted oil paintings on canvas from the 1950's until her last series from 1987. *Battens*[1] is painted on wood panel, and a triangle-like element is applied on it so it shows resemblance to the abstract expressionism, unlike her early works, which are rather modernist.

From her early paintings till her last work, since the 1960's Schendel had done experiments using the easily accessible and ephemeral material, the Japanese rice paper. Schendel used a specific monotype technique to write texts on the thin paper and had drawn simple forms or just lines on the paper. She also developed different installation techniques, which had also been presented several times posthumous following the original installation – breaking her original conception of the ephemeralness. The experimental works

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1 Mira Schendel, *Battens*, 1987, Tempera and gesso on wood. 90 ×180×54 cm., Mira Schendel Estate.

of Schendel incorporated textual elements. But this is not the reason why her art is usually thought of as poetry.

Having lived in Hungary for decades, Katalin Ladik was first considered to be a neo-avantgarde poet and actress from the ex-Yugoslavian Serbia. After she became known as a poet, Ladik started to make performances in the 1970's and worked with the neo-avantgarde Bosch+Bosch group in mixed media works, mostly documented in photographs. Her perfomances always involve her poetry, and scholars usually highligth the interdisciplinarity when analyzing her art. However, the main focus in analysing her art is the relationship with music or theater and not the interminglingess with literature.

It looks like Ladik and Schendel are not connected to each other indeed. Nevertheless, considering what Kitty Zijlmans says about art history as system theory and the relationship between opposite artistic positions in the inspiration of the analysis[2], Ladik and Schendel can be analysed side by side. The obvious connection is the notion of poetry, which has a strong presence both in Schendel's paperworks and Ladik's performances not only in the theoretical dimension but in the material sense as well. Although

Schendel and Ladik work in different mediums (Ladik in perfeomance, Schendel in installation), the key motifs in their reception is time and space.

The paper's title, *Neo-avantgarde in the prism of poetry* referrs to the neo-avantgarde movement's embeddedness in literature, and to the *Prism Poem*[3], a visual poem by the Hungarian neo-avantgarde artist Tamás Szentjóby. This is an ink and letraset work on paper, which is considered to be a tipical neo-avantgarde technique since the material is easily accessible and cheap. Further, the work implements a communicative situation because of the textual element. The visual poem *Prism Poem* shows the same elements which are relevant in the comparison of Ladik and Schendel: the complementarity of text and writing in visual works, the line, and the reductivity. Henry Flynt stated that concept art brings the art and linguistic theories into artistic dimension, and the material of the art can be anything, even concepts.[4] This definition of neo-avantgarde (or conceptual) art, among the other different theories of the *new art* revealed in the period of 1960s and 1970s, makes it possible to discuss Schendel in relation to the neo-avantgarde canon, as the *opposite artistic position* of Ladik. According to Boris Groys, the art of the neo-

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2 Zijlmans 1990.

3 Szentjóby 1967.
4 Flynt 1963.

avantgarde revolutionalized not only the notion of art but the way art is installed (in exhibition) and discussed (in art history).[5] Therefore, neo-avantgarde can be viewed as a frame of discussion, which can be relevant in the approach of a canonically non-neo-avantgarde[6] artist, who was investigating experimental forms from the second part of the 1960s.

Among the world of theories on neo-avantgarde, the dematerialized art conception by Lucy R. Lippard seems the most vivid to us. Lippard in an essay, which has been co-written with John Chandler and published in 1968, states the following: „[highly conceptual works] set critic and viewer thinking about what they see rather then simply weighing the formal or emotional impact. Intellectual and aesthetic pleasure can merge in this experience when the work is both visually strong and theoretically complex."[7] Furthermore, they emphasize some specific type of art in which the paths lead to neo-avantgarde: black paintings, white paintings, light beams, transparent film, silent concerts, invisible sculpture.[8] This listing is wide enough to effortlessly insert Schendel's transparency-obsessed installations in it. Especially when we consider what Lippard stated about the conception of dematerialized art later in her book *Six Years*: „[c]onceptual art, for me, means work in which the idea is paramount and the material form is secondary, lightweight, ephemereal, cheap, unpretentious and/or „dematerialized";[9] „[c]onceptual art offered a bridge between the verbal and the visual"[10]. In the end of their article, Chandler and Lippard refer to Ortega y Gasset who write that, „[new art] wants to create from nought".[11] The notions of emptyness and void are emphasized when Lippard says dematerialization is „a deemphasis on material aspects" and *new art* brings „ephemeral materials as time itself, and space".[12] The Hungarian literary historian Miklós Szabolcsi

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5 Groys 2011 https://www.e-flux.com/journal/29/68059/introduction-global-conceptualism-revisited/.
Further, it is worth mentioning the story of the Croatian Neo-Avantgarde artist, Josip Vaništa (1924) from 1964, where he presented not the paintings, but the descriptions (texts on paper) of his paintings with the following explanation: He stops painting, because he realized, it is enough to write. Neo-Avantgarde artist follow this tradition: who has a background in painting, starts to work with new mediums in this period. Szombathy Bálint: *Akcióművészet a volt Jugoszláviában és utódállamaiban 1969 és 1999 között*. In: Szombathy 2009, p. 48–49.
6 Traditionally Mira Schendel is not described as a conceptual (or Neo-Avantgarde) artist, and usually connected to the Postwar Abstraction label. See the recent exhibition, *Making Space: Women Artists and Postwar Abstraction*. curators: Stars Figurra, Hillary Reder. MoMA, New York, 19.09.2017.–13.08. 2017.

7 Chandler, Lippard et al. 1968, p. 34.
8 Ibid., p. 35.
9 Lippard 1973, p. VII.
10 Ibid., p. X.
11 Chandler, Lippard 1968, p. 35.
12 Lippard 1973, p. 5.

defines *signal type neo-avantgarde*: „this kind of art breaks down the language as the material of literature – likewise other arts' materials –, it separates its elements, isolates them and builds a new model"[13]. Following Szabolcsi, Schendel uses letters and words as „the new objects of visual arts"[14]. Comparing their artistic strategies, both Ladik and Schendel eliminate the distinction between poetry and visual arts as long as Schendel incorporates poems in her drawings and Ladik preserves poetry in performances.[15]

The experimental art of Mira Schendel

The most often used notion in Schendel's reception is fragility.[16] The other significant formal attributes are textual elements and transparency or translucency, which stand close to the just mentioned fragility. Textual elements can be linked to the fragility as well if we consider their fragmentedness. Texts in Schendel's works are separated words, citations or letters only. Tension can be registered between the medium of the works and connotations of themselves. The

fragility of the materials (Japanese rice paper, acrylic plate, nylon thread) disappeares when the work is finished, futhermore, the works become forceful, quite opposite of fragile: „fragility and energy indicate space as an active thing"[17].

Schendel's power is developed by the works' relations to the surrounding space: the shadows (*Little Train*, 1965; *Little Stubs*, 1973)[18], or the closeness of each part of the series (*Graphic Object* 1967; *Variants*, 1977)[19]. Her experimental works (*Monotypes*, *Graphic Objects*, *Little Nothings*, *Still Waves of Probability*)[20] mostly encompass an operation with the space. The way Schendel made the installations makes the viewer see the works in relation to the spacial circumstances. Thin lines and handwriten words on the Japanese rice paper, and the thin papers arranged in the exhibition space are connected to the light shining space. The material of the works enable the viewer to see the light itself, and the visible light draws the attention to the space.

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13 Own translation. Szabolcsi 1981, p. 54.
14 Ibid., p. 23.
15 The fusion of different art territories appeares in the reception of Ladik and her poetry and perfromance activity usually discussed paralel. See: Balind 2011; Samu 2011.
16 See for example this group exhibition: *Frágil*. Museo de Arte Contemporâneo Esteban Vicente, Segovia, Spain 2008.

17 Barson 2013, p. 24.
18 Schendel c.1965; Schendel 1973.
19 Schendel 1967–; Schendel 1997.
20 Schendel 1964–69; Schendel 1965–66; Schendel 1969.

Fig 1. Schendel, Mira. Graphic Objects, 1965. Installation view in the Mira Schendel exhibition in the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 2014. © Simon Bettina

The Return of Achilles[21] is a 'written painting' which contains a quotation from the *Iliad*: „Froude and myself at the time, we borrowed from M. Bunsen a Homer and Froude chose the words in which ACHILLES returning to the battle says you shall know the difference now that I am back again." The caption is made in stencil technique, the word ACHILLES is white, and the rest stays in dark tones. This work is the last oil on canvas painting before the experimental works. In the experimental works, the proportion of the light and dark surfaces becomes reversed: the whiteness of the almost empty sheets is rampant, while drawings and the texts occupy only a tiny area. According to Taisa Palhares, the Achilles–painting has all the important qualities from forthcoming experimental works.[22] Ana Mannario registers the presence of the words in

Schendel's experimental works.[23] She describes the elements of the experiment in the works from the 1960s in connection to the textual fragments appearing on the paperworks and installations: „These artworks allow an indeterminate and open reading, enabled by the rupture with linearity and the surface organization of words and letters."[24]

Monotypes (1964–1969) was the first experiment. Palhares decribes the series as the investigation of the „invisible visibility".[25] Schendel uses printmaking technique to make oil drawing on Japanese rice paper. According to Palhares, monotype is the most personal technique among printmaking „in which the mark of the gesture and the individuality of the hand become most evident, giving each print a unique character."[26] Despite this I would rather consider the monotype specifically in Schendel's *Monotypes* series as a technique which eliminates the artist's hand, artistic signature or personality. That is the crucial difference between Schendel's earlier work and the ones after the 1960s. Earlier works were paintings, the first pieces of the *Monotypes* series were traditional drawings. When defining the subjectivity

21 Schendel 1964.
22 Palhares 2013, p. 10.

23 Mannarino 2014, p. 106–114.
24 Ibid., p. 107.
25 Palhares, 2015.
26 Ibid.

of the printing technique of Schendel, it has to be compared to the above mentioned works. When discussing the technique we can recall Didi-Huberman and Barthes. The latter says „the text is a trace of a gesture"[27], while the former understands the image as a trace.[28] According to Didi-Huberman, the trace is becoming by touching.[29] At this point we can associate to Ladik, since she is working with the body. But before returning to the performance art of Ladik and the connection to Didi-Huberman's description on trace as ready-made[30], this paper continues with Schendel's other experimental works.

In Graphic Objects the dispossesive or expropriated use of text as an *objet trouvé* is an avantgarde gesture. *The Little Nothings* is an exception among the paperwork, because it is the furthest peak in Schendel's investigation. On this occasion Schendel did not write or draw on the paper, but knotted the sheets into a net-like ephemeral sculpture which has no definite form. This is a good example for the endless meaning-process of these works. *Notebooks* (1971) bring to the foreground the difficulty of display. This is a notebook indeed, with very similar drawings as the early pieces of *Monotypes*. Similarly to

The Little Nothings, it is an object, which incorporates emptyness. Souza Dias describes Schendel's *Notebooks* as 'chains of thoughts' and identifies these books as a continuation of Schendel's investigation of transparency.[31] He argues that in these works Schendel's form of expression is between the traditional art object and the conceptual: they embody the unfolding of an idea in which the object, in its subtle physical aspect is present. Two other works, the *Untitled / Yes* (1960s) and the *Untitled / How Beautiful* (1966) emphasize textual elements („yes" and „how beautiful").[32] These projects have similar atmosphere and common strategy with the Croatian Neo-Avantgarde artist Mladen Stilinović. In the paperwork *Akcija,* Stilinović uses handwritten label with red colour as well as Schendel's above mentioned paperworks.[33]

Schendel's artistic interest is distinctly connected to the conceptual or notional art due to her orientation to the language and her approach to defining art and items of art. Scholars usually interpret her art from philosophical background (Flusser) because of her interest in it, and her previous academic

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27 Mannarino 2014, p. 109.
28 Didi-Huberman 2008, p. 36.
29 Ibid., p. 33.
30 The trace always borrows the forms of a second object.See: Didi-Huberman 2008, p. 32.

31 Dias 2009, p. 275, cited in: Barson 2014, p. 29.
32 Schende 1960s; Schendel 1966.
33 Stilinović 1977.

studies.[34] Nonetheless Schendel has work, which can be doubtlessly discussed within the neo-avantgarde frame in a broader sense. The *Still Waves of Probability* (1969) is conceptually situated on language and has direct links to political and social interactions as well, which is a crucial narrative for understanding the conceptual artistic strategies developed in different continents under similarly repressive regimes.

Still Waves of Probability is an installation set up in a room with thousands of nylon threads hanging from the ceiling. Since the nylon is translucent, the work itself is hardly recognizable. It was first presented for the 10th Bienal de São Paulo. Similarly to the painting of Achilles, there is a quotation on the wall. It is from the Old Testament, Books of Kings, another basic antique tradition next to the *Iliad*. The interpretations of this installation can be extended to Brazilian military dictatorship since that bienal in 1969 was under international boycott to protest against the dictatorhip and censorship.[35] That work can be interpreted as an artistic response to the circumstances of this political situation.[36] In *Still waves of Probability*, Schendel presents the void, and since she presents the void in a bienal, which was under boycott by several artists, she performed the boycott or resistance, and the protestation itself in a proactive and yet artistic way. This component of the work links Schendel again to the very conceptual art which stands up at a power structure in each location of the world, even in an institutional hierarchy or a broader, governmental level. With *Still waves of Probability*, Schendel joins the neo-avantgarde artworks, which reports the impossibity of the dialogue in repressive systems, still making an experiment for the communication.

Fig 2. Mira Schendel: Still Waves of Probabilitiy, 1969. Nylon thread with text on acrylic. Dimensions variable. © Mira Schendel Estate.

34 Guy Brett, Flusser and Umberto Eco's open work conception is not very far from the intermediality of conceptual art.
35 Isobel Whitelegg understands this work as art under conditions of repressions and links itt o the Brazil dictatorship in her essay. See: Isobel Whitelegg, „The Other World Is This: Mira Schendel's Participation in the 10th Bienal de São

Paulo, 1969," in *Mira Schendel* by Barson-Palhares (London: Tate Publishing, 2013).
36 The period of the Brazil dictatorship (1964-1985) is almost the same as the large-scale internatonal Neo-Avantgarde exhibition's timeframes.

Katalin Ladik and the vulnerable presence

Still Waves of Probability show similarities to *3.44*, a composition by John Cage. Both of them present the same „nothing". Cage gave a time frame, while Schendel gave a spatial frame to define „a room of nothing". Surely neither of them contains only the void, because of the *probable* voices. Coincidence is an often mentioned notion about Cage, and in the interval of *3.44* Cage actually presents the *probable* voices: coughing, knocking. Cage shows the connection of the spatial and temporal in the artwork, that has to be complemented by the audience. Cage creates content from the spatial arrangement of the words: „[s]ilence is born with the help of the words" he says.[37] „What I call poetry, others often call content. I call it form."[38] The void Cage composed between the words in the *Lecture on Nothing* creates content indeed.[39] This artistic strategy and the unstable meaning of works appeares in Schendel's experimental art as well.[40] The parallel with Cage is a priori in the possibilities of objectivizating of the void. Further, Cage is a general

reference in the neo-avantgarde and appears in the reception of Katalin Ladik[41], although not in a particulized way, only to set the neo-avantgarde context.

Transparency (or translucency) that is previously discussed in the context of Mira Schendel can be correlated to the performance *The Screaming Hole* by Ladik.[42] Ladik is behind a huge sheet of paper, and the audience only hear her voice (and the cooking noise). After a while, the audience start to cut holes on the paper to see what is happening inside the barricade. Ladik creates here a voyeuristic situation. In this perfromance the problem of visibility and non-visibility is the main organizer.

It is often mentioned that Ladik first became a poet and later started to extend the traditional poem in each dimension. Besides the poems and the performances in 1969, she created a group of paperworks, which have a smaller position between the two above mentioned mediums. That third medium she worked in, the paperworks show a close relationship with visual poems. They are similar to but not the same with visual poetry because the textual elements are sometimes missing, there is only the title and one unreadable line that resembles handwriting.[43] That

37 Cage 1994, p. 65.
38 Ibid.
39 Cage 1994 (chapter *Lecture on Nothing*).
40 Moreover, similarly to Cage's coincidence, the accidentaly traces can be also observable: fingerprints are accidentaly leaving traces during the printmaking (*Monotypes*, *Graphic Objects*). The most prominent is how the texts relate to each other.

41 Kürti 2017.
42 Ladik 1979b.
43 Ladik 1969b; Ladik 1969/2015; Ladik 1969a.

handwritten but unreadable irregular line should be the metaphor of poetry. Also, Ladik has several visual poems. The *Traces of Green Palm* from 1972 can be highlighted here.[44] This is a typed text on a (bed-)sheet-sized paper which has a pattern with plenty of lines. These originally printed lines sometimes confuse the writings and drawings by the artist, and sometimes they complement them. The pattern as a *ready made*, the sheet-like size, and the usage of the line and drawings constitute another connection between Ladik and Schendel (for example the *Graphic Objects*). Therefore, the joint exhibition of Ladik and Schendel should show interesting connections.
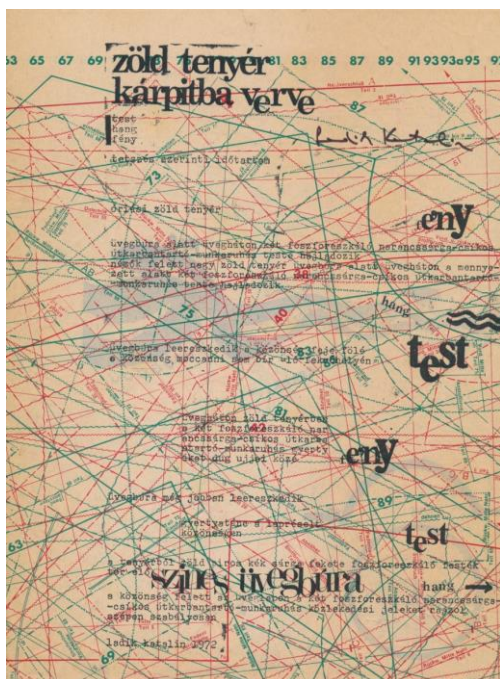

Fig 3. Ladik, Katalin. Traces of Green Palm, 1972. Ink, letraset, typewriting, ofset on paper. 32 × 50 cm. © Katalin Ladik, acb Gallery.

It can be seen that the title of these paperwork and visual poems have a privileged role in the meaning or sense of the whole artwork. These titles are usually sentence-like and resemble a line from Ladik's poems, which stand close to the surrealist literature tradition. They are closer to the poetry of Lautréamont than to the poetry of the 1960s and 1970s or the contemporary literature after that.[45] This quality of the titles are preserved in the performances as well; therefore, it should be treated as a motif in the oeuvre of Ladik. According to the previous statement, it is not further legitimate to say, that Ladik superseded poetry with the extension of the poem. However Ladik is still working as a performer (see for example her presence in the latest Documenta in 2017, or the *Transit Zoon*, 2015.).[46] There is a discourse around her that treats her art as a finished oeuvre.[47] This approach can be understood if we consider how repetitive the work of Ladik is, constantly re-staging her perfromances from the 1970s. Nevertheless, it is worth

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44 Ladik 1972.

45 Just to mention the well-known quote by Lautréamont: „As beautiful as the chance encounter of a sewing machine and an umbrella on an operating table."
46 Ladik 2015.
About the participation of Katalin Ladik at the 14th Documenta in 2017, see:
http://www.documenta14.de/en/artists/13488/katalin-ladik (2017.11.30.).
47 Šuvaković 2010; Balind 2011; Samu 2014; Kürti 2017.

rereading it from a different frame of reference.

Fig 4. Attila, Csernik et Ladik, Katalin. Body poetry, 1973. Gelatine silver print. 23 × 13.7 cm. © Vágó László Collection

Both Ladik and Schendel can be approached by the notion of emancipation, as long as we see their intermediality as parenthesizing the hierarchy of genres (or medium). The performances of Ladik have their root in the poem, and the poem had been extended in different directions before it became a performance. The notion of extension can be used in relation with

Schendel as Palhares emphasizes: „language receives a new extension in the *Graphic Objects*, starting in 1967, in which the field of writing expands to three-dimensional space."[48]

Furthermore, Palhares continues: „letters and words were converted into events on the plane."[49] The extension of poem in the case of Ladik results in the disappearance of the traditional poem. This is the opposite process of what Schendel does, because Schendel transfers the poem to the space and shows its components. Albeit their opposite strategies, we cannot state that in Ladik's case we see the purification of poetry and in Schendel's case we see the manifestation of poetry. Nevertheless we can say that writing as a form becomes central in Schendel, while it is missing or eliminated in Ladik. We can ask the question, does the purification of the poetry have to result in the elimination of itself? Both of them realize the manifestation of poetry and poem, however their mainfestations have opposite directions. If we declare that the letter is the most significant in poetry (Schendel), then the letter will be manifested. If we declare that the acoustic and the visual elements are the most significant in poetry (Ladik), then sound and the body will be manifested. For this reason we can say that in the performances Ladik purificates the

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48 Palhares 2014, p. 15.
49 Ibid.

poem from the letter, and Schendel purificates poetry from everything but the letter.

Although the poem is eliminated from Ladik's perfromance, the performance still directs the attention back to the poem with their meanings which is concentrated highly in their titles, as we have seen previously. It seems that the poem becomes a space for Ladik where she can perform new experiments.[50] The process from the written poems to the performance, or the so-called body involved phonical presentation, is a process in which the first crucial transformation was made on the first medium, the (written) poem. The displacement of the poem creates a common situation with the works and methods of Schendel. „The words are materialized by forms, luminosity and texture," says Mannarino about the materialization of words in Schendel's art.[51] The materialization brings the (viewer's) body to the forefront, which is a possible direction to connect Schendel to Ladik again.

Further connections between Ladik and Schendel are the transparent and translucent materials, such as nylon and plastic. There are several performances where Ladik uses transparent materials and these nylon sheets or plastic bags always play an important role. For example, in *Poemim* she uses a glass plate in order to deform her face, or in *Performance* organized in Pécs in 1980, she wears a transparent raincoat on her underdress,[52] and in *Mandora*, white threads were bound to her.[53]

In many performances Ladik uses the nylon as a mask. Because of the transparency of the nylon, the viewer can hardly make a distinction among the skin and the mask. Thus here we can also observe the disappearance of the nylon, even if it is partial. This disappearance is similar to the falling and even rain-like nylon threads of the *Still Waves of Probabiliy* by Schendel. The nylon however emphasizes the light effect in both Ladik and Schendel (more intensive lights can be observed on the surface of the nylon mask). On the other hand, Schendel uses a morphological pluralism that seems to be missing from Ladik. In the case of Schendel the light sometimes seems to be water, which leads us to the territory of immateriality. This immateriality, which moreover recalls the lippardian dematerialization, is not a part of the artistic strategy of Ladik.

It is important to analyze who finishes the transformations that the artworks accomplish: the viewer or the artist.

50 Kürti 2017, p. 41.
51 Mannarino 2014, p. 104.

52 Ladik 1978b.
53 Ladik 1980/1983.

During the interpretation the audience can become an equal participator as we saw in the Cageian concept, or the artist as a perfromer can interpret almost eveything on stage. The performer can sometimes go ahead in the interpretation and can finish it as a part of the artwork. János Samu, a Hungarian specialist in literature, writes about the viewer and the place for interpretation in relation to the performances of Ladik: „Ladik is not working instead of the viewer, albeit she declares the territory for interpretations conciously and the problematic places to be discussed."[54] The gesture that Ladik „declares the territory for interpretation conciously" means that Ladik as a perfromer goes ahead in the interpretations. On the contrary Schendel does not calculate with a passive viewer or interpretor. Even she works with traditional materials and mediums, but she relies on the viewer's interactions in the space of the artworks. Compared to Schendel, the behavior or attitude of Ladik as an artist is less performative.

As already mentioned, Ladik's face is often hidden by masks made of different materials. In the *Poemask* Ladik covers her face with a painterly material, which replaces her skin(nes).[55] This interaction with the mask is repeated with the body as well when Ladik hides and shows her (often naked) self.[56] These works can be approached by the definition on erotic: according to Bataille, the origin of the erotic lies in the activity of hiding nudity. In the perfromance *Blackshave poem* the nudity brings the void into the interpretation as the disappearance of the body.[57] With the motif of undressing, Ladik evokes the earlier perfromances that presented her naked. However, the situation is repeated in a reversed way because under her white underwear Ladik wears black tights and black sweater which cover (and hide) the entire body.

The *Pseudosculpture* perfromance on the Croatian island of Hvar in 1982 depicts the motif of the sea, which is also a poetical topos.[58] The woman who steps out of the sea evokes ancient prefigurations, similarly to Schendel's Achilles painting. The watery clothes of Ladik correlate with the antique Greek sculptures technique. The clothes of the figures seem watery because of the plenty of wrinkles on it. Not only do the clothes cover the body, but they even emphasize it more due to their wetness. The function of the clothes in this

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54 Samu 2014, p. 87.
55 Ladik 1978a.

56 For example: *Tour de Merde*, 1979, private apartement, Budapest; *The Screaming hole*, 1979.04.20. Tribina Mladih, Novi Sad, photo by Ifjú Gábor, 1979.02.23, FMK, Budapest; *Pseudo Presence*, photo–performance, Novi Sad, 1974.
57 Ladik 1979a.
58 Ladik 1982.

performance is similar to the transparent raincoat in another performance mentioned above.

Conclusion

At last it is worth mentioning the similarity in their pluralistic use of language. In Schendel we can observe the use of German, English, Italian, Croatian, Portuguese at the same time, that results in the „mixture of language".[59] Ladik in her early perfromances (during the 1970s) spoke in Hungarian and Serbian alternately before the Croatian audience, what resulted the obscurity of the performance.[60] Furthermore in both Ladik's and Schendel's oeuvre, displacement[61] and border identity[62] are the central notions because of the complexity of international and intercontextual situations.

Both in the interpretations of Ladik's and Schendel's, the question of sense or meaning is a recurring element. According to Mannarino, „most of her works, though filled with letters and words, never achieve any articulate sense. (...) We are faced then with the void of meaning."[63] In relation to Ladik,

the obscurity of meaning comes from her poetry, preserved in the performances as well. Fragility and multi-sensual characters seem to be relevant in both arts. For a more comprehensive understanding, it is worth analyzing Ladik and Schendel with the two opposite language theories of the 20th century, by Derrida and Saussure. Their debate was about the language and what has the primacy: *orality*, said Saussure, *literacy*, said Derrida. The formal analysis of Katalin Ladik and Mira Schendel can be completed with a Latin-Eastern theoretical approach in the future. Although they have never been exhibitied together, the latest overarching international large-scale exhibition on neo-avantgarde art, *Transmissions: Art in Eastern Europe and Latin America, 1960–1980*[64] can be read as a sign of this process. Next to Mira Schendel, the two previously mentioned Croatian artists, Mladen Stilinović and Josip Vaništa, were exhibited, beside the Hungarian artists Dóra Maurer and Endre Tót.

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59 Palhares 2014.
60 In order to interpret this border identity, Vera Balind analyzes Gloria Anzaldua's theory. Balind 2011, pp. 27-29.
61 Palhares 2014, p. 10.
62 Samu 2014, p. 83.
63 Mannarino 2014, p. 113.

64 2015.09.05.–2016.01.03. Museum of Modern Art, New York. chief curator: Stuart Comer

2. Mira Schendel: *Still Waves of Probabilitiy*, 1969. Nylon thread with text on acrylic. Dimensions variable. © Mira Schendel Estate.

3. Ladik, Katalin. *Traces of Green Palm*, 1972. Ink, letraset, typewriting, ofset on paper. 32 × 50 cm. © Katalin Ladik, acb Gallery.

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From Rodchenko to Rubchinskiy: Adidas Tracksuits in Russian Avant-garde Context

Abstract: *With the emergence of new disciplines, and moreover, new socio-cultural phenomena, it is of great importance to rethink classically conceptualized art historical discipline. Being an increasing trend both in museum and academic sphere, fashion studies can serve as a fertile ground for interdisciplinarity in art history. As an integral aspect of visual culture, fashion can be studied by means of art historical analyses, while art history can benefit from contemporary perspectives fashion demands. One phenomenon will serve as an example of how fashion studies and art history can contribute to understanding of both historical and contemporary cultural productions. Adidas Tracksuits grew from mostly Russian material (sub)culture to global media and fashion phenomena. The paper aims to dive deeper into art history in order to provide a potential interpretation of Adidas tracksuits and formative aspects of its visual identity in the context of Russian avant-garde, most notably Constructivist textile design. While Western haute couture served elitism and aestheticism, the designs of Rodchenko, Stepanova, Popova, Tatlin, and Mukhina served utility and the notion of creating functional, athletic, industrially reproducible fashions for the sake of genderless working class. These designs now considered art historical heritage alongside with the popularization of Adidas tracksuits at 1980 Moscow Olympics where many western countries boycotted participation, fashion designs of Gosha Rubchinskiy, and Squatting Slavs in Tracksuits serve as the interpretation base for the subject matter.*

Keywords: *art history, fashion, Adidas, tracksuit, Russian avant-garde, Constructivism*

Fashion studies in Eastern Europe: chained by art history

In his book simply entitled *Fashion*, art historian and now one of the most renowned names of fashion studies, Christopher Breward, states that "fashion enjoys unprecedented coverage in the western media and defines the

tenor of urban life like no other visual medium".[1] However, when Breward published his study in 2003, interestingly as a part of *Oxford History of Art* series, he was referring to the West, predominantly British and American academia, when he argued that "in the normally conservative world of academia there is a significant increase of texts that have aimed to place the study of fashion alongside other popular phenomena over the past fifteen years".[2] The author's statement is all but surprising, given the fact that in the timeframe he is referring to, which is the late 80s and the early 90s, Eastern Europe (the Iron Curtain forged exotic unknown) was facing a turbulent geopolitical disintegration. Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were (violently) dissolving while other "independent" Eastern European countries were as well overthrowing communist governments as the Warsaw Pact was declared disbanded. Both during and after such regimes, little space was left for Eastern European scholars to devote themselves to a "decadent" and "bourgeois" study of fashion as art history in (post)communist and socialist regimes was / is dominated by painting as the primary art form, followed by sculpture and architecture as these media were / are suitable to transcend dominant

ideologies. Applied arts, crafts, and design were, when not considered as a leisure activity of feminine sensibility, which was the case with the beginning of the 20th century; purely utilitarian, which was the case upon the establishment of communist regimes.

Let us take Serbia as an exemplary case study. In 1925, a single event of *The International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts* held in Paris affirmed many decorative and industrial practices (including fashion) as artistic and significantly echoed around the world, including the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes which had good ties with France. Even though its metropolises (Belgrade and Zagreb) were having their fair share of the roaring twenties, actual social and economic changes that could lead to the affirmation of applied arts in the Kingdom were only at the very beginning. In Belgrade, The School for Applied Art opened in 1937, while the Museum of Applied Art opened in 1950, 70 years after Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. When it comes to the studies of art history that alongside anthropology, initiated the establishment of fashion studies in many western countries, The Chair for History of Art was founded in 1905 at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. In 1927, it was promoted into a History of Art Study Group, while

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1 Breward 2003, p. 9.
2 Ibid.

following *The Decree* from 1963 once the study group then became the Department of History of Art. However, there is not yet a single course conducted at the Department that would examine history and theory of applied arts and design separately whereas a few courses at the Department of Anthropology examine fashion as an inevitable aspect of material culture rather than aesthetic and artistic phenomenon. After 2000, and especially in the last few years, an increase in exhibiting, and hence studying fashion in Eastern Europe, was noted as many of the countries entered European Union and followed its standards within the academia and museology. In 2000, after recovering from Milosevic's regime and the cataclysm of NATO bombing, Serbia greeted (symbolically speaking) the new millennia with the exhibit *Fashion in Belgrade 1918 – 1941* (Bojana Popovic, Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade). Exhibits of costume design, clerical and royal clothing, and to a certain extent some aspects of fashion, had indeed been organized in Serbia prior to 2000, but the mentioned exhibit was the first to offer a coherent museological presentation of fashion and read it without marginalizing it as inherent to other cultural phenomena.[3] The desire

to simply be "in fashion" and get closer to the West by taking off the imposed veil of exoticism soon led to a gradual introduction of fashion within museums and academia.

Speaking of exoticism, the notion of the exotic other has always been attributed to Eastern Europe and the Balkans most dominantly, especially when it comes to fashion, or at least clothing in a broader sense. The reason for that simply lies in the fact that Eastern Europe has never had, at least not until recently, the production of haute couture to the extent that would institutionalize it or affirm it as a discipline of national (artistic) expression. Additionally, Eastern European folk costumes, traditional garments, and ritual masks have indeed been studied by scholars both from the East and the West due to which actual fashion (in moments when it has been produced) has never been branded as nothing but a consumer product. Given all aforementioned statements, the question is what happens when Eastern Europe responds to the western production of haute couture, and even more so, does that not just by occupying the media space, but also by appropriating the most renowned "cultural brand" or be it heritage of the Slavic world, which is Russian avant-garde? Through interdisciplinary approach by utilizing tools of both art and fashion history, the author aims to provide a potential

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3 On the history of both fashion museology and musealization of fashion in Serbia see: Žarić, 2015

reading of Adidas tracksuits and to emphasize the importance of fashion studies on national and regional level.

Interpreting art history through fashion, interpreting fashion through art history

Russian avant-garde holds its rightful place on the map of global heritage. But when we say Russian avant-garde, the first thing that comes to our mind undoubtedly is Kazimir Malevich's infamous *Black Square*, followed by El Lissitzky's *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, and Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument to the Third International*. All of these artworks were quite revolutionary and monumental in their intention to represent the new collective consciousness through painting, cinema, and sculpture/architecture and denounce the previous, Tsarist regime. While many artists embraced this idea by returning to primordial, spontaneous, barbaric, primitive, and spiritual, which led to the emergence of Neoprimitivism, Luchism, Cubofuturism, and Suprematism with Malevich as their guidance, the other group followed Tatlin's Constructivist principles by physically deconstructing the painting and turning to different design disciplines. Even though art history did not fully recognize these design disciplines until the recent affirmation of fashion and design studies, they were equally institutionalized mechanisms of

the new state through which designers could realize their ideas same as painters, sculptors, and architects could. As such, designers were able to express their creativity without altering the new ideology and, moreover, to align with the social revolution that required material production, industrialization, and labor. The so-called "technical and urban intelligence" that accentuated the material reality was the product of this revolution with Constructivists as its representatives.[4] However, when we are talking about Constructivists and their relation to the subject matter (Adidas tracksuits) we must bear in mind that Constructivism itself, same as Russian avant-garde overall, had its phases characterized by different poetics.

Even though the first phase, to art history known as the pre-October or proto-Constructivist phase, was characterized by explorations of non-utilitarian, self-sufficient objects, it did lay the foundation for the phase to come, which favored utilitarian designs. In that sense, "Tatlin's concept of the culture of materials and the process of media transgression"[5] from painting to sculpture inspired further media explorations, particularly the activity of Alexander Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova, Liubov Popova, Alexandra

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4 Mijušković 1998.

5 Ibid.

Ekster, and Vera Mukhina among many within the field of textile design.

In his *Design for men's leisure suit* (1923/4), Tatlin executed practically what he will then put in words in 1929 in the text *The* artist *as a life-style* organizer. In his writing, the Russian Constructivist stated that "a human is an organic being, made of skeleton, nerves, and muscles, and that as such requires constructions (whether clothes or furniture) that are not concerned with the outside effect"[6] but that are practical, inexpensive, and comfortable or, in other words, "body-friendly". He criticized American and Viennese designs for prioritizing aestheticism and lacking the comfort, and he was not alone in denouncing the Western influences. Alexandra Ekster warned that designers must not be governed by the influences from the West because of different ideologies, and a renowned tsarist fashion and costume designer Nadezhda Lamanova abandoned opulent designs for the favor of the clothes for the masses. While Western haute couture served elitism and aestheticism, Constructivist designs aimed to serve utility, and the notion of creating functional, athletic, industrially reproducible fashions for the sake of genderless working class.

Furthermore, what concerned Tatlin and the others and in regard to their standpoint towards the West was something that Christopher Wilk in his study *The Healthy Body Culture* sees as "one of the defining aspects of modernism's social agenda, which is the response to the interrelated problems of poor housing and poor health".[7] As the author finds, "the body continued to be used as a metaphor for the nation state, but it was also widely used to describe individual cultures or races, or even western society as a whole".[8] In between the two wars, the common vitality has been vastly endangered and all sides needed to regenerate, to improve and repair their bodies, both nationally and individually. Germany did so by pursuing the ideal of Greek beauty, France, the USA and quite the rest of Western allies by dancing along in their light flappers to the roaring twenties and Russia by building proletarian masses. In all of the cases, sport played crucial role in establishing the new visual identity. "Widespread participation in sport (whether Olympic or in a public park) and exercise saw men, and even more so women, dressing in both practical clothing for sport and in fashionable sportswear, which drew attention to their bodies."[9] What is even more important to underline is that "as with

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6 Tatlin 2003, pp. 238–9.

7 Wilk 2006, p. 250.
8 Ibid., pp. 252–3.
9 Wilk 2006, pp. 252–3.

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Stefan Žarić: From Rodchenko to Rubchinskiy: Adidas Tracksuits in Russian Avant-garde
Context

most aspects of cultural life, dance, and gymnastics, sport especially became politically charged"[10] most dominantly in Italy and Germany due to fascism, and in Russia due to communism. On the relation between sport and design Wilk elaborates:

> "In Soviet Russia, politics effected terminology: The term 'physical culture' was used rather than 'sport' to remove the competitive dimension, which was considered antithetical and, indeed, damaging to the universal values of physical culture, and to the main aim of exercise, the recreation of the masses. The association between politics and exercise was closer in Russia than anywhere else, due to its adoption as official state policy in a revolutionary society, and because leading designers were responsible for the design of dress and uniforms, and all of the printed material and publicity associated with the public events."[11]

It is in such environment that creative energies of designers like Rodchenko and Stepanova, nourished by Tatlin's ideas, were able to propose an appropriate mode of clothing for the

new era, and moreover, influence the creation of the tracksuit. In her programmatic article from 1923, *The Dress of Our Times*, Varvara Stepanova stated that "there are only two types of contemporary clothes: production clothes and sport clothes" adding that "the sport clothes subordinates to the production clothes".[12] Stepanova started to develop this idea one year prior to publishing the article, when she made a two-piece outfit, *Production Clothing*, designed by her husband, Alexander Rodchenko. "This piece enabled the designer to portray himself as a worker, dressed in an attire that would be (at least in its essence) familiar to the many, and which would be associated with the forward-looking technological agenda of Modernism. Such everyday clothing or workers' uniforms also suggested the collective nature of Soviet society."[13]

Adidas tracksuit, (un)intentional legacy of Russian avant-garde

While Gregory Babcock in his article *The Brief History of the Tracksuit* (Complex, 2015) argues that "the tracksuit was born in the mid-60s as the mid-century prosperity gave way to the space age,"[14] it can be counter-argued that designs of Constructivists already developed

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10 Ibid. p. 262.
11 Ibid.

12 Stepanova 2003, p. 232.
13 Green 2006, p. 93.
14 Babcock 2015, http://www.complex.com/style/2015/11/history-of-the-tracksuit, (Accessed November 6, 2017.)

tracksuit in its "primitive" form. Combining synthetic nylon fabrics and a monochromatic pant and jacket set, the astronaut uniform has indeed shaped the tracksuit as we know it today. However, we must not overlook the fact that during the Cold War and the space race, the West and the East were competing in design as well, which led to the appropriation of foreign design productions from both sides. It is not a wonder then that the tracksuit, "patented" in the East, was created in the West, by Germans. As such, both astronaut uniforms and tracksuits can be seen as products of Constructivism, as with their form, function, and color they represent the ideal combination of production and sports clothes.

As it has been mentioned earlier, the mid-war era was characterized by sport obsession both in Russia and Germany with the difference that Germany could put its ideas into production while Constructivists couldn't due to the lack of resources in the difficult economic circumstances after the revolution. This obsession, with the Olympics especially, served as a fertile ground for Adolf (Adi) and Rudolf Dassler, members of the Nazi party, to develop their sports shoes business in Herzogenaurach, Germany. The success of the U.S. sprinter Jesse Owens who wore shoes at Berlin's 1936 Olympics by Adi Dassler and won four medals cemented the reputation of the shoemaker internationally and in 1949 Adi established his firm, Adidas. In 1967, Adidas created the first tracksuit and further success of both the brand and athletes wearing it in a way persuaded the Soviet Union to hire Adidas to manufacture attires for Soviet athletes.

However, the USSR Communist party leaders banned the labels of the capitalist company on tracksuits of Soviet athletes. Traditional three stripes were limited to one red or white, depending on the base color of the attire, or in most cases, one red bordered by two white stripes. Such "bending" of the capitalist product perfectly aligns with ideas Stepanova presented in *The Dress of Our Times*, where she elaborated sports clothes in depth. As the designer stated, "the form of sport attire has to come out of various color combinations, as audience is unable to distinguish players by cut of their clothes, but rather by color"[15]. As ideal sport clothes, Stepanova proposes a three-colored garment with an emblem on chest (red star), two-colored garment with stripes, and one-color garment with the chest emblem. The USSR team's clothes (as of many other national teams) were (and still are) designed in such a manner. However, at the 1980 Olympics, they were not featuring the Adidas logo – only the state emblem. Given this fact, it is

15 Stepanova, p. 232.

interesting to see how far the "fear" of the west and the penetration of its iconography went by praising the body–friendly and environment–adjusted domestic design from the governmental bodies, just like Tatlin did. Regarding the visit of Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reported:

> "I suggest giving Schmidt a passenger car Niva. The car features completely Soviet design and combines high cross–country ability and comfort of the interior. In Germany this car costs 16,000 marks, which is about 6,000 foreign currency rubles. Our wholesale price is 3,000 rubles. Schmidt has a cabin on the Kiel coast, where the roads are not very good. Schmidt's wife drives a car and studies marsh plants. I think, in this context he will be very pleased with this gift."[16]

Such statement further strengthens the fact that during the Soviet times Russians had very limited exposure to Western products and fashion, which gradually started to change after the

Olympics. Although the name of Adidas Company did not appear on clothing, shoes and sportswear, Western iconography – its material product – inscribed itself into the consciousness of the Soviet Union's citizens, irreversibly altering their visual identity and becoming the most defining formative aspect of that identity fashion–wise.

"The first and only model of trainer available — blue with three white stripes and ochre sole — had a cult status for decades after it went out of fashion in the West. All over the USSR, Adidas trainers have become a prized artifact of status, connections or simply luck."[17] As if they were Constructivist designs – genderless and multi–practical, they were "so precious and rare that they could be worn to the theatre or a restaurant".[18] Small criminals, self–proclaimed entrepreneurs, former athletes–turned–bodyguards to criminal bosses, gopniks or be it *Squatting Slavs in Tracksuits* – seems that everyone is wearing them, just that now it is the iconic black tracksuit with white stripes rather than the blue one. Black and white were, in its essence, primary chromatic starting points of Russian avant–garde, followed by red blue, and yellow, all of which dominate Malevich's

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16 Sudakov 2010, http://www.pravdareport.com/history/20-07-2010/114288-moscow_olympics-0/ (accessed 6. 11. 2017).

17 Feodorova 2017, http://www.calvertjournal.com/features/show/8676/adidas-brand-russia-rubchinskiy (accessed 6. 11. 2017).
18 Ibid.

works as well as the works of the other Russian avant-garde artists. In her text *In Constructivist Clothes* (1923) Alexandra Ekster proclaimed that "both production clothes and any other form of clothing intended for a wider usage have to be based on the simplest geometric shapes and primary colors having on mind various rhythms and dynamics of the human body".[19]

These very principles on which Russian avant-garde was built on fashion designer Gosha Rubchinskiy resurrected (if they were ever dead?) in the present moment. Juxtaposing cultural references both from the East and the West, Rubchinkiy's designs (most notably fall 2017 collection) confirm what this paper aimed to convey, which is the possibility of a new reading of art history. Through his collaboration with Adidas, the Russian designer combined, or rather collaged, emblematic aspects of Russian material culture: Malevich's geometric shapes in primary colors from his *Suprematist Compositions* and Rodchenko's *Production Clothing* with Adidas tracksuits.

In that sense Adidas tracksuits, despite their Western provenance, through Rubchinskiy collaboration with the brand completely coded themselves as an authentic aspect of material culture of Russia and Eastern Europe. The history itself comes a full circle, as Rubchinskiy's

engagement for Adidas is regarding Russia being the host of the 2018 FIFA World Cup. Three host cities, Kaliningrad, St Petersburg, and Moscow are as well places where Rubchinskiy is showcasing his collection. By incorporating Russian avant-garde into high fashion and turning that high fashion into Adidas – Russia's collective (sub) conscious fashion code – Rubchinskiy reached Tatlin's ideal of the artist as a life-style organizer. Moreover, Adidas tracksuits became more exemplary case of "Art in everyday life", the crucial Constructivist idea, than any of actual Constructivist pieces and proposals.

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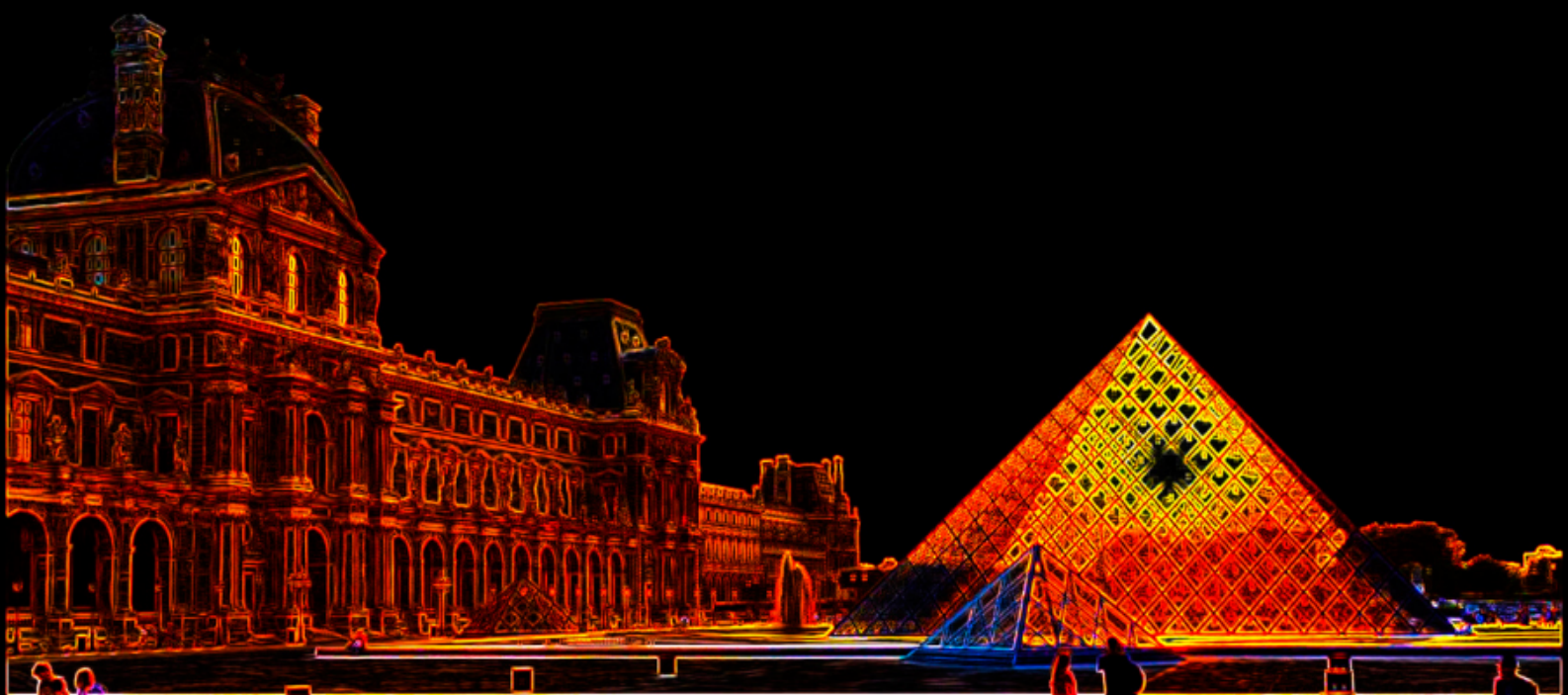
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Kunstangest - Anxiety as a Creative State

Abstract: *Contemporary art discourse and curation continues to be shaped by the Enlightenment ideals. Scientific rationality, democratization, and disinterestedness are just a handful of surviving aspects that risk neglecting the unique paradoxicality of art: The ability to overwhelm and besiege the emotional life of the spectator, moving her to untamed reflection and an aesthetically incited existential destabilization. This elusive aspect of the art situation has escaped theoretical conceptualization, making it difficult to work actively with this phenomenon. To account for this fundamental property of art multifarious academic disciplines, such as theology, existential philosophy, psychology, and aesthetics, have been employed to outline the term Kunstangest - a Kierkegaardian anxiety that can free creative forces, similar to Nietzschean will.*

Keywords: *Anxiety, existentialism, aesthetics, Enlightenment, phenomenology*

In this article we wish to propose the term *Kunstangest* (Danish for 'art anxiety') as a designation for the destabilizing and transformative state that art can impose upon its spectator. It is a state touched upon but never consolidated in theoretical discourse. We trace this lack of conceptualization in the strong influence Enlightenment thought maintains in contemporary art discourse, and curatorial practice, despite countless efforts to oppose this. To illustrate this, we point to two dominating traditions within art discourse, *Iconography* and *Formalism*.

By no means an exhaustive definition, what we aspire to do is to start a conversation about this elusive property of art – conceptualization is necessary, otherwise it will fade into obscurity. A prerequisite for opening such a conversation is to examine the multifarious disciplines that have historically contributed to the aesthetic tradition, such as theology, phenomenology, existentialism, post-structuralism and psychology. We believe that in order to uncover the unique properties of aesthetic experience, we must utilize diverse methodological approaches.

The Enlightenment legacy

The curatorial practice and art theoretical discourse that unfold in and around major art institutions today continue to be firmly rooted in the thoughts of the Enlightenment era. It is a way of thinking that places a scientific model at the base of art theory along with ideological demands for rationality, universal enlightenment, and a disinterested and objective gaze. Though humans have been theorizing about art for ages, art history as an academic discipline is relatively young and can be said to be a direct product of the Enlightenment era. In its basic shape, art history deals with art works as historical documents that can be organized systematically, providing knowledge about both past and present. This type of art theory is univocally bound to Enlightenment ideals such as scientificity and organization and aim to establish stable values by enforcing rigid categorization and coherent narratives in the field of the arts.

One the most famous analytical models that can be considered as a representative of the worldview developed during the Enlightenment era is Iconography, a method which continues to dominate contemporary curation. The iconographical method is a linearly progressive examination of the artwork which aims to uncover what the different elements in an artwork signify – mainly in relation to their original context. The strictly empiricist framework that Iconography is moulded by implicates that an artwork has one inherent meaning and thus one correct interpretation which can be verified by referring to literary sources. It is an approach to art which bears resemblance to the archaeological methodology with its strong emphasis on the context in which an artwork was created, rather than how it is received now, thereby running the risk of alienating the contemporary spectator. For all its informative power, Iconography very often robs the audience of the ability and incentive to relate more personally to the work of art and it leaves open the question of why art holds a special place in society.

Another influential strain of art theory which continues to permeate Western art theory is the variety of Formalism which developed during the middle of the last century particularly in the writings of the American art critic Clement Greenberg. Greenberg's thinking is consciously indebted to the thinking of the Enlightenment age. Particularly the aesthetic philosophy, which emerged as a separate discipline during the 18th century, were of primary importance to the development of Greenberg's formalist approach, especially the notion of *disinterestedness*. One of the

determining factors in the emergence of aesthetic philosophy was the fact that it enabled theorists to separate art from religion. It did this by conceiving art as a category of objects which were free from social and religious interests and by establishing a disinterested gaze particular to the experience of art which aligned well with the Enlightenment era's focus on rationality. This disinterested mode of looking was of key importance to the aesthetic philosophers of the 1700s and was notably implemented into the systematic philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Beauty was thus associated with an experience liberated from both practical and cognitive concerns. As Kant writes in *Critique of Judgement* (1781): "*Taste is the faculty of judging of an object or a method of representing it by an entirely disinterested satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The object of such satisfaction is called beautiful.*"[1] Greenberg praised Kant and escorted the idea of a disinterested gaze into his own age by asserting that aesthetic experience is something that happens to a passive subject – not something that is actively engaged in: "[A]*esthetic judgments are immediate, intuitive, undeliberate, and involuntary*"[2]. For Greenberg this also implicated an emphasis on purity: Both in regard to the medium (e.g. painting should not attempt illusion), and in regard to the

viewer (i.e. visual art is visual only: all physical and spatial context should be rejected, and the disembodied eye is ideal).

By way of Formalism's continued influence, the notion of a disinterested gaze remains an important factor in contemporary art discourse. Curation was especially influenced by this approach, notably through the emergence of the so-called *white cube*, which denotes a gallery with white walls and an absence of decoration in an effort to avoid distraction and which continues to be foundational to the curatorial practice of many important art institutions.

For this project, it would be a digression to attempt an exhaustive account of the strong influence Enlightenment thinking continues to exert in today's art world and though pointing to two analytical stances certainly may seem insufficient, it can, however, give us an idea of some of the fundamental concepts that have shaped our contemporary handling of art both practically and theoretically.

Though we acknowledge the importance of the methods sketched above, we also think that they are problematic because they tend to smother the aspect of art which actually makes it so valuable to human beings. The Enlightenment legacy urges us to dispose of our

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1 Kant 1914, §7.
2 Greenberg 1988, p. 265.

individuality, to either put ourselves in someone else's place (i.e. the artist), or to enter a state of disinterestedness which we believe to be fictitious – how could it ever be possible to ignore physicality and to do away with the viewing subject? On the contrary, we believe art is about coming into contact with oneself, to be touched in ways one did not think possible and to engage with one's facticity in ways never dreamed of before the encounter with a given artwork. Aesthetic experience should not only inform, it should destabilize and *transform*.

To better understand what it is we believe these theoretical approaches miss, an analogy will be helpful: When at night you lift your eyes towards the night sky there are different ways of looking at the abundance of tiny shining dots on the endless canvas of rich darkness. You can turn to man–made disciplines such as astronomy or astrology, and try to comprehend, establish order, and make sense of the stars, planets, and galaxies. This human desire to establish meaning and reason in everything entails that you distance yourself from the experience. Another way to look at the night sky is to let the infinity of the universe enchant and let oneself be embraced by the experience, hereby allowing yourself to be swept away in an awestruck existential reflection. To stand before infinity is a confrontation with

everything man has the possibility to be, but it is at the same time impossible to be everything, due to our finiteness. The individual is overwhelmed by the paradoxical duality of a simultaneous absence and abundance of meaning – the night sky is both infinity and void. In this mode, the individual senses a creative possibility: man's ability to overcome present reality through radical freedom.

We believe that, in the work of art, you can encounter the same destabilizing confrontation with infinity. In the work of art, as well as with the night sky, you behold everything and nothing at the same time. Art does not have a definite, unambiguous value, meaning or purpose, but mirrors man's existential preconditions. Art demands sympathy for the human situation: the situation we all are in, simultaneously standing before freedom and before nothingness. It is an anxious situation and it is one's own responsibility to manage it in the best way possible. Therefore, the experience of art demands engagement, volition, and creativity.

It is this elusive aspect of the aesthetic situation we which we seek to investigate: art's ability to overwhelm and besiege the emotional life of the spectator, moving them to untamed reflection and an aesthetically incited existential destabilization.

The importance of conceptualization

But why are we confined to speaking in analogies? Because this mysterious aspect of the work of art seems to have escaped theoretical definition and has never been able to find a stable home within aesthetic discourse. Though this lack of conceptualization quite naturally arises from the inexplicability of the phenomenon we are attempting to describe – as Georges Braque phrases it: "*The only valid thing in art is that which cannot be explained*"[3] – we must insist on the importance of trying to establish a language surrounding this unique and particular strength of art. Otherwise we might seize to acknowledge it all together, and at the moment no term which adequately encompasses the existential reflection evoked by art exists.

In art theory and phenomenology, there have been several attempts at describing this overwhelming power of art. Examples include Jean-Francois Lyotard's modernization of Kant's sublime, which concerns the disruptive aspect generated by "*the possibility of nothing happening*",[4] Jean-Luc Marion's theory on the saturated phenomenon, which, with reference to Kant's epistemology, examines the overwhelming event consisting of having an excess of sensory information in relation to what one is able to conceptualize, and Georges Didi-Huberman's concept of *pan*, which investigates how specific unstable signs in the work of art can evoke profound reactions in the spectator.

These theoreticians all describe very sudden, automatic, unfathomable, and violent aesthetic experiences. While we agree that being confronted with art can spark deeply emotional and at times overwhelming experiences, this 'violence of the image' appears to us as too radical to actually describe the experience of art, and we favour an idea of a subtly engulfing and gradually intensifying ecstasy instead. What is at work in aesthetic experience rather than an act of "violence" is a degree of existential intensity which is exposed within the spectator.

Furthermore, we do not think that this state of mind excludes cognition, rather it is a moment in which cognition takes on a different quality. Art enables access to something within us, which cannot be reached in a mundane state of mind, and for this to happen we must go through our subjectivity which also includes our cognitive capabilities. Artistic experience is not a stupefying overexposure, but rather a drifting away into what Gaston Bachelard has described as *poetic reverie*: a creative daydream. One loses oneself in

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3 Braque 1957, p. 22.
4 Lyotard 1991, p. 92.

aesthetic experience and this is both a pleasant seduction and a profoundly disturbing alternation of one's perception of existence. Aesthetic experience does not come forward to greet the spectator as a violent act but rather as an enthralling haze.

Anxiety as a transformative state

We propose the term *Kunstangest* to describe this phenomenon. This term derives from the existentialist concept *anxiety* [Angest], which originates in the philosophy of Søren Kierkegaard. We transfer this concept to aesthetic theory – aware that such a move is not unproblematic – because we are certain that it will be beneficial in the attempt to approach the complex phenomenon, which, for us, is the beating heart of aesthetic experience.

Kunstangest is a destabilized mental state in which not only is the plurality of the artwork revealed, but it is also a state in which the spectator is faced with a cognitive and emotional endlessness within themselves. This endlessness, this unstable intimacy with an artwork is, we believe, comparable to the freedom that rises in existentialist anxiety: facing the disturbing loss of meaning – the absurdity of existence – which is at the root of existentialism's radical conception of freedom.

In *The Concept of Anxiety* (1844) Kierkegaard developed his theory of anxiety as a reflection upon the nature of *sin* and more specifically as a critique of the idea that hereditary sin can explain the sinful actions of human beings. According to Kierkegaard, sin enters the world and the individual by a qualitative leap made by each individual. Kierkegaard does not believe sin to be hereditary – this would, in Kierkegaard's view, mean avoiding to take responsibility for one's actions. Sin enters the world every time someone passes, like Adam in the Bible, by way of an individual sin, from a category of innocence to a category of sinfulness.

When faced with the prospect of committing a sin, theology has traditionally seen *concupiscentia* as the state that is able to account for this categorical passage, but Kierkegaard proposes anxiety as an alternative designation since it is an ambiguous mental state: simultaneously drawn and repelled by sin. What happens when we enter this state of anxiety is, according to Kierkegaard, that we become conscious of our existential freedom. In anxiety we understand that we are free to choose our actions, but also that we are responsible for these actions, because we are situated in a world inhabited by other individuals. Kierkegaard differentiates between anxiety and fear which, according to

him, has an object, a specific threat that causes fear. Anxiety on the other hand does not have an object, it is caused by this awareness of being a self, a free self which entails the endless potential of choosing. What can be chosen is not clear, only that the possibility of choice exists. The possibility of action presents itself in anxiety – a possibility without content.

Martin Heidegger's adoption of the term anxiety is useful in this context, as it is evidently based in the philosophy of Kierkegaard and not only pertains to free, individual choice, but also free interpretation of the world in its entirety. Also, in order to implement the concept of anxiety in an aesthetic context, we need to move away from the religious framework in Kierkegaard and here Heidegger will aid us since his conception of anxiety – as it is laid out in his prominent work *Being and Time* (1927) – was written after Nietzsche famously declared that "*God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him.*"[5]

For Heidegger, the human being (termed *Dasein*) is usually immersed in its world, its day to day business, in a manner that hides its actual self. However, Dasein does not remain perpetually concealed: through anxiety, it is possible to disclose this actual self. Like Kierkegaard,

5 Nietzsche 2001, p. 120.

Heidegger believes that anxiety is not caused by an outside threat, but that it is rather an unveiling of one's own possibility of freedom and self-expression. Anxiety reveals that the world never appears to the individual as a predisposed thing but is only experienceable due to an interpretative effort by Dasein. For Heidegger, anxiety consequently becomes an integral trait of man: a disclosure of the premise that the world is fundamentally without meaning. Anxiety exposes the vacuity of existence: nothingness or death – not death as a concrete event, however, but the nothingness of death. Hence, it constitutes, not a specific, but a total threat towards existence itself. However, the implication of nothingness is freedom, and the anxious and emancipatory confrontation with this fact drives man to create meaning, albeit unstable meaning.

This does not implicate that the confrontation with anxiety is resolved once and for all. Anxiety continues to emerge in the subject no matter how hard one tries to escape it and exactly because anxiety exists latently in the individual the concept can be used to account for certain aspects of aesthetic experience. Art has the ability to evoke an anxious consciousness about the lack of meaning inherent in existence. The work of art has the power to induce a destabilization which prevents a fixed

understanding of the work which in turn destabilizes the being of the spectator.

Despite the previously mentioned attempts to grasp and understand art as a category, a refusal of such reduction lies at the heart of art. Art can be assigned meaning, but it can never be expected to convey it in a reliable manner. The power of art articulated through anxiety does not necessarily implicate the kind of violence previously criticized. Kunstangest sneaks up on its subject but refrains from violence and quietly seizes stable signification. Notably, the intensity of Kunstangest arises not from the work of art but from the spectator themselves – the work facilitates the experience, however, by reminding one of one's own astounding being, by reminding one of one's anxious existence.

Both Heidegger and Kierkegaard acknowledge the impulse to turn away from the destabilization of anxiety when it rises in the subject, however they also call for the courage to remain in this troublesome state, as it is through this endurance we can uncover our actual selves. Like the anxiety of the existentialists, we call for the courage to persevere in the discomfort of Kunstangest. To stand by nothingness as an existentialist premise, to endure the nothingness crystallized in the artwork, to not flee into the realm of stable

categories, but to welcome the indeterminacy of the art work and receive its emancipatory power.

Kunstangest specifically refers to a man-made, and thus consciousness-required, situation as we anchor the need to create and consume art in the acknowledgement of anxiety. Awareness of one's existence entails a recognition of the possibility of not existing, and thus an insight into one's own freedom: this freedom is a catalyst for art. We spend time creating and experiencing things, that do not have tangible functions, but are expressions of an awareness of our limited time on earth. Ingrained in every work of art is a primordial artistic intention – a desire to communicate this anxiety. As human beings, we express ourselves to one another, we remind each other about the situation that we share: we are united in anxiety. Art has the ability to encapsulate life's meaninglessness and the freedom of the individual. We must not evade this anxiety; instead we must embrace it.

Preconditions

This personal investment in the artwork is of central importance to Kunstangest. It is this personal relation which ignites the aesthetic situation, which sets into motion the powerful indeterminacy of art. A personal relation which stands in direct opposition to the passivity and

scientificity of the Enlightenment legacy sketched above.

In his critique of Enlightenment aesthetics American art theoretician Arnold Berleant conceives the aesthetic experience as an *aesthetic field* which concerns "*the total situation in which the objects, activities, and experiences of art occur*"[6]. It is a dynamic field consisting of four main factors, or elements, which all contribute to the aesthetic situation: *the art object, the percipient, the artist,* and *the performer.* These components are inseparably bound together in aesthetic experience and are in a state of constant exchange.

One of the fundamental ideas in Berleant's theory is his emphasis on the active role of the spectator – and this is highly relevant to our concept of Kunstangest. Unlike Greenberg's passive recipient, Berleant calls for *aesthetic engagement* on behalf of the spectator. Aesthetic engagement is characterized by being a deeply personal relation to the aesthetic situation and by mirroring the deep–felt investment in the aesthetic situation which has historically been reserved for the artist.

> *If the appreciator abandons the objectifying, analytic stance of the scholar critic, the kind of personal participation that he or she engages in is closer to that of the artist than to the 'philosopher of beauty' of whom Nietzsche spoke so disparagingly. I like to call this active appreciative participation 'aesthetic engagement', for it best characterizes the kind of powerful personal involvement that we have in our most fulfilled aesthetic experience.*[7]

Though we do not subscribe to Berleant's theory without reservations (it is by no means unproblematic) we have however chosen to include it because it is instrumental in illustrating some of the key preconditions of Kunstangest, namely that the work of art is not an isolated object, but a network of a potentially infinite number of "participants", and that Kunstangest is contingent upon active engagement with the aesthetic situation.

This active engagement can be seen as an openness of the spectator. As we have seen, an attempt to flee the destabilizing and truly transformative power of Kunstangest can be made – it can be strangled, and therefore we cannot stress enough the importance of personal engagement in the aesthetic situation. One must dare to invest oneself in the artwork. A way to understand this investment will be to briefly touch upon the concept of *contemplation*, a practice which has

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6 Berleant 1970, p. 47.

7 Berleant 2004, p. 15.

played a pivotal role in Christianity, and which we believe can be seen as sharing important properties with the mental state involved in the experience of Kunstangest.

Contemplation is understood as a state of deep reflective thought, and it usually signifies a type of prayer or meditation. Starting of as a a broad metaphysical term used by the ancient Greeks and neoplatonists, it has attained specific religious connotations throughout history. Christian mystics and theologians such as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, John of the Cross, and Ignatius of Loyola have moulded the concept of contemplation and emphasized aspects that we consider to be applicable to Kunstangest, specifically notions of divine darkness and unknowing, a potentially arduous path towards illumination, and the importance of an application of the senses.

We wish, however, to atheologize the term 'contemplation' in order to apply it to the art experience. The thoughts of Georges Bataille are very pertinent to this endeavour. He believes that inner experience can be valuable without God, and rejects the transcendentalism inherent in Christian contemplation, thereby creating a form of mysticism relevant to a post-metaphysical world. Inner experience for Bataille does not

suggest a positive project for acquisition of absolute knowledge or certainty, but is instead a negative project that suspends any form of stable comprehension or homogeneity. Contrary to religious inner experience, Bataille's inner experience does not lead to peace of mind (or soul): Nothing is revealed, only the unknown. Bataille regards self-harmony as an illusion, and it is thus undesirable. The will to lose oneself replaces the will to be everything, and this insight into incompleteness is deemed the most noble ambition in the desire to be a human being.

When adopting ideas about contemplative participation, and enthrallment with transformative ramifications, we are convinced that these aspects can function without their spiritual implications in a situation comprised of existential reflection invoked by the work of art. The type of patience ingrained in contemplation is particularly interesting, as it conveys the same serene, yet insistent, approach needed to experience Kunstangest. By no means do we wish to describe Kunstangest as a religious experience. What we aim to do by bringing the concept of contemplation into play in this context is to highlight both the importance of investment in the aesthetic situation and the employment of the sensory apparatus, cognition and

emotion. By bringing contemplative practices into play in this context, we wish to underscore the elusiveness of Kunstangest – an experience which is not automatically or suddenly attained, but which comes about through persistence, patience and personal investment.

Positive Disintegration

Tension leading to advancement is also the core mechanism of Polish psychologist Kazimierz Dabrowski's Theory of Positive Disintegration. He offers a perspective substantiated by empirical evidence, and an explicitly systematic approach as he studies personality development, and its corresponding causality, method, and progression.

Disintegration is typically given a negative association, but Dabrowski seeks to nuance this impression: "*Disintegration is described as positive when it enriches life, enlarges the horizon, and brings forth creativity; it is negative when it either has no developmental effects or causes involution.*"[8] Dabrowski places disintegration as an essential part of a transformation going from external to internal control, from impulse to reflection, from sociability to empathy, from social norms to ideal norms, from relative values to universal values, from

love based on the individual to all-embracing existential love.

The theory presents a clear structure consisting of five attainable levels, each described as "*a characteristic constellation of intrapsychic dynamisms*"[9]. Dynamisms refer to the biological and mental cognition that control one's behaviour and its development, and examples of dynamisms include instincts, drives, and intellectual processes in combination with emotions.[10] Each end of Dabrowski's developmental progression has levels of *integration*, where the individual is in a harmonious state of unity. The difference between the first and the fifth level is that, on the first level, one is comfortable being driven by one's impulses and by society, whereas the psychological integration on the fifth level is an achievement preceded by a long and challenging dissolution and reorganization of one's inner life. Most people live most of their lives happily grounded on the first level, while only a few reach level five.

Advancement, or development, happens through a collapse of existing structures (disintegration) followed by a new organization (integration). It consists of times of great intensity and imbalance, e.g. psychoneuroses, depressions, and

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8 Dabrowski 1964, p. 10.

9 Dabrowski et al. 1977, p. 18.
10 Ibid.

creative processes, and by times of balance.[11] The lower levels are characterized by automatism, stereotypy, egocentrism, and a modest degree of consciousness, while the higher levels are distinguished by immense consciousness, inner psychic transformation, autonomy, and creativity. To develop, one needs to embrace the disintegrative stages, despite of how frightening that might be, and Dabrowski refers explicitly to Kierkegaard's concept of anxiety in order to mediate their constructive aspects. He clarifies that existential anxiety "*reflects an enhanced sensitivity of the feeling of one's responsibility for one's own development* [...] *Anxiety over oneself is, for emotional development, an element similar to that of astonishment in area of intellectual activities.*"[12]

The pivotal point in development is always a kind of inner conflict. Conflicts with the outside world or other external crises cannot alone promote personality development, but they can act as a fertile ground for inner conflicts which can subsequently allow for development to take place. In relation to the work of art, we believe that the previously mentioned aspects of indeterminacy and overwhelming bedazzlement can be considered kinds of external crises. If

you actively engage in the destabilization, it can incite profound existential reflection. Existential anxiety does not have an object, but Dabrowski shows us that external conflicts can evoke anxiety. We argue that art can be viewed as an external conflict that we can engage in, whereby the art experience can become transformative. We do not intend to dictate a specific direction or purpose of this transformation, but merely articulate its possibility.

Kunstangest propagates a consciousness about meaninglessness and freedom in the individual, and such a destabilization – the disclosure of the possibility of choice – can be potentially transformative. It is capable of altering the adamant viewer who recognizes the existential responsibility revealed in Kunstangest.

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11 Dabrowski 1967, p. 93.
12 Ibid., p. 95.

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Xenia Brown Pallesen: A Shapeless Landscape. An Examination of the Qualities and Structures of the Landscape Based on an Aesthetic Analysis of the Wadden Sea in Jutland, Denmark

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A Shapeless Landscape

An Examination of the Qualities and Structures of the Landscape Based on an Aesthetic Analysis of the Wadden Sea in Jutland, Denmark

Abstract: *Paper discusses the formal significance of the landscape according to its identity in relation to humans. The paper is based on a project concerning the unique Wadden Sea at the West Coast of Jutland. The surroundings were analyzed with a method inspired by the Koolhaas' architectural manifesto the Generic City. The result of the analysis was based in the concern that the landscape could be characterized as without an identity; it was divided into three parts, Character, Shapelessness and Aesthetic. The paper argues why the project could even be utilizing terms from the architectural field of studies to analyze the landscape by using Nielsen's theory of the Polynuclear City, a place where borders between the city and the country are eliminated; discusses whether an identity of the landscape has any significance to mankind and contextualizes the definition of the landscape to a) the definition made by the European Landscape Convention as an area characterized by the interaction between natural and cultural factors; b) a geological point of view on how cultural interference in nature influences the shape and identity of the landscape and c) the importance of European landscape painting from the 19th century, concerning the visual idealization of the landscape. In a final discussion a mix of the different perceptions of landscape is done to make a complete investigation of the identity of the landscape in relation to us within a perspective to the above mentioned project about the Wadden Sea.*

Keywords: *Landscape, landscape architecture, urban landscapes, Wadden Sea, land art, generic landscapes, existential foothold, artificial landscapes*

Introduction

What separates a specific landscape from others? For example, what makes the dunes at the West Coast of Denmark different in relation any other beach? If all cultural influences, such as

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architectural landmarks, houses, paths, tracks, etc., are taken away, isn't the landscape of a beach simply generic? All beaches contain the same factors such as sea, weed, sand and stones. The sand even consists only of grained stone,[1] making the question of the difference between beach of sand or stones irrelevant. And is it then even possible to categorize the area as a landscape? How to define a landscape? Based on the earlier project *The Amorphous Landscape*, which examined the landscape of the Wadden sea at the West Coast of Jutland in Denmark's quality as fragmented, this paper tries to discuss the following thesis by using the project as subject of the analysis:

"The landscape can be interpreted as without a formal significance in relation to the human perception."

This is conducted with argumentation of Tom Nielsen from the book *Formløs: Den moderne bys overskudslandskaber* (translated*: Shapeless: profit-landscapes of the modern city*). Nielsen describes the decompositions of borders between the landscape and the city as *polynuclear cities*. Likewise, once the

city is derived of the landscape, he uses the term *the picturesque city* as an explanation of the structures of the city. By *the picturesque city* the paper generates a landscape without identity as is defined by Rem Koolhaas in *The Generic City*. Furthermore, the landscape definition by Finn Arler in the article *Landskabskvalitet, naturkvalitet og demokrati* (Translated: *Quality of landscape, quality of nature and democracy*) is included. As multiple points of view are desired, the landscape is also described with the help of Christian Nordberg-Schulz books *A place to be* and *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* in order to get a new perspective on the landscape in the form of Genius Loci, to be understood as a concept for a place spirit.[2] Landscape painting is therefore also central to the understanding of the task and examination of the landscape's formative expression. It is further examined in the article *Landscape change and the urbanization process in Europe* by Professor Marc Antrop, whether it even is possible to take away all cultural influences.

Analytical standpoint

The Amorphous Landscape is used as the subject of analysis in regard to the qualities of the landscape in relation to humans. During the project of examining

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1 Martin Sønderholm: Sand in *Den Store Danske*, Gyldendal:
http://denstoredanske.dk/lt,_teknik_og_naturvidenskab/Geologi_og_kartografi/Sedimentologi/sand (Accessed 23.04.2019).

2 Nordberg-Schulz 1980/1979, p. 18.

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the formal significance of the Wadden Sea a manifesto was written. It consisted of an interpretation of the landscape as fragmented, formless and without identity, as a generic landscape inspired by Rem Koolhaas manifesto *The Generic City*[3]. The first paragraph of the manifesto was *Character.* The character was based on the elements of the area; water, dunes, grass and sand.[4] The landscape was fragmented into a constellation of these pure elements, and thereby it was concluded to be idle. Because the coastline of Wadden Sea consisted only of these pure generic elements, it was therefore concluded there is no difference between it and any other coastline. The tourists were consuming the nature as a tourist attraction, which contributed to a loss of identity because of a deterioration of the possibility of building an identity.[5] The second paragraph of the manifesto was *Shapelessness.* The shape of the landscape ceases and changes, in time to the tide, waves, weather and wind. One cannot plan the motions and movement of the Wadden Sea. Furthermore, the shape of the landscape was analyzed in two perspectives: the point of view from the city met by an open landscape, or from the sea met by a more closed form of

dunes, which showed the duality of the landscape.[6] The third paragraph is *Aesthetic.* The constant changes of the coastline create the aesthetic of the Wadden Sea. It is governed by the flexible relations between the elements dominating in turn. It is an uncontrollable movement of many aspects and alternate compositions of the elements, which also changes in accordance to the seasons.[7] The project is not to be understood as a scientific instance of the thesis, but rather as a tool or a perspective to address and investigate the landscape and its formal significance.

Methodology of research

In order to be able to use the above-mentioned project as a subject of the paper's analysis, an argumentation of using terms of the city has to take place. This seems to be possible by using the study and terms of Tom Nielsen's book *Shapeless* about surplus landscapes. Nielsen describes the concept of polynuclear urban structures such as the realization of the differentiation model, which means that the landscape no longer lies outside, as a consequence of the city, but is an interacting part of it. This is achieved with new buildings on rural areas that have not been urbanized before and the demolition in the city in

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3 Koolhaas, Mau 1998/1995, p. 1248.
4 Group paper 2016, p. 1.
5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 2.
7 Ibid., p. 3.

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order to create new cultural landscapes (e.g. parks).[8] This means there is no longer a clear border which indicates that the landscape is outside as in the nuclear city structure, where there should be a clean border between the city and the rural landscape surrounding it.

Nielsen describes how the landscape of its time has been used to imply common and unimaginable things into an aesthetic field and that this can be used to look at the undefined and surplus areas of the city created without aesthetic intention.[9] His concept of the picturesque city is also derived from the landscape. Here he draws parallels to the picturesque garden in which there is a breathing space in the pavilion, as it can also be found also found in the city enclaves.[10] According to Nielsen, the picturesque city is a collection of elements that are diverse and have a varied composition, which means that the city offers a moving experience which typically contains shifts like a varied landscape.[11] His conceptual understanding of the city thus takes the starting point in the landscape and nature; both in the merging of landscape and city, but also in the city's

composition of different elements. It is therefore argued that it must seem reasonable to use the theories of the city and apply them to landscape. If the terms can be used in the direction from landscape to city, a conversion is made from city to landscape, creating the possibility to legitimize the use of the terms and manifesto by Rem Koolhaas to describe the formal significance of the landscape.

In the manifesto of the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas a new modern city is described; *the generic city*. It resembles the airport. There is no nostalgia, the structure is all the same and there is no cultural or identical attachment to the city.[12] You could be anywhere in the world, it would be all the same. There is no historical attachment and what loses its function will simply be abandoned.[13] In contrary to the generic city there is the hyper city. Rem Koolhaas uses Paris as his example of a hyper city. The city is imprisoned by its own identity and can only become more Parisian. It is becoming a hyper-vision of itself, fixated.[14] All the facades of historical buildings are like props from a movie scene. He gives us an example of an exception though: London, whose only identity is its lack of a clear identity. The

8 Nielsen 2001, p. 33.
9 Ibid., p. 82.
10 Ibid., p. 38.
11 Ibid.

12 Koolhaas 1998/1995, p. 1250.
13 Ibid., p. 1252.
14 Ibid., p. 1248.

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city *"is perpetually becoming even less London, more open, less static"*.[15] That is the character of the Wadden Sea in Denmark. The sea surrounding it is eating up the coastline,[16] making the landscape less a landscape, more open to the sea, less static, to use the words of Koolhaas.

On contrary, Christian Nordberg–Schulz, a Norwegian architect, describes in his book *Genius Loci* how the man needs to develop a relationship with a specific place in order to live in coexistence with his surrounding landscape. A place of understanding. A place of understanding built up through a friendship. One must discover and experience concrete landscapes in order to understand their qualities.[17] One must understand (as in an existential experience of the meaning) the heaven and the earth in order to stay between the two elements.[18] In other words one must find its surroundings meaningful.[19]

Analysis

The diversity of the Wadden Sea creates a fusion between different landscapes. In the dunes you are safely protected by the hard winds. The hilly landscape can be interpreted as the Nordberg–Schulz's description of the romantic landscape. The romantic landscape is characterized as alternating and diverse.[20] He describes how man does not live in the rural countryside socially, but lives there because he tries to find his own hideaway in the nature.[21] There is also space for exploring, resting or wandering up and down the endless hillside peaks. What is said to characterize the romantic landscape is the unlimited diversity of places, as well as the changing weather from day to day and through seasons.[22] It is in the landscape that human beings seek genius loci for an existential foothold.[23]

If you go away from the dunes towards the water, you meet another endlessness; the eternal sandy beach that is unmistakably reminiscent of the desert landscape. The monotonous widths give a look to the eternal horizon. The desert landscape is what Norberg–Schulz refers to as the cosmic landscape.[24] Unlike the latter mentioned

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15 Ibid.
16 The Meteorological Institute in Denmark has based on number from the IPCC AR5 report calculated possible local sea-level risings of Denmark from 1986-2005 to 2081-2100. The sea is expected to rise in-between 0,34 meters to 0,61 meters. Source (DMI): https://www.dmi.dk/da/hav-og-is/fremtidens-vandstand/ (Accessed 23.04.2019).
17 Nordberg–Schulz 1986, p. 14.
18 Nordberg–Schulz 1980/1979, p. 41.
19 Ibid., p. 5.

20 Nordberg–Schulz 1986, p. 17.
21 Nordberg–Schulz 1980/1979, p. 42.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p. 45.

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romantic landscape, the desert landscape has a total order characterized by its structure and permanent state.[25] However, many sand grains were lifted and shaken by the violent wind like a small sandstorm. It was barely possible to open the eyes without getting sand in them. According to Norberg-Schulz, the sandstorm refers to the only surprising moment you can have in the desert. However, it is still monotonous because it does not account for another order, but merely conceals the already known.[26]

However, such a sharp distinction between the dunes and the shore cannot be set, as the beach can be understood merely as an element of the romantic landscape. Behind the cliff, there is a new place, but there are various new places the Wadden Sea, or as he writes about the romantic landscape:

"Behind every thaw and stone there is a new place, and only exceptionally, the landscape is united to form a simple, unambiguous space."[27]

The definition of the landscape must be defined for a further examination of landscape as an analytical term. The definition made by the European Landscape Convention, according to Professor with Specific Responsibilities at Aalborg University, Finn Arler, goes as follows:

"An area perceived by local or visitors, and whose character is the result of actions and interplay between natural and / or cultural (human) factors"[28]

According to Arler, there is a duality in this definition: the landscape is shared as a delimited space and as a place perceived by humans[29], both perceptions will be examined in this paper. The first part can be related to the human perception. Here a tradition of landscape paintings is central, as the landscape is mediated through the artist's aesthetic optics into a shape on the canvas. It is based on Romanticism, which by Jacob Wamberg Professor in Art History at Aarhus University, in the article *Kunstens Landskaber* (Translated: The Landscapes of Art) is argued to be the period of western visual art in which the landscape painting had the greatest effect.[30] Wamberg thus describes how two elements competed against each other; realism in the sense that man had occupational control over nature and the romanticism in the form of the

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25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 42.

28 Arler 2008, p. 151.
29 Ibid., p. 152.
30 Wamberg 2005, p. 23.

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sovereign nature. It is a landscape paradigm that describes the extent of the motifs from the magnificent wilderness to cultural-minded elements such as roads and fields.[31] The motifs are as snapshots, which are related to the invention of the photograph in the same period.[32] This however does not necessarily mean a true motif. In the same anthology, in the article *Europæiske Landskabsmaleri omkring år 1800* (Translated: European Landscape Painting around year 1800) by Tine Blicher Moritz, it is described how the painting is occurring realistically but has actually undergone artistic work.[33] It emerged, among other things, in a cultivation of the universal landscape, where it was not intended to reproduce the world as it actually was, but how it should look; a landscape utopia.[34] Other artists made use of inventing reality by referring to specific places or exact dating in the title. In this way, one dares to believe in the authenticity of the place, which can also be encouraged by objects strategically placed in the picture frame for a more credible expression and idealized reality.[35] Is this idealized reality an expression of the understanding of the landscape and its identity that we have today? It is at least

a symbol of the form the landscape has had: the image that emerges at the thought of the landscape. The other aspect of the definition of the landscape as a delimited space, is related to Marc Antrop, professor of Geography at Ghent University. He rests his investigation of the landscape in Europe in relation to the expansion of the urban cities like the above mentioned Tom Nielsen. Unlike Nielsen, he has another perspective on the relation between the city and the landscape; instead of seeing it as a differentiation model, where city and landscape interact, Antrop sees the landscape as a product of urbanization[36]. With the great expansions of the cities during the industrialization a higher developed infrastructure was needed. Railways were especially necessary for transporting goods by locomotives. Later on, roads and highways took over the, as he explains, fragmentation of the landscape.[37] He believes that the new landscapes occur because of the fragmentation of the landscapes:

"*Urbanization, effects of transportation networks and globalization are the important driving forces of these changes and emergence of new landscapes. Urbanization is a complex*

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31 Ibid., p. 15.
32 Ibid., p. 21.
33 Blicher-Moritz 2005 p. 25.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.

36 Antrop 2004, p. 10.
37 Ibid.

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process of change of rural lifestyle into urban ones".[38]

In that way he describes how the landscape has to make the urban development inferior in order to be able to keep a sort of existence. Therefore, he gives the landscape another term as the *urban fringe* or *suburban landscape*.[39] An issue he sees in the suburban landscape though is the fact that these landscapes are organized by urbanites, people living in the city[40]. This creates, especially in the future, a rural countryside planned in function of the city[41]. The landscape is defined by mosaic of infrastructures and constructions depending on processes of the city's changing lifestyles, functions and accidence.[42] This, Antrop claims, makes the necessity for an urgent landscape inventorying and monitoring.[43] In between the city developments and suburban landscapes, he assures, that untouched countryside can still can remain, but mostly rural areas are falling in an 'urban shadow':

"*Although the landscape still has a rural appearance, however, it has been urbanized functionally*".[44]

The visual qualities of the landscape, he explains, are though important for the urbanites[45] and they search for sceneries that reflect their conception of an unspoilt Acadian countryside.[46] This explains why landscape keeps its appearance. Antrop concludes that the affection by the city has created a landscape which is multifunctional and works within an urban frame. The traditional landscapes become fragmented and thereby gradually it loses its identity.[47]

Discussion

Landscape was partly described by Arler as an intersection between nature and culture. For a further discussion of the identity of the landscape, the ambiguity of the definition of *nature* has to be examined closer in relation to the Wadden Sea.

In the article *Landscape Quality, Natural Quality and Democracy,* he sets out five constellations for the definition of nature. (Table 1.)

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38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid., p. 21.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid., p. 16.
43 Ibid., p. 24.
44 Antrop 2004, p. 17.

45 This reflection can be related to the mentioned theories of Nordberg–Schulz.
46 Antrop 2004, p. 17.
47 Ibid., p. 24.

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	1. constellation	2. constellation	3. constellation	4. constellation	5. constellation
God	The creator	The creator	---	---	---
Human	In the picture of God	The sinner	The creator	The sinner	The creator and the created
Nature	The material	The creation	The material	The creator	The creator and the created

Table 1: Model of Finn Arler's five constellations.[1]

Third, fourth and fifth constellation seems highly relevant to this assignment because they relate to the relationship between man and nature (culture and nature). This is in line with the definition of the landscape. In the *third constellation,* man is seen as the creator and nature as the material. Nature is thus under human influence, and it is human duty to master it. There is complete control over nature while at the same time the constellation can also be understood as the fact that humans must improve the nature at the best of their ability and standards.[48] If this is put in perspective to the Wadden Sea at the Danish west coast, there is an interplay between nature and man as in this constellation.

Seven years ago, the Danish Wadden Sea was proclaimed as a National Park and in 2014 as a World Heritage Site of UNESCO.[49] With its predicate 'World Heritage', the National Park received international recognition of the work made concerning the protection of the area.[50] People have given particular

48 Ibid., p. 154.
49 Nationalpark Vadehavet in *Nationalpark Vadehavet*, Naturstyrelsen: http://nationalparkvadehavet.dk/om-nationalpark-vadehavet/ (Accessed 23.04.2019).
50 Verdens Arv in *Nationalpark* Vadehavet, Naturstyrelsen: http://nationalparkvadehavet.dk/om-nationalpark-vadehavet/udpegninger-og-

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importance to a certain area and thereby focus on protection here, rather than on other parts of the Danish natural areas and landscape. Man acts almost as God superior to nature. With the protection of a natural area, there also comes a number of regulations for how nature must be worked with.[51] These regulations are also a consequence of the Wadden Sea Festival's major cultural event *Wadden Tide*, where international artists from Wadden Sea areas around the world come and make art related to the area's special nature.[52]

Nature conservation of the area can also be linked to the *fourth constellation* in which nature is the creator of the world we live in, where human destroys it as its enemy. Man and nature are heterogeneous and will never be able to unite, no matter how strong a wish for it is, and nature must prosper when human beings come. However, few understand what is good for nature and they can speak for it and keep the 'bad'

people away.[53] It is therefore a necessity to formulate laws and restrictions as man is unable to take care of the surrounding nature. At the same time, it can be argued that the human impact on the Wadden Sea landscape is not a danger. The landscape is created both by nature itself, by the wind shrugging in bushes and moving sand, the water as rain, creating puddles and the sea that shimmers on the coast, and by tourists and locals whose marks and footsteps on the dunes and on the shores shapes path to walk along the beach.

The landscape is thus formed in a collaboration, as *fifth constellation* is also being built on. Here is the relationship between man and nature, as something that belongs together and is united. Man is part of the cycle of nature that is created and creates. One can also look at humanity's position in several ways, for example from the perspective of social Darwinism. From this perspective, humanity is one of many species that must fight for space and resources. A way of understanding where nature is just a substance to fulfill the needs, and vice versa as human being is merely a materiality for the fulfillment of other species. In this constellation one can also see man as a co-creator who strives to create and

reguleringer/verdensarv/ (Accessed 23.04.2019).
51 Udpegninger og Reguleringer in *Nationalpark* Vadehavet, Naturstyrelsen: http://nationalparkvadehavet.dk/om-nationalpark-vadehavet/udpegninger-og-reguleringer (Accessed 23.04.2019).
52 Wadden Tide in *Vadehavs* Festival, Wadden Tide: http://vadehavsfestival.dk/wadden-tide.aspx (Accessed 23.04.2019).

53 Arler 2008, p. 154.

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preserve the nature and landscape.[54] The three constellations thus provide a clear definition of nature but also a good picture of how its relation to man can be understood. This also explains why the definition of the nature is not obvious. The constellations are all important for this assignment, in the sense that they can be linked to the landscape's identity or lack thereof.

The ambiguity of the fifth constellation makes a discussion of the landscape as fragmented or non-deformable more obvious. The constellation is used in this paper in relation to both the landscape's identity or lack of it, because the landscape in the constellation by its definition becomes a more interactive part of the nature, in relation to humans. In the previous section, it was put together with Rem Koolhaas's understanding of the adaptability of the generic city. Does that mean that the understanding of the landscape consists solely of natural hierarchy and human space in it? How about understanding the coexistence as an assumption for human dependence on nature?

As according to Nordberg-Schulz you must understand and get attached to your rural surroundings to be able to live in general. The landscape's qualitative characteristics that form an identity cannot be overcome. This is where you

as a person find the existential foothold. Genius loci is an epoch-making for a place of understanding in which one can live in coexistence with nature. One must understand the landscape through its identity, but what is the difference between the romantic view of the absolute shape of the landscape and the identity and the fake history of the city?[55] Is the landscape not simply caught in the idea of an identity? Are the shape and identity of the landscape designed by people to understand the complexity it contains? The complexity consists of the definition of the landscape as a blend of culture and nature and in the confusion about nature's definition in relation to man. This relationship must have an impact on the landscape understanding, because nature plays a significant role in it. The landscape is also constructed through the romantic landscape paintings that formed an understanding and order of the uncontrolled. They were on the spot, feeling its atmosphere and went home to produce a work that represented that experience. Therefore, it did not matter if the motive was changed in the process of remarking the scene. It was the mood and place of mind that was the most important.

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54 Ibid.

55 Koolhaas 1998/1995, p. 1248.

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Conclusion

If the landscape's identity can be recognized, first and foremost, depends on which perspective is used; the fragmentation of the landscape to a lack of identity or the recognition of the importance of an identity of the landscape. It is thus that two theses completely exclude each other in the interpretation of a particular term or expression. As was exemplified in the previous section, the fifth constellation can be related both to identity and a lack of it in its ambiguous definition of nature. The same is done in understanding the landscape painting, which can both be seen as an unseen interfering with reality or an expression of feelings and moods. However, the position of the landscape as being culturally dependent must manifest a message of such a large link between city and countryside that makes the generic landscape an opportunity. To abolish all cultural influences would not be possible, according to Arler's definition of the landscape. In this view, the landscape can be termed as formless and generic. Looking at fragmentation of the landscape, it can be understood as a collection of banal elements that together shape the landscape. This angle also partly makes the landscape generic as there are the same elements that go on and over again. What, however, gives the landscape a special character is the exposure of the various elements, and specific landscape types are then created? The duality of Antrops terms about the landscape, could also be the be the answer to the discussion. He manages to epitomize both the understanding of the landscape as fragmented and without an identity and the understanding why are landscapes significant to humans. Of course it is always possible to find the solution as question of understanding or attitude, but by Antrop we can acknowledge the fact that the landscape is changing because of the city development at the time (as Koolhaas and my manifesto would prefer it), but that it is still necessary to keep some sort of formal significances (as in the landscape painting) of the Arcadian countryside (as Nordberg–Schulz would argue this is because of the search for an existential foothold).

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