ANTHROPOS

108.2013: 97–115

The Objectified Corporeality

Prehistoric Implications of Anthropomorphism and Hybridism within Christian Iconography

Goce Naumov

Abstract. – The body has been an important symbolic metaphor in various periods. It was not just an actual human body that was employed in individual portrayals, but also a corporeality which was incorporated in much more complex visual processes. Since the Neolithic human representations were composite part of symbolic embodiment of reality and engaged within the explication of the most crucial substantial principles. Such practice progressed into a concept of anthropomorphism where human body had a major role in asserting the fundamental notions of the material and spiritual environment. Within the concept a realm of visual hybridism was introduced as means of relationships between human body, household, and nature. Supported by numerous segments of material culture such imagery principle was common in prehistory, but also had huge impact into Classical art and religion, and especially within early Christian iconography. This article considers the symbolic evolution of these visual processes and how they were integrated in sacred texts and images related with the notion of Christ and its representations on mosaics and frescoes. *[Archaeology, Christian symbolic, iconography, vessels, funeral art]*

Goce Naumov, adjunct lecturer at St. Cyril and Methodius University (Skopje, Republic of Macedonia). During his studies and research on the archaeology of body and visual culture he was included in numerous archaeological excavations and projects in collaboration with the Museum of Skopje, Cultural Heritage Protection Office, Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts (SAZU), French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), University of Primorska, University of Belgrade, University of Padova, State University of New York, etc. He had lectures and presentations on universities and conferences in Cambridge, Manchester, Dublin, Oslo, New York, Buffalo, etc. – His publications include books and numerous articles published in journals and edited books. – See also Ref. Cited.

Within the iconography of numerous cultures, the body is emphasized as a central media used for transmitting the essential ideas associated to religions. Its universality and familiarity provide straightforward communication with the individuals involved in certain ritual ambiences. Due to various body poses, gesticulations of the extremities, or facial grimaces, messages manifested by the already stated corporeal features are indirectly suggested. Setting the head in definite position, placing the arms in relation to torso, and the emotional expression of the represented figure clearly indicate the major principles one culture or religion tends to transpose throughout its own iconography. Therefore, not infrequently, in the pantheon of almost all religions, mythical characters with actual corporeal attributes are included and incorporated in specific contexts, depending on the ideological milieu of the scene.

This kind of visual manipulation with the body in the domain of mythical images emphasizes its importance in the objectification of religious concepts and explication of the functions that certain represented characters possess. Entering the body in different scenes, gesticulations, and performances generate identities whose repeated presence, based on these performances, create conventions and standards (Bailey 2008: 62). The usage of identities within choreography is not only related to actual characters integrated and sacralized in legends and myths, but also to the sphere which clarifies processes present in the human surrounding and nature. In addition, mythical figures whose bodies, by using their concrete biological functions, enlighten the activity and organization of the cosmos are gradually

developed (Chausidis 2005: 11, 133–138). This embodying of the space was present in the domain of the religious definitions of closer human surrounding (the architectonic constructions utilized for living), but also for performing the rites.[1] This indicates the fact that, depending on the context, the body is incorporated in more categories which classify the narrative structure of a single religious system. Corporeal features were integrated in stories and images which explicate the cosmogony concepts, specific relations among figures in the legends, the ethical components of the myths, etc.

However, the body does not always solely participate in transmitting the religious concepts over a definite media. Sometimes it could be related to other attributes or objects used for intensifying the messages indicated with the body. Not uncommonly, in many religions there is a methamorphization of the body in other forms, i.e., when hybrid relations between actual body parts (or complete body) and some concrete objects, creatures, constructions, or natural elements are produced. Thus, in many cultures, representations of human–animal, human–wood, human–mountain, human–spoon, etc., could be often detected. They are mostly present in the painted compositions and sculptural forms such as images, frescoes, illuminations, figurines, vessels, amulets, jewelry, and monuments. These combinations of the body with other objects emphasize the necessity of inventing specific media which further will elucidate definite complex principles hard to be classified by the body itself. Therefore, actual attributes are added to it or are applied to certain objects, aiming the mutual complement of the features which body and object independently possess. In that case, most often an anthropomorphization of the objects is realized, because human traits could be supplemented. Mainly it arises from the practical relation that man has with his own surrounding, so that at least in the frames of religious processes it more easily explicates the function of the objects significant within symbolic communication.

On this occasion, the specific relation between man and vessel is of particular significance, the one which on single place unifies two very powerful and similar semiotic components. On one hand, the body is accented, its complexity is manifested through its gesticulations, its capability to regenerate, and its voluminosity as represented on the vessels. On the other hand, due to the equivalent voluminosity and outline, the vessels are identified with the human body. In this context, their ability to accumulate and store groceries is of major importance which, similar to the human abdomen, is symbolically realized through the concept of regeneration. Although far from the religious spheres, even archaeologists still instinctively react to the exceptional similarity among body and vessel. Very often during the analysis of pottery found on excavations, concerning the specific part of the fragmented or complete vessels archaeologists use terms which are associated with the human body (Naumov 2008). Thus, concrete parts of the pot are referred to as "mouth," "neck," "belly," "shoulder," "foot," etc.

This subconscious or maybe assumed interaction among human perception and vessel features originate from prehistory. The relation of this type is spreading continuously during the Classical period and the Middle Ages, its manifestations having its source in archaic forms of cultures inhabiting Africa, Europe, South America, etc. (Naumov 2006). Although seemingly far from these principles of visual hybridism, even early forms of Christianity as well as definite segments of Byzantine iconography in the Balkans recognize a symbolic equalization of major Christian figures (Jesus and the Virgin) with vessels or objects used for water (Naumov 2009: 66). On numerous mosaics and capitals from the A.D. 4th to the 6th century, explicit scenes were produced, where Christ is represented as a vessel filled with water or plants (grapevine). Peacocks or deer drinking water are flanking the vessel, so that this scene is considered as an imagery interpretation of 42nd King David's Psalm (Dimitrova 2007: 66). In a later period, the iconographical transformations within Byzantine art concretize this theme and with several authentic figures transfer it on the frescoes located in apsidal part of the church (Dimitrova 2001: 48).

The practice of creating conceptual relations between the human body and other elements present within architectonic space or nature is not unfamiliar for the Byzantine art. In some mosaics and frescoes, the body could be combined with rivers or caves thus generating personifications of particular geographical space which have a definite role in the narration of a painted scene. This construction of figurative simulacra and hypostasis of specific concepts (Wisdom) or wider approximate space (Earth, Hell), not rarely is accompanied with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations (Panić i Babić 1975: 70–75; Zorova 2012). Regarding this iconographic form, the early Christian variant of Jesus as a vessel (*kantharos*), i.e., "the source of life" is not surprising. It might be considered that in these early phases, the hybridism within iconography was a reasonable continuity of Classical traditions, but

1 Cremo (2008); Chausidis (1994: 200–213); Chausidis, Rahno, and Naumov (2008); Naumov (2007).

also an announcement of what later would spread throughout Christian art "under the veil."

Nevertheless, this very complex and later rare Christian iconographic concept would not be comprehensively clarified if the chronological continuity of vessel anthropomorphization and the implementation of certain pottery features on mythical characters from preceding periods are not broadly presented. Therefore, before elaborating on the arguments in support of the hybrid relations within early Christian mosaics and frescoes, the article will start with an introduction of similar semantic principles from the Neolithic until the Classical age, also later including contemporary archaic cultures.

Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Vessels

Since the earliest Neolithic phases in the Balkans (6500–4500 B.C.) vessels were produced with decoration on definite parts on their surface, some elements resembling the human body.[2] With the application or painting, most often eyes, eyebrows, nose, arms, breasts, navel, genitalia, or legs are represented. Although there are deviations, still these details were performed analogous to the anatomical disposition of the body. In the upper zone of the vessels, facial features were modeled, particularly eyes, nose, and eyebrows, while mouth and ears are mostly absent. In the lower zone, which covers most of the vessel, arms (usually placed on the belly), navel, and genitalia are applied. Very often, at the bottom of the vessel, legs are attached or they are an integral part of its body, as some cases demonstrate (see Fig. 1).

The function of these vessels cannot be determined with high certainty, although due to their position inside dwellings, most often it is considered that they were used for preserving groceries (cereals) and liquids (milk and water). In some of them, ornaments made of shells and snails were kept (Garašanin i Garašanin 1961: 24), which indisputably implies that anthropomorphic vessels do not have solely an utilitarian character regarding the most elementary needs of the community. By contrast, their anthropomorphic features as well as their visual analogies with the synchronic clay figurines, suggest that they were incorporated in much more complex iconographical processes related to Neolithic believes and rituals. In addition, there are a number of anthropomorphic vessels inside which remains of child skeletons were buried,[3] while some anthropomorphic vessels without a head representation or those with a deliberately broken "head" are associated with the decapitation of deceased bodies (Gheorghiu 2001: 81; Ralph 2007: 309 – later reminiscences).

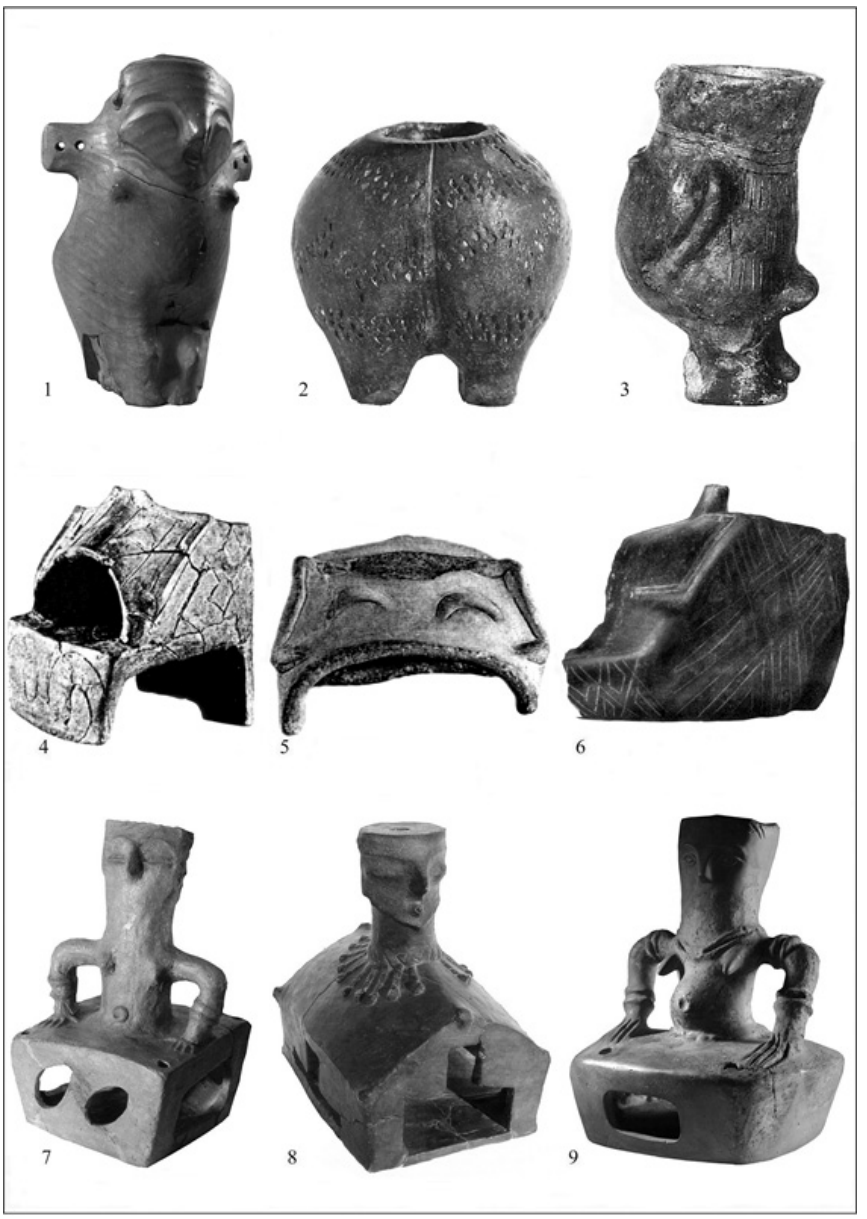
This funerary context was parallel manifested through vessels which do not bear any human traits, so that a few examples have been ascertained where neonates were buried inside vessels regarded in the repertoire of those with utilitarian purpose (Bačvarov 2004: 153; Naumov 2007: 262). In some cases, these vessels were intentionally deformed (their bottom and handles were broken), neonates were placed in their interior, and afterwards were inversely buried in the ground (Nemeskéri and Lengyel 1976: 396). The main goal of this rite was, through intentional modification, to obtain a shape of vessel suggesting a womb, so that it would accomplish its symbolic regenerative function. This semantic principle exactly creates the most potent link between human body and the vessels. Namely, analogous to their capability to contain something within their interior, body and vessel were ideally equalized through the concepts and production of anthropomorphic vessels. The ability to regenerate and transform the "deposited" substances inside the human abdomen (pregnancy and bearing) and the vessels' empty space (boiling and fermentation) even more accentuate the symbolic significance of these specific vessels (Naumov 2006: 66–68).

The functionality of this concept is established upon the implementation of the hybrid anthropomorphism through other objects and constructions with similar practical purposes (Naumov 2010). Thus, beside the anthropomorphic vessels, ceramic models of houses and ovens with parts of human bodies were also produced in the Neolithic.[4] They were visual and symbolic results of the crucial significance that actual interior spaces of houses and ovens had within Neolithic communities, consequently developing items emphasizing most of the ritual processes performed in such space (Chausidis 2007; Chausidis, Rahno i Naumov 2008). This semantic embodying of the authentic architectural space and objects in its interior, as much as it was the outcome of its cognitive explication through principles of hybridization that much it was a manifestation of its actual usage in the funerary rituals

2 Naumov (2006, 2008); Perlès (2001: 26); Pyke and Yiouni (1996: 88); Nikolić i Vuković (2008: 166–171); Gimbutas (1989: 22, 37–39, 52, 104, 191); Todorova i Vaisov (1993: 99, 104; fig. 8); Radunčeva (2002: 139; fig. 41/2–5).

3 Bačvarov (2003: 141 f.); Hodder (1990: 52); Titov i Ergeli (1980: 102, 104).

4 See Fig. 1: 4–9. Sanev (2006: 182–190); Petrović (2000–2001: 12–14).



1. Vinća (Garašanin 1982: Fig. 21)
2. Vršnik (Koištrkovska-Nasteva 2005: Fig. 27)
3. Orlavat (Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 83)
4. Medvednjak (Petrović 2000–2001: Fig. 3)
5. Progar (Petrović 2000–2001: Fig. 1b)
6. Vinča (Vasić 1936/I: 1c)
7. Madjari (Koištrkovska-Nasteva 2005: Fig. 42)
8. Porodin (Koištrkovska-Nasteva 2005: Fig. 43)
9. Govrlevo (Chausidis 1994: Fig. 6)

Fig. 1: Neolithic Anthropomorphic Vessels and Models of Figurine – Houses and Ovens.

(Naumov 2007; 2009: 56). In a number of settlements from this period in the Balkans and Anatolia, mostly neonates, infants, and women were buried in the vicinity or interior of the houses and ovens.[5] Therefore, the possibility of this ritual practice (partly effected the incorporation of the utilitarian vessels in the same rite) should not be excluded, as well as the rationalization of the definite symbolic functions of anthropomorphic vessels. Using these vessels exclusively in the sphere of domestic and funerary activities justifies their relation with the vital principles of existence of the Neolithic communities.

The steady semantic construction developed through these objects is confirmed by their usage in the later prehistoric periods: Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages (4500–600 B.C.). In different parts of Europe and Asia Minor anthropomorphic vessels were frequently utilized for placing the cremated remains of the departed (see Fig. 2), therefore, by many researchers referred to as urns.[6] Probably due to the ritual tradition of burying the deceased in-

5 Bačvarov (2004: 153); Gimbutas (1989: 151; Moses (2006: 182); Naumov (2007).

6 Hoernes (1925: 361, 483); Brendel (1978: 107); Gimbutas (1989: 191, 292, 383); Kneisel (2007: 583–590).

1. Vidra (Müller-Karpe 1968: Pl. 177/11)
2. Haçilar (Mellaart 1970: Fig. 249.1)
3. Troy (Hoernes 1925: 361, Fig. 7)
4. Corneto (Hoernes 1925: 527, Fig. 2)
5. Azor (Müller-Karpe 1968: Pl. 108/9)
6. Phaistos (Hoernes 1925: 527, Fig. 6)
7. Lemnos (Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 292/1)
8. Pomerania (Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 383/2)
9. Troy (Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 292/2)

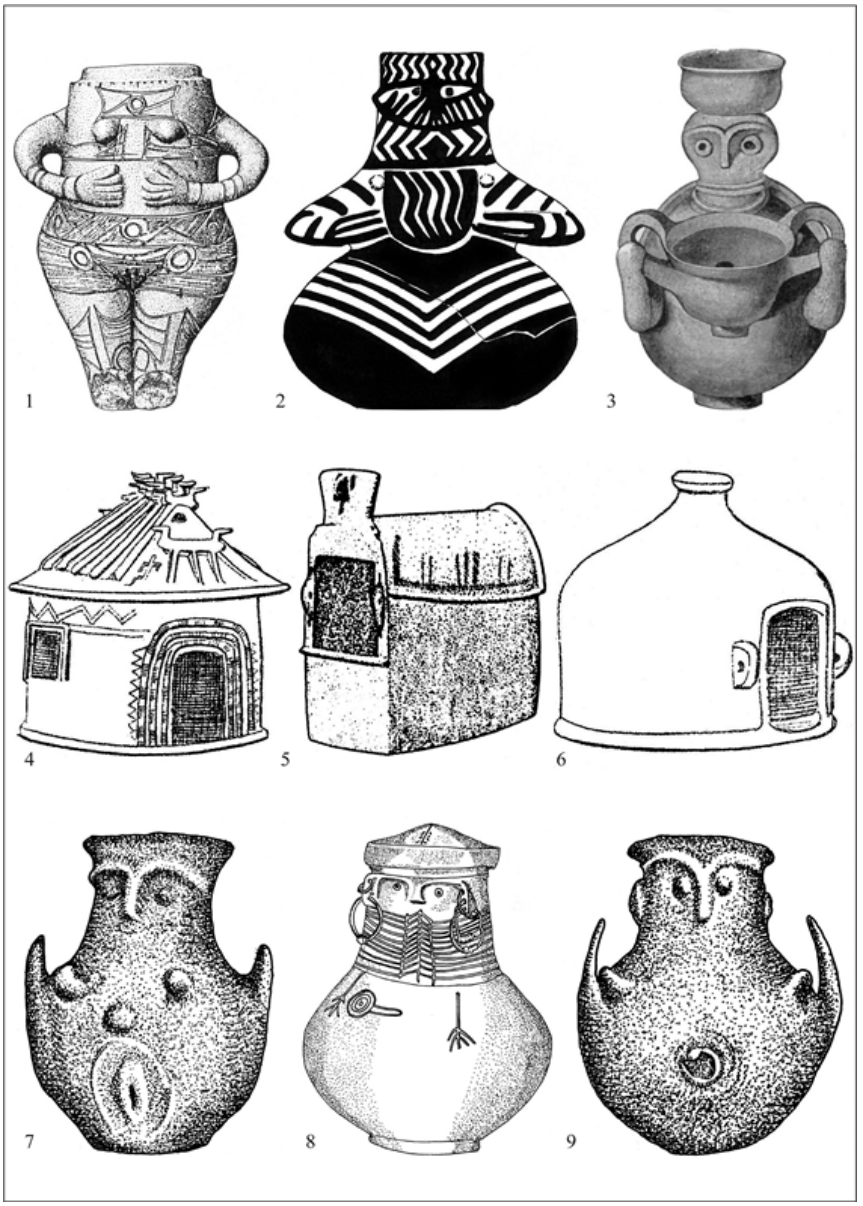


Fig. 2: Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron Age Anthropomorphic Vessels and Urns.

side dwellings, during these periods there are urns produced which strengthen the symbolic categories of this space as "eternal home."[7] This refers to ceramic models of houses in the interior in which cremated remains of the deceased were placed (Fig. 2: 4–6; see also Hoernes 1925: 525–528; Bradley 2005: 50). In some regions, these models even bear elements of human faces (Fig. 2: 5; see also Müller-Karpe 1968: 9, 11, 14), so that they are closely related to Neolithic figurine house models and concretely to semantical concepts of house anthropomorphization.

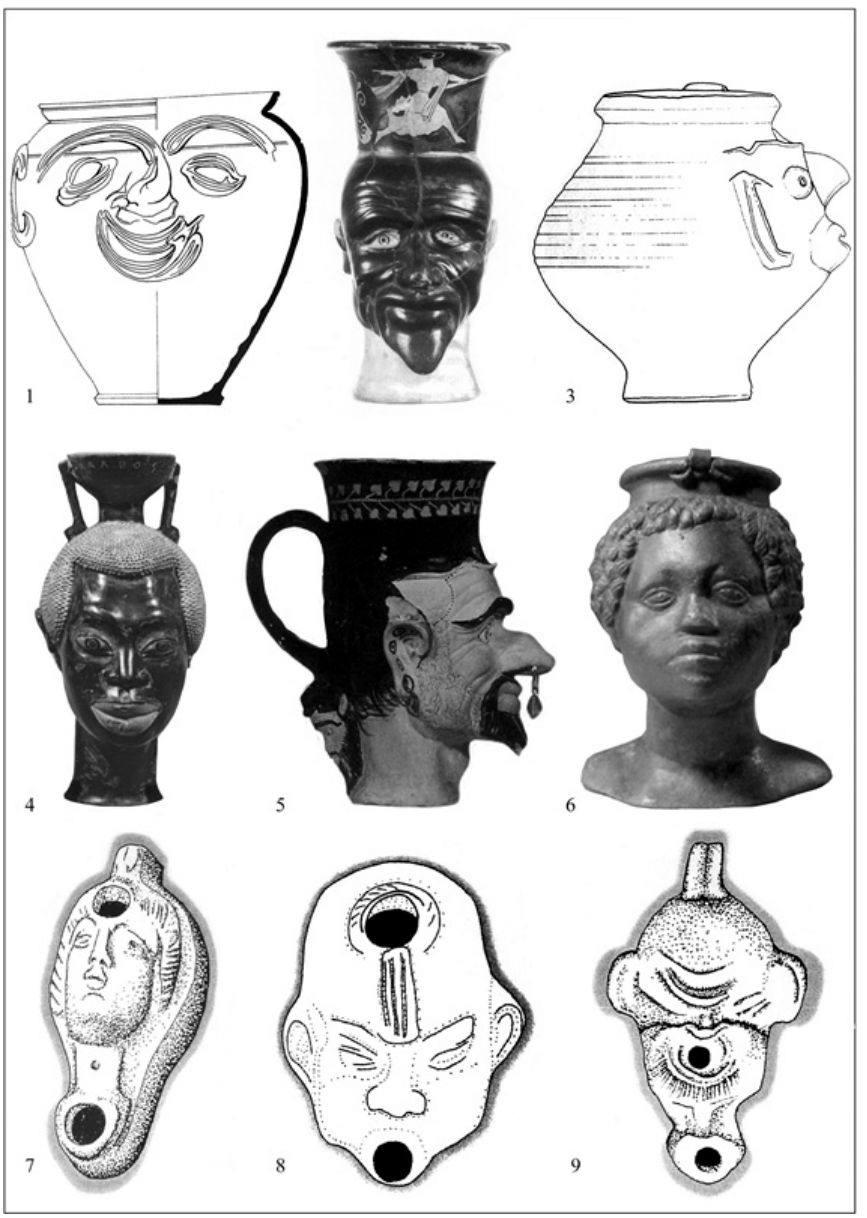
This imagery dynamism additionally confirms that the body was symbolically a most appropriate media through which the ritual functionality of certain space is clarified, but also a medium for manifesting vital corporal principles (pregnancy, childbearing, growing, and dying). Hence, it could be concluded that this kind of hybridism between corporeality and the crucial roles of the house created determined forms of the visual culture, which in the course of cognition objectified crucial life components as well as inclusion of death as prerequisite for symbolic rebirth (Chausidis 1994: 201–213;

7 Among Slavic languages in the Balkans, the term "eternal house" refers to a "place" where the departed dwell, including both, their grave or abstract space where souls rest.

Bradley 2005: 50–52; Naumov 2007: 266). In that context vessels were also incorporated which due to their applied corporal features further contribute towards the development of this regenerative notion, equally present within burials as well as in rituals associated with the provision of victuals.

Classical Anthropomorphic Vessels

The beginning of the Classical period also changes the social structures of the populations inhabiting Southeast Europe, but the prehistoric traditions still remain in definite spheres of material culture. In both Greek and Roman phases, most of the vessels change their shape and decorated surface, but they very vigorously transpose the older ideas related to them. Beside the practical function of the vessels there are some which are involved in the higher levels of symbolic communication. This includes vessels which, due to details applied and painted on the contour and surface, were in immediate visual relation with the public practice of certain ceremonies or rites. Those which belong to the group of luxurious or representative vessels often were painted or modeled with mythological scenes, where the narration is very frequently described through anthropomorphic figures (Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1977).



1. Sirmium (Brukner 1981: T. 47.1)
2. Munich (Hoffmann 1997: Fig. 57)
3. Sirmium (Brukner 1981: T. 47.1)
4. Athens (Andronicos 1993: Fig. 47)
5. Spina (Hoffmann 1997: Fig. 59a)
6. Mezia (Kabakčieva 2005: 172)
7. Scupi (Jakimovski 2008a: Fig. 422)
8. Stobi (Jakimovski 2008a: Fig. 419)
9. Stobi (Jakimovski 2008a: Fig. 420)

Fig. 3: Anthropomorphic Vessels and *lucernae* (Lamps) from Classical Period.

Although human figures applied on the pottery were present as well as in the prehistory, it should be emphasized that their presence on the Classical vessels explains more thoroughly the functions and role of mythical characters and religious ideas they maintain.

As a result of this accentuated (in some instances traditional) communication through the human body, ceramic and metal vessels were produced with very precisely executed facial features.[8] Equally male and female individuals were represented on them, thus inducing some authors to define them as mythical figures (Chausidis 2009; Kitov 1999: 21; Janakievski 1998: 25). Some of these characters were indirectly associated with death, especially those with negroid faces modeled on the vessel surface (Chausidis 2009). In that context, several *balsamaries* (vessels containing oil/liquid to anoint the body of the departed) can be included, whose corpus consisted of two negroid heads joined together (Chausidis 2009). Although recently there are no familiar anthropomorphic vessels used for burying the cremated remains, the examples above still induce that they were related to funerary rites throughout the Classical period. As it can be noticed, certain figures modeled on the vessels were mythical representatives of death, or, as was the case in the other parts of Europe, perhaps real portraits of the deceased individuals.

This type of body hybridism (particularly the head) with the objects, which were often present in the surrounding of the Classical populations, not only was manifested on the level of the vessels. In the Roman era, numerous ceramic and metal *lucernae* (lamps) were produced, with the represented human heads from whose mouth the light of the lamp appears.[9] It is also considered that these representations belong to characters deriving from Hellenic or Roman mythology (Dionysus, Eros, etc.), or yet again were part of the funerary customs related to negroid figures.[10] In the domain of the hybridization of negroid heads and their burial context, also Hellenistic earrings are included, on whose top a head of a black man is applied (Chausidis 2009; Ivanovski 2006: 176; Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1987: 73). There are examples where the body of these earrings was modeled as a figure of Nike, also found as grave goods in Hellenistic necropolises (Ivanovski 2006: 179).

In the sphere of Classical hybrid representations, personifications of definite geographic space (river, mountain, city) are also integrated, which in different imagery media were depicted through the human body. This visual feature will be implemented within administrative-symbolic mediation through the coins, and particularly in the region where later in the early Christian period the repertoire of anthropomorphic personifications would be developed. As example can be considered the coins from the Roman city of Stobi (nowadays Republic of Macedonia), on whose reverse two male figures as personifications of the rivers Axios and Erigon were represented (Lilčić 1995: 61). In the region of the Roman province Epirus Nova (nowadays partly in the Republic of Macedonia), in the period from 4th till 6th century, there was a production of mosaics with Christian scenes where some rivers were illustrated as personifications (Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1975: 52). This Classical imagery tradition would continue further in Christian iconography. Despite the definite visual principles existing in this period of the Middle Ages and classified or suggested through *erminias*,[11] the context in which the human body is included would go apart from the standards of Christian dogma. Firmly based on Classical visual principles, some of the most important characters in Christianity would be symbolically incorporated within concepts of anthropomorphic and objectified substitutions. In addition, their specific corporeality would be entirely attached to gnoseological categories which very subtly explain the complex role and function of these figures in Christian iconography.

Corporal and Objectified Substitutions within Christian Iconography

It is well known that the Christian iconography is solidly founded on precisely determined norms of visual expressions. Almost all of the mosaics, frescoes, and icons illustrate something which is previously established, very often through imagery manuals (*erminias*), although in different stages of the Middle Ages there are variations and developments of certain scenes (Korunovski i Dimitrova 2006). In the domain of these iconographic standards, concentrated on the most dominant visual media in Christianity, very frequently hagiographical scenes were painted. With the selection of several details definite significant segments from the life of Jesus, the Virgin, or saints, meritorious for Christianity,

8 See Fig. 3: 1–6. See also Braithwaite (1984); Anderson-Stojanović (1992: 78); Brukner (1981).

9 See Fig. 3: 7–9. See also Chausidis (2009); Jakimovski (2008a: 415–423); Kuzmanov (1992); Maneva (1984); Spasovska-Dimitrioska (2008); Nikolova (2008: 253).

10 Chausidis (2009); Spasovska-Dimitrioska (2008: 225); Jakimovski (2008b); Nikolova (2008: 251).

11 *Erminia* is a medieval manual with instructions for painting frescoes.

were depicted. Beside the illustrations of their life cycles, these characters were often portrayed in particular positions, thus suggesting their symbolic functions. These scenes are organized and disposed in several fields or zones, painted on the walls of determined interior parts (rarely onto the exterior) of the temples. Such a defined iconography is present in almost all of the Christian churches and basilicas throughout the whole Middle Ages of Southeast Europe. Its bright imagery narrative enabled direct visual communication with the participants in the church rituals, as well as their introduction to the most crucial segments of the Christian ideology.[12]

Hence, in the framework of this rich iconography more complex ideas were implemented requiring a visual canal for their manifestation. Definite concepts, associated with the semantic quality of Christian characters as well as to more abstract gnoseological categories, were depicted through concrete representations, not always described in the *erminias* or within the official interpretations of the churches commissioning frescoes or mosaics. These images surely supplemented the more subtle symbolic significances of certain figures or areas, at the same time not excluding the common notions related to them. Because Christianity frequently uses the human body as media for expressing the essential religious ideas, it was actively employed within the objectifying of more abstract but symbolically potent cognitive components. In addition, during their "embodying," the Heavenly Rivers, Hell, Earth, or Wisdom, were often represented through personifications depicted with the human body (Panić i Babić 1975: 71–74; Zorova 2012), which shall be broadly elaborated below.

These anthropomorphic or objectified substitutes were manifested throughout two directions. In the first case, as it was already stated, the body was symbolically applied to definite notions or area (space), thus defining or simplifying their implication. That way, throughout linking a concrete figure to such a notion or space, an image is created with which they will be visually distinguished and easily included into the rich narration of the Christian iconography. But, in the other case, it realized an opposite process of accenting the definite semantic connotations, specific for some Christian characters. Intentionally, their body is represented more abstractly, so that in some instance they were "objectified." In that context, the body has been replaced by the concrete object which symbolically equalizes its actual functions with the essential significances of the character represented by it. Sometimes, that object is positioned in immediate close relation with the authentic figure, so that in the vicinity of this character an object is painted with which he/she was semantically identified (in the earlier iconographical phases or old manuscripts).

This second aspect of objectified substitutes again brings us back towards prehistoric and Classical traditions when the "objectification" of the human body was performed through employing the actual and conceptual features of vessels.[13] No matter the temporal distance, but considering the perceptional and iconographical continuity on certain area (The Balkans), this common principle was not neglected in the Christianity. Particularly in the period of early Christianity, a vessel not rarely was associated with the symbolic significance of Jesus. In later stages, it was iconographically modified and even incorporated within the representations of the Virgin. In addition, their relationship with the semantics of the vessel was absolutely attached onto the functions and role they had in the initiation and dissemination of Christianity.

Early Iconographical Representations of Christ as Vessel

In the period from A.D. 4th to 6th century, in great parts of the Roman Empire and its Balkan provinces, mosaics, frescoes, and reliefs describing different variants of Christian scenes were produced inside basilicas.[14] Mainly, they represent life phases of Jesus or depict events quoted in the Bible. The repertoire consisting of the means of expression used for illustrating these scenes usually depends on the place where they were disposed. If they were painted on the walls, human figures frequently dominate in their imagery narration. But if these scenes were produced on the floor mosaics, parapet plates, or the capitals on the columns, then means of expression were used which do not include human corporeality.

As substitution to these individuals, bodies of various animals and objects were placed suggesting the actual or symbolic character of the believers

12 Broadly for the elements of the Christian iconography see Lazarev (1967); Haussig (1971); Djurić (1974); Subotić (1980); Rasolkoska-Nikoloska (2004); Korunovski i Dimitrova (2006).

13 Although in the prehistoric traditions such a substitution was developed onto the concept of hybridism when the actual vessel was combined with definite parts of the human body, so providing a both visual process of vessel's anthropomorphization and objectification of certain individual or mythical characters.

14 See Fig. 4; see also Cvetković-Tomašević (1978); Aleksova (1995); Dimitrova (2006); Lilčić (2002).

1. Stobi (Dimitrova 2007: Fig. 5)
2. Heraclea (Mikulčić 2007: 127)
3. Heraclea (Dimitrova 2007: Fig. 10)
4. Heraclea (Mikulčić 2007: 122)
5. Stobi (Mikulčić 2003: 126)
6. Heraclea (Dimitrova 2007: Fig. 3)

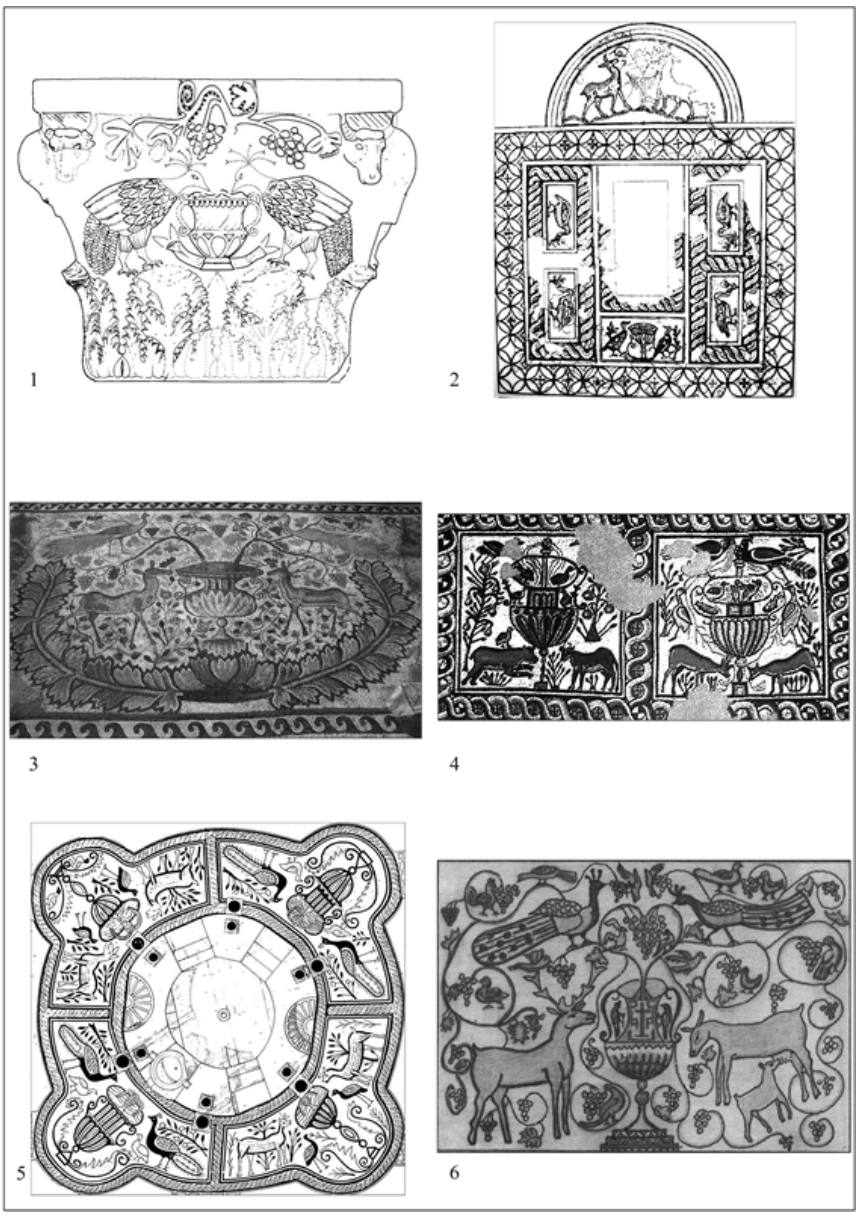


Fig. 4: Early Christian Mosaics and Capitals with the Representation of Christ as Vessel.

or Christian figures from the Bible.[15] This definitely could be related to several specific situations which defined the nature of iconography applied in certain media. On the one hand, despite the frescoes, mosaics were not completely visible during the ceremonies practiced inside basilicas. In that occasion, the believers standing on mosaics were not capable to realize direct and long-term visual communication with the current scenes, as it was the case with those depicted high on the frescoes.[16] On the other hand, the actual standing on the mosaics resulted from the construction of definite ethical and visual parameters for the representation of the Christian characters. Since it was probably inconvenient to

15 Broadly for the elements of the early Christian iconography see Dimitrova (1995).

16 Only during the entry in the temple, a transient visual contact with the scenes and details on the mosaic floor was feasible. After the filling of the interior with the believers, it was almost impossible these mosaics to be observed in its entirety. It could be considered that during the ceremonies, without regard to the participants, mosaic scenes had the role symbolically to stimulate this place in realization of its essential functions, i.e., the gathering and enlightening of the believers. As it should be elaborated below, particularly these scenes indirectly represented Christianization and incorporation of Christian spirit within the catechumens (new believers).

step onto the authentic bodies of presented figures, somehow their presence on the mosaics should be "mitigated" with a substitution for their bodies.[17] In addition, this replacement should be in some semantic analogy with the body, character, and functions of the represented figure. In that context, instead of Christ's body commonly a vessel was placed, which was a symbolic equivalent of his essence.

This is confirmed by numerous mosaics registered in the Republic of Macedonia and abroad. In this occasion, several examples will be presented which clearly address the incorporation of few iconographical concepts into the sphere of symbolic visual communication. Recently, the most preserved mosaics are evidenced in Heraclea Lynkestis, Stobi, and Lychnidos, Classical cities in the Roman provinces Macedonia Secunda and Epirus Nova, which were urban centers on this territory in the period of early Christianity.[18] Frequently the mosaics rather were placed in basilicas than in their supplementary rooms (*baptisteria*) and episcopal residencies as well in the palaces of the wealthy citizens.

Although there are variations in the selection of the patterns and decoration, still the repertoire of the zoomorphic and vegetative representations is almost always unified. Most often in the central scene doves, peacocks, does, deer, lambs, water, and grapevine are symmetrically disposed around or appear out of the primary pattern – vessel, spring, tree (Fig. 4; Dimitrova 1995; Cvetković-Tomašević 1978). Particularly this scene and all forms of patterns depicted in it are the most familiar in the early Christian representations used for emphasizing the baptismal, eucharistic, soteriological, and eschatological role of Jesus. In such way every pattern had its own symbolic connotation and function in the visual transposition of the 42nd Psalm of King David. Through this psalm Christ is indicated as "Well of Life" from whom catechumens drink in an attempt to give their soul to God and to obtain his eternal protection (Dimitrova 2007: 66). On the mosaics and capitals, the central pattern represented Christ as "Tree of Life" or "Divine Well" whose water is deposited inside *kantharos* or goblet (Fig. 4). From these vessels sometimes grapevine appears representing Christ's sacrifice, i.e., his blood used for communion of the believers. Most often the believers are represented as zoomorphic figures (doves, peacocks, lambs, deer) flanking the vessel and suggesting ideas with regard to scenes which should depict the role of Christ as savior, protector, or sacrifice (Dimitrova 2007: 67–74).

In context with this type of iconography, the presence of a vessel had an exceptionally important function. In almost all the scenes where it is depicted, the illustrated animals or birds always are symmetrically concentrated around it and drink from it or consume the appearing vegetation. The vessel, often in the shape of *kantharos*, chalice, or goblet, represents the space in which salutary water (Christ's essence) is deposited or grapevine (Christ's blood) grows. By means of these substances, the vessel is indirectly designated as Christ's body in which the whole Christian fundamental nature was accumulated, that way incorporated into the believers through their "consuming" of the Christ's ideal. Insertion of the vessel in these scenes was necessary for the visual embodying of Christ's existence and the symbolic function he had in spreading his teaching. Hence, his imagery equalization with the vessel was in semantic relationship with the actual features of this object (to contain that which maintains the spiritual subsistence of particular communities or populations).[19]

The visual identification of Jesus with vessels could be followed iconographically throughout the whole period of early Christianity in Europe. Although this semantic relationship was indirectly indicated, nevertheless, explicit patterns for defining this imagery concept were used in the later phases. In the first half of the 6th century, the vessel was enriched with motifs or a symbol designating Christ. On one of the mosaics from the episcopal basilica in Heraclea Lyncestis, the *kantharos* juxtapositioned by a deer is placed on the platform of a triple stair-

17 Surely this was far from an only practical solution. On the contrary, the avoiding of anthropomorphic figures on mosaics and the favorization of vegetative and zoomorphic representations was entirely in the direction of Christian interpretations of the Bible. The repertoire consisting means of expression on mosaics was reasonably integrated into the Christian iconography and indubitably symbolically justified the space for their position.

18 Broadly for these cities and mosaics produced in them see Bitrakova-Grozdanova (1975); Aleksova (1995); Mikulčić (2003, 2007); Gjorgievska (2007).

19 In early Christian iconography, usage of elements which asserted the more complex notions or spaces was not rarely practiced. Beside the application of symbols, in the mosaics from this period also personifications were presented, which through human body signified some definite space. Thus, in the mosaics from the north chapel in the tetra-concave basilica in Lychnidos (Republic of Macedonia) (Fig. 5: 1), human heads with flowing water were represented as personification of the Heavenly Rivers Pison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates (Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1975: 52). These early Christian traditions particularly will be developed within the medieval frescoes, where the repertoire of anthropomorphic personifications will be in abundance with representations of rivers, Earth, celestial bodies, months, and conversely, with numerous objects as attributes or prefigurations referred to exact Christian characters (Panić i Babić 1975: 71–74; Zorova 2012).

1. Lychnidos (Aleksova 1995: Fig. 22)
2. Ravenna (Haussig 1971: Fig. 105)
3. Ravenna (Dimitrova 2007: Fig. 6)
4. Bargala (Aleksova 1989: unmarked illustrations in the annex)
5. Ravenna (Dimitrova 1995: Fig. 70)
6. Ohrid (Korunovski i Dimitrova 2006: Pl. 30)

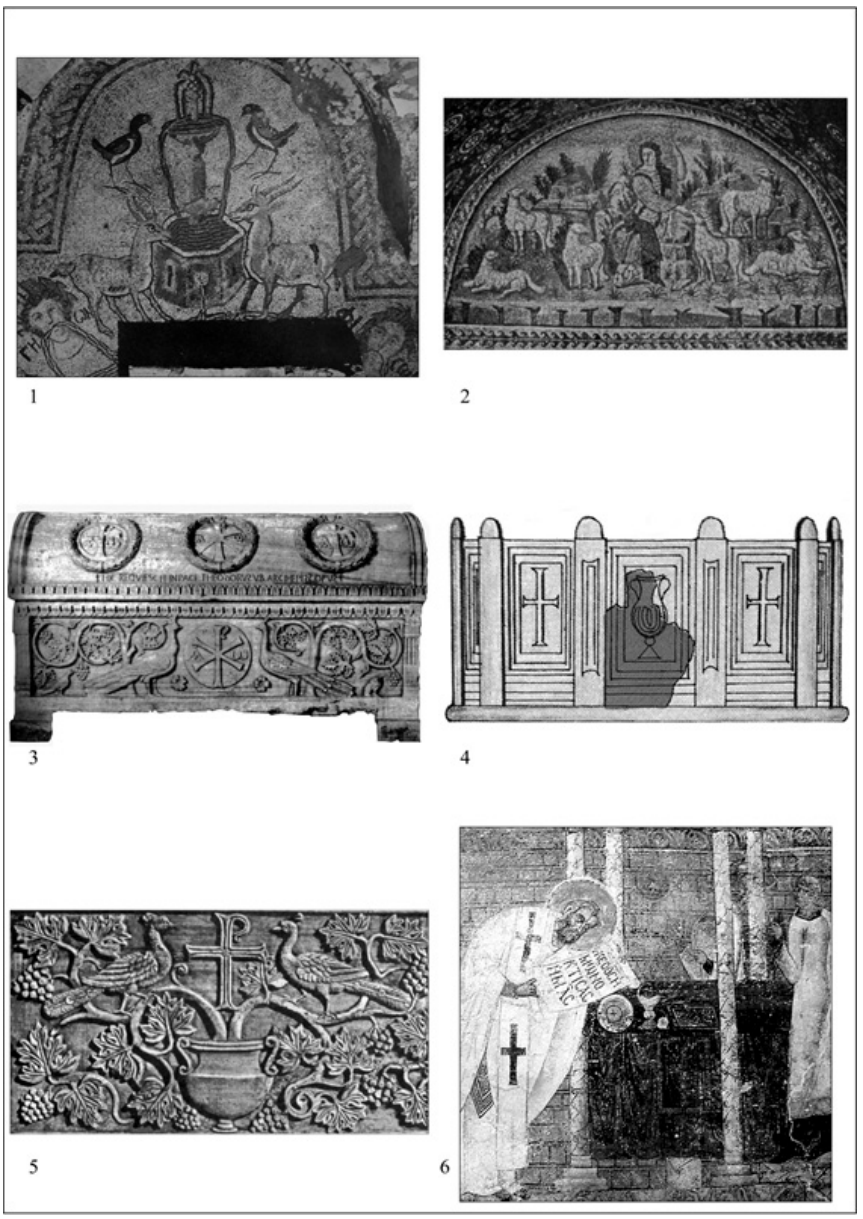


Fig. 5: Early Christian and Medieval Mosaics, Plates, Sarcophaguses, and Frescoes with the Representation of Christ as Vessel.

case, resembling the allusion to the Golgotha cross, at the same time accenting the eucharistic context of this scene (Fig. 4: 6; see also Dimitrova 2007: 70). An especially important detail is the cross, depicted on the vessel's neck, thus clearly indicating its equalization with Christ.

The exact equalization and substitution among vessel and cross is present on the marble plates from the Classical city of Bargala (Republic of Macedonia). Crosses in the fields of several plates are engraved on the amvon (ambo, pulpit) of the episcopal basilica (Aleksova 1989: 53 and unmarked illustrations in the annex). On one side of the amvon, the cross is replaced with the vessel, which this time also asserts the Christ's body (Fig. 5: 4). This symbolic determination and transposition of Christ's presence is also observable on the so-called sarcophagus of Archbishop Theodore from Sant'Appolinare in Classe, Ravenna (Italy). In this case, instead of a vessel the monogram of Christ is positioned, flanked by peacocks and grapevine (Fig. 5: 3; see also Backwith 1979: 122). Synchronically, at the same basilica, on the wall mosaics Jesus is represented realistically seating on the stone (Haussig 1971: Fig. 105). Around him, six lambs are disposed symmetrically, i.e., animals which are frequently presented on the previously elaborated mosaic scenes (Fig. 5: 2). That way, this actual

anthropomorphic variant confirms the insertion of Jesus within the most standardized scene in early Christian basilicas in Europe.

The execution of the scene where Christ (as vessel or monogram) is centrally positioned amidst believers (animals or birds), will be gradually developed in its later variations (11th–14th century). Despite the painting of the human figures, the symbolic relationship of Christ and the vessel again was alluded to. Namely, this scene illustrates the idea of baptizing and communion (Eucharist), generating a symbolic image of church ritual (Dimitrova 2007: 70, 74). Regarding its crucial significance, in the domain of fresco painting it was always positioned in the most important church room, i.e., centrally in the apsidal part of altar. The figures of apostles are included in it, which, just as early Christian zoomorphic representations, are symmetrically juxtapositioned to the left and right side of Jesus, so that this scene is named as "Communion of the Apostles" (for these scenes see Gerstel 1999: 48–67).

His close relation with these objects is visually indicated in several examples of the scene named as "Virgin, the Well of Life," which will be elaborated below. In one variation of this scene, painted in the Church of the Holy Virgin at Peć Patriarchate (Serbia), Christ (as child) is placed inside the vessel (Gerov 2002: 35). In same manner Christ is illustrated in the "Melismos" scene from Panagia Phorbiotissa Church (Asinou, Greece), where he appears out of the vessel (Fig. 6: 1). In this case too, the vessel is incorporated in a scene where definite symbolic components of Jesus are indirectly indicated and equally manifested through water (well) and vessel interior.

These manners of symbol usage signifying spiritual features of Jesus are not rare in Christian iconography (Grabar 1982). In numerous medieval frescoes there are visual substitutions of Christ's body with objects which symbolically explicate his presence and religious character. As universal pattern, surely the cross should be emphasized, which through the act of Christ's crucifixion implicates his sacrifice for atonement of the human sins and enables his resurrection and exaltation (Dimitrova 1995: 13–32). Each depiction of the cross clearly indicates the presence of Jesus. As other variations of allusions to Christ there are attributes which more directly stress his spiritual nature: bread, wine, book, chalice, sphere, etc.[20] In one scene from St. Sofia in Ohrid (Republic of Macedonia), more of these attributes are presented on one place (Fig. 5: 6).

Although the symbolic rationalization of the vessel traditionally most often is associated with the feminine reproductive nature, however, even in the case with Christ, the vessel is not accidentally in connotation with his crucial role. Christ inside himself, as well as the vessel, was accumulating the whole divine essence and through his teachings and principles was sharing it with the believers. Through the rituals they were "consuming" this component of Jesus, represented by bread, water, or grapevine appearing out of the vessel. Therefore, especially in the earlier phases of Christianity, when the Classical traditions were still strong, the vessel was visually identified with the spiritual character of Jesus.

This particularly potent and universal symbolic concept was not only iconographically preserved in the figure of Christ. Probably this concept can also be expected among other, mainly female characters, who form part of the iconographical "hierarchy" of the Christian pantheon. Numerous examples indicate that at certain instance the Virgin was also visually as well as textually incorporated within a semantical relationship with the vessel.

Visual-Symbolic Relations of the Virgin with the Vessel

Contrary to Jesus, the Virgin was not represented as vessel in the early Christianity. Even later, in Byzantine frescoes she was not directly signified through the visual traits of this object. Still, at the place where her symbolic relation with the vessels should be indicated, most often this object was painted in her vicinity or rarely she was depicted on it. As a model to these iconographic solutions there are a number of verses in the Bible, manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes, medieval hymns, and liturgical poetry where she was described as vessel or well. These associations induced the *Zographs* (fresco painters) to elaborate these verses in more complex scenes where the Virgin is in connotation with a closed object or a construction for preserving water.

In some frescoes from Southeast Europe, the Virgin is painted inside a vessel, basin, or fountain placed on a column (Fig. 6: 2, 3). In this case she was identified with the water and, therefore, named as "Virgin the Well of Life."[21] In the "objectification" of her symbolic function as spring, she was

20 Examples for these visual attributes are found in: Haussig (1971: Fig. 8); Mitrevski (2001: Fig. 17); Gabelić (1998: T. IX); and Subotić (1980: Fig. 40).

21 Popović (2002); Gerov (2002); Medaković (1958). For the presence of these scenes Popović (2002: 112 f.); Serafimova (2005: Fig. 8); Mašnić (2007: Fig. 33.9).

1. Asinou (Gerstel 1999: Fig. 78)
2. Lesnovo (Gabelić 1998: Pl. XLV)
3. Arbanasi (Gerov 2002: 38)
4. Manasija (no reference)
5. Manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Ainalov 1961: Fig. 14)
6. Kurbinovo (Grozdanov i Hadermann-Misguich 1992)

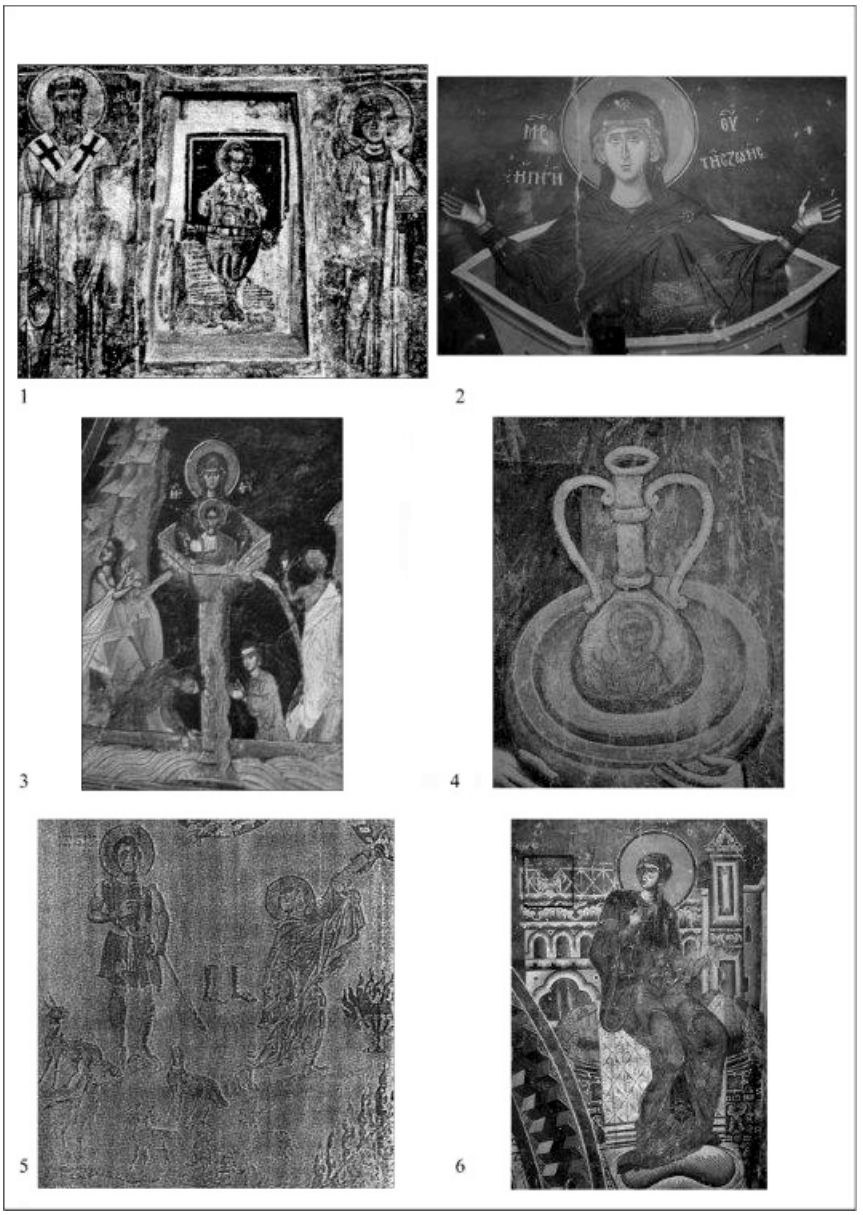


Fig. 6: Medieval Frescoes with Christ or Virgin in Symbolic Relation with the Vessel.

visually attached to the items actually used for that purpose. In an attempt to accent her life-giving role, she was iconographically indirectly identified with those objects. According to the description of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (14th century), inside the Constantinople monastery "Source of Life" there was an icon with the depiction of the Virgin and Christ appearing out of a vessel, which could be considered as iconographic origin of this scene (Gabelić 1998: 174). Hence in the older variations, the possibility of equalizing these characters with the vessel should not be excluded, so that their life-giving role would be emphasized.

This symbolic component is confirmed by several medieval texts and biblical verses which were the foundation for compositional development of this iconographic form. Consequently, this allegorical pattern was created through the transmission of metaphorical literary attributes into imagery representation (Gabelić 1998: 174, 176). As one of the basic inspirations for this theme was the Akathistos Hymn to the Virgin, one of the most popular works in Byzantine church poetry. In one of the verses from oikos 11, among the other stylistic figures, the Virgin was described as a vessel: "enjoy, you cup which pours delight." In the already mentioned work of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos he refers to the Virgin as "Vessel full with manna which

give life" (Popović 2002: 110). Though these verses assert her relation with the spring (water), i.e., life-giving, still in the same context the symbolism of the vessel is used as space where life is "kept" and later appears out of it.

The medieval liturgical poetry, as well as its visual manifestations, were abundant with phrases and motifs used for underlining the equalization of the Virgin with the vessel or some other object and the construction with enclosed space. In the sermon for the celebration dedicated to the birth of Jesus, Saint John Damascene (8th century) as well as Andreas of Crete (8th century) compares the Virgin with a vase or candlestick (Gabelić 1998: 176). Actually, for the celebration of the Virgin's Dormition, in his first homily, Saint John Damascene described almost all prefigurations, attributes, and epithets of the Virgin. This author, as some others during the 6th to the 9th century, in creating literary metaphors contributed to the Virgin, very often used the visions of saints from the Old Testament which announced her arrival (Gabelić 1998: 177). There the Virgin was frequently identified with items which imply particular enclosed objects (vase, chest, candlestick, tent, temple, tabernacle, or boat/vessel) as well as with objects which indirectly indicate her virginity and role in the "descending" of Christ upon the Earth (ladder or door). In the context of her comparison with a vessel, there are literary works where in the described visions Aaron saw the Virgin as amphora and scepter, while Zachariah recognized her as golden censer. These authors, indicating the symbolic function and the significance of her body, also used visions from other saints in which she was identified with objects intended to receive people in their interior. Thus they referred to visions of, e.g., Solomon who saw the Virgin as a temple; that of David in which she was perceived as a tent; and the vision of Habakkuk where he identifies her as a boat/vessel (Panić i Babić 1975: 77; Gabelić 1998: 175).

The usage of textual models for imagery depiction of Christian scenes is also concentrated in the Old Testament. One of the Solomon phrases in "Song of Solomon" used for describing his beloved as "closed spring, sealed well" is considered to be an inspiration for painting the details positioned within the scene of the Annunciation (Grozdanov i Hadermann-Misguich 1992: 56). Namely, in a scene from Kurbinovo (Republic of Macedonia), on the top of a house, a closed vessel in the garden is represented as an allusion to the quotation from "Song of Solomon" (Fig. 6: 6). The visual substitution of quotation motifs (spring, well) with the motive on the painted scene (vessel) clearly indicates the intention to equalize the Virgin and her maidenly nature with the enclosed vessel. Similar scenes were illustrated in several churches from the Balkans where she is painted in the vicinity of a vessel or well in the moment when Archangel Gabriel announces the good news to her.

Analogous indications, where the semantic relationship between Virgin and vessel is indirectly expressed, were accentuated in the scenes of several texts and frescoes in connotation with Moses or his visions of the Holy Virgin. Within the description of Moses' vision in the manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes (6th century), the "burning bush" (usual the prefiguration of the Virgin) was replaced by a vessel (Fig. 6: 5), thus clearly suggesting the presence of the Virgin (Ainalov 1961: 29, 31, Fig. 14). This variation of an allusion from the Old Testament has been confirmed in one of the Moses representations in Manasia (Serbia), where he holds a vessel in his hand, on which the Virgin in the pose of orant is painted (Fig. 6: 4). A detailed visual equalization with a vessel recently is the most potent symbolic illustration of her essential function – to give birth and hold inside herself the one which will be "sustenance for those who want to satiate their spirit."

Developing an apparently atypical concept was not out of iconographical norms which were applied in Christian art. On the contrary, visual as well as literary identification of the Virgin with a vessel were in the domain of expressive means, which in the Middle Ages were constantly used for the description or concretization of particular features, specifically for the saints or space (Earth, rivers, celestial bodies), included within represented scenes. Consequently, there were two visual principles developed and employed for the objectification of these complex characteristics. In the first one, a human or animal body was used to define the presence and role of some Christian figures, more abstract space, or notion. Thus as animal attributes were used: lion, eagle, bull (for evangelists), dove (Holy Spirit), dragon (Hell's pharynx), mermaid (sea), etc. Most often the human body was applied to describe personifications which represented human soul (baby), river (old man with vessel), sea (girl on sea animal or mermaid), Earth (woman with linen), wind (boy with horn), desert (boy with pedestal/vessel), Golgotha (skull of Adam), God's wisdom, Sofia and Truth (female figure with wings), as well as the anthropomorphic representations and allegories of sun, moon, months, day, i.e., New Testament, night, i.e., Old Testament, etc.[22]

22 Panić i Babić (1975: 70–74); Zorova (2012). For frescoes and illustrations with personifications see Haussig (1971: Figs. 8, 153); Mitrevski (2001: Fig. 17); Nikolić-Novaković (2003:

Despite the first visual principle, in the second principle certain features of the saints were intentionally abstracted and presented on the frescoes through concrete objects or were painted together with those objects.[23] The vessel was a designifying object which additionally indicated definite aspects of the Virgin's vital nature. But there are a number of details which present other segments of her character, mostly with the usage of different types of objects or plants. In this context, the above mentioned prefigurations might be included, related to the visions which predict her arrival and the birth of the Messiah (Panić i Babić 1975: 76–78; Gabelić 1998: 172–181). During the visual transpositions of these scenes she is perceived as door, ladder, tongs, fire, and candlestick or represented inside a blackberry bush. The painting of her prefigurations though mostly is implemented within the occurrences associated with her recognition in the visions, still that there is a broader symbolic relation with the objects suggesting her figure.

Vessel's Anthropomorphism and Objectification of the Body as Conclusion

From the elaborated observations and examples one can notice that in Christianity more complex corporeal concepts were also applied. The vessel was incorporated as one of the components in this iconographical structure, thus explicating some of the essential features of Christ and Virgin. In definite scenes, vessels were the visual substitutes for their presence as well as for the symbolic functions these characters have within the Christian religion. Regarding the preceding prehistoric and Classical traditions of this kind of perception and conceiving the vessels, it could be noticed that this imagery-figural practice was not maintained only in Christian iconography. The specific practical nature of the vessel and its evocative similarity with the human body enabled its semantic usage in the rationalization of different aspects concerning cognitive processes performed in almost all historical epochs, not only in Europe but also globally.

In many cultures and religions the vessel was used as a symbolic reference for the explanation of several crucial elements related to social ideas and activities providing the existence of a smaller or larger community. Numerous mythical characters or individuals important for these communities were represented as vessels or were symbolically born inside their interior. Despite of that, sometimes specific terms for particular parts of the human body were applied to the exact parts of the vessels or to the name of the complete vessel.[24]

This transposition of anthropomorphic traits on the vessel was furthermore manifested through their usage. The semantic "humanization" of vessels was also comprehended by taking some crucial bodily functions, so that it would symbolically accomplish the same activities within the rituals or ideas related to them. Therefore, anthropomorphic vessels were often used as urns where important individuals from the community were buried. Consequently, these objects preserved the cremated remains and symbolically "gave birth" to them in a new spiritual sphere. These regenerative features were also transmitted to vessels which did not have anthropomorphic attributes, but were used in ceremonies where the quantity or rebirth of substances in their interior should be ritually stimulated.

In a similar context the identification of Christ and Virgin is seen with these specific symbolic characteristics of the vessels. Accordingly, there was an incorporation of this essential function within the vessel without using any anthropomorphic marks. In case of the Virgin, the pot and the well were the alternation for her crucial role in Christianity, thus her contribution and giving birth to the most important character of this religion was implicitly accented. Concerning the semantic relation between Christ and vessel, there was an iconographical indication of his crucial significance for dissemination of the divine principles. He, as well as the vessel, contained itself the vital elements of the spirituality, so that he gave and spread what was necessary to those who were "hungry" for his teachings and virtues. Therefore, since the earliest forms of offi-

Fig. 24, T. 8, T. 34–36); Serafimova (2005: Figs. 21, 24, 95); Djurić (1974: 49, Fig. 50); Gabelić (1998: T. 3, T. 9, T. 51); Panić i Babić (1975: drawing 30); Subotić (1980: 119, 121, 138, drawing 94, Figs. 40, 85, 89, 94).

23 As an example already elaborated substitutions of Christ could be considered. Instead of his actual presence sometimes book and cross were painted. The church founders or healers were always associated with objects typical for their function. Founders hold a model of the church in their hands, while healers hold a medicine tool and chest.

24 About mythical characters and ancestors represented or born in vessels see Naumov (2006: 68–70); for Indian deity vessels see Eliade (1984: 3); for Haananite deity vessels see Gordon (1977: 199–232); for Nigerian deity vessels see Fowler (2008: 51); for Roman deity vessels see Braithwaite (1984: 126, 128); for deities born in vessels see Marazov (1992: 242) and Neumann (1963: 162); for African individuals and ancestors as vessels see Njegovanović-Ristić (1982: 7); for Nasca and Moche individuals and mythical figures as vessels see Feest and Kann (1992: 149, 157–16); for terms of vessels referred to parts of the human body see (Chausidis i Nikolov (2006: 104–107) and Haaland (2007: 165).

cial Christianity, this symbolic identification was very convenient for the iconographic development of a precisely conceived image of the vessel, located centrally among the symmetrically disposed figures (one of the most frequent positions of Christ in later Byzantine frescoes). Using the semiotic substitutes for the human body, this imagery solution was entirely fitted into the visual manifestation of the ideas from the period. That way, it was provided a symbolic communication which was out of the actual anthropomorphism, but succeeded to transpose the profound significances related with the essential corporal functions.

I would like to thank Nikos Chausidis for his useful suggestions and references for Classical anthropomorphic vessels and lamps, Elizabeta Dimitrova for her profound elaboration and bibliography on Christian iconography and Early Christian mosaics, Ljubinka Djidrova for indications and references on Classical anthropomorphic vessels, Aneta Serafimova and Orhideja Zorova for the very extensive and helpful information on Christian personifications and prefigurations, and also Terence Meaden for his dedicated involvement in improving the English in some parts of the text.

References Cited

Ainalov, Dimitar V.
1961 The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. (The Rutgers Byzantine Series, 3)

Aleksova, Blaga
1989 Episkopijata na Bregalnica. Prv slovenski crkoven i kulturno-prosveten centar vo Makedonija. Prilep: Institut za Istražuvanje na Staroslovenskata Kultura.
1995 Loca sanctorum Macedoniae. Kult na Martirite vo Makedonija od IV do IX vek. Skopje: Matica Makedonska.

Anderson-Stojanović, Virginia R.
1992 Stobi. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Andronicos, Manolis
1993 Musee National. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

Bačvarov, Krum
2003 Neolitni pogrebalni obredi. Sofia: Bard.
2004 The Birth-Giving Pot. Neolithic Jar Burials in Southeast Europe. In: V. Nikolov, K. Bačvarov, and P. Kalchev (eds.), Prehistoric Thrace. Proceedings of the International Symposium in Stara Zagora, 30.09.–04.10.2003; pp. 151–160. Sofia: Institute of Archaeology with Museum.

Backwith, John
1979 Early Christian and Byzantine Art. London: Penguin Books.

Bailey, Douglass W.
2008 Neolithic Bodies Beyond the Grave. Corporealities of Being. In: V. Slavčev (comp.), The Varna Eneolithic Necropolis and Problems of Prehistory in Southeast Europe. Studia in Memoriam Ivani Ivanov; pp. 57–73. Varna: Museum of Varna. (Acta Musei Varnaensis, 6)

Bitrakova-Grozdanova, Vera
1975 Monuments paléochrétiens de la région d'Ohrid. Ohrid: Institut pour la Protection des Monuments de la Culture.
1987 Spomenici od helenističkiot period vo SR Makedonija. Skopje: Filosofski Fakultet.

Bradley, Richard
2005 Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe. London: Routledge.

Braithwaite, Gillian
1984 Romano-British Face Pots and Head Pots. *Britannia* 15: 99–131.

Brendel, Otto J.
1978 Etruscan Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. (The Pelican History of Art, 43)

Brukner, Olga
1981 Rimska keramika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije. Beograd: Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije. (Dissertationes et Monographiae, 24)

Cermanović-Kuzmanović, Aleksandra
1977 Grćke slikane vaze. Beograd: Naućna knjiga.

Chausidis, Nikos
1994 Mitskite sliki na Južnite Sloveni. Skopje: Misla.
2005 Cosmological Images. Skopje: Chausidis.
2007 Ženata kako personifikacija na prostorot za živeenje (od neolitot do sovremeniot folklor). In: J. Lužina J. (ed.), Makedonskiot teatar vo kontekst na Balkanskata teatarska sfera; pp. 45–101. Skopje: Fakultet za dramski umetnosti.
2009 The Black Man in the Mythical Tradition of Macedonia. In: K. Kulavkova (ed.), Interpretations. Vol. 3: Figures of Memory. Black Arab; pp. 73–104. Skopje: Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts.

Chausidis, Nikos, i **Gordan Nikolov**
2006 Crepna i vršnik. Mitološko-semiotička analiza. *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 9: 97–160.

Chausidis, Nikos, Konstjantin Rahno, i **Goce Naumov**
2008 Peč kao žena i majka u slovenskoj tradicionalnoj kulturi. Semiotika, mitologija, obredi, lingvistika, dijahrone komparacije. *Kodovi slovenskih kultura* 9: 13–114.

Cremo, Michael
2008 Temple as Body, Body as Temple. (Paper presented at 6th World Archaeological Congress, 29.06.–04.07.2008, Dublin, Republic of Ireland.)

Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana
1978 Ranovizantijski podni mozaici. Dardanija, Makedonija, Novi Epir. Beograd: Filozofski Fakultet.

Dimitrova, Elizabeta
1995 Najstarite hristijanski simboli. Skopje: Makedonska Civilizacija. (Edicija Makedonska civilizacija, 3)
2001 Simboličniot svet na San Kalisto. *Kulturen Život* 46/1: 46–53.
2006 Coloured Dogma. The Mosaics of Heraclea Lyncestis. A New Interpretation. In: E. Jeffreys (ed.), Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21.08.–26.08.2006. Vol. 3: Abstracts of Communications; pp. 314–315. Aldershot: Ashgate.
2007 Četirieset i prviot davidov psalm. Ikonografska paradigma na hristijanskata antika. *Patrimonium* 1–2: 65–78.

Djurić, Vojislav
1974 Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji. Beograd. Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija.

Eliade, Mircea
1984 Joga. Besmrtnost i sloboda. Beograd: Beogradski Izdavačko-grafički Zavod. [Orig. "Le yoga. Immortalité et liberté". Paris 1954]

Feest, Christian F., und **Peter Kann**
1992 Das Altertum der Neuen Welt. Voreuropäische Kulturen Amerikas. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Fowler, Chris
2008 Fractal Bodies in the Past and Present. In: D. Borić and J. Robb (eds.), Past Bodies. Body-Centered Research in Archaeology; pp. 47–57. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Gabelić, Smiljka
1998 Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo. Beograd: Stubovi Kulture. (Stubovi Kulture Monografije, 1)

Garašanin, Milutin
1982 Umetnost na tlu Jugoslavije – Praistorija. Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija.

Garašanin, Milutin, i **Draga Garašanin**
1961 Neolitska naselba "Vršnik" kaj selo Tarinci. *Zbornik na štipskiot naroden muzej* 2: 7–40.

Gerov, Georgi
2002 Vodata-granica. *Problemi na izkustvoto* 1: 31–40.

Gerstel, Sharon E. J.
1999 Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary. Seattle: College Art Association. (Monographs on the Fine Arts, 56)

Gheorghiu, Dragos
2001 The Cult of Ancestors in the East European Chalcolithic. A Holographic Approach. In: P. F. Biehl (ed.), The Archaeology of Cult and Religion; pp. 73–88. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány. (Archaeolingua, 13)

Gimbutas, Marija
1989 The Language of the Goddess. London: Thames and Hudson.

Gjorgievska, Anica
2007 The Path of Heraclea Lyncestis through Time. Bitola: Opština Bitola, NU Zavod i Muzej.

Gordon, S.
1977 Haananeskaja mifologija. In: V. A. Jakobson (ed.), Mifologii drevnego mira; pp. 199–232. Moskva: Nauka.

Grabar, André
1982 Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 10; Bollingen Series, 35, 10)

Grozdanov, Cvetan, i **Lydie Hadermann-Misguich**
1992 Kurbinovo. Skopje: Makedonska kniga.

Haaland, Randi
2007 Porridge and Pot, Bread and Oven. Food Ways and Symbolism in Africa and the Near East from the Neolithic to the Present. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17/2: 165–182.

Haussig, Hans Wilhelm
1971 Histoire de la civilisation byzantine. Paris: Librarie Jules Tallandier.

Hodder, Ian
1990 The Domestication of Europe. Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societes. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hoernes, Moritz
1925 Urgeschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Europa. Wien: Kunstverlag Anton Schroll.

Hoffmann, Herbert
1997 Sotades. Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ivanovski, Milan
2006 Zlaten nakit od Marvinci. *Folia Archaeologica Balkanica* 1: 171–184.

Jakimovski, Antonio
2008a Antički svetilki od Republika Makedonija. Skopje: University of Skopje. [Unpubl. PhD Dissertation, University of Skopje]
2008b Antički svetilki od zbirkata na Muzej na grad Negotino. *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 18: 187–195.

Janakievski, Tome
1998 Antički teatri i spomenici so teatarska tematika vo Republika Makedonija. Bitola: Nacionalna ustanova i Naroden muzej Bitola. (Posebni izdanija; Filosofski fakultet, 3)

Kabakčieva, Gergana
2005 Izkustvo i kultura v rimska Trakiya: Kolekciya Vasil Božkov. Sofia: Fondaciya "Trakiya".

Kitov, Georgi
1999 Amforata – Riton i proishodot na Panagjurskoto skrovište. *Anali* 1–4: 12–34.

Kneisel, Jutta
2007 Die gegürtete Frau. Versuch einer Trachtrekonstruktion. *Situla* 44: 583–596. [Scripta Praehistorica in Honorem Biba Teržan]

Kolištrkovska-Nasteva, Irena
2005 Praistoriskite dami od Makedonija. Skopje: Muzej na Makedonija.

Korunovski, Sašo, i **Elizabeta Dimitrova**
2006 Vizantiska Makedonija. Istorija na umetnosta na Makedonija od IX do XV vek. Skopje: Detska radost.

Kuzmanov, Georgi
1992 Antički lambi. Kolekciya na nacionalniya arheologičeski muzey. Sofia: Blgarska akademiya na naukite.

Lazarev, Viktor N.
1967 Storia della pittura bizantina. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore. (Biblioteca di storia dell'arte, 7)

Lilčić, Viktor
1995 Antika. In: Makedonija kulturno nasledstvo; pp. 46–89. Skopje: Misla.
2002 Makedonskiot kamen za bogovite, hristijanite i za život po životot. Antička kamena arhitektonska plastika vo Republika Makedonija. Tom 2. Skopje: Makedonska civilizacija. (Editio Monumenta Macedoniae, 1.6)

Maneva, Elica
1984 Svetilki od muzejskata zbirka vo Herakleja. *Zbornik na trudovi na Zavodot za zaštita na spomenicite na kulturata, prirodnite retkosti, muzej i galerija* (*Bitola*) 4–5: 47–63.

Marazov, Ivan R.
1992 Mit, ritual i izkustvo u Trakite. Sofia: Univerzitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski".

Mašnić, Mirjana M.
2007 Manastirot Oreoec. Skopje: Nacionalen Konzervatorski Centar. (Kulturno-istorisko nasledstvo na Republika Makedonija, 53)

Medaković, Dejan
1958 Bogorodica "Živonosni istočnik" u srpskoj umetnosti. *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 59/5: 203–218.

Mellaart, James
1970 Excavation at Haçilar. Vol. 2: Plates and Figures. Edinburgh: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 10)

Mikulčić, Ivan
2003 Stobi. An Ancient City. Skopje: Magor.
2007 Heraclea. Lyncestis. Ancient City in Macedonia. Skopje: Magor.

Mitrevski, Nikola
2001 Manastirot Slepče kaj Prilep. Istorija i živopis. Prilep: Institut za Staroslovenska Kultura i Matica Makedonska.

Moses, Sharon
2006 Childs and Childhood in Tradition and Ritual at Çatalhöyük. In: M. Haydaroğlu (ed.), Çatalhöyük. Topraktan sonsuzluğa – From Earth to Eternity; pp. 170–184. Istanbul: Yapi Kredi. (Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2344)

Müller-Karpe, Hermann
1968 Handbuch der Vorgeschichte. Vol. 2: Jungsteinzeit. Tafeln. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Naumov, Goce
2006 Sadot, pećkata i kukjata vo simbolićka relacija so matkata i ženata (neolitski predloški i etnografski implikacii). *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 9: 59–95.
2007 Housing the Dead. Burials inside Houses and Vessels from Neolithic Balkans. In: C. Malone and D. A. Barrowclough (eds.), Cult in Context. Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology; pp. 257–268. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
2008 The Vessel as a Human Body. Neolithic Anthropomorphic Vessels and Their Reflection in Later Periods. In: I. Berg (ed.), Breaking the Mould. Challenging the Past through Pottery; pp. 93–101. Oxford: Archeopress. (BAR International Series, 1861; Occasional Papers / Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 6)
2009 Patterns and Corporeality. Neolithic Visual Culture from the Republic of Macedonia. Oxford: Archaeopress. (BAR International Series, 1910)
2010 Neolithic Anthropocentrism. The Principles of Imagery and Symbolic Manifestation of Corporeality in the Balkans. *Documenta Praehistorica* 37: 227–238.

Nemeskéri, Janos, and **L. Lengyel**
1976 Neolithic Skeletal Finds. In: M. Gimbutas (ed.), Neolithic Macedonia. As Reflected by Excavation at Anza, Southeast Yugoslavia; pp. 375–410. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California. (Monumenta Archaeologica, 1)

Neumann, Erich
1963 The Great Mother. An Analysis of the Archetype. New York: Pantheon Books. (Bollingen Series, 47)

Nikolić, Dubravka, i **Jasna Vuković**
2008 Čuvari i zaštitnici – Kultni predmeti. In: D. Nikolić (ed.), Vinča – Praistorijska metropola. Istraživanja 1908–2008; pp. 165–179. Beograd: Filozofski Fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu.

Nikolić-Novaković, Jasminka
2003 Živopisot vo crkvata Sv. Atanasij Aleksandriski vo Žurče. Skopje: Republički Zavod za Zaštita na Spomenicite na Kulturata. (Kulturno-istorisko nasledstvo na Republika Makedonija, 48)

Nikolova, Elica
2008 Stobi-Zapadna nekropola, iskopuvanje 1995 godina. *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 18: 247–268.

Njegovanović-Ristić, Nataša
1982 Keramika zapadne Afrike. Beograd: Muzej Afričke Umetnosti.

Panić, Draga, i **Gordana Babić**
1975 Bogorodica Ljeviška. Beograd: Srpska Književna Zadruga.

Perlès, Catherine
2001 The Early Neolithic in Greece. The First Farming Communities in Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petrović, Bisenija
2000–2001 Model neolitske peći iz Progara. *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 47–48: 11–21.

Popović, Aleksandar
2002 Bogorodica Zoodohos Pege. Od Majke bogova do Majke Božice. In: L. Maksimović (ed.), Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa. Kruševac, 10.–13. maj 2000; pp. 107–118. Beograd: Vizantološki Institut SANU.

Pyke, Gillian, and **Paraskevi Yiouni**
1996 Nea Nikomedeia. The Excavation of an Early Neolithic Village in Northern Greece 1961–1964. London: British School at Athens. (The British School at Athens, 25)

Radunčeva, Ana
2002 Neolitnoto selište do grad Rakitovo. Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Gal-Iko". (Razkopki i proučvanija, 29)

Ralph, Sarah
2007 Broken Pots and Severed Heads. Cult Activity in Iron Age Europe. In: C. Malone and D. A. Barrowclough (eds.), Cult in Context. Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology; pp. 305–312. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Rasolkoska-Nikoloska, Zagorka
2004 Srednovekovnata umetnost vo Makedonija. Freski i ikoni. Skopje: Kalamus.

Sanev, Voislav
2006 Anthropomorphic Cult Plastic of Anzabegovo-Vršnik Cultural Group of the Republic of Macedonia. In: N. Tasić and C. Grozdanov (eds.), Homage to Milutin Garašanin; pp. 171–191. Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art.

Serafimova, Aneta
2005 Kučeviški manastir Sveti Arhangeli. Skopje: List.

Spasovska-Dimitrioska, Gordana
2008 Bronzena svetilka od Crnilišta, Prilep. *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 18: 223–227.

Subotić, Gojko
1980 Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka. Beograd: Filozofski Fakultet u Beogradu, Institut zu Istoriju Umetnosti. (Filozofski Fakultet u Beogradu, Institut zu Istoriju Umetnosti, 3)

Titov, Valerii S., i **Istvan Ergeli**
1980 Archeologija Vengrii. Kamennyj vek. Moskva: Izd. "Nauka".

Todorova, Henrieta, i **Ivan Vaisov**
1993 Novo-kamennata epocha v Bălgarija. Sofija: Nauka i Izkustvo.

Vasić, Miloje
1936 Preistoriska Vinča III. Beograd: Državne štamparije Kraljevine Jugoslavije.

Zorova, Orhideja
2012 Medieval Simulacra of Mother-Earth in the Christian Tradition. In: Rakocija, M. (ed.), Niš i Vizantija: Zbornik radova VIII: 325–334. Niš: Univerzitet u Nišu.