ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ

I

ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ

Tome I

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Књига I

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ILLUMINATING TOUCH: POST-RESURRECTION SCENES ON THE DIPTYCH FROM THE HILANDAR MONASTERY*

The diptych from the Hilandar monastery is embellished with the twenty-four miniatures painted on parchment with the same number of scenes from Christ's life all placed in exquisite decorated frames. Scholars date the diptych to the last quarter of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century, associating it with King Milutin and locate its origin in a Venetian workshop.

The two scenes of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity of Thomas in the diptych belong to a post-Resurrection cycle and are based on the gospel account that explicitly refers to a tangible and human Christ. The aim of this paper is to address the multivalent meanings – iconographic, liturgical, and theological – of these two post-Resurrection scenes. Both exhibit iconography that emphasizes touch as providing ultimate proof of Christ's dual nature and His bodily Resurrection. Their iconography of touch will be explored in the context of the diptych's decoration and materiality.

Key words: Diptych, Hilandar, touch, gospel, Resurrection, materiality

In the treasury of the Hilandar monastery on Month Athos there is an exquisite diptych whose provenance remains a matter of debate (Fig. 1).[1] The diptych was

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[1] The diptych is often called the Hilandar diptych or King Milutin's diptych. On the Hilandar diptych see, *D. Avramović*, Opisanie drevnostij srbski u Svetoj (Atonskoj) Gori, Beograd 1847, 3; *L. Mirković*, Hilandarske starine, Starinar 10–11(1935/6) 87–92; *S. Radojčić*, Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka, Odabrani članci i studije, Beograd 1982, 150–154; *P. Huber*, Bild und Botschaft. Byzantinische Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Atlantis-Verlag 1973, 115–116, 137–144, with all figures; *S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S. N. Kadas*, The Treasures of Mount Athos, vol. 2, Athens 1975, 393–394, figs. 432–443; *D. Bogdanović, V. J. Djurić, D. Medaković*, Hilandar, Beograd 1978, 96; Treasures of Mount Athos, ed. *A. A. Karakatsanis*, Thessaloniki 1997, 332ff, entry 9.29; *B. Radojković*, Riznica, Manastir Hilandar, Beograd 1998, 335–339; *B. Todić*,

placed on the ciborium's front that surmounts the hegoumenos wooden throne in the seventeenth century.[2] Its previous function and location in the monastery is unknown. The Hilandar diptych is made of wood with twenty-four square and circular fields set into its hollowed surface.[3] The concavities are filled with twenty-four miniatures painted on parchment with the same number of scenes from Christ's life.[4] Each illumination was covered with rock crystal, although one has been replaced by glass.[5] The contours of the figures on the miniatures are decorated with tiny pearls. The miniatures are surrounded by a silver-gilt filigree frame in the *opus venetum ad filum* embellished with semi-precious stones.[6] Most scholars date the diptych to the last quarter of the thirteenth century through to the beginning of the fourteenth century, associating it with King Milutin or other members of the Serbian royal family, and locate its origin in a Venetian workshop.[7]

The scenes on the diptych follow the gospel narrative of the Life of Christ chronologically. They include most of the Great Feasts, except for the Dormition of the Virgin, Passion and Resurrection of Christ.[8] Four of the twenty-four scenes depict post-Resurrection appearances of Christ: the Holy Women at the Tomb, *Chairete* (Christ appears to Maries or Myrophores), the Incredulity of Thomas, and The Mission of the Apostles (Christ Appears to his Disciples). [9]

Serbian Medieval Painting, The Age of King Milutin, Belgrade 1998, 366; *J. Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih i njemu srodna dela venecijanskog porekla na Atosu, Hilandarski zbornik 11 (2004) 133–165, with a more detailed, older bibliography.

[2] At the year 1634/5 the diptych was placed on the hegoumenos' throne during the hegoumenos Philimon, see, *S. Radojčić*, Umetnički spomenici manastira Hilandara, ZRVI 3 (1955) 163–190, 173; see also, *B. Miljković*, Povest o čudotvornim ikonama manastira Hilandara, Zograf 31 (2006/7) 219–228.

[3] The dimensions of the diptych are: wooden panels $30 \times 24 \times 0.17$ cm, circular compartments 4.5 cm and square 5.5×4.5 cm.

[4] The left wing includes: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the Baptism, the Raising of Lazarus, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Betrayal, The Judgment of Pilate; on the right wing are: the Mockery of Christ, the Flagellation, the Road to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Holy Women at the Tomb; the Anastasis, the *Chairete* (The Christ appears to Maries), the Incredulity of Thomas, the Ascension, the Pentecost and Christ Appears to his Disciples.

[5] The only scene that today is covered with a regular glass instead of the rock crystal is the one showing Christ before the Cross, see, *Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih, 138. For more on miniatures covered with rock crystal from the workshops in Venice see, *A. Neff*, Miniatori e *arte dei cristallari* a Venezia nella seconda metà, Arte Veneta 45 (1991) 7–19.

[6] For the *opus venetum ad filum* technique and other examples see, *J. Belamarić*, Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu, Split 2001, 293–316, see also, *V. B. Lupis*, Prilog poznavanju gotičkog zlatarstva u Dubrovniku, Starohrvatska prosvjeta 35 (2008) 151–165.

[7] *Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih, 135–136, n. 6, also, 159.

[8] The only scenes, for which sources are not found in the gospels, are the Anastasis and Pentecost. According to Jadranka Prolović the chronological order is disrupted in three ways: The Transfiguration is placed before The Resurrection of Lazarus, The Last Supper precedes the Washing of the Feet, and the Mission of the Apostles follows the Ascension and The Pentecost, see *ibid*, 136–137. In the instance of the Washing of the feet, it is difficult to determine, since John's recording of the event does not provide a clear picture of whether the Washing of the Feet occurred prior to or following the meal (John 13:14–17).

[9] The post-Resurrection cycle is described in the four canonical gospels and the first Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. While in the gospels women play an important role as witnesses of Christ's resurrection, they were not involved in Paul's epistle. *P. Konis,* From the Resurrection to the Ascension: Christ's Post-Resurrection Appearances in Byzantine Art (3rd–12th c.), PhD Dissertation, The University of Birmingham, Birmingham 2008, especially 2.

The gospel account includes two scenes that explicitly refer to a touchable and human Christ: the *Chairete* (Fig. 2) and the Incredulity of Thomas (Fig. 3). The aim of this paper is to address the multivalent meanings - iconographic, liturgical, and theological - of these two post-Resurrection scenes. Both exhibit iconography that emphasizes touch as providing ultimate proof of Christ's dual nature and His bodily Resurrection. The haptic nature of their iconography will be explored in the context of the diptych's decoration and materiality. It is not my intention to provide a detailed discussion of the other scenes on the diptych, which have received much scholarly attention, but rather to explain reasons for the inclusion of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity of Thomas in the diptych, and specifically, the possible meanings of their emphasis on touch and materiality. I will first examine the scenes separately and then read them within the larger context of the diptych and its lavish decoration.

From His central position, the standing figure of Christ dominates the *Chairete* composition. Two kneeling women flank him wearing long-sleeved *himatia* that cover their hands. One is a dark red or purple in color and the other is a pale grayish blue. Their hidden hands are raised toward Christ, close to their faces. The gilded background is interrupted only by two trees with serpentine trunks, positioned on either side of the women. It is likely that pearls once outlined all three figures as in the other scenes, but now only encircle their nimbi. Christ's wounds on his hands and feet are marked by black dots. His outstretched arms form a gesture of blessing with His hands placed on the kneeling figures' heads. The artist left a gap in the outline of pearls in order to accommodate Christ's hand such that it looks as if Christ's hands pierce the women's nimbi.

The scene gives visual form to the synoptic account of the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 28: 1:15, 9–10), where Christ appears to Mary Magdalene and the other Mary.[10] This is the only gospel that describes this event. The story that precedes it tells of two women who came to visit Christ's tomb. An angel clothed in white appeared and rolled back the stone from the tomb. The Roman soldier guarding the tomb, fell frozen in terror. The divine messenger addressed the women, telling them that Christ had risen as prophesized and that they should go to inform His disciples. The Hilandar diptych shows the women on their way from the tomb when Christ appeared and spoke to them: *All hail. The women fall down on their knees before him and touched his feet. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him* (28:9).

Often included with other post-Resurrection scenes featuring Christ, the *Chairete* (All Hail) was represented in variety of media, from marble and ivory reliefs to panel icons, frescoes or mosaics. From Early Christian times it appeared on objects ranging from smaller scale in abbreviated narrative cycles to monumental forms.[11] According to Anna Kartsonis in Early Christian cycles the scene was often used as *the sole reference*

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[10] The other Mary was usually identified as Mary who was present at Christ's death and in Matthew 27: 56 she is known as Mary, the mother of James and Joses in Mark 16, 1 the other Mary is identified as Maria the mother of James, and in John 19, 25 Maria the wife of Cleophas, see *G. Schiller,* Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, III, Gütersloh 1971, 92.

[11] Ibid, 91; *Konis,* From the Resurrection, 183–259; *L. M. Rafanelli*, The Ambiguity of Touch: Saint Mary Magdalene and the *Noli Me Tangere* in Early Modem Italy, PhD Dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York 2004, 61–70; On different names for the scene, see *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 11.

to the Resurrection.[12] Scholars have distinguished two different iconographic types of this composition: narrative or asymmetrical and monumental or symmetrical.[13]

The asymmetrical type refers to a composition in which Christ approaches two or three women from the left or right side.[14] He usually has one hand extended towards the figures in a gesture of blessing.[15] The women, either prostate half-kneeling or standing in front of Christ, are represented on the opposing side. Scenes of the Chairete with asymmetrical compositions often followed or were integrated with scenes of The Maries at the Tomb, creating a continuous narration.[16] The iconography varied slightly in some details. Although the precise setting is not indicated in the gospel, the scene was commonly placed in a rocky landscape that might include trees, and in some cases, Christ's tomb.[17] At times it would also include the figure of the Virgin Mary either as a third woman or instead of *the other Mary*.[18]

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[12] *A. D. Kartsonis,* Anastasis, the Making of an Image, Princeton 1986, 143.

[13] Millet assigned the asymmetrical type more to Western medieval art and symmetrical to Byzantine, see *G. Millet,* Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'evangile, Paris 1916, 542–543; *Schiller*, Ikonographie, 92.

[14] Three women in the scene of *Chairete* appeared in Byzantine Art as early as the twelfth century and according to Branislav Todić, its iconography was influenced by the text of Gospel of Mark (16, 1–8) that was read during the Week of Myrrh Bearers, see *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 140.

[15] The earliest known example of the asymmetrical type, approximately dating from the fourth century, comes from a drawing of a lost sarcophagus by Antonio Bosio 1632 that, according to Bosio, was once *nel cortile dei palazzo del duca di Cesi in Borgo Vecchio. A. Bosio*, Roma Sotterranea, Roma 1632, 79, reproduced in *J. Wilpert*, I Sarcophagi christiani antichi, II, Rome 1932, 325, figs. 204, 209.

[16] For an example of continuous narration, see the sixth century Rabbula Gospel. The lower part of the folio 13r depicts the Maries at the Tomb on the viewer's left side, and next to it, without any border, the *Chairete*. The Rabbula Gospel, Syria, 586, Florence, Bib. Laur. Cod. Plut. I. 56, folio 13r. The Rabbula Gospels. Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I. 56 in the Medicean-Laurentian Library, ed. *C. Cecchelli-G. Furlani-M. Salmi*, Olten and Lausanne 1959, with older bibliography; see also, Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, Plut. I. 56: l'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo, ed. *M. Bernabò*, Roma 2008.

[17] An early example of the inclusion of trees in the scene can be found on the doors of the church Santa Sabina in Rome, 432 still *in situ*, *K. Weitzmann*, Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978, New York 1979, 486–488. For more on the doors with an older bibliography, see *G. Jeremias*, Die Holztur der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom, Tubingen 1980. Polybios Konis argues that the appearance of trees and landscape in the scenes of the *Chairete* is influenced by the Gospel of John (John 20:15) and the scene of *Noli me Tangere*, similar to the *Chairete* but placed in the garden, see *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 85. The example of the *Chairete* that includes Christ' tomb is depicted in a Psalter from the Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos, ninth century, Pantokrator 61, fol. 109r, ps. 77.65. For an illustration see, *Millet*, Recherches, 543, fig. 581; see also, *L. Brubaker*, Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Cambridge – New York 1999, 301, fig. 120.

[18] One of the early compositions that include the Virgin Mary as one of myrophores besides the Rabbula Gospel, is found on an icon from Mount Sinai, seventh century, see *K. Weitzmann*, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; The Icons. I, Princeton 1976, plate LXXV. Later examples of the inclusion of the Virgin Mary can be found in fourteenth century Serbian medieval painting such as in Staro Nagoričino and Prohor Pčinjski, see *N. Zarras*, The Iconographical Cycle of the Eothina Gospel pericopes in Churches from the reign of King Milutin, Zograf 31 (2006/7) 95–113, especially 97, also see, *B. Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, Beograd 1993, 109; *G. Subotić, D. Todorović*, Painter Michael in the Monastery of St. Prohor Pčinjski, ZRVI 34 (1995) 139–140; *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 140. For more on the inclusion and the role of the Virgin Mary in the scene of the *Chairete* see, *N. Zarras* La tradition de la presence de la Vierge dans les scenes du *Lithos* et du *Chairete* et son influence sur l' iconographie tardobyzantine, Zograf 28 (2000/1) 113–120; *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 91–140; *Rafanelli*, The Ambiguity, 22–70.

The symmetrical type, to which the scene from the Hilandar diptych belongs, has similar iconography to the asymmetrical. The major difference is that Christ is placed in the middle with one of the women on either side. This balanced format heightens the sense of monumentality of the scene. While in the asymmetrical type, the two women are usually represented in different postures, either kneeling or sometimes in a more upright position, in the symmetrical type they are often prostrate or on their knees. Their hands are depicted bare or obscured by their clothing and raised in a gesture of salutation. They may also be shown trying to touch Christ's feet. The symmetrical type became more popular after the Post-Iconoclastic period.[19] There are no examples of this iconographic type prior to the Middle Byzantine period.[20]

The scene of the *Chairete* depicts interaction between the women and the resurrected Christ. It provided irrefutable physical proof of the Resurrection. The significance of the scene is that it depicts the first physical contact with the body of the risen Christ mentioned in the evangelical accounts. The peculiar element in the scene from the Hilandar diptych is that Christ places a hand on both Mary's heads. The gospel account does refer to touch, but only in that the one of them made contact with Christ's feet. The closest iconographic analogy with the Hilandar version is that found on the Cross, now in the monastery of Saint Paul on Mount Athos, in which Christ also touches the heads of the two Maries.[21] In general, representations of the *Chairete* include moments of contact; however, they are frequently ambiguous. Unequivocal depictions of direct contact between the two women and Christ are rare.

An early representation of the *Chairete* from ca. 400 on an ivory diptych from Milan shows one of the women touching Christ's feet with her bare hand.[22] Overall, it is uncertain as to whether it represents the Women at the Tomb or the *Chairete*. This ambiguity arises because the scene is divided between two registers. While the upper

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[19] *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 214–215.

[20] *Rafanelli*, The Ambiguity, 128; The earliest preserved example of the symmetrical type of the *Chairete* in monumental art is probably the fresco in Santi Martiri in Cimitile that dates from the beginning of the tenth century, see *H. Belting*, Die Basilica dei SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frühmittelalterlicher Freskenzyklus, Wiesbaden 1962, 78. More, smaller-scale examples date from the ninth century such as an illumination in the manuscript Paris Gregory 510, folio 30v dated between 879 and 882 or from the tenth-century Ivory Diptych in Milan's Cathedral treasury where both scenes were identified with Greek inscriptions XAIPETE / TO XEPETE. For the Paris Gregory 510 see, *Brubaker*, Vision, 299–302. For a reproduction of the Milan ivory see, *Kartsonis*, Anastasis, fig. 70 and also, *A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann* Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X–XII. Jahrhunderts. II, Reliefs, Berlin 1979, no. 42. A later example of a symmetrical scene of the *Chairete* can be found on the fresco from the Sopoćani monastery, church of the Holy Trinity, ca. 1276. For date see, *B. Todić*, Apostol Andreja i srpski arhiepiskopi na freskama Sopoćana, Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa, eds. *Lj. Maksimović*, *N. Radošević*, *E. Radulović*, Beograd–Kruševac 2002, 361–378; Other examples from the fourteenth century include, The Protaton church, Mount Athos ca.1300, the *katholikon* church of the Hilandar monastery, ca. 1320–1321(overpainted in the nineteenth century), and Hagios Nicholas Orphanos in Thesalonike, ca. 1310–1320, see, *N. Zarras*, Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος των εωθινών ευαγγελίων στην παλαιολόγεια μνημειακή ζωγραφική των Βαλκανίων, Thessaloniki 2011, 358–360, and *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 138–145.

[21] Scholars have noted the iconographic similarity of the scenes from the Hilandar diptych and the cross from the monastery of Saint Paul that suggests that both objects were products of a Venetian workshop. For the cross see, *Hubert*, Bild und Botscaft, 132–135, 189 and *Prolović,* Hilandarski diptih, 133–165; *S. M. Pelekanidis*, *P. C. Christou*, *Ch. Tsioumis*, *S. N. Kadas*, Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους: Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα Αθηνών, Athena 1979, III, 209, 312–315.

[22] The ivory is thought to have been produced in Rome, see *Weitzmann*, Age of Spirituality, 504–505.

part shows Christ's tomb in the shape of a rotunda with two sleeping guards, the lower register is more complex. A man with a nimbus sits on a rock in front of a stone wall with large open doors indicating Christ's tomb while holding a scroll in one hand and raising the other in a gesture of blessing. In front of him are two women. One stands with her hands outstretched towards him, while the other kneels and reaches for his foot. The identity of the man is unclear. He is often identified by scholars as a guardian angel but also conflated with Christ.[23]

The *Chairete* that shows the clearest depiction of contact between one of the women and Christ's foot is found in the Bible from Floreffe, Maasschule, fol. 179v, from the twelfth century.[24] Although, three women are included instead of two, the one who is almost prostrate clasps Chris's foot with her bare hand. Some examples of symmetrical compositions in which Christ stands on the women's covered hands, are represented in an ivory diptych in Milan from the tenth century, in the fresco from the monastery of Sopoćani from the thirteenth century (Fig. 4) and in Hagios Nicholas Orphanos from the early fourteenth century.[25] Lisa Rafenelli has interpreted this type, in which Christ stands weightlessly on one of the women's hand, as indicating His *triumph over the earthly world*.[26]

Avoiding visualizations of direct contact with the resurrected Christ may be attributed to differing theological interpretations of this event and, in particular, to the role and identity of the women involved. For some early exegetes, the touching of Christ's feet by a woman represents concrete proof of His incorruptibility.[27] In that regard Bede (673–735) declared: *Let us see, brothers, in Christ rising from the dead, the truth of our flesh; let us see the glory of the new incorruption. Although we read above that he rose from the closed tomb, however, we read that the women took hold of his feet and adorned him. He resurrected through the closed door of the tomb and left to show that his body, which in the closed tomb was dead, was already made immortal. He extended the soles of his feet to the women to show the true flesh that mortals may touch.*[28]

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[23] For an interpretation of the seated figure see, *J. L. Maier*, Le baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques, Freiburg 1964, 36–37; Weitzmann suggested that the seated figure is Christ and compared the scene with a seventh century icon from Sinai, see *K. Weitzman*, Eine vorikonoklastische Ikone des Sinai mit der Darstellung des *Chairete*, Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten, Römische Quartalschrift 30 (1967) 317–325, 321; *idem*, Age of Spirituality, 504–505; see also, *Konis,* From the Resurrection, 54–55; *Rafinelli,* The Ambiguity, 64.

[24] *The Floreffe Bible, Add. 17738, vol. 179v,* Meuse valley, southern Netherlands, ca. 1153–1156, British Library, London. The date 1153–1156 has been proposed by Gretel Chapman see, *G. Chapman*, The Floreffe Bible Revisited, Manuscripta 35 (1991) 96–137. For a reproduction see, *Schiller*, Ikonographie, 92–93, fig. 272.

[25] For the Milan ivory see, footnote 20. For Sopoćani see, *V. J. Đurić*, Sopoćani, Beograd, 1991. For a reproduction see, *G. Millet*, La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie, II, Paris 1957, pl. 16, figs. 2–3. For Hagios Nicholas Orphanos see, *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 347. More on church with images see, *A. Tsitouridou*, Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη, Thessaloniki 1986, especially 106–107, fig. 31.

[26] *Rafenelli*, The Ambiguity, 101.

[27] *E. Thunø*, Image and Relic: Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome, Rome 2002, 98–101.

[28] Bede the Venerable, Homelia 7, *ed. D. Hurst*, CCSI 122, Turnhout 1955, 229, as cited by *Thunø*, Image and Relic, 100.

Theologians justified the touching of Christ' body by women by underscoring that they could touch only his feet, the lowest body part in a hierarchy that signifies the human, while the head is reserved for Divinity.[29] According to Peter Chrysologus (ca. 450) by touching His feet women *know that man is in the head of Christ, women in His feet [and that consequently] through Christ it was given to them as women to follow the man, not to take the lead.*[30]

John Chrysostom (347–407) in his eighty-ninth homily on the Gospel of Matthew noted that women, who belonged to the weaker sex, were the first witnesses of Christ' resurrection. After discussing the episode when women touched Christ and His subsequent sending them forth as witnesses, Chrysostom declares: *Mark how He Himself sends good tidings to His disciples by these women, bringing to honor, as I have often said, that sex, which was most dishonored, and to good hopes; and healing that which was diseased.*[31]

Since theologians associated women with proscribed sexuality it was natural that they identified the Maries who were the first to see the resurrected Christ, as second Eves. The Maries thereby took on a role in the redemption of humankind and making good the harm done by the first woman, Eve. According to Athanasios of Alexandria (296–373) in the *Sermon in Sanctum Pascha*: *A woman was the cause for the loss of paradise but now she brings the good tidings of the resurrection; she pulled the first Adam to the fall but now she announces the resurrection of the second Adam.*[32] Some ecclesiastical writers went further, identifying the Maries as the Virgin Mary, Mother of God. Konis explains that the reason for this was to secure Virgin's presence in the post-Resurrection narrative, and also to point to the Virgin as a second Eve, rather than the Maries.[33]

The touching of Christ described in Matthew 28:9–10 is often understood in opposition with Christ's encountering Mary Magdalene alone as mentioned in John 20: 11–18, 17 in which Christ himself denied her a touch by saying Touch me not (*Noli me Tangere*).[34] Theologians were more concerned with the *Noli me Tangere*, often

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[29] According to Eusebius of Caesarea (260–340): *His character is twofold: like the head of the body in that he is regarded as God and yet comparable to the feet in that he put on humanity for the sake of our salvation, a man of passions like ours.* Eusebius of Caesarea, The Church History, translated by *P. L. Maier*, Grand Rapids 2007, 1.1, 22–23. For other examples see, *L. Steinberg*, The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion, October 25 (1983) 1–222, 143–144.

[30] Sermo LXXX De Christi Resurrectione et secunda manifestatione facta mulieribus a monumento regredientibus, PL 52, col. 426C. For the English translation, see Saint Peter Chrysologus: Selected sermons, Fathers of the Church, XVII, New York 1953, 109–110, 131.

[31] PG 58, col. 783–788. For the English translation see, St. John Chrysostom Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, A Select library of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian church vol. 10, ed. *P. Schaff* Grand Rapids, Mich. 1983–1986, 912.

[32] Athanasios of Alexandria, *Sermo in Sanctum Pascha,* PG 28, col.1084, as cited and translated by *P. Konis* The Post-Resurrection Appearances of Christ. The case of the *Chairete* or *All Hail*, Rosetta 1 (2006) 31–40, 32.

[33] For ecclesiastical writers who identified the Virgin Mary as *the other Mary* see, *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 109 and *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 259–275.

[34] The image of *Noli me Tangere* does not occur in Western art before the ninth-tenth century, *Rafinelli*, The Ambiguity, 91 and 53–106. For more on the *Noli me Tangere* and Mary Magdalene in art see, *M. Larow*, The Iconography of Mary Magdalene. The Evolution in Western tradition until 1300, Phd Dissertation, New York University, New York 1982; *K. L. Jansen*, The Making of the Magdalen.

conflicted with the *Chairete*, underscoring the important role of Mary Magdalene as one of the first witnesses of Resurrection. In this capacity, Mary Magdalene is compared to Eve as a representative of all women. Mary Magdalene had the privilege to be the first to witness the empty tomb, to see the resurrected Christ, to touch him, and to be denied His touch. [35]

It remains an open question why Christ touches the two Maries' heads instead of them touching his feet in the scene of the *Chairete* on Hilandar diptych. One possible solution may be discerned if one takes into account the growing cult of Mary Magdalene in the twelfth and thirteenth century, especially in the West. At the end of the thirteenth century, the disparate legends about Mary Magdalene were consolidated into her *vitae*. This period also saw an increase of interest in her relics. In 1279 her relics, including the piece of scalp that Christ touched, was found miraculously intact on the Magdalene's corpse at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, France. This discovery immediately established a new cult site dedicated to the saint.[36] In 1295, Pope Boniface VIII, known as a great exponent of incorruptibility, authenticated the Magdalene's relics.[37] The main evidence in support of their authenticity was the preserved skin from Magdalene's head.[38] The rediscovery of Magdalene's relics therefore suggests that Western artists wished to underscore physical contact with Christ and thus represented Him touching the heads of the Maries in the scene of the *Chairete* as well.

Another scene from the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ on the Hilandar diptych that emphasizes touch and thereby Christ's bodily Resurrection, is the Incredulity of Thomas. The event is depicted on a gilded roundel. The composition is abbreviated, consisting only of Thomas and Christ. Thomas is shown beardless stooping and reaching his right hand towards Christ, who stands on his left. Thomas touches Christ's wound with his finger while extending his head underneath His

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Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages, Princeton 1999; *M. Lauwers*, *Noli me tangere*. Marie Madeleine, Marie d' Oignies et les pénitentes du XIIIe siècle, Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Moyen Âge, 104 (1992) 209–268; *B. Baert*, The Gaze in the Garden: Mary Magdalene in *Noli me Tangere*, Mary Magdalene, Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque, Leiden–Boston 2012, 189–223.

[35] For theological commentary see, *Rafinelli*, The Ambiguity, especially 37–53. The images of *Noli me Tangere* and *Chairete* were often represented ambiguously in art. This explains a number of hybrid *Noli Me Tangere-Chairete* images such as the twelfth century mosaic of the Cathedral of Monreale. The Monreale composition echoes the symmetrical *Chairete* format save that Christ turns His back on Mary Magdalene, His usual posture in scenes of *Noli me Tangere*. For the mosaic in Monreale, see *L. Sciortino*, Il Duomo di Monreale, San Vendemiano 2012, see also, *E. Borsook*, Messages in Mosaic: The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187), Oxford 1990.

[36] *V. Saxer*, Le Culte de Marie-Madeleen en Occident des origines a la fin du moven age, Paris 1959, 241, also *idem*, Les origines du culte de Saint Marie Madeleine en Occident, Marie Madeleine dans La Mystique. Les Arts et Les Lettres, Paris 1989, 33–47.

[37] Pope Boniface VIII issued another important bull the *Detestande feritatis* on September 27, 1299, prohibiting the dismemberment of the body. *E. A. R. Brown*, Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse, Viator 12 (1981) 221–270, 221; see also *Lj. Milanović*, The Politics of *Translatio*: the Visual Representation of the Translation of Relics in the Early Christian and Medieval Period, The Case of St. Stephen, PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick 2011, 185–191.

[38] For more on the reliquary of the *Noli Me Tangere,* see *Rafenelli,* The Ambiguity, 108–109; *Jansen*, The Making of the Magdalen, 327–332.

outstretched arm to inspect the wound. Christ is also represented bowed, in a concave position. With His left hand, Christ pulls His garment aside while raising His right arm, revealing the holy wound. They are dressed in *chiton* and *himation* and Christ's robe was once outlined by pearls. Both figures seem to have had nimbi picked out with pearls.

The sole textual source that details Thomas' encounter is the synoptic Gospel by John (John 20:27–29). [39] Saint Thomas was not present among the apostles when Christ appeared to them the first time after the Resurrection. As a result, he did not believe when others told him of His return. Christ appeared to apostles a second time a week later, entering the space in which they were assembled miraculously passing through the closed doors. He then offered Thomas to touch His wound in order to re-assure the skeptical apostle. The gospel, however, does not clearly state that Thomas acted upon Christ's offer. [40] Instead, the apostle proclaims, *My Lord and my God!*

Images of the Incredulity of Thomas were depicted in art since Early Christian times in a variety of media and scales, ranging from miniatures to monumental representations. [41] The image on the Hilandar diptych in many aspects departs from the usual iconography of this scene. The standard iconography routinely places Christ in the center of the composition, standing before a large, closed door flanked on the left and right by a group of apostles. In the majority of examples, he pulls His garment aside with one hand while raising His other arm to reveal the holy wound. Thomas approaches Christ from the side, advancing towards the wound with an extended finger. Most often Thomas is shown beardless.[42]

The iconography of the scene did not significantly change since the Early Christian period. [43] Usually it is a variation of two basic types, which differ in the

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[39] *27: Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing; 28: And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God. 29: Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* The Holy Bible, authorized King James version, Grand Rapids, MI 1998, 776.

[40] *A. Murray*, Doubting Thomas in Medieval Exegesis and Art, Rome 2006, 36–40.

[41] The earliest still extant representation of the scene of the Incredulity of Thomas in art is on the so-called Sarcophagus of Saint Celse from ca. 400, now incorporated into the altar by Camillo Procaccini (1555–1629) in the Church of St. Celse in Milan see, *B. Baert, L. Kusters*, Contributions to the Origins of the *Noli me Tangere* Motif, Iconographica. Rivista di Iconografia Medievale e Moderna 9 (2010) 26–41, 13; *Wilpert*, I Sarcophagi, 2: tav. CCXXXXIII, 6. It was also often represented on *ampulle*, see for example the *ampulla* Monza 9 in *A. Grabar*, Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte, Paris 1958, 24–26, pl. XV. The earliest preserved representation of the scene in monumental art is probably from the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna see, *A. Urbano*, Donation, Dedication and Damnatio Memoriae: The Catholic reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Journal of Early Christian Studies 13/1 (2005) 71–110, 82, see also, *O. Von Simson*, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna, Princeton 1987. For other later examples see, *Lj. Milanović*, On the Threshold of Certainty: The Incredulity of Thomas in the Narthex of the Katholikon of the Hosios Loukas Monastery, ZRVI 50 (2013) 377–397, n. 12. It was often depicted in monumental art and icons during the thirteenth and fourteenth century in Greece and Serbia, for examples see, *Zarras*, Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος, especially, 351–437.

[42] Thomas was usually represented beardless until the thirteenth century, see *W. G. Most*, Doubting Thomas, Cambridge 2005, 169.

[43] For the iconography of the Incredulity of Thomas see, *Schiller*, Ikonographie, 108–114. See also, *S. Schunk-Heller*, Die Darstellung des ungläubigen Thomas in der italienischen Kunst bis um 1500 unter Berücksichtigung der lukanischen Ostentatio Vulnerum, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 59, Munich 1995.

representation of Thomas and Christ. The type depicted in the Hilandar diptych show Thomas leaned toward Christ, pointing and touching His wound. More often Thomas is represented in a similar position but only with an extended finger pointing to Christ's wound. [44] The other type depicts Christ takes Thomas' hand by the wrist and pulls it toward His injury. [45] There are other variables in both versions, which include: the number of apostles represented, whether Christ is shown in the middle or to the side, and the presence or absence of a closed door in the background.

There are not many examples of abbreviated representations of the Incredulity consisting only of Thomas and Christ, as is the case of the Hilandar diptych. Even the representation of the Incredulity on the cross from the monastery of Saint Paul, which is small in size, includes the standard iconography with eleven apostles and Christ positioned before closed doors (Fig. 5). [46] Jadranka Prolović has pointed to the closest visual parallel to our example found in the *Admont Gradual-Sacramentary*, fol. 228r from the second third of the thirteenth century (Fig. 6). [47] The miniature of the initial letter O features a Thomas and Christ whose bodies reflect the concave surface of the letter. Here, however, Thomas does not touch the wound, but Christ steps on Thomas' foot with his right foot. The background contains a tree in blossom. Thomas holds a scroll in his left hand.

Depictions of Christ in which he leans his head on his outstretched right arm are very rare and resemble an earlier example of the Incredulity from the Gospel from St. Peter's abbey in Salzburg that dates from the eleventh century Ms 781, p. 224. [48] A similar gesture of Christ can be seen on an icon from the monastery of the Metamorphosis in Meteora, 1367–1384, though the iconography of the scene on this icon is typical. Here, as in the Hilandar diptych, Christ bows deeply toward Thomas while resting His head on His outstretched arm (Fig. 7). [49]

Hence, touch testifies to Christ's dual nature in the Incredulity as in the case of the *Chairete*. In the Hilandar diptych Thomas is represented as touching Christ's wound. Thomas's incredulity disclosed a need for confirmation of Christ's physical resurrection. [50] Whether Thomas actually made contact, Christ's invitation to touch affirmed His human nature.

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[44] For an early representation of this type see the ivory passion plaque from the British Museum, 420–430 or the mosaic from Sant' Apolinare Nuovo in Ravenna. For the ivory see, *E. Kitzinger*, Early Medieval Art in the British Museum, London 1960, 21. For Ravenna see, note 41.

[45] An early example of iconography in which Christ takes Thomas by the hand is found on an *ampullae* in the British Museum from the sixth-seventh century, *J. Engenmann*, Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger Institut in Bonn, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 16 (1973) 5–27, pl. 9: c-d.

[46] All eleven apostles appeared for the first time in monumental art according to the gospel's narrative in Sant' Apolinare Nuovo, *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 70.

[47] *Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih, 156, fig. 63. The manuscript is now in Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, MS. LA 222.

[48] The manuscript Ms 781 is now in the Pierport Morgan Library, New York. For more on this manuscript see, *M. Grünwald*, Das Manuskript 781 der Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (sog. "Evangeliar von St. Peter in Salzburg"): eine ikonographische Untersuchung der Passions-und Auferstehungsbilder, MA thesis, University of Vienna, Vienna 1998.

[49] *F. Gargova*, The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered, Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, Vienna 2014, 283–299.

[50] *Most*, Doubting Thomas, 55.

Often Images of the Incredulity are perceived as authentication of Christ's dual nature in funerary or Eucharistic contexts.[51] They are informed by doctrines concerning Resurrection of Christ, the body, and the holy sacrament.[52] Indication of Thomas' touch confirms the importance of bodily Resurrection and thus the Incredulity was common in Byzantine art after Iconoclasm.[53] By overcoming his doubt about Christ's physical return and materiality, Thomas served as an instrument by which the truth of the Resurrection is revealed.

The inclusion of the scene of the Incredulity of Thomas and the *Chairete* in the Hilandar diptych reflects not only the truth about Christ's Resurrection but imply to viewers that Christ's Resurrection brought with it the promise of resurrection for the faithful. Both scenes belong to a larger cycle of the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ included on the diptych which provides visual confirmation of the reality of Christ's resurrection.[54]

During the Palaiologan period the cycle of the post-Resurrection appearances of Christ grew in importance, especially in monumental art.[55] This was also the case in Serbian art of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Monumental thirteenth century Serbian representations of post-Resurrection imagery were mainly located in sanctuaries and consisted of few scenes.[56] Three scenes from the post-Resurrection cycle, the *Chairete*, the Incredulity and Christ's appearance to the Eleven Apostles were placed in the altar space of the Sopoćani monastery.[57] During the reign of King Milutin post-Resurrection scenes gained prominence and the number of scenes multiplied, with examples from this period including up to seventeen.[58] This increase in Christ's post-Resurrection appearances in Serbian painting supports some scholars' attribution of the commission of the diptych to King Milutin himself or someone from the royal family.

Thirteenth and fourteenth century Europe saw development of the interest in corporal resurrection and incorruptibility as well as the role of the senses in acquiring

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[51] *E. Benay*, The Pursuit of Truth and the Doubting Thomas in the Art of Early Modern Italy, PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick 2009, 17–50.

[52] *Milanović*, On the Threshold, 389.

[53] For the Iconoclastic Controversy (726–843) see, ODB, II, Oxford 1991, 975–977. For the first mention of the representation of the Incredulity in the Middle Byzantine monumental art after iconoclasm is the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, ninth century see, *Ekphrasis* on Holy Apostles by Nikolaos Mesarites from the twelfth century, *N. Mesarites*, Ekphrasis, XXXIV:1–8, Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, ed. *G. Downey,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S. 47/6 (1957) 855–924, 887–888.

[54] From Early Christian times, post-Resurrection appearances of Christ were often depicted in art as visual evidence of Christ's resurrection. *Kartsonis*, Anastasis, 143.

[55] *Zarras*, The Iconographic Cycle, 95–113; *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 109.

[56] For more examples on thirteenth century post-Resurrection scenes in monumental Serbian painting see, *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 138–145, also see, *idem*, Staro Nagoričino, 109.

[57] For the disposition of the scenes see *B. Živković*, Sopoćani. Crteži fresaka, Beograd 1984, 14–15.

[58] This number of scenes are depicted in Staro Nagoričino, Gračanica, Hilandar and St. Nikita, see *Todić*, Serbian Medieval Painting, 140. For more on post-Resurrection scenes in the churches from the period of king Milutin see, *P. Miljkovik-Pepek*, Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij, Skopje 1967, see also, *Todić*, Staro Nagoričino, 108–110.

knowledge.[59] Thus, the pairing of two scenes that evoke the same theological message, such as the *Chairete* and the Incredulity in the same cycle, reveals an increased emphasis on the confirmation of Christ's bodily resurrection and his human nature.[60] The presence of these two scenes emphasizes the *truth of the Resurrection*, it was already indicated with a selection of subjects from the Passion and Resurrection narratives on the diptych. The Resurrection of Christ is important for revealing both Christ's natures and His plan for the salvation of humanity. Therefore it is an essential component of Christian theology. [61] The material representation of Christ in the *Chairete* and in the Incredulity asserts both His humanity and resurrected status while stressing the Maries' and Thomas's all-too-human need for palpable confirmation of faith. Christ's corporality is demonstrated through His wounds in the *Chairete* and His touching of the women's heads. This is underscored further by Christ's offering of Himself for tactile inspection as even more concrete proof of His bodily resurrection. The increased popularity of depictions of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity in post-Iconoclastic art is evidence of a growing interest in the more tangible and human aspect of Christ. It is therefore not surprising that the scene of the *Chairete* on the diptych recalls the iconography of the monumental type that was popular in post-Iconoclastic churches in Constantinople.[62] As indicated in scenes of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity, touch generated an intimacy between Christ's followers and the divine, initiating communication between the sacred and profane.

The Greek philosopher Theophrastus (371–287) referred to touch as leading to a more solid form of human knowledge and argued that that the other senses were not as reliable.[63] Aristotle (384–322) identified sight as the most important sense while touch was denigrated as a lower function of the body but indispensible.[64] Bisera Pencheva has argued that medieval objects were given to the senses with: *their rich surfaces teasing the desire to touch, to smell, to taste, and to experience them in space*.[65] Jeffrey Hamburger has indicated that during the medieval period, believers ranked touch second in importance only to vision.[66] Glen Peers has referred to touch

[59] During the thirteenth century, there was much discussion among the church and its theologians about the value of the body, particularly in the West. Starting in 1215, its importance was confirmed at the Fourth Lateran Council in Lyon when it declared that a human being is composed of a rational soul and material body. The intensity of the debate increased at the end of the thirteenth century and focused particularly on the problem of the saints, their relics, and the division of corpses. See *E. Brown*, Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France, French Historical Studies 16/4 (1990) 803–832, 814–815; *C. W. Bynum*, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*, New York 1995*, 259–260.

[60] The *Chairete* and the Incredulity were not paired in the same cycle prior to the Middle Byzantine period, except in the case of Santi Martiri, *Belting*, Die Basilica, fig. 37.

[61] *S. Price*, Latin Christian Apologetics: Minacius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian, Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians, eds. *M. Edwards – M. Goodman – S. Price*, Oxford 1999, 103–129, 121–122.

[62] The insistence on Christ's human nature and tangibility contributed greatly to the increased popularity of the Chairete and the Incredulity of Thomas in Post-Iconoclastic Constantinople, see *Konis*, From the Resurrection, 189.

[63] Metaphysics 25.9b 15, cited from *Most*, Doubting Thomas, 48.

[64] Aristotle, DeAnima, Books II and III (with passages from Book I), translated by *D. W. Hamlyn*, updated edition by *C. Shields*, Oxford 1993, 2:7–11, 3:12.

[65] *B. Pentcheva*, The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium, University Park 2010, 1.

[66] *J. Hamburger*, Seeing and Believing: The Suspicion of Sight and the Authentication of Vision in Late Medieval Art, Imagination und Wirklichkeit: Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit, eds. *A. Nova – K. Kruger*, Mainz 2000, 47–70.

as threshold activity that *bridged the interior and exterior of the person performing the sense*.[67] Touch, however, according to Liz James, was the essential sense by which Byzantine worshipers acquired experience, using it to physically engage with the objects within a church. [68] The emphasis on touch and the senses in the iconography of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity, as well as the haptic quality of the entire Hilandar diptych, generated a desire for the beholder to touch the object. This stress on tactility and materiality as a means to achieve heightened spirituality helped the medieval viewer to engage with images and objects.

Scholars compare the Hilandar diptych with similar objects, particularly the diptych of King Andrew III of Hungary from the monastery Königsfelden now in Bern (Fig. 8), and the diptych from the monastery of Saint Paul on Month Athos from the same period.[69] Although they share similar iconography and all three have numerous scenes embedded in a gold filigree frame, there is a compositional difference between them that is important for the perception of their objects and scenes. The other two diptychs have a prominent centerpiece surrounded with other scenes.[70] On the diptych from Hilandar, however, the viewer's attention is spread equally among the images placed in small, cartoon-like episodes. The framing directs the viewer's eye, generating meanings in both horizontal and vertical directions. Cynthia Hahn has pointed out that frames control both the unfolding of the narrative and the perception of the beholder, writing: *Our desire as readers frames the hagiographic narrative and in effect induces its production, while also driving every aspect of the narrative*.[71] The reader's desire can unfold another narrative inside the frame.[72] Scholes and Kellogg have noted that unlike in the case of literary narration with words fixed in a written text, visual images have an almost infinite capacity for verbal extension. The viewers become their own narrators, re-arranging the images into a personal narrative.[73] Visual narratives may be thought to have three narrators: the first is the artist, the second is the protagonist of the story presented in a series of images, and the third is the viewer.[74] The eye's passage from frame to frame in a complex work of visual narrative such as in the diptych, or from place to place within a frame, may track the line of temporal

[67] *G. Peers*, Byzantine Things in the World, Byzantine Things in the World, ed. *Glenn Peers*, Houston, New Haven 2013, 41–87, 65.

[68] *L. James* "Seeing's believing, but feeling's the truth': Touch and the Meaning of Byzantine Art, Images of the Byzantine World, Vision, Messages and Meanings, ed. *A. Lymberopoulou*, Burlington 2011, 1–15.

[69] For king Andrew's diptych see, *P. Pazzi*, L'altarolo da campo di Andrea d'Ungheria, Oro di Venezia. Mostra dell'oreficeria, gioelleria, argenteria, Venezia 1983, 105–109, see also *Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih, 148–150. For the diptych from Saint Paul monastery see, S. *M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S. N. Kadas*, Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους, III, 209–212, 312–314, figs. 308–319. For dates and older bibliography see, *Prolović*, Hilandarski diptih, 140–143, 145, 159–160, figs. 5A and 5B., see also, *M. Marković*, Kult svetog Vita (Vida) kod Srba u srednjem veku, Zograf 31 (2006/7) 35–50, 40.

[70] On the centerpiece and its significance see, *S. D. Fisher*, Materializing the Word: Ottonian Treasury Bindings and Viewers Reception, PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, 2012.

[71] *C. Hahn*, Portrayed on the Heart, Berkeley 2001, 44–45.

[72] *E. B. Vitz*, Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire, New York 1989, 141.

[73] *R. Scholes, R. Kellogg*, The Nature of Narrative, Oxford 1996, 4.

[74] *J. Pelc*, On the Concept of Narration, Semiotica 3 (1971) 1–19.

succession in unbroken continuity as it moves stage by stage. The artist has created connections between the pictorial world and the inner one of the beholder.

The emphasis on tactility and desire in the *Chairete* and the Incredulity can also be connected with Eucharistic symbolism. By ingesting the Eucharist the faithful is united with the Body of Christ through the Host. Thus, for the believer, it is not enough only to visualize the mysterious transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but it is essential to consume it through the act of Holy Communion.[75] Christ's touching of the Maries and Thomas' physical inspection of His wound may therefore be likened to the believers' touch and taste of the holy sacrament during the liturgy confirming Christ's Real Presence. For sacramental experience, the spiritual is embodied by the material.[76] It is a reminder to worshippers that the consecration of Christ's body is the essence of the Sacrament's power.[77]

That the evocation of touch was of premier importance for the artist or the patron of the Hilandar diptych is further confirmed by the final scene found on the right wing. Instead of concluding the narrative cycle of Christ's life with the image of Pentecost, the artist, either by his own will or as dictated by the donor, ended the cycle with the Mission of the Apostles. There is no clear indication that the order of the scenes was changed over the centuries, although this remains a possibility.[78] Changing the order of gospel narrative clearly had some symbolic meaning. The Mission of the Apostles shows the last appearance of the resurrected Christ to His disciples before the Ascension.[79] It is a final confirmation of His corporeal resurrection and his bodily presence on earth. The standard iconography represents Christ as a central figure blessing the apostles that surround him.[80] The abbreviated version on the Hilandar diptych, depicts Christ blessing two apostles by touching their heads. Thus, this work contains another scene that underscores physical contact with the resurrected Christ, once again addressing His human nature and confirming His bodily resurrection.

The Hilandar diptych embraces the iconography of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity, which were visual synonyms for the reality of Christ's Resurrection. The pairing of two scenes that evoked the same theological message in the same cycle, however, indicates a specific intention of either a donor or the artist. The emphasis

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[75] Maximus the Confessor (sixth-seventh century) commented on the Eucharist: *By adoption and grace it is possible for them [the participants in the Eucharist] to be and to be called gods, because all of God completely fills them, leaving nothing in them empty of his presence*, Mystagogia, PG 91, 697A, as quoted in *C. Barber*, From Transformation to Desire: Art and Worship after Byzantine Iconoclasm, Art Bulletin 75/1 (1993) 7–16, 14. On Eucharistic *synaesthesis,* see *Pentcheva*, The Sensual Icon, 41–43.

[76] *Peers,* Byzantine things, 32.

[77] *H. de Lubac*, sj, The Splendor of the Church, translated by *Michael Mason*, San Francisco 1986, 143–51.

[78] Radojčić has noted that all the images were marked on their back with the Arabic numerals. This indicates that the scenes must have been taken out of their frames later since Arabic numerals were still not in use. This, however, does not imply that scenes were rearranged, *Radojčić*, Hilandarski diptih, 150.

[79] The Mission of the Apostles usually refers to Christ's farewell to the eleven Apostles. The Gospels of Matthew (28:16–20) and Mark (16:14–20), combines two events: the Appearance of Christ to the Eleven and the Mission of the Apostles. The appearance of Christ to the Eleven is described in Luke 24: 36–50 and in John 20: 19–23, ODB, II, 1381. The scene could also be intended to emphasize apostolic teaching and for that reason was placed at the end of the sequence, out of chronological order.

[80] The abbreviated Mission of the Apostles was very common on Early Christian sarcophagi, see *Wilpert* 1 32–46. For more on the iconography of the scene see, ODB, II, 1381.

on touch and the senses in the gospel narrative as well as in the iconography of the *Chairete* and the Incredulity reveals an increased emphasis on the confirmation of Christ's bodily resurrection and his human nature. The disposition of the images on the Hilandar diptych in small frames allowed a viewer to engage the narrative on different levels. The scenes clearly affirm the role of touch in satisfying the need for the sensual confirmation of faith. Together with its lavish decoration, the diptych confirms the importance of the senses in acquiring knowledge and generates a desire for the beholder to touch the object. Hence, the iconographic emphasis on the corporality of the resurrected body of Christ as well as on the tactility and materiality of the diptych itself encouraged the medieval viewer to sensually engage with its images and hope of making connections between the pictorial world and the inner desire for resurrection and salvation. The original function of the Hilandar diptych is unknown. Yet, its small size, high quality craftsmanship, material richness, and the focus of the narrative scenes from the Passion, Resurrection, and Great Feasts implies that the diptych was intended for the personal devotion and later given to Hilandar monastery.[81]

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ДОДИР ПРОСВЕТЉЕЊА: СЦЕНЕ ХРИСТОВИХ ПОСМРТНИХ
ЈАВЉАЊА НА ХИЛАНДАРСКОМ ДИПТИХУ

У ризници манастира Хиландара чува се диптих чије тачно порекло и датум израде нису сасвим разјашњени. Већина историчара претпоставља да је диптих настао у Венецији и повезују га са периодом владавине краља Милутина или неког из владарске династије Немањића. Диптих је богато украшен представама двадесет и четири сцене из Христовог живота и страдања. Поред дванаест великих празника, изузев Успења Богородице, ту су још представљене сцене Христових посмртних јављања којих има укупно четири. Две сцене из овог циклуса, Христово јављање мироносицама и Неверовање Томино заснивају се на тексту јеванђеља који експлицитно наглашава Христово телесно васкрснуће и прве физичке контакте после васкрснућа. Рад се бави проучавањем иконографских, литургијских и теолошких аспеката композиција Христовог јављања мироносицама и Неверовања Томиног у контексту диптиха и његове богате декорације. Посебан акценат је на материјалности и инсистирању на додиру у сврху прихватања истине, тј. потврде обећаног спасења људи у Христу од греха и смрти.

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[81] *A. Effenberger*, Images of Personal Devotion: Miniature Mosaic and Steatite Icons, Byzantium Faith and Power (1261–1557), ed. *H. Evans*, New York 2004, 209–214.

Сцене Христовог јављања мироносицама и Неверовање Томино на хиландарском диптиху својом иконографијом представљају визуелни синоним реалности Христовог васкрсења. Спој две сцене из циклуса Христових посмртних јављања које преносе исту теолошку поруку указује на специфичну намеру било донатора или уметника. Нагласак на додиру и чулима у тексту јеванђеља као и у иконографији Христовог јављања мироносицама и Неверовања Томиног открива потребу за потврђивањем Христовог васкрсења и Његове телесне, људске природе. Сцене које имплицитно наглашавају додир заједно са раскошном декорацијом диптиха афирмишу значај чула у стицању знања и генерисању жеље посматрача да додирне објекат. Стога, иконографски нагласак на телесности Христовог васкрслог тела као и на тактилности и материјалности диптиха, подстиче средњовековног посматрача да се сензуално саживи са сликама са надом у стварање везе између визуелног света и унутрашње жеље за васкрсењем и спасењем.

Првобитна функција Хиландарског диптиха остаје непозната. Ипак, његове релативно мале димензије, висок квалитет израде, богатство материјала, и инсистирање на наративним сценама из Страдања Христа и Његових посмртних јављања као и Великих празника указује да је диптих можда био првобитно намењен личној побожности и да је касније поклоњен манастиру Хиландару.
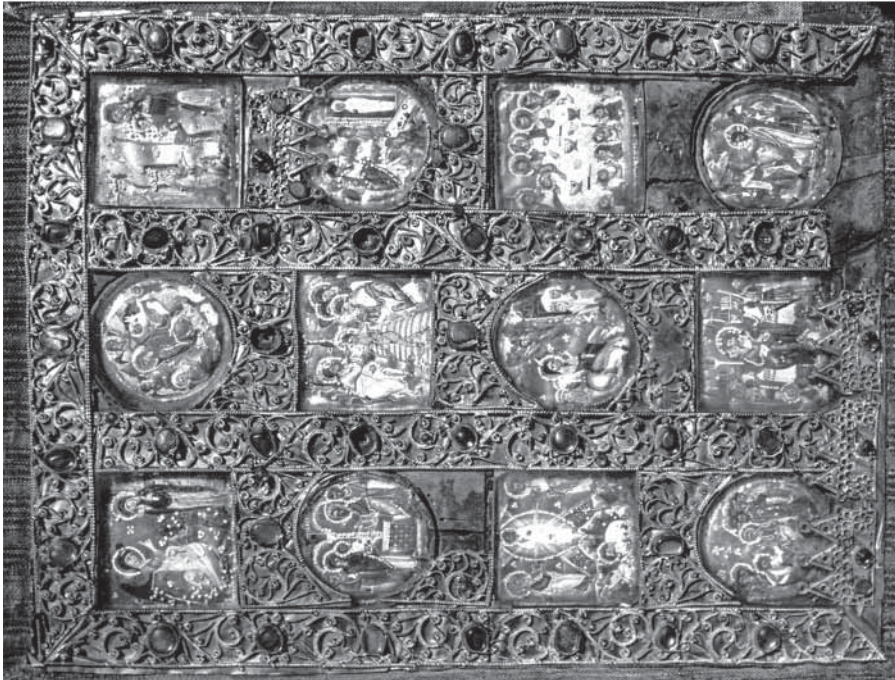
Fig. 1. The Hilandar diptych, ca. 1300, Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos (Photo: Ivan M. Djordjević)

Fig. 3. The Incredulity of Thomas, The Hilandar diptych,
right wing, detail of fig. 1

Fig. 2. The Chairete, The Hilandar diptych, right wing, detail of fig. 1

Fig. 4. The Chairete, fresco, the Sopoćani Monastery, Church of the Holy Trinity, ca. 1276

Fig. 6. The Incredulity of Thomas, *Admont Gradual-Sacramentary*,
MS. LA 222, fol. 228r, the second third of the 13th century,
The Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon

Fig. 5. The Incredulity of Thomas, The Cross from the monastery
of Saint Paul, ca. 1300, Mount Athos

Fig. 7. The Incredulity of Thomas, icon, The Metamorphosis Monastery, ca. 1367–1384, Meteora
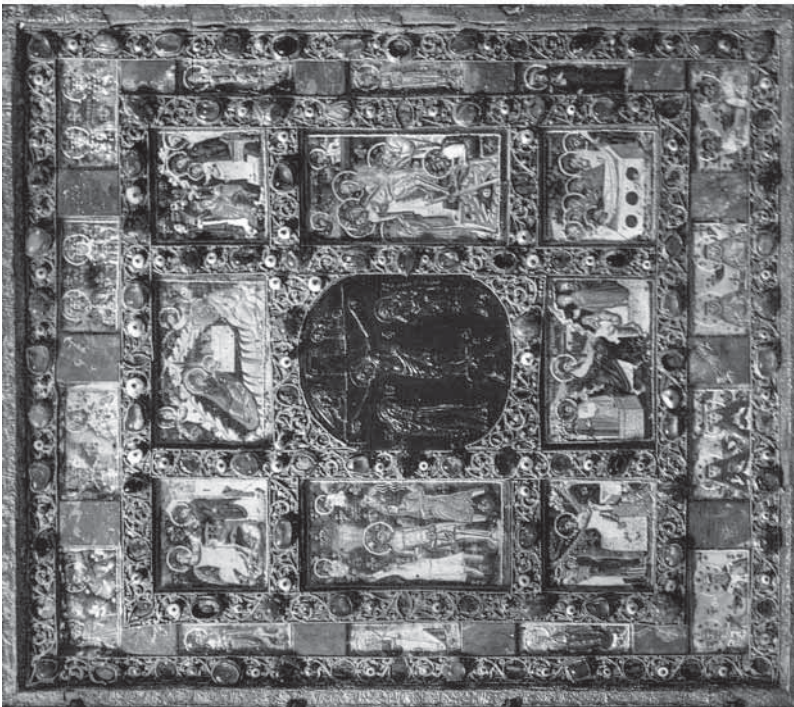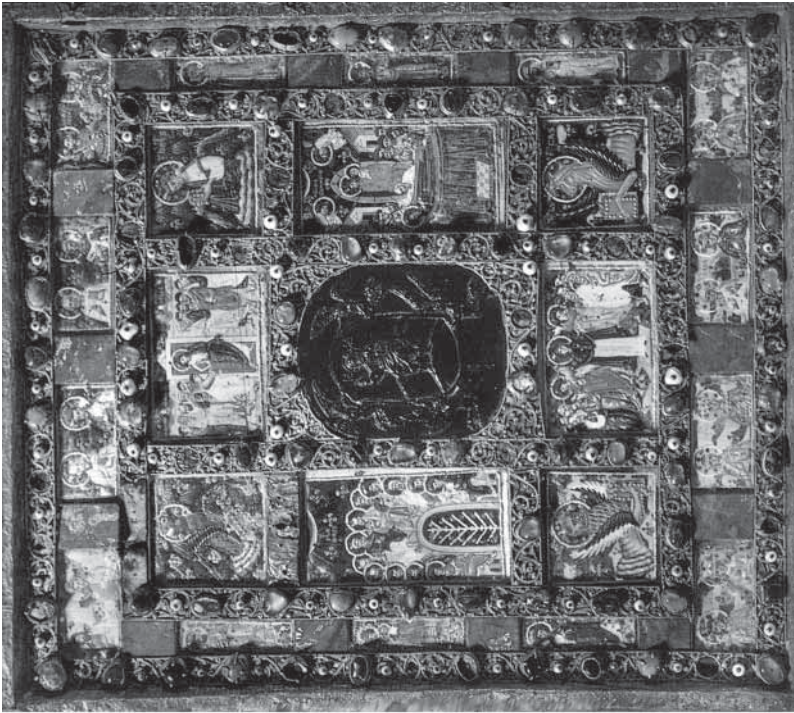
Fig. 8. The Diptych of King Andrew III of Hungary, Venice, 1280–1290, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern