BEYOND THE ADRIATIC SEA

A Plurality of Identities and Floating Boarders in Visual Culture

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CONTENTS

Milena Ulčar

Department of Art History
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Belgrade

Sensations of the Glorious Head: Veneration of the Saint Tryphon's Reliquary Through The Liturgical Year

Abstract: Theological, moralizing, and theoretical writings of the early modern period attempt to convince pious man in very creative ways in the necessity of a hierarchical and controlled encounter between the earthly and the sacred. Numerous sermons, catechesis and prayer books of the Bay of Kotor glorify the fashioning of spiritual sight, while condemning the carnal and mundane limitations of the touch. The aim of this paper is to examine the ways in which early modern hierarchy of senses was employed in liturgical praxis, following the performative role of Saint Tryphon's head reliquary. This long and carefully built (extra)liturgical path toward the believer's imagination contained a variety of stimuli for all five senses. Priority of sight in approaching sacred bodies wasn't constructed through neglecting or terminating role of other senses, but rather by their dynamic intertwining. Presentation and ritual employment of Saint Tryphon's reliquary in Kotor could be very useful for understanding the agency of sensuous apparatus of an early modern man.
Key words: Saint Tryphon, Kotor, reliquary, senses, liturgy.

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The most important holy object in Venetian Kotor was the reliquary of Saint Tryphon's head, along with the casket holding his remains. For centuries, the people of Kotor have been adding to the sanctuary where they were preserved and venerated. The relics' history is a turbulent one, starting with year 809, when they were brought from the East, and caused first miracles.[1] In the 13th century the Saint's head was stolen, only to be miraculously recovered and brought back from Constantinople (Stjepčević 1938: 32-34). After that the relic chapel becomes the central place of gathering of a great number of silver body-part reliquaries. Under the guidance of a Venetian sculptor Francesco Cabianca, between 1704 and 1708, the sacred space receives a new, baroque appearance (fig. 1), already having undergone numerous changes (Tomić 2009: 170, 171; Milošević 2003: 456-467; Prijatelj 1965-1966: 26-32). Since then the 'Glorious Head' was kept apart from other relics, enclosed in a marble casket, with a silver plate covering. The reliquary itself also witnessed turbulent changes. Its present version consists of parts added over the period of three centuries (fig. 2). The base elements were made in 15th and 16th century. Then, thanks to joint efforts of citizens and church authorities, the reliquary was given a golden and jeweled calotte -- work of Venetian goldsmith Benedetto Rizzi (K.R. II 1630-1680: 155). These changes resulted in development of complex communication mechanisms between the relics and their observer of the time. The elaborate iconographic program, selection of precious materials and its unique shape, serve as important interpretative tools for understanding the significance of this object during the 17th and 18th century. This paper, however, will examine different paths of creating a dynamic relationship over the liturgical year between the body of the believer and the holy body, relics of the Saint. Displaying and using the reliquary in various different ways, the pious man received and created information necessary for construction of a desirable image of the sacred in his imagination. This long and carefully built path toward the believer's imagination contained a variety of stimuli for all five senses.

1 Saint Tryphon's body was brought from the East by Venetian merchants whose ship was hit by a strom as they approached the Bay. According to legend, every time they tried to leave the weather worsened, after wich they finally left the relics in the town. Nobleman Andreaci had crucial role in negotiation with Venetians (Stjepčević 1938: 25-29).

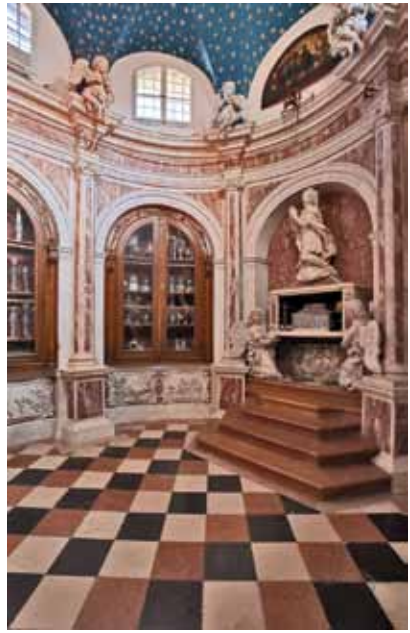

Fig. 1

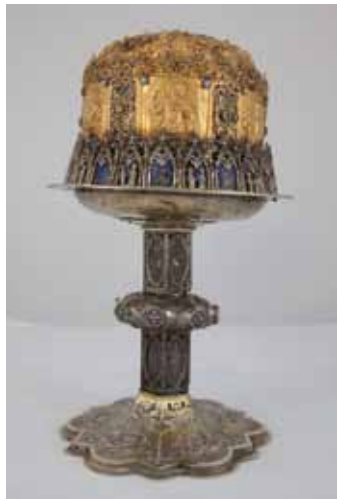

Fig. 2

In order to untangle the complex web of interactions between the various bodies, it is necessary to emphasize particularity of understanding of liturgical time and space, of the period, as well as the believer's role in it. My intention is to point out three different ways the 'Glorious Head' was presented within a year, the third presentation occurring on February 3rd, Saint Tryphon's Day. These carefully composed 'images' of interaction between the reliquary and its surroundings were the basis of the shared memory which created the community's religious identity. The three 'stages' St. Tryphon's remains were displayed on were the relic chapel, the altar of the Cathedral, and the town streets. In the chapel the relics were kept under a silver plate, behind a curtain, protected by iron grid - so unlike the accessibility they enjoyed during the holy procession when they were kissed. These two stages the reliquary had to go through on a very dynamic liturgical and extra-liturgical path were chosen to be examined in this paper, for they refer to the opposite sensuous stimuli. Initial withdrawal had its opposite, climactic point in direct contact with the sacred object. The whole series of events taking place in between the two points, does not suggest an unchanging, linear experience of the holy time and space (Duffy 1992: 1-53). Rather, it was a dynamic process, a kind of *macchina eterna*. Year after year this process was repeated, becoming the foundations of community's shared memory, and therefore an integral part of the communal identity. Seen as points in a cyclical pattern, the two seemingly contradictory 'stages' of treasuring and presentation of Saint Tryphon's head were actually two very close spots on the map of holiness in 17th and 18th century.

Disentanglement of this dynamic and interactive process calls for a certain degree of generalization. The sensuous perception of the believer of the period, the crucial moment of his encounter with the object, will be discussed as a social and cultural construct supported by various, albeit fragmentary, records. Just like the believer is a part of a broader interpretative community, so is the reliquary of Saint Tryphon a part of a liturgical and extra-liturgical web of architectural surroundings, smell of incense, leaf-

ing through catechesis, etc (see, for example Cooper 2013: 21-28; De Boer 2013: 245-261). Instead of explaining it as 'social control', the Post-tridentine recipe for shaping of the orthodox response to sensuous stimuli, the concept of 'negotiation', as of recently gaining in popularity in academic circles, will rather be considered (Loh 2013: 91-113; Cooper 2013: 5; De Boer and Göttler 2013: 1-17). Leading the faithful toward a desirable perception of the holly was always a complex process. Here it will be examined in the case of agency of Saint Tryphon's head reliquary in Kotor.

The Restricted Gaze: Saint Tryphon's Relic Chapel

In the extremely popular *Christian Doctrine*, a textbook written by a priest from Perast in 1768, special attention was given to the "five senses of our body, with which we can do both good and evil". The priest advises the senses be prudently used, "because they are like windows through which the sin enters the soul and gives death" (Nenadic 1768: 50). Referencing the then established hierarchy, he listed sight as supreme sense, followed, respectively, by hearing, smell, taste, and, finally, touch (Nenadic 1768: 31). Like him, many writers of the period held to Aristotle's opinion of sight as the spiritual sense, more noble than the other four. Others, like Nenadic, thought all senses traps of a kind, that which deceived and led into sin. As touch was thought to lead directly into sin in the Post-tridentine period, and needing a more orthodox approach to the sacred, sight was given primacy. For the sake of understanding the ways in which this demand was realized in popular piety it is necessary to, however, approach the sensuous experience of the contemporary believer as synestetic (Palazzo 2010: 25-56; Cesau 2013: 89-110; Wiliamson 2013: 1-43). One author rightly argues that focusing on a single sense, although analytically convenient, ignores the fundamental fact that "dominant Western sensorium with its five autonomous senses may not be the most appropriate framework for understanding past sensory experience"(Hamilakis 2011: 212). Theological, moralizing, and

theoretical writings of the early modern period in very creative ways attempt to convince in the necessity of a hierarchical and controlled encounter between the worldly and the sacred. Thus, numerous sermons, catechesis and prayer books of the Bay of Kotor glorify the education of spiritual sight, while condemning the carnal and mundane limitations of the touch. Examining, however, the working of a single sacred object shows how such sharp opposites could have been creatively employed in developing a relationship between the believers and their saint.

Throughout the year, the reliquary of the Saint Tryphon's head was carefully kept in the relic chapel, hidden from sight by a silver plate which covered the marble chest resting on statuettes of angels. The remains of the holders in the chapel indicate that the semicircular space was separated by curtains. In addition, the chapel is fenced by wrought iron, with only a small part of it being opened occasionally (fig. 3) (CAK BA XXI (15): 4, 5; BA XXXIV

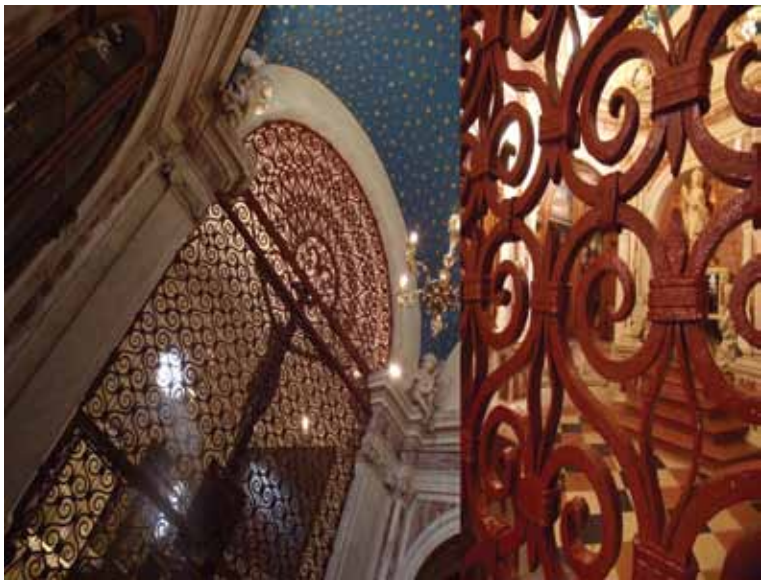

Fig. 3

(22): 80, Stjepčević 1938: 13, 22).[2] Presuming the curtains could have easily been moved, and the silver plate lifted, the body of the observer was still separated from the Saint's remains by a massive richly decorated grid. If he wanted to see the chapel, the observer could only do so through the openings between red, curved, metal wires. The play between the accessibility and inaccessibility of a sacred space, not unusual for the time (see Lasansky 2010: 249-75; Jung 2000: 622-657; Hills 2012: 1-21), raises the question of: why is the most important sense of the previously explained hierarchy, frustrated? Furthermore, why does the sense of touch, the desirable way of communication with the sacred in the Middle Ages, now remain barred? The morphology of the medieval body-part reliquaries in the Cathedral, and there being no mentioning of a grid before the 17th century, suggest it was permitted for the relics to be touched, although only in controlled and limited situations. From the 17th and especially in the 18th century, the believer, however, was unable to establish any kind of physical contact with the reliquaries in the chapel; he could only catch their glimpses.

Leading and shaping the believer's gaze was a very complex process. The two most frequently used strategies for that, after the Reformation, were physical blocking of the view and employment of allegory, a conceptual tool for persuading the observer to see beyond the physical (Loh 2013: 14, 15; Powell 2013: 173-195). The purpose of the interventions was prevention of sin in the eye of the observer, as a priest put it, "More than your tongues your eyes sin; you do not wish to see the divine face that martyrs yearn to see in Heaven; instead, you see the corporal face"(CAP PROP I/Fond XII, V: 168). The aim of the encounter with the holy on Earth was an insight into the spiritual richness of Heaven. Nonetheless, in order to reach those challenging heights, the material and corporal features of the object and the man were vastly used. In Kotor's chapel and the 'Glorious Head', the employment of both of the mentioned mechanisms is obvious. It appears that blocking of the gaze with the silver plate and the grid was mas-

2 Three guards, *thesaurarii*, were responsible for treasuring three keys of the relic chapel in Kotor. Before the reconstruction, in the year of 1668, bishop Marin Drago wrote about red iron grid. After that, in 1745, bishop Antun Castelli described it in his visitation note.

terly executed. Interpreting the obstruction solely as repressive or perceiving it as an instrument of rejection, however, would mean disregarding a great part of the liturgical cycle. Looking at the inaccessibility as a strategic way of stimulating the believers opens a new, very intriguing path of communication between believer and the Saint. What the believer of the 18th century *could* see, guided, instead of frustrated by the 'obstacles' was a wholeness of the sacred space, in which the red of the grid merged with the silver of the reliquaries, the marble ornaments, and impressive light. The focus of the gaze was not on the hidden reliquary, but on the large white figure of Saint Tryphon above it (fig. 4). In order to comprehend this tripartite dialogue between the believer behind the grid, the hidden reliquary, and the marble figure of the Saint, it is crucial to understand the circular flow of the liturgical

Fig. 4

year. On several occasions (discussed in detail later on), the observer was able to behold the reliquary; at the end of the cycle, he could finally approach it, look at it in full, and even touch it. This brief moment was the culmination of all previous 'images', a finale of a year-long process. Keeping in mind, however, its circularity and repetitiveness, this important moment could also be seen as the starting one. Beholding the figure of Saint Tryphon in the chapel, the believer witnessed an invisible but loud dialogue between the sculpture and the covered relic. The inaccessibility of the observed object had a twofold effect on the observer. First, he was invited to relate with the clearly visible Saint's marble figure, all the while keeping in mind the relic and reliquary hidden below. Thus, the observer was immersed in a dynamic interplay between the animated remains and the image of the resurrected body of the Saint in Heaven. Secondly, the depravation of full sight of the relics provoked a desire in the faithful for a closer contact with the Saint, which increased the power and mystic quality of the object.

The second widely used approach in training the so-called spiritual eye of the believer, was the allegory. Allegory is based on the distinction between the literal representation and the actual meaning of what is represented. Writings of the time, however, suggest that this distinction, although exceptionally subtle in theory, had little to do with reality, as the other, the spiritual side was usually overlooked in everyday use. This was a very important topic in the decades after the Reformation, when such neglect was labeled as superstition. The Catholic Church supported employment of the material in popular devotion, but only as a way towards the divine (O'Mally 2013: 28-49; Nenadic 1768: 111). Nonetheless, common people, and even the clergy of the time, found the concentration on the physical side of the sacred objects crucial. Nenadic' catechesis, consisting of a variety of answers, can perhaps shed some light on such vernacular experience of the sacred. The question if "a priest split[s] the host, does the body of the Christ brake as well," he explains writing that which is really broken is only "the image of the bread," while Jesus' bones remains intact (Nenadic 1768: 40). Nenadic' example remarkably depicts

the disregard for the other side of the story, the concomitant nature of Christ. This problem of separating earthly and heavenly presence of saints, when it came to experiencing relics and remains, was very common. Thus, leading the believer through that "other part" of the allegory and directing his spiritual gaze toward the "divine face of martyrs in Heaven" (CAP PROP I/Fond XII, V: 168) were considered the most important tasks in years after the Reformation. This could explain restriction of access to St. Tryphon's reliquary, and evidence shows mechanisms of allegory were employed in this case. The believer was invited to create, with the help of dynamic surroundings, a mental picture of the glorious martyr in Heaven.

Nonetheless, the believers' resistance to abandon the one-sided, although effective, experience of the sacred shouldn't be understood only as an obstruction of the Reform's top-down movement, with the church authorities on top and the illiterate laymen on the bottom of the problematic chain (see Laven 2013: 7; Ditchfield 2010: 186-208; Walsham 2008: 497-528). Much like the red iron grid in the chapel, these obstacles could be seen as a creative contribution to the reshaping Catholicism during the Early Modern period.

The Synaestetic Gaze: Altar and Streets

The dynamic interplay of the opened and closed approach to the Relic Chapel in Kotor illustrates just how complex was the process of placing sight as above other senses. Apart from periodical restrictions, sight very much relied on the help of other, "lower" senses of the hierarchy. The 'Glorious Head' was at certain times of the year displayed outside the chapel to be worshiped by the various social and religious groups.

Records of Cathedral's Capitol meetings, from 1776, hold a unanimously accepted proposal to regulate the occasional presentations of the reliquary. The proposal demanded the hymn *Deus Tuorum Militum* (KAP I, January 13th 1776) be sung each

time the object was taken out for presentation, when it was carried to the sick, or displayed for the pilgrims. It was stressed that the hymn should be performed by the whole canons, priests and chaplains, from the moment *Signore Canonico Procuratore* took the holy relic into his hand, until it was returned to the safety of the chapel. All participants were required to join the choir and follow the procession down the stairs of the sanctuary to the altar or into the town streets. The following record mandated equal division of alms between the participants, not forgetting those justifiably absent (KAP I, January 13th 1776). Every time the reliquary was presented for public veneration the hymn had to be sung, the alms accordingly divided, and all was to be followed by the sound of bells. The chosen songs and bells were recognizable companions of the object's journey to the altar of the Cathedral and through the town streets.

The night before Saint Tryphon's Day, once a year, his reliquary was carried in procession to the sick in hospitals, nuns in convents, and all those who couldn't leave their residence and participate in festive days. Unlike the procession with songs and bells, this one was a silent walk, called *procession mutua* (Rafaelli 1844: 5; Stjepčević 1938: 55). There is no mention in the archival records of any decoration used other than candlelight and flags which were carried by the clergy and the naval officers. The procession was thus meant to evoke the position of those who were spending this extraordinarily lavish and loud celebration in silence. Night, the light of candles, and silence separate this walk form others devoted to the Saint Tryphon's head relic, usually celebrated with festive songs and prayers. Capitol records from the 18th century reveal it was customary for those who would run into a procession of the 'Glorious Head' to make a donation (KAP I, January 13th 1776). Different modes of its presentation, and the opposite visual and auditory stimuli (day-night, song-silence) influenced the believer to recognize and participate in creating the image of the sacred.

In addition to being close to the relics in the processions, the believer could also access them during the numerous services

held all through the three-day celebration of Saint Tryphon. Various sources, some even from mid 19th century, describe these celebratory days as lush and lavish. In 1844, Urbino Rafaelli writes about a vast crowd of people who, inspired with immense piety, enters the space of the Cathedral. Just like one of his predecessor from three centuries before, he too recounts forgiveness of minor crimes and debts during the celebration (Rafaelli 1844: 6; Stjepčević 1938: 53). Furthermore, on the Saint's day numerous feasts were prepared, free wine served, Maritime dances danced. The Cathedral's book of accounts describes how the church was decorated, with ornamental carpets, censers, and lit candles on the altars (CAK KR II: 153; KR III: 288). The censers were suspended from the architraves of the main altar in front of which the clergy and its congregation prayed and sang. A preserved document contains lines recited during incensing. Short prayers and thanks accompanied the three lessons on the life and martyrdom of the Saint, and the arrival of his remains in Kotor (*Večernja i Matutin* 2001). All of it combined -- the smell of incense, the candlelight, and the shine of silver objects, the adorned altars, carpets, and festive clothes the participants wore – served to direct the believer's gaze toward the most sacred object.

Sermons from the period reveal that during mass or any other religious ceremony, the believer was expected to stand straight, look ahead, and silently participate in the service. In 1795, Gregorio Bisanti bequeaths the sum of 300 golden sequins for construction of a new altar in a cathedral dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. Apart from giving advice on how to prevent humidity, sunrays and wind from spoiling the sacred space, Bisanti leaves precise directions on where to place his altar: it must not be in the far end of the church, as it would thwart the gaze and, even worse, make the worshiper turn his back to the *Gesu Cristo Sagramentato* (HAK Fond XVIII, TE I 1795). This sort of offense against God with one's eyes, and back, as one preacher observes (CAP PROP I/Fond XII, V: 168), was taken rather seriously and prevented in very creative ways. Another preacher chastises people for the way they act and stand before their God. He writes that if

a Turk, a Jew or "any other infidel" entered a church and saw how rude the young were, heard the murmur, girl talk and laughter, and saw all of them standing, any one of them would have asked, "O Christians, where is your God?" He continues, "And with reason we would be condemned by the same Turks who in their Mosques stoop so low, and wouldn't flinch even if a sword was at their throats" (CAP PROP I/Fond XII, VIII: 293). The openness of altar to sight, unified space of the church, and regulated conduct – all of them were carefully arranged by decrees of the Tridentine council.

The rich ambiance influenced the animation of the holy remains by sight, as did stimuli intended for the other senses. The actually movement of the remains then followed. Each year, on February 3rd, a special town procession was organized and all the reliquaries of the chapel were taken out. Antonio Bassich describes how this holy walk proceeds *con grandissima venerazione e con insigne pompa e magnifico apparato* (Bassich 1845: 29).[3] After the procession was over, the 'Glorious Head' was returned to the Cathedral, and put out for public veneration.

The Carnal Gaze: Kissing the Head

The body of the faithful, with its whole complex sensory apparatus, was carefully fashioned during these encounters with the sacred body. Sight, hearing, smell, and taste were particularly stimulated during Mass, various processions, feasts, and prayers in front of the 'Glorious Head'.

Criticizing conduct of the people in the church, an unknown preacher condemned physical contact among them. He wrote, "They kiss each other just as they kiss the holy relics themselves" (CAP PROP I/Fond XII, VIII: 58). Laying kisses on Saint Tryphon's remains, at procession's end was crucial in forging a relationship between the believers and their saint. As above men-

3 Similar processions were organized in neighboring towns of Perast, Budva and Prčanj, as well as in Kotor, with icons of the Virigin Mary (Brajović 2006: 91-95, 121, 266-299).

tioned preacher emphasized, kissing the holy remains should not have been equal to a common physical exchange. Like the gaze, the kiss should have led towards the elevation of spirit, to veneration of the saint in Heaven.

Yet, in the 17th and 18th century, the desire to touch, or even possess a sacred object, often led people into sin. Common people, wanting to fulfill the mundane and corporal desires sometimes found themselves in the courts of the Inquisition for use and misuse of sacred objects. After being exiled from the town of Kotor for participating in magical rites, Mihovil Pasquali was punished by the Inquisition of Korčula for stealing church inventory and desecrating the host (Čoralić 1996: 3). Many from Bay of Kotor and Dalmatia, laymen and clergy alike, all at the time citizens of Venice, were prosecuted for the abuse of the hosts, agnus dei, written prayers, and other holy objects. The records inform of the opposite occurring too, of people using everyday objects to achieve spiritual and physical protection. In the mid-17th century a woman with the help of a priest, blessed the rope for hanging of a criminal, reciting a prayer for baptism of children. She was publicly flogged for the offence and exiled from the territory of Serenissima (Čoralić 1998: 94-98). The sermons in Perast archive treasure many such cases. Especially severe were punishments for desecration of graves and touching dead bodies, which occurred quite often. One priest from Bay of Kotor threatens his congregation that if they continue to behave like "heretics" and "heathen" he would leave them just as the other two previous priests had done. The punishment of excommunication, he wrote, "waits all them who open the graves and split the corpses" (CAP PROP I/ Fond XII, VIII: 180,181; Nenadic 1968: 129). At the same time in Venice, a woman from Dalmatia was accused of theft of bones from the graveyard. The reasons for such acts are numerous: from protection from diseases and the dead who wanted to hurt the living, to seduction of wealthy merchant (CAP PROP I/Fond XII, VIII: 181; Čoralić 1998: 94). These examples show just how thin the line between use and misuse of relics was, as well as between the sacred and profane. For an object to be holy, it was supposed

to "work", and for this to happen, the believer asking for help had to achieve some degree of physical contact with it.

The reliquary of Saint Tryphon's head, despite careful orchestration of its communication with the believer, was experienced, above all, as a body. The cores of reliquaries are the remains of the dead, which in order to inspire the image of the saint, required animation. Animation, in the first place, was prompted by the placement of the remains in the reliquary, and then by their further use and presentation. This kind of treatment of the holy body in Kotor had its support in hierarchy of the senses, presented in *Christian Doctrine*, by Nenadic. Sight, as the dominant sense, was more persistently goaded during the presentations of the 'Glorious Head'. Hearing, smell and taste were frequently used to enrich the experience of the encounter with the sacred object. However, the question remains: why was touch, the bottom sense of the hierarchy, given such an important role? This question is even more intriguing if we recall the discussed examples, as well as those not mentioned here, of sin being directly related to use and misuse of touch.

In the early modern writings this ambivalent and "the most sensuous sense" was very often associated with sin. Of all five senses touch is most difficult to localize and represent, diffused through the whole body, its organ being the skin (see Benay and Rafanelli 2014-2015: 1-8; Mazzio 2005: 85-106; Assaf 2005: 75-98; Harvey 2002: 1-10; Jung 2010: 203-40). For that reason touch was most often related to the earthly and sinful. Nevertheless, numerous sources testify of the importance of the kiss the believer placed on the reliquary. Not only was everyone able to touch the object, but also, after kissing, the 'Glorious Head' was cleaned with water and wiped with linen wrapped over thick candles (CAP NAP R XVI: 56). These the believers kept for themselves to serve as powerful mementos and contact relics. This was the apex of communication between the man and the saint, and the foundation for every other future encounter. During the ritual kissing the believer had a chance to behold the object that was carefully treasured and closed almost the entire year. Its rich appearance, enhanced by a

mixture of gold, silver, and jewels, and the visible top part of the martyr's skull, was the essential in construction of the believer's memory (fig. 5). Thus, the circle of communication between the man and his saint was closed and, at the same time, opened anew.

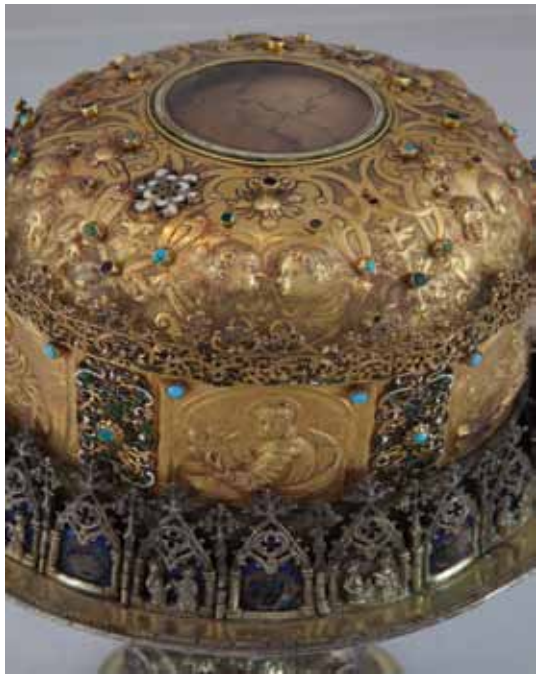

Fig. 5

This example of liturgical and extra-liturgical treatment of one sacred object could be very useful for understanding the agency of sensuous apparatus of an early modern man. As one author observes, "the history of senses has been, essentially, the history of their objectification" (Mazzio 2005: 85). This problem of objectification of sensuous impulses was very important in Post-tridentine period. Church authorities and educated creators of these processes knew that corporal was the fastest and closest way

towards the Heaven. On the other hand, laymen, with their own creative interpretations of the sacred, contributed to alternations of that path. Because of that, touch was used as a very effective "window" into the sacred, as Saint Augustine and Nenadic emphasized. (Nenadic 1768: 50) Its ambivalence, being considered both the most physical and sinful of senses, gave, ironically, an enormous strength in its influence on the believers. If we expand this story of subversives and conflict, we can gain an insight into the various ways in which carnality and sensuality could have been used to serve religion.

In a sacral play, called *Presentation of Jesus' Passion*, which was played in Bay of Kotor during Easter time, Joseph wants to touch Christ's wounds after his body is taken down from the cross. To Misandro's astonishment, he answers, "I dare not touch them [the wounds], but with humility I will touch and kiss them, until I'm drunk on His blood" (Nenadic 1975: 279). Physical contact with the most sacred body wasn't only a desire, but a need for participation in its holiness. To touch and to be touched in this period included holy imbalance of inner juices and outer strengths of the two bodies (Rublack and Selwyn 2002: 1-16). Just as the sense of touch could lead into sin, it was, perhaps, also the most direct way of uniting with the sacred.

In the same play, while describing Christ's passions, the author uses two tableaus - vivid images that should explain the essence of his sacrifice. First one is the image of Jesus, "with his eyes covered" (Nenadić 1975: 190). After various scenes of torture and debates between participants, this image was to explain, in one "frame", the weight of the actions that took place. The audience could hear the song of the angels inviting them to cry because of the sin that closed their Savior's eyes. The image choice – representation of the passions by covering of eyes – supports the argument about the importance of sight. Closing the eyes and deprivation of sight were well understood by believers of the time. The following tableau of "Jesus on flagellation column" makes firmer the argument (Nenadić 1975: 216). Once more, the angels demand tears and repentance, and this time, it is Jesus' hands that are tied. This,

much more somatic picture completes the previous one: the naked body, bruised and covered with blood, cannot move or touch. The two images worked together, joined by the horrifying story of sin and redemption of mankind. The allegory of the blocked gaze and the carnality of the torture, create a contrasting precondition for the believer's physical and spiritual participation in the sacred story.

Evoking the two tableaus one can see a parallel to the dramatic presentation of the 'Glorious Head' of Saint Tryphon, over a year. Provoking and playing with the sense of sight in chapel, followed by vibrant stimuli directed toward hearing, smell and taste, had its climax in tactile approach to the sacred body. Circularity and repetition of these encounters guaranteed their evocation and agency in the believers' imagination. The interplay between the object and the man, supported by the complex scenes and dialogues, had the result in creation of a powerful image of the Saint ready to help and punish at the same time. In that process sight and touch were „mutually exclusive and mutually reinforcing"(Jung 2010: 211): two sides of one, albeit changeable, notion.

Resume

In an extremely popular *Christian Doctrine*, a textbook written by a priest from Venetian Bay of Kotor in the 18th century, special place was given to the „five senses of our body, with which we can both do good and evil". The first place was taken by sight, while the rest of them were placed in the following order: hearing, smell, taste and, finally, touch. This classical, Aristotelian hierarchy became an important part of "modern" ways in which sacred objects were presented to the beholder.

My intention is to point out three different ways the 'Glorious Head' was presented within a liturgical year. These carefully composed "images" of interaction between the reliquary and its surroundings were the basis of the shared memory which created the community's religious identity. The three "stages" St. Tryphon's

remains were displayed on were the relic chapel, the altar of the Cathedral, and the town streets.

The orthodox gaze of a pious man in Baroque Kotor has been created by means of a complex mechanism of its facilitating and frustration, as well as by the promise of enjoying the very last sense in the hierarchy, sense of touch. Three "middle" senses also had an important role during the "middle" celebrations which connected the controlled gaze toward the Saint Tryphon's head and direct physical contact of kissing it after the procession.

In this paper I draw from several archival sources including manuscript sermons, wills and catechesis. They reveal a highly somatic attitude of common laymen towards the sacred body and a frequent violation of church rules accomplished exactly through various inversion of imposed hierarchy. Priority of sight in approaching sacred bodies wasn't constructed through neglecting or terminating role of other senses, but rather by their dynamic intertwining.

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