“FOR THE ENTRANCE TO THE TENT MAKE A CURTAIN”:
ORNAMENTS, CURTAINS AND PASSAGES IN EARLY
BYZANTINE SACRED CONTEXT

Ornaments used on textiles and in architectural sculpture were inextricably connected in Byzantine visual culture.1 The aspiration of this paper is to explore the phenomena of synchronous usage of a wide repertoire of ornaments embroidered on Byzantine textiles dating mainly from 6th century, and how the same ornaments were interpreted in imagery in an overall architectural setting.2 Additionally, the aim is to capture decorative patterns of several textiles, their symbolic meaning and influences on the active beholder in the church.3 Much has been written about the dating of the domestic textiles from Byzantium, about their techniques, and about the sources of their iconography in relation

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2 A. Gonosova 1981 The Role of Ornament in the Late Antique Interior, with Special Reference to Intermedia Borrowing of Patterns, Ph.D. diss, Harvard University 1981, 10; Eadem, The Formation of Early Byzantine Floral Semis and Floral Diaper Patterns Reexamined, DOP 41(1987), 227-237.

to other works of art, especially book illustrations. As documented by primary sources and visual representations, textiles played a prominent role in imperial, ecclesiastical, and domestic architectural spaces in the Byzantine world.

In the historiography of Byzantine art, less attention has been paid to the function of the images in these textiles, and especially their role in Byzantine sacred space and terminology in Byzantine sources. Ornamental decoration functioned in two ways: on the one hand, it enabled the beholder’s mental transition from the natural into the supernatural realm; on the other, it eloquently sublimated the core dogmas turning them into message signs of the Divine Revelation. Subtly vocabulary of ornaments on textiles interacted with other parts of sacral programme in order to reinforce theological messages and define Byzantine aesthetics of that time.

The most accessible point of entry into the analysis of textiles themselves is provided by the ornaments and their symbolism. Some of them appear in other contexts (on objects, in manuscripts, etc.), which additionally facilitates the task of discerning their symbolic meaning. These ornaments fall into the figurative-representational and non-iconic groups, sometimes called ‘aniconic’. It will be shown that both were endowed with the ability to convey noetic concepts by themselves and through relative combinations with each other. In fact, an ornamental unit represents one image, highly codified and dehumanized because “all that is intangible, formless (or amorphous) and presented with material things does not belong to our analogies; these analogies are accomplished in their own similarities”.

It is known fact that usage of textiles was mandatory in Byzantine sacred space and in the Mediterranean area. Weaving was initially established in a number of textile factories in the 4th century, where the position of Constantinopolitan factories was predominant. From the 6th century onwards existed private manufacturers of textiles began to be attested in extent historical sources. One difficulty about describing the embroideries is that the words

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8 R. V. Popović Lettre du pape Grégoire II au patriarche German, 5ème, 6ème et 7ème Conciles ecuméniques de Constantinople, Belgrade 2011, 286.

9 A. Muthesius, Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving, 255-316 (with further bibliography).

used in sources are not always easy to understand.\textsuperscript{11} In preserved sources such as Proclus and on many paragraphs in Byzantine patristic literature are mentioned prerogatives of “purity” of textile and silk which adorned sacred interiors of the church.\textsuperscript{12}

In recent years, the study of the various qualities of textiles and especially silk in Byzantium has represented a fruitful field of research in Byzantine. Sometimes known as the “iconology of textiles”, it assumes that physical matter made of ornamented textile has a certain symbolic value established by written sources. This signification enhances our understanding of the textiles from which the veils and dresses as insignia were made.\textsuperscript{13} Furthermore, the study of textiles and their metaphoric significance has become a useful tool for interpreting how visible textiles capture invisible matters. Namely, scholars have demonstrated that there were a ‘real absence’ in medieval art and living images so that “any possibility that they would be taken as a real presences”.\textsuperscript{14}

The Byzantine textile workshops set the usage of a wide repertoire of motifs and patterns in different ideological and religious circumstances. For instance, it is interesting to note that Epiphanius of Salamis, known as the defender of Orthodoxy and composer of \textit{Panarion}\textsuperscript{15} tore down embroidered curtains with the image of Christ, because he saw pushing as improper movement by believers touching His holy face during the rite of passage. Maybe that could be indication why curtains and veils often display geometric patterns.\textsuperscript{16}

The motifs decorating textiles used in sacred spaces were chosen according to specific circumstances, the iconoclastic era saw the raise of aniconic ornaments as main “language” of the epoch. Nevertheless certain aniconism or usage of ornaments as ‘speechless’-meaning stayed in semantic repertoire of visual art and filled the walls of sacred spaces until the end of Byzantine Empire.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{11} Such example is a note of George Cedrenus who reminded in 11\textsuperscript{th} century on occasion that Emperor Heraclius found 638 “tapestry worked with a needle” in the Palace of Chosroes II. Cf. Walter & Johnstone 1968, 408-411.

\textsuperscript{12} L. Kortzsche ‘Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung. Bemerkungen zur Ikono-


\textsuperscript{14} A. Babuin, Standards and insignia of Byzantium, \textit{Byzantion} 71/1 (2001), 7-59.


\textsuperscript{16} E. Kitzinger, \textit{The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm}, DOP 8 (1954), 92-93.

Problems of terminology and understanding of the meaning of silk and its usage in Byzantine church challenge numerous questions which are of utmost importance for interpretative horizons of exposing the material, setting the textiles in the interior of church (e.g., veils on doors or iconostasis).  

Taken in this light it is interesting to consider the role of the ornaments on textile. Different patterns as cubes, squares, leaves, chess-fields supposed to be motifs of power, motifs with highly imbued significance. When used in any media in Early to Middle Byzantine imagery these motifs had precious meanings for believers. For instance, in the Life of Theophanou, it is mentioned that when the wife of Leo VI the Wise deceased her dress became a powerful medium for the miracles, a sort of multisensory clothing relic. The writer of these lines about Theophanou also mentioned how embroidered dress of the empress revealed miraculous cures for different illnesses and sick people who came in touch with her clothes.

Alongside the symbolic nature of individual architectural spaces, textiles used during the Liturgy had the same meaning as embroidered imagery possessed direct links with liturgical texts. John Chrysostom wrote “Thus we believe that Christ lies on the altar as though in the tomb and has already completed his suffering. For that reason the deacons who spread the linens on the altar provide an image of the burial cloths”. That exactly is the symbol of wrapped body of Christ Himself in the linen clothes.

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20 Saint John Chrysostom continues in his Homily on the Gospel by mentioning the Mathew warns against adorning the Church building at the expense of caring for the suf-
Proces of using of embroidered ‘sign’ begun under the Justinian with the altar of St. Sophia Church where silken hangings divided liturgical spaces. In the famous sixth-century description of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the court-writer Procopius relates the sacred building directly to the appearance and glory of the Heavenly sphere. This is just one in the long line of Byzantine ekphrases that speak of the direct link between the physical, experienced beauty and the ineffable, mystical character of the Divine. In such descriptions the author usually enumerates the rich materials used in the decoration of the interior, the play of light on various polished surfaces, the magnificent visual impression they leave, and the surrounding ‘special effects’, such as the burning of incense and chanting of hymns that amplify the impression of an otherworldly realm. Indeed, the care and expense that went into decorating church interiors indicates that they were places of particular significance. This is hardly surprising considering that the Byzantines believed that the space of the church was made holy during the performance of the Divine Liturgy. The creation of the ‘sacred space’ clearly demanded special treatment. How did people perceive and experience the veils, textile ornaments while viewing them within their daily environment? One can begin to answer this question by looking at the physical evidence of embroidered ornaments themselves. As an example of such optical imagery and semiotics it is possible to use textiles dated at the beginning of 6th century which originate from Egypt. One of the two pieces of textiles shows a jeweled motif of the Cross and that of the arch with interplay of floral ornamentation and little crosses. Above these ornaments is the arch with ‘S’ profilation motif which stretches along the whole width of preserved material. Both the preserved pieces were probably once part of one large hanging embellished with a series of arches supported by columns. On the right edge of this embroidered fragment is depicted one capital adorned with grape clusters and a portion of a column. The yellow cross under the arch has been

"...providing the table with cloths woven of gold thread, and not providing Christ himself with the clothes he needs? (...) You do not take him in as your guest, but you decorate floor and walls and the capitals of the pillars. You provide silver chains for the lamps, but you cannot bear even to look at him as he lies chained in prison. Once again, I am not forbidding you to supply these adorns; I am urging you to provide these other things as well, and indeed to provide them first. No one has ever been accused for not providing ornaments, but for those who neglect their neighbour a hell awaits with an inextinguishable fire and torment in the company of the demons. Do not, therefore, adorn the church and ignore your afflicted brother, for he is the most precious temple of all." Hom. 50, 3-4, PG 58, 508-509.

R. Taft, Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond, Aldershot 1995, section 1, chapters 1-2.

Two examined textiles are given to Metropolitan Museum of New York by Nanette B. Kelekian. Photographs used in this article are property of Metropolitan Museum New York archives [Access for Scholarly Content], accession number: 2002.239.16. Second one (accession number: 2002.239.15) is very similar in repertoire of motifs. The only one difference is vividness of colors.
combined with the Greek letter chi (X) to form a variant on the Christogram widely used by the early church as an abbreviation for the name of Jesus Christ. The patterns on the textile replicate those found on contemporary architectural carvings in stone, which would have been painted in similar brilliant colors. When complete, the hanging with this ornamental narration has been used in a doorway or to screen off an interior part of a church.  

Similar textile panels used in doorways and between the columns are known from Sheikh Shata in the Delta. On this embroidered panel (fig. 3) the two columns separated by small lotus branches which evoke Paradisiac atmosphere often described in Early Byzantine sources as an enclosed garden filled with fruit-laden trees and intoxicating scents. What is of particular importance here is that on the left column, although embroidered in darker colors, are visible multiple Herakle’s knot stretched from the capital with palm leaves to the pedestal. The other one has ombré red, yellow and blue interlaced motifs which together create the similar pattern but positioned diagonally. Below, on pedestal patterns of gemmed stones shaped as square and rhombs are embroidered. The knots are formed by a shaft on both columns, descending from the top to the basis, but visually it is possible to track these patterns in reverse: from the pedestal to the capital of column. This particular motif, together with square and rhombs below as anticipation of Celestial Jerusalem, represents a powerful transmitter of complex exegetic messages.


We should ask one question: what exactly is the meaning of the above-described jeweled Cross and what exactly is the meaning of placing the textile panels between columns as sort of delusional veil? It is possible to identify this Cross as Crux Gemmata, Cross with precious stones placed in arch which resembles architectural setting. Our knowledge of Early and Middle Byzantine symbolism of precious stones is based on certain allegorical writings dealing with stones, but above all on the numerous commentaries by medieval exegetes on the Revelation, in the 21st chapter of which John describes the Celestial Jerusalem descending from Heaven. The City is all of gold, its wall is of jasper, gates of pearls and its foundations are decorated with twelve precious stones. Pictorial representations of crosses typically make extensive use of pearls and jewels. The jeweled style is suggestive of the aforementioned Biblical account of the Heavenly Jerusalem that is described as being built of gold and precious stones. The crux gemmata, the prototype of which has been erected at Golgotha, was a sign of divine power and the victory of Christianity. These crosses in several media used in Early Christian art were strongly evocative of an eschatological interpretation signifying the ultimate Christian victory and the Salvation, embodiment of the transfigured Divine Light. In Late Antiquity, no matter if in question is mosaic decoration or textile representation of this symbol, the jeweled cross had highly imbued eschatological connotation. The Gospel of Mathew 24:30 is most probably the earliest preserved example and allusion to the transfigured sign of the cross of the so-called Parousia (Christ’s Second Coming). Association with Parousia is more explicitly stresses in the Epistola Apostolorum from 2nd century C.E. Addressing his disciplines in the 16th epistle Jesus Christ said “Truly I say you I will come, as the Sun which bursts forth. Thus, will I, shining seven times brighter than it in glory while I am carried on the wings of clouds in splendour with my cross going on before me, come to the earth to judge the living and the dead”. Cyril of Jerusalem claims that “a sign of a luminous cross shall go before the King, plainly declaring him who was formerly crucified… the sign of the cross shall be a terror to his foes; but joy to his friends who have believed in Him or preached Him, or suffered for His sake”. For Cyril, the cross is the unequivocal symbol of the Christ’s power, mentioned also by John Chrysostom in De cruce et latrone according to which Christ had taken the cross with him to Heaven to brings it in his Second

29 Revelation 21, 18-20.
35 Cyril of Jerusalem, Cathechese, XV, 22.
Coming. These crosses of the light symbolized the luminous cross of the Parousia. Through its association with the Heavenly Jerusalem as the City of Light that ‘had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of the God lighten it’.  

Crosses, in different media, were often identified as aniconic imagery. In the middle of 11th century Michael Psellos wrote concerning the nature of miracle – working cross dedicated to the Archangel Michael.  

Another example of textile (fig. 4) showing an architectural representation of the ground of the sacred space is also from Coptic Church. This is an unknown textile fragment dating back to the end of the 6th century, presently on display in the Metropolitan Museum New York. This hanging represents one of the most fascinating examples which shows how building techniques, decorating techniques in mosaic and textile weaving closely were connected.  

Beholder is faced with rectangular image divided on four equal squares framed with the ornament of jeweled stones. In diagonal squares from upper left to the bottom right is ornament of Heracles’ knot and the upper right and bottom left square are filled with modification of similar motif which encircles floral motif in the center. The shape of this knot is found in the borders of floor mosaics as sort of framing device, luminal space which divide and prevent evil from entering into the particular space. That is powerful symbol of protection, later used often at the windows and door openings. Above and below this square are half circles which reminds on the apses of Early Christian baptistries. Nevertheless, of utmost importance is the rep-

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37 Revelation 20: 23.  
41 R. Jensen,, Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theolo-
representation of the ornament which fills the semi-circular shape. This register is filled with particular needlework which forms motif of diagonally positioned swastika which is oriented from the left to the right side. It is interesting to notice that this motif is made with so-called rope motif which incorporates aforementioned swastika meander. These motifs are very densely arranged, in an expression of *horror vacui* and there is a clear tendency towards continuous/carpet designs, equally antique origin but incomparably more commonly present in Byzantine art. The narrative voice of these patterns plays substantial role in Early Byzantine architecture: the entire surface of textile is turned to sacred skin stretched between the columns and church turns into a kind of tapestry. Even in literary sources, John Chrysostom notes that nature of textile: “the chastely veiled eye itself exercises an irresistible attraction” and that the mind “had a marvelous ability to re-create in its interior spaces spectacles once seen.” Based on this conditioning of the Byzantine eye, the mere sight of any curtain must have piqued the interest of the viewer. Although investigation along squares and meanders should certainly be further pursued, it seems that of swastika at upper and lower register motif at this textile appear to offers powerful stimulus for rather different optics. Like a vast membrane, illusionism of embroidered veils reveals the hidden mystery performed behind the altar. It creates illusion that the space between columns is transparent; it is a paradoxical vision which gives rise to the effect of the walls having been de-materialised and composed in new compartments. The membrane-like curtain falls down between the columns and around the church, draping the body of the edifice, like a new skin. That composition of motifs relies on the same imagery as on the carved cornice above the floor of Hagia Sophia (fig. 5), synchronous image of the Ocean at the mosaic at Ain Témouchent Setif in the northeastern province of Algeria.


43 Extensive bibliography on the motif and its symbolism from Antiquity to the Renaissance is given by E. Thomas *Monumentality and the Roman Empire*, Oxford 2007, 320 (n. 12).


47 A. Grabar *L’âge d’or de Justinien*, Paris 1966, 14, 17. For archaeologic evidences that curtains were stretched between the columns cf. mosaics of Sant’ Apollinare in Classe (Ravenna, Italy) where curtains were tied around columns. Also nowadays are visible drilled holes in the columns of the churches in Pella. Smith & Preston-Day *Pella of the Decapolis, 2: Final Report on the College of Wooster Excavations in Area IX, The Civic Complex, 1979-1985*, Wooster 1989, 45.


the same as at the mosaic from Misis Mopsuhestia in Cilicia (Adana province, Turkey). That is a reference to synchronicity and heuristic of adaptation and entering in the secret spaces and church Mystery: μετεμορφώθη and transubstantiation μετουσίωσις in Eucharistic manner. Through these intervisual devices one entered the hypostasis of the womb, the church as Incarnation of the Word - Logos and its spreading through the teachings of the Church. With the passing into the interior of the building and coinia one was transferred into a different sphere, oriented towards accentuating movement, a dynamic interplay realized by directions of distribution of crosses, labyrinth and similar motifs, expressed with polychromatic mosaics and needlecraft.

Moment of the bodyness and body movements through the labyrinth could be in direct nexus with the idea that every passage through portal and Christ as the Door (“I am the Door. Those who come in through me will be saved” John 10:9) and renewal through the Baptism. The essence of Christianity is in the focus in the act of passage: it is necessary to follow Christ in order to reach promised eternal life. In eschatological sense of speaking it means that it is necessary to follow the footsteps of Christ as one would in a labyrinth. Gregory of Nyssa described this act as marching of faithful throughout the maze and continuous following the Redeemer who knows the exit.

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50 L. Budde Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien, Recklinghausen 1969, fig. 31. For later interpretations and revivalism of this motif in the late Byzantine architecture: J.S. Ćirić “Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα”: brickwork narrative in Constantinopolitan Architecture during the period of Palaiologoi, Niš and Byzantium 12 (2014), 231-244.


53 Philosophical tradition provided a number of established technical terms, such as individual (ἀτομον) and particular (τὸ κατὰ μέρος). Theologians, came to retain an altogether different one, namely hypostasis. H. Dörrie Ὑπόστασις, Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1955, 55-92; J. Hammerstaedt Ὑποστασις, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, vol. 16, Stuttgart, 986-1035.


55 The Brill Dictionary of Gregory of Nyssa, eds. L. Francisco Mateo-Secco, G. Massaro, transl. S. Cherney, Leiden-Boston 2010, 92. Similar is mentioned by Romanus Melo-
Generally speaking, during certain periods of Byzantine art, women who participated in κοινωνία, no matter of their participation and secretly pronounced prayers were restricted to the upper galleries of the building, where they were separated from the congregation of men in the nave. Later in his 10th-century Life of John Chrysostom, Symeon Metaphrastes notes the use of curtains in the upstairs galleries of a church in order to hide the women. The curtains, therefore, were similar to a screen: the light from the policandilia in the interior of the church reflected all, making them appear opaque to the men standing below, but transparent to the female beholders standing behind them. The whole space of the Early Christian church is lasting vision of a skin of incarnated body with curving paths and dancing lines which enchant all materials contextualized in building substance, both stone and textile veils. The spatial and narrative shifts of the ornaments play on textiles, invited a transfiguration of the identity of the spectator-θεωρός from viewer to participant, more specifically from viewer of narrative and body in the nave to participant in the Liturgy. The artists of Early Christianity operated with different media (τύπος), created powerful images on textiles stretched between the columns or doors, same as it was noted in the Exodus 26: 36: “For the entrance to the tent make a curtain of blue, purple and scarlet yarn and finely twisted linen—the

dus and his comments on Hades and Christ’s descent in Hades: “While they slapped my face with prophecies, psalms, and hymns, Women arose and prophesied, dancing in triumph over me”. On the Resurrection II, Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist, ed. M. Carpenter, Columbia 1970, 266.


58 “The distinction found in cosmos and Church, that is the reason for one being an image of the other, is a matter of relationship rather than separation; it is a matter of connection, and not division, and it is an ordered connection, the visible pointing to the invisible realm, so that the visible finds its meaning in the invisible, and the invisible finds its expression in the visible, and in this way reflecting the close relationship between sanctuary and nave in a church”. See A. Louth The Eclectic of Saint Maximos the Confessor, International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church Vol. 4, No. 2 (2004), 111.

59 Gregory of Nyssa found a relation between spectator and seeing object since the word θεός comes from θῆσθαι “to see” (Ευν. II. 585), and it signifies “the one who sees”. In Quod non sunt tres dii: “We name the divinity from vision (θέα) and we call god (θεός) the one who contemplate us (θεωρός)”. See J.Daniélou, Gregoire de Nysse, La Vie de Moïse, Sources Chrétiennes 1, Paris, 1955, 131.

work of an embroiderer”. Despite the architectural dependence, every element on stretched textiles has its own symbolic weight. The first layer of meaning is a scriptural narrative that supplements the story told in sacred context. There are no anomalies in textile narration, if glanced from the topographical point of view. The church is wrapped in textiles as in Christ’s skin and flesh and ornaments shown are sparkling by textile movements on the surfaces as gem of the Logos, shaping the sacred space into the glittering surface which much later appeared in descriptions of Nea Ekklesia. In description the specific verb katapoikillo (kata – down; poikillo – embroider, but it means also means variegated and colourfull) was used. This gives the meaning to the aesthetic principle of ‘clothing’ the walls with the visual devices but invisible meaning.

Context is the key to unlocking even the most straightforward reading of the Early Christian ornaments and its terminology.

The symbolism of the curtain as the flesh of Christ is mentioned in St. Paul’s Epistle to Hebrews. According to the Epistle the veil is designed as the flesh of Lord the Savior “the new and living way which He opened for us through the curtain that is through his flesh.” (Heb 10: 19-20).