



Aleksandra Krauze-Kołodziej

The Mosaic Complex on the West Wall of the Basilica Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello Island

Historical and Iconographic Comparative Analysis
of the Representation at the Crossroads
of Latin and Byzantine Culture

Patterns - Reminiscences - Contexts



The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Faculty of Humanities



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Foreword

The title of the book of the young researcher Aleksandra Krauze-Kołodziej “The Mosaic Complex on the West Wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello island”, introduces the reader to an extensive study of the mosaic of the western entrance wall to the basilica. The dimensions of this monumental composition, 18m high and 9.5m wide, make the mosaic one of the largest surviving medieval works of art in Europe made of this technique, with a wealth of content. In the subtitle, the author explains the wide panorama of historical, iconographic and comparative research on art and Greek religious culture, both Byzantine and Latin. The book is the result of the studies conducted by the author, her thorough and in-depth erudition and comparative research presented at international conference discussions. Ms. Aleksandra Krauze-Kołodziej belongs to a young generation of researchers, recognized among the European medievalists and philologists, who have achieved scientific maturity, maintaining the youthfulness of the ideas presented on the subject of art and culture of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, both Greek and Latin. The research is included in the clear framework of discourse in terms of methodology and content, which emphasizes the scholarly merits of the book. The reader will be impressed by the historical extent of the study of both the island and the city (settlement) of Torcello. It covers the times of the Roman settlement dated to the period of the Empire and lying in the province of *Venetia et Histria*, followed by the period of migrations of the peoples and the times of the splendour of the city and the cathedral depicted within the context of the medieval synthesis of Eastern and Western culture. The extensive literature on studies conducted in older times as well as books and articles published more recently are cited and critically analyzed. This study is a valuable scientific compendium for historians, art and culture historians, as well as religious experts, both Byzantinologists and medievalists of the Latin circle. The wide spectrum of sources and mono-

graphic research offered to the reader in the submitted monograph does not obscure the modern intellectual reflection and the author's own research opinions. The synthesis of historical research is united by the novelty of iconographic interpretations, based on the analysis of literary sources and important monographic studies on specific topics regarding the mosaic. This makes this monograph a particularly valuable and rare synthesis with such an extensive range of research directed to those interested in the history, art and culture of the Greek and Latin Middle Ages, as well as in the issues of religious anthropology of a difficult period, one that constantly raises new questions and discussions.

This study embraces interdisciplinary knowledge, well thought out and ordered, within the history of the island of Torcello, today less vibrant. The island, with its dozens of houses, makes it possible to contemplate the populated, bustling Venice from a distance, and to perceive the philosophy of history, in this case European, as a balancing act between the time of the domination of the metropolis and the period of a forgotten impoverished province. After all, both testify to the fulness of culture and art. Torcello's former splendor is evidenced by two churches, the remains of a baptistery, two small palaces from the 14th century which now house the Regional Museum (Museo Provinciale di Torcello), and the island's communication and transport network, i.e. canals, as centuries ago. One can say that the waters of the *Mare Hadriaticum* / ὁ Ἀδρίαç have not changed. They shaped Torcello as an icon of the contemporary fascination with Venice. The author presents the dramatic creation of life and art on this patch of the Lagoon, which thanks to archaeological research to date reveals its distant beginnings, the Roman times, wars and unrest known in the history of Europe as the migration of peoples.

The monograph addresses and analyzes in detail the times of splendour and flourishing of life in the early Middle Ages, when Venice was just beginning its expansion. Torcello, a place on the outskirts of the Byzantine Empire and its province in terms of location of the territory, created its splendour of art, the luxury of religious and court culture, both spiritual and material one. By analyzing in detail the life processes on Torcello island, the author guides the reader through the meanders of art and culture emerging via the osmosis of Eastern and Western centres in both ancient and, especially, our time. The question of metropolis or province that shapes the achievements of culture and art fascinates not only art historians and historians. It becomes inspirational for new questions about the history of settlement, population and, finally, geological conditions. These disciplines can be more widely explained thanks to the possibilities of archaeological and conservation research, which the author presents with meticulous precision and which can constitute a valuable study of the history of conservation. She extracts extensive material culture by showing art in its technical and technological background, which helps to discover the richness of the crafts developed on the island. Everyone who travels around northern Italy, especially through its east coast admiring Venice, will be fascinated by Torcello presented in this monograph.

The author encourages the reader to immerse in the jungle of unpaved roads, fragile paths, to reach and discover the splendour of the former centre of Torcello with the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Discovering history means for the young researcher to pay respect, through research reliability, to every tiniest piece of things (*res*) in its space-time, to discover its value, which is necessary to understand the whole history. Similarly, every single tessera is important for the composition of the entire mosaic.

The end of Torcello's autonomous history is marked by the date 1818 as the incorporation of the Dioceses of Caorle and Torcello into the Patriarchate of Venice. The primacy of Torcello in economic and cultural life and thus the splendour and the creative power of art are dying out in favour of Venice. However, the history, particularly the history of art, has its *mnemosyne*, which constantly lasts in an unusual place, recalling the life and work of man in his works and developing a second life, to which the author of the monograph reaches like a reliable historian, revealing its past as a living history. The Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta and its mosaics remain an elitist enclave which, radiating throughout the Greek and Latin Middle Ages, offers a deeper understanding of the history of today's Europe. The publication will certainly revive the interests of many ambitious seekers of knowledge about Europe, which is legitimized by the rich scientific literature created about this piece of the continent on which the history of spirituality and material history are consolidated. The scientific research enriches the knowledge of each new metropolis, pointing to its past, which carries also the present on its shoulders.

The history of Torcello is a European pearl, unique, so valuable for further research undertaken by young humanists. The transfer of detailed knowledge about the region is proof of an exceptionally high scientific value of this book. The reader learns the broad perspective of the cultural centres of Europe: Byzantium and *Universum Latinitas*, and the infiltration of non-Christian peoples. The author points out the bridges between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, between royal and monastic art, Greek art and Latin Classical and non-Classical art. The classic, linguistic and historical education of the author, herself an art historian, has brought out ancient traditions, so important in the latest art research. Thus, the author fits into existing literature created in the circles of high scholars, pointing to what is unusual for the Middle Ages, i.e. an osmosis of the content and formal themes of Hellenistic and Greek art with Latin and Romanesque art. Over this huge eruditionally material, the young researcher has a professional, academically adequate research method. The text of the main narrative of the analysis leads to a synthesis which develops within four main chapters: *The importance of the island of Torcello for the artistic and religious culture of medieval Italy*; *Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – the place on the island with an architectural and conservation description*; *The mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica*; *The scene of the Last Judgement in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello*. In Chapter III, the iconography of the entire western wall is presented in its successive layers of composition according to the content from the uppermost part with

the scene of the Crucifixion towards the lower layers with the scenes: *Anastasis*, *Deesis*, *Etimasia*, *Psychostasis* to the lower part, the place of Mary the Orant. Becoming acquainted with the rich content shown on the west wall of the basilica, the attentive reader of the book assumes the function of a recipient-viewer who seems to be standing inside the temple. An iconography researcher will find here a number of innovative interpretations of classical scenes known from Greek and Latin iconography. The extensive literature provided in the footnotes is a development, not only of information, but of reliable knowledge of literature and visual arts. The history of salvation is shown in the message of the Gospel and the Revelation in connection with the contents of the Old Testament, especially the History of Genesis. The author quotes comments and religious literature at the root of innovative scenes of the mosaic, which until now have not been widely circulated. Of special interest are the rich ancient metaphors that explain the graphic renditions of: good - evil, virtue - sin, beauty - ugliness or even the abyss, the depths of the earth and the sea. Especially the land and the sea arouse the interest of the modern recipient in the question of real cognitive possibilities of the depths of land and sea, or rather the finesse of literary metaphors derived from ancient mythology. This monograph is of interest not only to byzantinologists, medievalists or literature specialists, but also historians of the disciplines of earth and sea sciences. Even if the images do not result from experiments, the topic of language and visualization is even more interesting. Extensive footnotes are the second yet by no means secondary form of scientific communication, full-scaled and supplemented with specific source literature and scientific studies. On their basis, the author develops her own scientific discourse by proposing apt research solutions.

In iconographic analyses (Chapter III), the variants of dating the mosaic were specified: from the second half of the 11th century and the 13th century in the upper part, while the remaining scenes and characters date back to the 12th century. It follows that the mosaics were created in extended time intervals, called “renaissance” both within Greek and Latin art. In various visual modules and language metaphors, antique figures were restored for the depiction of Christian or universal content. Researchers of the varieties of scholarly renaissance of the 12th and 13th century, distinguished experts: Ervin Panofsky, Gombrich, Kurt Weitzman, Andre Grabar, citing Torcello in their research, indicate the need for thorough research that the reader will find in this publication. The author emphasized the importance and value of medieval humanism contained in the entire mosaic program of the cathedral, especially in some scenes on its western wall. The First Parents, depicted in scenes such as *Etimasia* and *Anastasis*, present the humankind created by God but not condemned. This trend of interpretation of salvation and eschatology on the examples of Adam and Eve occurs in many different scenes of Latin art up to the 16th century. Torcello may inspire further research into content and form in this regard.

Numerous scenes depicted on the western wall of the basilica that fascinate with their composition, form and colours, will lead to reflection on how to visualize man

in his divine, religious, human message, in his metaphor and in his real humanity. This message is brought by the First Parents, Adam and Eve, participating in several events in which they were not customarily represented in medieval iconography. Their meaning and role leads to the interpretation of salvation through God's mercy. Adam and Eve are represented in the *Anastasis* scene. Usually it is their permanent position. Their presence in the *Etimasia* scene, however, is rare. On Torcello island in this scene they kneel at the foot of a throne in white tunics, which is new in European iconography of the Middle Ages as demonstrated in the author's analyses. The book is a mature synthesis of knowledge about both Greek and Latin medieval art and iconography.

Prof. dr hab. Urszula Małgorzata Mazurczak

To My Parents

Preface

Most people who visit the Venetian Lagoon focus on admiring the capital of the Veneto region, in particular the surroundings of St. Mark's Square with the enormous Basilica of St. Mark, the Doge's Palace, the clock tower, as well as the nearby Bridge of Sighs and the Rialto Bridge. Only lonely daredevils decide to leave Venice to see other Lagoon islands. Those lured by the splendor of famous Venetian glass and the beauty and craftsmanship of lace reach the islands of Murano and Burano, located a short distance away. Only few are aware of the existence of a nearby island whose splendor for centuries overshadowed that of Venice. This forgotten island is called Torcello.

The island can only be reached by a water tram, which runs here from the nearby island of Burano. After leaving the ship deck, only one small channel is visible. Walking along it, one can admire in the early morning the beauty of the island bathed in the warm sunshine and visited by a huge variety of birds, typical of the Lagoon areas. After passing a few houses, as well as a bridge called *Ponte del Diavolo*, one reaches the center of a small settlement. Suddenly, a surprised tourist will catch sight of various buildings preserved until today and gathered around the central square. Without a doubt, the most impressive of them is the monumental Basilica with a tall nearby tower.

On entering the church, the viewer is initially focused on the eastern part of the building with its three apses, two of which are covered with rich mosaic decoration. In the main apse, above the altar, there is a representation of the Virgin and Child towering over the Apostles shown below. A bit higher, above the apse, on either side of the chancel arch the visitor will espy a mosaic decoration showing the scene of Annunciation. In the southern apse there is Christ enthroned between the Archangels. Above Him, in the vault, there is the Lamb of God supported by angels.

However, it is only when the visitor turns his back to see the western part of the church that he is bound to be truly surprised. The internal wall of the facade features a gigantic, almost twenty-meter-high mosaic with an extremely complex iconographic representation. On the surface woven from a set of multi-colored pieces of glass, more than one hundred and fifty figures make up a monumental and unique combination. The viewer, facing the representation, is stunned and speechless and tries to mentally embrace all the represented elements. Observing each scene, he wants to glean the unique conglomerate of meanings and influences hidden in the mosaic.

The author of this monograph invites the reader on such a journey through the *tesserae* of the mosaic decoration from the west wall of the Basilica on Torcello Island. Repeatedly facing the monumental work of art with undying delight over the unique character of the presented mosaic, she has attempted to decipher, at least partially, this theologically complicated and artistically sublime decoration.

„At that time the Lord will punish
the heavenly forces in the heavens
and the earthly kings on the earth.
They will be imprisoned in a pit,
locked up in a prison,
and after staying there for a long time, they will be punished.
The full moon will be covered up,
the bright sun will be darkened;
for the Lord of Heaven’s Armies will rule
on Mount Zion in Jerusalem
in the presence of his assembly, in majestic splendor”.
(Isa 24: 21-23)¹

Introduction

Eschatological themes were an extremely important subject of interest undertaken in ancient times. It developed thanks to the ideas present in the Old and New Testaments and then in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. These issues, including those related to the Last Judgment, Parousia and Apocalypse, were particularly developed first in numerous written and iconographic sources and later in their detailed analyses, discussing the problems primarily from the theological and philosophical perspectives².

Many researchers were concerned with the issue of the representations of the Last Judgment in medieval art. Peter Jessen³, Georg Voss⁴, Gustav Pontig⁵ and Auguste Bouillet⁶ were the first to discuss this topic already in the 19th century. In their syntheses, they collected the earliest eastern and western representations of the Last Judgments, analyzing the motifs appearing in various scenes basing on selected written

¹ The fragments of the Old Testament and the New Testament in English are quoted after: NetBible.org (THE NET BIBLE®, New English Translation (NET)). For crucial fragments in footnotes there is the original text quoted after Rahlfs (ed.) 1935 for the Old Testament and Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001 for the New Testament.

² For the primary contemporary works devoted to the topic of biblical and medieval eschatology from the theological point of view, concisely recalling earlier research see above all: McGinn 1994; Bynum 2000; Bynum, Freedman 2000; Rahner 2010; Krans [et al.] (eds.) 2013. Particularly noteworthy are recent Polish studies on this subject – see among others Jankowski 2007; Pietras 2007; Wysocki 2010.

³ Jessen 1882; Jessen 1883.

⁴ Voss 1884.

⁵ Pontig 1885.

⁶ Bouillet 1894.

sources. In the 20th century, a similar pattern of analysis of the discussed scene, which, however, was expanded to include further examples of preserved works of art and their more detailed analysis and iconographic interpretation, were undertaken primarily by Beat Brenk⁷, Yves Christe⁸, and Valentino Pace⁹. In his extensive work, Brenk discussed in detail the development of the Last Judgment motif based on the earliest iconography of this scene and its origin from the vision of St. Matthew¹⁰. Christe showed the transition of the motif from its beginnings in the early Christian and Byzantine period to its rapid development in medieval art of the West, with a special focus on art in France. In his work not only the Last Judgment motif was presented, but also other related motifs referring to the eschatological themes, such as the iconography of apocalyptic scenes¹¹. In a collective work edited by Pace, on the other hand, researchers analyze selected works chronologically from the early Christian period to the turn of the 15th century¹².

In addition to the huge number of publications focused on the developed iconography of the High and Late Middle Ages, primarily in France, Germany and Italy¹³, many authors devoted their research to the development of the Last Judgment motif, limiting themselves largely to Byzantine and post-Byzantine art¹⁴; others outlined the relationship between Eastern and Western iconography¹⁵.

The work of art which constitutes the primary subject of this monograph also remained within the mutual influence of Latin and Byzantine culture. The mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello Island, although unique in all respects, has not yet been subject to a separate study that would attempt to analyze in detail the scene described in literature as the Last Judgment.

For many centuries this small island near Venice seemed to be enveloped in oblivion. More recently, an especially vivid interest in the rarely visited corner of the Venetian Lagoon has been associated primarily with the 1000th anniversary of the Orseo-

⁷ Above all Brenk 1966; briefly e.g. Brenk 1972.

⁸ Christe 1973; Christe 2000.

⁹ Pace (ed.) 2006.

¹⁰ Brenk 1966.

¹¹ Christe 2000.

¹² Pace (ed.) 2006.

¹³ See e.g. Grötecke 1997; Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto 2005, also many articles of Yves Christe devoted to the iconography of eschatological motifs from French tympanums.

¹⁴ Brenk 1964a; Garidès 1985; Christe 1989. An extremely interesting study, a significant Polish contribution to the development of the iconographic motif in question is the work of Zdzisław Kliś devoted to examples of medieval representations of the Last Judgment from Central Europe. The author pays particular attention to the iconographic influence of the East and the West on selected representations (Kliś 1999). The same researcher moreover addressed the issue of representing the city as hell in the scenes of the Last Judgment from Central Europe (Kliś 2013). The representation of the Holy City seems to be a counterweight to the motive thus understood (Tabor 2013b).

¹⁵ E.g. Milosević 1963.

lo family, who carried out a thorough reconstruction of the Basilica situated in the center of the island and the first restoration works of the mosaic decoration inside. In connection with the anniversary celebrations, a number of activities were undertaken to spread knowledge about the island and its monuments. Therefore, a special Conservation Commission was established at the Provincia di Venezia. Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero. Its task was to assess the condition of the preservations of the Basilica and the mosaic decoration inside. Numerous analyses were conducted, which resulted in conservation work¹⁶. The committee also approved the agenda of the 2008 conference dedicated to the history and monuments of Torcello; conference proceedings have come out in print¹⁷. In addition, Dr. Marco Molin established the Association Centro Studi Torcellani, whose main task is to organize meetings of scholars to promote the island and its monuments as well as to publish the *Quaderni Torcellani* journal. The activities undertaken after 2008 resulted also in creating an international program of cooperation of archaeologists Project Shared Culture - Programma per la Cooperazione Transfrontaliera Italia - Slovenia 2007-2013. On its basis, modern archaeological research was carried out at Torcello and its results were published in 2013 and 2014¹⁸.

A small island near Venice was the subject of research and various studies already in the 20th century¹⁹. Their authors wanted to discover the mysterious history of Torcello, little of which has been preserved to date. The most important collective study from the first half of the 20th century regarding the history of the island, its architecture and the influence of Byzantine culture on its monuments and art is the work of Mario Brunetti, Sergio Bettini, Ferdinando Forlati and Giuseppe Fiocco from 1940²⁰. Giulio Lorenzetti in his various publications also described the island's buildings in detail, giving an inventory of the preserved movables of the Basilica²¹. Another collective work devoted to Torcello is only the abovementioned study from 2009²².

The majority of publications on Torcello are works devoted to various aspects of the island's history²³ and analysis of the results of archaeological research carried out on Torcello²⁴. Most of them focus on the earliest period to enrich the knowledge about the history of settlement in the Venetian Lagoon. Many works also analyze the rela-

¹⁶ More about it – see Chap. III.3.

¹⁷ Caputo and Gentili (eds.) 2009.

¹⁸ Calaon 2013; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2013; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014.

¹⁹ A major earlier study is the work of Nicolo Battaglini (Battaglini 1871).

²⁰ Brunetti, Bettini, Forlati and Fiocco 1940.

²¹ Lorenzetti 1939; Lorenzetti 1956.

²² Caputo and Gentili (eds.) 2009.

²³ The most important monographs on the history of Torcello include: Battaglini 1871; Brunetti 1940; Crouzet-Pavan 2001; Molin 2008; Ortalli 2009.

²⁴ Among others Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński [s.d.]; Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977; Capitano and Erspamer 1987; Tombolani 1988; Trentin 1997; Bortoletto 1998; De Min 2000a; Leciejewicz (ed.) 2000; Gelichi 2002; Bortoletto, Capulli, D'Agostino, Fozzati, Lezziero 2003; De Min 2003; De Min 2005; Spagnol 2007; Gelichi 2010; Calaon 2013;

tionship between Torcello and nearby Venice, eagerly discussing the church's structure on the island to show its impact on the development of the Venetian church²⁵. There are also many studies dedicated to cultural influences that affected the history and art of the island. These were primarily influences of Latin and Byzantine culture, which were discussed in relation to various aspects²⁶.

Another group of texts is devoted to historical architecture, primarily the complex of religious buildings which testified to Torcello's former power and aroused a lively interest among researchers²⁷. The bulk of this group of studies undoubtedly concerns the history and subsequent stages of construction of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta²⁸. There are also numerous publications discussing the decoration of the church, both the individual elements of its modern interior and its sculptural decoration²⁹.

The principal current of research regarding Torcello focuses on mosaics decorating the walls of the Basilica. It covers the whole mosaic decoration in a collective way or concentrates on individual mosaics decorating different parts of the church, placing them in the context of other works of art from the same period and analyzing mutual iconographic influences³⁰. Most studies focus primarily on the history of the creation, dating and restoration of mosaic decorations, analyzing in detail the results of various conservation activities carried out³¹.

The same applies to studies on the mosaic complex from the west wall of the Basilica that is the core of this monograph. Although this mosaic is mentioned in all the major publications on the motif of the Last Judgement³², most studies focusing on

43ff; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2013; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014; Fozzati (ed.) 2014.

²⁵ Cf. Molin 2008: 9.

²⁶ On the influence of Latin tradition - see among others Von Zalozieckyj 1956; Lazzarini 1981; Cuscito (ed.) 2009; Papastavrou 2010. On the influence of Byzantine tradition - see among others Bettini 1940a; Grabar 1956; Pertusi 1964; Pertusi 1965; Furlan 1975; Pertusi 1979; Forlati Tamaro, Bertacchi and Beschi 1980; Rizzardi 1985; Rizzardi 2005; Rizzardi 2009.

²⁷ E.g. Vecchi 1977b; Niero 1978; Vecchi 1978b; Vecchi 1979b; Vecchi 1982; Vecchi 1983-1984; Concina 1995; Lorenzoni 1997; Richardson 1997; Rizzardi 2006a; Calaon 2013; Moine 2013.

²⁸ For particular stages of the Basilica reconstruction and its history - see among others Vecchi 1977a; Vecchi 1977; Andreescu and Tarantola 1984; Polacco 1984; Vecchi 1984; Polacco 1985; Vecchi 1985; Polacco 1988; Camerino 1996; Agazzi 1999; Polacco 1999; Trevisan 2012. On the dedication of the church - see Lazzarini 1914; Pertusi 1962.

²⁹ See among others Conton 1927b; Lorenzetti 1956; Polacco 1975; Polacco 1975-1976; Polacco 1976; Polacco 1984; Agazzi 2009; Agazzi 2014.

³⁰ E.g. Demus 1943; Demus 1944a; Demus 1944b; Fiocco 1965; Polacco 1984;

³¹ Among others Andreescu 1972; Nicoletti 1975; Andreescu 1976; Vecchi 1977c; Accardo, Bottoni, Fabretti and Santin 1987; Marzik 1993; Andreescu-Treatgold 2004; Andreescu-Treatgold 2005; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006; Andreescu-Treadgold 2010.

For example, on finding the missing fragments of mosaic decorations - see Bettini 1954; Marzik 1993; Andreescu-Treadgold 1998; Andreescu-Treadgold 1999; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 98-99; Trovabene 2007.

³² See e.g. Brenk 1966; Christe 2000; Pace (ed.) 2006, but also in summary studies, e.g. Brenk 1972; Christe 1995.

the decoration itself address the question of its dating³³ or constitute the publication of the results of subsequent restoration works³⁴. Some studies give a more or less detailed description of the whole mosaic decoration, many of them also try to put some of the motifs present in the decoration in a wider iconographic context. These include, above all, the publications of Antonio Niero³⁵, Renato Polacco³⁶ and Irina Andreescu³⁷.

In the course of research and queries, the author of this monograph managed to access two works that were to have discussed in detail the composition of the mosaic on the west wall of the Basilica³⁸. The first is an MA thesis published in 1991 and defended at the University of Louisville by Marina Del Negro Karem entitled *The Mosaics of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello*³⁹. Although the table of contents clearly suggests a focus on the analysis and interpretation of the Last Judgement scene from the west wall of the Basilica, the author of this work confines herself to excerpting a selected and quite limited state of research on this decoration, its brief description and the history of its conservation. The chapter which was to be devoted to the interpretation of the mosaic only places the selected iconographic motifs in the context of other artworks of the same period. The study includes also the examples of Byzantine iconography yet emphasizes the mutual relations of the art of Torcello and the awakening power of Venice. However, the author of the study does not give a coherent interpretation of the whole work of art, nor does she place it in the context of written sources.

The second study, which seems to be entirely devoted to the interpretation of the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica is an unpublished master's thesis defended at the Instituto Superiore di Scienze Religiose in Turin by Vanny De Perini

³³ Cf. Chap. III.1.

³⁴ Cf. Chap. III.3.

³⁵ Niero [s.d.].

³⁶ Polacco 1984; Polacco 1986; Polacco 2005.

³⁷ Andreescu 1972; Andreescu 1975; Andreescu 1976; Andreescu-Treatgold 2004; Andreescu-Treatgold 2005.

³⁸ Currently, several researchers have become interested in the study of this mosaic complex, including Patrick Martin (MA) from the University of Winchester, who is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the mosaic decoration of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello Island. As the researcher consulted the author of this monograph, she is convinced that the study under preparation stands a chance of being a very good complement to the information contained in this monograph, enriching the interpretation of mosaic decoration with source information focused primarily on the impact of the Byzantine tradition on the Torcello mosaics - cf. Martin 2016. Marian Pincinato (Universidade de São Paulo) is also interested in the iconography of the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica, which results in her presentations at congresses. These were e.g. a presentation entitled *Sobre cópia e circulação de modelos figurativos no medievo: o mosaico de Torcello*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/29152298/Sobre_c%C3%B3pia_e_circula%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_modelos_figurativos_no_medievo_o_mosaico_de_Torcello (Accessed: 1 November 2019) and *O inferno e a figuração de Hades como o Demônio no mundo bizantino*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/14699494/O_inferno_e_a_figura%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_Hades_como_o_Dem%C3%B4nio_no_mundo_bizantino (Accessed: 1 November 2019) and a short article (Pincinato 2017).

³⁹ Del Negro Karem [1991].

in 1995-1996 entitled *Lettura estetica e teologica del mosaico della parete ovest, detto "Giudizio universale", nella Basilica di S. Maria Assunta di Torcello*⁴⁰. Unfortunately, because De Perini did not agree to make it available, in the course of her research, thanks to the kindness of the employees of the Library of the Institute of Turin, the author of this monograph managed to obtain only the table of contents and the list of publications used by the researcher (she lists fourteen sources including the text of the Holy Bible and Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments, as well as forty-nine items titled as studies, many of which are brief descriptions of individual motifs quoted from the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*). The author divided the work into four chapters preceded by an Introduction and completed by Final Conclusions. The first chapter (pp. 2-7) is dedicated to the history and archeology of Torcello and to the interior description of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Chapter Two (pp. 8-15), according to the table of contents, gives a description and a short historical, artistic and theological commentary of the mosaic of the main apse and the chapel on the right side of this apse. The author does not single out the decoration of the chancel arch. The third chapter (pp. 16-43) is devoted, as the subtitle suggests, to the decoration of the west wall in a historical and artistic context. The first part discusses the technique, material and history of monument preservation (pp. 16-18), followed by a description and analysis of subsequent motifs that form the composition. The fourth chapter (pp. 44-71), in accordance with the title, is dedicated to the theological reading of the motifs appearing in the decoration: Crucifixion, *Anastasis* and the Judgement scene, detailing some of its elements. The list of iconographic motifs, a dictionary of technical terms and thirty-three tables with illustrations were attached to the study. Although both the title and the structure of De Perini's work seem to be extremely promising, the sources and publications used in it, and a brief description of such complex issues seems to suggest that the topic raised by the author has not been sufficiently analyzed in her study. However, an unambiguous assessment of the study is not possible for lack of access to this work. It remains to be hoped that in the future the research propositions contained in it can be verified.

In addition to the above monographs, in 2016 an extremely interesting chapter in a collective work was published. It is devoted to the interpretation of the depiction from the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello and it was written by Roland Betancourt⁴¹. The author focuses here on comparing the Latin and Byzantine concepts of time and space and their impact on the representation of the Last Judgement scene. As a more widely discussed example in which the influences of these two great traditions cross each other, Betancourt gives the mosaic decoration from Torcello. This article, without a doubt, adds a lot to research on the interpretation of the mosaic decoration and may complement this monograph.

⁴⁰ De Perini 1995-1996.

⁴¹ Betancourt 2016.

In the course of her research, the author of this book did not find any other published studies devoted exclusively to the mosaic of the west wall on Torcello Island or even focused on selected iconographic motifs included in its composition. Despite numerous studies mentioned above and dedicated to Torcello's history and archeology as well as to the history of preservation of mosaic decoration remaining on the island, the monumental work from the west wall did not seem to have been the subject of a comprehensive study that would gather all the most important studies, reconstruct in one place its history of creation, dating, preservation, as well as analyze in terms of history, iconography and theology the agenda it contains, proposing at the same time its complex interpretation.

Recognizing that this issue requires a more comprehensive discussion, the author chose it as a subject for her doctoral dissertation which, after completing and supplementing, led to this monograph. For obvious reasons, it is not possible for all research problems of iconographic motifs occurring in the monumental mosaic of the west wall to be discussed thoroughly at this point. The purpose of this monograph is not to analyze individual motifs from their genesis to their chronological transformation. It would be adequate if the work had the character of an iconographic study. Meanwhile, the monograph seeks to address the broad historical context of Torcello Island itself, along with religious considerations and social, ethnic and demographic changes. Therefore, the iconographic analysis of individual scenes was limited to the closest circle of selected representations present in Byzantine and Latin art. Due to the importance for the whole of the mosaic from the west wall, the aim of the research is, however, to analyze in detail the scenes and characters appearing in the selected parts of the mosaic together with their significance for the composition of the entire depiction. The author, emphasizing elements of Latin and Byzantine culture appearing in the work, strives to place the discussed mosaic in the broader historical context of the area in which the monument is located, basing on the analyzed written sources and iconographic comparisons. An important element of the study is also the theological and philosophical context of the period in which the mosaic was created. Its interpretation assimilates a number of motifs that can explain the meaning of the whole work of art. By emphasizing the most important theological issues raised in this mosaic, the monograph hopes to show both its unique character and its impact on the iconography of the Last Judgements in the following centuries. The author would like to show the reader how important the mosaic decoration from the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello is – not only for the culture of the northern Adriatic, but also for the wider area of the whole European art.

To achieve these research objectives, the author chose the iconographic and iconological method of analyzing works of art, developed in the middle of the last century and now increasingly used by art historians. The method was combined with the historical-comparative and anthropological method. Following Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), the creator of the iconographic and iconological method, as well as its

other prominent representatives such as Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) and Jan Białostocki (1921-1988)⁴², the author tries to analyze the selected work of art without limiting herself solely to formal and objective elements. After a general description of the composition, she goes on to a possible detailed iconographic analysis, and then, on the basis of the historical and cultural background outlined via analysis of selected written records, the author tries to construct an iconological interpretation of the chosen work of art⁴³.

In this monograph, by placing the mosaic under discussion within a broad historical and anthropological context of the place in which it is located, and by juxtaposing it with selected representations from an earlier and the same period, the author wishes to take a closer look at its covert meanings. The author's goal is to reach the inner significance of the mosaic, which she sees as a profound, well-considered theological program reflecting the ideologies of the principals, creators and recipients of the mosaic⁴⁴.

It should be noted that this monograph is the result of several years of research, which was based on multiple queries in the archives and libraries of Venice, Rome, Milan and Athens⁴⁵. Thanks to them, the author managed to collect what seems to be a complete bibliography on Torcello, which has not yet been collected in one place in the relevant literature. Attention focused on studies on the island's buildings, in par-

⁴² The basic assumptions of this method were discussed in detail in the works of the aforementioned authors - see primarily: Panofsky 1939; Panofsky 1955; Białostocki 1978; Białostocki 1987; Gombrich 1972.

⁴³ At this point, attention should be paid to the relationship between text and image, especially between text and image analysis. Kurt Weitzmann mentions the problem of the use of written sources by the principals and the creators of works of art in his article on narration in the early Christian period. He states: "At the beginning it is rather vague and general and the artist did not always consult a literary source, but relied at times on an oral tradition whenever he wanted to represent a myth or an episode from history. As time went on, however, the relationship became more precise and more specific to the same degree that the literary sources were more often and more intensively consulted by an artist who set out to render a literary content with greater exactitude" (Weitzmann 1957: 83). It should be remembered, however, that this researcher, focusing on miniatures, as Jan Białostocki observes, "had to assume a much closer and easier to understand relationship between the image and the idea spoken in a written word" (Białostocki 1982: 42, transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej), by which, as the Polish scholar claims, Weitzmann mistakenly applied the philological method to analyze a work of art, assuming the existence of an original, reference work of art as an illustration of a literary work. In the light of the arguments mentioned by Białostocki, it seems obvious that literary analysis does not correspond to the iconographic analysis of a work of art - cf. Białostocki 1982: *passim*. In this monograph, the author only wishes to combine the selected mosaic with written sources "constituting its intellectual background" (Białostocki 1982: 43).

⁴⁴ On the relationship of religion and image - see e.g. De Santis 2012.

⁴⁵ Above all in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and Biblioteca Area Umanistica - BAUM at Università Ca' Foscari in Venice, Archivio Provincia di Venezia, Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max Planck Institute for Art History in Rome, Istituto Austriaco di Roma, British School at Rome, Det norske institutt i Roma, Biblioteca Università LUMSA, Biblioteca Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Civica Biblioteca d'Arte in Milan, and also at the Library of the Institute of Humanities and the Library in the British School at Athens.

ticular the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta and the mosaic decorations present in it, along with the mosaic on the western wall of the church. In addition, the author had the opportunity to visit Torcello and Venice four times. During these research tours, thanks to the permissions obtained from Curia Patriarcale di Venezia, Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali and Provincia di Venezia, Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero, Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello, the author was able to make photographic in situ documentation and take measurements and prepare a description of the mosaic decoration in question⁴⁶.

During her research on the interpretation of the mosaic decoration from the west wall of the Basilica on Torcello, the author repeatedly presented the results of her studies constituting a partial contribution to or a development of the issues contained in this monograph during various scientific conferences, which enabled her to confront the claims made in her work with specialists in the field⁴⁷. She has moreover managed

⁴⁶ The permit for photographic documentation and mosaic measurements, which constitute documentation of the work done by the author, as well as the permit to use the photographs in this monograph are included at the end of this monograph in Appendix (Doc. 1-7).

⁴⁷ The most important conference presentations included: presentation entitled *Light and Luminosity in Early Medieval Mosaics on the Example of the Representation of the Last Judgement on the West Wall of Torcello's Basilica* during international congress Ex Oriente Lux. V International Congress of the International Lychnological Association (ILA) in Ptuj, Slovenia (15-19.05.2012); presentation entitled *Hades as the ruler of the Damned in the Last Judgement in the representation on the west wall of Torcello's Basilica* during the international conference *Around Plato's Minos and Menexenos (contexts)* in Athens (21-27.04.2013); a presentation entitled *Suffering of the Damned in the representation on the west wall of Torcello's Basilica* during International PhD Student Conference in Classical Studies "Sapiens Ubique Civis" in Szeged, Hungary (28-30.08.2013); a presentation entitled *Gestus ut motus et signum. The meaning and significance of gesture in early Christian and medieval art basing on the representation of the Damned in Hell* during international conference "Between Athens and Jerusalem. Man, religion and the state in ancient and Christian culture" in Athens (27.04.-4.05.2014); presentation entitled *The Resurrection of the dead as a part of the representation of the Last Judgement from Torcello - origin, interpretation and development of the motive* during International PhD Student Conference in Classical Studies "Sapiens Ubique Civis II" in Szeged, Hungary (27-29.08.2014); presentation entitled *Vision of the interior of the earth in Latin and Byzantine tradition – introduction to the study* during the 6th Colloquia Orphica conference in Nieborów, Poland (15-18.09.2014); a presentation entitled *Il soffio della tua ira si accumularono le acque, si alzarono le onde come un argine, si rapresero gli abissi nel fondo del mare (Es 15,8). I quattro elementi nell'iconografia medievale del Giudizio Universale? Nuova proposta iconografica* during the international conference "I quattro elementi nella lingua, nella letteratura e nell'arte italiana e polacca" in Sosnowiec, Poland (6-9.11.2014); a presentation entitled *The interior of the earth in Latin and Byzantine iconography – evolution or revolution of ancient tradition?* during the 9th London Ancient Science Conference (16-18.02.2015); a presentation entitled (...) *The perishable puts on the imperishable, and the mortal puts on immortality (...)* (1 Cor 15: 54) *Resurrection of the dead in tradition and iconography. Origin and development of the motive* during the international conference "Knowledge/faith/practice. Philosophy and religion in the ancient world" in Athens (27.04.-4.05.2015); a presentation entitled *"And they will throw them into the fiery furnace, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 13: 42). The representation of Divine Justice in Latin and Byzantine iconography of the Last Judgement* during the conference

to publish her reflections in several articles dealing with issues related to the mosaic in a broader context⁴⁸.

This monograph, divided into four chapters preceded by the Preface and the Introduction, is the result of the author's research. The Introduction briefly outlines the state of research on the history of Torcello and the mosaic decoration of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, with particular emphasis on works devoted to the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica. It also presents the purpose of the research and the method used by the author. Chapter One is dedicated to outlining the importance of Torcello for the culture of the Apennine Peninsula, especially in the Middle Ages. The Chapter is divided into three subsections. The first one briefly discusses the location of the island and the etymological origin of its name. The second one (again divided into two smaller parts) outlines the history of the island from ancient times to the modern period. The third subsection describes the most important buildings on the island today, primarily those creating the religious complex of buildings located in the center of Torcello. The monastic buildings that no longer exist today are also discussed here, because in the Middle Ages they were an important element significantly affecting the island's culture. Chapter Two is devoted entirely to the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. The chapter was divided into two sections; the first one discusses the history of the temple from its foundation to the 20th century, while the second one describes the interior of the building in detail, providing a meticulous description of the mosaic decorations adorning the main apse, the right apse and the chancel arch. The footnotes also refer to discussions about the dating of each mosaic. Chapter Three is focused entirely on the mosaic of the west wall, discussing it from the point of view of dating and preservation work. The chapter is divided into three subsections, the first of which describes the history of the mosaic decoration and refers to the discussion about its dating. The second subsection briefly discusses the mosaic technique (characteristics, history), emphasizing the type of technology used in the work discussed. The third subsection summarizes the history of the conservation and preservation of the mosaic decoration. Interestingly, this subsection includes both a list of particularly well-known preservation work summarized on the basis of an exhaustive bibliography, as well as conservation work based on archival materials after 1990, which has not been exhaustively discussed before. Chapter Four of the monograph is devoted to the description and analysis of the representation that decorates the west wall of

"Divine (In)Justice in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages", University of Sheffield (4.11.2016); a presentation entitled *Both the East and the West. Latin and Byzantine tradition in the complex mosaic decoration from Torcello* during the conference "Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds", The Oxford University Byzantine Society's 19th International Graduate Conference (24-25.02.2017); a presentation entitled *Słowo, które dopełnia obraz – interpretacja inskrypcji oraz dekoracji mozaikowej Bazyliki Santa Maria Assunta na Torcello* during the 4th Conference of Byzantine Studies in Lublin, Poland (16-17.11.2017).

⁴⁸ See Krauze-Kołodziej 2013a; Krauze-Kołodziej 2013b; Krauze-Kołodziej 2015a; Krauze-Kołodziej 2015b; Krauze-Kołodziej 2017; Krauze-Kołodziej 2019.

the Basilica. The chapter is divided into five subsections. The first one contains a general description of the composition while the second one offers a thorough account of individual scenes. The third subsection analyzes the mosaic in terms of iconography, comparing every iconographic motif with selected written sources (fragments of the Bible⁴⁹, apocrypha⁵⁰ or works of early Christian writers⁵¹) and other examples of works of art from earlier and the same periods. The next subsection compares the mosaic complex from the Basilica on Torcello with examples of scenes showing the Last Judgement that come from the same period. The last subsection of Chapter Four presents the interpretation of the message contained in the work of art under discussion. At the end there is a Conclusion which summarizes the presented topic and lists possible further directions of research resulting from the issues discussed. The text has been appended by the following: a summary, illustrations together with the List of Illustrations, Appendix containing copies of permits for photographic documentation and mosaic measurements together with the List of this documentation, List of Abbreviations⁵², Bibliography including sources (biblical, apocryphal and early Christian writings, historiographical and literary sources, archival sources) and publications, as well as the Table of Contents.

At the onset, the author should add some general remarks that may be found helpful by the reader. The first note concerns the form of the name Torcello and the manner in which it will be treated in this monograph. The author takes the name Torcello as the name of the island. She did not find an unambiguous answer to the question

⁴⁹ In crucially important places, the footnotes contain the original text with a citation after Rahlfs (ed.) 1935 and Popowski, Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001.

⁵⁰ Excerpts from apocryphal writings translated into English are quoted after studies mentioned in the Bibliography or, when the translation was not available, translated by the author of the monograph.

The occurrence of problems present in the representation from the west wall of the Basilica on Torcello Island should be also traced in Jewish apocryphal sources. However, this requires a separate, in-depth study. The subject of inspiration of medieval iconography with these sources is now increasingly often taken up in modern studies - see e.g. Mazurczak 2013. Affinities between the New Testament tradition and apocryphal writings, including Jewish ones, were studied in Poland by Prof. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (see e.g. Rubinkiewicz 1984 and other works on this subject).

⁵¹ The author quotes fragments of patristic writings as published in translations into English (details in the Bibliography attached to the monograph). In crucially important places the author offers excerpts of the original text quoted after publications listed in the Bibliography.

⁵² The monograph uses, in the overwhelming majority, the abbreviation system used in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* - see <https://www.doaks.org/research/publications/resources-for-authors-and-editors/list-of-abbreviations-used-in-byzantine-publications> (Accessed 12 November 2019). Other abbreviations regarding the studies mentioned in the work are included in the List of Abbreviations attached to the monograph. Abbreviations of authors and ancient works are provided after: Liddell, H. G. Scott, R. (1951) *A Greek-English Lexicon. A New Edition Revised and Augmented Throughout by H. Stewart Jones*. Vol. I. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, pp. XVI-XLVIII. Abbreviations of apocryphal sources and biblical sources are given after: www.netbible.org and www.bibleworks.com (Accessed 12 November 2019).

about the legitimate treatment of Torcello as the name of the city, although Torcello is treated both ways in publications in foreign languages. In conclusion, the consultation with Dr. Marco Molin, the founder of the Centro Studi Torcellani Association, turned out to be extremely helpful⁵³. Dr. Molin clearly stated that the use of the name Torcello as the name of the city is merely customary and that there is no official regulation naming in this way the settlement on the island.

Another remark concerns the definition which will appear in the monograph and refers to the work of art chosen by the author. In many other publications, the mosaic decoration is often defined as the scene of the Last Judgement. At this point, the author would like to emphasize that she considers such a brief approach as commonplace yet largely insufficient. The decoration of the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta contains a number of scenes, of which only one depicts the scene of the Judgement itself, while the others create a plethora of motifs constructing a meaningful whole. In this monograph, the author will try, wherever possible, to avoid a succinct description of the work, preferring to call it “the mosaic complex” or “the mosaic decoration”. Only in Chapter Four, devoted to the description of the composition of the west wall as a whole, for the sake of comparison to other iconographic representations and the formulation of conclusions regarding its theological interpretation, will such a brief definition be accepted by the author, to a limited extent at that.

The final remark concerns the description and analysis of the work of art, which also appears in the fourth chapter of this monograph. In other publications in which there is a description of the mosaic complex from the Basilica on Torcello Island, the description is most often constructed in a traditional way, i.e. from the perspective of the person admiring the work of art. In this monograph, however, the author decided to include a description that reflects the content of the mosaic and therefore referring to the central characters of each scene. Such a method, in the author’s view, will help visualize and justify the theological content present in the mosaic composition.

⁵³ In this place, the author would like to express her deepest gratitude to Dr. Molin for sharing his knowledge and advice.

The importance of the island of Torcello for the artistic and religious culture of medieval Italy

I.1. Geographical and topographical location, characteristics and the name of the island

Torcello is a small island located near Venice, within the Venetian Lagoon. Currently, it is inhabited by over a dozen people¹. Development on Torcello is also relatively modest; there are just a few buildings on the island today: several houses, two churches, remains of a baptistery, two small 14th-century palaces which now house the Regional Museum (Museo Provinciale di Torcello) and the remains of other buildings². The island's communication and transport network is made up of canals. Therefore, there are few traces of the former splendor of Torcello, whose wealth for a long time successfully overshadowed the other islands of the Lagoon, including the emerging

¹ There are currently thirteen people living on the island - data based on Statistiche Comune di Venezia (online: <http://portale.comune.venezia.it/millefoglie/statistiche/home> - Accessed 10th November 2018).

² Cf. photograph of the island – see Calaon 2013: 8. Numerous archaeological digs have been carried out on the island since at least the 1960s, which resulted in the discovery of the remains of buildings from ancient, medieval and modern times. Diego Calaon writes about the island as follows: “L’arcipelago di Torcello, rappresenta una sorta di “icona” archeologica. I risultati delle numerose campagne di scavo, condotte a più riprese a partire dalla fine del 1800, hanno avuto una risonanza che ha oltrepassato di molto i confini della laguna” (Calaon 2013: 13). The Museum (Museo Provinciale di Torcello) is situated in the Palazzo del Consiglio and Palazzo dell’Archivio. There was once another building between the two Palaces, the Palazzo del Podestà, but it was completely destroyed - see Lorenzetti 1956: 806. For the description and history of the Palazzo del Consiglio and Palazzo dell’Archivio – see Conton 1927b: 59; Lorenzetti 1956: 811-812. On the history of Museum – see among others Levi 1889; Conton 1927b: 61-66; Callegari 1930; Lorenzetti 1956: 810-812; Caselli 2002.

power of nearby Venice³. The location of the island, between the East and the West, together with robust trade contacts with various centers caused long-term accumulation of influences of many cultures in this place (Rome, Byzantium, Barbaricum, Ravenna, and finally Venice). This has been witnessed by several monuments preserved on the island until today⁴.

Researchers have put forth various hypotheses about the origin of the name of the island of Torcello (*Turricellum*). According to the most common opinion, the name comes from the Latin noun *turris*, *-is* (tower)⁵. It was to be given by the people fleeing the barbarian invasions who settled on the island, in memory of the tower lost in their homeland of Altino⁶. According to another hypothesis, the name may also come from *torricellum* meaning “a small tower” or *dorceum* referring to the island’s muddy area⁷.

I.2. Torcello in history

I.2.1. The island in the Roman period and the early Middle Ages

The history of Torcello is inseparably connected with the history of the nearby islands of the Lagoon and the entire area of the northern Adriatic. Already in the Roman period, both Torcello Island and other nearby islands were inhabited, as evidenced by both written sources and the remains discovered during archaeological excavations⁸. The buildings of Torcello probably had the character of a Roman settlement dated to

³ In her work on the history of the island, Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan emphasizes that for many centuries it was an almost completely forgotten place (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 9-12; Crouzet-Pavan 2005). It was not until the 19th century that the area of the northern Adriatic coast, including other cities of the Lagoon, not only Venice, again riveted researchers’ attention (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 13ff). Moreover, the first written records mentioning Torcello, above all *Chronicon Altinate*, *Chronicon Gradese* and the Chronicle of John the Deacon, were printed on a larger scale at the end of the 19th century (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 18ff).

⁴ So far, several monographic works have been written on the history of the island - see among others Battaglini 1871; Brunetti 1940; Crouzet-Pavan 2001; Molin 2008; Ortalli 2009; Bassani and Molin 2015.

⁵ Cf. Levis and Short 1966: 1919.

⁶ Lorenzetti 1956: 806. There is also a legend about the revelation experienced by Maur, Bishop of Altino, to whom an angel appeared on one of the city’s towers while he was sleeping. The angel ordered the bishop to flee with the faithful to a nearby island - cf. Del Negro Karem [1991]: 9ff.

⁷ Cf. Molin 2008: 14. Already Giacomo Filiasi mentions both possibilities of deriving the etymology of the name Torcello, listing *Tauricellium*, *Dorceum* and *Torcellae/Torcellum*. He himself supports the origin of the name Torcello from the name of one of the six Altino gates - cf. Filiasi 1811-1812: 181.

⁸ The archival records of the area around Altino include, among others, one of Martialis’ epigrams, in which the author from the 1st century compares these areas to the imperial villas in Baia, thus recognizing them as important centers of the province of Venetia et Histria: “Aemula Baianis Altini litora villis / et Phaethontei conscia silva rogi, / quaeque Antenoreo Dryadum pulcherrima Fauno / nupsit ad Euganeos Sola puella lacus, / et tu Ledaeo felix Aquileia

the Roman Empire period and situated in the province of Venetia et Histria. During the archaeological excavations carried out by the Polish team of archaeologists under the guidance of Prof. Lech Leciejewicz, numerous remains from that time were found (including fragments of ceramics, tiles, stones)⁹. Most of the archaeological monuments found on Torcello date back to the period of rapid development of the nearby Romanized urban center of Altino. Perhaps, at that time, Torcello was home to summer villas and gardens of the inhabitants of a town that was located on shore about 5 km away¹⁰. The main occupation of the inhabitants of the nearby island was fishing, hunting and salt production.

Ancient written sources confirm moreover that already in this period there was a trail connecting the Lagoon area with other major urban inland centers. It is men-

Timavo, / hic ubi septenas Cyllarus hausit aquas: / vos eritis nostrae requies portusque senectae; / si iuris fuerint otia nostra sui” (Mart. *Epigram.* IV, 25, p. 123). Cf. Molin 2008: 11.

About archaeological excavations carried out on the island and in the nearby areas of the Lagoon - see among others Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński [s.d.]; Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977; Capitanio and Erspamer 1987; Tombolani 1988; Trentin 1997; Bortoletto 1998; De Min 2000a; Leciejewicz (ed.) 2000; Gelichi 2002; Bortoletto, Capulli, D’Agostino, Fozzati and Lezziero 2003; De Min 2003; De Min 2005; Spagnol 2007; Gelichi 2010; Calaon (ed.) 2013; Calaon 2013: 43ff.; Calaon 2014; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014; Fozzati (ed.) 2014; Fozzati, Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014.

⁹ See Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: among others p. 287; Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński [s.d.]. Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 390. Both the archaeological excavations of Polish archaeologists from the 1960s regarding the island itself, as well as subsequent research, including that conducted by the Ernesto Canal in the Lagoon, confirmed that in the first centuries of our era the settlement of Torcello was permanent – cf. Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 287; Canal 1998: passim. In the 1990s, further work was carried out in the area around the Basilica and under the portico, the baptistery and the additional fourth nave of the church (more about this - see Calaon 2013: 47-51). Recent research has also found a fragment of a sidewalk from the 2nd century AD (about it - see Ammerman and McClennen 2001: 16n), as well as the remains of a Roman domus from the 1st century AD (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 20). On other Roman remains on the island - see among others Levi 1888; Vecchi 1978a; Vecchi 1979a; Vecchi 1979c; Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014; Fozzati (ed.) 2014; Fozzati, Calaon, Zendri and Biscontin (eds.) 2014; Bassani and Molin 2015.

¹⁰ Cf. Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 215; Lorenzoni 1983: 390. Giacomo Filiasi writes about this function of the Lagoon islands: “Qualcheduna delle celebri ville altinati, tanto celebrate da Marziale, potea stare su questa isola, ed essere ella un sobborgo di Altino per causa de’ prossimi porti che al marittimo commercio servivano di questa città. In fatti molte monete, e alcune anche assai belle di Nerone, Claudio, Vitellio vi sono trovate alle volte insieme con altre del basso Impero e de’ greci Imperatori o de’ barbari secoli. Sembra ciò provare una continuata abitazione di questa isola” (Filiasi 1811-1812: 181ff. (vol. 2)). Part of the collection of the Regional Museum at Torcello (Museo Provinciale di Torcello), among others ceramics, sculptures, everyday objects, bronze tools, examples of glyptics, etc., mostly of Italian, Greek and Roman origin, comes from the island of Torcello itself or from other islands in the Lagoon area – see Polacco 1975-1976; Tombolani (ed.) 1981; Ghedini and Rosada (eds.) 1982; Favaretto (ed.) 1982; Fogolari (ed.) 1993; Toso 2013; Toso 2015. Other monuments were brought to the Museum. On the collections of the Torcello Museum - see e.g. Museo Di Torcello. Sezione Medievale e Moderna 1978; Davanzo Poli 2003; Gottardo 2008-2009; Bassani 2015.

tioned in *Itinerarium Antonini*, a work probably dating from the early 3rd century, which lists the most important communication routes and urban centers of the Empire. From this source we learn how it was possible at that time to sail from Ravenna to Altino through the so-called *Septem Maria*, i.e. the Lagoon areas¹¹.

Archaeological excavations have also confirmed that in the 5th and 6th century numerous natural disasters occurred in the Lagoon area, caused mainly by deteriorating weather conditions¹². The remains of floods and hurricanes were found in many places, including the cities of Altino and Julia Concordia. In the stratigraphic layer dated for this period, in the square in front of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta in the center of Torcello, traces of systematic flooding of the island were found (especially by the Piave and Sile rivers) and its later being covered with mud, which slowly took hold of the entire area¹³. Gradually, this area became increasingly swampy and the island's level was lowered, making the place uninhabitable. As a result, the settlement of Torcello was probably interrupted for more than a century¹⁴.

Unfavorable weather conditions did not ultimately determine the political, social and economic situation of the Lagoon islands in the first half of the 6th century. It was documented, *inter alia*, in the letter of the Prefect Aurelius Cassiodorus to the *tribuni marittimi* of Venice in 537-538 (*Cassiodorio ...*)¹⁵, in which the author writes that the islands are inhabited by people that are poor but living in harmony. As he recalls, they mainly deal with salt mining and fishing, trading with each other both by the river and by the sea. Cassiodorus also describes the houses of the Lagoon inhabitants, comparing them to the nests of seabirds built on the land reclaimed from the sea by humans¹⁶.

The invasions of barbarian tribes as early as the 5th century (primarily the Visigoths in 401 and 408, the Huns led by Attila in 452 and Ostrogoths in 489) caused a gradual abandonment of the land and the movement of the inhabitants of the Altino area to settlements on the nearby islands of the Lagoon¹⁷.

This process gained momentum after the invasion of the Longobards in 568-569, who, having crossed the Alps under the leadership of King Alboin, began to occupy the territory of Italy. They conquered, among others, Vicenza, Verona and other cities

¹¹ Ant. It.:61, 113, 134, 265. On *Septem Maria*, also in Pliny and Herodian - see among others Smith (ed.) 2006: 965. Cf. Molin 2008: 12ff.

¹² On the impact of weather conditions and the location of the island surrounded by the waters - see primarily Calaon 2014.

¹³ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 287ff.

¹⁴ Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 390; Molin 2008: 12.

¹⁵ Cf. *Cassiodorio...*: 2-4. On Cassiodorus - see Molin 2008: 13, note 12.

¹⁶ Giovanni Lorenzoni claims that Cassiodorus saw in the inhabitants of the Lagoon the model of an idyllic, creative life, significantly different from the situation he himself experienced during the wars waged at that time on shore (Lorenzoni 1983: 391). Antonio Carile sees in Cassiodorus's letter, first and foremost, a documentation of the socio-political situation of the islands conducting developed commercial activities and remaining under the rule of state officials - *tribuni marittimi* (Carile and Fedalto 1978: 158, 179. Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 391, note 9).

¹⁷ Molin 2008: 13; Ortalli 2009: 26.

in the area of today's Veneto. The cities of Mantua, Padua, Monselice, Concordia, Altino and Oderzo were able to resist the strength of the Longobards for a time. However, at the beginning of the 7th century, also these places came under the rule of the Germanic people¹⁸. Their inhabitants would slowly leave the land, mainly going to Torcello, to Eracliana and Caorle, where the bishops of Altino, Oderzo and Concordia moved. The Patriarch of Aquileia chose Grado as his new seat and it was there that the impressive new Basilica of Sant'Eufemia was consecrated in 579¹⁹.

The dynamically developing Altino was also ultimately occupied by the barbarians during their invasion of 635-639, and its inhabitants, wanting to take refuge on the islands from invaders, came to nearby Torcello²⁰. However, before the island could be permanently settled again, it had to be drained. Archaeological research has confirmed that at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century the Torcello area was strengthened with piles and the island was prepared for re-settlement. Professor Lech Leciejewicz describes this process as follows: "si incrementa gradualmente la superficie abitabile del settore mediante successivi lavori di ampliamento, attuati con quattro file verticali di pali, rafforzate con altri pali posti orizzontalmente e da mattoni e pietre ammassati alla rinfusa negli interspazi; anche la sponda dell'isola viene rafforzata e si apre un accesso al Canale che anticamente scorreva attraverso l'attuale Piazza [basilicale]"²¹.

The barbarian invasions brought about not only an increase in the population of the Lagoon islands, but also a watershed change in the socio-economic nature of these places²². Apart from people involved in fishing and salt production, wealthier landowners, craftsmen and clergymen appeared. Clearly visible within the Lagoon was both the growing influence of the Byzantine Empire and the ever-decreasing impact of areas that remained in the orbit of influence of the barbarian tribes²³.

Together with the residents of Altino fleeing from the Longobards, their bishop Paul (Paolo) also came to Torcello Island, bringing with him the relics of Saint Heliodorus, the first Bishop of Altino and of other saints (including Theonistus, Tabra, Tabratha and Liberalis)²⁴. In this way, the continuation of the episcopal authority

¹⁸ Molin 2008: 13.

¹⁹ On the history of the Lagoon area, its political situation and competing centers – see Ortalli 2009: above all 26ff, 29-31.

²⁰ See among others Lorenzoni 1983: 392; Molin 2008: 14ff. For more on the Lombard invasions - see *Pauli Historia Langobardorum*: passim. Diego Calaon states that the process of colonization of the Lagoon islands did not begin with the barbarian invasions but had been deliberately prepared since Roman times. According to the researcher, it resulted mainly from the growing importance of the islands as ports, which facilitated trade contacts, among others with the East (cf. Calaon 2013: 19ff).

²¹ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 288.

²² Luzzato 1964: 145.

²³ Molin 2008: 14.

²⁴ More about the saints, some of whom were worshiped on the island, and about the relics of St. Heliodorus – see Niero 1987: above all 52ff. It is known, for example, that in 1009 Benedictine nuns living in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista on Torcello island and their Mother Su-

and seat of the diocese, which were transferred from Altino to Torcello, was confirmed. In the 7th century the island became the seat of the bishopric and part of the exarchate of Ravenna²⁵.

In 639 a dedication of the newly built church on Torcello took place. The exact date of this occurrence is known thanks to the foundation inscription kept until today in the Basilica²⁶. It contained not only information about the consecration of the temple, but also about the structure of power that prevailed at the beginning of the 7th century in the cities of the Lagoon. They were clearly under the political and military impact of the Eastern Empire, as evidenced by the hierarchical order characteristic of Byzantium - the highest authority was exercised by the Byzantine emperor, while his local representative was the exarch of Ravenna and *magister militum*²⁷.

Bishop Maurus was the first bishop in the new seat²⁸. Retaining the title of *episcopus* of the city of Altino, the Bishop of Torcello played a major role in the structure of power on the island²⁹. The well-managed diocese quickly developed and spread its influence into nearby areas, which, along with the socio-economic development of the island, earned Torcello the nickname of a link between the East and the West³⁰.

During this period, the island's political and commercial contacts were not limited to the influence of the Byzantine Empire. Various objects found during the above-mentioned archaeological research in the 1960s (including a bronze fibula in Longo-

perior Felicita, daughter of Doge Pietro Orseolo II, brother of the Bishop of Torcello then Orso Orseolo, received the body of Saint Barbara as donation (after: Pesaro 1630: 24; cf. Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 46; Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 97). Today, due to the fact that the church and the monastery no longer exist, the body of the saint is in the church of San Martino on Burano Island (cf. Lorenzetti 1939: 19).

²⁵ Molin 2008: 15. For the process of creating the seats of bishopric in the Lagoon area – see Cuscito 2009.

²⁶ Cf. *Iscrizione torcellana...*: 24f. More on inscription – see Chap. II.1: 39-41.

²⁷ Cf. Molin 2008: 17.

²⁸ It is confirmed by *Origo civitatum*: 128, l. 1-2: “Maurus Primus episcopus Torcellensis sedit ann. VII., septimo autem glorianter finivit vitam” and *Cronache veneziane*: 84, l. 21-24: “(...) Maurus Altinensis episcopus non ferens Langobardorum insaniam, Severini pape auctoritate ad Torcellensem insulam venit ibique suam sedem corroborare et pro futuro manere decrevit”.

²⁹ Sometimes the double title of bishop Altino-Torcello is mentioned – cf. Molin 2008: 16. Diego Calaon underlines that: “la titolarità della diocesi dei vescovi torcellani per tutto l’alto medioevo non cambia: anche se risiedono e costruiscono la loro sede in laguna, continuano a definirsi Vescovi di Altino. Lo si evince dalla loro partecipazione ai sinodi regionali” (Calaon 2013: 26).

Information on the transfer of the bishopric is found e.g. in *Origo civitatum*: 46, l. 1-2: “Primum enim constituiti sunt (Torcelenses et Olivolenses omnium episcoporum) tempore Constantini et Eraclii imperatoris et Benedicti pape et Paulicii Eracliane nove civitatis ducis”. Cf. Pertusi 1962: 29. See Lorenzetti 1956: 806. More about the structure of church authority and the bishopric on Torcello island – see Palese, Boaga, De Luca and Ingresso (eds.) 2000: 301-304; Molin 2008: 15ff. The list of bishops of the diocese of Torcello – see Battaglini 1871: 61-65.

³⁰ More on this subject – see e.g. Rando 1994.

bard style and Longobard-type horn fragments) indicate multiple commercial contacts with the barbarian tribes inhabiting the land³¹.

In the same stratigraphic layer, brick and stone structures were found, the arrangement of which probably indicates the remains of a building that was a glassware workshop³². The discovered place was initially dated from the 7th to 8th centuries; later research using the C-14 radioactive carbon method allowed to establish with certainty that the peak of activity of the glass-burning furnaces found at the workshop took place at the end of the 9th century³³. Giovanni Lorenzoni claims that the discovered workshop was not intended for the production of glassware and *tesserae* for the nearby islands of the Lagoon, nor was it the staple of Torcello's economy during this period, but it could be associated with the preparation of the *tesserae* for mosaic decorations on the island³⁴.

The existence of an independent glass workshop on Torcello Island may testify to the development of this craft there in the 8th–9th c., although agriculture remained the main occupation of the inhabitants and source of their subsistence in the 7th and 8th centuries. Undoubtedly, earlier drainage of the island contributed to its development. Fishery, trade and salt production also continued to flourish on Torcello Island³⁵.

I.2.2. The Middle Ages and the Modern Era

The island of Torcello gradually began to exert more and more influence on the nearby islands of the Lagoon, in both political and religious terms. Some of its inhabitants moved to the islands of Burano, Mazzorbo, Costanziaco and Ammiana. Soon the impact of the island began to spread farther north, from San Erasmo to the lido Mercede, Vignole, lido Albo and lido Bovese³⁶. The diocese of Torcello also grew significantly³⁷. Even nearby Venice was not a threat to the growing strength of the island, because at that time it consisted of many small centers, each of which had a separate local authority dependent on the *magister militum*, the exarch of Ravenna and the emperor³⁸. It was not until the 9th century that the role of Venice as a link between the East and the West increased³⁹.

³¹ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 72.

³² Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 63-73; Tabaczyńska 1987.

³³ Leciejewicz 2009: 15. Cf. Calaon 2013: 43-46.

³⁴ Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 393ff. More about the Torcello glass workshop – see Chap. III, pp. 68f.

³⁵ Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 395, note 26; Gelichi 2011. On the production of salt on Torcello Island – see e.g. Hocquet 2009.

³⁶ Cessi 1951: 95.

³⁷ On the development and structure of the diocese of Torcello – see Molin 2008:18ff. For more on the churches and monasteries that were located on Torcello – see Chap. I.I.3.

³⁸ Lorenzoni 1983: 395.

³⁹ Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 408ff. On the beginnings of the long process of forming the power of Venice in the Lagoon area and its development – see among others Ortalli 2009.

During this period, all the islands of the Lagoon developed quickly and the number of their inhabitants increased⁴⁰. This was linked with the centralization of power and the transition from agriculture and fisheries as the dominant sectors of the economy to the development of trade and navigation⁴¹. Moreover, at that time Torcello slowly changed its agricultural character, becoming a lively commercial center and gaining a dominant position among the nearby islands of the Lagoon⁴². Crafts continued to develop intensively on the island, as evidenced by bronze metallurgical products and a large number of bone and horn objects found during the aforementioned excavations⁴³. The island was recorded as one of the most important Lagoon centers of that time, among others in the so-called *Pactum Lothari* from 840, as well as in the documents of Otto I (967) and Otto II (983)⁴⁴. Its status is best evidenced by the fact that in the mid-10th century it was determined by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (912-959) as the commercial ἐμπόριον μέγα (*emporion mega*) of the Adriatic region⁴⁵.

It wasn't until the late 10th c. or the early 11th c. that Torcello slowly began to lose its dominant position in the Lagoon in favor of the nearby rapidly growing Rialto. However, it remained the main and still growing religious center⁴⁶. The diocese of Torcello not only covered a significant area of the Lagoon, but also began to reach the territo-

⁴⁰ The population of Torcello during this period could be up to 3,000 people – cf. Musolino 1964: 10; Calaon 2013: 73ff.

⁴¹ Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 409; Molin 2008: 18ff. About the products that came to the island in the 6th-7th century and which were traded – see Calaon 2013: 67-71.

⁴² Gherardo Ortalli emphasizes the symbolic significance of the two coins found during excavations - the Denarius of Charlemagne from 780-800 and the Arab *dirham* from the 8th/9th century. According to the researcher, these artifacts best testify to extensive trade contacts and Torcello's position at that time (Ortalli 2009: 29). Cf. Calaon 2013: 25.

⁴³ Leciejewicz 2009: 14.

⁴⁴ Leciejewicz 2009: 14.

⁴⁵ *De adm. imp.* 27, 90-95, p. 118: “στέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ στερεᾷ εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπάρχουσι κάστρα τῶν Βενετῶν, ἅτινά εἰσιν ταῦτα! κάστρον Κάπρε, κάστρον Νεόκαστρον, κάστρον Φινές, κάστρον Αἰκυλον, κάστρον Αἰμάνας, ἐμπόριον μέγα τὸ Τορτζελῶν, κάστρον Μουράν, κάστρον Ρίβαλτον, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ‘τόπος ὑψηλότατος’, ἐν ᾧ καθέζεται ὁ δοῦξ Βενετίας, κάστρον Καβερτζέντζης”. English Translation: “On the mainland, also, in the land of Italy, there are cities of the Venetians, as follows: the city of Capre, the city of Neokastron, the city of Phines, the city of Aikylon, the city of Aeimanas, the great trading station of Torcello, the city of Mouran, the city of Rivalto, which means ‘highest point’, where the doge of Venice has his seat; the city of Caverzensis” (quoted after: Moravcsik (ed.) and Jenkins (transl.) 1949: 119). Giovanni Lorenzoni is trying to maintain restraint in Torcello's assessment as a thriving trade center in this period, writing about “prevalenza di un tipo di economia, il che non esclude la coesistenza di economie diverse, pur a differenti livelli di rilevanza” (Lorenzoni 1983: 409, note 68). Sauro Gelichi, on the other hand, provides arguments in favor of confirming the position of Torcello in the Middle Ages as an “emporion” (cf. Gelichi 2011).

⁴⁶ This fact confirms the finding between the Basilica and the Church of Santa Fosca of a cemetery dated to the beginning of the 11th c. This could indicate, according to Polish archaeologists, the end of the commercial advantage of the island – see Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 290. Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 410.

ry of the land, down to the former territories of the diocese of Altino⁴⁷. Interestingly, the structure of church power on Torcello began to change and grow significantly. The college of canons gained more influence during this period, while the role of the bishop decreased⁴⁸.

In the second half of the 11th century, the harmony between East and West influences on the territory of the Adriatic coast began to falter. The tendencies for rapprochement with Constantinople were clearly visible. Again, the conflict between competing patriarchates of Grado and Aquileia began to increase; this time Rome, too, joined it⁴⁹. Probably this tension became the reason why the influential Orseolo family, from which the Patriarchs of Grado came from, decided at the beginning of the 11th century to move their “family nest” to Torcello. The large reconstruction of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, which they financed, made the island their dignified seat, since the Basilica could successfully compete with the church in Aquileia⁵⁰. Thus, the beginning of the 11th century became a time of dynamic development of Torcello as a religious center; many buildings on the island were renovated and rebuilt, above all the Basilica mentioned above⁵¹.

At the same time, at the turn of the 12th century, the changes inspired by the religious reform originating in the Benedictine monastery in Cluny slowly but steadily emerged on the island. They were introduced by Cardinal Stefano Stornato, the apostolic legate, who not only strengthened the relationship between the Church on Torcello and the Holy See, but was also an ardent supporter of the renewal of religious life of the clergy, brought about by the reform⁵². These changes resulted in the creation of numerous monasteries on the island, first Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries, and later the monasteries of Canons and Regular Canons as well as of mendicant orders, to which children from the richest families of the Venetian aristocracy were sent⁵³.

⁴⁷ Molin 2008: 18ff.

⁴⁸ Marco Molin describes the exact structure of the diocese of Torcello in the medieval period and later. He gives, among others, the number of churches and chapels that were part of the diocese – see Molin 2008: 19ff.

⁴⁹ Lorenzoni 1983: 416.

⁵⁰ About the architecture of Aquileia in this period – see e.g. Dalla Barba Brusin 1968.

⁵¹ In the 10th and 11th centuries, the island was well-developed. Excavations carried out in 2012-2013 allowed a closer examination of the remains of the buildings on the island. Most of them were wooden houses and workshops. Only religious and public buildings were made of stone. According to Diego Calaon, however, this is not proof, as was claimed in the old literature of the subject, of the poor nature of the island’s buildings. Quite the opposite: “Gli edifici di legno, in realtà, corrispondono a strutture abitative molto complesse: il legno costituisce una risposta tecnologica pertinente ad un ambiente del tutto peculiare come quello lagunare” (Calaon 2013: 57ff). During the same excavations, the remains of a regularly laid-out residential area from this period were found. More on this topic – see Calaon 2013: 61ff.

⁵² Molin 2008: 21.

⁵³ An example would be the daughter of Doge Peter II Orseolo, Felicita, who was the head of the monastery of San Giovanni on Torcello Island (Molin 2008: 21, note 44). The monasteries built on the island, for the most part female ones, were not only centers of religious and intellectu-

In the 13th century, nearby Venice continued to go from strength to strength. The next century brought a slow decline in Torcello's splendor, which was due to many factors. Undoubtedly, this was influenced by then already powerful Republic of Venice. Many rich aristocratic families who once lived on Torcello Island moved here in search of better trade contacts and income⁵⁴. Furthermore, the islands belonging to the diocese of Torcello began to slowly depopulate. On some of them, such as on Ammiana and Costanziaco, located northeast of Torcello, monasteries were created, which eventually were moved to Venice.

Another reason why a number of inhabitants left the island was a constant flooding, especially by the Sile River. The Torcello area was gradually becoming slushy and swampy. This was conducive to the incidence of numerous diseases, including malaria epidemics and snake plagues. Frequent flooding of the island also interrupted the cultivation. On Torcello Island and in the Lagoon areas belonging to the diocese, soon remained almost exclusively monks and nuns living in the monasteries there⁵⁵. Some of the buildings of the diocese of Torcello were demolished, the stones used to construct new buildings in Venice⁵⁶. This procedure makes it difficult, today, to reconstruct the history of Torcello buildings⁵⁷. The only islands of the diocese whose development had been uninterrupted since the 14th century were Burano and Murano. On Burano Island, from 1664, there was a permanent office of the Torcello *podestà*⁵⁸. Bishops usually lived in their family estates in Venice, and from the mid-17th century their seat was moved to one of the palaces on Murano Island, in the very center of the diocese of Torcello⁵⁹.

Although in the 15th-17th centuries the diocese of Torcello was very extensive and tried to continue to expand its jurisdiction⁶⁰, its population continued to decrease. This is borne out by the reports from bishops' visits from 1677, 1685 and 1691 by Bishop of

al life, but also owners of sizeable land. Agriculture and trade for their needs developed there (Calaon 2013: 83). Undoubtedly, their existence and strong influence also contributed to the decoration of the churches existing on the island. More on some churches and monasteries – see Chap. I.I.3.

⁵⁴ Diego Calaon (Calaon 2013: 11, 77) and Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: e.g. 10, 18) consider the rise of Venice as the main factor that caused Torcello's glory to slowly fall.

⁵⁵ According to Diego Calaon, this demonstrates the growing marginalization of the island, which became mainly the seat of monasteries and a place of cultivation of land and fishing (Calaon 2013: 83).

⁵⁶ Marco Molin mentions, for example, marbles from the Church of Sant'Andrea on the island of Ammiana, which were sold for the construction of the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice – see Molin 2008: 24.

⁵⁷ However, such attempts are being made – cf. Cunico 2009.

⁵⁸ About the office of *podestà* and literature on this subject – see e.g. Bognetti 1935.

⁵⁹ Now the Glass Museum (Museo Vetrario) is located in the former palace of the Bishop of Torcello on Murano Island – see Molin 2008: 24.

⁶⁰ Marco Molin lists all parishes, churches, oratories, chapels and monasteries that belonged to the diocese of Torcello at that time – see Molin 2008: 29-34. Some of the churches and monasteries will be mentioned in detail in Chap. I.I.3.

Torcello Giacomo Vianola (1673-1691), who in 1691 described the island in a letter to Rome as follows: “*urbs antiquius solius vivat umbra nominis*”⁶¹. Reports from these pastoral visits also demonstrate that the population living in the diocese of Torcello in the second half of the 17th century was very poor. Inhabitants mainly made a living from fishing and vegetable cultivation⁶². The situation of the island was also deteriorated by the enormous maintenance costs of such a vast diocese. Its debt was rising and the number of clergy was decreasing⁶³. On the island itself there was a cathedral, on which at that time depended directly nine oratories⁶⁴, the Cistercian Abbey of San Tomasso dei Borgognoni (from which the monks later moved to Venice)⁶⁵ as well as two Benedictine abbeys of Sant’Antonio Abate and San Giovanni Evangelista⁶⁶. The diocese moreover included parishes on Burano Island, two parish churches on Mazzorbo, four on Murano Island and other parish churches with their oratories, as well as numerous male and female monastic communities⁶⁷.

The deepening crisis of the diocese of Torcello, its tenuous economic status and the slow depopulation of the island’s territory and the area of its parishes continued until the mid-19th century. The last Bishop of Torcello, Nicolò Sagredo, died already after the fall of the Republic of Venice (1797)⁶⁸. For the fourteen years following his death the diocese of Torcello was administered by a vicar capitular. It was an extremely difficult period for the island and its subordinate territories. It coincided with the time of the Napoleonic decrees regarding the dissolution of religious orders. Further depopulation of the diocese and the destruction of its abandoned religious and secular buildings continued. On May 1, 1818, Pope Pius VII issued a bull *De Salute Domini Gregis*, in which he incorporated the former dioceses of Caorle and Torcello into the Patriarchate of Venice⁶⁹. This ended the history of the bishopric of Torcello that had operated for almost twelve centuries.

⁶¹ ASV 830 – after: Molin 2008: 25, note 56.

⁶² Molin 2008: 25ff.

⁶³ More about the poor economic situation of the island during this period – see Molin 2008: 27-29.

⁶⁴ Molin 2008: 30ff.

⁶⁵ Molin 2008: 32. More about the church and monastery San Tommaso dei Borgognoni – see Battaglini 1871: 48f; Crovato and Crovato 1978: 200-203; Vecchi 1979b: 39; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 66-68.

⁶⁶ Molin 2008: 33.

About the church and monastery Sant’Antonio Abate – see Battaglini 1871: 50; Piva 1938: 197; Zorzi 1972: 432-437; Vecchi 1979b: 39; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 82ff; Sfamini 2007.

About the church and monastery San Giovanni Evangelista – see Pesaro 1630: 24; Battaglini 1871: 49ff; Lanfranchi (ed.) 1948; Fogolari 1961: 48-51; Zorzi 1972: 438ff; Vecchi 1979b: 29-32; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 46f; Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 97.

⁶⁷ Molin 2008: 29-34.

⁶⁸ More about Bishop Sagredo – see Molin 2008: 35.

⁶⁹ Molin 2008: 35. More about the situation of Torcello in the 19th century – see e.g. Calan 2013: 105.

I.3. Specificity of architectural foundations

Torcello's glory days are reminded by few buildings on the island, above all the complex of sacred buildings, which includes the Basilica, Santa Fosca church-martyrium and the remains of the baptistry of San Giovanni Battista (Fig. 1). The set of buildings is a direct reference to the early Christian traditions of religious complexes. All of them are built of pale red burned bricks, while their external walls are decorated with pilaster strips completed with arcades⁷⁰. The Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta stays in the very center of the complex⁷¹.

Before the entrance to the Basilica there is a portico (Fig. 2), which once connected the church with the baptistry in front of it that came from the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century (Fig. 3)⁷². Initially, it was probably built on the plan of a circle⁷³, but it was rebuilt in the 18th century as a polygon⁷⁴. Only the foundations and fragments of walls from the portico side have survived from this building to date (Fig. 4)⁷⁵. Such a connection of the columnar basilica with the baptistry next to it seems to be a typical layout invoking early Christian architecture and it occurs in many places in the Adriatic region, among others in Aquileia, Poreč and Grado⁷⁶.

On the right side of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta there is the Church of Santa Fosca (Fig. 5)⁷⁷. The architecture and character of the building refers directly to

⁷⁰ Polacco 1984: 11.

⁷¹ For a detailed description and history of the construction of the Basilica – see Chap. II.

⁷² Cf. Agazzi 2009: 52. Giulio Lorenzetti dates the baptistry back to the 7th c. AD (Lorenzetti 1956: 807). Renato Polacco, indeed, in his publication from 1984, dates the baptistry to the 9th c. basing on the floor level, which corresponds to the level of the floor mosaic in the Basilica, dating from the same age (fragments under a later mosaic) (Polacco 1984: 16 and note 17), however, in his work from 1986, he favors dating of the building to the late 7th /early 8th c. (Polacco 1986: 6). According to Polacco, the first reconstruction of the baptistry was to take place in the 11th c. (Polacco 1984: 12). Recent studies have confirmed the construction of the baptistry for the period of reconstruction under Bishop Deusdedit I (De Min 2000a; Agazzi 2009: 52), although for some researchers dating of the baptistry remains a contentious issue (cf. Trevisan 2008). More about the baptistry – see e.g. Conton 1927b: 22-23; Vecchi 1977b; Vecchi 1979b: 19-23; Vecchi 1982: 45-56; Rizzardi 2006a.

⁷³ This assumption was already made by Ferdinando Forlati – cf. Forlati 1940: 112; confirmed by the discovery of Maurizio Vecchi (Vecchi 1977b) – cf. Polacco 1984: 27. Antonio Niero claims that such a layout of the baptistry was to refer to that of the rotunda of the Church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) in Jerusalem – cf. Niero 1975-1976: 27, note 144.

⁷⁴ On the 18th-c. reconstruction of the baptistry according to the proposal of Camillo di Luca di Rossi and Alvise di Comello Costantin – see Santostefano 2009.

⁷⁵ On the results of excavations carried out under the portico, baptistry and an additional, fourth nave – see Calaon 2013: 47-51. Between the Basilica and the Church of Santa Fosca, archaeological remains of the episcopal palace were also found. More on this topic – see Agazzi 2012.

⁷⁶ Cf. Polacco 1984: 26. On the architectural complex and the Baptistry in Poreč, Aquileia and Grado – see among others Bovini 1960; Šonje 1964; Menis 1986; Rizzardi 2006a.

⁷⁷ More on Santa Fosca Church – see above all Conton 1927b: 53-58; Vecchi 1977d; Niero 1978; Vecchi 1979b: 25-28; Vecchi 1982: 57-70; Vecchi 1983-1984; Lorenzoni 1997; Richardson 1997.

Byzantine models⁷⁸. It is a church on a central Greek cross-in-square plan surrounded by a polygon (Fig. 6). Added to the barrel-vaulted arms of the cross on both sides there are small cross-vaulted spans. The eastern arm of the central cross, on which the dome was placed on a double tambour, was expanded to form a three-nave presbytery ended with three apses (the central apse encased in a polygon and smaller semicircular apses on both sides) (Fig. 7)⁷⁹. Because the church has been rebuilt many times, its original architectural form raises discussions among researchers⁸⁰. A similar problem concerns the final date of the church's construction⁸¹. This involves the legendary arrival in Torcello Island of the relics of the holy martyrs Fosca and Maura⁸², which were to reach the island from Sabratha, a city near Tripoli in northwestern Libya, in the 10th century⁸³. Confirmed by archaeological research, the existence in this place, near the cemetery dated to the same period, of the church-martyrium dedicated to early Christian saints dates back to the turn of the 11th century⁸⁴. However, the building's current appearance was obtained in the 11th and 12th centuries (Fig. 8-9)⁸⁵. The reconstruction of

Two theses were also devoted to this church: a thesis of Emilia Chiozzotto defended in 1950 at Università degli Studi di Padova (1949-1950), supervised by Sergio Bettini (Chiozzotto 1950) and a thesis of Rosselli Frank defended in 1996 at Università di Venezia - Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia (1995-1996), supervised by Renato Polacco (Frank 1996).

⁷⁸ The Byzantine origin of the church plan is addressed, among others, by Sergio Bettini (Bettini 1940a: 55) and Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 43). Bettini describes the Byzantine features of the building as follows: "(...) Santa Fosca, dove tutto, dalla pianta all'equilibrio delle membrature e degli spazi, tradisce quel deciso e profondo intervento del gusto bizantino, che divenne (ma non prima, direi, del sec. XII) una delle determinanti del gusto veneziano, innestandosi sulle precedente, e sempre viva, tradizione dell'Esarcato" (Bettini 1940a: 54). More on the character and symbolism of this type of building – see primarily Grabar 1972.

⁷⁹ For a detailed architectural description of the building and its sculptural decorations – see among others Concina 1995: 120-122.

⁸⁰ There are opinions among researchers that the church was originally built on a central plan (cf. Lorenzetti 1939: 22f; Forlati 1940: 118) or that it was built on a plan of a cross (cf. Bettini 1940a: 48). On the transformation of Santa Fosca Church in the 20th century – see e.g. Ferro and Di Resta 2017.

⁸¹ Cf. Polacco 1984: 41-44.

⁸² On the subject of the saints and martyrs Fosca and Maura – see above all Lucchesi 1964: 991f and e.g. Niero 1987: 60.

⁸³ However, already in the 9th c., information appears that the Church of Santa Fosca was dependent on the Church of San Zeno in Verona – cf. Vecchi 1979b: 25-28; Polacco 1984: 41. Sources, though, confirm that in 1011 two sisters from Torcello, Bona and Fortunata, bequeathed part of their property in favor of the church – cf. Corner 1749: 53ff.

⁸⁴ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 290. The dating of the church to the early 11th century is expanded and confirmed by Giovanni Lorenzoni (Lorenzoni 1980: 93). Researchers had previously hypothesized that the church was dated only to the 12th c. in connection with its origin from the workshop of the builders of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. More on this topic – see Vecchi 1977d: 280-282; arguments against such dating – see Lorenzoni 1983: 418ff.

⁸⁵ Cf. Polacco 1984: 41, note 3; Concina 1995: 121. Giulio Lorenzetti also dated the church in this way (Lorenzetti 1956: 810).

the Orseolo family contributed most to this, when significant changes were also made to the structure next to the Basilica. During this period, i.e. at the beginning of the 11th century, Torcello Island was an important religious center where ample construction was carried out. At that time, solutions were used that could significantly surpass those later known primarily from the Basilica of San Marco in Venice⁸⁶.

Northeast of the Basilica, a short distance from it, there is a free-standing bell-tower dating back to the 11th century (Fig. 10). Its walls are built of burned pale red brick. Like the outer walls of the Basilica, the belfry was also decorated with pilaster strips completed with arcades⁸⁷.

A short distance from the bell-tower, southeast of the Basilica, there is a small one-nave chapel on a rectangular plan⁸⁸. It is called the Oratory of St. Mark. Legend has it that two Venetian merchants, Buono da Malamocco and Rustico da Torcello, brought the body of Saint Mark to Venice from Alexandria in 828⁸⁹. Before the relic was deposited in the Venetian Basilica, it was allegedly kept on Torcello Island for a time for security reasons. The chapel may have been built in the early 10th century to commemorate the place where the body of the saint was laid before being transported to Venice⁹⁰.

On Torcello Island there are also the remains of the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista and the Benedictine monastery built next to it, probably dating back to the mid-7th century⁹¹. The buildings were destroyed by two fires and were subsequently repeat-

⁸⁶ Lorenzoni 1983: 418ff.

⁸⁷ The bell-tower has been repeatedly rebuilt. Also in 2014, preservation works were carried out to renovate and secure the tower. In connection with these works, this monograph contains a photograph of the bell-tower taken by the author (Fig. 10), on which it is surrounded by a scaffolding. A view of the uncovered bell-tower – cf. e.g. Agazzi 2009: 51 (Fig. 1). More on the bell-tower and the stages of its construction – see among others Conton 1927b: 23ff; Polacco 1984: 26. About conservation and comparison with other belfries of the Lagoon area – see Codello-Lionello 2010; Scappin and Zorzi 2013.

⁸⁸ Giovanni Musolino writes that the current building dates to 1826. According to the researcher, in 1928 a map containing the original layout of the chapel was found. It was supposed to be a basilica 11.70 m in length with an apse structure on the eastern side (semi-circular side apses and rectangular main apse) – see Musolino 1964: 26ff. Cf. Conton 1927b: 58; Forlati 1940: 118ff.

⁸⁹ Molin 2008: 18.

⁹⁰ Cf. Lorenzetti 1956: 808. Musolino dates the chapel to the 11th century (Musolino 1964: 26f). On the subject of dating the Oratory – see among others Niero 1987: 61, note 126.

⁹¹ Giovanni Musolino offers the year 640 as the date of creation of the church and the monastery – cf. Musolino 1964: 30. Diego Calalon claims that the church and the monastery were built before 1000 (Calalon 2013: 87). The researcher affirms that their creation was connected with the influences of the aristocratic families of Venice. Immediately after 1000, the monastery was to be headed by Felicita, daughter of Doge Pietro Orseolo II, and sister of Orso Orseolo, the Bishop of Torcello in these days. In 1009, the relics of St. Barbara were brought to the church (on St. Barbara of Nicomedia – see above all Gordini and Aprile 1962). Soon the church and the monastery, having become significantly enriched, bought numerous plots of land in the Lagoon and in Istria (Calalon 2013: 87ff). In the 1960s, excavations revealed at least three stages in the construction of this church. The first three-nave building was erected in this place al-

edly rebuilt, e.g. in 1279 and 1343. In 1810, under Napoleon's decrees, the religious order was dissolved and both the church and monastery were demolished⁹².

Until this day, only the above-described complex of buildings has survived from among the sacred monuments on the island. Unarguably, the most magnificent of them is the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. However, in the past Torcello Island used to house many other churches and monasteries (above all Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries), from various periods, but for the most part from the Early and High Middle Ages⁹³. Their establishment significantly contributed to the development of the whole island and influenced its cultural character⁹⁴. The Benedictine monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista is considered to be the oldest monastery complex ever to operate on the island. It is mentioned by numerous sources, which stipulate that it was founded ca. 640, close to the creation of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta⁹⁵. The establishment of the Church of Sant'Andrea Apostolo on the island also dates to the same period⁹⁶. Among other buildings, which existed on the island in the 12th century next to the Basilica, Santa Fosca Church, the baptistery and the so-called St. Mark Oratory, the archival documentation preserved in the Museum on Torcello mentions: the Church of San Pietro di Casacalba, the monastery of Sant'Angelo di Zampenigo⁹⁷,

ready in the early Middle Ages. In the 11th century, the existing church was rebuilt; the temple was raised then to enable the construction of a crypt under it. In the 16th c., the church was rebuilt once again. In place of the earlier church, a more extensive three-nave building with a rectangular apse was erected (more – see Calaon 2013: 87). An illustration of the remains of the church, engravings showing its plans and facade – see Calaon 2013: 12, 84-87. More about the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista – see e.g. Pesaro 1630: 24; Battaglini 1871: 49f; Lanfranchi (ed.) 1948; Fogolari 1961: 48-51; Zorzi 1972: 438ff; Vecchi 1979b: 29-32; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 46f; Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 97.

⁹² Cf. Musolino 1964: 30.

⁹³ On the Torcello monasteries – see among others Vecchi 1978b; Vecchi 1979b: 37-40; Vecchi 1983; Agazzi 2013b; Calaon 2013: 83ff; Moine 2013. On Benedictine monasteries on the island – see e.g. Pantoni 1959; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 46ff, 66-68, 80, 82-84; Spinelli 1988.

⁹⁴ Vecchi 1983: 25. Cf. Lorenzetti 1939: 18f; Vecchi 1978b: 106ff.

⁹⁵ Cf. Chap. I, p. 32. On dating the monastery – see e.g. Vecchi 1979b: 30; Vecchi 1983: 25. On archaeological works in the former monastery – see among others Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977; Vecchi 1979b: 29, note 4; Calaon 2013: 87ff.

⁹⁶ More about the Church Sant'Andrea Apostolo – see Battaglini 1871: 47; Lorenzetti 1939: 18ff; Vecchi 1979b: 13-15; Vecchi 1982: 5-19; Vecchi 1983: 25.

⁹⁷ The Benedictine nunnery of Sant'Angelo di Zampenigo (also known in various studies as San Michele Arcangelo/Sant'Angelo di Zampenigo/delle Campanelle di Torcello) already existed in the 13th century, as evidenced by preserved archival documentation (Gabriele Mazzucco writes about the last will and testament of Maria from 1267, widow of Giacomo Gradenigo, in which the Church of S. Angelo di Torcello (*Sancto Angelo de Torcello*) is mentioned (Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 84). However, the church's exact foundation date is unknown (Morozzo della Rocca 1962: 39; cf. Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 84). At the beginning of the 15th c., the estates of the church were incorporated into nearby Sant'Adriano di Costanziano. In the mid-16th c. it merged with the monastery of San Girolamo di Venezia (Calaon 2013: 101). More about the monastery of Sant'Angelo di Zampenigo – see among others Vecchi 1979b: 15ff; Vecchi 1982: 5-19; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 84; Vecchi 1983: 26; Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 99; Calaon 2013: 101-105).

the Cistercian monastery of San Tommaso dei Borgognoni⁹⁸, the convent of Santa Margherita⁹⁹ and the Benedictine monastery of Sant'Antonio Abate¹⁰⁰.

Such a large number of religious buildings, particularly male and female monasteries, with a significant predominance of Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries, which once existed on Torcello, can be an important argument for the significant impact of Clunian inspirations on the spirituality and culture of the island. This beyond question gave Torcello an exceptional significance in the context of the entire Lagoon

⁹⁸ The monastery of the Cistercian monks of San Tommaso Apostolo or San Tommaso dei Borgognoni was founded in the 12th c. by Marco Trevisan (Calaon 2013: 93). The monastery was situated near the place where ships arriving at the island moor today. Excavations in this area were carried out already at the end of the 19th c. by G. D. Weber, who claimed that he had found the remains of an ancient Roman temple, later transformed into a church. Research in subsequent centuries confirmed only the existence of the remains of a medieval church in this place (Calaon 2013: 93). Giorgio and Maurizio Crovato confirm the year 1190 as the date when the parish church standing in this area for over thirty years was offered to Cistercian monks from Burgundy (hence the name "Borgognoni" given to the monastery). These monks built a monastery next to the church (Crovato and Crovato 1978: 200-203). Gabriele Mazzucco, after Nicolò Battaglini (Battaglini 1871), refers to a monochrome lithograph with dimensions 108-180mm entitled *Ex Chiesa e Convento S. Tommaso detto i Borgognoni*, showing the façade of the church laid out on the Latin cross with three naves and a belfry standing next to it (Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 67). For more information on the church and monastery of San Tommaso dei Borgognoni – see Battaglini 1871: 48ff; Crovato and Crovato 1978: 200-203; Vecchi 1979b: 39; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 66-68.

⁹⁹ It was a small Cistercian convent (Calaon 2013: 93) located near the church and monastery of San Tommaso dei Borgognoni. Gabriele Mazzucco, after Rope Frizziero (Frizziero 1965: 185, no. 1), mentions 1239, when Domenico and Giacomo Tumba of Torcello donated a small area on Torcello Island to Agnese Longo; a monastery of St. Margaret was built there. Lorenzetti mentions the date 1240 (Lorenzetti 1939: 19). For more about the monastery of Santa Margherita – see among others Lorenzetti 1939: 19; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 80; Vecchi 1983: 26, 28, note 10; Calaon 2013: 93-95.

¹⁰⁰ Museo Provinciale di Torcello (Ms. 768) – see Vecchi 1983: 25. The monastery of Benedictine nuns Sant'Antonio Abate was located on a small island connected to Torcello by a wooden bridge, probably already since medieval times. The Benedictines from San Cipriano in Mistrina were to come here in the 13th c. (Calaon 2013: 97). Gabriele Mazzucco, after Alvisè Zorzi (Zorzi 1972: 432-437), mentions 1246 as the date when the nuns found a place for the monastery next to the already existing church of Sant'Antonio Abate (Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 82). Mazzucco also describes a veduta entitled *L'isola di Torcello osservata dal campanile di Burano e l'addetta isoletta di Sant'Antonio, giacenti nella Laguna di Venezia* from the album *Varietà di Venezia* (Venezia 1827) with dimensions of 185x270mm, showing on the right-hand side a small island with a monastery standing on it. Clearly visible is the isolation of the monastery from the rest of Torcello's buildings (Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 83, n. 52a). On the church and monastery of Sant'Antonio Abate – see Battaglini 1871: 50; Piva 1938: 197; Zorzi 1972: 432-437; Vecchi 1979b: 39; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 82ff; Sfameni 2007; Calaon 2013: 97-100. On the Torcello monasteries – see among others Vecchi 1978b; Vecchi 1979b: 37-40; Vecchi 1983; Agazzi 2013b; Calaon 2013: 83f; Moine 2013. On Benedictine monasteries on the island – see e.g. Pantoni 1959; Mazzucco (ed.) 1983: 46ff., 66-68, 80, 82-84; Spinelli 1988.

and generally in the northern Adriatic region. Research on the community living on the island indicates relationships with the environment of numerous monasteries and parishes. Undoubtedly, the monastery culture had a significant impact on the history of the entire island.

The architectural and decorative diversity of the buildings preserved on Torcello also testifies to the fact that the small island was an unusual example of the area where the influences of many different cultures intermingled. On Torcello Island, there is a clear connection with the nearby urban centers of the Lagoon such as Grado, Altino and Aquileia, which give this cultural area local, not necessarily secondary, features¹⁰¹. Undoubtedly, however, an equally important role in shaping Torcello's culture and art was played by the external influences of the cultures affecting the area, primarily the two great Latin and Byzantine traditions. The Roman remains discovered on the island may testify to the long-standing classical Latin tradition evident clearly not only in the longitudinal plan of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, but also in some iconographic and stylistic elements present in the mosaic decorations adorning it¹⁰². These influences were strengthened in the following centuries by the impact of the nearby robust social and religious center of Ravenna.

The Byzantine tradition is equally important for a full understanding of the nature and the decoration of the buildings present on the island. Its impact was caused primarily by political and historical considerations (lively commercial contacts, the adopted structure of government documented by the abovementioned foundation inscription in the Basilica). It is visible on Torcello not only in the architectural plan of the Santa Fosca martyrion-church, but also, among other things, in many iconographic elements of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica and in their stylistic features¹⁰³.

Without any doubt, Torcello's religion and culture were also influenced by the tradition of barbarian tribes, still strongly present on the nearby lands¹⁰⁴, as well as by

¹⁰¹ More on this subject – see e.g. Fiocco 1965; Canova Dal Zio 1986: 1-11.

¹⁰² This demonstrates the loyalty to the ancient tradition of a columnar basilica layout not only on Torcello Island, but also elsewhere in Italy – cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 140. On the influence of Latin tradition in this area – see among others Von Zalozieckj 1956; Lazzarini 1981; Cuscito (ed.) 2009; Papastavrou 2010.

¹⁰³ On the influence of the Byzantine tradition in this area – see among others Grabar 1956; Pertusi 1964; Pertusi 1965; Furlan 1975; Pertusi 1979; Forlati Tamaro, Bertacchi and Beschi 1980; Rizzardi 1985; Rizzardi 2005; Rizzardi 2009. On Byzantine elements in Torcello architecture – see Bettini 1940a. More about Byzantine culture in the Apennine Peninsula, in particular in the areas belonging to Venice – see above all Pertusi 1965; Weitzmann 1966; Furlan and Mariacher (eds.) 1974; Pertusi 1979; Sinding-Larsen 1981; Nicol 1990; Cavallo [et al.] 1993; Ravegnani 2008. Cf. Demus 1965.

¹⁰⁴ More on this subject – see e.g. *Pauli Historia Langobardorum* – passim; Canova Dal Zio 1986: 11-15.

the emerging power of nearby Venice¹⁰⁵. However, it seems that the interpenetration of Latin Western and Greek Eastern cultures has mostly influenced the monuments on the island, which is clearly visible in the mosaic decoration of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁵ Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan calls Torcello “un momento che prepara Venezia” (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 19) and “Venezia prima di Venezia” (Crouzet-Pavan 2001: 20). On the interaction of Torcello and Venice – see among others Fiocco 1940; De Vergottini 1964; Fiocco 1965.

¹⁰⁶ In addition to the cultural influences mentioned above, the impact of Arabic culture has been clearly visible in Venice and other islands of the Lagoon since the Middle Ages (e.g. Calanon 2013: 25). More on this subject – see among others Nallino 1965; Muraro 1981a; Howard 1991.

Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – its place on the island

II.1. Outline of the history of the church

The Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta (Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary) is by far the most impressive building on the island of Torcello (Fig. 11).

The temple was erected in the area which was flooded in late Antiquity. However, due to the difficult political and economic situation at the turn of the 7th century and because the inhabitants had to move together with the seat of the bishopric from the nearby Altino destroyed by the Longobards, decisions were taken to drain Torcello, despite the continuous unfavorable weather conditions¹. Along with the transfer of the bishop's seat from Altino to Torcello, the relics of Heliodorus and Liberalis (bishops of Altino), martyrs Theonistus, Tabra and Tabratha as well as other saints were brought from there as well².

The construction of the church was funded by the Exarch of Ravenna Isaac (620-637) and began in 639 during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610-641)³. The dedication of the temple took place, most likely, between the 1st of September and the 5th of October the same year⁴. At first, the church was dedicated to *Sancta Dei Ge-*

¹ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska, Tabaczyński 1977: 288. More on this subject – see Chap. I.

² Concina 1995: 112. For various saints and their worship in the Lagoon area – see Niero 1987.

³ See among others Niero [b.d]: 5; Lorenzetti 1939: 21; Polacco 1984: 10. About Exarch Isaac – see among others *Gest. Pont. Rom.*:175 (2.4.22), 176 (2.4.8), 178 (5.7.10.13), 179 (3.4.9.11); *PL*: CVI, 591-592 and Bertolini 1953; summary, selected sources and literature on the subject – see Borghese 2004. On the Emperor Heraclius I and his reign – see among others Lemerle 1960; Kaegi, Cutler and Kazhdan 1991; Reinink and Stolte (eds.) 2002; Kaegi 2004.

⁴ Pertusi 1962: 20, 26. Cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 392.

netrix / Θεοτόκος (Theotokos)⁵, as witnessed by the foundation inscription carved on the marble plate (0.675 m wide x 0.495 m high⁶) (Fig. 28):

[*In nomine domi*] NI DeI Nostri IHV XP. IMPerante DomiNo Nostro HERAclio
 [perpetuo] AVGVSto Anno XXVIII INDictione XIII FACTA
 ... *Sancte* MARIE DeI GENETricis EX IVSSione PIO ET...
 DomiNo Nostro ISAACIO EXCELLentissimo ExarCho PATRICIO ET
 DeO VOLente
 ... OEYSMER... ET... VS EXERC. HEC FABRIca EST...
 ...M ÷ MA /.../ B....\ GLORIOSVM MAGISTRO MILitum
 AR.....RES....EI...EM IN HVNC LOCVM SVVM
 SIE..... SVIVS ECCLESiae⁷.

The plate was found during archaeological excavations at the outer peripheral wall of the Basilica's crypt in 1895. Today it is located in the presbytery, on the left side of the altar⁸. The inscription contains not only valuable information about the date of the consecration of the church, but also helps to place it in a broader anthropological and cultural context. It clearly indicates the influence of Byzantine culture in the Lagoon during this period. This is also evident in the way the structure of power was understood in this area in the first half of the 7th century. This area was supervised by the Byzantine emperor, Emperor Heraclius I, quoted in the inscription, while locally it was Exarch of Ravenna Isaac and *magister militum*⁹.

⁵ The original dedication of the church is confirmed by records, e.g. *Chron. Grad.* p. 23, l. 11-15: "(...) mirabili forma ac preclucida claritate basilicam fundaverunt in honore sancte Dei genitricis et virginis Marie (...)"; *Origo civitatum.* p. 56, l. 27ff: "(...) fecerunt (...) gloriosissimam et preciosam formam et excelsam et mirabilem habentem claritatem, ecclesiam vero ad honorem sancte Dei genitricis et virginis Marie (...)". Cf. Pertusi 1962: 26, note 45. More about this – see 1975-1976: 26-29. On dedication of churches to the Mother of God, with bibliography – see e.g. Niero 1975-1976: 26, note 113.

⁶ Lazzarini 1914: 388.

⁷ Quoted after: Lazzarini 1914: 388. A very important complementation of the reading of the inscription was proposed by Agostino Pertusi, who supplemented the work of Vittorio Lazzarini (among others he added the information that the church was to be consecrated in the presence of Bishop Mauro) – see Pertusi 1962: 18. For a detailed description, reading, paleographic commentary and interpretation of the inscription – see Lazzarini 1914; Pertusi 1962.

⁸ In accordance with the recommendations of Agostino Pertusi – cf. Polacco 1984: 10. Not all the researchers agree that the inscription concerned the church on Torcello Island - e.g. Roberto Cessi (Cessi 1951: 35ff) claims that it might as well apply to the church in Cittanova. Giovanni Lorenzoni defends the dedication of the inscription for the Basilica on Torcello, stating that he knows no reason why the marble plaque should be transported from its place of origin (Lorenzoni 1983: 392). For most researchers, the origin of the inscription from Torcello and its belonging to this place seems obvious – see Lazzarini 1914: 396ff; Pertusi 1962: 33; Polacco 1984: 10; Baudo 2006: 137-139.

⁹ Probably Mauritius – cf. Lazzarini 1914: 394ff; Pertusi 1962: 21; Molin 2008: 17. See Polacco 1984: 10ff. About the competence of *magister militum* together with relevant literature – see Lazzarini 1914: 395, note 1; Kazhdan and Cutler 1991.

The inscription also contains, as already mentioned, the original dedication of the church to the Blessed Virgin Mother of God. Clearly visible are moreover iconographic and liturgical influences of the Byzantine Empire. In the Eastern territories this was a typical dedication for churches, as it was in the territory of the Latin Church. It became widespread after the Council of Ephesus in 431¹⁰. In the case of the Basilica on Torcello Island, this dedication was also likely to be a token of remembrance of Emperor Heraclius, who paid special tribute to the Mother of God¹¹. Perhaps it also refers to the dedication of the destroyed church in Altino, from which the bishopric was transferred to Torcello¹².

Although the church has been rebuilt several times, most scholars agree that probably the overall outline of its layout has remained close to the original one¹³. From the beginning, it was supposed to be a three-nave building, without a transept, in the type of a Roman basilica with naves separated by rows of columns¹⁴. Only the eastern part of the church differed significantly from its current appearance, because there was probably only one apse at the end of the nave¹⁵.

The remains of the circular baptistery today on the west side of the building, before the entrance to the Basilica, are dated at the end of the 7th century (Fig. 3)¹⁶. The significant size of the church and the foundations of the baptistery may indicate that the complex of buildings was erected for a larger community¹⁷. Out of the buildings from the 7th century, the following has survived to this day: a fragment of the wall of

¹⁰ On dedication of churches, including bibliography – see e.g. Niero 1975-1976: 26, note 113, 115.

¹¹ Listing sources and studies on this subject in detail is, e.g. Antonio Niero (Niero 1975-1976: 25ff, note 113ff).

¹² Cf. Niero 1987: 53. See also Niero 1975-1976: 26, note 114. Antonio Niero tries to interpret this inscription as containing anti-Arian content, and therefore directed against the Longobards – see Niero 1975-1976: 28. This interpretation is also evoked by Giovanni Lorenzoni (Lorenzoni 1983: 393) and Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 11).

¹³ Not all researchers fully agree with this statement. Renato Polacco claims that the original plan of the Basilica is unclear because it is impossible to carry out thorough archaeological research under the building and in the surrounding area of the Basilica (cf. Polacco 1984: 12). On successive stages of the Basilica's reconstruction – see among others Vecchi 1977; Andreescu and Tarantola 1984; Polacco 1984: 12ff; Polacco 1984: 9-26; Vecchi 1984; Polacco 1985; Vecchi 1985; Polacco 1988; Polacco 1999. Allegra Camerino's thesis defended at Università di Venezia-Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia (1995-1996), supervised by Renato Polacco, was also entirely devoted to this topic (Camerino 1996).

¹⁴ Basing on research conducted until 1940, Ferdinando Forlati maintained that the overall dimensions of the original church plan (length 37.9 m without apses and portico between the Basilica and the baptistery, width 23.18 m) were the same as then – see Forlati 1940: 113.

¹⁵ Lorenzoni 1983: 393. Today's apse dates to the 11th century. Renato Polacco, primarily on the basis of comparisons with the architecture of the North Adriatic region and on the basis of the remains of walls visible from the pseudo-crypt, believes that the earlier apse, if it existed, was rather inscribed in the plan of the rectangle (Polacco compares this solution to those of the church from Concordia and the church of Santa Maria in Grado) – cf. Polacco 1984: 12ff.

¹⁶ More about the baptistery – see Chap. I, p. 38 - notes 72-76.

¹⁷ Lorenzoni 1983: 393.

the lower façade, the bishop's throne in the main apse, the altar with the relics of St. Heliodorus and the aforementioned foundation inscription¹⁸.

We learn more about the original decoration of the Basilica from the Chronicle of John the Deacon dated to the beginning of the 11th century. The author writes: "circa haec tempora Iulianus Altinensis episcopus mortuus est, qui ecclesiam rexerat annos quadraginta et octo. huic successit Deusdedi episcopus, qui Sancte Dei genitricis ecclesiam devotissime componere variisque marmoribus condecorare perfecerat"¹⁹. This bishop is also credited with completing the construction of the Basilica at the end of the 7th century²⁰.

The first reconstruction of the church took place, most likely, already in the 9th century²¹. The biggest changes that were introduced at that time concerned the presbytery, which was raised in order to build a small circular crypt under it²². In this period the apses at the end of both aisles were added to the Basilica from the eastern side and the main apse was rebuilt again too. The lower part of the apse preserved today comes from this period²³. At that time, the floor in the nave was also rebuilt and decorated with a mosaic with floral and geometric motifs made of black and white *tesserae*²⁴. Many decorative elements adorning the building also come from the 9th century: sculptural fragments on the wall, decorative altar partitions²⁵ and the jamb of the main portal adorned with decorative elements that could be linked to Carolingian or-

¹⁸ More about this subject – see Andreescu 1980.

¹⁹ *Cronache Veneziane*, p. 89, l. 17-20.

²⁰ E.g. Polacco 1984: 14; Calaon 2013: 24. Discussion on the relation between the date of the consecration of the building and the date of its completion during the time of Deusdedi I and reference to other researchers – see Cuscito 2009: 48.

²¹ Giovanni Lorenzoni believes that this could be supported by the following passage from the chronicle of John the Deacon: "ecclesia namque sancte Dei genitricis et virginis Marie, quae vetustate pene consumpta manebat, a Marini Patricii filiis consolidata est" (*Cronache Veneziane*, pp. 118ff, l. 22-2). Giovanni Lorenzoni and Renato Polacco attribute it to Bishop Adeodat II – cf. Lorenzoni 1983: 410ff; Polacco 1984: 14, Ennio Concina and Michela Agazzi write about the continuation of the reconstruction at the will of Bishop Deusdedi II (Concina 1995: 113; Agazzi 2009: 52); this bishop is mentioned as the initiator of the reconstruction already by Luigi Conton (Conton 1927a: 6).

²² On the construction of the crypt and its dating – see Andreescu and Treadgold 2001; Fabri 2011. In detail on the reconstruction of the presbytery area in specific periods – see Polacco 1996.

²³ Agazzi 2009: 54. Some researchers date also the *synthronon* with the episcopal throne to the early 9th century (Forlati 1940: 114; Andreescu and Treadgold 2001); others claim that it was built only at the beginning of the 11th c. (among others Polacco 1984: 25; Polacco 1985: 43).

²⁴ The mosaic floor of the nave dates back to the 9th c. on the basis of two fragments still visible in the Basilica – cf. Polacco 1984: 14; Agazzi 2009: 53. More on the mosaic floor in the Basilica – see e.g. Andreescu and Treadgold 1983a; Barral I Altet 1985: 83-88, 119ff, 184-187; Rinaldi 1996.

²⁵ Renato Polacco and Ennio Concina date the *plutei* to the 9th c. (Polacco 1984: 14; Concina 1995: 113), Giovanni Lorenzoni believes that they come from the first half of the 11th c. (Lorenzoni 1983: 417) – cf. Chap. II, p. 53 - note 59.

naments²⁶. Then also the bases of today's columns were to be placed, the first colonnade was built inside the temple and the portico was erected outside²⁷.

A comprehensive reconstruction of the church took place at the beginning of the 11th century, after Orso Orseolo (988-1049)²⁸, son of Peter II, the Doge of Venice (991-1009)²⁹ and later his brother Vitale (998-?)³⁰ took over the episcopal authority on Torcello Island. The reconstruction was commissioned by Peter II in 1008. In this phase, the building was probably raised³¹, it was girded from the outside with a two-meter high marble plinth. The portico, the front side of the church and the apse were once again rebuilt. The façade was adorned with pilaster strips³².

One can also probably date to this period the change of the church's dedication to the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Santa Maria Assunta) and the re-consecration of the temple³³.

²⁶ Giovanni Lorenzoni sees in these sculptural elements evidence of the influence of Western culture on Torcello and refers them to similar sculptural decorations found elsewhere in this area, e.g. in the Basilica of San Marco in Venice. He considers the jamb to be the work of a Venetian workshop that was not originally designed for the church on Torcello (Lorenzoni 1983: 411) – cf. Polacco 1975-1976: 44-47. More about the marble portal decorating the entrance – see Andreescu and Treadgold 1989.

²⁷ Concina 1995: 113.

²⁸ Researchers are discussing specific dates for Orseolo taking over the episcopate. Giovanni Lorenzoni and Renato Polacco believe that the takeover of the episcopal throne at Torcello took place in 1008 (Lorenzoni 1983: 414; Polacco 1984: 15), while Giuseppe Gullino shifts this date to 1007 (Gullino 2013a: 585). In 1018, Orso became the Bishop of Grado, and his brother Vitale took over the Torcello bishopric (Gullino 2013a: 585). Renato Polacco gives 1012 for the date of taking over the bishopric by Vitale (Polacco 1984: 15, similarly Concina 1995: 113). About Orso Orseolo – see among others Da Mosto 1960: 43-47; Cessi 1963: 376, 382-384, 386, 390-392; Cessi 1965: 4, 15, 18, 22, 27, 30, 32-39, 136; summary, selected sources and literature on the subject – see Gullino 2013a.

²⁹ On Peter II Orseolo – see among others Mosto 1960: 38-44; Cessi 1963: 356, 359-361, 364, 368, 370, 373-382, 384, 389; Cessi 1965: 15, 17, 47-51, 54, 60, 136, 164; summary, selected sources and literature on the subject – see Gullino 2013b.

³⁰ To the author's present knowledge, Giovanni Lorenzoni erroneously states that Vitale took over the bishopric of Torcello four years after Orso's ordination. (Lorenzoni 1983: 414). This probably happened in 1018, when Orso received the episcopal throne in Grado – see note 187.

³¹ Polacco 1984: 15. Giovanni Lorenzoni also finds it possible at this time (Lorenzoni 1983: 414).

³² Polacco 1984: 15, 17ff, 25, note 11. More about the reconstruction of the Basilica during the reign of the Orseolo family – see among others Vecchi 1977a; Polacco 1999; Agazzi 2009: 55-59; Trevisan 2012.

³³ Cf. Zulian 1885: 62; Pertusi 1962: 27, note 46. Both the exact date and the justification for changing the dedication of the Basilica have not yet been fully explained. This is due to a lack of written sources related to this event – cf. Niero 2009: 94. Agostino Pertusi claims that the original dedication of the Basilica may have been changed during this period (Pertusi 1962: 27). Antonio Niero emphasizes that no documents have been preserved to prove this. The first document comes from the bishop's visit in 1591 (Niero 1975-1976: 38-41). About this dedication – see e.g. Niero 1975-1976: 29-38. On the dogma of the Assumption of Mary and the history of the feast of the 15th of August – see Niero 2009.

Probably around the mid-11th century, the mosaic decoration of the main and southern apse was created³⁴. Otto Demus suggested dating the representation of the Apostles in the nave to ca. 1050³⁵. Irina Andreescu and Italo Furlan, on the other hand, recognized the representation of Christ among the Saints from the apse of the right nave as originating in the mid-11th century and as a work of a Byzantine workshop³⁶.

Irina Andreescu suggested dating the depiction of the Apostles from the main apse³⁷, the entire decoration of the southern apse and the mosaic on the western wall to the time of this reconstruction³⁸.

As to the mosaic decoration, it was necessary to prepare the surface as well as reconstruct and raise the main apse³⁹. It was also then that an apsidol at the end of the central apse and a colotte for the crypt under the presbytery were created. Part of the crypt retains the *synthronon* constructed in its current shape, probably in the middle of the same century⁴⁰. The elevation of the presbytery called for raising the whole nave and thus the probability of possible change or reconstruction of pillars⁴¹. The el-

³⁴ See among others Lorenzoni 1983: 414.

³⁵ Demus 1968: 53ff. In his previous work, Otto Demus notes that the representation of the Apostles may come from 1100 or earlier, while the Madonna and Child was created later and could have replaced the figure of enthroned Christ that was situated there earlier (cf. Demus 1953: 68). To the best of the author's knowledge and given the extremely elaborate decoration program of the entire church, this seems unlikely.

³⁶ See Furlan 1975: 28ff; Andreescu 1976: 245. Giovanni Lorenzoni seems to share this opinion (Lorenzoni 1983: 414ff).

³⁷ Below this representation there was formerly a wall decoration, of which only a small fragment is known (perhaps it was similar to the later decoration above, dating to the early 11th century). According to Giovanni Lorenzoni, this decoration must have preceded the current *synthronon* because, by its height, the *synthronon* would have covered a large part of the decoration. The researcher disagrees with Antonella Nicoletti who states that the construction of the *synthronon* is a *terminus post quem* for making the decoration (Nicoletti 1975) – see Lorenzoni 1983: 415.

³⁸ Andreescu 1976: *passim*, in particular p. 260. Such dating of the mosaic decoration to ca. the mid-11th c. is not inconsistent with the inscriptions known from the church – cf. Niero 1975-1976.

³⁹ According to Giovanni Lorenzoni and Renato Polacco, this could have happened no earlier than at the beginning of the 11th c., i.e. during the reconstruction started by the Orseolo family (Lorenzoni 1983: 415; Polacco 1984: 25).

⁴⁰ Cf. Chap. II, p. 48 - note 23, p. 50 - note 37 and p. 53 - note 61.

⁴¹ The origin and dating of the column capitals from the Basilica on Torcello causes numerous discussions among researchers. Contrary to popular belief about analogies with capitals of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (see e.g. Buchwald 1964: 153), Giovanni Lorenzoni claims that the capitals were not changed at that time, because this would significantly increase the costs of reconstruction. According to the researcher, the change happened only at the end of the first half or in the first decades of the second half of the 11th c.. Already at the beginning of the 11th c. in the Torcello area, the influence of Byzantine culture was so significant (e.g. close links between the Orseolo family and Constantinople) that they could affect the decorative elements of the interior of the Basilica – see Lorenzoni 1983: 415ff. Renato Polacco also joins the discussion on the origin of the capitals of Torcello, recalling both the claim of Hans Buchwald, raised for no apparent reason, about the transfer of capitals from the Basilica of San Marco in the 13th c. (Buchwald 1967: 77ff), as well as the proposal of Giovanni Lorenzoni (Lorenzoni 1980: 88ff). Polacco rejects both of these hypotheses, dating the placement of the capitals in the rebuilt ar-

evation of the building, together with the likely creation of a mosaic decoration on the western wall, resulted in covering two elongated façade windows⁴².

The next stage of the reconstruction of the Basilica began when episcopal authority was given to Vitale Orseolo. He replaced in the office his brother, who was appointed the Patriarch of Grado. Grado's location near Aquileia and the growing conflict between these two religious centers resulted in the Orseolo family deciding to develop a religious center on Torcello, making it the seat of their "family" politics. One can date a further reconstruction of the Basilica to this time, i.e. the 1030s/1040s. There was a change in the capitals of the columns separating the naves and, as it is supposed, in the decorative altar partitions separating the presbytery from the rest of the church⁴³. Sculptural decorations from this period would therefore significantly foreshadow those which appeared later in the Basilica of San Marco in Venice⁴⁴.

In the first decades of the 12th century, the Lagoon was repeatedly hit by earthquakes (in 1105, 1117 and 1123)⁴⁵. Torcello was especially damaged in 1117, which enforced another reconstruction of the Basilica in the mid-12th century. The reconstruction concerned mainly the façade, which is visible in the lines of the pilaster strips. Some changes were made to the mosaic on the western wall. Also, the mosaic decorations on the triumphal arch and in the main apse were significantly transformed⁴⁶. Possibly, the colonnade and the arcades between the columns were rebuilt, too. The floor of the Basilica was adorned with a new mosaic of rare polychrome marble plates⁴⁷.

The church was rebuilt many times in the following centuries. In the years 1418-1426 there were some of the more significant changes in the structure of the building in the modern era. The funds for the reconstruction were lent by the inhabitants, the Bishop of Torcello Pietro Nani, and the doges of Venice⁴⁸. At that time, the southern wall of the church and the arcades above the columns in the nave were rebuilt⁴⁹.

Further significant reconstructions were carried out in the Basilica in the 18th and 19th centuries. They concerned mainly the walls and the roof. The belfry was also

acades to the mid-12th century (Polacco 1984: 25ff). Recent research results, however, indicate a dating of Torcello capitals to the early days of the 11th c. – cf. Pilutti Namer 2008-2009; Agazzi 2009: 55.

⁴² Lorenzoni 1983: 416f; Polacco 1984: 16, 25.

⁴³ Lorenzoni 1983: 417. On the altar partitions from Torcello and their possible origin from the *iconostasis* in the Basilica of San Marco – see Polacco 1975. Renato Polacco and Ennio Concina believe that the altar partitions adorning the Basilica may date back to the 9th c. – cf. Polacco 1984: 14; Concina 1995: 113.

⁴⁴ Lorenzoni 1983: 418.

⁴⁵ Polacco 1984: 17, 26ff.

⁴⁶ Polacco 1984: 26; Andreescu 1976: *passim*, in particular p. 261.

⁴⁷ See Polacco 1984: 26; Concina 1995: 113.

⁴⁸ In the center of the façade there is this bishop's coat of arms – see Polacco 1984: 17, 26. On the subsequent stages of reconstruction of the church in the 15th c. – see among others Vecchi 1977a.

⁴⁹ Polacco 1984: 20, 24.

rebuilt at that time⁵⁰. In the 18th century the altar was changed to a baroque one⁵¹. The 19th-century conservation and restoration works affected not only the Basilica, but also the other buildings included in the religious complex of buildings on Torcello Island. According to most modern researchers, these works could significantly affect the signs of particular historical stages of the complex's construction and their justification⁵². In the 18th and 19th centuries, radical changes were also made to the mosaic decoration of the Basilica; in the 20th century various specialists tried to restore the original character of the decoration⁵³. The last maintenance works in the Basilica were carried out in late 2018 and early 2019 (October 2018-February 2019). Extensive efforts concerned the conservation of the façade of the Basilica from the outside and the western wall from the inside. The intervention was necessary due to the constant infiltration of water, which damaged both the façade structure and the mosaic decoration located behind it⁵⁴.

Despite being rebuilt many times, the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta gained its greatest splendor and wealth, without doubt, in the 11th and 12th century, mainly thanks to the works initiated by the Orseolo family. It was members of this patrician family, bishops and doges of the Venetian Lagoon, who wanted to make Torcello the center of religious, political and cultural life. The reconstructions of the religious complex of

⁵⁰ Polacco 1984: 24, 26. More about reconstruction from the middle of the 19th century– see Andreescu and Tarantola 1984, where Fig. 10-16; Vecchi 1984; Vecchi 1985.

⁵¹ Polacco 1984: 26.

⁵² Cf. Agazzi 2009: 50.

⁵³ On reconstructions in the Basilica in the 20th c. – see e.g. Ferro and Di Resta 2017. On these changes and the conservation of mosaic decoration – see Chap. III.3.

⁵⁴ On this restoration – see Catalano 2019 and Redazione inside.com (ed.) 2019. Unfortunately, due to the short time since the end of conservation works, information about them appeared only in the aforementioned press articles (including the website of the Patriarchate of Venice). No conservation documentation or studies discussing the work done in detail are available yet. However, the articles found by the author show that the preservation efforts required the cooperation of mosaic specialists coordinated by Giovanni Cucco and bricklayers supervised by the company of Silvio Pierobon from Belluno.

As Francesca Catalano writes, restoration works were initiated by tomographic studies of the western wall, which revealed that the binding material used during the last restoration works carried out in the 1930s had been degraded and lost coherence. The initial stages of the works included injections of low-pressure hydraulic lime to harden the mosaic. After 28 days, tomography was done again. It showed a 78% improvement in wall resistance to loads and stresses, guaranteeing stable support for the mosaic. Further works continued at the entrance to the Basilica. The marble panels surrounding it from the inside of the facade were destroyed by high water at the end of October 2018. Some old wood fragments were replaced with portions of new wood from seasoned larch tree from Cadore, while the marble panels placed under the mosaic from the western wall, which was the place where the wall had absorbed salt water from the soil the most, were renovated by baths in deionized water for desalination. After drying, they were reinstalled on the appropriate copper and lead hooks (Catalano 2019; Redazione inside.com (ed.) 2019). The surface of the mosaic decoration of the western wall was also subject to works – on this subject – see Chap. III. 3.

buildings on the island initiated by this family contributed to the creation of an extraordinary architectural and decorative entirety, where one can find inspirations of both the early Christian architecture of Ravenna and Aquileia, and the extraordinary splendor of Byzantium. A clear overlap of Eastern and Western influences is visible not only in the structure of the Basilica's architecture but also in its mosaic decoration.

II.2. Description of the church

The church of Santa Maria Assunta is an oriented building with a basic plan of the three-nave basilica without a transept (Fig. 12). The main nave from the eastern side ends with a semicircular apse with a small apsiol. The aisles also end with apses (Fig. 13). The spaces between the naves are separated from each other by rows of pillars (nine columns in each row). The raised rounded arches rest on the pillars (Fig. 14)⁵⁵. The central part of the temple was separated from the nave by a small increase and a choir (Fig. 15). Inside, there are inlaid wooden stalls from the 15th century⁵⁶. The walls of the choir are richly decorated marble plates (*plutei*). They are adorned with representations of animals (including peacocks and lions) together with floral ornaments. The outer main wall of the choir forming the *iconostasis* consists of six columns supporting a series of tables with representations of the Virgin Mary and the twelve Apostles, made probably at the beginning of the 15th century by a Venetian master⁵⁷. A large wooden Crucifix was placed above the *iconostasis*⁵⁸. In front of the entrance to the presbytery, on the left, there is an ambo supported by columns and adorned with decorative *plutei*⁵⁹. In the center of the presbytery there is the main altar composed of a *mensa* supported on four columns (Fig. 16)⁶⁰. Behind the altar, in the central apse, there is a monumental *synthronon* with the episcopal throne located in a small apse⁶¹.

⁵⁵ In choosing this architectural form of the Basilica, Sergio Bettini sees references to the Latin early Christian tradition – see Bettini 1940a: 54.

⁵⁶ Lorenzetti 1956: 808.

⁵⁷ Lorenzetti 1956: 808.

⁵⁸ On the Crucifix – see Quinzi 2000.

⁵⁹ On the ambo and its decorative *plutei*, including the so-called *Pluteo dell'occasione* – see among others Lorenzetti 1956: 808; Polacco 1975. On other decorative elements decorating the Basilica – see e.g. Conton 1927b: 41-52; Polacco 1975-1976.

⁶⁰ It corresponds to the original altar which was found during the 1929 archaeological excavations and reassembled (three of the four columns are original). Under the altar, a Roman sarcophagus from the 2nd -3rd century was found, which contains the remains of St. Heliodorus, the first Bishop of Altino, brought to Torcello in the mid-7th c. – cf. Brunetti 1940: 42; Lorenzetti 1956: 809. Ferdinando Forlati dated the current altar to the 7th c. (Forlati 1930: 49; Forlati 1940: 111). According to the latest research it is assumed that it comes from the 11th c. (Agazzi 2009: 55) and it replaced the 18th-c. altar standing there earlier. On the 18th-c. altar – see Andreescu 2005; Agazzi 2013a.

⁶¹ On the *synthronon* – see among others Johnson and Cutler 1991.

The nave shell of the church has an open roof trussing composed of a wooden ceiling with visible rafters. At the end of the naves, on the eastern side of the church, there are semicircular apses. From the northern side, most likely after the 11th century, an additional nave was added, whose external walls imitate the original structure of the walls of the building⁶².

The external walls of the church, built of burned pale red brick, are decorated with pilaster strips ended with arcades (Fig. 17). This structure allows light to glide freely on the surface of the walls of the building, which enhances the decorative effect. The church windows from the outside are surrounded by massive stone plates⁶³. Outside the entrance to the Basilica, there is a portico, connecting the building with the remains of the baptistery in front of it and the Santa Fosca Church standing next to it.

The interior decoration of the Basilica consists mainly of sculptural elements (primarily decorative *plutei* and capitals⁶⁴) and mosaics⁶⁵. The current mosaic decoration is composed of three mosaic sets located in the main apse and on the chancel arch, in the southern apse and on the western wall⁶⁶.

In the main apse, above the *synthronon*, there is a decorative register of marble plates. On the left side of the apse, below the plates, part of the original wall decoration is visible, which was created by a wall-painting representing saints or bishops facing the viewer⁶⁷. Below there is a register imitating multi-colored marble inlay (Fig. 18). Above the plates, on the background of golden *tesserae*, there is a representation of the twelve

⁶² Giovanni Musolino gives such dating of the additional, fourth nave of the Basilica (Musolino 1964: 14). Renato Polacco, basing on comparisons of the architectural structure and a fragment of the painting preserved on the western wall of the nave (dated to the 14th c.), gives as the date of the creation of the northern nave of the 13th c. – see Polacco 1984: 23ff, Fig. 21; Polacco 1986: 7. On the nave and excavations carried out under it – see e.g. De Min 2000a; Gorini 2000; Diano 2006; Calaon 2013: 47-51.

⁶³ These panels were added at the beginning of the 19th c., immediately after the theft of silver and gilded tiles from the canopy over the altar – see Polacco 1984: 19. Cf. Andreescu and Tarantola 1984: 99.

⁶⁴ In detail on the sculptural decoration of the Basilica – see among others Polacco 1976, Polacco 1984: 27-37; Agazzi 2009: 59; Agazzi 2014; Agazzi 2018.

⁶⁵ Inside the church there are also many modern elements, including wooden polychrome and gilded altars in aisles. About the interior of the church and its modern interior – see among others Lorenzetti 1956: 808ff; Agazzi 2013a. On modern parameters, incl. liturgical vestments and the Pala d'Oro and Pala d'Argento belonging to the Basilica – see among others Niero 1971; Mariacher 1975; Niero 1975; Davanzo Poli 2009. On the Byzantine reliquary located in the Basilica and brought to Torcello most likely from Altino in 639-640 – see Andreescu-Treadgold 1992; Lazzarini and Turi 1992.

⁶⁶ A comprehensive number of studies on mosaic decorations in the Basilica have been collected in this monograph (cf. Bibliography). A summary of information and work on this subject – see Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006a; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b; Trevisan 2008: 67-89, 347.

⁶⁷ Renato Polacco identifies the characters represented in the painting as saints and dates them to before 1000 (Polacco 1984: 53). Cf. Forlati 1940: 117; Nicoletti 1975: 19-27; Andreescu 1976: 249; Rizzardi 2009: 60. Michela Agazzi sees the characters as bishops (Agazzi 2009: 58).

Apostles standing frontally in a row (Figs. 19, 20a-b), their names identifiable thanks to the inscriptions placed next to their nimbi, from the left: Thomas (SCS THOMAS), Thaddaeus (SCS TADEVS), Bartholomew (SCS BARTHOLOMEVS), James (SCS IACOBVS), John (SCS IOHS), Peter (SCS PETRVS), Paul (SCS PAVLVS), Matthew (SCS MATHEVS), Andrew (SCS ANDREAS), James the Great (SCS IACOBVS), Simon (S SYMON), and Philip (S PHYLIPPVS).

The College of the Apostles is presented here according to the Latin West tradition (following the description from Mt 10: 2-4, excluding Judas and Matthew, but including Paul), in contrast to the representation of the Apostles in the *Deesis* scene on the western wall of the Basilica, where the Apostles are shown according to Greek tradition (Thomas, Bartholomew, James the Great, Luke, Matthew, Peter, Paul, Mark, Andrew, John, Simon and Philip, with the exception of Thaddaeus and James the Less, but with Evangelists Mark and Luke)⁶⁸.

The Apostles are dressed in long tunics with *clavi* in various shades of white (only Peter's tunic is blue) and white coats (only Simon's coat is pale pink); they wear sandals. Golden nimbi are shown above their heads. The Apostles differ significantly in physiognomy (they have different facial features, hair color and growth of beards). Two were portrayed as youths without beards (Thomas and Philip), five have dark brown beards (Thaddaeus, Bartholomew, James, Paul and Simon), and the beards of other five are white (John, Peter, Matthew, Andrew and James the Great). They make various gestures with their right hands⁶⁹. In their left hands they hold a *rotulus* (nine of them) or a book with richly decorated bindings (James the Great, Paul, Matthew). In addition, Peter holds three keys in his left hand and Andrew holds a cross. The Apostles are standing on a green paradise meadow full of herbs and multi-colored flowers.

In the center of the apse, between the representation of Peter and Paul, there is an elongated, semi-circular window. Below there is a mosaic showing the bust of St. Heliodorus, the first Bishop of Altino (the character is identified by the inscription on both sides of the nimbus; from the left: SCS ELIO DORVS) (Fig. 21). The saint bishop is shown frontally, dressed in a white tunic with long sleeves and a brown coat and

The painting was discovered by Ferdinando Forlati in 1937 during restoration works carried out in the apse. He published this discovery in 1940 (Forlati 1940: 117). Discussion about dating the fresco – see above all Nicoletti 1975; Andreescu 1975: 78-87; Andreescu 1976: 248, note 6.
⁶⁸ Cf. Polacco 1984: 33. On the College of the Apostles in early Christian and early medieval art – see e.g. Myslivec 1968.

⁶⁹ The importance of gestures of the characters is an extremely complex problem to which should be devoted a separate study. The introduction to this problem was the presentation of the author of this monograph entitled *Gestus ut motus et signum. The meaning and significance of gesture in early Christian and medieval art basing on the representation of the Damned in Hell* during the conference “Między Atenami a Jerozolimą. Człowiek, religia, państwo w kulturze antycznej i chrześcijańskiej” [“Between Athens and Jerusalem. Man, religion, state in ancient and Christian culture”] organized in Athens (27.04.-4.05.2014).

a pallium put on it. A miter on his head, he is holding a gold book in his left hand and makes a blessing gesture with his right hand.

The register with the representation of the Apostles is limited on the sides and from the bottom by a decorative mosaic border composed of floral ornaments, and above them there is an inscription: FORMULA VIRTUTIS / MARIS ASTRVM PORTA SALVTIS / PROLE MARIA LEVAT / QUOS CONIVGE SUBDIDIT EVA (*Symbol of virtue, star of the sea, gate of salvation, Mary through her Son raises those whom Eve surrendered through her spouse*)⁷⁰.

Standing above, on a golden rectangular footrest with decorative precious stones on the edges, Mary is dressed in a long blue tunic and a *maphorion* with a gold trimming, gold lace fringes and gold stars (one visible above Mary's forehead, the other on her shoulder) (Figures 19, 22). From under Madonna's long tunic, her palms and the pale pink face are highlighted by the blushes of her cheeks. She has dark brown shoes on her feet. Next to the nimbus above her head there are Greek letters: on the left MP, and on the right ΘV⁷¹. Mary is standing frontally and looking with subtlety at the viewer. On her left arm she holds the Child and carries a white *encheirion* in her hand⁷². With her right hand she points at the Child dressed in a long dark gold tunic and a coat. The barefoot Child has short fair hair surrounded by a golden nimbus. All the Son's attention is directed to His Mother. He holds a white scroll in His left hand and lifts His right hand in a gesture of blessing. The elongated figure of the Madonna and the Child is the dominant element in the whole space of the conch filled with golden *tesserae*. Above Mary, on the edge of the apse there is an inscription: SVM DEVS ATQUE CARO / PATRIS ET SVM MATRIS IMAGO / NON PIGER AD LAP SVM / SET [i.e. SED] FLENTI PROXIMUS ADSVM (*I am God and body, the image of the Father and the Mother; I do not tolerate sin, but I am closest to those who cry*)⁷³.

⁷⁰ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Musolino 1955: 32; Polacco 1984: 52.

⁷¹ Or MHP ΘV, i.e. MHTEP ΘEOY (*Mother of God!*). On monograms of the name of Mary – see e.g. Kemp 1971b.

⁷² In Byzantine culture, it was a small piece of ornamented fabric that served as a handkerchief or a kerchief to wipe sweat. It comes from the eastern court dress. In the iconography of the Virgin Mary, the *encheirion* appears as an element stuck in a belt or held under the thumb in the left hand. The symbolic meaning of the *encheirion* is widely discussed and it would require a much broader discussion. More about the *encheirion* – see e.g. Nunn 1986; Kobielius 2007.

⁷³ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Musolino 1955: 32; Polacco 1984: 52. Renato Polacco points out that this inscription occurred in relation to the mosaic decoration once located above the chancel arch, nonexistent today, which depicted the representation of Christ-Emmanuel in *clipeus* supported by angels - cf. Polacco 1984: 52. In a later publication, Polacco describes this scene directly as a representation of Ascension – cf. Polacco 1986: 12. This scene is present in a 1827 print in the Museo Correr in Venice and in the 1845 painting by C. W. E. Fink kept in the Museum on Torcello. In the same Museum there are also fragments of mosaics (representations of heads of angels), which were identified by Irina Andreescu (Andreescu 1972: 183-194) as belonging to the scene of Ascension – cf. Rizzarda 2009: 61ff.

Above, on both sides of the chancel arch, on the golden background there is the scene of Annunciation. On the left Archangel Gabriel is shown sideways. He is dressed in a long dark blue tunic with golden *clavi*, a white coat and shoes richly decorated with red pearls (Fig. 23). A white band, decorated with a centrally placed ruby and long straps, is woven into his blond hair. The archangel has a golden nimbus above his head and large, multi-colored wings. In his left hand he holds a *labarum* (?), while his right hand is lifted towards Mary. Above the archangel there is an inscription: GABRIEL ARCHANGELUS / VIRGO DI NATUM / PARIES EX TE CARO FACT (UM) (*Archangel Gabriel: "Virgin, you will give birth to the son of God who will become flesh through you"*)⁷⁴.

On the other side of the arch, Mary is standing on the same decorative footstool as previously represented in the apse (Fig. 24). She is dressed in the same way as in the representation below in the central apse and she is turned *en trois quarts* towards the Archangel. In her left hand, Mary holds the spindle, while she lifts her right hand to the height of her chest, showing the inside of her hand in a gesture of consent and acceptance of God's will⁷⁵. Behind the Madonna there is a golden throne decorated with precious stones, where an elongated purple pillow, richly embroidered with pearls, lies. On the left side of Mary there is a small wicker basket filled with purple balls of thread. Above the figure there is an inscription: STA MARIA VIRGO / FIAT ET ANCILLAE QUID PROMISIT ILLE (*Saint Virgin Mary: "Let there be to the servant what He promised"*)⁷⁶.

In the chapel at the end of the southern nave (Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, *diaconicon*) there is another complex of mosaic decorations (Fig. 25). Similarly to the main nave, also here in the central part of the apse, there is a small, semi-circular window, framed with a mosaic border made of floral ornaments. On either sides, four holy bishops stand on a paradise meadow filled with golden bushes with multi-colored flowers. They are identified by the vertical inscriptions located next to the nimbi surrounding their heads: Gregory (SC GREGORIVS) and Martin (SC MARTINVS) on the left, and Ambrose (SC AMBROSIVS) and Augustine (SC AGVSTINVS) on the right⁷⁷. They were shown frontally, in long tunics and richly embroidered with precious

⁷⁴ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Musolino 1955: 33.

⁷⁵ Cf. Chap. II, p. 55 - note 69. Mary was represented in the scene of Annunciation in the type described in the Protoevangelium of James, where the Archangel comes to her when she spinning a scarlet thread – cf. Bonaccorsi (ed.) 1948: 80, XI,1: “Καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν κάλπην καὶ ἐξῆλθεν γεμίσει ὕδωρ· καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν. Καὶ περιεβλέπετο δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πόθεν αὐτῆ ἡ φωνή. Καὶ σύντρομος γενομένη ἀπίει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν τὴν κάλπην, καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν πορφύραν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῆς καὶ εἶλκεν αὐτήν.” Clementina Rizzardi interprets the scene in the same way (Rizzardi 2009: 62).

⁷⁶ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Musolino 1955: 33.

⁷⁷ Probably because of the worship of Martin I, pope and martyr (d. 655), developed in this area, he replaced St. Jerome. About the worship of this saint in the Lagoon and about his presence in the mosaic of the southern apse in the company of the other three Doctors of the Western

stones, chasubles and pallia⁷⁸. In their left hands they hold gold books decorated with colorful gems, while their right hands are raised in various gestures⁷⁹. The figures do not demonstrate any particular physiognomic features⁸⁰. The whole register is closed at the side and at the bottom with a multicolored border with floral ornaments, and at the top there is an inscription: PERSONIS TRIPLEX DEVS EST ET NVMINE SIMPLEX / HERBIDAT HIC TERRAM, MARE FVNDIT, LVMINAT AETHRAM (*God in three persons and the only one in divinity He covers the land with green, pours the sea, brightens the air*)⁸¹.

Above, on the vault of the apse, there is the representation of Christ Pantocrator sitting centrally on the throne flanked by two Archangels, Michael (SCS MICHAEL) and Gabriel (SCS GABRIEL). Christ is sitting on a purple cushion placed on a throne with gold upholstery, featuring ornaments of pearls and precious stones. The Savior is wearing a long golden tunic with purple *clavi* and a dark blue coat. His bare feet rest on a colorful footstool richly decorated with gems. In his left hand He holds a golden book whose binding is adorned with precious stones; the book rests on His knee. He lifts up His right hand in a gesture of blessing. His head is surrounded by a golden cross nimbus. Above it, the letters IC XC are visible⁸². On both sides of Christ there are Archangels Michael (on the right) and Gabriel (on the left). They are dressed in long blue tunics, or *loros*, decorated with precious stones and pearls, and have richly ornamented footwear. In their hair there are white bands with long strings, while in their hands they hold a *labarum* (Michael in his right hand and Gabriel in his left hand) and a royal orb (Michael in his left hand and Gabriel in his right hand). Both have large colorful wings (red, navy blue, white), and golden nimbi are visible above their heads.

The vault of the arch in front of the apse is also adorned with mosaic decoration. There is a representation of the Mystic Lamb (*Agnus Dei*) in a *clipeus* made of bay leaves (Fig. 26). The Lamb is shown on a blue background. He holds the Cross and blood trickles down His chest. His head, surrounded with the cross nimbus, is tilted backwards. The *clipeus* is supported by four angels with large dark-brown wings, dressed in long white tunics and coats with golden *clavi*. They have white bands stuck in their hair. Two of them, located on a green background, have golden nimbi around

Church – see among others Damigella 1966a: 7, notes 18, 19; Polacco 1984: 57; Polacco 1986: 12. Antonio Niero puts forth a hypothesis that the figure here is not St. Martin I, the Pope, but bishop St. Martin of Tours, referring to: Lorenzetti 1939: 45,48; Brunetti 1957-1958: 608; Musolino 1964: 29. Cf. Niero 1975-1976: 1, note 6; Guilhem 2016: in particular 176-187.

⁷⁸ About the dispute regarding the exact identification of the character's clothes – see briefly Guilhem 2016: 175.

⁷⁹ Cf. Chap. II, p. 55 - note 69.

⁸⁰ Cf. Polacco 1984: 58.

⁸¹ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Venturi 1902: 492; Musolino 1955: 30; Niero 1975-1976: 2; Polacco 1984: 57.

⁸² I.e. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (*Jesus Christ*). On the monograms of the name of Christ – see e.g. Kemp 1971a.

their heads; the other two, on a golden background, stand barefoot on blue spheres. The vault was divided into four sections by bay leaves coming out of the Lamb's *clipeus*. Each of these fields is filled with rich floral decoration and animal representations between the branches.

The mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica

III.1. History of the mosaic and the problem of dating

The dating of all mosaic complexes decorating the walls of the Basilica on Torcello Island aroused many discussions among researchers, especially in the 20th century¹. They were caused by the variety of criteria used for indicating the probable time of creation of each mosaic decoration. In the first half of the last century, as in previous centuries, the mosaics were dated mainly on grounds of stylistic comparisons that referred scholars directly to the influence of the school of Ravenna and the northern Adriatic region of the Central Byzantine period. Based on these stylistic and iconographic comparisons, most researchers considered the mosaics adorning the Basilica to come from the period between the 7th and 9th century.²

More recent studies, mainly from the 1970s and 1980s, intended to verify earlier hypotheses. They were based primarily on analyses of archaeological, architectural and conservation data³. This helped to distinguish two periods from which the oldest *tesserae* that constitute the present mosaic decoration of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta come. The first stage, which is probably the moment of creation of the entire decoration, harks back to the second half of the 11th century⁴. The representation

¹ More on these controversies – see among others Rizzardi 2009: 62ff.

² These researchers included e.g. Giuseppe Fiocco (Fiocco 1937-1938: 587-600), Giulio Lorenzetti (Lorenzetti 1939: 43,45,49), Sergio Bettini (Bettini 1940b: 75-88 and Bettini 1974: 33ff). Many studies, especially older ones, indicate that the whole mosaic decoration of the Basilica was created between the 7th and even the 13th or the 14th c. – see e.g. Lorenzetti 1939: 43; Bettini 1940b: 77; Andreescu 1976: 248, note 4; Fumo 1987: 110.

³ See above all Andreescu 1972: 195-223; Andreescu 1976; Andreescu 1984; Rizzardi 1985: 122ff.

⁴ See among others Fumo 1987: 110; Polacco 1999: 114.

of the Apostles from the main apse⁵ and mosaics adorning the southern chapel are dated to this period⁶. A significant part of the *tesserae* decorating the west wall of the Basilica also dates to this time⁷. The next phase of the mosaic decoration, which took place in second half of the 12th century, comprised some of the heads of the Apostles from the central apse, the representation of Mary and the Child in the same apse⁸, the scenes of Annunciation and Ascension (today nonexistent) on the chancel arch, as well as part of the mosaic complex on the west wall⁹.

It seems that the most controversy arose, especially in the first half of the 20th century, as to dating the mosaic complex located on the west wall of the Basilica¹⁰. For instance, Adolfo Venturi recognized the entire decoration as a work of art from the 9th

⁵ Giulio Lorenzetti dates the representation to the 12th century (Lorenzetti 1956: 809). Anna Maria Damigella recognizes them as originating in the mid-12th c. (Damigella 1966b: 3). Otto Demus, mentioning the second quarter of the 11th c. or the mid-11th c., finally suggests 1050 as the date of the creation of the scene (Demus 1968: 53ff). Antonella Nicoletti, recalling numerous stylistic comparisons, dates the representation of the Apostles to the mid-12th c. (Nicoletti 1975). Following Demus, Renato Polacco dates the representation of the Apostles for the second half of the 11th c. due to close stylistic connections with Macedonian mosaics and decorations from Hosios Loukas in Fokida (Polacco 1986: 11).

⁶ Giulio Lorenzetti dates the representation to the 12th century (Lorenzetti 1956: 809), Giovanni Musolino claims that the decorations of the right apse come from the 11th-12th c., the representations of the saints below are dated to the mid-9th c. (Musolino 1964: 15). Anna Maria Damigella recalls the history of dating the scene, considering it to come from the period after 1112 (Damigella 1966a: 3, 14). Italo Furlan and Irina Andreescu date the representation to the mid-11th c., recognizing it as the work of a Byzantine workshop (Furlan 1975: 28ff; Andreescu 1976: 245). This opinion seems to be shared by Giovanni Lorenzoni (Lorenzoni 1983: 414ff). Renato Polacco emphasizes that this mosaic complex was once dated only due to stylistic and iconographic connections with the decoration of the vault of the presbytery of the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna (hence it was dated even to 639), however, dating it finally to the second half of the 11th c. was ultimately confirmed by the identification of the materials used, investigation of *tesserae* (dated around 1100) and stylistic details consistent with the rest of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica - cf. Polacco 1986: 12, 107. Cf. Andreescu 1976: 257. A thorough restoration analysis of the decoration of the southern chapel - see Andreescu 1984. Comparative iconographic analysis of mosaic decoration in the southern chapel - see Rizzardi 2006b.

⁷ Rizzardi 2009: 62f. Cf. e.g. Lorenzoni 1983: 414.

⁸ Giulio Lorenzetti dates the representation, like the Annunciation scene and most of the decoration complex from the west wall, to the 13th century (Lorenzetti 1956: 809). Renato Polacco believes that the representation of Mary was created together with the renewal of the wall structure of the apse after the destruction caused by the earthquake in 1117. The researcher considers Mary of Nice as the prototype of this representation. He also sees stylistic comparisons between the Madonna of the apse on Torcello and the representation of Mary between John II Komnenos and Empress Irene in the Church of St. Sofia in Constantinople, as well as with the paintings in St. Anargiri in Kastoria (Polacco 1986: 11).

⁹ Andreescu 1976: 250-252, fig. 8; Rizzardi 2009: 67.

¹⁰ Examples of the most extreme views on dating of the mosaic decoration on the west wall coming from the 19th century are recalled by Irina Andreescu, who mentions e.g. Domenico Rupolo, who in 1895 (?) dated the representation of the Last Judgement to the 7th century and Anselmo Costadoni, who in 1827 saw this scene as coming from the 14th century (Andreescu 1976: 248, note 4).

century¹¹. Luigi Conton dated the lower four registers of the mosaic to the second half of the 9th century (time of reconstruction initiated by Bishop Deusdedit II (864-867))¹². At this time, in the place of the upper two registers there were large windows illuminating the nave. According to Conton, they were closed during the reconstruction at the beginning of the 11th century ordered by the Orseolo family, thereby increasing the surface on the west wall, where the scenes showing *Anastasis* and the Crucifixion could be created. Conton justifies this clear division of the time when the mosaic decoration was created with the differentiation of the composition. The top two registers, according to the researcher, differ significantly in terms of drawing, color and proportion from the other four registers below. The four lower zones have a “classical” character, which is visible not only in the drawing of figures, but also in numerous references to Greek-Roman antiquity, as evidenced, among others, by the presence of such characters as Amphitrite and Hades (Pluto)¹³. Sergio Bettini and Giulio Lorenzetti declared that the mosaic complex as a whole comes from the 11th-13th century (Bettini) and the 12th-13th century (Lorenzetti)¹⁴. Giovanni Musolino returned to the division proposed earlier by Luigi Conton, suggesting that the two upper registers of the composition date back to the 13th century, and the four lower to the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th century¹⁵. Such a division was also introduced by Antonio Niero, who claims that the two upper registers come from the 13th and the rest of the mosaic from the 12th century¹⁶.

The divergent hypotheses of various researchers were mainly due to the size of the analyzed mosaic complex and the number and nature of conservation and restoration works to which it has been subjected many times over the centuries. The particular *tesserae* forming the mosaic are dated differently. The oldest come from the 11th century and the youngest from second half of the 19th century¹⁷.

¹¹ Venturi 1902: 492.

¹² Luigi Conton writes that “il grande Mosaico, nella sua parte maggiore e migliore, preesisteva all’opere degli Orseolo” (Conton 1927a: 7). In his opinion, the two higher registers cannot be dated earlier than on 1000. The researcher indicates that the Orseolo family commissioned two more similar scenes of Descent into the Abyss for the Basilica of San Marco (a mosaic representation on the vault, on the arch to the left from the entrance, at the main dome and on Pala d’Oro). The following four registers of the mosaic decoration, in his opinion, coming from the second half of the 9th century, do not appear in written sources, e.g. *Cronache Veneziane*, but the situation was similar to other mosaic decorations on Torcello, e.g. in the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista, which stood on Torcello Island still in the mid-19th c. and is known to have had mosaic decorations, which Conton was to find out personally (he was there and found many colorful *tesserae*, which he then left in the Museum). Still, there is no information about these decorations in any sources (Conton 1927a: 10). On these decorations – see e.g. Vecchi 1979b: 29-33.

¹³ Conton 1927a: 6ff.

¹⁴ Bettini 1940b: 80-82; Lorenzetti 1939: 49ff; Lorenzetti 1956: 809.

¹⁵ Musolino 1964: 17.

¹⁶ Niero [s.d.]: 28.

¹⁷ More on the preservation history of the mosaic complex from the west wall of the Basilica – see Chap. III.3. Another important problem related to the discussion on dating of the mosaic

According to the latest analyses, primarily by Irina Andreescu, the entire mosaic complex of the west wall was created most likely as a result of the reconstruction of the Basilica, which took place in the early 11th century, i.e. during the reign of the Orseolo family on Torcello¹⁸. Then the main apse was also raised¹⁹. It was necessary to raise the entire nave and then also to cover the two elongated façade windows and to create a place for the creation of a monumental mosaic decoration²⁰. From this period come the *tesserae* forming the lower middle part of the register with the representation of *Anastasis*, the *Deesis* scene together with the representation of young men in the background and the lower part of the representation of the Apostles sitting on the right side of Christ, as well as the other lower parts of the entire mosaic complex excluding the fragment of the Resurrection of the dead from the seas and the central part of the two lower registers²¹.

Specialist conservation research of the remaining fragments of the representation managed to find a significant number of *tesserae* probably coming from the period of the first conservation of the mosaic, which took place in the second half of the 12th century. It took place in the wake of the earthquake that hit the Lagoon in 1117²². The

decoration on the west wall is that the two lowest mosaic registers extend on both sides slightly beyond the structure of the entire wall and occupy fragments of the nave walls. Luigi Conton speculates that initially, in the mid-9th century artists had to work on a larger surface than the one that is currently occupied by the mosaic. In 1008, i.e. in the period when, according to this researcher, the upper two registers of the mosaic decoration were created, the nave was probably both heightened and narrowed, and the “complementation” of the scenes was created on the newly erected walls (Conton 1927a: 8). The researcher also acknowledges that the need to complete the decoration in such a way was only present in the case of the scene showing hell, while on the other side the mosaic was lengthened only not to disturb the symmetry of the whole representation (Conton 1927a: 9ff). By contrast, Ferdinando Forlati was a strong opponent of the hypothesis of extending the mosaic decoration. He considered impossible a way of rebuilding the main nave and the western wall itself which would allow placing on the side walls decorations complementing the composition of the western wall (Forlati 1940: 122, note 8). Maurizia Vecchi thoroughly studied this problem in her works, analyzing not only the architectural structure of the building, the history of the subsequent stages of the rebuilding of the Basilica, but also examining the new archival sources she found about the conservation carried out in the church, mainly in the period from the 15th to the 20th c. These works concerned both the building and the mosaic itself (see above all Vecchi 1975; Vecchi 1977a; Vecchi 1979b: 7-18; Vecchi 1982: 37-43).

¹⁸ Irina Andreescu writes: “The wall mosaics for which the Church of Santa Maria Assunta is famous, date for the most part from the 11th century, when massive campaigns decorated two of the apses at the east end as well as the entire west wall opposite it” (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 87). Cf. Andreescu 1976: above all p. 260. At the same time, Maurizia Vecchi also conducted research on mosaic dating, which confirmed Irina Andreescu’s claims (among others Vecchi 1977a: 295). The dating of the mosaic decoration to the mid-11th c. is not inconsistent with inscriptions known from the church – cf. Niero 1975-1976.

¹⁹ Lorenzoni 1983: 415. Renato Polacco also agrees with this dating (Polacco 1984: 25).

²⁰ Lorenzoni 1983: 416ff; Polacco 1984: 16, 25.

²¹ Rizzardi 2009: 62ff.

²² Cf. Andreescu 1976: passim, above all p. 261; Polacco 1984: 26.

fragments of the decoration representing the *Psychostasis* scene are dated to this time, as are the representation of Mary Orant in the tympanum above the entrance door and a fragment of the scene depicting the Resurrection of the dead from the seas²³. The *tesserae* forming the remaining parts of the mosaic complex were placed later, during numerous restoration works over the centuries²⁴.

III.2. The mosaic technique

The exceptionally decorative character and strong symbolic meaning of the representations decorating the walls of the Basilica on Torcello were emphasized by their makers by choosing the technique of their realization. Invoking the rich traditions of the East and the West, the authors decided to make them in the mosaic technique²⁵. This type of decoration on Torcello, although often found in early Christian and early medieval churches, seems to be a deliberate choice, referring to the location of the island between the two great Latin and Greek traditions. The opportunity to benefit both from the experience of glass workshops of Ravenna located a small distance from the island²⁶ and from the advanced Byzantine tradition²⁷, in which the mosaic technique undoubtedly achieved the highest splendor, resulted in the creation of works of premium quality on Torcello²⁸.

Mosaics consist of small elements (*tesserae*²⁹) of fairly regular shapes made of various types of decorative materials, such as stones, shells, glass paste, terracotta, pearl-shell, and enamels. They are attached to a properly prepared substrate. The color, size and location of each *tessera* directly impacts the final outcome intended by the makers of the work³⁰.

²³ Andreescu 1976: 250-252, fig. 8; Rizzardi 2009: 67.

²⁴ More on the preservation history of the mosaic complex from the west wall of the Basilica – see Chap. III.3.

²⁵ By choosing this technique, as it seems, both decorative and symbolic character of the representation was particularly emphasized. In the case of both these objectives, sunlight plays the key role, fulfilling not only a practical but also a symbolic function. The significant appearance of light, its relation to the interpretation of the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica, and possible ways of lighting the work of art at the time of its creation were the subject of the author's interest, which resulted in an article published in 2019 (Krauze-Kołodziej 2019).

²⁶ More about glass workshops in Ravenna – see e.g. Fiori, Vandini and Mazzotti 2005; Fiori 2013.

²⁷ About Byzantine glass workshops – see e.g. Fiori 2004.

²⁸ Fore relevant details – see e.g. Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 93.

²⁹ The ancient Greeks called these elements *abakiskoi* (in Greek: ὀ ἀβακίσκος), and the Romans *abaculi* or *tesserae / tessellae* (in Latin: (f) *tessera*, -ae or *tessella*, -ae, this comes from Greek: τέσσερες, α) – see Harding 1996: 154.

³⁰ More on the technology of making the mosaic and the materials used for it – see among others Fiorentini Roncuzzi 1971: 43ff; Biek and Bayley 1979; Farneti 1993: 60-104; Harding 1996: 154-158; Mendera 2000; Stiaffini 2000; Verità 2000; Rossi 2002: 10.

Decorations made with the use of *tesserae* were well-known in various ancient cultures, including Mesopotamia and Egypt³¹, but the fastest development of this technique occurred in Greece in the 5th century BC as described in the work of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historiae* XXXVI 184; Loeb X, 144)³². Then the Romans contributed to the improvement and spread of this technique (Pliny, *Naturalis historiae* XXXVI 189; Loeb X, 148)³³, used to decorate floors and walls. They were inlaid first with fragments of shells, pumice stone or glass. Then glass *tesserae* were introduced, produced by specialized *musivarii*. They used to decorate mainly the walls and vaults of apses in thermal baths, houses, palaces and tombs³⁴. In the late Antiquity and early Christianity, this technique developed even more, allowing to demonstrate and highlight with the help of glass, shimmering *tesserae* a profound theological meaning³⁵. In the early Middle Ages, the color range of the *tesserae* increased significantly. Their makers used mixtures of sand, soda, potash and lime with various types of metal oxides to obtain different color hues³⁶. Flakes of precious metals, primarily gold, were also

³¹ Fiorentini Roncuzzi 1971: 5-8; Rossi 2002: 16ff.

³² Pliny *HN*, XXXVI 184 (Loeb X, 144): “Pavimenta originem apud Graecos habent elaborata arte picturae ratione, donec lithostrota expulere eam. Celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere Sosus, qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton oecon, quoniam purgamenta cenae in pavimentis quaeque everri solent velut relicta fecerat parvis e tessellis tinctisque in varios coloures. Mirabilis ibi columba bibens et aquam umbra capitis infuscans; apricantur aliae scabentes sese in cathari labro”.

³³ Pliny *HN*. XXXVI 189 (Loeb X, 148): “Lithostrota coeptavere iam sub Sulla; parvulis certe crustis exstat hodieque quod in Fortunae delubro Praeneste fecit (...)”

³⁴ We also learn about the Greek-Roman tradition of making mosaics from other ancient written sources. A fragment on this subject is to be found, among others, in the work of Vitruvius – see e.g. on floor decorations - *Vitr.* 7.1.3-4: “supra nucleum ad regulam et libellam exacta pavimenta struantur sive sectilia seu tesserais. Cum ea structa fuerint et fastigia sua ex structione habuerint, ita fricentur, uti, si sectilia sint, nulli gradus in scutulis aut trigonis aut quadratis seu favis extent, sed coagmentorum compositio planam habeat inter se directionem, si tesserais structum erit, ut eae omnes angulos habeant aequales; cum enim anguli non fuerint omnes aequaliter plani, non erit exacta, ut oportet, fricatura. item testacea spicata tiburtina sunt diligenter exigenda, ut ne habeant lacunas nec extantes tumulos, sed sint extenta et ad regulam perfricata. super fricaturam, levigationibus et polituris cum fuerint perfecta, incernatur marmor, et supra loricae ex calce et harena inducantur”. Information on the technique of creating mosaics in antiquity can also be found in extant inscriptions and on the basis of the results of archaeological research (among others the *in situ* discovery of polychrome *tesserae* used to lay floor mosaics in Naples). More on mosaic decorations in ancient times – see e.g. Mosaico e Mosaicisti 1967; Fiorentini Roncuzzi 1971: 5-24, 43ff; Farneti 1993: 21ff; Harding 1996: 154ff, 158-161; Bertelli 1996. Cf. Schwarzenberg 2000. On the production of glass and its chemical constitution during this period – see primarily Fiori 2004: 55-104.

³⁵ More on this subject – see e.g. Dal Soglio 1970. On mosaic decorations in this period – see e.g. Harding 1996: 155-157; Nordhagen 1996a. Cf. Mendera 2000; Staffini 2000.

³⁶ This process has been described, among others by Theophilus Presbyter in his work *Diversarium Artium Schedula* (on mixing colors – see above all Theoph. Presb. *Divers. Art. Sched.* I; on the construction of a furnace for making glass and on the production of glass – see Theoph. Presb. *Divers. Art. Sched.* II.1-6; about dividing and painting glass – see Theoph. Presb. *Div-*

introduced under the glass surface of pebbles, which significantly increased the decorative nature of the compositions. Early medieval mosaics consisted of varicolored shimmering *tesserae* of various sizes (usually 7-10 mm), with irregular shapes made of glass paste, gilded or silvered glass, which were then laid on a specially prepared substrate so as to obtain the effect of an interplay of lights and shadows and the impression of continuous movement and trembling. Intense, often contrasting colors emphasized the metaphysical nature of the representations, most often set against the background of a golden surface.

A unique development in the technique of gilded mosaics took place in the Byzantine Empire, where they were characterized by both meticulous execution and a perfect symbolic-stylistic adaptation to architecture³⁷. Before long, this way of decorating church interiors began to dominate in the Eastern Empire. Along with the Byzantine tradition, the skill of mosaic-making reached the West, including the Apennine Peninsula. This is evidenced by exquisite examples of Byzantine mosaics from Palermo, Cefalu, Monreale, Rome and finally the area of the northern Adriatic and the Venetian Lagoon.

The decoration on the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, like other early medieval and medieval mosaics, consists of varicolored shimmering *tesserae* of various sizes and shapes³⁸. Their thorough execution and variety of colors point to an extremely sophisticated workshop of the makers³⁹. The mosaic pieces were made of glass paste and gilded glass, which were laid on a specially prepared substrate so as to obtain the effect of the play of lights and shadows and the impression of continuous

ers. Art. Sched. II.18-21; on glass burning – see Theoph. Presb. *Divers. Art. Sched.* II.22-26) – cf. among others Harding 1996: 156.

Particularly noteworthy is the fragment about the production of so-called Greek glass from which mosaics are created: “Vitreas etiam tabulas faciunt opere fenestrario ex albo uitro lucido, spissas ad mensuram unius digiti, findentes eas calido ferro per quadras particulas minutas, et cooperientes eas in uno latere auli petula, superliniunt uitrum lucidissimum tritum ut supra, et componunt eas coniunctim super ferream tabulam, de qua paulo inferius dicemus, coopertam calce siue cineribus coquentes in furno fenestrarum, ut supra. Huiusmodi uitrum interpositum musium opus omnino decorat” (Theoph. Presb. *Divers. Art. Sched.* II.15, p. 42).

³⁷ More on mosaics in the Byzantine period – see e.g. Demus 1953; Harding 1996: 155-157; James 1996; Nordhagen 1996b; James 2000. On the specifics of conservation treatments to which wall mosaics from this period must be subjected – see e.g. Muscolino 2007.

³⁸ Analysis of the composition and chemical structure of the *tesserae* identified ones from the 11th, 12th, 18th and 19th centuries among these taken from the western wall (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 120).

³⁹ Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 93. For details on the composition, construction and characteristics of the *tesserae* used in each register of the mosaic on the west wall in the Basilica on Torcello Island – see above all Andreescu-Treatgold 2004; Andreescu-Treatgold 2005; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006a; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 120ff.

movement⁴⁰. The use of intense colors highlights the metaphysical nature of the work. The background is a golden, shiny surface. The choice of the technique in question was certainly not accidental, and the quality of the work demonstrates the selection of high-end makers and the large financial outlays allocated to create this decoration⁴¹.

But where did the glass used for creating the *tesserae* for the original 11th-century mosaic decoration of the Basilica come from? Especially since the 1960s, hypotheses about the native provenance of the *tesserae* used to create the mosaic decoration have dominated. This was undoubtedly due to the discovery made by Polish scholars during their archeological studies carried out on Torcello. In 1961-1962 they found the bottom parts of three or four brick and stone structures that were the remains of a glass workshop⁴². This dedication of the building was proved by the fragments of the glass batch, stone crucibles (among them one with a small remain of glass batch on the wall), numerous remains of goblets and other glass vessels as well as a large number of glass *tesserae* found between the architectural structures⁴³.

The discovered workshop was initially dated to the 7th-8th century. Eleonora Tabaczyńska confirmed this dating by examining both the remains of glass-burning furnaces and the fragments of other glass finds⁴⁴. However, she did not exclude the possibility that the construction of the furnaces could temporarily correspond to the beginning of the construction of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta (639). This dating of the glass workshop was also confirmed by other types of archaeological finds in contiguous stratigraphic layers, including a bronze fibula derived from the lower layer (7th century) and combs of bone and horn in Longobard style, found in the same layer as the furnaces and an early Christian terracotta lamp of African origin dated to the 5th-6th / 7th century, two coins (denarius of Charlemagne from 780-800 and the Arabic *dirham* dated to the 8th / 9th century) found in a burial from the upper layer⁴⁵. Later research using the C-14 radioactive carbon method, commissioned by Lech Leciejewicz and conducted by Mieczysław Pazdur, showed with certainty that the greatest activity of glass-burning furnaces found in the glass workshop was at the end of the 9th century⁴⁶.

The workshop found on Torcello is an extremely important link complementing the history of glass production in the Lagoon in the period between late Antiqui-

⁴⁰ For the specifics of the technology used during this period and the difficulties associated with its preservation – see primarily Muscolino 2007.

⁴¹ Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 93. Irina Andreescu in her work from 2010, basing on the analysis of fragments of three mosaic complexes in the Basilica showing plant elements, accepts that they were made by three groups of mosaic makers on Torcello between the 11th and the 12th century – cf. Andreescu-Treadgold 2010.

⁴² Cf. Chap. I, p. 29.

⁴³ Leciejewicz 2009: 11. More about the Torcello glass workshop – see among others Gasparetto 1966; Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 63-73; Tabaczyńska 1987.

⁴⁴ Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska and Tabaczyński 1977: 147ff.

⁴⁵ Leciejewicz 2009: 11.

⁴⁶ Leciejewicz 2009: 15.

ty and early Middle Ages. The independent workshop existing at that time not only demonstrates the development of crafts on the island, but also creates the opportunity to produce on-site *tesserae*, which then could be used for the creation of various mosaic decorations. But could it be the place where the *tesserae* used to decorate the west wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta come from? In their study on chemical analysis of *tesserae* taken from the wall Julian Henderson and Martin Roe write: “although the site is probably too early to have been a direct source for 11th century Torcello glass mosaics, the possibility cannot be ruled out”⁴⁷. At the same time, the authors hypothesize: “the most comprehensive large-scale archaeological evidence for the manufacture of 7th-12th century raw glass has been found in the Levant and in Syria. These areas will be considered as a possible source for Torcello glass”⁴⁸. Based on the research conducted jointly with Irina Andreescu, they suggest the Middle East as the area of the origin of the glass used to create a mosaic decoration on the west wall of the Basilica. From there, the glass was to be transported to Byzantium, where the process of its coloring and *tesserae* creation followed. Then ready *tesserae* went directly to Torcello, where they formed the basis of the mosaic decorations⁴⁹.

III.3. History of conservation, restauration and conservation studies⁵⁰

Already at the beginning of the 12th century, in the wake of an earthquake (1117) which largely destroyed mainly the eastern part of the Basilica, it was necessary to renew the mosaic decorations. The works carried out consisted of the restoration and partial reconstruction of the mosaics created a century before⁵¹. The actions taken concerned in particular the decorations of the main apse, i.e. the representation of Mary and Child and the Apostles below⁵², as well as the scene of Annunciation and the now non-exis-

⁴⁷ Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 120.

⁴⁸ Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 120.

⁴⁹ Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 137. The author’s article from 2015 is a development of the subject of mosaic technique and the technology used in the case of mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello Island (Krauze-Kołodziej 2015a).

⁵⁰ Briefly on the subsequent conservation phases of mosaic decoration in the Basilica – see Andreescu-Treadgold 1983b.

⁵¹ Renato Polacco defines this phase of preservation of the mosaics in the Basilica as “grande restauro di reintegrazione” (Polacco 1984: 105).

⁵² The preservation works concerned the heads of the four Apostles standing next to Mary: Paul, Matthew, Andrew and James. According to Renato Polacco, only the head of Paul survived to this day in the state of preservation from the 12th c., while the heads of the other three Apostles were completely remade in the 18th c. (Polacco 1984: 106). Restoration works on the representation of the Apostles from the main apse were carried out in the 12th, 18th and then in the 19th c. (Polacco 1986: 11).

tent representation of Christ in the *clipeus* between Angels on the chancel arch⁵³. The inscriptions, which were disturbed by the earthquake, were probably also restored⁵⁴.

In the 12th century, the mosaic complex adorning the west wall of the Basilica was covered by particularly intensive conservation works. The process of conservation and restoration affected, to a varying degree, actually all the registers of the decoration. The head of Mary from the Crucifixion scene comes from this period⁵⁵. The next register with the *Anastasis* scene contains mostly elements of the original decorations from the 11th century (heads of Christ, Solomon, David, Eve and Adam, a beard and the lower part of the face of John the Baptist, a group of young men in the sarcophagus on the left, Adam's body from the arms down, his hand and the hand of Christ, the body of Christ from the waist down, the door of the Abyss and the figure trampled by Christ). A similar situation takes place with the representation below showing the scene of Judgment (among others the heads of the first two Apostles from the left; fourth and seventh from the right in relation to the *Deesis* scene, heads of the eighth, ninth and eleventh Apostle)⁵⁶. In this register, some of the heads of the Apostles (sixth and ninth from the left)⁵⁷ and the body of the seventh Apostle (Paul) date back to the 12th century. The rest of the representation is largely the result of preser-

⁵³ The Ascension scene, once situated in the central part of the chancel arch, was destroyed in the 19th century and fragments of its decorations can be found in the Regional Museum on Torcello Island (Polacco 1986: 12).

⁵⁴ Cf. Polacco 1984: 106.

⁵⁵ The rest of the Crucifixion scene underwent thorough conservation works in the 19th c.. Renato Polacco defines it with these words: "il timpano della Crocefissione [è stato] tutto rifatto nel secolo XIX" (Polacco 1984: 110; Cf. Polacco 1984: 133). Irina Andreescu states that the highest register of the representation had to be rebuilt due to the roof level change that occurred during this period. The researcher writes: "(...) the Salviati team remade the mosaics entirely, so that the figures in the Crucifixion scene (...), especially that of Christ, are totally new and out of character. The gold ground, covering the largest surface of the register, has been applied in patches, which are not homogeneous in the quality of the gold or in the cut of the tesserae. It looks as if some of the glasses had come from other places" (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 98). In her earlier article, Andreescu gives a description of the state of preservation of the representation from the end of the 19th c., delivered by Cavalcaselle and Crowe: "Il Cavalcaselle dice (...): 'La prima volta che lo visitammo non rimanevano della parte superiore del mosaico se non le gambe del Salvatore crocifisso e la parte inferiore delle due figure ai lati, cioè la Vergine e l'Evangelista Giovanni. Nel restauro questa parte venne demolita (...) e venne rifatto a nuovo in un posto poco più alto di quello in cui era prima' (...)" (Andreescu 1972: 188, note 17). This description shows that although at the time of its creation the Crucifixion scene was only fragmentarily preserved and then it was completely restored, it is clear from the existing fragments that it depicted the same iconographic motif. This allows the author of this monograph to assume that the Crucifixion scene was an integral part of the composition of the entire mosaic of the west wall since the creation of the decoration.

⁵⁶ Cf. Polacco 1984: 110.

⁵⁷ The heads of the Apostles from this representation were subjected to repeated conservation, among others during preservation works done by Giovanni Moro in the 19th c. (heads of the sixth and twelfth Apostle), as well as works performed by the Salviati company at the end of the 19th c. (head of the fifth Apostle) – see Polacco 1984: 110. Cf. Andreescu-Treadgold 2017.

vation works from the late 19th century. The next zone below, with the scene of the Throne being prepared for the coming of Christ, is largely the original decoration from the 11th century. An exception is the scene of the Resurrection of the dead from the seas on the right and the angels standing next to it and blowing trumpets. Part of this scene is original, while the remaining fragments come from the 12th century⁵⁸. Both registers below have survived almost entirely in their original state from the 11th century, with the exception of the centrally placed representation of the weighing of souls (*Psychostasis*) and the representation of Orant Mary underneath in the tympanum above the entrance to the Basilica, which underwent reconstruction and conservation works in the 12th century⁵⁹.

The technique used during this period for the conservation and reconstruction of fragments of mosaic decorations damaged by the earthquake, despite the differences in the materials used, reveals the artistry and willingness to adapt the style of the reconstruction to the original state of the mosaic. Conservation and restoration works proceeded with great care and attention to detail⁶⁰.

Further maintenance works which concerned the decoration of the west wall of the Basilica were made in the 15th century. However, due to the lack of preserved archival sources, there is no detailed information about them⁶¹.

⁵⁸ This is where the borderline between the mosaic fragments dated to the mid-11th century and those dated to the mid-12th c. runs as described by Irina Andreescu – see Andreescu 1976; Polacco 1984: 110, 113.

⁵⁹ Polacco 1984: 113. Irina Andreescu combines conservation work done in the late 12th c. with construction work around the central entrance door to the Basilica: “The height of the area ascribed to the twelfth century restoration coincides with that of the external wall associated with the main door’s alteration. The door and the wall above it must therefore have been remade before the late twelfth century mosaics” (Andreescu-Treadgold 1989: 48). In the same publication, the researcher hypothesizes about the likely existence in the last register of the original decoration from the 11th c. of an additional group of the Blessed standing at the gate of heaven. According to Andreescu, such a solution is supported by too much concentration of the characters on both sides of the door outside the composition in representations of paradise and hell, and “inviting” gestures of St. Peter and Angel standing at the gates of heaven (cf. Andreescu-Treadgold 1989: 50ff). However, the author does not mention that the reconstruction of the area around the entrance to the Basilica in the 12th c. could result in other changes in the composition of the mosaic (no change in the representation of Orant Mary in the tympanum above the door or in the representation of hell in mentioned). In her later study, the author writes: “in most cases the repairs seem to have replicated the original iconography without significant changes” (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 87).

⁶⁰ Cf. Polacco 1984: 113. Using the example of the *tesserae* from the main apse, Renato Polacco emphasizes that the cubes used in this stage of preservation differ in tone from the original 11th –c. ones. They are also less luminous because of the more sandy mixture used to prepare the glass material. They are larger and the colors are more intense compared to older *tesserae* appearing in more delicate colors (Polacco 1984: 107-109).

Marina Del Negro Karem believes that a Venetian workshop was responsible for the reconstruction of the mosaic decoration of the west wall after the earthquake in the early 12th c. – cf. Del Negro Karem [1991]: e.g. 73.

⁶¹ Polacco 1984: 113. Cf. Vecchi 1977a.

The next stage of conservation works, significantly affecting the condition of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica, took place in the 18th century. In the relevant literature the procedures of that time are often evaluated negatively and described as incompetent, just like the architectural works carried out at the same time in the church⁶². The exterior renovation of the building was then carried out by Alvise de'Prete, as documented by the contract of 12th October 1731, and was completed by Nicolò Allegri. Then a contract was signed for the renovation of the mosaic decoration with Giovan Francesco Bonazza. The choice of this sculptor aroused much controversy and was probably caused by his kinship with the famous Roman artist Leopoldo Dal Pozzo, who, at the same time, was delegated to renovate mosaics from the Basilica of San Marco in Venice⁶³. Bonazza's work on Torcello continued from 1753 to 1755. In the contract made with him, one can find a description of the poor condition of the mosaic decoration from the period before the start of work. This state was then confirmed by Alvise Constantini, an expert sent to the island and his two co-workers from the Basilica of San Marco: "alcuni... caduti, altri... pregiudicati e... per la maggiore parte... staccati dal muro onde minacciano ruina"⁶⁴. The falling fragments of mosaic decoration were chipped, measured, and then the process of filling the gaps created in this way began. For two years, Bonazza tried to preserve the mosaics. His works included decorations from the main apse (primarily the bust of St. Heliodorus and the representation of the Apostles) as well as securing the damaged wall of the chancel arch. However, actions were suspended due to unsatisfactory results⁶⁵. The mosaic maker Pietro Monaco was asked to complete the conservation. The contract with him specified the maintenance methods to be used and the places that required repair. This was necessary in the apse, on the chancel arch, in the southern chapel and on the west wall⁶⁶. Monaco worked in the Basilica between 1756 and 1759. As a result, a large part of the *tesserae* was supplemented, the others were strengthened and cleaned⁶⁷.

The interference of a second contractor immediately after the work carried out by Bonazza was the reason for the continuity of conservationist concepts. However, an absence of detailed records of the activities carried out and the descriptions of the methods used during the conservation work in this period was the reason for later discussions on the dating and history of maintenance of particular fragments of the mosaic

⁶² Reanto Polacco defines it as follows: "Non altrettanto diligente, ma maldestro e arbitrario si rivela l'intervento reintegrativo avvenuto nel corso del secolo XVIII" (Polacco 1984: 114).

⁶³ Cf. Polacco 1984: 114 and note 9.

⁶⁴ After: Polacco 1984: 114.

⁶⁵ Polacco 1984: 114.

⁶⁶ The contract emphasized the need to introduce changes after Bonazza's works on the representation of St. Heliodorus and the Apostles in order to restore their former style. According to the source, the conservation carried out by Bonazza was not only of preservative character (Polacco 1984: 114). Further conservation works on the southern chapel were carried out between the 18th and 20th c. (Polacco 1986: 12).

⁶⁷ Polacco 1984: 115.

in the Basilica on Torcello. Only a relatively recent analysis of archival documents and technological research significantly completed the history of conservation carried out in the Basilica over the centuries. A detailed analysis of the scope of works carried out in the 18th century was mainly due to the research of Irina Andreescu. She discovered that *tesserae* made of glass paste in the color of cyclamen predominate in materials from conservation from that time, while in earlier periods, especially in the Middle Ages, marble *tesserae* with a smooth surface and delicate shades, visible especially on the cubes constituting the skin of the face, arms, hands and feet were used. The colors of the 18th-century *tesserae* making up the clothes of the figures are extremely vivid and have a completely different hue than the ones used previously. The difference was also in the diverse cutting of the cubes and in the constitution of the base to which they were attached. It consisted of a mixture of putty and linseed oil⁶⁸. The conservation carried out on Torcello in the 18th century is often referred to today as acceptable and executed with care that was achievable at that time, although it is also emphasized that this assessment is possible only after direct contact with the work of art⁶⁹.

However, the preservation works carried out on Torcello in the middle of the 19th century are viewed totally differently. They concerned mostly the decoration of the mosaic on the western wall (primarily the Crucifixion scene, a large part of the *Anastasis* scene, together with the Archangels Michael and Gabriel flanking it, the upper part of the Apostles' representation on the left in the scene of Judgement and the representations of all Apostles on the right)⁷⁰. These works caused significant damage and thus provoked a scandal in conservation circles, which to a large extent has continued to date⁷¹. The ill fame of 19th-century maintenance has been revived thanks to research conducted on the occasion of works on the re-consolidation of the mosaic complex carried out in the 1970s and 1980s. Recent discussions about the history of mosaic conservation that accompanied the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Basilica's reconstruction by the Orseolo family also contributed to this discussion.

The aforementioned damage concerned mainly the mosaic decoration of the west wall of the Basilica. It was caused by actions carried out by Giovanni Moro in 1852-1856, followed by changes in the mosaic structure introduced during the works of the company Salviati & C. in 1872-1873, whose primary task was to repair the damage caused by Moro⁷². The exact extent of these works was examined on the basis of archival documents by Irina Andreescu⁷³. Her findings help to identify the parts of the mosaic re-

⁶⁸ Cf. Andreescu 1976: 263; Polacco 1984: 115.

⁶⁹ Polacco 1984: 115. More on preservation works in 1753-1755 and 1756-1758/59 – see Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 93-95.

⁷⁰ Cf. Andreescu 1976: 251ff; Rizzardi 2009: 67.

⁷¹ Exemplary studies devoted to discussions on the quality and boundaries of conservation works triggered by the work of Giovanni Moro – see Andreescu-Treadgold 1998: 279, note 4.

⁷² Polacco 1984: 115.

⁷³ Andreescu 1976: 266ff; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 96ff.

moved or rebuilt by Giovanni Moro and then restored more or less correctly during the works carried out by the company Salviati & C.

Giovanni Moro began his works on the island in 1852, when he was commissioned to preserve the fragments of the mosaic from the west wall⁷⁴. During his activities, he showed other damage in the registers with the *Anastasis* scene and the representation of the Last Judgement below, as well as in some fragments of the decoration of the main apse. The works on the western wall were to consist, according to the documentation, of *tesserae* consolidation with a wire, as well as of improving the representation of the Archangel on the right in the *Anastasis* scene. It underwent extensive conservation work in the years 1853-1854⁷⁵.

During his works, Giovanni Moro forged undamaged parts of the original mosaic and replaced them with copies he had made. This mainly concerned the heads of the figures from the west wall of the Basilica⁷⁶. Difficulties for researchers were caused by the fact that the copies made by Moro quite faithfully reflected the style of the original mosaics. As a result of testimonies of two helpers Bartolomeo Osvaldini and Antonio Gazzetta, Moro was arrested and fragments of the forged mosaics were found in his house (two Apostles' heads)⁷⁷.

It was only during the 1896 conservation works that the twelve recovered and restored heads from the mosaic of the western wall were placed again in the decoration (the head of Mary from the scene of the Crucifixion; the head of Christ, Adam, Eve, Solomon, David, John the Baptist from the *Anastasis* scene, below, the heads of the first Apostle from the left, the second Apostle, head of an angel between the third and fourth Apostle, another head placed between the first and second Apostle on the right, another head of an angel placed between the second and third Apostle from the right)⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ Irina Andreescu sees the commencement of works in 1848 (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 96). According to Ettore Merkel, the works were to concern the figure of the Archangel next to the *Anastasis* scene and the heads of the Apostles below him – cf. Merkel 1978: 41.

⁷⁵ Polacco 1984: 116.

⁷⁶ Thereby, unambiguous identification of particular Apostles on the western wall is difficult, but it is not impossible, considering that the four Evangelists and St. Paul on the left side of Christ hold the books; St. Paul (the seventh Apostle from the left), St. John (tenth) and St. Luke (fourth) can be easily recognized by iconographic comparisons. Renato Polacco states that the head of the fifth Apostle, remade during the works carried out by the Salviati company, by exclusion must be that one of Matthew and that the head that is connected to the body of St. Peter (sixth), could be the head of the eighth Apostle and be the one of Mark, while the head of the eighth Apostle now on the body of the sixth, due to the features of physiognomy, cannot be other than St. Peter's. Because of the youthful facial features, the head of the first Apostle may be one of Thomas or Philip, the eleventh of Simon, and the ninth of Andrew – cf. Polacco 1984: 118.

⁷⁷ On fragments of the mosaic decoration discovered in Moro's house – see e.g. Andreescu-Treadgold 2017.

⁷⁸ Andreescu 1976: 269; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 96-99. Irina Andreescu devoted several of her publications to the subject of mosaic fragments removed during the 19th-century works of Moro, and probably originating from the mosaic decoration of the

After a scandal caused by Moro, the company Salviati & C. was involved in the works to complete this maintenance phase⁷⁹. The course of these works is not entirely clear due to the lack of detailed descriptions in the documentation⁸⁰. They probably concerned the register with the *Anastasis* scene on the west wall of the church (excluding the heads replaced by Moro), and above all the groups of patriarchs between John the Baptist and the Archangel, as well as, perhaps, the bodies of the four Apostles on the right from the shoulders down (excluding St. Paul)⁸¹. In 1856, the Salviati company also significantly rebuilt the Crucifixion scene as well as the scenes on the chancel arch⁸². The quality and nature of the works carried out at that time is currently seen as very low⁸³.

In the 20th century, advanced knowledge of conservation methods resulted in a change in the rules used during maintenance works. From that moment, all interventions that concerned mosaic decorations from the Basilica on Torcello excluded any alteration or removal of mosaic fragments, even on the basis of drawings and designs available in the archives. The works that were carried out in 1919-1923 consisted in supplementing the missing or damaged *tesserae* and fixing the cubes that were

western wall on Torcello. She recognized, among others, the heads of angels in the Torcello Museum as those removed from the mosaic decoration at that time. There is also a head preserved in the Museum, which was originally in the Judgement scene behind the head of John the Baptist. Other angels' heads from the middle register of the representation from the west wall are found, in the researcher's opinion, in the Musée di Cluny in Paris and in the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester (Andreescu 1972: 198ff, Figs. 28-30). More on swapping and finding heads from the mosaic decoration of the west wall – see Bettini 1954; Marzik 1993; Andreescu-Treadgold 1998; Andreescu-Treadgold 1999; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 98ff; Trovabene 2007; Andreescu-Treadgold 2017. Andreescu considers another head of the Apostle from Torcello to be lost to this day (Andreescu-Treadgold 1998: 294). On the fragments of the mosaic decoration preserved in the Regional Museum on Torcello – see Museo Di Torcello. Sezione Medievale e Moderna 1978: 22-29.

As a result of the works carried out in this period, many additional samples were made, including those from the nave above the arcades. In this way, it was discovered that the mosaic of the Last Judgement was to overlap the walls of the nave by 6cm – see Vecchi 1975. Cf. Merkel 1978: 42; Polacco 1984: cap. 5, note 15. Cf. Chap. III, p. 63f - note 17.

⁷⁹ More about this phase of conservation works – see Andreescu 1976: 271-273; Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 97-99.

⁸⁰ Polacco 1984: 118.

⁸¹ They differ from the bodies (from the torso up) of the first three Apostles from the left and from the right shoulder of the fourth Apostle, which were supposedly the result of the works of Moro (Polacco 1984: 118). Marina Del Negro Karem writes that as a result of works carried out by Salviati company, some fragments of the mosaic decoration were incorrectly reconstructed, e.g. the addition of a dragon under the Archangel's feet on the right side of the *Anastasis* scene (Del Negro Karem [1991]: 54).

⁸² Polacco 1984: 119.

⁸³ Cf. Polacco 1984: 118. Irina Andreescu claims that during the works carried out by Salviati company, subsequent copies of the heads of some characters from the decoration of the western wall were made and then they replaced the original mosaics – cf. Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 99.

falling out with copper nails⁸⁴. The detailed conservation documentation preserved shows that the activities concerned primarily the decoration of the apse and the southern chapel⁸⁵. The works aimed above all to save the representation of the Apostles from the main apse and the representation of the holy bishops from the southern chapel. Therefore, the *strappo* method was used. The mortar to which the transferred *tesserae* were attached was removed and replaced. The fragments subject to conservation are distinguishable today because the spaces between the *tesserae* were filled with white putty. This takes brightness from the glass pastes and gives the effect of a smooth and opaque surface⁸⁶. Despite the generally conservative nature of the works, discussions have continued on the appropriateness of the methods used as well as on the conservation choices made in the preservation of the southern chapel and the main apse, where the golden background *tesserae* were exchanged at that time.

In the second half of the 20th century, in 1978, well-prepared large-scale conservation works began. Their goal was to strengthen the mosaic structure and to protect it against external factors⁸⁷. A group of specialists was commissioned to conduct a series of mosaic decoration analyses, which helped to determine their actual preservation state. The study showed a high humidity of the surface of the mosaic decoration, especially on the north and west walls of the Basilica⁸⁸. The status of the mosaics in the southern chapel and main apse⁸⁹ and the west wall of the church was also verified. Using the method of thermovision, Giorgio Accardo and Vasco Fassina examined the moisture of the western wall caused by leaks in the roof and gutters⁹⁰. The subsequent stethoscope examination and another thermovision analysis showed a high degree of *tesserae* splintering off the wall surface. The condition of the mortar was also assessed using the accelerometric method⁹¹. Subsequent analyses carried out inside the Basilica indicated that the damage to the mosaic decoration was primarily an effect of weather conditions. By making the appropriate measurements, the microclimate inside the

⁸⁴ Polacco 1984: 118.

⁸⁵ Irina Andreescu analyzes watercolor paintings from 1899 accompanying the publication of Schultz (Schultz 1927), which illustrated conservation works from the beginning of the 18th century until 1919 and concerned inscriptions from the southern chapel and other fragments of the mosaic decoration (Andreescu 1976: 273-276).

⁸⁶ Later, the preferred methods were *in situ* conservation techniques, which were to attach loose *tesserae* and to fill gaps after those cubes that had fallen out – see Polacco 1984: 119.

⁸⁷ Polacco 1986: 10, 17. For a detailed description of the maintenance works carried out in the 1970s (e.g. ground support, *tesserae* consolidation, thermographic studies, geognostic analyses and observations, chemical and physical analyses) – see Fumo 1987.

⁸⁸ See Arch. Lazzarini 1978; Arch. Fassina 1979.

⁸⁹ Arch. Accardo 1980; Arch. Tersigni 1980. On the research, defect analysis and conservation activities carried out during this period that concerned mosaic decoration in the central apse and on the western wall – see above all Calcagno 1983; Cucco 1983.

⁹⁰ Arch. Accardo and Fassina 1981.

⁹¹ Arch. Fassina, Bonarrigo and Ongaro 1981. Cf. Arch. Cassatella 1981/1982. Arch. Finali 1981/1982.

church and the moisture of the mosaics surface were examined⁹². Increased humidity in the Lagoon area and disadvantageous human activity and not always successful previous conservation works made some of the mosaic *tesserae* splinter off the surface of the walls. They were therefore consolidated by filling in the empty spaces between them and the ground⁹³. Irina Andreescu-Treadgold, Julian Henderson and Martin Roe also described the process of removing about 800 *tesserae* from the west wall, which was carried out in 1979-1980 for the purpose of documenting all of them. In 2001, two hundred of these *tesserae* were selected for the study, which made it possible to thoroughly examine the technology used by the makers of the mosaics in the Basilica and the chemical constitution and microstructure of the cubes used⁹⁴.

In the years 1993–1994, only partially preserved paintings of saints or bishops from the main apse and fragments of paintings preserved on the walls of the so-called fourth nave were subject to conservation. In 1996, a new lighting design for the interior of the Basilica, including that of the mosaic decoration, was created by Cesare Feiffer⁹⁵.

In 2002, Grazia Fumo re-analyzed and re-read the condition of preservation of the mosaic decoration from the west wall. Her analyses on the splinters and decrement of some of the *tesserae* led to the strengthening of the sixth register of the mosaic⁹⁶. These activities and accompanying conservation were continued by the same researcher also after 2008⁹⁷. At that time, Ettore Merkel also made an analysis of the preservation status of the mosaics. According to this researcher, the most adverse impact on the condition of these mosaics was due to the high humidity of Torcello's weather conditions⁹⁸. In 2008, conservation works were carried out on the mosaic decorations from the main apse, the southern chapel and the western wall⁹⁹. The last conservation of the mosaic decoration on the west wall of the Basilica was carried out in late 2018 and early 2019 (October 2018-February 2019). Extensive intervention also concerned the conservation of the church façade from the outside. At the same time, preservation works started to dry and stabilize the structure of the western wall from

⁹² Arch. Fassina and Ongaro 1982. On the research, defect analysis and conservation activities carried out during this period that concerned mosaic decoration in the central apse and on the western wall – see above all Calcagno 1983; Cucco 1983.

⁹³ Fumo and Piana 1983: 354. For details about preservation actions taken then – see Fumo and Piana 1983: 357-359 (including the model illustrating the different stage of *tesserae* detachment from the plaster surface – cf. Fumo and Piana 1983: Fig. 2). On the cause of the damages – see also Accardo, Bottoni, Fabretti and Santin 1987: 124.

⁹⁴ More on this subject – see Andreescu-Treadgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b.

⁹⁵ Arch. Feiffer 1996.

⁹⁶ Arch. Fumo 2008a; Arch. Fumo 2008b.

⁹⁷ Arch. Fumo 2008a.

⁹⁸ Arch. Merkel 2008.

⁹⁹ An article by Irina Andreescu-Treadgold published in 2013 (Andreescu-Treadgold 2013) summarizes the works carried out over the past 35 years on the conservation of the mosaic decoration of the Basilica.

the inside. Conservation actions were necessary due to the constant infiltration of water that damaged both the facade structure and the mosaic decoration behind it¹⁰⁰.

For further considerations in this monograph, it is extremely important that, despite numerous restorations which influenced all mosaic decorations of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello, especially the decoration of the western wall, the iconographic program of the preserved mosaics has not changed significantly¹⁰¹. Clementina Rizzardi observes that evident in the decoration of the Basilica is “l’unitarietà del programma iconografico, indubbiamente suggerito dalla compenetrazione di influenze bizantine e di tradizioni locali”¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ On this conservation work – see Catalano 2019 and Redazione inside.com (ed.) 2019. Unfortunately, due to the short time since the end of the maintenance, there is no conservation documentation or studies discussing the work carried out in detail yet. However, the articles found by the author show that the progressive destruction of the mosaic was clearly visible. Therefore, efforts were made to indurate the mosaic decoration and the whole structure supporting it. Special attention of the specialist was required to the lower registers of the mosaic: the fifth one with a depiction of the Blessed in paradise and the Damned in hell, the fourth, significantly damaged in the upper part, the third with the representation of Christ in the mandorla and the faces of the Apostles, and the second register with the representation of *Anastasis*. The *tesserae* from the representation of Orant Mary above the entrance to the Basilica were also subject to slow deterioration. The first step during the maintenance was to harden the inner layers connecting the mosaic with the wall, in particular the use of a mixture of lime, marble dust and straw, which broke away from the wall and the mortar to which the *tesserae* were attached. Then the proper conservation works began: by creating micro-holes between the *tesserae*, a solution of water and alcohol was injected to clean the layers behind the mosaic, thereby removing residual impurities. Subsequently, liquid acrylic microemulsions were applied to the micro-holes, and the denser acrylic resin filled the parts which showed the biggest lack. In some areas, the specialists decided to use also lime and marble dust to create a stronger binder connecting the inner layers of the mosaic that had previously separated. Finally, the mosaic was cleaned with water and neutral soap to remove dust and visible traces of time. During these works, about 750 plastic baseplates, located above the *tesserae*, were also replaced in order to protect the structure from possible detachment. The authors of the articles ensure that conservation works in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta are part of a larger project that also includes interventions in the neighboring buildings, the baptistery and the Church of Santa Fosca, which will be carried out in the forthcoming years – cf. Catalano 2019; Redazione inside.com (ed.) 2019.

¹⁰¹ An exception here may be the fact that the scene of Ascension, once located in the center of the chancel arch, has not survived – cf. Chap. II, p. 56 - note 73 and Chap. III, p. 70 - note 53. It is also important that the Crucifixion scene existed in the composition of the western wall even before the conservation of the late 19th and early 20th c. as confirmed in the literature of the subject. It helps to consider the whole mosaic decoration as a uniform and unique iconographic program – cf. Chap. III, p. 70 - note 55.

¹⁰² Rizzardi 2009: 67.

The Scene of the Last Judgement in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello

IV.1. General description

The western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello Island features a mosaic complex with an elaborate and extremely coherent iconographic program (Fig. 29). This decoration fills the wall that is about 18m high and 9.5 m wide and has the shape of a vertical rectangle topped with a triangle¹. At the bottom of the wall, at a height of 3.35 m from the base, there is a plinth paneled with marble plates. In the central part of the plinth there is a rectangular door opening measuring 4.70 m in height and 2.75 m in width, topped with a semicircular tympanum. A mosaic decoration about 14.65 m high and 9.5 m wide was placed on the wall above the plinth.

The mosaic fills the surface of the wall with a complicated ahistorical composition of various scenes. Despite the fact that its narrative is created by six horizontal registers, the vertical direction clearly dominates the overall composition. This vertical direction was built by emphasizing the central vertical axis coming from the doorway in the bottom, through dogmatic scenes building successively the vertical composition: the representation of the Mother of God in the tympanum above the door, the *Psychostasis* scene, *Etimasia*, Christ in the mandorla, the figure of the Savior in the *Anastasis* scene, and the Crucifixion².

¹ The measurements of the western wall and the mosaic decoration with an accuracy of +/- 1% were made with electronic laser the Ultrasonik Distance Measurer Laser Point CP-3007. The permission to take measurements was given by the Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali and it is available in the Appendix of this monograph – see Appendix. Doc. 4.

² It is important to emphasize the axiality of the composition also by using the door opening, which constitutes a specific starting point of the axis, as it seems, to emphasize that the author of this monograph failed to find any premises that could indicate the existence of a deci-

The composition's axiality is also emphasized by the coulisse on the right and left, which are created by a multitude of figural representations. An important element of the whole decoration are also visibly narrative diagonal axes. The right one runs from the representation of the Mother of God in paradise, through the figure of Adam in the scene of the preparation of the Throne for the coming of Christ, St. John the Baptist in the *Deesis* scene, up to the representation of the Archangel on the left of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene. The left axis begins with the representation of punishments in hell and running through the figure of Eve in the scene of the preparation of the Throne for the coming of Christ, the Mother of God in the *Deesis* scene, up to the representation of the Archangel on the right side of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene. The mosaic decoration also stresses the clear enclosure of the composition, the only deviations from which are small, 30cm wide fragments of the lower register overlapping the right and left sides of the nave walls³.

IV.2. Detailed description

The entire composition of the mosaic complex from the western wall is divided into six horizontal registers of different width⁴. The highest two zones, on which the biggest figures were represented, are the widest. In the lower registers, the size of the figures decreases proportionally. The background of the whole mosaic is made of shiny gold *tesserae*. The individual registers of the composition are separated from one another by single, double or triple rows of multi-colored *tesserae*⁵.

sive change in the composition of the mosaic around the central entrance, which could disrupt its original message. It is true that Irina Andreescu mentions the construction works around the entrance door to the Basilica, which took place in the late 12th century (Andreescu-Treadgold 1989: 48), hypothesizing the existence before the reconstruction of the additional group of the Blessed standing in front of the gate of Heaven. The researcher does not mention, however, that the reconstruction of the area around the entrance to the Basilica in the 12th c. could result in any other changes in the composition of the mosaic (e.g. change in the shape of the door or decoration of the tympanum). Cf. Chap. III, p. 71 - note 59. For more on the importance of the vertical axis for the interpretation of the whole mosaic decoration – see Chap. IV.5.

³ More on this subject and discussion on the justification of this solution – see Chap. III, p. 63f - note 17.

⁴ In the literature of the subject researchers most often call them “registers” (e.g. Polacco 1984: 49) or “zones” (e.g. Lorenzetti 1956: 810).

⁵ The register with the Crucifixion scene is separated from the *Anastasis* scene by two rows of red *tesserae* lying about 50cm apart. The *Anastasis* scene is separated from the *Deesis* representation by a narrow row of red and white *tesserae* arranged in small vertical stripes. The *Deesis* scene is separated from the lower zone with the representation of *Etimasia* and the Resurrection of the dead by a distinct triple line of large black and green *tesserae*. The *Etimasia* scene from *Psychostasis* is separated by a thick row of gray *tesserae*. The last two registers are delimited only on the sides of the composition with a thin line of white *tesserae*. It seems that this way of dividing the space of the composition has its symbolic significance, too. The use of a double or triple division allows for a clear separation of the terrestrial and the heavenly space, while

IV.2.1. Crucifixion

In the highest register, constituting the triangular top of the wall, there is the scene of the Crucifixion. Christ hanging on the wooden cross with widely outstretched arms (Fig. 30) is the central figure of the representation. Christ's massive body does not hang chaotically, but leans on the small transverse support for the legs. The entire body and the head of the Savior are based on the vertical beam of the cross, while his arms, with disproportionately outstretched hands, cling to the horizontal beam. Christ's skin is light beige, almost white, which contrasts with the golden background of the representation. On the body there are outlined tense muscles of the arms, the chest and the hips. The lower part of the body of Christ down to the knees is covered by richly draped white-blue perizoma. Clearly sketched were also the rib bones. Large wounds of a regular round shape are visible on the inside of the hands, on the feet resting on the support and on His right side. Streams of blood gush forth; three from the wounds on the hands and four from the wounds on feet. An abundant stream of blood and water oozes from the wound on the side. Christ's dark-brown hair and beard surround His elongated face, inclined slightly rightwards. Christ raises His eyes towards heaven. Around his head there is a golden *nimbus*. The vertical beam of the cross is topped with a rectangular dark-brown *titulus* with golden letters: HC NAZARENO / REX IVDEORV⁶. The Cross was placed on a small hill in which open depths there is a little human skull visible. Its white color contrasts with the blackness of the depths of the earth. The Blessed Virgin Mary on the right side of Christ is dressed in a long blue tunic and dark purple cloak with *maphorion* to the knees, with a golden trimming and golden lacy fringes. There is a *nimbus* above Mary's head. Only the face, feet and hands are visible from under the clothing. The left hand rests on Mary's chest, while the right hand indicates Jesus hanging on the cross. On the fourth finger of her right hand there is a ring. Mary's youthful face clearly shows sadness, underlined by the lowered corners of her mouth, eyes and brows. On the left side of Christ there is St. John the Evangelist. He is represented as a young man without a beard and with short white hair. He is dressed in a blue tunic with two *clavi*, a white cloak and sandals. The weight of his body is based on his right foot, wherethrough the figure slightly leans towards Christ. Clearly visible is his open left hand. With his right hand he supports his face. On the face there are clearly visible lowered corners of the mouth, eyes and brows. The bleakness of his face stands out against the strongly underlined blushes of his cheeks. Over his head there is the *nimbus*.

the single *tesserae* line used for the last two registers at the bottom of the mosaic may indicate the desire to show only conventionally separated scenes depicting the same spaces: on the one hand, there is paradise, on the other there is hell. Thus, the *tesserae* lines separating the individual registers of the composition become here a way of conducting narration of the work and creating the integrity of time and space.

⁶ I.e. IESVS NAZARENVS / REX IVDÆORVM (*Jesus of Nazareth / King of the Jews*).

IV.2.2. *Anastasis*

In the center of the following register of the composition there is to be found a dominant, large figure of Christ dressed in a golden tunic with navy blue *clavi*, a night-blue cloak and sandals (Fig. 31). The weight of his body rests on his left foot, while the advanced right foot suggests energetic movement. The Savior holds in the right hand a wooden cross of a form widely spread in Byzantium with two horizontal beams. The traverse beam below suggests a foot-support (*suppedaneum*), covered partly by the navy-blue cloak of Christ wrapped around his arm⁷. Christ grabs Adam with his left hand and strongly draws to himself (Fig. 31a).

The turn of the body of Christ was underlined by the draping of his clothes. Large, wide-open eyes are clearly visible in his face, while over the head there is a *nimbus*. It has a form of a cross adorned with precious stones and pearls, in which it refers to early Christian representations of the cross. On the right side of Christ's head, next to the *nimbus*, on the golden background, there is a Greek inscription Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ⁸. Christ stands on two light-brown wings of the door under which there are black depths of the earth (Fig. 31b). In this darkness there are various instruments of Passion of Christ and fragments of the doors contrasting with the black background: among others three keys, five nails, two pairs of pincers and a lock. Underfoot Christ, on the door of Abyss, there is a small figure of an old man lying supine⁹. His knees are bent and the legs splayed. He has long grey hair and a grey beard. His face was shown sideways on. Clearly show on her large, widely open eyes. He is dressed in a white cloth resting on hips. His skin has a light-blue shade and the musculature of his entire body is clearly visible. His left hand is put on his belly and he grabs Christ's tunic with the right hand.

The depths of the interior of the earth were clearly separated from the rest of the representation with three layers of *tesserae* of a different color, passing from the shades of bronze, through white to the thinnest layer of black cubes. On both sides of Christ there are figures rising from simple, stony, rectangular sarcophagi resembling boxes.

The two figures nearest to Jesus are Adam on his right side and St. John the Baptist on his left side. The latter is represented as a man with long hair and a beard. He wears a light-beige tunic with two dark *clavi*, a dark-brown cloak made of animal leather, lined with a bright fur and buttoned up to the neck with a red *fibula*. He wears sandals. The weight of the body of John the Baptist rests on his right leg, wherethrough

⁷ Early Christian writers mention a bridge (in Latin *sedile*, in Greek πῆγμα, -ατος) supporting the body of the crucified (see e.g. Justin, *Dial.* 91,12; Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adv. haer.* 2,24,4; Tertullian, *Marc.* 3,18).

⁸ I.e. Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ (ἡ ἀνάστασις, -εως) (resurrection, elevation, rising). Cf. Lorenzetti 1939: 51.

⁹ This figure is interpreted by researchers in different ways. Authors of earlier studies describe it as a Demon (Conton 1927: 11). Later researchers see in this character Lucifer (Niero [s.d]: 38; Polacco 1984: 49; in the same study Polacco also describes this figure as the Devil (cf. Del Negro Karem 1991: 30), Hades (Skrzyniarz 2002: 167ff) or the devil / Satan (Musolino 1964: 17; Polacco 1984: 110).

he seems to pace into the direction of Jesus. Both his hands are raised; the right hand reaches higher and indicates the Lord. Adam, shown on the right side of Christ, is represented as an elderly male with long white hair and a beard, wearing a white tunic with red *clavi*, a white cloak and sandals. Raising his left arm, he makes a significant step into the direction of Jesus. Both his head and his gaze are directed towards the Savior.

Below, on the right side of John the Baptist there is a small marble open sarcophagus, separated from the rest of the composition by two layers of soil, in the same way as was separated the Abyss on which Christ paces (Fig. 31c). Inside the sarcophagus there are three figures of standing young men in bright long-sleeved tunics; all raise their hands towards the Lord¹⁰.

A similar representation is to be found on the other side of the Savior (Fig. 31d). There, above Christ, are located two other open sarcophagi. In one of them, with the monogram IX blazoned on its front¹¹, there are two figures of kings turning to one another. One of the kings is younger, the second one is older, shown with a white beard and moustache. They are dressed in white tunics and cloaks. One of them has a red cloak, while the second one wears a navy-blue cloak. They also have *fibulae*, bracelets and crowns richly adorned with precious stones and pearls. Over their heads there are *nimbi* - one light green, the other blue. Both of them hold down with right hands large books, gilt and richly adorned with gems and pearls¹². The older king indicates heaven with a finger of the right hand, raising his left hand towards the sky¹³. The right hand of the younger king rests on his chest.

Close to the figures of kings, a little bit lower, in the second open grave, right behind the aforementioned figure of Adam held tight by Christ, there is also Eve wearing a long red cloak and a *maphorion* (Fig. 31a); under it there is a blue veil. Eve raises her left arm covered with a cloak towards Christ, observing him with a pleading look.

¹⁰ Renato Polacco interprets these characters as children waiting to be released from the Abyss (Polacco 1984: 49). Luigi Conton recalls the association of Cardinal La Fontaine with three young men in a fiery furnace, while adding his own association with young men waiting for Charon on the banks of Styx (Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 427). The researcher implies, however, that ultimately none of these is probably accurate (cf. Conton 1927: 12).

¹¹ Christogram I(ΗΣΟΥΣ) Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΣ) - Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (*Jesus Christ*). On the monograms of the name of Christ – see e.g. Kemp 1971a.

¹² They resemble a bit golden breastplates (pectorals), richly decorated with precious stones, but they do not correspond to the biblical description of this important element of the Old Testament priest's clothing – cf. Exo 28,15-30.

¹³ Giulio Lorenzetti sees in the figures here represented the kings David (with a beard) and Solomon (without a beard) (Lorenzetti 1939: 51). They are similarly identified by Luigi Conton (Conton 1927: 11) and Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 49). Anselmo Costadoni, because of the distinctive *nimbi* (full, one green, the other blue), considers these figures to represent the Emperor and the Empress (Costadoni 1751; cf. Conton 1927: 11ff). However, Cesare Levi identifies the representation of the imperial couple as Emperor Heraclius and his wife Martina (Levi 1906: 13). Conton does not agree with this interpretation (cf. Conton 1927: 12).

On left side of the Savior, above the figure of John the Baptist, there is a sarcophagus with a group of characters (Fig. 31c). Clearly visible are the faces of five of them. These are men and women of different age, wearing tunics and cloaks. The women's heads are covered with white veils. The elderly male visible on the right side, with a white long beard and moustache, has a dark-brown headgear. One of the figures raises both hands, while another one raises only one hand.

The entire *Anastasis* scene is flanked on either side by two enormous figures of Archangels. On the right side of Christ there is the figure of Michael with an inscription situated close to his *nimbus* OAR MI¹⁴, while on the left side there is probably Gabriel with large red-navy blue-white wings (Fig. 31e-f). Both have blue tunics, the *loros* adorned with precious stones and pearls and the red footwear on their feet decorated with pearls at the tips. Both hold the *labarum* (Michael in his right hand, and Gabriel in his left hand¹⁵) and orbs¹⁶. Stuck in their hair are blue-and-white white headbands with a large ruby. The long white *retinaculums* of the headbands form a characteristic shape imitating that of ears (*pendition*). Over their heads there are also *nimbi*. Archangel Michael stands on a podium adorned with pearls and precious stones, the cover of which is lined by a navy-blue pillow. Gabriel tramples a long snake with yellow and green scales.

IV.2.3. *Deesis*

The third register from the top depicts a developed, full scene of *Deesis* (Fig. 32). In the center of this scene there is Christ sitting *en face* in a white, bright oval mandorla with a blue frame (Fig. 32a). He is dressed in a golden tunic and a scintillant cloak with clearly outlined chiaroscuro in the reflections of robes. He is wearing sandals. Over his head there is a cross *nimbus* whose beams are adorned with five white pearls. Christ spreads out his hands showing the wounds. Similar wounds are on his feet. On the right side of Christ there are the letters IC, while on the left the letters HC¹⁷. Above the oval mandorla there are figures of young men wearing long white tunics with red *clavi* and cloaks. Over their heads they have *nimbi*. White headbands are stuck in their hair¹⁸.

¹⁴ That is O APXΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ - ó ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ (*Archangel Michael*).

¹⁵ On Gabriel's *labarum* there are Greek letters ΑΓΙΟΣ, that is ἅγιος (*saint*) visible on the blue background.

¹⁶ On the *loros* – see among others Wessel, Piltz and Nicolescu 1978, on the *labarum* – see e.g. Longo 1994.

¹⁷ That is ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (*Jesus Christ*). The monogram of Christ also appears in the representation of Pantocrator in the right apse in the eastern part of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Cf. Chap. II, p. 58. On the monograms of the name of Christ – see e.g. Kemp 1971a.

¹⁸ These characters appear in the background of the entire representation. Luigi Conton and Renato Polacco interpret them as angels (Conton 1927: 12; Polacco 1984: 49). Giulio Lorenzetti is talking about saints in this case (Lorenzetti 1956: 810).

Lava as “a river of fire” oozes from the oval mandorla of Christ downwards the mosaic. On both sides there are representations of two fiery wheels and two Cherubs with four varicolored wings, decorated with representations of eyes. Among these wings there are the symbols of apocalyptic creatures: a winged head of an eagle, the bull and the lion. Clearly visible are the Cherubs bare feet and their hands in which they hold *labarum*. White headbands are stuck in their hair¹⁹.

On the right of the oval mandorla of Christ there is the Blessed Virgin Mary standing turned towards the Savior. She is dressed in a long navy-blue dress and *maphorion* with golden trimming. Over the head of Mary there is a *nimbus*. She raises both her hands towards Christ. Next to her there is the figure of the Archangel who holds in his right hand a *labarum*, raising his left hand towards the six Apostles sitting nearby (Fig. 32b). They are shown as bearded men (only two of them do not have a beard). Two of them keep adorned books on their knees, the rest of them have while *rotuli*. St. Peter on the right-hand side of Mary is located the closest to her. In his left hand he holds a *rotulus* and three keys. Behind him, in the background, there are rows of young men in white tunics with *nimbi* over their heads and bands stuck into their hair.

On the left side of Christ stands St. John the Baptist. He is dressed in a long light-beige tunic, a dark green cloak and sandals. Over his head he has a *nimbus*. He turns himself towards Christ and raises both hands to Him. On his left there is an Archangel dressed in a long blue tunic, a *loros* adorned with precious stones and pearls and richly decorated shoes. He raises his right open hand and turns his head in the direction of the six Apostles sitting on a large bench further on his left (Fig. 32c). They are represented in an analogous way to the figures on the other side of the decoration. These are mature men in long white tunics with broad red *clavi* on both sides and in white cloaks. Three of them hold *rotuli* in their hands and the others hold books adorned with precious gems. Over their heads there are *nimbi*. Behind them there are numerous figures of young men in white tunics with *nimbi* over their heads and white bands stuck into their hair.

IV.2.4. *Etimasia* and the Resurrection of the dead

In the center of the fourth register there is the representation of *Etimasia*. This is the scene of the preparation of the throne and the awaiting of the coming of Christ during the Last Judgement (Fig. 33). In the middle of the scene there is a representation of

¹⁹ Renato Polacco sees in them two of the four wheels from Ezekiel’s vision. He also interprets the Cherubs as two out of the four Cherubs from this vision (cf. Polacco 1984: 49). Researchers mention four symbols of apocalyptic beings (e.g. Niero [s.d.]: 28), yet in fact only three of them are represented on the wings of angels. The fourth being is probably imagined by the Cherub himself.

a golden seat decorated with precious gems and standing on a similarly decorated podium (Fig. 33a). On the throne lie two elliptic pillows, one red and one green, both with golden trimming and fringes. The pillows are covered with a navy-blue fabric on which a gilded book richly adorned with gems and pearls is kept. There are three seals on the book's surface. Behind the throne, centrally, there is a patriarchal wooden cross with a laurel wreath at the intersection of the beams. On his left there is a sponge stuck onto a spear and on the right a spear²⁰. On the both sides of the cross there are two Seraphim. At the footstool of the throne kneel inclined Adam on the right side and Eve on the left. Both figures raise their hands towards the throne of God. They are represented identically like in second from above register of the decoration. Adam is dressed in a white long tunic with red *clavi* and a cloak. Eve has a white dress with long sleeves clasped around her wrists with golden bracelets and a red *maphorion* covering her head. Behind the kneeling Adam and Eve two Archangels stand, turned towards the throne. They both hold a *labarum* and are dressed in long white tunics adorned with large golden appliques on wrists, on chest and on arms. Their outer garments are blue covers buttoned up under the neck with golden *fibulae*. On their feet they have richly adorned sandals. They are both girdled with golden cords on hips and with green cords round the waist. They also have large gold and white wings. On their golden feathers there are blue and green gems. Over their heads they have *nimbi* and white headbands with long retinaculums stuck in their hair. A river of fire passes from above besides the Archangel standing on left side of the throne.

Further, on the right side of the throne of God there are two angels shown as winged beautiful youths with fair curly hair and alabaster skin (Fig. 33b). They are dressed in tunics with red *clavi*, one wearing a blue tunic, the other a white one; shiny white cloaks are worn on the tunics. On feet they have sandals and over their heads there are *nimbi*. Stuck into their hair are white bands with long retinaculums. The feet of angels are directed into the side of the throne, while their torsos slew right in a deep turn. Both angels blow trumpets decorated with pearls.

On the right side of angels there is a large grotto with animals on a green-blue ground: a lion, an elephant, a hyena, a leopard, a wolf, a griffin, and two flying ravens. A naked human corpse, shown from behind and raising up his arms, springs out of the lion's mouth. Human hands emerge out of the mouths of the elephant, the hyena and the leopard; a head from the mouth of the wolf and a foot from the mouth of the griffin, while a hand and a foot from the ravens' beaks. Above the grotto there are four figures of the dead shown from the waist upward, tightly wrapped up in bandages. Three of them are turned toward the angels and two raise both hands in their direction.

²⁰ Actually, all researchers describing the mosaic write about the instruments of the Passion of Christ (*Arma Christi*) present behind the throne. According to the author, they mistakenly describe the laurel wreath as a crown of thorns – see e.g. Niero [s.d.]: 28; Musolino 1964: 17; Polacco 1984: 49; Del Negro Karem 1991: 31.

On the left side of the throne there is a large angel with enormous colorful wings; the angel is wearing a golden tunic and a white cloak (Fig. 33c). His legs are turned towards the throne and his torso remains twisted in the opposite direction. The angel holds in both his hands and unwraps a white-blue volume with golden stars. On his right side there are two angels blowing trumpets, represented identically as two figures from the other side of the decoration. Both are turned towards the sea shown behind the edge of the land. In the center of the sea-depths represented by a cumulation of white-blue wavy lines there is a half-naked female figure girdled only with a white voile²¹. She sits crosslegged on a sea-monster with white and golden spots that is turned towards two angels. This monster has the head of a dog, the body of a dragon and the tail of a fish. From his mouth stands out a naked human corpse shown from the back, with raised up arms. The mosaic makers depicted similarly the corpse in the lion's mouth on the other side of the decoration. An almost nude female figure sits half-turned to the viewer. Her trunk is turned towards the angels, while the legs, decorated with a double golden bracelet, point in the opposite direction. There is a gold crown on her fair long hair. In her left hand, decorated with another golden bracelet, she holds a horn of plenty, while in her right hand she has a small blue sea-creature, ostensibly a dolphin. From its mouth stands out a human head in profile and hands raised towards the angels. In the sea waves there are six other fish of various shapes and colors (green, red, brown). In their mouths there are human hands and feet.

IV.2.5. *Psychostasis*, the Blessed and the Condemned

In the center of the next register below, above the tympanum, the *Psychostasis* scene is represented. The Archangel Michael holds in his left hand a light scale with two blue shawls hung on thin strings connected by small pearls (Fig. 34). He is portrayed as a flying young man with a delicate pale skin and large golden-white wings (Fig. 34a). A *nimbus* is visible above his head. He has a white headband woven into his hair. He is wearing a long white tunic with gold *clavi* and a white coat. His feet are decorated with sandals. In his left hand he holds a scale, while with his right hand he approaches one of the weighing pans.

On the other side of the scale there are two winged demons with curly hair and white horns on their heads. Small wings are visible at their feet. The skin of one of them is blueish, while that of the other one behind is dark brown. The muscles appear clearly on their half-naked bodies dressed only in loincloths (green and brown). The demon with the blue skin has wings emerging from his back. The wings of the other one

²¹ Luigi Conton and Renato Polacco interpret the figure as Amphitrite (Conton 1927: 7, 13; Polacco 1984: 50). Giovanni Musolino (Musolino 1964: 17) and Marina Del Negro Karem (Del Negro Karem 1991: 32) talk about the personification of the Sea. Antonio Niero recognizes the character as a "symbol of the sea" (Niero [s.d.]: 28).

grow from his forearms. For both demons, the ugliness of their faces was emphasized through irregular features. They also have unnaturally large white eyes. One of them sticks out his tongue. They both turn their heads away from the scale kept by Michael. In their right hands they have spears, with which they try to reach the scale. The blue demon has a wide, gold bracelet on his hand also. A similar bracelet adorns his forearm. White leather bottles are slung over their heads: one in front and one at the back. The blue demon additionally holds three more white bags in his left hand; one is also hung on his right forearm. The brown demon has a long sword pinned at his waist.

On the right side of the central scale, just after the representation of Archangel Michael, they are the Blessed in paradise, shown on a gold background. They are divided into four groups facing the center of the mosaic representation (Fig. 34b). All figures turn their eyes and hands heavenwards. The closest to the center are bishops depicted as mature bearded men. They are dressed in long white albs and gray chasubles²². On their shoulders there are *omophorions*, i.e. broadly interwoven bands typical of Byzantine bishops²³. Their feet are decorated with dark footwear²⁴. Behind the group of the bishops there are martyrs represented as men of all ages, bearded and beardless²⁵. They are dressed in long white tunics with a wide purple trim, with gold appliques, and wear coats in different colors. One of them has a red coat, the other a blue one with a golden ornament. Their coats are fastened with *fibulae* decorated with precious stones and pearls. Another group of the Blessed are the monks represented as old men with long white beards²⁶. They are dressed in blue coats and long white tunics. Bare feet are visible from under the tunic of one of them. Another has feet clad in black shoes. Two monks have blue hoods on their heads, the others are shown without a headgear. The representation is closed with the last group of the Blessed, who are

²² Some of the chasubles resemble a Byzantine priest's clothing cut from the front, i.e. *phelonion*.

²³ The *omophorion* is the equivalent of the *pallium* used by Latin bishops. In the clothing of these figures, the interference of Latin and Byzantine traditions is clearly visible. Usually, Eastern bishops wear clothing sleeves (*sakkos*), in many representations they have the *omophorion* put on the *phelonion*. Here, however, they appear in chasubles.

Here, the author would like to thank Fr. Professor Dariusz Tabor for very valuable clues that enabled the proper identification of the character's clothing.

²⁴ Faustino Gianani recognizes among the figures St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil and St. Nicholas (cf. Conton 1927: 14). Similarly, using mainly the features of physiognomy, Renato Polacco recognizes the represented saints (cf. Polacco 1984: 50). This opinion is reiterated by Marina Del Negro Karem, who defines the characters collectively as the Fathers of the Greek Church (cf. Del Negro Karem 1991: 32). Antonio Niero counted in this group fourteen characters, which he described as clergymen dressed in *loros* with black crosses. The researcher identifies two of them, St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Basil (because of the chin and dark hair) – cf. Niero [s.d.]: 38.

²⁵ Among the group of thirteen martyrs Niero recognizes St. Theodore *Stratelates* (the general), St. Gregory, St. Demetrius, St. Procopius and maybe St. Theodore, the soldier – cf. Niero [s.d.]: 38.

²⁶ Among eleven monks Niero recognizes St. Euthymius, and, perhaps, in the back St. Anthony and St. Saba – cf. Niero [s.d.]: 38.

women of different ages, dressed in different ways²⁷. The emaciated body of a woman standing barefoot is dressed only in a brown tunic up to her knees ending with two white trims. Her head was uncovered, revealing short white hair. The other women have colorful veils on their heads. The heads of two of them are decorated with diadems. Women's clothes consist of long tunics and coats. One of them has a pale pink tunic with a red trim with gold decorations, the other one is dressed in a white tunic and a dark blue coat with golden applications. One of the women's necklace richly decorated with precious stones and pearls is visible.

To the left side of the central *Psychostasis* scene, on the background of the fire flowing from the fiery river from Christ's mandorla, two angels are represented (Fig. 34c). They are young men with delicate features and light, curly hair with white headbands. Above their heads, there are *nimbi*. Large white wings are attached to their backs, which, from the glow of the fire, have acquired a pale pink shade. The same happened with the long tunics and the *pallium* in which God's messengers are dressed. The tunics along the entire length are decorated with navy blue *clavi* on both sides. The angel's feet are clad in sandals. God's messengers hold long blue spears, which push the Damned into hellfire. The first part of hell depicted here is filled with bright pink and red flames. Among them there are the heads of sinners representing various estates: church dignitaries wearing the *pallium*, kings and queens of the West with richly decorated crowns and jewelry, Eastern monarchs in turbans and monks with hoods²⁸. These sinners are tormented by small winged demons with celestial bodies with strongly outlined muscles flying around. They hook the Damned by pulling their hair and beards. On the right side of the representation there is an old man with long white hair, beard and mustache sitting *en trois quarts* on the throne²⁹. The skin of his body has an inhuman dark blue shade. He has clearly outlined, strong muscles. His sitting position emphasizes the roundness of his belly. He is naked, covered only on the hips with a brown cloth. He has long white nails on both his hands and feet. The grim expression on his face, shown *en face*, is emphasized by prominent cheekbones, long nose and large eyes with black pupils. Turned in the opposite directions, they seem to ogle everything around. The old man sits on a throne made of two antithetic goat heads

²⁷ Antonio Niero identifies among fourteen women, perhaps St. Mary of Egypt, St. Catherine of Alexandria – cf. Niero [sd.]: 38. Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 50) and Giulio Lorenzetti (Lorenzetti 1956: 810) interpret these women as the Wise Virgins of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Mt 25: 1-13).

²⁸ Faustino Gianani recognizes among the figures Nestorius (the bishop with a *pallium*), Constantine V Copronymus (the man in a Byzantine crown), Eudoxia (the first wife of Heraclius; the woman in a crown), Eutyches (one of the monks) – see Conton 1927: 13.

²⁹ Most researchers, especially in older studies, interpret this character as Lucifer (among others Lorenzetti 1939: 56; Lorenzetti 1956: 810; Polacco 1984: 50, 67) or the Devil / Satan (see Pasquini 2012: 613). Newer studies see Hades in it (among others Skrzyniarz 2002). Already Luigi Conton defined this figure Pluto (Conton 1927: 7, 13). Antonio Niero describes the character as Lucifer or Hades (Niero [sd.]: 38).

swallowing the bodies of the Damned. From their mouths stand out legs and a part of the human torso shown in profile. The goats' heads serve as supports, while the seat is made of a dragon's or a snake's torso covered with white scales³⁰.

The old man holds in his lap a small figure of a barefoot young man. He is wearing a long white tunic with blue *clavi* and a coat. Both figures raise their right hands up. This doubling significantly strengthens the significance of the gesture³¹.

IV.2.6. Orant Mary, paradise and punishment in hell

Below, in the center of the last register of the mosaic complex, in the tympanum above the main entrance door to the Basilica, Mary is shown with clearly outlined black eyes and a long slender nose (Fig. 35). She is represented *en face*, up to the waist in the pose of Orant with her arms wide raised (Fig. 35a). She is wearing a navy blue *maphorion* interspersed with a golden thread that covers her head. Above her head there is the *nimbus*. On both sides of Mary's head there are the letters MHP and ΘV³², and above her, on the semicircular edge of the tympanum, the inscription: VIRGO DI NATVM PRECE PVLSA TERGE REATVM (*Virgin of God, through ardent prayer purify the faults conceived*)³³.

On the right side of the Mother of God, under the representation of the Blessed, there are figures standing on a flowery meadow symbolizing the Garden of Eden (Fig. 35b). Between them there are tall green trees, palms and cypresses. The closest to the central part of the representation is the figure of St. Peter depicted as a mature man with a white beard and hair, dressed in a long, golden tunic, a white coat and sandals. He walks towards the gate of paradise shown next to him. The border of the gate was decorated with diagonal white-blue stripes, in the central part, on a red background, there is a four-winged Cherub adorned with eye representations. A decorative headband with long white strings is visible in his hair. In his right hand he holds a spear.

St. Peter holds the keys in his left hand and raises his right hand pointing to the door. Behind him there is an angel with large varicolored wings facing the door. The figure is dressed in a white tunic with red *clavi* and a white coat. He holds a spear in his

³⁰ Antonio Niero sees in the monster the biblical monster or Leviathan – cf. Niero [s.d.]: 38.

³¹ Some interpret this character as Antichrist (Polacco 1984: 50, 67; Conton 1927: 13), while others see here a rich man from the Gospel Parable of Lazarus - Luke 16: 19-31 (cf. Skrzyniarz 2002). Antonio Niero also defines this character as Antichrist. This researcher also draws attention to the repetition, and thus the intensification of the gesture of Antichrist and the old man, whom he describes as Lucifer (Niero [s.d.]: 38).

³² That is MHTEP ΘEOY (*Mother of God!*). The monogram of the name of Mary also appears in the representation from the main apse – cf. Chap. II, p. 56. On the subject of the monograms of the name of Mary – see e.g. Kemp 1971b.

³³ Cf. Musolino 1955: 39.

left hand and raises his right hand and points to the door. A white band is visible in his blond hair, and there is a *nimbus* above his head³⁴.

On the right side of the door of paradise there is a seminude young man with long fair hair. His hips are covered by a knee-high cloth, identical to the *perizonium* of Christ from the Crucifixion scene³⁵. The young man's head is tilted slightly to the left. In his right hand he holds a wooden cross of Byzantine origin, identical to the crosses represented in the first and second register of the mosaic decoration. He lifts his left arm to his chest, showing the inside of his hand. The same gesture with both hands is made by the Mother of God standing on his right. Mary is shown in the *en face* pose. She is dressed in a long navy-blue tunic and *maphorion* *sawn* with gold thread. A *nimbus* is visible above the Madonna's head. Only the face and two hands raised to the chest are visible from under Mary's tunic and *maphorion*.

An elderly man with a white beard and hair is shown on the right side of the Mother of God. He is sitting with his torso posed *en face*, while is twisted *en trois quarts* from the waist down. The old man is wearing a golden tunic, a white coat and sandals. A *nimbus* is visible above his head. In his laps there is a small figure of a young man turned *en trois quarts*. He is shown identically to the young man sitting on the laps of the old man in the fifth register on the other side of the mosaic decoration. The figure is dressed in a white long tunic with red *clavi* and a coat. His feet are bare. He raises his right hand towards the center of the composition. On both sides of the elderly man holding the younger in his laps there are two groups of standing children or young people facing the old man. They are dressed in short knee-length tunics ended with gold trims. Those who are the closest to the seated old man hold on to his tunic³⁶.

³⁴ Giovanni Musolino and Marina Del Negro Karem mistakenly define the angel figure at the gate of paradise as a Seraph (Musolino 1964: 19; Del Negro Karem 1991: 33). Antonio Niero calls the angel *psychopompos* (Niero [s.d.]: 42).

³⁵ Giulio Lorenzetti and Antonio Niero interpret this character as a Good Scoundrel holding his Cross (cf. Lorenzetti 1956: 810; Niero [s.d.]: 42). Renato Polacco, like Luigi Conton before (Conton 1927: 14), sees in him John the Baptist, who together with Mary standing next to him remind us of the validity of the sacrament of baptism (cf. Polacco 1984: 50). Conton, however, wonders why John the Baptist has no *nimbus* above his head. The researcher gives two other plausible interpretations as to the identification of this scene: some scholars see this character as the Good Thief, others as a personification of a pure soul whose cross has made it possible to redeemed for its guilt. Marina Del Negro Karem is also in favor of interpreting the character as John the Baptist holding the cross of victory (Del Negro Karem 1991: 33).

³⁶ Luigi Conton recognizes in this scene the representation of God the Father holding Christ in His lap. According to this scholar, the representation cannot show so-called Abraham's womb, because the *nimbus* is visible above the old man's head, and the young man in his lap is significantly different from the figures around. The scene is far from the gates of paradise, so it is already placed inside it (Conton 1927: 14). Giovanni Musolino sees in the scene Abraham holding a child in his lap, and other saved souls around (he calls them "putto") (Musolino 1964: 19ff). In this scene, Giulio Lorenzetti sees Jesus gathering children around him (as described, among others, in Lk 18: 15-17) (cf. Lorenzetti 1956: 810). Renato Polacco returns to interpreting the scene as a depiction of Abraham surrounded by the figures of the Righteous (cf. Polac-

On the left side of the Mother of God shown in the tympanum, the remaining parts of hell are represented (Fig. 35c). The whole composition is divided into two zones of different width. The upper zone is wider than the lower one. Each of the zones was again divided into three rectangular fields that differ in size. The first field closest to the center, in the upper zone of this representation, shows three naked human figures on the background of fiery flames. Only two of the figures can be identified as men with certainty, thanks to their beards; one has a white and the other one a brown beard. The third character has no beard. An older man with a white beard was represented in a sitting position; the other two figures are standing up to the waist immersed in flames. Their bodies (apart from the aforementioned beards) show no other gender characteristics. The seated man raises both his hands; the left one lower, the right one higher. The figure standing next to him supports his head with his left hand. The last character pleads with both hands on his chest³⁷. Close to this scene, in the next part of hell, on a black background there are four standing figures of different ages: two bearded mature men and two young men without beards. Each of the characters makes individual gestures. The first of them, directed towards the center of the mosaic, raises both hands. Two other figures, facing each other, cover their mouths with their hands. One of these figures shows an open left hand. The last figure, standing cross-legged, shows his right open hand, while the left hand is laid on the chest. In the last field of the upper zone of the representation, which slightly overlaps the northern wall of the nave³⁸, there are male figures with beards shown on a black background and only gently outlined in blue. They are waist-deep submerged in water (or ice) represented as blue waves on a black background. Below this field, in the next part of hell, there is a scene that also slightly overlaps the wall of the nave. It shows human bones on a black background: skulls, bones of hands, feet, shin or forearm. Right next to it, this time on the background of red flames, ten heads of different characters were shown; these were men and women of different ages and with different physical characteristics and hairstyles. Eight of them have large pearl earrings. The last field of the lower zone of the representations shows seventeen human skulls emerging from the dark background. Long white worms crawl out of their large, empty, black eye sockets.

IV.3. Iconographic analysis based on selected written sources

The decoration registers described above and forming a mosaic complex from the western wall in the Basilica on Torcello Island constitute a coherent iconography (Fig. 36).

co 1984: 50). Similarly, Antonio Niero sees the womb of Abraham and the Blessed here (Niero [s.d.]: 42). Marina Del Negro Karem in the figure in Abraham's lap sees a child symbolizing the human soul (Del Negro Karem 1991: 32).

³⁷ Renato Polacco believes that the man sitting amidst the flames is the rich man Epulon (Polacco 1984: 50).

³⁸ Cf. Chap. III, p. 63f - note 17.

It consists of over one hundred and fifty characters appearing in various scenes³⁹. As the author of this monograph mentioned in the Introduction, in other publications devoted to this decoration, researchers usually limit themselves to giving a description of the mosaic⁴⁰. Sometimes this description is combined with attempts to identify and analyze the characters represented and to provide references to related works of art⁴¹. However, in order to interpret the entire complicated mosaic composition, after its detailed description, one needs to provide a source and iconographic analysis of the individual scenes that make it up.

IV.3.1. Crucifixion

The first of the scenes is the representation of the Crucifixion located in the triangular top of the wall (ἡ σταύρωσις, -εως) (Fig. 30)⁴². This scene dominates the entire composition, not only because of its size and location on the top of the whole mosaic complex, but also because it occupies the central part of the register, while the remaining mosaic zones are entirely filled with representations⁴³.

The scene shows three figures in the pyramid composition. The crucified Christ is visible in the center, with Mary on his right and St. John the Evangelist on his left⁴⁴. This is one of the examples of limiting this iconographic motif to only three characters. Earlier, from the 5th century onwards, the Crucifixion scene was represented in a more elaborate form, showing Christ on the cross in conjunction with other scenes (like e.g. on one of the four walls of an ivory casket from 420-430, currently kept in the British Museum in London (inv. 1856,0623.5), where the scene of the Crucifixion is accompanied by a depiction of the death of Judas (Fig. 37.)⁴⁵. The Cross of the Sav-

³⁹ This number is given e.g. by Luigi Conton (Conton 1927: 5) and Giovanni Musolino (Musolino 1964: 17).

⁴⁰ See e.g. Lorenzetti 1956. Cf. Introduction, p. 18f.

⁴¹ See e.g. Niero [s.d.]: 28, 38, 42, 46ff; Polacco 1984: 55ff; Polacco 1986; Del Negro Karem 1991: 54-75.

⁴² From this scene, as mentioned in the chapter on mosaic conservation, not much has survived (cf. p. 63ff). For the interpretation of the whole mosaic composition, however, the most important thing is the certainty, confirmed in the studies, about the existence of an earlier representation showing the same iconographic motif in place of today's scene that comes from the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Chap. III, p. 70 - note 55). According to the author, stylistic differences are not decisive for interpretation.

⁴³ The dominant character of the scene is emphasized among others by Lorenzetti 1956: 810; Polacco 1984: 49. More about the importance of this scene for the whole composition – see Chap. IV.5.

⁴⁴ Among the descriptions of this fragment of mosaic decoration, there are also completely incorrect recognitions of the characters. An example would be the work of Laudedeo Testi who recognizes the two figures next to the cross as personifications of two churches (Testi 1909: 85).

⁴⁵ In detail about this casket – see among others Dalton 1901: 291; Dalton 1909: 7; Marzinik 2013: 38ff, nr 15.

ior could also be shown surrounded by other characters, as in the case of the miniature from the Rabbula Gospels (Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana fol. 13a, 586), where in addition to Mary and John, there are the Good and Evil Thieves, soldiers sharing Christ's clothes and spiking his side, and crying women. On the same page of the codex, in the register below, there is a scene depicting Mary arriving to the Tomb of Christ (Fig. 38)⁴⁶. Such an extensive form of representing the Crucifixion motif has remained and developed until modern times⁴⁷. Earlier, however, between the 7th-8th centuries, more tender representations appeared, limited to depicting Christ on the cross with the Madonna and his beloved disciple. An example of such a scene could be the ivory triptych from the 10th century from Constantinople, kept today at The Art Walters Museum in Baltimore (inv. 71.244) (Fig. 39).

The scene chronologically preceding the representation from the Basilica on Torcello Island and invoking its iconography is, without a doubt, the mosaic representation from the narthex of the church of Hosios Loukas in Beotia, dated to the mid-11th century (Fig. 40)⁴⁸. It shows the same type of the composition. The Cross of Christ was placed on a hill inside of which there is a white skull. The positions of the bodies and Mary's and John's gestures were also shaped in a similar way to those appearing in the representation on Torcello. The main differences are, however, greater emphasis on the musculature of the Savior's body, showing Christ on the cross with closed eyes and an additional representation of the symbols of the sun and the moon at the top of the cross.

The arrangement of the figures adopted in the representation from the Basilica on Torcello suggests not only the desire to show the martyrdom of Christ⁴⁹, but also to highlight a specific moment of the Passion. The scene refers to the moment presented in the Gospel of John, when hanging on the cross "(...) Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved (...), he said to his mother, 'Woman, look, here is your son!' He then said to his disciple, 'Look, here is your mother!' From that very time the disciple took her into his own home" (Jn 19: 25-27).

An important element of the description of this event seems to be the way in which Christ addresses his mother (in English "woman", in Greek γυναί)⁵⁰. This may refer directly to two other biblical passages. The first of these is the Book of Genesis and the moment in which, after the original sin, God "puts hostility" between Satan and the

⁴⁶ On the subject of the Rabbula Gospels and miniatures adorning it – see e.g. Cecchelli, Furlani and Salmi (eds.) 1959; Wright 1973; Bernabò 2008.

⁴⁷ On the formation of the iconography of the Crucifixion – see among others Wessel 1966; Lucchesi Palli and Jászaj 1970; Kartsonis 1986: 33-68; Büchsel 1994; Kartsonis 1994. Bibliography on this subject – see Lucchesi Palli and Jászaj 1970: 641ff.

⁴⁸ On the subject of the mosaic decoration from Hosios Loukas – see above all Diez and Demus 1931; Prokopiou 1964; Papadakis 1969; Bettini 1972; Chatzēdakē-Mpachara [1995]; Rentetzi 2002.

⁴⁹ Description of Jesus' death – see Mt 27: 45-50; Mk 15: 23-37; Lk 23: 33-46; Jn 19: 17-30.

⁵⁰ Cf. Jn 19: 26, in Greek: "ἦσοῦς οὖν ἰδὼν τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν παρεστῶτα ὃν ἠγάπα, λέγει τῇ μητρὶ· Γυναί, ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου" (Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 492).

woman-Eve and her offspring (Gen 3: 15)⁵¹. In this way, by identifying the Woman from the Book of Genesis with the Mother of Christ, a recurrent analogy between Eve as the Mother of Sin and Mary, the Mother of Redemption, the latter was revealed for the first time in the highest register of the representation. The second biblical moment, invoking the name of “woman” in relation to Mary, is the Wedding in Cana of Galilee, when Christ, before working his first miracle, at this crucial moment, addresses the Mother “(...) ‘Woman, why are you saying this to me? My time has not yet come.’ His mother told the servants, ‘Whatever he tells you, do it’” (Jn 2: 4)⁵². In this case, the extraordinary relationship between the Redeemer and his Mother was emphasized, as well as her unique role in the history of Salvation as a link between God and people is outlined.

It seems, therefore, that the Torcello mosaic creators’ choice of the moment in which Christ in this way refers to Mary could not be accidental. Emphasized already in this first scene of the mosaic complex of the western wall is not only Christ’s great love for the his Mother, whom he entrusted to the care of his beloved disciple but also the extraordinary dignity of the Virgin towards humanity and her role as the new Eve. In addition, this fact was highlighted by the ring on Mary’s right hand. In this way, she gains an additional meaning as the *Sponsa Christi*, a prefiguration of the Church married to Christ, which the Savior, at the time of his earthly death, entrusts to the protection of the Apostles⁵³.

In the scene of the Crucifixion from the Basilica on Torcello, the human nature of Christ is particularly visible. He was shown as spread on a cross. Above his head there is a *titulus* HC NAZARENO / REX IVDEORV⁵⁴. His light skin contrasts with the tense

⁵¹ Cf. Gen 3: 15, in Greek: “καὶ ἐχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν” (after Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 9.

⁵² Cf. Jn 2: 4 in Greek: “[καὶ] λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὐπω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα μου” (Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 397ff)

⁵³ More about the *Sponsa Christi* and how this motif is shown in art – see shortly Gillen 1968 and Gillen 1937; Wentzel 1952.

⁵⁴ The *titulus* of Christ is mentioned in all the Gospels – see Mt 27: 37; Mk 15: 26; Lk 23: 38, and Jn 19: 19-22. The closest version adopted by the creators of the mosaic in the Basilica on Torcello is the description of St. John: “Pilate also had a notice written and fastened to the cross, which read: ‘Jesus the Nazarene, the king of the Jews’. Thus many of the Jewish residents of Jerusalem read this notice, because the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city, and the notice was written in Aramaic, Latin, and Greek. Then the chief priests of the Jews said to Pilate, ‘Do not write, <<The king of the Jews,>> but rather, <<This man said, I am king of the Jews.>>’ Pilate answered, ‘What I have written, I have written’” (Jn 19: 19-22). Cf. in Greek: “ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον· Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον πολλοὶ ἀνέγνωσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί. ἔλεγον οὖν τῷ Πιλάτῳ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· Μὴ γράφῃ· Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰμί· ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πιλάτος· Ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα” (Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 491). More about the *titulus* of Christ – see Lucchesi Palli 1970.

shoulder and chest muscles as well as with the clearly highlighted abdominal muscles and rib bones⁵⁵. Streams of blood gush from Christ's five wounds. Blood and water flow from the side pierced by the soldier's spear (cf. Jn 19: 32-37). These two elements symbolize the most important sacraments for the Church - the Eucharist and Baptism. The streams flowing from the body of Christ refer, therefore, both to the meaning of the new life by participating in the Lord's Sacrifice and to the purifying impact of the Holy Spirit⁵⁶.

The mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello depicts in an extremely sublime and yet expressive manner not only Christ's passion, but above all his final victory. The suffering is expressed by the pose of the Savior's body and head as well as by his wide-open eyes and deep look. Moreover, the gestures, arrangement and facial expressions of Mary and St. John, their lowered mouth corners, eyes and eyebrows discreetly show the emotions of pain, sadness and suffering which accompany the characters. At the same time, as in the aforementioned mosaic from Hosios Loukas, the cross of the dying Christ in the Torcello scene is set on a small hill. It was "opened" by showing the earth's abyss and the skull of the forefather Adam, stuck in the depths, just below the Cross of the Savior. In this way, for the second time in this representation, the creators of the mosaic composition make a comparison of Jesus and Mary with the first parents. Christ is shown here as the Savior who, through his suffering and love for the Church laid into the hands of Mother and the Apostles, erases Adam's sin.

IV.3.2. *Anastasis*

Another scene making up the mosaic complex of the western wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta is the representation of the Descent of Christ into the Abyss shown

⁵⁵ Through the strongly drawn lines of the black *tesserae* that outline the muscles and individual parts of the abdomen, perhaps the creators of the mosaic wanted to show the bowels of Christ, which would have a clearly symbolic meaning. However, this problem requires more extensive research and may be the subject of a separate study. On the development of this issue – see e.g. Mazurczak 2010; Mazurczak 2011.

The importance of showing the body of Christ as well as the bodies of other characters of the scene would also be worth considering in the context of the influence that the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries on Torcello and near the island could have had on this representation. The depiction of monks' bodies on selected examples of Cistercian miniatures from the 12th and 13th centuries was discussed by Fr. Prof. Dariusz Tabor. The author, basing on the analyzed works, states that: "revealing the body, the visualization of corporeality plays an irreplaceable role in shaping the paths to be followed by the Cistercian monk seeking God. The basic value of Cistercian spirituality is love of God, and this love begins with loving the flesh and humanity of Christ" (Tabor 2013a: 30; transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej). Therefore, one may ask whether such a clear visualization of the body of the Crucified Savior in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello could be a direct influence of Cistercian spirituality. However, this issue requires further and thorough study. For more about Cistercian illuminating, in particular Silesian miniatures, codex illumination style and miniature iconography – see Tabor 2004.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. Jn 4: 10; Jn 1: 33.

in the eastern manner (*Anastasis*, ἡ ἀνάστασις, -εως) (Fig. 31). This largest scene, occupying the second from the top register of the mosaic decoration, along with the scene of Crucifixion above it, dominates the rest of the composition⁵⁷.

This representation seems to illustrate the words present in the Gospel according to Matthew: “Just then the temple curtain was torn in two, from top to bottom. The earth shook and the rocks were split apart. And tombs were opened, and the bodies of many saints who had died were raised. (They came out of the tombs after his resurrection and went into the holy city and appeared to many people)” (Mt 27: 51-53)⁵⁸.

The next motifs that appear in the representation, among them the figures of the dead rising from the graves, the figure of Adam and Satan trampled by Christ, as well as the announcement of the impending Last Judgement, find their justification in words from 1 Cor 15: 20-27: “But now Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through a man, the resurrection of the dead also came through a man. For just as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all will be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ, the first fruits; then when Christ comes, those who belong to him. Then comes the end, when he hands over the kingdom to God the Father, when he has brought to an end all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be eliminated is death. For he has put everything in subjection under his feet. But when it says ‘everything’ has been put in subjection, it is clear that this does not include the one who put everything in subjection to him”⁵⁹.

Many of the motifs that appeared in this excerpt, above all the figure of Adam and the trampling of the chained Satan in the depths of the Abyss, were used in iconography, for instance in the representation on the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello. They can also be found in apocryphal texts. An example of a source that is entirely focused on the *Anastasis* scene is the Descent into Hell from the turn of the 2nd century AD⁶⁰. It summarizes the significance of this scene as follows: “He has not risen alone, but that He has also raised many others of the dead” (Descent into Hell I(XVII))⁶¹. It describes how in the Abyss “(...) at the hour of midnight there rose a light as if of the sun, and shone into these dark [regions] and we were all lighted up, (...and saw each other...)” (Descent into Hell II(XVIII)(1))⁶². Among those staying in the depths of this

⁵⁷ Cf. Polacco 1984: 60.

⁵⁸ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη ἀπ’ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω εἰς δύο, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσεισθη, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεψήθησαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν, καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσηλθόν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 141). The motif of tearing the curtain from the Temple of Solomon at the moment of Christ’s death appears also in Mk 15: 38 and Lk 23: 44-46.

⁵⁹ Cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 825ff.

⁶⁰ Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 422.

⁶¹ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 323ff. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 169.

⁶² Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 324. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 170.

place, the text mentions Abraham along with patriarchs and prophets, Isaiah, David and John the Baptist. The light that appears in the darkness of the Abyss is immediately noticed by both Satan and Hades. Especially in the latter one it arouses fear⁶³. Surprised and terrified by the precedent of resurrecting Lazarus, he begs Satan: "(...) Wherefore also I adjure even thee, for thy benefit and for mine, not to bring him here; for I think that he is coming here to raise all the dead. And this I tell thee: by the darkness in which we live, if thou bring him here, not one of the dead will be left behind in it to me" (Descent into Hell IV (XX)(3))⁶⁴. Satan, hearing the announcement of the coming of Christ⁶⁵, despite the fact that he commands his servants to: "Secure well and strongly the gates of brass and the bars of iron, and attend to my bolts, and stand in order, and see to everything (...)" (Descent into Hell V(XXI)(1))⁶⁶, however, he does not bend at the suggestion of Hades. At the time of Christ's arrival "(...) immediately with these words the brazen gates were shattered, and the iron bars broken, and all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons (...)" (Descent into Hell V (XXI) (3))⁶⁷. The Savior, like New Adam, came and "(...) stretched out His right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam, and raised him. Then turning also to the rest, He said: 'Come all with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched; for, behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross'. Thereupon He brought them all out (Descent into Hell VIII (XXIV)(1))"⁶⁸. The dead, saved by Christ from the Abyss, first of all Adam, were blessed with a sign of a cross on their foreheads⁶⁹ and proceeded to paradise, where the Archangel Michael awaited them⁷⁰. Thus, the parallel between the first father Adam and Christ was clearly emphasized.

Similarly, the Descent into the Abyss is described by the author of the Gospel of Bartholomew, where he clarifies at what exact moment in the History of Salvation the whole event took place: "Then did I enter in and scourged him and bound him with

⁶³ The Gospel of Bartholomew specifies that Hades/hell senses the approaching Christ by the smell: "Hades was troubled, saying: I hear the breathing of the Most High, and I cannot endure it (Latin 2. He cometh with great fragrance and I cannot bear it)" (GosBart I, 13) (James (transl.) 1924; Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 499 (transl. R. Bartnicki).

⁶⁴ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 327. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 172ff.

⁶⁵ See Descent into Hell V(XXI)(1); Descent into Hell Lat. II (XVIII)(1); Descent into Hell Lat. VII (XXIII)(1).

⁶⁶ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 328. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 173. The Latin version provides the following text: "(...) Then Satan, the leader of death, came up, fleeing in terror, saying to his officers and the powers below: 'My officers, and all the powers below, run together, shut your gates, out up the iron bars, and fight bravely, and resist, lest they lay hold of us, and keep us captive in chains'" (Descent into Hell Lat. II (XVIII)(2)). Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 423. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 216.

⁶⁷ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 328. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 173.

⁶⁸ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 330. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 174.

⁶⁹ Cf. Descent into Hell VIII (XXIV)(2).

⁷⁰ Cf. Descent into Hell IX (XXV).

chains that cannot be loosed, and brought forth thence all the patriarchs and came again unto the cross” (GosBart I, 20)⁷¹.

The motif of Christ’s descent into the Abyss appears moreover in early Christian texts such as *Homily on Holy Saturday* (PG 43: 440-464), *Paschal Homily* by Melito of Sardis (SChr 123) and the *XIV Catechetical Lecture* of Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33, 331-1180). In the first source, the Savior’s descent into hell was described in great detail. At the same time, it emphasizes what life on earth was like at the moment: “Today there is a great silence over the earth, a great silence, and stillness, a great silence because the King sleeps [in Greek: ὁ Βασιλεὺς ὑπνοῖ]; the earth was in terror and was still, because God slept in the flesh and raised up those who were sleeping from the ages [in Greek: ὁ Θεὸς σαρκὶ ὑπνωσε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ὑπνοῦντας ἀνέστησεν]. God has died in the flesh, and the underworld has trembled [in Greek: Ὁ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ τέθνηκε, καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἐτρόμαξεν.] (PG 43, 439f)”⁷². The *Homily on Holy Saturday* also highlights the main purpose of Christ to be the salvation of man and the release from the Abyss of the first parents imprisoned in the kingdom of darkness: “Truly he [Christ] goes to seek out our first parent like a lost sheep; he wishes to visit those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death. He goes to free the prisoner Adam [Greek: τὸν αἰχμάλωτον Ἄδὰμ] and his fellow-prisoner Eve [in Greek: τὴν συναἰχμάλωτον Εὐάν] from their pains, he who is God, and Adam’s son [in Greek: ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῆς] (PG 43, 451f)⁷³. The Savior is described here in a very expressive way. He enters triumphantly the Abyss holding his victorious Cross, directly addressing the first parents waiting for him there⁷⁴. He greets Adam, and then, giving him his hand, He pulls him out of the depths: “The Lord goes into them holding his victorious weapon, his cross [in Greek: τὸ νικητικὸν ὄπλον τοῦ σταυροῦ κατέχων]. When Adam, the first created man, sees him, he strikes his breast in terror [in Greek: καὶ τῇ ἐκπλήξει τὸ στήθος τύψας] and calls out to all: ‘May Lord be with you all.’ And Christ in reply says to Adam: ‘And with your spirit [in Greek: πνεύματός].’ And grasping his hand he raises him up [in Greek: καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἀνίστησι], saying: ‘Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, and

⁷¹ Transl. after: James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 500 (transl. R. Bartnicki). The whole description of the Descent of Christ into the Abyss – GosBart I, 9-20.

⁷² Transl. after Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas – available online: http://www.vatican.va/spirit/documents/spirit_20010414_omelia-sabato-santo_en.html (Accessed 8.11.2019).

⁷³ Transl. after Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas – available online: http://www.vatican.va/spirit/documents/spirit_20010414_omelia-sabato-santo_en.html (Accessed 8.11.2019)

⁷⁴ “I command you: Awake, sleeper, I have not made you to be held a prisoner in the underworld [gr. ἐν ἄδῃ κατέχη δέσμιος]. Arise from the dead; I am the life of the dead. Arise, O man, work of my hands [gr. πλάσμα τὸ ἐμὸν], arise, you who were fashioned in my image [in Greek: μορφή ἢ ἐμῆ]. Rise, let us go hence; for you in me and I in you, together we are one undivided person [in Greek: ἓν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ὑπάρχομεν πρόσωπον] (PG 43, 461f)”. Transl. after Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas – available online: http://www.vatican.va/spirit/documents/spirit_20010414_omelia-sabato-santo_en.html (Accessed 8.11.2019)

Christ shall give you light [in Greek: Ἐγειρε, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφάσει σοι ὁ Χριστός]” (PG 43, 461f)⁷⁵.

Melito of Sardis, then, in his *Paschal Homily* presents the exit of the Israelites from Egypt as a prefiguration of the ancestors of Christ’s removal from the Abyss: “Through the body knowing the suffering He [Christ] accepted on himself sufferings of the suffering and destroyed the sufferings of the body, and by His spirit not knowing the death, He killed the genocidal death. Because He led lamblike and as a sheep sacrificed, bought us up from the service of this world as from the Egyptian land [in Greek: ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου], and He liberated us from the captivity of Satan as from the hand of the Pharaoh [in Greek: ἐκ χειρὸς Φαραώ], and He marked our souls with the stamp of the own Spirit, and the members of our bodies with His own blood. He covered the Death with shame, and He threw Satan into the mourning as Moses did with Pharaoh [in Greek: ὡς Μωσῆς τὸν Φαραώ]. He struck the wickedness and deprived the injustice of the progeny as Moses did with Egypt [in Greek: ὡς Μωσῆς Αἴγυπτον]. He led us out from captivity to freedom, from darkness to light, from death to life, from tyranny to the eternal reign and He made us new priests and the eternal, chosen people. He is the Passover of our redemption [in Greek: τὸ πάσχα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν] (SCh 123, §66-73, pp. 97-101)⁷⁶”. The parallel conducted in this way emphasizes that the paschal mystery is only the final act and logical fulfillment of the process that began with the Incarnation of Christ. Subsequently, it is the fulfillment of his mission, which was to offer salvation to people.

The descent of Christ into the Abyss is also described in *XIV Catechetical Lecture* of Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33, 331-1180). The author outlined here the Satan’s fear as the Savior passes the gates of hell: “Death was struck with dismay on beholding a new visitant descend into Hades, not bound by the chains of that place. Wherefore, O porters of Hades, were ye scared at sight of Him? What was the unwonted fear that possessed you? Death fled, and his flight betrayed his cowardice (PG 33, 847-850)”⁷⁷. At the same time, the source mentions patriarchs and prophets who were waiting for the Savior in the Abyss: “The holy prophets ran unto Him, and Moses the Lawgiver, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; David also, and Samuel, and Esaias, and John the Baptist, who bore witness when he asked, Art Thou He that should come, or look we for another? All the Just were ransomed, whom death had swallowed; for it behooved the King whom they had proclaimed, to become the redeemer of His noble heralds (PG 33, 847-850)”⁷⁸.

The above selected written sources emphasize, above all, the fact of leading the dead from the Abyss at the time of Christ’s death on the Cross. The Supreme Sac-

⁷⁵ Transl. after Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas – available online: http://www.vatican.va/spirit/documents/spirit_20010414_omelia-sabato-santo_en.html (Accessed 8.11.2019)

⁷⁶ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej.

⁷⁷ Transl. after Schaff (ed.) 1994.

⁷⁸ Transl. after Schaff (ed.) 1994.

rifice of the Son of God, proof of His love for humanity, erased the sin of the first parents and enabled the salvation not only of them, but of all other people. Apocryphal sources also describe the characters of Hades/hell awaiting the coming of the Savior, then Satan bound and locked in the depths of the Abyss, in an extremely colorful way.

In iconography, these descriptions were reflected primarily in the representation in the eastern variant of the scene of the Resurrection of Christ, which is the Descent into the Abyss (*Anastasis*)⁷⁹. This motif has its origin in the Byzantine Empire before the beginning of iconoclasm. And although this type of representations developed mostly in the East and gained the greatest popularity here, the oldest scenes showing this motif come from the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, where there are two frescoes dated to the reign of Pope John VII (705-707) (Fig. 41)⁸⁰. Undoubtedly, the iconography and the stylistics of the scenes allow to conclude that they were created by Byzantine artists. These influences allowed further development of the motif in the West, as exemplified by the partially preserved mosaic from the San Zeno Chapel in the Santa Prassede Church in Rome, dated to the reign of Pope Paschalis I (817-824)⁸¹, as well as scenes from two Carolingian Psalters (the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter) showing the scene of Descent of Christ into the Abyss⁸².

The first representations of the discussed scene in the East come only from the 9th century. These include reliquaries on the Holy Cross tree (among them, e.g. the scene on the reverse of the lid of the so-called Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke currently kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. 17.190.715a, b) (Fig. 42)⁸³), Psalters with decoration of margins (e.g. Chludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum of Russia, Ms. D.129), Pantocrator Psalter (Mount Athos, Pantocrator Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 69r) and Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Graec. 20⁸⁴)), as well as examples of monumental painting, of which to this day have survived paintings from the Cappadocian churches of Pürenli Seki and Acikel Ağa⁸⁵.

In her 1986 monograph devoted to the development of the *Anastasis* motif in Byzantine art, Anna D. Kartsonis distinguishes three types of representations taking into account both the chronology of their appearance and their ideological mes-

⁷⁹ On the iconography of the *Anastasis* scene – see above all Kartsonis 1986.

⁸⁰ Cf. Skrzyniarz 2002: 72, note 124. More on these paintings – see e.g. Nordhagen 1968: 81ff, 86; Nordhagen 1982.

⁸¹ More on the Santa Prassede scene – see Davis-Weyer 1976; Kartsonis 1986: 88-93; Wisskirchen 1990.

⁸² More on this subject – see e.g. Kartsonis 1986: 88-93; Skrzyniarz 2002: 125ff.

⁸³ The scene, which was once mistakenly considered to be the oldest example of this iconographic motif dated around 700 and created in a Syrian-Palestinian environment (more about this subject – see Skrzyniarz 2002: 73, note 128), is accompanied by the representation of the Resurrection, Nativity and Crucifixion. More about Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke – see e.g. Lucchesi Palli 1962; Davis-Weyer 1976: 183ff.

⁸⁴ Their detailed analyses together with the literature of the subject – see Skrzyniarz 2002: 125ff.

⁸⁵ See Skrzyniarz 2002: 73ff, notes 133ff.

sage⁸⁶. The first type, represented by the earliest examples of scenes, including paintings from the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua (Fig. 41), focuses primarily on showing the divinity of Christ and the power of His action. All the side motifs, including the topography of the scene and other characters appearing in it, have been eliminated from the representation. Full attention, as Kartsonis writes, is focused on the figure of Christ defeating Evil and saving the forefather Adam: “the image concentrates on illustrating Christ’s person at a moment in the last phase of his Death, when his perfect human soul, united with his perfect divine nature, effected the miracle of Resurrection after defeating Hades by the power of his divinity, while his perfect human body, united with his divinity, was lying dead in his tomb”⁸⁷. In this way, by exposing the dynamics of the figure of Christ and the beauty of His human body, the divine character of His nature was emphasized, and so was the Christological and triumphal significance of the entire representation.

The second iconographic type of the motif of Christ’s Descent into the Abyss, distinguished by Anna D. Kartsonis, is characterized by an extensive form of representation and the presence of numerous characters in it. They convey the narration of the scene around the central motif of leading the forefather Adam from the Abyss. The representation focuses on the act of freeing the first parents and patriarchs of the Old Covenant from the infernal depths as well as on showing the tethered Satan or Hades under Christ’s feet⁸⁸. The scene is often accompanied by Old Testament characters (including David and Salomon⁸⁹), which foretold the deliverance of humanity from sin. These elements emphasize Jesus’s mission and His role as New Adam, whose sacrifice guarantees our salvation. Kartsonis outlines the evolution of the significance of the scene towards emphasizing the soteriological content⁹⁰. An example of this iconographic type of Christ’s Descent into the Abyss are the aforementioned Cappadocian paintings from the 9th century. A similar scene is situated on the 10th-century ivory plaque from Constantinople, kept today in the Hermitage (Fig. 43)⁹¹ as well as on 11th-century mosaics from the Katholikon Church in Daphni (Fig. 44)⁹² and in Nea Moni on

⁸⁶ Kartsonis 1986: *passim*. Earlier classifications of representations of this motif did not take into account the ideological significance of the scene – cf. Skrzyniarz 2002: 76, note 141.

⁸⁷ Kartsonis 1986: 229.

⁸⁸ Many researchers, referring primarily to the ancient provenance of the way this character was depicted, interpret it explicitly as Hades (e.g. Skrzyniarz 2002 discusses this problem in detail: 80-117). However, in apocryphal sources, there is reference to Satan. Detailed analysis of this topic – see Skrzyniarz 2002: *passim*. The author of this monograph, remembering the chance of considering the represented character in two ways, for the sake of clarity of this work, decided, following the idea of many researchers, to identify the figure tied under Christ’s feet as Hades/hell (more about this subject – see Krauze-Kołodziej 2015b).

⁸⁹ More on these figures – see e.g. Kartsonis 1986: 186-203.

⁹⁰ Kartsonis 1986: 231ff.

⁹¹ More on this plaque – see e.g. Evans and Wixom (eds.) 2006: 147, No. 93.

⁹² More on the mosaic decoration from Daphni – see e.g. Gerke 1964; Kartsonis 1986: 219ff.

Chios (Fig. 45)⁹³. In the center of the first two representations is Christ walking on the back of Hades, who is handcuffed under His feet⁹⁴. In the scene from Nea Moni, the Savior walks over the gates of the Abyss, in whose depths numerous instruments of the Lord's Passion and fragments of the door are visible. There is no Hades character here. All three examples listed here show the moment when the Savior takes Adam's hand with His hand. Behind Adam there is Eve. In addition to the first parents, the scenes show also David, Solomon and John the Baptist. Scenes from Daphni and Nea Moni are moreover accompanied by other characters waiting for the descent of the Savior into the Abyss⁹⁵.

The last iconographic type of *Anastasis*, distinguished by Anna D. Kartsonis, is characterized by such a transformation of the representation that resulted in emphasizing not only the soteriological significance of the scene, but above all its eschatological meaning. In the scenes qualified for this type of motif the apocalyptic and passion elements referring to the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Christ as well as His second coming are clearly visible⁹⁶. An example of a scene formed in this way is a miniature from the Psalter of the 11th or 12th centuries, currently kept in the University Library at Princeton (Princeton, Art Museum, Cod. 30.20.) (Fig. 46)⁹⁷. In the upper register of this miniature, the scene of the Crucifixion of Christ is represented in a manner similar to that from the Basilica on Torcello discussed above. Below there is a representation of *Anastasis* limited to the representation of Christ standing *en face* on the door of the Abyss, who presents his wounds. On his right, Adam is kneeling in a sarcophagus, while on the left side of Christ there is Eve. Both the visibility of the Savior's wounds and the combination of the scene in question with the scene of Christ's death on the cross above it demonstrate a desire to emphasize not only the soteriological, but also the passion significance of the representation⁹⁸.

After listing the three types of *Anastasis* scene identified by Anna D. Kartsonis, one should consider which of them can be adscripted to the second register of the western

⁹³ More on the mosaic decoration from Nea Moni – see e.g. Matthiae 1964; Kartsonis 1986: 214-216.

⁹⁴ On identification of this figure – cf. notes 353 and 432.

⁹⁵ In addition to the representations listed here, Sławomir Skrzyniarz gives as examples of the second type of *Anastasis* scene: a miniature from the Trebizond Gospels from the second half of the 10th century, 11th-c. miniatures of the Evangelists from the monastery of St. Dionysius on Mount Athos (Mount Athos, Dionysiu Cod. 587(m), fol. 2^r) and from the Piermont Morgan Library in New York (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 639, fol 1^r), a miniature from the Gospel book (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. Graec. 2 fol. 260^v) from around 1122, an ivory plaque from the 12th c. kept at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai from the 12th c., a 12th-c. wall painting from the Karanlik Church in Göreme and the later painting from the Kariye Camii Paraklezjon in Constantinople – cf. Skrzyniarz 2002: 76ff.

⁹⁶ Cf. Kartsonis 1986: 152-164.

⁹⁷ More on this miniature – see Kartsonis 1986: 154, note 98.

⁹⁸ More about combining the *Anastasis* scene with the Crucifixion scene and its significance in this miniature and in the mosaic on Torcello – see Chap. IV.5.

wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello. The multiplicity of the characters represented in it may indicate the second type of representations emphasizing the soteriological meaning of the scene. However, the connection with the neighboring scenes (atop the Crucifixion scene and below the extensive *Deesis* scene) clearly refers to the third group of scenes referring to the eschatological significance of the representation. When one considers the hieraticism of the figure of Christ placed centrally and the monumental cross He holds, the character of the first group of representations emphasizing the Savior's triumph over death comes to mind. It seems, therefore, that the analyzed scene from the Basilica on Torcello has an extremely complex and multidimensional character, confirmed by the assimilation of various models that ultimately constitute an original and unique whole. This prevents the mosaic from being explicitly classified in any of the groups described above.

Undoubtedly, the dominant figure of the *Anastasis* scene from the Torcello Basilica is the risen Christ descending into the Abyss. The creators of the mosaic showed Him in motion, emphasized by the raising of His left leg, the deflection of the right hand and the twist of the torso. The viewer's attention is focused on this character not only due to his larger size relative to the other characters. The way Christ's prominent eyes are represented is extraordinary. He focuses his gaze on the figure of Adam taken by his hand. The Savior's eyes were highlighted with light blue *tesserae* that gave Christ's eyes an unusual color. Although Jesus's gaze actually focuses on one point, it seems to scan the entire space at the same time. A similar effect can be found in representations from 11th-century mosaics in Daphni (Fig. 44) and Nea Moni (Fig. 45), in a miniature from the monastery of St. Dionysius on Mount Athos (Mount Athos, Dionysiu Cod. 587(m), fol. 2^r), in a miniature from the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 639, fol 1^r) from the same period, and in the miniature from the Gospels from around 1122 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. Graec. 2 fol. 260^v). Such examples can also be found on 12th-century ivory plaques, e.g. those kept at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, and on scenes from the same time from the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai and wall paintings from the Karanlık Church in Göreme. In these representations, Christ holds a monumental Eastern type cross. In this way, the creators of the mosaic represented the most important subject of the whole scene of this register of the mosaic decoration on Torcello, i.e. the moment of salvation of the forefather Adam and thus the Redemption of the original sin by the sacrifice of Christ as the New Adam.

Jesus walks dynamically on the Abyss door visible under his feet⁹⁹. The gates were highlighted by the torn interior of the earth, represented by several layers of multi-col-

⁹⁹ In Greek *abyssos* (ἡ ἄβυσσος) meaning precipice, Abyss, primeval ocean, underground waters. It is generally the equivalent of Hebrew *Sheol*. It also appears as Hebrew *Theom*, or the vastness of the waters over which the Spirit of God hovered (Gen 1: 2: "ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἄορατος καὶ ἀκατασκευάστος καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος" – Rahlfs (ed.) 1935; cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 5) that is a kind of a cosmic sea

ored *tesserae* arranged in rows forming the irregular edges of the “limits of the world”. In the same way the space between what is above the earth and what is inside it was clearly separated in a scene from Nea Moni from the 11th century, in a miniature from the Gospel Book from around 1122 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Urb. Graec. 2 fol. 260^v) and in a 12th-century wall painting from the Karanlik Church in Göreme (Fig. 45). In the darkness of the interior of the earth, the depths of the abyss are visible, shown by black *tesserae*. The issue how the mosaic represents the interior

from which the heavenly vault and the earth arose. Then during the Flood, the Abyss founts filtered through the vault of water (Gen 7: 10-12: “And after seven days the floodwaters engulfed the earth. In the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month—on that day all the fountains of the great deep [Greek αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου] burst open and the floodgates of the heavens were opened. And the rain fell on the earth forty days and forty nights” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 14); cf. Gen 8: 2). Above the water vault there was the God’s throne (after: Eze 1, 26). Cf. Ps 46(45): 3; Ps 78(77): 15; Is 44: 27; Is 51: 10; Sir 24: 29; Eze 26: 19-20. It is boundless (e.g. Job 38: 16; Ps 36(35): 7). Sometimes it is identified with the depths of the earth (e.g. Gen 49: 25; Deu 33: 13) or with Greek Hades, understood as the Underworld. In the Bible, it means above all the land of the dead, where Christ came down after His death. It is the right place for demons to stay (Lk 8: 31). It occurs in the Apocalypse, as a place from which demons in the form of locust come out. Here, too, the Dragon – devil – goes for a thousand years (Rev 20: 1-3). There are also places in the Holy Scriptures where the Abyss is personified (Rev 6: 8 “So I looked and here came a pale green horse! The name of the one who rode it was Death, and Hades [in Greek ὁ ᾄδης] followed right behind. They were given authority over a fourth of the earth, to kill its population with the sword, famine, and disease, and by the wild animals of the earth” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1177); Hb 3: 10: “When the mountains see you, they shake. The torrential downpour sweeps through. The great deep [in Greek ἄβυσσος] shouts out; it lifts its hands high” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1343); Job 28: 12-14: “But wisdom—where can it be found? Where is the place of understanding? Mankind does not know its place; it cannot be found in the land of the living. The deep [in Greek ἄβυσσος] says, ‘It is not with me.’ And the sea says, ‘It is not with me.’” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1128) and Ps 69(68): 16: “Don’t let the current overpower me. Don’t let the deep swallow me up. Don’t let the Pit devour me”). Under the influence of these texts, among others, the iconography developed showing the Abyss as a mouth or a monster swallowing the damned. In the Book of Tobias, the Abyss is identified with death (cf. Tob 3: 10; Tob 13: 2). More on the Abyss – see e.g. Reymond 1958.

It is necessary to distinguish the Abyss from the Depths (most often also the Greek ἄβυσσος), which occurs primarily in the context of the depths of the earth, or *Sheol*, e.g. Ps 71(70): 20: “Though you have allowed me to experience much trouble and distress, revive me once again. Bring me up once again from the depths of the earth [in Greek ἐκ τῶν ἀβύσσων τῆς γῆς]” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 899); Eze 31: 12: “(...) In all the valleys its branches have fallen, and its boughs lie broken in the ravines of the land [in Greek ἐν παντὶ πεδίῳ τῆς γῆς]. All the peoples of the land have departed from its shade and left it” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1558); Ps 141(140): 7: “As when one plows and breaks up the soil, so our bones are scattered at the mouth of Sheol [in Greek παρὰ τὸν ᾄδην]” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 976).

The abyss is also a place of evil spirits (cf. Lk 8: 31; 2 Pe 2: 4; Jud 1: 6). Often, also due to inaccurate translations, these terms can be confused – cf. Rev 9: 1-2; Rev 11: 7; Rev 17: 8; Rev 20: 1-3. On the subject of the iconography of the Abyss – see shortly Lieball 1968.

of the earth and the boundaries between what is underground and what is above the earth seems to be extremely interesting to study. In particular, the author's interest is focused on the possible transition of knowledge about the interior of the earth from antiquity to the early Middle Ages, which could be reflected in iconography. The author has already made the first attempts to study this subject by conducting library queries. They show that these issues seem not to have been sufficiently examined¹⁰⁰.

Inside the earth, as, for example, in the scenes of Nea Moni (Fig. 45) and Daphni (Fig. 44), instruments of the Lord's Passion (e.g. nails) and fragments of a door were represented. Among them there is the lock and the keys, according to the text of the prophet Isaiah: "I will place the key to the house of David on his shoulder. When he opens the door, no one can close it; when he closes the door, no one can open it" (Is 22: 22)¹⁰¹.

In the depths of the Abyss there is a small figure of Hades lying on the back and depicted as an older man with blue skin and white hair and beard¹⁰². He was showed in a manner analogous to the figure sitting on the throne of hell in the second from below register of the mosaic decoration. Trampled under Christ's feet, Hades holds one hand on his stomach, while with the other he grabs a scrap of the Savior's tunic; his large, round eyes are stuck on the figure of Christ trampling him.

As mentioned earlier, this character is interpreted differently by researchers studying the mosaic from the western wall on Torcello¹⁰³. This is probably due to the dif-

¹⁰⁰ The author hopes to analyze the problems outlined here in a more detailed way in the nearest future. Until today, initial reflections on this topic have become the subject of the author's presentations at the following conferences: the presentation entitled *Vision of the interior of the earth in Latin and Byzantine tradition – introduction to the study* during international conference VI Colloquia Orphica in Nieborów (15-18.09.2014); the presentation entitled *The interior of the earth in Latin and Byzantine iconography – evolution or revolution of ancient tradition?* during the international conference 9th London Ancient Science Conference in London (16-18.02.2015); the presentation entitled *The Interior of the Earth in Latin and Byzantine Iconography: The 'Material' Landscape and Its Metaphorical Interpretation* during International Medieval Congress in Leeds (2.07.2019).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1398. Lock and key forms from the period coincide with the time the mosaic was created – cf. e. g. Bassi [et al.] 1996 (selected fragments) and the Museo Di Torcello. Sezione Medievale e Moderna 1978: 92.

The motif of the key that opens the Abyss gates appears in the biblical text, among others in Rev 20: 1; Rev 9: 1; Rev 1: 18.

Three objects located in the depths of the Abyss seem extremely interesting. They resemble pin-cers with their shape. However, the author managed to find in the Museo Provinciale di Torcello an example of an identical preserved item, which was described as a compass. The author leaves aside the problem of symbolism of this and other objects as well as their relations with other tools presented in the scene for her further research.

¹⁰² On the identification of this figure – cf. Chap. IV, p. 52 - note 9 and p. 102 - note 88.

¹⁰³ Some researchers see here Deamon (Conton 1927: 11), other Lucifer (Niero [s.d.]: 38; Polacco 1984: 49; Del Negro Karem 1991: 30) or devil / Satan (Musolino 1964: 17; Polacco 1984: 110; Pasquini 2012: 613). Convincing research sees it as the figure of Hades (Skrzyniarz 2002: 167ff). Cf. Maguire 2018.

ference that occurs between iconographic representations and written sources. The iconography of the figure explicitly refers to the ancient way of representing the ruler of the underworld and the god of death Hades (Αἰδης Ἄδης, Αἰδης Αἰδωνεύς from Greek: αἰδής, -ές – invisible, secret¹⁰⁴) and then his Roman equivalent Pluto (from Latin *plutos* – wealth). He was portrayed as a mature or old man with a long beard and mustache, standing or sitting on the throne. Frequent iconographic motifs of the Greek vases, followed by Roman mosaics, included various mythological scenes whose main hero was the god of the underworld. One of the most common representations depicting Hades in ancient art is the scene of the abduction of Persephone¹⁰⁵. The way of depicting the god of the dead from the Greco-Roman tradition was then taken over by Christian representations showing the embodiment of hell. The way Hades is portrayed in the *Anastasis* scene is analogous to the character sitting on the throne in the infernal depths on some representations. According to the researchers in the latest studies, listed by Sławomir Skrzyniarz in his monograph on the figure of Hades, in early medieval iconography there was a connection of Hades, hell and Satan into one iconographic type representing the ruler of the underworld, the king of hell and the Devil himself, although the written sources make clear distinctions between these characters¹⁰⁶.

The scene of the trampling of Hades by the risen Christ was described, among others, in Rev 20: 1-3: “Then I saw an angel descending from heaven, holding in his hand the key to the abyss and a huge chain. He seized the dragon—the ancient serpent, who is the devil and Satan—and tied him up for a thousand years. The angel then threw him into the abyss and locked and sealed it so that he could not deceive the nations until the one thousand years were finished. (After these things he must be released for a brief period of time)”¹⁰⁷. Similarly, this scene was described in the apocryphal text of

¹⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 9,457; Hes. *Theog.* 455; Aeschyl. *Pers.* 629; Soph. *Aj.* 571. Hades is the hero of many Greek myths – cf. Skrzyniarz 2002: 16-31.

¹⁰⁵ On ancient iconography of Hades (Pluto) – see above all Sophulis 1884; LGMR 1953: 124ff; Arias 1960: 1081ff. Cf. Wessel 1971; Mihályi 1991b. This topic is discussed in more detail in the article from 2015 (Krauze-Kołodziej 2015b).

¹⁰⁶ A thorough discussion of the differences between iconography and written sources along with the reference to a research discussion on this topic – see Skrzyniarz 2002: 107-117. It is worth marking identifications of the Abyss with the underworld already in the Old Testament (e.g. Gen 49: 25; Deut 33: 13) – cf. Chap. IV, p. 104f - note 99. The latest study on Hades in Byzantine iconography – cf. Maguire 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. in Greek: “Καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ ἄλυσιν μεγάλην ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὸν δράκοντα, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὃς ἐστὶν Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη, καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, καὶ ἔκλεισεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ πλανήσῃ ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη, ἄχρι τελεσθῆ τὰ χίλια ἔτη· μετὰ ταῦτα δεῖ λυθῆναι αὐτὸν μικρὸν χρόνον” (Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1226). Cf. Rev 19, 19-20. It is worth noting here that such an image changes the vision of the underworld in relation to that present in the Old Testament. Now these depths are becoming a sphere conquered by Christ.

*Descent into Hell*¹⁰⁸. It mentions entrusting Satan to Hades, who is to keep him until Christ comes again: “Then the King of Glory seized the chief satrap Satan by the head, and delivered him to His angels, and said: ‘With iron chains bind his hands, and his feet, and his neck, and his mouth’. The He delivered him to Hades, and said: ‘Take him, and keep him secure till my second appearing.’” (*Descent into Hell* VI(XXII)(2))¹⁰⁹.

In the Latin version of the same apocrypha, instead of Hades, a personified hell is mentioned. It has to guard the chain-bound Satan lying on his back in the deep abyss. This description also outlines the act of Christ’s trampling of Satan¹¹⁰: “And, behold, suddenly Hades trembled, and the gates of death and the bolts were shattered, and the iron bars were broken and fell to the ground, and everything was laid open. And Satan remained in the midst, and stood confounded and downcast, bound with fetters on his feet. And, behold, the Lord Jesus Christ, coming in the brightness of light from on high, compassionate, great, and lowly, carrying a chain in His hand, bound Satan by the neck; and again tying his hands behind him, dashed him on his back into Tartarus, and placed His holy foot on his throat, saying: ‘Through all ages thou hast done many evils; thou hast not in any wise rested. To-day I deliver thee to everlasting fire’. And Hades being suddenly summoned, He commanded him, and said: ‘Take this most wicked and impious one, and have him in thy keeping even to that day in which I shall command thee’. And he, as soon as he received him, was plunged under the feet of the Lord along with him into the depth of the abyss” (*Descent into Hell* Lat. VIII (XXIV)(1))¹¹¹.

The figure of Hades, bound in chains and blinded, was depicted, as in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello, in many other representations. Among them there is the mosaic decoration from Daphni (Fig. 44), where Hades was shown half-turned, Christ walking on his back. The way the King of the Underworld is portrayed here is almost identical to the scene on Torcello. In the Daphni representation, however, the staff of the cross held by the Savior additionally tightens the throat of the beast. Christ walking directly on the body of Hades was also shown in a miniature from the monastery of St. Dionysius on Mount Athos and in a miniature from the Pierpont Morgan Library, as well as in the scene in an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai and in the wall painting from the Karanlik Church in Göreme. In an ivory plaque kept at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, like in the mosaic in the Basilica on Torcello, Hades raises one hand towards Christ and tries to touch his clothing.

On both sides of the central figure of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene on Torcello, numerous figures of different ages and sexes emerge from stone sarcophagi¹¹². Among them, the most important are the first parents shown on the right side of Christ. Adam

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966 and translation after: Walker (transl.) 1890.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 329. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 174.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Ps 110(109): 1; 1 Cor 15: 25-27.

¹¹¹ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 429. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 220ff.

¹¹² Antonio Niero calls them prophets (cf. Niero [s.d.]: 42).

is in the foreground and Eve is shown behind him. Christ grabs his hand and pulls Adam, who takes a clear step towards the Savior.

This scene found its source in numerous apocryphal descriptions. *Vita Adae et Evae* mentions Adam's removal from the Abyss: "[God to Adam:] 'But I will change his joy into sorrow and I will lead you back towards this realm and I will set you upon your enemy's throne, where he was seated, close (by the place) where his rebellion was discovered'" (*Vita Adae et Evae* 47(39))¹¹³, "(...) 'Adam, you are dust and you return to dust;' but I will raise you in the resurrection which [I] promised you" (*Vita Adae et Evae* 48(41))¹¹⁴. In brief, the truth about Adam's removal from the Abyss was also shown in *Epistula Apostolorum*: "(...) unto Adam was power given to choose one of the two: he chose the light and laid his hand thereon, but the darkness he left behind him and cast away from him" (EpAp 39(50))¹¹⁵. This subject is described in detail in the apocrypha devoted entirely to the Descent into the Abyss. It talks about bringing the first man out of the abyss, stressing that the sin he has committed has been wiped out by the sacrifice of Christ¹¹⁶. Thanks to it, it will be possible to save all people: "The King of Glory stretched out His right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam, and raised him. Then turning also to the rest, He said: 'Come all with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched; for, behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross'. Thereupon He brought them all out" (Descent into Hell VIII (XXIV)(1))¹¹⁷. The same source also mentions groups of the dead saved from the Abyss: "The Savior blessed Adam with the sign of the cross on his forehead, and did this also to the patriarchs, and prophets, and martyrs, and forefathers; and He took them, and sprang up out of Hades" (Descent into Hell VIII (XXIV)(2))¹¹⁸. According to one version of the apocrypha, the Savior was to lead them straight to paradise: "And setting out to paradise, He took hold of our forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the just, to the Archangel Michael" (Descent into Hell IX (XXV))¹¹⁹. According to the second version of the same text, Adam was also accompanied by Eve, and "Then the Savior, inquiring thoroughly about all, seized Hades, immediately threw some down into Tartarus, and led some with Him to the upper world" (Descent into Hell Lat. IX(XXV)1)¹²⁰.

¹¹³ Transl. after Mahe 1981. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 38 (transl. R. Rubinkiewicz).

¹¹⁴ Transl. after Mahe 1981. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 38 (transl. R. Rubinkiewicz).

¹¹⁵ After James (transl.) 1924.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Rom 5: 12-19.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 330. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 174. Cf. the fragment in which Hades / hell complains to Satan that through the Sacrifice of Christ his depths is completely deserted: "not one of the dead was left in me, but all that thou hast gained through the tree of knowledge, all hast thou lost through the tree of the cross: and all thy joy has been turned into grief" (Descent into Hell VII(XXIII)) Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 329ff. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 174.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 330. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 175.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 331. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 175.

¹²⁰ Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 430. Transl. after: Walker (transl.) 1890: 221.

The characters of the first parents appear in numerous iconographic representations depicting the *Anastasis* scene¹²¹. In most of them, as in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello Island, Christ takes the hand of forefather Adam and pulls him out of the Abyss. Such a gesture appears, among others, in the 10th-century ivory plaque kept today in the Hermitage (Fig. 43), in the mosaic in Daphni (Fig. 44) and Nea Moni (Fig. 45), in miniatures from the Trebizond Gospels, from the Gospels from the monastery of St. Dionysius on Mount Athos and in the miniature from Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, as well as in the aforementioned miniature from the Gospel from the Vatican Apostolic Library, in the ivory plaque from Lyon, in the icon with the *Anastasis* scene from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai and in the wall painting from the Karanlik Church in Göreme. However, there are representations where Christ is standing still, while Adam and Eve are on His sides. An example of such a scene is a miniature from the Princeton University Library (Fig. 46).

In all the representations listed, except for the miniature from Mount Athos and the miniature from Princeton, the figure of Eve appears in the background, behind Adam. Just like in the decoration from the Basilica on Torcello, Eve is dressed in a *maphorion* and a long coat. She raises her hands in a pleading gesture towards the Savior. Her hands are visible in the Hermitage plaque (Fig. 43), the miniature from the Trebizond Gospels and in the fresco from the Karanlik Church in Göreme. In the case of other works, just like in the Basilica on Torcello, her hands, defiled with original sin, are screened by a coat. She is unworthy to touch the Savior yet together with Adam she experiences the grace of being led out of the Abyss.

St. John the Baptist, clad in a tunic and a coat made of animal skin and lined with fur, is placed on the other side of the central figure of Christ in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello¹²². This character also appears in an ivory plaque from the Hermitage (Fig. 43). St. John was shown here as an elderly man in a long tunic and *pallium*. He holds the cross in his right hand. In the mosaic from Daphni, St. John the Baptist is depicted as wearing a light tunic with dark *clavi* and a navy-blue coat. In his left hand he holds a *rotulus* and his right hand is pointing to Jesus in a symbolic gesture (Fig. 44).

In the case of the representation from the Basilica on Torcello, the gesture made by John the Baptist with the right hand is symbolic. He points to Christ, thus emphasizing the most important message of the work. A similar function of stressing the figure's importance and function in reading the scene is played by Mary's gesture in the Crucifixion above.

The *Anastasis* scene on the island of Torcello is also accompanied by numerous characters of the deceased brought out together with the first parents from the Abyss. They stand in groups placed in sarcophagi. Among them, on the right side of the Sav-

¹²¹ More about the iconography of Adam and Eve in the early Christian and medieval period – see e.g. Graeven [s.d]; Schade 1968; Breymann 1983; Mazurczak 1995; Mazurczak 2011. Literature on this topic – see Schade 1968:69f; Mihályi 1991a: 148.

¹²² On the iconography of John the Baptist – see shortly Weis 1974.

ior, there are two kings David and Solomon and many other characters¹²³. Similarly, this scene was shown in other representations showing *Anastasis*, for example in the mosaic from Daphni (Fig. 44) and in the representation from Nea Moni (Fig. 45). However, the scene from Torcello is far more extensive.

The uniqueness of the representation on Torcello is also evidenced by the groups of young men located on both sides of Christ in open marble sarcophagi. They are separated from the rest of the composition, as the depths of the Abyss, by two layers of earth shown through the expressive lines of white-brown *tesserae*. Most scholars interpret these figures as children or innocents awaiting salvation in the Abyss¹²⁴. This representation appears very rare. Till now, the author of this monograph has been unable to find a scene closely comparable to the depiction on Torcello Island.

The *Anastasis* scene from the Basilica on Torcello is flanked with representations of two Archangels with varicolored wings¹²⁵. They are dressed in long tunics and ornate *loros*; they hold *labarum* and royal orbs¹²⁶. *Nimbi* are visible above their heads. Their ears were clearly highlighted by sapphire-studded headbands in their hair. The *retinaculi* of the bands, taking the shape of ears, seem to emphasize the sharpening of the Archangels' hearing to the Words of God, thus demonstrating their superiority to man¹²⁷.

Undoubtedly, the Archangels fulfill here the function of both the guards of the Savior and representatives of the heavenly court. Symbolizing the divine force and

¹²³ Antonio Niero sees sixteen prophets among these characters (four major prophets, including Isaiah, and twelve minor ones) (Niero [s.d.]: 42).

¹²⁴ Cf. Chap. IV, p. 83 - note 10.

¹²⁵ As mentioned in the chapter on conservation works carried out on the mosaic decoration from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello, the representations of the Archangels were enlarged and significantly modified during the 19th-century conservation. It is worth noting that the Archangel who thanks to the inscription around his *nimbus* can be identified as Michael, was placed on the right side of Christ. Under his feet a navy-blue pillow is placed on a small, richly decorated platform. On the other side of Christ, i.e. on His left side, there is a second Archangel, trampling a green and yellow serpent. It is not clear whether Archangel Gabriel was portrayed in this rather unusual way. The serpent could, however, evoke an association with the Original Sin, erased by the Incarnation of Christ. Gabriel was the direct messenger in the Annunciation scene. This interpretation may also be confirmed by the meaning and connection of particular scenes of the mosaic decoration represented along the diagonal axes. There is: the right axis (running from the representation of the Mother of God in paradise, through the figure of Adam in the scene of the preparation of the throne for the coming of Christ, St. John the Baptist in the *Deesis* scene, to the representation of Archangel Gabriel on the left side of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene) and the left axis (starting with the representation of the punishments in hell and continuing through the figure of Eve in the scene of the preparation of the throne for the coming of Christ, the Mother of God in the *Deesis* scene, to the representation of the Archangel Michael on the right side of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene). Still, unambiguous resolution of this problem requires further research and goes beyond the scope of this monograph.

¹²⁶ On the *loros* – see among others Wessel, Piltz and Nicolescu 1978, on the *labarum* – see e.g. Longo 1994.

¹²⁷ Pallas 1978: above all p. 34.

the royal power of Christ, they flank the scene as its setting. In this way they emphasize the extremely important and extensive meaning of the representation, which reveals the three most important premises of the scene, resulting from its analysis: its soteriological and eschatological significance and the emphasis on Christ's triumph over evil and death.

IV.3.3. *Deesis*

The third register of the mosaic decoration on Torcello presents an extensive *Deesis* scene (in Greek: δέησις, -εως – request, prayer). At its center there is the representation of Christ depicted as the Judge¹²⁸, who presents his wounds. The Savior sits *en face* in a blue and white mandorla on two double golden rays symbolizing the Sun and the Moon. His tunic, glistening with gold with a clearly highlighted chiaroscuro of the folds of the material, refers to the comparison of Christ with the Light, the Sun and the fullness of all things¹²⁹. Above Jesus's head there is a cross *nimbus* decorated with five white pearls symbolizing the five wounds of Christ.

Above the mandorla of the Savior and in the background of the whole representation there are figures dressed in long white tunics and coats of angelic young men with *nimbi* above their heads. Although these figures were interpreted by researchers as both saints and angels¹³⁰, the author, being influenced by the bands that these young men, like all the angels in this mosaic complex have in their hair, decides to identify these figures as God's messengers. In addition, this seems to be confirmed by the biblical message from the Gospel of Matthew: "When the Son of Man comes in his glory and all the angels with him [in Greek: "καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ"], then he will sit on his glorious throne" (Mt 25: 31)¹³¹.

From the mandorla of Christ towards the bottom of the mosaic flows a river of fire, which, according to the Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, at the hour of the Judgement is to burn all the earth: "(...) then the elements of the world one and all shall be

¹²⁸ This comparison occurs many times in the Holy Scriptures, e.g. Ps 9(10): 4-5: "When my enemies turn back, they trip and are defeated before you. For you defended my just cause; from your throne you pronounced a just decision [in Greek ὁ κρίνων δικαιοσύνην]" (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 837-838). Cf. Ps 7: 12-14: "God is a just judge [in Greek ὁ θεὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος]; he is angry throughout the day. If a person does not repent, God will wield his sword. He has prepared to shoot his bow. He has prepared deadly weapons to use against him; he gets ready to shoot flaming arrows" (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 836ff). Cf. also Ps 97: 1-4.

¹²⁹ Cf. e.g. Jn 3: 19: "Now this is the basis for judging: that the light [in Greek τὸ φῶς] has come into the world and people loved the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds were evil" (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 403).

¹³⁰ These figures are interpreted as either angels (Conton 1927: 12; Polacco 1984: 49) or saints (Lorenzetti 1956: 810).

¹³¹ Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 124.

widowed, at what time God Whose dwelling is in the sky shall roll up the heaven as a book is rolled. And the whole firmament in its varied forms shall fall on the divine earth and on the sea: and then shall flow a ceaseless cataract of raging fire, and shall burn land and sea, and the firmament of heaven and the stars and creation itself it shall cast into one molten mass and clean dissolve” (3SibOr 80ff)¹³².

On both sides of the river of fire there are representations of two fire circles and two Cherubs with four colorful wings decorated with eye representations¹³³. Between them there are symbols of apocalyptic beings: the winged head of an eagle, a bull and a lion.

This scene seems to illustrate the announcement in the Book of Daniel of the second coming of Christ: “While I was watching, thrones were set up, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His attire was white like snow; the hair of his head was like lamb’s wool. His throne was ablaze with fire and its wheels were all aflame. A river of fire was streaming forth and proceeding from his presence. Many thousands were ministering to him; many tens of thousands stood ready to serve him. The court convened and the books were opened” (Dan 7: 9-10)¹³⁴.

Represented in the mosaic, below the mandorla of Christ, on both sides of the river of fire, circles and Cherubs (actually tetramorphs¹³⁵) most likely refer to Ezekiel’s vision, even though their number has been reduced to two circles and two beings: “As I watched, I noticed four wheels by the cherubim, one wheel beside each cherub; the wheels gleamed like jasper. As for their appearance, all four of them looked the same, something like a wheel within a wheel. When they moved, they would go in any of the four directions they faced without turning as they moved; in the direction the head

¹³² Transl. Charles (transl.) [et al.] 1973: 380. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 346 (transl. A. Paciorek).

¹³³ Cherubs also appear in the Bible as decorating the most important elements of the Temple of Solomon, including the Arc of the Covenant – cf. Ex 27: 7-9; Heb 9: 5; Ex 25: 17-20; Ex 26: 1, 31; Ex 36: 8, 35; 1 Ki 6: 23-35; 1 Ki 7: 36, 29; 2 Ki 3: 1ff; Eze 41: 17-21, 25; 1 Ki 8: 6-7; 1 Ki 28: 18; 2 Ki 5: 7-8. Often in biblical texts there is also the definition of God who “sits between cherubs”, e.g. 1 Sa 4: 4: “So the army sent to Shiloh, and they took from there the ark of the covenant of the Lord of Heaven’s Armies, who sits between the cherubim [in Greek: “τὴν κιβωτὸν κυρίου καθημένου χερουβιμ”]” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935, cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 374). Cf. 2 Ki 19: 15; Ps 99 (98): 1; Isa 37: 16. God is also described as the One who “sits enthroned between the cherubim that are on it” (2 Sa 6: 2; cf. 1 Ki 13: 6), or “mounts a winged angel” (2 Sa 22; cf. Ps 18(17): 11). Sometimes “the glory of the God of Israel went up from the cherub where it had rested to the threshold of the temple” (Eze 9: 3). More on this topic, together with the literature of the subject – see De Vaux 2002.

¹³⁴ Cf. in Greek: “ἔθεώρων ἕως ὅτε θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο ἔχων περιβολὴν ὡσεὶ χιόνα καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν ὁ θρόνος ὡσεὶ φλόξ πυρός καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ποταμὸς πυρός χίλια χιλιάδες ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν καὶ μύρια μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ καὶ κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεψήθησαν ἐθεώρων τότε τὴν φωνὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν μεγάλων ὧν τὸ κέρας ἐλάλει καὶ ἀπετυμpanίσθη τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπώλετο τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδόθη εἰς καῦσιν πυρός” (cf. Rahlfs (ed.) 1935; cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1618). Luigi Conton (Conton 1927: 12) and Giovanni Musolino (Musolino 1964: 17) also cite a comparison to this Biblical source.

¹³⁵ More on tetramorphs – see e.g. Grosset 1966; Herrmann and Hoek 2013.

would turn they would follow without turning as they moved, along with their entire bodies, their backs, their hands, and their wings. The wheels of the four of them were full of eyes all around. (...) Each of the cherubim had four faces: The first was the face of a cherub, the second that of a man, the third that of a lion, and the fourth that of an eagle” (Eze 10: 9-14)¹³⁶. The author also describes in several places the movement in which beings put the wheels with their wings: “Then the cherubim spread their wings with their wheels alongside them [moved] while the glory of the God of Israel hovered above them” (Eze 11: 22)¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Cf. in Greek: “σοφία δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας αὐτὴν ἐκ πόνων ἐρρύσατο καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ τροχοὶ τέσσαρες εἰστήκεισαν ἐχόμενοι τῶν χειρουβιν τροχὸς εἰς ἐχόμενος χειροῦβ ἑνός καὶ ἡ ὄψις τῶν τροχῶν ὡς ὄψις λίθου ἄνθρακος καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτῶν ὁμοίωμα ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρσιν ὃν τρόπον ὅταν ἢ τροχὸς ἐν μέσῳ τροχοῦ αὐτὴ φυγάδα ὀργῆς ἀδελφοῦ δίκαιον ἀδήγησεν ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν θεοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γῶσιν ἀγίων εὐπόρησεν αὐτὸν ἐν μόχθοις καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ κατισχυόντων αὐτὸν παρέστη καὶ ἐπλούτισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη αὐτῶν ἐπορεύοντο οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ ὅτι εἰς ὃν ἂν τόπον ἐπέβλεψεν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ μία ἐπορεύοντο καὶ οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ νῶτοι αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλόθεν τοῖς τέσσαρσιν τροχοῖς αὐτῶν διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνεδρευόντων ἠσφαλίσατο καὶ ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρὸν ἐβράβευσεν αὐτῷ ἵνα γνῶ ὅτι παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ἐστὶν εὐσέβεια αὐτὴ πραθέντα δίκαιον οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν τοῖς δὲ τροχοῖς τούτοις ἐπεκλήθη Γελεγὲλ ἀκούοντός μου συγκατέβη αὐτῷ εἰς λάκκον καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἕως ἡνεγκεν αὐτῷ σκήπτρα βασιλείας καὶ ἐξουσίαν τυραννόντων αὐτοῦ ψευδεῖς τε ἔδειξεν τοὺς μωμησαμένους αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόξαν αἰώνιον” (Rahlf’s (ed.) 1935), cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1532. Renato Polacco, too, sees in this representation two of the four wheels from Ezekiel’s vision. He also interprets the Cherubim as two out of the four Cherubim from this vision (cf. Polacco 1984: 49). Antonio Niero lists four beings on the wings of angels (Niero [s.d.]: 28), but, in fact, there are just three present-ed. The fourth being is probably imagined by Cherub himself. A description of the four apocalyptic beings and fire wheels also appears in Eze 1: 6-24: “In the fire were what looked like four living beings. In their appearance they had human form, but each had four faces and four wings. Their legs were straight, but the soles of their feet were like calves’ feet. They gleamed like polished bronze. They had human hands under their wings on their four sides. As for the faces and wings of the four of them, their wings touched each other; they did not turn as they moved, but went straight ahead. Their faces had this appearance: Each of the four had the face of a man, with the face of a lion on the right, the face of an ox on the left, and also the face of an eagle. Their wings were spread out above them; each had two wings touching the wings of one of the other beings on either side and two wings covering their bodies. (...) When the living beings moved, the wheels beside them moved; when the living beings rose up from the ground, the wheels rose up too. (...) Over the heads of the living beings was something like a platform, glittering awesomely like ice, stretched out over their heads. Under the platform their wings were stretched out, each toward the other. Each of the beings also had two wings covering its body. When they moved, I heard the sound of their wings—it was like the sound of rushing waters, or the voice of the Sovereign One, or the tumult of an army. When they stood still, they lowered their wings”. Cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1525ff. Cf. *ApAbr* 18: 3-5.

¹³⁷ Cf. in Greek: “ὅτι ὡς ῥοπή ἐκ πλαστίγγων ὄλος ὁ κόσμος ἐναντίον σου καὶ ὡς ῥάνις δρόσου ὀρθρινὴ κατελοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ἐξῆραν τὰ χειρουβιν τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ δόξα θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ὑπεράνω αὐτῶν” (Rahlf’s (ed.) 1935), cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1534.

Four beings in front of the throne of God also appear in the Apocalypse of St. John, but here they have six wings each: “and in front of the throne was something like a sea of glass, like crystal. In the middle of the throne and around the throne were four living creatures full of eyes in front and in back. The first living creature was like a lion, the second creature like an ox, the third creature had a face like a man’s, and the fourth creature looked like an eagle flying. Each one of the four living creatures had six wings and was full of eyes all around and inside. They never rest day or night, saying: ‘Holy Holy Holy is the Lord God, the All-Powerful, Who was and who is, and who is still to come!’” (Rev 4: 6-8)¹³⁸. Undoubtedly, the beings and circles depicted in the Torcello scene are symbolic, involving the above written sources.

Mary and St. John the Baptist are nearest Christ in this representation. They are facing the Savior and raising both their hands in the prayer gesture of the orants *expansis manibus*. With her hands raised in the same gesture, the Mother of God was shown in the lowest register of the decoration, above the door. Next to Mary and John there are two figures of Archangels dressed in long tunics and *loros* richly decorated with gemstones. Next to them, on both sides of the representation, there are the Apostles, presented, six on each side, as sitting men with beards or without beards dressed in white tunics with gold *clavi* and coats. They hold richly decorated books or *rotuli*. In contrast to the representation from the main apse of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, the western wall shows the Apostles according to Greek tradition (Thomas, Bartholomew, James the Elder, Luke, Matthew, Peter, Paul, Mark, Andrew, John, Simon and Philip, excluding Thaddeus and James the Younger, but with the Evangelists Mark and Luke)¹³⁹. St. Peter, holding two keys and the *rotulus*, depicted to the left of Mary, is the closest to the Mother of God.

The above scene, showing many different characters and placed in the eschatological context of the entire mosaic complex, presents the *Deesis* motif in the Last Judgment scene. The first attempts to show this motif appeared in Western art only in the 12th century. From the next century, this *Deesis* form became the most popular¹⁴⁰.

Characteristic of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica on Torcello is the clear separation of all the elements making up the scene and at the same time constituting the

¹³⁸ Cf. in Greek: „καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. Καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν· καὶ τὸ ζῶον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῶον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζῶον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζῶον ὅμοιον ἀετῶ πετομένῳ· καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα, ἐν καθ’ ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνά πτέρυγας ἕξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν· καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες· Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1171ff).

¹³⁹ The identification of particular Apostles on the basis of iconographic comparisons of their physiognomic features was made by Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 33). On the College of the Apostles in early Christian and early medieval art – see e.g. Myslivec 1968.

¹⁴⁰ More on the iconography of the *Deesis* scene – see e.g. Bogyay 1967; Cutler 1987; Gilsdorf 2012. Shortly (literature of the subject included) – see Bogyay 1968.

compositional basis of the other *Deesis* types¹⁴¹. The central part of the representation is *Deesis* of three figures, which consists of Christ, Mary and St. John the Baptist¹⁴². The earliest examples of this iconographic motif were limited to these three characters only. In addition, they showed Mary on the left side of Christ, as in the icons from the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai dating back to the 6th century. This scene arrangement remained until the middle of the 10th century, after which it was changed, following the principle of page hierarchy. The form of *Deesis* with Mary on the right side of the Savior and St. John the Baptist on his left was widely accepted in art from the 11th century onwards. An example of this type of composition of *Deesis* is a scene from the binding of the Rich Bernward Gospels of Hildesheim, dated at the turn of the 11th century (Hildesheimer Domschatz, Hildesheim, inv. 18) (Fig. 47)¹⁴³.

More elaborate compositions in which the characters of Archangels, Apostles, martyrs or saints appeared are referred to as the Great *Deesis*, meant to be an illustration of the intercessory prayer of all saints¹⁴⁴. An example of such a representation, showing apart from the figures of Mary, Christ and St. John the Baptist also other saints (including Gregory, Demetrius, John Chrysostom and Basil), is an ivory triptych from Constantinople, known as the Harbaville Triptych. Harking back to the 10th century, it is now kept in the Louvre Museum (inv. OA 3247) (Fig. 48)¹⁴⁵.

From the composition arrangement of the Great *Deesis* in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello come the figures of the Archangels situated next to Mary and St. John the Baptist and the figures of the angels in the background of the whole scene. The central element of the representation, i.e. Christ in the mandorla, is inspired by another type of composition arrangement of the *Deesis* scene, which is *Deesis* in combination with Christ in the Majesty (*Maiestas Domini*)¹⁴⁶. Numerous representations illustrating this iconographic variant of the scene, which depict Christ in the mandorla often accompanied by tetramorphs, come from the 11th-13th centuries. One exemplification of this arrangement is a wall painting from the apse of the parish church in Nideggen from the early 13th century (Fig. 49).

As shown above, the *Deesis* scene, being a part of the mosaic complex in the Basilica on Torcello, combines elements of all three mentioned arrangements of compo-

¹⁴¹ Different iconographic types of the *Deesis* scene are listed by Henryk Madej (Madej 1974), Roman Mazurkiewicz discusses them in detail in a monograph on the *Deesis* motif in medieval culture (Mazurkiewicz 2002: passim).

¹⁴² Roman Mazurkiewicz defines this type of *Deesis* as *Deesis*-trimorphion (Mazurkiewicz 2002: 98). More on this subject with description of this type – see Mazurkiewicz 2002: 98-116.

¹⁴³ More about this Gospel book – see e.g. Brandt (ed.) 1993; Brandt and Kuder 1993.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Mazurkiewicz 2002: 116-118.

¹⁴⁵ More on the Harbaville Triptych – see Gaborit-Chopin 2003: No. 16; Durand 2005.

¹⁴⁶ On the iconography of *Maiestas Domini* – see e.g. shortly Van Der Meer 1971 and Fromaget 2003; Piano 2003; Moffitt 2007; Frese 2010. On Christ's mandorla – see e.g. Canuti 2008-2009; Todorova 2013. On the connection of this motif with the liturgy – see Skubiszewski 2005; Scarlatt 2014.

sition of this iconographic motif, while remaining within the fourth arrangement, i.e. the *Deesis* motif in the Last Judgement scene¹⁴⁷. In this way, the creators of the mosaic managed to arrive at a new, extremely complex quality when content is concerned. Its main theme is to show the moment of the second coming of Christ as the Judge of all things and the Light¹⁴⁸. According to the words of the Gospel: “When the Son of Man comes in his glory and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne. All the nations will be assembled before him, and he will separate people one from another like a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats (...)” (Mt 25: 31-32)¹⁴⁹. Information on the second coming of Christ can also be found in apocryphal sources. In this way the Book of Enoch mentions it: “(...) He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones / To execute Judgement upon all, / And to destroy all the ungodly: / And to convict all flesh / Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, / And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him” (Enoch 1(1))¹⁵⁰. The author of one of the apocryphal apocalypses describes the judgement of Christ extremely vividly: “From the east unto the west shall all the children of men be gathered together before my Father that liveth for ever. And he shall command hell to open its bars of adamant and give up all that is therein¹⁵¹. And the wild beasts and the fowls shall he command to restore all the flesh that they have devoured¹⁵², because he willeth that men should appear; for nothing perisheth before God, and nothing is impossible with him, because all things are his. For all things come to pass on the day of decision, on the day of judgement, at the word of God: and as all things were done when he created the world and commanded all that is therein and it was done” (ApocPt 4)¹⁵³.

¹⁴⁷ On this type of the *Deesis* scene – see Mazurkiewicz 2002: 118-130.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. a depiction of Parousia in Jn 3: 19-20: “This is the verdict: Light has come into the world, but people loved darkness instead of light because their deeds were evil. Everyone who does evil hates the light, and will not come into light for fear that their deeds will be exposed” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 403).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. in Greek: “Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, τότε καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ· καὶ συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἀφορίσει αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, ὡσπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων,” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 124).

¹⁵⁰ Transl. after Charles (transl.) [et al.] 1973: 189. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 144 (transl. R. Rubinkiewicz).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Descent into Hell V(XXI),1 and Descent into Hell Lat. VII.

¹⁵² Cf. SibOr 2, 283ff: “And such as perished in the billowy seas, And all that furnished banquet for the beasts, And creeping things, and winged fowls — all these Uriel will summon to the judgment seat” – Transl. after Terry, M. S. (transl.) 1899: 19. Cf. (Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 338 (transl. A. Świderkówna, W. Appel, J. Czuj, W. Kornatowski)).

¹⁵³ Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 230ff (transl. S. Kur, M. Starowieyski). In the Holy Scriptures, metaphorical visions describing the separation of sheep from goats (Mt 25: 31-33) and the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Mt 25: 1-13; cf. EpAp 43 (54)) also invoke the moment of the Judgement and the fate of people who are dependent on their actions when they were alive. These parables were especially reflected in the early iconog-

This moment is preceded by extraordinary circumstances of nature mentioned, among others, by the Gospel according to Matthew: “Immediately after the suffering of those days, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven will be shaken¹⁵⁴. Then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in heaven, and all the tribes of the earth will mourn. They will see the Son of Man arriving on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he will send his angels with a loud trumpet blast, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other” (Mt 24: 29-31)¹⁵⁵. And then: “(...) [the] books were opened, and another book was opened—the book of life. So the dead were judged by what was written in the books, according to their deeds” (Rev 20: 12)¹⁵⁶. Then it will be the cruel fate of sinners, according to the author of the Third Book of

raphy of the Last Judgement. More on this subject – see Brenk 1966: passim. Cf. also allegory of the Judgement in Rev 14: 14-20.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Esdras 1: 69: “on the last day the moon will change into blood and the sun will dissolve in its blood and will change and it will set and there will be darkness and the stars will fall on the earth and it will burn on seventy cubits” – transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 196, transl. S. Starowieyski.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. in Greek: “Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς· καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῶν.” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 117ff). The author of apocryphal *Apostles’ Letters* also mentions the extraordinary phenomena which will precede the coming of Christ: “(...)Then shall they that believe and they that believe not hear a trumpet in the heaven, a vision of great stars which shall be seen in the day, wonderful sights in heaven reaching down to the earth; stars which fall upon the earth like fire, and a great and mighty hail of fire. The sun and the moon fighting one with the other, a continual rolling and noise of thunders and lightnings, thunder and earthquake; cities falling and men perishing in their overthrow, a continual dearth for lack of rain, a terrible pestilence and great mortality, mighty and untimely, so that they that die lack burial: and the bearing forth of brethren and sisters and kinsfolk shall be upon one bier. The kinsman shall show no favour to his kinsman, nor any man to his neighbour. And they that were overthrown shall rise up and behold them that overthrew them, that they lack burial (...)” (EpAp 34(45)) (Transl. after: James (transl.) 1924). Cf. Rev 8: 10; 8: 7; 11: 19; 16: 18; 11: 13; 16: 19. However, these signs are not limited to unusual natural phenomena. People are also to be affected by all defeats and failures. On this subject writes also the author of the *Revelation of Esdras*: „First will I make an earthquake for the fall of four-footed beasts and of men; and when you see that brother gives up brother to death, and that children shall rise up against their parents, and that a woman forsakes her own husband, and when nation shall rise up against nation in war, then will you know that the end is near” (ApocEsdras 3: 11-13) (Transl. Walker (transl.) 1885. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 184ff, transl. M. Starowieyski).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ εἶδον τοὺς νεκροὺς, τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, ἐστῶτας ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν· καὶ ἄλλο βιβλίον ἠνοίχθη, ὃ ἐστὶν τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1228).

the Sibylline Oracles: “and all its people shall perish in their own dwellings, whensoever a cataract of fire shall flow from heaven” (3SibOr, 53-54)¹⁵⁷, “For come it will, whensoever the odour of brimstone pervades all mankind” (3SibOr, 60-61)¹⁵⁸.

The integration of the *Deesis* scene into the developed and interpretively complex representation of the Last Judgement is not unique to the scene from the Basilica on Torcello. Among the examples of the iconography of the Last Judgement from an earlier or the same period as the representation from Torcello, there are several monuments that can be compared to the mosaic decoration in question.

The first example is the *Deesis* scene located in the highest register of an ivory plaque depicting the Last Judgement Scene and stored today at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (inv. A.24-1926) (Fig. 51). The work of art, originally from Constantinople, dates to around 1000-1100¹⁵⁹. The analyzed scene was shown in a very similar way to that on the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello. The center of the representation is the figure of Christ the Judge depicted in the mandorla. Mary is on his right and St. John the Baptist is on his left side. Both, as in the Torcello scene, raise their hands towards the Savior in a gesture of prayer. Below the mandorla of Christ there are two Cherubim. They do not have the symbols of apocalyptic beings between the wings. A river of fire flows from the mandorla to the bottom of the representation. On both sides of Christ in the Majesty, as in the Torcello scene, six Apostles sit on either side. Behind them, there are monumental figures of angels standing frontally and very different in size. Each of them holds a *labarum* in his hand.

Another representation that includes the *Deesis* scene shown in a very similar way to that on the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta is a miniature with the scene of the Last Judgement (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Grec. 74 fol. 51^v) dated on the 11th century and kept in the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52)¹⁶⁰. The *Deesis* scene occupies the top section of the representation. It differs from the analyzed mosaic because Christ, located in the center of the scene, sits on a throne decorated with two pillows. The Apostles gathered around him were shown sitting on long stellas. They hold richly decorated books, not *rotuli* or books, as in the case of Torcello scene. From the mandorla of Christ flows a river of fire, which, passing through the

¹⁵⁷ Transl. after Charles (transl.) [et al.] 1973: 379. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 348 (transl. A. Paciorek).

¹⁵⁸ Transl. after Charles (transl.) [et al.] 1973: 379. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 348 (transl. A. Paciorek). Cf. 2SibOr; 8SibOr. This issue should also be studied in Jewish apocryphal sources. The subject of inspiration of medieval iconography with these sources is now more and more often studied – see e.g. Mazurczak 2013. The parallels between the New Testament tradition and apocryphal writings, including Jewish sources, was examined by Fr. Prof. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (see e.g. Rubinkiewicz 1984 and other articles devoted to this subject).

¹⁵⁹ More on the plaque from Victoria & Albert Museum – see e.g. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934: No. 123; Brenk 1964a:106ff; Williamson (ed.) 1986: 162ff; Williamson 2010: 128-133, cat. No. 30.

¹⁶⁰ More on this miniature – see e.g. Brenk 1964a: 106-109; Brenk 1966: 84-86; Christe 2000: 58.

throne located centrally under the representation of *Maiestas Domini*, prepared for the coming of the Savior, reaches the infernal depths of the lower registers. Four Cherubs and four fire wheels were depicted on both sides of the river of fire. Their number differs in this miniature scene from the Torcello representation. The *Deesis* scene was depicted in a similar way to the representation from the miniature from the Paris Library in an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai dated to the mid-12th c. (Fig. 54)¹⁶¹. This representation was placed in the top register of a semi-circular ended icon. The Apostles sit on richly decorated stalls, as in the case of the miniatures from Paris. Behind them there are rows of angels. From the golden mandorla of Christ flows a river of fire, flanked by two Cherubin on either side. However, no fire wheels appear in the icon.

The *Deesis* scene was depicted in a similar way to the representation from the miniature from the Paris Library in an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai dated to the mid-12th century and today is kept in the collections of the Vatican Pinnacle (Fig. 55)¹⁶². In the highest register of the semicircular depiction there is Christ on the Majesty depicted as the king sitting on the throne. He holds a sphere in his right hand and a cross on a golden staff in his left hand. He is flanked by two angels with six wings, each with two fire circles at the bottom. The representation is enclosed on two sides by angels with black wings and dressed in white tunics and red coats. The register below shows in the center Christ the High Priest, girded with a mantle. Demonstrating his wounds, he stands behind the altar, on which a golden cross and a sealed book are visible. On either side there are two Archangels dressed in long tunics and richly decorated *loros*. They hold golden globes and outspread *rotuli*. On two sides, there are six Apostles sitting on stalls covered with pillows. In the center of the next register, there is a group of the Blessed led to paradise and flanked by Mary on the right and St. Stephen on the left¹⁶³. Both figures raise their hands in a gesture of prayer and look at Christ the Priest located above. It is therefore clear that the scene, shown succinctly in the mosaic of the western wall on Torcello, in the case of the so-called Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgement was broken into three separate registers.

IV.3.4. *Etimasia* and the Resurrection of the dead

The western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, below the mandorla of Christ, depicts the scene of the preparation of the throne for the second coming of the Savior (*Etimasia/Hetoimasia*, in Greek: ἡ ἐτοιμασία – readiness, preparation, equipment).

¹⁶¹ In a similar way, the scene in question was represented in the second Sinai icon with the Last Judgement dated to the mid-11th century Cf. Pace (ed.) 2006: 58ff.

¹⁶² For a detailed analysis and interpretation of the message of the table as well as references to the literature of the subject – see Mazurczak 2012: 241-256.

¹⁶³ More on this subject – see Mazurczak 2012: 245ff.

It is an illustration of the words from the Book of Daniel: “While I was watching, thrones were set up, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. (...) The court convened and the books were opened” (Dan 7: 9-10)¹⁶⁴. This motif also appears in the early Christian *Homily on Holy Saturday*. Its author writes: “The cherubim throne [in Greek: Χερουβικὸς θρόνος] has been prepared, the bearers are ready and waiting, the bridal chamber is in order, the food is provided, the everlasting houses and rooms are in readiness; the treasures of good things have been opened; the kingdom of heaven has been prepared before the ages”¹⁶⁵.

The central place of the representation from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta is occupied by a golden throne prepared for Christ, placed on a richly decorated platform with pearls and precious stones. Two elliptical pillows are located on it. One of them is red, the other is green. Such a choice of colors undoubtedly refers to the two authorities of Christ: royal and sacerdotal. Having fulfilled the two functions, Jesus effected the salvation of man and as King and Priest He will judge all people during the Last Judgement.

The navy-blue fabric draped on the pillows features a richly decorated gold book with rubies, emeralds and pearls, in which, according to the prophet Daniel: “(...) these matters are closed and sealed until the time of the end” (Dan 12: 9)¹⁶⁶.

Behind the throne there is a wooden Greek-type cross through which a laurel wreath was shifted at the intersection of the beams. Actually, all researchers studying in more detail the mosaic from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello incorrectly identify this wreath as a crown of thorns¹⁶⁷. This error, reproduced in subsequent studies, probably results from the fact that visible on both sides of the cross there are a sponge branch of hyssop and a spear¹⁶⁸. Therefore, these objects were in-

¹⁶⁴ Cf. in Greek: “ἐθεώρουον ἕως ὅτε θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο ἔχων περιβολὴν ὡσεὶ χιόνα καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν ὁ θρόνος ὡσεὶ φλόξ πυρός καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ποταμὸς πυρός χίλια χιλιάδες ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν καὶ μύρια μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ καὶ κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεψύχθησαν” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935), cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1618. Cf. Rev 20: 11-12.

¹⁶⁵ PG 43, Coll. 463ff. Transl. after Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas – available online: http://www.vatican.va/spirit/documents/spirit_20010414_omelia-sabato-santo_en.html (Accessed 8.11.2019).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ εἶπεν δεῦρο Δανιηλ ὅτι ἐμπεφραγμένοι καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοι οἱ λόγοι ἕως καιροῦ πέρας” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1632.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Niero [s.d.]: 28; Musolino 1964: 17; Polacco 1984: 49; Del Negro Karem 1991: 31.

¹⁶⁸ We find information about these instruments of the Passion in the Holy Scriptures. Cf. Jn 19: 28-30: “After this Jesus, realizing that by this time everything was completed, said (in order to fulfill the scripture), ‘I am thirsty!’ A jar full of sour wine was there, so they put a sponge soaked in sour wine on a branch of hyssop and lifted it to his mouth. When he had received the sour wine, Jesus said, ‘It is completed!’ Then he bowed his head and gave up his spirit” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 629ff); Jn 19: 33-34: “But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and blood and water flowed out immediately” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 630ff).

terpreted jointly as the *Arma Christi*¹⁶⁹. The wreath, however, was hung by the cross in a characteristic way, and its form clearly identifies it with the wreath of bay leaves. This iconographic solution, undoubtedly, refers to the traditions of ancient triumphs, emphasizing the victorious aspect of Christ's death. Thus, the cross surrounded by the instruments of the Passion of the Lord becomes a sign of triumph and victory (*crux invicta / crux triumphalis*) of the Savior over death and Evil¹⁷⁰.

On both sides of the throne of the Savior, at the top, there are two figures of Seraphim who, as described in the Book of Isaiah: "(...) stood over him; each one had six wings. With two wings they covered their faces, with two they covered their feet, and they used the remaining two to fly" (Isa 6: 2)¹⁷¹.

Right at the podium, on both sides of the throne, kneel the figures of the first parents. Adam is represented on the right and Eve is shown on the left. They look at the triumphant cross, raising both hands in a prayer gesture identical to that of Mary and St. John the Baptist in the *Deesis* scene above. The first parents, as it is explained, here become symbols of the peoples of the entire earth who want to beg God's mercy, so needed at the time of Judgement. Perhaps, however, this characteristic pose of the figures should be referred to the above represented characters of Mary and St. John the Baptist. Adam and Eve, already saved from the Abyss, as evidenced by the fact that Eve shows both her hands, in contrast to the *Anastasis* scene, also intercede for those who could not yet be redeemed, that is, all the living convicted to the Judgement.

Behind the kneeling figures of the first parents there are two Archangels standing and facing the throne, in whose direction they raise their hands. They hold a *labarum* and are dressed in long white tunics decorated with large golden appliques. The tunics are covered with blue copes fastened under the neck with golden *fibulae*. Both are girded with gold cords on the hips and green cords at the waist. This clothing evokes the descriptions of priestly costumes known from the Holy Scriptures¹⁷², but in Byzantine art it was changed under the influence of liturgy and the Byzantine court tra-

¹⁶⁹ About which see, among others: Conton 1927: 13; Lorenzetti 1956: 810; Polacco 1984: 49.

¹⁷⁰ The hypothesis presented here is naturally just a brief outline of the question. It would undoubtedly require further development that the author would like to undertake later in her research.

¹⁷¹ Cf. in Greek: "καὶ σεραφὶν εἰστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν κατεκάλυπτον τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν ἐπέταντο παγίς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χεῖλη καὶ ἀλίσκεται χεῖλεσιν ἰδίου στόματος" (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1381ff.

¹⁷² See e.g. Ex 28: 4-5: "Now these are the garments that they are to make: a breastpiece, an ephod, a robe, a fitted tunic, a turban, and a sash. They are to make holy garments for your brother Aaron and for his sons, that they may minister as my priests. The artisans are to use the gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen" (cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 106). Cf. Ex 39: 1-43; Lev 8: 6-9. The clothing of the Archangels from the *Etimasia* scene on Torcello does not match the descriptions of the clothing or the angel's clothing described in the Apocalypse – cf. Rev 5: 1-2; Rev 10: 1-2.

dition¹⁷³. Flanking the representation of the throne of Christ, the Archangels, thus, act as guardians of the book lying on the throne.

The scene of *Etimasia* shown on Torcello Island in the context of the entire eschatological mosaic complex is an extraordinary example of an extensive iconographic motif combining many meanings¹⁷⁴. The triumphant character of this motif was specifically highlighted. It consists of figures flanking the centrally placed throne of Christ: Seraphim, a guard of the Archangels and the first parents kneeling at the foot of the throne. The figures' positions, their gestures and clothes seem to evoke the tradition of imperial court rituals. Ultimately, however, the most important sense of the representation lies, as it seems, behind the centrally located throne, where there is the victorious cross flanked by the instruments of Christ's Passion.

The *Etimasia* scene was shown in an almost identical manner in the ivory plaque dated to the early the 11th century kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 51). The throne standing on the podium is visible in the lowest register of the representation. On the throne there are two pillows covered with long fabric. Behind the sealed book placed on the throne there is, similarly to the Torcello scene, a Greek-type cross with a laurel wreath hung at the intersection of the beams. The cross is flanked by the instruments of the Passion: a spear and a sponge on a branch of hyssop. The scene from the London plaque, however, was not expanded, like that in the mosaic from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello, by the figure of Adam and Eve, Archangels and Seraphim, which can be linked to a court ritual. An even less elaborate representation of the preparation of the throne of Christ appears in a miniature with the Last Judgment scene from Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Grec. 74 fol. 51^v) (Fig. 52). In the center of the representation there is a throne flanked by the *Arma Christi*: a sponge on a branch of hyssop and a spear. This representation is extremely simplified, even symbolic and includes neither the triumphal cross behind the throne, nor the other characters that appeared in the extended scene on Torcello Island. On the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai from the mid-12th century there is a more extensive scene of *Etimasia* represented (Fig. 54). The richly decorated throne, expanded with a gilded backrest, is flanked, as in the case of the mosaic on Torcello, by God's two messengers. At the footrest, on the right side of the throne, Eve kneels in a prayer position. On the navy-blue fabric draped on the seat covered with a red cushion, there is a Greek-type cross and a sealed, gilded book.

On the right side of the centrally located *Etimasia* in the mosaic from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta are two winged angels in long tunics whose colors - white and

¹⁷³ It seems that the clothing may refer to Byzantine soldiers' one, because in the same clothes, in Byzantine art, holy soldiers, e.g. St. Demetrius, were represented. More on Byzantine soldiers' clothing – see Kalamara 2004: vol. 1, 110-120.

¹⁷⁴ More about the development of the iconographic motif of *Etimasia* – see e.g. shortly Bogyay 1972 (chosen literature of the subject included Bogyay 1972: 312ff); Wegner 1985 and Quarles Van Ufford [s.d.]; Di Natale 2013.

blue - seem to correspond to the *tesserae* colors from which the Christ mandorla was made in the *Deesis* scene above. The tunics are covered with snow-white coats. Both angels hold large trumpets richly decorated with precious gems. The instruments are played in accordance with the apocalyptic description: “Now when the Lamb opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven for about half an hour. Then I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets [in Greek ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγες] were given to them” (Rev 8: 1-2)¹⁷⁵. The Gospel according to Matthew says that God “(...) will send his angels with a loud trumpet blast, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other” (Mt 24: 31)¹⁷⁶. The sounds of the angels’ trumpets are to signal the resurrection of the dead to Judgement¹⁷⁷. A similar figure of an angel holding a trumpet and calling for Judgement is found in the ivory plaque in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Fig. 51) and in the miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). In both cases, however, only one angel holding a trumpet rather than four messengers, like in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, was depicted. Two figures of angels with trumpets are represented in the so-called Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgement, the table kept in the Vatican Museums (Fig. 55). They call the dead from their graves, concentrated in the lower right part of the representation, above the rectangular predella. The figures of angels blowing trumpets were also placed in the highest register of paintings from the western wall of the church of Sant’Angelo in Formis dated to the early 11th century (Fig. 56)¹⁷⁸. The figures of God’s messengers located between the window openings complete the extended scene of the Last Judgement. As in the mosaic decoration on Torcello, four angel messengers with trumpets were shown here calling the dead to their judgement.

On the other side of the scene of *Etimasia*, the figure of an angel with large colorful wings, dressed in a golden tunic and white coat is represented. He holds in both hands and unrolls a white and blue volume with twelve stars. This representation may illustrate the scene described in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter, whose author writes that at the second coming of Christ: “ (...) every power of heaven shall be melted, and the heaven shall be rolled up like a book, and all the stars shall fall like leaves from the vine, and as the leaves from the fig-tree” (ApocPt 5)¹⁷⁹. Similar to the scene on Torcello

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1182. Cf. Rev 8, 6ff. Furthermore, Commodianus (II.2-3) mentions the trumpets giving signals from heaven.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ’ ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῶν” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 118). Cf. ApocEsdras 4: 36: “And after this a trumpet, and the tombs shall be opened, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible” (Transl. after Walker, A. (transl.) 1885. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 186, transl. M. Starowieyski).

¹⁷⁷ Cf. 1 Cor 15: 52; 1 Tes 4: 16.

¹⁷⁸ More about wall-paintings in the Church of Sant’Angelo in Formis – see e.g. Morisani 1962; Moppert-Schmidt 1967.

¹⁷⁹ Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 231 (transl. S. Kur, M. Starowieyski). Cf. Mt 24: 29: “Immediately after the suffering of those days, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven

lo Island, the figure of God's messenger developing the volume with the vault of heavens is visible on the left side of the second register of the miniature from the National Library in Paris, just after the representation of two groups of the Blessed (Fig. 52). An angel holding a long, blue and white volume on which the stars are visible is also found in the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine from Sinai, on the right side of the river of fire flowing from the mandorla of Christ (Fig. 54).

In the scene from the Basilica on Torcello Island, to the left of God's messenger with a volume there are two more angels blowing trumpets, analogous to the angelic figures on the other side of the throne. All four call the dead to their judgement.

The scene of the Resurrection of the dead on the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta is divided into two parts. Each of them closes the register on one side. On the right from the centrally located scene of *Etimasia*, a large cave has been represented. Inside, the creators of the mosaic depicted animals standing next to one another: a lion, an elephant, a hyena, a leopard, a wolf, a griffin, and two flying crows. One should consider whether such a selection of species could be a matter of chance.

The lion is the king of all animals, a symbol of strength and the sun. In the Christian tradition, this animal had both a positive meaning, symbolizing the strength and power of Christ, as well as a negative significance, because the Savior saved believers from the mouth of the Lion - Satan¹⁸⁰. The elephant in the early Christian period was also a symbol of liberation; it referred directly to the enemy, i.e. the Dragon, as well as to the triumph of Christ over sin, also thanks to the sacrament of baptism¹⁸¹. However, because in ancient times elephants took part in battles and as such were considered very dangerous creatures, they were also associated with strength and threat¹⁸². The hyena symbolized impurity. Already in *The Epistle of Barnabas* (Brn 9: 8) one can find a warning that people should not eat hyena meat, because this animal changes sex once a year becoming either a female or a male. In addition, it feeds on carrion and even on human bodies. It also symbolizes betrayal and debauchery¹⁸³. Furthermore, the leopard had negative connotations. Already in ancient times it symbolized an evil being.

will be shaken" (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 117). Renato Polacco sees in the developed *rotulus* a representation of a cloudy heaven, shocked by the announcement of the end of times. Polacco compares the scene with a similar representation on the icons of the Last Judgements from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai (cf. Polacco 1984: 49ff).

¹⁸⁰ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 197-201. Cf. e.g. 2 Ti 4: 17: "But the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so that through me the message would be fully proclaimed for all the Gentiles to hear. And so I was delivered from the lion's mouth! [in Greek "ἐκ στόματος λέοντος"]" (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1014). Cf. Amos 3: 12, but also e.g. Aesop. *Fab.* 210, 269; Herod. *Hist.* 3; Plin. *HN.* 8, 17-21; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 2: 3-6.

¹⁸¹ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 147-149.

¹⁸² E.g. in the battle of Beth-Zacharia – cf. 1 Macc 6: 33-36. See also: Caes. *Bell. Gall.*, 6, 27-28; Luc. *Phars.* 9, 859-861; Plin. *HN.* 8, 1-13, 15, 115; Aelian *De nat. Anim.* VIII, 17; Amb. *Hex.* VI, 5; Cass. *Var.* X, 30; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 2: 14-16.

¹⁸³ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 188-190. Cf. e.g. Aesop. *Fab.* 340-341; Ov. *Metam.*, 15: 391-417; Plin. *HN.* 8, 30; Isid. *Etym.* 16, 15: 25.

In the Christian tradition, this was associated with Satan, Antichrist and the apocalyptic Beast¹⁸⁴. The wolf had a similar meaning. It was associated with death, destruction and damaging force. He was also identified with the enemy of the Lamb, that is Satan¹⁸⁵. In turn, the griffin in the Christian tradition was considered a symbol of evil and Satan¹⁸⁶. Two crows flying over the grotto shown in the representation could refer to the darkness in ancient tradition and symbolize evil and destruction. They had the same meaning in the early Christian period, also symbolizing impurity and death¹⁸⁷.

The symbolic meanings of animals mentioned above show that they were most likely chosen on purpose by the creators of the mosaic from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello. They are all predatory animals that inhabit climatically different places on earth (land and air, mountains, desert, forests). Each of them is linked to impurity, sin, evil or death. It seems, therefore, that the mosaic on Torcello represents all the forces of Evil which return the deceased to Creator to be judged.

In the jaws of the beasts, there are the bodies of the dead spat out from their mouths¹⁸⁸. The act of spitting out, also present in the scene of Resurrection of the Body on the other side of the mosaic decoration register, seems to be a negation of a similar act, visible in the infernal depths of the penultimate zone, of swallowing sinners' bodies by the two heads of the monster (dragon or serpent) on which Hades sits as on a throne.

The figures of the dead are also visible above the cave. They were shown from the waist up in tightly wrapped bandages. The way they are represented shows the differences in their physiognomy. It seems to be unique in this scene. Other body fragments spitted out by the animals do not show any gender or social affiliation distinction.

On the opposite side of the mosaic decoration there is the second part of the scene showing a thicket of sea waves. The water, represented by white and blue wavy lines of *tesserae*, was clearly separated from the shore. In the center of the blue sea there is a half-nude female figure personifying Amphitrite (in Greek: Ἀμφιτρίτη), queen of the seas and wife of Poseidon¹⁸⁹. She is sitting on a sea monster (snake or dragon). In one

¹⁸⁴ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 201-203. Cf. e.g. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 2-11.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Jer 5: 6: “So like a lion from the thicket their enemies will kill them. Like a wolf from the rift valley they will destroy them. Like a leopard they will lie in wait outside their cities and totally destroy anyone who ventures out. For they have rebelled so much and done so many unfaithful things” (cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1449); Eze 22: 27: “Her officials are like wolves in her midst rending their prey—shedding blood and destroying lives—so they can get dishonest profit” (cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1548). More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 215-219. See also e.g. Plin. *HN.* 8, 34; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 2, 23-24.

¹⁸⁶ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 178ff. Cf. e.g. Plin. *HN.* 10, 70; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 2, 17.

¹⁸⁷ More on this subject – see Cooper 1997: 124-127. Cf. e.g. Plin. *HN.* 10, 15; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 43.

¹⁸⁸ Antonio Niero interprets these characters as victims of the beasts on the land and an analogous representation on the other side of the mosaic decoration as victims of the sea, i.e. the deceased sailors (cf. Niero [s.d.]: 28)

¹⁸⁹ The figure is identified as such by Luigi Conton and Renato Polacco (Conton 1927: 7, 13; Polacco 1984: 50). Others saw here the personification of the Sea (Musolino 1964: 17; Del Negro Karem 1991: 32) or the “symbol of the sea” (Niero [s.d.]: 28). The identification of the figure as

hand she holds a cornucopia that evokes the richness that the deep sea can provide to people. She has a dolphin in her other hand which is the symbol of Amphitrite's royal power over all sea creatures. Among the waves there are also fish of various shapes and colors that spit out the bodies of the dead. This representation seems to refer directly to the message of the scene from the right-hand side of the mosaic decoration, where predatory animals symbolizing all the forces of Evil were offering God the bodies of the dead for Judgment.

The extensive scene from the Basilica on Torcello presents, without a doubt, the moment of resurrection of the dead from lands and seas described in the Apocalypse: "The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each one was judged according to his deeds" (Rev 20: 13-14)¹⁹⁰. Similarly, this moment was described in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter: "From the east unto the west shall all the children of men be gathered together before my Father that liveth for ever. And he shall command hell to open its bars of adamant and give up all that is therein. And the wild beasts and the fowls shall he command to restore all the flesh that they have devoured, because he willeth that men should appear; for nothing perisheth before God, and nothing is impossible with him, because all things are his. For all things come to pass on the day of decision, on the day of judgement, at the word of God: and as all things were done when he created the world and commanded all that is therein and it was done" (ApocPt (4))¹⁹¹. A fragment from the Sibylline Oracles adds that the earth will give out: "[these who] perished in the billowy seas, And all that furnished banquet for the beasts (...)" (SibOr 2, 283ff)¹⁹².

Faith in the Resurrection of the Body was one of the basic elements of the Christian credo from the earliest period of the Church's existence¹⁹³. It was developed pri-

Amphitrite is confirmed by a comparison with the Greek-Roman iconography of the queen of the sea. In Greek vase painting, she is portrayed as a young woman, often raising her hand in a gesture of pointing. Sometimes she holds a fish in her hand. In Roman mosaic decorations, she appears primarily as a companion to Poseidon. Together they are depicted on a chart drawn by sea monsters. Sometimes Amphitrite is shown as riding a sea monster (*hippocampus*). More about Amphitrite's ancient iconography – see e.g. De Franciscis 1964; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1981. A thorough analysis of this character's provenance in the representations of the Last Judgment goes beyond the scope of this monograph and requires further research, which the author intends to carry out in the near future.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. in Greek: "καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἔδωκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δευτέρος ἐστίν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός" (Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1228ff). In this way, the scene is recognized by, among others Conton 1927: 13.

¹⁹¹ Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 230ff (transl. S. Kur, M. Starowieyski).

¹⁹² Transl. after Terry, M. S. (transl.) 1899: 19. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 338 (transl. A. Świderkówna, W. Appel, J. Czuj, W. Kornatowski).

¹⁹³ Cf. Heb 6: 1-2: "Therefore we must progress beyond the elementary instructions about Christ and move on to maturity, not laying this foundation again: repentance from dead works and [confession of] faith in God, teaching about ritual washings, laying on of hands, resurrection

marily in the writings of St. Paul¹⁹⁴ and in patristic literature, especially in treatises devoted to this subject, penned from the mid-2nd century¹⁹⁵.

Due to the complex nature of this problem, numerous studies have been devoted to it for centuries. Most of them, however, discuss this issue from a theological and philosophical point of view¹⁹⁶. Studies that are entirely dedicated to the iconography of the Resurrection of the Body seem to have not yet appeared¹⁹⁷.

In Scripture, this problem appears in relation to the three most important themes: the Resurrection of Christ, the Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones from the Book of Ezekiel, and in the apocalyptic context.

Describing the death of Christ, the Gospel according to Matthew says: “And tombs were opened, and the bodies of many saints who had died were raised. They came out of the tombs after his resurrection and went into the holy city and appeared to many people” (Mt 27: 52-53)¹⁹⁸. The connection between the Resurrection of Christ and the Resurrection of the bodies of the dead on the last day is extensively dealt with by the author of 1 Cor 15: 12-13: “Now if Christ is being preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you say there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then not even Christ has been raised”¹⁹⁹. The author recalls the

of the dead, and eternal judgment” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1042ff). Today, too, it is included in the *Credo* and it is in Catechism of the Catholic Church (Catechism of the Catholic Church 988-991). A comparative analysis of the Greek and Latin traditions of the Creed – see Hryniewicz, Karski and Paprocki 2009.

¹⁹⁴ The most developed doctrine on the resurrection of bodies appears in 1 Cor 15: 50-53. Many studies have been devoted to this subject – see e.g. Cerfaux 1952. Cf. Szram 2010: 59-65.

¹⁹⁵ The writings of Pseudo-Justin, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen devoted to this problem were discussed in detail by Fr. Prof. Mariusz Szram in his extensive monograph dedicated to the risen body (Szram 2010). The researcher not only analyzes selected written sources in terms of terminology, the place of the resurrected body in the structure of man, relation of the body to the soul in the transition between death and resurrection, time and manner of the resurrection, the issue of the identity of the resurrected body and its attributes and further fate in the thoughts of above-mentioned writers, but also outlines the development of the concept of the resurrection of the body in Holy Scripture and apocryphal sources. Szram also refers in his reflections to the concept of the body and its resurrection in Platonic and Stoic philosophy.

¹⁹⁶ On the development of these issues in the early Christian period – see e.g. Gaurdini 1987; Becker 1991. Analysis of biblical and apocryphal sources – see e.g. Solinas 1949; Cullmann 1970; Marcheselli-Casale 1988; Van Oyen and Shepherd (ed.) 2012. On the resurrection of bodies in the medieval period – see e.g. Walker Bynum 1998. About this issue before Christianity – see e.g. Bertholet 1916. As to Polish research on this subject – see above all Szram 2010; Wysocki 2010 and in works devoted to the eschatology in early Christian period – Jankowski 2007; Pietras 2007.

¹⁹⁷ Briefly this motif is analyzed by e.g. Brenk 1968. More on this subject – see Brenk 1966: 145-171.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεώχθησαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν, καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 141).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. in Greek: “Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν; εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται.” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 824).

comparison of the forefather of all the people and the New Adam - Jesus: "But now Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through a man, the resurrection of the dead also came through a man. For just as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all will be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ, the first fruits; then when Christ comes, those who belong to him" (1 Cor 15: 20-23)²⁰⁰. The author refers to the time of Parousia, during which "(...) will not all sleep, but we will all be changed in a moment, in the blinking of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed. For this perishable body must put on the imperishable, and this mortal body must put on immortality" (1 Cor 15: 51-53)²⁰¹.

Another image of the Resurrection of the Body appears in the Book of Ezekiel. There is a prophet's description of the dry bone valley announcing the resurgence of the Chosen People in the last days: "(...) and He brought me out by the Spirit of the Lord and placed me in the midst of the valley, and it was full of bones. He made me walk all around among them. I realized there were a great many bones in the valley, and they were very dry. He said to me, 'Son of man, can these bones live?' (...) Prophecy over these bones, and tell them: 'Dry bones, listen to the Lord's message. (...) As I watched, I saw tendons on them, then muscles appeared, and skin covered over them from above, (...) and the breath came into them; they lived and stood on their feet, an extremely great army'. (...) This is what the Sovereign Lord says: 'Look, I am about to open your graves and will raise you from your graves, my people. I will bring you to the land of Israel. Then you will know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves and raise you from your graves, my people. I will place my breath in you and you will live; I will give you rest in your own land. Then you will know that I am the Lord—I have spoken and I will act, declares the Lord'" (Eze 37: 1-14)²⁰². The same im-

²⁰⁰ Cf. in Greek: "Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγηρται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ." (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 825).

²⁰¹ Cf. in Greek: "ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι· σαλπίζει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἄφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγῶμεθα. δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν" (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 829).

²⁰² Cf. in Greek: "καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμὲ χεῖρ κυρίου καὶ ἐξήγαγέν με ἐν πνεύματι κύριος καὶ ἔθηκέν με ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πεδίου καὶ τοῦτο ἦν μεστὸν ὀστέων ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ περιήγαγόν με ἐπ' αὐτὰ κυκλόθεν κύκλῳ καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλὰ σφόδρα ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ πεδίου ξηρὰ σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου εἰ ζήσεται τὰ ὀστᾶ ταῦτα καὶ εἶπα κύριε σὺ ἐπίστη ταῦτα καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀστᾶ τὰ ξηρὰ ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου τάδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ὀστέοις τούτοις ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ φέρω εἰς ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ζωῆς καὶ δώσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς νεῦρα καὶ ἀνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς σάρκα καὶ ἐκτενώ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δέρμα καὶ δώσω πνεῦμά μου εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ζήσεσθε καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος καὶ ἐπροφήτευσά καθὼς ἐνετείλατό μοι καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐμὲ προφητεῦσαι καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός καὶ προσήγαγε τὰ ὀστᾶ ἑκάτερον πρὸς τὴν ἄρμονίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπ' αὐτὰ νεῦρα καὶ σάρκες ἐφύοντο καὶ ἀνέβαιναν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέρμα ἐπάνω καὶ πνεῦμα

age was repeated by the author of the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter: “And therefore saith he in the scripture: ‘Son of man, prophesy upon the several bones and say unto the bones: bone unto bone in joints, sinew. nerves, flesh and skin and hair thereon [and soul and spirit]. And soul and spirit shall the great Uriel give them at the commandment of God; for him hath God set over the rising again of the dead at the day of judgement’” (ApocPt (4))²⁰³.

Of vital importance for considerations in the context of the mosaic decoration scene on Torcello Island are the fragments of the Holy Scriptures relating to Parousia and the Resurrection of the dead summoned to Judgement. Such passages are found in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Isaiah. Prophet Daniel describes the day of the Last Judgment as follows: “Many of those who sleep in the dusty ground will awake—some to everlasting life, and others to shame and everlasting abhorrence. But the wise will shine like the brightness of the heavenly expanse. And those bringing many to righteousness will be like the stars forever and ever” (Dan 12: 2-3)²⁰⁴. The author of the second source says: “our dead will come back to life; your corpses will rise up. Wake up and shout joyfully, you who live in the ground! For you will grow like plants drenched with the morning dew, and the earth will bring forth its dead spirits” (Isa 26: 19)²⁰⁵. The same image appears in the Gospel according to John: “Do not be amazed at this, because a time is coming when all who are in the tombs will hear his voice and will come out—the ones who have done what is good to the resurrection resulting in life, and the ones who have done what is evil to the resurrection resulting in condemnation” (Jn 5: 28-29)²⁰⁶. The image of the Resurrection of the bodies in the Apocalypse

οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με προφήτευσον υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εἶπὸν τῷ πνεύματι τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων πνευμάτων ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐμφύσησον εἰς τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺτους καὶ ζήσάτωσαν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσά καθότι ἐνετείλατό μοι καὶ εἰσήλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν συναγωγῇ πολλῇ σφόδρα καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς με λέγων υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ ὁστὰ ταῦτα πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν ξηρὰ γέγονεν τὰ ὁστὰ ἡμῶν ἀπόλωλεν ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν διαπεφωνήκαμεν διὰ τοῦτο προφήτευσον καὶ εἶπὸν τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνοίγω ὑμῶν τὰ μνήματα καὶ ἀνάξω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ἐν τῷ ἀνοίξειί με τοὺς τάφους ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν με ἐκ τῶν τάφων τὸν λαόν μου καὶ δώσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ζήσεσθε καὶ θήσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος λελάληκα καὶ ποιήσω λέγει κύριος” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1565ff.

²⁰³ Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 231 (transl. S. Kur, M. Starowieyski). Cf. SibOr 2, 221-226.

²⁰⁴ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον οἱ δὲ εἰς ὄνειδισμόν οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνῃν αἰώνιον καὶ οἱ συνιέντες φανοῦσιν ὡς φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οἱ κατισχύοντες τοὺς λόγους μου ὡσεὶ τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1631.

²⁰⁵ Cf. in Greek: “οὕτως πάντες οἱ ἐνεδρευόντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσιν λέγουσιν ὅτι παίξων ἔπραξα” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1401.

²⁰⁶ Cf. in Greek: “μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν ἧ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκπορεύσονται οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 415).

appears in the passage quoted above and referring to the release of the bodies of the dead from the seas and the Abyss (Rev 20: 13-15)²⁰⁷. It seems to be a direct source for the iconography of the Resurrection of the bodies from the lands and from the seas which appears on the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello.

Like biblical sources regarding the issue of the Resurrection of the Body, also iconographic representations showing this motif can be divided into three main groups²⁰⁸. The first, inspired by the Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones from the Book of Ezekiel, includes the oldest preserved iconographic examples of this motif. One should mention here the wall painting from the Dura Europos Synagogue dating to around 250 AD. The earliest Christian example of this scene is considered to be a gilded glass disk or plate dating to the 3rd / 4th century that is currently stored at the British Museum in London (inv. S. 317)²⁰⁹. Byzantine miniature painting developed this subject in the form of elaborate representations, exemplified by a miniature from the National Library in Paris dated to 880 AD (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Graec. 510)²¹⁰.

The second group of iconographic representations, much more numerous, shows the motif in question in connection with the scene of the Crucifixion of Christ²¹¹. An example would be an ivory plaque from around 860-870, probably from Reims, and now kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (inv. 303-1867) (Fig. 57)²¹². It presents numerous figures of the dead rising from sarcophagi, raising their hands towards the cross of Christ dominant in the central part of the scene. Similarly, a scene dating from the same period was shown, which, however, most likely comes from Metz. In the ivory plaque also kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. 250-1867) the dead do not come out of sarcophagi, but out of tombs shown as small buildings-mausoleums on the central plan (Fig. 58)²¹³. This representation was additionally extended by a lower register, showing two characters interpreted as personifications of land and sea.

The third group of representations of the Resurrection of the Body, most often found in later iconography, is directly related to the apocalyptic context²¹⁴. Probably the earliest scene showing this motif is the cover from Agilbert tomb in the Church of St. Pierre-et-Paul in Jouarre, dating to late 7th century²¹⁵. This motif then developed as

²⁰⁷ Cf. in Greek: “καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾄδης ἔδωκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾄδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δευτερός ἐστίν, ἡ λίμνη τοῦ πυρός. καὶ εἴ τις οὐχ εὗρέθη ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος, ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1228ff).

²⁰⁸ Analysis of this iconographic motif – see Brenk 1966: 145-171.

²⁰⁹ More on this representation – see Dalton 1901: 628. On the development of this iconographic type – see Brenk 1968: 219ff.

²¹⁰ Grabar 1953: 166.

²¹¹ Cf. Brenk 1968: 220.

²¹² More on this plaque – see e.g. Williamson 2010: 180, 1, cat. 43.

²¹³ More on this plaque – see e.g. Williamson (ed.) 1986: 70ff; Williamson 2010: 186-189, cat. 45.

²¹⁴ More on this group of representations – see e.g. Brenk 1968: 220-222.

²¹⁵ More on Agilbert tomb – see above all Brenk 1964b; Delahaye 2007.

part of a more elaborate scene of the Last Judgement representation and as such can provide the context for the mosaic decoration of the Basilica on the island of Torcello.

The first representation of the motif of the Resurrection of the Body in the context of the Last Judgement is an ivory plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum in London dated to around 1000-1100 (Fig. 51). This iconographic motif has been reduced here to a small scene occupying almost the central part of the lower register, to the left of the *Etimasia* scene. The dead were depicted here as two figures standing in an open sarcophagus. They raise their hands towards the mandorla of Christ at the top of the plaque. The moment of calling the dead to judgement was emphasized here as the figures shown here are accompanied by a messenger of God holding a trumpet.

In the next representation, a miniature from the National Library in Paris dated to the 11th century (Fig. 52), we are dealing, similarly to the mosaic from the western wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, with the split of the scene of the Resurrection of the Body into two parts. On the left side of *Etimasia* there is an angel blowing the trumpet. Next to him there are three figures of the dead wrapped tightly in bandages from the neck down, emerging from an open sarcophagus. Farther afar there are such wild animals as a griffin, a lion and an elephant, all of which spit out the bodies of the dead. This scene, although it was represented on the left side of *Etimasia*, not on the right as depicted in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, clearly refers to the previously analyzed representation of wild beasts in the cave. On the right side of the throne prepared for the coming of Christ in the miniature from Paris, in a space clearly distinguished by a thick line, the sea and various fish give back the bodies of the dead. Again, this scene resembles the aforementioned representation from the Basilica on Torcello. Although the figure of Amphitrite is not shown here and the sea depths were not represented in the same line with the Resurrection of bodies given back by land beasts, the isolation of both representations and their symbolic message seem to be identical to that of the mosaic from the Basilica on the island of Torcello.

Another monument showing the Resurrection of bodies in a similar way to the scene from the mosaic decoration discussed in this monograph is the icon from the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai dating to the mid-12th century (Fig. 54). As in the ivory plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum, the scene in question is shown at the very bottom of the Last Judgement representation. On the Sinai icon, however, it is significantly more developed. Although the two parts of the representation were not as clearly distinguished as in the case of the miniature from Paris and the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, this is without a doubt a scene showing the Resurrection of bodies from the lands and the seas. On one side, open depths of the earth are shown, in which a leopard, an elephant, a lion, and a flying crow are visible. The bodies of the dead emerge from their mouths. On the other side there are the sea depths with a variety of marine creatures; they also offer the bodies of the dead. In the very center of the water depth there is a half-naked female figure sitting on a sea monster. In this way, as in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, the queen of the seas was shown here.

The final example of the Last Judgement representation created in the same period as the mosaic decoration of the western wall on Torcello is the so-called Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgement table dated to the second half of 12th century and kept in the Pinacoteca Vaticana in Rome (Fig. 55). In the register above the predella we see an elaborate representation of the Resurrection of the Bodies for Judgement. It shows both the dead rising from sarcophagi at the sound of angels' trumpets as well as the extensive scene of the Resurrection of bodies from the lands and the seas. As in the case of the mosaic decoration on Torcello, the land and the sea zones were distinguished here. In the foreground sea waves are visible, among which fish give back the bodies of the dead. Above, the earth is represented as a dry, dark land, on which animals – three birds, a snake, an elephant, and a hyena – give back human bodies. A lion also emerges from a nearby cave. The meaning of the representation was emphasized by the figures located in the center of the zone, in the background of two mountains represented next to each other, not depicted in the mosaic decoration of the Basilica on Torcello. These characters are two half-naked female personifications of the Earth and the Sea. The figure identified with the Earth sits on a bull, and the one identified with sea depths on a sea monster. Both lift small human figures that are to represent new bodies and a new man in relation to the *psyche* depictions known from the Venetian scenes showing the moment of creation²¹⁶.

This representation, in a sublime way, developed the thought present in the mosaic decoration on the island of Torcello. In the case of the representation analyzed in the monograph, clearly emphasized was the moment of giving back the bodies of the dead to the Last Judgement by land and sea beasts which most likely personified all the forces of Evil lurking in the depths of the earth and the sea. These were unequivocally defeated by the power of Christ coming to Judgement, who is to judge the actions of the living and the dead. Both the location of the scene in the central part of the wall, on both sides of the register with the representation of *Etimasia*, the meticulous execution of all the elements making up the scene and their selection seem to further stress its importance for the significance of the entire mosaic decoration on Torcello.

IV.3.5. *Psychostasis*, the Blessed and the Condemned

In the center of the register located under the scene of *Etimasia*, above the tympanum of the entrance door on the western wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, there is the Archangel Michael weighing human souls in the representation of *Psychostasis* (in Greek: ἡ ψυχοστία – weighing souls on a scale)²¹⁷. This scene seems to refer to the

²¹⁶ On the development of this concept – see Mazurczak 2012: 248ff.

²¹⁷ On the iconography of the *Psychostasis* scene and the development of this motif – see shortly, literature of the subject included Kemp 1972. This motif is analyzed briefly e.g. in Kretzenbacher 1958.

words in the Book of Job, when the main character wants God to evaluate his deeds: “let him weigh me with honest scales; then God will discover my integrity” (Job 31: 6)²¹⁸.

In the center of the representation, a scale with blue plates hung on thin strings connected by white beads was shown. It is held in the left hand by the Archangel Michael shown on the right side of the scale. On the other side of the scale there are two flying winged demons with curly hair, white horns on their heads and winged feet. They were shown in a similar way to the characters of demons found in the scene showing the first part of hell on the left side of *Psychostasis*. Demons with spears try to outweigh the weighing pan on their side.

An almost identical representation to the one in the mosaic on Torcello is shown in the lowest register of the miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). In the center of the scene there is also the scale, on its right there is the Archangel Michael and on the left side there are two demons.

On the right side of *Psychostasis*, right behind the Archangel Michael, there are the Blessed in paradise on a golden background. The creators of the mosaic divided them into four groups²¹⁹. The closest to the Archangel is a group of bishops depicted as bearded men dressed in long white albs and gray chasubles²²⁰. The *omophorions*, i.e. broadly interwoven ribbons typical of Byzantine bishops, are visible on their shoulders²²¹. The bishops' feet are decorated with colorful footwear²²². Next to them there is a group of martyrs portrayed as men of different ages. They are dressed in long white tunics with a wide purple trimming and coats in various colors, clasped with *fibulae* decorated with precious stones and pearls. Another group of the Blessed are the

²¹⁸ Cf. in Greek: “ἵσταίη με ἄρα ἐν ζυγῷ δικαίῳ οἶδεν δὲ ὁ κύριος τὴν ἀκακίαν μου” (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935). Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1132.

²¹⁹ Cf. Niero [s.d.]: 28. In the course of the author's queries, despite searching for written sources (biblical, apocryphal and patristic writings), it has not been possible to determine the reason for such a division in the iconography. It could have been caused by widespread recognition at the time as the Blessed, above all bishops, martyrs, monks, and holy women. On the other hand, representatives of all these groups can be also found on the other side of the scale, in the first section of hell. Describing both the representation from the Basilica on Torcello and other examples of scenes showing the Blessed in Paradise, scholars do not analyze this question. Without a doubt, it will therefore require further, in-depth studies.

²²⁰ Some of the chasubles resemble Byzantine priests' clothing cut from the front, i.e. a *phelonion*.

²²¹ The *omophorion* is the equivalent of *pallium* used by Latin bishops. In these clothes of the characters, the interference of Latin and Byzantine traditions is clearly visible. Usually, Eastern bishops wear clothing and sleeves (*sakkos*), in many representations they have an *omophorion* put on a *phelonion*. Here, however, they appear in chasubles.

²²² Faustino Gianani recognizes among the figures St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil and St. Nicholas (cf. Conton 1927: 14). Similarly, focusing mainly on the saints' physiognomy, Renato Polacco recognizes the figures depicted (cf. Polacco 1984: 50). This opinion is repeated by Marina Del Negro Karem, who collectively calls the figures the Fathers of the Greek Church (cf. Del Negro Karem 1991: 32). Antonio Niero counted in this group fourteen characters, which he described as clergymen dressed in *loros* with black crosses. The researcher identifies two of them as St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Basil (because of the chin and dark hair) – cf. Niero [s.d.]: 38.

monks represented as old men with long white beards. They have long white tunics and blue coats. Two of them have a headgear in the form of an amice. The mosaic register from this side is enclosed by the last group of the Blessed, i.e. holy women of all ages, dressed in different ways. They seem to represent representatives of all social estates²²³.

Undoubtedly, the representation of the Blessed in Paradise may refer to the words of the Apocalypse, the author of which notes: “Now when the Lamb opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been violently killed because of the word of God and because of the testimony they had given” (Rev 6: 9)²²⁴. The Apocalypse further specifies that there will be among the Blessed: “(...) an enormous crowd that no one could count, made up of persons from every nation, tribe, people, and language, standing before the throne and before the Lamb dressed in long white robes, and with palm branches in their hands. They were shouting out in a loud voice, ‘Salvation belongs to our God, who is seated on the throne, and to the Lamb!’ (...) ‘These are the ones who have come out of the great tribulation. They have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb!’” (Rev 7: 9-14)²²⁵. The first excerpt only mentions martyrs. The second one indicates, however, that the elect come from “every nation, tribe, people, and language”, which may testify to the possibility of universal salvation and thus refer to the figures of the Blessed in the mosaic representing different states.

Like on the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello, the groups of the Blessed were depicted in other representations showing the Last Judgement and from the 11th-12th centuries. The ivory plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 51), in the second lowest register of the representation as in the mosaic from Torcello, features two groups of the Blessed dressed in long tunics and coats. Unlike the mosaic decoration from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, in the plaque with the Last Judgement the characters of the Blessed were not assigned to any social groups. This is different in

²²³ Renato Polacco (Polacco 1984: 50) and Giulio Lorenzetti (Lorenzetti 1956: 810) interpret these characters as the Wise Virgins from the Parable in the Gospel according to Matthew (Mt 25: 1-13).

²²⁴ Cf. in Greek: “Καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1177).

²²⁵ Cf. in Greek: “Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν, ἐστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἄρνιου, περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκάς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτῶν· καὶ κράζουσι φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες· Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄρνιῳ. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰστήκεισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων, καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, λέγοντες· Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων· ἀμήν. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι· Οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκάς τίνες εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον; καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ· Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἄρνιου” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001:1180ff. Cf. Rev 14: 4-5).

the case of the miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). To the right of the centrally located *Etimasia*, four groups of the Blessed were shown here. Among them, according to the author, one can distinguish the same groups of characters that appear in the mosaic on Torcello Island on the basis of clothing. Bishops, martyrs, monks, and women are shown here. The only difference is that the groups are arranged in two rows, one above the other.

Six groups of the Blessed appear in the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Fig. 54). They were shown on the right side of the scene of *Etimasia*, standing in two rows of three groups. As in the case of the miniature from Paris and the mosaic in the Basilica on Torcello, one can distinguish representatives of various social groups, including bishops, monks, women, and martyrs, basing on their clothing²²⁶. In the tablet kept today in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Fig. 55) and in the paintings from the western wall of the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 56) there are no separate groups of the Blessed, although they include representatives of various social groups.

On the left side of the *Psychostasis* in the mosaic decoration on the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta there are two angels dressed in long tunics and coats pushing the damned to hell with their spears. This scene seems to correspond to the words of the Gospel according to Matthew: "The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will gather from his kingdom everything that causes sin as well as all lawbreakers. They will throw them into the fiery furnace, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 13: 41-42)²²⁷. The first part of hell depicted here, according to the biblical message, is filled with fiery flames²²⁸.

The scene seems to illustrate the description of hell in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Noah: "(...) it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of

²²⁶ Cf. Pace (ed.) 2006: 58ff.

²²⁷ Cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 64. Cf. ApocPt 6: "As for the elect that have done good, they shall come unto me and not see death by the devouring fire. But the unrighteous the sinners, and the hypocrites shall stand in the depths of darkness that shall not pass away, and their chastisement is the fire, and angels bring forward their sins and prepare for them a place wherein they shall be punished for ever (every one according to his transgression)". Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. (cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 232 (transl. S. Kur, M. Starowieyski)).

²²⁸ Cf. e.g. Sir 7: 17: "(...) the hope of a mortal is a fire and a worm" [in Greek "ἀσεβούς πῦρ καὶ σκώληξ"] (cf. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1196); Isa 66: 24: "They will go out and observe the corpses of those who rebelled against me, for the maggots that eat them will not die, and the fire that consumes them will not die out. All people will find the sight abhorrent" (cf. in Greek: "καὶ ἐξελεύσονται καὶ ὄψονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἐν ἐμοί ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσκει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάση σαρκί" (Rahlfs (ed.) 1935); cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 1440); Rev 19: 20: "(...) [they] were thrown alive into the lake of fire burning with sulfur". The Book of Revelation describes hell as follows: "(...) the devil who deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulfur, where the beast and the false prophet are too, and they will be tormented there day and night forever and ever" (Rev 20: 10) – cf. in Greek: "καὶ ὁ διάβολος ὁ πλανῶν αὐτοὺς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός καὶ θείου, ὅπου καὶ τὸ θηρίον καὶ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, καὶ βασανισθήσονται ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων" (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1228).

weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain. “This place which thou seest here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets-(even) the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven (...). And they shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them” (ApocNoah 108: 5-15)²²⁹.

The mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello depicts among the flames the heads of sinners representing various social groups. Thanks to their clothing and headgears, one can recognize church dignitaries dressed in palliums, Western kings and queens with crowns on their heads as well as Eastern monarchs with turbans and monks in hoods²³⁰. This scene, therefore, seems to be the equivalent of the representation of the groups of the Blessed in paradise on the other side of the same register. That all social estates are present in hell and in paradise stresses God’s Justice. He judges human deeds and not the sinners origin²³¹.

The damned in hellfire are tormented by small flying winged demons with blue skin and bodies with prominent musculature. They were shown in a similar way to devils wishing to outweigh the pan in the *Psychostasis* scene.

On the right side of the representations one can see Hades sitting *en trois quarts* on the throne. He is depicted as an old man with long white hair, beard and mustache²³². The skin of his body, like that of demons flying among the flames, is an inhuman navy-blue shade. Hades has strong prominent musculature. His sitting position empha-

²²⁹ Transl. after Charles, R. H. (transl.) [et al.] 1973.

²³⁰ Faustino Gianani recognizes amongst the sinners in hell Nestorius (a bishop with a *pallium*), Constantine V Compronimus (a man in a Byzantine crown), Eudoxia (the first wife of Heraclius; a woman in the crown), and Eutyches (one of the monks) – see Conton 1927: 13.

²³¹ The Book of Revelation lists among the sinners: “Then the kings of the earth, the very important people, the generals, the rich, the powerful, and everyone, slave and free, hid themselves in the caves and among the rocks of the mountains. They said to the mountains and to the rocks, ‘Fall on us and hide us from the face of the one who is seated on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb, because the great day of their wrath has come, and who is able to withstand it?’” (Rev 6: 15-17) – cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1178ff. On another occasion the author states that outside the New Jerusalem, i.e. the city of the saved, there are: “the dogs and the sorcerers and the sexually immoral, and the murderers, and the idolaters and everyone who loves and practices falsehood!” (Rev 22: 15) – cf. in Greek: “ἔξω οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ φάρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλόλατραι καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος.” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1235). Reports of various states occurring among the Damned also appear in apocryphal sources. The *Apocalypse of Paul* lists, among them, clergy of various levels and functions (cf. ApocPaul 34-36) and other estates (cf. ApocPaul 37-42), suffering according to their sins. For more on this topic – see Krauze-Kołodziej 2017.

²³² On identifying the figure as Hades via comparisons with ancient iconography – see Chap. IV, pp. 106f - notes 102-105. This topic was developed by the author in her article published in 2015 (Krauze-Kołodziej 2015b).

sizes the roundness of his belly²³³. He is naked, with only a loincloth on his hips. He has long white nails both at his hands and feet. His grim expression is highlighted by prominent cheekbones, a long nose and large eyes with black pupils. Facing two opposite directions, the pupils seem to espy everything around them. Such emphasis on the eyes of the king of the underworld seems to draw attention to his sensitive senses, with which he perceives the world more intensely²³⁴.

Hades sits on the throne of hell made of two anti-goat heads swallowing the bodies of the damned. He is holding Antichrist on his lap²³⁵. Antichrist was portrayed as a small figure of a barefoot young man wearing a long white tunic and *pallium*²³⁶.

²³³ Perhaps this reflects the descriptions of Hades / hell, which in apocryphal messages is referred to as “all-devouring” and “insatiable” (cf. Descent into Hell IV (XX) (1), (2) – cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 326ff. Transl. after Walker (transl.) 1890: 172). Bartholomew’s Gospel, as it seems, cites the belief about the infernal depths describing the pain that Hades feels in the depths of his bowels when Christ approaches the gate of hell. Hades cries: “(...) my belly is rent, and mine inward parts are pained: it cannot be but that God cometh hither” (GospBart I, 19) – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 500 (transl. R. Bartnicki).)

²³⁴ The apocryphal Gospel of Bartholomew gives information on the sharpened sense of hearing and smell that Hades / hell has. When Christ descends into the Abyss, Hades says: “(...) I hear the breathing of the Most High, and I cannot endure it (in Latin version: “He cometh with great fragrance and I cannot bear it” (GospBart I, 13) – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 499 (transl. R. Bartnicki). In a moment the Lord of the Underground adds: “(...) O, woe unto me, for I hear the breath of God” (GospBart I, 15) – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 1980: 499 (transl. R. Bartnicki). As it seems, the meaning of individual senses has been clearly emphasized in the entire mosaic decoration on the western wall. This is demonstrated not only by the figure of Hades in hell and in the *Anastasis* scene under the feet of Christ, but also the way in which the eyes of Christ in the same scene were presented. The mosaic moreover stresses the sense of God’s messengers’ hearing, sharpened at the Word of God by shaping the straps of their bands in a form repeating the form of ears. Through hearing, according to the description in the Bible, the Word of the Lord comes to the faithful (cf. e.g. Rev 2: 11: “The one who has an ear had better hear what the Spirit says to the churches” – cf. in Greek: “ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις” – cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1164. See also e.g. Rev 2: 7; Rev 2: 17; Rev 2: 29; Rev 3:6; Rev 3: 13; Rev 3: 22).

The presence of the senses in the mosaic decoration on Torcello seems to be extremely interesting, but very extensive to study. The author hopes to address this topic in more detail way in her future research.

²³⁵ Most of the researchers agree with this interpretation (Polacco 1984: 50, 67; Conton 1927: 13; Del Negro Karem 1991: 33). Antonio Niero defines this representation as Lucifer with Antichrist on his knees sitting on Leviathan (Niero 1975-1976: 24).

²³⁶ The iconography of Antichrist coincides with the way Christ was portrayed during the early Christian period, as exemplified by the mosaics on the chancel arch in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. This solution made it possible to show the figure as a person impersonating the Savior. In this way the Antichrist was described in the Apocalypse: “Now the beast was seized, and along with him the false prophet who had performed the signs on his behalf—signs by which he deceived those who had received the mark of the beast and those who worshiped his image. Both of them were thrown alive into the lake of fire burning with sulfur” (Rev 19: 20) (cf. in Greek: “καὶ ἐπιάσθη τὸ θηρίον καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ὁ ποιήσας τὰ σημεῖα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐπλάνησεν τοὺς λαβόντας τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου

Both figures raise their right hands in a gesture emphasizing their power. This doubling significantly strengthens the significance of the scene. This representation is in direct relation to the mosaic decoration on the other side, in the lowest register, showing the Womb of Abraham. It seems to be its reflection. In this way, the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello recalls the parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Lk 16: 19-31). It illustrates two completely separate spaces, where after the Last Judgement the souls of the Blessed and the Damned will go. This scenic antithesis of motifs is a unique composition which encloses within a frame the mosaic decoration from the western wall.

IV.3.6. Mary Orant, paradise and punishment in hell

In the center of the last register of the mosaic complex from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, in the tympanum above the main entrance to the Basilica, the figure of Mary is shown *en face*, from the waist up in the pose of an Orant with her arms wide raised in a gesture *expansis manibus*²³⁷. The Mother of God is wearing a navy-blue coat and a *maphorion* interspersed with a gold thread that covers her head. In the same way, Mary was depicted in the scene of the Crucifixion, *Deesis*

καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ· ζῶντες ἐβλήθησαν οἱ δύο εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης ἐν θείῳ” – cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 1225ff). As a deceiver impersonating Christ, Antichrist also appears in the *Sibylline Oracles*: “and shall raise the mountain heights and raise the sea, the great fiery sun and the bright moon, and he shall raise up the dead and shall perform many signs for men: but they shall not be effective in him. Nay, but he deceives mortals, and many shall he deceive, Hebrews faithful and elect and lawless too, and other man who have never yet listened to the word of God.” (3SibOr 63-70) – transl. after Charles (transl.) [et al.] 1973. Cf. Rubinkiewicz (ed.) 2000: 348 (transl. A. Paciorek). Antichrist’s deceit is also to be expressed in that “at one time he shall become a child; at another, an old man” (ApocEsdras 4, 33) – transl. after Walker (transl.) 1885. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 186, transl. M. Starowieyski).

There is an interesting passage in *Ezra’s Vision* describing Antichrist as the one whose “(...) head will be elongated, his eyebrows will have hair as if one, his eyes will be like Lucifer’s, his nose will be like the Abyss, his higher lip will be more subtle, he will not have knees” (Vision of Ezra 75) (Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 196, transl. S. Starowieyski). Perhaps Antichrist’s lack of knees was supposed to refer to Christ’s shins that were not broken (Jn 19: 31-37).

More on the subject of Antichrist – see e.g. briefly (together with the literature of the subject) Chadraba 1968 and Emmerson 1981; Wright 1995; Massaccesi 2003; Eberhard 2006.

²³⁷ About the importance of this gesture and the transition of the motif of the orant from ancient to early Christian iconography – see e.g. Krauze 2010. Mary the Orant appears in Byzantine art with Emmanuel in a mandylion placed on her chest. The symbolism of this representation is explained by André Grabar as a reference to Daniel’s Vision. Thus, showing Mary as the Mother of the Son of God has a deeper meaning here (Grabar 1979: 274-276). An example of such a scene is the representation of Mary the Orant with Emmanuel on her chest from the church of Santa Maria Antiqua (more about this subject – see Grabar 1966: 170). About this subject – see also Belting 2010: 406ff, 443, fig. 214, 215.

and in the lower register of the decoration showing paradise. Her representation also clearly refers to the image of the Madonna from the main apse of the Church of Santa Maria e Donato on the nearby island of Murano.

In the facial features of Mary Orant from the tympanum above the door on Torcello Island, her eyes especially attract the viewer's gaze because of their regular round shape and black color. Above the representation of the Madonna there is an inscription containing the meaning of the scene (VIRGO DI NATVM PRECE PVLSA TERGE REATVM - *Virgin Mary of God, with fervent prayer, wipe away the inborn guilt*). Mary fulfills here the function of an intercessor who transmits the necessary favors to all who ask for that. The Madonna is not only the Mother of the Messiah, in whom the Incarnation of Christ took place, as evidenced by the *Theokotos* representation opposite the western wall in the main apse (Fig. 19). In the tympanum above the door, Mary becomes the symbol of the whole Church (e.g. Rev 12: 14-17) and at the same time its most ardent intercessor. This special role of the Mother of God as the intercessor of sinners was described in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Mary. Visiting the infernal depths, Madonna asks the angels from the seven heavens and all the host of angels to pray with her for sinners to God seven times a day and seven times a night. God, emphasizing the extraordinary role of Mary, addresses her: "Listen, Holy Virgin, Mother of God: there is no man who would call Your name and whom I would leave in heaven or on earth" (*Apoc of Mary*, p. 290)²³⁸.

Placing the representation of Mary in the tympanum above the doorway in the western part of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello was by no means accidental. It is also unique in this location, at least in the context of the representations known to the author that show the scenes of the Last Judgement and are dated to the 11th-12th centuries. The only reference to the Mother of God shown in the pose of the Orant is present on the predella of the table kept in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Fig. 55). Mary was shown here as an Orant standing between St. Praxedes and St. Pudenciana²³⁹. She makes the same gesture as Mary from the mosaic decoration on Torcello. A ring is visible on Madonna's finger, just like in the Crucifixion scene at the top of the mosaic decoration. This makes her not only an intercessor for the prayers of the faithful, but also the *Sponsa Christi*, and thus a personification of the whole Church. The most significant difference between the mosaic representation of Torcello and the table from the Vatican is the location of Mary Orant. In the case of the table from the Pinacoteca Vaticana, the figure is placed to the right of the representation of hell shown on the predella. Therefore, the Madonna plays here mainly the role of an intercessor who prays for the Salvation of the whole Church of Christ. As far as the representation from Torcello is concerned, Mary is located in the center of the wall, closest to the faithful, above the door opening, which once was the point of transition from

²³⁸ Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 290, transl. R. Łużny.

²³⁹ More on this scene – see Mazurczak 2012: 250ff.

the baptistery to the temple. Due to this, the representation gains a completely new, extended meaning²⁴⁰.

On the right side of Mary Orant there are figures standing on a flowery meadow symbolizing the Garden of Eden²⁴¹. Between them there are tall evergreens, probably palms and cypresses whose symbolism invokes the Tree of the Holy Cross. Paradise as a place filled with trees bearing various fruits appears not only in Genesis (e.g. Gen 2: 9-14), but also in various apocryphal sources²⁴². The author of the Apocalypse of Paul, for example, describes the paradise he visits and its eternal harvest as follows: "(...) And I looked round about that land and saw a river flowing with milk and honey. And there were at the brink of the river trees planted, full of fruits: now every tree bore twelve fruits in the year, and they had various and diverse fruits" (ApocPaul 22(1))²⁴³.

St. Peter is located the closest to the centrally placed representation of Mary Orant, on the right side of the door. He is portrayed as a mature man with a beard and dressed in a long golden tunic and white coat. He holds the keys in his left hand and points with his right hand to the door of paradise²⁴⁴. He was represented here in accordance with the role which Christ had foretold him: "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overpower it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth will have been bound in heaven, and whatever you release on earth will have been released in heaven" (Mt 16: 18-19)²⁴⁵.

In a similar way, St. Peter as guarding the keys to the gates of paradise was shown in a miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). The only difference is that in this representation Peter shows the way to the paradise door to the group of the Blessed placed on his left side. This could confirm the possibility of conservation intervention in the described scene on Torcello Island²⁴⁶.

²⁴⁰ More on this subject – see Chap. IV.5.

²⁴¹ Irina Andreescu analyzed in detail the stylistics of represented plants, identifying three different workshops of authors of the plant decoration in the paradise scene (cf. Andreescu-Treadgold 2010).

²⁴² The paradise to which the Blessed will go after the Last Judgement, in the Apocalypse of St. John is described as the New Jerusalem, or a Holy City (cf. Rev 21). A similar description of the city of Christ intended for the Blessed appears in the Apocalypse of Paul (ApocPaul 45). On the concept of the New Jerusalem and its representation in iconography – see e.g. Gatti Perer (ed.) 1983; Kobielski 2004; Haney 2011. On the subject of the Holy City and its representations in the iconography of Central Europe – see above all Tabor 2013b. It is also worth bearing in mind the opposite of this representation, which is to show the idea of the city as hell (for this concept – see above all Kliś 2013).

²⁴³ Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 50ff. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 258 transl. M. Starowieyski.

²⁴⁴ On the space between the door and the representation of Peter – see Chap. III, p. 71 - note 59.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 77ff.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Chap. III, p. 71 - note 59.

Behind St. Peter in the lower register of the mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello there is an angel with varicolored wings. He holds a spear in his left hand and lifts his right hand towards the door. In this way he repeats the gesture made by St. Peter. This intensification of the gesture's meaning by doubling it already appeared in the scene showing the first part of hell, where both Hades and Antichrist sitting on his lap made a gesture demonstrating their power in the land of the Underworld.

The same representation of an angel pointing to the entrance to paradise, but omitting the figure of St. Peter, is present in an ivory plaque kept today at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Fig. 51). Unlike the mosaic on Torcello, on the right side of the angel there is a group of the Blessed entering paradise.

St. Peter and the angel in the representation from the lower register of the mosaic decoration on Torcello point to the gates of paradise. The borders of the gates were decorated with white and blue stripes, referring, perhaps in their colors to the colors of *tesserae* forming the mandorla of Christ in the *Deesis* scene above²⁴⁷. In the central part of the door to paradise, on a red background, there is a four-winged Cherub with representations of eyes on his wings. The description of God's messengers guarding the gates of paradise is to be found in the Book of Genesis: "When He drove the man out, He placed on the eastern side of the orchard in Eden angelic sentries who used the flame of a whirling sword to guard the way to the tree of life" (Gen 3: 24)²⁴⁸. The Cherub depicted at the gate of paradise in the mosaic of the western wall on Torcello undoubtedly refers to this description, although he does not have a sword that appears in the biblical source, holding only a spear. In the same way, the door to paradise was shown on a miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). A different way of representing it is visible on the icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai. Here, the gate is shown as a half-round door opening in red, to which a small staircase leads. The opening is much larger than the figures presented next to it, occupying the height of two registers of the representation. The paradise door is guarded by a monumental Cherub with red wings. On the right side of the gate there are two registers of representations showing Eden. At the top there is the Mother of God sitting on a throne surrounded by angels and at the bottom there is the representation of Abraham's Womb.

In the mosaic decoration on Torcello, on the right side of the paradise door there is the Good Thief depicted as a standing, half-nude young man holding a Byzantine cross. He is represented in the same way as in the scene of the Crucifixion and

²⁴⁷ Another description of the paradise door appears in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Paul*. The author of this writing talks about the golden gate, in front of which there are golden columns. On them there are two gold plates covered with gold letters: "These are the names of the righteous that minister unto God with their whole heart, which dwell on the earth" (ApocPaul 19: 2) – transl. after James (transl) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 48ff. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 256 transl. M. Starowieyski.

²⁴⁸ Cf. transl. Popowski (transl.) 2014: 10.

*Anastasis*²⁴⁹. The scoundrel is wearing only a loincloth reaching to his knees, identical to the perizoma of crucified Christ. He lifts his left hand to his chest and shows the inside of his palm, repeating the gesture of Mary standing next to him.

The presence of the Good Thief in paradise is confirmed not only by the words of the Gospel of St. Luke (Lk 23: 42-43), but also by the apocryphal message of the Descent into Hell, where the paradise to which Christ took all the saved from the depths of Hades includes also a “lowly man, carrying also upon his shoulders a cross” (Descent into Hell X(XXVI))²⁵⁰.

The representation of the Good Thief in paradise also appears in an ivory plaque kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Fig. 51). He was portrayed here as a bearded man holding a Byzantine cross. The creators of the plaque placed him in the lower register of the representation, between the angel inviting the saved to paradise and the Mother of God sitting on the throne. The Good Scoundrel was also shown inside the representation of paradise in the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai (Fig. 54). He is present in the upper register, right behind the paradise gate. He was portrayed as a young man wearing only a loincloth and standing next to the throne of Mary, flanked by God’s two messengers. He holds a Greek cross. Another example of the Last Judgement scene in which this character appears is the Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgement from the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Fig. 55). The scene is present in the second register above the predella. The Good Thief, like in the mosaic from Torcello, was portrayed as a young man in a white perizoma. However, he carries a Latin cross, not a Greek one as in the abovementioned representations.

In the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, on the right side of the Good Scoundrel, there is Mary standing *en face*. She is dressed in a long navy-blue cloth, a gold-stitched dress, and a coat, with a *maphorion* on her head. She raises both hands in a ges-

²⁴⁹ Some researchers agree with this identification (cf. Lorenzetti 1956: 810; Niero [s.d.]: 42). Others see here Saint John the Baptist holding the cross of victory (cf. Conton 1927: 14; Polacco 1984: 50; Del Negro Karem 1991: 33). The identification of the figure with the Good Thief is evidenced not only by iconographic comparisons, but also by the fact that in the above-mentioned representation of the *Anastasis* and *Deesis* scene St. John the Baptist was represented completely differently. This does not coincide with the tendency in the whole mosaic decoration to maintain the continuity of the narration by repeating the same portrayed figures in particular scenes (e.g. the way Adam and Eve and Mary are depicted).

We find information about the Good Scoundrel in the Bible. It is known that with Christ “(...) two outlaws were crucified with him, one on his right and one on his left” (Mt 27: 38; cf. in Greek: “Τότε σταυροῦνται σὺν αὐτῷ δύο λησταί, εἷς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἷς ἐξ εὐωνύμων” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 139); cf. Mk 15: 27-28; Lk 23: 33; Jn 19: 17-18). One of them humbled himself before his death before the Savior, asking: “Jesus, remember me when you come in your kingdom’. And Jesus said to him, ‘I tell you the truth, today you will be with me in paradise’” (Lk 23: 42-43) – cf. in Greek: “καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἰησοῦ, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἄμην σοι λέγω σήμερον μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ” (cf. Popowski and Wojciechowski (transl.) 2001: 382).

²⁵⁰ Transl. after Walker (transl.) 1890: 175. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 331ff.

ture of prayer²⁵¹. The Madonna, for the second time in this register of the mosaic, was shown as an intercessor praying to God for the favors needed by the faithful. The presence of Mary in paradise is confirmed by numerous apocryphal sources. The author of the Apocalypse of Paul, for example, he describes what he saw while being in paradise: “I saw a virgin coming from afar off, and two hundred angels before her singing hymns: (...) This is Mary the virgin, the mother of the Lord” (ApocPaul 46(1))²⁵². The Mother of God admits in the same source that the Blessed who cross the paradise gates meet her as their companion²⁵³.

Present in the interior of paradise, Mary is also shown in other scenes of the Last Judgement created in the same period as the mosaic in question. Most often, however, she is enthroned, as in the case of an ivory plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 51). The Mother of God was shown in the same position in the miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). The Madonna’s throne, depicted as a high-back seat, gained a more elaborate and decorative form here. In a miniature from the mid-11th century kept in the Vatican Library, Mary was also depicted as seated on a throne. However, she is accompanied by God’s messengers standing on either side of the seat. They seem to be a guard of angels (Fig. 53). In the same way, Mary was shown in the upper register of the representation of paradise in the icon of the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai (Fig. 54).

As in the mosaic on Torcello, the Mother of God in the standing posture was represented in the second register from the predella in the table kept in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Fig. 55). The creators of the painting placed her between the group of the Blessed in the center of the register and the Good Thief carrying the cross on the right. Mary, however, was not shown *en face*, as in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, but in profile. Nevertheless, she raises both her hands in a gesture of prayer looking at Christ-the-Priest in the register above. Together with the centrally placed group of the Blessed Stephen standing on the other side, she is part of the *Deesis* scene²⁵⁴.

The scene which completes the last register of the representation on Torcello from the right side is the one showing Abraham on the throne. Portrayed as an older man with a white beard and hair, he is dressed in a navy-gold tunic and a white coat. On his

²⁵¹ Mary making an identical gesture was represented on a mosaic decoration adorning the main apse of the Church of Santa Maria e Donato on the nearby island of Murano.

²⁵² Transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 64. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 274 transl. M. Starowieyski.

²⁵³ Cf. ApocPaul 46 (4): “Behold, all the righteous are behind me, coming to meet thee. But I say unto thee, Paul, that for this cause I come first to meet them that have performed the will of my son and my Lord Jesus Christ, even I come first to meet them and leave them not as strangers until they meet with him in peace” – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 64. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 275 transl. M. Starowieyski. Other characters that appear, according to apocryphal sources, in paradise are e.g. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, twelve patriarchs, Moses, Lot, Job, Noah, Elijah, Elisha (cf. e.g. ApocPaul 47(1)ff).

²⁵⁴ More on this subject – see Mazurczak 2012: 245ff.

lap there is a small figure of a young man turned *en trois quarts*, most likely the figure of Lazarus from the biblical parable (Lk 16: 19-31). It was shown identically to Antichrist sitting on Hades' lap in the register above, on the other side of the mosaic decoration. On both sides of Abraham there are two groups of standing children and young people facing him. They are dressed in short knee-length tunics trimmed with gold. Perhaps they depict the souls of the Innocents who appeared earlier in the scene of the Descent of Christ into the Abyss in the same mosaic complex. In this way, as it seems, the mosaic in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta shows a scene of so-called Abraham's Womb²⁵⁵.

The figure of Abraham, together with Lazarus on his lap, appears moreover in the lower zone of the ivory plaques from the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 51). The scene is placed next to the representation of Mary enthroned. Unlike in the case of the mosaic scene on Torcello, the plaque shows no figures of young men accompanying Abraham around the throne. A similar simplified iconography of the Womb of Abraham appears in a miniature from the Vatican Library (Fig. 53). The Innocents around Abraham holding Lazarus appear in the representation from a miniature from the Library in Paris (Fig. 52) and in the lower register of the icon from St. Catherine's monastery on Sinai (Fig. 54).

The whole scene closing the mosaic decoration complex from the Basilica on Torcello from one side should be interpreted as a contradiction of the group of Hades holding Antichrist on his lap from the first part of hell²⁵⁶. This kind of position of both groups, on two opposite sides of the representation, outlines the difference between the Blessed in paradise and the Damned suffering punishment for their sins in infernal depths. According to the author, both scenes, closing the composition from two sides, also symbolize its fullness, showing a complex vision of the Underworld²⁵⁷.

On the left side of the Orant Mother of God, above the doorway, further parts of hell are represented. The whole composition, divided into two rows of rectangular fields of different sizes, shows infernal depths of various types. The first field in the upper row shows three naked human figures against the background of fiery flames. Only two of them have features that help to identify their gender. An older man with a white beard sits amidst flames, while the other two figures stand up to the waist immersed in fire²⁵⁸. They make gestures expressive of sadness and fear. One folds both

²⁵⁵ This scene is identified as so-called Abraham's womb by most researchers (Niero [s.d.]: 42; Musolino 1964: 19ff; Polacco 1984: 50; Del Negro Karem 1991: 32). More about the iconography of this scene – see shortly e.g. Lucchesi Palli 1968: 31 and Brenk 1966: 101ff. Abraham's presence in paradise is confirmed by numerous written sources – above all Lk 16: 19-31. Cf. also e.g. ApocPaul 27 (1).

²⁵⁶ E.g. Luigi Conton interprets it in the same way (Conton 1927: 14).

²⁵⁷ More on this subject – see Chap. IV.5.

²⁵⁸ The act of immersion of the Damned in fire or in a fiery river appears in numerous descriptions of the infernal depths in apocryphal sources, e.g. in an excerpt of the *Apocalypse of Paul*: "And I saw there a river of fire burning with heat, and in it was a multitude of men and wom-

hands pleadingly on the chest. Their facial expressions and their body poses, however, do not express the piercing suffering that the Damned should experience for their sins. Beside, in the next part of hell filled with darkness, four standing figures of men of different ages are represented. The gestures of the characters shown are more prominent this time. By raising their hands, covering their mouths, crossing their legs, folding their arms on their chest, these figures express the suffering and fear that accompanies them. On the right side, in the last field of the upper row, there are figures on a black background outlined only with slight blue lines. They are waist-deep submerged in water (or ice) represented as blue waves²⁵⁹.

Below this field, in the next part of the infernal depths, human bones are visible (skulls, bones of the hands, feet, shin or forearm). Right next to them, on the background of red flames, ten heads of men and women with various physiognomic features are shown. It seems important that eight figures have large earrings decorated with pearls. Perhaps they were supposed to highlight the sense of hearing of the characters in the scene. As demonstrated above in the course of the analysis, this sense was emphasized by the creators of the mosaic also in the way in which the bands in half of the God's messengers were shown. In the case of the Damned represented in this part, the earrings clearly burdening their ears have negative connotations and symbolize wealth and luxury. The last field of the lower row of the representation shows seventeen human skulls, their empty sockets teeming white worms. The eyes of the Damned represented in this way become the complete opposite of the prominent large pupils of the Savior from the *Anastasis* scene.

The gradation of the scenes shown, decreasing from the largest in the upper register, with Hades holding Antichrist on his lap, to the lowest rows of the lower register, may indicate the direction of the narrative. As it seems, the whole scene starts with the angels pushing the sinners to hell with their spears. In this context, the sphere shown here as the first part of hell, full of fiery flames, may be the zone of Abyss. The fire visible in it does not consume sinners tormented by flying demons²⁶⁰. In subsequent parts

en sunk up to the knees, and other men up to the navel; others also up to the lips and others up to the hair" (ApocPaul 31: 3) – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 56ff. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 264 transl. M. Starowieyski.

²⁵⁹ An analysis of biblical sources regarding the Abyss conceived as the Underground Ocean may suggest that water was presented here, not ice (cf. Chap. IV, p. 104f - note 99). Also in the apocryphal sources describing hell, there is a vision of the underground immensity of waters – see e.g. ApocPaul 31: 2: “and he took me by the way of the sunsetting, and I saw the beginning of the heaven founded upon a great river of water, and I asked: What is this river of water? And he said unto me: This is the ocean which compasseth the whole earth about. And when I was come beyond (to the outside of) the ocean, I looked and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness (...)” – transl. after James (transl.) 1924. Cf. Tischendorf (ed.) 1966: 56ff. Cf. Starowieyski (ed.) 2001: 264 transl. M. Starowieyski.

²⁶⁰ The hypothesis about the possibility of presenting a concept here, which then, especially since the 13th century, developed as the concept of purgatory, seems to be too far-reaching. However, undoubtedly, analyzing the place of the described mosaic decoration in the process of shap-

of the infernal depths, from the fields shown closer to the center of the mosaic to those closing it from the outside, a gradation of the suffering of sinners and the destruction of their bodies is clearly visible. In the first parts of the representation they are shown as “existing” and not suffering. In the lower zones, both the mental anguish of the Damned subject to diverse types of punishment and the destruction of their bodies takes place. They are exposed not only to infernal fire, but also to darkness and water (or ice). It seems thus that the representation analyzed here shows not so much individual punishment to which sinners are subjected, but successive mental and bodily states in which the sufferers are introduced.

There are basically two interpretations among researchers attempting to describe the analyzed scene. One, proposed e.g. by Renato Polacco and Antonio Niero, sees in the representation of hell from the mosaic complex on Torcello a scene showing the seven deadly sins. According to this interpretation, the sinners in the scene with Hades are to suffer for the sins of impurity. Below, the figures placed in flames are to be marked by pride, and the naked figures in the next field suffer for the sin of gluttony. The Damned, immersed in water or ice, quench their anger. In the lower row, according to this concept, the heads of the jealous bitten by worms are shown. Next to them suffer misers, whose ears are decorated with rich earrings. The scattered bones and skulls are to symbolize the sin of laziness²⁶¹. However, this interpretation does not seem adequate to the author of this monograph. There is no unequivocal justification for the way to represent the motifs that are to reflect individual sins, nor are there equivalents of extant works of art that could show the same motif²⁶². The second hypothesis, proposed by Jérôme Baschet in his monograph on the iconography of the Underworld, sees the scene from the Basilica on Torcello as a representation of seven different parts of hell and the types of punishment corresponding to them²⁶³. However, it seems that this interpretation, in the case of the mosaic from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, is somewhat simplified. According to the author, the significance of the depicted motif was the gradation of the narrative context of the scene, although it clearly shows the various kinds of punishment that the Damned are subjected to. Their sense, however, is probably to emphasize the change of state of the souls of the sinners experiencing successive degrees of suffering as well as the progressive destruction of

ing the idea and iconography of purgatory seems to be an intriguing research problem, which however is beyond the scope of this study.

²⁶¹ Cf. Niero [s.d.]: 42; Polacco 1984: 50.

²⁶² More about the concept of the seven deadly sins and the ways they were represented in medieval art – see e.g. Casagrande, Vecchio and Baschet 2000.

²⁶³ Baschet 1993: 193ff. This hypothesis stems e.g. from a comparison of representations showing hell with apocryphal sources. In many of them there is a very developed description of hell and a division into individual parts of the infernal depths (e.g. *GospBart* 42, *Vision of Esdras* 1). Others contain a catalog of sins and their corresponding punishment (e.g. *ApocPt* 3-14, 7-11; *Rev of Mary*, pp. 282-289; *ApocEsdra* 4, 9-24).

their bodies²⁶⁴. The location of the scene in the context of the whole decoration is also important for understanding the message of the analyzed representation. Two rows of decoration depicting hell are in the lowest part of the mosaic, next to the main entrance. Each time the faithful left the Basilica, they were forced to watch the scene in question. This solution seems to be well studied, because the main function of the representation was to remind the faithful of the eternal punishment that awaits them in the Underworld if they do not lend their ears to the Divine Word.

So far, in the course of research, the author of this monograph has managed to find several representations that similarly if not identically depict the suffering of the Damned in hell in the context of the Last Judgement²⁶⁵.

The first example is the ivory plaque from the beginning of the 11th century, stored at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Fig. 51). The scene showing hell was divided here, as in the case of the mosaic on Torcello, into two main zones. The upper one shows an angel pushing a group of appalled sinners into hell. Beside there is the first part of the infernal depths, with Hades sitting on the background of flames and holding the figure of Antichrist on his lap. This scene is almost identical to the later representation of this motif on Torcello. The only two differences that arise are that the figure on the lap of Hades in the plaque is naked, and the throne of the king of the Underworld is formed by four dragon heads swallowing different parts of the bodies of the Damned. The similarity of both representations is so evident that some researchers assume that the creators of the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello had to pattern themselves after the plaque in question²⁶⁶. The zone below, showing the subsequent parts of hell, no longer carries such similarities. It was divided into three fields. On the left, in the first part, there is a huge number of standing figures dressed in short tunics to the knees. They fold both hands on their breasts in a gesture of fear. In the central field there are eight human skulls with clearly highlighted teeth, and eight more with long worms protruding from the eye sockets at the bottom. In the last part of hell, the naked Satan is seated on a rock, which definitely distinguishes the plaque from the representation from the Basilica on Torcello.

Another example of a scene showing the Damned in hell is a miniature from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52). In the case of this work of art, the representation of hell is more elaborate than in the case of the plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum. The composition of the scene, as in the case of the examples above and the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, is again divided into two main zones. Above, on the background of flames coming (as in both other representations) from the mandorla of Christ, two angels are shown, pushing a large group of the Damned to hell. Among the

²⁶⁴ This interpretation is a development of the analysis devoted to the iconography of the Damned from the mosaic decoration discussed and published by the author of this monograph (Krauze-Kołodziej 2013a; Krauze-Kołodziej 2017).

²⁶⁵ Cf. Krauze-Kołodziej 2013a.

²⁶⁶ Skrzyński 2002: 168.

sinner, as in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, there are representatives of various social groups. Beside there is the figure of Hades. This time, however, he is shown differently than in the plaque and in the later mosaic from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Hades in the miniature from Paris makes no gesture. He sits on a dragon of a repulsive mouth and fish tail, holding on his lap the figure of Antichrist shown centrally *en face*. In two rows below there are six framed semi-circular fields resembling the shape of furnace apertures. This representation is more elaborate than the one shown in the London plaque, but at the same time differs from the representation from the Basilica on Torcello. In the first field of the upper row there is a group of figures naked from the waist up. One of the figures holds both hands folded on the chest, the other one lifts one hand to face, while the other covers the lower abdomen. In the field in the middle there is a similar group of characters, two of whom put their hands on their chests and bow their heads. Nine human heads are visible in the last field of this row against a black background. The field below shows a similar scene. Beside, in the middle of the bottom row, in the darkness there are twelve human skulls. The last part of hell shows the seven heads of the Damned with different hair colors and facial features.

Another example of a representation showing the suffering of the Damned in hell that can be referred to the mosaic decoration in the Basilica on Torcello is a miniature from a manuscript kept in the Vatican Library (Fig. 53). Although the composition of the entire Last Judgement differs significantly from the one present on the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, hell, though much less extensive, is represented in a similar way. Here, also, the scene is divided into two main registers. In the upper zone, filled with flames, two angels are clad in long tunics and coats. One of them pushes, like in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello, the Damned with his spear into the infernal crevice. The second angel points to the sinners the direction with a raised hand, as God's messengers did in the London plaque and the miniature from Paris. Beside there is a group of three characters dressed in long black tunics. One of the figures folds the hands on the chest in a pleading gesture, bending the head towards the angels. The rest are facing the flames where the heads of sinners are depicted. There are fewer of them than in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello but, just like there, there are various characters, including a bishop in a *pallium* and a king with a crown on his head. This zone of the representation is enclosed by a monster with a dragon's body shrouded in scales, a fish's tail and a goat's head identical to the representation of the armrests of the throne of Hades in the scene from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello. The register below is divided into two fields. Both have a black background symbolizing the darkness of hell. One field depicts three standing nude figures of men of different ages, one of which faces the center of the Judgement scene. He folds both hands on his chest. The other two characters turn towards each other, raising their hands up to their chests. This scene is reminiscent of the representation from the middle field of the upper register in the Basilica on Torcello, where

four figures of different ages perform similar gestures. In the second field of the Vatican miniature, two rows of the Damned are shown on a black background. In the upper one there are white skulls with clearly marked black eyeholes, and in the lower one the heads of three figures: an old man, a young man and a mature man. There are many similarities between the scene showing hell from the Vatican miniature and the one decorating the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello.

Another scene showing in a similar way the suffering of the Damned in hell comes from an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai (Fig. 54). Here, too, the representation is divided into two zones. The background of the first of them, similarly to the scene from the Basilica on Torcello and to the plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, is covered by flames that come from the river of fire flowing from the mandorla of Christ shown above. On the background of flames, two angels push sinners into hell with their spears. Beside, on a black background depicting hellish darkness, there is Hades sitting on a dragon, who, like in the scenes discussed above, holds the figure of Antichrist on his lap. The second part of hell, shown below, as in the case of the miniature from the National Library in Paris and the scenes from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello, was divided into six fields. They are full of scattered parts of the bodies of sinners. One of the fields, in the middle of the first row, probably shows the scene of the Damned immersed in water or ice, which also appears in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello.

The infernal depths are shown slightly differently in the paintings from the western wall of the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis and in the table from the Pinacoteca Vaticana. The paintings depict hell divided into two registers (Fig. 56). The first of them, unlike the scenes discussed so far, shows a crowd of sinners standing in rows, among whom there are representatives of different social estates. This scene, undoubtedly, corresponds to the representation of the Blessed shown on the other side of the same register. In the second part of hell, sinners are tormented by winged demons. In the case of the table from the Pinacoteca Vaticana, the representation of hell was limited to one scene accumulated in the right part of the predella (Fig. 55). In the depths of hell, here, as in the lower part of the representation from Sant'Angelo in Formis, the anguished Damned are tormented by devils.

The examples mentioned here undoubtedly have many common features with the analyzed representation from the Basilica on the island of Torcello. In each representation, attempts were made to show parts of hell depicting two of its basic features that appear in the biblical description, i.e. the omnipresence of hellfire (e.g. Sir 7: 17) and the dark (e.g. Mt 8: 12). The gestures and poses of the Damned indicate their fear and anxiety. The miniatures from Paris and the Vatican Library and the wall painting from the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis, like the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, show the diversity of social estates among the Damned suffering torture in hell. However, there are also some differences between these iconographic examples and the mosaic from Torcello. First, there is a different number of parts of hell. In the table from the

Pinacoteca Vaticana, hell is limited to one zone. In the painting from Sant'Angelo in Formis there are two zones of hell, while the plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum shows four zones and the miniature from Paris, as well as the Sinai icon and the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello all have seven zones. In the above works, moreover, the Damned are shown only as nude standing figures, heads of sinners or their skulls (in the plaque from London an additional distinction was made between skulls referring, perhaps to the biblical “gnashing of teeth” (e.g. Mt 8: 12) and “worms” (e.g. Isa 66: 24). In the case of the representation from the Basilica on the island of Torcello, the way of representing sinners seems to be the most elaborate.

IV.4. Comparative analysis of the scene and other scenes of the Last Judgement in medieval art

The mosaic of the western wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello is an exquisite composition of deliberately selected scenes, which the researchers frequently identify as the Last Judgement. As the author of this monograph mentioned in the Introduction, such a short description of the scene in relation to the representation from the Basilica on the island of Torcello seems to be a blatant simplification. The scene has a diverse eschatological and soteriological content which is integral semantically and which, according to the author, goes beyond the representation of the Last Judgement.

In order to demonstrate the unique character of the mosaic complex from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello, and, at the same time, place it in a certain sequence of the development of the iconographic motif of scenes representing the Last Judgement, this chapter will compare the analyzed representation to other selected scenes on the same subject from the 11th-12th centuries.

The representation from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello is an example of a complex iconography of the Last Judgement developed and extended by various motifs, i.e. a set of scenes inspired by both Greek and Latin traditions²⁶⁷. In Western art, the earliest representations of this motif are symbolic. First of all, they illustrate the biblical parable of the sheep and the goats (Mt 25: 32-33). An example of such scenes, inspired in terms of iconography by idyllic pastoral motifs from Roman representations, is the scene from the front of the sarcophagus lid dated to the late 3rd and the early 4th century. It is currently kept at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In the central part of this representation bearded Christ is dressed in a long tunic and a coat. He sits on a throne surrounded on the right by the sheep facing him, and on the left by the goats. A basket with scrolls stands next to Christ. The background of the scene consists of trees with various types of foliage. The same motif was shown nearly identically in one of the mosaics from the 6th century in the Church of San

²⁶⁷ More on this subject – see Chap. IV.5.

Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The centrally depicted Christ, however, was represented here as a young man without a beard who sits *en face* on the rock. He is dressed in a long navy-blue tunic and a coat with two *clavi* stitched with gold thread. The Savior has a *nimbus* above his head. He is flanked by two figures of God's messengers. On the right side of Christ there is an angel dressed in a red tunic and a coat. It also has red wings. Next to him was a group of sheep facing the center. On the other side of Christ there is a messenger clad in a blue tunic and a coat, with wings of the same color. Next to him there is a group of goats facing the Savior. The motif of separating sheep from goats was developed further. Later, it was included in the apse representations of sheep and goats flanking, for example, a triumphant cross. An example of such a developed scene is the decoration of the main apse in the Church of San Clemente in Rome²⁶⁸. The Judgement scene could also be symbolized by a throne prepared for the coming of Christ, as, for example, in the mosaic adorning the chancel arch in the Roman Church of Santa Maria Maggiore²⁶⁹.

As can be seen from the examples mentioned above, early Western iconography referring to eschatological themes had a largely allusive character. It was not until the early Middle Ages, especially in the Carolingian miniatures, that the image of Christ-the Judge sitting on the earth's globe became widespread, as exemplified by the scene from the 9th-century Stuttgart Psalter kept in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart. This type of representation, remaining under the influence of Roman imperial iconography, emphasized the triumphant significance of the scene. It was also taken over by the examples of works of art from Ottonian era, which were enriched with motifs connected with the Passion of Christ. An example of representation depicting Christ-the Judge sitting on the throne and holding a monumental cross of the Latin type, dominant over the entire two-zone composition, is the miniature from the Bamberg Apocalypse currently stored in the local Staatlichebibliothek (Fig. 59) and a miniature from the Book of Pericopes of Henry II (Fig. 60). In the case of a wall painting from the Church of St. Georg of Reichenau-Oberzell, the cross is represented next to Christ shown in *Maiestas Domini* type (Fig. 61)²⁷⁰.

Although the early eastern iconography of the Last Judgement appeared as early as in the 9th and 10th centuries, as exemplified by paintings from the Churches of Zilanli Kilise and Ayvali Kilise in Cappadocia, its full form developed only in the 11th century. It was characterized by a zone arrangement composed of a canon of carefully selected scenes with specific meaning. This arrangement developed both in Byzantium and in the territory of the influence of the Eastern Empire²⁷¹. Selected examples

²⁶⁸ More about this motif – see Brenk 1966: 36-51.

²⁶⁹ On the origin of the iconography of the Last Judgement and its development – see above all Brenk 1966: 19-76; Christe 2000: 15-23; Pace (ed.) 2006: 19-26.

²⁷⁰ More on this subject – see e.g. Brenk 1966: 107-144.

²⁷¹ On the development of the iconography of the Last Judgment in Byzantium – see e.g. Brenk 1966: 74-106, 144ff. The occurrence of this motif in Constantinople is confirmed by literary sources.

of the implementation of this subject in the East and in the West constitute an important iconographic context for the work of art analyzed in this monograph.

The first example is the scene represented in an ivory plaque probably originating from Constantinople, and currently kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (inv. A.24-1926). It dates from 1000-1100, so it is chronologically ahead of the representation from the Basilica on Torcello (Fig. 51)²⁷². The plaque shows the iconographic composition consisting of four horizontal registers filled with representations. In the highest zone, around the centrally represented Christ in Majesty, there is a scene of the so-called Great *Deesis* scene extended by the figures of Apostles and angels. Below, in the next register, on the right side of the river of fire flowing from the mandorla of Christ there are the rows of the Blessed. On the left there is the first part of the infernal abyss. The sinners depicted here are pushed by God's messenger into the flames of fire. In its depths, Hades as the ruler of the Underworld sits on a dragon and holds Antichrist on his lap. The throne prepared for the second coming of Christ is depicted centrally in the lowest zone of the representation. On the right side of the throne there is paradise, entered by a group of the Blessed led by God's messenger. Next to the angel, in paradise, there is the Good Thief, Mother of God and Abraham holding Lazarus on his lap.

The overall composition of the scene described here seems to correspond to a simplified version of the representation on the western wall of the Basilica on the island of Torcello. Both scenes are connected not only by a general outline of the composition, but also by the appearance of various figures and the way they were depicted. However, the Victoria & Albert Museum plaque represents the Resurrection of the Body scene only symbolically. In the plaque there is also no *Psychostasis* scene, no representation of the Orant Mother of God interceding for the faithful and no scene of *Anastasis* and Crucifixion that dominate the upper part of the representation in the Basilica on Torcello.

Another eastern example of the Last Judgement scene which could have been a model for the creators of the mosaic from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello island is a miniature currently kept in the National Library of Paris and dat-

es - primarily The Continuation of Theophanes and the Nestorian Chronicle. The first source reports that the painter Methodius around 863 painted such an evocative Last Judgement that when it was seen by the pagan king of Bulgaria Boris, he immediately adopted the Christian faith. The second source offers a similar story from 983 that was to happen to Vladimir I. One should also remember the two poems of Leo VI. One of them is dedicated to the lily, which the poet saw as a symbol of Christ among the Apostles, while the other poem focuses on apocalyptic themes. Basing on these sources, some researchers speculate that there could have been an early representation of the Last Judgment in Constantinople as a model for later works of art known to us (cf. Polacco 1984: 62).

²⁷² More on this plaque – see e.g. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934: No. 123; Brenk 1964a: 106ff; Williamson (ed.) 1986: 162ff; Williamson 2010: 128-133, cat. No. 30.

ing to the 11th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Grec. 74 fol. 51^v) (Fig. 52)²⁷³. Just like the scene of the Last Judgement described above from the plaque kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, also the miniature from Paris was divided into four registers. Their composition, however, is less regular. The highest zone of the representation, around the centrally placed Christ in the mandorla, shows the scene of the so-called Great *Deesis*, similar to that seen in the London plaque. Below, on the background of the flames of the river of fire flanked by four Cherubs and fire wheels, *Etimasia* is represented. On its right side there are the figures of the Blessed standing in four groups, placed in two rows. Next to them there is an angel holding a volume with a blue vault and a symbolic representation of the Resurrection of Bodies from the seas. On the left side of the throne prepared for the second coming of Christ, a messenger was depicted in the upper register, calling the dead from the depths of the earth to Judgement with the sound of a trumpet. Below there is the representation of the first part of hell. Two angels push a group of sinners into the depths of hell and Hades sits on a dragon and holds the figure of Antichrist on his lap, similarly to the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello and the plaque from London. Below, in the last zone, the *Psychostasis* scene is shown centrally, just like in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello. On its right there is the interior of paradise, with Abraham and Mary. St. Peter is shown as allowing a group of the Blessed enter the gates of paradise. On the other side of the belt there are six more parts of hell depicting the suffering of the Damned.

It seems that the miniature described here shows the scene of the Last Judgement similarly to the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello. However, the registers of the representation were less regular and the composition left out the figures of the Orant Madonna, Good Thief and the motifs present in the two highest registers of the scene from the Basilica on Torcello, i.e. the representation of the Descent of Christ into the Abyss in the Eastern type and the Crucifixion. The miniature from Paris depicts no figures of the first parents, evident in the mosaic from Torcello.

As far as the composition is concerned, the arrangement of particular scenes of the Last Judgement mosaic on Torcello Island can also be compared to the representation in an icon from the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, which dates to the mid-12th century (Fig. 54)²⁷⁴. Similarly to the plaque from the Victoria & Albert Museum and the miniature from Paris, the icon has four registers of various scenes. In the case of the Sinai icon, however, the two lowest zones were additionally expanded. In the highest part of the representation with a semi-circular finish, there is the scene of the so-called Great *Deesis*, in which the background consists of the ranks of God's messengers. Below, on two sides of *Etimasia* flanked by guardian angels, as in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, there are six groups of the Blessed arranged in two rows.

²⁷³ More on this miniature – see e.g. Brenk 1964a: 106-109; Brenk 1966:84-86; Christe 2000: 58.

²⁷⁴ The scene was depicted in a similar way in the second Sinai icon with the Last Judgement dated to the mid-11th century. Cf. Pace (ed.) 2006: 58ff.

Beside there is the representation of the first part of the infernal abyss. Undoubtedly, the scenes have a lot in common with the mosaic from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Hades sitting on a dragon and holding Antichrist on his lap is visible here, as in the aforementioned mosaic on Torcello and other analyzed representations. Above this representation a group of sinners is shown, which does not appear in the mosaic from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. The lowest register of the Sinai icon in the field divided into two zones represents a symbolic – in comparison with the one known from mosaic decoration on Torcello – resurrection of bodies from the lands and the seas. However, there are, as in the analyzed mosaic, wild animals giving back the bodies of the dead and the representation of Amphitrite as the queen of the sea sitting on a sea monster. In front of the heavenly gate there is St. Peter introducing to paradise a group of righteous clergymen dressed in pallium. Behind the monumental paradise door, guarded by Cherubim, the Madonna is sitting on a throne and there is Abraham's Womb. Both the overall composition of the entire icon in question and the characters depicted largely coincide with those placed on the western wall on Torcello island. Similarly, however, as in the case of the above works of art, the Sinai icon lacks the scenes of *Anastasis* and Crucifixion, both shown in the work from Torcello.

In the case of another work of art, the similarity with the scene from the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on the island of Torcello is basically limited to one scene, i.e. a representation of the infernal depths. This is a miniature from a Greek manuscript kept in the Vatican Library dated to the mid-11th century (Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana Ms. Grec. 394. fol. 12^v) (Fig. 53). It shows two parts of hell yet narrowed to three fields. The first and largest of them depict succinctly when compared to the scene from the Basilica on Torcello angels pushing various groups of sinners into hellfire. The heads of the Damned from different social estates are visible in the scene. Below these heads there is a monster writhing in fire. He has a mouth identical to that of the dragon on Hades sits as if on a throne in the scene from Torcello. Two fields below in the scene from the Vatican Library miniature there are next parts of hell. The first of them, extremely similar to one of the zones showing the inferno in the case of the analyzed mosaic, presents three figures standing in the darkness and making various gestures. Beside there are human skulls and heads visible on a black background. The representation seems to succinctly show motifs that have been then developed in the scene of the same subject on the island of Torcello.

An example of a transfer of some motifs originating in Byzantine iconography to the West is the representation of the Last Judgment from the so-called Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgment, a table kept in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and dated to the second half of the 12th century (Fig. 55)²⁷⁵. This representation undoubtedly shows many

²⁷⁵ A detailed description and analysis of the table along with the latest literature of the subject – see Mazurczak 2012: 241-254.

common features with the analyzed mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello Island. Both works are linked by the arrangement in particular registers and a strictly chosen canon of scenes. Many of them, when the subject is concerned, are the same or similar for both representations. However, the implementation of motifs is slightly different. The composition of the table from the Pinacoteca Vaticana is dominated by the representation of Christ in Majesty, not the moment of the Savior's Crucifixion and the *Anastasis* scene below, as in the case of the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello. The motifs that coincide in both representations are the placement of the Mother of God and the Good Thief in paradise, the representation in the register above the predella of the Resurrection of the bodies of the dead from the lands and the seas and the Orant Mother of God depicted on the predella. Other motifs were represented slightly differently, so the semantic focus of the representation is also different from that of the mosaic decoration from Torcello.

Like in the Vatican table, also in the case of the painting from the western wall of the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis near Capua, when compared to the representation from the Basilica on Torcello, only some parallels are visible (Fig. 56)²⁷⁶. The painting is dated to the beginning of the 11th century, so like the plaque from London, it precedes chronologically the mosaic complex analyzed in this monograph. With the representation on Torcello, the painting is connected mostly by the overall composition of the scene and its location on the western wall of the temple above the main entrance to the church. The motifs presented, predominantly the implementation of the western iconography of the Last Judgement, are not close equivalents to those shown in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello Island, where Byzantine influences are undeniable. On the western wall of the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis, the central part of the composition, consisting of five registers, is the hieratic Christ in the mandorla, represented *en face* and demonstrating his wounds. On both sides, in two zones, there are rows of standing angels at the top and seated Apostles at the bottom. Below the mandorla of Christ there are three figures of God's messengers holding unrolled and overwritten scrolls. The angels were placed above the entrance to the temple. To their right there are two rows of the Blessed standing in crowds. They include representatives of various social states, differing in the clothes they wear. In the same way the Damned were depicted in the penultimate register of the representation on the left of the mandorla of Christ. Below there are the infernal depths, where sinners suffer torture at the hands of flying demons. The whole representation at the top is finished by the representation of four angels calling the living and the dead with trumpets to the Judgement of God. They were placed between four semicircular windows. After analyzing this painting, it is clearly visible that it is parallel to the representation from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello, mainly in terms of the overall composi-

²⁷⁶ More about wall paintings in the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis – see e.g. Morisani 1962; Moppert-Schmidt 1967.

tion. The emphasis here representation shows primarily Christ the Judge in Majesty. Furthermore, as in the case of previously mentioned works, the scenes of *Anastasis* and Crucifixion present in the scene from the Basilica on Torcello were absent here.

IV.5. Innovative nature of the mosaic complex on the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello

Analysis of selected scenes of the Last Judgement from the period preceding the time of the mosaic from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello Island or chronologically corresponding to it, brings out the unique character of the analyzed mosaic complex. As it seems, the Torcello work in a highly developed way illustrates the theologically complex and artistically sublime eschatological vision.

The mosaic representation of the western wall is also deeply ingrained not only in the socio-cultural context that affected the Torcello area, but also in the iconographic context of the entire mosaic decoration of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. It creates a coherent whole with the other mosaics in this church. On the eastern side of the basilica, mosaic decorations illustrate the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ. This is mainly demonstrated by the representation adorning the main apse. The dominant element of the golden conch is the Mary in the *Theotokos* type shown above the row of the Apostles, holding the Child on her shoulder. The dogma of the Incarnation is also emphasized by an inscription placed above the representation of the Mother of God, on the edge of the apse²⁷⁷. The same theological issues were reflected in the scene of the Annunciation adorning both sides of the chancel arch, in which, according to the inscription, the Archangel Gabriel announces to Mary: VIRGO DI NATUM / PARIES EX TE CARO FACT(UM) (*Virgin, you will give birth to the son of God who will become flesh through you*)²⁷⁸. Originally between the figures of God's messenger and the Virgin, at the center of the chancel arch, there was the representation of Christ-Emanuel in a *clipeus* supported by angels. This scene symbolized the moment of Ascension²⁷⁹. This combination of scenes in the main apse and above it seems to represent succinctly and symbolically the entire mystery of the Savior's earthly life, which began with the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and ended with the Ascension into Heaven of the Risen Christ.

The decoration adorning the right apse is focused on showing the Son of God as the Lord of the universe, reigning at the right hand of God the Father. It was depict-

²⁷⁷ SVM DEVS ATQUE CARO / PATRIS ET SVM MATRIS IMAGO / NON PIGER AD LAPSVM / SET [i.e. SED] FLENTI PROXIMUS ADSVM (*I am God and body, the image of the Father and the Mother; I do not tolerate sin, but I am closest to those who cry*). Description of this scene and more about it – see Chap. II, pp. 55f.

²⁷⁸ More about this scene – see Chap. II, p. 57.

²⁷⁹ More about it – see Chap. II, p. 56 - note 73 and Chap. III, p. 70 - note 53.

ed in the center of the golden conch as the enthroned Pantocrator. On either side of Christ there are the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Flanking the figure of Jesus, God's messengers seem to enclose the whole History of Salvation in one representation. Gabriel symbolizes the moment of the Conception of the Son of God to earthly life, and Michael His return in the last days. The whole representation of the right apse is completed by the *Agnus Dei*, symbolic of the Sacrifice of Christ, in the *clipeus* raised by four angels. It was placed above, on the vault of the arch closing the conch. In this way, the Lamb of God, a reference to the Bloody Sacrifice of the Savior, also brings to mind the meaning of the sacrament of the Eucharist, participation in which constitutes the believer's way to Salvation. It seems that the creators of the mosaic in the right apse wanted also to depict here symbolically the Church of God. The community of the faithful could be illustrated here by the four Fathers of the Church shown below: Gregory, Martin, Ambrose, and Augustine²⁸⁰. They are witnesses of the power of Christ represented in the scene, and at the same time partake in its influence. The power of the Savior over the world is clearly emphasized by the inscription in the apse: PERSONIS TRIPLEX DEVS EST ET NVMINE SIMPLEX / HERBIDAT HIC TERRAM, MARE FVNDIT, LVMINAT AETHRAM (*God in three persons and the only one in divinity He covers the land with green, pours the sea, brightens the air*)²⁸¹.

The eastern part of the church, therefore, seems to reveal both the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ and his earthly life and the heavenly reality of his power over the universe. At the same time, the elements contained in the decoration referring to the Sacrifice of the Savior, the place of the faithful who are witnesses to the Divine power and, above all, the role of Mary in the History of Salvation, explicitly refer to the message of the mosaic complex decorating the western wall of the Basilica. The monumental decoration represents not only the moment of the Last Judgement but above all the salvation of humanity through the death of Christ on the cross. Because of it, the sin of the first parents was erased; Christ becomes the New Adam here. Eve's sin was expiated for by Mary's consent to the Incarnation. This relation with the western part of the church is also outlined by the inscription found under the representation of *Theotokos* in the main apse: FORMULA VIRTUTIS / MARIS ASTRVM PORTA SALVTIS / PROLE MARIA LEVAT / QUOS CONIVGE SUBDIDIT EVA (*Symbol of virtue, star of the sea, gate of salvation, Mary through her Son raises those whom Eve surrendered through her spouse*).

Undoubtedly, though, the mosaic decorations of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta were created as a corresponding theological whole containing the full History of Salvation. It is also perfectly integrated into the symbolism of the church's architec-

²⁸⁰ The presence among the four Fathers of the Western Church of St. Martin, who replaced St. Jerome, may testify to local socio-cultural impact, which also influenced the content of the mosaic to some extent. The symbolic Church represented here would have both a universal and a local dimension. Cf. Chap. II, pp. 57f - note 77.

²⁸¹ More about this scene – see Chap. II, pp. 57f.

ture. As Renato Polacco states, the importance of the mosaic decoration is highlighted by the rhythm of marble columns that lead from the entrance to the main altar²⁸². Above it, in the apse, the mystery of the Incarnation suspended outside of time was shown in the person of the Mother of God holding the Child. The same path, apart from real time and space, also leads the other way: from the altar to the exit of the church, above which a monumental mosaic complex is situated, gathering in one place the most important soteriological and eschatological truths. The Last Judgement here was on the one hand a clear warning for the faithful leaving the holy place. It reminded of the fate that awaits all people at the end of time. On the other hand, the western wall of the church symbolized the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross (evening sacrifice), also associated with the decline, end, crowning, and thus gaining eschatological significance. The location of the mosaic decoration depicting an extensive scene of the Last Judgement on the western wall was to emphasize the highest Sacrifice of Christ, and through it the salvation of humanity from all evil and the intercession of Mary and her role in the History of Salvation.

It also seems important to outline that the exit door from the Basilica, originally led to the baptistery situated in front of it. The western wall was not only, as in the case of other churches, the border between the sacred and the profane, but above all the point of junction between the significance of the two sacraments most important for the faithful - Baptism and the Eucharist. Through the sacrament of Baptism, it was possible to enter the community of the Church and participate in the Sacrifice of Christ celebrated during Holy Mass on the altar. In turn, eating the Flesh and drinking the Blood of the Son of God enabled entry from earthly reality to the reality of the Blessed in heaven on the last day.

This symbolic movement between the eastern and the western parts of the church seems to be emphasized by the light, which according to the author plays a key role in understanding the message of the whole mosaic decoration of the Basilica, in particular the mosaic from the western wall²⁸³. It must be remembered that this decoration was originally viewed by the inhabitants of the island in a completely different way than it is today²⁸⁴. The only natural source illuminating the representation, and the only until early afternoon, were small windows on the southern wall of the Basilica, located at the height of the second topmost register showing the *Anastasis* scene. The lack of the same window openings on the opposite wall is caused by cold winds blowing from the north in the Lagoon²⁸⁵. The relation between the eastern and western parts of the church is stressed also by the way the sun had to travel from the eastern part of the church decorated with the representation of *Theotokos*, under which there

²⁸² Polacco 1984: 47. Cf. Concina 1995: 114.

²⁸³ These issues have become the subject of a separate study in the form of an article – cf. Krauze-Kołodziej 2019.

²⁸⁴ More on the perception of light and color in medieval art – see e.g. James 1996. Cf. James 2000.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Niero [s.d.]: 10.

is a small window, to the west, where Christ's salvific action was shown²⁸⁶. The mosaic complex located on the western wall is illuminated by the sun's rays that fall through small windows on the south wall. In the morning, they illuminate the central vertical axis of the mosaic decoration, moving slowly from top to bottom. This lighting of the work of art undoubtedly highlighted its message and the descending nature of the vertical line and vertical system dominating in the mosaic decoration²⁸⁷.

Analysis of the western wall mosaic complex provided in earlier chapters shows that the narrative here is formed by six horizontal registers. In the overall composition, however, the vertical direction clearly prevails. This is done by emphasizing the central vertical axis of the representation, which consists of the following scenes: Crucifixion in the highest register of the composition, the hieratic figure of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene, the mandorla of the Savior in the register below, the throne prepared for the second coming of Christ, the *Psychostasis* scene and the representation of the Orant Mother of God in the tympanum over the church's entrance. It seems that this arrangement of scenes corresponds to the direction of the narration. However, it does not coincide with the chronological course of biblical events but emphasizes the symbolic meaning of the whole composition. The overriding element dominating the scenes depicting the day of the Last Judgement is the Crucifixion at the top of the mosaic complex. Stress on Christ's sacrifice strengthens the soteriological message of the composition. The highest scene, presenting the moment of entrusting the Mother of God to the protection of the beloved disciple of Christ, also emphasizes her role in the History of Salvation. As the *Sponsa Christi*, she becomes a personification of the Church left by the Savior to the Apostles and their successors, and thus to all the faithful.

Below, in the next register, there is the *Anastasis* scene, in the center of which there is the most important figure of Christ trampling the door of the Abyss and the shackled Hades symbolizing all evil in the world. The hieratic Jesus holds a triumphal cross through which the highest Sacrifice was made to save humanity from sin. The Savior was shown at the moment of saving the first parents from the Abyss. This symbolizes a new beginning and the grace which through his death Jesus lavished not only on Adam and Eve, but on the whole Church. Christ became here the

²⁸⁶ More about the relation between the door on the west side of the church and the window openings on the east as well as on the importance of this arrangement of openings – see Piano 2005: above all pp. 9-12.

²⁸⁷ It is worth considering how the work of art could have been illuminated in the late afternoon and after dark, when most services were held. It seems that the message of the mosaic complex was so important for the faithful that it had to be lit up in an artificial way. Natural light was probably not sufficient during these hours. At that time candles, small torches, olive lamps and glass lamps were available. The first candlesticks and candelabra also appeared. Which of these methods were used in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, so far, cannot be clearly stated. Cf. Krauze-Kołodziej 2019. More about early Christian and medieval methods of lighting churches - see e.g. Radtke 2000; Chrzanowski and Kaiser 2007: 41-43, 52-54, 71-85, 167-180.

New Adam and his mother, shown above as the *Sponsa Christi*-Church, becomes the New Eve. Therefore, this scene emphasizes above all the soteriological message of the Resurrection of Christ.

Both of the above scenes crown the mosaic complex on the western wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Without them, this representation would unambiguously focus on eschatological themes, as was the case in chronologically earlier representations, listed in the previous subsection as a parallel to the representation from the Basilica on Torcello: the ivory plaque from Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 51), miniatures from the National Library in Paris (Fig. 52), the Sinai icon (Fig. 54), the table from Pinacoteca Vaticana (Fig. 55), and paintings from the western wall of the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 56). In the case of the mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello, however, the addition of two registers at the top of the composition radically changes the meaning of the whole decoration. Thus the creators of the mosaic managed to emphasize the magnitude of God's grace given to people at the time of Christ's death on the cross. This arrangement of iconographic motifs seems to be a unique example of the Last Judgement scene from such an early period enriched with soteriological themes. It does not appear in this form in any other aforementioned representation of the Last Judgement²⁸⁸. The Crucifixion scene has already appeared in the context referring to the eschatological themes, for example with the representation of the Resurrection of the body. The implementation of such a scene can be found in an ivory plaque from the mid-9th century from Reims and now stored at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (inv. 303-1867) (Fig. 57)²⁸⁹. Similarly, the same motif was shown in another plaque that was part of the same collection and dated to 860-870, probably coming from Metz (inv. 250-1867) (Fig. 58)²⁹⁰. In the case of this work of art, however, on both sides of the cross of Christ there are the dead who come out of the graves depicted as mausoleums built on the plan of the circle, not out of sarcophagi. Below the cross, in the plaque from Metz, in an additional register, there are personifications of the sea and the land, stressing the eschatological dimension of the scene. They seem to refer to the scene of the Resurrection of the bodies from the lands and the seas described in the Apocalypse and presented in a developed way in one register of the mosaic decoration in the Basilica on Torcello.

The cross in the eschatological context, raised almost over the entire composition, was also emphasized in the representations of the Last Judgement adorning the Ottonian Gospel Books from the beginning of the 11th century, as happens with the miniature from the Bamberg Apocalypse (Fig. 59) and the Book of Pericopes of Henry II (Fig. 60). The Latin cross held by Christ in the mandorla was highlighted in the miniatures cited above all through its monumental size. Its significance emphasizing the

²⁸⁸ Cf. Chap. IV.4.

²⁸⁹ More about this plaque – see e.g. Williamson 2010: 180, 1, cat. 43.

²⁹⁰ More about this plaque – see e.g. Williamson (ed.) 1986: 70ff; Williamson 2010: 186-189, cat. 45.

Sacrifice of Christ, which is a source of God's Graces for people, seems to be repeated by decorating the head of the Savior with a cross *nimbus*.

The juxtaposition of the representation of *Maiestas Domini*, no longer with the cross itself, but with the entire scene of the Crucified Christ, can be found in the painting from the western wall in the church of St. Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell (Fig. 61). This representation is dated to the 12th century, so it constitutes a close parallel to the analyzed mosaic complex. Similarly to the mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello, one is dealing here with a set of two scenes arranged one above the other. In Reichenau-Oberzell, however, the dominant scene is that showing Christ in Majesty. The crucifixion was placed in a small apse below the Savior's hieratic figure. In the case of the mosaic complex from the Basilica on Torcello, the semantic focus is in the opposite way. Thus, the creators of the mosaic wanted to emphasize the significance of the Crucifixion scene as an event that is elevated above all other narrative scenes. It is also the starting point for the events illustrated below, i.e. the Last Judgement scenes and its final meaning.

The Crucifixion scene as the crowning of the whole composition, juxtaposed with the *Anastasis* scene in the same way as in the case of the mosaic decoration from the Basilica on Torcello, was shown in a miniature from Psalter from the turn of the 12th century, currently kept in the University Library at Princeton (Fig. 46). In the miniature, the Crucifixion was represented similarly to the scene from the western wall in the Basilica on Torcello. The creators of the miniature composed differently the scene of Christ's Descent into the Abyss. It was shown less extensively when compared to the analyzed mosaic complex. In the scene from the Psalter, the central figure of *Anastasis* is Christ depicted *en face*, who shows his wounds standing on the door of the Abyss. On his both sides there are the representations of the first parents emerging from sarcophagus-shaped graves; on the right side of Christ there is Adam, on the left Eve. No other characters are shown here, which is different from the same scene in the Basilica on Torcello. It is clearly visible that in the case of the miniature from the Princeton University Library, the composition shown is symbolic and emphasizes the very death and Resurrection of Christ. This is evidenced by the wounds shown by the Savior in the scene. However, the representation is not accompanied by other eschatological scenes, as in the case of the Torcello mosaic. It is then clear that the analyzed composition is unique.

In addition to the dominant message of the top two registers of the representation, the mosaic on Torcello Island clearly emphasizes Mary's role as the intercessor for all the faithful. Her figure appears four times in the western wall composition. In three scenes she raises her arms in a gesture of prayer for the Church, while in the scene of the Crucifixion she is herself symbolic of the Church. Her mediation in prayer was clearly outlined in the case of the representation above the entrance to the temple. The Orant Mother of God occupies the entire tympanum above the doorway. On both sides of the scene, an extensive Underworld was shown, where all people would go after the Last

Judgement. Thus, it seems that Mary not only urges the faithful to pray and zealously obey God's Law, but also warns them of a sinful life in contravention of Scripture, as evidenced by her location between the Blessed in heaven and the Damned in hell.

The Orant Mary in the tympanum above the church's entrance is also a meaningful response to the opposite representation of *Theotokos* in the apse of the nave. Mary's role in the History of Salvation is not limited to the Incarnation Mystery that has already taken place. She plays an open function, pleading with God for the faithful. In this way, as in the *Anastasis* and *Etimasia* scenes above, the function of Mary as the New Eve was emphasized; her consent to the implementation of God's plan enabled Christ to lavish his highest grace on people. Now it is only up to them how they will use these Favors and whether they deserve eternal salvation. The Mother of Christ helps the faithful on this difficult path, continually interceding for them with God. This is confirmed by the inscription surrounding the tympanum: VIRGO DI NATVM PRECE PVLSA TERGE REATVM (*Virgin Mary of God, with fervent prayer, wipe away the inborn guilt*). This role of Mary as the New Eve, stressed in the composition of the western wall of the Basilica, is also highlighted by the inscription below the representation of *Theotokos* in the golden conch of the apse: FORMULA VIRTUTIS / MARIS ASTRVM PORTA SALVTIS / PROLE MARIA LEVAT / QUOS CONIVGE SUBDIDIT EVA (*Symbol of virtue, star of the sea, gate of salvation, Mary through her Son raises those whom Eve surrendered through her spouse*). In this way, as mentioned above, the compositional axis is built between the eastern and western parts of the church.

Comparisons of Christ with the New Adam and Mary with the New Eve as parallels important for the whole composition of the western wall in the Basilica on Torcello also seem to be confirmed by the cycles of scenes built using diagonal axes in the mosaic decoration. The first cycle was created by composing in the diagonal axis the representation of the Orant Mother of God in paradise, the figure of Adam in the scene of the preparation of the throne for the coming of Christ, St. John the Baptist in the *Deesis* scene, and the Archangel on the left of Christ in the *Anastasis* scene. The second diagonal line includes the representation of infernal punishment, the figure of Eve in the scene of *Etimasia*, the Mother of God in the scene of *Deesis*, and the Archangel on the right side of Christ in the scene of *Anastasis*. Both axes and the scenes they depict seem to confirm the dominant message of the work of art, emphasizing the salvation of the faithful through the sacrifice of Christ's love fulfilled on the cross, which erased the first parents' sin.

In the case of the entire mosaic composition from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, as was shown in the section devoted to the iconography of individual motifs forming the analyzed mosaic complex, prophetic visions of the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel and a description of the day of Judgement from the apocalyptic vision of John are essentially important for the understanding of the eschatological message of the whole complex decoration. Biblical eschatological concepts

were developed by many early Christian authors, who readily undertook the subject of Christ's second coming, the Resurrection of the bodies and the Last Judgement²⁹¹. The soteriological dimension of the role of Mary fulfilling the function of the New Eve, who wiped out the sin of the first mother, as strongly stressed in the mosaic, was inspired by the writings of early Christian writers of the West and the East. The parallel between Eve as the cause of death and Mary as the giver of life appeared in their works many times²⁹². St. Jerome sees Mary as a reason for bringing life back to mankind (*Epist.* 22: 21). Zeno of Verona not only repeated this parallel, but also compared the Mother of God to the Church (*Tract.* 1, 13, 1). This thesis was developed by St. Ambrose, stating that both she and the Church are virgin mothers through the action of the Holy Spirit (*Exp. Evang. Luc.* 2: 7 (PSP XVI)). He also claimed that the words of Christ addressed to Mary and St. John were really the message of the Son of God to the Church identified with the Mother of God and all the faithful (*Exp. Evang. Luc.* 7: 5). This comparison of Mary with the Church was also developed by St. Augustine, who emphasized the relationship between the Mother of God and the Church in virginity; Mary gave birth as a virgin to Christ, while the Church is, in his opinion, a virgin who gives birth to the faithful (*Sermones* 192, 2)²⁹³.

The special role of Mary, so important for understanding the message of the entire mosaic complex from the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, is emphasized by the writings of the Greek and Syrian Fathers of the Church, above all St. Ephrem. He sees Mary as a reflection of God's beauty. Through an extraordinary relationship in which the Madonna is united with God, her person is introduced into the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God. In Ephrem's writings, the truth about Mary's virgin motherhood appears many times (e.g. *Poem on Mary and Magi* 44 (CSCO 137, 179); 15 (CSCO 186, 211)). The Syrian author also emphasizes the participation of the Mother of God in the Redemption of humanity through suffering with her Son dying on the cross (e.g. in the poem *Sorrows of Mary over the Suffering of the Lord* AS Op. Gr. 3, 574)²⁹⁴.

Another role of the Madonna, whose significance was emphasized in the mosaic complex from Torcello, is her function as an intercessor for the prayers of the faithful. This was a recurrent topic in the reflection of early Christian authors. Already Gregory of Nazianzus writes about the virgin asking the Mother of God for prayer (*Orationes* 24, 11 (PAX, 1967)). For example, the *Sermons* of St. John of Damascus, in which Mary appears as the Mediator, are also important in this matter. Through her inter-

²⁹¹ More about this – in brief see e.g. Kelly 1988: 339-361. In detail about this subject – see Introduction, p. 15 - note 2.

²⁹² Cf. e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. mystag.* 12, 5 (PSP IX); Gregory of Nyssa, *In cantic.* 13; John Chrysostom, *Exp. Ps.* 24, 7 (PG 55, 193).

²⁹³ More about Mary, the Mother of God in early Christian written sources and in the Bible – see e.g. Beck 1956; Véricel 1960; Kania (transl.) 1981; Jankowski 2004.

²⁹⁴ More about Mariology in Ephrem – see e.g. Hammersberger 1938; Beck 1956.

cessory prayers, the faithful can obtain God's Graces. John calls the Madonna the beginning and end of these Graces and compares her to Jacob's ladder connecting heaven and earth²⁹⁵.

It seems that this role of Mary mediating in humble prayer between God and the faithful was outlined by the placement of a depiction of the Orant Mother of God in the tympanum above the entrance door, standing out of the surrounding scenes showing the Underworld. On the right side of Mary there is an extensive scene showing the Blessed in heaven. It is composed of two registers that both depict four groups of the Blessed, bishops, monks, martyrs, and women, praising the Savior as well as a complex composition depicting what is behind the gates of paradise: St. Peter holding the keys, an angel guarding the door of paradise, the Mother of God, again in a prayer pose, Good Thief and Abraham receiving the souls of the Saved. This construction of paradise illustrates not only a beautiful land filled with green trees and the scent of flowers, but also a place full of God's Grace where the intercessory Mother of God waits for the chosen ones. Paradise, through the presence of the Good Thief, also seems to symbolize the fulfillment of God's Promise that all who turn to God will receive from Him a chance for Salvation.

On the other side of the Orant Mother of God above the entrance there is a scene contrasting with the Garden of Eden. It illustrates the Underworld in which the Damned are suffering punishment for their sins. As mentioned in the chapter devoted to the iconographic analysis of this representation, the hell in the mosaic from the Basilica on Torcello, illustrates, however, above all, not the types of punishment which sinners are subject to, but the change of the state of their suffering. The scene seems to show a gradation of the degree of pain they experience and the destruction of both the internal experiences of the Damned and their bodies²⁹⁶.

The Mother of God, depicted in the tympanum between the representation of heaven and hell, is the point in which the two most important axes of the composition converge: the horizontal one connecting the representation of the Blessed in paradise and the Damned in hell, and the vertical one running between the Crucifixion scene and the Orant Madonna herself. Thus, Mary becomes a connecting rod between God and people, who through her intercession can achieve eternal life.

The composition constructed in this way, based on intersecting vertical, horizontal and diagonal axes, which correspond to the narrative directions built in the con-

²⁹⁵ Cf. John of Damascus, *Oration on the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos Mary* (SCh 80, 46-78), Kania (transl.) 1981: 222. More about Mary in early Christian written sources and in the Bible – see e.g. Beck 1956; Véricel 1960; Kania (transl.) 1981; Jankowski 2004.

²⁹⁶ Such a complex and unique way of representing hell triggers another question, which may undoubtedly constitute a future research problem. It is worth asking if it is possible that in the scene showing the entire Underworld, one can find certain premises that may testify to the slowly emerging idea of an intermediate place between heaven and hell, which could to some extent correspond to the later concept of purgatory. However, this problem should be the subject of a separate, in-depth study.

text of theological truths contained in the mosaic decoration, where the descending direction of the vertical system dominates, however, constitutes a whole undoubtedly intended by the creators of the mosaic²⁹⁷. Referring to the most important elements contained in the decoration which constitutes the History of Salvation of humanity, it may evoke the desire to depict the symbol of the heavenly Jerusalem as a new order of the last days or even to illustrate the fullness of the universe, which is dominated by God's love, manifested in the Sacrificial Offering the Son of God for salvation²⁹⁸.

The mosaic complex of the western wall undoubtedly remains deeply influenced by the socio-cultural context of the place where it was created. The mosaic decoration was significantly impacted by both the island's history and its buildings, including the monasteries built on Torcello, which at the turn of the 12th century were important centers of culture and spiritual development. Along with their creation and development, the changes came to Torcello, brought by the religious reform born in the Benedictine monastery in Cluny, calling for the renewal of the religious life of the clergy. An outline of the influence of Cluniac traditions as well as Benedictine and Cistercian miniature traditions may be seen in some fragments of the representations from the

²⁹⁷ The dominant character of the descending vertical system is proven by the eschatological discourse proceeding from top to bottom: from the victorious cross of the Savior to the final dual solution (salvation or condemnation) in the last days. Important here seems to be the question whether Meyer Schapiro's theory of the semiotic field could be applied to a composition with such clearly outlined directions. Schapiro "investigates whether the location of an element in the 'image-field' of a painting (left/right, close/far apart, high/low, etc.) may be the structural expression of some standardized meaning. The discovery of such a correspondence would provide us with some basic elements in the still rudimentary grammar of images" (Fuchs 1972-1973) – cf. Schapiro 1972-1973; Schapiro 1973.

²⁹⁸ The hypothesis of the desire to represent the fullness of the universe in the mosaic of the western wall can be confirmed by the presence of certain iconographic elements in the decoration, whose significance could suggest the will to show the symbolism of the four elements. One could treat the earth's depths repeatedly depicted in the Torcello mosaic as the earth element. Water is represented by both the figure of Amphitrite as the goddess of the sea sitting among the sea waves and one part of hell showing the Damned submerged up to their waistline in water or ice. The element of fire appears in the last two registers of the mosaic depicting hell on the left from the representation of the Orant Mother of God. On the other hand, the wind or air, as it seems, can be illustrated by the angels in motion blowing the trumpets and the angel messenger unrolling a volume with a blue vault. If it turned out that the creators of the mosaic in the Basilica on Torcello deliberately placed these elements, it would significantly enrich the significance of the mosaic decoration. The author of this monograph has become more interested in this subject, which is expressed by the article entitled *I quattro elementi nell'iconografia medievale del Giudizio Universale? Una nuova proposta iconografica – parte I* that will be published in *Roczniki Humanistyczne* in 2020.

Another argument in favor of this hypothesis would be the underlining of certain senses such as eyesight (Christ's eyes in the *Anastasis* scene discussed earlier, eyes of Hades sitting in hell), hearing (underlined by the armbands of the ears of angels whose hearing is sharpened to the Word of God) and touch (various gestures appearing in the mosaic). However, this issue is another extensive subject that goes beyond the scope of this study, which the author nevertheless hopes to address in her further studies.

mosaic complex of the western wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. These influences are particularly clear in the way the body of Christ is shown in the scene of the Crucifixion. The prominent musculature and the tendons are meant to emphasize the corporeality of Christ, which may indicate Benedictine-Cistercian impacts. As Fr. Professor Dariusz Tabor observes, in Cistercian miniature: “the visualization of the body, the visualization of corporeality play an irreplaceable role in shaping the paths that the Cistercian monk seeking God should follow. The basic value of Cistercian spirituality is the love of God and this love begins with loving the flesh and humanity of Christ”²⁹⁹. Such an emphasis on God’s physicality on the cross also emphasizes his closeness to man and his endless connection with him. The recipients who looked at the Crucified Jesus could see in him not only God and Savior, but also Man who suffered and died on the cross and who yet was victorious and redeemed all mankind.

The mosaic complex of the western wall constitutes not only a theological and iconographic integrity, but also a harmonious conglomerate of influences of Latin and Byzantine traditions. The interaction of both these great cultures, although visible in the whole mosaic decoration of the Basilica, is particularly evident in the decoration of the western wall. These influences were strengthened as a result of historical and cultural processes taking place through the impact of both nearby Ravenna in the south and the Byzantine Empire radiating to the northern Adriatic³⁰⁰.

The interweaving Byzantine and Latin traditions are evident both in the style of the scenes depicted on the western wall and in the selection of iconographic motifs represented there. An example would be a juxtaposition of the typically Eastern way of showing the Descent of Christ into the Abyss with the Crucifixion scene above it, or the representation of the extensive *Deesis* scene below. The mosaic complex of the western wall also seems to be a counterweight to the decoration of the eastern part of the church, in which the influence of Latin iconography of Ravenna is highly visible. A good example of the mutual correspondences between eastern and western decorations in the church are representations of the Apostolic colleges on both sides of the building. The main apse presents the Apostles according to the Latin West tradition (following the description in Mt 10: 2-4, excluding Judas and omitting Matthias, but including Paul). On the western wall, however, in the *Deesis* scene, Apostles appear according to the Greek tradition (Thomas, Bartholomew, James the Elder, Luke, Matthew, Peter, Paul, Mark, Andrew, John, Simon and Philip, with the exception of Thaddeus and James the Younger, but with the Evangelists Mark and Luke)³⁰¹. The radiation of both these great cultural traditions also resulted in the occurrence of motifs taken

²⁹⁹ Tabor 2013a: 30. Transl. A. Krauze-Kołodziej.

³⁰⁰ About influences of the Latin tradition in this area – see e.g. Von ZALOZIECKYJ 1956; LAZZARINI 1981; CUSCITO (ed.) 2009; PAPASTAVROU 2010. About influences of Byzantine tradition in this area – see e.g. GRABAR 1956; PERTUSI 1964; PERTUSI 1965; FURLAN 1975; PERTUSI 1979; FORLATI TAMARO, BERTACCHI and BESCHI 1980; RIZZARDI 1985; RIZZARDI 2005; RIZZARDI 2009.

³⁰¹ Cf. POLACCO 1984: 33.

from the Greek-Latin ancient tradition in the analyzed representation. This tendency is manifested, for example, by the presence of Hades and Amphitrite in the scene.

It seems, however, that the influence of Latin and Byzantine tradition was not limited solely to the styles and iconography used in the mosaic decoration, but they entailed a fusion of both Latin and Greek theological concepts. This combination of the thoughts of early Christian writers of the East and the West resulted in the creation of a comprehensive and unique composition of an eschatological and soteriological character³⁰². The supreme subject of the representation is not the Last Judgement itself, but the idea of overcoming death, sin and Satan, thanks to God's Love visible in the sacrifice of the life of the Son of God for the lives of all people and in the extraordinary ministry of Mary, called not only to participate in the mystery of the Incarnation, but also to intercede for humans. This idea is evident in the composition of the whole mosaic decoration from the western wall in the Basilica on Torcello, which on the one hand is closed by the representation of the Orant Mother of God and on the other by the Cross of the Savior.

³⁰² This problem, out of necessity, has merely been identified here. However, it requires, without a doubt, a thorough analysis, which could enrich the interpretation of the mosaic decoration from the western wall of the Basilica on Torcello presented in this subsection.

Conclusion

In his 1927 publication dedicated to the decoration of the west wall in the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello Island, Luigi Conton called the mosaic decoration “a huge allegorical image”¹. Following in the footsteps of the Italian researcher, the author of this monograph tried to show that the mosaic decoration under analysis, a conglomerate of influences of two great traditions of the East and the West, presents a complex and carefully deliberated theological whole. It is by no means limited to showing the scene of the Last Judgment; it also, and perhaps above all, illustrates soteriological and eschatological truths. This could be proved by placing the mosaic in question in the broad historical, social and iconographic context.

The author, probably for the first time ever, collected all the most important publications devoted to both the history of Torcello and its buildings, including the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta, and, above all, the mosaic complex from the church’s west wall. This made it possible to outline not only the history of the mosaic itself, its dating and conservation works undertaken, but also to place the work in a broader historical and cultural context. Without this it would be impossible to carry out an iconographic analysis and come up with an interpretation of the mosaic complex.

The research conducted proved the unique character of the work of art in question when compared to other representations of the Last Judgement from the same period. Its intricately constructed composition focuses on the idea of God’s Mercy overcoming all evil and on the Grace which Christ gave to the Church through His Sacrifice. The mosaic also emphasizes the fact that through His Death, the Savior became the New Adam and redeemed the faults of the first parents, saving them from the Abyss. Furthermore, Mary plays an extraordinary role in the entire mosaic com-

¹ Literally: “un grande quadro allegorico” - cf. Conton 1927: 11.

position. Not only did she become the New Eve, but also a symbol of the Church and its most faithful Intercessor.

The analyses conducted by the author of this monograph have helped her to notice many issues that, for obvious reasons, could not be fully developed here. Of prime significance among them is the symbolism of the senses and the four elements present in the content of the mosaic, as well as the role of light in its composition and reception. The researcher leaves these and other issues to be resolved in the course of her further studies.

As a result of comparative analyses with other examples of the Last Judgments from the same period, it was also possible to present the unique character of the mosaic in question. The content and formal solutions used by the creators of the mosaic seem to have been reflected in the subsequent iconography not only of Italy but also of a wider area of Southern and Central Europe. However, this issue requires a separate study.

It is also worth considering whether it is possible for the mosaic from the west wall of the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta to have an even wider impact to affect also other fields of art, such as literature. The most obvious association here is the possible relationship between the analyzed mosaic and the fundamental work for the development of later literary culture which is the Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*. In his 1906 publication, Cesare Augusto Levi writes directly: "è evidente che, se l'Alighieri è stato a Torcello, ne [di mosaico] attinse ispirazione"². Although many motifs appearing in the analyzed mosaic could be also found in Dante's work³, this may be due to the fact that the creators of both works of art use the same sources of inspiration⁴. Alighieri's trip to Torcello is not reflected in any documents. Studying the similarities and the differences in the eschatological approach in both works and the relationship between the sources of inspiration of the mosaic creators and those used by Dante is no doubt an extremely interesting topic. The author hopes that these issues, being a development of the subject matter discussed in this monograph, will become the topic of her further research, which will require a separate study.

² Levi 1906: 23. Cf. Levi 1906: 12 The researcher states that Dante may have visited Torcello between 1304 and 1308 (Levi 1906: 15). In his work he presents a comparison of selected elements appearing in the *Divine Comedy* with the scenes depicted in the mosaic (see e.g. Levi 1906: 30ff, 37).

³ An example here may be the Vision of the Underworld extended in both cases and partly corresponding (on the topic of eschatological issues appearing in Dante's work - see above all Mašlanka-Soro 2013b), as well as the same motifs appearing in both works, such as a cross held by Christ in the scene of Descent to the Abyss (cf. Dante, *Inf.* IV, 53-54), breaking the gate of hell (cf. Dante, *Inf.* VIII, 126), using the Vision of Ezekiel (cf. Dante, *Purg.* XXIX, 92ff), and finally the character of Lucifer (characteristics of this character - see Mašlanka-Soro 2010).

⁴ Dante was undoubtedly inspired not only by ancient works (about this subject - see Mašlanka-Soro 2011a; Mašlanka-Soro 2011b; Mašlanka-Soro 2013a), but also, among others, by Biblical sources (Apocalypse, Vision of Isaiah and Ezekiel) and by apocryphal sources (including the Gospel of Nicodemus).

Summary

This monograph concentrates on the cultural and iconographic comparative analysis of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello, one of the islands of the Venetian Lagoon.

The aim of the study is to carry out a detailed analysis and a present interpretation of this monumental composition, which forms an artistically sophisticated and theologically cogent whole, focused on eschatological and soteriological issues. The author of the work emphasizes the influence of both Latin and Byzantine traditions, at the crossroads of which the island of Torcello was once situated. These influences had a significant impact on the composition of the mosaic. The purpose of the monograph is to place this magnificent work of art in a broader historical context of the area where the mosaic is located, basing on selected written records and iconographic comparisons. The theological and philosophical context of the era in which the work of art was created are important elements of the book, too. Interpretation of this context brings together a range of topics that can explain the meaning of this representation. Stressing the importance of the theological issues the mosaic illustrates, the author of the monograph hopes to demonstrate both the unique character of the work of art under scrutiny and to show its impact on the Last Judgment iconography in subsequent centuries.

To achieve the above aims, the author has chosen the method of iconographic and iconological analysis and interpretation, combining it with the comparative-historical method. By placing the mosaic in a broad historical context of the area in which it was created, as well as comparing it to some selected representations, either earlier or from the same era, the author presents an interpretation of the monumental work of art, which, in her opinion, contains a well-considered theological program.

The monograph is divided into four chapters preceded by the Introduction, which briefly outlines the state of research on the history of Torcello and the mosaic decoration of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta, with particular focus on publications dedicated to the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica. The introduction presents the aim of the study and the methodology used by the author. Chapter One is devoted to the importance of the island of Torcello for the culture of the Italian Peninsula, especially in the Middle Ages. It is divided into three sections. The first one briefly discusses the location of the island and the etymological origins of its name. The second section outlines the history of Torcello from ancient times to the modern period. The third one describes the most important buildings preserved until today, especially those belonging to the religious complex of buildings situated in the center of Torcello. Chapter Two is devoted entirely to the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta. It is divided into two sections. The first one discusses the history of the church from its founding until the 20th century, while the second one describes in detail the interior of the building, with special focus on the detailed description of the mosaics in the main apse, the right apse and on the chancel arch. The third chapter of the dissertation is focused on dating the mosaic on the west wall and on various conservation activities. This chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which describes the history of the mosaic decoration and refers to the debate about the date of its creation. The second section discusses briefly the mosaic technique, highlighting the type of technology used. The third section presents the history of restoration and conservation research on the west wall mosaic complex. The fourth chapter of the book is devoted to the description and analysis of the representation on the west wall of the Basilica. The chapter has been divided into five subsections. The first one includes a general description of the composition, while the second one a detailed description of each scene. The third section examines the mosaic in the context of iconography, collating various iconographic motifs with selected written sources (biblical, apocryphal and early Christian writings) and other examples of works of art from the same and the earlier periods. The next section compares the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica on Torcello Island to other scenes representing the Last Judgement from the same epoch. The last section of this chapter presents the innovative nature of the mosaic. The final part of the monograph offers conclusions as well as the summary of the topics. It also suggests possible future research avenues arising from the analysis of the work of art at hand.

Streszczenie

Niniejsza monografia skupia się na kulturowo-ikonograficznej analizie porównawczej zespołu mozaikowego ściany zachodniej Bazyliki Santa Maria Assunta na Torcello, jednej z wysp Laguny Weneckiej.

Celem podjętych badań jest przeprowadzenie możliwie szczegółowej analizy oraz interpretacji monumentalnej kompozycji, która tworzy wysublimowaną artystycznie i przemyślaną teologicznie całość skoncentrowaną na problematyce eschatologiczno-soteriologicznej. Autorka w monografii akcentuje wpływ dwóch wielkich tradycji - kultury łacińskiej i bizantyńskiej, na których styku położone było niegdyś Torcello. Oddziaływania te wywarły znaczący wpływ na kompozycję omawianej mozaiki. Celem monografii jest umieszczenie analizowanego dzieła, na podstawie wybranych źródeł pisanych oraz porównań ikonograficznych, w szerszym kontekście historycznym obszarze, w którym mozaika się znajduje. Istotnym elementem pracy jest także teologiczno-filozoficzny kontekst epoki, w jakiej dzieło powstało. Jego interpretacja łączy szereg wątków, które mogą wyjaśnić sens tego wyobrażenia. Dzięki zaakcentowaniu najważniejszych kwestii teologicznych zobrazowanych w mozaice, rozprawa ma nadzieję wykazać zarówno jej unikatowy charakter, jak również jej wpływ na ikonografię Sądów Ostatecznych w kolejnych wiekach.

Dla osiągnięcia wyżej wymienionych celów badawczych autorka monografii wybrała metodę ikonograficzną i ikonologiczną analizy i interpretacji dzieła, łącząc ją z metodą historyczno-porównawczą. Dzięki umieszczeniu omawianej mozaiki w szerokim kontekście historycznym obszarze, w którym powstała, a także dzięki jej zestawieniu z wybranymi przedstawieniami z wcześniejszej oraz tej samej epoki, autorka przedstawia interpretację monumentalnego dzieła, które jej zdaniem zawiera głęboko przemyślany program teologiczny.

Niniejsza monografia podzielona na cztery rozdziały, które poprzedza Wstęp zarysowujący pokrótce stan badań nad historią Torcello oraz dekoracją mozaikową Bazyliki Santa Maria Assunta ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem prac poświęconych mozaice ze ściany zachodniej Bazyliki. Przedstawia on również cel prowadzonych badań oraz zastosowaną metodę. Rozdział pierwszy poświęcony został zarysowaniu znaczenia Torcello dla kultury Półwyspu Apenińskiego, przede wszystkim w okresie średniowiecza. Podzielony jest on na trzy podrozdziały. W pierwszym z nich omówiono krótko położenie wyspy oraz pochodzenie etymologiczne jej nazwy. W drugim scharakteryzowano dzieje wyspy od czasów starożytnych aż po okres nowożytny. W trzecim podrozdziale opisane zostały najważniejsze budowle znajdujące się dziś na wyspie, przede wszystkim te wchodzące w skład kompleksu religijnego mieszczącego się w centrum Torcello. Rozdział drugi w całości poświęcony został Bazylice Santa Maria Assunta. Podzielono go na dwa podrozdziały - pierwszy omawiający dzieje świątyni od czasu jej założenia do XX wieku, drugi opisujący szczegółowo wnętrze budowli, z zaakcentowaniem dokładnego opisu dekoracji mozaikowych zdobiących apsydę główną, prawą apsydę oraz łuk triumfalny. Rozdział trzeci skoncentrowany jest już w całości na zespole mozaikowym ściany zachodniej omawiając go z punktu widzenia datowania oraz działań konserwatorskich. Rozdział podzielono na trzy podrozdziały, z których pierwszy opisuje historię założenia dekoracji mozaikowej oraz odnosi się do dyskusji na temat jej datowania. Drugi omawia w sumaryczny sposób technikę mozaiki, akcentując typ technologii zastosowanej w omawianym dziele. W trzecim podrozdziale zestawiono historię konserwacji i badań konserwatorskich dotyczących wybranego przez autorkę zespołu mozaikowego. Rozdział czwarty rozprawy poświęcony jest opisowi oraz analizie przedstawienia zdobiącego ścianę zachodnią Bazyliki. Podzielony on został na pięć podrozdziałów. Pierwszy zawiera opis ogólny kompozycji, drugi opis szczegółowy poszczególnych scen. Trzeci analizuje mozaikę pod kątem ikonograficznym, zestawiając poszczególne motywy ikonograficzne z wybranymi źródłami pisanymi (fragmentami Biblii, pism apokryficznych lub dzieł pisarzy wczesnochrześcijańskich) oraz innymi przykładami dzieł z okresu poprzedzającego powstanie mozaiki lub z tej samej epoki. Kolejny podrozdział zestawia zespół mozaikowy z Bazyliki na Torcello z innymi przykładami scen ukazujących Sąd Ostateczny z tej samej epoki. Ostatni podrozdział rozdziału czwartego prezentuje interpretację zawartego w omawianym w rozprawie dziele przesłania. Monografię zamyka Zakończenie podsumowujące przedstawioną tematykę oraz wymieniające możliwe dalsze kierunki badań wynikających z omawianej problematyki.

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Fig. 5. The Church and Martyrium of Santa Fosca on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)

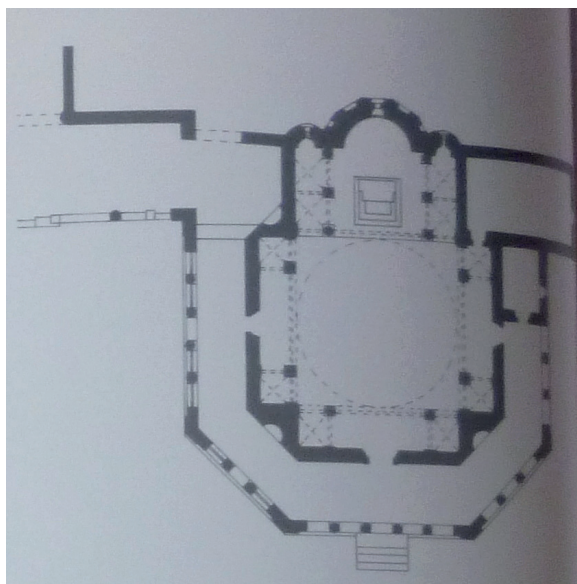


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Fig. 9. The interior of the Church and Martyrium of Santa Fosca on Torcello – a view on the dome on tambour (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 10. The view on the bell tower, so-called St. Mark's Oratory, and the eastern part of the Basilica (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 11. The façade of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)

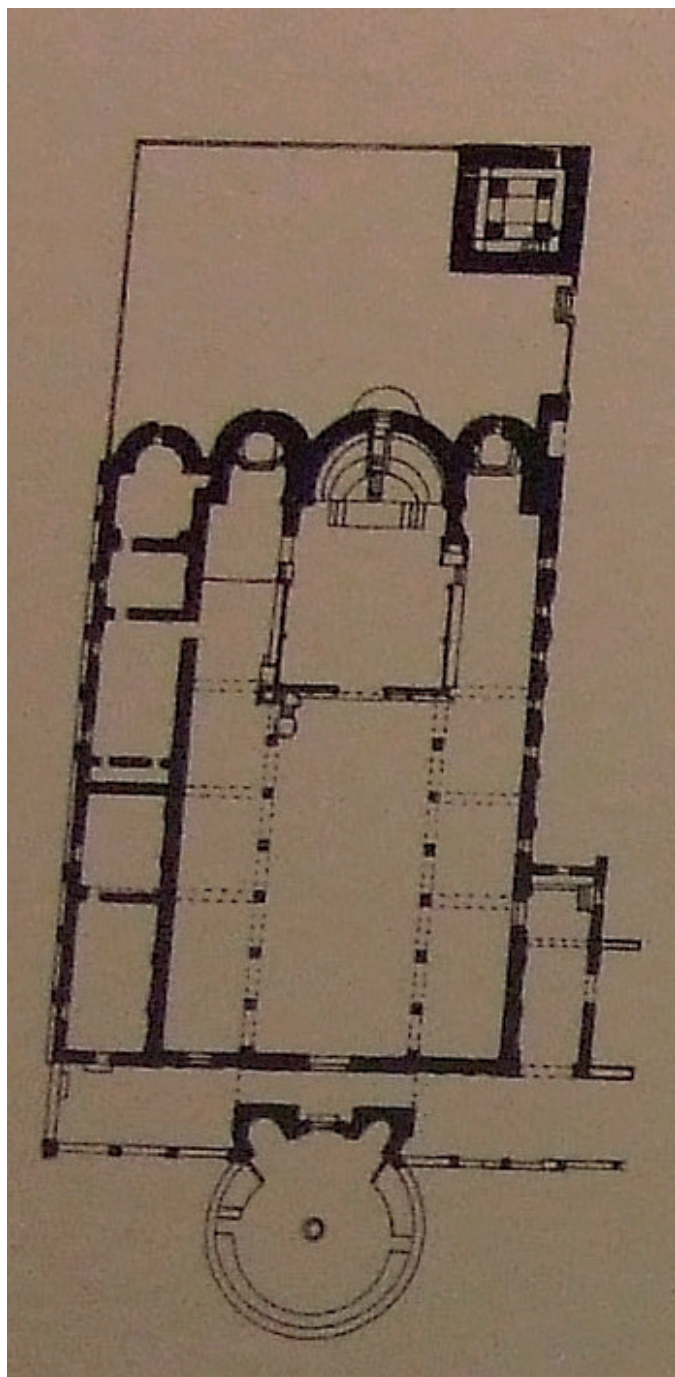


Fig. 12. The plan of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (Agazzi 2009: 52)



Fig. 13. The complex of apses on the eastern side of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 14. The interior of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – a view on the nave (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 15. The interior of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – a view on the choir and the iconostasis (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 16. The interior of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – a view on the main altar and the synthronon (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 17. A view on the external walls of the northern aisle of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 18. The remains of wall-paintings in the nave of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 19. Mosaic decorations in the nave and on the chancel arch of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 20a. Apostles in the nave of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello – left side (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



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Fig. 21. The bust of St. Heliodorus in the main apse of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 22. Mary and Child in the main apse of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 23. The Archangel Gabriel on the left side of the chancel arch in the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 24. Mary on the right side of the chancel arch in the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



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Fig. 26. Mosaic decoration of the vault in front of the southern chapel in the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 27. Mosaic decoration of the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 28. The so-called foundation inscription on the left wall of the presbytery in the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 29. Mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (Andreescu-Treatgold, Henderson and Roe 2006b: 89, fig. 2b)



Fig. 30. The Crucifixion. The first register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31. The scene of *Anastasis*. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31a. The central part of the *Anastasis* scene – Christ, Adam, Eve, St. John the Baptist. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31b. The central part of the *Anastasis* scene – Hades under the feet of Christ. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31c. Fragment of the *Anastasis* scene. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31d. Fragment of the *Anastasis* scene. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31e. Fragment of the *Anastasis* scene – archangel. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 31f. Fragment of the *Anastasis* scene – archangel. The second register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 32. The scene of the judgement (*Deesis*). The third register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 32a. The scene of the judgement – the central part – Christ within a mandorla. The third register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 32b. The scene of the judgement – Apostles – part I. The third register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 32c. The scene of the judgement – Apostles – part II. The third register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 33. The fourth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)

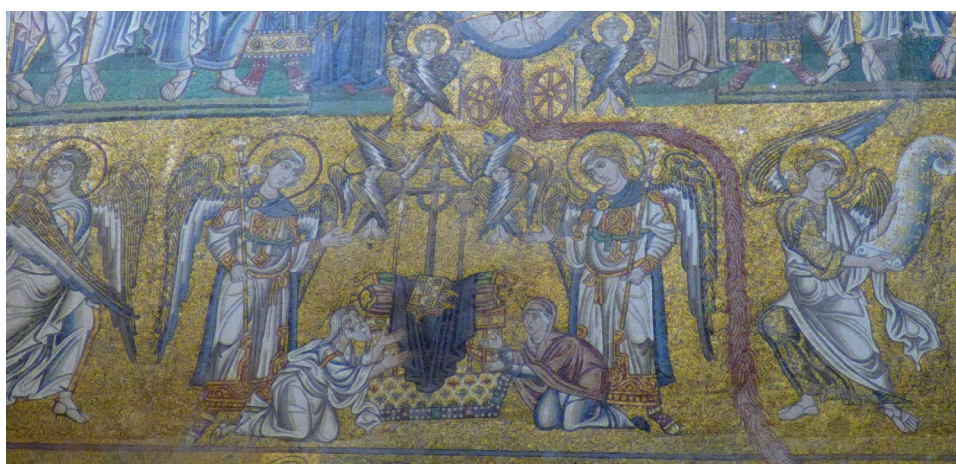


Fig. 33a. The *Etimasia* scene – the Throne. The fourth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 33b. Angels blowing trumpets and the resurrection of the dead from the lands. The fourth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



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Fig. 34. The fifth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 34a. The *Psychostasis* scene. The central part of the fifth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello. Below - Virgin Mary the Orant in the tympanum above the main entrance to the Basilica (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 34b. Representation of the Blessed in Paradise. The fifth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 34c. Representation of the Damned in Hell – part I. The fifth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 35. The sixth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 35a. Orant-Mary. The central part of the sixth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 35b. Gates of Paradise. Left side of the sixth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 35c. Representation of the Damned in Hell – part II. Right side of the sixth register of the mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 36. Mosaic complex on the west wall of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta on Torcello (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 37. Scene of Crucifixion, ivory plaque, c. 420-430, British Museum, London (inv. 1856,0623.5) (photo: online collection of British Museum)



Fig. 38. Scene of Crucifixion, Rabbula Gospels, 586, Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I 56 fol. 13a. (Kartsonis 1986: fig. 5)

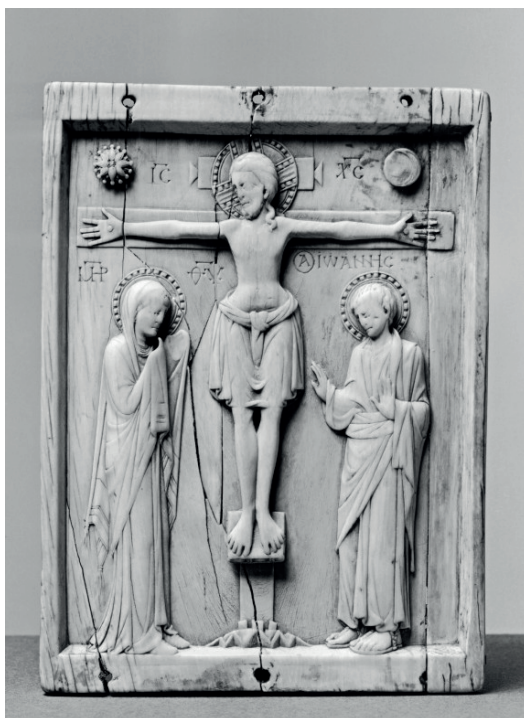


Fig. 39. Scene of Crucifixion, ivory triptych, Constantinople, 10th century, The Art Walters Museum in Baltimore (inv. 71.244) (photo: online collection of The Art Walters Museum)



Fig. 40. Scene of Crucifixion, mosaic in the narthex, mid-11th century, Hosios Loukas, Boeotia. (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 41. The *Anastasis* scene, c. 705-707, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome (Kartsonis 1986: fig. 14b)



Fig. 42. The *Anastasis* scene on the bottom right corner of the undersurface of the lid of the Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke, early 9th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 17.190.715a, b) (photo: online collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Fig. 43. The *Anastasis* scene in the lower lane of the ivory plaque from Constantinople, 10th century, Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (photo: online collection of Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg)



Fig. 44. The *Anastasis* scene, Katholikon at Daphni, near Athens, 11th century (photo A. Krauze-Kolodziej)

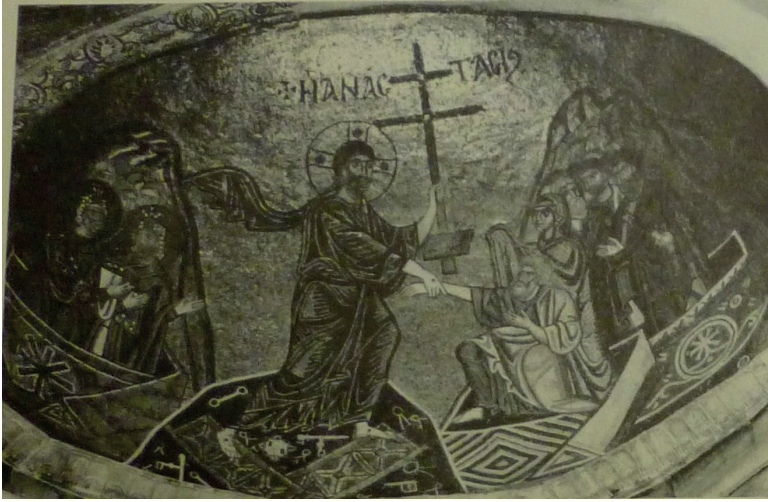


Fig. 45. The *Anastasis* scene, Katholikon at Nea Moni on Chios, 11th century (Kartsonis 1986: fig. 81)



Fig. 46. Scene of the Crucifixion and the *Anastasis* scene, 12th/13th century, miniature from the Psalter, Princeton, University Library, Cod. 30.20 (Kartsonis 1986: fig. 52)



Fig. 47. The *Deesis* scene, the front cover of the Precious Gospels of Bernward from Hildesheim, early 11th century, Hildesheimer Domschatz, Hildesheim (inv. 18), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo: online collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Fig. 48. The so-called *Great Deesis*, ivory triptych from Constantinople, Harbaville Triptych, 10th century, Louvre Museum (inv. OA 3247), Paris (photo: online collection of the Louvre)



Fig. 49. *Deesis with Maiestas Domini*, wall-painting in the apse of the parish church in Nideggen, Germany, early 13th century (Mazurkiewicz 2002: fig. 17)



Fig. 50. Ivory plaque with the Last Judgement scene, c. 800-860, Victoria & Albert Museum, London (inv. 253-1867) (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 51. Last Judgement – ivory plaque from Constantinople, c. 1000-1100, Victoria & Albert Museum, London (inv. A.24-1926) (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 52. Miniature with the scene of the Last Judgement, 11th century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Grec. 74 fol. 51^v (Brenk 1966: fig. 24)



Fig. 53. Miniature with the scene of the Last Judgement, mid-11th century, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana Ms. Grec. 394. fol. 12^v (Brenk 1966: fig. 28)



Fig. 54. Icon with the scene of the Last Judgement, mid-12th century, Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai (Pace (ed.) 2006: 59, n. 151)



Fig. 55. The so-called Nicolaus and Johannes Last Judgement, table with the representation of the Last Judgement, second half of 12th century, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome (Mazurczak 2012: 286, fig. 83)



Fig. 56. Wall-painting from the west wall of the Sant'Angelo in Formis Church, early 11th century, Sant'Angelo in Formis, Italy (Brenk 1966: fig. 50)



Fig. 57. Ivory plaque with the Crucifixion scene, Reims, France, c. 860-870, Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. 303-1867), London (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 58. Ivory plaque with the Crucifixion scene, Metz, France, c. 860-870, Victoria & Albert Museum (inv. 250-1867), London (photo A. Krauze-Kołodziej)



Fig. 59. Miniature with the Last Judgement scene, Bamberg Apocalypse, c. 1000, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS A. II. 42, Folio 53 recto (Brenk 1966: fig. 45)



Fig. 60. Miniature with the Last Judgement scene, from the Book of Pericopes of Henry II, German (Reichenau), c. 1007-1012, Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 4452, fol. 202r (Brenk 1966: fig. 46)



Fig. 61. Wall-painting from the west wall of St. George's Church, 11th century, Reichenau-Oberzell (Brenk 1966: fig. 49)

Appendix

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- Doc. 1. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali. Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 19th July 2012
- Doc. 2. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali. Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 15th July 2013
- Doc. 3. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali. Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 14th March 2014
- Doc. 4. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali. Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica – le misurazioni. 15th July 2014
- Doc. 5. Provincia di Venezia. Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero. Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche di manufatti antichi per tesi di dottorato. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni. 17th July 2013
- Doc. 6. Provincia di Venezia. Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero. Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche di manufatti antichi per tesi di dottorato. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni. 7th March 2014
- Doc. 7. Provincia di Venezia. Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero. Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche per la pubblicazione. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni. 7th November 2019



CURIA PATRIARCALE DI VENEZIA
UFFICIO PER LA PROMOZIONE DEI BENI CULTURALI

PROT. 07.12.1526

Aleksandra Krauze
Ul. Elektryczna 59/82
20-349 Lublin
Polonia

e p.c.
al delegato patriarcale per Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello
responsabile dei Beni Culturali in oggetto

**OGGETTO: AUTORIZZAZIONE ALLA RIPRESA DI BENI CULTURALI DI PROPRIETÀ
ECCLESIASTICA.**

Si autorizza Aleksandra Krauze ad effettuare le riprese fotografiche nella chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello.

Le riprese saranno eseguite da Aleksandra Krauze per una tesi di dottorato dal titolo *Iconografia del Giudizio Universale della Basilica Santa Maria Assunta a Torcello.*

A norma delle leggi canoniche e civili tali riproduzioni potranno essere utilizzate solo nell'ambito del progetto presentato, salvo ulteriori autorizzazioni.

Venezia, 19 luglio 2012

Il direttore.

NO DEPOSITO CAUZIONALE

L'autorizzazione viene concessa sentito il parere dei responsabili dei beni in oggetto, e previo deposito cauzionale, che sarà restituito dopo la consegna di una riproduzione di ogni singolo soggetto, nonché di una copia dello studio prodotto.

Restano a carico del richiedente le eventuali spese di sorveglianza, i consumi e ogni altro onere che grava sul proprietario dell'opera per ogni ripresa effettuata.

Il richiedente deve contattare direttamente i responsabili dei beni per gli ultimi accordi citando il protocollo del presente NULLA OSTA.

Castello, 5660 – 30122 VENEZIA - Tel. 041 2771702 - Fax 041 7241124
email: promozione@patriarcatovenezia.it - www.veneziabc.org

Doc. 1. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali.
Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 19th
July 2012.



CURIA PATRIARCALE DI VENEZIA
UFFICIO PER LA PROMOZIONE DEI BENI CULTURALI

PROT. 07.13.1640

Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej
ul. Elektryczna 59/82
20-349 Lublin
Polonia

e p.c.
al delegato patriarcale per Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello
responsabile dei Beni Culturali in oggetto

**OGGETTO: AUTORIZZAZIONE ALLA RIPRESA DI BENI CULTURALI DI PROPRIETÀ
ECCLESIASTICA.**

Si autorizza Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej ad effettuare le riprese nella chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello.

Le riprese saranno eseguite da Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej per una tesi di dottorato presso l'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università Cattolica Giovanni Paolo II a Lublin dal titolo *Iconografia del Giudizio Universale della Basilica Santa Maria Assunta a Torcello*.

A norma delle leggi canoniche e civili tali riproduzioni potranno essere utilizzate solo nell'ambito del progetto presentato, salvo ulteriori autorizzazioni.

Venezia, 15 luglio 2013

Il direttore.

DEPOSITO CAUZIONALE € 25,00 CON BONIFICO

L'autorizzazione viene concessa sentito il parere dei responsabili dei beni in oggetto, e previo deposito cauzionale, che sarà restituito dopo la consegna di una riproduzione di ogni singolo soggetto, nonché di una copia dello studio prodotto.

Restano a carico dei richiedenti le eventuali spese di sorveglianza, i consumi e ogni altro onere che grava sul proprietario dell'opera per ogni ripresa effettuata.

Il richiedente deve contattare direttamente i responsabili dei beni per gli ultimi accordi citando il protocollo del presente NULLA OSTA.

Castello, 5660 – 30122 VENEZIA - Tel. 041 2771702 - Fax 041 7241124
email: promozione@patriarcatovenezia.it - www.veneziaubc.org

Doc. 2. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali.
Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 15th
July 2013.



CURIA PATRIARCALE DI VENEZIA
UFFICIO PER LA PROMOZIONE DEI BENI CULTURALI

PROT. 03.14.1717

Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej
Ul. Elektryczna 59/82
20-349 Lublin
Polonia

e p.c.
al delegato patriarcale per Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello
responsabile dei Beni Culturali in oggetto

OGGETTO: AUTORIZZAZIONE ALLA RIPRESA DI BENI CULTURALI DI PROPRIETÀ ECCLESIASTICA.

Si autorizza Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej ad effettuare le riprese nella chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello.

Le riprese saranno eseguite da Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej per una tesi di dottorato ed articoli legati all'oggetto dello studio dal titolo *Iconografia del Giudizio Universale della Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta a Torcello* presso l'Università Cattolica Giovanni Paolo II a Lublin, Polonia.

A norma delle leggi canoniche e civili tali riproduzioni potranno essere utilizzate solo nell'ambito del progetto presentato, salvo ulteriori autorizzazioni.

Venezia, 14 marzo 2014

Il direttore.

DEPOSITO CAZUIONALE € 25,00 CON BONIFICO

L'autorizzazione viene concessa sentito il parere dei responsabili dei beni in oggetto, e previo deposito cauzionale, che sarà restituito dopo la consegna di una riproduzione di ogni singolo soggetto, nonché di una copia dello studio prodotto.

Restano a carico dei richiedenti le eventuali spese di sorveglianza, i consumi e ogni altro onere che grava sul proprietario dell'opera per ogni ripresa effettuata.

Il richiedente deve contattare direttamente i responsabili dei beni per gli ultimi accordi citando il protocollo del presente NULLA OSTA.

Castello, 5660 - 30122 VENEZIA - Tel. 041 2771702 - Fax 041 7241124
email: promozione@patriarcatovenezias.it - www.veneziaubc.org

Doc. 3. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali.
Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica. 14th
March 2014.



CURIA PATRIARCALE DI VENEZIA
UFFICIO PER LA PROMOZIONE DEI BENI CULTURALI

PROT. 07.14.1770

Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej
Ul. Elektryczna 59/82
20-349 Lublin
Polonia

e p.c.
al delegato patriarcale per Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello
responsabile dei Beni Culturali in oggetto

OGGETTO: AUTORIZZAZIONE ALLA RIPRESA DI BENI CULTURALI DI PROPRIETÀ ECCLESIASTICA.

Si autorizza Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej ad effettuare le misurazioni con telemetro laser del mosaico della parete occidentale della chiesa di Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello.

Le misurazioni saranno eseguite da Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej per una tesi di dottorato ed articoli legati all'oggetto dello studio dal titolo *Iconografia del Giudizio Universale della Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta a Torcello* presso l'Università Cattolica Giovanni Paolo II a Lublin, Polonia.

A norma delle leggi canoniche e civili tali riproduzioni potranno essere utilizzate solo nell'ambito del progetto presentato, salvo ulteriori autorizzazioni.

Venezia, 15 luglio 2014

Il direttore.

DEPOSITO CAUZIONALE € 25,00 CON BONIFICO
VEDI ANCHE PROT. 03.14.1717

L'autorizzazione viene concessa sentito il parere dei responsabili dei beni in oggetto, e previo deposito cauzionale, che sarà restituito dopo la consegna di una riproduzione di ogni singolo soggetto, nonché di una copia dello studio prodotto.

Restano a carico dei richiedenti le eventuali spese di sorveglianza, i consumi e ogni altro onere che grava sul proprietario dell'opera per ogni ripresa effettuata.

Il richiedente deve contattare direttamente i responsabili dei beni per gli ultimi accordi citando il protocollo del presente
NULLA OSTA.

Castello, 5660 - 30122 VENEZIA - Tel. 041 2771702 - Fax 041 7241124
email: promozione@patriarcatovenezia.it - www.veneziabc.org

Doc. 4. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia. Ufficio per la Promozione dei Beni Culturali.
Autorizzazione alla ripresa di beni culturali di proprietà ecclesiastica – le
misurazioni. 15th July 2014.



PROVINCIA DI VENEZIA

Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero
Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello

Provincia di Venezia
Protocollo 0065179
del 17/07/2013
Venezia 17 luglio 2013

Prot. n. IX 3 1

Rif. a prot. n° IX 3 1

TRASMISSIONE A MEZZO MAIL

Oggetto: Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche di manufatti antichi per tesi di dottorato. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni.

Gent.ma Dott.ssa
Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Faculty of Humanities

A seguito della Sua richiesta trasmessaci a mezzo mail in data 16 luglio u.s., si comunica che è concessa l'autorizzazione alle attività di studio e all'effettuazione di riprese fotografiche di alcuni manufatti presenti all'interno del Museo (lucerne, elementi di architettura, elementi decorativi ecc...) per la Sua tesi di dottorato e ai soli fini di studio e ricerca; l'eventuale pubblicazione dovrà essere soggetta a specifica nostra autorizzazione su richiesta con elenco dettagliato delle foto da pubblicare.

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La Dirigente
Direttore del Museo Provinciale
Dott.ssa Gloria Vidali

Responsabile dell'istruttoria: Francesca Scopece

Ufficio: Ed Ca' Corner San Marco 2662 30124 Venezia VE ☎ 041 2501882 - fax 041 5328508
www.provincia.veneziana.it - e-mail: museo.torcello@provincia.veneziana.it

Doc. 5. Provincia di Venezia. Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero. Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche di manufatti antichi per tesi di dottorato. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni. 17th July 2013.



PROVINCIA DI VENEZIA Provincia di Venezia
Protocollo 0019017
del 07/03/2014
Servizio Cultura, Sport e Tempo Libero Cla.: IX-3-1
Direzione Museo Provinciale di Torcello

Prot. n. IX 3 I
Rif. a prot. n° IX 3 I

Venezia, 7 marzo 2014

TRASMISSIONE A MEZZO MAIL

Oggetto: Museo Provinciale di Torcello. Richiesta riprese fotografiche di manufatti antichi per tesi di dottorato. Autorizzazione e comunicazioni.

Gent.ma Dott.ssa
Aleksandra Krauze-Kolodziej
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Faculty of Humanities

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UFFICIO BENI CULTURALI

PROT. 11.19.2412

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e p.c.
al delegato patriarcale per Santa Maria Assunta a Torcello
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Abbreviations

- AISCOM IX -Angelelli, C. (2004) (ed.) *Atti del IX Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico con il patrocinio del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali (Aosta, 20-22 febbraio 2003)*. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
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	<i>e le Attività Culturali (Aquileia, 4-7 febbraio 2009)</i> . Tivoli: Scripta Manent Edizioni.
AJA	- <i>American Journal of Archeology</i> , Boston 1897-
AJT	- <i>American Journal of Theology</i> , 1897-
AnnPisa	- <i>Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa</i> , 1871-
ArtB	- <i>The Art Bulletin</i> , College Art Association of America, New York 1919-
ArtV	- <i>Arte veneta: rivista di storia dell'arte</i> , Alfieri, Venezia 1947-
BdA	- <i>Bollettino d'arte</i> , Roma 1907-
Bibl.SS	- <i>Bibliotheca Sanctorum</i> , vol. I-XII, Roma 1961-1970 (rist. 1983)
BSCAabstr	- <i>Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers</i>
BZ	- <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> , München 1892-
CSEL	- <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Wien 1866-
CCA	- <i>Corpus Christianorum seu nova Patrum collectio. Series Apocryphorum</i> , Turnhout 2002-
CCL	- <i>Corpus Christianorum seu nova Patrum collectio. Series Latina</i> , Turnhout 1953-
CSCO	- <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> , Paris 1903-
DACL	-Cabrol, F. and Leclercq, H. (1924-1953) (eds.) <i>Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> . Vol. I-XV, Paris: Letouzey et Ané.
DBI	- <i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-
DOP	- <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> , Cambridge, Mass.; Washington: Harvard University Press, 1941-
EAA	- <i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale</i> , Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1958-
EAM	- <i>Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale</i> , Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991-2002.
JbAC	- <i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> , Münster 1958-
JbKSWien	- <i>Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien</i> , 1919-
JÖBG	- <i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> , Herder, Wien [etc.] 1951-1968.
LCI	-Kirchbaum, E. [et al.] (1968-1976) (eds.) <i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> . Vol. I-VIII. Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder.
LIMC	- <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . vol. I-VIII. Part 1-2. Düsseldorf-Zürich-München: Artemis Verlag 1981-1999.

LGMR	-Hunger, H. (ed.) (1953) <i>Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie: mit Hinweisen auf das Fortwirken antiker Stoffe und Motive in der bildenden Kunst, Literatur und Musik des Abendlandes bis zur Gegenwart</i> . Wien: Brüder Hollinek.
LThK	-Höfer, J. and Rahner, K. (eds.) (1957-65) <i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> . vol. I-X. 2 nd Edition. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder.
Mansi	-Mansi, J. D. [et al.] (eds.) (1789nn) <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> . vol. I-LIII. Firenze 1789nn.; Paris-Leipzig 1901-1905; Paris 1907-1913; Arnhem-Leipzig 1923-1927.
ODB	-Kazhdan, A. [et al.] (eds.) (1991), <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , New York: Oxford University Press.
PAX	Instytut Wydawniczy PAX w Warszawie.
PG	-Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1858-1866) <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> . Vol. I-CLXI. Paris publ. J.-P. Migne.
PL	- Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1879-1974) <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, seu Bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS. patrum, doctorum scriptorum-que ecclesiasticorum ... qui ab aevo apostolico ad ... Concilii Florentini tempora (ann. 1439) floruerunt ... Series Latina</i> . Publ. J.-P. Migne, Paris: wyd. J.-P. Migne.
POK	- <i>Pisma Ojców Kościoła</i> , Poznań 1924-
PSP	- <i>Pisma Starochrześcijańskich Pisarzy</i> , Warszawa 1969-
RAC	-Klauser, Th. [et al.] (eds.) (1950-) <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. Th. Klauser [et al.], Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
RArch	- <i>Rivista di archeologia</i> , G. Bretschneider, Roma 1977-
RBK	-Wessel, K. (ed.) (1963-) <i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> . Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
RivAC	- <i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> , Roma 1924-
Roscher, <i>Lexikon</i>	-Roscher, H. W. (ed.) (1884–1937; repr., 1965) <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> . Leipzig: Teubner.
“Römische Mitteilungen”	- <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung</i> , Mainz am Rhein 1886-1944, 1953-
RQ	- <i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Roma-Freiburg 1887-
SCh	-Sources Chrésiennes, Paris 1941-
StMed	- <i>Studi medievali</i> . Torino-Spoleto: G. Chiantore, Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1928-

Abbreviations

StVen	- <i>Studi veneziani</i> , Firenze: Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano e dell'Istituto "Venezia e l'Oriente" della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, L.S. Olschki 1966-
VenArt	- <i>Bollettino del Dipartimento di Storia delle arti e conservazione dei beni artistici</i> "Giuseppe Mazzariol" dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, Venezia 1987-
VigChrist	- <i>Vigiliae Christianae. A review of early Christian life and language</i> , Amsterdam 1947-1981, Leiden 1982-
ZKunstg	- <i>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte</i> , Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin 1932-
ŻMT	- <i>Źródła Myśli Teologicznej</i> , Kraków 1996-

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