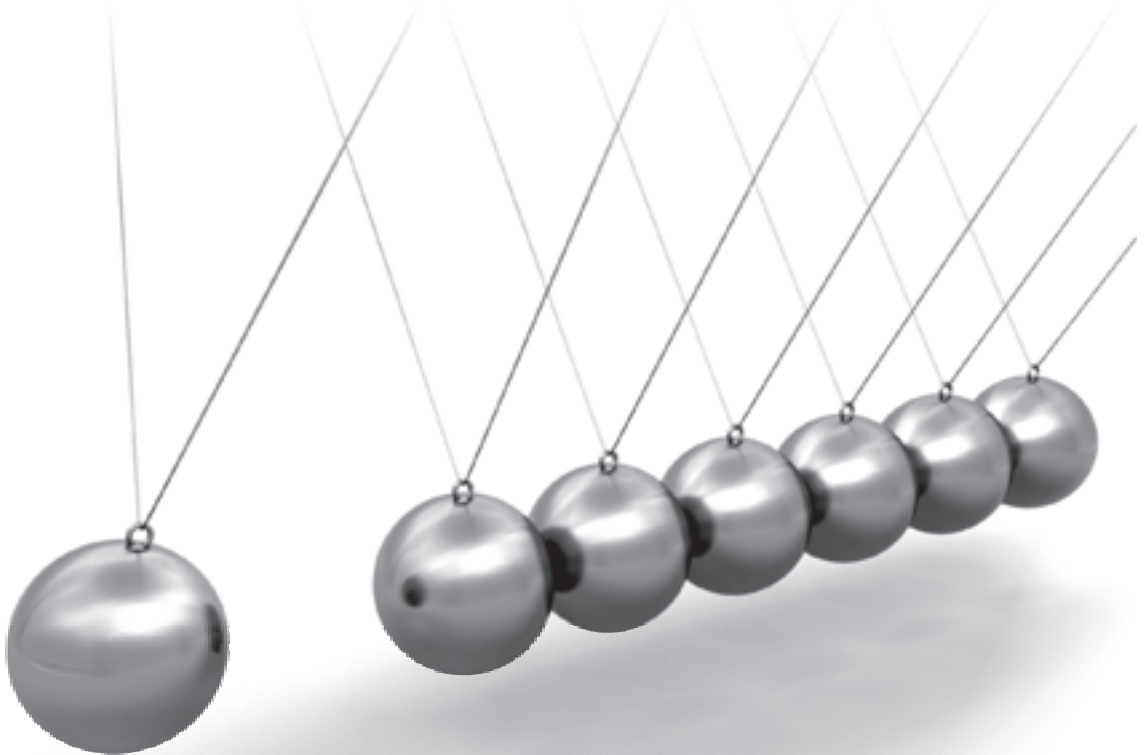


Culture of Remembrance, Visuality, and Crisis in the Balkans (17th-20th Century)

Edited by Nenad Makuljević



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Milena Ulčar*

THE 1667 EARTHQUAKE IN THE BAY OF KOTOR: A HISTORY OF RESILIENCE

Abstract: When it comes to writing the (art) history of a crisis, anonymous and undocumented acts of reparation and reshaping of visual culture could often be analyzed as equally important documents as those that belong to the sphere of art production. During the 1667 earthquake in Kotor, dozens of silver body-part reliquaries were severely damaged. Those objects were “healed” with uneven patches of material, often crudely nailed to the injured surface, usually by the application of the silver votive plaques. At the same time, a great number of ex-votos in the Bay represented images of injured human limbs, cured by the grace of various holy persons. By interpreting a rather eloquent interaction between the two kinds of silver artifacts and by slightly widening the methodological scope of art history, the lack of visual evidence on the 17th-century earthquake in Kotor can be overcome.

Keywords: earthquake, early modern body, reliquaries, ex-voto

The 1667 Kotor Earthquake

A major earthquake struck on April 6, 1667, severely affecting a large area of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Several towns in contemporary Croatia and Montenegro were severely ruined, Dubrovnik and Kotor being especially damaged. During the time of the accident, these coastal areas were divided between three important European states: the Republic of Venice, the Republic of Ragusa, and the Ottoman Empire. Kotor belonged to “Serenissima” and was administered by “Provveditore Straordinario,” a middle-ranking governor who was appointed by the Senate of Venice.

Paola Albini’s findings show that on the day of the earthquake, the microseismic intensity in Kotor reached 8 Int EMS 98. (Albini, 2015, p.90) A

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powerful strike strongly affected the citizens of the Venetian town. During the previous earthquake in 1608, governor Morosini remarked upon the shared feelings of helplessness: “There is indeed nothing that can frighten people more than these whips, because in all other events, be it war, plague, famine or something else, the prudence and authority of people are very valuable, but they have no power in this” (Gligor, 1965, p.363, translated by author). The later shaking of the earth in 1667 was proof of his words. Of the slightly less than 1300 inhabitants of the city, almost 300 lost their lives. Many churches and monasteries, private households, municipal buildings, and military structures were either severely impaired or entirely collapsed. Approximately two-thirds of the town’s buildings were ruined. The earthquake struck between 8.30 am and 9 am (14.00 Italian style), and lasted between 15 and 30 minutes, depending on the testimony of the witnesses. (Novak, 1972, pp. 43–50) Some accounts compared the event duration to that of reciting various prayers – a Credo (five times), an Ave Maria (less than ten times), or the Lord’s Prayer (fifteen times). (Albini, 2015, p. 53) People were bewildered by the power and the wrath of God.

Most emotional were testimonies of those who nearly lost their lives. In Kotor, Provveditore Loredan reported to the Venetian government shortly after the accident, while in the neighboring town of Perast abbot Andrija Zmajević wrote a poetic epistle, describing his misfortune. (Milošević, 1983, p.96; Zmajević, 1976, pp.41–59) Both men were injured and buried under the ruins before being rescued by their neighbors. Historical sources remained silent about the physical and emotional suffering of many other anonymous laymen, women, and children in the aftermath of the earthquake. On the other hand, records thoroughly describe the damage endured by the town walls, the castle, and municipal buildings. It was of primary importance to restore those very structures before the Ottoman enemies attacked the weakened town. (Novak, 1971, pp.5–37) Thus, naturally, the engineers’ and officers’ attention was dedicated to the reparation of military buildings, leaving, at least for the time being, the damage caused on ecclesiastical structures to be taken care of by the Church.

Saint Tryphon’s cathedral suffered extensive damage. The large frontal part of the façade was completely ruined, its bell towers collapsed. (Milošević, 1983, p.94) Both church authorities and common laymen collected money for the reparation of the sacred place, but, due to other expenses, were not entirely successful in that endeavor. A decision was made to redirect the money used for young nobles’ scholarships at the Padua University, which in the next ten years would be used for the cathedral restoration. (Milošević, 1983, p.95) Several decades after the earthquake the people from Kotor made creative efforts to rebuild the most important parts of their injured world.

The (Art) History of the Earthquake

In the words of Albini, a historian of seismology would be faced with a great challenge if they were to translate pieces of narratives and points of view into a consistent scientific scenario. (Albini, 2015, pp. v, vi) Testimonies used for that kind of reconstruction and historical sources on natural disasters know to be rather anecdotal and imprecise. An earthquake lasted 15 minutes or 30 minutes, depending on the point of view and, quite often, the level of witnesses' suffering during the strike. Eyewitnesses from past epochs, just like contemporary ones, did not care about historical objectivity or academic truth. Instead, due to the strong traumatic response or varying political interests, observers wrote their letters and other documents in a manner that should be critically examined by today's researchers. As for visual material, the situation is hardly different. Usually, an art historian must read between the lines, or observe between the cracks which such a natural hazard could leave behind. Visual culture in times of crisis, at least in the case of Venetian Kotor, rarely directly depicts clear and well-rounded information on the event. Not one among several hundreds of silver votive plaques in the Bay of Kotor portrays the Great 1667 earthquake, nor does any oil painting or sculpture contain a visual representation of ruined buildings, children hurt, or men frightened on that infamous April 6. Efforts were clearly directed toward rebuilding, repairing, and restoring the damaged city, rather than favoring and recording visual information for the inquisitive future generations of historians. On the other hand, acts of reparation and consequences of these creative efforts could be equally eloquent documents for the history of crisis management. People healed after traumatic events concurrently with the damaged objects of art and devotion. Therefore, the history of art creation or art production in those turbulent times could be equated with the story of resilience, present in usually undocumented efforts of reparation and reshaping of the existed and damaged visual material.

Despite the unfortunate lack of easily-read and informative ex-votos in the Bay, many of them depict images of hurt limbs, cured by the power of the Virgin Mary or various saints. (Pazzi, 2007; Brguljan & Koprčina & Pejaković-Vujošević, 2014) The 17th century, as it seems, witnessed the gradual and increased occurrence of tiny silver shapes of arms and legs that surround or stand in front of a holy person on the surface of a votive plaque. Explaining their presence only as a result of the earthquake would probably be a far-fetching claim of a wishful art historian. However, the way that 17th-century inhabitants of the Bay were visually fashioning their healing could be rather valuable information for understanding the history of this crisis. (Ulčar, 2020, pp.313–331) At the same time, similarly



Fig. 1: Silver votive plates, Our Lady of the Reef, Perast, XVII century (source: Pazzi, P. (2007). *Gli ex-voto d'argento del Santuario della Madonna dello Scarpello nelle Bocche di Cattaro. Venezia.*)

vague but persistent evidence of the earthquake was present in numerous churches of Kotor, today gathered in the town's cathedral. Different kinds of silver limbs were also evidently very injured in the earth-shaking of 1667. (Stjepčević, 1938) Dozens of arm and leg-shaped reliquaries in the Cathedral and neighboring churches in town bear testament to past damage and repairation. At times, it is apparent that the silver parts of the holy limbs were "healed" by the presence of uneven patches of material, often crudely nailed to the injured surface. What is important in these anonymous efforts is the application of the very ex-voto plaques that served as a kind of "skin transplantation" material in cases when reliquaries were considerably damaged.

Therefore, the lack of visual evidence about the 17th-century earthquake in Kotor could be hypothetically overcome, if we stretch our methodological scope enough to include such vague indications as processes of repairation, reshaping, or resilience. On top of that, the comparative material of votive tablets and anthropomorphic reliquaries is too eloquent to be easily dismissed. Both are made of silver, depicting human limbs, containing the image of the holy person as the mediator in the healing process. The body of the common layperson in the Bay of Kotor and the body of the saint suffered similar kinds of injuries and were, accordingly, healed in a similar manner. Despite the usually wrongly ascribed flavor of animism as a "primitive" approach in treating the lived or artificial body in the past, (Bird-David, 1999, pp.67–91) the employed visual and psychological mechanisms were everything but simple and easily comprehensible for us today. Just like the previously mentioned challenges that historians of seismology endure, it is necessary that the art historian translates the rather complex processes of visualization and materialization of resilience in the early modern period.



Fig. 2: Silver votive plate, Our Lady of the Reef, Perast, XVII century
 (source: Pazzi, P. (2007). *Gli ex-voto d'argento del Santuario della Madonna dello Scarpello nelle Bocche di Cattaro. Venezia.*)

Ex-Votos and Reliquaries

In a modestly crafted tiny votive plaque three simple shapes unfold the story of sickness and health. (Fig. 1) In the lower right angle, an anonymous man is praying on his knees, his hands folded around rosary beads. In the center of the scene is an enlarged object of his prayers – a hurt leg, cut off above the knee in the thigh area. Lastly, in the upper left part of the tile, the Virgin Mary with the Child is seated on a cloud, listening to the prayers of men. (Brajović, 2006; Brajović, 2000) A man is silently asking for divine help to cure his hurt limb. This rather short story could also be read differently – beginning in the upper left angle, slowly descending to the central image of the leg, and ending in the even lower figure of a praying man. In this case, the narrative is slightly changed. Virgin Mary helped the healing of the sick leg, and now a man



Fig. 3: Silver votive plate, Our Lady of the Reef, Perast, XVII century
 (source: Pazzi, P. (2007). *Gli ex-voto d'argento del Santuario della Madonna dello Scarpello nelle Bocche di Cattaro, Venezia.*)

is expressing his gratitude for her heavenly aid. (Jacobs, 2013) No matter what direction the narrative goes – anticipating or memorizing the needed healing – this simple visual mechanism of depicting the fragmented injured body is replicated on dozens of similar silver surfaces. Sometimes a woman is kneeling in front of a gigantic leg (Fig. 2), other times two legs, represented as mirroring images, surround the Virgin Mary, and at times the story is reduced only to the shape of the limb, without persons praying or receiving the prayers. Seen as a whole – a vibrant group of silver shapes on the church walls – three important elements are easily distinguished: a praying figure, a holy person, and a body part. In one curious example, the figure of the Virgin Mary is represented in the upper part of the silver foot, thus, somewhat oddly, depicting the body part as a container of a holy person. (Fig. 3) Votive plaques also vary in artistic quality, distinguished only by the level of

anatomical plausibility of represented figures and limbs, a point rather irrelevant for the present analysis.

A similar tri-partite iconographical structure is present in another class of devotional objects in the Bay. A great number of body part reliquaries in Saint Tryphon's cathedral were damaged when the earthquake ruined parts of the walls that surrounded them. Some 40 years later their whole architectural and sculptural surroundings changed when the noble family Boliza donated money for the renovation, and when soon after that Venetian sculptor Francesco Cabianca gave a baroque appearance to the small chapel. (Milošević, 1955–1956, pp. 29–37) Their efforts were well documented, and today we know details such as the amount of the donated money, dates of executions, and names of the Cabianca's workshop members that helped the ambitious endeavor. We are also somewhat familiar with the working process, the terracotta models for marble reliefs, even with the fact that the chief sculptor played the forbidden cards games with the local priest. (Milošević, 2003, p. 267) On the other hand, we know nothing about anonymous efforts to repair broken reliquaries in the chapel or in the neighboring churches – a project that was evidently widespread and rather ambitious. Instead of written records, we are faced with visual testimonies of sometimes crudely hammered nails, wrinkly silver surfaces, and patches of material used for covering the bruises and wounds on their meticulously made thin silver skin. Despite that, when inspected in their context, these efforts followed an inner logic that connects them with the creative potential of the period, more eloquently presented in the production of new objects such as ex-votos or other devotional artifacts.

The present state of some body-part reliquaries probably still carries traces of the 1667 damage. Possible further ruining, even that which occurred in their liturgical and processional use, certainly contributed to the picture we face today. However, from the repetitive presence of similar additions on their surfaces, we can at least hypothetically conclude that there was a moment in their past that provoked this major damage and, consequently, the need for joined efforts of reparation. The Cathedral and the reliquary chapel suffered such considerable damage during the very earthquake of 1667.

The most damaged body parts were, evidently, the medieval reliquaries. Early modern examples, purchased during the second half of the 17th and throughout the 18th century, remained unhurt, with very few exceptions that bear minor impairments. The most striking difference between medieval and early modern anthropomorphic reliquaries was the level of



Fig. 4: Leg-shaped reliquary, XIV-XV century, Leg shaped reliquary, XVII century, Relic Chapel, St. Tryphon's Cathedral, Kotor (photos by Stevan Kordić)

naturalism and verisimilitude in the artistic treatment of the body. (Fig. 4) Examples originating from the 14th century usually imply lavishly ornate silver limbs – legs are enclosed inside the shoe, with the overall impression of armored and decorated equipment protecting a tiny bone hidden inside. On the other hand, the containers of the 17th and 18th centuries bear a striking resemblance with the ordinary human arm or leg. Muscles and veins, instead of jewels and decorated ribbons, conveyed the message of holiness to believers. (Ulčar, 2017, pp. 67–86)

After the earthquake, this simple way of differentiation was somewhat blurred. Few naturalistically shaped reliquaries, almost certainly made during the early modern period, were given additions that belonged to a medieval period. A leg with quite visible naturalistic features, for instance, was (re)decorated with medieval ornate ribbons, bearing on its surface rather large and irregular nails, as witnesses of their post-medieval remodeling. (Fig. 5) Such attempts could seem intrusive to contemporary art historians. Those anonymous “artisans,” being hastened by the destructive earthquake or not, completely “confused” the medieval with the early modern aesthetic. So much that nowadays it could be difficult to discern between methodologically essential categories and boxes of different epochs. However, cynicism aside, there could be a reason beyond the so-called economic or ignorant necessity that led people after 1667



Fig. 5: Arm-shaped reliquary, XVI-XVII century, Relic Chapel, St. Tryphon's Cathedral, Kotor (photo by Stevan Kordić)

to renew the body part reliquaries in such a specific manner. Seen in the context of reliquaries production and veneration, implementations of older, usually medieval, additions on newer artifacts was everything but rare. (Cambier, 2014, pp. 26–43) In that way, a particular kind of composite object was created, carrying an important power contained in medieval *spolia*. It was a common way of empowerment, rather than intrusion or further damaging, as could be wrongly concluded by a contemporary observer, an admirer of order and historical clarity. Therefore, if made after the earthquake, such changes could have been perceived as beneficial for healing the bruised silver skin of an important saint. Medieval ornaments, applied on an early modern naturalistically fashioned reliquary were, thus, not only physically but also symbolically essential for their further agency.

Even more remarkable was the addition of votive plaques on body part reliquaries. Again, they were medieval reliquaries that endured the most damage, and the examples of silver *ex-votos* could be found only on



Fig. 6: Bottom of the arm-shaped reliquary (15th) with ex voto (17th century), Saint Tryphon's cathedral, Kotor(photo by Stevan Kordić)

these sets of objects in Kotor. Most often, tiny silver surfaces with votive figures could be found on the top or bottom of reliquaries, depending on the shape of the arm or leg that they embodied. Those small areas were usually not visible to the observers. In one curious case, two votive plaques were applied to the very “skin surface” of the leg, which brings us back to the curious case of a foot-shaped votive gift containing the image of a holy person. In this case, similarly, a body part (leg-shaped reliquary) contains images of a holy person and a praying figure. (Ulčar, 2017, pp.67–86)

Tiny round spots on top of the leg-shaped or the bottom of the arm-shaped reliquaries were very fragile areas. Contemporary evidence implies that these particular surfaces were the most damaged parts of these objects. This is especially true in the case of silver arms, as that spot served both as a foundation and pedestal which allowed the vertical posture of the object. During the Middle Ages these surfaces, although invisible to observers, were meticulously decorated with images of Christ, *arma Christi*, figures of saints, coat of arms, or inscriptions about a donor or artisan. Later, during the early modern period, their decoration became rather modest. Simple plain silver covers were only occasionally engraved with Christ's monogram or other barely visible decoration, at least in the examples treasured in the Bay of Kotor. However, when the damage provoked by the 17th-century earthquake devastated those very spots on medieval reliquaries, their repair went beyond simple replacement with plain



Fig. 7: Leg-shaped reliquary (15th century) with ex voto (17th century), Saint Tryphon's cathedral, Kotor(photo by Stevan Kordić)

round silver plates. Instead, parts of votive plaques were cut and reshaped to fit the empty round spaces. Furthermore, the remodeling was quite carefully conducted, so that figures of holy persons occupied a central part of the patches.

A medieval arm-shaped reliquary was, therefore, repaired with the help of an early modern silver votive plaque that represents the figure of the Virgin Mary on a cloud in the center of a round surface and another, smaller, figure of Saint Spyridon on her right. (Fig. 6) Virgin Mary's arms are slightly raised, pointing in another direction, and implying her role as Mediatrix. Part of the tiled floor is visible, but the figure of a praying man or woman is left out. In another, also medieval, example of a leg-shaped reliquary a round space at the top is covered with an image of the seated figure of the Virgin Mary, carrying the Christ Child, who is holding a sphere in his left hand. (Fig. 7) The third example of the re-used votive gift depicts a praying figure of a man that faces the Virgin Mary



Fig. 8: Arm-shaped reliquary (15th century) with ex voto (18th century), Saint Tryphon's cathedral, Kotor (photo by Stevan Kordić)

with the Child, turning his back to the figure of Saint Oswald, represented on the other side of a patch. (Fig. 8) A man with his hair combed in the 18th-century fashion folding his arms in prayer, kneeling in front of Mary, although when the tile was cut to change its square shape into the round one, the lower part of his body was left out of the picture. The three silver surfaces portray figures that were made with a varying level of artistic quality. In two out of three examples they are rather unskillfully executed. However, it was the presence of a powerful holy person that mattered in the process of reparation, so again the further discussion on stylistic features is futile for the present argument.

The presence of the Virgin Mary in every example is striking, although understandable when seen in the context of shared beliefs and devotional hierarchy in the Bay of Kotor. (Brajović, 2006) Marian iconography was present in almost every aspect of private and official devotional practices in the Bay. Saint Spyridon and Saint Oswald of Northumbria



Fig. 9: Leg-shaped reliquary (15th century) with ex voto (17th/18th century), Saint Tryphon's cathedral, Kotor (photo by Stevan Kordić)

were certainly not that famous, although their role in helping the sick and injured was considerable during the 17th and 18th centuries. (Della Stua, 1769) The three holy figures were chosen – one may imply – for their role as mediators and ever-present helpers in dangerous and turbulent times.

The fourth example is somewhat different. (Fig. 9 and 10) The knightly-armored medieval leg reliquary is today still heavily bruised and damaged. The large hole is visible at the place where the upper part of the leg meets the foot. The thin silver cover is wrinkled and dark bruises cover most of the object's surface. The front side of the silver foot is repaired with a small plaque that, due to the further damaging, today reveals only the lower part of the saint's body, dressed in the military garment, with the scripser in his right hand. Taking into account contemporary iconography in the Bay, a mysterious figure may portray, once more, Saint Oswald of Northumbria, a famous king, present in a couple of other ex-votos used



Fig. 10: Leg-shaped reliquary (15th century) with ex voto (17th/18th century), Saint Tryphon's cathedral, Kotor (photo by Stevan Kordić)

as patches for the broken reliquaries. On the other side, just above the heel, another votive plaque is attached. This time, the whole votive tablet is used as a cover for the severely cracked skin of the leg reliquary. It depicts a kneeling figure of a man with similar iconography as in previously mentioned examples. His head is bowed in prayer, his hands folded around rosary beads. The scene is framed with tiny silver stars, making the addition even more visible to the observer.

The Layman's Body, the Holy Body, and Body Parts

The iconographies of the aforementioned votive gifts and reliquaries (seen as a composite whole with their votive additions) are strikingly similar. In both cases, three main elements are repeatedly present – a holy

person (the Virgin Mary or a saint), an anonymous praying figure, and the body part (leg or arm-shaped engraving on the votive plaques or three-dimensional relic container). Minor variations imply that in some cases one of the elements could have been excluded or rejoined to another. When it comes to votive gifts variations were more flexible. The most narrative example containing all three figures could have been reduced to a representation of a praying person with a leg, a holy person with a leg, or only the leg. These reductions did not change the story of gratitude and healing, despite the somewhat diminished visual vocabulary. In the case of composite reliquaries the similar additions and reductions existed, although every example contained an image of a limb (embodied in the very object) and, as it seems, the presence of a holy person. A praying figure is present in two out of four presented medieval reliquaries. Apparently, this particular iconography was rather significant in the process of reparation.

The years following the 1667 earthquake were obviously economically challenging for the Bay of Kotor. The emergent efforts to restore ruined buildings, especially households and military structures, are mentioned throughout all of the archival documents. (Albini, 2015, pp.71–76) In that sense, reparation of reliquaries and other liturgical equipment may seem of secondary importance, and, accordingly, the use of existent objects, such as *ex-votos*, could suggest a rather rational economic measure, more than some creative endeavor. However, similar conclusions belong more to our (post)capitalistic mindset than to an early modern way of thinking about sacred artifacts. Treasure in Saint Tryphon's relic chapel was for centuries considered the most important part of Kotor's community. In poetry and sermons, reliquaries are regarded as an especially powerful holy army, ready to protect the city from all kinds of enemies. (Kokoljić, 1996, pp. 163, 208, 355) They were carefully treasured behind the massive iron grid, locked with three keys, and presented only on special occasions. When damaged in the earthquake, holy limbs required not only physical reparation but empowerment to secure their further agency. They should have been healed, rather than simply patched or repaired.

On the other hand, in the moment of the earthquake churches in the Bay abounded in silver. Considering the number of objects made from this material, it is not plausible to explain the use of votive plaques only as a prudent step in necessary financial savings. Even if that was the case in the turbulent post-earthquake crisis, it was a rather undemanding move to erase the content of the plaques, before attaching them to the silver reliquaries. However, the anonymous artisans decided to carefully reshape *ex-votos* in a manner that presents their most crucial iconographical elements. Evidently, it was also symbolically important to conjoin silver body parts with images of holy persons and praying figures.

One explanation of this curious remodeling is quite animistic in its nature. If silver reliquaries were considered lively participants in an early modern everyday reality, then they required healing after the injuries caused by the earthquake. The more interesting question is: how was that particular type of healing conducted during the 17th and 18th centuries? Together with their special status as holy protectors, reliquaries were at times treated as human bodies. They were adorned with jewelry, sometimes dressed in precious clothes, washed with water, and presented to society on special days (a birthday of a saint, for example). (Cizila, NAP R XVI, p.56) Therefore, it is not surprising that their healing was conducted in resemblance with the already confirmed manner of caring for “ordinary” human bodies. Votive plaques were, more than any other object, testimonies of successful healings. Consequently, it was their very presence that could seem crucial in undertaking such an important task as curing the holy body. Furthermore, the iconography of the Virgin Mary or other patron saints were the most useful addition to that challenging task, already used during the Middle Ages in a similar manner. The presence of anonymous praying figures could seem more ambiguous, although quite convincing if seen as an element in replication of the basic votive mechanisms.

Ex-votos changed their status in the process, becoming the source of protection, rather than only a testimony of it. Reliquaries were once birthplaces of powerful agency and, very often, of healing men and women that prayed in front of them. Answered prayers were after that materialized as silver votive plaques. After the severe damage and collapse of everyday life in the earthquake, the direction of giving and receiving was slightly changed. Ex-votos became powerful elements of further healing of holy bodies. The chain of acquiring and radiating holy power was, somewhat logically, continued. Tripartite iconographical structure of the holy, “ordinary” and the fragmented body was perfectly useful and eloquent in such an endeavor. Reliquaries continued their vibrant life in Kotor in the following few centuries, silently bearing evidence of healing on their silver skin. Dozens of them carry later additions, proving that the methodological tools of art historians should at least be flexible enough to recognize the ever-changing and dynamic life of an (art) object.

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ЗЕМЉОТРЕС У БОКИ КОТОРСКОЈ 1667. ГОДИНЕ: ИСТОРИЈА ОТПОРНОСТИ

Апстракт: Када је реч о писању историје кризе једног доба често је анонимно и недокументовано деловање појединаца у процесима обнављања и преобличавања једнако важан извор информација као и анализа уметничке продукције. Током земљотреса 1667. године у Котору, десетине сребрних реликвијара у облику делова тела било је оштећено. Ови предмети су, потом, бивали „излечени“ апликацијом неравних и грубо исечених комада сребра, најчешће коришћењем сребрних заветних плочица. У исто то време, велики број вотивних дарова у црквама Боке Которске садржи визуелни приказ повређених удова људског тела, излечених милошћу различитих светих личности, приказаних на њиховим површинама. Интерпретацијом визуелне размене између ове две врсте сребрних артефаката, као и проширењем методолошког оквира историје уметности, недостатак визуелног материјала о земљотресу из 17. века може бити успешно превазиђен.

Кључне речи: земљотрес, рано модерно тело, реликвијари, заветни дарови

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