LIKENESS

A N D

PRESENCE

A History of the Image before the Era of Art
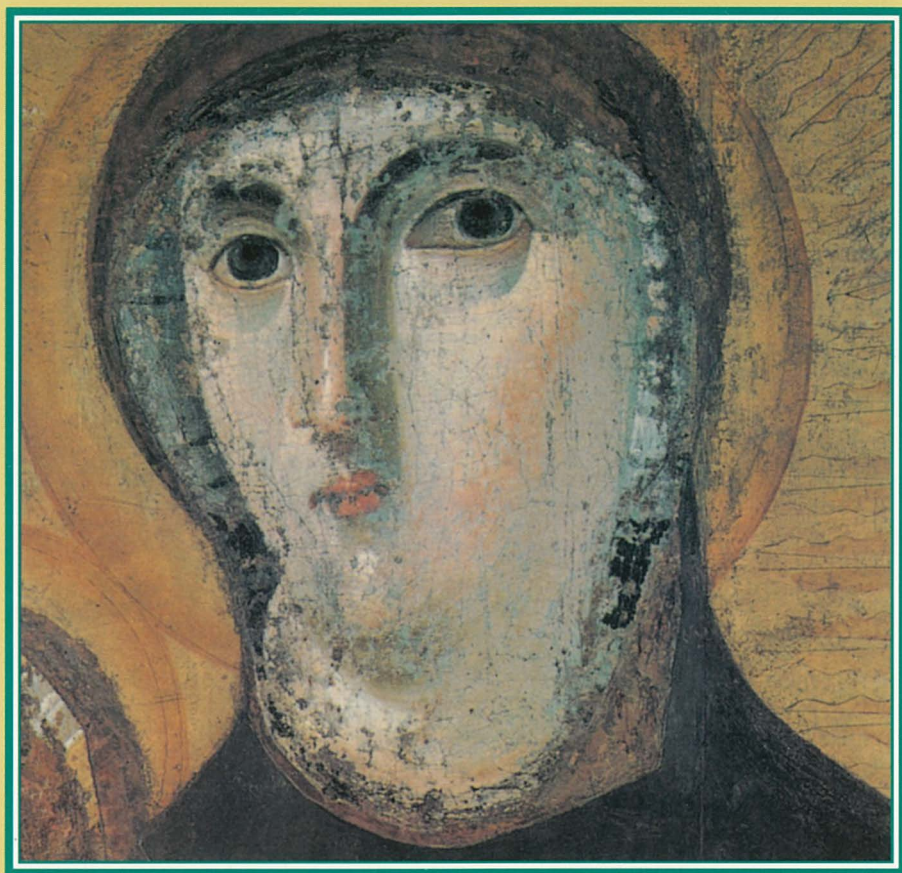
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had a physical existence as a panel or statue and a special appearance as an image type, an appearance that distinguished it from images of the same saint in different places. Images of Mary, for example, always distinguished themselves visibly from each other according to the features attributed to local copies. Likewise, the old image titles have a toponymous character: they name the place of a cult. The connection between image and cult therefore has, as we see, many aspects. The memory an image evoked referred both to its own history and to that of its place. Copies were made in order to spread the veneration of the image beyond the local place, even as they reinforced the connection between the original and its own locality. The memory tied to the original therefore remained undivided. The copies recalled the original of a famous local image, which in its turn recalled the privileges that it had acquired in (and for) its own place during its history. In this sense, image and memory become an aspect of legal history.

The legends surrounding the origins of famous images helped to clarify the memory value they ultimately acquired through their history. These legends concerned more than the historical circumstances that guaranteed the authentic appearance of the person depicted. The myth of origin also vouched for the rank of a particular image, which was inferred from its age (or its supernatural origin). Age was a quality to be read in the image's general appearance. Its form therefore also had a (real or fictitious) memory value. Archaism as a fiction of age is one of the marks of identity that new cult images simulated (chap. 19d).

c. The Images' Loss of Power and Their New Role as Art

The account of the power of images given so far in this Introduction remains incomplete as long as the other half of their history has not been told. It concerns the images' *loss* of power in the Reformation. As this is to be discussed in detail later (chap. 20), a few general reflections will suffice here. The successful opposition to images in the Reformation might be taken as evidence that the images in fact lacked power, at least relative to the written word and the interpretations of the preachers. In reality the late seizure of power by the theologians confirms the latters' earlier impotence. The toleration of images, whose function formal theology had repeatedly rationalized, now ended.

Many factors played a part before this revolt of the theologians against images occurred. A simple explanation is not possible. In what they say, the theologians merely repeat the principles of a purified doctrine, leaving out whatever does not fit neatly into their theology. But in what they do, the theologians give us an idea of the privileges enjoyed by images that stood in their way. From the criticism of images in the Reformation, therefore, we are able to draw conclusions about the prior use of images. What is now condemned as abuse was accepted custom earlier.

Emancipation from the old institutions was one of the most important motives behind the leaders of the Reformation becoming iconoclasts. Their program envisaged a new church made up of the preacher and his congregation. Luther's liberal attitude still left room for images, but they were images used for didactic purposes, to reinforce the revelation of the word (text 40). This limitation divested the images of

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the very aura that was a precondition of their cult. It followed that they could and should no longer represent any institution. They were, in any case, discredited in conjunction with the previous doctrine of the justification of Christians by means of their works. The new doctrine of justification by faith alone made pious donations of or for images superfluous. The whole concept of the votive image collapsed, and with it the Roman church's claim to be an institution that dispensed grace and privileges visibly embodied in its relics and images. What the new doctrine left in place was theologians without institutional power, preachers of the word legitimated only by their superior theology. Where everything was based on truth and unambiguity, no room was left for the image with its equivocalness.

The idea of tradition, on which the Roman church had always prided itself, now became the church's handicap. Tradition no longer consisted of the great age of church institutions and the long history of textual interpretation; instead, it was seen to reside in the original condition of the founders' church, which was to be restored by purifying it of later accretions. The rebirth of the early church in the Renaissance period, after many unsuccessful attempts in the Middle Ages, provided the necessary retrospective justification for modern reformed religious practices. Thereby, an imageless church was defined that, in the person of Paul, had opposed the image worship of the heathens.

The link to the early church is evident in the fixation on the authentic word of God. The preacher interprets the biblical text solely on the basis of faith, without needing to refer to prior church exegesis. In the Gutenberg era the divine word was in theory made available to everyone by means of Bibles printed in the vernacular. God's word was thus constantly accessible, which permitted a check on interpretations. The direct presence of the biblical word, however, also allowed the preacher to exert control over the people of his congregation, who were expected to live according to its pure doctrine. The purity of doctrine was determined by the letter of the text, as understood through the guidance of the Spirit of God. Against such an authoritative text, the image lacked force; when substituted for the word, it always posed a threat because of its imprecision and the possibility of misunderstanding.

The word is assimilated by hearing and reading, not by seeing. The unity of outer and inner experience that guided persons in the Middle Ages breaks down into a rigorous dualism of spirit and matter, but also of subject and world, as expressed in the teachings of Calvin (text 41). The eye no longer discovers evidence for the presence of God in images or in the physical world; God reveals himself only through his word. The word as bearer of the spirit is just as abstract as is the new concept of God; religion has become an ethical code of living. The word does not depict or show anything but is a sign of the convenant. God's distance prohibits his presence in a painted representation, sensually comprehended. The modern subject, estranged from the world, sees the world as severed into the purely factual and the hidden signification of metaphor. But the old image rejected reduction into metaphor; rather, it laid claim to being immediate evidence of God's presence revealed to the eyes and senses.

In the meanwhile, the same image suddenly appears as the symbol of an archaic

mentality that still promised a harmony between world and subject. Into its place steps *art,* which inserts a new level of meaning between the visual appearance of the image and the understanding of the beholder. Art becomes the sphere of the artist, who assumes control of the image as proof of his or her art. The crisis of the old image and the emergence of the new concept of art are interdependent. Aesthetic mediation allows a different use of images, about which artist and beholder can agree between themselves. Subjects seize power over the image and seek through art to apply their metaphoric concept of the world. The image, henceforth produced according to the rules of art and deciphered in terms of them, presents itself to the beholder as an object of reflection. Form and content renounce their unmediated meaning in favor of the mediated meaning of aesthetic experience and concealed argumentation.

The surrender of the image to the beholder is tangibly expressed at this time in the emergence of art collections, in which pictures represent humanistic themes and the beauty of art. Even Calvin accepted the use of images for these purposes. Although he believed that they could represent only the visible, this did not preclude a reappraisal of the visible world by the meditative subject. The Protestant Reformers did not create this change of consciousness vis-à-vis the image; indeed, in this respect they were themselves the children of their time. What they rejected in the name of religion had long since lost the old substance of unmediated pictorial revelation. I do not say this with any nostalgic intent, but only to describe the fascinating process whereby the medieval cult image became the artwork of the modern era.

This process also took place in the Catholic world, and not only as a reaction to Reformation criticism. In the Netherlands the Reformation was not officially introduced until 1568. By then, however, the transformation of the image that we have described had long since been completed. To uphold the claims of the cult image in an era of art, the Roman church needed to establish new attitudes toward images. The old claims now tended to be reserved for ancient images that appeared as relics of a bygone age. They were always thought of as images from the earliest stage of Christianity, and thus intended as a visible refutation of the Reformation's concept of tradition. In these cases contemporary art was given the task of providing the effective presentation of the old image. This was an important program during the Counter-Reformation.

As is to be expected, all such presentations of history contain an element of exaggeration. Humankind has never freed itself from the power of images, but this power has been exerted by different images in different ways at different times. There is no such thing as a historical caesura at which humanity changes out of all recognition. But the history of religion or the history of the human subject, both of which are inseparable from the history of the image, cannot be narrated without a schema of history. Certainly, it is impossible to deny that the Reformation and the formation of art collections changed the situation. The aesthetic sphere provided, so to speak, a kind of reconciliation between the lost way of experiencing images and the one that remained. The interplay of perception and interpretation that is pursued in the visual arts, as in literature, demands the expert or connoisseur, someone who knows the rules of the game.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. This chapter was first published in the journal *Orthodoxes Forum* (St. Ottilien) 1.2 (1987): 253ff.
2. V. Laurent, ed., *Concilium Florentinum* 9 (Rome, 1971): 250–51.

Chapter 2

1. M. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine, traduit du manuscrit byzantin, le guide de la peinture par P. Durand* (Paris, 1945), Introduction, iii–xlviii, and Dedication to Victor Hugo, i–ii.
2. Godehard Schäfer, *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos, aus dem handschriftlichen neugriechischen Urtext übersetzt,* with notes by Didron the Elder (Trier, 1853), including a translation of Didron's Introduction (pp. 1–32). On Victor Hugo's message, cf. p. 20.
3. Quoted from Didron (see n. 1 above), ix, and Schäfer (see n. 2 above), 5.
4. On the consecration of painters, cf. Schäfer (see n. 2 above), 43–44.
5. A. Papadopoulos, *Kerameus, Dionysiu tu ek Phurna Hermeneia tēs zographikēs technēs* (St. Petersburg, 1909).
6. Cf. H. Belting, "Vasari und die Folgen," in idem, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte?* (Munich, 1983).
7. The icon painters' handbook, named after the Stroganov family (ca. 1600), was published in 1869 under the title *Stroganovskii Ikonopisnyi Licevoi Podlinnik;* like the other examples of these *Podlinniki,* it consists of schematic drawings and name inscriptions that can be converted directly into panels. On this genre, cf. Rothemund 1966, 56ff., and Onasch 1968, 29ff. The new edition is *Ikonenmalerhandbuch der Familie Stroganow* (Munich, 1965; 2d ed., 1983).
8. Brockhaus 1891, 87ff. and 151ff. (on the *Painters' Manual*).
9. P. Uspenski, *First Journey to the Sinai Monastery in 1845* (Russian) (St. Petersburg, 1856). Cf. N. Petrov in *Iskusstvo,* nos. 5–6 (Kiev, 1912): 191ff.
10. J. Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler* (Vienna, 1891), 1:113ff., and idem, *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901), 123–24. Cf. D. V. Ainalov in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 9 (1902): 343ff.; Wulff and Alpatoff 1925, 8ff.; and, more recently, Weitzmann 1976.
11. The main works of Nikodimos Pavlovich Kondakov (1844–1925), who emigrated to Prague after the Revolution, appeared posthumously; cf. *The Russian Icon* (Oxford, 1927, and in several volumes, Prague, 1928–33). But his travel reports (to Athos and Sinai) and iconographic studies, as on the Mother of God (1914), attracted early notice.
12. *Vystavka drevne russkogo iskusstva* (catalog; Moscow, 1913), with 147 icons.
13. On N. Leskov's work, cf. M. L. Roessler, "Leskov und seine Darstellung des religiösen Menschen" (diss. Marburg, 1939), and W. Benjamin, *Illuminationen* (Frankfurt, 1961), 409ff.
14. On Tatlin, cf. J. Milner, *U. Tatlin and the Russian Avant-Garde,* 2d ed. (Yale University Press, 1984), 8 and 24. On Goncharowa, cf. M. Chamot, "Goncharova's Work in the West," in *Russian Women-Artists of the Avant-Garde* (Cologne, 1979), 150. On Malevich's reaction to the icon, cf. J. C. Marcade and S. Siger, *K. Malevitch. La lumière et la couleur. Textes inédits de 1918 à 1926* (Lausanne, 1981), 23 and 51ff. I am indebted to Jens T. Wollesen for some of this information. Cf. K. Bering, "Suprematismus und Orthodoxie. Einflüsse der Ikonen auf das Werk K. Malevičs," *Ostkirchliche Kunst* 2.3 (1986):143ff.
15. The Berlin Museum director also made a major contribution; cf. O. Wulff, *Lebenswege und Forschungsziele* (Baden-Baden, 1936).
16. Wulff and Alpatov 1925, passim.
17. Cf. Rothemund 1966, passim, and Skrobucha 1975, passim.
18. Carli 1958, figs. 56–58; Hager 1962, 109–10; and Weitzmann 1984, 143ff. with figs. 13–14.
19. See chap. 12.
20. Carli 1958, figs. 77–78; Hager 1962, 95ff.; and Weitzmann 1984, figs. 22–23.
21. On the domestic altar from Lucca (the Stoclet Tabernacle), now in Cleveland, cf. H. S. Francis, "The Stoclet Tabernacle," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 1967, 92ff.

22. On the Kahn Madonna, cf. Belting 1982a.
23. On the panel in Nocera Umbra, cf. Garrison 1949, no. 274.
24. On the manuscript in Donaueschingen, cf. the exhibition *Ornamenta ecclesiae* (catalog; Cologne, 1985), vol. 3, no. H 64, which also refers to the pattern sheet in Freiburg.
25. Soteriou and Soteriou 1956–58.
26. Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956.
27. On the Mount Sinai monastery, cf. H. Skrobucha, *Sinai* (Olten and Lausanne, 1959); G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and the Fortress* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973); J. Galey, *Sinai und das Katherinenkloster* (Stuttgart, 1979). On the Sinai icons, cf. Weitzmann 1976, 1982.
28. On the Roman icons, see chaps. 4 and 6, and nn. 25–27 above.
29. Cf. the references in chap. 6.
30. See chap. 5.
31. See chap. 8.
32. Cf. Belting 1982c, 35ff., which has further references.
33. Cf. Belting 1971, passim, for further references.
34. Cf. Lasareff 1967; Kitzinger 1977; Weitzmann 1978; Demus 1947; Demus 1970.
35. See chap. 13.
36. Demus 1965, 139ff., esp. 144 and 147.

Chapter 3

1. See chap. 12.
2. Cf. Anna Kartsonis, "The Identity of the Image of the Virgin and the Iconoclastic Controversy: Before and After," *Jahrbuch für österreichische Byzantinistik,* 1987.
3. Cf. Weis 1985, though he puts forward some problematic suggestions. The first use known to me of the metaphor that the Virgin has "confined the limitless . . . within the Mother's womb" appeared in A.D. 431 in Cyril of Alexandria (*PG* 77, 922–23, and Delius 1963, 110).
4. Cf. Tatić-Djurić 1976, 259ff. Cf. chap. 13 on iconic types and names, and nn. 75–78 in chap. 13.
5. Letter to a theologian against the Nestorians (*PG* 78, 216–17, no. 54).
6. M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London, 1977); R. Salzmann, in Ölson 1985, 60ff. On the influence on Christianity, cf. Franz Josef Dölger, in *Antike und*

Christentum 1 (1929): 118ff., and M. Gordillo, *Mariologia orientalis* (1954), 159–60.
7. G. Rochefort, *L'empereur Julien. Œuvres complètes* 2.1 (Paris, 1963), 103ff., with French translation, and G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Julians . . .* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907), 152ff., with German translation. On the temple in Constantinople, cf. Mango 1963.
8. P. T. Camelot, *Ephesus und Chalkedon,* 3 vols.; vol. 1: *Geschichte der ökumenischen Konzilien* (Munich, 1963); on this theme in the context of Mariology in general, cf. Lucius 1904, 435ff.; Delius 1963, 104ff.; Wellen 1961, passim; still unsurpassed is M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Rome, 1944); also useful is Turner 1978, 148ff.; problematic is H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion,* vol. 1 (London, 1963). Cf. in addition E. Ann Matter, in Olson 1985, 80ff.; H. Koch, *Virgo Eva— Virgo Maria* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1937); T. Livius, *Die allerseligste Jungfrau bei den Vätern der ersten sechs Jahrhunderte* (1901); and Christa Mulate, *Maria—die geheime Göttin im Christentum* (1985).
9. "Homily II on the Death of the Virgin," in *Homélies sur la nativité et la dormition,* Sources chrétiennes 80, ed. P. Voulet (Paris, 1961), 160ff.
10. E.g., Epiphanius of Salamis (Delius 1963, 98).
11. C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros,* Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 123 (1922), 376ff.; Kötting 1950, 32ff.; R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden, 1973).
12. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales Press, 1970); R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (London, 1971); v. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis lactans* (Leiden, 1973), an iconographic work that contains evidence of the influence of the Virgin image (40ff.); S. Kelly Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden, 1975), on the nature of Isis (37ff.) and on her cult (111ff.); C. J. Bleeker, in Olson 1985, 29ff. Cf. Frankfurt 1983, 509ff., with nos. 117–21 on a statuette of *Isis invicta* and another with the name *Myrionymus* in Cologne.
13. Cf. Lucius 1904, 466–67, and Delius 1963, 100. The sects were called Kollyridians or Philomarians. They were women who had emigrated from Thrace to Arabia.
14. Delius 1963, 107ff. and references in n. 16 below. On Rome (and containing references), cf. Klauser 1972.

15. See n. 11 above. On Romanus, cf. the edition referred to in chap. 13 n. 67, and C. A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna, 1968). On the *Akathistos* hymn, see chap. 13 n. 58.

16. Delius 1963, 113–20. Later, John of Damascus (ed. Voulet [see n. 9 above], 100), looking back over the previous two centuries, asks, "[What is] the mystery that surrounds you, Virgin and Mother?" She is, as Isis once was, the "imperial throne around which angels stand" (102). He makes her tomb say: "I am the inexhaustible source of healing, the warder-off of demons, the medicine that drives away evil from the sick, the refuge of all who seek protection" (166). On the stereotypes of mother deities in Romanus's Hymn of the Virgin, cf. Delius 1963, 115.

17. At this time the protogospel of James, a Greek religious tract from about A.D. 200 with the Virgin at its center and containing the earliest legend relating to her, became popular. Cf. E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung,* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1916), and W. Michaelis, *Die Apokryphen Schriften zum Neuen Testament* (Bremen, 1956), 62ff.

18. Cf. the prayer to the Virgin in the Byzantine liturgy referred to in Delius 1963, 113–14. For other aspects, cf. the references in nn. 16 and 24 and Der Nersessian (see chap. 12 n. 37), 72–73, and Turner and Turner 1978, 155–56.

19. Ostrogorsky 1940, 46 and 49, and E. Schwartz, "Die Kaiserin Pulcheria auf der Synode von Chalkedon," in *Festgabe für A. Jülicher* (1927), 203ff.

20. See, in particular, the history of the church compiled in the sixth century by Theodorus Lector from earlier sources (*PG* 86, 168–69). The churches in question are those of the Blachernae, the Chalcoprateia, and the Hodegon; cf. Janin 1953, 169ff., 208ff., and 246ff.

21. Cf. P. Wenger, in *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953): 293ff.; Wenger 1955, 111ff.; Baynes 1955b; and Jugie (see n. 8 above), 688ff. The legend in the *Historia Euthymiana,* as well as Cosmas Vestitor and John of Damascus (ed. Voulet [see n. 9 above], 168ff.), moved the time of the translation of the cloak to that of Pulcheria. The legend of the two Arians Galbios and Kandidos, which can be traced back as far as the early seventh century, places the event in the era of Leo I and Verina. Cf. also Belting-Ihm 1976, 38ff. A novella by Justinian attributes the building of the Virgin's church in the Chalco-

prateia quarter, in which the Virgin's girdle was kept, to Verina, Leo's wife (cf. M. Jugie, "L'église de Chalcopratia et le culte de la ceinture de la Sainte Vierge à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient* 16 [1913]: 308). Cf. Mango 1972, 35, on the inscription with Leo and Verina in the Blachernae church.

22. Cf. Belting-Ihm 1976, 38ff.

23. Cf. the *Historia Euthymiana* (see n. 21 above).

24. Turner and Turner 1978, 159–60.

25. Janin 1953, 232ff. Cf. esp. the testimony of Procopius (*De Aedificiis* 1.3.5ff.).

26. Cf. esp. Cameron 1981, passim, with the collected essays.

27. Cameron 1978, 79ff., esp. 82ff. Here the Virgin is called the *gloria matrum* and *servatrix* of the imperial house.

28. Ibid., 96 n. 2.

29. A. Cameron, "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth Century Byzantium," in Cameron 1981, chap. 13, p. 5. On the statue of Athena Promachos, cf. R. H. Jenkins, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947): 31ff.

30. Cameron (see n. 29 above), 5–6, which also contains an interpretation of the Virgin as a city deity. Cf. A. Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944): 61ff.

31. See chap. 13 n. 58.

32. See text 3A. Cf. Cameron (see n. 29 above), 22–23.

33. Cameron 1979, 42ff., with English translation of the so-called Combefis text, a homily from A.D. 620 on the first robe miracles during a siege by the Avars in 619 (48ff. and esp. 51 sec. 5 on the triple reliquary and sec. 7 on the traces of milk). Cf. Baynes 1955b, 240ff. Gregory of Tours also mentions the robe. On the relic as a palladium, a "source of life and treasure of salvation," cf. Cameron (see n. 29 above), 19–20. Also see n. 21.

34. Cameron 1978, 87.

35. *Anthologia Palatina* 1.120–21, ed. H. Beckby (Munich, 1957), 104 and 160–61.

36. A. Kartsonis (see n. 2 above).

37. Book of Ceremonies 1.8 (Reiske 1829–30), 55.

38. Dobschütz 1899 and Bevan 1940, passim.

39. Tertullian, *Apologeticum,* ed. C. Becker (Darmstadt, 1984), 108 and 142.

40. Artemidorus of Daldis (ca. A.D. 96–180, *Das Traumbuch,* ed. K. Brackertz (Munich, 1979), 163–64.

41. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder,* Reli-

80. Cf. a recent study by Ehresmann (see n. 77 above).

81. E.g., Decker 1985, 70 and 80ff.

82. Cf. ibid., 64 and 91, but in a different sense.

83. Baxandall 1980, 62ff. and 83ff.; Decker 1985, 170.

84. G. Lill, *Hans Leinberger* (Munich, 1942); A. Schädler, "Zur künstlerischen Entwicklung Hans Leinbergers," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 28 (1977): 59ff.; Baxandall 1980, 311–12; and Decker 1985, 213–50.

85. Decker 1985, 250 and 262.

86. C. Altgraf zu Salm, "Neue Forschungen zur Schönen Madonna von Regensburg," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 12 (1962): 49ff.; G. Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria in Regensburg," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg,* ed. G. Schwaiger and J. Staber (1968), 2:35ff.; A. Hubel, "Die Schöne Maria von Regensburg," in *850 Jahre Kollegiatstift zu den hll. Johannes Baptist und Evangelist in Regensburg,* ed. P. Mai (Munich, 1977); F. Winzinger, "A. Altdorfer," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 25 (1975): 31ff.; Baxandall 1980, 83ff.; Decker 1985, 261ff.

87. Chap. 16b with n. 22.

88. Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett (63.5 × 39.1 cm); cf. Decker 1985, fig. 121.

89. Hamburg 1983, 135.

90. R. Fritz (see n. 59 above), 167 and fig. 6; Altgraf zu Salm (see n. 86 above).

91. See n. 61 above.

92. Decker 1985 has an illustration of this work.

Chapter 20

1. E.g., W. Hofmann in Hamburg 1983, 23ff., with arguments that need further discussion.

2. H. Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte* (Salzburg, 1948).

3. Cf. M. Baxandall 1980, 51ff., with copious quotations.

4. Select references are in Garside 1966, 146ff.; Warnke 1973b, 65ff.; Bredekamp 1975, 231ff. (on the Hussites); Freedberg 1977, 165ff.; Baxandall 1980, 69ff.; Michalski 1984, 70ff.; S. Michalski, *Das Phänomen Bildersturm. Versuch einer Übersicht* (in press). Cf. Phillips 1973; Freedberg 1985; Freedberg 1986, 69ff.

5. *Invokavitpredigten* no. 3 (1522), in Weimar Edition, vol. 10.3, 31f.

6. Warnke 1973, 65ff. with all examples (esp. 80ff.).

7. C. Martin, *St. Pierre, Cathédrale de Genève*

(Geneva, 1910), 164–64. The panel was installed in the cathedral in 1835. There was a stone inscription with the same wording in the town wall by the Porte de la Corraterie.

8. Quoted from P. Schmerz and H. D. Schmid, *Reutlingen. Aus der Geschichte einer Stadt* (Reutlingen, 1973), 108. I am indebted to S. Michalski for this quotation.

9. Cf. Lucas of Leyden's engraving of 1514, in Hamburg 1983, no. 9. The catalog contains further illustrations of image breaking and of the idolatry in question (nos. 10–19).

10. See n. 5 above.

11. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. H 7404. Cf. Hamburg 1983, no. 1; Nuremberg 1983, no. 515; Baxandall 1980, 79ff.

12. Strasbourg, Archives Municipales 5.1, no. 12; Nuremberg 1983, no. 514, and C. C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Ohio University Press, 1979), 166–67, containing examples of the situation in Nuremberg.

13. Weimar Edition, vol. 30.1, 224; vol. 51.11, 29ff. (sermon in 1545 on Ps. 8.3), and Table Talk, ibid., vol. 9, no. 6734. On Luther's theology as regards our argument, cf. references in text 40.

14. Panofsky 1969, 216; the letter is in the Oxford complete edition of Erasmus's correspondence, ed. P. S. Allen, vol. 4, no. 1107.7.

15. D. Koepplin and T. Falk, *Lucas Cranach* (Basel, 1974), no. 35. Cf. M. Warnke, *Cranachs Luther* (Frankfurt, 1984), in the "Kunststück" series.

16. A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur* 7 (Vienna, 1808), no. 107; *The Illustrated Bartsch* 10, ed. W. L. Strauss (New York, 1981), no. 107; E. Panofsky, *A Dürer,* 2d ed. (Princeton, 1948), 239 and no. 214; Nuremberg 1983, no. 155.

17. Landesbibliothek Gotha, MSA 233, fols. 12–17; F. J. Stopp, "Verbum Domini manet in aeternum: The Dissemination of a Reformation Slogan," in *Essays in German Language, Culture, and Society,* ed. S. S. Prawer (London, 1969), 123ff. and 125.

18. The Dinkelsbühl panel measures 95 × 160 cm; cf. C. Bürckstürmer, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in der ehem. Freien Reichsstadt Dinkelsbühl* (Dinkelsbühl, 1914), 1: 65ff.; Schuster 1983, 116 fig. 3; Nuremberg 1983, no. 540.

19. Karel van Mander, *Schilderboeck* (Alkmaar, 1604), fol. 204. Cf. Freedberg 1977, 174.

20. G. Ebeling, "Erwägungen zur Lehre vom Gesetz," in idem, *Wort Glaube,* 2d ed. (1958), 255–56; F. Ohly, "Gesetz und Evangelium,"

in *Schriftenreihe der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster*, n.s., 1 (Münster, 1958); W. Joest, *Gesetz und Freiheit* (Göttingen, 1951).

21. Koepplin and Falk (see n. 15 above), 2:505ff., nos. 353–56; J. Wirth, "Le dogme en image: Luther et l'iconographie," *Revue de l'art* 52 (1981): 18; P. K. Schuster, in Hamburg 1983, 333ff. and 356, nos. 474 and 538. See n. 22 below.

22. Luther, *Kirchenpostille*, sermon on the feast of John the Baptist (1522), in Weimar Edition, vol. 10.3, 205ff., quoted by O. Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation* (Berlin, 1955), 126ff., with further elaboration on the theme.

23. Thulin (see n. 22 above), 9ff. On the predella, cf. the contemporaneous woodcut by Cranach the Younger of 1546 (Hamburg 1983, no. 69).

24. H. J. Krause, "Zur Ikonographie der protestantischen Schlosskapellen des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Kunst und Reformation. Kolloquium des C.I.H.A. in Eisenach* (Berlin, 1983), 395ff.; cf. idem, *Sächsische Schloßkapellen der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1982). On the pulpit the true cult of Elijah and the false cult of the priests of Baal was painted *in tabula*. A bronze inscription records the date of consecration. A retable with the Last Supper was added to the altar table only in 1545. Five small paintings with subjects from the Passion and Last Judgment, like the Passion reliefs on the portal, served to "remind and admonish us about the suffering and wounds of Christ," as Luther was apt to put it.

25. Luther, Table Talk, Weimar Edition, no. 4.4787. Cf. Thulin (see n. 22 above), 150.

26. Text 42C; H. Rupprich, *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass* (Berlin, 1956), 1:43 no. 2.

27. Rupprich (see n. 26), 165.

28. Belting 1985, 31ff., with further references.

29. M. Kemp, "From Mimesis to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347ff.

30. *Prediche sopra Ezechiele*, ed. R. Ridolfi (Rome, 1955), 1:343. Cf. R. M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography* (Athens, Ohio, 1976), 48.

31. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906), 4:383.

32. Leonardo da Vinci, "Trattato della pittura," in *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. J. P. Richter (London, 1883; 3d ed., 1970), 1: 33,35.

33. Vasari, (see n. 31 above), 7:437.

34. *Prediche italiane ai Fiorentini*, ed. F. Cognasso, (Perugia, n.d.), 2:161–62.

35. Vasari (see n. 31 above), 7:437.

36. On the Dürer quotation, see n. 26 above. On Bellini's Madonna, cf. H. Belting, "Die gemalte Natur," in *Kunst um 1800 und die Folgen. W. Hofmann zu Ehren* (Munich, 1988), 175 and fig. 2. The painting in the National Gallery is represented throughout the Bellini literature.

37. L. Baldass, *Joos van Cleve, der Meister des Todes Mariä* (Vienna, 1925), 18 and fig. 188. The image comes from the Spiridon Collection in Paris. Cf. K. Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 3:355, no. 32.100.57.

38. Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus* 83, qu. 74 (*PL* 40, 85). Cf. Düring 1952, 38ff. I am indebted to V. Stoichita for this reference.

39. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Graphische Sammlung, inv. N.I.8492: *Kunst der Reformationszeit* (catalog; Berlin, 1983), no. B 65.

40. Rupprich (see n. 26 above), 168.

41. On J. van Scorel, cf. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 12 (Leiden, 1975); *Jan van Scorel* (catalog), ed. J. A. L. de Meyere (Utrecht, 1981), with further references. On fig. 288, cf. W. Braunfels et al., *Pintura extranjera* (catalog; Madrid: Prado, 1980), 64 (inv. 2.716, Legado Pablo Bosch, no. 74). On the practice of replicating early Netherlandish painters, cf. L. Silver, "Fountain and Source: A Rediscovered Eyckian Icon," *Pantheon* 41 (1983): 95ff.

42. Kraut 1986, 80ff. Cf. R. Grosshanss, *M. van Heemskerck. Die Gemälde* (Berlin, 1980), 195, and catalog of a 1974 Rennes exhibition (*Le dossier d'un tableau. St-Luc peignant la Vierge de M. van Heemskerck*).

43. Cf. F. Haskell, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven, 1981).

44. On the history of the reception of the *Sistine Madonna*, cf. E. Schaeffer, *Raffaels Sixtinische Madonna im Erlebnis der Nachwelt* (Leipzig, 1927); M. Putscher, *Die Sixtinische Madonna. Das Werk und seine Wirkung* (Tübingen, 1955); and M. Ebhardt, *Die Deutung der Werke Raffaels in der deutschen Kunstliteratur von Klassik und Romantik* (Baden-Baden, 1972). See n. 48 below with new references.

45. F. Schlegel, "Die Gemälde," in *Athenäum*, Rowohlts Klassiker, Deutsche Literatur (Hamburg, 1969; orig. ed., 1799), 2:55ff.

46. On Wackenroder, cf. the edition by J. F. Unger, *Werke und Briefe* (Heidelberg, 1967), 14ff. On the engraving, cf. J. J. Riepenhausen, *12 Umrisse zum Leben Raphaels von Urbino* (Stutt-

gart, 1834), pl. 8. On the history of the interpretation of the "idea," cf. E. Panofsky, *Idea* (Berlin, 1924; 2d ed., 1960). For stimulating ideas on this topic, I am indebted to a paper by S. Hefele (Munich, 1988).

47. Kraut 1986, 59ff., and Z. Wazbinski, "S. Luca che dipinge la Madonna all'Accademia di Roma," *Artibus et historiae* 12 (1985): 27ff.

48. Most recently, J. K. Eberlein, "The Curtain of Raphael's Sistine Madonna," *Art Bulletin* 65.1 (1983): 61ff., with a survey of the interpretations of the curtain on pp. 75–77. Cf. B. A. Sigel, *Der Vorhang der Sixtinischen Madonna* (Zurich, 1977).

49. See n. 29 above.

50. Cf. Panofsky (see n. 46 above). On the *disegno,* cf. my discussion in *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte?* (Munich, 1983), 73.

51. Panofsky (see n. 46 above), 32 and 37.

52. Warnke 1968, 61ff.

53. Ibid., 74.

54. Gumpenberg 1657, vols. 1 and 2. Cf. Beissel 1913, 157ff. (the dressing of images), 169ff. (crowning them), and 295. On the crowning, cf. Dejonghe 1969. On the image cult at the time, cf. Mâle 1951, 2:20ff.

55. Gumpenberg 1657, 1:20ff.; evidence regarding S. Maria Maggiore is in Angelis 1621. On copies, cf. O. Karrer, *Der hl. Franz von Borja, General der Gesellschaft Jesu, 1510–1572* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1921), 382–83. Sources are in F. Sacchino, *Historiae Societatis Jesu,* part 3 (Rome, 1649), bk. 5, no. 296, and *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* fasc. 28 (Madrid, 1910), 3:112–13 no. 734. On Ingolstadt, cf. P. A. Höss, *Pater Jakob Rem S.J.* (Munich, 1953), 29, 90–91, and 208–9.

56. H. Friedel, "Die Cappella Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17 (1978): 92ff.

57. Angelis 1621, 189ff. On the Cappella Paolina, cf. M. C. Doratori, "Gli scultori della Cappella Paolina," *Commentari* 18 (1967): 231ff.; on the altar type, cf. E. Lavagnino et al., *Altari barocchi in Roma* (Rome, 1959); on the idea of the visitation of images by the Holy Spirit, see chap. 4e and n. 83 in that chapter.

58. Warnke 1968, 77ff.; D. Freedberg, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 32 (1981): 115ff.; Ilse von zur Mühlen, "Rubens und die Gegenreformation am Beispiel der Altarbilder für S. Maria in Vallicella in Rom" (diss. Munich, 1987). On the Oratorians, cf. the recent study by L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of His Times* (London, 1979). On Baronius, cf. C. K. Pullapidilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter Reformation Historian* (London, 1975).

Art

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Cover illustration: Icon of the *Madonna and Child* from
S. Maria Antiqua, 7th century (detail)