LIKENESS AND PRESENCE

A History of the Image before the Era of Art

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3. Why Images? Imagery and Religion in Late Antiquity

a. The Virgin's Icon; Icon Types and Their Meaning

Only a person or a "mystery" of the faith can be venerated. The image derives its authority in the first case from the authentic appearance of a holy person, and in the second case from its "correct" treatment of an event in the history of salvation.[1] In both cases a general consensus is needed. Icon painting therefore centers in given types that refer back to real or alleged archetypes as their first formulations. The first task of icon scholarship therefore appears to be to define icon types and to identify them by means of the inscribed names. For a long time this indeed was a common exercise that intended to produce a fixed catalog of immutable types rather than tracing the history of changes and new inventions. But difficulties arose as soon as one took the legends as they were told by the icons' sources literally or adopted a simplistic view of the course of events.

The name inscribed on an icon indeed coincides with its type far less often than post-Byzantine catalogs suggest. In the early period an icon had no title, at most the name of the saint it portrayed. For polemical reasons, after iconoclasm the icon of the Virgin adopted the theological title of the Mother of God (first *Theotokos,* then *Mētēr Theou*), which at the time amounted to an official proclamation of the Virgin's status in the history of salvation.[2] It also bore the name of the church in which its "original" resided, or a title referring to its origin, its function, or a conspicuous quality (e.g., intercession, or *paraklēsis,* by the Virgin). Sometimes the name of an image alludes to a dogmatic theme, as for example *Platytera* (i.e., "wider [than the heavens is the womb that encompassed the Creator]").[3] The case is similar with the *Eleousa,* or Our Lady of Mercy, who performs her part of the work of salvation. It has been proved that such a name does not match a fixed image type but adds a general denominator to quite different types of images.[4]

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The Virgin's icon, in particular, became an inexhaustible source of new inventions and allusions. If it is true that the types and names of images were freely interchanged, each bringing its own meaning into play, then a new field of historical inquiry opens for scholars. First, one must learn to understand allusions that can invoke different and even contradictory ideas in a single image, both by the way the figure is shown and by the name appended to it. One must also ask which types were current at a given time in a given place, and for what reasons. The original invention needs to be explained. Migrations from one cult to the other can be verified through the transfer of "temple images"; poetic and theological themes can be elucidated by means of the adopted shapes, which differ significantly in the eleventh century, for example, from those of the earlier period or of the late Middle Ages. It thus seems an obvious task to view the history of the icon in the wider historical context within which the icon's use underwent changes, in such a way as to make apparent the interaction between its continuing tradition and its varying context.

This is a difficult program to pursue. The situation is more favorable for late antiquity and the early Byzantine period because the context has been far better researched. The late Byzantine period (mid-thirteenth to mid-fifteenth century), for its part, is so close in time to the post-Byzantine history of the icon that what is known of later practice often can be applied in retrospect. What is least known is the history of the icon in the middle centuries, for which we must adopt a different perspective. In doing so, we are helped by liturgy and church poetry, since they provided the functional context within which the viewer of the time saw the icon.

The hymns that were sung and the sermons that were preached at that time were usually more than half a millennium old. Texts by the early church fathers were still read in the original language; hymns to the Virgin were handed on in the form they had taken in the sixth century. The mysticism of the early period had already created the main symbols that continued to be used in the high Middle Ages, often with deliberately archaic language. All the same, such themes and motifs served the needs of an ever-changing society, or were made relevant in ever-new ways by changes of emphasis. It is often difficult to distinguish the timeless features of liturgical poetry from those that are modern, and we encounter a similar difficulty when we try to see the icon within the changing context of Byzantine society, necessary as it is to make the attempt.

One example is the rhetorical development that took place within the Virgin's icon, whether it alludes to the lament of the grieving mother or to the knowing melancholy of the compassionate mother. Such a development transformed the appearance of the icon after the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the change was carried along by an argumentation and intoned in a language that went back to well-tried models. When these patterns of thought and speech originated, however, such images did not exist, nor was it conceivable that icons could ever express such rhetorical matter in the sixth century. At the time of Romanus the Melodos, the icon as a form was ill adapted to absorb impulses from poetry. It was necessary for such hymns to take on a new liturgical function, and for the icon to have a secure existence in church life, before it could take on such complex significatory roles. The same applies to the time lag between the Christological debates and the much later decision to symbolize them in the icon. A persistent disparity obliges us, when thinking about the icon as a social phenomenon, to consider it within its own tradition as well as to situate it in the society that it served in its varying roles.

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This twofold attention to constant and variable features is especially necessary after the icon's crossing of the frontier to the Western hemisphere, which led to an expansion of the genre after about 1200. After this date imported icons were often put to such new uses, or Italian replicas so exactly replicated Byzantine models, that it is difficult to distinguish a familiar form in a new function from a new form in an existing function (chap. 17a).

Different, yet also similar, are the problems arising in late antiquity, during the transition to Christian culture. Clear distinctions are often impossible, since Christian cult images appeared in borrowed forms. Lineages between the non-Christian and Christian usage of images, are not always easy to discern. Christians were reluctant

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to acknowledge the analogies, and they were also drastically reducing, and if possible eradicating, the physical stock of pagan "idols," while borrowing from it at the same time. This was especially true of the images of the gods, with which the next stage of our discussion is concerned. Matters are somewhat simpler regarding the portrait of the dead and the image of the emperor, because in these cases the private and state spheres formed a buffer zone between Christian imagery and the tabooed objects of "heathen" religion. On the level of popular religious practice, however, there was an urgent need to provide a substitute for the confiscated cult images, from which the people had sought help in times of need.

These problems culminated in the icon of the Virgin, which we shall now consider. The Marian icon may also help to throw light on the question why icons were needed at all—which gap they filled in the way society represented itself. Of course, we cannot go beyond questions and conjectures in discussing such a topic. It will be appropriate to begin by talking about the person embodied in the Marian icon, for although she made her appearance late in the art of the icon, she soon became the favorite subject.

b. The Virgin's Personality in the Making: The Mother of God and the Mother of the Gods

Isidore of Pelusium (d. ca. 435) replied in a letter to a question from a theologian as to how the Christian belief in a Mother of God (*Theou Mētēr*) related to the polytheism of the Greeks, who talked of a mother of the gods (*Mētēr Theōn*).[5] This was a reference to the Great Mother, or Cybele, who was venerated at Pessinus in Phrygia but who had also had a cult center in Rome since about 200 B.C.[6] Emperor Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361–63), writing at a time when Christianity was already the state religion, composed a speech on the "motherless virgin who sits beside Zeus" and is "the mother of the thinking gods." Constantine restored her temple in Constantinople and donated a new cult image.[7]

Isidore admitted that the two situations bore a superficial resemblance but insisted all the more emphatically on the differences. He claimed the paradox of the virgin mother exclusively for Mary—ironically, the very status on which the divinity of many prior goddess-mothers had been founded. Isidore might have argued that Mary's virgin motherhood was without parallel because it alone was claimed to have arisen from a human pregnancy. This did not, however, dispose of the question of who Mary was. The three persons of the Godhead had already caused enough problems for the monarchical principle of the single God; now a woman had also to be accommodated within the definition of God. For the theologians a human mother was indispensable, since only she could guarantee the human life of Jesus. But she must have conceived the Child through God within her body if the unity of Jesus as a person was to be valid. For this reason the Alexandrian theologians at the Council of Ephesus in 431 insisted on the title "Mother of God" (*Theotokos*).[8] Isidore's letter was written in this context.

But centuries later, when the problem seemed long since to have been resolved, we still find John of Damascus speaking of the distinction between Mary and "the

mother of the so-called gods," to whom many children are fancifully attributed, "whereas in reality she had none." For how could an incorporeal be impregnated by means of sexual intercourse, and how could there be an eternal God who had to be born? The writer therefore assumes a first, timeless birth of the divine Logos from the Father alone, distinguishing it from "a second birth" in which he who "is without beginning or body" was born in the flesh from the human body of a mother. "Thus he remained wholly God and became wholly man." In this sense one could speak of the Mother of God. "Nevertheless, we do not call her a goddess (far be such hairsplitting Greek fables from us) and also recognize her death."[9] In fact, John was preaching on the feast of the death of the Virgin, but now he stressed that her tomb (like that of Christ) had been found empty, as she too had been taken up into heaven corporally. Just as her human motherhood was, if not canceled, at least raised beyond ordinary human experience by her virginity, so likewise was her human death by her transportation to heaven.

The two texts quoted here prove at the least that it is no modern error to speak of the role of goddess-mothers in the history of the veneration of Mary, as the possible (or real) analogies were early regarded as a problem. Perhaps the fear of creating a goddess was one reason for the noticeable reticence of the very early theologians vis-à-vis the figure of Mary. It was only when the public debate on the definition of the person of Christ in the fourth century preoccupied the whole Roman Empire that Mary began to feature more and more prominently in Christological arguments, creating a need to define her life and person as well. This circuitous way in which her role came to be defined within the church explains why all utterances about her up to the Council of Ephesus lead away from her as much as they focus attention on her son. This reaches a peak in her telling designation as a "virginal workshop" set up by the Logos in order to become man therein.[10] Her femininity, indeed her person, was regarded as secondary to her primary service as an instrument of salvation. Here the theologians not only were thinking about the Judaic heritage of the one God the Father and the doctrine of the Logos but also were concerned with concrete problems raised by the doctrine of the Docetists, who ascribed to Jesus only the "appearance" of a body and no human nature. For this reason all similarities of Mary to a goddess, which might have cast doubt on the human aspect of Jesus, were avoided, and even Mary's human frailties were celebrated.

While the theologians were neutralizing Mary's possible role as the heavenly mother by disputing her role in the birth of Christ, many cults of goddess-mothers still persisted, at least at a popular level. In the eastern part of the Roman Empire this was true particularly of Cybele, the "mother of the gods," who has already been mentioned, and of Diana of Ephesus (the virginal all-mother), whose cult reached its zenith in the third century A.D.[11] She was a mother figure who could bestow salvation like Isis, described by Plutarch as "the justice which leads us to the divine because it is wisdom." Isis, "the one who is all," with her "thousand names," was endowed by myth as mother to the boy Horus, with whom she appears on an Egyptian mural—with qualities that could readily be transferred to Mary, in that they inspired the trust of those in need of protection. Some of the temples of Isis that had been

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closed at the end of the fourth century (as late as 560 in the case of the temple at Philae) were reconsecrated as churches of the Virgin.[12] The heavenly mothers were the focus of mystery religions, whose initiates sought redemption and practiced a personal piety. These figures also acted as oracles, rainmakers, and protectors of crops.

Apart from its saints, Christianity had little to offer in place of such practical protectors and the multiplicity of local cults. Hence the oversensitive reaction of Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis, about 370, to a cult of the Virgin practiced by women who offered Mary loaves made from a dough called *kollyris*.[13] It was, he proclaimed, a relapse into heathenism; although Mary could be honored, only God should be prayed to. From then on, a cult of the Virgin developed within the church on the pattern of the saints' cults already existing. The Council of Ephesus met in a church of the Virgin, and a short while earlier Proclus had preached in the capital on a feast of the Virgin. When the council met at Ephesus in 431, the construction and decoration of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome was almost complete.[14]

It was only the council's decision to recognize Mary as having given birth to God, however, that set in motion the autonomous and general veneration of the Virgin. The theological definition was no longer a problem, having been reduced to a formula that the majority accepted. Now the new figure could be endowed with all the stereotypes of a universal mother that were known from the mother divinities. An oration given by Cyril of Alexandria in Ephesus on the day after the condemnation of his opponent Nestorius laid the foundations of a Marian mysticism that culminated two generations later in the poetry of Romanus.[15] The theologians now seemed to have no hesitation about ascribing to Mary almost "godly honors," taking over metaphors from texts on the mother divinities to make her seem more familiar, and even favoring the celebration of new feasts of the Virgin on the feast days of the old goddess-mothers.[16]

The new literature on the Virgin pursued three different aims. First, the biography of the real person had to be "completed," since Mary's life is hardly mentioned in the Gospels and played a significant part only in apocryphal texts.[17] In this context icons and clothing relics were needed in order to add concrete historical proof. Naturally, the absolute perfection of this person was no longer in question, nor was her purity, beginning with her immaculate conception in the womb of Anne. A second aim, often difficult to reconcile with the first, was to popularize the "mystery" of Mary's cosmic role as the greatest miracle of creation, which tended to blur the outlines of the real person. The metaphor of the bridge to God helped meet this aim, as did the whole repertoire of Old Testament prophecies, which were now used to support the idea of the Virgin as a key figure in universal history. From this perspective followed Mary's role as universal intercessor with God, and this third aim of the literature also embraced the idea of a new mistress of the world, apart from whom no way led to God. Refuge was now taken "in the heart" of a compassionate Mother, as Mary now accrued the anthropomorphic features of many former protective divinities and miracle workers.[18]

About A.D. 450 the new cult of the Virgin met with the energetic support of Empress Pulcheria in the capital, but it is difficult from the later sources to determine the

exact outlines of the empress's activity. Pulcheria had taken up the regency for her brother Theodosius II (408–50) at an early age, and after his death she became empress as the wife of Marcian (450–57). She clearly played a part in the preparations for the Council of Chalcedon, which reaffirmed a unity of faith that now embraced the Mother of God.[19] Later sources attribute to her the building of three famous churches of the Virgin in Constantinople that were subsequently much enlarged.[20] Mary's mantle, however, seems to have found its way to the church of the Virgin in the Blachernae quarter only in the reign of Leo I (457–74).[21] One would like to know more about the early history of this relic, for it later provided a palpable symbol for the idea of Mary's motherly role, just as it offered concrete evidence to support the legend of the empty tomb, in which the mantle had been left behind.[22] As Mary's tomb, the location of which was disputed between Jerusalem and Ephesus, could not be brought to the capital, the palpable relic of the mantle was substituted for it, according to the account given later by a popular text.[23] The empty tomb was a stimulus to the universal veneration of the Virgin, since it ruled out any local claims to her presence and also fostered belief in the miraculous appearances of one whose body sojourned in heaven.[24] The interest in transferring cult centers from the Holy Land to Constantinople, however, where no biblical tradition existed, had become far too important after the moving of the apostles' bodies there in the fourth century ever to allow any shortfall in the cult of the Virgin.

Clothing relics and, as we shall see, authentic portraits took the place of missing body relics as evidence of a historical life. Such relics effectively turned some churches of Mary into cult centers, both as mausoleums and as successors to the pilgrim churches in Jerusalem and Nazareth. Other churches became sites of miraculous healing in the pre-Christian tradition. The foremost of these was the church of the Virgin at the healing spring, situated in a cypress grove outside the city, which was included among the many existing or new buildings in which Emperor Justinian I (527–65) promoted the Virgin's cult.[25] The "spring of miracles," or "life-giving source," was henceforth surrounded by many legends.

A new and decisive phase of the Virgin's cult began when the capital and the hard-pressed empire needed her support in the age of wars against the Avars and the Persians, and ultimately against Islam. Hopes of encouraging divine aid were directed toward her, as she also acted as a symbol of unity for the empire's population. This era, which began with Justinian's death in 565 and reached its first climax with the Avars' siege of the city in 626, is so well documented by contemporary sources, and has now been so thoroughly researched, that we can clearly trace the extension of Mary's role as city deity and army leader through changes in the practice of her cult.[26] In the same era the cult of icons had its first flowering under the direction of the court (texts 2 and 3).

Upon the coronation of Justin II in 565 the poet Corippus composed a prayer to the Virgin for the empress that mentions a dream visitation in which Mary reveals his fate to the emperor, just as Venus had once done to Aeneas.[27] Under Maurice (582–602), who also introduced the Assumption as a universal feast, the image of Nike was replaced on seals by that of the Virgin.[28] Soon after, when the beleaguered

city was fighting for its life, Mary took over, through appropriate visions and exhortations, the role of Athena Promachos, whose statue still stood in the city.[29] As a sermon describes, during the siege by the Avars in 626 she appeared, brandishing a sword in her hand and admonishing the desperate citizens to dye the sea red with the blood of their enemies.[30] A new preamble to the old *Akathistos* hymn, with which the Virgin was thanked for the final deliverance, made explicit her role as city goddess and general.[31] Emperor Heraclius (610–41) attributed his accession to the throne to Mary's help and commended the city to her protection when he went to war with the Persians in 622.[32] At that time the mantle of the Virgin in the Blachernae was the city's palladium, even more than were the Marian icons; encased in a threefold reliquary, it still bore traces of the milk with which Mary had stilled her Child.[33] The clergy of this church were so numerous that for economic reasons Heraclius had to reduce them to seventy-five priests.[34] The relic chapel, as we know from inscriptions, was rebuilt by Justin II (565–78); in two later inscriptions she "who bore Christ and vanquished the barbarians" is praised as the protectress of the imperial house.[35]

Such information makes it clear that we are no longer moving in the realm of speculation if we see the change in the cult of the Virgin as a consequence of the turning toward the universal mother, which by the early seventh century had reached a pitch that could hardly be surpassed. The Mother of God, whose figure had by now become as polymorphous as the demands made on her were multifarious, appeared as an actual sovereign, in whose name even the emperor acted. As the unity of the Roman people was now sought in the unity of religion, personal piety and state religion merged seamlessly into a patroness accessible to all, enlivened by the human features of Greek religion and endowed with unlimited power. This history throws a different light on the reaction by the court in the eighth century, when the iconoclasts under Constantine V finally repudiated not only the icons but the oppressive status of the Virgin. The iconoclasts' position unites the claim for an autonomous representation of the Roman emperor with the adoption of a purified, spiritual religion. The link between the cult of the Virgin and the cult of icons again became clear when the supporters of images endowed the reinstated Marian icon with the official title "Mother of God."[36]

The cult of the Virgin, which looked very different to the populace than it did to the theologians, took a fixed place in the political sphere, its third manifestation, from the late sixth century on. This was expressed in the official addresses prescribed for the feast of the Assumption in the imperial Book of Ceremonies,[37] which begged protection "on the wings" of Mary's intercession and praised the Virgin and Mother as the "eternal river" and the "living spring of the Romans." She was entreated to aid the emperors, who had received their crowns from her and who in war bore her image as their invincible shield.

c. Pagan Images and Christian Icons

The continuity between the pagan and Christian use of images has naturally become a subject of controversy among scholars, as the early Christians' opposition to the idols of polytheism was only too obvious. The early theologians too had entered the

fray, putting forward entirely new arguments to support the idea of discontinuity as regards paganism, in terms of theory if not in terms of practice. Where connections did exist in the use of images, they were veiled and hidden as far as possible, so that the sources yield little on the question. Only through the functions the images took over, first in the private sphere and then in the public, can we infer connections. These can be presented here only in the form of conjectures. Edwyn Bevan, like Ernst von Dobschütz before him, has made this continuity the subject of his study.[38]

Christianity's public use of images was hampered not only by its former opposition to the state cults of Rome but also by the Mosaic ban on images. St. Paul (Rom. 1:23) charges the pagans with having changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image of corruptible human beings. In his defense of Christianity, Tertullian accuses the heathens of doing no more in the cult of their gods than they did to honor their dead; the alleged miracles performed by statues served only to "confuse stones with gods."[39]

Tertullian touched here on a sensitive spot that was also a contentious issue among the Romans, for consecrated images inhabited by the Godhead raised expectations of supernatural powers and miraculous healing. In his *Interpretation of Dreams,* Artemidorus contended that it made no difference whether one saw "Artemis herself . . . or her statue" in a dream, for even "perishable statues" had "the same meaning as if the gods were appearing in the flesh."[40] The idea of the image as the "seat of the divine being" and the idea of the "spirit animating the statue" both led, according to Otto Weinreich, to the conviction that the image possessed the same powers as its divine model and shared its capacity for response.[41] In the cult image "the divine *noumenos* was present and active," so that if one had a petition to make, one sought out its presence.

This use of images had very ancient roots going back far beyond Greco-Roman culture and needs no special explanation. Nor should it be mistaken for a popular aberration among the lower classes, no matter how glibly the enlightened upper classes may have distanced themselves even then from such practices. The desire, in times of public or private need, to have a divine intercessor present at a cult site and in an image was only too understandable. At such times the idea of a religion was always less important than the direct meeting with its representative. This is why cult sites quickly became centers of pilgrimage, where the meeting with the intercessor was staged in a way that promised success. Given the overcrowded pantheon of gods, such places also permitted the experience of the community of the local cult. The public cult was continued in private by the protection offered by household deities and genii. Where private expectations of salvation were involved, the use of images took on a multiplicity of forms and content that had little in common with the rigid patterns of an official pantheon. Heroes and healing gods like Asclepius, below the rank of the Olympian gods, offered direct access or a locally accessible partner during times of personal need.

The transfer of a cult from one place to another usually involved the god's image. At the new site, the latter was introduced in a carefully managed ceremony at which the original was first removed from public view and then allowed to "appear" during

the rites of a feast day. The likeness that existed between a god and the god's cult image could be confirmed by dream apparitions in the temple; here the god appeared to the dreamer in the same form "as he is seen in the temple." Thus Ovid describes Asclepius assenting to leave Epidauros for Rome, although Asclepius chose to appear in the shape of his attribute, the snake.[42] Images of the gods were also donated as votive offerings, for which replicas of the official cult image were chosen. If these were not seen in their contexts, it was often far from obvious whether they really were the official images of gods. In the fourth century the famous orator Libanios was unsure whether he had before him a portrait of the writer Aristeides or—because of the long hair—a cult image of Asclepius. He claimed that the figure resembled Asclepius, who was to be seen as a votive image beside Apollo on a "large panel picture" in a temple in Antioch.[43] Here, then, is evidence of the image of a god in panel form.

In view of this multiplicity of religious concepts and their pictorial symbols, it is unlikely that the introduction of Christianity as the state religion marked a sharp break in the use of images, despite the official line of the church. One might well do without the temple image in the parish church and yet maintain the household gods and domestic intercessors. The functions of such gods were gradually transferred to Christian saints with hardly any noticeable change, except of name. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica, provides a revealing example of this process.[44] When he appeared in dreams in the form he had in his icons in that city, the dreamer in his church was cured, just as had happened with the vision of Asclepius. Demetrius was clearly a kind of Christian Asclepius, who in the fifth century turned his city into a new Epidauros. The same is indicated by the golden hands that distinguish the saint in a mosaic in his church, much like those of St. Stephen in a chapel in Durazzo (Albania).

The healing hand of the miracle worker Asclepius (Hera, Artemis, and Serapis are also known to display it) is the subject of a study by Otto Weinreich, which continues to be of particular interest in our context.[45] In his sanctuary on the Tiber in Rome, where Asclepius was worshiped as "redeemer and benefactor," were to be seen the votive gifts of those who had been "saved by his hands." According to Emperor Julian the Apostate, Asclepius appeared at Epidauros in simple human form; he grew up there, and on his wanderings he held out his beneficent right hand. Hera Hypercheiria similarly healed with a raised hand held above the sick person.

Demetrius, the Christian saint, could heal only if he prayed to God, but his prayer was so effective that his praying hands were highlighted by means of their gold color. This both honored the saint and indicated the feature for which he was honored. In antiquity the gilding of a statue was often a way of giving thanks for a rescue. In Rome, for example, the statues of the Dioscuri were gilded for this reason.[46] In the Middle Ages the aura of the healing hand passed to rulers and leaders of spiritual movements. In the ninth century the head of the Paulicians thus was called "Golden Hand" (*Chrysocheir*).[47]

The motif of the golden hand provides a sure link between icons and pre-Christian cults (although it did not change Demetrius, who was a mortal saint, into a god). The motif reappears in two early icons of the Virgin in Rome, which do,

7. *Karanis, Egypt; Isis as house patron*

8. *Rome, Pantheon; icon of the Madonna and Child, 609 (repeated in color at front of color gallery, following page 264)*

of course, contain an image of God in the form of the Son of God. In the Pantheon icon (609), the hand that Mary uses to intercede for the praying person is gilded (chap. 7b). In the icon of Our Lady the Advocate, both hands have golden sheathings (chap. 15c).

8

There is also evidence for such a gold covering for seventh-century wall icons in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome. Here too we must distinguish between applications that are not votive offerings on the part of clients, and those that symbolize the "responding" part of the saint. In this church, for example, Demetrius's mouth, not his hand, once was covered in gold, the mouth being emphasized as the organ of prayer and the source of the response.[48] One is reminded of votive gifts in pre-Christian temples, which often consisted only of the large ears of the deity.

The motif of the miracle-working hand points to a continuity in the use of the cult image, which assumed precisely the functions left unaccounted for upon the abolition of the old healing gods. It is therefore not a question of Artemis becoming Mary or of Asclepius becoming Demetrius but of which traditional functions the new Christian images assumed. One need only recall the cult legends about the heavenly origins, the inviolability, and the miracles of speaking and bleeding images to be aware of the transfer of familiar ideas to the new cult images. This does not mean that Christendom had now become "heathen," although it cannot be denied that it did open itself to the culture of the Roman Empire, which, as supporting a mystery religion, it had once so steadfastly opposed. This means that general ideas and practices deeply rooted in human nature became established in Christianity as soon as it had ceased being on the defensive and had become the religion of the whole empire. Of course, open references to images of the old gods were bound to be controversial, and we hear of a sixth-century painter whose hand withered when he painted a Christ too obviously resembling a familiar type of Zeus.[49] But allusions did not need to go so far, as in general the formal assimilation of the image of ancient gods into the Christ image was long since completed (cf. chap. 4).

The continuity of image use can be seen in the mysterious bronze votive image at Caesarea Philippi (or Paneas), at the source of the Jordan.[50] It depicted a healing god with raised hand, perhaps Asclepius, and a woman client seeking protection; local people, however, spoke of it as representing Christ and the woman with the issue of blood, who according to the Gospels was healed by touching the hem of his garment. The woman was said to have had the statue cast and placed outside her house in gratitude. Eusebius (d. ca. 339–40), the bishop at a nearby town, passed on this version without commentary in his famous *Ecclesiastical History.* This gave rise to countless legends, in which, as they developed, the sick woman was called either Martha, the sister of Lazarus, or Berenice, and finally became Veronica. A Christian origin for this sculpture in the fourth century is out of the question, although scholars disputed the matter for a time. It was therefore all the more necessary at the time to assert a Christian origin, to justify the continuity of the image cult of the Christian era. The healing herb growing up to the hem of what was supposed to be Christ's robe and the rediscovered dedicatory inscription to a "God and Healer" were also used as evidence.

But how did the Marian icon fit into this continuity? As we have seen, it first

served to provide Mary with a "face" and to substitute for the lack of physical relics. The inscription "Blessed Mary" on the early images verifies the association with the long-established image of the saint (cf. chap. 5). But the depiction of the Christ Child on the icon, which was the original reason for painting it, brought the mother's image into the proximity of the God image. One might call the Marian icon a saint image that contained a God image (although, as the discussion of the images attributed to St. Luke will show [chap. 4b], matters were more complicated). The transformation of Mary into a universal mother facilitated the assimilation of pictorial formulas of mother-deities such as Isis. Sometimes the Virgin's image gave the impression of holding out the God image like a weapon against attackers.[51] 7

The icon of the Virgin is a striking example of the continuity in the use of images between pre-Christian and Christian times that is at issue here. This is true of both the public and the private spheres. In the public sphere, the cult of the Marian icon culminated in Constantinople in the period after 600 (text 2). As we saw, Heraclius ascribed his ascent to the throne to the help of an icon of the Virgin, whose image he emblazoned on his ships' banners.[52] When the capital was under siege in 626, the patriarch had Marian images (perhaps again reproductions of the same icon) painted on the city gates, where they filled the same role of the old god images, guardians of the gate (*propylaioi*), which protected a town and also warded off sickness.[53]

By then the Marian icon had long been at home in the private sphere. Lamps burned before it as before the old household gods. It was found in monks' cells and even in prisons. In a work on the life and ideals of hermits, John Moschus (d. 619) recounts a number of episodes involving the monks' use of Marian icons. For example, before leaving on a journey, a hermit asked that his icon itself take care that the candle burning before it not go out in his absence.[54] Private persons, who did not yet understand the official church's opposition to the consecration of images by professional magicians, asked Patriarch John IV (d. 595) to bless an icon of the Virgin in order to heal a sick woman with it.[55] When the patriarch refused the request, the image performed the miracle on its own when it was hung in the sick woman's house. In the home, the icon fulfilled functions similar to those of the earlier domestic images of Isis.[56] The church sought to separate the icon's miraculous powers from magic incantations, ascribing them instead to the Virgin herself and making them dependent on the prayers of the icon's owner. In the West (and for the Byzantine iconoclasts), a different view was taken; what mattered was precisely that the image be consecrated by a priest, since only the blessing was valued.[57] 7

d. *Why Images?*

It has been asked again and again why Christianity finally did adopt the veneration of images, and why it happened in the sixth century.[58] The question does not, of course, refer to ordinary pictures, but to images that were venerated as idols had been by the heathens. Whose interests did this veneration serve, and what were these interests? The question can be approached from different directions—from the viewpoint of religious history or that of political history, to name only two possibilities. The theologians produced the theory for a practice they found already in place. The state

provided image veneration with a public pattern and so gave certain signals to society. The icon cult was different as practiced by monks and pilgrims, and different again as pursued in private. The answers have usually been sought in the concrete historical context, but the question can be given a further dimension by posing it on a wider plane: Why were there images at all?

We are concerned here with material images, of course, but ones that are invested with mental images. They came into being because they were to provide a visual likeness of what they stand for. In our case they represent persons who cannot be seen because they are absent (the emperor) or invisible (God). If they were visible, veneration of their image would not be necessary. The absent emperor present in the image is an old tradition. But for Christianity the depiction of the invisible God (though he may have become visible in Jesus) posed a problem that escalated in the conflict over iconoclasm and taxed the minds of theologians for a century.

It had not been forgotten that Yahweh was present only in the written word of revelation, which was venerated in the Torah as his sign and bequest, as the two rabbis do in figure 9. Here the icon of God is the Holy Scripture housed in the Torah shrine. No visible image could do justice to the idea of God. An image of Yahweh that resembled a human being could be confused with the idols of polytheism. Monotheism always tended toward an imageless concept of the one and universal God. It was in competition with a multitude of cults distinguished among themselves not least by their idols—cults that gave their gods precisely the anthropomorphic features that Christianity allowed only in the special case of the historical Jesus, but that Judaism could not accept at all.

9

In Christianity the need for local cults was answered by the cult of the saints, whose relics—and then icons—suited the purpose.[59] Only Christ—whose painted image was a physical likeness of God in human form (cf. chap. 8)—and the Mother of God could claim a universal cult. But it was precisely their images that provoked the controversies that prevented a universal cult of images; the problem of visibly depicting God exacerbated the theological differences that had been contained with such difficulty.

Why images? The question cannot be separated from a further question: Who used them, and in what way? We can see how this question applies to the private sphere, where domestic patron saints were invoked to ward off every kind of danger. Their physical presence was needed to allow people to address vows or thanks to a visible intercessor by placing garlands around the image or lighting candles before it.[60] In the public sphere, the only way to represent saints after death or outside the immediate vicinity of their graves was by means of images, in which they could be venerated at many other sites after their death. The images met the same demands that were made of the saints while they were alive: to give aid and perform miracles.[61] In the state sphere up to now, unity had been represented by the emperors, who embodied victory or prosperity in their self-display. These functions were now taken over by images of God, which embodied the unity of the empire on a supernatural plane.[62] The icons now became victors, especially over foes of a different faith, who

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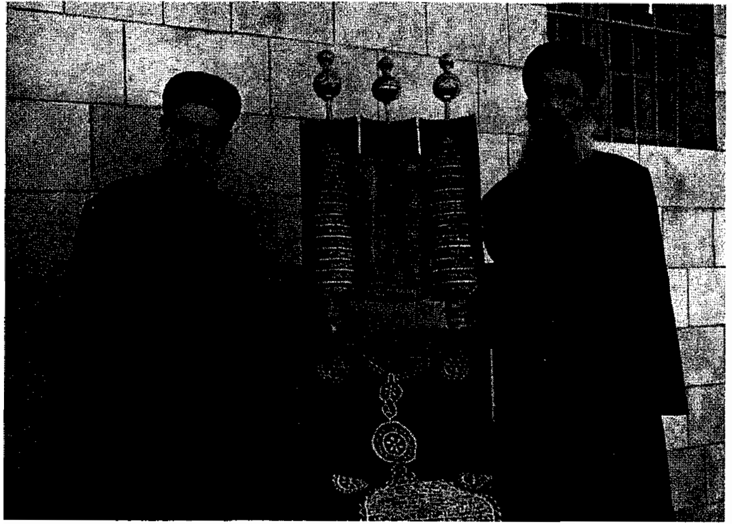
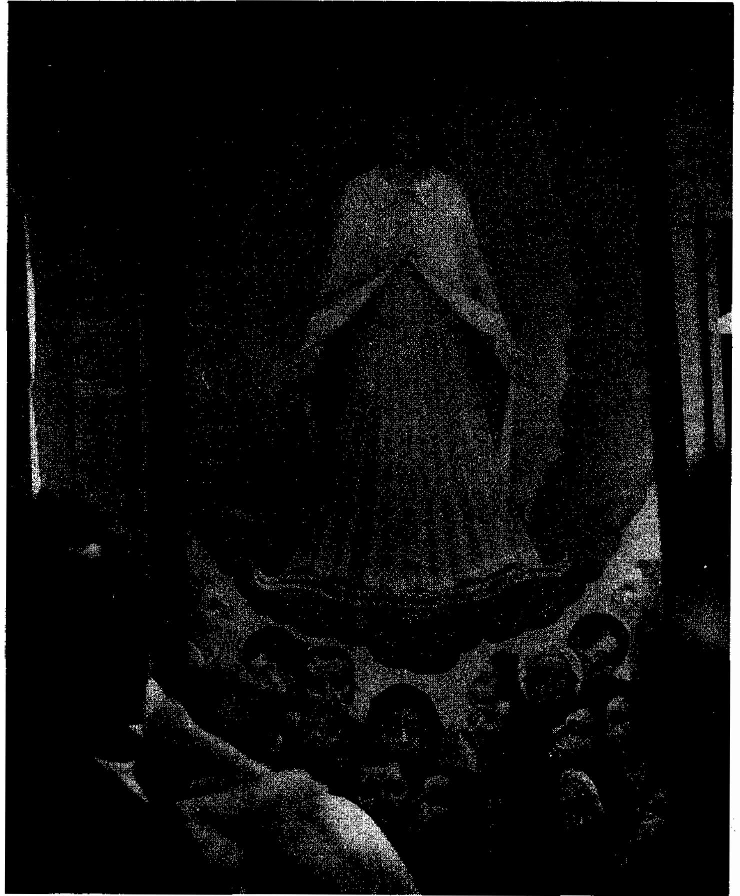
32



9. Jerusalem, two Rabbis with Torah rolls



10. Buenos Aires; Virgin of Amparo, Peronist election campaign demonstration in 1972

could be vanquished not only in the name of the empire but in the name of faith as well.

Here too images were called upon to play an active part where nothing else was available. Images thus filled gaps on a social level. They were given roles that society no longer handled by itself; in this way, extraterrestrial forces were given power and responsibility. It would therefore be a mistake to see images—as theologians were later to do in the iconoclastic controversy—only as objects of religious contemplation, since they were constantly used for very tangible purposes, from the repulsion of evil to healing and the defense of the realm. The authority they acquired through such functions enabled them to become the focus of a society's aspirations (whether that society was a town or an entire empire) and to symbolize the ideal community envisaged by that society. In this way images helped in the creation of a collective identity, what Peter Brown calls "civic patriotism,"[63] when a group or a city was threatened.

This was a weapon, however, that could turn against its owners. If the local saint was credited with more power than the central authority of the state, images could foster centrifugal, regional tendencies. The emperors in fact seem to have joined in the iconoclastic controversy in order to counter these tendencies (chap. 8b). When the religious unity of the empire was at issue, images, as soon as they became associated with theological definitions, could widen the breach instead of strengthening unity. This possibility perhaps explains why images were first used as symbols of state and of religious unity but then, when they were seen as causing disunity, were abolished.

This was especially the case when images were given a role that we do not readily associate with them, since the theologians do not mention it, that of giving protection and success in war. After assuming this role in the late sixth century, the images' failure to prevent the Arab onslaughts of the eighth century discredited them and caused the emperors to remember God's wrath against the Israelites when they lapsed into idolatry.[64] This recollection fostered a desire for a united people of God, with purified religious forms on the Old Testament model. But the wheel of history could not be turned back, the more so because the Roman Empire was subject to conditions different from those of the Israelites. The tradition of image use was too deeply entrenched to be eradicated now. However, a pruning and ordering of the excesses in the use of images was needed, and it was here that theology after iconoclasm had its finest hour (cf. chap. 9).

The part that images played in the experience of that time can perhaps be illuminated by two modern examples, however problematic such analogies may be. Religious images played a part in the Spanish civil war of 1936–39, as we read in the autobiography of the film director Luis Buñuel.[65] He tells us that the republicans and anarchists actually "executed" statues of Christ because they symbolized the enemy cause. Buñuel also tells of an abbess who cut the Christ Child away from a statue of the Virgin, telling the Madonna that she would return him when their side had won. Simply owning a religious picture at that time could cost one his or her life. There is an obvious difference between this situation and the one in the Middle Ages, since the opposing parties in the modern war had decided for or against religion itself, though

admittedly a religion with specific Spanish traditions. Political identity included religious identity; opposition to one thus meant hostility to the other. Allowing for the obvious differences, this situation offers analogies to our theme. It would be artificial to draw a distinction between religious, patriotic, and political convictions. Images symbolized questions of identity to such an extent that they became the objects of symbolic actions (to which they lend themselves in any age) and were treated by the opposing party as enemies.

10

The other example comes from South America and illustrates the state's usurpation of popular forms of belief. During the election campaign of 1972 in Argentina, a propaganda poster in the form of an icon gave the Virgin of Mercy the features of Evita Perón, the dead wife of the former president, whom the Peronists were projecting as an idol for the masses. The prayer attached to the image, alluding to the cult of the *Virgen del Amparo,* reads: "Protect us [*Ampáranos*] from on high."[66]

It will be objected that such a case would have been unthinkable in late antiquity and that the situation in South America is a special case, since that continent has two superimposed cultures. Christian images there often have pre-Christian elements, as in the case of the Madonna of Guadalupe and her predecessors in the cults of the Indians.[67] But, as we noted in the last paragraph, does not that very situation present analogies to our subject? More important than these, however, is the interaction of official use and popular cults, which cannot be neatly distinguished, no matter how much one would like to do so.

In the case of early Byzantium there is no less disagreement among scholars about the role of the people in the cult of images (the "pressure from below") than there is about the role of the court.[68] However, the argument loses its point if one bears in mind that it was the cult of the emperors that first provided the pattern in which the public cult of icons was enacted, and that the latter only adopted cult practices that already existed.[69] The emperor later fell victim to his own strategy of delegating his authority to a higher sovereign in heaven, since later it was no longer he, the emperor, who appeared as that sovereign's living image on earth but an icon.

One may object that the actual religious functions, after all, were the images' primary and most obvious feature. However, the religion to which the Byzantine images bear witness not only has timeless features (as do all religions) but also embraces temporal features that locate it in a given society and culture. Many religions are concerned to make visible an object of veneration, to protect it and to approach it with the same piety that they would like to lavish on the higher being; symbolic acts toward the image thus reveal one's inner attitude. Theologians always harbored the suspicion that such a cult would lead simple folk astray, in that they would mistake the image for what it represents. All the same, they took advantage of the opportunity to make the object of religion tangible and visible to the people, since the realm of theology properly speaking was alien to them.

But the problem has deeper layers. Once the object of religion is made visible in the image, the purity of a concept that only the true initiates can know is called into question. The visible image of God is adapted to a human perception that is no more than a means to an end, since neither Judaism nor Christianity has an anthropomor-

phic conception of God, as was the case with the gods of Greco-Roman myth. The visible painted image does not reveal any true attribute of God but contradicts his essence; we thus can understand the care devoted to the theological definition of Jesus' dual nature.

As actually happened, the problem of invisibility can be solved in two different ways. Either any visible image of God can be proscribed as blasphemous, or the very idea of visibility can be questioned and thereby extended to the entire visible world, which then would pose much the same problems as the painted image. If one had to live in the physical world, one could also live with a painted image. Both the world as a whole and the image of a part of that world pointed to an invisible reality, and for both, material conditions were secondary. The worldview of late antiquity could be roughly summarized in such a fashion, and its system is still best described as Neoplatonism. But this brings about a contradiction inherent in an icon's representing God in human shape; namely, it invests the anthropomorphic figure with a meaning that its visibility cannot support: the idea of the invisible and the incomprehensible. The contradiction was resolved in principle by theologians in the definition of Jesus, but (precisely because his *dual* nature cannot actually be depicted) it persisted nevertheless.

A society as bound to religion as that of early Byzantium was bound to pay special attention to the visible presence assumed by the sacred in this world.[70] Icons were of particular interest because they claimed to embody higher or transfigured beings and to deserve the veneration due to the holy. The iconoclasts later argued that icons could not themselves transform the ordinary (*koinos*) into the sacred (*hagion*) unless they were consecrated, like the Eucharist. But resistance to icons was older than this. Indeed, the early legends about the age and celestial or apostolic origin of icons probably arose as a reaction to the reluctance to accept icons. Veneration and rejection of icons had a common root in the absolute rank assigned to the sacred; they differed, however, in their views on where it was to be found on earth. The Eucharist was "administered" by the official church; the cross, by the court and the military—if one may reduce the matter to such a simple formula. Initially, icons were alien to the official institution, just as holy hermits and miracle workers stood outside the church hierarchy, properly speaking. Both posed the question whether the social hierarchy (essentially the court and the official church) could or should be the *sole* representative of the sacred on earth. Perhaps because this question itself was explosive enough, icons were quickly and completely taken into the service of court and church.

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 Olson 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 Chalcoprateia 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).

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