Paradigms of Movement in Medieval Art: Establishing Connections and Effecting Transition

Paradigmas de movimiento en el arte medieval. Del establecimiento de conexiones a la realización de transiciones

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Resumen

El movimiento de objetos, ya sea por azar o a través de rituales, ha desempeñado históricamente un papel importante en la configuración de significados. Cuando en el siglo IX el flabelo de Tournus era desplegado y aventado por el sacerdote durante la misa y cuando en el siglo XII el crucifijo Rosano era procesionado hacia el altar durante el Viernes Santo y "enterrado" dentro, las sucesivas acciones transformaban los objetos en sí mismos –tanto como las imágenes e inscripciones que los adornaban– y activaban el material inerte con el que fueron hechos hacia un estado espiritual. Lo mismo puede decirse de una concha recogida en la costa gallega y una réplica de la Verónica adquirida en Roma cuando se representaban juntos en el sombrero de un peregrino. Una reliquia de la naturaleza y una imagen arquerópita no sólo certificaban la fe de una persona, sino que también le proporcionaban unas insignias apotropaicas que se reforzaban mutuamente. Y cuando los fragmentos o emblemas reunidos fueron enmarcados con imágenes, y se introdujeron en las liturgias rituales, las ceremonias desarrolladas establecieron una conexión al pasado lejano y al presente. En este trabajo se sostiene que los propios modelos de actuación también fueron modificados, y con ellos, los significados que esos actos habían transmitido a los objetos. Repitiendo la historia de los desplazamientos y la curación se trasfería el aura de un original a una réplica; y las acciones establecidas, además de las morfologías concretas, asimilaban diversas obras de arte entre sí y aseveraban la congruencia de diferentes versiones con distintas "biografías", por ejemplo, la pintura aquerópita del Laterano con la Verónica en San Pedro y la *Salus populi Romani* con la Madonna Avvocata. Asimismo, la acción de entrega de regalos amplió la autoridad histórica sobre nuevas obras en distintos lugares. Así también sucedió en el caso de ceremonias que implicaban llegar, detenerse y adorar, que crearon redes de asociaciones entre diferentes imágenes materiales. Más aún, los paradigmas

del movimiento, ellos mismos, tenían historias, que forjaron vínculos entre distintos centros geográficos, por ejemplo, Roma y Tivoli o Roma y Barcelona.

Palabras clave: peregrino, liturgia, objetos naturales, Veronica, entrega de regalos, ceremonias cívicas, flabellum, cruz, reliquia, Madonna Avvocata, Tivoli, Roma, Barcelona, Salus Populi Romani, Palma de Mallorca.

Abstract

The movement of objects, whether randomly or through ritual, configured meaning. When the ninth-century Flabellum of Tournus was unfolded and waved over the priest during Mass or when the twelfth-century Rosano Crucifix was paraded to the altar on Good Friday and "buried" inside, the successive actions transformed the things themselves and the imagery and inscriptions adorning them and activated the inert material from which they were made into a spiritual state. The same was true of a shell collected on the Galician shore and a replica of the Veronica acquired in Rome when they were displayed together on a pilgrim's hat; a relic of nature and an acheiropoietic image not only attested to the person's faith, but also provided him or her with a apotropaic tokens that mutually reinforced one another. And when fragments or gathered tokens were framed with pictures and introduced into formal liturgies, the ceremonies that were performed bridged the distant past and to the present. This paper maintains that the patterns of actions themselves also moved, and with them, the meanings they had conveyed to the objects. Repeating the history of displacement and healing itself transferred the aura of an original to a replica; and set actions, rather than (or in addition to) particular morphologies, assimilated diverse works of art to one another and asserted the commonality of different versions with distinct "biographies", the Lateran "acheropita" with the Veronica in St. Peter's, for instance, and the *Salus populi Romani* with Madonna Avvocata. Likewise, patterns of gift-giving extended historical authority onto new works in different places; so too did ceremonies involving arriving, pausing, and adoring, which created networks of associations between different material images. What is more, the paradigms of movement, themselves, had histories, which forged links between geographic centers, for example, Rome and Tivoli and Rome and Barcelona.

Keywords: pilgrim, liturgy, natural objects, Veronica, gift-giving, civic ceremonies, flabellum, cross, relic, Madonna Avvocata, Tivoli, Rome, Barcelona, Salus Populi Romani, Palma de Mallorca.

Moving objects activated meaning. As we have learned from the scholarly concern with reception, ceremony, and phenomenology during the past thirty years, when humble objects or complex works of art were transported from one place to another, stolen, collected, juxtaposed to other things, veiled and revealed, or used as props in performances, they were, in the process, fundamentally transformed and reconfigured[1].

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[1] Of the vast literature, see recently: Bredekamp, H., *Theorie des Bildakts,* Berlin, 2010; *Meaning in Motion. The Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art*, Zchomelidse, N. and Freni, G. (eds.), Princeton, 2012. For previous scholarship, see: Chapter 7 "Performance", in Kessler, H. L., *Seeing Medieval Art*, Toronto, 2004.

I have, myself, recently examined the ways in which movement from place to place and actions during the liturgy animated the ninth-century Flabellum of Tournus in Florence (Museo del Bargello; Fig. 1)[2]. An instrument deployed to chase flies away from the Eucharist and, simultaneously, to cool and clean the officiant, the fan was continuously transformed from one state to another as it was used. Kept in a *sacer locus* by monks fleeing Viking raids on Noirmoutier, when in place, the bone box adorned with reliefs from Virgil's *Eclogues* engaging the subject of exile and the ivory handle carved with Mary, apostles, and local saints, assimilated the object to the bones of St. Philibert. But when the pleated vellum was extracted from the box and opened like a peacock showing its plumage, it covered up the Virgilian subjects with painted saints, signaling Christian triumph and activating an association with Paradise. The fan conjured up still other associations when it was installed on the altar (in a manner pictured in the twelfth-century *Life of Saint Lambert* in Luxemburg [Bibl. Nat., MS. 100, fol. 39ᵛ]); recalling both the cherubim that hovered above the Mercy Seat in the Holy of Holies and St. Michael (whose name is inscribed on the base), it connected present to sacred past and Tournus to Jerusalem. And, put to use during the Mass,

Fig. 1. Flabellum of Tournus. Florence, Museo del Bargello. Early 9th century

the flabellum created wafts of air as the deacon waved it behind the priest that symbolized both Michael's banishing demons and the Holy Spirit entering the Eucharist. At the same time, the movement reduced the imagery to a blur that coalesced the community's past history and present faith into a visual litany and sent it sent heavenward. In other words, the unfolding meanings and complex associations created through successive actions were more important than the object itself or the images and inscriptions it carried[3].
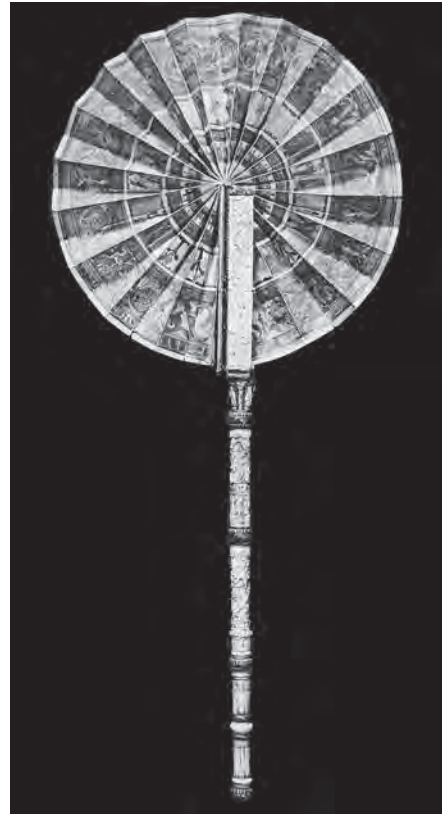
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[2] KESSLER, H. L., "Borne on a Breeze: the Function of the Flabellum of Tournus as Meaning", in *Charlemagne et les objets. Des thésaurisations carolingiennes aux constructions mémorielles*, CORDEZ, P. (ed.), New York, 2012, pp. 57-85.

[3] On the phenomenology of objects, see: *Oggetto e spazio. Fenomenologia dell'oggetto, forma e cosa dai secoli XIII-XIV ai post-cartesiani (Atti del convegno Perugia, 8-10 settembre 2005)*, FEDERICI VESCOVINI, G. and RIGNANI, O. (eds.), Florence, 2008; FLOOD, F. B., *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, Princeton, 2009; *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, SAURMA-JELTSCH, L. and EISENBEISS, A. (eds.), Berlin, 2010; CORDEZ, P., "Introduction. Charlemagne et les 'objets", in *Charlemagne et les objects*, pp. 1-4 and Idem, *Trésor, mémoire, merveilles. Les objets des églises au Moyen Âge*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, 2010).

In this paper, I wish to turn to other aspects of art in action, in particular, the ways patterns of movement, both casual and formal, served to authenticate individual works and to establish affinities with objects having distinctly different morphologies and histories, and how, ultimately, like the flabellum's specified choreography, these paradigms of movement propelled a spiritual elevation from the physical world to the Divine. I shall start with a simple pilgrim token (Fig. 2), the coquille St.-Jacques, because it allows me to begin my talk in this very place, near the road to Santiago de Compostella; I shall continue with more complex pilgrimage artifacts and the origins (themselves quite complicated) that their movements index; and, finally, I shall examine icons that were in public liturgies, considering not only the phenomenological transformations but also the cognitive transitions the actions effected.

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First and foremost a relic of nature acquired on the Iberian shore at the "end of the world" the coquille St.-Jacques became something more when a pilgrim carried it home. As the twelfth-century *Liber Sancti Jacobi* attests: "the pilgrims returning from the threshold of the Blessed James sew them on their capes, and they wear them back to their own country with great exultation in honor of the apostle and in his memory and as a sign of such a great journey"[4] (as in Andrea Bonaiuto's depiction of the Earthly Paradise of 1365-67 in Florence; Fig. 3)[5]. Moreover, the very movement from a sacred place into the mundane world connected the sign to similar sacred souvenirs[6]; thus, the *Veneranda Dies* compares the shells from Santiago to palm fronds brought from the Holy Land at the (Christian) world's other end. Independent of etiology and morphology, the actions of acquiring natural objects abundant at a holy site, of wearing them, and of transporting them home set up associations rife with meaning. Linking pilgrimage to Santiago with votive travel to the Holy Land, the recognizably exotic things attested to the journey's completion and, presumably, the transformation the

Fig. 2. Pilgrim token from Santiago de Compostela

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[4] *Liber sancti Jacobi*, *Veneranda dies*; trans. *The Miracles of Saint James*, COFFEY, T., DAVIDSON, L. and DUNN, M. (eds.), New York, 1996, p. 25.

[5] See: VERDON, T., *L'arte nella vita della Chiesa*, Vatican, 2009, p. 14.

[6] PULLAN, W., "Tracking the Habitual: Observations on the Pilgrim's Shell", in *Architecture and Pilgrimage in the Mediterranean World 1000-1500*, DAVIES, P., HOWARD, D. and PULLAN, W. (eds.), Farnham, 2013, pp. 59-85.

Fig. 3. Andrea Bonaiuto. Depiction of the Earthly Paradise. Florence, Sta. Maria Novella. 1365-67

pilgrimage had effected in the faithful person[7], and affirmed the process of surrogation by which James's burial place in Galicia substituted for Christ's tomb in Palestine. More or less contemporary with Bonaiuto's painting, William Langland's *Piers Plowman* described the cumulative and mutually reinforcing effect in an encounter with a pilgrim festooned with such tokens:

> An hundred ampullas on his hat set, signs of Sinai and shells of Galicia, many a cross on his cloak keys also of Rome and the vernicle in front so that men should know and see by his signs what shrines he had sought[8].

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[7] See COLEMAN, S. and ELSNER, J., *Pilgrimage. Past and Present in the World Religions*, Cambridge, MA., 1995; ELSNER, J., "Introduction", in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods*, ELSNER, J. and RUTHERFORD, I. (eds.), Oxford, 2005, pp. 1-38; and *Architecture and Pilgrimage*.

[8] *Passus* V; see: *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C, and Z Versions,* SCHMIDT, A. V. C. (ed.), London, 1995, pp. 248-249.

Collected, displayed, and moved together, the pilgrim's diverse objects are assimilated to one another and, thereby, raised to the same spiritual level[9].

Back home, the badges often became votives again when they were interred with the dead or deposited in churches or pilgrim centers--not because of their intrinsic worth but due to the added value of their having been moved from a sacred site to a new place. In the early twelfth-century painted cross in Sta. Maria Assunta in Rosano outside Florence (Fig. 4)[10], a modest token wrapped with a tiny bone fragment in compartment carved out of Christ's nimbus was transformed into a relic by being fitted with an elaborate case (Fig. 5); one of *Piers Plowman*'s "many a cross" from the Holy Land was most likely acquired in 1100 during the *Gerosolimitano iter* by Count Guido IV Guidi[11], whose family seems to have commissioned the work, the cruciform badge thus inserts the aura of geographical distance into an object of local manufacture. The Emmaus scene flanking the main figure furthers the set of associations, portraying Christ wearing a pilgrim's cap and carrying a pike and kit in accord with the caption: DISCIPULIS DOMIN[US] APPARUIT UT PEREGRIN[US][12]. The titulus itself embodies travel; in an excellent study of the captions, Tommaso Gramigni and Stefano Zamponi have demonstrated that this verse has a close parallel in the writings of Bernard of Cluny (ca. 1100) and that the cross's other inscriptions also originated in France. The very bringing-together of elements from various places in a work made in Italy -relics from the Holy Land and texts from France- create meaning, namely the unity of the Christian world that the Gregorian Reform was aspiring to achieve in reality.

The unusual introduction of *tituli* on a monumental cross presupposes movement. To be read, the minuscule texts and pictorial vignettes they accompany had to be viewed up close on a stable object; but the enormous nail fitted with a ring behind Christ's head indicates that the Rosano cross was portable. This suggests that the object was fixed in place most of the time but was transported to the altar during the Holy Week liturgy, mounted, and then, *in specie Joseph et Nicodemi de ligno deponentes Ymaginem*[13], deposited there in a reenact-

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[9] See: ANDERSSON, L.*, Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien*, Stockholm, 1989; BREDEHOFT, T. A., "Literacy without Letters: Pilgrim Badges and Late-Medieval Literate Ideology", *Viator*, 37 (2006), pp. 433–445; SCHMITT, J.-C., "Das Mark des Mittelalters", in *Jungfrauen, Engel, Phallustiere. Die Sammlung mittelalterlicher französischer Pilgerzeichen des Kunstgewerbemuseums in Prag und des Nationalmuseums* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 9-14.

[10] *La Croce dipinta dell'abbazia di Rosano. Visibile e invisiblile. Studio e restauro per la comprensione*, Ciatti, M., FROSININI, C. and BELLUCCI, R. (eds.), Florence, 2007; *La pittura su tavola del secolo XII. Riconsiderazioni e nuove acquisizioni a sequito del restauro della Croce di Rosano*, FROSININI, C., MONCIATTI, A., WOLF, G. (eds.), Florence, 2012.

[11] MARCHIONIBUS, M. R., "La croce-reliquia trovato all interno della Croce di Rosano", in *La Croce dipinta*, pp. 89-97.

[12] GRAMIGNI, T., "Le iscrizioni della Croce di Rosano", in *La Croce dipinta*, pp. 71-88; KESSLER, H. L., "Inscriptions on Painted Crosses and the Spaces of Personal and Communal Meditation", in *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces*, AAVITSLAND, K. and KARLSEN SEIM, T. (eds.) (*Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 24 [n.s. 10]), Rome, 2011, pp. 161-184 and Idem, "The French Connection: Word and Image on the Rosano Cross", in *La pittura su tavola*, pp. 131-137.

[13] TAUBERT, J. and TAUBERT, F. "Mittelalterliche Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen: Ein Beitrag zur Verwendung von Bildwerken in der Liturgie", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 23 (1969), pp. 79-121; *Il teatro delle statue. Gruppi lignei di Deposizione e Annunciazione tra XII e XIII secolo*, FLORES D'ARCAIS, F. (ed.), Milan, 2005.

Fig. 4. Painted Cross in Sta. Maria Assunta in Rosano, outside Florence. Early 12th century

Fig. 5. Pilgrim's token, Rosano, convent. 11th c. Verso y recto

ment of Christ's burial on Good Friday. A twelfth-century text from Salzburg describes such a ceremony:

> The archbishop or the highest-ranking priests should, with other priests and clerics, carry the picture of the Crucified to the grave, chanting with mournful voices the following liturgical responses: "See, he has died. It is fulfilled. He rests in peace". After the liturgical song is finished, it should be laid in the grave and covered with the linen and sudarium, and the stone should be put over it[14].

Indeed, the depicted Deposition and Burial seem actually to refer to this performance. In the former, the historical cross is figured as the painted Crucifix is, deep blue framed in red, and Mary grasps the rim of Christ's halo as if it were a solid disk not an emanation of light. In the latter, Mary, John, and Nicodemus lower Christ on the *sudarium* into a sarcophagus surmounted by a baldachin that evokes an altar. When mounted in place, the cross guided the faithful praying before it along a mental itinerary through Christ's Passion, his eternal sacrifice on the cross, and his resurrection; when in motion, it *became* Christ, transforming history into presence in much the same way the Flabellum of Tournus did.

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Many pilgrims' badges were not simply mnemonic signs but also images. The most popular of these, at least from the fourteenth century, was the Veronica, Christ's portrait that, according to several of the legends[15], had been miraculously transferred to a cloth when a woman named Veronica had held it to his face. Venerated in St. Peter's, an increasing the important goal for pilgrims to Rome especially from the first Jubilee Year in 1300[16], the Veronica was replicated on little cloths, as in Bonaiuto's fresco (thereby reproducing the object's very material) or in soft lead (imitating the process by which the original was made), as in an example in the Vatican. Like the coquille St. Jacques, moreover, which was interpreted as a shield[17], *Piers Plowman*'s "vernicle in front" protected pilgrims during the return trip from the *urbs beata Hierusalem* on the Tiber.

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[14] *Pontifex sive presbyter cum aliis sacerdotibus et ministris portent ymaginem crucifixi versus sepulchrum, lugubri voce cantantes hoc responsorium: Ecce moritur Vs. In pace f. responsorio finito collocetur in sepulchro et linteaminibus et sudario cooperiatur, deinde lapis superponat.* TAUBERT and TAUBERT, "Mittelalterliche Kruzifixe", p. 104.

[15] See recently, GOUNELL, R., "Les origines littéraires de la légende de Véronique et de la Sainte Face: la *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* et la *Vindicta Saluatoris*", in *Sacre impronte e oggetti "non fatti da mona d'uomo" nelle religioni* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale Torino, 18-20 maggio 2010), CASTAGNO, A. M. (ed.), Alessandria, 2011, pp. 231-251; SANSTERRE, J.-M., "Variations d'une legende et genese d'un culte entre la Jerusalem des origins, Rome et l'occident. Quelques jalons de l'histoire de Véronique, et de la *Veronica* jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle", in *Passages. Déplacements des hommes, circulation des textes et identités dans l'Occident médiéval*, DUCOS, J. and HENRIET, P. (eds.), Paris, 2013, pp. 217-231.

[16] The literature on the Veronica is vast. See: HAMBURGER, J., "Vision and the Veronica", in *The Visual and the Visionary. Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, New York, 1998; *Romei & Giubilei. Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350-1350)*, D'ONOFRIO, M. (ed.), Rome, 1999, pp. 342-347; WOLF, G., "'Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?'. Sguardi alla 'vera icona' e alle sue copie artistiche", in *Il volto di Cristo*, MORELLO, G. and WOLF, G. (eds.), Milan, 2000, pp. 103-211; BOLGIA, C., "Icons 'in the air': New Settings for the Sacred in Medieval Rome", in *Architecture and Pilgrimage,* pp. 113-142.

[17] *Liber sancti Jacobi*, trans. p. 25.

Unlike pebbles, leaves, and shells, however, Veronica badges were not simply collected at the sacred site; like cross tokens, they were artifacts acquired through the transfer of money that, as the pilgrimage itself, was part of a process of spiritual exchange in which the pilgrim made a pledge, fulfilled the vow, and received a promise of redemption in return[18]. Transporting the Veronica, the pilgrimage objects recapitulated the icon's own history of production; and their movement reiterated the originan image's own history of travel and function which, according to the diverse legends[19], had been sent to Rome in the first place to heal the Emperor Vespasian's illness. Deemed to have acquired something of the original's power, the copies of the relic-image brought from abroad offered continuing access to the Divine and furnish indulgences, especially when prayed to with the words prescribed by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and his successors as the version does shown fixed to the wall in a portrait by Petrus Christus in London (National Gallery) inscribed: "Be to us, we beg, a trusty help, a sweet comfort and consolation, the enemy's aggression may do us no harm, but we may enjoy rest"[20].

In Rome, the Veronica came to be assimilated with the other acheiropoietic image of Christ, the enthroned Emmanuel (Fig. 6), said to have been painted by St. Luke and completed by an angel that was kept in the papal chapel at the Lateran and had long been the principal player in Rome's great civic liturgy celebrating the Feast of the Assumption. Every August 14th, the *Acheropita* was paraded through the Forum where it was enthroned with the icon of Santa Maria Nova and led the next day to meet the *Salus populi Romani*, the portrait of the Virgin at Sta. Maria Maggiore also attributed to St. Luke[21]. Innocent III, who championed the Veronica cult, had reconfigured the venerable panel accordingly by fitting it with a cover that isolated the face; and even more important, he initiated a ceremony for the Veronica that mimicked the Lateran icon's[22], an annual procession on the second Sunday after Epiphany, when the *vera icona* was carried in a great reliquary from St. Peter's to the Hospital of Santo Spirito[23]. In other words, patterns of movement reconciled the competing forms with one another.

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[18] Indeed, shaped like an oval documentary seal, Christ's face quite literally authenticated the transaction (especially when rendered in lead), as it does on a copy of the letter of Silvester of Andria in Cortona (Accademia Etrusca) issued in 1300; see: Mori, E. and Wolf, G. "Pergamena con miniature", in *Volto di Cristo*, pp. 177-178.

[19] See: Weigert, L., "Visualizing the Movement of Urban Drama in the Late Middle Ages. The 'Mystère" of the Lord's Vengeance in Reims", in *Meaning in Motion*, pp. 161-214; Sansterre, "Variations d'une legende".

[20] See: MacGregor, N., *Seeing Salvation. Images of Christ in Art*, New Haven, 2000, pp. 92-94; Kruse, C., *Wozu Menschen malen. Historische Begründungen eines Bildmediums*, Munich, 2003, p. 287.

[21] See Wolf, G., *Salus populi Romani. Die Geschichte römische Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim, 1990; Belting, H., *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (trans. by Jephcott, E. of *Bild und Kult— Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, Munich, 1990), Chicago, 1994, pp. 311-329 et passim; Helas, P. and Wolf, G., *Die Nacht der Bilder. Eine Beschreibung der Prozession zu Maria Himmelfahrt in Rom aus dem Jahr 1462*, Freiburg I Br., 2011. On Luke as painter, see: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 342-348 et passim; Bacci, M., *Il pennello dell'Evangelista. Storia della immagini sacre attrbiuite a San Luca*, Pisa, 1998 and Idem, "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke", in *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Vassilaki, M. (ed.), Athens, 2000, pp. 78-89.

[22] Writing a few years later, Gerald of Wales referred to the latter as the *Uronica* and considered the "two icons of the Redeemer" to be more or less equal; *Otia Imperialia*, Banks, S. E. and Binns, J. W. (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 2002, pp. 606-07.

[23] Egger, C., "Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica. Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Seelsorge", in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Kessler, H. L. and Wolf, G. (eds.), Bologna, 1998, pp. 181-203.

Fig. 6. "Acheropita". Rome, Sancta Sanctorum of Lateran, 7th c

The same was the case with images of the Virgin, which existed in myriad versions from an early time in Rome. Thus, the beautiful sixth-eighth century painting of Mary from the church of S. Maria in Tempuli in Rome (now in San Sisto) was set into a complicated relationship to the *Salus populi Romani* that continues to perplex scholars, who debate which icon was the Lateran Christ's destination on Assumption Day[24]. The panel in S. Maria in Tempuli, too, was attributed to Luke; but the precise account of how it was made distinguished it from its famous counterpart. According to legend, the Evangelist had prepared a sketch which was then divinely colored in: *non operibus manuum carnalium sed domini iussu*[25], the inverse of the icon in Sta. Maria Maggiore which was said to have been created from a divinely drawing that Luke colored in and, in a document of ca. 900, was referred to as *acheirograpta*[26]. A depiction in a Breviary, produced in Paris in 1414 (Chateauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 2, fol. 373ᵛ; Fig. 7)[27], seems to have combined the two Mary images; it pictures Luke with palette in one hand and brush in the other completing the panel in the manner described for the *Salus populi Romani*; however, in type, the bust-length form absent the Child is more like the panel in Sta. Maria in Tempuli.

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[24] William Tronzo built a circumstantial argument in favor of the Madonna of Sta. Maria in Tempuli in "Apse Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore", in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms, and Regional Traditions*, Tronzo, W. (ed.), Bologna, 1989, pp. 167-93. Gerhard Wolf's close reading of the extant documents favors the *Salus Populi Romani*.

[25] See: Wolf, *Salus populi Romani*, pp. 161-170 and 318-320; Wolf, G., "Icons and Sites. Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome", in *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, Vassilaki, M. (ed.), Aldershot, 2005, pp. 23-49. See recently: *Tavole miracolose. Le Icone medioevali di Roma e del Lazio del Fondo Edifici di Culto*, Rome, 2012, pp. 43-46. This may explain why, unlike the icon of Sta. Maria in Tempuli and the *Salus Populi Romani*, the Madonna in the Pantheon, which was mostly bereft of miracles and without a notable cult, was nonetheless the object pictured on pilgrims' badges. Grönwald, H., "Am Einzelfund ins Detail: Das mittelalterliche Bild des Pantheon und seiner Ikone im Spiegel von Pilgerzeichen", in *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine*, (Beiträge der Tagung Perspektiven der europäischen Pilgerzeichenforschung 21. bis 24. April 2010 in Prag), Kühne, H., Lambacher, L. and Hrdina, J. (eds.), Frankfurt, 2013, pp. 275-320.

[26] See: Alexakis, A., *The Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Prototype*, Washington, 1996, pp. 348-350; Wolf, G., "*Alexifarmaka*. Aspetti del culto e della teoria delle immagini tra Roma, Bisanzio e la Terra Santa", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 49), Spoleto, 2002, pp. 755-796 and Idem, "Icons and Sites", p. 36.

[27] See Pächt, O., "The 'Avignon Diptych' and Its Eastern Ancestry", in *De artibus opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Meiss, M. (ed.), pp. 401-421.

Fig. 7. St. Luke Paining the Virgin. Breviary, produced in Paris in 1414. Chateauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 2, fol. 373v,. 1414

Of the major Marian images in Rome, the latter alone was provided with a legend bearing to its origins in the East and movements within the city, a brief reference to a *virus sanctitatis plenus* who had brought it to the City after John the Evangelist had kept it in his house (in Ephesos) and a fuller tale about how God had ordered three brothers to find the *vero ammirabilis imago* in the city and to set it up in their own church[28]. The transfer is depicted in a contemporary fresco in San Gregorio Nazianzeno (Fig. 8)[29], which shows Christ ordering the

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[28] WOLF, *Salus Populi Romani*, pp. 318-320.

[29] BELTING, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 355-358; ROMANO, S., *Riforma e tradizione*, Milan, 2006, pp. 153-155.

Fig. 8. Tempuli icon story. Rome, San Gregorio
Nazianzeno, late 11th/early 12th c

brothers to find the icon, identifiable
even in fragmentary form by Mary's
gestures, one hand pointing upward
and the other across her breast, naviga-
ting their journey like the *stella maris*
or, more, the star that guided the three
Magi to Bethlehem[30].

Authenticating what was a se-
condary icon in Rome, Christ's com-
mand to move the panel to Sta. Ma-
ria in Tempuli and the panel's own
function as compass, pictured in San
Gregorio, were reinforced by other
movements. First some clerics during
the reign of Sergius III (r. 904-911)
attempted to steal (*detulerunt*) it and
position it beside the Lateran Christ (another act that both re-asserted its equality with the
Salus populi Romani and also distinguished it from it; then thunder and lightning stopped the
thieves and the icon was miraculous restoration to the church of Sta. Maria in Tempuli. The
foiled theft bestowed the power of a furta sacra on the icon[31].

The act of copying also enhanced the icon's aura[32]. San Gregorio itself sheltered a replica
of what came to be called the *Madonna Avvocata*, and so the fresco reinforced the authority
of a local image[33]. In addition to it, numerous other replicas survive, in Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli,
Sta. Maria in Via Lata (Fig. 9), Santi Bonifacio e Alessio, San Lorenzo in Damaso, Sta. Maria in
Campo Marzio (now in the Galleria Nazionale d'arte antica), and also in Vetralla, Tivoli (Fig.
10), Orte, and other towns around Rome[34]. The earliest of these, the eleventh-century version
in Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli, acquired its own individual biography and was credited with having

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[30] An epithet for Mary, "Stella Maris" is actually inscribed on the copy of the icon in Sta. Maria in Via Lata; see: ROMA-
NO, *Riforma e tradizione*, pp. 267-69. On the Palaeologan frame around the version of the Holy Face in Genoa, the
Mandylion is rendered as a sail of the boat bringing the image to Constantinople; see: WOLF, G., "Il Volto che viaggia:
premessa a un incontro", in *Mandylion. Intorno al* Sacro Volto, *da Bisanzio a Genoa*, WOLF, G., DUFOUR BOZZO, C. and
CALDERONI MASETTI, A. (eds.), Milan, 2004, pp. 7-24. See also, DE BLAAUW, S., "Following the Crosses: The Processional
Cross and the Typology of Processions in Medieval Rome," in *Christian Feast and Festival. The Dynamics of Western
Liturgy and Culture*, POST, P., ROUWHORST, G., VAN TONGEREN, L. and SCHEER, A. (eds.), Leuven, 2001, pp. 319-343.

[31] On the dynamic of stealing, see: GEARY, P., *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed.,
Princeton, 1990.

[32] KESSLER, H. L. "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face," in KESSLER, H. L. and WOLF, G., *The Holy Face
and the Paradox of Representation. Papers from a Colloquium at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa
Spelman, Florence 1996*, Bologna, 1998, pp. 29-51; ZCHOMELIDSE, N., "The Aura of the Numinous and Its Repro-
duction: Medieval Paintings of the Savior in Rome and Latium", in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*,
55 (2010), pp. 221-257.

[33] ROMANO, *Riforma e tradizione*, 276-77; *Tavole miracolose*, pp. 56-58.

[34] *Tavole miracolose*, pp. 13-16; SOLBERG, G. E., "The Madonna *Avvocata* Icon at Orte and Geography," in *Visions of
Holiness. Art and Devotion in Renaissance Italy*, LADIS, A. and ZURAW, S. E. (eds.), Athens, GA, 2001, pp. 123-135.

Fig. 9. Madonna Avvocata, Rome, St. Maria in Via Lata, 12th c

Fig. 10. Triptych, Tivoli, Duomo, late 11th c

saved Rome from the Black Death in 1348[35]. More important for this discussion, the copies were also sometimes grouped together and unified with other Marian panels, eliding their differences and individuality and, in so doing, establishing their relationship to the ineffable prototype as a common denominator[36]. Thus, the twelfth-century ordo of Cardinal Albinus, introduced by Gerhard Wolf, reports that on the Feast of the Purification of Mary in Rome, the pope said Mass at St. Martin's and then proceeded to the Forum where no fewer than eighteen icons of the Virgin met him in front of St. Hadrian's. Symbolizing Rome's diaconae (which included Sta. Maria in Via Lata and Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio), the community of Marian images would have had among its members the Madonna of Sta. Maria in Tempuli itself and several of the replicas; emulating the Assumption Day journey of the Lateran Christ, the procession to Sta. Maria Maggiore, in turn, dramatized their subordinate status[37].

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[35] WOLF, *Salus Populi Romani*, pp. 228-30 et passim.

[36] Writing of the variety of depictions of Christ in his highly influential *De Trinitate* of 416-17, Augustine had already embraced such elusiveness precisely as proof that any depiction of the Incarnate God is mere human contrivance: "For even the countenance of our Lord Himself in the flesh is variously fancied by the diversity of countless imaginations, which yet was one, whatever it was. Nor in our faith which we have of our Lord Jesus Christ, is that wholesome which the mind imagines for itself, perhaps far other than the reality." VII.5.

[37] WOLF, *Salus Populi Romani*, p. 327.

Ceremonies, not the specific images, granted the icons their power and effected onto-logical transformation, in fact, a succession of transformations. No wonder, then, that despite the resistance to the attempt under Pope Sergius to install the icon of Sta. Maria in Tempuli in the papal chapel, it was nonetheless portrayed full-length beside the Enthroned Christ in the Lateran itself (Fig. 12)[38]. In this case, the image is static, but the *stella maris* is depicted above Mary to inflect the idea that Virgin and, in turn, the icon on which she is pictured, navigates the route between humankind and Christ (Fig. 11). The imagery was appropriated around the same time in a splendid triptych in Tivoli[39], where in a ceremony repeated in Tivoli to this day, it is transported to the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore during the Feast of the Assumption and bows before a late thirteenth-century version of the Madonna Avvocata (the inchinata). The re-enactment of the ceremony in Rome authorizes Tivoli itself and its sacred images[40].

Finally, actions, distinctly different from the public processions, created other kinds of affinities among works of art. Thus, in a series of documented gifts to rulers, popes re-enacted

Fig. 11. Replica of Madonna Avvocata. Rome, San Silvestro Chapel, 12th c

Fig. 12. Christ. Rome, San Silvestro Chapel, 12th c

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[38] Tronzo, "Apse Decoration"; Zchomelidse. "The Aura".

[39] Kessler, H. L., "The *Acheropita* Triptych in Tivoli", in *Immagine e Ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, Calzona, A., Campari, R., Mussini, M. (eds.), Milan, 2007, pp. 117-125; Helas and Wolf, *Nacht der Bilder*, pp. 28-29. Referring to the August procession, the Madonna Avvocata is positioned above a scene of the Dormition in which the Savior descends and lifts up the miniature icon representing Mary's soul and transfers it to heaven. Wolf has aptly characterized Mary here as Christ's daughter as well as his mother and bride.

[40] Ultimately, versions of the two icons came to be unified in depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin in the apses of Sta Maria in Trastevere and Sta. Maria Maggiore, in the latter, floating over a rendering of the Dormition. Kitzinger, E. "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art", *Art Bulletin*, 62 (1980), pp. 6-19; Tronzo, "Apse Decoration"; Helas and Wolf, *Nacht der Bilder*.

St. Veronica's own transfer of the Holy Face to Vespasian and the related episode (transmitted through Voragine's *Golden Legend*) of Christ's sending an image on a cloth to King Abgar of Edessa[41]. A pope's gift of holy icons was once preserved in a painting once above the door of the presbytery of the Ste. Chapelle in Paris, preserved in a drawing by the great antiquarian François-Roger de Gagnieres (Paris, BnF, Est. Oa 11, fol. 85; Fig. 13)[42], picturing Pope Clement VI presenting Jean le Bon with a double portrait of Christ and the Virgin in the form of a bust-length version of the left and central panels of the Tivoli triptych, presumably during the Pope's investiture at Avignon in 1352, which the French King had attended[43]. Following pattern, Urban V gave the Emperor Charles IV three copies of the Veronica together with three copies of the *Madonna Avvocata* during his last visit to Rome in 1368-69[44]; and the gesture was repeated some eighty years later during the Jubilee Year of 1450 when Pope Nicholas V provided a copy of *the Madonna Avvocata* as an instrument of plenary indulgences for the churches of Mechelen[45]. The guache portrait of Jahangir Holding a Portrait of the Madonna (New Delhi, National Museum of India; Fig. 14), painted ca. 1620, may be a late and distant resonance of this tradition[46].

Fig. 14. Jahangir Holding Icon of the Madonna Avvocata. New Dehli, National Museum of India. 17th c

Fig. 13. Pope's gift of holy icons, preserved in a painting once above the door of the presbytery of the Ste. Chapelle in Paris. Drawing by François-Roger de Gagnieres (Paris, BnF, Est. Oa 11, fol. 85)

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[41] See recently, Nicolotti, A., *Dal Mandylion di Edessa alla Sindone di Torino. Metamorfosi di una leggenda*, Alessandria, 2011.

[42] The fundamental study remains: Pächt, "Avignon Diptych". More recently, "Man of Sorrows/Mater Dolorosa", in *Prayers and Portraits. Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, Hand, J., Metzer, C., Spronk, R. (eds.), Washington, 2006, pp. 50-55.

[43] See Pächt, "Avignon Diptych"; *Prayers and Portraits*; also *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, Evans, H. (ed.), New Haven, 2004, pp. 565-567.

[44] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 333-337.

[45] *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, pp. 547-548.

[46] I became aware of this remarkable picture while attending a lecture on migrating images given by Hans Belting in Barcelona in October 2013.

Paradigms of public movement and private gift-giving moved with the Roman images when they were taken abroad, to Catalonia for example[47]. The famous image of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Valencia (Fig. 15), although of unknown origin, derives ultimately from the *Madonna Avvocata*, as Gudiol i Cunill first and more recently Marta Crispí i Canton and Michele Bacci have demonstrated. In its linear reduction and emphatically dissimilar eyes –the one looking out to the devout, the other directed toward the unseen Christ– it is particularly close to the version in Sta. Maria in Via Lata[48], but the absence of Mary's arms links it to the "Avignon Diptych" and miniature in the Chateauroux Breviary. As an unpainted drawing on parchment, Valencia icon also engages the legend that underlies the latter and brings it into association with the *acheirographa* in Sta. Maria Maggiore. Moreover, what at first seems like a simple image not only evokes several Mary icons, but also expands the set of allusions to images of Christ himself through the epithet "Veronica," which occurs already 1397 when the icon was referred to as "la molt devota Verónica de Madona Santa Maria". The complicated set of references avoids authorizing any one portrait of Mary and elevates it to a status equal to Christ's. Movement also simultaneously reaffirmed the image's authenticity and extended it. The 1397 document records King Martin I's inauguration of a procession through Barcelona during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception[49]. As Crispí i Canton has proposed, the icon's course from royal palace through the city to the Bishop's palace mimicked that of the Assumption Day liturgy in Rome; and the papal parade of eighteen Marian icons to Sta. Maria Maggiore on the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin may have been secondary paradigm. If so, then replacing a ceremony commemorating Mary's ritual cleansing after giving birth (which began at St. Martin's) with one in Barcelona implying that, born without sin, the Virgin had needed no purification, effected a subtle and perhaps intentional shift in theological significance.

Although no evidence survives of how the Valencia icon (or its model) got to Catalonia, it is possible that, emulating Urban V and Clement VI (as Martin V did later), (anti) Pope Benedict XIII presented it to King Martin. Like the icon of Sta. Maria in Tempuli itself, it was often copied and distributed throughout the Kingdom of Aragon and Valencia. Replicas survive in the Cathedral of Tortosa, in Valencia itself (Museo de Bellas Artes), in Palma de Mallorca, and elsewhere[50]. Parading and copying became essential aspects of the image, and possibly papal gift-giving as well.

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[47] Gudiol i Cunill, J., "Les Veròniques", *Vell i Nou*, 13 (1921), pp. 1-11 and 15, pp. 67-76; Crispí i Canton, M., "La verònica de Madona Santa Maria i la processó de la Puríssima organitzada per Martí l'Humà", *Locus Amoenus*, 2 (1996), pp. 85-101; *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo: Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*, Valencia, 2001, pp. 149-153; Bacci, M., *Penello* and Idem, "Kathreptis, o la Veronica della Vergine", *Iconografica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna*, 3 (2004), pp. 11-37. Bacci has argued that the figure derives from the copy of the Tempuli Madonna in Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli; however, in the simple morphorian rather than jeweled garment characteristic of the eleventh- and twelfth-century replicas, it is more like the original. The Ara Coeli panel, it should be noted, is almost entirely repainted.

[48] See: Cormack, R., "The Eyes of the Mother of God", in Vassilaki, *Images*, pp. 167-173; Bredekamp, *Bildakts*, pp. 237-243.

[49] Crispí i Canton, "Verònica de Madona Santa Maria". See also: Español Bertran, F., "Artistas y obras entre la corona de Aragón y el Reino de Francia", in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, Cosmen Alonso, M., Herráez Ortega, M. and Pellón Gómez-Calcerrada, M. (eds.), Leon, 2009, pp. 253-294.

[50] Español Bertran, "Artistas y obras", p. 293.

Fig. 15. Madonna Avvocata, Valencia, Cathedral, 14th c

Fig. 16. Diptych of "the two Veronicas". Museum of Palma de Mallorca. Mid 15th century.

The mid-fifteenth-century diptych of "the two Veronicas" in the Museum of Palma de Mallorca (Fig. 16), sometimes attributed to Bernat Martorell, incorporates many of the themes this paper has considered and inflects them in telling ways. It is particularly close to the "Avignon Diptych"; but once again, the correlation is elusive and complex. For one thing, the Christ is related not to the Lateran Christ but to the "Veronica"; his long hair and pointed beard, eyes ever so slightly askance, and the frond-like rays (perhaps a reference to the palm leaves of Jerusalem) emanating from all four points of his face are characteristics encountered on many pilgrim badges and in nearly identical form in Petrus Christus' London portrait. And, within the genre of Spanish Mary portraits stemming ultimately from Martin I's Veronica, the Virgin on the right is an original and telling variant. Not only is she shown bust-length, but she also fingers her veil, a distinctly new feature that seems anew to index texts. Legends about the origins of the Veronica vary considerably, but in some accounts, Mary's veil plays a major role[51]. According to the *Venjeance Nostre Seigneur*, written around 1200, for instance, it was the Virgin's veil, not Veronica's, that received the image; Mary laid it on her dead son's face where it was imprinted with his portrait and gave it to Veronica, who was cured by it and converted[52]. The Virgin's downward glance and fingering gesture thus assimilate the Palma "Veronica" to its origins at Christ's death, much as the Flabellum of Tournus evoked the cherubim of the Holy of Holies, the coquille Saint-Jacques Jerusalem palm fronds, and the *Madonna Avvocata* the star that guided the three magi to Bethlehem.

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[51] In other contexts as well; according to the *Mediations on the Life of Christ*, for instance, the Virgin wrapped the Child in her headscarf before she put him the manger and later covered his groin with it as he hung from the cross. When she returned from Calvary, Mary's sisters "veiled her as a widow, enveloping almost her whole face"; see: *Meditations on the Life of Christ. An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, RAGUSA, I. and GREEN, R. (eds.), Princeton, 1961, pp. 33, 333 and 346.

[52] Mary's fingering of the veil also conjures up images of Mary at the Crucifixion; it is a feature of the Rosano Cross and also the related Cross of Sarzana, where Mary and John express their inner sorrow by holding white veils up to their faces. As is usual, Mary looks straight at the Crucified, indeed into his bleeding chest wound, while John, in subtle contrast, averts his gaze while seeming to daub tears from his eyes; see: *Pinxit Guillielmus. Il restauro della croce di Sarzana*, CIATTI, M. and FROSININI, C. (eds.), Florence, 2001.

The averted gaze also cues Mary's role as model of proper contemplation, that the inscription beneath Christ's Holy Face on the adjacent panel specifies:

> Revere the likeness of Christ kneeling before it when you pass by, make sure you do not worship the (physical) likeness but rather Him whom the image represents[53].

Like the inscriptions on the Rosano Cross, a north European text is here attached to a venerable icon from the East to form a new image in the Latin West. The distich appeared already on a twelfth-century Mosan phylactery in St. Petersburg (Hermitage, Fig. 17); and, it was transmitted in William Durandus' influential late-thirteenth-century *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, which interprets the movement of "kneeling before [the image] when you pass by" as a way to avoid adoring a material effigy rather than its ineffable prototype:

> We do not worship images... because this would be idolatry, but we venerate them for the memory and remembrance of things done long ago, hence the verse... [54]

The basic claim here that the physical picture is important only insofar as it activates a cognitive transition is precisely what, I have argued, underlay the diverse icons in Rome and in Spain. It is pictured literally on the phylactery in the figure of John's looks up toward heaven while pushing back with his left leg and lifting himself with his right. The pose's ambiguity conveys rest and movement simultaneously, much as the partial description does that appears above him: *sis pronus adora*[55].

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[53] Effigiem XP[ist]i cu[i] tra[n]sis pro[nus] adora
Non tame[n] effigie[m] s[ed] que[m] desig[n]at ymago.
See: Kessler, *Neither God nor Man*, pp. 23-24 and p. 44. Tellingly, the distich engages language first found on tombs, the epitaph of Ainhard, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy, recorded by the twelfth-century historian, Ordericus, begins "Here lies Ainhard, his many virtues as fragrant as the pure nard flowering nearby" and ends "He who passes before, remember kneeling down in your prayer, That he may be nourished by God's sweet face". The underlying notion is clear. The living person passing by Ainhard's mortal remains must kneel (supplex) and pray for the memory of the deceased whom he envisions being nourished by the face of God; *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Chibnall, M. (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 1969, pp. 353-354.

[54] *Effigiem Christi qui transis pronus honora*
Non tamen effigiem sed quem disignat adora
Esse Deum ratione caret cui contulit esse
Materiale lapis effigiale manus.
Ned Deus est nec homo presens quam cernis ymago
Sed Deus est et homo quem sacra figurat ymago;
Sed nos illas non adoramus, nec deos appellamus, nec spem salutis in eis ponimus quia hoc esset ydolatrare, sed ad memoriam et recordationem rerum olim gestarum eas ueneramur;
Guillelmi Duranti, Rationale divinorum officiorum, Davril, A. and Thibodeau, T. (eds.) (CCCM, vol. 140-140A), Turnhout,1995-1998, vol. 1, p. 35; Faupel-Drevs, K., *Vom rechten Gebrauch der Bilder im liturgischen Raum. Mittelalterliche Funktionsbestimmungen bildender Kunst im Rationale divinorum officiorum des Durandus von Mende (1230/1-1296)*, Leiden, 2000, esp. pp. 247ff.

[55] John holds a banderole with the opening words of Revelation 4: "Behold I John saw a door [opened in heaven]". The steps of meditation are deconstructed in the famous Sainte Abbaïe treatise of ca. 1300 (London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 11, fol. 29ʳ); see: Kumler, A., *Translating Truth. Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England*, New Haven, 2011, pp. 161-237; Williamson, B., "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence", *Speculum*, 88 (2013), pp. 1-43.

Fig. 17. Mosan phylactery.
St. Petersburg, Museum of
Hermitage. 12th century

Eschewing the complex acts of arriving, stopping, and adoring, the Palma diptych embodies the same processes in the figure of Mary, who diverts her eyes from the image of her Son and rubs the veil in a state of meditation. It is telling, I think, that the change evident in it occurred at just the moment that physical movements before images had again become contentious. For example, just as he condemned pilgrimage "to any sepulcher of relics of saints", at a trial in 1429, the Lollard heretic William Emayn asserted: "To images should no manner worship be done neither genuflexions nor incensing nor other thing of worship"[56].

And something of the same argument goes farther back and closer to home. It appears in the anonymous Spanish *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un Judio* of 1370[57], and in the slightly later dispute with a Jew on the island of Mallorca itself in which the Genoese merchant Inghetto Contrardo argued the point asserted in the distich: "do not believe that Christians

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[56] Aston, M., *Lollards and Reformers. Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, London, 1984, p. 143; see also: Marks, R., *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Phoenix Mill, 2004.

[57] They do not think that images and pictures are Gods, but rather are figures of Gods and of the saints; but they know well that the images of gold and of silver and wood and paint are not gods, because they and the whole world knows to adore only one God and none other. Moreno, G., *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío*, London, 2003. See: Pereda, F., *Las imágenes de la Discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400*, Madrid, 2007.

adore idols or images, rather they honor and remember God or some of his saints, in whose form the image is made"[58].

Thus, while the Palma diptych engages the same processes of imitation, amalgamation, hybridization, and assimilation that we have noted in works of art engaged in public institutional rites, Mary's stilled introspection invests these, not in paradigms of movement, but in a private, personal process of transition between earthly apprehension and spiritual realization[59]. Although moving objects never ceased and, indeed, continues to this day as a means for authenticating and inspiriting sacred images, the Palma diptych represents a fundamental transition that gained momentum beginning in the thirteenth century away from physical action. Art became essentially static, and internal, mental power the driver of transcendence.

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[58] *Non adoramus ydolas nec ymagines, sed adoramus Deum celi patrem et unigentum filius eius, dominum Iesum Christum, qui secum et spiritu sacto unanimiter vivit et in secula seculorum. Et has ymagines, quas videtis in ecclesiis, non adoramus, sed sancta mater ecclesia in modum specula ipsas ponit, ut eas videntes oculi corporals, videant oculi cordis, et recordentur de passione Christi qui passus fuit pro salute nostra et pro redemptione humani generis*; LIMOR, O., *Die Disputationem zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286). Zwei antijüdische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua* (MGH. QQ zur Geistegeschichte, vol. 15), Munich, 1994, pp. 290-292; KESSLER, *Neither God nor Man*, p. 29; PEREDA, *Las imágenes*, pp. 79-80.

[59] On this mode, in general, see: SCHMIDT, V., *Painted Piety. Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany 1250-1400*, Florence, 2005; and *Prayers and Portraits*.