

ICONOGRAPHY AND RITUAL

A Study of Analytical Perspectives

Staale Sinding-Larsen

TO LIV

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- The original dedication to Liv Erstad Sinding-Larsen was left out at the OUP. When I struggled with this book in Oslo in the early 80s, my Mother-in-Law, Gudrun Aure Erstad, gave me crucial support spiritually and materially.

- The present contribution is no "art book" (and art historians do not seem to have found it useful), but one about the *systemic, ritual and generally functional bases for imagery in the Roman Church roughly from Gregory the Great (590 -604) up to the Second Vatican Council, 1962 -65*), only partly relevant for the earlier Church (Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy To the time of Gregory the Great*). The eminent Byzantinist, Robin Sinclair Cormack, in the review reproduced here, said the book should be read by art historians but also that it would probably not find a large readership.

- Then, why republish it? It is, as far as I know, the only general and systematic introduction to the dogmas, idea and practices that conditioned *Roman Catholic iconography* after the three or four early centuries.

- My hunch is that the academic world has changed since the 1980s and that people are now more used to handle theory, system, and structure. In the theoretically and methodologically active social, organizational and cognitive sciences, there has been an increased interest in "humanist" matters; this, and also our *digital revolution*, probably have promoted this development, leaving the intuitional and positivist disciplines in the backwater they have created for themselves. Cormack's review is reprinted on the next page. This is an adequate introduction to the present book, and I would like to express my gratitude to him and to the *theological journal* which printed it.

Oslo, July 2012.

The Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. 37 (2), 1986. Robin Cormack.

Iconography and Ritual. A Study of Analytical Perspectives. By Staale Sinding-Larsen. Pp. vi / 210. 26 plates, 4 figures. Oxford University Press/Norwegian University Press, 1985. Hardback £ 27, paperback £ 17.50.

This is very much a topical piece of art-history writing of the 1980a. Sinding-Larsen is trying to remedy the separation between traditional art historians excessively concerned with attributions and dates, and historians who wish to use visual material. It is art history which is to be changed. An established art-historian himself, he both tries to identify the intellectual weaknesses of traditional art history and to provide a new systematic framework for the analysis of the art of the Church sanctuary. Late Medieval and Renaissance Italian art forms the essential material for discussion; it is suggested that a treatment of this material is essential for a broader understanding of Christian art. It is a book which deserves more readers than it is likely to get. It is elliptical, polemical, and difficult to read (partly due to its complex organization, partly because of the occasional infelicities of English expression); yet it marks a real advance in art-historical method. The argument is put across in a series of vignettes; these are full of helpful and provocative suggestions and ideas.

The main polemical point made by Sinding-Larsen is that art-historians have been misled into supposing that the description of iconography can be 'direct' and have not realized that description is 'theory-laden'. One example clearly illustrates the problem. A sixteenth-century mosaic at the entrance of San Marco in Venice represents St. Mark raising his hands: its common art-historical description is 'St Mark in ecstasy', an evocative description for a work of art at the time of the Counter-Reformation. Yet Sinding-Larsen finds this an entirely misconceived description, one which ignores the signs in the picture which support quite another interpretation: St. Mark celebrating Mass. One could say that the whole complex argument of the book is to set out a method which could ensure the interpretation of the mosaic according to this second alternative.

The book focuses on 'liturgical' art; it is suggested that art which was made to be placed on an altar, or which decorated the space around it, must be interpreted in thematic terms of the liturgy celebrated in the sanctuary. This art is to be analysed in the context of the aims and intentions of the 'planners' (the widest possible term to cover the processes of patronage)¹, and 'on the basis of the terms and of the notions and concepts that can be reconstructed - also hypothetically - from use, behaviour, attitudes and statements among the protagonists of the historical situation'. This is to be called 'context analysis'. The quotation perhaps illustrates some of the difficulties in reading the book; but these should not be allowed to obscure the quality of the many insights of the author and the subtlety of his perceptions. He avoids excessive reliance on a speculative reconstruction of the individual patron's intentions as part of the interpretations of works of art - the patron is after all just one member of a society and shares its ideologies. He is very direct and convincing when pointing out the deficiencies of the standard props of art-historical discourse - terms like 'influence'.

This book can be recommended to the Church historian as a new introduction to the possible analytic uses of visual material; it is essential reading for the art-historian.

Robin Cormack.

1. I have developed this important argument in SL, *Patterns*, 3.1, *Idea generation, planning process and networks*.

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1. Presentation of the Book

*It used to be one of the delights
of being a Catholic to find that its
ceremony involved an endless
exploration.*

(Christopher Sykes)

A relatively homogeneous empirical material that is functionally connected with ritual (I shall stick to Webster's definition of ritual, rite and ceremony) would seem to constitute a particularly adequate field for the development of methods of analysis and theory in art history; and particularly so, one which is thus connected, in terms that will be a main object of analysis, with the formalized ritual of one large organization such as the Roman Catholic Church. In comparison with, for example, Islamic iconography (as which mosque inscriptions may be treated), Christian iconography of the non-Protestant confessions offers a better documented and, above all, a more complex field for analytical experimenting. The notion of a locally present triune God as a focus of the liturgy and that of the incarnation offer particular possibilities and challenges to iconography (and, indeed, to style). While the 'orthodox' or Byzantine Churches, among the non-Protestant ones, at an early stage developed an articulate 'theology of images', the Roman Church took a different stand on the issue of sacred images and could not prevent a gap from opening up between their official and popular conceptions. One great expert on Byzantine art, Christopher Walter, recently wrote that semiological analysis 'may be profitably applied' to this material, because it is here not usually the case that 'the significative value of pictures may be subordinate in the artist's mind to stylistic or aesthetic considerations'. To this observation we may add another one. Possibly the gentry-dominated cultural conservatism which restricted stylistic variability, of which Lazarev wrote in 1947, left less scope for the Byzantine artists than in the case of the Western ones, to superimpose ever-new formal schemes upon given sense schemes.¹ Anyway in the Roman world, iconography, the visual sense structure, is far more flexible with regard to any one

specific set of meanings than is the case in Byzantine art; so that Roman iconography would seem to be more challenging to analytical and theoretical investigation. We may note finally that ritual-connected iconography of state buildings and council halls, with which I have formerly occupied myself, is less suited for discussion of analytical principles because of the more fluctuating interrelations between iconography and ritual and a marked instability, generally, of the latter.

So the present book, while making excursions into other fields, will concentrate on what must be supposed to be rite-connected iconography and inscriptions within the Roman Church. I should like it to be clear that this is no handbook, and that the iconographical material has been selected not for 'coverage' in any sense but exclusively for the analytical perspectives concerning central aspects in the interaction between iconography and ritual.

It will be seen that my treatment of this problem in a general way reflects attitudes typical of the social sciences. Furthermore, most of the specific analytical questions involved have strong affinities to questions that for a long time have been elaborated by disciplines in the social sciences, linguistics and semiology. It has seemed natural, therefore, to some extent to take these efforts into account and discuss their relevance for iconographical investigation.

The text starts at an elementary level and introduces 'canonical' functional considerations and then gradually develops the empirical material and the analytical and theoretical perspectives. There is a focus all the way through on scope, modes and limitations of argumentation. A limited number of central questions will be elaborated through this process, at the conclusion of which the theoretical implications of the process itself will be investigated in an effort that will necessarily involve some amount of restatement. On the other hand, the empirical material included is rather extensive; for I believe this to be a precondition to making the analytical problems debatable, considering the present state of our discipline.

Terminology development is integrated in a research process, and I shall introduce terms in empirical contexts and gradually develop them in theoretical contexts – but it would be illogical to claim that they become at any stage 'definitively' defined.²¹

The book may be read at two levels; as a first introduction to systematical study of a ritual iconography; and as a specialized investigation in art-historical argumentation and analysis.

Visual depositories of meaning, especially in ritual contexts, are a subject for other disciplines besides art history, and it is my hope that this book may contribute to interdisciplinary debate. The book is concerned with research processes and is itself part of such a process;

²¹ *Defin. acc. to la logique de Port-Royal:*
⁶ *Wiesberg, A Hist. of Philosophy, 2, pp. 40 ff.*

hence it is in no respect 'conclusive'. If my formulations to some readers should smack of pontificating, this is unintentional: presenting a basis for methodology inevitably involves statements about how things are to be done in accordance with the writer's ideology.

Obviously I hope that the testing out on the part of others of my analytical concepts and their identification of inconsistencies or inefficiencies in them will forward theory development in art history. There is some encouragement in Max Planck's dictum (paraphrased as follows by Morris Kline), that 'new ideas win acceptance because the opponents gradually die off and young people, attracted by and more receptive to strange theories, investigate and adopt them'. There is no need to be over-confident, however, for as I read recently in a book on cross-cultural studies in cognition and mathematics: 'Dumb baboons are thriving worldwide, while all but one of the smart apes is threatened by extinction'.

2. Two Interpretations

At the end of the thirteenth century, a funerary monument was provided for William Durand, bishop of Mende, who died in 1296.

The marble monument (Ill. 12) was erected in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. A large wall tomb, it contains a recumbent effigy of the bishop, and, above this, a mosaic showing him again, this time kneeling before the Virgin Mary, with the Christ-child, on a throne. The latter makes a gesture of blessing towards the bishop, who is presented by his particular patron saint; on the other side is St. Dominic (to whose Order the church belongs). What kind of message was the mosaic intended to communicate to contemporary visitors to the church? According to one scholar, the representation carries an 'eschatological' meaning, that is to say, it refers to 'the last things' in a Christian sense. For the mosaic seems to show man (specifically Bishop Durand) 'at the judgement he will be subjected to upon his death'.² So according to this interpretation we see Durand being evaluated and judged after his death. But the mosaic is susceptible of a totally different interpretation, which has been put forward with regard to other roughly contemporary pictures of essentially the same content. Visitors to Santa Maria sopra Minerva were witnessing not a judgement but the very acceptance of the defunct bishop's soul to the presence of the throne of the celestial majesty. There is excellent justification, as will be seen later, for representing God 'through' Christ and the latter even in his majesty as a child.³ So Durand is here along with the saints, participating in the eternal worship in heaven, the celestial liturgy.

No doubt this difference in interpretation would affect the contemporary congregation's understanding of the implied position of Bishop Durand and their response to 'his' Virgin. The alternatives spell out not only artistic and religious aspects, but sociological ones, too. Yet our profession has not developed any common methodological platform on which to develop systematic analysis for the treatment of alternative explanations as in the case of the Durand mosaic, and reach decisions that might generate further research rather than acting as a blind alley.

The present book aims at establishing such a platform, at least some essential elements of it. This will be attempted by surveying the

categories of sources that are available to us for treating such cases as that of the Durand mosaic.

A substantial part of the research platform will necessarily consist in the study of *liturgy*. It was for the performance of liturgy that, for example, a medieval community took upon itself the burden of erecting a cathedral, and it was for the performance of liturgy that any church was ever built.

Participation in the liturgy, more than the holding of specific theological views (which was confined to a few), was defined as an essential instrument to achieve one's salvation. It is a logical conclusion, then, that the pictorial decoration of a church or a chapel (a room with an altar), should be directly connected with the liturgy. The liturgy was and is defined as a 'depository of the faith', the expression of all dogmas and important doctrines and also to a large extent of the spiritual attitudes of any special period towards them. So liturgy is a social involvement, at times one of primary importance. The Mass and the Canonical Hours were treated as a social problem.⁴ The nephew and successor as bishop of Mende of the above-mentioned William Durand, the second William Durand, took up the social question of liturgy in connection with the Church Council of Vienne in France in 1311:

All people should be compelled to stay out the whole Mass, for even ecclesiastics walk about in and out of church during the solemnities of Mass, talking with men and women or simply returning to their homes. Even in cathedrals, bishops and other celebrants are sometimes left alone.

Nor should one always speak simply of 'the Mass'; usually the question 'whose Mass?' is forced upon us. In the thirteenth century the Mendicant Orders had already proved their ability to create liturgical conditions that were much more attractive. Their attraction consisted partly in relative brevity of rites. At the Church Council of Lyons in 1274, Bruno, bishop of Olmütz, had stated:

From the early morning til Terce they [i.e., the Franciscans] are saying Masses continuously. Except for one conventual high Mass, they say them *breviter* and, because of this modern shortness, people prefer to go to those Masses, thus neglecting the monastic and parish churches.

Evidently, any programme of images that is intended to illustrate or comment upon the liturgy is hardly understood unless a sociological perspective is included or, at least, a basis has been created for others to work over the presented material in terms of sociological interest.

3. Need of a New Approach

Art-historical research today faces new challenges from the society that pays for it. There is an increasing demand that the discipline should be on speaking terms with people outside the closed circle of experts. Representatives of the social sciences and economic history show an increasing interest in art-historical material. So does the general public. And they all show a growing embarrassment over the virtual inaccessibility of some aspects of art-historical writing.

Paradoxically enough, professional efforts in the field of Christian iconography – the study of ‘sense’ and ‘meaning’ in Christian imagery – appear to be among the things least accessible to outside readers. Within the profession itself, this particular field has become the one where confusion reigns almost unopposed and where much of the little exchange there is between scholars has proved singularly unproductive for methodological development.

And yet Christian iconography is a field that concerns artistic expression in its most communicative role. For this kind of iconography was not normally intended to mystify and appeal to individual sleuth instincts but to address the general public of the day concerning precisely that which the Church considered to be the essential value in the earthly life of the people: namely the participation in the religious services and closeness to divine realities as experienced through the liturgy. The liturgy laid down rules for this participation and modes of expression for this experience. And the Christian iconography intended to illustrate what was going on at Mass, for example, was bound directly or indirectly by the same rules.

The art-historical profession, however, to a very considerable extent, has ignored these simple functional perspectives and instead dedicated much energy to curiosity-seeking; so that, paradoxically, as I said, the study of Christian iconography has become an isolated concern often ruled by unpredictable taste rather than method. Liturgy has come to be considered a special and limited field of interest even in studies of Christian iconography, whereas the Bible is confidently but often mistakenly accepted as the direct source. Thus for instance the all-important prayers of the Canon of the Mass of the Roman Church

are consistently overlooked. This amounts to a *Verlust der Mitte* – a disregard of the central factors.

The insufficiency of current research method in Christian iconography becomes increasingly manifest as we proceed towards the High Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Paradoxically as it may seem, this phenomenon is functionally connected with parallel steady accretion of documentary, literary and other specific information. For thereby scholarship finds increased motivation for ever-heightened pretensions to specific, detailed and circumstantial interpretation of subject matter in Christian iconography. Despite the increased potentialities of research and the heightened pretensions, there has been next to no methodological follow-up. To a very considerable extent art historians facing Christian-iconographical material have had recourse to the fanciful, unprincipled and a-ritual concepts and the often unpredictable techniques that have been developed for classical-determined humanistic iconography. If I may be allowed to repeat myself:

Recent studies in Western Christian iconography have to a certain extent been influenced by the methodology for Renaissance 'pagan' iconography, a field of research which, unlike its Christian counterpart, is not based on a relatively permanent set of well defined theological and liturgical doctrines as these were from time to time expressed in art. Pagan iconography must rely on the history of possibly relevant pictorial sources, as well as on findings from heterogeneous literary traditions. When this method is applied to a problem in Christian iconography, it easily leads to confusion, unless the theological basis for and the liturgical significance of the representation is first examined.⁵

In academic terms the outcome may be outlined as follows. Too frequently research conclusions or even research premises are open to easy destruction by anyone relatively well versed in elementary liturgical functions and texts. But surprisingly few scholars appear to consider this specific frame of reference and terminology for Christian iconography, one that is sprung out of the functions it comments on pictorially, and one that requires at least a mild form of systems analysis.

Since such contributions cannot be integrated into a systematic research process, the professional milieus have created market values for them, as a result of which they are engaged in a kind of pseudo-liberalistic competition with each other.⁶ Empirical studies in the field of iconography have not to any decisive extent generated consistent exploration of the underlying analytical and theoretical concepts. This means that many studies remain argumentatively interrelated merely in terms of their results or 'conclusions', according to whether they match or clash. This in turn implies that the productive potential of 'untenable' hypotheses or abortive propositions becomes lost. There will always be potentially useful products of a research process; a chimerical goal can redirect analytical processes to channels

that will prove conducive to other goal-sets of even higher interest;⁷ but to be useful they have to be set out properly.

Clearly, a debate on method is needed, and any attempt, however modest, is justified, I believe, to the extent that it contributes to some better order in analytical procedures. This, precisely, is the aim of the present volume.

**Part II. Functional Context for Christian
Iconography**

1. Introduction

Let us assume generally that the function of iconography spatially connected with an altar is to illustrate dogmatical and doctrinal concepts expressed in the liturgy and described in liturgical, theological and ecclesiological Tradition; terms that will be explained below. I shall occasionally use the term 'central liturgical' and indicate aspects of the Mass rather than of other sacraments such as Baptism or Confession.⁸

Liturgy can be roughly described as a regulated system of texts to be read or sung and of a limited number of actions. Images, however, will usually evoke wider fields of experience and association than the written word and simple actions will normally do. Consequently, iconography will tend to be more actively attributed with non-liturgical and non-theological notions. Affective values of everyday experience and personal devotion will be easily brought in. An image of the immolated Christ reclining on the Virgin's knee (Ill. 10) will connote the well-defined idea of the Church and her Sacrifice in the Mass, while at the same time any number of 'mother-and-son' associations are likely to be aroused in some onlookers, depending upon their education and general outlook. One aim of iconographical methodology must be to distinguish between and describe such different notions in the given historical context. Chapter 2 provides background material for the assumption that the connexion between Christian iconography and its historical and sociological context goes primarily *through liturgy* and then through theology and Church Tradition. This material serves analytical exemplification and is elementary and simplified.

2. Theology, the Church, Tradition, and Liturgy

A. Theology

The object of theological investigation and teaching is God and all created things in their relation to God; or, in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274): 'In sacred learning all things are considered under the aspect of God, either because they are God himself or because they are related to God, who is their beginning and end.' Mankind belongs to this latter category of created and 'related' things.

Theology draws from two fundamentally different sources. 'Supernatural theology' is concerned with the data that have been provided by divine revelation, while 'natural theology' concerns any knowledge concerning God that may be accessible to human reason and intellectual thought. The continuous elaboration of theology is one of the chief characteristics of Tradition (below, C). The following description is quoted from the *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests* (first edition: Rome, 1566):

Such is the nature of the human mind and intellect that, although by means of diligent and laborious inquiry it has of itself investigated and discovered many other things pertaining to a knowledge of divine truths; yet guided by its natural lights it never could have known or perceived most of those things by which it attained eternal salvation, the principal end of man's creation and formation to the image and likeness of God. It is true that the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are, as the apostle teaches, clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made: his eternal power also, and divinity (*Romans*, 1:20). But the mystery which has been hidden from ages and generations so far transcends the reach of man's understanding, that were it not made manifest by God to his saints, to whom he willed to make known by the gift of faith, the riches of the glory of his mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ (*Colossians*, 1:26-27), man could by no effort attain such wisdom. (Translation by McHugh and Callan.)

Of course, this is part of the Tridentine definition of theology. It cannot be taken for granted that a Council of an earlier century would have endorsed it in the same wording. (*Bibliography 1*)

B. The Church

In the context of Christian iconography it is necessary to emphasize the all-importance of ecclesiology – study and teaching concerning the Universal Church – much more consistently than is usually the case.

2/9

Not only the life⁷ and liturgy of the Church herself, but usually also the State and the government, and furthermore many aspects of everyday life, at times even tax-paying and commerce, were seen in the light of ecclesiology.

Ecclesiological concepts impose a functional and symbolical coherence on all separate parts of a church building regarded as a functional entity and also on all parts of its iconography. It is inconceivable that they should be unrelated to each other.

The Church, in the words of St. Augustine (354-430), 'consists of the faithful dispersed throughout the world'. This community is also called the Mystical Body of Christ, of which Christ himself is the head, and the faithful the members. In a wider sense, this term 'body' implies, in Ott's recapitulation:

the communion of all those made holy by the grace of Christ. These include: the faithful on earth, those in the place of purification who are not yet completely justified [i.e., in Purgatory]; and the perfectly justified in Heaven. Correspondingly, one distinguishes between the militant, the suffering, and the triumphant Church. In the narrower sense, the Mystical Body of Christ means the visible Church of Christ on earth.

The main scope of the Church is to glorify God through the liturgy and to work for the salvation of mankind; the liturgy is essential also for the latter purpose. In Heaven angels and the saints are performing an everlasting liturgy before the Trinity. The communion between the faithful on earth and the saints in Heaven is achieved by way of a consonance between the earthly and celestial liturgies and through the veneration of the saints and their relics, and through the saints' intercession for mankind in Heaven. This communion and also the liturgical consonance between Heaven and earth are clearly expressed in the Mass liturgies (II, 2, E). So indeed are all the important aspects of ecclesiology. Participation in the sacraments: baptism, and, above all, that of the Mass, is essential. The *Catechism of the Council of Trent* gives the following explanation:

The good are those who are linked together not only by the profession of the same faith, and the participation of the same Sacraments, but also by the spirit of grace and the bond of charity . . . For the unity of the Spirit, by which she [i.e. the Church] is governed, brings it about that whatsoever has been given to the Church is held as a common possession by all her members. The fruit of all the Sacraments is common to all the faithful, and these Sacraments, particularly Baptism, the door, as it were, by which we are admitted into the Church, are so many sacred bonds which bind and unite them to Christ . . . After Baptism, the Eucharist holds the first place in reference to this communion, and after that the other Sacraments, inasmuch as they unite us in God, and render us partakers of Him whose grace we receive, yet it belongs in a peculiar manner to the Eucharist which actually produces this communion. (Translation by McHugh and Callan.)

This is part of the Tridentine description. The conception of the Church is not historically invariable. Nuances and even differences concerning many aspects of the Church make up an important element in Tradition as it developed over the centuries. (*Bibliography 2*)

C. Tradition

In a somewhat simplified definition we may say that Tradition in the Roman Catholic sense (hereinafter spelled with a capital T) is made up by the bulk of teachings and statements pronounced by the Church, as well as by the liturgy of the Church, including some of its variations over time and space. Liturgy is considered a proof and declaration of the faith. It is also characteristic that one of the members of the Council of Trent, at Session 13, in 1551, pointed out that any disagreement over the interpretation of some specific formulation in the Bible had to be settled in accordance with the popes and the Councils, the holy Fathers and the Church in her totality; in other words, in accordance with Tradition. Truth 'stands firm rather because of the authority of the Church than because of the authority of Augustine or Jerome or any other learned theologian', Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) affirmed. The Church claims, and has done so since very early times, a divinely bestowed and unique teaching office in matters of faith and morals and also authority over the liturgy. In its decisions, it is constantly guided by the Holy Spirit; a claim constantly repeated and occasionally even illustrated by pictorial means. A woodcut representation of the Council of Trent, for example, showed the assembled fathers with the Dove hovering above them.

Tradition has been gradually built up, elaborated and marginally modified through the centuries, and it is essential for the historian to make himself familiar with the characteristics of the period in which he finds his research material. Not only do the statements issued by Councils, Synods or popes influence a period; they will often in their turn have been the result of long-drawn-out debates that reveal different attitudes from those finally confirmed. Occasionally such 'provisionary attitudes' will have to be taken into account by the historian. A careful consultation of Hubert Jedin's *History of the Council of Trent* will lead to a general understanding of these problems also with regard to other epochs.

Obviously then, the term Tradition itself has undergone some degree of modification through the history of the Church. In a modern survey – in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* – Tradition is described as consisting mainly of six elements: (1) The Scriptures, especially with regard to Biblical Christology. (2) Further interpretation of the New

Testament by the Church. (3) The apostolic succession: this concerns the transmission over the centuries of apostolic authority. (4) *Regula fidei* or *symbolum*: interpretation of the Scriptures according to the developing faith among the faithful in their liturgical and sacramental life. (5) The presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, which is inspired by the Holy Spirit: especially *John*, 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; 1 *John*, 2:1. (6) Some late apostolic traditions. Most of these spheres also comprise liturgical doctrines and attitudes. Which does not mean that liturgy, for example, has developed smoothly along a predisposed line since the earliest times; but Tradition could be brought in as a corrective. On the churches of Gaul in the ninth century, the French liturgist Duchesne had this to say:

Each church had its special Mass books, its special liturgical customs. Nowhere was there a fixed rule, everywhere complete anarchy – a disorder that would have been incorrigible, had not the Carolingian monarchy demanded respect for the Tradition and the authority of the Roman Church.

The importance of being to some extent familiar with the concept and functions of the Church has been stressed above (see B, above,). No less essential is conversance with Tradition and the way it works in the main outlines, and a more substantial knowledge with regard to the specific period and area of the iconography under examination. The historian must be prepared to meet with deviations from the main Tradition in any period or area; often they will be the result of newly discovered aspects of Tradition itself. Quite a number of art-historical contributions do, however, take their point of departure in what are believed to be divergences or special ‘contemporary’ features without awareness of what exactly the ‘normal’ or the ‘earlier’ standard might have been. An iconographical investigation should start from the working assumption that one has to do with normal Tradition; this is the only way to isolate the divergences, if there are any at all. (*Bibliography 3*)

D. Liturgy

The above notes on ecclesiology have concerned the context in which the liturgy is operating. We may now specify the latter term. The terminology has changed somewhat through the ages. In the Septuagint version of the Bible, *leiturgia* (Greek) is synonymous with the sacrificial service. In the fourth century various Synods in the East used the same word for the entire ecclesiastical activity of priests and deacons. In the West during the Middle Ages the term was not used; *officia divina* or *officia ecclesiastica* covered the field today referred to with the word liturgy. The present significance of the word in the

Roman Church dates back to the sixteenth century; and it is the most convenient in our context.

Roman Catholic liturgy is the totality of cult behaviour pre-established by the Church and involving speech, recitation, and song, as well as movement and the use of specific symbols and colours. The nucleus of the liturgy is Traditionally believed to have been instituted by Christ; it has been elaborated within Tradition.

It is liturgy also when a representative of the official Church in this capacity and according to official Church mandate performs a ceremony of divine cult, or officiates a baptism, bestows a blessing, celebrates Mass, and this is so even if he is alone in doing this and nobody else is present at that rite: for even so, it is the Church in capacity of people of God who performs the act. (J. A. Jungmann)

The principal texts were collected in writings such as the Missal and the Breviary (redaction and names vary with historical periods and to a certain extent place).

The liturgy is considered Traditionally not only as the live expression of the theological dogmas; it is also taken as a corroboration or proof of the truth of these dogmas. An important point often missed in art-historical contexts is that liturgy not only supplies separate themes that may be of interest. It provides an explicit and to a certain extent systematic demonstration of the dogmas and the doctrines and, to a varying degree, of special attitudes toward these in a specific period, a particular monastic Order, and so on. In the words of Pope Sixtus V (pope 1585-1590), the liturgy is in fact 'a declaration of true faith' ('verae fidei protestatio'). Liturgy is also intended to act as a regulating agency upon human behaviour and response to 'messages' in the context of divine service. It is a system of processes forming part of the larger system of the Church, theology and Tradition (IV, 3, B).

The problems of liturgy are highly technical. Adequate introductions to the field are cited in the bibliography, but most iconographical problems will require far more detailed insight than is offered in even such an excellent survey as that of Eisenhofer-Lechner. (*Bibliography* 4)

E. Examples of Texts from Mass Ordinal and Canon with Iconographical Relevance

The following examples are generally characteristic of the Roman world in the Middle Ages and post-medieval periods, but there are numerous variations or even deviations in accent and mutual relationship not accounted for here. The purpose of this section is merely to exemplify in an introductory way how formulas in a Mass may prompt

or justify iconographical rendering. The features recorded below also recur or are taken for granted in numerous other formulas and traditions.

From the Ordinal

Take away from us, O Lord, our sins . . . Through Christ our Lord.	Aufer a nobis, quaesumus, Domine, iniquitates nostras . . . Per Christum Dominum nostrum.
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The formulas 'through' ('per') Christ (see also below) refer to redemption through Christ and, in a more narrow liturgical sense, to him as mediator (see *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas* and *Supplices* below). God is reached through Christ.

We beseech you, O Lord, by the merits of the saints, whose relics are here, and of all saints, that you would be pleased to forgive me all my sins.	Oramus te, Domine, per merita sanctorum tuorum, quorum reliquiae hic sunt, et omnium sanctorum: ut indulgere digneris omnia peccata mea.
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Appeal is made to the merit of the saints, by which a 'treasury' ('thesaurus') is constituted from which mankind can draw for salvation. Direct reference is made to the relics of saints buried in the *sepulcrum* of the altar table (*mensa*). See also the *Suscipe*, below. The above prayer is, of course, of fundamental importance for the iconography of saints and of 'Paradise'. See Ills. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21. Prayers such as the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Gloria patri*, and the *Credo* and the Mass Prefaces (see below) are variously emphasized for their Trinity-like structure, thus forming a basis for concepts like that of the Church which is filled with the Trinity and for Trinity iconography generally. See Ill. 9. The shorter and the longer *Gloria* – along with other formulas – emphasize on various levels the glorification of Christ, a theme further elaborated in special liturgical contexts, such as that of the Ascension. Such elaborations in the cycle of the ecclesiastical year – or in the cycle of the liturgical hours – are of great importance (but further references beyond the Mass Ordinal and Canon will not be given in the present section). From the *Gloria in excelsis*:

O Lord Jesus Christ, only begotten son: O Lord God, Lamb of God, son of the Father, who takes away the sins of the	Domine Fili Unigenite, Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi . . . suscipe
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world, have mercy on us; you who take away the sins of the world, receive our prayers. You who sit at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us. For you only are holy, you only are lord, you only O Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, are most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus Altissimus, Jesu Christe. Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

Here is emphasized the 'sitting on the right' ('sessio a dextris', also in the Bible) with reference to the glorified Christ after the ascension, a liturgical basis for depiction of the enthroned Christ in glory. See Ills. 4, 5, 7. Not only is the presence of the Father envisaged, also that of the Holy Spirit (so also in other prayers), concepts represented pictorially as, e.g., the appearance of a hand or a dove, respectively. See Ills. 11, 22.

Some of the principal expressions of the all-important notion, that the offering in the Mass is going to take place before the divine countenance, may now be quoted.

O God, who in creating human nature, did wonderfully dignify it, and have still more wonderfully reformed it; grant that, by the mystery of this wine and water we may be made partakers of his divinity who vouchsafed to become partaker of our humanity, Jesus Christ, your son, our lord, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit without end. Amen.

Deus, qui humanae substantiae dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabiliter reformasti: da nobis per huius aquae et vini mysterium, eius divinitatis esse consortes, qui humanitatis nostrae fieri dignatus est particeps, Jesus Christus Filius tuus Dominus noster: Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus: per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

(Christ 'reigns': one of the central statements concerning Christ's kingship. See Ill. 13: Christ wearing a crown).

We offer unto you, O Lord, the chalice of salvation, beseeching your clemency that it may ascend before your divine

Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem salutaris, tuam deprecantes clementiam: ut in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, pro

majesty, as an odor of sweetness, for our salvation and for that of the whole world. Amen.

nostra, et totius mundi salute cum odore suavitatis ascendat. Amen.

Humble in spirit and penitent in heart, may we be accepted by you, Lord, and may our sacrifice be so offered in your sight this day that it may be pleasing to you, Lord God.

In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te, Domine: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie, ut placeat tibi, Domine Deus.

In the following prayer it is said that the offering takes place before the Trinity or before God; a concept repeated some twelve times.

Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer to you in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in honour of the blessed Mary ever virgin, of blessed John the Baptist, of the holy apostles Peter and Paul . . . [follows a list of saints ending with] . . . and of all saints: that it may be available to their honour and our salvation: and may they vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through the same Christ our lord. Amen.

Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Jesu Christi Domini nostri: et in honorem beatae Mariae semper Virginis, et beati Joannis Baptistae . . .

. . . et omnium sanctorum: ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem: et illi pro nobis intercedere dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam agimus in terris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Besides the theme referred to above, that of the offering before the divine countenance, there are some others to be noted. The offering is a memorial to the passion and resurrection of Christ. Named saints as well as 'all saints' are honoured; appeals are made to them for them to intercede in heaven for mankind. See Ills. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21. See the *Oramus te* quoted above.

The Preface

The so-called Common Preface (introductory to the Canon of the Mass; there are numerous other prefaces) depicts the celestial liturgy

and the connexion between this and the liturgy of the churches on earth. The Preface terminates with the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*.

It is truly meet and just, right and for our good, that we at all times, and in all places should give thanks, O Holy Lord, Father Almighty: through Christ our Lord; through whom angels praise, dominions adore, powers fear, the heavens and the heavenly hosts and the blessed seraphim, joining together in exultation celebrate your majesty. We pray you, bid our voices to be admitted with theirs, beseeching you, confessing you, and saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper, et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Caeli, caelorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphim, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces, ut admitti iubeas, deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli, et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

In his *On the Preface (De Praefatione)* William Durand (died 1296) (see Ill. 12) quoting St. Gregory the Great (died 604) almost to the letter, says that 'Here we sing the hymn of the angels because we have no doubt that through this sacrifice earthly things are joined together with heavenly things, and thus we proclaim we are saved with them on high.' ('Postremo hic cantica Angelorum canimus, quia per hoc sacrificium terrena iungi caelestibus non dubitamus, et ideo cum eis in excelsis salvari clamamus.') This will be referred to frequently in Part III.

From the Canon

Three prayers following upon consecration and containing concepts referred to above:

And now, Lord, we your servants, and with us all your holy people, calling to mind the blessed passion of this same

Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, eiusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatæ passionis, nec

Christ, your son, our Lord, as well as his resurrection from the depths, and glorious ascension into heaven, offer to your sovereign majesty, out of the gifts you have bestowed upon us: a victim pure, a victim holy, a victim unblemished, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of lasting salvation.

Deign to regard them with a favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept them as you were pleased to accept the offerings of your servant Abel, who was full of innocence, and the sacrifice of our father Abraham, and that which your high-priest Melchisedech sacrificed to you, a holy sacrifice, a victim without blemish.

Humbly we ask it of you, almighty God, to command that these gifts be carried by the hands of your holy angel up to your altar on high, before the face of your divine majesty, so that those of us who by taking part in the sacrifice of this altar shall have received the sacred body and blood of your son, may be filled with every grace and heavenly blessing: through the same Christ our lord. Amen.

non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis: offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis, ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et Calicem salutis perpetuae.

Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchae nostri Abrahae: et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificum, immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: iube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae: ut quotquot, ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui, Corpus, et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

In these three prayers, the *Unde et memores*, *Supra quae*, and *Supplices*, essential concepts, referred to in prayers cited above, are emphasized at the moment of the sacrifice: the participation of the faithful (the Church) in a sacrifice before the majesty of God to the memory not only of the passion but also of the glorification; a liturgical emphasis on the strictly sacrificial character of the Mass (emphatically reconfirmed during the contests with the Northern Reformers in the sixteenth century, e. g., by Johannes Eck); salvation through the

sacrament. The 'typological' references to Old Testament sacrifices are here liturgically confirmed. The concept is elaborated of how God through Christ at a heavenly altar accepts the Eucharistic offering carried up by the angel (the *angelus Missae*), a subject that, e. g., Lothar of Segni, later Pope Innocent III, enlarged upon in his book on the Mass, *De sacro altaris mysterio*.

For 'farcing' of liturgical formulas, see III, 5, A.

F. Texts and Historical Change

Concepts (covered by dogma or doctrine) that are briefly stated in the above texts are, so to speak, elaborated in other texts that were, as a result of complex developments, collected in the Missal along with the Ordinal and Canon and in the Breviary, and which are edited to fit the character of specific parts of the ecclesiastical year or particular feasts such as Christmas or the day of some saint. Many of these texts may be said to elaborate the statements given in Canon and Ordinal. So for example in the Ordinal we have, in the *Gloria in excelsis*, the statement: 'Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris.' In the liturgy of the Ascension this is a constantly recurring theme (Ills. 5, 7). In an antiphon we have, for example, 'Dominus in caelo, alleluia, paravit sedem suam.' In the hymn *Aeterne rex, altissime*, we have 'Gloria tibi, Domine, qui scandis super sidera, cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu' (Christ rising above the stars with the Father and the Holy Spirit). To the examples from Christmas liturgy cited above (see note 3), may be added: 'De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam' (the 'fruit of your womb' placed 'upon your seat/throne').

How is one to decide which texts are important, whether a variant in the choice of a prayer or antiphon for a particular day makes any difference in our context of research? This has to be established by examining the historical context, by studying what liturgiologists have to say, not what other art historians think they can say about it (nor should statements in the present book be used for reference in any research of a substantive nature). A few general considerations may be relevant. For long periods the central texts of the Mass Ordinal and Canon remained relatively uniform. When a source speaks of 'liturgical chaos' this may mean no more than the existence of slight variations in text redactions or of rites that can have no more than formal and disciplinary importance – whereas in other cases the difference may spell out real distinctions in attitude. The texts directly connected with the Mass sacrifice may be said to have absolute priority of importance over the other ones, but even such a statement must be evaluated in its historical context. I shall return to some of these problems.

G. Elaboration of Church Tradition

The Tradition of the Church (II, 2, C), including the liturgy, provided material and ideas for further elaboration, embellishment and artistic creation in various contexts, ranging from professional literary comment to theatrical dramatization and poetry. Neat distinctions can hardly be drawn. Despite a considerable degree of overlapping, the different categories of elaboration upon Tradition may be roughly subdivided in the following way (further comments below):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a Literary and Oral Comment</p> <p>1 Allegorical explanation and interpretation of liturgy</p> <p>2 Literary comments on events or concepts celebrated in liturgy</p> <p>3 Comments on theology that have not been absorbed by Tradition.</p> | <p>b Audio-Visual Performance/ Re-enactment</p> <p>1 Dramatized liturgy</p> <p>2 Dramatized additions to liturgy; performances evoking liturgical subjects</p> <p>3 Dramatized elaboration of theology</p> |
|--|--|

The relation of b to a is an analytical problem for any specific material. Usually the 'b column' (drama, for example) involves a display of features comparable to iconography, which does not mean that they 'explain' the iconography. It is important to avoid confusion here, for iconography clearly in many respects represents extension to these categories, since it is itself a visual illustration of or comment upon liturgy, and hence also covers essential elements in Church Tradition. For the different modes of relationship between iconography and liturgy, see III, 3, D. The above categories may be exemplified in the following manner.

a 1 Explanation of the liturgy and hence also of church architecture and accessories in allegorical terms, e.g., in William Durand's *Rationale* or Sicardus of Cremona's *Mitræ*. See Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, *Bibliography* 4, and J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, *Bibliography* 6.

a 2 Literary comments on events and concepts celebrated in the liturgy consist mainly of legend collections like the *Legenda aurea*, the *Biblia pauperum*, and of poetry, some of which is used in theatrical performance, and of argued comments oscillating between theology and legend; between, let us say, St. Brigid's visualization of the Nativity or St. Theresa's vision of Christ, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux's comment on the coronation of the Virgin. Occasionally,

features from sources listed under the present heading have been adopted by the liturgy.

a 3 As an example of theological comments which represent Tradition without, probably, contributing to it, but which may have influenced iconography, we have Savonarola's description of the triumphal procession of Christ and the members of celestial Paradise, in his *Triumphus crucis*: here, current theological terms are set out introductorily. Yet, even here the model is, strictly speaking, liturgical: a procession evoking the heavenly liturgy.

b 1 Dramatized performance of liturgy ranges from simple but significant gestures, as when the celebrant bows or raises his hands, to more spectacular rites, as when the Gospel book symbolic of Christ is carried in procession from the altar to the ambo facing the congregation; or, in later usage, from the centre of the altar to its corner. It would seem to be an unpractical proposition to try to isolate the 'dramatic' or 'theatrical' features from this context. Symbolism and the allegorical method in use in liturgical writing in the Middle Ages and later account for the presence of such features to a varying degree all through the rites. And the relation between liturgy and drama has recently become a central theme with theatre historians, starting with Hardison (see *Bibliography* 5).

b 2 Dramatized comments on or additions to liturgy comprise a vast amount of ceremonies and processions of a purely ecclesiastical; but also of mixed ecclesiastical and political, character. Some examples may be cited without pretension to systematic order, such as the drama of the *Quem queritis* of Easter morning, or indeed the ceremonial burying of 'Christ' on the preceding evening; the procession of the Corpus Christi; the Roman procession with the Sancta Sanctorum image of Christ and the washing of its feet; or the Venetian procession with the Nicopeia Virgin, or, finally, the Passion Dramas.

b 3 Dramatized comment on theology: this hardly represents a clearly distinguishable category at all. Some features might seem to tend rather towards being theological than liturgical. This is so when an image of a saint is hoisted up or 'elevated' so as to illustrate his glorification: a rendering of the theological concept of a saint's glorification which follows that of the Incarnate Word in Christ. This is represented, e.g., in medieval mosaics like the one in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome, and in Pinturicchio's painting in the Chapel of St. Bernardine in the Araceli Church, Rome. Usually the theological concept will be brought in along with the liturgy and its elaboration. And in fact, the examples just cited are close to liturgical expressions of the glorification of saints. All fundamental concepts of theology are expressed in liturgy, so that visualization of the former links up with the latter and vice versa.

3. Types of Iconographical Function

How does Christian iconography function within the context outlined in the preceding chapters? Functional considerations will occupy us through the entire book, but some general implications of the term may conveniently be set out at this point.

In Webster's definition, 'function' is: 'The action for which a person or thing is specially fitted or used or for which a thing exists.' To make the definition useful for our purpose, we shall have to understand the word 'action' in a wide sense, implying physical action such as gestures and attitudes, and oral, auditive, and visual communication, and spiritual energy as well, such as prayer or invocation or indeed special attention directed upon someone or something.

Iconography may serve liturgy in a *formal function*, namely when some particular use of it has been formally prescribed, or in an *auxiliary function*, as when imagery is used for illustrative purposes without any liturgical obligation. From the formal point of view, the functions are very restricted in number. The altar and the Eucharistic chalice have such functions, but not so the imagery they may carry as embellishment. Examples of this kind can be listed in great numbers to show the lack of any formal function. There are, however, a few exceptions to this. Crucifixes on altars and representations of the Crucifixion in Missals (Sacramentaries) and sometimes also in Gospel books were kissed by the celebrant during Mass in many places since the twelfth century. Kissing the altar ultimately substituted these image-focused rites. A 'station' might be held before the cross. These are among the few cases in which images have a formal function in Mass liturgy in the Roman Church (the situation is entirely different in the Byzantine and Eastern Churches). The recitation of formal devotions before images occurs (and today still does, following the *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum*) in connection with Indulgences. Some Psalters of the mid-thirteenth century, for example, prescribe indulgenced prayers to be said before a representation of the Holy Face. But in practice there is not such a clear-cut distinction between what is genuinely formal and official and what is not.

As we leave the sphere of liturgy proper or 'central liturgy' and enter that of paraliturgical rites and ceremonies, some of them prescribed

locally and some merely customary, there is then an increasing tendency towards formal use of images. As examples we may cite the covering-up of the crucifix and other sacred images for Lent, the carrying of images in processions, the exposition of images during certain rites, or the washing of the feet of the image of Christ at the Sancta Sanctorum procession in Rome (a rite suppressed by Pius V as a result of the controversy over the sacred images).

Among typically *auxiliary functions* of liturgical imagery the following may be emphasized (regardless of the true functional qualities that were sometimes attributed to the images). Some of the functional categories overlap. Images may: (1) serve as illustrations during catechizing activities or other teaching, and also serve as a teaching aid in one's introduction to the participation in the liturgy; the Church has always stressed the didactical values of images; (2) focus one's attention upon and illustrate the main and subordinate topics in the liturgy while this is being performed ('celebrated' is the correct word). For example, a crucifix may be placed on the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary and thus serve the congregation, which is otherwise barred from direct participation in the Mass (III, 7, D); (3) hold the attention of or at least 'distract' in a positive manner the bored congregation during the much-deplored long liturgical proceedings in which it often did not have much share. At the Council of Vienne in 1313, the Mass liturgy was discussed as a social problem for this very reason; (4) focus private devotion – in a non-formal liturgical sense – in the churches. (See III, 9, C, for a sixteenth-century view on function.) The reader will note that these distinctions are provisional and not at a high semantic level.

I. General Characteristics of the Iconography

Part III. Empirical Parameters

There are few iconographies in churches and chapels that do not take their point of departure in the text of the Canon and the Canon of the Mass, however far from the traditional distribution and respective extent may seem, and however "loose" related an apparently purely narrative scene may be. It is necessary, said for modern scholars to realize how these existing traditions, which produced the material we are studying are themselves the result of a long history of exegesis, and hence of liturgy. Even if an icon or a relief seems to be a marginal iconographical problem, especially connected with a scenically marginal liturgical episode, the historical and liturgical principle of unity must be necessary for us to seek out the relation to that "liturgical iconography of the Canon of the Mass." Only by doing this can we finally see that a specific iconographical subject really is "marginal" or "not necessarily such" and not to be so.

The general approach in the present book is a systematic one, and it treats iconography related to Mass liturgy as a system. This does not mean that cases of unsystematically created iconography, or unrepresentative artistic invention, may not exist in large numbers. What is needed is that, since liturgy is to a certain extent systematic, it is necessary to start from the working hypothesis that the iconography illustrating it must reflect this systematic character. This is probably the best way of avoiding the cases where such a principle does not apply.

B. Christian Iconography as Part of a System

It will have emerged from the evidence presented in Part II that Christian iconography in the Roman world is generally part of a system, however flexible this may be, and the unifying principle has not been emphasized.

Usually, the systematic (instead of "systematic") a word that could be

1. General Characteristics of the Iconography

A. Problem Outline

There are few iconographies in churches and chapels that do not take their point of departure in the texts of the Ordinal and the Canon of the Mass, however far-flung the additional elaboration and thematical extras may seem, and however remotely related an apparently purely narrative scene may be.⁹ It is perhaps hard for modern scholars to realize how those earlier generations that produced the material we are studying saw everything in the unifying light of ecclesiology, and hence of liturgy. Even if we want to study what seems to be a marginal iconographical problem apparently connected with a seemingly marginal liturgical concept, the ecclesiological principle of unity makes it necessary for us to seek out the relation to central liturgical iconography or directly to central liturgy. Only by doing this can we be fairly sure that a specific concept or iconographical subject really is 'marginal'; it will frequently turn out not to be so.

The general approach in the present book is a systematical one, and it treats iconography related to Mass liturgy as a system. This does not mean that cases of unsystematically created iconography, of unpredictable artistic invention, may not exist in large numbers. What is meant is that, since liturgy is to a certain extent systemic, it is necessary to start from the working hypothesis that the iconography illustrating it may reflect this systemic character. This is probably the best way of isolating the cases where such a principle does not apply.

B. Christian Iconography as Part of a System

It will have emerged from the outlines presented in Part II that Christian iconography in the Roman world is normally part of a system however flexible this may be, and the unifying principle has just been emphasized.

Briefly, the systemic (instead of 'systematic', a word that could be

too connotative of a strictly numerical order) character of iconographical involvement in liturgy may be exemplified by one case. Let us consider an image of Christ implying his 'Presence' (III, 3, B), a bust representation of him wearing the cross halo, holding the book and raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing, the whole enclosed in a roundel or aureole (Ill. 2). Connected with the varying stages of the liturgy of the Mass, this image of Christ will have different connotations as the accent shifts within the system of the liturgy itself. The connotations may change from that of the Trinity to that of the present God, to Christ's presence as high priest or his presence in the eucharistic bread and wine, and so on. And any one of these concepts may be expressed by other means, the present God, e.g., with an image of a hand (Ill. 11) or of God as an old bearded man (the 'ancient of days', 'antiquus dierum': *Daniel*, 7:9, 22, 13). Iconography as a set of pictorial expressions in accordance with a set of rules is not one solid unchangeable and undifferentiated entity that belongs as such to the system of functions and values outlined here. It is part of the system in the sense that the basic elements constituting the iconography are related not only to one another and through some of them to the overall system, but also that each of them is related to other elements in the entire system outside the iconography itself.

Let us briefly return to the mosaic with Bishop Durand (Ill. 12) (I, 2). We know that the funerary monument is in a church, that such monuments were involved to a varying manner and degree in liturgical rites and that, at any rate, by implication, the tombs were very markedly so involved. We also know that the paramount instrument for any man's relation to Christ and the Virgin (the subject of the mosaic) is his participation in the liturgy ('faith', according to Catholic Tradition, not being effective in itself). Therefore, a liturgical question has to be raised concerning the mosaic; in other words, its iconography is necessarily to be connected with a system. The cited interpretation of the mosaic image in terms of an act of judgement does not give a clear reference in this sense. The outcome of judgement may be participation in the celestial liturgy (in Paradise) before the Trinity or rejection for ever. The act of judgement is quite literally ambiguous and cannot be expressed as anything else except precisely in terms of its outcome. In the Durand mosaic, no explicit punishment is depicted, so that, with regard to the Judgement, either this appears to have been positive and leading to his participation in the heavenly liturgy, or we are beholding the efforts on the part of man preceding the judgement – and here again his participation in the liturgy. The liturgy in the earthly, architectural church, is a reflection of and evolves in consonance with the liturgy in heaven (II, 2, E, on the Preface). The interpretation of the Durand mosaic as one showing the bishop's participation in the

celestial liturgy does place the iconography in a meaningful system. These observations do not imply that an 'ambiguous' iconography, one showing the very act of judgement as applied to some portrayed person, is impossible (in Santa Croce, Florence, there is a tomb with a fresco showing a kneeling member of the Bardi family before the judging Christ). But in such a case the relation within the system does remain ambiguous, and it is analytically preferable at first to consider the alternative that portrait representations of this kind are not ambiguous, especially if explicit symbols of judgement are absent. As for the circumstance that Durand kneels not before the Trinity or even an adult Christ, but before the Christ-child and his Mother, it should be noted that Tradition and especially liturgy in many ways justify such a 'pars pro toto' or substitution technique (I, 2, and note 3). The concepts of mediation and intercession come into play here. Incidentally, by assuming a connection of the iconographical element 'man kneeling before the enthroned Virgin and Christ-child' (with or without other interceding saints) with a system of notions expressed in the liturgy, we achieve an interpretation of the Durand mosaic that fits the words of the thirteenth-century canonist Buoncompagno. In his *On the Decoration of Tombs*, he says, among other things: 'There is also represented how angels or saints lead the souls of the defunct into the presence of the Divine Majesty . . .' ('. . . dipinguntur etiam quomodo angeli vel sancti mortuorum animas divine maiestati presentant . . .').¹⁰

On the other hand, it is quite clear that no work of art can be fitted entirely into the structure of either a preconceived or an experience-based system. As emphasized above (II, 1), images will tend to be more loaded with uncontrollable – and deliberately developed – affective and other 'human' values than formalized rites and texts. It should hardly be necessary to point out that systematical research does not in itself make the material more systematic. On the contrary, we have little chance of describing meaningfully the affective and other sociological values in art unless we try to develop systematic methodology. The point is that the system of liturgy and Tradition that determines the basic or elementary features of Christian iconography, and the systematical core of a method adapted to these historical circumstances, provide a point of departure, a kind of radar to steer us away from a false start and help us keep track in a conscious manner of our flights of intuition and hypothesis.

The danger of over-systematization becomes a real one if the historical study does not penetrate deeply enough into the material to reach the nuances, the variables or even the deviations from the predominant system. On the other hand, it is just the existence of such variables that makes the systematic approach desirable, even necessary. Many an iconographical contribution describes what are believed to be

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iconographical variations from the norm without being clear about the norm from which the deviations have allegedly been made. To achieve some control of the variables, we need some sort of system into which information can be fed as it comes in, and in which the lacunas in our knowledge can be identified and localized: blank spots on the map will glare at us reproachfully.

C. The Iconographical Subject as a Process and as a Flexible Entity

It is necessary to accept – and to take the methodological consequences of this – that a subject in liturgical iconography within the overall system can best be described as a process, not as something constant and invariable. Without a recognition of this, how can we hope to treat art-sociological questions as anything more than mere background ornamentation?

Almost any piece of Christian iconography is subjected to horizontal as well as vertical changes or differentiation in interpretation. The former aspect means that an image may mean different things simultaneously to different people (for 'users', see III, 12). An example – a Virgin with the dead Christ (III. 10) – has been cited above (II, 1). In the vertical sense, we are faced with what I might call short-wave changes and long-wave changes. As Mass liturgy proceeds, one and the same image will be seen in varying contexts, appreciated with different shades of attention. This applies particularly to iconography concerning the essential features in the Mass. One and the same image of Christ as representing also God will so to speak redefine itself as the Mass goes on as a rendering of the majesty in whose sight the offering is made, as Christ the high priest present at the altar, as God present at the heavenly altar to accept the offering – and all the time as the Trinity ever-present with the Church (III, 1, B and 3, B). Corresponding oscillations in accent may occur also over the ecclesiastical year (for 'imputed significance', see III, 3, D, v): long-wave changes.

A specific piece of iconography, indeed, almost any work of art, may be described as a process also in the sense that it undergoes changes in effect and message from its planning through its being put to use (III, 13).

In this way the basic significance of the central subjects in liturgical iconography can receive different interpretations as the context changes.

D. Subject and Iconography: Definitions

Modern readers of contributions on iconography will presumably expect the term 'iconology' to turn up next to that of 'iconography'. The former was introduced by Erwin Panofsky.¹¹ The term 'iconology' is not used in the present work. This needs perhaps a word of explanation, which must, however, be preceded by definitions of key terms such as 'subject' and 'motif'. Again, the semantical precision is not impressive; nor can it be so at the present stage (see Part IV).

If we sum up the relevant definitions of 'subject', 'motif', and 'theme' in the later editions of Webster and the Oxford English Dictionary, we will note that the term 'theme' tends to reappear both under 'subject' (OED: Subject: Theme of ...; Theme: Subject of which ... Webster: Theme: a subject ...) and 'motif' (Webster: Motif: main theme or subject ...). This seems to reflect the rather unstable position of the term 'theme'; it is best avoided altogether, except in the adjectival form: 'thematic(al)'; for no other viable adjectives exist for 'subject' and 'motif'. The simplest way of defining 'subject' (or 'subject matter') and 'motif' ('motive' should be avoided as smacking of motivation) would seem to be the following:

Subject (based on Webster): that which is treated, represented; fully or partly described content ('topic': narrative, event, story, allegory, symbol, etc.) in the image; such as 'Christ', 'Christ crucified', or, in an allegory of 'Christ's atoning passion'.

Such a subject may be made up of one or several *features*: such as 'man', 'halo', 'cross', 'tree'.

In the dictionary definitions of 'motif' the accent seems to be on 'dominant idea' (OED) or 'main element' (Webster), and so *motif* is a main element, idea or feature. This definition is especially useful when we are speaking of repetitions or of variants of a specific subject that communicate one and the same main idea. For example: a simple bust figure of Christ with cross-halo and book in his hand (Ill. 2), and a complex figure like Jan van Eyck's Triune God in the centre of the Ghent altarpiece, or, for that matter, the enthroned Christ in Raphael's *Disputa* (not *Disputà*) are differently described as subjects, while the motif is really the same in all three representations: the triune God seen through Christ, who is present as high priest, the triune God as the object (or 'focus') of the celestial liturgy (see below)

In the above-cited essay Panofsky distinguished between 'secondary or conventional subject matter' and 'intrinsic meaning or content', and called the identification of the two kinds of entity respectively 'iconography' and 'iconology'. As a basis for the 'secondary subject matter' he defined 'primary or natural subject matter' as 'pure form' (human beings, tools, objects, etc.), their mutual relations (e.g., in

'events') and expressive and emotional characteristics. Here belong also 'male figure' and 'knife', while the combination of these elements as 'St. Bartholomew' belongs to 'secondary or conventional subject matter': the identification of this is 'iconography'. Under the second category, that of 'intrinsic meaning or content', Panofsky left the example of St. Bartholomew for one of the 'Nativity of Christ'. The specific rendering of this scene, e.g., under the influence of the writings of St. Brigid and of the general cultural atmosphere expressed through her writings, is now explained as a cultural phenomenon: the identification of this is the task of 'iconology'. It is noteworthy that Panofsky, who expressly stated that he was considering 'humanistic' and 'Renaissance' art, should have chosen two examples from Christian iconography. The subdivisions he proposed are hardly suitable for Christian-iconographical material. For the general description he offered of categories of phenomena and of operations concerning them simplifies matters in a way that is not recommendable in Christian iconography, at any rate not with regard to its more complex subjects. Decisions on analytical operations require less sketchy terms than the 'cultural' concept adduced by Panofsky.

In accordance with Panofsky, one might say, in the context of 'iconography' as distinct from 'iconology' that a male bust with cross-halo holding a book (III. 2) 'means Christ'. This would be an example of 'conventional subject matter'. On closer consideration, however, it turns out that this identification does not cover the subject sufficiently, for it covers merely so to speak the introductory aspect of it. The figure cannot be given one fixed and historically related meaning as was the case with 'St. Bartholomew'. While there was just one historical St. Bartholomew and a picture of him may connote him and also some of his qualifications, such as 'apostle' or 'martyr', an image of Christ in a liturgical context connotes essentially things beyond the historical identity of Christ (high priest, God, the Trinity, see II, 2, E). The figure of Christ obtains a complete sense only when evaluated in its functional context, which is that of an altar, and the point is that this meaning is changing, consisting as it does of multiple elements in varying relations to one another – rather like large molecules in reaction. All these significances are perceived 'through' Christ (II, 2, E), in the phrasing of the liturgy, and the figure is not there, on the triumphal arch above the altar or on top of an altar-piece, to show 'Christ' but to communicate those significances. The identification of these significances, in their turn, depends directly upon the liturgical process, i.e., upon a variable section of the 'cultural context'. A similar argumentation would apply to the figure of the Lamb. Thus in some cases of central importance 'iconography' really presupposes 'iconology', and there is good reason to drop the distinction. So we

shall stick to 'iconography' and by this term indicate any identifying or interpretative operation concerning the subject of images. Apparently the view on iconography represented by Panofsky is to a certain extent influenced by classical mathematical thinking: with given quantities ('man', 'knife'), a specific type of operation yields a fixed predictable result. Hence also iconographical 'types' are treated as if they represented fixed values with watertight compartments between them (III, 13, D, E).

2. Description of the Subject

A. General

This and the following chapters will deal with the description of iconography relating to the Mass and of its architectural context, and with problems in treating inscriptions and other kinds of text references. The main topics will be arranged in this order: in the present chapter, on the functions of description in general and common flaws; Chapters 3, 4, 5: description of the iconography's relation to liturgy, to other iconographies, to text material including inscriptions; Chapters 6, 7: the iconography's relation to architectural space; Chapter 8: the perception of pictorial space under the impact of liturgy.

For the simplest possible example of the analytical aspects in a description of the build-up of the subject, the Sarzana Crucifix may serve well enough.

B. Introductory Analysis

Instead of saying that the Sarzana crucifix (Ills. 4, 5) is a 'triumphal crucifix' (see below), or one showing Christ 'alive', we may say that it represents 'the crucified Christ holding his head erect and having his eyes open and yet showing the wound in his side'. Quite apart from the obvious identification of Christ on a crucifix, the striking interpretative clause here consists in the 'yet'. For it refers, of course, to an apparent contrast between eyes that are open and head that is erect, as signs of life, and the side-wound, which historically is the sign of the death of Jesus on the cross. Thus the description lays bare a problem, a contrast that has somehow to be accounted for. And it is the context terminology that enables us to formulate an historically significant description. The apparent paradox is solved in the concept of the epiphany or presence of the glorified Christ in the Mass sacrifice, which was a major concern of the twelfth century.

Perhaps the interpretative 'yet' that has, so to speak, crept in through the back door, may look sufficiently objective. But it does spring from theory, from general assumptions based, among other

things, on comparative material (and this comparableness again is a theoretical construct) to the effect that there is in this case a blend of realism and allegory (two theoretical constructs, however unclear); that, in a word, the purpose cannot have been, on account of predominant characteristics in the functional situation (other theoretical constructs), just to depict realistically an open-eyed face in rigor mortis.

Today it is common knowledge that there is no such thing as an 'objective' description, that description at any pragmatical or analytical level is a problematic operation, and that all description is theory-laden (see note 107). There is theory behind the most innocent-looking rendering of historical 'fact'.²⁹ The unwillingness of some scholars to acknowledge and to bring into day-light the theoretical substructure of their research activity must be due to the reluctance to face the permanent intellectual upheaval and the disruption of academic routine that is always the effect of such scrutiny.

So the central operation in the research work, including its very conclusion, which can be nothing else than a possibly better formulation of problems, is and remains that of description. And this, of course, is what the present book is mainly concerned with.

For this reason a critical attitude even towards the initial stages in the description of a subject is no mere question of good academic habit: it is a question of productive thinking and communication. Because of an almost total disregard of such considerations, description in Christian iconography has become the very disaster-area of art history. Reference to a few examples 'from life' can serve to specify just precisely what these shortcomings consist in on the practical level. These choices from published material have been exclusively determined by my analytical purpose and are all above a certain minimum level of quality.

A description of the total build-up of the subject serves to produce an awareness in the scholar of any feature that may be of iconographical relevance. This of course does not mean that one needs to publish a detailed description in its totality. But on the other hand it is an illusion to believe that the existence of photography or a long training in visual appreciation can make up for a faulty description. Oversights of essential details are very frequent indeed; the risk of oversights diminishes after a careful description. Just one example may illustrate this. At the entrance to the church of San Marco at Venice there is a sixteenth-century mosaic of St. Mark raising his hands. The representation has passed into art history under the label of 'St. Mark in ecstasy'; because we are approaching the Counter-reformation, 'ecstasy' is to be expected! A careful description of the figure would have included not only this gesture but also the saint's vestments, and however meagre the art historian's knowledge about liturgical vest-

x) See Leila Ahmed, Edw. W. Lane..., pp. 3, 56 (quote!)⁴¹

ments might be at the outset, at least his description would have forced him to put a name to the long narrow band hanging from St. Mark's left arm: a consultation of Braun's *Liturgische Gewandung* (*Bibliography 4*) would have told him that St. Mark wears the maniple, a sign that he is celebrating Mass, and a further consultation of liturgical handbooks would have informed the scholar of the fact – if that were necessary – that at certain points during Mass the celebrant does raise his hands (without any implication of 'ecstasy').

From a practical point of view, the requirement to approximate completeness is particularly relevant for catalogues, especially if the illustrations, as in Garrison's *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, are too small to reveal details.¹² A description will inform us whether or not we should take the trouble to look further into the iconography of the case at hand. But the cited catalogue, along with numerous others, tells us just, to take one example, that this or that crucifix shows Christ 'alive', presumably because the eyes of Christ are open; but nothing is said about the 'formal' Biblical mark of death in this connection, the side wound.

C. Descriptive Fallacies

In addition to summary description, the ailments of much iconographical description show through in three types of symptom: (1) a too vague and general definition of terms; (2) employment of professional catchwords or barely acceptable 'technical terms' as operative terms in argumentation; (3) uncritical use of the concept of 'type' (III, 13, D). Strictly speaking the two last-mentioned symptoms are but special cases of the first type, while the third one, uncritical use of the term 'type', often also springs from an unconscious affection for professional catchwords.

As an extreme case it may happen that the necessity to have something personal to say produces a description of Rosso Fiorentino's *Descent from the Cross at Volterra* in terms of a 'blasphemous' representation and of a 'denunciation of God'.¹³ The painting was made for the altar of a church and was accepted for it, and one might point out how striking and unconventional the painting must have appeared even in the sixteenth century and then go on to ask why it was accepted for the important Cross-altar in this small town.

A way to circumvent difficulties in description is to stick to vague terms but hope that a 'literary' style may save the effect. Masaccio's *Trinity in Santa Maria Novella*, Florence, was once described as 'a commemorative picture referring to transitoriness and eternity, in which humility is mixed with pride in presenting the donors within a

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monumental setting';¹⁴ the 'monumental setting' of which the donors are 'proud' is the architectural image of heaven with the Trinity. Obviously such novelistic descriptions are unproductive and unreliable in a research process. They force the writer's personality upon the historical material without even trying to clarify her or his theoretical standpoint, and usually they lack the intuitive and poetic spark that might set off productive reaction in others. What is good for Gogol is not good for an art historian: 'It is the narrative style, therefore, that holds together these heterogeneous elements.' (Vsevolod Setchkarev on Gogol).¹⁵

Yet it may exceptionally happen that an intuitive and 'lucky' literary characterization of an image will start a productive process; particularly so if the description expresses some problematic insight (Roberto Longhi was a master of such formulations, but unfortunately the response to them has tended to confuse rather than clarify).¹⁶ Part of a totally (if that were possible) 'objective' description of Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna could include the observation that 'the Virgin with the Child is seated on a very high throne' (Ill. 19). But it may take Hourticq's rather dramatic appreciation of it to provoke us to investigate the composition further. He called the Virgin figure a 'Madone stylite', ironically referring to those saints in the East who were called 'stylites' (from 'stylos', column) because they isolated themselves in meditation on the tops of high columns.¹⁷ This may make us all of a sudden realize that this Virgin, within the naturalistic world of Giorgione, is in fact seated on a throne from which she is hardly able to move and which she must have mounted with the help of others.

Aside from such cases as those just referred to, in which mere sketchiness or literary shorthand was involved, we have more serious cases, because the pretensions are higher, in which carelessness or even distortion of fundamental analytical terms traps writers into fictional ventures that do not seem to lead anywhere except to publication.

In Jan van Eyck's Rolin Madonna (Ill. 17), an angel sets the crown upon the Virgin's head. Among the saints the Virgin is the principal intercessor for man and in Paradise she takes her place next to Christ. Christ as a child sits on the Virgin's knee and bestows his blessing upon Chancellor Rolin, who kneels in front of them. Christ is the supreme intercessor for mankind by virtue of the Incarnation, and this idea may be accentuated by representing him in his childhood. The painting thus represents, as do numerous other votive representations, such as the Madonna della Neve at Amalfi (Ill. 16), the eternal state of bliss that man hopes to attain and which consists in the direct vision of God in Paradise, as the Church had stated anew and with emphasis in the early fourteenth century. Liturgy provides the entire terminology sufficient for a description of the principal features in Jan van Eyck's painting.

Besides that we have comments like those by Buoncompagno, which we noted above (III, 1, B), in connection with the Durand mosaic (Ill. 12). And yet we may be invited to read a description like the following of Van Eyck's painting:

The presence of the donor without the benefit of saintly guidance before a devotional image is innovative enough; such a figure at an historical event that takes place in Heaven without earthly onlookers would require our acceptance that Rolin has, at least in imagination, gained entry to the Throne of the Trinity itself.¹⁸

It is not clear how the Virgin, who indeed provides 'saintly guidance', can be the protagonist of an 'historical event' (her coronation) and at the same time be a 'devotional image'. The coronation of the Virgin cannot be taken to indicate a chronological historical event any more than a representation of the crucified Christ before God's celestial throne in a so-called *Gnadenstuhl* image (Ill. 9): it is all a question of liturgy. The quoted description concludes in the following terms:

The iconographic role of the Virgin . . . is different from the role of identifiable prototypes. Her function as a model for man in the merit of salvation is newly emphasised. She is no longer primarily a sympathetic object of devotion, nor a divinely proclaimed Queen of Heaven, but a spiritual heroine.

Argumentation cannot be conducted on a mixture of liturgical and theological concepts like that of the queen of heaven and novellistic idioms of the author's invention, like that of a 'spiritual heroine', unless the latter can be shown to be a transcription of concepts belonging to the historical context. Furthermore, a description has to take into account the few 'hard facts' there are in the specific case, and one of them here is that an angel does set a crown upon the head of the Virgin (as also in the *Madonna della Neve*). Consequently the concept of the 'queen of heaven', which is stated with utmost clarity, is an important element of description and cannot be discarded.

However, it happens even in more carefully argued analyses based almost entirely on liturgical and other context terms, that these terms and categories are used inexactly as symbols, so that the description is compromised from the outset. One example must suffice to illustrate this, a description of the 'vested angels' in Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari* altarpiece in the Uffizi, Florence.¹⁹ Angels adoring Christ wear the vestments of clergy officiating at Mass, but these vested angels are described as 'Eucharistic symbols': if they were symbols, at least they must be symbols of the clergy or of the Church. The description continues in the following terms:

The garbing of all the angels in the vestments of the subminister of a solemn high mass . . . amounts to a conscious symbol of the mass . . . The vested angel thus became a

symbol analogous to the bundle of wheat, an obvious Eucharistic symbol in the same painting, and to the wheat stalks and grape vines employed as Eucharistic symbols in many other Flemish paintings.

A simple representation of the 'angel of the Mass' (II, 2, E) has been allowed to cause considerable confusion. It is claimed that the angels' garbing is a symbol of the Mass while the vested angels are a symbol of the Eucharist on a line with the wheat and the vine (which are of course indicative of the material from which the Eucharistic species of bread and wine are made).

Turning now to the misuse of professional catchwords, we shall have to limit ourselves to two examples at present. Medieval crucifixes are often labelled according to whether Christ looks dead or alive, and terms employed are, respectively, *patiens* and *triumphans*. At times this labelling influences argumentation, which it should not be allowed to do. There exist crucifixes with a manifestly dead Christ, with head to one side, eyes closed, and blood pouring from the side-wound, that carry triumphatory inscriptions such as 'Rex gloriae'. A responsory of the first week after Easter reads: 'Quia Dominus regnavit a ligno, alleluia.' And a prayer for the benediction of the new cross of the twelfth century in the *Pontificale romanum* evokes the 'triumphus divinae humilitatis'. Again liturgy should guide us. It will then emerge that the point rather is that emphasis on suffering and Passion was considered as a heightened expression of the triumph of the Incarnate Word. When in the twelfth century some crucifixes show Christ 'dead' and some show him 'alive', the former are clearly meant to emphasize the sacrificial aspect of the Mass, whereas the latter are meant to emphasize the aspect of Christ's presence in the Mass. The very idea of Christ's crucifixion is triumphal, and the iconographical distinction just cited is liturgical rather than theological and above all not 'historical' or epical.

Another 'equation' that has been seen to provide a basis for description is the presumed analogy between the Virgin 'clad in the sun' (*Revelation*, 12:1) and the idea of her Immaculate Conception (that she was conceived without original sin): the Virgin clad in the sun is often said to 'mean the Immaculate Conception'. This has been accepted as a fact by most, and the equation thus provides a fixed term used in description and thus also in argument. But the concept – and the iconography – of the Virgin clad in the sun is employed also, quite obviously, by Church authorities who did not accept the idea of her Immaculate Conception, among them St. Bernhard of Clairvaux. For some of them the figure has a general ecclesiological significance, to which that of the Immaculate Conception, if at all accepted, is subordinated: the sun is Christ, the Virgin is the Church illuminated by the sun. But if a specific art-historical contribution becomes popular in

the professional world, even shaky terms presented in it may gain ground and be accepted unconditionally, because of the tendency to create 'truths' that become valid because they are cherished within the profession as criteria for successfulness.

Another category of defective and non-productive description concerns uncritical use of the concept 'iconographical type'. This concept is considered below (III, 13, D).

It is, as I have implied above, particularly paradoxical that Christian iconography should be subjected to such unprincipled treatment, for most of it is functionally connected with a canonically defined and imposed, formalized ritual that offers fundamental terms and structures for the understanding of the context so to speak from within. We can describe, as it were, the iconography in the terms of those who created it and used it. Thus liturgy provides us with a 'context terminology'.

D. Context Analysis

Reconstructive context analysis is the principal perspective of the present publication.

By 'context analysis' I intend analysis of an historical situation from its own viewpoints in its own terms. That is to say, on the basis of the terms and of the notions and concepts that can be reconstructed – also hypothetically – from use, behaviour, attitude and statements among the protagonists of the historical situation. Or, to borrow an analogy from literature. While Dostoevsky creates an unidentified narrator who reports what has been going on in 'our town', Kafka identifies his main protagonist as the one from whose viewpoint everything is seen.²⁰ In the story *Die Verwandlung*, for example, everything is experienced through the main protagonist, Georg Samsa, who is transformed into a cockroach so that the description of the situation around him can be made more effective and essential through the use of few and concentrated metaphors: a provoking image of an historical research model (or is it a parody of one?). Reconstructive context analysis (Part IV) may also help to circumvent the almost unsurmountable obstacles connected with the descriptive categories such as in the question: does our basic element of description consist of the whole figure or of the torso, of all figures or one, of all the trees in a landscape or of each one of them?

3. The Subject and its References

A. Problem Outline

The question to be examined now concerns the relations between an image or iconographical programme or inscriptions and the parameters and concepts which seem to be involved in the functional context and which they would seem to illustrate, represent or allude to. This of course is all an analytical problem, about which we have already taken our stand with regard to basic principle in saying that we should, to start with, let the ritual supply our descriptive apparatus whenever we have a case involving a liturgical context such as that of an altar. This should, it is to be hoped, enable us to build an analytical base from which to approach the larger context of an iconography in its environmental and sociological dimensions. Before proceeding to the presentation of specific cases for the discussion of the wider analytical perspectives, one example may serve to illustrate how such an approach can assist in distinguishing between iconographical function and artistic expression. Whenever altar functions are clearly involved, obvious sources for our understanding of the accompanying iconography are the Ordinal and the Canon of the Mass. On their evidence we must conclude that such a 'classicizing', 'human' Christ appearing over the Eucharistic Host in the sacrament tabernacle (with a tomb) in Sant'Agostino, Rome (ca. 1477) (Ill. 22), is a particular artistic rendering of a traditional subject based on the liturgy of 'Presence' which in a 'medieval' idiom we find in the roundel on the arch of San Clemente (twelfth century) (Ill. 2). Obviously, such a particular artistic rendering is an end-product dependent not only on the artist. Potential or experienced response in the social environment is another contributive factor.

B. Cases

We may start with the 'viventes' of the Revelation (ox, man, lion, eagle) as we see them on the triumphal arch of San Clemente (c. 1116) in Rome (Ill. 2). In the centre of this mosaic there is a kind of circular

halo or roundel with a male bust adorned with a cross-halo and holding a book: let us call this 'Christ' on account of the cross-halo. He is flanked by the four above-mentioned living beings or 'viventes'. Now all is set for a traditional art-historical investigation of the phenomenon. This might start with noting, in accordance with current dictionary information, that the viventes are 'symbols of the four evangelists', the man (sometimes an angel) for Matthew, the ox for Luke, the lion for Mark, and the eagle for John. Then a very considerable number of examples of gospel pulpits in churches could be brought in, for on them the subject is very common too. Seeing that these pulpits were used for the reading of the Gospel at the gospel procession, an obvious conclusion would seem to be that the figures here as well as in the mosaic represent the Gospels and the evangelists. However, the equation 'viventes' = the Gospels, the evangelists, simplifies unduly by disregarding some important liturgical features: e.g., that in the medieval gospel procession and reading, the book was carried in procession and was considered symbolic of Christ himself. He appeared thus to be accompanied in a triumphal procession (later reduced in length if not in significance). What exactly would the meaning be, then, of adding the four beings as symbols of the evangelists or of the gospels or both? Correspondingly, in the San Clemente mosaic, the beings do not appear alone; they are flanking the Christ-like figure who himself holds the book. If the purpose had been to represent the four evangelists as the transmitters of the Word, why depict them in this manner – at least in the extensive mosaic? Why not depict them as human beings like Sts. Peter and Paul, who are in fact represented in the same mosaic? If we had investigated the relation of the four beings to central liturgy, without initially caring about possible 'Gospel' connotations, we should have found that their evangelist significance is secondary and that their primary significance is a liturgical one that is based on *Revelation*, 4. Here they are seen glorifying God with their 'Holy, holy, holy'. In the *Sanctus* following the Mass Prefaces (II, 2, E) *Isaiah*, 6, where angels sing the threefold 'sanctus', is connected with *Revelation*, 4. The question is whether this is not so also in the San Clemente mosaic. For here the Christ-like figure is in the centre of the composition, and it may therefore (III, 4, B, b) determine the significance of the four beings. Similarly, at the pulpit during the service, there was Christ in the guise of the book placed upon it.

It has been noted above that normally in the liturgy God is conceived of and reached 'through' Christ (II, 2, E). Thus an image of the glorified Christ, as in the San Clemente roundel, one among countless similar ones on walls or arches above altars, or on top of altar-tables, serves to represent the liturgical *presence* of the Father as well as of

Christ, and, with this technique, actually that of the Trinity. Later there will often be a full Trinity in the corresponding position, as in Balthasar Neumann's drawing of 1731-1732 for the Hofkirche at Würzburg (Ill. 23). An 'iconography of the Presence' had been developed also in other contexts, including biblical ones, such as *Acts*, 7:54, the story of the stoning of St. Stephen. Filled with the Holy Spirit, St. Stephen saw in the heavens the glory of God and Jesus standing at God's right hand ('Cum autem esset plenus Spiritu sancto, intendens in caelum vidit gloriam Dei et Iesum stantem a dextris Dei et ait: Ecce video caelos apertos et Filium hominis stantem a dextris Dei'). In nearly all cases, this 'presence' is rendered as that of one figure (Ill. 1) – just as in iconography connected with the Ascension and Christ's 'sitting on the right' (III, 4, B, b and Ill. 7). Until a specific representation of God the Father became usual (normally then as an old man), God was represented in the form of Christ; as he is, for example, in the Trinity at Fritzlar of ca. 1310 (Ill. 9). In 'Renaissance' idiom, the idea of the Presence connected with the Eucharist and the Mass is rendered in numerous sacrament tabernacles, like the one of ca. 1477 in Sant'Agostino, Rome (Ill. 22). Here two angels stand adoring before the door of the receptacle, two 'angels of the Mass' (II, 2, E) raise the chalice with the Host, and Christ-God appears above. The aspects of the Presence connected with the Eucharist and the Mass are the following ones (with emphasis varying considerably through the centuries): that of the Trinity dominating the Church; that of Christ remaining with his Church all through its history; that of Christ's presence in the Eucharistic species of bread and wine; that of Christ's presence at the altar as celebrant and high priest; that of divinity present at the heavenly altar to accept the offering made at the earthly altar (II, 2, E).

By virtue of their fundamental importance, these concepts force their significance upon any centrally located image of the glory of Christ regardless of any consideration of artistic intention (for 'imputed significance', see III, 3, D, c, v).

The mosaic of San Clemente has been chosen here not because it is unique in its iconographical principles: for it is not. It has been chosen because inscriptions demonstrate the points just made. One inscription quotes the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, with the interpolation 'sedenti super thronum' (to make the inscription long enough for the arch); and the other quotes *Isaiah*, 6:1: 'Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium.' Both inscriptions thus evoke the enthroned divinity. *Isaiah*, 6:1, is the introduction to his vision of the seraph glorifying God with the cry, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory' (here is a distinction: glorifying God is a *gloria formalis*, a praising of God; the glory of God and of the Incarnate Word is a *gloria*

materialis, a state of absolute glory or triumph). With inessential variations the threefold 'holy' from *Isaiah*, 6:1 f. entered the *Sanctus*, which follows upon the Mass Prefaces. In *Revelation*, 4, it is the four beings who are chanting the threefold 'holy'. Thus when these four figures appear on the San Clemente mosaic, accompanying Christ and with the *Isaiah* and the *Gloria in excelsis* inscriptions, there cannot be any doubt that the figures are intended to represent the celestial liturgy before God (II, 2, E).

The example just reviewed concerned an iconography that is physically – or better: spatially – connected with an altar. It was presupposed that it was then also functionally connected with the altar and the liturgy. The point has been made earlier that there is unity and coherence in liturgically determined iconography (III, 1, A, B, C), but the matter needs further attention (see below).

In this connexion a particular kind of approach should be noted as usually leading to confusion: that of trying to assess the iconographical message on the basis of 'feeling' for figure attitudes and gestures (other than the strictly liturgical ones, such as the celebrant's raising his hands, and so on). In a recent *History of Italian Renaissance Painting* it was assumed, quite correctly, that in Masaccio's *Trinity in Santa Maria Novella*, Florence, Christ's sacrifice before God is represented.²¹ But in a review of the book it was affirmed that 'this painting shows Christ presented by the Father to the view of the faithful', so that the opposite of offering to God should be indicated.²² But who can decide such a question on the basis of gesturing only, so long as the painted figures do not move? The only way to proceed is to rely on functional, in this case liturgical, considerations, since these would seem fundamental to the people for whom the picture was painted. Moreover, there is no contradiction between offering to the Father and showing the offering to the congregation, as is brought out clearly in the rite of the 'high elevation' of the consecrated Host for everybody to see it (a thirteenth-century novelty). This iconography can be observed also in the case of the so-called *Gnadenstuhl* (the one at Fritzlär, ca. 1310, Ill. 9).

C. Conceptual Units

The above considerations may perhaps seem satisfactory in an introductory phase of studies, and the general statements may very well be found to be tenable. But how much do they say, and how much further can scholarship be carried on the basis of them? Among the many unasked questions implied in the observations so far, one in particular may be identified here. It concerns the conceptual units in

the process of description and research. These ought to be brought to optimal correspondence to the 'context terms' (III, 2, D). What do we mean by saying that the roundel image of Christ 'means' God or even the Trinity? What kind of implications are involved? These questions take us right into the heart of the problem of iconography in the present connexion. Written statements such as the texts of the Mass Ordinal and Canon warrant that God is conceived of, appreciated and reached, or even 'visualized', through Christ. Christ is one person of the Trinity, but he took human substance and form at the Incarnation; there is here a distinction between the first and the second persons in the Trinity. There is a possibility in principle that a true portrait of Christ might exist, which is a logical impossibility for God; and we have the 'acheropoit' portraits of Christ said to have come down from heaven. The concept of God was represented, 'connoted', etc., in numerous ways. First and foremost God was seen through Christ (as above). Under certain circumstances, an image of Christ implies one of God. Since Christ was also a man in the full sense of the word, portraits of him may be thought to represent 'truth' directly – but how 'directly'? in what sense? What about the Child-like majesty, the 'puer tuus Jesus' of the liturgy? (Ills. 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). What then is the relation between such implied images of God or of the Trinity and those of God as an old man or those of the Trinity as three identical-looking persons or as a 'Christ', a Lamb and a Dove? Where does the possibility, effected by a sort of chain-connection, of 'truth' end and the necessity of symbol or allegory begin?²³

The Incarnation made it conceivable to represent God pictorially (and the absence of it in Judaism and Islam made representations of YHWH or 'Adonay' and Allah impossible). Even so, pictorial representations of the Christian God are extremely problematic if one attempts to relate them to dogma. Occasionally art-historical writing simplifies to an unacceptable degree the relationship between Christian dogmas or doctrines, theological descriptions of them or liturgical evocations of them, and pictorial allegories of them or of aspects of them. Images of the Trinity are sometimes interpreted as if they represented the relevant dogma or components of it in a sort of one-to-one relationship. I once suggested that the three scenes with the creating God in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Vault alluded to the Trinity, and I ventured to suggest that the figure nearest to the altar wall was meant to allude to the Word, which, according to *John*, 1:1, existed 'in the beginning' and 'in God', so as to stress pictorially the Word as 'first principle'. Furthermore I suggested that the Creation scenes and the scenes from the story of Noah along the vault axis, in addition to their Biblical and liturgical significances, spelt out an ecclesiological programme in terms of normal Roman Tradition, with a

slight Franciscan bias (to be expected in the particular case). In an article on the frescoes (see note 40), my Trinitarian interpretation was cited and I was reproved in the following terms:

To that doctrinal formulation [!] he adds some allegorical and some literal interpretations in the remaining scenes . . . Such rather indiscriminate mixing produces unclear relationships among the parts of the Ceiling. The confusing incorporation of the distinction among the persons of the Trinity into a quasi-historical scheme may also be partly responsible for the curious argument by which John 1:1 . . . is made to challenge the orthodox formulation of the order of 'procession' in the Trinity, and to require the first scene on the Ceiling to represent the Second Person, the Son. The first three scenes may well symbolize, in orthodox order, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

It is quite true that clergy have on occasion reacted negatively with regard to 'strange' representations of the Trinity which they felt might cause misconceptions among the parishioners: we have an example in the Trinitarian consisting of three identical seated men in use in the Subiaco-Vallepietra district near Rome. But such apprehension need hardly be entertained in a Palace Chapel of the Papal Court. Only insufficient conversance with the formulations of the Trinitarian dogma can lead one to the idea that the pictorial order of the three 'persons' should be taken to indicate adherence to or divergence from orthodoxy with regard to this dogma. The dogma is far too complex to warrant any such simple relationship, and medieval theologians in fact resorted to allegory in order to approach it descriptively. If the three scenes on the Sistine Vault really do allude to the Trinity, they are, taken together, an allegory of some aspects of the dogma and not indeed a formulation of dogma. The question of orthodoxy is not affected whatever their mutual arrangement (any more than in other types of Trinity representations: three men, a head with three faces, God and the Crucified with the Dove between them, a single, Christ-like figure, and so on). No spatial arrangement of separate entities can visualize anything but *some* aspects, allegorically understood, of the concept of the Trinity: it is dogmatically irrelevant whether the order of succession is, first, the Father, second, the Son, third, the Holy Spirit, or the Father is flanked by the Son and the Holy Spirit. In any case such an **iconography**, which will often take its point of departure in dogmatically incomplete formulas in the liturgy, is a *Notlösung*, for theologically the 'procession' is not understood in such a mechanical sense of one-two-three. The impossibility of attributing dogmatical significance to Trinity imagery becomes quite evident once we consult the other elements of the dogma, such as the following one:

On account of this unity, the Father is totally in the Son and totally in the Holy Spirit, the Son totally in the Father and totally in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit totally in the Father and totally in the Son (the Trinitarian Perichoresis: Council of Florence, 1441,

quoting St. Fulgentius: 'Propter hanc unitatem Pater est totus in Filio, totus in Spiritu Sancto; Filius totus est in Patre, totus in Spiritu Sancto; Spiritus Sanctus totus est in Patre, totus in Filio. Nullus alium aut praecedit aeternitate, aut excedit magnitudine, aut superat potestate . . .').

Another sentence, pronounced by the eleventh Council of Toledo (675) and later restated (also at Trent), affirms that from all eternity the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from both. The 'process' is an entirely internal quality, for, as stated again and again, also at Trent, whatever God does outside himself in creation (in the 'world') is common to the three Persons. The numerical order of the Persons in liturgical prayers like the *Gloria Patri* (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) is a matter of convention not of dogma, whereas the prepositions ('per': through; 'ex': of/from, etc.) applied to the three Persons are indeed of dogmatic relevance (and were discussed in dogmatic context by St. Basil and others). Surely such an argumentation cannot be transferred to pictorial representation.²⁴ And so the question arises: what kinds or aspects of liturgy-expressed dogma or doctrine can be somehow expressed or alluded to in imagery and which of them cannot?

D. Modes of Relationship between Iconography and Liturgy

a. Problem Outline

At this point the following expectations can be held generally and considered valid at the outset of any research in the iconography in a Roman Catholic church or chapel, at least until intensive research should disprove the expectations and thus make an exceptional case or demand revision of the method.

There is no decoration of an iconographical character of church or chapel that is not, on account of the material referred to above, and on account of the predominant ecclesiological perspective (II, 2, B), and the systemic tendency (III, 1, B), connected with liturgical texts in the sense that the essence of the iconography is derived from such texts.²⁴ The relation to liturgy of course depends on how strictly 'liturgy' is conceived; we may distinguish between two categories here. The relation may take the form of pictorial or symbol-wise direct reference to a text or set of texts (III, 5). Or the relation may be generally to a doctrine or a concept or a cluster of concepts in the form these have been elaborated or synthesized under the impression not only of liturgical texts but also of liturgical actions and gestures (for their interpretative values). For example, a figure of Christ holding the

²⁴ See Helle, *mo*, Kristus, p. 335, note 82 (Erubar).

globe of the universe or world (Ills. 16, 18, cf. Ill. 14) may have been meant as a direct illustration to one of the specific liturgical formulas that include the term 'Salvator mundi'. But at the same time and regardless of conscious or even stated reference to such a formula, the figure would unavoidably bring up the concept that God created the universe to save it through Christ and his lordship over it; particular schools in Tradition speak of Creation in Christ, with reference to *Col.*, 1: 15-17. The latter general concept may have been referred to without allusion to specific liturgical texts. Finally, the general concept may have been conditioned also by experiences that are, strictly speaking, extra-liturgical, such as e. g., passion dramas. In this respect, iconography may itself exert some influence in so far as it, too, establishes interpretative patterns. A local iconographical tradition can have the effect to some extent of 'tuning in' people for certain responses to specific concepts (see also III, 5, C).

On a more specific level, the relations between iconography and liturgy may be described under the following headings (b to c).

b. Basic Levels

To arrange for the production of a piece of iconography is an action (usually involving several participants: III, 13, A) aimed at conveying a message or set of messages to an open or a more or less clearly specified market of 'users' (III, 12), an action involving expectations and prognosis (normative prevision and explorative prevision, respectively). An analytical problem arising in each specific case will concern the postulation of levels in the iconographical build-up or programme at which the planners may be supposed to be reasonably sure that a minimum message efficiency (III, 11) can be achieved. Let us call this kind of level a 'basic' one; not in any Popperian sense of a 'singular existential statement' (Newton-Smith), but one that can be exemplified while escaping general definitions with regard to the empirical material: we cannot say generally that one kind of image represents such a level and another one does not. Analytically this depends in part on the relationship between the conceptual units we develop (above, C), and the available context conceptualizations (III, 2, D).

Let the level be one at which a given Church authority, for example, expects to see the message he wants to convey communicated with sufficient efficiency. Let us say, then, that any crucifix which looks 'normal' to him will do, also with regard to his parishioners, and that substitution or interchange with another specific morphological type (III, 13, D), such as a bleeding Lamb, will do equally well; not so, however, a crucifix that seems to him incapable of communicating a notion of 'holiness' (say, a crucifix by Salvador Dalí). The basic level is

one of minimal requirement, not taking into account any redundancy or over-extension of message contents (III, 5, D). Thus there obtains a basic level of sense and meaning (Christ's self-immolation, with its proper connotations) and an illustrative level of sense and meaning. At the illustrative level there is a set of iconographies that are considered, within the specific context, relevant for the intended message but not evaluated in terms of message-communicating efficiency: in short, they are potentially relevant alternatives, some among which may prove employable in a given basic requirement, in respect of which they can be interchanged. By the above definition, the barrier of minimal message efficiency is a relative term that cannot be allocated, dictionary-wise, to any given illustrative repertoire once and for all. Even for one particular planner the barrier may shift, e. g., under the impact of liturgical policy, changing environment, availability of illustrative resources, or user reactions. The basic level also is a function of specific purpose. For a message concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist with no intention of further elaboration or emphasis, the simple cross (below, c i) may have been felt as sufficient. But if the focus were to be on the evolvment of Mass as a process, it may not have been deemed efficient enough, whereas some iconography involving allegory and hence the time dimension, might meet the case (below, c, ii or iii, for example).

c. Scalar Values

In any specific case available illustrative resources (see also III, 13, C) have to be charted. No general model can be introduced here (a main problem with the iconographical dictionaries). The following are examples of scalar values in cases of iconographical build-up, at some particular point in which a basic level may be identified according to someone's special requirements in terms of normative and explorative prevision.

(i) *Elementary Liturgical Iconography*

An altar cross in the full liturgical sense of the word is a cross placed upon an altar, usually between candles, as the object of the celebrant's veneration (bowing) according to rubrical prescription. Crosses had been placed on altars since relatively early times, but the custom just cited gained hold in the thirteenth century. The altar serves the Mass, which by definition is the 'memoria passionis' (II, 2, E) and a re-enactment of the Golgotha sacrifice in sacramental form. The cross, by representing the instrument of the historical immolation on

Golgotha, and by being placed on an altar, becomes a symbol of the sacramental immolation in the liturgy. But it contains no features – we are now speaking of just a simple cross – that convey notions as to past or future; the time-dimension is not indicated, and thus the cross is no allegory. It is a time-free image, a symbol of the reality explicitly brought out in the Mass. The cross connotes something which is claimed, in the Mass, to be a literal truth, namely the sacramental immolation of Christ.

(ii) Elementary Allegorical Liturgical Iconography

A crucifix with the dead Christ and other biblical features e.g., the flanking figures of Mary and John, represents what is taken in the context to represent literal truth. Here, however, a time-dimension is implied, and when the crucifix is placed on the altar or above it, it will be understood in the same Mass context as the cross just referred to; it is thus a liturgical allegory. It is the Mass context that forces the non-historical allegorical significance of the sacrament upon the crucifix, in addition to its clear historical connotations. It is an allegory by context. The figure of the sacrificed Lamb with the blood gushing out may for comparison be termed an absolute allegory. For it is nowhere claimed that the sacrifice of the Lamb represents a literal truth, since it was Christ not a Lamb who offered himself. The Lamb is a metaphor borrowed from Hebrew rites and included in the liturgical texts (on the basis of biblical references). For an extremely useful characterization of the 'medieval' allegorical technique the reader is referred to a recent study by G. B. Ladner.²⁵ Allegorical interpretation of theological and liturgical notions and actions were an important element of Roman Tradition.

(iii) Liturgical Iconography with Allegorical Infusion

As an example we may take the twelfth-century large painted crucifix at Sarzana (near La Spezia on the north-western coast of Italy) (Ills. 4, 5). The torso has been heavily repainted, but nevertheless, as one sees it today, the crucifix presents the typical features of a group of crucifixes common in the period. The figure of Christ painted on the cross holds its head upright and the eyes are open as if they were seeing. Nevertheless the wound in the side is shown as the sign of the historical death on the cross. In all likelihood crucifixes of this kind were placed on the beam or screen between the congregational nave and the sanctuary with the high altar of a church, and were so placed that they faced the people, for whom they thus represented a depiction of the Mass sacrifice at the altar.²⁶ This crucifix, then, is a Mass

allegory 'by context' as is the above-mentioned one, but it is an allegory also in another sense. It is also an allegory by interpolation, by virtue that is of the interpolation of an element that is literally extraneous, is historically incompatible with the body already marked by the wound in the side, and which adds a time-dimension. For the figure is shown with open eyes and upright position of the head. This interpretation of a crucifix is presumably to be understood in the light of a traditional theology that was particularly emphasized in the twelfth century,²⁷ which placed the accent upon the presence or *epiphania* of God and Christ in the Eucharist rather than upon the sacrificial aspect, or better: upon that of immolation.

(iv) Liturgical Iconography Elaborated in External Terms

A liturgical iconography of one of the levels described above may receive an infusion of non-liturgical features of legendary or simply freely artistic nature. As an example we may consider Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna (Ill. 19). We have noted already the apparent absurdity of the excessively high throne on which is seated the Virgin with the Child. The painting was made for an altar and liturgical considerations are essential. From liturgy and Tradition we know that the concept of the celestial liturgy was a central one. It provided the subject for 'complete' Paradise representations in the shape, e.g., of a Coronation of the Virgin (Ill. 13) with 'all saints' and the angels participating in the liturgy, and that it also provided the subject for 'abbreviated' Paradise representations with an enthroned Virgin with the Child and possibly additions of other saints as well (e.g., Ill. 11). Tradition also sanctioned the representation of Paradise as a landscape (in the mosaic reproduced in Ill. 11, the architecture is, in fact, an arcade placed in an exuberant landscape; see also Lochner's Virgin and Child, Ill. 18). Giorgione chose a landscape as a background to his piazza with throne. From Giorgione's point of view, however, in the perspective of the evocative naturalism of the humanist circles he belonged to, a throne in a landscape may have appeared strictly as an absurdity or at least as an extraneous feature. So why not make the throne blatantly impossible by raising its height to incredible proportions, why not so to speak force the illogical feature beyond what is rationally acceptable, so as to save the poetical atmosphere by leaving nature unmolested? Thus an artist may exploit functional requirements and work out a liturgical iconography in artistic terms without impairing its liturgical message. Finally, there may be an infusion from concepts and practices that are not as yet liturgically recognized and accepted in the actual period but that are about to be so.

(v) Imputed Significance

An iconography may be related to and hence coloured by a specific concept or idea merely because of the position of the iconography within a given context; thus above (ii) a historical representation became allegory by virtue of its context. Thus the figure of the Virgin in Titian's Pesaro Madonna in the Church of the Frari, Venice (II. 21), necessarily involves the notion of the Immaculate Conception, even though there is no unambiguous reference to this in terms of iconographical 'hard data', since the picture was made for the altar of the Immaculate Conception in a church of an Order which fervently advocated the idea (later a dogma), namely the Franciscans. The above-cited 'glory' image in San Clemente (III. 2; III, 3, B) is an excellent example, too.

d. Non-Liturgical Additions

It is almost impossible, especially in any art of a more or less consistently naturalistic tendency, not to include features that are not meant to adduce further significances to the image. And the art historian should not feel obliged to try to seek out a meaning in all the flowers and trees included in a painting of the Virgin in a landscape (III. 18).

e. Stylistic elaboration

The spatial interrelation or 'composition' of iconographical features, and other even vaguer parameters of 'form', affect an iconography's efficiency in communicating a message. A drastic abstraction of an otherwise normal representation of the taking of Christ's body from the cross, like Rosso Fiorentino's Deposition at Volterra, may even to a modern art historian seem like a 'denunciation', as we have noted (III, 2, C). Secondly, special requirements of message efficiency in a given case affect the choice of composition and style because of the limits set by contextual iconographic conventions. Thirdly, the contextual register of available compositional alternatives conditions the planning process of any but the very simplest piece of iconography and hence also control of the final product.²⁸

f. Systemic Character

The above observations should imply a further clarification of the systemic character of the iconography (III, 1, A, B, C), a theme that will be elaborated throughout the present book. Let us assume that our above example (c, i to v) of scalar or graded building-up of iconography

starting from an elementary or maximally simple expression of a given message, would find consensus in the ambience or historical context; that the series did seem to represent a feasible scale of relevant iconographies on the illustrative level (without regard to basic levels). Such a consensus would imply a consensus as to the systemic character of the iconography and its linkage to the meaning systems of liturgy, Tradition, etc. And what is a 'system'? The problem will be examined more carefully after a further development of analytical concepts (IV, 3, D); so let us for the moment provisionally accept a standard definition and say that a system is a set of parts coordinated to accomplish a set of goals – with emphasis on the goal-direction. We cannot make the question, 'what is the iconography like?', independent of the question, 'what is the iconography intended to achieve?'

4. Interrelations between Iconographical Subjects

A. General

The interrelation between the different features in an iconographical entity – an image or a programme consisting of a number of images – and between the iconography and the external world, involves two distinct sets of considerations. These are the internal relations between separate subjects in a programme or single figures or features. Then there are the relations between these elements, on the one hand, and on the other the architectural shell, of liturgical function and interpretation, and those people inside it who are in one sense or another ‘users’ of the building and of the iconography. The matter is of considerable complexity, and it is hard to make up one’s mind as to how it can best be treated systematically. At any rate it will be dealt with in the following order in the present contribution: the internal relations in this chapter, the architectural ones in Chapters 6 and 7, the perception of pictorial space under the impact of liturgy in Chapter 8, and the involvement of ‘users’ in general in Chapter 12. There will inevitably be considerable overlapping.

With regard to the internal relations, these will be conveniently treated under two headings, that of overall programmes and that of single images or ‘pictures’. The rationale for this subdivision is that a single image will usually have been created in one operation, whereas programmes may be the result of cumulative planning (below, B c). Furthermore, a single image will usually, unless it is a processional one, be located on one site, which means that its relations to liturgy are essentially more easy to estimate than those of programmes spread over more extensive architectural surfaces and even over different space units of different functions. These distinctions between single images and programmes are, however, a matter of practical approach not of difference in principle. Thus for instance it is a question of no great importance whether one wants to treat ‘folding plate’ altarpieces like the Ghent altarpiece or Grünewald’s Isenheim altarpiece as single images or programmes; technically, of course they are programmes, since they offer a series of possible combinations of images, as if we were walking through a church and seeing different things in succession.

B. Programmes

a. Selection of Material

It will follow from what has been said generally above (III, 1, A-C) and further sustained by considerations to follow (III, 6 ff.), that functional diversification of the decorated space must guide us in our selection of material for consideration; which means that we treat the iconography of one chapel as a whole regardless of whether some parts of it are communicated to us through the medium of painting and others through stained glass or sculpture. For an example of treatment of a book illumination as architectural iconography, see III, 7, C.

b. Hierarchy, Correspondence, Direction

As a starting theory it must be assumed that a programme of liturgical iconography, especially if directly related to the liturgy of the Mass sacrifice, consists of a hierarchy developing from a centre close to the altar and whose order and direction are determined by the function of the altar and by particular conceptions of the altar liturgy that may be, for example, characteristic of a period, a place, a monastic Order or other kind of context. In numerous cases there will be different intersecting subordinated iconographical hierarchies with different principal references: one, for instance, to the altar as such, and one to the particular saint or specific function of the chapel or church. We have an example in Balthasar Neumann's design for the high altar in the Hofkirche at Würzburg, where the Eucharist and the Trinity refer to the altar as such and the representation of the Assumption of the Virgin to the special dedication of the altar and of the church (Ill. 23); certainly the Trinity here also serves as focus to the Assumption.

In the iconography concerning the central liturgy, i.e., that of the Mass sacrifice, pictorial expression of the 'presence' of Christ and through him the Trinity is a recurrent and dominating subject (III, 3, B). With few exceptions, this subject is placed on the central axis of any programme and thus right over the altar, on the wall or vault above it, or on top of an altarpiece (or in another kind of central position in rooms without an altar, such as a vaulted subdivision of a church space, for example in the transepts). Another way of arranging this kind of image symmetrically and thus adapting the programme to the architecture, would have been to place the 'presence' image and another one, e.g., that of a prophet, symmetrically on either side of the main axis. This, however, is never done. In Islamic mosque 'iconography' such a bi-symmetric disposition is common, with one medallion on each side of the axis of the *qibla* wall, one with 'allah' and one with 'muhammad'. Allah is the one and absolute God of Islam while

Muhammad is the prophet. Why this remarkable difference in iconographical practice? In a mosque or any other building, the names of Allah and Muhammad can be placed in exactly corresponding positions because the inscriptions are 'reminders', having a purely commemorative function, and do not imply any kind of divine presence on the spot. This is just what the Christian presence image does – while an image of a prophet would certainly not imply such a presence. In this context, then, position is a question of something more than convenient adaptation to a symmetrical architecture.

In trying to sort out the many components that make up such a hierarchy or hierarchies of iconography, we may have some assistance from the distinctions suggested above concerning the different modes of relationship between iconography and liturgy (III, 3, D a-d).

There is also another kind of consideration – apart from that of liturgical conceptions – that has a bearing upon the question of visual order and hierarchical arrangement of iconography, and it is this. The iconography will usually have been intended to communicate a message that is clear and not one that is obscure, and a means to achieve clarity is order and symmetry and also visual emphasis, by size, for example, of the essential features in relation to the subordinated ones. Methodologically the visually striking and architecturally dominating features may safely be singled out for primary attention. It is a precarious procedure to pick out – before one has attempted a general analysis – visually inconspicuous objects or features and let their presumed evidence carry an argumentation concerning the entire programme.

For all its fundamentally systemic character, Christian iconography is also a question of practical arrangement, and a certain regularity of correspondence between the different features will be expected from this consideration. And so it is, to take an example from Michelangelo's frescoes in the vault of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, rather perilous to insist that the flanking figures of prophets and sibyls along the vault are so arranged that each pair across the room is expressive of a specific meaning, perhaps even in direct relation to the scenes from the Old Testament along the axis of the vault. There is nothing, no inscriptions, for instance, outside the figures themselves, to suggest a pattern of meaning beyond that of 'the prophets' and 'the sibyls'. The problem is, of course, that each of them, especially so the prophets on account of their books, involve so many different connotations and meanings that, if a scholar insists on attributing articulate and definite significance to each figure or pair of figures, then anything goes.

Again, starting one's investigation near the altar and working one's way in centrifugal directions might have provided a corrective to such optimistic attempts as the one just cited. Probably the desire of

investing each single prophet figure with a definite meaning would have abated if the research work had started where it should. It would then have yielded some results at an earlier stage and the call to straining the argumentation would have been weakened. In the Sistine vault, not all the prophets sit in a row along it; two of them are singled out spatially by being placed above the altar and above the entrance opposite it. Above the altar is Jonah (Ill. 24). With his hands he makes exactly the same pointing gesture as the creating God in the second scene of the Creation right above him; in this way the link with the Deity and hence allusion to Christ is indicated. Jonah is about to be swallowed or has been ejected by the whale, and the liturgy evokes two distinct typological (i.e. connecting the two Testaments) aspects of Jonah (both in Lent): his story is a representation of the Passion and of the Resurrection of Christ ('Jonae signum, ut typus Dominicae passionis', and 'Sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus': *Matthew*, 12:40). Placed above the altar, the figure thus adheres to those iconographical traditions (Crucifix, Crucifixion, Sepulchre, Resurrection) which illustrate the Mass as a memorial of the Passion and the Resurrection. So the figure of Jonah would seem to provide us with a master-key to the rest of the vault programme; a master-key, of course, opens several doors, and we must find out for ourselves which of the doors leads to something worth while.

Even though an iconographical programme will normally develop according to hierarchical principles *from* the altar, there will be two alternative ways of reading it: again from the altar, that is, from origin to conclusion, so to speak, or the opposite way, towards the altar, so that one grasps at first the conclusion and works one's way towards the source. Our evaluation of any specific case depends also upon the viewpoint from which the pictures are arranged. In the Sistine vault as in most other churches and chapels – like San Marco at Venice (Ills. 6, 7, 8) – we see the pictures from the correct angle as we enter through the door opposite the altar. This is the normal way; iconography should be expected to serve the congregation rather than the clergy. But in the ceiling of Santa Maria dei Miracoli at Venice and some other buildings, the pictures are seen correctly from the position of the clergy near the altar. This is a problem that still awaits systematical treatment.

Even such readers as might find the above considerations relatively clear, at least with regard to the starting point of a specific research in liturgical iconography, must however be prepared to face a considerable problem once there are not one but two iconographical subjects close to the altar that may seem to compete with each other for prominence. As an example we may choose the mosaics of San Clemente, Rome, in which the iconography on the triumphal arch discussed above (III, 3, B) and that of the apse appear to be equally

important (Ills. 2, 3), and then the above-mentioned Sarzana crucifix (Ills. 4, 5) (III, 3, D, c, iii). In this crucifix, a similar ambiguity would seem to apply to the crucifixion itself in relation to the representation of the ascension of Christ on the top-piece (detail: Ill. 5). Are there a primary and fundamental and a secondary or subordinate subject in these two-fold iconographies? In that case, which one of the subjects predominates, the crucifixion or sacrifice, or the ascension or glory? Is there any order of succession by hierarchical rank or chronology? Or is the plain historical conception determinant, so that under every aspect ascension and glory follow upon crucifixion and sacrifice?

The apse mosaic of San Clemente shows the crucifixion with the dead Christ, whose head is leaning and eyes are closed, and with Mary and John the Evangelist. On the cross there are twelve doves symbolic of the apostles (a detail I shall leave undocumented in the present context) and implying also the all-important concept that the Church is guided by the Holy Spirit (cf. Ill. 22). The hand of God appears from above (cf. Ill. 11). The cross stands in the centre of a paradisaical landscape with the four rivers of Paradise (*Genesis*, 2:10), the deer of *Psalms* 41, and the four Doctors of the Latin Church. From the cross springs a rich vegetation, and the ecclesiological significance of this is set out clearly in an inscription that runs along the base of the apse: the 'vine' is a metaphor for Christ's Church, which had dried up during the era of the Ancient Law but which the cross has caused to flourish ('*Ecclesiam Christi viti similabimus isti, quam lex arentem sed crux facit esse virentem*'). Obviously, synoptical inscriptions like this one (for such inscriptions, see III, 5, B, d) should not be regarded as doctrinary statements but merely as poetical and often rather inconsistent paraphrases of doctrinal or liturgical concepts. So we should not be disturbed by the fact that the inscription quite literally tells us that the Church of Christ was dried up under the Law; the meaning is that it flourished after the Law, by virtue of Christ's blood; but it so happens that 'arentem' rhymes with the key-word, which is 'virentem'.²⁹

Turning now to the Sarzana cross (Ills. 4, 5), we note again the allegorical rendering of the crucified figure, and furthermore the representation of the ascension on the top-piece of the cross. This shows Christ enthroned holding the book, in an aura of light. Below him is Mary with the 'ground staff' of the ascension, according to *Mark*, 16:19. The ascension of Christ, culminating in the consummate glory of the Incarnate Word, the 'sessio a dextris' (the enthronement on God's right side) (II, 2, E), had in Tradition been regarded, on the strength also of numerous liturgical texts, as a sign of Christ's everlasting presence with his Church.³⁰ Even though in many liturgical texts for the celebration of the Ascension (and also in relevant biblical texts) this 'sitting on the right side of the father' is explicitly confirmed,

iconography usually represents Christ seated alone upon a chair (cf. Ill. 7) (see also the 'standing on the right' in connection with the stoning of St. Stephen, see III, 3, B and Ill. 1). There can – and does very frequently – occur mutual interchange in iconography between a representation of the ascension and other kinds of image of Christ's presence in his glory, such as the one on the triumphal arch of San Clemente – or the one on top of the tabernacle at Sant' Agostino, Rome (Ill. 22). The precondition for this interchangeability was that the representation of the ascension too was so to speak lifted out of the strictly historical context. Then the emphasis was on glory and presence rather than, in the ascension image, the historical glorification at the ascension according to the Bible. We noted also that the glory figure in San Clemente was accompanied by inscriptions referring to enthronement and glory (III, 3, b).

We can now compare the two iconographical programmes. On the triumphal arch of San Clemente and on the top-piece of the Sarzana cross there are two slightly different representations of the glory of Christ and his presence following upon the glorification through the ascension, and thus also of God seen 'through' Christ (II, 2, E). However, the crucifixion in the apse and that on the crucifix at Sarzana appear to be interpreted in an inverted sense with respect to each other: a 'dead' person crucified surrounded by nature in exuberant life, and a 'live' person crucified surrounded by scenes of or referring to passion and death. For the Sarzana Christ on the cross has open, 'seeing' eyes and his head is held upright, signs of active self-manifestation at the very moment of self-sacrifice, that is, of presence in the Eucharist. Christ is surrounded not only by Mary and John but also by a series of scenes from his passion. The crucifixion in San Clemente, on the other hand, shows Christ with leaning head and closed eyes and again flanked by Mary and John. But here the cross is surrounded by an exuberant vegetation, the 'Ecclesia virens' springing from the cross, and this is explicitly the celestial, paradisaical Church of which the Church on earth is a consonous reflection (II, 2, E). Thus in San Clemente the cross with the dead Christ is suspended in an allegorical vegetation that transforms the vision of the historical Golgotha into an epiphany of the celestial glory and a vision of the heavenly sacrifice 'on your altar on high' ('in sublime altare tuum') (II, 2, E). The two crucifixions represent the two aspects of the Eucharistic sacrifice that were particularly accentuated in the twelfth century: on the Sarzana cross the emphasis is upon the presence of incarnate divinity in and through the sacrificial offering. In the San Clemente apse the emphasis is upon the relation of the sacrifice to the heavenly Church. Both these iconographies are accompanied by an image that encompasses the glory and the presence in its diverse aspects.

We may, however, equally well put it the opposite way, and say that the crucifixion iconographies accompany those of glory and presence. Obviously, our question concerning priority and order of succession within each of the two examined programmes, cannot be answered in any definite manner. They illustrate dogmatical and doctrinal concepts that are in constant interplay throughout the Mass liturgy and with ever shifting emphasis. Each of the two respective subjects may appear to be comprehensive enough to stand alone, at least from a strictly formal liturgical point of view. This, however, should not be taken for granted, because consensus about this in a given historical context would depend on implicit or explicit agreement about a 'basic' level of message efficiency (III, 3, D, b). Elaboration of a programme can clarify the message but can also enlarge the cognitive scope to the detriment, at least for some 'users', of unambiguous clarity. On the other hand, a cumulation of redundant subjects may occur because of particular requirements, such as that of covering a larger wall-space.

c. Cumulative Planning

Two parts of an iconographical programme or two programmes that seem to be functionally interconnected may turn out on closer scrutiny to have been planned and executed in two administratively and financially separate working campaigns, the first one having been carried through without a view to embarking on the second one. As will be gathered from the cases just examined, such a series of two or more working campaigns need not imply that the two or more sets of iconography do not form a coherent unity. On the contrary, we may have to do with a case of cumulative planning under one systemic perspective. Cumulative planning, the precondition of which is the unifying character of an ideological or ritual system, as in a church or a government building, is very common; the decoration of great medieval churches provides notable examples.

d. Reduplication of Subjects

Our observations so far have a bearing also upon the question of reduplication of motifs within one programme or in close spatial connexion. Of course reduplication because of some mistake is theoretically possible, but it is an assumption we should have recourse to only after all other explanations have been tried out in vain. By far the safest thing to do in that case, would be to leave the problem open. For it is generally unlikely – except with regard to unimportant details – that the competent authorities would have left 'mistakes' in a church or any liturgical room uncorrected (for redundancy, see III, 5, D).

There may be several reasons for reduplication. We have noted above that one and the same subject may emphasize different aspects on account of thematical development in the liturgy itself as it proceeds; and different images can evoke identical notions or impart similar messages (III, 13, D). Correspondingly two images of identical subject matter may serve to illustrate two different liturgical concepts: these could, for example, be characteristic of different parts of a building. Thus in the transept of San Marco, Venice, there are two representations of the Last Supper, one in the north arm and one in the south arm, both of them in the vaults and close enough to each other to be perceived from one and the same position on the floor. The Last Supper in the north arm belongs to an ecclesiological and sacramental iconography in that and the neighbouring sections of the building which corresponds to specifically 'priestly' functions in that area. Among them is the reading of the Gospel as well as of the Epistle on one and the same pulpit at the entrance to the north arm of the transept. The Last Supper in the south arm belongs, with the Washing of Feet next to it, to an iconographical programme that emphasizes the religious character of the Venetian government. (San Marco was a state church, not a cathedral.) The Last Supper is a complement to the Washing, which alludes to the washing of the feet of twelve poor men on Maundy Thursday, a ceremony conducted by the head of State, the doge himself.

C. Single Images

In this section I shall discuss one single image in which there may also seem to be present, as in the composite programmes we have just examined, several or at least two hierarchies of subjects that vie with each other for prominence and perhaps even may be thought to be mutually conflicting. Analysis in terms of liturgy clarified to some extent a situation involving such a dilemma in the cases of San Clemente and the Sarzana cross, and when we let the dilemma itself stand, we could do so with reference to what I have called the process-like character of the iconography: each hierarchy could match separate phases or levels in the liturgy. In Titian's Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21), however, further complications appear to require additional analysis of the problem.³¹

The main liturgical protagonists, Christ and the Virgin, are seated on the highest level, but their throne is shifted towards one side so that they do not from a position in the centre of the picture face the congregation assembled before the altar. The asymmetrical composition and sideways view with regard to the throne are features which are

comparable to what is seen in Ills. 16 and 20, but the images reproduced here were not placed on or above altars. The asymmetrical composition should be contrasted rather with the traditional symmetrical one for altarpieces (cf. Ill. 19). In the Pesaro painting, another saint, Peter, has taken the central position facing the congregation frontally. The Virgin seems to face the kneeling Jacopo Pesaro on the left, opposite to her, where a soldier carrying a banner and leading a Turkish captive also appears. On the right stand Sts. Francis and Antony of Padua and here are other kneeling members of the Pesaro family. Above the whole scene two angels are handling the cross. How is one to describe the internal order of this picture?

One way of doing this would be to take our point of departure in the 'votive' element represented by the Pesaro portraits and the relevant attributes. Jacopo Pesaro, who ordered the painting from Titian in 1519, had defeated the Turks at Santa Maura in 1503 in the capacity of an admiral under the papal banner: hence the arms of Alexander VI and of the Pesaro family on the banner in the painting, and hence the soldier with the captive Turk. Obviously Jacopo Pesaro presents himself before the throne with the signs of his role as a victorious Christian commander, evoking the ancient concept of the 'miles christianus'. St. Peter, the papal protector, is present because in the particular context he was of obvious personal relevance to the same Jacopo Pesaro. The Virgin had to be included anyway, for the altar for which the painting was made (where it still stands) was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception particularly. The two saints on the right are to be expected in a painting for such an important altar in a Franciscan church. The predominating relations within the painting and towards the exterior may be described in the following parameters: the relations between the kneeling Jacopo Pesaro with his attributes and the enthroned Virgin and Christ; and the relation between St. Peter and the live members of the Pesaro family and other members of the congregation assembled at the altar in front of the picture.

There does not seem to be anything that is not in itself valid in this description, but it does leave the Virgin and Christ somehow as secondary requirements and St. Peter to take care of the contact with the liturgical congregation. But at an altar the chief protagonist is of course Christ, accompanied by some saint, in this case, the Virgin, to whom the altar is also specially dedicated. It is thus inescapable that the figure of Christ should be connected directly with the sacrifice of the Mass and the figure of the Virgin with her role as his mother (with all the ecclesiological implications) but especially her position defined by the concept of the Immaculate Conception (to which the Franciscans already at that date adhered fervently). The sacrificial theme is in fact emphasized quite unambiguously by the two angels carrying the cross.

The subject may have been borrowed from an earlier relief on the exterior of the church, where an angel tends the cross to Christ seated on the Virgin's knee. No one would misunderstand the allusion to the Mass sacrifice with the assistance of the angel of the Mass (II, 2, E). Furthermore, the two themes of Incarnation (to which the Virgin with the Child was the commonplace reference in iconography) and Christ's self-offering were emphasized together in the opening prayer of the Mass of the Immaculate Conception instituted by the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV in 1476. Certainly the figure of St. Peter, the first head of the universally instituted Church, would enhance the general ecclesiological aspects and contribute to the communication of them to those assembled before the altar. And this figure occupies the central position.

The moment our position is established, so to speak, in the liturgical centre, and we consider the figure of Jacopo Pesaro and his warlike company from this point of view, we see how this group assumes a more fundamental and general significance than the biographical and political one, in addition to it but at another level. No educated onlooker in the sixteenth century would fail to note the functional connexion between the offering symbolized by the cross carried by the angels and the offering of Pesaro's symbols of victory. Carlo Ridolfi in his book on Venetian painters published in 1648, writes that Pesaro 'reverently consecrates' the trophies to the enthroned ones ('riverente consacra . . . le insegne'). By virtue of the idea of offering implied in the Mass Offertory and the numerous deductions of analogies from that, any presentation of personal trophies or attributes before the throne in a liturgical context, any offering, would perforce assume the notion of an offering that was related to the offering in the Mass, in which the people are invited to participate sacramentally in Christ's offering on the cross. There exists a vast documentation of this that cannot be specified here, of this sacrificial aspect of offerings of the most heterogeneous kinds: not only in iconography, like the offerings by Justinian and Theodora in the mosaic in the sanctuary of San Vitale at Ravenna (and numerous analogous examples), but even in reality, concerning material offerings, above all that of the Mass Offertory. Occasionally, indeed, even tax-paying was interpreted in such a sense. And the offering of money upon the altar was practised in Venice and elsewhere, while during the rite of consecration of military banners these were laid upon the altar as an offering to Christ. Titian executed the painting between 1519 and 1526 and finished it in 1526 only after a long drawn out process of repaintings. A reaccentuation of the sacrificial nature of the Mass became necessary after Luther had published his *Babylonian Captivity* in October 1520; the debate was in full swing by 1523 (with Johannes Eck in Rome).

From a formal liturgical point of view, then, the composite structure does not seem to involve any dilemma or conflict. But liturgy is more than just a question of formally prescribed sentences and actions and vocal and non-verbal response to them. It is a question also of individually and socially influenced cognitive and emotive reactions at several levels within different groups of the congregation. And whereas perhaps the San Clemente and Sarzana iconographies remain abstract enough not to press into the open, so to speak, such relations and sharpen them into feelings of conflict, it is arguable that the social and political elements of the Pesaro Madonna may potentially rouse such feelings. The striking compositional feature of the painting is not, as I have always argued, the huge columns so much as the throne arrangement in this altarpiece with regard to the congregation assembled in front of it at Mass. As we have noted above, the throne of the two persons in the focus of liturgy and devotion, Christ and the Virgin, is so placed that they may appear to be there primarily to receive some particular portrayed person rather than the living assembly: such a feeling could easily be aroused because people in those days were still used to seeing the enthroned persons facing them directly in altar paintings, as in the apse of Santa Francesca Romana (Ill. 11), or in Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna (Ill. 19), not to speak of a number of altarpieces predating the Pesaro Madonna in the Frari Church itself. People who were not likely to identify themselves socially with the Pesaro family would see before them an act of offering clearly reflective of the sacrifice in which they as congregation took an active part but which through the communicative media of space, positions and gestures could seem to leave them out of consideration or, at least, leave them as passive onlookers to an all-male official ceremony. Traditional art history and formal liturgy do not provide us with analytical constructs by which to tackle such a problem as this one; and I shall have to return to it at a later stage in our discussion. First of all, a closer consideration of the relations of iconography to texts will have to be ventured upon.



5. Text References

A. General

An inscription accompanying an image, or included in it, makes it clear that the image is somehow connected with the reference of the inscription, which may be liturgical, biblical or of another category. An image without any inscription, too, may involve reference to specific texts. It is for example entirely superfluous to explain with an inscription that a couple of deer at a spring of water (Ill. 3) placed in a paradisaical landscape refer to *Psalm* 41: 'as the hart desires the springs of water'. Luca di Tommé's altar triptych in Greenwich, Connecticut, provides another example of such an occurrence. Here is the Trinity in the shape of three identical persons seated with the crucified Christ in front of them: not indeed 'two adjacent scenes', as a scholar has described it.³² The image is an exact rendering of the Offertory prayer, 'Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer to you in memory of the passion ...' (II, 2, E). This text summarizes the principal concepts in the Canon of the Mass. Even should an art historian insist on the possibility that the artist had 'invented' the composition in a personal creative venture, the case remains. For anyone even cursorily familiar with the Roman Mass seeing this painting above an altar would immediately think of the cited Offertory prayer and other corresponding texts in the Mass.

For most cases of liturgical iconography, however, a number of alternative text and concept references or a number of such references at the same time, are involved (III, 5, C, D).

The circumstance that there is a clear relation between an iconography and a liturgical (or biblical) text, or, indeed, an accompanying inscription, does not always mean that the text or inscription is illustrated in a literal manner. Thus the concept of Christ sitting on the right side of the Father will usually be rendered as just one person, more or less Christ-like, seated in heaven (see Ill. 1, for the Stoning of St. Stephen; and Ills. 5 and 7 for the Ascension of Christ; see III, 4, B, b).

A special kind of problem is presented by texts on roll or codex (book) accompanied by illustrations. Normally there is here a

connexion between text and image, but such a connexion can be articulated in a number of ways. For an excellent treatment of some methodological problems involved – a treatment of great value beyond the relatively restricted scope of the publication – the reader is referred to Kurt Weitzmann's study on illustrations in roll and codex.³³ A recapitulation of the subdivisions of the relevant Part will indicate the categories of problems treated:

- A. The association of a miniature with various texts
 1. A miniature connected with its basic text
 2. A miniature carried over into a new recension
 3. A miniature transplanted into a heterogeneous text
 4. A miniature without textual basis
- B. The various kinds of dependence of a miniature upon its basic text
 1. The use of conventions in the creation of the archetype
 2. The influence of fashion on the process of copying
 3. Misunderstanding
 4. Decorative fillings
 5. Complementary figures not required by the text
 6. Conscious deviations from the text
 - 7 Adaptations of compositional schemes

'Farcing' of texts

With regard to liturgical texts, we must be prepared for the possibility that they can have been, locally, subjected to so-called 'farcing' or interpolation. In the Mass of the Virgin, for example, the *Gloria in excelsis* might be 'farced' in honour of the Virgin, as in this specimen of the thirteenth century or earlier (the interpolations are in italics): '... Quoniam tu solus sanctus, *Mariam sanctificans*, tu solus Dominus, *Mariam gubernans*, tu solus Altissimus, *Mariam coronans*.' Or the *Agnus Dei* may be dramatized: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, *crimina tollis, aspera mollis, Agnus honoris*, miserere nobis ...', etc. Naturally, if the liturgy could prove receptive to such extras, so could the iconography. The procedure is also called 'parsing'.

B. Inscriptions

Christian-iconographical inscriptions may be roughly classified as follows: (a) liturgical, (b) biblical, (c) traditional, (d) synoptical. It will be seen below that a great proportion of liturgical texts, and hence of inscriptions, derive from the Bible. An important distinction would seem to set the liturgical inscriptions apart from the others. Whenever

a liturgical text is really quoted in an inscription, this means that the inscription, and hence usually also the iconography it accompanies, can be unequivocally connected with some specific concept in the functional system of the liturgy. On the other hand, the functional connotations of other categories of inscription may often be a matter of conjecture or hypothetical reconstruction. For this very reason it seems methodologically safest to examine first the liturgical inscriptions and then the others (provided both kinds are included), the interpretation of which may to some degree be suggested by the evidence brought out by the former.

a. Liturgical Inscriptions

Some liturgical inscriptions are direct quotations, such as the 'Gloria in excelsis Deo . . .' cited above (III, 3, B). Their position in the universal liturgy and in special or local liturgy will be more or less easily ascertained through the specialized literature. Some among them will be slightly edited, involving minor changes such as substitution of one word for another of similar meaning or interpolation of other text elements (see below). Often such variations may reveal difference of sources: derivation from different Bible versions, or difference due to variations from one local or institutional (e.g., monastic) liturgy to another. A liturgically functioning biblical quotation provides a surer basis to work on than a biblical quotation exploited for, e.g., moralistic ends. Any biblical quotation in an inscription should therefore first of all be checked for its possible position or positions in liturgy (comprehensive treatments of the Mass such as Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia*, of the Breviary, etc., contain detailed Scripture indexes; see *Bibliography 4*).

The following generalization may be made, with some qualifications to be specified below. In liturgical inscriptions, quotations from the prayers and other formulas that are special for the Mass Ordinal and Canon are avoided. We do not come across quotations from such texts as the *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas*, the *Vere dignum*, the *Te igitur*, the *Hanc igitur oblationem*, or, for instance, the *Supplices te rogamus* (and the other texts quoted above, II, 2, E). Whenever texts of this category are quoted, they are very close to biblical ones. The Pentecost mosaic in San Marco, Venice, (III, 8) is accompanied by an inscription quoting exactly the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* of the Preface (II, 2, E). These texts follow closely, though not verbatim, their respective biblical sources: *Isaiah*, 6:2 and *Matthew*, 21:9. From the Communion after the Canon we find the *Pater noster*, but this of course is biblical. We do find, however, non-biblical texts that belong to the annual cycle, such as for instance the *Jesu nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium*, from the

liturgy of the Ascension (and accompanying, e.g., a sixteenth-century painting of the Ascension at Torre di Mondovì in Piedmont).

Even in cases of reference by quotation to other liturgical texts, it would be clear that the focus was upon the texts of the Ordinal and especially the Canon, in which are set out in the most categorical celebrative manner the fundamental notions of the Christian faith and liturgy. Here are enacted, let us repeat, the redemptive Eucharistic sacrifice and the 'presence' of Christ and God in its various aspects, and here are represented the central ritual concepts, such as that of the angel who carries the offering up to the altar on high.

Generally, however, iconography does not represent the content of these prayers exactly in a literal sense. The iconography of the heavenly altar provides a good example of the method generally employed, and so does that of the 'sitting on the right side' (III, 4, B, b). The heavenly altar of the prayer *Supplices* (II, 2, E) takes a foremost position in liturgical exegesis, which is natural, considering that in this Canon prayer the Church prays God to let his angel take its offering up to him to the altar 'on high' and 'before the face of your majesty'. But this 'altar' is hardly ever illustrated pictorially as one in the shape of a piece of ecclesiastical furniture (occasionally, though, as the altar of *Revelation*, 6 and 8, as in Anagni Cathedral and San Francesco at Assisi, Upper Church). The 'altar' is understood metaphorically and it is depicted, so to speak, in terms of its focus, the 'face' of God, who accepts the offering, God who is seen 'through' Christ (II, 2, E).

The apparent reluctance to quote the non-biblical Ordinal and Canon formulas and render their contents in a too literal manner must spring from a particular attitude to these formulas. The liturgy as a whole is considered to be ultimately of divine origin, and every liturgical prayer is prayed by the sanctified Church of Christ and is consequently no mere human expression of hope and aspiration. Yet it would seem that certain distinctions have to be drawn all through a long tradition with regard to which parts of the liturgy may be quoted in inscriptions and which parts may only be rendered iconographically, and then, preferably, in an adumbrative manner. The explanation of the phenomenon would seem to be this. If for some specific reason one did not feel it permissible to quote the non-biblical prayers of the Canon, then it was unattractive to choose such prayers from the Offertory, especially if they came very close to Canon prayers (such as, e.g., the *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas*: II, 2, E). Now the Canon itself took a very particular position also with regard to accessibility since the early Middle Ages. In most places, apparently, and well into the Middle Ages, the Canon was considered a sanctuary to be kept secret and inaccessible to ordinary members of the congregation. During Mass the

celebrant 'withdrew' to say the Canon inaudibly; in the Roman *Ordo secundus*, e.g., the rubric says: 'Surgit solus pontifex [= the celebrant] et tacito intrat in canonem.' Thus the Canon prayers were in fact 'classified' texts not suited for quotation in inscriptions to be seen by everybody. Stories were circulated of lay people who, upon having learnt some prayer from the Canon, were struck by lightning. The biblical texts included in the Mass, on the other hand, could be 'released', since they were of course already accessible in any Bible or part of one. As a further consequence of this attitude, the synoptical inscriptions to be treated below, also omit reporting directly the content of the 'classified' prayers. (see also III, 8, C).

(i) A Note on Inscription Context

In the liturgy, quotations from the Bible or patristic Tradition will be taken out of their context and involved in a new one, that of the preceding and succeeding liturgical texts. An inscription will often, and frequently so for technical reasons, be fragmentary not only in a context sense but even in a grammatical sense. Occasionally a word may be interpolated to make the inscription long enough to fit into the architecture, as we have seen in the case of the inscription on the arch of San Clemente (Ill. 2) (III, 3, B). More frequently, of course, the quotation will be abbreviated, as for instance on the Sarzana cross (Ills. 4, 5), which has on one of the cross-arms a quotation from *Isaiah*; the parts left out in the inscription are here put in brackets: (Oblatus est quia ipse voluit et non aperuit os suum) 'sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur' (, et quasi agnus) (*Isaiah*, 53:7). A respond reads: 'Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est', and this of course may be the direct source of the inscription. Cases like this one are very common indeed, and generally there can be no doubt that such quotations were intended to evoke the entire context.

b. Biblical Inscriptions

Some aspects of biblical inscriptions have already been discussed in the two preceding sections. Occasionally inscriptions contain biblical quotations that do not seem to have had any place in liturgy (but this is not a frequent occurrence). An example is apparently (I am not absolutely sure of it) provided by a prophet inscription on the Sarzana cross that serves as a pendant to the one quoted above. This one is from Jeremiah (*Lamentations*, 4 : 20): 'Spiritus oris nostri christus domini captus est in peccatis nostris': a description of what is 'going on' and with a moralistic message: the Lord's anointed died for our sins; like many of the synoptical inscriptions (see below).

In view of recent university policies in the Western world it is unfortunately necessary to stress that Christian iconography cannot even be approached with scholarly pretensions without a fair knowledge of Latin. It is for example quite futile to seek for biblical text references in connexion with inscriptions by using an English Bible and an English Concordance of the Bible. Interpretative disasters have been known to occur because of such shortcomings. Indeed, conversance with Latin is indispensable for any serious art historian or historian working in the field of Western studies; otherwise he will find himself unable to treat important source material unless it is very recent.

c. Traditional Inscriptions

Traditional literature, be it patristic or legendary, or commentaries and *expositiones*, naturally includes biblical quotations in great numbers. When such a biblical quotation reappears in an iconographical inscription, however, closer scrutiny will often reveal that it is also employed in relevant liturgy and has been taken directly from this. Original statements in Tradition literature, such as for example formulations in the works of St. Augustine or St. Thomas Aquinas, occur rarely if at all in iconographical inscriptions. At the utmost, they seem occasionally to have been epitomized in synoptical inscriptions (see below). Two considerations appear to have militated against adopting them directly. First of all, they are very rarely so phrased as to be suited for inscriptions on limited space. Secondly, there is a clear tendency to demand from an inscription that it should be in a ritual or poetical style; the learned comments are usually neither. Biblical quotations very often, not to say nearly always, comply with these requirements, and of course synoptical inscriptions involve the possibilities of pure literary products created for the occasion (or borrowed from a similar one).

d. Synoptical Inscriptions

These are inscriptions constructed *ad hoc* to suit a specific image or iconographical programme; of course such inscriptions may also be re-used in other contexts.³⁴ They may be epitomes of biblical, Traditional or liturgical texts or just generally evocative of relevant concepts. But their contents are original pieces of literature. The only stylistic feature that can be mentioned at present is that of versification. This will often indicate approximate date. In San Marco at Venice, for example, where so many mosaics were remade in the post-medieval centuries, one will wish to know if at least the subject of an original medieval mosaic has been repeated in a more recent one. If a

seventeenth-century mosaic is accompanied by an inscription which suits its subject but which is in medieval metrics, then of course it is plausible that the subject of a medieval original has been repeated in the new mosaic. Assistance from specialists is necessary in this very complex field. A medieval Latinist will be able to tell us, for instance, that the following inscription in San Marco, Venice, consists of two Leonine hexameters and to draw certain conclusions from this; furthermore his help in the interpretation of words is often indispensable. The inscription in San Marco runs: 'De cruce descendo, sepeliri cum nece tendo; quae mea sit vita, iam surgam, morte relicta', a word picture of Christ's death and resurrection. Another example of versification may be taken from the so-called *scarsella* or sanctuary chapel in the baptistery of San Giovanni at Florence; here the figure of the Lamb is accompanied by this inscription: 'Hic Deus est magnus, mitis quem denotat agnus', i.e., the humble lamb denotes the mighty God (mitis: lit. 'gentle').

(i) Interpretation of Synoptical Inscriptions

The interpretation of synoptical inscriptions can at times be tricky. As we noted with regard to the inscription in San Clemente, Rome (III, 4, B, b), poetic licence, or indeed the necessity of finding a word that rhymes with the key-word, can disrupt the logic of the statement. Synoptical inscriptions will often be more or less ambiguous, no more to be taken at their face value than the imagery itself. They may not be treated as doctrinal statements but rather as poetical synopses of such. It goes without saying that the meanings attributed to some of them in the present book are not the only ones that are possible or likely. If a synoptical inscription cannot be unambiguously referred to some specific formula or set of formulas in liturgy or theology, the interpretation of it will require considerable comparative evidence. One or two examples may illustrate the problem.

A synoptical inscription accompanying the four 'videntes' ('man', ox, lion, and eagle) and surrounding the 'Emmanuel cupola' of San Marco, Venice, seems to accentuate the presence of God; this would be appropriate enough, since the cupola is above the high altar: 'Quaeque sub obscuris, de Christo dicta figuris, his aperire datur, et in his Deus ipse notatur': whatever has been stated about Christ in metaphors becomes revealed by these (the Gospels held by the 'videntes'), and through them God himself is perceived (III. 6). On the other hand, it is equally possible that the accent was meant to be on the relation between Old Testament prophecy and New Testament revelation. Of course our investigation has to be carried on to the cupola mosaic itself. Here, the young beardless Christ is surrounded by the Virgin (main

patron next to Christ of the Venetian Republic) and prophets. The figure of Christ is probably referred to by the inscription carried by the prophet Isaiah, who stands close to the Virgin: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel' (Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel: *Isaiah*, 7:14). The significance of Emmanuel is 'God with us' (*Matthew*, 1:23). The liturgical context of *Isaiah*, 7:10-15 is Advent and Annunciation. A study of the biblical inscriptions carried by the other prophet figures surrounding the Emmanuel (except ~~David~~) would seem to accentuate the role of the Virgin in Incarnation and ecclesiology and the coming of the Lord; ~~David~~'s inscription is a synoptical one concerning the coming of the 'holy of holies' and the completion or cessation of 'unction' and the figure seems to have political connotations. To a certain extent the iconography and the inscriptions are repeated on the altar retable, the Pala d'Oro. This example gives an idea of the amount of research into inscriptions and their ritual, contextual, and generally functional relations that would go into any attempt at explaining such an apparently simple figure as the Emmanuel and the synoptical comment on it.

Another inscription in San Marco, a comment upon a roughly contemporary mosaic with the offering of Cain and Abel, speaks of Christ where we should have expected God: 'Christus Abel cernit, Cain et sua munera spernit': the idea being that 'Christ' looks benevolently upon the offering of Abel but despises that of Cain. A slightly later inscription in Florence was quoted above. Here 'God' was recognized in the figure of the Lamb. A possibility to investigate further would be that these inscriptions reflect a tendency to emphasize the ancient concept of 'Christ our God' as outlined in the following terms by Jungmann:³⁵

... the Saviour walking on this earth becomes simply the *epiphany of God*. While maintaining a basic, faithful profession of all that the Church taught, particularly about the two natures in Christ, this epiphany was regarded in such a way that all human will and feeling in Christ receded, and his earthly appearance was seen as but the point of God's operation Again, it is no accident that in the Christian art of the high Middle Ages God the Father is no longer portrayed symbolically as a hand raised out of the clouds, but is shown in human form. This step has at least been made easier by the vagueness of the boundary between the notion of God and of Christ.

Synoptical inscriptions as a category need systematical treatment. In the meantime a provisional survey may be proposed.

(ii) Inscriptions with Liturgical Connexion

α. Combinations with Liturgical Quotes

We have seen one example of this in San Clemente (Ill. 2) (III, 3, B). The synoptical part, which is in this case very close to other liturgical

David
David
Daniel

texts, is in brackets: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo (sedenti super thronum) et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis'. The synoptical part serves in this case to make the inscription long enough to fit the arch, but also to accentuate the connexion with another inscription in the same mosaic programme: 'Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium' (*Isaiah*, 6:1). These inscriptions will be readily associated with such an antiphon as 'Dominus in caelo, alleluia, paravit sedem suam, alleluia', of the Feast of the Ascension. There are points of affinity between liturgical inscriptions combined with synoptical ones and liturgical texts that have been 'farced' (III, 5, A).

β. Inscriptions with Indirect or Allusive Reference to Liturgy

We have an example, one of many, on a Tuscan crucifix of the early thirteenth century (in San Pietro in Vinculis, Pisa). Christ is hailed as 'mortis destructor, vitae reparator et auctor', the destroyer of death and the creator and restorer of life. This is no liturgical quote, but the inscription nevertheless effortlessly associates with liturgical texts, such as for instance: 'Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit' (Easter Preface).

(iii) Inscriptions without Liturgical Connexion in a Spatial Sense

Inscriptions that are not located in a liturgical context will be found, for example, on so-called votive pictures intended for public or private premises not provided with an altar, furthermore on coins, prints, etc. Again no systematic treatment is available. One example of print inscription may be cited, namely the main one on Titians's woodcut *Trionfo della Fede*, with Christ in triumphatory procession:

Triumphatorem mortis Christum eterna pace terris restituta celiq[ue] janua bonis omnibus adaper[ta] tanti beneficii memores deducentes divi canunt: Leading the way in commemoration of such benefactions, the saints sing the praise of Christ the triumphator over death, for eternal peace has been restored to earth, and the gates of heaven have been opened for all good human beings.³⁶

The celebration of the heavenly liturgy is represented in the form of a procession, in which angels, prophets and saints accompany Christ. The woodcut apparently was sold to pilgrims passing through Venice on their way to the Holy Land at the time of the annual feast of Corpus Christi, which was celebrated with a spectacular procession with the participation of live 'angels', 'prophets', and so on. The woodcut thus seems to have served as a souvenir of a true liturgical event. Another case is represented by prints with a religious subject – often the Virgin

or a saint – and with liturgical texts that served private devotion and ‘commemoration’.

Coins with Christian subjects and inscriptions are certainly not ‘liturgical’ when considered in the perspective of monetary circulation. In the Islamic context the point has been raised whether coins with the inscription ‘Allah’ or Quranic quotations belong to ‘religious art’ or not. Certainly in Islam coins play no role in any kind of liturgy, as coins do to a certain extent in the Christian world.

Money is still given at the Offertory; and in earlier days coins were offered directly upon altars on various occasions, especially in State ceremonies. But the political aspect of such inscriptions as ‘Sena, civitas Virginis’ for Siena, the city of the Virgin, need not occupy us here. The general liturgical-religious aspect to offering generally has been noted above (III, 4,C).

(iv) Inscriptions without Readable Sense

Alphabetical inscriptions exist in many cases of liturgical context. In the cupola of the north transept arm of San Marco at Venice there is a pseudo-Greek (?) inscription not yet interpreted satisfactorily. Pseudo-Arabic (and possibly pseudo-Syriac) inscriptions are quite frequent in paintings: all sorts of loose imitations from cufic, naskh and thuluth styles. Some inscriptions were apparently intended to represent Aramaic or Hebrew. A noted orientalist, Norberg, reported in 1779 earlier opinion according to which many pseudo-Arabic inscriptions were in the ‘Samaritan language’. So the possibility exists that such inscriptions in liturgical imagery may have been used simply as an ‘image’ of the linguistic idiom used in the days of Christ and thus expressed ‘sacred words’ without specification.³⁷

e. *The Location of Inscriptions*

The significance of an inscription depends upon the spatial position it occupies. This question can be especially problematic in larger architectural programmes.

An inscription may refer directly to the site it occupies and at the same time refer to concepts connected with a space at some distance; again an example from San Marco in Venice (a similar iconography on the ‘imperial door’ at Hagia Sophia). Over the main western door is a mosaic with Christ enthroned between the Virgin and St. Mark, the two chief patrons of the Venetian Republic. The inscription on the book which Christ is holding reads: ‘Ego sum ostium (= ostium), per me si quis introierit, salvabitur et pascua inveniet’, (*John*, 10:9), an antiphon for the Octave of Pentecost: ‘I am the door; anyone who

comes into the fold through me shall be safe. He shall go in and out and shall find pasturage.' There is here a clear connexion with the Pentecost iconography in the cupola nearby (III. 8), and allusions to the door surmounted by the mosaic as well as to the true 'pasture', for this is the sacrament of the Eucharist. The inscription defines the perspective of the way up to the high altar of the church. Similar 'branching' references occur also in iconography (III, 7, B).

f. Reconstruction of Missing or Damaged Inscriptions

So long as the lacunous text appears to be biblical, no great problem faces us. Even a few scattered letters are enough to identify a biblical text with the help of a Bible Concordance. The same applies to liturgical inscriptions. Synoptical ones require expert assistance.

To fill lacunae in an inscription on the basis of context evidence is a risky affair. But this is often the only way if we do not have to do with whole sentences where grammatical evidence can be used. A good example of such an attempt is E. M. Vetter's contribution on the crucifix of Bishop Krummedick in Lübeck Cathedral.³⁸ This contribution, and others on the reconstruction of inscriptions, are especially interesting in the light of the question whether sufficient attention has been paid to liturgy. The study cited aims at filling gaps of lost inscriptions for several figures of prophets by the method of weighing against each other various alternatives of concordance with the extant prophet inscriptions. The criterium for the conclusion here, i.e., for the suggestion of inscriptions for those prophet figures that wear and tear have deprived of their original ones, is the author's sound judgement developed by long experience in the field (and he subtitles his article: 'Discipulis exemplum', an example for the students). The problem involved in such an operation is, of course, that the number of allegedly cogent conclusions can to a certain extent be proportional to the number of experienced scholars. Liturgy would provide a common ground on which to discuss the values of different scholarly experiences in such a material. 'Experience' does not necessarily sharpen analytical tools.

C. Allusions to Texts

In accordance with what has been noted above, virtually any subject of Christian iconography will refer to texts, whether the reference is to one specific text or group of texts, or in a more general way to concepts emphasized in the liturgy. Now there are more or less central texts. On the other hand, it was claimed above that there is a certain degree of cohesion and systemic character in the relation of iconography to the

liturgy, so that in principle any iconography in church or chapel should somehow be connected with that of the altar, and to the texts behind the rites at the altar.

It may seem easy to disprove this statement by referring to any pictorial cycle on the side walls of a church or a chapel and with, say, the life of St. George or Ursula. Where then is the connexion? The connexion consists in the important role attributed to the saints as a class (strictly: a set of classes) in the achievement of the people or congregation through the liturgy; they are constantly being appealed to. The connexion is spelled out in the frequent references to them in any Mass all the year round, as well as in specific references on the particular feasts of the saints in question, in the litanies, and so on. The connexion is so necessary and obvious that we cannot be sure that it is always or even usually expressed by iconographical means. This has to be found out in each separate case. The texts concerning the saints are to be found in the Missals but especially in the Breviaries (or corresponding collections that historically preceded the Breviary; hereinafter, I shall refer simply to the Breviary even when having in mind text history before the complete Breviary was developed).

The impact of Breviary texts on iconographies other than the specifically hagiographical ones (i.e., concerning saints) is not easy to assess. The prayers and readings here do not concern the Mass but the canonical hours, vespers, nocturns, etc., and special features in the cycle of the ecclesiastical year, and also special occasions like ordination of priests or death. Such texts, and the corresponding ones in the Missal, provide, one may say, further elaboration of the themes of the Ordinal and the Canon, and they also comprise fields not directly touched on in them.

A special problem is raised by the circumstance that there exist versions of the Breviary that are much less homogeneous than the variants of the Missal. The differences appear very clearly even within extremely narrow geographical and even ecclesiastical limits. As an example of variants of a certain consistency, one might consider that the Venetian church of San Marco,³⁹ for vespers of Holy Saturday, recited five psalms each with an antiphon, in the following order: Antiphon: *Vespere autem sabbati*, Psalm: *Laudate pueri*; antiphon: *Et ecce terremotus*, Psalm: *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; antiphon: *Angelus autem Domini descendit*, Psalm: *Lauda anima*; antiphon: *Erat autem aspectus eius sicut fulgur*, Psalm: *Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus*; antiphon: *Prae timore*, Psalm: *Lauda Hierusalem*. But the reformed rite of the Roman papal curia and of the Franciscans since the thirteenth century merely recited the antiphon *Alleluia* and the Psalm *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*. What effects could such differences have on iconography?

On the one hand, we have far more remarkable variations in such feasts as, e.g., that of Epiphany. On the other, we have variations that may seem very minor ones. Three different breviaries of the fifteenth century in use in or around Venice have each their particular Invitatory for the 'Vigils' of the Advent: *Ecce venit rex*, *Regem venturum*, and *Ecce venit plenitudo temporis*, respectively. The differences do not strike one as impressive. Yet even small variations may have been considered to be of decisive importance, either for the liturgical interpretation they spell out or for the political implications they were thought or even intended to carry.

This needs a word of explanation. Just one case should do. From the eleventh century the papacy conducted a policy of liturgical centralism, aiming at a standardized universal liturgy after the model of that of the papal court. Several campaigns of reform were undertaken at Rome, the last one (until the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century) under Innocent III. Some Mendicant Orders, especially the Franciscans, spearheaded the reform movement in various countries, including Venice. For political and probably also social reasons Venice adopted much of the reformed liturgy into their State liturgy of San Marco, but not all. Under these circumstances the relation of the liturgy of any diocese or country or city or Order to that of Rome became a political issue, albeit with varying importance ascribed to it. In the extant liturgical commentaries (in ceremonials, breviaries, etc.) for the liturgy of the State church of San Marco at Venice, the 'Roman question' crops up again and again, sometimes over substantial variations of reading and practice, but sometimes over seeming *petites* that only a liturgiologist would notice today. Clearly, the issue was considered one of politics as well as one of ecclesiastical policy.

At this point we may just register the difficulty of deciding which liturgical divergences or variants are important and which ones are irrelevant. With regard to iconography, this question has never to my knowledge been studied systematically. A decision in any specific case also depends on sociological issues. For we shall have to know the range of action of the Breviary texts and others in the particular historical situation we are studying. To put it briefly: Who was familiar with such texts and who was not? Who had at least been instructed to some extent in what they stood for, and who remained more or less ignorant?

Whereas the iconography of a monastic context, say, a choir, could clearly count on familiarity with the Breviary (but which Breviary?), the case is much more doubtful with regard to paintings intended for the general public, e.g., in the nave of a church. Familiarity with the Breviary has a history that has been in part written (see *Bibliography* 4). At least we know that from the thirteenth century the Breviary to a

certain extent spread outside the choirs of churches, monastic and other, and into private homes. And those who could not afford the books or could not read got the messages broadcast from the pulpits in churches and town squares. At present, it is not possible to be more specific than this.

Next we consider some types of text reference that are rather common in art-historical practice, and which are supposed to enable the scholar to circumvent the complexities of liturgy and try a more 'personal' shortcut. Two of these types of reference consist in monographical text selection. First, one tries to reconstruct how particular texts, usually biblical ones, may have been read by the artist himself, e.g., Michelangelo. A contribution may, for instance, in a study of the paintings of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, tend to take it for granted that an artist like Michelangelo, an obvious exponent of the 'arch-individualism' of the 'Renaissance', must have taken the matter into his own hand with regard to the iconographical programme and forced his solution upon any patron, even the pope, and even in the case of an official palace chapel of the Papacy. So we are invited not only to believe that some features a specific scholar finds it hard to understand are due to 'mistake' in Michelangelo's hurry to finish his work, but also to entertain careful considerations upon the most likely way in which Michelangelo 'read his Bible', considerations that are not even remotely related to the liturgical functions of the Sistine Chapel. Nor are these considerations matched with an analysis of the paintings in possible direct relation to central features of the liturgy of the Mass and the Virgin, to whom the chapel was dedicated. Thus the data presented in such contributions are too 'soft': no method has ever been developed for the systematic treatment of them. The 'softness' is proportional to the number of ways in which one can read the Bible (or guess that Michelangelo could); perhaps it takes a scholar from a Protestant country to realize the vulnerability of this kind of argumentation. And of course ordinary historical experience warns us to be careful before we conclude that individuals of high official responsibility, in this case the pope, could do what they liked, and give an artist a free hand in areas covered by their competence and responsibility. The only way to try to understand Michelangelo's contribution as an artist must be to assess it on the basis of an analysis of the iconographical programme in its functional aspect.

The second type of monographical text selection on the part of scholars for the construction of hypotheses is less obviously perilous. It consists in selecting works by one particular ecclesiastical writer, say, St. Augustine. If the selected text, such as his *City of God*, is vast enough in its scope, almost any Christian iconography can be interpreted as fitting it somehow, especially if the scholar himself

interprets the text without finding out how Tradition has done this. For then the scholar would interpret the source and the iconography, so that commensurability would be ensured; too easily, in fact, and without the necessary controlling agency independent of the scholar himself. The very idea that the iconography of a liturgical space in a public church or chapel should have been based on the writings of *one* ecclesiastical writer, e.g., St Augustine, seems entirely anti-functional. First of all, this would mean bringing the particular monographical text into competition with the entire text body of the liturgy (which apart from generally valid features also serves to give the particular place identity), the very liturgy in which every single possible concept of any fundamental value will be found ready to use. Secondly, Tradition and liturgy do not work in such a way at all. A massively personalistic or monographical criterium is entirely alien and would expose the iconographical programme to being considered as something private and not officially valid. The crux of the matter here, as in the case of the 'St. Bonaventure interpretation' of Assisi frescoes (III, 14), is attention to analytical levels. After a basic functional, authority-imposed level has been construed, it may be found that some super-imposed level of particular emphasis has been introduced. The latter cannot be clearly conceived independently of the former.

A particular kind of case in which a liturgical approach does not perhaps seem obviously right concerns numerous types of imagery that do not belong to a liturgical context in the sense of being connected with altar, baptismal font, etc. Typical examples are so-called votive paintings with the Virgin or other saints and portraits of officials placed on a wall in an official building and unconnected with any altar; or a painting with a religious subject represented in a religious institution but again out of liturgical context. But even in cases like these, the iconography will almost by necessity be more or less directly – the 'modes of relation' must be studied (III, 3, D) – connected with the liturgy.

First of all, there are hardly any concepts concerning man's relation to divinity and the saints that are not expressed in the liturgy, for which purpose also the more important biblical events are exploited. Usually, therefore, religious iconography in a non-liturgical physical context will not leave the sphere of reference of liturgical iconography.

However, there must be one exception to this rule, and it is an important one. In the brief note on Tradition above (II, 2, C), the introduction of novelties was not mentioned explicitly. The gradual introduction of the cult of the Sacred Heart is one example. In the initiatory, 'popular' phase, before the concept has attained liturgical status, the subject of the Sacred Heart is perhaps introduced as an 'extra' in pictures for altars or for other contexts.

Secondly, the general predominance of liturgical concepts in the communication of religious ideas can be inferred also from the role liturgy played in everyday life. This role will have varied considerably over time and space, and must be studied separately, as indicated above. But in many cases we may reckon with a familiarity with liturgical texts, which would have produced a common stock of liturgical concepts that any planner of iconography could and probably would take into consideration. In some special cases, thirdly, concerning religious institutions such as any kind of monastic building, and houses of religious fraternities, liturgy made its presence felt also in an institutional manner; this applies in part even to so-called lay bodies such as guilds.

D. Alternative Sources, Multiple Readings

Because of the complexity of the liturgy as a system and as a process, iconography cannot in any sense 'cover' all the concepts that are formalized in the readings to which specific reference is made. Nor can it, on account of the repetitive character of ritual, cover any larger chunk of a special liturgy without unavoidably being associated with other special parts of the liturgy. This is the price to be paid for a consistent ritual system. A striking example of such a 'redundancy' – in which connotations not in the focus of the intended message become implied – may be observed in Eucharistic iconography (i.e., one connected with the central concepts of the Mass sacrifice).

In art-historical writing we often meet with the question whether in this or that case we have a 'Corpus Domini iconography'. But usually the iconography in question will belong to an altar, and the Eucharistic iconographies expressing the functions of any altar will also cover the concepts implied in the Corpus Domini celebration (which was, in fact, instituted to make up for the non-festive character of Good Friday, which is, indeed, liturgically focused on the Body of Christ). On the other hand, in particular cases interest in emphasizing the Corpus Domini celebration may have led to some further elaboration of Eucharistic iconography that would not have been otherwise contemplated. But the effect of such an initiative would not have been all that unambiguous, for the iconography specially developed in honour of the Corpus Domini, which is celebrated once a year, would also cover the Mass generally, which is celebrated all through the year (except on altars used exclusively for some special purpose). So that a systematic study of Eucharistic iconography of chronological and institutional relevance is a precondition to asking questions concerning 'Corpus Domini iconography'.

Furthermore, with regard to an iconography, 'sources' that are not explicitly referred to in the hard data of iconography may influence the understanding of it (imputed significance, III, 3, D, v). Finally, in iconography as in language, specific elements may be 'overextended in production in order to achieve communicative effects' (G. J. Whitehurst): with the addition of strictly inessential details of nature or of 'homely' facial types (as in Caravaggio's altarpieces), just to cite a couple of examples.

The present section may be concluded with an example of the liturgical multi-reference mentioned above. The quotation from *Isaiah*, 6:1, 'Vidi Dominum . . .' on the triumphal arch of San Clemente (III. 2), was connected directly with the iconography recalling the continuation of the same text, the 'sanctus, sanctus, sanctus', the threefold 'holy' which appears at the end of the Mass Preface (II, 2, E). It is because of the architectural position of the inscription and its obvious connection with an iconography that seems to convey all the essential notions of the Canon of the Mass, that the reference to the Preface seemed most likely to be the intended one. However, the same text from *Isaiah* was also read on the Sunday after Easter and on All Saints, and it cannot be excluded that these references too are relevant. In the hope of settling this question, we should have to find out how these two liturgies were at that time evaluated in relation to the Preface, if such a connection was at all specially considered.

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6. The Liturgical Space

A. General

Liturgical space will be briefly treated here in terms of formal functional values and, derived from these, symbolic ones. The activation of liturgical space as a kind of electro-magnetic field by the interaction of human, architectural and iconographical 'hardware' will be considered below (III, 7, 8).

A liturgical space is the area serving for the performance of liturgical rites and for the participation in them. The chief requirement for such a space is a negative one: that it shall not impair or hinder the celebration of, and participation in, the liturgy. A leaking roof or a too restricted space for the altar are both examples of such impediments. Positively, the arrangement of the liturgical space may become a co-agency in the liturgical functions, for instance by providing convenient barriers or traffic-directing channels. Barriers or high steps between sanctuary and nave serve to keep apart two different functional units. A Romanesque ambulatory means that the architecture literally stands aside to let pass the processions and visitors to the chapels in that section of the building. The architectural shell will usually be further subdivided by the setting up of permanent or movable furniture, such as confessional, tabernacle, baptismal font, pulpit, or Easter candlestick.

The architectural shell enclosing the liturgical space or space units assumes particular qualities by virtue of the liturgical and other functional, and the symbolical and iconographical significances attributed to it. Such significances manifest themselves in two different ways. First we have those that arise from current conception of the liturgy and, so to speak, colour the surroundings without being set out clearly in formulations; and secondly we have more or less systematic written statements concerning them. A well-known example is the conception of a church building as an image of the structures combining the Anastasis rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre and the adjoining basilica at Jerusalem, a resemblance that was occasionally expressed architecturally by the juxtaposition of basilica and rotunda (e.g., St.-Benigne at Dijon, Canterbury Cathedral). Any church building, however, would necessarily have to be seen in the light of the concept of Jerusalem,

since the Mass celebrated on any altar was a *memoria passionis* (II, 2, E). The principle is based in the liturgy, then, and operated in different ways; only exceptionally was it stated explicitly in writing (see *Bibliography 6*). Another example is the idea of a church building as an image of the heavenly Jerusalem, again based in the liturgy. Symbolical distinctions apply not only to the building as a whole but even to separate parts of it. Some of the medieval allegorical literature on these aspects is treated by Sauer and others; but to the best of my knowledge there is no systematical treatment of the material in its relation to liturgy and liturgical exegesis.

Assessment, as far as possible, of the functional and the symbolical qualities of the liturgical space is indispensable for decisions in the research process concerning priorities and 'hierarchies' in an iconographical programme (III, 4, B, b). Such an assessment could be undertaken under the following headings, which are intended merely as suggestions and must be adapted to specific needs (*Bibliography 6*):

B. The Altar

(a) Celebration of Mass (characteristic of a period, locality, institution such as monastic Order, cathedral, parish church, etc.)

(b) Special functions (high altar, altar for private Mass, for funerary chapel, etc.; of cathedral, of parish church, of guild, of government, etc.)

(c) Special dedications (Mary or other saints, special aspects such as Immaculate Conception, 'Salvator', etc.; such dedication may be called 'special' to distinguish it from the normal dedication of all altars to Divinity and to Christ)

(d) Accessories, vestments, surrounding furniture (cross, chalice and patena, baldacchino, confessio, tabernacle, pulpit, etc.)

C. The Building

(a) Class and function (cathedral, parish church, monastic church, palace chapel, etc. Present-day definitions cannot usually be applied to earlier buildings on account of changing ecclesiastical legislation; *bibliographies* for this section in dictionaries and liturgical handbooks)

(b) Liturgy (according to class and function: (a))

(c) Consecration, dedication (note to (a), above, applies also here)

(d) Financing, economic status (question of primary importance for different conceptions of a building in local society, hence also for iconography)

(e) Special space subdivisions (screened-off sanctuary, choir arrangement, position of confessionals, etc.)

D. Symbolical and Allegorical Interpretation

(a) Based on written sources, typological comparison of architecture (fundamental issues: altar and hence building as seat of *memoria passionis*; consonance between church liturgy and celestial liturgy: II, 2, E).

(b) Based on evidence derived from study of pictorial iconography including inscriptions (this would represent feed-back from iconographical research).

With regard to the liturgical space, it should be noted that this in specific cases and under particular circumstances may have been more extensive than might appear at first sight. Owing to the widespread medieval liturgical practice of visual, auditive, and even physical separation between congregation and the Mass rite (or central parts of it) (III, 5, B, a), even a room communicating with the altar space merely through a narrow door would be fully functional in a liturgical sense. We have examples of such situations in the arrangement of the Baroncelli Chapel at Santa Croce, Florence (see note 45); the small chapel communicating with the great hall through arches, in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; numerous small *martyria* with an altar and with a square for the congregation, like Bramante's Tempietto in Rome; there is a similar arrangement to this in numerous plague lazarets of the sixteenth century and later (three Italian examples: Milan, Verona, San Colombano al Lambro). Finally there are hospital wards with a chapel more or less screened-off between them, and the hospital porticoes facing streets and squares and with the chapel at one end of the portico and accessible through a door (San Paolo at Florence); thus hospitalized congregations could attend open-air sermons without mixing with the general public (assembled, say, in the piazza between Santa Maria Novella and the San Paolo Hospital at Florence), and from the same position they could attend Mass celebrated within the chapel at the end of the portico.

7. Space Relations

A. General

Let us take 'space' to imply the ordinary everyday meaning of that term in architectural and environmental contexts: some kind of three-dimensional continuum with physical and/or conceptual delimitations: a wall, a balustrade, a change in character as between a nave and a transept, symbolical and behavioural boundaries near an altar: generally, consciousness of direction and/or boundary implied in the reaction to these features and to the functions for which the space is intended or with which it has been habitually associated. We may compare with boundary in regional economics as set by critical change in flow densities, the appreciation of which will usually imply direction and will oscillate between quantification and symbolic attribution.

It seems convenient to consider the relationship of iconography to its spatial surroundings under two aspects; again, assuredly, the distinctions cannot be absolute. There is first a *simple relationship*: that for example of spatial juxtaposition of a picture to an altar regardless of the onlooker's intended viewpoint, whether the picture is intended to be viewed by the congregation or from seats in the choir, and so on. Then there is a *conditioned relationship* between the iconography and the architectural space, which is dependent upon the onlooker's viewpoint and determined in part by his purpose in entering the room: for example, the picture in question may be placed above the high altar, and the liturgical life at the time may be such that the congregation naturally approaches the high altar as their main goal; in another period this may have been less so, because people cared less for the high altar, where the liturgical climax was concealed from their view and hearing (III, 5, A, a), and sought instead the secondary altars with the many private Masses or some 'devotional image' ('Andachtsbild') placed on a secondary altar especially used for vesper services or even elsewhere in the building (a sculpture like the Bonn Pietà, Ill. 10, may have occupied either of the two kinds of position).

From now on I shall speak of the 'onlooker' in the sense of a member of the congregation; I shall use the term 'congregation' whenever it is not necessary to imply sociological or other distinctions within this rather heterogeneous category of people.

B. Simple Relationship

A simple relationship can be described without taking into account shifting viewpoints and attitudes on the part of the onlooker. But such a description does not make much sense if it omits any consideration of function. The room will serve a specific set of purposes, and the picture may be there to comment upon one of these purposes or upon conceptions connected with it. It will have been clear from the outset for those who planned the iconography that such a message will be understood correctly by some people and grasped less clearly by others, or differently understood by others again, all depending on their level of education, outlook, social background (III, 12). The importance of functional considerations also beyond the central liturgical ones with regard to the relationship between iconography and architecture has always been recognized.⁴¹

An iconographical programme may refer to the function of a building as such or to some specific section of it, or indeed the programme may combine such references. The medieval mosaic programme of San Marco, Venice, provides examples of combined reference systems. We noted above (III, 5, B, e) a case of 'branching' reference in inscriptions. The mosaics in the three main cupolas (Ills. 6, 7, 8) are probably meant as an allusion to the persons in the Trinity and illustrate the concept of the Church in a universal sense as being 'full of the Trinity'.⁴² At the same time progression from the Old Testament (Emmanuel, 'viventes', prophets: see Ill. 6) to the New Testament is illustrated (a parallelism described in works by Rupert von Deutz, who died in 1135). Finally, the three cupola mosaics in the same progression spell out the notion of the three periods of the ecclesiastical year: Nativity (Advent with Christmas), Easter (concluded with the Ascension), and Pentecost; accompanying mosaics with subjects from the New Testament help to clarify this thematical development.

At the same time the three cupola mosaics, which taken together present a vast ecclesiological programme, mark, each of them separately, a distinctive section of the space: the presence of divinity over the high altar, the glory of the Incarnate Word, as seen through the Ascension of Christ, over the crossing between nave and transept, and, finally, the Descent of the Holy Spirit over the congregational nave (this mosaic includes the subject of the spreading of the Word among the peoples).

The Ascension mosaic over the crossing furthermore serves as a culmination to the iconography of triumph in the south transept arm. Here, mosaics and inscriptions evoke the triumph of Christ, an iconography that was probably meant to accompany the weekly, triumphal entry of the Venetian government into the church from the

government palace (the Doge's Palace) through the south transept door; the government on this occasion carried a 'Christ'.⁴³

A supposedly 'complete' description of such a case of branching represents, of course, a maximalized model, in this case, probably, the church and government intentions thrown together. Different interests and 'basic' requirements (III, 3, D, b) in different partners in a venture connected with different areas of the building, or the whole of it, will impose articulation and nuances in such an overall model.

C. Conditioned Relationship

A non-functional evaluation of the space position of an iconographical programme or a single image can easily give an abortive start to a research project. Usually a functional consideration will force us to examine the 'conditioned relationship' in addition to the simple one. This is so in the following case. In a recent contribution on large crucifixes it was stated (my translation from German):⁴⁴

Under the triumphal arch [of churches] the Italians did not place large wooden crucifixes [apparently sculptured works are meant] but 'painted crosses', that is, crosses that were sawn out and painted. [cf. Ill. 4]. Since however popular religious sentiment ['religiöse Volksfrömmigkeit'] also wanted sculptured representations of the crucified Divinity, one had to find another place for these. They were placed either in chapels or in oratories, that is to say, they were intended to serve as devotional images ['Andachtsbilder']; they might also be placed on columns, but were not, then, *banished* ['verbannen'] high up on the triumphal arch; rather they were placed in the middle of the congregation (my italics).

Two objections must be raised to this description. First, the statements do not take into account the fact that the cross placed on the triumphal arch (or cross beam or 'rood-screen' in front of the altar) would be seen clearly by the congregation assembled in the nave (III, 3, D, b, iii). Secondly, only after an examination of the liturgical practice of the day and of the specific place can one say whether a picture on the altar of a side chapel is really more effective 'in the middle of the congregation' than one placed in view of those who might assemble in the nave. Such a shortcoming in functional argument could have been avoided by passing from a consideration of simple relationship to a careful consideration of conditioned relationship. Quite clearly, this is the way to go: first a registration of all likely connexions between architecture and iconography, regardless of perspectives and viewpoints, and then a careful description of relationships conditioned by perspectives and viewpoints in the light of liturgical function and practices, church social life, and so on. The 'conditioning' factors, then, are viewpoints and perspectives, which are in their turn determined by liturgical practice

and ideas, by social factors, and so on (see III, 12, on 'users').⁴⁵ The architectural plan and arrangement of the building, the position of the altar, and, indeed, the compositional structure of the image (see for example Titian's Pesaro Madonna, Ill. 21), favour certain viewpoints to the detriment of others. The way these factors are allowed to favour or to interfere is, however, to a large extent dependent upon the precise articulation of liturgical practice and customs in clergy and congregation. Under certain circumstances it is for example natural to see the image of Christ in glory in manuscript illustration to the Mass Preface (see Ill. 25), which indicates God's presence, as an architectural image and as belonging to the same functional system as a similar image on the triumphal arch or in the apse (see Ill. 2). The manuscript image will face the celebrant at the inception of the Canon together, usually, with an illumination of the crucifixion (Ill. 26) which matches the *Te igitur*, the first prayer of the Canon, with the sacrifice (II, 2, E).

Yet another type of distinction may be needed within the concept of conditioned space relationship, namely that between degrees of closeness, which may be relevant from the point of view of the congregation or any other group of onlookers. We may thus speak of visual closeness to the altar when the iconography is observable by anyone facing the altar, and distinguish successive degrees of closeness, according to whether the iconography is (a) on the altar, (b) axially above it, (c) axially in front of it (e.g., on the vault), (d) flanking the view of the altar on both sides.

D. Ritual Impact

So far we have treated the role of central liturgical concepts. There is however also the purely ritual impact in the space dimension to consider. The effect of pictorial space on the onlookers will be determined to some extent by such circumstances, for example, as whether the congregation is allowed no access to the Canon rite itself, and the Canon is celebrated in 'secrecy' (III, 5, B, a), that is to say, by the mode and degree of their participation. The aspect of 'presence' of an image of Christ placed before a congregation for whom the Canon rite is screened off may seem more intense than in the case when the congregation enjoys full visual and auditive access to the rite.⁴⁶

8. Ritual and the Perception of Pictorial Arrangement

A. General

The pictorial composition with the particular arrangement of interior space in any image to some extent affects the onlooker's feeling of relation – in terms of accessibility or distance, for example – to the subject depicted. To some extent, too, the pictorial space acts as a component of the liturgical space (III, 7, C; III, B, below) as this is perceived by the onlooker. A pictorial space can convey the notion, say, of closing off or opening up the real space. Clearly, the effect of the pictorial space is also affected by the particular kind of 'conditioned relationship' (III, 7, C) between the specific iconography and the architecture, and also by neighbouring pictorial schemes.

With regard to the participant's perception of pictorial space, there is a difference according to whether the iconography is felt as being liturgically central (directly related to the Mass) or otherwise. In the former case, a regulated and regulating ritual system will to some extent affect understanding of the relationship between pictorial space, worldly and transcendent realities, in definite terms. This distinction might profitably be applied to the material which Sandström has examined in a morphological system of his and with great intuition in his book *Levels of Unreality*.⁴⁷

Liturgy determines specific modes of relationship in action and idea between the onlooker or congregation and the subject illustrated in the liturgical iconography. One may speak of the regulating effect of the liturgy. The liturgy is an articulate system (II, 2, D) which makes itself manifest all through the liturgical time-span in which the iconography functions fully, a system through which the human participant perceives those entities, such as the present divinity, the sacrifice, that are illustrated in the iconography – and perceives them within a space context which is also perceptually affected by the same system. The liturgy formalizes the perception of and the attitude to the true object (divinity, sacrifice) and simultaneously with this, and jointly with this, the perception of the illustration of the true object, all in one regularized operation. Needless to say, this is how matters appear

when looked upon from an extreme ritualistic angle. In daily life, the structure will be considerably blurred. Nevertheless, it is there as a fundamental principle and will at least rule the main strategy of the relationships under discussion. Furthermore, the planners, at least the clergy themselves, must have been aware of the potentials in such a regulating effect when planning an iconographical programme or evaluating the proposal for one. The descriptive terminology for the relationship between onlooker and pictorial space in an image in a church or chapel should be developed in the context of liturgy itself, as a precondition for analysis of the user's and the artist's conception of pictorial space. Terms such as 'distance', 'closeness', 'inaccessibility' (because of barriers), 'accessibility', etc. cover an essential concern in the liturgy and hence a central issue in liturgical iconography, on account of the various modes of divine presence and of Christ's presence in the Mass (III, 3, B). A focus is provided for here for the differently conceived relations between the single members of the congregation and their celestial goal, which during their lifetime they experience in the most tangible manner while participating in the Mass. Christ the Mediator bridges 'the enormous distance separating man from God', thus Jungmann sums up a central Christian concept.⁴⁸ It is an important concern of the liturgy to say something explicitly or by implication about the distance to and accessibility of those entities that are the central subject of the iconography. In theological terms the Mass participant is a *viator*, a traveller towards the celestial goal.

B. Two Categories of Imagery

It may perhaps be convenient to distinguish between the iconographical subjects in which this issue is explicit and those where it is not, and then to distinguish between various terms in which the same issue of distance or accessibility is illustrated and can be described. We may distinguish here between, on the one hand, an iconography that from a liturgical point of view is distance-accessibility-related and one that is not; of course there is here no absolute distinction (see below).

The access-related iconography (so labelled for brevity) concerns manifestations of divine presence or divine accessibility over a distance, with the Eucharistic presence as a permanent focus (III, 3, B); there may be a vicarious manifestation through mediating saints. Typically but not exclusively, these iconographies belong to altar or altar wall, vault or apse (Ills. 2, 6, 11, 13, 19) rather than to wall cycles in nave or aisles. The remaining iconographies, such as those of narrative cycles, may be conceived of as complementary to the former

type. In them, the relation of their subject to the onlooker is less liturgically problematic. Though certainly the issue is not absent altogether, partly because of the connexion of these iconographies to the access-related one, and partly because of the conception, variously accentuated through history, of the architectural church as an image of the celestial Church (III, 6, C) – a conception frequently affirmed, e.g., by Bellarmine, who stated that ‘templum est imago quaedam Coeli’.

So iconography is given two distinct alternatives for depicting the central subjects: that of representing nearness and direct accessibility, or that of representing extreme distance that can be bridged through participation in the liturgy. In imagery, thus, it is possible to speak of space-conceptions that illustrate nearness or accessibility in terms of space unity or of direct face to face relationship (see also below), and space-conceptions that illustrate a distance that can be penetrated; as a fourth alternative there are those that are neutral in this respect. Before presenting some examples, let it be stressed that the present discussion is not an attempt to reach any conclusion, but tries to indicate generally the relevance of liturgical concepts for the question of pictorial space conception, and hence also for such qualities as ‘realism’, ‘true perspective’, and, generally, and consequently, style.

It would seem that in access-related liturgical iconography the issue of relation between the pictorial space and the subject within it, on the one hand, and the onlooker or congregation, on the other, may be articulated in the following terms, the first one of which is often included in the other two: accessibility by direction; accessibility by space unification; accessibility by penetration.

a. Accessibility by Direction

The fundamental notion that the sacrifice takes place before the Lord in heaven ‘in conspectu maiestatis tuae’ (II, 2, E; III, 3, B) has determined the predominant iconographical technique of representing accessibility in terms of direction, regardless of any indication of spatial distance. This technique consists in showing the principal subject – divinity or mediating saint communicating with divinity – in the centre of the iconography and so placed as to face the congregation. This kind of representation is so common that it does not call for specific exemplification (Ills. 2, 11, 12, 19). But the existence of this technique does impose some attention to methodological discrimination.

In order to demonstrate cultural changes manifest in pictorial composition, Orcagna’s Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, a relief on the tabernacle in Or San Michele, Florence, was once compared to Giotto’s painting of the same subject in the wall-cycle of the Arena Chapel at Padua; the idea being that the symmetrical and

ritualistic composition of the former and the freer, realistic composition of the latter were symptomatic of two different cultural periods. Such a possibility cannot be rejected off-hand, but nor can it be assumed without having been evaluated against the particular circumstance that Orcagna's relief belongs to an eminently ritual object whereas Giotto's painting is part of a narrative wall-cycle.

In some iconographies the relationship is, so to speak, reversed; as when the chief subject, for example the enthroned Virgin in Titian's Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21), turns away from the congregation assembled before the altar. This reversion, obviously, invites scrutiny.

b. Accessibility by Space Unification

Paintings since the early Middle Ages have echoed the structure or the design of their architectural setting (even to the point of giving an illusion of coherence with it) by means of painted architecture. A good example is the former apse mosaic in Santa Francesca Romana, Rome (1161?) (Ill. 11), in which an arcade is shown running as a curved backdrop to the Virgin and Child and the other saints and suggests a continuation of the real architecture, i.e., a fusion of the church building with the heavenly basilica (above, A). This is in full correspondence with the concept of the earthly liturgy as a reflection of the heavenly liturgy, and the Universal Church echoing the Church in heaven (II, 2, E). In a small altar panel by Bernardo Daddi (fourteenth century) in the Kress Collection, Kansas City, the details of the Virgin's throne repeat the forms of the wooden frame of the painting (or vice versa), a device taken up later by painters like Giovanni Bellini and others; so that the depicted space appears as an extension of the real one. Other pictorial devices may have been used to a similar effect, as when the 'mandorla' (almond-shaped halo) of Christ extends beyond the boundary of the painting itself, in the apse of the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville near Cluny (ca. 1105-1110). In a corresponding perspective we should presumably see the huge naturalistic and 'alive'-looking crucified figures, like the one at the Sarzana cross (Ill. 4), which were placed on the beam between the sanctuary and the congregation. In the twelfth century these crucifixes were apparently intended as illustrations of the divine presence in connection with the liturgy.^{x)}

c. Accessibility by Penetration

In the apse mosaic of San Clemente (Ills. 2, 3), the centre is occupied by a realistic-looking scene of the historical crucifixion with Christ dead between Mary and John: an experience of reality which is placed in an

98 x) Auch Caravaggio's "everyday" types of Mary, Christ, etc.: corresp. rapprochement.

environment of symbol-laden vegetation alluding to the celestial Church (III, 4, B, b). Thus the real presence in the Mass sacrifice is pictorially projected into a sublime world which we are forced to penetrate; a poetical rendering of the liturgical notion of bridging the distance (above, A) between church on earth and Church in heaven, in response to the prayer that the angel shall carry our offering up to the 'altar on high' (II, 2, E).

9. Ritual Focus

A. General

Such modes of perception of ritual iconography as are set out above will also to some extent be influenced by focus on the iconography in terms of the ritual handling of it and ritualized attention to it.

From the point of view of liturgy, we have distinguished between formally prescribed functions and auxiliary functions (II, 3). The role of iconography must be considered also from the point of view of the onlooker (for such 'conditioned relationship', see III, 7, C). Further distinctions are called for. It is the purpose of a processional image not only to be carried in procession but also to convey a message, impart a notion. The same kind of distinction applies to the kissing of an image, bowing before it, and so on. These examples urge us to take into account not only the actual handling but the act of bestowing attention on an image. ¹ *also*

B. Handling

Liturgy and liturgy-related ceremonies involve many kinds of physical handling of images or of objects with images on them. The celebrant kisses the sacramentary image of Christ (or rather, he did). The gospel book with an image of Christ on its cover was carried in procession. The tabernacle is opened and closed again. Crucifixes are covered up and uncovered. Then there are special rites like the washing of the feet of the image of Christ at the Sancta Sanctorum procession at Rome, and so on. These are all specially conditioned ways of calling attention to a particular iconography that will enhance special aspects of it. For instance, the covering up of the crucifix leads attention temporarily away from it, so as to emphasize its message during the annual celebration of the Passion, when again it is uncovered. However, also the non-physical modes for calling attention to iconography are usually conditioned in such a way as to bring out specific relevant connotations.

C. Attention

Attention to a specific image or iconographical programme may be called through physical handling (see above), through the position of the iconography in the liturgical (or other) space, or through the different meaningful contexts for it created by the liturgy itself in the different stages of its process.

Attention to iconography is largely visual, an obvious fact we have to point out in view of liturgist scholars' occasional disregard for visual aspects of the material they present us with. The various modes of attention to liturgical iconography in any specific context or situation are dependent upon the modes or even technicalities of contact between the congregation, or special parts of it, the celebrant, and the liturgical objects (altar, chalice, crucifix, etc.), as prescribed by formal rubrics or brought about by accepted custom (or, indeed, at times, by customs that are not officially accepted). The lay-out of the liturgical space can prove a determinant factor here. In this context two liturgiological studies may be mentioned, since they have a bearing upon our present issue and since they are examples of two different attitudes towards the non-formal modes of attention to the liturgy itself. G. Nickl, in his important study on the congregation's participation in the liturgy of the Mass, limits his treatment to technical rubric discipline:⁴⁹ the congregation standing up or kneeling (both are acts of attention), their responding or singing, their part in the Holy Communion, their offering, and so on. Nickl does not take into account the role of visual contact as such: what does the congregation see and not see, and of auditive contact: what do they hear and not hear. And yet, circumstances such as these would to a certain extent – on account of the context they contribute to creating – influence people's perception not only of the liturgy but also of the accompanying imagery.

Vision from a formal liturgical point of view, but also from a general cultural one, is on the other hand the principal topic in Dumoutet's study on 'the desire to see the Eucharistic Host'.⁵⁰ The eleventh and the twelfth century saw ever more frequent and differentiated expressions of popular desire for seeing the Host upon its consecration in the Mass sacrifice (for some notes on liturgical sociology, see III, 12).

No systematic account of techniques for leading a congregation's attention to the rites and thus also to the iconography can be given here. The important point is that no such aspect, however minimal it may seem, should be overlooked. A colleague once dismissed the celebrant's bowing before the sacramentary image by calling it an 'insignificant nod'. Of course he then applied a quantitative evaluation

quite out of place in a liturgical context. The liturgy would not have contained any rubric for such a bowing if it had been considered insignificant. Technical details of this kind are important because they contribute to conditioning modes in which people approach what was presumably for most of them a very essential thing in their daily life. We are here right in the centre of relevant material for art sociology through many centuries in the Christian world.

7), Attention to iconography will imply attention to specific messages (III, 11) but also in a more general way attention to rites rather than distraction – a social problem that proved particularly acute as long as the people's visual and auditive access to the Mass was strictly limited (III, 7, D). Thus for instance Bellarmine, in his treatise on sacred images (1580s) cited as one function of images in churches that they 'continent mentes hominum, ne vagantur inanibus cogitationibus': hold people's attention lest they be distracted by empty reveries. The importance of such a consideration can be measured against the fact that the Council of Vienne (1311-1312) examined inattention at Mass as a social problem (I, 2).

To the ritual aspects of iconographical perception will be added others, often of a markedly emotive character, that are to do with the ideas of what a sacred image 'really is'.

10. Conception of Sacred Images

A. Official Teachings

The official views of the Roman Church concerning the use and role of sacred imagery were formulated and restated in periods when the veneration of such images was attacked, and it is characteristic that the decree of the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century on the question was entitled: 'On the invocation and veneration of and on the relics of the saints, and on sacred images' (Session XXV).

Most scholarly writings concern the official Church statements on the matter and comments on these by ecclesiastical authorities writing in a scholarly context. This is a limitation, and one that is problematic for the study of iconography (see below, B).

The Greek Church regarded imagery of divinity and the saints as being itself somehow holy, and St. John of Damascus (c. 675-749) had stated that 'The saints were filled by the Spirit of God. And after their death this divine power remains in their souls and is also communicated to their body, their name and their image'. The official Roman view was essentially different, namely that the images are not in themselves holy, so that any veneration before an image of Christ is in reality a veneration of Christ not of the image: the veneration 'referred to the prototype'. This principle was frequently restated and resupplied with substantial argument, ultimately by the Council of Trent, which stated among other things:

One may have images of Christ, the Virgin Mother of God and the other saints in churches . . . one may offer them due honour and veneration, not because of belief that there is any holiness in the images, or any virtue, because of which they should be venerated; nor that one may ask the images for something or have trust in them . . . but because the honour shown upon the images refers back to those who are depicted therein ['honos, qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quae illae [imagines] repraesentant']; so that if we kiss an image or bare our head before it or kneel down before it, it is Christ that we adore, and the saints that we venerate . . .,

and a reference to the corresponding decree of the Council of Nicaea follows. (*Bibliography 7*)

B. Practical Considerations Concerning Sacred Images

Catholic clerical scholars have found little encouragement to investigate the possibility that the official teachings concerning sacred images covered up a reality that was very far from orthodox.⁵¹ Did so-called ordinary people really consider them sacred in the same way as the Church officially ordained? This question is of notable importance for studies in Christian iconography.

The frequent restatements within the Church of the traditional view on sacred images must have meant that such reaffirmation was rendered necessary by deviations from it. The official view was easy enough to state but harder to explain. The theologians resorted to a number of concepts and subconcepts covered by a terminology mostly of Greek origin, such as *proskynesis*, *timé*, *dulia*, *latria*, to say nothing of *hyperdulia*. A complex system was built up so that St. Thomas Aquinas, for example, could make what seems a totally unorthodox statement on the matter without appearing to violate official teaching: you cannot adore an image for its material (wood, stone, etc.), but you can for its property as an image, and 'it follows that the same reverence is shown Christ and an image of Christ'. St. Bonaventure could state simply that 'An image of Christ should be shown a *cultus latriae*', which amounts to a true adoration. Bellarmine later blamed such writers for 'using extremely refined distinctions that they hardly understand themselves and certainly not the uneducated people'. And how were parish priests to explain the matter to their congregations, how were they to help their parishioners to assume the officially correct spiritual attitude to such images? Both strictly liturgical and popular religious practice must have rendered such a task utterly impossible. Not only were there images of Christ and the Virgin that had been painted by St. Luke or fallen down from heaven, not only could one visit miraculous images almost everywhere, but the Church herself had her priests kiss images during Mass, carry images in processions, wash the feet of a Christ image (at the *Sancta Sanctorum* procession in Rome), and so on. It was claimed by some ecclesiastical authorities that one had to make concessions to ordinary people which were not permissible for educated persons. So it seems that the question concerning the conception of the nature of sacred images in the West has to be investigated anew, with appropriate regard for the sociological issues that are involved. It seems to me futile to start studies in 'Counter Reformation' views on this matter before the medieval situation is clearer to us than it is today.

11. Iconography as a Medium for Messages

For a conclusion so far concerning the specifically liturgy-related aspects of iconography, and before embarking upon a discussion of environmental questions concerning planning and 'use', we should consider some principal modes in which iconography can carry a message. At this stage let it suffice to say that 'message' refers to intended meaning on the part of the 'sender'.⁵² As a medium, iconography, like words and sentences in literature,⁵³ will depend on experience, competence and interest in senders and receivers. To take an extreme example, a private person might wish simply to contribute almost any 'masterpiece' while disregarding the question of content message; the clergy at the receiving end would generally not be in a position to take such a personal attitude to the question. For this patron, however, the message would consist in the notion of a masterpiece and its social connotations. But even from the point of view of the clergy, such symbolic or emotional connotations, including specific characteristics of style, might conceivably have been thought to affect the conceptual and emotional modes in which the intended content message would be received by the parishioners. A work of art accepted as a masterpiece in the community will carry some impact just because of this label. In a case like this one, in which the formal authority, the clergy, would be the receiving party, a problem for the authority would consist in (a) seeing whether or not the suggested 'masterpiece' could be fitted in, or even modified, to respond to some level of basic efficiency in the message system envisaged by the authorities; (b) whether the suggested work could in fact be taken as a cue to enlarging somewhat the scope of their message system. This example concerning 'any masterpiece' is extreme and generally unlikely, because neither patron nor artist would act in a vacuum, so that the former's choice would never be completely arbitrary. But the example is useful for highlighting alternative evaluations on the part of authorities sitting at the receiving end. Whenever the initiative is theirs, the case offers firmer criteria for analysis. Even then, however, some iconographical alternatives offered them might contribute, by offering something slightly novel, to expanding the authorities' criteria for message relevance and 'basic' levels (III, 3, D).

Analytically, therefore, it would seem convenient to have in mind three principal modes in which an iconography can display a message.

The first mode is instantiated when the chosen iconographical pattern or morphology fits completely or acceptably in with one that has become current in the context as the bearer of a message in a relatively unambiguous sense, so that the basic liturgical message is so to speak communicated automatically (or a set of messages evoked in accordance with stages in a ritual process: III, 1, C). The most extreme example of this is when someone buys for his altar a workshop copy No. n of a commonly accepted Madonna by, say, Giovanni Bellini. The repeated use of the roundel image for Christ/God that we see on the triumphal arch of San Clemente (Ill. 2) is an example of such a practice.

In the second alternative the iconography offers a new morphological formulation of a message for which other morphological idioms have been currently in use. We may have an instance of this in the painting by Luca di Tommé referred to above (III, 5, A), in which a crucified Christ is placed in front of three identical-looking persons representing the Trinity: an alternative to showing, for example, the three figures of God, the Dove, and the crucified Christ (Ill. 9). If the goal was to display effectively the notion of the sacrifice before the Trinity as expressed in the *Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas* (II, 2, E), then probably both alternatives would serve the purpose equally well, at least in some user groups. On the other hand, the existence of these alternatives and the choice of one instead of the other impels us to ask questions concerning these user groups and their different competences in perceiving the message adequately, and hence 'basically' (III, 3, D), by the criteria of authority evaluation and goals.

As a third set of cases we have iconographies that convey messages that represent acceptable transpositions of a message considered essential, by involving reduction or increase in pictorial elaboration of a scheme that was considered basically sufficient. The elaborated iconography thus elicits in the 'sender' a modified message scope, which may be, e.g., extended so as to comprise further connotations; an elaboration that may prove deepening, clarifying or confusing according to varying competences and interests in different groups of addressees. Let us say we have a case of such a modification in the change occurring between a rendering of Christ crucified as dead and close to the Biblical account but even so placed in a liturgical context (Ills. 2, 3), and another one showing Christ, again in a liturgical context, as crucified and yet 'alive' and 'present' (Ill. 4).

The parameters listed here not only indicate scopes for artistic invention and creation in the face of more or less precise demands and challenges but also for the constructive role artistic inventions available

on the market may have not only for morphological repertoire but also for increasing (or reducing) message-communicating range and hence for influencing display of meaning systems.

The modes in which iconography can transmit a message do not lend themselves to operational formalisms à la information theory (which labours content-less categories). For the chain 'sender – medium (picture) – receiver' is no closed system, since the environment(s) of all three of them impinge(s) upon the reception of the intended message (or non-reception of it). The intended Message M and the chosen visual medium m may in the receiver evoke the Message or the thirteenth letter of the Latin alphabet or both of them or some typographical class. This is an area of intuitive reconstruction on the part of the analyst, not one to be explored in terms of some kind of propositional calculus. This is the area of maximum systems openness, the area in which social situations (IV, 3, D) are generated. Systems, however, there have to be, or else intuition will have no chance of being analytically productive.

12. The Users' Role

The analytical perspectives developed so far focus with increasing intensity on the problems concerning the 'users' of ritual and iconography. We have already recognized that artistic production has to be evaluated historically in the context of its prospective users,⁵⁴ even though in art history biographically identifiable and perhaps colourful 'patrons' have tended to take a much too prominent and often too isolated position.

The congregation of a church furnished with iconography is a 'user' of that iconography; among them there may be special categories of educated people and illiterate people, for example, who make up user groups.⁵⁵ The clergy, too, are by necessity users, but parts of the iconography may not be particularly intended for them, to which extent they may be called indirect users. The iconography of a private chapel is intended for the particular family and possibly other people from their circle, and they will be direct users with regard to the iconography in the chapel, while this iconography may also have been planned in consideration of those groups of ordinary members of the congregation who will tend to assemble outside the enclosure to attend the ceremony at some distance. Thus the question of users, like that of 'planners' (III, 13, A), has to be articulated.⁵⁶

Sociological considerations are imposed upon us not only by the necessity to distinguish the different interests and competences facing an iconographical undertaking, but also by the many examples of more or less unorganized but nevertheless forceful popular movements in history concerning issues to which iconography is related. We have referred to an example above (III, 9, C). So far, liturgical sociology has consisted mainly in pointing out possible research perspectives.⁵⁷ But this is a discipline in development.

There are also stylistic problems of relevance for the perception of the message in liturgical iconography which the art historian must try to study. We may for example have to face the following question: how was it possible that Rosso Fiorentino's painting of the Descent from the Cross (today in the Museum at Volterra), with its very unexpected abstract style, could be accepted for such a popular and important altar

as that of the Holy Cross in a provincial town like Volterra? Was it, indeed; accepted by all, or just by a small but influential group?

The categories loosely labelled 'user' and 'planner' (below) require a consistent theoretical framework for their development into useful analytical constructs. This problem will be discussed further in Part IV. At present, empirical references to one particular case will indicate the necessity of breaking down the collective term 'congregation' into subunits that in some respects may be at cross-purposes with each other. To simplify, we leave the clergy out of consideration, keeping in mind, however, that the issue of subunits affects that of the authority's evaluation of iconography in terms of their normative and explorative provisions with regard to scope and effect.

In the Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21; III, 4, C), we will assume that the iconography may elicit widely different responses. The question of accessibility raised in general terms above (III, 8) can now be exemplified more specifically. Would the ordinary member of the sixteenth-century congregation feel himself invited to take some part in what is going on in the picture, or would he feel himself excluded? This question could be formulated more precisely by bringing into our field of observation the sociological potential of the liturgy, and we could ask: what do the following three groups of data consist in and what are the relations between them?

First, the conceptions that the Pesaro family themselves would read out of the picture (or that they had intended to read in it).

Second, the conceptions their social equals would find there, through which they might feel included along with the Pesaro family or excluded, or brought into a relationship of a different kind (such as one that would induce a feeling that the Pesaro family were their equals in some respects but in others surpassed them, etc.).

Third, the conceptions prompted in 'ordinary people' (for brevity treated as one group here). Do they feel left out because the Virgin, besides being formally the chief saint at this altar (which was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception), had for them the highest affective value? The throne faces the worshipping Jacopo Pesaro rather than the congregation generally. Do they feel left out because the particular Pesaro patron in the context, St. Peter, occupies the place where they would have expected to find the Virgin (as long as she is at all present)? Do they yet feel themselves somehow included, in a vicarious manner, because they take it for granted that their social 'betters' (quite literally: those representing the 'valentior pars' in society according to Christian terminology) should – in practice and in iconography – provide an example in religion, morals and politics for them to follow? And are they – the ordinary people – capable of grasping sufficiently the general address of the sacrifice allegory in the painting to think of

the allegory so strongly in terms of the Mass that they feel themselves included in their capacity of liturgical congregation? Did they mix with their 'betters' before the altar or stand back?

These questions imply a number of subordinate questions that we should have to put into some surveyable order: What kind of persons made up the congregation in the present case? What do we know about their attitudes and outlook? What were the local current Franciscan views on the liturgy, on the Immaculate Conception, on the people's relation to the liturgy and to imagery, and so on? It is a case that might be treated systematically in the manner suggested through the entire Part III of the present publication, but which also calls for refinement of analytical techniques.

13. Planning, Production, Resources

A. Problem Outline

We are here concerned with the question of how an image or an iconographical programme was planned and produced, what kind of resources were available, and which ones were ultimately chosen and put to use. Many technical aspects have to be left out. Consideration of resources will be found to call for a review of the concepts of 'influence' and 'cross-fertilization' as currently understood.

For the sake of brevity I shall speak of 'the planner' instead of repeating every time 'the patron(s) and/or the artist(s) and/or the other responsible persons'. 'Planner' in the following paragraphs means the entire planning and executive outfit behind an iconographical enterprise, however small or big, whether this 'outfit' consists of one painter working for the open market, of a group of artists and commissioners, an artist and a bishop advised by a committee, and so on. Obviously, situations will constantly arise when it will be necessary to split this 'planner' up into whatever separate components the term may subsume. For example, it can occur that the painter and the clergy have conflicting interests. The comprehensive concept 'planner' (as just defined) is likely to prove the best to begin with. For as the process of research makes the expression seem increasingly absurd, the question: 'who did what?' is the one that will arise. The case will not be prejudiced by the usual pair, 'artist and patron', having been taken for granted. Obviously, 'planners' may call for exactly the same kind of methodological treatment as 'users'.

Experience from architectural history implies that the conditions and techniques of administration and production can affect the final result and also the way in which this is perceived by various classes of users. The term 'production conditions', then, does not refer only to the facilities on the building site but also to the wider economic, professional, social and generally urban (or rural) context that affects the planning and production.

The planning and execution at least of a larger programme will tend to be focused not on one but several levels simultaneously.

In the frescoes of the Sistine Vault, for example, the figures of the young, naked men (the *ignudi*) may very well represent some aspect of

a 'New Age' cherished in a panegyric on Pope Julius II, who commissioned the frescoes from Michelangelo. But in this capacity the figures would not justify their prominent position in the vault of a palace chapel of the Papal Court (which served beyond the range of just one pope). As angels (often depicted as wingless), i.e., heralds of the new era in Christ, they would function eminently in the official programme while allowing for a superimposed 'Julian' allusion. We have another example in the iconography of the scenes along the longitudinal axis of the vault (which seem to refer in a precise manner to the readings of Septuagesima and Sexagesima and thus, for a Papal Court, to refer to the entire pre-Easter period) and ~~to~~ the choice of prophets, including Jonah with his implications of Christ in the grave and the underworld, a choice apparently dictated by the readings of Holy Saturday and Easter Vigil (the popes, we learn, deposited the Sacrament or Body of Christ at the altar here late on Good Friday). On top of this, all sorts of 'Julian' concepts might be superimposed – not excluding, of course, that of his declared interests in the Holy Land with the Sepulchre and the Temple (two structures that were often ideologically unified, partly in reverence for the typological connexion between the two Testaments). Julius could not, however, make such a chapel primarily a Della Rovere business; there were fundamentals to be respected, but these, indeed, were taken for granted and left unmentioned by contemporary sources.

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The constitution, and hence action, of a 'patron' should not be over-simplified in terms of traditional biographical conceptions. It does not do to isolate him from his co-actors on different levels and in different situations, to disregard his being constituted situationally as a 'multiplicity of selves' in communicative interaction, in which, in the present case, his official formal mandate is one factor, his private interest another.

The planning and production of a smaller or bigger unit of iconography – one painting or a large programme – is a process. The result should not be judged merely as a finished product. Especially in the case of a major enterprise and one that takes considerable time to accomplish, various solutions will have been discussed or even in part tried out. The discussion may have involved many others besides those who appear in written sources.⁵⁸ The trying out of various alternatives within the given functional context may have produced a notable feed-back from the surroundings upon the work in hand and even upon the evaluation of the finished work. The process of production will raise expectations that may colour the appreciation of the final result. The planner will seek to achieve some specific end through his initiative, such as that of conveying some specific message, and he will balance this against the cost (see below, B). Sources and media will be

selected with a view to eliciting certain responses in the onlookers or users. He may opt for an iconography that, according to his anticipations, will satisfy different requirements on different levels simultaneously. That is to say, the planner will form a kind of predictive theory in the scientific sense of the term, however rudimentary and vague it may be, about the likely effects of the prospective work: a prediction of what will happen if this rather than that is done. A process will take place that resembles 'contextual mapping' in forecasting science: an exposition of the connexion between explorative prevision (predictive theory) and normative prevision (concerning goals/purpose).⁵⁹

In the end, however, the completed work may prove to produce effects that are different from those anticipated by the planner, or there may be – and usually will be – some side-effects beyond the desired ones.⁶⁰ Awareness of such possible consequences may have caused Titian, or his advisers, to change the architecture in the Pesaro Madonna, excluding that of the floor and the throne, four times on the same canvas (Ill. 21).

With regard to the (largely unwritten) history of iconographical planning, it must be emphasized that until after the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century there existed no generally valid formal obligation for the local bishop to control and eventually reject or accept new pictorial and other decorations, including altarpieces, in the churches, and the previous controlling practices must have varied somewhat from place to place. These variations could have a great influence on the position of iconography in any specific diocese. Decision-making at a relatively low level might for example involve conservative attitudes, while a bishop of special prestige might feel himself free to take certain steps in new directions.

The question of the artist's share, of his personal contribution not only in matters of style and compositional devices, but also in iconographical rendering, has been referred to on several occasions above (see especially III, 11). By a somewhat standardized repetition of some particular morphological type (say, Giovanni Bellini and workshop Madonnas), he can contribute – depending on the circumstances, which require our analysis – either to reinforcing the impact of a conventional message or, indeed, to deflating it. He can submit new visual idioms for current message-carrying schemes or suggest particular idioms for a given intended message, and in both kinds of case he can extend or restrict the scope of the message impact and even, as we noted above, affect similarly the 'sender's' intended message scope by a feed-back effect on the sender himself. His workshop stock of morphological types and specific renderings of subjects, his recognized competence in suggesting visual schemes in response to particular

kinds of challenge, can affect a planning authority's way of thinking about a subject, and may channel the latter's conception in specific directions. In short, the artist's contributive role can cover a wide enough area to discredit the usual art-historical simplifications concerning it.

It is generally hard to reconstruct exactly the artist's share in cases of liturgical iconography, to find out the role played by himself and the role played by advisers, commissioners, committees, and so on. Not even relatively detailed contracts are much help here, since they never say anything about the discussions preceding the setting up of the contract; these discussions may have involved the artist himself and also people not mentioned in the contract. Nor do such contracts ever cover all the details, and they sometimes have clauses that involve several alternatives. Extremely detailed descriptions like the one for Enguerrand Quarton's Coronation at Villeneuve-les-Avignon are comparatively rare. And even this does not say anything about the artist's share, for the contract could very well have been drawn up after and not before consultations between commissioner and artist. The same goes for the contract between the Company of the Holy Sacrament at Città di Castello and the painter Rosso Fiorentino, which is of a more ordinary type, since it leaves some details open.⁶¹ He was to include certain saints specifically named and also the 'Risen Christ': but we do not know whether it was left to the painter to suggest a pictorial formulation for this aspect of Christ (and there are several liturgically acceptable alternatives, including the Christ in glory that Rosso did paint). Furthermore he was to include 'below: several figures representing the people, with such angels as he finds he can fit in'. Of course it would be extremely risky to take such a contract at its face value. A contract usually will be but one stage in a process of collaboration between commissioner and artist, the latter having under any circumstances to submit his final result to the former's approval.⁶²

B. Investment

It was noted above that a planner must adopt some kind of theory about the reception of the prospective work by users. Of course the economic factor comes decisively into play here. The building of a cathedral or the painting of an altarpiece is partly a matter of expenditure and returns, monetary and ideological. The operation may, e.g., affect the commissioner's social standing positively and in the long run prove profitable even financially. 'Attention' is one kind of return (III, 9, C).

'Economy' is used in the present connexion for any kind of cost-benefit relation, be it financial, social or religious.

Considered this way, Christian iconography is, among other things, an economic entity; and altars have been commonly profit-making in a monetary sense of the term.

The phrase 'economy of salvation' is not irrelevant here, for it involves also, in addition to the predominant spiritual aspects, some economic and even financial aspects. Any donation could be judged in the light of the Catholic demand that man has to contribute actively to his own salvation. Any donation could be considered as somehow reflecting the offering in the liturgical sense of the term, and any effort to the benefit of the Church is a 'good work'. The Mass itself is a 'good work' in the sense of an active contribution of the Church for the salvation of her people.⁶³

It would be premature here to try to develop some general model for analysis of the suggested economic parameters and interrelations. So an empirical example will have to suffice. In order to simplify, let us consider a relatively elementary feature in iconography, the question of colour or no colour for the walls of a liturgical room. In Rome around 1600 highly expensive, multi-coloured and multi-material wall decorations had become predominant in churches and chapels (the Sistine and Paoline chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore, for example). Besides their obvious and traditional 'glorifying' function, they must have been thought and found to appeal to the public in general. Then Borromini (1630s) introduced 'pure' whitewashed interiors in such churches as Sant' Ivo (university chapel) and San Carlino alle quattro fontane. In the latter case (as we happen to know) he was praised for cutting expenses, to the budgetary benefit of the patrons, Trinitarians engaged in collecting funds for the freeing of Christians captured by the Moslems. Their church became a cheap one in material terms and a whitewashed display of responsible spending according to the mission. But at the same time perhaps the reduced attractiveness of a pure and less festive architecture (of a sophisticated geometry, too) with regard to the public at large would reduce the range of the fund-raising. Or, perhaps, rather the extremely novel and sophisticated architecture was calculated to attract people of high education and income? The economic evaluation could be entirely different if donated funds had been earmarked for the building. Art history should inform us on such questions.

C. Available Iconographical Resources

For his project the planner will need a certain amount of alternative resources to choose from.⁶⁴ He will consider a register of alternatives for message relevance and effectiveness (III, 3, D; III, 11), taking into

account prospective 'users' (III, 12) in a process of 'contextual mapping' (above, A). Needless to say, the cognitive level of these operations on his part will vary individually and situationally. The problems concerning 'types' are of relevance to the resource question.

D. Iconographical Types

The commonly accepted definition of an iconographical type – let us call it a *morphological type* – would seem to be: a particular subject in a particular design or arrangement that conveys one or several specific messages. A characteristic statement concerning this kind of type would be this: a picture of the Virgin with a crescent moon implies the notion of, or connotes, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. This statement is usually taken for granted but is not correct. For the type cited here means other things, too (III, 2, C). The really troublesome aspect of the matter is that once a specific type has been defined (tentatively) in a publication which for other reasons gains prestige in the profession, then this type definition sticks. It becomes a fixed term usually with one meaning. A profession which is also involved in teaching will tend to seek the path of least resistance, and it is an important task of methodology to counteract this tendency. Some examples will be cited to illustrate this situation.

The examples will seem to reveal a disregard of the following properties in the morphological type: (a) that different morphological types may mean one and the same thing; (b) that one and the same morphological type may serve in different contexts; (c) that morphological types may be subjected to internal modifications (changing of some characteristic) and additions of attributes without change in the essential meaning; (d) that a morphological type may consist of components of connotations or connexions so different in function or significance that the type, to become useful in research work, has to be taken apart; (e) that conventional attributes in a type do not necessarily carry a decisive impact of meaning.

a. Different Morphological Types for One and the Same Subject

A common misunderstanding to be mentioned under this heading concerns iconographies that are believed to reflect exclusively special liturgical concepts but which in reality are direct expressions of the Mass liturgy, which in fact comprises the allegedly special concepts. So, for instance, it has troubled some scholars that Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece, while belonging to an 'All Saints' context, does not seem to fit in with the 'All Saints type', which is thought of as being exclusively

represented by the Adoration of the Lamb according to *Revelation*.⁶⁵ For the Ghent Altarpiece, therefore, various particular sources except the obvious one, the Ordinal and the Canon of the Mass,⁶⁶ have been sought to explain the supposed discrepancy. Even scholars who have been aware of the fact that the altarpiece represents the heavenly liturgy have failed to realize that the Mass itself quite explicitly brings out the concept of 'All saints' (II, 2, E), while the centre of the feast of All Saints is of course the Mass, so that the Ghent Altarpiece meets all the requirements of an 'All Saints' iconography: it differs from the accepted 'All Saints type' by setting out all the relevant aspects in a much more detailed and specific manner//

Our next case concerns the 'Coronation of the Virgin' as a type. In Van Eyck's Rolin Madonna (Ill. 17), Chancellor Rolin kneels before the Virgin and the Child in the sumptuous celestial palace (there are numerous relevant architectural references in liturgies concerning the Virgin). The Virgin is being crowned by an angel who acts, according to the definition of the function of angels, on behalf of God; this subject is very common (see, e.g., the Madonna della Neve at Amalfi: Ill. 16). According to one author, Van Eyck's picture is not true to type because 'Coronations' do not usually show Christ as a Child (but some do this, among them the Madonna della Neve), and because Christ is not shown crowning the Virgin himself.⁶⁸

If the scene is not the historical Coronation of the Virgin, neither is it typical of any established permutation of the theme of the crowned Virgin as a devotional figure. This is not the Virgin *crowned* at all, much less the Virgin-Ecclesia enthroned in triumph. Her modest, oblique seat . . . , etc. (III, 2, C).

Quite apart from the circumstance that it is easy to collect cases that show that the Rolin Madonna is in no sense an isolated or even unusual occurrence (except with regard to style and abundance of details), the essential points, of course, are that there exists no 'historical Coronation' of the Virgin (as there does exist an historical crucifixion of Christ), that the cited author has not been able to draw clear-cut distinctions between the various kinds of representations with the Virgin being crowned or wearing a crown, and, finally, that the principal idea or message conveyed by all of them refer to the heavenly liturgy and the elevated position in it of the chief intercessor for mankind next to Christ himself. In the repertoire of relevant iconographies, the principle of *pars pro toto* is in operation, so that with regard to the essential message (not elaboration of detail reference) an enthroned Virgin with Child, flanked perhaps by a couple of saints (Ill. 12) may be a substitute for a 'complete' Paradise representation with an enthroned Virgin and Child (as, e.g., in the 'Maestàs' of Duccio and Simone Martini) or a 'Coronation group' (Ill. 13) (see below, f).

b. One Type Serving in Different Contexts

One rendering is capable of serving different contexts, provided that it can readily be associated with a message that is sufficiently relevant in all these contexts (this really seems too obvious, but it is nevertheless unfortunately necessary to stress the point). We have noted the various employments of the 'presence' image (III, 3 B), and also how each one of different iconographies can fit the context of the Mass sacrifice and consequently also, for example, the liturgy of All Saints. Even an historical scene like the Ascension, to say nothing of the Crucifixion, is capable of conveying multi-valid messages.

c. Types Subjected to Internal Changes

That a type of image can be subjected to changes in attributes and special features without notable consequence for the message again seems fairly obvious, but again this has to be pointed out in view of considerable confusion in this connexion. The type of Christ representation called *Maiestas Domini* developed in the early Middle Ages in connexion with certain writings by St. Irenaeus of Lyons and others:⁶⁹ an enthroned Christ holding the book, surrounded by the four 'viventes' (man or angel, ox, lion, and eagle) (on the triumphal arch of San Clemente the Christ figure is reduced to a bust: Ill. 2). The point to make at present is that this type is one among the relatively numerous types (speaking now of morphological types) that have been employed whenever a representation of the glorious presence of divinity was called for (III, 3, B). In this connexion the figure of Christ may also appear alone, and often as a bust rather than full figure. A contribution on 'An unusual representation of the *Maiestas Domini*' (an ivory relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), however, stressed that in this case Christ seems to hold a chalice (there are other 'extras', too, which need not occupy us).⁷⁰ The author states that 'In a representation of the *Maiestas Domini*, a Eucharistic chalice really would not have much point' ('hätte . . . wenig Sinn'); and he goes on to suggest such possible sources as the 'wine cup of fury' of *Jeremiah*, 25:15, and the 'cup of indignation' in *Revelation*, 14:10. However, since the 'type' of the *Maiestas Domini* figures eminently in liturgical contexts, and especially that of the Mass, where it so to speak accounts for the divine presence, the inclusion of a Eucharistic chalice would emphasize the normal message rather than impair it (as the inclusion of a Eucharistic monstrance or chalice in a number of Coronations of the Virgin, enhances the liturgical notion: see Ill. 13).

d. Morphological Types and Their Components

One author gave a strictly 'morphological' definition of the type of Christ representation professionally labelled 'Salvator Mundi', saying that 'traditionally the globe and the hand raised in benediction are the only attributes to identify the Salvator Mundi'.⁷¹ So far so good: we are free to devise the definition we believe we are best served by. But awareness of the implications of its single components is a precondition to using it in historical argumentation. According to the author cited, this kind of Salvator Mundi appears to be 'an iconographic invention of the Renaissance and the North' (i.e., Flanders), and the author concludes in the following manner:

It is only with the Renaissance that a humanitarian trait in Christ's character, his charity for sinners, could be stressed more than other aspects such as Judge, Teacher, King of Kings, etc. And this would happen more readily in the North which was more disposed towards emotionality at that time than Italy.

An examination of the liturgical position of the concept 'Salvator mundi' and of the iconographical occurrences in connection with this term and with the globe would have brought a less simplistic conclusion. As for the 'humanitarian' significance attributed to the term 'Salvator Mundi', it should be noted that it occurs in numerous very ancient liturgical formulas, in which, according to Jungmann, 'it is obvious that Christ is considered above all according to his divinity'.⁷² It should be noted that numerous figures of Christ labelled 'Salvator Mundi' in accompanying inscriptions carry no globe, the most famous example being the huge relief on Filarete's bronze doors of St. Peter's in the Vatican. In some cases inscriptions clearly set out the power symbolism of the globe. In the twelfth-century panel with the Last Judgement in the Vatican Museum, for example, the enthroned Christ holds a globe with the inscription 'Ecce vici mundum' (see, I have overcome the world) on it, a quotation obviously meant to evoke the entire text: 'Yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me. These things I have spoken to you that you may have peace. In the world you will have affliction. But take courage, I have overcome the world' ('sed confidite, ego vici mundum') (*John*, 16:32). Finally there are numerous cases from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christ Child holding the globe (Ill. 18), of the Virgin holding it (Ill. 14), and of both of them holding it (Ill. 16). The conclusion so far must be that the theological and liturgical concept of 'Salvator Mundi' and the iconography of Christ with a globe coincide in some cases and do not coincide in others, and that, where they do coincide, a complex pattern of ideas is involved whose catchwords are 'power' and, through this, 'lordship' and 'salvation', but whose true nature can only be studied in systematic analysis.

e. Types and Their Attributes

It is often assumed that the specific significance of a type of figures, such as angels, is dependent on specific conventional attributes, such as, for angels, wings covered with feathers, so that the significance changes and 'something happens' if the attribute is removed. This, however, is not always so. We may, for example, consider figures of angels.

Angels are theologically and liturgically bodiless spirits and their being represented in pictures or writings with wings or without wings is inessential from a theological and a liturgical point of view. They are not supposed to fly like birds. The angels move by supernatural force and, as Bellarmine wrote in the late sixteenth century summing up earlier teachings on angels in connexion with pictorial representation of them, they may be represented with wings so as to indicate their swiftness of motion. Thus wings are not indispensable for the depiction of angels, and there are numerous cases to show this. A Coronation of the Virgin by Bartolomeo Vivarini, for instance, includes wingless angels handling the Passion instruments (column, cross, sponge, etc.), and so does Michelangelo's Last Judgement. The latter's figure of the seraph in the Expulsion of Adam and Eve in the Sistine Chapel is also wingless. And so are innumerable Renaissance 'putti' who perform the services typical of angels. Nor need seraphs and cherubim necessarily consist of, for example, six wings with a head in the middle. In Tintoretto's Paradise in the Doge's Palace, Venice, conventional angel figures with feather wings are identified by inscriptions as cherubim and seraphim. Variations such as these will hardly alter considerably the message in liturgical and theological terms. But of course they may affect the artistic and the sociological issues, including that of acceptability for purposes of communication and instruction.

No general principles for the necessity or not of specific kinds of attributes to types can be laid down (a major difficulty involved in iconographical dictionaries). But the question should be raised more frequently than is usually the case. The methodological implication of our observations so far is that iconographical 'types' as defined (explicitly or implicitly) by the art-historical profession are often inoperative in constructive argumentation and have to be reconsidered, and that type definitions are primarily to be based on functional, e.g., liturgical criteria, rather than on morphological ones.

f. 'Emotive' Types

The conception of a type is frequently influenced by emotive values attributed to it; and such cases can be rather intractable because the emotive values are derived not from iconographical hard facts but from

attitudes of an imprecise nature in the depicted figures (rather than liturgical attitudes such as kneeling, raising of arms on the part of the celebrant, etc.). For example, what difference would it make if Bishop Durand in the tomb mosaic we saw above (Ill. 12) (I, 2), while kneeling had been leaning forward and gazing up at the Virgin and the Child, as is the case with the kneeling person in Titian's painting with the Virgin and Child, two saints and a donor, in the Balbi Collection, Genoa (Ill. 20)? There are, at least, two problems to be raised concerning this comparison. One consists in the circumstance that in specific cases not only basic units of significance in liturgical and theological terms but to some extent even naturalistically or psychologically evocative features in a figure composition may render our defining effort difficult. An even more intriguing problem is whether in the case of Durand similar emotive features were meant to be implied, while stylistic conventions barred their full appearance – or whether there is indeed a real difference between an accent upon emotional attitudes in the one case and a more formal ritual attitude in the other. This question has to be asked and tentatively answered before any generalizations about style and the role of the artist can be attempted.

Having considered attitudes in single figures, we must take into account nuances in the grouping together of several figures, for similar problems arise here. An enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by a small number of saints, like Giorgione's Castelfranco Madonna (Ill. 19), is usually labelled professionally a 'Sacra conversazione' (a modern label that is best avoided).⁷³ Correspondingly, an enthroned Virgin and Child surrounded by a host of angels and saints is labelled a 'Maestà' (this term is ambiguous to say the least). In a recent contribution, these two professionally accepted types were compared in the following terms:⁷⁴

The saints are also intercessors in a Maestà, but there they function primarily as intermediaries between God and the community, whereas in the Sacra Conversazione they intervene in a more personal way for the individual worshipper. Because the key to the image is the close emotional and physical relation among the figures, their very number is important: the cast of characters is necessarily limited, whereas a Maestà requires its multitudes in order to represent the court of the *Regina coeli*. The Maestà is almost by definition a 'political image'

This interpretation is based on the presupposition that we have to do with two distinct types of representation (even though nothing is said about the quantity of saints and angels that is required to distinguish one type from the other). Scholars sometimes have a tendency to feel that the existence of professionally labelled 'types' justifies rather drastic simplifications in analysis, and in this way professional labels are invested with the value of operative categories in argument. The

total picture becomes considerably altered once we leave the labels alone and compare the two above-cited 'types' with the existing cases involving an enthroned Virgin with Child and saints, furthermore such cases also that include portraits of kneeling persons: since there was a question of intercession for alternatively individuals or a community. The contribution cited is concerned with Italian art mainly in the fourteenth century, and we may note the existence in this context of the following types of cases (the list is far from complete): (1) Virgin and Child enthroned and flanked by two or more, up to a number of saints, often also with angels; (2) distributed over the scale indicated in (1), are representations of kneeling portrayed persons (Ills. 12, 13) and patron saints of individuals, Orders, guilds, States, cities, and so on, without any clear quantity distinctions; (3) the 'votive' features cited under (2) reappear in connection with figures of the Virgin, crowned or being crowned, accompanied by numerous saints, or few saints, or no saints (cf. Ill. 13). This list of alternatives shows how difficult it would have been to try to distinguish between the cases in which the saints may be 'primarily' intermediaries between God and the community or may be thought to 'intervene in a more personal way for the individual worshipper'. Liturgically both would be the case for all the examples cited. The priest celebrating at the altar does so on behalf of the whole of Christendom (this is clearly stated in the Ordinal, II, 2, E). In any specific case the question regarding quantity of depicted saints, angels, etc., must be considered at first at the liturgical level; this is a question of patronage, dedications and calendar, and the solution of it is a precondition for assessing possible emotive values involved in the choice of alternatives (see also Ills. 14, 15, 17).

E. Origin of Types

a. *Problem Outline*

The historical sciences are more or less generally aware today that a cultural phenomenon cannot be traced back to one definite set of causes. The origin of a specific iconography, for example, such as that of the enthroned Virgin with the Child, can be attributed in part to the dogma of the God-motherhood of the Virgin Mary (her quality of *Theotokos*) formulated at the Council of Ephesus. On the other hand, the mother-and-child theme is central to the liturgies of Advent and (needless to say) Nativity. Other functional aims, such as that of making an emotional appeal to the public, could also characterize the situation in which the iconography 'originated'. So that the entire situation in which it did appear, as well as the planner's 'contextual mapping' between normative prevision and explorative prevision (III,

13, A), should be considered as contributing to the emergence of the specific iconography: a complex system never to be described in its totality because there is no way of defining totality in such a system.

Between all these partial 'causes' connexions and priorities will have existed that we cannot today reconstruct fully because they were hardly all of them perceived by the protagonists themselves, and because different groups in society were in many respects at cross-purposes with one another (quite apart from any scarcity of documentary evidence). Part of the same situation may also have been awareness of earlier iconographical prototypes.

With these reservations in mind we may attribute to Council, synod, or other official definitions some productive effect upon iconography. Two examples may be cited here. In 1336 Pope Benedict XII, after long-drawn-out quarrels over the issue, defined the beatific vision in a dogmatic constitution known as *Benedictus Deus*: the souls of the justified 'see the divine essence by an intuitive vision and face to face, so that the divine essence is known immediately, showing itself nakedly, clearly, and openly, and not mediately through any creature . . .'.⁷⁵ This dogmatic constitution must have been felt as a vigorous incitation to new ventures in the field of votive representations (with human souls before the Divinity and the saints: Ill. 12), and a sharp increase in such representations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries might be taken as a proof of this (cf. Ills. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17). One might argue in the same way with regard to the universal prescription of the feast of the Trinity in 1334, which was followed by, or coincided with, a corresponding increase. However it would be precarious indeed to describe the two cited initiatives as 'causes' without a careful investigation of the history leading up to them and the religious, ecclesiastical, social, political, etc. situation surrounding them. For often such initiatives themselves were results of popular movements, or other kinds of movement, and it seems that iconography occasionally reacted to such stimuli before they had issued in formal definitions or reforms in the liturgy.

The vexed and generally confusedly posited question concerning 'origin' also often becomes increasingly nebulous on account of a mixing-up of morphological or 'sense' types of iconography and meanings or systems of meanings to be communicated through them, as in the case of the large Paradise (or Coronation or 'Maestà') paintings that were introduced into vast council halls in Siena and other cities at a certain point of structural development of the political administration (see above, f). These paintings reflect the widespread idea that the purpose of the State and the government is to prepare the citizens for their reception into Paradise, i.e., into the participation in the celestial liturgy. This notion was expressed with particular

insistence by St. Thomas Aquinas and his pupil Ptolemy of Lucca (in the latter's addition to the former's *De regimine principum*).⁷⁶ On account of this and other political ideas and the fusion of liturgical and purely political rites and ceremonies in most cities and States, a plainly liturgical iconography enters strictly non-liturgical contexts and merges with political iconography (as is the case also in some of the above-mentioned examples). This is so with regard to the City Statutes of Toulouse in France of 1412-1413 (Ill. 14). In the front-page miniature, twelve city councillors, accompanied by the twelve apostles, are venerating Christ and the Virgin in a sumptuous throne-hall complete with the banners of the twelve districts of the 'city and suburb'.

b. 'Influence' and 'Tradition'

But when all the returns from the above argumentation are in, does not the fact remain that a series of cases like the ones cited constitutes a tradition and that one of them may have been influenced by another?

The action of a tradition or a development in the history of iconography presupposes a human agent. One picture cannot influence another or develop into it (it is unfortunately not superfluous to emphasize this). The phenomena to be explained are that some iconographical type continues to be repeated, with only minor variations, within an area, over a longer or shorter period ('tradition'); or that the type, after being attested in one place, is subsequently attested, or attested with only minor variations, elsewhere ('influence'). It is usually presupposed that there is some connexion between one appearance of the type and the next, but this kind of alleged connexion represents one of the very weakest points in art-historical argumentation. Universities train us to react in the professionally accepted way to such signals as 'influence' or 'cross-fertilization', and the teaching technique in this field is ritual rather than analytical, for it consists mainly in the repetition of a small number of standard formulations used in specific kinds of setting. This is not very helpful – especially for people from other disciplines who have not the same sort of training.

From the point of view of the receiver of an 'influence' – and this is the only relevant point of view – iconographical tradition and influence will always be a matter of adoption and nearly always also of adaptation, whether consciously or less consciously under the pressure for instance of conventions and ingrained attitudes. Thus such adoptions and adaptations must be made subject to context and situation analysis. Only by trying to reconstruct the receiver's and user's situation, that is, simulate a so-called 'participant observation',

can we hope to sort out the decisive factors in the adoption and adaptation. A very plain example, but rather a characteristic one, may serve to illustrate the precariousness of unreflected handling of 'tradition' and 'influence'. In a study of Tuscan medieval book illumination⁷⁷ we read that a particular Crucifixion dated around the middle of the twelfth century represents an 'important iconographical change' in that Christ is here represented as being visibly dead (with closed eyes, etc.): 'This must be one of the earliest representations of Christ dead on the cross in Central Italian art, and must undoubtedly be the result of a Byzantine influence'. Let us leave aside the rather disturbing fact that the author needs only to go to Rome, to North Italy, and to other European Roman Catholic countries, to find earlier and contemporary examples of the same, and concentrate on the more interesting issue of supposed 'influence'. How did such an influence come about, and how did the artist or his commissioner feel it? More urgent questions could be asked; for instance, whether new developments either formally in liturgy or in religious attitudes connected with liturgical life had favoured the not very far-fetched idea of depicting the crucified Christ as dead. Yet of course one cannot exclude off-hand that some notion about Byzantine iconographical practice had a say in the specific case. The crux of the matter is that a question does not become analytically accessible and debatable through a mere reference to a professional catchword like 'influence'; a reference that serves merely to shift a query, vague as it is, over from an alleged interrelation between pictorial prototype and pictorial imitation, to an alleged meaning of the word 'influence'. A beginning, at least, to turning the issue into a problem, would be to investigate available alternatives evaluable in the specific historical context. In other words, attempts to describe chronographically the 'history' of an iconographical type necessarily involve continuous simplification and distortion at the functional level. For we would be faced by the alternatives of either pursuing a specific morphological type, which reflected some relatively invariant meaning but which also involved situationally differentiated meanings; or rather pursuing a specific meaning system, which in some specific situations we would find reflected in several iconographical alternatives at the same time. It is consistent with these circumstances not to analyse history or culture generally as continuities over time or space, but to analyse types of situations consisting of highly complex patterns of meaning, as focused on iconography and its functional context, depending on interest and competence in those involved. This may – in monographical studies – prove a useful basis for our considering those 'continuities' that we have after all to accept, such as, e.g., 'institutions' in the sociological sense of the word,⁷⁸ or formalizations of them as in law-defined ritual.

C. 'History'

The points made so far should lead us to agree with those who accept that the complexities of any chunk of reality are such that they are conceivable and analysable only in terms of theory and analytical constructs. While recognizing the role of inspired historical surveys as necessary tools with which to externalize, from time to time, features of our relations to past or present history, we have to admit that in analytical terms historical 'development' in any sense of continuity has little to show for itself. If an historical situation should be defined according to the constructs of those involved in it, it is hard to see how any form of self-productive linearity in the style of models of mathematical function chains can be logically viable. So I cannot follow Beattie when he claims that history is important for sociology because it provides, among other things, 'a chain of causes and effects running back into the past'.⁷⁹

Probably it would be unprofitable to hold the view that organizations like the Franciscan Order or ritual systems like the Roman liturgy – or some particular social or political structure – do not exist objectively over time in the sense that they do preserve some invariant characteristics. The prolonged existence of an entity may tend to keep alive specific views or attitudes in people directly or indirectly involved, so that the entity becomes 'reified' by being continually evoked in more or less invariable terms. Analytically, however, such a contingency is hardly exploitable for anything but situational description concerning, for instance, someone among those who did evoke the entity in some specific manner, such as setting its ritual or administrative or other operative resources into motion. If our emphasis, and it is a question of emphasis not of distinction, shifts from this aspect over to that of chronographical continuity, we are engaged in story-telling rather than analysis.

Traditional Islamic historians may have a point when they accept as reality only, so to speak, a fully analysable situation according to context terms, and the rest as mere *tārikh* or string of dated events. In his treatment of pre-Islamic history, Ibn al-Athir, in his *Kitab al-kamil fī'l-tārikh* (*The Complete Book of Chronology*), of 1230/31 A.D.,

naturally makes use of testimonies, but he leaves the responsibility for what is said to the people concerned; without passing judgement, he presents the image that each people would like to present. He considers that everything is merely probable and that there is no interest for him in choosing between the different versions (Abdallah Laroui).⁸⁰

But when he comes to history in Muhammad's days, it becomes clear that this is 'the narrative's center of gravity', and 'it is here that there exists perfect harmony between form and content, between method

and the logic of the narrative', and this account was to 'serve as a model for the structuring of the accounts made in self-justification by each and every faction'.

In the present context of study, any historical situation must be assumed not only to be especially influenced by the organizational and the ritual factors that are involved in it but also by virtue of them to be more readily accessible for meaningful analysis.

14. Organizational Iconography

All iconography under observation in the present discussion is 'organizational' in the sense that it has been created by or through the controlling agency of organizations, the Church at least at one of its levels.

Organizations have goals, some declared and some implicit that are not necessarily less important. They focus their activities articulatedly on specific areas or groups of people and operate on different levels simultaneously. Organizational theory is concerned with these functions and, within the analytical frameworks they seem to imply, with meaning theory and cultural sociology. 'Definitions of reality are the accomplishments of actors engaged in a co-operative task'.⁸¹ Some of the implications of these perspectives may be briefly referred to in connexion with a specific case. The Franciscan Order in the thirteenth century was an organization within a larger organization, that of the Roman Church, and it attestedly saw as two of its goals to advocate the ideal of poverty and to form a spearhead movement in favour of the Papal Curia, both goals allegedly subordinated to that of missionary work within and abroad. Some familiarity even with the crudest ideas in organizational theory should have prepared us for the circumstance that the two goals cited would conflict with each other at some levels while supporting each other at other levels. In a recent monograph on the pictorial decorations of the Upper Basilica of San Francesco at Assisi, by Hans Belting, these distinctions are not taken into consideration; nor is the liturgy taken into account, the celebration of which is the primary instrument in pursuing the paramount goals of such an organization as an ecclesiastical Order.⁸² The author fails to see that 'propaganda' for the Papal Curia had been an important goal of the movement right back to St. Francis himself (as is attested by Esser's studies),⁸³ and postulates conflicts ('Kontroverstheologie') that never obtained in the relations between the Order centrally and Rome. He takes the allegedly Rome-oriented iconography of the church to be a reparative demonstration of loyalty to Rome, of being good boys after all. If we examine the early development of the liturgy of the Franciscan order (in the studies of Walker and Van Dijk) rather than

the writings of St. Bonaventure, we shall note the intimate connexion with liturgical development at the Papal Curia, and see how the iconography in the sanctuary of the Upper Basilica at Assisi, as do indeed the corresponding altar dedications, gives articulate expression, in traditional terms, of these circumstances. In this way the sumptuous decoration programme was not 'paradoxical' with regard to the ideal of poverty, but the expression of another set of goals within the organizational system. The missionary morals preached by an order and the administration and performance of its liturgy belong to different functional levels between which there is no one-to-one mapping.

Aspects of organizational perspectives have been involved all through the present Part III. A particular problem of organizational theory is that of avoiding 'reification' of the organization, the notion that it has, so speak, organic life and a will, while at the same time keeping in mind that an organization is something more than a mere sum of its constituent parts or members. Thus organizations must be evaluated analytically through their participants. I shall return to this and related questions in Part IV, in which some theoretical follow-up of what has been said so far, will be attempted.

15. The Ritual Dimension

A. Problem Outline

Reference has been made above to 'ritual impact' in terms of formal liturgical attitudes to space (III, 7 D) and to 'ritual focus' in terms of the technical conditions for focus on the iconography (III, 9). In this chapter the scope will be enlarged to comprise cognitive and emotive factors in the ritual situation as a context for perception of iconography. It may be assumed that ritual to some extent exerts a regulating effect on the perceptual interaction between the messages processed by the ritual, the iconographical structures intended to respond to them, and the conceptualizations in those participating in the ritual, on two not altogether clearly distinguishable levels. On one level, let us call it the functional structured one, there are the formally prescribed relations in this 'triangle' and the relations ascribable to specific features in the pragmatics of the rites themselves, in the uses of ritual space, and in the registers and levels in the iconography and inscriptions; that is to say, the relations tentatively classified in the present Part III and summarized in Chapter 1 of Part IV.

Secondly, a set of relations on another level may be postulated that is of a less specifiable nature. A ritual system will affect the general pattern of attitudes and behaviour by creating so to speak a space-characteristical field of force, something like an electric field, which alerts particular sensitivity to ritual messages and proneness to conform to their demands. It is conceivable that such a ritualization on the emotive level creates or at least favours temporary conformity within a congregation that may assume distinctly heterogeneous characteristics in their daily life. The site itself then becomes 'sacred', i.e. in the wider sense of the word (see below), because inter-group tensions of daily life are here relieved or bottled-up, and because of a feeling of a communal existence on a higher plane.⁸⁴

These considerations may seem relatively sound, but the necessity of carrying analysis far beyond such remarks becomes urgently clear the moment we take into account the role that is today attributed generally to ritual features in almost any form of daily life, and not only by social anthropologists. It must be of relevance to our context that ritualized

attitudes are a characteristic not only of social behaviour and group identifications, but are prominent also in art and literature. So studies in art focused on canonically formalized rites should have some analytical relevance for art studies generally.

Scientific awareness of the importance of ritual in human thought, behaviour, perception and intercommunication coincided logically if not chronologically with the re-entry of ritual into modern literature. While Ionesco's *Le roi se meurt* presents ritual in its *anti-pièce* form and therefore aggressively, earlier drama may reveal its ritual structure through a semblance of being, for example, plainly 'historical'. According to Herbert Lindenberger, Shakespeare's *Henry V* is such a case:

It is not simply that it manages to reveal its real quality in the theater more than on the printed page, but, above all, that it depends on its ability to establish a communal experience with its audience. Indeed, the difficulty that critics have had understanding its essentially ceremonial character should remind us of the limitations of the specifically literary modes of analysis we apply to dramas of all kinds⁸⁵

In a similar key of ritual concepts other literatures, such as, e.g., pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic poetry, have been recently reinterpreted with almost spectacular efficiency and analytical potential. And early Islamic Persian poets have been shown to confess to an explicit 'Zoroastrian' creed in what can only be labelled a ritualist attitude.⁸⁶

So that particular cases of 'ritualist sensibility' – Stephen Spender's epithet for T. S. Eliot – would seem to magnify the features of rather common attitudes.⁸⁷

The ritual dimension – manifesting itself in 'culturally standardized and idiosyncratic signals' (Edmund Leach) – is a prominent subject in today's research in the social sciences and history and has proved extremely effective for the development of interdisciplinary efforts. It is symptomatic of the recent concerted efforts in this field, that an interdisciplinary symposium in London in 1965 took as its subject 'Ritualization of behaviour in man and animals'.⁸⁸

While in art history sources from Vitruvius to Vasari are generally read as if they presented the plain truth, in other fields of research historical chronicles have been treated as the ritualized accounts they usually are. A particularly instructive example is provided by Wansbrough's studies in early Islamic history writings.⁸⁹

It should be of interpretative value also to note that the ritual urge often seems to find sufficient outlet in the showing off or exhibition of specific characteristics or signals by which an individual or a group wants to be identified and recognized. Ritualization by artistic and literary means need not always be invested with 'deeper meaning' and

classically or bucolically inspired iconography not always with 'disguised symbolism'. Probably the most useful source material in such a case as Giorgione's *Tempest* in the Accademia at Venice would consist in a more intimate knowledge about the patterns of 'cultural ritualization', to apply a term by Eibl-Eibesfeldt, of the social ambience to which Giorgione catered. Why must there be any hidden meaning in the *Tempest*? Why should one have preferred to conceal innocuous meanings?⁹⁰ Integration into a socially distinct pattern of behaviour to a sufficient extent would screen the case off from vulgar scrutiny (including that of art historians, as it appears). The *Tempest* may be merely a statement, on the part of a culturally over-urbanized class, of its own anti-image of belonging, like the 'gipsy' (or naked woman in the first version) and the 'soldier' (or shepherd), to a tumultuous, unrefined and a-political natural world in which to roam about without very fixed aims and responsibilities, like the people allegorized in the painting. Why must we look for disguised symbolism here any more than when we see the Sultan sniffing a rose? But we are used to treating such iconographies as these and Botticelli's classical allegories from a literary point of view rather than a ritual: a striking parallel to the procedure Lindenberger has observed in traditional treatment of drama.

B. Ritual Systems

If the ritual urge is such a common factor in human life, then liturgy as an outlet should have a specific value in this sense, quite apart from its effectiveness in salvation history. As a canonically regulating agency it is markedly communal in its action, and obliterates to some extent social differences. And it creates, like any form of ritual, situations of almost complete predictability, which apparently answer deep-rooted needs in men and animals.⁹¹ The communal and the predictable elements are reinforced by a third one, also eminently ritual, that of 'escape from the subjective self into a world of objective values' (Stephen Spender paraphrasing Eliot).⁹²

Now the canonically devised, mandatory ritual system of liturgy, which consists of prescribed formal sentences accompanied by prescribed non-verbal communicative gestures and vocal response, all in a patterned interaction, is something more than just any kind of ritualized human intercourse. I shall return to this, and at present note especially the social dimension. Everyday ritual systems, a typical field for social anthropology, tend to classify people socially, i.e. with specific goals, interests, loyalties. Liturgical rituals tend to unify and accentuate membership in more or less formal organizations and create

conformities among participants within the action area of the organization, whether this manifests itself in synagogue, mosque or church.⁹³

It has to be admitted, though, that even among canonical ritual systems like the liturgies, there are considerable differences with regard to the perceptual conditioning inherent in the systems themselves and their relations to the environment; this seems to be strikingly so with regard to the implied conceptions of ritual space.

Some empirical observations concerning ritual space were ventured upon above (III, 6). If we compare ritual space in the non-Protestant Christian liturgies (Roman, Greek, Syrian, Russian, etc.) with related conceptions in Jewish and Islamic liturgies, we shall note some differences that may be useful for the description of the former. In the Christian cases, sanctification of space, effectuated through the real presence of divinity, is even more important than sanctification of time. In Jewish conception, according to Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, 'the accent is upon the sanctification of time' (in a liturgically structured year); this was in principle so even with regard to the Temple at Jerusalem: 'there was always in Judaism an ambivalence with regard to the Temple in the question of sanctification of space', and such a degree of 'sanctification' as was accepted pragmatically, was seen as a concession to popular practices. Mount Sinai, the site of the revelation of the Decalogue, was not considered a holy site.⁹⁴ In Islam, too, sanctification of time is canonical and general, while sanctification of space, apparently always of fluctuating conception, is limited in the strictest sense to the Ka'aba at Mecca; and vaguer titles of 'holiness' are distributed over numerous sites. During the Hajj or pilgrimage, attention is offered to a site (the Ka'aba) distinguished by an event in Abraham's life, but not to the cave nearby in which Muhammad received his first revelations of the Qur'an. In contradistinction to such various pragmatical conceptions of sanctity of space, churches of the above-cited denominations become sanctified in the sense of being canonically defined sites of divine presence at the moment of the Mass sacrifice.

A closer comparison will, however, reveal nuances in this formally radical distinction, and an excursion into Islamic material may be worth while. Jewish liturgy even after the destruction of the Temple is no less interesting than Islamic, but not so readily exploitable for our purposes on account of the relative parsimony in liturgy-related inscriptions. Even so, one type of Hebrew inscription may prove a convenient subject for reference.

First I shall comment on some connotations of inscriptions with the name of God, and subsequently of larger inscriptions mostly of Qur'anic origin and therefore implying a particular mode of divine manifestation.

One form of liturgical address to God is *dhikr*, 'mention' of God's name(s), and this is reflected visually in inscriptions, e.g., signifying 'God' (Allah: ٱللّٰهُ); a visual sign that mentions but does not imply presence, and which is, as noted above (III, 4, B, b), not always placed in the architectural axis. This also goes for the Jewish Tetragrammaton YHWH: יהוה , which cannot, however, be pronounced vocally except in a substitute ('Adonay'). Other inscriptions mentioning God are 'El shaddai' אל שדי and, again, 'Adonay' אדני : respectively, 'God Almighty' and 'Lord'. Whenever Christian inscriptions mention God, the name either appears in some form of sentence or, if alone, in the form of the Jewish Tetragrammaton; in which latter case the implications would be comparable to that of an image and imply, if placed above an altar, the traditional concepts set out in the liturgy, among them, that of a presence.

Now 'Allah' and 'YHWH' are what I should tentatively call 'absolute' expressions for divinity, for no specific aspect, level or context is mentioned or necessarily implied in the intended message, nor unavoidably projected into the 'image' by onlookers.⁹⁵ God in either creed is one and absolute, and human prayer to God in a strictly individual form is fully valid, for there are no liturgies that belong to a sacramental system.⁹⁶ And God is not sacramentally present.⁹⁷ So that in these cases there seem to be no iconographical or inscriptional elements to bridge the conceptual gulf between the notion of the absolute God and any such individual and private notions of divinity as might arise in people according to their perspectives and condition.

In the Christian case, such elements are not merely feasible, they are urgent. God is Triune, incarnate and sacramentally present. The theological notion of the Trinity may be compared to a theoretical construct of never-ending successive series of interrelations or of 'infinite regress'. Literary allegory in Tradition and pictorial allegory offer, so to speak, analytical models – by selecting some specific features and interrelating them – of the entire theoretical construct. This technique has implications for such apparently simple signs of God as the Tetragrammaton and a plain, Christ-like image of God as in San Clemente (Ill. 2). For in the Christian context both images unavoidably emphasize some specific aspect, the Tetragrammaton that of the First Person in the Trinity and the San Clemente image God 'through Christ' (which is, as we have seen a liturgical formula: II, 2, E); for it is Christ who is, so to speak, portrayed (III, 3, B).

The various parameters of process-modality and flexibility of the iconography noted above, and summarized in Chapter 1 of Part IV, ensure that the 'aspects' I have just referred to become conceptually linked up with specific liturgical actions during the liturgical day, week and year and consequently also with institutions in the social

community as a part of the Church Universal. Obviously enough, the recital of eulogy or prayer in a synagogue or mosque will call up a register of connotations for the word 'God', but it occurs to me that it may be constructive to say that this register is not related in a systematical manner to a pre-established structure, in the normative sense of the word, which serves as a model of the idea of deity and which is related, through the same register, in canonically defined patterns, to external society: this is the case of Christian images of God.

Mosque inscriptions that take the form of more or less complete sentences may be compared to some other functions of Christian iconography.

Classical religious inscriptions in mosques (there are also dedicatory ones) mention God and usually also Muhammad, state (usually) the Moslem creed, and present quotations from the Qur'an. The inscriptions on the mihrāb of the mosque at Maime, here shown in Herzfeld's drawing, is a fairly typical example (text Fig. 1) (13th century, A.D.).⁹⁸ The inscriptions are in three different versions of the cufic alphabet, the first being used in the external large, tripartite inscription and in the 'horseshoe' and the horizontal one closing it at the bottom; the second

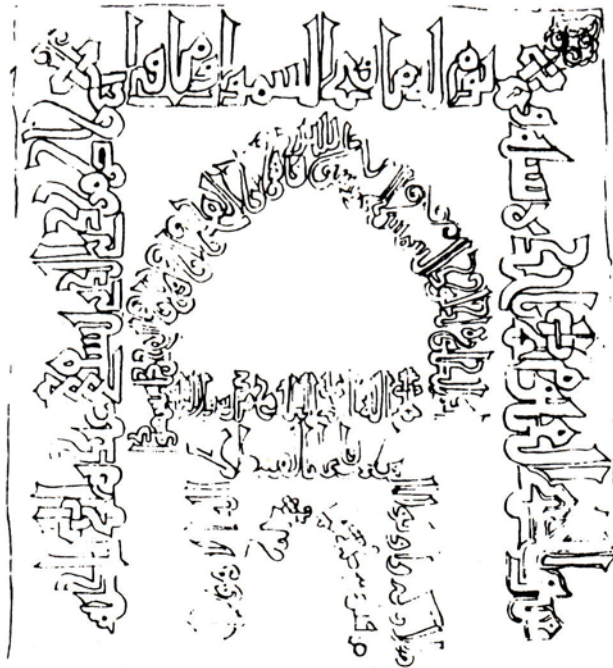


Fig. 1. Maime, Mosque, mihrāb inscriptions (Herzfeld)

in the smaller tripartite inscription; and the third version (which I have been unable to decipher) in the small, incomplete parabola. The horizontal inscription closing off the horseshoe makes the proclamation of faith: 'There is no god but God and Muhammad is his messenger'. The large tripartite text is from the Qur'an, surah 2, part of verse 256, and reads (in Marmaduke Pickthall's translation) ('huwa al-ḥayy . . .') '(There is no God save) him, the Alive, the Eternal. Neither slumber nor sleep overtaketh Him. Unto Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is he that intercedeth with Him save by His leave?' ('. . . illā bi-idhnihi'). And the horseshoe text quotes verse 78 of surah 14: 'Establish worship at the going down of the sun until the dark of night, and (the recital of: supplied by Pickthall) the Qur'ān at dawn. Lo! (the recital of: P.) the Qur'ān at dawn is ever witnessed'. In the smaller tripartite inscription we have a part of verse 18, surah 3: ('malāika . . .') '(Allah is witness that there is no God save Him. And the) angels and the men of learning (too are witnesses: supplied by P.). Maintaining His creation in justice, there is no God save Him' ('. . . illā huwa al . . .'): the inscription has been cut off at the beginning and the end).

So here are statements about the nature of God and faith in him, as well as statements about the 'establishment' of worship: all in all not essentially different from some of the fundamental implications of Christian iconography. But in the Islamic case, such statements do not include the connotations of a divine presence in a sacramental sense. Furthermore, the mosque inscriptions are operative on two distinct levels that are not, or so it would seem, paralleled in Christian cases. For the inscriptions contain sentences to be read and are not images to be taken in at a glance, even though, of course, familiarity with them among the congregation will render reading word for word almost unnecessary (this is especially so with regard to the stereotyped confession of faith: in inscriptions a rhythmical row of 'fence poles' recognizable even by the unlettered). Secondly, the Qur'anic quotations are representative of divinity on another level, because the Qur'anic text, including its linguistic idiom, is a copy from the heavenly prototype. And this, according to a not entirely uncontested opinion, is 'uncreated', eternal. One law school for a brief period appears to have maintained that the text preserved its sense even in translation (Hanafi).⁹⁹ The potential of the semiological spectrum is impressive: according to some views, for example, one has to draw fine distinctions between createdness and uncreatedness in the Qur'anic text itself, and recitals or writing down of it. Other inscriptions, too, if even of remotely 'religious' or legal (which would mean generally the same) content, were considered by some as sacred on account of the letters being used in God's names, on account of the sacred purposes for

which God had introduced the art of writing, etc.¹⁰⁰ Thus it may be assumed generally that a quotation of the Qur'an in Arabic, as in the inscriptions we have just seen, is a direct expression of divinity that no Christian Roman iconography can ever be, so that a feeling of 'presence' might well ensue. This contingency is however a complex one, and it is to some extent conditioned by social parameters in the perception and understanding of the texts. Even though classical Islamic liturgy does not seem to have recognized social distinctions but, on the contrary, insisted on equality,¹⁰¹ there is a clear social and even political distinction between those who are 'preservers' of the Qur'an, i.e., who know it by heart, and those who are not (among them, usually, the illiterate). To such 'preservers', almost any Qur'anic inscription will reveal its content however complicated the calligraphic style.

In the church there is reality in the absolute sense of the term in the sacramental presence of God at Mass, of which the iconography is merely a reflection or allusion. In the mosque a comparable reality consists in the presence of the words of God documented in the iconography itself.

Thus there are social parameters to the degree of perception of Qur'anic inscriptions – and certainly also to their juridic (inclusive of the theological) connotations; but not a structured relationship to specific roles in society such as we have seen in the case of Christian iconography. This makes the latter more complex in terms of specifiable (to some extent) structures, while the Islamic case is complex, above all on account of analytical vagueness. And there is in the Christian case a sacramentary integration of the community into a context sanctified by divine presence, which must reinforce the sociological forces at work in the very same ritual operation that tends, as we have noted above, to devaluate social classifications. There can hardly be here the serene detachment from class and group identities of the world 'out there', as in community praying in a mosque, at least by classical ideals.¹⁰² And Christian iconography, because of its point of departure in the Incarnation (without which not even pictures of the Virgin and the saints would have been acceptable), concretizes in model form human conditions ('motherhood', etc.) visually and therefore, one may presume, with higher emotive efficiency, rather than describing them, to some extent, in sentences, as in mosque iconography. Finally, Qur'anic inscriptions are the same – and so are letters naming God – regardless of site (unless this is unclean), whereas the central Christian liturgical iconography is functionally conditioned by canonically consecrated places. In such places there will usually be imagery articulated to some degree with regard to depiction of space, a dimension not representable in inscriptions. Levels of reality are

restated in spatial constructs requiring interest and competence in the congregation's perception of them. And so conflicting conceptual situations may obtain that take great sophistication on the part of the congregation to handle them cognitively.

This short empirical survey of some of the larger implications of the ritual perspective is intended merely to indicate that the ritual dimension in connexion with Christian iconography is no isolated technical phenomenon exclusively related to its specific cosmological *Überbau* as this is sustained by the interaction of liturgy and theology.¹⁰³ For the liturgical ritual draws from and contributes to ritual systems in ecological, social and political life. Probably a definition of 'ritual' that expresses the analytically more viable current conceptions would state that a ritual is a standardized (through authoritative prescription and/or traditional consent) process of verbal and/or non-verbal actions or displays that are repeated under given circumstances, are connected in expressive and contributive terms with a value-system, and in which the creation of predictable order (as emphasized by Bouritius) is considered an answer to needs. A ritual's linking-up with a value-system may occur in terms of a goal achievement or end product (Eucharistic Real presence *ex opere operato* in the Mass) or in terms of the performance itself of the process,¹⁰⁴ which in the case of the Roman liturgy, as we have noted, in a number of ways imposes attitudes and attributes identities that relate the congregation as such to the environmental and the social world on various levels.

With reference to Pilgrim's terms, 'transcendent power' and 'transformative power', we may note that rituals typically create a model reality that helps in 'gaining control over chaos by imposing the needful form on it' (Tydeman), and that hedges round particular values, a principle stated in Jewish tradition concerning participation in synagogue service and keeping its rules: thereby 'making a hedge/fence [s^ei^ag] for the Torah' (*Pirke aboth*, I:1).

Systems analysis based on analytical models (rather than interface definitions) is probably the only tool for making meaningful comparisons between every-day routine, 'rituals, drama, and representation' (for this, see Hardison); '... there is no clear separation between symbols, myths, and rites. In practice they intersect as do the various religious structures. The various symbolic structures overlap and indeed participate in both myth and rituals' (Baird). Nor is the distinction unproblematic between a rite in which God's words are repeated ritually (as in the Mass or in the Islamic *ṣalāt*) and forms of mystic unification with God ('Like the reed we have two mouths: one mouth is hidden in His lips', Mevlâna Jalal ad-din Rûmi, d. 1273). The complexity of the issue is further revealed by the common experience

among fieldworkers that different participants in the same rite offer different explanations of the meaning of the rite: authority-imposed interpretation is not the only valid ritual truth.

Assembly-line operations are also ritual: there is no need, nor is it analytically viable, to draw a line between more or less idealized rituals. What we do need are models for articulation and analysis of interesting interplays in a given situation, in which constructs of meaning are generated and sustained by the interaction of process, environment and goal-direction. Tentatively, a ritual system might perhaps be analysed on some such model as the following simplified one. Here the ritual is considered a patterned process with a specific product or set of products as its goal and/or the very devolvement itself of the process as its goal. It is directed by apposite authority directives and/or parameters of social, environmental or economic consensus. 'Thought' and emotions on the part of initiators, participants and observers bring about linkages between the various elements and parameters – among them, respect for the process itself.¹⁰⁵ The process consists in ordered action generating and sustained by symbolization.

Ritual process

<i>Structure</i>	<i>Function</i>
1. Action	
1.1 Verbal/non-verbal and 'behavioural' display	Production of signs for belonging in role/place
1.2. Formalization/stereotyping	Fixation of identities
1.3. Regulation in time/space	Definition of modalities for direct/indirect participation
1.4. Order	Production of predictable situations
2. <i>Frames of reference</i>	
2.1. References to prototypes/symbolization	Evoking/connoting value systems/norms
2.2. Linkages to socio-cultural, environmental, ecological contexts	Differentiation of focusing on specific roles

The correct name of the place is *Maimane*

1. General Assumptions

The approach presented in this book is based on assumptions that, taken together, amount to a general systematical theory, however incomplete and sketchily outlined. The building of a theory, of course, is a process involving empirical observation and case-study, and the theory can at no stage be 'conclusive'. At a lower level of pretension, the system offers a model for a working hypothesis at the outset of any venture in the study of iconography of the kind examined in the book. At this point an attempt will be made to summarize the main assumptions. They may be set out as follows.

1. Fundamental postulate

An iconography spatially connected (permanently or by intended use: e.g. an illustrated sacramentary, a Eucharistic chalice) with an altar is thematically related to the functional operation, expressed through liturgy, of the altar.

2. Regulation corollary

Such an iconography expresses, represents or reflects concepts in the liturgy (formally stated in it or Traditionally* ascribed to it) in such a manner that the modes of iconographical interrelations between the concepts do not violate or distort the principles according to which the prototype concepts are interrelated in the liturgy formally or in accordance with Traditional interpretations.

3. Normality corollary

A situation in which items 1 and 2 are present, we define as a 'normal' situation.

4. Systems corollary

Under conditions of normality, there will be a tendency to systemic order within the iconography itself and in its relation to the liturgy, in which systemic qualities prevail. Articulation in primary and subordinated goals and corresponding functions are a characteristic here.

* With capital T to distinguish Church Tradition specifically.

5. *Hierarchy corollary*

Where there is sufficient scope and differentiation in the iconography, there will be a spatial grading in importance focused on the altar (e.g. in terms of symmetrical arrangement).

6. *Direction corollary*

The liturgy will tend to act as a directive – ‘cybernetical’ – factor in the system and coordinate perception of the iconography among participant clergy and congregations.

7. *Stratification corollary*

Subsystems in the liturgy will direct, under hierarchical conditions, subordinated iconographies that do not condition the overall system (e.g. an ‘isolated’ altar for some saint whose iconography fits in with the rest in terms of ecclesiology and calendar and adds quantitatively but not principally to the focusing of the overall system).

8. *Corollary of vertical differentiation*

Iconography closely related to process-conditioned rite (such as the Canon) will be invested with changing significance as the rite proceeds.

9. *Corollary of horizontal differentiation*

Two exactly similar images in two different places may communicate different messages or connotations proper to the functions of the respective places. A message or connotation may be communicated by different iconographical means.

10. *Cumulation corollary*

Under systemic conditions, additions to or changes in an original iconographical programme (at planning stage or already carried out) will tend to take into consideration, add to or implement the communicative function of the original programme. Such a cumulative planning can be studied as a prolongation of the original planning.

11. *Planning corollary*

Planners (defined: III, 13, A) will take into account (construct more or less mature theories about) the prospective differentiated conceptions or interpretations of the planned iconography among users (defined: III, 12). Experience of relevant user attitudes will have influenced planning from the outset.

12. Users' corollary

Users' constructs for perceiving liturgical imagery are individually and socially differentiated.

13. Artist's corollary

The artist's personal contribution depends on the context described in the present theory.

14. 'Triangular' corollary

Because of item 11, one cannot consider item 13 without considering item 12.

15. Flexibility corollary

Because of items 11, 12 and 13, the iconographical subject will be open to several interpretations at a time, all equally valid. Because of item 6, there will be a grading of scopes of interpretations among iconographies (less 'freedom' with regard to accepted representations alluding to dogma, higher flexibility at some distance from formal dogma).

16. Resource corollary

Adoption (and possibly adaptation) into the system of a pre-existing iconography or one available from outside the system ('influence') occurs in terms of and on account of needs in the receiving system.

The above theory can, if applied to specific cases, predict or state by implication what we may expect of the cases and thus guide a research effort. Whenever we come across some of the conditions described in it, we shall search for the rest, because the theory requires a consistent system. If the prediction does not hold true on some specific point, this means that the theory has helped us to distinguish between circumstances and forced us to posit new problems in particular perspectives. If this happens repeatedly, we shall have to reconsider the theory, reformulate it and, in fact, advance a step in systematic knowledge.¹⁰⁶ The theory is, however, very far from being in any sense complete. For example, there will be many cases, and a number of aspects of any case, in which it will not be possible to tell whether one's assumptions are 'true' or not. We have to keep in mind that the distinction between 'reality' and theory about reality is a fiction, and create some kind of model or analytical framework with which to articulate the further implications of what has been said so far.¹⁰⁷

'The spirit of the Middle Ages', wrote Huizinga in his *Waning of the Middle Ages*, 'still plastic and naive, longs to give concrete shape to every conception. Every thought seeks expression in an image, but this image solidifies and becomes rigid.' We must be pretty 'medieval' still (or the 'Middle Ages' not so 'medieval'), for there is hardly any branch of science, humanities or social sciences that cannot be adequately described by these words, even though, fortunately, recent conscious attitudes towards 'models' have tended to render these more flexible than they have usually been in some traditional fields of scholarship, in which the models, that of historical 'development', for example, or 'influence', have been employed rather unconsciously and therefore become rigid through ritual repetition.¹⁰⁸

Not only are analytical models a tool we cannot do without. Quite frequently we have to borrow them, to some extent preprocessed for other purposes, from other fields of research and adapt them. Such a process of adaptation can mean a process of interdisciplinary integration.¹⁰⁹

Using models is also a question of forcing some simple pattern upon a material of high complexity; in Simon's words:

Research in problem solving has shown that the efficiency of problem-solving efforts can often be greatly increased by carrying out the search for a solution, not in the original problem space with all of its cluttering detail, but in an abstracted space, from which much of the detail has been removed, leaving the essential skeleton of the problem more clearly visible. The so-called planning method in problem solving involves just such a process of abstraction.¹¹⁰

The social sciences have battled over and to some extent cleared up analytically a number of problems that face us in almost every piece of empirical material of art history, but I can hear some colleagues comment that this is all a question of *vogue*. And of course it is, for a vogue usually arises for a good reason; in the present case, that we have become increasingly aware of the complexities of society, even the simplest one. On the whole I think the resistance in the Humanities against sociological sciences may be compared to that of thirteenth-century Churchmen against calculating with Arabic numbers instead of the usual Roman ones. While the Arab-trained Pisan merchant Leonardo 'Fibonacci' wrote 404 for four hundred and four, and could use nine different numbers plus zero or 'sifr' for easy calculation, the Churchmen still stuck to writing the same number as CCCCIV, because they were unable to see that 404 expressed exactly the same concept and thought that zero, the mysterious 'nothingness', was at best an empty concept of little real value or perhaps even the work of the Devil. The Churchmen had problems with their multiplication.

2. Terms of Analysis

A. Problem Outline

At this point we shall take it for granted analytically that there obtains some sort of systemic relationship between iconographically displayed meaning processes, ritual processes, and individual participation in situations involving these two kinds of processes. First, we shall want some concepts concerning the type of individual participation in a situation involving ritual iconography. Secondly, we shall have to address the particular regulating (allegorically, we might say, 'cybernetical') effect of liturgy with specific regard to iconography. Liturgical services communally celebrated create a temporary formalized reality and system of behavioural responses involving the clergy and the congregation in such a manner that the responses may be controlled through coordinated attention and reaction to specific signals communicated through recitation, gesture, etc. Clearly, iconography comes into play here. Responses, of course, will vary, and different users will put different significations into the system, elaborating for themselves, so to speak, the system of signals they are supposed to respond to. The point of liturgical discipline is, on the other hand, that a systematic effort is made to create an artificial, controlled and temporary reality that may absorb individual differences. Thirdly, iconography in this context appears to be constituted by a manifestly systemic core of functional types of meanings which is displayed through flexible and interchangeable systems of sense structures or morphological types.

Concerned as we are with the interaction of iconography, ritual and individuals (or groups), obviously we have to deal with different levels, such as the official, authorized imposition of ritual formalism and interpretations directly consequent upon this, or, in contradistinction to this, socially and environmentally conditioned class-wise and political appreciations of the system. We have to ask whether some tension occurs at the interface between such levels or whether, indeed, the iconography itself has the capacity of satisfying at several levels simultaneously. In the present chapter our focus will be on this problem of capacity and analytical procedures for its formulation.

These considerations might seem to indicate the need of an analytical

frame of reference in terms of some sort of pre-established modality-unspecific system of communicative logic, such as has been developed in linguistics and semiology, often in close connection with information and communication theory.¹¹¹

B. Communicative Modalities and Range

Is iconography a semiological sign-system, is it a 'language', or is it in fact a 'sacred writing', as Émile Mâle claimed? In his book on semantics,¹¹² Leech distinguishes between 'sense' (or 'conceptual meaning'), and different aspects of 'meaning'. Sense is contrastive ('woman' = human, adult, ≠ male) and an element of constitutive structures: 'the principle by which larger linguistic units are built up out of smaller units: or ... by which we are able to analyse a sentence syntactically into its constituent parts', the first aspect being paradigmatic or selectional, the second syntagmic or combinatory. He identifies specific aspects of associative meaning as connotative ('woman' - 'frail!'), and thematic meaning as concerning 'what is communicated by the way in which a speaker or writer organised the message, in terms of ordering, focus and emphasis'. Clearly, our morphological types of iconography lend themselves to being reduced to sets of discrete units that would seem to correspond to 'sense' units as defined by Leech. But it is less clear whether two similar or comparable sets of sense units in either modality, language and iconography, have common or even comparable communicative and perceptual effects and range.^x This question can be applied also to semiology.

In a book with the telling subtitle, 'The logic by which symbols are connected', Leach insists that 'there *must* be some kind of "logical" mechanism' which allows us to transform any message modality (sight, smell, touch, hearing, etc.) into any other modality.¹¹³ In order to constitute such an operative logic, Leach presents some ten categories of modality-less transformers such as signum, symbol, sign, 'nonce symbol', etc., all subordinated in two columns under the two 'key distinctions' of index and signal. The latter concerns A when it mechanically and automatically triggers off B, whereas we have a case of index when 'A indicates B'. Now, according to Leach, a 'signum' is exemplified by the case that 'A stands for B as a result of arbitrary human choice', but it may reappear under the opposite column of signals, as a sign, then, 'when there is an intrinsic prior relationship between A and B because they belong to the same cultural context'. In European tradition, Leach writes, a crown is thus a sign for sovereignty, whereas the choice of a crown as a trade mark for a brand

*x Domain ?
+ range !?*

of beer 'is a symbol not a sign. There is no prior intrinsic relationship. Crown and beer come from different contexts'. This, admittedly, appears to be true if we focus our attention on the moment of creation of an arbitrary symbol, instead of noting that this creative act starts the process of creating a cultural context. Furthermore, if we ask what is meant by the condition of 'prior' relationship, we may easily come to the conclusion that the creative act may not have been quite as arbitrary as it might appear.¹¹⁴ All beer that has ever been marketed pretends to high class, and one culturally established sense of a crown in European tradition is high class. A label crown must be of a specific design and its arbitrariness shortlived. Today it belongs to the cultural context of most science communities that *x* stands for the abscissa, *y* for the ordinate in a two-dimensional Cartesian coordinate system, but certainly the letters were once arbitrarily chosen; and one would feel reluctant to substitute *A* and *B* for them, since these letters are culturally allocated to other uses.

One of Leach's examples of an 'arbitrary' symbol is worth examining a little more closely because it takes us straight into iconography. In the Bible, he says, the Serpent in the Garden of Eden is a 'symbol for Evil. The zoological context of serpents has no *intrinsic* relationship to the moral context of the concept of Evil.' Certainly not; but what if we ask for the cultural context relevant for Biblical times instead of 'zoological' context? Was the serpent chosen wholly arbitrarily, so that one might equally well have chosen 'zebra' or 'goose'? Or was it in fact chosen because evilness was a culturally accepted intrinsic property of snakes? The Bible is rather particular about snakes; the whole lot of them were generally believed to be poisonous, and the most common of them, the *nahash* of *Genesis*, 3:1, was reputed also to be dedicated to the deplorable practice of licking the dust. By Leach's distinctions, as far as I can see, a Lamb is a culturally given sign (on account of the analogy between slaughter and blood sacrifice), whereas a Pelican (on top of many a crucifix) would be an arbitrary symbol, for it is no zoological fact that the Pelican feeds its chicks off its own blood. Other examples of 'equivalent symbols', according to Leach, are 'in early Christianity the Cross, the Chi-Rho symbol . . . and the Fish' (the latter on account of a coincidence between the Greek word for fish and the first letters in the Greek words for Jesus Christ God and Saviour). Do we in fact have archaeological evidence to the effect that the cross was 'arbitrarily' chosen before the event of Christ's death at Golgtha? The point is whether these distinctions affect relevancy in communicative processes. The issue I want to raise is not that Leach's system is defective in itself; for it would be perfect if the examples chosen were perfect. The point is rather that in order to be perfect, the examples have little use in iconography. To produce 'wholly arbitrary' symbols is

one of the characteristics of mathematics, the propositional calculus, and the sciences (but only to some extent), and Leach's distinctions do not appear useful in treating 'communicating' culture generally in a comprehensive manner. A sign or symbol is not effective before it has been displayed, that is, before a cultural context has been created for it, or it has been pushed into one. And it is hardly plausible analytically to conceive of iconography as operating under equal conditions with the other media; but more about this later.

Language is more modality-specific than semiology, and linguistic models have been accorded some role in art-historical debate.¹¹⁵ Reverting once more to an empirical approach, let us attempt to describe, firstly, the formation of 'vocabulary' in our liturgical iconography; and, secondly, the influence on such vocabulary patterns from environmentally (including ritually) and socially produced meaning, interest, and competence. This task has to be initiated by the selection of some examples that are strategically placed in relation to the problem; that is, where these parameters may generate marked distinctions in the empirical material itself.

An analytical, rather than a lexical, definition of 'iconography' should not be exclusive of 'non-figurative' elements or content such as compositional structure or architectural setting or, indeed, non-natural symbols. The basic unit or element is visual 'feature'.¹¹⁶ A uniformly coloured surface filling the entire field of vision is featureless until it is either compared (through our shifting our field of vision) to the scalar values of the spectrum, or else another colour is introduced into the primary field. A feature is a visual inequality in quantifiable terms: scalar values of wave-lengths and curves (a line or system of lines). Any visual image may be described in these quantity terms. Iconography, then, is any system of visual features set up with the intention of reference to anything not identical with the system itself, such as another feature system or a concept or idea or all of these. This definition may appear just as uninteresting as some of the distinctions I have referred to above, and it does not seem to tell us very much indeed: but this is the point of it. It is analytically impracticable, for instance, to set off 'pictures' against a symbol-laden church space and the latter against architectural scenery inside the picture itself. It is impracticable at the start of an analytical venture to set off 'content' against compositional structure in a picture. The positive implication of this definition is that it comprises discrete entities, such as a human figure, and continuities, in terms of artistic qualities or space qualities, which lend themselves to being translated into conceptual or emotional symbols. Language has comparable qualities, rhythm, for example; but this medium after all consists of prescribed sequences in time, whereas iconography, while being fixed in space, has authoritatively imposed

meaning hierarchies as well as any number of unpredictable 'reading' hierarchies ascribed to it. Iconography has no grammar or syntax (and hardly any 'deep structure'), and it is less tied-up by modality-specific rules than language¹¹⁷ and even more open to environmental and social influence. Now to the cases.

Features combining on a human body a bearded youngish male face surrounded by a cross-halo (Ill. 2) and a blessing hand and one holding a book may connote any one, several or all of the following concepts, in varying order and priorities: present divinity (if placed above an altar); Christ with the Word; God (seen 'through' Jesus the Man in terms of the Incarnation or the Apocalyptic vision); the Trinity; but not Jesus the Man *tout court*, because of the incompatible feature of the book. Let another set of features represent a standing, white-haired and bearded, haloed, elderly man wearing some sort of 'biblical' costume and holding two keys, one golden and one silver white. Relatable concepts are, of course, St. Peter, but also apostle, saint, martyr, the first pope, the papal office. By set terminology, {St. Peter} intersects with all the other sets, except that of {the first pope}, which must be considered an identity. The primary motivation for depicting this specific set of features and for 'reading' it one way or the other, creates, in an interest-driven and competence-regulated action, some specific priority order in these sense-structures according to individual variables in, let us say, the clergy and some particular patron. Beyond the levels of compositional focusing in terms, e.g., of symmetry, or narrative focusing (St. Peter receiving his keys), the visual features present several connotations simultaneously and without internal priorities. It is for the onlooker to retrieve, as from a data base, what is felt as interesting and relevant. The word 'St. Peter', on the other hand, by being the selected and stated one (instead of, e.g., 'apostle and martyr'), emphasizes itself over against all the other sets.¹¹⁸ In this way language has a more determining effect upon environmentally and socially influenced interpretation than iconography, which is more open to external impact (the best witness of this being the art historical profession). In other words, a person who is supposed to 'decode' from words and from iconography will have greater scope in the latter case for simultaneous 'encoding' into the same features. In an involvement with physically static visual features the time lag between the two coding processes in one and the same individual may be reduced to insignificance.

The word term 'St. Peter' is no sentence, but so is 'St. Peter standing'. The word term indicates no direction of interpretation; this is left over to any grammatical and syntactical context in which it occurs. A visual set of features showing St. Peter, as we have indicated above, does display notions that will seek expression in sentences or

sentence-like structures. For unavoidably the figure must do something or not do something, and it must be located somewhere, on a blank wall or a sheet of paper or in an iconographical programme. The bust of Christ/God cited above (Ill. 2) performs no unambiguous action such as standing or being seated: but it unavoidably seems to *appear* in a spatial sense.¹¹⁹ The word term is not active. On the other hand, such a visual appearance is expressible in words; so that it could seem to be just a question of going up another level, from word to sentence. Indeed; but the effects of the visual appearance and the appearance stated in words can be rather different. The appearance of a depicted figure is attributed more or less importance from its context and environment. A verbal description of the iconographical context including the figure must mention the figure with the rest, and this might mean over-accentuating it, an effect that would not necessarily follow from a visual scanning of the same context with the specific figure. The two words 'Christ, St. Peter' in juxtaposition to one another will reveal non-relatedness in terms of a lacking syntactical connexion (we are not concerned now with their historical, religious, liturgical etc., relationship); space relations between the two words on a piece of paper give no meaning beyond grammar and syntax or lack of these. The two visual human figures placed side by side have no common structural requirements like grammar and syntax for their combination in space. Because iconography does not operate by formal logic, the little system of two figures is open to a wide and unpredictable variety of ascriptions of meaning concerning the relations between the figures. The fact that they appear spatially together invites interpretation.

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They will display some kind of attitude or behaviour, some sort of self-presentation, 'hieratic' or emotional, etc. A good writer can give an adequate verbal rendering of this (up to a point, at least), but again description may emphasize the particular state of affairs too heavily and to the detriment of some central message. Attitude in a depicted figure may not be in the focus of interest but may act as a *basso continuo* run off beside the main theme because the two themes in iconography appear simultaneously. The problem of unintended emphasis again crops up when comparing visual and verbal accounts of directed action. In a picture showing Jonah facing the whale with open jaws (Ill. 24), an artist may play on ambiguity: it is hard for us to say whether the whale is about to swallow up the prophet or whether it has just ejaculated him from its abdomen. In the Sistine Ceiling, the ambiguity is exploited in liturgy-relevant terms, for in the liturgy the story of Jonah and the whale in the two phases of their mutual relationship is taken to represent the death and the resurrection of Christ. Again, the effect lends itself to verbal description (my own

attempt being a poor example), but what in the visual medium is a split-second shift becomes, in writing, a heavy accentuation on alternatives. This difference in accentuation also applies to the relation of a depicted and a described figure to the external world.¹²⁰ It is possible to say 'St. Peter' without imposing any specific relation, whereas we cannot depict St. Peter without bestowing upon his appearance some degree of 'naturalism' or 'abstraction' which will trigger widely different reactions in onlookers (reactions that cannot be mapped over onto professionally established terms of style). Again, a play on ambiguity is possible: again, to achieve comparable effect by verbal description, the effect easily gets lost on the way because of over-accentuation of the terms involved in the play.

Language is bound to rules that account for this effect. Here, sense-bearing units are fed into a pre-channelled structure of grammar and syntax. A visual system of iconography includes no operative rules specific to the system itself in terms of pre-set categories like verbs, connectives, etc. In operative terms, iconography is category-less. It is environmentally imposed logic that makes it implausible to show St. Peter standing on his head or makes depicted narratives translatable into symbols of terms like subject, predicate and object. It is liturgy that imposes certain structural properties on an iconographical programme. Because the visual medium is not pre-channelled, the alternative terms of perception increase exponentially with the increase of features.

At this point we return to address once more the question raised above with regard to the general 'operative' mood of iconography. There are no operational units in iconography that are steered by some sort of pre-channelled logic. Iconography is not system-operational in the sense of language or information, consisting of categories that are subjected to pre-set rules and that can, on demand, be given specific content. Any figure of a man connotes the set of men, and any figure of man with a halo connotes the set of male saints without individual attributes; while any figure of a man with a cross-halo connotes the one-element set of Jesus Christ. Here, discrete sets are defined, but this is not so with regard to a figure of a man who looks as if he has a secret sorrow on account of his giving some kind of 'curved' impression. And for the discrete sets as well as for this kind of continuity there exist no operative rules that break them into general categories below the level of real-world reference. There are no general operative categories for 'men' versus 'landscape' versus 'tree' or for interrelations between them. In Stephan Lochner's (?) *Virgin and Child in the Paradise Garden* (Ill. 18), the elements of the visual medium itself cannot be described as having been imputed to a general rule-system that operates distinctions between, e.g., the concepts of

the Virgin's low-seated position, her being seated on the ground, being seated in a garden, being seated in the Garden, in open-air nature, being 'closer' in binary terms by not being enthroned, etc. Nor is there a rule system to predicate distinctions between abstraction and concretization: the celestial aspect – reflective of an absolute and eternal truth – lends itself to being rendered by the 'objectivity' of physical vision (as in Ills. 17 and 18); or it may be rendered by abstraction techniques (Ills. 2, 6-8, 23).

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Thus iconography appears to resist attempts at developing analytically pre-set operational categories like those we find in language, semiology, and information. For iconography lacks the capacity for being unspecific. The word 'man' can be uttered or written in a number of tones or typographies and the sign of the cross can be performed in slightly different manners by different individuals. Any depicted man is an individual figure design, and so is the label crown (see above) or even a perfectly symmetrical Greek cross. Only some of the features included lend themselves to being transposed, via template mechanisms in the CNS, to language level and thus to acquire a set status of 'man', 'crown', and position in formally operated systems like grammar and syntax. But it is important to note that no rules above the neurophysiological level are in sight that allow us to be systematic about this abstraction process.

It appears, therefore, to be analytically preferable to dispense with attempts to establish for iconography any operative system of pre-set formal logic. Iconography in terms of operative formalism is category-less and in this sense provides no system, like algebra, grammar or the propositional calculus, to jump in and out of.¹²¹

Secondly, the meaning-producing conditions of iconography are further complicated by the circumstance that pictures are typically 'original' (at least many of them are) and have been reacted upon as individual, 'einmahlige' objects belonging to some specific site and particular situation. Miracle-working Madonnas provide one class of examples. Words, too, such as set phrases employed during shopping or military training, to say nothing of liturgical formulas, are situationally and even locally connected and rendered effective, but they are repetitive not individual. Parameters such as 'individuality' are ranged along a scale between the one particular miraculous image (e.g., of the Virgin) and the picture that for some people has acquired individuality on account of emotional attribution. The whole issue is a complex one. Trexler appears to simplify unduly and to relinquish some useful analytical distinctions when he classifies the consecrated Host as an 'object' like any physical image of the Virgin (e.g.) and as a 'representation' of Christ, in order to conclude that 'The cult of the body of Christ validated one of the strongest religious tendencies: to

give form to power on the principle that power was imputable to objects'.¹²² He cites cases of smashing miraculous images that had proved to be inefficient helpers. Further documentation would be required to accept that popular conceptions of a Virgin residing inside her image and the notion that Christ is bodily present in the Host are identical intellectual or emotional operations. In the consecrated species of bread and wine 'totus et integer Christus', body and spirit, is present in his totality, and according to a papal epistle of 1202, the bread and wine are 'sacramentum, et non res' (i.e., no 'object').¹²³ The liberal access to sacred images, many of them miraculous, did not abate popular craving for direct visual experience of the consecrated Host. On the official as well as the 'popular' level Trexler's contention should probably be rephrased into one concerning a principle that 'power' was attributable to fundamentally different phenomena which Trexler prefers to subsume under the term 'objects'. Even with regard to the holy images the term 'object' is not entirely clear. A valid alternative to attributing to people a conception of the image as an 'object', would be to suppose that they in fact emotionally saw past the object made of wood and pigment and felt the proximity of the portrayed prototype herself or himself. In a case of disappointed smashing, then, satisfaction was obtained less from hitting the wooden table than from disfiguration of the facial appearance and saintly attributes, in other words, obliterating the prototype's terms of appearance.

With regard to such a picture and its prototype, Trexler speaks of a 'practical identity'. Ellert Dahl, O. P., speaks of a 'moral identity', to distinguish from 'real identity' as in the case of relics, and an 'identity by representation'.¹²⁴ Referring to medieval sources, Dahl writes that: 'Between the image and the saint there exists a moral identity, or an identity of interest. What concerns the statue, concerns the saint. The respect or disrespect shown the statue, is immediately referred to St. Foy herself'. And the sources reveal a 'live quality of the cult-image'. However,

The *live* reaction of the image should not be seen in isolation as a kind of one-way activity. It needs to be understood as part of the mutual relationship with the worshipper. Often it is he who takes the initiative . . . the visual exchange is essential. The worshipper comes to see and to be seen.

These considerations suggest that any 'sacred image' may to some extent have been felt to denote a presence of the prototype, at least indirectly, so that these pictures share some of the impact of the 'presence' image of Christ-God discussed above. This oscillation between what is material and what seems spiritual in a picture must be considered modality-specific and hardly applicable to language or to 'sacred writing'.

So that in the cases considered by Dahl, the onlooker facing a physically static and spatially stable image is active and creative in building up some sort of intellectual and emotional construct over the image.

C. Competence and Interest in Social Individuals

This notion takes us over to modern theory regarding visual perception as involving 'highly skilled sequential purposive behaviors' (Hochberg), which are guided by programmes and focused on goals (see below). We shall have to accept that an individual who participates in the capacity of planner, artist or user in a situation involving iconography, is to some extent creative in all these types of roles. The models for 'complex man' in organizational psychology can to some extent be applied to indicate the complexities of these relationships, especially as we are concerned with the rituals of one large, multi-levelled and multi-branched organization.¹²⁵ No amount of 'Gründlichkeit', to cite a much-used but entirely non-analytical criterium, can substitute analytical theory in this area of research.

What type of individuals are we going to have to do with? Again, the question is not merely one of documented or reconstructed biographical evidence with regard to 'patrons and painters', but also of theoretical constructs. Let there be no illusion that we are concerned with anything else than typology in the usual art-historical imagery of Pope Julius II and Michelangelo in their mutual involvement in the Sistine Chapel; in the idea, for example, of the artist working in isolation on the decoration system of the second-most important chapel, next to St. Peter's, of the Papal Court, and springing the result on the Pope and his court. An increasing amount of biographical and circumstantial material with regard to Julius II does not necessarily make historical constructs of him proportionately clearer.¹²⁶

The organizational character of the Church has been noted on several occasions, and this perspective can now be tentatively extended to the level of the participating individual and to the question of meaning-producing interaction between her or him and the ritual and organizational systems. The Church involves different categories of people acting in a number of roles that are focused on the achievement of goals. Some of these goals are sacramental and are realized *ex opere operato*, through the very operation of the consecrated core of the organization. Subordinated to this goal-set, there are others concerning satisfaction of spiritual needs and social needs, like the demands for baptism, marriage, funeral, confession. General benefits are those of 'belonging', having meaningful identities, and participating in a life with some amount of predictability; a recognized ecological need. To

such ends the organization provides a framework for the constitution of meaningfulness for those involved and generates symbols to express and communicate meaning, all by virtue of internal exchange and interaction with the environment.¹²⁷ Participation means display, and this serves position in an environmental system and to keep the system from disbalance. Participation also means sharing in a 'cultural dominance display' with rules of strong ritual implications: 'One method in which superiority is signalled we may call the rule of alliance. Here, an individual or nation allies itself with success or recognized symbols of success ...' (Geist).¹²⁸ Other components of such rule-structures would be those of role-playing and ritualization with focus on self-actualization.

Meaning is to a large extent produced socially, and we have to classify in some way the types of individuals involved with iconography in accordance with the types of meaning-production they represent under specific stimulus and under given environmental conditions. These 'type individuals' will be sisters and brothers of types that populate psychology and the social sciences, such as, for instance, the 'complex man' of organizational theory: whose 'motives may vary according to situations. Hence "complex men" may have different motives stemming from their separate experiences and may attach different meanings to the same aspects of "reality".' (Silverman).¹²⁹ Or, in the words of the so-called Thomas Theorem: 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.' And the individual does not 'find', but 'construes' his environment. In Personal Construct Theory this is expressed as follows:¹³⁰ 'A person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events', – partly through 'mental images'.¹³¹ Or in the terms of ecology: Animals and human beings develop 'mechanisms by which (they) make the social and physical environment predictable; gains, stores, retrieves, and alters knowledge; and structures responses to fit each problem arising'.¹³² 'The predictability of the social milieu is created by social behaviour, through the mechanisms of cognitive pattern matching ...'; and 'The habitat characteristics are learned, but the social milieu is not only learned, but also created by the individual' (Geist). Finally, a metaphor from linguistics: 'There can be many maps of the same area ... The only psychological reality represented by a particular map is that someone was able to conceptualize the area in that way' (Whitehurst).¹³³ All this amounts to saying that perception and conceptualizing are interest-driven and competence-regulated,¹³⁴ and that any interpretation of a work of art is to be articulated in accordance with social and environmental factors in the given context: an interplay the planner must have been more or less clearly aware of (III, 13, A).

A number of parameters such as 'intention', 'inclination' (emotional, habitual, etc.), behavioural 'urge', 'goal-direction', 'motivation' and 'attention', can be subsumed under one heading with the short-hand label 'Interest'. Here we are concerned with the subject's variational requirements related to goals ('target criteria') and situations (IV, 3, D) and the resolving of conflicts in the system by hierarchical ordering of priorities (MacKay).¹³⁵

When we define an individual's competence in perceiving or understanding her or his surroundings, we have to take into account the interest-driven aspect of perception and understanding. So the term may refer to one's ability intellectually and emotionally, and preparedness in terms of experience and access to information, to handle conceptually a given object or problem in accordance with one's own interest. And with specific reference to iconography this competence must include corresponding ability to accept the intended meaning (in a form of mapping from the concept of the creator of the iconography to concepts of the 'receiver') or to transform this concept.

Competence can be analysed on a semi-empirical level of 'understanding' and on a content-less (or even 'modality'-less) level of 'cognition' (usually mathematically formulated and simulated in computer programmes). Leaving the latter alone and concentrating on the former, I shall use Greeno's theory and say that 'understanding' operates in two modes, a 'linguistic' one and a 'conceptual' one.¹³⁶ For iconographical purposes, one of the distinctions that Greeno subsumes under the former mode, may be especially useful; it is the 'declarative' representation or understanding: simple strings of associations of interrelated concepts that can be repeated, eventually transferred to a congruent set of associations. In iconographical understanding this mode could be exemplified by such in-learned strings as might be set off by the sight of a Virgin with the Child: incarnation – salvation – Church – sacraments, or that might combine iconographical elements into pre-defined subjects, such as distinguishing Judas and John from the rest of the apostles in a Last Supper and making sense of their relations to Christ. 'Conceptual' understanding, again according to Greeno, involves relations between a formal language and a semantic model of the language; as a model: Sue had 3 marbles, Nancy gave her 5 more; how many does Sue have now? as a formalism: $3 + 5 = 8$. 'The situation involving the girls and the marbles involves a model of arithmetic where the additive relation corresponds to changes in possessing such as giving. Thus, we can view the solution of the word problem as a process of relating the formal language of arithmetic to one of its models'. Within this category Greeno distinguishes between 'explicit' and 'implicit' conceptual understanding. The first indicates knowledge of a formal language and a model of the language, and the

ability to relate the two appropriately. The term 'implicit' means that it is not necessary to know the formal language, 'but simply that procedures that are used in reasoning in a domain have the properties that are specified in the formal language for which the domain is a model'. Adapted to iconographical understanding, these terms would state that there is a difference between the relatively simple associational mode mentioned above, and the ways in which an iconography may be related to its liturgical reference frame and, through this, to its wider context of ecclesiology, Tradition, and social environment: in other words, how iconography can be understood as a system in interaction with ritual and environmental systems.

Explicit understanding will imply mastery of the more important notions and processes of relevant liturgy as well as a certain familiarity with available iconographical vocabulary and validity fields for this: a competence found in few individuals, but useful to have in mind with regard to cooperative ventures in formal committees or informal exchange of information and views. Such a cooperation must be presupposed in nearly all ventures concerning a public building, in which the separate competences of clergy and artist and, often, a 'patron' will have to combine. 'Implicit' conceptual understanding would indicate that individuals argue in terms or are behaviourally influenced in terms that correspond to strategically important elements and relations in a system. For example, our individual may not have cared much about the liturgical and the underlying theological doctrines and ideological substructures concerning the correlation between a personal offering of victory symbols and the liturgical offering of Christ as spelt out in the Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21). And yet his experiences as a participant not only in the liturgical rites but also in the political rituals of the Venetian Republic may have made such a system intuitively conceivable and important for him, and hence meaningful.

D. Analytical Methodology

Analytical methodology should generate theoretical frameworks of alternative meaning systems and rule-structures for these. This will to a large extent involve an exercise beyond the ascertainable limits of documentary evidence. Since the present material does not lend itself to processing by operational formalisms (IV, 2, B), our theoretical frameworks will indicate some definable and even historically 'true' concepts and some tentatively reconstructed concepts between which all interrelations, also between one level and the next, have to be established intuitively (and, needless to say, provisionally). A further

consequence of the non-formalizable status is that all models presented will be exemplifications not definitions. There can be nothing but sets of open-masked, rather loose frameworks: at first one or several processing our intuition of data and events; thereupon, and seen through this or these, other sets gradually increasing in consistency in reconstructing historical complexities.¹³⁷ The entire system of frameworks has to be made consistent through the employment of commensurable conceptualizations and terminology: this is a precondition to the system's being analytically productive. The system will be analytically productive provided that (a) it can absorb new data or insights, (b) it can be modified, enlarged, or readapted at the intake of such resources, and (c) if, whenever by such an intake parts of it are disrupted, it still lends itself to repair and restoring of its consistency, and (d) if the system under the circumstances mentioned (a, b, c) is capable of generating theories that demand and can elaborate new empirical material.

3. Analytical Models

A. Survey

In this chapter I shall discuss interrelations and interactions between the concepts developed in Chapter 2 in order to identify their analytical potential. *First*, there are three models that describe the iconography and its systems involvement as seen from the viewpoint of formal authority: one displaying such types of meaning identities as are supposed to be relating the iconography to ritual functions; a second one putting these identities into the larger set of relationships between liturgy and liturgical sources; and a third model treating pictorial specifications of the first one (below: B). *Secondly*, two models will be addressed that concern meaning production in participants of situations involving some form of coordinated ritual and iconographic perception: one defining their 'field of action', the other one the related decision processes (below: C).

Through these five interrelated sets of parameters, which form such a 'loose' framework as was hinted at at the end of the preceding chapter, our reconstructive identification is structured with regard to 'basic' levels in an iconography (III, 3, D, b), message relevancy (III, 11), specificity of image conceptions (III, 10), of ritual values (III, 15), and of ritual impact and focus (III, 7, D; III, 9), i.e. the normative values and rule-structures with which varying relevant meaning systems interact.

B. Authority Conceptions

The first model, which considers iconography related to liturgical functionality, is a system consisting of three interacting identities of meaningfulness in regard to origin and goals of the liturgy in a (not 'the') canonically imposed perspective.

The first one of these identities is when the iconography represents the real or transcendent spatial presence of the prototype (Christ/God in Mass context, II, 2, E). The second is when the iconography represents the implied intervention and direct or indirect participation

in the rite of the prototype (Christ as High Priest at Mass; intercession by him and the saints participating in the heavenly liturgy). The third meaning relation obtains when the iconography represents terms of an analogy between the rite and some of its prototypes (offering at the heavenly altar of which the offering at the altar in the church building is a kind of contrapunctal reflexion; a triumphal ceremony reflective, e.g., of Christ's entry into Jerusalem).¹³⁸

To this threefold system, interpretable in various directions, we should attribute the role of a primary motivator and regulating force in iconographies of the sort examined in the present book. New demands and unexpected deviations from norms through history have quickly resulted in iconographical adjustments so as to keep the system in balance (we have seen a number of examples of this in Part III). The system is thus provided with adjusting feedback mechanisms.¹³⁹ It may be considered as a central constituent of a 'field of action' (below, C) in an official canonical concern with liturgical iconography: the scenario on which from this point of view various parameters in the venture are measured against fundamental norms and paramount goals.

Such a system and subsystems of it are fed with concepts and meaning from sources in a manner that may be described in terms of a larger system. From the point of view of formal liturgy, we consider three interrelated categories of sources for any chosen special liturgy: the Bible, literary (theological, liturgiological, legendary, etc.) and ritual Tradition and, as a formalized speciality of the latter, official Church statements on dogma, doctrine and liturgy. Any given special part of the liturgy chosen for attention, then, should be evaluated in the focus of these three interrelated sources.¹⁴⁰

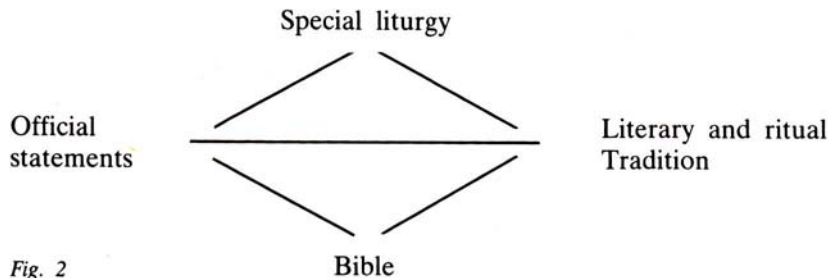


Fig. 2

The above model sets out the analytical framework for the formal prescriptive interpretation on the part of authorities, at any time or place, of any selected part of the liturgy, such as, say, the *Supra quae* of the Canon (II, 2, E). This interpretation, in turn, determines important elements and structures in the iconography. Now the very same

elements and structures are capable of being related to terms that are not necessarily liturgical (by direct reference to the Bible, the *Legenda aurea*, etc.); at least this is very often the case. But the crucial point is that the liturgy transforms sacramentally the space of performance and here expresses the same concepts at the formalized ritual level through consecrated word and action. Liturgical Tradition to some extent selects and imposes order with regard to the non-liturgical text sources.¹⁴¹ This is why we occasionally find a correspondence when we try to relate iconography directly to these sources. And for exactly the same reason we are just as often led astray in our attempts at a short-cut here.

We now need a concrete case of iconography that can be used for a specification of the terms in which the two above systems interact on the level of iconographical sense structures. E. H. Gombrich provides us with such a case by presenting the figure of 'God the Father' in Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece (Fig. 3).¹⁴²



Fig. 3

This figure, Gombrich claims, is a 'majestic ['würdevoll'] old man in royal and priestly splendour and crowned with the papal tiara'; consequently, 'it is obviously impossible to distinguish the contents of the symbol from the mode of its representation' ('den Inhalt des Symbols von der Art seiner Darstellung trennen zu wollen'). The painter and his commissioner must have been aware, Gombrich continues, that in no dogmatic terms is God an old bearded man; but a beautiful, majestic fatherly ruler of infinite splendour would provide a fitting metaphor (indeed: the 'passendste Metapher'). Now let it be clear firstly, that the figure does not look appreciably 'older' than any other *Christ* figure in contemporary painting; secondly, that representations of God as an old man are not a question of using a metaphor but on the contrary of representing a prophetic vision (the 'Ancient of days' in *Daniel*, 7). This is an alternative manner of representing God

to that of seeing him 'through' Christ (the latter directly as Incarnate, or through the Apocalyptic vision). Thirdly let it be noted that the Van Eyck figure is Christological. This enthroned person is wearing the papal vestments and tiara and imparts his blessing with his right hand. In his left hand he holds a sceptre, and a crown is placed on the ground in front of him. Inscriptions indicate both the first and second persons in the Trinity (and imply the third), and specific attributes such as, again royalty; while on the backcloth small patterns with the Pelican feeding its chicks off its blood (as in the liturgical hymn, 'Pie pelicane, Jesu Domine') emphasize the sacrificial aspect. The papal attirement recurs in roughly contemporary Trinity representations showing three seated male physiognomically identical persons (Fig. 3, with a drawing from Anna Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, London, 1885). One carries the cross, the central one wears papal vestments and the tiara, and the third holds the dove in his hand. It is important to note that all three figures are Christological in the sense of fixing on the likeness of Christ Incarnate, through whom also the persons of God and the Holy Spirit are seen: God by virtue of the 'through' mechanism referred to above (II, 2, E), the Holy Spirit by virtue of its proceeding from the Father and the Son. Christ is the High Priest¹⁴³ and the Head of the Church, and the papal attributes are suitable for emphasizing this and simultaneously leading on conceptually to the Father. Kingship also is a specifically Christological attribute, because Christ is, in Leclercq's paraphrase of medieval argumentation, 'Dieu tout-puissant et égal à son Père'.¹⁴⁴

Let us accept Gombrich's contention that the ultimate term of Van Eyck's enthroned figure is God the Father. After all, beneath it there are the figures of the Dove and the sacrificial Lamb on the altar. Focusing on that term, the iconography combines in a structure specific visual features that simulate, not indeed the prototypes themselves, but conceptualizations of them in the minds of authorities and onlooking participants (and ourselves). This structuring of visual features consists in a series of choices of relations to relevant concepts – and of discarding other specific alternatives at any point in the process (such as in the case of the Ancient of Days). This process can be described in terms of a tree that sets out the linkings to one another of visual features italicized on the model and concepts as expressed in the italicized words and the intermediary words on the tree (Fig. 4). The tree represents one main level of analysis, one of discrete entities consisting of visual features that in specific combinations bring out some concepts directly mapped over from themselves ('seated' + 'throne' → 'enthroned'; 'crown' + 'mantle' → 'regalia'), and some concepts generated by interaction between these concepts ('enthroned' + 'regalia' → 'king'; 'Christ' + 'Pelican' → 'sacrifice' → 'sacrament').

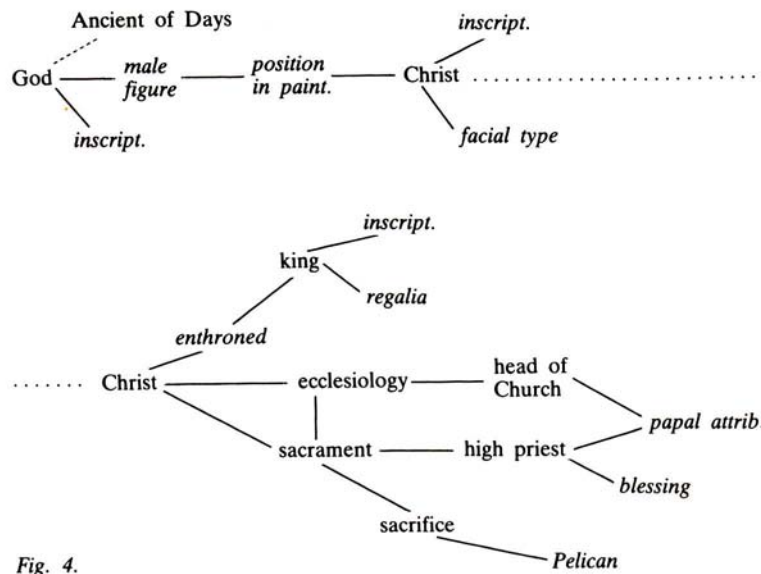


Fig. 4.

Here, symbol content and representation mode do appear to be interdistinguishable. Let us call the level we have just described, the sublevel of conceptual content. This contains specifications from the sublevel of operational contents, i.e., the tree again, but now in terms of alternative choices in operations or, if you like, of what to do and not to do. Reading the tree from left to right again, we have: choice of focus or goal conceptualization (God); upon discarding of an alternative (Ancient of Days), choice of typology (male; facial type; Head of Church; High Priest), localization (place), state (seated; blessing); identification (Christ); intermediate conceptualizations (ecclesiology; sacrament); attribution (papal attributes; crown), etc. The model sets out *our* analytical strategy. A reconstructive effort considering the creative strategy of the producing authorities, or the conceptualizing strategy of any contemporary onlooker, would consider 'God' as the conceptual focus and the intermediate conceptualizations as intended or individually conditioned meaning ascriptions.¹⁴⁵ The development of any model of this kind, which in each specific case involves a problem concerning the 'conceptual units' under analysis (III, 3, C), will interact with reconstructive efforts concerning 'basic' levels and scalar values in the iconographical build-up with regard to message efficiency (III, 3, D; III, 11).¹⁴⁶

slv

The system set out on its main level of discrete entities in the tree model, in its hardware as well as its software aspects, will have been accessible and relatively clear to any well-educated person at the time.

Others, with a less systematic and theoretical preparation, will have fixed their attention on some symbols, often for reasons not implied in the strategy of the system itself, but springing from social and environmental circumstances. The formal system, however, is part of and expresses properties of larger systems of values and behaviour, such as the liturgy and extensions from this. Such processes as this, in which these persons participate, produce self-identifying symbol structures, including iconographical ones like the Van Eyck tree. By fixation on some of these symbols and directly on some concepts in the overall system that comprises it (i.e., by fixation on a 'field of action', see below), the average participant intuitively perceives important properties in the structure behind the symbols, including some ones like those in the tree model: but perhaps in a partial and somewhat redistributed order and with integration of 'alien' elements (on different modes of understanding: IV, 2, C).

Reconstructive efforts on our part concerning such meaning systems are of primary importance for understanding the empirical data; for meaning systems, articulate or plain or fragmentary as they may come, provide a more powerful long-term storage of concepts in the minds of individual participants than do the 'pictures' themselves.

C. Participants' Perspectives

We may now address the question of the interpretative perspectives of participants, disregarding their status as authorities or members of a congregation, in iconography-involving situations.

A system like the one represented in the Van Eyck tree above has sufficient stability until it becomes the 'field of action' of users with novel requirements and is threatened by disbalance. It then adjusts itself. We see this, in long-time terms, when the 'enthronedness' of God started to be felt as something alien to the conceptualization of a celestial perspective. New criteria of visual realism, symptomatic also of contemporary science, found insufficient correspondence in the close-ups of a seated potentate (or of one staring at us from a stereotype circle) (Ill. 2). Then the alternative was chosen, that of the Ancient of Days from Daniel's vision, and God could be shifted quite literally into some natural looking heaven with clouds (cf. Ill. 23), where he could be contemplated free from distraction by the queer company of the Apocalyptic vision. Such a readjustment does not occur without having an effect on the entire system. Specific attributes had to go; the Christological features formerly included in one and the same figure had to be set out in other terms in diverse programme distributions in the liturgical space; and so on. A system readjustment

like this is what we are wont to call an historical 'development' (a very inappropriate term smacking of advance, improvement and biology).

Now let us address the question of the analytical coverage capacity of our argumentation so far, with regard to the 'real world'. We have to do with empirical historical material that is unresponsive to interviews, direct experimentation, and verification of predictions. However, even the results that have been achieved on modern material that is accessible to these techniques and criteria, appear to be relatively modest on two of the three levels that interest us. With regard to the sub-modality workings of the CNS, the recently developed constructs are suggestive enough, but hard to relate to the 'everyday' levels. A number of interesting results have been forthcoming with regard to our mind's elaboration of specifiable modality aspects such as visual representation of 'reality'.¹⁴⁷ But constructs on the third level and applicable to social and environmental interest, inclusive of the ritual forms, are easily rather too trustful of operational logic or too vague and non-analytical.

In a discussion of the question, 'How do pictures represent?', Max Black criticizes the following alternative explanations (and accepts some perspectives from them all, with reservations, as components to a sort of cluster concept):¹⁴⁸ 'aetiological' processes of tracing (with reference to Gombrich); information-theoretical embodiments of data (but the 'two senses of information have very little to do with one another'; again with reference to Gombrich); or semantic information theory (which turns out to be statements of range rather than of content); depiction as embodiment of the message producer's intention; depiction as 'illusion' (in Aristotelic-derived senses); and, finally, in terms of resemblance. To the last point Black comments:

What determines the choice of specific criteria of degree of resemblance in a particular case results from the overarching purpose of the particular process of matching or analogical comparison. . . . what counts as a sufficient degree of resemblance. . . is strongly determined by the overall purpose of the process.

Such, apparently, is also the general attitude of Julian Hochberg (as we noted above).¹⁴⁹ According to the latter, visual scanning of a picture is 'not randomly distributed, but rather. . . directed to bring the most informative parts of the picture to the fovea' (and guided by programmes alerted by peripheral vision). Abstraction, frequently studied in the form of caricature, will in its turn stimulate visual perception and attention, while, according to Bartlett's study of 1932, people observing an 'abstract' natural shape like a human face will tend mentally to normalize it, generally in the direction of what Hochberg labels its 'canonical form'.¹⁵⁰ According to Lipps's notion of 'empathy', resuscitated by Gombrich, striking or meaningful attitudes in

pictorial representations of humans will to some extent programme interior systems in onlookers towards some amount of readiness to assume comparable attitudes: the ritual attitude of a depicted person stimulates ritual behaviour in the spectator.

If we postulate that the above 'rules' work in combination, then the effectiveness of an image with regard to cognitively acceptable 'real-world' relevance and 'realism' must depend on complex patterns of cultural data. Explanation of artistic 'abstraction' in general stylistic paradigms is inadequate or, at least, insufficient; most particularly so in a liturgical situation in which the focus is on a truth that is present and which is truer than any wordly reality. If we compare the rather rigid attitudes of worship assumed by the two front figures in Titian's Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21) with the dynamic movement of the devotee in Titian's painting at Genua (Ill. 20), argumentation in terms of style would close the debate rather than give it a good start. It is obvious that the two types of configuration represent two different expressions of worshipping fervor, but it is far from obvious that either of them, for instance the 'dynamic' one, is more emotionally laden than the other: this problem also applies to rigid attitudes in much earlier cases (Ill. 12). Apparently 'period' or an artist's inclinations (or 'influence') are hardly of primary interest here; while attachment to meaning systems is.

In order to establish tentatively a connexion to what I referred to as the level of environmental and social specificities, let us ask whether an individual in Titian's Venice might feel different kinds of relevance in the two alternative representations of ritually attentive attitudes. He would face the paintings in two different kinds of places; the Genua one in a private home (and, most likely, on a wall and not above an altar), and the Pesaro Madonna, as we have seen, above an important altar in a church. It is no use postulating that each kind of worship attitude depicted is an exclusive reflexion of each type of site respectively, a private place and a public and sacramental place. It would be futile to set up simple functions between art forms and types of ambience or social or other such generic categories, unless these be systematically analysed, in which case the functions would not be simple any longer. But we will postulate that the more rigid attitude in the Pesaro Madonna, especially with regard to the two worshipping foreground figures, would be particularly apt to alert in contemporary (sixteenth-century) worshippers facing the picture, notions that are central to the ritual systems which intersect conceptually in the painting as a whole. In general, it is axiomatic that any adult person at the time would somehow conceive of an important connexion between the liturgical offering as a reiteration (a short-hand term, but hardly accurate) of Christ's self-offering (as represented by the cross being

carried up by the two angels) and the offering on the part of political society (III, 13, B).

With this in mind, let us see how an average onlooker might make further connexions by virtue of his being used to participate in and his having accumulated systems of meaning from specific interrelated activities in contemporary life. He takes part more or less regularly in the Mass ritual. He has also regularly been a spectator to or has even participated in Venetian State rituals and felt that he had a share in them: that in fact they represented him as a citizen and were designed for salvific purposes concerning himself both as an individual and as a member of Church and State. He may not have been, at least in any systematic manner, aware of or particularly interested in the ideological connotations and politico-religious functions of the public rites and of the official apparatus and symbols developed for their performance. But the same rites, in certain strategical roles and at strategical points of procedure, make a display of symbols that in a more or less direct way represent these notions and claims. The public and ritual site of the Pesaro painting and the official symbols included in it (papal banner; official status of Pesaro as statesman and military leader, etc.) alert the onlooker to linking up intuitively (if not in terms of conceptual understanding: IV, 2, C) what he sees in the picture with other symbols that have alerted him on comparable occasions, e.g., when he has been witnessing or taking part in State processions and other rituals which, as they all were, were focused on Mass.

An example of such a symbol in the painting is the military banner with the large papal Borgia and the small Pesaro arms. According to sources I have published elsewhere, Venetian military banners were consecrated in a symbolic offering at the high altar of San Marco, the State church.¹⁵¹ The six banners of the Republic (reserved for State use), one of which was transferred from 'St. Mark' in the person of the Primicerio of the Church to the newly-elected doge at the latter's investiture at the high altar in San Marco, were carried in State processions. According to the official myth, they were 'papal' in the sense of having been bestowed upon the Republic by Alexander III in the 1170s in recognition of Venice's rescue of the papacy. A banner or 'vexillum' is an iconographical feature and should be analysed accordingly. In the present case it is 'a banner', and hence rich in politico-religious connotations; it is the banner of a pope, and hence laden with the usual Venetian loyalty-connotations; it is a banner of Alexander VI Borgia (died 1503), the would-be crusader pope of recent years and protector of the holy places; it is a banner of a papal general, Jacopo Pesaro, and bears the latter's arms in token of personal and 'feudal' loyalty to the papacy and to Venice's commitments; it is a banner of a victorious *miles christianus* and is crowned by a twig of

laurel (*not* olive). The banner is all these sorts of banner, and it is now being offered up to the heavenly powers – as were all military banners upon their consecration.

Thus in viewing the Pesaro painting the individual in question would be faced by a rich register of symbols which belong to large and complex interacting systems of ritually sustained and religiously, socially and politically produced meaning. He need not necessarily have been analytically conscious or conceptually aware of these systems as coherent structures. But the painting has placed before his eyes some symbols he is used to seeing, in one form or another, on various occasions of undoubtedly vital importance to him as an individual and as a citizen and, above all, as a 'viator' on his way towards Paradise. The painting has alerted in him an intuitive feel of important reality; the painting serves as a reinforcement of intuitively construed meaning or, above the average level of individual understanding, of systematically acquired meaning structures.

A participant's conceptual scenario with its meaning ascriptions, on which he focused in a particular situation, would to some extent seem to correspond, rather as an extension, to MacKay's term of an individual's 'field of action': the set of objects and concepts subjected to a participant's focusing processes (by attention, interest and competence) in which the individual in a particular situation brings about changes through her or his meaning production.¹⁵² The point is that the meaning-ascribing action is interest-driven and competence-regulated, that it is seen in the perspectives of individual participants (usually: types of them), and that their meaning-creative roles, e.g., as 'planner' and 'user', often intersect with one another. Biographical distinctions like 'patron and painter' should not be allowed to obscure the overarching importance of individuals as representatives of social and environmental systems in terms of which specific fields of action do not necessarily match biographical role-patterns.

D. Situational Perspectives

The formation of relevant meaning for the partners involved in an iconographical venture also has to be viewed in terms of individual processes that embrace cognitively the entire situation and its participants (this 'completeness', of course, is an analytical one). No attempt will be made to describe in detail such a complete model or to suggest alternative formulations of it (which are clearly numerous). Let it suffice, for want of an extensive monographical discourse, to suggest the principal parameters. Here, we have to do with individuals in terms of role-sets (not necessarily identical with biographical individuals), and with important perspectives of typical partners.

A 'planner's' perspective should describe his field of action with regard to the building-up of an iconographical 'tree' (see above B) and its implications, as related to interest and competence. Here, the parameters may be, just to exemplify a few of them, goals and expected ideological or social benefits as balanced against acceptable disadvantages, expenditure, etc.; roughly, a cost-benefit evaluation on quantitative and qualitative levels. Secondly, the planner's perspective should include goals as well as predictions with regard to ritual and contributive participation and reactions on the part of other persons or groups involved, i.e., co-planners (including the artist or artists) and users. Both perspectives will be affected by the planner's 'contextual mapping' between normative prevision and explorative prevision (III, 13, A). Thirdly, the two perspectives I have indicated here should be related to the planning process and participation in it. Modern 'complete' planning models, in my experience from architecture, have revealed themselves as extremely useful as analytical frameworks for *retrospective* description of planning processes; by formulating optimal planning processes, they clearly set out all sorts of imaginable factors and relationships between them, thus providing us with a useful tool for handling retrospectively planning processes, which in our analysis will appear more restricted, so as to become comprised by the larger prospective ones.

A 'user's' perspective should consider the individual's conception of the 'tree' (see above, B) he is presented with, in terms of his own field of action and interest and competence; his evaluation of the planner's intentions and action; and his self-identification related to behaviour patterns (including rites) and reactions in the other participants.

We thus have to do with situational perspectives, and it behoves us to bring them into consonance with the general idea of systems that has determined the argumentation of the present work.

A situation can be described as a set of time-dimensioned relations between the specific perspectives proposed here (or typologies of them) and systems of iconography like the tree discussed previously. Planner as well as user will evaluate their own roles within the situation. In the present context we can analytically envisage a system where the following entities are interrelated with one another: the subject himself, call him A; at least one other individual, B (or group typology, etc.); the ritual (liturgical) system (as in Fig. 2: IV, 3, B) and its systems connexions with the environment; special value systems (theology, politics, organizational goals, etc.); spatial conditions; and the specific iconography under examination. Some types of decision parameters with regard to the iconography have been listed in Part III in the present book.

A social system has been described as 'the "patterning" of

relationships between individuals or collectives',¹⁵³ and we should continue: involving also meaning-carrying phenomena in the visual world (without which, quite frankly, it is hard to see how a social theory could function anyway). Furthermore, 'Social systems (and overall societies, as encompassing types of social system) consist of reproduced relationships between individuals and (or) collectives [again, let us add: involving. . ., as above]. As such, social systems have always been treated as situated in time-space'; while ' "structure" refers to rules and resources [see our note 64] instantiated in social systems. . .'. Churchman, however, affirms that 'all definers would agree that a system is a set of parts coordinated to accomplish a goal', and the goal-dimension is surely implied in the systems conception just cited.¹⁵⁴ For our specific concern it is essential. The goal-factor implies the time-dimension and situational instantiation of a system. As I have insisted previously, it is useless to pretend that in such contexts the biographical individual NN with his birth certificate, income, etc., can serve as an analytical entity: situational, such as changing environment, modifications of goals, etc., impinge upon a person's conceptual and behavioural constitution at a given moment just as much as a specific individuality preserved through time. I cannot but subscribe to the project towards integration of macro-levels and micro-levels presented in the publication edited by Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel and referred to in note 55. As the former affirms, 'there appears to be no theoretical justification for taking the individual for granted as a simple, elementary unit of social action'. Rather, she continues, the corresponding unit (which I prefer to label 'social individual') is 'a multiplicity of selves constituted in communicative interaction', and 'Today we are confronted with the notion of multiple identities which appear to be insulated rather than to be functionally integrated into just one person, or one individuality'. 'Macro-phenomena are made up from *aggregations* and *repetitions* of many micro-episodes' (citing Collins in the same publication):

If there is today a social unit emerging from micro-sociological research which is considered relevant to macro-social phenomena, it is the *episode of situated interaction* (including routine). . . ; [so that,] the dichotomy between action and structure has been dissolved as a theoretically significant dimension of the micro-macro problem.

Perhaps it may be adequate to sum up by saying that the systems concept has so to speak penetrated the individual and turned it into a situational typology. Such a person's 'field of action' (above, C) is the scenario on which the person identifies conceptually and behaviourally a goal-related construct of instant reality: on which, for example, the person processes those features in an iconography and such of its possible relations to surroundings as suit his orientation and position

within a given situation of which he is himself an attribute. As pointed out by Cicourel in the above-cited publication (in Knorr-Cetina's summary): 'Social situations may not have a natural beginning and an end, thus forcing the researcher to choose an arbitrary cutting point. . . Furthermore, it is clear that members themselves selectively organize and draw upon their "environment".' Consequently, I should say, a situation cannot be defined from outside – except of course in analytical and hence illusory terms: it is a cognitive and behavioural construct that we have to attribute reconstructively to the 'actor' or participant in those activities that attract our interest.

Add: coercion, obligations, constraints.

4. Description Once More

It follows from the above argumentation that any piece of empirical material will require not one but several descriptions that are not mutually exclusive. In a literary study, attention to the same sort of problem has been admirably expressed by Herbert Lindenberger (1963) in his book, *On Wordsworth's Prelude*.¹⁵⁵ His study, he says in a foreword with the suggestive title 'Ways of looking',

does not seek to propound a thesis, nor does it work toward any one conclusion. It is, rather, an attempt to illuminate a single major literary work from a number of points of view. . . it is essentially a series of related essays, each designed to approach the poem from a single direction, and each, in turn, complementary to and sometimes even corrective of the others.

I shall take these words as an encouragement to face the reader's dismay at seeing that once more I undertake to describe Titian's Pesaro Madonna (Ill. 21). I shall limit myself to indicating, on the basis of my above comments on the painting, some further directions for description; a description that is (in my view) justified, if incomplete, by the argumentation and concepts developed in Parts III and IV: but in which the same concepts and the relevant terminology need not always be expressed in the technical vocabulary. The description furthermore is introductory and simplified in the sense that the evaluative patterns emerging from it are presented as if they were permanent wholes: whereas, in fact, situational perspectives would break them up and shake the conceptual units into less 'complete' and endurable clusters of constructs.

Most of the figures and features, of course, play several roles simultaneously. In terms of elementary iconography, all the figures and other features fill central liturgy-related roles so as to make up an entirely traditional whole (III, 3, D, c, i and ii). Allegorization in 'external' terms (*ibid.*, iv) is simple, efficient and quite normal for Venice, and consists mainly in the historical and biographical references, and, indeed, in the fact that all the devotees are male and the adults among them (by definition) belong to the ruling set of optimates

in the Venetian Republic, so that there is a clear connection with State rituals.

From the point of view of the Franciscans of the Frari Church, interest would quite naturally focus primarily on the elementary concepts referred to above, and, furthermore, on others that were allusive to their traditional role not only as active members of the Roman Church but even, ever since the beginning of their Order, as a spearhead movement for the papacy. The anti-Lutheran display of the sacrificial character of the Mass would belong to this field of interest. The papal standard with the arms of Pope Alexander VI Borgia would be much to the point. He may have been ill-famed for collaborating with the Ottoman Turks, but this could be counterbalanced by his reputation for crusading zeal. Moral character or political actions could not impinge upon the papal office as such and certainly not upon sacramental validity: he remained a Christian priest not an *imam*. Educated people would see this point. As we noted above, belief in the Immaculate Conception (not yet a dogma), was a favourite subject among the Franciscans (and the Pesaro altar was dedicated to it). So were missions abroad, in Palestine and elsewhere. St. Francis himself went to Egypt in 1219 on an abortive missionary venture. The Franciscans had, since the days of Robert of Anjou, been custodians of the Holy Sepulchre (and the cross in the painting would remind them of this).

The Pesaro painting must have been interesting to the Franciscans also because of the social and economic attraction of the whole enterprise, including, of course, the altar beneath it. The altar was a rentable affair on account of not only the Indulgences but also the 'Gregorian' Masses (see below). The Friars' traditional association with the ruling class in Venice was advantageous to both. Friar-sponsored family rites were attractive to people and a contribution to keeping the entire social and hence to some extent the political system in balance.

The Pesaro family will most likely have started out from the regard that was expected of them for the elementary concepts referred to above. In addition to the crusading implications in the warlike allegory, there is one particular that is derived from classical numismatics and restated in feudal patterns related to the concept of the 'miles christianus'. It is the notion of a soldier leading captives forward to the seat of the emperor; or to the throne of God and his saints. We have noted the political message in the all-male ritual presentation and have referred to the Roman orthodoxy of official Venice. The painting thus spells out an ecclesiological-political ideology of a patrician family with defined political status quite in conformity with the thematics of contemporary political-ritual oratory in government practice.¹⁵⁶

It would seem then, that the case involves enough concepts to make up a common ground of interest for the Franciscans and the Pesaro family, while at the same time the special concern of the two contracting partners was satisfactorily taken care of. Specific family rites are a question of give and take in transcendental values, money and prestige. In addition to the celebration of the Immaculate Conception (8 December), there was the Mass for the Dead on November 2nd. The altar was a 'Gregorian' one and served for long series of Masses for the dead far beyond the date of November 2nd, and including also prayers for the living, with a great giving of alms to the church (in some churches up to over 40 Masses daily). As a compromise between the contracting partners, the somewhat unusual mode for a liturgical image of placing the throne sideways in relation to the worshippers in front of the altar, could become viable: by combining two traditional structures, the sideways composition of devotional imagery (cf. Ill. 20) and the composition in which the principal saint faced the congregation (Ill. 11).

In less sophisticated paradigms the matter must have looked otherwise. The elementary understanding I have tried to outline above, and normal catechismal teaching and missionary work among the people, in which the Franciscans were very active, could hardly give much help in sorting out the priorities in the complicated painting beyond the essentials. It is no use trying to be definite about the supposed relationship between a general popularity and attraction of the Virgin and ups and downs in the popularity of the other depicted saints in accordance with the liturgical year, individual inclinations, and so on. None among the depicted figures was reputedly miraculous, and any attention pattern there may have been escapes our analysis. On the other hand the Mariological feast of the Immaculate Conception, complete with Indulgences, must have brought the figure of the Virgin somewhat into the foreground. She was highest protector of the Venetian Republic next to Christ; the city, according to official mythology, was founded on Annunciation Day; and the Nicopeia icon of her at San Marco did count as miraculous and was invoked and carried in procession in times of distress.

The many other protective aspects we have noted in the painting point themselves out as being, probably, central to popular understanding. The 'Turk' in particular must have had a role to play here. Popular conceptions of this captive must have been stimulated not only by the missionary and crusading notions we have noted already, but also by the common infection of 'Turkish fear', in view of the fact that the Ottomans were advancing in those days and captured Belgrade in 1521 ('Mamma! li Turchi!').¹⁵⁷

In Venice, liturgy in the churches and especially in the State church

of San Marco, political rites of passage and State ceremonies involving religious and para-religious insignia and symbols, were interconnected on many levels. The different social classes and corporations were variously associated with this system through specific forms and graded frequency of attention and participation. Against this background, contemporary people of high competence would have recognized connotation to a threefold system in the Pesaro painting. First, the absolutely fundamental notions of the liturgical rite of the Mass sacrifice, and of the public rite of offering victory symbols contributive to it and extending from it; a system implying the second one: the rite displaying State, public and private submission to and claim of protection from the celestial powers. This in turn implies the third one, a rite of confirmation of Venetian loyalty to Orthodoxy in faith and to Papal Rome, most specifically so in terms of emphasis of the sacrificial nature of Mass (against the Northern Reformers), a reinforcement of a theme that connects this rite to the first one and closes the circuit of the self-referring system. It is a matter of further debate whether in relation to this system the spatial address of the obliquely placed throne with the Virgin and Child is problematic at all (i.e., to anyone to whom such a self-referring system is accessible). The painter at least had problems, and he remade the depicted architecture four times around the present figure arrangement; and the definitive solution that we see today may have been well beyond the conception of the unsophisticated. There are sufficient architectural affinities between the depicted architecture and that of the marble frame and the stone columns in the nave of the church to suggest some modality of spatial coherence. But the relationship is a problematic one. The big columns in the painting and in the nave seem clearly associated, but in between them there are the slender colonnettes of the frame. The pictorial stage in the painting is out of axis in relation to the nave (and the position of nave columns and frame colonnettes favour a view straight in front of the altar painting) and also, of course, to the altar itself. To people used to altar painting in which the architecture was related axially to the nave in terms of direction and unification, the new construction must have come as a shock, perhaps a pleasantly sophisticated experience to some. Conflicting perceptual situations obtain that must have taken great refinement to handle cognitively. There are, in the full liturgical and theological senses of the world, two absolute realities on either side of the architectural barrier: the real one at the altar during Mass, and the depicted one referring to the plane of the celestial liturgy. Pictorial devices have made the visual jump from one to the other an acutely cognitive one.

This is as far as I intend to carry description at this stage. It is not meant to be conclusive or exclusive but to concretize the problems of

analytical methodology examined in the present book. The point is that analysis and description is never complete, a fact we should face in the spirit of Henry James when he speaks of the writing artist:

Really, universally, relations end nowhere, and the exquisite problem of the artist is eternally but to draw, by a geometry of his own, the circle within which they shall happily *appear* to do so (Preface to *Roderick Hudson*).

5. Conclusion

The 'anthology' method, that of basing theory and analysis on scattered pickings from heterogeneous materials, tends to be, in my view, rather ineffective, even when relying on extreme erudition in fields like the classics and psychology, because fragmentary material torn out of context is deprived of what little power of resistance against our efforts it may have possessed. The present contribution recommends itself simply and solely because it tries out analysis method on a relatively homogeneous material. A next stage should consist in reworking these parameters and perspectives on a large, well-documented material. Now, what is 'documentation'? It is superfluous to insist on the necessity of documentation in the trivial sense of the word, but less obvious to everybody that this sort of documentation, in order to be meaningful, must be placed in some large, systemically conceived, scenario. Articulate analytical constructs are just as indispensable sources and statements of facts as documents in writing.¹⁵⁸

Traditionally the art-historical profession and university teaching create broad theoretical constructs all the time and put great faith in them after having reduced them to simple one-way relationships of mapping between *materialia* like 'pictures', 'buildings' and 'artists'. The notions of 'artistic development' and 'influence' are examples of such constructs. They look reliable and smack of 'fact' precisely because their complex theoretical foundations are but rarely exposed in any articulate manner, and the question is hardly ever raised with regard to differences in viewpoints between types of participants in an historical situation and the scholar herself or himself. This is the more distressing as we are apparently moving into a society that will have little need for a scholarship that is not primarily tuned in on the raising and solving of problems on levels of theory and analysis.

Art history is one of the few fields in Western scholarship in which it is still today a matter of argument whether such concepts as 'theory' and 'system' are alien or not. This may be partly due to the fact that the profession is concerned with 'objects' that can be seen and described 'directly', as indeed they can:¹⁵⁹ but all description is nevertheless theory laden; description and theory are not different kinds of logical processes.¹⁶⁰ The aversion against systemic argumentation and the feeling that it is utterly 'unartistic' have been sharpened by the many well-intended attempts at introducing formalisms from information

theory into a material that is most certainly unresponsive to them. But again there is some sort of system lurking behind every cognitive operation on a complex material, and it must be a relevant task to bring it to the surface, even if the fundamentally provisional nature of any 'fact' becomes glaringly evident. In a metascientific context it has been claimed for historiography as well as for physics that 'the important thing is systematization and that explanation. . . is but a by-product of systematization' (Radnitzky).¹⁶¹ ʘ

The active researcher cannot avoid to apply theories and to adopt, explicitly or implicitly, some theoretical position. The theory-builder cannot avoid to adopt some metascientific position, e.g. in connection with the appraisal of competing knowledge-systems, explanatory patterns, etc. The metascientific position in turn will be anchored in some philosophical groundplan, even if the latter is not articulated. Methodological or philosophical positions may be more or less adequate; in that they are on a par with scientific theories. The only general method of improving them or replacing a given one by a better one, is the practice of criticism of rival positions. Thus attention to metascientific criticism is indispensable for the active researcher.

To say this is not to advocate the dethroning of creative imagination and intuition, which have always been recognized in the allegedly 'hard sciences'.¹⁶² 'Hermeneutics' is not reserved for nor a privilege of the humanities.¹⁶³ There is some truth in the following remark from the biologist Paul Weiss: '. . . nobody who followed the scientific method ever discovered anything interesting'; a statement that should be qualified by the observation that systematical methodology is intended to bring out more articulately the topography of intuition's field of action. The anthropologist F. M. Keesing, in quoting Weiss, concluded that 'The role of insight and intuition, rather than rigorous induction from "the data" is increasingly clear'.¹⁶⁴ It has been clear for a long time, even in mathematics: 'L'imagination dans un Géomètre [read: mathematician] qui crée, n'agit pas moins que dans un Poète, qui invente' (Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Esprit, maximes et principes*, Geneva, 1789). And this is what a modern physicist has to say:

The great need now is for concern with systems of greater complexity, for methods dealing with complicated nature. . . The artist has long been making meaningful and communicable statements, if not always precise ones, about complex things. If new methods, which will surely owe something to aesthetics, should enable the scientist to move into more complex fields, his area of interest will approach that of the humanist.¹⁶⁵

And indeed, computer science has caused the mathematical sciences to engage themselves increasingly in the problems of the mind in its creative and symbol-elaborating aspects. There is a unifying force in present-day research which is generated by the systems idea and is directed by striving for analytical truth as the only relevant one. Once more, we seem to enter an era of unified science. In this perspective perhaps we will study 'art' rather than 'art history'.

180 ʘ Ph. Kitcher, *The Nature of Mathematical Knowledge*, Oxf. 1984, pp. 217f.

Notes

- o = ex libr. S-L 1984. x = 1975 or later.
- o 1 Chr. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, Birmingham Byzantine Series, I, London, 1982, p.31. This important book, which is sure to provide a new and firmer basis for the study of Byzantine style, gives a thorough historical survey of liturgical vestments and rites in the Byzantine Church as these are depicted in monumental and manuscript painting. Here, as elsewhere, Walter has to some extent exploited semiology for vocabulary and analysis enrichment. Lazarev speaks of the cultural and artistic life dominated by a conservative and extremely stable aristocracy, which upheld ancient traditions, among them 'Hellenism', as their symbol of permanence ('zenit starye tradizii, i poetomu v jejo glasakh ellenism imeet sovershenno osobuio privilekatel'nost', poskolku on assoziirujetsja so slavnym i velikim proshlim romeev', V. N. Lazarev, *Istorija visantiiskoi zhivopisi*, History of Byzantine Painting, Moscow, 1947, pp.13 ff.).
 - o 2 R. Terner, 'Bemerkungen zur "Madonna des Kanonikus van der Paele"', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 42, 1979, p.83.
 - o 3 Cf., e.g., 'parata sedes tua', Offertorium of the (former) Christmas Mass (for Nativity), and 'justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae'; participation in the celestial liturgy is a consequence of a favourable judgement: the two themes are closely interconnected.
 - o 4 For the following information, see S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, Westminster (MD), 1960, pp.54 ff., 412.
 - o 5 Cf. my article 'A re-reading of the Sistine Ceiling', *Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, IV, 1969, pp. 143-157.
 - o 6 Academic and other institutions are, of course, a factor here; cf. what Lindenberger has to say about literature: 'It would be comforting to think that at least certain activities within that large domain constituting literary study would remain immune to the pressures of changing institutional situations. . . . Since our critical predications often need to sound like eternal truths, to assure a receptive response, it is rare for a critic to admit to the institutional contingencies that surround his statement.' (H. Lindenberger, 'Criticism and Its Institutional Situations', Paul Hernadi (ed.), *What is Criticism?*, Bloomington (Ind.), 1981, p.222).
 - o 7 Astrology led to astronomy, but then astrology was systematical. I am sure readers will find inconsistencies in my theoretical argumentation; then let me take courage in the affirmation that 'the desire to modify theories because of inconsistency has been an important factor in bringing progress' (W. H. Newton-Smith, *The Rationality of Science*, London, 1981, p.128 - in a polemic against Feyerabend); the question remains whether my contribution will hold under the further perspective: 'Inconsistent theories have brought progress through their development into consistent theories'.
 - o 8 Part II is an outline considered necessary for the argument in Part III. Statements in Part II are undocumented; the reader is referred to *Bibliography 1-4*.
 - o 9 An excellent presentation of 'narrative' introduced into an altarpiece: J. Gardner, 'The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the narrative Altarpiece', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1982, pp.217-247, esp. p.245. This contribution on the painting

- by Giotto could provide a basis for a further and much needed discussion of the interface between 'narrative' and ritual. One might discuss the contention that the painting was 'profoundly innovative in that its subject was a narrative and not of the life of Christ or Mary but of Francesco Bernardone who died in 1226' (p.245); for clearly Christ is the principal protagonist in the painting – as he is in comparable representations of the Conversation of Saul, or in his appearance to saints in early Roman mosaics (e.g., at Santi Cosma e Damiano), or bestowing the keys to St. Peter (Santa Costanza) or the wreath of martyrdom on a martyr (Sant'Agnese: with the hand of Divinity bestowing the wreath). In the Giotto painting, the crucified Christ appears with the six wings of a seraph: as stated again and again in Christian Tradition, the various classes of bodyless spirits: angels, cherubim, etc., acted as messengers or agents for the manifestation of God (or Christ) before mankind.
- 10 Buoncompagno, *Candelabrum eloquentiae*, chapter 'De tumulorum ornamentis', see F. Burger, *Geschichte des florentinischen Grabmals*, Strasbourg, 1904, pp.20ff.
 - 11 E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, London and New York, 1939, Introduction.
 - 12 E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting. An Illustrated Index*, Florence, 1949, reprint New York, 1976.
 - 13 F. Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, New York, 1969.
 - 14 U. Schlegel, 'Observations on Masaccio's Trinity', *The Art Bulletin*, 1963, pp.19ff.
 - 15 Vsevolod Setchkarev, *Gogol. His Life and Works*, New York, 1965.
 - 16 For Longi's approach, see E. Hüttinger, 'Pluralismo di stili nell'opera de Roberto Longhi. Un tentativo di storiografia dell'arte', *Paragone/Arte*, January, 1976, pp.12-39.
 - 17 The case is discussed in my 'La "Madone stylite" di Giorgione', *Giorgione, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Castelfranco Veneto, May 1978, pp.285-291.
 - 18 Chr. H. McCorkel, 'The Role of the Suspended Crown in Jan van Eyck's Madonna and Chancellor Rolin', *The Art Bulletin*, 1976, p.518.
 - 19 M. B. McNamee, 'The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, 1972, p.263.
 - 20 F. Beissner, *Der Erzähler Franz Kafka*, Stuttgart, 1952, pp.11ff.
 - 21 Hartt, *History*, see note 13.
 - 22 A. Plogsterth, 'A Reconsideration of the Religious Iconography in Hartt's *History of Italian Renaissance Art*', *The Art Bulletin*, 1975, pp.433ff. Several among Plogsterth's allegations against Hartt are incorrect (such as her claim that the Sacrament was used for blessing only by the sixteenth century; it was quite usual in the fourteenth).
 - 23 For an example of the issue, see the discussion of St. Ambrose's conception of Christ as an image of God, in G. Francesconi, *Storia e simbolo. 'Mysterium in figura': la simbolica storico-sacramentale nel linguaggio e nella teologia di Ambrogio di Milano*, Brescia, 1981, pp.105-142, esp. pp.117ff; also on 'similitudo', 'figura', 'typus', 'umbra' and 'species'.
 - 24 We need the assistance of experts to see what is specific about a text, lest we either fall into the trap of over-interpretation or that of under-interpretation, as in the following case. In his 'The liturgical function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel', *Mitteil. des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 1978, pp.295ff., L. D. Ettlinger presents a psalterium in the following terms: 'The character of these prayers may be gauged from two examples, the prayers following psalms I and III. They are always preceded by the indication [the technical term is 'rubric']: Oratio . . .', and the two examples are quoted, followed by this conclusion: 'All prayers in one form or another ask God for salvation and some refer to the Resurrection. . . others, like the Requiem Mass, refer to the *Lux aeterna*. . . It is obvious that all these prayers were written with intercession for the living and the dead in mind.' The conclusion is too general: it either holds for any prayer whatever, or for all memorial contexts, of which the Medici funerary chapel is one case. (Moreover, Christ, not the 'Madonna' is 'the most important intercessor for their souls'.)

- 25 G. B. Ladner, 'Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison', *Speculum*, 54, 1979, pp.223-256. For liturgical allegorism see Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, my *Bibliography 4*. In literature: G. Clifford, *The Transformation of Allegory*, London, 1974. x
- 26 References in my article 'Some observations on liturgical imagery of the twelfth century', *Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, VIII, Rome, 1978, pp.193-212. x
- 27 References in my 'Some observations', above, note 26.
- 28 An example in my forthcoming 'The "Paradise" Controversy. A Note on Argumentation', *Interpretazioni veneziane. Studi in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, New York and Venice, 1984, ed. D. Rosand. x
- 29 References concerning San Clemente in my article 'Some observations', see above, note 26. Cf. also the notion that the Church was conceived 'from the beginning'.
- 30 Acts 1 : 11 and liturgical texts. For the 'glory' image with ref. to Acts 1 : 11, as one of presence, see my *Christ in the Council Hall, Studies in the religious iconography of the Venetian Republic = Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, v, Rome, 1974, p.114, and my 'Some observations', as cited above, note 26, and my 'Titian's Triumph of Faith and the medieval tradition of the Glory of Christ', *Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, 1975. In his review of a book by Y. Christe, Christopher Walter makes the point with ref. to Acts 1 : 11, that 'Christ was deliberately represented in the same way whether he appeared as the object of a vision or ascending into heaven or returning at the End of time': *Révue des études byzantines*, 33, 1975, p. 331. The idea seems to be that the focus is on the liturgical presence as implying the notions just mentioned. x
- 31 For the iconography, see my article 'La Pala dei Pesaro e la tradizione dell'immagine liturgica', *Tiziano e Venezia. Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia, 1976*, Venice, 1980, pp.201-206. (This gives me an opportunity to substitute 'polari' for 'popolari' on p. 204, second column). x
- 32 M. Mallory, 'An Early Quattrocento Trinity,' *The Art Bulletin*, 1966, pp.85f.
- 33 K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton (NJ), 1970, pp.130-173.
- 34 By a strict definition, a synoptical inscription is one that does not quote word for word from liturgical and/or biblical texts. However, small alterations in the quotation of sources can occur because of variations between versions, or slight or unimportant variations can have simply crept into an intended 'correct' rendering. There are also cases when a correct quotation is enveloped into explanatory context, as in the following one: instead of Rev. 21 : 2, 'Et ego Ioannes vidi sanctam civitatem, Ierusalem novam, descendentem de caelo a Deo', we have 'Ubi angelus Domini ostendit sanctum Ioannem [sic!] civitatem sanctam Hierusalem novam descendentem de caelo' (Valenciennes, Apocalypse, ms. 99, fol. 38'). So there is no need for a strict definition.
- 35 Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy (Bibliography 4)*. pp.45ff.
- 36 My article cited above, note 30, provides the fullest analysis so far of this and other inscriptions involved in the woodcut series.
- 37 References in my article 'St Peter's Chair in Venice', L. Sandler and M. Barash (eds.), *Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, New York, 1981, pp.35-50. x
- 38 E. M. Vetter, 'Das Triumphkreuz Bischof Krummedicks im Lübecker Dom', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40, 1977, pp.115-134. x
- 39 The following notes are based on manuscript sources which will be published by the author.
- 40 Such an attempt – in disregard of functional problems – is made by E. G. Dotson, 'An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling', *The Art Bulletin*, 1979, pp.223-256, 405-429. x
- 41 A good example is excellently treated in J. Gardner, 'Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella', *Art History*, 2, 1979, pp.107-38. b

- 42 The concept is discussed, however in an apologetical context, in De Lubac, *Méditation (Bibliography 2)*.
- 43 Perhaps the most important public procession in Venice; unaccountably left unmentioned in E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981. Documentation in my *Christ in the Council Hall*, cited above, note 30. X
- 44 J. Balogh in a review in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1971, pp.300f.
- 45 The fresco decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence, is so arranged as to provide a correct view for onlookers standing outside the grille separating the chapel itself from the transept: see J. Gardner, 'The decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 34, 1971, pp.89-114.
- 46 See Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia (Bibliography 4)*, II, pp. 130ff. and 173ff.; also Hall, 'The Tramezzo' (*Bibliography 6*).
- 47 S. Sandström, *Levels of Unreality*, Uppsala, 1963.
- 48 References in my 'Some observations', above, note 26.
- 49 G. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an der Messliturgie im Frankenreiche von Clodwig bis auf Karl den Grossen*, Innsbruck, 1930. New perspectives in this connection in R. Volp (ed.), *Zeichen. Semiotik in Theologie und Gottesdienst*, Berlin, 1982, especially Part II, with contributions by various authors on 'Gottesdienst als Zeichenprozess. Analysen'. Y
- 50 E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'Hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement*, Paris, 1926.
- 51 But such contingencies are uppermost in the considerations of Ellert Dahl, O. P., in his 'Heavenly images. The statue of St. Foy of Conques and the Signification of the Medieval "Cult-Image" in the West', *Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, VIII, Rome, 1978, pp.175-191. X
- 52 I take 'message' to mean intended meaning ('a book with a message') rather than to fulfil the definitions of information theory. See W. H. Thorpe, 'Vocal Communication in Birds', in R. A. Hinde (ed.), *Non-Verbal Communication*, Cambridge, 1972, pp.153f., citing cases in which 'the context of the message determines to a considerable extent what part of the message is responded to, and thus its meaning'. See also, with ref. to J. Lyons, 'Human Language', *ibidem*, pp.49ff., D. M. MacKay, 'Formal analysis of Communicative Processes', *ibidem*, pp.17f. E. Leach, 'The Influence of Cultural Context on Non-verbal Communication in Man', *ibidem*, commenting on 'levels' of message (pp.321f.), appears to be somewhat at variance on this point.
- 53 P. M. Wetherill, *The Literary Text. An Examination of Critical Methods*, Oxford, 1974.
- 54 See e.g., pp. 208f. in my article of 1978 cited above in note 26.
- 55 'Groups': not a term to treat lightly; cf. the warnings against so-called 'taxonomic collectives', especially that of 'social class' ('a misleading concept'), in R. Harré, 'Philosophical aspects of the macro-micro problem', in K. Knorr-Cetina and A. V. Cicourel (eds.), *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology. Towards an Integration of Micro- and Macro Sociologies*, London, 1981, pp.139ff., esp. pp.150-56. The view taken in the present discussion is that 'group' should not simply refer to a number n of individuals with characteristics x, y, z, etc., but that the concept, which is functionally related to that of 'social individual' (IV, 3, D), is situationally generated and sustained. X
- 56 Jean Hubert has devoted considerable attention to this question; see for example his article 'La place faite aux laïcs dans les églises monastiques et dans les cathédrales aux XI^e-XII^e siècles', republished in his *Arts et vie sociale de la fin du monde antique au Moyen Age*, Geneva, 1977, pp.161-191. See also my article ref. to in note 26, above.
- 57 G. le Bras, 'Liturgie et sociologie', *Mélanges M. Andrieu*, Strasbourg, 1956, pp.219-228; Le Bras, 'Sociologie de l'Église dans le haut moyen âge', *Settimane di*

- Studi*, Spoleto, 1960, pp.596-611. A chapter on 'The Sociological Approach and Popular Religion', in J. Daniélou, A. H. Couratin and J. Keny, *The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology*, vol. 2, Harmondsworth, 1969, reprint 1971. Methodologically, consultation of studies in modern material will be useful: Chr. Marcilhacy, *Le diocèse d'Orléans sous l'épiscopat de Mgr Dupanloup*, Paris, 1963; Chr. Marcilhacy, *Le diocèse d'Orléans au milieu du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1964.
- 58 A specific example is discussed in my article cited above, note 28.
- 59 M. Fimiani, *Futuro logico e tempo storico*, Naples, 1974, p.111.
- 60 For 'unintended consequences' in the wider sociological sense, see Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, as cited above, note 55, Index, ad vocem, esp. p. 27.
- 61 The documents concerning Enguerrand are published in Ch. Sterling, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge par Enguerrand Quarton*, Paris, 1939; and for Rosso: G. Margherini-Graziani, *L'arte a Città di Castello*, Città di Castello, 1897, pp.339ff.
- 62 Simplifications concerning workshop-tied artists before 'the Renaissance' and 'first-time' phenomena (Michelangelo as the 'first modern artist': J. Wolff, *The Social Production of Art*, London, 1981, Chapter 2, citing Arnold Hauser) may have story-telling value but are hardly productive for art-sociological argumentation.
- 63 A traditional concept emphasized anew in the sixteenth century; see Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp.106f., and Iserloh, *Eck*, Chapter IV, 11, 'Die Messe als gutes Werk' (*Bibliography 4*).
- 64 In general terms I would subscribe to Giddens' conception of 'resources' as 'capabilities of making things happen', bringing about particular states of affairs', p.170, in Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, as cited above, note 55: A. Giddens, 'Agency, institution, and time-space analysis' (pp.161-174). With special reference to iconographic resources, then, it would be illogical to isolate a 'picture' or 'composition' or 'model' or 'pictorial concept' (etc.) from the human and other agencies that so to speak activate it; when we do see them in isolation, it would be consistent to consider them as potential resources.
- 65 There is no specific 'All Saints' iconography. A feast intended to celebrate the saints not honoured by individual feasts could never set boundaries for iconography: to create a particular iconography for the occasion would mean to set these saints apart from all the rest, contrary to the intention of the feast. All Saints liturgy comprises not 'All Saints' but all the existing angels, saints, etc.: each and every category is cited in the Magnificat of the feast. See my forthcoming, 'The Paradise Controversy', as cited above, note 28.
- 66 E. Dhanens, *Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece*, London, 1973, attempts to explain the basic features of the painting, including the completely traditional one of Christ's priesthood (see Mass, and IV. Lateran Council!), by reference to writings by Rupert von Deutz. To some extent the approach amounts to crossing the brook to get water.
- 67 L. B. Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck*, Princeton (NJ), 1971. A highly instructive review of this book by E. Vetter in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39, 1976, pp.221-235. Philip describes the central iconography incorrectly as that of 'the eternal Mass' (my italics).
- 68 See above, note 18.
- 69 F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini. Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien. Étude sur les origines d'une iconographie spéciale du Christ*, Vatican City, 1938.
- 70 L. Wehrhahn-Stauch, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Maiestas-Domini-Darstellung', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 32, 1969, pp. 1-28.
- 71 C. Gottlieb, 'The Mystical Window in Paintings of the Salvator Mundi', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LVI, 1960, pp.313ff.
- 72 Jungmann, *Place of Christ*, pp.94, 99 (*Bibliography 4*).
See my references to the term in 'La "Madone stylite" di Giorgione', as cited above, note 17.

- 74 R. Goffen, 'Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est: Observations on the Sacra Conversazione', *The Art Bulletin*, 1979, pp.198ff. x
- 75 Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion*, No. 1000-1001 (*Bibliography 1*); bibliography in Seppelt, *Geschichte*, IV, p.474 (*Bibliography 3*).
- 76 St. Thomas Aquinas: 'Quia igitur vitae, qua in praesenti bene vivimus, finis est beatitudo coelestis, ad regis officium pertinet ea ratione vitam multitudinis bonam procurare, secundum quod congruit ad coelestem beatitudinem consequendam, ut scilicet ea praecipiat, quae ad coelestem beatitudinem ducunt, et eorum contraria, secundum quod fuerit possibile, interdicat' (*De regimine principum*, I, xv). Ptolemy of Lucca: 'Finis autem ad quod principaliter rex intendere debet in se ipso et in subditis, est aeterna beatitudo, quae in visione Dei consistit' (*ibid.*, III, iii).
- 77 K. Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*, Oslo, 1968, p.148 (fig. 248).
- 78 See P. L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology. A Humanistic Perspective*, New York, 1963, Penguin ed. 1966, pp.104ff. Note also the concept of social 'field' developed at the University of Bergen by F. Barth, J.-P. Blom and R. Grønhaug and described in Grønhaug, *Micro-Macro Relations. Social Organization in Antalya, Southern Turkey*, Bergen, 1974, pp.103-164, especially 143, 163f.
- 79 J. Beattie, *Other cultures: aims, methods and achievements in social anthropology*, London, 1964, extracts in S. Brown, J. Fauvel and R. Finnegan (eds.), *Conceptions of Inquiry*, London, 1981, p.215. The theory of history and recent approaches to it cannot be discussed in any detail in the present connexion. There are several relevant extracts with bibliographies in the last-mentioned publication and in M. Richter (ed.), *Essays in Theory and History. An Approach to the Social Sciences*, esp. Richter's Introduction and S. H. Beer's article, 'Political Science and History', pp.41-73, with observations on the explanatory paradigm of 'Verstehen'. See also Chapter VI in C. Glymour, *Theory and Evidence*, Princeton, 1980, pp.110ff. (and Kuhn, Lakatos, by the Index); but the book is hard stuff for non-physicists. His conception of the history of science ought to have relevance for 'history' in general: '... unless the account is chiefly an academic exercise, it ought to provide us with a critical tool for analysing and criticizing scientific controversies, historical or not'. It is perhaps not superfluous to note, in addition, that Popper's now fifty-years old book on the poverty of historicism does not seem to have influenced art-historical ideas concerning 'historical development'.
- 80 Abdallah Laroui, *La crise des intellectuels arabes: traditionalisme ou historicisme?*, Paris, 1974, Engl. transl., *The Crisis of the Arab Intellectual. Traditionalism or Historicism?*, Berkeley, Cal., 1976, Chapter I, 1.
- 81 D. Silverman, *The Theory of Organisations. A Sociological Framework*, London, 1970 (reprints), Index 'Meaning', pp.132ff. ('Meanings are socially sustained'). In my arguments concerning organizations, I follow this publication and E. H. Schein, *Organizational Psychology*, 2nd. ed., Englewood Cliffs (NJ), 1970.
- 82 H. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi. Ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei*, Berlin, 1977, p.11. I shall discuss Belting's book in my forthcoming review in *The Art Bulletin*. x
- 83 See, e.g., K. Esser, 'Sancta Mater Ecclesia Romana. Die Kirchenfrömmigkeit des heiligen Franziskus von Assisi', J. Daniélou and H. Vorgrimler (eds.), *Sentire Ecclesiam. Das Bewusstsein von der Kirche als gestaltende Kraft der Frömmigkeit*, Freiburg i. B., 1961, pp.218-250.
- 84 'Ritualization may e.g. take the form of 1) metonymic statements about the community performing the ritual, being 2) at the same time statements about order and sequence, i.e. rules, which 3) operate as constraints upon transactions and signification in social life.' (R. Grønhaug, 'Transaction and signification: an analytical distinction in the study of social interaction' in R. Grønhaug (ed.), *Sign and Scarcity*, Oslo, 1983). x

- 85 Herbert Lindenberger, *Historical Drama. The Relation of Literature and Reality*, Chicago, 1975, pp.79f.cf.p.26. x
- 86 Arabic poetry: A. Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, Princeton (NJ), 1974, reprint 1975, esp. chapters 2 and 3; Persian poetry: A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *La letteratura*, second ed., Florence, 1968, pp.154ff. (A Bausani). x
- 87 In his critical biography of Eliot.
- 88 See Hinde, *Non-Verbal Communication*, ref. to in note 52.
- 89 J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu. Content and composition of Islamic salvation history*, Oxford, 1978, esp. Chapter I, 'Historiography'; with ref. to the same author's *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford, 1977. x
- 90 Salvatore Settis, *La 'Tempesta' interpretata. Giorgione, i committenti, il soggetto*, Turin, 1978, tabulates 28 more or less different published interpretations of the simple little painting, disproves rather efficiently all of them, and supplies the twenty-ninth himself. x
- 91 Valerius Geist, *Life Strategies, Human Evolution, Environmental Design. Toward a Biological Theory of Health*, New York and Heidelberg, 1978, Index: 'Predictable Environment', and passim. x
- 92 In his critical biography of Eliot, Fontana Edition, Glasgow, 1975, p.13. y
- 93 The Muslim *qibla*, the 'direction', i.e., towards the Ka'aba at Mecca, is an example of a ritual symbol of belonging to a unifying and identifying meaning system, in this case that of the *umma* or the People of Allah. 'To Allah belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleases unto the right path. . . We [Allah speaks] only appointed your previous qibla [towards Jerusalem] to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels. . . Turn then your face toward the holy mosque [at Mekka]; turn then your face to it wherever you are.' (Qur'an, 2 : 142ff.). In early Muslim writing there is frequent talk of the 'people of the qibla', *ahl al-qibla* (N. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma. A source-critical study*, Cambridge, 1981, pp.160ff., transl. pp.23ff.). The much higher complexity of the Christian rituals should not be allowed to blur the fact that here, too, there are important symbols of this sort. x
- 94 H. H. Henrix, *Jüdische Liturgie. Geschichte, Struktur, Wesen*, Freiburg i. B., 1979, article by Rabbi J. J. Petuchowski, 'Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Liturgie', Chapter 1, with Talmudic references. For an excellent introduction to Talmudic literature, see R. Mayer, *Der babylonische Talmud*, Munich, 1963. 'Holiness' with regard to time or place in the three religions may be conceived of at three levels of frequent interaction or overlapping, especially as regards the two last-mentioned ones: by virtue of one-time or recurring manifestation of God; by virtue of being chosen by God for specific purposes (also objects); in terms of mytho-political and ethnic manifestation of particular religious relevance. x
- 95 See above, III, 3, C, a, i, for similar symbols. I shall return to the Islamic material in another context.
- 96 There is a difference between a sacramental system and theological, moral or other ideological systems, which, e.g., imply an integration of the moral order of society with God, as in Judaism. For the Christian sacramental system is literally 'operative' through canonical rites by virtue of the principle of 'ex opere operato', i.e., the sacraments become effective through the ritually conducted sacramental action (such as baptism or the Mass sacrifice). Theoretical elaboration of this principle started in the twelfth century. J. Skorupski, *Symbol and Theory. A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology*, Cambridge, 1976, paperback 1983, pp.109f., appears to have misunderstood the 'ex opere operato' mechanism, when he claims that it involves 'magic' and 'god in a physical thing'. What is meant (and thus stated in Scholasticism and at Trent) is that a correctly performed sacramental rite becomes the instrument of God's grace *provided* that the receiver's spiritual and x

- moral constitution is sufficient (Ott, *Grundriss*, pp.395ff.: my *Bibliography 1*): 'non ponentibus obicem': for those who do not impede.
- 97 Classical Sunni Islam considers prayer (ṣalāt) an intimate conversation with Allah. For the mystic tradition, ṣalāt could be connected (in a dubious etymology) with waṣala (to be connected → united), implying an immediate presence of God (Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islām*, Chapel Hill, 1975, reprint 1981, p.148).
- 98 The drawing is taken from A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, II Teil, Vienna, 1971, Fig. 174, who does not refer to the contents of the inscriptions; Herzfeld's publication has not been available to me.
- 99 Abdur Rahim, *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence according to the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali Schools*, Lahore, 1911, p.71 (reprint, 1970 s?).
- 100 F. Rosenthal, 'Significant Uses of Arabic Writing', *Ars orientalis*, 4, 1961; reprinted in *idem*, *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, Leiden, 1971.
- 101 The matter requires far more attention than is possible here; see the anthology of Ḥadīth (traditions from the Prophet and early Companions) in Muhammed Ali, *A Manual of Hadith*, London, 1944, 2nd. ed. 1978, Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII. But the evidence is vague and contradictory and forces argumentation into circularity at every turn (G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Hadith*, Cambridge, 1983, takes a more optimistic view).
- 102 Even the Islamic festivals in their lawful form, even though intended as an emotional outlet, 'are . . . characterized by their extreme aridity, which leaves little room, if indeed any at all, for the nourishment of human senses through elaborate paraphernalia of ritual, color, symbol and sound. Not that Muslim *shar'ī* festival is altogether devoid of ritual exercises and symbols, but it would be no exaggeration to say that any initiative on the part of a Muslim to imaginatively interpret these rituals and symbols is relentlessly discouraged in favor of a neatly defined set of bodily movements and prayer or recitation formulae that by their very formal rigidity and repetitiveness conjure up a divinity which is supremely transcendental and not intimately personal' (Muh. U. Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle against Popular Religion*, The Hague, 1976, p.1). A study of Islamic rituals is apt to provide us with 'converse models' helpful to identify characteristics of Christiania rituals.
- 103 A sound introduction to 'ritual' in R. B. Pilgrim's chapter of that name in T. W. Hall (ed.), *Introduction to the Study of Religion*, New York, 1978, pp.64-84. Definitory and analytical issues R. D. Baird, *Category Formation and the History of Religions*, The Hague, 1971; V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, Chicago, 1969; V. W. Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, 1974; L. Honko (ed.), *Science of Religion. Studies in Methodology*, The Hague, 1979, Section III, 3, A: 'Theories concerning the ritual process', pp.369-427 (especially the contributions by Honko and Bouritius). Cf. also on 'rituals' as indexed in H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Form and Meaning*, London, 1967, London paperback ed. 1976 ff. The English translation from Mevlāna's poem is taken from Finn Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody, with chapters on Urdu, Karakhanidic and Ottoman Prosody*, Wiesbaden, 1982, p.50 (where the Persian original is also quoted). For 'drama', see below, *Bibliography 5*: Hardison, Tydeman, and others.
- 104 Under the latter heading, there are different modes of relationship to prototypes, as exemplified in the Christian liturgy: (1) the re-enactment ('recreation' in Hardison's terminology) of the original divine achievement (with reference to the Last Supper and the Mass as memoria passionis); (2) the 'contrapunctal' relationship or interference between the heavenly liturgy and the church liturgy; (3) the transcendent presence of the Trinity; (4) the active participation of Christ the High Priest in the offering; (5) the confirmation of the participants' membership in the

- Universal Church ('breaking out' of normal social structure, in Turner's terms); (6) the Traditional (non-mystical) Roman *imitatio Christi* on the part of man (Venetian doge washing the feet of twelve paupers on Maundy Thursday); (7) impersonation, as when someone dresses up like an angel or a prophet in a Corpus Domini procession (no direct *imitatio* here because 'someone's' identity is concealed).
- 105 Skorupski (as cited above, note 96, pp.71f.) rightly points out that not all rites imply 'respect' for the ritual object ('a road-opening ceremony'). But to my view, a not-'respected' object becomes elevated because of respect for the formality itself that is addressed to it.
- 106 See Newton-Smith as cited above, note 7; see also the discussion in A. O'Hear, *Karl Popper*, London, 1980, Chapter VI (p.90ff.; esp. pp.109f.).
- 107 I cannot indulge in a discussion of 'reality' as a conceptual creation but wish to refer to N. R. Hanson's argumentation, particularly with regard to a Necker cube, to the effect that observation is 'theory-laden' (as given in the extracts from his *Patterns of Discovery*, Cambridge, 1958, in Brown, Fauvel and Finnegan, as cited above, note 79, pp.258ff.); and furthermore to several other contributions in the same collection (see there, pp. 60, 209 f., 279ff.); to Burns as quoted by Silverman (see above, note 81), p.15, on classification: 'The objects of classification are not organisations or parts or attributes of organisations but analytical concepts and frames of reference within which methodological procedures can be designed and comparative studies usefully made' (T. Burns, 'The Comparative Study of Organisations', V. Vroom (ed), *Methods of Organisational Research*, Pittsburg, 1967, p. 127). Any 'description' is a theoretical operation (see also Pelto and Pelto as quoted below, note 160).
- 108 Herbert A. Simon, speaking of short-term memory, cites a 'particular model of short-term memory (STM) [which] is a computer program written in SNOBOL. . . It represents a theory of how humans use the STM. . .' (*Models of Thought*, New Haven, 1979, p.86, reprint of 'Program Modeling Short-term Memory under Strategy Control', Ch. M. Cofer (ed.), *The Structure of Human Memory*, New York, 1976, pp 15-30). And 'the model is not a theory itself. It is an abstraction of a theory, one which is stripped of all empirical content but which maintains the same structure' (R. Abler, J. S. Adams and P. Gould, *Spatial Organization. The Geographer's View of the world*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ), 1971, p.45). So far so good, but 'models' have many uses and definitions, some say too many and fear 'modelosis'. And so: 'Although the word *model* is commonly used as virtually equivalent to *theory* I find the concept of a purely abstract model quite useless. . . Only when given expression can we explore and exploit its properties. . . Whatever its *form*, its function is to simulate something which. . . does not lend itself to direct analytical study. . .' (P. Meredith, 'Developmental Models of Cognition', P. L. Garvin (ed.), *Cognition: A Multiple View*, New York, 1970, pp.49ff.). Binmore for his part says that 'A model for a list of axioms is an example in which the axioms hold' (K. G. Binmore, *The Foundations of Analysis: Book 1, Logic, Sets and Numbers*, Cambridge, 1980, p.78). So the consensus apparently is not absolute with regard to the position of models between 'abstraction' and 'concretization', and some draw a distinction between models that are 'more concerned with the theoretical aspect - with the attempt to arrive at a complete and general formulation' and those that try 'to establish a clear-cut relation between theoretical entities and their operationalized empirical counterparts' (R. Groner, B. Kahrs and Chr. Menz, 'Formal Precision, Where and What for, Or: The Ape Climbs the Tree', R. H. Kluwe and H. Spada, *Developmental Models of Thinking*, New York, 1980, pp.163ff.). To reconcile the different views, one might stress the relative nature of the terms involved and say that '4' is a model of the 'concrete' set of four empirically well-tasting apples and a model also of all sets of theoretical - and 'abstract' - expressions of their quantity (and of 'quantity'). A model thus is a transformation of any concept at any level into a state of its analysability within a given context.¹⁾ An

- 1) cf. Semitic roots QTL as models: Th. O. Lambdin
 Introd. to Biblical Hebrew, p. 18. - But my def. here
 is circular, for it summarizes a def. of 'analysis', ?

analytical model in addition specifies patterns of dominant internal relations and processes that are supposed worthy of our particular interest. For a warning against believing that all problems can be processed by models, see C. W. Churchman, *The Systems Approach*, New York, 1968, Laurel Paperback, p. 128.

- 109 Raymond Williams, *Culture*, Glasgow, 1981 pp.9ff. and *passim*, makes remarks of great interest concerning interdisciplinary 'convergences', among these the sociology of culture, which 'has to be seen as a convergence of very different interests and methods. Like other convergences, it includes at least as many collisions and near misses as genuine meeting points.' See also Geist, as cited above, note 91, pp. x f., on interdisciplinary problems. In the later decades we have witnessed numerous 'convergences', such as socio-technical systems theory, environment cognition, ecology, semiology, mathematical psychology. Participation in such efforts requires of academic disciplines that they should to some extent give up some of their traditional paradigmata – but university structures counteract any breaking up of inherited identities except in branches where one is expressly paid for doing so. X
- 110 Simon, as cited above in note 108, p.63.
- 111 Approaches to visual arts in the formalisms of information theory apparently do not take sufficient care of social and environmental dimensions. I have in mind such contributions as A. Moles, *Théorie de l'information et perception esthétique*, Paris, 1972, and G. Pfeiffer, *Kunst und Kommunikation. Grundlegung einer kybernetischen Ästhetik*, Cologne, 1972. Semiotics tend, in my opinion, to slide into a sort of pseudo-technological positivism to the detriment of analytical usefulness on account of being over-articulated, as in U. Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*, London, 1977. Perhaps this is what Geist has in mind when he says (as cited above, note 91, pp.45f.): 'The criterion for putting a signal into one class or another depends on the neurophysiological processing of that signal, at present a matter of educated, but rather imprecise, guesswork. No signal can be readily classified, except by reference to investigations, which show – or at least make it likely – that the signal in question is either causing a reflexive response, or harmonizing with the experience of the receiver.' X
- 112 Geoffrey Leech, *Semantics*, Harmondsworth, 1974.
- 113 Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication. The logic by which symbols are connected. An introduction to the use of structuralist analysis in social anthropology*, Cambridge, 1976, pp.11ff. X
- 114 This is noted by Leach himself. For a criticism against Leach's 'operational logic', see Skorupski, as cited above, note 96, pp.48-51.
- 115 Chr. Walter, 'Liturgy and the Illustration of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies', *Revue des études byzantines*, 29, 1971, p.191: 'Iconography differs from language in that its signs are not generally meaningful without reference to a text or a verbal tradition.' This surely holds good as long as we, with Walter, see iconography exclusively from the authoritative (in our case, ecclesiastical) viewpoint. Walter also notes that temporal sequence of linguistic analogy exists with regard to an iconography 'in the beholder's mind. He is required first to seize a general idea by means of a *topos*.' ('Pictures of the Clergy in the Theodore Psalter', *REB*, 31, 1973, p.242). But there may be, indeed, will be, other 'topoi' beside the official one, and these will vary even for one individual and so will, consequently, the reading order. From non-official viewpoints also it can hardly be maintained generally that 'iconography, unlike social behaviour, is explicitly significative'. I am concerned here with the question of the display effect of iconography versus that of language. For the problem of our language's capability of describing aesthetic objects, see O. Bätschman, *Bild-Diskurs. Die Schwierigkeit des Parler Peinture*, Berlin, 1977. X
- 116 B. Harrison, *Form and Content*, Oxford, 1973, pp.3-29.
- 117 Excellent exposée of the structural constituents of language in V. Fromkin and R. Rodman, *An Introduction to Language*, 3rd. ed., New York, 1983, pp.203ff. X

- 118 This also depends on the figure's iconographical context. In the Roman world, the figure, if represented alone, would generally alert at first, so to speak, the individual, introductive connotation of 'St. Peter'. If depicted as one item in a host of saints (e.g. in a 'Paradise': Ill. 13), either the individual 'St. Peter' might be conceptually singled out immediately, or, conversely, so would the class of 'saints' or even 'martyrs'. A verbal description leaves no room for ambiguity of this kind.
- 119 'Non-verbal communication' should be exploited further not only for analysis of ritual situations in real life but also in imagery itself (gesturing, attitudes). 'The discovery of the importance of non-verbal communication. . . has transformed the study of human social behaviour. . . Now a new level of analysis has been opened up – the level of head-nods, shifts of gaze, fine hand-movements, bodily posture, etc. . .' (M. Argyle, 'Non-verbal communication in human social interaction', Hinde, as cited above, note 52, p.243). 'Arbitrariness' is hardly a viable analytical term: rather it implies a declaration of non-analysis.
- 120 For the difficulty of finding unambiguous picture coverage even to simple sentences, see H. A. Simons, 'What is visual imagery? An information processing interpretation', L. W. Gregg (ed.), *Cognition in Learning and Memory*, New York, 1972, p.198.
- 121 I borrow this useful concept from D. R. Hofstadter, *Gödel, Escher, Bach, An Eternal Golden Braid*, 2nd ed., New York, 1980, pp.36f. and Index. There is, thus, no question of a conceptualization being definitely either inside such a system or outside it. Perhaps one might confront such a loose row-and-column system as I have tentatively proposed at the end of III, 15, B, with a mathematical matrix in which the operations on variables are ruled by a strict set of laws. Confusion should be avoided also with traditions and customs for, e.g., space allocation of specific subjects (III, 4, B b; III, 7; III, 9).
- 122 R. Trexler, 'Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 19, 1972, pp.7-42. Leach, too, misses the point entirely when he treats the consecrated bread and wine at Mass as 'ritual objects' on a line with 'a crucifix, a portrait of the child Jesus' (Leach, as cited above, note 113, p.38).
- 123 Cf. the Council of Rome, February 1079, on Christ's presence in the wine and bread (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, 700; see *Bibliography 1*); Session 13 of the Council of Trent, 1551, on the 'total' presence (D.-S., 1641, 1653). The epistle of 1202 is 'Cum Marthae circa' to John Bishop of Lyons (D.-S., 782, 783): in the Eucharist the bread and wine are 'sacrament not thing' ('sacramentum et non res'), Christ's body and blood 'sacrament and thing' and the sacramental effect 'thing and not sacrament'. Insistence on the non-material nature of the consecrated species was a priority in the clergy's instruction of the people (Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, I, pp.159f.: *Bibliography 4*).
- 124 Dahl, 'Heavenly images', as cited above, note 51, pp.178ff.
- 125 See Schein, Silverman, as cited above, note 81. For Hochberg, see below.
- 126 This also applies to the extremely well-constructed and useful though slightly Burckhardtian monograph on Julius II by L. Partridge and R. Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness. Art and culture in Raphael's Julius II.*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980. A 'typology' may be considered as a classification of repeated empirical specifications of an analytical model – or of vaguer reflexions of one (based on constructs such as 'Renaissance likeness', a 'papa terrible', etc.).
- 127 The major aspects of 'meaning' in recent debate may be cited here (further references to the social sciences below); they are interrelated: one, that meaning is to some extent a result of goal- or interest-driven production; two, that there are socially and environmentally sustained 'lexica' and, three, that meaning is functionally influenced by the communicative process itself (on this, see D. M. MacKay, 'Formal Analysis of Communicative Processes', Hinde, as cited above, note 52, pp.3-25). For classifications, see MacKay, with ref. to Lyons (in the same

- volume); G. Leech, *Semantics*, as referred to above, note 112, Chapter 1 and Index; Geist, as cited above, note 91, pp.44ff.; and a 'functional' classification in G. J. Whitehurst, 'Meaning and Semantics', G. J. Whitehurst and B.J. Zimmerman, *The Functions of Language and Cognition*, New York, 1979, pp.124ff (with ref. also to Skinner). I. Brown, 'Language Acquisition: Linguistic Structure and Rule-Governed Behavior', in Whitehurst and Zimmerman, pp.141-173, on pp.145ff. elaborates Fillmore's classification (1968) of functional emphasis (agentive, instrumental, dative, etc.).
- 128 Geist, as cited above, note 91, pp.108-115.
- 129 Silverman, as cited above, note 81, p.41. 'The real debate. . . is concerned with the relative insights that may be derived by analysing organisations from the transcendental view of the problems of the system as a whole, with human action being regarded as a reflection of systems needs, or from the view of interaction that arises as actors attach meaning to their own actions and to the actions of others. The second position does not deny that the social structure of an organisation may be experienced as constraining by its members. However, this constraint depends on meanings, which are the products of human interaction and are both sustained and changed by it.' See also his comments (pp.216f.) on the importance of 'the impingement of role-expectations arising in extra-organisational statuses upon the definition and performance of organisational roles'. Observations on 'The Action Approach' in analysis of 'typical individuals in typical situations', whose characteristics, e.g., as regards goal-directedness, in the analytical frame are tabulated on p.69, in Chapter 4 in P. S. Cohen, *Modern Social Theory*, London, 1968 (reprints).
- 130 Analysis of the individual's perception of an 'environment', including, e.g., a church with its functions and iconography, might be seen in the perspective of the multi-disciplinary 'Environment Cognition', which focuses on the so-called Personal Construct Theory: excellently presented – and criticized – in R. M. Downs, 'Personal Constructions of Personal Construct Theory', in G. T. Moore and R. G. Golledge, *Environment Knowing. Research and Methods*, Stroudsburg, Penn., 1976, pp.72-87.
- 131 On 'mental images' in Simon, as cited above, note 120, *passim*; and the following contributions in L. W. Gregg (ed.), *Cognition in Learning and Memory*, New York, 1972: Simon, as above, pp.183-203 (*nota bene*: an 'image' is not always a 'picture', but in some connexions 'any stored information that is sufficient in kind and amount to enable the response term to be generated', p.189); G. H. Bower, 'Mental Imagery and Associative Learning', pp.51-88; W. G. Chase and H. H. Clark, 'Mental Operations in the Comparison of Sentences and Pictures', pp.205-233.
- 132 Geist, as cited above, note 91, pp. 25ff., 41f.
- 133 Whitehurst, as cited above, note 127, pp.120f.
- 134 Concerning 'interest'-relevant parameters, see Simon, 'Motivational and Emotional Controls of Cognition', (1967), Simon, as cited above, note 108, pp.29-38; Silverman, as cited above, note 81, pp.13 (needs), 50 (intention), 117 (tasks); Geist, as cited above, note 91, p.25 (excitation), 27f. (striving), 29f. (afference), 30f. (goal-directedness and cognitive pattern-matching), 33f., 37ff. (emotions), 35f. (creativity). For 'competence' in linguistic analysis, see Brown, as cited above, note 127, pp.144, 146f.; N. Smith and D. Wilson, *Modern Linguistics. The Results of Chomsky's Revolution*, Harmondsworth, 1979, pp.44, ('Competence and Performance').
- 135 MacKay, as cited above, note 52, pp. 3-25, esp. 12ff.
- 136 J. G. Greeno, 'Analysis of understanding in Problem Solving', Kluwe and Spada, as cited above, note 108, pp.199-211.
- 137 On the relation between observer's (researcher's) interpretation and actor's (participant's) interpretation, see Skorupski, as cited above, note 96, Chapter 3, esp. pp.51f. Whenever two interpretations do not match, both may be considered

- correct, he contends: 'The anthropologist's task is to find a "translation" of primitive thought-systems [his special topic] which will make them fully transparent to us'. The gradual, processual evolution of frameworks or models I have hinted at here will depend on an intuitive forecasting that does not allow us to define strictly the distance between observer views and actor views. This is a consequence also of handling not biographical individuals with a birth-certificate but 'social individuals' (i.e. typologies) (IV, 3, D).
- 138 For this procession, see my *Christ in the Council Hall*, as cited above, note 30, p.199. E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, above, note 43, does not, in my view, sufficiently connect his excellent account of ceremonies with, nor does he motivate his choice of ceremonies for this account in, a functional argument concerning the liturgical and ecclesiological basis of State ritual. Occasionally, therefore, his account is slightly inaccurate, as when he claims that 'At each stage in the dramatization of Christ's last days the doge himself impersonated Christ' (p.219). The verb is wrongly chosen. A ritual by which a State expresses its adherence to the Christological model should not be confused with the role-playing in a religious drama. The State participated in Christ's triumph, and the doge imitated (in the Traditional Roman 'imitatio Christi') Christ in his washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday (a rite not cited by Muir) (see my book just referred to, p.200): this is not the same sort of acting as when someone dresses up like an angel or a prophet in the Venetian Corpus Domini procession. (See note 104).
- 139 Of course there is no such 'mechanism' in the iconography itself; but there is one, as in all non-automatic feedback systems, in the human systems in which the regulated element, in this case the iconography, is involved.
- 140 The ecclesiological principle is operated on the levels of 'official statements' and 'literary and ritual Tradition', and through these together dogma is channelled into any specific liturgy, the practice of which in turn is a source for the ecclesiological operations: so that we have a self-reference system. The notion that the liturgy in this way is a 'fons cognitionis theologiae', was stated in 431 (?) in the so-called *Capitula Pseudo-Coelestina* (Denzinger-Schönmetzer, my *Bibliography 1*, No. 246, on the so-called 'lex credendi'). According to the ecclesiological principle, the sacraments are actions by Christ through which the faithful enter into direct contact with him (see, e.g., Abbott De Stella, died 1160, *Sermo* No. 11, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 197, col. 1729).
- 141 Liturgy does not always directly determine choice among alternatives: popular interests will account for that. But liturgy-decreed meaning-structure provides a position and role for chosen alternatives, including such extensions to the thematic core as, e.g., elements of religious drama.
- 142 E. H. Gombrich, 'Vom Wert der Kunstwissenschaft für die Symbolforschung', *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft*, II, *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen. Studien zum Bild eines Ideals*, Berlin, 1966, pp.19f. There is here a confusion between the 'accommodation' principle of using sense-perception for unperceivables and an iconographical choice of a prophetic vision (a sense experience) for depiction ('Wenn ich die theologische Lehre richtig verstehe, so lautet sie dahin, dass ein würdevoller Mann vielleicht dem Erlebnis des Göttlichen noch am wenigsten unähnlich ist. . .').
- 143 For Christ as the High Priest, see Jungmann, *Place* (*Bibliography 4*) pp.111, 148f.
- 144 Jean Leclercq, *L'idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen âge*, Paris, 1959, p.18.
- 145 Conceptualization may be thought of as taking place on and interacting between these levels in accordance with some of the cognitive mechanisms currently debated in psychology: excellent accounts by P. H. Lindsay and D. A. Norman, *Human Information Processing. An Introduction to Psychology*, 2nd ed., New York, 1977 (bibliographies); P. C. Dodwell (ed.), *Perceptual Learning and Adaptation*, Harmondsworth, 1970 (a reader including part of Selfridge's account of 'Pandemo-

- nium'); P. L. Garvin (ed.), *Cognition*, as cited above, note 108 (especially Gordon Pask's contribution, pp.349ff., on concepts as goal-directed processes).
- 146 Iconographical sense-structures on the levels just referred to interact with entities on another level which are alerted by the 'manner' or 'style' in which the same structures are displayed: a level of quantifiable continuities, which cannot be set out in such a model form as the tree. Non-discrete continuity features like colour harmonies, curves and surface topologies are not restricted to the above italicized visual features, but interfere and connect the different features and concepts in ways that to a large extent are emotionally interpretable in a number of often unpredictable directions, and which often defy description in any technique but that of poetic intuition.
- 147 See bibliography cited above, note 130, and below. Dilettantes in social science like the present author are used to regarding with respect the data acquired in interviews; but see the critical remarks of Knorr-Cetina in Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, as cited above, note 55, pp.13f.
- 148 M. Black, 'How do pictures represent?', E. H. Gombrich, Julian Hochberg, Max Black, *Art, perception, and reality*, Baltimore, 1972, pp.95ff.
- 149 J. Hochberg, 'The representation of things and people', Gombrich, Hochberg and Black, as cited above, note 148, pp.47ff.
- 150 Fr. Bartlett, *Remembering*, Cambridge, 1932, pp.175f.: 'Whenever material visually presented purports to be representative of some common object, but contains features which are unfamiliar in the community to which the material is introduced, these features invariably suffer transformation in the direction of the familiar. . . The whole series shows how speedily a pictorial representation may change all of its leading characteristics in the direction of some schematic form already current in the group of subjects who attempt its reproduction.' The 'series' was a collection of mask-like abstractions of a man's face which the test-persons were asked to reproduce from memory: others again were asked to do the same with their products, and so on.
- 151 In my *Christ in the Council Hall*, as cited above, note 30, pp.157f.; 161 (consecration); 164 (military character).
- 152 MacKay, as cited above, note 52, pp.11ff., 15f.
- 153 A. Giddens, 'Agency, institution, and time-space analysis', pp.196f., in Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, as cited above, note 55.
- 154 Churchman, as cited above, note 108, p.29. On the systems idea, see also the excellent account in Fr. Ferguson, *Architecture, Cities and the Systems Approach*, New York, 1975, pp.4-14, citing, inter alios, Herbert Simon and Kenneth Kraemer. The latter's description concerns planning processes, but it is relevant in our context because analysis here is conceived of as penetrating planning processes.
- 155 H. Lindenberger. *On Wordsworth's Prelude*, Princeton, 1963, pp. viif.
- 156 See my *Christ in the Council Hall*, as cited above, note 30, pp.134-149.
- 157 On the fear of the Turks as a general subject, see A. N. St. Clair, 'Türkengefahr', R. Ettinghausen (ed.), *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 1972, pp.315-334. The book by the same author, *The Image of the Turk in Europe*, New York, 1973, has not been available to me.
- 158 To say nothing of the statistical (if sloppily so) methods current in art-historical research in the selection of what is 'typical' (see Landau's observation on unconfessed statistical methods in the behavioural sciences: M. Landau, *Political Theory and Political Science. Studies in the Methodology of Political Inquiry*, New Jersey, 1972, reprint 1979, p.10).
- 159 Excellent collection of extracts concerning recent discussion of the position of 'Empirical' material, in H. Morick (ed.), *Challenges to Empiricism*, London, 1981 (Carnap, Quine, Sellars, Putnam, Popper, Feyerabend, Kuhn, Hesse, Chomsky, N. Goodman, Edgley and Fodor). Cf. also H. A. Simon: '. . . it is not always

understood how intervening variables that are not directly observable can appear legitimately in a theory about empirical phenomena. . . such intervening variables play an indispensable role even in the hardest of the natural sciences – for instance, in mechanics. . .’ (Simon, ‘What is visual imagery?’, as cited above, note 120, p.186).

- 160 ‘There is no essential logical difference between the low-level generalizations and those at the most abstract levels. Description and theory are not different kinds of logical processes’, P. J. Pelto and G. H. Pelto, *Anthropological Research. The Structure of Inquiry*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1978 (originally New York, 1970), p.7.
- 161 G. Radnitzky, *Contemporary Schools of Metascience. Anglo-Saxon Schools of Metascience. Continental Schools of Metascience*, Göteborg, 1970 (2nd revised edition in one volume), II, p.24. This book has the unique merit of introducing English-speaking readers to metascientific debate not only in their own language but also to that of German and Scandinavian speaking metascientists; extensive bibliographies; index of names, not terms (but good pre-summaries).
- 162 In his *Memoirs* Julian Huxley (who, incidentally, was the first to introduce the term ritualization to animal behaviour), notes how scientific discovery is ‘a mixture of intuition, pertinacy and occasional good luck’ and that ‘the chief role of intuition was in the selection of the problem to be investigated, though sometimes the solution came as a flash of insight. . .’. Herbert Simon’s model of ‘creativity’, the mechanism of the sudden illumination or intuitive leap, is an example of how the problem can be treated articulatedly (Simon, *Models of Thought*, as cited above, note 108, pp.140ff.).
- 163 J. Bleicher, *The Hermeneutic Imagination. Outline of a Positive Critique of Scientism and Sociology*, London, 1982. Methodologically, it seems less and less productive to labour alleged distinctions between clusters of activities called Humanities, Social Sciences and Science (see, e. g., Blaug’s observations on deduction, induction and adduction: M. Blaug, *The Methodology of Economics, Or How Economists Explain*, Cambridge, 1980, pp.14-17).
- 164 R. M. Keesing and F. M. Keesing, *New Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*, New York, 1971, p.10. C. Wright Mills’ *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford and New York, 1959, Pelican Books, 1970, for all its polemical exaggeration, contains salutary warnings against becoming a slave of methods; see, e.g., p.137.
- 165 Quoted by Keesing and Keesing, above, note 164, p. 404.

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↑ (Cyril Smith)

Bibliographies

Scan and add some
refs.

The bibliographies are systematically arranged and are selected with concentration on the main empirical material concerning the functional context for liturgical iconography under the perspective just set out: on liturgy, on the Church, on teachings concerning 'sacred images', on the altar and its accessories, and so on. Art-historical literature and handbooks on iconography are not included – and could not be included without a critical evaluation that would have required far too much space. There is an almost total disregard, even in the more prestigious modern handbooks, of the central aspects of relevant liturgies. The present volume is no handbook, and the *bibliographies do not aim at complete coverage from any point of view*. Each entry has been selected on one or several of the following criteria: that it is a central contribution by virtue of its body of references; that it is a relatively balanced achievement and not highly controversial (so Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy* is omitted); that it is the only adequate treatment of a specific problem or type of material, in spite of its chronological, geographical or other limitations; that it provides an acceptable first introduction to a specific problem or material.

1. THEOLOGY

Dictionaries

Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1957-1965. Indispensable as a modern, key-reference work.

Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Paris, 1930 ff. Extensive and detailed articles with much source material and extracts; they are however outdated on many points.

Surveys

- L. Ott, *Grundriss der katholischen Dogmatik*, 8th ed., Freiburg i/B, 1970. Best short introduction, with numerous historical references; systematically arranged, with bibliographies sectionwise. The English edition, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, St. Louis (Mo), 6th ed., 1964, is excessively rich in misprints – even in the very lengthy list of *corrigenda*; but it is much better indexed than the German original.
- K. Rahner and H. Vorgrimler, *Kleines theologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1963. Excellent alphabetically arranged definitions.

- o M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der katholischen Theologie seit dem Ausgang der Väterzeit*, 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1961. Short historical surveys with emphasis on theologians and theological schools.

Church and Synod Documents

- o H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 33rd ed., by A. Schönmetzer, Freiburg i/B, 1965. Anthology of official dogmatical and doctrinal definitions and statements of the Roman Church through the ages. Systematic and alphabetical index. Abbreviated English versions of 'Denzinger' are available but cannot be recommended for scholarly purposes. Even the complete Denzinger is a subjective anthology: that is to say, one cannot pick out, say, all the documents of the eleventh century printed there and assume that this selection represents the outlook of the century faithfully.
- J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova collectio*, Florence, 1759 ff., Paris and Leipzig, 1901-1927. Synod documents. There is a vast literature on synods and church councils as well as on special theological topics (Christology, grace, justification, etc.); this cannot be included here (see *Bibliography 3*).

2. THE CHURCH

Dictionaries and handbooks as in Bibliography 1.

General

- o S. Benko, *The Meaning of Sanctorum Communio*, London, 1964. On the historical development of a central term in ecclesiology. Also: Y. Congar, *L'ecclésiologie du haut moyen-âge*, Paris, 1968.
- o J. Daniélou and H. Vorgrimler (eds.), *Sentire Ecclesiam. Das Bewusstsein von der Kirche als gestaltende Kraft der Frömmigkeit*, Freiburg i/B, 1961. Contains twenty-five important articles on the history of ideas concerning the Church.
- o H. de Lubac, *Méditation sur l'Église*, 2nd ed. (paperback), Aubier, 1968. Apologetical, but contains numerous historical references. Perhaps the best introduction to 'ecclesiological thinking'. English translation, *The Splendor of the Church*, New York, 1956.
- R. Konrad, 'Das himmlische und das irdische Jerusalem im mittelalterlichen Denken', *Speculum historiale*, ed. Bauer, Munich, 1965, pp.523ff. A special, but central and iconographically important subject.

Saints

- o H. von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1964. The recent Italian series *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, can be recommended.
- Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981.
- P. Jouvel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle = Collection de l'École française de Rome*, Rome, 1977.
- S. Boesch Gajano, *Agiografia altomedioevale*, Bologna, 1976.
- o G. M. Roschini, *Dizionario di mariologia*, Rome, 1961. Bibliographies to most articles.
- A. Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens*, Linz, 1893.
- S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i/B, 1909.
- M. Jugié, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge = Studi e Testi*, 114, Vatican City, 1944.
- H. Rahner, *Maria und die Kirche*, Innsbruck, 1951

- Y. Congar, 'Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique', *Revue scholastique de philosophie et théologie*, 39, 1954.
- H. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme entre la sainte Vierge et l'Église dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle = Analecta Gregoriana*, LXXVI, Rome, 1954.

Angels

There is no special handbook or dictionary to meet scholarly requirements.

- E. Peterson, *Das Buch von der Engeln*, Munich, 1935. English edition, *The Angels and the Liturgy*, New York, 1964. A classic work with fundamental background material.
- J. Daniélou, *Les anges et leur mission d'après les Pères de l'Église*, 2nd ed., with an Appendix by E. Peterson, Chevetogne, 1953. Fundamental background material and also best introduction, along with Peterson (above), to 'angelology'.
- H. Düllmann, 'Engel und Menschen bei der Messfeier', *Divus Thomas*, 27, 1949, pp.281-291; 381-411. Important for iconography

3. TRADITION

Synods and Church Councils

Dictionaries, see 1.

- H. Jedin, *Kleine Konziliengeschichte. Die zwanzig ökumenischen Konzilien im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte*, Freiburg i/B, 1959. Excellent introduction with bibliography.
- F. X. Seppelt, *Geschichte der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed., revised by G. Schweiger, Munich, 1955 ff. Excellent surveys with very useful bibliographies, emphasis on 'spiritual history'.
- C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, nine volumes, vols. 8 and 9 by F. Hergenröther, 1855-1890. Revised French ed.: H. Leclercq, *Historie des Conciles*, 1907-1921. Up to the 5th Lateran Council.
- H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, Freiburg i/B, I, 2nd ed., 1951; II, 1957; III, 1970; IV / 1 and IV / 2, 1975. Of the numerous monographs on single councils, this one can safely be cited as the best account of the kinds of argument and ecclesiastical and political processes that lead up to the final teachings of a church Council. Exemplary and highly instructive in a similar manner is:
- J. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1961.
-) > Council documents, see above, 1.

'Mignomania'

Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, 162 volumes, Paris, 1857 ff.,

J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Paris, 1844 ff. The two series are usually referred to, simply, as Migne, PG and Migne, PL, or even just PG and PL. But at a time when contact with other disciplines is called for, too 'homely' abbreviations should be avoided (I remember the day I spent a long time finding out that StZ meant *Stimmen der Zeit*). The two Migne series contain extremely detailed and comprehensive indexes, and for art historians they have time and again proved an irresistible temptation to reconstruct theology on the Do-it-yourself principle for iconographical exploitation. Much 'Migne material' is being republished in the Belgian *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnholt, 1970s-80s.

Bible

The different versions are described in the dictionaries.

B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1952, is very instructive. *Editio Clementina* of the Vulgate Bible, ed. A. Grammaticus, Vatican City, numerous reprints. This is the standard version of general use. A sufficiently detailed concordance is:

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- 1) André Duval, *Des sacrements au Concile de Trêves*, Paris 1985.

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- De Raze, De Lauchaud and Flandrin, *Concordantiarum SS. Scripturae manuale*, Barcelona, 1958 (or later eds.). Names, nouns, adjectives, verbs in the Bible arranged by grammatical declension/conjugation and, under these subunits, by Bible books. More comprehensive than the concordance just cited: B. Fischer, *Novae concordantiae bibliorum sacrorum iuxta vulgatam versionem critice editam quas digessit Bonifatius Fischer OSB*, Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt, 1977, 5 volumes.

4 LITURGY

General Liturgy

Dictionaries and Handbooks

- J. G. Davies (ed.), *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, London, 1980 (bibliography to each article).
- F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris 1907 ff. Abbreviated DACL or DAL. Source material; drawings of objects and inscriptions.
- L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, 2nd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1942. Indispensable.
- M. Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 3rd ed., Milan, 1964. Surveys with bibliographies.
- J. A. Jungmann, *Der Gottesdienst in der Kirche*, a small volume in several editions, also in English and French. Excellent first introduction to the subject.
- L. Eisenhofer and J. Lechner, *Liturgik des römischen Ritus*, 6th ed., Freiburg i/B, 1953 and later eds., also in English.
- R. Aigrain (ed.), *Liturgia. Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances liturgiques*, Paris, 1947. 'Popular' almost by the standards of the French Encyclopaedia. Numerous comprehensive surveys by specialists, also on particular rites including the Eastern ones; comprehensive Index. Well-selected illustrations.

Surveys

- J. A. Jungmann, *Liturgisches Erbe und pastorale Gegenwart*, Innsbruck, 1960. English edition: *Pastoral Liturgy*, New York, 1962 (with too many disturbing mistranslations and misprints: 'Romanik' for Romanesque culture, translated 'Romanticism', etc.). This book is probably the best introduction (but also an important scholarly contribution) to the sort of historical problems connected with liturgical ideas that will affect art-historical work. The same holds for Schulz with regard to the Byzantine world: see *Bibliography 7*.
- J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie. La théologie biblique des sacrements et des fêtes d'après les Pères de l'Église*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1958 (English version available).
- P. F. Palmer, *Sacraments and Worship. Liturgy and Doctrinal Development of Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist*, New York, 1955, also London, 1957. Anthology in English translation (with source references) of liturgical texts and official statements and important commentaries on liturgy, also some texts concerning the controversy with the Reformers; short bibliography. For introductory reading.

The Mass and the Eucharist

- J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th revised ed., Vienna, 1962, also later eds. English translation *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its Origin and Development*, New York, 1951 f. The most complete modern treatment of the subject.
- A. M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (eds.), *Le Christ dans la liturgie, Conférences Saint-Serge, XXVII^e séminar d'études liturgiques, Paris, 24-28 juin 1980*, Rome, 1981.
- P. Piolanti, *L'Eucaristia*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1959. Useful short survey with extensive references and bibliographies.

N. Maurice-Denis and R. Boulet, *Eucharistie ou la messe dans ses variétés. Son histoire et ses origines*, Paris, 1953.

M. Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine à nos jours*, Paris, 1926.

- o J. A. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, Staten Island, N. Y., 1965. Fundamental on the early centuries. This English edition is revised by the author on the basis of the original German one (*Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, Münster, 1925) and is preferable to this.

- o H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au moyen-âge*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1949.

O. Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie, = Theophania. Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums*, Bonn, 1979.

P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1933. Brow, Dumoutet, Franz and Kramp have material on the 'popular' aspects:

E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'Hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement*, Paris, 1926.

A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens*, Freiburg i/B, 1902.

J. Kramp, 'Opfergemeinschaft und Messgebräuche im Altertum und Mittelalter', *Stimmen der Zeit*, 110, 1926, pp.283ff.

- o F. Callaey, *L'origine della festa del 'Corpus Domini'*, Rovigo, 1958. Documents and historical notes.

- o F. Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1967. Indispensable for studies in the late medieval and sixteenth-century material. B. J. Kidd, *The Later Mediaeval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*, London, 1898, 2nd ed., London, 1958, entirely superseded by Clark's study.

E. Iserloh, *Der Kampf um die Messe in den ersten Jahren der Auseinandersetzung mit Luther*, Münster i/W, 1952.

- o E. Iserloh, *Die Eucharistie in der Darstellung des Johannes Eck. Ein Beitrag zur vortridentischen Kontroverstheologie über das Messopfer*, Münster i/W, 1950.

Altar, altar accessories, liturgical vestments, etc., see *Bibliography 6*.

Liturgical Year, Breviary

- o P. Salmon, *L'office divin*, Paris, n.d. English translation, *The Breviary Through the Centuries*, Collegeville (Ma), 1962. Brief introduction with bibliography.

- o J. Pascher, *Das liturgische Jahr*, Munich, 1963. Historical surveys, description of year cycle with cues, source references and index.

There is no single up-to-date study on the subject (like Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia* for the Mass); see the dictionaries and handbooks (good survey in Eisenhofer and Lechner, *Liturgik*, above).

B. Fischer and J. Wagner (eds.), *Paschatis Sollemnia. Studien zu Osterfeier und Osterfrömmigkeit J. A. Jungmann. . . dargeboten*, Freiburg i/B, 1962. Numerous articles on Easter liturgy.

Music and Song

- o J. Gelineau, *Chant et musique dans le culte chrétien*, Paris, n. d. English translation, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship. Principles, Laws, Applications*, London, 1964. Introductory.

Monastic Orders

W. R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, New York, 1945. Among very numerous contributions on the Orders, this may be cited here as an example for the special problems involved.

- S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth Century*, Westminster (MD), 1960. Of fundamental importance for studies in Franciscan material and equally important for papal Rome.

5 LITURGICAL 'DRAMA'

- J. Pascher, 'Die christliche Eucharistiefeyer als dramatische Darstellung des geschichtlichen Abendmahles', *Münchener Universitätsreden*, N. F., 24, Munich, 1958. The 'drama' begins with the liturgy itself; for this, see
- O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages. Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, Baltimore, 1965 (especially Essay II, 'The Mass as Sacred Drama', pp.35-79).
- T. Stemler, *Liturgisches Feiern und geistliche Spiele*, Tübingen, 1970.
- Fr. Edwards, *Ritual and Drama. The Medieval Theatre*, London, 1976.
- W. Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages. Western European Stage Conditions c. 800-1576*, Cambridge, 1978 (especially chapters 1 and 2).

6 THE ALTAR AND THE CHURCH

The Altar

- J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, reprint 1970. The most comprehensive treatment.
- J. Godley, *Time and Place for the Celebration of Mass. Historical Synopsis and Commentary*, Washington (DC), 1948.
- J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, Munich, 1932.
- J. Braun, *Die liturgische Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit*, 2nd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1924.
- V. H. Elbern, *Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1964.
- J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Okzident und Orient*, Freiburg i/B, 1907.
- H. Caspary, 'Kult und Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie in Italien vor dem Tridentinum', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, IX, 1965, pp.102-131.
- H. Caspary, *Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trient*, Munich, 1965.
- M. Warnke, 'Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock', *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1968, pp.61ff.
- A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'une culte*, Paris, 1961.
- A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la vraie croix*, Paris, 1965.
- E. G. Grimme, *Goldschmiedkunst im Mittelalter. Form und Bedeutung des Reliquiers von 800 bis 1500*, Schauberg, 1972. Text not up to promising title; liturgical aspects almost entirely absent, but fair survey with bibliographies.
- H. Torp, 'Monumentum resurrectionis. Studio sulla forma e sul significato del candelabro pasquale in Santa Maria della Pietà di Cori', *Institutum romanum Norvegiae, Acta*, I, 1962, pp.79-112. Iconography connected with liturgy.
- H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes. Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des toskanischen Hochaltarretabels*, Munich, 1962. Morphological; liturgical dimension absent. Fundamental information on 'altarpieces' in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, above.

See Central Churches

The Building

General

- M. Warnke, *Bau und Ueberbau. Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach der Schriftquellen*, Frankfurt a/M, 1976. Economic dimensions, but leaves liturgy out of consideration and thus does not offer a satisfactory account of the social function of the church buildings.
- K. Gamber, *Liturgie und Kirchenbau. Studien zur Geschichte der Messfeier und des Gotteshauses in der Frühzeit = Studia patristica et liturgica quae edidit Institutum Liturgicum Ratisbonae*, No. 6, Regensburg, 1976. Useful and interesting but somewhat sweeping. Bibliography.
 - A. M. Schneider, 'Liturgie und Kirchenbau in Syrien', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1949, No. 3, pp.45-68. 'Oriental' material but included here because of exemplary methodological standard.
 - Th. F. Mathews, 'An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its liturgical Function', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 38, 1962, pp. 71-95. Important for substance, method and bibliography.
 - Th. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park and London, 1971. Does not directly concern the Roman West but must be cited in the present context because of its exemplary methodological standard. Nothing similar exists for the churches of the Roman West, except up to a point Bond's volumes (see below).
 - C. Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, = *Bibliothèque générale de l'École pratique des hautes études*, VI^e section, Paris, 1963. Excellent for bibliographies. Text to be consulted with caution, as the author 'proposes an interpretation of the Carolingian churches of Gaul based on Egeria's description of the fourth-century liturgy of Jerusalem', to cite Mathews.
 - J. Duft, ed., *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan*, St. Gallen, 1967 = *Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte. Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen*, XLII, pp. 129-176: on altar tituli.
 - Fr. Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1913. These volumes are the best general introduction to the variety of uses and functions that face the art historian. Bond gives a descriptive survey not tailored to suit a thesis. Until we have something in the line of Mathews (above) or Bond, iconographical studies on the great Western churches, such as Chartres, are doomed to float in a void.
 - R. Kroos, 'Liturgische Quellen zum Bamberger Dom', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39, Nos. 2 and 3, 1967 (several articles on Bamberg Cathedral in this issue).
 - Chr. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit. Architektonische und Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, Wiesbaden, 1973. Exemplary for method; concerned with a particular section of the buildings; supplementary to Mathews (above).
 - M. B. Hall, 'The Tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed', *The Art Bulletin*, Sept. 1974, pp.325-341.
 - N. C. Brooks, 'The Sepulchre of Christ in art and liturgy, with special reference to the liturgical drama', *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, May 1921.
 - K. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, Cambridge, 1965.

Symbolical and Allegorical Interpretation

- A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, vol. 1, Paris, 1946.
- R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York, 1969. Reprints of eleven articles relevant to the present topic.

- o J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters. Mit Berücksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus*, 2nd ed., Freiburg i/B, 1924, reprint Münster/W, 1964.
- o G. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin, 1951. Important for what it contains, but the liturgical arguments are often vague; bibliography of 323 entries contains six on liturgy including one handbook and Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia*, which was included after the book was completed (first ed. of which came in 1949).
- o W. Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana*, Berlin, 1953, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1966. Important in the present connection for perspective of research on political and ideological role of churches in town context. 7x

7 SACRED IMAGES

- o H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt*, revised ed., Trier, 1980 (excellent for iconography).
- L.-H. Grondijs, 'Images de saints d'après la théologie byzantine du VIII^e siècle', *Actes du VI^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, II, Paris, 1948, pp. 145-170.
- E. Stakemeier, 'Das Siebte Ökumenische Konzil: Bilderkult und Einheit der Kirche', *Unio Christianorum. Festschrift Erzbischof Dr. Lorenz Jaeger*, Paderborn, 1962, pp.243-261.
- E. Kitzinger, *The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm*, Cambridge (Mass), 1954.
- G. Ladner, 'Der Bildersteit und die Kunstlehren der byzantinischen und abendländischen Theologie', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1931, pp.1-23.
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- J. Kollwitz, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Bildverehrung', J. Kollwitz and H. Von Campenhausen, *Das Gottesbild im Abendland*, Witten and Berlin, 1957, pp.57-76.
- H. von Campenhausen, 'Die Bilderfrage als theologisches Problem der alten Kirche', *ibid.*, pp.77-108.
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- H. Schrade, 'Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 79, 1957, pp.69-78.
- E. Iserloh, 'Bildfeindlichkeit des Nominalismus und Bildsturm im 16. Jahrhundert', W. Heinen, ed., *Bild - Wort - Symbol in der Theologie*, Würzburg, 1969.
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Iconography: here defined as a) the image system;
b) operations on this. Cf. 'mathematics': the
system as well as operations on the system.

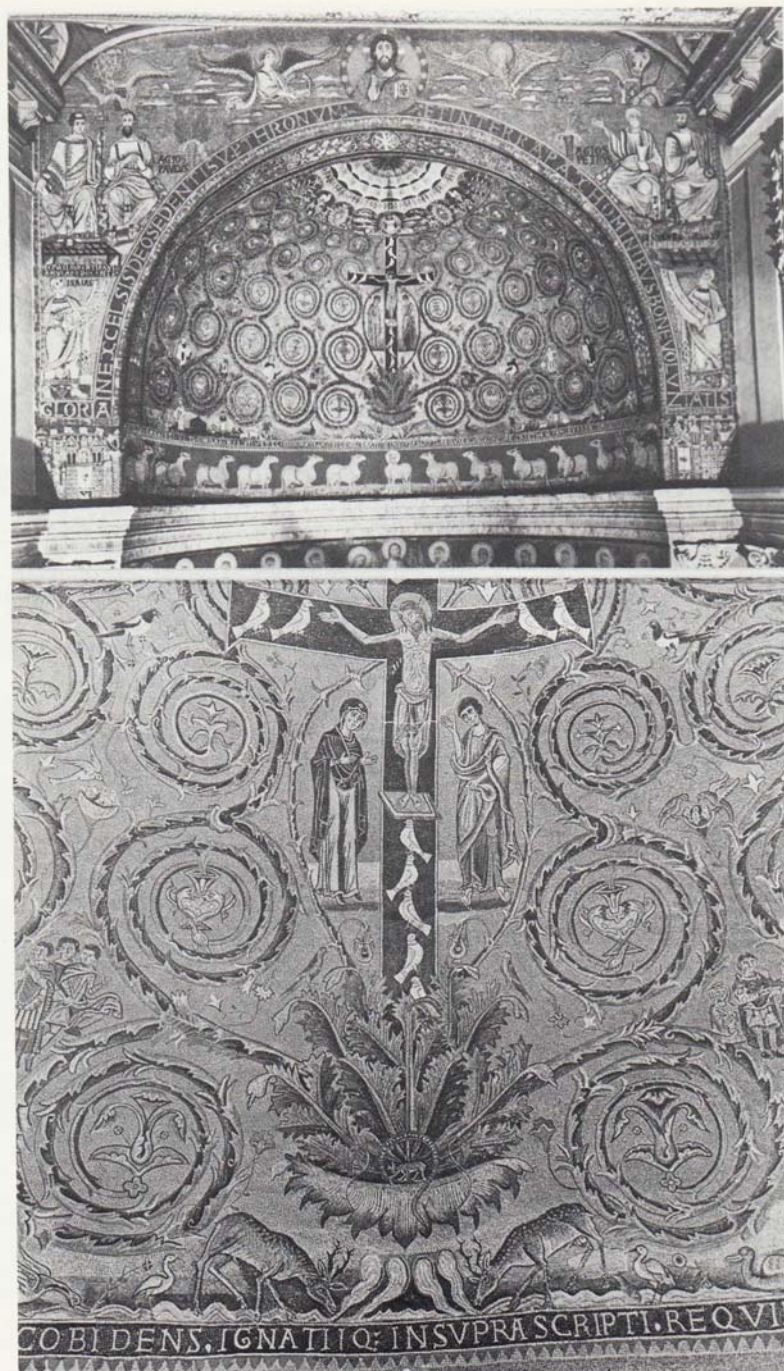
The icon. of an organism.
Illust.-syst. in S.F. Assisi.

210 Event - Narrative - Ritual.
- "Object"

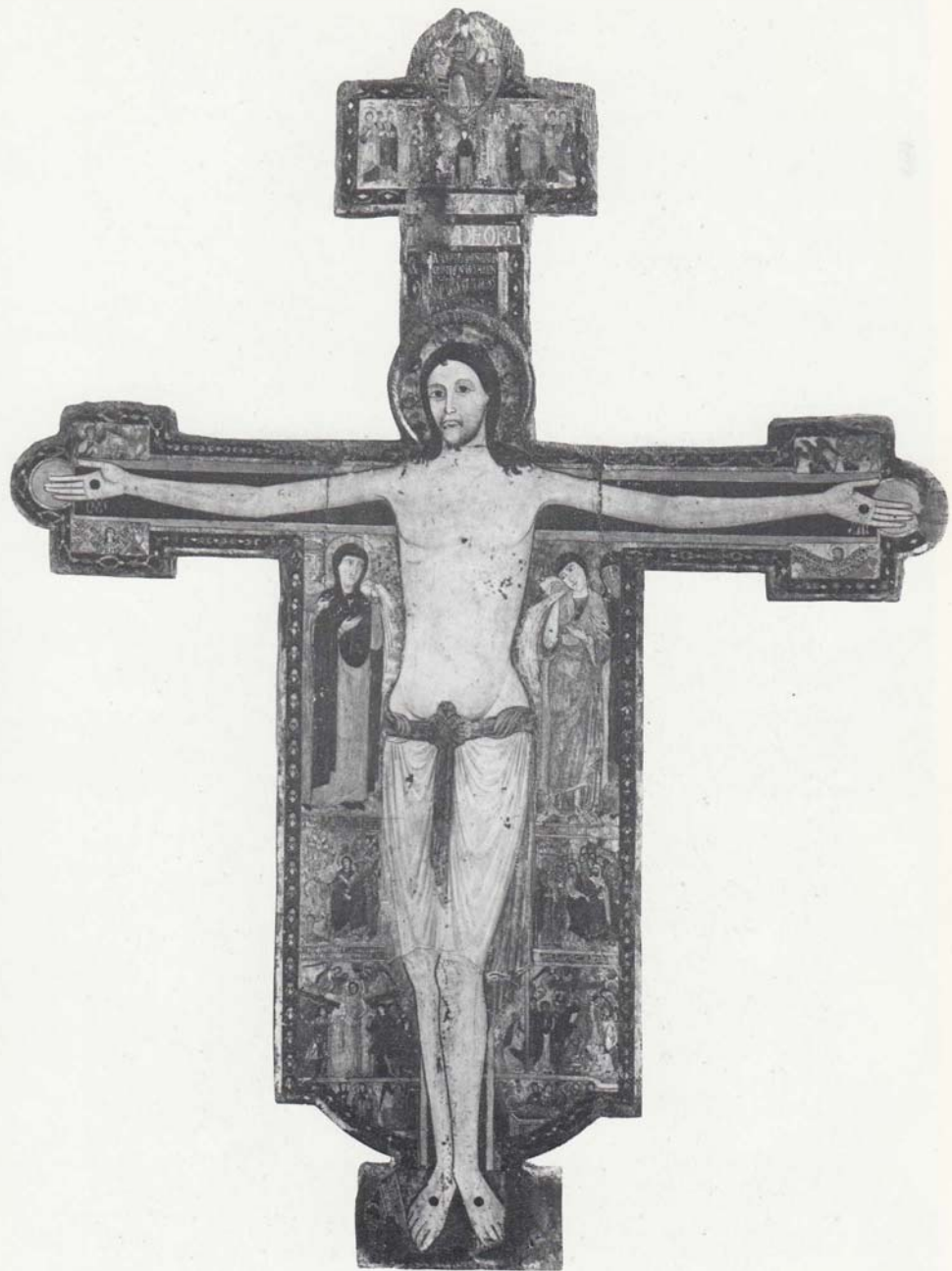


1. Arles, St.-Trophime, The Stoning of St. Stephen, c. 1183.

*From a postcard bought by Liv + me
in Arles Aug. 1960.*



2. Rome, San Clemente, Mosaics in apse and on triumphal arch, c. 1112.
 3. Detail of Ill. 2.



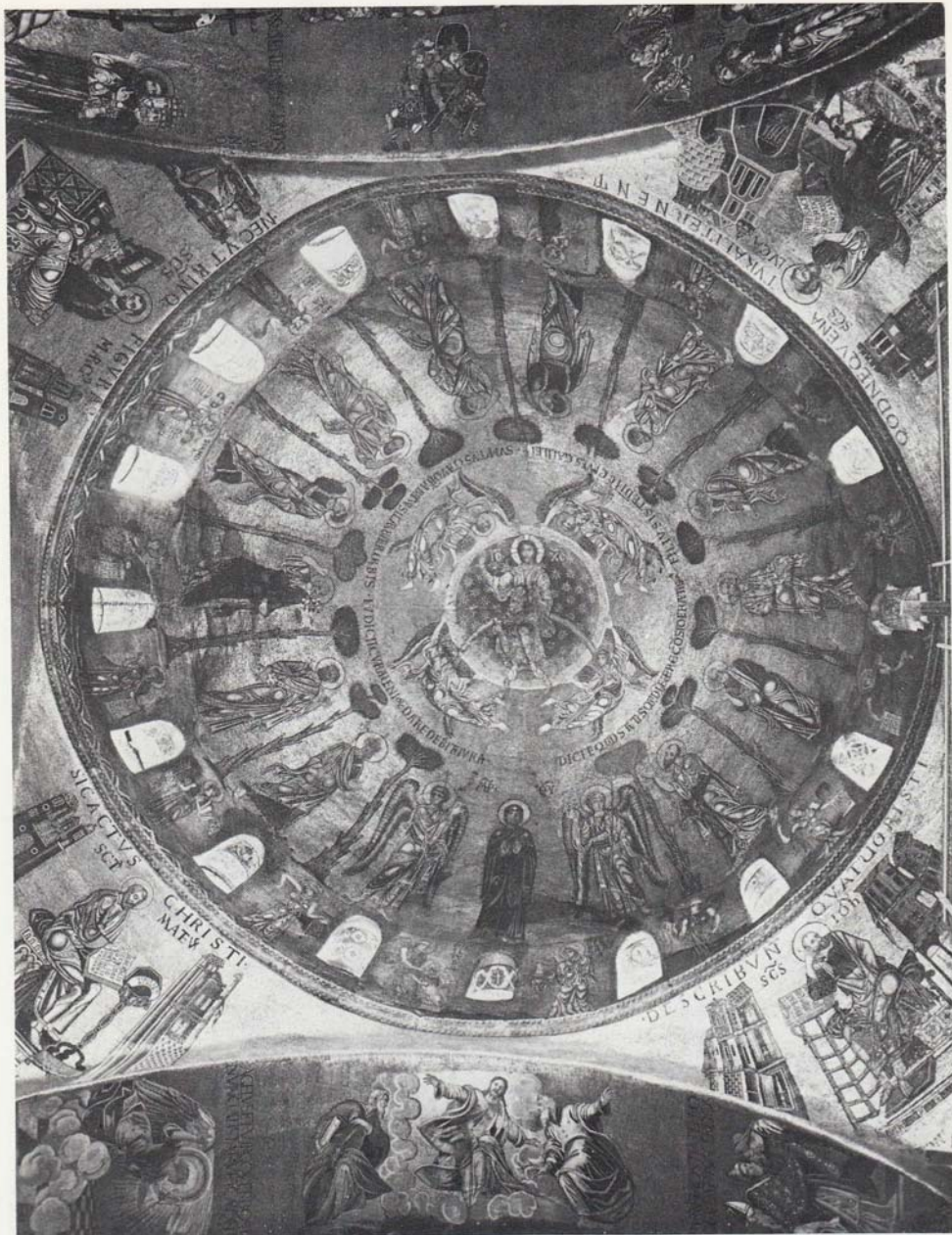
4. Sarzana, Cathedral, Painted wooden crucifix, 1138.



5. Detail of Ill. 4.

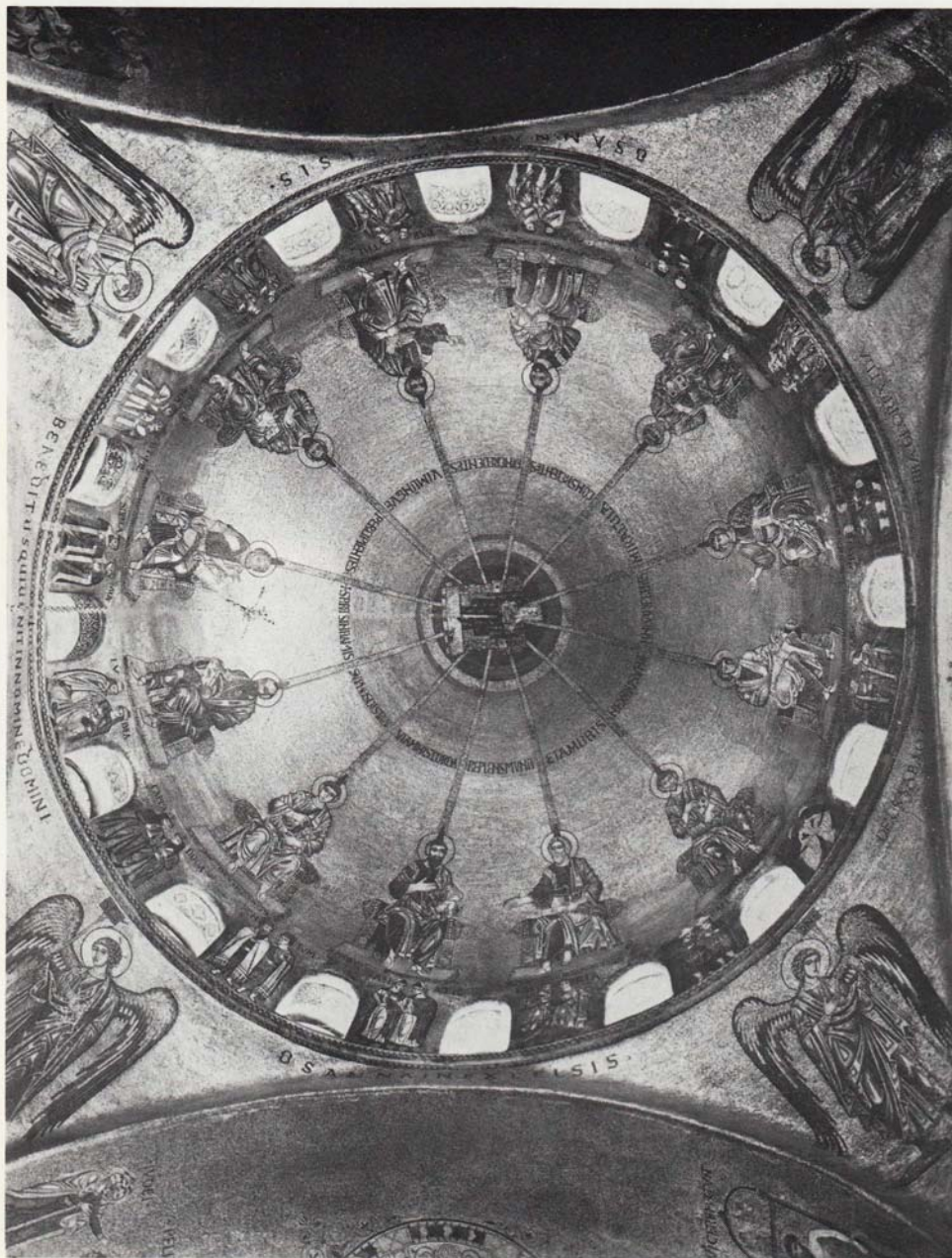
6. Venice, San Marco, Mosaics in 'Emmanuel' cupola, 12th century.

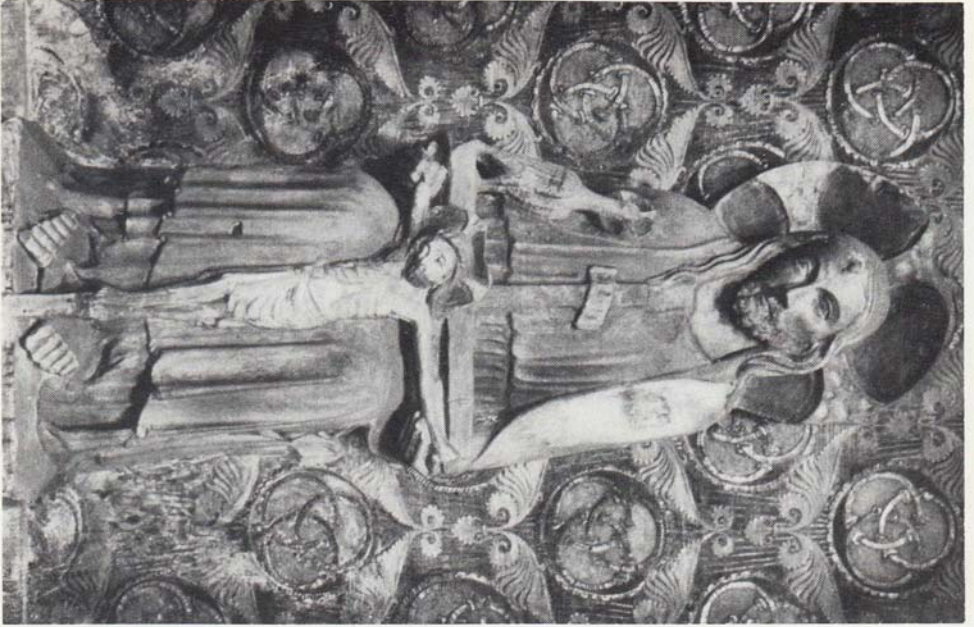




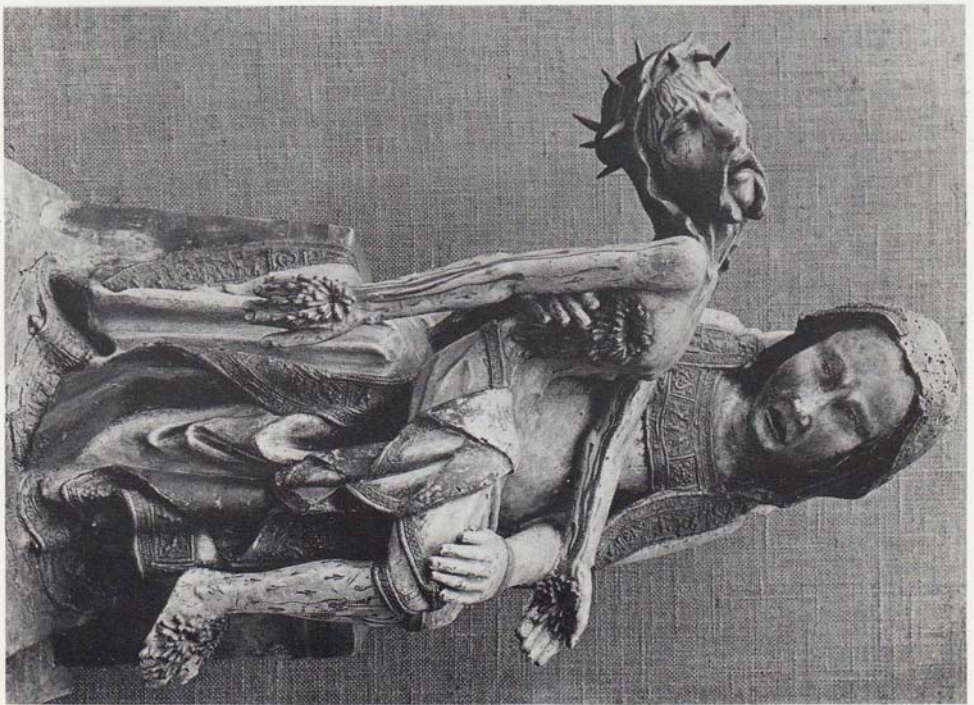
7. Venice, San Marco, Mosaics in 'Ascension' cupola, 12th century.

8. Venice, San Marco, Mosaics in 'Pentecost' cupola, 12th century.

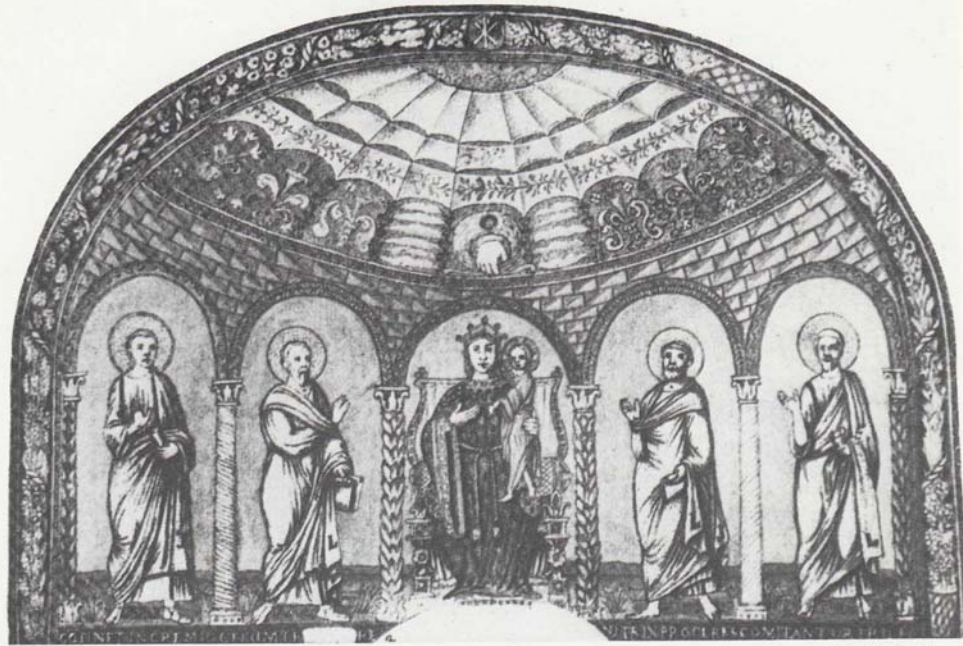




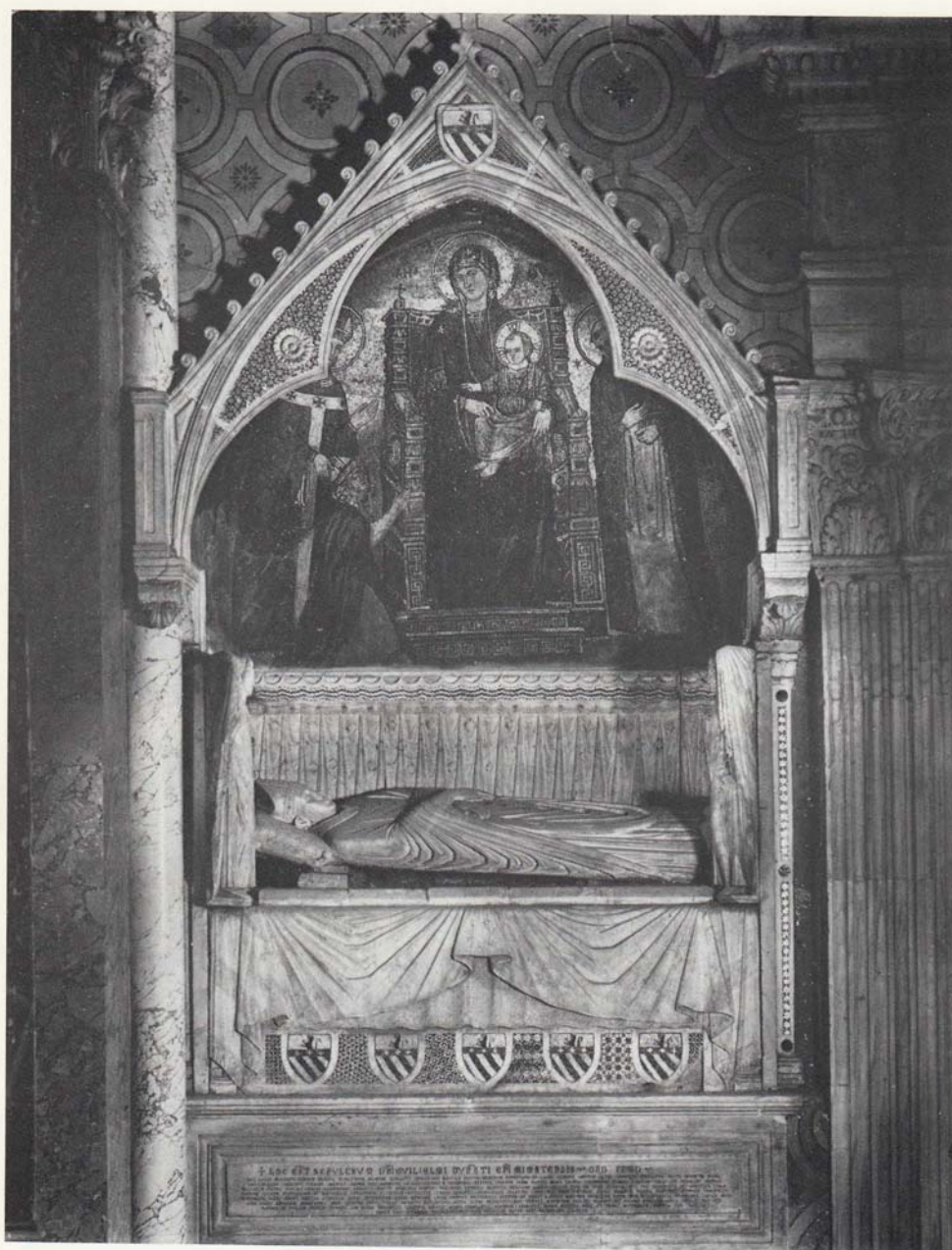
9. Fritzlär, Cathedral, The Trinity, c. 1310.



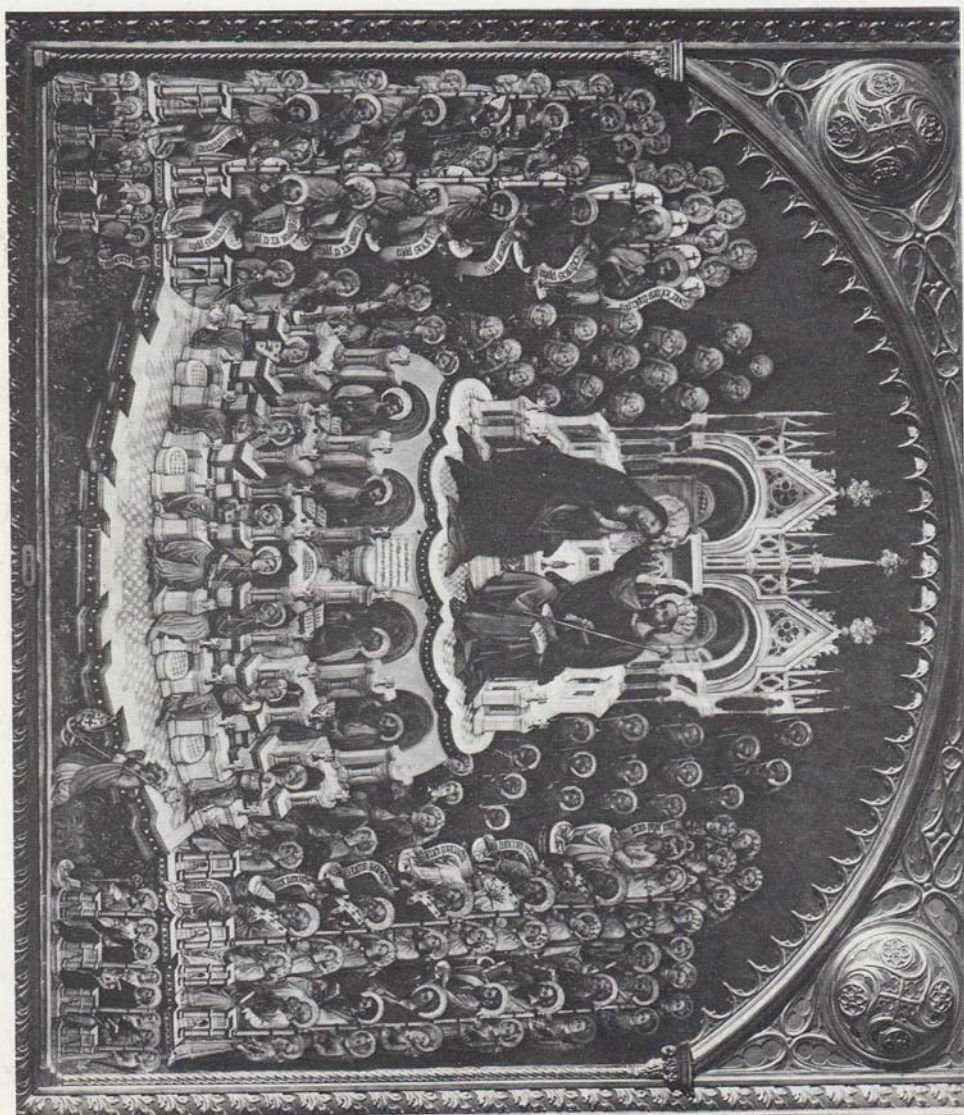
10. Bonn, Provinzialmuseum, The Virgin Mary with the Dead Christ, c. 1300.



11. Rome, Santa Francesca Romana, drawing of destroyed apse mosaic of c. 1161 (Windsor Castle).



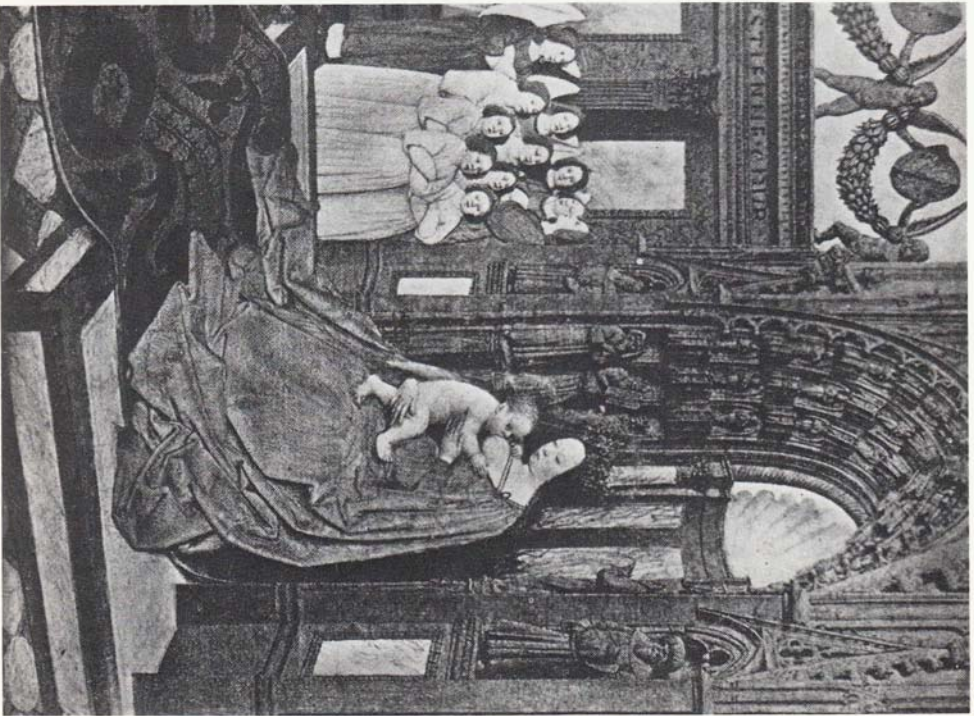
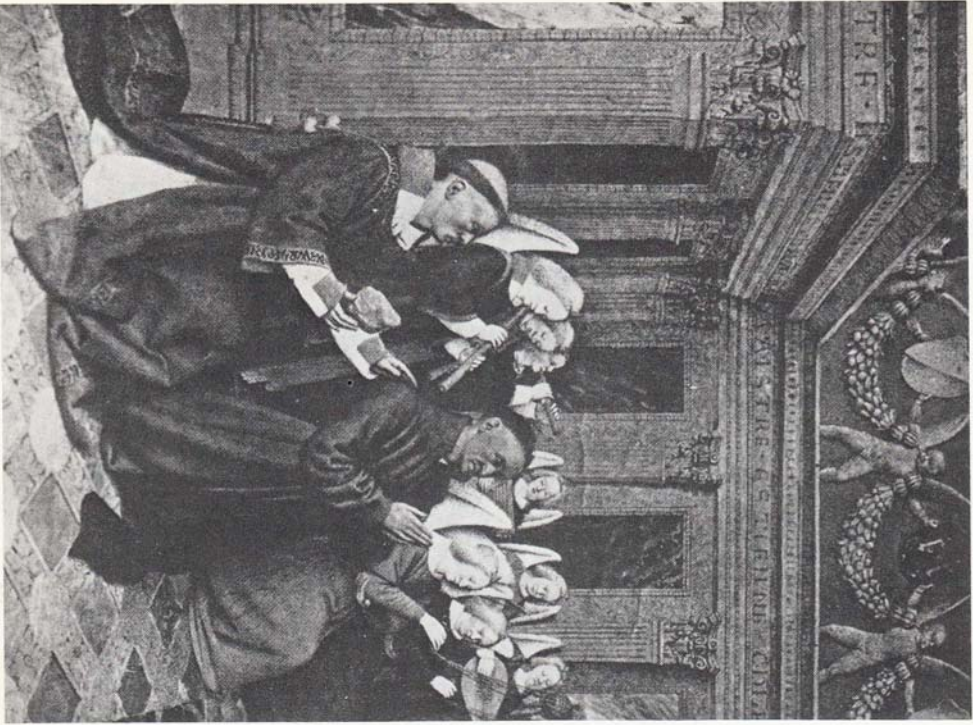
12. Rome, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Funerary monument with mosaic for Bishop William Durand, late thirteenth century.



13. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Jacobello dal Fiore, Coronation of the Virgin, 1410-1445.



14. Toulouse, Archive Municipal, Municipal Capitulary, 1412–1413, frontispiece.



15. Chantilly, Musée Condé, Hours of Étienne Chevalier, Étienne Chevalier with St. Stephen before the Virgin and Child, mid-fifteenth century.



16. Amalfi, Cathedral, 'Madonna della Neve', fifteenth century.

*From a postcard bought by Liv + me
in Amalfi Aug. 1960.*



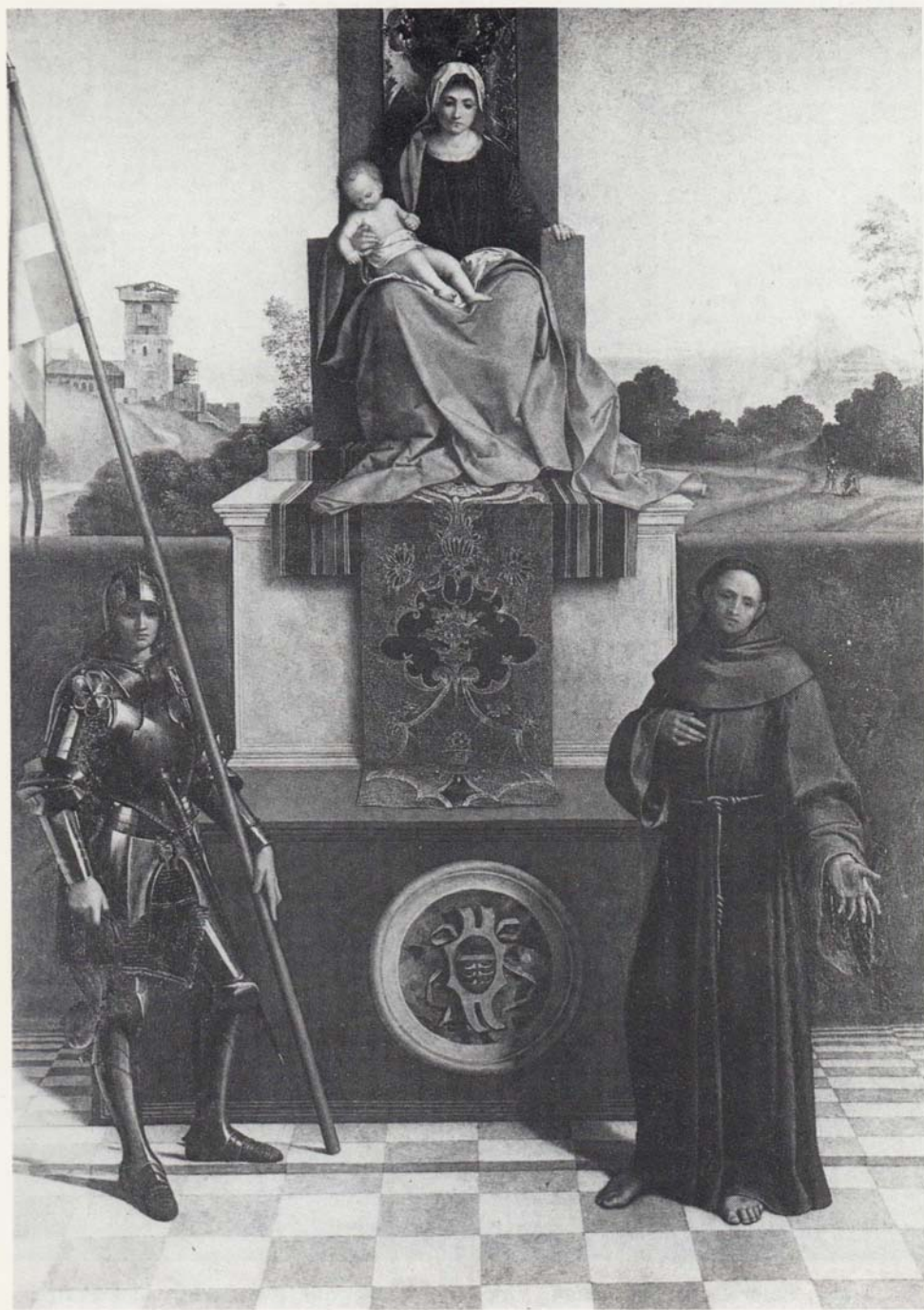
17. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Jan van Eyck, Chancellor Rolin with the Virgin and Child, c. 1435.

Prof. Knutsens Viden.



18. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Stephan Lochner (?), Virgin and Child (central portion), c. 1450?

Phot. K. Mutschers-Verlag



19. Castelfranco Veneto, Collegiate Church, Giorgione, Virgin and Child, St. Francis and an allegorical military figure, c. 1504?



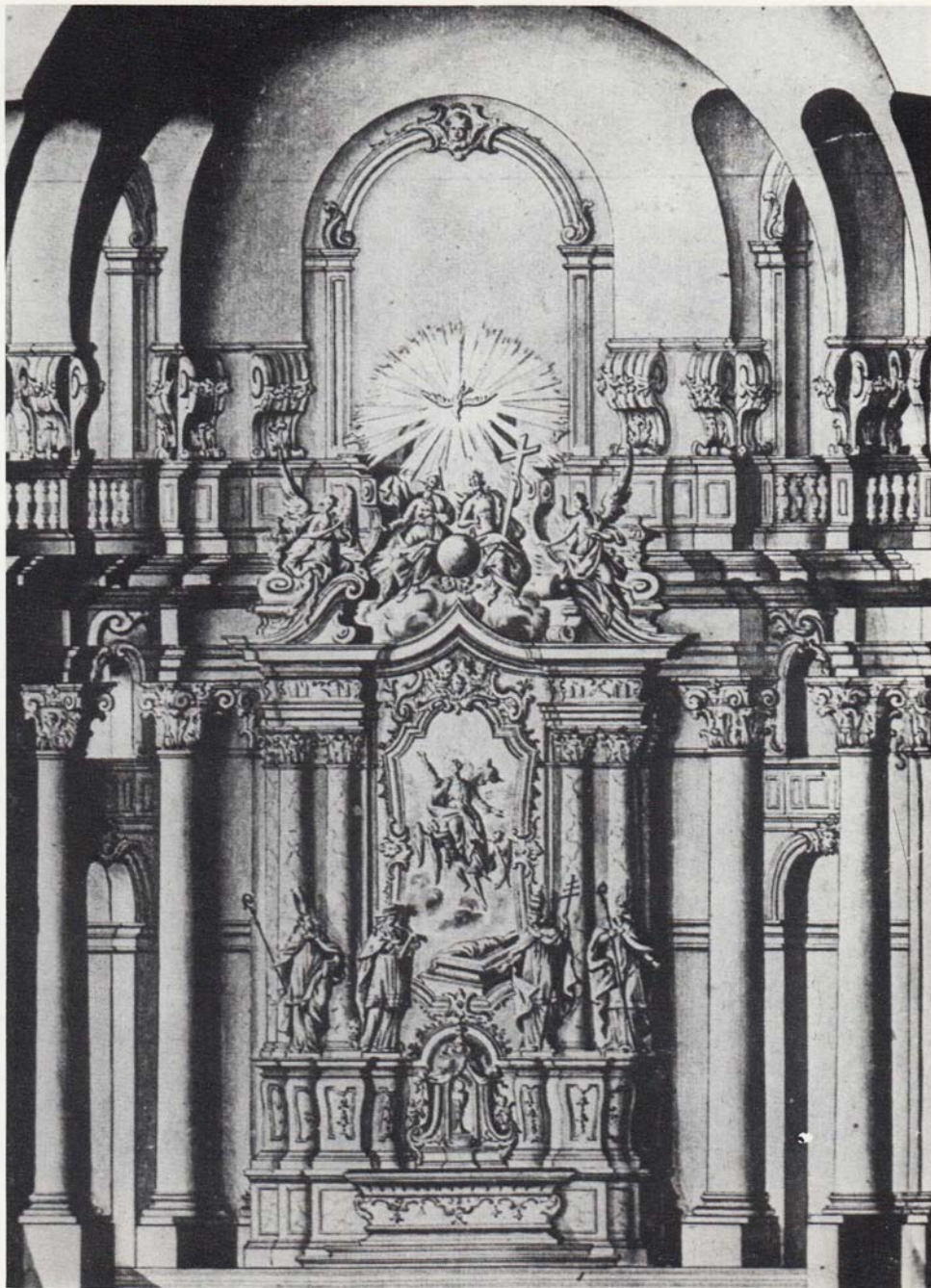
20. Genua, Balbi Collection, Titian, Virgin and Child with Two Saints and a Portrait, 1512-1514?



21. Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Titian, Pesaro Madonna, 1519–1526.



22. Rome, Sant'Agostino, Sacrament Tabernacle with Tomb, c. 1477.



23. Würzburg, Hofkirche, Drawing for Interior with High Altar, by Balthasar Neumann, 1731–1732 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen).



24. Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo, the Prophet Jonah, c. 1512.

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25. Sacramentary of Pope Innocent III, Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Preface illustration.



26. Sacramentary of Pope Innocent III, Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Te igitur (Canon) illustration.