IMAGES IN PREMODERN SOCIETIES

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ABOVE ICONOGRAPHY

For Walter S. Melion at seventy

“God is ‘above grammar’”
Erwin Panofsky, letter to the editor
of *ARTnews*, April 1961

When I was a graduate student at Princeton University, I sat in on Erwin Panofsky’s iconography seminar. It must have been 1964. During one rambling, seemingly endless, student report, Panofsky, like others in the room, had trouble staying wake. When the presenter realized that his long recitations of texts were losing the audience, he asked whether he should read the entire passage from the Book of Kings pertinent to his iconographic argument or just summarize it. Noticing that the master had dozed off, he rephrased his query in a louder voice: “Dr. Panofsky, should I read the Bible?” Jolted awake, the esteemed professor replied: “Of course, the Bible is an excellent iconographic source!” Known for his quick wit, Panofsky was clearly being self-parodic. He knew well that any text, Sacred Scripture in particular, could engender distinctly different visual expressions even within a single cultural environment; and he was aware that many “illustrations” actually preceded the texts they accompany. Iconography was only a first step in a process of interpretation he called “iconology.”

The Princeton episode reveals aspects of the iconographic method worth considering sixty years later. At the moment when online versions of such essential tools as Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*, Ducange’s *Glossaries mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, and the *Corpus Christianorum* enable the shattering of texts into single words independent of the ideas they were composed to express and Artstor, the Index of Christian Art, and numerous other image databases array depictions by subject, the constructing of art’s basic iconographic contexts is relatively easy to accomplish. More even than in Panofsky’s day, iconography therefore risks deciphering art outside time, intellectual place, context, and reception, a problem his “corrective principles” based on forms, historical conditions, and world views were drawn up to solve. For those reasons and others, many scholars now dismiss “iconography" and also "iconology" as fundamentally reductive, maintaining that the methods ignore such conditions of art as matter and manufacture, scale, situation, reception, performance, and ambience.[1] Most important, these critics contend, the venerable methods neutralize the experience of art in the present. Attention to textual and pictorial sources deployed to recover a work's imagined original moment ignores medieval art's continuing affect, beauty, and aura.

Iconography too had a history, of course, both during the Middle Ages and in modern research.[2] In Byzantium, the Iconoclastic controversy was determinative (ca. 726-843);[3] and the Turkocratia later led to codification and retrospective re-interpretations. In the Latin West, papal reaction against eastern Iconoclasm was significant; the Gregorian Reform (ca. 1050-1200) was influential; and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) became a turning point.[4] Although Renaissance art's self-reflexivity is usually taken to mark a fundamental break, medieval iconography persisted well into the early modern period.[5] Nineteenth-century historicism and the emergence of scientific art history during the twentieth century engendered a golden age of iconographic study. Prompted by developments in modern art, pictorial semiotics' stress on art's capacity to communicate independent of textual referents, phenomenology's interest in the production of experiences not just meaning, and object studies' concern with materiality, movement, and exchange, the conceptions of how medieval art operates and what its proper domain should be are questioned.

This brief Introduction can hardly cover every aspect of iconography's current status. It seeks only to renew the claim that iconography remains the primary methodological tool for the study of medieval art because medieval art was fundamentally a system for making visual God's presentations that were believed also to be manifested in text, sacraments, and even nature. Whereas some scholarship might accomplish little more than to identify the written and pictorial underpinnings of complex works of art, most recent studies accommodate the field's new interests and techniques,[6] including the implications of textual fluidity and reception, the ways matter inflects subjects, the production of meaning through objects' function and movement, and the diverse roles that exchange, ornament, abstraction, and artistic license play. Medieval art is never mere illustration; but dismissing its complex intermingling with textual and pictorial "sources" bypasses its essence. To make that point, this essay returns over and again to a few selected works of different periods, origins, media, and character to examine how the interplay of words and images constructed meaning(s).[7] Among other topics, it considers the relationship of images to texts that were themselves unstable and contained visual allusions, the nagging questions of models and copying, and the ways that hybrids of letters, written and spoken words, diagrams, and pictures, worked together to fashion visual experiences. It also underscores how medieval art's poetic structures engaged Christ's incarnation, the perfect wedding of matter and spirit that was orthodox Christianity's foundation and aesthetics, and how, at the same time, they proved inadequate to the central mystery of the Trinity. The Introduction examines the synergies of artisans, *concepteurs*, and beholders as well, and the impossibility of either a truly apophatic Christian art or a rigid code of interpretation. Classic studies and recent publications are privileged in the references, the former to afford proper recognition of past scholars and the latter to facilitate access to current discussions.

Spreading the Peacock's Tail

Unlike Jews who transcribed the words of Torah according to rituals that ensured copies' accuracy and whose Talmud sought to excavate from holy writ *God's* intended meaning, Christians worked to disclose what Bede called the "*multifarie et multis figurarum modis eadem Christi et ecclesiæ mysteria repetuntur.*"[8] Augustine had understood the process of interpretation as a fragmenting of scripture and the blending of something new from its pieces.[9] Cassiodorus compared reading Psalms to a "beautiful peacock which is adorned with round eyes and a rich and lovely variety of colors."[10]

Texts themselves were not stable, not even the Bible. The foundation of Christian mission, first to Jews and then pagans, sacred scriptures were continuously received by cultures with their own diverse written or non-literary traditions and artistic (or aniconic) legacies. Most writings were revised, translated, edited, occasionally emended, paraphrased, glossed, fragmented and reassembled in florilegia, quoted in new contexts, spoken (and misspoken), performed, rewritten, and misunderstood. Guyart-des-Moulins' fourteenth-century *Bible historiale* assimilated a millennium of commentary that inevitably generated iconography quite distant from the Vulgate.[11] Even seemingly insignificant variations introduced during the processes of reception and recirculating sometimes had great consequences. Based on the Latin suffix *que* attached to *filio* in the Nicene Creed, for instance, the debate about the procession of the Holy Spirit led ultimately to schism between the Orthodox and Latin churches. Minor differences mattered for iconography too. The horns that became standard features of Moses' physiognomy are probably the best known example. Derived primarily from Jerome's translation of Ex. 34.29-30, the earliest surviving witness in the twelfth-century Ælfric Hexateuch in London accompanies the vernacular rendering *gehyrned* (on the folio's recto) and may be related to commentaries on Moses' glorification in liturgical drama and the Old English poem *Exodus* (British Library, Cotton Ms. Claudius B.iv, fol. 105^{v}; Fig. 1).[12] Within a picture cycle that is overall rather traditional and may, in fact, have derived from a pictured Vulgate appropriated, at least implicitly, to authorize the vernacular translation, the iconographic interpolation gained particular potency.[13]

Prefaces and other paratexts also suggested iconographies.[14] In the case of the Ælfric Hexateuch, St. Paul's mode of reading the "Old Testament" as prophecy of the "New" (condensed in Jerome's widely-circulated Bible preface *Frater Ambrosius*) inspired the illustrator to portray Moses shielding his radiant face behind a purple curtain draped on a pole: "The Law is spiritual; it needs to be unveiled so that it can be understood and its face revealed, and we may contemplate God's glory." Commentaries were themselves fitted with pictures. Beatus of Liebana's eighth-century *Commentaria in Apocalypsin* was more frequently illustrated during the early Middle Ages than the scripture itself and, in the new textual context, with greater panache.[15] Poetic paraphrases and hymns intensified scriptures' "rich and lovely variety." The fifth/sixth-century Akathist Hymn (translated into Latin in the eighth century) offered myriad visual metaphors for the Virgin.[16] The mid-twelfth-century German *Arnsteiner Mariengebet* assembled Old Testament passages traditionally interpreted as prophecies and introduced them into a peon to the Virgin's virtues.[17] Alfonso el Sabio's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* comprehended Gautier de Coincy's *La Vie et Miracles de Notre Dame* and gave it a new authorial voice; many illustrations of the four-volume *Cantigas* manuscript in Madrid and Florence portray the King himself, like a troubadour, singing the hymns.[18]

Art, in its turn, entered literature. In the *Timaeus*, Plato likened Venus' double appearance in the morning and at sunset to an acanthus coil, a motif ubiquitous in Hellenistic art.[19] A millennium later, the ninth-century transcriber of Calcidius' fourth-century Latin translation figured the planet's orbit "*velut sinuosum acanthi volumen*" as three interlocking spirals (Lyon, Bib. mun., MS 324, fol. 44^{r}; Fig. 2).[20] The classical ornament had also been used to set off the ending of one text from the beginning of the next and so would have been intelligible to contemporary readers as simultaneously an illustration and a functional reading device.

Scripture is also replete with references to crafted objects, the brazen serpent Moses raised in the desert, the golden calf, the tabernacle fashioned by Bezalel with its sacred contents, including the Ark of the Covenant containing the tablets of the Law and looked upon by cherubim, Solomon's Temple, as well the things used to torture and kill Christ, most notably the cross. These acquired special importance as scripture was read and reread, integrated into performances, and entered art. Perhaps not surprising, Karaite Jews in Palestine or Egypt, who maintained a strict adherence to the law God delivered to Moses on Mt. Sinai, adorned a Pentateuch in 929 with only the things God had authorized the artisans Bezalel and Oliab to make (Ex. 31.1-6) (St. Petersburg, National Library, Firk. Hebr. II B 17, fol. IV^{r}; Fig. 3).[21] The desert tabernacle with its outer courtyard featuring the menorah and other sacred objects described in Exodus 25.18 seems to be entirely literal, so too the קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים with the Ark of the Covenant containing the Ten Commandments hovered over by leaf-like cherubim. Even the Karaite originalists, however, turned to contemporary artistic traditions to realize the scriptural descriptions. The gate into the outer courtyard is a horseshoe arch and the vessels recall Abbasid metalwork; the pediment is a grill of acanthus coils that applies the ubiquitous convention for suggesting ascent toward the Ineffable. Conversely, the tabernacle/temple in the ninth-century Greek Psalter on Mt. Athos (Pantokrator Monastery, MS 61, fol. 165^{r}; Fig. 4), which may, in fact, have been based on a Jewish model, gives prominence to the curtain blocking the entranceway to reflect the importance the Gospels gave the temple veil's rending in the crucifixion narrative and the Epistle to the Hebrew's use of it as a metaphor of Christ who "entered, not that sanctuary made by men's hands but heaven itself ... to bear the burden of men's sins and will appear a second time, sin done away, to bring salvation to those who are watching for him" (Hb 9.1-28).[22]

Like their pagan predecessors, medieval authors composed ekphraseis that re-contextualized art, both real and imagined, and transmitted interpretations.[23] Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople, expounded art's cognitive value in the homily he delivered at the time the mosaic was installed in the apse of Hagia Sophia after Iconoclasm (867).[24] Baudri of Bourgeuil described a room decorated for Adela with a zodiac on the ceiling, a *mappa mundi* on the floor, and narratives on the walls that traced sacred and secular history from the Creation of the world to the conquest of England (based probably on the Bayeux embroidery).[25] Other types of descriptions, including such traveler's accounts as Gerald of Wales', which describes the various sacred images he saw in Rome, and Nicolaus Maniacutius' *Historia imaginis Salvatoris*, which incorporates reports by Eusebius and other sources, passed on valuable information about art imbricated in inherited texts.[26] Churchmen glossed pictures in their sermons and served as ad hoc tour guides. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, pointed to a Last Judgment as an inducement for confession;[27] the thirteenth-century Dominican Friar, Stephen of Bourbon, adduced usurers' punishment against sin.[28] Homiletics, including vernacular sermons, are sources for and also witnesses to medieval iconography.[29]

Picture captions were circulated in compendia that were fluid rather than programmatic. Manuel Philes composed Greek epigrams, of which some were compiled in such collections as the *Anthologia Palatina*.[30] Poems by Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Venantius Fortunatus, Alcuin, Ekkehard IV of Sankt Gallen, Baudri of Bourgueil and Hildebert of Lavardin, Peter Damian, the anonymous author of the *Pictor in Carmine*, and others rendered the meaning of pictures comprehensible and were themselves assembled and reassembled ad hoc.[31]

An extensive literature, including Maniacutius' *Historia*, described miraculous "births" of sacred images.[32] The tenth-century *Narratio de imagine Edessena* (itself a composite of apocrypha responding to evolving attitudes toward images during the early Byzantine centuries) constructed a biography for the *mandylion*, an ἀχειροποίητον that re-enacted the Savior's own powers by toppling idols, performing miracles, and converting pagans. After the miraculous image gained importance during Iconoclasm, it was incorporated into the Byzantine liturgy and came to be illustrated in manuscripts of the *Narratio* and on icons. The composite legend was figured on the fourteenth-century frame of the important replica in Genoa (San Bartolomeo degli Armeni; Fig. 5),[33] which authorizes the Holy Face it frames by picturing how the leprous King Abgar dispatched his servant Ananias with a letter imploring Christ to come to Edessa cure him. Unable to comply, the Savior offered instead to send a portrait; but Ananias could not capture his radiance so Christ washed his face and, when he dried it, an image appeared on the towel (mandil). The "mandyion" in turn, re-enacted Christ's own miraculous powers, on the way back to Edessa toppling idols and converting pagans, reproducing itself on a clay tablet (keramion), guiding a ship to port, defeating demons, and ultimately curing Abgar (who converted). Art and literature were collaborators.

A similar account had St. Luke failing adequately to record the Savior's appearance before Christ disappeared at the Ascension and needing an angel's assistance to complete the work; and the "*Acheropita*" became Rome's paladin.[34] The Latin *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* followed a course parallel to the *Narratio*'s but, punning *vera icona*, it featured St. Veronica (Berenike, the Gospels' woman with the issue of blood). The text, too, evolved over the course of centuries in response to diverse artistic and literary pressures.[35] An eighth/ninth-century version known as the *Vindicta Salvatoris* came to be translated in the thirteenth century as *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur* which, in turn, reintroduced passages of scripture and survives in a recension comprising more than fifty manuscripts. This means that when Jacquemart de Hesdin included St. Veronica displaying the *Veronica* in a depiction of Christ Carrying the Cross around the turn of the fifteenth century (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Fig. 6),[36] he not only tapped the Bible for such details as the "daughters of Jerusalem" (Luke 23.28) and incorporated a replica of the *Veronica* by then in general circulation, but also drew on diverse texts that had recycled and elaborated the various written accounts. Among them, the *Mystère de Semur*, a Passion play that emphasized Jewish alleged complicity in Christ's death and made Judas a chief protagonist,[37] explains Jacquemart's pictorial focus on two Jewish priests and Caiaphas' dramatic counting gesture near the center, as well as the theatrical staging. Composite texts, pictures, and performance all together constitute a complex visual culture.[38]

To fashion images even for relatively simple subjects, illustrators had latitude to choose which textual sources and pictorial realizations to engage. Only a few years after the Lyon Calcidius was transcribed and illustrated, for instance, a different French scribe pictured the same passage not as an acanthus coil but as a Zodiac within which Venus's orbit is tracked by a single tightening curve (Valenciennes, Bib. mun., MS 293, fol. 62^{r}).[39] The alternative diagrams draw on different artistic traditions to comment on the same text, the one on the planet's track the other on Plato's simile. Each, in turn, was replicated in later manuscripts. To determine whether one or the other Carolingian version is an ad hoc variant and if they convey differences in the Calcidian archetype or even in the transmission of Plato's Greek original,[40] some art historians might construct "picture recensions" based on stemmata of the kind philologists use to comprehend text variations. The method (codified by another Princeton iconographer, Kurt Weitzmann) has now largely been abandoned because it attends more to hypothetical lost models than actual works of art and subverts (anachronistic) notions of artistic creativity. It nonetheless remains useful for pinpointing digressions and interpolations within established traditions, especially in such manuscripts with illustrations closely tied to relatively stable texts (and interpretations) as Terence's comedies, the *Physiologus,* Beatus' *In apocalypsin* and Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis*. It is a productive tool, for instance, for thinking about the relationship of the tenth-century Vatican Joshua Rotulus (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) to the five surviving Middle Byzantine illustrated Octateuch manuscripts and their pre-Iconoclastic models.[41]

By diminishing the significance of individual variations in a search for hypothetical *Urtypen*, the so-called "Weitzmann method" undercuts its own value as an instrument for diagnosing significant innovations.[42] A short tract on the Eucharist written at Corbie ca. 845 and assigned to Eldefonsus of Spain, for instance, has come down in two illustrated versions both nearly contemporary with the original text (Paris, BnF, MS. lat. 2855; fol. 63^{v}; Fig. 7 and Vatican, BAV, Cod. lat. 1341, fol. 187^{v}; Fig. 8).[43] The principal illustrations adhere closely to the adjacent description of the circular Host, including the milling dots that render the author's characterization of Eucharistic wafers as "the celestial king's money" that surpasses coins of earthly rulers.[44] Each rendering, however, also digresses from Eldefonsus' precise specifications. The Paris diagram includes four not "*quinque punctae*" on the obverse (intended to stand for Christ and the four evangelists) and two, not "*trio*", on the reverse – an inexplicable deviation given the explanation that the row of dots "*Trinitas est.*"[45] Made at Corbie itself, the Vatican version is reliable in these details; but it, too, includes divergences, most notably "VITA" at the base of the cross rather than the text's (and Paris version's) "VIA." As Eldefonsus explained, *via* stands for Christ's feet, *lux*, *pax*, *gloria*, and *vita* symbolize life within his breast, and *veritas* his head in heaven. According to picture-criticism's privileging of textual fidelity, both schemata should therefore be considered defective versions of a lost and unflawed original that needs to be "reconstructed." Doing so is surely worthwhile, but so is considering the deviations to be intentional assertions that even signs and diagrams are insufficient to convey Christ's invisible presence in the Host and the Trinity's incomprehensibility. They might be a kind of blurring of the text/picture relationship. Eldefonsus was, after all, transcribing what had been conveyed to him in a "revelation" comparable to Ezekiel's, that he cites, of the living creatures and wheels within wheels (Ez. 10). Visions are another form of word/image compacting,[46] deployed especially for the fugitive themes of Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*, for instance,[47] and the Rothschild Canticles in New Haven Connecticut (Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 404).[48] The "errors" in the Eldefonsus manuscripts would, then, be a form of dissimulation.

"Copying" was always rereading. Variants therefore merit particular attention. Even before they were recast as Marian *figurae*, illustrations in the related Hrabanus manuscripts, for example, betrayed subtle stylistic adjustments and iconographic reinterpretations, and also actual mistakes.[49] When ninth-century illustrations accompanying the Gallicanum translation of David's psalms in the Utrecht Psalter (Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32; fol. 1^{v}; Fig. 9) were reproduced at Canterbury during the sixth decade of the twelfth century in a volume containing all three of Jerome's translations and Old English and Anglo-Saxon versions (as well various commentaries), the text-picture relationship changed, de facto, and the imagery was interpreted (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1).[50] The Carolingian imagery had, itself, been assembled from diverse components that were so successfully integrated in a coherent classical style and embellished with ancient *staffage* that some scholars have taken it to be a facsimile of a lost Late Antique model.[51] The "Beatus vir," for instance, sits lost in thought before a classical edicule opposite an enthroned ancient ruler in a landscape irrigated by a convincing river god personification. A deeper Jewish origin has even been suggested based on details traceable to midrashic texts.[52] Iconographic source-hunting notwithstanding, Carolingian theology permeates the Utrecht illustrations;[53] and the successive replicas display a thick texture of subsequent exegetic and pictorial glossing. The inspired author of the ninth-century "original" for example, becomes Christ between two angels in the Cambridge version and enthroned in the late twelfth-century copy in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 8846, fol. 5^{v}; Fig. 10); the anonymous men personifying the just and impious are converted into the Savior pointing toward the true path confronting a twisting man tugging at his serpentine cloak, whose seductive beauty reflects a shift in rhetoric set out in Matthew of Vendôme's discussion of antithesis in the *Ars versificatoria*.[54] In turn, details from the illustration of the Apostolic Creed in the Utrecht manuscript (fol. 90r) were reassembled in new compositions, of which some retained allusions of the original iconographic context.[55]

The diagrams of inner experience in Heinrich Seuse's (Suso) *Exemplar* follow a pattern similar to that of more venerable iconographies, differing slightly but tellingly from one another in the surviving manuscripts.[56] The earliest, produced within a decade of Seuse's original composition, renders the soul's penultimate destination in the form of a triptych and the apophatic Trinity beyond as three concentric silver disks enclosing an empty circle (Strasbourg, Bib. nat. et unit., Cod. 2929, fol. 82r; Fig. 11). Its mid-fifteenth-century counterpart in Einsiedeln pictures a Crucifixion on the triptych and the Trinity as alternating red and gold rings (Stiftsbibliothek, MS 710[322], fol. 106r). And a 1473 version in Wolfenbüttel converts the triptych into a chapel-like building, its door flung open to reveal a silver lattice screen blocking entranceway to a blue celestial sphere (Herzog August Bibliothek, MS. 78-5, fol. 121v). Seuse himself may have experimented with ways to render the climactic nexus of material props and unfathomable concepts; copyists mapped their own versions onto those.

The paradigm of medieval copying ever since J. J. Tikkanen argued they were derived from the fifth-century Greek Genesis in London (BL, Cod. Cotton B. VI),[57] the thirteenth-century mosaics in the atrium of San Marco in Venice are now being interpreted less as facsimiles of the nearly-totally destroyed manuscript and more within the physical and cultural contexts in which the venerable imagery was transferred, supplemented, and reinterpreted (Fig. 12).[58] A (now reconstructed) mosaic of the Virgin and Child above the Porta da Mar leading into the vestibule cued the vast Old Testament series as a typology. However accurate the nearly 100 borrowed narratives from the Late Antique Genesis may be, those viewing them would have processed the Paradise and the expulsion's immediate aftermath through the accompanying inscription's claim: "The fall of humankind came through the mouth of a woman. /The worthy Mother of God is the World's redeemer."[59] In its turn, the reconfigured Byzantine iconography was decontextualized in a French *Histoire universelle* (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2576), and also quarried for motifs in commercially-produced beakers.[60] If someone recognized the origin of the camel excerpted from the scene of the Brethren Selling Joseph to the Ishmaelite merchants on one of the glasses, she or he might have understood it as a reference to Venice's mercantile ties to the eastern Mediterranean (which included importing sand and ash imports to make the glass).[61] Most users would have read the "ship of the desert" simply as an exhortation to drink up when one can.

Like Plato's reference to acanthus in the *Timeaus*, medieval texts also incorporated pictorial allusions. A *Maiestas Domini* ghosts the symbolic Christ and names of the four Evangelists on the Eldefonsus Host, simultaneously asserting Christ's physical invisibility in the wafer and engaging his presence in the viewer's mind.[62] When a contemporary Spanish bishop, Prudentius of Troyes, embedded references to images in his *Sermo de vita et morte gloriosae virginis Maurae,* his readers would easily have recognized the depictions of the Virgin and Child, Crucifixion, and the Lord enthroned in Majesty before which the woman prayed and, in so doing, appreciate the claim fully that the corporeal eye was insufficient to discern God until each of the renderings on "dry wood" emitted a sound that reinforced the "wonderful mysteries of our faith in the minds of the faithful."[63] Honorius Augustodunensis' *Speculum ecclesiae*, composed at Canterbury, includes a parallel between Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt and Christ guiding his people to eternal life, which the author would have known from the windows Archbishop Anselm had installed in the cathedral's choir (preserved in late twelfth-century replicas; Fig. 13).[64] In his *De altera vita*, Luc of Tuy cited the "*non contort[us]*" *Volto Santo* of Lucca as a proof-text against the iconography of the twisting three-nail Crucifixion that had become popular in his day.[65] He could do so because the *Passio imaginis* conferred special authority on the Luccan crucifix, assigning it to Nicodemus, whom Christ himself had converted and who afterwards witnessed the Crucifixion and helped to bury the Savior.[66]

Art commented on accompanying texts and images in some of the same ways glosses written directly into the margins of manuscripts did. The depiction of David, the Psalm's author, and Moses' artisan Bezalel in the Pantokrator Psalter precisely at the phrase ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων (Ps. 115.4) presents powerful *visual* proof against any literal reading of the scripture: "Their idols are silver and gold made by the hands of men" of the sort that Iconoclasts had mustered against Christian art.[67] The Savior portrayed at the start of the Paris Psalter leaves no doubt that the Psalms that follow are prophecies of Christ. Moses's horned headdress in the Aelfric Hexateuch suggests pharaonic imagery that evokes the story's Egyptian venue and hence its historicity even though it was conceived through the diverse Anglo-Saxon heritage which included Roman art in which the priests of Isis wear similar headgear.[68] The purple curtain the Prophet uses to shield his face faces the other direction; suspended from a gold cross, it assimilates the vexillum from ancient representations of victory mapped onto the tabernacle curtain to realize Paul's declaration in 2 Corinthians 3.13 that followers of Christ "are not like Moses, who would put a veil over his face to prevent the Israelites from seeing the end of what was passing away."[69] Such overlaying of exegetic features directly onto text illustrations typified medieval iconography from the beginning.[70] Negotiating the tension between Old Testament words and the New Testament's spiritual realization, it bears a whiff of negativity there that may account for why the horns appeared for the first time almost half a millennium after Jerome's Vulgate (mis)translation.[71]

Composites of actual objects (spolia) constructed iconographies. Stones and pieces of wood gathered from sites in the Holy Land, all properly labelled, are formed as a cross in sacred soil from Golgotha inside a seventh-century box from the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran in Rome (Museo Vaticano; Fig.14).[72] A Hellenistic cameo representing the enthroned Zeus supporting his eagle substitutes for John and his (eagle) symbol at the top of a fourteenth-century gold cross in Gerona Cathedral,[73] simultaneously marking Christianity's triumph over pagan gods and the Evangelist's ascent into the ether.[74] Spolia on a reliquary in Basel compose the assembly's meaning asserted in the couplet the figure proffers (Fig. 15):

+ _David * rex * manu * fortis * aspectu *desiderabilis * ecce_
* stirps [*] mea * et * sal[vator] * mu[n]di * qua[m] * divinit[us] * p[ro]p[he]thavi

The amalgam of an Augustan Medusa head, twelfth-century cameo, and thirteenth-century figure of the Virgin and Child, bonded by six Old Testament prophets in translucent enamel when the object was fashioned in the early fourteenth century,[75] structure Christ's lineage from Judah to David through Mary. Inspired by Augustine's *Contra Faustum*, allusions to Genesis, the Song of Songs, major and minor Prophets, and the Book of Revelation, as well as the Tree of Jesse, the very ingredients enact the transformation from one theological condition to another.

Like the phylacteries David displays on the reliquary, texts, interpretations, signs, and images ran along parallel tracks that continuously crisscrossed one another. When modern iconographers fragment texts and pictorial sources to expose the "lovely colors of a peacock" and then reassemble them in new coherent readings, they actually mimic medieval processes.[76]

A Twisting Acanthus Coil

Deferring to Horace, Venantius Fortunatus had stressed crisscrossing already in the sixth century when he introduced his *carmina figurata* by asking why, if a painter or a poet "intermingles whatever he wants, should not their two practices be intermingled, so that a single web be set up, simultaneously a poem and a painting?"[77] The interweaving of word and image in medieval art was prompted not primarily by the classical *ut pictura poesis*, however, but by scripture. John's prologue starts "In the beginning was the Word" (Jn.1.1) and Christ declared: "I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end" (Rev. 1.8). Christians developed *nomina sacra* that Jews had invented to *avoid* rendering God's name, the tetragrammaton (**יהוה**) for instance, for the opposite effect of iconizing and personizing writing in ornamented and historiated letters and monograms to establish a relationship to its prototype.[78] They found iconographic significance even in letter shapes. Isidore of Seville understood the **T** as the "figure of the cross of the Lord," the **X** which "until the time of Augustus did not come into existence," and the **Y** "a symbol of human life ... the branching into two begins with adolescence."[79] And he parsed the meaning of the "mystical letters" which "by moving towards each other the **A** rolls all the way back to **Ω**, and **Ω** bends back to **A**, so the Lord might show in himself both the movement of the beginning to the end, and the movement of the end to the beginning." Ludic figuring of letters persisted throughout the Middle Ages.

In contrast to ancient practice, Christians also enlarged initials to organize texts visually in the codex form of book they preferred. From modest experiments in ornamenting initial letters and using them as kinetic lead-ins to the words that follow (as in the [symbolic?] red **T** at the start of the penultimate line of the Pantokrator Psalter page and the **A** and **I** on the Eldefonsus pages), words came to be implicated with visual ornamentation. The twelfth-century French theologian John Beleth, for instance, explained how letter forms, geometric shapes, and images are iconographically inextricable from one another in the intersecting **V** and **D** of *Vere Dignum* in Sacramentary manuscripts that, since the eighth century, had been configured as the Calcidian form generated by "bending [the *chi*] around to make two interconnected circles":

> This is not without deeper meaning. The Delta, enclosed on all sides, signifies the divine nature, which has neither beginning or end; V stands for Christ's human nature, which originated in the Virgin but is without end. The hyphen in the middle, which links the two parts, is the cross, signifying the tie between mankind and God.[80]

A Bible produced during the first third of the twelfth century for Kuno, abbot of Weingarten, develops the earlier tradition of kinetic initials by deploying the **I** of Genesis to frame the page and guide the reader visually into the text's body through letters of decreasing size **N PRINCIPIO CREAVIT D[EU]S C[A]ELU[M] ET TERRA[M]** (London, British Library, MS Add 14791, fol. 6^{r}; Fig.16).[81] Mapping Platonic notions of origins onto the biblical account,[82] the straight line intersected by an **X** is Calcidius' "neither matter nor body" that forms the letter *chi* halfway down; and the oculus at the top sprouts acanthus tendrils, *silva* (matter) from which, in both the ancient and Christian ontologies, the world came into being. Wrapped around the Creator's hands (one pointing heavenward and the other downward toward the world being brought into being),[83] the acanthus operates iconographically, quite as a tenth-century gloss on Martianus Capella has Venus' coil do, "the end and the beginning, the end of the murkiness of the air here below, the beginning one of pure ether."[84] The hexameron is pictured underneath; and, beneath the *tetragonus mundi* formed by the **X**, scenes of humankind's fall lead to the expulsion from Eden amid disordered acanthus. While the acanthus gloss begins "*ambifarium*" like most works of medieval art, the Kuno Bible frontispiece confounds the binary oppositions of word and image, Old Testament and New, ancient science and biblical truth, geometry and vegetal growths, matter and spirit. In a dynamic of falling and reuniting, it descends from Word-Made-Flesh to human sin and then rises back again to Him.[85]

Christianity's emblem par excellence, the cross effected the transition between word, sign, and image by turning the history of Christ's passion into a mark of salvation and a quasi picture.[86] It is the focus of the lid of the Sancta Sanctorum box (Fig.17), where the cross engages simultaneously the themes of travel and therapy underlying medieval pilgrimage that is also embodied in the wood box's rounded nautical sides. Punctuated at the four corners with **IC** and **XC** (Jesus Christ) and A and Ω, the lid presents the instrument of Christ's Passion as a tree with branches lopped off and surfaces streaked with gold planted on a mound of earth and surrounded by a deep blue aureole crossed by flashes of light. Like similar depictions on flasks (*ampullae*) that pilgrims used to transport oil from Golgotha inscribed "oil of the wood of the tree of life which guides on earth and on sea,"[87] the rough-hewn cross evokes the tree at the center of Eden (depicted with the four rivers of Paradise on the Kuno Bible initial for example and flanking the central portal of San Marco), the aureole conjuring up a billowing sail held in place by the mast-cross.[88] The condensed image on the Palestinian relics box also recalls monograms associated with rulers since Late Antiquity and, hence, reinforces Christ's kingship.[89]

No monogram was more important than the Chrismon fashioned from the **IC XC** epithet that, in a powerful visual elision of letter sign and figure, captured the essence of the "Word-Made-Flesh."[90] Constantine had adopted the Chrismon as his talisman and his court poet Optatian constructed a *carmen figuratum* around it, which Venantius Fortunatus and Hrabanus Maurus later expanded. Paulinus of Nola (a friend of St. Augustine) decoded complex ideas in the Chrismon's geometry, vegetal forms, and words, including the letter **T**, a ship's mast and royal scepter, the world divided into four regions with sky above and depths below, and Christ's victory over Hell and ascent to the Father in heaven (Carmen 19).[91] The late twelfth-century tympanum of San Miguel de Estella engaged some of the allusions (Fig.18).[92] Embossed within a circle on the square book Christ displays (the two perfect geometric shapes), the cross stem is transected with an **X**, supports the alpha and omega, and is wrapped by the terminal ***S***. The quasi-pictorial device simultaneously asserts the Incarnate God's presence and absence, his identification as the Logos, his two natures and eternity, and his redeeming death, emblematizing medieval iconography's fundamental elision of the differences between word, sign, and image.

The Chrismon is a kind of diagram of the type used since antiquity to organize information and to render arguments comprehensible, in this case, how the mystery of Christ's two natures inheres in his epigram. Diagrams were a major component of medieval iconography.[93] For example, the so-called Tree of Porphyry that "DIA[LEC]T[I]CA D[OMI]NA" grasps in her right hand on a frontispiece in the mid-twelfth-century manuscript of Boethius' translation of Porphyrius' *Isagoge* to Aristotle's *Categories* represents how Substance generates the Body, then the Animate Body, followed in order by the Living Creature and finally the Rational Soul (Darmstadt, Hessisches Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2282, fol. 1ᵛ; Fig. 19).[94] The espaliered plant harvests vegetal energy in offshoots sprouting from each category, ending in the pairing of man and God, while the orderly arrangement contrasts with the knotted sharp-tongued serpent in *Dialectica*'s left hand serpent (which in a typical crisscrossing reverts to Martianus Capella, one of the textual sources). Through an allusion to Gospel frontispieces, the personification's cross-crown and footstool and the four authors in the corners (Plato and Aristotle above, Socrates and Adam of Petit-Pont below) figure *Dialectica* as the basis of logic.

The geometric armature that holds the glass in place at Canterbury is also a kind of diagram,[95] the middle column branching into genera and species. Albeit freeform, Seuse's schema is, too, with its (*Mittelhochdeutsch*) words and images tethered together by a red thread of the sort that Ariadne famously used to navigate the labyrinth.[96] Emerging from a circle symbolizing the soul of the large figure at the bottom left (most likely Seuse's disciple Elsbeth Stagel), the *fil rouge* tracks a series of choices – toward Stagel asleep on a choir stall in the left corner envisioning in her mind's eye the spiritual ascent or to the persona praying the rosary at the right (the new device promoted by the Dominicans). The thread skirts the flirting man and woman in the right corner who are about to be mowed down by death (inspired by the descending devil who drops the fruit he used to tempt the first couple); as the caption reports, "worldly love ends in grief".[97] Dream and silent prayer begin the spiritual liberation that continues through the crucifix the nun holds (recalling images of the suffering Mary at the Crucifixion at the base of the cross).[98] The diagram then plots a course upward through to the Son and Father in Heaven and the Trinity, where the path forks, descending on the right to a praying angel and praying man inspiring Stagel and ricocheting toward the Trinitarian abstraction in upper left, first passing through apophatic declarations and triptych.

Like the Lateran and Basel reliquaries and Canterbury glass, not to mention the illustrated manuscripts, Seuse's diagram is filled with writing. Words are ubiquitous in and near medieval art; indeed, they are an essential element of iconography. Some, like the PHARAO REX EGIPTI, are simply identifying, intended to preclude confusion of the kind the iconoclastic Theodulf of Orleans famously proffered of Venus and Virgin Mary.[99] Others interact effectively with the pictures and other words. Death (TOT) is labelled in the Seuse diagram while the other figures are intentionally ambivalent to reinforce the notion of incrementally lost individuality as one approaches the fathomless Deity.[100] Tiny circles embroidered above Christ's cross nimbus on a twelfth-century silk panel in Halberstadt (Cathedral, Fig. 20) include the *nomina sacra* **IC** and **XC** not only to identify the protagonist (who would be easily recognized by context and cross halo) but also to confirm the portrait's authenticity as a true likeness. The passage from Matthew 26.26: ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ, ΤΟΥΤΌ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟ ΣωΜΑΜΟΥ asserts the historicity of the pictured Communion of the Apostles.[101] The monotony of saints' portraits required names, monograms, or attributes to secure identity, at the same time making the point that holy figures are all *personae Christi*. St. John in Jacquemart's painting bears Christ's features and the women Mary's to subsume them into sanctity.[102] At Sta. Prassede in Rome where "the bones of many saints are buried under these walls;" as on the cathedral façade at Amiens and elsewhere, population is itself iconographic, constituting the Heavenly City.[103]

Some words functioned more as title labels do in post-medieval art, not only to identify and authorize depicted subjects, but also to tie together seemingly disparate elements. The inscription that separates the Pantocrator (flanked by the **IC XC**) from the Nativity in the south transept of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, for instance, figures the way in which the one generates the other (Fig. 21). Christ displays a codex inscribed with the Greek text of John 8.12: "I am the light of the world. The person who follows me will not walk around in the darkness, but on the contrary, he will have for himself the light of life." The words get filtered through a Latin titulus: STELLA PARIT SOLEM/ ROSA FLOREM/ FORMA DECOREM,[104] with the divine light entering the world as a flower-like star that takes form in the Christ Child embraced by his mother below. The sun (Christ) in the mosaic generates the star, the rose (Mary) the flower (Jesus), and the art the beautiful representation of the totality.

Inscriptions were often visually encoded. Variations not only in language but also in letters' character, sizes, grounds, and color played pictorial roles in what have been called "iconotexts" or "epiconography."[105] Following the practice that Venantius Fortunatus described in which the *carmen cancellatum* is distinguished from the larger inscribed matrix, Eldefonsus' Paris codex renders the words and signs bearing on the incarnate God in vermilion, the lesser names in brown ink (another difference from the "better" Vatican copy). Especially during the Gregorian Reform period, words were visually differentiated to stratify the rhetorical levels of accompanying themes. The key-hole shaped wood panel from San Gregorio Nazianzeno in Rome, commissioned by the nun Benedicta and the Benedictine abbess Constantia during the papacy of Leo IX, deploys hexametric tituli to help organize a vast depiction of the Last Judgment, a subject with no single biblical referent (Pinacoteca Vaticana; Fig. 22).[106] Texts inscribed on black and red bands section the enormous cosmic circle comprehending dozens of figures into celestial, sacred, mundane, transitional, and affective realms. One figure alone transgresses the textual strata, the sacrificial Christ at the altar whose head parts the VENITE from VOBIS of Matthew 25.34 to offer entryway to heaven not only through his sacraments but also his person.[107]

The very inclusion of texts in pictures manifests the belief that Christ himself had superseded Hebrew scripture. A couplet accompanying the cross in the acanthus-filled apse of San Clemente in Rome make the point explicit: "That which the law makes to be arid, the cross makes to flourish."[108] Words and pictures in medieval art are indeed like vines, generating iconography, splitting and grafting, exchanging significances, and waxing with a vigor of their own. A gilt-copper flabellum of ca. 1160-80 in Kremsmünster (Benedictine monastery; Fig. 23) juxtaposes depictions of Christ's resurrection and ascension in a lattice of acanthus that comprehends a lion suscitating his cubs and eagles flying to the sun and diving for fish, elucidated with pairs of ascending and descending lines of verse.[109] The Resurrection on the left is framed by MYSTICVS ECCE LEO SVRGIT BARATRO POPVLATO (Here the mystical lion rises from the abyss that he destroyed) and QUID VEL LEO CATULUS SIGNENT VIX EXPRIMET ULLUS (What both the lion and the cub symbolize can hardly be portrayed). According to the bestiary, lions are born dead and after three days the father breathes life into their faces; the cub is pictured with open mouth and still-unpupilled eyes while an already-enlivened sibling looks on. The Ascension on the right matches HIC VOLVCRUM MERSVM SAPIAS SVP[ER] ETHRA VERSVM (Know that the flying creature has here returned above the aether) with HIC AQVILE GESTVS IH[S]V TYPVS EST MANIFESTVS (The movement of the eagle here is Jesus' prefiguration). Eagles were noted for the acute vision that enabled them to fly close to the sun to discern fish beneath the sea.[110] Other iconographic associations complicate the movement established by the tituli and symbolism. The cub's cave and eagle's plunge beneath the water conjure up not only the elements but also a third episode in Christ's post-Passion life, the Descent into Hell. The two creatures are also evangelist symbols.[111] Cued by the acanthus scrolls, the imagery opens up myriad interpretive paths rather than a linear "program."[112]

Beautiful Notions

Rhyming *MANIFESTUS* with *MYSTICUS* in images as in words, the Kremsmünster flabellum is more poetry than history or theology. It mirrors Anselm of Canterbury's likening of scriptural exegesis to "beautiful notions . . . to be viewed like pictures," and continuing at the start of his widely-read *Cur deus homo*:[113]

> For it was appropriate that, just as death entered the human race through a man's disobedience, so life should be restored through a man's obedience; and that, just as the sin which was the cause of our damnation originated from a woman, similarly the originator of our justification and salvation should be born of a woman. Also that the devil, who defeated the man whom he beguiled

> through the taste of a tree, should himself similarly be defeated by a man through tree-induced suffering which he, the devil, inflicted.[114]

Hugh of St. Victor, too, saw typologies as pleasing and playful,[115] and hoped that because "in an image the mystical understanding is painted, and through accessible similitudes, of those things that are understood spiritually, a clear demonstration is figured," a "greater beauty that would replace the desire for temporal goods."[116] Honorius Augustodunensis went so far as to maintain that the four Doctors of the Church were painters and that the job of living theologians was to renew their work.[117] Windows from Arnstein that correlate with the *Mariengebet* portray the Premonstratensian brother Gerlach who painted them holding a brush as a scribe would a quill (Münster, Landesmuseum; Fig. 24).[118]

"Ut littera monstret quod manus explicuit" was how Paulinus of Nola characterized the picture captions in his church of St. Felix; and so it is noteworthy that many tituli are poetic,[119] deploying metaphor, symbolism, personification, allegory, parataxis, and narrative and rhyming, e.g. terram with aethram or the stringing "colligere," "trahere," "regere," "pungere," to explicate and activate the accompanying imagery.[120] Hildebert of Lavardin embedded Augustine's argument about fragmenting Hebrew scripture into a couplet intended for a depiction of Christ's appearance at Emmaus (Luke 24.30-31):

> To break the bread is to explain Scriptures. For then Christ is known, opened through the spiritual sense.[121]

He also expanded the veil trope (integrated into the Ælfric Hexateuch) into a reflection on exegetic art itself:

> While God speaks [on the smoking mountain], the masses remain below. Moses is the teacher of everyone, the unlearned masses are ignorant, the smoke is the unintelligible parable, the mountain is Scripture. God makes known the mysteries in smoke. The unindoctrinated stay afar, grasping only external things; the learned approach, examining the interior things.[122]

Poetic form, itself, attracted special attention.[123] Among the dense descriptive captions in the atrium of San Marco in Venice, two Leonine couplets single out Abel as Christ's persona and Joseph as a type of the doge.[124]

At Estella, a couplet articulates the point conveyed visually through the Chrismon, namely, that Christ is the perfect amalgam of human and divine. Running from bottom to top along the left of the quatrefoil aureole, the first verse reads: "It is neither God nor man that I discern in the present figure;" descending at the right: "But God and man that the sacred image signifies."[125] Composed perhaps by Baudri of Bourgueil, the verses were widely circulated in texts and art, accompanying various iconographies including the Crucifixion and Deposition, Christ in Majesty, and even Moses' epiphany on Mount Horeb. One transcription even strings the couplet out as a diagram of contraries, starting with the opposition of *nec* and *sed* and terminating in *imago* (Vatican, BAV, Cod. Reg. lat. 1578, fol. 45^{v}). In an earnest search to nail down medieval art's meaning, modern iconographers too often lose its poetic blossoming.[126]

So-called "emblematic narratives" facilitated the pairing of narrative histories, with the second continuing the first but modifying it as in a couplet. The opening of the *Song of Songs* illuminated at Reichenau ca. 1000 is a good example (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 22, fols. 4^v-5^r; Fig. 25).[127] Starting at the center of the left page with half-naked men approaching Peter who baptizes one of them, a procession of kings, clerics, and saints winds along a serpentine path at the top of which Ecclesia offers a chalice while pointing to the crucified Christ (the actual body). The flow continues on the facing page but now through a vision of the celestial Deity within the opening **O** of the text that follows, serving as a *mandorla* for an ecstatic vision. Isolated eleventh-century narratives in the lower church of San Clemente and the thirteenth-century frescoes in the Sancta Sanctorum rearrange historical order of the events depicted on a monumental scale to create allegorical readings through their physical placement.[128] The Psalter made for King Louis IX (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10525) assembles a range of pictorial sources and added captions that guide the reader in a step-by-step fashion.[129]

An illustration facing Song 60 in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* made for Louis' cousin Alfonso X creates Anselm's "beautiful notions" through elaborate antitheses of gardens and buildings, chastity and sins, open and closed doors, book and image (Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS T-I-1, fol. 88^v; Fig. 26).[130] As already on Bernward of Hildesheim's eleventh-century bronze doors and Anselm's exegetical example, the frontispiece sets the fall of Adam and Eve in parallel with the Incarnation and life of Christ,[131] chiming the Annunciation with the Fall just as Gabriel's "*Ave*" above rhymes with "*Eva*." In the one, God is enthroned above the clouds while his messenger emerges from the flesh-like vellum (his wings barely discernible). In the other, Eve offers Adam a piece of forbidden fruit within a lush Paradise of date palms, vines, and fruit trees, even as she reaches for another from the serpent's maw. Then, engaging the circularity of troubadour songs,[132] the sword-bearing angel casting the couple out of the gates of Eden morphs into Maria-Ecclesia dressed in the same blue cloak trimmed in gold returning everyman to Paradise though a nearly identical portal. The moral is drawn at the bottom where great doors rest atop paired compass-drawn rainbows framing the celestial blue heaven. Echoing her sinful act above, Eve tugs at the pulls while Adam, mirroring the nostalgic glance back to Paradise, turns away. Humankind's perfect naked flesh almost disappears into the unpainted parchment, the woman's labia miming the closed gate from which the man averts his gaze.[133] At the right, Gabriel reappears as in the Annunciation, but here addressing crowned Maria-Ecclesia who unlatches the heavenly gates and opens them a crack for the devout reader who, however, nevertheless remains unable to penetrate the dark shadow.[134] Opening the volume of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* thus coordinates with *Ecclesia*'s opening the *porta coeli* for the reader singing Mary's praises in the songs on the facing folio.[135] In Paris about the same time, Peter of Limoges summed up the poetic trope: "As often as the life's vain pomp delights you, as often as you see some worldly conceit, ascend to paradise in your mind."[136]

Poets may have worked hand-in-hand with artisans or themselves have practiced both forms of artistic expression. The verses on the Canterbury windows, like the imagery, were apparently composed under Anselm's supervision, recorded, and then reused after the

1174 fire.[137] Ten lines of original poetry are so closely connected to the visual layout and understanding of the imagery on an enormous Byzantine diptych in Chambéry (Cathedral Treasury), which pairs the Virgin and Child with the Ascension and the Transfiguration with the Crucifixion to figure Christ's dual nature, that they must have been composed together with the iconography.[138] Verses written by Audradus Modicus assert that the dedication portrait in the First Bible of Charles the Bald (in which the monk appears) "actually shows how the noble warrior/ Vivian with the company now presents this book" (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1, fols. 422^{v}-423^{r});[139] but, in a classic instance of poetic dissemblance, they subvert the overt pictorial record. The couplet running along the base of the mosaic of Sta. Maria in Trastevere reveals the message of the appropriated images in language and syntax associated with Bruno of Segni (Fig. 27).[140]

Like the internal rhymed Leonine verses favored in works of art, iconographic structures were seldom binary. The *tertium comparationis* is transcendent beauty, as Hildebert boasted of his picture tituli, they "sparkle with majesty and in some of the interpretations, shine and glow like gold."[141]

Iconographic Cargo

Pictorial notions depended on conventionality, that is, on recognizable semantic units that enabled familiar iconographies to function even in refashioned contexts. Much as Plato and Calcidius could assume that their readers would conjure up acanthus coils, medieval iconographers too took advantage of familiarity with iconography, the way Prudentius of Troyes did in his sermon, just as later, Peter Comestor could suppose that the readers of his *Historia Scholastica* were iconographically as well as textually literate when he explained the presence of the ox and ass at the Nativity.[142] Likewise, the Canterbury glass was painted when the central themes would have been identifiable by those with even rudimentary religious training who, prompted by the inscriptions and perhaps speculating with their comrades might then puzzle out the subsidiary iconographies.[143] The Kremsmünster fan drew on bestiary illustrations for its symbolic animals, bridging "scientific" lore to theological precepts.[144]

As it continues to be today, iconography was a subject for discussion. When Peter Damian responded to Desiderius of Montecassino's 1069 query about why Paul and not Peter was traditionally shown on Christ's right in representations of the *Traditio legis*, he cited depictions of the theme sanctioned by Constantine and Pope Sylvester, assuming that the learned protagonist of the Gregorian Reform's return to the origins of the Church understood venerable artistic traditions as well as Hebrew etymology, Paul's rapture (2 Corinthians), and various Church doctrines.[145] Pictorial heritage carried authority, as in the classical ingredients of the Utrecht Psalter and the epic vision of the end of time constructed in the Vatican Last Judgment panel, not only from scripture and written commentary, but also from ancient, Byzantine, and earlier Roman images.[146] Atop the rectangular "predella" in which the promise of Paradise is paired with the (greater) threat of Hell, the all-encompassing cosmic orb tracks the ascent from earth to heaven, beginning with the buried dead and animals disgorging accidental victims (including a resuscitating lion in a cave). Bare-breasted personifications derived from classical art lift two naked souls upward toward the "innocents under the altar" (Rev. 6.9-11) flanked by Mary the intercessor and Stephen protomartyr and, at left and right, the good thief, Dismas followed by Paul and other saints and the three acts of mercy.[147] Engaging Isaiah 66.1 and Acts 7.49, the apostles' footstools form the orb's horizontal diameter, like God's *scabellum* (Mt. 22) dividing earth from heaven and breached by an altar marked with the *tetragonus mundi* on which the instruments of the Passion are displayed. The Church on earth provides a way to the triumphant cosmic ruler holding an enormous cross staff and an orb inscribed "ego vici mundum" (Jn. 16.33). By doubling the figure of Christ, first as the suffering man behind the altar and then as the heavenly almighty, the image engages the sometimes contentious issue of his dual nature.

Many iconographies followed geographic channels, some carrying significance. The major events of Christ's infancy, Passion, and post-Resurrection on the Sancta Sanctorum box were constructed from images associated with the Holy Land, widely distributed on the flasks, tokens, and encolpia that pilgrims picked up and brought home (Fig. 28).[148] These included such topographical markers as the grotto of the cave where Mary gave birth (among them the little relic niche) and the edicule beneath the dome of the Holy Sepulcher church that Constantine had allegedly constructed on the site where his mother had found the True Cross.[149] Mutatis mutandis, the distinct Holy Land iconography is perpetuated in the Palermo mosaic where Mary lies on a mattress within the framing cave and directs attention to the Child atop a stone manger with the ox and ass looking on from behind and the flower-like star in a blue orb above. Joseph seated in the foreground with his head resting on his hand puzzles over the event's meaning. In far off Canterbury, Mary seated on cushioned throne with the downward-curving back and holding Christ on her lap, who blesses and presents a globe, is flanked by symmetrical trios of magi and shepherds derived ultimately from a composition at the Church of the Nativity that circulated on ampullae and was then perpetuated on ivories and other media and is also preserved in French stained glass.[150] Holy Land traditions were revived during the Crusader period and again transmitted abroad. A mosaic depicting the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* from the 1160s in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem,[151] for example, bears a striking resemblance to its counterpart in San Marco in Venice and, even more, to the depiction of the event at the top of the left panel of the late thirteenth-century diptych of Andrew III of Hungary manufactured in Venice (Bern, Historisches Museum, Fig. 29).[152]

Constantinople and Rome also generated distinctive traditions. The Halberstadt embroideries' symmetrical juxtaposition of Christ offering the chalice and Christ offering the paten to the Apostles can be traced back to the Rossano Gospels and sixth-century Byzantine silver plates.[153] Icons venerated in Constantinople, particularly portraits of Christ and the Virgin, were particularly conservative and distinctive, the idea being that each replica preserved the essence of the sacred archetype, but also depictions of the liturgical feasts and other iconographies. The Pentecost mosaic at in the Basilian (Greek rite) church of San Nilo at Grottaferrata overlooking Rome (Fig. 30) depends on Byzantine conventions, albeit transmitted through South Italy; a nearly identical grouping of the enthroned apostles, led by Peter and Andrew and receiving the Holy Spirit as rays emitted from a starry blue arc is preserved at Monreale and the traditional composition also appears in miniature on the Andrew III diptych.

Rome advanced particular imagery and disseminated programmatic schemes. Imitating the Holy Land, it produced ampullae and also replicas of the *Veronica* stenciled onto pieces of parchment which pilgrims carried throughout Europe. Copying Roman works conveyed papal authority, de facto. To decorate his church at Wearmouth Jarrow (Northumbria), Bede, for instance, brought "imagines ... de concordia veteris et novi Testamenti" from Rome to manifest an allegiance to the papacy; the Greek word for pictures as ζωγραφία in his account seems directed specifically toward emerging Byzantine iconoclasm.[154] Eleventh-century ceiling paintings in Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe evoke the basilicas of Old St. Peter's and Old St. Paul's in their unfolding of the Old Testament story from Genesis through the Sinai exodus.[155] The *Traditio legis* painted in the twelfth-century apse of *Chapelle des moines* at Berzé-la-Ville inserted Cluniac interests into Roman authority.[156] When the Abbess Sybil of Montreuil-les-Dames asked her brother Jacques Pantaléon to send her the "Sancta Veronicam, seu veram ipsius imaginem et similitudinem," however, he provided her with a mid-thirteenth-century east European *mandylion* instead (still preserved in Laon).[157] Jacquemart's reliance on works by Pietro Lorenzetti and Simone Martini roots his inclusion of St. Veronica with her cloth in the Italian milieu of the *Veronica*'s veneration in St. Peter's. The *Acheropita* and *Avvocata* icons attributed to Luke were paired with one another on numerous copies, some as papal gifts that made their way as far as Mughal India.[158] The Avvocata marries the Acheropita in the Santa Maria in Trastevere apse.

The Vatican Last Judgment panel is explicitly Roman. Heavenly Jerusalem's gemmed walls derive from Sta. Prassede's triumphal arch; Christ is depicted in the guise of the Lateran icon;[159] and, portrayed in three-quarters in the third register with hands raised in intercession, Mary is the *Avvocata*.[160] Moreover, a second Roman Mary icon is quoted at the bottom left, as well, the Virgin flanked by the sisters Praxedes and Pudentiana (as pictured in an eighth-century painting in Sta. Susanna and the ninth-century apse mosaic in Sta. Prassede), offering the two female benefactors visual entrance to the entire ensemble.[161] The pictorial quotations figure the City itself as the Heavenly Jerusalem.[162] The assembling of local images to assert Rome's centrality was repeated in the "Aula Gotica" which, in addition to a Zodiac and constellations based on an *Aratea*, labors of the months, and personifications, includes such local antiquities as a seascape with erotes and a lion mauling a deer.[163]

Conventionality intensified the significance of minor changes and asserted new significance, for example, which apostle had pride of place in depictions of the *Traditio legis*, at Pentecost, or in the Last Judgment. Whether the dove of the Holy Spirit is enclosed within the rays emanating from the Creator in the First Day of Creation (as in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo) or hurling downward in the "replica" at Monreale is a small deviation albeit with Trinitarian meaning and, hence, implications for the different audiences.[164] On the Darmstadt *Isagoge* frontispiece, Dialectica's fashionable Parisian dress with hanging sleeves and narrow-waisted pleated long skirt inserts the ancient arguments into contemporary debates by Adam of Balsham and others on the Petit-Pont.

A seventh/eighth-century fresco in the apse of the monastic church at Deir el-Surian south of Alexandria in Egypt's western desert builds a local pictorial topography into the standard formula (perhaps imported from Syria) of Gabriel appearing to Mary (Fig. 31).[165] While God's messenger "speaks" Greek, the prophets display typological passages inscribed in Bahairic Coptic. Among the four Old Testament figures, Moses is featured and the epiphany to him on Mt. Horeb that traditionally symbolized Mary's virginity: "I saw the bush while fire was blazing in it without being consumed" (Ex. 3.2). The shrine referred to by pilgrims on the spot of Moses' epiphany may be recognized as the fortress filled with trees in the background; and the column of fire that guided the Prophet and ancient Israelites from the land of the pharaohs occupies the center. Both the Burning Bush (as in the Arnstein windows) and Column of Fire (as in the Canterbury glass) were Marian metaphors in the Akathist Hymn; nonetheless, they would have had a clear local resonance.[166] Moreover, the particular form of the censer atop the column seems to tether the painting to Egyptian liturgical practice.[167] Egypt was a point of exchange between Asia and Europe before, and again after, the disruption of art production during the seventh- and eighth-century Islamic conquests by iconoclasm in territories controlled by Byzantines. The contemporary ivories from the so-called Grado throne were influential in eleventh-century Salerno and other parts of Italy.[168] Vice versa; across the Red Sea at St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai, the red ermine-trimmed hat worn by one of the magi on an iconostasis beam identifies the wise man as a Frank; and the almond eyes, drooping moustache, and exotic bowler characterize one of his companions as a Mongol (Fig. 32). Certainly a response to the Mongol presence in the Holy Land when the beam was painted, the variations within the set iconography are in this case not a parochial variant but an ecumenical gesture.[169]

When the roof of San Nilo at Grottaferrata was raised in the thirteenth century to let windows into the clerestory, a new iconographer transformed the center of the existing Pentecost mosaic into a demonstration of the Nicene Creed by introducing a Trinity from a Byzantine illustration of the Creed (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. suppl. gr. 52) and adding Isaiah at the left displaying the Trisagion (Is. 6.1-3).[170] The revision was intelligent and concerted; according to tradition, the Creed had been proclaimed at Pentecost.[171] The painter seems to have chosen a Greek model precisely to root his conception in the Byzantine world, but he was careful to tip the Trinitarian iconography toward Rome on the controversial *filioque* doctrine by cleverly adjusting it. Whereas the source image encloses the three persons of the Triune God within one another like Russian nesting dolls, the fresco has the dove overlap the Father and be overlapped by him, making the Father *and* Christ the source of radiation for the Pentecost in accord with Western theology. Substituting a Crucifixion for the veiled triptych of the Strasbourg Seuse diagram, and picturing the cross-disc at its summit actually piercing the outermost Trinitarian sphere, the Einsiedeln copy asserts a claim that the Sacraments, not just the mind's eye, can transgress the celestial boundary.

Mingling and blurring diverse traditions had purpose. The tabernacle of apparently Jewish origin in the Pantokrator Psalter with its aniconic implements “made by hand” simultaneously refutes John the Grammarian’s assertion that any crafted object violates scriptural prohibitions and advances Christian “ἀχειροποίητα” promoted after Iconoclasm. The illustrator of the First Bible of Charles the Bald was surely attracted by the fifth-century Vatican Vergil’s classical style (BAV, MS 3225) when he incorporated elements from it into his biblical narratives, but he also understood the significance of translating the Golden Age pagan iconography into Christian biblical subjects.[172] The Norman King Roger II conspicuously integrated Byzantine, Roman, North European, and Islamic conventions to create a global environment in his Cappella Palatina in Palermo. Based generally on the Bible, Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*, various commentaries, and liturgical enactments, the tympanum of La Madeleine at Vézelay depends on no single programmatic text. The layered references to the Pentecost, Ascension, and Last Judgment framed by bands of cosmological signs, calendrical symbols, and exotic figures is at heart an ad hoc assembly from Early Christian monuments and more recent Rome art that asserts the church’s place in pilgrimage and the crusader agenda.[173]

Iconography was (mostly) very precise. Before any detail is dismissed as conventional, irrelevant, whimsical, or erroneous, it merits full scrutiny and investigation.

The same is true of changes and erasures. Christ with short curly red hair (known as the “semitic type”) was replaced after Iconoclasm with the more Zeus-like bearded alternative;[174] and in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels, it was actually overpainted (Florence, Bib. Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut. 1.56).[175] An illuminator in ninth-century Tours censored the Binitarian creator he came upon in a fifth-century Italian Pentateuch by painting over one of the persons to make it conform to Trinitarian doctrine (Paris, BnF, MS Nouv. acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 1^{v}; Fig. 33).[176] In a self-referential act without a trace of irony, an unknown iconophilic reader of the pro-image Pantocrator Psalter miniature not only rubbed away the pictured pagan idol but also obliterated John the Grammarian’s portrait beside it.[177] Stained-glass windows were successively restored and, at various stages, adjusted to later conceptions.[178]

While some iconographies were banished, others died natural deaths and were superseded by new creations. Hrabanus Maurus noted that when paintings fade, they are no longer faithful transmitters of the truth.[179] The *Traditio legis*, popular in early medieval art ceded to subjects that attended to Trinitarian and Eucharistic matters. The so-called “Throne of Mercy” was pieced together in the twelfth century in order, as Sicard of Cremona explained, “the majesty of the Father and the cross of the crucifix are portrayed so that it is almost as if we see present the one we are calling to, and the passion that is depicted imprints itself on the eyes of the heart.”[180] A fifteenth-century tabernacle (repainted in the sixteenth century) at Sankt Olof in Sweden represents the iconography in which the Crucifix nearest the viewer evokes a compassionate response and a dove bridges the figure to the Heavenly King (Fig. 34).[181] The newly-devised *Mass of St. Gregory* provided a narrative for the complex conceptual relationship about outer vision and inner spirit in the sacraments.[182] The Deposition from the Cross, Entombment, Man of Sorrows, Harrowing of Hell, *arma Christi*, Tree of Jesse, *scutum fidei*, Francis Receiving the

Stigmata, "Sunday Christ", and other themes were constructed from existing subjects to articulate new theological interests. Personal iconographies were developed in the same way, most notably by Hildegard of Bingen as in the Rupertsberg *Scivias* manuscript of ca. 1165 lost during the second World War but known in a twentieth-century copy (Wiesbaden, Landesbibliothek, fol.14^r; Fig. 35). Hildegard assembled recognizable elements from this world and art – fire, sun, moon and stars, personifications of winds – to construct a macrocosmic egg superimposed on the rectangular grounds representing earth and aether and bursting the conventional frame to convey her vision of the splendor of the "omnipotent God, incomprehensible in his majesty and inestimable in His mysteries."[183] Iconography could also be private and particular, as in the case of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald (Munich, Residence, Schatzkammer) or the late-twelfth-century Weingarten leaf in Chicago (Art Institute).[184]

Innovations engendered attempts to legislate images, by the Cistercians, for instance, including the Bishop of Olomuc who destroyed depictions of Francis' stigmatization and was in turn condemned by Pope Gregory IX for his act.[185] Even Luc of Tuy, who opposed iconographic experimentation, correctly understood its underlying causes:

> Since the aim of religious art is to arouse the emotions of the spectator, the artist must have liberty to compose his works, so as to assure to them the greatest effectiveness. The representation should not always be forced into traditional patterns. In order to avoid the dullness of accustomed formulas, the artist needs to devise unusual motifs and to invent new ideas as they seem appropriate to him with respect to the location of the work of art and to his period, even if they contradict the literal truth and only serve to deepen the love for Christ through the emotion they arouse.[186]

Such reasoning notwithstanding, Ralph Baldock, the Bishop of London banned the making and display of Y-shaped versions.[187]

Incarnography

The Virgin Mary embodied iconography. Writing in the ninth century, Christian of Stavelot had argued that before he entered flesh, God had manifested himself only through such ephemeral things as sound, dreams, and clouds.[188] Merging God's word with matter when Gabriel spoke to her, Mary was, like art itself, an intermediary between humankind and the Divine. She was the subject in myriad works.[189] Bonaventure, extending the exegesis of Anselm of Canterbury and others, summed up Mary's importance as a fully human but sinless "new Eve" who, through art, offered entrance to a new Paradise:

> Since through sin the rational creature had clouded his eye of contemplation, it is most courteous that the eternal and invisible be made visible that he might lead us home. Therefore, considering the light of mechanical art with respect to the production of the work, we will witness the incarnation and generation of the Word, that is divinity and humanity and the health of all the faithful.[190]

A poem attributed to Peter Riga conceived God as a celestial painter who had depicted the Virgin “inside and out,” and had angels complete the polishing.[191]

The Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Adoration were central themes of iconography from the beginning; and Mary was also featured in pictures of the Crucifixion, such related subjects as the carrying of the cross and, following pious tradition if not scripture, in depictions of the Ascension.[192] The Virgin is present in four of the five events pictured on the Sancta Sanctorum box lid, for example (the same as Christ). As her importance intensified over centuries, moreover, Mary was raised in both writings and art to a position virtually equal to her Son’s.[193] Debates about images, especially during the Iconoclastic controversy, elevated the “forma Dei;” and, by the turn of the eighth century, the Virgin herself had come to occupy a place in the iconography of heavenly ascent.[194] She, too, was a particular subject of iconographic expansion, for example, in the Tree of Jesse, Madonna of Humility, Pietà, Mater Dolorosa, Dormition, *Vierge ouvrante*, and Coronation.[195] Berthold of Nuremberg refigured Hrabanus’ *carmina figurata* in her honor.[196] The Virgin was identified with the bride in the Song of Songs,[197] and hence with *Ecclesia*, as in the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome which shows her displaying a verse from the scripture seated on the same throne with Christ, who embraces his *sponsa,*[198] At Chartres cathedral, Christ crowns Mary, his *cothronus*.[199]

Mary was intercessor. St. Maura, for instance, prayed first in front of a Virgin and Child at Troyes before moving to the Crucified and then to God. She is literally the *avvocata* beneath the altar of the Vatican Last Judgment and in many devotional pictures because Mary’s inspirited body, like Christ’s, served as a channel from the world of matter to heaven. An ivory knob from a twelfth-century bishop’s crook in Lyon (Musée des Beaux-Arts) figures Mary with the Christ Child borne by angels inscribed: “O star, mother of the sun, direct the favor of your Son to the worshippers” as the buffer between God in Majesty on one side and the faithful.[200] Beleth gave Mary almost equal consideration with Christ in his analysis of the *Vere Dignum* initial. Tethering Mary to Venus, the *Cantigas* praised her as the morning star that heralds the arrival of the sun and extends the idea: “Because of our sinful nature, we would never have seen the face of God, who is our light and day, without you (Mary) who is our dawn”. A twelfth/thirteenth-century Spanish tract known as the *Advocaciones de la Virgen* likened her to the constellations, the classic exemplars of beauty and heavenly images; and Juan Gil de Zamora wrote: “When you conceived a Sun of Justice, as the moon also illuminated by beneficent action of the brilliant sun.”[201] Mary holding Christ in front of the Medusa’s face on the Basel reliquary functions like Perseus’ mirror, deflecting earthly temptations, including David’s lust alluded to in the titulus.

Metaphoric likening of the Virgin to diverse things in the world in the Akathist Hymn, *Mariengebet*, and other texts enabled intermedial iconography.[202] A widely-circulated poem on the Annunciation compared the Virgin to rivers of honey, gold, roses, dawn, clouds obscuring the sun, and a rainbow. Mary is pure white ivory, the mirror of Paradise, the fountain of grace, the door of heaven, a port in a storm.[203] According to an eleventh-century homily in the Vatican (BAV, Fondo S. Maria 122), the apostles commissioned the (early seventh-century) Madonna di San Sisto in Rome precisely to preserve the Virgin's beauty.[204] Juan Gil de Zamora maintained that "when [Mary] reached her adolescence she was clothed in such a beautiful appearance that she attracted God Himself and turned the divinity back to her eyes."[205] The so-called "crypt" of the Epiphanius at San Vincenzo al Volturno of 824-42 realized the trope by portraying the Virgin garbed in exceptionally rich attire and decked out with a crown, prominent earrings, and garments bejeweled with fictive and inserted gems.[206] Pairing of *pulchrum* and *sepulchrum* in the Annunciation above the abbot's tomb, Mary serves as a "limen" between heaven and earth.[207]

Most important, the Incarnation through Mary established the fundamental justification of art as the demonstration and recapitulation of Christ's two natures. The chronological narrative arranged along the central spine in the Canterbury windows (beginning at the top with the magi traveling to Bethlehem) affirms the belief that the Gospels narrative is true history that needs no allegorizing, with Jewish typologies and pagan idolatry sprouting from it like branches of the Tree of Porphyry.[208] Equally pertinent, Mary personified Christian art's status against heresies that disputed Christ's dual natures.[209] Extending Gregory the Great's classic defense of art that images can teach illiterates, Gerard of Cambrai adduced images of Mary at the Synod of Arras in 1025 to argue (against some kind of Manichaeism) that art enabled movement from what he termed carnal mortality to life in heaven, thereby redeeming Eve's sin.[210] Baudri of Bourgueil may have written the "nec Deus" titulus in response to heresy; and, in one version, he appended "true man and true God, notwithstanding both are one" to the core assertion that sacred images signify both God and man. A twelfth-century gloss asserts that the same couplet serves against the "opinio Judaeorum, hereticos et Saracenorum contra Christianos, quia Christiani habent imagines in ecclesis."[211] Durandus felt the need to preface the nec Deus, nec homo couplet with a caveat: "Adore not the image itself but that which it signifies: It is not rightly a God who can be touched, only a hand-worked stone object".[212] Incorporating Aristotelean ideas into an expanded defense of images, Thomas Aquinas maintained, among other things, that the devout could distinguish the physical object from the "rational creature" represented on it and, therefore, could be led to venerate not the representation but God himself.[213]

Light passing through glass offered the perfect metaphor for the mystery of incarnation and Mary's purity. One of the earliest examples of stained-glass, a medium that would dominate art of the high Middle Ages, pictures Christ as **A** and **Ω** and "LUX".[214] The medium seemed especially well-suited to capture Mary's chastity as in *Arnsteiner Mariengebet*:

> When you bore the child,
> you were in all ways
> clean and pure
> from congress with men.
> Whoever thinks that impossible,
> should consider glass, which is similar to you:
> the light of the sun shines directly through the glass,
> it is intact and clean as it was before.[215]

Citing such confirmatory Old Testament typologies as Moses at the Burning Bush and Aaron's flowering rod in the Tabernacle (still preserved in the Arnstein windows), the poem's lyrics extend the trope also to the entire heavenly court where angels, prophets, apostles, and saints sing the Virgin's praise in God's presence. The *Pictor in Carmine* expanded the vitreous allegory with distichs to be inscribed on paintings: *Sol vitream massam penetrat non fragmina passam/ Nec matris fractus pudor est a numine tactus* and *Cum per id intratur, non sole vitrum violatur/ Nec defloratur virgo dum prole beatur.*[216] The Canterbury glass incorporates the metaphor and articulates it with subtlety. Above the iconic Virgin and Child being adored, the aniconic column of fire leads the Jews to the Promised land, a star directs the pantheistic magi to Bethlehem, and the "Light of the World" unfurling a golden scroll, in person, redirects those converted to the faith from idol-worship to the life-giving sacraments.[217] Stained-glass' otherworldly beauty risked the distracting vanity such windows were intended to ward off,[218] which Bernard of Clairvaux feared such art would engender. That, in part, explains why, whether or not they were legible, epithets and histories were deemed fundamental in windows.

First Corinthians 13.12 incorporated an allegory based on another analogue of art, the mirror:[219] "What is a dark manner and what is a mirror in which the image is seen until the thing itself can be seen? The dark manner is Sacred Scripture, the image in the mirror is the faith in your heart."[220] Sicard of Cremona had the author, St. Paul, in mind, who had risen to the third heaven and contemplated the Light when he described "window glass, through which the rays of the sun reach us, is the mind of the Teacher who looks at the heavenly things through an obscure mirror, or through which obscure mirror the true Sun enters into us."[221] Jacques de Vitry applied Paul's mirror metaphor to images, forms, examples, and enigmas of creation put forth like images in a mirror to lead the mind toward knowledge and ignite passion to love God lead from the material to the spiritual.[222] In his Massa Marittima altarpiece, Ambrogio Lorenzetti ingeniously introduced the personification of Fides holding a silvered mirror painted with a Janus-like head on which a dove perches to assert that the mystery of the Triune God is understood only through faith and in a reflection (Fig. 36).

Bruno of Segni made clear that beauty was not enough; as in the Incarnation itself, materialization also mattered:

> Whatever is figured in either Testament, all this is figured in an ornament . . . it does not suffice to see only its beauty; they ought to ask about each aspect of it, why those colors, why the gold, why those stones, what does the rest signify?[223]

Although orthodox image theory held that the specific matter in which images were realized was not important, materials nonetheless inflected iconographies.[224] Not only does the gold studded with precious stones and pearls on the Andrew III diptych attract the eye, but it also evokes the "omnis lapis pretiosus" that Ezekiel inventoried (Ez. 28.13-14) which the Book of Revelation recapitulated.[225] And the checkerboard of red marble, portraits of saints, and New Testament narratives construct a micro-heavenly Jerusalem like the transitional precinct pictured at the lower left of the Vatican Last Judgment. The black cameos depicting the Crucifixion and Ascension, moreover, pair Christ's human and divine natures,[226] the lack of color and relief technique themselves affecting a transition from painting to sculptural presence that conveys the subjects' intermediacy and constructs the central mystery of faith as apophatic.[227]

Moreover, materials are not always separable from iconography. When the illuminators of the Karaite Bible rendered the tabernacle implements in gold, they were inserting themselves into the lineage of the biblical artificers Bezalel and Oliab. The gold background of the recto in the Bamberg *Song of Songs* is an element of the vision. Dressed so lavishly that her body disappears beneath an armor of ornament that dissolves into the mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Mary becomes the Church itself and, hence, a personification of *Ecclesia*. The silver disc at the end of Seuse's mental itinerary not only reflects the reader's image but also engages her/his physical and spiritual effort to maintain its luster.[228]

Painted on crystal-covered vellum, the narratives on the Andrew III diptych engaged a trope that understood the material of scripture to be Christ's flesh and its embellishments his spirit.[229] The colophon of the Godescalc Lectionary (Paris, Bib. nat., Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1203), richly adorned between 781 and 783 and long studied as the earliest extant witness to Charlemagne's revival of art, asserts that the golden letters are to be understood as the shimmering eternal life provided by Christ's sacrifice symbolized by the red-dyed parchment.[230] Mechthild von Magdeburg went further still, seeing Trinitarian meaning in the very body of the manuscript–its parchment, physical words, and meaning symbolizing the Son, Father, and Holy Ghost respectively.[231] The painter of Cantiga 60 staged the Annunciation against blank vellum. Wood had particular iconographic significance because of its origin in the Tree of Life and the cross.[232] The gold and white streaks atop the cross pictured on the Sancta Sanctorum box express the belief that Christ's sacrifice restored the desiccated Edenic tree (St. Maura's "dry wood") and made it flourish again;[233] the fusion of the blue with the brown encaustic of Golgotha realizes the doctrine of incarnation.[234] Other materials were given meaning, too. In an elaborate materialist iconography, the dedication titulus of the Halberstadt embroidery compares its own materials to the tale of the harlot who wiped Christ's feet at the house of Simon (Lk. 7.36-50), the pearls standing in for the woman's tears and the gold for her ointment, invoking the hope that the art will provide the patron, too, with remission of sin.[235] Bernard of Clairvaux had called Christ himself a "marvelous mixture" of flesh and spirit; and juxtaposing and mixing of materials was also iconographic, with words constructing meaningful "webs of intertwined interdependencies."[236] For Hildebert and others, electrum, the amalgam of gold and silver symbolized "Christe Jesu ... Deus est et homo";[237] the silver and gold halos at Palermo may realize the same iconographic trope.

The overall success of the incarnational justification had negative consequences for the iconography of Christianity's greatest mystery, the Trinity.[238] To the extent that images realized in matter figured the incarnate Son, they failed adequately to convey the Father's nature and the Holy Spirit's and, even more important, the *relationship* between the three persons. In the context of the Cathar heresy, Luc of Tuy attacked (triandric) depictions of the Trinity; and Durand of Saint Pourçain continued to insist that art could only represent the incarnate person.[239] Despite numerous experiments, no standard iconography ever emerged that satisfied the desire to imagine the three while subsuming them to monotheistic tenets. Eldefonsus rendered it on the Host's reverse with PAT[ER] FILIVS SP[IRITUS] S[ANCTUS] written between two horizontal bars and large dots between ALT[ISSIMUS] D[EU]S and OM[NI]P[OTEN[S] D[OMI]N[U]S, as three points of a triangle, and as three circles within a circle.[240] About the same time, tellingly, the corrector of the Ashburnham Pentateuch obliterated the second agent of creation using amorphous pink daubs of paint that, as elsewhere in Carolingian art, figure the blending of body and spirit, and so may have been an experiment in representing the Trinity.[241] Something of the same effect is created by the clouds that fill the upper part of the TRINITAS VNVS ET VERVS D[EU]S PATER ET S[P]I[RTU]S S[AN]C[TU]S (written in intricately interwoven letters) in the Benedictional of Ælthelwold, animating the crowned and cross-nimbed God with the Holy Spirit's energy (London, BL, Add. MS. 49598, fol. 70^{r}).[242] Petrus Alfonsi merged the triangle, circle, and tetragrammaton which then engendered the *scutum fidei*.[243] Seuse likened his concentric silver rings around a blank vellum circle marked by a dot to ripples generated by a pebble in a pond.[244]

Objects, too, actively engaged iconography. Ordained by scripture, even the tablets of the Law containing the prohibition of images and most of all, the cross on which Christ died were cited to justify medieval art. Tellingly, Paulinus of Nola began his interpretation of the Chrismon's iconographic fluidity with a fixed thing that a thief "unfastened from its hanging hook and carried away from the holy basilica with defiled hand." Venantius Fortunatus explicitly countered Ovid's cautionary tale of Arachne's web by referring to the priestly garments described in Exodus 38.23. In the Pantokrator Psalter, the tabernacle and its precious contents directly refute any literal reading of the adjacent words of Hebrew scripture of the sort iconoclasts against Christian icons (and the Karaites embraced); and the prominent purple curtain framed like an icon serves as a trope of Christian art's capacity to penetrate the Sancta Sanctorum closed off to the Israelites. Bruno of Segni adduced Aaron's breastplate as powerful argument for interpreting Christian art:

> as you seek in both Testaments a double understanding. It does not suffice to understand it according to the letter alone. Jews see this *rationale* but they do not understand what is signified by it ... These are living stones, which revolve above the earth; which arranged in the breastplate of the High Priest teach silently, and preach. For they preach not by speaking out loud but by signifying. We must always bear them on our chests, with which our heart is taught and protected.[245]

Actually portrayed in glass the north transept of Chartres, the breastplate made the relationship between gems and stained glass visual; and carved on a console in the choir of St. Remi in Reims, it provided a type for the New Testament fulfillment in the stained glass Crucifixion above.[246] The Brazen Serpent Moses raised in the desert to test the Israelite's faith was adduced in John's Gospel and became a powerful Old Testament type of the Crucifix, even its material hybridity.[247] At Arras, Gerard argued that "appropriately, a bronze serpent is suspended on wood; in the serpent is death, in bronze eternity is signified, as in the Lord, clearly death is in his humanity and eternity in his divinity."[248] Actual objects inserted into larger works operated iconographically too. Wood panels held in place by iron hooks in the frescoed Crucifixion and Last Judgment in San Giovanni a Porta Latina distinguish levels of sanctity, so do the (lost) icons on the apsidal arch of San Pietro in Valle near Ferentillo and Giotto's panel in the Arena Chapel in Padua depicting Christ sending Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, a material expression of the principle of iconography that becomes fulfilled in the frescoes.[249]

Such ordained crafters as Bezalel and Solomon, Luke, Nicodemus, and Veronica imbued manufacturing with special meaning.[250] As a consequence, making art was considered a redemptive activity.[251] Calcidius' detailed instructions of how to construct a spiral using a compass notwithstanding, the transformation of the essential geometric shape into a quasi-organic form is rendered freelance in the Carolingian manuscripts, the ink traces on vellum enacting the process by which spirit enters matter through the artisan's hand. Vice versa, it might return the reader to pure form.[252] One inscription on the Vatican Last Judgment panel declares that the painters who literally transformed dust into a vision of heaven shall themselves "at the trumpets' blast … rise from the dust of the earth." When Gerald of Wales considered the miraculously refined ornament in an illuminated manuscript that must have resembled the Book of Kells, he could only imagine that the scribe had copied it from drawings an angel had showed him and had needed a saint's intervention "to open both [his] bodily and mental eyes to see the [models] more keenly and understand the more subtly, and direct [his] hand to draw correctly."[253] The interplay in this text is notable, between harmony and variety, erasure and focus, surface and penetration, discrete numbers and infinity.

Paulinus had uncovered meaning in the intricate process of transforming the *Chi rho* into a monogram:

> Both letters with the three strokes achieve their separate shapes in a threefold way, the creation of a single Mind but triple Powers. ... The symbol used in Latin calculation for ten is written by the Greeks as the letter chi, and the rho splits it. The top of the rho also forms a sigma, for it curves back on the upright and forms a complete circle. Then the upright when bent makes a Greek iota. The same stroke when drawn back with a short spear point makes a tau. In this way the six letters which fashion the name higher than all names are gathered in one symbol, the monogram being fashioned by three strokes. The one symbol renders six letters at once. With its three strokes the one symbol shows that the Lord is both three and one, and God is in Christ whom the harmony of the threefold Mind willed to take a body and be born for us. There is further symbolism in the fact that the twin strokes bend back their summits symmetrically as though they are separate, and below they rest on similar supports set apart; yet they are joined fast together with a central link, as they gaze on identical but separated extremities.

In much the same fashion, the stitching of precious metal threads on the Halberstadt Host cloth not only constitutes an exchange of spirit and matter but also symbolizes art's status as an imitation of God's act that created prelapsarian beauty.[254] The refined rendering of Eden's plants on the *Cantigas* frontispiece asserts the same claim. When Jacquemart introduced the *Veronica* into the narrative of Christ Carrying the Cross, he was historicizing the miraculously made image and identifying his own crafting with "scriptural" precedents.

Artistic talent also being a gift from God, crafting's transformative power is explicitly figured on the baptismal font at St. Bridget in the eponymous Bridekirk (outside Cockermouth) made in the 1140s (Fig. 37).[255] Adjacent to depictions of the Tree of Life and Christ's salutary baptism and opposite a depiction of Adam and Eve expelled from Eden (on the sides), the relief facing those entering the church features the mason/carver Richard holding a mallet and chisel (its point of contact a spiral) fashioning an enormous acanthus scroll, inscribed in runes and Roman book hand: "Richard wrought me and carefully brought me to this splendor." The tool overlaps the coil in such a way that the curl Richard chisels up with his first hammer blow is simultaneously the sculpture and the planetary plant it represents.[256] As on the font in which Christ is bathed in the Palermo Nativity,[257] the acanthus symbolizes spiritual regeneration here, setting up an analogue to the redemption baptism itself offers the sinners. Iconography and function reinforce one another.

Placement constructed objects' meaning as well.[258] The Crossing of the Red Sea and desert tabernacle copied in the eleventh century from the Ashburnham Pentateuch to above the exit from the church of Saint Julien at Tours converted the historical narratives into a reminder to the faithful leaving that they, too, are wanderers in a spiritual desert. Whether the Vatican Last Judgment panel was originally positioned on the counterfaçade of San Gregorio Nazianzeno (as in a version of its iconography at Ceri)[259] or suspended near the altar as the imagery itself suggests, would have determined whether a viewer focused on the donors outside the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem (with whom they would identify) or on Christ behind the altar pictured in the center. The inscription likening the Halberstadt cloth to the veil on Moses' face (as in Hexateuch) implicates the dazzling sanctity of the Host beneath and enacts the donor's hope for redemption in acts of reciprocal seeing and not seeing:

> If no Israelite might look directly upon the countenance of Moses, when he came down from the mountain of divine contemplation how shall I look upon the […] body unveiled, how to gaze upon it? Thus, with fear I offer an intermediary to it, to the body that is superior to all heavenly hosts. I, *sebastos*, Alexios Palaeologos, your pious servant. And you, *Logos*, grant that I may look upon your countenance on the Day of Judgment."[260]

These verses sum up the theory of medieval iconography. While not rejecting the Old Testament events and promises, material images elevate them because the Incarnation had abrogated the written Law and replaced the blood sacrifices. Mere interim devices, however, they too serve only until Christ returns as judge at the end of time.

Moving objects also interpreted iconography. Recalling the brazen serpent, a candle inserted into a snake-shaped staff was deployed to relight church candles on Holy Saturday.[261] Air caused to flow through the Kremsmünster's *à jour* decoration when it was waved over the priest performing eucharistic transubstantiation animated the pictured soaring eagles and suscitating lion and propelled the cloth at Christ's tomb, the smoke rising from Mary's censer, and the fluttering banner of triumph. Actual currents, in other words, transfigured the material images into Christ's two natures. Moreover, when a deacon inserted the flabellum's prong into the base adorned with Old Testament crucifixion typologies, he transformed the image-bearing object into a vexillum (as in the Ælfric Paraphrase).[262]

The image on the lid of the Sancta Sanctorum box offered a matrix for discerning the pattern of the amorphous contents inside which, in turn, are pictured in the *loca sancta* narratives on its interior. The very process thus recapitulated, on a small scale, Helena's discerning the True Cross among the others on Golgotha that, according to legend, confirmed faith; according to legend, only the Christian believers were able to perceive the True Cross among the three that the Empress unearthed.[263] Opening, closing, and repositioning thus enacted diverse and intricate elements of the Christian religious economy: the redemption of Adam and Eve's sin and loss of Paradise, the transfer of God's covenant with the Jews to a new Chosen People, the Holy Land's translocation to Rome, and the promise of salvation through the Church. The stones and dirt from the Holy Land secreted in the Lateran altar beneath the feet of the *Acheropita*, "the image of the Savior wonderfully painted on a certain tablet, which Luke the Evangelist sketched out, but the power of the Lord completed it through the angelic obedience," also made allusion to the Ascension completed in a mosaic above of angels bearing Christ's upper torso to heaven, and, in so doing, dramatized the belief that Christ's feet remained on earth even after he ascended to the Father.[264] Once a year, moreover, the people would have followed the box as it passed through the Arch of Titus beneath the reliefs depicting the Ark of the Covenant and the other spoils from Solomon's Temple, the public liturgy reinforces Rome's status as the new Jerusalem on the banks of the Tiber.[265]

The Iconographer's Share

Using an art metaphor, Anselm of Canterbury explicitly acknowledged that "just as in the same passage of Scripture the [foolish man] will commend the color or the form of the figures, so [the wise man] will praise the sense and the signification."[266] The same was even truer of art itself. Meaning depended on the artisan's experience, learning, and training but also the viewer's knowledge and circumstances. The iconographer's task was to transform foolish lookers into wise ones. St. Maura summed up her experience at Troyes by stating that the images' primary function was to reinforce faith in a way that moved the beholder's reaction beyond the *oculo corporali* toward the ineffable Deity,[267] a goal reiterated in various ways by most other medieval commentators.

Iconography is contingent. Monograms, for instance, required readers' participation to stabilize specific references. "Seeing" Christ in Eldefonsus' Host diagram depended on a viewer's recollection of depictions of the *Maiestas Domini*. Moving beyond physical seeing required cognitive shifting. Pacificus of Verona had noted in his ninth-century astronomical guide that even a viewer of the heavens had to surpass corporal perception to see with the mind's eye what was signified, in a constellation, for instance, discerning "the position of the nails of the cross of Christ … on which his flesh hung for the salvation of mankind."[268] Bruno of Segni noted how a beholder's mental state transformed the meanings of ornaments:[269]

> Not all are seen together at once. At one time, we observe that [the church] is clothed in the ornament of faith, at another in that of hope, and at another in that of charity. All the rest are invisible, hidden, in some way, under a single one ... When the ornament of hope comes into view and is clearly seen, the whole Church rises up into a state of contemplation, and she is lifted out of the earthly realm into the heavenly, so that even though she remains physically in the world, she may say with confidence: "our citizenship is in heaven." ...[270]

Visual movement underlay the apprehension of much medieval imagery, as Gerard of Arras already recognized: "We adore truly Him whom we invoke. We bow down in our body before the cross, mentally before God; we venerate the cross through which we were redeemed, but we entreat Him who redeems us."[271] Gerald of Wales applied a similar subjectivity to the "angelic" sketches:

> Look at them superficially with the ordinary glance, and you would think it is an erasure, and not tracery. ... Look more keenly at it and you will penetrate to the very shrine of art. You will make out intricacies, so delicate and so subtle, so full of knots and links, with colors so fresh and vivid, that you might say that all this were the work of an angel, and not of a man.[272]

Anchoring his argument in the brazen serpent story, Giordano of Pisa went still further in a 1305 sermon, noting that the viewer's perception affects meaning and also the effectiveness of crucifixes:

> If you stare at the cross only with the bodily eye, the cross will not heal you; even if you stare at it for a long time with the mind's eye, it will not heal you. It is better to stare at the cross so that you have a likeness of Christ within you and feel the pain of the cross of Christ. Immediately, when you start to feel it in yourself, and when that form and image grows inside you, you free yourself from all poison.

The issue was proper guidance. Iconographers had to "keep under control the license of painters" so that, as the *Pictor in Carmine* put it, artisans "seek God's glory, not their own."[273] Viewers, in turn, had to struggle to understand what they saw.[274] Already in the early fifth century, Paulinus of Nola noted that, even in his modest basilica, a visitor had to "take the slight trouble of bending his neck backwards, taking stock of everything with head thrown back so that she or he would acknowledge the truth within these empty pictures, which nurtures his believing mind with representations by no means empty." For Bruno of Segni, parsing meaning required serious effort: "all the people look at these things and what they signify, and they diligently interrogate them."[275] The high-up inscriptions on the Canterbury glass cannot be discerned without straining nor their captions comprehended (though it is possible that interlocutors used "crib-sheets" to explain iconographies beyond visibility).[276] The wriggly couplet inscribed around Christ at Estella is impossible to read though its very presence activates effort which itself elevates the mind.[277]

Modern iconographers, too, must reckon with iconography's slipperiness and struggle hard to assess the implications. They need to submit the texts they use to rigorous historical and codicological analysis.[278] The tenth-century illustrated Maccabees in Leiden, for instance, is bound with Vegetius' tract on military practice so that it becomes a new treatise about spiritual battle.[279] The binding of Theophilus *Diversarum artium schedula* in the twelfth century with Vitruvius' *De architectura* made an argument about art's continuity.[280] Most important, art historians need to *read* their textual "sources" as closely as they do their "images." The most satisfying experience I have had as a scholar was working together with the learned and subtle Latinist on the poetry and illustrations in the First Bible of Charles the Bald.[281] Examining the texts and pictures first hand in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I discovered consequential mistakes in the authoritative *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* transcriptions and also codicological evidence of significant modifications made during the process producing the ninth-century manuscript, including translocation of the Apocalypse frontispiece, obliteration and rewriting of textual passages, and iconographic supplements that transformed the understanding of the volume. Most important, as Paul Dutton and I worked together to puzzle out the meaning of a few particularly opaque written locutions and especially elusive pictorial details, we arrived at an inevitable realization: a single creator must have composed both the pictorial poems and the poetic pictures. Iconography, in this instance, was not a matter of sources but of subtle personal ambition.

At the same time, iconographic research is, itself, historically determined.[282] Dismissing it is easy. Applying it productively requires knowledge, thought, hard work, historical sensitivity, and creative skepticism.

How were iconographies read during the Middle Ages? Distinguishing Hildebert's "unindoctrinated who grasp only external things from the learned who examine the interior things," art's location stratified audiences. For monastics, Bernard of Clairvaux would have banned art altogether.[283] Anselm's windows were in spaces frequented by clergy; the scale of iconographic units in the San Clemente mosaic differentiated clerics within the choir from the laity outside.[284] The multiplication of Pantocrator icons in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and possibly the positioning of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem were directed to the royal viewers.[285] The *Pictor in Carmine*'s decorations were recommended for places "where public stations take place ... to suggest divine things to the unlearned and stir up the learned to the love of scriptures," implying a temporal aspect of iconography that is too often ignored. The various altarpieces in Sankt Olof, set beneath murals, offered worshipers choices. Viewed over a lifetime, a single work of art acquired shades of meaning "like the lovely colors of a peacock."

Perspective also conditioned meaning. While the conventional Zodiac picturing the entire universe in the Valenciennes Calcidius asserts objective distance, for instance, its counterpart in Lyons moves the reader inside the solar cone and imagines how the circling Venus appears on the revolving Earth (**X**). Like many works of art, the Vatican Last Judgment establishes a viewpoint that constructs its visual grammar and syntax; beginning outside the walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem occupied by the humble donors and the distracting details of tortured sinners in Hell, it forces viewers to make choices as she or he looks up. In the Lateran Aula Gotica, movement through the space that never furnishes a complete view creates a tension of temporality embodied in viewing and the theological truths that are beyond the human condition.[286] Jacquemart's quoting the Veronica in the

Paris painting reminded viewers that they see Christ only through images and vestiges left behind when he returned to the Father. While the faithful depicted within the narrative all look at Christ (even the praying donors in the foreground) the *acheiropoieton* alone is turned outward, the miraculously-made icon providing a contrast to the Jews in the background who turn away to gaze at the devil absconding with Judas' soul.[287]

The Angel column at Strasbourg has God at the top watching the penitents who entered the south transept on Maundy Thursday.[288] Christ's point of view from above on the Hereford Map effects dual vision with the Annunciation once pictured on the wings viewed straight on.[289] Such oscillation between looking from afar and looking up close, from a tower (specula) or in a mirror (speculum),[290] created medieval art as a space of contemplation made possible by the Incarnation.[291] In Ambrogio's Massa Marittima altarpiece, the Trinitarian mirror breaks the insistent progression upward toward Mary and Christ intended to figure the complex play of physical seeing and spiritual imagining.[292] Distance engendered desire for close examination,[293] even fictive distance; but, as Gerald of Wales noted, minute detail also tested the limit of apprehension. I myself discovered the need for bifocal eyeglasses when I made a special trip to Vienna – once and for all to resolve a scholarly debate about the Trinity in the manuscript model of the Grottaferrata fresco – but was unable to discern the precise configuration of the manuscript's Trinitarian iconography without borrowing a magnifying glass from the curator. The modified detail is likewise impossible to discern from the floor of the monastic church; it was, however, important for the iconographer.

Near-sighted in one eye and far-sighted in the other, Panofsky cited his visual anomaly as a paradigm for art historical research that needed to attend to details while never losing sight of the overall presentation.[294] Mis-en-abîme, the duplication of an iconographic motif on a different scale within a work of art, engendered cognitive oscillation. The Chrismon embossed on Christ's book in the Estella tympanum, for example, cues the entire composition which radiates to Christ enthroned on a *sella curulis* (a sign of kingship) surrounded by a quatrefoil mandorla framed by the four evangelist symbols and Mary and John who witnessed his crucifixion, and then censing angels and the elders of the Apocalypse as the Holy Spirit descends. Eldefonsus' circle "quod nec initium habet Deus in medio manens nec finem" is simultaneous a globe, a wafer, and a coin.[295] Opening a shrine Madonna, Candide of Maubuisson discovered that "it was not a Virgin, but a world – more than a world, a paradise, purgatory, and hell were there with all the mysteries of the Old and New Testaments, from the creation of the universe through the Last Judgment, and all represented in figures no larger than a finger." The nun could have been describing the Vatican Last Judgment, which comprehends myriad elements within an orb measuring 288 X 243 cms, that is scaled by the tiny *mundus* Christ holds in one hand at the top, the sole object in the painting that is itself labeled.

Superabundance of iconographies and materializations had a similar effect of obliterating iconographic details in a kaleidoscopic blur, a kind of dissimulation that is a feature especially of most stained-glass windows. The Andrew III diptych overwhelms the viewer with gems, pearls, and filigree ornaments holding in place stones and portraits of myriad saints, as well as the evangelist symbols, twelve narratives rendered on parchment covered in rock crystal to emulate enamel, and two cameos with additional narrative elements.[296] At first look, its virtuosic craftsmanship and material luster stupify the viewer and the geometric grid, anchored only by the cameos, scatters movement as on a checkerboard (an object for which the Venetian workshop was also famous). An attentive viewer may home in on individual iconographies and study the inscriptions, narratives, and saints, but the reading taxes physical apprehension and remains beyond full comprehension. Iconographic opulence in Aula Gotica is intentionally encyclopedic.

Engaging beholders in processes of discovery, interpretation, and choosing,[297] iconography does not impose meaning on passive viewers.[298] Rather, it negotiates relationships of matter and spirit, carnal perception and the mind's eye for those who afford it deserved attention.

Modern technology actually diminishes some essential aspects. While iconography could hardly have evolved without reproductive printing and then photography, those very tools have not only dulled art's aura but have also elided the differences of such important iconographic elements as material, color, surface, size, and placement. Moreover, by being assertively made frontal in imitation of easel painting, they destroy contexts that affect iconographic readings.[299] It still remains difficult to acquire photographs such as the one included here of the San Marco atrium that relates iconographic elements to one another within their spatial contexts, in this case the perspective on Adam and Eve's sin in Eden and Cain's rebuke together with the Church's promise of return figured by the Corinthian column, vine scroll, and Tree of Life. Smartphones enable scholars to zoom in on frescoes or sculptures when visiting a cathedral and three clicks on the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek website solves the iconographic problem that only three decades ago required considerable effort to travel to Vienna and to acquire a pair of bifocals, but such gains need to be reintegrated into what can be learned of actual conditions of medieval viewing.[300] And while scholars now rightly take into account the dramatic effects electric lights and museum displays have on the perception of iconographic forms,[301] the struggle to see and the possibility of not seeing close-up details and the reading of texts and complexes of images that recede into the miasma of a cathedral must still be reckoned with. Had Gerald of Wales worn eyeglasses, he probably would not have thought of angelic model books. An important aspect of medieval iconography is believing that sacred things are above the senses and beyond human ken.

Throughout the Middles Ages there was, in fact, a continuous pushing back *against* material iconography. Theodulf of Orléans offered an aniconic alternative in his chapel at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire to images of Christ he had seen in Roman churches, the Ark of the Covenant with an inscription inviting the spectator to penetrate its meaning.[302] That is the explicit message also of the ultimate vignette of Seuse's diagram, the triptych at the end of the red thread that both bends the vertical ascent and marks art's limits (Fig. 38). Its hinged doors thrown open,[303] the gold center is rendered as a sculptural recess that flattens into a panel at the top, covered by a *Fastentuch*, the human form with slippers edging out of the bottom and suggestions of a leg, torso, shoulders and head.[304] Transforming a material image into mental contemplation in the way Elsbeth Stagel's "Ave Marias" and "Pater Nosters" do counted out on rosary beads, the veiled sculpture metamorphosing into a painting brilliantly realizes Seuse's claim that that one must "drive out images with images" in order to "form images of what entails no images."[305] The silvered Trinity beyond is geometric, reflective, mental. It develops age-old principles of art, manifested already in the ninth century, for instance, through the language of image theory in the Pantokrator Psalter and even more explicitly, the copy of Cosmas Indicopleutstes' *Christian Topography* in the Vatican (BAV, Cod. Gr. 699, fol. 89^r).[306]

For all the unexamined assertions of medieval art's *horror vacui*, absence in fact functioned powerfully.[307] Two compass-drawn circles on the empty verso of Eldefonsus' diagram in Paris anticipate the determined iconographic realization that succeed them. Devoid of content, the perfect (cosmic) forms awaiting realization perhaps engage the contemporary debate at Corbie between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus on the issue of real presence, a theological dispute embedded in how, by manifesting scripture, the Host activates the eyes of the heart.[308] A similar use of emptiness anticipates the *Maiestas domini* in the contemporary First Bible of Charles the Bald where the double mandorla surrounding Christ and the lozenge figuring the four major prophets are overlain with a poem before they rendered visible making explicit the claim that the picture that follows hinges Old Testament words to the New Testament fulfillment: "Behold you have now read the Old Testament prepared for you/ But the New one that rightly follows [it] reveals things to be read."[309] As in an old iconophilic trope, the Old Testament is but an underdrawing, the New Testament painting in full color.[310] Leaves on the versos of portraits of Christ in eleventh-century Gospel books from Echternach also engage debates about real presence and an ongoing dialogue between artistic abstraction and Eucharistic theology.[311] More or less pure painted fields in such Ottonian manuscripts as the tenth-century Gospels of St. Andrew (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, KG 54) raise questions about the relationship of artistic creation to God's,[312] while the alternation of blank vellum with pictures of the creation story in the Stammheim Missal illustrated at Hildesheim in the seventh decade of the twelfth century offers a sophisticated realization of contemporary discussions of art, perception, and cognition (Malibu, CA, Getty Museum, MS 64).[313]

The two lowest fields in Cantiga 60 contrast the emptiness of white parchment with the resplendent celestial blue fields studded with gold separated with rainbows. Metaphors of humankind's striving to restore an image of God, the pure geometry and color of the perfectly arced illusions made when light passes through clouds, the rainbows are iconographic. Already in his *In Apocalypsim*, the ninth-century exegete Haymo of Halberstadt interpreted John's vision of the Lord enthroned in heaven (Rev. 4.3) in terms of the signs God had provided as proof of his covenant with Noah and his children, Moses receiving the Law in a cloud, Isaiah, Luke, and John.[314] Emphasizing the two principal colors, red and blue-green, he conjured up judgment for Adam and Eve's sin and the redemption through Christ's blood. Created by the (unseen) sun (Son), the rainbow in the Escorial manuscript figures art's capacity in its basic elements to mediate between earth and heaven, tantalizing humans with facsimiles of the Paradise Adam and Eve had lost through sin and opening heaven's door as Maria-Ecclesia does to provide an oblique glimpse into a restored world of beauty.[315] Even the "abstract" form is iconographically (over)determined.

Pro gloria Dei

A few years before I sat in on his Princeton seminar, Erwin Panofsky had been entangled in an ugly quarrel with the artist Barnett Newman that engaged many of the same issues that still dog the field of medieval art.[316] The spat was triggered by the *Vir heroicus sublimis* painted a decade earlier in which Newman had sought to create an artistic experience independent of iconography (New York, Museum of Modern Art). Robert Rosenblum (at the time, a Princeton professor) had included the painting in his "The Abstract Sublime," which, by chance, had appeared in the same issue of *ARTnews* as George Kubler's review of Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. Taken aback by the Latinity of Newman's title, incorrectly given in the picture caption as *Vir heroicus sublimus*, the iconographer shot off a letter to the editor in which he chided the artist: "does Mr. Newman imply that he, as Aelfric [of Einsham] says of God, is "above Grammar'?"[317] Coached by Meyer Schapiro, the great artist responded by citing ancient usages of "sublimus;" and then, in a perfect modern recapitulation of the "impious presumption of painters" that the twelfth-century compiler of iconography had railed against in the *Pictor in Carmine*, he turned the knife: "the tenth-century monk had a greater sensitivity for the meaning of the act of creation than Panofsky ... for a work of art to be a work of art it must rise above grammar and syntax *pro Gloria Dei.*"

Four secular Jews entangled in a battle over a painting's Latin title lay bare the choice art presented during the Middle Ages between (Jewish) word and (Christian) image,[318] which itself raises the question of why so many iconographers have been Jewish? Not all, to be sure, not Émile Mâle nor Francis Wormald nor André Grabar nor Kurt Weizmann nor Florentine Mütherich nor Michael Camille, to name a few of the most prominent, but Adolph Goldschmidt, Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, Rudolf Berliner, Ernst Kitzinger, Hugo Buchthal, Adolf Katzenellenbogen, Millard Meiss, Meyer Schapiro, Ernst Gombrich, Robert Deshman, Rosalie B. Green, Enrico Castelnuovo, Walter Cahn, and many still at work today. It is a question worth pondering. Judaizing haunts medieval aesthetics.[319]

In my own case, study of Talmud when I was an adolescent, with its examination of the significance of minutiae, was surely formative.[320] So, I conclude this Introduction by applying the talmudic mode to the Panofsky/Newman contretemps, which was, after all, at heart a debate about iconography and the "pure" experiencing of art that is very much still alive.[321] Had Newman been the philologist he presents himself to be, the sublime painter might have been more understanding of Panofsky. His staccato "for the glory of God" as justification for expressing "the idea of an object without expressing its name" takes the biblical phrase out of context. Newman seems not to have known that the scripture comes from Vulgate's account of Christ's raising Lazarus, which gives as the miracle's reason: "so that the Son of God might be glorified" (Jn 11.4). Surely, he was ignorant of the Evangelist's source in Hebrew scripture: "It is to the glory of God to conceal a word, and it is to the glory of kings to investigate speech" (Proverbs 25.2). Rosenblum intuited the underlying message in his review, noting that in *Homo heroicus sublimis* and other canvases, Newman "produces awesomely simple mysteries that evoke the primeval moment of creation ... conveyed by paint alone."[322]

Iconography "investigates speech," insistently plotting medieval art's *via media* toward "gloriam Christi querant non suam."[323] Mixing word and image in art might imagine things not yet seen, as in the Vatican Last Judgment panel.[324] It might create "playful fantasies" in the words of the *Pictor in Carmine,* and monsters. It is capable even of transgressing the limits of materiality in stained glass, for instance, and other semipermeable membranes.[325] To the extent that it negotiates the invisible God's presence in *this* world, however, medieval art intentionally remains not only a means but also an barrier. Like the framed curtain before the Holy of Holies in the Pantokrator Psalter, the veiled stanchion in the Ælfric Hexateuch, and most explicitly, the white cloth framed by gold that is the penultimate image in Seuse's diagram, art by its very material presence, closes off direct experience of the celestial realm. The interweaving of text and image and the sensual pleasure of its color and rich materials engender a longing to return to Paradise and the direct vision of God. Like the mist that covered Moses on Mt. Sinai, it also impairs the face-to-face apprehension. As Hrabanus Maurus underscored in his exegesis of John's vision, the Evangelist related not a *vision* of God's glory itself in the Book of Revelation but a *similitude* of it; and citing Paul's mirror simile, he made the point clear in his exegesis of the rainbow.[326] Barnett Newman did something of the same when he discussed the title of *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* as a "metaphor" of the painting's research.[327]

Iconography assures that comprehending medieval art always remains an asymptotia to the Kremsmünster flabellum's "vix exprimet ullus". As the spiral and the parabola in transfinite number systems, Plato's planetary plant and Hildegard's egg imagine the infinite; but as soon as beautiful images dupe viewers into believing they are approaching the *gloria Dei*, they redraw boundaries to caution the faithful that humankind will enjoy divine presence only at the end of time.[328] To rise above iconography is to trespass into a domain reserved for angels and saints.[329]

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1. See M. A. Holly, *Iconology and the Phenomenological Imagination*, «Ikon. Journal of Iconographical Studies» 7 (2014), pp. 7-16.

2. D. Méhu, *Augustin, le sens et les sens. Réflexions sur le processus de spiritualisation du charnel dans l'Église médiévale*, «Revue historique» 317 (2015), pp. 271-302.

3. L. Brubaker, J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era, c. 680-850: A History*, Cambridge 2011; J. Elsner, *Iconoclasm as Discourse: From Antiquity to Byzantium*, «Art Bulletin» 94 (2012), pp. 368-394.

4. A. Kumler, *Translating Truth. Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England*, New Haven, CT and London 2011, pp. 5-6; ead. *Whose Iconography?*, P. A. Patton, C. A. Fernandez (eds.), *Iconography Beyond the Crossroads*, University Park, PA 2022, pp. 35-58.

5. Walter S. Melion, to whom this essay is dedicated, is a master of tracing the continuities and disruptions; see, for example, his three-volume *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels by Jerome Nadal*, Philadelphia PA 2003-2005 and *The Meditative Art. Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550-1625*, Philadelphia PA 2010.

[6] Useful overviews include: J. F. Hamburger, *Introduction, The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History: Problems, Positions, Possibilities*, and *The Medieval Work of Art: Wherein the "Work"? Wherein the "Art"?*, J. F. Hamburger, A.-M. Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, pp. 1-10, pp. 11-31, and pp. 374-439; J. Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale*, Paris 2008; P. S. Patton, H. D. Schlib (eds.), *The Lives and Afterlives of Medieval Iconography*, University Park, PA 2021. J. Baschet referred to "super-iconography" in R. A. Maxwell, K. Ambrose (eds.), *Current Directions in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 23-46.

[7] The contribution builds on material and arguments presented in my book, *Experiencing Medieval Art*, Toronto 2019, while adding some recent bibliography.

[8] *Commentary of the Song of Songs*, chap. 4; C. Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen*, Petersberg 2009, pp. 407-414.

[9] *In Evangelium Ioannis Tractatus*, 24.5.

[10] *De institutione divinarum litteram*, 4; PL 70.1115; see L. Kendrick, *Animating the Letter. The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Columbus, OH 1999, pp. 74-75. John Scotus Eriugena reiterated the metaphor; *Periphyseon*, 4.4; *Periphyseon. The Division of Nature*, I. P. Sheldon-Williams, John J. O'Meara (eds. and trans.), Washington, DC 2020. For a particularly subtle demonstration, see B. Fricke, *At the Threshold of Painting: The Man of Sorrows by Albrecht Dürer*, P. Bokody, A. Nagel (eds.), *Renaissance Metapainting*, London 2019, pp. 209-238.

[11] Cf. J. C. Schmitt, *Animal Farm: une image du tabernacle de moïse dans la Bible historiale de* Guiart *des Moulins (BnF, Français 9, Fol. 63r, vers 1412-1415)*, «Codex Aqvilarensis» 37 (2021), pp. 49-64.

[12] R. Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970; J. L. Koosed, *Moses: The Face of Fear*, «Biblical Interpretation» 22(4-5) (2014), pp. 414-429; H. Broderick, *Moses the Egyptian in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch (London, British Library Cotton MS Claudius B.iv)*, Notre Dame, IN 2017.

[13] B. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv. The Frontier of Seeing and Reading in Anglo-Saxon England*, London 2007.

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87. A. Grabar, *Les ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958; K. Weitzmann, *Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine*, «Dumbarton Oaks Papers» 28 (1974), pp. 31-55; G. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, rev. ed. Washington, DC 2010; J. Elsner, *Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation. Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza and Walsingham*, «Journal of the History of Collections» 9 (1997), pp. 117-130.

88. A. Iacobini, *L'albero della vita nell'immaginario medievale: Bisanzio e l'Occidente"* in A. M. Romanini, A. Cadei (eds.), *L'architettura medievale in Sicilia: la cattedrale di Palermo*, Rome 1994, pp. 241-290; H. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 115-117 et passim.

89. I. H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World*, Leiden 2008, pp. 161-260; J. F. Hamburger, J. O'Driscoll, *Imperial Splendor. The Art of the Book in the Holy Roman Empire, 800-1500,* New York 2021, p. 60. A short Carolingian tract attributed to Hrabanus Maurus (now titled *De inventione linguarum*) considers linkages between letters and pictorial representations to be a form of art; Tilghman, *Shape of Words*.

90. V. Debiais, *From Christ's Monogram to God's Presence. Epigraphic Contribution to the Study of Chrismons in Romanesque Sculpture*, Hamburger, Bedos-Rezak (eds.), *Sign and Design*, pp. 135-151; id., *Croisée*, pp. 84-85.

91. Eldefonsus would have known Paulinus' *carmina*.

92. R. Favreau, *L'inscription du tympan nord de San Miguel d'Estella*, «Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes» 133 (1975), pp. 237-246; J. M. Martínez de Aguirre, *Portada de San Miguel de Estella. Estudio Iconológico*, «Príncipe de Viana» 45, no. 173 (1984), pp. 439-461; J. del Hoyo Calleja, *Nec deus est nec homo: a propósito de la inscripción de la portada norte de San Miguel de Estella, Actas [del] III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval (León, 26-29 de septiembre de2001)*, León 2002, vol. 2, pp. 797-802; P. Skubiszewski, *Maiestas Domini et liturgie*, C. Arrignon et al. (eds.), *Actes du Colloque à l'occasion du cinquantenaire du CESCM, Poitiers, 1-4 septembre 2003*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 309-408; H. L. Kessler, *Neither God Nor Man. Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art*, Freiburg i. Br., 2007.

93. C. Meier, *Malerei des Unsichtbaren: Über den Zusammenhang von Erkenntnistheorie und Bildstruktur im* Mittelalter, W. Harms (ed.), *Text und Bild. Bild und Text: DFG-Symposion 1988*, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 35-65; B. Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art*, Regensburg 2003; K. Müller, *Visuelle Weltaneignung. Astronomische und kosmologische Diagramme in Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Göttingen 2008; F. Wallis, *What a Medieval Diagram Shows: A Case Study of* Computus, «Studies in Iconography» 36 (2015), pp. 1-40; J. F. Hamburger, *Mindmapping: The Diagram as Paradigm in Medieval Art and Beyond*, M. Kupfer, A. Cohen, and J. H. Chajes (eds.), *Visualization of Knowledge Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Turnhout 2021, pp. 61-86; L. Safran, *A* Prologomenon *to Byzantine Diagrams*, ibid., pp. 361-404; A. S. Cohen, *Diagramming the Diagrammatic: Twelfth-Century Europe,* ibid., pp. 383-404.

94. Hamburger, *Diagramming Devotion*, p. 235; Kumler, "Whose Iconography". I wish to thank Dr. Martin Schwarz for discussing his work on this important manuscript, which will be the subject of his forthcoming article, *Maiestas Dominae*. See also: A. R. Verboon, *The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic, P. Salonius, A. Worm* (eds.), *The Tree. Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, Turnhout 2014, pp. 95-116.

95. M. H. Caviness, *Templates for Knowledge: Geometric Ordering of the Built Environment, Monumental Decoration, and Illuminated Page*, Kupfer, Cohen, and Chajes (eds.), *Visualization of Knowledge*, pp. 405-428.

96. Labyrinths were important iconographic devices; see: A. S. Mittman, *Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth*, «Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture» 4 (2013). A labyrinth at the start of Otfrid of Weissenburg's Gospels (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. 2867, fol. 1^r), explicated by an accompanying poem and bookended by a cross, figures the difficulty but also the possibility of deploying the senses to rise spiritually; W. Haubrichs, *Error inextricabilis. Form und Funktion der Labyrinthabbildung im mittelalterlichen Handschriften,* C. Meier, U. Ruberg (eds.) *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 63-174; Kitzinger, *Cross*, pp. 103-114.

97. Ganz, *Medien der Offenbarung.*

98. The swords and daggers piercing the woman presages *Mater Dolorosa* iconography; S. McMichael, K. W. Shelby (eds.), *Medieval Franciscan Approaches to the Virgin Mary. Mater Misericordiae Sanctissima et Dolorosa*, Leiden 2019. On silent prayer, see: V. Debiais, *Le silence dans l'art. Liturgie et théologie du silence dans les images médiévales*, Paris 2019.

99. A. García Aviles, *Transitus: actitudes hacia la sacralidad de las imágenes en el Occidente medieval*, *Imágenes medievales de culto,* Murcia 2010, pp. 22-25.

100. Falque, *Imagery and Knowledge.*

101. Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 111-116 and 355-356; P. Strohmaier, *Vom liturgischen Textil zum Werbebanner? Zwei byzantinische Goldstickereien im Dom zu Halberstadt,* «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte» 80 (2017), pp. 219-246.

102. Hamburger, *St. John the Divine*, pp. 171, 181.

103. P. Binski, *The Rhetorical Occasions of Gothic Sculpture*, «Collegium medievale» 30 (2018), pp. 7-32.

104. PL 171.1383; W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom. Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Princeton 1997, pp. 56 and 112; B. Brenk, *Visualizing Divine Authority. The Mosaics of Roger II in Sicily: their Art and their Meaning*, Wiesbaden 2022, pp. 117, 135, and 151.

105. P. Wagner (ed.), *Icons–Texts–Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, Berlin 1996; S. Riccioni, *Il mosaic absidale di S. Clemente a Roma. Exemplum della Chiesa riformata*, Spoleto 2006, pp. 16-30; id., *L'Epiconografia: l'opera d'arte come sintesi visiva di scrittura e immagine*, A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: Arte e storia (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studie dell'AISAME)*, Parma 2008, pp. 465-480; id. *The Word in the Image: an Epiconographic Analysis of Reformed Mosaics in Rome (Twelfth Century)*, K. B. Aavitsland, T. K. Seim (eds.), *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces*, Budapest 2011, pp. 85-137; id. *The Visual Experience of the Triumphant Church: The Mosaic of S. Maria in Trastevere*, Rome 2021, pp. 56-58 and 111-12; Krause, *Inschriften*; Debiais *Croisée*, pp.145-51.

106. R. Suckale, *Die Weltgerichtstafel aus dem römischen Frauenkonvent S. Maria in Campo Marzio als programmatisches Bild der einsetzenden Gregorianischen Kirchenreform*, R. Suckale, *Das mittelalterliche Bild als Zeitzeuge*, Berlin 2002, pp. 12-122; S. Romano, *Riforma e tradizione 1050-1198*, Milan 2006, pp. 45-55.

107. The tympanum at Conques, likewise, includes a veritable tapestry of inscriptions to engage viewers in historical, theological, and moral arguments; J.-C. Bonne, *L'art roman de face et de profil. Le tympan de Conques*, Paris 1985. A similar profusion of inscriptions on the carved twelfth-century ivory cross in the Metropolitan Museum (Cloisters) not only constructs a complex typological program but also serves pictorial purposes; E. Parker, C. Little, *The Cloisters Cross. Its Art and Meaning*, New York 1994.

108. J.-C. Bonne, *De l'ornement à l'ornementalité. La mosaïque absidale de San Clemente de Rome, Le rôle de l'ornement dans la peinture murale du Moyen Âge,* Actes du colloque, Saint-Lizier 1995), Poitiers 1997, pp. 103-118; Riccioni, *Mosaico absidale*, pp. 65-72.

109. On animal iconography, J. Baschet, J.-C. Bonne, and Dittmar, *Le Monde roman par-delà le bien et le mal*, Paris 2012, pp. 107-111.

110. Sedulius had already merged animal lore with scripture in his *Carmen paschale*; the fan structures it poetically. In the flabellum's time, Sicard of Cremona incorporated the trope in the section of his influential *Mitralis* devoted to church ornament: "More clearly than the other [evangelists], [Mark] accounts for the resurrection of Christ, according to which Christ is represented as a lion, who after his death rose up and after his father's call on the third day was enlivened."

111. The verses raise the likelihood that the fan is not whole and that the empty back may, originally, have had a complimentary relief featuring Matthew's man and Luke's ox perhaps illustrated with suitable narratives of Christ's birth and baptism.

112. On "imaginative theology," see B. Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry; and Belief in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2003; Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros*, pp. 171-250.

113. PL 158.365; B. Davies and G. R. Evans (trans.) Oxford 1998, p. 269; Heslop, *St Anselm*. See also: U. Eco, *Opera aperta*, Milan 1962.

114. *Cur homo deus*, Chapter 3; PL 158.364.

115. M. Büchsel, *Materialpracht und die Kunst für Litterati: Suger gegen Bernhard von Clairvaux*, M. Büchsel, R. Müller (eds.), *Materialpracht und Mysterifizierung mittelalterlicher Kunst «Kultbild»: Revision eines Begriffs*, Berlin 2010, pp. 155-181.

116. PL 175.14-15.

117. PL 172.814.

118. J. Hamburger, *The Hand of God and the Hand of the Scribe: Craft and Collaboration at Arnstein*, M. Embach, C. Moulin, and A. Rapp (eds.), *Die Bibliothek des Mittelalters als dynamischer Prozess (Trierer Beiträge zu den historischen Kulturwissenschaften),* 3 (2012), pp. 55-80.

119. Debiais *Croisée*, pp. 151-164.

120. On persuasion, see M. Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* Oxford 2013; P. Binski, *Medieval Invention and its Potencies*, «British Art Studies» 6 (2017); https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-06/pbinski.

121. A. B. Scott, D. F. Baker, and A. G. Riggs (eds.), *The Biblical Epigrams of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition*, «Mediaeval Studies» 47 (1985), pp. 272-316, also abbreviated: Accessit Moyses. Idiote turba, magistri dux populi, fumus obscura parabola fertur, cum Deus in sacra scriptura mistica profert, p. 287.

122. Scott, Baker, and Rigg, *Biblical Epigrams*, p. 287. Hildebertus' *De nativitate Christi* seems to have inspired the Latin verse of the Palermo Nativity mosaic, with its triple trope of generation.

123. On the meaning of "decorum", see Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*.

124. Krause, *Inschriften.*

125. Kessler, *Neither God Nor Man.*

126. See Debiais, *Croisée*, pp. 171-173.

127. J. F. Hamburger, *Ouvertures. La double page dans les manuscrits enluminés du Moyen Âge*, Lyon 2010, pp. 74-77; D. Ganz, *Visio depicta. Zur Medialität mittelalterlicher Visionsdarstellungen,* R. Hoeps (ed.), *Handbuch der Bildtheologie,* vol. 3, Paderborn 2014, pp. 145-182.

128. G. Wolf, *Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder im italienischen Kirchenraum des Mittelalters: Überlegungen zu Zeit- und Bildstruktur der Fresken in der Unterkirche von S. Clemente (Rom) aus dem späten 11 Jahrhundert*, G. Kerscher (ed.) *Hagiographie und Kunst: der Heiligenkult* Schrift*, Bild und Architektur*, Berlin 1993, pp. 319-39; M. Hauknes, *Emblematic Narratives in the Sancta Sanctorum*, «Studies in Iconography» 34 (2013), pp. 1-46.

129. H. Stahl, *Picturing Kingship. History and Painting in the Psalter of Saint Louis*, University Park, PA 2008, pp. 89-116.

130. L. Fernández Fernández, J. C. Ruiz Souza (eds.), *Las Cantigas de Santa María: Códice Rico, Ms. T-I-1 Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, Madrid 2011, pp. 477-520; S. Disalvo, *El planctus de la Virgen en la Península Ibérica, desde el Quis dabit hasta las Cantigas de Santa María*, *IX Congreso Argentino de Hispanistas "El Hispanismo ante el Bicentenario"*, La Plata 2010, http://ixcah.fahce.unlp.edu.ar; Sánchez Ameirjeiras, *Rostros*, p. 217.

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132. Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros*, pp. 235 et passim.

133. On Mary as "porta coeli" see: N. Piano, *De la porte close du temple de Salomon à la porte ouverte du Paradis. Histoire d'une image mariale dans l'exégèse et la liturgie médiévales (IV^e-XIII^e siècles)*, «Studi Medievali» 50(1) (2009), pp. 133-157; F. Dell'Acqua, *Iconophilia. Politics, Religion, Preaching, and the Use of Images in Rome, c. 680-880*, London and New York 2020, pp. 278-280.

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135. Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros*, pp. 213-217.

136. R. G. Newhauser (trans.), *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, Toronto 2012, p. 178.

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138. Drpic, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 42-46.

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140. Riccioni, *Visual Experience*, pp. 105-107.

141. PL 171.1381.

142. Ch. 5; PL 198.1540.

143. Diebold, *Attitude*.

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145. Letter 159. MGH. *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, K. Reindel (ed.), vol. 4, Munich 1994, pp. 90-99; see Riccioni, *Mosaico apsidale*, pp. 20-21.

146. Suckale, *Weltgerichtstafel*, pp. 76-85.

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Iconostasis: Origins – Evolution – Symbolism, Moscow 2000, pp. 223-242; J. Folda, *Crusader Artistic Interactions with the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century: Figural Imagery, Weapons, and the Çintimani Design*, C. Hourihane (ed.), *Interactions: Artistic Interchange Between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period*, Princeton 2007, pp. 147-166; A. Stewart, *Reframing the Mongols in 1260: The Armenians, the Mongols and the Magi*, «Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society» 28 (2018), pp. 55-76.

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182. C. Bynum, *Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century*, Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, 208-240.

183. Caviness, *Gender Symbolism*; Saurma-Jeltsch, *Miniaturen;* K. Suzuki, *Bildgewordene Visionen oder Visionserzählungen: Vergleichende Studie über die Visionsdarstellungen in der Rupertsberger Scivias-Handschrift und im Luccheser Liber divinorum operum-Codex der Hildegard von Bingen*, Bern 1998; R. Emmerson, *The Representation of the Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias: Image, Word, Commentary and Visionary Experience*, «Gesta» 41(1) (2002), pp. 95-110; Campbell, *Picturing.*

184. H. L. Kessler, *Sanctifying Serpent. Crucifixion as Cure,* R. Bell, K. F. Morrison (eds.), *Studies on Medieval Empathies*, Turnhout 2013, pp. 161-81; A. Kumler, *Manufacturing the Sacred in the Middle Ages: The Eucharist and other Medieval Works of Ars*, «English Language Notes» 53(2) (2015) pp. 9-44.

185. R. Berliner, *The Freedom of the Medieval Artist*, «Gazette des Beaux Arts» 28 (1945) pp. 263-288; Henriet, *Lucas de Tuy*, pp. 84-90.

186. Berliner, *Freedom*, pp. 277-278.

187. P. Binski, *The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300*, P. Linehan, L. Nelson (eds.),*The Medieval World*, London and New York 2018, pp. 418-436.

188. Eldefonsus' still nascent Host appeared to him in a dream.

189. See in particular, G. Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico, dissemblance et figuration. Idées et recherches*, Paris 1990; D. Arasse, *L'annonciation Italienne: Une Histoire De Perspective*, Paris 1999.

190 *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, p. 323; Carruthers, *Experience of Beauty*, pp. 201-205.

191. Haec est quam coeli Pictor Deus intus et extra/ Pinxit, et angelica dote [cote?] polivit eam; PL 171, col. 1381-1383. See J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, Haarlem 1949, vol. 4, p. 48.

192. D. Iogna-Prat, É. Palazzo, and D. Russo (eds.), *Marie. Le culte de la vierge dans la société médiévale*, Paris 1998; Bacci, *Pennello dell'Evangelista*; B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, University Park, PA 2006.

193. M. Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin*, New Haven and London 2014.

194. Dell'Acqua, *Iconophilia*, pp. 95-105 and pp. 241-304.

195. Bock, *De Titulis*, pp. 106-127.

196. Hamburger, *Diagramming Devotion*.

197. M. Kupfer, *Ecclesia and Synagoga in Principio. The Fourth Gospel as Re-source for Anti-Jewish Visual Polemic*, A. Reinhart (ed.), *The Gospel of John and Jewish-Christian Relations*, Lanham, MD 2018, pp. 113-156.

198. Kitzinger, *Virgin's Face*; W. Tronzo, *Apse Decoration, the Liturgy, and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore*, W. Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and Regional Traditions*, Bologna 1989, pp. 167-193; D. Kinney, *The Apse Mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere*, E. Sears, T. K. Thomas (eds.), *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, Ann Arbor, MI 2002, pp. 19-26. Romano, *Riforma e tradizione*, pp. 305-311; E. Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome. Time, Network, and Repetition*, New York 2015, pp. 35-37; Riccioni, *Visual Experience*.

199. M. Fassler, *Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres*, «Art Bulletin» 75(3) (1993), pp. 499-520.

200. Debiais, *Croisée*, pp. 298-300.

201. F. Prado-Vilar, *The Parchment of the Sky: Poiesis of a Gothic Universe*, Fernández Fernández, Ruiz Souza (eds.), *Cantigas de Santa María*, pp. 477-520.

202. PL 171.1390. Two lines of the poem were excerpted as a titulus for the enthroned Virgin and Child in Lucy of Vere's mortuary roll in the British Library (Egerton MS 2849). A. G. Remensnyder, *Mary, Star of the Multi-Confessional Mediterranean: Ships, Shrines and Sailors*, N. Jaspert, C. A. Neumann, and M. Di Branco (eds.) *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen. Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mediterraneum*, Paderborn 2018, pp. 299-325; E. Pérez Rodríguez (ed.), *Juan Gil de Zamora, Obra Poética: Ymago, ymitago quid uigoris, quid amoris, Officium almiflue Virginis*, Madrid 2019, p. 240; García Avilés, Imagenes "vivientes". In the Leiden Aratus (Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 79, fol. 42^{v}), the Pleiades's central "star" is the only one veiled like Mary. Such epithets were featured already in the Bernward Gospels of ca. 1015 (Hildesheim, Dom-Museum, MS 18, fol. 17r); J. P. Kingsley, *The Bernward Gospels. Art, Memory, and the Episcopate in Germany*, University Park, PA 2014.

203. A. Sinués Ruíz, *Advocaciones de la Virgen en un códice del siglo XII*, «Analecta sacra tarraconensia: Revista de ciències historicoeclesiàstiques» 21 (1948), pp. 1-34.

204. G. Leone, *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*, Rome 2013, pp. 42-46.

205. *Obra poética,* p. 238.

206. F. De Maffei, *Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno. Il ciclo della cripta di Epifanio*, F. Avagliano (ed.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno: una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise*, Montecassino 1985, pp. 269-352; J. Mitchell, *The Crypt Reappraised*, R. Hodges (ed.), *San Vincenzo al Volturno. I: The 1980-86 Excavations*, Rome 1993, pp. 75-114; F. Dell'Ácqua, *Ambrogio Autperto e la Cripta di Epifanio nella storia dell'arte medievale,* F. Marazzi (ed.), *La cripta dell'abate Epifanio a San Vincenzo al Volturno. Cento anni di studi e ricerche*, Cerro a Volturno 2013, pp. 27-47; ead., *Magnificat. L'impatto degli orientali sull'immagine di Maria Assunta al tempo dell'Iconoclasmo*, *Le migrazioni nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, LXVI, April 2018), Spoleto 2019, pp. 1025-1057; ead., *Iconophilia*, pp. 280-289 et passim.

207. Carruthers, *Beauty*, p. 184.

208. Heslop, *St Anselm*.

209. García Avilés, *Imágenes "vivientes"*.

210. S. Vanderputten, D. J. Reilly (eds.) *Gerardi Cameracensis Acta Synodi Atrebatensis (*CCCM 270), Turnhout 2014 p. 66; Bynum, *Materiality*, p. 163.

211. *Contra paganos seu Mahometanos*. Book 4.11; PL 210.427B.

212. A. Davril, T. M. Thibodeau (eds.), *Guillelmi Duranti, Rationale divinorum officiorum* (CCCM, vol. 140-140A), Turnhout 1995-1998, vol. 1, p. 35.

213. *Summa theologica*, 3a, quast. 25, art. 4; 4:2149.

214. F. Dell'Acqua, *The Christ from San Vincenzo al Volturno (9th century): Another Instance of "Christ's Dazzling Face, Panneaux de Vitrail Isolés/die Einzelscheibe/The Single Stained-glass Panel (XXIV International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum)*, Zurich 2010, pp. 11-27; ead., *Il volto di Cristo e il dilemma dell'artista:*

un esempio di IX secolo, M. M. Donato, M. Ferretti (eds.), *«Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte ...» – Per Enrico Castelnuovo: Scritti di allievi e amici pisani*, Pisa 2012, pp. 21-27; ead., *Iconophilia*, pp. 156-68.

215. Parello, *Fünf Felder*, p. 34; Kessler, *Consider the Glass*.

216. K.-A. Wirth (ed.), *Pictor in Carmine: Ein typologisches Handbuch aus der Zeit um 1200*, Berlin 2006, p. 136. It anticipates another Marian metaphor that became popular in the late Middle Ages: "speculum sine macula" (derived from the Wisdom of Solomon 7:26). See Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, pp. 128-133.

217. John 8.12 was originally inscribed on the yellow scroll Christ unfurls before the altar.

218. C. Rudolph, *Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window, Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art* and *Mystic Ark*, «Art Bulletin» 93(4) (2011), pp. 339-422, at p. 350.

219. C. Kruse, *Wozu Menschen malen: Historische Begründungen eines Bildmediums*, Munich 2003, pp. 318-328.

220. F. Dell'Acqua, *Il fuoco, le vetrate delle origini e la mistica medievale,* E. Menestò (ed.), *Il fuoco nell'alto Medioevo* (LX Settimana di studio) Spoleto 2013, pp. 557-591.

221. *Mitralis*, p. 15.

222. Sermo 15; see C. Muessig, *Heaven, Earth and the Angels: Preaching Paradise in the Sermons of Jacques Vitry*, C. Muessig, A. Putter (eds.) *Envisioning Heaven*, London 2007, pp. 57-72.

223. PL 165.1065.

224. S. Gerevini, *Christus crystallus: Rock Crystal, Theology and Materiality in the Medieval West*, J. Robinson, L. de Beer (eds.), *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, London 2014, pp. 92-99; ead., *Sicut crystallus quando est obiecta soli: Rock Crystal, Transparency and the Franciscan Order*, «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz» 56, 3 (2014), pp. 254-283; ead. *Bern Diptych*.

225. Sicard described: "Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui, et turres Hierusalem gemmis edificabuntur;" *Mitralis*, p. 15.

226. Only in acquiring relief did the image of Christ, first written in mind, then outlined, seem fully incarnate; Hamburger *"Seeing and Believing"*.

227. Like other iconographies, the breastplate had no fixed meaning. It was incorporated into the Fountain of Life panel in Madrid (Prado Museum) both as an anti-Jewish motif and justification for lustrous gemlike Eyckian oil painting; Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology*.

228 H. L. Kessler, *The Eloquence of Silver*, C. Heck (ed.) *L'allégorie dans l'art du Moyen Age. Formes et fonctions. Héritages, créations, mutations*, Turnhout 2011, pp. 49-64.

229. Gerevini, *Bern Diptych*.

230. B. Brenk, *Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls d. Gr., Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo), 41 Spoleto 1994, vol. 2, pp. 631-691; B. Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar. Ein Buch für di Reformpolitik Karls des Grossen,* Frankfurt am Rhein 1998.

231. H. Wenzel, *Die Verkündigung an Maria. Zur Visualisierung des Wortes in der Szene oder: Schiftgeschichte im Bild*, C. Optiz et al. (eds.), *Maria in der Welt. Marienverehrung in Kontext der Sozialgeschichte 10.-18. Jahrhundert*, Zurich 1993, pp. 23-52.

232. Iacobini, *L'albero*; Klein, *Byzanz*, pp. 115-117 et passim; P. Salonius, *Arbor Jesse – Lignum vitae: The Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Life and the Mendicants in Late Medieval Orvieto*, Salonius, Worm, *Tree*, pp. 213-241.

233. Grabar, *Ampoules*; Weitzmann, *Loca Sancta*; Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*; Elsner, *Replicating Palestine*.

234. Theodulf of Orleans disparaged wax's capacity to blend colors or dirt to equal effect; *Opus caroli*, Freeman ed. p.119; Diebold, *Attitude*, p. 354.

235. Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 115-116.

236. B. Fricke, *Matter and Meaning of Mother-of-Pearl: The Origins of Allegory in the Spheres of Things*, «*Gesta*» 51(1) (2012), pp. 35-53.

237. Carruthers, p. 164; Debiais, *Chants des formes*.

238. *Mitralis*, 3.6. H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin 1981; F. Bœspflug, Y. Załuska, *Le dogme trinitaire* et l'essor de son iconographie

en Occident de l'époque carolingienne au IV^{e} concile de Latran (1215), «Cahiers de civilisation médiévale» 37(3) (1994), pp. 181-240.

239. See J. Wirth, *La Critique scholastique de la théorie thomiste de l'image*, O. Christin, D. Gamboni (eds.), *Crises de l'image religieuse. De Nicée II à Vatican II*, Paris 1999, pp. 93-109; H. L. Kessler, *Speculum*, «Speculum» 86 (2011), pp. 1-41.

240. Winterer, *Sakramentar*, pp. 414-422.

241. Smith, *Painted Logos*, pp. 143-144.

242. Deshman, *Benedictional*; V. Debiais, *Une théologie de l'informel: le pli et son ombre dans le benedictionnaire d'Æthelwold*, «Codex Aqvilarensis» 37 (2021), pp. 163-178. See also: É. Palazzo, *Le souffle de Dieu. L'énergie de la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2020, pp. 206-231; A. Kumler, *Abstraction's Gothic Grounds*, E. Gertsman (ed.), *Abstraction in Medieval Art: Beyond Ornament*, Amsterdam 2020, pp. 55-87.

243. Kumler, *Translating Truth*; Hamburger, *Diagramming Devotion*, p. 224.

244. Ganz, *Medien der Offenbaren*, pp. 323-324.

245. *Sententiae* 6.2; PL 165.1065-66; trans. L. Hamilton, *Décor et decorum: Reforming the Episcopacy in Bruno of Segni's* De Laudibus Ecclesiaae *(Eleventh Century)*, Unpub. LMS thesis, University of Toronto 2007, pp. 70-73; id. *A Sacred City. Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society*, Manchester 2010, p. 204.

246. H. L. Kessler, *Shaded with Dust: Jewish Eyes on Christian Art*, H. L. Kessler, D. Nirenberg (eds.), *Judaism and Christian Art*, Philadelphia 2011, pp. 74-114.

247. Weinryb, *Bronze Object*, pp. 115-121.

248. Vanderputten, Reilly, *Acta*, p. 66.

249. H. L. Kessler, *Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision*, *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo (XLV Settimana internazionale di studi*, Spoleto1998, pp. 1157-1211; id. *The Icon in the Narrative,* H. L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia 2000, pp. 1-28.

250. H. Gearhart, *Theophilus and the Theory and Practice of Medieval Art,* University Park, PA 2017, p. 59; D. Ganz, *An Artist-Monk in Pieces: Towards an Archeology of Tuotilo*, D. Ganz, C. Dora (eds.), *Tuotilo: Archäologie eines frühmittelalterlichen Künstlers,* Basel 2017, pp. 21-51.

251. Hamburger, *Medieval Work of Art*; A. Iafrate, *Artifex specialis, per una lettura critica della figura di Matthew Paris attraverso le fonti*, «Opera, Nomina, Historiae. Giornale di cultura artistica» 2-3 (2010), pp. 1-42.

252. B. Baert, *The Gaze from Above. Reflections on Cosmic Eyes in Visual Culture*, Leuven 2021, pp. 29-40. On the compass as imposing order and chasing away primal chaos, see: A. Martínez Ruipérez, *The Moral Compass and Mortal Slumber, Divine and Human Reason in the Bibles moralisées*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes» 81 (2018), pp. 1-33. Spiral lines conveyed the inspiriting of Christ's humanity in contemporary depictions of the *Maiestas Domini* and later at Vézelay, where they reinforce the tympanum's Trinitarian underpinning and Christ's identity with the Eucharist and also make visible the belief that God's energy transmitted at Pentecost enabled the apostles' mission throughout the world; Palazzo, *Souffle*, pp. 227-231.

253. B. C. Tilghman, *Pattern*, pp. 15-16; Binski, *Medieval Invention.*

254. Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 292-294.

255. H. Doherty, *The Twelfth-Century Patrons of the Bridekirk Font*, J. Camps et al. (eds.) *Romanesque Patrons and Processes. Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, London 2018, pp. 291-312.

256. It recapitulates the pier of the Moissac cloister that V. Debiais and E. Gertsman have analyzed, providing the airlock between raw matter and the spiritual; *Au-delà des sens, l'abstraction*, «Convivium» 8(1) (2021), pp. 28-51.

257. Itself an allusion to baptism; P. A. Patton, *"Et partu frontis exceptum": The Typology of Birth and Baptism in an Unusual Spanish Image of Jesus Baptized in a Font,* «Gesta» 33(2) (1994), pp. 79-92; Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros*, pp. 73-77.

258. J. Baschet, *Lieu sacré, lieu d'images. Les fresques de Bominaco (Abruzzes, 1263). Thèmes, parcours, fonctions*, Paris and Rome 1991; Palazzo, *Peintres murales.*

259. N. Zchomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri. Pittura Sacra al tempo della Riforma Gregoriana*, Rome 1996.

260. Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*; Strohmaier, *Liturgischen Textil.*

261. Parker, Little, *Cloisters Cross*, pp. 160-163.

262. See also the enamel base of a Crucifix in St. Bertin; P. Verdier, "La grand croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis, «Cahiers de civilisation médiéval» 13 (1970), 1-31; H. L. Kessler, *"They preach not by speaking out loud but by signifying:"Vitreous Arts as Typology*, «Gesta» 51 (2012), pp. 35-50.

263. Baert, *Heritage*, p. 25; Eva Frojmovic, "Translating Jerusalem: Jewish Authenticators of the Cross", in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space; Erzählraum Jerusalem*, A. Hoffman, G. Wolf (eds.), Leiden 2012, pp. 155-86; Maggioni, *Literary Sources*.

264. Oftestad, *Lateran Church*, p. 237.

265. Later altarpieces enact similar narratives when their wings are closed and opened, including (originally) the Sankt Olof *Throne of Mercy*; see: D. Ganz, M. Rimmele (eds.), *Klappeffekte. Faltbare Bildträger in Der Vormoderne*, Berlin 2016.

266. *De tribus diebus*, 4; CCCM, 177, p. 10; trans. C. Rudolph, *Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window*, p. 411.

267. PL 115.1372.

268. J. F. Hamburger, *Idol Curiosity*, K. Krüger (ed.) *Curiositas. Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2002, pp. 19-58; Kessler, *Astral Abstraction*.

269. *Briefe*, p. 99.

270. Book 2, chap. 12; PL 165.940-41. See H. L. Kessler, *A Gregorian Reform Theory of Art?,* S. Romano, J. Enckell (eds.) *Roma e la riforma Gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artische (XI-XII secolo) (Acts of a Conference*, *Lausanne 2005)*, Rome 2007, pp. 25-48; Hamilton, *Décor et decorum*, pp. 50-51.

271. Vanderputten, Reilly, *Acta*, p. 66.

272. *Top. hib.* dist. II.39: *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *The History and Topography of Ireland.*J. O'Meara (trans.). New York, NY, 1982, pp. 84-84.

273. Wirth (ed.), *Pictor*, p. 110.

274. Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 179-186; P. Binski, *Gothic Sculpture*, New Haven, CT 2019, pp. 18-39; Gearhart, *Theophilus*, 129-135; Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology*, pp. 41-59.

275. PL 165.1065; trans. Hamilton, *Decor et decorum*, p. 71. Kessler, *"They preach not by speaking".* On the other hand, a prayer added ca. 900 to the Lorsch Miscellany in the Vatican Library (BAV, MS. Pal. Lat. 834, fol. 28v) interpreted the facing picture of three saints as a Trinity: "Haec uulgo picture man[et] dignissima laude...;" B. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, Munich 1974, p. 83.

276. Rudolph, *Tour Guide*, pp. 54.

277. As at Larreule, Debiais, *Croisée,* pp. 215-222.

278. See Luchterhand, *Nacht der Bilder*.

279. S. Wittekind, *Die Makkabäer als Vorbild des geistlichen Kampfes: eine kunsthistorische Deutung des Leidener Makkabäer-Codex Perizoni 17*, «*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*» 37 (2003), pp. 47-71.

280. Gearhart, *Theophilus*, cit., pp. 17-18, pp. 48-50.

281. Dutton, Kessler, *Poetry and Paintings*.

282. When Wilhelm Koehler reconstructed the lost Bible of Leo I, for instance, he was operating within an aesthetic of Paul Klee and other contemporary painters; see T. Buddenseig, *Die karolingischen Maler in Tours und die Bauhausmaler in Weimar. Wilhelm Koehler und Paul Klee: Hermann Schnitzler zum Gedächtnis*, «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte» 73 (2010), pp. 1-18.

283. C. Rudolph, *The "things of greater importance". Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art*, Philadelphia 1990.

284. Riccioni, *Mosaico apsidale*, pp. 68-72; Rudolph, *Inventing the Exegetic Stained Glass Window*, pp. 412-418; T. Frese, *Kommt und seht den Ortsakrale Schrifträume im Sakramentar Heinrichs II*, T. Frese et al. (eds.), *Sacred Scripture/Sacred Space: The Interlacing of Real Places and Conceptual Spaces in Medieval Art and Architecture*, Berlin and Boston, MA 2019, pp. 37-62.

285. Brenk, *Visualizing Divine Authority*, pp. 134-137.

286. Hauknes, *Painting of Knowledge*.

287. On the *Veronica*'s strategic functions in art, see Kumler, *Translating Truth*, pp. 87-91.

288. J. Jung, *Kinetics of Gothic Sculpture: Movement and Apprehension in the South Transept of Strasbourg Cathedral and the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon*, D. Ganz, S. Neuner (eds.), *Mobile Eyes: peripatetisches Sehen in den Bildkulturen der Vormoderne*, Munich 2013, pp. 133-173.

289. Kupfer, *Art and Optics*, pp. 53-73, 115-27.

290. M. Kupfer, *The Cosmic Vision of Saint Benedict, e specula and in speculo,* N. Bouloux et al. (eds.), *Orbis disciplinae. Hommages en l'honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 483-498; Baert, *Gaze*.

291. Bredekamp, *Bildakts*, pp. 237-243; É. Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2010, p. 73; Jung, *Kinetics*; ead. *Moving Viewers, Moving Pictures: The Portal as Montage on the Strasbourg South Transept*, A. Beyer, G. Cassegrain (eds.), *Mouvement, Bewegung: Über die dynamischen Potenziale der Kunst*, Berlin 2015, pp. 23-43.

292. H. L. Kessler, *Topografias de la fe en el arte medieval*, «Codex Aqvilarensis» 28 (2013), pp. 11-28.

293. Jung, *Kinetics*.

294. M. A. Holly, review of Michael Pedro, *Depiction*, caa.reviews.1999.59.

295. Cf. Kupfer, *Art and Optics*.

296. J. Jung, *The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination*, C. Hourihane (ed.), *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art & History*, Princeton 2010, pp. 203-240.

297. Binski, *Rhetorical Occasions*.

298. J.-M. Guillouët, C. Rabel, *Le programme. Une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art médiévale*, Paris 2011.

299. C. R. Lakey, The Curious Case of the Chiarito Tabernacle: A New Interpretation, «Getty Research Journal» 4 (2012), pp. 13-30 and *Sculptural Seeing: Relief, Optics, and the Rise of Perspective in Medieval Italy*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press 2018.

300. R. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, Cambridge 2000, B. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*, University Park, PA 2010.

301. St. Helena, who had unearthed the cross, distinguished the True Cross from the two thieves' by a text, the trilingual titulus condensed to INRI. Baert, *Heritage*, p. 25; Oftestad, *Lateran Church*, p. 227. See also: A. Nagel, *Medieval Modern*, pp. 110-114.

302. Kessler, *Arca Arcarum*; Debiais, pp. 131-138.

303. B. Fricke, *Hinges as Hints: Heaven and Earth in the Coconut Goblet at the Cathedral of Münster, Part of a Lost Rock Crystal Ensemble,* Hahn, Shalem (eds.), *Seeking Transparency*, pp. 197-209.

304. B. Boerner, *Le voile de Carême illustré d'images et la visibilité de Dieu*, L.-J. Bord, V. Debiais, and É Palazzo (eds.), *Le rideau, le voile et le dévoilement du Proche-Orient ancien à l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 2019, pp. 67-90; V. Debiais, *La nudité de Noé et les linges de l'autel*, ibidem, pp. 177-200; id., *Linens, Clothes and Ornaments. Writing on Altar Textiles*, T. Kohwagner-Nikolai, B. Päffgen, and C. Steininger (eds.), *Über Stoff und Stein: Knotenpunkte von Textilkunst und Epigraphik. Beiträge zur 15. internationalen Fachtagung für mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Epigraphik*, Wiesbaden 2021, pp. 72-83; Schmitt, *Animal Farm*. The enshrouded corpse looks nothing so much as the veiled Crucifix pictured two centuries later in the Book of Hours of Frederick III (London, BL Add. MS 25698. fol. 9^{r}).

305. Hamburger, *Diagramming Devotion*, pp. 233-234; Falque, *Daz man Bild*, pp. 462-463. See also the acanthus airlock in the cloister of Moissac, Debiais, Gertsman, *Au-delà des sens*, pp. 31-33.

306. H. Kessler, *Through the Temple Veil: the Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity*, «Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie» 32/33 (1990/1991), pp. 53-77.

307. R. Ousterhout, *The Acheiropoietos that Wasn't There,* «Travaux et mémoires» 20/2 (2016 *Mélanges Catherine Jolivet-Lévy*) pp. 385-396; E. Gertsman, *The Absent Image. Lacunae in Medieval Books*, University Park, PA 2021; E. Gertsman, V. Debiais, *Écarts, excès d'image. Essai sur l'abstraction dans l'art médiéval*, Paris 2023.

308. C. Chazelle, *Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy*, «Traditio» 47 (1992), pp. 1-36; Reynolds, *God's Money*, pp. 28-29. See É. Palazzo, *Le "livre-corps" à l'époque carolingienne et son rôle dans la liturgie de la messe et sa théologie*, «Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae» 15 (2010), pp. 31-63; id. *L'invention*, pp. 270-279.

309. Palazzo, *Souffle*, pp. 212-225.

310. H. L. Kessler, *Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face*, H. Kessler, G. Wolf (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation,* Bologna 1998, pp. 129-151.

311. N. Thebaut, *The Double-Sided Image: Abstraction and Figuration in Early Medieval Painting*, Gertsman (ed.), *Abstraction*, pp. 213-242.

312. V. Debiais, *Colour as Subject*, Gertsman (ed.) *Abstraction*, pp. 33-53.

313. E. C. Teviotdale et al. (eds.), *The Stammheim Missal. Ms. 64, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Commentary to the Facsimile Edition*, Lucerne 2020; B. Fricke, *Wisdom's Creation: A Double Beginning in the Stammheim Missal (1160-70)*, «Codex Aqvilarensis» 37 (2021), pp. 357-376.

314. Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 92-108.

315. Juan Gil called Mary the "esposa y madre del sumo Rey, puerta del cielo, encanto del paraíso;" Hamburger, *Speculation*, pp. 376-377. On doors and thresholds, see Sánchez Ameijeiras, *Rostros,* p. 216; V. Debiais, *Writing on Medieval Doors: The Surveyor Angel on the Moissac Capital (ca. 1100),* I. Berti et al. (eds.), *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* Berlin and Boston, MA: 2017, pp. 285-308. On Mary as threshold and the closed door of Virginity, see Dell'Aqua, *Iconophilia.*

316. B. Wyss, *Ein Druckfehler. Panofsky versus Newman. Verpasste Chancen eines Dialogs*, Cologne 1993; P. Conte, *The Panofsky-Newman Controversy. Iconography Put to the Test of "Abstract" Art*, «Aisthesis: Pratiche, linguaggi e saperi dell'estetico» 8(2) (2015), pp. 787-797; M. Schreyach, *Immanent Iconography* in M. Schreyach (ed.), *In Focus: Adam 1951, 1952 by Barnett Newman*, London 2018; www.tate.org.uk/research/ publications/in-focus/adam/immanent-iconography.

317. Panofsky was referring to the Latin preface of Ælfric's *De arte grammatica anglice*: "Mihi tamen uidetur melius inuocare deum patrem honorifice producta sillaba, quam brittonice corripere, qui nec deus arti grammaticae suibiciendus est;" J. Zupitza (ed.) *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, Berlin 1880, p. 2.

318. Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology*, p. 59.

319. Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology*, p. 24.

320. Gertrud Bing reported that Fritz Saxl recalled his grandfather's studying Talmud in the backroom of a shop he and his wife owned in Senftenberg (north of Dresden): in D. J. Gordon (ed.), *Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*, Edinburgh, 1957, pp. 1-46.

321. See Smith, *Painted Logos*, pp. 144-45, p. 158.

322. See Fricke, *At the Threshold.*

323. P. Seiler, *Die Legitimität (Bild-) künstlerischer* Ornamenta *in den* Libri Carolini, M. Embach, C. Moulin and H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck (eds.), *Die Handschriften der Hofschule Kaiser Karls des Großen*, Trier 2019, pp. 187-211.

324. Hamburger, *Medieval Work of Art*; S. Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory*, Toronto 2004, p. 42; Debiais, *Croisée,* pp. 64-79; R. M. Pollard (ed.), *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, Cambridge 2020.

325. See: K. Krueger, *Das Bild als Schleier*, Paderborn 2001.

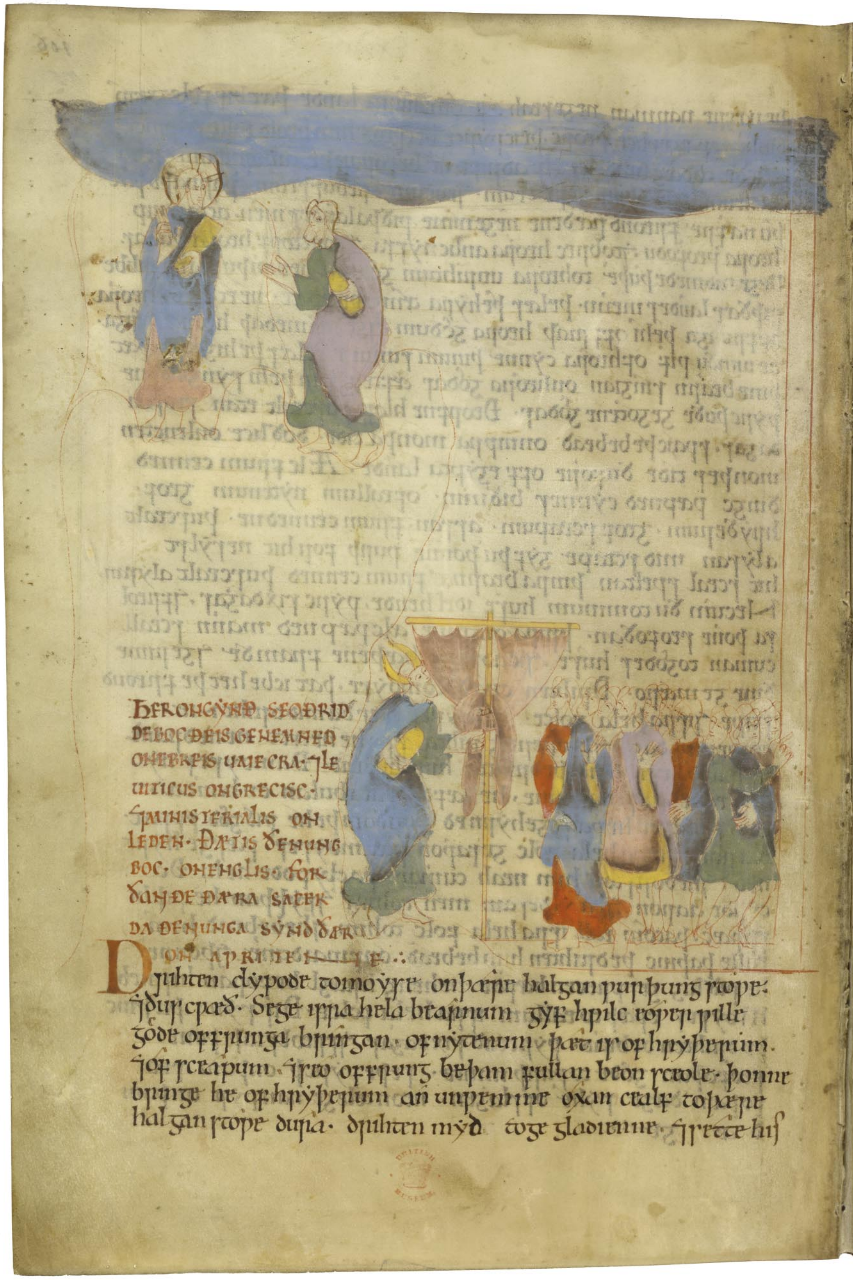
326. PL 110.545-548.

327. Schreyach, *Immanent Iconography.*

328. Hamburger, *Seeing and Believing*; C. Kruse, *"Faciamus Hominem. Die Erschaffung Adams und die Begründung des Bildschaffens aus der göttlichen Kunst*, A. Paravicini Bagliani (ed.), *Adam, le premier homme*, Florence 2012, pp. 199-218.

329. A. Speer, *Vom Verstehen mittelalterlicher Kunst*, G. Binding, A. Speer (eds.), *Mittelalterliches Kunstleben nach Quellen des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1993, pp. 13-52; K. Krueger, *Mute Mysteries of the Divine Logos: On the Pictorial Poetics of Incarnation, in Image and Incarnation. The Early Modern of the Pictorial Image*, W. Melion, L. Palmer Wandel (eds.) Leiden 2015, pp. 76-108; Debiais, *Silence*, pp. 260-261; C. Kruse, *Welterschaffung – Kunstvernichtung: Kunst in Zeiten der Bilder*, Berlin and Boston, MA 2020. https://doi.org/10.1515/ 9783110680966.

IMAGES

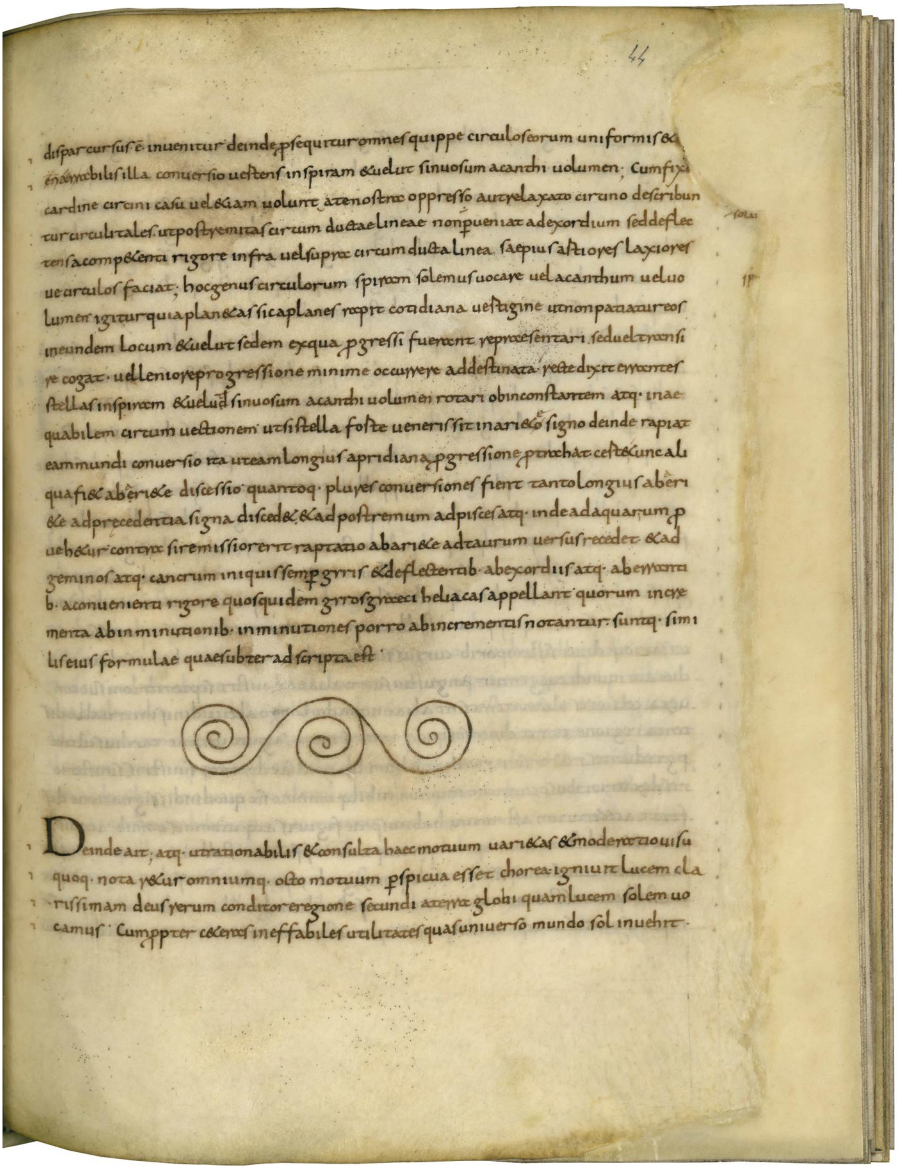


HER ONGYNÐ SEO ÐRIDDE BOC ÐE IS GENEMNED ON EBREIS UAIECRA 7 LEUITICUS ON GRECISC 7 MINISTERIALIS ON LEDEN. ÐÆT IS ÐENUNGBOC ON ENGLISC FORÐAN ÐE ÐÆRA SACERDA ÐENUNGA SYND ÐÆR ON APRITEN [illegible] E.

Drihten clypode to moyse on þære halgan wununge stowe.
7 ðus cwæð. Sege israhela bearnum gyf hwilc eower wille
gode offrunga bringan of nytenum þæt is of hryþerum.
7 of sceapum. 7 seo offrung be þam fullan beon sceole. þonne
bringe he of hryþerum an unwemme oxan cealf to þære
halgan stowe dura. drihten myd to gegladienne. 7 sette his

BRITISH MUSEUM

1. London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Claudius B.iv, fol. 105v, Ælfric Hexateuch, late 12th c., *Moses Receiving Commandments and Delivering Them to Israelites*, paint on parchment.

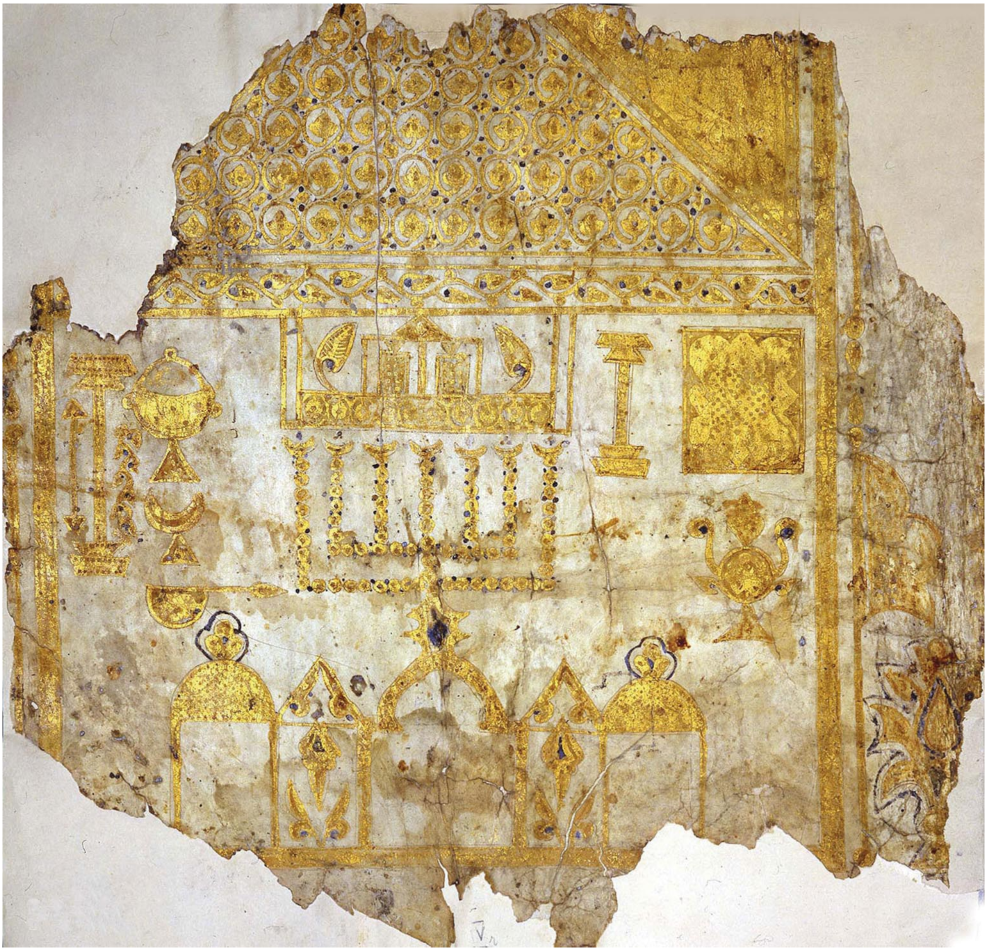


44

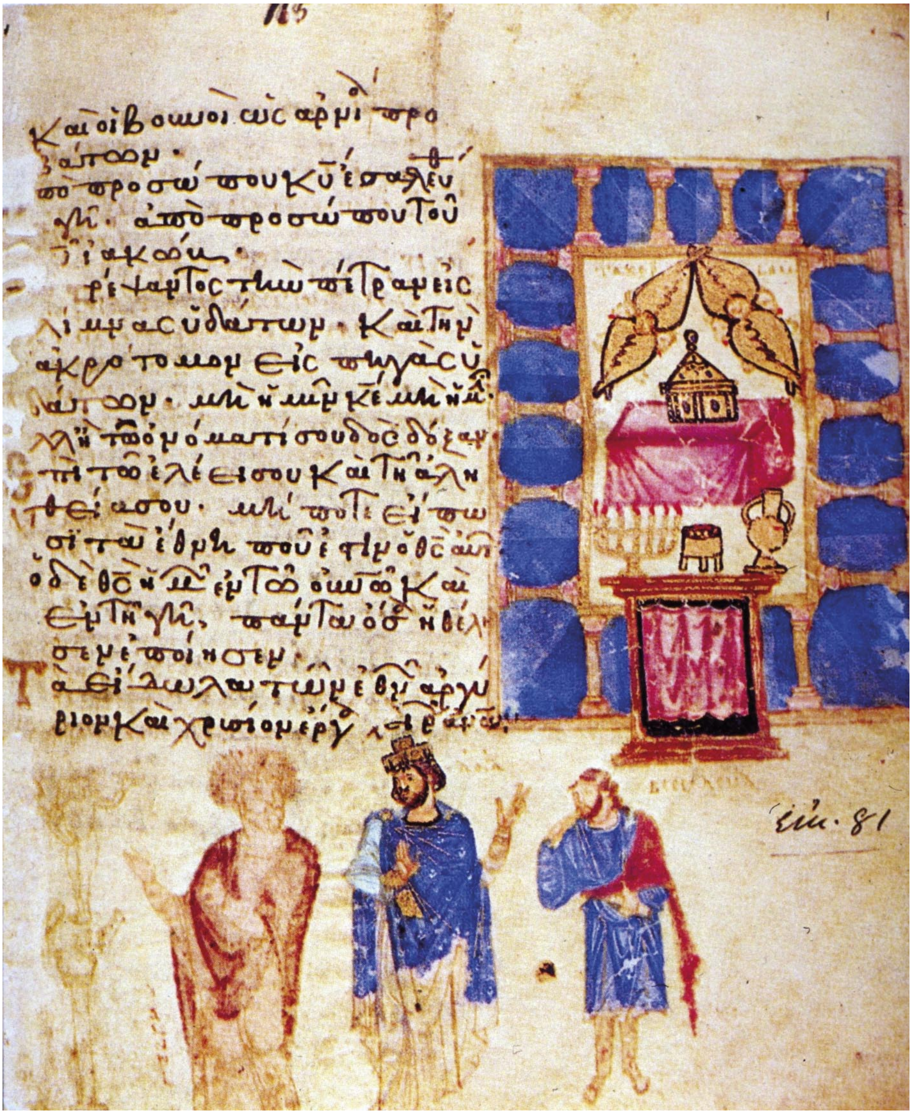
dispar cursus est. inuenitur deinde persequitur omnes quippe circulos eorum uniformis & ineuitabilis illa conuersio uestiens in spiram & uelut sinuosum acanthi uolumen; Cum fixo cardine circini casu uel etiam uoluntate a te nostra oppresso aut relaxato circino describuntur circuli tales. ut postremitas circum ductae lineae non perueniat ad exordium sed deflectens a competenti rigore infra uel supra circumducta linea saepius artiores laxioresue circulos faciat; hoc genus circulorum spiram solemus uocare uel acanthum uel uolumen. igitur quia planetas sic aplanes raptu cotidiana uertigine ut non patiatur eos in eundem locum & uelut sedem ex qua progressi fuerant repraesentari sed uel transire cogat. uel lentiore progressione minime occurrere ad destinata. recte dixit errantes stellas in spiram & uelut sinuosum acanthi uolumen rotari ob inconstantem atque inaequabilem circumuectionem. ut si stella forte ueneris sit in ariete signo deinde rapiat eam mundi conuersio ita ut eam longius a pridiana progressione protrahat certe & tunc aliquatenus ab ariete discessio quantoque plures conuersiones fient tanto longius ab ariete ad praecedentia signa discedet & ad postremum ad pisces atque inde ad aquarium peruehetur. contra si remissior erit raptatio ab ariete ad taurum uersus recedet & ad geminos atque cancrum in quis semper gyris & deflectentibus ab exordiis atque aberrantibus a conuenienti rigore quos quidem gyros graeci heliacas appellant quorum incrementa ab inminutionibus inminutiones porro ab incrementis notantur. suntque similes eius formulae quae subter ad scripta est.

Deinde ait; atque ut rationabilis & consulta haec motuum uarietas & moderatio uisu quoque nota fieret omniumque octo motuum perspicua esset chorea ignium lucem clarissimam deus rerum conditor e regione secundi a terra globi quam lucem solem uocamus. Cum propter ceteras ineffabiles utilitates quas uniuerso mundo sol inuehit.

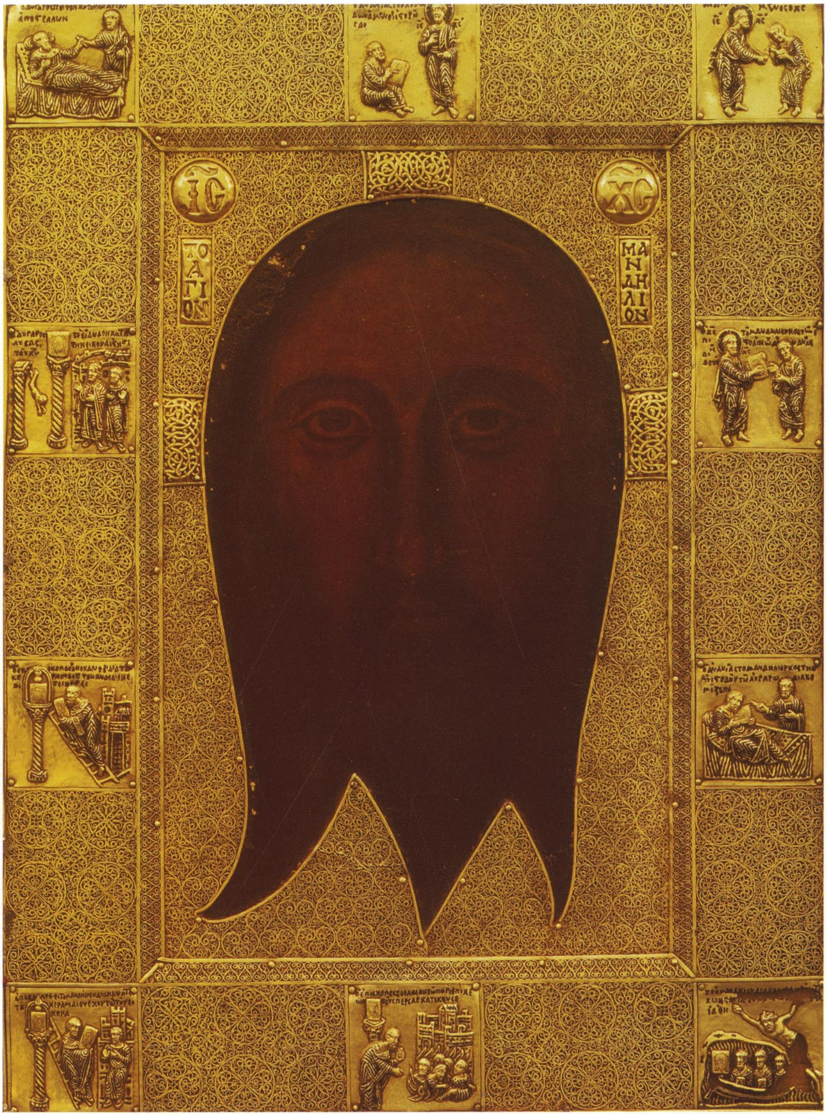
2. Lyon, Bib. mun., MS 324, fol. 44r, *Calcidius Translation and Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus, 3rd quarter of 9th c., Venus' orbit, ink on parchment.



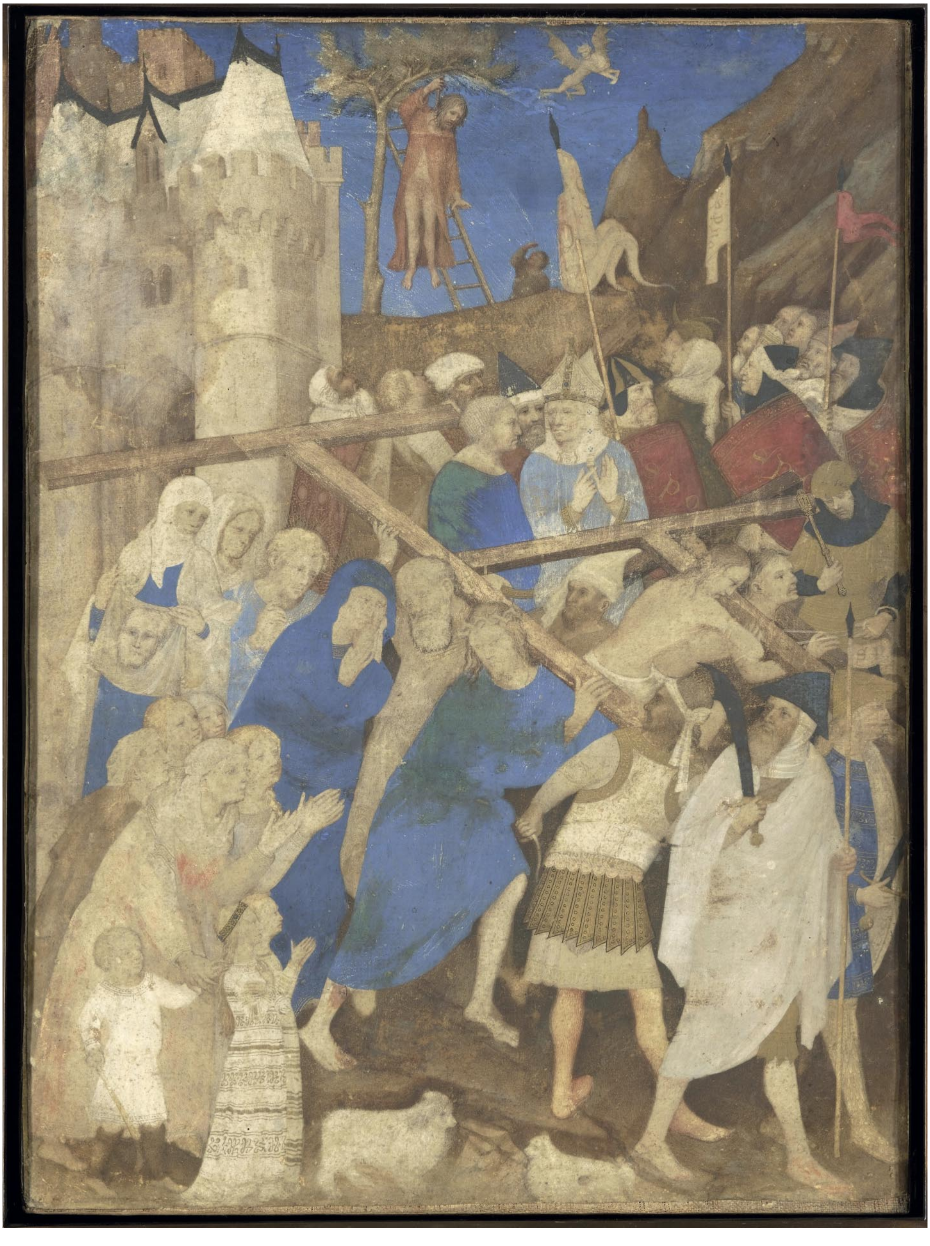
3. St. Petersburg, National Library, Firk. Hebr. II B 17, fol. IV^{r},
Pentateuch, 929, gold and paint on parchment.



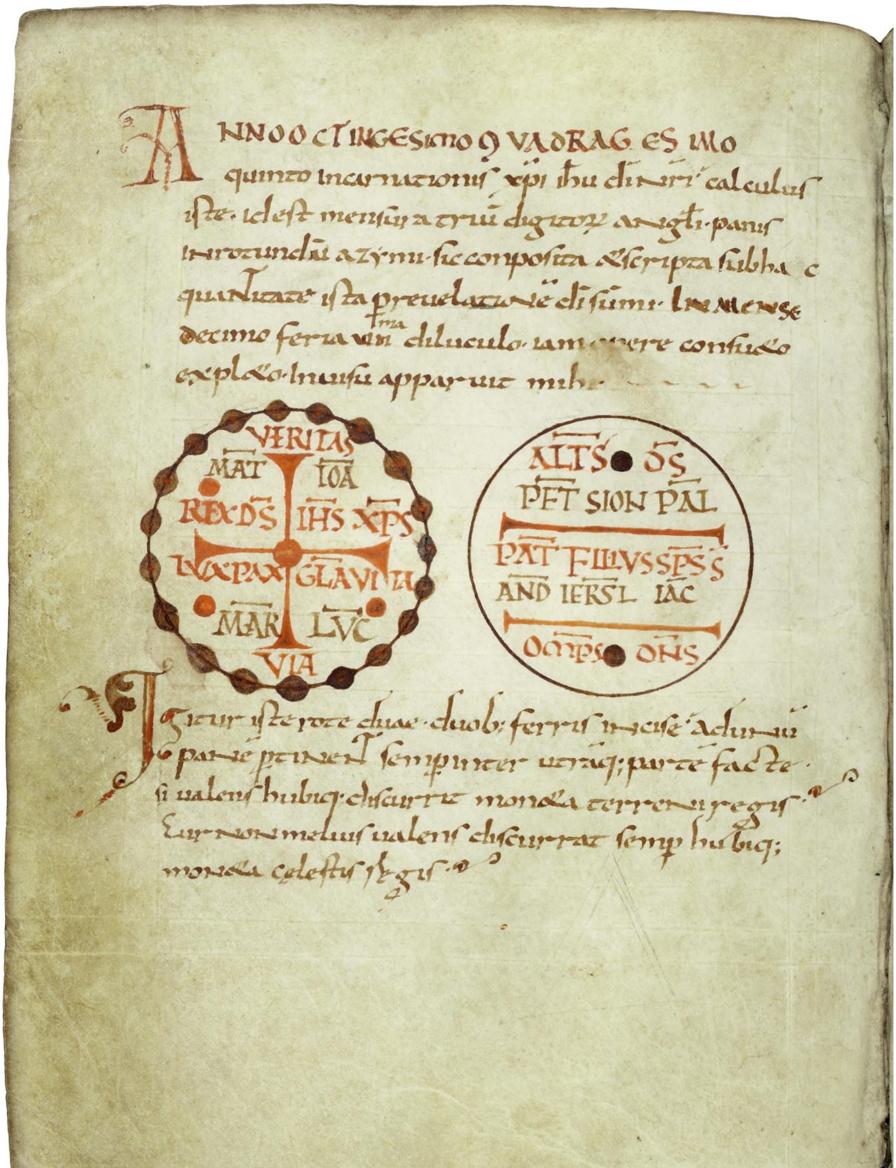
4. Mt. Athos, Pantokrator Monastery, MS 61, fol. 165r, Book of Psalms, 9th c., Psalm 115, gold and pigments on parchment.



5. Genoa, San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, *Mandylion with frame*, 14th c., pigment on cloth and wood, gilt metal.



6. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Jacquemart de Hesdin, ca. 1400, *Christ Carrying the Cross,* pigment on parchment.



ANNO OCTINGESIMO QVADRAGESIMO
quinto incarnationis xpi ihu dni calculus
iste. idest mensura triu digitorum angli. panis
inrotundu azymi. sic composita & scripta sub hac
quantitate ista preuelatione di sumi. In mense
decimo feria viiima diluculo. iam opere consueto
expleto. inuisu apparuit mihi

VERITAS
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AND IERSL IAC
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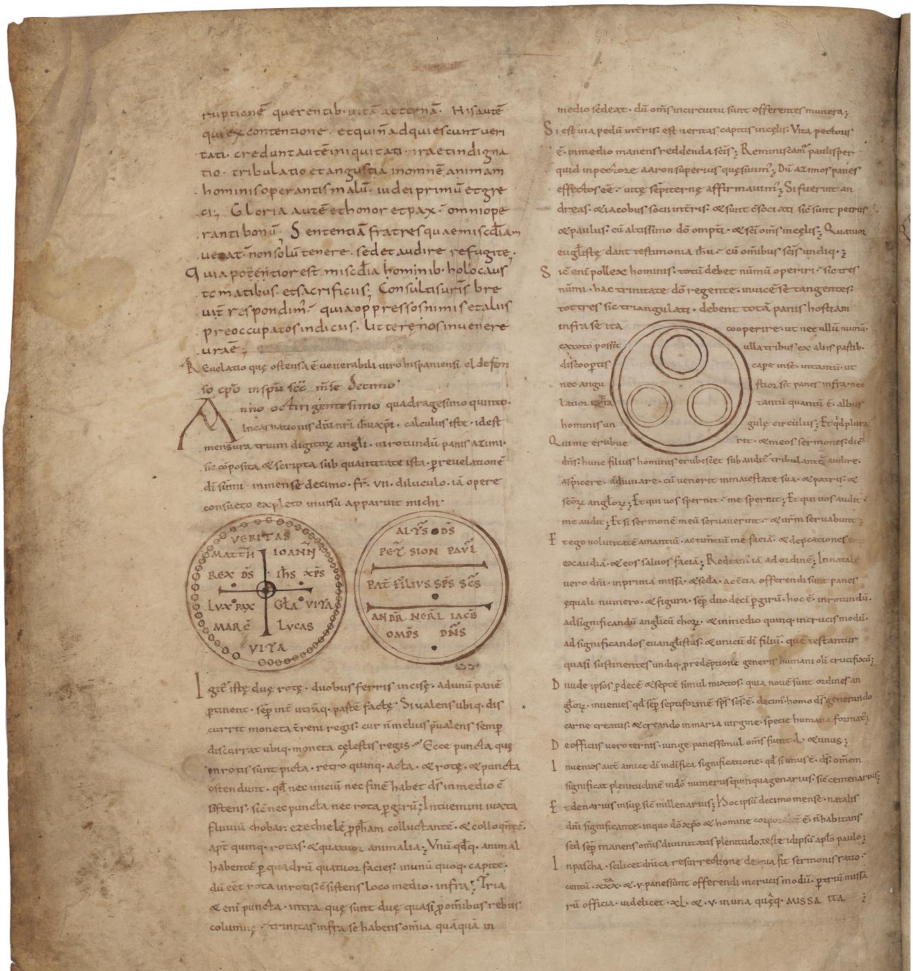
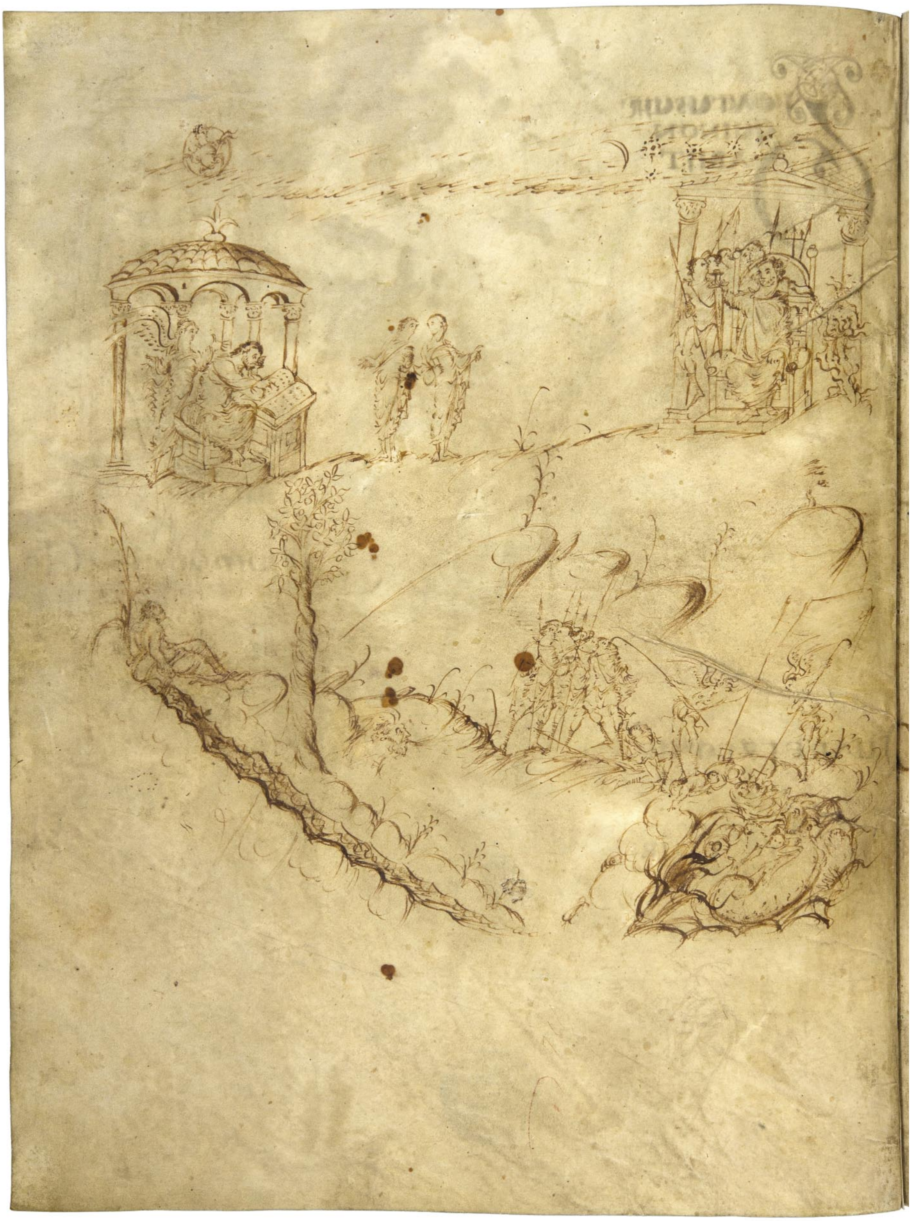
Igitur iste rote duae. duob; ferris incise. adunam
partem pertinent semper inter utraq; parte facte.
si ualens hubiq; discurrit moneta terreni regis.
cur non melius ualens discurrat semp hubiq;
moneta celestis regis.

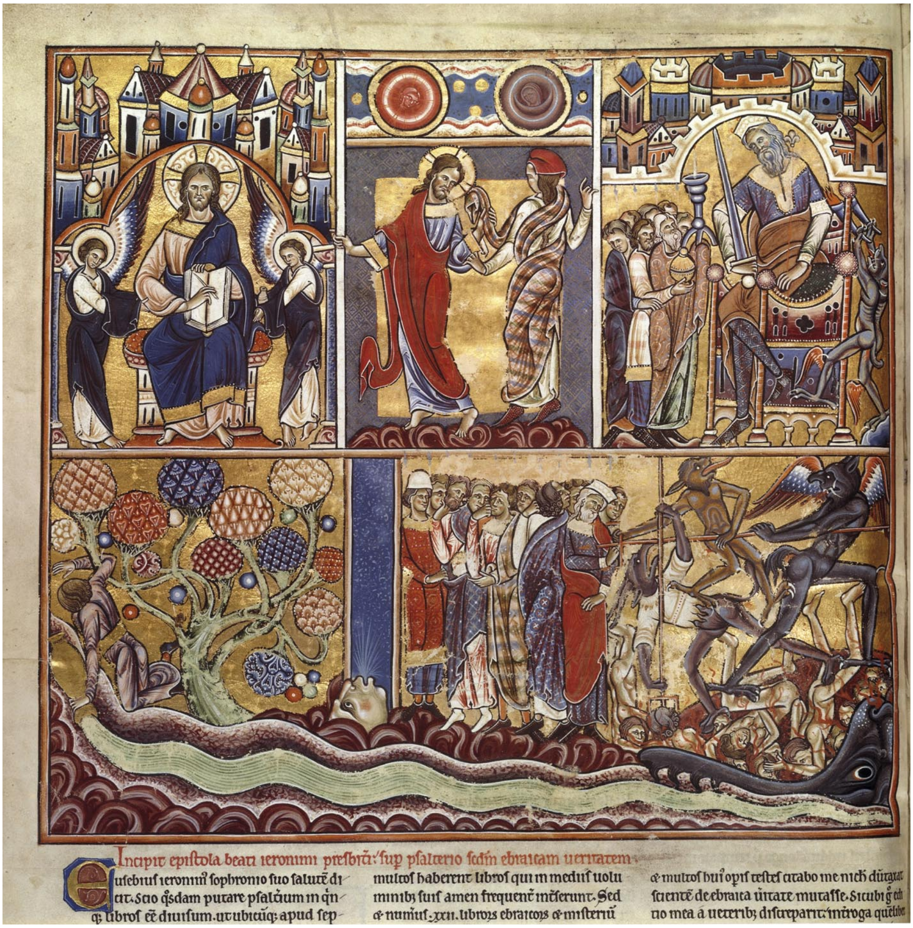
7. Paris, BnF, MS. lat. 2855, fol. 63v, Eldefonsus, tract on the Eucharist, 3rd quarter of 9th c., ink and pigment on parchment.



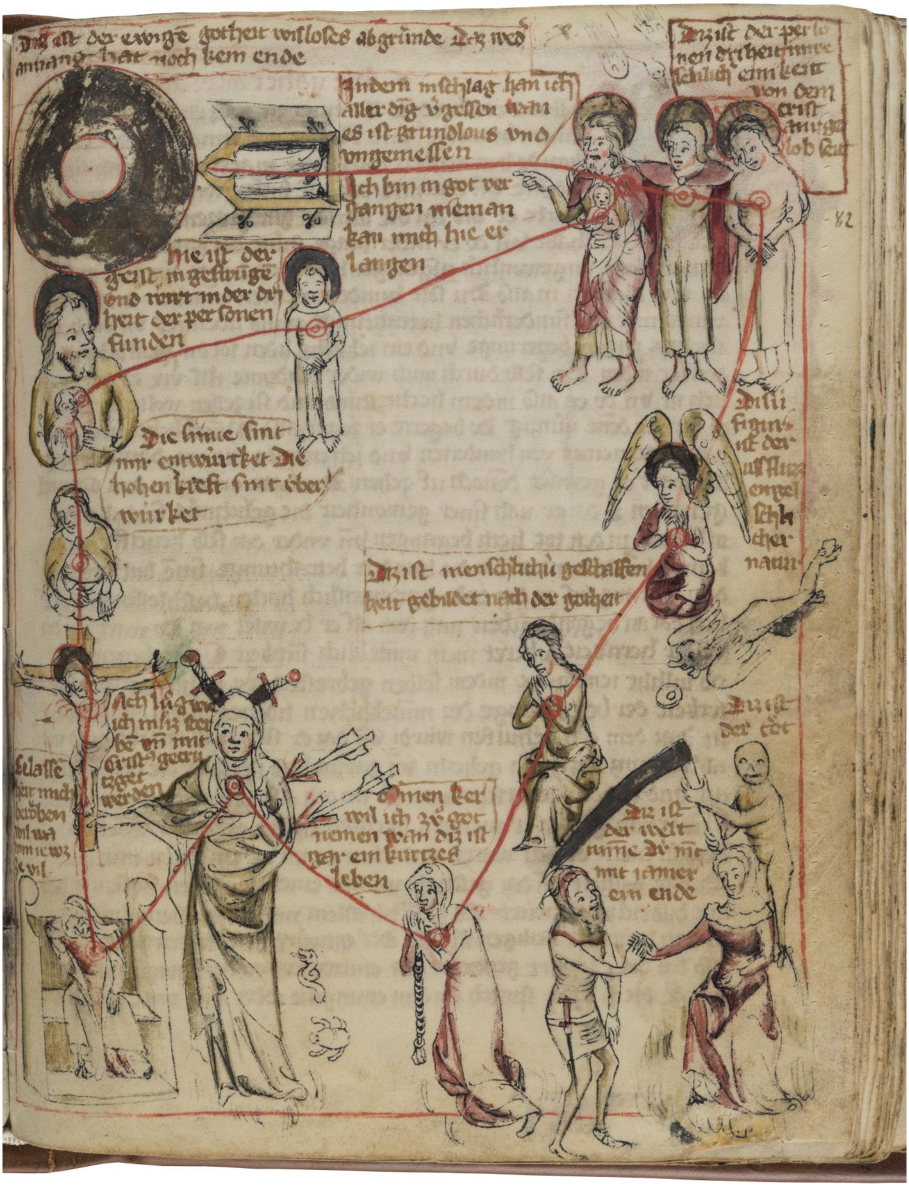
8. Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Cod. lat. 1341, fol. 187^{v}, Eldefonsus, tract on the Eucharist, 3rd quarter of 9th c., ink on parchment.



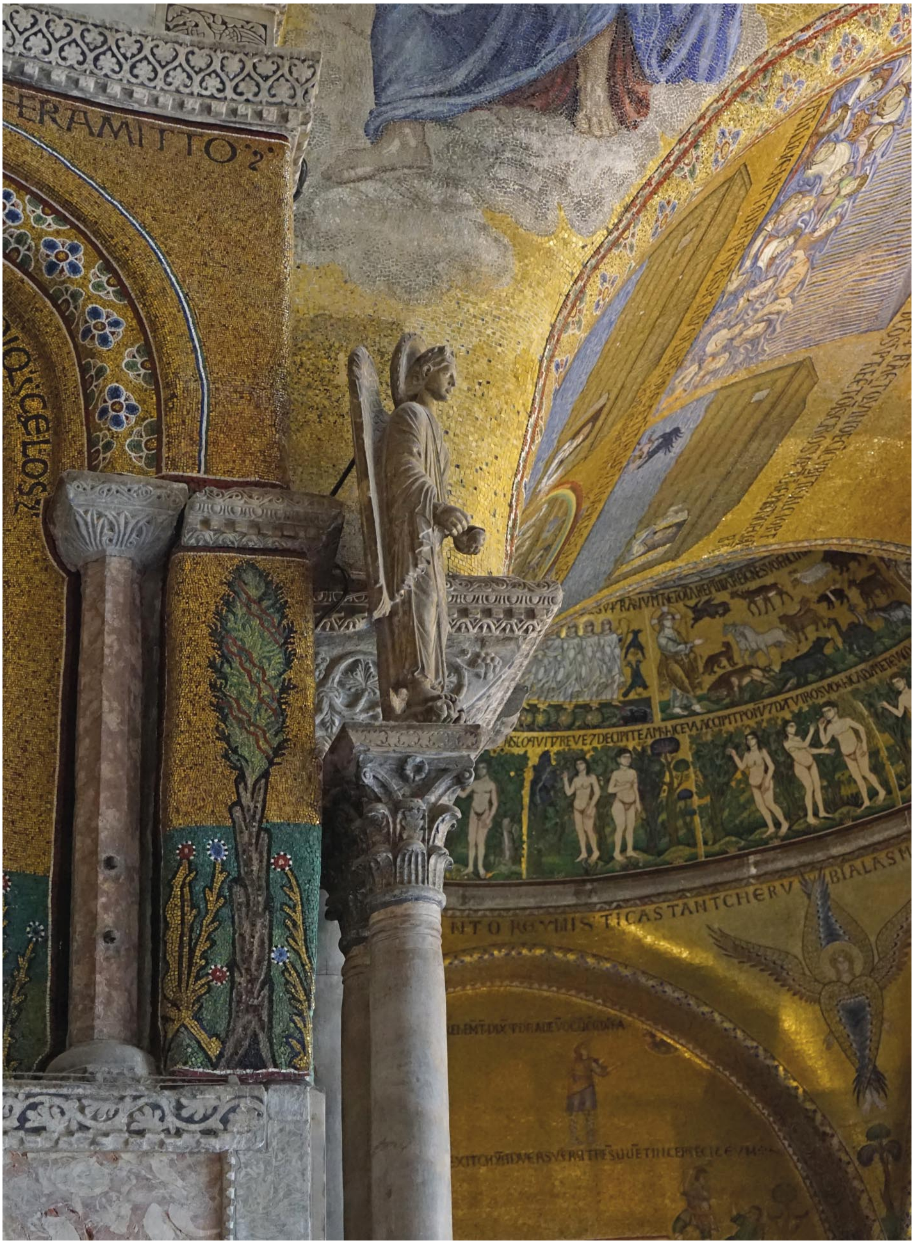
9. Utrecht, Utrecht University Library, Ms. 32, fol. 1^{v},
Book of Psalms, Psalm 1, mid-9th c., ink on parchment.


Incipit epistola beati ieronimi presbiteri super psalterio secundum ebraicam veritatem

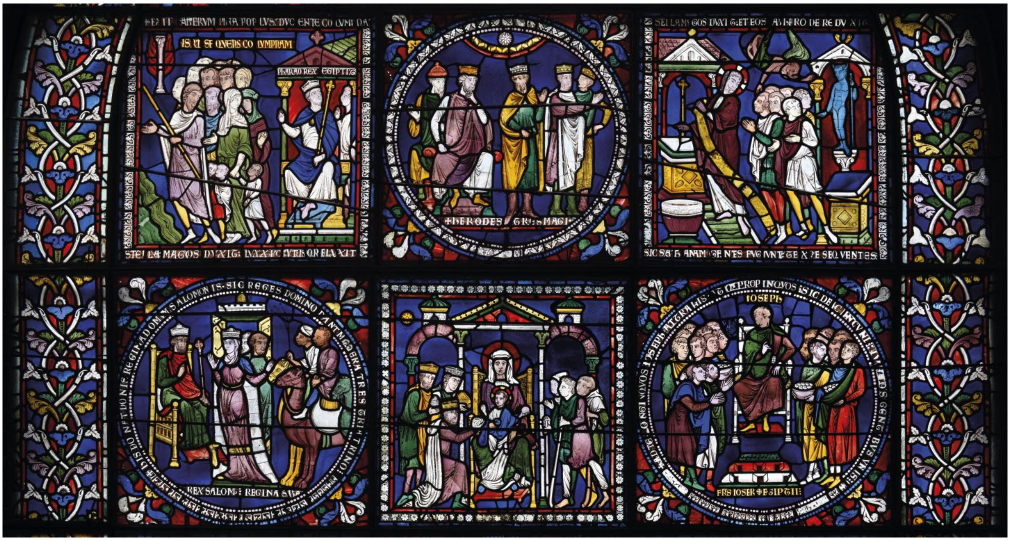
10. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8846, fol. 5^{v}, Book of Psalms, Psalm 1,
1180-1200, gold and pigment on parchment.


Diz ist der ewige gotheit wisloses abgründe daz weder anvang hat noch kein ende
Inden unschlag han ich aller dig vergessen wan es ist grundlous und ungemessen
Ich bin in got verslangen niemen kan mich hie erlangen
Diz ist der personen drivaltikeit unmessliche ein keit von dem crist ... lob sait
Hie ist der geist in geswige und wirt in der driheit der personen funden
Die sinne sint mir entwürket die hohen krefte sint überwirket
Diz ist der engelschlicher natur
Diz ist menschlichiu geschaffenheit gebildet nach der gotheit
Ach liüg wie ich müz sterben und mit Crist gecruziget werden
Gelasse ...
Dir ist der tot
Der ist der welt minne der nimt iemer ein ende
... wil ich zü got nemen wan diz ist nit ein kurtzes leben
82

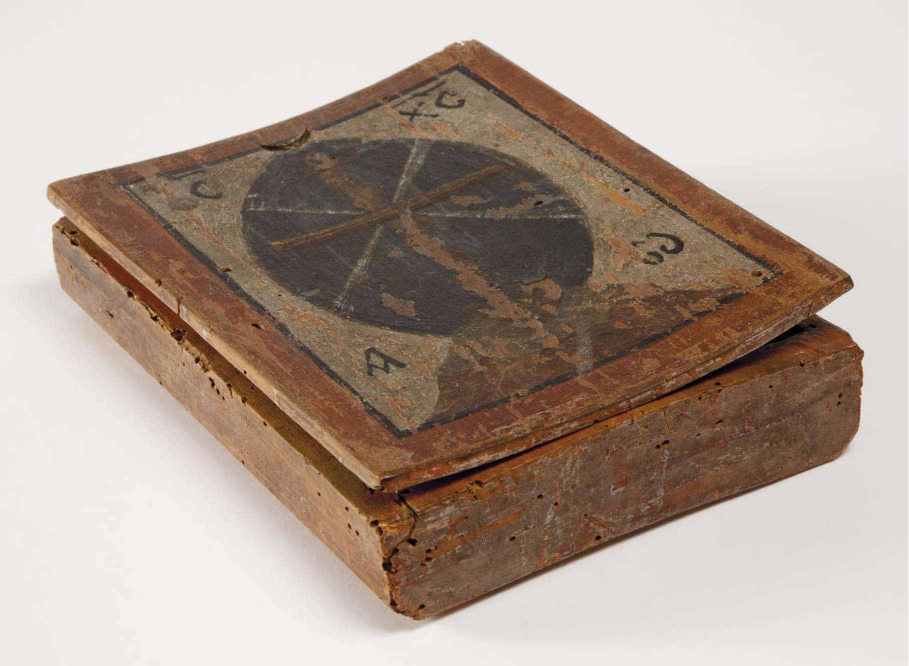
11. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Cod. 2929, fol. 82r, Heinrich Seuse, *Exemplar*, ca. 1370, ink and pigment on parchment.



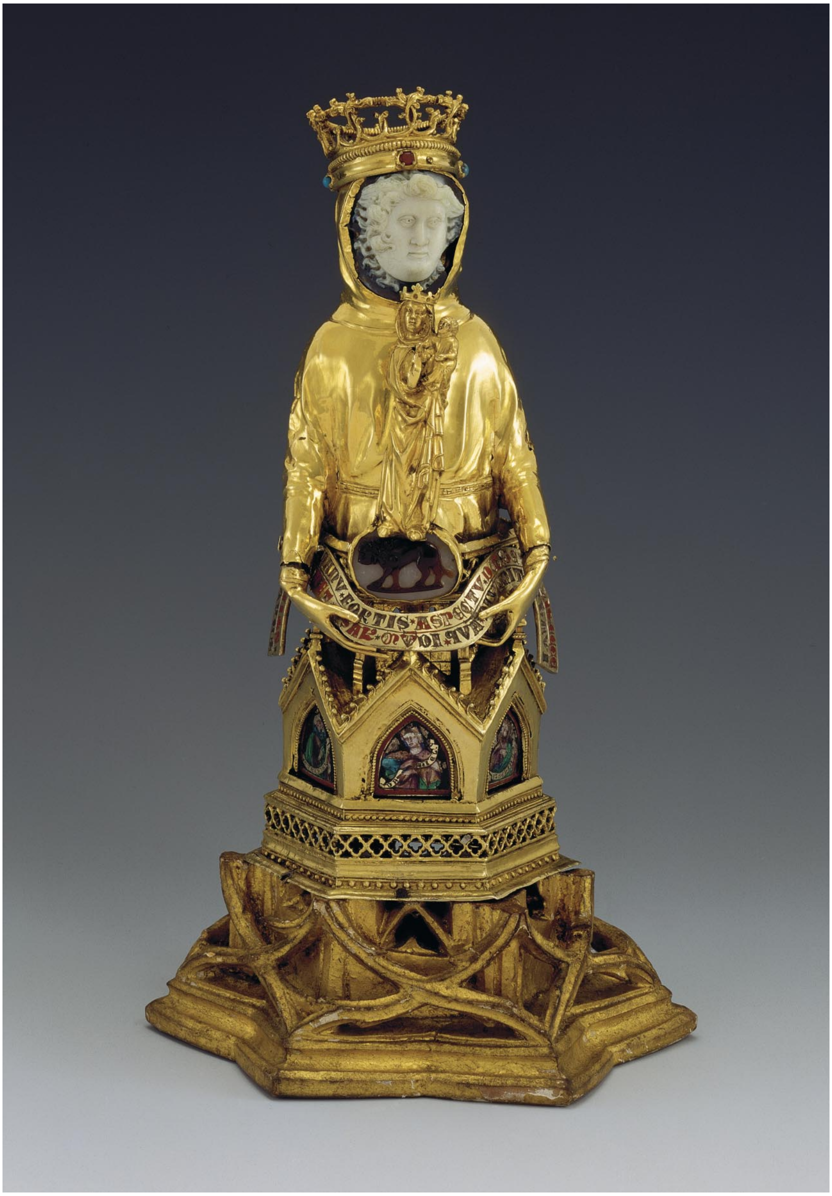
12. Venice, San Marco, atrium, mosaic at main entrance and first dome, 2nd quarter of 13th century, *Tree of Life and Fall of Adam and Eve*.



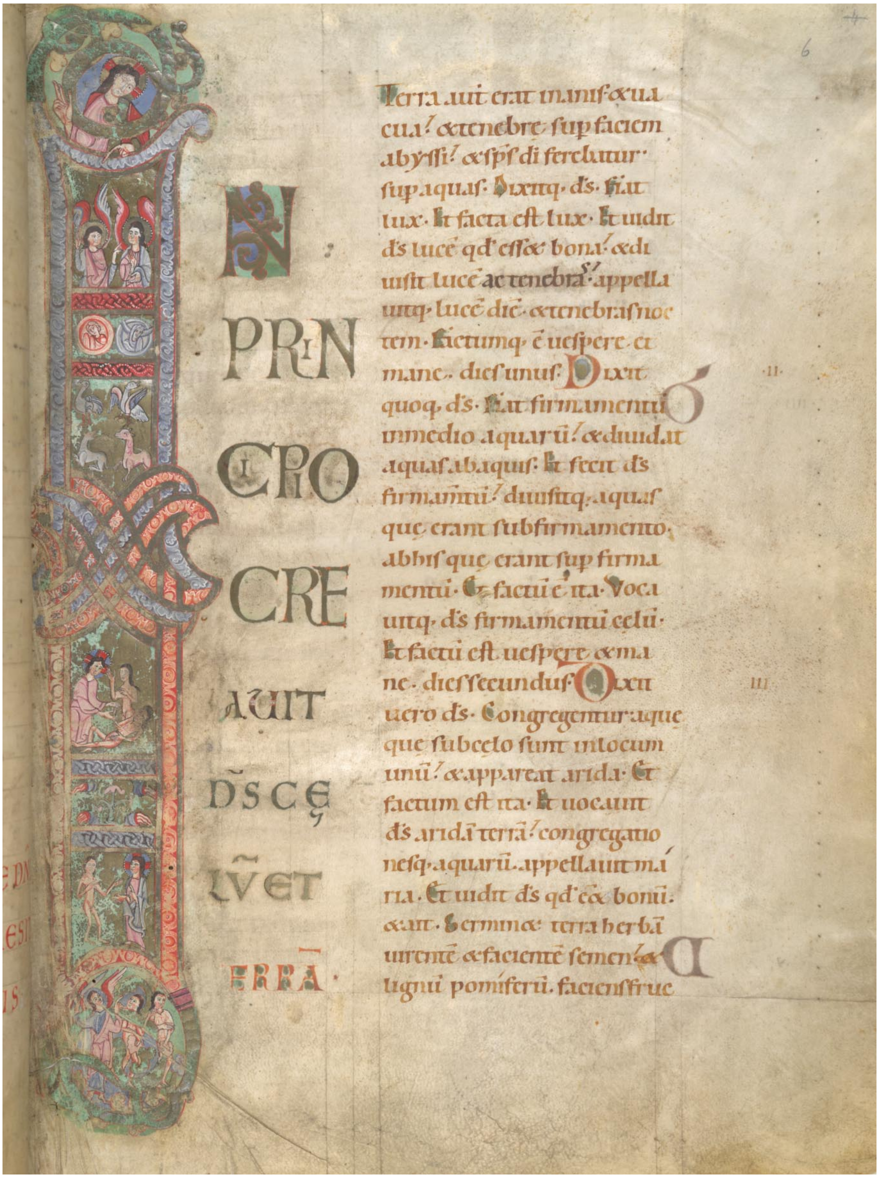
13. Canterbury, Cathedral, window, 4th quarter of 12th c.,
Life of Christ and Typologies, stained glass.



14. Vatican, Museo Vaticano, reliquary box from Sancta Sanctorum, 7th c., *Vision of Cross*, pigments, gold, wax, wood.



15. Basel, Cathedral Treasure, reliquary, various dates,
David and Virgin and Child, mixed media.



6

N
PRIN
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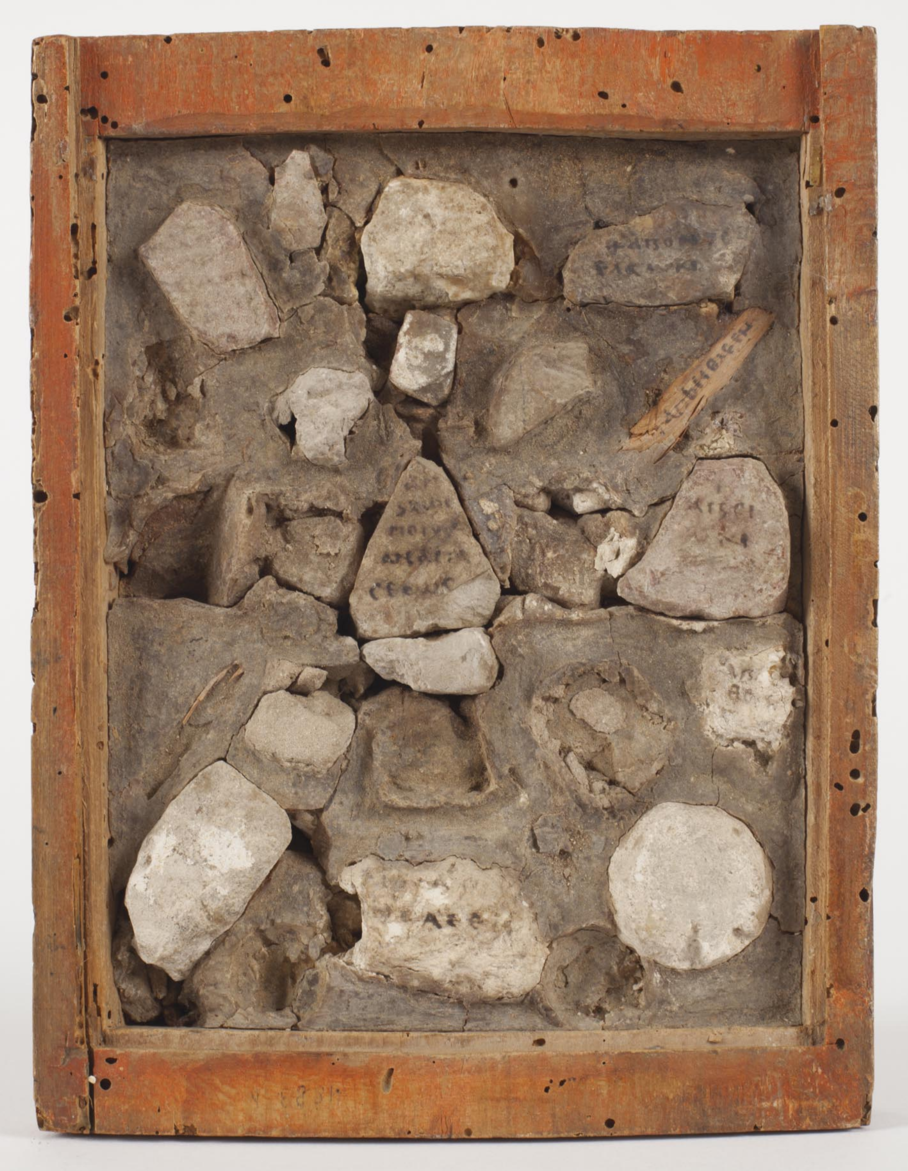
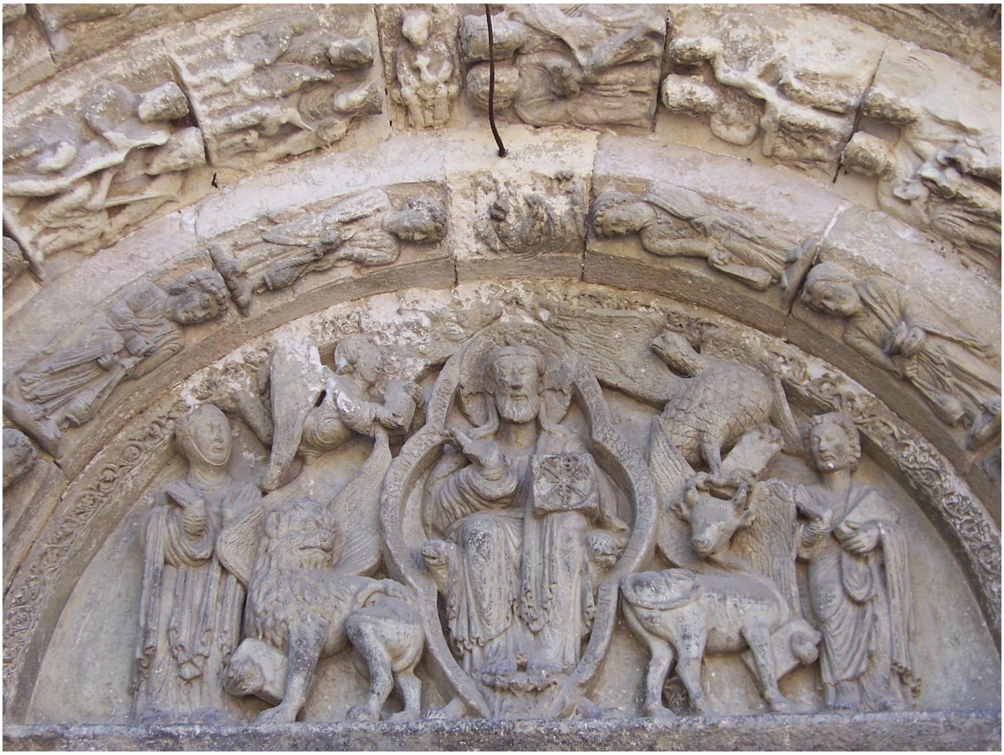
L̃UET
ERRĀ·

Terra aut erat inanis & ua
cua· & tenebre sup faciem
abyssi· & sps di ferebatur·
sup aquas· Dixitq; ds· Fiat
lux· Et facta est lux· Et uidit
ds lucē qd' esset bona· & di
uisit lucē ac tenebras· appella
uitq; lucē diē· & tenebras noc
tem· Factumq; ē uespere et
mane· dies unus· Dixit ii
quoq; ds· Fiat firmamentū
inmedio aquarū· & diuidat
aquas ab aquis· Et fecit ds
firmamentū· diuisitq; aquas
quę erant sub firmamento·
ab his quę erant sup firma
mentū· Et factū ē ita· Voca
uitq; ds firmamentū celū·
Et factū est uespere & ma
ne· dies secundus· Dixit iii
uero ds· Congregentur aquę
quę sub celo sunt in locum
unū· & appareat arida· Et
factum est ita· Et uocauit
ds aridā terrā· congregatio
nesq; aquarū· appellauit ma
ria· Et uidit ds qd' esset bonū·
& ait· Germinet terra herbā
uirentē & facientē semen &
lignū pomiferū· faciens fruc

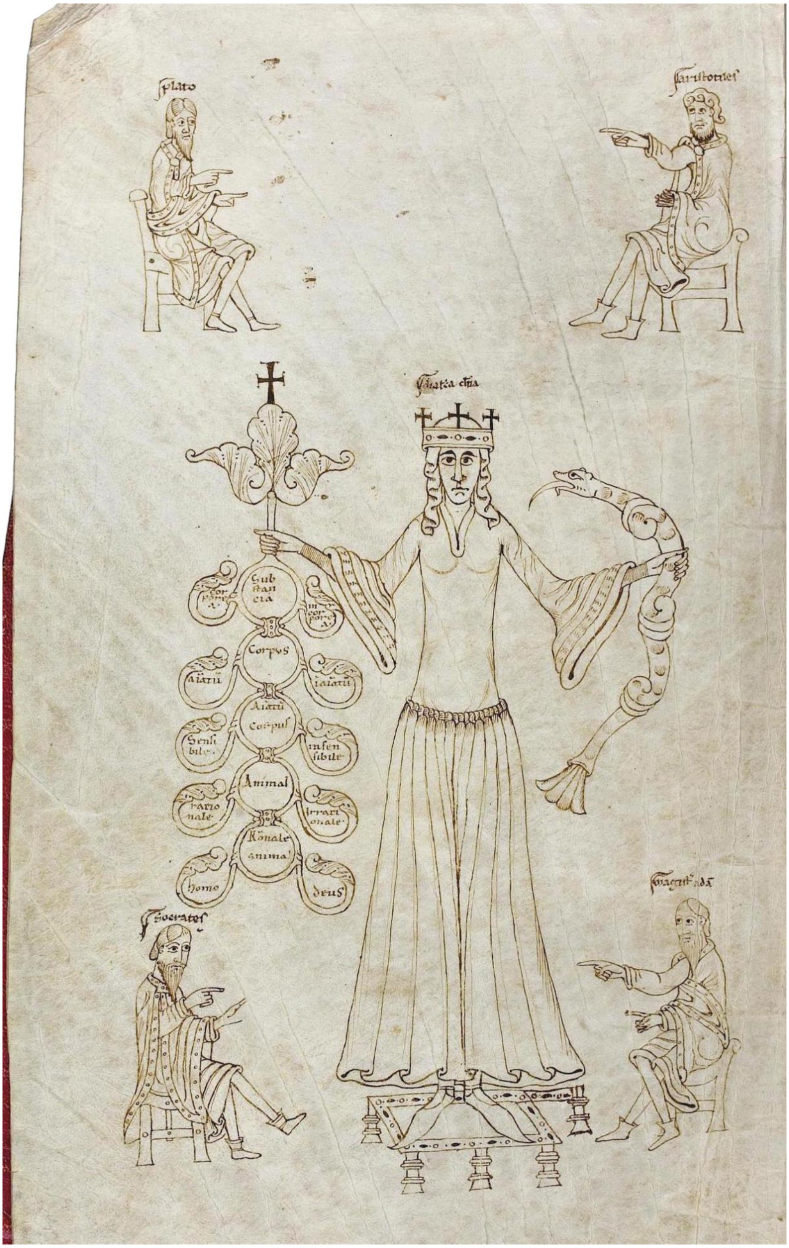
16. London, British Library, MS Add 14791, fol. 6ʳ, Bible of Abbot Kuno,
1st third of 12th c., *Opening of Book of Genesis*, silver and pigments on parchment.



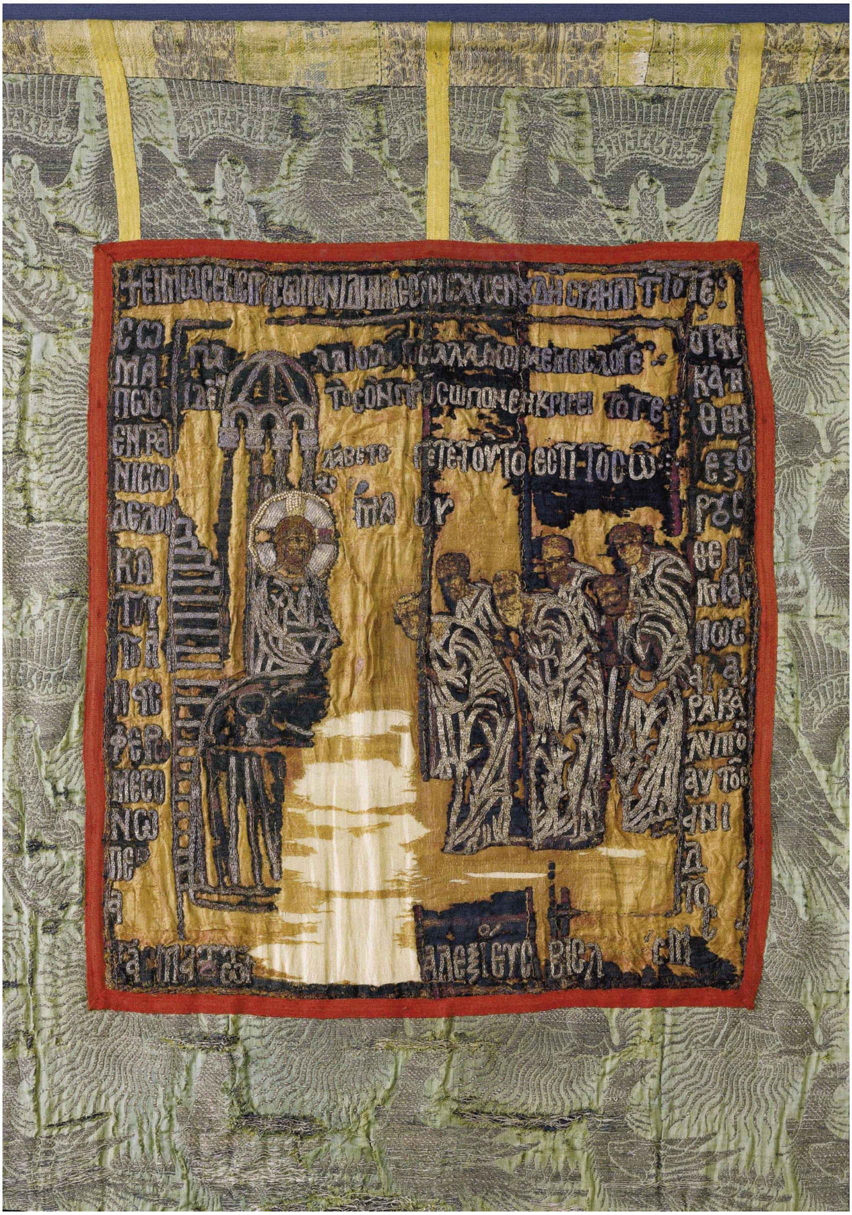
17. Vatican, Museo Vaticano, reliquary box from Sancta Sanctorum (opened), 7th c. wood, dirt, and stones.



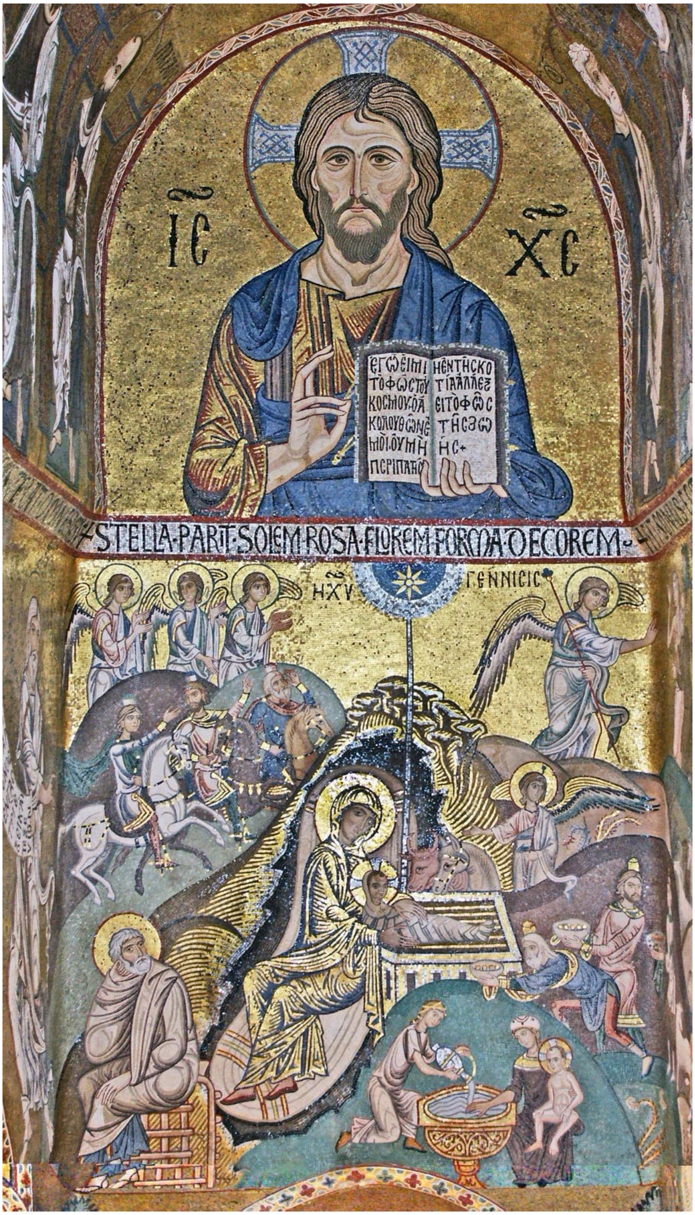
18. Estella, Church of San Miguel, north portal,
tympanum, 12th c., *Christ in Majesty*, stone.


Plato
Aristotiles
Dialetica dn̄a
Substancia
corporea
incorporea
Corpus
aiatū
iaiatū
Aiatū corpus
Sensibile
insensibile
Animal
rationale
irrationale
Rōnale animal
homo
deus
Socrates
Magister adā

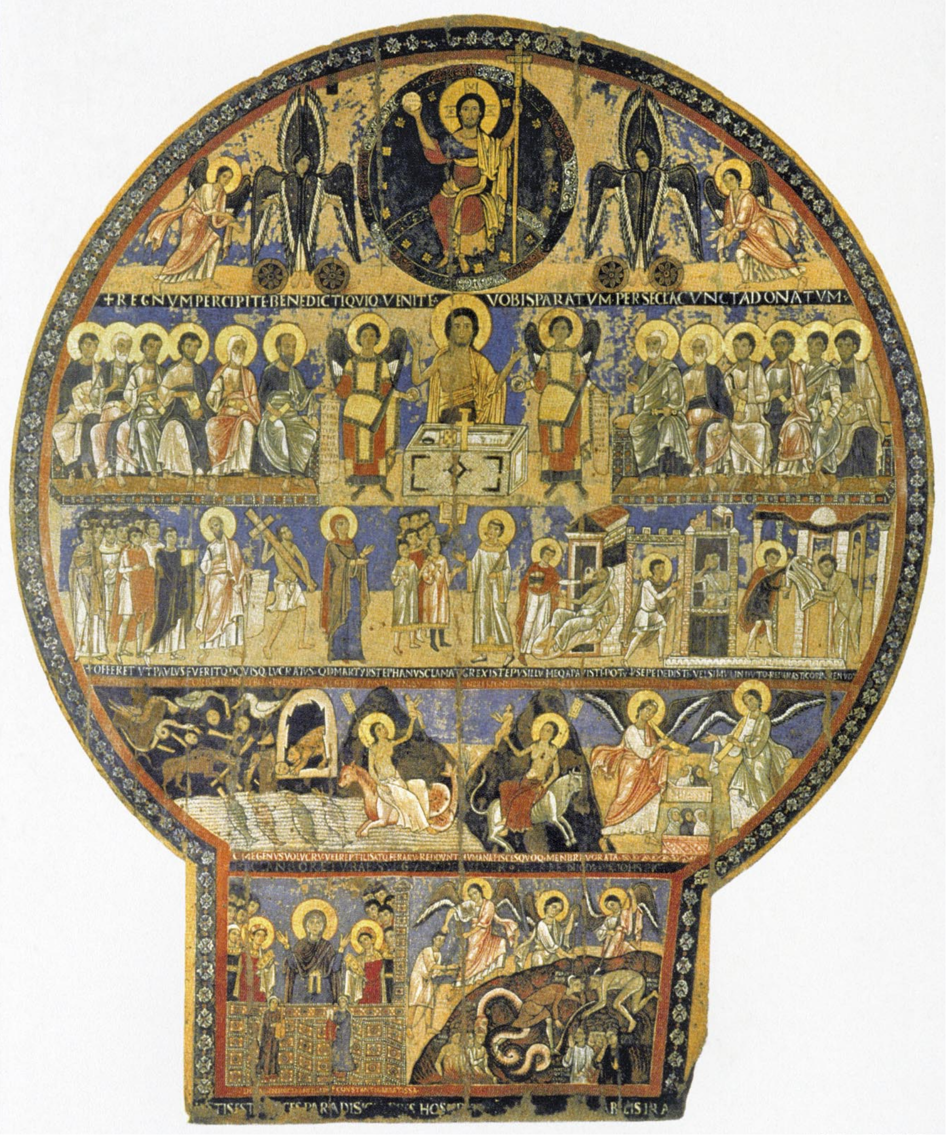
19. Darmstadt, Hessisches Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS 2282, fol. 1ᵛ,
Boethius' Translation of Porphyrius' Isagoge to Aristotle's Categories,
mid-12th c., *Lady Dialectic*, ink on parchment.



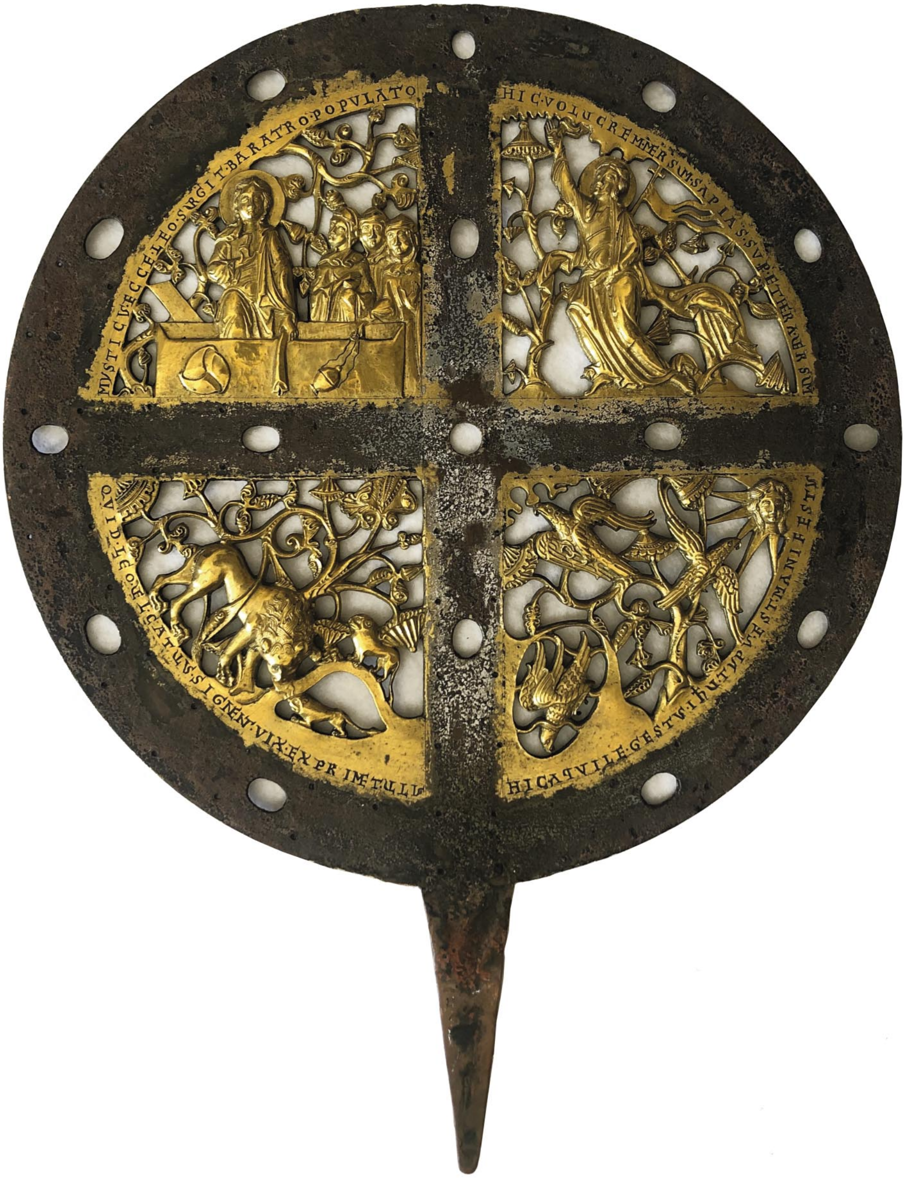
20. Halberstadt, Domschatz, Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt, inv. no. DS087,
Church Flag with Byzantine Veiling Cloth (Poterokalymma),
probably second half/last quarter 12th century, embroidered silk.


IC XC
STELLA·PARIT·SOLEM·ROSA·FLOREM·FORMA·DECOREM

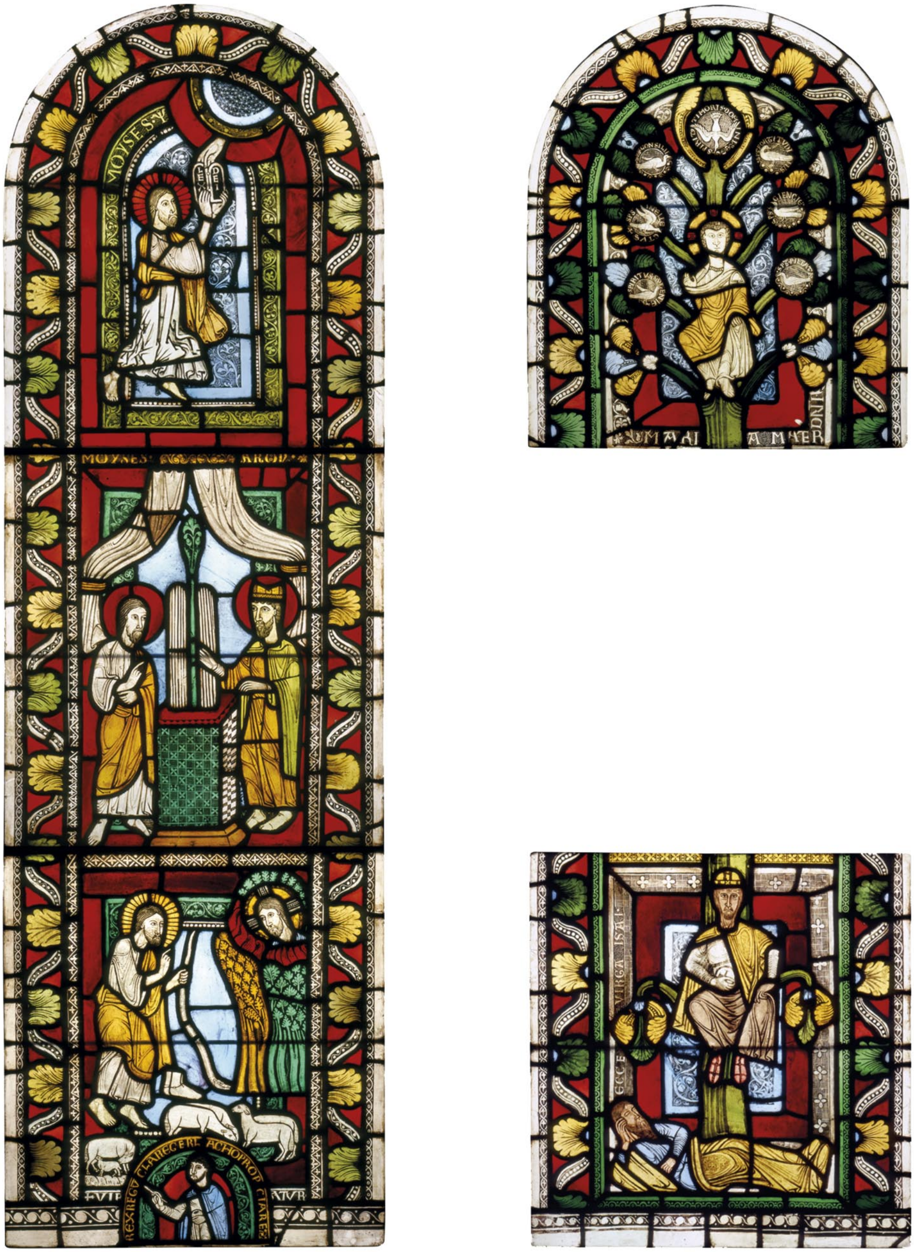
21. Palermo, Cappella Palatina, south transept, mosaic, mid-12th c.,
Christ Pantocrator and Nativity of Christ, stone, glass, gold and silver mosaic.



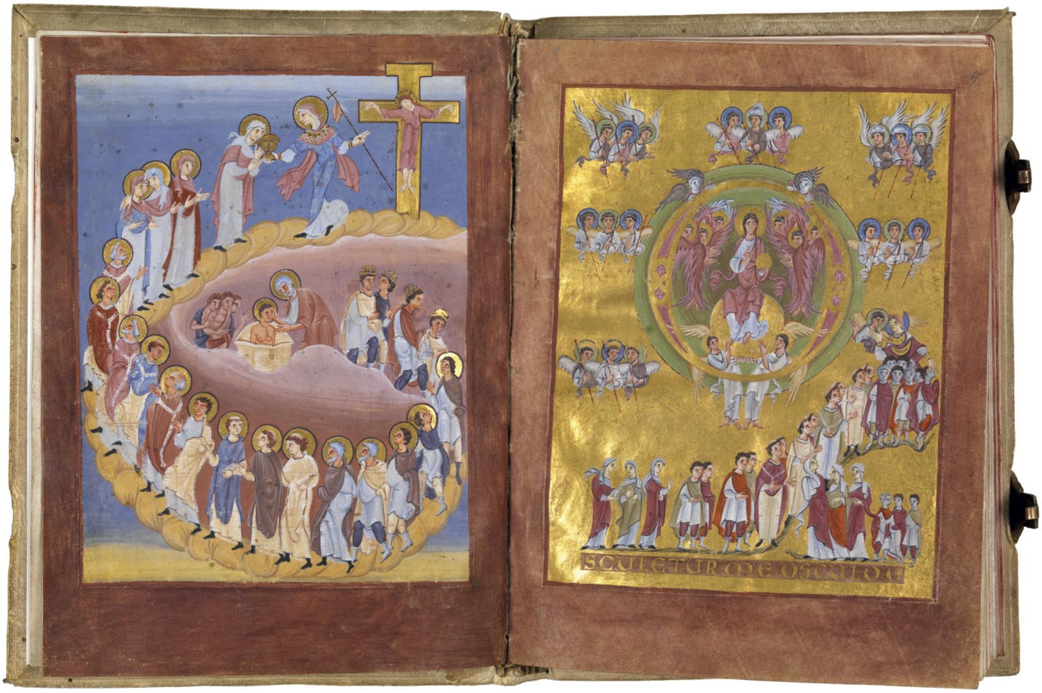
22. Vatican, Pinacoteca, panel, 3rd quarter of 11th c.,
Last Judgment, pigment on wood.


MVSTICV·ECCE·LEO·SVRGIT·BARATRO·POPVLATO
HIC·VOLVCREM·MERSVM·SAPIAS·SVPER·ETHERA·VERSVM
QVID·LEO·FICATVS·IGNEN·VIX·EXPRIMET·VLLV
HIC·AQVILE·GESTV·IHV·TYPVS·EST·MANIFESTVS

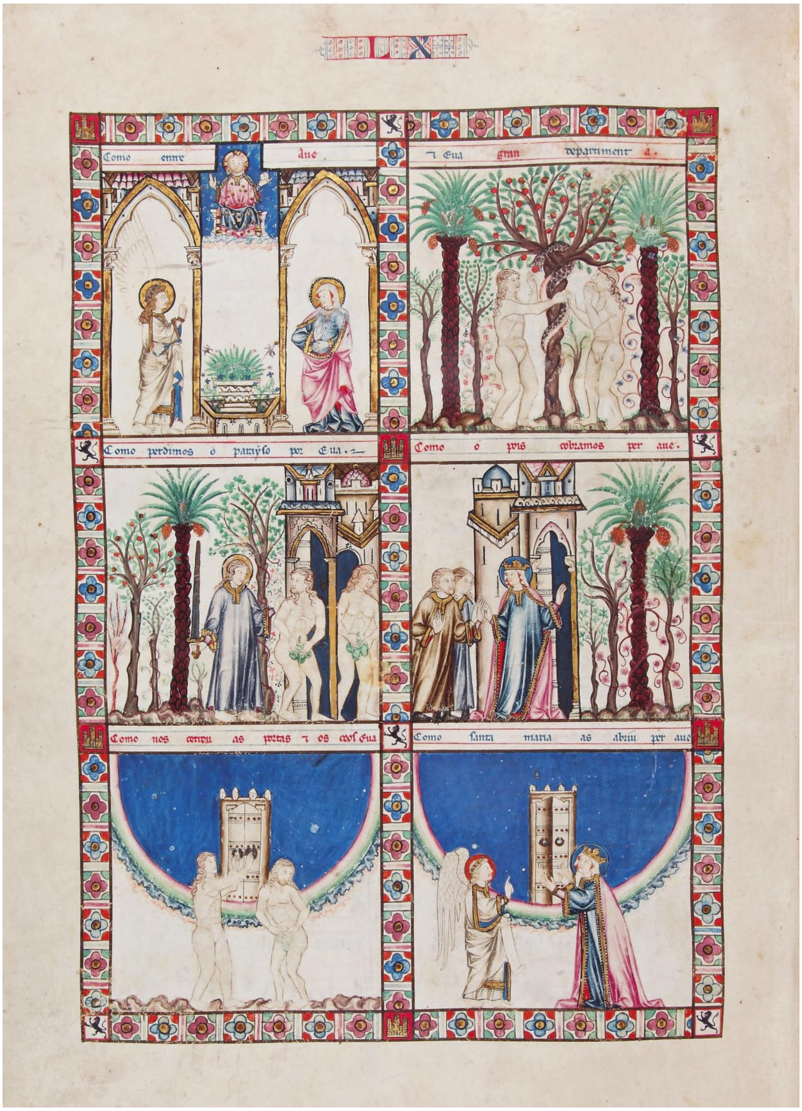
23. Kremsmünster, Benedictine monastery, flabellum, *Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, Bear Suscitating Cub, Eagle Flying to Sky and Descending Beneath Sea*, 12th c., gilt bronze.


MOYSES
ECCE VIRGA ISAI

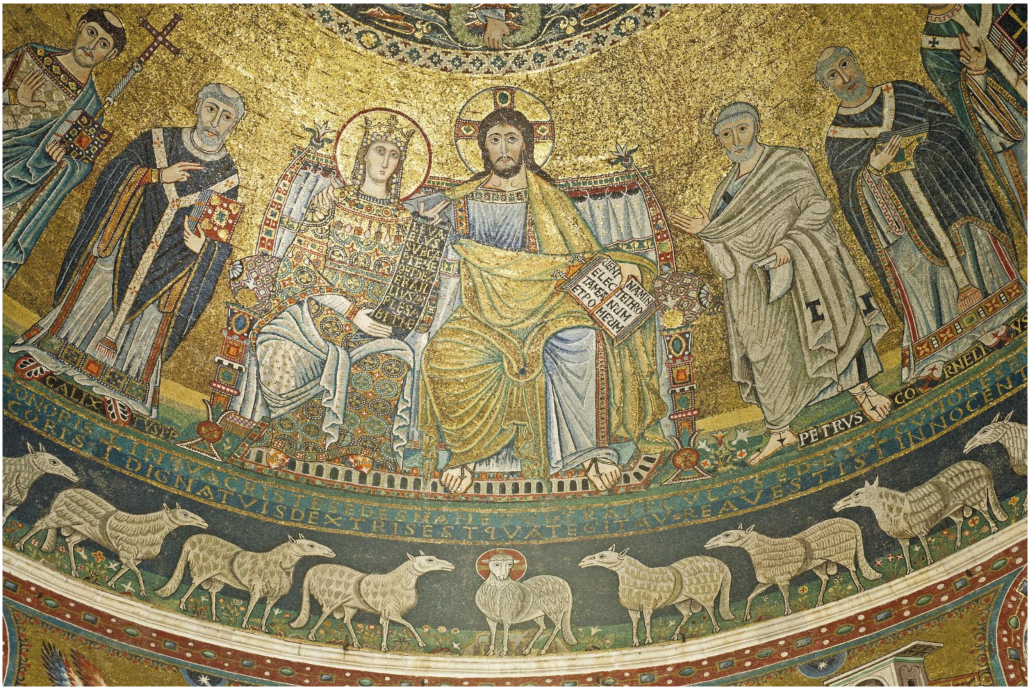
24. Münster, Landesmuseum, windows from Arnstein, 4th quarter of 12th c.,
Tree of Jesse Flanked by Old Testament Typologies, stained glass.


SCULETUR ME OSCULO O

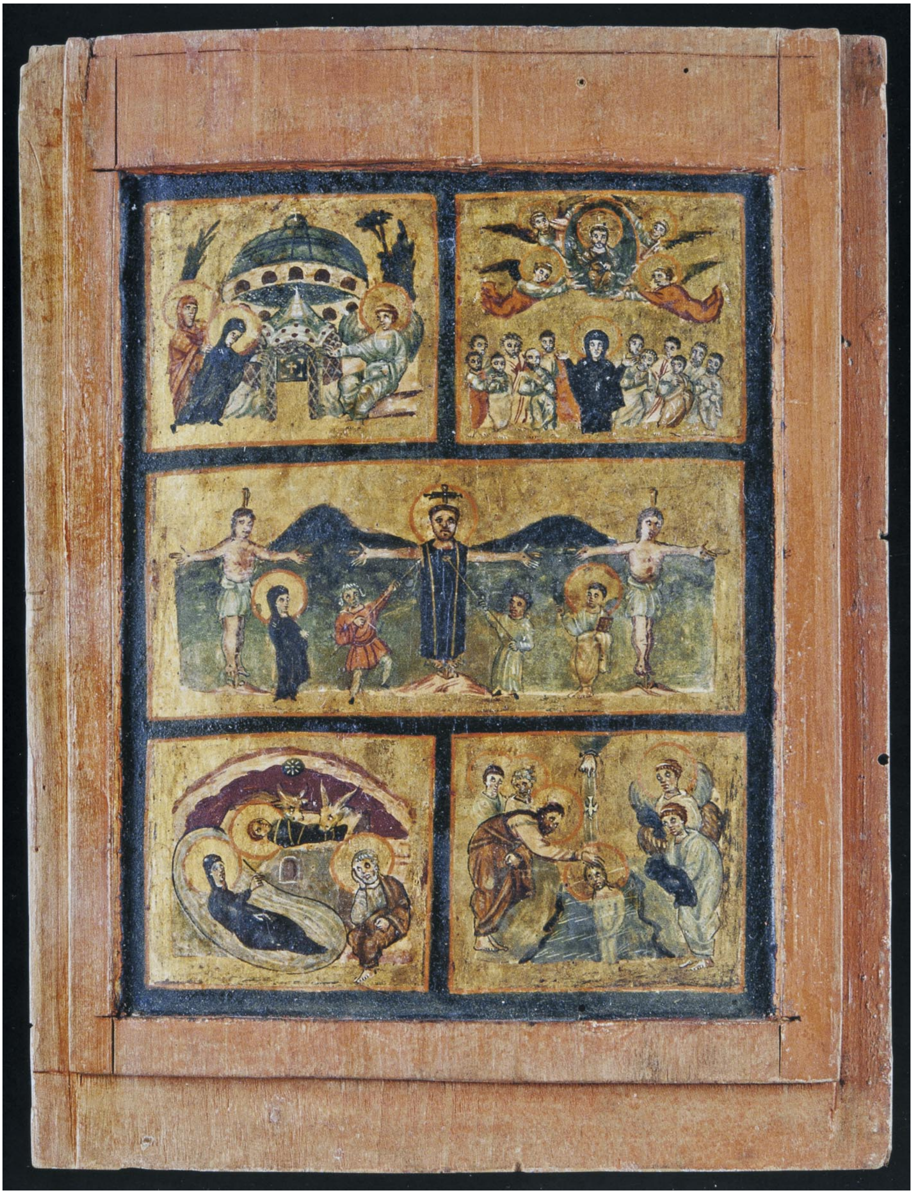
25. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 22, fols. 4^{v}-5^{r}, *Song of Songs*, early 11th c., *Allegory*, gold and pigments on parchment.


Como entre aue e Eua gran departiment a.
Como perdimos o parayso por Eua.
Como o pois cobramos per aue.
Como nos cerrou as portas e os ceos Eua
Como santa maria as abriu per aue

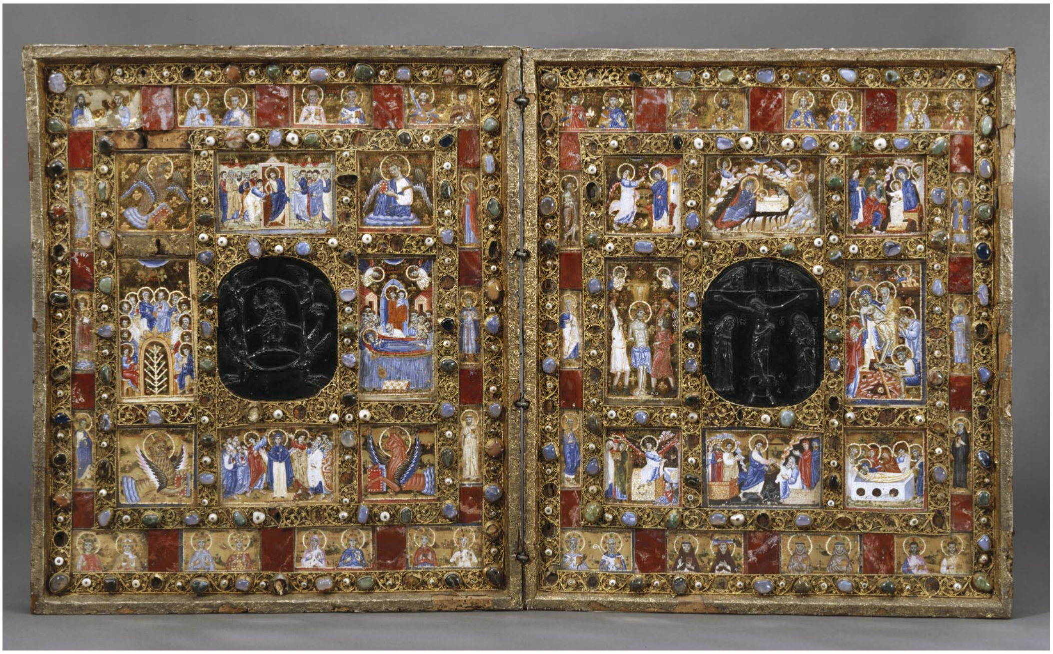
26. Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS T-I-1, fol. 88v, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 1280-84, Song 60, *Eva/Ave*, pigment on parchment.



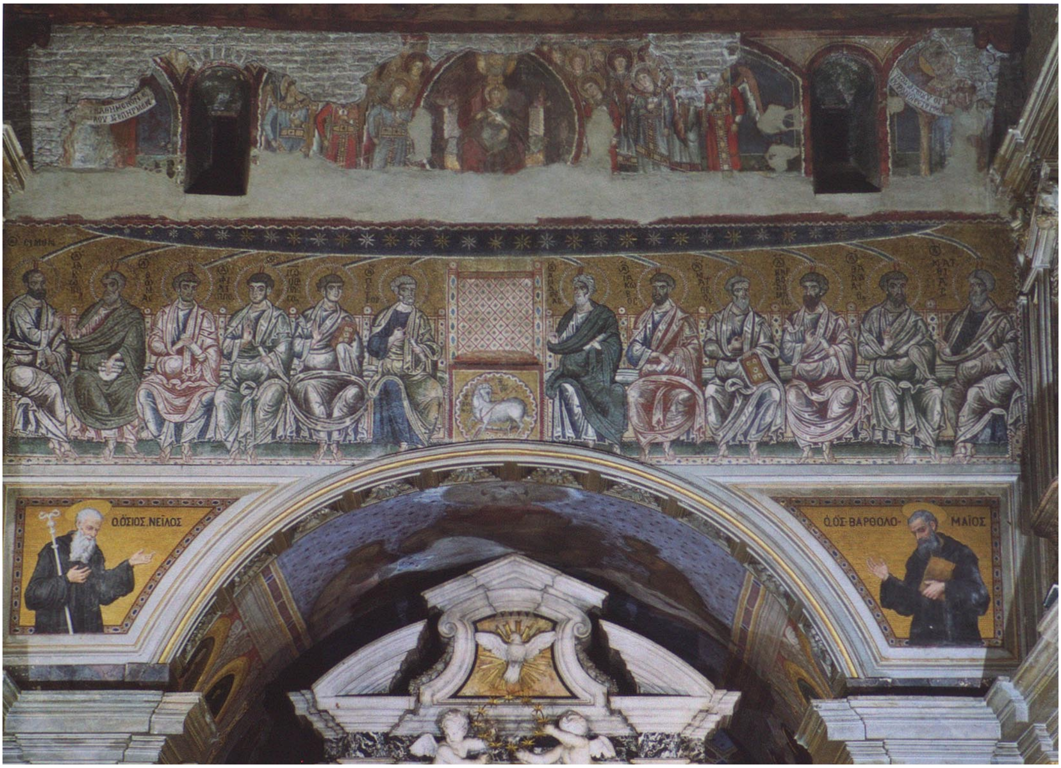
27. Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere, apse,
Christ and Mary Cothronus, 1140-43, mosaic.



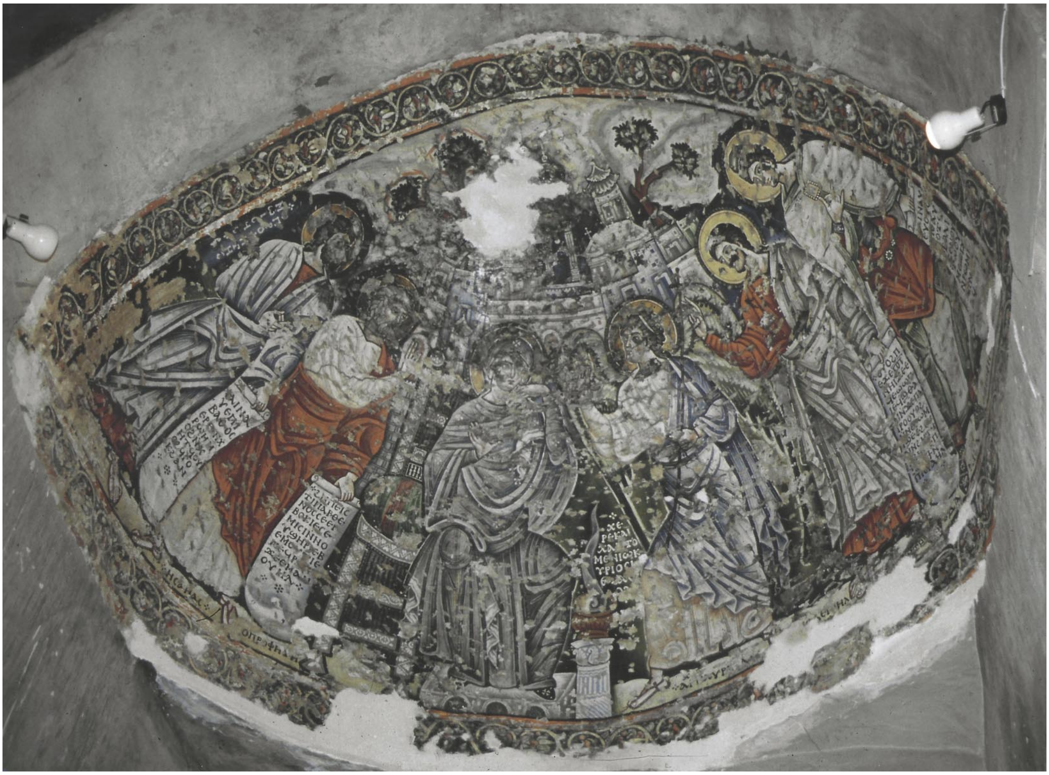
28. Vatican, Museo Vaticano, reliquary box from Sancta Sanctorum (verso of lid), 7th c., *Scenes from Christ's Life*, pigment on wood.



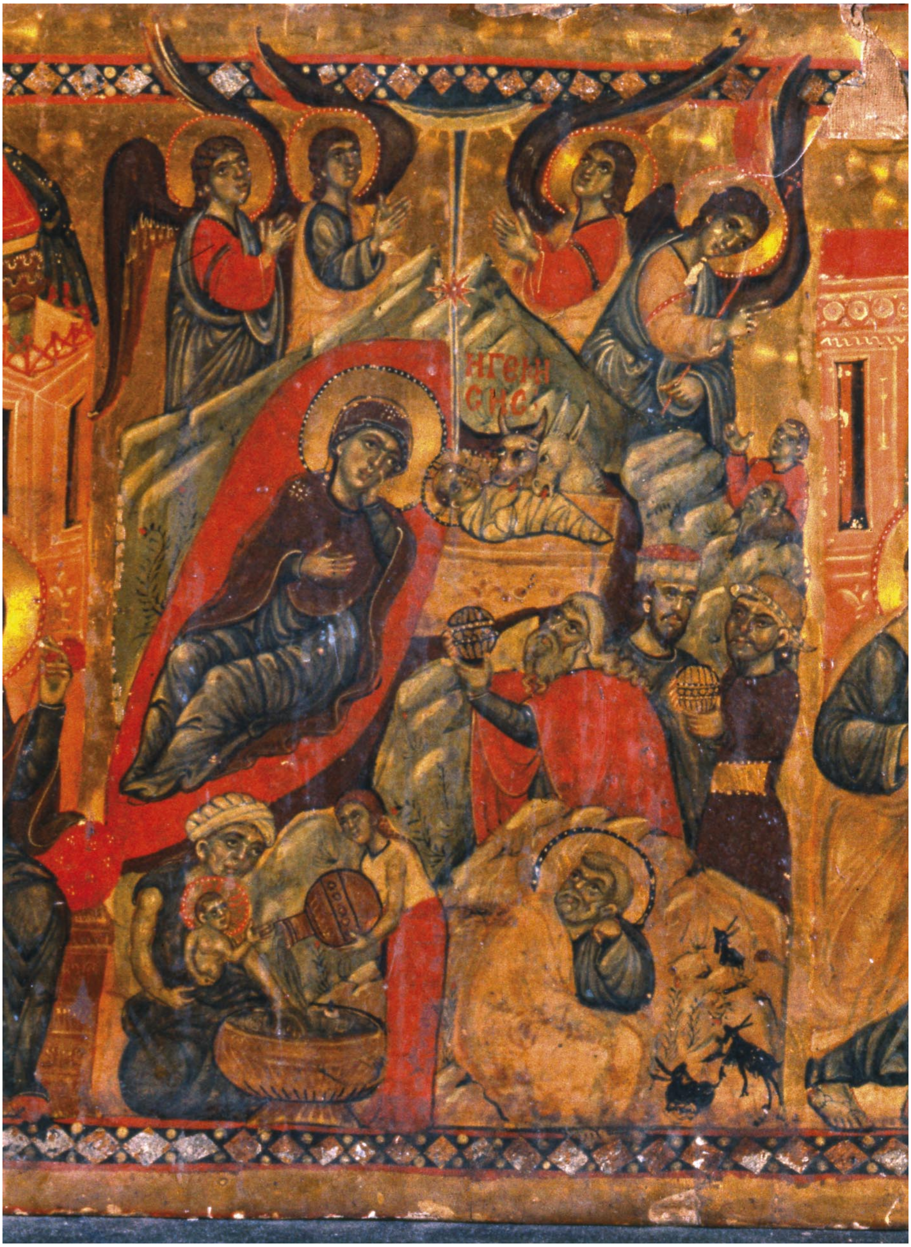
29. Bern, Historisches Museum, diptych of Andrew III of Hungary, late 13th c., *Life of Christ and Saints*, gold, gems, crystal, parchment.



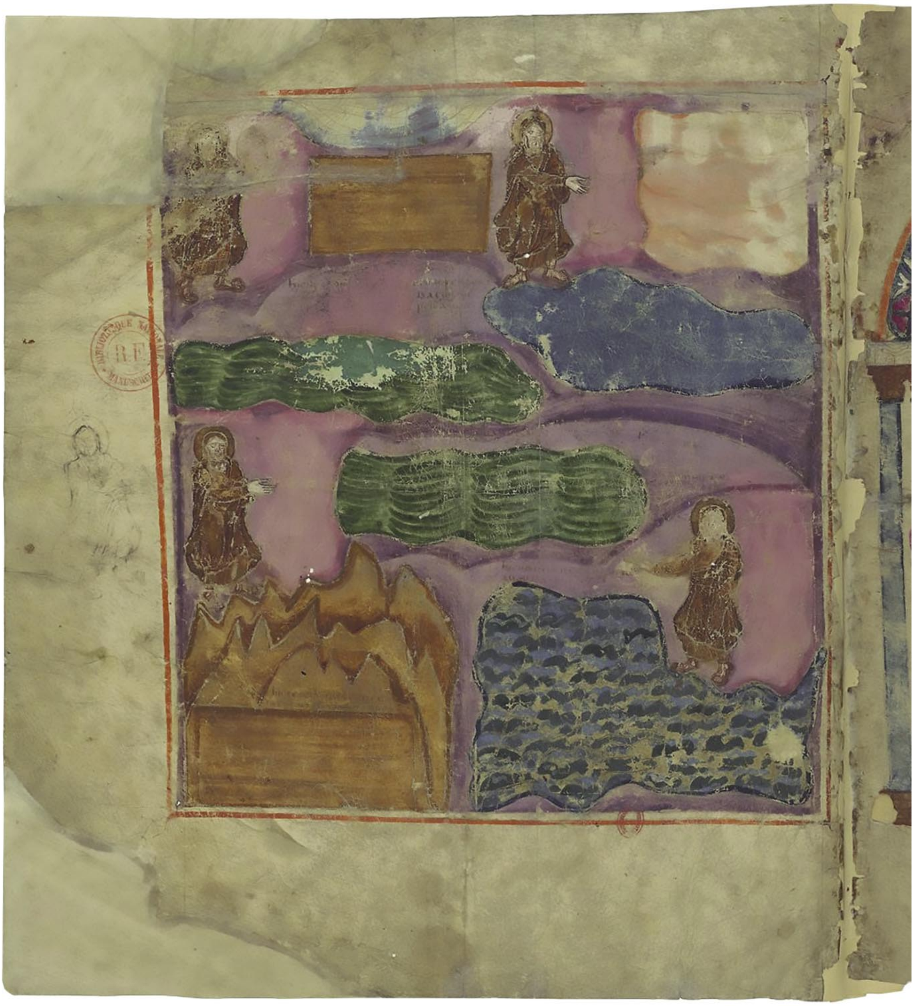
30. Grottaferrata, San Nilo, triumphal arch, *Pentecost and Trinity with Prophets*, 12th c. and 13th, mosaic and fresco.



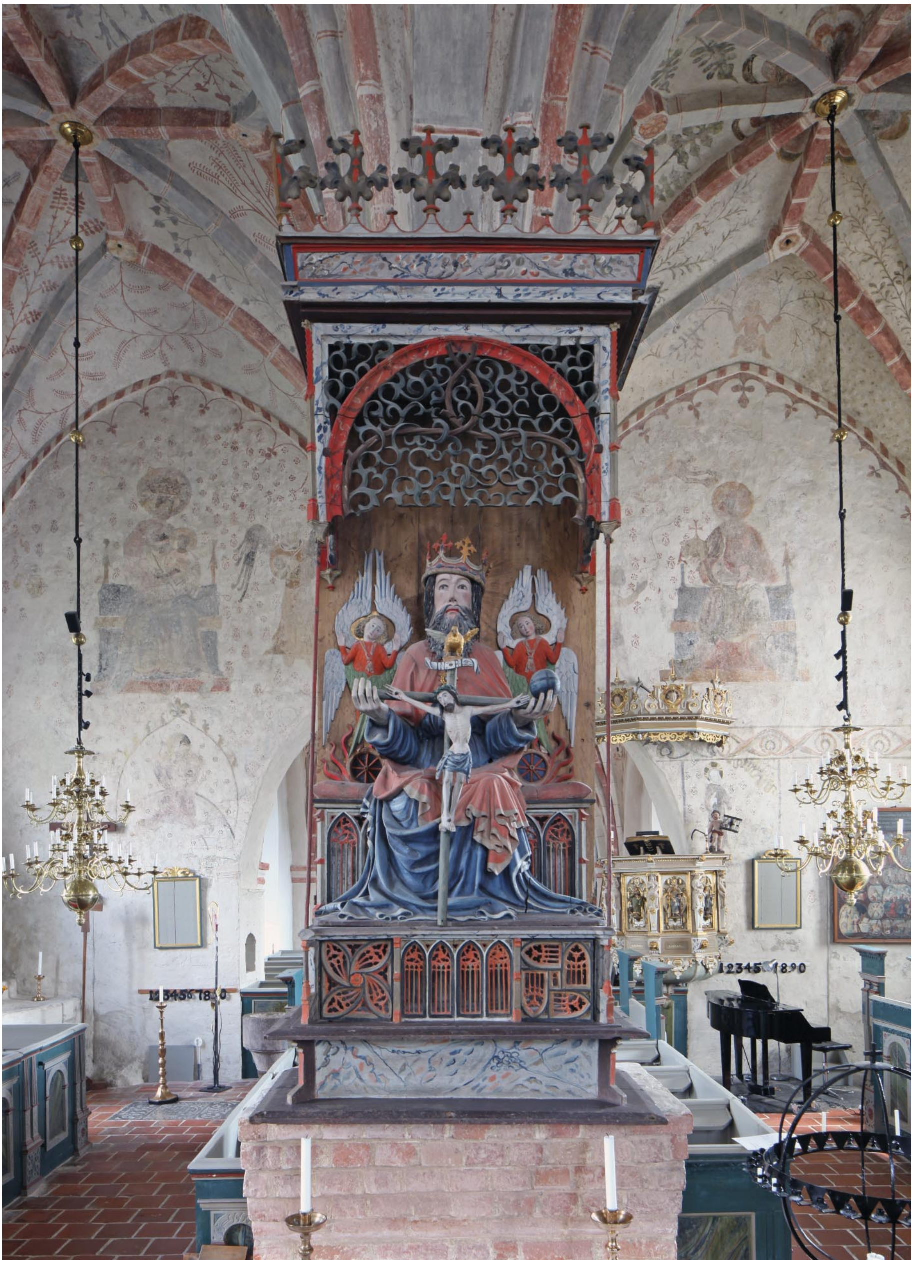
31. Deir el-Surian, apse, *Annunciation to the Virgin*, 8th c., fresco.



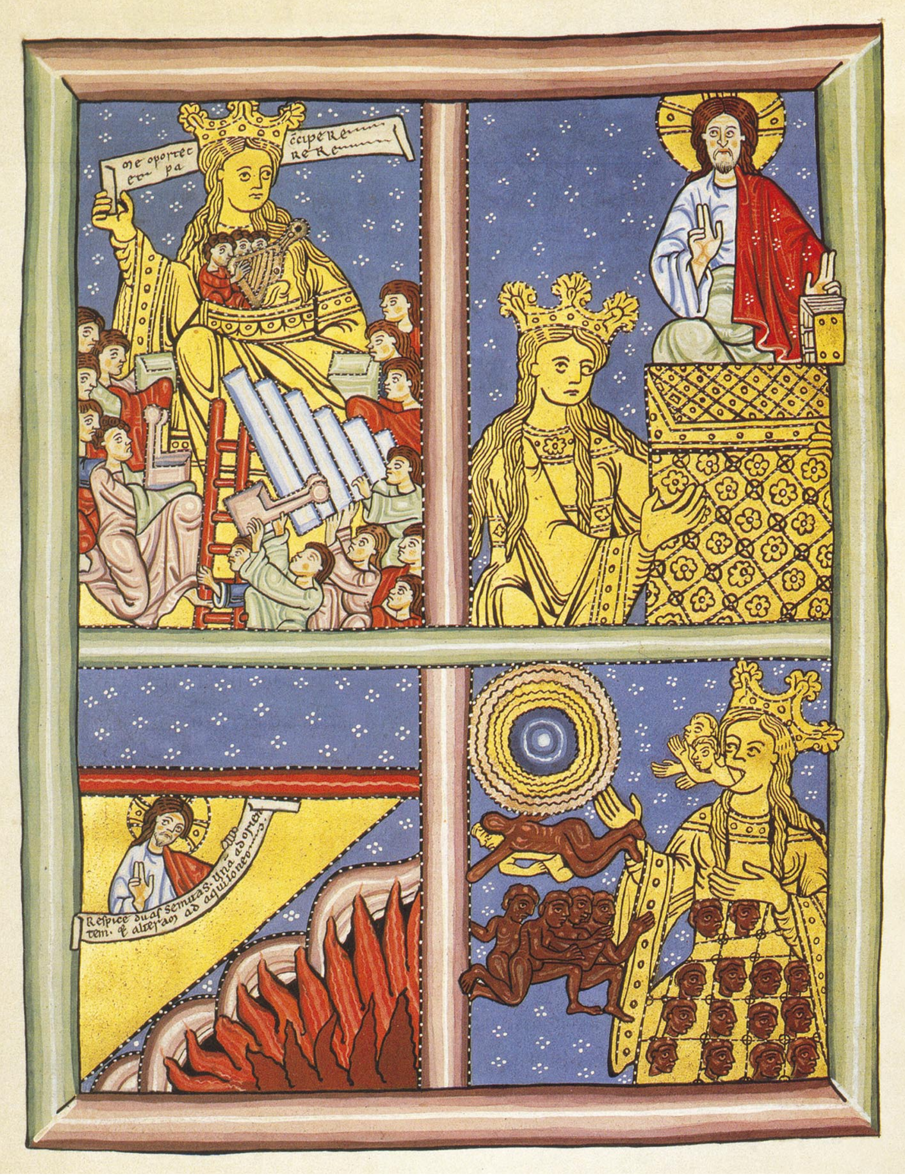
32. Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's monastery, iconostasis beam (detail),
Adoration of Magi, 13th c., paint on wood.



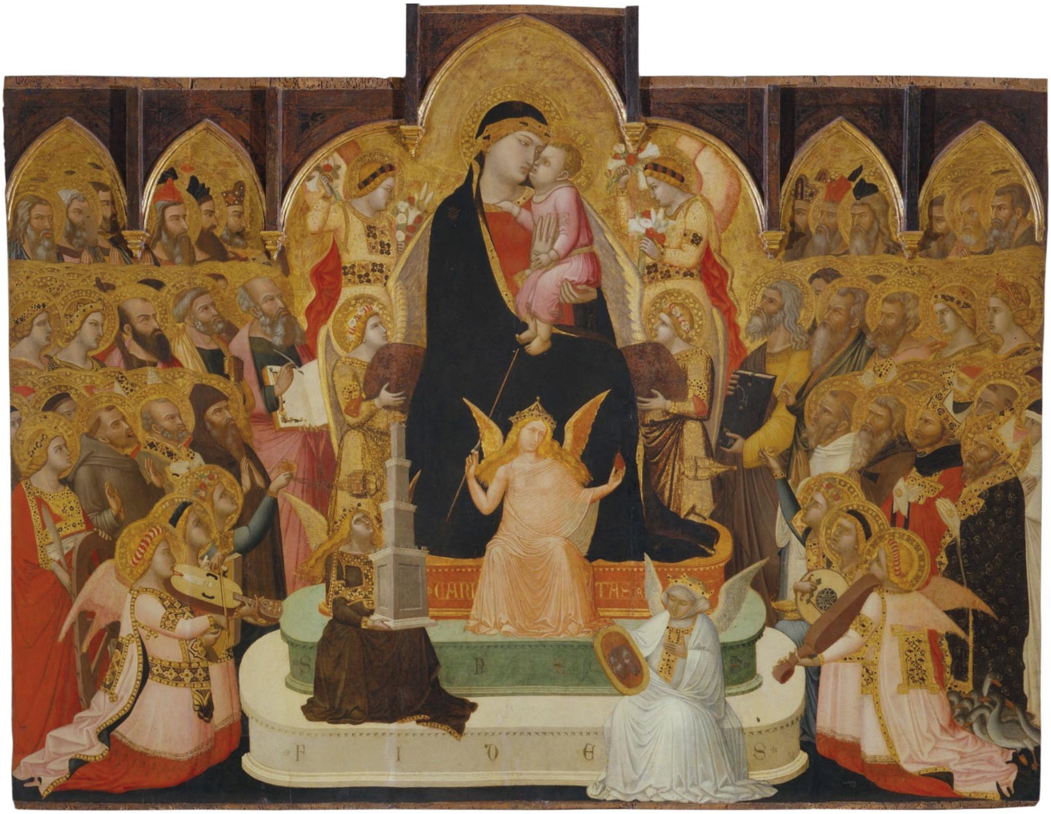
33. Paris, BnF, MS Nouv. acq. Lat. 2334, fol. 1v, Ashburnham Pentateuch, *Creation of World*, 5th c.? with 9th c. overpainting, pigment on parchment.



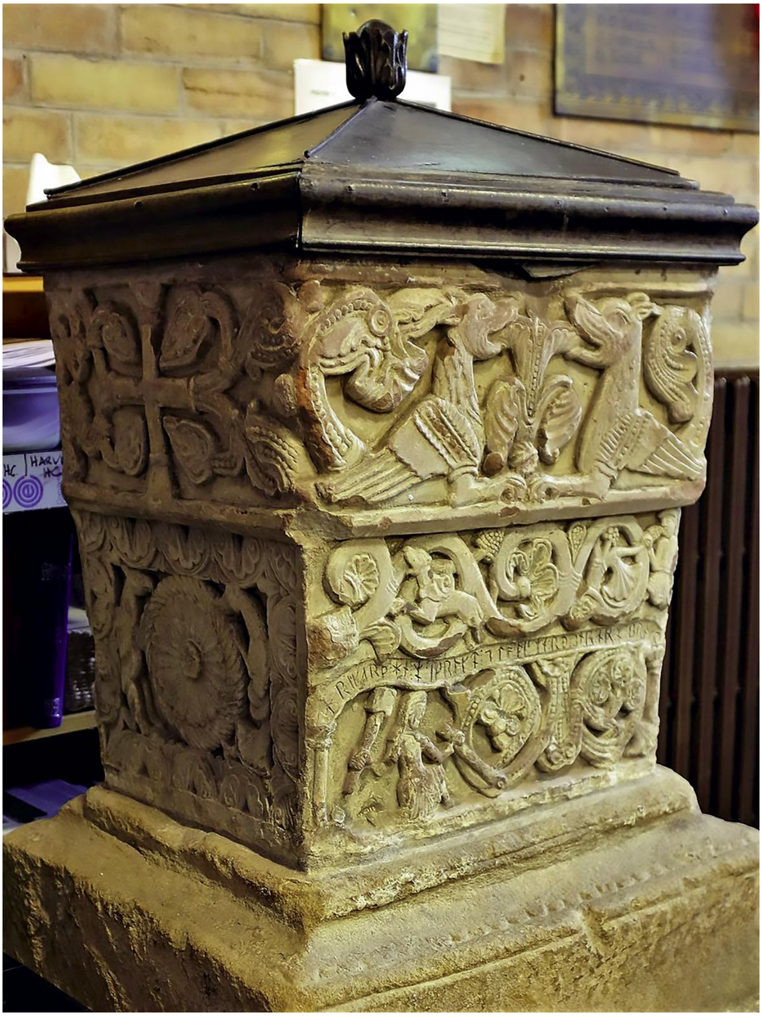
34. Sankt Olof, altarpiece, sculptural group of ca. 1440 placed in 16th c. shrine, *Throne of Mercy*, paint on wood.


me oportet c̄cipere
et pa rere
Respice duas semitas. unā ad orien
tem. & alteram ad aquilonem.

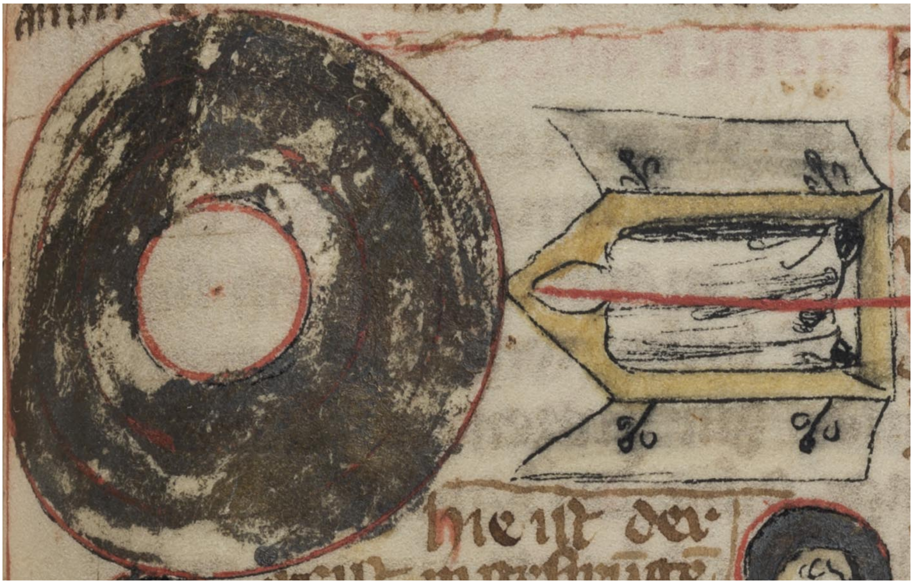
35. Wiesbaden, Landesbibliothek, Rupertsberg Scivias, fol. 51^{r},
Hildegard of Bingen's Vision, ca. 1165 (20th c. copy), paint on paper.



36. Massa Marittima, Museo dell'arte, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, altarpiece, *Virgin and Child with Saints and Personifications*, 1st quarter of 14th c., pigment and gold on wood. The panel is slightly restored in the photo; the silver and Trinity on Fides' mirror is a reconstruction of the detail now lost in the painting but perceivable through chemical analysis and sgraffiti.



37. Bridekirk, St. Brigid, baptismal font, 1140s,
Richard Carving Ornament, stone.



38. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Cod. 2929, fol. 82^{r} (detail of Fig. 11).