



Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

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In two letters written around the year 600 to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, Pope Gregory the Great provided material for a defense of images that was seldom challenged during the Middle Ages and that came to serve as a foundation of art making.¹ According to the venerable Pope, like other material things, pictures must not be adored; but they should also not be destroyed because representations of sacred events and saintly persons are useful for teaching the faith to gentiles and illiterate Christians, “who read in them what they cannot read in books,” and can serve to recall sacred history to the minds of the indoctrinated. Moreover, they activate emotions which, when properly channeled, lead the faithful toward contemplation of God.

A practical response to a particular act of iconoclasm, Gregory’s statements about the value of art are not original, nor are they systematic or altogether clear. But they invested diverse earlier ideas about images with the authority of a “doctor ecclesiae,” thereby providing an unassailable response to Byzantine iconoclasm during the eighth and ninth centuries and to later criticisms of art. Bede cited them as early as 731, and they were continuously invoked from then on.² Moreover, around the middle of the eighth century, someone in the Lateran, it would seem, interpolated a further defense of art into Gregory’s authentic letter to the recluse Secundinus, which came to be included in the *Registrum Gregorii*. Transferring to images the Pope’s claim (in his *Homilies on Ezekiel*, II.4.20) that Christ had “appeared visible to show us the invisible,”³ the Pseudo-Gregory linked pictures directly to the Incarnation and underscored

art's function for stirring the emotions of believers:⁴ "When you see the picture, you are inflamed in your soul with love of him whose image you wish to see. We do no harm in wishing to show the invisible by means of the visible."⁵

Because the Gregorian dicta did not constitute a reasoned theory, one aspect or another could be emphasized to suit a particular context of discussion or tradition of art production;⁶ and even though the letters themselves were circulated in the *Registrum*, the Pope's statements about images were generally known through excerpts introduced in debates on the subject. Thus, Theodulf of Orleans abridged the Serenus letters to suit his generally hostile stance toward religious art in the *Libri carolini*,⁷ while, in his reaction, Pope Hadrian adduced selected passages as evidence of the Church's traditional support of pictures.⁸ Gregory was cited in favor of images at the Paris Council of 825,⁹ but his "middle way" was also evoked to constrain those at the (erased) Eighth Ecumenical Council of 870 who had gone too far by advocating the "necessity of images."¹⁰ In his influential *Decretals* (1008–12), Burchard of Worms provided a synopsis of the reply to Serenus (wrongly citing it as from the Secundinus letter);¹¹ and at the Synod of Arras in 1025, Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai apparently delivered a sermon (incorporated in the council's acts) in which he conflated the authentic dicta with the Pseudo-Gregory.¹²

Transmitted in various forms, Gregory's defense was taken for granted by the twelfth century when it was quoted by Gratian,¹³ Honorius Augustodunensis,¹⁴ and others. At mid-century, Herman-Judah put it into the mouth of Rupert of Deutz to justify Christian art to a skeptical Jew;¹⁵ and 50 years later, the Cistercian author of the *Pictor in Carmine* began his tract with condensed paraphrases of Gregory's claims that images can serve pedagogical and affective roles.¹⁶ In the thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales,¹⁷ Bonaventure,¹⁸ and Thomas Aquinas¹⁹ promulgated three basic arguments in support of images, the so-called *triplex ratio*, that Honorius had distilled from the letters: instruction, affect, and recall.²⁰ At the start of his discussion of church decoration, William Durandus still deferred to Gregory: "Pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and scriptures of the laity" and then quoted the Serenus letter.²¹ Even within such seemingly mechanical repetition, the Gregorian claims acquired new shades of meaning, however; for example, when Honorius reduced the Pope's premises to three, he was tacitly acknowledging that iconoclasm was no longer much of an issue.²²

Gregory the Great's defense of art had its own history during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, generated by the general acceptance of art, changing notions of the sacred, an evolving image cult, shifts in audience, and the growth of vernacular culture.²³

An important part of that history was the melding with Greek image theory.²⁴ While Gregory had himself drawn on Eastern fathers to formulate his responses to the Bishop of Marseilles,²⁵ the incorporation of Basil the Great's essential claim that "the honor given to the image ascends to the prototype" is largely the Pseudo-Gregory's addition to the dicta, which actually subverts the Augustinian

separation of physical sign and holy archetype underlying Gregory's real statements. Pope Hadrian buttressed the imported notion of *transitus* with teachings from the Second Council of Nicaea (787) and citations from the most influential of all Greek writers, Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite.²⁶ From the ninth century, the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius held a particular fascination in France where they were considered works of the patron saint, Denys; Hugh of St Victor wrote a commentary on them which surely influenced Suger, who twice used the expression found in the ninth-century Latin translations "de materialibus ad immaterialia."²⁷ By his day, however, the abbot of St Denis would also have known the principle of anagogy from many other sources as well.²⁸ Genuine Greek iconodulic theory re-emerged in the twelfth century when Burgundio da Pisa translated John of Damascus's *De fide orthodoxa*,²⁹ and it entered the mainstream through Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.³⁰ Thomas Aquinas incorporated Aristotelean ideas into this newly expanded defense of images, asserting 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.³¹ In this, he was attacked by Durandus of St Pourçain and others who reiterated the basic tenet that images are arbitrary signs and hence veneration of them was idolatry.³²

The infusion of Greek theory reinforced the relationship between material images and Christ's two natures suggested in the Serenus letters and made explicit in the Pseudo-Gregory; God can be pictured because he had assumed human form, but veneration is channeled mentally to his ineffable divinity. Pope Hadrian had already linked the image cult to Christ's incarnation,³³ a connection later strengthened through the appropriation of John the Damascus's reasoned argument. It was not merely a theory. Already c.1000, an opening in the Hitda Codex (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 1640, fols. 6v–7r) applied it to a picture of Christ in Majesty and proclaimed its essence in the accompanying titulus:

This visible image represents the invisible truth
Whose splendor penetrates the world through the four lights (Gospels) of his new doctrine.³⁴

Not long afterward, the customary of the monastery of Fruttaria made the same distinction between the physical apprehension of a material image and seeing God himself with inner eyes.³⁵ Alan of Lille gave formal expression to the idea: "they depict the image of Christ so that people can be led through those things seen to the invisible, and through signs, the archetypes are venerated";³⁶ and an illumination that must have resembled the initial cut from a twelfth-century Rhenish Sacramentary (fig. 7-1) brought the same idea to the mind of Sicard of Cremona: "In some books, 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



FIGURE 7-1 Cutting from a Sacramentary. Vienna: Albertina (inv. 22864r).



FIGURE 7-2 Mosan enamel. St Petersburg: Hermitage (inv. Φ 171).

heart.”³⁷ A popular early twelfth-century distich stresses art’s basis in the christological economy. Inscribed on the back of a phylactery picturing Christ in heaven made c.1165 in Liège (fig. 7-2), it reads:

What you see here is not a representation of a god or a man;
this sacred image represents both god and man at one and the same time.³⁸

Gregory had already linked the dual aspects of material images to bodily reactions before them, distinguishing physical prostration before the object from mental veneration of the person depicted on it. Appropriating Byzantine distinctions and terminology, Alan of Lille differentiated between the worship due to God from that properly accorded to images: “Christians should not exhibit to the creature the kind of adoration which is owed God (*latria*), but what the Greeks call *dulia*, which is owed to man and angel”³⁹ – and he was followed in this by Thomas Aquinas among others.⁴⁰ In a general counterclaim to those who held that Christian images were idolatrous, this response became central;⁴¹ thus, an inscription around the portrait of Christ exhorts viewers to “revere the image of

Christ by kneeling before it when you pass by it; but in doing this make sure you do not worship the image but rather him whom it represents."⁴²

More than any other element of his letters, Gregory's equation of pictures with sacred writ resonated in the later reiterations.⁴³ The *Majestas Domini* at the front of the Hitda Codex, for example, renders visual the point spelled out in the titulus: the essential unity of the four written accounts that follow in the manuscript derives from the person of Christ, whose earthly history they record. In the Albertina miniature, word and image are actually made one. The cross on which Christ hangs is the T of the "Te igitur," the opening prayer of the Mass; and the picture of the "Throne of Mercy" embellished with a chalice realizes the very essence of the words that in the performed liturgy connected Christ's historic sacrifice to God alive in heaven.⁴⁴

Gregory had *imagines* of the sort depicted in the Hitda Gospels and on the Vienna cutting and St Petersburg enamel less in mind, however, than depictions of events that had taken place in the world and had been witnessed by humans; and his claims about *historiae* were particularly influential on later theory. Narrative art was deemed both less likely than portraiture to provoke dangerous veneration and more effective for teaching because it could capture attention with its drama and then lead the faithful to an understanding of the meaning of the pictured event.⁴⁵ Thus, in advocating the picturing of scriptural events in churches, the *Pictor in Carmine* asserted: "since the eyes of our contemporaries are apt to be caught by a pleasure that is not only vain, but even profane . . . it is an excusable concession they should enjoy at least that class of pictures that can put forward divine things to the unlearned."⁴⁶ And Peter of Celle maintained that, because of their mnemonic capacity, images abrogate the prohibition of images in Deuteronomy.⁴⁷

How narrative art worked is evident in frescoes painted c.1200 in the church of St Johann at Müstair in south Tirol (fig. 7-3).⁴⁸ Painted at eye level in the apse, the martyrdom of the dedicatory saint is staged in a highly dramatic fashion, not only the beheading but also Salome's dance before Herod. The backdrop of profane music, dancing, chatting people, and banqueting immediately engages the senses, providing a stark contrast to the ghastly execution and hence meditating on the relationship between earthly pleasures and holy sacrifice. His head shown being brought to the table on a charger, John is identified with the Sacraments; and his whole body is offered for contemplation in the depictions of his funeral procession and solemn burial. Herod Antipas, in turn, is portrayed as a kind of anti-Christ, flanked by Herodias and a man of Galilee, that is, by two anti-intercessors demanding John's life. Literally inverted like a personification of Pride, the dancing Salome signals the result of sensual preoccupation and, in so doing, suggests the viewers' proper response, which is to turn their own heads and thoughts away from the earth and toward heaven. There above, flanking a window, depictions of the five wise virgins and five foolish virgins (Matthew 25: 1-13) remind them that, as preparation for meeting the celestial Judge, they must forsake worldly pleasures.

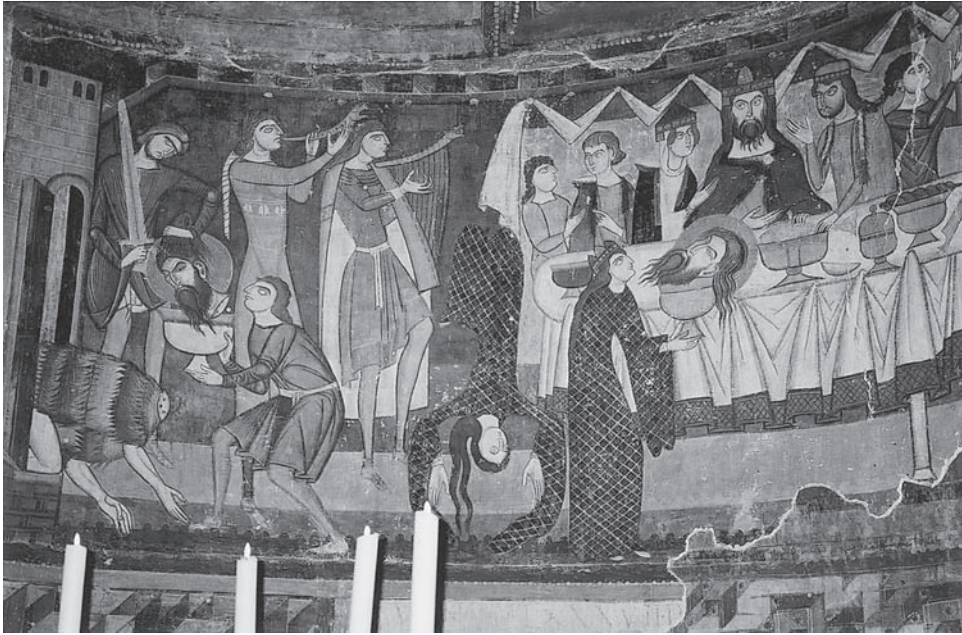


FIGURE 7-3 Central apse of St Johann, Müstair. Photo: Herbert L. Kessler.

The dramatically presented events and saint's pain would surely have evoked in pious believers at Müstair the "ardor of compunction" that Gregory had hoped would result from making past happenings present and that was explicitly extended to depictions of saints at the Synod of Arras: "through them minds are excited interiorly to contemplation of the working of divine grace, and also through their deeds we are influenced in our own behavior."⁴⁹ Alluding to Horace through Gregory, William Durandus summed up art's affective role succinctly: "painting seems to move the soul more than writing; by a painting a deed done is set before the eyes."⁵⁰ As the Pseudo-Gregory had already pointed out, by recalling the saint's presence, simple portraits too evoked compassion: "like scripture, the image returns the Son of God to our memory and equally delights the soul concerning the resurrection and softens it concerning the passion." In 1249, imitating "Gregory's" gift to Secundinus, Jacques Pantel on of Troyes (later Pope Urban IV) sent a copy of the Mandylion to his sister in the monastery of Montreuil-les-Dames near Laon, so that "through contemplation of the image the nuns' pious affections might be more inflamed so that their minds might be made purer."⁵¹ Around the same time, Matthew Paris included a representation of the Holy Face in a Psalter (London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 157) "in order for the soul be stirred to devotion."⁵² Emotions aroused by pictures facilitated the transfer of contemplation from the object before the eyes to the spiritual reality beyond and piqued and fixed memory. The Pseudo-Gregory had likened an image of Christ to the portrait of a departed

lover; and in the middle of the twelfth century, Nicholas Maniacutius applied the same idea when he compared the Lateran *Acheropita* to portraits of the deceased kept by mourners.⁵³

When Gregory defended art to Serenus of Marseilles at the end of the sixth century, the audience he imagined comprised pagans, peasants, and perhaps Jews;⁵⁴ as Christianity became firmly planted in Gaul and elsewhere, the target group was continually redefined.⁵⁵ The dicta were invoked in the *adversus Judaeos* disputes, such as Herman-Judah's encounter with Rupert of Deutz; but with art now an article of orthodox faith, they were also used as a weapon against heresy, as in Gerard of Cambrai's sermon and Alan of Lille's anti-Albigensian *De fide catholica*.

Steadily, the dicta were redirected toward the Christian laity. Gerard had already pointed toward "illiterati" as well as "simplices," presumably to distinguish true rustics from those simply unable to read; and, recognizing that pictures served the whole Christian community, Honorius replaced Gregory's "gentes" and "idiotae" with "laici" and, substituting "clerici" for "litterati,"⁵⁶ contrasted the laity with clerics.⁵⁷ In this, he was followed not only by William Durandus, but also Alan of Lille,⁵⁸ John Beleth,⁵⁹ Sicard of Cremona,⁶⁰ and, a little after 1233, by Guillaume, Bishop of Bourges, who asserted that "we make images because, just as scripture is the words of clerics, so images are the words of the lay."⁶¹ About the same time, the dicta entered secular histories such as the Hohenburg chronicle;⁶² with Gregory in mind, Matthew Paris explained that he had translated the life of King Edward into French for those who could not read Latin and into pictures for "ceux qui les lettres ne scavent."⁶³

The lay audience itself was not uniformly illiterate. The Council of 870 had already included the learned (*sapientes*) along with the uneducated (*idiotae*) in its discussion of images. The *Pictor in Carmine* is explicit that the "libri laicorum" were useful for both "simplices" and "litterati," teaching the one group and eliciting the love of scripture in the other; and it imagined an audience able to identify episodes from the New Testament by means of simple labels. The ubiquitous captions in medieval art and the inclusion of material images within books establish that pictures were intended also for those able to read.⁶⁴ Thus, while defending pictures as "the books of the lay," Peter Comestor assumed 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 birth of Christ.⁶⁵ Abbot Suger noted that the reliefs on the (now lost) altar of St Denis were "intelligible only to the literate";⁶⁶ and his stained-glass windows are ample evidence that only those capable of understanding the inscribed words would have comprehended the full meaning of his art.

Pictures served the clergy, as well.⁶⁷ Suger remarked that Christ depicted on the front of his golden crucifix was to be "in the sight of the sacrificing priest";⁶⁸ and the illuminated initial in Vienna was intended for an officiant at Mass versed in Trinitarian speculations.⁶⁹ Because they were both literate and had rejected the sensual world, monks, of all groups, were thought not to need art.⁷⁰ Even

while permitting bishops to introduce pictures in churches to “stimulate the devotion of a carnal people with material ornaments because they cannot do so with spiritual ones,” Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, disallowed art in monasteries;⁷¹ and the *Pictor in Carmine* implied the same distinction when it permitted “paintings in churches, especially cathedral and parish churches.” In fact, however, art thrived in monasteries throughout the Middle Ages. The *Moralia in Job* illustrated at Cîteaux c.1111 (Dijon, Bib. Mun. MS 168–70, 173), for instance, deploys a range of fantastic and mundane figures to gloss the text as spiritual struggle and monastic meditation.⁷² Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel, Minor Prophets, and Ecclesiastes (Dijon, Bib. Mun. MS 132) produced in the same monastery a decade or so later is adorned with complex frontispieces that, in accord with the accompanying text, use sophisticated visual devices to represent the harmony of scripture and the relationship of written prophecy to the liturgy.⁷³ Hugh of St. Victor’s *Mystic Ark* comprises lectures delivered to monks in which an elaborate wall painting was the principal didactic instrument;⁷⁴ and Adam the Premonstratensian’s *De tripartito tabernaculo* is organized around a diagram of Moses’ tabernacle so that the monks can construct a harmony between “what they read in the book and saw in the picture.”⁷⁵ Propelled by new forms of female spirituality, images such as the Holy Face given to the monastery of Montreuil-les-Dames acquired special importance during the thirteenth century in the devotional practices of nuns.⁷⁶

Like the distinction between literate and illiterate, the difference between secular and lay was not clear cut. Thus, while advising that “Genesis is to be read in a book, not on the wall” and rejecting art’s utility for “teachers,” Hugh of Fouillooy addressed the illustrated *Aviarium* to a lay-brother of his Augustinian monastery and, accordingly, adjusted the argument to persons with some education but still needing pedagogical aids. For members of such intermediary groups, pictures are useful because they clarified complicated texts: “For just as the learned man delights in the subtlety of the written word, so the intellect of simple folk is engaged by the simplicity of a picture.”⁷⁷ Building on the Gregorian discussion of the two watchtowers of faith,⁷⁸ the prologue miniature in a late twelfth-century Burgundian exemplar of the *Aviarium* pictures the imagined system (Heiligenkreuz, Abbey, MS 226, fol. 129v): A knight brings the laity (symbolized by the birds) to be converted to the monastic rule through words and pictures.⁷⁹

As the miniature and diagrams in the Heiligenkreuz manuscript attest, mundane themes were also not always separated from religious ones. The psalter illuminated between 1121 and 1145 at St Alban’s monastery (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard, Ms. 1, p. 72), for instance, deploys a chivalric motif to make a spiritual argument; prefacing the scripture, a picture of two battling knights is glossed as evidence that things of this world seen carnally are to be understood spiritually.⁸⁰ What that understanding might be remains ambiguous; like the Müstair fresco and Dijon *Moralia in Job*, the illumination engages the viewer/reader purposely in a personal struggle with worldly

temptation.⁸¹ The psalter also includes Burchard's synopsis of Gregory's letter to Serenus; the mistaken ascription to the holy hermit Secundinus must have appealed to the anchoress Christine of Markyate when she prayed from her illustrated book of Psalms.⁸²

In the St Alban's psalter, the Gregorian text is transcribed in a Norman French translation, rendering it available to anyone who could read even if they were unable to understand the Latin version that is also included. It is possible that the dicta had been translated into the vernacular even earlier; whether or not Gerard of Cambrai actually delivered his defense of images at the synod as a Latin sermon, he may have read a short version of it in French.⁸³ The dicta certainly entered vernacular preaching later; a mid-thirteenth-century German compendium includes one sermon that maintains that God had provided church paintings for the laity as "another form of writing" and that argues that these are particularly effective in redirecting vain thoughts toward the divine.⁸⁴ Cited also during the following century, the image texts were used to direct an appropriate reading of verbal imagery often incorporated in vernacular preaching and of stories actually pictured nearby.⁸⁵ Itself a basic pedagogical instrument, preaching thus engaged with pictures in a mutually reinforcing didactic strategy. As Opicino de Canistris pointed out, however, the vivid exempla deployed to animate sermons held the danger of idolatry if they were not subjected to an elevating imagination.⁸⁶

Prepared by the redirection of the Gregorian dicta toward the laity and its insertion in oral pedagogy, Thomasin von Zerclaere took the next logical step in 1215–16 by adopting the Gregorian dicta to advance the educational value of true "litteratura laicorum," arguing in *Der welsche Gast* that mundane tales, too, could teach moral lessons:⁸⁷ "Whoever cannot comprehend higher things ought to follow the example [of the romances]. . . . As the priest looks at writing, so should the untaught man look at the pictures, since he recognizes nothing in the writing."⁸⁸ The contemporary stained-glass window donated by the furriers' guild in the ambulatory of Chartres cathedral (fig. 7-4) bears him out;⁸⁹ there, scenes of battle alternate with ecclesiastical ceremonies to demonstrate the consonance of clerical with chivalric missions. And a miniature in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* painted later in the century (fig. 7-5) pictures the reciprocity of word and image that Thomasin imagined when he manipulated variants on the Gregorian claims to justify secular narrative. The German tales previously known in oral versions are fixed in words and pictures set down in ink and paint on parchment, their mutuality linked through the very person of the author tied by large red Ws to the relevant text passage and pointing toward the pictorial dramatization of the words.⁹⁰

These examples make clear that, by the High Middle Ages, pictures were, in fact, no longer simply "books of the illiterate," but, rather, multivalent devices used by various groups in diverse ways and deeply implicated in oral as well as written culture.



FIGURE 7-4 Charlemagne window, Notre-Dame, Chartres. Photo: Bridgeman Art Library.

How might they have functioned? At Müstair, medieval viewers recognizing the saint from the church's dedication and his halo and hair coat,⁹¹ would have been able to follow the action through the repeated figures; and, if they knew even the outlines of the story, could have reconstructed from it the sacred narrative. If they participated in the liturgy, especially on the saint's feast day, they would have learned from the paintings about the relationship established in Church doctrine between martyrdom of saints and Christ's own sacrifice and the connection between John's burial in his tomb and the relics encased in the altar. And snatched away from the lure of the pictured banquet by the true beauty of the sacramental liturgy with its antiphons, ordered recitation, and sacred meal conducted at the altar, they would have been led toward contemplation of higher things. Likewise, pilgrims on the way to Santiago de Compostela, attracted first by the gem-like glow of the Chartres window, could have parsed the narrative constructed of well-known conventions for dream-visions and chivalric jousts; and the most attentive among them, illiterate and literate alike, would have discovered in the kaleidoscopic ordering of the vignettes a simultaneous temporal unfolding and an anagogical ascent.⁹² Those who had followed sermons organized around main themes and secondary explanatory references would have possessed a cognitive structure suited to reading the peripheral narratives as glosses on the subjects in the principal medallions.⁹³ And the single word *DURENDAL* inscribed on one knight's sword would

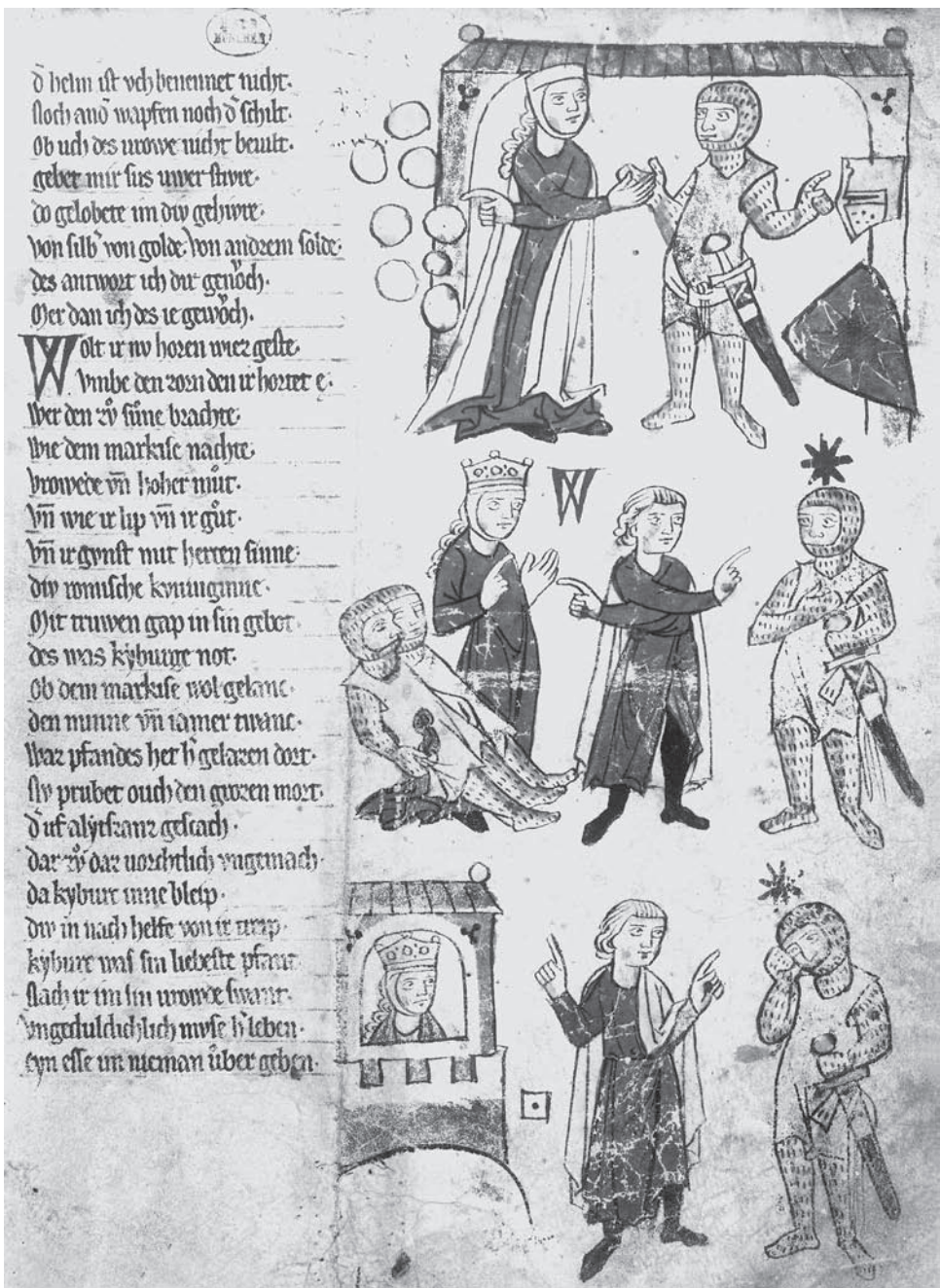


FIGURE 7-5 Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm*, thirteenth century. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Germ. 193, III, 1r.

have enabled those with even the most rudimentary reading ability to anchor the narrative in the story of Roland, passed on to them orally or through a performance;⁹⁴ and it would have allowed those familiar with the Latin legend of Charlemagne and the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle, or a vernacular version, to recognize, in the generic combat scene within the central medallion, Charlemagne's victory over the Saracen giant Ferragut.⁹⁵

Pictures would have rendered the words in the Munich *Willehalm* more readily comprehensible to those who could follow Wolfram's vernacular text, while the "Throne of Mercy" in the Albertina Sacramentary would have put before the eyes of the priest celebrating Mass a clear diagram of the fluid and complicated relationship invoked in the "Te igitur," between the liturgy, Christ's crucifixion, and God in heaven.

Twelfth- and thirteenth-century pictures served the uneducated, those who knew only vernacular languages, lay-brethren and other intermediary communities, the secular clergy, and monks. Affirming Christ's dual nature in their very essence, material images channeled contemplation from this world to the next. They provided authorized versions of stories, including happenings reported in the Bible itself, that otherwise were known to illiterates only through fluid, often embellished oral accounts. By means of details seamlessly integrated into the visual accounts, they offered their own readings of texts. And for those such as Suger's literates at St Denis, they presented sophisticated new interpretations of scripture.⁹⁶ Whatever Gregory meant when he wrote his defense of images,⁹⁷ by the High Middle Ages his dicta enabled the makers of pictures to teach the entire community of believers many important things that "they could not read in books."

Notes

- 1 Letter IX, 209 and XI, 10; *Registrum epistularum*, pp. 768 and 873–6. Two decades ago, when Michael Camille and I published articles on the subject almost simultaneously, Camille began his important essay by noting correctly that Gregory's dictum had "stimulated little research"; as this bibliography attests, scholarship on the subject has ballooned since then. For the original letters, see especially Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate"; Cavallo, "Testo e immagine"; Mariaux, "L'image selon Grégoire" and "Voir, lire et connaître." On their influence, Schmitt, "L'Occident"; "Ecriture et image"; and "Question des images"; Chazelle, "Memory, Instruction, Worship"; Hamburger, *Visual and the Visionary*, pp. 111–13 et passim; Wataghin, "Biblia pauperum."
- 2 Meyvaert, "Bede and the Church Paintings"; Duggan, "'Book of the Illiterate,'" pp. 229–30.
- 3 Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, p. 272; Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, p. 121; Mariaux, "Voir, lire et connaître"; Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier*, p. 13.
- 4 Appleby, "Instruction and Inspiration," pp. 89–90.
- 5 *Registrum epistularum*, pp. 1110–11. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing*, pp. 124–35.

- 6 Duggan, "Book of the Illiterate."
- 7 *Opus caroli regis contra synodum (Libri carolini)*, ed. Ann Freeman (MGH, Concilia, vol. II, suppl. 2) (Hanover, 1998), pp. 277–80; see also Freeman, "Scripture and Pictures." See, in general, Wirth, *L'Image medievale* and Rudolph, "La resistenza."
- 8 *Epistolae karolini aevi*, vol. 3, ed. Karl Hampe (MGH, Epistolae, vol. V) (Berlin, 1899), pp. 5–57; Appleby, "Instruction and Inspiration," pp. 88–95.
- 9 MGH, Legum sectio III. Concilia, vol. II (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 475–551.
- 10 Canon III; MGH, Leges, Sectio III, Concilia, vol. II, part 2 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), p. 527. Although the Eighth Ecumenical council was canceled for reasons largely unrelated to the incorporation of Byzantine image theory in its third canon, Hincmar of Rheims focused on that issue in his account of the synod; *The Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. Janet Nelson (Manchester, 1991), p. 179. Cf. Schmitt, "L'Occident."
- 11 Chap. 36; PL 140.679.
- 12 *Acta synodi* 13; PL 142.1304–07; trans. Walter Wakefield and Austin Evan, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), pp. 84–5. Cf. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 128–9; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 120–39.
- 13 *De consecratione*, dist. III; PL 94.1790.
- 14 *Gemma animae*, ch. 132; PL 172.586.
- 15 *Opusculum de conversione sua* MGH, SS, 12, ed. Ph. Jaffé (Berlin, 1856), pp. 513–30.
- 16 James, "Pictor in Carmine," p. 141.
- 17 *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (Florence, 1954), vol. III, pp. 104–16.
- 18 *Comm. in IV Libros Sententiarum*, Liber III, dist. 9, in *Opera omnia* (Florence, 1882–1892), vol. III, p. 203.
- 19 Ibid., quaest. 1, art 2, q1a, in *Opera omnia*, vol. IX, pp. 152–5.
- 20 Gilbert, *The Saints' Three Reasons*, pp. 13–16.
- 21 *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, I, 3, 1; CCCM, p. 34; Faupel-Dreves, *Rechten Gebrauch*, pp. 255–8 et passim.
- 22 The concern never disappeared completely. In 1306, the Bishop of London ordered the removal of a wooden crucifix because it was being adored (Heslop, "Attitudes to the Visual Arts," p. 26); and later in the century, John Wycliffe was worried that "dallying in imagery conceals the poison of idolatry" (Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*). Citing Gregory's dicta and later glosses on them, however, Wycliffe defended the right kind of pictures.
- 23 Duggan, "'Book of the Illiterate.'"
- 24 Wolf, *Salus populi romani*, pp. 152–4.
- 25 Kessler, "Pictorial Narrative," p. 76; Duggan, "Book of the Illiterate," pp. 228–9.
- 26 Boiadjev et al., eds., *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter*.
- 27 Cf. Meier, "Malerei des Unsichtbaren."
- 28 Cf. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis*; Speer et al., eds., *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis*; Poirel, "Symbolice et anagogice."
- 29 Wolf, *Salus populi romani*, p. 293.
- 30 *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, III, dist. IX, art. I, quast. 2 (Grottaferrata, 1981), vol. II, p. 70. Cf. Albertus Magnus, *In III Sentent.*, dist. 9, 4 (*Opera omnia*, ed. August Borguet [Paris, 1890–9], vol. XIII, p. 18), and Philip the Chancellor, *Summa de bono*, p. 2, IV, quast. 6, a. 3 (ed. N. Wicki [Bern, 1985], vol. II, p. 972).

- 31 *Summa theologiae*, 3a, quast. 25, art. 4; 4:2149. Feld, *Ikonoklasmus*, pp. 63–5; Wirth, “Structure et fonctions” and “Peinture et perception visuelle.”
- 32 Wirth, “La Critique scholastique.”
- 33 Appleby, “Instruction and Inspiration,” p. 90.
- 34 Diebold, *Word and Image*, pp. 124–6.
- 35 *Consuetudines Fructuarienses-Sanblasianae*, ed. Luchsius G. Spätling and Peter Dinter (Siegburg, 1985), vol. I, pp. 149–51; Lipsmeyer, “Devotion and Decorum.”
- 36 *De fide catholica contra haereticos*, IV, ch. 12; PL 210.427.
- 37 Mitrale, III, ch. 6; PL 213.124; Belting, *The Image and Its Public*, p. 6; Boespflug and Załuska, “Le dogme trinitaire.”
- 38 Bugge, “Effigiem Christi”; Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas*, pp. 273–85. A gloss in a thirteenth-century manuscript (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Reg. lat. 1578) returns the “nec Deus” distich to the original Gregorian context: “against Jews, heretics, and Muslims who say that we adore idols.”
- 39 Hugh of St Victor had already introduced the distinction in his commentary on the Second Commandment; PL 176.9–10.
- 40 *In III Sentent.*, dist. 9, quast. 1, art. 2, q. 4.
- 41 Hrabanus Maurus distinguished between *bowing* before a colored painting of Christ and *adoring* Him whom the image represents; Carmen 61: cf. Palazzo, “Pratiques liturgiques.” A similar separation of physical and mental veneration underlies the canon of the Synod of Arras.
- 42 Van Os, *The Way to Heaven*, pp. 119–22.
- 43 Cf. Thümmel, “Annuncio della parola”; Cavallo, “Testo e immagine.”
- 44 Boespflug and Załuska, “Le dogme trinitaire,” pp. 203–5.
- 45 Cf. Carruthers, *Book of Memory* and *Craft of Thought*; Freedberg, “Holy Images and Other Images.”
- 46 James, *Pictor in Carmine*, p. 141.
- 47 Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 206–9.
- 48 Brenk, *Die romanische Wandmalerei*; Goll, “Bei Salome in Müstair.” [For more on narrative, see chapter 4 by Lewis in this volume (ed.).]
- 49 Cf. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 222 et passim.
- 50 *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, I, iii, 4; Faupel-Dreves, *Rechten Gebrauch*, pp. 254–5. Cf. Freedberg, *Power of Images*, pp. 161–2.
- 51 Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon*; Klein, “From the Heavenly to the Trivial.”
- 52 Wolf, “From Mandylyon to Veronica.”
- 53 Kessler, “Real Absence,” pp. 135–6.
- 54 Baschet, “Introduction: L’image-objet”; Brown, “Images as a Substitute”; Wood, “Reply.”
- 55 Krüger, “Die Lesbarkeit von Bildern.”
- 56 *Gemma animae*, chap. 132; PL 172.586.
- 57 On the problem of defining these groups, see Grundmann, “Litteratus-illitteratus”; Turner, “The *Miles Literatus* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England”; Steer, “Zum Begriff ‘Laie’.”
- 58 *De fide catholica*, IV, chap. 12; PL 210.427.
- 59 *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, chap. 85; ed. Herbert Douteil (CCCM, 41), pp. 154–5.
- 60 *Mitrale*, chap. 12; PL 213.40; Eberlein, *Miniatur und Arbeit*, p. 322.
- 61 *Liber bellorum Domini*, ed. Gilbert Dahan (Paris, 1981), p. 224.

- 62 Bloch, *Die elsässischen Annalen*, p. 116.
- 63 Camille, "Seeing and Reading," p. 41; Alexandre-Bidon, "Images et objets," p. 1158.
- 64 Duggan is wrong in his claim that the "association between word and images . . . which was indeed characteristic of later medieval art, was still infrequent in Gregory's own age": see "Reflections." Cf. Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas*, pp. 9–145.
- 65 Ch. 5; PL 198.1540.
- 66 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 62–3; Duggan, "'Book of the Illiterate?'" p. 233; Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas*, pp. 286–93.
- 67 Caviness, "Biblical Stories"; Diebold, *Word and Image*; Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*.
- 68 Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 58–9.
- 69 Boespflug and Zaluska, "Dogme trinitaire"; Belting, *The Image and Its Public*, p. 6.
- 70 Schmitt, "Question des images."
- 71 *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, p. 155; Rudolph, "Things of Greater Importance," pp. 278–81.
- 72 Zaluska, *Manuscripts enluminés*, pp. 56–61; Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*.
- 73 Travis, "Daniel in the Lions' Den."
- 74 Rudolph, *First, I Find the Center Point*.
- 75 PL.198.626; Antoine, "Ad perpetuam memoriam," p. 555.
- 76 Hamburger, *Visual and Visionary*, pp. 111–48 et passim.
- 77 Curschmann, "Pictura laicorum litteratura?"; *Aviarium*, pp. 118–19; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pp. 95–6 and fig. 184.
- 78 Cf. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life*, pp. 46–8.
- 79 *Aviarium*, pp. 118–19.
- 80 Pächt et al., *St. Alban's Psalter*, pp. 138, 163–4; Camille, "Gregorian Definition."
- 81 Alexander, "Ideological Representation."
- 82 Curschmann, "Pictura laicorum litteratura?" Camille, "Philological Iconoclasm." Tellingly, David is portrayed as a type of Gregory the Great, with an enormous bird speaking into his ear.
- 83 "Quae Latina oratione dicebantur, non satis intelligere poterant, audita per interpretem vulgarem" (PL 142.1312C); cf. Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, pp. 128–9. Albertus Magnus' reference to pictures as books of the laity occurs in an Advent sermon, albeit in Latin.
- 84 An argument found later also in the *Pictor in Carmine*. *Der sogenannte St. Georgener Prediger aus der Freiburger und der Karlsruher Handschrift*, ed. Karl Rieder (Berlin, 1908), pp. 248–54; Frühwald, *Der St. Georgener Prediger*, pp. 94–7; Hamburger, "Introduction," pp. 3–10.
- 85 Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp. 139–41; Bolzoni, *Rete delle immagini*. The twelfth-century life of Hugh of Lincoln reports that the bishop instructed John Lackland on the need to pray for forgiveness by pointing to a pictured Last Judgment; cf. *Magna vita*, ed. Decima Douie and Hugh Farmer (Oxford, 1985), vol. 2, p. 137. A sermon preached in French at Amiens in the middle of the thirteenth century, also focused on judgment, and would have made the complex cathedral façade comprehensible; cf. Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens* and "Pourquoi la polychromie?"
- 86 Morse, "Seeing and Believing."
- 87 Curschmann, "Pictura laicorum litteratura?" and "Der aventiure bilde nemen"; Wenzel, "Schrift und Gemeld."
- 88 Rushing, *Images of Adventure*, p. 8.

- 89 Kemp, *Sermo Corporeus*, pp. 115–19 et passim; Kurmann-Schwarz and Kurmann, *Chartres. La cathédrale*, pp. 245–6; Bogen, *Träumen und Erzählen*, pp. 270–5.
- 90 Ott, “Texte und Bilder.”
- 91 The life of St John Therista reports that the camel-skin cape alone enabled the identification of the Forerunner in a painting; Antoine, “Ad perpetuum memoriam,” pp. 550–2.
- 92 Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*.
- 93 Cf. Lillich, *Rainbow like an Emerald*; Caviness, “Biblical Stories.”
- 94 The *Pictor in Carmine* points out that, for familiar subjects, only a name is needed.
- 95 Maines, “The Charlemagne Window”; Caviness, “Biblical Stories,” n.24; Kurmann-Schwarz and Kurmann, *Chartres*, 245–7.
- 96 Some of which, such as the “Throne of Mercy,” were therefore attacked by theologians; cf. Wirth, “Critique scolastique,” p. 105.
- 97 Cf. Duggan’s attempt to distinguish Gregory from the later medieval use of his words: see “Reflections.”

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