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

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

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Resumen
El movimiento de objetos, ya sea por azar o a través de rituales, ha desempeñado históricamente un papel importante en la configuración de significados. Cuando en el siglo IX el flabelo de Tournus era desplegado y aventado por el sacerdote durante la misa y cuando en el siglo XII el crucifijo Rosano era procesionado hacia el altar durante el Viernes Santo y “enterrado” dentro, las sucesivas acciones transformaban los objetos en sí mismos –tanto como las imágenes e inscripciones que los adornaban– y activaban el material inerte con el que fueron hechos hacia un estado espiritual. Lo mismo puede decirse de una concha recogida en la costa gallega y una réplica de la Verónica adquirida en Roma cuando se representaban juntos en el sombrero de un peregrino. Una reliquia de la naturaleza y una imagen arquerópita no sólo certificaban la fe de una persona, sino que también le proporcionaban unas insignias apotropaicas que se reforzaban mutuamente. Y cuando los fragmentos o emblemas reunidos fueron enmarcados con imágenes, y se introdujeron en las liturgias rituales, las ceremonias desarrolladas establecieron una conexión al pasado lejano y al presente. En este trabajo se sostiene que los propios modelos de actuación también fueron modificados, y con ellos, los significados que esos actos habían transmitido a los objetos. Repitiendo la historia de los desplazamientos y la curación se trasfería el aura de un original a una réplica; y las acciones establecidas, además de las morfologías concretas, asimilaban diversas obras de arte entre sí y aseveraban la congruencia de diferentes versiones con distintas “biografías”, por ejemplo, la pintura arquerópita del Laterano con la Verónica en San Pedro y la Salus populi Romani con la Madonna Avvocata. Asimismo, la acción de entrega de regalos amplió la autoridad histórica sobre nuevas obras en distintos lugares. Así también sucedió en el caso de ceremonias que implicaban llegar, detenerse y adorar, que crearon redes de asociaciones entre diferentes imágenes materiales. Más aún, los paradigmas
Moving objects activated meaning. As we have learned from the scholarly concern with reception, ceremony, and phenomenology during the past thirty years, when humble objects or complex works of art were transported from one place to another, stolen, collected, juxtaposed to other things, veiled and revealed, or used as props in performances, they were, in the process, fundamentally transformed and reconfigured.

I have, myself, recently examined the ways in which movement from place to place and actions during the liturgy animated the ninth-century Flabellum of Tournus in Florence (Museo del Bargello; Fig. 1). An instrument deployed to chase flies away from the Eucharist and, simultaneously, to cool and clean the officiant, the fan was continuously transformed from one state to another as it was used. Kept in a sacer locus by monks fleeing Viking raids on Noirmoutier, when in place, the bone box adorned with reliefs from Virgil’s Eclogues engaging the subject of exile and the ivory handle carved with Mary, apostles, and local saints, assimilated the object to the bones of St. Philibert. But when the pleated vellum was extracted from the box and opened like a peacock showing its plumage, it covered up the Virgilian subjects with painted saints, signaling Christian triumph and activating an association with Paradise. The fan conjured up still other associations when it was installed on the altar (in a manner pictured in the twelfth-century Life of Saint Lambert in Luxemburg [Bibl. Nat., MS. 100, fol. 39v]); recalling both the cherubim that hovered above the Mercy Seat in the Holy of Holies and St. Michael (whose name is inscribed on the base), it connected present to sacred past and Tournus to Jerusalem. And, put to use during the Mass, the flabellum created wafts of air as the deacon waved it behind the priest that symbolized both Michael’s banishing demons and the Holy Spirit entering the Eucharist. At the same time, the movement reduced the imagery to a blur that coalesced the community’s past history and present faith into a visual litany and sent it heavenward. In other words, the unfolding meanings and complex associations created through successive actions were more important than the object itself or the images and inscriptions it carried.


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

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

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Fig. 2. Pilgrim token from Santiago de Compostela

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pilgrimage had effected in the faithful person⁷, and affirmed the process of surrogation by which James’s burial place in Galicia substituted for Christ’s tomb in Palestine. More or less contemporaneous with Bonaiuto’s painting, William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* described the cumulative and mutually reinforcing effect in an encounter with a pilgrim festooned with such tokens:

An hundred ampullas on his hat set, signs of Sinai and shells of Galicia, many a cross on his cloak keys also of Rome and the vernicle in front so that men should know and see by his signs what shrines he had sought⁸.

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

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

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


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

Fig. 5. Pilgrim’s token, Rosano, convent. 11th c. Verso y recto
ment of Christ’s burial on Good Friday. A twelfth-century text from Salzburg describes such a ceremony:

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

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

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

17 Liber sancti Jacobi, trans. p. 25.
Unlike pebbles, leaves, and shells, however, Veronica badges were not simply collected at the sacred site; like cross tokens, they were artifacts acquired through the transfer of money that, as the pilgrimage itself, was part of a process of spiritual exchange in which the pilgrim made a pledge, fulfilled the vow, and received a promise of redemption in return. Transporting the Veronica, the pilgrimage objects recapitulated the icon’s own history of production; and their movement reiterated the origin image’s own history of travel and function which, according to the diverse legends, had been sent to Rome in the first place to heal the Emperor Vespasian’s illness. Deemed to have acquired something of the original’s power, the copies of the relic-image brought from abroad offered continuing access to the Divine and furnish indulgences, especially when prayed to with the words prescribed by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and his successors as the version does shown fixed to the wall in a portrait by Petrus Christus in London (National Gallery) inscribed: “Be to us, we beg, a trusty help, a sweet comfort and consolation, the enemy’s aggression may do us no harm, but we may enjoy rest.”

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

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

19 See: WEIGERT, L., “Visualizing the Movement of Urban Drama in the Late Middle Ages. The ‘Mystère’ of the Lord’s Vengeance in Reims”, in Meaning in Motion, pp. 161-214; SANSTERRE, “Variations d’une legende”.


22 Writing a few years later, Gerald of Wales referred to the latter as the Uronica and considered the “two icons of the Redeemer” to be more or less equal; Otia Imperialis, BANKS, S. E. and BINNS, J. W. (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 2002, pp. 606-07.

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


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

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

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

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


33 ROMANO, *Riforma e tradizione*, 276-77; TAVOLE MIRACOLOSO, pp. 56-58.

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

\textsuperscript{35} \textsc{Wolf}, \textit{Salus Populi Romani}, pp. 228-30 et passim.

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

\textsuperscript{37} \textsc{Wolf}, \textit{Salus Populi Romani}, p. 327.
Ceremonies, not the specific images, granted the icons their power and effected ontological transformation, in fact, a succession of transformations. No wonder, then, that despite the resistance to the attempt under Pope Sergius to install the icon of Sta. Maria in Tempuli in the papal chapel, it was nonetheless portrayed full-length beside the Enthroned Christ in the Lateran itself (Fig. 12)\(^{38}\). In this case, the image is static, but the *stella maris* is depicted above Mary to inflect the idea that Virgin and, in turn, the icon on which she is pictured, navigates the route between humankind and Christ (Fig. 11). The imagery was appropriated around the same time in a splendid triptych in Tivoli\(^{39}\), where in a ceremony repeated in Tivoli to this day, it is transported to the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore during the Feast of the Assumption and bows before a late thirteenth-century version of the Madonna Avvocata (the inchinata). The re-enactment of the ceremony in Rome authorizes Tivoli itself and its sacred images\(^{40}\).

Finally, actions, distinctly different from the public processions, created other kinds of affinities among works of art. Thus, in a series of documented gifts to rulers, popes re-enacted...
St. Veronica’s own transfer of the Holy Face to Vespasian and the related episode (transmitted through Voragine’s *Golden Legend*) of Christ’s sending an image on a cloth to King Abgar of Edessa⁴¹. A pope’s gift of holy icons was once preserved in a painting once above the door of the presbytery of the Ste. Chapelle in Paris, preserved in a drawing by the great antiquarian François-Roger de Gagnieres (Paris, BnF, Est. Oa 11, fol. 85; Fig. 13)⁴², picturing Pope Clement VI presenting Jean le Bon with a double portrait of Christ and the Virgin in the form of a bust-length version of the left and central panels of the Tivoli triptych, presumably during the Pope’s investiture at Avignon in 1352, which the French King had attended⁴³. Following pattern, Urban V gave the Emperor Charles IV three copies of the Veronica together with three copies of the *Madonna Avvocata* during his last visit to Rome in 1368-69⁴⁴; and the gesture was repeated some eighty years later during the Jubilee Year of 1450 when Pope Nicholas V provided a copy of the *Madonna Avvocata* as an instrument of plenary indulgences for the churches of Mechelen⁴⁵.

The guache portrait of Jahangir Holding a Portrait of the Madonna (New Delhi, National Museum of India; Fig. 14), painted ca. 1620, may be a late and distant resonance of this tradition⁴⁶.

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⁴⁴ Belting, likeness and Presence, pp. 333-337.

⁴⁵ Byzantium, Faith and Power, pp. 547-548.

⁴⁶ I became aware of this remarkable picture while attending a lecture on migrating images given by Hans Belting in Barcelona in October 2013.
Paradigms of public movement and private gift-giving moved with the Roman images when they were taken abroad, to Catalonia for example. The famous image of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Valencia (Fig. 15), although of unknown origin, derives ultimately from the *Madonna Avvocata*, as Guidiol i Cunill first and more recently Marta Crispí i Canton and Michele Bacci have demonstrated. In its linear reduction and emphatically dissimilar eyes—the one looking out to the devout, the other directed toward the unseen Christ—it is particularly close to the version in Sta. Maria in Via Lata, but the absence of Mary’s arms links it to the “Avignon Diptych” and miniature in the Chateauroux Breviary. As an unpainted drawing on parchment, Valencia icon also engages the legend that underlies the latter and brings it into association with the *acheirograpta* in Sta. Maria Maggiore. Moreover, what at first seems like a simple image not only evokes several Mary icons, but also expands the set of allusions to images of Christ himself through the epithet “Veronica,” which occurs already 1397 when the icon was referred to as “la molt devota Verónica de Madona Santa Maria.” The complicated set of references avoids authorizing any one portrait of Mary and elevates it to a status equal to Christ’s. Movement also simultaneously reaffirmed the image’s authenticity and extended it. The 1397 document records King Martin I’s inauguration of a procession through Barcelona during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. As Crispí i Canton has proposed, the icon’s course from royal palace through the city to the Bishop’s palace mimicked that of the Assumption Day liturgy in Rome; and the papal parade of eighteen Marian icons to Sta. Maria Maggiore on the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin may have been secondary paradigm. If so, then replacing a ceremony commemorating Mary’s ritual cleansing after giving birth (which began at St. Martin’s) with one in Barcelona implying that, born without sin, the Virgin had needed no purification, effected a subtle and perhaps intentional shift in theological significance.

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


50 Español Bertran, “Artistas y obras”, p. 293.
The mid-fifteenth-century diptych of “the two Veronicas” in the Museum of Palma de Mallorca (Fig. 16), sometimes attributed to Bernat Martorell, incorporates many of the themes this paper has considered and inflects them in telling ways. It is particularly close to the “Avignon Diptych”; but once again, the correlation is elusive and complex. For one thing, the Christ is related not to the Lateran Christ but to the “Veronica”; his long hair and pointed beard, eyes ever so slightly askance, and the frond-like rays (perhaps a reference to the palm leaves of Jerusalem) emanating from all four points of his face are characteristics encountered on many pilgrim badges and in nearly identical form in Petrus Christus’ London portrait. And, within the genre of Spanish Mary portraits stemming ultimately from Martin I’s Veronica, the Virgin on the right is an original and telling variant. Not only is she shown bust-length, but she also fingers her veil, a distinctly new feature that seems anew to index texts. Legends about the origins of the Veronica vary considerably, but in some accounts, Mary’s veil plays a major role51. According to the Venjence Nostre Seigneur, written around 1200, for instance, it was the Virgin’s veil, not Veronica’s, that received the image; Mary laid it on her dead son’s face where it was imprinted with his portrait and gave it to Veronica, who was cured by it and converted52. The Virgin’s downward glance and fingering gesture thus assimilate the Palma “Veronica” to its origins at Christ’s death, much as the Flabellum of Tournus evoked the cherubim of the Holy of Holies, the coquille Saint-Jacques Jerusalem palm fronds, and the Madonna Avvocata the star that guided the three magi to Bethlehem.

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

52 Mary’s fingering of the veil also conjures up images of Mary at the Crucifixion; it is a feature of the Rosano Cross and also the related Cross of Sarzana, where Mary and John express their inner sorrow by holding white veils up to their faces. As is usual, Mary looks straight at the Crucified, indeed into his bleeding chest wound, while John, in subtle contrast, averts his gaze while seeming to daub tears from his eyes; see: Pinxit Guillielmus. Il restauro della croce di Sarzana, CIATTI, M. and FROSINI, C. (eds.), Florence, 2001.
The averted gaze also cues Mary’s role as model of proper contemplation, that the inscription beneath Christ’s Holy Face on the adjacent panel specifies:

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

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

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

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

53 Effigiem XP[ist]I cull][ Tra[nis]Pro[nus] adora  
Non tam[en] effigie[m] sed quem disignat adora  
Esse Deum ratione caret cui contuit esse  
Materiale lapis effigieale manus.  
See: KESSLER, Neither God nor Man, pp. 23-24 and p. 44. Tellingly, the distich engages language first found on tombs, the epitaph of Ainhard, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy, recorded by the twelfth-century historian, Ordericus, begins “Here lies Ainhard, his many virtues as fragrant as the pure nard flowering nearby” and ends “He who passes before, remember kneeling down in your prayer, That he may be nourished by God’s sweet face”. The underlying notion is clear. The living person passing by Ainhard’s mortal remains must kneel (supplex) and pray for the memory of the deceased whom he envisions being nourished by the face of God; The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, CHEBNAI, M. (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 1969, pp. 353-354.

54 Effigiem Christi qui transis pronus honora  
Non tamen effigiem sed quem disignat adora  
Esse Deum ratione caret cui contuit esse  
Materiale lapis effigialae manus.  
Ned Deus est nec homo presens quam cernis ymago  
Sed Deus est et homo quem sacra figurat ymago;  
Sed nos illas non adoramus, nec deos appellamus, nec spem salutis in eis ponimus quia hoc esset ydolatrace, sed ad memoriam et recordationem rerum olim gestarum eas venerarium;  

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

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


\textsuperscript{57} They do not think that images and pictures are Gods, but rather are figures of Gods and of the saints; but they know well that the images of gold and of silver and wood and paint are not gods, because they and the whole world knows to adore only one God and none other. MORENO, G., \textit{Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío}, London, 2003. See: PEREDA, F., \textit{Las imágenes de la Discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400}, Madrid, 2007.
adore idols or images, rather they honor and remember God or some of his saints, in whose form the image is made”.

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

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

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