"Et Prima Vidit": The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother

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"ET PRIMA VIDIT":

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE APPEARANCE

OF CHRIST TO HIS MOTHER*

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I

THE problem of Roger van der Weyden's Granada-Miraflores Altarpiece has long held a fascination for students of Flemish painting, and has been the subject of a number of penetrating studies, the most recent and definitive being that in a section of Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting*.[1] Panofsky has here supplied a more comprehensible analysis of the meaning of the triptych as a whole than had hitherto been discerned; as one aspect of this, he has pointed out new facts revealing the central importance of the New York panel[2] both in the interpretation of this triptych, and within the broader framework of the general development of Northern painting in the fifteenth century.

This panel (Fig. 10) has as its subject Christ's Appearance to the Virgin Mary after his Resurrection, an episode not recorded in any of the canonical gospels; it has for some time been recognized that the literary source for the scene as depicted by Roger was the Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*.[3] The fact that Roger had available to him models in the figurative arts on which to base his composition, however, had not been generally appreciated before Panofsky's publication. No effort, in other words, appears to have been made to examine the literary and iconographic history of this episode in Christian art as a whole, although a few studies have gathered material on the sources or development of this theme with reference to specific works or geographical areas (Spain in particular).

That the Pseudo-Bonaventura was preeminently responsible for the popularity of this subject, and shaped the iconography of most of its illustrations, cannot be doubted. His *Mirror*, written during the thirteenth century when the cult of the Virgin was at its zenith, had a tremendous impact on religious imagery, in no case less powerful than in this scene, for which it supplied a vivid, emotionally potent, and clearly imaged text. The interpolation of the Virgin Mary into the episodes of Christ's ministry after the Resurrection was not, however, unprecedented in the literature of either the Eastern or the Western church at the time of the composition of the *Mirror*; although the details supplied there are in many cases original ones, and although mention

of the episode is relatively rare prior to the thirteenth century, sufficient evidence is at hand to prove that a belief in the probability of Christ's being seen by his mother after the Resurrection had existed for at least a thousand years before Roger van der Weyden, and that descriptive accounts of this meeting must have been a part of the devout tradition in virtually all parts of the *oecumene* for most of that period. In addition, we have adequate traces of a pictorial tradition of this scene, which, together with the literary material, form an entire prehistory for the subject prior to the date when the Pseudo-Bonaventura and Roger's artistic predecessors established what may be considered a "normal" iconography.

The formulation of a self-contained, apocryphal description of an Apparition, of the type given in the *Mirror*, was a relatively late development. Until this happened, we are dealing rather with tentative revisions of the gospel narratives, in which the Virgin Mary has been inserted either intentionally or (possibly) by mistake, as a result of a desire to include her in the significant events of the last phase of Christ's ministry. As the personality of the Virgin assumed greater and greater importance in the church, the absence of any mention of her presence at these crucial events became literally unacceptable; in consequence, on the one hand efforts were made to rationalize the silence of the Evangelists, while on the other hand the missing episode or episodes came to be supplied by imaginative writers.

The canonical gospels, lamentably, are not in complete agreement as to the very sequence of events, much less the individuals involved, in the hours between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. This circumstance, which exercised the ingenuity of innumerable learned concordancers, also made it possible for the devout person who wondered at the absence of any mention of Christ's mother in those events to see a way of giving her a part in them. Since this series of events is interrelated, it may be well to compare first what the different gospels have to say about them all: Crucifixion, Deposition, and Resurrection.

Viewing the Crucifixion from some distance, says Matthew 27:55-6, were many women who had followed Christ's ministry, among them Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children. Mark 15:40-1 also says the women were some distance away; he mentions the Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the Less (*n.b.*) and Joses, and Salome. Luke 23:49 mentions no specific individuals, merely says "the women that followed Him from Galilee stood afar off." Only John 19:25 places some of the women right at the Cross itself: the Virgin Mary, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and the Magdalene. This is the scene in which Christ commends the Virgin to John's care (19:26-7).

At the Deposition, says Matthew 27:61, were Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary"; Mark 15:47 mentions the Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses. Luke 23:55-6 again mentions only the "women which came with Him from Galilee"; while John 19:38-42 mentions no women at all.

In Matthew 28:1-8, Mary Magdalene and the "other Mary" come to the sepulcher on Sunday morning, find the tomb empty, and meet the angel who sends them to tell the Apostles that Christ is risen. On their way (vv. 9-10), they are described as meeting Christ, and falling at his feet. Mark 16:1-8 describes three women going to the tomb and seeing the angel: Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, the three that Mark placed at the Crucifixion. Later, he mentions only the Magdalene as seeing Christ (vv. 9-10). Luke 24:1-10 does not describe any woman's encounter with Christ, but lists those at the sepulcher who see the angel as Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, and "others." John 20:1-18 describes a somewhat different sequence of events, involving, among the women, only the Magdalene: She goes to the tomb and finds it empty; she fetches Peter and John, who see the same thing; then, when she is alone once more, she sees *two* angels at the tomb. Finally, she meets Christ in the scene known iconographically as the "Noli me tangere."

Thus, according to the canonical gospels, not only does the identity of the women who saw Christ differ, but even the number of witnesses varies, so that, iconographically, we are able to distinguish the source of the scene according to the number of women present at the scene called, after the words of Matthew in the Greek, "Chairete":[4] If one, John; if two, Matthew; three, Mark; more than three, Luke. None of the synoptics places the Virgin by name at any of the events described above; John, who describes her at the Crucifixion, leaves no room for her insertion in any of the later episodes.

In the centuries following the establishment of the gospel canon, the Virgin assumed greater importance to the faithful. Theologically, the problem of her physical and spiritual relationship to Christ assumed importance in the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries; but, in addition, an interest in the part she played in Christ's ministry (quite minimized in the synoptics generally) can be found in the popular literature, particularly in the apocryphal gospels which originated in the first centuries of the Christian era, and the influence of which was never entirely absent throughout the history of the Christian faith.

In these apocrypha, which usually circulated under the putative authorship of one or another of the Apostles, the Virgin was a much more important figure than in the canonical gospels; when treating of the Resurrection, several of the apocrypha include her in the group of holy women visiting the tomb of Christ on Easter morning, and otherwise place her in scenes where canonically we find other women named Mary.[5] This is the case in the so-called "Discourse on Mary Theotokos by Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem,"[6] in which the Virgin is made to speak to the Apostles James, Peter, and John, ten years after the Resurrection: "Ye saw the sufferings which the Jews inflicted upon Him when He was raised up on the Cross, and that they put Him to death, and that His Father raised Him up from the dead on the third day. And I went to the tomb, and He appeared unto me, and He spake unto me, saying, 'Go and inform My brethren what things ye have seen. Let those whom My Father hath loved come to Galilee.' "[7]

Such transfers of episodes or attributes from one individual to another are far from rare in the apocrypha; in this case, however, it becomes clear with the examination of multiple examples that they are neither accidental, nor ignorant, mistakes, but conscious attempts to increase the part played by the Virgin in the events of Christ's life. Such conscious accretion of attributes to the Virgin[8] associated her more definitely with these events, and particularly with the Passion; and, in a more general way, they served to emphasize her humanity.[9] This was also the purpose of

4. Cf. Panofsky, op.cit., note 22[5], pp. 365f.

5. Some of this material has been studied recently in a brief article by P. Bellet, "Testimonios coptos de la aparición de Christo resucitado a la Virgen," Estudios biblicos, XIII, 1954, pp. 199-205.

6. E. A. Wallis Budge, Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, London, British Museum, 1915, pp. 626-651. Cyril (ca. 315-ca. 386) was Bishop of Jerusalem from 351; this text is merely an imitation of his twenty-first "Catechetical Lecture," which was written most probably before 350, according to Budge's introduction, p. lxxxvi.

7. ibid., p. 643.

8. The Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem just cited contains a typical example which is obviously intentional, in the address of Mary to the Bishop which opens the sermon: "And behold, the Virgin stretcheth out her hand to me, saying, 'O Cyril, if thou wishest to know concerning my family, and concerning the house of my fathers, hearken. I was a child promised to God, and my parents dedicated me to Him before I came into the world. My parents who produced me were of the tribe of Judah and of the House of David. My father was Joakim, which is, being interpreted, "Kleopa." My mother was Anna, who brought me forth, and who was usually called "Mariham." I am Mary Magdalene, because the name of the village wherein I was born was "Magdalia." My name is "Mary, who

belongeth to Kleopa." I am Mary who belongeth to Iakkobos (James), the son of Joseph the carpenter, into whose charge they committed me.' " Budge, op.cit., pp. 629f.

9. This intent is expressed clearly in the prologue to the Discourse of Cyril: "This is the day (i.e., the day of the delivery of the sermon) wherein the queen, the mother of the King of Life, tasted death like every other human being, because she was flesh and blood. And, moreover, she was begotten by a human father, and brought forth by a human mother, like every other man. Let Ebion now be ashamed, and Harpocration, these godless heretics who say in their madness that 'she was a force (or, abstract power) of God which took the form of a woman, and came upon the earth, and was called "Mary," and this force gave birth to Emmanuel for us.' " ibid., p. 628.

An attempt to analyze the Christological content of these passages would involve us in a discussion out of all proportion to the framework of our present study. Suffice it to say that, in general, the works in which there occur passages referring to the Virgin's participation in the events of the Resurrection are, although apocryphal in content, theologically close to the orthodox position, rather than partaking of either the Monophysite or the Nestorian extremes of heresy. This, of course, is why their tradition survived and became a part of the general body of orthodox belief.

the most carefully described of these scenes from among the group of apocrypha derived from the canonical "Chairete" or "Noli me tangere" scenes, that in the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*.[10]

An even more imaginative variant of the Resurrection story exists, moreover, considerably less indebted to the details of the gospel narrative, and recalling in its imagery the most elaborate of the Coptic apse paintings, replete with all the glories of the heavens and their hosts;[11] this work, attributed at the time to the Apostle Bartholomew, represents the farthest extreme from the basic narrative which was the foundation of these apocrypha.

Concern over the lack of agreement among the gospels on the part played by the holy women, and particularly the Virgin, in the events following the Crucifixion was not confined, however,

10. E. Révillout, "Les apocryphes coptes," *Patrologia orientalis*, II, 2, 1904, pp. 169f. "She [the Virgin] opened her eyes, for they were lowered in order not to view the earth, scene of so many dreadful events. She said to Him with joy, 'Rabboni, my lord, my God, my son, thou art resurrected, indeed resurrected.' She wished to hold Him in order to kiss Him upon the mouth. But He prevented her and pleaded with her, saying, 'My mother, do not touch me. Wait a little, for this is the garment which My Father has given me when He resurrected me. It is not possible for anything of flesh to touch me until I go into heaven.

" 'This body is however the one in which I passed nine months in thy loins . . . Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is that which I received in thee. This is that which has reposed in my tomb. This is also that which is resurrected today, that which now stands before thee. Fix your eyes upon my hands and upon my feet. O Mary, my mother, know that it is I, whom thou hast nourished. Doubt not, O my mother, that I am thy son. It is I who left thee in the care of John at the moment when I was raised on the cross.

" 'Now therefore, O my mother, hasten to tell my brothers, and say to them . . . "According to the words which I have told to you, go into Galilee: You shall see me. Hasten, for it is not possible for me to go into heaven with my Father, no longer to see you more." ' "

Révillout, on pp. 123-129, asserts that this is the text referred to under the name of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* by Origen in the third century, and dates therefore from the second century A.D. This thesis was strongly contested by A. Baumstark in *Révue biblique*, n.s., III, 1906, pp. 245-265. Baumstark maintained that the published fragments do not pertain to the early, probably Gnostic, text mentioned by Origen, but constitute a considerably later product that adopted a famous title to promote its own merits. The dating by Révillout, although he never completely refuted Baumstark's charges, has been more often accepted by recent compilers of early church literature (*inter alia*, B. Studle, *Patrologia*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1937, p. 277; B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, Freiburg-i.-B., 1950, p. 49). If the dating is correct, this text is by far the earliest we have showing this tendency toward the interpolation of the Virgin into the Resurrection episodes; the fullness of the narrative setting would indicate, furthermore, a highly advanced tradition bearing upon this scene. It is true, however, that we have the evidence of Tatian, adduced below, note 13, to give some confirmation of the belief in this episode at so early a date.

11. This is in the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*, a work mentioned by St. Jerome, and dating most probably from the fourth century, although Bellet, *loc.cit.*, believes certain parts date back to the third and possibly even the second century. The text given by Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, The British Museum, 1913, pp. 187-192, from which the following excerpts are quoted, does not vary in this passage from that of Révillout, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-194, where the Coptic text is also given.

"And early in the morning of the Lord's Day, whilst it was still dark, the holy women came forth to the tomb, and their names are these: Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, whom Jesus had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome the temptress, and Mary who ministered unto Him, and Martha her sister, and Susannah, the wife of Khousa, the steward of Herod, who had refused to share his bed, and Berenice, the fountain of whose blood Jesus had stopped for her in Capernaum, and Leah, the widow, whose son God had raised from the dead in Nain, and the woman who was a sinner, unto whom the Saviour said, 'Thy sins, which are many, are remitted unto thee; go in peace.' These women were standing in the garden of Philogenes, the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed, and Simon, at the time when He was coming down from the Mount of Olives, and all His Apostles. . . .

"And Mary said unto Philogenes, 'If thou art really he I know thee.' Philogenes said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Tharkahariamath,' the interpretation of which is 'the joy, the blessing, and the gladness.' Mary said unto him, 'If it be thou who hast taken away the Body of my Lord, tell me where thou hast laid It, and I myself will carry It away.' Philogenes said unto her, 'O my sister, what is the meaning of these words which thou speakest, O thou holy Virgin, the mother of the Christ?' " Philogenes tells how he had urged that the tomb in his own garden be used for the sepulcher of Christ; and how, when he came to anoint the body of the Lord, he saw the whole host of heaven singing hymns, and God the Father raising Christ the Son from the dead.

"And the Saviour appeared in their presence mounted upon the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and He cried out in the language of His Godhead, saying, 'Mari Khar Mariath,' whereof the interpretation is, 'Mary, the mother of the Son of God.' Then Mary, who knew the interpretation of the words, said, 'Hramboune Kathiathari Mioth,' whereof the interpretation is, 'The Son of the Almighty, and the Master, and my Son.' And He said unto her, 'Hail, My mother. Hail My holy ark. Hail, thou who hast sustained the life of the whole world. . . . O My mother, go thou and say unto My brethren that I have risen from the dead. Say thou unto them: I shall go unto My Father, Who is your Father, and unto My God and Lord, Who is your Lord. Keep in remembrance all our words which I have spoken unto you . . .'

"Then the Saviour, the Life, our salvation, our King . . . our Helper, our Hope, opened His mouth and cried out saying: 'Thou shalt take thy seat in My kingdom in blessing.' O my brethren the Apostles, believe me, I Bartholomew, the Apostle of Jesus, saw the Son of God, standing upon the chariot of the Cherubim. And round and about Him there were standing thousands of thousands of the Cherubim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Seraphim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Powers, and their heads were bowed, and they made answer to the blessing, saying 'Amen, Hallelujah,' to that which the Son did speak with His mouth to Mary. Then our Saviour stretched out His right hand, which was full of blessing, and He blessed the womb of Mary His mother. . . ." The womb of Mary is then blessed by God the Father and by the Holy Spirit as well. "These were the things which the Saviour spoke unto Mary His mother. And Mary departed and made known to the Apostles that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said to her, 'Come ye to Galilee at dawn tomorrow, and I will

1. *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher* and *Christ Appearing to the Holy Women*
Rabula Gospels (detail). Florence, Laurentian Library

2. Workshop of Pacino da Bonaguida, *Scenes of the Resurrection.*
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 194
(Courtesy Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

3. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin.* London, Brit. Mus.
MS Roy. 20 B IV, fol. 141
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

4-5. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin.* Paris, Bib. Nat.,
MS fr. 9196, fol. 203v

7. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. Baltimore, Walters MS W. 289, fol. 34

6. Workshop of the Rohan Master
Christ Appearing to the Virgin
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
MS 62, fol. 26v (Courtesy Syndics
of the Fitzwilliam Museum)

9. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*. Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS II, 7831, fol. 44

8. Master of St. Mark, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
New York, Morgan Library

to the vulgar apocrypha. It was also shown by clerical writers from an early date, and occurs frequently enough in their writings to indicate both an awareness of the problem and a tendency to solve it in a fashion closely parallel to that of the composers of the apocrypha we have been considering. Already in the second century, Tatian, who was later condemned as having lapsed into heresy, but some of whose writings were accepted by the Syrian church for centuries, seems to have confused the Virgin Mary with the Magdalene in his account of the episode of the "Noli me tangere";[12] but he also raised the point that was to become the fundamental thesis of all the most orthodox writers touching the subject: that a meeting at which Christ announced his Resurrection to his mother was no less than a logical necessity in the completion of his ministry.[13]

The fathers of the church first touched upon the matter from its periphery: Although they hesitated to project their interpretation into succeeding episodes, both John Chrysostom[14] and Gregory of Nyssa,[15] for example, identified the "Mary, the mother of James and Joses" of Matthew 27:56 with the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ. In the sixth century, then, a whole corps of Antiochene commentators took the next step of equating this "Mary, the mother of James and Jesus" with the "other Mary" of Matthew 28:1, to whom was vouchsafed the sight of the Risen Christ: they include Severus of Antioch,[16] the Pseudo-Victor of Antioch,[17] and Anastasius Sinaita, Patriarch of Antioch from 561.[18]

All of these writers, and those who followed them in turn, were in a sense deriving their interpretation from that of Chrysostom and Gregory, making only a logical extension of their thought; but by the ninth century a new trend of interpretation began, as Giannelli has trenchantly pointed out.[19] It occurs earliest, so far as can be determined, in a Homily on the Presence of the Virgin at the Sepulcher, by George, ninth century Metropolitan of Nicomedia.[20] George of Nicomedia avoided the pitfalls of Scriptural inconcordance by suggesting that the Virgin can be assumed to have been present at the sepulcher on Easter morning before the other women arrived; he intimated that the reason she was not mentioned is that the texts speak only of the women who *came* to the tomb; while she was *already there*. In other words, Christ's mother, the only one of his followers to have had perfect confidence in his ultimate triumph, remained at his tomb from the time of its sealing until that of the arrival of the other women on Easter morning. George described the long vigil by the silent tomb, and finally the prayer of Mary to her Son, in which she expressed complete faith in his glorification, requesting only that he vouchsafe her a glimpse of him when he did arise from the dead: "When you have come, and the joy of Resurrection is accomplished, first of all appear to announce this to your Mother." And so, although, as George readily acknowledged, the Scriptures say nothing of it (for, he averred, it was not revealed to

give unto you My peace which My Father gave unto Me as I came into the world.' "

12. Preserved in Ephrem Syrus' commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron*: J. B. Aucher and G. Moesinger, *Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a S. Ephraemo Doctore Syro*, Venice, 1876, pp. 268-270. This error may be the source of a variant reading to the same effect, in a work of the Pseudo-Justin, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 6, col. 1293 note 72; the original text is Antiochene and of the late fourth century, but the date at which this variant entered cannot be determined.

13. Aucher and Moesinger, *op.cit.*, p. 54: "Ita et post victoriam ab eo de inferis reportatam quum mater eum videret, qua mater eum amplexari voluit."

14. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 58, col. 777. In a recent and most valuable article, C. Giannelli has drawn attention to this and other patristic writings bearing upon our subject: "Témoignages patristiques grecs en faveur d'une apparition du Christ ressuscité à la Vierge Marie," *Revue des études byzantines*, XI, 1953 (*Mélanges Martin Jugie*), pp. 106-119. In his effort to establish as early as possible a date for the introduction of the Virgin into the Resurrection scene itself in patristic sources, Giannelli has somewhat overstepped the bounds of

prudence in emending Chrysostom's text with the addition of the word "ressuscité" at a key point, *ibid.*, p. 108, in his translation. Under the circumstances, the statement that "l'autre Marie, que Matthieu nous montre un peu plus loin assise, avec la Magdaléenne, . . . ne peut être que la Vierge," remains Giannelli's own, and not that of Chrysostom.

15. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 46, col. 648, overlooked by Giannelli, who cites many of the authors mentioned in the remainder of this section, and to whom I am indebted for some of the same citations.

16. A homily dated to 515, in M.-A. Kugener and E. Triffaux, *Patr. or.*, XVI, Paris, 1922, p. 810.

17. In a *catena* published by J. A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, I, Oxford, 1844, pp. 441-443.

18. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 89, cols. 809-812; this was cited by Archimandrite Cyprian, in an article, "L'apparition du Christ ressuscité," *Pravoslvnaja mysl'* (*La pensée orthodoxe*), VIII, Paris, 1951, pp. 86-112, as summarized by Giannelli, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

19. *ibid.*, p. 116.

20. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 100, cols. 1489-1504.

the Apostles at the time), the first appearance of Christ was in fact made to his mother: and George proceeded to describe it, not at all in terms of the sort of encounter between two people given by the gospels in the case of Mary Magdalene or the other women, but as a mighty vision of glory, worthy only of an apocalypse—or of just such an apocryphal work as the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*. George of Nicomedia is known as one of the more individualistic of the mid-Byzantine writers, taking far more than most of his contemporaries from apocryphal sources, and composing sermons upon subjects outside the scope of ordinary Byzantine religious discussion;[21] we may feel confident that he would not have scrupled to use just such an apocryphal gospel as the source for the descriptive part of his sermon, while blending his own peculiar logic to the argument he wished to make.

George's contribution, then, was to show a way around the vexatious matter of the re-identification of the Marys at the tomb, by a bold interpolation of a whole new episode, rather than a rereading of the gospel narrative as given; and he was not forgotten. His solution is essentially the one employed by several later Byzantine writers such as Metaphrastes,[22] Theophanes Kerameus,[23] and Gregory Palamas.[24] In addition, at a fairly early date the idea found its way into the liturgy of the Eastern church.[25]

It would have been surprising if this tradition of the Virgin's presence at these events had found no reflection whatever in the visual arts of the East Christian world, especially in view of the fact that the "Chairete" scene, on which exegetical ambiguity had already played its hand, was such a popular one in Byzantine art.[26] So it is that at least two examples can in fact be located in the sixth century painting of Syria and Palestine: a miniature of the *Crucifixion* and the *Resurrection* in the Rabula Gospels, dated to A.D. 586-587,[27] in which, of two holy women speaking to the angel at the tomb and then kneeling before the Risen Christ, one is distinguished by her halo as the Virgin Mary (Fig. 1);[28] and a panel of Palestinian provenance in Rome, of which Morey observed, "We learn also from our panel that 'the other Mary' of Matthew, in the scene of Easter morn, was supposed in Palestine to be the Virgin, since the same figure in black mantle decorated with white spots is used for the Virgin of the Ascension."[29] This pinpointing of the locus of origin seems to accord with our literary evidence, strongest in that area, and showing in

21. Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897 (I. von Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, IX, 1), pp. 166f.

22. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 115, cols. 555f.

23. *ibid.*, 132, cols. 621-624.

24. *ibid.*, 151, cols. 235-248, a narrative embroidering directly upon the fabric of Matthew's gospel; Christ refuses to allow the Magdalene to touch him, but after she has gone, his mother is permitted to touch his feet.

25. Perhaps the earliest such occurrence, by implication at least, is to be found in one of the hymns of Romanos "the melodious," the sixth century poet-cleric who introduced a new type of metrical hymn, the canticle or *kontakion*, into the Constantinopolitan service. At strophe 12 of his "Canticle of the Virgin beside the Cross," the Virgin mourns that, once her Son has died on the cross, she shall not see him again; and Christ replies from the cross, "Be of good courage, Mother, since thou shalt be the first to see me from the tomb." (J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio solesmensi*, I, Paris, 1876, pp. 101-107, tr. G. G. King, in "Iconographical Notes on the Passion," ART BULLETIN, XVI, 1934, p. 296. Cf. M. Carpenter, "The Paper that Romanos Swallowed," *Speculum*, VII, 1932, pp. 3-22.) Although no canticle describing the Resurrection itself has as yet been published, one is almost implied by this statement, with the probability that it would include the presence of the Virgin at some at least of its events.

In this connection, it is perhaps worthy of note that the legend which describes how Romanos first came to compose a canticle describes him as a native of Emesa in Syria, who

had been a deacon in Beirut before coming to the Church of the Virgin in Constantinople. The canticle form itself was not really new, but an adaptation into Greek of an established Syriac hymn type. This sort of mobility both of people and of practices within the greater Byzantine Empire does a lot to explain how little-known concepts such as this one were able to circulate and appear, at fortuitous moments, in widely separated areas.

Other liturgical citations of the Virgin Mary at the Resurrection are mentioned by Giannelli, *op.cit.*, and Bellet, *op.cit.*, and are the principal subject of Cyprian, *op.cit.*; one of them, a disputed passage discussed by Giannelli, pp. 116-119, is of interest to us in relation to much later iconographical developments: Giannelli translates it as "Tu (Christ) as dépouillé l'enfer sans en subir l'atteinte, tu as marché au devant de la vierge, au moment que tu donnais la vie." Cf. the Bolognese paintings of the late sixteenth century, discussed below in Section VIII.

26. Cf. Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIVᵉ, XVᵉ et XVIᵉ siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 540-550.

27. Repr. by Guido Biagi, *Riproduzioni di manoscritti miniati: Cinquanta tavole in fototipia da codici della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence, 1914, pl. I.

28. So recognized by S. A. Usov, "The Significance of the Word Deesis" (in Russian), *Drevnosti Trudy Imp. Mosk. Arxeol. Obscestva*, XI, 3, 1887, pp. 58f.

29. "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, Bonn, 1926, p. 166.

the case of Romanos "the melodious" an actual instance of its diffusion from that center into other areas of the Byzantine world.[30]

The Virgin continues to appear in occasional miniatures, usually showing traces of a Syrian-Palestinian archetype, of the middle Byzantine period: examples are in Petropolitanus XXI, a gospel lectionary of the 8-10th century in the Leningrad State Library;[31] Gospel No. 5 in the library of Iriwon monastery on Mount Athos;[32] and the Freer Gospels No. 4 in Washington.[33] In addition, the scene finds its way to Western Europe in the twelfth century: the Virgin is distinguished from the other holy women in a mosaic over the crossing of San Marco in Venice;[34] she is the only one with a halo in a twelfth century miniature of the Breviarum Franconicum at Cologne;[35] and she is also singled out in an initial in the Codex Gisle of about 1300, in the Osnabrück Domgymnasium.[36] Interestingly enough, it seems to survive in rare instances right through the Renaissance: one of Fra Angelico's assistants places Mary at the tomb of Christ in a fresco in San Marco in Florence;[37] and as late as about 1614, Rubens placed the Virgin in the center of the group of holy women hearing the words of the angels, in a painting formerly in the Czernin Gallery, Vienna.[38]

II

We have examined evidence indicating that in the twelfth century the representation of the Virgin Mary in the events of the Resurrection began to occur in Western Europe; it would be unusual indeed if there were not some evidence in the literature of that area as well. The concept was of course by now familiar to Western commentators; already in fourth century Milan, St. Ambrose expressed the idea that the Virgin deserved the honor of seeing Christ after his Resurrection, and the belief that such a meeting had in fact taken place: his words were, "Vidit ergo Maria resurrectionem Domini: et prima vidit, et credidit."[39] Another Western writer, the poet Sedulius, who seems to have lived in Northern Italy in the first part of the fifth century, and may have been in Greece as well, apparently was aware of the Eastern writings that placed the Virgin among the women at the tomb;[40] he used this knowledge to enlarge upon Ambrose's thought in his description of the Resurrection, where he laid great stress on the Ambrosian imagery paralleling the Virgin birth and the Resurrection itself, the womb and the tomb.[41]

But there would appear to have been a considerable lapse before the matter was taken up again in the West; of course, throughout the early Middle Ages, the matter of Christological definitions was of far less importance in the West than in the Greek East. For the same reasons, the cult

30. On the other hand, we must take with a grain of salt the description of the tenth century Church of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother, adjoining the Magdalene chapel of the Holy Sepulcher (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 427). According to Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 1914, pp. 255, 257, we are dealing with a later retitling of a chapel on the site of the "Noli me tangere" episode.

31. Cited, with the following examples, by C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," ART BULLETIN, XI, 1929, p. 71, fig. 83; on pp. 70-73 Morey makes the point about the affinities of these miniatures to pre-Iconoclastic East Christian works.

32. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, N.Y., 1914, p. 57, fig. 28.

33. *ibid.*, pl. IX.

34. *ibid.*, p. 52, fig. 25.

35. Domarchiv, no. 215, fol. 88v; I am indebted to Dr. von Witzleben for this interesting example.

36. H. Schrade, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, I: *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin, 1932, pl. 8, fig. 38a; Schrade's interesting study cites other examples, p. 108.

37. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, N.Y., 1952, p. 182, fig. xxi, and p. 185, no. 8, attributed to the "Master of Cell

2." G. G. King had already pointed out that the contemporaneous deliberations of the Council of Florence might account for certain other Eastern elements in other frescoes in S. Marco done by Angelico himself; and she even found close precedents in George of Nicomedia! (*Op.cit.*, pp. 291f.)

38. A. Rosenberg, *P. P. Rubens (Klassiker der Kunst)*, Stuttgart, n.d., p. 79.

39. *Liber de Virginitate*, I, iii, 14, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 16, col. 283. Ambrose's discussion is particularly interesting in that he relates the symbolism of Christ's unused tomb to that of the Virgin womb; so he remarks that Christ's rising from the dead repeats the Virgin birth.

40. *Opera Paschale*, V, in *Seduliis Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Hümer, Vienna, 1885, p. 295.

41. *Carmen Paschale*, V, in *ibid.*, pp. 140f.; and in *Opera Paschale*, V, pp. 297f. "Haec honorem Mariae praesentat et gloriam, quae, Domini cum claritate perspicua semper mater esse cernatur, semper tamen virgo conspicitur. Huis sese Dominus ilico post triumphum resurrectionis ostendit, ut pia genetrix et benigna talis miraculi testimonium vulgatura, quae fecit nascentis ianua, dum venisset in mundum, haec esset eius et nuntia deseruitis infernum."

of the Virgin was of minor importance in that area during a period when, in Constantinople, it came to assume preeminent place in the practice of the faith. In the eleventh or twelfth century, however, Latin writers began to take notice of the subject once more, just as it began to appear in Western art, at a time when, as we are aware, the Crusaders were bringing a flood of Greek and other Eastern material from the Levant.

When such notice was taken by Western writers, it tended to follow the approach of Ambrose, i.e., that such an appearance, although unrecorded by the Evangelists, was a logical necessity, which must be accepted even without Scriptural confirmation. This attitude, as distinct from the Eastern one which sought to fit such an appearance into the recorded events, represented a new stage of interpretation which, finally, set the stage for the creation of a new and original iconographic setting for the episode. Such an opinion regarding the occurrence of a meeting was held by Eadmer (1064-1124), a follower of St. Anselm in England,[42] as well as by the German Rupert of Deutz, writing late in the twelfth century,[43] who took Christ's appearance to the Virgin almost as a matter of course. It is clear that by the thirteenth century, a common body of belief was in existence in the West, requiring only a more concrete form of expression in order to take a permanent place among the living images of the Christian faith.[44]

Just such a verbal image was provided, as we remarked, by the anonymous thirteenth century author known as the Pseudo-Bonaventura,[45] whose description of the meeting between Christ and his mother in the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* gave the scene a form which was to influence not only all future descriptions, but in one way or another virtually all the pictorial representations which were to be made of it:[46]

42. *De Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, VI, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 159, cols. 567-570. Preaching on the Joy of the Resurrection, Eadmer says, "But if anyone should ask why the Evangelists do not describe the resurrected Lord appearing first and quickly to His sweet Mother, that He should mitigate her sorrow, we reply what we have heard inquiring into this matter . . . ," and what he concludes is that the very narrative character of the Gospels made it impossible for the Evangelists to describe the transports of joy which filled the Virgin when she saw her Son after the Resurrection: for if her joy was so great when He was alive, who can comprehend what it must have been when He arose from the dead?

43. *De Divinis Officiis*, VII, 25, in Migne, *Patr. lat.*, 170, cols. 205f: ". . . cum redivivus Filius, illi ante omnes fortasse mortales, mortale Virginem nondefraudans honore, victoriam suam annuntiavit. . . ."

44. "It is the common belief that Our Lord appeared first of all to the Virgin Mary. The Evangelists, it is true, do not speak of this; but if we were to take their silence for a denial, we should have to conclude that the risen Christ did not once appear to His mother . . .": Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. Wyzewa, Paris, 1905, p. 221.

These frequent references to the episode have led some writers to infer that examples might have existed in the figurative arts, distinct from those in which the Virgin is one of the women at the Tomb, prior to the fourteenth century. *Inter alia* E. Mâle, in *L'art religieux du treizième siècle en France*, Paris, 1923, p. 227, observes that the surviving panels of Christ's Appearances from the choir of Notre-Dame de Paris, dating from the late thirteenth century, follow the *Golden Legend* quite closely; he infers from this that one of the lost panels *might* have portrayed his appearance to the Virgin—but no evidence exists to prove or disprove such an assumption, save the fact that Voragine does not delineate such a scene, but merely refers to its probability. (I am indebted to Dr. Sallmann for bringing this interesting passage to my notice.)

Similarly, from time to time some of the less explicitly detailed illustrations of Christ's other appearances are interpreted as representing an appearance to the Virgin. One example of this is reproduced in F. Saxl and R. Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean*, London, 1948, pl. 27, fig. 1, a twelfth century relief from Durham which is classified by the Index of Christian Art as including an appearance of Christ to the Virgin; there is nothing in its iconography, however, to indicate any variation in this relief from normal representations of the two episodes of Matthew 28 and perhaps also Mark 16 or John 20: i.e., there is nothing to single out one of these women as the Virgin Mary. (Saxl's and Wittkower's book provides superb documentation for the intensiveness of Byzantine influence in the figurative arts in the West from the twelfth century.

Conversely, the Index correctly classifies as a "Noli me tangere" a miniature from a sacramentary produced in Liège around 1050 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23261, fol. 69r) which is illustrated in M. Rooses, *Art in Flanders*, N.Y., 1914, p. 11, fig. 21, as a scene of Christ appearing to his mother. (Once again I am indebted to Dr. Sallmann.) The most recent studies of this manuscript, such as K. H. Usener, "Das Breviar CLM 23261 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek und die Anfänge der romanischen Buchmalerei in Lüttich," *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, I, 1950, pp. 78ff., concur in considering the scene an illustration of the appearance to the Magdalene rather than to the Virgin.

Taken as a generalization, as dangerous as generalizations always are, it would seem that there are no extant illustrations of an independently conceived scene of Christ's Appearance to his mother prior to about 1300.

45. Identified with seeming correctness as Johannes de Caulibus of San Gimignano, by P. L. Oliger, "Le 'Meditationes vitae Christi' del Pseudo-Bonaventura," *Studi francescani*, n.s., VII, 1921, pp. 143ff.; n.s., VIII, 1922, pp. 18ff. Discussion of the problem is not, however, quite concluded.

46. I have modernized the English of *The Mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu Christ*, Oxford, 1908, pp. 261-263.

And then about the same time, that is to say early in the morning, Mary Magdalene, Mary, Jacob, and Salome, taking their leave first of Our Lady, took their way toward the grave with precious ointments. Dwelling still at home Our Lady made her prayer in this manner: "Almighty God, Father most merciful and most pitying, as You well know, my dear Son Jesus is dead and buried. For truly He was nailed to the cross and hanged between two thieves. And after He was dead, I helped to bury Him with my own hands, Whom I conceived without corruption, and bore Him without travail or sorrow; and He was all my good, all my desire, and all the life and comfort of my soul; but at last He passed away from me beaten, wounded, and torn. And all His enemies rose against Him, scorned Him, and damned Him; and His own disciples forsook Him and flew from Him; and I, His sorrowful Mother, might not help Him. And as You know well, Father of pity and of mercy, that have all power and might, You would not then deliver Him from cruel death; but now You must restore Him again to me alive, and that I beseech Your high majesty. Lord, where is He now, and why tarrieth He so long from me? God the Father, send Him, I pray You, to me; for my soul may not be in rest until the time that I see Him. And my sweet Son, what doest Thou now? And why abidest Thou so long ere Thou comest to me? Truly Thou saidst that Thou shouldst again arise the third day; and is this not the third day, my dear Son? Arise up therefore now, all my joy, and comfort me with Thy coming again, whom Thou discomfortest through Thy going away?"

And with that, she so praying, sweet tears shedding, lo suddenly Our Lord Jesus came and appeared to her, and in all white clothes with a glad and lovely cheer, greeting her in these words: "Hail, holy Mother." And anon she turning said: "Art Thou Jesus, my blessed Son?" And therewith she kneeling down honored Him; and He also kneeling beside her said: "My dear Mother, I am. I have risen, and lo, I am with thee." And then both rising up kissed the other; and she with unspeakable joy clasped Him sadly, resting all upon Him, and He gladly bare her up and sustained her.

This vivid and affecting narrative gave Pseudo-Bonaventura his great influence over subsequent popularizing narratives of the life of Christ and of the Virgin; for the *Mirror* itself created a new vogue for this type of easily assimilable retelling of the Scriptures. The scene was mentioned in such works of personal mysticism as the *Revelationes* of St. Birgitta of Sweden, who died in 1373,[47] as well as in such narrative works as the *Vita Jesu Christi* of her contemporary, Ludolf the Carthusian of Saxony.[48]

The latter work includes a brief chapter headed, "Of the most glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ Our Lord, and how He appeared to Our Lady, His most holy mother," which is little more than an abbreviated version of Pseudo-Bonaventura: On Sunday morning, after Christ had risen, the holy women take leave of the Virgin, who remains in her chambers praying while they go to the sepulcher with their ointments. Christ appears in the Virgin's room, and the two embrace and speak together, thus celebrating the first Easter Sunday: "But the Gospels say nothing of this notable occurrence. Nonetheless we place it here in first place, for one should certainly believe that it happened thus; and the matter is even contained in full in a separate legend of the Resurrection of Our Lord."[49]

Repetitions and variants of this story appeared time and again in the literature of the later Middle Ages, often without achieving more than merely local circulation; some of these, which happened to have direct influence on specific works of art, will be mentioned in our examination of those works. But there is one later redaction of the story, of wide popularity, which does deserve special notice, both because of the novelty of its approach, and because it does introduce some new elements, as far as the West is concerned, in its description of the scene which concerns us. This is the *Pèlerinage de Jésus-Christ*, by Guillaume de Deguileville, one of a number of "pilgrimages" put into verse form in the fourteenth century; the one in question was composed around the middle of the century. In this narrative life of Christ, written with emphasis upon his status as a pilgrim through life, a lengthy description of the meeting of Christ and the Virgin is inserted into the

47. *Revelationes*, II, Rome, 1628, p. 164. Cf. King, *op.cit.*, pp. 295f.
48. Ludolphus Saxoniae, *Vita Jesu Christi*, II, 70, Lyons, 1519, fol. 236.
49. It would be interesting to know to what specific legend Ludolf refers.

Resurrection narrative, but placed after the episode of the supper at Emmaus, although referring specifically to the first moments of Easter morning.[50] This passage is remarkable in that it resembles, in some aspects, the version of the episode which we last encountered in the text of George of Nicomedia: the Virgin's vigil by the sepulcher from Friday until Sunday morning, followed by a vision of angels, and of the glories of the Resurrection itself; then, while the holy women visit the now empty tomb, Christ himself appears in triumph before his mother, and two hold converse rather in the manner of Ludolf's or Pseudo-Bonaventura's narratives. The "Pèlerinage" thus seems to embody a conflation of the two types of account with which we have dealt thus far; the interesting thing is that, as we shall see below, when the "Pèlerinage" came to be illustrated, although its miniatures apparently were specially adapted to its content, there are no known illustrations of the more visionary or apocalyptic sections of the text.

Whatever the process of transmission may have been by which the early Syrian legend found its way, in greatly amplified form, into the popular literature of Western Europe of the late Gothic period, it should be clear now that we deal in the later Middle Ages not with original inventions produced *ex nihilo* by authors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but with these authors' codification and amplification of a body of legend present, although uncommonly, in the written tradition of the Church, and thus most probably in the wider oral tradition of the laity, throughout most of the entire Christian era. Its acceptance into semi-ecclesiastical literature, and thence into art, may therefore be seen as one of the numerous results of the contemporary efforts of the clergy to "popularize" their religion, its mysteries, and the personalities of its principal figures.

III

The earliest examples of the scenes of Christ's Appearance to his mother in the figurative arts date from the first half of the fourteenth century; interestingly enough, the three instances of its occurrence anterior to 1350 are from two wholly different parts of Europe, and betray a totally different character, stylistically as well as iconographically.

The first appearance of our scene seems to be in the *Passionale Kunigundae*, a manuscript begun in 1312 by the Canon Benesius for the daughter of King Ottokar of Bohemia; Kunigunde was Abbess of the Monastery of St. George on the Hradschin, where the manuscript was preserved.[51] The miniature in question shows Christ, bearing the wounds of the cross, embracing his mother as Pseudo-Bonaventura describes; despite a marked sense of plasticity in the delineation of the figures themselves, the miniature as a whole is unmistakably Germanic in its linear strength, and in the sense it gives of almost frenetic passion: in the intense embrace of the two figures at the first moment of joyful recognition, the artist captures exactly one aspect of the *Mirror's* narrative. In other respects, however, the artist is not so faithful to what we presume to have been his sources, since the setting is not indoors, but on a roughly indicated scrap of rocky soil, where the figures stand instead of kneel—an indication, perhaps, that the artist retained an awareness that the other appearances to the holy women took place out of doors.

This scheme of organization of the subject, fundamentally a new invention, does not seem to have been copied immediately; instead, as we shall see below, it reappeared a century later in German popular art, in the woodcuts that circulated so widely in the fifteenth century (cf. Fig. 12).

No more characteristic differentiation of the styles of the North and the South of Europe could be made than in comparing the *Passionale* miniature with another early occurrence of our subject, in the frescoes of the Church of Sta. Maria Donnaregina near Naples, executed by a painter

50. *Le Pèlerinage Jhésucrist de Guillaume de Deguileville*, London, The Roxburghe Club, 1897, pp. 318-327.
51. F. Burger, *Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mit-*

telalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, I, Berlin, 1913, pp. 159f. and fig. 180, as the "Noli me tangere."

of the school of Cavallini about 1320-1330.[52] Here we have little passion, no frenzy, but rather a sober delineation of the encounter of two persons, taking place in the prescribed interior setting. Opposite a representation of the "Noli me tangere" meeting with the Magdalene, we see Christ facing his mother, who looks at him over a low barrier or wall. The artist has chosen, with characteristic Mediterranean classicism, not the moment of passionate embrace which appealed to the Germanic artist, but the poised instant of first recognition, the moment before words are uttered, before any movement takes place. Action (as well as emotion) is potential in the Italian picture, rather than realized as the German artist expressed it.

Closely related is a third illustration of this scene, Florentine in origin and closely contemporary to the Naples fresco: it is one of the subordinate border miniatures on a sheet of the *Resurrection* now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Fig. 2),[53] attributed by Offner to the school of Pacino da Bonaguida,[54] an artist whom the same scholar believes to have received some of his training in Rome, that is to say, in the environment of Cavallini.[55] In this miniature, the poses of Christ and his mother resemble those at Sta. Maria Donnaregina, but they meet before a hanging drapery, an indication of the indoor setting, with no barrier to separate them.

Thus there would seem to have been established early in the fourteenth century two iconographies of this scene—one Nordic, emotional, interpretive more of the content of the episode than of its external detail; the other Latin, serene, and yet by and large more literal in its transcription of the externals of the scene Pseudo-Bonaventura described.

It would be of great importance if we were able to establish some iconographic prototype for either of these types of illustration. In many cases of iconographic research, where an illustration is linked to a specific text or group of texts, a manuscript tradition can be established which is the vehicle of transmission of a standard iconography to other, less viable media; so it might be in this case, but our evidence is insufficient for absolute proof.

Although illustrated manuscripts of both Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Mirror* and Deguileville's *Pèlerinage* have survived, they are unfortunately too late in date to provide evidence for the existence of a manuscript tradition for this scene at the time of its earliest appearance in other contexts. We are particularly unlucky in that the earliest extant illuminated manuscript of Pseudo-Bonaventura, a copiously illustrated one that is probably Sienese and dated to about 1360, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,[56] is incomplete, and lacks the final pages in which our text was contained. As a result, although the state of the manuscript indicates that it was copying a model which had a very full series of illustrations, we have no way of ascertaining whether or not our particular scene was illustrated, and if it was, what its iconographic scheme might have been.

The only illustrated manuscript of Pseudo-Bonaventura in which our scene does occur is a considerably later one, a provincial French manuscript of about 1422 now in the British Museum.[57] In this manuscript, Meiss has noted[58] that the miniatures show a good deal of divergence from the text, which is not the case in the Paris manuscript. While actual disparity with the text is not evident in the miniature of our particular episode, it is unique among our examples in combining two representations of Christ within one frame: one of him showing his wounds, and holding his cloak open wide, as he stands facing the kneeling, praying Virgin; and the other of him looking back over his shoulder as he strides out of a door to the left, carrying a cross on the same shoulder

52. G. Chierici, *Il restauro della Chiesa di S. Maria Donnaregina a Napoli*, Naples, 1934, pl. xxxv.

53. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 194 (M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1895, p. 159).

54. R. Offner, *Corpus of Florentine Painting* III:II, Part I, N.Y., 1930, p. 26 and pl. x.

55. *Studies in Florentine Painting*, N.Y., 1927, p. 17.

56. Bib. Nat. MS ital. 115; I owe my information on this

manuscript to Dr. Rosalie B. Green, Director of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, who has been most helpful in many phases of research on this subject.

57. MS Roy. 20 B IV, fol. 141 (cf. Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II: *Royal Manuscripts*, London, British Museum, 1921, pp. 360f).

58. In a communication to the Index of Christian Art.

(Fig. 3). The setting, a small, vaulted room with mullioned window, conforms with the text's requirements; it is quite possible that we are here dealing with a conflation of two consecutive miniatures covering this episode in the text.

Comparable density of illustration may be seen in two fifteenth century French manuscripts of Deguileville: the first, dating early in the century, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale,[59] and contains not one but two miniatures portraying slightly different moments in the scene of the meeting (Figs. 4, 5); while the other, from the workshop of the Rohan Master, and datable to ca. 1420-1430,[60] shows still a third pose of Christ and the Virgin (Fig. 6).[61] In all three of these miniatures although the special requirements of Deguileville's text are followed in such respects as Christ's pilgrim costume, setting, etc., there is nothing so individual about the formal arrangement of the figures as to indicate a particular iconographic tradition inherent in this specific text and its recensions; nor, as we have already remarked, are the truly original features of Deguileville's text illustrated at all.

As regards Ludolf's *Vita Christi*, we have no manuscript illuminations whatsoever, to my knowledge, and only a woodcut in a printed edition of the text, published at Antwerp in 1487;[62] iconographically as well as stylistically the woodcut of *Christ's Appearance to the Virgin* would seem to reflect popular Flemish art of the period, as do the other woodcuts in the book,[63] rather than any internal iconographic tradition derived from the text itself. Certain of its details, however, while not uncommon in other pictures of the later fifteenth century, can be traced as far back as a miniature in a French Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery, dated to about 1425 (Fig. 7);[64] its architectural setting, utilizing the outdoor view beyond the portico in which the Virgin prays, conforms to Ludolf's narrative flow which emphasizes Christ's direct arrival from Purgatory to greet the Virgin. In addition, the *contrapposto* of the Virgin's pose, kneeling with back turned to Christ, and turning only her head and shoulders as she perceives his presence, so evident in the woodcut, seems to occur earliest in this miniature.

If we return, however, to the earliest examples of the scene of Christ's appearance, in the fourteenth century we find a consistency in iconography among a group of works which strongly suggests the interpretation that an established tradition existed for the representation of this scene; and, if this was so, we find a strong suggestion that its point of origin was in Italy. While such a hypothesis remains conjectural in the extreme, such a source for this iconography as the presumed model for the Paris *Mirror* would not be unlikely.

After the first three, our next earliest example is found not in Italy at all, but in Catalonia, in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, in a vignette of a polyptych in the Morgan Library attributed by Meiss to the Master of St. Mark (Fig. 8):[65] but it is significant that, as Meiss's own work indicates, this was a product of a phase of Catalan art characterized as a province of the Tuscan, so that we might well consider this instance of our scene as virtually an Italian product—especially in view of the extreme rarity of this iconographic type in Spain. The picture in question portrays Christ's appearance, in an interior architectural setting, as he stands blessing with his left (!) hand, grasping the staff of the cross with his right; the Virgin kneels on the left, facing

59. Bib. Nat. MS fr. 9196. This manuscript was brought to my attention by Prof. Meiss. Both miniatures are on fol. 203v.

60. Cf. J. Porcher, "The Models for the 'Heures de Rohan,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* VIII, pp. 1-6.

61. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 62, fol. 62b (James, *op.cit.*, p. 159).

62. *Tboek vanden Leven Ons Heeren Jesu Christi* (Geeraert Leeu, Antwerp, 1487): reproduced in *Uitgave van de Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliphielen*, Reeks 2, no. 3 (ed. L. Indestege), Antwerp, 1952, Illus. no. 121. The first printed

edition of Ludolf's work appeared at Cologne as early as 1472.

63. The woodcuts are the work of several different hands, perhaps not all executed for this specific publication. The editor attributes no. 121 to the so-called "Haarlem Master."

64. MS W 289, fol. 34. This miniature was brought to my attention by Miss Dorothy Miner.

65. M. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, pp. 45-87.

him with hands clasped before her. In point of fact, this picture is, in the poses of the principals, almost an exact mirror image of the miniature from the shop of Pacino da Bonaguida of Florence.

Virtually identical poses are to be noticed again in an Artois manuscript, dating about 1390, which marks the first occurrence of the scene in the Low Countries (Fig. 9).[66] In the same tradition, but beginning to show traces of variation, is another Florentine miniature, dating from about 1400 and the work of the school of Spinello Aretino.[67] No setting is indicated, but the Virgin kneels close enough to her Son to appear to kiss his wounded side, while the latter, passing his right arm about her shoulders, bears with his left the triumphal banner of the Resurrection. The poses are not too dissimilar from those of the other works we have just examined, but increased emphasis is here being placed on the significance of Christ's wounds.[68] The basic grouping of the figures of Christ and his mother, however, seems to be characteristic of all these examples from the second half of the fourteenth century; if any sort of manuscript tradition existed for the illustration of this episode, this, in its general outlines, must have been it.

IV

If the subject of Christ's Appearance to his Mother had become, by 1400, familiar all the way from Italy to the Low Countries, there was at least one country where it had not been acclimated—where, in fact, it seems to have been consciously rejected, in the form we have examined, in favor of another type of scene. This country was Spain, and more specifically Catalonia where, after a solitary appearance in the Morgan polyptych (accepting, as we do, Meiss's attribution to a Catalan atelier), the scene derived from Pseudo-Bonaventura drops out of sight. In its place there was invented an iconographic novelty seemingly peculiar to Spain, which seems to have nothing to do with the Pseudo-Bonaventura's text, or with any other late mediaeval source of which we are aware. This consists in the introduction, into a conventional picture of the Resurrection, of the figure of the Virgin Mary, looking on through the window or doorway of a house adjoining the garden. This novel iconography seems to have begun as the personal idiosyncrasy of one painting family, that of the brothers Serra, who dominated the generation that made Catalan art something more than just a province of Tuscan painting: their choice of this novelty might even seem symptomatic of that declaration of independence. The subject remained more or less specifically Catalan throughout the century or so during which it remained popular.

In establishing a date for the introduction of this novelty, we have what would appear to be a convincing *terminus post quem* in one of the earliest works of either brother, the retable of Fray Martin de Alpartil in Saragossa, which can be identified as the work of Jaime Serra and dated to 1361.[69] In this altarpiece we find that the panel showing the Resurrection is of conventional Spanish mediaeval type, with the figure of Christ shown rising from the open tomb in the presence only of the sleeping soldiers. This is the only such "normal" Resurrection scene painted by either brother; on what is apparently the next occasion when Jaime portrayed the event, in the Sijena Retable,[70] he inserted a bust figure of the Virgin, looking on through a window in the garden wall. Once established, the type was used several times by one or the other of the Serra brothers:

66. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS II, 7831 (ex-Coll. Colbert de Beaulieu); first published by L. Mourin, *Scriptorium*, I, 1946-1947, pp. 75ff.; cf. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, p. 263.

67. Chantilly, Musée Condé: Photo Giraudon 7389. Cited by Meiss, *op.cit.*, p. 66 n. 44.

68. Remarked by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 263f., as of increasing importance from the start of the fifteenth century. Meiss, *loc.cit.*, also cites a Tuscan panel in a Paris private collection which is of about the same date, and has this subject; but neither the panel, nor a photograph of it, can now be located.

69. C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, II, Cambridge, 1930, p. 225, fig. 149.

70. *ibid.*, II, p. 237, fig. 153. It is tempting to enlarge upon the superficial resemblance between this scene and that at S. Maria Donnaregina; but it must be remembered that in the latter case we deal with a separate scene of the meeting, taking place over a low wall or barrier; this is fundamentally different from Serra's concept of a Resurrection scene in which the Virgin appears as a witness, with no communication taking place between the two principals. If there is any slight relationship between the two iconographies, it is not susceptible of proof with the evidence now at hand.

in the Manresa Retable by Pedro, datable to 1393-1394,[71] and in the Abella de la Conca Retable, of about the same date, which is probably by Jaime;[72] and in a contemporary panel which may be a collaborative work.[73] It was followed by other artists of their school, such as Domingo Valls[74] and the Cubells Master,[75] both of whom were active toward the close of the fourteenth century; and it survived in Catalonia as late as 1457, when Jaime Ferrer included the figure of the Virgin Mary in a panel of the Resurrection he painted for the Retable of the Iglesia de la Sangre at Alcover.[76] At about the same time, it appears in a panel by the Bacri Master, one of a group of Aragonese painters identified by Post as being strongly under Catalan influence as then manifested by the style of Huguet.[77]

This introduction of the Virgin Mary into the scene of the Resurrection is, as we have seen, in no way derived from the legends of Pseudo-Bonaventura, or of Ludolf of Saxony (who was far more widely known in Spain at this period); it seems to hark back rather to those apocryphal Coptic and Syrian Resurrection scenes, and has actually been considered to be a direct product of Spanish familiarity with the Greek texts of such writers as George of Nicomedia.[78] There is, on the other hand, the evidence of contemporary texts such as Deguileville (composed in the vernacular French rather than in Latin, and consequently not apt to be circulating internationally at this early a date; we do not suggest that this specific text was influential in Catalonia) that the idea of the Virgin's having been a witness of the Resurrection itself, as distinct from the legend of Christ's appearance to her, was not unfamiliar elsewhere in Western Europe as well as in Spain. With the constant interchange of texts and legends begun by the Crusades, it is all but impossible to hope to unravel, in a case of this type, the precise derivations of a given iconographic type.

Whatever the motivation may have been for the Serras' novelty, the fact remains that the "traditional" iconography of Christ's appearance, based as it is more or less directly upon that of the "Noli me tangere," never established any firm foothold on the Iberian peninsula; when, late in the fifteenth century, strong Flemish influence reintroduced it to Spain, it was soon replaced again by another, and equally novel, Spanish invention.

V

Such was the situation, iconographically speaking, at the time that Roger van der Weyden created his version of our scene. There was in existence a widely distributed iconography, based in a general way upon that of the "Noli me tangere," and quite probably Italian in origin, which had reached Flanders towards 1400; while another type, limited to Spain but quite popular there, simply made of the Virgin a witness at the scene of the Resurrection. Our only document for the penetration of the "Italian" type into the Low Countries prior to 1400 is the Artois manuscript "Ci Nous Dist," a vernacular compilation of narrative passages which we have already noticed, containing a miniature of Christ and the Virgin (Fig. 9) at the head of a passage repeating the story of the Appearance in simplified terms, with stress upon the symbolism of light as it is used in the whole of the Easter story. The two figures in the miniature have the poses we have noted in the Florentine miniature, Fitzwilliam 194 (Fig. 2), as well as in the panel by the Master of St. Mark (Fig. 8): The Virgin kneels indoors, hands uplifted in prayer, before the standing Christ, who blesses her with his right hand, and clasps his mantle with his left; Panofsky has

71. G. Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien, katalanische Wand- und Tafelmalerei*, Berlin, 1925, fig. 39.

72. S. Sanpere y Miquel and J. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, II, Barcelona 1922, p. 45, fig. 15.

73. In the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris: Post, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 280-282, fig. 172.

74. A panel in the Muntadas Coll., Barcelona (*ibid.*, IV, 2, 1933, p. 601).

75. Two panels in Barcelona private colls. (*ibid.*, VIII, 2,

1941, p. 580, fig. 271 n. 1). Cf. Saralegui, *Museum*, VII, 1933, pp. 287-289; Photos Mas 11980C-11984C.

76. Post, *op.cit.*, VII, 2, 1938, pp. 527-530, fig. 194.

77. Paris, at Bacri Frères (*ibid.*, VIII, 1, p. 32, fig. 12). In this case, however, the Virgin witnesses the scene through a doorway, rather than through the window as in the classic Catalan iconography.

78. Cf. G. G. King, *op.cit.*, p. 298, and her opinion as cited by Post, *op.cit.*, IV, 2, p. 601 n. 2.

already noted the slight recoil of the figure of Christ, a detail recalling specifically the older theme of the "Noli me tangere."

These are the same poses used by Roger, except that Christ's left hand, instead of holding his mantle in place, is raised parallel with his right (Fig. 10);[79] the Virgin's pose is closely similar to that of her prototype, although her body is partially turned in *contrapposto*, a more complex organization (and at the same time one even more consonant with the original description of Pseudo-Bonaventura) than that attempted in the tiny miniatures which were presumably Roger's iconographic guides. That he knew any of the surviving representations of this scene is of course both undemonstrable and highly improbable; but his painting corresponds too closely to their common characteristics for the resemblance to be only fortuitous. They must represent the type of illustration he used as his model.

Roger's panel is the right wing of an altarpiece of the Virgin which was executed for Juan II of Castile, most probably just before or after 1438. The left panel shows the *Adoration of the Infant Christ*, while the central one portrays his *Lamentation*; each of the scenes is enclosed by a Gothic arch in grisaille representing the sculptured stone of a church portal. Since Panofsky's analysis of this altarpiece has elucidated its meaning both as a whole and in its details,[80] we shall only summarize his points about our own panel as they affect the subject under examination.

The resurrected Christ is seen at the moment that he confronts his mother; as he approaches from the spectator's left, clad in a red mantle, he draws back at the last instant with that same gesture of recoil which we have noted derives originally from the "Noli me tangere." Mary herself, who wears a blue robe with its hem embroidered (as in the other panels) with the words of the Magnificat, turns from her reading to behold him; she is still seated, surprised and, as yet, still sorrowing; her gesture is an instant past that of prayer seen in earlier representations such as that of the "Ci Nous Dist" manuscript, and suggests that surprise and the joy of recognition are just dawning upon her.

The setting is a vaulted Gothic chamber, beyond the open doors of which is visible a landscape where the Resurrection itself is taking place: Christ rises from the tomb in the act of benediction, but is seen only by a single angel, while the three soldier-guardians sleep, and the three women, approaching in the distance, are yet too far removed to witness the momentous scene.

The voussoirs of the framing arch contain figured scenes, counterfeiting sculpture, which when linked with the principal subject, form a connected narrative of the Life of the Virgin. Below the arch, on colonnette pedestals, are the figures of SS. Mark and Paul with their attributes; while within the actual chamber where the Appearance is taking place, two of the four column capitals supporting the vaulted roof are decorated with Old Testament scenes which, according to the *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, prefigured the events of Christ's Resurrection.[81] At the crown of the framing arch an angel holds a crown and a scroll which, as in the other panels of the triptych, makes explicit the importance of the Virgin's role in the Act of Redemption.[82]

79. The fact that this function is performed instead, and most awkwardly, by Christ's right forearm, has become the crux of the controversy over the date of the Granada Altarpiece, for which cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 263f. For our purposes, a date ca. 1438 is satisfactory enough; the problem of priority in date between this painting and the Werl Altarpiece of the Master of Flémalle does not concern us in this context.

80. *Op.cit.*, I, pp. 259-264, 460-464.

81. David's defeat of Goliath prefigures Christ's conquest of Satan's temptations: *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, XIII, 73-82 (ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Leipzig, 1907, p. 29 and pls. 25-26); Samson's victory over the lion forecasts Christ's overpowering of the princes of darkness: *ibid.*, XXIX, 49-66 (Lutz and Perdrizet, pp. 60f.; pls. 57-58; Wehle and Salinger, *op.cit.*,

p. 32, mistakenly identify this scene as Daniel's experience with the same animal, an error corrected by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 263[8]); and Samson's carrying off the Gates of Gaza prefigures the Resurrection itself: *Speculum humanae Salvationis*, XXXII, 37-50 (Lutz and Perdrizet, p. 66 and pls. 63-64).

82. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 461 n. 260[1], gives the text as read from the Berlin-Miraflores triptych, and indicates that Wehle and Salinger's reading, *loc.cit.*, is in error. While certain misreadings in the latter's text are evident upon rechecking the panel in the Metropolitan Museum, which Miss Salinger very kindly did with the writer, it is still difficult to reconcile the whole text as inscribed there with that given by Panofsky. Had the Granada panels not been mutilated at the tops, it would be possible to compare all three text passages on the

The altarpiece as a whole, as Panofsky shows, was arranged to portray a connected sequence of episodes from the Life of the Virgin, with three of these episodes singled out for emphasis as *foci* of the three panels; these three, moreover, have been chosen to stress the Virgin's relation to Christ. The rarity of the scene of Christ's appearance prior to Roger's choosing it for this altarpiece gives rise to some speculation as to why it was picked on this occasion; our only clue seems to lie in the fact that the altarpiece was a Spanish commission, and we have some evidence, as adduced herewith, that in fifteenth century Spain the subject of the Virgin's participation in the events of the Resurrection seems to have been particularly current. It is also conceivable that Roger combined the Resurrection scene with that of the Appearance because of an awareness of the Catalan Resurrection iconography we examined in the last section. Once again, we are in the realm of hypothesis; but it would seem worth considering that the program of this triptych might have been laid out with Roger's Spanish patron in mind—or even planned in Spain and dictated to the artist. While this cannot be more than speculative, we can be quite sure that Roger's composition, once created, had a tremendous effect on iconography. This was, in the event, far more true in Flanders, and in the North in general, than in Spain, despite the presence of both versions of Roger's original painting there by 1445.

In Flanders, it is obvious that a model or sketch was retained by Roger's studio, to judge from the frequency of more or less close variants of the original treatment which were produced during the second half of the fifteenth century and later. A quite close copy, by an unidentified follower, is in the London National Gallery,[83] while two examples of a variant type are in American museums,[84] differing most obviously in the reorganization of the picture space into a diagonal, reducing the view of the outdoor landscape and omitting the Resurrection, but also in giving Christ the cross banner of the Resurrection to hold, and placing an open book beside the Virgin, a detail which seems to appear earliest in the Walters Book of Hours (Fig. 7). In freer versions, Christ's Appearance was used either as a single subject[85] or as an element of a larger composition[86] by a number of Northern painters and sculptors (Fig. 11)[87] through the end of the century. The steeply diagonal composition used for the scene by some of Roger's followers is also to be seen in a sixteenth century triptych wing attributed to the French school.[88]

It would have been remarkable if Roger's altarpieces had left no trace whatsoever in Spain; its effect was in fact felt among the Spanish painters most influenced by Flemish art during the latter part of the fifteenth century, but the subject was never popular in Spain. Aside from a few minor instances around the turn of the century,[89] it occurs as one of the forty-odd panels of the great Retablo de la Reina Catolica, the altarpiece executed between 1496 and 1504 by a group

two triptychs, and determine whether or not minor variations occur elsewhere; but as this is not possible, we are left only with the discrepancies between the two readings, particularly over the word read by Panofsky as *"perseveravit"* and by Wehle & Salinger as *"pleveravit."*

83. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues, Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1945, pp. 115f., no. 1086; perhaps the right wing of a triptych.

84. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Mellon Coll. no. 45, ascribed to Roger van der Weyden (M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, II, Leiden, 1934, p. 105, no. 41; attributed by C. de Tolnay, "Flemish Paintings in the National Gallery of Art," *Magazine of Art*, XXXIV, 1941, pp. 184-186 and fig. 14, to Vrancke van der Stockt). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, by the Master of the St. Ursula Legend (Wehle and Salinger, *op.cit.*, pp. 76f.).

85. Examples from the Ehninger Altarpiece, by the Ulm Master, copying Dirck Bouts (W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, 1938, p. 176, no. 62, pl. 74a); a panel by Albert Bouts (Friedländer, *op.cit.*, III, p. 116, no. 55; Harry G. Sperling, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Flemish Primitives*, N.Y., F. Kleinberger Galleries, 1929, pp. 134f.,

no. 43, incorrectly identified as the "Noli me tangere"); by the Frankfurt Master (Friedländer, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 141, no. 145); by Jan Provost (*ibid.*, IX, p. 145, no. 127); by "Jan de Cock" (*ibid.*, XIV, p. 124); etc.

86. Hans Memling includes this as a scene in his great altarpiece of the "Seven Joys of Mary," executed in 1480 for Pieter Bultinc of Bruges (Karl Voll, *Memling*, Stuttgart, 1909, pp. 32f.; 38).

87. Veit Stoss includes the scene (see Fig. 11) in the Altar of the Virgin in the Nonnberg Abbey at Salzburg, executed in 1498 (Heinrich Decker, *Der salzburger Flügelaltar des Veit Stoss*, Salzburg, 1950, pp. 17, 34, fig. 2, and p. 54, fig. 22.

88. Photo in the Frick Art Reference Library, no. 503-28a; whereabouts unknown, but thought to have been on the Florence art market.

89. A panel by the Palanquinos Master, in the Torbado Coll., Leon (Post, *op.cit.* IV, 1, pp. 172-174, and VI, 2, 1935, pp. 624-627 and fig. 277); and a panel in the Chapel of the Reyes Viejos at the Cathedral of Toledo, by "Santa Cruz," an artist strongly Flemish in character: this scene flanks the Resurrection, with the "Noli me tangere" opposite (*ibid.*, IX, 1, 1947, pp. 239-243).

of artists working under the direction of Juan de Flandes for Isabella of Castile.[90] The panel in question is attributed to one of the shop assistants, and shows Christ speaking to the Virgin, who kneels in an open portico—his words are indicated, and they are exactly those recorded by Pseudo-Bonaventura in his description of the scene.[91]

Derived though these panels are from Roger's general iconographic type, they exhibit in common a number of minor variations which suggest that a local tradition was in existence. Characteristics of this type include the presence of angels as witnesses of the scene,[92] and a tendency to place the episode not indoors, but on a loggia or portico, half indoors and half out, with Christ sometimes still out in the open air. This same type of setting is to be seen in the woodcut which, as we noticed earlier, was used to illustrate the Antwerp edition of Ludolf's *Vita Christi* in 1487, and in the much earlier Walters Book of Hours (Fig. 7).

A later Spanish example of our iconography, a triptych wing in the Museo Provincial at Segovia which is attributed to Luis de Morales and dates from the middle of the sixteenth century,[93] returns to the indoor setting, and raises another point of iconographic detail which, as we shall see, had already been introduced as a variant type elsewhere in Europe some decades earlier: the Virgin kneels, Christ blesses, but now she faces him, leaning on her *prie-dieu*, which separates them one from the other. The same organization, returned to the portico setting, is used by the Italian Bernardino Loschi in a fresco painted in the chapel of the Castello dei Pio at Carpi, early in the same century: Christ once more stands outside, the Virgin inside the arcaded loggia, while angels hover overhead.[94] But even here, we are not at the root of our type; instead, we must turn to one area we have virtually neglected in our survey of this iconography, Germany.

Aside from the Rhenish area which was artistically a province of Flanders in the fifteenth century, we have not noticed any instances of the occurrence of our subject in German territory since the *Passionale Kunigundae* early in the fourteenth century. It did not in fact appear in productions of any scale, so far as we can determine, until late in the fifteenth century; but this is not to say that it was unknown. Quite the contrary; the evidence of a large number of German woodcuts both published[95] and unpublished[96] shows that this subject must have been a popular one with the public in the fifteenth century, for the woodcut was above all the vehicle of popular iconography in that period. Following no rigid iconographic type, these woodcuts display a certain degree of freedom in the way they represent the scene of Christ's Appearance to his mother; but most of them can be seen to adhere to the characteristic type established by the manuscript tradition we believe to have served as model for Roger's painting: Christ standing blessing his mother, while the latter kneels, turning toward him from the *prie-dieu* at which, very often, she has been kneeling; one feature, found in the works of Roger's followers, is the banner of the cross which Christ almost invariably bears in his left hand in these German woodcuts.

Another type exists, however, which is distinct from these, and of great interest in that it demonstrates the preservation of the old iconography of the *Passionale Kunigundae* in this popular art stream: a woodcut in Munich, dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, shows Christ and his mother embracing in the same way as in the miniature, although with more tenderness and less passion; they stand on the same simple piece of terrain, and are watched by

90. F. Sanchez Canton, "El retablo de la Reina Catolica," *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia*, VI, 1930, pp. 97-133.

91. *ibid.*, pp. 129-130, pl. XIX; the panel is now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

92. Angels are also present in the version by Albert Bouts cited above, note 85.

93. Photo in the F.A.R.L., no. 803-18a.

94. F.A.R.L. Photo, no. 712 C 22 C 27caa Part V. In another Italian work of the early sixteenth century, Christ faces the kneeling Virgin; the setting is an interior, with an altar in the background: this is a miniature from the Resurrection

page, fol. 271r of the Missal-Breviary of Ferdinand the Catholic, Vatican, Chigi C VII, included in the exhibition *Miniatures of the Renaissance*, Vatican, 1950, no. 108, pp. 63f.; pl. XX.

95. For example, cf. W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, I, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 223f., nos. 700-704, as well as V, 1928, p. 77, no. 2382.

96. The Schreiber Coll. in the Library of Congress and the print department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art alone have yielded seven unpublished examples of the theme.

two hovering angels (Fig. 12).[97] A similar scene of the embrace of Christ and his mother, but in an interior setting, is found in a woodcut published in Venice in 1521, in which Christ holds the triumphal banner in his right hand while bending to embrace the Virgin;[98] and in an abbreviated form, with only the busts of the embracing figures shown, it occurs in a sixteenth century French "golden" manuscript in the Library at Parma.[99]

That the use of this subject was prevalent in fifteenth century Germany is at least established by this enumeration of examples; and, as such, it is more or less inevitable that it should have been employed by Germany's most influential artist, Albrecht Dürer: such was in fact the case. Dürer included the episode of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin in his *Small Passion*, executed between 1509 and 1511;[100] his treatment is based in a general way on the Flemish tradition established by Roger, but it emphasizes the triumphal aspect of the scene in Christ's bearing and appurtenances, including the banner, while the prayerful attitude of the Virgin is also stressed by having her still kneeling at her *prie-dieu*, now placed between the two figures. Here, obviously, we are dealing with the iconographic tradition as noted in the sixteenth century paintings of Morales and Loschi, in which the kneeling Virgin, instead of turning to face her Son, kneels already facing him, with the *prie-dieu* between them. The influence of Dürer's version of the scene was as widespread as Roger's, to judge by the cited instances of its reflection,[101] as well as its employment by two sculptors of Troyes, Thomas and Jacques Guyon, who used its composition in designing the wooden *jubé* of the church at Villemaur, dated to 1521.[102]

Dürer does not appear, however, to have originated this iconographic variant, but rather to have been its popularizer; two German works of the late fifteenth century, a woodcut in Berlin[103] and a painting sold at Cologne in 1905,[104] as well as Hans Wechtlin's woodcut for a *Life of Christ* published at Strasbourg in 1508,[105] all show the same elements of facing participants, *prie-dieu*, cross banner, and in the first two cases even the baldaquin, as in Dürer's woodcut. They almost certainly represent the pictorial tradition which Dürer followed in creating his own representation of the Appearance, a representation which was influential because of its inherent beauty rather than because of any great originality of content.

VI

Another iconographic variant of our theme of Christ Appearing to the Virgin exists, which, because of its derivation, is somewhat further afield than the ones we have studied heretofore. It is a type which shows little internal consistency between the various examples we can adduce; what they have in common is not at all a similarity of pictorial composition, but rather a parallelism of approach to the iconography. This iconographic type is based upon the composition of the Annunciation, thus emphasizing the parallelism between the heralding of the Incarnation by the

97. Schreiber's no. 700, *op.cit.*, I, p. 223. The woodcut has in the corners of its frame the arms of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Austria, and Bavaria and Austria quartered.

98. L. C., Schreiber Coll. It is one of a very full cycle of 155 woodcuts illustrating a book entitled *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria.*

99. Parma, Bib. Pal. MS pal. 169, fol. 86v (D. Fava, *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia, Emilia e Romagna*, Milan, 1932, p. 211, fig. 93). This is not, however, the Hours of Henry II, as stated by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 263.[2]

100. V. Scherer, *Dürer*, Stuttgart, 1908, p. 244 (Bartsch 46).

101. It was of course copied almost directly for other woodcuts, as in the case of an unpublished German woodcut in the Schreiber Coll. in the Library of Congress.

102. R. Koechlin and J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *La Sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale au seizième siècle*,

Paris, 1900, p. 142 and fig. 57. Troyenne artists seem to have adopted the subject, for it appears again in freer iconographic variations in a later work of the school of Juliot, *ibid.*, p. 254 and fig. 83, in the church at Vallant-St.-Georges, as well as in a stone relief now in the Louvre (M. Aubert, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art: Sculpture du Moyen Age*, Paris, n.d., no. 166). Koechlin and Marquet de Vasselot, *op.cit.*, p. 254, also cite an engraving from Troyes showing this subject.

103. Schreiber, *op.cit.*, I, p. 224, no. 702.

104. Litzinger et al. Sale, Heberle Gallery, Cologne, 1 Apr., 1905, no. 28, as South German School, 15th century. The writer would be inclined, however, to date this picture in the 16th century, after Dürer's print was in circulation; but this does not affect the validity of the fact that the motif was known before Dürer.

105. Passavant, no. 46.

Archangel, and Christ's own announcement, to his mother, of the fulfillment of that Incarnation, that is, the Resurrection.[106]

We might not suspect the relation to the Annunciation of a Flemish miniature, dated to about 1500, in which Christ as the Man of Sorrows approaches his kneeling mother, who still has her back turned to him (Fig. 13).[107] The composition is not at variance in any important way with that seen in a number of the works already examined, especially among the German woodcuts where the *Schmerzensmann* element is occasionally present; but the Virgin's lack of awareness of the event about to occur is quite exceptional. The key to the character of this miniature is found in the text which it heads: it is a passage based directly on St. Luke's narrative of the Annunciation, and does not refer to the Appearance of Christ at all.

Compositionally quite different, but based on the same parallelism of themes, is a panel painted by the Valencian artist Fernando Yanez, a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, who gave to his painting of Christ's Appearance the same composition he had used for an Annunciation.[108]

Just as clearly linked with another iconography of the Annunciation is an amusing panel in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, by the hand of one of the Antwerp Mannerists active about 1520 who were once lumped together under the generic name of Herri met de Bles.[109] The whole scheme of this painting is that of an Annunciation, with Christ as Triumphator occupying the position, and the flying attitude, of Gabriel (Fig. 14). Not only that, but the peculiar arched stair leading to the Virgin's bedchamber is obviously copied from Dürer's woodcut of the Annunciation itself![110] Even the attitude of the Virgin, as in the case of our two previous examples, is far more appropriate to the humility associated with the Annunciation, than to the surprise and/or joy that customarily is expressed in representations of the Appearance after the Resurrection.

A comparable "levitated" attitude of Christ suggests that the Annunciation iconography had something to do with the composition of an engraving of the Appearance of Christ done about 1593 by Jerome Wierix, after Bernardino Passeri,[111] which in addition places in a neighboring room the three Marys preparing to leave for the tomb, and outside an open window the tomb itself with the soldiers standing guard. And Christ also "flies" toward the Virgin in a delightful painting by Francesco Albani, in the Pitti Palace, a work of the mid-seventeenth century (Fig. 15).[112]

We have remarked that this borrowing of compositional schemes of one type or another from pictures of the Annunciation results from a desire to emphasize the parallelism between the two episodes; it remains to point out, briefly, why this should have been considered desirable. It would appear to be the result of the development during the fifteenth century of a number of patterned sequences of the events of the Life of Christ and of his mother, which assumed a considerable ritual importance; in particular, we might point out the series of the Seven Joys and the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.[113] As the desire grew to include the Virgin in all the important events of Christ's life, the scene of the Appearance after the Resurrection came to be included among the Seven Joys: we may recall that this was the case both in Memling's Altarpiece of the Seven Joys of Mary, and in Veit Stoss' sculptured altarpiece on the same theme (Fig. 11).[114]

106. A similar parallelism is expressed by Titian in his Ascension Altar of 1522 in the Church of SS. Nazaro e Celso, Brescia, in which the Annunciation occupies the upper portions of the wings (H. Tietze, *Tizian, Leben und Werk*, Vienna, 1936, fig. 55 brought to my attention by Dr. von Witzleben).

107. Huntington Library, MS 1149 (not foliated); my information on this manuscript has been furnished by Prof. Panofsky, to whose attention it was brought by Prof. S. C. Chew (cf. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, p. 463 n. 263⁴).

108. Post, *op.cit.*, XI, pp. 215-217, fig. 76. Yanez executed the work between 1506 and 1510.

109. So published by Leonce Amandry, "The Collection of Dr. Carvallo at Paris," *Burlington Magazine*, VI, 1905, pp. 304f. and pl. IV. The painting was given to the V.M.F.A. by Mr. Robert Lehman.

110. Bartsch 83. This was pointed out to me by Prof. Panofsky.

111. C. LeBlanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, IV, Paris, 1889, p. 223, no. 816.

112. Photo Alinari, No. 1.

113. Cf. S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1909, *passim*.

114. Cf. above, notes 86, 87.

Of great importance in this tendency toward codification of events of the sacred legends into harmonious and balanced sequences was the highly popular rosary cult, with its emphasis on enumeration and counting: it has been noticed by Dr. H. Sallmann[115] that the Appearance was introduced as the Sixth Joy of the Virgin, instead of the Resurrection itself, as early as 1422 in the text of the so-called "Franciscan Crown" of Rosary prayers. At what date this was first reflected in art, it is, of course, more difficult to establish. But it was these compilations of events which led to the establishment of parallel episodes, and cycles of episodes, and thus to parallel iconographies such as the one in which the composition of the Annunciation was borrowed for that of the Appearance. Not that authority did not already exist for comparing the two events: we may recall that Rupert of Deutz described Christ's Appearance with the words, "victoriam suam annuntiavit";[116] and St. Ambrose himself stressed the parallelism between the Resurrection from the unused tomb, and the Virgin birth.[117]

Once we have recognized the existence of this parallel, we may notice in some of our other examples of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin in art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that, although the conventional iconography is followed, certain attributes, particularly the bed and the *prie-dieu*, are introduced without basis in the original texts.[118] These novel details suggest most strongly that the artists who introduced them had the iconography of the Annunciation in the back of their minds; but the direct influence of the iconography of the Annunciation, as we have seen, never established a firm hold in artistic practice, and left no single enduring iconographic tradition.

VII

By the latter part of the fifteenth century, this tendency to exalt the role of the Virgin in the events of the Passion of Christ had led to new and interesting variations on our theme;[119] and there had also developed a whole new series of apocryphal episodes in popular literature concerning the period after the Resurrection, of which one is of particular interest in our present connection. This is the legend that Christ presented to his mother the Redeemed of the Old Testament, whom he had just freed from Limbo, when he appeared to her after the Resurrection. Although this subject may be found portrayed in the art of various parts of Western Europe, it would seem to have originated in Spain, where the only known examples prior to 1500 were created;[120] and the literary evidence indicates that it was in Spain that the legend first was given descriptive form.[121] The story appears to be an outgrowth of the chapter on Christ's Appearance in Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi*; Ludolf, the most popular of the vulgarizers of the Evangelists in Spain, describes very simply how Christ, spending Easter morning with his mother, tells her of his Harrowing of Hell, and how he liberated the Elect of the Old Dispensation from Limbo.[122] In the hands of fifteenth century Spanish divines there emerged a full-blown account of Christ's actually bringing these individuals, Adam and Eve, Abraham, and the rest, to present to the Virgin when he first appeared to her.[123]

115. Dr. Sallmann has very generously supplied me with most of the information about this matter embodied in the present section.

116. Cf. above, note 43.

117. Cf. above, note 39.

118. This seems to be evident particularly early in the French miniature of ca. 1425, in Walters MS W. 289 (Fig. 7); cf. above, note 64.

119. For example, on a single page of a Parisian Book of Hours of ca. 1480, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 74, min. 46, fol. 122r (James, *op.cit.*, p. 197), she is present not only at the Pentecost, in the principal miniature, but at the Ascension and in another marginal miniature of Christ Addressing the Apostles. She is also present as Christ displays his wounds

to the Apostles in a German woodcut of the last quarter of the 15th century (Schreiber, *op.cit.*, I, p. 224, no. 701).

120. Cf. Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 1, 1935, p. 270, notes 1 and 2; *ibid.*, VII, 2, 1938, p. 527, note 2; and King, *op.cit.*, pp. 296-298.

121. Two important articles are in Spanish periodicals: J. Gudiol, "La Mare de Deu en la Resurreccio de Crist," *Veu de Catalunya*, 1918, no. 429, Pagina artistica; L. de Saralegui, *op.cit.*

122. Cf. above, note 48.

123. It may occur in the *Vida de Crist* of the 14th century Catalan, Francisco Eximenis; in any event, the episode is related in a sermon on the Resurrection preached on April 23, 1413, by St. Vicente Ferrer (J. Sanchis y Sivera, *Quaresma*

10. Roger van der Weyden, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
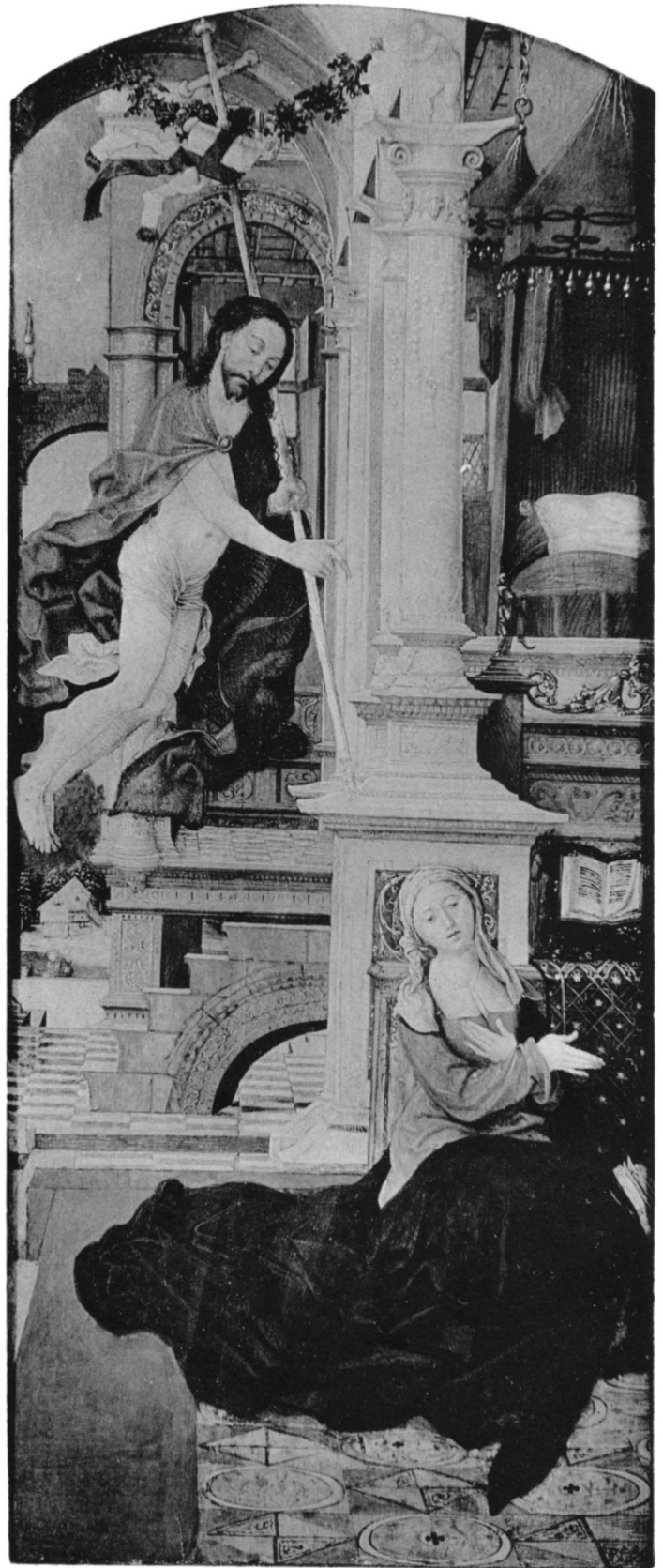(Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

11. Veit Stoss, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Salzburg, Nonnberg Abbey, Church of St. John

12. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Munich, Bayrische Staats-Bibliothek

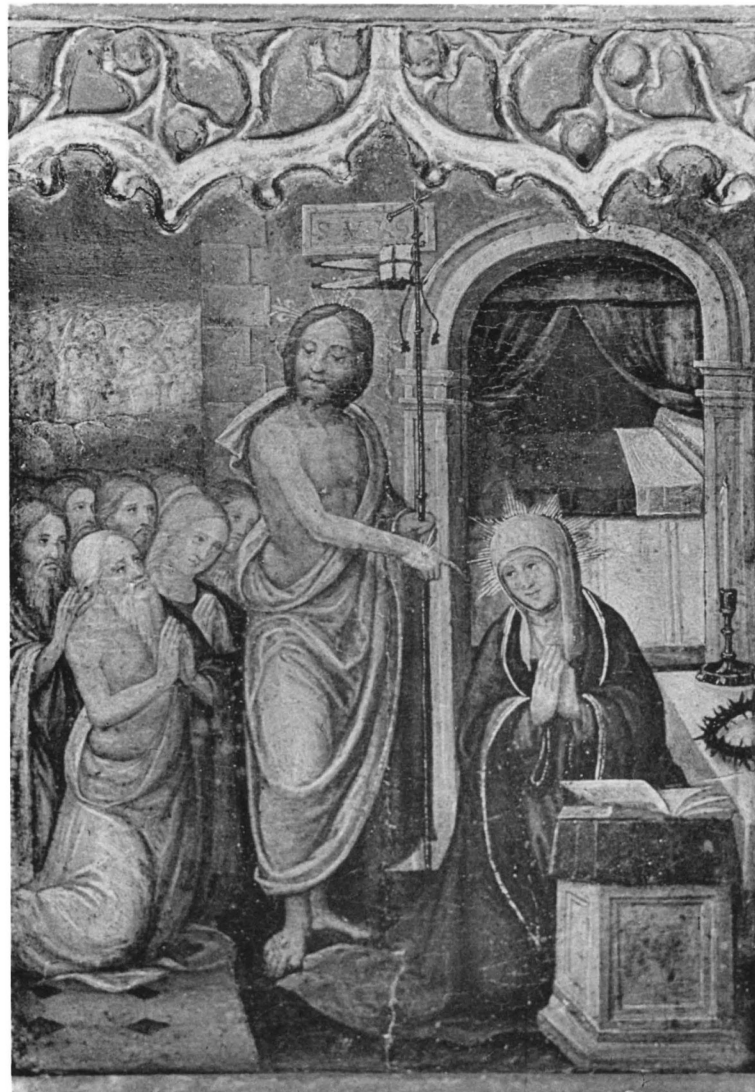13. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
San Marino, Huntington Lib. MS 1149

14. Antwerp Mannerist, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
(Gift of Mr. Robert Lehman)

15. Francesco Albani, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Florence, Pitti Palace (photo: Alinari)

16. "Miguel Esteve," *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Williamstown, Williams College, Lawrence Art Museum

17. Simon Bening, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
Baltimore, Walters MS W. 442

18. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin*
N.Y., Morgan MS M. 7, fol. 20

19. Guido Reni, *Christ Appearing to the Virgin
in Limbo*. Dresden, Gallery

20. *Christ Appearing to the Virgin* (?). Baltimore Museum of Art

Apparently the earliest in date of our examples of this scene in Spanish art is a panel attributed by Post to the Perea Master,[124] in which a minimum of setting is indicated: instead, we are offered a picture of a close-pressed throng of the Redeemed pushing forward to be introduced to the Virgin. She herself stands facing them, her back just that moment turned away from an altar at which she had been praying; now, with hands upraised, she faces her Son and the Redeemed.

Iconographically, this treatment was not influential; much preferred was the composition used in a panel from the great Retablo de la Reina Catolica, a painting attributed to the hand of Juan de Flandes himself.[125] This panel shows the Virgin seated at the foot of her bed, just lifting her eyes from prayer as her Son enters from out-of-doors, leading the first of a great throng of the Redeemed in to meet her. This composition, in which the details of the Virgin's bedchamber are indicated in more or less detail, became the one most generally employed by Spanish artists in the sixteenth century (Fig. 16),[126] and spread, as we shall see, to many other parts of Western Europe as well. In Andalusia, however, one ingenious painter (the question of priority between the two extant examples does not appear to be soluble) conceived the fascinating idea of adapting to this subject a quite different pictorial design, the composition of a painting with an only remotely similar subject, Perugino's *Presentation at the Temple* (perhaps known to him through Raphael's version).[127] The setting, of course, becomes the out-of-doors, an open piazza before the domed structure of Perugino's Temple, now lacking any inherent significance in the context of the picture; while the grouping of the figures represents a compromise between the established, asymmetric arrangement of the interior scene, and Perugino's carefully balanced composition for the *Presentation*.

Also out-of-doors is the setting of one apparently unique picture done by an artist of the School of the Perea Master at Valencia fairly early in the sixteenth century:[128] in this painting, the subject of which is derived directly from the writings of Sor Isabel de Villena,[129] Christ is to be seen bringing the Redeemed not to his mother's bedchamber, but to the Mount of Calvary, where the two thieves still hang upon their crosses, and where the Virgin is accompanied by Mary Magdalene and John the Evangelist, who join her in welcoming the Redeemed.

These seem to have been isolated iconographic "sports," which left no heritage of influence in further versions and copies; the same is not true of the scene of Christ presenting the Redeemed to his mother in her chamber. In his *History of Spanish Painting*,[130] Post notes one instance of the occurrence of this subject in Northern art, a diptych by Jan Mostaert which had been misidentified as representing simply Christ in Limbo.[131] The two panels of the diptych represent adjoining halves of the same scene, the interior of a room crowded with many figures, of which those in the foreground are seen at less than full-length. On the left, Christ leans over his pray-

de Sant Vicent Ferrer, Barcelona, 1927, p. 308). It was popularized later in the century by the immensely influential *Vita Christi* of the Valencian nun Isabel de Villena, which was published in 1497 (ed. R. Miquel y Planas, Vol. III, Barcelona, 1916, pp. 164-179). Isabel used the inhabitants of Limbo as a sort of court for the Virgin, bringing them in on such other occasions as the Annunciation (cf. King, *loc.cit.*).

124. Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 269-272, fig. 104.
125. Sanchez Canton, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-130 and pl. XX.
126. For example, in two paintings by the Cabanyes Master, Post, *op.cit.*, VI, 2, p. 397 (illus. in *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia*, IX, 1933, pl. XIII and pp. 94-98); pp. 412-414, fig. 174 (cf. Post, *op.cit.*, XI, 1953, p. 326, note 2); a panel of a retable attributed to "Miguel Esteve" (Fig. 16), now in the Lawrence Art Museum at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (*ibid.*, XI, p. 326, fig. 133); a panel attributed to the school of the Artes Master, in the Alcubierre Coll., Madrid (*ibid.*, XI, pp. 172-174, fig. 64); a panel by the St. Lazarus Master, in a Spanish private coll. (*ibid.*, VI, 2, p. 392, fig. 164); one of nine panels by Rodrigo de Osona the Younger, in the Provincial Museum at Valencia (F.A.R.L. Photo 803a, part 2, detail 4); a Catalan painting in the

Retable of the Virgin in the Cathedral at Perpignan (F.A.R.L. Photo 803i); and the relief by Bartolome Ordonez for the choir-stalls of the Barcelona Cathedral, published by H. E. Wethey in ART BULLETIN, XXV, p. 236 and fig. 13.

127. A panel by Juan de Zamora in the Parcent Coll., Madrid (Post, *op.cit.*, X, 1950, p. 122, fig. 40), and a panel from a retable in the Provincial Museum at Seville (*ibid.*, X, pp. 279-283 and fig. 106). Although Zamora's panel is far superior artistically, Post is by no means certain that it is earlier; it need not be, for it may represent an improvement by a capable painter upon the experimental novelty of a less talented colleague, driven to such experiments as a means of attracting attention his artistic talents did not gain him. The strongest probability is that both are derived from the well-known "common archetype."

128. In the Provincial Museum at Valencia (Post, *op.cit.* VI, 2, pp. 448-450, fig. 190).
129. *Vita Christi*, Sections CCI-CCVI (cf. above, note 123).
130. *Op.cit.*, VI, 1, p. 270 n. 2.
131. Divided between the von Kuhlmann Coll., Berlin (left panel), and the Thyssen Coll., Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano: Friedländer, *op.cit.*, X, p. 120, no. 4, and pl. V.

ing mother, introducing the leading members of the group of Redeemed, Adam and Eve; behind them, and in the other panel, the rest of the throng press forward from the background, while angels flutter overhead, and a donor kneels "downstage" right, her hands clasped on her *prie-dieu*. There may be many such examples, hidden away in catalogues under titles such as "Christ in Limbo";[132] but a sufficient number of authentic scenes of Christ presenting the Redeemed have already come to light in North European art of the sixteenth century to show that the subject was widely used even outside the sphere of direct Spanish influence. In Holland, in addition to the Mostaert diptych just described, we may point to another diptych of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, a composition more closely resembling the outdoor-indoor setting of the Spanish artists;[133] while in Flanders it was also used, although without any sense of an established iconography. In a miniature by Simon Bening, executed about 1520, one of a very full "Life of Christ" cycle probably intended for its present mounting in the form of a quadriptych, half-length figures of Christ and the Virgin, in poses derived from the Rogerian tradition examined above, are in the foreground of a large room, while behind them may be dimly perceived the heads of the great trembling throng of the Redeemed, more ghostly than corporeal in appearance (Fig. 17).[134] Nor is the subject unknown in the art of France (Fig. 18)[135] or Germany.[136]

In Italy, on the other hand, we have found few examples of our theme in any of its phases, so that it is not surprising to find only rare instances of this type, such as a painting by Girolamo da Santacroce.[137] Far more important is its occurrence in the work of Titian, a canvas at S. Maria in Medole, executed about 1554,[138] painted as a personal favor in connection with the transfer of the canonry of the church from the artist's son to his nephew. This painting is unique in that there is no setting such as is to be found in the previous examples adduced; instead of being situated in the domestic interior which the narrative describes, the Virgin confronts her Son and the Redeemed in Heaven itself, on a bank of cloud, with the choir of angels looking on.

Titian's painting marks the end of the depiction of our theme as a narrative episode of Christ's ministry on earth; but it also serves to introduce another, and terminal, phase of the theme's development, in the new religious climate of the Counter-Reformation.

VIII

The last phase of the history of the iconography of Christ's Appearance to his mother, now wholly removed from any earthly setting, is represented by a group of Italian paintings, the earliest of which seems to be the work of Allesandro Allori in S. Marco at Florence, which might be taken for a typical Descent into Limbo but for the presence of a kneeling woman whom W. Friedlaender perceived to be none other than the Virgin Mary.[139] This work dates from about 1580; by the end of the century the same composition, with the Virgin more clearly indicated,

132. For example, the painting by the Master of Alkmaar formerly in the Hoschek Coll., Prague: *ibid.*, X, p. 125, no. 51, could be an unrecognized depiction of this episode.

133. In the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (*Catalogue*, 1920, pp. 9-10, nos. 45-46), attributed by Friedländer, *op.cit.*, X, p. 125, no. 54, to the Master of Alkmaar, but given to a Follower of Cornelis Buys by G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 384f., figs. 186-187; the latter attribution is the one followed by the RM.

134. Walters Art Gallery, W. 442. For bibliography, cf. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1949, pp. 77f., no. 212. The scene also appears on a tapestry in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, no. 1941.129, cited by Panofsky, *op.cit.*, I, p. 463 n. 263[4].

135. It occurs in a 16th century Book of Hours for the usage of Rouen in the Morgan Library, MS M.7, fol. 20. I am indebted to Miss Meta Harrsen for bringing this miniature to my attention.

136. Cf. a pen and water color drawing in the Dürer tradition in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, III, Berlin, 1938, pl. XVII; E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, II, Princeton, 1948, p. 72, no. 623.

137. Pub. by G. Bernardini with other pictures from the Lazzaroni Coll., in *Rassegna d'arte*, XI, 1911, p. 104.

138. H. Tietze, *op.cit.*, fig. 222 and p. 301. I owe this important citation to Dr. Sallmann.

139. W. Friedlaender, "Contributo alla cronologia e all'iconografia di Lodovico Carracci," *Cronache d'arte*, III, 1926, p. 138, fig. 5 and pp. 138f.

had been used by Lodovico Carracci[140] and by Guido Reni (Fig. 19),[141] and its occurrence may be traced well along in the seventeenth century.[142]

This strange adaptation of the scene of the Descent into Limbo quite obviously stems from the subject we have just discussed, Christ's Presenting the Redeemed to the Virgin; and, since the participation of the Virgin in this sequence of events is moved up to an earlier point, it would seem to obviate that variant of the Appearance scene, as well as the Appearance itself. The occasion for this new transformation of our subject, or rather fusion of two iconographic themes, was determined by Panofsky as the consequence of the so-called *Bulla Sabbatina* of 1577, a spurious work which went so far as to assert that on the Saturday after the Crucifixion, the Virgin herself descended into Limbo and was responsible for freeing Christ from the bonds of death![143] Such a thesis was of course totally unacceptable on theological grounds; but it was so popular that almost immediately a series of authentic Papal Bulls were issued which allowed the interpretation that the Virgin was present at the Harrowing of Hell as intercessor with Christ for the Redeemed.

In this way official Roman doctrine, by establishing a new type of Resurrection scene outside the traditional narrative contexts we have studied, tended to eliminate the usefulness of the subject of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin. In addition, numerous nonnarrative variants of the Appearance scene were already familiar; although in content they were often far removed from the traditional "Appearance," they frequently derived their formal composition from the iconographic schemes developed for that subject—and, in terms of their final significance, they may be said to stand for an extension of the same intent as that which originally gave rise to, and determined the development of, the iconographic innovations we have been studying.[144] By and large, these variants are strongly personal ones; they serve to emphasize the essentially personal nature of the content of the Appearance scene itself. And with the individual experience so emphasized, it becomes possible for persons other than the Virgin Mary reasonably to be recipients of visions of the Risen Christ.[145] Sometimes, in works of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, it becomes all but impossible to determine objectively whether it is the Virgin Mary, or some reverent living individual to whom Christ is manifesting himself: this is the case in two drawings after Dürer,[146] as it is with a seventeenth century Spanish carving in Baltimore (Fig. 20).[147]

140. A painting in the church of the Corpus Domini, Bologna (H. Bodmer, *Lodovico Carracci*, Burg, 1939, p. 130, no. 47, and pl. 54). A sketch for this work is published by Friedlaender as fig. 6 in his discussion of the Corpus Domini painting, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-141.

141. Dresden *Catalogue*, I, Berlin, 1929, pp. 153f., no. 322. A Carraccesque copy of this work is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (F. R. Earp, *A Descriptive Catalogue . . .* , Cambridge, 1902, pp. 38f., no. III.163, illus. facing p. 38. Cf. Bodmer, *op.cit.*, p. 142).

142. Cf. a painting by the Neapolitan Andrea Vaccaro, also in Dresden (*Catalogue*, 295, no. 464).

143. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 306, note 107.

144. One such type is the "Virgin of the Sword of Sorrows," a sort of "*Schmerzensmutter*" transfixed by palpable wounds when beholding her Son on the Cross or as the Man of Sorrows (cf. W. F. Gerdts, Jr., "The Sword of Sorrow," *Art Quarterly*, XVII, 1954, pp. 213-229). The "Virgin of the Sword of Sorrows" dates back to the Gothic period, but the appearance of a new variant in the 15th century (*ibid.*, pp. 220f. and fig. 6) seems to depend upon the iconography of both the "Noli me tangere" and the appearance to the Virgin. It is not, however, a narrative scene at all; furthermore, whereas the Appearance is triumphant and joyful, and becomes by substitution one of the Seven Joys of Mary, the "Sword

of Sorrows" image in the 16th century becomes instead one of her Seven Sorrows (*ibid.*, pp. 220 and 225; fig. 11).

Similarly, the Virgin's presence may give added poignancy to the *Schmerzensmann* image in its more traditional form, as in the iconographic type isolated by Hoogewerff in 15th and 16th century Dutch painting (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 179-186). We should prefer to distinguish between Hoogewerff's examples, figs. 81 and 83, and his third citation, p. 185, fig. 83, which would appear to derive from the Pietà image rather than from that of the Man of Sorrows.

145. As early as 1470, in the manuscript of the *Dialogue de Jesus-Christ et de la Duchesse*, a transcription of a conversation between the Savior and Mary of Burgundy, the frontispiece illustrates their meeting in a miniature obviously derived from the traditional Flemish iconography of Christ's Appearance to the Virgin, with the Duchess Mary occupying the place of the latter: London, British Museum, MS Add. 7970, fol. lv, illus. in O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948, pl. I.

146. Panofsky, *Dürer*, II, p. 72, no. 624 (Louvre, Paris) and 625 (Offentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, a copy of the Louvre drawing); the former is cited by Winkler, *op.cit.* I, no. 44, who considers the feminine participant a nun, and definitely not the Virgin Mary.

147. Acc. no. 35.35.1.

Just as our principal subject, the narrative episode of Christ's Appearance to his mother, makes its own appearance contemporaneously with an increasing emphasis on the part played by the individual member in the church community in the later Middle Ages—an aspect of the reaction against scholasticism—so this stage of diversification represents an ultimate phase of the development of this aspect of Christian worship, at least within the framework of the Roman Catholic church. Depicting as it does an intimate, personal moment in the relationship between Christ and his mother, the scene lacks the dogmatic importance of the canonical episodes of the Passion cycle; but, in symbolizing the direct personal contact possible between the individual and the Godhead, it had great meaning in a period when the larger ceremonies of church ritual were losing their hold on the imagination of the laity, in favor of individual devotions and meditative exercises.

It is indicative of this that apparently the first instance of the use of our subject in later mediaeval art was in a personal book of devotions, the *Passionale Kunigundae*; it continued to occur most frequently in just such contexts, and to be most popular in those countries and periods where such individual devotions were most widely practiced. It appears, moreover, in that most widely circulated art form of the time, the woodcuts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which served a populace unable to afford original works of art for their private devotions. On the other hand, its appearance in monumental art or church altarpieces remained relatively rare. It was, in its very essence, a "popular" subject in the truest sense of the word.

It is interesting to note that when the Roman Catholic church, opposing what was perhaps only the logical end product of this individualization of Christian worship, the Protestant sects, began to codify the forms of these personal devotions in order to integrate them once more within the framework of its ritual, it sometimes included this episode among those enumerated for the contemplation of the faithful. This is especially clear in the case of the rosary cult, the most obvious example of the ritualization of personal devotions, which soon found room for the inclusion of this scene.

After the Council of Trent, the tendency to reemphasize the value of collective worship spelled the end for our subject, with its variants and offshoots, in favor of a more or less impersonal message about the Redemption. The Appearance of Christ with the Redeemed, although derived from the writings of the Spanish mystics, has a far less personal content than the emotionally-charged scene described by the Pseudo-Bonaventura; and the scene of Christ and the Virgin in Limbo depicted by the Bolognese eclectics, for all its dash and drama, is quite impersonal by comparison with the work of Roger or even of Dürer.

The removal of the episode from the realm of human experience may almost be symbolized by the change in its setting: from earth, where it first was reported to have occurred, it was removed to Heaven, and thence at last to Hell—or at least Purgatory. This very impersonalization soon brought an end to the useful life of the theme; in the rapid constriction in the number of narrative subjects employed in religious art, which began in the seventeenth century, this episode was crowded out and, since its intense personal significance was now lost, it disappeared from general use.

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