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Review of *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, by Anna D. Kartsonis

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recent bibliography of sources used in *DMLBS* fills forty-nine close-set pages in double columns, the corresponding section in the Danish lexicon amounts to only eleven. Whereas in *DMLBS* there are two entries before *a*, *ab*, in the lexicon there is none. The lexicon ends with *axis*, whereas *DMLBS* continues with another fifteen words.

While undeniably smaller than *DMLBS*, the Danish lexicon contains new words, forms, and syntactic information. To take page 2 as an example, the adjectives *abalienabilis* and *abbatalis* (as opposed to *abbatialis*) are not documented in *DMLBS*. In the case of the noun *abbas*, whereas *DMLBS* emphasizes different definitions and chronologically arranged citations, this lexicon offers details about syntax (*abbas* used absolutely, with adjective, with genitive, with a preposition, and with a place-name).

In spite of having definitions only in Danish, this lexicon will be a useful tool, especially to historians and literary scholars who work with Danish Latin writers such as Saxo Grammaticus, but more particularly to medieval Latin philologists. Since the costs of the undertaking were borne partly by the Carlsbergfond, a toast of beer is in order for the collaborators who produced this fascicle.

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ANNA D. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. xviii, 263; 112 black-and-white illustrations. \$57.50.

Anastasis, meaning "rising (or raising) up," is the legend inscribed on Byzantine images of the Descent into Limbo, in which Christ is depicted trampling Hades and pulling Adam from his tomb. The episode is vividly described in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and medieval images generally correspond to the account of that text. Though unattested by Scripture, the Anastasis became part of the canon of Christian images and was regularly included in the biographical imagery of Christ. In Byzantine art, which did not cultivate an iconography of the Resurrection, the Anastasis became the eponymous image for Easter, and as such a separable icon with calendric and liturgical connotations.

The extant witnesses to this development, from the earliest known depictions of the Anastasis in the eighth century to the great mosaic icons of the eleventh century and later, are mostly familiar and have been collected before. Kartsonis's contribution is to propose a new explanation for the genesis of the image in the pre-iconoclastic period and to demonstrate a progressive modification of its original significance by liturgical and dogmatic accretions.

Prior accounts of the invention of the Anastasis (reviewed in chapter 1) traced it to formulas of late Roman imperial iconography or to the Nicodemus apocryphon. Kartsonis begins (in chapter 2) by observing, first, that the descent to Hades appears in patristic writings as early as the second century; therefore its depiction in art need not depend on the apocryphon. Second, before the seventh century the Resurrection was represented allusively rather than illustratively, for example, by the three women at the empty tomb. The dead Christ was not imaged either, and Kartsonis infers conscious avoidance motivated by the theological difficulty of the subject: the death of Christ critically strains the dogma of his two natures, as it seems to entail a separation of the human from the divine. In Kartsonis's view, therefore, the introduction of the Anastasis marks not just a new theme but a new purpose in Christian art: the aggressive visual confrontation of thorny doctrinal problems that proved resistant to definitive verbal representation.

Chapter 3 presents the central thesis. It begins with a lengthy account of the late-seventh-century *Hodegos* of Anastasius Sinaites, which is of interest because it explicitly

advert to an image (of the Crucifixion) to demonstrate the truth of the orthodox position on the relation of Christ's divinity, his humanity, and his soul. This text and some canons pertaining to imagery approved by the Council in Trullo, 691–92, evidence a new official appreciation of images as weapons of theological argumentation. This attitude in turn explains the invention of Anastasis iconography in the eighth century. Anastasius Sinaites adduced the Anastasis (the event, not its image) as proof against monotheletism and monoenergism; Kartsonis concludes that the earliest images were made to serve the orthodox cause in the same dispute, which was officially resolved by the proclamation of two wills and two energies at the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680–81. She proposes that the image was invented at the same time: last quarter of the seventh century.

Chapter 3 also introduces the earliest extant images, in Rome in S. Maria Antiqua and the oratory of Pope John VII (705–7) in St. Peter's. Subsequent chapters present later examples: ninth-century mural paintings in the west (mostly Italy) in chapter 4; a group of historiated metalworks centered on the Fieschi Morgan reliquary in New York, here redated from ca. 700 to the first quarter of the ninth century, in chapter 5; ninth-century images in the east (mostly marginal Psalters, contrasted to Paris gr. 510) in chapter 6. Chapter 6 identifies two "iconographic schools" (p. 146) in ninth-century Constantinople: one "radical and populist," which depicted the Anastasis with "irreverent," folkloristic gusto; the other "conservative and academic," which eschewed the Anastasis as a dubious subject of pictorialization. This chapter ends with an excursus on the association of the Anastasis with the Last Judgment. Chapter 7 reviews tenth-century Byzantine monuments, in which the "liturgical identity" (p. 168) of the Anastasis is affirmed by its contextual placement: in the apse, in manuscripts at the opening of St. John's Gospel, in biographical series as a pendant to the Baptism. An excursus on David and Solomon explains the standard inclusion of these figures as a prophetic proof of the Incarnation, based on the Christian interpretation of Psalm 71. Chapter 8 opens with a discussion of four motifs: the cross staff, the two background hills, Abel, and Eve; it then surveys eleventh-century monumental images at Chios, Hosios Loukas, Daphni, and Torcello. A brief conclusion recapitulates the chronological development and restates the thesis that by the eleventh century the Anastasis came to have three simultaneously available kinds of meaning: historical, theological, and liturgical.

It is obvious even from a summary that this is a very learned book. The author sails with equal proficiency through tiresome seas of secondary literature and whirlpools of Byzantine Greek. She walks with assurance through the labyrinth of Christ's nature, wills, energies, and substance. Her command of Byzantine language and theology is exceptional among art historians. On its own terms, *Anastasis* is a stellar performance, an almost perfect execution of a classic art historical routine.

That classic routine — the kind of iconographic study that can loosely be called Panofskyan, although Panofsky himself might have handled this topic differently — has certain features which are conspicuous here. Meaning is implicitly intentional, with direct equivalents in the realm of written texts. The scholar's interpretation is intuitive, guided by comprehensive study of those same texts. (For an incisive exposition of the intuitive element in Panofskyan interpretation see C. Hasenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36 [1977/78], 289–301.) The focus on intention leads to a preoccupation with the creators of images — for Panofsky the artist, for Kartsonis the church — and a concomitant neglect of the viewing public. In Margaret Miles's terms, only the language-users' "message given" is of interest, not the possible messages received (*Image as Insight* [Boston, 1985], chap. 2). One clear advantage of Panofsky's method is that, despite

its intuitive hermeneutic, its conclusions appeal to empirically verifiable situations: in this case, monotheletism and monoenergism demonstrably were concerns of the seventh century, whereas Miles's "nonbiological woman," for example, seems disconcertingly anachronistic for the fourteenth century (*Image as Insight*, chap. 4). A disadvantage is that the interest of the image is confined to the realm of its alleged motivating idea. In *Anastasis* this is the realm of minute theological argumentation. Even liturgy is treated from this perspective, as the symbolic representation of dogma rather than, for example, dramatic performance eliciting individual aesthetic participation. Politics, cult, social relations and hierarchy, local history, artistic practice, in short anything with a secular dimension is disregarded in most chapters. Methodologically this was a correct decision, insofar as such factors would be determinants of the local meaning of particular images and objects, whereas Kartsonis aims to trace the repetitions and variations of a single, paradigmatic image over time. Digressions from this pursuit, for example, the lengthy analysis of the facture of the historiated reliquaries in chapter 5, seem discordant and should, in my opinion, have been published elsewhere.

The one substantive quarrel I have with the book is the author's treatment of the milieu of papal Rome. The assumption that the Anastasis was a Byzantine invention — a holdover, I think, from the time when it was thought that the image arose from the Greek apocryphon of Nicodemus — dictated a search in Byzantine writings for its impetus and its meaning and a conscious disregard of the fact that the earliest datable example and many others are in Rome. The Roman images are treated as derivative, on the authority of the art historical topos of "Rome's total dependence on the East in cultural matters during this period" (p. 80). On the one hand, I would object that this cliché is increasingly unpersuasive, especially in light of Thomas Noble's thesis that "Beginning in the last years of the seventh century a series of resolute and like-minded popes, acting in concert with the local Roman nobility deliberately emancipated central Italy from the Byzantine Empire . . ." (*The Republic of St. Peter* [Philadelphia, 1984], p. xxi). On the other hand, it must be admitted that even if imported from Byzantium initially, the Anastasis was so vigorously appropriated by the papacy that its "message given" cannot adequately be discussed solely in terms of Byzantine Christology. In its earliest Roman appearance, in the oratory of Pope John VII, the Anastasis concludes a visual credo that surrounds a giant icon of the *Dei genitrix*, an epithet first used in the *Liber pontificalis* only in the second half of the seventh century. Obviously the Anastasis functioned here partly to authenticate that title.

Anastasis is a seminal book, if not a definitive one. Its thesis is at once impeccably sound and highly arguable. Admirable and provocative, it makes an unusually stimulating contribution to the study of Byzantine iconography.

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HANS-ERICH KELLER, ed., in collaboration with JEAN-MARIE D'HEUR, GUY R. MERMIER, and MARC VUJLSTEKE, *Studia Occitana in memoriam Paul Remy, 2: The Narrative-Philology*. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986. Paper. Pp. 441; maps.

The first volume of this memorial collection concentrated on the troubadours and was reviewed by Elizabeth Poe in *Speculum* 63 (1988), 420–21. The thirty-five contributions to volume 2 are evenly divided between the narrative and philology. Eight of the studies are devoted to the Arthurian romance *Jaufre*, which was a subject of special