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## GENUFLECTION IN MEDIEVAL WESTERN CULTURE: THE GESTURE OF EXPIATION — THE PRAYING POSTURE

The posture of the body, the movement of the arm, hand or foot may be a sign expressing a man's thoughts, will and emotions. This is a natural way, as rich in the means of expression as speech. It may be a natural, spontaneous reaction to pain, fear, grief or joy, but shaped by tradition or convention, it has performed the fundamental function of a definite sign.

Genuflection is undoubtedly one of such gestures<sup>1</sup>; kneeling on the ground has been known to nearly all cultures and religions since the dawn of civilisation. Popularised in the Middle Ages, it had a rich variety of meanings, the interpretation of which is by no means easy. It requires research by many disciplines of science. On the whole, the falling on one's knees was in its nature a polysemantic gesture, the sense of which was probably the most aptly defined by St. Thomas Aquinas: *Celui qui fléchit les genoux, se rapetisse pour ainsi dire et se soumet à celui devant qui il fléchit les genoux, ce qui est reconnaître sa fragilité et sa petitesse. De plus, la force du corps est dans les genoux; fléchir les genoux, c'est reconnaître la faiblesse de sa vertu*<sup>2</sup>. But by falling on one's knees one can also reduce one's fear or, feeling guilty, ask for the remission of punishment or, being defeated, beg for mercy. Genuflection can thus be a sign of defeat, but the gesture also expressed worship and complete dedication out of love. On the other hand, if we lose sight of the basic sense, our conclusions may turn out to be too detailed, the meaning may become ambiguous and the ideological content relative.

Although medievalists have for long realised the enormous importance of this gesture, there is a lack of comprehensive and exhaustive studies on this subject. The literature dealing with this question is quite rich<sup>3</sup>, but the informa-

<sup>1</sup> The terms "gesture" and "posture" are used interchangeably in this article.

<sup>2</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas, *In epistola ad Ephesios*, III, 4, quoted after E. Bertaud, *Génuflections et métanies*, in: *Dictionnaire et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, vol. VI, Paris 1967, col. 214.

<sup>3</sup> It has been compiled relatively the most extensively by D. Peil, *Die Gebärde bei Chretien, Hartmann und Wolfram. Erec-Iwein-Parziwal*, München 1975, pp. 333–336. See also the recent book by J. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1990.

tion contained in it is scattered; none of the medieval gestures has had a monograph that would pinpoint its essence as well as the changes in its symbolism and social function. And it seems that this is the way to treat kneeling as a carrier of meanings. When discussing this question it is worth referring to iconographic sources: in the Middle Ages reality was perceived through the symbols of appellations, numbers, names as well as pictures. Iconography can therefore provide information on those semantic aspects of gestures which would be difficult to find in written sources.

There was, of course, no direct relation between an iconographic image and the reality observed by the artist. Iconographic sources must be interpreted cautiously; they must be verified from the point of view of their usefulness for our research. They can be classified into two groups, the first comprising narrative representations in which the gesture played an important function, making it possible to interpret the scene properly. But the choice of the gesture may have been dictated by an original which only generally corresponded to the content of the message. This is why the second group of representations provides more valuable information; these are representations showing living or dead persons (but not canonised) before Christ, Mary or a saint: their postures and gestures always expressed the donor's feelings; they were concrete signs, indispensable when a mortal was facing holy beings<sup>4</sup>.

Kneeling and bowing to the ground constituted a way generally adopted by many peoples of the ancient East to pay respect to persons from the top of the social hierarchy. This posture was also often used in religious cult<sup>5</sup>. Its widespread use shows that in its genesis it was close to the natural gesture: kneeling down is an almost spontaneous reaction when a person perceiving reality in top-bottom categories<sup>6</sup> comes in touch with something which is superior or which terrifies him and requires that he should demonstrate he is aware of his insignificance. But when a spontaneous reaction becomes a rite, new meanings are added: a gesture of entreaty, of begging for mercy, of fear or desperation may become an expression of trust and total adoration.

In old literature the opinion prevailed that the ancient Greeks and Romans did not regard kneeling as a form of demonstrating their feelings to the gods or

<sup>4</sup> Depictions of this kind are known in Christian iconography from late antiquity; in the Middle Ages they appeared in many variants. Their principal idea was to show the full participation of the faithful in Christ's glory, which occurred or was to occur at redemption. These images usually commemorated the donor's special merits; this is why we can call them donatory, although the term requires a thorough discussion. For the many aspects of the ideological function see: E. Lachner, *Dedikationsbild*, in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. III, Stuttgart 1954, col. 1189–1197; P. Bloch, *Zum Dedikationsbild im Lob des Kreuzes des Hrabanus Maurus*, in: *Das Erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, vol. I, Düsseldorf 1963, pp. 473–489.

<sup>5</sup> T. Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum*, Leiden 1948, pp. 135, 345–346, 359–362; J. Horst, *Proskynein. Zur Anbetung im Urchristentum nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Eigenart* (Neutestamentliche Forschungen, III/2), Gütersloch 1932, pp. 51–57, 71–73; H. de Glase napp, *Croyances et rites de grandes religions*, Paris 1966, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> M. Jousse, *L'Anthropologie du geste*, Paris 1966, pp. 197–200.

people, but treated it as a posture typical of slaves, and therefore unworthy of a free man<sup>7</sup>. This opinion can no longer be maintained, but there is no doubt that standing was the typical praying posture in ancient Greece, while the paying of reverence, proskynesis, was at first expressed by a kiss<sup>8</sup>. In time, the word came to mean what is denoted by the Latin word “adoratio” and was not linked with any defined gesture<sup>9</sup>.

The Romans, too, departed from their original customs at the beginning of our era; it was above all the barbarians who were obliged to show reverence by kneeling<sup>10</sup>, but in the times of the Severus it became customary to greet the caesar by kneeling down and kissing his foot<sup>11</sup>. This however did not find a reflection in Roman iconography, where kneeling occurs mainly in the presentation of triumphs and is performed by a prisoner, or a defeated barbarian, begging for mercy<sup>12</sup>.

There is not a shadow of a doubt that praying in the standing posture was the general, basic practice in the first centuries of Christianity. But kneeling was also known. Tertulian called on the faithful in *De oratione* not to hesitate to fall on their knees to God at least once a day, at the beginning of the prayer at the start of the day<sup>13</sup>. After Tertulian, other writers urged the common people to express their religious feelings in this way<sup>14</sup>. But contrary to these encouragements and practice, genuflection occurs only sporadically in the iconography of early Christianity; the faithful were nearly always presented in the standing posture, as orants, with their arms upraised<sup>15</sup>.

There were theological reasons for the disinclination to present people praying on their knees. This posture was semantically connected with sin and the sense of guilt; it was a symbol of fall and a sign of penance. Great importance

<sup>7</sup> H. Lesêtre, *Génuflexion*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. III, Paris 1910, col. 192; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kulturaltertümer*, München 1920, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> J. Horst, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–14. It should be emphasised, however, that in ancient Greece the kiss was not an expression of tenderness but a sign of subservience and humility, *ibidem*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>9</sup> In its translation from the Hebrew the *Septuaginta* uses the word *proskynesis* for various gestures: shaking, inclining, bowing, as well as kneeling and prostrating oneself, *ibidem*, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> E. Bertaud, *op. cit.*, col. 214; A. Alföldi, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe*, rev. edition, in: *idem, Die monarchische Representation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt 1980, pp. 9–25.

<sup>11</sup> A. Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–58; cf. also pp. 46–65.

<sup>12</sup> A. Alföldi (*ibidem*, p. 58, tables 1, 2) indicated only one example of an image in which the Romans paid respect to the caesar on their knees. For the kneeling posture as the entreaty of a defeated barbarian see R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (Memories of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XIV), Copenhagen 1963, pp. 72–74, 96, 109, 116, 122–125, 150 and 189–195.

<sup>13</sup> Tertulian, *Liber de oratione*, 23, in: *Patrologie cursus completus*. Series Latina, ed. J. M.igne, (Paris 1878–1890, henceforward referred to as PL), I, col. 1191.

<sup>14</sup> See E. Bertaud, *op. cit.*, col. 222–224.

<sup>15</sup> W. Weisbach, *Ausdrucksgestaltung in mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Zürich 1948, p. 11; J. A. Jungman, *Symbolik der katholischen Kirche*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 161; E. von Severus, *Gebet I*, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. VIII, Stuttgart 1972, col. 1216–1218. The literature concerning the orant has recently been compiled by W. Kleinbauer, *The Orants in the Mosaic Decoration of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki. Martyr Saints or Donor?* “Cahiers Archéologiques”, vol. XXX, 1982, pp. 25–45, fn. 3 and 16.

was attached to this symbolism, as is proved by the prohibition against kneeling on Sundays and during the period of Easter, a custom known already to Origen and Tertulian and given legal force in the 20th canon of the decisions adopted by the Council of Nicea in 325<sup>16</sup>. The custom was commented on by Pseudo–Justin: *l'agenouillement pendant les six jours de la semaine est le signe de nos fautes; le dimanche est le signe de la résurrection, par laquelle la grâce du Christ nous délivre de nos péchés et détruit la mort encourue par nos péchés*<sup>17</sup>. This is why donors were always presented in the shining glory of the hope of resurrection as persons raised from the fall and introduced into paradise.

The gesture acquired the form which corresponded to its meaning; in the first centuries the Christians viewed kneeling as a servile prostration which, being a sign of defeat, was in a way linked with rising up, which signified the absolution from guilt. St. Basil says quite clearly that kneeling and rising are phases of the same ritual act: *chaque fois que nous fléchissons les genoux et que nous nous relevons, nous montrons en acte que nous avons été jetés à terre par le péché et rappelés au ciel par l'amour de notre Créateur pour les hommes*<sup>18</sup>.

Byzantium inherited this symbolism from antiquity. In the presentation of the emperor's triumphs<sup>19</sup> kneeling continued to be restricted to barbarians. Describing such an effigy (probably ideal) in about 400, Pseudo–Chrysostom stresses emphatically that the status of the represented persons is distinguished by their posture. This testimony is all the more valuable as it explains the reasons for the adopted posture: the Romans are standing and making a slight bow because their gesture of subservience comes of their own free will, while the barbarians fall on their knees because their defeat obligates them to abase themselves before the emperor<sup>20</sup>.

This must have been deeply impressed on Byzantine consciousness, for servile kneeling before the basileus was not presented in art, just as it had not been presented in antiquity, contrary to the court ritual, quite well known thanks to the work of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in which this form of paying reverence to the basileus occurs frequently<sup>21</sup>. Researchers have repeatedly emphasised that in Byzantium the connection between liturgy and the court ritual was of a genetic character: the ways of expressing the meaning by gestures were identical in the secular and religious rituals<sup>22</sup>. Strong links also existed

<sup>16</sup> H. Leclercq, *Génuflexion*, in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. VI/1, Paris 1924, col. 1018; E. Bertaud, *op. cit.*, col. 219.

<sup>17</sup> Pseudo–Justin, *Questions et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, 115, quoted after: E. Bertaud, *op. cit.*, col. 223. Text attributed to Theodoret of Cyrhus, d. about 460.

<sup>18</sup> St. Basil, *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, 27, quoted after E. Bertaud, *op. cit.*, col. 220.

<sup>19</sup> The oldest presentations go back to the 4th century. After A. Grabar mention should be made of the reliefs on the plinth of Theodosius' obelisk in Constantinople and the column of Arcadius in Thessaloniki. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient*, Paris 1936, pp. 54–57 and 66–69.

<sup>20</sup> The text is quoted by A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fn. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, Paris 1935, vol. I, pp. 7, 78, 85, 94, 114, 120, 128, 134, 138, 146, 152, 161, 162, 170; vol. II, pp. 1, 12, 13, 37, 40, 45, 47, 49, 52, 62, 114, 116, 134, 148, 161.

in iconography, the same gestures expressing the feelings towards the basileus and Christ or Mary<sup>23</sup>. It is also symptomatic that there are very few images showing the orants on their knees<sup>24</sup>. It is worth remarking that the majority of these come from later times than the middle of the 13th century, that is after the 500-year-long occupation of Constantinople by the Latinists. The question of whether the popularisation of kneeling in Byzantine art could have been influenced by Western habits and iconography is a subject which would require a separate monograph.

Byzantium knew various forms of showing reverence, known as *proskynesis*. It is certain that this was not only the kneeling posture<sup>25</sup> but usually a low bow or the bowing of the head. The image on the lid of a 9th century bone casket, showing the imperial couple standing in front of Christ who blesses them by laying His hands on their bowed heads is commented by the following inscription: *O Christ bénis le couple impérial, le couple, ton serviteur, t'adore comme il convient – προσκυνεῖ χὰτὰ ξῆγαν*<sup>26</sup>. The more frequent *proskynesis* in Byzantine iconography is *micro metanoya*: a deep inclination of the body

<sup>22</sup> W. Weisbach, *op. cit.*, p. 10; A. Hänggi, *Liturgische Körperhaltung*, in: *Lexikon der Theologie und Kirche*, vol. VI, Freiburg 1961, col. 1102. A characteristic example of this connection was the interdiction to pay respect to the basileus by falling on one's knees on holy days: *Tout les susdits entrent pour le baiser de paix, font une profonde révérence à l'empereur, mais sans tomber à terre, à cause de la Résurrection, Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 60. A similar interdiction was in force on Ascension Day and the anniversary of the coronation if it fell on a Sunday, *ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 149–150; vol. II, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99, 177, 205.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 101. The scarcity of images of this kind prior to the 13th century implies that each of them calls for a separate, detailed iconological interpretation. As an example one can quote the tympanum of the Esso Narthex in St. Sofia in Constantinople with the image of the renovator of this temple which was destroyed during the strifes over the cult of images. The renovator, Basil I, is kneeling with his face at the feet of the enthroned *Pantocrator*. J. Scharf (*Der Kaiser in Proskynese. Bemerkungen zur Deutung des Kaisermosaiks im Narthex der Hagia Sophia von Konstantinopel*, in: *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schram zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 29–31) regards this image as a literal illustration of the prayer of entreaty which the basileus said at the Council of Constantinople on October 25, 869, realising the sins he had committed and aware of the imminent Judgment. A. Schminck, on the other hand (*Rota tu volubilis. Kaisermacht und Patriarchenmacht in Mosaiken*, in: *Cupido Legum*, ed. L. Burgmann, M. Fögen, A. Schminck, Frankfurt am M. 1985, pp. 218–223) connects this image with Patriarch Photius's inspiration and his triumph at the 879–880 council at which the Constantinople Church was placed first in the earthly hierarchy and the basileus's equal power was recognised as executive power. It was only then that it became possible to show the caesar on his knees in a scene of public penance, an expiation for the murder of Michael III, which had opened the road to the throne to Basil I. The examples of donors' subservient kneeling in Byzantine art have been discussed by I. Spatharakis (*The Proskynesis in Byzantine Art. A Study in Connection with a Nomisma of Andronicus II Paleologue*, "Bulletin Antieke Beschaving", vol. XLIX, 1974, pp. 190–205). Unfortunately he has not explained why they are so sporadic.

<sup>25</sup> Such is the interpretation of *proskynesis* in literature. See *Paroskynesis*, in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie (henceforward referred to as LCHI)*, vol. III, Rom–Freiburg–Bassel–Wien 1971, col. 462–465; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. I, Paris 1955, p. 225; J. Tozke, *Prostration*, in: *Lexikon der Theologie und Kirche*, vol. VII, Freiburg 1963, col. 814.

<sup>26</sup> A. A. Guillon, *Deux ivoires constantinopolitains datés du IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Byzance et les Slaves. Etude de Civilisation*. Mélanges Ivan Dujev, Paris 1979, pp. 207–208.

with the lowering of the right arm to the ground. The *great metanoya*, the falling on one's knees and touching the ground with the forehead, was first and foremost a form of expiation, a sign of a fall into sin and penance<sup>27</sup>.

Gestures preserved their meaning for a long time in Byzantium. The strict detailed formulae of the imperial etiquette and liturgical ritual preserved the traditional meanings. Neither Christian antiquity nor Byzantium regarded kneeling as a praying posture separate from prostration. The falling on one's knees was a short act of expiation, a form of penance, a corporal exercise in which the humble sinner bent to the ground to beg for absolution. When his sins had been absolved, he immediately rose from his knees, rejecting the shameful posture of the sinner; it was the standing posture that was appropriate for the redeemed man.

Although we do not know the function of kneeling in the tribal communities of the north European barbarians, there is no doubt that together with the early Christian writings and legacy of the Fathers of the Church, the West took over the instructions justifying the use of this gesture in cult and probably also the principles of its symbolism. This did not have to be a rediscovered legacy; it was rather the continuation of a practice, for kneeling spread at once in cenobitic circles<sup>28</sup>. This was reflected in the oldest western monastic rules.

The rule of the Master obligated the monks to kneel down during their common service, after the recitation of each psalm, before the concluding prayer<sup>29</sup>. The same injunction can be found in St. Benedict's rule, where a subservient prostration is frequently repeated as an expression of penance, of an imploring plea by a person who has transgressed the norms of the life of a community<sup>30</sup>. Was this gesture the same in the West as in Byzantium? Commenting on St. Benedict's rules in Carolingian times, Hildemar drew attention to an important difference: *L'usage des Grecs est de prier souvent, mais peu. Nous devons rester prosternés dans la prière aussi longtemps que, Dieu aidant, nous méprisons les mauvaises pensées*<sup>31</sup>. The difference is essential from the point of view of the psychology of prayer: kneeling is not only

<sup>27</sup> Ch. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London 1982, pp. 62 and 98–99. In illuminated psalters kneeling is often presented as the posture of the repenting David, as a Biblical illustration (2 Kings, 1–16) of a long iconographic tradition, detached from the narrative context and developed into a typological presentation. It has been described by E. Eszlary, *On the Development of Early Christian Iconography, Fourth Century Fragment from Asia Minor*, "Acta Historiae Artium", vol. VIII, 1962, pp. 215–230. It is worth pointing out that in Byzantine art the angels worshipping Christ were not presented on their knees, T. Klausner, *Engel X (in der Kunst)*, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. V, Stuttgart 1962, col. 303–304.

<sup>28</sup> The practice of monks praying on their knees was already described by Jan Kassien, *De cenobiorum institutis*, II, 7, quoted after H. Leclercq, *op. cit.*, col. 1020–1021. See also J. A. Jungman, *La prière chrétienne, évolution et permanence*, transl. by E. Rideau, Paris 1972, pp. 54–65.

<sup>29</sup> A. de Vogüé, *Le rituel monastique chez saint Benoît et chez le Maître*, "Revue Bénédictine", vol. LXXI, 1961, No. 3–4, pp. 239–241.

<sup>30</sup> *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. A. de Vogüé (*Sources Chrétiennes. Série de Textes Monastiques d'Occident*, vol. XXXIV), Paris 1972, cap. 25, 44, 50, 53, 58, 67, 71.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted after L. Leclercq, F. Vanderbroucke, L. Bouyer, *La Spiritualité du Moyen Age*, (s.l.) 1961, p. 105.

a transitory gesture indicating man's fall, but also the posture of sustained meditation, which is helpful to inner transformation and the absolution of sin.

In some regions of the West the 20th canon of the decisions of the Council of Nicea remained a mere letter of the law for a long time. For instance, the Master's rule envisaged kneeling during extra-liturgical services also on Sundays, thus deliberately disregarding the official injunctions<sup>32</sup>. St. Benedict kept more closely to the letter of the law, while St. Columban and Donatus allowed penitents to kneel also on holy days<sup>33</sup>. But the Irish penitentiary piety was something new in the religiousness of the West. It played an important role in the evolution of Western spirituality; it was of a more personal character; God was approached with greater emotion and familiarity; of fundamental importance was the change of confession from a public expiation into a private admission of guilt<sup>34</sup>. The new currents of Western piety were accompanied by a penchant for increasingly expressive gestures in iconography. These changes seem to indicate that kneeling, too, was enriched with new elements and that it performed new functions.

Medieval Western iconography was formed in Carolingian times. It was then that the West took up and developed, partly through the intervention of Byzantium, the artistic legacy of late Christian antiquity. Together with iconography, it also inherited the expression by gestures, which for some time retained their traditional meanings. But the illustrations of the Biblical story of the Adoration of the Magi indicate that the pejorative meaning of kneeling was gradually discarded. The Adoration of the Magi is one of the oldest and most frequent subjects in early Christian art<sup>35</sup>; the exotic, barbarian origin of the Magi was usually emphasised by their attire: trousers and the Phrygian cap. But the Magi were presented in the standing posture, their adoration being indicated by the inclination of the head or the body<sup>36</sup>. They recognised Christ's power of their own will and were thus entitled to this "civic" form of paying reverence, to recall Pseudo-Chrysostom.

The iconographic tradition was retained in Byzantium and was widespread also in the West up to the 10th century<sup>37</sup>. But already in the tenth century the adoration was presented in the kneeling posture<sup>38</sup>. In time an established pattern was formed: two Magi are standing, the Magus the nearest to the triumphant

<sup>32</sup> A. Mundó, *A propos des rituales du Maître et du Saint Benoît*: La "Provoluto", "Studia Monastica" vol. IV, 1962, pp. 183–184.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 185 and 189–190; A. de Vogüé, *Introduction*, in: *La Règle...*, p. 121.

<sup>34</sup> J. Leclercq, F. Vanderbroucke, L. Bouyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59.

<sup>35</sup> A. Weiss, *Drei Könige*, in: *LChI*, vol. I, col. 539–544.

<sup>36</sup> See the frequent scenes on the sarcophagi in Rome and Ostia, F. Deichman, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, vol. I: *Rom und Ostia*, Wiesbaden 1967, cat. no. 5, 16, 33, 41, 43, 96, 135, 145, 147, 159, 241, 350, 526, 527, 618, 648, 690, 745, 770, 799, 803, 835, 887, 945.

<sup>37</sup> For example the right hand wall of Prince Rutchis's altar (about 740), Cividale, Museo Cristiano; the quarter of the wooden door in the church of St. Mary in the Capitol in Cologne (about 1065). See also A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaisern*, vol. I, 2nd ed., Berlin–Oxford 1969, Nos. 13, 72, 118.

<sup>38</sup> *Egbert's Codex*, about 980, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 24, fol. 17 r.

Mary adores the Child bending one knee or both knees and sometimes bending down and kissing Christ's feet. The formal variants are of no importance to us, the significance was identical: here kneeling was an expression of the most profound adoration of the Child and Mary. It can no longer be interpreted as the posture of a defeated barbarian. Did the Magi lose in the West the status of voluntary believers in Christ just at the very moment when tradition had begun to regard them not only as sages but also as monarchs?<sup>39</sup>

The antique iconographic tradition was undoubtedly much weaker in the West than in Byzantium. The way in which the Adoration of the Magi was presented indicates that kneeling had ceased to distinguish those who were forced to acknowledge their inferiority. The change of meaning probably resulted from observance of the reality. In the West kneeling was already functioning in a completely new society which did not perceive the world as an opposition between Rome and the barbarians; this was a society in which a possible feeling of superiority resulted only from membership of Christianity. Unlike Byzantine society, the Western society did not regard itself as the sole heir to Rome, surrounded and threatened by barbarians. The sense of danger in Byzantium favoured the retention of tradition and the negative meaning of traditional gestures. In the Carolingian West in which slavery was disappearing as a social institution<sup>40</sup> there arose another type of social ties, a quasi-familiar type. As a result the meaning of gestures changed too.

The most important testimony in iconography was the presentation of donors on their knees in Carolingian times. In Byzantium such a presentation was exceptional, in the West it was frequent already in the 9th century and in time began to appear en masse. We must therefore assume that in addition to being a traditional symbol of defeat and fall into sin, kneeling also performed other ideological functions.

Before we try to interpret the meanings indicated by iconographic sources, it is worth having a look at the forms of kneeling presented in the arts. The most enigmatic and strange seems to be the praying on bended knees which however do not touch the ground, an intermediary form between standing and kneeling. This is how artists presented the founder of "Matilda's Younger Cross"<sup>41</sup>, Abbot Leonidas on the tympanum in Castiglione a Casauria<sup>42</sup>, monk Frederick in a 12th century psalter in the National Library in Paris<sup>43</sup>, and in Poland Święto-

<sup>39</sup> A. Weiss, *op. cit.*, col. 541; see also T. Dobrzeńcki, *Gotycka płaskorzeźba ze sceną pokłonu Trzech Króli — odnaleziony pierwowzór znanych od dawna jego kopii. Analiza stylistyczna i ikonograficzna (The Gothic Bas-Relief with the Scene of the Adoration of the Magi — The Discovered Original of Copies Known for a Long Time. A Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis)*. "Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie", vol. XXIII, 1979, pp. 158–159.

<sup>40</sup> M. Bloch, *Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique*, revised ed. in: idem, *Mélanges historiques*, vol. I, Paris 1965, pp. 261–285.

<sup>41</sup> Essen, Münsterschatzkammer, second half of the 11th century, *Das Erste Jahrtausend...*, vol. III, *Catalogue*, ed. by V. Elbern, Düsseldorf 1963, p. 82, table 378.

<sup>42</sup> Dated at about 1160, E. Lipsmeyer, *The Donor and His Church Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period*, Ann Arbor/Mich. 1985, p. 93.



ślaw Piotrowic on the Wrocław tympanum in the Church of the Holy Virgin on the Sand Island<sup>44</sup>. This posture has not, so far, aroused greater doubts among researchers into icons and has had two opposite interpretations: as standing or kneeling. But in fact it was a different posture: the proper *genuflectio*. Paul the Deacon must have had this gesture in mind when he commented on St. Benedict's rules in 9th century<sup>45</sup>. Following in Paul's footsteps, Bernard of Monte Cassino gave a more detailed description: *Non intelligas genuflectionem, sed supplicationem, que debet fieri ante et retro ad omnem partem. Et ita est prouolutio quasi per omnem partem uolutio*<sup>46</sup>. These commentators explained the posture by which St. Benedict replaced kneeling on holy days. This posture was also known in the East<sup>47</sup>. This is probably the posture referred to in the 10th century Roman–Germanic Pontifical which prescribed praying on bended knees<sup>48</sup>. Thus, this is not an iconographic recording of the initial phase of kneeling down, but kneeling on holy days. The sense of this posture seems to have been the signalling of the inner readiness to kneel down on days when kneeling was not allowed by the ritual<sup>49</sup>.

Full kneeling on both knees was usually an expressive pose of a profound prayer. Until the 12th century it was usually depicted as prostration, with a deep inclination of the body or even its full prostration on the ground<sup>50</sup>. Was kneeling with one's face close to the ground a separate posture from the 9th to the 12th century? Written sources are not clear, the same term may have been used for differing postures, the same postures may have borne different names. It seems, however, that as in the patristic epoch, prostration was not distinguished from kneeling but was treated as its obvious supplement. In *de laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, Rabanus Maurus defined his image on the knees with a deeply inclined body as kneeling: *Imago vera mea, quam subter crucem genua flectentem et orantem depixeram*<sup>51</sup>. That kneeling and prostration had an identical meaning

<sup>43</sup> Ms. Lat. 946, fol. 3 r., P. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

<sup>44</sup> Dated at about 1165, Z. Świechowski, *Sztuka romańska w Polsce (Romanesque Art in Poland)*, Warszawa 1982, p. 276.

<sup>45</sup> A. de Vogüé, *Le Rituel...*, p. 258.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>47</sup> A. Mundo, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>48</sup> *Le Pontifical Romano–Germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. C. Vogel, R. Elze, vol. II (*Studi e testi*, No. 227), Cita del Vaticano 1963, cap. XCIX, 36.

<sup>49</sup> It is worth pointing out that in Egypt the laying of one's hand on the knee signified the readiness to prostrate oneself, T. Ohm, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>50</sup> R. Suntrup (*Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* "Münsterische Mittelalter–Schriften", vol. XXXVII, München 1978, p. 154, fn. 2) is of the opinion that in medieval liturgy kneeling should be distinguished from prostration which signified the full prostration of one's body on the ground and was expected only of an expiating sinner in Good Friday liturgy, the ritual of royal coronation and in the course of the lithany during the dedication of a church. Suntrup admits that it is extremely difficult to distinguish the two postures. In my opinion neither liturgical sources nor iconography permit such a distinction until the end of the 12th century.

<sup>51</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis libri duo*, PL CVII, figura XXVIII, col. 261–262 and 264.

is confirmed by some liturgical sources; *ad omnes canonicas horas genua flectimus prostrati orationes, et clicit diaconus 'Flectamus genua' et prostermentes se omnes in terra*<sup>52</sup>. The examples could be multiplied; it seems therefore that for the early and full Middle Ages, up to the 13th century, prostration was simply the correct form of full kneeling supplemented by a deep bending of the body. Iconography recorded various phases of this posture, from the lowering of the knees to the ground and the lowering of the body to the feet, to the prostration of the whole body on the ground. The differences seem to be more formal than semantic.

In the iconography of the 11th and 12th centuries the kneeling on one knee had a different meaning from full kneeling. Whereas kneeling on one knee appears in various contexts, sometimes in images of a secular character, as a gesture of courtly greeting, prostration was exclusively the posture of ardent prayer and profound adoration. For instance, in Konrad der Pfaffe's illustration to the German version of *Chanson de Roland*, kneeling is twice presented as a gesture of courtesy to the emperor sitting on the throne. On the other hand, during his dramatic prayer Charlemagne kneels on both knees, with his body inclined and his face nearing the ground<sup>53</sup>. An explanation of the difference cannot be found until the mid 13th century in the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg: *Dû muost mit zwein knien vor dem obern herren (Gott) knien und mit eine knie vor dem nidern. Das bediutet, daz dû des obern Herren bist mit lîbe unde mit sêle unde des nidern niwand mit dem lîbe*<sup>54</sup>.

In their treatises the liturgists paid far less attention to the external forms of a gesture and much more to its allegoric and symbolic interpretation. Gesture was regarded as a corporal sign, as an external expression of feelings, as *motus corporis* or *motus animi*. *Oratio interna solet demonstrari per habitum corporis*, asserted Amalarius of Metz<sup>55</sup>. The traditional interpretation of kneeling as a symbol of sin was retained in the liturgists' writings; Honorius Gemma regarded this posture as indispensable during Lent: *im Paradies standen wir unter den Engeln, jetzt liegen wir unter den vernunftlosen Tieren, und unser Geist wird von körperlicher Beschwerde bedrängt; den Tieren ähnlich, haben wir gleichsam durch den Südenfall unsere Vernunft eingebüßt. Als Sünder wagen wir nicht mehr unter den Gerechten zu stehen, sondern wir fallen nieder, um für unsere Sünden zu büßen*<sup>56</sup>. But new elements appeared in this traditional

<sup>52</sup> J. Siegwart, *Die Constitutiones des Augustinerchorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsas (12. Jahrhundert)*, *Spicilegium Friburgense*, vol. II, Freiburg 1965, cap. XIV, 32; M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen-âge*, Louvain 1931–1957, Ordo XVI, 33.

<sup>53</sup> P. Bertemes, *Bild- und Textstruktur. Eine Analyse der Beziehungen von Illustrationszyklus und Text im Rolandslied des Konrad Pfaffen in der Handschrift P*. "Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft", vol. IX, Frankfurt am M. 1984, pp. 66–67, 74, 117–119, 120–121.

<sup>54</sup> *Bertholds von Regensburg vollständige Ausgabe seiner deutschen Predigten*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, J. Strobl, vol. I, Wien 1862, p. 348.

<sup>55</sup> Amalarius of Metz, *De officis ecclesiasticis*, III, 28, 5, in: *Amalari episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J. Hanssens (*Studi e testi*, No. 138–140), vol. III, Cita del Vaticano 1950.

<sup>56</sup> Quoted after R. Suntrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158.

interpretation: kneeling became a general expression of man's condition in the face of God. According to Siccardus of Cremona, we are made of dust and cannot improve by ourselves; this is why contrite and ashamed, we fall to the ground before God, realising what we are. But Siccardus adds that Christ should be worshipped on one's knees because human nature was also His lot; He descended from heaven and took on man's life, accepting also our sins<sup>57</sup>. An expression of this allegorical interpretation was the kneeling during the Creed practised since the 12 century at the words *Et homo factus est*, as a sign of God incarnate<sup>58</sup>.

The changes which took place in Western spirituality from the 9th to the 11th century seem to be reflected in the portrayal of donations. But the feelings of donors facing Christ or his saints were expressed not only by kneeling, but frequently also by gestures in the standing posture. Was the choice dictated by the content or the function of the image?

The donors facing saints were presented in two situations. Sometimes their merit was strongly emphasised; in such cases they held their donation, the model of a temple, a book, a liturgical vessel or only a bag of money, in the hand. The subject was the transfer of the gift to heaven: dedication. But the donor could also be presented without this attribute. Up to the end of the 11th century Western iconography was very consistent: dedication usually presented the donor in the standing posture<sup>59</sup>, while donors without the model of their gift nearly always fell on their knees before Christ, Mary or a saint<sup>60</sup>. It was the posture, together with the model symbol of the donation, that defined the subject and content of the image. The difference in the posture was probably the result of the iconographic and ideological genesis of the image of dedication, a genesis which went back directly to early Christian art, in which the donors were always presented in the standing posture<sup>61</sup>. Dedication was not an occasion for prayer, but in accordance with court customs and liturgy, it was a presentation of the donor<sup>62</sup>. The Western images, too, were an illustration of a liturgical act: the ceremony of making an offering and transferring the gift.

The representation of donors on their knees are of an extra-liturgical character; they depict an ardent personal prayer directed privately to Christ or

<sup>57</sup> Siccardus e Cremona, *Mitrare sive de officiis ecclesiasticis summa*, VI, 5, PL CCXIII, col. 262 A.

<sup>58</sup> R. Suntrup, *op. cit.*, p. 160, fn. 35; kneeling at the words *Et homo...* spread first in Cluniac circles in the 12th century, but even in the 14th century it was not practised everywhere.

<sup>59</sup> In view of the lack of space we cannot give a full list of the scenes and must refer the reader to the typed script in the Historical Institute of Warsaw University Catalogue, *The Donor in the Standing Posture during the Dedication Scene*: Nos. 2, 14, 18, 29, 32, 34, 42, 44, 48, 50, 53, 63, 69, 78, 90, 92–94, 104, 105, 113; the donor on his knees: Nos. 8, 23, 57.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15, 21, 26, 30–33, 36, 38–43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 56, 60, 65, 67, 71, 73, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88, 91, 95–102, 106, 107, 110, 114–120.

<sup>61</sup> Ch. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei von vierten bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1960, pp. 24–26.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 25 and 26–27; A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–111; Ch. Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–181; P. Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 473–474.

Mary. This kind of piety was unknown in Carolingian times<sup>63</sup>. Out of the oldest extant testimonies to this current of religiousness let us single out a source connected with Poland: the codex of Gertruda, daughter of Mieszko II. Her exceptional ardour in prayer is reflected by her body: *flectens genua, capite in terra deposita, genua flectendo et capite devoluto in terra, percutiens pectus in corde dices*<sup>64</sup>. In the West the readiness of the spirit, which had to precede the act of prayer, was expressed much more spontaneously than in Byzantium; this is why the praying donor presented in iconography fell on his knees, bent his body, with his face turned to the earth.

The popularity of such representations in the West indicates that in the deep layers of consciousness kneeling was not regarded as an expression of reverence paid under duress, as was the case in ancient Rome. Nor was it viewed as a symbol of the fall into sin, as in Byzantium. It must have expressed much richer contents if the artists used it without qualms. In the West, too, various corporal postures were assumed in prayer; God was worshiped by *inclinazione capitis vel incurvatione vel prostratione totius corporis vel protensione brachiorum atque expansione manum vel alio quolibet modo*, as Einhardus, the Abbot of Seligenstadt, enumerated in about the year 836<sup>65</sup>. Gestures varied and Einhardus did not classify them according to their degree of piety. What then was the meaning of the kneeling posture in the presentation of donations, if it was so widely used in defiance of tradition?

The change in the symbolism of kneeling seems to have accompanied the strong influence of Iro-Scottish piety on Western spirituality. This was a piety of a strongly penitential approach, perceiving Redemption in juridical-moral categories, in the spirit of atonement<sup>66</sup>. The Carolingian West placed the cross and the Passion of Christ in the central point of the history of the Redemption. In iconography, too, the kneeling of donors must be linked with the great development of the cult of the cross, for this posture first appeared and was the most frequent in the *adoratio crucis* subject<sup>67</sup>.

The subject had been known in early Christian iconography but the cross, *crux gemmata*, had been presented in its triumphant form, as the sign and

<sup>63</sup> A. Wilimart, *Auteurs spirituelles et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, 2nd ed., Paris 1971, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> *Manuscriptum Gertrudae, filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae*, ed. V. Meysztowicz, "Antemurale", vol. II, 1955, pp. 105–157; quoted after P. Szczaniecki, *Służba boża w dawnej Polsce. Studia o Mszy św. (God's Service in Old Poland. Studies on the Holy Mass)*, Poznań 1962, p. 219. Researchers have drawn attention to the fact that the prayers of the Polish princess were of a specifically personal character, H. Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'Occident à la Mère du Sauveur. Des origines à saint Anselme*, Paris 1963, pp. 280–282.

<sup>65</sup> Einhardus, *Questiones de adoranda cruce*, in: *Das Einhardkreuz. Vorträge und Studien der Münster Diskussion zum arcus Einhardi*, ed. K. Hauck, Göttingen 1974, p. 214.

<sup>66</sup> W. Godel, *Irisher Beten im frühen Mittelalter*, "Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie", vol. LXXXV, 1963, pp. 410–420.

<sup>67</sup> For the icons showing the donors' adoration of the Cross see R. Deshman, *The Exalted Servant: the Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald "Viator"*, vol. XI, 1980, pp. 385–417.

standard of victory. In this form it was worshipped by Venantius Fortunatus in the hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt* at the beginning of the 7th century. It was in this spirit that artists presented the adoration of the cross by the Apostles, angels, saints and the believers, who all adored the cross only in the standing position, by acclamation or a bow. As late as 705–707 the adoration of the cross was presented in this traditional convention on the triumphal arch in the basilica of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome<sup>68</sup>.

*De laudibus Sanctae Crucis libri duo*, written by the Abbot of Fulda, Rabanus Maurus, about the year 830, soon gained renown and enjoyed popularity, as is proved by the fact that fifteen copies of this work have survived from the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries alone<sup>69</sup>. The oldest of the extant manuscripts, dating from about 830, is illustrated with a scene showing the adoration of Rabanus, who is kneeling at the cross, with his body bowed low<sup>70</sup>. This illustration was repeated in an identical version about 841 and then in all the following copies until the 11th century.

But the illustration of kneeling at the cross was not confined to Maurus' hymn. More or less at the same time, between 826 and 843, it was presented in the frescoes in the vault of the S. Vincenzo al Volturno monastic church<sup>71</sup>. In the scene of the Crucifixion, a Benedictine monk, defined by the inscription as *Dominus Epyphanius abbas*, the founder of the frescoes, is kneeling, bent over to his feet. About the year 860, the same subject appeared in yet another iconographic version in the prayer book of Charles the Bald<sup>72</sup>. The donor, bent over and with outstretched arms, kneels before the crucified Christ, who is presented on the adjoining page. In the slightly later psalter of Louis the German (end of the 9th century) the images of the orant and Christ on the Cross are on the same page<sup>73</sup>. The monarch kneeling on a low *prie-dieu*, has placed his left hand on the cross and is bending to kiss the Saviour's feet. Other iconographic variants appeared in the 10th century: the donor was shown in a separate zone or in direct proximity to Christ; he either lifted up his arms to Christ in an entreating dramatic gesture or was bent and huddled up to the cross<sup>74</sup>.

Until the end of the 10th century this type of presentation appeared almost exclusively in book illustrations; in later times it can be found more often and in more varied contexts. The multiplicity of the functions was of no importance

<sup>68</sup> J. Nordhagen, *John VII's Adoration of the Cross in S. Maria Antiqua*, "Journal of the Wartburg and Courtauld Institutes", vol. XXX, 1967, pp. 388–390.

<sup>69</sup> P. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 47; J. Prochno, *Das Schreiber und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1929, pp. 12–16.

<sup>70</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. reg. 124, fol. 34 v.; J. Prochno, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–16; P. Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 471–472.

<sup>71</sup> H. Beltling, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*, Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 24 and 193–194.

<sup>72</sup> Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, fol. 38 v. and 39 r.; J. Prochno, *op. cit.*, p. 3; P. E. Schram, *Die deutsche Kaiser und Könige in Bilder ihrer Zeit 751–1190*, enlarged revised edition, München 1983, cat. no. 37.

<sup>73</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Theol. Lat. 4, fol. 67 v.; J. Prochno, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>74</sup> See the catalogue in the Historical Institute of Warsaw University, Nos. 33, 60, 70, 102, 106, 110.

for iconography; what seems to be more important is that the adoration of the cross was never linked with dedication; no donor presented his merits or offered a gift to the crucified Christ. What is the most important for us is that the donor always kneels before the crucified Christ; he is bent over, with his face near the ground, prostrated, or raises his face to gaze at Christ or kiss his feet; he always prays ardently.

What was the character of this prayer and what was the significance of the posture which expressed it? The presentations of *adoratio crucis* seem to be a literal illustration of the most important part of the Good Friday liturgical rite. Its genesis goes back to Jerusalem, where it was known already in the 4th century. According to the account of Egeria, a female pilgrim, it was then composed of two parts: the actual adoration of the cross lying on the altar by bowing and the kissing of Christ's feet, and a solemn reading of the lesson and hymns<sup>75</sup>. This liturgy spread quickly in the East and reached Rome. It was first presented there in the *XXIII Ordo Romanus* from the middle of the 8th century, in which the Jerusalem form of adoration by *inclinatio* is replaced by the more dramatic *prostratio*<sup>76</sup>. In the same century the ritual was adopted by the liturgy of Gaul, which enriched it with new prayers and hymns and gave it more dramatic forms<sup>77</sup>. The Good Friday ceremony spread throughout Latin Europe. Some of its elements were changed and the kissing of Christ's feet remained its constant part.

To understand the meaning of kneeling in the adoration-of-the-cross rite it is worth having a look at the *Roman-Germanic Pontifical* from the 10th century, an extremely valuable source which played an enormous role in the development of Western liturgy. The description of the Good Friday ceremony is very detailed and testifies to its expanded dramatism. The *Gospel* according to St. John was followed by a cycle of eighteen prayers, *orationes solemnes*, which were the Church's solemn imploration on behalf of all people. During these prayers the people had to kneel down and stand up eight times, asking God for mercy for the Church, the people, the individual estates, for the virtue of courage and liberation from sin<sup>78</sup>.

The next act was the adoration proper: the carrying of the cross before the altar and its adoration by a threefold falling to the ground and kissing the cross. On their knees the people raised a prayer which probably reveals the meaning of this posture before the crucified Christ. This was the appeal of sinners aware of their guilt: *exaudi me miserum et indignum prostratum ante oculos tue benignissime maiestatis et adorantem te et benedictionem nomen tuum sanctum*. This was the prayer of a fallen man adoring the Christ hanging on the shameful cross: *qui crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut et lignum ligno vinceres et peccati*

<sup>75</sup> A. Rücker, *Die "Adoratio Crucis" in der orientalischen Riten*, in: *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, Roma 1949, pp. 379–380.

<sup>76</sup> M. Andrieu, *op. cit.*, Ordo XXIII, 11–13.

<sup>77</sup> G. Römer, *Kult und Liturgie des Krucifixes*, in: *Lexikon der Theologie und Kirche*, vol. VI, Freiburg 1961, col. 609.

<sup>78</sup> *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique...*, cap. 311–327.

*hereditarium mortem morte potentissima superares*. These are already the words of hope said by the sinners redeemed by the cross. The public adoration of the cross in complete humility is not a sign of the fall but a thanksgiving for the defeat of evil<sup>79</sup>.

Amalarius of Metz believed that a prayer on one's knees with one's head bowed down promoted an inner renewal<sup>80</sup>. Sicardus of Cremona put this problem in a different manner: *Dum autem crucem osculamur, nos ad terram prosternimus, ut humilitas mentis per habitum corporis demonstretur, et quia sicut Christus humiliatus est parti pro nobis usque ad mortem, sic nos eius mortis imitatores humiliari oportet*<sup>81</sup>.

In the spirituality of Carolingian and Ottonian Europe the adoration of the cross found its expression not only in the liturgical rite, full of dramatic suspense, but also in personal piety. It was the adoration of the cross that gave rise to the greatest number of extremely personal songs and prayers which exceeded the framework of liturgical rites. As far as this aspect is concerned, the adoration of the cross in Carolingian times was of a typically Latin character<sup>82</sup>.

Already the old English poem *The Dream of the Rood* (8–9th century)<sup>83</sup> was a dramatic vision of death and redemption. Such a presentation of the story of the Redemption testified to the believers' unshakable conviction that Christ's passion and humiliation had a redeeming power. In the texts of prayers Christ is tormented and humiliated, but His humiliation triumphs over death, the legacy of the original sin. The victory achieved in this way is a source of hope for mortals and sinners; *Domine Iesu Christe qui pro nobis crucis et mortis patibulum subisti. Ut mortem sanares, et diaboli expelleres potestatem, et sanguinis tui pretio nos liberares. Miserere mei humillimo servo tuo, et veniam mihi peccatorum meorum tribue, meque coram adoranda cruce tua prostratum, ab omnibus malis eripe, bonis tuis misericorditer refice*<sup>84</sup>.

On Queen Gisella's cross kept in the Resident Museum in Munich the images of the kneeling women–donors are placed directly at the foot–rest of the crucified Christ<sup>85</sup>. The arms of the cross bear the inspiration: *Ecce salus vitae*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, cap. 331–337.

<sup>80</sup> Amalarius of Metz, *op. cit.*, I, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Sicardus of Cremona, *op. cit.*, VI, 13.

<sup>82</sup> A. Wilimart, *Prières médiévales pour l'adoration de la Croix*, "Ephemerides Liturgicae", vol. XLVI, 1932, pp. 22–23.

<sup>83</sup> P. Meddl, *Rood and Stow. The Cross and the Holy Place as Factors in Anglo–Saxon Parochial Evangelisation*, "The Church Quarterly Review", vol. CLXIII, 1963, pp. 151–153 and 158.

<sup>84</sup> *Orationes ad crucem salutandum in parasceve aliisque temporis dicende*, cap. 13 ; Psalter from the beginning of the 11th century, Farfa, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. Farfensis No. 4, quoted after A. Wilimart, *Prières médiévales...*, p. 37. Cf. also pp. 23–24, 27–30, 31–32, 33–39, 45–51 and 55 with other 8th and 9th century hymns in honour of the Cross, on the borderline of liturgy and private piety.

<sup>85</sup> Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, first half of the 11th century, S. Steinberg, Ch. Steinberg–von Pape, *Die Bildnisse geistlicher und weltlicher Fürsten und Herren*, vol. I: *Von Mitte des 10. bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1931, p. 117.

*per quam mors mortua morte; unde sue matrisque animae poscendo salve; quam si quis demit hinc damentur, morte penni.* Kneeling was the entreaty of a man aware of his falls and confessing his weakness. But just as the cross, the symbol of a shameful death, was turned into the sign of victory, kneeling at the cross, the realisation of one's own fall, became a sign of mercy and forgiveness.

In Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus delictarum*, one of the illustrations showing Adam and Eve kneeling at the cross on Judgment Day bears a commenting description: *Adam per crucem redemptus, crucem adorat* and analogously: *Eva per crucem redempta, crucem adorat*<sup>86</sup>. In the *Sacramentary of Verdun* the image of Gutbor, a priest adoring the crucified Christ, is in a very important place: the cross as the initial "T" opens the part of the liturgy devoted to consecration<sup>87</sup>. In a Viennese 12th century *Sacramentary*, the orant, a kneeling priest, holds in his hand a chalice into which Christ's blood flows<sup>88</sup>. Thus the donor benefits from the same mercy which during the consecration turns bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood and which changed the cross from a symbol of shame into a sign of triumph. In this context the donor's kneeling, being a voluntary admission of sin, became a sign of the overpowering of sin.

The scene of Crucifixion also adorns the cover of *St. Elizabeth's Psalter* dating from the 12th century<sup>89</sup>. At the foot of the cross are personifications of the Ecclesia and the Synagogue. The Synagogue, obdurate in its stubborn denial, stands with its head down and its eyes blinded, while the Ecclesia, open to the action of mercy, is kneeling at the cross, collecting into a chalice the blood which has redeemed man and washed away his sins.

But it was not only in the face of the cross that humble kneeling opened the way to salvation. Bishop Notger confesses his guilt to a majestic haloed Christ *flecte genu*<sup>90</sup>. While praying ardently on one's knees one could also confess one's guilt to Mary, who was the Mother of Mercy, and to the holy intermediaries. In time also the saints in scenes showing their earthly life were presented on their knees, bent low and enraptured in prayer. These were not only images but also patterns showing the faithful in what posture to worship God so as to achieve salvation by a humble confession of guilt.

The connection between sin and kneeling as its symbol goes back to the patristic epoch and is constantly evident in medieval liturgical sources<sup>91</sup>, while

<sup>86</sup> Herrad von Hohenburg, *Hortus Delictarum*, fol. 251 v. and 253 r., ed. R. Green, M. Evans, Ch. Bischoff, M. Curschmann, vol. I: *Reconstruction*, London–Leiden 1979, pp. 428 and 433, tables 142 and 144.

<sup>87</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1077, fol. 2 v., end of 10th century. The iconography of the missal canon has been discussed by R. Suntrup, "Te igitur" — *Initialen und Kanonbilder in mittelalterlichen Sacramentarhandschriften*, in: *Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 278–366.

<sup>88</sup> Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 13314, fol. 135 r., S. Steiberg, Ch. Steinberg–von Pape, *op. cit.*, il. 82a.

<sup>89</sup> Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. CXXXVII.

<sup>90</sup> Liege, Musée Curtis, about 1000, *Das Erste Jahrtausend...*, vol. III, p. 77.

<sup>91</sup> M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines ...*, Ordo XVI, 33; XVII, 25.



the 1142 mosaic inscription on the floor near the altar in the church at Ainay near Lyons emphasises the beneficial results of kneeling: *Huc, huc flecte genus veniam quicumque precalis. Hic pax, Hic vita, sala hic sanctificaris*<sup>92</sup>. In the medieval West people knelt down frequently and spontaneously. The kneeling posture had continued to carry traditional meanings since the times of the Fathers of the Church, but it was enriched with new contents which changed its significance in an essential way.

The pattern portraying the donor presenting his gift to the heavens in the standing position was still widespread in the 12th century. But many images were already appearing in which the founder presented his gift kneeling on one or both knees and sometimes even completely prostrated<sup>93</sup>. The freedom in the choice of posture, irrespective of the subject, seems to indicate that the traditional iconographic formula had been overcome and, indirectly, that the strict juridical treatment of the kneeling posture was being discarded. To a much greater extent kneeling became a spontaneous way of expressing one's feelings.

In the art of the early and ripe Middle Ages kneeling was usually depicted in the most dramatic form, as prostration. This resulted from the meaning of the adopted posture. In the 12th century, especially its second half, images of donors kneeling on both knees but with an upright body and their hands clasped, began to appear more and more often in various iconographic contexts. Some of these images seem to indicate that kneeling with the body erect differed from the traditional prostration not only in form but also in meaning.

An instructive example is the dedicatory illustration in the *Codex of Traditions* of the Augustinian monastery at Diesem an Ammersee<sup>94</sup>. This is like a scene from a courtly romance; the enthroned Mary with Child is accompanied by four founders of the Andechs family. Two of them, Henry II and Bishop Otto III, are kneeling in a pose full of adoration; the bishop is presenting a book, while Henry, a young aristocrat, with a refined gesture hands a ring to Mary, whose face is turned towards him.

The miniature in the Weingard copy of Richard of St. Victor's *Flores in honorem beatae Virginis Mariae* dates back to 1200–1206<sup>95</sup>. It shows the author's prayer and an allegorical dedication. We have departed far from the illustration in *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis* and Rabanus Maurus' anxious subservience at the cross. Mary stretches out Her hand towards the posy of flowers which in lieu of the book is being gracefully handed to Her by Richard,

<sup>92</sup> J. Michaud, *Les inscriptions de consécration d'autels et de dédicace d'églises en France du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Epigraphie et liturgie*, Poitiers 1978 (typescript in the CESM Library in Poitiers), No. 211, p. 200. I would like to thank M. J. Michaud for drawing my attention to this inscription.

<sup>93</sup> Catalogue in the Historical Institute of Warsaw University, Nos. 5, 9, 25, 35, 47, 54, 66, 68, 72, 83, 103, 109.

<sup>94</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 1018, fol. 35 v., second half of the 12th century, S. Steinberg, Ch. Steinberg-von Pape, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>95</sup> Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Ms. HB VII 56, fol. 102 r., *Suevia Sacra. Frühe Kunst in Schwaben*, Augsburg 1973, cat. no. 192.

who kneels on both knees. Humility and submissiveness have been replaced in this scene by loving adoration, and serene and lyrical ties between Mary and the orant have been substituted for dramatic tension.

Could this form of kneeling continue to be regarded as ensuring the absolution of guilt? Was this the adoration of a sinner conscious of his fall or did the change in form reflect a change in the meaning of the gesture? Let us draw attention to the fact that in the 13th century liturgists distinguished prostration from kneeling. Already Siccardus of Cremona pointed out that the two postures expressed different states of the spirit<sup>96</sup>.

Iconography again seems to confirm our hypothesis that kneeling changed its ideological sense at the end of the 12th century. Pictures showing Mary on Her knees on the day of Judgment appeared on cathedral tympana in various places in Europe in the first half of the 13th century<sup>97</sup>. There is no doubt that Mary's kneeling reflects Her entreaty on behalf of sinners; the meaning of the posture must have been enriched. It could no longer be regarded as adoration by a sinner confessing his guilt, even though it brought the blessing of absolution. We must remember that neither early Christian nor Byzantine iconography permitted the showing of Mary on Her knees<sup>98</sup>. This form was also unknown in the West until the end of the 12th century. The kneeling posture may have opened the way to mercy, but it was a voluntary admission of sin, while Mary was without sin. When She was presented as an intermediary in the *Deesis* scene, She expressed Her entreaty on behalf of fallen humanity by bowing Her head to Her son and by a gesture of the hands, but not on Her knees<sup>99</sup>. The appearance of the picture of the kneeling Mary shows that this gesture had completely changed its meaning, that in Latin Europe it had become first and foremost an expression of full dedication, trust, love and adoration.

The change must have occurred earlier, before it was expressed in iconography. Various factors may have contributed to this, but of decisive importance was probably the significance of kneeling during the ceremony of feudal homage. What was taken over in this ritual was not the posture which had for centuries been known as the posture of prayer, but its symbolism.

The homage of vassals was not a tribute paid under duress by defeated enemies. Its social and legal contents were completely different and much richer. This was rather an agreement, a contract between two parties, by which the vassal dedicated himself fully to the seigneur, but at the same time became

<sup>96</sup> *Siccardus e Cremona, op. cit.*, VI, 5.

<sup>97</sup> As examples one can cite the western portals of the French cathedrals in Dax (beginning of the 13th century) and Bourges (1270–1280) and of German cathedrals in Bamberg (the so-called Ducal Portal, 1225–1237), Mainz (about 1239) and Naumburg (1250–1260).

<sup>98</sup> G. Wellen, *Das Marienbild der frühchristlichen Kunst*, in: LChI, vol. III, col. 156–161; H. Hallensleben, *Das Marienbild der byzantinisch-östlich Kunst*, *ibidem*, col. 161–178. See also G. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Utrecht–Antwerp 1961, *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> T. von Bogay, *Deesis*, in LChI, vol. I, col. 494–499; K. Wessel, *Gesten*, in: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. II, Stuttgart 1971, col. 771.

as if a member of his family and was granted possession of a fief. The act of homage comprised three elements: the words uttered, the gestures and the investiture, consisting in the handing of an object symbolising it<sup>100</sup>. The homage itself consisted in the vassal putting his hands into the hands of the seigneur; this was the most important gesture mentioned in all sources, from the oldest ones<sup>101</sup>. This was followed by a kiss and the handing of a symbol of investiture. Was the vassal standing or kneeling during this ceremony? Jacques le Goff says that the sources are few and rather late, dating from the 13th century<sup>102</sup>. Much earlier is the legend put down in the first half of the 11th century by the chronicler Dudon of St. Quentin; it describes the homage paid by the Norman chief, Rollon, to Charles the Simple in 911<sup>103</sup>. Rollon did not want to kneel before Charles and instructed a member of his suite to do this. The Norman nobleman was supposed to kiss the king's feet; he took one foot in his hands and pretending to be raising it to his lips, he pulled it up, causing the king to fall down, to the merriment of his fellow-countrymen. Dudon's account implies that at least from the 11th century the vassal was kneeling or that the kneeling preceded the act. There is yet another reason why this account is important for us; it shows that if the complex symbolism of the act was not understood, kneeling became a humiliating gesture, as it was perceived by Rollon and his Normans.

According to Rita Schmidt-Wiegand, in 13th century Germany the homage was paid in the standing posture if the seigneur was standing; if he was sitting, the vassal was on his knees. This is how the act was presented in the 13th century illustrations to the *Sachsenspiegel*, in accordance with the text<sup>104</sup>. The 12th century Catalan *Liber Feudorum Maior* presents the seigneur sitting on the throne and receiving homage from kneeling vassals<sup>105</sup>. The seal of Raymond of Mondragon (dating from about 1190) shows the seigneur standing and the kneeling vassal putting his hands into the seigneur's hands<sup>106</sup>.

According to Le Goff, the ceremony of homage was the direct model of the rite of Church investiture. This is why the mosaic on the triumphal arch in the Lateran *Triclinum*, had it survived, would have been an extremely valuable iconographic source, being of such an early date; but it is known from drawings

<sup>100</sup> J. Le Goff, *Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale. Le geste de la vassalité*, in: *Symboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, vol. XXIII), Spoleto 1976, vol. II, p. 684.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 684–687; H. Leclercq, *Hommage*, in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*, vol. VI/2, Paris 1925, col. 2743.

<sup>102</sup> J. Le Goff, *op. cit.*, pp. 747–748.

<sup>103</sup> *De moribus et actis primorum Normandie ductum*, quoted after B. Zientara, *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej* (*The Dawn of European Nations. The Emergence of National Consciousness in the Area of the Post-Carolingian Europe*), Warszawa 1985, p. 148.

<sup>104</sup> R. Schmidt-Wiegand, *Gebärdensprachen im mittelalterlichen Recht*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien", vol. XVI, 1982; pp. 366 and 372–373, illustr. 138 and 139.

<sup>105</sup> Barcelona, Archivo Corona de Aragona.

<sup>106</sup> Paris, Cabinet des médailles, AF 7.

and a later copy<sup>107</sup>. It showed St. Peter on the throne handing a *pallium* to Leo III and a standard to Charlemagne. The pope and the emperor are receiving the symbols of secular and spiritual power over the world on their knees.

The symbolism connected with kneeling in the vassal ritual, actually of pagan origin, was adopted in the sacral sphere to express the attitude to God in prayer. I do not mean literal vassalage, but the content of this act and the symbolic meaning of its gestures in social consciousness. Not only was the earthly ruler a temporal image of God; God, too, was perceived in earthly categories in the general consciousness<sup>108</sup>. In the 11th century Odilon of Cluny fastened a rope round his neck to manifest his complete dedication to Mary and proclaimed he was Her servant<sup>109</sup>. This was not a vassal-like sign, but it showed the adoption of secular symbolism in the sacral sphere. Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg was even sure that Christ was the vassal of God the Father<sup>110</sup>. Helinand de Froidmond, writing nearly two hundred years later, showed his feelings for Mary in the allegorical form of a feudal homage he was paying to the Holy Virgin<sup>111</sup>. In the High Middle Ages prayer was like a vassal's entreaty to his seigneur, and mercy was a gift, an investiture which would not have been granted had it not been preceded by the rite of complete dedication. Gesture and words, *adoratio* and *oratio* were necessary. The act of homage was followed by a kiss; through prayer the faithful found themselves in the family of the heavenly Seigneur.

Let us once again have a look at iconographic sources: one of the pages of Ingeborg's *Psalter* (about 1195) is adorned with an illustration of the legend of Theophilus<sup>112</sup>. The kneeling monk's clasped hands are in the devil's hands; thus the illustration shows the homage of Theophilus who sells his soul to the devil. The standing Satan holds a card with Theophilus' confession *Ego sum tuus*. Such was probably the meaning of kneeling in the religious practice of the late Middle Ages: a worshipper on his knees, with his hands clasped, assures God: "I am Yours".

With the development of court culture, kneeling gained the possibility of being more widely used, not only as a gesture imposed by the ritual of a feudal contract, whether secular or sacral, but also as an expression of respect, love and adoration, resulting from courtly customs. It was this game of feelings that made man a woman's vassal and ordered a triumphant lover to receive a love garland from the lady of his heart on his knees<sup>113</sup>, as is shown in Guillaume de Chene's seal dating from the beginning of the 14th century<sup>114</sup>. In the much older

<sup>107</sup> Abot 799–800, P. E. Schramm, *op. cit.*, No. 7–8.

<sup>108</sup> J. Leclercq, *L'idée de la seigneurie du Christ au moyen âge*, "Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique", vol. LIII, 1958, pp. 57–68.

<sup>109</sup> J. Leclercq, F. Vanderbroucke, L. Bouyer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>110</sup> M. Bloch, *La société féodale*, Paris 1939–1940, p. 315.

<sup>111</sup> J. Leclercq, F. Vanderbroucke, L. Bouyer, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>112</sup> Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé Ms. 9. fol. 35 v., F. Deucher, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin 1967, pp. 68–69.

<sup>113</sup> J. Le Goff, *op. cit.*, p. 724. For the extra-legal functioning of the gestures of vassal rites in chivalrous literature see D. Peil, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–204.

<sup>114</sup> G. De may, *Inventaire des sceaux de l'Artois et de la Picardie*, Paris 1877, No. 1507.

seals of Gerard de Saint-Aubert, dating from 1194 and 1199, the knight's feelings for the lady of his heart are presented in the scenes of homage: the armed knight on his knees has his clasped hands in the hands of the lady standing in front of him<sup>115</sup>.

It was probably 12th and 13th century piety, a knightly, courtly piety shaped under the influence of the mysticism of St. Bernard and the Franciscan vision of Christ, that led to the interpretation of kneeling with an erect body as an expression of love<sup>116</sup>. An important role was played by the sentimental, lyrical ties linking the praying faithful with Christ, and in particular with Mary. This new form of kneeling corresponded better to the new needs of worship; a believer did not make use of psalms alone but worshipped God in a more personal way. The habit of long private prayers required the choice of a posture which made it possible to remain in the same position of respect and adoration for a long time and which at the same time enabled the orant to follow the liturgy, read the prayers and contemplate the images stimulating his religious experiences.

It was secular people who, contrary to tradition and Church prohibition, introduced kneeling at the culminating point of the Mass: the consecration of bread and wine. This was recorded for the first time in 1201 by Cardinal Guido Cysters, papal legate in Cologne<sup>117</sup>. The problem was examined by professors of canon law, who traditionally regarded kneeling as the posture of a contrite heart and consequently out of keeping with a joyful participation in festive liturgy. But the Church had to depart from the old rules, for the faithful wanted to see the Host; so in the 13th century the ritual of the Elevation was introduced<sup>118</sup>: the faithful were on their knees, giving expression to their feelings of love and adoration<sup>119</sup>. In time also the priest worshipped the consecrated Host by kneeling; the oldest mention of this fact is in Heinrich von Hesse's (d. 1397) *Secreta Sacerdotum*<sup>120</sup>. However, until the end of the 15th century this practice was not in general use; it was ordered and propagated only by Hans Burchard's *Ordo Misse* (1505)<sup>121</sup>.

From the 13th century kneeling became increasingly popular in iconography, also in representations on seals. This is important in view of the special function of seals, which from the 10th until the 12th century bore par excellence representative images: rulers in their majesty, a knight on horseback, a blessing bishop, sometimes a warrior fighting evil powers in the form of beasts. All these images referred to the public forms of the authority in its characteristic social

<sup>115</sup> Idem, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandrie*, vol. I, Paris 1873, Nos. 1556 and 1557.

<sup>116</sup> J. A. Jungmann, *La Prière...*, pp. 94, 101, 112–113; J. Leclercq, F. Vanderbroucke, L. Bouyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–275, 299–342.

<sup>117</sup> R. Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung...*, p. 161.

<sup>118</sup> P. Szczaniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 132, see also pp. 131–146.

<sup>119</sup> P. Hubert, *La Messe. Histoire du culte eucharistique en Occident*, vol. II, Paris 1965, p. 139.

<sup>120</sup> E. Mangelot, *Élévation (de l'hostie et du calice)*, in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. IV, Paris 1911, col. 2328.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibidem*.

functions performed by the users of the seals. There was no room on a seal to present a contrite heart in the form of kneeling or a prolonged intimate prayer. Such scenes did not appear until the 13th century, and when they did, they were widely used throughout nearly the whole of Latin Europe<sup>122</sup>.

Until the 13th century Western iconography retained the antique tradition of presenting the deceased in the standing posture as an expression of the hope for his triumphant entrance into paradise. But already at the end of the 12th century there appeared tombstones on which the deceased was presented kneeling in heaven<sup>123</sup>. The scene of adoration on the knees supplemented and commented the image of the deceased on the sepulchral stone. Above the sarcophagus the deceased was depicted as already saved; he presented himself to Christ or Mary in paradise on his knees. In the 13th century this posture, a confession of love, full of devotion, became a characteristic, and in fact the only, posture in which Western iconography presented donors before God and the saints. They worship with their hands clasped, confidently assuring: I am Yours.

In this article I wanted to present the various possibilities of interpreting the gesture of kneeling. My aim was to distinguish and find the meaning of the designations which, changing throughout the centuries, were typical of a concrete epoch, and a concrete cultural milieu. Comparative material from a wide area of various civilisations indicates the most general content: kneeling was always a belittling of one's own person. Whereas in the East the posture consisted in a bow to the ground with the forehead touching the earth, in the West it consisted in bending one's knees. It was in the West that new designations of this gesture appeared in the Middle Ages; from the humiliating sign of the fall into sin, kneeling became an expression of the realisation of one's weakness, and in time a spontaneous reflection of the feelings of confidence, loyalty, love and worship.

(Translated by Janina Dorosz)

<sup>122</sup> G. Demay, *Le Costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*, Paris 1880, pp. 330–331, 402; L. Dassy, *Les Sceaux de l'église de Marseille au Moyen-Âge*, Marseille 1857, p. 64; M. de Framond, *Sceaux rouergata du moyen âge. Etude et corpus*, Rodez 1982, Nos. 418, 456, 463, 505, 514, 523; *Corpus des sceaux français du moyen âge*, vol. I: *Les sceaux des villes*, ed. R. Redos, Paris 1980, No. 626. It is very characteristic, in my opinion, that seals with the orant praying on his knees appeared *en masse* very early in Poland, a peripheral area of Western civilisation, see F. Piekosiński, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich (Polish Seals in the Middle Ages), part I: Doba piastowska (The Piast Period)*, Kraków 1899, cat. no. 173, 182, 207, 337, 347, 224.

<sup>123</sup> K. Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin–New York 1976, pp. 51, 141–153, 161–162, 181–184; A. Weckwerth, *Der Ursprung des Bildepithaphs*, "Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte", vol. XX, 1957, No. 2, pp. 160–169.