

Picturing the New Testament

Edited by
ANNETTE WEISSENRIEDER,
FRIEDERIKE WENDT and
PETRA VON GEMÜNDEN

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zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

193

Mohr Siebeck

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Picturing the New Testament

Studies in Ancient Visual Images

Edited by

Annette Weissenrieder, Friederike Wendt
and Petra von Gemünden

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

»Theology is also an institution of memory; in the subdivision of its departments it retains themes and questions and names in memory and forms the particularity of a discipline out of their historical connection. The relationship between ›religion and art‹ has no secured place within this ›memory system‹ of academic theology; it does not have its own discipline; thus it lacks an institutionalised memory, a place where themes and questions and names can be held together in their historical course.«¹

In his book *Bilderfragen. Theologische Gesichtspunkte* A. Stock analyses the relationship between religion and art via the institution of memory and seeks a disciplinary point of anchorage.

Yet if we look back over research into the relation between visual sources and New Testament texts it becomes clear that to date *memory* has not been revealed in any institutionalised form, but has merely appeared in a few topical areas.²

One approach has concentrated upon the horizon of visual images within particular *geographical areas*. This has lead, for example, to an examination of specific connotations of the seraphim in Is 6, connotations which may have been present among the text's contemporary recipients, especially against the background of related Egyptian representations.³ Stemming from their ›motif-historical‹ approach to geographical research, the ›Freiburg School‹ in particular (including e.g. O. Keel, C. Uehlinger, S. Schroer, and M. Küchler) has rendered outstanding service in illuminating biblical views of the world through the use of iconographic material.⁴

¹ A. STOCK: *Bilderfragen. Theologische Gesichtspunkte*, Paderborn et al. 2004 (ikon. Bild+Theologie), 61.

² Cf. the informative overview of iconography presented by O. KEEL: *Iconography and the Bible*, ABD 3 (1992), 358–374 (Lit.); S. SCHROER: *Ikonographie, Biblische*, NBL 2 (1995), 219–226; CH. UEHLINGER: *Ikonographie I-III*, RGG 4 (*2001), 41–45. In contrast to New Testament research, one can indeed speak of an institutionalisation of visual memory for the Old Testament.

³ O. KEEL: *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4*. Mit einem Beitrag von A. Gutbub über die vier Winde in Ägypten, Stuttgart 1977 (SBS 84/85).

⁴ Cf. A. WEISSENRIEDER/F. WENDT: *Images as Communication*, in this volume. Cf. for example also U. WINTER: *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt*, Freiburg (Schweiz)/Göttingen

A further approach has examined *ancient understandings of the world*. This can be seen in K.-H. Rengstorff's work on interpretations of the return of the prodigal son and in M. Küchler's examination of the way in which stars were understood.⁵ One aspect of ancient views of the world are the *political implications* of images; these have often been the object of research. In this vein, G. Theissen has interpreted the »swaying reed« of Mt 11:7 in its political dimensions, against the background of the pictorial programme of coins commemorating the grounding of Tiberias.⁶

A further approach concentrates upon the *theological themes* and reformulates these on the basis of the visual knowledge of the original recipients. Those themes, such as the cross, which due to their central meaning in the New Testament texts possess a multivalent character, are of particular interest in this respect.⁷

Finally one should mention the *graphic approach* which concentrates upon *pictorial programmes*. Ancient coins in particular, as an early form of mass communication and thus also as an effective instrument for propaganda, are invaluable here for reconstructing early Christian understandings of the world. The analysis of their pictorial programme can help to reveal the interwoven nature of economic, political and aesthetic relations.⁸

Clearly the above approaches and investigative interests are often intertwined: for example, political messages find expression through the minting of coins, and thematic connections occasionally have regional foci.

1983 (OBO 53); T. STAUBLI: Die musizierenden Kinder der Weisheit (Mt 11,16–19// Lk 7, 31–35), M. Küchler/P. Reiml (eds.): Randfiguren in der Mitte, FS H.-Y. Venez, Luzern et al. 2003, 276–288.

⁵ K.-H. RENGSTORF: Die Re-Investitur des Verlorenen Sohnes in der Gleichniserzählung Jesu Luk. 15,11–32, Köln/Opladen 1967 (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften 37); M. KÜCHLER: »Wir haben seinen Stern gesehen ...« (Mt 2,2), BiKi 44 (1989), 179–186.

⁶ G. THEISSEN: Das »schwankende Rohr« (Mt 11,7) und die Gründungsmünzen von Tiberias, IDEM: Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, Freiburg (Schweiz)/Göttingen 1989 (NTOA 8), 25–61 = ZDPV 101 (1985), 43–55.

⁷ E. DINKLER: Jesu Wort vom Kreuztragen, W. ELTESTER: Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann, Berlin/New York²1957 (BZNW 21), 110–129; IDEM: Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen, ZThK 62 (1965), 110–119. Cf. also G. THEISSEN: Die Hülle des Mose und die unbewussten Aspekte des Gesetzes, IDEM: Psychologische Aspekte paulinischer Theologie, Göttingen 1983 (FRLANT 131), 121–161 and S. SCHROER: Der Geist, die Weisheit und die Taube. Feministisch-kritische Exegese eines neutestamentlichen Symbols auf dem Hintergrund seiner altorientalischen und hellenistisch-frühjüdischen Traditionsgeschichte, EADEM: Die Weisheit hat ihr Haus gebaut. Studien zur Gestalt der Sophia in den biblischen Schriften, Mainz 1996, 144–176 (= FZPhTh 33 [1986] 197–225).

⁸ Cf. L.J. KREITZER: Striking New Images. Roman Imperial Coinage and the New Testament World, Sheffield 1996 (JSNT.S 134); as well as M. REISER: Numismatik und Neues Testament, Bib. 81 (2000), 457–488.

To a certain degree, the present volume connects to the investigative interests and approaches which have been raised to date, yet only insofar as these pictorial programmes are connected with historico-critical, textual exegesis and supplement this with further methodological aspects: It is not only textual exegesis which stands at the centre of this volume, rather also the exegesis of these pictorial programmes themselves. Thus, the idea behind this volume was that each author would concentrate, to differing degrees, upon one of four iconographic approaches (each of which will be outlined in the methodological introduction to this volume): K.C. Rowe und D.L. Balch participate on E. Panofsky (iconological); R. von Bendemann presents an interpretation in critique of O. Bätschmann, one of Panofsky's students. The 'Freiburg School' is the methodological focus of attention for P. von Gemünden (motif-oriented) combined with metaphorology and structural analysis. The semiotic approach serves as the point of departure for G. Elsen-Novák and M. Novák while H.O. Maier seeks to create a connection between Panofsky's approach and semiotic method, as practiced by T. Hölscher. Finally, R. Amedick, H. Roose, P. Esler, A. Weissenrieder and F. Wendt base their contributions around social constructivism.

The primary interest here is the interpretation of visual sources, i.e. the focus lies upon the pictorial programme of a source rather than upon its extant 'material remains'.⁹ Yet this certainly does not mean that the context of a pictorial programme – its *Sitz im Leben* – will not be considered within the interpretation.

Three perspectives come together in the title of this current volume. These perspectives seek to accentuate the problems outlined above and will be profiled in differing ways within the following essays.

Our title, »Picturing the New Testament. Studies of Ancient Visual Images,« refers first of all to the *source material* consulted here. In order to make the cultural backgrounds of the New Testament understandable from their context, we have examined ancient artefacts which generally would have been familiar (either directly or indirectly) at the time of the New Testament.

»Picturing the *New Testament*« refers secondly to the theological character of this study particularly with regards to the New Testament. Examinations into early Christianity by historians of religion, particularly the analysis of pictorial programmes, often fall suspect – against their intentions – to tracing religious faith back to non-religious factors and thus failing to provide any contribution to a theology of the New Testament. In contrast to such a position, the point of

⁹ The interpretation of New Testament traditions against the background of contemporary material culture is the task of archaeology, cf. here ST. ALKIER/J. ZANGENBERG (eds.): *Zeichen aus Text und Stein. Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen/Basel 2003 (TANZ 42).

departure for the current volume can be summed up as follows: Cultural (-religious) images and (biblical) texts play a part in the production and reception of early Christian ideas. Their basis is always communication. Images and texts are a part of culture and thus also a part of a symbol system through which people seek to make themselves understood. Religion plays a part in this symbol system.¹⁰ A theology of the New Testament must be shaped by those deep structures of religious communication. Images from the Old Testament are commonly adopted, together with other culturally coded signs from the ancient world which have been religiously interpreted.

»*Picturing the New Testament*« refers finally to the question of methodological foundations.¹¹ The concept »*picturing*« itself already flickers and changes: on one hand between image and representation, and on the other between description and representation. We find a methodological decision in the background which connects these two levels with each other: pictorial exegesis and textual exegesis mutually complement and enrich each other. In their methodological introduction, Annette Weissenrieder and Friederike Wendt have suggested applying methods for the iconological, motif-oriented, semiotic and constructivist interpretation of images in understanding early Christian systems of communication. Iconological analysis examines a visual source against the background of that knowledge in the human sciences which was typical for the period; motif-oriented analysis investigates a thematic constellation in its differing expressions; semiotic analysis aims at uncovering deep logical structures; whereas constructivist analysis finally asks about the meaning of the visual process itself in its relation to the visual source. Their contribution is oriented toward practical application insofar as each represented method is accompanied by a summary of its main aspects and a list of selected questions, which may be of practical help when using these methods in the interpretation of media.

The title »*Picturing the New Testament*« provides the programme for the volume: it should serve to provide the reader with a first impression of the wide range of themes which exist in regards to visual artefacts in the books of the New Testament.

A first group of essays examines the synoptic gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

¹⁰ Cf. G. THEISSEN: Die Religion der ersten Christen. Eine Theorie des Urchristentums, Gütersloh 3rd 2003 (2000), 19ff.

¹¹ An interesting parallel to the investigative interest of this study arises when one observes the comparative change in research within archaeology and art-history. While up until a few years ago the important task of developing and opening up new source material, i.e. in archaeological digs, stood at the centre of interest together with the closely correlated »form analysis«, in recent times there has been increased interest even among these disciplines in methodological approaches.

The archaeologist Rita Amedick investigates an important aspect of Jesus' passion narrative: the crown of thorns. Royal and imperial images constituted part of the common experience in the world in which Jesus and his followers lived: contact with their expression in statues, paintings and coins was unavoidable. Royal ceremony and iconography played a major part in the mockery of Jesus during his trial. He had been dressed with a purple cloak and given a sceptre in a parody of royal attire. The crown of thorns was probably an imitation of the radiate crown worn by divine rulers. As the radiate crown was not a part of the actual insignia of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, the soldiers must have been drawing upon known portraits of rulers when mocking Jesus in this way. Knowledge of its meaning was shared with the authors and contemporary readers of the gospels.

David L. Balch has been occupied with the iconography of Pompeii for several years.¹² His current investigation focuses upon the interaction between Pauline teaching and the furnishing of Roman houses in the so-called ›fourth style‹, seen for example in the dining halls at the House of the Vettii. After fire destroyed much of Rome, Nero blamed and martyred Christians in his gardens, then built and decorated his *domus aurea* (64–68 CE) also in the early fourth style. The article briefly characterizes that domestic decoration, then focuses on an example from a medium sized town: decorations in dining rooms of the House of the Vettii in Pompeii. According to archaeologist and art historian V. Sampaolo, the dominant theme concerns divine power: Zeus and his children guarantee the order of the universe; paintings on the walls include examples from Euripides' Bacchae and Antiope and represent the deaths of impious figures such as Penthus and Dirke. Art historian H.G. Beyen labels this ›amphitheatre art‹ both in Pompeii and in Roman Africa. Such domestic art illuminates the cultural context of the persecution in Mark, Hebrews, 1 Peter, Revelation, and Ignatius. 1 Clement actually refers to Christian women ›persecuted as Dircae.‹

›Why do the disciples sleep while Jesus struggles with death?‹, is the question which Annette Weissenrieder and Friederike Wendt focus upon. The account in the Lukan passion narrative remains incomprehensible when one understands sleep as a situation of inactivity or tiredness. This essay follows the cultural interpretation of sleep by investigating iconographic depictions as well as philosophical and medical literature. In Luke 22 sleep can be understood as the physiological result of the last supper with Jesus. Sleep has the literary function

¹² D.L. BALCH: The suffering of Isis/Io and Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal. 3:1): Frescoes in Pompeian and Roman Houses and the Temple of Isis in Pompeii, *Journal of Religion* 83 (2003), 24–55. Cf. also: IDEM: Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal 3:1) in Light of Paintings and Sculptures of Suffering and Death in Pompeian and Roman Houses, IDEM/ C. OSIEK (eds.): Early Christian Families in Context: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue, Grand Rapids (MI) 2003, 84–108.

of a *cut*, marking a turning point and inviting a turn of attention toward other actors. Sleep as inactivity affords the sleeper the opportunity to reflect upon reality. A sleeper's understanding changes. In Luke 22 the sleep of the disciples makes an emphatic, proleptic encounter with the death of Jesus possible. His question, »Why do you sleep?« is a demand toward wakefulness aimed not only at the disciples but also at the readers of Luke's gospel. Yet it is the loss of Jesus rather than the sleep of the disciples which provides the actual anguish of this pericope.

This focus on the image of the apostles is also picked up in the essay by Annette Weissenrieder *»He is a god! Acts 28: 1–9 in the Light of Iconographical and textual Sources Related to Medicine«*. »He is a God!« exclaim the natives on the Island of Malta as Paul casts the snakes away from his hand and does not swell up and die (Acts 28:6). The divine attestation is partially answered by connecting the attribution of divinity to Paul in Acts 28 with representations of ancient doctors, especially Asclepius, to whom divine qualities were also attributed. A number of divine portraits of doctors occur on statues, reliefs, coins, and gems. Thus their acclamation of Paul as a god and the subsequent healing of Publius' father in Acts 28 gain striking relief when read against the iconographical background surrounding ancient doctors.

A second group of essays focuses upon the motifs of the Johannine corpus.

Petra von Gemünden's contribution, *»Weisheitliche Bilderkonstellationen im Johannesevangelium«*, examines the ways in which this gospel uses combinations of images found in sapiential literature. Von Gemünden, who already drew upon visual materials for the exegesis of biblical texts in her dissertation,¹³ assumes that a close connection existed between the images of water, bread and the vine in the Gospel of John, based upon ancient Egyptian traditions adapted by sapiential literature, especially in Jesus Sirach. As for the images – they can be understood in different ways. For example, in the Egyptian context the images of water, bread and the vine are associated with the dead, but in Jesus Sirach they are associated with the living. In the Gospel of John different chronological perspectives are connected in a specific way and marked by the specific eschatology of this Gospel. Von Gemünden also considers the impact of her observations on the overall structure of the Gospel of John and indicates some aspects of development within the Gospel.

The Johannine metaphor of Christ as the vine is examined by the art-historian Gabriele Elsen-Novák and the Assyriologist Mirko Novák. They are known for their discovery and work upon the royal tomb at the ancient Syrian

¹³ P. v. Gemünden: *Vegetationsmetaphorik im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, Freiburg (Schweiz)/Göttingen 1993 (NTOA 18), *passim*. For a consideration of iconography, cf. also her article *»Pflanzensymbolik II.III«*, TRE 26 (1996), 412–417 and *»Tier-symbolik I.II«*, TRE 33 (2002), 532–540.

palace at Qatna. As with several other examples, the vine metaphor as we have it in John 15:1–8 was strongly influenced by ancient Mesopotamian patterns. It can be traced back to the image of the vineyard as part of an artificial »garden of paradise.« Since a flourishing garden has always been a symbol of fertility in the dry regions of Mesopotamia, it was seen as a place of pleasure and became a synonym for civilisation. All the attributes of legitimate rulership were thus represented by such gardens. The paradise gardens and their ideological meaning were familiar to the inhabitants of Palestine in the period covering the formation of the New Testament; this can be seen even in the terminology used (God's »Paradise«). During this time, the vine not only became a part of the »artificial paradise« but also one of its symbols. All the ideological connotations of the paradise garden were connected with the ornaments of the vine and grapes. Therefore, one can view the vine as a »symbol of a symbol.« The vine metaphor awoke a chain of connotations in each reader and listener: *vine = paradise garden = fertility = power/civilisation/order*. Connected with it, Jesus was associated not only with the »charismatic king« as representative of God on earth, but also with the Mesopotamian and Levantine fertility god, who underwent a yearly cycle of death and rebirth.

Petra von Gemünden's second contribution »*Die Palmzweige in der johanneischen Einzugsgeschichte (Joh 12,13) – ein Hinweis auf eine symbolische Uminterpretation im Johannesevangelium?*« is a revised version, including a great deal of new material, of her investigation of the image of the palm branch which was published in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* in 1998. Whereas New Testament exegetes have traditionally viewed the palm branch as a symbol of victory and celebration with political-national connotations, von Gemünden shows that this interpretation disregards an important alternative understanding of the image, namely, the palm branch as a symbol of life. In her analysis of the Johannine pericope of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem she suggests that the evangelist, aware of the polyvalent possibilities of connotation regarding this symbol, reinterprets the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem with its national-political associations in view of Jesus' resurrection – symbolizing Jesus' victory as a victory over death.

What is John, the Seer's, attitude to the fall of the »great harlot« in Rev. 18? This question stands at the centre of Hanna Roose's contribution. Objects of everyday use, epigrams, and even a famous statue from Asia Minor show the degree to which Roman society scoffed at the fate of »typical« aging prostitutes. Once wealthy and attractive, living at the expense of her lovers, the prostitute loses everything in old age, ending up a drunken woman. With its image of the fall of the »great harlot,« Rev. 18 alludes to this stereotype and re-interprets the concept of old age with that of divine judgment. In »quoting« the lament of the kings, merchants, and ship-owners, John forces a role upon those who cooperate with Rome, which is ridiculous by the moral standards of Roman society it-

self. Thus, the Seer's rhetorical strategy does not only consist in opposing two different sets of moral standards, it also proves John's opponents wrong by their own set of moral standards.

Reinhard von Bendemann's article »Lebensgeist kam in sie . . .« – *Der Ezechiel-Zyklus von Dura Europos und die Rezeption von Ez 37 in der Apk des Johannes. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnisproblem von Ikonizität und Narrativität* aims at analyzing the problem of the relation between visual narration, or ›narrative art‹, and a narrative text which implies and generates images. This analysis is undertaken in regards to a prominent test case. The famous Ezekiel-cycle at the bottom of the north wall of the synagogue of late-Hellenistic Dura Europos cannot be interpreted independently of the prophetic text of Ez. 37:1–14, in which *visio* and *auditio* are combined in the form of a narrative text. However, more important is the initial analysis of the cycle as a *painting*. This can be achieved by distinguishing careful iconographic description and iconological interpretation, which pays special attention to the pragmatic question of the image or the issue of its aesthetic reception. The second main part of the article deals with the reception of Ez. 37 within the early-Christian Revelation of John. The question whether one medium is superior in quality to the other leads finally to an impasse. Both artefacts are organized, albeit in different ways, on the basis of their special and complex medial conditions and their distinct symbolic language.

A final group is formed around observations upon the Pauline corpus:

Several articles pursue the question of the relation between image and representation. C. Kavin Rowe offers an interpretation of all of Paul's εἰκόνες-references. It is well-known that (as yet) no extant, distinctively Christian material has been found dating from before ca. 200 AD. Scholars have offered many hypotheses regarding this absence, but texts from the New Testament have generally not been employed in the debate. In view of this lacuna, this essay asks if the Pauline use of εἰκόνες sheds any light on the matter. After substantial exegesis and discussion of implications, the essay suggests that the Pauline dialectic, i.e. both rejection and acceptance of images, corresponds rather well to the absence and subsequent advent of distinctively Christian materials.

Annette Weissenrieder takes Rowe's essay as a starting point and concentrates upon one aspect: the ›mirror metaphor.‹ According to 2 Cor 3:18, a glance in the mirror provides us with a glimpse of the glory of God. Did Paul here have in mind a particular mirror and a particular type of seeing? 2 Cor 3:18 reflects a theory of seeing that assumes a connection with a kind of impulse that comes from the object itself. A general belief in the ancient world was that both object and eye produced emanations of light. Ancient visual artefacts suggest that a mirror transforms rather than merely reflects reality. The representations of the Gorgon in the Campana Reliefs show that invisible realities can become visible in a mirror. And the representations of Narcissus show that the act of looking

can transform a person. All of the depictions in which mirroring plays a role have a remarkable common feature: participation in the mirrored image transforms the viewer.

The reconstruction of cultural codes – as represented through visual sources, and in their relation to the New Testament tradition – is aimed at a new, transformed and more complex formulation of theological ideas. By seeking a definition of the *imago Dei* and a deeper understanding of the ‘two natures’ doctrine, Sigrid Brandt displays an extension and enrichment of iconographic work within the field of systematic theology.

Philip Esler concentrates upon the Pauline athletic motif. Athletic competitions, especially the great ‘Crown Games’ such as the Olympics, played a central role in how ancient Greeks constructed their sense of self in an ḍyōv-ridden culture that maintained honour as a central value. Visual representations of these contests offer important data on how the Greeks understood them. The aim of his present essay is to explore how an examination of the Greek games, in their social context as illuminated in ancient visual representations, can throw light on how Paul has used the ḍyōv-theme in his letters. Not only is it suggested that one needs to be familiar with Greek athletics in order to properly interpret Paul’s use of this theme, but that the visual material itself provides essential evidence for this task.

For many years Harry O. Maier has been occupied with the political implications of the Pauline corpus against the background of ancient iconography. His article aims at filling an important gap by reading Colossians in the light of imperial politics and especially imperial iconography. In the tradition of E. Panofsky, he seeks to bring literary texts and visual media together as a means of gaining an intrinsic understanding of the construction of meaning and social identity in early Christianity. Iconographical parallels offer important aspects for understanding the enthronement language of Colossians, its relation to the military language of triumph which it develops, and its celebration of an ethnic unity of peoples.

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Spring 2005

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Methods of Iconography

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Images as Communication

The Methods of Iconography*

I. Introduction into the Methods of Iconography

»[...] so was erudition: for, in the treasure handed down to us by Antiquity, the value of language lay in fact that it was the sign of things. There is no difference between the visible marks that God has stamped upon the surface of the earth, so that we may know its inner secrets, and the legible words that the Scriptures, or the sages of Antiquity, have set down in the books preserved for us by tradition. The relation to these texts of the same nature as the relation to things: in both cases there are signs that must be discovered. [...] [T]he Ancients have already provided us with interpretations, which we need do no more than gather together. Or which we would need only to gather together, were it not for necessity of learning their language, reading their texts, and understanding, what they have said. The heritage of Antiquity, like nature itself, is a vast space requiring interpretation; in both cases there are signs to be discovered and then, little by little, made to speak.«¹

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault describes a relation between visual and oral sources which may well be foundational. He addresses various aspects for which an interpretation of images could be central: such as the relationship between images and texts, the necessity of gathering these sources together and learning their particular language, as well as understanding images as both objects of interpretation and indeed acts of interpretation.

Our programmatic title, »Images as Communication,« takes into account the role that images played in the production and reception of early Christian ideas. The basis of these images has always been communication. Images and texts are part of culture and hence also part of a symbol system, and it is with the help of such symbol systems that people communicate.

In those sciences which deal with the interpretation of images, one has seen the development of numerous methods in order to interpret visual media. This

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¹ M. FOUCAULT: *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London/New York 1989, 37.

follows quite naturally since texts and images, as differing modi of expression, follow quite differing logics.²

In this introduction we will provide a description of selected methods which, in light of our discussion on »Picturing the New Testament,« appear to us as both particularly important and fruitful. This description will not cover all methodological approaches discussed in the arts, nor will it try to offer an exhaustive examination of the few methods introduced here. Rather it will offer a glimpse into the fundamental questions and intellectual orientations of these approaches.

We will include here Erwin Panofsky's approach as a ›classic‹ work in iconography. Panofsky had a formative effect on the essential elements of iconographic methodology and his work remains current in the contemporary discussion.

In the biblical sciences, the approach of the »Freiburg School« – centred around Othmar Keel – has been particularly formative. This method of understanding images with motifs will be presented in connection with Panofsky's iconographic-iconological way of thinking.

In the current methodological discussion in archaeology – which views iconography as one of its sub-disciplines – the questions raised by semiotics have become the main focus of attention. Such questions have been pursued by the archaeologist Tonio Hölscher: If one understands culture as a symbol system, then it is logically consistent to understand images both as a part of culture, and as elements of each valid symbol system. As a foundational representative of semiotic theory, this introduction will pick up the work of Charles Sanders Peirce. In what has now become a wealth of published semiotic theories, Peirce represents historically one of the discipline's most authoritative ›founding fathers.‹

Common among many, very different ›image theories‹ is the idea that images can not be viewed as simple visual reproductions of reality. A theoretical reflection upon this often implicit assumption is offered by constructivism. For this reason, we will introduce the constructivist approach, in its various forms, in connection with Panofsky, Keel and Peirce's theories, and ask how a method of image-interpretation might look if considered against the background of its own premises.

At the conclusion of each presentation, we will summarise the main theses and essential categories of each method. In order further to assist practical work with these methods, small vignettes will be offered together with a list of questions. These may be helpful when attempting to unpack visual media using these methods.

² On the relationship between texts and images, cf. Ch. UEHLINGER: Art. Ikonographie. Religionsgeschichtlich, RGG 4 (4th 2001), 41–43.

Due to its *comparative* similarity, we will introduce form-analytical method in connection with Panofsky's work. Form-analytical method has been adopted both in archaeology and iconography since the early twentieth century. Due to its supposed entanglements with contemporary, universalistic theories – above all with idealism – it was frowned upon for a long time as an independent method and has only recently, with a decidedly altered emphasis, experienced a renaissance.

II. Images as the expression of a world of symbolic values: Erwin Panofsky

In the first half of the 20th century, the art historian Erwin Panofsky presented a theory for interpreting visual sources which would shape current research. In countless studies, Panofsky developed a precise method which uses each interpreter's practical experience, culturally acquired knowledge and intuition in order to open up the possible meaning of a depiction.³

The horizon of Panofsky's thought opens out particularly impressively when one takes into view the audience of his essay *Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst*: here we have a reworking of Panofsky's presentation before the members of the ›Kant Society‹,⁴ certainly on the condition that he report about principles which are of use to art historians working in iconography.⁵ On the one hand, we have Panofsky's efforts to develop his method in coherence with an overall philosophical system; on the other hand, he is seeking to develop the methodological tools necessary for the concrete work of interpreting images. Panofsky's primary interest is to present a heuristic model for the interpretation of images which is anchored in a comprehensive theory of the interpretation of reality, without itself raising claims to a universal, aesthetic interpretation of reality.⁶

³ PANOFSKY offers a standard description in his book *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York 1939 = *Studien zur Ikonologie der Renaissance*, Köln 21997. Panofsky lent his method more precision and nuance in countless other publications. The critical analysis of Panofsky's method presented in this essay, will refer primarily to PANOFSKY: *Zum Problem der Beschreibung und Inhaltsdeutung von Werken der bildenden Kunst*, E. KAEMMERLING: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie. Theorien – Entwicklung – Probleme. Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem*, Bd. 1, Köln 61994, 185–206, and IDEM: *Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, IBID., 207–225.

⁴ Presented on May 20, 1931 in Kiel.

⁵ A footnote in the text highlights this point, cf. KAEMMERLING: *Ikonographie*, 204.

⁶ Cf. on this point: J. K. EBERLEIN: *Inhalt und Gehalt: Die ikonographisch-ikonologische Methode*, H. BELTING et al. (eds.): *Kunstgeschichte. Eine Einführung*, Berlin 31988, 169–190, 176.

As for the results of Panofsky's efforts, the following diagram seeks to give a primary overview of his approach, as it was developed in *Ikonographie und Ikonologie*:

<i>Object of Interpretation⁷</i>	<i>Act of Interpretation</i>	<i>Interpretive Tools</i>	<i>Corrective Principle of Interpretation (History of Tradition)</i>
Primary or natural Subject – (A) factual, (B) expressional-, which forms the world of artistic motifs	Pre-iconographic description (and pseudo-formal analysis)	Practical experience (Familiarity with objects and events)	Style-History (Insight into the manner in which, in changing historical conditions, objects and events are expressed through forms)
Secondary or conventional subject, which forms the world from images, anecdotes and allegories	Iconographic analysis	Knowledge of literary sources (Familiarity with certain themes and concepts)	Type-History (Insight into the manner in which, in changing historical conditions, particular themes or concepts are expressed through objects and events)
Actual meaning or content, which forms the world of »symbolic« values	Iconological interpretation	Synthetic intuition (Familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human spirit), formed through personal psychology and one's view of the world	History of cultural symptoms or »Symbols« generally (Insight into the manner in which, in changing historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human spirit are expressed through particular themes and concepts)

⁷ Panofsky's own representation of his method varies through his publications. This in itself was ample cause for considering whether one should use this as grounds for inferring a development in Panofsky's work (a summary of the significant differences is provided by: E. KAEMMERLING: Drei Supplemente zur Einleitung, IDEM: Ikonographie, 487–501). From the fact that Panofsky himself never makes an issue of these differences, it may well be more probable that his intention in these various publications was simply to highlight particular aspects,

The primary starting point in any interpretation of an image is formed, for Panofsky, by that which one directly sees: »This purely phenomenal description truly assumes nothing more than our having had a good look at the image and relating it to concepts which come to us from our experience.⁸ The object of the observation in this *pre-iconographic phase* is simply everything which is transferred across the senses and which can be inferred with the help of that »vital experience of being.⁹ This is meant, first of all, in a very elementary way, namely the manner in which lines and colours are set in relation with each other and how the materials used in concrete objects have been shaped.¹⁰ The relationships between these objects are understood as events on the level of pre-iconographic interpretation. Expressional characteristics, which contribute to the atmosphere of a representation – that is, not simply a person's perceptions, but also those of its phenomenological characteristics (beautiful, ugly, etc.) – already belong to this description. In the pre-iconographic phase of interpretation, one is dealing with the attempt to name as precisely as possible those motifs which are visible in the image. Such a precise identification is, according to Panofsky, not unproblematic since it always already presupposes that the observer comprehends which principles of representation are being used. Thus in images with a perspectival mode of presentation, an object within the image may at first seem to »float.¹¹

The second viewpoint to find expression in Panofsky's method deals with the question of how these motifs, which were first drawn out of the image, may be connected with themes or concepts.¹² In this respect, it is necessary to order the motifs and their attributes into the context of their ordinary usage, and in this way to understand their meaning. For this reason, Panofsky can also describe this process as a drawing out, or elevation, of the »sense of meaning.¹³ What is concretely meant in this question regarding the »sense of meaning« is simply: Who is represented? (Identification), and: What is it about? (Classification). According to Panofsky, this task of ordering a source into its context is to be accomplished above all with »literary knowledge,¹⁴ and by using knowledge both of the themes and objects of images. This process, as with the first step of phe-

thus allowing by comparison others aspects to recede into the background. Such a process would occur in line with the direction of his respective arguments in those papers. That said, our presentation here draws upon PANOFSKY: Ikonographie, 223.

⁸ PANOFSKY: Problem, 190. »Diese rein phänomenale Beschreibung setzt nur wirklich nichts weiter voraus, als daß wir uns das Bild gut ansehen und es auf Vorstellungen beziehen, die uns aus der Erfahrung geläufig sind.«

⁹ PANOFSKY: Problem, 199.

¹⁰ Cf. PANOFSKY: Ikonographie, 210.

¹¹ Cf. PANOFSKY: Problem, 189, 193.

¹² PANOFSKY: Ikonographie, 210.

¹³ Cf. PANOFSKY: Problem, 188.

¹⁴ PANOFSKY: Problem, 199.

nomenological analysis, assumes a certain ›pre-knowledge.‹ In this case, it is that knowledge regarding the changes in the manner in which particular themes are portrayed over time: the same theme may be portrayed in completely differing ways depending on the differing particularities of the times and places in which the discussion finds itself. Knowledge of this variability is presupposed when an observer iconographically describes an image.¹⁵

When an image is observed in this sense according to its topic and theme, this then leads, in Panofsky's model, to »iconological interpretation.« With this keyword »iconology,«¹⁶ Panofsky addresses the questions why, and to what end, an image is represented as it is, and thus the question as to the content, sense and *geistegeschichtlichen* status of the portrayal. According to Panofsky, that the term *iconography* is no longer used highlights the shift that has occurred from merely describing a portrayal to a concentration solely on its interpretation. The aim of this observation is the elevation of its »sense as a document« or its »sense of being.«¹⁷ This becomes possible for the interpreter when she falls back upon her »own original behaviour concerning her *weltanschauung*.«¹⁸ This viewpoint seeks nothing less than to illuminate the foundational principles behind one's own understanding of the world, i.e. how an artist or an epoch, or indeed as Panofsky says, how a *Volk* or cultural entity has concieved it.¹⁹ The possibility then for evaluating a piece of art stems from this aspect, since »the greatness of an artistic achievement is finally dependent upon the amount of ›Weltan-

¹⁵ »[S]o zeigt uns die Überlieferungsgeschichte, was auch nicht hätte gesagt werden können, weil es im Hinblick auf Zeit und Ort entweder nicht darstellungsmöglich oder nicht vorstellungsmöglich gewesen wäre«, PANOFSKY: Problem, 199.

¹⁶ »Iconology« has, since Panofsky, become a keyword which has taken up its place within the terminology of the art-sciences. It is used in this field with many differing meanings (cf. T. HÖLSCHER: Bildwerke: Darstellungen, Funktionen, Botschaften, A.H. BORBEIN et al.: Klassische Archäologie. Eine Einführung, Berlin 2000, 147–165, 148), which cannot be further pursued here. For further points to this discussion, cf. M. LIBMAN: Ikonologie, Kunst und Literatur 14 (1966), 1288–1243.

The term comes from Cesare Ripa von Perugia, who first published an »Iconology« in 1593. He describes therein how abstract concepts can be portrayed. Cf. J. BIALOSTOCKI: Art. Iconography, Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas 2 (1973), 524–541, 530. In the 20th century, the term was reintroduced into the discussion through one of Warburg's lectures, held in Rome in 1912, cf. EBERLEIN: Inhalt, 178.

¹⁷ PANOFSKY: Problem, 200. With this term, Panofsky explicitly picks up a concept from the sociologist Karl Mannheim. Mannheim introduces »Dokumentation« in the context of asking how one achieves knowledge of things which are only accessible to us through mediation. He distinguishes between two types of mediation, namely mediation through expression and mediation through documentation. For the broader context of the discussion, cf. K. MANNHEIM: Wissenssoziologie. Auswahl aus dem Werk, ed. and with Introd. by K.H. Wolff, Berlin/Neuwied 1964 (Soziologische Texte 28), 103–129.

¹⁸ PANOFSKY: Problem, 201.

¹⁹ PANOFSKY: Problem, 200.

schauungs energy channeled into the formed material and how much of it radiates back out to the observer.²⁰ Yet is a space created here for limitless or capricious interpretation through the great importance Panofsky attributes to the intuition of the observer in this interpretive step? Panofsky is aware of this problem. Just as he had introduced correctives for the two previous observational methods, he does the same here: the limits to interpretive possibilities lie in knowing what a possible »view of the world« was at that particular place and time. These limits are established by the general *Geistesgeschichte*.²¹

With this step, Panofsky presents us with a three-staged model for describing and interpreting pictorial representations. For Panofsky himself, it was important that his outlined perspectives should not be taken as being three separate approaches toward the one source, but rather differing aspects which should finally function within a single process.

Panofsky's model gains further depth when one reads it in connection with its philosophical background. The question which Panofsky finally seeks to answer is: Which aspects of the respective world-views come to expression in these representations? He explicitly picks up a question here posed by the sociologist K. Mannheim in his *Wissenssoziologie*: »[W]hat kind of task is involved when the *historical researcher* of the cultural sciences (the art historian, the historian of religions, the sociologist, etc.) seeks to determine the world-view of a particular epoch or to explain out of this totality the partial appearances relevant to his field? Is this totality [...] even given to us, and if it is: *how* is it given [...]?«²² Panofsky offers a model which brings out this »totality« in visual sources. This is achieved by a categorization into a history of »cultural symptoms« or »symbols«,²³ i.e. that a portrayal contributes to the discovery of the way in which an

²⁰ »Die Größe einer künstlerischen Leistung [ist] letzten Endes davon abhängig [...], welches Quantum von ‚Weltanschauungs-Energie‘ in die gestaltete Materie hineingeleitet worden ist und aus ihr auf den Betrachter hinüberstrahlt,« PANOFSKY: Problem, 200.

²¹ PANOFSKY: Problem, 202.

²² MANNHEIM: Wissenssoziologie, 91 [Emphasis in text]: »[W]as für eine Aufgabe steckt dahinter, wenn der kulturwissenschaftliche *Geschichtsforscher* (Kunstgeschichtlicher, Religionsgeschichtler oder auch Soziologe usw.) sich das Problem stellt, die Weltanschauung eines Zeitalters zu bestimmen oder partielle Erscheinungen seines Gebietes aus dieser Totalität zu erklären? Ist uns diese Totalität [...] überhaupt gegeben, und, wenn sie es ist: *wie* ist sie uns gegeben [...]?«

²³ Cassirer's philosophy operates as a basis here. He does not understand a symbol as a referential sign (such an idea would belong on the level of iconographic description, cf. EBERLEIN: Inhalt, 175), but rather as the symbolic form which reconstructs reality. Cf. M. MEYER-BLANCK: Ernst Cassirers Symbolbegriff – zeichentheoretisch gegengelesen, D. KORSCH et al. (eds.): Die Prägnanz der Religion in der Kultur. Ernst Cassirer und die Theologie, Tübingen 2000 (Religion und Aufklärung 7), 91–99, 92. While Panofsky's allusions to Cassirer extend beyond this point of contact, they are beyond our scope of interest here. It is however quite plausible that during Cassirer's time in Hamburg (from 1920), and his intensive use of Warburg's library, that a lively intellectual exchange could have taken place; cf. L. HAJEN/T.

artist or epoch views the world, behind the particular themes and concepts which are visually manifested in such images.

With the above model, Panofsky presented a method of unpacking and interpreting images which has resonated with many in the art sciences and which has prompted a continuing discourse.

Of all the methods to be presented in this chapter, Panofsky's is the most well known; yet this fame comes at the price of being the method most often critiqued. Therefore, in the following we will highlight those places where the particular strengths of the Panofsky model lie, yet also where it runs up against its limits.

The first point of note is the separation between »naturally« and »culturally determined« perceptions, and their sequential occurrence in pre-iconographic and iconographic descriptions respectively. If one understands this separation in a strict sense, then it cannot help but appear questionable: apparently immediate, natural perceptions are always influenced by cultural factors, and conversely, culturally determined perceptions can only ever extend as far as natural perceptions allow. Certainly, if one follows this model further, the transition between pre-iconographic and iconographic description becomes ever more fluid. If this is the case, then its value becomes questionable? However, the differentiation of these two steps offers positive gains in methodological knowledge when they are understood rather as a heuristic instrument than as an ontological statement about the relationship between nature and culture. Thus, the usefulness of a separation of the two described steps lies in their ability to separate an attempt at pure phenomenological investigation (with the awareness that this too is culturally determined) from a categorisation into cultural themes and motifs. This is undertaken in order to be able to describe the event in a more differentiated way.

A similar point could be made against the objection that one cannot factually differentiate between the described elements (in the first two stages) and the interpretive steps (primarily in the iconological phase). A phenomenological »description« is already in the process of creating meaning. Yet what is meant in this phase is not the *programmatic* elevation of meaning, but rather that one is providing a description in the awareness that one is always already interpreting reality.

A further point of criticism takes issue with the very iconographic description of a visual medium itself. Is it not being claimed here that the understanding of a work of art is only possible for those who are able to obtain access to cultural knowledge? If this were so, then iconographic description would be a matter for the educational bourgeoisie. Panofsky moves directly against such an

JANSSEN: Die doppelte Heimkehr. Ernst Cassirer und Aby Warburgs Bibliothek, Dialektik (1995), 31–36, 33.

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