

Images of the Mother of God

Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium

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ASHGATE

The 'activated' icon: the Hodegetria procession and Mary's *Eisodos**

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Public liturgical processions in Constantinople developed in the context of the stationary liturgy in the late fourth century.¹ Icons, however, were not included in these *litaniai* until after the end of iconoclasm.² By the eleventh century most of the established processions such as the *presbeia* at the Blachernai integrated painted panels as part of their train.³ Along with the traditional *litaniai*, new processions were created for the explicit purpose of showcasing icons, for example the Tuesday ceremony with the Hodegetria.⁴ The original Tuesday procession formed part of the stationary liturgy; it covered a long route, starting in the early morning at the Hodegon, moving up the main thoroughfare of the city, the Mese, and culminating in a different church each week for the celebration of Mass. In the course of time this *litania* changed. By the fourteenth century the procession covered a very short route from the monastery to a square nearby, where most of the ceremony took place. Attention was focused on the action of the blindfolded man who carried the icon on his back and swayed to and fro under its burden (Fig. 17.1).

Icons carried in processions move in the time and space of the spectator. They engage the viewer mimetically and kinaesthetically and trigger a dramatic emotional response.⁵ How can we gain access to this past experience; how can we reconstruct the processions? Many obstacles stand in the way, particularly as the Byzantines did not feel the necessity to describe and depict their processions with icons. By the end of the eleventh century they perceived these *litaniai* as manifestations of an established tradition that did not need to be recorded. Most of the evidence about Byzantine *litaniai* comes from the fourteenth century in the form of written accounts by foreign visitors to the capital, and of images depicting the Constantinopolitan *litaniai* as imitated and performed outside the empire in the neighbouring states.⁶ Yet because the Palaiologan processions did not resemble their Middle Byzantine precedents, the use of this

* This paper is excerpted from my book entitled: *Icons and Power: the Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, forthcoming).

¹ J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stationary Liturgy* (Rome, 1987).

² B. V. Pentcheva, 'The Supernatural Protector of Constantinople: The Virgin and Her Icons in the Tradition of the Avar Siege', *BMGS* 26 (2002), 2–41.

³ J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (eds), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments II* (Washington, DC, 2000), 753–4. N. P. Ševčenko, 'Icons in the Liturgy', *DOP* 45 (1991), 45–57.

⁴ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*.

⁵ S. V. Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain. Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), 58.

⁶ N. P. Ševčenko, 'Servants of the Holy Icon', in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 547–53.

later material to reconstruct the early processions is problematic. Despite the fact that there are no visual representations recording the original Tuesday processions, by using the evidence of narrative scenes from the life of the Theotokos, especially her Entry into the Temple or *Eisodos*, this paper will reconstruct the *litania* with the Hodegetria icon in the Middle Byzantine period and explore its meaning.

Iconography of the Hodegetria icon

The Hodegetria icon displays a specific and easily recognizable iconographic type. It features the Virgin carrying the Child in her left arm and gesturing to him with her free right hand (Fig. 17.2). He answers to her intercessory prayer by raising his hand in blessing. The image-type expresses the notion of conversation silently conducted through the painted hands of the Mother and Child. The dialogue has the potential to expand in the physical space of the viewer when the same gestures are mimetically reproduced by the faithful in the process of prayer or in the train of the procession.

The early 'Hodegetria' visual formula is employed on seventh-century imperial seals (Fig. 17.3).⁷ The image-type dominant in the period from the sixth to the tenth centuries shows Mary placing her right hand on the infant's knee. Rather than offering the Child, she keeps his body closer to hers and seeks physical and tactile contact with him.⁸ It is this close physical link between the Mother and Child that dissolves in the representations after iconoclasm. Starting in the tenth century, a new image-type is formed, according to which the Virgin only gestures towards the Child and her embrace is loosened (Figs 17.2–17.3).⁹ The new visual formula emphasizes the dogmatic or theological relationship in the way Mary pleads with and offers Christ.¹⁰ It is this image-type that should be identified as the 'Hodegetria'.

In this post-tenth-century visual type, distinction should be made between images that merely exhibit the iconographic type and representations that display the visual formula along with the name 'Hodegetria' inscribed in the field. Only these named images were understood by their mediaeval audience as conscious copies of the original Hodegetria icon of the Hodegon monastery. An example is offered by the thirteenth-century panel from the Peribleptos church in Ohrid; it has the name 'Hodegetria' inscribed across the top.¹¹ Like the original Hodegetria, it is a two-sided panel featuring the Virgin and Christ on the front (Plate 12a, Fig. 17.4) and the

⁷ Seal of Emperor Constantine IV (668–685): G. Zacos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals I* (Basel, 1972), no. 23. W. Seibt, 'Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln besonders im 11. Jahrhundert', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography 1* (1987), 35–56, esp. 37–8.

⁸ For other images, see Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, no. 2, 264–5 (R. Cormack) and Pls 1, 3, 169, 199. The traditional identification of the pre-iconoclast type with the term 'Hodegetria' is problematic; see for instance H. Torp, 'Una Vergine Hodigitria del periodo iconoclastico nel "Tempietto Longobardo" di Cividale', in A. Cadei et al. (eds), *Arte d'Occidente, Temi e metodi. Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini II* (Rome, 1999), 583–99.

⁹ The icon from Mt Sinai is dated to the 8th to 9th c. by K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons* (Princeton, NJ, 1976), no. B40, 67, and to the 10th c. by L. Brubaker, in J. Haldon and L. Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850). The Sources: an Annotated Survey* (Birmingham and Aldershot, 2001), 70.

¹⁰ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*.

¹¹ V. Djurić, *Ikone de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), no. 4, 85–6. *Trésors médiévaux de la République de Macédoine*,

Crucifixion on the back (Platc 12b, Fig. 17.5).¹² The Mother and Child on the obverse are gently brought together; they stand straight, composed, without overt embracing and tugging.

Both figures have one hand that speaks and another that carries an object. The speaking hand of Mary is visually juxtaposed with the speaking hand of Christ, forming the first pair of hands. The *Theometor* gestures to and implores the Child in a manner similar to the way she prays in the standard Deesis scenes. Christ answers by raising and blessing with his hand. In the second pair, the hand of each figure holds the *Logos*, and thus expresses the notion of the Incarnation. The Mother's arm carries the Word in the form of the Child, while Christ holds it in the form of a text scroll.

The position of the speaking hand of the Virgin mirrors the way the viewer would pray in front of the image. By depicting the very gesture that the faithful would use to carry out their communication with God, the painted image gives reassurance of the success of the prayer and the Virgin's intercession for humanity. Mary's gesture both elicits and enhances the response of the viewer. The supplication conveyed both through the painted hands in the icon and through the living hands of the faithful constitutes the main theme of the public processions: a communal intercession addressed to God.

The Tuesday procession in the texts and images

What did the Tuesday procession look like in the Middle Byzantine period? According to the eleventh-century life of St. Thomais of Lesbos, the Tuesday *litania* started in the early morning.¹³ It passed through the Mese, making stops/stations at many churches along the way, and culminating at a different sanctuary each week for the celebration of the day's stationary liturgy.¹⁴

The urban *litaniai* were usually led by crosses called *litaniikoi stauroi*.¹⁵ When decorated, these objects sometimes featured figures in intercessory gestures, thereby enhancing the mimetic response of the participants in the procession. In addition to the crosses, icons played a prominent role in the Tuesday *litaniai*. Many of these panels were carried on forked poles affixed to the bottom of their frames. Both the crosses and the icons were transported by means

exh. cat., Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny, 9 February – 3 May 1999 (Paris, 1999), no. 19, 62–3 (V. Popovska-Korobar).

¹² Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, tr. M. Letts (London, 1926), 141–2. A. Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur. A Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople', *Byz* 7 (1932), 75–122. R. González de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, tr. G. Le Strange (London, 1928), 83–5.

¹³ P. Halsall, 'Life of Thomais of Lesbos', in A.-M. Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women in Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1996), 291–322, esp. 311. For the 11th-c. date, see A. Kazhdan, *List of Saints, First to Tenth Centuries*, unpublished work, kept at Dumbarton Oaks.

¹⁴ E. von Dobschütz, 'Maria Romäa. Zwei unbekannte Texte', *BZ* 12 (1903), 173–214. For a second recension of the same text, dated to the late 11th c., but reworked in the 13th c., see id., *Christusbilder. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur I–III* (Leipzig, 1899), 233**–66**, esp. 258**.

¹⁵ J. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses*, exh. cat., Dumbarton Oaks, 23 September 1994 – 29 January 1995 (*Dumbarton Oaks Collection Publications*, 10) (Washington, DC, 1994), 14–24, esp. 23. See also the literature on the Cluny cross from the 11th c. displaying Marian iconography. J.-P. Caillet, 'La croix byzantine du musée de Cluny', *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 3 (1988), 208–17.

of the same mechanism: a handle placed in a metal cup or a leather pouch with a sling suspended from the neck of the bearer (Fig. 17.6).¹⁶

A text written by a Latin pilgrim in the last quarter of the eleventh century offers the most detailed account of the procession:¹⁷

There is another church, which is called the Hodegetria, in which resides the glorious icon of the Theotokos painted by St Luke the Evangelist, as the Greeks say. This icon is in the highest veneration in Constantinople, so that throughout the year on Tuesdays it is carried by the clergy with the greatest honour through the city, with an exceeding multitude of men and women walking in front of and behind it, singing praises to the Theotokos and carrying burning candles in their hands. You would witness in this procession that takes place, as I said, on Tuesday at all times many different examples of human veneration, and you would hear many sweet-sounding voices not only of the clergy but of the lay people, and, what you would marvel and delight at more, women dressed in silk clothes, singing religious chants behind the icon of the Theotokos, like maids after their mistress. And next to the voice of the Psalmist, youths and virgins, old and young men, give praise to the name of God who became incarnated in the Virgin for our sake. Preceding indeed this noble image of the Mother of God are numerous other icons from other churches, sacred and golden, as maids precede their mistress. [The icon] then follows the rest at the back, and like the mistress of all others she is recognised by her merciful face and gesture. Then in the church where the stationary liturgy is scheduled for that day, festivities are celebrated by the people. The laymen gather there, and as the glorious image is brought with honour to the church allotted for the stationary liturgy for the day, mass is celebrated. After the rites are duly performed the icon is taken back again to its own church with great honour.

I have heard them relate a miracle about this holy image [the Hodegetria], when I was staying in the aforementioned city. When the aforesaid icon of the blessed Mother of God is carried through the city and passes by the church of Christ the Saviour [at the Chalke] in whose entry Jesus is eminently represented, the sacred Theotokos turns by itself to face her Son, independently of the one who carries the icon; and the image of the Mother turns to see the face of her Son [Christ at Chalke], wanting to gaze at and venerate the Son who made her Queen of the angels. I myself did not see this, because I did not look closely but I heard about it when staying there.¹⁸

¹⁶ N. P. Ševčenko, 'The Limburg Staurothek and its Relics', in *Θυμίαρια στη μνήμη της Ανακαίνισης Μπαιρά 1* (Athens, 1994), 289–94.

¹⁷ K. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople dans le *Tarragonensis* 55', *REB* 53 (1995), 117–40, esp. 128–31. The manuscript dates from the late 12th or early 13th c., yet the text itself is dated on internal topographical evidence to the period 1075–1098 or 1099.

¹⁸ 'Est quoque alia ecclesia que Odigitria dicitur, in qua est gloriosa Dei genetricis ycona quam beatus Luchas euangelista, ut aiunt Greci, depinxit. Hec in summa veneratione est in Constantinopolitana urbe adeo ut per totum anni curriculum omni ebdomada feria .iiii. defertitur a clericis per urbem cum maximo honore, preeunte ac subsequente permaxima virorum ac mulierum multitudine canentium laudes Dei genetrici ac cereos arduos tenentium in manibus suis. Cerneret in hac processione que, ut dixi, tercia feria fit omni tempore multos et diversos cultus hominum, audires multas dulcisonas voces non solum clericorum verum et laicorum et quod magis mirareris et placeret mulieres oliscericis indutas vestibus clericales cantus canentes post Dei genetricis yconam et quasi famulas sequentes dominam. Et iuxta Psalmiste vocem iuvenes et virgines, senes cum iunioribus laudent nomen Domini qui pro nobis ex Maria carnem assumpsit. Procedunt vero hanc nobilem Dei genetricis ymaginem alie quam plurime ex aliis ecclesiis ymagines sancte auree quasi dominam famule. Ipsa autem retro sequitur ceteras sicut omnium earum domina clementi vultu sicut cognoscitur actu. Porro in ecclesia ad quam eo die fit statio celebratur festivitas a populo. Fit ibi concursus popularis et sicut cum honore gloriosa imago est delata ad ecclesiam in qua eo die habuit stationem, sic missa celebrata; omnibusque rite peractis cum magno honore iterum refertur ad suam sedem.

Audivi autem referre quoddam miraculum de eadem sancta ymagine positus in predicta urbe. Dum defertur

In this description of the procession, attention is focused on the icons and the entourage of women dressed in silk: clearly the two most prominent elements that caught the eye of the foreign visitor. The Hodegetria is like a mistress surrounded by her maids (the icons of the other Constantinopolitan churches), all sending off streams of golden light. The women dressed in silk garments enhance this opulence. It is the light of the gilded and metal-revetted icons and the shimmering silk gowns of the women that characterize the procession.

At the culmination of the ceremony the Hodegetria is brought to the altar of the designated church for the celebration of the liturgy. This ritual symbolically resembles the procession during the *Eisodos* of Mary. The Virgin is escorted like a bride by a train of Jewish maidens, received at the altar by the priest Zacharias, and welcomed at the Holy of Holies. In a similar manner, the Hodegetria icon is brought out from the Hodegon with a procession of maidens and icons and deposited on the altar of the church designated for the last station of the Tuesday *litania*. Moreover, like the child Mary sitting in the Holy of Holies, the Hodegetria panel was traditionally kept in the sanctuary of the Hodegon monastery during the week.¹⁹

Based on this affinity between the Tuesday Hodegetria processions and the feast of Mary's *Eisodos*, it is possible to use narrative scenes from this moment of Mary's life to shed light on the Tuesday icon *litaniai*. A miniature from the twelfth-century Kokkinobaphos manuscript Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 59v depicts a procession from the Virgin's Entry into the Temple (Fig. 17.7).²⁰ The *litania* is headed by the Jewish maidens carrying candles. Following the young girls is the three-year old Mary placed in the middle of the upper register. Her parents Anna and Joachim and a group of middle-aged men appear at the back. At the bottom, the crowds of men, women, and children split in order to let the procession pass through their midst.²¹ The perception of space changes from the upper to the lower frieze; while the direction goes from left to right at the top, the procession should be imagined as cutting straight through the centre of the congregation at the bottom.

The miniature presents the diversity of the crowd; people come from all walks of life. Most of them raise their hands in prayer, replicating the very gesture the Virgin makes both in the frieze above and on the Hodegetria icon (Figs 17.4 and 17.7). The miniature suggests by analogy that during the regular Tuesday procession the raised hands of the faithful were in

beate Dei genetricis supradicta imago per urbem et transit iuxta basilicam Sancti Salvatoris, in cuius introitu idem Ihesus est egregie effigiatus, sponte sua dei genitrix sancta vertit se ad filium velit nolit ille qui portat eam, et matris imago se convertit ad videndum vultum filii, volens cernere et honorare filium qui fecit eam reginam angelorum. Hoc quidem ego non vidi quia non consideravi sed ibi manens audivi'. From Ciggaar, *Tarragoneis* 55', 127.

¹⁹ The icon was kept in the sanctuary, while a copy was set for veneration in the naos, as discussed in a late 14th- or early 15th-c. text. Angelidi, 'Un texte patriographique', 113-49, esp. 147. G. Ralles and M. Potles (eds), *Σύνταγμα των θεϊκών και ιερών κανόνων των τε αγίων και πανευφήμων αποστόλων και των ιερών οικουμενικών Συνόδων και των κατά μέρος αγίων πατέρων* (Athens, 1952), 467.

²⁰ I. Hutter, 'Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus und ihre Illustrationen, Vat. gr. 1162 und Paris. gr. 1208', PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 1970, 125-38. For the most recent facsimile, see ead. and P. Canart, *Das Marien-homiliar des Mönches Jakobus von Kokkinobaphos. Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1162 (Codices ex Vaticanis selecti, 79)* (Zurich, 1991). For issues of patronage, see J. Anderson, 'A Twelfth-Century Leaf from the Byzantine Courtly Circle in the Freer Gallery of Art', *Gesta* 35 (1996), 142-8. Id., 'The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master', *DOP* 36 (1982), 83-114. Id., 'The Illustrated Sermons of Saint James the Monk: Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art', *Viator* 22 (1991), 69-120.

²¹ The same reading also in Hutter, 'Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobus', 129.

harmony with the painted hands of the Virgin on the icon. Similarly, the people depicted in this scene with their faces raised to view Mary evoke the way participants in the procession saw the Hodegetria raised above their heads.

The Tuesday procession and Mary's *Eisodos*

No Middle Byzantine depiction of the Tuesday processions exists. The illustrated *menologia* do not include *litaniai* with icons.²² Their miniatures only feature processions established in the pre-iconoclast period which do not include panels but merely crosses and tapers (Fig. 17.6).²³ It is therefore necessary to turn to another source of visual evidence. As already suggested by the Latin pilgrim's account, an affinity existed between the Tuesday Hodegetria procession and the feast of Mary's *Eisodos*. The Byzantines rarely depicted scenes from daily life, but they were capable of reading elements of their contemporary reality in the scenes from the *vitae* of the Virgin and Christ. This section will focus on the origins and development of the scene of Mary's *Eisodos* and explore the symbolic connection between this narrative image and the Tuesday Hodegetria *litania*.

Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne has studied the iconography of Mary's Entrance into the Temple.²⁴ She has not, however, addressed the issue of the relationship between the narrative scene and the reality of Byzantine processions. A fifth-century ivory book-cover in the cathedral treasury in Milan is among the earliest extant examples (Fig. 17.8).²⁵ Mary's *Eisodos* is carved on the top right; it features the Virgin standing in front of a staircase leading to a church. The angel points with his finger to a star in Heaven. There is a total absence of processional elements; the image only depicts the encounter of the Virgin with the angel. The character of this early composition is not surprising, particularly as this moment of Mary's life was defined as a feast only in the eighth century by Patriarch Germanos I (715–730).²⁶

The Entrance of the Virgin into the Temple develops into an image of a procession in the post-iconoclast period.²⁷ Several ninth- and tenth-century frescoes from Cappadocia depict the *Eisodos* of Mary as a *litania*, in which Anna and Joachim escort their child to the high priest Zacharias.²⁸ The iconography of this scene is gradually expanded with the addition of the

²² *Il menologio di Basilio II I–II* (Turin, 1907). Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 55, 100–1 (D. G. Katsarelis), with recent bibliography.

²³ *Il menologio di Basilio II*, pp. 142, 350. J. Baldovin, 'A Note on the Liturgical Processions in the *Menologion* of Basil II (MS. Vat. gr. 1613)', in E. Carr, S. Parenti, A. Thiermeyer and E. Velkovska (eds), *Eulogema. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft S.J. (Studia Anselmiana, 110, Analecta liturgica, 17)* (Rome, 1993), 25–37.

²⁴ J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident I* (Brussels, 1964; repr. 1992), 136–67.

²⁵ F. Vollbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976), no. 119.

²⁶ Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge I*, 137.

²⁷ Hutter has argued for a connection between Mary's *Eisodos* and wedding processions. The same parallel is drawn by Photios in his Homily VII. Photios urges his listeners to imagine the Feast of the Annunciation as a wedding procession (Hutter, 'Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobos', 128 n. 6).

²⁸ Church of Joachim and Anna at Kizil, 9th c.; chapel of the Theotokos, Göreme, 10th c. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge I*, 136–67, esp. 138. C. Joliver-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris, 1991), 46–50, 109–11.

figures of seven maidens holding burning tapers.²⁹ The presence of these young women emphasizes the processional aspect of the image.

The *Eisodos* of Mary in the *Menologion* of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 198) offers an example of the standard post-iconoclast iconography (Fig. 17.9).³⁰ A procession of seven maidens with tapers appears in the far left. They are led by Anna and Joachim, who present their eager child to Zacharias. The tremulousness and pious excitement of the high priest is expressed through the agitation of his drapery and his long stride. At the upper right the Virgin sits in the sanctuary and accepts manna from the angel.³¹

The Presentation in the Temple is unique among the feast scenes because it allots special importance to the virgins. The Latin description of the Hodegetria procession quoted above also emphasizes the presence of young women. Dressed in silk, singing religious chants, they walk behind the icon like maidens after their mistress. In a similar way, in the scene of Mary's *Eisodos*, the maidens embody purity, which in turn opens the doors of Salvation. The immaculate Virgin is at the pinnacle of chastity, on account of which she is admitted to the Holy of Holies. The maidens are described in the twelfth-century homily of James of Kokkinobaphos as follows:

A chorus of maidens came forth in a well-arranged harmony and presented a sweet spectacle with their ordered step and with the blossoming beauty of spring. The Virgin, attended on all sides by the maidens carrying candles, was unusual as regards her age and also her exterior appearance. For their blossoming faces were obscured by her brightest beauty, as the ray of the sun outshines the brightness of the stars. For her thoughtfulness veiled by joy revealed the greatness of her soul.³²

The spectacle is unusual. Although it was late autumn, the procession of maidens and the Virgin causes the blossoming beauty of spring to come forth.³³ Harmony, rhythm and beauty characterize the advance of the virgins. In their midst, Mary is like the sun's rays among stars. In a similar way, the Hodegetria outshines the other icons and the maidens walking in the procession. Light and purity ensures the coming Salvation.

Conclusion

A series of coincidences emerges from this discussion: the processional scene of Mary's *Eisodos* develops in the tenth century at the time when the iconographic type of the Hodegetria icon

²⁹ Ivory plaque with the *Eisodos* in Berlin. A. Effenberger and H.-G. Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin, 1992), no. 130, 224–5.

³⁰ *Il menologio di Basilio II*, p. 198. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge I*, 143–4. For a fuller discussion of the development of the iconography of the *Eisodos*, see B. V. Pentcheva, 'Images and Icons of the Virgin and their Public in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2002, 150–63.

³¹ With small modifications, the same scene is depicted in a number of 11th-c. images in Asia Minor at Çemil and Sarıca kilise in Cappadocia and in Grotto V of Stylos monastery in Latmos. In all of them the train of the procession consists of seven maidens carrying candles. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce*, 157–60, with bibliography. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Sarıca kilise en Cappadoce', *CahArch* 12 (1962), 263–84. T. Wiegand (ed.), *Der Latmos (Milet, III, 1)* (Berlin, 1913), 208–9.

³² *PG* 127, 612B–C.

³³ The feast of the *Eisodos* on November 21 is in the late autumn. Thus the comparison juxtaposes Mary's beauty, recalling spring, with the cold weather of late November.

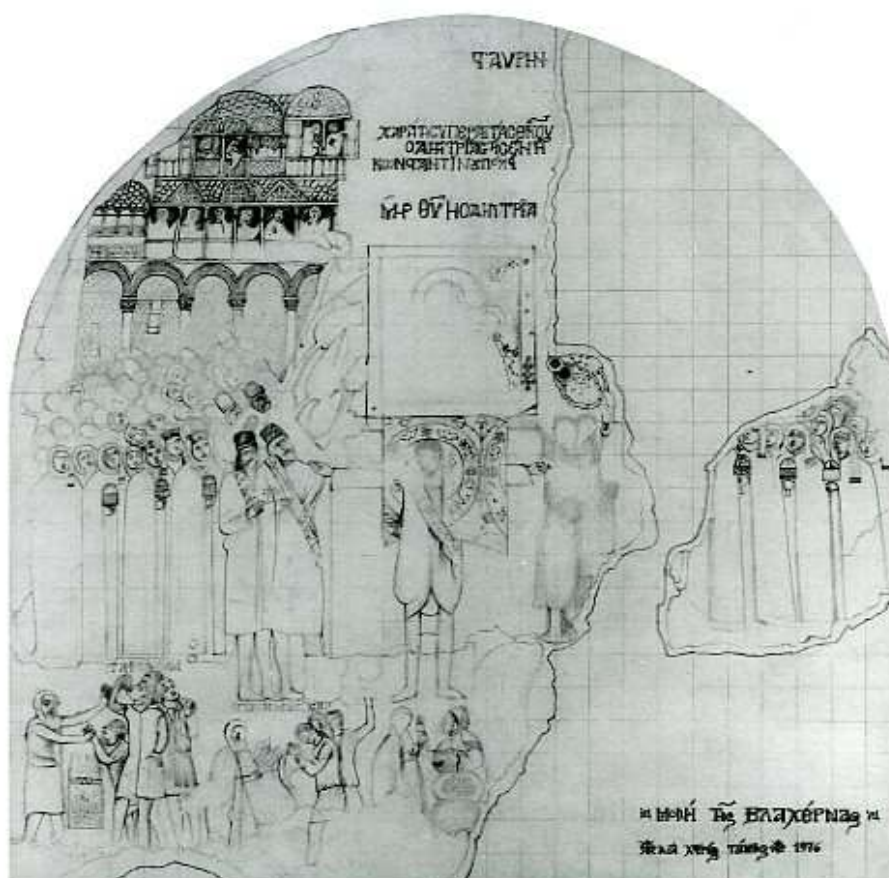
consolidates and when *litaniai* with icons become a prominent feature in the urban life of Constantinople. Contrary to the previously established theory which argued for the presence of painted panels in public processions as early as the late sixth century,³⁴ it is in fact in the late tenth century that the characteristic Byzantine identity linked to icons emerges.³⁵ The Hodegon monastery fully exploited these new developments. While the initial focus of its cult was placed on the holy spring, by the late tenth century devotion centred on the Hodegetria icon and its Tuesday *litaniai*.³⁶ The success of the icon was due to its weekly urban processions. In this way the Hodegetria was catapulted to the position of the *palladium* of Constantinople. During its Tuesday procession the image was perceived to be animated or *empsychos*, turning, for instance, of its own accord to face the icon of Christ at the Chalke gate.³⁷ The weekly Tuesday *litania* gave the faithful a glimpse into the sacred history of the life of the Virgin. The borders of time dissolved, allowing the people walking in procession to perceive the 'activated' icon as the Mother of God in person and to become participants in her *Eisodos*. It is the narrative scene of Mary's Entrance into the Temple that remains today as a mimetic visual template of this Byzantine processional practice.

³⁴ A. M. Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds its Symbol', *JThSt* 29.1 (1978), 79–108. Ead., 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in the Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', in M. Mullett and R. Scott (eds), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979* (Birmingham, 1981), 205–34, repr. in ead., *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), XVIII.

³⁵ Pentcheva, 'The Supernatural Protector', 2–41.

³⁶ Angelidi, 'Un texte patriographique', 113–49. Ead. and T. Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery', in Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, 373–87. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*.

³⁷ Ciggaar, 'Tarragonensis' 55, 127.



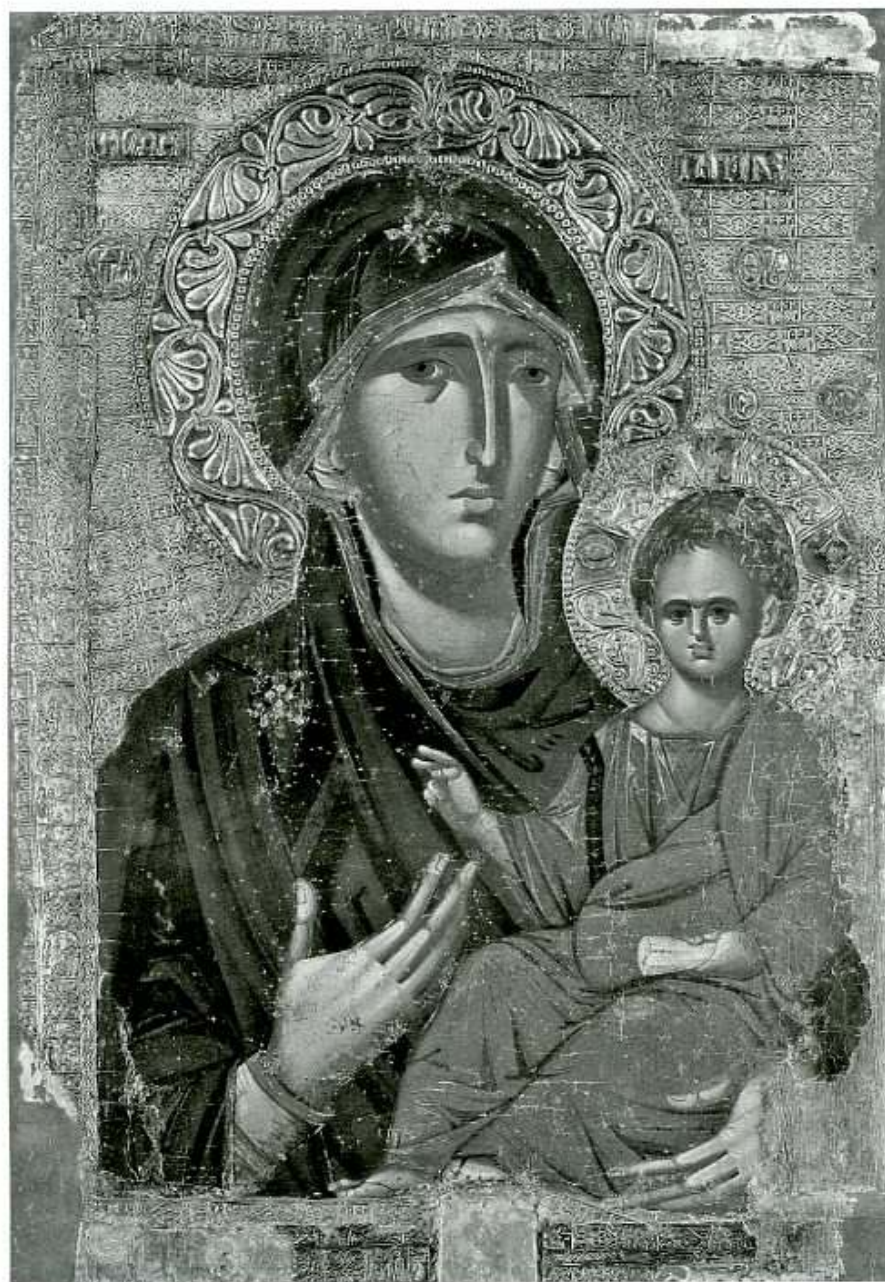
17.1 Arta, Blacherna monastery.
Tuesday ceremony with the Hodegetria
(after Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, Pl. 211)

17.2 Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks,
inv. no. DO 55.1.253. Seal. Pre-iconoclast
visual type of the Virgin (7th c.)
(source: Dumbarton Oaks)



17.3 Cambridge, Massachusetts,
Fogg Art Museum, inv. no. Fogg 340,
(on loan to Dumbarton Oaks Collection).
Seal, showing the Hodegetria type
identified with the name *Nikopoios*
(second half of the 11th c.)
(by kind permission of the Harvard University
Art Museums Visual Resources)





17.4 Ohrid, church of St Clement (the Virgin Peribleptos).
Two-sided icon: front side, the Virgin Hodegetria
(source: Vocotopoulos, *Βυζαντινές εικόνες*, Fig. 67)



17.5 Ohrid, church of St Clement (the Virgin Peribleptos).
Two-sided icon: back side, the Crucifixion
(source: Vocotopoulos, *Βυζαντινές εικόνες*, Fig. 68)



17.6 Vatican City,
Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana. MS. gr. 1613,
Basil II's *Menologion*, p. 142.
Liturgical procession
(source: Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana)



17.7 Vatican City,
Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana. MS. gr. 1162,
sermons of James of
Kokkinobaphos, fol. 59v.
The *Eisodos* of Mary
(source: Biblioteca
Apostolica Vaticana)

17.8 Milan, Museo del Duomo. Ivory book-cover (detail). The *Eisodos* of Mary (source: Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano)



17.9 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS. gr. 1613, Basil II's *Menologion*, p. 198. Entry of Mary into the Temple (source: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

