

ANGELS AS THE *MANUS DEI*: EVIDENCE IN ART AND ANGELOLOGY

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There is no consensus in art history about the reasons for the association of Archangel Michael with the Weighing of Souls or Psychostasis in Christian art, and the paper examines Karl Künstle's theory that the figure of the angel replaced the *Manus Domini*, the Hand of God. Tracing the process of transformation through examples that were not provided by Künstle, it argues for a coexistence of the angel and the *Manus Dei* in the same role, with the angel eventually taking precedence perhaps due to the increased diffusion of Saint Michael's cult. Through the analysis of Vincenzo Cicogna's *Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa...* the paper demonstrates that the understanding of the angel as the *Manus Dei* in medieval and Early Modern art was supported by contemporaneous theories in angelology.

KEYWORDS: Angels, Archangel Michael, Weighing of Souls, Psychostasis, Vincenzo Cicogna, Karl Künstle.

Weighing as a metaphor of divine judgment has been in use since early Christianity, and the Weighing of Souls or Psychostasis turned Archangel Michael into a central figure in Last Judgment compositions¹. Nonetheless, the Scriptures vaguely reference the weighing of good and bad deeds to determine the soul's otherworldly fate, and the connection with the Archangel is obscure even in Apocryphal sources. Job 31:6 and Daniel 5:27 associate weighing with divine judgment but do not mention angels; the Psychostasis is the task of an angel in the Testament of Abraham, but this angel is called

Dokiel (*dôqî'el*) rather than Michael. Besides, the name Dokiel does not appear anywhere else in the Apocrypha and the Hebrew word *dôqî'el* translates as 'the exact measurement of God', which makes it uncertain whether the text refers to a particular angel or to the task he performs². As neither the Scriptures nor the Apocrypha relate Archangel Michael to the Weighing of Souls, the origins of the Archangel's and, in fact, any angel's role in the decisive act remain disputed.

While the continuity of religions could arguably have played a role in the process³, Karl Künstle

1 I thank the organizers of *The Body: Out of Time and Without a Place* interdisciplinary conference for the opportunity of sharing my research, as well as fellow participants for their constructive questions and comments.

2 *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Ed. James H. Charlesworth, 1983–1985, vol. 1, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, p. 890.

3 Michael could have 'inherited' the role from Hermes (Mary Phillips Perry, 'On the Psychostasis in Christian Art I', in: *The*

presented an overlooked art historical theory. He suggested that the scales could have been held originally by God, Christ, or the *Manus Dei* representing them, which has been replaced by an angel at a certain point, as angels are, in a sense, personifications of the *Manus Dei*. This angel and an artist's mistake, imprudence, or perhaps both, could have provoked the weighing angel's identification as Archangel Michael. In other words, the figure first became an angel and only later did it become identified as Saint Michael, in a process accelerated by the abundance of devils as typical subsidiary figures in Psychostasis compositions⁴.

Professor of Freiburg im Bressgau University at the time, Künstle presented the theory in *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, his well-known early work on Christian iconography. The Weighing of Souls is touched upon by the subchapter discussing angels in Volume 1, offering a general overview of Christian iconography. Besides quoting a single supporting example, Künstle did not elaborate much in detail on his theory, which, in lack of evidence, understandably did not yield frequent references, let alone general acceptance. The present paper makes the step missed by Künstle and investigates whether the idea that the angel gradually became identified as Saint Michael from an alternative figural representation of the Hand of God can be supported by iconographical examples. The question is of particular interest for angelology, as it helps uncover the understanding of the concept of the angel, and, in turn, that of the *Manus Dei*, in medieval minds⁵.

Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 22, 1912, p. 102); or from Mercury (Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century. A Study in Mediaeval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration*, London – New York, 1913, p. 375–377).

4 Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg: Herder, 1926–28, vol. 1, p. 249–250.

5 For a summary of medieval angelology, the origins of the concept and its relationship with theology, a comparison of patristic and scholastic angelology, as well as devotional, liturgical, and everyday aspects see, for instance; David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

The *Manus Dei* or *Manus Domini*, the Hand of God in Latin, is also referred to as *Dextera Dei* or *Dextera Domini*, the Right Hand of God. Contrary to the elusive biblical base of the Psychostasis, both the Old and the New Testament make frequent references to the Hand, with examples including Daniel 5:1–30 about the writing on the wall or Acts 11:21 about the *Manus Dei* guarding persecuted prophets. Cyril of Alexandria in Psalms 97:2 offers an example from Patristic literature, where the *Manus Dei* is similarly not uncommon. The function of the Hand as a symbol of God in visual arts can be related to the Second Commandment, which made it particularly preferred in Jewish art and Eastern Orthodox Christianity due to the prohibitions on the figural depictions of God. Under Constantine the Great, the symbol emerged on coins showing the crowning of the emperor in the presence of or by the *Manus Dei*. The *Manus Dei*, typically reaching down from the sky, arguably functioned as the single most important symbol of God the Father throughout the fourth to thirteenth centuries. The scenes where it is traceable show an exceptional variety. It was particularly common in Sacrifice of Abraham or Moses Receiving the Law compositions, and Byzantine art also often depicted the Hand in Creation cycles. The Hand represents the Father in scenes of the Life of Christ, including the Baptism, the Crucifixion, the Ascension, and the Transfiguration; but the Hand does not necessarily have to symbolize the Father. Occasionally it stands for Christ or the Holy Ghost, especially in the imagery of the Virgin, but also appears around other saints and even around later emperors, such as Charles the Bald. Late medieval compositions with the *Manus Dei* include depictions of the Living Cross, but the symbol becomes essentially rare by the Late Middle Ages⁶.

6 Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Allgemeine Ikonographie vols I–IV*, Rome, 1968–72, vol. 2, cols. 211–214.

An investigation into early Psychostasis representations reveals that the *Manus Dei* indeed found a way into this iconographical type as well. Abbot Muiredach's cross in Monasterboice, Ireland, is widely recognized as the earliest known Weighing of Souls composition in Western art with its c. 923 dating. The Psychostasis is embedded in a larger Last Judgment theme on the east side of the monumental cross, and situated below the figure of Christ. At the feet of Christ, a smaller scale angel is kneeling with a book in his hands. A larger figure in the Psychostasis composition below could be identified as another angel, but it should be noted that the wings, if there are any, are not nearly as much articulated as on the kneeling angel above. This blurred figure is standing by the positive pan of the scales, piercing through the throat of a larger anthropomorphic figure, supposedly a devil, who is lying on his back under the scales, tampering with the negative pan. Whether the blurred figure fighting the devil is an angel or not, he is not holding the scales, and neither does the kneeling angel above. Nor does the Hand of God, however, as the scales are fitted to the upper frame of the composition by chains⁷.

Gislebertus's c. 1130 Last Judgment tympanum in Autun is a well-known early example of the Psychostasis with noteworthy compositional similarities. A large-scale angel is protectively leaning over the positive pan of the scales here as though influencing the tilt by a touch, in a position similar to that of the blurred Monasterboice figure. Meanwhile an anthropomorphic devil figure about the size of the angel is clinging to the beam above the negative pan, trying to influence the tilt negatively, with a detail again similar to Monasterboice. The fight element between the two is missing, nonetheless. Similarly to Monasterboice, the Autun angel is not holding the scales, but in Autun the scales are indeed held by the *Manus Dei*, in line with Künstle's theory. This famous composition

therefore supports Künstle's theory inasmuch as it gives the scales into the Hand of God instead of the angel. It offers nevertheless no reason to identify the angel as Saint Michael. The angel is protecting the soul in the decisive moment; it could also be the guardian angel of the soul as well as any other biblical, apocryphal, or unknown angel⁸.

Künstle pointed out a Late Romanesque capital in the choir ambulatory of the St. Peter Church in Chauvigny, close to Poitiers in France, as the earliest example where the identification of the angel as Saint Michael is certain⁹. The capitals of the church are dated to around 1150, masterpieces of the sculptor Gofridus, as is recalled by an inscription above the Adoration of the Magi capital: GOFRIDUS ME FECIT ('Gofridus made me'). Curiously, the same capital also depicts the *Manus Dei*, blessing the scene in the upper right corner. Even more intriguing is another capital, depicting the Weighing of Souls in the Apocalypse series with the inscription *Michael Arcange<lus>* on the weighing angel's halo. These words leave little doubt about the identity of the angel this time¹⁰. The Archangel is holding the scales in his left hand, raising his right in blessing. A kneeling figure is praying under his right wing, probably the deceased whose soul is just being weighed; while a somewhat smaller scale devil is clinging onto the negative pan under the

7 Mary Phillips Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 101–102, 103, n. 29.

8 From the vast literature on Autun: Mary Phillips Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 101–103; Robert Calkins, *Monuments of Medieval Art*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 101–102; Don Denny, 'The Last Judgment Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning', *Speculum*, 57/3, 1982, p. 532–547; Linda Seidel, *Legends in limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.

9 Karl Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 249–250; Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (Pelican History of Art), New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993, p. 274; Peter Strafford, *Romanesque Churches of France: A Traveler's Guide*, London: Giles de la Mare, 2005, p. 210–14; Francois Souchal, *Art of the Early Middle Ages*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1968, p. 60.

10 Künstle imprecisely recalled the inscription as 'S. Michael' on the basis of an earlier publication that I have not yet seen. Karl Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

left wing, with the inscription <H>ic e<st> diabolus above. In Chauvigny, therefore, the *Manus Dei* is not present, and the scales are given into the hands of an angel who is clearly identified as Saint Michael.

Künstle notes that the identification of the weighing angel as Michael could have resulted from the artist's mistake or imprudence, or maybe both. Without excluding these very relevant possibilities, the diffusion of the cult of Saint Michael opens up further dimensions. Jude 1:9, describing Michael's dispute with the devil over the corpse of Moses, contributed to denoting the Archangel the medieval saint of death and the dying by demonstrating the angelic power over evil in this crucial moment. According to Jewish traditions, Michael buried Moses in an unknown place to prevent the body from becoming a subject of idolatry, which was the reason behind the devil's interest in the corpse. The archangel, as a result, seemed to be a proper person to turn to in the moment of death, and the same was implied by his various apocryphal roles. In a group of apocryphal testaments including, for instance, those of Isaac and Jacob, an angel, most commonly Michael, leads the patriarch's soul into Paradise¹¹.

The early devil figures remained common subsidiary figures throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, albeit gradually diminished in size in later medieval and Early Modern compositions. Künstle related the presence of devils to the merge of the Weighing of Souls and the Dragon Slayer Saint Michael iconographical types, noting that this could have contributed to the association of the weighing angel with Michael¹². Indeed, already in Monasterboice, the blurred figure's attack on the devil is easily reminiscent of Archangel Michael in Dragon Slayer Saint Michael compositions.

11 J. Z. Smith, 'Prayer of Joseph. Translation and Introduction', in: Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 699–714, 711; Zoltán Szilárdy, 'Adalékok Szent Mihály és Mózes ikonográfiájához', (Notes on the iconography of Saint Michael and Moses), in: *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56, 1968, p. 126–129, 127.

12 Karl Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 249–250.

The popular imagery of the devil as a serpent or dragon in Christian iconography, often depicted in a fight with Saint Michael, is related to Revelations 12:7–9 telling how angels under the leadership of Michael cast a dragon out of Heaven¹³. The popularity of the story was increased by its inclusion in the first compilation of the *Legenda Aurea* around 1260, where James of Voragine claimed that the Feast of the Holy Angels celebrates Saint Michael's victories over evil.¹⁴ Michael gradually became a holy warrior in visual arts. His military struggle with the Apocalyptic dragon/Satan/Lucifer became the representation of the spiritual fight of an angelic warrior for true souls, Christ defending the Church, the virtuous Christian fighting evil, etc. Dragon Slayer Saint Michael compositions were widely popular by the high and late Middle Ages throughout Europe, and a marble relief on the 1100s bishop's throne in the Archangel's Monte Gargano grotto in Italy is widely regarded as the prototype of the composition, which innumerable pilgrims took home to their own countries¹⁵.

Less noted by scholars, an early relief of the Weighing of Souls was also preserved on a tile from Monte Gargano, supposedly part of an architrave's decoration. The tile shows an angel holding the scales with the negative pan being situated just above a dragon's head, with the angel trampling on the dragon

13 For the dragon in hagiography see also Jacques Le Goff, 'Ecclesiastical Culture and Folklore in the Middle Ages: Saint Marcellus of Paris and the Dragon', in: *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 159–188; Herman Lichtenberger, 'The Down-Throw of the Dragon in Revelation 12 and the Down-Fall of God's Enemy', in: Auffarth, *The Fall of the Angels*, p. 119–147; Oya Pancaroğlu, 'The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia', in: *Gesta*, 43, 2004, p. 151–164.

14 'Ipse cum dracone et angelis eius pugnavit et ipsos de celo eiciens uictoriam magnam fecit', in: Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *Iacopo da Varazze: Legenda aurea. Edizione critica a cura*, Firenze, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998, p. 986.

15 Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 258–259.

and piercing through its throat with a lance. This combination of the dragon slaying and the Weighing of Souls was probably also depicted on another, now diagonally broken cornice plate. An angel is similarly holding a lance in his right hand in this broken piece, and the still visible upper part of the left arm is held in a position similar to that of the angel on the unbroken relief. The identification of the angel(s) as Archangel Michael is supported by the location in the case of the Archangel's grotto. Stylistic similarities suggest closer connections between the two tiles, possibly even a copying process. The full-figure fragment is currently dated to around 1100, and the half-figure fragment to 1050–1100. They suggest that the formidable task of the Weighing of Souls was associated with the archangel roughly by the turn of the twelfth century, i.e. before the Chauvigny capital with the weighing angel's identification as Saint Michael on the halo, highlighted by Künstle¹⁶.

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Besides visual arts, the understanding of the angel as the *Manus Dei* left a trail in textual evidence as well. Extensive research has been conducted into key works of angelology including *De coelesti hierarchia* by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Dialogues* by Gregory the Great, *Sentences* by Peter Lombard, *Glossa Ordinaria* by Alexander of Hales, *Life of Saint Francis* by Saint Bonaventure, and *Summa theologiae* by Saint Thomas Aquinas. In addition to these and similar milestones, several yet under-researched writings complete the historical concept of the angel, and an angel lexicon in the collections of the Getty Museum and Research Institute in Los Angeles demonstrates their relevance for research, in this case by presenting a clear

example of the notion of the angel as the *Manus Dei*. The manuscript is an Early Modern author's overview of medieval angelology, bearing the elaborate title *On the names of angels and demons as found in the Divine Scriptures and explained by the Fathers, dedicated to the illustrious reverend Giulio Antonio Santori, the highest cardinal of Santa Severina, and on the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa passim in divinis scripturis contenta ad patrum sententiam explicata ad illustres et reverendis Iulivm Antonium Sanctorem cardinalem Sanctae Severinae amplissimum et de ecclesiastica hierarchia*, Getty Research Institute MS 86-A866)¹⁷.

The author was an ecclesiastical scholar, Vincenzo Cicogna from Verona, which was under the jurisdiction of Venice at the time. Born around 1519, Vincenzo was the first ecclesiastical member of a local painter dynasty. He was raised under the protection of his father's friend, bishop Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543), noted in history for a wide-ranging ecclesiastical reform programme, which provided a model for the Council of Trent¹⁸. Rector of the San Zeno in Oratorio monastery and not without interest in visual arts, Vincenzo Cicogna was one of the prominent ecclesiasts cooperating with the reformer bishop¹⁹.

16 *l'Angelo la Montagna il Pellegrino. Monte Sant'Angelo e il santuario di San Michele del Gargano*: Catalogue, Ed. Pina Belli D'Elia, Foggia: Claudio Grenzi, 1999, cat. Nr. 17, p. 81–82; Nr. 18, p. 82.

17 I thank the Getty Research Institute for their Library Research Grant for research on the manuscript, and for subsequently making it available online for my PhD research project in the Internet Archive Online Library at <http://www.archive.org/details/angelorummetdaemoocico> [cited 2015-09-31]. Edina Eszenyi, *On Perfect and Imperfect Angels: A Catholic Reformer's Angelology from the Late-Sixteenth Century Veneto*: Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kent Canterbury, 2014.

18 A. Grazioli, *Gian Matteo Giberti vescovo di Verona, precursore della riforma del Concilio di Trento*, Verona: Stamperia Valdonega, 1955; Adriano Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma. G. M. Giberti (1495–1543)*, Rome: Edizioni di storia letteratura, 1969.

19 On Cicogna's involvement in the conception of the Villa del Bene's iconographical programme in Volargne, just a few miles northwest of Verona; see Enrico Maria Guzzo, 'Il palazzo Del Bene di San Zeno in Oratorio in Verona (e le relazioni di Giovanni Battista Del Bene con alcuni artisti veronesi)'; in: *La famiglia Del Bene di Verona e Rovereto e la villa Del Bene di Volargne, atti della giornata di studio, Rovereto e Volargne 30 settembre 1995*, Rovereto, 1996, Ed. Gian Maria Varanini, p. 95.

A celebrated orator, Cicogna was also author of various theological works, with the *Angellorum* concluding his literary activity around 1587²⁰. The *Angellorum* analyses, in alphabetical order, Scriptural and Apocryphal references to angels and demons. The 170-folio work opens with a foreword and a dedication, and then is divided into *De Angelis* and *De Demoniis* sections with 100 angel and 123 demon entries, respectively. The work concludes with a treatise comparing the Heavenly and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies. The author juxtaposes the ideas of various medieval theologians on the same question in the analytical entries, draws conclusions from them, and offers conciliation in case of controversies. The parallel between the *Manus Dei* and angels can be found in entries describing the angelic mediation between Heaven and Earth. These entries compare angels to various parts of the divine body in order to elucidate the way they contribute to the fulfilment of divine will on earth.

The *Brachia Dei* entry argues that Christ as well as angels can metaphorically be called the arms of God. Christ deserves this name being of the same divine substance, whereas angels deserve it as perfect, inexhaustible, and strong divine instruments. This is why ‘everlasting arms’ in Deut 33:27 refers to angels. Cicogna is of the opinion that God was not talking to the angels when He said in Genesis 1:26, ‘Let us make man in our image, after our likeness,’ because angels had not yet been created. Neither angels nor minor elements existed before the creation of man. All minor elements were created simultaneously with angels, in

the same moment, and for the same reason: to help man, who stands on earth as God’s ‘certified copy’. God, who needs no help, created everything not *with*, i.e. with the help of angels, but *with* angels, i.e. everything at the same time with angels. Angels as creatures are therefore subordinated to him and cannot participate in the incommunicable divine substance, but they still remain the strongest and most perfect executors of the divine will in Heaven and on earth, in which sense they are the figurative arms of God²¹.

Cicogna also compares angels to other parts of the divine body at the elucidation of the angelic providence. Referring to passages such as Psalms 33 and Matthew 22, he points out that the eyes are the primary and the fastest sense, which crave for light like the swift angels crave for divine light. They mediate

20 Following a history of unwanted attention to his previous publications on part of the Inquisitions and perhaps even inspired by it, Cicogna dedicated his last bigger literary enterprise to the lead figure of the Italian Inquisition, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori (1532–1602); Saverio Ricci, *Il Sommo Inquisitore: Giulio Antonio Santori Tra Autobiografia e Storia (1532–1602)*, Piccoli Saggi 15, Rome: Salerno, 2002, with further bibliography. For Cicogna, Giberti and Santori, see Edina Eszenyi, ‘Lessons from Angelology’, in: *Journal of Cognition and Neuroethics* 3.1, 2015, p. 159–162, for an overview of Cicogna’s previous literary activity; see Edina Eszenyi, *On Perfect and Imperfect Angels*, p. 33–43.

21 ‘Brachia Dei appellantur Angeli, sed non eadem ratione, qua Christus appellatur Brachium, quo significatur illum non ministrum tantum et instrumentum Dei esse, sed unius et eiusdem cum illo substantiae: sed Angeli, quia instrumentum tantum sunt Dei, Brachia appellantur. nam de his scripsit Moyses: Ascensor celi auxiliator tuus: Magnificentia eius super celi et subter brachia sempiterna. Qui autem subter Deum vel prope Deum sunt, Angelis sunt: quorum opera cum in celis et in terris utatur Deus, brachia illius sempiterna, quae neque lassitudinem, neque defectum habeant, sed quae fortissima sint... [...] omnia <e>n<im> admira<n>da p<er> illos et cu<m> illis fecit Deus. No<n> q<ui>dem illis adiutoribus /ut perpera<m> volu<n>t Hebrei/ creavit homine<m>, quasi illos ad huiusmodi opus co<n>vocaret cu<m> dixit Faciamus homine<m> ad imagine<m> et similitudine<m> nostram, [...] nos sibi ad hoc opus adhibuit adiutores cu<m> ante hominis creatione<m> neque Angelus neque Eleme<n>ta extiterint, sed uno et eodem instanti omnia simul (ut i<n> Sapientis) co<n>dita fuerint [...] imago et similitudo Dei divina<m> illa<m> esse<n>tia<m> dicat que est peorsus creaturis i<n>com<m>unicabilis, Ita ut homo no<n> Dei imago et similitudo creatus sit, sed ad imagine<m> et similitudine<m>, ut esset exe<m>plar quodda<m> Dei i<n> terris.’ (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 22v) The indentation signals that most of the entry is composed by a Second Hand working on the manuscript, differentiable from the secretarial calligraphy of the First Hand by shortened forms and the frequent neglect of ligatures. Since this hand often makes additions and corrections, I have not yet found a reason to doubt the Getty Institute’s suggestion that it belonged to the author making additions to the manuscript he intended for publication. Edina Eszenyi, *On Perfect and Imperfect Angels*, p. 22.

between God and ourselves, but not because God needs the mediation: they mediate and oversee to help us venerate Him more intensively. Through the contemplation of the divine, angels reveal the divine will like the eyes reveal the soul, be it God's affection towards us or His anger. When they deliver prayers and recount good deeds, they also intercede by functioning as the ears of God²².

Finally, Cicogna also compares angels to God's voice, with a more detailed analysis of the seven references to the voice of God in Psalms 29. Angels communicate the divine will as clearly and firmly as trumpets, and prepare the arrival of Christ as trumpets signal the arrival of a king. They will awaken the dead at the Last Judgment like trumpets awaken the living from their sleep. They are trumpets, however, whom only God can sound, as it takes great force to sound a trumpet and angels move only on the forceful command of the divine. They are divine instruments who fulfil the divine will²³. This final idea bears a particular

relevance for Künstle's argument about the correlation between the *Manus Dei* and angels²⁴. The *Manus Dei* often illustrates Scriptural scenes where the voice of God is not seen but His voice is heard. In these cases, the *Manus Dei* alternates with the figure of angels in visual representations. Typical examples include the Sacrifice of Abraham, where either an angel or the *Manus Dei* holds Abraham back in the last moment; or Agony in the Garden scenes, where either the angel consoling Christ in the garden of the Gethsemane is occasionally replaced by the *Manus Dei*²⁵.

CONCLUSIONS

The examples quoted above suggest a similar complementary use of the figure of the angel and the *Manus Dei* in early Psychostasis compositions. Karl Künstle overlooked theory that the scales in medieval Weighing of Souls compositions may have been held by angels subsequent to being held by the *Manus Dei* is supported by Gislebertus's famous Autun composition, and by the fact that the scales were not held by angels in the earliest representations, including Monasterboice. Nevertheless, not only Gothic cathedrals such as Paris, Bourges, Chartres, Reims, and Amiens, but also Romanesque compositions, such as the tympanum of the Sainte-Foy abbey church in Conques, roughly at the same time if not some years earlier than

22 'Oculi et Aures Dei Philoni sunt Angeli: Sunt /ait/ quaedam puriss<im>ae optimaeq<ue> omnium /Intelligentiae/ quae altius diviniusq<ue> sapient, aspernatae ista terrestria et humilia, ministrae omnipotentis, tanqua<m> magni Regis aures et oculi, videntes audientesq<ue> omnia: Has Genios philosophi, Angelos vocant sacrae literae nomine optissimo... Ut autem oculi omnium sensuum sunt praestantissimi et velocissimi omnium celorum, et in primis lucis cupacissimi: ita Angeli omnium rerum conditarum sunt praestantissimi, velocissimi in suis actionibus, et omnium bonorum capacissimi [...] Dei Aures esse videntur: quia etiam per illos accipit, et audit quod per se ipsum percipit, et audit, etiam [...] antequam petamus et orem<us>. Cu<m> autem sancti, D<omi>ni sententia, i<n> celis futuri sin<t> similes Angelis, de illi quoq<ue>, Dei oculi et aures dici possu<n>t, q<uod> i<n> Deo et ex Ceo res humanas prospiciant, et nostras audiant...' (GRI MS 86-A866 Fol. 63r-v) Edina Eszenyi, *On Perfect and Imperfect Angels*, p. 56.

23 'Dei itaq<ue> tuba et Vox Angeli sunt: quorum cum aperto et manifesto utitur ministerio, quasi tuba canere et sensibili voce uti videtur. Ut autem tuba utimur, ut Regis praesentiam significemus, et populos ad illum suscipiendum excitemus: ita Angelorum ministerio Christi adventus propalabitur [...] Ut enim tuba a somno exiitandi vim habet: ita Angeli a Deo habe<n>t, quo possint uno momento mortuos cum propriis corporibus a mortis somno excitare, et illos coram iustiss<im>e Iudice constituere.

Tubis autem comparantur Angeli: quia tuba non nisi tibicini spiritus plena non canit, aut clangit: ita Angelus non nisi Dei spiritus plenus et afflatus movetur et agit: ita ut Vox eiu<s> Dei potius et spiritus sancti vox sit, et clangor, quam Ange. Quia itaq<ue> Dei sunt instrumenta viva et efficaciss<im>a ad faciendum verbum, et voluntatem eius, Dei Tubae, et Vox appellantur. [...] Ausim dicere Davidem septem illis vocibus in psalmo [...] Quae omnia cum Angelorum opera explebit Deus, Vox et tubae Dei dicuntur.' (GRI MS 86-A866 Fols 82v-83r) Edina Eszenyi, *On Perfect and Imperfect Angels*, p. 56.

24 Karl Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, p. 249–250.

25 Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Allgemeine Ikonographie vols I–IV*, Rome, 1968–72, vol. 1, cols. 23–27; vol. 3, cols. 341–349.

Autun, gave the scales into the hand of an angel. This suggests either a unique artistic imagery on Gislebertus's part, or a complementary use of the angel and the *Manus Dei* in Psychostasis compositions until the angel eventually superseded the Hand, perhaps due to the diverse hagiographical profile of Saint Michael the Archangel.

Künstle correctly acknowledged that erring and ignorance is part of human nature and, as such, inevitably enters the creative process. Yet, the wide diffusion of Saint Michael's cult from the early Middle Ages on makes it less surprising that the idea of identifying the weighing angel as Michael presented itself in an artist's mind in Chauvigny around the 1150s. The task of combating evil, personified by subsidiary devil figures in Psychostasis compositions, had long been associated with the Archangel before. It turned Michael into the protector of the dead, the angelic defender of the soul (referring to the apocalyptic dragon in Revelations 12:7) as well as the body (the debate over the body of Moses in Jude 9).

The angelic dispute with the devil was often portrayed in Christian art in various forms. Devil figures trying to influence the weighing have been present since the earliest Psychostasis compositions, and similarly they have not been absent from the Archangel's iconography. As the archangel's illustrious Monte Gargano grotto played a major role in spreading the Dragon Slayer Saint Michael iconographical type, the two quoted Psychostasis tiles from the same grotto may have inspired the pilgrims to associate the Weighing of Souls with Michael. Monte Gargano's links with Mont Saint Michel, the Archangel's primary French pilgrimage site, make it less surprising if the earliest unquestionable identification of the weighing angel with Saint Michael indeed happened on a French capital.

Hand in hand with iconography, the blurred lines between angels and the *Manus Dei* are also traceable in writings on angels. Vincenzo Cicogna's *Angolorum...* argues that God uses angels as His own body

parts, which makes angels equal to God acting. This echoes the visual representation of the angel as the Hand of God, the executor of the divine will. The frames of the present paper do not allow for an extensive overview of the numerous milestones of medieval angelology with far-reaching literary, theological, and artistic influence; yet, Cicogna's work is based on an overarching investigation of medieval writings and represents, at the same time, the innumerable under-researched quality pieces of medieval and Early Modern angelology.

Most importantly, the arguments for the angel as the *Manus Dei* theory do not exclude the possibility that cultural adaptations also made a contribution to trusting the important act of the Psychostasis upon the Archangel in Christianity. The process was complex, and there is no reason to understate the influence of the continuity of religions presented by other researchers. The identification of the angel with the Hand of God most probably worked in correlation with them, the artistic and religious development mutually strengthening each other. At this point, nuancing chronology and mapping regional patterns remains a challenge for future research, which shall hopefully allow an ever closer insight into the understanding of the figure of the angel in our past and, in turn, our present.

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ANGELAI KAIP *MANUS DEI*: MENO IR ANGELOLOGIJOS LIUDIJIMAI

Edina Eszenyi

SANTRAUKA

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: angelai, arkangelas Mykolas, sielų svėrimas, psychostazė, Vincenzo Cicogna, Karlas Künstle.

Sielų svėrimas, arba psychostazė, t. y. žmogaus gerų ir blogų darbų pasvėrimas, siekiant nuspręsti sielos likimą po mirties anapusiniame pasaulyje, pavertė arkangelą Mykolą svarbiausia Paskutinio teismo kompozicijų figūra. Vis dėlto tekstinėje tradicijoje šis uždavinys nėra susijęs su arkangelu Mykolu. Tarp meno istorikų nėra bendro sutarimo dėl priežasčių, kodėl šiam vaidmeniui pasirinktas arkangelas, nors įvairiausių idėjų ir netrūksta.

Straipsnyje yra nagrinėjama Karlo Künstle's knygoje *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* iškelta teorija, teigianti, kad angelo figūra tikriausiai pakeitė *Manus Domini*, arba Dievo ranką, kuri atliko tą pačią funkciją ankstyvose kompozicijose. Vienintelis Künstle's pateiktas pavyzdys iš Šv. Petro bažnyčios Šovinji mieste, Prancūzijoje, yra gretinamas su ankstesniais ir vėlesniais Sielų svėrimo vaizdais. Ankstyvuose vaizduose išties galima pastebėti tęstinumą, pereinant nuo *Manus Dei* prie angelų, ypač prie arkangelo Mykolo. Tačiau iš tikrųjų šiuo atveju dvi viena kitą papildančios figūros atlieka tą patį vaidmenį, ir angelas pamažu įgauna pirmenybę prieš Ranką. Neatmetant galimybės, kad, pasak Künstle's, šv. Mykolo identifikacija galėjo atsirasti dėl menininko neapsižiūrėjimo, straipsnyje pabrėžiamas didėjantis šv. Mykolo kulto populiarumas kaip svarbiausias veiksnys.

Toliau straipsnyje teigiama, kad *Manus Dei* ir angelų identifikacija taip pat egzistavo viduramžių bei Naujųjų laikų angelologijoje. Ją galima aptikti Vincenzo Cicognos *Angelorum et daemonum nomina et attributa...* (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute MS 86-A866, <http://www.archive.org/details/angelorvmetdaemoocico>), Venecijos angelų ir demonų leksikone (apie 1587), atsiradusiame Bažnyčios reformatoriaus vyskupo Gianmatteo Giberti (1495–1543)

intelektualioje aplinkoje ir dedikuotame garsiam kardinolui Giulio Antonio Santorio (1532–1602). Pasirinkus viduramžių angelologiją kaip išeities tašką, Cicognos veikale *Angelorum* tvirtinama, kad šventraščiuose angelai yra metaforiškai vadinami Dievo rankomis.

Nesiimant teigti, kad vaizduojamoji tradicija viena pati gali paaiškinti arkangelo Mykolo sąsają su Sielų svėrimu, šis straipsnis prisideda prie psychostazės tyrinėjimų iškeldamas prielaidą, kad viduramžių ir Naujųjų laikų angelų samprata kaip *Manus Dei* galėjo padaryti įtaką meninėms tradicijoms. Tolesniems tyrinėjimams lieka patikslinti chronologines ir teritorines ribas, siekiant dar aiškiau atsekti transformacijos procesą.