The Symbolism of Miniatures in the *Radziwiłł Chronicle*

I. N. Danilevsky

The miniatures of the world famous *Radziwiłł Chronicle* attract historians' special attention. The chronicle has survived as a fifteenth-century copy of a thirteenth century manuscript. It traces the origin of the peoples of Europe and important events of their history. As a rare example of an illustrated Russian medieval chronicle, it contains almost 600 miniatures and is presently kept in the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. It represents a 'pictorial narrative,' that is imparted in miniatures closely linked to the text. The pictures furnish unique iconographic images of Russia's early history.

Perception of chronicle miniatures, at least at first sight, does not present particular difficulties. A modern person, brought up on illustrations of maximal demonstrativeness and simplicity (it is pictures, after all, that enable an illiterate child to 'read' the as-yet-inaccessible verbal text), has a certain stereotypic perception of virtually any visual series. In adults, this stereotype is boosted by the habit of decoding the various sign systems so frequent in our daily life, from pictorial instructions (mostly presented in pictograms) on how to use or to assemble a household item, to various logotypes to road signs. Moreover, even familiarity with modern painting develops a habit of 'programmatic' apprehension of the visual arts. It was not for nothing that until very recently Russian (Soviet) schoolchildren's introduction to the national artistic heritage began with the maximally 'verbalized' paintings by the *peredvizhniki* (the Wanderers). For this matter, the "articulation" of pictures by P. A. Fedotov appears to be ideal or near ideal. He accompanied his paintings with poetic verses meant to assure (and still assuring, as proven by excursion guides' daily practice in picture galleries) a precise explication for virtually every element of the picture.

Set perception modes of this kind, however, do make it more difficult to read the pictorial text encoded in other – irregular and unusual for our contemporary – pictorial languages. Verbalization of such a text (certainly indispensable for understanding an image, for if not verbalized the information conveyed by pictorial images cannot be incorporated in a scholarly study) presents considerable difficulty, even though not always and not fully realized. Under these circumstances, devising a 'know-how,' a system of procedures that would allow the correct conversion of pictorial images into words is an urgent task. Importantly, the results of such a conversion must be verifiable (this, perhaps, is the ultimate goal). The results of 'reading' miniatures by different 'readers' must be

comparable to a degree, even though not always and not necessarily identical. It is natural, however, that we would never be able to reproduce precisely the original mental image as conceived by the miniaturist. The 'reading' is forever doomed to a greater or lesser degree of approximation. Yet, in order to attain even a partial resemblance to the original concept, one should lay down certain generic principles that would make possible a formalized understanding (as opposed to an unwarranted interpretation) of the iconographic text of the ancient Russian miniatures.

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Naturally enough, the first step in the historical exploration of the Radziwiłł Chronicle's miniatures was their literary 'reading.'[1] A classical monograph by A. V. Artsikhovsky[2] determined the principal line of research in this field for many years. He juxtaposed the pictorial images with archeological realities (an approach labeled by V. I. Buganov, not without reason, as 'artifactual'[3]). This approach made it possible to make a number of significant conclusions regarding the dating of the miniatures. In particular, some of the miniatures were proven to derive from the pictorial 'protographs' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This line of research laid the groundwork for a serious source-description analysis of the miniatures which, as Artsikhovskii demonstrated, can accommodate an important hyper-textual commentary ('hyper-textual' information) on the 'explicit' (verbal) texts.[4] Paradoxically, the same approach created

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[1] M. I. Artamonov, "Miniatiury Koenigsbergskogo spiska letopisi" (Miniatures of the Koenigsberg Copy of the Chronicle), *Izvestija Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* 10, no. 1 (1931); A. V. Artsikhovskii, "Miniatiury Koenigsbergskoj letopisi"(Miniatures of the Koenigsberg Chronicle), *ibidem* 14, no. 2 (1932).

[2] A. V. Artsikhovskii, *Drevnerusskie miniatiury kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Ancient Russian Miniatures as a Historical Source) (Moscow, 1944).

[3] V. I. Buganov, *Otechestvennaia istoriografia russkogo letopisaniia: obzor sovetskoi literatury* (Domestic Historiography of the Russian Chronicle Writing: Overview of the Literature) (Moscow, 1975), 85, 98. Cf. also: "A. V. Artsikhovskii who studied Ancient Russian miniatures as a historical source paid little heed to the conventions of the miniaturist's narrative language" [D. S. Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury* (Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature) 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1979), 42 (hereafter Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury*)].

[4] See, for example, S. O. Schmidt, "Miniatiury Tsarstvennoi knigi kak istochnik po istorii Moskovskogo vosstaniia 1547g" (Miniatures of the Tsarstvennaia Book as a source on the history of the Moscow uprising of 1547), *Problemy istochnikovedeniia* 5 (1956): 265-284; i*dem*, "Pervoe upominanie ob Oruzheinoi palate i miniatiury Tsarstvennoi knigi" (The First Mention of the Oruzheinaia Chamber and Miniatures of the Tsarstvennaia Book), *Gosudarstvennye muzei Moskovskogo Kremlia: Materialy i issledovaniia* 2 (Moscow, 1976): 5-23; O. I. Podobedova, *Miniatiury russkikh istoricheskikh rukopisei: K istorii russkogo licevogo letopisaniia* (Miniatures of the Russian Historical Manuscripts: Towards a History of Russian Illuminated Chronicle Writing) (Moscow, 1965) (hereafter Podobedova, *Miniatiury russkikh istoricheskikh rukopisei*); V. V. Morozov, "Ivan Groznyi

certain obstacles for the apprehension of the pictorial message left to us by anonymous chroniclers.

The realization of this situation by leading Russian scholars enabled them to take the next step in the study of the ancient Russian book miniatures. A number of statements concerning the symbolic reading of the miniatures associated with the texts were put forth by D. S. Likhachev. He pointed out the peculiar way the time frame was made visual, which determines the sequence of 'recounting' events in the miniatures. In particular, Likhachev spoke about the 'spatial overcoming' of 'narrative time,' when several successive episodes are represented as a spatial series meant "to make it possible to understand the event in its temporal extent."[5] Just as substantial and important for the comprehension of iconographic sources are observations made by B. V. Rauschenbach on the specifics of the language used in ancient Russian miniature and icon painting to render space visually.[6] This prominent scholar came to the conclusion that the Classical and the medieval methods of rendering space on a plane were nearer to modern techniques of engineering drawing and axonometry (perspective geometry) than to the manner of conveying 'natural visual perception' usual for us .[7]

One is nevertheless constrained to agree with A. A. Amosov's opinion that the "miniaturists' sign language is still largely not decoded and ways to understand it are just being charted."[8] It is commonly assumed that to 'read' an ancient Russian miniature is fairly easy. It was to this effect that Likhachev said something that, to my mind, contradicts his own observations. In his opinion, "an artist [to be precise, the creator of the miniatures of the Radziwiłł Chronicle] ascetically refrains from telling the beholder something which is not contained in the text of the chronicle."[9] The artist simply generates "a pictorial narrative

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na miniatiurakh Tsarstvennoi knigi" (Ivan the Terrible in the Miniatures of the Tsarstvennaia Book) *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rukopisnaia kniga* 3 (1983): 232-240; i*dem*, "Etiket realnyi i etiketnost' iskusstva. Russkii diplomaticheskii ceremonial" (Etiquette in reality and etiquette in art: the Russian diplomatic ceremonial) in *Etnograficheskoe izuchenie znakovykh sredstv kul'tury* (Leningrad, 1989), 265-280.

[5] Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury*, 39-40, 45-46, 48.

[6] B. V. Rauschenbach, *Prostranstvennye postroeniia v drevnerusskoi zhivopisi* (Spatial Constructions in Ancient Russian Painting) (Moscow, 1975).

[7] B. V. Rauschenbach, "Kak my vidim segodnia: Postroenie prostranstva kartiny kak funkciia mirooshchushcheniia" (How We See Today: Construction of Pictorial Space as a Function of World Outlook)," in *idem*, *Pristrastie* (Moscow, 1997), 105-117. *Cf.* R. Arnheim, *Iskusstvo i vizual'noe vospriiatie* (Art and Visual Perception), Russian translation, 2nd ed. (Blagoveschensk, 1999); *Idem*, *Novye ocherki po psikhologii iskusstva* (New Essays on the Psychology of Art), Russian translation (Moscow, 1994); V. Rozin, *Vizual'naia kul'tura i vospriiatie: Kak chelovek vidit i vosprinimaet mir* (Visual Culture and Perception: How One Sees and Perceives the World) (Moscow, 1996).

[8] A. A. Amosov, *Litsevoj letopisnyi svod Ivana Groznogo: Kompleksnoe kodikologicheskoe issledovanie* (The Illuminated chronicle of Ivan the Terrible: A complex codicological study) (Saint Petersburg, 1998), 232 (hereafter Amosov, *Litsevoj letopisnyi svod*).

[9] Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury*, 47.

strictly following the verbal narrative of the chronicle."[10] At first sight, miniatures indeed may give such an impression. Besides, the actual verbal text of the ancient Russian chronicles is so multilayered and poly-semantic (the number of significations can hardly be estimated) that any 'redundancy' of information provided by the miniature is easily done away with by assigning it to hidden layers of the text's signification.

It has however been pointed out that some miniature details do not find an immediate grounding in the text of the Radziwiłł Chronicle.[11] Let me quote a typical testimonial in this respect by B. A. Rybakov:

> Most interesting in this series [of miniatures presenting in the Radziwiłł Chronicle the Story of the Killing of Prince Andrew Bogoliubsky] is the depiction of Princess Ulita holding in her hands her husband's severed 'spear-hand.' The text speaks of the 'spear-hand,' that is, the right hand, whereas the artist clearly pictured the left hand. Anthropological examination of Andrew's remains confirmed the correctness of the picture, rather than the text. The Princess' participation in the complot does not transpire from the text, but the data supplied by Tatishchev and the *Tverskoi sbornik* (the Tver Collection) also authenticated this detail recorded in the miniature.[12]

Even leaving aside the unwarranted identification of the female figure depicted by the miniaturist as 'Princess Ulita', we cannot but admit that the verbal and iconographic 'versions' of the circumstances of Andrei Bogoliubsky's death diverge substantially. The artist – contrary to D. S. Likhachev – is absolutely not inclined to refrain from giving the beholder a new (as compared to the text of the chronicle) piece of information. If anything, the text of the chronicle offers no explicit grounds for the iconographic 'mention' of a woman plotter or the 'other' hand.[13] Besides, Likhachev himself insisted on chronicles being a strictly secular literary genre. Being a "historico-juridical instance," they represent artistic imagination proper only "to a certain extent."[14] Such qualities of a chronicle deny us the possibility of appealing to the hidden meanings of the text that could help us decipher the contents of the associated miniatures. From this by necessity follows that either a conclusion regarding the strictly 'illustrative' nature of the chronicle miniature is wrong or Likhachev, one of the best experts on

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[10] *Ibid.*, 45.

[11] See, for example, Podobedova, *Miniatiury russkikh istoricheskikh rukopisei*, 92.

[12] B. A. Rybakov, "Miniatiury Radzivilovskoi letopisi i russkie litsevye rukopisi X-XII vekov" (Miniatures of the Radziwiłł Chronicle and Russian Illuminated Manuscripts of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries) in *idem*, *Iz istorii kul'tury drevnej Rusi: Issledovaniia i zametki* (Moscow, 1984), 228-229 (hereafter Rybakov, "Miniatiury Radzivilovskoi letopisi").

[13] For more details see I. N. Danilevsky, *Russkie zemli glazami sovremennikov i potomkov: XII – XIV veka* (Russian Lands in the Eyes of Contemporaries and Posterity, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries) (Moscow, 2001), 85-90 (hereafter Danilevsky, *Russkie zemli*).

[14] Likhachev, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury*, 65.

ancient Russian literature, misunderstands the essence of the chronicle message or both Likhachev's statements are simultaneously invalid. The latter I believe to be closer to the truth.

Still, even a thesis on the miniaturist's (or miniaturists') following the written text *literatim* could not eliminate the problem of symbolic interpretation of the chronicle miniatures. However enticing, all attempts to reveal the symbolic signification of images associated with the chronicle text have demonstrated the apparent absence of sufficient grounds for verification of the results achieved. Most representative in this respect were works of such dissimilar scholars as D. S. Likhachev and B. A. Rybakov. Upon examination of the same miniatures and their elements, these researchers arrived at conclusions that were substantially dissimilar, even though seemingly close. A closer look at these makes it clear that contradictions have evolved primarily from the arbitrariness of the suggested interpretations of the visual text.

The interpretation of images of trumpeters appearing in a number of miniatures offers a characteristic example. Likhachev believes that they symbolize peace: "[In the Radziwiłł Chronicle,] trumpeters blowing horns (fol. 207r) signify peace. If only one trumpeter is blowing, it means a surrender of a town."[15] This statement is not, unfortunately, substantiated by any arguments. Moreover, on exactly the same page, while analyzing a miniature on fol. 129v of the Radziwiłł Chronicle, the researcher himself remarks *en passant* that it shows "two trumpeters blowing horns from top of a tower, thus signaling surrender of the town."[16] Neither the contents of the miniatures (mostly descriptions of battle scenes) nor the associated texts allow accepting the symbolic interpretation of the trumpeters initially proposed by Likhachev without reservations. On fol. 169, for example, an image of a trumpeter accompanies an account of Yaropolk Vladimirovich's 1138 war expedition to Chernigov at the head of an army that united troops from Rostov, Polotsk, Smolensk, Kiev, Pereyaslavl', Vladimir, Turovsk, Halich, and Ugrians and Berendei.[17] Another example of this kind is to be found in the lower-most miniature on fol. 196v. Here, a trumpeter accompanies a depiction of the council held by the Halich prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich and his boyars in connection with the attack by the Kiev prince Iziaslav Mstislavich and his brother. According to entry for the year 6661 (1153), 'illustrated' by this miniature, the Halichians had no intention to surrender. On the contrary, they discussed who was going to take part in the impending battle.[18]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 41.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Polnoe sobranie letopisei* (Complete Collection of Chronicles) vol. 38: *Radzivilovskaia letopis'* (the Radziwiłł Chronicle) (Leningrad, 1989), 109.

[18] *Ibid.*, 125. Notably, B. A. Rybakov arbitrarily interprets this miniature as a depiction of a reception of the boyar Petr Borislavich by Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl (Rybakov, "Miniatiury Radzivilovskoi letopisi," 221-22; B. A. Rybakov, *Petr Borislavich: Poisk avtora 'Slova o Polku Igoreve'* (Petr. Borislavich: Searching for the Author of 'The Igor

In contrast to Likhachev, Rybakov believes that trumpeter images are not related to settling a peace or surrendering a town. Rather, they 'explain' to the reader whether the victory in one or another battle had been won by 'friends' or 'foes.' Trumpeter images in the Radziwiłł Chronicle are differentiated accordingly. When descendants of Prince Vladimir beat the offspring of Prince Oleg, the trumpeters on the margins always "blow proudly, their arms akimbo, their horns high up." In a number of cases however a trumpeter 'acts' just the same when the Olegoviches got the best of it (as, e.g., on fol. 167r), whereas, according to Rybakov's theory, he should instead "hold his horn down."[19] In order to relate (as Rybakov does) this symbolic image (and the miniature on the whole) to the later paragraph, indeed dedicated to the Vladimirovichs' victory, one would have to prove specifically that in this particular case the miniaturist deviated from an otherwise standard correlation of the image to the text: in every other case an image comes after the textual description rather than before it.

Just as flimsy is Rybakov's statement that the miniaturist occasionally 'departs from the standard' when depicting towns he is personally related to. In one of the examples the image of "a chimeric town with complex fortification architecture" (*Radziwiłł Chronicle*, fol. 172v, top), does not, as the researcher suggests, 'denote Pereyaslavl.' The text associated with this picture speaks about Novgorod. Neither does the other instance (*Radziwiłł Chronicle*, fol. 168r, bottom), an image of a town with an unusual tower and column, refer to Kiev, as Rybakov wishes to believe: the text clarifies that this is Chernigov. An analogous image on fol. 161v is related to Logozhsk.

How complex it is to comprehend one or another pictorial detail is seen from cases when researchers 'link' them (in their imagination) to 'alien' miniatures, so as to 'complement' the comprehensible miniature with the elements of the other, less intelligible, image. For example, when talking about the 'political symbolism' of "human figure symbols," Rybakov asserts that "a picture of a naked crying man" (fol. 160r, bottom) "complements the miniature depicting the atrocities of the elder Olegovich, Prince Vsevolod." "The very first marginal drawing highlights Vsevolod's brutality," concludes this scholar.[20] It is, however easy to observe that there are two miniatures at the bottom of fol. 160r., of which the lower is dedicated to Prince Vsevolod's misdeeds. The figure of the "naked crying man," being on the margins of the upper miniature, is apparently more appropriately considered in the context of this other image, along with the corresponding textual entry (a report on the successful expedition of Yaropolk against Polovtsy in 1125).[21]

Regarding miniature attribution, a number of other questions arise. It is unclear whether all pictures with symbolic appendages or deviations from the

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Tale') (Moscow 1991), 162-63) (hereafter Rybakov, *Petr Boryslavich*). *Cf.* I. N. Danilevsky, *Russkie zemli*, 334.

[19] Rybakov, B. A., *Petr Boryslavich*, 191.

[20] *Ibid.*, 188.

[21] Radziwiłł Chronicle, 105.

standard should be ascribed to a single author. Also, does the change of the symbolic language (as, for instance, when animal figures are replaced with human ones) indicate a change of a miniaturist or of a commissioner? Does that mean that all 'standard' miniatures belong to another artist (or artists)?

The examples cited prove that even the best qualified modern scholars undertaking a symbolic interpretation of the *Radziwiłł Chronicle*'s miniatures most frequently start from their own preconceived ideas of what may and must be depicted in a miniature. At that, the 'common sense' of a present-day researcher, certainly to be taken into account when miniatures are being 'deciphered,' is substituted for the actual principles and methods of converting a verbal text into a visual representation.

This, in particular, is to be explained by our insufficient knowledge of what exactly in the text was to be presented in a picture and how this was to be made visual. Virtually none of the research disagrees that a pictorial series is a text in itself, built up according to certain rules. Evidently, almost every element of an image is a result of a conventional symbology apparent to both the artist and the 'reader' of the pictorial text. As yet we have no method to assess how fully the visual code conveys the symbolic, allegorical, and moral significations of the medieval text. Neither can we distinguish the ways in which these layers of meaning are represented. Moreover, so far no general approaches have been worked out to study how the written text correlates to one or another aspect of the miniature. It is, for instance, unclear what 'level' of the semantically multilayered text relates to the color symbolism of the miniature, or what 'part' of the text corresponds to the gesture symbolism; there is so far no telling whether the principles governing such relations changed over time, and if yes, how they changed.

For example, Amosov revealed remarkable patterns in the symbolic use of red for rendering pictorial information in the sixteenth-century *Litsevoi Letopisny Svod* (Illuminated Chronicle Collection). He established particularly that "apart from the 'natural' meaning, the red colour in the miniatures of the Svod has a functional significance. To be precise, it designates the highest one in the hierarchy: the great prince among the vassal princes, a representative of the 'angelic celestial host' among the earthly warriors, and the like." In addition, the red is also charged emotionally:

> The solemnity of this colour, its striking contrast to other, duller colours, allowed for its use as a transmitter of major-scale nuances. The intensive red is typical of miniatures speaking about joyful events. . . Inversely, in miniatures with a grievous message, red is normally present very little, its use being limited to the organization of the pictorial space.[22]

Nevertheless, the patterns in the use of the red as stated by Amosov for the *Litsevoi Svod* cannot be applied automatically to the analysis of the Radziwiłł

[22] Amosov, *Litsevoj letopisnyi svod*, 233.

Chronicle's miniatures, for there is so far no proof that the colour symbolism in ancient Russian miniatures remained invariable from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. For now, only one thing is certain: "the use of colour was not arbitrary: it followed certain, as yet unidentified patterns."[23]

Unfortunately, so far we have no answers to these and similar questions. Not even a questionnaire has been devised yet that would make it possible to reveal these relations and approach their understanding. The grand scholarly work done by the past generations of historians, art historians, and historians of culture in the analysis of the ancient Russian book miniature enables us today to make new steps forward in this field.

It is extremely urgent to establish a methodology that would help us uncover similar correlations, perhaps with the help of content-analysis applied to both the verbal and the pictorial texts of the ancient Russian illuminated manuscripts. For this we perhaps need to start with their 'anatomization,' followed by a statistical processing of the analytical material and establishing stable relations between individual elements of verbal and pictorial messages.

Such an undertaking will undoubtedly call for considerable time, labour, and finances. The scale of the impending work is best understood from Amosov's calculations:

> The major obstacle for the creation of the holistic historico-cultural picture [in the study of chronicle miniatures] is the colossal complexity of the corpus of illuminated chronicles as a system. This system includes an enormous number of levels, each of them combining an uncountable number of notches and almost unimaginable multitude of relations between the notches as system components. Let me illustrate this thesis with just one example. The first of the extant Russian illuminated chronicles – the Radziwiłł Chronicle – comprises 600 miniatures. As a rule, each miniature represents two or more episodes, so that the number of episodes altogether represented exceeds 1200. Each episode features a number of protagonists and several other objects, so it is not an overstatement to say that the miniatures contain more than 6000 elements. The graphic structure of each protagonist or object can be broken into at least ten 'realities' of various kinds, thus adding up to a total of 60,000 features. Lastly, the number of relations between individual 'realities' as elements of the composition will multiply the total at least by ten. The Radziwiłł Chronicle is not, however, the most plentiful one in regard to miniatures, and the pictorial formulas used therein are comparatively simple. As for the *Litsevoi Letopisny Svod*, produced a century later, it represents a system almost thirty (*sic!*) times more complex already at the first level, that is, as to the num-

[23] *Ibid.*, 232.

ber of miniatures. From level to level, this complexity is bound to grow in a geometrical progression.[24]

Nevertheless, this work ought to be done.

To finish, I would like to point out one other aspect of the subject discussed. As an indispensable step towards finding a solution for the above problems we have, I believe, to answer the question that has so far never been posed: what was actually the purpose of illuminated chronicles? What, for example, determined the emergence of the *Radziwiłł Chronicle* (let me note that not only the Radziwiłł copy, but also that of the Moscow Academy was meant to be illuminated)? Why was the sixteenth-century *Litsevoi Svod* produced? The answer to these and perhaps other similar questions may well lie within a hypothesis on the special role in the intellectual life of the Middle Ages played by the art of memory, which was responsible for the image system of the period (also including visual images).[25]

[24] *Ibid.*, 228.

[25] F. A. Yates, *Iskusstvo pamiati* (The Art of Memory). Russian translation. (Saint Petersburg, 1997), 107-135.

Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

(Approaches in Russian Historical Research)

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XIII

Images in Medieval and Early Modern Culture

(Approaches in Russian Historical Research)

Edited by

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Preface

In recent years, many historians have recognized their special interest in visual sources. The 'iconic turn' has also become vital for the historical disciplines.[1]

Images were a constitutive part of medieval and early modern daily life – with regard to their function and usage as well as their contents, 'language' and perception. Communication with the help of and via pictures played an important role for all strata of society. Therefore, research into the visual system and culture of these periods has become a basic constituent of (social) historical research.[2]

We would like to thank the authors of this volume, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya and Aron Ya. Gurevich in particular, for their interest and readiness to have their approaches towards images, which they had presented at a Moscow conference and in the 2002 special volume of the journal *Одиссей. Человек в истории*: "Слово и образ в средневековой кулмуре" ("Mot et image dans la culture médiévale"), translated into English and published as a 'Sonderband' of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*. These investigations of the visual culture of the past by Russian historical researchers are an important contribution to the international trends and efforts to include images as parts of medieval and early modern culture and sources for today's (social) historians. The articles offer a wide spectrum: from the history of gestures to various aspects and functions of images in *memoria*, political and religious life. The relevant roles that visual

[1] Concerning the 'iconic' or 'pictorial turn' see, e. g., W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, 1994); *idem*,. "Der Pictorial Turn," in *Privileg Blick. Kritik der visuellen Kultur*, ed. Christian Kravagna (Berlin, 1997), 15-40; Jan Baetens, "Reading Vision? What Contexts for the Pictorial Turn?", *Semiotica* 126 (1999), 203-218.

[2] See, e. g., Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images. Art and the Representation of the Past* (New Haven and London, 1993); Jérôme Baschet and Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1996); Gerhard Jaritz (ed.), *Pictura quasi fictura. Die Rolle des Bildes in der Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna, 1996); Otto Gerhard Oexle (ed.), *Der Blick auf die Bilder. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch* (Göttingen, 1997); Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, 2001) ; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Le corps des images. Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002); Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Die Methodik der Bildinterpretation. Les méthodes de l'interprétation de l'image. Deitsch-französische Kolloquien 1998-2000*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 2002); Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (ed.), *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology* (Turnhout, 2003).

culture played in the Middle Ages and the early modern period are convincingly presented and underlined. Transdisciplinarity and the necessity of contextualization and dialogue are proved to be indispensable.

We do hope that this special volume of *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* will help to intensify and strengthen the international contacts and cooperation among 'image-historians'. An increasing variety of approaches towards visual sources may, on the one hand, contribute to better understanding specific and individual matters of communication in medieval and early modern society. On the other hand, such approaches will open up possibilities for recognizing general patterns of image usage and perception – patterns of intention as well as patterns of response.[3] Analyses of micro- and macro-levels will add to each other. Their structures, contexts and networks will become clearer.

Gerhard Jaritz

[3] See, e. g., some contributions of leading representatives of the social history of art already in the eighties of the twentieth century, as: Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, 1986); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989). See also the important remarks by Keith Moxey, "Reading the 'Reality Effect'," in *Pictura quasi fictura. Die Rolle des Bildes in der Sachkultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna, 1996), 15-22.