The Iconography of the Archangel Michael on Byzantine Icons

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ABSTRACT

Certain characteristics of the Archangel Michael that are found on Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons contribute to our understanding of the importance of Michael's cult. These icons describe to a large extent the role of the Archangel in orthodox belief. He is identified as a member of the celestial court, and also as the leader of the heavenly host. Thus, he is the protector of the faithful and the performer of miracles on their behalf. On yet another group of icons he is the angel psychopomp, or the bearer of the soul after death. These icons indicate the significance of the cult of Michael and help us understand better his place in doctrine, liturgy and popular belief.

ABREGE

Certaines caracteristiques de l'Archange Michel, qui sont décrites sur les icônes de l'époque Byzantine et post-Byzantine, contributent à notre connaissance du culte de St. Michel. Ces icônes décrivent dans une large mésure le rôle de l'Archange dans la croyance orthodoxe. Il est représenté comme un membre de la cour céleste et comme chef de l'hôte céleste. Aussi, il est le protecteur des croyants et il accomplit des miracles pour eux. En outre, dans une groupe d'icônes, il est l'ange Psychopompe on le porteur de l'âme après la mort. Ces icônes indiquent la portée du culte de St. Michel et nous aident à mieux comprendre sa place dans la doctrine, la liturgie et la croyance populaire.

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7. Venice, Hellenic Institute. Full length Archangel Michael. Eighteenth century. 32.5 x 20cm. [Source: M. Chatzidakis. Icônes de St-Georges-des-Grecs et la collection de l'institut. Venice, n.d.]

8. Pisa, Museo Civico. Full length Archangel Michael. Fourteenth century. 28.6 x 21.65cm. [Source: V. Lazareff. "Duccio and Thirteenth Century Greek Icons." Burlington Magazine 59 (1931) 154-169.]

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Ed. J. Bollandus et al. 64 vols. Paris, 1863 - 1910.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Eds. F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq. 15 vols. Paris, 1924-.
Daremberg and Saglio	Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romains aprés les texts et les monuments. Eds. C.V. Daremberg, E. Saglio. 5 vols. Paris, 1877-1917.
Dionysius of Fourna.	Dionysius of Fourna Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης. ed. A. Papadopoulos - Kerameus St. Petersburg, 1909.
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique. Eds. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot. 16 vols. Paris, 1899-1950.
Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church	G. Galavaris. The Icon in The Life of The Church. Doctrine, Liturgy, Devotion. Leiden, 1981.
Ginzberg, Legends	L. Ginzberg. Legends of the Jews, 7 vols. Philadelphia, 1913.
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols	E. R. Goodenough. Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, 13 vols. New York, 1956.
Grabar, L'Empereur	A. Grabar. L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin. Strasbourg, 1936. Reprinted in 1964.
Kitzinger, Byzantine Art	E. Kitzinger. Byzantine Art in the Making. Main lines of stylistic development in Mediterranean Art. 3rd to 7th Century. Cambridge, Mass., 1977.
P.W.	Pauly's Real - encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Eds. A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa. 24 Vols. Stuttgart, 1894-1963.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Ed. T. Klauser. 12 Vols. Leipzig, 1941 -.
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantischen Kunst. to date — 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1963 -.
Sotiriou Icons	G. & M. Sotiriou. Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ. 2 vols. Athens, 1956.

Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality	K. Weitzmann ed. Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977 Through February 12, 1978. New York, 1979.
Weitzmann et al., Icons	K. Weitzmann et al. Icons from Southeastern Europe and Sinai. London, 1968.
Weitzmann, "Classical"	K. Weitzmann. "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression." Byzantine Art. An European Art. Lectures. Athens, 1966. pp. 149-177.
Weitzmann, The Icon (1978)	K. Weitzmann. The Icon. London, 1978.
Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982)	K. Weitzmann et al. The Icon. New York, 1982.

PREFACE

In this thesis I shall attempt to describe the figure of the Archangel Michael by means of the iconography found on Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons. In order to analyze the context of these icons it is necessary to supplement my discussion with examples from other media, and to see these representations in the light of the doctrine and liturgy of the Orthodox Church. The Judaic and Greco-Roman traditions, to which the Christian cult of Michael is related, will also be examined.

The scope of this thesis will not allow a discussion of Russian icons. The subject is vast and it offers added complexities to the topic because of the many variations found in the Russian Church. However, I have added examples to the notes and at two occasions I have found it useful to mention Russian icons within a Byzantine context.

By necessity some icons of the post-Byzantine period have been included because the continuity of the Orthodox faith ensures a constancy of iconography that can be considered within this thesis. This is all the more necessary on account of the lack of early icons of Michael still extant, but these late icons bear testimony to the enduring importance of the Archangel Michael in the Church.

The division into chapters in this thesis is determined by the distinct functions assigned to Michael and which are described on icons. Under separate headings I will discuss the various iconographical elements that together comprise the character of Michael within the larger historical and religious context.

CHAPTER 1 -- MICHAEL IN THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY

The central role of the legion of angels and archangels was the service of God, the supreme power of the universe, and the performance of His will both in heaven and on earth. This order of immaterial beings existed to perform this service, ad ministerium Dei.[1] This service can be expressed in an endless variety of ways: to form the court of heaven, to adore and praise God, and to serve God in the performing of the manifold functions of the divine government in the material world.

The archangels and angels are the messengers of God as part of their service. This involves not only the delivering of divine revelation but also the carrying out of the commands of God in the world of men. And it is by these very acts that the angels were known to exist and this broad role of the messengers of God became the basis of their work, as perceived by men. As the angels and archangels appear in both the Old and the New Testaments at moments when God intimates His will, it was naturally as messengers that they were described by men.[2] The pagan pantheon had messengers, too, of course.[3] Hermes was considered the gods' herald and Nike, a personification of victory, delivered messages of triumph.[4] The wings, seen invariably on the Christian angels from the 4th or 5th century on, were borrowed from the Nike types[5], but this was not to indicate an analogy of function. Rather, despite the apparent similarity of appearances, the angels were involved in a myriad of activities that were initiated by the command of God and not

consisting in the delivering of the message of victory. The angels were not, as Nike was, gods and therefore deserving of worship in themselves.[6] The angels were the ministers of the one God and thus subject to His will.

The role of the Archangel Michael within this order of angelic beings is formulated by the writings on the hierarchy of heaven. This formulation of a hierarchy was attempted by many Christian writers in order to present in a comprehensive manner the orders of divine beings that were believed to exist.[7] In the Celestial Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Michael, along with other Archangels, is placed in the choir of angels. The first order or hierarchy, according to Dionysius, consisted of those nearest to God, the Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim; in the second rank are the Powers, Dominions, and Virtues; and in the third were the Angels, Archangels, and Principalities.[8] The beings of the first and second ranks in this system are closer to the illumination and perfection of God, but they have not the contact with the world of men which the Archangels and Angels have. The Archangels and Angels are still near to God and also privy to His will, and they are the active members of the government of God in the mundane realm. Among this corps of angelic beings it is Michael who is admitted to be of the first rank. For Michael is the Leader of the Heavenly Host, the Prince of Heaven, and

ὁ μέγας ταξιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιστράτηγος τῆς δυνάμεως κυρίου.[9]

In Jewish tradition, and subsequently in the Christian tradition, Michael was chosen by God to be the special protector of the nation of Israel[10] and so his pre-eminent position in the host of

angels is indicated. The election of the people of Israel as the chosen people of God, and the belief that they were the object of special assistance was an ancient Jewish tradition.[11] So, in one of the visions of Daniel, Michael appears with a sign of God as the great prince to defend Israel.[12] In ancient legend it is always Michael who intervenes on behalf of Israel at God's behest.[13] According to one such legend, Michael commanded the seventy angels to teach the seventy languages unto the seventy families of Noah. On the same day Michael went to each nation and delivered to them the message with which God had charged him. While the other angels were allotted nations, Michael's special charge was Israel. In another legend, Michael initiated Enoch into the secrets of wisdom that God had commanded Michael to relay.[14] It was the function of Michael to effect God's will and to make this will manifest to men, but it was a sign of the pre-eminence of Michael that his charge was God's chosen people.

This explains the special attention that was sought from the Archangel among Christians as well. Michael not only revealed the favour and disfavour of God to His chosen nation, Michael also turned his active attention to those favoured by God in an all embracing vigilance for the followers of Christianity. Michael was believed to be in the inner court of heaven, and one of those nearest to God, as he was General and Prince. And since the Archangels and Angels were generally considered to be intermediaries between God and man, Michael's special attention was often sought as the most effective means of gaining God's intercession. Thus, as we shall see, Michael

became the protector of many of the emperors of the Byzantine Empire as well as the guardian of the Christian faithful.

The iconography of the Archangel Michael on Byzantine icons is determined to a large extent by this belief that Michael is a high attendant in the court of heaven who protects and serves the court. To express this role, Michael, the attendant in the celestial court, is described in terms that are taken from the art of the imperial court of the Byzantine empire.[15] Commonly on icons, Michael, along with the Archangel Gabriel, is shown flanking the Virgin and child who represent the Queen of heaven and her son the Pantocrator.[16] An example of this group of icons is seen on an ivory panel of the 6th century in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin where the Virgin and child are flanked by two Archangels, Michael and Gabriel,[17] and again on an Egyptian tapestry icon from the 6th century in the Cleveland Museum of Art, in which Michael and Gabriel, both identified by inscriptions, stand to either side of the enthroned Virgin and child.[18] On a number of icons, medallions of the two Archangels are placed in the upper corners of the icon above the enthroned Virgin and child.[19]

The prototype of the composition is found in imperial art where the emperor is shown receiving due respect from his subjects or enemies while his attendants stand near his throne. On consular diptychs the consul is sometimes adored by two warriors or two personifications placed symmetrically to either side. As a natural extension of artistic ideas concerning the courts of heaven and earth, 4th century mosaics of apostles and angels adoring Christ were

inspired by the imperial examples.[20] The mosaic on the spandrel of the arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome is an example of this transfer of types from imperial to religious depictions of the same action.[21]

In this way one finds that the icons depicting the Virgin and child flanked by their attendants and guardians take their symbolic value from the iconography of the official life of the empire. This composition states the supreme power of God and the position of his attendants in the workings of His power. The royal family of heaven is depicted in all its splendour while their attendants wait on their command. The status assumed by the Archangels on account of their position in the court of heaven is described by their place next to the throne of the Mother of God.

As an attendant, in both the roles of a minister and of the general in the service of God, Michael is presented on Byzantine icons with iconographical attributes that indicate his position and role in the heavenly hierarchy. It is the sum of these iconographical elements within certain contexts that describes the character and functions of the Archangel Michael. Despite the many varied activities in which Michael is engaged in the art of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, it is the attributes given to Michael that are constants for his depiction in art. These attributes, his clothing and what he holds, are the visual symbols that characterise the role of Michael. This role is also indicated in doctrine, liturgy, and popular belief.

The leaf of an ivory diptych of the first third of the sixth century now in the British Museum in London provides a seminal example

of the iconography associated with the Archangel Michael, (Fig. 1).[22] This is not to say that this ivory is a prototype for the subsequent portrayal of Michael, rather this leaf provides a relatively early and complete example of the type of icon in which Michael is presented as the Prince of heaven and attendant to the heavenly court. The function of this leaf was a commemorative diptych which had connections with the imperial cult.[23] Its importance at this point in this thesis is for the iconographical elements of the leaf that are not limited to this one leaf but can be found as attributes in the depictions of Michael in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art.

The ivory leaf shows a handsome, winged youth standing on a flight of six steps. It is generally agreed that this figure is Michael despite the fact that he is not identified by the inscription. The Archangel wears a tunic and pallium modelled in the classical tradition with graceful and sweeping folds. In his right hand he holds an orb surmounted by a jewelled cross, while in his left he holds a long staff. His sandalled feet awkwardly overlap the line of stairs. An architectural façade is suggested by the use of columns and an arch that frame the figure. The fluted columns rise on both sides to intricately carved capitals with acanthus. The arch that joins the two columns encloses a scallop shell. This scallop shell holds a wreath within which is a cross. The refined modelling and skilled carving leave little doubt that this was a deluxe product made by a workshop, probably in Constantinople, for the imperial court.

The insignia of office found on this leaf, the orb, the staff, the dress, are established conventions of depicting Michael on

Byzantine icons. These insignia are indications of the status and power of the Archangel Michael in the divine realm, since they are based on the iconography of imperial art.[24] This interplay of artistic ideas between imperial and religious art lends recognisable points of reference because rank is assumed by the possession of these symbols of power. To begin with, the staff has a long history as a symbol of authority outside of imperial art. Moses, for one, is given a staff by God to do his work.[25] Among the Greeks it had, of course, a great variety of meanings depending on the type of staff. Generally, it too was an attribute of a figure in a position deserving of respect.[26] Under the Romans, the staff became a symbol of dignity or command.[27] During the Republican period the staff was given to military commanders only, but in the Imperial period, the staff became one of the symbols of the emperor's office. In early Christian art, in the hands of Christ, the staff is a sign of his power. In the raising of Lazarus, for instance, Christ uses the staff to bring Lazarus magically back to life.[28] This idea of the authority of the holder of the staff is found in Christian writing.[29] The staff that Michael holds in the British Museum leaf is a symbol of his celestial power derived from Christ Himself.

This delegation of power is seen on secular diptychs of the same period. On the diptych of Probus of 406 in the Cathedral Treasury in Aosta, for instance, the consul Probus is shown in the imperator guise as a Roman soldier holding a staff of the same type as Michael holds on British Museum ivory.[30] The scipio eburneus is the most common to the office of the consul, for example. The symbolic

value of the staff clearly had an established lineage, although a number of other types of staffs can be found in art. As a symbol it signifies the power and authority of its bearer and in Christian terms, this becomes a symbol of Michael's office, delegated by God to his envoy.

Michael holds this staff of office frequently on icons. There are slight variations, but this can be accounted for by the time span and the dispersion of the iconography over a wide area. On a 12th century icon from Mt. Sinai, for example, Michael is dressed in the usual chlamys while in his left hand he holds a staff.[31]

The half length figure of Michael found on an enamel icon from Constantinople and now in Venice holds an elaborate staff or sceptre.[32] Similarly, on the 6th century icon from Egypt in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Michael holds this insignia of office.[33] These few examples indicate that the staff was a conventional attribute of rank and authority for the Archangel. The globe that the Archangel holds in his right hand in the British Museum ivory is another symbol of the Archangel's position of authority. This globe with its ancient traditions of sovereignty belongs to Michael as a sign of his exalted position and it is solely an attribute of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel.[34]

According to some scholars the orb surmounted by a cross is a variation of the type of globe upon which a small victory figure stands. This latter type was common in the Late Antique period on coins, for instance, with seated personifications of cities holding a staff, and globe with a Nike.[35] The globe and nike type is found on

the Barberini diptych in the Louvre, which is contemporary to the British Museum ivory mentioned above.[36] The cross on the globe is simply a substitution for the Nike on the globe. After the vision of Constantine, the cross became the nikephorus symbol that the winged Nike had been.[37]

The orb itself had long been a symbol of authority, but surmounted by the cross the source of the authority was made explicit. For example, in secular art of the imperial family, the empress Ariadne is depicted on an ivory in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, possibly of the 6th century, holding the globus crucifer in her right hand and a staff in her left.[38] Thus, the insignia of imperial power and its origins in heaven are displayed in the conventional manner of imperial art.

The Archangel Michael also displays the insignia of his celestial power on icons. On a 12th century stone icon in the Friederich-Museum in Berlin, Michael holds the orb with the cross and staff.[39] On a painted icon of the 11th century from Tsvirmi in Georgia, Michael is shown with the same globe and staff.[40] Moreover, these attributes are found in monumental art as well.[41]

The analogy of depiction in the art of secular and religious realms is immediately apparent, and it denotes comparable status and function. Although, the orb with a cross on top was a common attribute, there were variations on this symbol. The common factor was that the orb recalled the source of the authority and the high position of the holder. The cross, in fact, is found on certain icons within the orb which Michael carries.[42] On an icon from Cyprus of the

14th century, Michael holds an orb which contains a bust of Christ Emmanuel.[44] Michael is also shown holding an orb with the Chi-Ro monogram.[45] The orb may contain the XDK inscriptions which refers to, it would seem, Christos Dikaios Krites or Christ the Equitable Judge.[46] The orb may also be transparent.[47] The conventions of the significance of the orb indicate the office which Michael holds, regardless of the various possibilities for presenting the orb itself.

These iconographical attributes refer to Michael's place of favour in heaven. Other details indicate the same privilege. The tunic and pallium of the British ivory is also a sign of sanctity and high standing. When the saints and angels of Christianity were dressed in these ancient robes, it announced in some way corresponding to that of the pagan philosophers and gods, their special sanctity.[48] The white colour symbolised the incorruptability, purity, and immortality of the wearer.[49] The iconographical conventions of this type of dress, which was begun in pagan art and continued in that of the Christians, signified that the figure portrayed in this costume possessed a symbolic nature of heavenly glory.

In the same manner, a type of dress that had its origins in secular usages, the imperial loros, was frequently used to portray the Archangels in terms worthy of the dignity and authority of their station. It became increasingly common from approximately the 7th century on to have the Archangels Michael and Gabriel wear this robe. The loros was an explicit reference to the imperial status and it was appropriated by artists to state an analogy of standing between the Archangels and the dignity of the imperial office.

The loros was originally a consular robe called a trabea triumphalis or a toga picta from its coloured edge. It is depicted frequently on consular diptychs as the robe of that office. For instance, on the ivory diptych of the Consul Anastasius in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris, the insignia of office are the mappa circensis, the linen handkerchief dropped by the consul to signify the beginning of the games, the scipio eburneus, and the loros.[50]

Eventually, the loros was narrowed down to a long scarf that was richly embroidered on both sides. The scarf can be traced from ankle level in front of the body, up to the right shoulder and over it, and under the right arm; it is draped across the wearer's chest and over the left shoulder; then it falls diagonally across the back and under the right arm at the waist; it rests on the wearer's lap and finally is draped loosely over the left arm. This rather elaborate garment was simplified in representations of the 9th century and this simplified version became standard by the 10th. This version of the loros was again a broad embroidered scarf worn on the front of the body, but went over both shoulders as it would seem to have had an opening for the head. It was then brought across the back and under the wearer's right arm, and across the waist and over the right shoulder.

It is difficult to be precise as to when the emperor began to wear the loros. It seems likely that the loros was used in certain ceremonies by the 7th century. By the 9th century, when we find an increased number of representations of this type of dress, this imperial robe had become a garment worn also by the archangels.[51] It

is found for example in the 9th century frescoes of the Casa di Giovanni e Paolo beneath San Clemente in Rome where the archangels, both wearing the loros, flank Christ.[52] The analogy of imperial dress and that of the Archangels is made explicit by an exceptional piece, a fragment of an ivory sceptre now in the Friedrich-Museum in Berlin.[53] On this ivory of the 9th century the Virgin is shown crowning the emperor Leo VI while an archangel stands to the Virgin's left. Both the emperor and the archangel, besides holding the same insignia of power, a staff and orb, wear the same garment, the loros. It is probable that a piece, such as this ivory, is responsible for the spread of this type of representation in the west and east. Regardless, it is explicit about the relationship between the portrayal of the archangel and the emperor.

During the 7th century the loros became associated with the religious authority of the emperor. It seems that the emperor wore the loros in certain ceremonies such as those on the first of January and Easter, as well as during the distribution of largesse to the populace.[54] It would also have been worn at certain times, it appears, by the Patriarch. The loros itself may symbolise in this religious context the winding sheet of Christ and, by its brilliant decoration, the resurrection.[55]

The loros was appropriate to the Archangels as a symbol of their position in the hierarchy of heaven. The loros suggests that the Archangels are the celestial equivalent to the station of the emperor. Outside of this governmental function the Archangels have a high position in the celestial Church.[56] The Apocalypse places the

Archangels at the head of the Church.[57] Origen first calls the Archangels the spiritual Bishops[58] and he is followed in this interpretation by St. Basil[59] and Gregory Nazinzenus[60] in the east, and in the west by St. Ambrose[61] and by St. Hilary.[62] Among these spiritual Bishops it is Michael who holds first rank. In one source, God says to Michael, "Thou art my priest in heaven."[63] In the Christian pseudepigraphic work, the Passing of Mary, Michael appears as the prince of paradise. In this context it denotes Michael's function as the high priest in the heavenly temple, which is another expression for paradise.[64] Michael's status in the heavenly hierarchy is analogous to the hierarchies of the political and ecclesiastical realms from which the iconography of the Archangels derive.

The Angels and Archangels, in fulfillment of this belief in conception of their status in heaven, were thought to perform the celestial liturgy that parallels the mundane in its adoration of God. One factor in this conception of Michael and the angelic host participating in the celestial liturgy was the description of the angels by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite as the missing ontological link between the visible and invisible worlds.[65] In addition to this philosophical contention there was the practical liturgical understanding that the body of the Church worshipped God in the company of the angelic host.[66] The liturgy lent continual understanding to this sense. In the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom it is expressed in this way:

> Holy is God, who is worshipped and glorified by a multitude of holy angels and archangels invisibly trembling before him. Holy is God, who looks with unsleeping sight upon the many-eyed cherubim and ceaseless sound ... and mounted upon the six winged seraphim.[67]

And similarly in the Liturgy of Basil, God is called the one who had "established brigades and armies of angels and archangels for the service of thy glory."[68] The angels were considered fellow worshippers. According to Maximus the Confessor, the rituals and sacraments performed by men on earth were an imitation of the heavenly hierarchy.[69] And so "imitating the angels in heaven, we are found to be worshipping God through all things."[70] In this respect the liturgy is found to be more explicit than dogma.

Thus, on the icons mentioned above the Archangels standing in attendance on the Virgin and child are also acting as fellow worshippers in that they too worship the divinity of God made manifest. The Archangels can be depicted on icons in the performance of the celestial equivalent to the earthly liturgy. In one such role, Michael is allegorically represented as the Deacon who takes part in the Agios section of the liturgy. On an icon from the Monastery of Vlattadon in Thessaloniki of the 14th century, there is such an allegorical scene.[71] The icon is divided into two registers. The upper register shows Christ Pantocrator worshipped by two angels. Below is the Virgin flanked by Michael and John the Baptist. According to Andreas Xyngopoulos, this lower register is a symbolic representation of the Proscomidie. The Virgin symbolises the offering, John is the priest who celebrates mass, and Michael is the deacon who assists him.

Since the church where the liturgy is enacted is the terrestrial heaven,[72] the hierarchy of heaven applies equally to the body of the church. Thus, Michael in his role as prince of heaven holds place among the heavenly worshippers as the priest and deacon hold place among the worshipping body. On icons, and in monumental art, Michael is represented as the Deacon who recites the Trisaghion of the liturgy. This is the invocation of the Prothesis office and precedes the Little Entrance at the Mass. The Greek version runs in translation: Holy God, Holy Power, Holy Undying One, save us.[73] To represent his invocation Michael, as well as the other archangels, holds a staff with a banner reading Agios, Agios, Agios, which is termed the Trisaghion.

This standard, the Trisaghion, is modelled on the labarum. The labarum was originally a Roman military standard to which Constantine added the Chi-Ro symbol. This nikephorus sign was associated with the words seen by Constantine: Conquer by this sign. The Trisaghion also becomes a symbol of the victory of the truth inherent in the liturgy. For instance, in the Menologion of Basil II Michael is shown holding the Trisaghion while beneath him a small devil falls into an abyss at his feet.[74] Michael is not active in defeating the devil rather it is the victory of the power of the standard and its symbol.

The symbolism of the Trisaghion was applied primarily to the liturgy. The angels, particularly Michael, participated in the liturgy and by their standards and by their presence invoke the witness of God.[75] This liturgical symbolism is found on the cloissoné enamel icon of the 12th century on the High Altar of San Marco in

Venice (fig. 2).[76] On this icon Michael, wearing the loros, holds the staff with the Agios banner in the company of seraphim and saints. The angelic host is entitled to this office since in the liturgical invocation it is the angels who are called upon.[77] On another icon of the mid 15th century possibly from Thessaloniki, Gabriel is shown carrying the Trisaghion.[78] Michael stands to the right of Gabriel but the fragmentary condition of this icon does not allow one to state his action.

The liturgical symbolism of this type of icon is explicitly stated by the representations of Archangels holding the Trisaghion placed on the sanctuary walls. The sanctuary is where the offering is prepared and it is reserved for the clergy only. Symbolically it represents the "heaven of heavens" according to St. Symeon of Thessaloniki.[79] In the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea there were eight Archangels, all wearing the loros, who held the Trisaghion.[80] These mosaics, placed on the wall of the sanctuary, are meant to accompany a specific moment of the liturgy. The words of the standards echo in another realm the words of the liturgy in which the celestial host of angels is seen worshipping in all eternity. They are the supernatural equivalents to the mortal worshippers. The icons of Michael with the Trisaghion refer to the same moment in the liturgy, and reflect the belief in the Archangel's participation as deacon or priest. Dressed in the sumptuous loros with its imperial and patriarchal lineage, Michael is removed to a perfect and peaceful world where he is seen to have a primacy of place, in the adoration of God.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 1

1. E. Schneweis, Angels and Demons According to Lactantius (Washington, D.C., 1944) 23-24; A. Vacant, "Anges," DTC, I, 1212ff.

2. Deut. XXXIII, 2; Jub I, 27; Gen. XXII, 15-18; Judges XIII, 3; I Kings XIX, 5; Math. I, 20; II, 13; VIII, 2, 5; Luke I, 11, 26; XX, 43; Joa. XX, 12; Acts V 19; VII, 53; VII, 26; X 3; XII, 7; XVII, 23; Gal. III, 19; Heb. IX, 2; J. Daniélou, Les anges et leur mission (Chevetogne, 1951) 14ff.; DTC, I, 1192ff.

3. F. Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," Révue de l'histoire des religions 71 (1915): 163ff., and Schneweis, op. cit., 7ff.

4. DACL, I, 2111ff.

5. The subject of this interaction is vast and lies outside of this essay. The most important work is A.C.M. Beck, Genien und Niken als Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst (Düsseldorf, 1936). cf. also F. Landsberger, "The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art," Hebrew Union College Annual 20 (1947): 227-254, and G. Berefelt, A Study on the Winged Angel (Stockholm, 1968), and I. E. Ellinger, "Winged Figures," Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson, 2 vols. (St. Louis, 1953) II, 1185-1190.

6. For instance cf. Lactantius, De div. inst., I, 7, 8.

7. For a general discussion cf. DTC, I, 1206ff. and DACL, I, 2083ff.

8. The Mystical Theology, and the Celestial Hierarchies of Dionysius the Aredpagite, trans, Shrine of Wisdom (Fintry, England, 1965) 37ff.

9. M. Bonnet, ed., Narratio de Miraculo a Michele Archangelo Chonis Patrato (Paris, 1890) 3.

10. Hier. coel., IX, 2.

11. Daniélou, op. cit., 11ff.

12. Dan. X, 13, 21; XII, 1; cf. also The Interpreter's Bible, ed. G. A. Battrick, 12 vols. (New York, 1951-57) VI, 506, 510, 541.

13. Ginzberg, Legends, II, 214-215.

14. Ibid, VII, 129; C. Kaplan, "Angels in the Book of Enoch," Anglican Theological Review 12 (1930): 433; cf. also Ginzberg, Legends, I, 303, VI, 183.

15. Grabar, L'Empereur, 192ff.

16. Dionysius of Fourna, 216. Dionysius mentions this iconographical type in his guide.

17. Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, 528, n. 747.

18. Ibid, 532 n 474; Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, pl. viib.

19. Th. Provatakis Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὰ Κειμήλια τῆς Ι. Μ. Μεσσηνίας (Thessaloniki, 1976) pl. K, KA, KB, KG, KD, KE. For the archangels with Christ cf., for instance, Brĕhier, La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantines (Paris, 1936), pl. XXXI. In monumental art medallions of Michael and Gabriel are sometimes placed on either side of Christ, cf. M. Chatzidakis, "Τοιχογαφίες στὴ Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνας στὸ Σινὰ." Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Per. 4 Vol. 6 (1970-1972): pl. 76, 77, 178, or on either side of the Virgin, cf. M. Sotiriou "Αἱ Τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ ναΰδρίου τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν Δεσφίνης." Δελτίου τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας, Per. 4 Vol. 3 (1962-1963): 198, pl. 59.

20. Grabar, L'Empereur, pl. XXXIV; and later at Torcello, pl. XXXIX, are the remnants of the same type found at St. Apollinaire at Classe and S. Michele at Affricesco.

21. Ibid, 205ff.

22. Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality, 536-637, n. 481; O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the British Museum (London, 1901) 53ff.

23. A. A. Vasiliev, Justin the First (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) 418-426.

24. Grabar, L'Empereur, 189ff.

25. DACL, II, 621-623; Ex. IV, 17, 20; Ex. VII, 7, 12; PS. CIX and XLI.

26. Daremberg and Saglio, I, 639ff., IV, 1115

27. Ibid, I, 639ff.

28. DACL, II, 621ff.; for example cf., Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality 500, n. 450.

29. For example, cf. Cyril of Alexandria, Glaphyr., II; cf. also Clement of Rome, PG, t. I, col. 240, and St. Paulin of Nole, Ep. XLII, Ad Florentinum, PL, t. LXI, col. 380.

30. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, fig. 70.

31. Sotiriou, Ikons, I, 87; II, fig. 72

32. Weitzmann, The Icon (1978), 66, pl. 14; Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), 15, fig. p. 42

33. Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, pl. viib.

34. T. Klauser, "Engel X (in derKunst), RAC, V, 311.

35. J. M. C. Toynbee, "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late Antique Art from 312 to 365," Journal of Roman Studies 37 (1947): pl. 9-13.

36. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, fig. 176.

37. Grabar, L'Empereur, 33; and A. Grabar, "Un Medallion en or Provenant de Mesine en Cilicie," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 6 (1951): 39n 28

38. Weitzmann, The Age of Spirituality, 31ff.

39. L. Bréhier, La Sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins (Paris, 1936) pl. XI.

40. Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), fig. p. 105.

41. Ibid, fig. p. 105.

42. H. Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium (Princeton, 1981) fig. 59, for instance.

43. M. Ljubinković, Mittelalterliche Kunst Serbiens (Berlin, n.d.) fig. 22 and Weitzmann, "Classical," 167, fig. 127.

44. A. Papageorgiou, Ikonen aus Zypern (Munich, 1969) fig. 51.

45. Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), fig. p. 118.

46. P. A. Underwood, ed., The Karije Djami. Vol. 3 Plates 353-553. The Frescoes. (New York, 1966) fig. 242, and Vol. IV. Studies in the Art of the Karije Djami and Its Intellectual Background (Princeton, N. J., 1975) 242-243, 324-325. The article by M. Sotiriou on this subject was not accessible to me, and so I must offer this incomplete reference.

47. R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius," with "An Art-Historical Commentary" by E. Kitzinger, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1967): fig. 8, and Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), fig. p. 119.

48. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, IX, 162.

49. Ibid, IX, 167.

50. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, fig. 80. cf., also, G. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 7 (1958) 99-117.

51. C. Lamy-Lasalle, "Les Archanges en costume imperiale dans la peinture murale Italienne," Synthronon 2 (1968): 189.

52. Ibid, fig. 1.

53. Ibid, fig. 2; for a later representation of the emperor wearing the loros cf. A. Grabar, Sculptures byzantines du moyen age, II (XIe-XIVe siècle) (Paris, 1976) 142-143.

54. Lamy-Lasalle, op. cit., p. 189; J. Ebersholt, Les arts somptuaires de byzance (Paris, 1923) 74ff.

55. P. D. Whitting, Byzantine Coins (New York, 1973) 297.

56. DACL, I, 2084.

57. Apoc., II.

58. In Num., hom. XX, PG, t. XII, col. 726.

59. In Isaiam, I, 46, PG, t. XXX, col. 205.

60. Orat. ILII, 9, PG, t. XXXVI, col. 469.

61. De paenit., I, XXI, PL, t. XVII, col. 1083.

62. In Psalm. CXXXI, PL, t. IX, col. 728.

63. Ginzberg, Legends, I, 385.

64. Ibid, V, 71 n 13. The pseudepigrapha are a large group of Jewish writings outside the Old Testament canon and the Apocrypha, which were composed originally in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D.

65. Coel. hier. VI, 2, PG, III, col. 200-201; cf. J. Pelikan, The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700) (Chicago, London, 1974) 144ff.

66. For example, Romanus the Melodist, Hymns, XXIV, 1, XXVIII, 2, Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1940 -) 114: 110, 236.

67. Pelikan, op. cit, 142; cf. F. E. Brightman, ed., Liturgies Eastern and Western. Vol. I: Eastern Liturgies (Oxford, 1896) 313.

68. Pelikan, op. cit., 142; cf. Brightman, op. cit, 312-323.

69. Scholia on the "Mystical Theology" of Dionysius the Areopagite, I, 3, PG, IV, 33.

70. Maximus the Confessor, Brief Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, PG, XC, 896.

71. Byzantine Art. A European Art. Catalogue. Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1964) 253, fig. 199. The text is written by A. Xyngopoulos. cf. "Une icone byzantine a Thessalonique," Cahiers archéologique 3 (1948) 114-128, also by A. Xyngopoulos. cf., also Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, 6.

72. Pseudo-Germanos, PG, XCL, 384.

73. R. L. Langford-James, A Dictionary of the Eastern Orthodox Church (New York, 1923) 132.

74. O. Wulff, "Ein Byzantischer Ikonentypus in Nordrussischer Nachbildung," L'art byzantin chez les Slaves. L'ancienne Russie, les Slaves catholiques. Deuxieme recueil dédié a la memoire de Theodore Uspenskij (Paris, 1932): fig. 73. The manuscript is gr. 1613 in the Vatican and it dates to about 985.

75. M. Tatić-Djurić, Das Bild der Engel (Recklinghausen, 1962) 69ff.

76. M. Muraro and A. Grabar, Treasures of Venice (Geneva, 1963) fig. p. 53.

77. c.f. Brightman, op. cit., 312-323

78. Masterpieces of Byzantine and Russian Icon Painting. Twelfth to Sixteenth Century (London, 1974) fig. 8. The catalogue does not state where this icon can be found.

79. L. Ouspensky, Theology of the Icon (Crestwood, N. Y., 1978) 29.

80. P. A. Underwood, "The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 13 (1959): figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Chapter 2 - Michael as Guardian

In his rôle as the warrior of God and the defender of the faith, the Archangel Michael, is depicted on icons generally as a soldier in the recognisable gear of the warrior saint. On an enamel icon of the late 11th or early 12th century from Constantinople, now in Venice, Michael is depicted in the manner of a Roman general (fig. 3).[1] Michael stands on the elaborately decorated center field, wearing the cuirass and the skirt with pteryges that is the normal outfit of the soldier. The cuirass and skirt in Roman art was the dress of the leader of the army and the emperor is often depicted in the Imperator mode. It was also common that divine or demonic protagonists be given the costume of Roman armour.[2] This manner of depiction allowed the function to be immediately apparent.

On this icon Michael is poised in readiness. He holds an upraised sword in his right hand, while in his left he holds the orb crucifer, a symbol of his leadership. It is also a symbol of the source of his power. The source is found in a medallion at the top of the icon directly above Michael which contains a bust of Christ Pantocrator. It is Christ who invests Michael with his strength and purpose. Michael is specified in the inscription as the leader of the heavenly host, ὁ Ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ. And Michael's army is found in abbreviated form on each of the side margins in the medallions of military saints. Michael in this guise is the first soldier of God, the active defender of the true faith and the true believers.

Michael the military commander is a common representation on icons of the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine periods. The popularity of this type is attested by the multiplicity of examples that are spread over a long period of time and a large area, and not just on icons, but also on other media. For example, Michael is represented in this way on a fragmentary icon of the 15th century from Thessaloniki with his cuirass and a cloak over his shoulders.[3] The meaning, consistent with a long established tradition, is explicit on a late icon of the 18th century from Greece, now in a private collection in Switzerland (fig.4). On this icon Michael stands brandishing a sword in his right hand, while in his left he holds an unfurled scroll. The scroll reads, in translation: "I am the general of God. I brandish and hold high this sword. For the fear of God I strike fear in those who scorn him."[4] This is the full import of the figure of Michael who is the guardian of the word of God. Again, this is an ancient tradition. When Michael appears to Asenath, Michael says, "I am the chief captain of the Lord God and commander of the Host of the Most High."[5] Michael is reportedly accompanied with the inscription, Victoriosus, in a Palermo church of early date.[6] Thoughout his existence in both Christian and Jewish belief Michael is the guardian of the faithful and their active defender.

This ancient tradition of Michael the warrior archangel takes a number of forms over the course of time. Michael is considered in some writings as the guardian of Paradise, Praepositus Paradisi.[7] The belief in the angels of paradise is ancient,[8] and Michael's pre-eminence there is an aspect of his rôle as the leader of the

heavenly host. Michael is the guardian of paradise where the faithful reside, and in some traditions it is Michael who expels Adam and Eve from Paradise, the Garden of Eden, for their sins.[9] In the Book of Adam and Eve of the 1st century AD, Adam tells Seth that it was Michael who froze the river of paradise so that they could leave Eden.[10]

In monumental cycles there is a group of scenes that comprise the "Life" of the Archangel. The list of Dionysius of Fourna that describes the "Life" of Michael groups a number of scenes of angelic appearance that are thematically similar.[11] That is, it would have been convenient to group scenes of angelic protection under Michael because this was entirely in keeping with his character. Thus the angel who wrestles Jacob[12] or the angel who rescues the three youths from the furnace[13] was normally considered to be the Archangel Michael. However, Michael is not usually depicted performing these acts on Byzantine icons.

An angel is represented in the Vienna Genesis expelling Adam and Eve.[14] The angel, though, is not specified but he is young and winged and wears a pallium and sandals that are standard in early representations of angels. It ought to be Michael considering he is presented as the guardian of Paradise in other media. On an amulet Michael specifically is identified as the guardian if not in the Vienna Genesis. The inscription on this amulet is in Greek and Michael is shown holding a lance and standing by a tree. The tree, according to Goodenough, symbolises the Garden and Michael is the guard stationed there.[15] On a fragment of an ivory casket in the

British Museum from between the 10th to 12th century the Archangel is performing this function. Michael, identified by an inscription, advances to the right while holding a staff in his left hand and raising his right. The piece that would have accompanied this fragment would have had the departing Adam and Eve.[16] Stuhlfauth believed that the British Museum ivory discussed above would have shown Michael in this rôle, also.[17] This identification, though, involved a misreading of the inscription and is now generally disregarded.[18] On occasions, as we have seen, Michael can be depicted as the Lord of Paradise, the guardian who may or may not allow admittance, but the British Museum ivory is certainly not of this group.

In addition to this celestial guardianship and attendance to the court of heaven, Michael and the other angels have mundane responsibilities of protection.[19] It is God who has promised assistance to the nations of the world and it is the angels, ad ministerium Dei, who carry out this promise. This is in effect connected to the ancient tradition, Jewish in origin, that God had committed an angel to each nation. This is echoed in the Greek tradition in Deuteronomy XXXII,8. The Book of Daniel speaks of angels of Israel and Persia, the former being Michael himself.[20] This belief in angels as the guardians of nations is substantiated in Christian writings on angels, and it would seem to have been a common belief.[21]

Michael is generally considered the guardian of Israel, God's chosen people. The proof is normally found in Daniel, XII, 1, where Michael is specified as the angel of Israel.[22] Here, Michael appears

to Joshua to aid the cause of the people of Israel in battle. When this scene is depicted Michael appears bearing his sword, his instrument of battle, and is normally equipped in the gear of the soldier.[23] Joshua is shown kneeling in awe of this terrible apparition and he is shown shoeless according to the commands of the Archangel.[24] On a Russian icon a small figure of Joshua is shown kneeling in the position common in donor scenes, before the immense figure of the Archangel.[25] In rather abstract terms, Michael is considered the patron of the nation, its guardian, and, if needs be, its warrior in battle. It must be stressed that the significance of Michael's mission is primarily spiritual. God rewards the pious and just by his protection and this falls upon Michael's shoulders. It is Michael who guards God's chosen people and avenges wrongs done to them.[26] In the New Law Michael is still the guardian of the faithful. His importance as warrior was not lost in the Christian era, and it became a widespread and popular belief.

As such, entreaties are made to the Archangel for his protection by the faithful throughout the Byzantine and post-Byzantine eras. Michael's guardianship extended to churches and monasteries, the spiritual homes of the faithful.[27] This guardianship is sometimes expressed distinctly through icons as opposed to other media such as fresco or mosaic, or even to inscriptions or dedications. For example, on a late icon of the end of the 16th century now in the Hellenic Institute in Venice, Michael is presented brandishing a sword in his right hand while he holds an open scroll in his left (fig.5). The inscription reads in translation:

> You see me ready for combat. I guard this entrance with a sword in hand, I the invincible one who protects this monastery. If anyone thinks to do an injustice (to this place) it is against him that I wield this sword.[28]

Here Michael is the guardian of a doorway, probably the door of the Diakonikon of the church but he is, by extension, the guardian of the buildings of the monastery and its inhabitants and visitors.[29] Michael is poised to avenge wrongs done to the faithful and it is this gesture of protectiveness that is the common function of these representations.

Imprecations of the faithful are addressed to Michael for individual protection as well. This is also an ancient tradition. It had been common for Jewish charms or amulets to represent Michael on them.[30] This tradition continued as a Christian custom also. One such amulet, in a private collection, shows Michael in armour between two stars holding an orb.[31] Another, from the University of Michigan collection, shows Michael robed and holding an orb surmounted by a cross.[32] Both are identified by inscriptions in Greek. To the same end inscriptions are also commonly directed to Michael for this assistance.[33] As well, icons were dedicated to Michael in return for his favour. One such icon, no longer extant, was accompanied by this inscription:

> To the same at Sosthenion (i.e. Michael) Aimilianus the Carian and with him John, Rufinus of Alexandria and Agathius of Asia, having been admitted, O Chief of the angels, to the fourth year of juridicial studies, have dedicated this painted image to thee, O Blessed One, asking thee for continued success. Mayest thou sustain their hopes for their future life.[34]

These examples from various media reflect certain popular beliefs among individual worshippers. It is evident that Michael was considered to be a protector of individuals and nations.

There exists at Mt. Sinai an icon of the 12th century that depicts a similar scene of sponsorship of an individual by the Archangel.[35] Here, Michael wears a garment that seems to enshroud his entire body. Michael moving with outstretched hands receives the gift of the donor who kneels in the lower right hand corner in an attitude of submission and adoration. Similar scenes of submission of the donor or donors occur in monumental cycles, also, where Michael's favour was sought for the donor.[36]

Michael was for many of the emperors of Byzantium a special sponsor and guardian. Michael had long been known to be the special benefactor of Israel and with the coming of the New Law, his protection was naturally extended to Christian kingdoms. His protection was sought by the emperors of Byzantium who were considered to be the special envoys of God on earth and thus due the protection of God's warrior. For instance, on the dedication page of the manuscript Coislin 79 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, John Chrysostom presents a copy of his homilies to Nicephorus III while Michael dressed in his splendid robes looks on.[37] Michael is often represented on coins passing certain insignia of power to the emperors, in this way conveying a legitimacy of their authority from the celestial to the mundane. Michael is seen passing the labarum to the emperor, the symbol of the revelation of victory from heaven.[38] Michael is shown crowning the emperor on coinage.[39] On a gold coin of

the 12th century Michael is shown with the emperor Isaac Angelus (1185–1195) both of whom are clasping the same sword.[40] This is an obvious symbol of a concession of privilege which has ancient prototypes.[41] It is also the general consensus that the missing leaf of the British Museum diptych of the Archangel Michael contained a standing emperor. Michael represents the new iconography of the victory type. The difference is that Michael is the Christian bearer of the signs of victory and the means by which victory and legitimacy of authority is achieved is through the signs of God. Michael here passes the orb as a sign of sovereignty and addresses the inscription to the emperor. In translation, the inscription reads: "Receive these gifts and having learnt the cause ...."[42] The diptych was most likely meant to commemorate the union with Rome that the emperor Justin I brought about in 519, as Vasiliev has shown.[43]

At the church of Osk Vask or Oshkitt, in northeast Turkey, a sculptural relief provides an example of a king who sought the protection of God through the power of the Archangel, thereby indicating that Michael was singled out by some rulers for special veneration. Here the Archangels Michael and Gabriel stand on either side of a window on the exterior of the church above an inscription that reads, in translation: Christ save our King Sunbat in longevity.[44] The rulers of the Byzantine empire, in fact, generally held Michael in high esteem and Michael VIII (1259–82) above all venerated the Archangel with particular piety. The examples in art are numerous although such a representation appears to be no longer extant on icons. On coinage, for example, Michael presents the

emperor to the enthroned Christ.[45] On another, Michael and Michael VIII stand side by side, patron and emperor.[46] On a peplos that Michael VIII gave to Genoa, the central scene shows the emperor Michael being escorted into the church of St. Lawrence in Genoa by St. Lawrence with the Archangel between them.[47] After conquering Constantinople in 1261 Michael VIII redecorated the Church of the Holy Apostles and placed a statue of the Archangel Michael on a column-like pedestal. At the Archangel's feet Michael VIII kneels and presents to him the City which he holds in his hands and commends to the Archangel's protection.[48] The leader of the Heavenly Host is presented as the patron of Michael VIII who has re-conquered the City for the true faith and who thus seeks the Archangel's protection as a fellow military commander. Michael VIII is presenting himself symbolically as the new Constantine, and at the same time, by offering the city to Michael, the emperor is using the traditional gesture of Roman imagery of offering the city freed by his army to the Genius of the city.[49] Furthermore it is by the intervention of Michael, the warrior of God, that the victory, represented by the scene, was made possible.[50]

This particular veneration of Michael VIII is typical of the general respect with which the Archangel Michael was held by those in the imperial office. Michael was the warrior of God who demanded respect and deserved the admiration of those whose own interest was the security of the empire and its inhabitants. Michael's military abilities were sought after and depended upon by the emperors. Indeed, the victory over the Saracens in 739 was believed to have been

accomplished by the aid of the Archangel, and afterwards a chapel was dedicated to him at Akroinos-Nikopolis.[52] The churches and monasteries that were dedicated to Michael in and around the capital were all patronised by the emperors at some point. It is an indication of the importance of the cult of Michael to the emperors. There were no less than thirty four sanctuaries, including nine monasteries, given to Michael in the area of Constantinople, and many of these received at one time the patronage of the emperors.[53] Justinian restored several of Michael's churches as part of his general reconstruction program. Under Basil the Macedonian there was a resurgence in interest in the cult of Michael. Many sancturies were built by him, perhaps in order to appease the guardian of Michael III, whom Basil had assasinated.[54] There were also a number of churches of the Archangel in the great palace.[55]

Mausolea were also dedicated to the Archangel by the emperors. For example, John Comnenus dedicated a mausoleum to Michael at the Monastery of the Pantocrator in Constantinople in 1136. This is where the sarchophagi of John II, his family, and his Comnenian successors were entombed.[56] Michael's duties to the dead will be discussed in the final chapter but it is evident that the protection that Michael offered the emperors while they reigned upon the earth was extended to the after-life as well.

In short, Michael is the protector of the faithful. In this active rôle he saves the Church from "all the wiles of the devil ... from the darts and the destructive rage of the demons."[57] For the individual there exist formulae in which the archangels are called

upon to exorcise demons.[58] Michael is the Prince of Light who defeats the Angel of Darkness in legend:

> Today is his appointed time to lay low and make fall the prince of the dominion of wickedness; and he will send eternal help to the lot he has redeemed; by the power of the angel he has made glorious for rule to give light in joy to all Israel, peace and blessing to the lot of God, to exalt among the gods the rule of Michael and the dominion of Israel over all flesh.[59]

This is the active warrior of God who becomes the Horseman of the Apocalypse who champions the Church and its teachings.[60] On a Russian icon of the late 16th century the Archangel rides the apocalyptic steed while spearing a trampled devil.[61] On another Russian icon, no doubt drawing upon a long established tradition, Michael is shown trampling a group of devils.[62] In his upraised hand Michael holds his flaming sword; and in his left he holds an orb with the name of Christ, in the abbreviated form. These icons, while not strictly speaking Byzantine, are good indications of the character and rôle of the Archangel. It is certainly attested in Byzantine writings that he was perceived as the avenging angel of the Apocalypse and of the Last Judgement. This is an aspect of Michael the defender of the faithful, that is often depicted on icons to illuminate Michael's character.

This defence of the word of God and its followers is one element of the service Michael renders to God. This rôle is substantiated by writings of the Churches and by acts of piety by individual worshippers. It is also a common theme for representation on icons. Michael may be portrayed in the equipment of the Roman soldier, typical of the warrior saints, or in the pallium and tunic that seems to be the common garment of Michael. The figure is

nevertheless remarkably consistent, considering the variety of periods and locations in which Michael is invariably shown as the defender of the faithful. His protection, as shown on icons and the various media mentioned above, is all-encompassing and never-relaxing.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 2

1. M. Muraro, and A. Grabar, Treasures of Venice (Geneva, 1963) fig. p. 67.

2. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, I, 100-101; C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Greco-Roman (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950) 40.

3. Masterpieces of Byzantine and Russian Icon Painting. Twelfth to Sixteenth Century (London, 1974) 39ff. The catalogue does not state where this icon can be found.

4. M. Chatzidakis, Les icônes dans les collections suisses (Berne, 1968) fig. 99. Other icons of this type, also of late date, may be found in Ibid, figs. 193, 35, and 75, and V. H. Elbern, Ikonen aus der Frühchristlich-Byzantischen Sammlung der Skulpturenabteilung (Berlin, 1970) fig. 5. In monumental art cf. for an example, Weitzmann et al, The Icon (1982), fig. p. 386.

5. Joseph and Asenath. The Confession and Prayer of Asenath Daughter of Pentephres the Priest, trans. E. W. Brooks (London, 1918) XIV.

6. DACL, I, 2098.

7. Ibid, I, 2132.

8. Daniélou, op. cit., 62ff.

9. Stuhlfauth Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst (Leipzig, 1897) 164ff.

10. C. C. Torrey, trans., The Apocryphal Literature. A Brief Introduction (New Haven, Conn., 1945) 132.

11. Dionysius of Fourna, 174-175; cf. A. Bryer, and D. Winfield, The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos (Washington, D. C., 1985) 268ff.

12. Gen. XXXII, 22-32; cf. Bréhier, op. cit., pl. XLVIII for this scene on the bronze doors at the Basilica of Michael at Mont-St-Michel. cf. also A. Grabar "La porte de bronze byzantine du Mont-Gargan et le 'Cycle de l'ange,'" Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): III, 355-368.

13. Dan. III, 49.

14. RAC, V, 277 n. 87a, Wien, Nat. Bib., theol. gr. 31; cf. H. Gerstinger, Die Wiener Genesis (Vienna, 1931).

15. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, II, 268.

16. O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings Of the Christian Era in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum (London, 1909) 20. In Paris, Bibl. nat.,cod. gr. 510, f. 52v Michael is shown expelling Adam and handing him a hoe. This, though thematically connected, is unique in Byzantine art. cf. L. Brubecker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 39 (1985) 8, fig. 6.

17. Stuhlfauth, op. cit., 180-181.

18. A. A. Vasiliev, Justin the First (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) 419ff.

19. Daniélou, op. cit., 26ff.; DACL, I, 1083ff.; DTC, I, 1215ff.; E. Schneweis, Angels and Dēmons according to Lactantius (Washington, D.C., 1944) 72ff.

20. Dan. X. 13-21.

21. DACL, I, 2084.

22. cf. Hier. coel. IX, 2. See also The Vision of Levi, in The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, trans. W. O. E. Oesterley (London, 1917) 35: "the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous."

23. The fifth century mosaic at Sta Maria Maggiore is an exception to this rule. Here Michael wears the pallium and mantle that is common before he adopts the cuirass as the normal wear for such scene. RAC, V, 265, n. 32a2 and E. Kitzinger, Byzantine Art, fig. 119, and Stuhlfauth, op. cit., 163-164.

24. for example, R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius," with "An Art-historical Commentary" by E. Kitzinger, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1967): 240, 248-249, fig. 6; K. Lassithiotaki, " Δύο Ἐκκλησίες στό Νομό Χανίων," Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας Per. 4 Vol. 2 (1962): 23-26 p. 11, 2; K. Weitzman, The Joshua Roll. A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance (Princeton, N. J., 1948) 14, figs. 13, 14, 15; RAC, V, 278, n. 90.

25. M. V. Alpatov, Early Russian Icon Painting (Moscow, 1971) fig. 44.

26. for example, Ginzberg, Legends, I, 303-304.

27. Dionysius of Fourna, 231 and 238. Dionysius lists Michael's position near entrances as one of his actions of protection.

28. M. Chatzidakis; Icônes de St-George-des-Grecs et la collection de l'institut (Venice, n. d.) 119, pl. 57.

29. Michael and Gabriel are placed as prophylactics at the entrance to some churches. For example cf. N. and J. -M. Thierry, "Ayvali Kilise Ou Pigeonnier de Gulli Dere Église inédite de Cappadoce," Cahiers archéologiques 15 (1965): fig. 6.

30. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, II, 166.

31. Bonner, op. cit., pl. XVIII, 338.

32. Ibid. pl. XVIII, 336, and also 337.

33. for instance, cf. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, W. M. Calder et al., eds., 8 vols. (London, 1928) I, 30; W. M. Ramsay Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895) II, 741-742; DACL, I, 2085.

34. C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire. 312-1453. Sources and Documents (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1972) 116.

35. Sotiriou, Ikons; I, 139, 245, II, fig. 159.

36. for instance, G. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta, 2 vols. (Venice, 1908) II, fig. 376. Here a donor kneels at the Archangel's feet.

37. Ebersholt, op. cit. fig. 44; and cf. J. Beckwith, The Art of Constantinople (London, 1961) 116.

38. P. D. Whitting, Byzantine Coins (New York, 1973) fig. 308.

39. Ibid, fig. 348.

40. Bréhier, op. cit., pl. LXXV

41. Grabar, L'Empereur, 203; cf. also Ibid, pl. XXIII, 1, where two archangels bring a staff and crown to Basil II. The manuscript is Cod. Marc. 17., Venice, from the 11th century.

42. O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the British Museum (London, 1901) 53-54; Vasiliev, op. cit., 418ff.

43. Ibid, 423ff.

44. D. Winfield, "Some Early Figure Sculpture from North East Turkey," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 31 (1968): 36ff., figs. 5a, 5b, 6a.

45. Whitting, op. cit., fig. 378; Bréhier, op. cit., pl. LXXV, H; Grabar, L'Empereur, 187.

46. Whitting, op. cit., fig. 388.

47. R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople 1261?" Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 6 (1980): 35.

48. Mango, op. cit., 256; J. Ebersholt, Les arts somptuaires de byzance (Paris, 1923) 131.

49. Grabar, L'Empereur, 111.

50. The result of Michael's inability to intervene on behalf of his wards is shown in the Jewish legend where Nebuchadnezzar was able to take Jerusalem because God had bound the hands of Michael and rendered him powerless. Ginzberg, Legends, IV, 301.

51. This is true of the kings of Lombardy, as well as the Byzantines, who put Michael on their money and standards. Churches at Pavia and Lucques were constructed by these kings for the Archangel. cf. E. Mâle L'art réligieux du XIIe siécle en France (Paris, 1922) 258, and also M. de Fraipont, "Les origines occidentales du type de Saint Michel debout sur le dragon," Révue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 7 (1937) 290; A. Petrucci, "Origine diffusione del culto di San Michele nell'Italia medievale," Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): 3, 344ff. For the veneration of Michael by Russian princes cf. V. N. Lazarev, Moscow School of Icon Painting (Moscow, 1971) 32.

52. W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 AD (New York, London, 1893) 477; S. Vryonis, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islaminisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century (Berkeley, 1971) 38.

53. R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires byzantins de Saint Michel," Echos d'Orient 33 (1934): 28; Mango, op. cit., 116, n299; AASS, VIII, 49ff.

54. Otto III also sought the Archangel's pardon when he travelled to the shrine of Michael at Mt. Gargano to expiate himself for the death of Crescentius. Mâle, op. cit., 258.

55. Janin, op. cit., 29ff.

56. R. Cormack, Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and Its Icons (London, 1985) 202; Pope Boniface dedicated the tomb of Hadrian to Michael in the 7th century, Mâle, op. cit., 259-260.

57. Cited in Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, 17.

58. M. Simon, Versus Israel. Etudes sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'empire Romain (135-425) (Paris, 1964) 402.

59. M. Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York, 1955) 399.

60. Apoc. XII, 2.

61. Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, pl. XXIc.

62. M. V. Alpatov, op. cit., fig. 198. Michael is often portrayed in western art as a figure trampling a dragon underfoot. This is strictly an Occidental type that was originated at Mt. Gargano in the 7th or 8th century. It presents an interesting parallel to the St. George figure, but Michael trampling an enemy in the traditional act of vanquishing is also associated with Michael in the scenes where he tramples the devils and, as will be discussed below in Chapter 4, where he stands on the prone figure of Alexander and the dead. cf. F. Avril, and J. R. Gaborit, "L'itinerarium Bernardi Monachi et les pélerinage d'Italie du sud pendant le haut-moyen-age," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 79 (1969) 276-279, Fraipont, op. cit., 289, Mâle, op. cit., 258ff., F. Avril, "Interpretations symbolique du combat de Saint-Michel et du dragon," Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): III, 39-52; and C. Lamy-Lasalle, "Les répresentations du combat de l'archange en France, au début du moyen age," Ibid, 53-64.

Chapter 3 - Michael the Miracle Worker

The appearance of Michael was a truly terrible and awful occurence. The sight of angels in general is intolerable to men and the liturgical texts call them "redoubtable, terrifying."[1] The appearances of Michael, then, which are in order to intervene directly in mundane affairs, are of extraordinary import for men. The memory of these manifestations, either in scripture or legend, is the basis of the miracles that comprise the "Life" of Michael. These miracles are concrete instances of Michael in his active role, benificent or vengeful, in the world of men. Michael's miracles are part of his role as the guardian of the faith and its followers, and these miracles are generally associated with the protection of God's own. Michael is consistently in popular belief and doctrine the intermediary of God, His warrior and servant, and this is proven by Michael's active participation in the affairs of men.

Many of Michael's appearances, miracles in themselves, often occur on high places, such as summits or peaks. The Castel San Angelo in Rome was dedicated to Michael after he appeared to St. Gregory on the Mausoleum's highest point.[2] Rome was then delivered from a plague which had afflicted the city. Also in the West, Michael had an important shrine on Mt. Gargano. In a grotto on the mountain's peak are the traces of the Archangel's footsteps from when he was believed to have appeared in 492. The grotto became a great site of pilgrimage, and was central to the western cult of Michael.[3] Michael

also appeared at the summit of Mt. Tomba in Normandy which is now known as Mont-St-Michel.[4]

In the East this pattern of Michael appearing on summits is also followed, but more to the point his cult is focused directly on the deliverance of aid to the faithful. This aspect was absorbed largely into the cult of the Archangel Michael as aid directed towards the healing of the sick. Certainly, this type of cult of Michael was not unknown to the West. At Mt. Gargano the cures effected at his shrine were the major reason for the widespread popularity of this shrine to pilgrims.[5] However shrines to Michael, where miracles of healing were brought about, are found throughout the eastern Mediterranean and were integral to Michael's cult.

There are many examples of such shrines. After Michael had appeared to Constantine, the emperor built a church to Michael outside of Constantinople on the northern shore of the Bosporus. It replaced a temple built by the Argonauts and dedicated to Zeus.[6] Here Michael was believed to appear, and work miraculous cures. Lucius, writing in the 4th century, thought this shrine had been originally of Serapis, and that Michael had also taken over the old god's function of saving men from the peril of the sea, as well as from illness.[7] In Bithynia, Justinian enlarged a church of Michael near the healing baths, the Pythian Baths once belonging to Apollo.[8] On Lesbos, the sanctuary of Michael of Mandanadhos had a reputation of being an effective healing shrine.[9] And in one legend, Michael appears to the garrison of a certain Marcianos after this audacious man had introduced medicines into the sanctuary of the Archangel. Michael appears on horseback

and rebukes the men for not trusting his own healing skills.[10] One source tells us of an image of Michael that under Michael III and his mother Theodora gave unctions of oil that healed the sick.[11]

The contact mentioned above at Bithynia with Apollo indicates an overlap of the cults but it is difficult to be more specific. Nonetheless the similarities between Michael and Apollo as the senders and stayers of plague in popular belief is also an interesting parallel.[12] It ought to be remarked in passing that this healing cult of Michael also had points of contact with the healing centres of Asklepius. The fact that the shrine of Asklepius at Epidaurus became in the Christian era a centre of the healing cult of Michael and St. Damian, who is primarily a physician saint, is another interesting example of the evolution from the pagan to the Christian cult practice.[13] However, this is a large and distinct area of study, and it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus, it is difficult to state more conclusively the influence of pagan cults on that of Michael since there are also many disparities in legend and practice, as well. Yet, one would not expect exact replication since generally the pattern is an appropriation of certain aspects, and the creation of others which are more in keeping with Christian beliefs.

This function of Michael, then, as the healer of the sick was one important reason for the popularity of the cult of Michael.[14] The angelic power in healing waters may have been indicated at an early date by the story of the troubling of the water of the pool of Bethseda by an angel and this in turn may indicate the seeds of Michael's cult.[15] The most famous shrine of Michael in all of the

East was at Colossae in Phrygia which dated from a very early period. Here the fountain of Michael became one of the most popular shrines in the East, noted for its miraculous healing power. Michael is at this shrine, as at the others, the watchful and beneficent guardian of the faithful who through miraculous cures makes God's aid to man visible. Indeed, Michael had promised that:

> Whosoever shall take refuge in this place of faith and fear calling upon the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost and Michael the leader of the Host, by the name of God and by my name, he shall not go forth again suffering.[16]

The importance for this centre in this study lies in its manifestations in art, particularly on icons. This depiction of Michael's miracle at Chone, near Colossae, became the most popular episode of Michael's "Life" found on icons. The depiction of the miracle is based, or at least related to the same source as a written account of the legend dating not earlier than the 9th century. It is the foundation legend of one of the most famous churches, erected on the site of the earlier shrine, of Asia Minor.[17]

In the story the author, who is unknown, begins with the predictions of the apostle of the nearby city Hierapolis, Philip, and the Apostle John. From Hierapolis they had travelled to Khairotepa, in the vicinity of Chone, where they worked wonders and then predicted the apparition of Michael. Afterwards, a spring began to flow on that spot which had miraculous properties. A shrine was erected on the spot soon after, when a pagan from Laodicea converted to Christianity after his dumb daughter was made to speak by the water of the miraculous fountain. Ninety years later the first guardian of the

spring arrived. This was Archippos, born at Hierapolis and at the time only ten years old. The hermit Archippos practised the greatest devotion and guarded the sanctuary for sixty years. Despite the respected miracles effected by the water it would seem that Archippos had had to protect the shrine many times during the period. In fact, the heathens of the area were determined to destroy the fountain by turning the water of another stream into it. The group failed in its first attempt at polluting the fountain but afterwards five thousand of them came together at Laodicea and decided to destroy it with the the diverted waters of the Lykokapros and Kouphos rivers. To ensure that the rivers would be full enough to work its damage they dammed the rivers for ten days. When they had let loose the combined waters into the channels they had directed to the shrine, the Archangel Michael revealed himself in order to save the holy shrine. Michael appeared upon a rock beside the sanctuary and after causing the water to stand still, broke the rock open so that a path was formed for the waters to flow through. The rock split open as if an earthquake had struck, and it made the sound of thunder. After this terrible appearance Michael vanished, leaving his shrine intact.

This miracle is represented frequently on icons. An exquisite example of this type is an icon from St. Catherine's at Mt Sinai from the 12th century (fig. 6).[18] The moment chosen for representation, and the one constantly used by the painters of this scene, is when Michael strikes the rock and causes the water to be diverted through the crevice that he has created. Michael is dressed in a robe under a flowing chlamys which he holds with his left hand. In his right hand

he holds the staff with which he causes the rock to be split asunder. The streams of the two rivers flow from the upper corners, thus splitting the field of the icon into two halves. On the right side the monk Archippos stands, smaller and more slender than the imposing Archangel who stands on the left. Archippos is dressed simply in a tunic while he raises both his hands in imprecation. Behind him stands the church of the Archangel which is saved by Michael's action.

The frequency with which this episode is represented and the different periods cause small variations in the elements of the story. On an icon of the 14th century from Constantinople, now in Jerusalem, the scene is nevertheless essentially the same. The Archangel strides strongly and puts the full weight of his body onto the staff. In this scene a rather squat Archippos kneels before his church while upon the rocks in the background the pagans work their mischief.[19] On an another icon from Mt Athos of the 14th or 15th century, now in Belgrade, the representation differs in its elements only in that a tympanum with what would appear to be Michael is placed on the church. The water is seen in this icon to disappear into a well.[20] Indeed, despite a difference in style which is understandable considering the time and places, there is a marked consistency of description of the episode.[21] Even in the various media in which the episode is depicted, the essential elements of the scene, its action and the presentation of Michael and Archipppos, are consistently reproduced.[22]

Given then the numerous examples of representations of the miracle at Chone, not only on icons but also in other media, an

explanation ought to be offered as to why this scene is so often chosen for depiction. One reason may be the widespread veneration of Michael in the area of Chone, and the entire region of Phrygia. The history of the veneration of Michael in Phrygia is a long one. In fact, the origins of the cult of Michael are traditionally placed in Asia Minor, and more precisely in Phrygia.[23] Symeon Metaphrastes reported that the first apparition of the Archangel in Phrygia was at the end of the first century A.D. in keeping with the predictions of Philip and John.[24] And Paul's injunction against the worship of angels was given near Chone, at the ancient city of Colossae.[25] It is also telling that the council held at Laodicea in 363 expressed a stern command against the overindulgent cult following of the angels.[26] Laodicea is, of course, in Phrygia. This indication of the popularity of the cult of the angels, and particularly of Michael, is borne out by the many examples of inscriptions dedicated to Michael asking for his assistance.[27] This popularity of the Archangel in Phrygia, and the rest of Asia Minor, explains why this legend survived until it was included in the Menologion for September 8 which propagated the legend wherever there were faithful.

Further explanation may be sought from the locality of the miracle. Michael is addressed at times as Μιχαὴλ ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν τῆς Χώνας ,[28] and as ὁ Χωνιάτης .[29] It is the specific miracle enacted at the site rather than a reference to the various acts of hearing so often attributed to Michael. The choice of the miracle for depiction is proof enough of this. It is the locality that remains constant; the place where the Archangel, a divine being, appeared,

interceded in the affairs of man, and thus awarded and aided the righteous. The importance of the apprehensibility of the Archangel at this moment is crucial for his recognition by the individual worshippers as a real being. Looking at the icon described above, from Mt Sinai, one can see how formal means are utilised to make the figure of the Archangel more substantial and "real appearing." While Michael is on earth he is given a more corporeal appearance than he would as a member of the heavenly court, for instance.[30] On the Sinai icon Michael is shown graceful and in his flowing robes, and elegant in his gestures. He is modelled with great plasticity and the fullness of his form beneath these garments is indicated by the large areas of cloth that drape his body. His physicality is further emphasised by the slightness of the figure of the monk which serves only to make Michael appear even more substantial as a figure. This is likely a key for the understanding of this group of icons. Michael performs his heroic act on earth and the artist, with varying degrees of success, most often utilises this classical mode of depiction to emphasise just this. The act on earth by a corporeal, yet divine, being which was the extraordinariness of the event. The appearance of divinity to men who are just and deserving of Michael's intervention is the central truth to which these icons refer. All of Michael's miracles and revelations to men are essentially divinity made manifest in comprehensible terms.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 3

1. L. Ouspensky and V. Lossky, The Meaning of Icons (Boston, 1952) 111.

2. G. F. Hill, "Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies," Journal of Hellenic Studies 36 (1915): 152ff.

3 AASS, 54ff.; Mâle, op. cit., 257ff.; Avril and Gaborit, op. cit., 276-279; Fraipont, op. cit., 290.

4. AASS, 74ff.

5. Hill, op. cit., 140ff.

6. Sozomenos, II, 3, Hist. eccl. l. I, c. III, PG, t. LXVII, col. 865; Cedrenus, II, p.210, neither of whom it seems mention Zeus, cf. Hill, op. cit., 156ff,; also, Wiegand, op. cit., 7, W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 AD. (New York, London, 1893) 477, Janin, op. cit., 28, and DACL, XL 903.

7. Hill, op. cit, 157. In France there exists the church St-Michel-au-Péril-de-la-Mer, cf. M. Baudot, "Caracteristiques du culte de Saint Michel, "Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel. 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): III, 30.

8. Procopius, De aedif., V, 3; Hill, op. cit., 146; F. W. Hasluck, "Bithynica," Annual of the British School at Athens 13 (1906-1907): 297ff.

9. W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (Cambridge, 1902) 236 and his "Lesbos, "Annual of the British School at Athens 2 (1895-1896): 150-151 with photograph.

10. F. Haskin, Inédit byzantins D'Orchrida, Candie et Moscou (Brussels, 1963) 147ff.

11. Janin, op. cit., 29

12. Hill, op. cit., 147ff.

13. Ibid, 146; W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (Cambridge, 1902) 37.

14. Hill, op. cit., 155.

15. John, V, 4. This passage is now generally omitted, c.f. The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, eds. H. G. May and B. M. Metzger (New York, Oxford, 1965) 1290.

16. Cited in Hill, op. cit., 155

17. W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire before 170AD (New York, London, 1893) 468ff. and The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895) I, 214ff.; M. Bonnet, ed., Narratio de Miraculo a Michele Archangelo Chonis patrato (Paris, 1890); F. Halkin, ed., Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1969) 118ff.

18. Sotiriou, Ikons, I, 79-81, II, fig. 65; Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), 18, fig. p. 757; Weitzmann, "Classical," 166, fig. 126.

19. Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, XXIc.

20. Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), fig. p. 276. For a similar icon cf. Elbern, op. cit., fig. 28.

21. For Russian examples cf. Ikonen Museum Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Recklinghausen (Recklinghausen, 1968) 28, fig. 37. Also cf. Weitzmann et al., The Icon (1982), fig. p. 276; and M. Chatzidakis, Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου. (Athens, 1977) 71ff., pl 20.

22. For an example in manuscript illumination, cf. fig. 354, London, British Library, Add. 11870, fol. 60r, and fig. 361, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gr. th.f.1, fol. 8r, in Byzantine Art. A European Art. Catalogue. Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1964); in fresco, cf. M. Chatzidakis, "Rapports entre la peinture de la Macedonie et de al Crète au XIVe siècle," Πεπραγμενα Διεθνους Βυζαντινολογικου Συνεδριου 1 (1955): 136, fig. 13a. In metal work, cf. A. Grabar, "La Porte de Bronze Byzantine du Mont-Gargan et le 'Cycle de l'Ange,'" Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): III, pl. XXXVIII, and R. J. H. Jenkins, "A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius," with "An Art-historical Commentary" by E. Kitzinger, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1967): 238ff., 247ff., fig. 8.

23. Petrucci, op. cit., 340.

24. DACL. XI, 903.

25. Colos., II, 18.

26. DACL. I, 2085.

27. Ibid, 2085; W. M. Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895) II, 741-742.

28. J. M. Thierry, op. cit., 124-125.

29. P. G. de Jerphanion, Les églises rupestres de Cappodoce, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925) I, 399, 434.

30. W. M. Ramsay, The Church in the Roman Empire before 170AD (New York, London, 1893) 466-467.

31. Weitzmann, "Classical," 167.

32. L. Ouspensky, Theology of the Icon (Crestwood, NY: 1978) 119.

Chapter 4

Michael as Psychopomp

The tradition of a divinity who acts as a leader of souls after death, or as Ψυχοπομπος , is an ancient one. Michael in the Christian tradition is the angel psychopomp par excellence and this function is important for the fate of all souls. The significance of this role in popular belief is central to Michael's cult and an understanding of this function as well as its geneology in other traditions is crucial to the understanding of the cult of Michael in all its aspects and its origins.

In Egyptian religion it was Thoth who led the soul to the other world. Osiris is sometimes depicted enthroned and holding a soul on his scales while Thoth records the verdict. With considerable differences, of course, this same operation is acted out in Buddhist art.[1]

This same tradition of a conductor of souls was found in the literature, epigraphy, and art of the Greco-Roman world. The first literary reference we have is in the first lines of Book XXIV of the Odyssey. There are many references thereafter.[2] Plato speaks of a daimon who performs this functions:[3]

ὣς ἄρα τελευτήσαντα ἑκάστου ὁ ἑκάστου δαίμων
ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἰλήχει οὗτος ἄγειν ....

And Hierocles, writing in the 2nd century AD, speaks of a genius who leads souls after death:[4]

καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν εἰς ᾅδου πορεία μετά,
ἡγεμόνος τοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἐιληχότος δαίμων.

Thanks to Clement of Alexandria (d. 444 AD) a fragment of Euripides survives on this subject:[5]

Χρύσεαι δή με πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ καὶ
τὰ Σειρήνων ἐροέντα πέδιλα ἁρμόζεται. βάσομαι
Δ'ἐς αἰθέρα πολὺν ἀερθείς, Ζηνὶ προσμίξον.

While the Hymn of Hermes, one of the Homeric Hymns from between the 8th and 6th century BC, is specific in stating that this role belonged to the god Hermes:[6]

οἷον δ'εἰς Ἀΐδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι

This last reference indicates the more generally held belief in the being whose function it was to lead souls to the underworld. In the religion of the Greco-Roman world it is Hermes/Mercury who performs this service to the dead.

In ancient art, as well, Hermes is often presented in the rôle of the conductor of souls.[7] Normally he is represented as a herald, wearing the mantle, a hat, with a broad rim or without a brim, and with wings attached to the side of the cap. Hermes' boots, always stout to facilitate his journeys, are often winged to refer to the extraordinary speed of his travel. Another attribute of Hermes is the κερύκειον, or the Latin caduceus, which is the god's insignia as a messenger. This caduceus belongs within the large category of sticks that possess some symbolic significance or magical power to which the staff Michael uses at Chone also belongs.[8] A curious example of the use of the caduceus is found on a scene from a lekythos from the Classical period.[9] On this vase Hermes conducts the exit of winged εἴδωλα, or κῆρες from the open mouth of a

half buried pithos. The use of pithoi for funeral purposes was a common practise, found at the Dipylon area of Athens, for instance. This is a rare depiction although it was still a common belief. Hermes presides over the area of the dead and conducts the souls to their journey's end. Hermes is also depicted on stelai, or tomb stones, in his office as psychopomp. For example, a crude stele from Asia Minor of an early period shows Hermes with his staff, a simple cloak, and a cap.[10] This stele was found on top of a grave in a burial area, and so Hermes is invoked in his special area.

One can say categorically then that Hermes possessed a specific function in ancient religion and art as a leader of souls. Over a long period and throughout the Greco-Roman world, Hermes was considered the god whose function it was to ensure the safe conduct of the soul to its eternal rest. That he was subject to entreaty is shown by epigraphic evidence and this belief in Hermes the psychopomp included an established iconography that described his responsibilities as the guide for the passage of the soul to the underworld.

The interpenetration of ideas and iconographical types between pagan and Christian realms is a natural and common, if somewhat shadowy phenomenon.[11] Hermes would quite naturally affect the character of the Christian psychopomp par excellence, the Archangel Michael. The borrowing, or even the whole appropriation, of an entire persona by the Christians of the Roman period can be, in many cases, very clear. In this case, at Carthage, in the Roman cisterns of Dar-Samiat, a bronze figurine of Mercury was recovered. Although it

was covered with gnostic inscriptions that are largely indecipherable, one can read in legible letters on the figurine's forearm the name, Michael, in Greek.[12] This statue, clearly, was absorbed by the Christian community, and the common function of both Michael and Hermes is that of the psychopomp.

It is also important to note that many chapels dedicated to the Archangel Michael were built reportedly on the ruins of temples of Mercury, many of which occupied high places. A hill in La Vendée still bears the name St-Michel-Mont-Mercure.[1] And like the pagan stelai discussed above which depict Hermes, the image of Michael was also carved onto the tombstones or onto the tombs themselves.[13]

One can see the same overlap of function on a Roman gem of uncertain date.[14] The gem is inscribed on the left side with the name, Michael, in Latin letters. But the gem presents Hermes in the attitude that is normally associated with him: the figure is seated facing left, while in his left hand he holds the caduceus; he wears the typical winged hat, and a cock stands at his feet which are also winged. There is another inscription at the figure's right knee that in Hebraic characters signifies "time." It is a clear allusion to the soul after death and the coming judgement. Also according to Goodenough, the cock was taken into Judaism as an important symbol of potency. The fact that Michael is named here suggests that this image and characters were connected with the idea of immortality. Again, it was a most obvious identification from the functional, or even the religious point of view considering the rôle associated with Hermes and Michael as psychopomps.

This identification of Michael with Hermes indicates that Michael was recognised as the Jewish counterpart to the pagan psychopomp, at least by some Jews.[15] One must first realise that there was an already long established belief within the Jewish tradition of Michael the psychopomp. The identification with the pagan counterpart thus becomes more easily understood. And, in fact, the Christian conception of Michael as the angel of death is largely dependant upon the Jewish tradition, even though the Christians were indebted to pagan sources for iconographical and literary prototypes.

The tradition set by the old Testament and the apocryphal texts show first an unmistakable belief in the archangel psychopomp, and secondly that this angel, even if not named specifically, is to be identified as Michael. The tradition would seem to stem from the ninth Epistle of Jude where Michael contends with the devil for the body of Moses.[16] According to Origen this battle was derived from the Apocryphal Assumption of Moses of the 1st century AD.[17] The text of the Assumption reads:

> Tunc implebuntur manus nuntii (i.e. Michael) qui est in summo constitus. qui protinus vindicavit illos ab inimicis eorum.[18]

On the basis of the extant Greek fragments R. H. Charles says that the devil sought to keep Michael from burying Moses on two counts. Firstly, that Moses' body belonged to him as Lord of the material world, and, secondly, that Moses had committed murder. Michael leaves the latter charge unrefuted, but he counters the former by stating that God, not the devil, is the Lord of the material world because His spirit fills the entire universe. Michael, having successfully

countered the devil's opposition, buries the body of Moses in the mountains, and carries his soul to heaven.[19]

This role of Michael is followed in other Judaic texts, as well. In the Testament of Abraham of the 2nd centuury AD from Egypt it is Michael who, accompanied by an army of Angels, envelops the soul of the Patriarch Abraham in a celestial shroud and carries it before the throne of God.[20] In the Book of Enoch it was Michael who bore Enoch's soul heavenward.[21] In legend, it was Michael to whom the Lord delivered the soul of Adam.[22] Also, Michael is said to have foretold the redemption of the souls of Adam and Eve, after having told Eve of the death of Adam.[23]

Evidently, then, Michael not only delivers the soul in Jewish tradition, but he is also the protector and intercessor on its behalf, which is only a natural extension of the character of the Archangel, the servant and soldier of God. In one legend, in fact, Michael intercedes to the enthroned God on the behalf of a soul, and is successful in his petition.[24] On some occasions Michael greets the soul at heaven's gate to which, according to one source, he holds the key.[25] In the Book of Enoch it was Michael who "came to me and greeted me" at the entry to heaven.[26] In another legend after Michael has presented the soul to God, he takes it to its place of residence.[27] For these reasons Michael is addressed as the angel of prayer, to whom entreaty on behalf of the soul is addressed, as he had been addressed to intercede on behalf of the living.[28]

The idea of the angels, and particularly Michael, as the conveyer and protector of the soul was absorbed and further developed

by the Christians in art, theology, and liturgy.[29] The earliest extant literary reference to the role of the angels as psychopomps dates to 203 AD, where the martyr Saturnus of Thuburbo recounts the vision that he had in prison.[30] The early church Fathers make frequent mention of the angels that guard the soul and keep it safe for its celestial journey.[31] And during the journey of the soul the angel protects it from demons that bar the way.[32] The Roman liturgy preserves this belief in the angelic guide of the soul:

> Suscipe Domine animam servitui Illius revertentem ad te. Adsit ei angelus testamenti tui Michael.

and,

> Te supplices deprecamur: ut suscipi iubeas animam famuli tui Illius per manus sanctorum Angelorum deducendam in sinum Abrahae.[33]

The belief in the angels, and particularly Michael as psychopomp was established in writings of the Church. This belief extends into popular belief, as well, which is attested by legend and apocryphal texts. Here, as he is in other rôles as the leader of the heavenly host, Michael is the angel singled out in texts even if other angels are involved. For instance, it is Michael who tells Mary of her approaching death.[34] There is also the legend that Michael cut off the hands of a wicked Jewish high priest who had attempted to overturn the bier of the just deceased Virgin.[35] And it was believed that it was Michael who received the soul of the Virgin from the hands of Christ, and then delivered it to heaven:

> Et ecce Dominus Jesus advenit cum angelis suis et suscipiens animam eius, tradidit Michaele archangelo et recessit.[36]

On icons, even though Michael is not normally specified, there are always archangels present at the taking of the soul of the Virgin.[37]

Another common legend is the prayer that the Carpenter Joseph addresses Michael to guide his soul.[38] Although, in the Arab history of Joseph it is Michael who takes the soul, and Gabriel who intervenes.[39]

Michael's participation in the entry of Christ into Hades, the rescue of those inhabiting the netherworld and the redemption of the deserving souls, is another example of his involvement in these matters concerning the soul's fate. The literary reference mirrors the practice of putting two archangels in the background of representations of this scene. It is true that Michael was not specifically identified but then neither were the other characters usually involved. It is after all Michael to whom Christ has entrusted the souls of Adam and Eve to deliver them to Paradise.[40]

After having considered the ancient precedents of the belief in the psychopomp and the way in which these beliefs were incorporated into the Christian faith it is now possible to examine the manner in which these various trends manifested themselves on Byzantine icons. It must be said, before beginning this discussion, that the examples are relatively scarce. This is not to say that the Archangel psychopomp was an unpopular type, rather there is every reason to believe that this type was important and central to the character of Michael in Orthodox belief.

An icon in the Byzantine Museum in Athens of the post-Byzantine period is a fine example of this type.[41] Despite its late date, the

completeness, and, in fact, the complexity of the iconography leaves little doubt that the artist was drawing upon an already existing tradition of this type of scene. On this icon, the Archangel, as we are told by the inscription, is dressed in the full gear of the soldier, complete with cuirass and skirt. In his right hand he holds the instrument of his might, the sword, which he points toward the ground, in repose after the completion of his mission rather than in the midst of battle. In his upheld left hand Michael holds a small mummified figure, evidently the soul of the deceased after the convention of painting the soul.[42] That this is the soul is substantiated by the inscription:

Φρῖξον ψυχή μου τά' ὁρώμενα [43]

The outcome of the struggle is shown by the prostrate figure upon which Michael stands. It is a nude figure, overwrought and utterly defeated by the Archangel.

Clearly, this is Michael the protector and deliverer of souls that finds its source in the literary descriptions mentioned above. The inscription, while echoing the meaning of the imprecation of the dying, such as the Carpenter Joseph, for one, is not derived from liturgical or theological writing.[44] It is instead a popular motto and refers to the dread of the soul as it approaches death and the coming day of judgement. The figure below Michael's feet may represent the body of the deceased from which the soul has been extracted. It may also be a demon which Michael has confronted on the road to heaven. It is probably a reference in more general terms to

the defeat of the devil in the contest for the soul, finding its source in the battle between Michael and the devil over Moses.

This submission motif has ancient origins in Roman imperial art referring to the defeat of the enemy.[45] That iconography was a natural source to draw upon in Byzantine art for warriors and victors in both secular and religious art. In this attitude Michael is obviously the vanquisher of death and the devil. Michael is represented in this same gesture of submission of a prostrate figure as on the Athens icon above, but the figure may be identified as Alexander, no doubt meaning Alexander the Great.[46] The significance is similar since Alexander was believed to symbolise death whom Michael defeats for the welfare of the souls;[47] or Alexander may symbolise Satan, whose pride in this gesture of submission has brought about the fall of the wicked and the unjust.[48] It may also be that Michael wishes to rescue Alexander's soul and hence redeem him. It is a lesson for the faithful to heed and it is also a reminder of Michael's ability to battle and overcome for the sake of the mortal soul.

Another icon of this type can be found in the collection of the Hellenic Institute in Venice (fig. 7).[49] This icon, similar in most respects to the icon from the Byzantine Museum described above, dates to the post-Byzantine period also. On this icon Michael, dressed in military costume, holds a sword in his right hand turned upwards triumphantly. The soul, in his left hand, is again enshrouded. Michael stands upon an almost nude figure. The inscription again warns the soul to quake at such a terrible scene. Indeed, on another

icon of 1734, death is called, "pitiless and impenitent."[50] This presents the need of an implacable champion of the vulnerable soul, the Archangel Michael, and it also signifies the inevitable day of death and then of reckoning. Michael's rôle is both as the intercessor and judge.

This subject is found in fresco painting as well. In the destroyed church of the Prophet Elias and St. Charalambos in Athens, a figure of Michael victorious over the devil occupied one of the spandrels.[51] It is dated to 1718 and is very similar to the icon from the Byzantine Museum discussed above. Michael stands with a sword in his right hand raised triumphantly while in his left he holds the soul of the deceased. Under his feet is a bearded man, in this case probably the deceased. The inscription is almost identical to that of the Byzantine Museum icon.

The securing of the soul, while not to be found on icons, is another aspect of the same process of the celestial journey of the soul which illuminates the meaning of this group of icons. In the Apocryphal Gospel of the Carpenter Joseph, Joseph prays to Michael to accompany his soul to the next world, and that Michael might attend to his soul and body until they are separated.[52] This very act of separation is found, for example, on a fresco of the 13th century at Mt. Athos at the church of Chilandar.[53] The angel, though not identified, must certainly be Michael. He extracts the soul, again a small naked figure, from the mouth of the prostrate monk.[54]

The soul's leaving of the body, has its origins in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where it is said that when the rich man

died he "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom."[55] This type is represented by the body of the deceased being lifted by two angels. On a fresco of 1183 from the sanctuary wall of the Monastery of Neophytos on Cyprus, St. Neophytos is carried heavenward by Michael and Gabriel who are identified by an inscription.[56] The next step in the journey of the soul can also be found on fresco. In the church of Chilandar the Archangel holds the soul as an offering in his hands and presents it to Christ.[57] Michael is at once the intercessor on behalf of the soul, and also the agent by which the soul has come to be judged. In a pendentive of the Parecclesion of the church of Kariye Djami, a fresco depicts an angel and a small soul both of whom stand facing the throne of judgment.[58] The angel places his right hand on the soul while his left was apparently turned upward in a gesture of entreaty or offering. The soul raises both hands in supplication. Reading the closing paragraphs of the Address of the church's patron, Theodore Metochites, the angel must be Michael whom Metochites begs to intercede on his behalf.[59]

This duality of character, the warrior of God and the protector of the soul of the individual, is expressed comprehensively on an icon of the 14th century of the Archangel Michael from the Museo Civico in Pisa (fig. 8).[60] This icon shows Michael, identified by an inscription, full length, and dressed in a tunic and mantle. In the Archangel's left hand is a medallion of the Christ Emmanuel. From this same hand is suspended a set of scales, an attribute of Michael that originated in the 12th century.[61] On the plate to right stands a small naked figure with his right hand raised in entreaty. A small

winged devil tries to tip the balance by stealing the small figure that stands on the scale's lower plate. But with his spear in his right hand Michael impales the devil to emphasise his might, and he does not even deign to look at the evil being he has effortlessly speared.

This is an unusual icon among those extant in the combination of these elements on one icon. There is, however, good reason to believe that such images had existed previously in Byzantine art.[62] This icon was likely executed by an Italian after a Byzantine model. The use of a Byzantine model is suggested by the dress and other attributes already described as typical to Michael on Byzantine icons. The medallion is an unusual feature but this has been found in Serbian fresco cycles[63] and is not italianate. And stylistically, in the handling of form and colour, the icon points to a Greek origin.

The Pisa icon is, in many ways, a summation of the ideas concerning the journey of the soul and Michael's rôle in it. Michael on the icons from Athens and Venice discussed above is shown in the same adversarial rôle in relation to the devil. He has received the souls of the deceased and readies them for their journey to Paradise. This journey involves obstacles in the form of devils or demons which are handled easily by the victorious warrior, Michael. This same trial is presented at a more advanced stage on the icon from Pisa. Michael is still acting in defense of the souls as he impales the devil, and yet this is part of a larger drama. It is an indication of the judgement of all souls on their day of reckoning, the judgement day represented by the medallion of Christ Emmanuel, the judge.

Michael is the champion of the just side, Christianity and the truly Christian soul, and as the soldier of God he defeats their enemies. On the Pisa icon Michael is dressed in the tunic and mantle, not the dress of the warrior. It is the costume of a member of the heavenly court who attends the Last Judgement and who obeys its strictures.

Michael's rôle in the Last Judgement is alluded to on icons. On an icon in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, Michael holds a staff in his right hand and in his left an orb surmounted by a small cross and inscribed with the letters chi, rho, delta, and kappa. The four characters stand for Χριστός Δίκαιος Κριτής .[64] The inscription refers to the Last Judgement and the Archangel's rôle as the minister of God. It is also found on a fresco of Michael, in the Parecclesion of Kariye Djami, between the resurrection scenes of the bema, and immediately below the Last Judgement.[65]

This stress on Michael's rôle in the Last Judgement is a natural extension of his rôle of psychopomp and the deliverer of the soul to heaven. As the general of God he ensured the soul's safe conduct, and as the minister of God he processes the judgement of Christ, the Pantocrator. Thus, he is sometimes given the scales that measure the worth of the souls, and then deems them fit or unfit for dwelling in Paradise.

The scale as symbol of judgement has an ancient lineage.[66] In the Old Testament it occurs as an instrument of measuring worthiness.[67] And significantly there exists an antique plate that shows Hermes holding a scale, in the presence of Apollo, in which he

weighs the souls of Achilles and Memnon.[68] St. Augustine placed the scale within the Christian tradition:

> Erit tibi sine dubio compensatio bonorum malorumque et velut in statera posita utraque pars, quae demeserit illa eorum, quo momentum vergitur, operarium suum pertrahi ad gehennam. Si vero maiora fuerint opera bonorum summa vi resitent, et repugnabunt malis atque operatorem suum ad regionem vivorum in ipso etiam gehennae confinio convocabunt.[69]

It is thus only fitting that Michael be given the scales as a sign of his vigilance toward the journey of the souls and these souls' subsequent fate.[70]

On a Serbian icon of 1647, now in Belgrade, of the Last Judgement, Michael is depicted holding a sword in his right hand and a scale in his left.[71] Michael is shown in a yellow and red mandorla in the center of an extremely detailed icon of the various actions of the day of judgement. Michael is in the register between the heavenly gathering of the select and the bottom register that describes the resurrection of the bodies and the sorrows of hell. Michael by the centrality of his position is integral to the action as the active warrior and a judge delegated by God.

Michael is given other functions in the Second Coming. According to the Book of Revelation it is Michael who is the Rider of the Apocalypse, and this figure can be found on Russian icons but not, to my knowledge, on Byzantine icons.[72] Also, according to some legends and writings it is Michael who blows the trumpet that signals the Last Judgement of man.[73] There is, indeed, a sizeable biblical and extra-biblical tradition which attributes to Michael a large rôle on the day of judgement.[74]

According to the Apocalypse of John, the angels present to Christ the judge the book that contains all the deeds of men.[75] Michael is not specified in the text or identified, it seems, on any icon or other media in this rôle. And yet, the three angels sometimes wear the imperial loros that is the right of the archangels,[76] or sometimes the tunic and chlamys.[77] It would be a likely identification although certainly not crucial to defining Michael's rôle. It is a more probable identification when one considers an icon from northern Greece from the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century on which Michael is depicted holding an open scroll in his left hand and brandishing a sword in his right.[78]

As a final indication of Michael's rôle in the climax of all men's journey, Michael is placed on the Deësis range of the iconostasis so that the faithful might always remember this specific rôle, among his others.[79] Michael is included on account of this rôle as the Archangel psychopomp, the angel upon whom the soul will reply during its final journey. Michael is also the archangel upon whom the responsibility of carrying out the judgements of God will rest. Michael is a member of the heavenly court and this series of images on the iconostasis is a indication of the greater cosmic reality of the hierarchy to which the images refer. Michael's service as the active minister and warrior of God is inseparable from the events of the Last Judgement and the fate of each and every soul.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 4

1. DACL, I, 2132.

2. For example, Corn. 16 S 66; Diod. I, 96; Eusthath. I 1. v395. S. 361, 36; Eur., Alcestis V. 361.

3. Phaedo. 107D: "(The story goes) that when a man dies his guardian deity, to whose lot it fell to watch over the man while he was alive, (undertakes) to conduct him ..."; 108B.

4. De providentia, ed. Needham, p. 178: "and for the final journey beyond to Hades the responsibility lies upon his guardian deity to conduct him."; cf. also Enneade, III, 1. IV, c. VI.

5. DACL, I, 2125: "On the golden wings and lovely sandals of the Sirens I am borne. I walk the many layered ether, mingling with God."

6. Hymn of Hermes, v. 572: "and to be appointed messenger of Hades."; cf. L. Preller, Grieschische Mythologie, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1894) 1,404.

7. cf. for instance Daremberg and Saglio, III, 1802ff.; The Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 1970) 502-503; P. W. 8 (1913) 789-790; DACL I, 2132ff.; L. F. A. Maury, Essai sur les légendes pieuses du moyen age (Paris, 1843) 80ff.; F. Cumont, "Les anges du paganisme," Révue de l'histoire des religions 71 (1915): 154-182; H. P. L'Orange, "Eros Psychophoros et Sarchophages Romains," Archaeologium et Artium Historiam Pertinentia 1 (1962) 41-47.

8. Verg., Aen. IV, 242, A. S. Pease ad loc.; Eitrem, P. W. 8 (1913): 760; Boetzkes, P. W. 11 (1922): 330-342; Pfeister, P. W. 11 (1922): 2129; De Waele in P. W. 2, ser. 3 (1929): 1894-1923; E. Reiss, "Studies in Superstition and Folklore," American Journal of Philology 46 (1925): 233; F. J. M. de Waele, The Magic Staff or Rod in Greco-Italian Antiquity (The Hague, 1927).

9. M. P. Nelson, Geschichte der grieschischen Religions, 3 vols. (Munich 1967) III,33,3; J. E. Harrison, "Pandora's Box," Journal of Hellenic Studies 20 (1900): 99-114, fig. 1; Daremberg and Saglio, III, 1812.

10. W. M. Ramsay, "Studies in Asia Minor," Journal of Hellenic Studies 3 (1882): 68ff., fig.3.

11. J. D. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion. A Study in Survivals (Cambridge, 1910) 45; P. W. Suppl. III (1918): 1126; DACL, XI, 904ff.; for an unusual identification of Michael with Zeus, cf. C. Kaplan, "Angels in the Book of Enoch," Anglican Theological Review 12 (1930): 425.

12. DACL, XI, 907.

13. E. Mâle, L'art religeuse en France du XIIIe siécle (Paris, 1931) 377; DACL, XI, 905.

14. DACL, I, 2133ff. fig. 659; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, II, 245, III, fig. 1078.

15. Ibid, II, 245.

16. cf. The Interpreter's Bible, ed. G. A. Battrick, 12 vols. (New York, 1951-57) XII, 329ff.

17. De princ., III, 2.1.

18. X.2, cf. R. H. Charles, ed., The Assumption of Moses (London, 1897) 85: "Then the hands of the messenger who is of the first rank are placed upon him. It is this messenger who constantly rescues men from their foes."

19. Ibid, 105-110.

20. Test. Abr. XX, J. A. Robinson, Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, 9 vols. (Cambridge, 1899-1922) II, no. 2, pp. 29, 103, 119, 139.

21. Kaplan, op. cit., 433.

22. Ginzberg, Legends, I, 100; R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913) II, 151; on this subject of also A. Frantz "Late Byzantine Paintings in the Agora," Hesperia 4 (1935): 447. Later the Lord delivers the souls of both Adam and Eve, DACL, I, 2131.

23. Ginzberg, Legends, I, 94.

24. Ibid, I, 304ff.

25. G. Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels (New York, London, 1967) 194.

26. Kaplan, op. cit., 433: Enoch, LXXI, 14.

27. Ginzberg, Legends, I, 70.

28. Ibid, V, 71, n.13; cf. also The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, II, and Origen, De princ., I, 8.1.

29. Daniélou, op. cit., 129ff.

30. DACL, I, 2122.

31. Origen, Ho. nom., V, 4; Co. Jo. XIX, 4; Pseudo-Justin, Quaest. Orth. 75; Gregory of Nyssa, Ho. Ps. 6, PG, XLIV, 509A; Chrysostom, Ho. Laz., II, 2; Apocalypse of Paul, XIV, M. R. James, ed., The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1924).

32. Ephrem, Sec. Adv. III, 276; DACL, I, 2123.

33. both cited in DACL, I, 2123: "Take up, Lord, the soul of your servant and return it to you. May the messenger of your word, Michael, be present." and "Let us humbly entreat you: that you undertake to elevate the soul of your servant and by the hands of the holy angels lead it into the bosom of Abraham."

34. Davidson, op. cit., 194.

35. A. B. Jameson, Legends of the Madonna (London, 1903) 433.

36. Gregory of Tours, De gloria martyrum, l. I, c. IV, PL, t. LXXI, col. 708: "And behold the Lord Jesus came with His angels and taking her soul, gave it to the Archangel Michael, and he retired."; cf. The Passing of Mary. Second Latin Form, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., Anti-Nicene Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A. D. 325 (Edinburgh, 1870) 530.

37. cf. for instance, M. Chatzidakis, Les icônes dans les collections suisses (Berne, 1968) fig. 10.

38. The History of Joseph the Carpenter, XIII, A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., op. cit., 67.

39. Frantz, op. cit., 447.

40. DACL, I, 2123.

41. Frantz, op. cit., fig. 3.

42. Maury, op. cit., 124ff.

43. Frantz, op. cit., 444.

44. Ibid, 447.

45. R. Brilliant, "Gesture and Rank in Roman Art," Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 14 (1963): figs. 4.80, 4.85b, 4.45a, 4.89; cf. Grabar, L'Empereur, 43ff.

46. I am unable to refer the reader to an example of this type but I am told by Professor Galavaris that examples exist in various unpublished collections of icons.

47. M. Chatzidakis, Icônes de St-George-des-Grecs et la collection de l' institut (Venice, n.d.) 90, n.1.

48. R. S. Loomis, "Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey," Burlington Magazine 32 (1918): 184; H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of the Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World (Oslo, 1953) 118-123; H. J. Gleixner, "Alexander der Grosse," RBK, Bd. I, 96-99.

49. M. Chatzidakis, Icônes de St-George-des-Grecs et la collection de l'institut (Venice, n.d.) 91, pl. 57.

50. Ibid, 91.

51. Frantz, op. cit., 443ff.

52. Ibid, 444.

53. V. J. Djurić "Fresques médiévales à Chilandar," Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, 3 vols. (Belgrade, 1961): III, 57-98.

54. Ibid, fig. 10.

55. Luke, XVI, 22.

56. Cormack, op. cit., 239, 242, fig. 93.

57. Djurić, op. cit., fig. 14.

58. S. der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion," The Karije Djami. vol. 4. Studies in the Art of the Karije Djami and Its Intellectual Background, P. Underwood, ed., (Princeton, N. J., 1975) 324. P. Underwood, The Karije Djami, vol.1. Historical Introduction and Description of the Mosaics and Frescoes (New York, 1966) 207-208.

59. P. Underwood, The Karije Djami. Vol. 3. Plates 335-553. The Frescoes (New York, 1966) pl. 393.

60. Weitzmann, et al., Icons, XXXIV-XXXV, fig. 77.

61. A. Rosenberg, Engel und Damonen (Munich, 1967) 102.

62. V. Lasareff, "Duccio and Thirteenth Century Greek Icons," Burlington Magazine 59 (1931): 160ff.

63. Ibid, 160.

64. Nersessian, op. cit. 324; M. Sotiriou contends otherwise, although I have been unable to consult her article, cf. Ibid, 324, n. 122, for the citation of her article.

65. P. Underwood, The Karije Djami. Vol. 3. Plates 335-553. The Frescoes (New York, 1966) pl. 472, 473.

66. DACL, I, 2130ff.

67. Job, XXXI, 6; Dan., V, 27.

68. DACL, I, fig. 658. The author does not provide a date or place.

69. Sermo, I, In vigilia Pentecostes, 16, PL, t. XXXVIII, col. 1225: "There will be, without a doubt, a balancing of accounts for good and evil just as each of these that are to be separated will be placed on the plates of the scale, and by the motion it turns the deeds shall take one to hell. If their good deeds are truly greater, they will prevail and out-weigh the bad and they shall decree his deeds in the realm of the living even at the very mouth of hell."

70. The angel holding a scale is also a common theme in monumental sculpture of the Romanesque and Gothic periods in France. Examples include, the cathedrals at Paris, Arles, Bourges, Chartres, Autun, Amiens, Rhouen, Sainte-Croix-de-Saint-Lô, Notre-Dame de-la-Counture, and Mans. cf. Maury, op. cit., 82ff.

71. V. J. Djurić, Icônes de Yougaslavie (Belgrade, 1961) 97, 122-123, fig. 63.

72. Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, pl. XXXId, and M. V. Alpatov, Early Russian Icon Painting (Moscow, 1974) fig. 197.

73. Ginzberg, Legends, IV, 234; cf. Thess. IV, 16, The Interpreter's Bible, XI, 305ff.

74. cf. J. Leroy, "L'illustration de la Bible chez les juifs," Revue de l'histoire des religions 138 (1950): 169-175 on Ezekiel, XXXVII, 10 particularly.

75. XX, 12-15.

76. N. and J.-M. Thierry, op. cit., 133, figs. 24, 25, 27, 31.

77. C. Diehl, L'art byzantin dans l'Italie méridionale (Paris, 1894) pl. opposite p. 104.

78. M. Chatzidakis, Les icônes dans les collections suisses (Berne, 1968) fig. 92 and cf. under fig. 92 as there is no pagination.

79. cf. for instance, Papageorgiou, op. cit., figs. 31, 80.

CONCLUSION

The several groups of icons and the attendant iconographical attributes that I have discussed in the preceding chapters, devoted to specific functions of the Archangel Michael, are together the sum of the character of Michael on Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons. All the functions represented on these icons cite Michael's duties as being in the service of God and His will. Michael is specified as the leader of the corps of angels all of whom perform the endless functions of the divine government.

Michael is addressed always as a member of the highest rank of heaven, and as a high functionary in the celestial government. As we have seen, all iconographical attributes associated with Michael indicate this exalted status. He invariably possesses the insignia of his office of which the globe and the staff are commonly symbols. Michael is always found wearing garments that are becoming to his station, and he can be shown, according to his action, in the loros, or in the classical chlamys and tunic. These garments were sanctioned by imperial usage and by ancient conventions concerning the clothing of venerated figures. Indeed, every detail on icons points to Michael's high position. All the iconographical attributes were systematized by authors such as Symeon the Thessalonikan[1] and Dionysius of Fourna into a pictorial language that expressed the grandeur of this figure to all the faithful.

In relation to the iconographical details that indicate Michael's prominence in the hierarchy of heaven, part of Michael's

duty as a minister of God was the zealous administration of His will on earth. Michael, above all else, is the guardian of the faith and its followers and this is reflected by the active nature of the Archangel on icons. Thus, perhaps the image most indicative of Michael's character is the convention of showing him as the warrior of God and defender of the faith. This is the image of devotion par excellance and it provides hope and inspiration for the devotees.[2] Michael is also depicted as the defender of emperors and kings in various media and this is an extension of Michael's rôle as the guardian of the faithful. He is shown on another group of icons as the agent of God who defends Archippos at Chone and so safeguards his church and the faithful. And in extremis it is Michael who is the guardian of the soul and after death who battles demons that obstruct the safe conduct of the soul to paradise. Michael's devotion to God and His followers extends to the Last Judgement where the Archangel, the guardian of paradise, takes part in the judgement of men and carries out the sentences handed down by God.

The extensiveness of Michael's functions, derived from Judaic and Greco-Roman traditions and absorbed into Christian dogma, indicates the special veneration with which he was held in the tradition of Byzantine piety. This is evidenced by the large number of images of Michael as well as the considerable body of epigraphic and literary material concerned with Michael of which only a small amount was discussed in this thesis. It is true that the healing springs of Michael derived their efficacy from the water but there are legends also associated with the miraculous power of images, as we

have seen. And it is also true that the shrines of Michael, at Chone and Mt. Gargano for instance, were of singular importance to the cult. In fact, the cult center at Chone was attended by large panegyreis and the church was the goal of many pilgrimages,[3] but the icons were always the important objects of popular devotion before specific shrines.

The icon was indispensable to the liturgy and thus essential to the devotion of all the devout:

> The contact ... between the faithful and the world of grace is established through the icon, for it is the icon the believer confronts and with which he converses.[4]

On one level, the icon may participate directly in the liturgy as when Michael holds the Trisaghion that echoes a specific passage in the rites. Furthermore, the icons of Michael are symbolic passageways through which one might comprehend the magnificence of the divinity. The contemplation and adoration of these images are a means by which one can participate in the glory of God. There exist contemporary testimonials to this concept of the apprehension of the immaterial divine being by material images of the Archangel. For instance, Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos wrote in the early 14th century on an icon of Michael by Eulalios:

> It seems either that the painter has dipped his brush in immateriality to delineate his spirit, or else the spirit remaining unobserved in his picture, hiding in colours his incorporeal nature. How is it that matter can drag the spirit down and encompass the immaterial by means of colours? This is [a work] of ardent love (as shown by the facts), and it kindles the heart.[5]

These images in Orthodox belief embody the divinity of Michael, and the faithful, through contemplation of these images, are

performing acts of devotion. It is a means of contemplation by which the divinity becomes more actual and present. As the icons of Michael at Chone evoke the active participation of the guardian Michael in mundane affairs, so he is meant to be present to the viewer of the scene. This belief in the vitality and power of icons to excite devotion is attested by contemporary accounts:

> The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal man who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted: engraving within himself the [Archangel's] traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter's presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colours to ferry over [to its object] the prayer of the mind.[6]

Thus the rôles and attributes of Michael on icons are inextricably bound up with the liturgy and popular belief. In one sense these icons are visual equivalents of liturgy, doctrine, and popular piety, yet in every sense these images of Michael are his divinity made corporeal and so his protection is apprehensible by all.

(CONCLUSION) - ENDNOTES

1. PG, v. 155

2. J. Fournée, "L'Archange de la mort et du jugement," Millénaire monastique du Mont-St-Michel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1971): III, 65.

3. S. Vryonis, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islaminisation from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century (Berkeley, 1971) 30n 165, 222, 479.

4. Galavaris, The Icon in the Life of the Church, 5.

5. Mango, op. cit., 231.

6. Ibid, 115.

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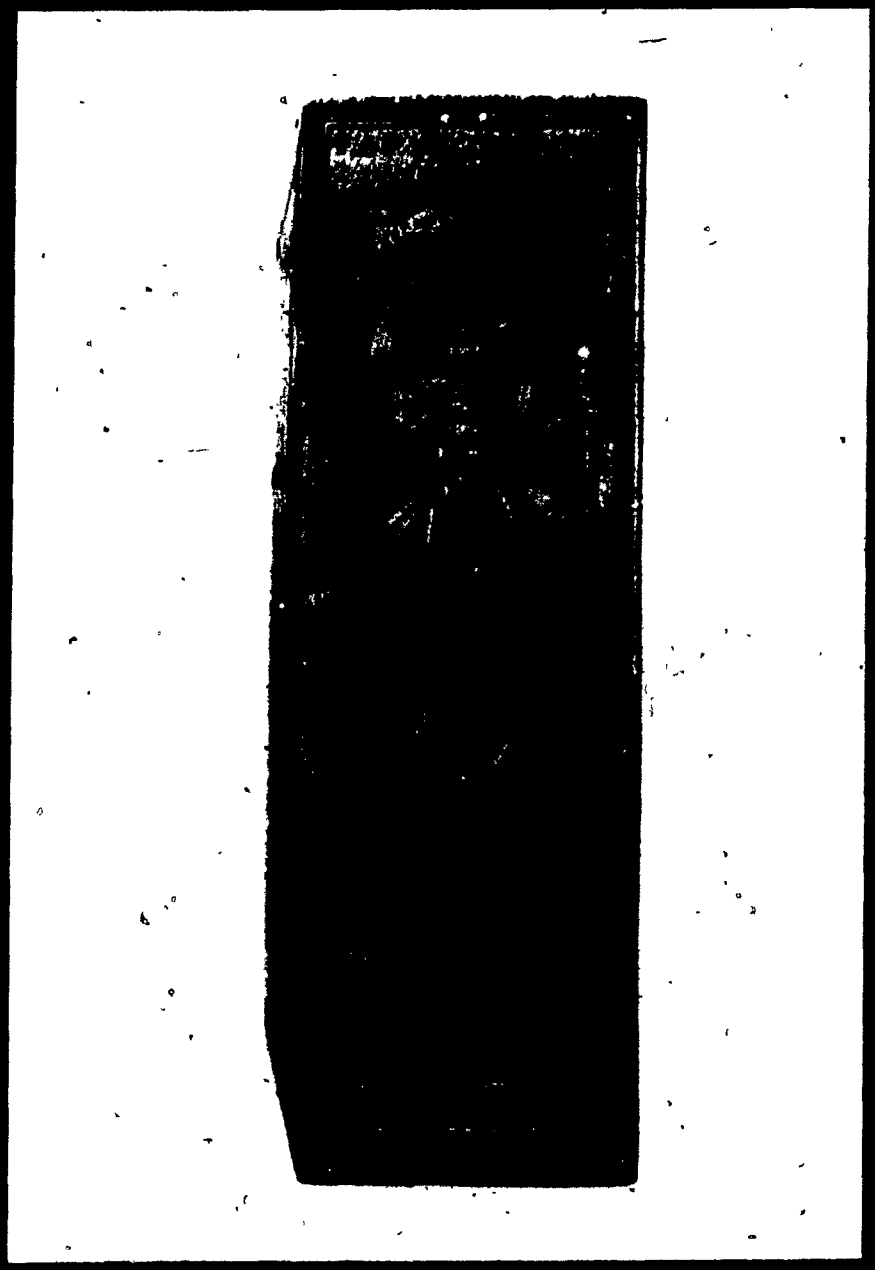

fig. 1

fig. 2

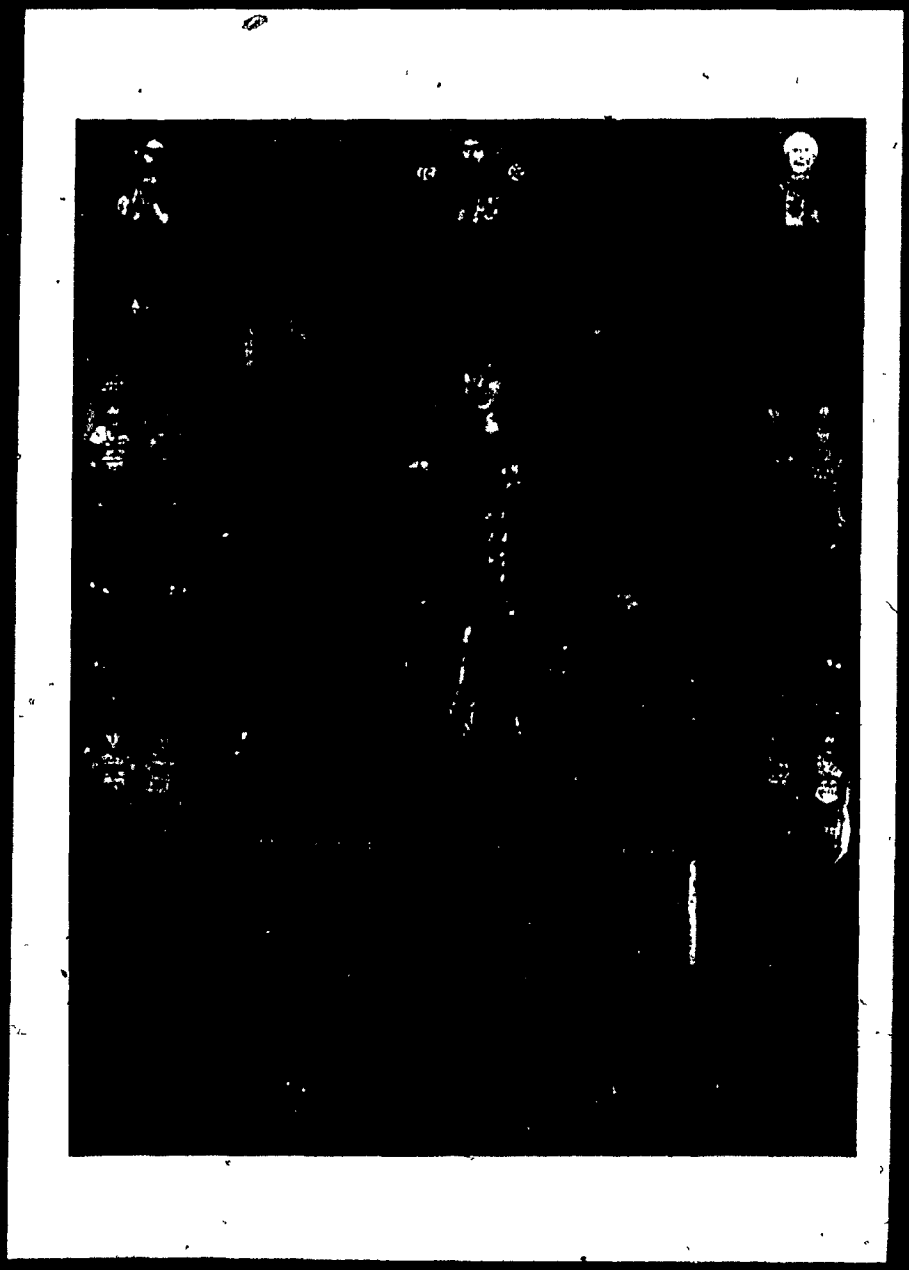

fig. 3

fig. 4

fig.5

fig. 6

fig. 7

fig. 8