Presidential Address
by
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Introduction given by Carol L. Meyers
Vice President, Society of Biblical Literature

If you've read the announcement of this session in the SBL program book—and I suspect many of you have, or else you wouldn't have decided to come to this lecture room at this time—you've read the biographical summary providing the basic facts about SBL president John Dominic Crossan. And even if you haven't read that summary, you still probably know many of those basic facts. You are well aware that he is arguably the world's foremost historical-Jesus scholar. (In fact, a local taxi driver, in finding out that *the* John Dominic Crossan was a passenger in his cab, exclaimed that he wanted to put a plaque there to show where the famous Crossan had sat during the cab ride!) You probably also know that he is a native of Ireland, that he was educated in both Ireland (where he earned his doctorate of divinity at the theological seminary of the national University of Ireland in Kildare) and in the United States, and that he also did postdoctoral work in Rome at the Pontifical Biblical Institute and in Jerusalem at the l'École biblique et archéologique française. You may also know that he was an ordained priest for many years, that he left the priesthood in 1969, and that he was on the faculty of DePaul University here in Chicago until he became professor emeritus in 1995. And if you're not familiar with all the twists and turns—transitions, he calls them—in his long, distinguished, and fascinating career, you can read about them in his touching memoir, published in 2000: *It's a Long Way from Tipperary: What a Former Monk Discovered in His Search for the Truth,* a book that, he quips, some might call "chicken soup for the soul" but would more accurately be characterized as "Irish stew for the mind."

Those of you in New Testament studies, and many Hebrew Bible scholars too I suspect, know Dom to be a prolific writer. He is the author of a long list of articles, book chapters, and reviews as well as twenty-seven books, including his 1991 blockbuster *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*, in which he engages textual analysis, social anthropology, and historical research (including the use of ancient documents and also archaeological materials) to reconstruct the life of Jesus. He wrote *Historical Jesus,* as he explains in his memoir, with his academic colleagues in mind as his readers. How wrong he was. We academics were hardly the only readers. The book became a religion best-seller,

for it is not only scholarly but also comprehensible by and appealing to nonspecialists—at least those willing to take on the challenge of reading a book that is more than five hundred pages long and contains a fair amount of technical analysis. Despite all the publicity, Dom expected this best-seller status to be fleeting. Again, how wrong he was. *The Historical Jesus,* along with the shorter version, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography,* which appeared a few years later, had and still has wide appeal to a range of intellectually curious people in the general public, many of whom are unhappy with various aspects of denominational Christianity. Indeed, the appeal of his books has hardly subsided. And it has led to a number of unexpected, unplanned, but enthusiastically welcomed developments in Dom's career.

As I mentioned, Dom became professor emeritus in 1995. He may bear the title emeritus, but that title doesn't really apply. Derived from Latin, the term *emeritus* signifies "one who has finished or completed one's service," or, as it is used in academia, "one who has left active professional service." These definitions could hardly be further from the truth for Dom. For him, leaving the university meant the freedom and the time to follow his personal and scholarly passions in other ways than as a member of a university community. What are those ways?

- The popularity of his work on the historical Jesus, in his writings and as a member of the Jesus Seminar, has meant that he is in demand as a speaker. He lectures widely and tirelessly—so far this year at sixteen events at churches and pastors' schools all over this country and abroad too.
- He regularly leads tours—pilgrimages, he calls them—to various sites of Christian interest in Turkey, Israel, Greece, and even, drawing on his Irish roots, Celtic Ireland.
- He is a frequent guest on radio and television talks shows, and he is often featured in articles in the popular press as well as in documentaries about Jesus and early Christianity. In so doing, he has taken on the role of a leading public intellectual in the field of religion, an articulate spokesman for the often provocative positions he has taken on a wide range of issues.
- He still finds time to continue his academic scholarship, his most recent book, this year (2012), being *The Power of Parable: How Fiction by Jesus Became Fiction about Jesus.*
- He remains a member of several learned societies—serving now as president of our organization—and continues to participate in academic conferences.

John Dominic Crossan's work and career are admirable in many ways. Because my own work seeks to establish *context* for Hebrew Bible materials, I find his emphasis on context, his insistence on reconstructing the sociopolitical dynamics and lifeways of the first few decades of the first century c.e., especially important. More than that, however, he has succeeded in what perhaps we all should strive to do—connect our lives and work *in* the academy with the world *outside* the academy. In doing so, he courageously refuses to gloss over or whitewash controversies and debates that his work has sparked, nor does he hesitate to present his views about Jesus, God, and Christianity, even though he realizes that, although many find those views compelling, others may consider them blasphemous. It is no wonder that he has received many awards, among them the Albert Schweitzer Memorial Award for Outstanding Accomplishment in the Critical Study of Religion.

We are fortunate that Dom remains vigorous in his many and varied pursuits, and we are grateful that he has served the SBL so well in his term as president. I'm sure that you are as eager as I am to hear him to speak on "A Vision of Divine Justice: The Resurrection of Jesus in Eastern Christian Iconography." Please join me in welcoming John Dominic Crossan.

Icon from Cyprus's Panagia tou Kykkou Monastery Museum. With gratitude to Director Athanassoulas, for permission to photograph it, and to Father Agathonikos, for permission to publish it here.

A Vision of Divine Justice:
The Resurrection of Jesus
in Eastern Christian Iconography

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Nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history. To be sure, only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past—which is to say, only for a redeemed mankind has its past become citable in all its moments.
—Walter Benjamin, *On the Concept of History*, III

This article involves, with regard to the resurrection of Jesus, a very deliberate —and remedial—movement from text to image; from biblical literature to biblical iconography; from Western Christianity through Eastern Christianity back to Jewish Christianity; and from actual, factual, and literal interpretation to symbolic, metaphoric, and parabolic understanding.

I. Questions

My subject could be presented as a verbal and textual problem with these two questions:

First, *who are* "those who have slept" (τῶν κεκοιμημένων) in 1 Cor 15:20; "the saints who had slept" (τῶν κεκοιμημένων) in Matt 27:52; and "those raised from the dead" (νεκρῶν) in Ignatius, *Magn.* 9.2?

The oral presentation of this address was primarily images with commentary. This written version must, perforce, be commentary without images. But, on the one hand, I will indicate where a *color* reproduction of any cited image is available to the reader—in a book or on the Web. On the other, over the last decade, Anna D. Kartsonis's *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) has been, for Sarah [Crossan] and myself, Bible and Baedeker combined—from Nevsky to Nile and Tiber to Tigris. That magnificent volume contains eighty-nine black-and-white reproductions on its final (unnumbered) pages. Whenever I mention an image that is in that repertoire, I reference it in the text as, for example, (K24), and so on.

Second, *what was* "proclaimed [ἐκήρυξεν] to the spirits in prison" in 1 Pet 3:19; "gospelled [εὐηγγελίσθη] to the dead [νεκροῖς]" in 1 Pet 4:6; "proclaimed [ἐκήρυξεν] to those sleeping [τοῖς κοιμωμένοις]" in *Gos. Pet.* 10.41?

My intention, however, is to present it as a visual and iconographic problem with these two alternative questions: (1) Why is Easter depicted with such radical difference in Eastern Christian iconography, where it is a *communal* resurrection for Jesus and a host of others (henceforth: Anastasis), in contrast to Western Christian iconography, where it is *individual* for Jesus alone (henceforth: Resurrection)? (2) Is Eastern Christianity's communal Anastasis of Jesus or Western Christianity's individual Resurrection of Jesus in closer continuity—even granted its radical paradigm-shift—with pre-Christian Jewish tradition about bodily resurrection in, for example, Pharisaic circles?

To illustrate the East/West difference immediately, I first cite two representative examples of Jesus' individual Resurrection in Western iconography from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I then contrast that pair with two representative examples of Jesus' communal Anastasis in Eastern iconography from much earlier in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Two Western Examples.[1] The first example, the *Polyptych of the Resurrection* by the Venetian painter Titian (1520–22), shows two armed guards gazing upward at Jesus as he ascends on dawn clouds above the city (Brescia!). He wears a billowing loincloth, his wounds are visible, and his right hand holds a white banner on which is emblazoned a red cross.

The second example, *The Resurrection of Christ*, a triptych by the Flemish painter Rubens (1611–12), has at least six awakened guards cowering before Jesus as he emerges from the darkened tomb. He has a radiating halo, his nude and well-muscled body is draped discreetly at the loins with a cloth, and his left hand holds a frond and his right a red banner.

In both of these paintings, Jesus is muscular and magnificent, glorious and transcendent, but also very, very much alone.

Two Eastern Examples.[2] The first example is a back-and-front diptych icon with Jesus' crucifixion on one side and his Anastasis on the other. It was origi-

[1] Both images are available by entering "Titian's Polyptych of the Resurrection" and "Rubens' The Resurrection of Christ" in Google's Search window.

[2] (1) There are beautiful color reproductions of both sides of the diptych in *The Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine* (ed. Corinna Rossi [text], Araldo de Luca [photographs], Valeria Manferto di Fabianis [director], and Clara Xanotti [layout]; Vercelli: White Star, 2010). See pp. 168–69 for the Anastasis and 170–73 for the crucifixion. See also Kurt Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 179–203 (discussion of the diptych is on pp. 183–85, with black-and-white images in figs. 5–6); and Jaroslav Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291: Some New Realities," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 315–31 (black-and-white images are in figs. 7–8).

(2) A color reproduction of the Torcello mosaic and the complete wall of which it is the middle part is in Google under Torcello Anastasis (images). Note that the Torcello mosaic is origi-

nally part of an iconostasis screen, with the crucifixion looking outward toward the congregation and the Anastasis looking inward toward the sanctuary. It is in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt, dated between 1250 and 1275.

Christ moves to viewer left, haloed, within a multilayered mandorla of transcendent light derived from that of heaven above. He has a *jeweled*[3] cross in his left hand, and his wounds are prominent. As Christ grasps Adam's limp wrist, an *aged* Eve holds onto Adam. With them, to viewer left, is John the Precursor, shaggy-haired and bare-shouldered, alongside an *older* Abel with his usual shepherd's staff. To viewer right are the two kings, David, crowned and bearded, and Solomon, crowned and beardless. Behind David is *another figure* identified by the oil horn he carries. This unusual figure is presumably Samuel, who anointed David as king (1 Sam 16:1, 13). Gatekeeper Hades, however, is entirely absent and, instead, Christ stands on the broken bifold gates of Hades, which are set one atop the other as an equal-armed cross.

The second example is a mosaic on the inside rear wall of Santa Maria Assunta Cathedral on the island of Torcello in the northern Venetian Lagoon, dated to the eleventh century (K58). In its center is a monumental-sized Christ, cruciform-haloed, with no wounds evident, with the standard patriarchal cross raised in his left hand. He is standing not only on the bifold gates with locks, and so on, all around, but on the extremely diminutive, bearded, and loin-clothed figure of Hades, the Gatekeeper of the realm of Death. Christ, striding forcibly to viewer right, looks back to Adam, whose right hand he grasps in his own right to lead him out. Behind Adam, once again, is Eve with hands raised in cloak-covered supplication. Behind them, to viewer left, are David (haloed, crowned, bearded) and Solomon (haloed, crowned, unbearded). John the Precursor points to Christ at viewer right. Behind John are many others already out of Hades, and, on either side below, several others are coming out.

Before continuing, I have four points about these two Eastern images of the Anastasis. In terms of development, the Mount Sinai mosaic is in *Raising Up* format, while the Torcello mosaic is in *Leading Out* format. These will be identified below as, respectively, Type 1 and Type 2, the two earliest and ever-basic styles of the Byzantine Anastasis tradition.

Second, a trampled Gatekeeper Hades was absent in the Mount Sinai icon but present in the Torcello mosaic. Hades, unlike Adam, is a figure that can come and go—and will eventually go rather than stay permanently—as the Anastasis develops across six types and five hundred years.

Third, the Torcello mosaic has only HANAC still extant to left of Christ's

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located between a smaller-sized crucifixion above it and a larger-sized last judgment below it, but still the huge Christ of the Anastasis dominates and overpowers the entire wall. Irena Andreescu ("Torcello: III, La chronologie relative des mosaïques pariétales, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 [1976]: 247–341, here 259) dates that west-wall complex to "la seconde moitie du XIe siècle et les environs de l'an 1100."

[3] Italicized details represent Western/Crusader influence on this Eastern scenario.

head. Despite the clear identifications—there and elsewhere—the Anastasis image is usually and inexcusably described in English as "The Harrowing of Hell" or "The Descent into Hades, Hell, or Limbo."[4]

Fourth, that icon and that mosaic stand quite adequately as an introductory representation of the entire sweep of Eastern Christianity's Anastasis vision. That communal-style Anastasis appears on cloth, ivory, and metal; as icons, frescoes, and mosaics; among scenes from the life of Christ and images of the Twelve Great Feasts; in traditional or liturgical settings in churches; and in the less official illustrations of monastic or aristocratic psalters. It is, quite simply and emphatically, the Easter vision of Eastern Christianity.

II. Origins

The origins of the image of a communal resurrection might seem quite simple. It is derived, one might think, from the *Descent into Hell* section of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.[5] It is, one might say, a *visual* aid for that *textual* datum. This solution is chronologically possible since, however one dates that text,[6] it is certainly prior to the first extant image of the Anastasis from around the year 700.

Furthermore, as just seen, Christ's hand grasping Adam's to pull him from the tomb is the essential core of the image. This feature is present from 700 to 1200 in all save one of the six Anastasis types that develop successively across that half-millennium, and the hand-to-hand element is emphasized also in the text's narrative:

> The King of glory stretched out his right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam and raised him up. . . . Thus he went into paradise holding our forefather Adam by the hand, and he handed him over and all the righteous to Michael the archangel.[7]

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[4] This is no minor point, and all such labeling on the walls of museums or in the catalogues of exhibitions is seriously misleading. Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 4) notes immediately that "any designation of the subject matter of this iconography as the Descent or Harrowing of Hell misrepresents and distorts the message of the chosen label Anastasis. The title and subject matter of this image refer, not to the Descent of Christ into Hell, Hades, Limbo, or Inferno, but to the raising of Christ and his raising of the dead. The concepts of rising and descending are obviously antonymous and therefore not interchangeable." It is quite usual, for example, to have the Greek title "The Anastasis" at the top of icon, fresco, or mosaic, and still have a separate identifying and abbreviated title JESUS // CHRIST on either side of Christ's head below.

[5] See Felix Scheidweiler, "The Gospel of Nicodemus: Acts of Pilate and Christ's Descent into Hell," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; Eng. trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson; rev. ed.; 2 vols.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991, 1992), 1:501–36.

[6] G. C. O'Ceallaigh, "Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus," *HTR* 56 (1963): 21–58.

[7] *New Testament Apocrypha*, 1:525. In the iconography, it is actually the *limp* wrist rather than the hand of Adam that Christ grasps. That deliberately emphasizes his rising-from-death status.

Adam, as representative of the entire human race, is so important that the resurrection could even be described—albeit idiosyncratically—as *The Anastasis of Adam*.[8]

Apart, however, from Christ grasping Adam's hand, similarities between text and image are strikingly absent. For example, the six names mentioned in the textual tradition are, in this literary sequence, Abraham, Isaiah, John the Precursor, "the first father Adam," Seth, and David. But the six individuals in the image tradition are, in this historical sequence, Adam and Eve (from 700), David and Solomon (from 850), John the Precursor (from 950), and Abel (from the 1000s). The Anastasis image did not derive from the *Nicodemus* text as its visual summary.[9] But what is the alternative solution?

Three different images from Byzantine coinage of the fourth and fifth centuries formed the original matrix for those earliest images of the Anastasis of Jesus in Eastern Christianity. These coin types all proclaimed imperial victory, but we may differentiate them depending on how exactly that victory is portrayed. For purposes of promotion, publicity, and public relations, it could be imaged as *Trampling Down* the conquered enemy, *Raising Up* the liberated people, or *Leading Out* newly created citizens from forest to city, barbarism to urbanism.

My examples for the three victory models of *Trampling Down* or *Raising Up* or *Leading Out* are taken from the coins of Theodosius I the Great, who ruled from 347 to 395.[10] He was the last emperor to rule over the combined western and eastern halves of the Christian world and the first emperor to decree that Nicene Christianity was to be their official religion.

Trampling Down

The emperor, holding symbols of triumph and authority, places his foot on a tiny prostrate figure who personifies the vanquished foe.

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[8] Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 5) draws attention to the following two inscriptions in the Chludov Psalter (see n. 39 below): (1) the image on folio 63r to illustrate the verse "Let God rise up, let his enemies be scattered; let those who hate him flee before him" (Ps 67:2 LXX [68:1 NRSV]) has this inscription: Τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνιστῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ Ἅδου; (2) the image on folio 63v to illustrate the verse "God gives the desolate a home to live in; he leads out the prisoners to prosperity, but the rebellious live in a parched land" (Ps 67:7 LXX [68:6 NRSV]) has: ἄλλη Ἀνάστασις τοῦ Ἀδάμ.

[9] Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 16) concludes: "[T]he assumption that the text of Nicodemus is the breeding ground for the Anastasis has to be rejected." For example: "the text distinguishes Hades from Satan, while the image does not. Indeed, the image emphasizes the trampling of the defeated Hades, which is not even mentioned in the Greek text."

[10] My complete database is the last four volumes of *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (ed. Harold Mattingly et al.; 10 vols. in 13; London: Spink, 1923–24 [hereafter *RIC*]; vols. 7 [1966] and 8 [1981], ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. Carson; vol. 9 [1951], ed. Mattingly, Sutherland, and Carson; vol. 10 [1994], ed. Carson, J. P. C. Kent, and A. M. Burnett). The dates are, in round numbers, 300–500.

Example. Gold *solidus* of Theodosius from the Nicomedia mint (394–95). *Obverse* has him facing right, pearl-diademed, draped, cuirassed, and surrounded by the legend D[ominus] N[oster] THEODOSIUS P[ius[F[elix] AUG[ustus]. *Reverse* has the "Emperor standing right, holding standard and Victory on globe, and trampling on captive." The legend reads: VICTORIA AUGGG (for Augustorum).[11]

Raising Up

The emperor, holding symbols of triumph and authority, raises with his hand a genuflecting figure who personifies a freed people or city.

Example. Bronze *aes* of Theodosius from the Lyons mint (378–83). *Obverse* as in the preceding gold *solidus*. *Reverse* has "Emperor standing, facing, head left with right hand raising kneeling turreted woman, and holding Victory on globe in left hand." The legend reads: VICTORIA AUGGG (for Augustorum).[12]

Leading Out

The emperor, holding symbols of triumph and authority, leads away by the hand a figure behind him who personifies a liberated people or city.

Example 1. Silver *miliarense* of Theodosius from the Rome mint (378–83). *Obverse* as in (1) and (2). *Reverse* has "Victory advancing right, head left, dragging captive with right hand, and holding trophy in left." Legend reads: VICTORIA AUGUSTORUM.[13]

The phrase "dragging captive" might not seem very promising as an imperial victory model for Eastern Christianity's Anastasis image (despite Eph 4:8) and my term, *Leading Out*, may sound too neutral. But, in terms of imperial promotion, the "captive" was not being *led away to* slavery or death but being *led away from* forest barbarism to urban civilization and liberated from darkness into light. This "benign" interpretation of the *Leading Out* image was established earlier by Constans I, emperor from 337 to 350, the youngest son of Constantine I the Great.

Example 2. Bronze *aes* of Constans I from the Heraclea mint (348–51). *Obverse* has emperor facing left, diademed, draped, cuirassed, and holding globe. Legend reads: D[ominus[N[oster] CONSTANS P[ius[F[elix] AUG[ustus]. *Reverse* has "Helmeted soldier, spear in left hand, advancing right, head turned to left;

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[11] *RIC* 9:84 and plate 6.10. Other examples from Theodosius in *RIC* 9 are on pp. 133 with plate 8.12, 160, 186, 197, 233.

[12] *RIC* 9:48 and plate 4.16. Other examples for Theodosius in *RIC* 9 are on pp. 83, 98, 100, 126, 150, 181, 222, 284, 300.

[13] *RIC* 9:124 (with plate 8.7). Other examples for Theodosius in *RIC* 9 are on pp. 133–34, 185, 188, 246–47, 198, 293, 234 (with plate 16.17), 246, 262 (with plate 16.18), 303.

with his right hand, he leads a small bare-headed figure from a hut beneath a tree. The spear points downwards, between the soldier and the figure or between the soldier's legs." Legend reads: FEL[icis] TEMP[oris] REPARATIO.[14] (Recall FDR's "Happy Days Are Here Again" in 1932.) On these coins, certainly, the figure is taken from hut and forest to house and city with urbanization advertised as imperial gift. "Dragging Captive" should be read as "Leading Out" the next generation from rural barbarism to urban civilization!

III. Models

These three imperial victory images were combined to create two major image types for Christ's resurrection in Eastern Christian iconography. First, *Trampling Down* was combined with *Raising Up* to create the first and earliest model (by 700). Second, *Trampling Down* was combined with *Leading Out* to create a second and later model (by 850). These two types can be considered foundational for all later developmental variations.

Type 1. *Trampling Down and Raising Up*

In Type 1, Eastern Christianity combined the two imperial victory images—*Trampling Down* OR *Raising Up* in order to create the earliest model of the Anastasis image as *Trampling Down* AND *Raising Up,* with Christ approaching Adam either to viewer left or viewer right—with Eve usually beside Adam.[15] Jesus *tramples down* Hades, Gatekeeper and Symbol of Human Death, with his foot, and *raises up* Adam, Ancestor and Symbol of Human Life, by the hand. I give two cases of this Type 1 Anastasis: in the first case the figures are, as usual, combined in a single image; but in the second, as is most unusual, they are separated over two twin images—a rather clear proof of their original separation on imperial victory coinage.

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[14] *RIC* 8:434 and plate 21.71. For other "Hut" coins of Constans I, see the indexes for "Legend/Type" under FEL TEMP REPARATIO on *RIC* 8:567. The image may refer to "Constans' 'pacification' of the Franks in 342" (*RIC* 8:35).

[15] See André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin: Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 75; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1936). I used the reprinted version, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), 42–45, 237–39, and esp. 244–49 and plate XXIX, no. 11 (but his no. 10 is not a *Raising Up* image). He proposed the origins of the Anastasis image as a combination of "deux épisodes . . . deux actes . . . deux motifs" (pp. 246–47), which Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 9) summarized as: "two contradictory motifs which existed separately in imperial iconography. The one involved the emperor's trampling the defeated enemy, and the other lifting the personification of the liberated province." See also André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (trans. Terry Grabar; The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts 10; Bollingen Series 35; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 126.

Example(s) 1

All three earliest examples of Type 1—two frescoes and a mosaic—are from
the pontificate of Pope John VII at Rome (705–7) and are a western import from
Byzantine Constantinople.[16]

The two frescoes are still extant in the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua,[17] but
due to deterioration *in situ*, they are best seen now in color photos from 1916.[18]
The mosaic was in Old St. Peter's Basilica, which was built in the fourth century
but demolished to make room for the present St. Peter's Basilica in the sixteenth
century.[19] The mosaic is therefore no longer extant and is known only from draw-
ings contemporary with its destruction. In itself it adds nothing to the two pre-
ceding frescoes, but it is very significant that it was depicted as the final part of a
complete life-of-Christ series and not just as an isolated image (K15).[20] For here
and now, however, I focus only on the first two frescoes as the first still-extant
example of Type 1 of the Anastasis tradition.

The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua is in the southeast section of the Roman

[16] See J. D. Breckenridge, "Evidence for the Nature of Relations between Pope John VII
and the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II," *ByzZ* 65 (1972): 364–74. The acceptance of Byzantine
artistic influence from Constantinople over Rome was accompanied by resisting—carefully—
total Byzantine political and religious control of emperor over pope. Images are not just about
form and style but even more about content and intention.

[17] See Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua
in Rome* (Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 3; Rome: "L'Erma" di Bret-
schneider, 1968). Since those earliest extant examples were already fully formed by 705–7,
Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 81) "suggest[s] a date in the last quarter of the seventh century for the
invention of the image of the Anastasis."

[18] See Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.
bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (4 vols.; Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1916). My copies of Wilpert's reproduction,
as well as of their present *in situ* condition, are due to the collegial courtesy of Michele Chiuini,
professor of architecture at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, who obtained them for me
from Professor Viscontini in Italy.

[19] See Ann Karin van Dijk, "The Oratory of Pope John VII (705–707) in Old St. Peter's"
(Ph.D. diss., John Hopkins University; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1995;
PDF bought and downloaded October 31, 2011); see also eadem, "Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome,
and Constantinople: The Peter Cycle in the Oratory of Pope John VII (705–707)," *Dumbarton
Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 305–28.

[20] See Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: Codice
Barberini latino 2733* (ed. Reto Niggl; Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi iussu
Pauli PP. VI 32; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972). I have been unable to see that
book but have worked with copies of the mosaic in these two sources: (1) Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die
Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Römische Forschungen
der Biblioteca Hertziana 18; Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1964), 60 (for catalogue items ##894 and
895), and ##477 and 478 (for images); (2) Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Mosaics of John VII (705–707
A.D.): The Mosaic Fragments and Their Technique* (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae: Acta ad
archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 2; Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1965) has a
full-page copy of Grimaldi's drawing of the complete mosaic in plate XVIII.

Forum at the base of the Palatine Hill and was originally part of the "christianiza-
tion" and "papalization" of both those archetypal imperial Roman locations. In the
sixth century a pagan building became a frescoed church; monuments to martial
heroes outside were countered by images of martyred saints inside; and, above on
the hill, an imperial palace became a papal residence. Then, in the ninth century,
the church was buried under the debris of imperial Palatine palaces by an earth-
quake. Rediscovered in 1900, it is now closed to undergo a complete restoration
with public access promised for 2013.[21] Both of the church's Anastasis images are
located—be it accidental or deliberate—at main doors, either from the Roman
Forum or from the Palatine Hill.[22]

The First Fresco. At the left of the Forum entrance to Santa Maria Antiqua is
a small oratory or *martyrion* dedicated to a group of Christian soldiers from the
Legio XII Fulminata who were executed in 320 under Licinius and traditionally
known as the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia (now Sivas in east-central Turkey).[23] On
the outside right wall of the chapel's entrance is one of those two earliest extant
Anastasis frescoes (K14b).[24] At present, the upper half of the image is destroyed
and the lower half is obliterated, but a color reproduction by the Jesuit archaeolo-
gist Josef Wilpert shows how much more was discernible in 1916. There are only
the three fundamental protagonists in this image, Christ, Adam, and Hades.

Christ, cross-haloed, strides forcibly to viewer left with his cloak billowing
behind him. He is encircled by a mandorla of light, an aureola of divine status and
heavenly origin. He holds a scroll (not yet a cross) in his left hand and grasps the
limp wrist of Adam with his extended right hand. Eve is not present. But here is what

[21] Sarah and I were permitted a brief visit inside the closed church in July 1993 but were
unable to gain access in July 2011. For the restoration process, see Werner Schmid, "Finding
Sanctuary: An Early Christian Wonder in the Heart of the Roman Forum" (PDF text under that
title—with color photos—downloadable from the World Monuments Fund, http://www.wmf
.org/project/santa-maria-antiqua-church).

[22] Per Jonas Nordhagen, "'The Harrowing of Hell' as Imperial Iconography: A Note on Its
Earliest Use," in his *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting* (London: Pindar, 1990),
346–55 and figs. 2–6. He suggests that they were used there as "portal iconography."

[23] On the relationship between, on the one hand, the *martyrion* and the main church and,
on the other, between both and their location in the ancient Forum, see, respectively, "Some
Iconographic Aspects of the Relationship between Santa Maria Antiqua and the Oratory of the
Forty Martyrs" and "Topographical Transitions: The Oratory of the Forty Martyrs and Exhibition
Strategies in the Early Medieval Roman Forum," in *Santa Maria Antiqua cento anni dopo: Atti
del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 5–6 maggio 2000* (ed. John Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, and
Giuseppe Morganti; Rome: Campisano Editore, 2004), 187–98, 199–211. There is a very clear
plan of *martyrion*-chapel, main church, and the entire Forum in Amanda Claridge, *Rome:
An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford Archaeological Guides; Oxford/New York: Oxford
University Press, 1998), 61–62.

[24] Wilpert has the color image in *Mosaiken,* vol. 4, plate 167.1. Nordhagen (*Frescoes,* 86) has
a detailed description of it with a black-and-white reproduction of Wilpert's color image (plate
103[b]).

is most striking: "Appropriately, Adam's hand is allowed to enter the mandorla. His reentry to paradise is imminent. In fact, his admission to the sphere of the divine has already begun and his deification (along with the deification of mankind) is already under way in this miracle of re-creation, as the Anastasis came to be known."[25]

Hades is lying flat below Christ, whose left foot presses down on his head—outside the mandorla! Satan attempts to sit up using his left hand in order to pull Adam back with his right. Below his raised torso some locks, bolts, and broken doors are (I think) visible.

The Second Fresco. After you pass from the atrium through the nave toward the apse of the church, there is a doorway to a ramp onto the Palatine Hill. The second Anastasis image—damaged by age and exposure but not nearly as badly as was the previous example—is on the right doorpost as you leave the church (K14a).[26] It is almost an exact duplicate of the first fresco Anastasis—but with one very important difference—it includes Eve alongside Adam.

Christ is cross-haloed, within a mandorla, striding strongly to left with billowing garments. His right foot is on the head of Hades, whose right hand seeks to restrain Adam's liberation. Eve is to Adam's left with her hand reaching toward Christ in supplication. Because of its better preservation, we can still see more details surrounding those main protagonists. Below them, to left, the sepulchre of Adam is evident, as is one of the gates of Hades. Above them, to left, two white-clad figures are discernible, but they are too partial to be identifiable (angelic helpers? resurrected saints?).

Example 2

The heart of the Easter Vigil—itself the heart of Christianity's liturgical year—was the lighting of the Easter candle and the deacon's chanting—in Latin—the exultation of heaven and earth, angels and peoples, at the resurrection of Christ, Light of the World. The chant was called the *Exultet* hymn after the first word of its opening Latin line: *Exultet iam turba angelica coelorum . . . .*

In southern Italy, between the tenth century and the fourteenth, that exultant chant was written on ancient-style scrolls with elegant calligraphy and beautiful illustrations in order to emphasize its climactic importance. Such special scrolls were sung not from left to right but from top to bottom. As it scrolled down over the front of the pulpit, the musical text had to be right-side-up for the deacon to chant, but the illustrations had to be reversed and right-side-up for viewers to see. And, of course, as distinct from most liturgical texts, these precious scrolls were used only once a year, for about fifteen minutes.[27]

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[25] Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 73.

[26] Wilpert has the color image (*Mosaiken,* vol. 4, plate 168.2). Nordhagen (*Frescoes,* 82) has a detailed description of it with a black-and-white reproduction of Wilpert's color image (plate 100[b]).

[27] *Exultet: Rotuli liturgici del medioevo meridionale* (ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Giulia Orofino,

There is, however, one very important point about how the Anastasis is portrayed in several of the *Exultet* scrolls. Normally, as we have already seen, that *Trampling Down* of Hades appears in a single composite image either with the *Raising Up* or with the *Leading Out* of Adam and Eve. The only source that I have seen where the two images—*Trampling* and *Raising* or *Leading*—appear separately is in several of the medieval *Exultet* rolls. This tends to confirm, for me, the proposed origins on separate imperial coin types.

I deliberately cite such a case as my second example of Type 1 in the Byzantine Anastasis tradition. It is one of the three *Exultet* rolls preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome and is dated to the twelfth century.[28]

In the *Trampling Down* image, Christ stands between two angels and uses both hands to plunge a long spear (no cross) between the jaws of a seated and bound Hades—with broken doors and locks beside him so that, in this example, *Trampling Down* is actually *Spearing Down* and Christ does not touch Hades even with his foot.[29]

The *Raising Up* image has only three figures: Christ—to viewer right—with cross in his left hand, grasps Adam's right wrist with the other—to viewer left. Eve is behind Adam to farther left, and, again, broken doors and locks are beside them. However, in this westernized Byzantine image from southern Italy, there are also flames around Adam and Eve. Eastern Hades-place and deliverance from the prison/captivity of death become Western Hell-place and deliverance from the pain/punishment of sin. The Hades figure is becoming the Satan figure.

Type 2. Trampling Down and Leading Out

In Type 2, Eastern Christianity combined the two imperial victory images—*Trampling Down* OR *Leading Out* in order to create the *second* model of the Anastasis image as *Trampling Down* AND *Leading Out,* with Christ leading Adam—and

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and Oronzo Pecere; Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Librari e gli Istituti Culturali: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Abbazia de Montecassino, e Università degli Studi di Cassino; Rome: Istituto Poligraphico e Zecca della Stato, Libraria dello Stato, 1994). This magnificent volume, published for the *Bimillenario di Cristo*, has descriptions and color facsimiles of thirty-one extant *Exultet* rolls. For detailed commentary (on fifty-six *Exultet* scrolls), see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[28] This is Cas. 724 (B I 13): see Cavallo et al., *Exultet: Rotuli*, 327 and 333, for images; and Kelly, *Exultet*, 237–39, for general comments.

[29] Margaret English Frazer, "Hades Stabbed by the Cross of Christ," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974): 153–61. A tenth-century ivory shows the crucifixion with the base of the cross bloodily penetrating the belly of a prostrate Hades. Frazer ("Hades," 158) cites from the sermon by Ephraem the Syrian (d. 373) on "The Precious and Life-giving Cross": "With this precious weapon Christ tore apart the voracious stomach of Hades and blocked the treacherous fully opened jaws of Satan. Seeing this, Death quaked and was terrified, and released all whom he held beginning with the first man." The multitudes of the dead have passed through the open *jaws* and into the hugely enlarged s*tomach* of Hades.

Eve—almost always to viewer right.[30] Jesus *tramples down* Hades, Gatekeeper and Symbol of Human Death, with his foot, and *leads out* Adam, Ancestor and Symbol of Human Life, by the hand.

I give two cases of Type 2: the first is, again, the earliest still-extant image of that type and, again, it is from papal Rome; the second is another instance of an *Exultet* roll that separates *Trampling Down* from *Leading Out* into two images.

Example 1. The first still-extant example of the Type 2 Anastasis dates from the early ninth century, that is, a full hundred years after the first example of Type 1 in Santa Maria Antiqua. It is a silver reliquary belonging to Paschal I and therefore dated 817–24 (K21).[31] That pope had welcomed to Rome Byzantine monks and artists exiled during the iconoclasm controversy in the East.

Christ and Adam take up the full frontal panel, are almost of equal size, and are the only two figures present. Christ, to viewer right, holds the cross in his left hand and up over his left shoulder. His right hand clasps the right hand of Adam, whom he draws behind him toward a long narrow door to their right. Christ is looking back slightly toward Adam, but his body is striding forcibly forward with both left and right foot.

Example 2. For this example, I return to the *Exultet* rolls of southern Italy, but now to one of the earliest of that group. It is also another example of that process—unique to them—in which the *Trampling Down* can appear as a separate image from, in this case, the *Leading Out*.[32] It is one of two *Exultet* rolls in the Vatican Library and is dated 981–87 (K20ab).[33]

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[30] Ellen C. Schwartz ("A New Source for the Byzantine Anastasis," *Marsyas* 16 [1972]: 29–34 and plates 1–4) notes that "the captured barbarians . . . were brought . . . into the light of civilization" (p. 33). The one being *led out* is clearly a child that represents precisely such deliverance and salvation—into a new family and a new world.

[31] My copy of this image is from Wilpert, *Mosaiken,* 2:895, fig. 420. It was obtained through the Premium Research Department, from the Art & Architecture Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Wilpert titled it "Christi Höllenfahrt" and located it "Aus Sancta Sanctorum," that is, the private papal chapel in the Lateran Basilica. It is now in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Museums.

[32] There are only six examples of such separations among the thirty-two scrolls in Cavallo et al., *Exultet: Rotuli.* Besides the four mentioned, there are two eleventh-century examples of *Trampling/Spearing Down* separated from *Leading Out* preserved in the Cathedral Treasury at Gaeta, on the coast between Naples and Rome (Cavallo et al., *Exultet: Rotuli,* 341–62; and Kelly, *Exultet,* 220–23). In both, Christ pierces the jaws of Hades with a long spear (no cross). In one other *Exultet* roll, from the early twelfth century, now in the Diocesan Archives at Velletri in the Alban Hills near Rome, the single Anastasis image includes both *Trampling/Spearing Down* and *Leading Out.* Christ pierces the jaws of Hades with a long cross-spear from his left hand while simultaneously raising Adam up and leading him off, right hand to right hand (Cavallo et al., *Exultet: Rotuli,* 270; and Kelly, *Exultet,* 253–54).

[33] This is ᴍs Latin 9820; see Cavallo et al., *Exultet: Rotuli,* 109, 113, for images; and Kelly, *Exultet,* 250–53, for general comments.

In the *Trampling Down* image, Christ—to viewer right, in full mandorla—is, again, accompanied by two angels, one on either side. His right hand is raised in admonition. But now his long thin spear has morphed into a long thin cord extending from a noose around the neck of Hades to the backward-pulling left hand of Christ. Hades is accompanied by another demonic figure—Satan?—and both are engulfed in flames. We have moved from *Trampling Down* through *Spearing Down* to *Noosing Down* of Gatekeeper Hades.

The *Leading Out* image is a splendid example of that type. Christ strides forcibly to viewer right; the cross in his left hand is held horizontally over his left shoulder; and he is looking straight ahead and upward. His right hand is extended backward and draws Adam—with Eve behind him—from a flaming tomb. Four other unidentifiable figures look out from opened sarcophagi at top left. Christ's wounds are very visible.

IV. Options

The several examples just seen for Types 1 and 2 might seem to invite the following general conclusions. On the one hand, whether from Byzantine influence flowing westward—think of the frescoes in Rome's Santa Maria Antiqua—or Crusader invasion flowing eastward—think of the diptych icon in Egypt's St. Catherine's Monastery—you might expect that the Byzantine Anastasis image would become traditional for *all* of Christianity, Western as well as Eastern. But that is not what happened. As you know, and as we saw above, the *individual* resurrection of Jesus became the normative Resurrection of Western Christianity.

On the other hand, you might think that the Byzantine vision was fully normative for Eastern Christianity and that, while allowing developments and adaptations of Types 1 and 2, no *completely* divergent images were to be expected. But that also is not what happened. As we see in this section, other options and alternatives were explored. It was not that the Byzantine imagination never glimpsed other possibilities, never thought of radically different images. It was simply that none of them ever took hold and became normative and traditional for *public* worship as the official image and content of Easter Sunday's Anastasis.

Those alternative possibilities are still clearly visible in the illuminated Psalters used in communal monastic or individual aristocratic prayer.[34] Monks, for example, chanted the entire Psalter every week and, in some of their Psalters, verses were interpreted by adjacent images. The text-and-image combinations chosen as

[34] Those Psalters are often termed "marginal Psalters." I avoid that term for two reasons: one is that "marginal" seems a slightly derogatory expression; the other is that not all the illuminations are in the *margins*—they can be across the top, down the margins, or across the bottom. For the earliest Greek Psalters, I am very much dependent on and appreciative of André Grabar, "Essai sur les plus anciennes représentations de la 'Résurrection du Christ,'" *Monuments et Mémoires, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Fondation Eugene Piot* 63 (1979): 105–41.

prophecies of Anastasis indicate clearly how monastic prayer understood the content and meaning of that tradition. I emphasize that last point because I watch very carefully what *verses* were chosen by monastic theologians giving interpretive content to the Easter Anastasis—and what *images* were deemed appropriate for those verses. This is where I see most precisely what the communal Anastasis meant for Eastern Christianity.

My database for this section is the five illuminated Psalters from the ninth century—two in Latin and three in Greek: the *Stuttgart Psalter* (*StPs*), with one Anastasis example;[35] the *Utrecht Psalter* (*UtPs*), with one Anastasis example;[36] the *Paris Psalter* (*ParPs*), with one Anastasis example;[37] the *Pantocrator Psalter* (*PanPs*), with five Anastasis examples;[38] and, *facile princeps*, the *Chludov Psalter* (*ChPs*), with seven Anastasis examples.[39] I will emphasize four major points concerning the text-and-image combinations of these earliest illustrated Psalters.

[35] *StPs* is Biblia Folio 23 in the Württemberg State Library, Stuttgart, and is dated 820–830. I am most grateful to Ms. Popp-Grilli and Ms. Arit for a color reproduction of the resurrection image (folio 29v for Psalm 24:7). For black-and-white facsimile pages with only the crucifixion leaf (folio 27r for Ps 21:18–19) in color, see Ernest T. DeWald, *The Stuttgart Psalter: Biblia Folio 23, Württemburgische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart* (Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages; Stuttgart: Published for the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, 1930). The description of folio 29v is on pp. 26–27.

[36] *UtPs* is Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I, Nr 32, and is dated 820–835. For facsimile pages, see Ernest T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages; Published for the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University with the Cooperation of the University of Utrecht. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932). The Anastasis image is folio 8r (plate 13, no. 16). DeWald comments: "[T]he beardless Christ is trampling Hades and is raising Adam and Eve out of the pit of Hell" (p. 10).

UtPs also contains an illuminated "Symbolum Apostolorum" or Apostles' Creed with multiple images all across folio 90r (DeWald, plate 142), with this commentary from DeWald: "At the extreme right, Christ, beardless and nimbed, is trampling Hades and is delivering Adam and Eve from the fiery gates of Hell" (p. 71). It is, in other words, an exact if smaller version of that even-handed illustration folio 8r on Ps 16:10, but with Hades in flames as Hell.

[37] *ParPs* is ms Grec 20 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. See Suzy Dufrenne, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age,* vol. 1, *Pantocrator 61, Paris Grec 20, British Museum 40731* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques; Paris: Klincksieck, 1966). There is a black-and-white photo of folio 19v on plate 43 and a description of it on p. 45.

[38] *PanPs* is Codex 61 from the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos in Greece. See, again, Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs.* Photos and descriptions are as follows: folios 24v, 26v, and 30v are on plates 4 and 23; folio 109r is on plates 16 and 30.

[39] *ChPs* is ms D.129 in the State Historical Museum, Moscow. It is from Constantinople via Mount Athos and is named after its final donor. Its images celebrate triumph over iconoclasm around 840–850. I am grateful to Ms. Svetlana Goryacheva, chief librarian of the Russian State Library, Moscow, for helping me with Russian sources for this Psalter. To see the images in color, copy this site (as is) into Google's Search (not URL) slot: vk.com/album-8523990_90683481. You can find the eight Anastasis images as follows: 6r is #10; 9v I #82; 26v is #99; 44r is #117, 78v is #22; 63r is #143, 63v is #145, 82v is #27.

First, I divide all the Anastasis images into two sets: one set with *divergences from* the standard Anastasis tradition; the other set with *variations on* the standard Anastasis tradition.

Second, with regard to the *verses* chosen as Anastasis references, I ask whether they emphasize the *individual* Anastasis of Christ alone or the *communal* Anastasis of Christ with others. (I give all psalm references according to the NRSV enumeration).

Third, with regard to the *images* depicted, I ask the same question but also whether text and image agree on individual or communal empasis. Could, for example, an individual verse receive a communal image—or vice versa?

Fourth, when verses and/or images refer to the communal Anastasis, I note that the risen community is often described not just as "the righteous" in general but as "the oppressed" or "the poor" or "the needy," in particular.

Divergences from the Tradition

What I term "divergences" are not just isolated cases. Many of them establish a radically different Anastasis tradition that involves not Christ, Adam, Eve, and a Hades figure (as seen above and again below) but Christ, David, prophecy, and a tomb monument.

Psalm 7:6: "Rise up, O LORD, in your anger; lift yourself up against the fury of my enemies; awake, O my God; you have appointed a judgment" (*ChPs* 6r).

The accompanying image involves a radically different vision from anything seen so far in the Anastasis tradition. It imagines, as its legend says, how ΔΑΔ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕΙ ΕΙϹ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΙΝ. David, at viewer left, bows down before the half-opened door of an elegantly rounded, pointed, and red-painted tomb monument with two well-armed soldiers sleeping in front of it. But Christ is not represented directly—although the title "Lord" is here applied to him. *The text is communal ("my enemies"), but the image is individual.*

Psalm 10:12: "Rise up, O LORD; O God, lift up your hand; do not forget the oppressed" (*PanPs* 24v; *ChPs* 9v). Both accompanying images are in the David-the-Prophet tradition, but now Christ is explicitly depicted.

In *PaPs* 24v David, to viewer left, gestures toward the pointed tomb monument from which Christ—with cruciform halo—is shown actually emerging (half-in and half-out) with his right hand raised in blessing or teaching fashion. Legend: ΔΑΔ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥ[ΩΝ] ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗϹ ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΕΩϹ.

In *ChPs* 9v David, again to viewer left, bows toward an even more elegant round-topped, top-draped, and frontless tomb monument on whose internal sepulchre Christ is seated. Here the legend reads: ΔΑΔ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗϹ ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΕΩϹ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ. *Once again the images are individual, but the verse is communal—and specifically pointed to the Anastais of "the oppressed."*

Psalm 12:5: "'Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, I will now rise up,' says the Lord; 'I will place them in the safety for which they long'" (*PanPs* 26v; *ChPs* 26v). Both accompanying images are once again in the David-the-Prophet mode with Christ depicted explicitly in both.

PanPs 26v is a duplicate of the image in the preceding 24v except that David is standing upright rather than bowing. Legend: ΠΡΟΦΗΤ[ΗС].

ChPs 26v shows the pointed tomb monument opened and the door on the ground to viewer left. The cruciform-haloed Christ stands at its right side with (presumably) David's head barely visible between them. Two well-armed soldiers sprawl sleeping on the ground in front. Legend: ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗС ΑΝΑСΤΑСΕѠС ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΦΥΛΛΑССΟΝΤΕС. *These images point to the individual Christ, but the text is communal—and specifically pointed to "the poor" and "the needy."*

Psalm 24:8–9: "Who is the King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord, mighty in battle. Lift up your heads, O gates! and be lifted up, O ancient doors! that the King of glory may come in" (*StPs* 29v).

This is the only instance in this set that does not involve the tradition of Davidic prophecy and tomb monument. The full-across-the-page image shows a closed and locked gate in the center. Above it and to left (that is, inside it) are winged, fire-breathing demons and a dark-brown Hades cowering at bottom left— all within the flickering fires of Hell. To right, Christ, accompanied by an angel, strides so forcibly toward the gate that he looks as though his right foot intends to kick it down. His right hand holds a cross-topped staff (no spear point); he moves within a kelly-green mandorla, and no wounds are visible. *Verse and image are both individual.*

Psalm 31:4: "Take me out of the net that is hidden for me, for you are my refuge" (*PanPs* 30v).

The image shows the cross-haloed Christ standing to viewer right in front of the tomb monument half-visible behind him to viewer left. He is looking up to heaven with his right hand raised in blessing or teaching syle. The usual two soldiers are farther to viewer left with the legend: ΟΙ ΦΥΛΑС[С]ΟΝΤΕС. David is not depicted. *Both verse and image could be either individual—with Christ praying to God—or communal—with others praying to Christ.*

Psalm 44:26: "Rise up, come to our help. Redeem us for the sake of your steadfast love" (*ChPs* 44r).

A series of images fills both the entire right margin and bottom quarter of the leaf. At top and bottom are scenes of martyrdom such as racking and beheading, themes appropriate for all of Psalm 44. In between are three other images. Below, one starts the life of Christ with a vision of the incarnation, and, above, the other two consummate it with the two Marys—from Matt 28:1—at the closed and round-topped tomb monument. In the upper one, David stands to viewer left of the tomb with the two women seated to viewer right of it. Legend: ΔΑΔ

ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ. The lower of the two images has the women standing to viewer left and touching the same tomb monument to viewer right. Christ is not depicted. *Verse and images-in-context are communal and addressed to Christ as risen redeemer.*

Psalm 78:65: "Then the Lord awoke as from sleep, like a warrior shouting because of wine" (*PanPs* 109r; *ChPs* 78v). The images are somewhat divergent, but both are closer to the Christ, David, Prophecy, and Tomb mode than to the Christ, Hades, Adam, and Eve style.

In *PanPs* 109r, Christ stands frontally to the right of a rather tomblike monument with a book in his hands. To viewer right, the two Marys prostrate themselves at his feet while, to viewer left, the two soldiers sleep on the ground holding their long spears. The inscription reads: Ο ΚΥΡΙΟC ΕΙC ΤΟΥΤΟ. David is not depicted.

In *ChPs* 78v there is another perfect example of the David tradition. At viewer left, Christ stands outside the pointed tomb monument looking toward David at viewer right. He holds a scroll or book in his hands. David, with both hands upraised in *orant* style, looks toward Christ while the inscription reads: ΔΑΔ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ. *Verse and image are individual rather than communal.*

Psalm 80:2b–3: "Stir up your might, and come to save us! Restore us, O God; let your face shine, that we may be saved" (*PanPs* 112r). The image has neither David nor Christ but two women sitting to right of the usual pointed tomb monument. The caption reads: ΜΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΘΑ.[40]

Variations on the Tradition

What I term "variations" all operate within the general contours of the standard tradition (see above and below), but they do so with creativity and originality. Indeed, they often seem ahead on the tradition's developmental trajectory.

Psalm 16:10: "For you do not give me up to Sheol, or let your faithful one see the Pit" (*UtPs* 8r).

The adjacent image is quite traditional in content but quite unique in format. It is traditional in picturing the four protagonists, Christ, Hades, Adam, and Eve, and in having Christ's cloak flutter behind him as he stands atop a flattened Hades and bends down fully to viewer right. But what is unique is that Christ reaches out

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[40]Grabar ("Essai," 114) adds *PanPs*, folio 112r, to this tradition of David prophesying the Anastasis. Dufrenne (*Psautiers grecs,* 30) describes the image given on plate 16 thus: "Marthe et Marie devant le tombeau de Lazare." On the one hand, the imaged tomb is the same one used for Christ's Anastasis elsewhere in *PanPs*. On the other, elsewhere in *PanPs* Dufrenne describes a very different tomb and resurrection of Lazarus on plate 4 (p. 23). Grabar, therefore, seems to be more correct; perhaps the inscription named the women incorrectly for an Anastasis image.

both his hands, one for Adam and one for Eve, *who are on the same side to viewer right.* They are emerging from a grave in the ground or else a rounded sepulchre with covers behind it. It is a Type 1, *Raising Up*, but such evenhandedness for Adam and Eve will not be seen again for about four hundred years—and never, as far as I know, in that precise both-on-one-side style (see Type 6 below). *The verse is individual, but the image is communal.*

   Psalm 68:1: "Let God rise up, let his enemies be scattered; let those who hate him flee before him" (*ChPs* 63r).
   With this image, the *Chludov Psalter* rejoins the standard Anastasis tradition with the core emphasis on Christ, humanity, and Hades figure rather than Christ, prophecy, and tomb edifice. Christ stands cross-haloed in a perfectly oval mandorla with scroll in left hand. He is looking to viewer left, and his extended right hand draws the left of Adam into that heavenly aureola. Behind Adam, to viewer left, is Eve. But even though Christ looks to left, his legs are already moving to right. It is already a Type I, *Raising Up*, in transit to Type 2, *Leading Out*. All three figures are standing on the stomach of a grossly obese Hades figure whose head is vertically below them (recall n. 29). Four winged demons *flee* away from him to viewer left. *Verse and image are communal.*

   Psalm 68:6: "God gives the desolate a home to live in; he leads out the prisoners to prosperity, but the rebellious live in a parched land" (*ChPs* 63v).
   The image is but a slight variation on the preceding one. The oval mandorla is rayed, and Christ is both looking and moving to viewer left in classical Type 1 style (no hint of Type 2). Once again, all three figures stand on the monstrous stomach of a grossly large Hades figure, but he is now horizontal rather than vertical to their stance. *Verse and image are communal—with a specification of "the prisoners" over against "the rebellious."*

   Psalm 107:13: "Then they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he saved them from their distress" (*ParPs* 19v).
   In the accompanying image, Christ, turning slightly to viewer right, looks at and extends his left hand toward two unidentifiable figures emerging from a small sepulchre whose door is on the ground. Christ, however, does not touch either of them. Haloed and with a mandorla of several radiant beams, Christ stands atop Hades. His right hand grasps that of Adam to viewer left and, although Eve is no longer visible behind Adam in the leaf's damaged left margin, the legend names both "Adam and Eve." They have emerged from an even larger sepulchre at extreme viewer left. *Verse and image are both communal.*

   Psalm 107:13–16: "Then they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he saved them from their distress; he brought them out of darkness and gloom, and broke their bonds asunder. Let them thank the Lord for his steadfast love, for his wonderful works to humankind. For he shatters the doors of bronze, and cuts in two the bars of iron" (*ChPs* 82v).

The image is a very early example of a combination of Type 3, where Christ looks out directly at the viewer, and Type 5, where Adam and Eve are on opposite sides of Christ but he touches only the hand of Adam. Still, and unusually, Eve is to Christ's right (viewer left) and is blessed by his right hand, while Adam is to Christ's left (viewer right) and is raised up by Christ's left hand. Christ stands on the head of a now almost totally erased but originally quite monstrous Hades figure (left leg and right hand still barely visible). The inscription down the left side read simply: ANASTACIC. *Verse and image are both communal.*

Finally, the basic point of this section is to remind ourselves that, in the creative matrix of monastic prayer, divergent options and alternative possibilities of Anastasis imagery were always present. The relatively homogeneous development of the next section's sixfold typology for Anastasis iconography might have been altered significantly by monastic experimentation—but it was not—and that emphasizes this tradition's consistency of choice and continuity of content.

V. Types

I classify the Byzantine tradition of the Anastasis within a sixfold typology and developmental trajectory across a half-millennium from, in round numbers, 700 to 1200.[41] Allowing for what has been lost to time and chance, the six types are also, in general, successive chronological stages. We have, of course, already seen examples of both Types 1 and 2, but I repeat them here within the full typological repertoire of which they are the foundational types.

Type 1. Raising Up

In Type 1, as we have seen, Christ moves to viewer left or right and, standing or bending, grasps Adam's wrist—with Eve beside Adam—to raise them from death. Here is just one more example over the others seen above.

Example. The Church of Saint Barbara is a twin of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus (Abu Serga) in Old Cairo. An eighteenth-century icon beam had originally topped the choir screen across the church's full width in front of the sanctuary's iconostasis. When it was removed at the start of the twentieth century, its sixteen icons were preserved along the church's south wall. Among those scenes depicting the life of Christ and the great feasts is an Anastasis.[42]

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[41] These six types expand on the four types proposed by Schwarz (*New Source*, 30) in 1972; and Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 8–9) in 1986.

[42] There is a color reproduction of all sixteen icons in Gawdat Gabra, Gertrud J. M. van Loon, and Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Churches of Egypt: From the Journey of the Holy Family to the Present Day* (ed. Carolyn Ludwig; photographs by Sherif Sonbol; Cairo/New York: American University of Cairo Press, 2007), 121.

Christ stands on the bifold gates of Hades-place with flames below, but no figure of Hades-Gatekeeper is present. In his left hand, Christ holds a long slim cross with three cross-beams at the top. No wounds are visible. He bends down to viewer left and grasps the wrist of Adam—right hand to right hand. Behind Adam is Eve with Abel behind her (no staff, unbearded). To viewer right are the standard figures of David, Solomon, and John the Precursor. Only Abel and John are haloed. In addition, there are Arabic phrases identifying (I presume) Christ, Adam, Eve, John, and Hades.

Type 2. Leading Out

In Type 2, again as we have already seen, Christ, having grasped Adam's wrist is leading him from Hades, almost always moving to viewer right. He looks forward or, more usually, backward to Adam, followed by Eve.

Example. This is from the Aya Sofya Museum (*olim* Church) in Trabzon on Turkey's southern Black Sea coast, dated 1238–63.[43]

On the one hand, it has the standard protagonists: Adam, Eve, and Abel, to viewer right; John the Precursor, David, and Solomon, to viewer left. On the other hand, Christ is in the center carrying a large patriarchal cross in his right hand. But, while his left hand grasps the left hand of Adam, they are moving forcibly to left, and it is extremely rare to have a *Leading Out* in that direction—as distinct from to right. (It is actually the only such image I have ever seen.)

Type 3. Facing Front

In Type 3, Christ looks neither forward where he is going nor backward to look at Adam but, standing or moving, looks straight out at the viewer with a "you too" aspect to the composition. It is as if the *Leading Out* motion of the Type 2 Anastasis were frozen for a moment so that Christ could include the viewer in the event.

Example. This is on the now slightly cracked silver cover of a Gospel Book preserved in the Monastery of the Mother of God at Hah, within Syriac-Christian Tur 'Abdin, in southeastern Turkey.[44] It is, to my knowledge, quite unique and I

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[43] For a color reproduction of the fresco, see http://e-turkey.net/trabzon_ayasofya_ muzesi/trabzon_ayasofya_3200. There are four triangular pendentives between the four arches supporting the main dome that display the nativity (NW), the baptism (SW), the crucifixion (NE), and Anastasis (SE).

[44] For the church and its Magi legend, see Mark DelCogliano, "Syriac Monasticism in Tur Abdin: A Present-Day Account," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 41 (2006): 311–49, here 334–35. Sarah and I are very grateful to Timotheos Samuel Aktaş, Metropolitan/Archbishop of Tur Abdin, at Mor Gabriel Monastery near Midyat, for helping us locate and see this Gospel Book *in situ*.

can only guess at its date—maybe eighteenth century?[45] It is also the only example I know where this Type 3, *Facing Front*, is a variation not of Type 2, *Leading Out,* but of Type 1, *Raising Up*.

At viewer left, Christ's right hand holds a long, cross-topped spear/staff. He looks out at the viewer, but his feet are turned toward Adam and Eve to viewer right—hence my *Raising Up* rather than *Leading Out* designation. Adam and Eve are under a stylized tree, coming out of a sepulchre, and Christ's left hand grasps Adam's wrist—with Eve behind Adam. Six female and male figures (two of the latter with crowns) fill the top tier. Under Christ's feet are the crossed bifold gates of Hades, and under Adam's is what looks like a dog but may represent a lion, from the promise that "you will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot" (Ps 91:13).

Type 4. Showing Wounds

In this type, Christ, facing frontally to the viewer, displays his wounded hands, which are lowered toward but not touching either Adam or Eve. Christ is centrally located and is quite stationary, without the forcible movements so characteristic of the three preceding types. Furthermore, Adam and Eve, who have been together either to viewer left or right in the three preceding types, can now be either in the same connected on-one-side position or else separated one on either side of Christ. The presentation of one on either side will be characteristic of the next and final two types—but there touching will return.

Example. The earliest still-extant example is on a single vellum leaf from a pocket-size Byzantine Psalter in the Princeton University Art Museum, dated to 1090–1100.[46]

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[45] For the Anastasis image on the Gospel Book's cover, see Hans Hollerweger, *Turabdin: Lebendiges Kulturerbe. Wo die Sprache Jesugesprochen wird/Turabdin: Living Cultural Heritage. Where Jesus' Language Is Spoken* (Linz: Freunde des Tur Abdin, 1999), 168. For the whole cover, see Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University Library (UK): open "Photographs," go to "Album M (1909) Iraq, Turkey," and select #239 (http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos_in_album.php?album_id=13&start=240). I am grateful to Professor Mark Jackson of Newcastle University for sending me high-resolution images from the Bell Archive.

The 1999 Hollerweger image and the ones taken by Sarah Crossan on June 3, 2010, indicate that the cover has seriously deteriorated since 1909. Not only are there cracks in the silver, but the ornamentation surrounding the central image and the bottom right figure within the images (dog? lion?) is badly abraded. A Syriac inscription plate has been added below the Anastais image sometime after Bell's photos.

[46] My color image comes from the Princeton University Museum. It is described as a "Leaf from a Psalter: Crucifixion and Anastasis," the gift of Ida Farnum in 1930. No further provenance is cited. I am very grateful to Laura M. Giles and Calvin D. Brown in the Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings for permission to use this image, and to Bruce M. White and Karen E. Richter for getting high-resolution copies to me.

It is a diptych, split evenly between a crucifixion above and an Anastasis below. Each has three figures: at top a crucified Jesus between Mary to viewer left and John to right; at bottom a frontal-facing Christ, above the crossed bifold gates of Hades, displaying his wounded hands to Adam at viewer left and Eve at right. Each extends a hand toward Christ, but there is a clear non-touching space between them. Adam's hand is uncovered, but, as so often, Eve's is covered in her cloak. Above Christ's head is the remnant of the word [HANA]CTACIC.

Type 5. Doubling Sides

In the preceding Type 4, Adam and Eve could be separated on either side of Jesus—Adam to his right and Eve to his left—but neither was grasped by the hand of Christ. Type 5 maintains the separation of Adam and Eve to either side of Christ, but now once again, as in the tradition of Types 1–3, Christ grasps Adam. In other words, and despite her equalized if left-side position, Christ does not grasp Eve by the wrist.

Example. On a beam above the iconostasis in the Church of the Holy Virgin, Harat Zuwayla, Cairo, Egypt, are icons depicting the Seven Major Feasts of the Coptic tradition, dated to around 1200.[47] They illustrate from Nativity to Pentecost with the Anastasis as fifth in the sequence. Christ, centrally poised and facing the viewer, grasps Adam by the wrist, to viewer left, but holds a slender cross in his left hand and does not touch the hand of Eve—whose hands are covered by her cloak. This is also an unusual composition in that the two kings are separated, with David behind Adam to left and Solomon behind Eve to right.

See Kurt Weitzmann, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 19, no. 1, Special Number in Honor of the Director Ernest Theodore DeWald on the Occasion of His Retirement; Princeton, NJ: University Art Museum (1960): 98–107. The article was reprinted with unchanged pagination in his *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (Collected Studies series 119; London: Variorum Reprints, 1980). Figure 1 (p. 100) is a black-and-white reproduction of the leaf: "On purpose, the author seems to have placed Christ above physical contact, in this way avoiding a purely narrative and temporal interpretation and stressing the aspect of eternal truth. This type may, therefore, be termed *dogmatic*, in contrast to the *narrative* type" (p. 99). "There seems to be little doubt that the miniature was on the verso of a page, following the end of Psalm VIII and facing, like a title miniature, the beginning of Psalm IX" (p. 104). In other words, it illustrated this verse: "Have mercy on me, Lord, look upon my affliction from my enemies; You who raise me from the gates of death" (Ps 9:14 LXX; see 9:13 NRSV).

There is a fine example of this Type 4, originally from Mount Athos, now in Russia's State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. A color reproduction is in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261* (ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wilson; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 123 (#68B).

[47] There are color reproduction of all seven icons on foldout pages in Gabra et al., *Churches of Egypt*, 136–37. I already mentioned the earliest still-extant image of this Type 5 from the *Chludov Psalter* 82v for Ps 107:16 in section IV above.

Type 6. Doubling Hands

In this type, Adam and Eve are again on either side of Christ, but now he grasps both of them by the wrist, with Adam usually to his right (viewer left) and Eve to his left (viewer right). We have, finally, an equal-opportunity Anastasis. Although my example is not the earliest evidence of this type,[48] it is the image that must be chosen as the climactic perfection of the entire Anastasis tradition.

Example. The eleventh-century Church of the Holy Savior in Chora became first a mosque as the fifteenth-century Kariye Camii, and then a museum as the twentieth-century Kariye Müzesi. In the *parekklēsion* or burial-chapel along its south side is possibly the most famous Anastasis in the world, dated 1315–21.[49]

Christ—in a magnificent starred mandorla—moves forcibly to viewer left, striding across the separated bifold gates of Hades-place and looking out at the viewer. Under them is a prostrate and bound Hades figure with broken locks and shattered bolts all around him. Christ's right hand grasps the left wrist of Adam, to viewer left, and the right wrist of Eve, to viewer right. He pulls them from their sarcophagi. Behind Adam, in viewer right-to-left order, are John the Precursor, Solomon, and David. Behind Eve, and rising from the same sarcophagus, is Abel with his shepherd's staff. There are several others on both sides, but all are male. Above Christ's abbreviated identification as IC XC is the word HANACTACIC.

VI. Conclusions

The first of my two initial questions asked why there was such a radical difference between Easter as *communal* for Jesus-and-others in Eastern Christianity but as *individual* for Jesus-alone in Western Christianity? Or, put more precisely, why did the West not continue to accept the East's Anastasis vision when its earliest still-extant examples—from papal chapels to *Exultet* rolls—were Western imports from Constantinople into Italy?

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[48] After the destruction and occupation of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, the earliest example of a Type 6 Anastasis was brought back to Europe from the city's Latin Kingdom (1204–61). Several parts of an apparently monumental image were copied onto separate pages of a model book for artists, dated to about 1240. See Hugo Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 12; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979). See also *Glory of Byzantium*, 482–84 (#319).

There are Type 6 images more or less contemporary with the Chora Church in Aghios Nikolaos Orphanos Church, Thessaloniki (1310–20); in King Milutin's Church of Studenica Monastery, Serbia (1313–14); and in Holy Savior Church, Beroia (1315).

[49] There is a color image in the Wikipedia article on the "Chora Church."

West and East

The West eventually preferred its own individual (for Jesus only) vision of Easter because, in my opinion, that Anastasis *image* raises problems for *doctrine* that theology cannot solve. It is not that theology, doctrine, and dogma are an exclusively Western concern but that the East seems more capable than the West of accepting the principle that humanity proposes but divinity disposes. Here, then, are three main aspects of that image-versus-doctrine challenge that may have moved Western Christianity to avoid the Eastern vision.

Baptism: Present or Absent? From very early, there was an obvious clash between the vision of an Anastasis where baptism was not even mentioned and the Christian doctrine of baptism's absolute necessity for salvation. On the one hand, were Adam, Eve, and all those others baptized and, if so, how so, and why is it not mentioned? On the other hand, if before-Christ unbaptized people were saved, might not after-Christ unbaptized people have equal access to the Christian heaven? This problem was recognized in *Similitude* 9.16 of the *Shepherd of Hermas* at the start of the second century.[50] It asks two questions: Were those "who came up from the deep" baptized; and, if so, by whom?

The first answer is quite absolute: "they had need to come up through the water that they might be made alive, for 'they could not' otherwise 'enter into king-dom of God.' . . . Those who had fallen asleep [οἱ κεκοιμημένοι] received the seal of the Son of God" (9.16.1–3). But surely Christ did not baptize them all—so who did?

The second answer is that "[t]hese apostles and teachers . . . having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to those who had fallen asleep before them" (9.16.5). We must then imagine enough *baptized Christian "sleepers" who died before Christ* and were available in Hades to baptize the unbaptized sleepers. Still, regardless of whether those statistics and logistics are credible, image still challenges doctrine,[51] and maybe it were better—for the

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[50] Kirsopp Lake, trans., *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 2:260–65. In the section on "Christ's Descent into Hell" in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the sons of Symeon who narrate the Anastasis story are told, "first to go to the Jordan and be baptized. There also we went and were baptized with other dead who had risen again" (Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypa*, 1:526).

[51] Dante (*Inferno* 4.52–54) saw that doctrinal problem clearly. Virgil tells him, "I was still new to this estate of tears when a Mighty One descended here among us, crowned with the sign of His victorious years." Christ then liberates Adam, Abel, Noah, Moses, Abraham, David, Israel, Rachel "and many more He chose for elevation . . . [and] salvation" (4.61–63). There is no mention of baptism, so, much later, Dante asks what about one "born in sight of Indus' water" where "none there speak of Christ." If such a person "does not sin in either word or deed [and] dies unbaptized, what justice is it damns him" for what is not his "fault"? (*Paradiso* 19.70–78). See *The Divine Comedy: The Inferno, the Purgatorio, and the Paradiso* (trans. and ed. John Ciardi; New York: New American Library, 2003), 40, 762–63.

West—not to accept it at all? But even if a get-out-of-Hades baptism were postulated, the Anastasis imagery raises the next and even more pressing doctrinal challenge.

Liberation: Some or All? Who were raised by and with Christ? Was it only the Jewish just ones or also the Gentile just ones? Was it only just people or all people, and, in either option—but especially in the latter—how was that to be doctrinally defended? Did Christ preach (*better*: proclaim) the gospel about liberation or enact the gospel by liberation?

Intractable doctrinal issues were raised by a question such as this: "Did [Christ] descend in order to bind Satan and release all the souls imprisoned there, to preach the gospel to those who had died before the Incarnation, or to lead the Old Testament Fathers triumphantly into heaven?"[52] Answers to that question formed along the axis of many-or-more versus few-or-fewer, for example, respectively: (1) Origen of Alexandria (185–254) versus Augustine of Hippo (354–430); Peter Abelard (1079–1142) versus Bernard of Clairveaux (1090–1153); and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) versus Dante Alighieri (1265–1321).[53]

In Ireland, the fifteenth-century *Book of Fermoy* summed up the debate on the liberation of all versus some by Christ from Hades by noting, "There are some among distinguished men of learning who tell us that the brown curly-haired One brought forth no men but those who merited it. Others, who have not perfect faith, tell us that there is no man white or black that He did not bring out forth, one and all, out of Hell."[54]

But Adam and Eve were there from the earliest to the latest Anastasis images. So, if Adam and Eve were liberated, who was not? Surely they were chosen to represent all of humanity?[55] But how, then, was liberation from Hades in the past to be reconciled doctrinally with punishment in Hell for the future? And what, then, about judgments and sanctions, rewards and punishments, Heaven and Hell? If all

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[52] Ralph V. Turner, "*Descendit ad Inferos*: Medieval Views on Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just," *JHI* 27 (1966): 173–94, here 173. See also Constance I. Smithy, "Descendit ad Inferos—Again," *JHI* 28 (1967): 87–88.

[53] Martin F. Connell, "Descensus Christi ad Inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead," *TS* 62 (2001): 262–82.

[54] Ann Dooley, "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe* (ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk; Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies 158; Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Arizona State University, 1997), 361–401, here 395.

[55] Kartsonis (*Anastasis*, 6) notes that "the inscription 'Anastasis' . . . is a twin reference to the bodily rising of Christ and his raising of mankind. . . . the narrative component of this iconography, far from concentrating on Christ's own rising, is instead concerned with the rescue of Adam from the land of the dead" (p. 5). "Thus in the image of the Anastasis, Adam stands for Everyman. . . . 'Anastasis' . . . refers simultaneously to the Resurrection of Christ, Adam, and mankind"—but not just Adam; it is almost always Adam-and-Eve, to be exact.

that was skipped once, why not again, or always? But this next question was possibly a more sweeping problem even than that one.

Meaning: Literal or Metaphorical? When Christ's resurrection is envisaged as his *individual* triumphant vindication, a single empty tomb could become an actual, factual historical question. One could ask quite literally: Was Christ buried, and by whom? Was his tomb known, and where? Was it found empty and by whom? Doctrine could then extrapolate to an equally *literal* general resurrection and final judgment in the future—for all.

But that Anastasis vision—even for only the righteous ones of the OT, let alone for all of previous humanity personified in its first parents—can hardly be imagined literally or historically. How many simultaneously empty tombs need to be envisaged for the Eastern Anastasis on that first Easter Sunday morning? It seems to me that the Eastern Anastasis with its permanent presence of Adam-and-Eve has to be taken metaphorically, parabolically, symbolically—and, if metaphorical in the past for some, is it metaphorical in the future for all? Doctrine shudders at those cosmic implications.

Still, of course, metaphor and symbol must point to something—even if that something is gloriously multivalent. What, in my opinion, is that something? It is the ascendancy of vision over doctrine and religious imagination over theological tradition. It does not concern Hell and its punishment but death and its liberation, that is, not from the fact of death but from the fear of death. It concerns God's great Peace and Reconciliation Commission with the human race.

What good, you may object, does a communal but metaphorical Anastasis do for humanity's past injustice? How can metaphor change the past, the fate of the dead, and especially the leaden normalcy of civilization's violence? What can Anastasis-as-metaphor actually do? Nothing—and everything. You cannot proclaim present justice or promise future justice and ignore past injustice. If it is true that justice, that is, the fair distribution of all the earth for all its people, is not a novelty but a necessity, that admission changes history—past, present, and future. Anastasis is the poetry of transcendent justice, and, for me, its loss as Easter's Western meaning leaves a chasm in the landscape of its faith.

Clearly, the East took that traditional image of its central liturgical event seriously and functionally, but did it take it literally and factually? Doctrine—or thought—in the West, has never been good at such questions because they raise this most fundamental question. How does a post-Enlightenment mind decide whether a pre-Enlightenment image was originally understood literally or metaphorically? What if *we* ask but *they* did not articulate that disjunctive question?

Finally, I said above that the West "preferred" the individual over the communal vision for Easter Sunday, but that term is too benignly polite for what actually happened. On the one hand, the West renamed "Anastasis" as "Harrowing of Hell" and/or "Descent into Hades, Hell, or Limbo." By that renaming, it separated

the former from the latter event—and Holy Saturday from Easter Sunday. So separated, they could appear in the creed, if at all, as "he descended into Hell // on the third day he rose from the dead." Resurrection is about "he" not "he and they." On the other hand, the East all too often concurs—or at least allows—Western separation of Harrowing/Descent and Resurrection/Easter rather than insisting on its own identification of those events. Again and again in my experience, icons internally entitled HANACTACIC are externally described not as Christ Rising but as Christ Descending.[56]

I illustrate that point with one magnificently ambiguous example (see color icon between pages 4 and 5 above). It is a nineteenth-century icon in the Museum of the Panagia tou Kykkou Monastery on the northwestern side of Cyprus's Troodos Mountains.[57] Most of the icon is a classic Type 5 Anastasis. At bottom left, two angels bind Hades amid broken locks and scattered bolts. Christ stands centrally on the crossed bifold gates of Hades within a blue golden-rayed mandorla. Adam, David, Solomon, and John the Precursor are to viewer left, with Eve to viewer right. Behind her is (I think) Luke holding his painting of Mother and Child. Christ, looking at Adam, grasps his limp left wrist with his right hand. But Christ's left hand holds a tiny scroll and does not touch the cloak-covered hands of Eve. Above Christ twin angels gold the implements of his crucifixion.

All of that is—apart from Luke—a quite traditional Type 5 Eastern Anastasis. But then comes the extraordinary novelty. A line extends from mid-bottom to mid-right of the icon, and inside it is an equally traditional Western Resurrection. Christ—without mandorla—climbs out of his sarcophagus holding a long, slim cross in his left hand. At his feet are a mass of fully armed but sleeping soldiers. And this Western Christ looks up and his right hand points upward toward the Eastern Christ in the icon's center.

Furthermore, as expected, the title split on either side of the central mandorla's peak reads: Η ΑΝΑ // CTACIC. But, as not expected, another title at the very top of the icon, split on either side of those twin angels, reads: Η ΕΙC ΑΔΟΥ // ΚΑΘΟΔΟC.[58] The icon raises these questions for me: Which image, which title, which tradition, which vision dominates in that double-imaged icon? Is the West overcoming the East or is the East marginalizing the West?

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[56] For example, two sixteenth-century icons in Thessaloniki's Museum of Byzantine Culture, a Type 1 and a Type 6, are internally named "Anastasis" but externally described as "Descent into Hades" (in Greek) or "Descent into Limbo" (in English).

[57] I know of no published picture of this unique icon and am very grateful to Museum Director Demetrios Athanassoulas for inviting Sarah Crossan to photograph it on Sunday, April 19, 2012.

[58] The museum's description beside that icon is given in Greek and English. The latter reads: "DESCENT INTO HELL (Orthodox Resurrection) AND THE RESURRECTION (Western Type)."

Judaism and Christianity

The second of my two initial questions asked which of those two visions of Easter was—*mutatis mutandis* and recognizing all necessary paradigm shifts —in greater continuity with the original Jewish matrix? At first, the answer seems all too obvious. Judaism knew that an individual—like Enoch, Moses, or Elijah—could be taken up to God. But that was *assumption*, *ascension*, maybe even *apotheosis*, not *resurrection*. *Bodily resurrection* was a collective, corporate, and communal event. It was—for Pharisees and their followers—the public vindication of the righteous dead at God's eschatological transformation and justification of the earth.[59]

Even if Christian Jews announced the eschaton as present process rather than future moment and proclaimed Jesus' resurrection as the start of the general resurrection, they could hardly have intended that for Jesus alone. Any Jewish sage would have responded that *ascension* could be individual but *resurrection* was communal. How was God just—but only for Jesus? What about all the other righteous ones and especially the martyrs who had lived justly and died unjustly all too often and all too long before Jesus? An individual "resurrection" for Jesus alone sounded like transcendental nepotism—or, if one preferred, divine filiotism.

Still, if Jesus' communal Anastasis is far closer than his individual resurrection to the original resurrection tradition of first-century Judaism, it is also profoundly at odds with *both* earlier Judaism *and* later Christianity—in terms of the last judgment. Where, across all that Eastern iconography of Anastasis, is there any hint of a judgment in which some were liberated and others condemned? Who departs from and who stays in Hades—especially when morphed into Hell? No wonder that the Ansatasis is sometimes shown in close iconographic conjunction with the last judgment (from Matt 25:31–33).[60]

Be that as it may, since you cannot get around Adam-and-Eve as symbolic of all humanity, the Anastasis iconography poses these most basic questions to biblical tradition: Is the grace of the biblical God to be understood from a past Anastasis or a future judgment? Is the power of the biblical God to be imagined as punishing some *for* evil or freeing all *from* evil? Is the biblical God a God of sanction or of vision?

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[59] George W. E. Nickelsburg (*Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* [HTS 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972], 107) noted concerning 2 Maccabees 7 that "[r]esurrection is not simply individual vindication. . . . There is a restoration of community." He also drew attention to "this communal aspect of resurrection . . . in Daniel 12." Richard C. Miller ("Mark's Empty Tomb and Other Translation Fables in Classical Antiquity," *JBL* 129 [2010]: 759–76, here 770 n. 19) correctly generalized Nickelsburg's comment: "In early Jewish thought 'resurrection' never functioned to exalt the individual, distinguishing an exemplar of heroic achievement. . . . Instead, Jewish 'resurrection' resided within larger eschatological mythic schemata as a function of an awaited collective 'day of judgment' at the end of the age."

[60] I am thinking of what the congregation saw on the back wall as it left Torcello's cathedral or saw on the front ceiling as it entered the Chora's *parekklēsion*: Anastasis on top, last judgment below. But Adam and Eve still get a place of exalted honor even in those judgment scenarios.