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# HIEROTOPY, NARRATIVE, AND MAGICAL AMULETS

Where is sacred space or "hierotopy"? As several papers in this volume indicate, hierotopy is located through various types of places, images, objects, words, signs, and performances. But above all, hierotopy develops within the participant's psychological state; it is an interpretation, both created and received. We can find it in physical space, in depicted space, in liturgical enactment, in fervent prayer, in divine presence, but not unless it also engages the believer's desires, needs, expectations, and ways of knowing.

As an epistemological structure, hierotopy cannot be controlled by exterior authorities, such as the Church, and it manifests both in orthodox signs and in not-so orthodox ones. A complex understanding of the "sacred" in "hierotopy" must expand into the unorthodox as well.

People create, experience, maintain, and recognize sacred space through images, words, and performances that specifically offer an *identity between the sacred and the viewer*. This paper is based on the simple premise that when a given narrative of sacred power and personal narrative overlap, the viewer experiences the presence and power of the sacred (sometimes in a miraculous way) by identifying with sacred narratives. This human psychological experience of identity with sacred narrative creates hierotopy. Such a premise is worth mentioning for the very reason that it is so simple and common, and any explanation of hierotopy would be incomplete without acknowledging the creation of miraculous experience through epistemological structures: ways of knowing ourselves through the stories of gods.

Mundane everyday ways of knowing enable the miraculous. The viewer's identity between a depicted narrative and his or her lived narrative is essential to the Eastern Orthodox psychological experience of the sacred and the miraculous. The participant's experience of hierotopic identity is not merely metaphorical, but rather, it is actual, as in the transubstantiation of Holy Communion, pilgrimage ritual, and holy icons. The psychological function of identifying one's personal narratives with sacred narratives origi-

nates in the pre-Iconoclastic and even pre-Christian use of images, including salvational imagery and amulets both orthodox and unorthodox.

In this paper, I will point toward narrative identity as a means for creating sacred space in a few well-known early Christian examples; the more common and general the examples, the more authoritatively they indicate cultural epistemologies. Then I will examine narrative identity through lesser-known unorthodox magical amulets. Unorthodox amulets exemplify the same creation of hierotopy through narrative identity that holy icons exemplify, as well as early Christian salvational imagery, and the liturgy. If we can better understand how personal narrative expands in relation to sacred narrative, then we can better understand the psychological creation of hierotopy in all its forms.

## NARRATIVE AS A MEANS FOR CREATING SACRED SPACE

Through the living signs of sensual perception, early Christian and Byzantine audiences psychologically experienced sacred narratives in a way that was not simply metaphorical, nor merely symbolic. When believers feel a sacred reality behind sensual presentations and when people accept it as actual and living through their own lives and stories, then hierotopy is most effective. Perhaps the best known example of this is the theology of Holy Communion, in which bread and wine, in an established verbal and performative frame, are believed to become the real body and blood of Christ, with no semiotic barrier between the referent and the audience[1]. In the ritual of

[1] *Paul*, 1 Corinthians 10:16 "Is not the cup of blessing that we bless a sharing in the blood of Christ? Is not the bread that we break a sharing in the body of Christ?" *Ignatius of Antioch,* Epistle to the Romans 7:3 "I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life". Irenaeus bishop of Lyon emphasizes its real identity, that it becomes Christ's body when it is sanctified by the epiclesis, in: Adversus haereses IV, 17:5 "He took that created thing, bread, and gave thanks, and said, This is My body. And the cup likewise, which is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood". Cyril of Jerusalem on the doctrine of the conversion of the elements, Catech. Myst. 1:7; 2:9; 5:7; cited in: Encyclopedia of the Early Church / Ed. Angelo Di Berardino. Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1992, in the article on "Wine". Also cited in Di Berardino under "Bread" are the following. Bread becomes the body of Christ in *Gregory Nyssa*, Bapt. Chr. 519: 7–8 "The bread again is at first common bread, but when the sacramental action consecrates it, it is called, and becomes, the Body of Christ. So with the sacramental oil; so with the wine: though before the benediction they are of little value, each of them, after the sanctification bestowed by the Spirit, has its several operation. The same power of the word, again, also makes the priest venerable and honourable, separated, by the new blessing bestowed upon him, from his community with the mass of men. While but yesterday he was one of the mass, one of the people, he is suddenly rendered a guide, a president, a teacher of righteousness, an instructor in hidden mysteries; and this he does without being

Holy Communion, Orthodox believers seek the sacred referent (the body and blood) through its signifier (the bread and wine). By liturgically transforming the signifier-bread into the referent-body itself, by bridging the phenomenological difference between the two, and by actively dismantling any semiotic boundaries of meaning, the believers participate firsthand in the Last Supper narrative. The liturgical performance is not spiritually different from the Last Supper, nor is the bread spiritually separated from the body of Christ: "This is My Body; This is My Blood." In the liturgy, the bread does not merely *represent* the body of Christ; it *becomes* the body of Christ. And the participants do not merely *remember* the Last Supper, they *experience* it. This is because their own personal narrative (their presence in church, for instance, on Sunday morning) intersects with the sacred narrative, sharing a time, a place, and a meaning. Holy Communion is common, miraculous, and essentially epistemological in that the participants come to *know* the sacred narrative through a shared experience with it.

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at all changed in body or in form; but, while continuing to be in all appearance the man he was before, being, by some unseen power and grace, transformed in respect of his unseen soul to the higher condition". And *Origen*, Contra Celsus VIII, 33 "we also eat the bread presented to us; and this bread becomes by prayer a sacred body, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it". *Cyril of Jerusalem*, Catechism 19:7 "For as the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist before the invocation of the Holy and Adorable Trinity were simple bread and wine, while after the invocation the Bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ, so in like manner such meats belonging to the pomp of Satan, though in their own nature simple, become profane by the invocation of the evil spirit"; 21:3 "For as the Bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is mere bread no longer, but the Body of Christ, so also this holy ointment is no more simple ointment, nor (so to say) common, after invocation, but it is Christ's gift of grace, and, by the advent of the Holy Ghost, is made fit to impart His Divine Nature"; 23:7 "Then having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual Hymns, we beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched, is surely sanctified and changed". Also, *Theodore of Mopsuestia,* Hom. Cat. 1, 12. Christ calls bread his flesh because it can be eaten, *Theodore Mopsuestia,* JO, 6, 31 ff. Bread becomes the body of Christ when it is consecrated by the words of Christ, in: *Ambrose,* De sacramentis IV, 14:23. The eucharistic bread demonstrates the reality of the incarnation, in: *Tertulluan*, Adversus Marcionem V, 8:3 "In like manner, when treating of the gospel, we have proved from the sacrament of the bread and the cup the verity of the Lord's body and blood in opposition to Marcion's phantom". Bread as the Lord's body, in: *Irenaeus,* Adversus haereses. IV, 18:4 "But how can they be consistent with themselves, [when they say] that the bread over which thanks have been given is the body of their Lord, and the cup His blood, if they do not call Himself the Son of the Creator of the world, that is, His Word, through whom the wood fructifies, and the fountains gush forth, and the earth gives "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear"; IV, 33:2 "Moreover, how could the Lord, with any justice, if He belonged to another father, have acknowledged the bread to be His body, while He took it from that creation to which we belong, and affirmed the mixed cup to be His blood?"

In a similar example, shared narrative — between a sacred past event and a present personal experience — motivates the power behind the early Christian prayer of the burial office called the *Commendatio Animae.* The prayer, "God, save him/me/us as you saved Daniel, Noah, Susanna, etc.", aligns the sacred narrative of salvation with a present personal narrative of salvation, constructing an identify for "us" with the blessed "them". André Grabar, in his 1961 Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts at The National Gallery of Art in Washington, showed that this early Christian burial prayer expresses a similar attitude as that which appears in early Christian images in catacombs, on sarcophagi, and on everyday objects used by the living[2]. Scenes of Moses parting the Red Sea, Noah, and Daniel (as, for example, in Cubiculum O in the Via Latina Catacomb) apply the salvation of the sacred narratives to the wishes of the personal narratives of death, lose, and hope for personal salvation.

The more that examples are common and popular and accepted, the more authoritative and thus convincing they are as markers of general epistemology and mentalities of the culture.

In the popular practice of pilgrimage, as well, narrative identity creates a sacred space for the participants when their own footsteps trace the footsteps of, say, Christ at Golgotha. For the Piacenza Pilgrim, around the year 570, the act of remembering included personal enactment of the memory; the pilgrimage story recounts that people threw stones at Goliath's grave, at Cana they reclined on the couch and filled a jug with wine, at the Jordan people bathed in their burial shrouds, and on the road they gave bread to Saracens in exchange for garlic and radishes[3]. For the Piacenza Pilgrim, acting out these ancient events was a way of remembering and authenticating the text in one's own life in communion with the sacred, as a narrative collectively held in memory and developing over time. His actions became a living image for knowing the sacred past in the personal present[4]. Pilgrims' texts recount that sightseeing itself enacted holy events, as with the witnessing of the liturgy as both a memorial and an enactment. In the obituary that Jerome wrote in 404 for Paula, a nun with whom he had traveled to the Holy Land fourteen years

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[2] *Grabar A.* Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins // The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts in 1961 at The National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., Bollingen Series 35, Princeton Univ. Press, 1968, p. 12.

[3] *Piacenza Pilgrim.* Travels from Piacenza / Ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz // Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Typographi Brepols editores pontificii, Turnhout, 1953, rpt. 1965, vol. 175, section 36 on v183. Excerpts trans. by: *Wilkinson J.* Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1977, p. 87.

[4] For similar stories, see the *Bordeaux Pilgrim.* Itinerarium Burdigalense / Ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz // Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout, 1965, vol. 175, p. 1–26. Trans.: *Wilkinson J.* // Egeria's Travels, S.P.C.K. Holy Trinity Church, London, 1971, p. 153–161.

earlier, he recalls that she kissed, cried, and lamented in the tomb of Christ and that she fell down before the cross "as if she could see the Lord hanging on it"[5]. "With the eyes of faith" she saw the Child in swaddling clothes at the Cave of the Nativity[6]. At the tomb of John the Baptist, Paula was frightened when she saw demons and damned souls crying out; some were women hanging upside down by one foot, she vividly envisioned, but paradoxically, as she explained to Jerome, their clothes did not fall down. With deep compassion she prayed for them, in a hyperreal, sensuously intense experience.

Pilgrim's early Christian small tin souvenir flasks depict holy narratives that incorporate the medieval pilgrim directly into the sacred story, for example the several that are now in the Treasury of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Monza, Italy. In a Crucifixion scene on one, as Gary Vikan points out in his widely-read study in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, pilgrims are depicted in veneration, in the place of the traditional soldiers, at the foot of the monumental cross erected at Golgotha[7]. This monumental cross from the fourth century, Vikan reminds his readers, was positioned across a courtyard from the Anastasis cave, as a spectacle for pilgrims. On the ampulla, Christ's image appears only as a bust above the cross, not depicted as a body hanging from it. This arrangement, Vikan argues, privileges the pilgrim's experience over the Biblical narrative, since what the pilgrims saw was just the cross[8]. The devotional figures replace the biblical soldiers because they are more important to the particular personal story of the pilgrim. Devotional figures, rather than soldiers, are essential to the meaning of this particular telling of the Crucifixion story as late antique individuals encountered it through the performative institution of pilgrimage; the devotional figures represent the pilgrims present at the holy event itself, sharing directly in its narrative.

Greek and Latin late antique textual sources that concern pilgrimage experience show that pilgrims' flasks and tokens were tools for miracles[9]. The

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[5] *Jerome*. Letter 108 to Eustochium / Ed. I. Hilberg // Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. 55, Vienna, 1912. Trans.: *Fremantle W*. Jerome: Letters and select works // Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers / Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 2nd series, vol. 6, Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody, Mass., 1994. Excerpts trans.: *Wilkinson J.* Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades. Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1977, p. 47–52.

[6] *Saint Jerome*. Letter 108 to Eustochium / Trans. Wilkinson, 1977, p. 47.

[7] *Vikan G.* Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art // The Blessings of Pilgrimage / Ed. Robert Ousterhout, Urbana and Chicago, 1990, p. 97–107. For published photos, see: *Grabar A.* Ampoules des Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio). C. Klincksieck, Paris, 1958, Monza № 6 obverse, Monza № 8 obverse, Monza № 14 obverse, Bobbio № 6, and Bobbio № 18.

[8] *Vikan*, ibid.

[9] Antonius, in *The Life and Daily Mode of Living of the Blessed Simeon the Stylites*, records several examples of portable souvenirs (Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites / Ed. Hans

objects themselves as portable vessels demonstrate that their contents or material were expected to provide for the well being of the individual when at a distance from the holy site. This portability extended the holy narratives into everyday spaces. Saint John Chrysostom in the late fourth century wrote that pilgrimage flasks confer blessing and safe return journey[10]. In the Syriac *Life of Symeon Stylites the Elder* (d. 459), a ship was traveling down from Arabia to Syria when a storm hit and the passengers knew they were doomed because "they saw a black man like an Indian who came and stood on top of the mast"[11]. However, a man from Atma, near Ami, had some *hnana* (dirt mixed with holy oil or water) from St. Symeon's pilgrimage site; with this *hnana*, the man made a cross with it on the great mast. Immediately, St. Symeon was seen holding a whip and grabbing the "Indian" by his hair. Elsewhere in the *Life*, crosses formed from Symeon's *hnana* stopped a lion from attacking travelers[12]. According to the *Ancient Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger* (521–592), the monk Dorotheos threw dust from the shrine into the rough sea in order to calm the waves. In a spectacular manner, "the water of the sea surrounded the boat like a wall, and the waves were powerless against it"[13]. By bringing sacred narrative into everyday experiences, miracles are generated.

Beyond protection while traveling, the healing functions of pilgrimage eulogia, carried in flasks, were more widely useful for future use and for people other than pilgrims themselves. In the *Ancient Life of Symeon Stylites*

Lietzmann. Text und Untersuchung zur Geschichte der alterchristlichen Literatur 32.4, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908). Also late fourth century: John Chrysostom / Ed. Migne // PG 62, 357/8. Fifth century: *Theodorich*. Description of the Holy Places / Trans. Aubrey Stewart. London, 1896. Late sixth century: *Gregory of Tours*. Glory of the Confessors / Trans. Raymond van Dam. Liverpool Univ. Press, Liverpool, 1988. And early eighth century: *John of Damascus*. On the Holy Icons / Trans. David Anderson. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y., 1980.

[10] *John Chrysostom*. Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew // Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church / Ed. Philip Schaff. The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1894.

[11] The Syriac Life of Simeon Stylites, chapter 71; *Assemani S. E.* Acta sanctorum martyrum et occidentalium II. 268–398, Collini, Rome, 1748, reprinted in 1970 by Gregg International Publishers Ltd. Edited and translated by Robert Doran in: The Lives of Simeon Stylites. Kalamazoo, 1992, p. 151. Doran writes that this is previously known only through the Vatican MS 160 (V) and the British Library MS Add 14484, until Arthur Voobus, in 1985, uncovered three more manuscripts in Damascus, in Mardin in Eastern Turkey, and at Aleppo. Section 70 states that "the saint was much concerned for those who travel by sea"; and section 72 tells that Simeon gave a ship's captain hnana to make three crosses on his ship in order to ensure its safety.

[12] The Syriac Life of Simeon Stylites, chapter 88, Doran, 1992, p. 167.

[13] La Vie Ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite de Jeune (521–592), Introduction et text grec // Ed. Paul van den Ven. Subsidia Hagiographic № 32, Société des Bollandistes 4, Brussels, 1962, vol. 1, p. 212.

*the Younger* a paralytic, while at a distance from the holy site, is healed through dust from the saint's column; after burning incense in front of the pilgrim's eulogia: "Symeon, whom he saw with his own eyes under the aspect of a long-haired monk, extended his hand and put him upright"[14]. A Coptic text describes a practice at the shrine of St. Menas, just south-west of Alexandria, in which oil from a lamp at the saint's grave healed the infirm and diseased when it was rubbed on the body[15]. In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours reported that oil from the tomb of St. Martin healed blindness, and his wax healed a woman. He continues elsewhere that water blessed by the hermit Eusicius healed fevers[16].

Oil, dust, and water carried away from Levantine holy sites to cities across the East and West in pilgrim flasks were expected to protect from demons as well as from illness. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in his *Religious History* (c. 453), describes the hill upon which an ascetic named James stood, to which people came from all over in order to carry away prophylactic dirt, calling eulogia (blessings) "phylactery" (protection)[17]. Later in the same chapter, Theodoret tells of a man who hangs from the head of his bed a flask of oil which contains the eulogiae received from many martyrs in order to protect from demons[18]. Cyril of Scythopolis (524–558), in his *Life of Saint Sabas,* reports that the saint used a flask of oil from the True Cross at Golgotha housed in the Holy Sepulcher in order to exorcise evil spirits from people and houses[19].

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[14] Ibid., miracle № 163.10, p. 145. *Vikan G*. Byzantine Pilgrimage Art // Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1982, p. 33, notes that seeing was essential to healing.

[15] *Kotting B.* Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und des Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche // Forschungen zur Volkskunde 33–35, Regensberg, 1950, p. 198. Discussed by *Vikan*, ibid., p. 12.

[16] *Gregory of Tours*. Glory of the Martyrs / Trans. Raymond van Dam. Liverpool Univ., 1988.

[17] *Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus*. Religiosa Historia. Chapter 21 / Ed. J.-P. Migne // Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, vol. 82. Paris, 1857, 1431 ff. Vikan discusses this text for its implications for the function of ampullae as wonderworking, op. cit., note 14, p. 12. Similarly, *Augustine of Hippo*, in: The City of God, records the story of Hesperius, a man of a tribunal family near Hippo (the modern city Bona). Through the afflictions of his animals and slaves he believed that his household was suffering from evil spirits: "This man had also received from a friend some holy earth brought from Jerusalem, where Christ was buried and rose again on the third day, and this [earth] he hung in his bedroom in case he, too, should suffer some harm from the demons". His house was purged of the invaders. *Augustine*. De civitate Dei, 22.8 / Trans. William Green. Loeb Classical Library, vol. VII, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p. 226. Discussed by *Vikan*, op. cit. 14, p. 12.

[18] *Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus*. Religiosa Historia. Chapter 21 / Ed. J.-P. Migne // Op. cit. note 17, vol. 82, 1441 B.

[19] *Cyril of Scythopolis*. The Life of St. Sabas. Section 26 / Trans. A.-J. Festugiere // Vie de saint Sabas par Cyrille de Scythopolis. Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1962, p. 36. Cited by *Vikan*, op. cit. note 14, p. 12. For similar descriptions, see Scythopolis' chapters 46, 47, 48, 62, 63, 66, 67. Paulinus of Nola, Peter the Iberian's *Vita*, Chrysostom, and Gregory of Tours all express similar confidence in the power of oil from the True Cross to exorcise.

The incorporation of pilgrims into the depiction of the holy narrative on surviving pilgrim flasks, indicated above as discussed by Vikan, further help direct miracles into the people's lives who used them even when at a distance from the pilgrimage site. The intersection of the holy narrative and personal narrative created the psychological sacred space for the expression and perception of miracles.

Narrative is much discussed in the field of art history, but in Byzantine art history in particular, difference between depicted narrative and real-time narrative is actively dismantled by the tradition of icons. The Iconophile theory of icons theologically and philosophically opens the barrier between the sacred depiction and the worldly viewer, as in the well-known description of icons as open windows communicating between the sacred and mundane realms. John of Damascus comments upon St. Basil:

> Basil: The image of the king is also called the king, and there are not two kings in consequence. Neither is power divided, nor is glory distributed. Just as the reigning power over us is one, so is our homage one, not many, and the honour given to the image reaches back to the original. What the image is in the one case as a representation, that the Son is by His humanity, and as in art likeness is according to form, so in the divine and incommensurable nature union is effected in the indwelling Godhead.
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> John's Commentary: If the image of the king is the king, the image of Christ is Christ, and the image of a saint the saint, and if power is not divided nor glory distributed, honouring the image becomes honouring the one who is set forth in image. Devils have feared the saints, and have fled from their shadow. The shadow is an image, and I make an image that I may scare demons. If you say that only intellectual worship befits God, take away all corporeal things, light, and fragrance, prayer itself through the physical voice, the very divine mysteries which are offered through matter, bread, and wine, the oil of chrism, the sign of the Cross, for all this is matter. Take away the Cross, and the sponge of the Crucifixion, and the spear which pierced the life-giving side. Either give up honouring these things as impossible, or do not reject the veneration of images. Matter is endued with a divine power through prayer made to those who are depicted in image[20].

[20] *St. John Damascene*. On Holy Images / Trans. by Mary H. Allies. Thomas Baker, London, 1898, 34ff. At the end of his first "Apology Against Those Who Decry Holy Images", John gives "Testimony of Ancient and Learned Fathers Concerning Images", in which he quotes St. Basil's "Thirty Chapters to Amphilochios, on the Holy Ghost".

Through the identity between the prototype and its sensual presentation in holy icons, viewers have communed with what they believe to be the Sacred for centuries. The feelings and experiences before holy icons are in reaction to being present before the prototypes. The emotional experience of being present to the Sacred can be psychologically powerful to the point of transforming human experience and building knowledge of oneself. Many mothers, for example, hold especially dear the Glykophilousa, Virgin of the Sweet Kiss, with the tender caress of her left hand on her son's back as she gently supports him with her right, his right arm tenderly reaching around her neck and pulling her face towards him while he grasps her rob with the other, and his tiny right foot tucked up underneath his left knee which recalls any mother's emotional experience and kinesthetic memory. On the simplest and deepest levels, this type of identity — between the depicted and personal narratives — psychologically engages loving feelings, encourages emotional strength, bolsters faith, and directs personal miracles.

A late eighth or early ninth century forgery of a letter from Pope Gregory II to the Iconoclast Emperor Leo cites the emotional responses of the viewer to justify the use of holy icons: "When we go into a church and see the stories and the paintings of the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Holy Mother holding the Lord our God in her arms and feeding him and the angels standing round in a circle and calling out the thrice blessed hymn, we do not leave without being moved, for who would not be moved and weep"[21]. Ruth Webb and Liz James collected this text along with several other examples of the strong emotions elicited by holy icons in their 1991 article, "To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places". In this article, they demonstrate in detail the tradition of ekphrasis in Byzantine art, and how depicted narrative motivates an emotionally charged response in the personal experience of the viewer[22]. Among their examples, they mention Asterios of Amaseia who writes of a painting of the martyrdom of St. Euphemia in which the drops of blood seem so vivid that one could believe they are really dropping from the saint's lips, and thus one would go away mourning[23]. Leslie Brubaker analyzed similar emotional

[21] Text in : *Gouillard J.* Aux Origines des l'Iconoclasme: le Témoignage de Grégoire II // Travaux et Mémoires, vol. 3, 1968, p. 241–307. Cited by: *Webb R. and James L.* To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places: Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium // Art History, vol. 14, № 1, March 1991, p. 10, note 64, see Greek text.

[22] *Webb and James*, ibid.

[23] Asterios of Amaseia is in: Euphémie de Chalcédoine / Ed. F. Halkin. Brussels, 1965, p. 8. Cited by *James and Webb*, ibid., p. 10. James and Webb give further examples: Nikolaos Mesarites' description of the depiction of the raising of Lazarus in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Within this ekphrasis, the angel at the tomb describes the sleeping soldiers. From *Nikolaos Mesarites*. Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople / Ed. G. Downey // Transaction of the American Philosophical Society 47,

experiences before ninth century images in which the viewer responds personally to a depiction. Among many examples, she gives Ignatios the Deacon on a martyrdom sequence written between 843–847: "for who would see a man represented in colours and struggling for truth, disdaining fire… and would not be drenched in warm tears and groan with compunction?"[24] Brubaker further offers the arguments of the Acts of the Ecumenical Council of 787 that proof of the sanctity of religious images in the tears that are generated in contemplation of them[25]. She takes these ekphraseis as descriptions of personal emotional reactions[26]. But the ekphraseis also teach and proscribe emotional reactions as a compliment to, not reiteration of, the images themselves. They indicate what the viewer brings from his or her own personal narrative to the understanding of the sacred narrative. Thus the emotional ekphraseis offer the audience a multi-valiant identity with the depicted subject matter in both the images and the texts.

Harry Magoulias, in his widely read article, "Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources for Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," complicates the question of the power of early icons through pre-Iconoclastic reports of identity and miracles[27]. In pre-Iconoclastic and unorthodox exam-

№ 6, 1957, p. 855–924, ch. xxvii, p. 882. Also see the Virgin speaking to the angel, *Mesarites*, ch. xxii. Web and James also give the words of Symeon in Constantine Rhodios' tenth-century: Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Eglise des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople / Ed. E. Legrand. Paris, 1896, II, 783-7. And the lament of the Virgin, also in *Constantine Rhodios*, II, 946ff. All of these are cited in *Web and James*, p. 8 note 49. And in *Web and James*, p. 10 note 63, is Gregory of Nyssa (*Migne*, op. cit. note 17, *PG* 46, 572C) on the sacrifice of Isaac: "I have often seen a painted likeness of this suffering and I could not pass by this spectacle without weeping, so vividly was the story brought before my eyes by art". Although Webb and James discuss these examples in relation to the emotion of the speaker, they also stand as examples of the technique of ekphrasis to insight emotion in the listener in order to identify with the subject matter.

[24] Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani / Ed. I. A. Heikel // Acta societatis scientiarum Fennicae 17, Helsinki, 1891, 413. Translated by I. Sevcenko, "A Program of Church Decoration Soon After 787 According to the *Vita Tarasii* of Ignatios the Deacon?" unpublished commentary and partial translation, from a paper delivered at the symposium "Byzantine Art and Literature Around the Year 800" at Dumbarton Oaks, April 1984. Cf. : DOP 40, 1986, p. 185. Also see : *Wolska-Conus W.* Un program iconographique du patriarch Tarasios? // Revue des Études Byzantines 38, 1980, p. 247–254. Cited and analyzed by: *Brubaker L.* Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century // Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 13, 1989, p. 24f.

[25] *Brubaker*, ibid., p. 25. From: Seventh Ecumenical Council, Sixth Session / Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi // Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collection. Florentiae, Expensis Antonii Zatta, vol. 3, 1898, XIII, 9, 11, and 32. Also *Rouan M.-F.* Une lecture *iconoclaste* de la Vie d'Etienne le jeune // Travaux et Mémoires 8, 1981, p. 433–434.

[26] Ibid., p. 26.

[27] *Magoulias H. J.* Lives of Byzantine Saints as Data for Magic in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries // Byzantion 37, 1967–1968, p. 228–269. Cited by *Vikan*, op. cit., note 14 above, p. 13.

ples, wondrous events are directed into the lives of believers when their own stories recapitulate holy ones. Magoulias describes interaction between depicted holy subjects and actual people together within one narrative. For instance, *The Life of St. Mary the Egyptian* recounts that she asked an icon of the Virgin how to escape her life as a prostitute and the icon itself spoke some very practical advice, to cross over the Jordan and thus begin a new life among people who don't know her[28]. Anastasius, on the monks of Sinai, writes that when a Saracen shot an arrow into the icon of St. Theodore in his church in Karsatas (a village about four miles outside of Damascus) the image bled, and a few days later all twenty-four of the Saracens that were in the place were found dead[29]. Anastasius himself assures his readers that he saw the hole made by the arrow and the blood on the icon, blood which he takes as proof of the icon's agency in this deed of revenge, proof that the depiction reached into human space with violent effectiveness.

Magoulias gives many pre-iconoclastic stories of images that cry, bleed, and take revenge, instances in which a depicted subject and an actual object interact in a narrative that was believed to have actual physical consequences — in which the world of signs functions through the world of bodies. For instance, *The Life of St. Artemios* attests that wax impressions with the image of the saint were melted and used to anoint and cure the sick.[30] And the famous account in *The Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* tells of a woman who had the saints' image on her wall; in order to cure stomach pain she scraped some of the paint off and drank it with water[31]. Robert Nelson explains how inscriptions give voice to the images that they accompany, directly addressing the experience of an actual audience, for example, the mosaic of Christ in a lunette above a doorway in Hagia Sophia[32]. He describes certain iconic figures that are accompanied with inscribed speech or which display the conventional gesture of speech as speech acts that engage the viewer within their dialogues.

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[28] Discussed by *Magoulias*, ibid., p. 261–262. Saint Mary's *Vita* is discussed and translated by Maria Kouli in: Holy Women of Byzantium / Ed. Alice-Mary Talbot // Dumbarton Oaks, 1996, p. 65–68. The earliest version of Mary's story, Kouli explains, is in the *Vita* of Kyriakos by the sixth-century hagiographer Cyril of Skythopolis. See: *Schwartz E.* Kyrillos von Skythopolis. Leipzig, 1939, p. 233–234; cited by *Kouli*, p. 65.

[29] *Anastasius Sinaites*. Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinaï / Ed. F. Nau // Oriens Christianus 2, XLIV, Rome, 1902, p. 64–65; cf. : *Kitzinger E.* Cult of Images Before the Age of Iconoclasm // DOP 8, 1954, p. 101.

[30] Miracula S. Artemii / Ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus // Varia graeca sacra. St. Petersburg, 1909, mir. 16, p. 16–17. Cited by *Magoulias*, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 258.

[31] Miracula SS. Cosmae et Damiani / Ed. Ludwig Deubner // Kosmas und Damian. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907, mir. 15, p. 137; cf. *Kitzinger*, op. cit., note 29 above, p. 107 note 89, and p. 148. Also discussed by *Magoulias*, op. cit., note 27 above.

[32] *Nelson R.* The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now // Art History 12/2, 1989, p. 144–157.

These texts are stories of legends, dreams, wishful thinking, and social expectations, and although they tell us nothing about actual images they do reveal attitudes about them. These texts reveal an attitude toward the power of physical objects in themselves that would also support faith in amulets. The activities of the actual images in part depended upon there being a set of assumptions already in place which is witnessed through the texts. However, the archaeological evidence of earlier amulets complicates this reasoning — assumptions and their applications work in tandem rather than causally. Like the chicken and the egg, assumptions and applications are mutually generative.

## MAGICAL AMULETS AS MODELS FOR HIEROTOPIC NARRATIVE

The words and images of the liturgy and holy icons, as orthodox and authoritative signs, manifest the sacred in Byzantium. As beliefs about icons circulated through larger conceptual schemes regarding the power of images in general, what other kinds of words and images did people use to shape hierotopy and access supernatural powers? The words and images of magical spells, tokens, and other objects in their multi-cultural manifestations and beyond direct control by Christian Bishops, depict and name, motivate and implore, beg and command supernatural powers in human social and psychological space. Unorthodox examples also created hierotopy for the population at large, multi-cultural and even multi-religious, toward shaping human experience: as depicted subjects working upon actual objects in a shared imaginative narrative.

Amuletic images, functioning in the same culture and under the same general epistemological structures and conceptual schemes as icons, were believed at times to double as actual subjects or to identify with their referents, as did icons. For example, Sophronius writes about a man from Alexandria, Theophilus, who suffered pains in his arms and legs as a result of sorcery[33]. He incubated in the Church of Saints Cyrus and John, and the saints told him to hire a fisherman to cast his net into the sea. Whatever he fishes up, the saints continued, will affect a cure. Brought up in a small box fastened with heavy locks was a bronze statuette of Theophilus with pins in its hands and feet. When each pin at a time was pulled out, Theophilus' corresponding limb stopped hurting. Within the assumptions of this story, the image of Theophilus identified with Theophilus himself to the extent that the violence done to the image was experienced by the man. As another example, a wax doll employed for a similar Coptic curse is inscribed

[33] *Sophronius*. Miracula SS. Cyri et Iohannis // Sophronii Monachi Sophistae Narratio Miraculorum SS. Cyri et Iohannis Sapientum Anargyrorum / Ed. Angelo Mai // Spicilegium Romanum, vol. III, Rome, 1840, miracle 35, 365–379. Cited by *Magoulias*, op. cit., note 27 above, p. 236–237.

with drawings, ring signs, and letters front and back[34]. It would be easy to call these cases "sympathetic magic", but that label does not illuminate the exact semiotics in play. Rather, it discourages further inquiry and comparison with "non-magical" examples. Somehow, within the logic of the story, the image of a figure with pins in it was believed to cause pain to an actual person — this can not be overlooked. Niketas Choniates, as late as the twelfth century, records that a drunken angry mob smashed the colossal bronze statue of Athena that stood on a pedestal in the Forum of Constantine because it appeared to them that she was beckoning on the western armies[35]. According to the response of the crowd, the pointing of the statue was more than symbolic, but was somehow responsible for the western attacks. It is easy to understand how a statue can invite or beckon its viewers, but how can it beckon or empower those who are not present, such as western armies not within view? The statue was not acting simply as an "image" with an ironic detachment to what it symbolizes. Rather, within that specific social environment, it was acting as an agent with a causal relationship to what it was indicating: western attacks. A depicted subject commanded affects of real objects, of living bodies, as in the case of holy icons who, themselves, were reported to bleed from an arrow wound, take revenge, and give advice.

These are textual examples of belief; but there exist also archaeological examples of practice. Babylonian demon bowls depict demons bound in chains, and were placed at the corners of houses in order to bind the spirits themselves from doing harm[36]. And Coptic spells on paper are sometimes written in the shape of spirals to trap or bind evil spirits[37]. Similarly, the image of the pentalpha, which according to legend adorned the ring given to Solomon by the archangel Michael, appears on late antique amulets. One specific pentalpha contains a theta, standing in for "thanatos", "death", in its center visually binding death as the Babylonian bowls visually bind de-

[34] Heidelberg Kopt. 679, paper, 19 × 13.9 cm. *Biblabel Fr. and Grohmann A.* Griechische, Koptische und Arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit. Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, 1934, rpt. 1979, p. 410–414. Trans. in: *Meyer M. and Smith R.* Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power. Harper, San Francisco, 1994, spell № 110, p. 222.

[35] Niketas Choniates, in: O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates / Trans. Harry J. Magoulias. Wayne State Univ. Press, Detroit, 1984, ch. VII, sec. 558, p. 305.

[36] For illustrations see the website for Gideon Bohak's exhibition "Traditions of Magic in Late Antiquity", www.hti.umich.edu/exhibit/magic, linked to the home page for the Univ. of Michigan.

[37] Vienna K 8304 (Rainer, AN 201), paper, 7×7.3 cm. *Stegemann V.* Die koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzpg Rainer in Wien. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1934, p. 82–84. Also: *Till W.* Zu den Wiener koptischen Zaubertexten // Orientalia 4, 1935, p. 219–220. Trans. in: *Meyer and Smith*, spell № 112, p. 225.

mons[38]. And Alexander of Tralles in the sixth century, trusting in the curative powers of the image of an octagon, recommended wearing an eight-sided ring as a remedy for colic[39].

In these examples of both belief and practice, depicted subjects act as agents upon what were believed to be actual objects, bring to bear a depicted or given narrative upon the personal narrative of the human user. The intersection of these narratives created hierotopy, in all of its psychological reality enabling "miracles". "Miracles" in these cases, of course, are not strictly orthodox or even Christian.

A late antique small bronze amulet from Palestine, now at Dumbarton Oaks was designed to be worn around the neck. It depicts a "Holy Rider" (often identified as Solomon, in later iconography to be recognized as St. George), an angel, the she-demon Gylou, and Psalm 91:1[40]. The other

[38] This amulet is in the Basel History Museum, published by: *McCown C. C.* Testament of Solomon edited from manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna. J. C. Hinrichs and G. E. Stechert & Co.. Leipzig and New York, 1922, p. 10. The *theta* on the Basel stamp standing for *thanatos* was persuasively argued by: *Dölger F. J.* Antike und Christentum: Kultur und Religionsgeschichtliche Studien, vol. 1. Aschendorff, Münster-in-Westfalen, 1929, p. 47 ff. This Basel stamp is contextualized within an amuletic tradition by: *Vikan G.* Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium // DOP 38, 1983–1984, p. 69–70. Vikan assumes that this seal must have belonged to a physician because the power to bind death he assigns to the person who used the amulet rather than to the image and amulet themselves. There is no reason to believe that only a doctor could have owned it, for in the hands of ordinary people, powerful signs regularly were expected to "work" apart from, even despite, the particular talents of the users.

[39] *Alexander of Tralles*. De medicam, section 10.1. Discussed by: *Schlumberger G.* Amulettes byzantins anciens // Revue des études grecques 5, 1892, p. 87; and by *Vikan*, op. cit., note 14 above, p. 43.

[40] Acquisition № 50.15. *Ross M. C.* Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, vol. II: Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 1965, № 60. Other "holy rider" amulets are in the Smart Museum at the Univ. of Chicago, № 1988.56 and № 1988.57, published in Smart Museum Bulletin 1988–90, p. 40; and in: *Maguire H., Maguire E., and Duncan-Flowers M.* Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House. Univ. of Illinois Press, 1989, p. 217, № 136. Also see the Walters Art Gallery Exhibition "Early Christian and Byzantine Art", April–June, 1947, p. 75, № 327a; and the exhibition catalogue, "Survival of the Gods", Brown Univ., Feb.–March, 1987, p. 68–69. More examples are in the Kelsey Museum at the Univ. of Michigan, acquisition № 26092, № 26140, № 26115, and № 26119, displayed on the exhibition website by *Gideon Bohak* "Traditions of Magic in Late Antiquity", www.hti.umich.edu/exhibit/magic, № 27, № 28, № 30, and № 32. For dozens of more holy rider amulets in the British Museum with images and full descriptions, see: *Michel S., Zazoff P., and Zazoff H.* Magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum // The British Museum, London, 2 vols., 2001. Another example, an oval pendent, is in The Art Museum at Princeton Univ., acquisition № 31–34, see: *Curcic S. and Archer St. Clair.* Byzantium at Princeton / Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton Univ., 1986, № 64. A bronze armband from Syria or Palestine depicts the holy rider, in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, represented in *Vikan*, op. cit., note 38 above, fig. 9, p. 75. Another bracelet with the holy rider is in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, inventory № 1540.

side of this amulet shows "ring signs" (the language of the demons) and bears the Greek text "Seal of the living God protect from all evil the one who wears this phylactery" along with the exorcistic phrase "Holy Holy Holy". This amulet promises protection from demons, a very real psychological threat in the late antique and early medieval periods, through the intersection of the depicted narrative of the ancient Holy Rider killing a demon and the personal narrative of the user who sought protection against his or her own demons. On this amulet, depicted subjects were designed to act upon actual objects. The depicted Holy Rider vanquished the demons of whom the user actually felt real fear. On the other side of this amulet are depicted a lion, a snake, and a scorpion. This imagery is familiar from the popular iconography of these three beasts attacking the evil eye, as appear on dozens of other bronze amulets of the same period[41]. However, on this particular amulet at Dumbarton Oaks, there is no evil eye depicted. These depicted beasts act upon the evil eye that the wearer perceived as an actual personal threat, not circumscribed within the image, but active in the viewer's life. Also on this amulet appears an excerpt from Psalm 91 that promises protection of suffering and disease; this given promise was directed toward any actual suffering or diseases in the life of the person who wore it. The Trisagion was used to exorcise not depicted demons, but ones believed to inhabit the actual world. And an addition text on this amulet, "One God conquers all evils", likewise is directed against the evils in the actual life of the wearer. Similarly, the "ring signs", as the language unspeakable by human tongues and understood only by demons, address not any depicted demons, but the ones believed to torment actual people. Finally, on this amulet is depicted Christ in a body halo surrounded by the four evangelist symbols at the end of time judging the living and the dead. Yet no devil, sinners, or saved people are depicted. They need not be depicted, because within the logic of this amulet, they are the actual devils, sinners, and saved walking within the lived space of the viewer. Consistently, the imagery on this amulet begins narratives of protection within the depiction only to be completed within the personal narratives of the people who used it. Because these depicted narratives reach out into real personal stories, the miracle of protection was psychologically persuasive for the person who used it. That is, the divine and demonic space of the depicted narrative became miraculous only upon its extension into the real lives of the wearer.

A further example is an early Byzantine hematite amulet, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which I have discussed else-

[41] Several examples are in the British Museum. See: *Michel*, ibid. Amulets are difficult to date and often the original find site is unknown, therefore most knowledge of them stems directly from interpretation of their subject matter.

where[42]. It depicts Christ healing the bleeding woman from the Gospels, and bears the text from the *Gospel of Mark* 5:25–34[43]. The other side shows the Byzantine woman who wore this amulet, perhaps to be healed herself, with her arms raised in an orant gesture of thanksgiving. Here, the holy narrative from the Gospels and the personal narrative appear back to back on the two sides of this stone. Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith have studied and published over a hundred texts of ritual power in *Ancient Christian Magic*. They give another amulet, similar to the psychological structure on the hematite amulet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is made of rolled up papyrus to be worn on the body. The text opens with an historiola that paraphrases the *Gospel of Matthew* 14:22–33:

> [When a strong] wind [came up] and he (that is, Peter) began to sink, he called out with a loud voice. And he (that is, Jesus) held out his hand and grabbed him. And when it was calm, he (that is, Peter) shouted, 'Son of God!' And I say, O omnipotent one, glory to you, god, who creates the angels, O ruler of aeons. The heavenly chorus of aeons praises you… I call for [my help, all] those who [have been sanctified] through their struggles, in memory of St. [Cosmos and] in memory of St. [Damian]. The [chorus of cherubim praises] god, [and] the chorus of angels joins in praising the thrice-[holy] church, [and] the community [of the saints blesses] the king Christ, god. The chorus of [all the] angels [and] the chorus of the [perfect saints praise] you, mother of god [and ever-virgin]. Chorus of angels [and] archangels, bless…[44]

By identifying with the gospel story of Christ saving Peter from sinking, the wearer's own experience of danger is assuaged. A parchment amulet from the sixth century also employs *Matthew* (4:23–24) as a holy narrative

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[42] *Tuerk J.* An Inscribed Byzantine Amulet and Its Narratives // Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 23, 1999, p. 24–42.

[43] Acquisition № 17.190.491. Represented in: Age of Spirituality Catalogue / Ed. Kurt Weitzmann. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1978, № 398. In the exhibition catalogue by: *Kalavrezou I. and Laiou A. E.* Byzantine Women and Their World. Harvard Univ. Art Museums, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 2003. The text reads: "and a woman being with a flux of blood came, having suffered and having spent much she benefited nothing, but rather, had known the source of her flow of blood was dried up in the name of her faith."

[44] Berlin № 11858. Greek text in: *Preisendanz K.* Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Teubner, Leipzig, 1928–1931, 2[d] ed. Stuttgart, 1973–1974, № 2.231–232. Translated in: *Meyer M. and Smith R.* Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power. Harper, San Francisco, 1994, p. 33f., № 8.

to expand the personal narrative into one of miraculous healing. "Curative Gospel according to Matthew. And Jesus went about all of Galilee, teaching and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease {and every disease} and every infirmity among the people. And his fame spread into all of Syria, and they brought him those who were ill, and Jesus healed them"[45].

Intersection of holy narrative and personal narrative, toward creating hierotopy and affecting human experience and miracles, is not, of course, limited to Christian stories. In the first half of the first millennium in the Mediterranean, the stories of several divinities were used for several purposes. The story of Isis trying to regain the love of her husband, Osiris, after his infidelity with her sister, Nephthys, appears on love spells. Embedded within the *Great Magical Papyrus of Paris* is this sex spell in Old Coptic and Greek, used to obtain a lover.

> It is Isis who is coming from the mountain at midday in summer, the dusty young woman. Her eyes are full of tears and her heart is full of sighs. Her father, Thoth the great, came to her and asked her, 'My daughter Isis, you dusty young woman, why are your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs… of your garment soiled? (Away with) the tears of your eyes!' She said [to him], 'He is not with me, my father, ape Thoth, ape [Thoth], my father. I have been betrayed by my woman friend. I have discovered [a] secret: Yes, Nephthys is having intercourse with Osiris […] my

[45] Oxyrhynchus № 1077. In *Preisendanz*, ibid., № 2.211. Translated in: *Meyer*, ibid., p. 33, № 7. Two similar amulets are the following. Florence, Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli," 365, made of papyrus, dated to the fifth or sixth century. Published in *Preisendanz*, ibid., № 2.227; translated in *Meyer*, ibid., p. 38, № 13. This text recounts the raising of Lazarus and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law intended to provide healing for a woman: "Holy, holy, holy, lord … and who has healed again, who has raised Lazarus from the dead even on the fourth day, who has healed Peter's mother-in-law, who has also accomplished many unmentioned healing in addition to those they report in the sacred gospels: Heal her who wears this divine amulet of the disease afflicting her, through the prayers and intercession of the ever-virgin mother, the mother of god, and all…" A second example is to heal a woman by giving the holy narratives through which to interpret the personal experience. Berlin № 21230, papyrus, dated to the fifth or sixth century. Translated in *Meyer*, ibid., p. 38 ff., № 14: "…virgin Mary, and was crucified by Pontius Pilate, and was buried in a tomb, and arose on the third day, and was taken up to heaven, and… Jesus, because then you healed every infirmity of the people and every disease.., Jesus, …believe… because then you went into the house of Peter's mother-in-law [when she was] feverish, [and] the fever left her, so also now we beseech you, Jesus, now also heal your handmaid who wears you [holy] name from every disease and [from every] fever and from a shivering fever and from a headache and from all bewitchment and from every evil spirit, in the name of father and son and holy spirit".

> brother, my own mother's son.' He said to her 'Look, this is adultery against you, my daughter Isis.' She [said] to him, 'It is adultery against you, my father, [ape] Thoth, ape Thoth, my father. It is pregnancy proper for me myself.' He said to her, 'Arise, my daughter Isis, [and go] south of Thebes, north of Abydos. There are… those who trample (?) there. Take for yourself Belf, [the one whose] foot is of bronze and whose heels are of iron, [that] he forge for you a double iron nail with a… head, a thin base, a strong point, and light iron. Bring it to me, dip it in the blood of Osiris, and hand it over, we… this flame… unto me.
>
> Every flame, every cooking, every heating, every steaming, every sweating that you (masculine) will cause in this flaming stove, you must cause in the heart, in the liver, in the region of the navel, in the belly of (woman's name) whom (woman's mother's name) bore, until I bring her to the house of (man's name) whom (man's mother's name) bore and she puts what is in her hand into my hand, what is in her mouth into my mouth, what is in her belly onto my belly, what is in her female parts onto my male parts, quickly, quickly, immediately, immediately!..[46]

This text completes with wishful thinking the personal sexual desire of the man who used it by identifying with the holy narrative. If a miracle had occurred and his wish were indeed fulfilled, then the psychological power of hierotopy would have been proven. A similar erotic spell engages the sacred story of Horus complaining to his mother, Isis, that he has found seven maidens whom he desires but they do not desire him. The text directly replaces the name of the god with the name of the human agent who used it, accomplishing a most strong identity between the sacred and human narratives. "I am (name) child of (name)… I found seven maidens who were sitting upon a spring of water. I desired but <they> did not desire. I agreed but they did not agree. I desired to love (name) daughter of (name), but she did not desire to receive my kiss. I strengthened myself; I stood up. I cried; I sighed until the tears of my eyes covered the soles of (my) feet"[47]. The spell

[46] From the "Great Magical Papyrus of Paris", 94–153, of a fourth century papyrus housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Published in *Preisendanz*, op. cit. note 44 above, 1.70–77. Translated in: *Betz H. D.* The Greek and Demotic Papyri in Translation. Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986, 39–40; and in *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 23ff., № 3.

[47] Schmidt 2, parchment. Published in: *Kropp A. M.* Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte, 2 vols // Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1966, 1.13–14; 2.6–8. Translated in: *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 152f., № 72.

continues with a dialogue between Isis and Horus, designed to complete the personal narrative according to the user's desire.

These amuletic words and images present holy narratives graphed directly onto the personal narratives of the people using them. Once a persuasive analogy between the two narratives is psychologically established, then positive thinking generates miraculous results, so that a Byzantine woman's uterine bleeding is addressed, fear of demons is kept at bay, and erotic desire expressed (and perhaps satisfied). Hierotopy culminates through a psychological identity with holy narratives, located somewhere between believing the holy event and accepting the reality of the personal event, reinterpreting the personal narrative according to the development of the holy narrative. Sacred narratives help people understand their own lives, and the parallel development of these narratives affects human experience. Hierotopy generates through the intersection of given narratives and lived narrative, engendering miracles in real human experience.

A few more examples of semi-orthodox or unorthodox imagery of hierotopic experience include a spell to bring sleep to an insomniac user through analogy with a story about the angel Ax or Abrasax who brought sleep to the legendary figure Abimeleck the Ethiopian who then slept for about sixty-six years[48]. A multi-religious amulet engages stories of both Jesus and Horus in order to relieve the pain of childbirth and general stomach pain:

> [O holy] of holies, unshakable, indestructible rock! Child of the maiden, firstborn [of your father] and mother! Jesus our lord came walking [upon] the Mount of Olives in the [midst] of his twelve apostles, and he found a doe… in pain […] in labor pains. It spoke [to him in these words]: 'Greetings, child of the maiden! Greetings, [firstborn of your father] and mother! You must come and help me in this time of need.' He rolled his eyes and said, 'You are not able to tolerate my glory, nor to tolerate that of my twelve apostles. But though I flee, Michael the archangel will come to you with his [wand] in his hand and receive an offering of wine.' [And he will] invoke my name down upon [it] with the name of the apostles, for whatever is crooked, let it be straight. [Let the baby] come to the light! The will of [my heart happens]

[48] Berlin № 5565, papyrus. In *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 92f., № 47. Also published in: *Beltz W.* Die koptischen Zauberpapyri der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin // Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, 29, 1983, p. 61–63. Similar to this spell, referencing the same sacred story, is *Schmidt 1*, published in: *Kropp A. M.* Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte, 2 vols // Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1966, 1.11–12; 2.3–6. Translated in: *Meyer*, p. 94f., № 48.

> quickly. It is I who speak, the lord Jesus. The gift […] Jesus! Horus [the son of] Isis went upon a mountain in order to rest. He [performed his] music, [set] his nets, and captured a falcon, [a Band bird, [a] wild pelican. [He cut it without a knife, cooked it without fire, and [ate it] without salt [on it]. He had pain, and the area around his navel [hurt him], and he wept with loud weeping, saying, 'Today I am bringing my [mother] Isis to me. I want a demon so that I may send him to my mother Isis (for help)…[49]

Other amulets tell the story of the remarkable pregnancy of Sarah as an aid for the pregnancy of the woman who wore it[50]. Another one recalls the three youths in the furnace from the Book of Daniel as a remedy for fever[51].

Hierotopy is a psychological phenomenon: open-ended, ever-mutating, and continually re-interpreted. Whereas heirotopic experiences themselves are social and psychological, the study of them must attend to space, material, people, and time in the particular as the extent manifestations of and stimuli to social and psychological experience. Hierotopic experience, not just space surrounding icon or image, must involve a particular audience or co-participant (or co-celebrate) with psychological dimension. If someone is communing with the image of a god or demon, and, say, a donkey walks in between, the donkey is not walking within the created sacred space. Likewise, an infidel cannot commit a transgression against a holy image because to them it is not a holy image; it is just a piece of wood. What makes that piece of wood sacred is the audience's belief. The belief of a believer cannot make it sacred for the unbeliever, although it may be a sacrilege in the experience of the believer. There is no universal sacrilege. The belief is what gives power to sacred images. People who bring belief to their viewing of an image experience personal communications with the prototype, often enabling psychological and emotional comfort in the moment and security due to the reaffirmation of one's worldview.

## CONCLUSIONS

Whereas church imagery and arts for the educated elite are the main authoritative documents of social and psychological power for art historians, magical imagery and its psychological power inhabit the periphery of art history, social history, and the history of mentalities. There is no strong rea-

[49] Berlin № 8313, papyrus. In: *Beltz*, ibid., 65–67; and *Kropp*, ibid., 2.9–12. Translated in: *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 95ff., № 49.
[50] *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 176, № 83. Pierpont Morgan Library M662B 22.
[51] *Meyer*, op. cit., note 44 above, p. 100, № 53. Heidelberg Kopt. 564.

son, other than the availability of historical data, to privilege the authoritative orthodox belief structures over unauthoritative heterodox ones when it comes to seeking an understanding of mentalities and epistemologies. Indeed, the unauthorized imagery (visual, written, and performative) more strongly documents pervasive popular long-lived practices and conceptual schemes, and thus is its own argument for investigation. Historians commonly write of the texts and images that influence culture from the top down, from strong authority into popular practice. But in actuality, texts and images often influence in the other direction, with multilateral forces working upon each other. Often, popular unorthodox texts and images illuminate the origin and development of authoritative orthodox adaptations.

For instance, we can better understand how icons open salvational access to sacred space by examining how magical amulets create and maintain an alternative sacred space, or sacred space of a different kind, through shared narrative. Indeed, what counts as "sacred" and "not-so-sacred" space? Is the difference spiritual or merely political, according to personal alignment? Both pivot around the same semiotic mechanism: the communication between human believers and what is "sacred" *for them*. In front of images, this sacred communication psychologically culminates in the semiotic collapse of the boundary that separates the viewers from their Divinity and other holy or supernatural powers. As an epistemological tool, this collapse enabled Byzantine people to express their desires, confront their fears, visualize their hopes, address their needs, bemoan injustice, sing and taste their joy, and conquer their pains — all under the direct gaze and guidance of beings more powerful than themselves.

In Byzantine conceptual schemes, sacred and demonic spaces folded together with mundane human existence in everyday life. Therefore, accessing and maneuvering through sacred and demonic spaces was a highly useful everyday skill, accounting for why magical amulets were very common as household and personal items across the Mediterranean and throughout Europe and the Middle East. Hundreds alone survive in the British Museum[52], and many more reside at the Kelsey Museum[53] and the Taubman Medical Library[54] at the University of Michigan, the Smart Museum at the University of Chicago[55], Dumbarton Oaks in Maryland[56], the Art Museum at Princeton University[57],

[52] *Michel*, op. cit,. note 40 above.
[53] Kelsey Museum acquisition numbers 26059, 26054, 26196, 26067, 26121, 26125, 26092, 26140, 26115, and 26119.
[54] Taubman Amulet № 36, № 41, № 80, № 84, № 115, № 131, № 135, and № 330.
[55] David and Albert Smart Museum of Art, acquisition numbers № 1988.56 and № 1988.57.
[56] Dumbarton Oaks acquisition numbers № 537 and № 50.15.
[57] The Art Museum at Princeton, acquisition numbers 31–34.

the Bibliotheque National in Paris[58], the Bode Museum in the Staatlichen Museen in Berlin[59], the Vatican in the Museo Sacra della Biblioteca[60], and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Aquileia Italy[61]. Amulets against the Evil Eye, for instance, are still quite popular among Orthodox Christians and Muslims in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. And the practice of identifying oneself with sacred images is also still popular, as in the Coptic Church of St. Barbara in Old Cairo there are graffitti of names written with candle wax on the glass of an icon of St. George. And in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki there is an Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria that is hung with votives from St. Menas at Dragoumi and Agiou Mina.

In addition to holy icons and unorthodox amulets, there survive icons in the amuletic form of engraved stones to be worn on the body. For instance, in the British Museum there are a chalcedony white intaglio with the Enthroned Virgin and Child[62], and an amulet with Daniel in the lions' den (from Cyprus, dated to the third through fifth century)[63]. In the Bode Museum in Berlin there is a gold amulet depicting doubting Thomas with the words: "My Lord and my God", and "Because you have seen me you believe"[64]. The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore has a bloodstone cameo with the Virgin as intercessor, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century[65], and an amethyst intaglio of Christ represented as an angel giving a blessing, dated to the sixth or seventh century[66]. The Vatican Museum (in the Museo Sacra della Biblioteca Room XX) has a glass amulet showing the Virgin and Child enthroned, along with several other gems depicting holy persons.

In the light of these examples, how did words and images (orthodox, unorthodox, and semi-orthodox) access and maintain sacred and demonic spaces in people's lives? Texts and images give people active means for shaping their everyday lives because they shape perceptions of it. When the viewer experiences an identity between his or her own personal narratives and those being

[58] Bibliothèque Nationale, № 166 in the Salle de Luynes.
[59] Early Christian Sammlung Inv. 6861, a gold amulet with Doubting Thomas.
[60] At the Museo Sacra della Biblioteca, in Room XX, are several amulets depicting holy persons, and a glass amulet with the Virgin and Child.
[61] At Aquileia, Italy, in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale are six late antique gems with words and images on them.
[62] Acquisition number M & LA 84, 5–9, 16.
[63] Acquisition number M & LA 71, 1–23, 10–11.
[64] Bode Museum in the Staatlichen Museen, inventory number: Early Christian Sammlung Inv. 6861.
[65] Acquisition number 42.5.
[66] Acquisition number 537. For Christ as an angel, see: *Barbel J.* Christos Angelos, die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ursprungs und der Fortdauer des Ariansismus. P. Hanstein, Bonn, 1941, p. 208.

depicted, lived space and depicted space intersect, creating hierotopy. Hierotopy is the psychological space and emotional state of uniting with one's god, encouraged and focused through place (e. g., church, temple, grove, pilgrimage site), time (e g., Sunday morning, mid winter, Easter, the moment of death), and sensory perception of material (e .g., incense, chanting, icons, Eucharistic wine, a final kiss of a deceased loved one).

These examples open interesting questions for further exploration. How did magical amulets create and shape sacred and demonic space? How did amulets collapse the distance between the referent and the signifier? How did amulets collapse the distance between subject matter and audience? Is this amuletic function part of the same general semiotic schemes as the practice of rhetoric? Is this amuletic function the pre-history to the function of holy icons and their disintegration of the picture plane that is suggested in the Iconophile theologies?[67] By better understanding the psychological power of magical amulets we can better understand the hierotopy of holy icons, because both amulets and icons affected human experience within the same rich multicultural contexts and complex broad epistemological structures.

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## ИЕРОТОПИЯ, НАРРАТИВНОСТЬ И МАГИЧЕСКИЕ АМУЛЕТЫ

Как создается сакральное пространство, или «иеротопия»? Статьи настоящего сборника показывают, что иеротопия определяется различными типами пространств, образов, предметов, слов, знаков и действий. Но прежде всего иеротопия — это психологический феномен, восприятие которого в существенной степени определяется интерпретацией присутствующих в священном пространстве. Эта интерпретация обнаруживается не только в физической реальности, но и в желаниях, потребностях, ожиданиях, ментальных особенностях верующего.

Иеротопия как средство познания может контролироваться Церковью и быть вполне ортодоксальной. Но в то же время она и в не столь

[67] Once the integrity of distinct space is broken (as between an icon and the prototype) then other transgressions are encouraged, for example, architecture, decoration on reliquaries, on candlesticks, and chalices. The nature of all representation becomes iconic, that is, like holy icons. For this reason, the naturally fluid boarders are especially important to fix and are focused upon with words and or depicted jewels, as in the mosaics of Justinian and Theodora in San Vitale in Ravenna. From another direction, in San Marco there are many representations of the Virgin, all within one space. So there the representations of her act as boundaries (of communication and distinction) between spaces. The more she is repeated, the more spaces there are. Images control narratives, and spaces control images.

ортодоксальных формах. На наш взгляд, комплексное понимание «священного» в «иеротопии» должно быть расширено и в область неортодоксального.

Люди создают, переживают, поддерживают и узнают сакральное пространство через образы, слова и действия, специфически преподносящие *тождество священного и воспринимающего его*. Настоящая статья основана на простой предпосылке: когда конкретный «нарратив» священного и личный «нарратив» накладываются друг на друга, зритель переживает (иногда чудесным образом) присутствие и силу священного путем отождествления с сакральными «нарративами». Такое относящееся к человеческой психологии переживание единения с сакральным «нарративом» создает иеротопию. Всякое объяснение иеротопии будет неполным без осознания возникновения этого сверхъестественного опыта.

Слова и образы как литургии, так и святых икон служили в Византии официально признанными знаками сакрального. С другой стороны, слова и образы магических заклинаний, символов и предметов не находились под прямым контролем христианской иерархии, но при этом они также направляют сверхъестественные силы. В то время как церковные образы давно рассматриваются современными учеными как отражения социальных представлений и психологии образованной элиты, магическая образность и ее власть над психическим воспринимается с подозрением, сомнениями и даже отвергается вовсе. Но нет оснований, по которым официальные ортодоксальные религиозные структуры следовало бы предпочитать неавторитетным и неортодоксальным. Действительно, неавторизованная образность (визуальная, письменная и устная) более убедительно повествует о долго живущих и повсеместно распространенных народных практиках и концептуальных представлениях. Историки обычно пишут о текстах и образах, воздействующих на культуру сверху вниз, от центральной власти к народным практикам. Но в действительности тексты и образы интерактивны и действуют друг на друга. Часто народные неортодоксальные тексты и образы проливают свет на истоки и историю официальных ортодоксальных практик.

Мы можем лучше понять, как иконы создавали сакральное пространство, изучив, как магические амулеты создают и поддерживают «менее сакральное». Действительно, мы должны рассмотреть определения «сакрального» и «менее сакрального» с тем, чтобы выяснить, является ли различие духовным или всего лишь политическим. Оба явления строятся по одинаковой семиотической схеме — схеме разрушения картинной плоскости. Это разрушение ведет к совмещению воспринимающего и создающего в единой образной среде. Как познавательный

механизм, он позволял византийцам выражать свои желания, противостоять своим страхам, визуализировать свои надежды, обращаться к своим нуждам, оплакивать неправедность, воспевать достижения, испытывать радости и побеждать свои страдания.

В византийской традиции божественные и демонические сакральные пространства сосуществовали в одном реальном мире человеческого бытия. Взаимодействие с этими пространствами было необходимой частью повседневной жизни. Магические амулеты были очень популярны как в домашнем быту, так и в личном пользовании по всему Средиземноморью, Европе и Ближнему Востоку. Например, обереги от сглаза довольно широко распространены до сих пор.

Как именно слова и образы, как ортодоксальные, так и неортодоксальные, обращались к сакральным и демоническим пространствам и взаимодействовали с ними в жизни людей? Тексты и образы служили действенным способом изменения восприятия повседневной жизни. Одним из самых психологически действенных способов является процесс, когда изображение как будто прорывается сквозь плоскость картины и становится частью пространства зрителя. Когда пространство изображения и пространство жизни пересекаются, зритель переживает слияние личных нарративов и тех, которые изображены. Плоскости картины посвящено множество трудов по истории искусства, но в византийском искусстве доминировал другой феномен — живописный план активно разрушался, в теории иконопочитателей был создано богословское обоснование для устранения преграды между изображением священного и самим зрителем. Во время противостояния иконоборчеству иконы описывались как открытые окна, через которые сообщаются небесный и земной миры. Посредством святых икон и их оппозиции изобразительному плану зрители веками общались с тем, что они считали сакральным.

Ситуация была похожей и в сфере слов: одной из основных задач риторики, как она преподавалась и в античности, и в средневековье, было привести слушателя к соотнесению с темой речи, отождествлению личных нарративов с теми, о которых шел разговор, добиться личного отношения к предмету и, в сущности, разрушить барьер между слушателем и повествованием. Византийское риторическое, словесное искусство основывалось на тех же концепциях и эстетических представлениях, что и византийское изобразительное искусство. Современные зрители, напротив, обычно ясно разделяют вербальный или визуальный знак и его символическое содержание. Но такое разделение изображенного и реального пространства характерно не для всех культур и исторических периодов.

Знаменательно, что православный верующий психологически переживал священное через тождество изображенного и реального пространства. Византийский зритель обретал реальное сакральное пространство посредством слов, образов и совершаемых обрядов. Они создавали реальность, которая не была ни метафорической, ни просто символической. Возможно, самый известный пример этого — таинство Причащения, в котором хлеб и вино по мере произнесения молитвословий и совершения определенных обрядов становятся реальной плотью и кровью Христа. В этом ритуале православные верующие преодолевают феноменологическую разницу между символическими знаками и их мистической сущностями, отрицая всякие семиотические барьеры. Совершающаяся на земле Евхаристия не отделена от Тайной Вечери, так же как и хлеб таинственно неотделим от Тела Христова. В православной литургии хлеб не просто представляет плоть Христа, он становится ею.

Тождество означающего и означаемого существенно для православной традиции не только в таинстве Причащения и в практике почитания икон, но также и в более ранних, предшествовавших иконоборчеству практиках магического использования изображений и текстов-амулетов, которые обращены к божественным или демоническим персонажам. В каждой из таких практик сила образа, текста или действия основывается на тождестве с тем, к кому обращаются. Эту силу искали и использовали для эмоционального, психологического и физического блага. Общность между обозначаемым и обозначающим характеризует византийское понимание образов, слов, действий и знаков в целом. Эта семиотическая неразделенность между знаками и их референтами объясняет психологические аспекты религиозных, магических и даже медицинских практик в Византии. Она проявляется в различных формах, некоторые из которых ортодоксальны, другие — нет, и характеризует византийский способ восприятия мира.

Как магические амулеты доиконоборческого периода создавали и определяли сакральное и демоническое пространство? Как амулеты уничтожали дистанцию между референтом и обозначающим? Является ли эта функция амулетов частью таких же общих семиотических схем, как риторика? Является ли эта функция амулетов предысторией к функции святых икон с их разрушением изобразительного плана, описанным в богословии иконопочитателей? Попыткой ответа на эти важные вопросы и является предлагаемая вниманию статья.