

The Bronze Door Panels within the Façade of
San Zeno Maggiore, Verona: A Chronological
and Liturgical Assessment.

Christopher Heginbotham OBE

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of the bronze door panels of San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, with reference to the surrounding low relief stone sculptures, textual material relating to Bishop Zeno, the patron saint of the church, and the wider religious and political developments of the late tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. In identifying those panels the thesis recognises the way in which the door panels and stone sculptures form a traditional narrative identifying Creation and the Fall on the right juxtaposed with Redemption and Salvation on the left.

The core of the thesis focuses on two facets of the bronze door panels: the dating of the panels' production, and the composition of the doors prior to the earthquake of 1117.

The doors are complex and include in their current state panels manufactured by at least two workshops operating in different periods. These are discussed with reference to the works themselves and to recent historical scholarship. The thesis concludes that the panels were manufactured in two periods: the first period may have been either in the Ottonian era (c.960-c.1040) or later in the eleventh century (c.1080); the second period was the later twelfth century (c.1175). The thesis also discusses the stone relief sculptures, carved in 1135-1138, that provide a framework and context for the doors.

The second aspect is the baptismal and Paschal lectionary, which incorporates San Zeno's preferred readings, as the basis for the choice of subjects of the first set of bronze door panels. The massive earthquake of 1117 severely damaged the basilica and some original panels were damaged and discarded. It has not been possible to demonstrate definitively that the sermons and lectionary were known to those who commissioned the panels, but the thesis seeks to show their importance in describing the panel composition.

The door panels and stone reliefs assert a symbolic distancing from both Papacy and Empire after the Investiture Controversy. The two lowest stone reliefs, on the left and right of the doorway, represent accounts of Otto and Berengar fighting over Adelaide, and of Theodoric and the wild hunt, respectively.¹ The significance of these narratives is discussed.

¹ Beat Brenk, "The Cathedrals of Early Medieval Italy: The Impact of the Cult of Saints and the Liturgy on Italian Cathedrals from 300 to 1200," in Gerardo Boto Varela and Justin E. A. Kroesen, (eds.), *Romanesque Cathedrals in Mediterranean Europe: Architecture, Ritual and Urban Context* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 13-14.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. The Veronese Context of San Zeno Maggiore

This dissertation considers the western façade and door portal of San Zeno Maggiore, Verona. Verona was an important Roman city and had an illustrious history for over two thousand years. As Christianity took hold of the late Roman Empire, Verona, with Milan and several other cities, was at the forefront of the emerging Christian community. Theodoric the Great had a palace in Verona in the late fifth and early sixth century; in the late seventh and early eighth centuries Pippin, Charlemagne's son, preferred residence in Verona to his ostensible capital, Pavia. In the late tenth century Verona was a centre of Ottonian power, in which Bishop Ratherius conducted his somewhat argumentative and combative life; and Ottonian influence continued into the early years of the eleventh century.

Although the city was close to Matilda of Tuscany's domains it came under imperial hegemony. It appears to have been loyal to the Empire, at least up to the 1130s, and did not play as active a role as other cities in the Investiture Crisis during the 1070s and 1080s. Relatively little documentary evidence survives from the period before 1100 attesting to the design and construction of San Zeno Maggiore. The art and architectural history of the basilica can be 'read' in the portal sculptures and bronze door panels, recounting both Old and New Testament narratives as well as the apocryphal miracles attributed to Zeno.² Several literary sources speak about San Zeno, such as the narrative of Zeno and Emperor Gallienus.³ Nor was Verona averse to embellishing its own history, exemplified by the way the narrative of Pacificus of Verona, a church deacon, was revised.⁴

A number of churches have occupied the site of San Zeno Maggiore on the Via Gallica outside the walls of the old city at least since the early sixth century when it is said that

² For example, Martin F. Stepanich, *The Christology of Zeno of Verona* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), especially 3-12 for references to Zeno, and Andreas Bigelmair, *Des Heiligen Bischofs Zeno von Verona* (Munich: Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, 1934).

³ Zeno and Gallienus could not have known each other in fact, but mythologically the story offers a strategy for revaluing Zeno as of crucial importance to Verona.

⁴ According to Christina la Rocca, forged documents were created to demonstrate the role of the local church in relation to the imperial See and to bolster Verona's claims to a Roman history. See La Rocca, "A man for all seasons: Pacificus of Verona and the creation of a local Carolingian past," in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 250-277. Pacificus was referred to by a number of names including Salomone and this may offer clues to the use of the name for bronze panel 39 presently on the right hand door.

Theodoric the Great built the first stone church, possibly to house San Zeno's tomb or relics.⁵ The first report of the existence of a church dedicated to San Zeno, the eighth bishop of Verona and patron saint of the city, was in 589 when Pope Gregory the Great dedicated the church.⁶ The history of the present basilica and the associated Benedictine monastery begins in the ninth century, when Bishop Ratoldus and King Pepin (or Pippin) of Italy attended the translation of the saint's relics into the new church.⁷ This building was damaged or destroyed by a Magyar invasion in the early 10th century,⁸ at which time Zeno's body was moved for safety to the Cathedral of Santa Maria Matricolare. It was soon moved back to its original site in 921 to what is now the choir of the present church. In 967, a new Romanesque basilica was built by Bishop Ratherius, under the patronage of Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor.⁹

On 3rd January 1117 Verona was very badly damaged by a massive earthquake and continuing aftershocks.¹⁰ Verona was the epi-centre of a succession of seismic events over

⁵ Stepanich, *Christology of Zeno*, 5 ff.

⁶ Michela Palmese, *Il bassorilievi della facciata di San Zeno a Verona*. Accessed on 26th January 2016 at <http://www.arte-argomenti.org/saggi/nicolo.html>. Gregory also wrote a history of the Theodoric myth at around the same time.

⁷ Charlemagne's son Pepin (sometimes, Pippin), King of Lombardy was crowned King of Italy by Pope Hadrian I in 781. Following success against the Avar Khagan in 796, a celebratory poem, *De Pippini regis Victoria Avarica*, was composed at Verona, Pepin's capital after 799 and the centre of Carolingian Renaissance literature in Italy. The anonymous *Versus de Verona* (c. 800), also praises both Verona and King Pepin. See Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, (Duckworth, London, 1985), 180ff.

⁸ Arthur K Porter, *Lombard Architecture, Vol 3*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), reissued by Nabu Public Domain Imprints, 538. See also Baják László, *A fejedelmek kora. A korai magyar történet időrendi vázlat. II rész. 900-1000* ["The Era of the Princes. The chronological sketch of the early Hungarian history. Part II. 900-1000"] (Budapest: ÓMT, 2000).

⁹ This could be taken to suggest the doors were made for the basilica in the later tenth or early eleventh centuries as suggested by Kurd Fleige, *Kirchenkunst, Kapitellsymbolik and Profane Bauten*. (Hildesheim: Bernward Verlag, 1993). Simeoni believed that there were still the remains of masonry from the church built by Ratoldus in 807; in Luigi Simeoni, *La Basilica di S. Zeno di Verona*. (Verona: C.A.Baroni, 1909), 33, which is referred to on the epitaph to Pacificus in Verona Cathedral. However, given we know the twelfth century saw various forgeries intended to improve the status of Pacificus, it is possible this is also counterfeit. St. Michael's, Hildesheim, built between 1001 and 1031 with a bronze door cast in 1015, may have been the model or inspiration for San Zeno; or vice versa as claimed by Kurd Fleige in *Die Bronzetur von San Zeno in Verona. Vorbild für die Bernwardstür?* (Hildesheim: Hildesheimer Jahrbuch für Stadt und Stift Hildesheim, J 64, 1993), S.87-119. There is some evidence to support the idea that the first doors (by what I term Workshop 1) were made in the mid to late eleventh century (c.1080) but it is possible the earlier doors were manufactured during the reign of Otto I or Otto II in the late tenth century.

¹⁰ "Annales S. Trinitatis Veronenses (1117–1223)," ed. G.H. Pertz, *Monumenta Ger. Hist., Scriptorum* 19 (1866): 2–6, from the monastery of Santa Trinità in Verona (Italy), compiled from the second half of the 12th century onward; "Annales Veronenses antiqui (1–1251)," ed. C. Cipolla, *Bull. Ist. Storico Ital.* 29 (1908): 24–81, annals of the city of Verona (Italy), written in the second half of the 13th century, and deriving largely from a common source, now lost, which was compiled from the end of the 12th century onward; "Annales Veronenses Breves (1095–1178)," ed. G. H. Pertz, "Annales Veronenses Breves," *Monumenta Ger. Hist., Scriptorum* 19 (1866): 2–4, annals deriving from earlier Verona cathedral annals, now lost; and "Annales [Veronenses] veteres (1–1250)," ed. C. Cipolla, *Arch. Veneto*, 9, (1875): 89–95, annals of the city of Verona, written in the late 13th century, deriving largely from a common source, now lost, compiled from the end of the 12th century onward. A

many months causing serious destruction to buildings in the city including, almost certainly, San Zeno Maggiore. The bronze doors of the existing basilica were most likely severely damaged in the earthquake, creating severe difficulties in reconstructing what was in place prior to 1117 and dating important changes: unfortunately, we have no documentary information about when the first set of bronze panels was cast for the doors (see Chapter 2).

The basilica was rebuilt, most likely starting at the east end working towards the west,¹¹ between 1135 and 1138, during the time of Tebaldo (Theobald), the first native of Verona to be elected Bishop.¹² It is probable the doors were remade or refurbished at this time using the cast panels that had survived from the first set of doors, with a few panels to replace those damaged or destroyed, and then amalgamated later in the century with new panels cast at a later date.

1.2. The Investiture Controversy

Between 1073 and 1085 Pope Gregory VII insisted on the importance to the church of two significant modernisations: the first was a prohibition on clerical marriage and concubinage,

powerful earthquake, rated at VII (very strong) on the Mercalli intensity scale, struck northern Italy and Germany on 3 January 1117 (noted on the Banca Ipermediale delle Vetrate Italiane, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche - Italian Stained Glass Windows Database). The epicentre of the first shock is believed to be near Verona which suffered very significant damage. The outer wall of the amphitheatre was partially demolished, and the walls left standing were damaged further in a later earthquake of 1183. Many churches, monasteries, and ancient monuments were destroyed or seriously damaged in 1117, eliminating much of Verona's early medieval architecture. After the first shock of 3 January, seismic activity persisted for months, and earthquakes struck again on 12 January, 4 June, 1 July, 1 October, and 30 December. The 1117 event has been added to the earthquake catalogues of up to five European countries (Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Iberian Peninsula). It was probably the strongest event occurring in northern Italy during the high Middle Ages and the epi-centre is presently placed geographically near Verona by the Italian seismic catalogue (Gruppo di Lavoro, CPTI, 1999). The earthquake on 3 January was not a single event, but instead a series of powerful shocks in the areas of Verona (west Veneto) and Cremona (Lower Lombardy), which happened over a few days (P. Galli, "The earthquakes of January 1117 in northern Italy. Hypothesis for an epicentre in the Cremona area," *Il Quaternario/The Italian Journal of Quaternary Sciences* 18(2) (2005). The earthquake damaged areas in the Adige valley, in the Verona territory, and in the area NW and SE of Cremona. Other earthquakes may have caused damage as far south as Pisa (northwest Tuscany) and as far north as Augsburg (southwest Bavaria). In northern Italy, contemporary sources note the damage and describe, for example, services held in the open due to the demolition of church structures. See also Galadini, F., Galli, P., Molin, D., Ciurletti, G. Searching for the source of the 1117 earthquake in northern Italy: a multidisciplinary approach, in T. Glade et al., (eds.), *The use of historical data in natural hazard assessments* (Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 2001); See also Giovanna Valenzano, *La basilica di San Zeno in Verona: Problemi architettonici* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1993), 93-102.

¹¹ Simeoni and Porter agree but it has been contested by Arslan (*L'Architettura Romanico Veronese*, Verona, 1939; pp. 183-203) and Arturo Quintavalle, *La Cattedrale di Modena, Problemi di Romanico Emiliano, Vol. I* (Modena: 1964), 81-83.

¹² Until this time bishops of Verona had been appointments of the Emperor and had often not lived in Verona and had taken very little interest in the city. Maureen Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

and the other, usually referred to as the Investiture Controversy (or Crisis), was a demand that the secular Emperor (and other lesser nobles) should not appoint bishops. The conflict between Gregory and Henry IV continued for some years as Henry continued to invest bishops at will and interfered in Italian politics, whilst at the same time Gregory himself interfered in German affairs. Although the controversy did not by-pass Verona, it does not appear to have had the same impact on church building as at Modena.¹³ We cannot be sure whether the portal sculpture and the door panels should be seen from the vantage point of the Empire¹⁴ but if so it is less overt than in other cities. The evidence for this is controversial and will be considered further in Chapter 3.¹⁵

Augustine Thompson argues that the tympanum sculpture of San Zeno, undertaken in the late 1130s, “commemorates nothing less than the end of imperial rule and the creation of the Veronese Commune.” Zeno hands his banner to the people not to the aristocracy, suggesting that the Commune’s overlord was its divine sponsor not its temporal sovereign.¹⁶ The iconographic programme of the façade suggests a deliberately contradictory, incongruous and allegorical representation that might be read paradoxically by towns’ people as supportive of the Papacy but by casual outside observers (such as visiting ambassadors) as supporting the Empire.

If the earlier doors were assembled in the late eleventh century, their manufacture would have been undertaken contemporaneously with the continuing Investiture crisis. The sustained political uncertainty, exemplified by the internecine warfare within the Empire, the Diet at Worms in 1122, and the changes in governance, all suggest that, at least in the lunette tympanum sculpture, there was reflected a newly emergent communal identity.¹⁷

¹³ Dorothy Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca 1095-1130: History and Patronage of Romanesque Facades* (London: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁴ See Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, 10. San Zeno Maggiore may have had a similar relationship to both the Papacy and the Imperial regnum as the Abbey of Farfa, located about thirty miles north of Rome, which was among the most important, influential, and powerful religious institutions of the medieval period.

¹⁵ The Diet held at Worms in 1122 changed the balance of Papal authority and German supremacy but there is no specific iconography in the portal sculpture that identifies either the Papacy or the Empire. Nonetheless, the emphasis on knights and infantry as tribunes of the people suggests a powerful communal identity, dissociated from both Empire and Papacy.

¹⁶ Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325*. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 116 and n.86.

¹⁷ As Chris Wickham and others argue, the period 1100 to 1150 was critical to the development of the Italian communes and city states: the allegorical portrayals on the façade were as much political as ecclesiastical. Chris Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World: The Emergence of Italian City Communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015) did not consider Verona in detail, but the general lessons are applicable to other cities in northern Italy.

1.3. Bishop Zeno of Verona

Zeno (c.302-c.372) lived in Verona for many years and became Bishop of Verona for around ten years towards the end of his life. He left behind a powerful following and a mythological belief in his authority and personality. According to the *Vita S. Zenonis* written in the eighth century by a priest of Verona, Coronatus Notarius, Zeno was already sanctified in infancy and prayed to God to give him the gift of preaching.¹⁸ He is said to have died in 380 but that is probably an overestimation and more recent scholarship, based on a careful analysis of the fourth century context, puts his death in 371 or 372.¹⁹ Living in the last days of the Roman Empire, Zeno might have been persecuted for his faith but it seems unlikely: in some calendars he is styled martyr, in others, confessor.²⁰

Zeno is credited in the literature with a number of miracles, three of which are carved on the architrave of the lunette.²¹ In one of these, Zeno was fishing from a rock by the Adige river, watching an ox cart fording the river when it suddenly plunged into the main stream. Zeno perceived this to be the work of the devil and made the sign of the cross repeatedly until he had saved the oxen and driver, and driven the devil away protesting loudly.²² On another occasion the devil took possession of the only daughter of the Emperor Gallienus. His entire household was in dismay. It is said the devil cried out that he would not leave except by the express command of Zeno. Immediately the Emperor sent his soldiers to search for Zeno who was found in his usual spot fishing by the Adige. He went to the palace and freed the child from the 'devil's grip'. In return, the Emperor gave Zeno his imperial crown, which Zeno quickly sold, giving the proceeds to the poor.²³

Over many years such miracle stories enhanced Zeno's cult and popular support for his patronage of the city. Another 'miracle' described by Gregory the Great took place in the sixth century (circa 588) when the river Adige flooded, as it often did, until relatively recently. In this case it is said to have overflowed its banks such that the water rose as high as the

¹⁸ The *Vita* is hagiographical and must be treated with caution. See Patrologica Latina 11, 199 A-204 C; it can also be found in Andreas Bigelmair, *Zeno von Verona*, 38ff.

¹⁹ Stepanich, *Christology*, 7-12.

²⁰ See A. Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints, Vol. IV* (New York: D. and J. Sadlier & Company, 1864). Stepanich (*Christology*, 13-14) argues that Zeno did not die a martyr for his faith and that the ancient traditions of Verona do not ascribe martyrdom to him. The first person to describe him a martyr was Bishop Lippomano in 1548. In the fifth century Petronius of Bologna described Zeno as *sacratissimum confessorem*. However, the building of a church dedicated to him, outside the city walls, suggests it may have been built as a funerary or martyr's church.

²¹ See a comprehensive literature on Zeno's life in Stepanich, *Christology*, 3-12ff.

²² Stepanich, *Christology*, 4.

²³ Stepanich, *Christology*, 5.

windows of the church. Although the doors were open, the water did not enter the church forming a solid wall at the doorway. The congregation could not leave but were nevertheless able, miraculously, to drink from the wall of water.²⁴

1.4. Review of Existing Scholarship

Portal Stone Relief Sculptures

Many specialists have studied the portal sculptures over the past three hundred years. The first recognisably modern scholar to address the sculptures was Arthur Kingsley Porter who included San Zeno Maggiore in his book on Lombard churches.²⁵ Other scholars included Guglielmo Ederle, Luigi Simeoni and Giuseppe Trecca,²⁶ who considered the portal sculpture in detail, although their analyses were inconclusive. Most scholars agree that the portal reliefs were sculpted by a workshop run by Niccolò of Verona during a single campaign in the period 1135 to 1138.

Evelyn Kain believed the tympanum sculpture was executed at a later date, either in 1178 (as recorded by the plaque on the western façade), or later still in the early thirteenth century by Brioloto.²⁷ This would imply that the portal stone relief sculptures were also undertaken at the later date, but that is almost certainly wrong if other scholars are to be believed. Robb,²⁸ Lorenzoni and Valenzano,²⁹ Mellini,³⁰ and Trecca,³¹ all agree that the sculptures are the work of Niccolò's workshop in the 1130s and that the left-hand relief panels were most likely

²⁴ Stepanich, *Christology*, 3.

²⁵ Porter, *Lombard Architecture, Vol 3*, described the carvings and included his translations of the inscriptions carved into each of the panels.

²⁶ Guglielmo Ederle, *The Basilica of St Zeno*, trans., Laura Severi (Verona: Edizioni di 'Vita Veronese', 1962); Simeoni, *La Basilica di S. Zeno di Verona*; Giuseppe Trecca, *La Facciata della Basilica Di S. Zeno* (Verona: Edizioni Di 'Vita Veronese,' 1938, reprinted 1968); Luigi Echeli, *La Canzone de Ildebrando nelle Sculture della Basilica di San Zeno* (Verona: Quaderni di 'Vita Veronese', serie n.17, 1958); Alessandro Da Lisca, *La Basilica di San Zenone in Verona* (Verona: 1956). Evelyn Kain, in the early 1980s, published a thesis on Niccolò's workshop in which she came to important conclusions that are not immune to challenge. Kain's view was that the sculpture of San Zeno himself must have been inserted after the tympanum was first sculpted, suggesting that the sculpture was later than had been thought previously. She makes this rather surprising proposal in the context of her wider concern about dating the portal sculpture; see Evelyn Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas and the Development of a North Italian Romanesque Workshop*. (Vienna and Cologne: Bohlau Verlag, 1986).

²⁷ Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*.

²⁸ See David M. Robb, "Niccolò: A North Italian Sculptor of the Twelfth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 12(4) (1930): 406ff. Robb was writing some 50 years before Kain and we should not be too dismissive of her later scholarship (even though it does not appear to be correct). But Robb appears to have taken a robust and sensible line.

²⁹ Giovanni Lorenzoni and Giovanna Valenzano, *Il Duomo di Modena e a basilica di San Zeno*. (Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona – Banco S. Geminiano e S. Propsero, 2000), 133-223.

³⁰ Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *I maestri Dei Bronzi Di San Zeno* (Verona: Edizioni Bolis/Banca Popolare di Verona, 1992).

³¹ Trecca, *La Facciata della Basilica di San Zeno*, 17.

carved by Guglielmo a member of Nicolò's *atelier*. Lorenzoni and Valenzano propose that the reliefs were all made during the same period in the 1130s, commenting on the poor quality of the present stone in the lower levels caused, they suggest, by local boys 'screeching' stones on the sculptures to "cause sparks and create a burning smell of Hell."³² Marks caused by firearms during the Second World War have also damaged the reliefs, but there remains a minor suggestion that the lower reliefs are older (e.g. Ottonian).

Kain claims the Tympanum sculpture of Zeno was (re-)placed there later in the twelfth century, but her evidence is stretched, both from the way the stones have been worked into the façade and programmatically. As Robb shows, the portal decoration centres on the figural sculpture in the lunette, which offers a powerful reminder of the significance of Zeno to Verona in the early twelfth century: Zeno oversees the portal as the gateway between the secular life and the life in Christ, between this life and the next.

Bronze Door Panels

The originality and inventiveness of the panels are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, but even from a cursory glance at the panels it is evident that two separate workshops were active at different times: the left-hand door panels were cast by a different workshop to the majority of those on the right-hand door. Although we have no directly applicable documentary evidence, a range of stylistic, historical and circumstantial indicators suggest a possible chronology. Those predominantly on the left-hand door (and six on the right-hand door) appear to be earlier mouldings and are referred to here as by Workshop 1; those on the right-hand door by Workshop 2 are later.³³

Two aspects of the scholarship, of the last two hundred years, intertwine: on the one hand, an evolution of thinking over that period demonstrates development of greater discernment and understanding, but on the other hand, there has been a continuing disagreement about the dating of both sets of panels. Taking a chronological approach to scholarship on the doors identifies three periods of scholarship. The first period includes the late eighteenth and nineteenth century up to the first decade of the twentieth century, when romantic notions sometimes over-rode careful scholarship; the second period can be dated roughly from the First World War up to and including the 1950s, or a bit beyond, but the inter-war period was most significant when German scholars especially developed new thinking about the doors. The third period is from approximately 1960 to the present day, in which modern scholarship

³² Lorenzoni and Valenzano, *Il duomo di Modena*. 156.

³³ These are referred in the literature variously as the first and second artists or as the Primo Maestro and Secondo Maestro. They will be referred to here as Workshops 1 and 2.

both identified complex historical movements but sometimes seemed to have almost too much information and occasionally resurrected nineteenth century ideas.

Early period from 1800 to c.1910

Two of the oldest references argue the earlier panels were manufactured in the late eleventh century. Manara (1839) took a somewhat idealistic view of medieval history and argued that “old court records” indicate the doors were executed “on the orders of the Dukes of Cleves” who also built the choir of the basilica, although when this occurred remains unclear.³⁴ The intervention of the Dukes of Cleves has some legendary force: Manara’s contention is supported to a degree by Marignan (1911) who argued that German archaeologists were divided on the subject because of doubts about whether the Duchy of Cleves even existed in the eleventh century.³⁵ The problematic chronology of the doors was tackled by, amongst others, Luigi Simeoni (1909)³⁶ and Giuseppe Trecca (1938).³⁷ Trecca sets out at some length excerpts from other art historians’ opinions, including a rather pejorative argument that the “most ancient” of the panels were made very roughly.³⁸

Middle period, c. 1910 to 1960

Of those who studied the panels in some depth, Albert Boeckler (1931) made important contributions to understanding the iconography, but was unable to date the panels with any certainty. Ottonian provenance was possible, he suggested, based on the way the figures are shaped,³⁹ but, following Francovich (quoted by Trecca 1938),⁴⁰ proposed that the argument from Ottonian compositional principles should be relaxed in favour of a ‘peaceful

³⁴ Giralamo Orti Manara, *Dell’Antica Basilica Di S. Zenone-Maggiore in Verona* (Verona: Facsimile Reproduction, 1839), 11.

³⁵ Albert Marignan, *Etudes Sur L’Histoire de L’Art Italian du XI^e – XIII^e Siècle* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mundel, 1911), 21. There is evidence an earldom (Italian: *contado*, *comitato*) was created in the late eleventh century but the dates of Duchy involvement most probably relate to the fifteenth century. Marignan is scathing in his condemnation of those who do not follow the tenets of art historic disciplines – consideration of historical dress codes, comparative stylistic developments, or architectural fashions.

³⁶ Simeoni, *La Basilica di S. Zeno di Verona*.

³⁷ Trecca, *La Facciata della Basilica*, 13.

³⁸ Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell’Arte Italiana, Vol II* (Print on demand online: Nabu Press, 2010), 209-10, originally published in 1904 states that the panels “seem drawn from a monkey kingdom.” Venturi was not alone in his views, however. Hippolyte Taine said that “some portions, as, for instance, the sculptures of a door, belong to the more ancient times; except at Pisa I have seen none so barbarous. The Christ at the pillar looks like a bear mounting a tree; the judges, the executioners and the personages belonging to other biblical stories resemble the gross caricatures of clumsy Germans in their overcoats ... To this low level did art fall during the Carolingian decadence and the Hungarian invasions.” In Hippolyte Taine, *Italy: Florence and Venice, Volume 2* (Internet Publication: Nabu Press, 2011, originally published in 1869). Note, however, Taine’s unwitting but important suggestion which supports the view that the earlier panel mouldings may have been much earlier, perhaps late tenth century as suggested by Fleige.

³⁹ Albert Boeckler, *Die Bronzetür von s. Zeno, Verona* (Marburg/Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1931). Fleige used this insight to suggest a provenance in the late tenth century. See Fleige, *Kirchenkunst, Kapitellsymbolik*.

⁴⁰ Francovich, *Corrente Comasca*.

and joyful naturalness.⁴¹ There was, he contended a strong influence of Spanish, especially Mozarabic, miniatures in the iconography and in the details of the architectural lines, costumes and tree shapes, some of which were reflected in the doors of Hildesheim (1015), and on this basis Boeckler advocated a date in the late eleventh century.⁴²

However, G.H. Crichton (1954) maintained that the San Zeno artist could not match the Hildesheim door artist's pictorial quality (Fig. B18) which fuse together the figures with the background plane and could "not rival the delicate drapery beneath which the shape and movement of the body may be discerned."⁴³ Crichton noted points of resemblance between the two pairs of doors, suggesting, *pace* Boeckler, the *inspiration* for, but perhaps not the *production* of San Zeno's door panels in the Ottonian period. If correct this might place the manufacture in the early eleventh century, as suggested by Zimmermann (1897), undertaken perhaps by an Italian artist who had some familiarity with German techniques, although more likely a German or Mosan artist working in Germany.⁴⁴

Given Boeckler's and Francovich's views on the degree of 'barbarism' in the panels manufacture, the possibility that the panels were manufactured *before* Hildesheim should not be discounted lightly. Indeed, both Porter and Fleige thought the panels much earlier than is usually stated. Porter (1917) considered the older panels (predominantly, but not exclusively, the current left-hand door) should be placed chronologically between 1015 (Hildesheim) and 1065 (Amalfi; Magdeburg).⁴⁵ Kurd Fleige (1993) made the intriguing suggestion that the earlier panels pre-date the Hildesheim doors. He argued that Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim was so impressed by the panels at Verona during a trip to Italy that he ordered similar doors to be made for the church at Hildesheim.⁴⁶ Kalinowski (1956) noted that the

⁴¹ Boeckler, *Die Bronzetur von S. Zeno, Verona*.

⁴² See also Drutmar Cremer, *Ich Komme Zu Euch: Bildmeditationen von Drutmar Cremer zur Bronzetur der Basilika San Zeno in Verona* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1975), 65. Whilst similarities of line can be seen in the manuscript miniatures (for example, the Beatus manuscripts) these reflect the general state of graphic creativity and originality at that time. Many books have been written on the Beatus manuscripts. See John Williams and Barbara A. Shailor, *A Spanish Apocalypse: Morgan Beatus Manuscript* (New York: George Braziller, 1991) and John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries v.4: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse* (New York: Harvey Miller, 2002). Note that the first Beatus manuscripts were contemporary with the Ottonian period.

⁴³ G.H. Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*. (London: RKP, 1954), 35.

⁴⁴ Max Georg Zimmermann *Oberitalische Plastik Im Fruhen Und Hohen Mittelalter* (Leipzig: 1897/ Eton, Berkshire: Nabu Press, 2012) considered the earlier panels to have been made in Germany in the mid-eleventh century, and that there is a significant similarity between the Christ in the Crucifixion and German crucifixes of the same period. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, noted there were strong Germanic elements to the clergy of north Italy at this time with a corresponding connection between German and Lombard art.

⁴⁵ Porter, *Lombard Architecture, Volume 3*.

⁴⁶ Fleige, *Kirchenkunst*. This idea has some attractions as the mouldings are simple and seem related to Ottonian art of the tenth century as noted by Boeckler. We know that Bernward visited Rome during his ambassadorial role for Otto II (r. 973–83) and Otto III (r. 983–1002), and may have visited Verona on his way to

doors of Mainz Cathedral were also earlier, from 'before 1011' suggesting a very active and technically sophisticated German workshop active in the Ottonian period (late tenth and early eleventh centuries).⁴⁷

Crichton believed the earlier panels to have been manufactured before 1100.⁴⁸ Hermann Leisinger (1956) agreed, observing that "the researches of many authors show that the work should be placed at the end of the eleventh century" and argues for Italian rather than German workmanship.⁴⁹ Some specialists consider the door panels originated in Germany in the latter part of the eleventh century possibly in Magdeburg, but this also remains uncertain.⁵⁰ Leisinger proposed that two workshops may have operated chronologically close together in the twelfth century,⁵¹ whereas others, such as Heinrich Decker (1968), believed that the original door was eleventh century and comprised 26 panel mouldings on two wings to which additional panels were added when the doors were re-erected about 1140.⁵²

Modern period from c.1960 to the present day

Gian Lorenzo Mellini described the doors in a similar way to Boeckler, arguing that the earlier doors are a form of prototype without obvious derivation or sources. He suggested four aspects needed consideration: the doors demonstrate an Ottonian cultural residue (i.e. from the period c. 970-1030); they have a realism implying moral energy and originality; they exhibit the influence of Mozarabic miniatures from the tenth and eleventh centuries; and they support Boeckler's view that the doors may have 'straddled' the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Overall, despite his views about Ottonian style, he proposed a date 15 to 20 years

Rome or on his return. However, I have not been able to find any documentary evidence to support this hypothesis.

⁴⁷ Konstanty Kalinowski, *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie: Praca zbiorowa, Vol. 2.* (Poland: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1956), 398. See also an earlier analysis in Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Deutschen Bronzetüren des Frühen Mittelalters.* (Marburg: Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität, 1926), 12-13 and 39.

⁴⁷ Hermann Leisinger, *Romanesque Bronzes: Church Portals in Mediaeval Europe* (London: Phoenix House, 1956), § 'Verona'.

⁴⁸ Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 33-36.

⁴⁹ Leisinger, *Romanesque Bronzes.*

⁵⁰ Jadwiga Irena Daniec, *The Message of Faith and Symbol in European Medieval Bronze Church Doors,* (Danbury, CT: Rutledge Books, 1999).

⁵¹ As Leisinger states, there are no inscriptions, no documents and the place of origin is unknown. He considers there is some affinity of style with S. Fedele at Como and S. Giulio d'Orta that might indicate north Italian artists, but he provides no supporting evidence. Neither of these churches has bronze doors and Leisinger refers only to stone carvings as comparators to bronze panels. See also Geza de Francovich, *Corrente Comasca, nella scultura romanica*, quoted in Trecca, *La Facciata della Basilica Di S. Zeno*, 52. Corrente Comasca is a style described in Christine Verzár Bornstein, "The Capitals of the Porch of Sant'Eufemia in Piacenza: Interacting Schools of Romanesque Sculpture in Northern Italy," *Gesta* 13(1) (1974).

⁵² Heinrich Decker, in *Romanesque Art in Europe: Architecture and Sculpture*, ed. Gustav Kunstler (New York: Norton, 1968), 136. These two scholars, Leisinger and Decker, offer quite different solutions, which echo the disagreements found in other scholars' work. See Chapter 4. I argue the original doors comprised 36 panels.

prior to 1117, but stressed its uncertainty as the doors have no model elsewhere either in the plasticity of moulding or the number and type of panels.⁵³

Mellini's dating is nonetheless rather surprising as the dense arboreal foliate pattern of some of the earlier panels, for example, is remarkably similar to bronze castings from Hildesheim in the middle of the eleventh century, notably a reliquary and a censer.⁵⁴ On this basis the earlier panels could have been cast in the Ottonian period or soon afterwards either at Hildesheim or another place.⁵⁵ There has been speculation that the Hildesheim doors may have been manufactured by Mosan artisans working in Germany: from the early eleventh to the early twelfth century, Mosan sculptors were active in brass and bronze casting,⁵⁶ which would complement the Fleige hypothesis.⁵⁷ If this hypothesis was to be accepted we might conjecture that the panels were made for the translation of Zeno's relics from the cathedral back to the rebuilt San Zeno Maggiore in 973. Unfortunately, there is no documentary or other evidence to support the hypothesis,⁵⁸ but nevertheless we should not dismiss too readily the suggestion of a tenth or early eleventh century provenance.

At around the same time, Ursula Mende (1994) argued, I believe unconvincingly, that the earlier panels from Workshop 1 come from the same period as the portal stone sculptures (that is, from the 1130s), but she also admitted to a substantial degree of uncertainty.⁵⁹ She

⁵³ Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *I Maestri Dei Bronzi di San Zeno* (Verona: Edizioni Bolis – Banca Popolare di Verona, 1992), 61. Boeckler and others, notably Francovich have also suggested a strong affinity with the carvings on the pulpit of S. Giulia Orta and the portal at S. Fedele at Como. Although Arslan identified Iranian-Islamic influences in the designs and sculptural shapes, their predominant influence on Orta and Como was on stone carvings rather than bronze mouldings. In the influences that spread on the periphery of Romanesque and Early Gothic art, geometric interlaces were peopled with figures that seem to synthesise disparate and distant influences: barbaric Longobard metalwork, Ottonian illuminations, Byzantine silk patterns, Islamic patterning, Coptic reliefs, have all been compared to the "Como-Pavian" current of sculpture. This may be the case with the early panels at San Zeno, but there is no documentary evidence on which to base such speculation. See in particular Edoardo Arslan, *La Pittura e la Scultura Veronese dal Secolo VIII al Secolo XIII* (Milan: Fratelli, 1943). Arslan thought the panel mouldings had an 'incredible barbarism,' which other German authors, such as Cremer (*Ich Komme Zu Euch*, 65-66) in the early part of the twentieth century described similarly as primitive and clumsy.

⁵⁴ Ittai Weinryb, "Living Matter: Materiality, Maker, and Ornament in the Middle Ages," *Gesta*, 2013; 52(2): 113-132.

⁵⁵ Weinryb suggests (119) that similar arboreal decoration in the early twelfth century symbolises revival renewal and regeneration, and is often associated with the Investiture Contest and church reform. However, Weinryb's observations support a date of manufacture of the Workshop 1 panels to the late eleventh century

⁵⁶ Isabel Speyart Van Woerden, "The iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15(1) (1961): 214-255 at 241 suggests that artefacts such as portable altars and crucifixes were made by Mosan artists although mostly in the twelfth century. Given the itinerant nature of many artisans at the time, this is not unlikely.

⁵⁷ See for example, Francis J. Tschan, *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim, Vol. 1: His Life and Times* (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame, 1942); and Fleige, *Kirchenkunst* (see note 26).

⁵⁸ That is, no direct evidence other than Boeckler's supposition of an Ottonian heritage.

⁵⁹ Ursula Mende, *Die Bronzturen des Mittelalters*. (Munich: Hirmer, 1994), 65 (my translation). Mende is influenced by similarities between San Zeno Verona and the doors at Novgorod which she assumes were made

implied that the panels could have come from two periods: the earlier panels may have been made after 1100 but before 1117, and the second set later in the twelfth century.

“Many assumptions have been made as to why the bronze door in Verona was made of components from two casting workshops working so differently and why some of the components made by the first workshop are only preserved as fragments. If a smaller door was planned at first, or if a first large door was partially destroyed and subsequently supplemented by newly-created plates, or if an enlargement of the Western portal was the reason for such a supplement – attempts to answer these questions and to reconstruct an earlier state have not resulted in a clarification of the historical origin and the fate of this door.”⁶⁰

In other words, whilst Mende gives no definitive opinion on dates, she notes that the Workshop 1 panels could have been made as early as 1015 or as late as the 1170s or at some point in between, whereas the second set of panels by Workshop 2 were made in the mid-twelfth century, perhaps in 1152-1155, or later around 1178.⁶¹

If the first doors were produced in the eleventh century there were a few workshops that may have had the technological sophistication and ability to design and cast large panels. These include the artisans who produced the Hildesheim Cathedral doors in 1015, and the doors of Magdeburg later that century (which may have been the Hildesheim manufactory). Doors were made in Magdeburg and Augsburg during the eleventh century⁶² but it is thought that the Augsburg cathedral doors (1065) were of Byzantine origin.⁶³ Zarnecki (1989) claims that the artisans from the foundry at Magdeburg manufactured the early bronze panels and on their return to Magdeburg used some of the motifs of the sculptural decoration at San Zeno executed by Nicolo’s workshop in their subsequent work.⁶⁴ However, if the earlier bronze panels were made in 1085 or thereabouts the period between then and the mid-twelfth century is probably too long to sustain this hypothesis.

in the second half of the twelfth century. If the Novgorod doors were earlier, possibly much earlier, then the chronology would change dramatically.

⁶⁰ Mende, *Die Bronzturen*, 65, my translation.

⁶¹ Mende, *Die Bronzturen*, 65

⁶² The doors of Gniezno cathedral offer a pictorial biographical narrative of the life and martyrdom of Saint Adalbert (Wojciech) whose investiture, when he became Bishop of Prague in 983, by Otto II, was held in Verona (see Daniec, *Message of Faith and Symbol*, 24, 25). The links between northern Italy and Germany at that time were very close.

⁶³ Daniec, *Message of Faith and Symbol*. The Romanesque cathedral in Augsburg was commissioned in 1043 and was largely completed in 1065 with the exception of the two towers finished in 1075.

⁶⁴ George Zarnecki, *Romanesque* (New York: Universe Books, 1989), 107. The reused motifs can be seen on the tomb of Archbishop Friedrich von Wettin (d.1152) in Magdeburg, and the doors of Płock cathedral now in Novgorod.

The Saxon foundries that supplied Hildesheim may have supplied other doors in the period 1065-1085 in Germany (even though that is fifty years later), and the Hildesheim doors have a Romanesque comparator in Merseburg c.1080.⁶⁵ This could be an important clue to the chronology. Although some of the cathedral doors in Germany and Poland were made by Mosan artisans, either in the Meuse valley near Liege or by travelling to the individual construction sites,⁶⁶ the earlier door panels in Verona are stylistically different from any of the other sites⁶⁷ and may have been undertaken in Italy by local artisans.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the later panels have some similarities to the panels made in Magdeburg for Płock/Novgorod in the period 1170 to 1180.⁶⁹ In their overall design and stylisation the earlier San Zeno panels are similar to the doors from Płock cathedral now at Novgorod but are not as intricately sculpted nor are they carved as fluidly and do not show as strong a delineation of line and detail. The Płock doors were commissioned from Magdeburg and manufactured in the period 1128-1150, which suggests the San Zeno panels are earlier. Additionally the San Zeno door edge pieces are consistent with the design of artefacts from the period around 1065 as described by Weinryb.⁷⁰ Ursula Mende (1994) also notes these similarities and reflects on the parallels between Novgorod and San Zeno.⁷¹ We can see within the Novgorod panels a similar *structure* to those at San Zeno cloaked with more detailed artistic and stylistic *properties*. (Figure B20).

⁶⁵ Zarnecki, *Romanesque*, 107, a "worthy Romanesque successor in the tomb plate of Rudolf of Swabia in Merseburg of c.1080."

⁶⁶ The link with Mosan artists may be significant. Liege and the Meuse valley were known especially in the early twelfth century for their bronze and brass artefacts and would have been acknowledged by the Salian dynasty in the early 1100s. Rupert of Deutz may have been influential in determining the narration of some of the panels in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries at a time when the Investiture Crisis of the 1070s was still influential, but this is speculative. Similarly, the Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany (died, 1115) emphasised certain themes, notably the Cleansing of the Temple, one of the door panels described earlier. See Robert H. Rough, *The Reformist Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff, 1973), Plates VI to XI.

⁶⁷ Apart from Płock/Novgorod.

⁶⁸ See G.K. Geerlings, *Metal crafts in architecture: Bronze, brass, cast iron, copper, lead, lighting fixtures, tin, specifications* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1957).

⁶⁹ Daniec, *The Message of Faith and Symbol*, 23-66, Chapter Two: "Man, Flora and Fauna in the Bronze Door of the Gniezno Cathedral in Poland." Norman Davies's sources in *God's Playground*, 65, suggest Flanders about 1175. Swartzenski (note to Pl. 116, in *Grove Art*, 59, "Romanesque, §VI: Metalwork") says "c. 1135, perhaps Bohemia", and "probably c. 1170" by imported Mosan artists (accessed 4th January, 2010). Few non-Polish sources support local manufacture, despite the Polish emphasis in the iconography. See Andrew Ciechanowiecki, "Polish Art Treasures at the Royal Academy," *The Burlington Magazine*, 1970. In the mid-eleventh century, Khorsun (Cherson) in the Crimea was known to manufacture bronze artefacts. Whilst a suggestion the doors of Novgorod were made in Khorsun would provide a Byzantine heritage there is other better evidence they were manufactured in Magdeburg for Płock in Poland and either moved, possibly via Korsun, to Novgorod in the mid to late eleventh century,⁶⁹ or given as a gift to Novgorod.⁶⁹ Again there is a conflict in the chronology as the doors of Płock cathedral are thought to have been made in the 1140s or thereabouts.⁶⁹

⁷⁰ Weinryb, *Living Matter*.

⁷¹ Mende, *Die Bronzturen*, 65.

Of the doors and door panels in medieval Europe for which we have metallurgical analyses⁷² only the door panels from San Zeno and those from the Cathedral of Gniezno in Poland have a similar composition.⁷³ Most door panels and cast doors contain zinc as a component of the bronze alloy and some of the older doors have considerably less copper (70% to 80%). The doors of San Zeno and Gniezno do not contain zinc and have a similar overall composition (Copper c. 90%, Tin 7%, Lead 3%) making them more like brass than bronze. This supports the possibility of Mosan artists at the turn of the twelfth century who were known to be highly effective brass workers. We do not know from the information in Daniec which panels were assayed for composition, and it is possible only Workshop 2 panel(s) were tested.⁷⁴ As the doors at Gniezno were completed in the mid-to-late twelfth century this argues for a similar period for the second set of panels on the right-hand door.⁷⁵

However, the doors of Gniezno and the Workshop 2 panels of San Zeno have some stylistic similarities though are in many ways very different. The Gniezno doors do not comprise separate panels as at San Zeno but were cast as part of a complete door (Fig. B19). Compared to San Zeno the sculpting of each Gniezno panel has an intermediary nature: the moulding is more fluid and supple, the shapes of the figures more defined, body shapes are visible under sculpted drapery, and a greater degree of movement is evident overall. The figures are simple but malleable and are not as block-like or as firmly moulded as Workshop 1, but conversely are without the softer curves and plasticity of Workshop 2 sculptures.

Previously Ederle (1962) had argued that three artists were involved but that all the panels had been made by 1138.⁷⁶ Daniec disagreed, maintaining that the door panels at San Zeno came from *three* periods: 1085, 1138 and late 12th century.⁷⁷ In view of the foregoing analysis, this assertion has a lot to commend it as it allows for the early panels to have been made in the late eleventh, damaged in the earthquake of 1117, repaired and refurbished in 1135-38, then supplemented by additional panels later in the twelfth century, perhaps in the

⁷² Daniec, *Message of Faith and Symbol*, 102-3.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 102-3, (but based on an earlier paper from 1966). The composition of San Zeno and Gniezno are very similar to each other and very different from all the others.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 102-103

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 53. Norman Davies's sources suggest Flanders or Mosan artists in about 1175, in *God's Playground. A History of Poland: Volume 1: The Origins to 1795* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 65.

⁷⁶ However Ederle disagrees, arguing there were three artists involved but that "all the panels were already made in 1138". Guglielmo Ederle, trans., Laura Severi, *The Basilica of St. Zeno* (Verona: Edizioni di 'Vita Veronese', 1962), 20.

⁷⁷ Daniec, *Message of Faith and Symbol*, 53, n.3.

mid to late 1170s (as suggested by the plaque on the west façade) or as a result of the second earthquake in 1183.

The doors at Pisa Cathedral executed in 1175 by Bonanno bear a strong naturalistic resemblance to the Workshop 2 Verona doors (Fig. B21) albeit with some stylistic differences and the inclusion of inscriptions on the Bonanno panels. The arrangement and juxtaposition of the figures on the panels, the stylised trees, and the staging of the narrative, point to a possible source of the later panels at San Zeno, either copied incompletely or made in the same workshop.⁷⁸ Although moulded differently, Boeckler (1953) found the juxtaposition of the figures and their overall disposition to be suggestive of the second set of Verona panels.

Summary

In summary, a substantial difference of opinion has existed for many years between three groups of scholars. There are those who suggest the earlier panels were late eleventh century, those who say confidently that they were manufactured in the 1130s, and those who argue that the panels had Ottonian provenance - differences that are unlikely to be resolved easily, if at all. It would appear from the previous analysis that, on balance, the date accepted by the largest number of scholars for the earlier panels is the late eleventh century, around 1085. However, given the views of a significant minority of scholars and the stylistic and historiographical evidence, we cannot rule out the suggestion of manufacture in the late tenth or early eleventh centuries. There is some circumstantial evidence for a date of manufacture before Hildesheim (1015), but the mid-to-late eleventh century accords with the connoisseurship of the majority of art historians, indications from other artefacts, stylistic evidence, and historiographic evidence.⁷⁹

Although a somewhat contentious suggestion that is not agreed by everyone, it is probable the later panels are from the later twelfth century (around 1175), determined again on stylistic grounds and from available metallurgical analysis, and from a plaque placed high on the right hand side of the basilica's façade which states that the basilica was 'completed' in 1178. Further work was done on the façade, including the creation of a rose window in the early thirteenth century, but 'completion' is generally accepted as finalisation of the basilica's rebuilding including completion of the doors.

⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of the Bonanno doors, see Albert Boeckler, *Die Bronzetüren des Bonanus von Pisa und des Barisanus von Trani* (=Die frühmittelalterlichen Bronzetüren; Band IV). (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1953). Note that Boeckler does not discuss the comparison with San Zeno Maggiore there but in Boeckler, *Die Bronzetür von Verona*.

⁷⁹ See a note in the text on page 68.

1.5. Critical Research Questions

Several critical research questions arise from this brief literature survey and are addressed in developing the argument defended here. They have arisen because of anomalies in the sculptural programmes of both the bronze door panels and the stone relief sculptures. These sculptural anomalies are addressed in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Each of the following paragraphs outlines one important research question that addresses the continuing debate about the basilica.

The first significant question concerns the chronology of manufacture and organisation of the bronze door panels. In the preceding discussion, we have seen a range of possible chronologies for the door panels and have sought to identify on historiographic and stylistic grounds whether there was more than one place of manufacture and when they were made. In doing so we have considered the doors of other churches, principally within the curtilage of the Holy Roman Empire, manufactured during the eleventh and twelfth centuries for stylistic clues to the chronology of the San Zeno panels.⁸⁰ This suggests a number of subsidiary research questions to be considered in reviewing the panels' artistic programme:

- i. Are two periods of manufacture sustainable on historiographical, stylistic and iconographical grounds?
- ii. What *external* evidence exists for the panel mouldings? For example, the Investiture Controversy found its keenest expression under Pope Gregory VII in the 1070s and 1080s. Although this was some forty years before the rebuilding of the basilica, one of the most enduring questions is whether the bronze door panels and the portal relief sculpture owe anything to the controversy, perhaps asserting a symbolic distancing from both Papacy and Empire in the conflict that continued into the 1120s and 1130s.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Some twelve churches in Italy south of Rome have bronze doors, either made in Constantinople in the mid eleventh century, or manufactured in the early twelfth century by artisans drawn mainly from Puglia. With one significant exception, there was a clear distinction between the northern manufactories of the Empire and the southern developments. The exception are the doors of the Duomo in Pisa and the doors of Monreale, Sicily, that were both undertaken by Bonanno in the 1170s or thereabouts. See Appendix 2 for a sample of these churches.

⁸¹ The danger, though, is evident in 'over-reading' the panels: would we see in their iconography some form of external influence if we did not know it had happened? But as we noted earlier, does what appears to be a careful balance achieved in the door panels and portal sculpture indicate an attempt to placate the Papacy whilst remaining loyal to the Holy Roman Empire, or vice versa? The iconographic programme of the façade could be a deliberately contradictory, incongruous and allegorical representation that might be read paradoxically by towns' people as supportive of the Papacy but by casual outside observers (such as visiting ambassadors) as supporting the Empire.

- iii. What can we learn from the *internal* evidence of the panels, by considering such features as historical dress codes, comparative stylistic features, or architectural fashions?⁸²

The second question asks whether the bronze door panels relate to the portal sculptures programmatically. For example, is there any evidence for a 'correct' or 'original' position for the panels, or any concordance between the door panels and the relief sculptures, and if so, what might this tell us?

Thirdly, what relationship if any exists between the arrangement of the door panels, both pre- and post-1117, and the liturgical programme of San Zeno and other churches in Verona in the high Middle Ages? In asking questions about the liturgy we will consider the importance assigned by Zeno and his followers to the Paschal liturgy, consider whether this influenced the choice of panel narratives, and suggest how the panels were arranged before the earthquake of 1117.⁸³

Finally, there is a continuing debate about the two lowest stone relief sculptural panels on the left and right of the doorway, which we will consider in Chapter 3.

1.6. Summary

The west doorway of the basilica is a threshold that offers a personal transformation from being fundamentally rejected by God to being fully accepted within the Church, the Church as the theatre that enables a transition from 'without God' to 'being with God in his presence'; from the secular life of the city to the holy community of His chosen people; from the every-day to the intensely religious; and from the hell of human toil to the paradise of seeing God's countenance. The rite of baptism represents the threshold to a new life in Jesus. This dissertation argues that the portal is a threshold of redemption and salvation through baptism, especially in death and rebirth at Easter, enshrined in Paschal liturgy. In this context the door panels and portal sculpture would have been moulded to enhance and reflect those particular Christian beliefs.

⁸² Marignan, *Etudes Sur L'Histoire de L'Art Italian*: consideration of historical dress codes, comparative stylistic developments, or architectural fashions.

⁸³ We will also consider why baptism was so important given that the basilica was a monastic church.

Chapter 2. The bronze door panels

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the layout of the bronze door panels, seeks to establish the chronology and places of production, considers whether the panels were cast and assembled at different times by two different workshops and if so whether sufficient evidence exists to place the creation and installation at specific periods. Artistic, aesthetic and stylistic aspects are considered in seeking a timetable for the doors manufacture.

2.2. Layout of the Panels

The bronze panels attached to the west door of the basilica of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona offer a glimpse into the Christian beliefs articulated at the differing times of manufacture. Forty-eight narrative panels are attached to heavy wooden doors 498 cms. high consisting of two wings, or valves. One is 193 cms. wide and the other slightly narrower at 187 cms. wide.¹ Twenty-four panels each approximately 34 cm high and 27 cm wide are bolted or riveted onto each door (Fig. B1).² All the panels (except some that may have been damaged) are contained within a metal ornamental framework with facial images or masks at the majority of the corners. The doors are located behind an outer door which provides protection from the weather and potential physical damage.

On the right edge of the left door are smaller panels with the figures of kings and virtues; and similarly, on the left edge of the right door we find figures including Zeno himself. Two distinct styles are evident, one perhaps earlier than the other.³ Although the genesis of the doors is unclear, as we saw in Chapter 1 scholars have made several suggestions based on a range of aesthetic, historiographical, political and theological considerations, in addition to comparisons with similar doors mainly in Germany and Italy manufactured during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴

¹ Ittai Wenryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 110.

² Appendix 1 includes images of the bronze door panels and portal sculpture.

³ Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 34.

⁴ See Appendix 5 for a full bibliography and list of references.

North door (left from the front)				South door (right from the front)			
			Crowned heads and Virtues	Individuals: 71, 72, 73 figures in Style 3; 74, 75, 76, 77 in style 2			
1. Annunciation	2. Birth of Jesus	3. Flight into Egypt	All by Workshop 2 except as shown	71. St Peter	25. Creation of Eve. Temptation of Eve	26. Adam and Eve meet with God	27. Expulsion from Eden
4. Christ ejects the merchants from temple	5. Baptism of Jesus	6. Jesus with the 4 scholars in the temple		72. St Paul	28. Cain and Abel	29. Noah: the dove returns with olive twig	30. Drunkenness of Noah
7. Entry to Jerusalem	8. Jesus washes his disciples' feet	9. The Last Supper		73. San Zeno	31. God promises a son to Abraham	32. God appears to Abraham	33. Abraham prepares to sacrifice Isaac
10. Jesus arrested in Gethsemane	11. Jesus carries the cross	12. Jesus at the Jewish tribunal		74. Queen	34. Moses receives the law	35. Massacre of the firstborn (Egypt)	36. The cross and serpent
13. The flagellation	14. Crucifixion	15. Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre		75. Prudence	37. Balaam	38. Tree of Jesse	39. Salomone
16. Salvation of Jesus	17. Ascension	18. Handle /Old man	66 and 67 by Workshop 1	76. Warrior/soldier	40. Handle (Mask)	41. San Zeno gives four fish	42. San Zeno exorcises the devil (illness)
19. Beheading of John the Baptist	20. Salome dances for Herod	21. Salome carries John's head to Herod	68, 69 and 70 by Workshop 1	77. Sculptor	43. Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel in the furnace	44. Pigs are saved from the water	45. San Zeno and the emperor
22. The sadness of motherhood (Two women)	23. Expulsion from Eden	24. Cain and Abel (First labour)			46. The angel stops Abraham	47. Noah takes animals into the ark	48. St Michael kills the dragon

Table 1. Description and layout of the doors as they are today.

Note: the subjects are translated from Butturini, 1982.⁵ Grey shading indicates Workshop 2 panels.

Table 1 shows the 48 panels as they are arranged today in eight rows with three panels on each row. All the panels on the left door, with a few exceptions, describe New Testament Gospel themes and narrate Jesus' life; all were executed by one workshop (which I suggest was the earlier Workshop 1) except Panel 7 which is by the later workshop (Workshop 2). The right-hand door includes what the high Middle Ages considered the most important Old Testament themes (Nebuchadnezzar and the Fiery Furnace, the expulsion from Eden, the murder of Abel by Cain, God preventing the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, and Noah's Ark) together with scenes from the life of Zeno.

Smaller individual panels (shown in the centre two columns of Table 1) indicate crowned heads, virtues and individuals. The panels and portal sculpture appear to complement each

⁵ Butturini, *Il Segno e il Tempo nella Porta Bronzea*.

other⁶ in delivering an inclusive message; by placing the greatest emphasis on the juxtaposition of the Creation and Fall (right hand, south side) with the life of Jesus and John the Baptist's death (left hand, north side), the portal appears to signify Redemption from sin and Salvation through Baptism and the Paschal Mystery.⁷

2.3. Anomalies in the Presentation of the Panels

The door panels present a number of anomalies and inconsistencies in comparison with other similar sculptural cycles.

The first evident anomaly is the order in which the panels are presented. On the left hand (north) door successive panels describe the life of Jesus from the Annunciation at top left to the Ascension (on Row 6) followed by panels that describe the death of John the Baptist and three panels of Old Testament portrayals. These panels are placed in the reverse order to other door arrangements, for example, those at Hildesheim, Lower Saxony, where the Annunciation is at the bottom and the panels culminate in the Resurrection and Ascension at the top.

Secondly, as we have seen, the panels appear to be from at least two different periods or two separate workshops.⁸ Scholars disagree and the chronology remains uncertain.

Thirdly, of the panels on the left-hand door, arguably the earlier panels, five have foliate backgrounds similar to artefacts described by Weinryb dated to 1060.⁹ This may be an important clue to the overall chronology but also identifies another question to which I do not have an answer: why do only five panels have foliate backgrounds, and were there more before the earthquake in 1117?

Fourthly, five of the narrative panels containing the most significant Christian narratives have been duplicated between the two workshops. The duplicate panels appear to have been created deliberately within the overall programme indicating that these narratives were

⁶ See Chapter 3 for a brief discussion of the portal sculpture.

⁷ The Paschal mystery is one of the central tenets of Christianity including the history of salvation through the redemptive passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It stands at the core of Christian faith because God's saving plan was accomplished once and for all by the death of his Son Jesus Christ. See the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2(1), Ch. 1, Art. 2 The Paschal Mystery in the Church's Sacraments. Although later, the following Councils codified existing beliefs: Council of Lyons II (1274) DS 860; Council of Florence (1439): DS 1310; Council of Trent (1547): DS 1601. See <http://www.scborromeo.org/ccc/p2s1c1a2.htm>, accessed on 8th June 2016.

⁸ Some scholars have considered a third workshop to have been involved but that is considered unlikely on stylistic grounds. Some output variation is not unexpected in this medium.

⁹ Weinryb, "Living Matter, 113-132.

important for Verona's Christian community in the eleventh and twelfth century, and may indicate subjects for the earlier panels.

2.4. Description of the Panels in relation to the Chronology and Workshop Attribution

The figures on the panels of the left door have a gauntness and disconnected individuality which manifest on some panels as separate forms scattered across the panel plane like narrow polished blocks of material.¹⁰ All the panels on the left-hand door comprise small lifelike figures that are carefully crafted despite their small size and attenuated shape. Panel 2 (Fig. B2) illustrates the Nativity, in which we see Joseph looking confused and uncertain, his chin resting on one hand. Jesus' family, the magi and the shepherds are distributed across the space available in an almost haphazard fashion. In Panel 4 (Fig. B3), Jesus wields a three-pronged scourge to cleanse the merchants in the temple.¹¹ Although at first sight many of these panel figures seem to be arranged fairly arbitrarily, on closer inspection they have been fashioned by artisans without the technical sophistication to achieve complex sculptural programmes but who, nonetheless, were able to express their ideas effectively through simple human forms albeit placed quite indiscriminately.

The problem of forming human shapes was apparently overcome by moulding each figure as a compressed block cast together with a typically smooth background plane. The panels have either a flat background plate or, in the case of five panels 4, 15, 22, 43, 48, a matrix of openwork foliate material to which individual figures have been attached with domed-head rivets (e.g. Figs. B3 and B11(c)).¹² The bodies appear as self-contained drapery-covered

¹⁰ An example is Panel 16 (Fig. B15), a simple and striking last judgment (Epistle of Paul to the Romans, 6:7). Butturini described it as 'Cristo e Il Salvatore', and it is evidently a desperate fight between the Devil and Christ over the souls of a few representative bodies, some of whom, their clothing largely undecorated, are being pulled out of the ground. With the exception of Jesus they wear simple cloth hats. All the action takes place within a city wall, perhaps the holy city, Jerusalem and the simple block-like figures are scattered almost as if a bag of heavy clout nails had been emptied onto the plane of the panel; c.f. Butturini, *Il Segno e Il Tempo nella Porta Bronzea*, Tav. 16.

¹¹ Robert Rough in *The Reformist Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973) describes the illuminations in Matilda's gospel as 'iconographically extraordinary'. One of the illuminations, the Cleansing of the Temple, is a drawing with a level of angularity similar to the bronze panel discussed here, although it is more complex, multifaceted and realistic. The animals are shown with horns suggestive of the devil and Jesus wields a three-pronged whip or scourge as in Panel 4. Butturini suggests Mark 11.17 as the source although John 2: 14-17 is the only one of the gospels to mention oxen, sheep and doves, and the scourge. Scholars differ in their interpretation of the Cleansing, but all agree in interpreting the event as a messianic enactment, to which Jesus the man is 'welded', because the events take place as a recurring claim to fulfil scripture. (Brian Stewart Hook and Russell R. Reno, *Heroism and the Christian Life: Reclaiming Excellence*. (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 100.

¹² It has been suggested that the foliate material is similar to bronze castings from Hildesheim in the second half of the eleventh century, notably a reliquary and a censer; Ursula Mende, however, describes similar foliate designs on the doors of Santa Sophia in Novgorod. The dense arboreal foliate pattern is remarkably analogous to these artefacts and suggests the panels may have been cast in the mid-eleventh century either at

masses with little differentiation between individuals, although variety is obtained, for example in Panels 6 and 8, by using criss-crossed, hatched and other decorative patterns with subtle facial modifications or hand gestures (Panel 8: Fig. B10, middle, top). The impression of solidity is heightened by a forceful projection from the background plate usually of the head, but sometimes shoulders or arms, thrusting out from the body. Many of the figures have bulging eyes, distinct skulls and sharply demarcated bodies (such as we see in Panel 17) (Fig. B4). The moulded figures are usually clothed in layered tunics with diapered or hatched decoration especially along the edges and bottom of the cloth.

Many of the figures on the left-hand door panels (with the exception of panel 7) and some of those on the right-hand door (panels 43 to 48) seem to emerge out of the panel plane and thrust themselves forward as if seeking to emphasise their own significance. The plane can be thought of as a dispositional field or encompassing arena with a range of dimensions: spatial, temporal and affective. Each panel shows individual characteristics of light or atmosphere that give the panel its specific quality or mood, and this saturates objects within the field. This field (i.e. the 'stretched' panel), always extends beyond the limit of explicit awareness, and exerts a power over everything within its sphere of influence. Although the panels' designs are relatively simple in the way the elements are arranged, the mood they achieve heightens the interaction between the characters and the consequent narrative portrayal.¹³

Panels 19 to 21 portray the Beheading of John the Baptist (Mark, 6: 27, 28). Panel 19 portrays the beheading quite starkly (Fig. B7) and Panel 20 shows Salome dancing for Herod with John's head (Mark, 6:22) (Fig. B5); later she carries the head to Herod (Panel 21; Mark, 6: 28) (Detail, Fig. B6). Despite the relatively simple angular appearance and wedge-shaped structure of the figures, their attitudes and sentiments are conveyed through the subtle use of line to describe bodily movement, the positioning of an arm or the inclination of a head.

Panel 22 (Fig. B8(a) left) shows two women standing each by one of two trees with a serpent interwoven in the fret work behind the trees. Butturini believes this refers to Genesis 3.16 in which God informs Eve that because of her disobedience she (and the whole of

Hildesheim or nearby. Ursula Mende, *Die Bronzturen des Mittelalters*, 64. The Novgorod doors nonetheless have more complex and detailed sculptural forms than San Zeno.

¹³ This is considered at length, for example, in Richard Boothby, *Freud as Philosopher: Metapsychology after Lacan*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 25, in his discussion of Monet's series of paintings on Rouen Cathedral. Here Boothby seeks to explain the way in which impressionism achieves its effects. Whilst the sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries almost certainly did not think in that way, I argue that their sculptures had not dissimilar implications and achieved similar effects.

humanity) will have to bear children in sorrow for evermore.¹⁴ Trees form an important part of Christian symbolism and metaphors such as these may comprise more than one narrative, as in Augustine's meditation on the two trees in *Confessions*.¹⁵ Juxtaposing Panel 22 with the following panel 23 (both on the left hand door) (Figure B8(a) right) connects lust and fertility with visualising the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Here the presiding angel, with vast wings outstretched, ushers, or perhaps pushes, Adam and Eve, both clutching leaves to protect their modesty, out of the garden (Genesis, 3:22, 23). Both figures are thickset especially around the waist and thighs. A somewhat guileless Eve tries to cover her breasts with her free (right) arm as in the Venus de' Medici or the Capitoline Venus;¹⁶ the sculpture is unwieldy and strangely awkward yet their humiliation is well expressed.

Two Old Testament stories, the Creation of Eve from Adam's rib and the Temptation of Eve by the serpent (Genesis, 3) are depicted in one panel (25) on the right-hand door (Fig. B8 (b) left). The figures have a fluidity of movement, sculpted with deeper flowing folds in a gentle and 'softer' form that offers an overall impression very different from the smaller and tighter cylindrical forms of the other door. The looser, more rounded figures, move together in a sinuously connected manner. Panel 27 (right hand door) describes the Expulsion using more static postures, less angular and less figuratively dramatic but, if anything, more expressive and supple. The angel has a quite flamboyant presence and carries a sword antagonistically. Adam is dressed in a short tunic and Eve in a three-quarter length dress, their feelings evidenced by each holding a hand to their faces; Adam is suitably pensive, Eve wipes away a tear (Fig. B8(b) right).

Most of the panels on the right-hand door show a greater conformity of style in which the bodily movements link the figures represented in a softer and flatter manner. In place of the dispersed figures on left-hand door we now see the actors more smoothly integrated with the background plane, in which individual figures are carefully defined using deeply cut lines, although they remain assimilated into the montage. Right hand door panel decoration (except for Workshop 1 panels 43-48) is generally more defined with relatively deeply incised swirling folds revealing little of the body beneath the drapery whilst contributing to the dynamism of the scene. Psychological nuances seem less well expressed on the right-hand door, possibly the result of a more sophisticated moulding technique that removes in many cases the three-dimensional bullet-shaped sturdiness, and the tiny indentations that infect

¹⁴ Butturini, *Il Segno e il Tempo nella Porta Bronzea*, Tav. 25.

¹⁵ Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R.S. Pine Coffin. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2002), Book 10.

¹⁶ Frances Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

the block-like figures on the left-hand door. Figures are more fluid but this allows less room for small but clearly defined gestural changes.

Jesus' Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (Mark, 11:8) (Panel 7 on the left-hand door but almost certainly made by the workshop that moulded the majority of panels on the right-hand door) is decorated in a Roman style in which the figures wear folded toga-like tunics draped directly onto the body, and women are attired in a stola and palla, arranged characteristically with well delineated folds or pleats (Fig. B10, top left). Togas, head-dresses and other textiles and sartorial elements drew on a time when the Veronese commune, as a Roman city, wanted to emphasise its ancient lineage. Faces are more detailed than the Workshop 1 mouldings with eyebrows (that were not revealed in the earlier figures), fuller lips, defined beards and distinctive hair styles. In consequence, the figures appear comparatively wealthy. Jesus sits on a donkey and looks forward almost eagerly to his triumphal entry to Jerusalem; his companions have the appearance of two Roman senators; the palm trees are stylised with strongly defined fronds of scored and chiselled leaves perhaps offering antetypes of the crucifixion cross to come; but the stylisation is not as simply rendered or as stark as the left-hand panels.

These differing styles suggest the panels were made at different times. Those panels on the left-hand door display figures that are small and concentrated, simply moulded and based on cylindrical or pointed shapes that have been slightly flattened (such as on Panel 24) (Fig. B13). Most appear to have been created as small compact masses and set against a smooth background, and, where there are more than two figures, often seem disparate, separated from one another as if isolated within the plane. In some cases, they may have been cast separately and then attached to the background plate (e.g. Panel 22) (Fig. B8(a) left). Where the figures are standing they generally have their feet slightly apart, the material of their robes indented faintly to define their legs. Scenes are largely static with little or no movement, although a degree of dynamism is achieved by careful small inflections of individual bodies such as on Panel 23 (Fig. B8(a), right).

Conversely, the majority of the right-hand door panels display figures moulded to express movement and character. The figures show divergent stances, some with feet at angles to the viewer with bodies more solidly rendered. Extensive use of deeply cut fine lines over the bodies of individual characters, and more subtle modelling of heads, torsos and limbs achieves both a sense of individuality and vigour (for example in the creation of Eve, Panel 25) (Fig. B8 (b), left). These scenes, whether of people, buildings or vegetation, contain more naturalism and less stylisation.

The decoration on the cloaks, togas and other clothes on the left-hand door panels is restrained and includes hatching, with criss-crossed and diapered designs on the broad cloth and especially at the hems. Figures are shown bare headed or wear hats with differing designs appearing to demonstrate divergent social status. Those with soft caps seem supportive of Jesus; those with apparently Phrygian (or Jewish) caps are often in authority or are likely to be responsible for punishment. As Sara Lipton (2014) has shown, this appears to characterise the beginnings of anti-Semitic attitudes that had not been especially evident in the preceding two centuries, but became more pronounced after the early eleventh century.¹⁷

However, she also argues that there is a fine distinction between the pointed head-gear, sometimes taken to be Jewish hats, and Roman headgear. These are different from the hats assigned to ancient Hebrews and may have been understood as Roman helmets.¹⁸ Panels 10 and 11 especially (Figs. B10, bottom row, left and middle) exhibit the iconographic power of a simple head-dress. Here we find the use of the pointed conical hats for those Jews apparently representing authority, such as soldiers or Pharisees, their cloaks having a design detail very similar to those in the earlier panels. They may have been inspired by Zeno's sermons (such as those that offer an exegesis of Exodus 12) in which a dismissive attitude is taken toward the Jews.¹⁹

Panel 34 (right hand door) (Fig. B9, bottom row, left) includes three characters with differing hats: a conical pointed hat, a hat which has the appearance of a tower, and a bishop's mitre or similar design; and in the Passover, Panel 35 (Fig. B9, bottom row, middle), the conical hat indicates the Israelite pointing to the door of a Jewish home. Similarly, the figures in

¹⁷ Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 57 ff. Lipton notes the nine Jewish prophets on the cathedral at Verona: "Early-twelfth century Hebrew prophets and Judaic elders often display...variations on the peaked and pointed caps assigned to them by Bishop Bernward and Brother Goderanus. Wide brimmed pointed hats appear on the heads of Hosea, Jonah and Daniel in the earliest stained glass windows of Augsburg Cathedral," and she notes that "Abraham and various other Judaic figures wear pointed hats on the twelfth century bronze doors at San Zeno, Verona (1100-1130." This is shown on Panel 32 (Fig. B9 middle panel, top row) which presents Abraham wearing a conical pointed Jewish cap both in his communication with the angel but more expressively in his admonition of Hagar. Lipton argues that "the archaizing appearances of the above-mentioned figures seem designed to convey the dignity of priesthood and invoke the authority of Hebrew precedent, while also signalling the distance of that antique Hebraic history from the 'modern' (i.e. the 1100s) Christian present."

¹⁸ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 61.

¹⁹ San Zeno. Tractatus I. 8; 19; 28; 46A; and Tractatus II. 17; 20; 25. See, Gordon P. Jeanes, *The Day Has Come: Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona*. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), 118. Zeno cites the domination of Jerusalem by the Romans, the ruin of the temple and end of the priesthood as evidence of Jewish misdemeanours rather than the implications of Roman oppression. These themes recur frequently in this group of Zeno's sermons¹⁹ and add up to little more than rhetorical anti-Semitism. In Tractatus II.20, Zeno "cynically" dismisses the Jews to go off 'into the desert.' For a full bibliography of the sermons see B. Lofstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus. (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, XXII)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971).

Panel 5 are identified as hostile to Jesus,²⁰ having a marginally more severe look revealed in the upright positioning of the head and the way they stare ahead with unsmiling mouths and eyes. Their faces have large, sometimes bulging eyes and bulbous noses. This restrained style is modelled in a curved aspect, the faces bearing proud but often enigmatic expressions although conveying their emotions when intended. Relatively heavy eyebrows and elongated noses ally with a distinctive fish-hook-shaped curl of the nostrils to suggest aggressive and arrogant attitudes. The lips' protrusion is well defined but the ears are usually hidden under hair or head-dresses. Torsos are full, with shoulders often outlined distinctly under cloaks or tunics. Arms, hands and fingers are mainly articulated simply in bas relief and rest against the body in various positions.

Left hand panel faces are simple and triangular with large 'stone-sculptured' eyes, that are mostly turned to face the viewer (an example is shown in Panel 43) (Fig B11(c)). Well-expressed emotional and psychological representation is achieved by small turns of the head or other parts of the body, including emphatic projection of the head and shoulders above other parts of the body. Christ's Ascension (Panel 17) (Fig. B4) in which Christ has been sculpted with bulging eyes is characteristic of this style. Conversely right-hand figures have more expressive faces and a few demonstrate significant emotional arousal or response, but not in as powerful a way as the mouldings on the left hand door.

The story from Genesis of the promise of a son for Abraham in Panel 31 (Fig. B9 top row, left) is a complex portrayal of Abraham's two sons, Isaac and his son Ishmael by Hagar (Agar) from Genesis 21.10, in which God tells him he should affirm Isaac's birthright but recognise also that Hagar's son will become the founder of a great nation or religion.²¹ The panels on the right hand door do not usually achieve the intensity of psychological effect as on the left despite being more artistically creative and naturalistically sculpted. For example, Hagar's irate surprise in Panel 32 (Fig. B9, top row, middle) when Abraham announces her

²⁰ Care needs to be taken with this ascription. Apart from Herod and the Roman soldiers all the characters were Jews. But the conical hat appears to have been reserved on the door panel sculptures for Jews who were not followers of Jesus (i.e. at the time the scenes commemorate) and were not, of course, Christian in the Middle Ages. The Jewish hat also known as the Jewish cap, *Judenhut* (German) or Latin *pilleus cornutus* ("horned skullcap"), was a cone-shaped pointed hat, often white or yellow, worn by Jews in Medieval Europe and some of the Islamic world. Initially Jews started to wear the hat out of choice for some reason, but when they stopped its wearing was enforced in parts of Europe. Like the Phrygian cap it often resembles, the hat may have originated in pre-Islamic Persia—a similar hat was worn by Babylonian Jews.

²¹ Butturini, *Il Segno e il Tempo nella Porta Bronzea*, Tav. 31 The sons of Hagar have been identified in the development of Islam. According to Jewish, Christian and Muslim tradition, Ishmael, a figure in both the Tanakh and the Qur'an, was Abraham's first son born to Abraham's and Sarah's handmaiden Hagar. According to the Genesis account, he died at the age of 137. An angel told Hagar that God "will make a great nation" of Ishmael; Hagar found Ishmael a wife from Egypt and they settled in the Desert of Paran - in Arabic tradition this has often been equated with an area of the Hejaz, around Mecca on the eastern side of the Red Sea.

expulsion is unmistakable (Genesis, 21:10). The multiple scenes are reminiscent of the scattered effects seen in Panel 16 (Fig. B15).

Panel 36 shows Moses having created the serpent of brass (or bronze) (as described in Numbers 21:6-9²²) which he has hung from a T-shaped cross or pole (Fig. B9, bottom right). The panel is highly expressive with the serpent looking directly at Moses. Moses stands on the right, and on the left three or four Jews²³ are being bitten by snakes and, we assume, made whole again by gazing on the 'fiery serpent'.²⁴ An angel reclines in the sky above the pole on which the brass serpent is hung, its body emerging from the ground of the panel.²⁵ The whole tableau rests within a simple framework formed of a round arch decorated with continuous semi-circular tracery and two pillars with continuations upwards in the form of architectural towers. One of the hazards of subtle allegorical or analogical readings, drawing on tacit liturgical knowledge, is brought home by this apotropaic device. Christ as the head of the church is allegorised as the serpent. By gazing on the serpent, we gaze upon the cross, and thus upon Christ himself, and are healed.²⁶

The themes of the panel mouldings offer powerful reminders of Zeno's lectionary and the importance of the Christian faith. Psychological aspects of the subject matter enhance the spiritual and religious significance of the concentrated individual narratives but which continue in sequence from one panel to another. The subtlety, expressiveness and sophistication of the supposedly 'simple' sculptures combine to create psychological moods generating more complex narratives from groups of neighbouring panels.

²² "And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people and they bit the people and much people of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses and said, we have sinned, for we have spoken against the Lord and against thee; and pray unto the Lord, that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed. And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass that everyone who is bitten, when he looks upon it shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it up on a pole, and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived." Numbers 21:6-9, King James Bible.

²³ It is evident they are Jews by the Phrygian caps they are wearing.

²⁴ Despite the healing qualities of the serpent, the 'rhetorical anti-Semitism' noted earlier is alive here as well.

²⁵ Weinryb, *Bronze Object*, 115. Weinryb suggests the angel of the Lord is in fact Jesus Christ, and goes further in arguing that the pole and the serpent become one as the Cross, thus signifying Christ. "The Old Testament narrative was understood as prefiguring the narrative of Christ, such that the brazen serpent became a ritual object that paralleled not only the cross but also the crucifix." (117)

²⁶ The snake or serpent that seduced Eve into taking an apple from the tree in the Garden of Eden is unmistakably *not* the same serpent that Jesus had in mind when he urged his apostles to be as 'wise as serpents'. Augustine suggests in *De Doctrina Christiana*, I, 4; I, 35; and II, 10, that Jesus' command to be 'wise as serpents' relates to the "well-known fact that a serpent exposes its whole body in order to protect its head from those attacking.... That is for the sake of our head which is Christ..."

In summary, the current left-hand door panels, with the exception of Panel 7 are by the earlier Workshop 1 as are six panels (43-48) on the current right-hand door. The other panels on the current right-hand door are by the later Workshop 2.

2.5. Panel Duplication

Four of the panels are duplicated between the two workshops which begs the question of why this occurred. The first duplication involves Panels 23 and 27, both of which show the archangel driving Adam and Eve out of the Garden of Eden. Workshop 1 Panel 23 achieves a relatively sociable aspect despite the action involved in which Adam and Eve strive to hide their nakedness; whereas in the Workshop 2 panel they are clothed, the angel looks much more severe, and he holds his sword aggressively. The second duplication includes Panel 24 (left hand door) and Panel 28 (right hand door) (Fig. B13) which depict the agronomic work of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel by Cain (Genesis, 3:17 and 4:8). As in the Last Judgment panel (Panel 16, Fig. B15) the figures are dispersed, indicating human misery, in which the angular figures, placed more or less arbitrarily or haphazardly over the panel, give a lingering effect of disaster. The lower half of Panel 24 shows Cain and Abel ploughing the ground; in the upper register Cain sits holding a large wooden club whilst Abel lies apparently naked on his stomach with his face turned to the left. On the tableau from the right-hand door (Panel 28) the figures are softened, the folds of their clothes naturalistic, and a tree provides a highly stylised and heavy trefoil structure. Cain is shown with his face to the viewer, forcefully striking Abel on the head, who slumps on the ground, his left hand raised, his body contorted.

The narrative intent of both panels 24 and 28 is to identify the importance of Cain's murder of Abel, one of the most powerful narratives within Genesis. Whilst the murder of Abel by Cain was more disturbing and shameful, it is possible the panel refers to the Paschal Vigil lectionary in which the story of Jacob and Esau had a place (Genesis 27).²⁷ Both Cain and Abel, and Esau and Jacob describe the importance of sibling rivalry, but the stories also attest to two further differences: the love the father shows the first born and the mother shows the second; and the importance of the first born as farmer or hunter and the second born in the role of pastoral peacemaker or shepherd. It unquestionably reinforces the biblical narrative of the clash of good and evil and allegorically demands of its readers careful consideration of family dynamics and harsh lessons about reconciling the 'man of action' and

²⁷ See Zeno's lectionary in Chapter 4. See A. Barahona, 'From Cain and Abel to Esau and Jacob'. *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis and Culture*, 2001; 8: 1-20

the 'man of peace'. And, of course, grants primacy to the father. Of the panels, that on the right-hand door is more forceful, the left more arresting.

Panels 29 (Workshop 2) emphasises Noah's role in prefiguring Christ as he raises his hand to receive an olive twig from the dove (Genesis, 8:11) (Fig. B11).²⁸ The sea is a mass of curved and wavy lines; the Ark sails on rough and choppy waters signifying a difficult time ahead. The ark is often interpreted as Ecclesia within the New Testament theme of salvation;²⁹ here the ark, reinforcing that interpretation, has the appearance of a building, perhaps a basilica rather than a house, with horseshoe decoration along one roofline reminiscent of pantiles. The sculpture has a direct simplicity not dissimilar to other panels on the left-hand door, but the way the overall composition is handled, the representation of Noah's hair and the additional decoration, for example on the dove's wings and body in what is a remarkably lifelike depiction, makes clear it is by a different hand.

A somewhat different image is projected in Panel 47 (Workshop 1) (Fig. B11) where the ark is being constructed, although the tableau incorporates a mass of closely sketched lines indicating the ark is in the water or is intended for the sea. Noah appears to be encouraging the animals into the ark by force of personality, suggestive of the way Jesus would recruit his apostles – they dropped what they were doing to follow Him. The panel is much simpler than Panel 29 (Fig B11). The ark has a dog's head prow which runs over the edge of the panel into the edge pieces, one of which has been cut away to provide sufficient space on the panel plane.

A further duplication is offered by Panels 33 (right hand door) (Fig. B9 top row, right) and 46 (Workshop 1, but situated on the right-hand door) in which the Angel of the Lord prevents Abraham from sacrificing his son, Isaac (Genesis, 22: 10-12). These contain complex multiple narrative effects with coincident dynamic integration but are very differently moulded. Panel 46, crafted in a similar manner to the left-hand door panels, is busy and confused and lacks clarity. The panel may have had a different religious or allegorical purpose, possibly in relation to Paschal rites: it brings out clearly the relationship between the angel and Abraham but not the importance of Isaac as the sacrifice.

Conversely, Panel 33 is one of the most expressive of the tableaux: the action occupies much of the space available and conveys a degree of tangram integration. Abraham finds a ram caught in a thicket behind him. Abraham raises his sword on the level of the angel as if

²⁸ Noah is often shown with a nimbus suggestive of his role in prefiguring Christ, and bears out the truth of Hook's and Reno's statement about the recurrent nature of scriptural prophesy. Hook and Reno, *Heroism*, 100.

²⁹ Colum Hourihane, *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History*. (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University Press, 2010), 120.

in anger at God's messenger, although it is his son, crouched on a pile of wood on the altar, who is his target. The angel and Abraham are both dressed in togas or cloaks with multiple folds, the ram is well delineated and Isaac has a halo around his head signifying the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.

The four duplicated panels reinforce the importance of Old Testament narratives in the liturgy of the medieval church. The sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, as with the story of Noah, and Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace, finds an important place in Zeno's lectionary and in his sermons, and the panel depicts the biblical story in the way it is told by Zeno. As Isabel Speyart Van Woerden says of the period (1000-1200), "[T]he frequency with which the scene (i.e. Abraham's sacrifice) was represented can only be explained by the great significance attributed to this event," suggesting Abraham was considered the "preeminent believer."³⁰ She adds that the typological juxtaposition isolates its single message in a manner that is complementary to the New Testament message, in this case the passion of Jesus. Narratives about Noah and the Flood were important allegories for baptism throughout this period. Likewise, narrative panels depicting Nebuchadnezzar and the miracle of the fiery furnace were also an important trope in the Romanesque period.³¹

The duplicated panels address the complex conceptual development of a group of core significant stories for Christian communities (the expulsion from Eden and the murder of Abel by Cain, God preventing the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, the portrayal of Noah's Ark, and Nebuchadnezzar's furnace). The narrative of original sin and redemption was universal but probably of fundamental importance to the citizens of the nascent commune. Running through the panels is an understated but powerful anti-Judaism brought out in the identification of those Jews who treated Jesus badly. As we noted earlier, Zeno himself bordered on anti-Judaism in his criticism of the Jews for killing Jesus. A creative tension is achieved in the panels between the role of Old Testament prophecies of Christ's passion and the New Testament description of those who enforced the crucifixion.

In the metaphorically charged atmosphere that almost certainly enveloped the commune in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the expulsion from Eden represented the Fall and original sin; the murder of Abel by Cain may have been an allegory for the schism of Papacy and Empire, although it epitomises a similar metaphorical meaning about the balance of good and evil; the sacrifice of Isaac prophesied Christ's sacrifice on the cross; and Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace figuratively demonstrated Christ's dominion over Hell.

³⁰ Van Woerden, "The iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," 242.

³¹ For example, Anat Tcherikover discusses the point in Tcherikover, "The Fall of Nebuchadnezzar in Romanesque Sculpture (Airvault, Moissac, Bourg-Argental, Foussais)," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49(3) (1986): 288-300.

Above all, these panels emphasise the importance of sexual morality and sexual abstinence, powerfully brought out in the panels illustrating the Fall.

In conclusion, there appears to be a powerful message encoded in these panel narratives about the implications of violence and the damage it causes to relationships. This may thus incorporate a complex political message codified within an overtly Christian narrative. Ostensibly the panels indicate the importance of Old Testament narratives offering allegories of Christ's passion. Covertly, the duplication enhances the importance of the message first encoded in the late eleventh century. Then it was the Investiture Controversy, the battle between Emperor and Pope; later, in the twelfth century, it was the Empire versus the city communes of northern Italy. Verona may have been offering a message to both Pope and Emperor about respecting communal integrity and stated Christian principles of peace and goodwill. But does it also suggest that the monks of San Zeno Maggiore were giving a message to the city? On one reading the panels allegorically presage the coming of Christ the saviour; but on another they say that Zeno is their patron saint: 'we are wrapped in the peace of Zeno; please let us be.'

2.6. Summary

This chapter has reflected on the panels as individual narratives and as constellations of storylines. Having considered the panels to have been moulded by two workshops, separated in time by at least one hundred years, it is possible to summarise their provenance. The left-hand door panels are all by the earlier workshop except Panel 7, and the right hand door panels are all by Workshop 2 except panels 43-48. Despite their simplicity, the earlier panels seem to offer stronger psychological cues which emphasise the mystical and sacred connotations of intense separate narratives, whilst the later panels have a gentler character but a firmer message. The restraint, poignancy and simplicity of the earlier sculptures merge to achieve spiritual dispositions that produce more compound histories from assemblies of adjacent panels. The themes of panel mouldings offer powerful reminders of Zeno's lectionary and the importance of the Christian faith which will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 4. The style and execution of the earlier panels, incorporating rounded and polished images without the intricate moulding and sculptural technique, argue for a much earlier period.³²

³² As we have noted, Fleige suggested the panels at San Zeno might have been a model for those at Hildesheim (1015) and a date in the late tenth century would fit with the rebuilding of San Zeno at that time. However, although plausible, there is no other evidence exists for such an early date. See Fleige, *Kirchenkunst*.

Thus two workshops were active, one in the eleventh century (c.1080) and one in the late twelfth century (c.1175). On balance, this is the view of the majority of scholars. However some specialists have suggested an earlier date for the first workshop, perhaps the late tenth or early eleventh century (960-1040). It is challenging to go against the majority but there is too much uncertainty, and the nature of the mouldings are so coarse and uneven in places, that we should keep our minds open for an earlier provenance.

Chapter 3. Portal Stone Relief Sculptures

3.1. Introduction

The portal piers, lunette, porch and flanking sculptures form a coherent unit incorporating the doors with the bronze door panels. The majority of the façade sculpture dates from 1135-1138 when the basilica was rebuilt after an approximately twenty year hiatus following the earthquake of 1117. Appendix 2 provides a detailed description of the portal sculpture, especially the relief panels, with inscriptions in the original Latin and English translation. There is some uncertainty about dating the lower stone relief panels on either side of the doorway which is discussed

3.2. Portal Stone Relief Sculptures¹

The porch and portal sculptures including the lunette tympanum is a complex amalgam of elements. The first element comprises the porch and lunette as a coherent structure (Figure S1) including the pillars upholding the architraves, the mouldings of the labours of the month, and the tympanum sculpture of San Zeno with, on Zeno's left side, citizens or knights on horseback and, on his right a group of citizenry on foot (Figs. S2 and S3).² Below San Zeno's feet is a frieze of scenes from San Zeno's life and miracles.³ The second element embraces the stone panel relief sculptures placed flush with the façade wall on either side of the door portal showing, except for the bottom two panels, on the left (north) scenes from the New Testament, and on the right (south), scenes from the Old Testament recounting the creation of Adam and Eve and the expulsion from Eden (Fig. S1). The four lower panels (bottom right and left) are the only exception to Biblical sources: they depict (on the right) a horse and huntsman, a stag and dogs, with the horse dashing toward a figure of the devil on the far right (Fig. S4); and (on the left) two figures in a hand-to-hand combat or sword fight (Fig. S5).

The tympanum structure is analogous to Verona Cathedral whose porch is similar to Ferrara Cathedral in decoration, but differs in having the labours of the month carved on the architraves of the porch.⁴ The portal is not splayed as at Ferrara, probably because the San

¹ A detailed discussion of the portal stone relief sculptures and inscriptions is given in Appendix 4.

² Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*, suggests these two groups signify the cavalry and infantry respectively, a description broadly agreed by other scholars.

³ Described above at Chapter 1.4.

⁴ Robb, *Niccolò*, 405.

Zeno structure existed before 1138 and was incorporated into the new façade. This in turn affected the positioning of the caryatids in the porch. Robb asserts that there can be “no doubt ... the decoration of the whole of the west front...was carried out at the same time.”⁵ The two tympani at San Zeno Maggiore and the Cathedral are similar although the subject matter is different. As it is believed they were both sculpted by Niccolò’s workshop we may discern an equivalence between the two churches creating a powerful duality of See and monastery. It is possible that allegorical statements were fashioned in bronze or stone at San Zeno that might not have been possible or desirable at the cathedral, but which would be perceived locally as of similar significance.⁶

The cathedral lunette depicts the Virgin Mary holding the Christ child, centred between two lesser relief scenes, the Annunciation to the Shepherds (left) and the Adoration of the Magi (right). On the lintel in medallions are the three theological virtues, Faith, Charity and Hope. Ten figures of prophets are set in the doorposts and jambs; the four symbols of the Evangelists and the Hand of God are set above in the barrel vault of the first story of the porch. Set into the walls on either side of the portal are tomb effigies of Roland and Oliver, who as holy warriors, remind one of the constant need to provide protection to the church.⁷

At San Zeno, the lunette depicts the figure of San Zeno with his bishop’s staff (Figure S1). The sculptural relief is similar in layout to that of the cathedral. The central figure is not sculptured in significantly greater depth than the figures on either side, and although the Virgin and child at the cathedral has a slightly different configuration, both that and San Zeno are on a remarkably similar scale, are set forward and appear in somewhat higher relief. A comparison with the cathedral lunette suggests it is unlikely Zeno was (re)-placed in situ at a later date (as Kain argued), and the construction does not appear to have been disturbed.⁸ There seems no reason to have had a different image in place of Zeno, given that the monastery basilica was dedicated to him; and as the San Zeno sculpture, and the Virgin and

⁵ Robb, *Niccolò*, 406.

⁶ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the importance of the Paschal lectionary for San Zeno Maggiore and Verona.

⁷ On the left stands Orlando (Roland) holding a sword engraved DV RIN DAR DA (DURINDARDA or DURENDAL), the sword of Charlemagne’s paladin Roland in the literary series known as the Matter of France (together with the Matter of Britain and the Matter of Rome). The Cathedral represented both the Carolingian ‘Three Matters’ and allegiance to the German Holy Roman Empire.

⁸ See Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*. The sculptures on either side of the central figure are moulded in a stylistically very similar way, and the size and shape of the figures suggest they were undertaken by the same Workshop at more or less the same time. The sculpture of San Zeno in the lunette (see Fig. 10) fits neatly within the space allocated. At the level of Zeno’s feet there are four small arches on either side; but the space occupied by San Zeno measures approximately one and a half side-arch widths, and the decorative bosses have not been damaged.

child at the Duomo were probably created around the same time, the likelihood is that they were sculpted as a complementary pair.⁹

In the two lunettes the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Cathedral) is juxtaposed with the citizenry (San Zeno), the three Kings (Cathedral) with the knights (San Zeno). This comparison may have been deliberately fashioned: the shepherds compared to the citizens of the commune following God in all his simplicity; the three kings matched with the knights exhibiting wisdom and prowess, their competence suggestive of a royal quality, or perhaps of a magical ability. If so the knights would have been internal to the commune rather than external. San Zeno would have a similar role to Mary, at once blessing, defensive, interceding, loving, and supportive. The sculpture on the Zeno tympanum probably commemorates the end of the Empire's sway over Verona and the creation of the commune in the 1130s, partly due to the interregnum, but most likely following the death of the Emperor Lothair II in 1137.¹⁰

3.3. Concordance between Portal Relief Sculptures and the Bronze Door Panels

It appears that the stone relief panels complement the bronze panels, within the overall narrative scheme of the façade, rather than being concordant with them. There is no consistent similarity between the stone reliefs and the bronze panels, but the overall themes are the same: on the left the reliefs reflect the New Testament stories of Jesus' life; on the right, the stone reliefs tell the story of creation, Adam and Eve in the Garden, and the Fall.

Most of the evidence points to Niccolò's workshop carving the portal sculpture, especially when comparisons are made with the Zodiac gateway at Sacra di San Michele in the Val di Susa near Turin, and Niccolò's work at Ferrara and Piacenza. Niccolò and his atelier developed and refined their art over the period from approximately 1120 to 1140, and "[T]here can be no doubt that the decoration of the whole of the west front at S. Zeno was carried out at one time."¹¹

The Old Testament reliefs on the lower levels are unlike much of Niccolò's other work (Fig. S9). This has occasioned critical comment from a number of observers who have suggested

⁹ This too opposes Kain's thesis: she suggested the San Zeno sculpture replaced an earlier sculpture of God-the-Father, but there is no reason why an earlier sculpture should have been needed. The duality expressed by the basilica and the cathedral is all that is required in a city so dependent on San Zeno and the Virgin Mary for its identity.

¹⁰ Sometimes referred to as Lothar or Lothair III, due to an earlier Lothair II in the Carolingian period who did not become Emperor.

¹¹ Robb, "Niccolò", 406.

the attribution to Niccolò is improbable.¹² The Creation of Adam is neither typical of Niccolò nor indeed of Lombard or Emilian sculpture. It occurs on the early bronze door panels but is more likely to be found in Tuscany where sculpture and ornament were closely associated.¹³ Crichton suggests that the Creation scenes are either drawn from the inspiration for the Salerno ivories or the Byzantine mosaics in Palermo, and notes that in the Salerno ivories Adam is shown asleep upon the branches of the tree of life with a similar sculptural effect to his positioning on the stone reliefs at Verona.¹⁴

However, these are common tropes in Romanesque art and such distinctions are relatively minor. There is sufficient evidence that the reliefs are by Niccolò or a member of his workshop. A degree of difference in the output styles of the various masons employed is not surprising and some borrowing from other sites inevitably occurred. This is one reason why dating the bronze panels and the portal sculpture is so difficult. Other features of the San Zeno decoration associate it with Ferrara and Niccolò's workshop. These include the caryatid figures sculpted originally by Wiligelmus at Modena and copied by Niccolò, the drapery carving on the figures, and the use of comparable decorative features on the borders of the pilasters and tympanum.¹⁵ It is evident that Niccolò sculpted the three churches (Ferrara Cathedral, Verona Cathedral and San Zeno Maggiore) but that in his later work at San Zeno he seemed to have been less concerned to give the figures a plasticity and three dimensional quality, and the influence of the Toulousan drapery designs apparent at Ferrara gives way to confusion and muddle characteristic of Niccolò's later style.¹⁶

3.4. The Lower Left and Right-Hand Reliefs

One of the most interesting problems is the derivation(s) of the sculpture on the lower stone reliefs on both left and right of the portal opening (Figs. S4 and S5). Most scholars agree that the right-hand panels are of Theodoric and a version of the legendary wild hunt, although scholars differ on the reasons given for the inclusion or the purpose of the panels.

¹² See G.H. Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 29, 32; Edoardo Arslan, *La Pittura e la Scultura Veronese dal Secolo VIII al Secolo XIII* (Milan: Fratelli, 1943). Arslan questions Niccolò's authorship of the tympanum sculpture by comparison to his work at Ferrara, but he does not deal with the difference in subject matter.

¹³ Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 33.

¹⁴ Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London: Philosophical Library, 1950), 245ff., quotes Crichton as stating that, "The Creator is shown standing in the same attitude." This points perhaps to the sculpture being done by an assistant to Niccolò.

¹⁵ Robb, *Niccolò*, 406.

¹⁶ Robb, *Niccolò*, 409.

In the sermon, *Tractatus de Duodecim Signis ad Neophytos*,¹⁷ Zeno establishes a direct connection between astrological signs and Christian virtues, connecting those signs to baptism.¹⁸ The sermon is quoted here because of its peculiar relevance to the story of Theodoric:

And never shall He fear even the devil himself who truly is the fiercest Sagittarius armed with diverse and fiery arrows, molesting at every moment the hearts of the human race....Put on all of you the armour of God so you may be able to stand together against the villainies of the devil....For this devil sometimes looses from the gallows Capricorn (the Horned Goat) deformed of visage and bubbling up from frothing veins, he rages miserably with attenuated horn through every limb from the trembling ruin of captivity. He makes some men mad, others deranged, murderous, adulterous, impious, or blind with greed.

Zodiacal signs are not included within the portal sculpture (although there are sculptures of the Labours of the Month). For Zeno, the calendar's cadence forms a natural movement with certain zodiacal symbols reflecting signs from God, such as Aries the Ram understood as a direct reflection of one God's symbols, the Agnus Dei. Aquarius and Pisces, the water signs refer to baptism, Easter's predominant symbolism, demonstrating the sacred and healing waters and the gift of salvation. In his sermons, Zeno gave importance to Sagittarius the archer, half man and half horse, and associates him with Paul's letter to the Ephesians 6.10 and 6.13 in which Paul suggests that Christians should put on the armour of God in order to "take a stand against the devil's schemes."¹⁹

Here we have a typical mythological creature who represented strength in defeating the enemies of God.²⁰ Multiple identities were accepted within medieval culture in which the dead existed in harmony with the living. Within a Christian polity, baptism offers the only salvation for the sins of the ordinary person as an individual and to the commune as the cultural embodiment of the people.²¹ Zeno may have been offering an alternative approach

¹⁷ Tractatus I 38 (II 43) Section 6, Löfstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, 106.

¹⁸ Although Niccolò's workshop sculpted the zodiac gateway at Sacra di San Michele in the Val di Susa, the signs of the zodiac do not have a place in the sculpture at San Zeno Maggiore other than by reflection of the Labours of the Month

¹⁹ Frances Altvater, *Chores, Computation and the Second Coming: Calendar Images and Romanesque Baptismal Fonts*, in Harriet M Sonne de Torrens and Miguel A Torrens (eds.), *The Visual Culture of Baptism in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Fonts, Settings and Beliefs* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 151-153.

²⁰ Ephesians 6:10. 'Finally, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of His might.' Baptism was the essential sacrament for achieving such strength.

²¹ The sculpture of Theodoric riding on the devil in the form of a black horse surely captures this idea on many allegorical levels, the signifiers shifting and sliding under each other as if in a dream. At one moment Theodoric is there in person, at another moment he is the devil himself; at another he reflects the notion of Sagittarius the Archer (as the huntsman hunting the stag) and then at another moment he is the personification of death and of resurrection in baptism; then he becomes the stag depicted in Psalm 41, thirsting for the water of the living God (see below n.29); then he is the Thracian Cavalier (see below) who captures the pagan notion of kingship as deity, acting as an avatar for Theodoric who is both Thracian horseman and King of Italy. Such multiple overlapping myths were part and parcel of narratives in the Middle Ages.

to the contemplation of the passion rooted in the doctrinal message of redemption from sin and death. In Cyprian “the movement is sensual and emotional;” in Tertullian it is a “process of discipline;” Zeno, conversely “tended to concentrate groups of images in a few words...which suggests their biblical origin” and induces an oscillation between the “brevity of the expression and the openness of the biblical past.” Instead of considering the bible rhetorically, Zeno releases its potential.²²

Lower Left Stone Relief Panels

These stone reliefs have raised many questions. Some have contended that the reliefs belong to an Arthurian cycle showing a knight fighting for the hand of one of the two women to the left.²³ Conversely, the panels may represent scenes from the Song of Roland, an epic poem, of which an early version was composed around 1040 with additions and alterations made up until about 1115.²⁴ An alternative interpretation is that lower left relief sculptures illustrate the Hildebrandslied.²⁵

However there is more likely interpretation. The kneeling woman probably represents Adelaide (Mataliana)²⁶ who married Lothair, king of Italy in 947 shown praying for Otto. Lothair died, after only three years, poisoned by Berengar I. His son, Berengar II wanted to marry Adelaide but she refused and was imprisoned in the stronghold at Garda. The representation of rock behind her in the stone relief signifies the Garda fortress to which a winged demon in human form is chained, possibly signifying the devil or Berengar himself. Adelaide escaped with the help of a monk and fishermen and found refuge at Canossa. Otto I crossed the Alps, defeated Berengar and married Adelaide, and later rebuilt San Zeno in

²² Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages c.200-c.1500*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 62.

²³ Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, 532.

²⁴ The Song of Roland celebrates the battle of Roncevaux in 778 in which Charlemagne’s troops were defeated. As a negative trope on the Ottonian dynasty, who were directly descended from Charlemagne, these panels could have allegorical significance but it is doubtful. See Glyn Burgess (ed.), *The Song of Roland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990).

²⁵ Palmese, *Maestro Niccolò, artista del Medioevo*. The duels may refer to Hildebrand, Theodoric’s fencing master and argues that the reliefs illustrate the Hildebrandslied. Composed in alliterative verse during the second half of the 8th century, the poem was recorded in Old High German about 810 CE at the Fulda Monastery in southern Germany. Parallel traditions suggest that the father killed his son. However, a ballad from the 13th century, the so-called “Younger Hildebrandslied”, ends with a reconciliation between father and son. Hildebrand and Hadubrand meet, and Hadubrand is unable to trust Hildebrand’s version of events. On this interpretation, the joust panel describes the initial clash on horseback when the lances stuck in the opponent’s shields, followed by hand to hand combat with swords until the shields are crushed. The standing and kneeling figures of the women on the left represent Hildebrand’s wife who would have been waiting anxiously for her son to return. It is unclear whether the two female images are the same person or two different persons. See also Alessandro Da Lisca, *La Basilica di San Zenone in Verona*. (Verona: Edizioni di ‘Vita Veronese,’ 1956), 75.

²⁶ Mataliana as a corruption of Adelaide or Matilda, is a suggestion put forward by Da Lisca, and supported by Lorenzoni and Valenzano.

967. If correct, Otto fights Berengar for the kingdom of Italy and wins, and the devil is held in chains to signify his lack of power to affect the outcome of the duel.²⁷

The inclusion of the Otto and Berengar narrative may provide a further clue to dating the church and the earlier panels. One possibility is to reinforce Verona's importance as a royal city preferred by Pepin and the Ottonian emperors. A second or additional possibility may be to identify the church as Ottonian – it doesn't much matter if the sculpture is from the tenth or twelfth centuries – the implication is that it was a gift from Otto in the tenth century. But a third option is that this relief signifies more formally that the original church, and thus the original door panels, represent tenth century developments and were produced in the tenth century.

(i) Lower Right Stone Relief Panels

The portal relief sculpture inscriptions all contain real names – Zeno, Gallienus, Adam – except the two inscriptions on the lower right panels. It seems probable that the panels retell the, possibly allegorical or apocryphal, story of Theodoric, who was for some reason contentious within Verona or amongst those who commissioned the panels, especially in the 1130s. A further possibility is that the allegorical significance could not be made explicit for political reasons and this is where we need to consider the narrative stories about Theodoric.²⁸ Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) in his *Dialogues* (IV, 31) gives credence to the legends about Theodoric when he describes his death in a volcano.²⁹ Otto of Freising

²⁷ The relevance of this alternative approach is that Otto I paid for the rebuilding of the basilica in the 960s and 970s. Thus the inclusion of these panels could well signal Otto I's involvement; but more importantly may suggest that the panel (and the Theodoric panel on the right hand side) were made in the tenth century and adds a further dimension of uncertainty and an air of mystery. A further conjecture about these panels is that they represent characters from the *Song of Roland* and the battles that took place at Roncevaux in the late eighth century. This seems unlikely although the *Song* was composed and then refined sometime between 1040 and 1115. Lorenzoni and Valenzano support Da Lisca's argument. See Lorenzoni and Valenzano, *Il Duomo di Modena*, 164-165.

²⁸ The Scandinavian *Thidrekssaga* contains many accounts similar to the poems about Dietrich. At the centre of the saga is a complete life of Dietrich, in which he flees to Attila's court and eventually, after Attila's death, becomes king of the Huns. One day he saw a particularly magnificent deer, jumped out of his bath and mounted a gigantic black horse – the devil himself, as it turned out – and rode off, presumably to hell, and was never seen again.

²⁹ Gregory writes that some tax collectors returning from Sicily ended up in the Lipari Islands where they met a saintly hermit, Calogerus, who told them that the day before at the ninth hour they saw Pope John and Symmachus leading Theodoric in chains towards the volcano and throwing him into the crater. See *The Dialogues of Saint Gregory: Surnamed the Great; Pope of Rome & the First of That Name. Divided Into Four Books, Wherein He Entreateth of the Lives ... and of the Eternity of Men's Souls*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Library, 1911), republished 2009: Book 4, 177-258. Charles Kingsley offers support to this myth when he says that: "a certain holy hermit...saw the ghosts of Boethius and Symmachus lead the Amal's soul up the cone of Stromboli and hurl him in..." in A.C. Kingsley (1889, 2013) *The Teuton and the Roman. Abridged and condensed by Peterson*. (R. Ostara and CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform at

(1111/1114-1158) wrote of a rider on a black horse who crosses the Mosel river and appears before the frightened Theodoric, who mounts the horse, is carried to Mount Etna and is thrown into the volcano. Otto offers a degree of reliability and truthfulness, at least as the circumstances were perceived at that time.³⁰ A further possibility is that these sculptures underline the importance of baptism, if only by demonstrating what happens without the Christian God.

3.5. Summary

The porch and lunette provide a complex amalgam of sculpture, art and architecture. There is, though, no concordance between the stone relief sculptures on either side of the doorway with the door panels. It might be expected that the stone reliefs would have been sculpted to match in some way the door panels. It suggests the doors have probably changed in composition and arrangement since the late 1130s when the portal was sculpted; and it suggests the earlier bronze panels implied imperial rule, whereas the new stone relief sculptures symbolise the Christian religion and thus the Papacy.

The lower left and right hand panels seem to be of a different stamp to the rest of the portal reliefs. For one thing they are secular, and they serve as both a set of historical 'fictionalised truths' and as a warning. The lower right-hand panels describe the Theodoric legend which may have been the subject of continuing oral poetry and story-telling for hundreds of years. The lower left-hand panels reflect the story of Berengar and Otto I, and the inscription Mataliana is a corruption of or an alternative to the name Adelaide; it refers to the struggle between the two men for the crown of Italy and symbolises the treachery faced by Otto.

These stone reliefs propose a close connection with the Empire and implicitly argue that the earlier bronze panels may have been Ottonian from the tenth century. Alternately, however, perhaps here is a clue to the continuing interest in Theodoric/Dietrich in early twelfth century Verona, and the parallel importance of the Berengar-Otto duel.

<https://www.createpace.com/>) Note that the volcano is Stromboli not Etna, which would accord with Gregory's story of the hermits 'vision'.

³⁰ Otto was a member of the German ruling class, a bishop although not one to eschew violence, and travelled extensively in northern Italy at around the time the panels were sculptured. See C.C. Mierow, "Bishop Otto of Freising: Historian and Man," trans. and procs., *Am Philological Assoc.* 80 (1949): 393-402. F.E. Sandbach, *The Heroic Saga-Cycle of Dietrich of Bern*. (Online Library: Forgotten Books, 1906), republished 2012 @<http://www.forgottenbooks.com/> argues that Dietrich (Theodoric) of the Thidrekssaga was a "noble king, ... of surprising valour always slow to draw the sword, and though beloved by his subjects forced into exile by the treachery of his enemies and by his own chivalrous self-sacrifice."

Chapter 4. San Zeno's Paschal Lectionary as a possible basis for reading the Bronze Door Panels

4.1. Introduction

Almost certainly the door panels, as we find them today, were not always arranged in this way. It is likely the door(s) in place in 1117 were smaller and included only Workshop 1 panels, some of which have been lost. There may have been only one door but scholarship suggests two doors on which the panels portrayed allegories of Christ's passion and narratives that relate to and promote the rite of baptism and the Paschal sermons of San Zeno. The current doors are an amalgam of the Workshop 1 panels that were not destroyed and Workshop 2 panels.

In seeking to reproduce the earlier doors (pre-1117) the Workshop 2 panels cannot be included and thus there will be significant gaps in panel coverage.¹ If the Workshop 1 panels, now predominantly on the left-hand door, were arranged across two original door wings before 1117, we can try to imagine how they may have been organised (Section 4.4 below).² The panels on the present right-hand door follow the biblical sequence of the lectionary. However, the portal sculptures are ordered chronologically from the bottom upwards with the Genesis tableaux at the bottom and the sequentially later lectionary elements higher on the door. It is possible that the earlier doors were in reverse order and this was changed when the present doors were created.

San Zeno Maggiore was an abbey church and might be thought not to have held regular baptisms. However, baptism was a vital part of Verona's psyche, and especially Zeno's (as it was in many northern Italian communes at the time)³ in large part because of the reverence in which Zeno himself was held. Although the basilica was a monastic foundation, the Verona rite allowed 'private' baptisms with a shortened form of ceremony or ceremonies. It is thus possible the doors of the earlier basilica (before 1117) had significance as a baptismal portal. It is also possible the church operated as a *pieve*, a district baptismal church for an area outside the main city walls. San Zeno Maggiore may have had a more extensive baptismal role in Verona than might be expected of a monastic church, driven in large part by devotion to Zeno himself.

¹ Simeoni in *La Basilica di s. Zeno di Verona*, 57-59, suggests 36 panels in 9 rows.

² I have included the tables as they have assisted me in dealing with complex set of information.

³ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 30-33; 309-341.

The majority of catechumens would have walked from San Zeno Maggiore to the baptistery at San Fermo,⁴ and returned to San Zeno via the cathedral for their formal acceptance into the church.⁵ The lighting of the Easter candle took place in the city's baptistery⁶ after which the procession returned to the cathedral for the ancient set of twelve vigil readings.⁷ Thompson suggests that the rites of baptism both created and ordered the commune's activities and through participation the entire society experienced rebirth and renewal.⁸ Further, as Thompson argues, "to be prevented from performing the Easter liturgy was among the greatest tragedies that might befall the commune."⁹

4.2 Zeno's Influence and the importance of the Baptismal Rite

San Zeno Maggiore and the Duomo existed as a duopoly, each reflecting the other.¹⁰ The tympanum sculpture of the people and the knights and what we know about the use of the church as the venue for blessings of Veronese troops before going into battle, demonstrates a deeper belief in the nascent Commune and the efficacy of prayer to God through Zeno as mediator.

Further evidence of the importance of the baptismal rite is contained in Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Sermons,¹¹ principally Lecture III on Baptism, sections 11 to 13.¹² In the first,

⁴ A new baptistery was constructed at the cathedral in the 1130s off the north transept. See Thompson, *Cities of God*, 30.

⁵ Zeno's Easter and Baptismal sermons and his lectionary suggest the doors and portal sculpture may have been perceived in the eleventh and early twelfth century as both a baptismal entrance, for those undergoing the rigorous baptismal process, and as an entrance for those already baptised. This three-dimensional space, from the pillars at the edge of the dais, in front of the doors, to a similar space behind the doors within the basilica incorporating the font, *may* have been an area of special interest for the monastery and the citizens of Verona. It was probably at differing times a judicial space, a ceremonial space and a baptismal space. However, there is no documentary evidence about the use of the space and how it was perceived by local people.

⁶ Probably San Fermo in the earlier period.

⁷ *Cities of God*, 329, quoting from the Verona Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXXXIV, fol.97v; 'Instrumentum Litis,' 3.28, 172. The vigil readings may have been based on Zeno's lectionary and probably included those on which he had prepared sermons.

⁸ *Ibid*, 312

⁹ *Ibid*, 327.

¹⁰ This duopoly manifested in a series of complementary elements: the Cathedral (Duomo) exerted secular power through the impact of the Empire, whilst San Zeno Maggiore exerted ecclesiastical power through the nature of Zeno's sainthood and patronage; the Cathedral is within the city, whilst San Zeno is on the outside; the Cathedral offers intercession by the Virgin Mary whilst San Zeno Maggiore offers intercession by the patron saint; both offer baptism in Christ.

¹¹ There is some circumstantial evidence that Cyril's writings were known in Verona, at least in the ninth century. Georgi Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850-1350 AD*. (Plovdiv, 2014) notes that the Biblioteca Capitolare, CXIX 109, contains manuscript leaves with prologues to psalms by Cyril from a Turin manuscript of the ninth century. See also Jeffrey C. Anderson and Stefano Parenti, *A Byzantine Monastic Office, A.D. 1105*. (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 2016), 269, n.55.

¹² Paul A Boer (ed.), *The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*. (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform (online): Veritatis Splendor Publications, 2014), 207. Lecture XX also discusses baptism, placing an

Cyril writes that in Job it is suggested there was within Jordan a monster capable of drinking the river, that was, as Rita Wood argues, “powerful enough to subvert all the good of baptism.”¹³ Jesus, in agreeing to be baptised, went into the river and made the waters safe for his followers.¹⁴ In Cyril’s writing, baptism is seen as Jesus tackling the Devil on behalf of all mankind as a prelude to the crucifixion. Baptism and death were therefore two sides of the same coin.¹⁵ Baptism was perceived as a descent into hell followed by resurrection.¹⁶ If the doors and the portal sculpture are read together, we can see them as a reminder, to all who entered through the portal, that baptism conferred grace and strength to resist temptation and that in baptism they themselves had been dead but were risen with Christ.¹⁷

Under Zeno’s direction the Paschal Liturgy became one of the most important elements of the Christian calendar in Verona. The baptismal service had a number of stages, which were very similar to those of Ambrose of Milan, with some minor differences. For example, Ambrose directed that catechumens must be anointed on Easter Saturday, and he added a period for washing the feet after baptism by immersion.¹⁸

The sermons available to us, attributable to Zeno personally, demonstrate a focus on the Paschal Vigil and the role of the Easter lectionary in the baptismal rite. There is insufficient space to consider all Zeno’s sermons in any depth but certain sermons are worth a closer look given their importance to the lectionary and the process adopted here for identifying the lost door panels. Jeanes undertook the task of studying all the sermons;¹⁹ it would appear

emphasis on the “good olive tree, Jesus Christ,” and describing in some detail the importance of immersion three times. (658, 659)

¹³ Rita Wood, “The Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church – A Suggested Interpretation,” *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 85 (2013):97-130.

¹⁴ Zeno similarly sought to create safe passage across the Adige, often a dangerous current in the fourth century (as attested by stories of drownings of those attempting to cross the river in flood). Amongst other stories of his miracles, he rescued the oxen cart from the river. We might consider the Adige as a prototypical Jordan, a local river with the same potential for baptism and death.

¹⁵ In the third and fourth centuries after Christ the nature of baptism, and the meaning of stories such as Nebuchadnezzar and the Fiery Furnace, were considered powerfully to presage mortality. But by the early middle ages, baptism and resurrection became co-equal. Death prefigures resurrection; death is allayed by baptism.

¹⁶ Cyril told his catechumens that when the time came for their own baptism they would go down into the waters dead in sin but would come out brought to life.

¹⁷ For example, the panels showing Theodoric’s flight, riding on Satan in the guise of a black horse and being taken to the devil, reflects the nature of the life of the baptismal candidates – it is shown in powerful detail on the side of the portal. Only through baptism can a person cleanse himself of sins and prevent eternal damnation.

¹⁸ See Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 207. The Ambrosian Rite is still used in Milan (and surrounding areas. See also a discussion at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ambrosian_Rite. Accessed on 8th November 2017.

¹⁹ Gordon P. Jeanes, *The Day has Come: Easter and Baptism in Zeno of Verona*. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), Chapters 3 and 4, 54-146, including Genesis, Exodus 12, Exodus 14, Isaiah 1 and 5, and Daniel.

they cover in some detail the narratives included in the combined lectionary for the Easter Vigil and the Paschal service.²⁰

The argument advanced here is that Zeno's sermons and homilies provide an important clue to the panel arrangement pre-1117, and especially to what might have been in place which has subsequently been lost. When Zeno's sermons and homilies are allied with what we know from the work of Jeanes, Tyrer and Lambot on the lectionary in use in northern Italy in the tenth or eleventh century, we have, potentially, a way of identifying the arrangement of the panels pre-1117 and thus the lost panels.²¹ By considering a number of differing lectionaries, relating these to what is known from other places, matching them to Zeno's sermons, comparing them with what we know speculatively of the liturgy used in Verona (especially at San Zeno Maggiore) in the period in question, and associating them with the Roman rite (which gradually superseded the ancient rites in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries), we may be able to offer a new perspective on the panels.²²

Unfortunately we do not know definitively which liturgy was used in Verona in the tenth, eleventh or early twelfth centuries. Zeno would appear to have been following a broadly similar liturgy to other churches in Lombardy in the fourth century, and we can have confidence in the liturgical significance of the lectionary. The Verona Sacramentary (sometimes entitled incorrectly the Leonine Sacramentary), written in approximately 600 CE, does not appear to have included readings from Zeno's lectionary.²³ It incorporates entirely Roman rites but, as David Hope argues, was written in northern Italy (possibly Verona) as, most probably, a private sacramentary, incorporating a number of masses for most important

²⁰ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 200-201. See also Table 2.

²¹ This raises a difficulty that I have not been able to resolve. It is possible further research in the Verona Biblioteca Capitolare would likely discover additional information on the liturgy used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We cannot be certain about the use of the lectionary although various pieces of evidence attest to its likely veracity. First, Zeno is mentioned by writers during the intervening years. In the fifth century Petronius mentions Zeno; in the late sixth century Gregory the Great discusses Zeno's influence; Coronatus in 800 or thereabouts portrayed Zeno as living a humble life and the Versus of Verona give a description of Zeno from a similar period. Zeno remains the patron saint of Verona. Finally, the first printed edition of Zeno's sermons was published in 1508 suggesting a continued interest in his writings. (See Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 5-19).

²² Bengt Löfstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina XXII*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971). Jeanes, *The Day has Come*; J.W. Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932).

²³ See for example, David M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose*. (Oxford: Oxford Theological Monographs, 1971). The oldest version of the sacramentary (known as the Sacramentarium Veronense) it is the earliest surviving collection of Roman Mass formularies and ordination prayers, a compilation of individual *libelli missarum* in a single manuscript. It originates in a manuscript from seventh century Verona and is said to derive from Pope Leo I (d. 461) but this is disputed. Verona most probably also had access to the Gelasian Sacramentary or Gregorian Sacramentary (both probably eighth century). See Jeanne A. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, 'Manuscripts of the Liturgy,' in Thomas J Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. (Kalamazoo, MI: The Medieval Institute, University of Michigan, 2001), 457, 471.

feast days.²⁴ More importantly, although it may have been used in the cathedral but does not appear to have been sanctioned as a formal sacramentary for Verona. The somewhat arbitrary inclusion of masses suggests that other lectionaries or sacramentaries could have continued in use.

Later lectionaries may or may not have included Zeno's readings, but it is a reasonable assumption, either that they did, or that Zeno was so revered that his influence on the later centuries was substantial. Verona had long and well established traditions, as we know, for example, from Bishop Ratherius' writings in the ninth century.²⁵ Similarly Zeno, as patron saint, is held in high regard by the people of Verona today and, it would seem, was even more revered in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶ There is indication, albeit circumstantial, that the Roman Rite, which in most places superseded earlier rites, may have incorporated within it, at that time, elements from Zeno's Tractatus.²⁷

Thompson includes a good discussion of the importance of the baptismal rite in an Italian urban context, referring to documents held in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona.²⁸ He describes one of the 'most touching' additions made in Verona to the usual ceremonies for Palm Sunday, in which the city holds a series of long processions, chants and choral works, together with, later in the twelfth century, the inclusion of Christ on a donkey.²⁹ He notes also a rite of confession which included an interrogation of a person's sins and "general violations of charity."³⁰ The Verona rite included "whole passages lifted from early medieval penitentials" and, he suggests, shows its ancestry in ancient ritual.³¹ Whilst, again, this does not prove the involvement of Zeno's lectionary within the Verona rites in the eleventh and

²⁴ Hope, *Leonine Sacramentary*, 134-136.

²⁵ Peter L. D. Reid, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*. (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and renaissance texts and studies, 1991).

²⁶ See for example the discussion at Section 1.2.

²⁷ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 203-6.

²⁸ It is evident the Biblioteca Capitolare houses valuable information on various aspects of the liturgy. Unfortunately, Thompson does not describe the Veronese liturgy in depth, and it was beyond the scope of this thesis to examine documents that may be available and to follow up the references from *Cities of God*.

²⁹ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 320 and n.69.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 287 and n.99. In the footnote Thompson gives a reference to the Verona Biblioteca Capitolare, and quotes from Edmund Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, (1736, republished 1967) who provides formulas for absolution of private penitents taken from the Roman rites for public penitents on Holy (Maundy) Thursday. This appears to be related to the movement of the Passover from Easter Day to the preceding Thursday; Jeanes, 203, and n.162 quoting from a summary in M. Perham and K. Stevenson, *Waiting for the Risen Christ: Commentary on Lent, Holy Week, Easter - Services and Prayers*. (London: SPCK, 1986). Taken together these suggest that Zeno's sermons may still have been in use, or were influential, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, not necessarily on Easter Saturday or Sunday but possibly during Holy Week.

³¹ *Ibid*, 287 and n.98.

twelfth centuries, it suggests it was possible, given Zeno's status, exemplified by the early twelfth century tympanum sculpture at San Zeno Maggiore.³²

In his Introduction to the *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, Löfstedt incorporates a discussion of an early twelfth century document now in the archives of the Cathedral of Pistoia. Löfstedt provides arguments from other scholars that the document "probably" relates to Verona and is a testament to the strong connections between Verona and Pistoia in the 12th century.³³ The document includes notes of liturgical content, written at the beginning of several of Zeno's sermons, referring to aspects of sexagesima and quinquagesima,³⁴ the period of preparation for Lent (itself a preparation for Easter) but not for Easter explicitly. This suggests Zeno's sermons were in active use in the early twelfth century as part of liturgical practice, and points to, but does not demonstrate, Zeno's influence on the Easter liturgy in the early twelfth century.

4.3. Zeno's Sermons and the Paschal Lectionary

The tabulation in Jeanes³⁵ shows that Zeno shares in what Jeanes refers to as a 'universal custom' of including readings from a number of biblical sources (see Table 2 below). These include Genesis 1(1)³⁶ and Exodus 14 (7),³⁷ which were two of the twelve original Old Testament readings and would probably have been contained within any Verona lectionary in the high Middle Ages. The latter would have included a canticle drawn from Exodus 15.1ff., in Zeno as in other rites. The inclusion of Passover and Red Sea readings (6 on Table 2) raise some interesting questions. It appears to have been an innovation by Zeno to include the Passover and the Red Sea in his lectionary, but it is unclear whether it would have been retained in Verona into the eleventh century.

In his first sermon on Exodus (Tractatus I.8), Zeno deliberately conflates the Jewish torment in Egypt with Christ's passion, relating how John the Baptist said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sin of the world' and allegorising the 'firstborn' of God (Christ, who alone knows the lifespan of the Father) (Exodus 13:12) with the saving of the Israelite first born ('Passover') and the liberation of the Jews from slavery.

³² See Section 1.2 for the importance of Zeno for the Veronese Commune.

³³ The document has been dated to 'not sooner' than the beginning or middle of the twelfth century. See Löfstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, 22-23

³⁴ Ibid, 23

³⁵ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 202.

³⁶ The numbers in brackets refer to the readings in the lectionary and are given in Table 2.

³⁷ These are referred to as 'Universal' on Table 2.

1. Reading Number	2. Taken from	3. Description of the reading from the various Vigil services (see Jeanes, 202)38	The original twelve Old Testament readings for the Easter Vigil ³⁹
1	Genesis 1	Creation	(1) Genesis 1.1-3.24
2	Genesis 2-3	The Fall	
3	Genesis 6-8	The Flood	
4	Genesis 22	Temptation of Abraham	(2) Genesis 22:1-18
			(4) Jonah 1:1--4:11;
5	Genesis 27	Jacob and Esau	
6	Exodus 12	The Passover	(3) Exodus 12:1-24
7	Exodus 13-15	The Red Sea ⁴⁰	(5) Exodus 14:24--15:21
8	Deut. 31-32	The (second) song of Moses	
9	Joshua 3-4	The passage over Jordan	
10	2 Chron. 34-35	Josiah's Passover	
11	Isaiah 1	Exhortation to repentance	
12	Isaiah 4	Judgment and salvation (+Ch. 5 as song).	
12A	Isaiah 5	The song of the vineyard	
13	Isaiah 55	'Come ye to the waters'	
14	Ezekiel 37	The valley of dry bones	(11) Ezekiel 37:1-14 (the valley of dry bones)
15	Daniel 3	Nebuchadnezzar and the three princes	(12) Daniel 3:1-29 (the story of the three youths) ⁴¹
15+C	Daniel 3	As above followed by canticle	
15C	Daniel 3	As above with canticle included	
16	Jonah	Various	
17	Habbakuk	Parts	
18.	Isaiah 60	Arise shine for your light has come	(6) Isaiah 60:1-13 (the promise to Jerusalem) ⁴²
19.	Job 38	God answers Job	(7) Job 38:2-28 (the Lord's answer to Job)
20.	2 Kings 2	Ascent of Elijah	(8) 2 Kings 2:1-22 (the assumption of Elijah)
21.	Jer'h 31: 31-34	A new covenant	
22.	Joshua 1:1-19	God's commands to Joshua	(10) Joshua 1:1-9 (entry into the Promised Land)

Table 2. Composite Lectionary after Jeanes (201) with the comparison of the original twelve Old Testament readings.

Note that the Armenian elements of the lectionary (18-22) are not relevant to Verona.⁴³

³⁸ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 201.

³⁹ From Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*. (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, Inc., 1986), 48-49.

⁴⁰ Exodus 14 includes the critical passage on Moses parting the waters of the Red Sea – a passage on water and by extension on baptism.

⁴¹ The twelfth reading leads into the Song of the Three Children.

⁴² Note the differing chapters in Isaiah.

⁴³ 18 to 22 were added by Tyrer to cover the Armenian lectionary but are not directly relevant to Verona (from John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*. (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 1999), 276).

In his second sermon on Exodus (Tractatus I.29) (partially extracted below), delivered on the Paschal Vigil,⁴⁴ Zeno describes the significance of the Red Sea narrative:

1. "What a marvellous account, dearly beloved brothers, of sacred history which has been read! When the people of Israel were being crushed by king Pharaoh under the enormous yoke of captivity and were being killed by the harsh conditions in Egypt, in the mercy of God they were ordered to set out under the leadership of Moses....On the one side they were hard pressed by the thick swords of the pursuing Egyptians, on the other they were blocked and hemmed in by the great barrier of the sea.
2. They had no ships, no resources for getting across, when suddenly by divine providence the sea is split open, the waters are heaped up on the right hand and the left, restrained in an icy stupor into glassy walls and providing a way across for the people of God, while for the pursuers the waters were the sea.... What a marvel! Dusty in the midst of the deep, they rejoice and happily see around them perishing in shipwreck those who would triumph over them."⁴⁵

The readings from Isaiah (11, 12 and 12a) leave a question about Zeno's use of Isaiah 1 or Isaiah 5. It appears that unlike some other rites that conflate traditions and join the two readings together, in Zeno Isaiah 5 replaced Isaiah 1 at some point in the 360s CE.

Whether that remained the position it is not possible to say. Isaiah 1 usually starts at v.16 with 'Levamini mundi' ('Wash and be clean') which Zeno paraphrases in Tract.s I.12 and I.23. In I.12 he suggests that the catechumens should "[I]mmerse yourselves in all haste in the wave, let its stream run over you, and with all ardour and zeal fill your vessels so that the water may satisfy you for ever;" and in I.23 he exhorts his congregation to "[H]urry, hurry for a good wash, brothers! The water, living with the Holy Spirit and warmed with the sweetest fire now invites you with its soft murmur." Why Zeno might have suppressed this reading in favour of Isaiah 5 is unclear, although he may have used both together, with Isaiah 5 as a form of prayer after Isaiah 1.

Tract. I.10B (2, 3) (about Isaiah 5, 1-10) (extracted below) provides an understanding of Zeno's powerful Christian sense, as well his anti-Judaic attitudes, when he says:

2. "The first vineyard of God was the synagogue. It was worthless with dense shoots of wandering branches; it spread its luxuriant leaves widely through sensuous and wicked places so brought forth thorns instead of fruit and wild grapes instead of grapes. In his indignation over the matter the Lord abandoned it and of his own will planted another one himself, that is mother Church. He cultivated it with priestly offices, fertilised it with divine watering and trained it to bear a rich harvest hanging from the fertile wood.
3. So it is that some of you have been brought as new vines to the cross-bar and to the joy of all have filled the Lord's wine cellar, aglow with the sweet stream of flowing new wine...."

⁴⁴ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 54, translating sermons from Löfstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 66. The sermon continues with a short statement on the nature of Jewish disbelief.

Zeno identifies the vineyard with the risen Church, and with his flock who bring the new wine from the vineyard to present to the Lord. He also makes a strong case for both Isaiah 1 and 5, as well as for Psalm 41 as a Canticle, which links it with Daniel 3 (15) and the story of Nebuchadnezzar and the fiery furnace. The Psalm accompanies movement to the Baptistry from the church (see above 4.1) and the use of Daniel 3 may have had a similar use. In the Gallican rite from *Luxeuil*,⁴⁶ the song of the three children (in an old Latin version) is incorporated into the reading.⁴⁷

Zeno referred to Daniel 3 in a number of sermons, the first, Tractatus I.22 being typical of his approach. In this he declares that, “[W]hoever can believe in the martyrdom of three children without terror can himself also obtain martyrdom. For such was the might of the contest that even the very fire trembled at it.” But he goes on to affirm his belief in baptism: “[B]y divine providence their spiritual number accorded with the mystery of the Trinity. Certainly they obtained the grace of the dewy oven of baptism.” And in Tractatus I.31, he states his anguish at the event: “And so when I hear of the three children being committed to the flames, first I shudder dreadfully.”

As Jeanes suggests, the use of sermons after each reading at the Paschal Vigil may have been common in Zeno’s time and “may well be linked with the Gallican liturgy.” Similarly the readings of the Passover, of Isaiah 1 and 5, and Daniel 3, suggest a connection with the Luxeuil rite in the seventh and eighth centuries despite the distance between Verona and Burgundy (although there is evidence of widespread sharing between churches in France, Spain and northern Italy). Together these provide some evidence that Zeno’s lectionary was still in use in later centuries and may well have influenced the shape of the Easter liturgy. It is possible to work backwards from what was used in later centuries and note that the combination of Daniel 3 and Psalm 41 is, as Jeanes says, remarkable for its early date seeming to indicate an antique instead of a more ‘modern’ tradition.

Jeanes also notes that Zeno’s Vigil readings provide an early precedent for many features of the Gallican, Luxeuil and Mozarabic Rites and thus suggest connections across Northern Italy, France and Spain.⁴⁸ More importantly though, Jeanes argues that the elements described above – Daniel 3 and Psalm 41 - are combined in later rites as well as in the fourth Vigil.⁴⁹ Jeanes tabulation of the differing lectionaries is shown in Table 3. As he

⁴⁶ See note 37 below.

⁴⁷ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 204, suggests that these conflations might have been thought late additions if it was not for this evidence.

⁴⁸ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 205-206.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 206.

Lectionary															
Zeno ⁵⁰	1				6	7			11/12A				15	+C?	
Luxeuil ⁵¹		3	4	5	6	7		9	11+12A	14	16		15C		
Ambrosian ⁵²	1		4		6	7	13		11				Ps 42		
Gregorian ⁵³	1					7			12	13					Ps 42
Gelasian ⁵⁴	1	3	4		6	7	8		12	13	14		15		Ps 42
Mozarabic ⁵⁵	1		4		6	7	16	18	19	20	21	22	14	+C	

Table 3. Tabulation of Various Lectionaries (NB. The reading numbers have been reordered from Jeanes for clarity).

suggests, working backwards from the twelfth century, Zeno is vital to our understanding of the history of the Paschal lectionary.

The additional readings in Ambrose, compared to Zeno, are 4 and 13, shown in bold. Taken together, Zeno and Ambrose, strengthen the proposal on panel designations. The sermon at 4 is that of Abraham on which Zeno wrote a number of sermons (see Table 2), and 13 is Isaiah, 'Come ye to the waters', a theme related to baptism and possibly suggesting an image of John the Baptist. Table 2 includes the original twelve Old Testament readings for Easter originally in the Armenian Rite of Jerusalem. We can see a considerable difference between this and the composite lectionary (*pace* Jeanes) but also some significant common ground. The shared readings are 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, and 15, which provide a firm basis for the thesis adopted here.

⁵⁰ Zeno's lectionary as described here.

⁵¹ The Luxeuil Lectionary is based on one used in the Abbey of Luxeuil in Burgundy in the sixth and seventh centuries, where it was discovered by Benedictine scholar Jean Mabillon (1632–1707). It is an important source for understanding the Gallican Rite, which prevailed in Gaul until about the middle or end of the eighth century.

⁵² The Ambrosian Rite, also known as the Milanese Rite, is named for Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the fourth century, and differs from the Roman Rite. It is still in use in the greater part of the Archdiocese of Milan, and some of surrounding areas, thus suggesting that Zeno's lectionary could have been in use in the twelfth century in Verona. St. Ambrose succeeded Auxentius of Milan (355-374), whose period in office accords with that of Zeno (362-372?) so they may have known each other. See Henry Jenner, "Ambrosian Liturgy and Rite," in Charles Herbermann, *Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol 1*. (New York: Robert Appleton, 1907, republished by Forgotten Books, 2014)

⁵³ The Gregorian Rite (the Rite of St. Gregory the Great 540 - 604) was established in the sixth century and is often known as the Roman Rite. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) standardised worship by suppressing all Western Rites that did not have a continuous history of at least two hundred years. This effectively eliminated all but the Ambrosian Rite of Milan, the Mozarabic Rite of Toledo, Spain, and the Gregorian Rite of the City of Rome itself, sometimes therefore called the Roman Rite.

⁵⁴ The Gelasian Sacramentary is the second oldest western liturgical book to have survived - only the Verona Sacramentary is older - and the oldest document is an 8th-century Merovingian illuminated manuscript in the Vatican Library. None of the old manuscripts bears the name of Gelasius but an old tradition linked the book to Pope Gelasius I. It was compiled near Paris around 750, and contains a mixture of Gallican and Roman elements.

⁵⁵ The Mozarabic Rite is was developed by Visigothic communities in the Iberian Peninsula. "Mozarab" is a modern historical term used to refer to Christians that lived under Muslim rulers in Al-Andalus. The Visigothic/Mozarabic Rite's origins predates Al-Andalus to the time of the Christian Visigothic Kingdom.

The form of service in Italy in the eleventh century included a ritual of baptism analogous to that of the Gelasian sacramentary of the 8th century and even more comparable to the *ordo romanus antiquus*, and possessed, in effect, an amplification that distinguished it from the Gelasian. We also know, through the pontifical Romano-Germanic of the tenth century, which alone preserved it, that the *ordo romanus antiquus* was widespread in Italy at the time when the Ambrosian liturgy was collected.⁵⁶ Given that the Zeno and Ambrosian lectionaries are both dated originally to the fourth century, and are similar in composition, it is possible that the Zeno lectionary influenced, or was at least known about, in the eleventh century, although there is a likelihood it may have been suppressed in favour of the Roman Rite, unlike the Ambrosian lectionary that continues in use to this day.⁵⁷

In Tractatus I.44 (II. 47),⁵⁸ Zeno gives a Paschal Proclamation which offers a powerful poetic statement of the importance of Easter that may have been extremely attractive to the people of Verona in the eleventh and twelfth centuries:

1. Crowned with many forms of grace and ‘treading its steps with swift feet’⁵⁹ in solemn ceremony through the circuitous routes of the seasons, for the stable runner the day of salvation has come. The same as its predecessor and as its successor, ever new in its long old age, the parent of the year and the year’s offspring, it precedes the seasons which it follows and sows the unending ages.
2. It gives birth to its own beginning from the end, and today it will grant this to our *competentes* whom now the happy setting invites so that, immersed in the milky depth of the sacred ocean, and rising from there, new with the new day, and, radiant with their own light, they may come with us in a safe course on the heavenly path of immortality to the time of promise where one rises for ever.⁶⁰

Zeno’s belief in Baptism for the removal of sin is profound. His sermons, after readings in the Easter Vigil, offer powerful messages of Christian hope. Perhaps this is why he is remembered in Verona with such affection. And it is why, although we cannot prove his lectionary was in use in the tenth, eleventh or twelfth centuries (unlike the Ambrosian lectionary), his influence was significant.

In summary, we cannot argue that a separate sacramentary based on Zeno’s writings was in use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it is likely Zeno’s sermons and homilies were adopted for use after components of the Easter Vigil. Depending on the lectionary in use,

⁵⁶ Dom C. Lambot, *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century*. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1928), Introduction, xxxiv-xxxv.

⁵⁷ See for example, Alan Griffiths, *We Give You Thanks and Praise*. (Norwich, UK: Canterbury Press, 1999); and Marco Navoni (ed.), *Dizionario di Liturgia Ambrosiana*. (Milan: Nuove Edizioni Duomo, 1996).

⁵⁸ A similar proclamation is made in Tractatus I.6.

⁵⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 11.718. The suggestion here is that Zeno was familiar with Virgil’s writings. The eleventh and twelfth centuries engaged with Virgil, Seneca, Cicero, Ovid and other antique authors, and suggests another clue to their continuing engagement with Zeno’s writings.

⁶⁰ Translated by Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 73, from *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*.

Zeno's preferences, which would probably have been well established, thus had influence in the wider community and in art and church decoration. However the Ambrosian lectionary, very similar to Zeno's (see Table 3 above) continues in use in modern times and suggests (but no more) that the panel designations were based on either Ambrose or Zeno, enhanced with other elements of the full lectionary at Table 2 above (probably until the Council of Trent).⁶¹ I argue that the lectionary described by Jeanes provides a basis for the panel designations, even though Zeno's sermons cover only some of the subjects.

4.4. Derivation of the subjects of the Workshop 1 Panels

For clarity, the process I have adopted is as follows. Firstly, a lectionary listing has been used incorporating various vigil services in the early medieval period as described by Tyrer and collated by Jeanes (Table 4);⁶² Column 2 gives the biblical source, and Column 3 the title of the reading. Secondly, the readings used regularly by Zeno are shown in Column 4, and references to Zeno's sermons that cover the appropriate reading are shown in Column 5. The panel numbers of the existing current panels (as now arranged) are shown in Column 6 (Table 5) and Column 7 provides their description. From steps one and two we derive Column 8 which shows the panels now proposed for the original right-hand door before 1117 in which the existing panels are in black, and the title of the lost panels identified (speculatively) through this process (from Col. 3) are shown in a different font (Tempus Sans ITC).

My assumptions are as follows:

- (i) that the readings we know were used by Zeno, on which he wrote sermons he gave after the Vigil readings, designate panel descriptions, and
- (ii) other panels, where we do not have a lead from Zeno, would have been based on the lectionary readings for the Paschal Vigil lectionary. Thus 6, 7, 11, 12A, 13 and 15 provide a framework into which other images are located.

These are major assumptions, but, given the lectionary as reconstructed by Tyrer and described by Jeanes, and the lack of certainty on what was in use in Verona in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seem not unreasonable.

⁶¹ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 201.

⁶² Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, 156-7; and Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 201-2.

1. Reading Number	2. Taken from:	3. Description of readings from various vigil services (See Jeanes, 200-1)	4. Readings from Zeno's lectionary	5. Zeno's Paschal sermons that support the panel designations ⁶³
1.	Genesis 1	Creation	Universal	Tractatus I7,27, 45,
2.	Genesis 2-3	The Fall		
3.	Genesis 6-8	The Flood		
4.	Genesis 22	Temptation of Abraham	In the Ambrosian Rite	Tractatus I43, 59, 62
5.	Genesis 27	Jacob and Esau		
6.	Exodus 12	The Passover	Significant ⁶⁴	Tractatus I8, 19, 28, 46A, 51, II17, 20, 25
7.	Exodus 13-15	The Red Sea ⁶⁵	Universal ⁶⁶	Tractatus I9, 18, 29, 46B, 52, II16, 26
8.	Deut. 31-32	The (second) song of Moses		
9.	Joshua 3-4	The passage of Jordan		
10.	2 Chron. 34-35	Josiah's Passover		
11.	Isaiah 1	Exhortation to repentance	Significant ⁶⁷	Tractatus I20, 30, 47, 61, II21
12.	Isaiah 4	Judgment and salvation (+ Ch. 5 as song)		
12a.	Isaiah 5	The song of the vineyard	Significant ⁶⁸	Tractatus I10A, 10B, II11
13.	Isaiah 55	'Come ye to the waters'	In the Ambrosian Rite	
14.	Ezekiel 37	The valley of dry bones		
15.	Daniel 3	Nebuchadnezzar and three princes	Significant	Sermon ⁶⁹ I11, 22, 31, 48, 53, II22, 27,
15+C	Daniel 3	As above followed by canticle	Significant	Sermon. These readings are same as 15 with a canticle added and thus not included separately in column 8 listing
15C	Daniel 3	As above with the canticle included		
16.	Jonah	Found within the Mozarabic Rite and thus not relevant to this discussion.		
17.	Habakkuk			

Table 4. Composite lectionary (from Jeanes, 201).

⁶³ Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 25 (Chart 2.1), 54-99.

⁶⁴ Not found in the Gregorian or Gellasian rites (see Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 201, 202; Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, 156-157).

⁶⁵ Exodus 14 includes the critical passage on Moses parting the waters of the Red Sea – in other words a passage on water and by implication on baptism.

⁶⁶ Including the canticle, 'Cantemus Domino' from Exodus 15:1 ff.

⁶⁷ In Zeno, but varies by lectionary.

⁶⁸ Either in addition to or instead of Isaiah 1. See Jeanes, *The Day has Come*, 203.

1. Reading Number	6. Right hand door, panel number current layout (see Table 1, p.27)	7. Right hand door, panel description, current layout (incorporating Workshop 2 panels).	8. Right hand door panel descriptions based on Col. 3 (Table 4), as it might have been before the earthquake of 1117 (i.e. before the panels in Column 7 (left) were created).
1	25	Creation and temptation of Eve	Creation
2.	26, 27	Adam and Eve meet with God; Expulsion from Eden	The Fall: Expulsion from Eden
3.	29, 30	Noah and the dove; Noah is drunk	The Flood
4.	33	Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac	Temptation of Abraham
5.	28	Cain and Abel	Jacob and Esau.
6.	35	Passover: Sadness of motherhood; death first born ⁷⁰	Passover: Slaughter of the first born ⁷¹
7.	34?	Moses receives the law	The Red Sea (parting of the waters)
8.	34?	Moses receives the law	Second song of Moses (Moses receives the law)
9.	36	The cross and the serpent	The Passage of Jordan
10.	37	Balaam's donkey	Josiah's Passover
11.			Exhortation to Repentance
12.	37	Balaam's donkey	
12a.	38	Tree of Jesse	Song of the Vineyard
13.	Unclear	Link with John the Baptist	A water-based image (baptism) (possibly refers to John the Baptist)
14.	Unclear		The valley of dry bones
15.	43	With the Workshop 1 panels	Nebuchadnezzar and the fiery furnace
15+C		These readings are the same as Reading 15 with a canticle added and are thus not included separately in the column 8 listing	
15C			
16.			
17.			

Table 5. Proposed panel descriptions (for panels made prior to 1117 and lost) based on the lectionary in Table 4.

Those on which Zeno had prepared sermons are shaded in dark grey.

Thus I argue that the original arrangement of the panels, pre-1117, can be reconstructed even allowing for the damage caused by the earthquake, which probably more or less

⁷⁰ This probably refers to Egyptian mothers and the death of the firstborn in Egypt.

⁷¹ Death of the first born Egyptian babies.

destroyed the right hand door and damaged some of the panels so badly that they were discarded, and accepting that Zeno did not prepare sermons on all subjects in the lectionary.

Right hand door based on the lectionary of San Zeno	
17. <i>Habakkuk</i> Salome carries John's head to Herod. (Note 1)	18. <i>Arise shine for your light has come</i> Beheading of John the Baptist. (Note 1)
15. <i>Nebuchadnezzar and the three princes</i> Nebuchadnezzar and the fiery furnace.	16. <i>Jonah</i> Salome dances for Herod. (Note 1)
13. <i>Come ye to the waters</i> Pigs are saved from the water. (Note 2)	14. <i>The valley of dry bones</i> (Note 3)
11. <i>Exhortation to Repentance</i> (Note 3)	12. <i>Song of the Vineyard</i> (Note 3)
9. <i>The passage of Jordan</i> Note 3)	10. <i>Josiah's Passover</i> (Note 3)
7. <i>The Red Sea</i> (Note 3) San Zeno and the emperor. (Note 7)	8. <i>The second song of Moses</i> (Note 3)
5. <i>Jacob and Esau.</i> Cain and Abel (First labour) (Note 4)	6. <i>The Passover</i> The sadness of motherhood (Note 5)
3. <i>The Flood</i> (Noah) Noah takes animals onto the ark. (Note 6)	4. <i>Temptation of Abraham</i> The Angel prevents Isaac's sacrifice. (Note 6)
1. <i>Creation</i> St Michael kills the Dragon (Note 7)	2. <i>The Fall</i> Expulsion from Eden. (Note 6)

Table 6. The right-hand door (panels made by Workshop 1), after possible damage in 1117, amended to suggest the lost panels (7?, 8-12, and 14).⁷²

Note 1. This note refers to three panels 16, 17, and 18 above. As the Armenian rite was unlikely to have been used in Verona, the panels concerning John the Baptist (Panels 19-21, left hand door) have been included here instead. I have assumed John the Baptist was of importance to Zeno and to Verona. It is possible that they would have been placed instead at positions 9 to 12.

Note 2. Although Panel 13 has the designation 'Come ye to the waters', a panel exists as shown with a theme of water and thus there is no requirement to identify a different panel. (Now Panel 44, right hand door).

Note 3. These are the seven panels that are missing from the full set of 36, with designation based on the lectionary (see Table 4). Panel 7 would probably have replaced San Zeno and the Emperor.

Note 4. Although the lectionary suggests Jacob and Esau, a panel showing Cain and Abel already exists.

Note 5. Butturini's designation is probably correct as the lectionary suggests the Passover. (Panel still exists and is Panel 22, left hand door).

Note 6. These panels are essentially the same with the obvious exception of the door handle.

Note 7. Panels clearly undertaken by Workshop 1 exist (San Zeno and the Emperor) but the alternative designation seems correct. Similarly St Michael killing the Dragon, panel 48, current right hand door, fits at position 1.

⁷² Those panel designations shown bold suggest the panels that would have been on the door pre-1117. Those shown in *Tempus sans* ITC are the designations identified by the lectionary.

Simeoni proposed nine rows of two panels on each row,⁷³ which fits the lectionary in Jeanes (201-202), and requires 36 panels over two doors.

Twenty-nine panels are available made by Workshop 1 (from Table 1, Chapter 2) to which must be added seven to make a complete set of 36. Based on Simeoni's idea from the early part of the twentieth century (1909) the door panels would be arranged as in Table 6. These are suggestions and can only be indicative of how the panels *might* have been arranged. It is clear that the lectionary was not followed slavishly, but nonetheless it provides an idea of how the earlier doors might have appeared. Table 6 shows the existing and proposed panels. Those shown in lower case Arial exist now; those shown in Tempus Sans ITC bold are the panels suggested by this process. The process adopted does not prove these were the lost panel designations. However, the panel designations fit both the lectionary and those highlighted by Zeno's sermons, and importantly work within the overall framework of the lectionary.

If this is correct it identifies three features of the doors pre-1117. Firstly, the pairs of panels 1- 6, 13 and 15 are very broadly on the same themes. There are some differences, such as the inclusion of Jacob and Esau instead of Cain and Abel, but this may be acceptable within the theoretical perspective proposed here; however, the Cain and Abel panel from Workshop 1 exists and does not need to be replaced.⁷⁴

Secondly, the panels in the top row and the right-hand panel in the second row derogate from the liturgical schema, featuring instead scenes from the life of John the Baptist whom we have noted was important to Zeno and relevant to the overall performance of the doors.

Thirdly, and most significantly, the panels 8, 10, 12 and 14 reflect on the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt and the Exodus.⁷⁵ These can be described conveniently as 'deliverance' from slavery and oppression in an alien land. More importantly these panels would have

⁷³ Luigi Simeoni, *La Basilica di s. Zeno di Verona*, op cit., pp. 57-59

⁷⁴ Both Cain and Abel, and Esau and Jacob describe sibling rivalry, but the stories attest to two further differences: a rivalry between father and mother demonstrated by the love the father shows the first born and the mother shows the second; and the importance of the first born as farmer or hunter and the second born in the role of shepherd or pastoral peacemaker. This difference unquestionably reinforces the biblical narrative of the clash of good and evil and allegorically demands careful consideration of family dynamics and harsh lessons about reconciling the 'man of action' and the 'man of peace'. Cain's and Abel's position as the sons of Adam and Eve give them mythical 'first status' as the original sons born outside the Garden of Eden, thus offering vital allegorical significance. But Esau and Jacob exist in a social setting within the tribes of Israel, and are thus in a more 'realist' position, especially in relation to the captivity in Egypt; it is a narrative of the way that Jacob wins Esau's birthright, in the same way that Cain wins Abel's.

⁷⁵ Carol A. Redmount, "Bitter Lives: Israel In And Out of Egypt." In *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* ed. Michael D. Coogan. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). The Exodus is the foundational parable in which the Israelites were delivered from slavery by God through the leadership of Moses. The overall objective of the Exodus myth is to demonstrate God's actions in history and recall Israel's bondage and salvation.

connected fittingly with the panels depicting Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, and the two women, Sarah and Hagar. It is possible the panels may have been known as the Passover group due to the importance accorded the Passover in Jewish history. However, a group of panels describing the Exodus myth would also have been highly appropriate.

4.5. Assistance with dating the panels

This discussion might also assist in dating. The panels could be read not only as 'deliverance' of the Israelites from captivity, but as signifying an attitude of defiance to the Empire at the time of the Investiture Controversy. If this was so it would date the panels more firmly to the 1080s, as an early statement of support for the Gregorian reforms, albeit one that could not speak its name too loudly. The main problem with this suggestion (the same problem with the dating given in Chapter 1) is why the doors were created at that time (unless, perhaps but unlikely, they were deliberately intended to mark the reforms). In the eleventh century Pope Nicholas II, wanted to abolish the Ambrosian Rite but was unsuccessful, and Alexander II, his successor, a Milanese, reversed this policy. St. Gregory VII made another attempt in the 1070s. It is possible the reason for the first door's production was to assert the importance of Zeno's lectionary albeit in the context of support for the Gregorian reforms. The alternative remains plausible, that the panels were manufactured in the tenth century to accord with the reconstruction and consecration in 967. This would have been a powerful motivation, and the somewhat rough and ready manufacture of the panels could attest to the earlier date.⁷⁶

We can speculate that the original right-hand door contained panels that spoke to the idea of deliverance from bondage and the achievement of the Mosaic covenant with God. This would have dove-tailed well with the original intention of including the Creation, the Fall and Deliverance (right hand door) and Jesus' Passion and Redemption (left hand door). When Niccolò came to prepare the stone relief sculptures (during the 1130s when the doors were still in a damaged state) it was clear that the left-hand stone reliefs had to strengthen the idea of Salvation and the right hand reliefs should underline the importance of Creation and the Fall.

4.6. Summary

In whichever way the door panels are arranged it is evident the ordering of the bronze panels and portal stone reliefs are complementary, rather than duplicative, within the overall scheme described. The right-hand portal relief sculpture provides a powerful Old Testament

⁷⁶ It is worth noting however that the Hildesheim doors demonstrate much better craftsmanship.

representation of the Creation, the Garden of Eden, the Fall and Expulsion; the right-hand door panels offer the alternative Old Testament representation of the crucial allegorical and prophetic narratives signalling the coming of Christ and the importance of baptism in the alleviation of sin. We can therefore suggest that the original right-hand door from the late included panels that spoke to the idea of deliverance from bondage and the achievement of the Mosaic covenant with God. This interrelated with the original intention of including the Creation, the Fall and Delivery (right hand door) and Jesus' Passion and Redemption (left hand door).

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1. Identifying the 'lost' panels from before 1117

If the analysis in Chapter 4 offers clues to the panels' derivations, the earlier panels would have included several that described the Exodus myth, and related subjects, which in turn is linked with the spirit of baptism. Baptism conferred an ability to resist temptation; it delivered catechumens from evil; believers who had been dead were risen with Christ. Exodus describes the Israelites passing through the Red Sea – a further allegory of the healing power of water.

I argue that the early medieval lectionary, incorporating sermons by Zeno on the Passover, dividing the waters of the Red Sea, repentances and the song of the vineyard, defined the list of subjects for the door panels. Some of those panels have been lost and it is impossible to identify those panel subjects with certainty. However, the themes of the lost panels are suggested, based on the topics of the lectionary sources.

5.2. Dating of the panels

I have noted disagreements between scholars about the dates of manufacture of the panels. The majority argue the bronze door panels were produced in two main phases with a subsidiary phase during the rebuilding of the basilica in the 1130s. They do so largely on stylistic grounds arguing that the earlier panels, predominantly those on the left-hand door, were manufactured sometime in the late eleventh century (c.1080). We cannot however rule out a date of manufacture of the earlier panels in the Ottonian period, from the mid to late tenth to early eleventh centuries. The later panels predominantly those on the right-hand door were made in the later twelfth century, probably sometime in the 1170s. A plaque high on the right-hand side of the west façade states that the work was completed in 1178, which could include the Workshop 2 panels.

Although this dissertation cannot provide definitive answers, two possible conclusions present themselves. On the one hand the balance of evidence appears to suggest the earlier panels at San Zeno were made and installed in the late eleventh century. Most scholars agree the panels were in place before 1117 and were damaged in the earthquake. Daniec may well be substantially right.¹ The first set of panels were probably made in Magdeburg sometime in the eleventh century; some additional panels may have been made in

¹ Daniec, *The Message of Faith and Symbol*.

Magdeburg in the early eleventh (late 1130s) and used to replace broken panels in order to complete the earlier doors; a second set was then made in the later twelfth century (probably in the 1170s or early 1180s) but where is impossible to say.²

However, the other option should be given careful consideration and not ruled out of hand too quickly. The 'rough and ready' moulding technique and the circumstantial evidence from Chapter 4, when taken with the date of re-consecration of the rebuilt basilica in 967 suggest the earlier panels could have been manufactured sometime in the late tenth or early eleventh century. It is impossible to say with certainty which date is more likely.

5.3. The façade and stone reliefs

My initial hypothesis argued that the west front of San Zeno Maggiore, Verona, incorporating the portal stone relief sculpture and the bronze panelled doors, describes a largely traditional version of Christian salvation by juxtaposing the Fall on the right hand (south) side showing the Genesis narrative of the expulsion from Eden and early Old Testament scenes allegorical of Christ's crucifixion, with on the left hand (north) side Redemption incorporating the Gospel narrative of Jesus' life from birth to crucifixion and ascension. However, it differs from the ornamentation of other Cathedral façades³ in relating salvation explicitly to baptism, where the two sides are moderated through the Paschal liturgy. The significance of the baptismal rite is signalled by the importance of the three bronze panels on the earlier door, describing John the Baptist's beheading.⁴

The stone relief sculpture is less problematic with the exception of the lower left and right panels that ostensibly describe Theodoric and Odoacer. The main issue concerning us is therefore the allegorical or narrative significance of the panels. The panels on the lower left represent the narratives of Adelaide and Berengar, and those on the right refer to Theodoric as a powerful reminder of the Italian Kingdom and as a patriot who supported the legend of Zeno and took Verona under his wing. The allegorical nature of the flight on the black horse unto the devil underlines the prominence of Baptism in the liturgy of Zeno; the catechumen must die to become alive once more in Jesus. This use of the seemingly irrational and supernatural as a basis of authority was a component of the medieval approach to the world in which human beings, animals and spirits inhabited the same space in a complex web of

² Note that the second major earthquake occurred in 1183 and this may have had a bearing on the rebuilding. The inscription on the tower (that describes the completion of the basilica) is dated 1178, before the second earthquake. However, work continued on the basilica for many years and there is thus no specific cut-off date for work on the panels.

³ Such as at Ferrara and Piacenza.

⁴ Note the link with the discussion in Chapter 4 on the importance I accord to John the Baptist on the reconstructed right hand door.

relationships. The authority of the church perpetuated itself in the interactions between charisma and tradition within both individual contexts and institutional settings.

Conclusions

In conclusion, there is a narrative subtlety in the sculptured bronze relief panels of the twelfth century as much in the earlier, supposedly more crude and simple panels. They repay close scrutiny for the brilliance of their psychological representation, especially the earlier panels (by Workshop 1), despite the crude mouldings and a possibility of Ottonian provenance. The date of manufacture of the earlier panels is contentious. Most scholars argue for the late eleventh century (c.1080) but there is circumstantial evidence for a date in the Ottonian period of the late tenth or very early eleventh century.

It is probable the later Panels (by Workshop 2) are from the second half of the twelfth century (around 1175), determined again on stylistic grounds, from available metallurgical analysis, and from a plaque placed high on the right hand side of the basilica's façade which states that the basilica was 'completed' in 1178. Further work was done on the façade, including the creation of a rose window in the early thirteenth century, but 'completion' is generally accepted as finalisation of the basilica's rebuilding including completion of the doors.

Iconological and thematic connections link both doors to the surrounding stone relief sculptures, and generate a powerful combination of Creation and the Fall on the right with Redemption and Salvation on the left, important narratives connected by a Paschal liturgy of baptism including the notion of Deliverance. The significance of Zeno's Paschal lectionary and sermons and their incorporation into the façade suggest a reconstruction of the earlier Workshop 1 right hand door (pre-1117) in accordance with Zeno's lectionary, modified by consideration of the Ambrosian and Roman Rites.

November 2017.

Appendix 1: Summary of Bronze Door Panels in German, Italian and Polish Churches

Bronze Doors made in the Holy Roman Empire (Germany, Northern Italy and Poland) with summary notes relating to the earlier panels at San Zeno Maggiore.

Place	Dates	Historiography	Style	Composition ¹			
				Cu	Sn	Zn	Pb
Augsburg	1050-1065	Doors made in mid-eleventh century, possibly in Magdeburg. Cast in 35 separate panels	Scenes from the life of Samson and Genesis plus animals etc..	66.5 69.6	1 4	0.7 0.4	20.1 7.2
Gniezno	1170s-1190s	Doors made in Magdeburg but a century later than Augsburg	Composition similar only to San Zeno (of those available here).	86.2 92.0	12.2 5.82	0 0	0.9 4.1
Hildesheim	1015	Doors made for Bernward in early eleventh. Was San Zeno a model? (Fleige, 1993)	Similar to San Zeno programmatically but more fluidly sculpted. Narrative panels in reverse order to San Zeno	77.2 76.6	8.5 7.33	5.0 4.3	8.6 11.3
Mainz	988-1009	Two single cast doors with minimal decoration	Possibly made by Mosan artists	80.1 74.2	13.4 16.3	1.6 2.3	4.9 7.0
Montecassino ²	1066	Doors made in Byzantium in mid eleventh century. Donation of the Mauroni family from Amalfi.	Set of plates with inscriptions	81.6 82.5	2.1 3.3	10.7 11.2	4.1 3.0
Novgorod	1150s	Doors given as gift or taken from Płock.	Panel sculpture similar to San Zeno but more fluid and rounded Originally from Płock, recently recreated.	-	-	-	-
Płock, Poland		Commissioned in the period 1130-1150 from Magdeburg		-	-	-	-
Rome. S. Paulo fuori le Mura	1070	Cast in Constantinople and the gift of the Mauroni family from Amalfi.		73.5	0.1	17.9	8.5
San Zeno, Verona	1065, 1138, 1170s	Panels on the left door are earlier than most on the right.	Left door possibly by Italian artists or Saxon artists from Magdeburg. Composition analysis suggests it is of the later door panels.	90.2	7.0	0	2.8

¹ Only two sets of percentages given here from information in Daniec. See Daniec, *The Message of Faith and Symbol*, 102-103. The two rows highlighted in blue have a very similar composition, unlike any of the others.

² Montecassino is an example of the 9 or so Byzantine doors in southern Italy. Another group was made by Barismus of Trani.

Appendix 2. The Porch and Lunette as a Coherent Structure

This appendix describes the stone sculpture of the porch and lunette in some detail, and focuses on the inscriptions.

The porch is a single-story structure with a pitched roof held up by two columns each mounted on the back of a lion (Figure S6). The gable contains a *manus dei* within a recessed tondo¹ edged with a bead moulding and circled by an inscription within a rectangle. The sloping cornices on the gable have saw tooth moulding and a stylised vine pattern. Two saints are set on the rectilinear vertical boundary of the spandrels: on the left (looked at from the front) is John the Evangelist, holding an open a book at chest height (Figure S8); and, on the right, John the Baptist points to the *agnus dei* on the keystone of the arch (Figure S8) in a manner reminiscent of the cathedral. Both are complemented by long inscriptions chased into the stonework of the spandrel to their right and left respectively; and both stand on acanthus-decorated mounds offset to left and right respectively.² The inscriptions are leonine hexameters³ and read:

+ DAT PRESVL SIGGNVM . POPVLO . MVNIMINE DIGNVM + VEXILLVM ZENO .
LARGITVR CORDE SERENO.⁴ These two full leonine hexameters refer in the first line to

¹ The Hand of God, or *Manus Dei* in Latin, also known as *Dextera domini/dei*, the "right hand of God", is a motif in Christian art (especially of the Late Antique and Early Medieval periods) used when an image of God the Father as fully human was unacceptable. The hand indicates an involvement or mediation in the creation of the church or its façade, or alternately as an approval of what has been created on earth by God, or it can be a subject in itself. It is an artistic metaphor not generally intended to suggest a hand was physically present or seen in the subject matter of the sculpture.

² Inscriptions are included on nearly all the stone relief panels and provide valuable clarification and explanation. Most are in rhyming Leonine Hexameters and the translations of all the inscriptions are included in this section.

³ The form of many of the inscriptions on Romanesque monuments is Leonine Hexameters. According to Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, poets of the versified portals in the twelfth century always used the standard or 'dactylic' form of the classical hexameter in which each of the first four feet could be either spondee (long, long) or a dactyl (long, short, short), the fifth foot was always a dactyl, and the sixth foot could be either a spondee or a trochee (long, short). By translating the voice (or the 'word') of God or of the church into an ornate memorable form made the word visible even if those seeing the inscription could not read Latin: in other words, rhyme can be seen as well as heard.

Two kinds of rhyme were used with hexameters – leonine, and disyllabic end rhymes. The leonine or internal rhyme was well suited to inscriptions as it could display the poetic structure even in one line. A full leonine rhyme incorporates a disyllabic rhyme; a common rhyme has a monosyllabic rhyme. Disyllabic end rhymes were used much less often in the Romanesque period. Conscious use of the common leonine rhyme dates for the Carolingian period although it was found occasionally in classical Latin. The classical hexameter consisted of six feet with an obligatory break – a caesura – that usually occurred in the middle of the third foot; the medieval hexameter always placed the caesura in the third foot. Thus the structure of a leonine hexameter was rigidly prescribed as 2½ and 3½ feet.

⁴ 'The bishop hands to the people a standard worthy of defence. Zeno gives a banner with a serene heart.'

the scene on the left side of the tympanum (the citizenry or infantry) and in the second line to the knights on the right hand side.

The arch and vertical stones (to which the representations of the two Johns are fixed) rest on rather grotesque telamons, the left figure wearing a short tunic on his lower half, bearded with legs crossed indicative of the effort made to hold up the arch and spandrel, and on the right a figure clothed, clean shaven, showing much less exertion than the image on the left. The outer curve of the arch is decorated with coffers enclosing rosettes and creatures oriented towards the *agnus dei*.

The architraves of the barrel vault are sculpted with the labours of the months. Three figures are shown on each of four faces, individually wearing short tunics, and representing, for the proposed period of composition, a typical north Italian solution.⁵ At the end of the outer south side architrave a figure can just be seen disappearing into the wall, suggesting that the porch may have been constructed away from the site to slightly different dimensions, or that it was amended at a later date. Higher up on that south wall set within two relief coffers are a griffin and a lion.

The portal opening comprises a moulded lintel and columns of interwoven vines topped by telamons. Above the lintel is a stone course decorated with animal motifs and rosettes, similar to those on the outer curve of the arch. The tympanum is recessed and contains three separate fields: the citizenry, the knights,⁶ and San Zeno dressed in bishops robes with mitre and staff, standing on a devil and a separate podium. The outer bead is a vine-like moulding, and on the inner element are two inscriptions. On the left side of the central figure of San Zeno the inscription states: + REX GALIENVVS ZENO <nem> QVERIT . ANELVS . PISCES LEGATIS . TRES DAT BONITAS SVA GRATIS, and on the right side of Zeno the inscription reads: ZENO PISCATVR . VIR STAT . DEMONQVE FVGATVR.⁷

On the lintel beneath Zeno's feet, within arcades, are shown three scenes from his life. To his right Zeno prevents the devil from drowning an ox cart driver; on the far left Gallienus looks for Zeno who in the next arcade exorcises the devil from his daughter. Gallienus lived

⁵ Other places have similar labours of the month or signs of the zodiac, such as Sacra di San Michele in the Val di Susa. The twelve months are: March blows two horns with his hair dressed as the sun; April carries two large and beautiful flowers (that might have been exquisite when coloured in the twelfth century); May is an armed knight; June gathers the first fruits of the season; July cuts wheat or rye; August has a wine barrel; September presses grapes; October finds acorns to feed pigs; November slaughters the pigs; December brings home the firewood; and January sits by the fire; finally, February prunes the vines.

⁶ Kain refers to these as the infantry and the cavalry respectively. See Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*, 172.

⁷ Three full leonine hexameters which apply to the first, third and fourth of the lintel sculptures.

'King Gallienus breathlessly seeks Zeno. His goodness freely gives three fishes to the legates. Zeno fishes, the peasant survives, and the devil is put to flight.' Both sense and metre demand the accusative form of Zeno, Zenonem.

approximately 100 years earlier than Zeno and although chronologically they could not have met, the narrative underscores the mythical significance to Verona of the two persons. Having them meet in this way emphasises their prominence: Gallienus confers regal authority allied with human vulnerability; Zeno demonstrates his miraculous powers, his justified recognition as Saint and the power of the Christian church. This is followed in the next arch by the miracle of the uncooked fish in which Zeno is said to have kept a fish alive in boiling water. A series of archivolt bring the inner recessed tympanum back to the outer level of the lunette.⁸

Low relief stone sculptures cover the whole of the façade within the pillars and occupy the space created by the door posts and dwarf galleries, extending beyond the raised dais on either side.

Right hand (south) side

On the south side there are six panels contained within two vertical stone reliefs (Figure S9). The vertical bar on the right is probably by Nicolo's workshop; it has been suggested that the decorated bar on the left is by Adamino di San Giorgio, who sculpted the crypt in the early thirteenth century.⁹ However it is unlikely this bar was sculpted at a later date as it sits close to the door jamb and appears integral to the overall sculptural programme. The panels represent Old Testament stories from Genesis. Each panel contains images and an inscription. The sequence starts at the lower left with a depiction of the creation of animals and birds, seen moving left toward the Creator who has his right hand raised in blessing. A full leonine hexameter inscription reads: FACTOR TERRARVM GENVS HIC CREAT OMNE FERARVM.¹⁰ The creator stands with his head, shown in a cruciferous nimbus, in the heavens adjacent to the birds in the upper third of the panel. The leaping animals include a lion, goat, sheep, horse and deer.

To the right is the creation of Adam shown sleeping on what Porter refers to as a "sort of rinceau"¹¹ - a bed of vine leaves and flowers – perhaps intended as the luxuriant vegetation of the Garden of Eden, or a 'tree of life.' Adam is naked, well built and appears to be resting peacefully, his body in a curiously static pose (as is Eve in the following relief), with his legs bent and arm outstretched. The full leonine hexameter reads + VU SIT REX RERVM DEDIT

⁸ See Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholaus*, 174.

⁹ Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholaus*, 173 and Plate 102.

¹⁰ 'Here the Maker of the world creates every kind of animal'

¹¹ Porter, *Lombard Churches*, 530.

ADE SEXTA DIERVVM.¹² Above left, God pulls Eve by her right arm from Adam's side as he sleeps on a bed of roses and other flowers with the inscription: + COSTA[m] FVR[a]TVR deuS VTI VIRAGO CREATVR.¹³ The arrangement of the background suggests a formal garden of roses with miniature hedges varied with flower beds. In the next right hand panel Eve is shown taking an apple from the serpent coiled around the tree of knowledge and surreptitiously handing it to Adam, who is already eating another apple, with the inscription: + IDRA DAT EVA VIRO MORDET FEDERE DIRO.¹⁴

On the third tier, two panels (i) show a sword wielding angel expelling Adam and Eve from Eden: they have obtained huge vine leaves to cover themselves, and (ii) Adam and Eve living an ordinary life outside the garden; Eve sits spinning with two children at her breast whilst Adam works the ground. The inscriptions read, respectively:

LEX DATVR OFFENDIT. PENAS Pro CRIMINE PEND[IT]¹⁵ and CONQVEROR
INTRI[a]NTES DE SEVE FRAVDIBVS EVE ./ QVE M<ih>I QV [E VO]BIS INFLIXIT
PERPETVM VE.¹⁶

Left hand (north) side

On the left side of the doors (the north side) the panels were apparently sculpted by Guglielmo, a pupil of Nicolo's, which we are told by the inscription: QUI LEGIS ISTA PIE NATVM PLACATO MARIE, SALVET In ETYERNV[m] Q[VI] SCVLP[SE]RIT ISTA GVILLELMVM / + INTRANTES CVNCTI / [-SV]CVRRANT HVIC PEREVNTI.¹⁷

¹² '[God] gave [life] to Adam on the sixth day [of creation] so that he might be King of all things.'¹² This sentence does not make grammatical sense. Porter has a similar translation, but this might have another meaning linked to the overall allegorical presentation of the portal sculpture.

¹³ 'God takes a rib to use; the women is created.' Porter translates the sentence differently because of reading VTI as VN: 'God draws forth a rib and a woman is created.'

¹⁴ A full leonine hexameter. Kendall translates as: 'The serpent gives [the fruit to Eve] Eve gives it to her husband, her husband bites it despite the awful prohibition.' Porter translates the second part as, 'The man eats therefore breaking the dire command of God.' The meaning of this inscription is ambiguous. Eve is virtually equated with the serpent through the line structure: 'The serpent, Eve, gives to the man'. Whilst the translation given seems correct it could mean to imply that a bond is made at that moment between Satan and mankind.

¹⁵ A full leonine hexameter. Porter misreads OFFENDIT as OFFENDITVR and suggests a generic reading rather than one specific to Adam. Kendall has: 'The law is given. Adam breaks it, he pays a penalty for the crime.' But Adam is assumed from the context, so it could be a more general statement, *pace* Porter: 'The law is given and is broken; crime [sin] brings punishment.'

¹⁶ Two hexameters with monosyllabic end rhymes. The final letter of the second QUE and the first two letters VOBIS are missing or damaged. Kendall translates as: 'You who are entering, I lament the sin of cruel Eve, who has inflicted perpetual woe on me and on you.' Porter translates: 'Oh ye who enter, I bewail the sin of cruel Eve who has brought woe for all our lives on you and me.'

¹⁷ Three full leonine hexameters with slant rhymes in lines 2 and 3. Both these lines have missing or damaged letters and these are supplied given the context. Both Kendall and Porter more or less agree on the meaning but it is a little ambiguous: 'You who read this, try to placate the son of Holy Mary. May he save forever Guglielmo who sculpted this. May all entering here come quickly to the aid of this lost soul ((i.e. Guglielmo).'

The panels narrate the story of the Christ's Passion in less heavily decorated but expressively moulded sculptures with a sequence of details that run through most of the panels (Figure S10).¹⁸ The lower left and right panels have triple arches each just slightly pointed. In front of the first arch of the left hand panel is the Annunciation; in the next arch Mary and her cousin Elizabeth are embracing; in the third arch Mary lies partially obscuring the architectural details in front of a basket holding the baby Jesus, dressed in swaddling bands, and observed closely by two oxen. A puzzled Joseph sits next to her within the vertical pilaster strip.

The right hand panel similarly has three arches: the shepherds at the moment the angel appears to them from within the second arch, sheep sleeping in a huddle below the angel, and the three Kings (magi, or 'wise men') with, presumably, Herod.

This panel contains an odd portrayal of Herod who, seated on a (possibly folding) backless cross-legged bench, appears to float above the floor without support. This brings him to eye-level with the magi, indicative of Herod's status as governor suggesting the same power and authority as the magi. It may be an allegorical reminder of Herod's 'floating' attitudes and double dealing, appearing to want mercy yet washing his hands of his determination to uphold Roman law.¹⁹ The two panels immediately above have a similar structure but are less clearly sculpted.

The virgin and child receive the three Kings, two of whom stand holding their gifts, whilst the third kneels in presentation; (Figure S5) in this panel the architectural elements are not used to separate the scenes.²⁰ The column to the right has a spiral or wavy aspect which may have allegorical significance. In the following panel, Jesus is presented in front of a cloth-covered altar to a bearded person, possibly Simeon, whilst two women with doves look on.²¹ (Figure S6). The final scene depicts an angel meeting and pointing assertively at Joseph, probably exhorting him to flee to Egypt.

Porter has, for the final line: 'May all who enter, help this mortal.' The emphasis here is on entering, or 'going through', and has the baptismal connotation of 'resurrection' from a state of deadness. It appears that Guglielmo is saying two things simultaneously: that he needs intercession for his own soul; and he is drawing attention to his sculpture as demanding that everyone should enter the portal in a spirit of contrition and reincarnation.

¹⁸ The left hand elements were sculpted by Guglielmo who appears to have been a member of Niccolò's workshop. None of the panels is accompanied by a verse inscription. The inscription is on the background to the hand of God. In comparison the Old Testament (right) panels are simpler but more sturdily moulded, with fewer larger figures.

¹⁹ Matthew 3: 7-17

²⁰ See Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 32.

²¹ Kain suggests the women are Mary and Hannah. Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*, 176.

The next tier of panels contain four scenes from the flight into Egypt, Christ's baptism, the betrayal by Judas in Gethsemane, and the Crucifixion. Guglielmo shows the same qualities as his master, Niccolò, but in a more impressionistic form. His liking for animated gestures and dynamic form, and his efforts to create illusions of depth can be seen in the carefully sculpted tableau of the Kiss of Judas. Here the scene suggests a disordered and violent group of figures crowded into a narrow space, illustrated by the figure of Peter in the foreground striking off the ear of Malchus. (Figure S7).²²

On the lower left are two panels, one containing a standing woman and the other a woman in kneeling beside what looks to be a horse with bridle but may be one of the knights' standards. The left hand arch constructed from two decorated but very weathered pillars incorporates the figure of a woman with long braided hair and a finely chiselled dress, holding an object or objects that cannot now be distinguished readily but may be two falcons.²³ Her robe is restrained by a belt, whose cord hangs down her left hand side and ends in a tassel. She stands in a niche with the inscription MATALIANA.²⁴ Next to her is another woman kneeling possibly holding the reins of a horse. (Figures 8 and 9). The two panels to her right show men fighting on foot and on horseback.

The lower left panels portray a jousting tournament, then hand to hand combat, the combatants having dismounted. They are most probably the same protagonists: the two sets of images are the same height, the knights are dressed in the same chain mail, both bear shields and lances bedecked with flags, and the figure to the left has the same cloth headpiece in both panels. In the left hand panel, the figure to the right appears to have been impaled the other's lance, but in the hand to hand fighting he is the one who apparently wounds his contestant. To the left in the margins of the scene, but level with the façade, a person kneels, perhaps in prayer, holding a standard tipped by a winged demi-god (possibly the standard of one of the protagonists), and to the right a woman possibly carrying a baby stands petrified.²⁵ The two lower panels on the left hand side suggest a closely contested sword fight in which the left hand figure appears to have been killed forcefully, his body

²² Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, 32.

²³ Hunting with falcons was widely understood as an emblem of nobility and an aristocratic pastime, in which both men and women participated. Falconry followed prescribed rituals, including bathing the falcon in a pool of water. See for example Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²⁴ Marilù Brancato refers to the 'mysterious Mataliana' as perhaps a benefactor of the abbey. See http://www.volipindarici.it/appunti/verona/vr_02.htm accessed on 24th January 2016. Her identity remains unknown. She may have been a legendary heroine of the Arthurian roundtable or more plausibly the name Mataliana is an alteration of the name Matilda or Adelaide (see Chapter 3). She would seem to be involved in the affair illustrated to the right, as Michela Palmese argues, because "she speaks not only with her eyes but with the whole person." See <http://www.arte-argomenti.org/saggi/nicolo.html>, accessed on 24th January 2016.

²⁵ There is possibly the very worn outline of a child behind the image of the woman.

springing backwards as he receives the sword thrust. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that they were fighting over a woman, but we cannot say with certainty.²⁶

The lowest reliefs on both sides, below the creation scene, are apparently secular narratives. A number of scholars have suggested that the panels are worn because they are near the ground and have been treated badly over many years, but this may not be the whole story. On the right of the door opening, on the right hand of two panels, a horse and apparently naked huntsman, with dogs and a stag, race - as far as we can tell - towards a person in the shape of the devil or Satan. Most scholars have interpreted this as the narrative of Theodoric the Great who lived between 454 and 526 CE and maintained a palace in Verona. On the left hand panel of the two, the horseman is draped in a cape or cloak that flares behind him and we can see the quiver of arrows over his left shoulder. He holds and appears to be blowing a hunting horn. His horse has bit, reins and stirrups and is richly caparisoned with carefully delineated tooling of the saddle or saddle cloth.

Although this is may be Theodoric, it is possibly an earlier panel depicting the Greek myth of Actaeon, grandson of the legendary founder of Thebes, Cadmus, who after a long day of hunting dismisses his companions and wanders about in the company of his hounds. Inadvertently he discovers a grotto where the goddess Diana is bathing in the company of her nymphs.²⁷ Diana, offended to be seen naked by a mortal, punishes Actaeon and turns him into a stag. As his own hounds begin to charge, Actaeon restates who he is, but his speech is now unintelligible even though his mind remains unchanged (*mens tantumpristine mansit*). His exclamation 'Actaeon ego sum' places an emphasis on the first-person pronoun to remind us that Actaeon is not just anybody. But nor was Theodoric 'just anybody'. Surely we have here multiple allegories similar to the layers of an onion: medieval discourse was

²⁶ The decorative reliefs contain some figures of interest. On the right-hand side a harmonica playing centaur is pushed into contention with a dog biting its own tail and next to it a dog-like creature playing a harp. On the left-hand side there are decorations with leaf patterns one of which emerges from a *manus dei*. Various telamons support the stonework. In coffers on the pilaster strips on both sides various animals are depicted. Porter argues that the Guglielmo arrangements, with their small crowded figures, are inferior to Niccolò's.²⁶ He also makes a number of attentive remarks about the compositions, suggesting that three of the panels – the Crucifixion, the Flight into Egypt and the Baptism – are more likely for stylistic reasons to be by Niccolò: they are simpler, larger and more dignified, appearing similar to the reliefs of the Old Testament. The claim in the inscription is that Guglielmo sculpted all the left-hand panels but Porter's argument is powerful and persuasive.

²⁷ The Greek goddess Artemis and Roman goddess Diana are goddesses of the hunt and Moon, and are often shown synonymously in medieval art. In Roman mythology, Diana is considered the goddess of the wild or of the hunt. She was closely related to the forest and the animals, and was considered a virgin goddess who protected women and virgins. Artemis is the Greek goddess of the wild hunt, and also of animals, virginity, childbirth and young girls. Accessed on 6 June 2017 at <http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/difference-between-greek-goddess-artemis-and-roman-goddess-diana/>

replete with such multiple overlaid myths and narratives. But what matters for our purposes is when this was sculpted. It suggests – no more – that the sculpture may be older than is usually assumed (i.e. possibly eleventh rather than twelfth century) despite the inscription which was most likely carved in the 1130s. If nothing else it serves to remind us of the way myth was accepted and used in the twelfth century.²⁸

The sculptured stone reliefs/panels have inscriptions, in leonine hexameters that bear detailed examination. On the left is a scene of a man on horseback apparently hunting, of which the inscription reads: O REGEM STULTUM PETIT INFERNALE TRIBUTUM
MOXQUE PARATUR EQUUS QUEM MISIT DEMON INIQUUS EXIT AQUÀ NUDUS PETIT
INFERA NON REDITURUS.²⁹ In the next panel two dogs appear to be hunting a stag and are both running toward a stylised, traditional ubiquitous ‘spiky haired’ ‘devil’ holding a staff and raises his right arm in apparent greeting.³⁰ The theme of hunting is reinforced by one of the central arched coffers that shows a hawk having caught a rabbit and a number of birds of prey. The inscription reads: NISUS EQWS CERVUS CANIS HUIC DATUR – HOS DAT
AVER-NUS.³¹

²⁸ See Marie-Rose Logan, ‘Antique Myth and Modern Mind: Jacques Lacan's Version of Actaeon and the Fictions of Surrealism.’ *Journal of Modern Literature*, 2002; 25(3): 90-100.

²⁹ One common and two full slant leonine hexameters: ‘Oh foolish king, who demands a gift from hell (the lower world), and next a horse arrives sent by the Devil. The king emerges naked from the water and rides off to the underworld (Hell) never to return.’

³⁰ Eccheli, *La canzone di Ildebrando nelle sculture della basilica di San Zeno*, 13-14, offers a somewhat wild suggestion that this is not the devil but a dwarf, Alberich, a powerful magician living during the era of the French Merovingian rulers between the 5th and 8th centuries AD, who was responsible for guarding the treasures of Nibelungen. See also <http://www.paranormal-encyclopedia.com/a/alberich/>, accessed on 28th January 2016. As suggested earlier this is not entirely far-fetched as the multiple levels of myth were apparently acceptable to medieval society.

³¹ One full slant leonine hexameter: ‘Forcing his horse to follow the dog and the deer – he was thrown into the underworld.’ Kendall translates as, ‘A labouring horse, a stag, a dog are given to him. Hell gives them.’ Stag hunts were often presented as allegories of the life’s tribulations, so the image here should most likely be considered a warning allegory of Theodoric’s trials.

Appendix 3. The lions at the feet of the porch columns

Scholarship on Romanesque iconography has attributed a variety of meanings to lions: from pure architectural elements to symbolic guardians of gateways, from hostile forces and devils to allegories of Christ. The symbolism of Romanesque column-bearing lions is strongly related to the function of the architectural element they belong to: the porch portal. Porch portals served a dual function, at once sacred and profane. Not only were they entrances to the church but they were also used to proclaim public sentences and practice law. The stylobate lions on Romanesque porch portals were associated with the theme of justice in both a religious and civic sense, symbolically representing the impartiality of the judge – Christ and man – overpowering evil.

Giovanna de Appolonia provides a useful starting point in seeing the doorway as a threshold, from the lions at the foot of the portal to the space inside the basilica beyond the door opening.¹ She suggests that it was the place at which justice was meted out by the Bishop. It is also possible that in addition to the porch being a site of justice, as powerful as that may have been, more importantly, any sentence handed down by the Bishop in public conclave might have been assuaged only in baptism. Thus the doors were the threshold to a new life in Jesus.²

The “lion beneath the column” in the Romanesque North Italian Lombard tradition probably derives from the ‘lion on the column’, which served in papal Rome as a symbol of justice. Both the Ecclesia Romana and the Senate were identified with the lion, as manuscripts from the late middle-ages confirm.³ During the Middle Ages, a lion on a column stood in front of the transept of Papal Archbasilica of St. John in Lateran (Rome),⁴ in a square that served as

¹ Giovanna de Appolonia, “Justice and Judgment in the Romanesque Column-Bearing Lions of Northern Italy,” *IKON Journal of Iconographic Studies* 2 (2009):167-176.

² Ibid. The lions described here are those that bear columns within the Romanesque Italian protiro (porch portal). De Appolonia suggests that San Zeno Maggiore is among the earliest prototypes of such porch portals and these include the Porta dei Principi from Modena Cathedral, the west and now destroyed south entrance of Ferrara Cathedral, and the west portal of the cathedral in Verona. The lions symbolised both secular and divine justice and were strongly related to the dual function of the protiro, used precisely as an open-air law court and the main entrance to the sanctuary. It was not only a site of justice, powerful as that would have been, but any sentence handed down by the Bishop in public conclave could only be mitigated by baptism (preventively, so to speak, when baptised in infancy, or subsequently, if baptised in adulthood). The doors were the threshold to a new life in Jesus.

³ Christine Verzar Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City State: The sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma: Universita degli Studi di Parma, 1988).

⁴ Arcibasilica Papale di San Giovanni in Laterano commonly known in English as St John Lateran.

open-air law court. At that time law was not only administered in courts, but also in marketplaces and squares. Lions were often associated with the theme of civic justice as the freestanding marble lion in the Piazza Mercantile in Bari, Puglia, attests.⁵ The lion carries a collar with the inscription *Custos Iusticie*, and probably marked the place of a medieval open-air law court. In medieval juridical sources the place of the judge was often described as 'inter-leones'.⁶ The portal at San Zeno may have been used in a similar way.

The west doorway of the basilica carries in itself a powerful symbolism inherent in the threshold itself. The portal separates two worlds—the secular world of the external environment, the everyday, and the sacred space of the basilica. To cross the threshold is to cast off everyday mortality in favour of renewed spirituality. The bronze panels and the relief sculpture assert the fundamental symbolism of the portal, by suggesting, in the carved arch of the lunette, a representative vault of Heaven that attracts those who open their hearts to God and promises the glory of the life to come. This supports and deepens the fundamental symbolism of the portal as a passage between two worlds, the short-lived material world and the world everlasting.

The threshold offers a personal transformation from the secular life of the city to the holy community of the chosen people. The baptismal liturgy developed around this portal or threshold and may have offered a way for catechumens to enter the church, especially at Easter, or for the commune to be able *qua commune* to engage in a baptismal rite as part of a deeper Paschal function in honouring Zeno as saint.⁷ From a threshold perspective this is a powerful reminder of the importance given to entering the church. Your sins are yours, it seems to say, and the punishment will be inflicted upon you as a result of this original sin, which all humans must bear.

One architectural writer has observed that the “exterior mixture of abstraction and narration [is] tuned to sophistication; [the] interior displaces reason with sensation and magic, exhuming the faithful’s most primitive instincts of pantheism, fear and credulity.” He praised the ability of the basilica to promote an earlier artistic ethic: “What remarkable progress is evident in the layered composition of the nave and exterior by no means precludes the building’s capacity to continue to transmit pre-urban, pre-merchant messages of the church,

⁵ De Appolonia, *Justice and Judgment*, suggests the lion’s most distinctive characteristic is compassion, and spares the life of all who prostrate themselves in front of him. From this she suggests it is possible to “associate the lion with Christ-judge, merciful with the repentant sinner.”

⁶ De Appolonia, “From Piazza to Church: Profane and Sacred Justice in Romanesque Stylobate Lions from Northern Italy.”

⁷ See below at section 6

whether in the crypt's atavistic capitals or in its ancient cult of an early Christian saint, who offers salvation not to labour, virtue or sophistication, but to physical intimacy and to an irrational unquestioning faith in the presence of the spirit in body parts and in the building housing them."⁸

⁸ Alick McLean, "Romanesque Architecture in Italy," in *Romanesque Architecture, Sculpture Painting* ed. Rolf Toman (Potsdam: H. F. Ullmann, 2004), 88.

Portfolio of Images

San Zeno Maggiore: Bronze Door Panels



Figure B1. Complete doors showing eight rows of panels.



Figure B2. Panel 2: The Nativity with the maji and shepherds (Matthew 2.2). (Google Images).



Figure B3. Panel 4: Jesus cleansing the Temple (Mark 11.17). This panel and panels 15, 22, 43, and 48 have foliate backgrounds that suggest a provenance in the mid to late eleventh century. (Google Images).



Figure B4. Panel 17. The Ascension. Christ in Majesty. This panel illustrates both the angularity of the compositions and the way in which heads are thrust forward.



Figure B5. Panel 20. Salome dances for Herod. (Google Images)

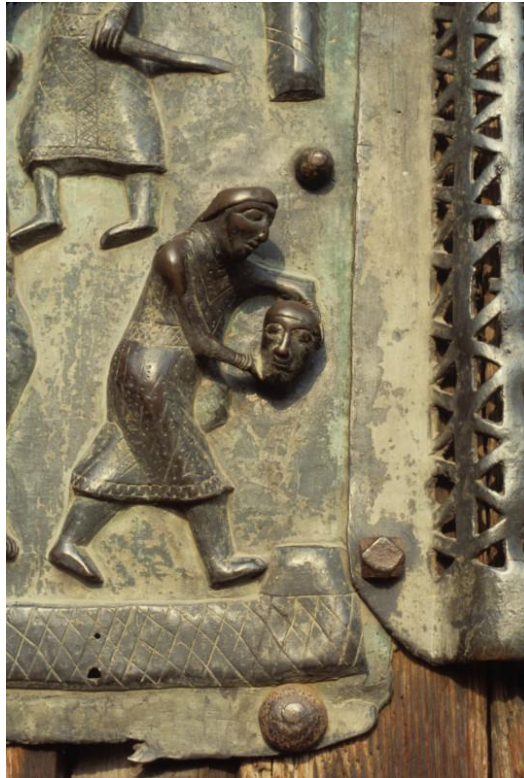


Figure B6. Salome carries the head of John the Baptist to Herod (detail from Panel 21) (Mark 6. 27-28).



Figure B7. The beheading of John the Baptist. Panel 21 (Mark 6. 27-28). (Google Images).



Figure B8(a). The Sadness of Motherhood (Panel 22) and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (Panel 23) (Genesis 3.23) (both panels by Workshop 1). (Google Images).



Figure B8 (b). Panel 25 (Workshop 2). The Creation of Eve. (Google Images).



Figure B8 (b). Panel 27 (Workshop 2). Expulsion from the Garden of Eden.



Figure B9. Panels 31, 32 and 33 (top row), and Panels 34, 35 and 36 (bottom row) (Workshop 2). Panel 31: God promises a son to Abraham; Panel 32: God appears to Abraham and Hagar is disavowed; Panel 33: An angel appears to Abraham to prevent the sacrifice of Isaac; Panel 34: Moses receives the law, and Aaron's Rod; Panel 35: Massacre of the Innocents, and Moses before Pharaoh; Panel 36: The cross and bronze serpent. (Google Images).



Figure B10. Panels 7 (Workshop 2) and Panels 8 and 9 (top row) with Panels 10, 11 and 12 (bottom row). (Google Images).



Figure B 11 (a). Panel 47 (Workshop 1). Noah takes the animals into the ark. (Genesis 7.1-2). (Google Images)



Figure B11 (b). Panel 29 (Workshop 2). Noah and the Ark. The dove returns with an olive twig. (Genesis 8.11). (Google Images)



Figure B11(c). Nebuchadnezzar's Fiery Furnace, Panel 43. (Workshop 1). (Photograph C J Heginbotham 2013).



Figure B12. Panel 13, The Flagellation and Panel 14, the Deposition. (Photograph C J Heginbotham).



Figure B13. Panel 24 (Workshop 1). Adam and Eve's sons work in the fields and Cain kills Abel. This panel is one of a number that suggest an earlier date of manufacture. (Photographs C. J. Heginbotham)



Figure B13 (b). Panel 28 (Workshop 2). Duplication of Panel 24.



Figure B15. Panel 16: The Last Judgment (Romans 6.7) (Google Images).



Figure B16. The angel stops Abraham from sacrificing Isaac (Genesis 22.12) (Google Images).



Figure B17. Panel 45. San Zeno and the Emperor Gallienus (Photo attrib. to Mattana, Verona 07-07-2011).



Figure B18. Bernward Doors, Hildesheim, c. 1015. (Google Images)



Figure B19. Panel from the Gniezno doors, c. 1175. Scene no. 5. from the left wing - Adalbert becomes bishop. (Google Images).



Figure B20. Magdeburg Gates of Santa Sophia Cathedral, Novgorod. The juxtaposition of the images is different from San Zeno although some of the figures have a similar angularity. (Google Images).



Figure B21. Doors of Pisa Cathedral, c. 1170s. (Photograph V&A, London).

San Zeno Maggiore: Portal Stone Relief Sculpture



Figure S1. The Wet façade of San Zeno Maggiore with the porch and lunette, showing the stone relief sculpture on either side of the doors. The doors with the bronze panels are behind the outer doors. All photographs in this section are by C J Heginbotham, 2013



Figure S2. Lunette sculpture of San Zeno, standing on the devil with the citizenry (left) and the knights (right)



Figure S3 (1). Detail of the citizenry in the lunette



Figure S3 (2). Detail of the knights in the lunette.

The colouring of the sculptures is probably 19th century, although they may have been coloured in the twelfth century also.



Figure S4. Lower right hand stone relief sculptures showing what is believed to be Theodoric and the wild hunt. Note the devil on the far right. (The panel is damage and this was caused, according to Lorenzoni and Valenzano, by children “screeching” stones at the sculpture to cause sparks; but it may have been damaged by bullets fired during World War 2 especially in 1945 when the Germans were in retreat).



Figure S5. Lower left panels for which there are a number of possible derivations, of which the one preferred here is the fight between Berengar and Otto II which Otto won.

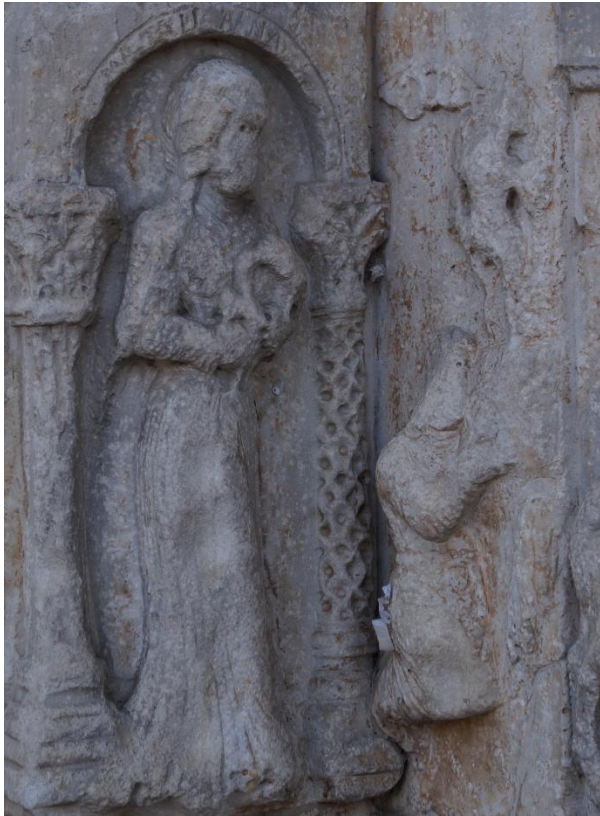


Figure S6. Badly worn sculptured figures to the left of the duel with the inscription, “Mataliana”. This is thought to be a corruption or amalgamation of ‘Matilda’ or ‘Adelaide’.

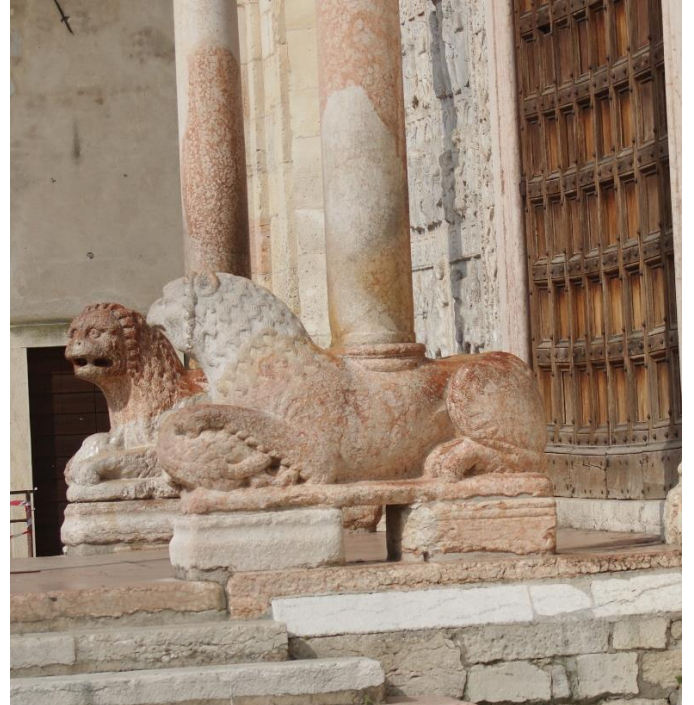
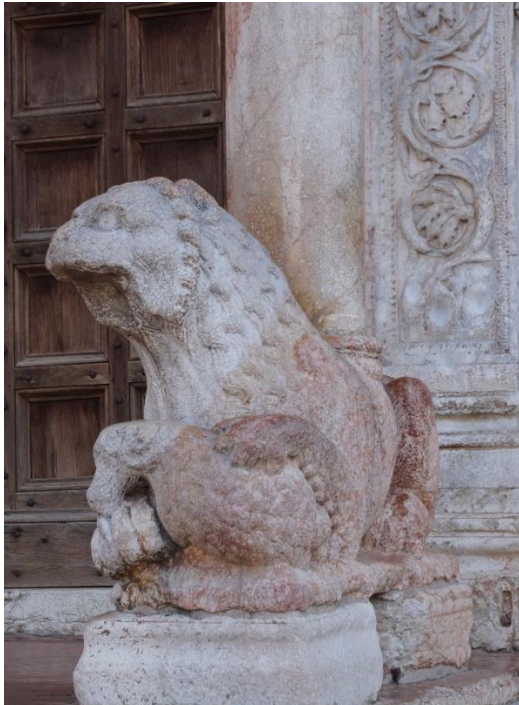


Figure S7. The lunette (on the left) with a lion (one of a pair of lions) showing the column resting on the lion’s back.

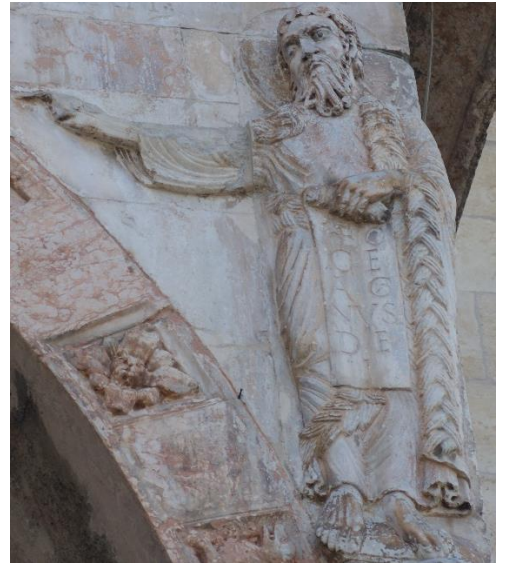


Figure S8. St John the Evangelist on the left, with St John the Baptist on the right, pointing to the Agnus Dei



Figure S9. Six separate photographs of the stone relief panels on the right hand (south) side of the façade. Clockwise from bottom left. Creation of the birds and animals; Eve is made from Adam's rib; Expulsion from Eden; 'Eve spins and Adam toils'; Adam and Eve are tempted by the serpent in the Garden; God creates and blesses Adam.



Figure S10. Left hand (north) side showing, in the upper photograph the two panels representing Baptism (John the Baptist baptises Jesus) (left) and the Crucifixion (right), making the visible link between Baptism and Salvation; in the lower photograph, clockwise from the upper left: the maji offer gifts; the angel warns the maji of Herod's plans; the angel tells the shepherds the good news and the maji meet with Herod; and Joseph scratches his head as Mary lies in front of baby Jesus in a basket.



Figure S11. Detail of the Nativity (left hand panel) illustrating the common trope of Josephs puzzlement, the baby in the manger, and the horses in the stable. Photograph Heginbotham 2013

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²⁶⁷ Kain, *The Sculpture of Nicholas*.

²⁶⁸ Porter, *Lombard Architecture, Volume III-Monuments*.

²⁶⁹ Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

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