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The early sixth-century frescoes at S. Martino ai Monti in Rome

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THE EARLY SIXTH-CENTURY FRESCOES
AT S. MARTINO AI MONTI IN ROME

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VERLAG ERNST WASMUTH TÜBINGEN

CAECILIA DAVIS-WEYER and JUDSON J. EMERICK

THE EARLY SIXTH-CENTURY FRESCOES
AT S. MARTINO AI MONTI IN ROME

dedicated to Richard Krautheimer

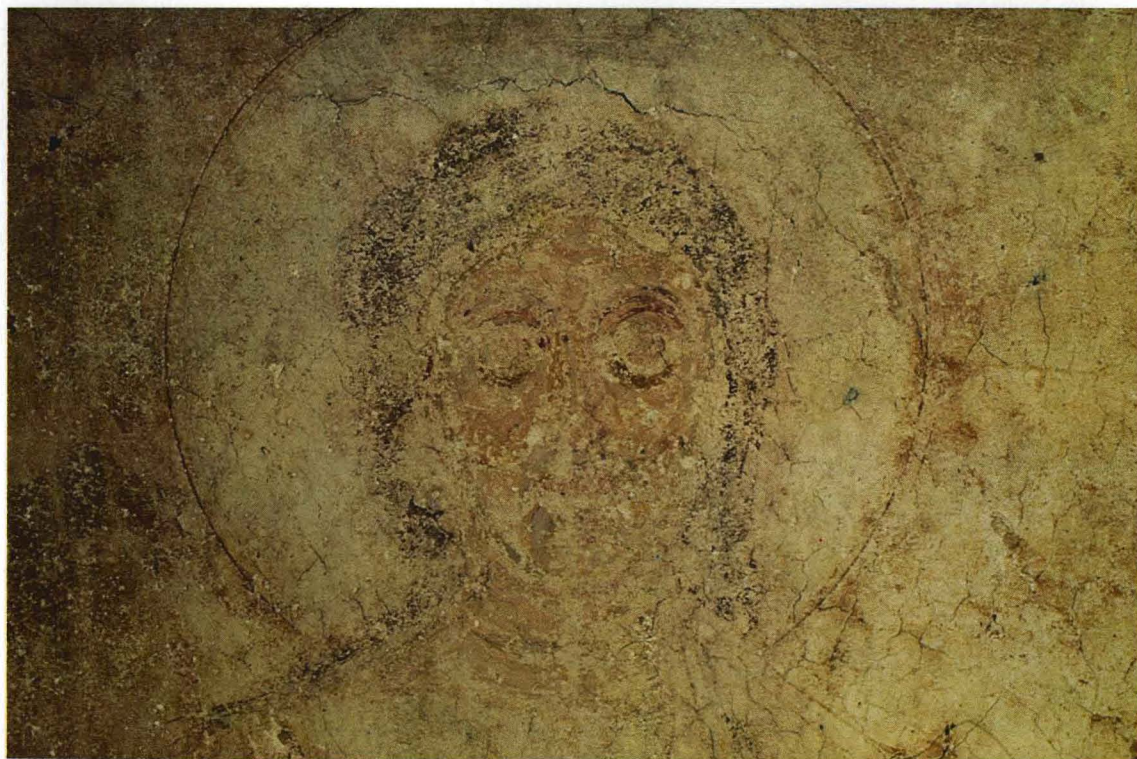
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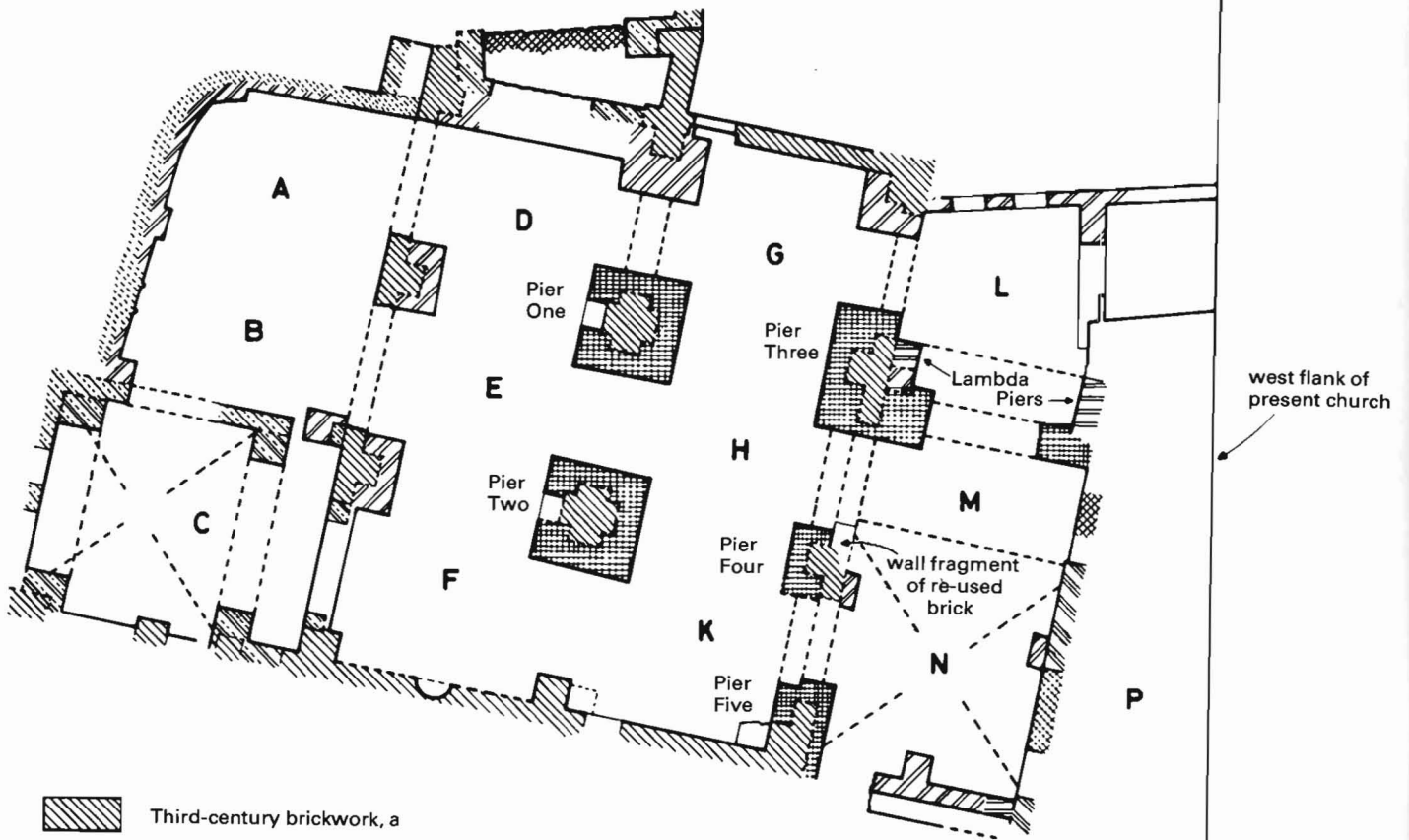
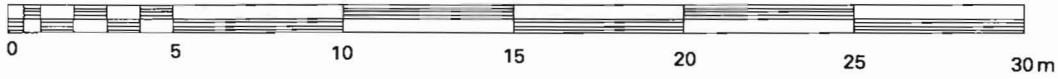
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


*Panel Five,
Pier One's West Face,
The Annunciation,
Detail, Angel*

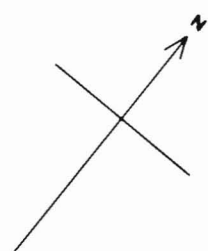


*Lunette Fresco,
Room K's East Flank,
Detail, Christ*





-  Third-century brickwork, a
-  Third-century brickwork, b
-  Third-century brickwork, c
-  Building P (third century)
-  Additions to P and the Hall, brickwork
-  Additions to the Hall, tufelli, opus listatum
-  Alterations of early sixth century
-  Carolingian
-  Thirteenth-century reinforcements



Plan taken from *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, III, 1967, Pl. III, with permission of R. Krautheimer and S. Corbett

1. Plan, Present Monastery Basement, S. Martino ai Monti

INTRODUCTION*

The present church of S. Martino ai Monti, a product of the Carolingian revival dating to the mid-ninth century¹, stands on the north slope of Rome's Esquiline Hill just a short walk south of S. Maria Maggiore². For a long while Carmelite monks have served S. Martino³, and today they live in modern quarters at the west. A portion of this largely twentieth-century monastery, however, incorporates older, historic structures: in a basement area immediately adjacent to the church's west flank (see the plan in Fig. 1), some walls, piers, and vaults survive which go back from the Middle Ages to the Late Imperial period. At the core of this basement complex stand two third-century Roman buildings which were remodeled again and again to serve new purposes. One of these, the large six-bay Hall marked D, E, F, G, H, and K on the plan, now occupies the center of the basement; the other, labeled P, only partly visible today, lies beneath the Carolingian basilica. Christians used these buildings from a very early time: a mosaic fragment there, datable to the sixth century, and frescoes datable to the ninth deal with Christian subjects.

When Richard Krautheimer and Spencer Corbett studied the S. Martino ai Monti complex in the early



2. Mosaic, Niche in Room F's South Wall, A Male Saint

* We thank the late Padre Giulio Mattei and Padre Francesco Tozzi of S. Martino ai Monti for making the facilities of the church and monastery available to us as we prepared this study. We are grateful as well to our friends and colleagues who visited us in S. Martino and helped us with their advice and especially to Professor Frank Brown and Professor Richard Krautheimer. We also wish to thank Professor Augusto Campana and Professor Armando Petrucci who were good enough to look at photographs of the Medieval inscriptions for us.

1 R. KRAUTHEIMER, *The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture*, *ArtBull*, XXIV (1942), 1-38, especially 20-22. The basilica was built by Popes Sergius II (844-847) and Leo IV (847-855).

2 Krautheimer, III (1967), 87-124.

3 The Carmelites have been at S. Martino ai Monti at least since the fourteenth century as the notice in the Turin Catalog of that period shows; see R. VALENTINI and G. ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols., Rome (1940-53), III, 301. Before that, the only other record of monks here appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* which tells that Popes Sergius II and Leo IV founded a monastery at S. Martino; see G. FERRARI, *Early Roman Monasteries, Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, Vatican City (1957), 299-301.

1960's while preparing the third volume of the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, they identified a previously overlooked phase of construction in the monastery basement. Others had seen that certain third-century piers there had been padded with envelopes made of bricks. In the plan, we number these padded piers one through five (Fig. 1). This padding masonry had been interpreted as a kind of reinforcement for the old Roman buildings, a modification which was thought to have been carried out during the ninth century when the present basilica was built and the whole complex renovated. Krautheimer and Corbett, however, saw that the padding masonry dated to Late Antique times. Its salient feature, the peculiar troweling of its mortar beds, typifies masonry used during the first half of the sixth century in a number of other Roman churches. Krautheimer saw as well that the date of the padding masonry corresponded roughly with that of a mosaic fragment located in a niche in one of the third-century rooms - in Room F (Fig. 2).

Since the mosaic depicts a saint, Krautheimer hypothesized that the site must have been in Christian hands when the padding masonry was installed, and that this remodeling was probably inspired by the needs of Christian worship. This would help to explain a curious feature of the padding masonry – the fact that it has no foundations. It could hardly have served in that case as a reinforcement, said Krautheimer, but must have had some other non-structural purpose. Since the padding masonry created large expanses of flat walls, Krautheimer reasoned that it could only have been put up to provide surfaces for the pictorial decorations which the Christian owners of the site would have wanted.

We think that evidence exists to show that Krautheimer's hypothesis is not only plausible, but true. Remnants of some early sixth-century wall paintings with Christian subjects still survive on the padding masonry, but have not up to now been differentiated from paintings of other periods. Some of these are classical and date from the third century. They have been known ever since the monks of S. Martino ai Monti discovered the basement rooms in 1637⁴. Other frescoes with Christian subjects came to light at the same moment. A. Silvagni⁵ and J. Wilpert⁶ published them in 1912 and 1916 dating them to the Early Middle Ages⁷. It was to study this second group of paintings with Christian subjects that we went to S. Martino ai Monti in autumn 1976⁸. During that visit, we found a large fragment of a Christian painting which Silvagni, Wilpert, and other scholars had not mentioned. Located in a lunette high on the east side of Room K, it depicts Christ flanked by two saints with a third rushing forward to present a crown (Figs. 3–7). Seeing that it differed so much in style and quality from the other Christian frescoes in the monastery basement, we doubted that it could have been painted when they were. When we returned for further study, we discovered other fragments of Christian frescoes on Piers One and Two which clearly belonged with the fragment in Room K's lunette. These newly discovered paintings, we saw, not

only antedated the medieval frescoes; they also had to have been installed by the builders of the padding masonry. We are confident that they are what remains of the Early Christian decoration posited by Krautheimer in 1967.

There is a good reason why these paintings have gone unnoticed until now. Just as at S. Maria Antiqua where the painters working for Pope John VII in the early eighth century carefully incorporated an already existing icon of Anne and the Virgin in their own decoration⁹, the medieval painters at S. Martino ai Monti took similar pains to incorporate the Christian frescoes which they found there. Seemingly an integral part of a medieval decoration of which large and much better preserved portions survived, the faded old fragments excited little interest¹⁰. They become very interesting indeed as soon as they are recognized for what they are: the remains of a major Early Christian wall decoration dating to the early sixth century.

We hope to establish this fact in the first instance by archaeological means. To do this, we will examine the different architectural phases in the monastery basement, then link them with the various plaster renderings which survive there.

I. THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING

The present basilica with its apse facing north lies on a masonry platform set into the west slope of the Oppian Hill. The Late Antique walls and piers bearing the newly discovered frescoes lie further down the slope to the west, and rise from a level more than nine meters below that of the Carolingian church. They form part of a complex of vaulted compartments or rooms, labeled A through N in the plan (Fig. 1), which serve as a basement for a portion of the present monastery. The latter, rebuilt between 1927 and 1930, is almost entirely modern; its few historic remains in the upper storeys over Rooms A–N appear to date to the thirteenth century.

Rooms A through N are the result of numerous building campaigns dating from the third to the twentieth cen-

4 Filippini, 48.

5 Silvagni (1912), 350–354, Figs. 6, 7.

6 Wilpert (1916), I, 332–335, and IV, Pls. 205–209.

7 See also R. VAN MARLE, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols., The Hague (1923–38), I, 102–104, Fig. 51; Vielliard, 92–101, Figs. 42–45, 47–50; Matthiae PR, 220–221, Figs. 143–144.

8 The Bibliotheca Hertziana arranged the visit to S. Martino ai Monti in order to photograph the Early Medieval wall paintings. The group present when the first of the Late Antique fragments was found consisted of Professor Ursula Nilgen (München), Dr. Valentino Pace (Rome), Dr. Jens Wollesen (München), and us.

9 P. J. NORDHAGEN, *The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua and Their Date*, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, I (1962), 53–72, especially 60–61.

10 Silvagni (1912), 344, noted traces of painting on Pier One which he thought belonged with the Early Medieval frescoes. Wilpert (1916), I, 334, mentioned “einige Farbreste” on the padding masonry here and there as evidence that the Early Medieval decoration was once more extensive.

3. Lunette Fresco, Room K's East Flank, A Saint Offering His Crown to Christ



4. Lunette Fresco, Room K's East Flank, Diagram



5. Lunette Fresco, Detail, Christ (see color plate after p. 2)



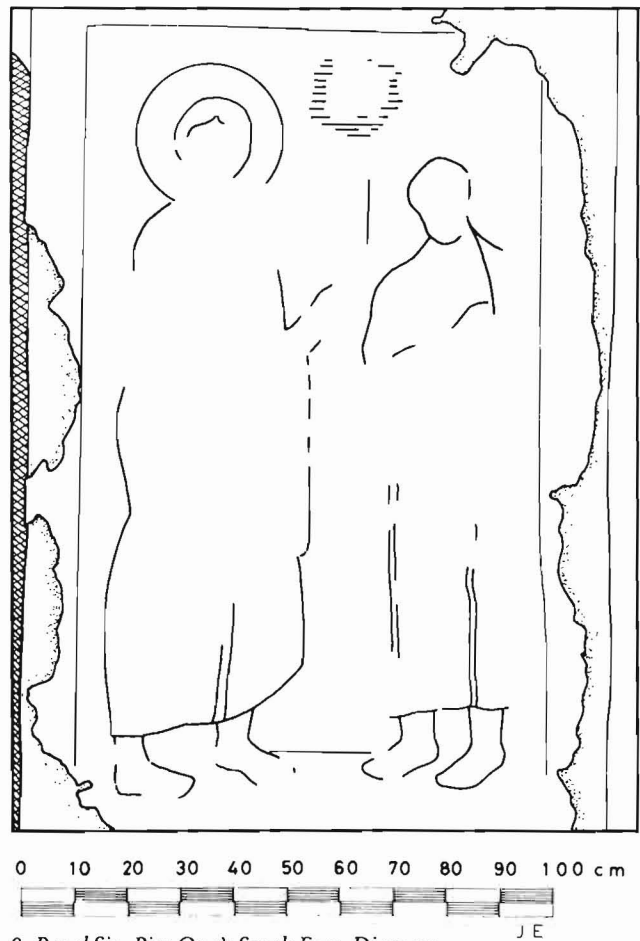
7. Lunette Fresco, Detail, Paul



6. Lunette Fresco, Detail, Peter and the Military Saint



8. Panel Six, Pier One's South Face, *The Annunciation of Peter's Denial*



9. Panel Six, Pier One's South Face, *Diagram*

turies. We are mainly concerned with those campaigns or phases which precede or immediately follow the phase to which the newly discovered frescoes belong. In discussing them, we follow Krautheimer¹¹. Some new facts, however, came to light during our investigation which modify his analysis in a few respects. Where we differ from him, we will say so explicitly.

A. Phase One. There were two independent structures at this site originally, both of which were built of a similar Roman brick-faced concrete datable to the third cen-

tury¹². Only portions of them still survive in the monastery basement. One, Building P, is barely visible today, and represented by a mere seven-meter stretch of wall at the east sides of Rooms M and N (Fig. 1). Presumably it extended further to the south and east and now lies buried in the substructure for the ninth-century basilica. The other, lying to the west of P, takes up nearly the whole basement, and once extended further to the south beyond the basement. What is visible of it today, a ground storey only, shows that it comprised a large six-bay Hall. We take up this building first.

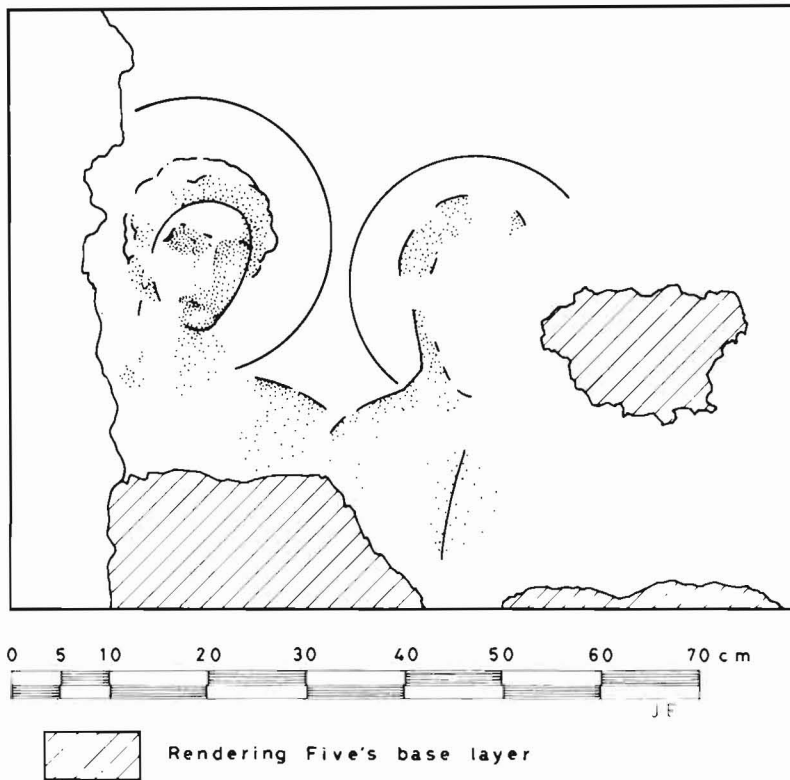
Its core seems to have been the rectangular Hall (14.20 by 17.20 meters) standing at the middle of the basement: covered by six cross vaults which rest on piers engaged with the exterior walls, and on two cruciform, freestanding, central piers, it had six bays labeled D, E, F, G, H, and K in the plan (Fig. 1). The masonry of the piers and walls of the Hall is typical of the early third century. So also is its simple, black and white mosaic floor, large areas

11 Analysis of the building phases in the monastery basement began in 1912 with Silvagni, 334-349, and continued in 1916 with Wilpert, I, 322-332, in 1931 with Vielliard, 5-10, 24-46, 53-59, 88-112, and in 1967 with Krautheimer, III, 97-121. The latter two studies are essential. Vielliard saw the old buildings west of the basilica while they were being remodeled in 1930 and reported on features now destroyed or hidden. Krautheimer provided the most penetrating analysis so far published, carried out in collaboration with Spencer Corbett and illustrated by Corbett's survey drawings.

12 Krautheimer, III (1967), 97-104, 115-116.



10. Panel Five, Pier One's West Face, The Annunciation



11. Panel Five, Diagram



12. Panel Five, Detail, Angel (see color plate after p. 2)

of which still survive. The Hall had a carefully executed, painted plaster decoration, Rendering One, to be discussed below (see p.22).

The six-bay Hall opened through large windows and doorways to the exterior on all four sides (the main entry lay to the north, opposite Room D, where a shallow, triangular vestibule once projected from the Hall presumably linking it with a public street). Nevertheless, the Hall was not free standing. The wall forming its south flank continues westward beyond its south-west corner to become a facade. This wall, now the south flank of Room C (Fig.29), had a doorway at the left, another doorway topped by a small window near the middle, and a large archway topped by a medium-sized window at the right. It must have been a facade opening toward rooms and passages further to the south, because the Phase-One builders provided the small window there with deeply splayed jambs, designing it to collect available light at the north and pass it efficiently to some space at the south. The Hall opened to this facade through a tall archway in Room F's west wall: apparently the Hall was but one part of a larger complex which extended further to the south.

Some modifications were carried out in this complex only a short while after its erection. First, the space in front of the facade and west of Room F was walled off to form Room C (brickwork "b" in the plan, Fig.1). Judging from the masonry, this addition must have occurred sometime during the third century. The western portion of the room was roofed with a cross vault, and the eastern with a barrel vault. The barrel-vaulted portion opened southward through the previous doorway, and northward through a doorway topped by a window to the exterior. The cross-vaulted portion opened northward through a large window, westward through two doorways to the exterior (or possibly another building), and southward through the previous archway and door. Room C, therefore, was a foyer linking the Hall and whatever else lay to the south and west. Its interior walls were decorated with painted plaster, remnants of which still survive (see below, pp.30-32). Second, four piers were installed in Room C to carry two robust arches running north and south beneath the vaults (brickwork "c"). The arches apparently bore a large wood beam, now rotted away, which ran east and west¹³. Since the masonry in the



13. View of Room K's East Flank

piers is typical of the third century, they must have been erected very soon after the foyer itself. The piers encroach considerably on the passageways at the south and west, and one wonders whether these openings remained in use at this moment (the masonry in the south-east pier continues into the doorway in C's south-east corner and closes it). Brickwork "c" also appears in the arch inserted in the passage between C and F, and in some walls added to the Hall's vestibule north of Room D. These modifications, apparently designed to restrict the two openings somewhat, must be contemporary with the four piers in C. Extensive fragments of a skillfully executed painted plaster decoration still remain in Room C linked with these additions (see below, pp. 30-31).

Building P, standing south and east of the Hall, can also be dated to the third century on the basis of its masonry. Krautheimer noted that its brickwork was not as regular as that of the Hall and suggested that P might have been erected in the late third century. Building P, therefore, dates to about the same time or somewhat later than the

13 The place where the beam rested is still visible at the top of each arch, and a wood beam survived there until at least 1930 (see Viellard, Fig. 8). The remains of plaster wall renderings, to be discussed in Part II, pp. 30-31 below, prove that such a beam existed here in the third century.

additions to the Hall in brickwork “b” and “c”. The Hall and Building P are separated by a six-meter-wide space, now occupied by Room N. Probably open to the sky during Phase One, this space formed a short alley between the two structures. Originally, the open area between them probably continued further to the south. At least none of the walls which presently close Room N at the south are as early in date as those of Building P and the Hall.

Since so little of Building P can be seen, it is difficult to determine the purpose for which it was originally erected. The role played by the other building at the site is almost as enigmatic. An extensive complex, its most prominent feature seems to have been the six-bay Hall. Judging from the Hall’s large unrestricted floor area and wide windows and doorways, it must have been intended for public gatherings. Vielliard argued that the Hall served for Christian worship and belonged to a pre-Constantinian *domus ecclesiae*¹⁴, but the evidence for this is very slight. There is not the least hint of Christian occupation here during Phase One. Krautheimer thought that the Hall conformed much more closely to a covered market than it did to a cult room¹⁵. We agree with him and suppose the lower storey of this complex to have been designed originally for commerce.

B. Phase Two. While Building P and the complex to which the Hall belongs originated as independent structures, during a second phase they were joined¹⁶. Building P’s west flank was prolonged northward by an addition which deepened the alley between P and the Hall: a barrel vault was built between Room H and the northern addition to P to form Room M¹⁷, and a large cross vault was erected between Room K and the Phase-One wall of P to create Room N. At the same time, two broad piers were built just north and at either side of the entry to Room M; remains of them appear in the south-east and south-west corners of Room L today – the so-called Lambda Piers. Krautheimer recognized that these added piers and vaults formed a monumental entryway, and judged that it must

have been designed to serve Building P. The piers probably carried an arch which led from the street to compartment M; M’s barrel vault led to N’s cross vault, and the latter turned the passage eastward to Building P. Krautheimer observed that a narrow doorway in P located at the south-east corner of N had been suppressed in favor of a new, taller, wider opening which was cut into P near the center of Room N. This change, he argued, probably occurred when the Entryway M–N was built, because the passage led to this opening. Krautheimer seems not to have considered the possibility that the new entryway also communicated with the six-bay Hall. A tall archway opening in Room K’s east flank already existed in Phase One, and N’s cross vault would have directed attention westward toward it just as surely as it would eastward toward the opening in Building P. Moreover, the original painted plaster decorating Rooms M and N, Rendering Two (see below, pp. 22–23), also appeared in Room K. This shows that the Entryway M–N and the Hall belonged to the same ambience during Phase Two. M–N must have served both structures and joined them together.

Two robust brick walls, one behind the other, close the Entryway M–N today at the south. While Corbett’s plan shows the northernmost wall as belonging to the Early Christian phase and hence dating later than Phase Two, we doubt whether this could be the case¹⁸. The wall in question is actually the product of two building campaigns, one dating to Phase Two, and the other to the thirteenth century. The brickwork visible over most of its surface surely dates to the thirteenth century, as we argue below (pp. 20–21). This, however, butts against and rests partly on top of another different and obviously earlier brickwork. Two fragments of it, both flush with the thirteenth-century masonry, survive in the wall’s easternmost portion next to Building P: one reaches up about 175 centimeters above the present floor level and juts out from P about 80 centimeters; another smaller fragment appears higher up next to the springing of N’s vault. The fragments do not bond with Building P, but lie against it, and must postdate it. Moreover, both are covered with patches of painted plaster belonging to a wall decoration which we know was installed before the Early Christian Phase-Four remodeling (Rendering Three, see below, pp. 23–24). The brickwork in the two fragments is typical of Late Antiquity and resembles that in the Lambda Piers in

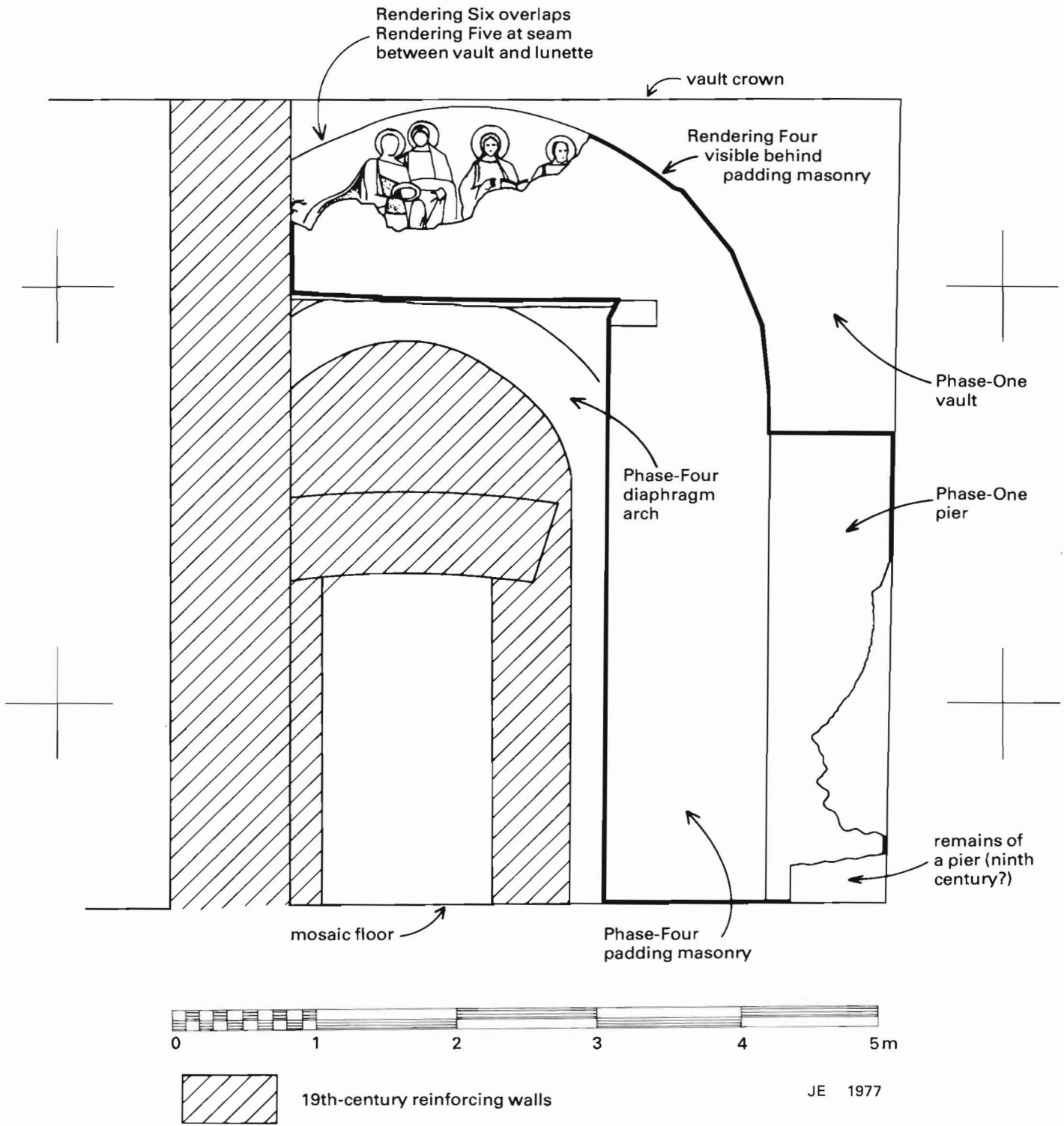
14 Vielliard, 24–46.

15 Compare J. WARD-PERKINS’ comments on this problem in: *Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica*, *PapBritRome*, XXII (1954), 90.

16 Krautheimer, III (1967), 103–104, 115–116.

17 The original eastern and western supports for M’s barrel vault (Room M’s Phase-Two east and west walls) are no longer visible, having been replaced or hidden by later masonries – some rubble and Carolingian tufa-and-brick fills at the east, and a nineteenth-century brick wall at the west.

18 Krautheimer, III (1967), Pl. III. In Fig. 88 on p. 102, however, Corbett shows his uncertainty about its status by giving no indication of what phase it belongs to. Krautheimer described it, p. 104, as either Early Christian or Romanesque.

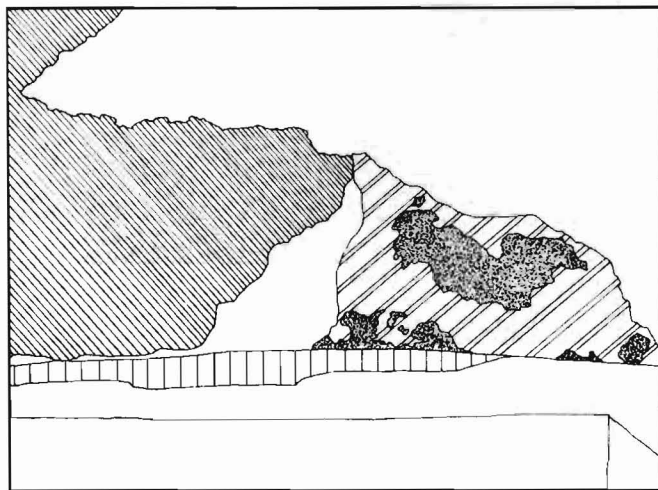


14. Elevation, Room K's East Flank


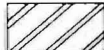



15. View into the Palimpsest Vault, Room K



16. Diagram of the Palimpsest Vault, Room K



RENDERINGS

ONE		Third-century frescoes
TWO		Pre-sixth-century frescoes
FOUR		Pre-sixth-century whitewash
FIVE		Frescoes of first half of the sixth century
SIX		Ninth-century frescoes

all respects¹⁹. Since there is no other such masonry in the present monastery basement postdating Phase One and antedating the Early Christian Phase Four, we conclude that the two fragments must have belonged to the Entryway M-N's original, Phase-Two, south wall.

According to Krautheimer, the other brick wall standing just behind N's present south wall also dates to Phase Two. Only barely visible today in the jamb of a modern opening hacked into Room N's south-west corner, it apparently rises into an upper storey above the Entryway where it joins some other Phase-Two walls²⁰.

The Phase-Two additions must date sometime after the third century when Building P and the Hall were built. If P originated in the late third century, as seems probable,

19 Somewhat more than a meter of the brickwork survives in the upper fragment: each brick course and its mortarbed measures about 5 centimeters high, or slightly less, with 20 to 21 courses per meter. The same is true of the brickwork in the Lambda Piers.

20 These additions do not appear in our basement plan (Fig. 1); see Krautheimer, III (1967), Pls. III, IV, and Fig. 88 on p. 102. Krautheimer identified some upper-storey brick walls running along the Hall's east flank and Building P's west flank as belonging to Phase Two (they not only rested on M-N's vaulting, they seemed to be contemporary with that vaulting). Another upper-storey wall running east and west along the Entryway's south flank, made of the same masonry, must have been built at the same time. This wall also appears at basement level, the southernmost of the two which close the Entryway at the south.



17. *View of Piers One and Two from the North West*



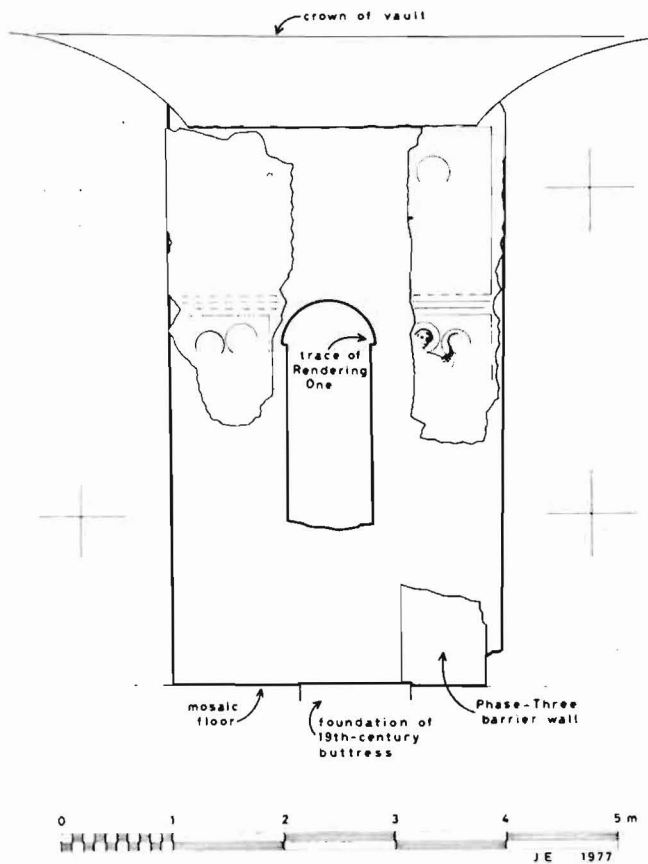
18. *View of Pier One from the South West*

then Phase Two could date no earlier than that. Moreover, the masonry added during Phase Four, which is likely to date to the first half of the sixth century (see our discussion of Phase Four below), overlaps the vaults of M and N and the Lambda Piers. From the structural context, then, it is evident that Phase Two dates sometime between the third (probably the late third) century, and the first half of the sixth.

The six-bay Hall and its annex Room C do not seem to have been modified during Phase Two and must have continued in use much as they had during Phase One. If the Hall still sheltered a market, as seems quite likely, then its large and imposing new Entryway M–N, specially designed to attract the attention of passers-by, would make good sense. The role played by Building P at this moment remains unknown, but if the Hall were a market, then P’s connection with that structure through the Entryway M–N during Phase Two would suggest that it also had some commercial purpose.

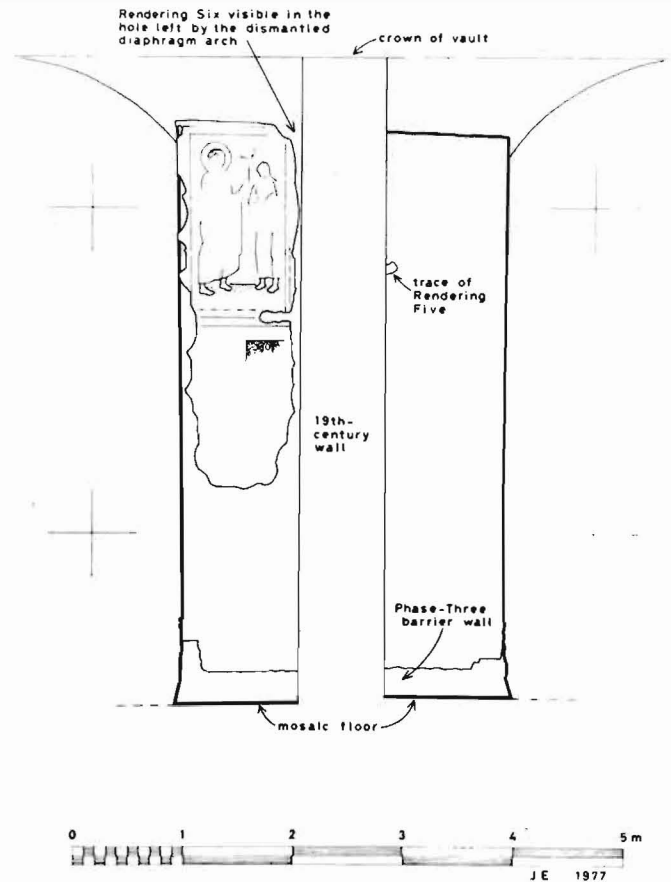
C. Phase Three. Our survey of the painted plaster decorations in the present monastery basement helped

reveal a new building phase there: during a third campaign, the Hall was remodeled and enlarged. This emerged first from inspection of some low walls made of tuffelli (small tufa blocks) located in Rooms E and H. Remains of them, embedded in the masonry enveloping Piers One and Four, sit immediately on top of the Hall’s Phase-One mosaic floor. The tufa wall preserved in Pier One, 76 centimeters wide, runs east and west and originally continued further east and west beyond the pier’s padding masonry (Figs.17–20). It was covered with painted plaster, large patches of which survive on its north and south sides. The tufa wall embedded in Pier Four, likewise 76 centimeters wide, also runs east and west (Fig.23). It originally continued beyond the pier’s padding to the west, and at its eastern extremity turned northward. Only a stub of this northern portion of the wall, 50 centimeters wide, is visible today, but presumably it once continued across Room H’s west side. Painted plaster identical to that on the wall embedded in Pier One covers this wall as well: patches of it appear on its north and south sides, and on top. The wall was 64.5 centimeters high and must have been intended as a low



PIER ONE, WEST FACE

19. Elevation, Pier One's West Face



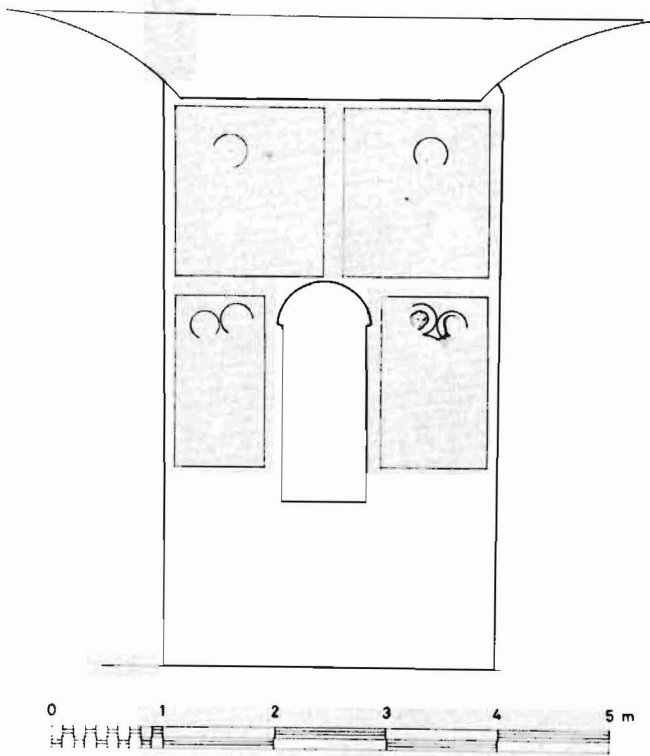
PIER ONE, SOUTH FACE

20. Elevation, Pier One's South Face

barrier – a space divider of some sort. The other tufa wall in Pier One probably functioned in the same way although it was somewhat taller. Fig. 19 shows that it is preserved to a height of about 95 centimeters above the Hall's mosaic floor.

The tufa walls lie on top of the Hall's Phase-One floor and against the Phase-One piers and must postdate them. One of the walls, that embedded in Pier Four, also lies against and clearly postdates a wall fragment made of brick standing just to the east (the tufa wall butts against a painted plaster decoration on the brick wall). This overlapping helps to clarify the chronological relationship between the tufa walls and the Phase-Two Entryway M-N. The wall fragment, a remnant of some addition to the Hall's Phase-One east flank, is visible from Rooms H, M, and N and forms Pier Four's present north-east corner. It rises from floor level in H, M, and N to a point near but not touching the springing of M's and N's vaults (the fragment appears as a narrow, vertical strip at the center of Fig. 23; it is embedded in the nineteenth-century wall

standing between H and M, and lies behind Pier Four's padding). Its brickwork is quite irregular and much poorer in quality than any encountered so far. Unlike the Phase-One masonries in the Hall, Room C, and Building P, or the Phase-Two masonry in the Entryway M-N, all made of new materials, the fragment in question was made of re-used bricks (the bricks must have been pilfered from other structures since they are all of irregular sizes and have chipped and broken edges). Moreover, its tall mortarbeds, troweled carelessly, are quite unlike those in the Phase-One and Phase-Two masonries (in the latter, a brick course and its mortarbed measures no more than 5 centimeters high, and sometimes less, with 20 to 24 courses per meter; by contrast, each brick course and its mortarbed in the wall fragment in question averages 6 centimeters high, with about 17 courses per meter). If anything, the fragment's masonry more nearly resembles the padding of Piers One through Five. The padding, however, differs markedly in the way its mortarbeds were troweled (see our discussion of Phase Four below), and of

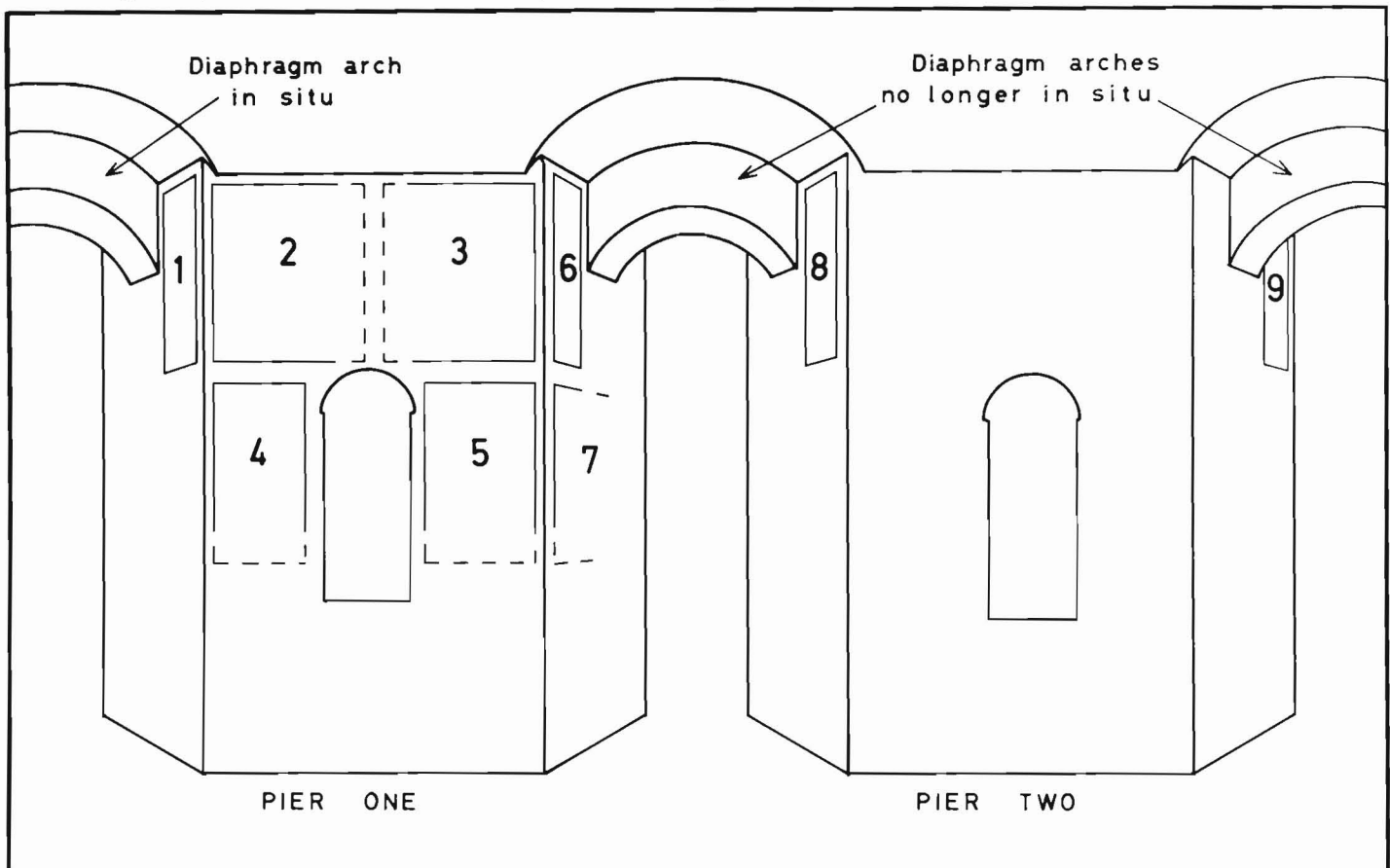


21. Fresco Decoration on Pier One's West Face, Reconstruction

course overlaps not only the fragment in question but the tufa wall as well, and obviously postdates both (Fig. 23). Since no other masonry at this site antedating the padding even slightly resembles that of the fragment, the fragment must be the remains of some isolated, minor addition. From the structural context it is unclear whether this addition antedates or postdates Phase Two, but since its masonry is so much less regular than any of those already encountered from Phases One and Two, we conclude that the addition occurred after the construction of the Phase-Two Entryway M-N. Therefore, since the tufa wall embedded in Pier Four postdates this addition, the installation of the tufa walls must postdate Phase Two and belong to a Phase Three.

Besides erecting the low barrier walls in Rooms E and H, the Phase-Three builders apparently also enclosed the space now occupied by Rooms A and B with a wall made of bricks and tufelli (an opus listatum in which one course of bricks alternates with two of tufelli). Although this wall was partly dismantled and rebuilt during the thirteenth century (see below, pp. 20-21), it still survives in the lower portion of Room A's north and west flanks, and B's west flank. It clearly postdates Phase One since it was built against the existing Phase-One masonry at the Hall's

22. Surviving Panels from the Pier Frescoes, View to East (Broken lines are hypothetical)





23. View of Pier Four from the North West in Room H



24. View of Rooms E and B from the North East

north-west corner. Its tufelli, which average 6 centimeters high by 15 long, are just the same size as those used in the low barrier walls. Since no other tufa blocks resembling these appear elsewhere at this site, those in the low barriers and the wall in question are very likely to belong to the same building campaign. This is confirmed by the fact that these walls are all covered by the same painted plaster. Since their builders would not have left them without a covering of some sort, and since no trace of any prior rendering is evident on them anywhere, the plaster in question must represent their original decoration (Rendering Three, described fully below, pp. 23–24). During Phase Three, therefore, the space A–B was added to the old Hall at the west.

Simultaneously, the walls running between the piers along the west flanks of Rooms D and E were dismantled and the Hall opened to the space A–B. Inspection of the Hall's Phase-One wall visible at the south of the opening between Rooms B and E provides the clue (Fig. 24 shows the wall in question now sandwiched between two broad thirteenth-century piers). Instead of a fair face, the wall reveals only rough, jagged masonry: clearly a portion of the wall was cut away to open Room E westward. Patches

of the same painted plaster which covers the low barriers and the opus listatum in Rooms A and B also cover the jagged surface. Since anyone who removed a section of wall in this way would also cover the resulting scar with plaster, and since no plaster prior to that linked with Phase Three appears here, we conclude that Room E was opened westward during Phase Three. Presumably the same is true for Room D²¹.

The space A–B must have been roofed in wood or masonry, and its north and west exterior flanks provided with windows. All trace of these features, however, disappeared in the thirteenth-century remodeling. Three marble slabs, the remains of some mysterious, unidentifiable feature, still survive from Phase Three in the lower

21 The upper two thirds of the Phase-One wall visible at the north of the opening between A and D reveal a fair face, very likely the north jamb of the Phase-One window in Room D's west wall. The lower third, about two meters above the present floor level, reveals jagged masonry showing where the wall below the Phase-One window in D was removed. This wall had to have been cut away by the time of the thirteenth-century additions because mortar from the thirteenth-century reinforcing pier in D's north-west corner overlaps the jagged surface.

center of Room B's west wall. Although Krautheimer thought that the slabs dated to the thirteenth century remodeling, they must belong to Phase Three. They are not only integral with the Phase-Three opus listatum, the lower-most slab is overlapped by the Phase-Three painted plaster.

During Phase Three, a small niche about 68 centimeters wide, 58 tall, and 24 deep was cut into the two third-century walls standing at the south of the opening between Rooms B and E (Figs. 1, 24). Partly hidden today by the thirteenth-century pier in B's south-east corner, the niche was rendered with the plaster linked with Phase Three. Located about 180 centimeters above the Hall's mosaic floor, it seems most likely to have held a lamp.

The Phase-Three additions can be dated no more precisely than those of Phase Two. The tufa and brick-and-tufa walls could have been built at any moment during Late Antiquity. Since the low barriers in Rooms E and H are embedded in the padding, and since the padding is datable to the first half of the sixth century (see Phase Four below), Phase Three at least can date no later than that.

The basic purpose of the Hall does not seem to have undergone much change during Phase Three. The Hall, its floor area increased by one third with the addition of the space A-B, must still have been intended for large gatherings. It remained easy of access, opening as it did during Phase Two principally through the wide vestibule north of Room D and the tall archways in the east sides of Rooms G and K. Low barriers appear to have directed and channeled traffic in a portion of the Phase-Three Hall, but judging from its three main entrances, all nearly equal in importance, and its large open interior obstructed only by three piers (Rooms A, B, D, E, F, G, H, and K), the remodeled Hall must still have been spatially rather diffuse. There is no hint of any Christian occupation here during Phase Three. Thus, if the Hall previously sheltered a market, the Phase-Three structure could well have been intended for the same purpose. Presumably Building P, linked with the Hall through the Entryway M-N, had some similar role. But while this hypothesis fits the archaeological evidence, the possibility that Christians were responsible for the Phase-Three remodeling cannot be absolutely excluded. An analysis of the documentary evidence (see Part V below) does in fact suggest that Christians were present here sometime before Phase Four. They might have been in possession of Building P and the Hall already during Phase Three.

Our survey of the painted plaster decorations in the present monastery basement (see Part II) reveals that

sometime after Phase Three, but before Phase Four, the Entryway M-N and the Hall, if not the entire Phase-Three complex, were summarily whitewashed (Rendering Four, see below, pp. 24-25). No structural changes accompanied this decorative campaign.

D. Phase Four. During Phase Four, the Entryway M-N and the enlarged Hall underwent a complete remodeling to fit them for the needs of Christian worship²². The Phase-Four builders encased the two central piers of the Hall (Piers One and Two) and the three piers engaged in its east flank (Piers Three, Four, and Five) in thick envelopes of brick masonry, leaving tall niches in the west faces of the padding around Piers One and Two. They dismantled the Phase-Three barrier walls, cutting them flush with the newly padded piers. They also erected two odd "fillings" made of the padding masonry high on the east sides of Rooms H and K, suspending them on wood beams let into the padding of Piers Three, Four, and Five. Figs. 13 and 14 show the filling in K set beneath the Phase-One vault over the passage between K and N. The beams which originally supported it have rotted away, but the place where they lodged in Pier Five's padding is still visible. The filling in H, only partly preserved and now resting on beams and bricks installed in the nineteenth century, appears in the upper portion of Fig. 23. The Phase-Four masonry consists entirely of re-used bricks set in somewhat uneven courses. Its most distinctive feature is the troweling of its mortarbeds: the masons inclined their tools so that the surface of each bed coincided with the bottom edge of the brick course above, but slanted down and in, about a half centimeter behind the top edge of the course below (Fig. 25).

This technique, Krautheimer and Corbett noted, appeared elsewhere in Early Christian Roman churches. The same beveled mortarbeds characterize the masonry used to remodel S. Pietro in Vincoli (Church B)²³, S. Marco (the Second Church)²⁴, and S. Pudenziana (the Second Phase)²⁵. They also appear in the original phase-one fabrics of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina²⁶ and SS. Quirico e Giulitta²⁷. Except for the Second Church at S. Marco about which all one can say is that it is pre-

22 Krautheimer was first to recognize this phase, III (1967), 104-108, 116-118.

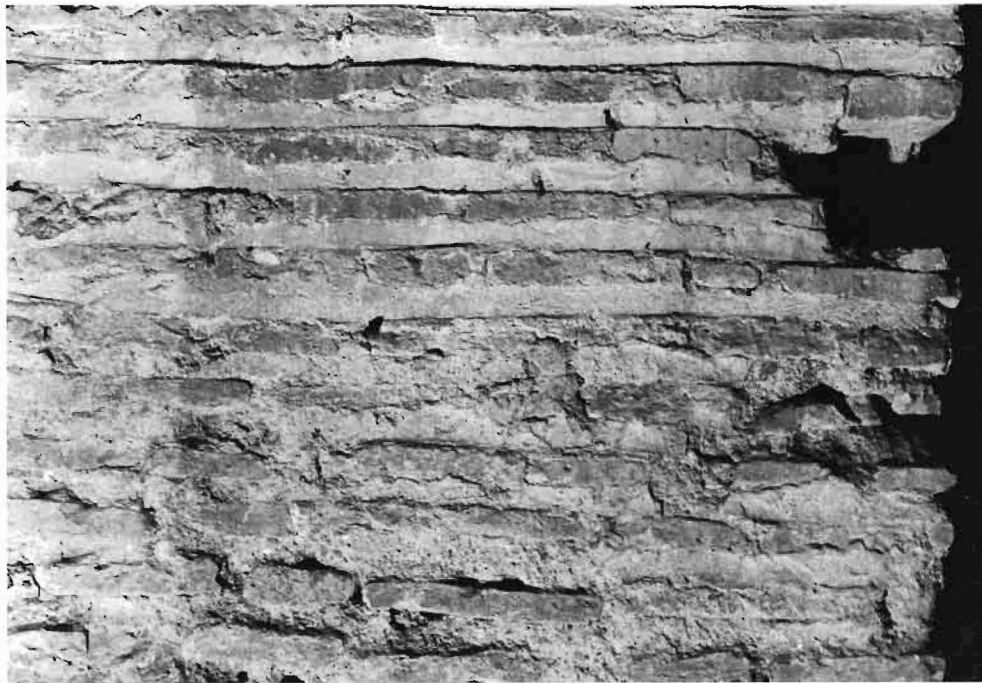
23 Krautheimer, III (1967), 210.

24 Krautheimer, II (1959), 234, 246.

25 Krautheimer, III (1967), 294, 300, 302.

26 Krautheimer, I (1937), 311-312, 316-319.

27 S. CORBETT, *The Church of SS. Quirico e Giulitta in Rome*, *Pap-BritRome*, XXVIII (1960), 38, 50; Krautheimer, IV (1970), 42-43, 49-50.



25. *Beveled Mortarbeds from Pier One's West Face*

Carolingian, the rest can be more or less closely dated on the basis of style, documentary evidence, or both. Among the four dated examples, one comes from the fifth century, and three from the sixth. S. Pietro in Vincoli's Church B is likely to date to the mid-fifth century²⁸, but S. Pudenziana's Second Phase and the key monuments, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina and SS. Quirico e Giulitta, probably date to the first half of the sixth. In the latter two, masonries with beveled mortarbeds are linked with a very unusual design feature for Rome – an apse with a three-sided polygonal exterior wall. Invented in Constantinople in the later fifth century, such an apse first appeared there at St. John Studios, founded in 463, then at Hagia Sophia (532–537), Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (before 536), and elsewhere in the Near East during the first half of the sixth century. Krautheimer argued that both S. Giovanni a Porta Latina and SS. Quirico e Giulitta represented transplants from the Near East in Rome, and were a consequence of Rome's close communications with Byzantium during the reign of Theodoric (493–526) and the subsequent Byzantine domination of the Italian peninsula under Belisarius and Narses (between 537 and 568). Besides the polygonal apses, said Krautheimer, the two Roman churches originally had Byzantinizing tripartite chancels in which the apse stood between flanking chapels, the prothesis and diaconicon. At S. Giovanni,

28 Krautheimer, III (1967), 228–230.

moreover, the measurements were all in Byzantine feet. In the case of SS. Quirico e Giulitta, the Byzantine design features support the tradition, based on a lost inscription, that the church's altar was consecrated by Pope Vigilius (537–555), active in Rome until 545 when he was arrested and forced into exile in Constantinople²⁹. If, as is quite likely, SS. Quirico e Giulitta was built just before 545, then the closely related S. Giovanni probably originated around the same time³⁰. The Second Phase at S. Pudenziana is also likely to date to the first half of the sixth century: in addition to beveled mortarbeds, an inscription on a piece of ecclesiastical furniture which once stood in the church tells that the priest Hilarus donated it during the reign of Pope Silverius (536–537); the remodeling in question apparently motivated this gift³¹. Judging from

29 He died there in 555; see Krautheimer, IV (1970), 38. When Cardinal Alessandro Medici remodeled SS. Quirico e Giulitta's high altar in 1584, he discovered an ancient altar which an inscription gave to Pope Vigilius. The modern inscription commemorating Cardinal Alessandro Medici's restorations mentions the discovery; see Krautheimer, IV (1970), 38.

30 See n. 27 above. Although in 1937 Krautheimer argued for an early sixth-century dating for S. Giovanni (see n. 26 above), in 1970 he said that it might have been founded either at that time or somewhat later, basing himself on W. and R. SCHUMACHER, *Die Kirche San Giovanni a Porta Latina*, *Kölner Domblatt*, XII/XIII (1957), 22–38. The Schumachers argued that such a Byzantinizing design as S. Giovanni could date no earlier than 537 when the Byzantines first took over in Rome (and might even have been founded by Narses sometime before 568).

31 Krautheimer, III (1967), 280, 300–301.

this evidence Krautheimer concluded that downward and inward slanting mortarbeds chiefly characterized Roman brickwork during the first half of the sixth century.

Krautheimer went on to note that at S. Martino ai Monti the date of the Phase-Four masonry coincided roughly with that of the mosaic in Room F which depicted a Christian saint (Fig. 2). Since the site must have been in Christian hands at that time, the Phase-Four remodeling was doubtless carried out to transform the buildings there for the purposes of the Christian cult. Krautheimer did not believe that the padding was designed to reinforce the old piers and vaults of the Hall as many had previously maintained. Those piers and vaults, he observed, showed no signs of settling, and the padding masonry could hardly have buttressed them even if they had had need of support, since it had no foundations of its own. He concluded that the padding was installed to create broad, flat wall surfaces suitable for the pictorial decorations which the Christian owners of the site would have desired. Indeed, we will show that the Phase-Four builders did decorate these surfaces, plastering and painting them (see our discussion of Rendering Five below, p.25). Some narrative scenes from the life of Christ painted on Piers One and Two, and a ceremonial scene reminiscent of apse compositions, painted on the filling in Room K, survive in fragmentary but legible condition. We will discuss them in detail below (see Parts III through VI).

Besides the padding, the Phase-Four builders also erected a series of diaphragm arches in the old Hall and Entryway M–N. These too have the same distinctive beveled mortarbeds. One such arch, inserted beneath the Phase-Two vault at the north of Room M, rests on Pier Three's padding at the west, and on a smaller pier of the same masonry at the east. The diaphragm arch dividing Rooms K and N (Figs. 13, 14) likewise rests on the padding (or at least its south springing does; to the north, the arch is embedded in the nineteenth-century supporting wall). A similar arch was built in the passageway leading from Room G eastward to the exterior. Another divides Rooms D and G. Besides these, which Krautheimer described, we found traces of three others, now dismantled. The arches between E and H and F and K left telltale holes in the padding masonry where they once stood³².

That between Rooms H and M left a hole in the south face of Pier Three's padding (as seen from H), and just opposite it also left its south jamb. This jamb, of course, was fashioned from the brick wall, the minor addition made to the Entryway M–N sometime between Phases Two and Three (see our discussion of Phase Three above and Fig. 23). It rises 297 centimeters above the Hall's mosaic floor – about the same height (304 centimeters) as the south jamb of the existing diaphragm arch between K and N. In all likelihood, there was an opening between H and M similar to that between K and N during Phase Four³³. No diaphragm arches, however, divided Rooms A and D or B and E. The north jamb of the opening between A–D and the south jamb of that between B–E are still intact and reveal no trace of such arches. The opening between Rooms C and F, moreover, was left as it was; visible today from Room C, it shows no signs of having been modified at this time. The Phase-Four diaphragm arches, therefore, channeled the space in Rooms G, H and K into a kind of nave running north and south. Along with the padding of Piers One through Five and the fillings high on the east sides of Rooms H and K, these arches helped to set Rooms G, H, and K off from the Entryway M–N at the east and the relatively open space formed by Rooms A, B, D, E, and F at the west.

To sum up, in Phase Four Rooms A through K comprised a single complex used for Christian worship. The Sanctuary A–K, as we call it, consisted of three distinct zones: (1) the space in Rooms A, B, D, E, and F, (2) the nave G–H–K, and (3) the space in Room C. Because this complex had so many entrances and different focuses, it is hard to determine what roles the various zones originally played. Piers One and Two dominate the interior, and tall niches in their west sides addressed to worshipers facing east would seem to show that the sanctuary's main focus lay to the east, perhaps in the nave G–H–K. The masonry fillings high on the east sides of Rooms H and K, which displayed pictures of special importance (the one in K showed Christ in majesty flanked by four saints), reinforce this impression. Nevertheless, three of the sanctuary's principal entrances opened along the east sides of Rooms G, H, and K and the space in question must have functioned as a kind of passageway. The niche in Room

32 The holes are almost hidden by the nineteenth-century supporting walls. A hole left by the dismantled diaphragm arch between E and H still appears in the south face of Pier One and is visible from both Rooms E and H. A hole left by the dismantled arch between F and K is visible in the south face of Pier Two as seen from F.

33 There is room for a low arch beneath the springing of M's barrel vault; its soffit, however, could rise no higher than 350/370 centimeters above the Hall's mosaic floor. For comparison, the soffit of the arch between K–N is 403 centimeters above the mosaic floor, those of the arches between G–L and L–M are both about 490 centimeters, and that of the arch between D–G is 535 centimeters above the mosaic floor.

F's south wall with its mosaic depicting a saint would seem to have provided another important focus for worshipers. Located just opposite the vestibule north of D, it might have helped define a north-south axis in the space A, B, D, E, and F. Room C, moreover, could have served either as an entryway to, or as an annex of the space A, B, D, E, and F. Since we do not know whether the passages in C's south and west sides were still open in Phase Four, we cannot say which is more likely. While it is evident that the Sanctuary A-K was an autonomous complex distinct from the Entryway M-N and Building P, how it functioned is still an open question.

The fate of Building P at this time was presumably bound up with that of the Sanctuary A-K. The two structures were still joined through their common Entryway M-N, and there is no hint that the wide opening which led from P to N was altered during Phase Four. Building P must also have been in Christian hands at this moment.

E. Phase Five. The next changes made in Building P, the Entryway M-N, and the Sanctuary A-K date to the Carolingian period and have to do with the erection of the present basilica and its ancillary buildings³⁴. Begun between 844 and 847, the Carolingian campaign radically altered the entire site. Building P disappeared beneath the new church. Its ground storey was filled in to make a foundation, and the rest was razed. This must have made it necessary to seal the doorway leading from P to N. Krautheimer pointed out that the uneven brick courses blocking this portal resembled those in the rising walls of the ninth-century basilica³⁵. At the same time, the vestibule north of Room D was closed. The large ashlar which shut this opening, visible from outside, are the same as those used for the foundations of the ninth-century basilica³⁶.

34 Krautheimer, III (1967), 108-113, 118-121.

35 The brickwork in question lies on top of a few jumbled courses of large tufa blocks; see Krautheimer, III (1967), Fig. 88 on p. 102. The same uneven brickwork and irregular tufa courses appear in Room M's east wall. While this masonry must represent some other Phase-Five modification of Building P, its purpose is unclear today.

36 Did the Phase-Five builders also install two piers in the south-east and south-west corners of Room K (Figs. 1 and 14)? Although these piers have been dismantled (only a stub of the south-east pier, made of rubble, survives), a painted plaster decoration covered by them still remains in K's south-east and south-west corners to attest to their existence. These piers must postdate the sixth-century Phase Four because the plaster they cover (Rendering Five) was installed then. See Part II for discussion of the renderings.

The Carolingian builders suppressed Building P, but retained Sanctuary A-K and its Entryway M-N. The fact that the old sanctuary remained in use during Phase Five seems assured by the fragments of some Early Medieval frescoes there. Iconographical and palaeographical evidence suggests that these paintings originated during the second quarter of the ninth century, no later than about 850 (see our discussion of Rendering Six below, pp. 25-28). We know that when these frescoes were installed, the various zones or spaces inside the old sanctuary were modified. One important focus of the ninth-century decoration was the large *crux gemmata* painted on Room E's ceiling³⁷. Fig. 26 shows what remains of its arm reaching toward Room F, and its foot toward Room H. The foot extended so far into H that the Phase-Four diaphragm arch E-H had to have been dismantled before the fresco could have been painted. Removing the arch left a hole in the Hall's original Phase-One decoration (Rendering One) on the ceiling between E and H. Today a nineteenth-century supporting wall stands between E-H, but the hole in question is still visible from E in the corner between the modern wall and Pier One's south face: some plaster installed for the ninth-century paintings, Rendering Six, fills the hole (Fig. 20). Since anyone removing the arch would smooth over the resulting scar with plaster, the dismantling of the arch and the installation of the ninth-century paintings must have been simultaneous. The removal of the arch and the painting of the *crux gemmata* there addressed to worshipers approaching from the east opened a new east-west axis in the sanctuary. Since the Phase-Five closing of the vestibule north of Room D left as the sanctuary's main entries the archways along its east flank in Rooms G, H, and K and actually helped to create this east-west axis, we conclude that the frescoes in question were likely to have been installed during Phase Five. The mid-ninth-century sanctuary apparently pointed westward.

F. Later Phases. During the remodeling of the old buildings west of the basilica in 1930, fragments of a historic structure came to view in the upper storeys whose brick-and-tufa masonry (consisting for the most part of three courses of brick alternating with one of tufa) and windows (especially a Romanesque *quadrifora*) seem typical of the later Middle Ages³⁸. These fragments, largely razed in 1930, are probably what remained of a palace built by Guala Bicchieri, Cardinal-Presbyter of S. Mar-

37 Wilpert (1916), IV, Pl. 207, Fig. 3.

38 Vielliard, 102-114.

tino ai Monti from 1211 to 1227³⁹. Some additions made to the old Sanctuary A–K and its Entryway M–N, carried out in the same brick-and-tufa masonry as the thirteenth-century palace, must belong to the same building phase. Apparently the thirteenth-century builders remodeled the older structures at the site to serve as a basement⁴⁰. They reinforced five Phase-One piers along the north and west flanks of the old six-bay Hall with envelopes made of brick and tufa. They enclosed the space north of Room M with walls made of the same materials to create Room L, and provided it with a high cross vault. They also reinforced the Phase-Three wall running along the north and west sides of A–B, using brick inside and brick and tufa outside. At the same time, they replaced A–B’s roof with two cross vaults which rested on pilasters in A–B’s north and west walls and on a pier, made of brick, standing in B’s south-east corner. They erected a robust brick arch running diagonally east and west across Room N to reinforce N’s vault (the arch rests on piers made of the thirteenth-century brick and tufa). Finally they rebuilt N’s old south wall and provided it with a central buttress. This repair, carried out mainly in brick (some tufa courses appear in the wall’s upper half), must date to the thirteenth century because, first, the buttress overlaps the Carolingian Phase-Five paintings on N’s ceiling (Rendering Six), and second, the brickwork has the same peculiar mortarbeds as the voussoirs in the nearby thirteenth-century arch (in both, the masons slanted the mortarbeds upward and inward).

The thirteenth-century additions to the Sanctuary A–K and its Entryway M–N seem to have had no other purpose but reinforcement. That in any event is what our survey of the surviving renderings in Rooms A–N suggests: we found no trace of any plaster decoration or whitewash to show that worshipers might still have used the old Carolingian sanctuary at this time. The thirteenth-century builders simply left the masonry of their additions uncovered. They did, however, provide five large windows with pierced marble transennae (three in the wall running along A–B’s north and west sides, and two in L’s north wall) and some niches for lamps (one in the

buttress of N’s south wall and another in the pier at B’s south-east corner). While the rooms in the palace basement could no longer have performed any ceremonial role, they did remain accessible during the thirteenth century. Perhaps they were used simply for storage.

Nothing further seems to have happened in the basement until the seventeenth century. By that time, the Carmelite monks living at S. Martino ai Monti had forgotten the historic basement rooms, only discovering them by accident in 1637 as they were preparing to renovate their church and monastery⁴¹. Shortly after, an altar was placed below the niche in Room F, and a mosaic, supposedly a copy of the old one, was placed above it. F received a fresco decoration, and a stucco frame was set around the niche in its south wall (see below, p.30). The passage between Rooms C and F might also have been sealed at this time: the extremely rough rubble masonry there, visible from C, resembles no other in Rooms A–N and could be of relatively modern origin. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the basement rooms served as an occasional cemetery for the monks of S. Martino.

In 1879, the vaults covering Rooms A, B, D, and E in the north-west corner of the basement collapsed, bringing down those upper-storey portions of the thirteenth-century palace (at that moment being used as a monastery) which rested on them⁴². The damage was not immediately repaired, and for many years the four rooms were left open to the weather. A series of stout brick walls was built throughout the basement following the collapse to reinforce the remaining vaults and stabilize the upper-storey walls. These supporting walls unfortunately contributed to the destruction of the old frescoes in the basement. Finally, after a fifty-year interval, the fallen vaults were restored when the old buildings here were remodeled in 1930. At that moment, a tall buttress installed after 1879 lying against Pier One’s west face was removed to make way for the new vaults in Rooms D and E.

II. DECORATIONS AND RENDERINGS

From the third to the seventeenth centuries, the rooms in S. Martino ai Monti’s present monastery basement were decorated over and over with frescoes, whitewashes, and mosaics. We have been able to distinguish as many as

39 Vielliard (as in n. 38 above) and following him, Krautheimer (see n. 40 below) both supposed that the fragments in question were the remains of Guala Bicchieri’s monastery. But as C. BERTELLI pointed out in: *Su alcune opere d’arte italiane alla mostra del Romanico a Barcellona, Il tesoro di S. Martino ai Monti, BollArte*, XLVI (1961), 337–342, especially n. 14, Bicchieri must have built a palace, because in the early thirteenth century, S. Martino was served by a regular clergy, not monks.

40 Krautheimer, III (1967), 113–115, 121.

41 Filippini, 48.

42 Vielliard, 6, n. 1.

thirty such renderings there⁴³. Many of these are limited in scope, confined to a single wall, room, or small portion of the complex. But six, dating from the third to the ninth centuries, are major, comprehensive decorative campaigns. Among these are the newly discovered Christian frescoes of Rendering Five. Five of the major renderings (One, Two, Four, Five, and Six) overlap each other at the filling high on Room K's east side and on a portion of the adjacent vault (Figs. 15, 16). Study of this "Palimpsest Vault" provides a chronology for these five major renderings, and by extension, all six, permitting us to link each of them with the architectural phase to which it belongs.

A. Rendering One. The sail-shaped patch of fresco at the center of the Palimpsest Vault (Figs. 15, 16) is the earliest among the renderings there because it is overlapped by each of the other four. Its surface is smooth, without brushmarks, and reveals traces of dark-red paint. A patch of the same rendering, recognizable from its surface and paint color, survives in Room K's vault next to the nineteenth-century supporting wall at the north. Here one can see that the rendering had two plaster layers. The base layer, varying in depth from 1.5 to 2.5 centimeters, consists of a brown-gray lime plaster with a binder of crushed straw mixed with a coarse fill of bits of terra-cotta and tufa up to a half-centimeter in size. The surface layer varies in thickness from about 5 to 8 millimeters and consists of a fine-textured cream-colored lime plaster.

This rendering is distinctive and traces of it can be easily recognized wherever they appear. A large patch survives on the vault in Room E. Some others remain on the vault in F (at the north side of the room next to the nineteenth-century supporting wall) and in the vaults of Rooms G and H. Another small patch survives on the Phase-One cruciform pier visible at the back of the niche left in the Phase-Four padding of Pier One (Figs. 17, 19). The rendering is best preserved in Room E's ceiling (Fig. 26) where remains of a painted decoration of framed panels are still visible beneath the later repainting of Rendering Six⁴⁴. Dark-red or dark-blue bands frame

dark-ochre or dark-blue fields. This decoration was carefully laid out with preparatory incisions, then skillfully painted. The surface plaster is unusually smooth, and the paint on it, devoid of brushmarks, may even have been polished.

All the surviving patches of this rendering lie directly on top of the Hall's Phase-One masonry. Since the patches appear throughout the Hall on the vaults and on one of the piers, the rendering should be regarded as a comprehensive rather than partial decoration of that building. Since, moreover, no trace of any prior rendering exists anywhere on Phase-One masonry, the rendering in question must be the six-bay Hall's original Phase-One decoration. We identify it, therefore, as Rendering One, and date it along with the Hall to the early third century. No remnants of Rendering One, of course, appear in the Hall's annexes to the west and east (in Rooms A, B, C, L, M, or N). When the Hall was first built, these were open exterior spaces.

B. Rendering Two. The next rendering in the Palimpsest Vault consists of the large area of fresco just to the right of the sail-shaped patch (Figs. 15, 16) with painted panels similar to those of Rendering One, but inferior in execution. The artists used only two colors, dark red and light red, painting the frames of the panels, but leaving the fields plain. They made no preparatory incisions, and the resulting irregularities are obvious. By contrast to Rendering One's smooth surface, this rendering's surface undulates slightly, and the masons' troweling is visible. Although this rendering sits directly on the Phase-One vault at the same level as Rendering One, it is nevertheless secondary. The masons patted this portion of it carefully up against the sail-shaped patch (Rendering One) with their trowels and fingers leaving telltale marks in the surface plaster along the seam between the two renderings.

Patches of the rendering in question, easily recognizable from its characteristic surface and painting, survive on the vaults and upper walls of Rooms M and N. Where it occurs on walls, it has two plaster layers. The base layer, about a centimeter thick, consists of a gray lime plaster filled with sand bits of stone up to 2 millimeters in size. The surface layer, approximately 5 millimeters thick, consists of a fine-textured white lime plaster.

Both plaster layers are quite soft and friable. In the vaults of M and N, this two-layer rendering lies on a base of gray lime plaster 2 to 3 centimeters thick, mixed with straw and a coarse fill of crushed terra-cotta and tufa.

43 We use the term "rendering" to refer to any covering which is troweled or brushed onto masonry surfaces. Renderings usually consist of one or more layers of lime plaster, and are designed to bear further layers of paint, or provide support for mosaic cubes, but they may be as simple as a whitewash. By rendering, we mean not only the plaster layers supporting a decoration in paint or mosaic, but the entire decoration, the plaster plus the paint or mosaic.

44 See also Wilpert (1916), IV, Pl. 207, Fig. 3.

26. *Crux Gemmata* on Room E's Ceiling, View from the North West



This underlayer was applied directly to the concrete intrados of the vaults to smooth over surface irregularities in preparation for the upper two layers.

We can detect no trace of any prior rendering in M and N and assume that the rendering under scrutiny is the original decoration there. This links it with Phase Two when M and N were erected as an entryway for Building P and the Hall, and makes it one of the major decorative campaigns at this site – Rendering Two. While this is the first decoration in the Entryway M–N, it is the second in Room K's vault. Since it lies there in a hole left by a fallen section of Rendering One, and was troweled to the same level as that decoration, it must have been intended as a repair for One. The painted frames of Rendering Two visible in K's Palimpsest Vault were brushed in freely with long sweeping strokes which show no signs of having stopped short at the edge of the sail-shaped patch (Rendering One). Here at least, Rendering Two's rather decadent and lightly painted framework must have covered what remained of Rendering One's system of panels. Whether such repairs of Rendering One occurred throughout the six-bay Hall cannot be known with certainty. That remnants of Rendering Two appear nowhere else in the Hall except in K speaks against this possibility. In this case, one cannot help but wonder how and where the two decorative systems were joined and whether the

Hall had some internal divisions at this moment. However this may be, the fact that the Entryway M–N's original decoration appears as well in Room K shows that M, N, and K belonged together during Phase Two, and that the Entryway M–N was designed to serve both the six-bay Hall and Building P.

C. Rendering Three. This rendering does not appear in the Palimpsest Vault, but numerous patches survive in Rooms A, B, E, H, M, and N, for example (1) on the remains of opus listatum forming the wall running along the north and west sides of the space A–B, (2) on the lower south jamb of the opening between Rooms B and E, in the small niche cut into that jamb, and on the lower portion of the Phase-One wall forming Room E's south-west corner (now covered by the thirteenth-century reinforcing pier, but still visible behind it), (3) on the north and south sides of the low barrier wall embedded in Pier One, and on the north and south sides and top of the barrier wall embedded in Pier Four, (4) on the lower portion of the wall fragment visible from Rooms M and N forming Pier Four's north-east corner, and (5) on the lower portion of the Phase-Two wall in Room N's south-east corner, and on the seam between N's cross vault and east wall. The rendering in question, composed of two layers and painted, is distinctive. Its base layer, averaging

about 8 or 9 millimeters in thickness, consists of a gray lime plaster mixed with a fine fill of tufa or terra-cotta which gives it a reddish cast. The base layer also contains a few bits of straw and a good deal of white marble, grayish-green or black stone, and tufa in chunks averaging 2 millimeters in size. The surface layer, only about 3 millimeters thick, consists of an ivory-colored lime plaster – finely textured, dense, and hard. Judging from the large patches of this plaster visible on the low barrier walls in Rooms E and H, it was troweled quite smooth (but not as smooth as Rendering One). Traces of red, green, and whitish-ochre paint survive from this rendering on the barrier walls, and some red paint still clings to the patches of it on N's cross vault. In Room N's lower south-east corner, a few square centimeters of the rendering's original paint surface remain, showing the corners of some pink and white panels with borders of red and black bands.

In Part I, we argued that this rendering was linked with the Phase-Three additions to the Hall. A comprehensive decoration associated with a major building campaign, we identify it as Rendering Three. While Three is the first rendering on the Phase-Three walls, it must represent a repair for Renderings One and Two on the Phase-One and Phase-Two walls. Rendering Three, as it happens, nowhere touches or overlaps Renderings One and Two. Since, on Phase-One and Phase-Two masonry, it lies on bare walls at the same level as Renderings One and Two, we conclude that when it was installed, large portions of Renderings One and Two had either fallen off or were deliberately chipped away⁴⁵. Few traces of Rendering Three's paint survive, and it is hard to assess this decoration's original appearance. But since it was designed to complement and repair the prior renderings, like them it must have been painted with a system of panels.

D. Rendering Four. The third rendering in the Palimpsest Vault is a coarse lime wash applied with a thick-bristled brush in two coats, both only a few millimeters thick (Figs. 15, 16). It survives in numerous patches, large and small, and is almost entirely covered by the Early Medieval paintings of Rendering Six. Where these paintings have fallen away, the rendering's bare surface appears, devoid of all traces of pigment. There is no sign that it ever had paintings of its own, or was anything more than a plain whitewash. Despite its simplicity, this

45 In N's south-east corner, however, Rendering Three lies on top of a thick underlayer of brownish-gray lime plaster filled with large chunks of terra-cotta. This is not the remains of some other rendering, but a special preparation for Three at this place.

rendering's thin double layers and peculiar rough, bumpy surface (the latter quite visible even beneath the Early Medieval paintings) serve to identify it wherever it appears.

In the Palimpsest Vault, the whitewash lies directly on top of Rendering Two, and in two small patches at the far right in Figs. 15 and 16 it is overlapped by the Phase-Four padding masonry. Another patch of the whitewash lying on Rendering One in K's vault and located somewhat further to the south (as indicated in Fig. 14) is likewise overlapped by the padding. Another patch occurs on Rendering One in K's vault at the north-west corner of the room and lies immediately behind Pier Two's padding. More traces of the whitewash appear at Pier One. A remnant covers the patch of Rendering One visible on the cruciform pier at the back of the niche in Pier One's west face and is overlapped by the padding. Other remnants cover the patch of Rendering Three on the south side of the low barrier wall embedded in Pier One. Although Pier One's padding masonry has fallen away from the barrier's south side, originally it would have covered the whitewash there (Fig. 18). Many patches of the whitewash, some quite large, occur on the walls and vaults of the Entryway M–N. These remnants do not touch the padding but lie on top of Renderings Two and Three and beneath the Early Medieval paintings of Rendering Six. Here the most important traces of the whitewash from a chronological point of view appear on patches of Rendering Three located at the south-east corner of N's cross vault, and at the base of the wall fragment forming Pier Four's north-east corner visible from M and N. Judging from these remains, the whitewash seems to have covered all interior walls and vaults of the Hall and Entryway M–N, constituting a major decoration. Since it covers Renderings One, Two, and Three from Phases One, Two, and Three respectively, but lies immediately beneath the Phase-Four padding masonry, it must date sometime between Phases Three and Four, and represent the fourth comprehensive decoration at this site.

Such a coarse rendering, apparently left without painting and seemingly unrelated to any major architectural campaign, is hard to assess. Used throughout the Phase-Three Hall, Entryway M–N, and possibly even Building P, it was an economical way to hide existing decorations and give a uniform character to the whole complex. One wonders whether the buildings here had fallen on bad times or had changed function to have been daubed over in such a perfunctory fashion. However unsatisfactory Rendering Four may have been from an aesthetic point of view, it seems to have survived intact in some portions of

M–N and the Hall, especially the vaults, until the Early Middle Ages. In hiding the decorative framework of Renderings One, Two, and Three, the whitewash reduced the visibility of the groins in the vaults. This effect must have been welcome to the Phase-Four builders since their padding disturbed the alignment of the vaults and piers.

E. Rendering Five. This rendering does not occur on the Palimpsest Vault proper, but immediately beneath it on the Phase-Four masonry suspended on wood beams over the archway between K and N. In Figs. 15 and 16, this filling appears sharply foreshortened; an orthogonal view showing the lunette-shaped area created by the filling appears in the survey drawing, Fig. 14. Since the Phase-Four masonry overlaps Rendering Four (the whitewash) and postdates it, the same must be true for the rendering which lies on that masonry. This decoration has two plaster layers. The base layer, varying in thickness and up to a centimeter high, consists of a gray lime plaster in which lumps of pure white lime are visible. It has a binder of crushed straw and a fill of fine sand mixed with some bits of terra-cotta and dark-colored stone. The top layer, likewise varying in thickness and up to 5 millimeters high, consists of a very fine-textured, white lime plaster. Its surface is not perfectly flat, but undulates slightly. Both layers are rather soft and friable. This is a distinctive fabric which can be recognized easily wherever it appears.

Large areas of it cover the Phase-Four padding on the north, west, and south faces of Piers One and Two (Figs. 17–20). A large patch also appears in Room K's south-east corner covering portions of Pier Five and the room's south wall immediately adjacent (Figs. 13, 14). Other patches survive on the narrow buttress and wall at Room K's south-west corner. Judging from these remains, the plaster seems generally to have been applied in large areas all at once from the top to the bottom of the walls and piers. A crude horizontal overlap in the surface layer of the rendering occurs on Pier One's north face about 340 to 350 centimeters above the mosaic floor. Here the top half of the pier was plastered first and allowed to dry, and then the bottom half was plastered. The only other visible overlap runs vertically along the surface layer on Pier Two's north face about 12 centimeters from the pier's north-west corner. No trace of the rendering appears in the vaults of the Late Antique complex. Moreover, the patch lying on the filling in Room K was carefully troweled up against the whitewash (Rendering Four) in the Palimpsest Vault. Evidently, in K at least, the rendering was confined to the rising walls. For the

most part it lies on the masonry added during Phase Four. Since close inspection of the Phase-Four masonry surfaces fails to turn up the least trace of any prior rendering, we conclude that the rendering in question is contemporary with Phase Four and represents the fifth major decoration at this site.

Rendering Five bears the remains of the newly found frescoes with Christian subjects (to be discussed in detail in Parts III through VI below). Since we know that the Phase-Four additions were specially designed to provide surfaces for such paintings (see Part I), and since these are the only paintings lying on Rendering Five, it follows that they are contemporary with Phase Four. Since, moreover, the Phase-Four masonry is very likely to date to the first half of the sixth century, so are the newly discovered frescoes.

F. Rendering Six. The fifth and final rendering in the Palimpsest Vault is the large fragment of plaster to the left of the sail-shaped patch (Figs. 15, 16). Applied to fill a hollow in the vault where prior renderings had fallen, it is clearly a repair. It consists of a single layer of white lime plaster mixed with fine sand, bits of quartz and terra-cotta, and some crushed straw, varying in thickness from a few millimeters to about a centimeter. It was troweled crudely over the remains of Rendering One's base layer and the bare tiles facing K's vault. Fig. 15, a photograph taken in raking light, shows the irregular undulation in the plaster's surface where it drops from the level of Rendering One's base layer to that of the tiles. Troweled against the edges of Renderings One and Two in the Palimpsest Vault, it was also troweled against Rendering Five on the filling just below, and must therefore postdate Five. The arrow in Fig. 14 points to the place along the seam between the vault and lunette where plaster squeezed out from the troweling of the rendering in question lies on top of Rendering Five.

The surface of this rendering is rough and uneven – not smoothed out with the usual broad, flat tool, but with a small rounded one. The workmen's rapid, nervous troweling, visible in Fig. 15, is one of the rendering's most distinctive features. Fragments of this crudely troweled, single layer of plaster occur throughout the Hall and Entryway M–N⁴⁶. It was used either to mend prior renderings as in the Palimpsest Vault, or replace them

46 That is, on the vaults in E, H, M, and N, on the south and east faces of Pier One, on the west, south, and east faces of Pier Three, on the north and east faces of Pier Four, on the filling on H's east flank, on the intrados of the arch between M and L and on its south face, and on the west wall of N.

altogether where they had fallen off or had been deliberately removed. In E's vault, for example, it replaces the older renderings which had collapsed when the diaphragm arch between E and H was installed and then dismantled. A scar in Pier One's south face occasioned by the removal of the same arch was also repaired with this plaster. This patching of prior renderings obviously prepared the walls and vaults for extensive redecoration. Following Rendering Five, this is the sixth and final such comprehensive decoration at this site.

Large portions of Rendering Six's paintings still exist and have been published by Silvagni, Wilpert, Vielliard, and others. The vaults were painted with starry skies, a huge *crux gemmata* filled Room E's ceiling, and two panels depicting Christ and the Virgin, each surrounded by the appropriate saints, appeared on M's barrel vault. There was a representation of the Lamb between the two Johns, a portrait of Pope Sixtus II, and some narrative scenes which are no longer recognizable. All of this was painted either on Rendering Six or on the portions of Renderings One, Two, Three, and Four that had survived. The *crux gemmata* on E's vault, for example, lies on Renderings Six, Four, and One (the surfaces of One and Four show through where the paint linked with Six has fallen off; see Fig. 26). In the Entryway M-N, the frescoes in question lie on Renderings Six, Four, and Two (presumably they also once lay on Rendering Three although no traces of them appear on Three's surviving fragments today). Rendering Six's painters, however, left the frescoes of Rendering Five on Piers One and Two and the filling in K untouched. They did so intentionally, seeking to incorporate these portions of the earlier decoration, and perhaps others now lost, into their own. One sees this clearly in Room K where the artists responsible for the starry sky in the vault (Rendering Six) brushed the dark-red frame of their decoration carefully around and over the medium-red frame of the lunette composition painted on the filling (Rendering Five).

We know that Rendering Six postdates Rendering Five and Phase Four, both datable to the first half of the sixth century. We also know that Rendering Six is linked with the removal of the diaphragm arch between E and H which is likely to have occurred during Phase Five, that is, during construction of the Carolingian basilica under Sergius II (844-847) and Leo IV (847-855). The *terminus ante quem* for Rendering Six is the masonry added in the thirteenth century, since its entirely utilitarian character excludes any liturgical use of the Sanctuary A-K and Entryway M-N after that time. We are convinced, however, that the actual date of Rendering Six is much earlier.

Silvagni⁴⁷, Wilpert⁴⁸, Vielliard⁴⁹, and Matthiae⁵⁰ are unanimous in placing its frescoes in the period between the last quarter of the eighth century and the middle of the ninth. Their conclusion is obviously correct, for it is in the dated Roman frescoes and mosaics of that period that one finds the closest parallels to the female saints at S. Martino ai Monti, who combine the Late Antique *trabea* costume with circular crowns of Early Medieval type⁵¹. The image of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist pointing toward an image of Christ on the arch between L and M (Fig. 27) finds a close match in the mosaics of Paschal I (817-824) on the triumphal arch of S. Maria in Domnica⁵². The painters at S. Martino ai Monti, moreover, articulated the human body with a rudimentary system of single and double lines, often dark red on yellow, which is typical for the mosaics and frescoes executed for Leo III (795-816) and Paschal I⁵³.

During the time span in question, there were two special occasions for which the frescoes might have been produced: a restoration under Hadrian I (772-795)⁵⁴ and the building of the present church under Sergius II (844-847) and Leo IV (847-855)⁵⁵. Wilpert, Vielliard⁵⁶, and Matthiae⁵⁷ opted for the second date, and Silvagni⁵⁸ was unable to make up his mind. Given the present state

47 Silvagni (1912), 350-354, Figs. 6, 7.

48 Wilpert (1916), I, 332-335, and IV, Pls. 205-209.

49 Vielliard, 92-101, Figs. 42-45, 47-50.

50 Matthiae PR, 220-221, Figs. 143-144.

51 The best analysis of the female *trabea* costume is to be found in Delbrueck (1929), 53-58; for a discussion of the circular crowns worn by the female saints, see REINHARD ELZE, *Die Eiserne Krone in Monza, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* von Percy Ernst Schramm, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 13, 2 (1955), 450-479; for a recent discussion of female saints so attired, see H. P. L'ORANGE, *La scultura in stucco e in pietra del Tempietto di Cividale, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, VII, pt. 3 (1979), 81-91.

52 This composition has been discussed by Wilpert (1916), I, 333; *Caecilia Davis-Weyer*, *Das Apsismosaik Leos III.* in S. Susanna, *ZKg*, XXVIII (1965), 192; HÉLÈNE TOUBERT, *Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XIIe siècle*, *CahArch*, XX (1970), 149-150; HANS BELTING, *Der Einhardsbogen*, *ZKg*, XXXVI (1973), 102-103. We are grateful to John Osborne for letting us read the manuscript of a talk on this subject given by him at the 1979 meeting of the Association of Art Historians, London.

53 For a description of this system, see Davis-Weyer, 116-123.

54 Duchesne (1955), I, 505, 507.

55 Duchesne (1955), II, 93-94, 131. For the mosaic inscription of Leo IV in the apse of S. Martino ai Monti, see G. B. DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, Rome (1922-1956), II, 473.

56 See notes 48 and 49 above.

57 See n. 50 above. Matthiae differs from Wilpert and Vielliard in preferring a date under Gregory IV (827-844) rather than Sergius II and Leo IV.

58 See n. 47 above.



27. Carolingian Fresco on the South Face of the Arch L–M, Detail

of the frescoes, which are not only badly abraded but have been retouched throughout⁵⁹, the question of their date can only be approached in a somewhat tentative fashion. We think that iconographic and palaeographic clues speak on the whole in favor of a date in the first half of the ninth century.

The fresco on the south face of the arch L–M depicts the Lamb of God between John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (Fig. 27). Representations of the Lamb of God had been forbidden by the eighty-second canon of the so-called Quinisext Council in 692⁶⁰. Pope John VII

(705–707) had observed this injunction in S. Maria Antiqua⁶¹ and there is no documentary or monumental record that his immediate successors or other Roman patrons of the eighth century did otherwise⁶². For Hadrian I

61 E. TEA, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua*, Milan (1937), 66–69; Nordhagen (1968), 52–54.

62 The first reappearance of the Lamb of God in Roman iconography known to us seems to have been the water-spouting lamb on a column donated by Leo III in 806 or 807 to the Vatican Baptistry; see Duchesne (1955), II, 17. For the dates of this and the following monuments mentioned in the *Vita Leonis* from the *Liber Pontificalis*, see C. HUELSEN, *Osservazioni sulla biografia di Leone III nel Liber Pontificalis*, *AttiPAccRend*, I (1923), 107–109, also C. DAVIS-WEYER, *Das Apsismosaik Leos III.* in S. Susanna, *ZKq*, XXVIII (1965), 114–115. The mosaics of Leo III, however, avoid representing the Lamb of God. This is obvious in the representations of the Twenty-four Elders in the Aula del Concilio (801 or 802) and in the apse mosaic of SS. Nereo e Achilleo (815 or 816), both destroyed but recorded in a drawing by Ugonio (Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 2160, fol. 209v) and a sixteenth-century painting now in the office of the Prefect of the Vatican Library. The mosaic in the

59 This fact was pointed out by Silvagni (1912), 332, and before him, by GIUSEPPE VASI, *Tesoro sacro e venerabile ... di Roma*, Rome (1771), pt. 1, p. 119.

60 G. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XI, Florence (1769), 977–978. For an English translation of the eighty-second canon, see CYRIL MANGO, *Byzantine Art, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series*, ed. by H. W. Janson, Englewood Cliffs (1972), 139–140.

(772–795) the choice of such an iconography would have been especially inappropriate. During the eighties of the century, iconodules had begun to quote the canon in question in order to call for a new council⁶³. Pope Hadrian, according to Caspar, was party to these attempts since 781⁶⁴, and explicitly quotes and accepts the eighty-second canon in his letters to the Patriarch Tarasius⁶⁵ and Charlemagne⁶⁶. It is only under Paschal I (817–824) that the ancient Roman iconography of the Lamb is purposefully revived⁶⁷. Its appearance at S. Martino ai Monti suggests therefore a date after rather than before the pontificate of Paschal I.

It is, of course, possible that the S. Martino ai Monti frescoes might have been done in the first nine years of Hadrian's reign, that is, before 781⁶⁸. In this case, however, one would have to assume that a distance of about forty years separated them from the mosaics of Paschal, to which they can be most readily compared. There is, for example, the S. Martino painters' peculiar misunderstanding of the female trabea costume. While preserving the lower diagonal hem of the trabea, they suppressed the layering of trabea, dalmatic, and tunica intima over shoul-

ders and arm, and fused the three separate garments into a single tight-fitting sleeve (Fig. 28). Among dated monuments, this simplification appears for the first time in the mosaics decorating the apse and triumphal arch at S. Prassede (817–824)⁶⁹.

A date toward the middle of the ninth century is also indicated by the lettering of the inscriptions accompanying the Early Medieval frescoes at S. Martino ai Monti. Some of the letters are remarkably monumental and generous in shape. M for instance is wider than high, and B, D, R, and N are close to being square (Fig. 27). Such broadness of lettering is lacking in most of the dated inscriptions of the later eighth and early ninth centuries⁷⁰. It finds, however, a close match in the inscriptions of Gregory IV (827–844) in the apse of S. Marco. Here one also encounters a similar overstatement of the difference between broad and thin strokes as in S. Martino ai Monti. However, at S. Martino this feature may have been emphasized by later retouching⁷¹.

G. Other Renderings. Besides the six comprehensive decorative campaigns discussed above, we found twenty-four other decorations each limited to a single wall, room, or small portion of the complex. Although these minor renderings provide information about the history of the buildings at this site, none, with the exception of the Late Antique mosaic in Room F's niche, contributes any further clues for the date of Rendering Five and its newly discovered Christian frescoes. We confine ourselves therefore to a rapid survey of the minor renderings, listing them here in order to reinforce our reading of the major Renderings One through Six.

1. The niche in the south wall of Room N was decorated with a mosaic depicting a Christian saint with a large gold halo wearing the pallium of a metropolitan bishop (Fig. 2). Since many of the cubes have fallen, and since the saint's face has been vandalized by hammering,

Aula del Concilio substituted a bust of Christ in a clipeus for the customary Lamb. The apse mosaic in SS. Nereo e Achilleo had six lambs advancing from both sides toward a large central cross and not, as one might expect, toward a Lamb of God. For reproductions, see AGNESE GUERRIERI, *La chiesa dei SS. Nereo e Achilleo*, Amici della Catacombe, XVI (1951), 111–113, Fig. 57; Davis-Weyer (1968), 126–128, Fig. 26. For important observations concerning the iconography of the Lamb in Roman art of the late eighth and ninth centuries, see Nordhagen, 165–166, n. 24.

63 J. BRECKENRIDGE, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, New York (1959), 86.

64 Caspar (1956), 52, 86. This view is shared by PAUL ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford (1958), 104. PAUL SPECK, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, München (1978), II, 551, n. 320, does not believe that there was any discussion of the question of images prior to 784/785.

65 Jaffé, 2449 (October 26, 785); Migne, PL, XCVI, cols. 1235–1236 b c; Caspar (1956), 54, 61.

66 Jaffé, 2483 (ca. 791); MGH, Epist. 5, Epist. Carolini aevi 4, Berlin (1899), pp. 32 and 51; Caspar (1956), 55–57; Speck, see above, n. 64, 548, n. 292.

67 As in the mosaics of S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, and the Zeno Chapel. For reproductions, see Matthiae (1967), Figs. 144, 176, 197.

68 While the life of Hadrian in the *Liber Pontificalis* is not arranged in annalistic fashion like that of Leo III (see n. 62 above), Duchesne (1955), I, pp. CCXX–CCXXI, distinguished various phases in its composition. The entry referring to the renovation of the basilica of St. Sylvester (Duchesne, 1955, I, 505, l. 16) immediately precedes a notice about a repair at St. Peter's (Duchesne, 1955, I, 505, l. 17) undertaken *simili modo* in 780–789; see Duchesne (1955), I, p. CCXX and pp. 519–520, n. 77. The notice concerning the church of St. Martin *sitam iuxta titulum sancti Silvestris* (Duchesne, 1955, I, 507, l. 26) occurs in a section referring to events which took place in the 780's.

69 Matthiae (1967), Fig. 176. For a correct arrangement, compare Matthiae (1967), Figs. 144, 152, 201.

70 This is especially true of the mosaic inscriptions of Paschal, and also of his inscription above the entrance to the Zeno Chapel. See N. GRAY, *The Paleography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Italy*, *PapBritRome*, XVI (1948), 97–105, cat. no. 77 and alphabet no. 77a; Silvagni (1943), Pls. XV, 2, XXXII, XXXIII, 1.

71 For the inscription at S. Marco see Silvagni (1943), Pl. XXXIII, 2. The S. Martino inscriptions should, on the other hand, not be much later than the middle of the ninth century. As Professor Petrucci kindly pointed out to us, the capital E with forked horizontals which occurs throughout in S. Martino disappears from Roman book hands after the middle of the ninth century.



28. Carolingian Fresco, Room H's East Flank, *Mary Enthroned with the Child and Two Female Saints*

it is difficult to date the mosaic precisely. We can, however, be sure that it originated sometime during the last half of the fifth or the sixth centuries. The sixth-century dating proposed by Wilpert and Krautheimer is probably correct⁷². The mosaic, now consisting entirely of glass cubes, has a setting bed of white lime plaster secured by iron nails to a base layer of gray lime plaster filled with straw and small bits of white marble, tufa, terra-cotta, and black stone⁷³.

2. A similar but not identical mosaic appears in the small niche cut into the Phase-One walls at the south of

the opening between Rooms B and E. It lies on top of Rendering Three and thus must postdate Phase Three. It has a setting bed of white lime plaster with a coarse fill secured by iron nails to a base layer of warm-gray plaster mixed with large chunks of lime, and bits of terra-cotta and gray-black stone. The mosaic seems confined to the niche's conch. None of the cubes survive, but judging from the impressions they made in the setting bed, the conch was covered with dark-green cubes and had a lower border composed of three rows of red cubes.

3. The doorway in Room G's north-west corner was apparently suppressed at an early date, walled up, and transformed into a shallow, flat niche. The top 84 centimeters of the niche are covered by a skillfully troweled, three-layer, plaster rendering painted pink with dark-red bands at the angles. Judging from the exceptional smoothness of its surface, reminiscent of Early Imperial

⁷² Wilpert (1916), I, 327–329; Krautheimer, III (1967), 108, 116, 124.

⁷³ The niche measures 157 centimeters high, 116 wide, and 80 deep. It stood 110 centimeters above the mosaic floor of the Hall. For comparison, the niches in the west faces of Piers One and Two were each about 200 centimeters high and 75 wide, and stood over 150 centimeters above the Hall's mosaic floor.

renderings, the decoration in question must have been installed only a short while after construction of the six-bay Hall in the early third century.

4. Another three-layer plaster rendering overlapping that described just above survives in the lower portion of the shallow niche in Room G's north-west corner. Lying at the same level as the previous decoration, it must have been installed as a repair for that rendering. Equally well made, with a very smooth, flat surface, the decoration in question probably also dates to the third century. Traces of bright-orange, light-red, dark-red, black, and green paint cover it, possibly the remains of an imitation marble pattern. Since traces of Rendering Four (the whitewash) lie on top of this painting, we know the rendering in question survived intact until sometime between Phases Three and Four.

5. The shallow niche in G's north-west corner was eventually filled with rubble and made flush with G's north wall. Some of the rubble survives in the lower portion of the niche and is overlapped by the thirteenth-century pier between Rooms D and G. This fill was decorated with painted plaster, fragments of which still cling to the top edge of the niche next to the thirteenth-century pier. The rendering has a half-centimeter-thick, ivory-colored surface layer, and a brownish gray base layer about a centimeter thick in which lumps of white lime and terra-cotta are visible. It resembles no other at this site and is apparently a minor decoration installed to cover the niche's rubble fill.

6. Some fragments of a two-layer plaster rendering bearing traces of ochre paint survive on the lower portion of the rough brick masonry forming Pier Four's north-east corner visible from Room H. The Phase-Three barrier wall embedded in Pier Four overlaps them. The masonry which this rendering covers formed part of a minor addition to the Entryway M–N postdating Phase Two (see Part I above). Since the rendering in question, composed of a thin, two-millimeter-thick, ivory-colored surface layer, and a reddish-gray base layer about a centimeter thick mixed with finely crushed terra-cotta and some large lumps of lime, is unique to the basement rooms, we conclude that it is a minor decoration linked with the post-Phase-Two addition to M–N.

7. Fragments of a two-layer plaster rendering revealing traces of red and ochre paint appear in Room N's south-east corner lying directly on top of Rendering Three. Since no other trace of this decoration appears elsewhere in the basement rooms, the fragments must be the remains of some minor decoration confined to Room N and carried out after Phase Three.

8. The mosaic panel depicting the Virgin and Sylvester set into Room F's south wall directly above the niche with the Late Antique mosaic is of more recent origin. Allegedly intended as a copy of the earlier mosaic, it was installed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini shortly after discovery of the basement rooms in 1637⁷⁴.

9. Cardinal Francesco Barberini is probably also responsible for the sculpted stucco frame surrounding the niche in Room F's south wall, and for the fresco which spreads across that wall depicting an elaborate aedicula. The aedicula features images of Constantine and Helena and provides a dramatic Baroque setting for the old niche and the new mosaic.

10. A small remnant of a two-layer plaster rendering painted bright ochre still clings to the far right-hand portion of the soffit of the archway in Room C's south wall. Its skillfully troweled surface and high-quality painting suggest an early origin, probably in the third century. The rendering matches no other in the basement rooms and must be one of the minor decorations at the site.

11. When Room C was created during the third century by the addition of the walls in brickwork "b" (see Part I above), its interior was doubtless decorated with painted plaster. The jambs and soffit of the small window in the upper right portion of C's north wall have fragments of a two-layer plaster rendering with traces of red and green paint which might belong to one of C's earliest decorations. Judging from the rendering's smooth, even surface, a third-century origin would not seem unlikely. Moreover, the fragments in question are the earliest of a series of overlapping renderings here.

12. A small patch of another skillfully applied two-layer rendering painted blue-black lies at the top center of Room C's east wall next to the barrel vault. It survives because it was covered by the butt end of the wood beam which rested on the two large arches made of brickwork "c" (see Part I above). Judging from the workmanship, the rendering is likely to belong to one of Room C's earliest decorations.

13. Large patches of a two-layer plaster rendering applied with considerable skill and painted with large circular and almond-shaped panels featuring central emble-mata survive in Room C on the east wall, the barrel vault, cross vault, and the easternmost of the two large arches made of brickwork "c". Obviously, the rendering could

74 Filippini, 25. Cardinal Francesco Barberini paid 60 scudi for the mosaic on 8 December 1639; see M. LAVIN, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, New York (1975), Doc. 68.

date no earlier than brickwork “c” which was installed sometime during the third century. Since the soffits of the two large arches made of brickwork “c” were lined with tiles in preparation for a covering of plaster, and since no trace of any plaster prior to that of the rendering with emblemata appears there, we conclude that this rendering must be contemporary with brickwork “c”. The paintings with the emblemata, moreover could well date to the third century⁷⁵. A fragment of the rendering with emblemata overlaps the blue-black patch on C’s east wall described just above. Since this fragment was clearly troweled against the wood beam which rested on the two arches made of brickwork “c”, we know that the beam must have been installed at the same time as the arches.

14. Large patches of a two-layer rendering with an undulant surface on which traces of thick white, gray, and dull-red paint survive⁷⁶ appear in Room C on the east and west faces of the easternmost of the two large arches made of brickwork “c”, on the room’s east wall, in its northeast corner near the springing of the barrel vault, and on the west jambs of both the window and doorway located in the right-hand portion of C’s north wall. Another large patch of the same rendering appears on Room B’s south wall⁷⁷, and yet another in the soffit of the arch between Rooms B and E. In Room C, it was troweled against the edges of the surviving patches of the decoration with emblemata described just above, and was clearly intended as a repair for that rendering. It is also linked with a minor structural change in Room C. When the masonry between the doorway in the right-hand portion of C’s north wall and the window immediately above it was removed to make a new larger opening, the rendering in question was used in the west jamb of the new opening to smooth over the awkward transition between the old doorway and the slightly wider window. Since this rendering appears in the soffit of the arch between Rooms B and E, it must have been installed only after the addition of the space A–B during Phase Three.

75 Wilpert (1916), I, 325–326. These paintings and others from the same rendering now lost were described and recorded in the seventeenth century; see Filipini, 26, and the copies by Marco Tullio in Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 4405, fols. 43, 44.

76 The rendering’s fabric is distinctive: it has an ivory-colored surface layer varying in thickness and up to a centimeter thick in places, and a gray base layer varying between 1 and 2 centimeters thick filled with sand, finely crushed terra-cotta, bits of lime, and frequent large lumps of marble and terra-cotta measuring from 5 to 10 millimeters in width.

77 This patch is continuous with that in the west jamb of the window in the upper right-hand portion of C’s north wall.

15. Numerous patches of a one-layer plaster rendering up to 4 centimeters thick, filled with large fragments of red and yellow brick, and painted dark red are preserved on the lower portions of all four interior walls of Room C. The rendering must postdate the installation of the two large arches made of brickwork “c” because it overlaps their piers. It also postdates the closing of the opening in Room C’s south and west walls because it overlaps the masonry filling them. Judging from its skillfully troweled and painted surface, the rendering is likely to date to Late Antiquity rather than the Middle Ages.

16. The small patch of plaster on the soffit of the window in the upper right-hand portion of Room C’s north wall used to fill the hole left by the removal of the window frame appears to be a mere local repair rather than a fragment of some more extensive rendering. Its surface was covered with a crudely applied coat of whitewash about a millimeter thick.

17. A narrow strip of roughly troweled, dark gray-brown plaster occurs at the base of Room C’s east wall just below the rubble which presently fills the archway between Rooms C and F. Of mysterious origin, it appears to antedate the rubble, and may cover some earlier masonry which filled this opening.

18. Fragments of a single layer of straw-filled, ivory-colored, lime plaster about a half-centimeter thick cover the upper portion of Room C’s south wall between the two large arches made of brickwork “c” (Fig. 29). The rendering lies on bare masonry, was troweled quite smooth, and preserves traces of painting. Indeed, at the top center of the rendering just left of the larger window, we discovered legible fragments of a painting showing Christ in Majesty (Fig. 30). This figure focused a single, large, lunette-shaped composition which spread across the wall between the two arches made of brickwork “c”. Traces of the lunette’s black frame appear at the top and right side. Judging from the size and position of Christ, the lunette must have included a number of other elements and figures, but nothing survives of them except small indecipherable bits of paint⁷⁸. Christ, however, is relatively well preserved. He appears bearded, with a red-bordered yellow halo, and a yellow tunic and pallium with red clavi, seated on a red arc inside a pink mandorla filled with yellow stars. The mandorla, framed in red, is silhouetted against an ochre ground. In his left hand,

78 Since a Christ in Majesty is unlikely to have been painted immediately alongside an open window (see Fig. 29), we presume that the Phase-One window here had been filled with masonry and closed when this rendering was installed, and that the rendering covered it.



Christ holds a roll tied with a single band and propped up vertically on his left knee (his fingers are visible at the top of the roll)⁷⁹. In his right hand, he holds a tall, dark-red, pearled, cross staff⁸⁰. Colors were applied for the most part in distinct layers, each color being allowed to dry before the next went down. Some wet blending of two or three colors in a single layer, however, did take place in the roll and in Christ's neck. Both opaque and semi-transparent media appear, and in the flesh areas the artists skillfully manipulated both warm and cool colors. The hands have six colors, and the head has eight. The drapery and the roll, however, have three colors only, and were painted much more simply. Brushstrokes are firm, sure, and rapid, the product of a competent artist working quickly.

This rendering, unique to the basement rooms, represents a minor decorative campaign confined to Room C's south wall. Its single layer of plaster and its painting technique, by themselves, indicate that it originated in the Middle Ages, and of course, at this site, a dating in the Carolingian period seems quite possible. A more precise

dating, however, would require analyses of the style and iconography of the Christ in Majesty going beyond the scope of this survey. Since the date of this decoration has no direct bearing on that of Rendering Five with its newly discovered frescoes, we postpone that discussion.

19. A single patch of a two-layer plaster rendering occurs high on Room B's south wall near the vault. It has an ivory-colored surface layer 3 to 4 millimeters thick in which bits of brown plaster are visible, and a brown base layer about a centimeter thick. No other trace of this plaster appears elsewhere in the basement rooms, and the fragment must be the remains of some minor decoration in Room B.

20. A small patch of whitewash, applied thickly in a single coat, lies on the bare masonry of Room B's south wall at the lower edge and immediately beneath the patch of plaster described just above. Quite distinct from the whitewash identified as Rendering Four, it represents the remains of some simple wall covering confined to Room B.

21. Many fragments of a two-layer rendering bearing traces of red and ochre paint and having an ivory-colored, half-centimeter-thick surface layer, and a dark reddish-gray base layer about a centimeter thick cover all four walls of Room C and the lower-most portion of Room B's south wall. Its surface was troweled crudely, and the plaster in its base layer was mixed with an unusually high

79 Christ's head is 17 centimeters tall, his halo 29.5 centimeters in diameter, and his roll 20 centimeters long. The distance measured vertically between the top of Christ's halo and the lowest preserved fold in his tunic is 51 centimeters.

80 A bit of the cross staff's left arm survives on a small fragment of plaster located at the level of Christ's nose.

percentage of crushed terra-cotta. In Room C this rendering was obviously installed to repair No. 15 described above, whose edges it overlaps. No other traces of it survive elsewhere in the basement rooms.

22. A single layer of straw-filled white plaster, 4 millimeters thick, lies in a large patch on Room B's south wall on top of the fragment of No. 14 described above. The rendering was troweled smoothly and painted a light gray. Although it is similar to that on C's south wall with the newly discovered fresco of Christ in Majesty (No. 18 above), it is not the same rendering. Its plaster is much whiter, and its painting entirely different.

23. Fragments of a single layer of ivory-colored plaster filled with straw and bits of tufa and dark-gray stone lie on the Phase-Three opus listatum along A-B's north and west walls, and inside the archway in C's south wall. About 4 to 6 millimeters thick, the rendering bears traces of red, ochre, and green paint. For the most part it sits on bare masonry, but on Room B's west wall it overlaps Rendering Three, and on C's south wall it overlaps No. 21 described above. The fragments appear to be what remains of a minor decorative campaign carried out in Rooms A, B, and C.

24. A quite smoothly troweled, single layer of plaster survives in a large patch stretching across the entire width of Room B's lower south wall. It lies on that wall immediately above the patch of No. 21 described earlier, and overlaps it. A broad, blue-black band was painted along its lower border. Since no other traces of this plaster appear elsewhere at this site, the fragment under scrutiny must have belonged to some minor decoration here, perhaps confined to B's south wall.

III. THE FRESCOES OF RENDERING FIVE

Rendering Five survives in large areas on the Phase-Four masonry of Piers One, Two, and Five, and the filling high on Room K's east wall. This masonry can be dated to the first half of the sixth century; we have already argued that the same dating applies to Rendering Five and its paintings. Fragments of these paintings remain visible on Piers One and Two and the filling in Room K.

The decoration of the piers consisted of a series of panels in superimposed registers connected by a framework of salmon-colored bands 10 to 12 centimeters wide, articulated by narrower strips of dark green. Two registers of panels survive. The ones in the upper register



30. Fresco on Room C's South Wall, *Christ in Majesty*

were between 145 and 160 centimeters high, excluding frames. If the panels in the zone below were the same height, their lower frames would have been about 175 to 180 centimeters above the mosaic floor of the Hall. This would have left space for a third zone, likewise frescoed, but probably provided with some non-figural dado decoration rather than pictures (Figs. 19, 20)⁸¹.

A total of nine panels survive from the original decoration of Piers One and Two. We will start our description of the newly found fragments with them. For the sake

81 No plaster from Rendering Five survives on Piers One and Two in this zone, but some does on Pier Five in the south-east corner of Room K (Figs. 13, 14). All that remains here, however, are some traces of reddish purple and black paint located in a horizontal band between 108 and 115 centimeters above the room's mosaic floor, perhaps the remnants of a frame. Presumably this paint belongs to Rendering Five, but too little survives for us to say with certainty whether it does or not.

of convenience, we have numbered them as in the diagram in Fig. 22. Below we describe each of them individually, beginning with the best preserved⁸².

A. Panel Six: The Annunciation of Peter's Denial (Figs. 8,9). This scene survives in an upper register on Pier One, where it was placed between the southwest corner of the pier and the now dismantled Phase-Four diaphragm arch between E–H (see above, p.19). Portions of the salmon-red frame with green lines remain on all four sides of the panel⁸³. Excluding the frame, the panel is 161 centimeters high and 85 wide.

Traces of two figures standing opposite each other can still be seen. The fact that their garments do not cover their ankles shows that both were male. The one to the left is taller and has a yellow halo 28 centimeters in diameter. He wears a purple tunic with golden clavi and raises his right hand in a speaking gesture. The figure opposite him does not have a halo and is somewhat smaller. His head is bowed. It is difficult to see what he did with his right hand. He does not seem to have made a speaking gesture like the figure before him, but may have lifted his right hand to his chin. The smaller passive figure wears a white tunic with clavi. Vertical lines between the two men indicate the presence of a tall object between them, on top of which a multicolored object of diffuse shape, somewhat larger than their heads, remains barely visible. The configuration and the color scheme of the painting resemble so closely the scene of the Annunciation of Peter's Denial in *S. Apollinare Nuovo* in Ravenna (Fig. 31) that we have no doubt that this subject was also represented

82 The archaeology of Ancient and Medieval wall paintings on plaster is a topic on which much confusion and uncertainty still exists. Our description of the fragmentary paintings of Rendering Five is indebted to the studies of PER JONAS NORDHAGEN on *S. Maria Antiqua*, especially: *The Frescoes of John VII (A. D. 705–707)* in *S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, III (1968), and of DAVID WINFIELD, *Byzantine Wall Painting Methods, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXII (1968), 63–139. By analyzing Ancient and Medieval literature on wall paintings, and by patient observation of actual wall paintings of these periods, Winfield throws new light on questions concerning the composition of their plasters, their lay-out, the kinds of pigments and media used in them, and the procedures for applying colors in their different parts.

83 At the bottom of this panel, the gray-blue paint of the background overlaps the salmon red of the frame. However, in the same place a purplish red in the lower horizontal bands of the panel's frame overlaps the gray-blue. This suggests that when the panel was first laid out, it was not high enough, and that this defect was corrected when the gray-blue of the background was applied. A new lower horizontal frame was painted in another color of red, a slightly purplish version of the salmon red used elsewhere.

here. The larger purple-clad figure must be Christ, the smaller Peter, and the diffuse shape between them must be what remains of the cock on the column. The ruinous state of the panel permits one to catch a glimpse of the painter's procedure. Like all the other paintings on Rendering Five, Panel Six was done on dry plaster (see above, p.25). Colors were mixed in an opaque medium, probably lime⁸⁴, and for the most part applied one on top of the other in a layering technique which lets one color dry before the next goes down.

In Panel Six, the first color applied was salmon red for the frame. Next the whole picture field was painted in a medium tone of gray blue, the color of the sky. This paint appears everywhere below all other colors except the salmon red of the frame. On top of it, the painters applied the same salmon red which they used in the frame to sketch the outlines of figures and objects freely and quickly. This underdrawing can be seen throughout the figure of Peter, in the right shoulder, right foot and halo of Christ, below the shallow band of green on which the figures stand, and in the outline of the column between them. For the ground, a medium green was applied first and then overlaid, at least in places, with a darker green. Lines of the same dark green were also used to articulate the frames.

Traces of red and light ochre, probably laid down in separate layers, survive in the flesh parts, that is, in the feet of Christ and Peter, and in Christ's face near the hairline. Here these colors sit on top of a purple underpainting used for Christ's face and hair, put down after the salmon-red underdrawing had dried. The halo of Christ was painted in a particularly viscous yellow, laid in separately. Yellow paint used for the clavi of Christ's tunic remains visible along the figure's left leg. White survives in the figure of Peter. Purple, green, and ochre pigments remain from the cock's plumage.

B. Panel Five: The Annunciation (Figs. 10–12). This panel occupies the area between the niche and the southwest corner of Pier One. Bands of the framing system survive at the top and right side of the panel, where they are approximately 11 centimeters wide. If those at the left were the same width, the panel must have been about 94 centimeters wide.

84 See Winfield, 104–112, on media for pigments. Lime is one of the most popular media for both Ancient and Medieval wall painters. It consists apparently of a partly carbonated mixture of lime (CaO) and chalk. But many other media were used, often in the same painting, since different colors required different media.

31. *The Annunciation of Peter's Denial.*
Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo



Remnants survive of two figures which appeared side by side in the center of the panel. The taller one to the left was a young man with curly hair, regular features, a pale complexion, and a light-blue nimbus 28 centimeters in diameter. The color of his halo together with his features indicate that he is an angel. The smaller figure on the right toward whom he inclines his head had a yellow halo 26 centimeters in diameter. The head of this figure has almost disappeared, but one can still see that it was covered by a reddish-purple maphorion, a female garment, which fell over the right shoulder. The rank of the figure is indicated by its yellow halo which, in Panel Six, is worn by Christ but not by Peter. The figure must be Mary. We have not found any traces of another object or another figure in Panel Five. Furthermore, the position of the two figures in the panel, close to each other as well as to the frame, excludes the presence of an additional full-sized figure. We are therefore certain that the scene represented an Annunciation.

As in Panel Six, the painters of the Annunciation began by laying down a gray-blue ground covering the entire picture field. Traces of gray blue can be seen between the haloes of Mary and the Angel, and wherever the upper layers of paint have flaked away in the haloes and Angel's head. Salmon red was used for the underdrawing and also as an underpainting for hair and faces. In contrast to Panel Six, the haloes were incised lightly into the gray-

blue ground with the help of a compass. Both haloes were painted in opaque colors.

All that remains today of Mary's head apart from the salmon-red underdrawing and underpainting are fragments of the reddish-purple paint of her veil, brushed on top of the salmon-red and the yellow halo. We also found a medium highlight of brownish ochre brushed into the wet purple on the left side of the veil.

The lower and middle layers of paint in the Angel's head, by contrast, are relatively well preserved. The assurance and apparent spontaneity with which this head was painted are striking. Quick strokes alternate with fluid blot-like forms. Colors were mixed in various media, some opaque, some semi-transparent⁸⁵. We can distinguish eight different pigments. The first to be applied was the salmon red (1) already mentioned. After this had dried, the painters brushed on a darker red (2), likewise opaque, for shadows in the eye sockets, along the right side of the head, and in the hair. The order in which the remaining six colors were applied is difficult to determine because the painters made such ample use of transparent media. We found the following layers: an opaque dark

⁸⁵ Winfield, 104–112. Transparent or semi-transparent media were commonly used by Ancient and Medieval wall painters. Such media appear to have been water, certain glues, and gum arabic. It is impossible to tell which, if any of these, have been used in Panel Five.

ochre (3) visible in the chin and neck, somewhat lighter than the dark red just mentioned; a transparent green (4) for shadows in the hair (right side) and curls around the outside of the hairdo; a transparent yellowish ochre (5), quite light in tone, for curls around the outside of the hair on the lighted left side of the head; a transparent purple (6) visible in three curls surrounding the hair in the shaded left portion of the head; an opaque warm flesh tone (7), a medium highlight for the lighted portion of the face in forehead and cheek; and finally, a lighter flesh tone in an opaque ochre white (8) highlighting the area between the nose and mouth and across the lighted portion of the chin. To find so many and varied colors in one head is most unusual. And yet there must have been additional ones, now lost, to further define the eyes, nose, and mouth.

A stroke of opaque gray-white paint is still visible on the left side of the Angel's neck. This seems likely to be a remnant of the Angel's garment, stretched tightly around his neck.

C. Panel Four: Scene with an Angel and another Haloed Figure (Fig. 19). This panel appears in the lower register between the niche and north-west corner of Pier One. Remnants of its frame, painted as usual with salmon red and dark green, survive at the top and right side where the frame is approximately 12 centimeters wide. If the measurement for the right side was identical, the panel would have been about 80 centimeters wide. As in Panel Five, the center of Panel Four was occupied by two figures. The one to the right was taller and had a halo of the same size (28 centimeters in diameter) and the same light-blue color as the Angel in the adjacent Annunciation panel. We think that he was an angel as well. His companion had a yellow halo like that of the Virgin in the Annunciation panel, likewise 26 centimeters in diameter. Its low position and relatively small size seem to indicate that it belonged to Mary rather than Christ. The measured drawing (Fig. 19) shows that Panel Four was a mirror image of Panel Five. We think that it represented another encounter between Mary and the Angel.

Very little remains of Panel Four except for some remnants of the gray-blue primer and the colors employed for the two haloes which were yellow and light-blue, both opaque. Traces of salmon red and reddish purple occur near the centers of the two haloes⁸⁶. The haloes were incised with the help of a compass.

⁸⁶ These are probably remains of the underdrawing and underpainting for the two figures.

D. Panel Eight: Scene with One Haloed Figure. This panel occupies an area in the upper register between the dismantled diaphragm arch E-H and the north-west corner of Pier Two (visible in Fig. 17). Traces of the frame survive at the top and sides showing that the picture field was 93 centimeters wide.

Traces of a large yellow halo 28 centimeters in diameter, incised into the plaster, remain in the extreme upper right corner of the panel. The halo's center lies only 18 centimeters below the top frame of the panel, and 17 from the right lateral frame. In size and coloring this halo is identical to that of Christ in Panel Six opposite. Its position shows that the holy figure to which it belonged was also very tall, and thus likely to have been Christ rather than the Virgin. If so, Christ stood very close to the right frame of the panel, leaving ample space for second and third figures in the center and left half of the picture field. Whoever may have been depicted here did not have a halo since there are no incisions for it.

The eccentric position of Panel Eight's haloed protagonist, and the fact that he shared the panel with figures of a more profane status, make it virtually certain that Panel Eight depicted a narrative subject.

Bits of gray-blue paint remain visible in the panel's center, but here this color was not brushed on as an overall primer. A salmon red stain survives in the center of the halo, and a green stain between it and the halo's border. Both colors sank directly into the plaster rather than adhering to its surface. This shows that there was no intervening layer of gray-blue paint here. After the position of Christ's head had been blocked out, the halo was incised⁸⁷. Only then was the gray-blue background brushed in. Bits of viscous yellow paint used for the halo lie directly on top of the green stain. Traces of green paint in the lower part of the panel must be what survives of a green landscape such as appears in Panel Six on the wall opposite.

E. Panel Nine: Scene with One Haloed Figure. This panel occupies an area in the upper register between the dismantled diaphragm arch F-K (see above, p.19) and the south-east corner of Pier Two. A trace of red pigment revealing the inner edge of the panel's left lateral frame lies about 111 centimeters from the pier's south-east corner. Allowing for the width of the right lateral frame, the panel's picture field must have been about a meter wide.

⁸⁷ The compass incisions in this panel are unusually deep.

Compass incisions for a halo appear in the upper left portion of the picture field. This halo was formed by two concentric circles, the outer 26 centimeters in diameter, and the inner 24. There are no traces of pigment to indicate the color of the halo. Its center lies 52 centimeters below the top of the pier, 41 from the inner edge of the left lateral frame, and 70 from the south-east corner of the pier. The figure to whom this halo belonged occupied the left half of the picture field. There is room for another figure, but whoever it was was of lower rank, because no incision for any second halo survives even though the surface of the plaster remains intact. The eccentric position of the single, haloed protagonist indicates that the composition of Panel Nine, like that of the other panels described so far, was narrative rather than iconic.

The surviving traces of pigment are minimal – some ochre and red, and a bit of white in the center of the halo⁸⁸.

F. Panel Seven: Scene with an Architectural Element (Fig. 20). Remnants of a panel survive in the lower register on the south face of Pier One below the panel with the Annunciation of Peter's Denial; the plaster extends from the south-west corner of the pier to the nineteenth-century supporting wall between Rooms E and H. Only the top portion of the panel's salmon-red frame remains visible. From the distribution of pigments inside the panel, it is evident that it must have been wider than Panel Six above (Fig. 20)⁸⁹.

A large rectangular patch of purple shows that the scene depicted here contained an architectural element. Traces of pink and dark gray-blue paint appear inside the purple patch. Elsewhere in the panel appear traces of medium gray-blue, medium turquoise, bright yellow, yellow-ochre, and red-orange paint. In spite of its extremely abraded condition, it is apparent that Panel Seven was painted in a similar fashion to Panels Six, Five, and Four: it had the same all-over gray-blue ground, the same layering of colors (there is no sign here of wet blending), and the same free, quick brush strokes.

88 A dab of thick white paint applied with a coarse brush survives in the lower portion of the plaster fragment, but this paint is so unlike any other surviving on Rendering Five that we think it unlikely to belong to the original paint layers of the panel. Perhaps it is a remnant of some covering applied to Pier Two's south face in the early seventeenth century when Room F was transformed into a chapel (see Part I above).

89 Panel Seven once extended to the right beyond the preserved portion of the plaster and below the diaphragm arch E-H, which limited the width of Panel Six above.

G. Panel One: Panel with a Salmon-Red Frame. Traces of a panel survive in the upper register of Pier One's north face between the diaphragm arch D-G and the north-west corner of the pier. Portions of the salmon-red frame survive at the bottom and both sides. The picture field was 97 centimeters wide and, allowing for the lost upper frame, approximately 160 centimeters tall.

The painting is virtually destroyed. Only minimal traces of gray-blue, green, purple, and ochre paint survive. There are no incisions for a halo, but the painters of this panel may have managed, like the painters of Panel Six, without them.

H. Panels Two and Three: Scenes with Haloed Figures (Figs. 19, 21). A nineteenth-century buttress destroyed a third of the plaster of Rendering Five in the middle of the upper register of Pier One's west face. The portion to the left of the lost area extends to the north-west corner of the pier and is 116 centimeters wide. The corresponding area to the right extends to the pier's south-west corner and is 89 centimeters wide. Remnants of the typical framework of salmon-red and green bands survive at the top, the right side, and the bottom of the portion to the right, and at the bottom of the portion to the left. Judging from the right fragment, the picture field in this register was 155 centimeters high. We do not know whether there were two panels here or only one. We are, however, certain that at least two different scenes were represented.

Remnants of one yellow halo survive in each of the two plaster fragments. In the left fragment, the center of the halo lies 61 centimeters from the north-west corner of the pier and 115 centimeters above the inner edge of the bottom frame. In the right fragment, the center of the halo lies 65 centimeters from the south-west corner of the pier and 114 centimeters above the inner edge of the bottom frame. Both haloes are incised and 30 centimeters in diameter. Since the painters of the pier panels reserve the yellow halo for Christ and Mary, either may have been represented here. But the very large size of the haloes speaks clearly for Christ: the haloes of the Virgin in Panels Four and Five below are only 26 centimeters in diameter, those of the angels, 28 centimeters. If this hypothesis is correct, the two representations of Christ must have belonged to different scenes. Since there are no other incisions in the remaining plaster, any other figures standing close to Christ must have been halo-less as in Panels Six, Eight, and Nine. A trace of such a figure may have survived in the left fragment, where salmon red

appears in a diffuse shape to the right of Christ's halo at the approximate height of his head.

The scenes in the upper register of Pier One's west face were painted in a similar fashion to Panels One through Seven. Traces of a gray-blue primer can be found inside as well as outside both haloes and throughout much of the right fragment. Salmon-red underpainting survives in the center of the left halo and to the right of it. In the right fragment, a small patch of salmon red sits just below the halo, and another close to the fragment's left edge. Both traces of this color appear to be remnants of the underpainting for the figure to which the halo belonged. The yellow paint found in both haloes is the usual thick opaque kind used throughout the pier frescoes.

I. The Lunette Fresco: A Saint Offering His Crown to Christ (Figs. 3–7, 13, 14). A well preserved fresco fragment survives on the Phase-Four masonry in the filling high on Room K's east wall (Figs. 3, 13, 14). The fragment must have belonged to a lunette-shaped composition. The chord of the lunette was formed by the beam which carried the filling, or by a parallel above it. The Phase-One vault formed, at its line of intersection with the Phase-Four masonry in the filling, the arc of the lunette. Its shape was not regular. Today a nineteenth-century supporting wall running east and west between H and K intersects the lunette at the left, overlapping its frame and a plant depicted there (Fig. 14). Originally, the south face of Pier Four's padding, which is now embedded in the nineteenth-century wall, must have intersected the lunette in a similar fashion on the left, though somewhat further to the north and obviously without interfering with the picture or its frame. The north face of Pier Five's padding on the other side of the lunette did not intrude on its shape in this way; a glance at the survey in Fig. 14 shows that the surface of the lunette and the west face of Pier Five's padding are flush. Thus, near the top of Room K's east wall, the Phase-Four builders ended with a lunette-shaped surface about 140 centimeters high at its apex, and about 360 centimeters wide across its base, cut off by a vertical chord at its extreme left. As a consequence, the highest point of the lunette does not lie above the center of its baseline, but somewhat further to the left. As will become evident, the painters of the fresco adjusted their composition accordingly.

The lunette painting was framed with a red band decorated with a bead-and-reel pattern along its inner edge. This frame survives along the curved border of the fragment⁹⁰. Inside the picture field, a beardless Christ appears, shown frontally and probably enthroned on a

seat without a backrest (Fig. 5). He blesses with his right hand and holds an open book in his left. In order to compensate for the irregularity of the picture field, the figure of Christ was not placed below the lunette's apex, but somewhat to the right of it toward the center of the lunette's baseline (Fig. 14). Christ wears a purple pallium and a tunic of the same color with golden clavi. Like the saints surrounding him, he has a turquoise halo with a red border. The figure to Christ's right has the typical tuncure of Peter (Fig. 6). His tunic and pallium are white, the clavi purple. Peter places his right hand on the shoulders of a military saint to his right and slightly turns his head toward him. This saint wears a long-sleeved tunic which was once red, and a greenish paludamentum with a purple segmentum and a purple lining. Ushered in by Peter, he seems to rush forward, offering his crown with covered hands to Christ.

At Christ's left, traces of a fourth figure survive (Fig. 7). Remnants of a purple clavus show that his tunic and pallium were white. He had a longish beard and was partly bald. This physiognomy is that of Paul. Like Peter on the other side, he turns his head away from Christ toward a now lost figure to his left. This fifth figure, another haloed saint, still existed at the end of the eighteenth century when the Abbé Pouillard, chaplain to Napoleon and Louis XVIII and historian of S. Martino ai Monti⁹¹, gave Seroux d'Agincourt a drawing of the lunette fresco: the drawing depicts this fifth saint, but misrepresents the composition in other respects (Fig. 32)⁹².

The painters of the lunette fresco began by incising the composition into the dry plaster, indicating the outlines of figures and even the principal fold lines of their garments⁹³. A series of vertical and horizontal lines forming a grid were incised with the help of a straightedge in the military saint's paludamentum. They were obviously meant to furnish guidelines for the geometric embroidery pattern typical of such cloaks. Some adjustments were made at this stage. The military saint, for instance, was

90 The paint for the bead-and-reel, applied on top of the red, flaked off the wall taking the red with it. Today we see only this "negative" trace of the bead-and-reel.

91 The Abbé Pouillard died in 1823. T. B. Eméric-David composed an obituary for him; see "Nécrologie-Notice sur l'abbé Pouillard", *Moniteur Universel*, CCXXXV, August 23, 1823, 1008. We owe our knowledge of the circumstances of Pouillard's life to the generosity of P. Alberto Martino.

92 This drawing survives in Seroux d'Agincourt's scrapbook, Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 9849, fol. 66. It has been published by Waetzoldt, 54, no. 569. Another even less accurate drawing of the lunette fresco exists in the same manuscript, Vat. Barb. Lat. 9849, fol. 63.

93 Draperies were planned in some detail at this stage, but no guidelines were made for facial features or for Christ's hands.

redrawn on the same scale as the other figures, although the first incisions made for this figure show him as somewhat smaller. Haloes were incised with the help of a compass.

Next, an opaque dark ochre was used to brush in the drapery folds with long firm strokes. Some of the incised outlines were altered in this process. Peter's right shoulder was lowered; the right arm of the military saint and the position of his hands were altered. His crown and Christ's right hand and book were also outlined in dark ochre. The same color occurs in the background which was painted after the outlines of the figures had been established.

A dull opaque red was used to draw the first outlines of heads and faces. Hair, beards, brows, the upper eyelids and pupils, the shaded side of noses, upper lips, and chins were indicated with extraordinary assurance and clarity. This outlining of faces in dark red can be seen best today in the figure of Paul, but has been much abraded in the head of Peter. In the face of Christ, it has become visible again in the upper lip. The same dark red appears in the frames as well, which may have been painted at the same time.

Upper layers of paint survive in traces throughout the lunette, but it is only in Christ's face and in a small area of Peter's garments that characteristic procedures can be observed. In addition to the dull red of the first sketch which appears in Christ's upper lip, we have found eight other pigments in the head of Christ, all of them opaque and somewhat viscous. Dark purple (1) occurs in the hair, in the highly arched brows, and in the shadows of the eye sockets above the upper lids. A long wavy stroke of brown (2) defines the hairline at the left of the face. Wine red (3) was used for the arcs between brows and eye sockets, and to indicate the hollows of the cheeks. The curved shadows below the eyes are dark ochre (4). In addition, there are four flesh colors of medium tone: an olive green (5) was used for the outer contours of the face, for the lower arcs of the eye sockets, for the shadows running between nostrils and mouth, and for the hollow of the chin; a warm flesh color (6) was brushed in for all the directly lighted portions of the face and neck; a light pink (7) was used to pick out the bulges in Christ's forehead, the bridge of his nose, the cheek bones, the lower contours of the cheeks between nose and mouth, and the tip of the chin; a light grayish purple (8) occurs in shadow lines on forehead and neck.

Some of these colors, the strongly contrasting dark purple (1), brown (2), wine red (3), and dark ochre (4), were each laid down in a separate layer. Other colors,

such as the four medium flesh tones (5 through 8), were brushed in side by side while wet and blended in a single layer. In each case, however, the brush strokes remain clearly visible. They tend to be of even width, and to echo each other in carefully arranged curves and counter-curves.

The garments seem to have been done in the same careful and controlled manner. This can be seen in the pallium of Peter where a small area of the original paint surface survives in the fall of drapery next to the apostle's left thigh. No less than five colors, both warm and cool, were brushed side by side in vertical strokes to throw a single fold into sharp relief. Warm gray and pinkish gray indicate the lighted portion of the fold, followed by turquoise, dark ochre, and purple for the shadow. Other pigments which occur in Peter's pallium are white and olive green. Light and dark turquoise, dark green, and dark purple were used to shade Peter's white tunic.

Dark ochre, dull red, and purple survive in the tunic of the military saint. In addition to the dark ochre used to outline his cloak in the first place, light green, dark green, purple for shadows, and turquoise for highlights appear there as well. The segmentum was painted purple.

Christ's purple tunic and pallium had turquoise highlights and dark-purple shadows. The clavus on Christ's tunic was painted in a particularly complex fashion; dark ochre, gray ochre, and red were blended together to suggest gold. Although the book in Christ's left hand is nearly ruined, it is still apparent that its pages were shaded with light turquoise and pink, and that its cover was painted dark purple.

IV. TECHNICAL AND STYLISTIC PROBLEMS

The archaeological evidence presented in Parts I and II shows that the newly discovered frescoes all belong to the same decorative campaign datable sometime during the first half of the sixth century (see pp. 6-33 above). Our description of these paintings, however, has underlined the striking differences in technique and expression which exist between the pier panels and the lunette. A comparison between the Angel's head in Panel Five (Fig. 12) and Christ's in the lunette (Fig. 5) is particularly instructive in this respect: it is doubtful whether anybody coming across these heads out of context could guess that they were contemporary and came from the same decoration.

We are aware that early Byzantine artists may treat angels, the Virgin, and some young saints in a mode of

their own which is uncharacteristic for the rest of a composition⁹⁴. A well-known example is the pier mosaic from St. Demetrius in Salonica which shows the saint embracing two donors⁹⁵. Taken by itself, the saint's face would give a very misleading idea of the whole, because the donors and even Demetrius' body were portrayed in a contrasting, less idealizing manner. Ernst Kitzinger has taught us that variety of style within a single image may have various causes⁹⁶. Nevertheless, as time passes and viewers become accustomed to specific types of depiction, artists and patrons will be more inclined to employ such types even if in doing so they must combine elements of different styles. Disparity of this sort, therefore, typifies "later" periods and is obviously more frequent and acute in the seventh century, to which the Demetrius panel belongs, than in the fifth or sixth centuries. At S. Maria Maggiore, for example, the angels on the triumphal arch may have a higher coloring than the figures around them, but this is a variation within a single overall idiom and the head of any of these angels would give one a perfectly adequate idea of the technical and stylistic characteristics of that mosaic even if no other figure from it survived⁹⁷. Furthermore, no appreciable difference seems to exist between the depiction of angels and other figures in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (493–526)⁹⁸, the Archiepiscopal Chapel (494–519)⁹⁹, the presbytery of S. Vitale (ca. 547)¹⁰⁰, and SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530)¹⁰¹. Since the archaeological evidence shows that the S. Martino ai Monti fragments are contemporary with them rather than with the St. Demetrius panel in Salonica,

we see no reason to renounce using the only sufficiently preserved portion of the pier panels, that is, the Angel's head, as a stylistic paradigm for the whole group. We will also compare it to the best preserved element of the lunette, the head of Christ, in order to elicit more clearly what differences exist between the lunette and the pier panels.

The painters of the Angel's head were fascinated by the play of light and its ambiguities. The strong highlight which spreads like a spilled liquid around the corner of the mouth forms the outline of the lip but consumes the plasticity of the surrounding features. The semi-transparent glazes which were used around the Angel's hair create a zone of dissolving forms between the halo and head, and serve at the same time to establish their common outline. Such equivocal effects, as well as the painterly and apparently spontaneous fashion in which they were produced, are typical of the so-called "impressionistic" tradition of Late Roman painting. Most of the Roman catacomb frescoes were done in this way and the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore are a famous example of the transposition of this painterly style into mosaic. While the Angel's head seems to belong to this tradition, it is not easily comparable to any existing example. It is much higher in quality than the catacomb paintings and free of their physiognomic exaggerations¹⁰². Nor does it have the coloristic boldness of the S. Maria Maggiore mosaics with their profusion of red in the flesh parts¹⁰³. It is instead more uniform and paler in coloring, with light and dark values stressed at the expense of saturation. Moreover, the way the painters of the Angel's head applied colors – in large patches, single brush strokes, or uneven blots – bears little resemblance to the technique of the mosaicists at S. Maria Maggiore who made images by juxtaposing more or less uniformly sized, colored cubes.

The head of Christ in the lunette was done very differently from that of the Angel. Its painters had little interest in the effects of light and shade. The pigments surviving there are more or less the same on both sides of the face and there is hardly any variation of dark and light values between right and left. Symmetry regulates not only the distribution of pigments but also the manner in which they were applied. Instead of the blurred forms, quick strokes, and liquid blots which characterize the Angel's head, one finds carefully executed brush strokes of even

94 ERNST KITZINGER has proposed and elaborated a theory of modes in early Byzantine art to account for the stylistic variety and multiplicity so evident in that period; see: *Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm, Berichte zum XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongress*, IV, 1, Munich (1958), 6–7, 20–21; also Kitzinger, 13–14, 19, 71, 110, 117.

95 Volbach (1961), Fig. 217.

96 Kitzinger, 13–14, 117.

97 BEAT BRENK in *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden (1975), 133–159, especially 151–154, examining that decoration's various parts, stressed its essential technical and stylistic unity.

98 This is obvious in the scene depicting the Three Marias at the Sepulchre; Deichmann, III, Fig. 206. The blue and red angels in the Parable of the Sheep and Goats do not concern us here since their coloring is due to iconographical considerations; for reproductions, see Deichmann, III, Figs. 173, 174.

99 Deichmann, III, Figs. 224, 225, 238–241.

100 Deichmann, III, Figs. 330, 331.

101 Matthiae (1967), Figs. 81, 82, 128, 129. We regard the mosaics on the triumphal arch and in the apse as contemporary and do not follow Matthiae (1948), 49–65, and Matthiae (1967), 203–213, who dates the mosaics on the arch between 692 and 701. See also Nordhagen, 165, n. 14.

102 Compare, for example, the head from the Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus in Brenk, Fig. 49.

103 Karpp, Figs. 6, 37, 108 among others.

width and similar length set side by side in parallels, curves, and countercurves. The resulting image must have been one of supreme regularity. Where the Angel's head was aimed at surprise, Christ's was meant to reassure the viewer with recognition of a vaguely Platonic type.

A taste for heads whose shape approaches that of perfect spheres or ovoids runs through centuries of Early Christian and Byzantine art. L'Orange described this ideal eloquently in his study of Theodosian portraits such as the head of Arcadius in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Fig. 33)¹⁰⁴. It almost seems as if the painters of the lunette translated this three-dimensional ideal into a system of subtly modulated flesh-colored curves. The result of their labors may have looked somewhat like the head of Ananias in St. George's in Salonica (Fig. 34)¹⁰⁵. The dating of the mosaics at St. George's, unresolved for over fifty years, has ranged from the sixth century to the end of the fourth¹⁰⁶. Such uncertainty is itself a remarkable testimony to the longevity and perennial appeal of the Theodosian ideal.

If we stress the "Theodosian" character of Christ's head, we do so in order to characterize rather than date it. The Christ of the lunette and the Angel's head from Panel Five stand for two very different approaches to the problem of representation. To accept their existence in the same ambience and at the same time poses an obvious problem for art historians. Some of us might be inclined to refer such diversity to different prototypes. Others might attribute it to a conscious selection of modes appropriate to varying subjects. In our case, for example, the more spontaneous, lively style could have been cho-

sen for the pier panels in response to their narrative content, while the more formal, controlled rendering was specified for the lunette because of its ceremonial subject. If something like this actually took place at S. Martino ai Monti, then the choice was probably made by a patron or supervisor rather than by the artists.

In the frescoes from S. Martino ai Monti, differences in style between the lunette and the pier panels go together with the basic differences in technique, procedure, and materials described in the preceding Part III. Pigments like salmon red and gray blue, which are typical of the pier frescoes, do not occur in the lunette. There are also differences in the consistency of the paints. Colors in the Angel's head, for instance, range from thin to viscous and semi-transparent to opaque, whereas the surviving pigments in the head of Christ are all similarly viscous and opaque. In the pier panels, colors are often applied one on top of the other in a layering technique that lets one color dry before the next goes down. For example, in the Angel's head the glazes as well as the highlight were applied in this way. In Christ's head, however, most of the flesh tones were laid side by side and, though the bandlike shape of each stroke is visible, blended while wet.

Even more telling are the differences in procedure. In most of the pier panels, a light-blue primer was spread over the entire surface. Figures and objects were then outlined in quick, bold underdrawings. As far as we can see, only one color was used, the same salmon red which was used for the frames. It was certainly meant to disappear under subsequent layers of paint. The lunette painters, however, did not prime their plaster surfaces, nor did they make underdrawings. Instead, they incised the outlines of figures and even the main fold patterns of their garments. This method permitted an unusual amount of control, for the incisions remained visible throughout the working process. Details to be painted only in the finishing stages could be planned from the start. A good example of this is the curious grid of vertical and horizontal incisions in the cloak of the military saint, meant undoubtedly as an outline for the embroidery pattern typical of such garments¹⁰⁷. The lunette painters may not always have had the necessary foresight to avail themselves of the possibilities of this technique, and they did make some revisions as they painted. With the first outlining in ochre, for example, they lowered Peter's right shoulder and altered the position of the military saint's

104 H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Portraits*, Berlin, Oslo (1933), 74–77. L'Orange based his description on the reliefs of the base of the Theodosian Obelisk and the statue of Valentinian II from Aphrodisias. The head of Arcadius, Fig. 33, which embodies the Theodosian ideal in an even more striking fashion, became known only afterwards. It was published by N. FIRATLI, *A Late Antique Portrait Recently Discovered at Istanbul*, *AJA*, LV (1951), 67–71.

105 For a color reproduction of this and other heads from the same church, see A. GRABAR, M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Greece, Byzantine Mosaics*, New York (1959), Fig. II; Torp, Figs. on pp. 1, 25, 31, 48, 52, 54, 58; Brenk, 155 a, b.

106 In 1939, Weigand, 116–145, made a case for a date in the sixth century. This date has been upheld more recently by Jürgen Christern in Brenk, 100–101. H. P. L'ORANGE, P. J. NORDHAGEN, *Mosaik*, Munich (1960), 81–82, and Torp, 71–87, advocated a date around 400. M. VICKERS, *The Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki*, *PapBritRome*, XXV (1970), 183–187, preferred a date in the middle of the fifth century, while W. E. KLEINBAUER, *The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki*, *Viator*, III (1972), 68–107, argued for the third quarter of the fifth century.

107 Compare, for instance, the cloak of Theodore in SS. Cosma e Damiano (Matthiae, 1967, Fig. 78) or Vitalis in S. Vitale (Deichmann, III, Fig. 352).

right arm and hands. But this figure group had posed special problems from the start and had already been altered at the stage of the incised drawing when the painters decided to enlarge the military saint, perhaps in an effort to come to terms with the lunette's irregular shape (see above, pp. 38–39). Such shortcomings in execution do not alter the fact that the technique which the lunette painters employed encouraged careful planning and the husbanding, so to speak, of each stroke.

When the faces and garments were first defined in color, the lunette painters used two different pigments, dark red for the faces and ochre for the garments (see above, p. 39). Such differentiation of color at the first stage of painting can only mean that the colors applied at this point were already meant to contribute to the final result. The painters of the pier panels, by contrast, who execute all their underdrawings in the same salmon red, do not share this preoccupation, and actually seem to expect changes and pentimenti in the course of their work. Such differences in procedure and preparation are clearly the result of different training and different workshop traditions. These, we think, rather than a conscious stylistic choice by the artists themselves are likewise responsible for the stylistic disjunction between pier panels and lunette. This does not exclude the possibility that a particularly expert patron or supervisor might have directed one workshop toward one kind of task and a second toward another.

V. CONTEMPORARY PARALLELS

The peculiar masonry which was installed to form surfaces for the lunette and pier frescoes is typical of Roman buildings from the first half of the sixth century. Numerous parallels concerning iconography, composition, and figure types connect these paintings with other monuments of Roman and Ravennate origin from the same period, and confirm that they were painted at this time. In pursuing these parallels, we also hope to be able to suggest narrower limits for the dating of our frescoes than the archaeological evidence permits.

A. Yellow and Blue Haloes. Haloes were used differently in the lunette and pier frescoes. The lunette painters gave them to Christ and also to all the saints, not just the apostles but even the military saint and the now lost corresponding figure on the other side of the composition (Figs. 3, 4, and 32). In the pier frescoes, only Christ, the Virgin, and the Angel Gabriel have haloes, while Peter

remains without. To find a similar double standard in closely connected representations is not unusual. Krücke¹⁰⁸ and Keyssner¹⁰⁹ have pointed out that haloes tend to appear earlier and more frequently in images of an iconic or ceremonial character – such as the lunette painting – than in narrative scenes – such as the pier panels. S. Apollinare Nuovo (493–526) offers a good example of this. The prophets and apostles which are depicted between the windows all wear haloes¹¹⁰, but in the narrative scenes above, only Christ and his angels are distinguished in this fashion¹¹¹.

Because of the presence in Ravenna of a court, haloes were used more liberally and at an earlier date there than in Rome. One could hardly deny a saint what one accorded an emperor. In Rome, however, as is shown clearly by Krücke's excellent tabulations, haloes as a general attribute of sanctity were accepted more slowly. In the catacombs¹¹², in S. Costanza¹¹³, and in S. Pudenziana¹¹⁴ only Christ wore the nimbus. Even in S. Maria Maggiore (432–440) where Christ, the angels, and a ruler like Herod have haloes, neither the Virgin nor the apostles do¹¹⁵. In one of the panels of the S. Sabina doors (c. 432) with an enigmatic scene of ceremonial character¹¹⁶, Peter and Paul were given haloes, but not in the apse mosaics of S. Andrea Catabarbara (468–483)¹¹⁷, S. Agata dei Goti (462–470)¹¹⁸, SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530)¹¹⁹, or in the mosaics on the entrance wall of S. Sabina itself¹²⁰. It is only in the course of the sixth century that haloes for all saints become the rule in Rome. In the mosaics of S. Lorenzo, executed between 579 and 590, this process is complete¹²¹. That haloes were given to all saints in the lunette at S. Martino ai Monti speaks in favor of a date in or after the sixth century. The same holds for the pier panels where Mary appears with a nimbus. The earliest dated western example of a haloed Vir-

108 Krücke, 85, 110, 114–115.

109 K. KEYSSNER, *Nimbus*, *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie*, XVII (1938), 617.

110 Krücke, no. 175; Deichmann, III, Figs. 136–153.

111 Krücke, no. 174; Deichmann, III, Figs. 154–213.

112 Krücke, nos. 6–29.

113 Krücke, no. 115; Wilpert (1916), III, Pls. 4, 5.

114 Krücke, no. 117; Wilpert (1916), III, Pls. 42–44.

115 Krücke, nos. 106–114; Karpp, Figs. 6, 13, 26.

116 Jeremias, 77–80, Pl. 67.

117 Waetzold, 29, nos. 33–39, Fig. 15.

118 Waetzold, 28–29, nos. 1–30, Figs. 1–14.

119 Krücke, nos. 122–124; Wilpert (1916), III, Pl. 102; Matthiae (1967), Fig. 78.

120 I. Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, I, Rome (1690), Fig. 48.

121 Krücke, no. 125; Matthiae (1967), Fig. 89.

32. Eighteenth-Century
 Drawing of the Lunette
 in Room K. Rome, Vat.
 Barb. Lat. 9849, fol. 66



gin occurs in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Fig. 40)¹²², built and furnished by Theodoric between 493 and 526.

As haloes become more frequent, the necessity to distinguish between those of Christ, the angels, and other saints is felt increasingly. The earliest haloes to be found in Christian images in Rome are bluish and have that cloud-like, luminous quality which the word nimbus implies¹²³. Even in S. Maria Maggiore, most of the haloes are still blue or white. On the right side of the triumphal arch, bluish haloes were given to Christ, the angels, and Herod¹²⁴. Where golden haloes appear, as they do, for instance, on the left half of the arch, they are distributed with a similar lack of prejudice¹²⁵. From the beginning of the sixth century onward, however, attempts to create a hierarchy of haloes become obvious. In SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530), Christ has a golden halo, the angels blue ones, and the Lamb a silver one¹²⁶. In the mosaic of the enthroned Virgin in S. Apollinare in Classe, the angels wear large blue haloes, the Virgin a smaller golden one, and the Christ-child a golden halo with a cross¹²⁷. The pier panels at S. Martino ai Monti approach a similar level of differentiation, since in them Christ has a large yellow

halo, Mary a slightly smaller one, also yellow, and the Angel a large bluish one.

Yellow – or golden – haloes dominate in the pier panels. This is typical for Roman iconography from the sixth century on. After that, only angels, the Apocalyptic Beasts, and occasionally also the Apocalyptic Lamb retain the archaic blue or gray halo¹²⁸. It is therefore curious to find a proliferation of blue haloes in the lunette. While the preference for the blue halo is a feature of fourth and early-fifth century iconography, haloes do not become frequent in Rome before the sixth century¹²⁹. The combination to be found in the lunette of a general use of haloes with a preference for those that are blue is, in fact, so unusual that we have not been able to find a single parallel in Rome and only one in Ravenna.

Haloes in Ravenna were mostly golden during the Theodosian period, as for instance in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia¹³⁰. Under the Ostrogoths and Justinian, silver cubes became available, probably by way of import from Constantinople, and were often used for haloes, for example, in S. Apollinare Nuovo (493–526) and in the apse of S. Vitale (ca. 547)¹³¹. In the latter, the silver haloes were bounded by a red line. When silver cubes could not

122 Krücke, no. 176; Deichmann, III, Fig. 114.

123 Compare Krücke, nos. 1–29 (catacomb frescoes), no. 115 (S. Costanza), and nos. 106–114 (S. Maria Maggiore).

124 Krücke, no. 113; Karpp, Figs. 13, 16.

125 Krücke, no. 113; Karpp, Fig. 6.

126 Krücke, no. 122; for the silver halo of the Lamb, see Nordhagen, 162–163.

127 Krücke, nos. 174, 176; for a color reproduction, see von Matt, Fig. 65.

128 Compare Krücke, nos. 30–34, 37–43, 70–105, 125–156.

129 Krücke discusses the first appearance of haloed apostles, images of the haloed Virgin, and haloed saints in Roman iconography on pp. 84–86, 86–88, and 95–97 respectively.

130 Krücke, nos. 168, 169; for color reproductions, see von Matt, Figs. 9, 10, 14.

131 Krücke, nos. 174, 175, 179; for color reproductions, see Deichmann, III, Pl. VII, and von Matt, Figs. 60, 81.



33. Head of Arcadius. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum

be found, bluish and white cubes were substituted. This was done, for example, in the Arian Baptistery¹³². Moreover, the second mosaic workshop here not only used blue haloes, but gave them the same dark-red borders that the silver haloes in S. Vitale have¹³³. Strikingly enough, the same blue haloes with red borders appear in the lunette at S. Martino ai Monti.

Our survey of fifth- and sixth-century haloes in Rome and Ravenna seems to exclude a date before the sixth century for the S. Martino frescoes. The use of a halo for the Virgin and the differentiation between various kinds of haloes to be found in the pier panels speaks against an earlier date. So does the general use of haloes in the lunette. The particular, and as far as we are able to see, unique parallel between the lunette and the second mosaic workshop at the Arian Baptistery, however, suggests that

132 Krücke, no. 173; for a color reproduction, see von Matt, Fig. 2.

133 See n. 132 above; for the distinction of workshops in the Arian Baptistery's mosaics, see n. 188 below.

the S. Martino frescoes should be dated at about the same time as these mosaics, which belong to the first quarter of the sixth century.

B. The Annunciation of Peter's Denial. The subject is typically Roman and originated about 315 in the sarcophagi workshops of the city¹³⁴. The earliest renderings are austere: Christ and Peter stand close together and the rooster which identifies the scene sits on the ground between them. Christ speaks with outstretched hands, and Peter silently touches his lips. Either Peter or both carry the *virga Mosis* (Fig. 35)¹³⁵. Shortly after 350, the scene undergoes a transformation which gives it a more classicizing and decorous aspect. A column is introduced for the rooster to perch on, and Christ and Peter now stand further apart. They no longer carry Moses' rod. Although this second version may still appear on sarcophagi¹³⁶, it is usually found in art works which encourage a more generous use of pictorial space. Among the examples known to us are two catacomb frescoes¹³⁷, a panel from the S. Sabina doors¹³⁸, and a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo (Fig. 31). We recognize this second version also in Panel Six at S. Martino ai Monti (Figs. 8, 9).

Another iconographic change concerns the context in which the scene appears. E. Stommel pointed out that the so-called Annunciation of Peter's Denial belonged originally to a sequence of Petrine scenes¹³⁹. These scenes played a large role in the decoration of Constantinian frieze sarcophagi, though no text connected with them has yet come to light. One of the scenes typical of this sequence shows Peter striking water from a rock and Roman soldiers drinking (Fig. 35)¹⁴⁰. Peter assumes here the role of Moses which literary exegesis had reserved for Christ¹⁴¹; and like the Christ of the Roman catacombs

134 The early iconography of this scene has been treated by Stommel, 89–94, and Sotomayor, 34–55.

135 Repertorium, no. 770 (Museo Nazionale Romano, Aula III, Inv. no. 79983).

136 For example, on the left side of the famous sarcophagus, previously Lat. 174, Repertorium, no. 677.

137 Both in the Cimitero di S. Ciriaco; see Wilpert (1903), Pl. 242.

138 Jeremias, 54–56, Pl. 46.

139 Stommel, 88–121.

140 There may be a link between the scene of Peter striking water from the rock and the Processus and Martianus story in the Martyrium beati Petri Apostoli a Lino episcopo conscriptum, published in R. A. LIPSIUS, M. BONNET, *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*, I, Leipzig (1891), 1–22. The older *Acta Petri* do not offer similar points of comparison; see Lipsius-Bonnet, I, 45–103, and Hennecke-Schneemelcher, II, 231–249.

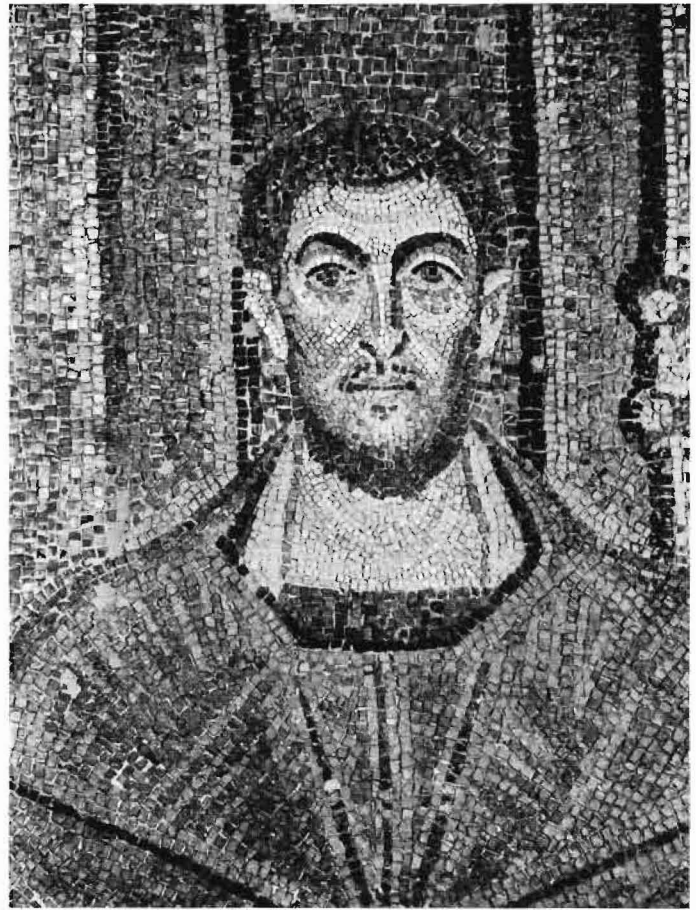
141 The classical text for the Moses-Christ typology is I Corinthians 10. See J. DANIELOU, *From Shadows to Reality*, London (1960), 175–177, 186–200.

and frieze sarcophagi, he also wields Moses' staff. In another scene, Peter, again with the *virga Mosis*, is seized and led away by Roman soldiers. This incident quite literally fulfills Christ's prophecy concerning the apostle's death according to John 21:18–19:

When you were young you fastened your belt about you and walked where you chose; but when you are old you will stretch out your arms, and a stranger will bind you fast, and carry you where you have no wish to go.

To find an Annunciation of Peter's Denial in this context has seemed strange to some scholars¹⁴², but becomes less so if one reads the New Testament accounts carefully. The annunciation of Peter's denial is also the moment in which the apostle vows to lay down his life (Matthew 26:33–35; Mark 14:29–31; Luke 22:31–34), a promise made good in the adjacent scene which shows him being led away by soldiers. John also connects Christ's prophecy of Peter's betrayal with Christ's promise that Peter, though he will not follow him now, will do so later (John 13:36–38). As Christ's follower, Peter carries Moses' rod, which is also held by Christ in most of the early renderings of the scene.

The Petrine cycle found in the frieze sarcophagi does not survive beyond the second quarter of the fourth century and, as a consequence, scenes of the Annunciation of Peter's Denial become as rare as they were popular before that date¹⁴³. We know of only three occurrences of the scene after 400 and before the Carolingian Renaissance: the panel of the S. Sabina doors (c. 432)¹⁴⁴, the mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo (493–526), and our fresco in S. Martino ai Monti¹⁴⁵. In the S. Sabina doors and S. Apollinare Nuovo, the old Petrine scene has been incorporated into a narrative of Christ's Passion. This, we think, was also the case at S. Martino ai Monti, since the protagonist of the adjacent scenes (Panels Two and Three) must also have been Christ (in each of these panels, only one figure had a halo and it was large and yellow like that of Christ in



34. *Head of Ananias. Salonica, St. George's, Cupola Mosaic, Detail*

Panel Six). The use of this Petrine scene in a Christological cycle was quite exceptional, since the overwhelming majority of contemporary and subsequent Passion cycles preferred the representation of the actual Denial to that of its Annunciation.

C. Mary and the Angel Gabriel. The Annunciation in Panel Five (Figs. 10–12) is so fragmentary that an inquiry into its iconography would be pointless were it not for the fact that the adjacent panel (Panel Four) depicted a similar if not identical subject (Figs. 19, 21). In Panel Four, only two haloes remain: the large bluish one of an angel, and the smaller yellow one worn by Mary in the adjacent Annunciation panel. As in that panel, the two haloed figures of Panel Four occupied the picture field in such a way as to leave no space for additional halo-less figures on either side, or between them. In the arrangement of the haloes the two panels are, in fact, mirror images of each other. This configuration makes us think that Panel Four depicted another encounter between Gabriel and Mary. It certainly excludes other readings,

142 Stommel, 89, proposed to interpret the Annunciation of Peter's Denial as a representation of John 21:15–17. However, the scene never appears as such in any depiction of the appearances of Christ after his death, and the fifth- and early-sixth-century artists and patrons who included it among the Passion scenes clearly connect it with the annunciation of Peter's denial.

143 There are over ninety renderings of the scene which can be dated into the first half of the fourth century, but less than twenty which were done after this date. See Sotomayor, 17–31.

144 Jeremias, 54–56, Pl. 46; for the dating, see Jeremias, 107.

145 Among the Medieval representations are the Bargello ivory (Volbach, 1976, no. 231) and a miniature in the Antwerp Sedulius (CAROL LEWINE, *The Miniatures of the Antwerp Sedulius*, Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1970, 204–209, Fig. 16).



35. Frieze Sarcophagus. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, No. 79983

for instance, as a Baptism of Christ¹⁴⁶, as a Proof by Bitter Water, or as a Journey to Bethlehem¹⁴⁷.

Although the New Testament has only one encounter between Mary and the Angel, Annunciation narratives in multiple episodes exist in Early Christian as well as Byzantine iconography¹⁴⁸. They are based on the Protogospel of James, which is the ultimate source of virtually all Early Christian and Byzantine representations of the Annunciation in Rome and elsewhere. Although this fact is well known, it has not been possible until recently to pinpoint a particular version of the Protogospel on which the early Byzantine and especially the early Western representations of the Annunciation might have depended. Tischendorf's edition of the Greek text relies on post-tenth-century manuscripts¹⁴⁹ and until recently no Latin version of the Protogospel was known to have existed except for a late paraphrase, the so-called Pro-

togospel of Pseudo-Matthew, first quoted in the ninth century¹⁵⁰. Father de Strycker's 1961 edition of a fourth-century text of the Protogospel of James and the discovery by him and others of portions of early Latin translations have changed this situation somewhat¹⁵¹.

De Strycker's Late Antique text distinguishes three episodes in the Annunciation narrative. The first is the well-known scene at the well. While Mary fetches water, she hears a voice which says, "Rejoice, most favored one, the Lord is with you. You are blessed among women"¹⁵². An early but disputed representation of the scene appears on the cover of the Adelpia sarcophagus¹⁵³. During the fifth and sixth centuries, one finds the scene on the Milan bookcover (Fig. 36), on the Werden casket (or its prototype)¹⁵⁴, and on a terra-cotta medallion in Monza¹⁵⁵. In

146 Compare, for example, the Baptism of Christ in the Catacomba di S. Ponziano; Wilpert (1903), Pl. 259.

147 Compare, for example, the rendering of these scenes on the Throne of Maximian, Volbach (1976), no. 140, Pls. 73, 74.

148 So, for instance, in Vat. gr. 1162, fols. 113v–130v (COSIMO STORNAJOLO, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo monacho e dell'Evangelario greco urbinato*, Codices e vaticanis selecti ... series minor, 1, Rome, 1910) and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. slav. 4, fols. 210v, 211r, 211v (JOSEF STRZYGOWSKY, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters in München ...*, Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, LII, 1906, Pl. LII).

149 Tischendorf, 1–50.

150 For the date of the Pseudo-Matthew, see Hennecke-Schneemelcher, I, 303.

151 *Emile de Strycker*, Une ancienne version latine du Protoévangile de Jacques avec des extraits de la Vulgate de Matthieu 1:2, de Luke 1:2 et 3:4, *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXXIII (1965), 365–381; J.A. DE ALDEMA, S. J., Fragmentos de una version latina del Protoevangelio Santiago, *Biblica*, XLIII (1962), 57–74.

152 de Strycker, 112–115.

153 Wilpert (1929–1936), I, 102, Figs. 92, 93; Volbach (1961), Fig. 37.

154 Volbach (1976), no. 118, and H. SCHNITZLER, Kästchen oder fünfteiliges Buchdeckelpaar?, *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne (1970), 24, both regard the Werden casket as a Late Antique ivory. JOHN BECKWITH, The Werden Casket Reconsidered, *Art-Bull.*, XL (1958), 1–11, takes it for the Carolingian copy of such a piece. See also E. WEIGAND, *Kritische Berichte*, III (1930–1931), 55.

155 A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris (1958), 31, Fig. 31.

each case, the figure of an angel was used to embody the “voice” of the text.

The second episode of the Annunciation takes place inside the Virgin’s house. She has returned from the well and sits on a chair spinning purple thread for the temple’s curtain:

And behold an angel appeared before her and said, “Fear not, Mary, you have found favor in the eyes of the Lord of all things. You will become pregnant of his word”¹⁵⁶.

This stage of the story is represented whenever one finds the Angel addressing Mary as she spins, as in S. Maria Maggiore¹⁵⁷, on the Pignatta sarcophagus in Ravenna¹⁵⁸, and on the Berlin and Cleveland ivory boxes¹⁵⁹.

It is only during the last and concluding phase of the Annunciation story that Mary speaks to express her consent. The later Greek texts of the Protogospel on which Tischendorf based his edition do not distinguish between the second and third manifestations of the angel¹⁶⁰, and most of the pictorial representations follow them. They show Mary still holding the spindle or the purple wool as she addresses the angel. This is the case in the Berlin medallion¹⁶¹, the Moscow ivory¹⁶², and the Throne of Maximian¹⁶³. Some representations like the one in the Rabbula Gospels further emphasize her active role at this moment of the narrative by making her stand¹⁶⁴. Father de Strycker’s fourth-century text treats this last stage of the Annunciation as a separate episode. After hearing the angel predict her pregnancy, the Virgin begins to reflect:

And Mary having heard these words began to think them over, saying, “Will I become pregnant of the Lord like other women who give birth?” And behold an angel appeared and told her, “Not so Mary, the power of the Lord will overshadow you and the child which will be born will be called the Son of the Most High and you shall give him the name Jesus because he will save his people from

156 de Strycker, 115–117.

157 Karpp, Fig. 6.

158 Deichmann, I, 82, Fig. 143.

159 Volbach (1976), no. 174 (Berlin) and no. 184 (Cleveland).

160 Tischendorf, 1–50; for an English translation of Tischendorf’s text, see M. R. JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford (1955), 39–49.

161 Volbach (1961), Fig. 255.

162 Volbach (1976), no. 130.

163 Volbach (1976), no. 140.

164 Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Cod. Plut. I, 56, fol. 4a (C. CECHELLI, G. FURLANI, M. SALMI, *The Rabula Gospels*, Olten–Lausanne, 1959).



36. Leaf of Bookcover. Milan, Cathedral Treasury

their sins. And Mary said, “I am the Lord’s servant. As you have spoken, so be it”.

Immediately thereafter the Virgin goes to Jerusalem to deliver the purple wool spun for the temple’s curtain, at which point the High Priest utters a prophecy concerning Mary’s child¹⁶⁵.

We think that the Milan bookcover (Fig. 36) and the Werden casket represent this last episode of the apocryphal Annunciation account when they show the Virgin standing next to an angel who points toward the sky, the abode of the “Most High” whose child Mary is going to bear. The temple architecture to the right in these representations may allude to the immediately following episode. The Milan bookcover and the Werden casket pair the third episode of the apocryphal Annunciation account with the first, showing the Virgin at the well¹⁶⁶.

165 de Strycker, 116–119.

166 G. A. WELLEN, *Theotokos*, Utrecht–Antwerp (1961), 37, already suggested that these scenes depicted different episodes of the Annunciation, but since de Strycker’s edition was not yet available when Wellen wrote, he offered the proposal in a tentative way only.

Panels Four and Five on the west face of S. Martino's Pier One (Fig. 19) may have depicted either this or another combination of the three encounters between Mary and the Angel.

While Annunciation narratives in multiple episodes appear occasionally in Middle and Late Byzantine iconography, they are extremely rare otherwise. The Milan bookcover and the Werden casket are the only Western parallels for the iconography of Panels Four and Five at S. Martino ai Monti known to us. Scholars regard the Werden casket either as a relative of the Milan bookcover, or as the Carolingian copy of such an ivory¹⁶⁷. The date and origin of its iconography would in either case depend on that of the Milan bookcover. The date and provenance of the latter we owe to Richard Delbrueck who showed that it was cut in the years around 480/487 in Rome¹⁶⁸. Delbrueck compared the Milan bookcover with the consular diptychs of Basilius and Boethius¹⁶⁹. Since Delbrueck's argument, convincing though it is, did not receive much attention in the specialized literature, we summarize it here. All three ivories, the Milan bookcover (Fig. 36), the Basilius diptych of 480, and the Boethius diptych of 487 (Fig. 37) rely in a unique way on a single ornament, a leafy but flat acanthus, which appears in all their frames and even in the moldings of their architectural elements. All three are carved in a sketchy manner with sharp incisions. The consular garments of Boethius and Basilius fall into rectilinear folds which meet at acute angles. The same is true of the garments of Victory and Dea Roma on the Basilius diptych. Facial features are exaggerated and appear grim or anxious (where the size of heads permits such expression). Hair looks metallic and is treated in repetitive patterns. The hairdos of the Evangelists on the Milan bookcover and of Dea Roma on the Basilius diptych are alike.

The Milan bookcover resembles both consular diptychs but is especially close to the Boethius ivory. The aediculae in the central portions of the Milan bookcover are virtually identical with those in the Boethius diptych (compare the aedicula behind the Lamb of God in Fig. 36 with those in Fig. 37). Moreover the wreaths, depicted in them, look very similar. They have rosettes on top and are tied at the bottom in the same way with a crêpe-like band. It is straight where it is tightly wound around the

wreath but wrinkles where it hangs loosely. It terminates in single pine cones. Likenesses as close and specific as these imply workshop connections rather than a general stylistic relationship. The Basilius and Boethius diptychs were made in Rome for occasions in 480 and 487¹⁷⁰. Their date and provenance should also hold for the Milan bookcover, and the latter offers an important and rare parallel for the double Annunciation in Panels Four and Five.

D. Presentation and Intercession Images. The theme of the lunette fresco at S. Martino ai Monti is the introduction of two junior and perhaps foreign saints into the Roman pantheon. Peter and Paul, the major stars among the saints of the city, act as patrons for the newcomers and usher them into the presence of Christ by embracing them as their protégés (Figs. 3, 4). Compositions in which an angel, a patron saint, or a senior saint use this gesture to introduce a person of lower rank, most frequently a donor, into the divine presence, occur throughout the sixth century, and perhaps as early as the second half of the fifth in both the East and West. The apse mosaic of St. Sergius at Gaza, which Chorikios described early in the sixth century, belonged to this type: it showed the patron saint placing his arm around the shoulders of the donor and directing him toward the Christ-child and his mother¹⁷¹. A similar composition survived until 1917 on the north face of the inner north aisle of St. Demetrius at Salonica¹⁷². Another example appears in the Turtura fresco from the Comodilla Catacomb in Rome¹⁷³. The center of the composition is again the Virgin and her child, the protector a patron saint, and his protégé a donor. The wide and practically simultaneous geographic distribution of this composition suggests that it may have had a metropolitan prototype of the fifth century.

167 See n. 154 above.

168 R. DELBRUECK, *Das fünfteilige Diptychon in Mailand*, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLI (1951), 96–107.

169 For the Basilius diptych, see Delbrueck (1929), no. 6, and Volbach (1976), no. 5; for the Boethius diptych, see Delbrueck (1929), no. 7, and Volbach (1976), no. 6.

170 In a recent study, which appeared only after this article had gone to press, ALAN CAMERON and DIANE SCHAUER propose a date of 541 for the Basilius diptych; see: *The Last Consul: Basilius and his Diptych*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXXII (1982), 126–145. The authors are unaware of Delbrueck's article; see our addendum.

171 Chorikios, *Laudatio Marciani I*, 29–31, ed. by R. FÖRSTER, E. RICHTSTEIG, *Choricii Gazaei opera*, Leipzig (1929), 10; for an English translation, see GLANVILLE DOWNEY, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century*, Norman, Oklahoma (1963), 128.

172 ROBIN S. CORMACK, *The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrius, Thessaloniki, A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George*, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, LXIV (1969), Pls. 7, 15b.

173 For the date and conservation of this fresco, see now EUGENIO RUSSO, *Affresco di Turtura nel Cimitero di Comodilla*, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, LXXXVIII (1979), 35–85.

Most western variants of this image tend to replace the Christ-child and his mother with a figure of the adult Christ taken from traditional Roman iconography. The mosaicists of SS. Cosma e Damiano, for example, borrowed their Christ figure from the fourth-century *Traditio Legis* composition¹⁷⁴. This Christ, standing in the reddish clouds of an eastern sky, dressed in gold, and raising his hand in a gesture of cosmic domination, is a towering but somewhat incongruous insertion in the context of the presentation scene. Although his features were successfully translated into the sixth-century idiom of the rest of the mosaic, there remains a certain disjunction between the figures of the apostles and patron saints and that of Christ, who is quite literally too far removed to serve as a focus for the gestures of offering and introduction directed toward him. The wish to adopt this grand but unsuitable figure was probably suggested by the vast dimensions of the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano. The composition remained unique until the ninth century, when it was repeated in S. Prassede¹⁷⁵.

Other Western renderings of the presentation and intercession image featured a Christ as deeply entrenched in Roman iconography as the *Traditio Legis* Christ: a purple-clad figure enthroned over the Iris (Revelations 4:2–3). One encounters this Christ during the fourth century in the Moses mosaic in S. Costanza¹⁷⁶, at the end of the fifth century in S. Agatha dei Goti (462–470)¹⁷⁷ and on the Milan bookcover of 480/487¹⁷⁸, and throughout the sixth century in presentation and intercession images, for instance, in S. Teodoro¹⁷⁹, S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (579–590)¹⁸⁰, and S. Vitale (ca. 547)¹⁸¹. The lunette fresco at S. Martino ai Monti also belongs to this group because its purple-clad Christ was certainly enthroned. Since there is no trace of a backrest, it is also likely that his seat was the Iris. The enthroned Christ suited the presentation image better than the figure used in SS. Cosma e Damiano: he enhanced the aulic character of the scene and helped establish a hierarchic yet intimate relationship between himself and his saints, both future and present. Which of the two versions, that with the standing Christ or that with the enthroned Christ, is the earlier, we have no way of determining. The date of SS. Cosma e Damiano



37. Boethius Diptych. Brescia, Museo Cristiano

(526–530) speaks for the former, but the distribution and frequency of the latter at S. Martino ai Monti, S. Teodoro, S. Vitale, and S. Lorenzo f.l.m. suggest that it may be just as old.

In most intercession and presentation images, the person introduced is a donor led by a patron saint. This is not the case in SS. Cosma e Damiano and S. Teodoro. Here Rome's senior saints, Peter and Paul, appear to be interceding for the patron saints themselves. But this is misleading. In order to understand this curious theme, one need only recall that Cosmas and Damian as well as Theodore were non-Roman saints¹⁸². The embrace extended to them by Peter and Paul is not one of intercession but of welcome and approval, similar to the embrace with which Roma may honor a consul or an emperor¹⁸³. The sixth century is a period during which numerous

174 C. DAVIS-WEYER, *Das Traditio-Legis-Bild und seine Nachfolge*, *MüJbBK*, XII (1961), 17–18; Kitzinger, 93.

175 Nordhagen.

176 Wilpert (1916), Pl. 5; Matthiae (1967), Fig. 28.

177 Waetzoldt, 28, no. 7, Fig. 7.

178 Volbach (1976), no. 119.

179 Matthiae (1967), Fig. 79.

180 Matthiae (1967), Fig. 89.

181 Deichmann, III, Figs. 351–353.

182 For Cosmas and Damian, see Weigand, 126–128; for Theodore, see C. WEIGERT, *Theodor*, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, VIII (1976), 444–446.

183 Compare, for instance, the Basilius diptych in Delbrueck (1929), no. 6, and Volbach (1976), no. 5, or the Halberstadt diptych in Delbrueck (1929), no. 2, and Volbach (1976), no. 2.

foreign saints make their appearance among the patrons of Roman churches¹⁸⁴. The iconography which depicts the introduction of junior saints by Peter and Paul seems to belong to this century as well – with the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530) as the earliest dated example. The lunette fresco at S. Martino ai Monti offers another instance of this iconography. It may mean something that the sanctuary in which this fresco appeared was linked with the basilica of S. Martino, one of the first Roman churches to be dedicated to a non-Roman saint.

E. The Pier Panels and the Christological Cycle of S. Apollinare Nuovo. The fragments of the nine panels with narrative subjects which survive on Piers One and Two comprise the remnants of a Christological cycle containing approximately thirty-two scenes, some of which refer to Christ's Passion and Childhood. The only other surviving monumental Christological cycle of the sixth century appears at S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. It consists today of twenty-six scenes. We have already seen that parallels in iconographic detail exist between the S. Apollinare mosaics and the pier panels. The planners of both use haloes in a similar way, and insert the old Petrine scene of the Annunciation of Peter's Denial into a Christological context. We hope to show that the affinities between them were broader and more general.

The fragments of the pier panels present a curious dichotomy. If their airy gray-blue backgrounds and their style of painting (the angel's head, grisaille-like, reveals a seemingly unpredictable play of light and shade) suggest atmosphere and movement, just the opposite seems true of their compositions. In Panel Six, the part over Christ's forehead is still visible and can be seen in the measured drawings (Figs. 9, 20). Its position indicates that the face of Christ was represented frontally, although his feet are planted firmly sideways to the right as if they belong to a person seen in profile. To judge by the underdrawing, the same was true of the figure of Peter opposite Christ. In the figure of the Angel in Panel Five, a marked difference exists in the extension of the muscles on the neck's left and right sides. This means that the Angel tilts his head sharply out of an almost frontal position to the side, suggesting a sharp disjunction in the movements of head and body.

184 See Weigand, 125–126. Among the churches dedicated to non-Roman saints were S. Anastasia (Duchesne, 1887, 225; Kirsch, 18–23), S. Crisogono (Duchesne, 1887, 227), S. Vitale (Duchesne, 1887, 223; Kirsch, 68–70), S. Martino (Duchesne, 1955, I, 46), SS. Cosma e Damiano (Weigand, 126–128), and S. Teodoro (Krautheimer, IV, 1970, 279–288).

Such ambiguity of stance and movement signals a peculiarly undramatic narrative mood in which the interaction of figures is reduced to a minimum. The large size of the figures in relation to the picture field gives an impression of spacelessness which stills the drama even further. In Panel Six, for example, Christ and Peter, standing side by side in the shallow foreground, inhabit so large an area that their ability to move is visibly restrained. The position of the haloes in Panels Two, Three, Four, Five, and Eight show that other scenes in this decoration were dominated in a similar way by large foreground figures. There was not only relatively little action within each panel, but also minimal variety between them. Such uniformity must have made it easy to fit the pier panels into a balanced system. That this was indeed the ambition of the designer becomes clear if one looks at the measured drawing of Pier One's west face (Fig. 19; compare the reconstruction in Fig. 21). The two figures of Christ in the upper area balanced each other. The two encounters between Mary and Gabriel below were composed as mirror images. Panel Six on the south face of Pier One and Panel Eight on the north face of Pier Two corresponded in a similar fashion.

Such a desire for balance makes a striking contrast with the variety and occasional turbulence of narrative which characterize the Old Testament scenes in S. Maria Maggiore¹⁸⁵ or the Christological scenes on the Milan book-cover (Fig. 36). It has, on the other hand, a very close parallel in the restrained equilibrium which governs the sequence of the Christological scenes at S. Apollinare Nuovo¹⁸⁶. It is interesting to observe how close to each other the Annunciation of Peter's Denial in S. Apollinare and S. Martino are (Figs. 8, 9, and 31). The ambiguity of stance is the same, and even the part of Christ's hair, which stressed the frontality of his face, is the same.

In S. Apollinare, such severity of composition goes together with considerable delicacy of detail. Outlines undulate in a tentative fashion, garments seem relatively soft, and the interplay of light and shadow is rich and remarkably unschematic where faces and flesh parts are concerned. Up to six or seven different values were used for flesh color in faces and necks, all of them more distinguished in light-dark values than in color¹⁸⁷. Reds, for

185 Compare, for example, Karpp, Figs. 97, 108, 113, 118, 143, 148, and 153.

186 For a discussion of this point, see Deichmann, I, 195–197; compare also the analytical drawings, Deichmann, II, 1, Figs. 121–146.

187 The color reproduction of the head of an apostle from the Healing of the Paralytic, Deichmann, III, Pl. V, indicates that seven flesh colors of medium tone were used: pink, warm gray, purplish gray,

instance, which play such a prominent role in S. Maria Maggiore, are used only sparingly in S. Apollinare. The shaded and lighted surfaces are irregular and have a seemingly accidental quality (Figs. 38, 39). The use of cubes of varying forms and sizes emphasizes this impression. It is – in another technique – reminiscent of the peculiar “impressionism” of the Angel’s head in Panel Five with its pale coloring.

F. **The Lunette Painting and the Second Mosaic Workshop in the Arian Baptistery.** The lunette fresco’s blue haloes, unique in Rome, have a parallel, as we have seen, in the Arian Baptistery where the late use of bluish haloes was an attempt to imitate the effect of silver cubes. The mosaics of the Arian Baptistery were executed by two workshops¹⁸⁸. The earlier one was responsible for the central medallion, the empty throne, and the figures of Peter, Paul, and John. The later one produced the other nine apostles. It is to them that the figures in the lunette painting may be closely compared. We have already men-

greenish gray, yellow-greenish gray, white, and yellow. In addition, blue, orange, red, light red, and dark gray were used for accents. For a description of the flesh colors in the narrative scenes at S. Apollinare Nuovo, see Deichmann, I, 211–212, and II, 1, p. 255.

188 Bovini, 21–24; Deichmann, I, 211–212, and II, 1, p. 255.



38. *The Healing of the Paralytic, Detail. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo*



39. *The Last Supper, Detail. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo*



40. *Virgin and Child, Detail. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo*

tioned the bluish haloes with dark-red outlines which appear in both, but their similarities go further than that.

Our description of the lunette has established two stylistic facts about its former appearance, one concerning the head of Christ, and the other the treatment of Peter's white pallium. The face of Christ was done in strokes of flesh color sufficiently blended to produce a continuous surface, yet separate enough to retain their own shape. They are band-like, mostly curved, and arranged symmetrically or parallel to each other. The focal points around which they center are the eyes, while the cheeks and the outlines of the chin and forehead constitute partial perimeters. The corresponding physiognomic ideal is one of perfect spherical and ovoid forms, revived by Brancusi at the beginning of this century¹⁸⁹. We have termed it "Theodosian" because it is in the imperial por-

189 We are thinking of the "Muse endormie" and the various versions of "Mademoiselle Pogany"; see C. GIEDEON-WELCKER, *Constantin Brancusi*, Basel (1958), Figs. 11, 12, 29, 30, 76-80.

trait sculpture of that period that it was first described¹⁹⁰. We do not know when this "Theodosian" ideal first made itself felt in painting and mosaic. The answer to this question is tied up with the controversial date of the mosaics in St. George's at Salonica¹⁹¹.

In Rome and Ravenna, however, mosaics and frescoes which embody this ideal or reflect some of its features are more frequent in the sixth than in the fifth century. The only dated fifth-century example known to us is the head of the *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione* on S. Sabina's entrance wall¹⁹². Among the dated monuments of the sixth century, however, there is hardly a single one which does not testify in some way or another to the appeal of geometric perfection¹⁹³. Among these we mention the heads of the enthroned Virgin (Fig. 40)¹⁹⁴ and the enthroned Christ (Fig. 41) in S. Apollinare Nuovo as well as those of some of the angels around them¹⁹⁵, some of the heads in the Archiepiscopal Chapel¹⁹⁶, the apostles of the second workshop in the Arian Baptistery (Figs. 42, 43), the Christ in the apse at S. Vitale¹⁹⁷, the heads in the mosaics of SS. Cosma e Damiano¹⁹⁸, and the face of Lawrence in S. Lorenzo f. l. m.¹⁹⁹. One might add the head of the so-called *Maria Regina* in S. Maria Antiqua to this list, for although its precise date is unknown, it is surely of the sixth century²⁰⁰.

In some of the sixth-century heads just listed, the curvilinear formations occur only around the eyes, for example in SS. Cosma e Damiano. In others, they embrace most of the face, as in the heads in S. Apollinare Nuovo (Figs. 40, 41) and the Arian Baptistery (Figs. 42, 43). But even the heads which belong to this latter group differ widely in expression and three-dimensional projection. Some are robust and aggressive in their three-dimensionality like the heads of the Arian Baptistery's second workshop; others like the enthroned Christ in S. Apollinare Nuovo are more reticent in expression and less obvious in their three-dimensionality. We cannot say which of these the head of Christ at S. Martino ai Monti may have resembled more. In its present fragmentary state it comes closer

190 See n. 104 above.

191 See n. 106 above.

192 Matthiae (1967), Pl. XIV.

193 Compare the remarks of J. Christern in Brenk, 100-101.

194 For a color reproduction, see von Matt, Fig. 65.

195 Deichmann, III, Pl. IV.

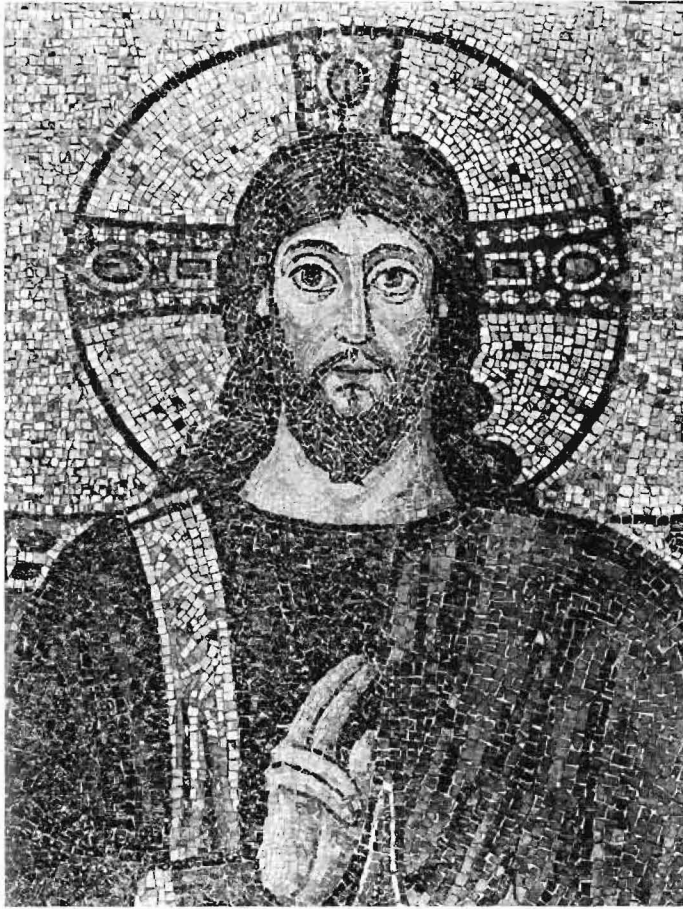
196 Deichmann, III, Figs. 226, 231, 239, 240, 241.

197 Deichmann, III, Pl. VIII.

198 Matthiae (1967), Pls. XVI, XVII, and Figs. 81-83.

199 Matthiae (1967), Fig. 91.

200 P. J. NORDHAGEN, P. ROMANELLI, *S. Maria Antiqua*, Rome (1964), Fig. 15.



41. Christ, Detail. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo



42. Apostle. Ravenna, Arian Baptistry, Cupola Mosaic, Detail

43. Apostle. Ravenna, Arian Baptistry, Cupola Mosaic, Detail

to the heads in S. Apollinare, especially that of the enthroned Christ and of the angel to his right, than to the heads in the Arian Baptistry. Nevertheless, the garments of the lunette figures seem to have been articulated sharply like those of the apostles done by the second workshop at the Arian Baptistry.

Among the few spots in the lunette painting where the original surface survives is the patch of Peter's pallium. In order to throw a single fold into relief, five colors were used, one alongside the other. As with the flesh colors in Christ's face, the single strokes were fused up to a point, but remained visible as parallel bands. Only a few square centimeters survive of this rich and precise surface modeling, but the taste for geometric definition which is apparent in the arrangement of the strokes has left its marks throughout the lunette painting. The slightly curved strokes which originate at the fibula of the military saint's cloak form a radial pattern. The same is true of the welt-like folds which Peter gathers in his left hand and pulls



across his thighs. The folds which occur below the neck in Peter's tunic consist of five V-shaped and trapezoidal patterns nested within each other. The folds in which his pallium spreads over his left arm and shoulder are V-shaped as well.

A very similar combination of carefully and richly modeled surfaces with sharply defined geometric patterns is typical of the apostles from the second workshop in the Arian Baptistery. Their style is the outcome of unexpected juxtapositions. While their anatomy is robust and poignant it is also somewhat inorganic, recalling columnar and conical shapes. In the treatment of drapery, a similar paradox seems to be at work. Geometric fold-patterns and long welt-like folds indicate garments of metallic hardness. And yet this sheathing is represented as being also very thin and elastic. It clings closely to arms, thighs, and hands, so much so that thumbs and index fingers remain clearly visible beneath the fabric. The figures in the lunette possessed similar characteristics. We have already spoken about their drapery. But the figures themselves seem to have possessed that circumscribed robustness which is typical for the apostles in the Arian Baptistery. The long arcs which outline the right sleeve of the military saint contain, and at the same time express, the pressure of the limb underneath in the same fashion as the silhouettes which outline the thighs and right arms of the apostles in the Baptistery. The broad shoulders of Peter in the lunette, the widening silhouette of his left arm and hip, and the horizontal sweep of his pallium across his waist indicate a physique as robust as that of the apostles in the Arian Baptistery. Peter's hand emerges from its covering in a similar way to theirs, that is, as a compact and somewhat abstract volume but with thumb and index finger clearly separated.

VI. THE DATE OF THE S. MARTINO FRAGMENTS

In dating the fresco fragments at S. Martino ai Monti, we rely on three kinds of evidence: archaeological, art historical, and literary. The archaeological study in Parts I and II shows that the plaster installed for our frescoes rests on a distinctive kind of masonry datable to the first half of the sixth century. It also shows that this masonry was erected specifically for our frescoes, and hence that the frescoes too must date to that time.

The art historical parallels cited in Part V range in date from the last quarter of the fifth century to the end of the sixth – from the Milan bookcover (480/487) to the mosaic

of Pelagius II in S. Lorenzo f.l.m. (579–590). The most pertinent parallels, however, come from a much more limited time span. They are the Milan bookcover which offers the only datable Roman example for the depiction of the Annunciation in two episodes, the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo (493–526), the mosaics of the Arian Baptistery (493–526), and the apse mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–530) with the only dated parallel for the introduction of two younger saints by Peter and Paul. Within this group, it is the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo and the second workshop at the Arian Baptistery which seem to be linked in a particularly intimate fashion with the S. Martino fragments. The similarities are multiple in both cases and extend to iconographic as well as compositional and stylistic detail. The mosaics in S. Apollinare Nuovo offer the earliest dated parallel for a haloed Virgin, and the latest for the appearance of the Annunciation of Peter's Denial in a Christological cycle prior to the Carolingian period. Moreover, the mosaics of S. Apollinare furnish parallels for the symmetrical and static compositions of the pier panels, and for their "impressionistic" but more or less monochrome treatment of faces and flesh areas. A similar relationship seems to exist between the lunette painting and the mosaics of the second workshop at the Arian Baptistery. Here one encounters a parallel for the general use of bluish haloes, a feature for which we are unable to find either Roman or other Ravennate examples. Other similarities are the "Theodosian" symmetry of the faces, the robustness of the figures, and the metallic yet revealing quality of the garments which combine carefully shaded surfaces with geometric fold patterns.

While none of these parallels would carry absolute conviction by itself, their coincidence speaks strongly in favor of a date in the first quarter of the sixth century both for the pier panels and the lunette. Such a date would also help to explain the multiple connections of our frescoes with Ravenna, more natural during the peaceful period under Theodoric than during the turbulent second quarter of the century.

With the help of literary evidence, it may be possible to come to an even more precise date for the S. Martino fragments. A contemporary chronicle, the so-called Laurentian Fragment, tells that Symmachus, pope from 498 to 514, consecrated a church of St. Martin, built and decorated at the expense of Palatinus *vir illustris*, and located next to St. Sylvester²⁰¹. The life of Symmachus in the sec-

201 Hic beati Martini ecclesiam iuxta sanctum Silvestrem Palatini illustris viri pecuniis fabricans et exornans, eo ipso instante dedicavit

ond version of the Liber Pontificalis corroborates this when it mentions the fact that Symmachus dedicated the church of St. Martin and St. Sylvester²⁰². Richard Krautheimer has used these traditions in dating the padding masonry of Phase Four which was installed specially for our frescoes²⁰³.

One might object that Krautheimer himself located the church of Palatinus and Symmachus to which the sources refer in Building P rather than in the Sanctuary A–K where the padding masonry and the frescoes appear, and that he used literary evidence referring to one portion of the complex to date masonry which occurs in another²⁰⁴. We do not see this as a difficulty. Building P and the Sanctuary A–K, linked intimately by the Entryway M–N, were parts of a single complex, and a change in one would have certainly affected the other. An attentive reading of the literary evidence seems to confirm this supposition.

The sources in question are the early mentions of a church of St. Martin, the predecessor of today's S. Martino ai Monti, of a church of St. Sylvester which is often cited as linked with St. Martin's, and of the Titulus Equitii, since this, as Duchesne was able to show, was an older name for St. Sylvester's²⁰⁵.

Duchesne's identification was based on a broad comparison of the signatures which Roman presbyters appended to the acts of the councils of 499 and 595²⁰⁶. These signatures register not only the names of the attending presbyters but also the names of the churches to which they were attached. In the century which separates the two councils, a number of Roman titular churches exchanged the names of their founders for those of saints. For example, the Titulus Vestinae became the Titulus S. Vitalis, and the Titulus Gai, the Titulus S. Susannae²⁰⁷. In the same fashion, Duchesne contended, the Titulus

(Duchesne, 1955, I, 46). Duchesne (1955), I, pp. XXX–XXXI, dates this chronicle in the years between 514 and 518/519. For the manuscript of the Laurentian Fragment, see E. A. LOWE, *Codices latini antiquiores*, Oxford, IV (1947), no. 490.

202 *Intra civitatem Romanam, basilicam sanctorum Silvestri et Martini a fundamento construxit iuxta Traianas* (Duchesne, 1955, I, 262). This sentence does not occur in the first version of the Liber Pontificalis as reconstructed by Duchesne (1955), I, 97–99. For the date of the second redaction, see Duchesne (1955), I, pp. CCXXX–CCXXXI.

203 Krautheimer, III (1967), 122–123.

204 Krautheimer, III (1967), 123–124.

205 These references have been collected by Huelsen, no. 110, pp. 382–383; Vielliard, 12–20, 47–59; Krautheimer, III (1967), 89–90.

206 Duchesne (1887), 217–273.

207 Duchesne (1887), 223. Other title churches which adopted the names of saints during the same period were the Titulus Pammachii, the Titulus Lucinae, and the Titulus Fasciolae: they became SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and SS. Nereo e Achilleo respectively. See Duchesne (1887), 221, 224, 225–226.

Equitii, which appeared among the addresses of the signing presbyters in 499 but had disappeared by 595, had changed its name to Titulus Sancti Silvestri, to which three of the signing presbyters of the council of 595 were attached. Duchesne's proposal has found general acceptance and we do not see any reason to quarrel with it²⁰⁸.

The question of when the Titulus Equitii became the Titulus Sancti Silvestri can be answered with some precision. It must have happened very early in the sixth century, in spite of what one reads in the life of Pope Sylvester (314–35) in the Liber Pontificalis. The redactor of its second version, who wrote in the thirties of the sixth century, added to the already existing Vita of this pope a list of gifts made by Constantine to a titulus founded by Sylvester “iuxta thermas Domitianas . . . titulum Silvestri” and concluded this list with the remark, “obtulit et omnia necessaria titulo Equiti”²⁰⁹, but did not add a second list. In another insertion added to the same Vita, the redactor says that Pope Sylvester founded the Titulus Equitii, likewise “iuxta thermas Domitianas”, and that the latter was still known under this name in his, the redactor's, own day²¹⁰.

That this fact needed stressing is significant. It shows that Titulus Equitii was an old fashioned name when the redactor wrote. It may still have been remembered by 530, but at that time it was no longer, as we shall see, the official name of any existing sanctuary. The redactor is also aware of a connection between the Titulus Equitii and the Titulus Silvestri, since he mentions the two in one breath, locates both “iuxta thermas Domitianas”, and makes Pope Sylvester, their common founder. He does not, however, like Duchesne, consider one to be the successor of the other, but assumes that the two existed side by side. This is, of course, excluded by Duchesne's dating of the Titulus Sancti Silvestri, which originated only after 499²¹¹. What encouraged the redactor in his erroneous belief must have been the fact that when he wrote there existed on the site of the old Titulus Equitii a double

208 Duchesne's proposition was accepted by L. M. Hartmann, *MGH, Epist.*, I (1891), 367, n. 24; Kirsch, 6–11, 41–45; Huelsen, pp. LXXXVII–LXXXVIII; Vielliard, 18–20; Krautheimer III, 121–123.

209 Duchesne (1955), I, 187. This entry does not appear in the First version of the Vita Silvestri as reconstructed by Duchesne (1955), I, 75–81. For the date of the second version, see Duchesne (1955), I, pp. CCXXX–CCXXXII.

210 Duchesne (1955), I, 170. This entry does not appear in the first version of the Liber Pontificalis as reconstructed by Duchesne (1955), I, 75–81, 188, n. 4 and 200–201, n. 125.

211 The Titulus Sancti Silvestri does not occur in the subscriptions of the council of 499; see T. MOMMSEN, ed., *MGH, Auct. Antiq.*, XII (1894), 411–413.

sanctuary, dedicated in part to St. Sylvester and in part to St. Martin.

We know this from the sources that refer to the church of Symmachus and Palatinus, that is, from the redactor's insertion of information about it in the *Liber Pontificalis*' life of Symmachus, and from the parallel passage written between 514 and 518/519 in the Laurentian Fragment²¹². The two corroborate each other, but differ in detail. The redactor tells that Pope Symmachus dedicated a basilica sanctorum Silvestri et Martini. The author of the Laurentian Fragment speaks of two churches, one dedicated to St. Sylvester and another next to it dedicated to St. Martin. The latter, he claims, was built and decorated at the expense of "Palatinus inlustris vir" and dedicated "eo ipso [Palatino] instante" by Symmachus. The differences between the two records, written within fifteen years of each other, are, we think, political rather than factual.

The author of the Laurentian Fragment belonged to the party of Symmachus' rival Lawrence, and may have wished to minimize the former's considerable record of patronage by pointing out that at least the ecclesia Sancti Martini which Symmachus had consecrated had been financed and promoted by somebody else, that is, Palatinus vir inlustris²¹³.

About other churches and oratories built by Symmachus, the Laurentian Fragment says nothing, nor does it mention St. Sylvester's except in order to describe the location of Palatinus' church²¹⁴. In so doing, however, the author furnishes us with a terminus ante quem of 518 to 519²¹⁵ for the dedication of the Titulus Sancti Silvestri. It is mentioned again in the second version of the life of Sylvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* written around 530²¹⁶, and appears later in the century among the subscriptions to the council of 595²¹⁷, but was obviously not yet in existence during the council of 499²¹⁸. Between this date and 514/519 when the author of the Laurentian Fragment wrote, the Titulus Sancti Silvestri must have come into being. The time span in question coincides with the pontificate of Symmachus (498–514). That it was in fact this

pope who dedicated not only Palatinus' church of St. Martin but also St. Sylvester's is borne out by the second version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which relates that Symmachus dedicated a basilica of St. Sylvester and St. Martin²¹⁹.

The second disagreement between the account in the Laurentian Fragment and the second version of the *Liber Pontificalis* concerns topography. The author of the Laurentian Fragment speaks of two churches situated side by side, one dedicated to St. Martin, the other to St. Sylvester. The redactor of the second version of the *Liber Pontificalis* implies the existence of one sanctuary dedicated to two saints. Both authors had reason to express themselves as they did, one in order to subtract from the patronage of Symmachus, the other in order to add to it. The rest of the early sources favor the author of the Laurentian Fragment. There is only one other reference to a single sanctuary with a double dedication prior to the construction of the present church between 844 and 855 – in the *Vita Leonis III* (795–816) of the *Liber Pontificalis*²²⁰. All similar accounts distinguish two sanctuaries, however closely linked²²¹. The redactor of the *Vita Silvestri* in the second version of the *Liber Pontificalis* projects this state of things back into the early fourth century when he assumes that a Titulus Equitii and a Titulus Silvestri had existed at the same time²²².

The uncertainty about the number of sanctuaries at S. Martino ai Monti reflected in the literary tradition owes much to the site's architectural complexity. Krautheimer plausibly seeks the sixth-century church of Palatinus in Building P below its ninth-century successor, the present church of S. Martino. This sanctuary stood immediately alongside another located in Rooms A through K. Judging from the presence there of a sixth-century mosaic depicting what is in all likelihood a Roman bishop²²³, Rooms A–K were probably linked with the memory of St. Sylvester. The two sanctuaries were sufficiently separate to be regarded as two buildings, but at the same time

212 See nn. 201 and 202 above.

213 W. ENSSLIN, Palatinus, *Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie*, XVIII (1949), col. 4. See also J. RICHARDS, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages*, London–Boston (1979), 82.

214 The author of the Laurentian Fragment grudgingly admits that Symmachus took care of new and old cemeteries: nonnulla etiam cymeteria et maxime sancti Pancrati renovans plura illic nova quoque construxit. See Duchesne (1955), I, 46.

215 The Laurentian Fragment must have been written before this date; see n. 201 above.

216 See n. 202 above.

217 L. M. HARTMANN, ed., *MGH*, Epist., I (1891), 366–367.

218 See n. 211 above.

219 See n. 202 above.

220 Duchesne (1955), II, 12.

221 Apart from the two references in the *Vita Silvestri* quoted above, express mentions of two different sanctuaries occur in the *Liber Pontificalis*' *Vita Hadriani*, and in the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*; see Duchesne (1955), I, 507, and R. LANCIANI, *L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln e l'ordine di Benedetto Canonico*, Rome (1891), col. 444, 484–485.

222 See n. 210 above.

223 This is shown by the fact that he wears a pallium. For the early use of the pallium see J. BRAUN, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg (1907), 624–630; Caspar (1933), 125; TH. KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Erg. Bd. 3 (1974), 203–205.

so closely connected that they could be looked upon as a single structure dedicated to two saints.

According to the Laurentian Fragment, Palatinus was the patron of St. Martin's but Symmachus dedicated it. The Fragment's silence about the dedication of St. Sylvester's implies that this portion of the double sanctuary was not financed by Palatinus but was Symmachus' own project. The consecration of both must have occurred before 514, the year of Symmachus' death, and after 506, when the Pope, having been embroiled from the start of his reign with the Laurentian schismatics, finally prevailed, and gained access to the city's titular churches²²⁴. That Palatinus had to insist (*eo ipso instante*) that the Pope consecrate the new church of St. Martin's, may indicate that it had been begun while the Laurentian party held the city.

If Duchesne was correct in identifying the sixth-century Titulus Sancti Silvestri with the fifth-century Titulus Equitii, the complex of buildings in S. Martino's present monastery basement must have been in Christian hands well before 499. The fact that there are no signs of Christian occupation in Rooms A–K, M–N prior to Phase Four and the creation of the Sanctuary A–K does not speak against this proposition, but indicates that the liturgical center of the whole complex, the Titulus Equitii, was located in Building P. Only when the old complex was divided into a church of St. Martin and a Titulus Sancti Silvestri, perhaps as a result of rival patronage, did it become necessary to create the Sanctuary A–K. The Phase-Four diaphragm arches which cut off Rooms A through K from the rest of the complex, and the Phase-Four padding and fillings which provided surfaces for paintings in this new space produced a second liturgical focus at the site.

We have already pointed out that the years between 506 and 514 are the most likely date for this reorganization, of which the fresco decoration surviving on Piers One and Two and the lunette in Room K were part. This date fits the archaeological and art historical evidence, although the weight of the latter seems to lean toward the third decade of the sixth century. This is the result of a tendency, already questioned by Deichmann, to date the Gothic monuments of Ravenna late in Theodoric's reign, or even after his death²²⁵. The documentary evidence in

favor of a date for the S. Martino frescoes prior to 514 might induce one to move back the dates of the monuments in Ravenna which seem most closely related to our frescoes.

Addendum: The date of 541 for the Basilius diptych which is now being advocated by Alan Cameron and Diane Schauer (see n. 170 above) was first proposed in the eighteenth century. The crucial argument in its favor, however, belongs to de Rossi. It was he who applied the name Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius, *vir inlustris*, found on a piece of lead piping from the Aventine, to the Basilius who was the western consul for 480 (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XV, 1, Berlin, 1899, no. 7420). De Rossi felt justified in doing so, because, as the great scholar says disarmingly, “*hac porro aetate alium Basilius, virum inlustrem, cuius ignota mihi nomina videantur, nullum reperio nisi consulem anni 480*” (*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, I, Rome, 1857–1861, 490). This excluded the consul of the diptych, whose name was Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius, from the consulship of 480. De Rossi made him eastern consul for 541 instead, giving him the only other available consulship to be held by a Basilius.

De Rossi's identification found wide acceptance, although it seems that some scholars followed him without remembering that he reasoned *ex silentio*, since they gave the name on the lead pipe not only to the consul of 480 but also to the consul of 463. This was true of J. SUNDWALL (*Weströmische Studien*, Berlin, 1915, 55; *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Römertums*, Helsingfors, 1919, 98–99) and A. CHASTAGNOL (*Le sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre*, Bonn, 1966, 40). In doing so they agreed not only with de Rossi but at least partially also with H. GRAEVEN, whose article, *Entstellte Consulardiptychen, Römische Mitteilungen*, VII, had appeared in 1892.

Graeven (see above, 215–216) was the first to realize that the diptychs of Basilius and Boethius, consul of 487, belong together and that the Basilius diptych should

and is therefore likely to have been built at the same time, most probably during the early years of Theodoric's reign (493–526). The mosaics of the first workshop would naturally belong to the same period; see Deichmann, II, 1, p. 245. We do not see the necessity to postulate a substantial lapse of time between the activities of the first and second mosaic workshops. The mortar rendering with which the first workshop protected part of its work, apparently expecting a lengthy interruption, does not separate the mosaics of the two workshops, but rather the central medallion from the surrounding frieze on which both workshops collaborated; see G. GEROLA, *Il restauro del Battistero Ariano di Ravenna, Studien zur Kunst des Ostens, Josef Strzygowski ... gewidmet*, Wien (1923), 125–126; Bovini, 13.

224 Caspar (1933), 166, n. 1. For the patronage of Symmachus see also J. RICHARDS, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages*, London–Boston (1979), 89–91.

225 Deichmann, II, 1, pp. 127–128, argues convincingly for the fact that S. Apollinare was finished during the lifetime of Theodoric. The Arian Baptistery belongs with the Arian Cathedral (S. Spirito)

therefore be given to the consul of 480. In order to do that, the names Caecina Decius Maximus had to be removed from the Basilius, who was the western consul of that year. Graeven managed this by adding the Maximus from the lead pipe to the other names of Caecina Decius Basilius, western consul for 463. But Cameron tells us that Graeven was wrong to do this, "because a man with four names might . . . be called by his last name alone, or by his last name and one other, or by all four names, but never by a selection from his full name". MOMMSEN, however, seems to have viewed this as a possibility, since he adds to his entry for Caecina Decius Basilius, consul for the year 463, "fortasse = Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius", but does not follow de Rossi in giving this name to the Basilius of 480 (*MGH*, Auct. Antiq., XIII, 534, 537). Furthermore, the acts of the Roman synod of 501/502 call the consul for the year 502 both Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus (*MGH*, Auct. Antiq., XII, 420, 426) and Rufius Avienus Faustus (422). But this point is perhaps not as important as it may seem. Instead of proposing his own identification Graeven might have pointed out that de Rossi's was unnecessary, since there are other *viri illustres* of the period whose names appear only once. Palatinus, for example, the founder of St. Martin's, is one of them.

De Rossi wrote before photography had become an everyday tool of archaeologists and art historians. He was therefore unaware of the difficulties which stand in the way of his identification. How, for example, can one account for the similarities between the Boethius and Basilius diptychs if they were separated by a time span of fifty-four years? Since it would be unreasonable to expect the same workshop to go on in the same manner for nearly sixty years, more complicated explanations would have to be argued. Did the Basilius of 541 re-use the diptych of a kinsman, who had been a consul during the eighties? Did he disapprove of current fashions in consular diptychs and search out workmen able to imitate the rugged style in vogue during the reign of Odoacar?

The Basilius diptych is one of two consular diptychs in which the imperial bust above the consular scepter has been replaced by a cross, although they were not re-cut for Christian use. The other one is the Ganay diptych, formerly Béarn (Delbrueck, no. 41). Delbrueck thought that the absence of imperial busts indicated a date during the reign of Odoacar. Cameron, like de Rossi, prefers to regard the cross atop a consular scepter as a Justinianic feature and therefore places the Ganay diptych near that of Basilius, which he believes to have been done in 541.

The two diptychs are in fact closely related. The wreath from which the consul of the Ganay diptych emerges is a simplified though obvious variation of the wreath behind the Lamb on the Milan bookcover (Volbach, no. 119). The wheat, fruit, and grape vine of the Milan ivory have been carefully copied, including the split pomegranate on the left. Only the olive branches are missing. Even the unusual motif of four large acanthus leaves which cover the wreath underneath the cross-tie has been maintained. There is also the crêped band, but the carver no longer distinguishes properly between tightly strung and loosely hanging portions; it also no longer terminates in single pine cones but in three formless lobes. The Milan bookcover is not only a model for the Ganay diptych, but, as Delbrueck was able to show, a very close relative of the Boethius diptych of 487 as well (see above, p. 48 and n. 170). The latter in turn is the consular diptych most frequently and most convincingly linked with the Basilius diptych. By emphasizing the connection between the Basilius diptych and the Ganay ivory, Cameron and Schauer strengthen the ties between the Basilius and Boethius diptychs which they are trying to dissolve. This further complicates Cameron's theory.

To explain the relationship between the four ivories according to de Rossi and Cameron, one would have to assume the following: Basilius, the eastern Consul for the year 541 had a diptych made in Rome. Although created in Constantinople, he did not as was usual depict the personification of that city on his diptych. Although favored by Justinian, he did not as was the rule display that emperor's portrait on his scepter but a cross instead. One would also have to assume that he went out of his way to have his diptych done in an old-fashioned manner, recalling the reign of Odoacar, and that he, in doing so, largely followed the example of the child-consul on the Ganay diptych. The latter had also shunned the imperial bust in favor of a cross and had drawn on models of the period around 487 for his ivory. This point is of interest, because Cameron justifies the peculiar choices of his Basilius by pointing to the unusual situation in which the last consul may have found himself. If he imitated the consul of the Ganay ivory, this argument falls.

If economy of hypothesis has any bearing on plausibility, Delbrueck and Graeven clearly have the advantage. They simply place the Basilius and Ganay diptychs with the other two ivories to which they belong, i.e. the Milan bookcover and the Boethius diptych of 487, and assume that the name on the lead pipe does not refer to the consul of 480.

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ABKÜRZUNGSVERZEICHNIS

ActArchArt	Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia	MGHSS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores
ActCongInt	Actes du Congrès international d'histoire de l'art (Acts, Akten, Atti ...)	MhKw	Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	MüJbBK	Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst
ArchStorArte	Archivio storico dell'arte	NapNob	Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di topografia ed arte napoletana
ArchStorLomb	Archivio storico lombardo. Giornale della Società Storica Lombarda	NedKhJb	Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek
ArchStorRom	Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria (Archivio della R. Deputazione Romana di Storia Patria)	PapBritRome	Papers of the British School at Rome
ArchStorVen	Archivio veneto. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria (Nuovo Archivio veneto)	PelicanHist	The Pelican History of Art
ArtBull	The Art Bulletin	PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca
ArteAntMod	Arte Antica e Moderna	PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina
ArteLomb	Arte Lombarda	QuadArchit	Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura. Facoltà di Architettura. Università di Roma
ArteVen	Arte Veneta	RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, Stuttgart 1950ff.
AttiCongArchit	Atti del Congresso (Convegno) Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura	RassArte	Rassegna d'Arte antica e moderna
AttiPaccRend	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti	RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
BollArte	Bolletino d'Arte	RDK	Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte. Stuttgart 1937ff.
BollPalladio	Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio	RömForsch	Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana
BollStorArchit	Bollettino del Centro di studi di storia dell'architettura	RömJbKg	Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte (Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana)
BullMon	Bulletin Monumental	RömMitt	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung
BurlMag	The Burlington Magazine	RömQs	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	RepKw	Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques	RivArchCrist	Rivista d'Archeologia Cristiana
CongArchéol	Congrès Archéologique	RivArte	Rivista d'Arte
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Wien 1866ff.	RivIstNaz	Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (Rivista del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers	Settimane	Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo
EncArte	Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte, Venedig/Rom 1958ff.	StädelJb	Städel-Jahrbuch
FlorMitt	Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz	Th-B	Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, Leipzig 1907–50
GazBA	Gazette des beaux-arts	Vas 1550	G. Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti Architetti, Pittori et Scultori Italiani, Firenze 1550
HbKw	Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft	Vas 1568	G. Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori, Firenze 1568
ItForsch	Italienische Forschungen (Florentiner Forschungen)	VasMil	Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori, scritte da Giorgio Vasari, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, Firenze 1878–81
JbBerlMus	Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen	Vent	A. Venturi, Storia dell'Arte Italiana, Milano 1901–40
JbKhSW	Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien (Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses)	WallRJb	Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
JbKw	Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft	ZAK	Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte
JbPrKs	Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen	ZBK	Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians	ZKg	Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes	ZKw	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft (Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft)
KgAnz	Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen		
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie		
MarJbKw	Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft		
Mededeelingen	Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome		
MélArchHist	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. Ecole Française de Rome		

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