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MONUMENTS & MEMORY

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MONUMENTS & MEMORY

CHRISTIAN CULT BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE PAST

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF SIBLE DE BLAAUW

EDITED BY

MARIËTTE VERHOEVEN, LEX BOSMAN, AND

HANNEKE VAN ASPEREN



BREPOLS

Cover photo: Nine Miedema, S. Prassede in Rome.

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CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Introduction: Cherished Memories | 9 |
| Monuments | |
| ‘In Hoc Signo Vinces’: The Various Victories Commemorated Through the <i>Labarum</i> <i>Nathalie DE HAAN & Olivier HEKSTER</i> | 17 |
| Eine vergessene Erinnerung an das byzantinische Rom: Neudeutung und Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Grabinschrift aus dem 7. Jahrhundert in der S. Cecilia in Trastevere <i>Raphael G. R. HUNSUCKER & Evelien J. J. ROELS</i> | 31 |
| S. Giovanni in Laterano and Medieval Architecture: The Significance of Architectural Quotations <i>Lex BOSMAN</i> | 43 |
| Nikolaus IV. als Erneuerer von S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore in Rom <i>Peter Cornelius CLAUSSEN</i> | 53 |
| Visiting a ‘Home of the Saints’: S. Prassede in Rome <i>Nine MIEDEMA & Daniëlle SLOOTJES</i> | 69 |
| And They Were Always in the Temple: The Pilgrims’ Experience at S. Maria Rotonda <i>Hanneke VAN ASPEREN</i> | 85 |
| Jerusalem in Aachen <i>Bianca KÜHNEL</i> | 95 |
| Appropriation and Architecture: Mary Magdalene in Vézelay <i>Mariëtte VERHOEVEN</i> | 107 |
| Remembering the Lost Palace: Explaining and Engaging with the Absence of Constantinople’s Great Palace <i>Isabel KIMMELFIELD</i> | 121 |
| The Mausoleum of Helena and the Adjoining Basilica <i>Ad Duas Lauros</i> : Construction, Evolution and Reception <i>Dafne OOSTEN</i> | 131 |

Places

| | |
|--|-----|
| Helena Augusta and the City of Rome <i>Jan Willem DRIJVERS</i> | 147 |
| Epic Architecture: Architectural Terminology and the Cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the Epics of Juvenecus and Proba <i>Roald DIJKSTRA</i> | 155 |
| Senatoren als Stifter der Kirche im spätantiken Rom <i>Ralf BEHRWALD</i> | 163 |
| Martyrien und Reliquien ‚intra‘ and ‚extra muros‘ im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert <i>Beat BRENK</i> | 177 |
| The Memory of the Bishop in the Early Christian Basilica <i>Paolo LIVERANI</i> | 185 |
| ‚Drehmomente‘: Orientierungswechsel christlicher Kultbauten im mittelalterlichen Rom <i>Daniela MONDINI</i> | 199 |
| Sacralizing the Palace, Sacralizing the King: Sanctuaries and/in Royal Residences in Medieval Europe <i>Peter RIETBERGEN</i> | 209 |
| Fragen an Rom aus dem Umfeld der Bayrischen Jesuiten: Jakob Rabus' <i>Bedenckhspuncte</i> von 1575 <i>Ingo HERKLOTZ</i> | 221 |

Decoration and Liturgical Furnishing

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Twelfth-Century Frescoes ‚Iuxta Scala Que Ascendit in Patriarchio‘ <i>Herbert L. KESSLER</i> | 259 |
| Clergy and Laity Viewing Both Sides of Painted Altarpieces in Rome, Siena, San Sepolcro and Perugia <i>Bram KEMPERS</i> | 269 |
| St Jerome and a Church Model: The Altarpiece of the Brotherhood of the Immaculate Conception in Bergamo <i>Bram DE KLERCK</i> | 279 |
| Jerusalem and Other Holy Places As Represented by Jheronimus Bosch <i>Jos KOLDEWEIJ</i> | 287 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| The Choir Stalls of St Martin in Emmerich: History of a Battered Ensemble <i>Willy PIRON</i> | 297 |
| The Tree of Charlemagne? Ecclesiastical and Secular Rulers on Late Medieval Choir Stalls <i>Christel THEUNISSEN</i> | 307 |
| Persisting Patterns: Aspects of Continuity in Dutch Church Interiors through the Calvinist Reformation <i>Justin E. A. KROESEN</i> | 317 |
| Liturgical Revolution at the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori le Mura (1560-1610) <i>Nicola CAMERLENGHI</i> | 329 |
| Managed Memory in S. Maria in Trastevere <i>Dale KINNEY</i> | 337 |
| Lost Frescoes, a Forgotten Saint and a Rediscovered Play: S. Magno in Cittaducale <i>Arnold WITTE</i> | 349 |
| The Servatius Chalice in St Servatius Church and Its ‘Replica’: Comments on the Origins <i>Jean-Pierre VAN RIJEN</i> | 361 |
| From Ravenna to Enschede: A Glass Mosaic of 1933 <i>Lieske TIBBE</i> | 369 |
| A Strange Lostness That Is Palpably Present: On Gerhard Richter’s ‘Cologne Cathedral Window’ <i>Wouter WEIJERS</i> | 381 |
| Colour Plates | 393 |

CHERISHED MEMORIES

With this volume thirty-one authors honour Sible de Blaauw on the occasion of his retirement from Radboud University. It is above all a tribute to an influential and respected voice in the field of early Christian art and architecture. In 2015, the editors, on behalf of the Department of Art History of Radboud University, invited colleagues from Sible's national and international network to write a contribution pertaining to the question of how Christian cult buildings have played a role in cultural memory in different periods and in various geographical and cultural contexts. What was envisioned was a publication that would correspond to Sible's research interests: Rome and its monuments, early Christianity, Christian religious heritage, liturgy and architecture, continuity of tradition, and memory.

In a research outline written in 2011 Sible de Blaauw stated that the potential role of long-surviving ancient church buildings in the conceptualization of the past, although of great interest, has rarely been the subject of systematic study. He proposed a comparative investigation of Christian monuments as an anchorage of memory. This large-scale project should demonstrate how ancient Christian cult buildings, time and again, helped to give meaning to the past, always in the perspective of contemporary, and hence variable, cultural settings. The first step in the realization of this project was an international expert meeting *Monuments & Memory* at Radboud University in December 2011, organized by Sible de Blaauw and Mariëtte Verhoeven. The organizers brought together renowned experts from different disciplines in order to discuss the intellectual underpinning and methodological approach of the theme. A second international expert meeting in September 2012 focused on Rome under the title *Between Monuments and Memory: Reimagining Christian Rome between Antiquity and Modernity*.

Proving to be inexhaustible and inspiring, the research theme is taken up once more in this volume. The book before you seeks to elaborate

on some of the same subjects, with contributions that are arranged according to three sections: *Monuments – Places – Decoration & Liturgical Furnishing*. Every essay addresses the memorial potential of Christian buildings, of their location, or of the accoutrement, whether or not still in situ. Not surprisingly Rome re-appears frequently in all sections, with special attention to Rome's churches.

Many of the authors in this volume explore a specific church in their essay. Raphael Hunsucker and Evelien Roels study S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Lex Bosman focuses on S. Giovanni in Laterano, Nicola Camerlenghi on S. Paolo fuori le mura, and Herbert Kessler on Scala Santa. Nine Miedema and Daniëlle Sloopjes concentrate on S. Prassede, Dafne Oosten on the mausoleum of Helena and the basilica *ad duas lauros*. Additionally, Dale Kinney examines S. Maria in Trastevere, Bianca Kühnel selects the Palatine Chapel in Aachen, Willy Piron highlights St Martin in Emmerich and Mariëtte Verhoeven writes about the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Vézelay.

The contributors have chosen a variety of approaches. Some authors focus on architecture (Lex Bosman, Bianca Kühnel, Dafne Oosten), while others choose a specific (liturgical) object inside the church, such as altarpieces (Bram Kempers, and Bram de Klerck), memorials (Dale Kinney), choir stalls (Christel Theunissen, and Willy Piron), relic-chalices (Jean-Pierre van Rijen) and a stained-glass window (Wouter Weijers). A book on memory inevitably deals with loss. Weyers quotes art historian Michael Ann Holly who describes the engagement with an object from former centuries as 'loss without a lost object'. These reflections playfully interact with the opening essay by Olivier Hekster and Nathalie de Haan who focus on Constantine's *labarum* and deal with the special case of a lost object that becomes the focus of religious and political ideologies nonetheless. Also Mariëtte Verhoeven, Isabel Kimmelfield, and Arnold

Witte deal with different degrees of loss in their contributions on the cult of St Mary Magdalene in Vézelay, the Great Palace in Istanbul and the forgotten saint Magnus respectively.

Coming from another angle, several contributors opted to examine a person, or group of people, and their devotional practices. Church founders, for example, are one of the recurring themes within this volume. Jan Willem Drijvers observes the Empress Helena's foundations in Rome, Ralf Behrwald focuses on senators as church founders, and Paolo Liverani examines how founding bishops were visualized in church interiors. Beat Brenk debates whether or not churches within the walls of Thessaloniki might have been built over martyrs' graves. Daniela Mondini, inspired by Sible's inaugural lecture *In View of the Light*, focuses on the orientation of church buildings. Different authors in this book study, not new foundations, but the ways in which people interacted with existing, and continuously transforming, church buildings. So, Peter Cornelius Claussen writes about Pope Nicolas IV, not as founder, but about his refurbishing of S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore. Turning away from Rome, Isabel Kimmelfield focuses on changing attitudes toward the complex of the Great Palace in Constantinople through the centuries. Moving further north, Justin Kroesen looks at the Dutch Calvinists and their 'conservative' attitude towards formerly Catholic churches.

Some authors did not depart from the architecture or its furnishing, but focused instead on the depiction of cult buildings in other, not necessarily religious, places: Lieske Tibbe examines the way Ravenna church mosaics were conceptualized, reconstructed, and ultimately secularized, in the town hall of Enschede. Hanneke van Asperen looks at depictions of S. Maria Rotonda on medieval pilgrims' souvenirs, Bram de Klerck studies church models in painting, and Jos Koldewij describes Hieronymus Bosch's transformation of painted backgrounds, of biblical and other religious scenes, to create a contemporary setting that would appeal to his audience. On the other hand, Peter Rietbergen studies different medieval royal chapels throughout Europe to see how kings constructed the image of themselves that they wanted to portray, and also

demonstrates how these chapels hark back to one another in architecture and decoration.

Another fascinating, recurring theme, finally, is the 'depiction' of sites and monuments in writing, for example in the epics of late antique poets, as is the subject of Roald Dijkstra's contribution. Arnold Witte turns his attention to a seventeenth-century play that introduces some lost frescoes in the city of Cittaducale. Ingo Herklotz enriches this volume with a critical edition of Jakob Rabus's *Bedenckhspunkte* which figures Rome and its monuments.

Within every section the contributions are ordered more or less chronologically. Of course, some authors concentrate on the human interactions with a cult site during a short time span (e.g. Jan Willem Drijvers, Ralf Behrwald, Beat Brenk, Ingo Herklotz, Bram Kempers, and Arnold Witte), while others use the concept of the *longue durée* and follow the fortunes of buildings and objects over a period of many centuries (e.g. Nathalie de Haan and Olivier Hekster, Nine Miedema and Daniëlle Slootjes, Isabel Kimmelfield, Dafne Oosten, Daniela Mondini, and Justin Kroesen). Together the essays cover a period from Late Antiquity to modern times, from Helena to Gerhard Richter, from late antique poets to a Ravesnesque mosaic in the 1930s. Thus, this volume assumes the diachronic nature that Sible advocates in his research outline. The *leit-motifs* of Christian cult and material and immaterial constructions of the past tie together the sections as well as the book as a whole. Finally, the essays are bound by their authors' fondness and appreciation of Sible de Blaauw.

The number of scholars willing to contribute to this volume is indicative of Sible's standing as both an academic and a teacher whose fascination with Christian cult and church buildings was generated during childhood. Born in 1951 in the village of Bakhuizen, Sible de Blaauw grew up in the northern part of the Netherlands. As a child, he became fascinated with the St Odolphus Church in his birth place and later with the Church of St Martin in Sneek where he was an altar server and acolyte. The churches appealed to all of the senses. It was not only the buildings that made a lasting impression, but so did the spaces with their sacred texts and music, mystical imag-

es and exotic scents. Churches became favourite subjects for his childhood drawings. These experiences laid the groundwork for Sible's interest in Christian cult and its décor. On the Dutch television programme, 'Geloofsgesprek' (conversation of faith; 2013), Sible explained that his interest in art was inspired by the church. 'Both faith and art', he stated, 'deal with unspeakable matters and they both stand for a continuity of tradition and for cultural history.'

After a study of medieval history at Leiden University, Sible obtained his PhD in the Arts at the same university in 1987. His supervisor was the classical archaeologist Herman Geertman (d. 2015) who wanted very much to contribute to this volume but had to withdraw at a very early stage because of health issues. During his PhD study, Sible and his partner Jan Nauta built a house in Slochteren. They still live here: two Frisians in the countryside of Groningen. Their home is surrounded by an abundant garden which is laid out and kept with great care. The house also contains a study and library where Sible does much of his academic work, but his other base of research, and a home away from home, is the city of Rome, particularly the Dutch Institute (KNIR). He conducted his PhD research there and, from 1994 to 2001, he was the head of KNIR's Department of Art History. Besides KNIR, another Roman institution has to be mentioned in relation to Sible; it is the Frisians Church or Ss. Michele e Magno. Sible gladly frequents this Church of the Dutchmen in Rome, near St Peter's.

Sible's PhD thesis *Cultus et decor* was awarded the Karel van Mander prize for art historical studies. In 1994, a revised Italian version of *Cultus et decor* appeared and was awarded the *Hannover-Ilse-Hahn-Preis für hervorragende Verdienste um die italienische Kunstgeschichte* of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft. In his thesis Sible focused on the interaction between architectural form and liturgical function in church architecture. Covering a period of a thousand years, the diachronic study follows the three most important early Christian church buildings of Rome through history: the Lateran Basilica, St Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore. His thesis is still frequently consulted as reference work on the early Christian monu-

ments of Rome, as the many footnotes with De Blaauw's *Cultus et decor* in this volume indicate.

After his PhD, his research has continued to revolve around church buildings and liturgical space, religion and memory, the material and the immaterial aspects of Christian cult. The many citations of *Cultus et decor* in this volume illustrate once again that with this reference work Sible did not only lay a firm basis for his own future research, but also that of many others. Further references to many other publications by Sible in the different contributions make clear that he continues to inspire and stimulate others to investigate the themes that are outlined in his scholarly work. Not surprisingly, the churches that formed the focus of Sible's thesis are the focus of several essays in this volume. S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore receive attention most explicitly from Herbert Kessler, Lex Bosman, Peter Cornelius Clausen, and Bram Kempers. Although St Peter's is not the primary focus of any of the essays, the church naturally appears in review many times.

Since 1997, Sible has worked at Radboud University in Nijmegen, where he holds the chair of early Christian art and architecture (the Van der Meer Chair until 2002). Church buildings play a central role, not just in his research, but also in his teaching activities. As both gifted teacher and talented speaker he is at his best when lecturing students in situ, showing them around churches in Rome or elsewhere, with indefatigable enthusiasm and energy. Contributions in this volume by (former) doctorate and PhD students illustrate Sible's qualities as mentor.

As an art historian, Sible is sympathetic to many museums and has contributed to many exhibitions. He was president of the board of the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum Utrecht and the Stichting Het Catharijneconvent Utrecht from 2005 until 2013. A very recent major achievement was Sible's role as a curator (together with Eric Moormann) of the successful exhibition 'Rome. Emperor Constantine's Dream' (De Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam 3 October 2015–7 February 2016). The exhibition, with its loans from the Capitoline Museums, the National Roman Museum and the Vatican Museums, showed the transformation of Rome

in the fourth century AD from a multi-religious imperial capital into a Christian capital. The exhibition was accompanied by the colloquium *The Recruiting Power of Christianity in Three Perspectives* (De Nieuwe Kerk, 22 January 2016), of which the papers will appear in print.

The award of emeritus status certainly does not mark the end of Sible's academic career. He is a corresponding member – elected fellow of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz – and has been since 2012. Several PhD theses are currently under his supervision, publications are in the making – among them a monograph on the atrium of St Peter's – and many lectures lie in the prospect. Moreover, he will organize, together with Stephan Mols and Leonard Rutgers, the XVII Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, which will be held in the Netherlands for the first time, at Radboud University and University of Utrecht in 2018.

In conclusion, this overview of Sible's career and accomplishments would not be complete without a list of publications and lectures. In the thirty years of his successful academic career Sible has written numerous relevant and important scholarly articles, book reviews, encyclopaedia entries, and catalogue essays. The titles cited in this volume are:

- 'In the Mirror of Christian Antiquity: Early Papal Identification Portraits in Santa Maria Maggiore', in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historiē in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Jos Koldeweij, Rudi van Leeuwen, and Volker Manuth (Turnhout and Nijmegen: Brepols, 2016), forthcoming.
- 'Liturgical Features of Roman Churches: Manifestations of the Church of Rome?', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2014), pp. 333-34.
- 'The Church Atrium in Rome as a Ritual Space: The Cathedral of Tyre and St Peter's in Rome', in *Ritual and space in the Middle Ages: proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Frances Andrews (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2011), pp. 30-43.
- 'Le origini e gli inizi dell'architettura cristiana', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Da Cos-*

- tantino a Carlo Magno*, ed. by Sible de Blaauw, 2 vols (Milan: Electa, 2010).
- 'Arnolfo's High Altar Ciboria and Roman Liturgical Traditions', in *Arnolfo's Moment*, ed. by David H. Friedman and others (Florence: Olschki, 2009), pp. 123-40.
- 'In vista della luce: Un principio dimenticato nell'orientamento dell'edificio di culto paleocristiano', in *Arte medievale: Le vie dello spazio liturgico*, ed. by Paolo Piva (Milan: Jaca Book, 2010), pp. 15-45.
- 'Pralende schijn in vroegchristelijke kerkgebouwen?', in *Romeinse decadentie: Pracht en praal in de Romeinse keizertijd*, ed. by Stephan Mols, Olivier Hekster, and Eric Moormann (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008), pp. 129-42.
- 'Konstantin als Kirchenstifter', in *Konstantin der Grosse: Geschichte–Archäologie–Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.–15. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Trier*, ed. by Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 2006), pp. 163-72.
- 'Kultgebäude (Kirchenbau)', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. by Georg Schöllgen and others (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1950–), xxii (2008) [Lieferung 170-71], cols 227-320.
- *Met het oog op het licht: Een vergeten principe in de oriëntatie van het vroegchristelijk kerkgebouw*, Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Cahiers, 2 (Nijmegen University Press, 2000).
- 'Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross', in *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krauthimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. by Renate L. Colella and others (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), pp. 55-73.
- 'Das Hochaltarretabel in Rom bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert: Das Altarbild als Kategorie der Liturgischen Anlage', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 55 (1996), 83-110.
- 'Das Pantheon als christlicher Tempel', in *Bild- und Formensprache der Spätantike Kunst. Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martina Jordan-Ruwe and Ulrich Real (=Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie, 17 (1994)), pp. 13-26.
- *Cultus et decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, Studi e Testi, 355,

2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994).

- *Cultus et decor: Liturgie en architectuur in laantiek en middeleeuws Rome, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Delft: Eburon, 1987).
- (with Bram Kempers), ‘Jacopo Stefaneschi, Patron and Liturgist: A New Hypothesis Regarding the Date, Iconography, Authoship and Function of His Altarpiece for Old Saint Peter’s’, *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 47 (1987), 83–113.

To this impressive list, we would like to add only a few of the most recent titles:

- (with Justin Kroesen), ‘Van Romaans tot refo dome: Duizend jaar Nederlandse kerkin terieurs’, in *Kerkinterieurs in Nederland*, ed. by Marc de Beyer and others (Zwolle: WBooks, Museum Catharijneconvent, and Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2016), pp. 16–37.
- ‘Translations of the Sacred City between Jerusalem and Rome’, in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. by Jeroen Goudeau and others, *Radboud Studies in Humanities*, 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 136–65.
- ‘Die ottonischen Kaisergräber in Magdeburg und Rom: Visualisierung der Herrschermemoria im europäischen Kontext’, in *Der Magdeburger Dom im Europäischen Kontext: Beiträge des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums zum 800-jährigen Domjubiläum in Magdeburg vom 1. bis 4. Oktober 2009*, ed. by Wolfgang Schenkluhn and Andreas Waschbüsch (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012), pp. 277–90.
- ‘Frits van der Meer (1904–1994): The oldest school of worship’, in *Patterns and Persons: A Historiography of Liturgical Studies in the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Louis van Tongeren and others, *Liturgia Condenda*, 25 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 339–70.

Of the many conference papers and lectures, we would like to mention:

- ‘De versteende droom: Over de blijvende noodzaak van het kerkgebouw’, *Tweede Kees Fens-lezing*, De Rode Hoed Amsterdam, 17 February 2016.
- ‘The Early History of the Roman Titular Churches: Archaeological Traces, Memories and Myths’, conference *Sacra privata. From pagan religiosity to early Christian domestic cult*, University of Vienna, 21–23 May 2015.
- ‘The Classical Question: The Origins of the Church Basilica and Liturgy’, *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana ‘Costantino e I Costantinidi – L’Innovazione Costantiniana, le sue radici e i suoi sviluppi’*, Rome, 24 September 2013.
- ‘Liturgical, Cultic and Spatial Aspects in the Consecrative Inscriptions of Roman Churches, 11–13 Centuries’, international conference *Der päpstliche Hof und sein Umfeld in epigrafischen Zeugnissen (700–1700)*, Deutsches Historisches Institut Rome, 5 July 2012.
- ‘Medieval Liturgy in an Early Christian Cathedral: the Lateran in Rome’, *International Medieval Meeting Lleida*, University of Lleida, 27 June 2012.
- ‘The Court of Saint Peter’s: An Early Christian Church Atrium as a Place of Memory’, sixth *Kurt Weitzmann Memorial Lecture in Late Antiquity, Early Christian, Byzantine and Early Medieval Art*, Princeton University (Department of Art and Archaeology), 21 November 2011.

The editors,

Mariëtte VERHOEVEN
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MONUMENTS

‘IN HOC SIGNO VINCES’:

THE VARIOUS VICTORIES COMMEMORATED THROUGH THE *LABARUM*^{*}

Nathalie DE HAAN & Olivier HEKSTER

The Battle at the Milvian Bridge?

On 28 October 312, Constantine won a decisive battle over the then-ruler of Rome, Maxentius. This victory, according to the likes of Lactantius and Eusebius, marked the beginning of Constantine’s conversion to Christianity. It is one of the canonical battles of Roman Antiquity, represented in some detail through contemporary reliefs on the Arch of Constantine. These reliefs include a famous scene showing Maxentius’s troops drown next to a collapsed bridgehead, possibly even depicting Constantine’s vanquished opponent.¹ The story as it is often told holds that Maxentius planned for a Constantinian siege of Rome, but at the last moment decided to face his enemy outside the city wall. To do so, he had to construct a temporary bridge over the Tiber, having demolished the permanent structure in anticipation of Constantine’s attack of the city. Making his stand in front of this pontoon bridge, Maxentius was surprised by the onslaught of Constantine’s soldiers, and had to hurriedly retreat, causing the collapse of the wooden structure. Maxentius and his most loyal troops drowned.² Constantine could enter Rome in victory.

Though the story is well known, it is probably not exactly true. To be more precise, the brunt of the battle is unlikely to have been fought at the Milvian bridge. It is highly improbable that Maxentius lined up his troops with the Tiber at the rear, which would have been tactically insane.³ Moreover, we know that Constantine set up camp about 20 kilometres outside of Rome, at Malborghetto, a site which he afterwards commemorated through the construction of a quadrifons arch, the remains of which were later integrated into various buildings.⁴ Combining some of the ancient authors, a likely reconstruction assumes that Maxentius’s troops marched in the direction of Malborghet-

to, and aimed to confront Constantine at the strategically much more relevant Saxa Rubra, nine miles outside of Rome. Perhaps Maxentius left the city to assuage riotous Romans who did not like the prospect of a prolonged siege, or perhaps he was encouraged by a prophecy from the Sibylline books which stated that ‘the enemy of Rome would be killed that day’. Eusebius interprets Maxentius’s infelicitous decision to engage Constantine outside of Rome as an act of God, who ‘drew [Maxentius], as if bound in chains, some distance outside of the gates’.⁵

The battle at Saxa Rubra was won by Constantine’s troops, who forced Maxentius and his soldiers towards the city. When they reached the Tiber, they had to flee over the pontoon bridge, and it is probable that Maxentius died there. That was the moment which Constantine chose to commemorate later on, and which came to be depicted in monuments like the Arch of Constantine, and in panegyric texts. Whether Constantine also had a monument constructed near the site of the bridge is unknown. No reference to such a building, if it ever existed, has survived. But in whatever mode the new emperor focused attention on the events at the Milvian bridge, attention to that moment of the battle gave the death of Maxentius central stage. This allowed Eusebius (c. 260/65–339), for example, to describe events in biblical terms in his *Church History*, which was written not long after the events took place:

Thus, as in the time of Moses himself and of the ancient God-beloved race of Hebrews, ‘he cast Pharaoh’s chariots and host into the sea, and overwhelmed his chosen charioteers in the Red Sea, and covered them with the flood,’ in the same way Maxentius also with his soldiers and body-guards ‘went down into the depths like a stone,’ when he fled before the power of God which was with Constantine, and passed

through the river which lay in his way, over which he had formed a bridge with boats, and thus prepared the means of his own destruction.⁶

The death of Maxentius at the Milvian bridge, in this reformulation of memory, was an act of God, rather than a harshly fought civil war just outside of the capital.

The Labarum and the Battle at the Milvian Bridge

The possible reformulation of the location of Constantine's final battle against Maxentius was certainly not the most prominent *post hoc* re-adjustment of events. In almost all discussions of Constantine's struggle with Maxentius, there is explicit emphasis on the importance of the divine favour that was bestowed upon Constantine through this major victory. This was not simply a victory of man over man, or even of rightful emperor over unjust usurper; this was a decisive victory of a ruler supported by the Christian God. The different narratives in Antiquity and later times about the mode through which the (Christian) God had expressed that support differ markedly, and show various moments in which memory must have been manipulated. As is well known, Constantine is said to have had a dream or vision in which he was told to use the sign of the cross against his enemies. About which sign of the cross, how to use it against his enemies, and when he had the dream (or vision) the sources disagree.⁷

The main ancient literary sources are Lactantius (c. 250–c. 325) and Eusebius. Lactantius states that Constantine had a dream on the night before the battle whilst encamped 'opposite to the Milvian bridge'. In this dream, he 'was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle'. This sign in question was 'the letter X, with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round at the top'. Eusebius gives an extended account in his *On the Life of Constantine*, written toward the end of the 330s, although his much earlier *Church History* mentions no vision or dream. Nor did a panegyric oration celebrating Constantine's vic-

tory over Maxentius in Trier in 313 mention any vision or dream.⁸ In his *Life*, however, Eusebius claims to have heard from Constantine himself that he had a vision sometime well before the battle: 'About the time of the midday sun, when the sky was just turning, [Constantine] said he saw with his own eyes, up in the sky and resting over the sun, a cross-shaped trophy formed from light, and a text attached to it which said, *Εν Τούτῳ Νίκα* (By this conquer). This vision was followed by a dream in which Christ appeared telling Constantine to use the sign against his enemies. The next morning, Constantine set out to represent the image; a representation which Eusebius stresses he himself 'had an opportunity of seeing'. This *labarum*, as Eusebius calls it:

was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner.⁹

There have been many attempts to square the different accounts, or try to find the 'true' version. If one believes in an actual vision, the argument of Peter Weiss, who argues that Constantine experienced a 'solar halo phenomenon' in Gaul in 310, is probably the most convincing.¹⁰ If such a vision took place, it was re-interpreted in (or after) 312 to argue in favour of Constantine's divine support. In terms of a historical (re) construction, the best point to start is still Henk

Singor’s excellent 2003 article, in which he argues in favour of the introduction by Constantine of ‘a new military banner, not for any particular army unit but one closely bound to his own person and one that by its design pointed to the emperor’s special relationship with his protecting divinity, for it had the sign of his divine *comes* or companion on its drapery. The divinity it at first referred to was the Sun’.¹¹ As has been regularly asserted, such a military banner (a *vexillum*) was ideally suited as a symbol of the sign of the cross, since the banner hung from the crossbar of what was effectively a cross. A *vexillum*, then, was probably put in the hand of the giant statue of Constantine that was placed in the Basilica of Maxentius, renamed as Basilica of Constantine.¹² In later times, the cross-form of the *vexillum/labarum* could be emphasized to show the Christian sign under which Constantine had fought – making the symbol on the banner (possibly a solar sign) of lesser importance.

Looking back with hindsight, it would not prove too difficult to show how the Christian God had protected Constantine, and that the *labarum* had always formed clear evidence for it. Yet, numismatic representations of the *labarum* only start in 326.¹³ Just to make clear, the point here is not to discuss whether or not there *was* an association of Constantine with Christ from 312 onwards or not. Whatever the ‘true’ reconstruction of events, the important point for the purposes of this contribution is that briefly after the battle, the vision/dream was not deemed to be of major importance, whilst a generation later it was of the utmost importance. In the direct aftermath of the battle against Maxentius, the new *vexillum* was sufficiently important to place in the hand of a massive commemorative statue – but the ‘Christian’ element was not emphasized. Years later, when Constantine either took up the support of Christ or felt sufficiently confident in his power to express that support, that *vexillum* retroactively became an unequivocally Christian-shaped *labarum*. Eusebius could now write down that Constantine made copies of the *labarum* and sent these to his armies, though of course the *labarum* that he described seeing was presented as the original one.¹⁴

To reiterate, the emphasis here is not on what really happened in 310 or 312. Instead, we would like to focus on the possible shifts in what the *labarum* meant, and on the certain developments in its importance from an unremarked-upon *vexillum* in 312 to a monumental image in the 320s and 330s. It seems clear from Eusebius’s comment that Constantine himself had told him the ‘true’ account of the vision and the importance of the Christian sign, that the emperor was actively involved in this reformulation of memory. The vision, and the *labarum* through which the sign was ‘used against the enemy’ obtained a new importance. This ‘divine standard’ became a commemorative marker of Christian support; a marker, moreover, of which copies were sent out to various armies. From the late fourth century onwards, the meaning of the *labarum* shifted once again, away from a victory that was no longer relevant, to a more general image of triumphal Christian emperorship. For a long time, that image would remain relevant. In the ninth century, two *labara* still ‘flanked the imperial throne’, whilst Christograms are visible on the shield of the palace guards as depicted on the S. Vitale mosaics.¹⁵ After the ninth century we lose the scent of the Byzantine (original Constantinian?) *labara*. Apparently, two *labara* were kept in the imperial palace at Constantinople.¹⁶ But even if copies of the *labarum* did not survive, the memory of the *labarum* did. The literary tradition by Lactantius and Eusebius was firmly rooted; moreover, golden coins depicting the *labarum* must have circulated for centuries, at least in the Mediterranean. Yet the memory which the *labarum* evoked had moved massively away from Maxentius and his defeat at the Milvian bridge

An Imperial Reinvention of the Labarum

The descriptions by Eusebius and Lactantius of Constantine’s vision and the *labara* in the battle on the Milvian Bridge may have been firmly rooted in the late antique and early medieval world, by the nineteenth-century critical research by philologists and historians had reduced the literary tradition of which the early Christian authors formed part to sheer propaganda, and relegated

their accounts to the realm of fiction.¹⁷ Scholarship denied the existence of any *labarum* in the age of Constantine. Yet in the early twentieth century, the *labarum* was to make a comeback. The dismissive attitude towards the written sources changed after the turn of the century. To a large extent, this change in the sceptical or even negative position of scholars that had marked the nineteenth century, was linked to the festive commemorations of the events of 312 and 313 in the approaching years 1912-13.

Indeed, in October 1913 the manufacturing of an actual replica of the *labarum* was ordered by the German Emperor Wilhelm II as an explicit and tangible memory of the jubilee. In the early spring of 1914 the Kaiser even ordered a second copy. Both replicas were ready in May 1914; one was kept by the emperor himself, whereas the other new *labarum* was sent to Rome in July as a present for Pope Pius X, though the papal nuntius was first cautiously sounded out as to whether the Holy Father would appreciate such a present.¹⁸ Apparently, the nuntius answered positively. Deciding to make a replica on the *labarum* was one thing; designing them quite another. The memory of the monument had faded through decades of scepticism. To solve some of the problems, the renowned scholar Joseph Wilpert, who was a specialist of early Christian art, was asked to advise on the design of these replicas. Wilpert did so willingly, not least since Wilhelm II had generously supported Wilpert's monumental publication on the paintings of the catacombs of Rome some ten years earlier.¹⁹ Wilpert decided to take Eusebius as his guide for the reconstruction and consulted his friend Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, a well-known philologist. Franchi de' Cavalieri made a new translation of the above-cited passage on the *labarum* of Eusebius's text. He also published a thorough commentary on the text in 1913, when the collective memory of the events of 312 and 313 had been 'activated' for months already, not only in Italy, but in the Catholic world as well.²⁰ Based on this interpretation of Eusebius, the new *labara* were designed, of which only one still exists. It can be found in S. Croce al Flaminio at Rome (Fig. 1). Wilhelm's personal copy was probably lost in the Second World War.²¹



Fig. 1. The *labarum*, ordered by Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1914, now in Rome: S. Croce al Flaminio. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana Roma, Fototeca.

Wilhelm did not only order the reinvention of the Constantinian *labarum*; he seems to have been closely involved in its construc-

tion. This is illustrated by a drawing made by the emperor. A sheet dated some years later (6. V. 1919) shows his sketches of various types of crosses and their development, but also a faithful reproduction of the *labara* of 1914.²² Imperial intervention is also suggested by the manufacturing of the *labara* in the workshop of the Benedictine monks at Maria Laach. The needlework for the expensive cloths, set with precious stones, was furthermore done by Benedictine sisters of the Abbey St Hildegard near Rüdesheim. Wilhelm II had maintained strong ties with the Abbey of Maria Laach. He had signed the resolution to grant the right to Benedictines to live in this ancient monastery again, a monastery with a rich history going back to the twelfth century. After the expropriation of the buildings, however, the community had ceased to exist and the monks had moved to the Abbey of Beuron. But thanks to the benevolence of the emperor, the monks started to live in Maria Laach again, bringing the monastery to prosperity again within a few decades. Moreover, Wilhelm had donated 30,000 Mark for the ciborium of the monastery church.²³ The Kaiser was present at the inauguration of the renovated church and expressed on that occasion his admiration for the many merits of the Benedictine monks, placing them even under his direct protection.²⁴ His enthusiasm for the Romanesque architecture of the Rhine region presumably contributed to the emperor’s moral and financial support as well. All this may not be very surprising for a monarch who was very much interested in history and archaeology. Wilhelm II travelled extensively in the Mediterranean, visiting ancient sites and actively supported excavation projects, for example on Corfu. Moreover, he stimulated archaeological and historical research in Germany.²⁵ Still, the *labarum*-project requires a more precise explanation than the Kaiser’s general interest in history and his enthusiasm for crafts, art and archaeology. It is likely that the heightened interest for Constantine, both in Italy and elsewhere in the Catholic world, had inspired the emperor. With all the attention paid to the sixteenth centenary of Constantine’s rise to power (306),

his victory over the usurper Maxentius (October 312), and the Edict of Milan some months later (February 313), he can hardly have failed to take notice of the various commemorations that took place.

In fact, the Hohenzollern dynasty had actively promoted the Constantinian heritage in Trier before, also emphasizing the fact that the Hohenzollern were the legitimate successors of the Hohenstaufen and thus formed a continuation of the Holy Roman Empire. Wilhelm II took much effort in stressing both the dynastical ‘continuity’ and the fact that he reigned *Dei gratia*.²⁶ This supposed continuity between the Hohenstaufen and the Prussian, Protestant Hohenzollern was anchored in the common early Christian roots of all Christian denominations. Moreover, the age of Constantine, ‘the first Christian ruler’ and an *exemplum* for all later sovereigns, was the shared heritage of all of Wilhelm’s subjects, a past they all could subscribe to. Constantine had even resided in Germany (Trier, AD 307) which presented the Constantinian example with a German touch.

The personal involvement of the Kaiser in the construction of a ‘new’ *labarum* may, finally, have resulted from his interest in early Christianity. He was active as a church builder, not only in Germany, but also in Rome,²⁷ and even in the Holy Land, where he commissioned a number of both Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches.²⁸ Interestingly enough, according to the tradition, Constantine had been a church builder in Jerusalem as well: he had ordered the building of the Holy Sepulchre Church in 325–26 and it was during the building of this church that Constantine’s mother Helena had discovered the True Cross.²⁹ All of this was part of Wilhelm’s policy to present himself as the emperor of *all* Germans, both Protestants and Catholics, and to erase the last displeasing memories of the German *Kulturkampf*. In the ordering of the *labara* all these motives seem to come together, Wilhelm sought to emphasize his own, God-given legitimacy as the emperor of all Christians in his *Reich*, by a determined use, even appropriation of Constantinian motives. Seeking rapprochement with the pope of Rome was a way of showing his inviolable posi-

tion as a monarch in a long-standing tradition shaped by Constantine. The meaning of the memory that the *labarum* evoked had changed again.

Monumentalizing Memory: S. Croce al Flaminio

The present of the German emperor could not have come at a more suited moment for Pope Pius X. Just as the Kaiser, Pius X had good reasons for a clearly marked commemoration of the sixteenth centenary. On 17 October 1912, the foundation stone was laid of a new church, S. Croce al Flaminio, some two kilometres to the north of the Porta del Popolo (Porta Flaminia) and in an area that was for a large part still uninhabited at that moment but was to become a lively neighbourhood from the 1920s onward.³⁰ In the same period (1914), another church that was built on the order of Pius X was completed and dedicated to S. Elena on the Via Casilina, near Helena's mausoleum in the rapidly growing *quartiere Casilina*.³¹

The erection of these two new churches that were somehow linked to Constantine was of course not a coincident but part of a large festive programme in Rome celebrating the sixteenth centenary of Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312, and especially of the release of the Edict of Milan in February 313. The jubilee was commemorated in various parts of the Catholic world, gaining special significance in Italy for devoted Catholics, and especially for men of the Church. To many of them, the year 1911 had been their *annus horribilis*, the year in which the Kingdom of Italy had ostentatiously – at least in their view – glorified the fiftieth anniversary of the Kingdom of Italy and hence the birth of the modern Italian nation state. And if this was not enough, the fact that forty years had passed since Rome had become the capital of modern Italy in 1871 (*Roma Capitale*) was stressed time and again. The conflict between the pope, no longer 'ruler' over the now dismantled Papal State, and the successive Italian governments striving for a modern, secular nation, was deep. Bitterness about the unsolved *questione romana* (the 'Roman question') and about the harm done to the Church, to its

members, its ideas and its possessions speaks clearly from the words of Pope Pius X at the closing of the year 1911:

The year that is now approaching its end has been particularly mournful for Us, as everybody will understand. We will not dwell upon revealing the deep pain that the clamorous commemoration of events has caused to Us and to every pious child of the Church; events, as is clear to all of us, that were the start of the many and so serious violations of the rights of the Apostolic See as were inflicted to this very day.³²

Given these tense relations between the Italian state and the ecclesiastical authorities, it is hardly surprising that the Holy Father had welcomed an initiative taken early in 1912 by the *Primaria Associazione della Santa Croce* and the *Collegium cultorum martyrum* to form the *Consiglio Superiore per le feste commemorative del XVI centenario della pace della Chiesa*.³³ The *Consiglio Superiore* formulated two objectives: firstly, to build a sacred monument near the Milvian Bridge, where Constantine had beaten Maxentius, as a lasting reminiscence and at the same time meeting the spiritual needs of the future inhabitants of the neighbourhood. This idea for a monument near the Milvian Bridge was already put forward in an article in *La Civiltà Cattolica* of January 1912, expressing the wish for a *monumento perenne*.³⁴ The second aim of the *Consiglio Superiore* was the promotion of the celebration of the years 312–13 throughout Italy (and even abroad). Moreover, bishops were invited to install local committees in their dioceses to organize pilgrimage and to collect money for the 'sacred monument near the Milvian Bridge'.³⁵

A board was formed, consisting of both Italians and foreigners, men of the Church and laymen, but all of them *eccellenti cattolici*. Anton de Waal, the rector of the Campo S. Teutonico, was one of them, as was the archaeologist Orazio Marucchi.³⁶ Another renowned scholar of early Christian archaeology, Bartolomeo Nogara, took a seat on the board of the *Comitato romano*, the local committee that operated under the aegis of the *Consiglio Superiore*. Of course the 'black nobility' of Rome was well-represented



Fig. 2. Rome, *S. Croce al Flaminio*, interior, modern lamps of the 'corona-type'. Photo: Nathalie de Haan.



Fig. 3. Rome, *S. Croce al Flaminio*, façade with the mosaic of the triumphal cross in the centre, flanked by the *labarum* on the right and Emperor Constantine on the left. Photo: Nathalie de Haan.

in both the *Consiglio* and the *Comitato romano*, through members of the Colonna and Chigi families. On 1 March 1912 the *Consiglio Superiore* presented the outline of the programme commemorating the significance of the Edict of 313 and the freedom and peace offered to the Church by Constantine, a fact worth recording, ‘especially in our days’.³⁷ The Edict was also the subject of a passionate speech delivered by the pope in February 1913 to an audience of the faithful gathered in Rome, commemorating, again, Constantine’s Edict of tolerance, and contrasting the situation of freedom and peace in 313 in bitter tones to the present situation of 1913, in which the Church was the victim of injustice and insults, and freedom hard to find.³⁸ A few weeks later, the importance of the celebrations were underlined once again, when Pius X announced in an apostolic letter of 8 March 1913 the possibility of plenary indulgence in the form of a special jubilee (Holy Year) from Low Sunday (the first Sunday after Easter, i.e. 30 March 1913) until the feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December).

The building of the Church of S. Croce in Flaminio had started in February 1913, some months after the first stone was laid, ‘due to deliberate and malicious slowness of the opposing authorities that had to grant the building permit’.³⁹ In spite of this delay, the church was solemnly inaugurated ten months later, at the closing of the Constantinian jubilee, on 29 December.⁴⁰ The Roman architect and civil engineer Aristide Leonori (1856–1928) had been responsible for the building and designed a church in the style of the early Christian basilicas in Rome (the so-called *stile basilicale romano*). Leonori devoted his long career to the building of churches, chapels and hospitals, not only in Rome but in other parts of the world as well. He worked in Egypt, Sudan, Mauretania, and the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and India.⁴¹ Moreover, he was involved in a number of restoration projects in early Christian and medieval churches such as S. Sisto Vecchio, S. Clemente (crypt) and S. Maria in Trastevere; he was the architect of the chapter of the latter church from 1890 till 1923.⁴² Leonori was also a man of learning and published numerous arti-

cles in the bimonthly *Vox Urbis*, a periodical in Latin, founded (and to a large part financed) by Leonori himself.

Leonori was a devout Christian and certainly an *ecellente cattolico*, being a tertiary of the Franciscan order. It seems that the early Christian period appealed to him for both spiritual and aesthetic reasons, as a number of his new church buildings show.⁴³ For the exterior of S. Croce al Flaminio, notably the façade, the Church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura must have been his main source of inspiration. The *campanile* resembles the ones of S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Maria in Trastevere. The interior of S. Croce reflects the inspiration of early Christian architecture as well: the arcades, for example, resemble those of the Church of S. Sabina. The lamps are modern versions of the *corona*-type (Fig. 2) and point at Leonori’s knowledge of ancient sources, notably the *Liber pontificalis*.⁴⁴ The altars were designed by Leonori as well. Flanking the high altar are the chapels dedicated to St Mary and to St George respectively. Both altars are executed in a neo-Byzantine style.

The mosaics on the façade and the chapels of the Virgin Mary and St George date back to 1915–16 and were executed after a design by Biagio Biagetti, a famous painter at the time.⁴⁵ A mosaic inscription of gilded *tesserae* set in a blue background on the architrave reads as follows:

An. Chr. MCMXIII PIVS X P. M. IN
MEMOR. PACIS A CONSTANTINO
ECCL. DATAE CRVCI SS. DD. AB EDIC-
TO A. MDC

In the year of the Lord 1913 Pope Pius X Pontifex Maximus dedicated [this church] to the Holy Cross in memory of the peace given by Constantine to the Church 1600 years after the edict.

In the upper zone of the façade a depiction of the triumphal cross is central. The cross is flanked by the *labarum* on the right and Constantine on the left (Figs 3 and 4), apparently with the text of the Edict on the book roll in his right hand. The first two words of the Latin text of the Edict (*Cvm feliciter*) are clearly visible (Fig. 5). The

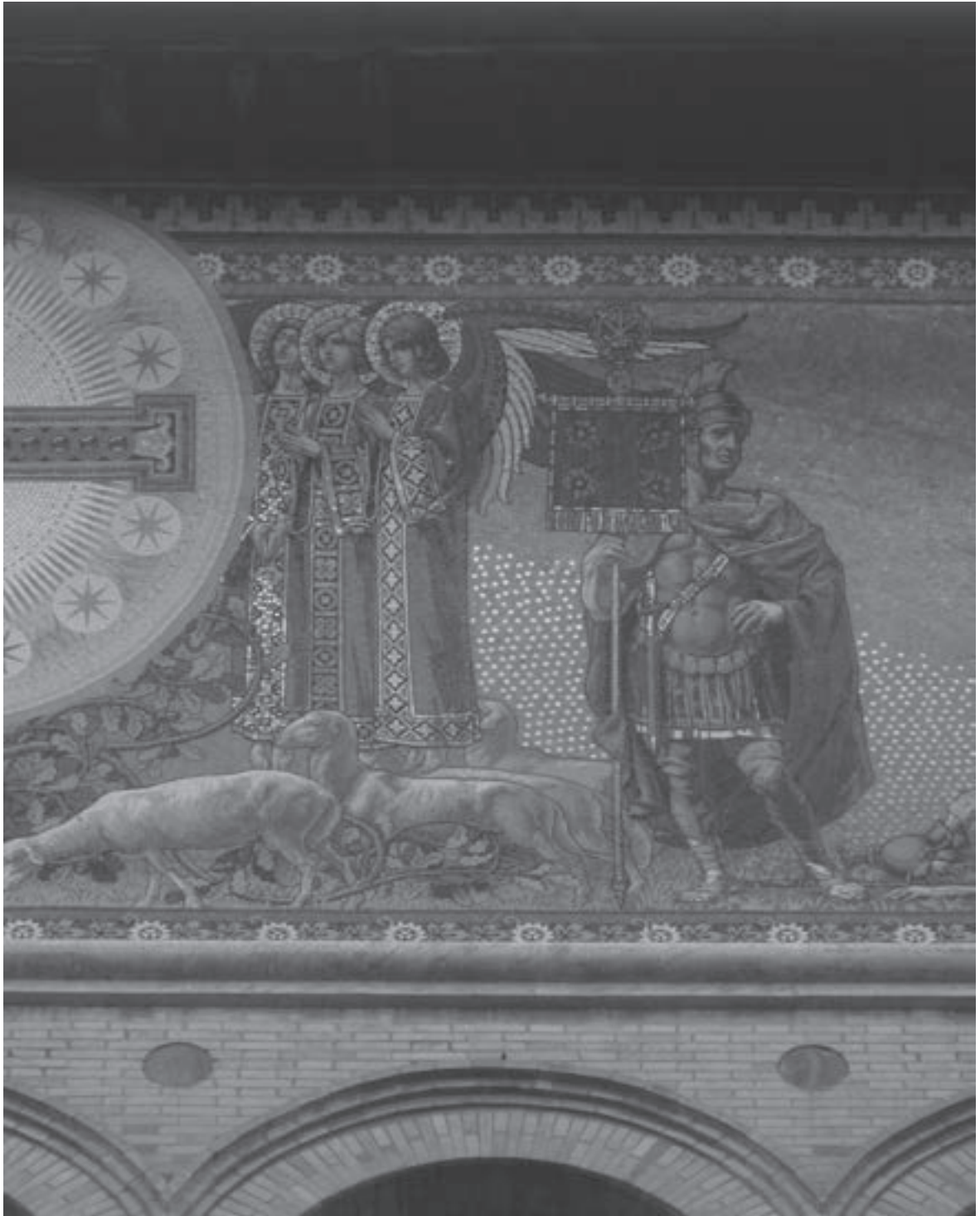


Fig. 4. Rome, S. Croce al Flaminio, exterior, detail of the mosaic: the *labarum*. Photo: Nathalie de Haan.

emphasis on the edict and the resulting peace reveal once again the motifs of Pius X for the building of this church: a monument that com-

memorated first of all the edict, more than the victory of Constantine over Maxentius, even if the location was deliberately chosen. The *laba-*



Fig. 5. Rome, S. Croce al Flaminio, façade, detail of the mosaic: the Edict of Milan with the first two words ‘Cum Feliciter’. Photo: Nathalie de Haan.

rum had changed meaning once again, and now commemorated the Edict of Milan. In this way, it symbolized the intended restoration of the Church’s dominance; a supremacy which had originated with Constantine. Commemorating the Edict, after all, was a plea for *pax* and *libertas* for the Church and as such a direct address to the Italian authorities to do the same as Constantine had done sixteen hundred years before.

The link between *labarum*, pope, and Christian claims are best shown in the Chapel of St George in the church. The mosaic underneath its calotte shows the saintly knight on horseback between personifications of the virtues, depicted in a style imitating the mosaics of Ravenna (Fig. 6). The chapel is the focal point of the Sacred Military Constantinian Order of St George that has its base in S. Croce al Flaminio. It was built with money collected by the knights of the

order and consecrated in 1915 by Pope Benedict XV. But it had been Pope Pius X who, two years before, had reacted positively to the wish of the Constantinian Order to have their chapel in S. Croce, then still under construction. He received the knights in a private audience a week before the inauguration of the church (December 29) and blessed on that occasion the *labarum* he had received as a gift from the German emperor earlier that year.⁴⁶ The *labarum* was finally transferred to S. Croce al Flaminio in 1962, shortly before the church was promoted to *basilica minor* where it is still kept.⁴⁷ Memory may have changed over time, but the *labarum* ultimately arrived near the place with which it had been closely linked, and in the direct context of the emperor who had so cultivated its status. At the end of the ceremony celebrating the inauguration of the church in 1913, Vincen-



Fig. 6. Rome, S. Croce al Flaminio, mosaic underneath the calotte of the Chapel of St George, detail: St George. Photo: Nathalie de Haan.

zo Bianchi-Cagliesi, member of the *Consiglio Superiore* spoke the following words, illustrating the new memory that the *labarum* was expected to symbolize: ‘The basilica will be a sign of the

victory, and as a whole will be a triumphal *labarum*, with the Tree of Life standing in its centre, the Cross in bronze, strong as our hope, immense as the love of God.’⁴⁸

Notes

* It is our great pleasure to contribute to a volume in honour of Sible de Blaauw, who has been our friend and colleague for many years. Throughout these years, he has encouraged us as ancient historians not to forget ‘his’ early Christian Rome. Sible’s fascination for Christian religious architecture has taught us much of a city we thought we knew. Hopefully, this contribution is some small repayment for Sible’s continuous inspiration.

1 Michael P. Speidel, ‘Maxentius and his ‘Equites Singulares’ in the Battle at the Milvian Bridge’, *Classical Antiquity*, 5 (1986), 253–62.

2 *Panegyrici latini*, XII (9). 16. 3–4 and IV (10). 28. 1–5, with Charles E. V. Nixon and Barbara Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegy-*

rici Latini (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 319.

3 Aurelius Victor, *Caesaribus*, XL. 23, with W. Kuhoff, ‘Ein Mythos in der römischen Geschichte: Der Sieg Konstantins des Grossen über Maxentius vor den Toren Roms am 28. Oktober 312’, *Chiron*, 21 (1991), 127–74.

4 Carmelo Calci and Gaetano Messineo, *Malborghetto, lavori e studi di archeologia pubblicati dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma* (Rome: De Luca Edizioni d’Arte, 1989).

5 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX. 9. 4 (cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I. 38); Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XLIV. 4; XLIV. 8; Zosimus, *Historia nea*, II. 16. 1; Aurelius Victor, *Caesaribus*, XL. 23; Noel Lenski,

- ‘The reign of Constantine’, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. by Noel Lensky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 69–70 with nn. 53–59. cf. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, II. 49 and Cicero, *Philippics*, II. 3. 1.
- 6 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX. 9. 5.
- 7 The rest of this section draws heavily upon the excellent discussion by Henk W. Singor, ‘The Labarum, Shield Blazons, and Constantine’s caeleste signum’, in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power: Proceedings of the Third Workshop of the International Network ‘Impact of Empire’ (Roman Empire, C. 200 BC–AD 476)*, ed. by Lukas de Blois and others (Amsterdam: Gieben, 2003), pp. 481–500.
- 8 Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum; Panegyrici latini*, XII(9), with noticeable references to Constantine’s deity in II. 4–5, III. 3, IV. 1, XIII. 2, XVI. 2, XXVI. 1. See the comments in Nixon and Rodgers, pp. 292–93.
- 9 Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*, transl. by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), lines 28–32.
- 10 Peter Weiss, ‘The vision of Constantine’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 237–59, revised translation of ‘Die Vision Constantins’ (1993). The literature on the vision(s) is sheer endless; see for a recent interpretive overview Johannes Wienand, *Der Kaiser als Sieger: Metamorphosen triumphaler Herrschaft unter Konstantin I* (Berlin: Akademie, 2012), pp. 254–80, with full references.
- 11 Singor, p. 484.
- 12 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX. 9, x–XI, with Andreas Alföldi, ‘In hoc signo victor eris’: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen’, in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Theodor Klauser and Adolf Rucker (Munster: Aschendorff, 1939), pp. 1–18 (reprinted in *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. by Heinrich Kraft (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), pp. 224–46 (p. 237 and Abb. 3,4)). Cf. Olivier Hekster, ‘The City of Rome in Late Imperial Ideology: The Tetrarchs, Maxentius and Constantine’, *Mediterraneo Antico*, 2 (1999), 717–48, and Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 63.
- 13 Rudolf Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus: Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Grossen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992), pp. 43–48. But note the miniature Christogram on the depiction of Constantine’s helmet in a Ticinum silver medallion from 315; Konrad Kraft, ‘Das Silbermedallion Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christusmonogramm auf dem Helm’, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 5–6 (1954–55), 151–78.
- 14 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I. 31, possibly indicating that Christograms were placed on the standards instead of depictions of the pagan gods.
- 15 Singor, pp. 498–99, with references.
- 16 Gerhard Wirth, ‘Labarum’, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977–99), v, col. 1601, in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias – Lexikon des Mittelalters Online (LexMA)* <<http://apps.brepolis.net/lexiema/test/Default2.aspx>> [accessed 6 July 2016]; Yann Le Bohec, ‘Labarum’, in *Der Neue Pauly*, ed. by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 16 vols (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–2003), VI (1999), col. 1028.
- 17 Jürgen Krüger, ‘Wilhelms II: Sakralitätsverständnis im Spiegel seiner Kirchenbauten’, in *Wilhelm II und die Religion*, ed. by Stefan Samerski (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), pp. 235–64 (p. 256); Heinrich Schlang-Schöningen, ‘Das Bild Konstantins in der Neuzeit’, in *Konstantin der Grosse: Geschichte – Archäologie – Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.–15. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Trier zur Landesausstellung Rheinland-Pfalz 2007 “Konstantin der Grosse”*, ed. by Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann, Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, 32 (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 2006), pp. 285–97, with references.
- 18 Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), p. 234.
- 19 Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder’sche Verlagshandlung, 1903), p. xii (Vorwort: ‘An erster Stelle fühle ich mich zum lebhaftesten Danke seiner Majestät dem deutschen Kaiser Wilhelm II verpflichtet [...] mir einen reichen Beitrag zu gewähren geruht haben’.
- 20 Pio Franchi de’ Cavalieri, ‘Il labaro descritto da Eusebio’, *Studi romani*, 1 (1913), 161–88, reprinted in Pio Franchi de’ Cavalieri, *Scritti agiografici*, Studi e Testi, 222, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), II, pp. 201–27.
- 21 Krüger, ‘Wilhelms II’, p. 257, with n. 38.
- 22 See Jan Werquet, ‘Konstantin in der Tradition der Hohenzollern’, in *Konstantin der Grosse – Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus*, ed. by Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), pp. 467–69 (p. 469, with Fig. 4).
- 23 Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem*, pp. 219–21.
- 24 Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 2 vols (Munich: Schöningh, 1933; repr. 1965), I, pp. 259–64 (p. 261: ‘Ich haben Ihnen den Hochaltar geschenkt in Erinnerung an die großen Verdienste, welche die Benediktiner um Wissenschaft und Kunst allzeit sich erworben haben [...]. Seien Sie überzeugt, daß auch in Zukunft Meine kaiserliche Huld über Ihrem Orden schweben wird, und überall, wo Männer sich zusammentun, um die Religion zu pflegen, und auch hinauszutragen in die Völker, werden sie Meines Schutzes sicher sein’).
- 25 See for an overview John C. G. Röhl, *Wilhelm II*, 3 vols (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993–2008), II (2001), pp. 984–1016.

- 26 Krüger, 'Wilhelms II', pp. 235-38; Werquet, pp. 467-69. The Kyffhäuser or Barbarossa Monument in Thuringia, built in the years 1890-96, is a striking example of the identification by the Hohenzollern with the Hohenstaufen.
- 27 The Lutheran Evangelical Church in Rome (Via Sicilia) built between 1910 and 1922, cf. Andreas Puchta, *Die deutsche evangelische Kirche in Rom: Planung, Baugeschichte, Ausstattung*. Studien zur Kunst der Antike und ihrem Nachleben, 2 (Bamberg: Weiß, 1997).
- 28 The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem was built between 1893-98 and inaugurated in presence of the Kaiser during his visit in 1898. During the same visit he bought a piece of ground on Mount Zion (directly from Sultan Abdul Hamid II, whom the Kaiser knew personally) and gave the land on loan to the *Deutscher Verein vom Heiligen Land* (founded in 1855 in Cologne). The Abbey of the Dormition that housed Benedictine monks from Beuron since 1906 was built in the years 1900-10, just outside the walls of the Old City. The location was, of course, well chosen: according to the tradition St Mary had died on that particular spot. In the same year 1910 a guesthouse for pilgrims and a hospital (Kaiserin-Auguste-Victoria-Stiftung) was opened on the Mount of Olives, together with the Church of the Ascension (inaugurated four years later).
- 29 Cf. Sible de Blaauw, 'Konstantin als Kirchenstifter', in *Konstantin der Grosse: Geschichte – Archäologie – Rezeption*, pp. 163-72; Paolo Liverani, 'L'architettura costantiniana, tra committenza imperiale e contributo delle élites locali', in *Konstantin der Grosse. Geschichte – Archäologie – Rezeption*, pp. 235-44; David Hunt, 'Constantine and Jerusalem', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), 405-24; Fulvia Ciliberto, 'Il complesso degli edifici costantiniani al Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme', in *Costantino 313 d.C.: L'Editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza*, ed. by Gemma Sena Chiesa (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2012), pp. 150-53. Ancient sources: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, II. 25-29; *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. by Paul Geyer and Otto Cuntz, in *Corpus Christianorum. Series latina* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-), CLXXV: *Itineraria et alia geographica* (1965), p. 17: 'Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit; ibidem modo iussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est [...]'.
 30 Giulio Bosi and Mario Bosi, *S. Croce al Flaminio*, Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 86 (Rome: Marietti, 1965), p. 7. Cf. 'La nuova basilica costantiniana – la posa della prima pietra', *L'Osservatore Romano*, 18 October 1912.
 31 Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis. Commentarium Officiale*, Annus VI Volumen VI: Acta PII X Apostolicae sub plumbio litterae 9 (die 12 Iunii 1914): 'eriguntur par-oeciae ss. Crucis Via Flaminia et S. Helenae Via Casilina'.
- 32 Speech delivered on 27 November 1911 and published in an extra edition of *L'Osservatore Romano* of the same day, cited in Francesco Tacchi, 'Il XVI Centenario Costantiniano del 1913: Cronaca e significati di un evento', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 27 (2014), 244-80 (p. 249). The Italian text reads: 'L'anno che ormai volge al tramonto è stato per Noi, in modo particolare luttuoso: e tutti lo intendono. Non ci fermeremo qui a rilevare il profondo dolore che a Noi ed a ogni devoto figlio della Chiesa ha recato la clamorosa commemorazione di avvenimenti dai quali, come è a tutti manifesto, ebbero principio tante e sì gravi offese ai diritti della Sede Apostolica, quante ne furono inflitte fino ad oggi'.
- 33 The *Primaria Associazione della Santa Croce* (with a see in S. Croce in Gerusalemme) was founded in 1896 to commemorate the eighth centenary of the First Crusade (1096-99). The *Collegium cultorum martyrum* was founded in 1879 and was made into the Pontificia Accademia Cultorum Martyrum in 1995, see <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_academies/cult-martyrum/index_it.htm> [accessed 21 June 2016].
- 34 Francesco Tacchi hypothesized that this idea published in January was picked up by the *Consiglio* which is certainly possible (Tacchi, p. 251 with n. 28). Anyhow, the attention paid to Constantine in this periodical of the Jesuits shows the impact of the upcoming events.
- 35 Tacchi, p. 251.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51. President was Prince Mario Chigi. The pope nominated Cardinal Francesco di Paola Cassetta as the patron of the *Consiglio Superiore*. In 1913, Anton de Waal celebrated the golden anniversary of his ordination, an anniversary that was commemorated with a *Festschrift: Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit. Gesammelte Studien. Festgabe zum Konstantins-Jubiläum und zum goldenen Priesterjubiläum von Mgr. Dr. A. de Waal*, ed. by Franz Joseph Dölger (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1913).
- 37 'XVI Centenario della Pace della Chiesa', *Bollettino del Consiglio Superiore per le feste commemorative del XVI centenario della pace della Chiesa*, 1 (September 1912), 3-4: 'Nell'anno 1913 ricorrerà il XVI Centenario della libertà e della pace donate alla Chiesa mediante il riconoscimento ufficiale del Cristianesimo e dei diritti più essenziali inerenti alla società Cristiana, proclamato dall'Imperatore Costantino con l'Editto di Milano nella primavera del 313. Questo gran fatto, preceduto dalla vittoria riportata da Costantino sopra Massenzio presso le mura di Roma il 28 ottobre del 312, ebbe un'importanza ed un significato altissimo nella storia ed è degno che sia ricordato, specialmente ai nostri giorni'.
- 38 'Discorso del Santo Padre Pio X ai fedeli convenuti a Roma in occasione del XVI Centenario della promulgazione dell'editto di Costantino, Domenica

- 23 febbraio 1913', online accessible via <<http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/speeches.index.html>> [accessed 21 June 2016].
- 39 Tacchi, p. 257.
- 40 Bosi and Bosi, p. 8.
- 41 For Leonori see Fabrizio Di Marco, 'Leonori, Aristide', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), LXIV (2005), pp. 626–28 with references; Liliana Mauriello, 'Aristide Leonori: architetto eclettico del XX secolo', *I beni culturali*, 18, 2 (2010), 13–23.
- 42 Di Marco, 'Leonori, Aristide', p. 626; cf. Alberto M. Racheli, *Restauro a Roma 1870–2000. Architettura e città* (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), pp. 324–25.
- 43 For example, Leonori designed the Mount St Sepulchre Franciscan Monastery at Washington DC (1898–99), built in a neo-Byzantine style and resembling Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.
- 44 Cf. Herman Geertman, 'L'illuminazione della basilica paleocristiana secondo il *Liber Pontificalis*', in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 64 (1988), 135–60 (repr. in Herman Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam. Studi sul 'Liber Pontificalis' e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio*, ed. by Sible de Blaauw (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 53–73).
- 45 Bosi and Bosi, pp. 48–54 and 67–79. Biagio Biagetti (1877–1948) would become the director of the Pinacoteca of the Vatican in 1921 and he was also the founder of the Vatican studio for the restoration of mosaics and paintings. Cf. 'Biagetti, Biagio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), IX (1967), pp. 823–24.
- 46 Bosi and Bosi, p. 35.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 48 *Bollettino del Consiglio Superiore per le feste commemorative del XVI centenario della pace della Chiesa*, 15 (December 1913), 12–13: 'La basilica sarà segnacolo di vittoria, sarà tutta un labaro trionfale, nel cui mezzo starà l'albero della vita, la Croce, salda nel bronzo come la nostra speranza, immensa come l'amore di Dio'.

EINE VERGESSENE ERINNERUNG AN DAS BYZANTINISCHE ROM: NEUDEUTUNG UND REZEPTIONSGESCHICHTE EINER GRABINSCHRIFT AUS DEM 7. JAHRHUNDERT IN DER S. CECILIA IN TRASTEVERE*

Raphael G. R. HUNSUCKER & Evelien J. J. ROELS

Die Geschichte der Basilika S. Cecilia in Trastevere ist durch eine Kette von Wiederentdeckungen und Wiederverwendungen geprägt. Eine der bekanntesten dieser Wiederentdeckungen, an welche heutzutage noch der bedeutende Blickfang der Titalkirche, die statuarische Nachbildung der Hl. Cäcilia von Stefano Maderno, erinnert, ist der 1599 erfolgte Fund der Reliquien der Märtyrerin Cäcilia bei Bauarbeiten am Presbyterium durch Kardinal Sfondrato (1560–1618).¹ Anlass des späktakularen Fundes war angeblich das Auffinden eines Briefes des Papstes Paschalis (817–24), in welchem der Papst seine Sichtung des Leichnams der Cäcilia im 7. Jahrhundert in den Katakomben von S. Callisto beschrieben hatte und anhand dessen der Sarkophag mit dem anscheinend unversehrten Körper der Heiligen unter dem Altar gefunden werden konnte. Am 22. November 1599 wurde der Leichnam der Hl. Cäcilia feierlich wiederbestattet. Anlässlich dieses Ereignisses beauftragte der Kardinal die Schaffung einer Statue der Heiligen, die 1600 in der Kirche aufgestellt wurde, wo sie heutzutage noch zu sehen ist.² Das Interesse Sfondratos für die frühe Geschichte der Kirche und ihre eponyme Märtyrerin lässt sich in eine breitere Bewegung des 16. Jahrhunderts in Rom eingliedern, die häufig mit der von Filippo Neri gegründeten Kongregation des Oratoriums in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist, im Grunde aber mit anderen prominenten Römern wie der Kardinal und Kirchenhistoriker Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) und Antonio Bosio (1576–1629) verbunden war.³ Diese beabsichtigten u.a. die römische Kirche in ihre frühchristliche Lage zurückzuführen und die Kirchen mit Zeugnissen aus der frühchristlichen Zeit gegossen damals daher eine steigende Beachtung. Überreste der frühchristlichen Periode wurden intensiver aufgesucht und analysiert.⁴

Der Auftrag für die Schaffung der Statue der Hl. Cäcilia kann als Versuch betrachtet werden, die früheste Vergangenheit und Ursprünge der Titalkirche erneut sichtbar zu machen. Die frühchristliche Kirche war aber tatsächlich noch sichtbar in einem anderen Denkmal, das ebenfalls die Aufmerksamkeit des Kardinals und seiner Zeitgenossen wie des Cesare Baronio auf sich zog und das sich heutzutage an prominenter Stelle in der Vorhalle rechts vom Haupteingang befindet (Abb. 1). Es handelt sich um eine monumentale Grabinschrift, die für einen gewissen *Theodorus Grecus Vizanteus* errichtet wurde und ins frühe 7. Jahrhundert zu datieren ist (Abb. 2).⁵ Die Inschrift erwähnt neben den Kaisern Heraclius und dessen Sohn, anhand derer sich die Inschrift relativ präzise datieren lässt, u.a. den *titulum Sanctae Ceciliae* und den Erzpriester. Obwohl die Inschrift eine einzigartige Quelle zu einer relativ unbekanntem Epoche Roms und der S. Cecilia darstellt, ist sie aber bisher noch nie ausführlich untersucht worden. Es ist das Ziel dieses Aufsatzes, anhand einer Analyse der



Abb. 1. Rom, S. Cecilia, Detailansicht der Fassade mit der Grabinschrift des Theodorus rechts unten. Foto: Evelien Roels.

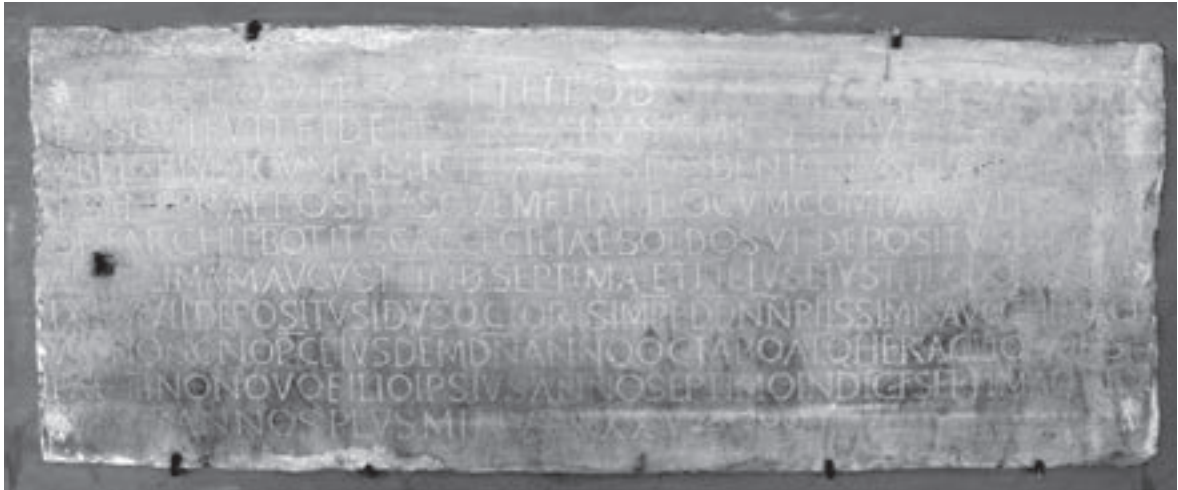


Abb. 2. Die Grabinschrift des Theodorus an ihrem heutigen Standort, S. Cecilia, Rom. Foto: Boudewijn Wegner.

Inschrift die Umstände und den Kontext, innerhalb derer diese Grabinschrift entstanden ist, zu beleuchten, sowie den verschiedenen Modi der Erinnerung, die dem Grabmonument im Laufe seiner Geschichte zukamen, nachzugehen.

Die Befunde

Die Grabinschrift des Theodorus befindet sich auf einer rechteckigen, flach geschliffenen Platte aus Marmor (Breite ca. 188 cm; Höhe ca. 85 cm; Tiefe unbekannt, mindestens 2 cm), die in der Fassade der S. Cecilia rechts von der zentralen Eingangstür auf Kniehöhe angebracht worden ist. Sie ist Teil einer größeren Ansammlung von Inschriften, Grabreliefs und (fragmentarischen) Bauornamenten, die über die ganze Fassade befestigt sind. Zur Herkunft und Wiederentdeckung des Grabsteines des Theodorus ist bislang nichts bekannt.⁶ Die Inschrift ist im Allgemeinen unbeschädigt: nur an der linken und rechten Seite des Schriftfeldes sind einige Buchstaben teil-

weise verloren gegangen, was vermutlich beim Abschneiden des Steines erfolgte, allerdings nicht zu Problemen beim Verständnis des Textes führt. Der Text wird in allen vier Ecken von länglichen Kreuzsymbolen gerahmt, die später ausradiert worden sind. An der linken Seite befindet sich die Kreuze innerhalb des Schriftfeldes.

Die Inschrift wurde zum ersten Mal von Cesare Baronio in seinen *Annales ecclesiastici* (ca. 1600) wiedergegeben, ist bisher in keiner der geläufigen Inschriftencorpora vertreten.⁷ Eine kritische Edition steht noch aus. Die Inschrift und ihr Text wurden zwar mehrmals abgedruckt und meistens kurz kommentiert, aber die bisherigen Textversionen zeichnen sich durch Unregelmäßigkeiten und Fehler aus, sodass eine zuverlässige und kritische Textausgabe gemäß den epigraphischen Editions-Konventionen noch immer ein Desiderat darstellt.⁸ Es ist eines der Ziele unseres Beitrags, dieses Defizit zu beheben und einen besseren Einblick in den historischen Kontext der Inschrift zu bieten.

Majuskel Transkription

1 HIC REQUIESCIT THEODORVS V̄C̄ GRECVS VIZAN 2 TEVS QVI FVIT FIDELIS ET
 CARVS AMICVS MVLTORVM REI 3 PVBLICAE IVDICVM AMICITIAE CVSTVS BENICN-
 VS PIVS DOMVI SV 4 AE BENE PRAEPOSITVS QVEM ETIAM LOCVM COMPARAVIT A
 V̄V̄ VĪC̄ 5 T̄ORE ARCHIP̄BO T̄IT̄ SC̄AE CECILIAE SOLDOS VI DEPOSITVS DIE QVIN 6 TA
 DECIMA M̄ AVCVSTI IND SEPTIMA ET FILIVS EIVS THEODORACI QVI 7 B̄IXIT M̄ VII
 DEPOSITVS IDVS OCTORIS IM̄PP̄ D̄D̄ N̄N̄ PISSIMIS AV̄C̄C̄ HERACLI 8 O ANNO NONO
 P̄C̄ EIVSDEM D̄N̄ ANNO OCTABO ATQ HERACLIO CONS 9 TANTINO NOVO FILIO
 IPSIVS ANNO SEPTIMO INDICT SEPTIMA QVI 10 VIXIT ANNOS PLVSMINVS LXXV ♡

Transkription

[[[Ccrux⊃]]] Hic requiescit Theodorus v(ir) c(larissimus) Grecus Vizan|teus qui fuit fidelis et carus amicus multorum rei | public'á'e iudicum amicitiae custus benicnus pius domui su|ae bene prae-positus. Quem etiam locum comparavit a v(iro) v(enerabili) Vic|tore archip(res)b(yster)o tit(uli) S(an)c(t)ae Ceciliae sol(i)dos VI. Depositus die quin|ta decima m(ensis) Aucusti ind(ictione) sep-tima et filius <filii> eius Theodoraci, qui | bixit m(enses) VII, depositus Id(ib)us Octoris impp(erantibus) dd(ominis) nn(ostris) piissimis Aucc(ustis) Heracli|o anno nono p(ost) c(onsulatum) eiusdem d(omini) n(ostri) anno octabo atq(ue) Heraclio Cons|tantino Novo filio ipsius anno sep-timo indict(ione) septima. Qui | [[[Ccrux⊃]]] vixit annos plusminus LXXV. (*hedera*)

Übersetzung

Hier ruht Theodorus, ein sehr ruhmvoller Mann, ein Grieche aus Byzantium, der ein getreuer und lieber Freund vieler Magistraten des Staates war, ein wohlwollender Hüter der Freundschaft, ein frommer Mann, der seinen Haushalt gut beaufsichtigt hat. Diesen Platz hat er ferner von dem ehrwürdigen Mann Victor, Erzpriester der Titelkirche der Hl. Cäcilia, für sechs *solidi* erworben. Er ist am fünfzehnten Tag des Monats August in der siebten Indiktion bestattet worden und der Sohn seines (Sohnes) Theodoracius,⁹ der sieben Monate gelebt hat, ist an den Iden des Oktobers bestattet worden, unter den Kaisern, unseren Herrschern, den allerfrommsten Augusti, Heraclius im neunten Jahr (seiner Herrschaft), nach dem Konsulat desselben Herrschers im achten Jahr, und Heraclius Constantinus Novus seinem Sohn, im siebten Jahr (seiner Herrschaft), in der siebten Indiktion. Dieser (Theodorus) hat ungefähr 75 Jahre gelebt.

Bezüglich des Inhalts dieser Inschrift wäre viel Interessantes aufzumerken, aber wir möchten uns hier auf zwei Aspekte beschränken die in der bisherigen Forschung oft falsch gedeutet wurden.

Identität der Protagonisten

An erster Stelle zieht die Bezeichnung des Bestatteten die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich: Während der Name Theodorus im 7. Jahrhundert durchaus geläufig ist, gilt dies für die doppelte Bezeichnung *Grecus Vizanteus* nicht. Der Begriff *Gr(a)ecus* scheint sich öfter zu finden: Den Studien von Charles Diehl und (sich auf Diehl beziehend) Andrew Ekonomou zufolge sei aus dem 7. Jahrhundert noch ein weiteres

stadtrömisches Beispiel für einen Theodorus Grecus bekannt, der, genau wie dieser Theodorus, in seiner Grabinschrift als *vir clarissimus* bezeichnet worden sei.¹⁰ Diese Zuweisung trifft jedoch nicht zu, da Diehl hierfür irrtümlicherweise auf das Werk von Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1739–42) verweist, in dem eine Abbildung der Grabinschrift des *Theodorus Grecus Vizanteus* aufgenommen ist, wobei aber *Vizanteus* nach dem Z als abgebrochen dargestellt ist und deswegen von Diehl nicht als Teil der Titulatur erkannt wurde.¹¹ Dass Theodorus sich weder als *Vizanteus* noch, was durchaus geläufig war, als *Constantinopolitanus* bezeichnet, um seine Herkunft aus Konstantinopel und seine höhere Abstammung zum Ausdruck zu bringen, ist ein besonders interessantes Beispiel für die Selbstrepräsentation byzantinischer Aristokraten in Rom, das unseres Wissens bisher noch nicht vollständig untersucht worden ist.¹²

Die Bezeichnung des anderen Bestatteten als *filius eius Theodoraci* verlangt ebenfalls nach einer genaueren Beobachtung. Alle früheren Untersuchungen zu dieser Inschrift verstehen Theodoracius als den Sohn des Theodorus; *filius eius Theodoraci* müsse in diesem Fall als ‚sein Sohn Theodoracius‘ aufgefasst werden, eine Interpretation, die durch die Genitivendung eigentlich nicht möglich ist. Falls dieser nach sieben Monaten verstorbene ‚Theodoracius‘ der Sohn des 75-jährigen Theodorus gewesen wäre, hätte es zwischen Vater und Sohn einen sehr beträchtlichen Altersunterschied gegeben, was allerdings nicht gänzlich unmöglich wäre. Wahrscheinlicher wäre es jedoch, *filii* zwischen *filius* und *eius* zu ergänzen und den verstorbenen *filius* als Enkel des Theodorus und Sohn des Theodoracius zu verstehen. Überdies ist es

durchaus annehmbar, dass ein Säugling im Alter von sieben Monaten noch keinen Namen trug, während Theodoracius ein zu erwartendes Patronymikon für den Sohn eines Theodorus wäre.¹³

Der Inschrift zufolge gehörte die Platte zu einem Doppelgrab, in dem Großvater und Enkel zusammen bestattet waren und so ein gemeinsames Monument bekommen hatten. Seit der 2. Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts fanden innerstädtische Bestattungen auch in Rom immer häufiger in den Kirchen statt, trotz der offiziellen Verbote, die auf den verschiedenen Konzilien zu dieser Problematik erlassen wurden.¹⁴ Eine innerkirchliche Anbringung ist für die Inschrift gut möglich gewesen, da die erhaltene Platte keine architektonischen Elemente oder Ornamente aufweist, die auf ein freistehendes Grabmonument deuten würden. Eher scheint sie als Deckplatte eines Grabes verwendet worden zu sein, das sich angesichts des Ausbleibens von Erosionsspuren im Innenraum der Basilika oder draußen an einer überdeckten Stelle befand. Man könnte dabei an katakombenähnliche Wandgräber denken, wie diejenigen, die in der Fassade des S. Adriano al Foro für diese Periode belegt sind.¹⁵ Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre eine an der Wand angebrachte Grabplatte, die das Grab im Boden der Kirche markierte, sowie bei den päpstlichen Gräbern in der Peterskirche.¹⁶

Datierung

Lässt die Inschrift sich anhand der damaligen Bestattungspraxis recht gut im 7. Jahrhundert einordnen, bietet der Text selbst allerdings noch viel genauere Datierungsangaben, denn sowohl die Indiktionsjahre als auch die Regierungsjahre der herrschenden Kaiser werden ausführlich erwähnt. Für beide wird das siebte Indiktionsjahr als Sterbejahr verzeichnet. Da es unwahrscheinlich ist, dass die Inschrift für zwei Personen errichtet wurde, die in einer zeitlichen Distanz von fünfzehn Jahren (= die Dauer eines Indiktionszyklus) gestorben waren, können wir davon ausgehen, dass Theodorus und sein Enkel im selben Indiktionsjahr verschieden sind.

Zudem ist die Inschrift nach den Amtsjahren der Kaiser datiert. Die sich hieraus ergebende Jahreszahl muss dementsprechend mit einem siebten Indiktionsjahr in der Regierungszeit des Heraclius (610–41) und seines Sohnes und Mitkaisers Heraclius Constantinus Novus (613–41) zusammenfallen, wodurch sich zwei mögliche Daten ermitteln lassen: 618–19 oder 633–34. Zusammen mit den erwähnten Regierungsjahren könnte hier ganz einfach eine genaue Datierung erschlossen werden. Trotzdem optierten Marucchi und in seiner Nachfolge Krautheimer für das Jahr 638.¹⁷ Diese Jahreszahl wird mit einigem Zweifel von Pani Ermini (2000) übernommen, von Parmegiani und Pronti (2004) aber schlicht angenommen ohne dies weiter zu begründen.¹⁸ Im Anschluss daran geht die überwiegende Mehrheit der Forscher, einschließlich der letzten Herausgeberin der S. Cecilia-Inschriften, jetzt von der Datierung in das Jahr 638 aus.¹⁹ Wie in einer Anmerkung bei Parmegiani und Pronti (2004) hierzu jedoch berechtigt angeführt wird, datierte Silvagni die Inschrift in den MEC in das Jahr 619, was schon aufgrund der Indiktionsrechnung bevorzugt werden sollte.²⁰ Silvagni seinerseits verwies für seine Datierung auf die *Annales Ecclesiastici* des Baronio, der eine Datierung für das Jahr 618 annahm.²¹ Dieselbe Ansicht vertraten ebenfalls Muratori und Mommsen, sie findet aber heutzutage wenig Anklang.²²

Außer der Tatsache, dass 638 überhaupt nicht mit einem siebten Indiktionsjahr zusammenfällt, sondern mit einem elften, können sowohl 638 als auch 633–34 als Datierung ausgeschlossen werden.²³ Die ausführlichen Datierungsangaben in der Inschrift erwähnen nämlich, dass die Verstorbenen *anno nono p(ost) c(onsulatum) eiusdem d(omini) n(ostri) anno octavo atq(ue) Heraclio Cons|tantino Novo filio ipsius anno septimo* (Z. 8–9) bestattet worden sind. Da Heraclius 610 die Herrschaft antrat, korrespondiert sein neuntes Regierungsjahr (*anno nono*) lückenlos mit der siebten Indiktion im Jahre 618–19. Diese Folgerung wird darüber hinaus von *p(ost) c(onsulatum) eiusdem d(omini) n(ostri) anno octavo* bestätigt: Heraclius hatte 611 tatsächlich den Konsulat inne.²⁴ Dass die Mehr-

heit der Forscher die Inschrift trotzdem auf 638 datiert, hängt wahrscheinlich einerseits mit der Tendenz zusammen, älteren Publikationen zu folgen, andererseits mit einer falschen Interpretation der Wörter *Heraclio Cons|tantino Novo filio ipsius anno septimo*. Die einzige explizite Begründung der Datierung auf 638 ist unseres Wissens bei Parmegiani und Pronti (2004) zu finden, die Folgendes behaupten: ‚Dopo la citazione dell’imperatore Eraclio, viene menzionato suo figlio Costantino, che fu imperatore nel 632, e viene indicato il settimo anno del suo impero, il che ci consente di datare con certezza l’epigrafe al 638‘.²⁵

Heraclius hatte insgesamt drei Söhne, die er, nach dem Beispiel des großen Kaisers des 4. Jahrhunderts, alle Konstantin nannte.²⁶ Wenn *novo* auf *filio* bezogen wird, wäre hier die Rede von einem ‚neuen‘ Sohn, was moderne Forscher irrtümlicherweise dazu gebracht hat, eher an den 625 geborenen Sohn zu denken, der Heraklonas genannt wird, oder an Heraclius’ im Jahre 638 geborenen Enkel, der später als Konstans II. regieren sollte.²⁷ Beide Möglichkeiten wären allerdings nicht mit dem neunten Regierungsjahr des Heraclius zu vereinen. Der älteste Sohn des Heraclius hingegen, der nach dem Tod des Vaters 641 die Herrschaft übernahm und als Konstantin III. bekannt geworden ist, wurde 612 geboren und lässt sich damit genau in die in der Inschrift erwähnte Chronologie einfügen.²⁸ Dieser Sohn hieß auch Heraclius, trug aber den Namen ‚der neue Konstantin‘.²⁹ Knapp zwei Jahre nach dem Staatsstreich des Heraclius, durch welchen Phokas gestürzt wurde, versuchte der Kaiser seine dynastischen Ambitionen zu bekräftigen, indem er sein kaum einjähriges Söhnchen am 22. Januar 613 zum Mitkaiser ernannte und den Jungen auf Münzen als vollwertigen Mitkaiser darstellen ließ.³⁰ Diese Tatsachen entsprechen lückenlos einer Datierung von 618–19, sieben Jahre nach der Ernennung des Konstantin III. zum Mitkaiser und stimmen zudem mit der Indiktionsdatierung überein. Die Inschrift selbst und die von ihr erwähnten Bestattungen müssen folglich in die Jahre 618–19 datiert werden.

Ein spezifischeres Problem, das infolgedessen auftaucht, ist die genauere Datierung innerhalb der Jahre 618–19. Das Indiktionsjahr begann am 1. September; diese siebte Indiktion entspricht damit der Periode vom 1. September 618 bis zum 31. August 619. Die Bestattung des Theodorus am 15. August fand demnach 619 statt, während die des Enkels am 15. Oktober 618 erfolgte. Dass die beiden in zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Kalenderjahren gestorben sind, allerdings in derselben Indiktion, erklärt auch die Wiederholung der Indiktionsangabe in Zeile 9. Die Tatsache, dass der Enkel zehn Monate früher als sein Großvater starb, beide aber im selben Grab bestattet wurden und zusammen eine monumentale Grabinschrift erhielten, ist im Übrigen erklärbar. Da Theodorus im Alter von 75 Jahren gestorben ist, wäre es anzunehmen, dass er sich dessen bewusst war, nicht mehr lange zu leben, als er seinen Enkel im Jahre 618 irgendwo bestattete. Enkel und Großvater wurden nach dem Tod des letzteren in einem gemeinsamen Grab beigesetzt und für beide Verstorbenen wurde eine Grabinschrift angefertigt. Standesgemäß wurde Theodorus in dieser als erster erwähnt. Die ausführliche Datierungsangabe mit dem Verweis auf die kaiserlichen Amtsjahre folgt deswegen auf die Erwähnung des zweiten Verstorbenen, bezieht sich aber auf beide Bestatteten, vielleicht an erster Stelle auf Theodorus, auf den im letzten Satz erneut allein verwiesen wird (*Qui [...] vixit*).³¹ Dementsprechend kann eine Datierung der Inschrift am oder kurz nach dem 15. August 619 festgemacht werden. Das neunte Regierungsjahr des Heraclius erstreckte sich vom 5. Oktober 618 bis zum 4. Oktober 619, das siebte Regierungsjahr seines Sohnes vom 22. Januar 619 bis zum 21. Januar 620, was genau mit unserer Datierung übereinstimmt.³²

Modi der Erinnerung

Im Verlauf der Jahrhunderte ist für die Grabinschrift des Theodorus und seines Enkels zwischen mehreren Modi der Erinnerung zu differenzieren. In erster Linie wurde die Inschrift als Teil eines Grabmonuments errichtet, damit die Erinnerung an Theodorus und dessen jung verstorbenen Enkel auf prominente Weise ver-

ankert würde. Die genaue Angabe der beiden Bestattungen halten zusammen mit dem bemerkenswert ausführlichen Datierungsformular den Moment der Beisetzung mit großer Sorgfalt fest und sollten vielleicht zudem einladen, ihrer jährlich und feierlich an Todestagen zu gedenken.

Die Pflege der Erinnerung war ferner vermutlich den in der Inschrift erwähnten Personen anvertraut: den ‚multi rei publicae iudices‘ (Z. 2-3), mit denen Theodorus eng befreundet war;³³ seinen anderen Freunden, deren Freundschaft er schätzte und pflegte (Z. 3); seinem Haushalt und/oder seiner Familie (Z. 3-4) und schließlich insbesondere seinem Sohn Theodoracius (Z. 6), der kurz nacheinander den Verlust seines Sohnes und seines Vaters zu betrauern hatte. Vielleicht ist an dieser Stelle auch noch der Erzpriester Victor, von dem das Grab gekauft wurde, zu erwähnen, falls dieser sich in seiner Kirche um die Erhaltung der Grabinschrift zu kümmern hatte. Indem nicht nur die moralischen Tugenden des Theodorus in der Inschrift Erwähnung fanden, sondern auch seine Freunde und sein Familienkreis, wurde sie zur Erinnerung an einen Mann, für welchen Freundschaft und Sozialleben scheinbar eine wichtigere Rolle spielten als seine öffentliche Laufbahn, über die wir in der Inschrift kaum etwas erfahren.³⁴

Neben dieser persönlichen Erinnerung stellt die Grabinschrift auch ein Denkmal einer Überzeugung dar, die sich eher im politischen und gesellschaftlichen Bereich einordnen lässt. Abgesehen von den vier Kreuzsymbolen in den Ecken des Schriftfeldes lässt sich sowohl bezüglich der Ornamentik als auch der Sprache im Monument eine Abwesenheit von sonstigen geläufigen christlichen Symbolen feststellen; das Grabformular *hic requiescit* wird hier z.B. ohne die übliche Ergänzung *in pace* verwendet. Stattdessen wirkt das Monument bezüglich der Gestaltung des Schriftfeldes und des Inhalts ziemlich klassisch. Einerseits werden die typisch römischen sozialen Tugenden anstelle der religiösen erwähnt und ist die kaiserliche Titulatur der amtierenden Herrscher prominent präsent. Andererseits wird der klassische Charakter durch die regelmäßige Ausrichtung des Textes

und die Buchstabenform, fast wie eine *Capitalis quadrata*, sowie die Syntax, die Ähnlichkeiten mit der kaiserzeitlichen Form des Latein aufweist, bewirkt.

Obwohl diese archaisierende, oder besser gesagt, klassizistische Ausführung der Inschrift nicht lückenlos durchgeführt wurde und ihr Anachronismus sich durchaus auch anderweitig nachweisen lässt, z.B. die Bezeichnung Konstantinopolitanischer Herkunft als *Vizanteus*, ist sie dennoch als eine antiquarisch inspirierte Erinnerung zu verstehen, die sich auf die ‚klassische‘ Vergangenheit der frühchristlichen Kaiserzeit bezieht.³⁵ Diese in der Inschrift bewirkte Beziehung ist in eine Linie mit einer breiteren Entwicklung in der damaligen byzantinischen Kultur im Allgemeinen und mit der Herrschaftsperiode des Heraclius insbesondere zu stellen.³⁶ Wie oben gezeigt wurde, nannte Heraclius seine drei Söhne alle Konstantin, wobei der Älteste dieser Söhne unter seinem Namen *Constantinus Novus* prominent in der Inschrift vertreten ist (Z. 8-9).

Eine derartige antiquarische Tendenz wäre möglicherweise innerhalb des unmittelbaren historischen Kontextes des Jahres 619 und im Hinblick auf das Missgeschick, von dem das byzantinische Reich in dieser Periode betroffen war, zu erklären. Im Osten eroberten die heranrückenden Perser große Teile der östlichen Reichsprovinzen; aber auch das Exarchat von Ravenna, das über längere Zeit als Zufluchtsort für die Flüchtlinge aus dem Osten gedient hatte, blieb nicht von Problemen verschont und erlebte mehrere Usurpationen. In den Wörtern von Andreas Stratos: ‚The years between 616 and 636 are the worst period of the Exarchate‘.³⁷

Als die Grabinschrift des Theodorus angefertigt wurde, fand einer dieser Machtumstürze in Italien statt. Der Eunuch Eleutherios, der 615 von Heraclius nach Italien geschickt worden war, um einen Staatsstreich in Ravenna sowie einen Aufstand in Neapel zu unterdrücken, ließ sich nach der erfolgreichen Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe mit Hilfe des Bischofs von Ravenna zum neuen Kaiser ausrufen. Diesem Putsch war kein Erfolg vergönnt, denn kurz darauf wurde Eleutherios von seinen meuternden Truppen ermordet.³⁸ Die Grabinschrift des Theodorus wur-

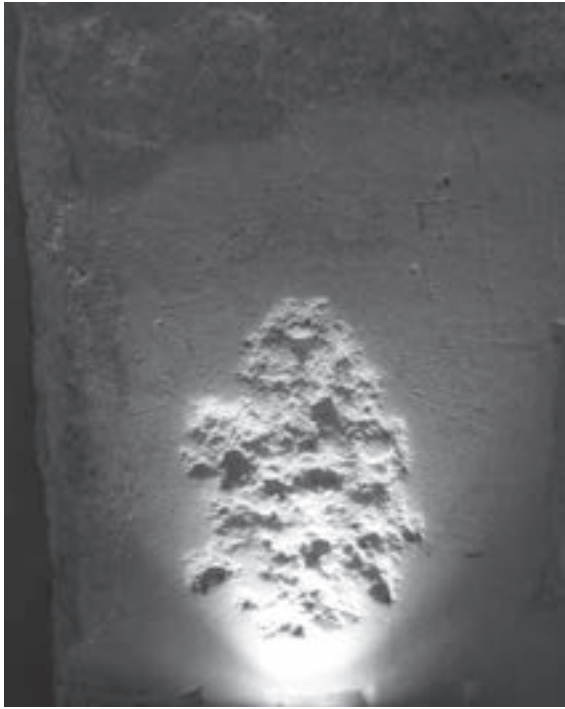


Abb. 3. Grabinschrift des Theodoros, Detailaufnahme einer der vier ausstrahlenden Kreuzfiguren (links oben). Foto: Boudewijn Wegner.

de also zur Zeit dieser Aufstände errichtet, und sie kann wegen der ausführlichen Erwähnung der legitim regierenden Herrscher als eindeutige Loyalitätsbekundung von Seiten des Theodoros und seines Umkreises verstanden werden.

Zusätzlich zur synchronen Wirkung des Monuments als aktivem Verkündiger einer persönlichen sowie politisch-gesellschaftlichen Erinnerung ist der Stein später selbst auch Objekt einer diachronen Erinnerung geworden. Bis zur Errichtung einer völlig neuen Kirche 821 durch Papst Paschalis war die Inschrift wahrscheinlich noch sichtbar, vermutlich sogar an ihrem ursprünglichen Aufstellungsort. Das würde nämlich erklären, warum die Grabplatte bei der Errichtung der Kirche von Paschalis I. *in eodem loco* vollständig bewahrt geblieben ist. Obwohl es nach unserem Wissen keine direkten Belegen für die Periode nach 619 bis dem Jahre 1600 gibt, war der Beschreibung Baronios zufolge die Grabinschrift des Theodoros seinerzeit in der Confessio zu sehen.³⁹ Denn nach dem Vorbild der alten Peterskirche war die Verehrung der



Abb. 4. Grabinschrift des Theodoros, Detailaufnahme der rechten Seite der Inschrift (Z. 5-6), wo die leichte Beschädigung des Steines zu sehen ist. Foto: Boudewijn Wegner.

Hl. Cäcilia in der neuen Kirche auf die Confessio, oder Krypta, ausgerichtet, wo die Gläubigen in der Nähe des Sarkophags der Hl. Cäcilia zusammenkamen.⁴⁰

Die Confessio bildete zudem den Ort, wo der Beschreibung Baronios (1600) zufolge die Grabinschrift des Theodoros seinerzeit zu sehen war. Da die von Paschalis erbaute Krypta bis Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts vermutlich größtenteils unverändert gelassen wurde, wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass die Grabinschrift bereits beim Bau der Krypta unter Paschalis von ihrem ursprünglichen Standort in der frühchristlichen Phase in die Krypta verlegt und dort eingemauert wurde.⁴¹ Eine Monumentalisierung im 9. Jahrhundert könnte auf jeden Fall erklären, warum die Grabinschrift des Theodoros fast vollkommen unbeschädigt und in sehr gutem Zustand überliefert ist, ohne dass sie erst in der modernen Zeit ausgegraben wurde, was meistens den guten Erhaltungszustand von Inschriften erklärt.

Die Inschrift, die Baronio gesehen und abgeschrieben hat, war allerdings nicht mehr vollständig zu lesen. Baronios Transkription enthält nämlich einige Lücken und Konjekturen, die genau mit einem schmalen Streifen an der rechten Seite des Schriftfeldes zusammenfallen. Sie sind rechts von einer leichten Beschädigung des Steines deutlich sichtbar (Abb. 4). Dieser Befund widerspricht der Idee, dass der Stein im Jahre 1599 als Einzelfund wiederentdeckt wurde, denn in diesem Fall wäre der Text wahrscheinlich vollständig lesbar gewesen. Falls die Bedeckung



Abb. 5. Rom, S. Cecilia, Sicht auf die Fassade; die Inschrift des Theodorus befindet sich hinter der zweiten Säule von rechts. Foto: Evelien Roels.

der der Sicht entzogenen Streifen auf Platzmangel hinweisen würde, weil der Stein nicht zur Gänze in den verfügbaren Raum eingefügt werden konnte, könnten auch die originalfremden Verkürzungen an der rechten und linken Seite damit erklärt werden. Wir wissen nicht, wann diese Verkürzungen angebracht wurden, die Errichtung der Kirche von Paschalis im 9. Jahrhundert wäre aber die meist wahrscheinliche Gelegenheit. Auch die Schäden, die den vier Kreuzsymbolen zugefügt wurden (Abb. 3), könnten diesem Kontext zugeordnet werden.⁴² Diese auffällige Beschädigung der Inschrift wurde bisher noch nicht weiter untersucht, bedarf aber einer genaueren Betrachtung.⁴³ Da die Kreuzsymbolen an der rechten Seite der Inschrift in ihrem Anbringungsort in der Konfessio wegen der soeben besprochenen Bedeckung vermutlich nicht sichtbar waren, müssen die Beschädigungen demzufolge in der Zeit vor der Verlagerung der Inschrift in die Konfessio gehören. Hinsichtlich Paschalis' Opposition gegen die derzeitigen Bewegung des Ikonoklasmus in Konstantinopel, wäre eine Verbindung hiermit reizvoll.⁴⁴ Denn auch Paschalis I. war ein starker Gegner des Ikonoklasmus; sein Neubau der

S. Cecilia für die Aufbewahrung und Verehrung der in den Katakomben aufgefundenen Reliquien der Heiligen passt somit zu seiner Unterstützung der Verehrung von sowohl Bildnissen als auch heiligen Überresten.⁴⁵

Die Inschrift wurde schließlich irgendwann zwischen 1734 und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts aus der Krypta zu ihrem heutigen Standort an der Fassade der Kirche versetzt. Wann diese Versetzung stattfand, lässt sich schwer sagen. Antonio Maria Lupi bemerkt in seinem 1734 veröffentlichten Buch, dass er den Text der Inschrift selbst *in hypogaeo, propè sepulcrum Sanctae Caeciliae* abgeschrieben habe, da Laderchi, Pagi und Baronio diesen *minus sollicitè* und nicht *diligenter* herausgegeben hätten.⁴⁶ Im Gegensatz zu den bis 1734 gedruckten Neuauflagen von Baronios *Annales*, in welchen die mangelhafte Textversion Baronios aufgenommen war, gibt Lupi in seiner Edition tatsächlich auch die Satzenden an der rechten Seite korrekt wieder.⁴⁷ Zwischen 1600 und 1734 muss der Stein also vollständig in der Krypta sichtbar gewesen sein; möglicherweise könnte dies während der Arbeiten unter Kardinal Acquaviva zwischen 1723–24 passiert sein.⁴⁸

Auf einer Radierung Giuseppe Vasis der Fassade der S. Cecilia aus dem Jahr 1757 sind nur zwei waagrecht ausgerichtete Objekte oberhalb der Stelle zu sehen, wo sich heutzutage die Grabinschrift des Theodorus befindet.⁴⁹ Auf Aufnahmen, die ungefähr am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts oder Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, ist die Inschrift manchmal deutlich an ihrer heutigen Position erkennbar, beispielsweise auf dem zwischen 1890 und 1910 datierten Bild des Pietro Lindner aus der Becchetti-Sammlung. Auf anderen Aufnahmen aus derselben Periode ist sie hingegen nicht sichtbar.⁵⁰

Die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung wäre, dass die Inschrift während der Baumaßnahmen in den Jahren 1899–1900 von der Krypta in das neu eingerichtete Lapidarium in der Vorhalle verlagert wurde (Abb. 5).⁵¹ Dies erfolgte vielleicht noch bevor in der modernen Krypta auch eine große Sammlung von epigraphischen Funden aufgestellt wurde.⁵² Die byzantinische Grabinschrift des Theodorus erhielt eine prominente Stelle rechts neben dem Haupteingang, möglicherweise aufgrund ihrer ästhetischen Qualitäten als längste, größte und besterhaltene Inschrift der vorkarolingischen Zeit. Für den gebildeten Besucher bildet(e) die Inschrift gleichzeitig eine aussagekräftige Erinnerung an die frühchristliche Titelkirche der Hl. Cäcilia sowie ein Zeuge der Kontinuität in (religiöser)

Funktion und Bedeutung zwischen jener Titelkirche und der heutigen modernen Basilika. Die Artefaktbiographie der Inschrift, wie oben angeführt, widerspiegelt die verschiedenen baugeschichtlichen Verwandlungen der S. Cecilia in ihrer Gesamtheit. Die die ewige Stadt kennzeichnende fortwährende Kontinuität der Monumente der Geschichte, die durchaus auf die des klassischen Altertums bezogen wird, ist also vielleicht stärker in den des frühchristlichen Altertums präsent, wie die Grabinschrift des Theodorus veranschaulicht.

Abschließend ist festzuhalten, dass die Grabinschrift des Theodorus durch eine genauere Analyse des Textes und die Rekonstruktion ihrer Anbringungsorte in verschiedenen Aspekten neu gedeutet werden konnte. Der in der Inschrift erwähnte *filius eius Theodoraci* ist demzufolge eher als Enkel des Theodorus statt sein Sohn zu verstehen und die Inschrift kann mit Sicherheit in den August 619 datiert werden. Bezüglich des Nachlebens dieses Monuments sei anzumerken, dass wir über vergleichsweise sehr ausführliche Belege verfügen, anhand derer nachvollzogen werden kann, wie das Monument über Jahrhunderte hinweg eine Erinnerung an die frühchristliche Kirche darstellte. Möglicherweise wären anhand gründlicher Archivuntersuchungen und bauhistorischer Forschungen weitere Erkenntnisse, vor allem für die letzten Jahrhunderte, zu gewinnen.

Notes

* Dieser Aufsatz sei Sible de Blaauw in tiefer Dankbarkeit gewidmet, da er uns in das faszinierende Studium des Fortlebens und der Erinnerung an das klassische und christliche Altertum im mittelalterlichen Rom eingeführt hat. An dieser Stelle möchten wir uns ferner gerne bei Ton Derks und Bernard Stolte für die wertvollen Hinweise zu einer früheren Version dieses Aufsatzes bedanken sowie bei Stefan Ardeleanu und Silvio Roggo für ihre Anmerkungen und Sprachkorrektur.

1 Vgl. Tomaso Montanari: Una nuova fonte per l'invenzione del corpo di Santa Cecilia. Testimoni oculari, immagini e dubbi. In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (2005), S. 149–65.

2 Siehe neulich Tobias Kämpf: *Archäologie offenbart, Cäciliens römisches Kultbild im Blick einer Epoche*. Leiden, Boston 2015.

3 Vgl. Martine Gosselin: The congregation of the oratorians and the origins of Christian archaeology. A reappraisal. In: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 104 (2009), S. 471–93.

4 Vgl. Ingo Herklotz: Christliche und klassische Archäologie im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Skizzen zur Genese einer Wissenschaft. In: *Die Gegenwart des Altertums. Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*. Hg. von Dieter Kuhn und Helga Stahl. Heidelberg 2001, S. 291–307.

5 Siehe unten für die genaue Datierung und ihre Begründung. Bezüglich des Fotos sei hier aufgemerkt, dass unseres Bild die Lage vor Ort getreu wiederzugeben versucht und dass deshalb der Text der Inschrift auf dem Bild nicht vollständig nachzuvollziehen ist, da die Beleuchtung in der Narthex der S. Cecilia mangelhaft ist. Siehe die Werke in Anmerkung 8 für besseres Bildmaterial.

- 6 Vgl. Neda Parmegiani und Alberto Pronti: *S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Nuovi scavi e ricerche*. Vatikanstadt 2004 (Monumenta di Antichità Cristiana 16), S. 6: ‚Non si hanno informazioni né sulla provenienza, né sulla modalità di rinvenimento‘.
- 7 Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad annum 618. Weil die erste römische Ausgabe leider nicht konsultiert werden konnte, haben wir der fast gleichzeitig erschienenen und vom Verfasser korrigierten, ersten Antwerper Ausgabe (Ex officina Christophori Plantini) nachgeschlagen. Cf. Caesar Baronius: *Annales ecclesiastici*. 12 Bde. Antwerp 1587-1609, Bd. VIII (1600), S. 252. Ungefähr gleichzeitig erwähnt auch Antonio Bosio die Inschrift in seiner *Historia passionis b. Caeciliae virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi martyrum, necnon Urbani et Lucii pontificum et mart. vitae, atque Paschalis papae I. literae de eorundem Sanctorum corporum inventione et in Urbem translatione*. Rom 1600, S. 142-43.
- 8 Der Text wird nach Baronio wiedergegeben in Giacomo Laderchi: *S. Caeciliae Virginis, et Martyris Acta, et Transtiberina Basilica Seculorum singulorum Monumentis asserta, ac illustrata*. Rom 1723, Bd. 1, S. 177-78, Antonio Maria Lupi: *Dissertatio et animadversiones ad nuper inventum Severae martyris epitaphium*. Palermo 1734, S. 25; Ludovico Angolo Muratori: *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum, In Praecipuis Earundem Collectionibus Hactenus Praetermissarum*. 4 Bde. Mediolani 1739-42, Bd. III (1740), S. 432, Nr. 2; *Cassiodori Senatoris Variarum*. Hg. von Theodor Mommsen. Berolini 1894 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum 12), S. xxiv; Orazio Marucchi: *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne III. Basiliques et églises de Rome*. Paris 1909, S. 190; Ottorino Bertolini: *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi*. Bologna 1941 (Storia di Roma 9), Taf. xii (I); *Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc exstant* (hinfort MEC). Hg. von Andrea Silvagni. 4 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1943-, Bd. I (1943), Taf. xii, Nr. 2; *Christiana loca. Lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio*. Hg. von Letizia Pani Ermini. 2 Bde. Rom 2000, Bd. II, S. 190 (mit italienischer Übersetzung); Parmegiani und Pronti, *S. Cecilia*, S. 6-7; Neda Parmegiani und Alberto Pronti: ‚Il ‚titulus Sanctae Caeciliae‘ e il suo battistero. In: *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*. Hg. von Carlo La Bella. Rom 2007, S. 41-56, hier S. 42; Caroline Goodson: *The Rome of Pope Paschal I. Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-24*. Cambridge 2010, S. 95, Anm. 53, die den Text nach Marucchi zitiert und *AV* in *Z*. 4 als *v(i)v(o)* interpretiert; Paola Guerrini: Seppellire in urbe. Il contesto di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere a Roma. In: *Temporis Signa* 5 (2010), S. 149-73, hier S. 171-72.
- 9 Da Arnold H. M. Jones, John R. Martindale und John Morris: *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (hinfort PLRE), 3 Bde. Cambridge 1971-92, Bd. II (1980) und III (1992), keine Belege für den Namen *Theodoracus* führen, haben wir uns hier für den Namen *Theodoracius* als den richtigen entschieden, weil dieser mehrmals in der PLRE aufgelistet ist (PLRE II *Theodoracius* 1, 2, S. 1085; PLRE IIIa *Theodoracius* 1, 2, 3, S. 1242). So auch bereits Lupi, *Dissertatio*, S. 25.
- 10 Vgl. Charles Diehl: *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne (568-751)*. Paris 1888, S. 278 und Andrew J. Ekonomou: *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes. Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752*. Lanham [u.a.] 2007, S. 43.
- 11 Siehe Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus*, III, S. 432, Nr. 2, und unten.
- 12 Siehe dazu Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, S. 44: ‚[...] the adjective *Vizanteus* is indeed remarkable since it represents a rare use of this word by Easterners in early seventh century Rome to describe themselves not simply as Greeks but as Byzantines‘.
- 13 Die Tatsache, dass die Bezeichnung *nepos* hier nicht verwendet wird, wäre vielleicht dadurch zu erklären, dass der Stifter der Inschrift die Rolle des Theodoracius als Vater des verstorbenen Enkels hervorheben wollte.
- 14 Vgl. Luca Cardin: *Epigrafia a Roma nel primo medioevo (secoli IV-X). Modelli grafici e tipologie d'uso*. Rom 2008, S. 21-22.
- 15 Vgl. Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 160-61 und Fig. 6; In *Sacra via. Giacomo Boni al Foro Romano. Gli scavi nei documenti della Soprintendenza*. Hg. von Patrizia Fortini und Miriam Taviani. Mailand 2004, S. 225, Fig. 59.
- 16 Wir danken Ingo Herklotz für diesen Vorschlag.
- 17 Vgl. Marucchi, *Éléments*, S. 443; Richard Krautheimer [u.a.]: *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)*. 5 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1937-77, Bd. I (1937), S. 96.
- 18 Siehe *Christiana loca*, S. 190; Parmegiani und Pronti, *S. Cecilia*, S. 6-7. Vgl. dazu auch Letizia Pani Ermini: *Forma Urbis. Lo spazio urbano tra VI e IX secolo*. In: *Roma nell'alto medioevo*. Spoleto 2001, Bd. I, S. 255-323, hier S. 283, Anm. 85, wo Pani Ermini diese Jahreszahl wohl als etablierte Datierung erwähnt.
- 19 Siehe zudem Parmegiani und Pronti, *Titulus*, S. 42; Goodson, *Rome*, S. 95; Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 163 und 171.
- 20 Vgl. Parmegiani und Pronti, *S. Cecilia*, S. 6, Anm. 36, die auf MEC, I, Taf. XII, Nr. 2 verweisen.
- 21 Baronio, *Annales*, VIII, S. 251-52, vielleicht aufgrund des chronologischen Fehlers in der Chronographie des Theophanes Confessor. Siehe John F. Haldon: *Byzantium in the seventh century. The transformation of a culture*. Cambridge 1990, S. xvii. Die Jahreszahl 619 erwähnen bereits Bosio, *Historia*, S. 143: ‚Quod accidit Anno Christi DCXIX. ut scribit Honuphris in fastis.‘ und Laderchi, *S. Caeciliae*, I, S. 177.
- 22 Vgl. dazu Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus*, S. cdxxxiii; *Cassiodori Senatoris*, S. xxiv; nur bei Diehl, *Études*, S. 278, Anm. 4; Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, S. 43; Walter Koch: Die epigraphische Schriftentwicklung

- in Rom – Die Zeit des Mittelalters. In: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 60 (2014), S. 219–52, hier S. 222.
- 23 Vgl. Hermann Grotefend: *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Hannover 1902, S. 134.
- 24 Siehe PLRE IIIa *Heraclius* 4, S. 587.
- 25 Parmegiani und Pronti, *S. Cecilia*, S. 7 (unsere Kurvierung).
- 26 Jan Willem Drijvers: *Heraclius and the Restitutio Crucis. Notes on Symbolism and Ideology*. In: *The Reign of Heraclius (610–41). Crisis and Confrontation*. Hg. von Gerrit J. Reinink und Bernard H. Stolte. Leuven, Paris, Dudley MA 2002 (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 2), S. 175–90, hier S. 182.
- 27 Vgl. PLRE IIIa *Heraklonas*, S. 587–88.
- 28 PLRE IIIa *Constantinus* 38, S. 349–51.
- 29 Der Name ‚der neue Konstantin‘ ist auch noch in drei anderen Inschriften für Heraclius und Konstantin III belegt, zwei aus Smyrna, eine aus Ephesos, siehe dazu Henri Grégoire: *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Amsterdam 1968 [zuerst 1922], Bd. 1, S. 21–22, 40, Kat. Nr. 79–80, 113.
- 30 Siehe z.B. den Umschlag des Sammelbandes *The Reign of Heraclius* von Reinink und Stolte und Walter E. Kaegi: *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge 2006, S. 60, Fig. 2 sowie S. 90, Fig. 3.
- 31 Mommsen nennt in *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae* die Wörter *et filius* [...] *idus Octoris* ‚(verba) interpolata non suo loco‘ und bezieht auch die zweite Erwähnung der siebten Indiktion in Z. 9 auf die Bestattung des Theodoros: ‚solita [...] huius aetatis perturbatione verba indictione septima bis posita sunt‘ (*Cassiodori Senatoris*, S. xxiv). Unserer Meinung nach braucht man nicht so weit zu gehen. Sicher ist aber, dass mit der Syntax der Inschrift einigermaßen locker umgegangen werden muss.
- 32 Die Jahreszahlen sind auf Kaegi, *Heraclius*, S. 324 basiert.
- 33 Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 162–63, versteht ‚rei publicae iudicum‘ irrtümlicherweise als Nominativ mit Bezug auf Theodoros selbst; ähnlich Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, S. 43.
- 34 Mit der Ausnahme der Benennung des Theodoros als *vir clarissimus*, die auf eine hohe Position hindeutet, und seiner Bekanntheit mit den *iudicibus* fehlen weitere Ämterbezeichnungen.
- 35 Vgl. Koch, Schriftentwicklung, S. 222: ‚In der letzten Zeile erinnert der über der Mitte gebrochene Schaft des L (für die Zahl 50) an frühchristliche Inschriften‘. Prof. Herklotz schlägt *per litteras* vor, dass das Monument für ein Kind das nur wenige Monate alt geworden war, an die Praxis der Katakomben erinnern könnte.
- 36 Frühbyzantinischer Antiquarismus wird derzeit von Raf Praet und Panagiotis Manafis (Gent, Belgien) neu untersucht; vgl. Athanasios Markopoulos: *Roman Antiquarianism. Aspects of the Roman Past in the Middle Byzantine Period (9th–11th centuries)*. In: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Hg. von Elizabeth Jeffreys. 3 Bde. London 2006, Bd. 1, S. 277–98.
- 37 Vgl. Andreas N. Stratos: *Byzantium in the seventh century*. 5 Bde. Amsterdam 1968–80, Bd. 1 (1968), S. 602–34 (Übers. von Ogilvie-Grant auf S. 121) Siehe ferner Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, S. 63.
- 38 Vgl. PLRE IIIa *Eleutherios*, S. 436; Stratos, S. 121–22.
- 39 Siehe Baronio, *Annales*, VIII, S. 251: ‚[inscriptio] quam in Confessione ecclesiae sanctae Caeciliae [...] positam legimus hisce verbis‘, worauf die Transkription der Inschrift folgt. Vgl. Bosio, S. 142: ‚In antiquo etiam epitaphio, quod est in Confessione eiusdem Ecclesiae‘.
- 40 Siehe Sible de Blaauw: *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, 2 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1994, Bd II, S. 530–48; Sible de Blaauw: Die Krypta in stadtrömischen Kirchen. Abbild eines Pilgerziels. In: *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 22–28. 9. 1991*. 2 Bde. Münster 1995, Bd 1, S. 559–67; Caroline Goodson: *Material memory. Rebuilding the Basilica of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome*. In: *Early Medieval Europe* 15, 1 (2007), S. 2–34, hier S. 22–24.
- 41 Dies wurde für die Inschriften in der Krypta in Allgemeinen auch von Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 156 vorgeschlagen. Zu den Baumaßnahmen des Sfondrato siehe Emma Stirrup: *Time Concertinaed at the Altar of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*. In: *Rome. Continuing Encounters Between Past and Present*. Hg. von Dorigen Caldwell und Lesley Caldwell. Farnham 2011, S. 57–78, bes. S. 65.
- 42 In der modernen archäologischen Krypta der S. Cecilia ist noch eine andere Inschrift mit Kreuzfiguren erhalten geblieben, die vermutlich ebenfalls ursprünglich in der S. Cecilia angebracht wurde, und deren Kreuzfiguren auch ausgeritzt worden sind. Vgl. *MEC*, Taf. XXXVI, Nr. 2 und Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 164, 172–73.
- 43 Diese und andere erklärungsbedürftigen Einzelheiten der Inschrift, wie die kuriose Bezeichnung des Theodoros als *Vizanteus*, möchten wir in einem anderen, die hiesigen Ergebnisse fortführenden Aufsatz gerne weiter erörtern.
- 44 Gordon McN. Rushforth: *The Church of S. Maria Antiqua*. In: *Papers of the British School in Rome* 1 (1902), S. 1–119, hier S. 18–19 merkt an, dass ‚Iconoclasm [...] must have left things in Rome much as they were.‘ Neuere Studien wie die des Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. Philadelphia 2009, machen keine Aussage zu den Folgen des Ikonoklasmus in Rom. Für eine Übersicht siehe S. 116–34, mit der päpstlichen Exkommunikation der Ikonoklasten auf S. 118–19, sowie den Aufsatz von Charles B. McClendon: *Old Saint Peter's and the Iconoclastic Controversy*. In: *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*. Hg. von Rosamond McKitterick [u.a.]. Cam-

- bridge 2013, S. 214–28. Zugegeben, das Kreuz war gerade das Symbol, gegen dessen Verehrung sich die Ikonoklasten sich nicht richteten, obwohl es auch hier anscheinend Ausnahmen gäbe (André Grabar. *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Le dossier archéologique*. Paris 1984, S. 154, Anm. 42).
- 45 Vgl. McClendon, *Old Saint Peter's*, S. 222–24. Siehe den Beitrag von Nine Miedema und Daniëlle Slootjes in diesem Sammelband.
- 46 Siehe Lupi, *Dissertatio*, S. 24 mit Verweis auf Laderchi, *S. Caeciliae*, I, S. 177 und Pagis spätere Ausgabe Baronios (vgl. noch Cesare Baronio und Antoine Pagi: *Annales ecclesiastici auctore Caesare Baronio [...] una cum critica historico-chronologica P. Antonii Pagii*. 19 Bde. Lucca 1738–46, Bd. XI (1742), S. 171, sowie Baronio, *Annales*, VIII, S. 252.
- 47 Vgl. die Korrektur eines ‚Georgii‘, der sich auf Lupi bezieht, in: Baronio und Pagi, *Annales*, XI, S. 172.
- 48 Vgl. Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 157–58; Carlo La Bella: *Il pavimento e le lastre tombali*. In: *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*. Hg. von Carlo La Bella. Rome 2007, S. 121–24, hier S. 121–22.
- 49 Siehe Patrizia Marchetti: *I restauri dal primo Novecento ad oggi*. In: *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*. Hg. von Carlo La Bella. Rom 2007, S. 201–14, hier S. 201.
- 50 Für das Foto des Pietro Lindner siehe <<http://www.fotografia.iccd.beniculturali.it/index.php?r=collezioni/scheda&id=611981>> [konsultiert 30. Januar 2016]. Die Inschrift ist ferner noch auf einem Foto zu sehen, das von Marchetti in ihren Aufsatz aufgenommen wurde (S. 201), vermutlich aber fälschlicherweise ins 19. Jahrhundert anstelle des 20. Jahrhundert datiert worden ist.
- 51 Vgl. Guerrini, Seppellire, S. 154–55, Anm. 22 und S. 158; La Bella, *Pavimento*, S. 121–24, hier S. 122; Marchetti, *Restauri*, S. 201.
- 52 Das würde zudem erklären, warum diese Inschriften, aus der Konfessio stammend, wahrscheinlich vor dem Aufbrechen des Fußbodens im Mittelschiff zusammen mit Grabinschriften späterer Zeit, die in den Fußboden eingefügt worden waren, in die Vorhalle versetzt wurden, während die unter dem Fußboden ausgegrabenen Inschriften in die neue Krypta verbracht wurden.

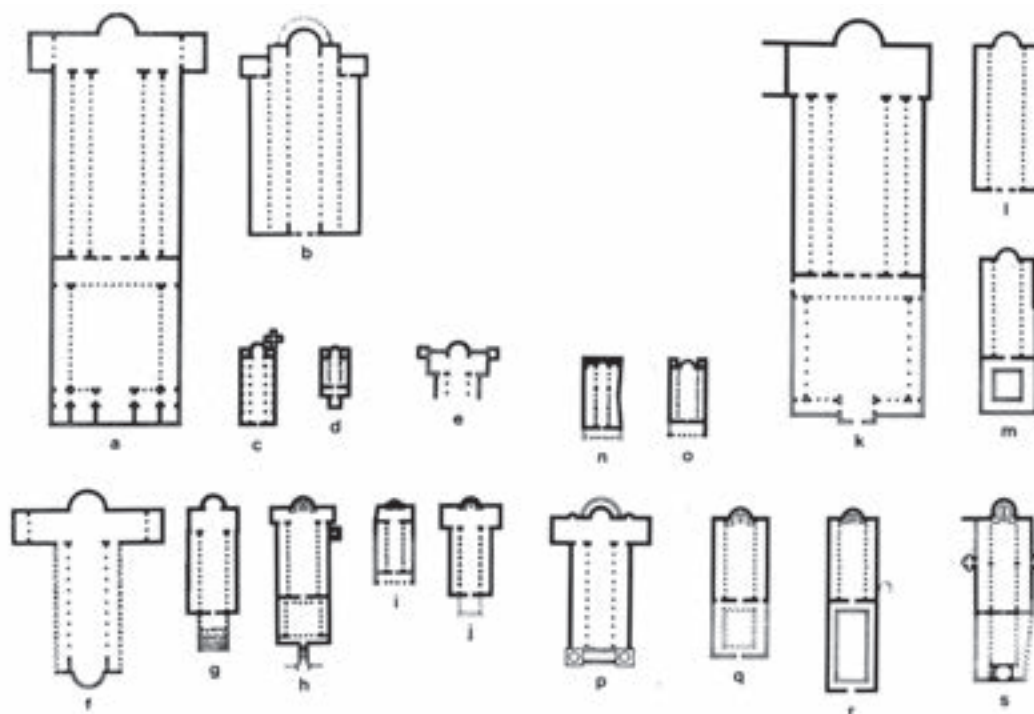
S. GIOVANNI IN LATERANO AND MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCHITECTURAL QUOTATIONS

Lex BOSMAN

The importance of early Christian church architecture in Rome for developments and choices made in medieval religious architecture is a widely recognised phenomenon but every now and then, variations and corrections are made. Some models of interpretation, published by leading experts like Richard Krautheimer, have guided scholars in this fascinating field for years – sometimes even decades. Our awareness of architectural copies, or rather quotations, has grown over the years and this kind of analysis and interpretation is important for our under-

standing of the architectural interaction from early Christian times onwards.

In the literature, both older and more recent publications, on the importance of early Christian architecture for medieval church buildings, it seems to be taken more or less for granted that, of the first churches in Rome erected during the reign and with the generous support of Emperor Constantine, only the Basilica of St Peter was acknowledged as a prototype of early Christian architecture (Fig. 1).¹ However, from the viewpoint of modern architectural history,



Grundrisse im Vergleich: a) Rom, Alt-St.-Peter b) Rom, S. Giovanni in Laterano c) Vienne, St. Pierre d) Aachen, Pfalzkapelle e) St. Denis, Abteikirche f) Fulda, Abteikirche g) Rom, S. Anastasia h) Rom, S. Prassede i) Rom, S. Stefano degli Abessini j) Seligenstadt, Abteikirche k) Rom, S. Paolo (L.m.) l) Rom, S. Maria Maggiore m) Rom, S. Sabina n) Rom, S. Maria in Cosmedin o) Rom, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo p) Hersfeld, Abteikirche q) Rom, S. Martino ai Monti r) Rom, S. Cecilia s) Rom, SS. Quattro Coronati (nach A. Hoffmann)

Fig. 1. Scheme of medieval copies after early Christian churches. From: Krautheimer, *Die karolingische Wiederverbelebung*.

it seems less self-evident to interpret specific features in church architecture in Rome and elsewhere in Europe as the obvious results of the overpowering position of St Peter's. The model of interpretation, mainly based on Richard Krautheimer's attractive line of thought in which the architecture and specific features of St Peter's in Rome were considered as the most important model for many churches, has been revised and challenged in the past fifteen years.

Krautheimer's search for the most specific features by which early Christian church architecture could be distinguished from other Roman buildings led him to study the possible prototype of 'the Constantinian Basilica' and also resulted in the typological distinction between the large basilicas within the walls of Rome and those basilicas which were erected outside the walls and which were characterized by an ambulatory as the continuation of the aisles around the apse, i.e. the 'U-shaped' basilicas.² A real prototype was not found, however, as Krautheimer mentioned in his 1967 article; he stressed the importance of the basilica as the type of building most suited for the function of assembling large groups of people, which was the exact purpose of the Basilica Constantiniana in Rome.

Perhaps the fact that both the Basilica Constantiniana and St Peter's are basilicas built for Christian usage – albeit with rather different functions – has led to the notion that a new architectural programme was launched with both large basilicas. But the construction phases of both church buildings are separated by several years, during which the concept of a Christian church accommodated in a basilica may very well have been developed further than it might have been immediately after Constantine's victory over Maxentius on 28 October 312. The decision to build the Basilica Constantiniana was of major importance, but in the period of construction and the years that followed, the basilica was, first and foremost, important to the Christian community of Rome, and consequently to the Christian Church of Rome, as an organization. For the Christians outside Rome, the Basilica Constantiniana had not yet any specific meaning. With the construction of

the church, an immensely significant first step was made for the bishop of Rome and his Christian community, but it was only a first step, in a period of varying and often conflicting interests in the religious and political domains. It is no longer believed that the position of the Basilica Constantiniana close to the wall instead of in the old centre of Rome was largely decided by considerations to avoid stepping on pagan toes, as Richard Krautheimer and others have argued.

However attractive that thought may have been, more recent research has shown that the location at the Lateran was much more important than scholars thought it had been.³ The area where the new basilica for the Christian religion arose had already been of imperial importance since the late second century, when Septimius Severus ordered the building of the *Castra Nova* for the *Equites singulares* on that spot. Moreover, not far from this *Castra*, the area of the *Horti Spei veteris* had been turned into an imperial area with a palace complex, the *Palatium Sessorianum*. The scholarly model to interpret the urban positions of Christianity, of contrasting the centre and periphery, is no longer suitable for helping to understand the urban developments of Rome in the early fourth century when Christianity started to become a factor of importance. Nor does the suggested contrast between a pagan city centre and a Christian periphery help to understand the choice for specific building activities during the reign of Constantine.

The imperial cult of Constantine became located in the periphery of Rome, so it made sense to have the imperial military association of the larger area to which the Lateran belonged replaced with an imperial religious association, religious as Christian in this case, closely connected to Constantine.⁴ By building the large church for the bishop of Rome, Constantine helped to achieve several major aims: to provide the Christian community of Rome with an edifice worthy of being a church, to strengthen the imperial cult and to reinforce its association with Christianity, and to begin to erase the obvious military presence and the associated memory of his former opponent Maxentius in this part of Rome. In the light of later developments in Christianity and in Christian architecture, the

absence of previous religious buildings at this location is of vital importance; closely connected to this is the obvious next question: how the Christian element has been incorporated into, or attached to, a building of a typologically neutral origin, a basilica?

Without changing the architecture of the building type basilica itself, the use of the Basilica Constantiniana for the Christian cult advanced the transition of the basilica into a building which would be understood as a Christian building. For decades, architectural historians used the term 'Christian basilica', thereby implicitly suggesting that the basilica as a building type underwent such serious changes that a new type was developed: a Christian basilica. Since Christern made some enlightening observations about this, it is now preferable to speak of the 'church basilica', pointing to the use of the building type basilica.⁵ But of course, this

basilica was different from other examples, not so much in its structural layout, but in several other elements.

Unlike most basilicas in the centre of Rome, the Basilica Constantiniana lacked striking exterior decoration; the attention was focused on the interior instead. Inside, the richness of the materials used for both structural and decorative elements was the result of deliberate choices, to express the highest level possible: the level of Emperor Constantine and of the Christian God. The longitudinal axis was emphasized by the two rows of 19 red granite columns of the nave, and this rich material was balanced in the side-aisles by the two arcades of 21 columns of *verde antico* marble; the four bronze columns of the *fastigium* and the large silver statues supported by this structure sparkled in the light, and the gilded roof of the church covering this interior surely added to the experience of richness and

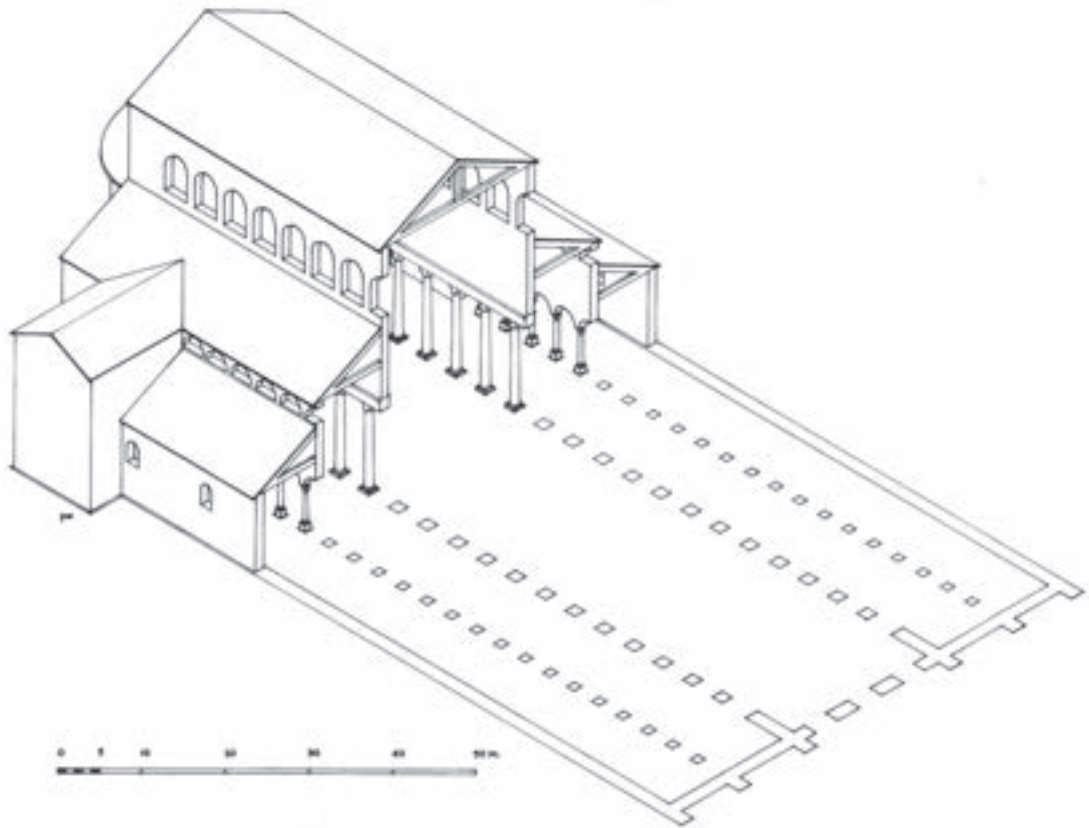


Fig. 2. Krautheimer's reconstruction of S. Giovanni in Laterano, drawing by Patricia Waddy. From: Krautheimer, *Constantinian Basilica*.

the divine nature of this church. So the typology of the basilica was never at stake here, since no real choice had been made for this kind of building; it was simply the most obvious kind of building to use.⁶

However, the apparent deliberate positioning of the basilica on the east-west axis is a specific element marking the distinction between a Christian and a non-Christian building, which was further underlined by the internal axis leading to the main altar in the west and the apse behind the main altar. As Sible de Blaauw has stated in several publications, the Christianization of the basilica space was mostly a matter of modification of the internal space of an otherwise neutral building type by means of the east-west axis, the liturgical arrangement and the iconographic programme.⁷

Once the Basilica Constantiniana was finished, the building must have had quite an impact on visitors, both those who belonged to the Christian community of Rome and those who found themselves in this part of Rome for other reasons; they could hardly have missed this large structure, the proportions of which certainly drew everyone's gaze to this basilica, a basilica that is a building type with no Christian connotation, which was made Christian by its use and its interior decoration and liturgical outfitting. The architectural structure of the building showed no elements that can be called very specific, apart from perhaps the L-shaped spaces on either side of the main altar, in the area where the transept was to be built around 1290. Although Krautheimer described these spaces as 'projecting aisle-transepts', the reference to a transept is misleading.⁸ The fourth-century basilica did not show a crossing of directions in its architecture, since the only direction was the longitudinal one resulting from the position of the basilica on the east-west axis (Fig. 2).

When the Church of St Peter was built several years later, some important new features were included in the architecture, which was based on the same kind of basilica ground-plan as the Basilica Constantiniana. Similarly to the Basilica Constantiniana, St Peter's had a nave and four side-aisles. The main east-west axis, however, was met by the north-south axis of a transept,

which stood out both as an exterior element and in the interior. This transept marked another crucial element which set St Peter's apart from the bishop of Rome's church: the sepulchre of the apostle Peter. No previous Christian building on this location had marked the place where the Church of St Peter was erected, but the supposed presence of the tomb of the apostle Peter which had prompted the building of a modest monument is a fundamental difference with the Basilica Constantiniana: the place of the Apostle's sepulchre sanctified the position of the large basilica probably more than anything else.

It remains a matter of debate how these differences in the architecture of the two large church basilicas should be explained. Whether or not Constantine embarked on a programme following his victory over Maxentius, the differences between the first two basilicas for Christians are the result of the specific choices made, even though the differences may not at all have been intended.⁹ In Rome, in the next few centuries, neither of these two church basilicas was viewed as a major architectural example of which specific features should be quoted and inserted in a building project of a new church basilica. Churches like S. Maria Maggiore, S. Clemente, S. Sabina, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura or S. Agnese fuori le mura are all variants of the basilica, the last two with galleries above the side-aisles, but the specific element of the transept of St Peter's is lacking.

Several hundred years passed before the architecture of other church buildings in Rome and elsewhere in Europe started to refer directly to examples in Rome, and by then, the position of St Peter's had gained in importance at the expense of S. Giovanni in Laterano, as the church became known. Where the Lateran developed as the commonly accepted seat of the papal administration and as the place where popes were chosen, the development of the cult of Peter gradually became ever more important. Initially, however, it was the location within the walls of Rome that gave more weight to the Lateran, for instance, when in the fifth century rivalling popes or papal candidates felt it necessary to be able to enter the Lateran to be fully recognized in their papal function.¹⁰

The importance of the Lateran as the place necessary to legitimize the position and rights of a pope is shown by many historical events. Elements of the Lateran were imitated or copied in and near St Peter's by Pope Symmachus (498–514) during the time he was denied access to the city, which clearly demonstrates the importance of the Lateran in the recognition of a pope.¹¹ But as the cult of saints and their relics grew in importance, the absence of a saint's grave at the Lateran, gradually but undeniably, began to undermine the position of S. Giovanni in Laterano (first Basilica Constantiniana, then Basilica Salvatoris, later still S. Giovanni in Laterano). This development may be reflected by the building activity in the palace area of the Lateran, which seems to have been of more importance to several popes than the church itself.¹²

Apparently, the basilica continued to function well and therefore was not subjected to important architectural modifications, with one exception. The thirteenth-century ambulatory built under Pope Nicolas IV most likely followed an earlier structure, which may very well be dated to the pontificate of Leo I (440–61) (Fig. 3).¹³ The use of an ambulatory was not a completely new feature in the architecture of early Christianity in Rome, however. In the first half of the fifth century, the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore was constructed with an ambulatory around and opened towards the apse.¹⁴ Before that time, the 'U-shaped' basilicas already had ambulatories which distinguished them from other basilicas.¹⁵ In the case of S. Giovanni in Laterano, the ambulatory seems to have functioned primarily as a passageway to and from the baptistery. Could this ambulatory possibly be considered as a specific architectural element, by means of which the Lateran Basilica expressed its important function? Or perhaps there is another, more appropriate, question: Was S. Giovanni in Laterano considered as such an important religious centre that elsewhere the need was felt to adopt specific architectural features in order to create a strong association with Rome's first cathedral? And if so: was the ambulatory viewed as a specific element to connect a newly built apse and ambulatory to the model of S. Giovanni? Architectural quotations may be valuable indicators

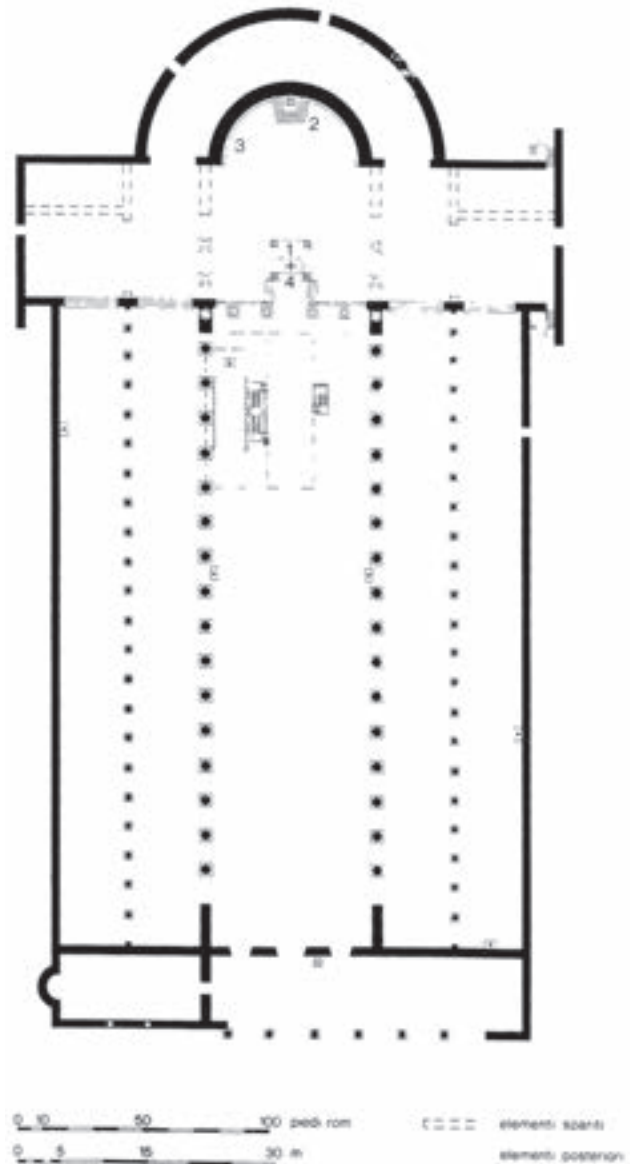


Fig. 3. Plan of S. Giovanni in Laterano with ambulatory and transept. From: De Blaauw, 'Deambulatori'.

for understanding such processes in the use of architecture to express meanings and to manifest ties with specific models.

A few examples of an apse surrounded by an ambulatory do exist from the period between the early fourth and the late eighth century, the earliest of which is probably the basilica in Aquileia which must have been the Basili-

ca Apostolorum, dating from around 500.¹⁶ A fascinating, large basilica was probably built at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century at Lechaion, near Corinth. Here, the eastern part with a transept was most likely designed after the model of Roman St Peter's, whereas in the western part, a variant of an ambulatory arose, perhaps quoting the ambulatory of S. Giovanni. But this part of the building should probably best be interpreted as a half circular atrium instead of an ambulatory.¹⁷

Following the model of Roman S. Giovanni in Laterano more closely is the complex at Bir Ftouha, not far from Carthage in North Africa, constructed in 541–50 (Colour Plate 1). This pilgrimage church contained several tombs in the apse, most likely of saints and martyrs. As at the Lateran, the baptistery was situated behind the apse and the ambulatory may very well have served as the entrance to and from this baptistery; here the apse and the baptistery were located toward the east instead of the west.¹⁸ The architecture of the Basilica Constantiniana was followed, but for rather different purposes, since at Bir Ftouha, a pilgrimage church arose. The apparently well-functioning architecture rather than the specific position and importance of the Basilica Constantiniana gave the impetus to quote its architecture. Still, it has not been accidental that the architecture of a very important Roman church had been chosen to follow.

References to the most important churches of Rome were definitely used in the Plan of St Gall (c. 816–c. 830), as can be easily identified in the plan and the choice for specific altars. On the main axis of the nave, altars for Paul the Apostle, for Mary and the local St Gall, for the Holy Cross, for John and for Peter the Apostle were drawn into the plan, thereby creating the presence of the most important churches of Rome: the Basilicas of St Peter and of S. Paolo fuori le mura, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria Maggiore and S. Croce in Gerusalemme.¹⁹ In this light, the ambulatory surrounding the west apse on the Plan of St Gall is an interesting element, since it resembles the ambulatory of S. Giovanni.

Some of these few examples may have been quoting the ambulatory of the Lateran Basilica,

but the feature of the ambulatory itself also appeared in other basilicas in and outside Rome, of course, narrowing down the likeliness that a deliberate choice was made in all the examples mentioned here to refer to the cathedral of Rome. But it should be noted that in the same period architectural quotations of St Peter's elsewhere in Europe seem to have been very limited as well. Apparently, the demand for the physical and the visible representation of (elements of) a meaningful model had not yet developed as strongly as would be the case from the late eighth century onwards.²⁰ And that is a fascinating element in the development of religious architecture throughout the Middle Ages from the fourth century onwards, since this seems to imply that the identity of a religious community – monastery, cathedral – was not yet associated with an important and famous model in such a way that it should be expressed and communicated with architectural means.

Architectural quotations constitute a very powerful means to secure a place in memory and to render one or more important models present in the church building of another religious community. Several means were available for representing an important cult centre at different places and in different periods, of course, in which a tendency toward more visibility as well as toward a larger physical presence may be recognized. The identity of a specific patron saint for instance could be appropriated and merged with the identity of a religious community or church by way of *memoria* in altars. Meaningful choices were made, as the example of the Plan of St Gall may very well illustrate. Once the cult of relics emerged and began to gain ground generally, the need was felt to obtain relics of saints and martyrs, and apparently gradually stronger visible references to a cult place were felt to be important for religious buildings in Europe. These developments seem to have been crucial in the growing awareness of the importance of specific cult centres in Rome and the demand to incorporate specific Roman cult places in churches elsewhere in Europe, and the translation of these wishes into architectural, i.e. visible, forms of memory.

The initial importance of the Basilica Constantiniana as the rightful place for the bishop of Rome and the place where he should be acknowledged and which was vital to support the bishop's authority began to sink to a level that was of less importance to Christian religious communities elsewhere. To those Christian communities, the specific position and importance of S. Giovanni as the focal point for the popes and their authority probably faded away behind the ever more important workings of relics of martyrs and saints, a development that was taking place in Rome itself as well. The lack of tombs of saints or martyrs at S. Giovanni made this church more or less obsolete when the Christianity of Rome was referred to in church buildings elsewhere: the very reason to create a memory of S. Giovanni elsewhere was far less urgent than the reason to create an architectural memory of the apostles Peter and Paul for instance. In the end, that means that Krautheimer's ideas about this were correct, even though the problem for his readers may have been that he did not explain the position of S. Giovanni in Laterano in the scheme in his article about the Carolingian revival of early Christian architecture. It was the cult of relics, emerging in the fourth century and growing in importance in the following centuries, that turned the position of S. Giovanni in Laterano around regarding its importance for medieval architecture.²¹

In the sacred topography of Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano constituted an indispensable element, crucial for the Christian Church in Rome as well as for pious visitors and pilgrims, but was of far less importance for religious centres elsewhere.²² The church of the bishop of Rome was

and would remain a highly important monument to visit, but it was far less important as a building to memorize elsewhere. The search for possible architectural quotations as visible signs of memory as well as presence of S. Giovanni elsewhere shows that only a few possible quotations of architectural features of the Roman cathedral can be traced, during a phase in history where architectural quotations after early Christian architectural models still had to be developed. Bir Ftouha seems to be the closest to what architectural quotations in the period between *c.* 400 and *c.* 750 could present. Once the tendency to actively incorporate meaningful architectural elements in church buildings elsewhere began to flourish, the cult of relics gained in importance too. These two developments resulted in the position of S. Giovanni inside the scope of importance in general, but outside the demand to represent a Roman early Christian church in architecture elsewhere. Thus it would seem that S. Giovanni in Laterano played only a very minor role as model of early Christian architecture. On the contrary, in S. Giovanni, meaningful elements of other architecture and liturgical arrangements were incorporated in an attempt to keep up with other churches in Rome.²³

In reverse, this development may caution our tendency to search for models and use them to understand early Christian architecture: At S. Giovanni in Laterano, the fourth-century architecture existed without a transept, and nothing is known of the existence of an atrium. In other words: the Basilica Constantiniana of the early fourth century does not completely conform to modern models of early Christian architecture.

Notes

- 1 See for instance Sible de Blaauw, 'Liturgical Features of Roman Churches: Manifestations of the Church of Rome?', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2014), pp. 333-34; Richard Krautheimer, 'Die karolingische Wiederbelebung der frühchristlichen Architektur', in Richard Krautheimer, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur europäischen Kunstgeschichte* (Cologne: Dumont, 1988), pp. 198-276 (first published as 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *The Art Bulletin*, 24 (1942), 1-38).
- 2 Richard Krautheimer, 'The Constantinian Basilica', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), 115-40 (esp. p. 117).
- 3 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 29-31; Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography & Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 28-31; Sible de Blaauw, 'Le origini e gli inizi dell'architettura cristiana', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Da Costantino a Carlo*

- Magno, ed. by Sible de Blaauw, 2 vols (Milan: Electa, 2010), 1, p. 31.
- 4 Steffen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts. n. Chr.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), pp. 82–85, 103–05, 175–77, 212–14, 493–95. Cf. also the article by Jan Willem Drijvers in this volume.
 - 5 Jürgen Christern, ‘Die “Gerichtsbasilika” beim Forum von Tipasa (Neuaufnahme), ihre Funktion und die Frage nach den Vorbildern für den basilikalen Kirchenbau’, in *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. by Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1986), pp. 163–204 (p. 195, n. 81); Dale Kinney, ‘The Church Basilica’, *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 15 (2001), 115–35 (pp. 124–25).
 - 6 Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St Peter’s in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), pp. 54–56, 141–42; Lex Bosman, ‘“Spolia” in the Fourth-Century Basilica’, in *Old St Peter’s, Rome*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 74–76, 78–80; Herman Geertman, ‘Note sul Liber Pontificalis come fonte archeologica’, in Herman Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam: Studi sul Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma da Silvestro a Silverio*, ed. by Sible de Blaauw (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), pp. 80–82 (first published in 1989); Paolo Liverani, ‘“Camerae” e coperture delle basiliche paleocristiane’, in *Atti del colloquio internazionale Il Liber Pontificalis e la storia material. Roma, 21–22 febbraio 2002*, ed. by Herman Geertman (= *Papers of the Netherlands Institute in Rome*, 60–61 (2001–02)), pp. 16–18; Paolo Liverani, ‘Progetto architettonico e percezione comune in età tardoantica’, *Babesch*, 78 (2003), 205–19.
 - 7 Sible de Blaauw, ‘In View of the Light: A Hidden Principle in the Orientation of Early Christian Church Building’, in *Medieval Art*, ed. by Paolo Piva (London: The Folio Society, 2012), pp. 19, 24–25, 37; Sible de Blaauw, ‘Konstantin als Kirchenstifter’, in *Konstantin der Grosse: Geschichte–Archäologie–Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.–15. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Trier*, ed. by Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 2006), pp. 164–65; De Blaauw, *Storia*, pp. 32–35.
 - 8 Krautheimer, ‘Constantinian basilica’, pp. 120, 131. Cf. Sible de Blaauw, ‘Kultgebäude (Kirchenbau)’, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. by Georg Schöllgen and others (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–), xxii (2007), col. 288.
 - 9 On the programme of Constantine, cf. De Blaauw, *Storia*, pp. 28–32; Sible de Blaauw, ‘Erinnerungen als Zeugnisse der Christianisierung Roms’, in *Christianisierung Europas*, ed. by Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáška and others (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012), pp. 151–53.
 - 10 Thomas X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), pp. 211–30; Alan Thacker, ‘Rome: The Pilgrims’ City in the Seventh Century’, in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), p. 110; Steffen Diefenbach, ‘“Urbs und ecclesia” – Bezugspunkte kollektiver Heiligerinnerung im Rom des Bischofs Damasus (366–84)’, in *Rom in der Spätantike: Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*, ed. by Ralf Behrwald and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), pp. 205–08.
 - 11 Mariano Delle Rose, ‘Il patriarcio: note storiche-topografiche’, in *Il Palazzo apostolico Lateranense*, ed. by Carlo Pietrangeli (Florence: Nardini, 1991), pp. 19–22.
 - 12 Manfred Luchterhandt, ‘Päpstlicher Palastbau und höfisches Zeremoniell unter Leo III’, in *799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn. 3 Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1999), pp. 109–22; Franz Alto Bauer, *Das Bild der Stadt Rom im Frühmittelalter: Papststiftungen im Spiegel des Liber Pontificalis von Gregor dem Dritten bis zu Leo dem Dritten* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2004), pp. 61–75.
 - 13 Sible de Blaauw, ‘Deambulatori e transetti: I casi di S. Maria Maggiore e del Laterano’, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 59 (1986–87), 93–110 (pp. 105–06); Paola Mathis, ‘L’antica abside della basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano e la questione del deambulatorio’, *OPUS: Quaderno di storia dell’Architettura e restauro*, 7 (2003), 19–38 (pp. 24–25); Peter Cornelius Claussen, *S. Giovanni in Laterano, Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300*, 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008), pp. 121–29; Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), 1, pp. 219–20; Lex Bosman, ‘Architektur und Zitat: Die Geschichtlichkeit von Bauten aus der Vergangenheit’, in *Architektur als Zitat: Formen, Motive und Strategien der Vergegenwärtigung*, ed. by Heiko Brandl and others (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), pp. 16–18.
 - 14 Herman Geertman, ‘The builders of the *Basilica Maior* in Rome’, in Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam*, pp. 12–13 (first published 1976); De Blaauw, ‘Deambulatori’, pp. 93–103; De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, pp. 350–55, 412. Although I don’t see any reason to doubt the existence of this ambulatory, there is still some debate, cf. Hugo Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2004), p. 179.
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- 16 Paolo Piva, 'Edilizia di culto cristiano a Milano, Aquileia e nell'Italia settentrionale fra IV e VI secolo', in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Da Costantino a Carlo Magno*, ed. by Sible de Blaauw, 2 vols (Milan: Electa, 2010), I, pp. 130–31.
- 17 Richard M. Rothaus, *Corinth: The First City of Greece: An Urban History of Late Antique Cult & Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 96–103; Athanassios Mailis, *The Annexes at the Early Christian Basilicas of Greece (4th–6th c.): Architecture and function* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 88–90, 142, 145. Cf. Bosman, 'Architektur und Zitat', pp. 18–20.
- 18 Susan T. Stevens, Angela V. Kalinowski, and Hans VanderLeest, *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 59 (Portsmouth: JRA, 2005), pp. 540, 545, 548, 561–63.
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- 20 On architectural quotation in the Middle Ages, see Wolfgang Schenkluhn, 'Bemerkungen zum Begriff des Architekturzitats', *Ars*, 41 (2008), 3–12; Bosman, 'Architektur und Zitat'.
- 21 Cf. Charles B. McClendon, *The origins of Medieval Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 23–34.
- 22 Cf. Joseph Dyer, 'Roman Processions of the Major Litany ('litaniae maiores') from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century', in *Roma Felix – Formations and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. by Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol Neumann de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 113–37 (esp. pp. 128–29, 133–36).
- 23 Sible de Blaauw, 'The Lateran and Vatican Altar Dispositions in Medieval Roman Church Interiors: A Case of Models in Church Planning', in *Cinquante années d'études médiévales: A la confluence de nos disciplines. Actes du Colloque à l'occasion du cinquantenaire du CESCUM, Poitiers, 1–4 septembre 2003*, ed. by Claude Arrignon and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 201–17.

NIKOLAUS IV. ALS ERNEUERER VON S. GIOVANNI IN LATERANO UND S. MARIA MAGGIORE IN ROM

Peter Cornelius CLAUSSEN

Kein mittelalterlicher Papst hat es gewagt, die Substanz der großen frühchristlichen Basiliken anzutasten oder ihren Grundriss zu verändern – mit Ausnahme Nikolaus' IV. (1288–92), des ersten Franziskaners auf dem Papstthron. Er hat die Apsiden beider Basiliken innerhalb der Mauern, S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore niedergelegt, die Fassaden modernisiert und die Sanktuarien durch Querhäuser (Abb. 5, 4) erweitert.¹ Er hat es getan, obwohl diese beiden alterwürdigen Bauten durch ihre Gründungslegenden geradezu als materialisierte Wunder sakrosankt erscheinen mussten. In der von Kon-

stantin gegründeten Salvatorkirche (S. Giovanni in Laterano) ist – so die seit ca. 1100 fassbare Legende – bei deren Weihe auf den Mauern ein Salvatorbild vor allem Volk erschienen, das mit der Christusbüste im Apsismosaik gleichgesetzt wird. Noch im 17. Jahrhundert scheute sich Innocenz X. (1644–55), die Außenlinien des durch Silvester und Konstantin geheiligten Baues zu verändern und torpedierte so Erweiterungspläne Borrominis, die immerhin eine Transplantation der alten, für konstantinisch gehaltenen Apsis nach Westen vorgesehen hätten.²



Abb. 1. Rom, S. Maria Maggiore, Fassadenmosaik, Detail: Papst Liberius bezeichnet den Grundriss um das Schneefeld, während sich die Fundamentgruben öffnen, Inschrift: Congregatio – zu ergänzen ist ‚nivis‘. Foto: Archiv des Autors.

Die Gründungslegende von S. Maria Maggiore, die seit dem frühen 13. Jahrhundert enorme Verbreitung fand, besagt, dass es Maria in der Hitze des 5. Augusts punktuell auf dem Esquilinhügel habe schneien lassen, um damit den Bauplatz ihrer Kirche zu bezeichnen. Im Traum hatte sie dies dem Stifter, Johannes Patritius, und Papst Liberius angekündigt. Die Fundamentgräben öffneten sich entlang des Schneesaums von selbst, als der Papst den Bauplatz markierte (Abb. 1). Damit ist der Kontur des Grundrisses selbst Teil des Wunders, durch Maria als göttliche Architektin festgelegt. Daran zu rütteln und derartig aufgeladene Orte in eine Baustelle zu verwandeln, war vermutlich alles andere als selbstverständlich.

Beide Erneuerungen hat Nikolaus IV. seit seiner Amtseinführung mit großer Energie betrieben, wobei er mit Kardinal Jacopo Colonna einen mächtigen und vermögenden Mitstreiter hatte; beide Projekte weisen erstaunliche Par-

allelen auf. Man könnte von einem perfekten Gleichtakt sprechen, wenn nicht durch die datierten Stifterinschriften in den neuen Apsiden deutlich würde, dass die Arbeiten und die Fertigstellung zeitversetzt geschahen, die in S. Giovanni (datiert 1291) gingen denen in der Marienbasilika (datiert 1296) um einige Jahre voraus.

Neue Apsiden, Querhäuser und Fassaden

Es wurden jeweils die frühchristlichen Apsiden abgerissen und nach ähnlichem Plan, innen rund, außen polygonal, neu aufgebaut und mit Mosaiken versehen (Abb. 2, 3, 5, 7 und 8), wobei man in der Laterankirche das Mosaik der Salvatorbüste aus der konstantinischen Apsis (in einer Travertinkassette!) barg und dem Mosaik in der neuen Apsis Nikolaus' IV. einfügte.³ In beiden Werkstätten hatte Iacopo Torriti die Leitung über die Mosaikarbeiten. In beiden Apsismosaiken stellte sich Nikolaus IV. in den Schutz des



Abb. 2. Rom, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Westseite vor dem Abriss von Umgang und Apsis Nikolaus' IV, Situation ca. 1876. Quelle: Lauer, *Palais de Latran*, Foto BH, U.Pl. D 37031.

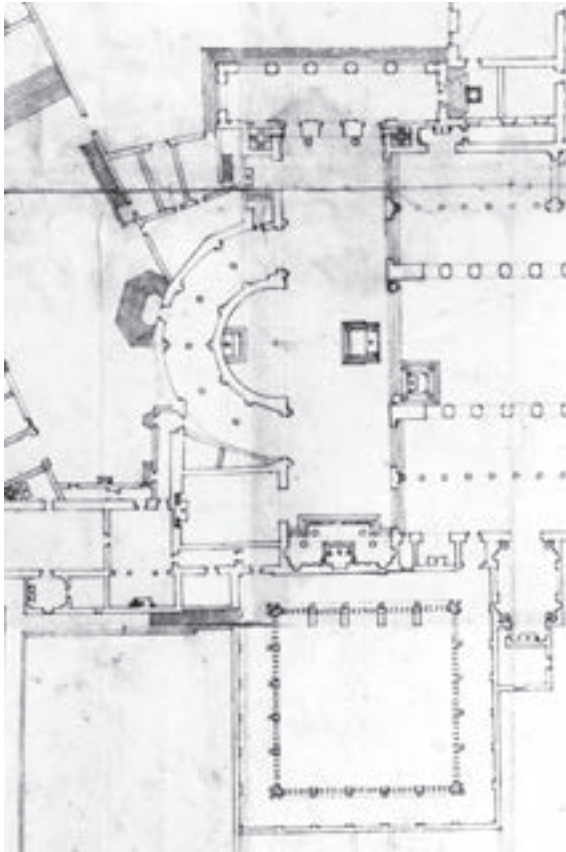


Abb. 3. Grundriss des Querhauses und der westlichen Teile der Basilika S. Giovanni in Laterano, Ausschnitt nach Albertina IT AZ Rom 373a. Quelle: Albertina.

Franziskus. Beide Basiliken bekamen ein Querhaus. Das von S. Giovanni erweiterte die seit konstantinischer Zeit bestehenden Querflügel⁴ (Abb. 6) und schuf so einen geräumigen Kubus (Abb. 5) mit einer eigenen, der Stadt zugewandten Fassade und zwei Türmen im Norden (Bauzeit bis ins frühe 14. Jahrhundert). Um die Apsis wurde ein Umgang gelegt (Abb. 2), von dem Sible de Blaauw und Paola Mathis mit guten Gründen annehmen, er habe einen zuvor bestehenden ersetzt.⁵

In S. Maria Maggiore gab es bis 1290 möglicherweise einen Apsisumgang, aber keinerlei Querhaus. Um Platz für ein solches zu schaffen, musste die Apsis nach Westen verschoben werden, wenn man nicht das Langhaus verkürzen wollte. Der so gewonnene Raum (Abb. 4) ist ebenso hoch wie das Langhaus, aber auffallend

eng. Schließlich wurden die jeweiligen Fassaden beider Basiliken in den oberen Teilen abgebaut und neu hochgeführt, wobei sie außen mit Mosaiken geschmückt wurden. Zu den Übereinstimmungen müssen noch in beiden Kirchen je ein Paar monumentaler Inschrifttafeln mit inkrustierten Mosaikzeilen gerechnet werden, die ursprünglich wohl im Sanktuariumsbereich auf die Rolle Nikolaus' IV. als Stifter, auf Legenden, Reliquien und Indulgentien aufmerksam machten.⁶

Die Frage ist, wie die Erneuerungsarbeiten motiviert waren. Sind sie eine Aktualisierung, um die Basilika dem Standard römischen Kirchenbaus anzunähern? Sind sie eine durch liturgische Funktionen bedingte Notwendigkeit? Oder ist, wie uns die Stifterinschriften in den Apsiden versichern, die Baufälligkeit der Vorgängerarchitekturen Grund genug? Gegen solche funktionale Gründe, die sicher eine Rolle spielen, könnte man das Selbstbewusstsein des Franziskaners als tieferen Grund anführen, der sich in die Nachfolge jenes Franziskus sah, den Innocenz III. (1198–1216) als Stütz- und Eckpfeiler der wankenden Papstkirche erträumt hatte:⁷ als Erneuerer der Kirche oder wenigstens ihrer altgewordenen Mauern. Auffällig ist jedenfalls, dass an beiden römischen Basiliken franziskanische Baumeister und Künstler zum Zuge kamen.

Warum waren Querhäuser so wichtig? Die dornige Frage nach der Funktion von Querhäusern allgemein lässt sich nicht eindeutig beantworten, noch weniger, was sie um 1290 so dringlich machten. Ihre Arme wurden in verschiedenen Jahrhunderten, je nach der Öffentlichkeit der kirchlichen Institution oder örtlicher Tradition, unterschiedlich genutzt. In den Kirchen des Nordens sind sie in der Regel von den Seitenschiffen aus frei zugänglich, während sich die Kapitel in Chor und Vierung separierten. In Rom, Mittel- und Süditalien ist der Querhausbereich hochmittelalterlicher Kirchen dagegen meistens und besonders in den gewesteten Kirchen erhöht und vom Langhaus durch eine Stufenfolge und Schranken getrennt. Ob man die Arme deshalb als Erweiterung des Sanktuariums ansehen kann, wäre zu diskutieren. Was erreicht wurde, ist zumindest eine



Abb. 4. Rom, S. Maria Maggiore, Blick in den südlichen Querhausarm nach der Freilegung der Fresken in 1928–31. Foto: Vaticano Nr. XV-10–25.



Abb. 5. Rom, S. Giovanni in Laterano. Blick in das Querhaus nach Süden. Foto: Archiv des Autors.

potentielle Erweiterung der Altarplätze und Platz für privilegierte Bestattungen. Eine liturgische Notwendigkeit bestand aber wohl nicht, eher hat bei der Verbreitung die Symbolik der Kreuzform eine Rolle gespielt, obwohl gerade im römischen Bereich Querhäuser den Kontur der äußeren Seitenschiffe nur selten überschreiten.⁸ In S. Maria Maggiore ist man bis 1290 ganz ohne Querhaus ausgekommen.

S. Giovanni in Laterano: Die Querhausfrage

Sible de Blaauw hat die Frage nach den Umständen und dem Entstehungszeitraum des Querhauses von S. Giovanni in Laterano aufgeworfen und unterschiedlich beantwortet. Zunächst ging er davon aus, dass das Querhaus (Abb. 3, 2 und 5) in der Zeit der Reformbemühungen des Laterankapitels im 12. Jahrhundert entstand. Gerhoch von Reichersberg habe 1152

darauf angespielt, wenn er die Bemühungen des Kapitels (und des von S. Croce in Jerusalem und S. Maria Nova) lobt, im Glauben gewachsen zu sein und das mit dem Wachsen der Mauern der Kirche verknüpft.⁹ Diese historisch bestechende These hat er allerdings revidiert. Das bestehende Querhaus ist nach dem Mauerwerk des Ziegelverbandes und der Ornamentik der aufwändigen Traufgesimse zu urteilen, eindeutig ein Werk des ausgehenden 13. Jahrhunderts.¹⁰ Trotzdem wird Sible de Blaauw mit der Vermutung Recht haben, dass im 12. Jahrhundert nicht nur für Konventsbauten, sondern auch im späteren Querhausbereich Mauern hochgezogen wurden. Es kann sehr gut sein, dass man die ursprünglich niedrigen konstantinischen Flügelanbauten (Abb. 6) im frühen 12. Jahrhundert aufgestockt und so ein schmales Querhaus in den Linien des konstantinischen Baues erreicht hat.¹¹ Ein solches hätte nach Wes-

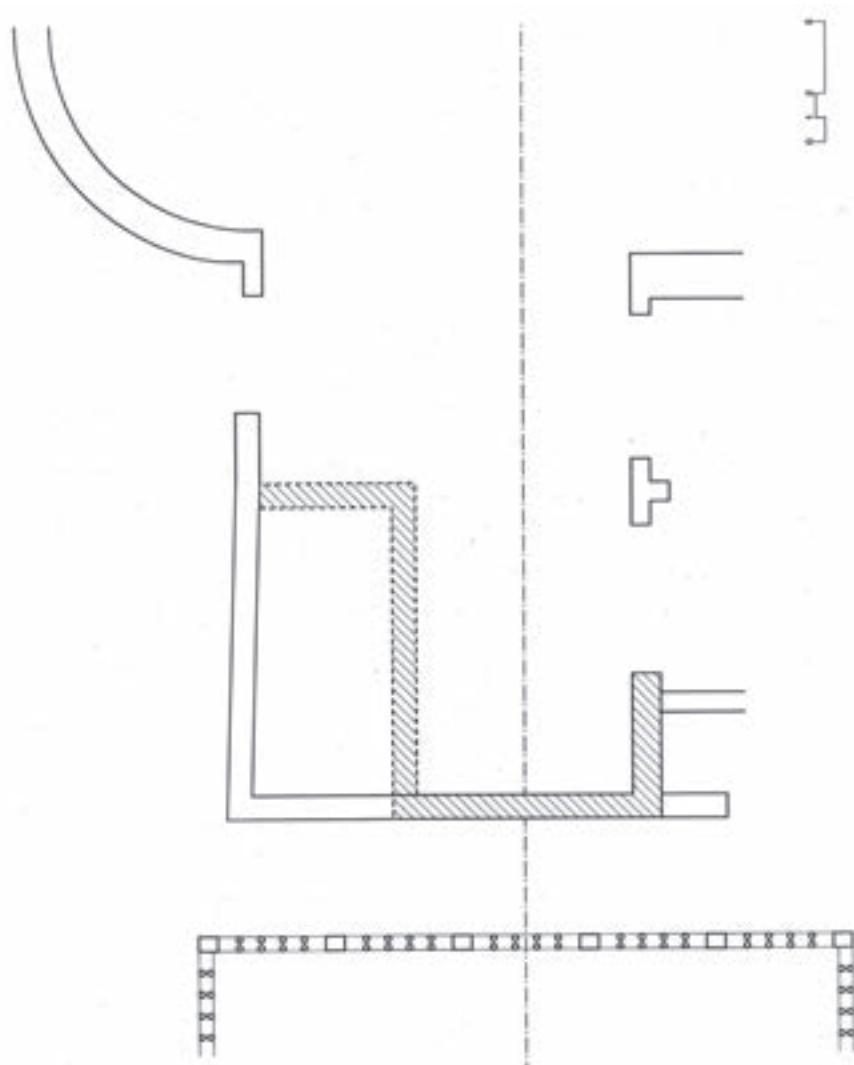


Abb. 6. Grundriss des südlichen Querhausbereichs S. Giovanni in Laterano mit konstantinischem Flügelausbau und Lage des Kreuzgangs, nach F. Bächler. Quelle: Claussen, *Die Kirchen: S. Giovanni*.

ten hinreichend Raum für Konventsbauten, die Pankratiuskapelle und ein *claustrum canonicorum* gelassen, wie sie Sible de Blaauw in diesem südöstlichen Bereich der Basilika verortet hat und von denen er Reste einer architravierten Portikus aus dem frühen 12. Jahrhundert identifizieren konnte.¹² Der Neubau des monumentalen neuen Querhauses (Abb. 5) unter Nikolaus IV. benutzt die (nur im Süden ergrabenen) östlichen und südlichen Fundamentmauern der konstantinischen Flügelausbauten. Darin ist mehr als nur ein ökonomischer Umgang mit den zu Verfügung stehenden Mitteln zu sehen. Man hielt sich, so gut es ging, an alte Baulinien und stiftete

damit Kontinuität. Auch die neue Westwand des Querhauses setzt eine Baulinie fort, nämlich die der Apsissehne und der Abschlusswände der inneren Seitenschiffe neben der Apsis.¹³ Die Erweiterung bezog damit im Süden und im Norden einen ca. 6,50 m tiefen und ca. 12,50 m breiten Streifen Boden neu in den Sakralraum ein (Abb. 6). Nicht viel, wenn man die weitläufige Raumwirkung des Querhauses berücksichtigt. Die zwei mal 80 qm, die nun der überbauten Fläche der Basilika zugeschlagen waren, kann man durchaus als Arrondierung des bislang gestuften westlichen Seitenschiffbereichs ansehen und somit als Optimierung der konstantini-

schen Grundgestalt der Basilika nach dem Vorbild von St. Peter und S. Paolo fuori le mura.¹⁴

S. Maria Maggiore: Umgang, Apsis und Querhaus

Die ursprüngliche Apsis aus der Zeit Sixtus' III. (432–40) ist in ihrem Fundament ausgegraben worden und hatte einen Radius von ca. sieben Metern, war also mit einer Breite von etwa 14 m gegenüber der Mittelschiffsbreite von 17,50 m eingezogen (Abb. 9).¹⁵ Strittig ist, wie ein weiterer Mauerzug, der sich im Abstand von etwa acht Metern um die Apsis legte und mit etwas verschliffenem Winkel in eine rechteckige Struktur überleitet,¹⁶ zu interpretieren ist. Diese in ihren Fundamenten teilweise ergrabene Konstruktion, die wohl auch als Substruktion in dem nach Südwesten hin abfallendem Gelände diente, ist teilweise als Fundament der neuen Apsis des späten 13. Jahrhunderts wiedergenutzt worden. Der ‚apex‘ der neuen Apsis fällt genau mit dem westlichsten Punkt dieser ergrabenen Konstruktion zusammen, die sich um die alte Apsis rundete.¹⁷ Geertman und De Blaauw sehen hier eine umgangsähnliche Struktur wie bei Coemeterialbasiliken des 4. Jahrhunderts und halten sie für einen Teil des Ursprungsbauwerks.¹⁸ De Blaauw geht davon aus, dass sich die Apsis zu diesem Retrochor hin öffnete. Seiner Vorstellung nach hat sich im Inneren des von Sixtus III. geweihten Baus das System der Langhauskolonnade mit Säulen und Gebälk ehemals auch um die Apsis herumgezogen und diese räumlich geöffnet. Über dem Gebälk habe direkt die Apsiskalotte angesetzt.¹⁹

Ein wichtiges Argument für einen Raum hinter der Apsis, der durch Öffnungen mit dem Sanktuarium verbunden war, ist ein Bericht im *Liber pontificalis*: Paschalis I. (817–24) habe sich auf seinem Thron durch Gespräche von Frauen hinter seinem Rücken gestört gefühlt und deshalb einen Umbau des Sanktuariums in die Wege geleitet. Wenn der Thron – wie üblich – im Apsisrund seinen Platz gehabt hat, kann kaum etwas anderes gemeint sein als ein dahinterliegender Raum, in dem die Frauen sich aufhielten. Krautheimer dagegen hat von der Umgangs-idee nichts gehalten und bis heute steht eine Meinung gegen die andere.²⁰

Das Äußere der Apsis und die mittelalterliche Westwand des Querhauses sind nach der Umarmung durch Carlo Rainaldi in den Jahren 1670–76 nur noch anhand von Bildzeugnissen vorstellbar, vermutlich aber hinter der barocken Verkleidung teilweise erhalten. Die ehemalige Westseite und ihr auch nach außen gerichtetes Mosaikprogramm sind als einheitlicher Entwurf in den Jahren zwischen 1294 und 1297 entstanden und können als repräsentative Rückfassade der Basilika verstanden werden. Die detaillierte Ansicht bei De Angelis (Abb. 7) zeigt, dass sich die Anlage bis 1620 nur gering verändert hatte. Vor allem sind die beiden Portaleinbrüche (mit den beiden Okuli über den Eingängen) nachmittelalterliche Eingriffe, zuvor gab es keinen Zugang von Westen aus. Die Portale gehen auf die Neukonzeption des Querhaus- und Presbyteriums-bereichs durch Kardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts zurück.²¹

Rechnet man diese Veränderungen ab, so präsentierte sich die Westseite der Basilika als erstaunlich geschlossener Mauerkörper. Sie war weder durch Fenster noch Türen durchbrochen.²² Ursprünglich handelte es sich bei den Querhausarmen (Abb. 8) um abgeschlossene Familienkapellen und Memorialplätze und nicht um Durchgangsräume, wie nach den Veränderungen unter Kardinal d'Estouteville.²³ Fenster gab es nur an den Schrägseiten des Apsispolygons, dessen zentrale Stirnseite dagegen ohne Öffnung blieb. Diese Besonderheit geht auf die Disposition der Mosaiken des Marienlebens im Inneren des Apsiszylinders zurück, dessen Haupt- und Mittelbild, der Marien-tod, ein längsrechteckiges Bildfeld einnimmt. Der Entwurf des Architekten ist also mit der Planung des Bildprogramms abgestimmt, dergestalt, dass die Architektur als Bildträger konzipiert war. Die an sich eher breiten Proportionen der Apsis wurden durch die architektonische Gliederung gestrafft. Der Apsiszylinder (Abb. 7) faltete sich in der Außenansicht in fünf Seiten. Jede war als kolossale, aber flache Blendarkade gestaltet, von einem Rundbogen abgeschlossen.²⁴ Auf die breiten Pilaster an den Kanten waren Halb- oder Dreiviertelsäulen als kräftige Vorlagen gestellt, deren Kapitelle bis in die Zone



Abb. 7. Rom, S. Maria Maggiore, Westansicht mit Apsis und Querhaus Nikolaus' IV, Detail ohne barocke Anbauten. Quelle: De Angelis, Faltafel nach S. 66. Foto: Bibl. Hertziana U.Pl. 21724.

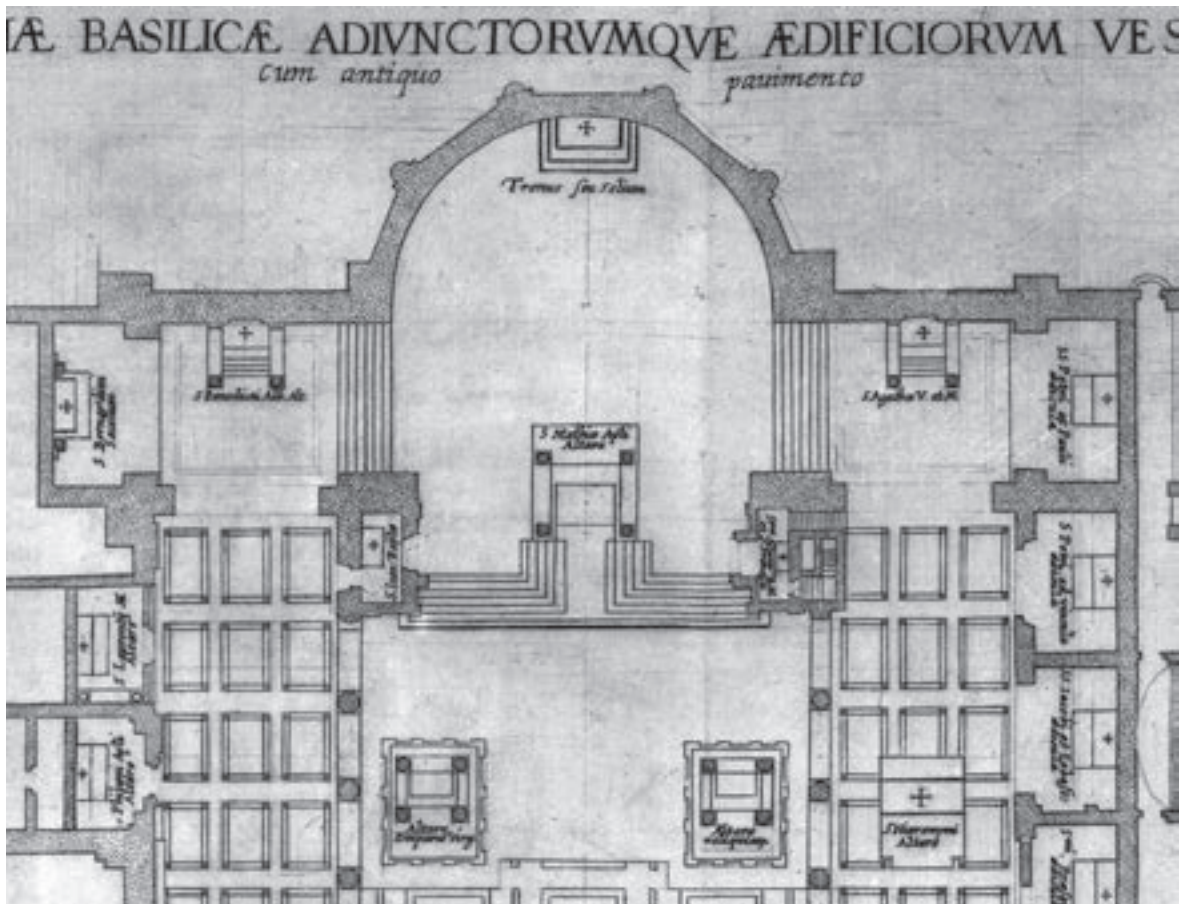


Abb. 8. Rekonstruierender Grundriss der Querhauspartien, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, Detail. Quelle: De Angelis. Foto: Bibl. Hertziana U.Pl. 21270.

des Traufgesimses reichten. Dieses liegt einige Meter tiefer als der Dachansatz des Querhauses, so dass eine flache Dachpyramide über dem Apsisgewölbe möglich wurde, die bis zum Ansatz des Querhausdaches reichte.

Im Norden wird die Querhauswestwand von breiten Pilastern abgeschlossen, welche zugleich die Giebelfront zu tragen scheinen.²⁵ Gleichartige Pilaster bestanden auch im Süden, die aber im frühen 17. Jahrhundert verschwanden, als hier mit der barocken Erneuerung der westlichen Partien begonnen wurde.²⁶ Ein weiterer Pilaster verstärkte die Ecke zwischen der Westwand und dem südlichen Anschluss der Apsis. Die gleiche Stelle nahm in der nördlichen Ecke ein schlanker Treppenturm über quadratischem Grundriss ein, über den der Dachbereich zu erreichen war.

Durch horizontale Bänder war die Apsis wie die Querhauswand in drei Zonen gegliedert (Abb. 7). Das Untergeschoss reichte bis an die Sohlbank der spitzbogigen Fenster und wurde durch ein plastisches, abgestuftes Gesims betont, das halsringartig über die Eckvorlagen verkröpft war. Die mittlere Zone ist in ihrer Höhe durch die Apsisfenster bestimmt. Zwischen ihr und der oberen Zone trennte ein breites Schmuckband, das sich über die Querhauswand und die Apsis zog. Das Muster entstammt dem Cosmatenrepertoire: Von Gesimsen eingefasst alternierten längliche, rhombenförmige Mosaikfelder mit Rundformen, in welche Rotae eingelassen waren. Dieser Fries verlief über alle Vor- und Rücksprünge der westlichen Querhauswand und auch über alle geraden Flächen der Polygonseiten der Apsis, nicht aber über die Vorlagen an deren Kanten.

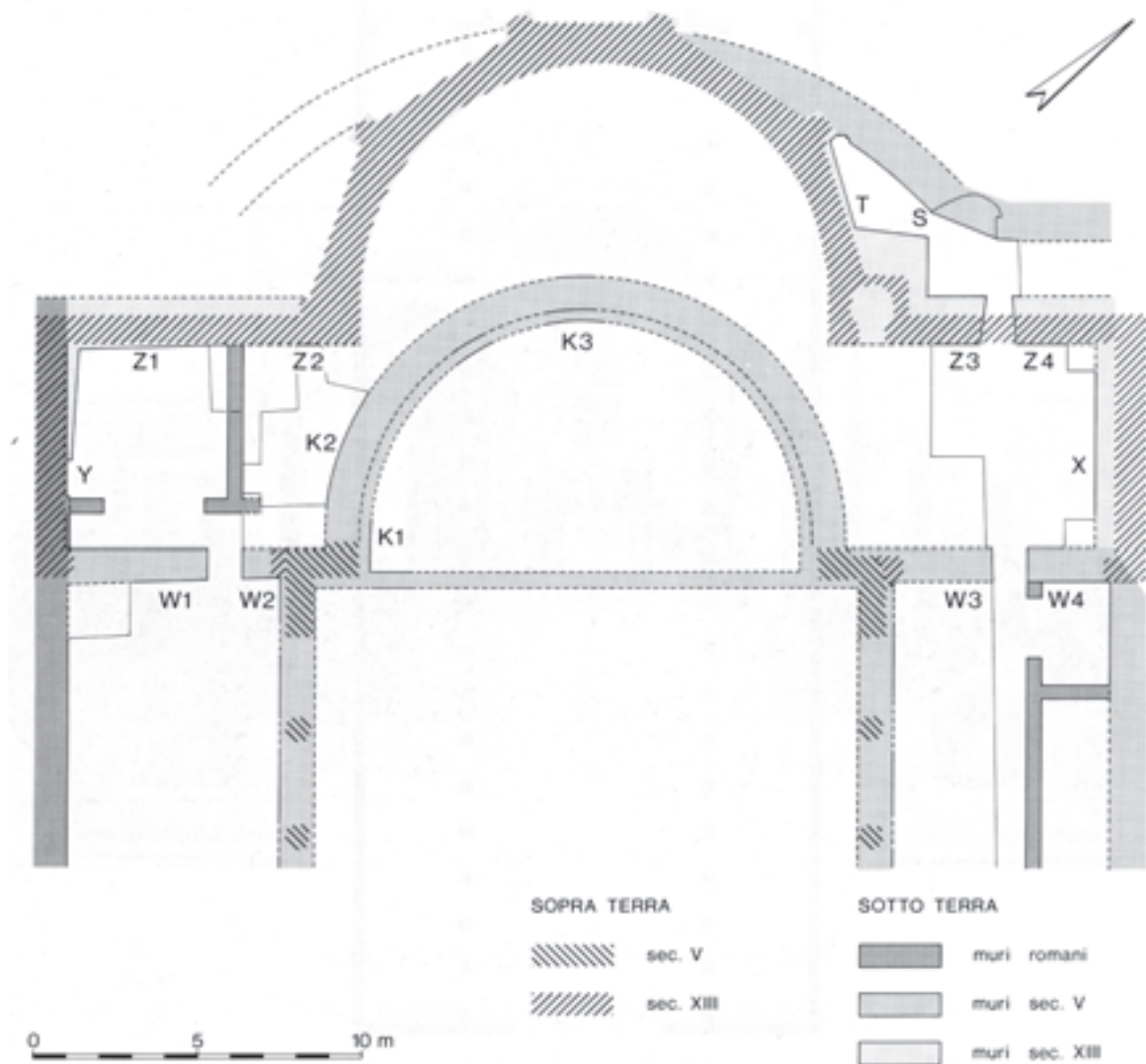


Abb. 9. Synthetisches Grundrissdiagramm des Apsis- und Querhausbereichs mit Umgang, S. Maria Maggiore, Rom. Quelle: De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*.

Dort waren die vorgelegten Rundstützen in der Zone des Frieses durch große Kapitelle mit aufgelegten Blättern unterbrochen. Der Schmuckfries an den Polygonseiten wird zum Sockel der Bildzone der fünf mosaizierten Bogenfelder, in deren Mitte die Madonna wie auf einem Altar steht.

Die kurz zuvor vom selben Bauherrn neu erbaute Apsis der Laterankirche (Abb. 2) unterscheidet sich zwar durch den sechsseitigen Grundriss des Polygons und durch die Durchfensterung auch der Scheitelseiten der Apsis von der an S. Maria Maggiore. Die Zahl der

Fenster und ihre Spitzbogigkeit stimmen aber überein. Vor allem war das Vorlagen- und Arkadensystem nahezu identisch. Wäre nicht die Lateranapsis von einem Umgang umgeben gewesen, die einzelnen Kolossalarkaden des Polygons hätten ähnlich schlank gewirkt wie die in den älteren Westansichten von S. Maria Maggiore (Abb. 7).²⁷ Auch das abschließende Konsolgesims mit Schmuckziegelbändern muss man sich an beiden Basiliken ähnlich vorstellen. Es ist in S. Giovanni in Laterano an den Querhausarme erhalten. Was in der exponierteren Lage

der Rückfassade von S. Maria Maggiore hinzukommt, ist die musivische Ausstattung.

Bei so viel Ähnlichkeit ist von identischen Werkstätten und auch vom gleichen Baumeister auszugehen. Dieser wäre dann wohl mit der Figur identisch, die in der Lateranapsis mit Zirkel, Richtscheid und einem miniaturisierten Reißboden, allerdings ohne Namensbeischrift als Franziskaner dargestellt wurde.²⁸ Ob man mit Valentino Pace schließen darf, dass es Iacopo Torriti selbst war, der sich in der Laterankirche (außer der Malersignatur im Mosaik der Apsis) nun anonym in seiner Funktion als Architekt dargestellt habe, ist unsicher.²⁹ Wenn man Paces Argumentation akzeptiert, muss man die Gesamtleitung auch für die Architektur beider päpstlicher Basiliken bei Iacopo Torriti suchen.

So aufwändig der schmale Steilraum des Querhauses dem alten Baukörper der Basilika angefügt wurde, so sehr haben sich spätere Jahrhunderte bemüht, diesen in seinen Proportionen denkbar unklassischen Raum vergessen zu machen. Vermutlich war die Mitte mit dem Presbyterium von den fast quadratischen Querarmen abgesetzt. Die Grundrisszeichnungen von Salustio Peruzzi und de Rocchi aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zeigt, dass die Querhausarme damals einige Stufen tiefer lagen als der Bereich westlich des Hauptaltars,³⁰ im Süden vier, im Norden drei Stufen über dem Niveau der Seitenschiffe (Abb. 9). De Blaauw geht davon aus, dass die Höhenabstufung zum Ursprungskonzept gehört und unter Kardinal d'Estouteville – trotz des Einbruchs der Portale – nicht verändert wurde.³¹ Das vorausgesetzt, ist die Differenz von einer Stufe im Niveau der beiden Querhausarme aussagekräftig. Es ist vermutlich kein Zufall, dass das nördliche Querhaus eine Stufe niedriger angelegt war als der Südarml mit dem Papstgrab.

Nikolaus IV. und S. Maria Maggiore

Nikolaus IV., aus Ascoli Piceno gebürtig, war ein bekannter franziskanischer Prediger und ausgebildeter Theologe, der in seinem Orden wie an der Kurie als weitgereister Diplomat bald führende Funktionen innehatte und eine steile Karriere begann (1278 Kardinalpriester von

S. Pudenziana, dann unter Martin IV. Kardinalbischof von Palestrina). Schon wenige Monate nach Beginn seines Pontifikates ließ er der römischen Basilika S. Maria Maggiore in einer Reihe von Briefen besondere Gunstbeweise zukommen.³² Damit stellte er die Weichen für eine Erneuerung und Verschönerung, die erst Jahre später in Angriff genommen und vier Jahre nach seinem Tod (gest. 1292) abgeschlossen werden konnten. Die im August und September 1288 in Rieti geschriebenen Briefe sind außergewöhnliche Beweise der Identifikation dieses Papstes mit der Marienkirche, in deren Nähe er residierte und in der er begraben werden wollte.

Man hat diese Vorliebe des Papstes mit der Marienverehrung der Franziskaner in Verbindung gebracht. Tatsächlich wird seine Nähe zu der römischen Marienkirche auch durch persönliche Frömmigkeit motiviert gewesen sein.³³ Kommt hinzu, dass die hier angesiedelte Verehrung der Krippenreliquie seit dem spektakulären ‚Krippenspiel‘ des Franziskus in Greggio ebenfalls franziskanisch konnotiert war. Ein Zeugnis der Wertschätzung des Papstes für die Marienbasilika überliefert eine Papsturkunde vom 5. September 1290 für Orvieto, die kurz vor der Grundsteinlegung der dortigen Kathedrale ausgestellt wurde. Der Neubau – nahe seiner Sommerresidenz Rieti wohl als Papstkirche geplant – sei nach der Gestalt von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom *ad instar S. Marie Majoris de Urbe* zu konstruieren.³⁴ Möglicherweise beruhte die Autorität der römischen Marienbasilika vor allem auf ihren Maßen, die ja durch ein göttliches Wunder festgelegt schienen. So unterschiedlich die Ausführung wurde, in den Maßen bestehen tatsächlich große Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Bauten.³⁵

Vermutlich wollten auch schon mittelalterliche Päpste – wie später Innocenz X. (siehe oben und Anm. 2) – die Grundstruktur der durch Legenden geheiligten Bauten nicht antasten. Wahrscheinlich gab es eine Hemmschwelle, eine Art Tabu zu überwinden. Diese Annahme lässt sich im Bezug auf die Basilika S. Maria Maggiore durch Äußerungen Nikolaus' IV. in den schon erwähnten Briefen aus Rieti indirekt bekräftigen. Nachdem er das Schneewunder der Liberianischen Gründung ausführlich ge-

schildert hat, verweist der Papst auf die Heiligkeit dieses göttlich bestimmten Ortes *locum ad hoc mirabiliter indicavit* und des durch ein Wunder festgelegten Planes *miro scemate* der Kirche (vgl. Abb. 1). Dieses Wunder wird zum Argument für die sorgfältige Erhaltung der Basilika in ihres Schmuckes Fülle *in sui decoris plenitude conservari* und für notwendige Reparaturen *et, diminuta vel in ea vastata, seu reparanda pro t(em)pore studiosis operibus reparari*. Die Stoßrichtung dabei ist natürlich, Geld für die Bauarbeiten locker zu machen. Der Subtext ist aber das Bewahren der durch ein göttliches Wunder und durch die Maria selbst festgelegten Struktur. Kein Wort vom Abriss, sondern nur von Konservieren und Reparieren. Man muss das auch so verstehen, dass man, obwohl man die Basilika in eine Großbaustelle verwandelte, eigentlich nur Bestehendes erhalten und in seinem alten Glanz wiederherstellen wollte. Grenzen waren also zu respektieren. Dazu gehört vermutlich vor allem, dass man den durch ein Wunder festgelegten Außenkontur im Grundriss nicht überschreiten wollte. Aber gerade das hat man ja eindeutig getan, als man die alte Apsis abriß und acht Meter weiter westlich wieder aufbaute und in den so gewonnenen Raum für ein neu errichtetes, schmales Querhaus (Abb. 4, 8, 9) nutzte. Wie war diese Grenzüberschreitung möglich?

Wie schon dargelegt lässt sich der Widerspruch mit dem von Geertman und De Blaauw gefundenen im Westen anschließenden Umgang auflösen.³⁶ Tatsächlich beschränkt sich die neue Erweiterung nach Westen auf den Raum, der von diesem Retrochor eingenommen worden wäre (Abb. 9). Trotz der Erweiterung nach Westen bliebe in diesem Fall die Grundrissausdehnung gewahrt. Man kann meines Erachtens die Logik umkehren und als Argument für die ‚oberirdische‘ Existenz des heute nur noch in Fundament Spuren angedeuteten Umgangs ansehen. Und eine zweite Merkwürdigkeit fände auf diese Weise zwanglos ihre Begründung: Das schmale Querhaus (Abb. 4 und 8) konnte, da die Apsis nur acht Meter nach Westen verschoben werden konnte, einfach nicht tiefer ausfallen.

Schlussbemerkung

Wenn man die kirchenpolitischen Hauptakte und die großen Anstrengungen Nikolaus' IV. (1288–92) betrachtet, den Fall von Akkon zu verhindern und, als das fehlgeschlagen war, Verbündete für einen Kreuzzug zu finden, muten die Bemühungen des Papstes, in Rom seine Hauskathedrale am Lateran und die vornehmste Marienbasilika zu erneuern und zu verschönern, relativ nebensächlich an.³⁷ Im Bereich der politischen Symbolik gehören diese Initiativen aber zu den deutlichsten Zeichen päpstlicher Bemühungen im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Er erneuerte und vergrößerte die Hauptkirchen im Mauerring der Stadt Rom und versetzte sie mit kostbarem Mosaik in einen Zustand, der kirchlichem Selbstverständnis und dem Anspruch, den die Traditionen des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts gesetzt hatten, gerecht werden konnte.³⁸ Selbst wenn man die Maßnahmen an S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore nur unter Aspekten des Stils anschaut, muten sie mit ihren ehrgeizigen Mosaikprogrammen wie eine letzte Kraftanstrengung an, die angestammte *romanitas* zeitgemäß zu erneuern. Ohne in Nachahmung zu verfallen, rivalisiert diese Kunst (Mosaikmalerei und Architektur) mit den modernen Strömungen aus den politisch und kulturell längst dominant gewordenen französischen Gebieten, vielleicht sogar im Gefühl der eigenen Überlegenheit. Wenn man in solchen Sprachäußerungen der Kunst eine politische Haltung erkennen will, ist die Analogie zur Situation des päpstlichen Roms unverkennbar. Man könnte nun die Initiativen Nikolaus' IV. als anachronistisch und als Teil einer Tragödie abtun, deren letzter Akt sich 1307 mit dem Umzug der Kurie nach Avignon erfüllte. Aber hätte der Papst eine bessere Politik betrieben, wenn er nicht romzentriert gedacht und statt der *renovatio Romae* eine Kunstsprache protegieren hätte, die vielleicht aus S. Maria Maggiore ein gotisch anmutendes Bauwerk gemacht hätte? Aus heutiger Sicht läge eine solche Idee nicht so fern, gerade wenn man berücksichtigt, dass sich der erste Franziskaner auf dem Papstthron mit seinen Bauleistungen auch programmatisch in die Nachfolge der in Italien zunächst fremd und modern erscheinenden

den gotischen Architektur von S. Francesco in Assisi hätte stellen können.³⁹ Genug der Sätze im Irrealis. Sicher ist, auch unter dem Vorzeichen eines *opus francigenum* (hier doppelsinnig: französisch und franziskanisch) wäre die Kurie nicht in Rom geblieben. Ist es deshalb unsinnig, sich Gedanken über die politische Interpretierbarkeit von Kunstwerken zu machen?⁴⁰

Ich meine trotz ihrer begrenzten Wirksamkeit können Bau- und Bildwerke als bewusst gesetzte Zeichen der Identifikationsstiftung

angesehen werden. Sie enthalten immer auch etwas von den Wunschvorstellungen ihrer Initianten, sind also Zeugnis einer Fiktion mit utopischen Anteilen, die vielfach als bewusstes Gegenbild zur realen Lage kreiert wurde. Die Erneuerung der beiden großen alten Basiliken in den Mauern der Stadt unter Nikolaus IV. sollte in einem hoch kompetitiven Umfeld rivalisierender Kräfte solche Zeichen einer römisch-franziskanischen Erneuerung setzen.

Notes

- 1 Niemand hat in den letzten dreißig Jahren die Kenntnis römischer Basiliken so erweitert wie Sible de Blaauw. Wer sich heute wie ich an römischen Kirchen des Mittelalters versucht, ist immer auf seinen Spuren. Das gilt auch für diesen Beitrag, der für den Geehrten wenig Neues enthält, selbst aber sehr viel aus Sibles Schriften gesogen hat. Zur Vertiefung der hier angeschnittenen Fragen sind deshalb die entsprechenden Abschnitte bei Sible de Blaauw: *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardo antica e medievale – Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*. Vatikanstadt 1994, essentiell. Für die freundliche Redaktion dieses Textes und für wichtige bibliographische Hinweise danke ich Lex Bosman.
- 2 Ein gezeichnetes Projekt Borrominis für eine erneuerte Lateranbasilika (1647) mit erweiterter Westpartie trägt die Beischrift (eigenhändig, aber von anderer Hand nachgezogen): ‚SS.ta disse che piaceva il disegno ma che non voleva variare li fond(amen)ti e sito della chiesa antica fatta da un Papa santo e un imperatore santo e che Iddio non averia [sic: aveva?] mai permesso che nessuno Pontefice havesse variato la pianta di questa SS.ta Basilica e che pero non voleva se non repararla fortificarla e ornarla ma non mai variare li suoi fondamenti e però resto della volta come sta nel sito anticho senza trasportarsi come si vede nel presente disegno.‘ Dazu Joseph Connors und Augusto Roca de Amicis: A New Plan by Borromini for the Lateran Basilica, Rome. In: *The Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004), S. 526–33, hier S. 526, 529, Fig. 23.
- 3 Bekanntlich ist die Apsis Nikolaus’ IV. 1881 eingerissen worden und nach Plänen Vespignanis ein neuer Chor mit Apsis als Westerweiterung gebaut worden. Das alte Apsismosaik ist dabei entgegen der ursprünglichen Intention vollständig untergegangen. Das Mosaik der heutigen Apsis ist eine Nachschöpfung. Busiri Vicis Plan, die alte Apsis, die man zunächst für konstantinisch hielt, mithilfe von Lokomotiven und Dampfmaschinen zu verschieben, kam nicht zur Ausführung. Siehe Peter C. Claussen und Daniela Mondini: Die Lokomotive des Papstes. Busiris Plan, die Apsis von S. Giovanni in Laterano mit Dampfkraft zu verschieben. In: *SvM – Die Festschrift für Stanislaus von Moos*. Hg. von Karin Gimmi [u.a.]. Zürich 2005, S. 56–72.
- 4 Richard Krautheimer [u.a.]: *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Cent.)* (hinfort CBCR). 5 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1937–77, Bd. v, S. 30–35, 72, Fig. 80.
- 5 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, S. 257, 260; Paola Mathis: L’antica abside della basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano e la questione del ambulatorio. In: *Opus* 7 (2003), S. 19–38, hier S. 24–27.
- 6 Peter C. Claussen: *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, Stuttgart 2008 (Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300, 2), mit einem Beitrag von Darko Senekovic über S. Giovanni in Fonte, S. 137–40. Der 4. Band des Corpus der römischen Kirchen des Mittelalters mit den Buchstaben M–N wird voraussichtlich 2017 erscheinen und im Abschnitt über S. Maria Maggiore auch ein Kapitel über die dortigen Inschrifttafeln enthalten.
- 7 Claussen, *S. Giovanni*, S. 42–44; Julian Gardner: The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45 (1982), S. 217–48, hier S. 227–31.
- 8 Ausnahme ist Alt St. Peter, wo die überstehenden Kreuzarme aber durch Kolonnaden abgetrennt waren und folglich als eigene Räume gerechnet werden müssen. Siehe CBCR v, S. 243–44, 251–56; De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, S. 459–60.
- 9 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, S. 230 mit den Quellenangaben.
- 10 Die Revision in: Sible de Blaauw: Reception and Renovation of Early Christian Churches in Rome, c. 1050–1300. In: *Rome across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchanged of Ideas c. 500–1400*. Hg. von Claudia Bolgia and others. Cambridge 2011, S. 151–66, hier S. 161–62. Am Querhaus von S. Giovanni in Laterano beträgt der Modulus für 5 Lagen des Backsteinmauerwerks 25 cm, was typisch ist für Bauten des fortgeschrittenen 13. Jahrhunderts. Sie-

- he auch *CBCR* v, S. 19–22. Claussen, S. *Giovanni*, S. 148–56. Das Querhaus von S. Maria Maggiore weist mit 25–26 cm fast den gleichen Modulus auf. Das wichtigste Argument zur Baustruktur ist vielleicht, dass der etwa 1225 bis 1235 errichtete Kreuzgang der Lateranbasilika genau in der Achse der konstantinischen Flügelausbauten erbaut wurde und deshalb asymmetrisch zum jetzigen südlichen Querhausarm liegt. Der Kreuzgang spiegelt damit eine Situation, in der das verbreiterte Querhaus noch nicht existierte und auch nicht in Planung war.
- 11 Es wäre damit ähnlich schmal ausgefallen wie das spätere Querhaus von S. Maria Maggiore.
 - 12 Sible de Blaauw: A Mediaeval Portico at San Giovanni in Laterano. The Basilica and its Ancient Conventual Building. In: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 58 (1990), S. 299–313.
 - 13 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 221–33 und II, Figs 1 und 7.
 - 14 Dazu De Blaauw, *Reception*, S. 161.
 - 15 *CBCR* III, S. 52; De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, S. 350–52.
 - 16 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 351–52 und II, Figs 13 und 14. Die Befunde wurden allerdings bisher nur auf der Nordseite der Apsis ergraben. Sie würden aber vermutlich im Süden symmetrisch aufzufinden sein.
 - 17 Das betont De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, S. 361.
 - 18 Herman Geertman: The Builders of the Basilica Maior in Rome. In: *Festoen. Opgedragen aan A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij haar zeventigste verjaardag*. Groningen, Bussum 1976, S. 277–95; De Blaauw, *Deambulatori*, S. 93–109; Herman Geertman: Forze centrifughe e centripete nella Roma cristiana. Il Laterano, la Basilica Iulia e la Basilica Liberiana. In: *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 59 (1987), S. 63–91; De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 350–55.
 - 19 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, II, Fig. 14.
 - 20 Richard Krautheimer: *Early Christian and Byzantine architecture*, Harmondsworth 1986, S. 468, Anm. 46. Auch Hugo Brandenburg lehnt die Umgangsidee ab. Hugo Brandenburg: *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst*. Regensburg 2004, S. 179.
 - 21 Der Stich vermerkt im Steinbalken über dem Türsturz beider Portale die Inschrift des Bauherrn: G EPS' OSTIEN CARDIN (Guillelmus Episcopus Ostiensis Cardinalis). Da Guillaume Estouteville 1461 zum Bischof von Ostia ernannt wurde, ergibt sich ein *terminus post quem* für den Einbruch der Portale.
 - 22 Ich betone das, weil Natacha Piano: I mosaici absidali esterni di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma e la porta del Presepe alla luce dell'epigrafia e della liturgia di Natale. Introite in atria eius, adorate Dominum in aula sancta eius. In: *Arte medievale*, 4. Ser., 2 (2005), S. 59–68 ihre Argumentation auf dem Missverständnis aufbaut, bei den Grabungen im Westbereich 1966–71 sei ein Portaldurchbruch in der westlichen Außenmauer des Nordquerhauses aufgedeckt worden. Vielmehr ist De Blaauw, *Deambulatori*, S. 97 zuzustimmen, der den nur ca. 0,80 m breiten Durchbruch als Werk der Ausgräber erkennt, ‚probabilmente per rendere accessibile la parte esteriore dell'abside medioevale‘. So ist es auch in seinem ausfaltbaren Plan der Fundamente und Mauern (Fig. 1) eingetragen. Eine Fehlinterpretation von Piano, *I mosaici*, S. 63 ist es wohl auch, wenn sie die Entlastungsbögen im Backsteinmauerwerk über den Portalen des 15. Jahrhunderts (vgl. Abb. 7) als Reste von älteren Portalen aus der Zeit Nikolaus' IV. anspricht. Die beiden Rundfenster über den Portalen werden nicht aus dem späten 13., sondern aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammen.
 - 23 Seit die westlichen Portale vor etwa drei Jahrzehnten für die Besucher versperrt wurden, verstauben die ehemaligen Querhausräume zu dunklen Abstellkammern, in denen z.T. Geräte und unbenutztes Mobiliar gelagert wird.
 - 24 Wie sich an Fotos vor dem Abbruch kontrollieren lässt, traten die Blendbögen an der Apsis von S. Giovanni in Laterano etwa 10 cm vor die Wand. Siehe Claussen, S. *Giovanni*, S. 98–99, Abb. 35. Ähnlich wird auch das ursprüngliche Wandrelief der Apsis von S. Maria Maggiore zu denken sein.
 - 25 Das heute verschollene Foto ist abgebildet bei Giovanni Biasiotti: La basilica di S. Maria Maggiore a Roma. In: *Bollettino d'Arte* 9 (1915), S. 20–32, 136–48, Fig. 13. Ein 1933 hier neu angebaute Gebäude hat die nördliche Querhausfront vollständig verdeckt. Nur der Rest eines Pilasters (Tiefe 38,5 cm) ist an der Ostwand des nördlichen Querarmes im Bereich über den Seitenschiffsdächern noch erhalten.
 - 26 Der Stich bei Paolo De Angelis: *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de urbe a Libero Papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio*, Rom 1621 (Abb. 7) zeigt an dieser Stelle eine turmartig wirkende Partie rohen Maueranschnitts, die deutlich macht, dass die Erneuerungsarbeiten im Westen weiter gehen sollten.
 - 27 Zur Architektur der Apsis Nikolaus IV. an der Lateranbasilika Claussen, S. *Giovanni*, S. 92–104, 121–29. Wenn man von frühen Beispielen wie S. Giovanni a Porta Latina absieht, ist der innen halbrunde außen polygonale Apsisgrundriss wohl zuerst an der Kapelle Nikolaus' III. im vatikanischen Palast gebaut worden. Verloren ist die nach Norden gerichtete Apsis diesen Typus in der unter Nikolaus IV. erbauten Michaelskapelle am nördlichen Seitenschiff von S. Maria Maggiore.
 - 28 Siehe auch Claussen, S. *Giovanni*, S. 108–09, Abb. 46.
 - 29 Valentino Pace: Per Iacopo Torriti, frate, architetto e ‚pictor‘. In: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 40 (1996), S. 212–21, hier S. 214–15. Siehe auch Alessandro Tomei: *Iacobus Torriti pictor. Una vicenda figurativa del tardo Duecento romano*. Rom 1990, S. 78–80 der von einem anonymen Architektenbild ausgeht und offen lässt, ob Torriti als Franziskaner bezeichnet werden kann.

- 30 In Sallustio Peruzzis Plan (siehe *CBCR* III, Fig. 10) sind im Süden vier Stufen eingezeichnet, in dem von De Rocchi (*CBCR* III, Fig. 28a) sind es zum Nordarm hin drei.
- 31 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 373.
- 32 Alessandro Tomei: Dal documento al monumento. Le lettere di Niccolò IV per Santa Maria Maggiore. In: *Studi medievali e moderni* 1 (1997), S. 73-92. Die Briefe Nikolaus' IV. aus Rieti hat Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti*, vollständig transkribiert und bekannt gemacht. Die wichtigsten Passagen hatte auch schon De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 599 (nach BAV, Fondo S. Maria Maggiore, cart. 67, Nr. 67) zitiert.
- 33 Die meisten Passagen der erwähnten weit ausholenden Briefe aus Rieti sind Hymnen an die Muttergottes. Siehe Tomei, Dal documento al monumento.
- 34 Antonio Franchi: *Nicolaus Papa IV. 1288-1292 (Girolamo d'Ascoli)*. Ascoli Piceno 1990, S. 251. Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und zu den unterschiedlichen Interpretationen der heute verlorenen und nur in Auszügen von della Valle überlieferten Urkunde, Jürgen Wiener: *Lorenzo Maitani und der Dom von Orvieto. Eine Beschreibung*. Petersberg 2009, S. 22, 95-103. ‚Quod ipsa ecclesia [...] nobilis et solemnitas ad instar S. Marie Majoris de Urbe [...] construatur‘. Man wird in den Einzelformen des Domes von Orvieto wenig Ähnlichkeit mit der römischen Basilika feststellen. Trotzdem hat man offenbar versucht, die Vorgabe dadurch zu erfüllen, dass man sich an die Maße der römischen Basilika gehalten hat.
- 35 Wie Wiener, *Lorenzo Maitani*, S. 95-103 festgestellt hat, stimmen viele überein. So beträgt die Länge jeweils etwa 72 m, die Breite etwa 17,50 (in Rom ohne das neue Querhaus gerechnet, in Orvieto einschließlich Querhaus).
- 36 Vgl. dazu S. yy.
- 37 Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV.*; Franca Allegrezza: Niccolò III. In: *Enciclopedia dei Papi*. 3 Bde. Rom 2000, Bd. II, S. 437-46.
- 38 Grundlegend für die Beschäftigung mit diesen Fragen ist die Untersuchung von Julian Gardner: Pope Nicholas IV and the Decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1973), S. 1-50. Auch Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto: La committenza e il mecenatismo artistico di Niccolò IV. In: *Niccolò IV. Un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente*. Hg. von Enrico Menestò. Spoleto 1991, S. 193-222.
- 39 Mit den komplizierten politischen Implikationen des Baues von S. Francesco in Assisi (ca. 1230-53) beschäftigt sich vor allem Wolfgang Schenkluhn: *San Francesco in Assisi. Ecclesia specialis. Die Vision Papst Gregors IX. von einer Erneuerung der Kirche*. Darmstadt 1991.
- 40 Skeptisch gegenüber solchen Möglichkeiten ist Dale Kinney: Rome in the Twelfth Century. Urbs fracta and renovatio. In: *Gesta* 45 (2006), S. 199-220.

VISITING A ‘HOME OF THE SAINTS’: S. PRASSEDE IN ROME

Nine MIEDEMA & Daniëlle SLOOTJES

The many Christian churches in late antique and early medieval Rome were places of worship, not only for the members of the church communities attached to them, but also for pilgrims and other travellers who would visit a church on a particular occasion or for a specific reason. This contribution analyses one such church, S. Prassede, and its developments over an extended period of time, i.e. from Late Antiquity until early modern times, with a particular focus on the *memoria* function of the church. As will be demonstrated, changing, and possibly even invented, constructions of *memoria* served the popularity of the church throughout the centuries.

Carolingian Period

Little is known about the earliest building of the church. However, based on the *Liber pontificalis* and other documents, scholars agree that at some point in the fourth century there must have been a *titulus* in the direct vicinity of where

the Church of S. Prassede was erected later.¹ The *Liber pontificalis* states the church was not built on the exact location of the *titulus* but ‘in another place not far away’.²

In its earliest stage the location seems to have served as a place of worship for the Roman martyr Prassede.³

Pope Paschal I (817–24) is held responsible for extensive building activities in and around the church, improving a structure supposedly in ruins.⁴ The rebuilding and renovations led to a new prominence and visibility for S. Prassede. Scholars have tried to interpret Paschal’s aspirations within the context of his papal position.⁵ They regard his building activities, which focused on three churches (S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Maria in Domnica and S. Prassede, the latter being Paschal’s first church building project⁶), as public and visible statements of his papal power within the larger political power structures in, but also outside of Rome. Through his building activities Paschal is said to have positioned the papacy and his own personal ambitions in rela-

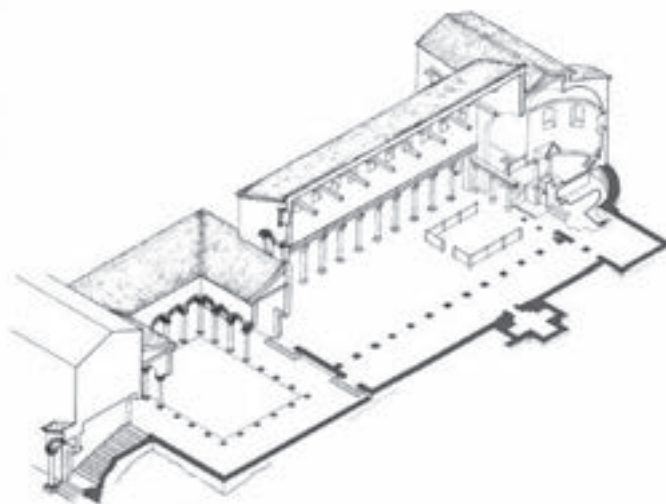


Fig. 1. Isometric reconstruction of S. Prassede as in 825. From: De Blaauw, Fig. 5 (after Emerick).

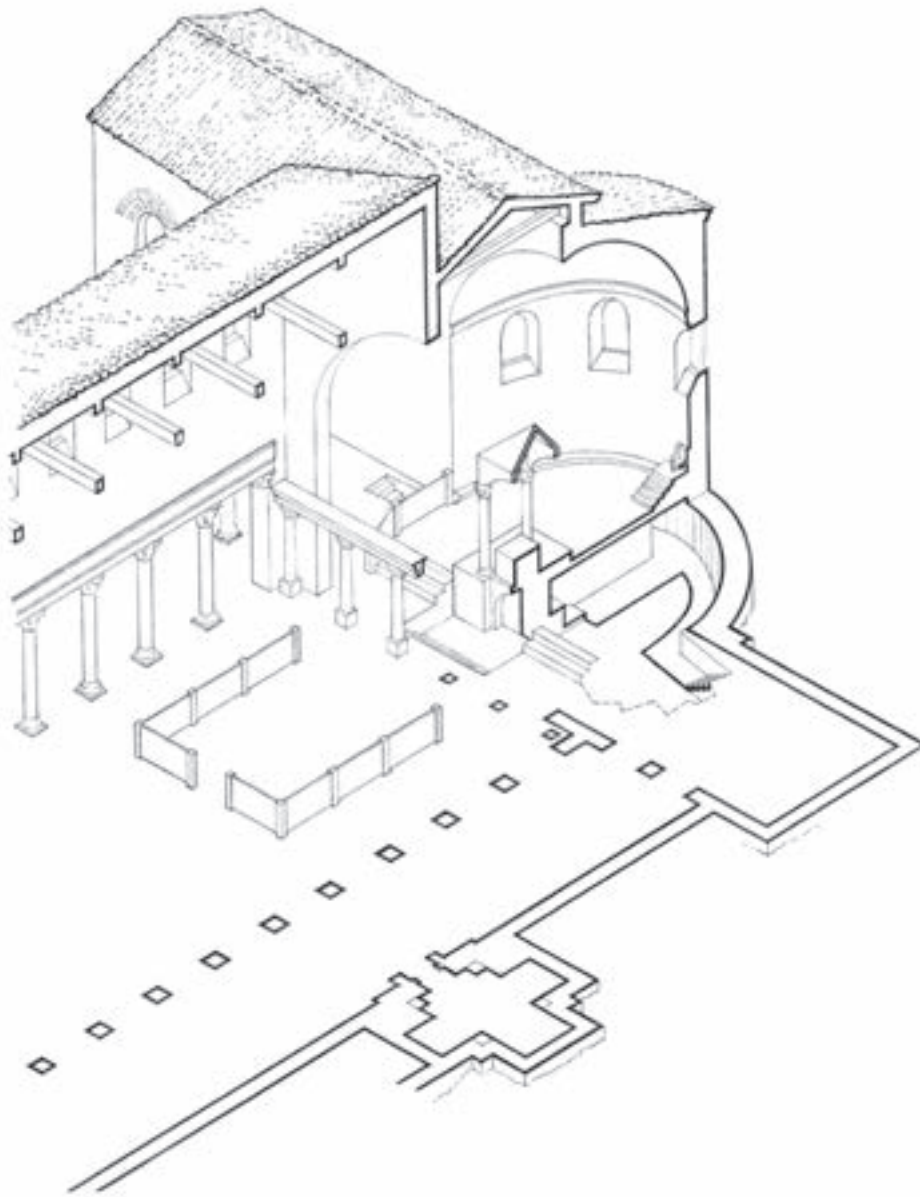


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of Pope Paschal's choir and the 'stage set' in S. Prassede as in 825. From: Emerick, Fig. 10.

tion to or even in competition with the western kingdoms and the Eastern Byzantine Empire.⁷

The chosen location of S. Prassede was prominent as it was situated along the processional route used during the papal liturgy. As it became one of the stational churches, the pope would celebrate mass at S. Prassede at least once a year at a key moment in the liturgical year: the Monday of the Holy Week, when Romans

and pilgrims from outside Rome must have attended mass in large numbers.⁸

The entire Church of S. Prassede, including the annular crypt, the atrium and the *quadriporticus*, was designed in a consciously traditional way, copying important characteristic features of St Peter's (Fig. 1).⁹ Medieval visitors ascended to the atrium and entered the church through one of its three doors on the east of the building,

instead of entering it (as it is now) through the right (i.e. northern) aisle. As far as the liturgical furniture inside the church is concerned, especially the 'Paschalian liturgical stage set' (Fig. 2), 'the design of this church was unique', that is: 'new and startling'.¹⁰ Emerick argues that the ninth-century arrangement of the (*spolia*) columns was meant to draw attention to the celebrant, thus to the main altar; a pergola served the same purpose.¹¹ The church was flooded by light through numerous windows, and the famous mosaics of the apse and the triumphal arch must have made an overwhelming impression. The apse mosaic (Fig. 3) portrays Christ, flanked by Peter and Paul presenting the titular saint Prassede next to Paul and her sister Pudentiana next to Peter. In addition, next to Paul and Prassede the founder Pope Paschal with square blue halo is depicted, and at the other end a further

male saintly figure is presented, whose identification is uncertain.¹²

Although it is unclear if Prassede's body was indeed buried in the church,¹³ she was certainly depicted and mentioned in the mosaics of the apse. Furthermore, according to the mosaic inscription Paschal brought PLVRIMA S[AN]C[T]ORVM [...] CORPORA into the church.¹⁴ He seems to have opted for a strong focus on relics, and a long inscription in marble mentions no less than 2300 relics from saints being translated by Paschal to the church.¹⁵ The inscription places most relics 'under this sacred altar',¹⁶ but it adds that some of them were carefully distributed throughout the building: in the oratory of St Zeno supposedly Zeno himself 'and the two others' were buried, in 'the oratory of Blessed John the Baptist, at the left hand of the above-mentioned basilica, which is also recognized as the sacristy, [...] Maurus and [...] other forty



Fig. 3. Rome, S. Prassede, apse mosaic. Photo: Nine Miedema.



Fig. 4. Rome, S. Prassede, mosaic with Theodora (left) in the Zeno Chapel. Photo: Nine Miedema.

martyrs', in 'the oratory of the blessed Virgin of Christ Agnes, which high up in the monastery is situated, [...] Pope Alexander, [...] priests Eventius and Theodulus'.¹⁷ The *Liber pontificalis* especially emphasizes that Paschal removed the bodies of martyrs 'with great affection and veneration'.¹⁸ Scholars have tried to position his relics translation into the larger context of the importance of relics for the early Church. According to Mancho, the great relics translations in Rome started already in the seventh century, and Paschal, driven by religious, political, and economic motivations, placed himself into that longer tradition.¹⁹ Goodson, on the other hand, stresses that Paschal's relic translation was revolutionary in two respects.²⁰ First, veneration of relics had, before Paschal, taken place outside the city walls; and second, the sheer number of corporeal remains to be translated to this one church within the walls was unprecedented.

Whereas the oratories of St John the Baptist and St Agnes did not survive the building activities of subsequent popes, the so-called Zeno Chapel has; it still contains most of its original mosaic decoration.²¹ The chapel, attached to the right aisle of S. Prassede (outside the nave and aisle, but marked by a splendid entrance – for a detail, see cover photo), was dedicated to St Zeno, but also seems to have been designed as a place of remembrance for Theodora, the mother of Pope Paschal.²² The meaning of Theodora in the chapel has puzzled scholars for the past decades as they have tried to understand Paschal's intention, giving his mother a prominent role and yet dedicating the chapel to St Zeno. Notably, the mosaics offer a portrait of Theodora (Fig. 4), but in the *Liber pontificalis* she is not mentioned. In her interpretation of Theodora's role in the chapel, Goodson sees a direct connection between Theodora and her papal

son, as 'Theodora's position in the chapel, on the left-hand side of the northern niche echoes the position of Paschal in the main apse mosaic, where he stands among the saints and Christ'.²³ Furthermore, Goodson emphasizes that the Zeno Chapel was designed as a funerary chapel for Theodora, which seems to endorse Davis in his ideas that the chapel 'is based closely on the architecture of two Roman mausoleums, one pagan (the tomb of the Cencenii), the other presumably Christian (the so-called chapel of St Tiburtius adjoining SS Marcellino e Pietro)'.²⁴ However, it is uncertain if Theodora was indeed buried in the chapel. The above mentioned marble inscription refers to the presence of Theodora's body in the chapel: 'manu dextra ubi utique benignissimae suae genetricis scilicet domnae Theodoraepiscopae corpus quiescit'.²⁵ There is some scholarly debate about the age of the inscription – its upper part seems to date from the ninth century, the lower part was probably renewed during the fifteenth century.²⁶ Davis even argues that the (entire) inscription dates from the eighteenth century and 'was intended as a more legible version of a 13th-century original', 'but may have been based on a 9th-century document'.²⁷ Nilgen's explanation, based on the different fonts used in the inscription, that the lower half (which contains the reference to Theodora) was not part of the original inscription, leads to the possibility that Theodora had in fact not been buried in the chapel. Nevertheless, Goodson claims that it was precisely the combination of relics of Zeno and other saints as well as Theodora that offered Paschal 'a vehicle for the redemption of the soul of Paschal's mother and a glorification of the episcopal family'.²⁸ In other words, Theodora, celebrated symbolically or in reality in death in this chapel, and presented in the mosaic with a square halo, could be seen as yet another confirmation of Paschal's claim to a prominent position in the church.²⁹

Another aspect that has caught scholarly attention is the fact that the Zeno Chapel is often considered to be one of the most prominent examples of Byzantine influence on art in Rome in the ninth century, not only in the portrayal of the images but also in the presentation of the

hierarchy of Christ, the mother Virgin, apostles, saints, and martyrs.³⁰ Krautheimer sees in the mosaic panels of S. Prassede both a Carolingian revival of 'Roman late antique Christian monumental art' as well as the influence of Byzantine models.³¹ However, this merging of two traditions has led to scholarly discussions if the mosaics in S. Prassede show differences from or similarities with both the western and eastern traditions.³² The Byzantine influence on the artistic expressions in S. Prassede during Paschal's papacy has often been connected with the presence of Greek refugees in Rome who had fled there because of the second period of Iconoclasm in Constantinople. Byzantine influence is not only to be detected in the iconographic programmes in the church, but also in the adjacent monastery built by Paschal, where he gathered 'a holy community of Greeks, which he placed therein to carry out carefully by day and night praises to almighty God and [again] his saints resting therein, chanting the psalms in the Greek manner'.³³

Some scholars even go so far as to argue that in the mosaic programmes as well as in the presence of the Greek monks in the monastery at S. Prassede, Paschal's iconophilism can be detected.³⁴ Even though this point would be difficult to validate, it is clear that ever since the first wave of iconoclasm in Byzantium in the eighth century, the Greek community in Rome that had already been there for many centuries had experienced an increase of Greek refugees from the East.³⁵ Surely, Greeks who ended up in Rome, as any other group would, brought with them their own language, their own cultural and religious practices, and their own artistic styles and customs, but simultaneously they took over customs of life in Rome.³⁶ Many Greeks might have lived in the Greco-Oriental quarter along the banks of the Tiber, at the foot of the Aventine hill, as well as along the Via Ostia. As Ekonomou argues, this quarter of the city might in the sixth and seventh centuries be seen as the centre of Byzantine Rome with its own church, S. Maria in Cosmedin.³⁷ However, in the early ninth century, when more Greeks, especially clergy and monks, fleeing from iconoclasm, had arrived in Rome, Paschal might have had them in mind as

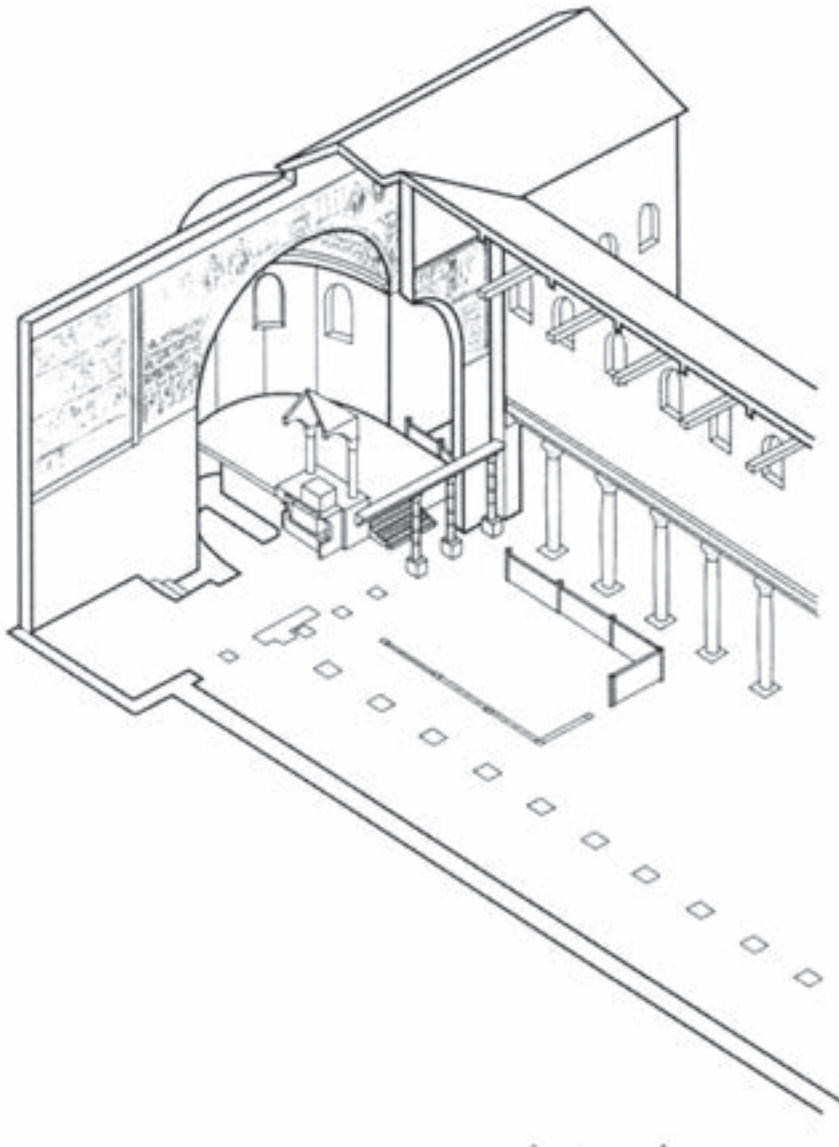


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of Pope Paschal's choir in S. Prassede as in 825. From: Goodson, Fig. 29.

well as a community that he wanted to provide with a particular location for worship, when he (re)built S. Prassede and the adjacent monastery.

High Middle Ages

The function of S. Prassede in the cycle of stations of the liturgical year secured that the church continued to attract some attention throughout the centuries, even after the Greek monks left the monastery.³⁸ It is, however, difficult to reconstruct the exact developments of

the building after the ninth century.³⁹ Scholars have combined stilistical arguments (prone to change due to developing scholarly insights) as given by singular aspects of the building with text sources (often written centuries after the renovations in question). Buchowiecki suggests, for example, that the campanile (on top of the left arm of the transept, destroying part of the Carolingian frescoes) was built when Benedetto Caio (1073–87) repaired the crypt;⁴⁰ but according to Caperna the campanile dates from the second half of the thirteenth century,⁴¹ built

roughly at the same time when the diaphragm arches within the church were added.⁴² The cosmatesque remains of the high altar which are nowadays in the crypt⁴³ are difficult to date precisely as well, but the stylistically similar cosmatesque grave of Cardinal Pantaleone Ancher was erected in 1286;⁴⁴ during this time, the right arm of the transept was obviously already used as a separate chapel, probably first dedicated to All Saints, later to the Crucified.⁴⁵

These sources indicate that there were substantial changes to the building during the thirteenth century. Notably, this changed the design of the Carolingian church as described by Emerick: the diaphragm arches reduced the visibility of the apse, the triumphal arch and the frescoes;⁴⁶ as the arms of the transept were closed, the latter were definitely no longer visible, which means that the *memoria* of those saints depicted in the frescoes who were not mentioned in the Carolingian marble relic inscription was interrupted.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the concentration on the high altar (Emerick) was by now given up: apart from the oratories of St Zeno and probably St John the Baptist, which may still have been in use in the thirteenth century, both located beyond the aisles of the church, the Chapel of All Saints now formed part of the transept and right aisle.⁴⁸

Perhaps the fact that Giovanni Colonna, who kept the title of S. Prassede from 1211–45, is said to have donated the column of Christ’s flagellation to S. Prassede in the year 1223,⁴⁹ was even more important for the history and function of the church and the *memoria* it communicated than the changes in the building structure. By allegedly bringing this relic to Rome, S. Prassede remained, as in Paschal’s time, a ‘neocatombal[.]’ ‘home of the saints’,⁵⁰ but now the Roman martyrs were complemented with a relic of even higher significance, diminishing Paschal’s and especially Theodora’s *memoria*.⁵¹ This is affirmed by the earliest manuscripts of the pilgrim’s guides for Rome, the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, for example by the *rotulus* of St Gall (late fourteenth century), which second to none refers to the column:⁵²

In ecclesia Braxedes jbi est quarta pars columpne ad quam flagellatus fuit Cristus, et super columpnam jacet corpus sancti Valentini martiris⁵³ et multa corpora sanctorum martirum, et quarte partis remissio peccatorum.⁵⁴

Late Middle Ages

During the fifteenth century, the perception of the church as a ‘home of the saints’ changed once more. After the end of the Great Western Schism,⁵⁵ several attempts were made to reinventory the relics kept in S. Prassede – surprisingly, without making use of the Carolingian inscription in marble, although it was still in the church, ‘as we com in at *Pe dore*’, as John Capgrave testified in 1450.⁵⁶ The different catalogues of relics compiled by Nicolò Signorili (c. 1430),⁵⁷ by the anonymous author of the extensive Wolfenbüttel manuscript (in German, 1448),⁵⁸ and by Davanzati (1725)⁵⁹ deserve further research, which, however, can not be accomplished here. But crucial for an interpretation of S. Prassede in the fifteenth century is the reference to a new element, which, though obviously borrowed from the late antique *vita* of Prassede, within the descriptions of the church first seems to be mentioned in 1447:⁶⁰

Zu sant Praxedis, da ist grosser ablas. Vnd sunder da ist ein cappell, do thuren auch die frawen nit ein gen,⁶¹ jn der cappellen ist vergebung aller sund alle tag. Jn der cappellen ist auch ein virteil der **sewl**, doran vnnserr her Ihesus Cristus ist gegeyselt vnd geschlagen worden. Item in der selben cappellen ligt auch der heylige merterer vnd frevnde gottes sant Valentin. Jtem darnach kumbt man zu einem eysen gitter, vnd das ist ob einem **prummen** [= ‘well’], vnd darein hat sant Praxedis das plut der marterer getragen, als das da geflossen ist von der vorgenanten kirchen bey den fleischpencken, als die Tyber ist drey tag geflossen mit plut. Vnd do die heylige Praxedis also trug, do sprach sie zu got: ‘Ach lieber herr, wye lestu mich allein tragen, das ich nit gehilffen hab, das ich mocht das plut deiner dyner auff geschopfen!’ Do sprachen die heyligen zu ir: ‘Meynstu, das dw das alleyn habst gethan? Wir sind stetes bey dir gewest vnd haben dir geholffen!’ Vnd wer von der gassen vber die steynen stygen hinein

get mit andacht, der hat vergebung aller sund,
wann vber die stieg hat sie das plut getragen,
als man noch rote mal sicht auf den steynen,
als sie das plut hat gereret, als sie es trug in den
prunen in der kirchen. Vnd wer ein *pater nos-
ter* da pet bey dem prunnen, der hat besundern
grossen ablas. [...]

The well,⁶² allegedly containing the martyrs' blood which Prassede according to her *vita* collected, redirects the attention to the Roman martyrs, and to Prassede; 'wol IJJ tausent marterer' are now remembered (fol. 9^v), but Paschal's name is left out in the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century guides to the Roman churches.

The supposed location of the well is nowadays still marked in the neo-Cosmatic floor designed by Antonio Muñoz in the early twentieth century (Fig. 6). Caperna rightfully deploras

the fact that Muñoz left '[n]essuna relazione' on what is hidden now under the new pavement of S. Prassede.⁶³ Obviously a hexagonal well was removed which (in this form) dated from the seventeenth century (Fig. 7).⁶⁴ It is unknown what the well exactly looked like before the seventeenth century; earlier texts do not mention a well enclosure of marble or masonry, but only a metal grid and/or a round stone stone with a metal fence.⁶⁵

Looking back at the Carolingian design of the church as described above, it seems necessary to rethink the 'grande venerazione' 'sin da tempi rimoti' of the well.⁶⁶ We would like to hypothesize that the well did not yet exist during Paschal's time: if the *titulus* would have been near the spot of the legendary well, it would have been surprising if Paschal would have built his new church as a *lieu de mémoire* for the well



Fig. 6. Rome, S. Prassede, neo-Cosmatic floor, detail marking the supposed location of the blood well, as since 1918. Photo: Nine Miedema.



Fig. 7. Rome, S. Prassede, central nave with the blood well as before 1918. Photo: Courtesy of the Centre for Art Historical Documentation (CKD), Radboud University Nijmegen.

somewhere else, ‘in alio non longe demutans loco’, as the *Liber pontificalis* states (see above). It should be remembered that Paschal is said to have brought the bodies of many martyrs from different cemeteries in and around Rome to S. Prassede, not to have built his church on the exact location of one of these catacombs. It would have been surprising as well if, instead, Paschal’s new church would have been built on the original site of the well without incorporating it into the design of the church, either by placing the high altar on top of the well (as the example of St Peter’s would have suggested) or by mentioning it in the mosaic or marble inscriptions. Furthermore, the ‘Paschalian liturgical stage set’ within the Carolingian church,⁶⁷ which concentrated on the high altar, would have been severely disturbed by a second place of worship in the middle of the central nave.⁶⁸

Thus, it seems possible that the well is a fifteenth-century ‘invented tradition’, or rather: an ‘invented *lieu de mémoire*’: reading in the *vita* of the holy Prassede that she collected the blood of the Roman martyrs, a search for the place where the blood was deposited, maybe during repairs of the pavement of the church, might have ‘recognized’ any antique structure of the *insula* beneath the church, even a simple wall, as being (part of) the legendary well.⁶⁹ The tendency to an affective realization and visualisation of the atrocities the martyrs suffered, as shown especially by the Berlin manuscript quoted above, seems to fit well into late (rather than high or early) medieval religious culture.

Regardless of the age of the well, in 1913 the Fondo per il Culto decided to restore the floor (finished in 1918); while the aisles were repaved without Muñoz (who had in 1914 become Superintendent) being able to interfere, he decid-

edly influenced the design of the central nave's pavement – though never mentioning the well, on whose removal both the Fondo and Muñoz as well as the Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e Belle Arti seem to have tacitly agreed – evoking criticism for example by archeologist Orazio Marucchi.⁷⁰ If our hypothesis that no antique well existed is true, the clergy in charge of the redecoration of S. Prassede might have wanted to attract as little attention as possible to this (alleged) fact, and thus had no interest in documenting the excavations. It does catch the eye that the new inscription which marks the old site of the presumptive well reads [chi-rho] CONDITORIVM RELIQUIARVM SANCTORVM MARTYRVVM IN AEDIBVS SANCTAE PRAXEDIS (Fig. 6), thus neither mentioning a well nor the blood of the martyrs – nor, for that matter, Paschal.

A short glance at the further developments of the descriptions of S. Prassede in the fifteenth century must suffice here – the most popular printed late fifteenth-century pilgrims' guide in Latin is, as far as is reconstructable now, the first description of Rome to merge the Carolingian as well as the high and late medieval features of S. Prassede. This guide returns to Paschal's relic inscription, although it only quotes the first few lines:⁷¹

Ad Sanctam Praxedem. Temporibus sanctissimi ac beatissimi apostolici domini Pascalis pape introducta [sunt] veneranda sanctorum corpora in hanc sanctam et vene[rabilem] basilicam beate Christi virginis Praxedis, que predi[ctus ponti]fex diruta et cimiterium seu corporis iacentia auferens sub altari summo proprijs manibus collocavit in mense julij die XX, indictione X.

In capella Libera Nos a Penis Inferni et ortus paradisi est columna in quam ligatus fuit dominus noster Jesus Christus in passione sua, et super dicta columna sunt corpora sanctorum martirum Ualentini et Cenonis. Et in medio capelle sub lapide rotundo sunt corpora XL martirum, et in sinistra manu super quem positum est plumbum cum quo columna fuit mutata, quem mulieres tangunt, ex quo mulieres non possunt intrare capellam; sub isto lapide sunt sepulti XJ summi pontifices. Et sunt indulgentie quotidie XIJ M

annorum et totidem quadragenarum et tertie partis remissio omnium peccatorum.

In medio ecclesie vbi ferrum circumdat lapidem rotundum sub illo lapide dicitur esse sanguis sanctorum martirum quem beata Praxedis cum quadam spongia colligens in hunc puteum lapide rotundo conclusum infundebat et multa sanctorum corpora in Christo zelavit, per quorum merita concedat nobis deus celorum regna. Jtem in hac supradicta venerabili capella est altare super quo Pascalis papa predictus celebravit quinque missas pro quadam anima defuncta, quibus finitis visibiliter vidit illam deferre beatam virginem in gremio omnipotentis dei, vt euidenter patet in pariete dicte capelle supra fenestram ferream. Quo viso miraculo auctoritate apostolica dimisit quod si quis celebrari fecerit, extrahat vnam animam de purgatorio.

Panvinio (1570–84), again combining references to the well, the column and the many relics listed by Signorili, is the first author to quote the entire Carolingian inscription – thus re-establishing not only the memory of Pope Paschal, but also of Paschal's mother Theodora.

Conclusion

During the Carolingian period, four aspects of S. Prassede stand out: (1) its location along the processional route for the papal mass on the Monday of Holy Week which would attract many pilgrims and visitors; (2) the importance of relics to worship, reinforced by Paschal's translation of thousands of relics to the church; (3) the importance and presence of Theodora, Paschal's mother, in the Zeno Chapel; and (4) the possible connection with the Greek community in Rome materialized in the style of the mosaics especially in the Zeno Chapel.

Whereas the first aspect remains relatively stable during the centuries to follow, the *memoria* of (3) and (4) proved to be of short duration. Although Paschal obviously exerted himself in order to secure the *memoria* of his personal activities as a pope (arising from religious, political and economic ambitions) and of Theodora, those visiting S. Prassede from the tenth century onwards were obviously hardly interested in the founder pope and his mother. As for the

relics of the church, all written witnesses agree upon the fundamental importance of S. Prassede as a ‘home of the saints’ – but the question which saints exactly were to be venerated in the church was answered in various ways. The column of Christ’s flagellation shifted the attention of the visitors from the numerous lesser-known Roman martyrs to the martyr with the highest possible authority, probably from the thirteenth century onwards. Supposedly during the fifteenth century, after the ‘discovery’ of a blood well where under the pavement of the church

antique remains were visible, the *memoria* of the Roman saints was re-added to the memory of Christ’s passion; varying inventories of the unprecedentedly rich treasure of relics S. Prassede housed were written, but it was not before the sixteenth century that all accessible sources (Carolingian relic inscription including Paschal and Theodora, blood well, and late medieval relic inventories) merged into an exhaustive documentation of all those deserving worship in the Church of S. Prassede.

Notes

- 1 The *titulus* probably existed since the fourth century; the first inscription referring to it dates from 489 (Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms: Der römische Sakralbau in Geschichte und Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 vols, vol. 4 ed. by Brigitte Kuhn-Forte (1997) (Vienna: Hollinek, 1967–74), III (1974), pp. 591, 594; Richard Krautheimer and others, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum urbis Romae: The early Christian basilicas of Rome* (hereafter *CBCR*), 5 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1934–77), III (1967), pp. 232–59 (p. 234); correction of the date from 491 to 489: Caroline J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817–824*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 77 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 93 with further references), and it is the first to be mentioned in the list of the Roman *tituli* written during the synod of 499 (*CBCR* III, p. 234). Cf. Raymond Davis, *The lives of the ninth century popes ('Liber pontificalis'): The ancient biographies of ten popes from AD 817–891*. Translated Texts for Historians, 20 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), p. 9, n. 19: ‘Perhaps the most likely suggestion is that the site of the *titulus* (with, then, no purpose-built church) was the *insula* which has partly survived in the houses along the Via di San Martino and higher up below the *atrium* and façade of Paschal’s church, some 8 m above the ancient street level’. S. Prassede was one of Rome’s twenty-five early title churches (Judson J. Emerick, ‘Focusing on the celebrant: The column display inside Santa Prassede’, *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 59 (2000), 129–59 (p. 129)), a ‘Kardinal-Priesterkirche’ (Buchowiecki, III, p. 591). – For the *insula*, cf. Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, *Santa Prassede*, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 66 (Rome: Edizioni ‘Roma’, 1961), pp. 12–31.
- 2 *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), c. c. 8: ‘in alio non longe demutans loco’. Davis, pp. 9–13 is the description of Paschal’s work on S. Prassede (chapters 8–11 of Paschal’s life).
- 3 The legend tells that Prassede collected the blood of persecuted Christians during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–61), which is, however, incompatible with the fact that her *vita* also states that she was the daughter of Pudens, who hosted the apostles Peter and Paul in his home (Buchowiecki, III, p. 593) – ‘die Widersprüchlichkeiten der Legende sind offensichtlich und es ist vergeblich, Personen und Tatsachen organisch zu gruppieren’ (Buchowiecki, III, p. 594).
- 4 *LP* c. c. 8, Davis, p. 9. Buchowiecki, III, p. 594; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a city, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 123; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 92. See Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984) for a general historical context of the papal state in the seventh through ninth century.
- 5 Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 14, 35, 101.
- 6 *LP*, c. c. 8–11; Rotraut Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom: Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), p. 13; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 81, 92.
- 7 Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 124. The Carolingian popes seem, even by building and decorating churches in a specific manner, to have underlined the fact that they were the sovereign leaders of an independent state, the Republic of St Peter’s (Emerick, p. 140; cf. Noble). Paschal is said to present himself as a ‘champion of images’, against the iconoclastic emperors Leo V (Greek) and Louis the Pious (Frank) (Emerick, p. 141). By drawing attention to the high altar (see below), Paschal might have tried to reduce the possibilities of worldly political display, favouring a glorification of the celebrant and thus, indirectly, of the independence of papacy from the Frankish (and Greek) kings (Emerick, p. 149). Cf. Wisskirchen, pp. 14–18.

- 8 S. Prassede was one of the station churches, but ‘wohl nicht nach der ursprünglichen Ordnung’ (Buchowiecki, III, p. 591); the station of this day was transferred from Ss. Nereo ed Achilleo to S. Prassede, which may have happened as a result of Paschal building his new church. Emerick interprets this as a statement claiming ‘to shape a ceremonial world in the capital of the Republic of S. Peter where he [= Paschal] could appear effectively as a leader’ (Emerick, p. 129; cf. Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 101-02, 136). – Petrus Mallius (*Descriptio basilicae Vaticanae*, end of the twelfth century) erroneously mentions Ss. Nereo e Achileo as the station church on Monday before Easter (Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Fonti per la storia d’Italia, 81, 88, 90, 91, 4 vols (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1940-53), III (1946), p. 441), although he does know the Church of S. Prassede (p. 438). John Capgrave (c. 1450) states, after having described S. Prassede as the station church on Monday before Easter: ‘This same day eke is þe stacion at a noþir chorch dedicat to Þese seyntes neresus and achilleus’. John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrims: A Description of Rome, circa AD 1450*, ed. by Charles A. Mills, British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 148; underlining as in this edition).
- 9 *CBCR* III, p. 259. Emerick, p. 140 argues that Paschal was the first to copy St Peter’s, other than Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 122-23, who argued for a Carolingian Renaissance preceding Paschal. Goodson, *Rome*, p. 86, however, shows that ‘the so-called Constantinian basilica was an architectural form current throughout the period between Constantine and Paschal’; there was no time ‘in the sixth to eighth centuries, during which basilican churches were not built’ (p. 87, examples: pp. 88-90), which means the choice of the form of the basilica was ‘not a revival of a long-dead way of building’ (p. 90). According to Sible de Blaauw, ‘Liturgical features of the Roman churches’, in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell’alto medioevo. Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013*, Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 61 (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2014), pp. 321-37 (p. 334) the ‘western direction of the apse’ can be seen as ‘the most decisive aspect in the definition of a “Carolingian Renaissance of Early Christian architecture” in order to meet (Gregorian) liturgical needs.
- 10 Emerick, pp. 151, 141.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 148.
- 12 Whereas Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 126, recognizes one of the brothers of Prassede and Pudentiana in this male figure, Wisskirchen, pp. 28-29 refrains from identifying him. Paola Gallio, *La basilica di Santa Prassede*, 4th edn (Genova: Marconi, 2013), p. 12, points to the possibility of this man being a church official such as a deacon (Zeno? Ciriaco?). See for a similar scheme the apse mosaic of S. Cecilia. Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 126-27; Wisskirchen, pp. 29-31.
- 13 During the Late Middle Ages several other churches in Rome claimed to possess relics of Prassede (Nine R. Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 97 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), p. 867).
- 14 Quoted after Gallio, p. 13. Cf. Joseph Dyer, ‘Prolegomena to a history of music and liturgy at Rome in the Middle Ages’, in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. by Graeme M. Boone, Isham Library Papers, 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 87-115 (pp. 94-99) and Emerick, p. 130, for a discussion on the possible reflection of the relic translation in the imagery of the mosaics.
- 15 Ursula Nilgen, ‘Die große Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Zeno-Kapelle’, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 69 (1974), 7-29; Caterina-Giovanna Coda, *Duemilatrecento corpi di martiri. La relazione di Benigno Aloisi (1729) e il ritrovamento delle reliquie nella basilica di Santa Prassede in Roma*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 46 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004), pp. 127-50; Caroline J. Goodson, ‘Transforming city and cult: the relic translation of Paschal I (817-824)’, in *Roman Bodies: Metamorphoses, mutilation, and martyrdom*, ed. by Andrew Hopkins and Maria Wyke (London: British School at Rome, 2005), pp. 123-41; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 165 (Fig. 34), 166-68, 327-33 (text and translation); Gallio, Fig. 29 (the inscription is still visible in the church).
- 16 Translation quoted after Goodson, *Rome*, p. 327.
- 17 Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 328-29.
- 18 *LP c*, c. 9. The *Liber pontificalis* thus repeats what is told at the beginning of Paschal’s life: he ‘sought out, found and collected many bodies of saints [...] lying in destroyed cemeteries’ (Davis, p. 10).
- 19 Charles Mancho, ‘Pasquale I, santa Prassede, Roma e Santa Prassede’, *Arte medievale*, IV série, 1 (2010-11), 31-48 (pp. 35 and 41-42).
- 20 Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 202-28. According to Emerick, p. 130, Paschal used unusual ‘clamor and pomp’ during this translation of relics in order to emphasize his own papal position; but there is no contemporary documentation on Paschal’s search for relics in the Roman catacombs. The relics were kept in a *camera delle reliquie* in the annular crypt below the altar, not in the altar itself (Emerick, pp. 143-44). Cf. Goodson, ‘Transforming’.
- 21 Wisskirchen, p. 27; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 160. On the architecture of the Zeno Chapel, see Margo Paulter Klass, ‘The Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome’ (unpublished diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1972), microfilm Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International 1973.

- 22 LP C, c. x: 'Also in that church he built an oratory of Christ's martyr St Zeno, and there he also placed his holy body, and fully adorned it with mosaic' ('oratorium beati Zenonis Christi martyris, ubi et sacratissimum eius corpus ponens musibo amplianter ornavit'). Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 130; Davis, p. 12; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 166-70.
- 23 Goodson, *Rome*, p. 168.
- 24 Davis, p. 12; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 166.
- 25 Goodson, *Rome*, p. 328: 'on the right hand-side where truly the body of his benign mother, Mistress Theodora Episcopa, rests'.
- 26 Nilgen; Davis, pp. 10-11 (following CBCR III, p. 235); Emerick, p. 130; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 166.
- 27 Davis, pp. 10-11 (following CBCR III, p. 235).
- 28 Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 170-71.
- 29 On the meaning of square halos, see John Osborne, 'The portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: a re-examination of the so-called "square" nimbus in medieval art', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 47 (1979), 58-65; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 166-68.
- 30 Beat Brenk, 'Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom', *Archivio Español de Arqueología*, 45-47 (1972-74), 213-22; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 128-34; Robin Cormack, 'The Mother of God in apse mosaics', in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. by Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 91-106; Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 160-70.
- 31 Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 124-34. Cf. Wisskirchen, pp. 18-25, on the Carolingian *renovatio* and Caroline J. Goodson, 'Revival and Reality: The Carolingian Renaissance in Rome and the Case of S. Prassede', in *Atti del seminario in onore di Hans Peter L'Orange*, ed. by Siri Sande (= *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, n.s., 5 (2005)), pp. 163-92.
- 32 Brenk; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 124-26; Wisskirchen; Cormack.
- 33 LP C, c. 9-10; Wisskirchen, p. 13; Davis, p. 11; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 187.
- 34 Brenk; Cormack. Cf. Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 165-66, 188-90.
- 35 Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 89-108; Michael McCormick, 'The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration', in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. by Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki Laiou (Cambridge, MA: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), pp. 17-52; Andrew Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590-752* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009); Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 187-90. Cf. Judith Herrin, *Margins and Metropolis: Authority across the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 220-38.
- 36 Brenk; Marianne Asmussen, 'The Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede in Rome: New Aspects on the Iconography', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 25 (1986), 67-87; Ekonomou, pp. 14-23.
- 37 Ekonomou, pp. 42-45.
- 38 Pietro Fedele, 'Tabularium S. Praxedis', *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria*, 27 (1904), 27-78, and 28 (1905), 41-114 ((1904), pp. 28, 32) proves that already during the tenth century there were Latin monks in the monastery.
- 39 The church is mentioned (without further description) in the *Mirabilia Romae* (c. 1143, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: Die Wunderwerke der Stadt Rom*, ed. by Gerlinde Huber-Rebe and others (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2014), p. 72), the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* (second half of the twelfth century, Valentini and Zucchetti, III, p. 83), and in Cencio Camerario's (1192) as well as the Parisian catalogue (1320) of Roman churches (Valentini and Zucchetti, III, pp. 230, 289). The *Itinerarium Einsiedlense* (Stefano del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'Anonimo Augiense*, Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 48 (Rome: Società alla Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 2004), pp. 4-5) and Giraldu Cambrensis (c. 1200) do not mention S. Prassede (Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo: Cataloghi ed appunti* (Florence: Olschki, 1927; repr. Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1975), pp. 18-19; cf. pp. 53, 63, 68, 69 for further references to S. Prassede during the fifteenth century). The documents concerning S. Prassede published by Fedele 1904-05 (tenth to fourteenth centuries) reveal no details on the structure of the church.
- 40 Buchowiecki, III, pp. 598, 602; cf. Apollonj Ghetti, p. 44; Maurizio Caperna, *La basilica di Santa Prassede: Il significato della vicenda architettonica* (Rome: Monaci Benedettini Vallombrosani, 1999), pp. 14, 25, n. 20.
- 41 Caperna, p. 17; cf. Anna Maria Affanni, *La chiesa di Santa Prassede: La storia, il rilievo, il restauro* (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 2006), pp. 20-21; Gallio, Fig. 88.
- 42 Gallio, p. 3 assumes this happened when the Vallombrosani took over the custody of the church; Caperna, pp. 16, 59-82, and Emerick, p. 132 claim it was done in the thirteenth century. Buchowiecki, III, pp. 599, 603-04 points to the fact that if the arches must have been completed before 1388, as a burial stone of this date (Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 14 vols (Rome: Bencini, 1869-84), II (1873), no. 1504) was partly covered by one of the bases of the arches (cf. Gallio, Figure on pp. 32-34). Benigno Davanzati, *Notizie al pellegrino della basilica di Santa Prassede* (Rome: De Rossi, 1725), p. 211, mentions an inscription in the crypt which only consisted of the date 'MCXXIX, volendo forse denotare, che questo S. Luogo fosse restaurato nell'anno medesimo'.
- 43 Emerick, p. 143; cf. Gallio, Fig. 24.
- 44 The grave still stands in the right arm of the transept (Gallio, Fig. 20), but probably not at its original site (Buchowiecki, III, p. 621). A contemporary inscription proves that the grave was erected in 1286 (Forcella, II, no. 1496; Gallio, Fig. 20).

- 45 An inscription records donations, CV[M] ALTARI. OB. REVERE[N]TIA[M] O[M]NI[VM] S[AN]C- / [TO]RVM (Forcella, II, no. 1495). As Pantaleone Anchier was murdered in the church, the Chapel must have been reconsecrated, but the altar dedicated to All Saints is mentioned in this inscription after Anchier's death, so the new dedication of the chapel seems to be later than 1286.
- 46 The frescoes had most likely only been visible from the *presbyterium* and *schola cantorum* (Fig. 5; cf. Goodson, *Rome*, Fig. 29). Claudia Zaccagnini, 'Nuove osservazioni sugli affreschi altomedievali della chiesa di S. Prassede', *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, 54, Série 3, 12 (1999), 83-114 (p. 114) describes the decoration of the apse, triumphal arch and transept as 'episodi agiografici di natura "terrena"' in the frescoes, enhanced to 'lo splendore dei gruppi di eletti che ricevono il premio per la loro fedeltà spirituale' in the mosaics.
- 47 Buchowiecki, III, p. 624: from the saints mentioned in the fresco's inscriptions (Iulianus and Celsus, Leo and Marcianus, Hilaria, Iason and Maurus, Chrysanthus and Daria) only the last two are also mentioned in the Carolingian inscription. Buchowiecki unconvincingly adds: 'Wahrscheinlich hat aber Paschalis auch die Reliquien der anderen für die Fresken genannten Martyr in die Kirche übertragen' (p. 624; cf. Zaccagnini, pp. 93, 101, who observes that Prassede, Pudentiana, Pudens and Paulus were also depicted in the frescoes, 'realizzati in un posto d'onore, in quanto più bassi rispetto agli altri e quindi meglio visibile dai devoti'; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 239, n. 182, who assumes Basilissa was also mentioned in the inscriptions and states (p. 241) that Paschal meant to show that his own deeds mirrored those of the saints in the frescoes, especially Hilaria and Prassede, who devoted themselves to the enshrinement of relics).
- 48 Affanni, p. 28. A further chapel seems to have been added in the year 1331 (Forcella, II, no. 1500: HIC. IACET. CECCHVS DE. PETESCE. QVI FECIT FIERI. HA[N]C CAPPELLA[M] [...]), but it is unclear where it was located. Davanzati, p. 193 located it in 1725, '[d]alla parte destra della medesima porta', thus at the right-hand side of the nave, immediately after entering the church, which can hardly be the original site of the chapel.
- 49 There is hardly any reliable source for this occurrence. Contemporary documentation on Giovanni Colonna's life can be found in *Matthaei Parisiensis [...] Chronica majora*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, *Rerum britannicarum mediæ aevi scriptores*, 57, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-83), III (1876), pp. 219, 444-46; IV (1877), pp. 59, 165, 168, 250, 287; V (1880), p. 65, and in papal documents published and analysed by Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227): Etude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 97 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), but the column is not mentioned here. Two sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inscriptions refer to Colonna bringing the column to Rome (Forcella, II, no. 1546; *La Descrizione di Roma di Benedetto Mellini nel codice Vat. lat. 11905*, ed. by Federico Guidobaldi and others, *Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane*, 23 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2010), pp. 478-79). The first reference to the Colonna family (without Giovanni's name) being connected with the column seems to be Giovanni Rucellai, 1450 (Valentini and Zucchetti, IV (1953), p. 411). The year 1223 is first mentioned by Mellini, p. 479, who copied a 1566 inscription referring to this date.
- 50 Mancho, p. 36; Goodson, *Rome*, p. 197.
- 51 It seems the column was placed in the Zeno Chapel, thus drastically changing the chapel's original memorial function and linking its name to Christ; the chapel was now also called *Hortus Paradisi* and, because of its indulgences, *Libera nos a Poenis Inferni* (Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 753-54). Leopold of Vienna (1377) seems to be the first traveller to mention the column as standing in the Zeno Chapel: Joseph Haupt, 'Philippi Liber de terra sancta in der deutschen Uebersetzung des Augustiner Lesemeisters Leupold, vom Jahre 1377', *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie*, 10 (1871), 511-40 (p. 525): 'Doselb ein chappelln ist do ist ein ganzz stukch der säul do vnser herr an geslagen ist vnd getar chain fraw hin in gen'. Mellini, pp. 466-67, adds in the late seventeenth century that the column stood in the right-hand niche, coming in from the aisle.
- 52 Transcription after the facsimile given by Clemens Müller, '[Die Sehenswürdigkeiten der Stadt Rom, ausgezogen] aus der Chronik', in *Vedi Napoli e poi muri: Grand Tour der Mönche*, ed. by Peter Erhart and Jakob Kuratli Hübli (St Gall: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2014), pp. 96-111 (adding a modern interpunction; italics mark dissolved abbreviations). The Latin text has been edited before by Hülsen, p. 154, using five late fourteenth- and a fifteenth-century manuscript; only the St Gall, the Stuttgart, and the (fifteenth-century) Munich manuscripts mention the column, as well as Leopold (1377, see n. 51). Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 746-56, especially p. 749, relics no. 4. – Nicolás Rosell, who died in 1362, in mentions S. Prassede in his *De mirabilibus civitatis Romae*, without giving any further details (Valentini and Zucchetti, III, p. 189).
- 53 Of the Latin manuscripts used by Hülsen, p. 154, only the St Gall codex mentions Valentinus (he is omitted by Leopold of Vienna as well, see n. 51). Valentinus is not recorded in the Carolingian relic inscription (Goodson, *Rome*, pp. 327-33); tradition has it he was Zeno's brother and rested together with him in the Zeno Chapel (Buchowiecki, III, p. 612), but it is unclear how old this tradition is.
- 54 The indulgence mentioned in this text is unauthorized, as are most of the indulgences in the *Indulgentiae*

- ecclesiarum urbis Romae*. The only verifiable indulgence for S. Prassede was granted by Nicolas IV on 13 March 1290, see Fedele 1905, pp. 107–08 (one year and 40 *carenae*).
- 55 Manetti claims Pope Nicolas V restored S. Prassede (‘Vita Nicolai V. summi pontificis auctore Jannotto Manetto Florentino’, in Ludovicus A. Muratorius, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, III.2 (Milan: Societas Palatina in Regia Curia, 1734), pp. 907–60 (pp. 930–31): ‘Stationum Aedes [...] reparare ac reformare decreverat, atque hoc [...] officium in plurimis minoribus’, for example ‘Beatæ Praxedis, reparationibus constructionibusque inchoavit’). However, ‘I restauri [...] di Nicolò V [...] non sono individuabili’ (Apollonj Ghetti, p. 10).
- 56 Capgrave, p. 148.
- 57 A scholarly edition of Signorili’s *Descriptio urbis Romae* is a *desideratum*, as Valentini and Zucchetti, IV, pp. 151–208 and Hülsen, pp. 43–52 only publish extracts from the text. We will quote Signorili using *Onvphrii Panvini* [...] *De præcipvis urbis Romæ sanctoribusque basilicis* [...] *Liber* [...] (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1584), pp. 318–20. We have not been able to consult Panvinius’s 1570 edition.
- 58 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 16. 1. Aug. quart., published by Nine R. Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Die Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar*. Frühe Neuzeit, 72 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), pp. 91–133.
- 59 Davanzati, pp. 283–436. Davanzati, pp. 397–99 quotes two inscriptions in ‘Tavole di Marmo’ (p. 397), possibly made when Carlo Borromeo (1538–84) built the reliquiaries on the balconies attached to the triumphal arch (Gallio, Fig. 66; cf. Mellini (third quarter of the seventeenth century), p. 469: ‘sono scolpiti i nome d’esse reliquie’). No trace of these inscriptions is left. – Benigno Aloisi in 1729 especially focused on the crypt of S. Prassede (Coda, pp. 17–78).
- 60 Quoted from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 1168, fols 9^{r/v} (using modern interpunction; italics mark abbreviations). Cf. the excerpts from this codex in Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 751–52. This manuscript, which belongs to a group of five containing a rather extensive version of the *Indulgentiae* (Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 51–52), was written in or little later than 1456; an ‘I’ presents itself as an eyewitness to Pope Nicolas V celebrating mass in S. Giovanni in 1447 (fol. 4^v). – A comparison of Panvinius’s 1584 text with the Vatican manuscript Vat. lat. 3536, one of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts containing Signorili’s text (originally written c. 1430; see n. 57 above), fols 58^v–60^r, shows differences between Signorili and Panvinius, which, however, do not concern the well, as it is left out in (the Vatican manuscript 3536 of) Signorili’s text.
- 61 That women had no access to the chapel is also mentioned for example by Leopold of Vienna (1377), see n. 51. Davanzati, p. 231 adds that this resulted from the narrowness and darkness of the chapel and was supposed to protect women, so that ‘non vi nascesse qualche confusione’.
- 62 We would like to thank Maarten van Deventer (Radboud University) for his substantial help on the interpretation of the blood wells in S. Prassede and S. Pudenziana. Caperna, p. 141, n. 8, assumes Fra Mariano da Firenze (1517) was the first to mention the well, but this date can be corrected to 1447 by using the German manuscripts. See Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 751–52, relics no. 18, and Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, con introduzione e note illustrative del Enrico Bulletti, Studi di antichità cristiana, 2 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1931), p. 179: ‘Non longe a porta ecclesiae in medio sui sub rotundo lapide ferreis cratis circumdato, puteum est sanctorum martyrum sanguine repletum a sancta Praxede cum spongia et linteaminis collecto dum Christi martyres torquebantur trucidabanturque’.
- 63 Caperna, pp. 128, 127. Muñoz’s letters on this subject were summarized by Caperna, pp. 141–42; some important further documents were published by Calogero Bellanca, *Antonio Muñoz: La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il governatorato*, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*. Supplementi, 10 (Rome: ‘L’Erma’ di Bretschneider, 2003). Bellanca, p. 321 shows, for example, that Muñoz suggested to reuse ancient marbles from the Baths of Caracalla for the pavement in S. Prassede, in order to keep the costs of the floor as low as possible.
- 64 Titular Cardinal Antoniotto Pallavicini (1489–1503) is said to have repaved the church. Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma che si celebrano la Quadregesima* (Rome: Bonfadino, 1588), fol. 299^v: ‘rinuò il piano della chiesa’ (copied by Mellini, p. 466). It is possible that Pallavicini only renewed the presbytery’s floor (Apollonj Ghetti, p. 10; *CBCR* III, p. 236; Emerick, pp. 135, 156, n. 52). *Le cose maravigliose* (1558) state the well was closed by Leo X (1513–21) (*Le Cose maravigliose dell’alma città di Roma* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1558), [n.pp.]), but some fifty years earlier, John Capgrave already remarked, ‘[t]he well is now closed with a round ston and grated a bouthe with irun’. – In the eighteenth century Davanzati, p. 289, also refers to Leo X as having closed the well ‘con pietre, e calce’ after having taken ‘a prova dell’esistenza del suddetto sangue’; Leo wanted to ‘togliere in avvenire il luogo alla curiosità de’ popoli, ed a gli inconvenienti, ed indecenza’. Davanzati, p. 290 also describes that in 1686 (*recte*: 1688, as Forcella, II, no. 1553 shows) the well was ‘abellito’ by Leone Strozzi (Caperna, p. 141, n. 18, cf. p. 126, erroneously mentions the year 1618, when Leone Strozzi was not yet born); according to

- Giuseppe Finocchio, 'Riflessioni sul pavimento presbiteriale della chiesa di S. Prassede', in *Atti del XV colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* [...] (*Aquileia, 4-7 febbraio 2009*), ed. by Claudia Angelelli and Carla Salvetti (Tivoli: Scripta manent, 2010), pp. 305-14 (p. 310) and Caperna, p. 126 the pavement was altered again in 1742. The nineteenth-century situation, which is probably basically identical with the eighteenth-century arrangement, is documented in drawings and etches by Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray (1805; Rolf Bothe, *Clemens Wenzeslaus Coudray: Ein deutscher Architekt des Klassizismus* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013), Fig. 245), J. M. Knapp (1823), Giacomo Fontana (1838), L. Rossini (1839-43), and Luigi Canina (1846) (Caperna, Figs 82, 19, 120, 5). A few photographs also survive: e.g. *CBCR* III, Fig. 211 (Alinari), Caperna, Fig. 160 (Anderson), Fig. 161. They all show a hexagonal structure of some one metre high; in some cases the well is closed.
- 65 The Wolfenbüttel manuscript (1448) adds it was a high metal grid: 'ain hoch eisni gätter'. See Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, p. 752; Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, p. 122. The printed Latin *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae* speak of 'puteum lapide rotundo conclusum' '[j]n medio ecclesie vbi ferrum circumdat lapidem rotundum', see below (similar is Fra Mariano, p. v); the German version of the printed text (produced from 1475 onwards) leaves the well out (Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, p. 275).
- 66 Caperna, p. 141; Marco Cecchelli, 'Alcuni effetti delle grandi traslazioni nelle basiliche romane: I pozzi dei martiri. L'esempio di S. Pudenziana', in *Quaeritur inventus colitur: Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola, B.*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 40 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1989), pp. 107-21 (p. 120) also assumes the well formed part of Paschal's Carolingian church.
- 67 Emerick, p. 151.
- 68 Goodson, *Rome*, p. 137, describes how the celebrants would walk 'in procession up the centre of the nave, passing through the chancel barriers that marked the boundary between the lay and clerical areas'.
- 69 In 1452, Muffel even asserted one could walk underground in a 'gruft' from S. Pudenziana to S. Prassede, obviously assuming the church was built on catacombs (Nikolaus Muffel, *Descrizione della città di Roma nel 1452: Delle indulgenze e dei luoghi sacri di Roma [Der ablas und die heiligen stet zu Rom]*, ed. by Gerhard Wiedmann (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), p. 82). John Capgrave (1450) thought '[t]his church was hir [Prassede's] halle' (p. 148). – The excavations documented by Apollonj Ghetti do not touch the structures immediately below the church; Federico Guidobaldi, 'L'inserimento delle chiese titolari di Roma nel tessuto urbano preesistente: Osservazioni ed implicazioni', in *Quaeritur inventus colitur. Miscellanea in onore di Padre Umberto Maria Fasola, B.*, Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 40 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1989), pp. 381-96 (p. 390) pointedly summarizes there are '[s]olo indicazioni frammentarie ed inutilizzabili sul sottosuolo della chiesa'. Antonio Muñoz, 'Studi sulle basiliche romane di S. Sabina e di S. Prassede', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana d'Archeologia* 13 (1918), 119-28, and Antonio Muñoz, 'Studii e restauri nelle chiese di Roma', *Capitolium*, 3, 9 (1927), 441-51, can hardly be called scholarly documentations of the excavations (Caperna, p. 128).
- 70 Caperna, pp. 126-28. Muñoz later (1928) also had to defend himself against reproaches from Arduino Colasanti, Direttore Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti (Bellanca, p. 324). Furthermore, there were disagreements between Muñoz and his engineer Umberto Bertolini about the design of the nave's floor; Muñoz enforced his own design, about which he wrote in 1921: 'La perizia dei marmorari medioevali ancor oggi perdura nelle maestranze moderne di Roma, come può vedersi [...] nell'ultima opera che può dirsi più propriamente cosmatesca, nel pavimento di S. Prassede, compiuto nel 1918 nello stile di quelli antichi già ricordati' (Antonio Muñoz, *Roma di Dante* (Milan: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1921), pp. 131-32), proudly depicting (p. 116) the floor in a book otherwise dedicated to the Middle Ages. – We are grateful to Dr Alessandro Maranesi (Radboud University) for his kind help on the interpretation of Muñoz's letters.
- 71 *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et descriptio urbis Romae*; first Latin prints probably c. 1480, earliest dated print: 1489; quoted here from a 1500 edition (l 81: Rome: Johannes Besicken and Martinus de Amsterdam, 16 August 1500; Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, p. 13 with n. 43), fols 45^v-46^v. A critical edition is currently prepared by Miedema.

AND THEY WERE ALWAYS IN THE TEMPLE: THE PILGRIMS' EXPERIENCE AT S. MARIA ROTONDA

Hanneke VAN ASPEREN

Although not one of Rome's earliest Christian churches, the Pantheon is one of Rome's oldest and most prominent buildings. Built by Hadrian as a *templum*,¹ it stood abandoned for some time in the Early Middle Ages. It started to function as a church only in the early decades of the seventh century when it was dedicated to the Virgin and all martyrs, and it has been a place of Christian worship ever since. The building underwent many interventions during the Middle Ages and it has been considered something of a miracle that the Roman building has survived at all. Its transformation into a church in the seventh century was surely crucial, but much remains unclear about how the pagan, and therefore tainted, history of the edifice was accommodated once the function of Christian church was imposed upon it. The Pantheon's enormous round open space with its grand cupola was not well suited to its new function. The roof has a large hole in the middle to let the light in, but also allows in any precipitation and, in winter, the cold. Still, the building attracted much attention from the devout, during the High and Late Middle Ages. The city of Rome where the Pantheon is situated was well endowed with antique and believed-to-be antique buildings and statues that embodied the medieval ideal of *romanitas*. For pilgrims however, the building must have had an attraction that exceeded its connection with the Roman past. The subject of this contribution is not the physical appearance or liturgical use of the Pantheon, which have been the primary focus of Sible de Blaauw's careful attention.² Instead, I will turn my attention to the Christian interpretations of its classical architecture during the heyday of medieval pilgrimage to Rome. Although ideas and associations are intangible, it is possible to catch a glimpse of the medieval perspectives on the Pantheon from surviving images, such as pilgrimage souvenirs.

The Pantheon as a Church

In 609, 610, or perhaps 613, Pope Boniface IV (608–15) consecrated the classical building that is still known today as the Pantheon.³ According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the Pantheon became 'the Church of the Blessed Mary, always a Virgin, and All Martyrs'.⁴ Circular churches were not at all unusual at the time as S. Stefano Rotondo, built for Pope Simplicius (468–83), clearly demonstrates. The dedication to all martyrs seems to have followed on from the tradition of the Pantheon being a temple to all the gods, but the Virgin became its most important titular. The pope might have been inspired by a tradition, already firmly established in the east, of associating round churches with the Virgin.⁵ Retrospectively, a story emerged that the Pantheon had previously been a temple to the mother-goddess Cybele.⁶ She anticipated the dedication of the building to the Virgin just as all gods had prefigured all martyrs. The inclusion of Cybele in the proto-history of the church, especially her privileged position among the other gods, was supposedly invented to underscore the position of the Virgin at the top of the hierarchy of saints. Since the Virgin was the most important figure, the roots of the Pantheon's dedication to her had to be present from the start too.

The building's most prominent features, the circular floor plan, the cupola and the round hole, became its identifying marks. Although the church was officially known as Mary among the Martyrs from the seventh century onwards, its popular name became S. Maria Rotonda, or 'the Round Church of St Mary'. Serving as a conduit between east and west, S. Maria Rotonda became a model in the West for circular, and centralized, churches dedicated to Mary, such as the chapels at Centula, Würzburg, Altötting, and Ludwigstadt.⁷ Significantly, the additional title of S. Maria Rotonda already appears in



Fig. 1. Rome, S. Maria Rotonda (Pantheon), interior, looking towards the main apse and upwards. Photo in the public domain.

eighth-century pilgrims' itineraries,⁸ and from the twelfth century, the name of S. Maria Rotonda also appears in official documents.⁹ S. Maria Rotonda, and not S. Maria ad Martyres, is the name written on twelfth- and thirteenth-century pilgrims' souvenir badges (Figs 2 and 3). In agreement with its popular name, these souvenir badges depict the Virgin and Child in the round church, without additional figures, without martyrs or saints.

Besides being a church and a model for sanctuaries elsewhere, the former Pantheon became a site of pilgrimage which attracted pilgrims from far and wide. Much importance has been attributed to a Byzantine icon of the Virgin and Child in the pilgrimage cult of S. Maria Rotonda, but its significance must not be overestimated.¹⁰ First of all, the dedication of the former pagan temple to the Virgin was probably not instigated by the icon. On the contrary, the icon's being placed inside the S. Maria Rotonda seems to have followed shortly after the dedica-

tion and was most likely intended to reinforce the special relationship of the new church with the Virgin. The icon of the Virgin bore witness to the established hierarchy, not the other way around. Nor did the icon become the main focus of the pilgrimage cult later, or at least this does not emerge from the sources. The icon is hardly mentioned in the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* ['The Indulgences of the churches of the city of Rome'],¹¹ In his description of Rome, Nikolaus Muffel (c. 1410–69) mentions an apparition of the Virgin to a large group of martyrs who were inside the church.¹² They had refused to honour the pagan gods and turned to Mary who came to console them. Muffel does not mention the icon, only the apparition of the Virgin, on a site where an altar was erected afterwards to commemorate the miraculous event. In another story in the *Liber pontificalis*, from the time of Pope Stephanus III (768–72), a Lombard priest called Waldipert turned to the church for asylum 'while Waldipert carried his

image [*imaginem ipsius*] of the mother of God to this place'.¹³ The narrative seems to indicate that the priest brought the image with him, although it is impossible to be sure on the basis of this short passage. Pilgrims hardly mention the image in their accounts. In comparison, icons of the Virgin in other churches of Rome are described elaborately, even if they play a subsidiary role among the relics, for example in St Peter's or in S. Maria Maggiore.¹⁴

No saint had been martyred on the site of the rotunda, no divine vision had preceded its construction and pilgrims' accounts and the *Indulgentiae* evoke an image of a church with few relics. Muffel does mention a large number of relics at the Pantheon at the time of the consecration, but this is a later construction without historic basis.¹⁵ Sources dating back to the fifteenth century mention the relics of Sts Rasmus and Anastasius, but these are not mentioned in older descriptions.¹⁶ They might have been installed later to emphasize the dedication to Mary and the martyrs and they were presumably not the focus of the pilgrimage cult. Although the link of the former pagan temple with the Virgin was strong from the beginning and remained firm, no concrete evidence emerges of a cult focusing on relics or on the icon.

Fascination with Architecture

Different sources indicate that pilgrims were drawn primarily to the building and, after that, to the icon or the relics. Pilgrims' accounts focus on the architectural elements, primarily the round shape, the spacious interior and the oculus. In his description of Rome, the twelfth-century Icelandic Abbot Nikolas Munkathverá mentions a church dedicated to All Saints which is 'large, splendid' and 'is open above'.¹⁷ Arnold von Harff (1471-1505) describes the former Pantheon: as 'a beautiful round church without a window. High up is a round hole through which the daylight shines'.¹⁸ In *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, John Capgrave (1393-1464) elaborately describes 'a round house with outer piler and that of so grete widnesse and so grete heith that it is wonder who thei myth rere it'.¹⁹ He mainly revels over the spaciousness of the interior.

Likewise, the miraculous story of the transformation of the pagan building into a church focuses on the architecture. When the pope consecrated the former mausoleum and temple, the devil had supposedly appeared and tried to demolish the building to stop its transformation. He failed, and in total frustration he took the metal knob from the top of the building and threw it into the river Tiber. With the removal of the knob and the subsequent creation of the oculus, light could enter the building, symbolically creating a direct link with heaven. The miracle marked the moment when God entered the building. To further underscore God's benevolence towards, or direct interference in, the consecration, the knob was miraculously retrieved and brought to St Peter's for visitors to marvel upon. Books with the *Indulgentiae* mention the object in the atrium of St Peter's.²⁰ As a tangible remnant of the pagan proto-history of S. Maria Rotonda, it showed that the consecration had met with divine approval and the building, although pagan at first, had always been destined to become a place of Christian worship.²¹

In line with the pilgrims' accounts, the badges that pilgrims took home also depicted a circular and domed church with an oculus. A chronology of badges is hard to define because they remained the same over a long period of time and it is often not possible to date them on the basis of archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, those few badges that might be dated indicate that the souvenir production for the S. Maria Rotonda had been established in the early fourteenth century and might go back to the (late) thirteenth century.²² St Peter's – one of the seven stationary churches of Rome – had been manufacturing badges depicting Sts Peter and Paul, for some time, probably as early as the twelfth century.²³ Other churches in Rome had followed suit. The badges of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, built on the site where one of the great martyr saints of Rome supposedly had been executed, were modelled after the badges of St Peter's. As the badges of Peter and Paul did, the badges of S. Lorenzo combined the half-length images of Sts Lawrence and St Stephen whose relics were in the church.²⁴ Significantly, archi-



Fig. 2. Pilgrim badge from Rome, *Virgin and Child inside S. Maria Rotonda*, found in Rotterdam, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, pewter, 37 × 29 mm, inscription: SINN[A] STA MARIA ROTN. Langbroek: collection Van Beuningen family, inv. no. 3408. Photo: Medieval Badges Foundation.



Fig. 3. Pilgrim badge from Rome, *Virgin and Child inside S. Maria Rotonda*, found between Bierum and Spijk, late fourteenth century, pewter, 34 × 22 mm, inscription: SIGNVM SANCTE MA[R]IJE ROTV[ND]E. Province of Groningen: private collection. Photo courtesy of the owner.

itecture plays a minor role on these images from St Peter's and S. Lorenzo.

The badges of S. Maria Rotonda, where relics were not the focus of the attention of the visiting devout, clearly diverge from the established tradition of badge design in Rome. They focus on the architecture, prominently placing the Madonna inside the domed rotunda (Figs 2 and 3). Much attention has gone to the depiction of the antique edifice. The badges effectively combine the inside and outside of the building in one image. The lines that decorate the cupola seem to refer to the outside of the building, as it is still pictured on slightly later drawings such as one by Hendrick van Cleve (c. 1525–after 1589), but the opening in the dome is pictured from the inside.²⁵ Some badges even have an actual open-work oculus as if to underline the direct link with the open sky. Pilgrims who had vis-

ited the Pantheon brought back an image of 'a round church with a hole' from their journey to Rome as visual counterparts to the pilgrims' accounts. Although they are not found in large quantities, they badges are found over a large geographical area, from Rome to the United Kingdom and Denmark.²⁶ Recently, a badge of S. Maria Rotonda turned up that was found between Bierum and Spijk (north eastern part of the Netherlands; Fig. 3).

Some scholars have suggested that the badges depict the icon.²⁷ The icon shows Mary half-length; she is shown with her body *en trois-quart* and her head turned towards the viewer. On the badges, however, Mary is shown full-length, enthroned and crowned. Furthermore, the badges depict the Virgin in the apse where the altar was located. Admittedly, the icon might have been on the main altar, but, as Sible de Blaauw



Fig. 4. God as the centre of the cosmos, half-page miniature in: Aristotle, *De caelo et de mundo*, translated in French by Nicole Oresme, c. 1410, parchment, 360 × 255 mm, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 565, fol. 69^r. Photo: Bibliothèque national de France.

has justly pointed out, there is no evidence that the icon was placed on the main altar or even in the main apse.²⁸ Although it might seem likely that badges document a cult icon or statue, it is not necessarily the case. Madonnas depicted on badges from other sites often do not resemble a miraculous image either, or perhaps bear only a slight resemblance. In conclusion, the badges of the Pantheon probably do not necessarily refer to a specific image in this church; the Madonna depicted is universal. They indicate divine presence in a religious building as confirmed in the eyes of the devotees by the visions and miracles that had happened there.²⁹ In contrast with the universal Madonna, the elements on the badges that indicate the edifice are very specific, and the badges use the name *rotunda*, which again underscores architectural form. They clearly focus on the appearance of the building rather than the cult image.

The Pilgrims' Experience

Whether the badges depict the icon or not, architecture played a major, if not primary, role in the experiences of the pilgrims. How did the pilgrim's physical confrontation with the antique building combine with the spiritual experience? The building had never been very suitable for its appropriated function as a church. The large hole in the roof created problems for liturgical use rather than supplying a solution.³⁰ But if it presented problems during the liturgy, the antique structure proved to be perfectly compatible with the symbolism of Christian faith. As early as the third century, Lucius Cassius Dio had written about the Pantheon that 'because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens'.³¹ Christian users embraced this antique interpretation of the dome. Indicatively, the Latin term chosen to describe the church – *rotundus* means 'round' or 'spherical' – was often used in combination with *caelum* ['heaven' or 'firmament']. It is not difficult to imagine how the cupola with its concentric circles brought to mind God-centred images of the cosmos such as was the case, for example, with a miniature in a French translation of Aristotle's *De caelo et de mundo* which was once part of the library of Duke Jean de Berry (1340–1416)

(Fig. 4).³² God is depicted in (and as) the centre of the universe surrounded by concentric circles to indicate the layers of the firmament. More importantly, the central oculus – literally the eye – of the cupola invoked God as the source of light: 'God is light and in him there is no darkness.' (1 John 1. 15) Significantly, the legends about the origin of the church stress that light had been absent when the Pantheon had supposedly served as a temple to the pagan gods. The oculus, both the symbolic centre of the universe and the source of light in the church, became a metaphor for God.

In the twelfth century, the link between the dome and heaven was liturgically established with the institution of *domenica de rosa* on the Sunday between the Ascension and Pentecost. During the liturgical feast of Pentecost the Christian community commemorated the descent of the Holy Spirit and the dispersal of the apostles to spread the Christian faith. The devout also remembered how the disciples and the Virgin would have gathered to imitate the Last Supper after Christ's death and resurrection. As the pope preached about the coming of the Holy Spirit in the domed church, a multitude of roses was thrown down from the dome, possibly through the oculus.³³ Symbolizing divine inspiration, the roses linked heaven and earth in a very powerful way. While this symbolic staging was probably fostered by the practical possibilities that S. Maria Rotonda offered, it would have further encouraged the participants' association of the cupola with heaven and the oculus with God.

Indicatively, the institution of *domenica de rosa* occurred around the time when the Virgin started to be included in the company of the apostles at the Pentecost. The Shaftesbury Psalter from the second quarter of the twelfth century contains a miniature of Pentecost (Fig. 5).³⁴ The miniature was modelled after a depiction of the same theme in the St Albans Psalter which also includes the Virgin among the apostles, but the miniaturist, identified as the Master of the Entangled Figures, made some adaptations that are worth mentioning here. With a crown, the Virgin is identified as first among Christ's entourage and it also anticipates her role as queen of heaven. Moreover, she is larger than the rest. Mary is not just the focal point of the community of apos-



Fig. 5. *Pentecost*, full-page miniature in a Psalter (the 'Shaftesbury Psalter'), England, second half of the twelfth century, parchment, 225 × 140 mm. London: The British Library, Lansdowne MS 383, fol. 14^r. Photo: The British Library.

tles who are subordinate to her; she is queen of heaven already, a role that she would assume after her assumption. In addition to the community of disciples gathering to honour Christ, this is a depiction of the community of saints in heaven.

The miniature in the Shaftesbury Psalter does not depict S. Maria Rotonda, but it demonstrates that the metaphors that linked the round domed church with the Virgin and with heaven, and, via Pentecost with the Christian community on earth, were established before the mid-twelfth century. The story of Pentecost – which is not described in much detail in the Gospels, but is in the Acts of the Apostles – had become a powerful narrative of the first Christian community who

'were always in the temple, praising and blessing God' (Luke 24. 53). This parallel was elaborated in later centuries. In many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century books of hours, an image of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended to inspire the apostles, precedes the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Alongside the description of the moment of Pentecost in the Acts of the Apostles, images of Pentecost were visual models of Christian worship, because they depicted the first Christian community at prayer. The text of the Hours of the Holy Spirit starts with the words: 'Domine labia mea aperies et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam' [Lord, thou wilt open my lips; and my mouth shall declare thy praise]. The miniature of Pentecost depicting disciples at prayer provides a powerful prototype for the devotee who is about to utter these words of adoration.

Architecture as Cult Image

As paradoxical as it may seem, its unique appearance made the Pantheon an archetype of pagan architecture and an embodiment of Christian faith at the same time. The magnificent architecture was imbued with layers of meaning, some elaborating on the antique interpretations of the dome as heaven, others of later origin. Perfectly in line with the medieval way of thinking, pagan and Christian use became inextricably entwined, with one pointing to the other and becoming completely inseparable. Sible de Blaauw lifted the edge of the veil when he concluded his article on the furnishing and liturgy of the building: 'Das Pantheon hat paradoxerweise seine Existenz als Kirche behalten durch seine nicht-kirchlichen Eigenschaften: die Großartigkeit seiner Architektur und seinen Ruf als eine der Meraviglia des Altertums.'³⁵ It was not just a wonder of Antiquity, an example of *romantitas*, but it was considered a miracle of Christian faith at the same time. The antique design of the building did not contradict its Christian use. On the contrary, the architecture justified Christianization, because it permitted divine associations. It was open to heaven, and therefore God, the Virgin, and the community of saints. Because of its association with heaven, the building invoked those who are in paradise. At Pen-

tecost, when the Christian community gathered to praise God, the liturgy referred back to the Virgin and the disciples who gathered to commemorate Christ and to the foundation of the Church. The architecture of S. Maria Rotonda reinforced ideas of continuity from that first Christian community to the present day community of worshippers. When the roses floated down into the rotunda representing the descent of the Holy Spirit, the gathering of devotees in S. Maria Rotonda would have seen themselves as reflecting the first meetings of Virgin and apostles. Like them, and in direct continuation, the devotees present were a community gathered in praise of God.

The pagan proto-history of the building was never forgotten or even concealed, but was interwoven into its new Christian function. The pagan-Christian interconnections were accentuated and sometimes re-invented, as the medieval

story of the Pantheon being a temple of Cybele demonstrates. The paradoxes, pagan-Christian, demonic-divine, only heightened wonder at the magnificent building that had come to visualize divine presence *because* it had been pagan. This campaign of Christianization that incorporated the building's pagan history proved so successful that it was the architecture, the building itself, and not the icon of the Virgin and Child, that came to attract the pilgrims most. The building, regarded as an image of heaven, was described, depicted and propagated to pilgrims via textual and visual media such as the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, pilgrims' accounts and pilgrims' badges. From these sources, it becomes clear that the building, not the icon, became the cult image. It was the building's intangible qualities, overlaid upon its physical construction, that ensured the building's survival throughout the Middle Ages.

Notes

- 1 For a discussion about the original function of the classical building, see Paul Godfrey and David Hem-soll, 'The Pantheon: temple or rotunda?', in *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, ed. by Martin Henig and Anthony King (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1986), pp. 195-209.
- 2 Sible de Blaauw, 'Das Pantheon als christlicher Tempel', in *Bild- und Formensprache der Spätantike Kunst: Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Martina Jordan-Ruwe and Ulrich Real (=Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie, 17 (1994)), pp. 13-26. I would like to thank Sible for being an attentive colleague who always takes an interest, and for his support, while I was writing my PhD thesis, especially in the final stages.
- 3 On the arguments for the date, see De Blaauw, p. 13; with comments in Erik Thunø, 'The Pantheon in the Middle Ages', in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 233-34. Also Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms: Der Römische Sakralbau in Geschichte und Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 vols (Vienna: Hollinek 1967-74) [vol. IV by Brigitte Kuhn-Forte, 1997], II (1970), p. 672.
- 4 *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), LXVIII, c. 3: 'Eodem tempore petiit a Focate principe templum qui appellatur Pantheonum, in quo fecit ecclesiam beatae Mariae semper virginis et omnium martyrum'. Cf. Caroline J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-24*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 77 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 200.
- 5 Thunø, pp. 231-54; Michael V. Schwarz, 'Eine frühmittelalterliche Umgestaltung der Pantheon-Vorhalle', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 26 (1990), 1-29.
- 6 Nine R. Miedema, *Die Mirabilia Romae: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte*, Die Deutsche Bibliothek (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996), p. 353.
- 7 Richard Krautheimer, 'Sancta Maria Rotunda', in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art*, ed. by James S. Ackerman and Elisabeth B. MacDougall (London: University of London Press Limited, 1969), pp. 107-14.
- 8 Buchowiecki, II, p. 673.
- 9 De Blaauw, p. 14.
- 10 On the icon, see Gerhard Wolf, 'Icons and Sites: Cult Images of the Virgin in Medieval Rome', in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. by Maria Vasilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 23-50 (pp. 28-31); also Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich: Beck, 2004), pp. 77-78; De Blaauw, p. 25; Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 97.
- 11 Nine R. Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 97 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), p. 665.

- 12 Nikolaus Muffel, *Descrizione della città di Roma nel 1452: Delle indulgenze e dei luoghi sacri di Roma (Der Ablass und die heiligen Stet zu Rom)*, ed. by Gerhard Wiedemann, 2 vols (Bologna: Pàtron, 1999), pp. 88–90.
- 13 LP CXVI, c. 15: 'Ipse vero hoc agnito fugiit in ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae appellatur ad martyres. Quem exinde isdem vicedominus abstraxit, portante eodem Waldiperto imaginem ipsius Dei genetricis, eumque in teterima retrudi fecerunt custodia quae vocatur Ferrata, in cellario maiore'.
- 14 Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 266–67 and 334. See also the contribution of Ingo Herklotz in this volume.
- 15 Muffel, *Descrizione della città*, p. 90; Nikolaus Muffel, *Nikolaus Muffels Beschreibung der Stadt Rome*, ed. by Wilhelm Vogt, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart (Tübingen: Literarische Verein, 1876), p. 47.
- 16 Thunø, p. 246. For example Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight, from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain, Which He Accomplished in the Years 1496 to 1499*, ed. by Malcolm Letts, Second Series (Nendeln & Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967), p. 37.
- 17 Debra J. Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage', in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. by Jennie Stopford (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1999), p. 108; Francis Peabody Magoun, 'The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 33, 4 (1940), 267–89 (p. 280).
- 18 Von Harff, p. 37.
- 19 John Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes: A Description of Rome, circa AD 1450, by John Capgrave, an Austin Friar of King's Lynn*, ed. by Charles A. Mills, British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911), II, p. 157.
- 20 Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, pp. 364–65, no. 30c and Thunø, p. 248. Also Muffel, *Descrizione della città*, p. 88.
- 21 Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen*, p. 664.
- 22 Brian W. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London: The Stationery Office, 1998), p. 253; Holger Grönwald, 'Am Einzelfund ins Detail: Das mittelalterliche Bild des Pantheon', in *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten: Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine*, ed. by Hartmut Kühne and others (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 283–88.
- 23 Exh. cat. Rome: Palazzo Venezia, *Romei e Giubilei: Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350–1350)*, ed. by Mario d'Onofrio (Milan: Electa, 1999), pp. 338–46; Carina Brumme, 'Mittelalterliche Zeugen der Wallfahrt in die ewige Stadt – Die Römische Pilgerzeichen', in exh. cat. Erfurt: Kunsthalle, *Rom sehen und sterben: Perspektiven auf die ewige Stadt. Um 1500–2011* (Bielefeld, Leipzig, and Berlin: Kerber, 2011); Marco Leo Imperiale, 'Signa apostolorum Petri et Pauli': Note sulla produzione delle 'quadrangulae' di pellegrinaggio a Roma', in *VI congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale*, ed. by Fabio Redi and Alfonso Forgione (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2012), pp. 698–703 (p. 700).
- 24 For badges of Sts Lawrence and Stephen, see Kunera: Database of Medieval Badges and Ampullae, Radboud University Nijmegen, nos 01832, 06133, 14363 and 16644 <<http://www.kunera.nl/>> [accessed 8 January 2016]. For badges of St John Lateran, see *ibid.*, nos 03488, 14379 and 14380.
- 25 I would like to thank Maarten van Deventer who kindly brought the drawing to my attention.
- 26 For badges of S. Maria Rotonda, see Kunera, nos 03489, 04139, 04231, 06552, 012620, and 15134 <<http://www.kunera.nl/>> [accessed 10 July 2016].
- 27 Jos Koldewey, in exh. cat. Rome, *Romei e Giubilei*, p. 347; Grönwald, pp. 288–304.
- 28 De Blaauw, p. 25.
- 29 Cf. Craig Harbison, 'Miracles Happen: Image and Experience in Jan van Eyck's Madonna in a Church', in *Iconography at the Crossroads: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23–24 March, 1990*, ed. by Brendan Cassidy (Princeton, NJ: Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993), pp. 157–66.
- 30 De Blaauw, p. 26.
- 31 Lucius Dio Cassius, *History of Rome*, quoted in William L. MacDonald, *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning, and Progeny* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 76. Cf. also Pieter Broucke, 'The First Pantheon: Architecture and Meaning (Abstract)', in *The Pantheon in Rome: Contributions to the Conference Bern, November 9–12, 2006*, ed. by Gerd Grasshof and others (Bern Studies in the History of Philosophy and Science, 2009), p. 28.
- 32 Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1967), p. 313; Véronique de Becdelièvre, 'Français 565' (notice February 2012), in *BnF archives et manuscrits* <<http://archive-setmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>> [accessed 11 January 2016].
- 33 Ordo Benedictum (c. 1145), in Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber censuum de l'Eglise romaine*, 6 vols (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1905–52), II (1910), p. 157.
- 34 Claus Michael Kaufmann, 'British Library, Lansdowne MS 383: The Shaftesbury Psalter?', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. by Paul Binski and William Noel (Sutton: Sutton Publishing, 2001), pp. 256–79 (pp. 264–65).
- 35 De Blaauw, p. 26.

JERUSALEM IN AACHEN*

Bianca KÜHNEL

In discussions of the components of medieval state symbolism, Jerusalem is typically relegated to a secondary, exclusively spiritual-theological role, while Rome is referred to as an immediate, real, ecclesiastical and political presence. This disparity has obvious historical logic: medieval Rome of the popes assumed the past glory of the empire; the Church of Rome as the head of Christianity exercised control not only over ecclesiastical but also over state institutions of Europe, even if at times this prerogative was contested. Kings and emperors of the new Christian states in Europe built and defended domestic authority on the scaffold of Roman recognition: benediction and coronation took place in Rome. Thus, empowered by the past aura of the empire and the current, ever-growing sovereignty of the popes, medieval Rome managed to secure and maintain the position of a prominent and highly influential player on the European political scene, a force to be reckoned with despite the physical separation imposed by the wall of the Apennines.

Jerusalem, both geographically and politically remote and for most of the Middle Ages ruled by Muslims, had no such presence in Europe. As a result, European awareness of Jerusalem grew to be mainly retrospective, informed first and foremost by the Bible: the Jewish roots of Christianity, the Temple, the kings David and Solomon, on one hand, and by its being the cradle of Christianity, the theatre of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Second Coming, on the other. Thus it was primarily pious attitudes toward Jerusalem that predominate in modern scholarship, leading to a near-neglect of the political facets of the Holy City's presence in Europe. At first sight, indeed, Jerusalem, unlike Rome, seems to have been a bystander in the early medieval political competitions for primacy in Europe; it was not an active player, neither ally nor contender, in the inner European struggles for power and influence. However, upon closer

examination, and taking into careful consideration the visual evidence, the involvement of Jerusalem in European politics, effectuated not only by retrospective, symbolical measures, but also by material actions, transfers, and contemporary dialogue, becomes apparent.

The present essay aims to highlight the visual evidence of appeals to Jerusalem made by Charlemagne and his followers in their efforts to enhance their authority. It focuses on Aachen, where transfers from Jerusalem, although pairing with those originating in Rome, either go unrecognized or are slighted in the scholarly literature. There can hardly be a better occasion to honour Sible de Blaauw than with an essay that attempts to balance the impact of Rome with that of Jerusalem in the formation of a third capital – Aachen.

As is the figure of Charlemagne himself, Aachen is a construction that took centuries to engineer. Difficult as it is to distinguish between the Charlemagne of history and the Charlemagne of legend, between the emperor's own aspirations and those attributed to him by his followers, between the contemporary weight of his deeds and that which they acquired after the fact, so too it is hard to differentiate between history and hearsay with regard to his capital. Many of Charlemagne's reforms materialized through the palatine complex he erected in Aachen, which remained also at the core of his followers' attempts to strengthen the empire. Together with reforms in administration, legislation, education, culture and art, state-symbolical acts played a constitutive role in this process.¹ They stretched over the course of centuries and had a pronounced retrospective character: Driven by partisan interests, medieval European rulers added layer upon layer of references to Charlemagne. A vast scholarly literature is preoccupied with the historical process of the formation and evolution of the Charlemagne legend, providing a backdrop upon which the visual dimensions

of this process fit perfectly.² It is mainly in the oft-neglected visual evidence that we find support for an attempt to outline Jerusalem's role in building up Aachen as capital of the Holy Roman Empire.

The anniversary year 2014 prompted several new investigations conducted at the Palatine Chapel.³ One of them involved an analysis of two splits of wood, one from the foundation, another from the ring beams of the octagon. This analysis provides a dendrochronology of the Palatine Chapel, which actually differs very little from the conventionally accepted chronology of the building: based on historical criteria and written sources, the years between 795 and 803 are now firmly established as the period that saw the erection of the Palatine Chapel.⁴ Another investigation, initiated under the direction of the cathedral and carried on by the Preservation Department of Rhineland and the Technical University of Aachen, consisted of new measurements of the octagon.⁵ These show that the two axes (vertical and horizontal) of the octagon are equal, measuring 30.95 m (96 ft), and they are twice the width of the inner octagon (15.475 m (48 ft)). The new measurements also resulted in a calculation of the foot unit, different from the one previously considered to be the Carolingian or the Drusian foot (33.3), namely 32.24 cm (close to the French *pied de roi* , 32.48 cm). The new calculation revealed the Carolingian foot, either reduced or multiplied, in each and every element of the building, thus leading to the notable conclusion that the entire building is based on this particular unit (most probably Charlemagne's own foot measure).⁶ The length of the entire building is 144 ft, a 3× multiplication of 48 ft, the width of the octagon and of the dome. All the mentioned measurements are divisible by the number six: 48, 96, 144, which not only attests the mathematical accuracy and consistency of the measurements but also, possibly, their symbolism. The number six is special because it is the sum of the first three primary numbers (i.e. 1, 2, 3) as well as their product (i.e. 1 × 2 × 3). A poem addressed by Alcuin between 801 and 804 to a certain Gundrada witnesses Charlemagne's awareness of the singularity of the number six. The poem has six

strophes, each of which has six lines, and the number six is called 'noble, perfect in its parts', a clear allusion to Gundrada's perfect senses; for any further interpretation, Gundrada is directed to Charlemagne in person, because 'the learned emperor knows everything that can satisfy her curiosity'.⁷

A geometrical analysis of the Palatine Chapel yields circles, squares, stars, and ideal rectangles that diagrammatically express the sense of stability conveyed by the proportions of the building. The mosaic inscription in the octagon indeed alludes to its measurements constituting a sort of surety for the building's durability.⁸ The word '*templum*' in the seventh line of the inscription is even taken by Ulrike Heckner as an indication of the Palatine Chapel being the Temple of Solomon.⁹

The identification of the Aachen Palatine Chapel with the Temple in Jerusalem seems to find support in a letter of Alcuin to Charlemagne from the year 798. Alcuin, at the time bishop of Tours, requested from the king permission to welcome him upon return from a military campaign in Saxony 'with palm branches in Jerusalem, **your chosen homeland**, where the Temple of the wisest Solomon is **being built** masterfully for God [...]'.¹⁰ Alcuin thus addresses Aachen as Jerusalem, the Aachen church at the very time of its building as the Solomonic Temple, and Charlemagne as Solomon and David. An implied parallel is made thereby between the act of establishing Aachen as capital through the construction of a church with the establishment of Jerusalem as capital (and unifier!) of the Tribes of Israel by King David through the building of the Temple realized in King Solomon's days.

At this point, we come to a crossroads. Does the combination of geometrical precision, numerical sophistication, and the parallel made by Alcuin (and others) between the Aachen church and the Jerusalem Temple and between Solomon and Charlemagne suffice to imply that the verbal juxtaposition of the Temple and Aachen was not simply a stylistic or rhetorical flourish, part of a panegyric on the emperor, but an intended re-construction of the Temple, to signal a transfer from Jerusalem to Aachen? In other words, might we legitimately see in Aachen a

transposition of Jerusalem on the basis of this evidence? Answered in the affirmative, Charlemagne would be deemed responsible for the very first architectural translation of Jerusalem.

However, the following data seem to run counter to this assessment. At all stages – conception, planning as well as exegesis – architecture is acutely sensitive to diagramming. As a static body, architecture relies vitally on mathematics and geometry, visualized through diagrams. Starting with Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, the principles of mathematics are considered to underlie nature and all that it contains.¹¹ Numbers are the constituent elements of nature and the whole creation; according to Aristotle, heaven is harmony and number. Numbers, in their system of orderly relationships, reflect the cosmos. In the ancient view, numbers are translatable into measurable shapes; thus numbers and geometry are of a piece. Indeed, numbers and geometrical shapes are imbued with human-like, gendered qualities. Through notions derived from music, cosmic harmony is elucidated. For example, the intervals and motions of spheres lead to the formation of tone sequences and sounds. Thus the basic musical relationship, the octave, becomes identical to harmony. Plato introduced this equivalence, classified by the mathematician Boethius as *musica mundana*. With the aid of these multiple associations, Pythagoreans created the myth of a harmonic world. Plato went one step further, transferring the image of this universal harmony to the human soul. He held that man is equipped with a sense of order, measure, proportion, and harmony, qualities that mark his communion with the gods. Plato further differentiated between the relative beauty of nature and animals, and the real beauty of a line, a circle, a surface or a stereometric body. From this concept derives a division of the arts, according to which architecture, which is based on numbers and measurements, has the upper hand on the so-called imitative arts, which are based on intuition. Architecture alone can produce a true artwork, all of whose parts reflect an internal order.

The special positioning of architecture continues in Vitruvius and Plotinus, and through them this concept enters Christianity. The su-

periority of architecture lies in its being objective, independent of sensorial experience and personal taste. The beauty of architecture consists in the harmony created by symmetry and eurhythmy. Augustine, who initiated the Christianization of this concept, formulated the principle of *ordo*: Order is the channel through which everything is determined by God. Nothing in universe exists that is not ordered, that is not included in the godly order. Order is the work of God that becomes visible and ascertainable. This principle can be traced back to the apocryphal book of the Bible, Book of Wisdom 11. 21: ‘Omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti’.

Numbers hold a special place in Christianity: as number is the basis of form (for Augustine: ‘formas habent, quia numeros habent’) there is no beauty without number.¹² Hence, Augustine ranks music and architecture as chief among the arts. This view held in medieval theology and philosophy throughout the Middle Ages, from Johannes Scotus Eriugena to Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura. At the end of the twelfth century the Platonics at the School of Chartres conceived of God himself as architect, who created the world according to mathematical principles.

In light of this short survey of well-known philosophical and exegetical positions one has to ask: do diagrammatical, numerical and geometrical arguments carry any weight at all in documenting a specific link between Aachen and Jerusalem when we take into account that every structure built to stand the test of time evidenced such a connection?¹³ The answer is certainly ‘yes’, on condition that it can be demonstrated that these arguments add up to historical and art-historical evidence, pointing together to the existence of a calculated relation being made between Aachen and Jerusalem.

Written evidence from the Carolingian period attests that geometrical precision, expressed in both figures and numbers, was recognized as a central attribute of both the Tabernacle in the Desert and the Jerusalem Temple. After quoting an entire chapter on the exegetical attributes of geometry from Cassiodorus,¹⁴ Hrabanus Maurus, an Alcuin pupil, adds his own commentary, yoking together geometry, the Tabernacle and



Fig. 1. Aachen, Palatine Chapel, interior. Photo in the public domain.

the Temple: ‘This discipline of geometry was applied in the construction of the Tabernacle and Temple, where the linear measures, the circle, the sphere and the half sphere, the square as well the other figures were used. The knowl-

edge of all this helps exegetes achieve spiritual understanding’.¹⁵

The parallel between Charlemagne and Solomon through Aachen and the Palatine Chapel is further supported by the presence of a promi-

ment object in the church: the ‘Charlemagne throne’, symbol of King Solomon’s authority and wisdom. Even if the throne was constructed later than the Carolingian period, as several scholars will have it,¹⁶ the object still stands for the assertion and continuation of the Carolingian intention to make ‘his’ church into the coronation church of the empire. This intention was manifested primarily by the coronation of his own son and propagated by every emperor of the Holy Roman Empire until 1531.

Another argument in favour of an intentional evocation of the Temple of Jerusalem in Aachen is the similarity of the Palatine Chapel with the Dome of the Rock.¹⁷ The two buildings are not identical, but the Dome of the Rock is by no means less relevant to Aachen than Ravenna’s S. Vitale, a comparison that is generally accepted in scholarly literature.¹⁸ Additional to the similarity in ground plan and proportions between the Palatine Chapel and the Dome of the Rock, similar details in the decoration of the arches, and in their mosaics, provide later recognition of the initial association (Figs 1 and 2).

These mosaics date from the beginning of the twentieth century (1900–13) and were executed under the protectorate of Emperor Wilhelm II, who was active in Jerusalem and demonstrated a strong awareness of the history and art history of the Holy Land.¹⁹

The recent investigations in Aachen have signalled yet another presence connected to Jerusalem, namely the Holy Sepulchre Church. In her most recent publication, Judith Ley goes so far as to assume a straightforward and allegedly intended similarity between the ground floor plan of the church in Aachen and the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁰ It could indeed be that the transition from eight in the inner octagon of the Palatine Chapel to sixteen facets in the outer wall denotes a tendency to find a compromise between octagonal (evocative of the Dome of the Rock representing the Temple) and round shapes (echoing the Anastasis Rotunda). When limited to the similarity in ground plan, Ley’s proposal is convincing enough. However, less plausible is her thesis that Charlemagne intentionally combined two models in a way that the



Fig. 2. Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, interior, detail of mosaic decoration. Photo in the public domain.

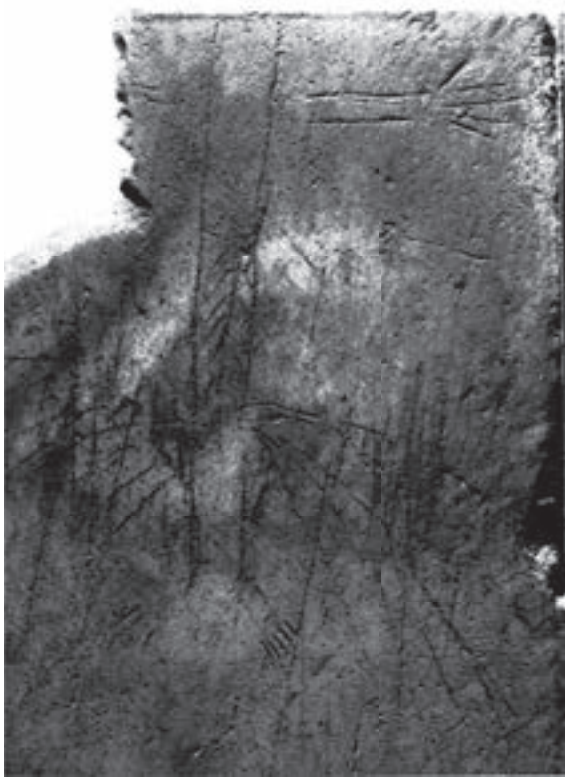


Fig. 3. *Crucifixion*, graffiti in marble, so-called Solomon's or Charlemagne Throne, Aachen: Palatine Chapel. From: Horst Appuhn, 'Zum Thron', Abb. 2.

Holy Sepulchre Church would be evoked in the layout of the ground floor at Aachen, while the upper floor would rather recall the layout of S. Vitale in Ravenna, thus achieving what she calls a 'vertikale Addition zweier Kirchen'.²¹ It seems that the system of Carolingian associations is more subtle than such an additive combination would imply. The presence of the Holy Sepulchre in Aachen was most probably evoked by the many relics and other symbolic objects that Charlemagne himself commissioned from the Holy Sepulchre during the period in which Aachen was being built and the king of the Franks became the Holy Roman emperor (see below). The staging of the relics in the space of the Palatine Chapel is even more significant than their mere presence. The evolution of the relics arrangement in the architecture of the Palatine Chapel shows a thread of continuity between Charlemagne and his followers, standing for a

community in scope that ranks Jerusalem high in Holy Roman imperial state thought.

The above-mentioned Solomon's throne is a good place to start tracing indications of the physical presence of the Holy Sepulchre in Aachen. The throne contains two references to the Holy Sepulchre, localized in each of its two parts: the base (an understructure) of stone with stairs of marble and stone, and the actual throne of wood covered by marble plates. The base is a *mensa*-like construction of sand stone, composed of four pilasters that carry a rectangular plate on which the throne sits. The space underneath permits the passing of pilgrims on their knees and one can see traces of this action in the polished parts of the stones, there, where they came into repeated contact with clothes. One may assume that relics were kept there. The dating of the throne remains problematic, as is the direct provenance of the relics. The wooden kernel of the throne was recently submitted to radio-carbon analysis that has yielded a clear dating around the year 800 (between 750–824), which cannot, however, be extended with certainty to the entire object.²² Nor can the provenance of the relics be attributed directly to Jerusalem, although even an indirect, symbolic filiation would be enough to consolidate the connection. On the eve of his coronation in Rome, Charlemagne commissioned relics be brought from the Holy Sepulchre; whether these were destined for the throne, or were deposited there at a later date is irrelevant to any association between the Palatine Chapel and the Holy Sepulchre.

The four marble plates covering the wooden kernel of the throne contain a further possible link to the Holy Sepulchre. They are of unknown date and provenance and the only scholarly consensus about them is that they are *spoliae* in third use. On the strength of the style and iconography of the graffiti on several plates, claimed to be of early Christian, East Mediterranean origin, several scholars even designate the Holy Sepulchre as the plates' source.²³ This oft-rehearsed assertion is one of the strangest claims to be found in the voluminous literature on the 'Charlemagne throne'. The Crucifixion represented on one of the marble plates (Fig. 3) rather points to early medieval, pre-Carolingian



Fig. 4. Tombstone from Niederdollendorf, Rhineland. Bonn: Landesmuseum. Photo in the public domain.

tombstones found in the Rhineland, many of them exhibited in the Landesmuseum Bonn (Fig. 4).²⁴ The linear, schematic rendering of Christ's body and of the Golgotha hill beneath the cross, are very much in tune with Merovingian *stelae*. The marble plates might originate in some burial context or the graffiti might have been the handiwork of a local carver. In any case, the Crucifixion, as possibly the cross relics hidden in the throne, signal a presence of the Holy Sepulchre in the Palatine Chapel. Two details point to an early date for the Aachen throne (the carbon analysis of the wood²⁵ and the style of the Crucifixion scene) while another establishes a circumstantial connection with the site of the crucifixion in Jerusalem (the depiction of the scene).

The interest evinced by Charlemagne in the Holy Sepulchre Church and in Jerusalem pro-

vides historical support to the rather indirect evidence suggested by the throne. Charlemagne sent several diplomatic missions that demonstrate the importance of the Holy Sepulchre and Jerusalem to his general rule.²⁶ The pace of these missions intensified in the decade between 797 and 807 (i.e. on the eve of his coronation as emperor and in the years crucial to the consolidation of his empire). A hoard of relics was brought from the site of Christ's Resurrection in 799 to Aachen, most probably in view of the inauguration of the church. The imperial chronicles tell that a certain monk came from Jerusalem with blessing and relics sent by the Patriarch to the king.²⁷ On 23 December 800, on the eve of Charlemagne's coronation, another significant delivery came from Jerusalem: a priest by the name of Zacharias, together with two monks, one from the Mount of Olives, the other from St Sabas or Bethlehem, brought to Aachen the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary, the city of Jerusalem, and Mount Sion, together with a banner, all sent, again, by the Patriarch of Jerusalem.²⁸ The number of secondary Carolingian sources that repeat these stories, usually in abbreviated form, is so great that they permit us to conclude that Charlemagne's connections with Jerusalem had a broad, contemporary echo.²⁹ Other relics from the Holy Land came to Aachen from Rome and Constantinople at different times, but one may assume that the precise provenance of the two aforementioned deliveries singularized them: they conferred upon the Palatine Chapel a status unequalled by other churches in the empire.

The relics accumulated by Charlemagne transformed the Palatine Chapel into a state reliquary with political prominence. Later on, when the number of relics grew, the bodily remains of the emperor were added to them, and all were stored in a new, golden reliquary, placed at the centre of the building first by Frederick Barbarossa, then again by his nephew Frederick II, under a candelabrum prefiguring heavenly Jerusalem. There, the staging of the relics reached a peak.³⁰ The axial arrangement increased the reliquary quality of the building. This inner configuration of the Palatine Chapel created a further association between the Carolingian



Fig. 5. Fragment of a chancel barrier with the *Holy Sepulchre*, marble, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection, BZ.1938.56.

chapel and the Holy Sepulchre by stressing the coincidence between the centre of the memorial building and the remains of its founder, which reproduces the position of the Tomb of Christ in the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre Church. Whether intended as such by Charlemagne and his court scholars, or elevated to the degree of a meaningful custom by his heirs is not important in our context, since nothing can detract from the formative power of Charlemagne's deeds, achieved at least partially with the participation of Jerusalem.³¹

If, indeed, the Palatine Chapel in its rounded octagon and inner implements and disposition was meant to echo both the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre, this double evocation of the two most prominent monuments of Jerusalem was intended to physically and collectively represent Jerusalem in Aachen. Significantly, taken together these two monuments represent Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Jerusalem, reaching deep into the political history of the city but reconciling it with the historical present. The Carolingian references to both buildings in Jerusalem were not just exercises in histori-



Fig. 6. Jewish coin of the Bar Kochba Revolt. Jerusalem: Israel Museum.

cal memory, but rather expressed the extent of Charlemagne's diverse interests in Jerusalem. For example, they afforded him yet another association, namely with Emperor Constantine the Great, that served his immediate political interests: The transfer of legitimacy from Jewish to Christian Jerusalem undertaken by Emperor Constantine could have provided an ultimate justification for the Carolingian usurpation of power from the Merovingians.

It was Constantine who re-invented Jerusalem after 200 years of Aelia Capitolina, by giving it a new Temple, the Holy Sepulchre Church, and by linking it to Heavenly Jerusalem, the only Jerusalem allowed by the New Testament. The similarities found among schematic Byzantine representations of the Holy Sepulchre Church and Jewish representations of the Temple during the Bar Kochba uprising (Figs 5 and 6) document a link established by the Constantinian equation between the Jewish Temple and the Holy Sepulchre Church.³² Carolingian court theologians adopted this ideology, as demonstrated in the new coin type (Fig. 7) issued by the emperor during the same years that saw the building of the Palatine Chapel.³³ On the obverse, Charlemagne's portrait is titled 'Imperator Augustus', which dates the issue of these coins to after 800, while the reverse shows the



Fig. 7. Carolingian coin, Berlin: Münzkabinett der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Ident. Nr. 18202748.

same schematic facade of a temple as in the Jewish coin, but substituting the Arc of the Covenant with a cross, while a second cross tops the gabled roof (as in many early Christian representations of the Holy Sepulchre). The building on the Carolingian coin, which certainly also suggests the Holy Sepulchre, is accompanied by an inscription with both retrospective and all-inclusive character: XRICTIANA RELIGIO.

Such a visual chain of comparison reflects the existence of sophisticated associations at the Carolingian court, backed up by the consistent presence of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Charlemagne's *Realpolitik*. Not only were legates sent to Jerusalem with various missions around a significant date (the year 800),³⁴ moneys were collected for the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the same period and Christian institutions in Jerusalem were carefully registered.³⁵ The relations that Charlemagne cultivated not only with the

Patriarch of Jerusalem but also with the Khalif Harun al-Rashid attest his awareness that it was precisely their goodwill that allowed him to maintain a connection with Jerusalem.³⁶ The effort Charlemagne invested in obtaining the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary on the eve of his coronation illustrates the weight that the Holy Sepulchre Church, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land must have had at the court and in the emperor's eyes.

The connections to Jerusalem fit into the general concept of Charlemagne's rule, namely in a unified, well-organized realm, in which all aspects of public life were governed by a central place of power and authority. In order to achieve this ideal of an enlightened reign the emperor appealed to a variety of ways and means among which Jerusalem, with its myriad facets and promise to strengthen the structure of the empire and its capital, played a starring role.

Notes

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1 For a recent overview of Charlemagne's reign and reforms, see Johannes Fried, *Karl der Grosse, Gewalt und Glaube: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 2013). See

also Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Janet L. Nelson, 'Aachen as a Place of Power', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Mayke de Jong and others, *The Transformation of the Roman World*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 217-42.

- 2 Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique medieval* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950); *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Matthew Gabriele and Jean Stuckey (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Anne A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800-1229* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- 3 *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen: Material, Bautechnik, Restaurierung*, ed. by Ulrike Heckner and Eva-Maria Beckman (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012); *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. by Harald Müller and others, *Der Aachener Dom in seiner Geschichte, Quellen und Forschungen*, 1 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014).
- 4 Ulrike Heckner, 'Der Tempel Salomos in Aachen – Datierung und geometrischer Entwurf der karolingischer Pfalzkapelle', in *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle*, esp. pp. 25-35.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-55.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Figs 12-15.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 54; *Alcuni sive Albini Epistolae*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891–), IV (1895), p. 477, no. 309.
- 8 The original text of the inscription in eight verses is transmitted by a manuscript in Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. 69, fol. 19^r. See Max Kerner, 'Karl der Grosse und seine Aachener Marienkirche', in *Dombaumeistertagung in Aachen 2009: Vorträge zum Aachener Dom*, ed. by Helmut Maintz, Veröffentlichung für die Mitglieder des Karlsverein-Dombauvereins (Aachen: Dombauverein, 2011), pp. 20-21.
- 9 Heckner, 'Tempel', pp. 54-55; Ulrike Heckner, 'Die Bauzeit der Aachener Pfalzkapelle', *Die Denkmalpflege*, 67 (2009), 195-96. See also: Clemens M. M. Bayer, 'Die karolingische Bauinschrift des Aachener Domes', in *Der verschleierte Karl: Karl der Große zwischen Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, ed. by Max Kerner (Aachen: RWTH, 1999), pp. 445-52, (pp. 450-51).
- 10 'Hae preces, obsecro, veniant in cor pietatis vestrae, ut libeat vobis et liceat mihi cum ramis palmarum et pueris cantantibus occurrere triumpho gloriae vestrae, et in Hierusalern optatae patriae, ubi templum sapientissimi Salomonis arte Deo construitur, assistere amabili conspectui vestro et dicere: Benedictus dominus Deus, qui adduxit et reduxit David dilectum cum prosperitate et salute ad servos suos'. (*Alcuni sive Albini Epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, p. 235, no. 145).
- 11 Paul von Naredi-Rainer, *Architektur und Harmonie: Zahl, Mass und Proportion in der abendländischen Baukunst* (Cologne: DuMont, 1989), pp. 33-81.
- 12 Augustinus, *De libero arbitrio*, II. 16. 42, in *Patrologia latina* (hereafter *PL*), ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844-55), XXXII, col. 1263.
- 13 See also the recent collection of studies: *Architecture and Mathematics from Antiquity to the Future*, ed. by Kim Williams and Michael J. Ostwald, 2 vols (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2015).
- 14 The most comprehensive interpretation of the importance of geometry in Christian exegesis is derived from the mere translation of the word: 'Geometria latine dicitur terrae dimensio': Cassiodorus Vivariensis Abbas, *De artibus ac disciplinis liberalium*, VI. 588, in *PL* LXX, col. 1213.
- 15 Chapter 'De geometria' of his tractate *De institutione clericorum* from 820. See *Rabani Mauri De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. by Aloisius Knoepfler (Munich: Monachii Sumptibus librariae Lentnerianae, 1900), pp. 234-35.
- 16 The first written source known today that mentions a throne in the gallery of the Aachen church to play a role in the coronation is Widukind of Corvey's relation of Otto I's coronation ceremony in 936 (Widukind von Korvei, *Sachsengeschichte*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. and transl. by Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 86-89. A connection between the throne and Charlemagne is witnessed in written form only in the twelfth century. See Josef Buchkremer, 'Der Königstuhl der Aachener Pfalzkapelle und seine Umgebung', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins (ZAGV)*, 21 (1899), 135-94; Josef Buchkremer, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, (Aachen: La Ruelle'sche Accidenzdruckerei, 1941), II: *Vom Königstuhl und seiner Umgebung*; Caroline Horch, 'Königstuhl – Kaiserthron – Reliquiar. Forschungsgeschichte der Aachener "sedes imperialis"', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein (AHVN)*, 213 (2010), 83-101; Sven Schütte, 'Forschungen zum Aachener Thron', in *Dombaumeistertagung in Aachen 2009: Vorträge zum Aachener Dom*, ed. by Helmut Maintz, Schriftenreihe des Karlsvereins-Dombauvereins, 13 (Aachen: Thouet-Verlag, 2011), pp. 127-42; Uwe Lobbedey, 'Beobachtungen und Notizen zum Königsthron', in *Die Aachener Marienkirche*, pp. 237-49, (p. 248).
- 17 Gustav Kühnel, 'Aachen, Byzanz und die frühislamische Architektur im Heiligen Land' in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensieben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1995), pp. 39-57.
- 18 For a recent summary of the relationship of Charlemagne with Ravenna, see Carola Jäggi, 'Spolien in Ravenna – Spolien aus Ravenna: Transformation einer Stadt von der Antike bis in die frühe Neuzeit', in *Perspektive der Spolienforschung*, ed. by Stefan Altekamp and others, *Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World*, 15 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), I: *Spolierung und Transposition*, pp. 310-14.
- 19 Vera Frowein-Ziroff, *Die Kaiser Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche: Entstehung und Bedeutung, Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin*, 9 (Berlin: Mann, 1982),

- esp. pp. 25-41; Jürgen Krüger, *Rom und Jerusalem: Kirchenbauvorstellungen der Hohenzollern im 19. Jahrhundert*, Acta humaniora (Berlin: Akademie, 1995), esp. pp. 56-107.
- 20 Judith Ley, “‘Warum ist die Aachener Pfalzkirche ein Zentralbau?’ Der Neue Salomonische Tempel als Vorbild herrschaftlicher Kirchenstiftung’, in *Die Aachener Marienkirche*, pp. 95-112.
- 21 Ley, p. 106 and Fig. 7a.
- 22 Sven Schütte, ‘Der Aachener Thron’, in *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen – Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. by Mario Kramp, Katalog Handbuch, 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), pp. 213-22 (p. 219); Schütte, ‘Forschungen’, p. 137.
- 23 Felix Kreuzsch, *Dom zu Aachen, Beiträge zur Baugeschichte* (Aachen: Metz, 1958), IV: *Über Pfalzkapelle und Atrium zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*, pp. 85-100; Felix Kreuzsch, ‘Kirche, Atrium und Portikus der Aachener Pfalz’, in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels and Herman Schnitzler (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965), III: *Karolingische Kunst*, pp. 463-533 (pp. 478-79); Horst Appuhn, ‘Zum Thron Karls des Grossen’, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 24-25 (1962-63), 127-36, (p. 127 and Abb. 2); Schütte, ‘Der Aachener Thron’, p. 218; also Schütte, ‘Forschungen’, p. 134.
- 24 Victor H. Elbern, ‘Die Stele von Moselkern und die Ikonographie des frühen Mittelalters’, *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1955-56), 184-214.
- 25 This could, however, refer to the time when the tree was cut and not to the time of its modeling into a throne. See Karl-Heinz Siebigs, *Der Zentralbau des Domes zu Aachen. Unerforschtes und Ungewisses* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2004), pp. 79-84 (p. 83).
- 26 Michael Borgolte, *Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 25 (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1976), esp. pp. 45-75 and pp. 92-110; Karl Schmidt, ‘Aachen und Jerusalem’, in *Das Einhardkreuz. Vorträge und Studien der Münsteraner Diskussion zum ‘arcus Einhardi’*, ed. by Karl Hauck, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3. Folge, 87 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), pp. 122-42.
- 27 *Annales regni Francorum ad A. 799*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (hereafter *MGH SS rer. Germ.*), new ed. after Georg. H. Pertz (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1895; repr. 1950), VI, pp. 108-12.
- 28 *Annales Regni Francorum ad A. 801*, in *MGH SS rer. Germ.*, pp. 114 and 116.
- 29 Borgolte, p. 47, n. 236.
- 30 Kerner, Abb. 32.
- 31 Charlemagne’s accurate, original burial place in the church is not known. See the recent summary by Clemens M. M. Bayer, ‘Das Grab Karls des Grossen’, in *Die Aachener Marienkirche*, pp. 225-35.
- 32 Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome, Freiburg, and Vienna: Herder, 1987), esp. pp. 63-88.
- 33 Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne’s Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Age*. *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011).
- 34 Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), esp. pp. 101-11.
- 35 Such as the *Commemoratorium the Casis Dei*, transl. and apparatus by Michael McCormick (Berlin: Akademie, 1995) pp. 203-07.
- 36 Borgolte, *passim*.

APPROPRIATION AND ARCHITECTURE: MARY MAGDALENE IN VÉZELAY

Mariëtte VERHOEVEN

In the Middle Ages thousands of pilgrims visited the church on the top of the hill in Vézelay because of the presence of the relics of Mary Magdalene. Mary Magdalene is an example of a saint whose cult was appropriated to a location that originally had no connection whatsoever with that saint. I engaged with the phenomenon of appropriated saints during my PhD research on the monuments and memory of Ravenna, which was supervised by Sible de Blaauw.¹ According to the *Passio SS. Martyrum Gervasii et Protasii* (end fifth, beginning sixth century), St Vitalis, whose remains had been excavated by St Ambrose in Bologna, suffered his martyrdom in Ravenna where his grave became a place of veneration.² Nowadays the magnificent Church of S. Vitale in Ravenna still testifies to the successful appropriation of the Bolognese saint. Other famous examples of appropriated saints are St Mark in Venice (originally from Alexandria), St Nicholas in Bari (originally from Myra), and St James in Santiago de Compostela (originally from Jerusalem). In all these cases the ingredients for a successful appropriation include the translation of relics, preferably the complete body, a written confirmation in the form of a *passio* or *translatio*, and the disposition of the relics in a church building that is dedicated to the saint. The church building not only confirms the appropriation by means of its function as relic shrine but also keeps this memory alive while practically erasing the connection of the saint with his or her origins. As well as the case of S. Vitale, the churches of St Mark in Venice, of St Nicholas in Bari and of St James in Santiago de Compostela still testify to the continuity of the relocated cult and their function as places of pilgrimage.

In Vézelay, however, things developed differently. According to the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela, the

most worthy remains of the Blessed Mary Magdalene had to be rightly worshipped in Vézelay, 'where they rest up to this day in a much honoured tomb'.³ The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* was written around the middle of the twelfth century, when the cult of Mary Magdalene in Vézelay was at its height. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, Saint-Maximin-de-Provence successfully claimed the possession of the body of Mary Magdalene and the once so popular pilgrimage to Vézelay came to a halt. In this paper I will focus on the development of the cult of Mary Magdalene in relation to its architectural framework in Vézelay. What was the material setting in which the relics were placed and did the process of appropriation and its material manifestation contribute to the loss of the cult in the thirteenth century? And how did the relics of this biblical saint come to Vézelay in the first place?

Origins and Development of the Cult

The earliest official recognition of the cult of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay was a privilege of Pope Leo IX, dated 27 April 1050. It was addressed to Abbot Gaufredus and it mentions the dedication of the monastery of Vézelay to Jesus Christ, his mother Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul and Mary Magdalene.⁴ In 1058 Pope Stephan X proclaimed that Mary Magdalene rested in the monastery of Vézelay, implying that Vézelay possessed the body of the female saint.⁵ Besides these official documents, Mary Magdalene figures in narratives describing miracles that took place in Vézelay. These miracle accounts have survived in different versions but all versions include the story of a soldier from the Auvergne who had been freed from imprisonment through the intervention of Mary Magdalene and who suspended his chains in front of her grave at the monastery of Vézelay.⁶ The most

elaborate version of these miracle accounts mentions that Abbot Gaufredus found iron chains in the monastery and had a balustrade made from them, setting it up around the altar.⁷

Prisoners and chains also figure in narratives relating to Conques, Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat and Saintes, all of them, like Vézelay places of pilgrimage on the way to Santiago de Compostela; Conques on the route starting from Le Puy, Saint-Léonard on the route from Vézelay and Saintes on the one from Paris and Tours. The *Liber miraculorum* of St Foy, the saint whose relics were venerated in Conques, contains an eyewitness account of Bernard of Angers who visited the church in Conques in the early eleventh century. Bernard describes the abundance of iron grillwork made from chains and fetters brought to Sainte-Foy as offerings of thanks from prisoners whom she had freed.⁸ The author of the already mentioned *Liber Sancti Jacobi* reports about St Leonard that,

his extraordinarily powerful virtues have delivered from prison countless thousands of captives; their iron chains, more barbarous than what one can possibly recount, joined together by the thousands, have been appended in testimony of such great miracles all around his basilica, to the right and to the left, inside and outside.⁹

With regard to Saintes, the author of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* claims that he found the *passio* of Saintes's bishop and martyr St Eutropius, which was written in Greek by his companion Dionysius, in a Greek school at Constantinople, and translated it into Latin. According to this *passio*, in the church that the Christians erected in his honour over the saintly body of Eutropius, iron chains and handcuffs were to be found hanging, along with various other iron instruments from which Eutropius had freed those enchained in them.¹⁰

At Conques in the extreme left-hand corner of the tympanum of the Romanesque church, an iron fetter hanging from a beam can be seen behind the kneeling figure of St Foy, and the iron grill work, supposedly made from chains and fetters as described by Bernard of Angers,

still stands between the columns that separate the choir from the ambulatory.

Pilgrims badges originating from Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat attest that chains became St Leonard's fixed attribute in his function of patron saint of prisoners.¹¹

In the case of Vézelay, apart from the miracle accounts, there is no material evidence of the veneration of Mary Magdalene in her role as intervener in the liberation of prisoners. The suspension of chains in front of her grave and the balustrade that Abbot Gaufredus had made from them seems to be an *topos* that was borrowed from the comparable miracle accounts that circulated during the eleventh century, rather than a description of the actual situation in Vézelay, as has been suggested.¹² It is not possible to determine whether the Vézelay miracle accounts led to the official recognition of a connection between Mary Magdalene and Vézelay in 1050 and 1058 or if these accounts proceeded from it.¹³ Mary Magdalene was venerated before 1050 in other places in France and Vézelay may have been one of them.¹⁴ It also seems logical that the official recognition of the presence of the relics of Mary Magdalene in Vézelay was the confirmation of some kind of cult that already existed, but there is no way to be certain.

As for the explanation of how the relics of Mary Magdalene came from Palestine to Vézelay, the author of the miracle accounts responds to pilgrims who doubted the presence of the relics in Vézelay, 'that anything is possible to God'.¹⁵ However, the *Gestes des évêques de Cambrai* mention Badilon, Abbot of Leuze, as the agent who brought the body of Mary Magdalene from Jerusalem into Burgundy, into the town of Vézelay.¹⁶ Around the middle of the eleventh century two different accounts arise of how the relics of Mary Magdalene came to Vézelay from Provence.¹⁷ According to one version, Adelelmus (Aleaume), brother of Abbot Eudes of Vézelay, brought the relics from Provence around 882-84.¹⁸ A second version relates how the monk Badilon brought the relics from Aix-en-Provence to Vézelay by order of Gerard of Roussillon.¹⁹ These accounts not only give an explanation for the presence of the relics of Mary Magdalene in Vézelay but also claim

that the translation from Provence occurred in the ninth century. Moreover, the antedating ties in with the building history of the monastery and church.

In 858–59, Gerard of Roussillon and his wife Bertha founded a nunnery in Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay.²⁰ This nunnery was destroyed during Norman raids and refounded c. 877 as a monastery and church on top of the hill in Vézelay.²¹ It was, however, not dedicated to Mary Magdalene but to Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary and the apostles Peter and Paul.²² The first mention of Mary Magdalene in relation to the church in Vézelay dates, as we have seen, from the eleventh century. But, according to the *Translatio SS. Eusebii et Pontiani*, a source that can be dated back to Carolingian times, Vézelay was in the possession of relics: the author relates how Gerard of Roussillon and his wife Bertha acquired the relics of Eusebius and Pontianus from the pope in Rome. On their way back to Vézelay, they also obtained relics of Sts Andeolus and Hostianus in Viviers.²³ According to tradition the relics of Eusebius and Hostianus ended up in Pothières, and those of Andeolus and Pontianus in Vézelay.²⁴ The ninth-century *Translatio SS. Eusebii et Pontiani* was possibly the inspiration for the eleventh-century accounts explaining how the relics of Mary Magdalene came to Vézelay from Provence. The latter were probably also inspired by the *furta sacra* account of Conques, which treats of the secret theft of the body of St Foy in Agen and its translation to Conques in the ninth century.²⁵

The Architectural Setting

We have no information about the form of the ninth-century church that was built on top of the hill in Vézelay by Gerard of Roussillon and his wife Bertha. The church was rededicated in 1104 under Abbot Artaud (1096–1106), after a complete rebuilding of the choir part.²⁶ If indeed no major changes took place between the initial building period in the ninth century and Artaud's reconstruction, this means that the church was not designed for housing the relics of Mary Magdalene. A *vita* of the saint dating from before 1180–90 mentions that Abbot Gaufredus

wanted to demolish the *exiguam cryptam* in which the body of Mary Magdalene was kept, in order to replace it with a more important and richer grave.²⁷ Francis Salet concluded in 1948 that this 'diminutive crypt' referred to a still existing *confessio* in the ninth-century crypt.²⁸ Recent archaeological research has shown, however, that the eastern termination of the ninth-century church was located further west than the western wall of the *confessio* in the existing crypt.²⁹ Christian Sapin therefore concludes that the *exiguam cryptam* mentioned in the twelfth-century *vita* refers to a setting, possibly a crypt *confessio* or small grave chamber in the Carolingian choir that terminated in a straight wall.³⁰ It was only with the reconstruction of the choir under Abbot Artaud (1096–1106) that a hall crypt with lateral accesses, a common type in the eleventh century, was constructed, now with a *confessio* in the form of a deep barrel vaulted niche at the western end, and a *fenestella* in both side walls of the niche.³¹ This new setting was most likely designed to provide a worthier resting place for the relics of Mary Magdalene.

That the relics of Mary Magdalene probably had been put from the beginning in a relatively small sepulchre, of which the form is unknown, also becomes clear from the eleventh-century translation account relating how the monk Badilon brought the relics from Aix-en-Provence to Vézelay by order of Gerard of Roussillon (see above).³² The author describes how Badilon and his companions, before they arrived in Vézelay and before they brought the body of Mary Magdalene into the church, 'separated the longer bones of the body and put them alongside the rest of the body so that they could fit it into a smaller place'. The author gives no further details or description of the sepulchre or the place in which it was put. This contrasts with his detailed description of the tomb of Mary Magdalene in Aix-en-Provence in which Badilon had discovered the whole body: 'The carving of this sepulchre revealed her whose bodily remains were preserved within it. Covering its surface was a piece of work, rather like bas-relief, [showing] how Mary Magdalene [...]', and then the author continues with a



Fig. 1. Vézelay, Church of St Mary Magdalene, altar in the south transept of the church. Photo by the author.

description of events from her life which were depicted on the tomb.³³

On 21 July 1120, the eve of the feast day of Mary Magdalene, the church in Vézelay was devastated by a large fire after which the construction of the present nave started under Abbot Renaud (1106–28).³⁴ In 1132 the so-called ‘Church of the Pilgrims’ was dedicated in the presence of Pope Innocent II.³⁵ By 1140 the main body of the church was certainly completed, the narthex and façade some 10 years later.³⁶ After another fire in 1165, a new Gothic choir and transept was built.³⁷ Hugh of Poitiers, author of the *Vézelay or Major Chronicle*, written shortly after 1165, describes the fire in the church and states that

In the vault above the tomb of God’s blessed lover Mary Magdalene such a blaze accidentally broke out that even the supports above it, which the French call beams, were burnt. But the wooden image of Mary, blessed mother of God, which stood on the floor of the vault, was not harmed by the fire at all, although it was a little blackened.³⁸

This text passage is the oldest surviving testimony of the crypt being the location where the relics of Magdalene were disposed and it confirms that in 1165 the relics were still kept in the crypt.³⁹ We are also told that, besides the tomb of Mary Magdalene, a wooden statue of the Virgin Mary stood on the floor of the crypt. In fact, the author of the chronicle pays much more attention to the statue of the Virgin Mary and the relics it contained – among which were bones of the apostles Peter, Paul, Andrew, James and Bartholomew – than to the tomb of Mary Magdalene. The disposition of tomb and statue in the crypt is unknown. The fact that the wooden statue miraculously survived the fire could mean that it stood in the *confessio* niche while the tomb of Mary Magdalene stood in the central space of the crypt where wooden beams caught fire. An opposite arrangement, however, is also possible.⁴⁰ As for the tomb, Francis Salet suggested that the main part of the altar that now stands in the south transept of the church (Fig. 1) consists of the tomb with *fenestella* in which Gerard of Roussillon disposed the relics of Mary Magda-

lene and which was placed in the *confessio* niche of the crypt in the ninth century.⁴¹ As has been shown, however, the translation of the relics of Mary Magdalene from Provence was an eleventh-century invention and the *confessio* niche likewise dates from the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. Christian Sapin suggests a form for the tomb in the crypt that is comparable with that of St Magnance; a freestanding sculptured sarcophagus (Fig. 2).⁴² Sapin refers, without further specification, to fragments in the museum that could have been part of such a tomb. It is likely that he refers to three fragments in ‘Autun style’ in the Musée de l’Œuvre Viollet-le-Duc in Vézelay, which were found during the demolition in the nineteenth century of both the altar and pavement of the first chapel to the south of the choir.⁴³ The subject of the carvings on these fragments is unknown but the standing figure on the fronton-like piece can be identified as a soldier (Fig. 3). It is therefore tempting to suppose that it is the soldier from the Auvergne who was freed from imprisonment through the intervention of Mary Magdalene and who suspended his chains in front of her grave at the monastery of Vézelay.⁴⁴ This would have been an appropriate subject for the tomb of Mary Magdalene or for the altar of the Romanesque choir to which the fragments (dated 1120–40) also have been attributed.⁴⁵

After the fire of 1165, not only were a new Gothic choir and transept constructed but the crypt was also enlarged to a size that corresponded with the new choir.⁴⁶ Only the western wall of the Romanesque crypt, including the *confessio*, remained; the *fenestellae*, however, were now walled up. This made it impossible to see into the *confessio* niche from the church. To see the relics one had to descend the lateral stairs which gave entrance to the crypt.⁴⁷ The Gothic crypt consisted of three naves divided into six groin vaulted bays. In order to realize the new crypt, the rocky bottom was excavated, leaving a part of it visible, probably to create the impression of a cave.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we see an increase in the phenomenon of *elevatio*, the translation of relics from the crypt to the main altar or to a location that is connected with it.⁴⁸



Fig. 2. Sainte-Magnance, sarcophagus of St Magnance in the church named after the saint. Photo by the author.

The rebuilding of the church at Saint-Denis in the 1130s under Abbot Suger included a translation of the relics of the patron saint and his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius from the Carolingian crypt to the new upper choir without abandoning the space of the crypt.⁴⁹

At Autun the relics of St Lazarus were disposed in the Cathedral of St Nazarius. Around the middle of the twelfth century the relics were transferred to a church dedicated to the saint, the construction of which had started in 1119. The relics were placed in the choir in a free-standing monumental marble mausoleum, measuring 5.50×2.20 (width of the inner

space) $\times 6$ m.⁵⁰ The setting at Autun was that of a church enclosing a miniature church which in its turn contained a tomb with the relics of St Lazarus and a staging of his resurrection, with statues of Christ, St Peter, St Andrew, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene. A reconstruction of this setting and the remains of the marble mausoleum, including the statues of St Andrew, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalene, are now exhibited at the Rolin Museum in Autun (Fig. 4).

For nearby Saulieu, also, it is attested that in 1119 the relics of St Andoche and other saints were elevated from the crypt to the choir by



Fig. 3. Fragment of a fronton-like piece of sculpture (c. 1120–40) found during the demolition in the nineteenth century of both the altar and pavement of the first chapel to the south of the choir of the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Vézelay. Vézelay: Musée de l'Œuvre Viollet-le-Duc. Photo by the author.

Pope Calixtus.⁵¹ For Vézelay, however, there is no evidence that either the rebuilding of the choir under Abbot Artaud at the beginning of the eleventh century, or the reconstruction of choir, transept and crypt after the fire of 1165, involved an *elevatio* of the relics of Mary Magdalene to the upper church.⁵² If indeed the relics were not transferred to the upper choir, and if they could only be seen if one descended the stairs of the crypt, what other references to the presence of, and the dedication to, Mary Magdalene where there for a pilgrim visiting the church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? Not many, so it seems. Remarkably enough, the female saint does not appear in any of the scenes of the sculptural programme for which the church became famous: the capitals of the nave and the tympanums above the entrances to the nave dating from 1120–40.⁵³ Only in the

west façade, which was constructed together with the narthex c. 1140–50, does the lintel beneath the central tympanum show scenes from the lives of Mary Magdalene and Lazarus. Both tympanum and lintel were removed in 1851 by Viollet-le-Duc and placed against the south side of the church. Because of weathering, the carvings on the lintel are hardly recognizable but two of them have been identified as the Resurrection of Lazarus and Mary Magdalene kneeling in front of Jesus Christ.⁵⁴

Around 1240–50 the upper part of the façade was decorated with a large window and gable with monumental statues (Fig. 5).⁵⁵ A statue of Mary Magdalene stands in the apex of the gable, for the viewer to the right of the remains of the figure of Christ seated. To the left of Christ appears the figure of the Virgin Mary. Both of them are mentioned in the original dedication

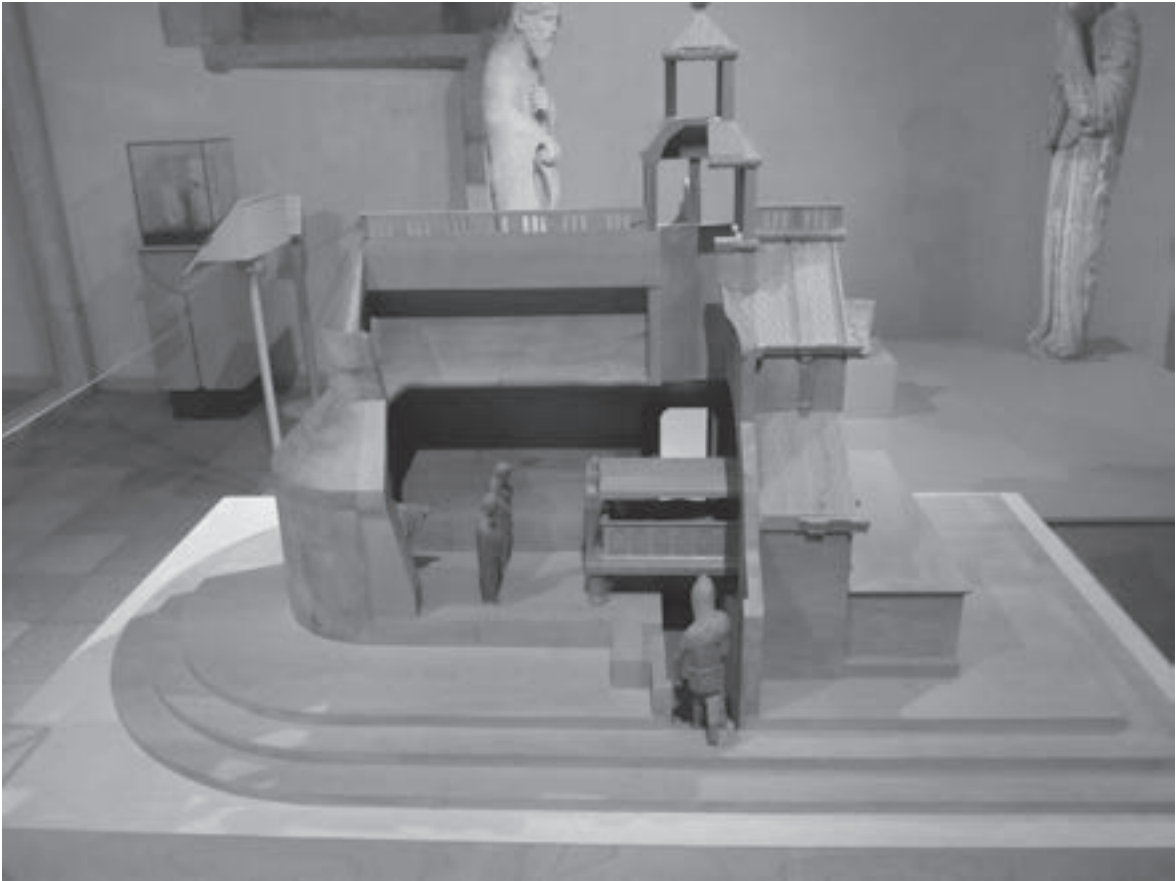


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the free-standing monumental marble mausoleum containing the tomb of St Lazarus and a staging of his resurrection in the Church of St Lazarus in Autun. Autun: Musée Rolin. Photo by the author.

of the church (see above), as are Peter and Paul whose statues stand as the third and second from the left in the row of saints beside the window of the gable.⁵⁶

Appropriation of an Appropriated Saint

It has been suggested that the decoration of the west façade in 1240–50, including a monumental statue of Mary Magdalene, must be seen in the light of the debate on the authenticity and possession of the relics of the saint.⁵⁷ In addition to the accounts that relate how the relics of Mary Magdalene came to Vézelay from Provence, the *Vita apostolica beatae Mariae Magdaleneae*, a creation of Vézelay, explains how Mary Magdalene had arrived in Provence in the first place and, after a life of seclusion, was buried in Aix-en-

Provence.⁵⁸ A cult of Mary Magdalene existed in Provence since the beginning of the twelfth century and it seems that Vézelay was defeated by its own weapons when Aix-en-Provence claimed possession of the tombs containing the bodies of Mary Magdalene and Maximinus, the founders of the church of Aix.⁵⁹ A charter of Archbishop Rostan de Fos (1056–82) which confirmed the possession of the tombs ('sepulcrum utriusque apud nos') was a forgery dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century when the claim was made.⁶⁰

Whether or not forced by the claim made by Aix-en-Provence, in 1265 a ceremony for the verification of the relics of Mary Magdalene took place at Vézelay.⁶¹ A letter written by the bishops of Auxerre and Baniyas describes the ceremony on the night of the 4 October 1265



Fig. 5. Vézelay, Church of St Mary Magdalene, upper part of the façade with a statue of Mary Magdalene in the apex of the gable, to the right of the remains of the figure of Christ seated, , *c.* 1240–50. Photo by the author.

at which both were present. It mentions that the ceremony took place at the location where, according to tradition, the relics were disposed, namely 'subtus magnum altare'. The reason for the verification is also given: so few relics were displayed in the church that some pilgrims questioned their presence.⁶² Then follows a description of the *inventio* during which a metallic box that contained human remains wrapped in two pieces of silk fabric was exhumed from underneath the main altar. The identification of the relics as being those of Mary Magdalene was corroborated by the find of a luxuriant female hair and a testimonial letter by King Charles.⁶³

The *inventio* of 1265 was followed by a *translatio* of the relics during Easter 1267 in presence of King Louis IX and the papal legate Simon de Brion.⁶⁴ In July of the same year Louis sent two precious reliquaries containing relics of Mary Magdalene, entrusted to him on the occasion of the *translation*, to the monastery of Vézelay. A letter from the king accompanying the reliquaries mentions that the relics consisted of an arm, a jaw and three teeth of the female saint.⁶⁵ The arm was set in a piece of precious silverware in the form of a stretched arm with an opened hand, and the jaw and teeth in another piece that was pressed between the hands of a gilded angel. Moreover, in gratitude for donating to him a 'substantial portion' of the relics of Mary Magdalene, King Louis in return gave several relics from his own treasury, which partially derived from Constantinople and included a fragment of the True Cross, two thorns of the crown of thorns and various fragments of clothing of the Lord. These additional relics were placed in the hand of the arm reliquary.

Francis Salet supposed that during the *inventio* the relics were found in the *confessio* of the crypt underneath the main altar. After the *inventio* the tomb with fenestella (which according to Salet dated from the ninth century) was then placed in the church and transformed into an altar, while the relics were placed in the reliquaries donated by King Louis IX.⁶⁶ The exact setting of the *inventio* and the *locus* of the relics, however, is not clear. The location, where ac-

ording to tradition the relics were disposed, likely refers to the tomb of Mary Magdalene in the crypt. Both crypt and tomb, however, are not mentioned in the description of the ceremony. Instead we are told that a metal box containing the relics was exhumed from underneath the main altar. This probably refers to the *confessio* niche in the crypt, but it could also refer to a cavity or space in, or under, the main altar.⁶⁷ The latter option would imply that at a certain point in time between 1165 and 1265 a (part of) the relics were translated to the upper floor of the church. Because the *inventio* was followed by a *translatio*, and because it is mentioned that so few relics were displayed in the church that some pilgrims questioned their presence, it is likely that with the *translatio* (a part of) the relics were visibly exhibited in the choir.

Despite the events of 1265–67, the pilgrimage to Vézelay eventually came to a halt. It was, in the end, Saint-Maximin in Provence who succeeded in claiming the possession of the relics of Mary Magdalene after they found her body in one of the sarcophaguses in the crypt of the Church of St Maximin on 9 December 1279.⁶⁸ In 1289, however, Pope Nicholas IV, confirmed the presence of the relics in Vézelay.⁶⁹ Finally, to the cost of Vézelay, in 1295 Pope Boniface VIII authenticated the invention of the relics at Saint-Maximin.⁷⁰

The written sources on the cult of Mary Magdalene in Vézelay attest that her relics rested in the Romanesque church on top of the hill, supposedly from the ninth century on. These same sources, however, also report that from the beginning there was doubt about the presence of the relics because of their origin, their small number, their limited visibility and the 'unworthy' setting in which they were presented. Neither does the material evidence point to a monumental manifestation of the 'much honoured tomb' that is mentioned in the pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela. In the sculptural decoration of the church there were no references to Mary Magdalene except for a minor scene on the lintel of the tympanum and a statue in the apex of the gable of the façade, the latter from a rather late

date. Moreover, in the Middle Ages the church that is now known as ‘La Madeleine’ was not exclusively dedicated to the female saint. It seems that because the appropriation of Mary Magdalene was in the end not convincingly

delivered, Provence could successfully claim the possession of the whole body of the saint and Vézelay, in its turn, could not keep the memory of the presence of the relics of Mary Magdalene alive.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Sible for his guidance, collegiality and friendship. I especially cherish the memory of the excursions we made over the years to Rome, Ravenna, and Istanbul.
- 2 Mariëtte Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 73.
- 3 *Liber Sancti Jacobi: The Pilgrim's Guide To Santiago de Compostela*, transl. by William Melczar (New York: Italica, 1993), pp. 104–05.
- 4 ‘GAUFRIDO abbati Vizeliacensis cenobii, quod est in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi et veneratione eiusdem genitricis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et beate MARIAE Magdalene, eiusque successoribus in perpetuum’: Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 227 (hereafter MS Auxerre 227), fol. 44^r; *Monumenta vizeliacensia: Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, ed. by Robert B. C. Huygens, in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–), XLII (1976), p. 291.
- 5 ‘Abbatiam Viziliacensem, ubi sancta Maria Magdalene requiescit’, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–55), CXLIII, col. 883.
- 6 Victor Saxer, ‘Miracula Beate Marie Magdalene Vizeliaci facta. Étude de la tradition manuscrite des Recueils de miracles de la Madeleine à Vézelay’, *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (jusqu'à 1610)* (1959), 69–82; Etienne Michel Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 2 vols (Paris: Migne, 1865), II, col. 737: ‘Ipse vero statim, arrepto intenne, nudis gressibus deveniens ad monasterium Viceliaci, grates redditurus pro sua liberatione, ferens secum compedes jam innoxias, atque ante tumulum beatae Mariae suspendit’. Saxer dates the manuscript (Paris, MS lat. 5296 B) on which Faillon based his text edition to the thirteenth century: Saxer, ‘Miracula’, p. 72.
- 7 Manuscripts belonging to Group D, twelfth-fourteenth century, as classified in Saxer, ‘Miracula’, pp. 75–76; Faillon, II, col. 739: ‘Quos assumens praedictus abbas fabris contulit, ac in giro altaris redas ferreas exinde fieri iussit’.
- 8 *The Book of Sainte Foy*, transl. by Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 17.
- 9 Melczar, p. 106.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116.
- 11 ‘Leonard’, in Kunera: Database of Medieval Badges and Ampullae, Radboud University Nijmegen <<http://www.kunera.nl>> [accessed 14 April 2016].
- 12 Rosalind K. Berlow, ‘Social and Economic Aspects of the Early History of Vézelay (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 1971), pp. 93–100.
- 13 Because the miracle accounts give no explanation for how the relics came to Vézelay, Victor Saxer concluded that they must be of an earlier date (c. 1037–43) than the sources that do so and which according to Saxer date from around the middle of the eleventh century: Victor Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Auxerre: Publications de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne; Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1959), p. 7. Berlow, p. 93, dates the miracle accounts shortly after 1040.
- 14 Saxer, *Le culte*, pp. 60–65.
- 15 Faillon, II, col. 739: ‘Nam cuncator a multis qualiter fieri potuit ut corpus baetae Mariae Magdalene, cuius exortus in Judea fuit, de tam longinuae regione ad Gallarum partes delatum sit. Sed his paucis respondendum, quoniam omnia possibilis sunt apud Deum, et quaecumque voluit fecit’. This text passage appears in manuscripts belonging to Group B and D as classified in Saxer, ‘Miracula’, pp. 72–76. Saxer dates the oldest manuscript 1070, which seems contradictory to the dating of the miracle accounts in c. 1037–43 (see above, n. 13).
- 16 Victor Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien de Marie Madeleine: Invention et translation des reliques en 1265–1267* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1975), p. 77; dated 1041–43.
- 17 Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, p. 77.
- 18 *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (hereafter *BHL*) 5442, 5488; Faillon, II, cols 573–74, 741–44; Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, p. 78.
- 19 *BHL*, 5491; Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, no. 2: ‘Incipit Legenda Translationis Gloriose Marie Magdalene [...]’, pp. 236–41; *Hugh of Poitiers: The Vézelay Chronicle*, transl. by John Scott and John O. Ward (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), Appendix D, ‘The Little Book of Vézelay about the Relics and Translation of the Blessed Mary Magdalene’, pp. 336–41.
- 20 Charter 1, MS Auxerre 227, fol. 23^r, ed. Huygens, p. 246: ‘Pari etiam ordine fundavimus aliud monasterium...in honore domini nostri Iesu Christi, in loco vel agro, qui dicitur Vizeliacus [...]. For the dating in

- 858–59, see M. René Louis, *Girart, comte de Vienne et ses fondations monastiques* (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1946).
- 21 MS Auxerre 227, fol. 75^v, ed. Huygens, p. 416.
- 22 Dedication to Jesus Christ: MS Auxerre 227, charter 1, fol. 23^r, ed. Huygens, p. 246; dedication to Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary: MS Auxerre 227, charter 2, fol. 26^r, ed. Huygens, p. 249; dedication to Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary and Peter and Paul: Berlow, p. 85, n. 141, referring to *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, ed. by Angelo Maria Bandini (Florence, 1774), col. 134, which I could not consult myself.
- 23 *Translatio SS. Eusebii et Pontiani*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 2 (1883), pp. 368–77.
- 24 The first mention of Andeolus in relation to Vézelay dates from 878 when Charles the Bald re-confirmed the privileges of the monastery ‘in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his mother the Virgin Mary and also of St Peter and St Andeolus, martyrs’. In 900 Horolfus granted his gifts ‘to our Lord Saviour and his mother the Blessed Mary in the monastery called Vézelay where rest the bodies of the Blessed Martyrs, namely Andeolus and Pontianus’, see Berlow, p. 85 and nn. 142 and 144, referring to Bandini, cols 134 and 133. In *Acta Sanctorum*, Tomus V, augusti (Antwerp 1741), p. 113, n. 13, it is mentioned that a monk from Auxerre mentioned in his Chronologia under the year 856 that Gerard de Rousillon acquired the relics of Eusebius and Pontianus from Pope Nicholas in Rome and transferred them to Gallia; the relics of Eusebius to his monastery in Pothières and those of Pontianus to his monastery in Vézelay.
- 25 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 58–63 and p. 78.
- 26 MS Auxerre 227, fol. 14^v, ed. Huygens, p. 224: ‘Dedicatio ecclesie Vizeliaci ab abbate Artaldo edificatae’; Francis Salet, *La Madeleine de Vézelay* (Melun: Librairie d’Argences, 1948), p. 23.
- 27 *Miracula S. Mariae Magdaleneae [Vizeliacensis]*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 17 (1898), pp. 177–79. Dating by Salet, *La Madeleine*, p. 88.
- 28 Salet, *La Madeleine*, p. 87.
- 29 Christian Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay (Yonne): quelle place pour les reliques de Marie-Madeleine et la statue de la Vierge ? L’apport de l’archéologie du bâti et des sources textuelles’, *Bulletin du centre d’études médiévales d’Auxerre*, 19, 1 (2015), 1–10, <http://cem.revues.org/13945>.
- 30 Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay’, p. 3.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 3; Christian Sapin, *Les cryptes en France* (Paris: Picard, 2014), pp. 132, 134.
- 32 See above, n. 19.
- 33 According to Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, p. 78, the description of the sarcophagus proofs that the narrator envisaged one of the sarcophaguses in the crypt of Saint-Maximin in Provence. This seems contradictory to Saxer’s statement that the attribution of one of the sarcophaguses to Mary Magdalene cannot be attested before the thirteenth century: Saxer, *Le culte*, pp. 46–47. It also would imply that the translation report is an eyewitness account, which is highly unlikely.
- 34 MS Auxerre 227, fol. 14^v, ed. Huygens, p. 223.
- 35 ‘ecclesiam peregrinorum’: MS Auxerre 227, fols 69^r, 70^r, 71^r, ed. Huygens, pp. 403, 405, 406. It is not clear if the ‘Church of the Pilgrims’ referred to an independent structure, the entire church or, less probably, the narthex. See also Berlow, pp. 165–66.
- 36 Salet, *La Madeleine*, p. 25.
- 37 Arnaud Timbert, *Le chevet de la Madeleine de Vézelay et le premier gothique bourguignon* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).
- 38 MS Auxerre 227, fol. 161^r, ed. Huygens, p. 566; transl. by Scott and Ward, pp. 284–85.
- 39 John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 133–34, suggested that the term *crypta*, used for the vault above the tomb, referred to the main apse of the church and that therefore the relics were elevated to the choir by the mid-twelfth century.
- 40 Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay’, p. 7.
- 41 Salet, *La Madeleine*, pp. 88–89.
- 42 Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay’, p. 7.
- 43 Lydwine Saulnier and Neil Stratford, *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, *Bibliothèque de la Société Française d’Archeologie*, 17 (Paris: Arts et Métier graphiques, 1984), pp. 171–72, 177–78 and Figs 182–84; *Le Patrimoine de la Basilique de Vézelay*, ed. by Muriel Vandeventer and others (Charenton-le-Pont: Flohic Éditions, 1999), p. 123.
- 44 I want to thank Paul le Blanc for pointing out these fragments to me when he showed me around in Vézelay.
- 45 *Le Patrimoine*, p. 123.
- 46 Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay’, p. 3; Sapin, *Les Cryptes en France*, p. 212.
- 47 The current stairs date from the time of the restoration of the church around the middle of the nineteenth century under Viollet-le-Duc. On both sides the lower part of the twelfth-century stair is still visible. Before Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration there existed a stair in the third southern bay that possibly dated from the thirteenth century and that probably gave access to the crypt during the building activities: Sapin, ‘La crypte de Vézelay’, p. 2 and n. 3.
- 48 Sapin, *Les cryptes en France*, p. 119.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 119; according to Kees van der Ploeg, ‘Preserving and Reshaping: The Intricacies of Liturgy and Architecture at St. Lebuinus’, *Deventer*, in *Unitas in Pluralitate: Libri Ordinarii als Quelle für die Kulturgeschichte. Libri Ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History*, ed. by Charles Caspers and Louis van Tongeren (Münster: Aschendorff, 2015), p. 189 and n. 21, Abbot

- Suger preserved the crypt which became a relic in its own right. Christian Sapin, *Les cryptes en France*, p. 209, points out that crypts in the later Middle Ages gradually lost their religious function and became *lieux de mémoire*.
- 50 Sapin, *Les cryptes en France*, pp. 210-11; Linda Seidel, *Legends in Limestone: Lazarus, Gislebertus, and the Cathedral of Autun* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 40-43. Seidel (Fig. 22) shows the ground plan of the mausoleum traced on the church's floor as it appeared in 1998.
- 51 I thank Paul le Blanc for pointing out this example to me. The text on the elevation has survived in a eighteenth-century manuscript now in the Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or, G 3145, chapitre Saint-Andoch (1716-36), fols 91^v-94^v. See also Laurent Durnecker, *Saulieu: Les corps saints à Saulieu du tombeau aux reliquaires (VI^e-XVIII^e S.)* (Saulieu: Association des Amis du Vieux Saulieu, 2002), pp. 16-17; Francis Salet, 'La basilique Saint-Andoche de Saulieu', in *Congrès archéologique de France, Auxois-Châtillonnais* (Paris : Société française d'archéologie, 1986), pp. 235-43.
- 52 I do not follow the argument of Crook, see above n. 39.
- 53 Salet, *La Madeleine*, pp. 173-201; *Le Patrimoine*, pp. 38-146 ; Kirk Ambrose, *The Nave Sculpture of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006).
- 54 Saulnier and Stratford, p. 246 and Figs 28-29; *Le Patrimoine*, p. 126. Currently the fragments of the tympanum and lintel have been removed for restoration.
- 55 Saulnier and Stratford, pp. 8-9.
- 56 *Le Patrimoine*, pp. 216-18.
- 57 Saulnier and Stratford, p. 9 and n. 45.
- 58 *BHL* 5443-5449; Guy Lobrichon, 'Le dossier Magdalénien aux XI^e-XII^e siècles', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 104 (1992), 163-80. Lobrichon dates this source in the second half of the eleventh century. See also Geary, p. 76.
- 59 Saxer, *Le culte*, pp. 95-96.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 103-07.
- 61 Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, no. 9, pp. 260-62.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 260, lines 14-16: 'verum quia de reliquiis ipsius parum peregrinantibus exhibebatur, a nonnullis extitit hesiatatum'.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 64 *Ibid.*, pp. 103-12, 263-68.
- 65 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-12, 264-66.
- 66 Salet, *La Madeleine*, pp. 29, 89.
- 67 According to Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, p. 98, the relics were put back 'dans la fosse d'où on l'avait extrait'. See 'Der Kastenaltar', in Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols (Munich: Alte Meister Günther Koch, 1924), I, pp. 191-211.
- 68 Saxer, *Le culte*, pp. 230-33.
- 69 Saxer, *Le dossier Vézélien*, pp. 87, 256: 'ut ecclesie monasterii vetri, in qua corpus beate Marie Magdalene, cuius est insignita vocabulo, requiescit [...]'.
70 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

REMEMBERING THE LOST PALACE: EXPLAINING AND ENGAGING WITH THE ABSENCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE'S GREAT PALACE

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Once the heart of the Byzantine Empire, the grand stage on which the power and divinity of the emperor was presented and re-presented for over seven centuries, the Great Palace of Constantinople has today disappeared with barely a trace. In part, this is due to the waves of conquest and changing rule that left a greatly altered city in their wake: in 1204, the palace was sacked by Latin Crusaders; after the Ottoman conquest of 1453, what little remained of the building was gradually torn down, its pieces used elsewhere, its site built over. Later, urban development under Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century, and then under the Turkish Republic in the twentieth century further eroded and covered over the last remains of the palace.

Today, in a city filled with large and impressive monuments, the absence of the Great Palace is little felt by most visitors to modern Istanbul. Yet this absent monument nonetheless provides fertile ground on which to explore three key – and interwoven – aspects of the construction of memories of monuments: the reasons for these monuments' survival or loss; the role of official efforts to unearth, reconstruct, and present these monuments; and the role of individuals to create their own 'memories' of monuments, about which they may know very little. This paper seeks to explore these themes as they are manifested in relation to the Great Palace. To this end, it will offer an exploration of the reasons for the palace's disappearance (in notable contrast to the neighbouring Hagia Sophia) followed by an overview of changing attitudes toward the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage (especially Byzantine) in Istanbul in the last hundred years. Within this context, the specific efforts made to excavate and present the Great Palace will be considered, as will the challenges these efforts faced. Finally, this paper will re-

flect on the state in which these various efforts and attitudes have left the memory of the Great Palace, and the ways in which visitors today are able to encounter, conceptualise, and remember the remains of this lost monument.

The Great Palace through the Ages

For nearly nine hundred years, the Great Palace was the nerve centre of the Byzantine Empire. Begun under Constantine I, the palace grew over the centuries as various emperors added new sections and abandoned or pulled down old buildings. The space covered by this complex expanded to take up much of the land from the Hippodrome south-east almost to the Bosphorus and from Hagia Sophia south-west to the Sea of Marmara. The complex included not only ceremonial halls and imperial and court residences, but also numerous chapels and shrines, walkways, gardens, and even a polo field.¹ Here the emperor, his family, and a vast number of courtiers, soldiers, and attendants could live and work, managing the empire and demonstrating and constructing imperial power through elaborate ceremonies. The palace complex abutted Hagia Sophia and there were three routes available to the emperor travelling from the Chalke Gate (the main entrance to the palace) to Hagia Sophia. He could cross the Augustaion and enter via the Horologion – the more public route; he could follow a colonnaded route from the Chalke to the Chapel of the Holy Well, located on the south-eastern corner of the Great Church, offering a more private approach; or, most private of all, he could use an enclosed walkway above the colonnade, by which route the emperor could pass unseen between the Chalke and the upper southeast level of Hagia Sophia. This opened directly onto the *metatorion*, the

private imperial section of Hagia Sophia, almost an extension of the palace within the church.² These routes were used at different times in different ceremonies according to requirement and preference.

The palace itself, with its churches and shrines, was an important religious centre in its own right, not least due to its collection of holy relics. By the late middle Byzantine period, this collection was famous even in distant lands, and pilgrims travelled from as far away as northern Russia to see these treasured objects, which included a large collection of Passion relics, housed in the Church of the Theotokos of the Pharos.³ Such relics, housed in the imperial residence rather than Hagia Sophia, underscored the power and particular divine position claimed by the Byzantine emperor. Emperors could display these objects to visiting foreign dignitaries and make use of them as means by which to swear important oaths.⁴

But somewhere around the end of the eleventh century, the Great Palace lost this central role. Under the Komnenian family, the main imperial residence moved to Blachernai Palace in the north-west of the city on the walls. While the churches of the palace continued to be used – and remained the sites of holy relics – the residential and ceremonial halls gradually faded from regular court usage, only appearing in sources for particularly grand ceremonial events.⁵ Excavations have revealed burials from the eleventh-thirteenth century cut through fourth-century mosaics, suggesting parts of the palace were used as a cemetery following its abandonment under the Komnenians.⁶ The palace did not suffer its true deathblow until 1204, however. It was at this point, when the city was sacked by Latin Crusaders, that the sacred treasures of the Great Palace were carried off to Italy. When the city was retaken by the Byzantines in 1261, the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos stayed in the Great Palace for a short time following the re-conquest, but only temporarily while the Blachernai Palace was repaired following Latin occupation.⁷ Now denuded of most of its holy relics, the former Great Palace quietly decayed completely as the Byzantine capital entered its final centuries with its proces-

sional routes reoriented between the Blachernai Palace and the still-standing Hagia Sophia.⁸ It was in this dilapidated and abandoned state when Mehmet II took the city in 1453, at which point the new ruler of the city is said to have walked through the halls of the deserted and ruined palace and remarked upon its decline with a poetic quotation.⁹ Mehmet had a great interest in the empire that had previously ruled from Constantinople, and although it was important for him to assert his primacy over the city, he did not seek simply to erase the Byzantine past. Instead, he engaged in a complex discourse with the Byzantine monuments of the city – and in particular with the Christian buildings of the city.¹⁰ Hagia Sophia was not razed, but rather converted into a mosque, a deliberate and potent statement of conquest. But when it came time to build a new palace, Mehmet eschewed the site of the former Great Palace – an area now strewn with ruins. Instead he chose to construct Topkapi Palace on the ancient Acropolis of the Greek city of Byzantion, north of Hagia Sophia. In the building of this complex, he made use of spolia from the ruins of the Byzantine palace and hippodrome, and also gathered statuary and other objects from around the city.¹¹ The new palace also came to house an extensive collection of holy relics – echoing the role of the Byzantine palace centuries before, but not directly engaging with the now-lost monument.¹² The site of the Great Palace, meanwhile, was gradually covered by new houses, and, later, by the Sultan Ahmet Mosque. By the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, the Great Palace was long gone, built over many times over.

When the Republic was established in 1923, Hagia Sophia was very deliberately converted from a mosque into a museum – a clear political statement of secularism on the part of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Hagia Sophia, with its religious use and meanings, remained – and remains today – a potent symbol in ongoing debates regarding the identity and image of modern Istanbul and Turkey. But the Great Palace, long ago stripped of its religious role, faded out of memory and hence, out of ongoing identity politics. Instead, it found itself buried beneath accruing layers of the Ottoman and then Republican city,

small sections periodically coming to light. But even the identity of these ruins remains uncertain, as time and a lack of large-scale excavations have erased material markers of the layout of the Great Palace complex.¹³

Early Approaches to Preserving and Presenting Byzantine Heritage in Istanbul

Interest in the study and preservation of Turkey's Byzantine remains began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, roughly paralleling similar developments in Europe.¹⁴ In 1869, the Magazine of Antiquities and the Magazine of Antique Weapons, housed in Hagia Irene, was renamed the Imperial Museum. At the same time, the new institution was moved, first to the Tiled Pavilion of Topkapi Palace, and later, in 1891, to a purpose-built neoclassical building.¹⁵ The museum thus consciously and visually framed itself within museum traditions of Western Europe. The emphasis of the collections and their presentation, however, was not simply to 'copy' European traditions or conceptions of heritage and antiquities; the museum displayed classical works Western Europeans were familiar with as their own heritage – but these objects came from Turkish soil, thus suggesting the heritage of Western Europe was actually more native to the Ottoman Empire than to Western Europe.¹⁶ This emphasis on an all-encompassing view of heritage in Turkey was made even more explicit in 1906 and 1912, when laws were passed for the preservation of monuments and antiquities 'from any period whatsoever'. In 1915, the Council for the Preservation of Monuments was established to advise in the implementation of these laws. Ten years later, this council was re-ratified under the Republican government, and these laws remained in force until 1973, indicating a degree of continuity in the development of attitudes toward cultural heritage and its management, despite the radical changes brought about by the 1923 revolution.¹⁷ Both the Ottoman and Republican governments sought to use Turkey's historical heritage to shape national identity, albeit to very different ends. The shifting agendas – political,

ideological, commercial – that overlapped and at times came into conflict in the early twentieth century continue to influence decisions regarding heritage preservation in Istanbul to this day, with the fate of the remains of the Great Palace well reflecting the consequences of such vicissitudes.

In the early years of the Republic, Istanbul found itself in an uncertain role: although still the cultural heart of the nation, it had lost its status as the political capital. Its population plunged in the 1930s as many inhabitants moved away, and parts of the city destroyed by fires remained un-developed, with neither the population pressures nor the funds to rebuild.¹⁸ There were, nonetheless, efforts to create a climate of cultural preservation. In the mid-1930s, the Ministry of Education issued a declaration to schools stating that all historic works, no matter the time period and historical label identifying them, were Turkish, 'and hence it is the duty of all Turks to preserve them'.¹⁹ This attitude was related to the 'Turkish History Thesis' in vogue at the time, which claimed that Turks originated in Central Asia, the origin of all human civilisations, and went on to influence all subsequent cultures and civilisations (including the Greco-Roman traditions embraced by Western Europe).²⁰ Even preserved Byzantine monuments, notably Hagia Sophia, were included in this approach, and, indeed, were declared to have been made 'more Turkish' than Byzantine through Turkish repairs that had ensured their survival.²¹

Nonetheless, this 'inclusive' attitude toward these monuments had its limits, and this was somewhat to the detriment of the surviving palace remains. In 1938, the French urban planner Henri Prost submitted a proposal for an archaeological park in Istanbul.²² This area was defined by the Hippodrome, Hagia Sophia, and Great Palace region, while the Theodosian land walls were to encompass a protected zone. Prost envisioned not merely the preservation of standing monuments (specifically Hagia Sophia), but the reconstitution of the 'urban environment of the monument', as it had stood in the seventh century, including the Hippodrome and the Great Palace – a concept he had originally presented in a commissioned report from



Fig. 1. Istanbul, Great Palace Mosaic Museum. Photo by the author.

1911.²³ In a paper presented to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1947, Prost explained his vision:

From this [Byzantine] period, only the large hippodrome and the Hagia Sophia are still intact. Yet, beneath the soil, on the ground level, there are most certainly very interesting remains. All new construction is prohibited in this area. Following the excavations, whether they would bear any fruit or not, at least a space will be opened between the Hagia Sophia and Sultan Ahmed, where the Byzantine remains can be displayed within a park surrounded by greenery, a park duly named as the Archaeological Park.²⁴

This proposal was criticised by some in Turkey, who objected to the use of Byzantine remains to define the perimeters of this park, which was seen as ‘erasing’, or at least de-emphasising, the Ottoman history of the area.²⁵ Thus, although in the protected region surrounding Sultanahmet Square several important monuments and buildings, including Byzantine ones, are preserved, Istanbul lacks a true archaeological park. Only buildings still standing above ground were preserved, while the

Great Palace region was rapidly built over in the 1950s, which saw extensive urban development programmes as the population increased 130%.²⁶

Excavations: Challenges and Compromises

Before this development took place, a number of efforts were made to survey and even conduct limited excavations of the Great Palace site. The first effort at a comprehensive survey of the region was undertaken by Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Wiegand in 1918 following two fires that razed the modern buildings in the area in 1912 and 1913.²⁷ They set about mapping and investigating all Byzantine ruins that could be observed without excavation and, in 1934, published their findings in a guidebook titled *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen dem Hippodrom und dem Marmara-meer*. This was illustrated with photographs and plans and was intended not only as an archaeological report, but also as a handbook for the informed visitor seeking to explore the remains of Byzantine Istanbul.²⁸

Another fire in 1933 enabled the first true excavation of the Great Palace site. This was con-



Fig. 2. Map of Istanbul showing the locations of the Mosaic Museum, the Four Seasons excavations, the Senatus Hotel and the Palatium Café. Map: Google, edited by the author.

ducted between 1935 and 1938, funded by the Walker Trust (University of St Andrews), with reports of the excavations published in 1947 and 1958. These excavations concentrated on an area just to the east of the Blue Mosque. Despite the fire, the region was still relatively built-up, limiting the excavation to small areas, occasionally connected by tunnelling under Turkish walls.²⁹ The most famous discoveries yielded by this excavation were the mosaic floors of a peristyle belonging to the Great Palace. These mosaics, dating to the sixth century, had been protected by accumulated debris and Byzantine-era marble slabs.³⁰ Following the excavation, a temporary shelter was erected over the mosaics by the Directorate General of Monuments and Museums and they were maintained *in situ* for visitors. However, the roof was inadequate and the initial efforts to preserve the mosaics using cement mortar and fillers caused damage, so that by 1979, the site had to be closed down for repairs. In search of funds, the Directorate sought foreign investment, resulting in the Austrian-Turkish research project for the Palace Mosaic of Constantinople.³¹ This enabled the mosaics to be properly conserved and re-laid and permanent structure erected. In 1987, the site reopened as the Great Palace Mosaic Museum. Today, this is the only official site or museum devoted to the remains of the Great Palace (Fig. 1).

Following the Walker Trust excavations, the region was heavily developed in the 1950s and 1960s, further limiting the scale on which excavations in the region can be carried out. Today, archaeologists must take advantage of demolition work, excavating before new buildings are erected. In 1994, permission was granted by the Istanbul Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Committee for excavations to take place on Küçük Ayasofya Street (Fig. 2). This was the site of the southern end of the palace complex, which was expanded in the seventh through tenth centuries as the older, northern sections fell out of use. Excavation work continued in intervals until 1996, and discoveries included a fifth-, sixth-century mosaic, and remnants of a water-related structure.³² Eleven third- to second-century BC graves were also found, part of a necropolis, indicating the limits of the Hellenistic city of Byzantium. The 1994 local elections brought a new municipal administration, though, which ultimately ended work on the site.³³ In 1997, permission was granted to the Ersin Crown Hotel, which was constructed on the site, to preserve the mosaic *in situ* and use stone artefacts found in the dig as decoration in the new building (Fig. 3).³⁴

The difficulties surrounding these sites were even more clearly demonstrated in the excavations carried out on the site of the Sultanahmet



Fig. 3. Great Palace remains on display, Istanbul: Eresin Crown Hotel. Photo by the author.

Four Seasons Hotel between 1997 and 2008. This site, southeast of Hagia Sophia, where the Chalke Gate, Magnaura, and Senate House would have been located in the Great Palace (Fig. 2), was known to contain Byzantine remains from 1911, when Mamboury and Wiegand observed the construction of an Ottoman prison (later converted into the hotel).³⁵ In 1997, restoration work on the hotel revealed extensive Byzantine substructures. What happened next is difficult to ascertain. The hotel paid the Istanbul Museum of Archaeology to conduct excavations, but they also wished to build on the site and applied for permits to do so. These were granted by the Preservations Commission, the body responsible for granting building permits in areas of archaeological interest. The then-director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Alpay Pasinli, was also a member of the Commission, and was subsequently accused of putting pres-

sure on the Commission to grant these permits due to his political, business, and union connections. The Turkish press further alleged that Pasinli had been involved in artefact smuggling, after which Pasinli stopped speaking to journalists. In 2008, a court ruling declared that the excavation had been carried out illegally and the site was shut down.³⁶ A deal had been made between the city and the Sultanahmet Construction Company, allowing them to expand the hotel, provided they sponsored the excavations and developed the site into an archaeological park. But it was alleged that the expansion work would damage the site, and that the park would be enclosed in the hotel, not open to the public. Despite insistence from parties on both sides of the conflict that the site would be opened to the public once the matter was settled, it remains fenced off and no further excavation work has been carried out.

This situation reveals the challenges preventing thorough investigation and presentation of the remains of the Great Palace in a region where urban development has created a complex, conflicting web of interests, including political agendas, local and national government bureaucracies, private businesses, and those responsible for preserving cultural heritage. In the case of the Four Seasons excavations, this has caused a fascinating and important site to go unexplored. Some preliminary work was conducted in the area and the report on the excavation indicates the exciting nature of the discoveries the site could yield. These include the possible remains of the foundations of the Chalke Gate, once the main entrance to the Great Palace.³⁷ Another set of Byzantine substructures might correspond to a building called the 'Arslanhane' (House of Lions) by the Ottomans, used to house the sultan's lions, but in Byzantine times a church, possibly one erected by John I Tzimiskes.³⁸ The report stressed, however, that such attributions could only be tentative until a larger team, including more specialists on the period, could be assembled to investigate the site.

Presenting the Palace: A Personal Experience

Given such difficulties in conducting large-scale excavations in the region, it is perhaps not surprising that the most extensive sections of the Great Palace accessible to visitors today are those that have been excavated by private businesses, underneath their properties. This has often been done at the business-owner's expense, possibly in part to avoid the multitude of bureaucratic issues that can arise from official excavations. These private efforts are notable in light of the relative lack of emphasis placed by official tourist sites in the area on the remains of the Great Palace. The only official site dedicated to these remains, the Mosaic Museum, is presented as an adjunct to the Hagia Sophia museum, with minimal information available on the official website, www.ayasofyamuzesi.gov.tr. Thus, given limited public awareness of the original location of the Great Palace or its history, it is interesting to note the number of businesses in the region that have chosen to use

its legacy to add an element of historical interest to their services. This runs from simple allusions through hotel and shop names, to large-scale excavations (Fig. 2). The Senatus Hotel on the Akbıyık Caddesi, for instance, has no excavations, but until recently it included information on its website informing visitors about the history of the Great Palace, and explaining that the hotel's name stems from its location, near the original site of the Palace Senate House.³⁹

One street away from the Senatus, down the street from the Four Seasons, sits the Palatium Café, where visitors can wander through a series of Byzantine vaulted chambers.⁴⁰ This café, whose name today clearly refers to the palace, was formerly the Asia Minor Carpet shop, owned by the Başdoğan family. In 1999, the first Byzantine ruins were discovered beneath the shop, and since then the family has paid to have the chambers excavated. In 2007, these excavations were featured on the History Channel show *Cities of the Underworld*. Today, the Palatium continues to open these rooms to the public, free of charge, though the excavations are little advertised. Travel blogs and tourist sites suggest that not all who visit these rooms are even aware that these are the remains of the Byzantine Great Palace (despite a few information signs).⁴¹ But whatever people's knowledge of the history of the palace, their accounts clearly indicate that exploring these remains is exciting, and, in some ways, the lack of wider advertising or an official presentation makes each person's encounter more personal and the memory therefore more special.⁴²

Although there are no government-sponsored comprehensive guides to these diverse encounters with remains of the Great Palace, they are listed in various tourist handbooks, and at least one academic project has sought to transfer its discoveries into a useable guidebook for non-academic visitors. The Byzantium 1200 project produces digital reconstructions of medieval Constantinople, and in 2007 they published a book titled *Walking Thru Byzantium: The Great Palace Region*.⁴³ This handbook is intended to allow visitors to reconstruct their own 'memory' of the Great Palace, offering a walking tour through the region highlighting sites and re-

mains, both official and unofficial. To complement these encounters, the handbook is extensively illustrated with the digital reconstructions of the palace buildings, offering visitors an impression of the original context of the remains they can see today. These reconstructions are based on primary sources from the Byzantine period as well as on modern excavations and surveys, making it in essence an updated version of the book produced by Mamboury and Wiegand in 1934.

Besides these sites, some artefacts from excavations are also on display today in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. The grandest of these objects are two stone lions, which today flank a museum staircase (Fig. 4). These originally stood in the Boukoleon Palace on the Sea of Marmara, which was incorporated into the Great Palace in the tenth century. They likely once overlooked a set of marble steps leading to the mooring for imperial ships, and continued to stand among the ruins of the palace until 1871, when these ruins were demolished and the lions were removed to the museum.⁴⁴ Along with the Great Palace mosaics, these lions are the only surviving indicators of the splendour with which the palace was once decorated and the awesome impact it must once have had. The other objects on display in the museum are smaller items, like pottery, or small architectural elements. In 2011, an exhibition was staged, titled *Byzantine Palaces in Constantinople*. Remains were displayed from a number of palaces, imperial and non-imperial, throughout the city, and by far the greatest number of objects came from the Great Palace. These were limited in size and variety, but indicate the wealth of remains that lie beneath the ground, still undiscovered.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Long ago stripped of its sacred and ceremonial role and, as a result, allowed to fade from sight and public discourse, the Great Palace of Constantinople will never rival Hagia Sophia as the great Byzantine monument of Istanbul. But it is not as lost as it might at first appear to be, although presenting it as a cohesive monument will never be possible. The very premise of



Fig. 4. Stone lions from the Boukoleon Palace, Istanbul: Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Photo by the author.

Walking Thru Byzantium indicates the difficulty of this enterprise: with these various remains spread out in both space and ownership, the onus is on visitors to make the effort to connect the dots and construct for themselves a memory of the lost palace. Yet at the same time, this fact itself has some appeal: for those exploring the underground corridors of the palace that lie beneath ordinary restaurants, cafés, and shops, there is a feeling of ‘discovering’ the palace for themselves. These encounters are surprisingly personal for a monument that once symbolised the exclusivity and separateness of the Byzantine imperial court, but that in part may account for some of their allure. Extensive excavations of

the Great Palace region will never be possible, and so the experience of the palace will remain fragmentary and individual, but there will always be visitors who, in the heart of the tourist centre of Istanbul, will enjoy the feeling of a private encounter with the past, no matter how

much or how little they know or understand of its rich history. The palace thus presents itself in glimpses, with reconstructions of it in its entirety remaining only speculative, leaving it up to each individual to construct his or her own memory of the Great Palace of Constantinople.

Notes

- 1 J. Michael Featherstone, 'Luxury in the Palace: The Buildings of Theophilus', *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı*, 3 (2013), 33-40.
- 2 Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 96; Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959), pp. 73-92.
- 3 Robert Ousterhout, 'Constantinople and the Construction of a Medieval Urban Identity', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 336; George Majeska, 'Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 56 (2002), 93-108. Nikolaos Mesarites, who served as custodian of these treasures at the end of the twelfth century, also described in detail the Passion relics at the Pharos-Church in his 1207 account of the 1201 revolt of John Komnenos, indicating the ongoing activity that took place in the Great Palace up to the Latin occupation. But for all pilgrims, before and after the Latin occupation, Hagia Sophia remained the primary site to visit.
- 4 Holger A. Klein, 'Sacred relics and imperial ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople', in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft*, ed. by F. Bauer (= *BYZAS*, 5 (2006)), pp. 75-99.
- 5 Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977), p. 235. Even before this shift, older sections of the palace had already fallen out of use (apart from some special occasions) and were in varying states of disrepair from the late ninth century if not earlier. J. Michael Featherstone, 'The Great Palace as Reflected in the 'De Ceremoniis'', in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft*, ed. by F. Bauer (= *BYZAS*, 5 (2006)), pp. 47-61 (pp. 47-49).
- 6 Exh. cat. Istanbul: Archaeological Museums, *Byzantine Palaces in Constantinople | Istanbul'daki Bizans sarayları*, ed. by Asuman Denker (Istanbul: Bosphorus Books, 2011), p. 25.
- 7 Alice-Mary Talbot, 'The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 47 (1993), 243-61 (p. 250).
- 8 The Pharos and the Nea churches of the Old Palace still stood and appear in pilgrim texts, but they lay in increasingly dilapidated surroundings and the substructures of the Old Palace were used as a prison. Müller-Wiener, p. 236.
- 9 Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991), p. 3.
- 10 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p. 18.
- 11 Kafescioğlu, pp. 59-60. Kafescioğlu argues that the location of the palace on the old Greek acropolis linked the new Ottoman rule with Byzantium's even more ancient predecessors by harking back to the city's earliest foundations. Topkapi was actually the second palace built under Mehmet; the first, the Old Palace, was built on the site today occupied by Istanbul University.
- 12 Julian Raby, 'A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as Patron of the Arts', *Oxford Art Journal*, 5, 1 (1982), 3-8 (p. 6).
- 13 Scholars have attempted to reconstruct hypothetical layouts on the basis of accounts of ceremonial processions – in particular as found in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*. See in particular the works of Featherstone, Mango, Jonathan Bardill, and Jan Kosteneč on this, as well as the pioneering work of Jean Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris: Leroux, 1910).
- 14 Engin Akyürek, 'Byzantine Art History in Modern Turkey', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 207-24 (p. 206).
- 15 Wendy Shaw, 'Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic', *Muqarnas*, 24 (2007), 253-79 (pp. 256-58).
- 16 Shaw, p. 259.
- 17 Nur Altinyildiz, 'The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation', *Muqarnas*, 24 (2007), 281-305 (pp. 286-87).
- 18 Shaw, p. 269; Altinyildiz, p. 288.
- 19 Altinyildiz, p. 291; Murat Ergin, 'Archeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed.

- by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin. (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 13–33 (p. 27).
- 20 Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, 'Introduction', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 1–33 (p. 4).
- 21 Altinyildiz, p. 292.
- 22 Ibid., p. 292.
- 23 Pierre Pinon, 'Henri Prost, Albert Gabriel, Istanbul Archaeological Park and the Hippodrome', in *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, ed. by Brigitte Pitarakis (Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2010), pp. 252–67 (p. 153).
- 24 Pinon, p. 153.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 292, 295. In an era notable for distancing itself from the immediate Ottoman past, this is an interesting objection, and indicates the way in which Istanbul in the period 1923–c. 1950 may be seen as having been used to demonstrate the decay of the empire by preserving its monuments just enough that (Turkish) visitors could witness the disrepair into which that empire had fallen.
- 26 Altinyildiz, p. 295; Akyürek, p. 209.
- 27 Jonathan Bardill, 'Archaeologists and Excavations of the Hippodrome', in *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, ed. by Brigitte Pitarakis, (Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2010), pp. 83–90 (pp. 87–88).
- 28 Günter Martiny, 'The Buildings', in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried out on Behalf of the Walker Trust (The University of St Andrews) 1935–1938*, ed. by David Talbot Rice (Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 1.
- 29 Martiny, p. 2.
- 30 Henry Maguire, 'The Medieval Floors of the Great Palace', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. by Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 153–74 (pp. 154–57, 174). Maguire suggests that the mosaics were covered due to changing tastes which preferred plainer (though still expensive) floors and brilliantly decorated ceilings.
- 31 From display in the Mosaic Museum, Istanbul.
- 32 M. Gökçay Metin and Rahmi Asal, 'Excavations in Küçük Ayasofya Street, Eminönü, Istanbul', *Anatolia Antiqua*, 16 (2008), 207–30 (p. 207).
- 33 Mehmet Tunay, 'Byzantine Archaeological Findings in Istanbul During the Last Decade', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. by Nevra Necipoğlu, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 217–31 (p. 223).
- 34 Gökay and Asal, p. 216.
- 35 John Gorvett, 'A Byzantine Plot?' *Archaeology*, 51, 6 (November–December 1998) <<http://archive.archaeology.org/9811/newsbriefs/byzantine.html>> [accessed 30 November 2015].
- 36 Arif Bayraktar, 'Excavation halted in Eminönü', *Today's Zaman*, 12 November 2008 <<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-158429-excavation-halted-in-eminonu.html>> [accessed 30 November 2015]. This suit was brought by the Istanbul provincial chairman of the Republican People's Party against the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, suggesting the way in which politics and cultural heritage are still intertwined today.
- 37 Çigdem Girgin, 'La Porte Monumentale trouvée dans les fouilles pres de l'ancienne prison de Sultanahmet', *Anatolia Antiqua*, 16 (2008), 259–90 (p. 273).
- 38 Girgin, p. 265.
- 39 Senatus Hotel <<http://www.senatushotel.com/>> [accessed 1 December 2015]. Following an update of the website, this PDF was removed, but the name remains.
- 40 The Albura Kathisma Restaurant, near the Senatus Hotel, has also excavated Byzantine substructures beneath the modern building and opened them to visitors free of charge.
- 41 Reviews on the Tripadvisor page of the café include numerous references to the excavations, although not all visitors correctly identify these remains as belonging to the Byzantine Great Palace: 'Palatium Café & Restaurant', <http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Restaurant_Review-g293974-d1940629-Reviews-Palatium_Cafe_Restaurant-Istanbul.html> [accessed 30 November 2015].
- 42 Examples of the personal blogs recounting visits to these excavations: 'Istanbul: Sultanahmet's Secret underworld – Palatium', *Turkey's For Life*, 18 December 2010. <<http://www.turkeysforlife.com/2011/12/istanbul-sultanahmets-secret-underworld.html>> [accessed 30 November 2015]; Courtney Mroch, 'The Lost World Beneath the Palatium Café', *Haunt Jaunts*, 5 April 2012 <<http://www.hauntjaunts.net/the-lost-world-beneath-the-palatium-cafe-and-restaurant/>> [accessed 30 November 2015]; Trici Venola, 'Just Under Your Feet: Drawing the Corridors of Lord', *Drawing on Istanbul* <<http://tricivenola.wordpress.com/>> [accessed 30 November 2015]. Venola, a graphic artist, has drawn the interior extensively, and produced a detailed schematic of the excavations to 2005. She is interested in the history of the palace, and includes information and illustrations on her website indicating the possible original layout.
- 43 Jan Kostenec, *Walking Thru Byzantium: Great Palace Region* (Istanbul: Grafbas, 2007).
- 44 Jonathan Harris, *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 202.
- 45 Exh. cat. Istanbul, *Byzantine Palaces in Constantinople*.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF HELENA AND THE ADJOINING BASILICA *AD DUAS LAUROS*: CONSTRUCTION, EVOLUTION AND RECEPTION

Dafne OOSTEN

The monumental rotunda known as the mausoleum of Helena was built around AD 325 against the façade of a basilica with ambulatory¹ that had been completed shortly before. The complex arose at the borders of the imperial estate known as *ad duas lauros* or *inter duas lauros* on the third mile of the Via Labicana, the present-day Via Casilina, which led from the Porta Maggiore out of Rome. Nowadays it lies within the domain of the Sisters of the Holy Family, which is surrounded by the modern residential area of Pignattara.²

The area has probably been used since republican times for funerary purposes. In the second half of the third century a Christian *coemeterium*, including catacombs, came into existence here.³ Several martyrs were entombed in it, including the later patron saints of the basilica, Marcellinus and Peter, and Sts Gorgonius and Tiburtius. The basilica originally was not dedicated to any of these saints.⁴

According to Eusebius and the *Liber pontificalis* Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, was buried in the monumental rotunda around 330.⁵ In the Early Middle Ages this building was dedicated to the by then deified St Helena.

The mausoleum is a ruin, nowadays, but large parts of the above ground walls are still standing. Of the basilica and courtyards surrounding it only parts of the foundations and very few remains of the above-ground walls have been preserved. But archaeological excavations from the 1950s onwards and research of literary sources, although scarce, have made it possible to reconstruct the original appearance of the building complex and its development between the fourth and seventh century fairly well.

The following paper will focus first on the material development of the basilica and mau-

soleum – which clearly form two focal points within one building complex and therefore should both be treated. An intermediate section will treat the founders and functions of the complex and the reception of the architectural solutions used here. The last section will look into the adaption of the ancient complex and its memory in modern times, focusing on the ‘rediscovery’ of the still visible ruins of the mausoleum of Helena and – later – the rest of the complex and the modern history of the site *ad duas lauros*.⁶

Dating the Mausoleum and the Basilica

Both the basilica and the mausoleum are Constantinian. The second can be dated to around AD 325 because of brick stamps and a coin – minted from 324 to 326 – which was found in the plaster of the marble incrustation on the interior walls.⁷ The basilica is slightly older. Rasch presumes construction was completed four or five years before that of the mausoleum, around 320. The basilica must in any case be dated between 313 and 320, when Constantine did not yet rule the eastern part of the empire.⁸ The list of donations mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis’ vita Silvestri* names no properties in the east, implying Constantine did not yet rule there during the time of these donations.⁹

The basilica is thus one of the oldest Constantinian foundations outside the Roman city walls. According to the list of donations it was also one of the most important. The number of donations matches those for the basilicas of Sts Peter and Paul. Only the Lateran Basilica received more donations. The other two basilicas with an ambulatory mentioned in the *vita Silvestri*, S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo, received far less.¹⁰

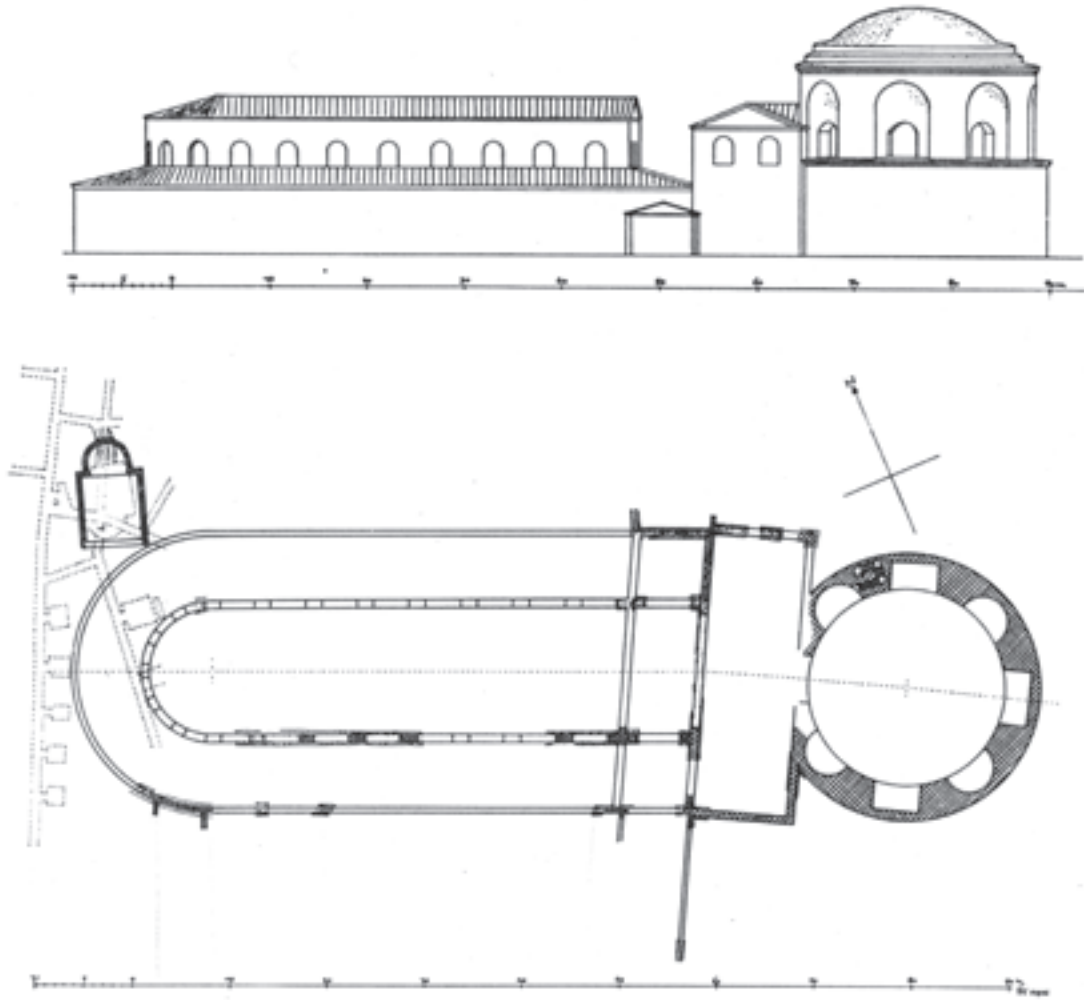


Fig. 1. Plan and side view of the basilica *ad duas lauros* and the mausoleum of Helena. From: Deichmann and Tschira, p. 49.

The Basilica

The basilica had a length of 65 metres and a width of 29 metres. The building had the for this period usual east-west orientation, with a slight deviation (Fig. 1).¹¹ The side aisles formed an arch around the apse and define the building as a basilica with ambulatory. Piers separated the aisles and ambulatory from the middle aisle and apse.¹² The foundations consisted mainly of reused material. The above ground walls were constructed in *opus vittatum*, except the ambulatory, which was in *opus laterizia*. The soil is too severely disturbed to determine the original floor level. The building probably had a saddle

roof.¹³ Clerestory windows must have illuminated the middle-aisle. The sidewalls probably had *arcosolia*, comparable to those in S. Sebastiano.¹⁴ The many fragments of coloured plaster show that they were decorated with painted marble imitation and very likely also with floral and figurative motifs.¹⁵

In the reconstructions of Deichmann and Tschira, a somewhat lower narthex or third aisle originally closed off the main and side aisles, separated from these by several arcades.¹⁶ The disturbance of the soil by many *formae* makes an exact reconstruction very difficult, but it is certain that the orientation of this narthex or aisle was deviant from that of the rest of the basilica.¹⁷



Fig. 2. Rome, mausoleum of Helena, exterior. Photo in the public domain.

With the building of the mausoleum, this narthex was merged with the middle aisle and elevated to the same level. At the same time four piers would have replaced the façade to form three arcades, turning the entrance hall of the mausoleum into a kind of transept in front of the basilica.¹⁸

It is unclear if the façade formed the main entrance originally, as is usual for a basilica. After the construction of the mausoleum a door in the southern outer wall served as the main entrance. This is confirmed by a threshold which Deichmann and Tschira have found there *in situ*. The authors deem a second door in the opposing wall likely, although later alterations have made it impossible to find prove of that.¹⁹ Drawings from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries with then still visible walls indicate there was another door in the ambulatory, but excavations have not been conclusive on this point.²⁰

The basilica was situated *c.* 60 metres north of the Via Labicana, parallel to the road.²¹ It was separated from the street by a large courtyard, which was surrounded by a portico. This is already mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* and shown on drawings of Bosio made around 1600. A second courtyard on the north side of the basilica probably only had a wall.²² The course of the Constantinian enclosure was partly determined by the course of older walls.²³ To the south the Via Labicana determined its course, causing the court not to form a perfect rectangle.²⁴

The remains of a double entrance to the street have been found in the south-eastern corner of the portico, one for pedestrians and one for a horse and carriage.²⁵

The construction of the basilica complex seems to have boosted funerals *ad duas lauros*: both the catacombs and the cemetery *sub divo*

grew systematically.²⁶ Several mausoleums were constructed against the outer walls of the basilica. By the end of the fourth century the number of funerals decreased rapidly.²⁷ After the first decade of the fifth century they seem to have ceased completely. This was probably related to the Sack of Rome by Alaric in 411. Only in the last quarter of the fifth century there is evidence of new funerals, but these remain few and are restricted to locations *ad sanctos*, where the deceased could profit from the advocacy of the saint(s).²⁸

The Mausoleum

Although still impressive, large sections of the rising walls and the dome of the monumental rotunda have collapsed (Fig. 2). The northern side is best preserved, with walls rising up to a height of 21.90 m, including the lower third of the dome.²⁹

The foundations consist mainly of reused marble and travertine, set in thick mortar. The above-ground walls consist of irregular masonry with an *opus caementicium* core. The dome and apses were constructed using formwork.³⁰

An exact reconstruction of the rectangular entrance-hall (9.5 m long by 28.4 m wide) is difficult due to the bad conservation of the western parts of the mausoleum and the presence of a small seventeenth-century church. But it must have been high, since the drum of the dome has been flattened on this side of the rotunda.³¹ The flattening of the drum probably weakened the construction from the start. It didn't help that the covering of the dome was bad at this side, enabling water to enter the walls. The protruding stone eaves, which were installed to prevent this, did not work sufficiently.³² Soon – possibly even during construction – the outer wall was raised and the dome reinforced. Unfortunately this alteration only weakened the building further.³³

The later collapse has made the construction of the dome well visible: amphorae were used to strengthen the *opus caementicium* and make the construction lighter.³⁴ These amphorae have given the mausoleum its second name: Tor Pig-

nattara.³⁵ The dome was also cascaded on the outside to reduce the weight.³⁶

In recent reconstructions of the dome an oculus has been included, because of the presence of a well in the middle of the rotunda.³⁷ Such openings are known in other fourth-century rotundas of the same type, but with a different function, such as the Tempio della Tosse in Tivoli. Brandenburg suggests that an oculus would have been superfluous, since the mausoleum received enough light from the large clerestory windows.³⁸ But an oculus also served to lighten the pressure on a dome and thus might have been placed in an attempt to solve the constructional problems.

The inner diameter of the mausoleum is 20.18 m, the outer diameter 27.74 m. It was approximately 25.42 m high.³⁹ It consisted of one space, but was optically divided into two zones. The lower zone was interrupted by four rectangular niches on the main axes, which alternated with four niches with an apse. The upper zone was formed by a clerestory, with the dome above it.⁴⁰

One of the rectangular niches served as entrance from the hall. It is uncertain if this was the only entrance.⁴¹ The niche to the left held a second, small doorway, but it remains unclear if this originally led outside or connected the mausoleum with the catacombs, as is the case nowadays.⁴² All niches are 4.80 to 4.90 m wide and 9.82 m high, except for the main niche right across the entrance. This is 5.50 m wide and probably held the porphyry sarcophagus of Helena.⁴³

On the outside the upper part of the rotunda, with the drum, recesses. It is likely that there was an ambulatory here, accessible by the stairway in the wall.⁴⁴ The subdivision created by this was enhanced by seven windows in the clerestory, which were all placed in large niches (3.40 to 3.57 m wide and 5.74 m high).

A few remains of reddish plaster confirm that the outside of the mausoleum was plastered. Bosio's drawings suggest that the stucco imitated ashlar masonry.⁴⁵ Marble fragments and plaster found on the interior wall of the rotunda make it clear that the building was decorated with varicoloured marble revetments in *opus sectile* up to the dome (Fig. 3).⁴⁶ The entrance hall had a

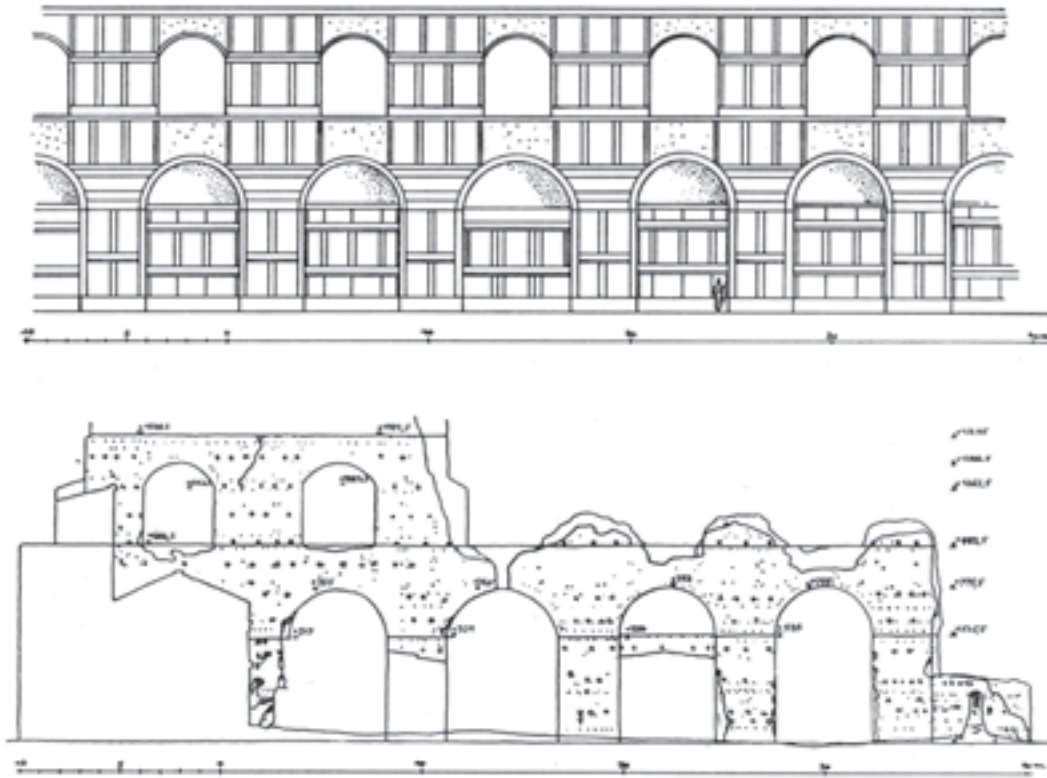


Fig. 3. Cross-section of the mausoleum of Helena, Rome. From: Deichmann and Tschira, p. 61.

similar decoration. It consisted of a geometrical pattern made up of large rectangles and bands. The floor was paved with large marble tiles, also in rectangles and bands.⁴⁷ The dome had a mosaic decoration, and so did the niches, according to Bosio. Scarce traces of mosaic tesserae support this. Bosio mentioned badly corroded images of saints in the main niche, one of which with fire at his feet. He interpreted this figure as St Tiburtius, but it might well have been one of the three men in the fiery furnace, a common theme in early Christian funerary art.⁴⁸ The fragments are too few to reconstruct the imagery and the sources do not give us any clues either, so the iconological programme remains unknown.⁴⁹

There are no traces of burials in the area surrounding the mausoleum. Guyon presumes it was either not accessible for common visitors or that it was prohibited to bury here.⁵⁰ Similar restrictions must have applied to the mausoleum itself, since there have been found very few graves, and only in the entrance-hall.⁵¹

Founders and Functions

The *vita Silvestri* in the *Liber pontificalis* names Constantine as founder of the basilica. It also mentions that the emperor buried his mother Helena in a mausoleum nearby:⁵² Eusebius tells us the same. It has been suggested that Helena initiated the foundation, just like Constantine's daughter Constantina did at S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana.⁵³ An argument for this is the record of a *fundus Laurentum* as her property in the *Liber pontificalis*.⁵⁴ This domain was among the donations to the church, although it is likely that it was only handed over after Helena's death. Many of the other domains the church received also belonged to her, and so did several of the liturgical objects mentioned.⁵⁵ Another argument to attribute the foundation to Helena is the fact that Constantine spent very little time in Rome during this period, due to a lingering conflict with the patrician families there. Helena did live in Rome. Her burial in the rotunda

can also be seen as an indication that she was the actual founder of the basilica complex.⁵⁶

But the porphyry sarcophagus is decorated with battle scenes, not very suitable for a woman. Therefore many authors presume that it was originally intended for Constantine himself.⁵⁷ It can stylistically be dated in the first three decades of the fourth century and could therefore have been commissioned by the emperor. Constantine's involvement in the creation of the complex in that case would be likely.⁵⁸ Most authors believe that, when the emperor decided to take up residence in Constantinople, the sarcophagus stayed *ad duas lauros* and was given a new destination as the final resting place of Helena. The scenes might not have been fitting, the porphyry, reserved for the imperial family, definitely was.⁵⁹ Johnson does not agree with this hypothesis. He believes that if the sarcophagus had been intended for Constantine he would have relocated this precious object to Constantinople when he decided to take up permanent residence there. The author believes the sarcophagus was ordered for the mausoleum of Romulus on the Via Appia, which was all but ready when Maxentius was defeated in 312. It remained unused after the defeat of the 'tyrant' until Helena was buried in it some twenty years later.⁶⁰

Even if the sarcophagus was meant for Maxentius originally I consider it likely that Constantine played an important role in the foundation of the basilica complex *ad duas lauros*. Helena will certainly have been involved, but it is unlikely that she was the only founder. The list of donations show that the complex was one of the most important Constantinian foundations.⁶¹ This is an indication that the mausoleum was originally intended to be the dynastic burial place of the Constantinian family.⁶² The rotunda's location is a second indication for this. It was built against the basilica, but can in no way be considered subordinate to this, aligned as it is with the apse.⁶³ Only after he chose Constantinople as his new permanent residence the emperor must have decided to build a new dynastic mausoleum there.⁶⁴

The *Liber pontificalis* reports that the emperor had an altar placed in the mausoleum. Al-

though such altars are known to have existed in other mausoleums too and are not an uncommon feature for the funerary cult, it did create a second liturgical focal point and for many authors stresses the importance of the mausoleum within the basilica complex.⁶⁵ Geertman even states that the mausoleum was in fact the reason for constructing the basilica, which must have initially served for both Christian celebrations and the imperial cult.⁶⁶ Leipziger presumes the basilica originally served exclusively for the imperial cult.⁶⁷

I believe that the basilica initially served both for Christian celebrations, for the commemoration of the faithful buried here and – in connection with the mausoleum – the imperial cult. Although the conception changed with the conversion to Christianity the imperial cult and the *consecratio* remained in practise at least until the reign of Valentinian I (r. 364-75) and possibly even until that of Gratian (r. 365-83) and Theodosian (r. 379-95).⁶⁸ The cult was made acceptable for Christians by letting them pray not to the emperor himself but for his wellbeing to God.⁶⁹ Celebrating the imperial cult in the mausoleum of a member of the imperial family or in the adjoining basilica was broadly accepted. The emperor and his family could profit like any other faithful from the prayers said and the advocacy of the martyrs.⁷⁰

That the basilica *ad duas lauros* was not built to commemorate specific martyrs becomes clear from the sources. Sts Marcellinus and Peter are only named as patron saints from the sixth century onwards. They are also missing in the Calendar of 354. Although this list is only a compilation and not an official document of the Roman Church, it appears strange that the editor would leave out two patron saints of an important basilica.

Their graves are also in an odd position in relation to the basilica. They are neither located underneath it or at a certain distance, but just outside of the outer ambulatory wall. This complicated later monumentalization of the tombs. Because of this it seems likely that the cult of these saints flourished because of the building of the basilica instead of the other way around.⁷¹

In due time the commemoration of these saints became more important and replaced the imperial cult. The basilica eventually was dedicated to the saints whose tombs were closest, Marcellinus and Peter, and to a lesser extent was connected with St Tiburtius, whose relics were translated to the basilica at a certain moment.⁷² The mausoleum became the centre of the cult of – now – St Helena.

Reception

The mausoleum followed the typology of earlier imperial mausoleums, such as the mausoleum of Diocletian and the mausoleum of Maxentius. But in contrast to these it was not designed to be a free standing building, enclosed by a *temenos*.⁷³ Neither was it part of a palace complex, as became usual during the tetrarchy.⁷⁴ Instead it was constructed against the façade of a basilica. This meant the platform with the monumental stairways had to be left out of the design. The functions of the ground (funeral chamber) and upper floor (memorial chamber) where merged into one. The central space served for the memorial services, whereas the niches in the outer wall were meant as stands for sarcophagi.⁷⁵ This solution worked well and was copied in later imperial mausoleums, although details varied, as we can see for example at the mausoleum of Constantina at S. Agnese.

The connection to a church became the standard, and was used too by wealthy patri-cians for their less monumental mausoleums. The positioning of the rotunda is unique however, and has not been found in any other basilica with a mausoleum for the founder connected to it. Possibly the architectural solution *ad duas lauros* was too problematic for later, non-dynastic mausoleums, because it emphasized that basilica and mausoleum were equally important. But maybe placing a mausoleum in front of the façade was just inconvenient because it made it impossible to place the main entrance there.⁷⁶ In any case, later mausoleums were added to the side of basilicas, either to the sidewall or the narthex. Lower entrance halls seem to have been favoured too in later mausoleums, probably due to the constructional

problems the height of the hall created *ad duas lauros*.

The only aberration is the imperial mausoleum in Constantinople. This initially was free-standing and functioned both as a mausoleum and a church, containing not only Constantine's sarcophagus but also shrines with relics of the apostles. Constantius II (r. 337–61) moved the shrines to the church he had built next to the mausoleum. Apparently this too explicit connection between imperial and martyrs cult was no longer excepted in the second half of the fourth century.⁷⁷

Further Use and Decline

Literary sources concerning the basilica complex *ad duas lauros* during the first centuries of its existence are scarce. This is partly due to the lack of pilgrimage *itinerarii* for Rome before the seventh century. The few references in other sources concern either visits to or works on tombs of martyrs or liturgical matters.⁷⁸

It is in the *itinerarii* from the seventh century that the location *ad duas lauros* is first referred to as being *ad sanctam Helenam*.⁷⁹ In the *Liber pontificalis* the first mention of a *basilica beatae Helenae* is in the *vita* of Pope Stephan IV (816–17).⁸⁰

Somewhere between 840 and 849 some of Helena's remains seem to have been stolen by a Frankish monk and brought to the Abbey of Hautvilliers in France. It is not certain if the theft actually occurred. The story might have been fabricated to authenticate the new relics in the abbey.⁸¹ This first known translation *ad duas lauros*, even if not authentic, fits into a bigger picture. From the middle of the eighth century onwards the translation of relics from their original tombs to churches within Rome, and to cities and monasteries elsewhere in Europe, became increasingly common.⁸² This was among other things triggered by attacks of the Longobards who made the countryside around Rome unsafe and destroyed cult sites there.⁸³ These translations did not immediately lead to a decline in pilgrimages to sites that still held martyrs relics, like *ad duas lauros*. This is proven by the constructional works Pope Hadrian I (772–95) commissioned after his election in 772,

to the roof of the basilica among other things. Pope Stephen IV (816–17) had the *basilica beatae Helenae*, so probably the mausoleum, decorated with gold. Pope Benedict III (855–58) seems to have been the last to commission an important restoration. He had both the roof of the *ecclesia beatorum Petri et Marcellini martyrum* and the portico repaired.⁸⁴

In the course of the ninth century, when most relics were gone, the basilica fell into ruins.⁸⁵ The mausoleum stayed in use as a cult site for a few more centuries.⁸⁶ Since the eighth century it apparently was fortified. This might have been a precaution to protect the mausoleum from the Longobards.⁸⁷ The sources remain silent for the tenth and eleventh century. The *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (1140–43) is the last source to mention the mausoleum as the resting place of St Helena. But the translation of the (remaining) relics to S. Maria in Aracoeli by Pope Innocent II (1130–43) probably took place during its compilation. The translation possibly occurred due to the dilapidation of the rotunda, but may also have been triggered by a more direct threat: medieval sources say the mausoleum and sarcophagus were damaged during the reign of Innocent II.⁸⁸ This must have been either during the war with Tivoli from 1140–41 or the turmoil in Rome during the re-creation of the senate in 1143.⁸⁹ The sarcophagus itself was brought to the Lateran not much later, to serve as the tomb of Pope Anastasius IV (1153–54).⁹⁰ Nowadays it is exhibited in the Vatican Museums.

The larger bones and the head were brought to Rome when the sarcophagus was damaged; the smaller fragments only came to the city with the transportation of the sarcophagus to the Lateran and were subsequently donated to several churches.⁹¹ The translation of the relics of Helena might therefore have had a political connotation to it.⁹² Connected as it is to the legend of the Holy Cross, Helena's cult did not stay confined to the churches that actually held relics of her. She was and is revered far and wide.

'Rediscovery' and Antiquarianism

With the translation the memory of Helena *ad duas lauros* faded. The rotunda served as a forti-

fied residence during the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century the site was used as a quarry.⁹³ The surroundings were used for agriculture and there were several farms nearby, partly built into the early Christian ruins.⁹⁴

A renewed interest in the early Christian past emerged during the Counter-Reformation. Knowledge of ancient religious practises and art proved useful in countering the attacks of opponents of the Catholic Church. The rediscovery and inventory of the Roman early Christian catacombs boosted the interest.⁹⁵

Antonio Bosio, who played an important part in this, identified the rotunda in 1594 as the mausoleum of Helena.⁹⁶ He based his conclusion on ancient sources, possibly helped by the still common topographical denomination of 'Santenina'.⁹⁷ With this identification the then still visible ruins nearby could be interpreted as those of the Basilica of Sts Marcellinus and Peter. From the documentation by Bosio and Salustio Perruzzi we can conclude that the mausoleum in the sixteenth century was as dilapidated as it is today.⁹⁸

Drawings by Bosio show these ruins in an idealized way: a square open space with a portico, with on one side an apse and an ambulatory (Fig. 4).⁹⁹ Other artists depicted the rotunda (and other ruins *ad duas lauros*) in an idealized way too, trying to reconstruct the antique past.¹⁰⁰ Piranesi, for example, made several drawings of the rotunda in the eighteenth century, most of them without the modern buildings. And in another drawing he depicted the porphyry sarcophagus of Helena in front of the rotunda – clearly not the actual situation. Although a lot of techniques in the field of epigraphy, numismatics and topography took shape during this time, many of them in Rome, the systematic depiction of visual evidence was not yet the standard.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately that means that these images do not inform us accurately of what was still visible at the time and in what way these structures were being reused for other (agricultural) purposes.¹⁰²

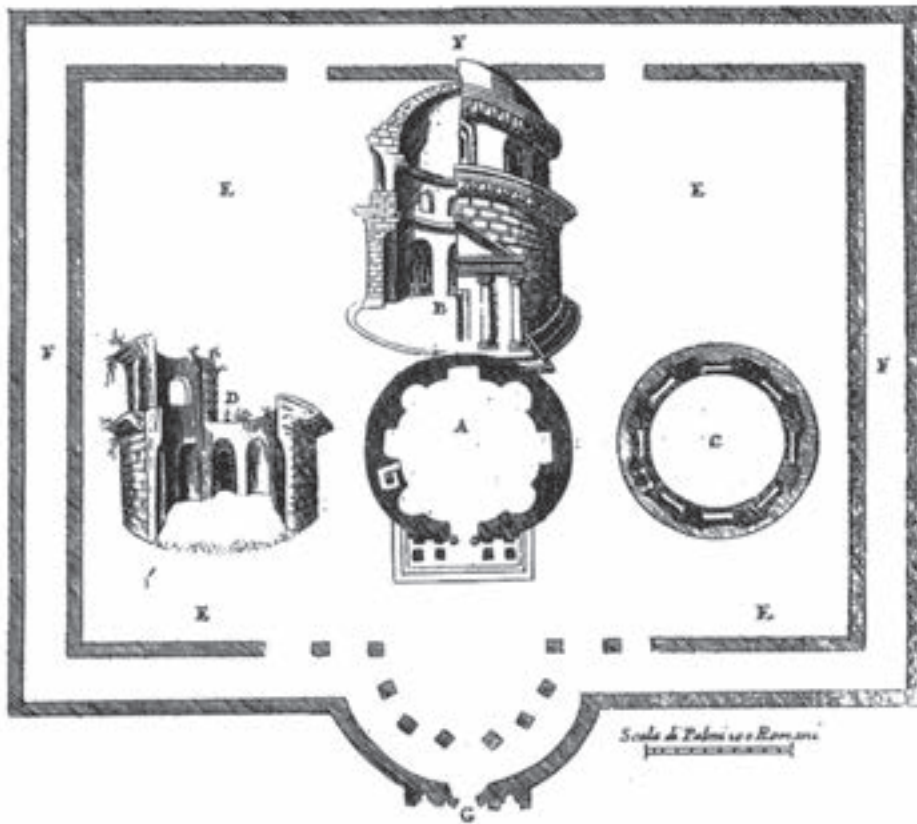


Fig. 4. Antonio Bosio, idealized reconstruction of the mausoleum of Helena and the basilica *ad duas lauros* with portico, 1632. From: Mackie, Fig. 42.

Reviving the Past

Within the climate of the Counter-Reformation the site regained a Christian function. Pope Urban VIII (1623–44) commissioned the construction of the already mentioned little, Baroque church and a vicarage inside the rotunda in 1638 to provide a place of worship for local peasants and passing pilgrims.¹⁰³ The church was renovated and enlarged in 1765 by Pope Clement XIII (1758–69) (Fig. 5).¹⁰⁴ In 1836 the architect Giuseppe Valadier restored the mausoleum itself. Due to a lack of funds he only reinforced the eastern wall by constructing a buttress and he solidified the walls where necessary in order to stop debris from falling onto the church.¹⁰⁵

In the beginning of the twentieth century the church became too small for the parish of this rapidly growing residential area. There-

fore a new, larger basilica in neo-Baroque style was built in 1922. This has its façade on the Via Casilina, which runs more or less parallel with the antique road here.¹⁰⁶ It lies outside the old enclosure walls of the basilica complex.

Although Bosio identified the rotunda as that of (St) Helena both the seventeenth-century church and the new basilica were (are) dedicated to Sts Marcellinus and Peter. They are therefore a continuation or rather a revival of the cults in the ancient basilica *ad duas lauros* and not of that in the mausoleum.

A small chapel near the ambulatory of the basilica had been converted into an oil mill at an unknown date.¹⁰⁷ It was transformed into the chapel for the Sisters of the Holy Family and dedicated to St Tiburtius around 1900.¹⁰⁸



Fig. 5. Rome, mausoleum of Helena with the Church of Sts Marcellinus and Peter. From: Venditelli, ‘La conservazione’.

Modern Archaeology

Memory of ancient times was thus revived by the identification of the mausoleum as Helena’s and the subsequent building of new churches and their dedication to saints originally linked to the site. The (re-)dedication of the small chapel to St Tiburtius can be viewed in this light too.

But real knowledge of the ancient situation only came with the first systematic research of the domain. When it became the property of the Sisters of the Holy Family in 1895 the order had an orphanage raised. During construction fragments of a foundation were found near the oil mill.¹⁰⁹

This find led to a first archaeological survey in 1896 by Stevenson. He found the crypt of Sts Marcellinus and Peter underneath the oil mill, revealing it to have been a partly subterranean *basilichetta ad corpus*.¹¹⁰ Nearby the foundations of many other mausoleums and those of a large ambulatory were found. Stevenson presumed these remains belonged to a large cemetery or basilica. Marucchi concluded that the Constan-

tinian basilica probably lay between the chapel and the rotunda.¹¹¹

During the excavations by the German Archaeological Institute of Rome, which took place between 1953 and 1956 under the direction of Deichmann and Tschira, there were indeed unearthed foundations of a large basilica here. Because of the current constructions and the use of the land as a vegetable garden only limited excavations have been possible. Nonetheless new excavations in the following decades by the École française ensured a clearer image of the scale and shape of the complex, brought together in the extensive publication by Guyon that was published in 1987.

The mausoleum was most recently restored between 1994 and 2000 in commission of the government. During these works excavations were conducted that clarified some details concerning the floor level and the drainage.¹¹² On the first and second floor a balcony was constructed to enable a visit to the higher regions of the mausoleum and provide a better view of the interior. In December of 2015 the mausoleum has been reopened. The seventeenth-century buildings now house a small *antiquarium* that tells the history of the site and the catacombs have been opened for visitors.¹¹³

Conclusion

The basilica complex *ad duas lauros* was one of the most important Constantinian foundations in Rome. It was built mainly for the commemoration of the deceased and the celebration of the imperial cult. This focus later shifted to the celebration of several martyrs’ cults.

The combination of a basilica with a mausoleum would be followed in many other early Christian funerary monuments, although never in the way we see it *ad duas lauros*. And the formal appearance of the rotunda of Helena would set the example for later imperial mausoleums.

The basilica complex remained an important Christian site until the twelfth century and then was abandoned, like many other suburban early Christian sites. But *ad duas lauros* was given a Christian afterlife in modern times, when ancient cults were reinstated and new buildings

arose to house them, first to welcome pilgrims on their way to Rome and then to serve the faithful of the new, rapid growing residential area.

Notes

- 1 Several fourth-century examples of this type are known around Rome: S. Sebastiano, S. Agnese, S. Lorenzo, the Basilica Marci or Balbina and the anonymous basilica of the Via Prenestina; cf. D. Oosten, 'Coemeterium, basilica, martyrium: Architectuur en functie van zes basilicale complexen te Rome' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen, 2007), with references.
- 2 Jürgen J. Rasch and Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena in Rom und der 'Tempio della Tossa' in Tivoli* (Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern, 1998), p. 4.
- 3 Jean Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers: Recherches sur les catacombes romaines* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pp. 62–63, 322; Johannes G. Deckers, 'Einleitende Bemerkungen zur Dokumentation der Malereien in der Katakombe SS. Marcellino e Pietro', in *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro': Repertorium der Malereien*, ed. by Johannes G. Deckers (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pp. 4–42 (p. 34).
- 4 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 324–25, 376–77.
- 5 Hans R. Seeliger, 'Die Geschichte der Katakombe "Inter Duos Lauros" nach den schriftlichen Quellen', in *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro': Repertorium der Malereien*, ed. by Johannes G. Deckers (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pp. 59–90 (p. 74); *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), xxxiii, c. 25.
- 6 The known *memoria* belonging to other martyrs *ad duas lauros* and the extensive *coemeterium* will not be treated in this paper.
- 7 Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, naher Osten: gesammelte Studien zur spätantiken Architektur, Kunst und Geschichte* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), p. 325.
- 8 Rasch and Deichmann, p. 44.
- 9 *LP* xxxiii, c. 27.
- 10 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 248–49.
- 11 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 311.
- 12 In the reconstruction of Deichmann and Tschira there are seven piers, Bosio and contemporaries show eight piers in their drawings of the then still visible walls of the basilica, but this might be for symmetrical reasons; J. Guyon, 'A l'origine de la redécouverte et de l'interprétation du monument de la Via Labicana: l'iconographie de la basilique cémétériale des saints Marcellin-et-Pierre', in *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, ed. by Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Giuglia Guidobaldi, 3 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002), II, pp. 1157–73 (p. 1161).
- 13 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 315–16; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 211.
- 14 Guyon, 'A l'origine de la redécouverte', p. 1161.
- 15 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 211.
- 16 At least three; Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 313.
- 17 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 214–15.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 219; Rasch and Deichmann, pp. 21, 35; Laura Vendittelli, 'La conservazione e la valorizzazione del mausoleo di sant' Elena: Nuovi dati dai lavori di scavo e di restauro', in *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, ed. by Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Giuglia Guidobaldi, 3 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002), I, pp. 771–92 (p. 773).
- 19 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 312, 314.
- 20 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 214.
- 21 Walter N. Schumacher, 'Die Konstantinischen Exedra-Basiliken', in *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro'. Repertorium der Malereien*, ed. by Johannes G. Deckers (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pp. 132–86 (p. 132).
- 22 The exact appearance of both courtyards remains uncertain; it is for example uncertain if the second courtyard was enclosed by a wall on the north side; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 219–21, 224–29.
- 23 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 224, 235–36.
- 24 Rasch and Deichmann, p. 15.
- 25 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 230–31.
- 26 Umberto M. Fasola, 'La catacomba dei SS. Marcellino e Pietro nella storia della Roma sotterranea cristiana', in *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro': Repertorium der Malereien*, ed. by Johannes G. Deckers (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1987), pp. 43–58 (pp. 43–44); Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 266.
- 27 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 328, 377.
- 28 Seeliger, p. 70; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 377.
- 29 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 318, 327; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 12.
- 30 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 322.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 317–18, 321; Hugo Brandenburg, *Le prime chiese di Roma, IV–VII secolo* (Milan: Jaca Book 2004), p. 56.
- 32 Laura Vendittelli and Maria Grazia Filetici, 'Il progetto e il cantiere del Mausoleo di S. Elena', in *Costruire in Laterizio* (Rome: Laterizio, 2000), pp. 78, 26–29 (p. 26).

- 33 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 322–23; Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 775.
- 34 Brandenburg, p. 56.
- 35 Derived from ‘pignatte’; Brandenburg, p. 56.
- 36 Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 26.
- 37 The disturbance of the floor and the soil beneath makes it impossible to reconstruct the exact chronology and the well therefore might antedate the mausoleum; cf. Vendittelli and Filetici, pp. 788, 790. It could also be of medieval or early modern origin; cf. Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 491. Leaving an older well open during the constructing of the mausoleum seems strange; I presume that it was either contemporary with the rotunda, supporting the presence of an oculus, or that it build after the dome had collapsed.
- 38 The author does not mention who has done this research and when; Brandenburg, pp. 56–58.
- 39 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 317–18.
- 40 Brandenburg, p. 56.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 42 Rasch and Deichmann, p. 18; Vendittelli and Filetici, pp. 773–74.
- 43 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 218; Brandenburg, p. 56; Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 318.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 318.
- 45 Brandenburg, p. 58; Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 26; Mark J. Johnson, *Late antique imperial mausolea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 113.
- 46 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 320.
- 47 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 59; Brandenburg, p. 58.
- 48 It was also depicted at Centelles, probably the mausoleum for Constantine’s youngest son Constans I; Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 57; Johnson, p. 116.
- 49 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 307, 319; Brandenburg, p. 58.
- 50 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 236–37.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 270.
- 52 LP xxxiii, c. 26.
- 53 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 336–38, Rasch and Deichmann, p. 8.
- 54 LP xxxiii, c. 27; Rasch believes that the name in the *Liber pontificalis* is erroneous and should have been *fundus Lauretum*, identical to the location *ad duas lauros*; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 9; Seeliger believes the *fundus Laurentum* to be the name of an imperial estate between Ostia and Lavinium. The Lateran Basilica and S. Croce in Gerusalemme also both received a part of this estate as a donation; Seeliger, p. 74.
- 55 LP xxxiii, c. 26–27; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 257.
- 56 Johnson, p. 118.
- 57 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 335; Charles Pietri, *Roma christiana. Recherches sur l’Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, 2 vols (Rome: École française de Rome, 1976), p. 32; Jürgen J. Rasch, *Das Mausoleum bei Tor de’ Schiavi in Rom* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1993), pp. 15, 47; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 257.
- 58 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 335.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 335.
- 60 Johnson, p. 118.
- 61 Seeliger, p. 73; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 258.
- 62 Seeliger, p. 73; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 258; Richard Krautheimer, ‘The ecclesiastical building policy of Constantine’, in *Costantino il Grande: Dall’antichità all’umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico*, ed. by Giorgio Bonamente and Franca Fusco (Macerata: Università degli studi di Macerata, 1993), pp. 509–52 (pp. 529–30).
- 63 Brandenburg, p. 58.
- 64 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 258, Krautheimer, p. 529, Rasch and Deichmann, p. 47.
- 65 For example in the dynastic mausoleum in Constantinople; Krautheimer, pp. 528–29; Brandenburg, p. 59; Johnson, p. 116.
- 66 Herman Geertman, ‘Crypta anulare “ante litteram”’: forma, contesto e significato del monumento sepolcrale di San Lorenzo a Roma’, in *Martyrium in multidisciplinary perspective: Memorial Louis Reekman*, ed. by Mathijs Lamberigts and Peter van Deun (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 125–55 (p. 139).
- 67 Ursula Leipziger, ‘Die römischen Basiliken mit Umgang, Forschungsgeschichtliche Bestandaufnahme, historische Einordnung und primäre Funktion’ (unpublished dissertation, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2006), p. 168 <<https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-fau/files/309/UrsulaLeipzigerDissertation.pdf>> [accessed 6 July 2016].
- 68 Ernst Langlotz, *Der architekturgeschichtliche Ursprung der christlichen Basilika* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 1972), p. 45; Johnson, pp. 191–92.
- 69 Leipziger, p. 162.
- 70 Arne Effenberger, ‘Konstantinsmausoleum, Apostelkirche – und kein Ende?’, in *Lithostroton: Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. by Birgitt Borkopp and Thomas Stephan (Stuttgart: Elliott, 2000), pp. 67–78 (pp. 68–69, 74); Brandenburg, pp. 60, 90; Hans G. Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Die archäologischen Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1999), p. 101 (n. 430).
- 71 The location of their tombs so near to the basilica probably caused their cult to outshine other cults, like that of Gorgonius, the only martyr *ad duas lauros* who is named in the *Depositio Martyrum*; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 261–63.
- 72 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 339–41.
- 73 The mausoleum of Tor de’ Schiavi stands next to a basilica but is not connected to it. Recent research suggests it is a pagan monument and that the family built the basilica once christianized; Johnson, pp. 101–03.
- 74 Francesco Tolotti, ‘Le basiliche cimenteriali con deambulatorio del suburbio romano: questione en-

- cora aperta', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* (Römische Abteilung), 89 (1982), 152-211 (p. 165).
- 75 Brandenburg, pp. 56, 59.
- 76 Again taking S. Agnese as an example, the façade of this basilica faced the street, making a main entrance in the sidewall undesirable, as did the steep sloping of the terrain. Here the mausoleum was attached to the left sidewall, just past the entrance.
- 77 Effenberger, pp. 68-69, 74.
- 78 Seeliger, pp. 75-77.
- 79 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 460; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 11; Seeliger, p. 78.
- 80 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 341; *LP* xcviII, c. 4.
- 81 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 483; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 11; it is also hard to imagine one person opening the sarcophagus; Seeliger, p. 85.
- 82 And to other places, but this falls outside the scope of this article.
- 83 Seeliger, pp. 81-82.
- 84 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 487-88; Seeliger, pp. 83, 86; *LP* xcviI, c. 50, xcviII, c. 4 and cvi, c. 30.
- 85 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 326, 341.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 341.
- 87 And to create a stronghold on the countryside; Seeliger, p. 82.
- 88 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 326, 341; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 488-89.
- 89 Record of this survives in a later summary, first mentioned by Bosio; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 489; Seeliger, pp. 87-88.
- 90 Brandenburg, p. 56.
- 91 Seeliger, p. 88.
- 92 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 489.
- 93 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 326; Johnson, p. 112.
- 94 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 491.
- 95 Peter Burke, 'Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, 2 (2003), 273-96 (pp. 281-82).
- 96 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 307; his posthumous publication *Roma Sotterranea* of 1632 became an important source of information for later scholars; Burke, p. 281.
- 97 Seeliger, p. 88.
- 98 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 327.
- 99 Rasch and Deichmann, p. 12.
- 100 Like the already mentioned Peruzzi, Canina and Vasi; Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 308; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 492; these so-called antiquarians studied both physical remains and literary sources, revealing their finds and ideas in treatises and drawings; Burke, pp. 273, 276-77.
- 101 Alain Schnapp, *Die Entdeckung der Vergangenheit: Ursprünge und Abenteuer der Archäologie* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2011), p. 146; Burke, p. 295.
- 102 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 490.
- 103 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 492-93; Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 327; Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 26.
- 104 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 327; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 12; Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 26.
- 105 Vendittelli and Filetici, p. 28.
- 106 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 9, 493.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p. 489.
- 108 Following Bosio's identification of the structure as such; Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 308; Mackie, p. 13.
- 109 Deichmann, *Rom*, p. 308; Guyon, *Le cimetière*, p. 489; Rasch and Deichmann, p. 13.
- 110 Guyon, *Le cimetière*, pp. 439-55, 489.
- 111 Deichmann, *Rom*, pp. 308-09.
- 112 Vendittelli, 'La conservazione', pp. 771-92.
- 113 'Mausoleum of Helena opens December 10 2015', website of the *International Catacomb Society* (24 November 2015) <www.catacombsociety.org/2015/11/24/mausoleum-of-helena-opens-december-10-2015>; 'Mausoleo di Sant' Elena', website *Santi Marcellino e Pietro 'ad duas lauros'* <www.santimarcellinoepietro.it/mausoleo> and 'Roma, Mausoleo di Sant'Elena: Completamento degli scavi archeologici e dei restauri, recinzione del complesso monumentale', *Beni archeologici*, 12, 3 (2007), 87-88 <www.mit.gov.it/mit/mop_all.php?p_id=04234> [all accessed 6 July 2016].

PLACES

HELENA AUGUSTA AND THE CITY OF ROME*

Jan Willem DRIJVERS

Flavia Iulia Helena Augusta, mother of Emperor Constantine the Great (306–37), is associated with many cities: Drepanum, Naissus, Trier, Reims, Colchester, Constantinople, Bethlehem and Edessa. However, foremost among the cities that have connections with the empress are Jerusalem, where she is alleged to have found the ‘true’ cross (i.e. the cross of Christ), and Rome where she probably lived after her son had conquered the city in the battle at the Milvian bridge on 28 October 312. Helena clearly left her mark on the eternal city and there are several mementos which remind both the tourist and the scholar of the sojourn of the *augusta* in the city. She figures prominently next to Bishop Sylvester and her son Constantine in the Rome-based Sylvester legend which includes the story of her *inventio crucis*; frescoes in the Sylvester Chapel of Ss. Quattro Coronati display her looking for the cross at Golgotha. The Scala Sancta (the alleged stairs of the *praetorium* of Pontius Pilate) are supposed to have been brought to Rome by Helena, an immense statue (by Andrea Bolgi and dated to 1639) of Helena holding a large cross and three nails has a prominent position in the northwest pier in the crossing under the dome of St Peter’s Basilica, her porphyry sarcophagus is shown in the Vatican Museums, and (part of her) relics have been kept in S. Maria in Ara-coeli since the twelfth century.

The discovery of the cross of Christ in Jerusalem made Helena famous, even though the cross was never found by her and the event was only ascribed to her posthumously. Nevertheless, the *inventio crucis* made her a saint of the Church.¹ As discoverer of the cross she is described in late antique and medieval narratives and she is often depicted holding a cross – in the Greek east often together with her son Constantine with the cross between them. However, this contribution is not about the legendary tradition of Helena as discoverer of the cross and Helena as saint of the Church about which a considerable number

of publications have seen the light of day in the last two to three decades,² but focuses on her connection with the city of Rome during her lifetime. Also this topic is not *terra incognita* but justifies consideration in the light of recent publications, in particular Sible de Blaauw’s 1997 article *Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross* in which he pays special attention to the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the preservation of a cross relic in this early church, and Helena’s association with it.³ Apart from a few literary sources, in particular the *Liber pontificalis* dated to the years 515–30 but based on earlier writings, epigraphic and material sources are available for reconstructing Helena’s association with Rome.

It has generally been accepted that Helena spent part of her life in the city of Rome and resided there formally, although the sources do not contain references about Helena’s residence in Rome, apart perhaps from an implicit remark by Eusebius that after her death she was with a great guard of honour carried up to the imperial city and buried there in the imperial tombs.⁴ Although it has sometimes been argued that Eusebius’s imperial city refers to Constantinople, this cannot be the case because by the time of Helena’s death in c. 328–29 the new eastern capital was not yet inaugurated and did not yet have an imperial mausoleum.⁵ Eusebius can therefore only refer to Rome where on the basis of epigraphic and material evidence Helena’s presence and close connection with the city can be reasonably surmised.

Helena was buried in a mausoleum at the third mile of the Via Labicana (now Via Casilina) outside Rome. The mausoleum, a domed rotunda and known by its popular name of Torpignattara, was attached to the cemeterial Basilica of Ss. Marcellino e Pietro and is the first example of a funerary monument associated with a martyr church, thereby indicating the association between the Constantinian family and Christianity. Constantine built both

the church and the mausoleum, probably in the period between 315 and 327. The mausoleum may have been intended initially for the emperor, although it cannot be excluded that it was planned for Helena from the beginning. The *Liber pontificalis* reports that Constantine donated rich gifts to the mausoleum in love and honour of his mother.⁶ The same source mentions that the empress' body was placed in a porphyry sarcophagus carved with medallions and images of cavalrymen. The sarcophagus, now in the Museo Pio-Clementino of the Vatican Museums, was clearly not designed for Helena since the decoration was not suitable for a woman. It has often been assumed that the coffin was originally intended for Constantine himself or his father Constantius Chlorus. Recently it has been suggested that the sarcophagus was made for Maxentius and was readily available because it had remained unused.⁷

The area of Ss. Marcellino e Pietro and Helena's mausoleum were part of the territory called *fundus Laurentus* or *fundus Lauretum*. This was a large imperial domain extending from the Porta Sessoriana (modern Porta Maggiore) southward to Mount Gabus and bounded by the Via Praenestina and Via Latina. The *Liber pontificalis* reports that the whole area once was in possession of Helena: 'fundum Laurentum iuxta formam balneum et omnem agrum a porta Sessoriana usque ad via Penestrina a via itineris Latinae usque ad montem Gabum, possessio Augustae Helenae, praest. sol. TCXX'.⁸ On the *fundus Laurentus* was located the territory of *ad duas lauros*, also mentioned by the *Liber pontificalis*,⁹ and known as the burial site of the *equites singulares*, an army unit which had their military barracks at the site of S. Giovanni in Laterano. The *equites singulares* were dissolved as a unit by Constantine after his victory over Maxentius in 312 and their barracks destroyed.

When exactly Helena came into possession of the *fundus Laurentus* is not known but it must have been after 312. The property contained a suburban villa, named *Palatium Sessorianum* since at least c. 300. An inscription (painted *graffito*) found in 1955 in the Via Eleniana and probably dating from the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, has the words

SESSOR or SESSORI and most likely refers to the palace.¹⁰ The *Palatium Sessorianum* or *Sessorium* was located just within the Aurelian wall in the south-east corner of the city. This part of the city was known for its *horti* of which several are known by name (*Horti Maecenatis*, *Horti Lamiani*, *Horti Tauriani*). The area of the *Sessorium* was formerly known as the *Horti Spei Veteris* and imperial property since at least the end of the second century. Apart from living quarters, the complex of the *Sessorium* consisted of an amphitheatre (*Amphitheatrum Castrense*) of which remains are still clearly visible to this day; it was to all likelihood used for private gladiatorial shows for the imperial family and its entourages as well as for the *equites singulares*. The complex furthermore contained a circus (*Circus Varianus*) and public baths, known as *Thermae Helenae*.¹¹ During recent excavations in the area part of the circus as well as cisterns for the *Thermae Helenae* have been discovered.¹²

Helena's engagement with the area is expressed by four inscriptions which have been found close to the *Sessorium*.¹³ The first inscription to be discussed was inscribed on a marble base carrying originally a statue of Helena, and found in the vineyard of S. Croce in Gerusalemme in 1571.¹⁴ It mentions Helena as mother of Constantine and grandmother of the Caesars Constantinus and Constantius. Helena is addressed as Augusta, a title which she received in the autumn of 324.¹⁵ Because Crispus, Constantine's oldest son and Caesar since 1 March 317,¹⁶ is not mentioned the inscription must have been set up after May 326, the date of Crispus's death. The inscription and accompanying statue was dedicated to Helena by Iulius Maximilianus, a *vir clarissimus* (indicating that he belonged to the senatorial aristocracy) and a *comes*. Since the reign of Constantine a *comes* was a functionary in the imperial service who could be entrusted with a wide range of functions, both civic and military; it could also be an honorary title.¹⁷ Although the identity of Iulius Maximilianus is not quite evident, it seems more than likely that he is identical with the *consularis aquarum* to whom Constantine addressed a law on the care of aqueducts, dated 18 May 330.¹⁸ In his capacity as *consularis aquarum* he may have been involved

in the water supply of the bathhouse restored by Helena (see below).

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (hereafter *CIL*), VI 36950, may also have been dedicated by Iulius Maximilianus.¹⁹ Only three fragments (of which two survive) of the inscription have been discovered in a wall in the area of the Sessorian Palace at the beginning of the twentieth century. Based on *CIL*, VI 1134, the inscription is reconstructed but its contents remain hypothetical and therefore debatable.

We possess more certainty about the contents of *CIL*, VI 1135. Like the previous two texts it is a commemorative inscription inscribed on a now lost base.²⁰ The inscription was discovered in the Sancta Sanctorum close to S. Giovanni in Laterano. Because Helena is addressed as Augusta this inscription is also to be dated after 324. Unfortunately, apart from this epigraphical evidence, nothing more is known about Flavius Pistius who dedicated the inscription and statue to Helena.²¹ He was a *vir perfectissimus* and as such belonging to the *ordo equester*, and a *praepositus rerum privatarum*. *Praepositi* of the *res privata* were in charge of particular imperial properties such as lands, estates, herds, stables (presumably the imperial stud farms) and the imperial transport service.²² Pistius's motivation for setting up a base and statue in honour of Helena remains unclear, but it may be that he was in charge of the Sessorian Palace and the property owned by Helena, i.e. the *fundus Laurentus*.

CIL, VI 1136, reports Helena's rebuilding of a bathhouse. The inscription is incomplete and only five fragments have been preserved.²³ Since these were found close to S. Croce in Gerusalemme it is most likely that the bathhouse in question was part of the Sessorian Palace complex, and was commonly known as the *Thermae Helenae*. The inscription was probably originally located at an entrance of the bathhouse. Since Helena is called grandmother of Caesars the *postquem* date is 1 March 317 when Constantine's sons Crispus and Constantinus were nominated Caesars. Helena is not named Augusta as in the other inscriptions which may indicate that the text was set up before 324.

All four inscriptions seem to be connected with the (re)construction of an aqueduct, the

so-called *Aqua Augustea*. This aqueduct ran through the area of the Sessorian Palace and was possibly also built under the patronage of Helena to supply the water for the *Thermae Helenae*.²⁴ Both Iulius Maximilianus, as *consularis aquarum*, and Flavius Pistius, as overseer of the area of the *Sessorium* and the *fundus Laurentus*, should have been closely involved in the (re)construction work of both the bathhouse and the aqueduct. Maximilianus's statues for Helena accompanied by the commemorative inscriptions are likely to have been set up at the restored bathing facility. Pistius's statue for the empress was probably erected at the nearby Lateran estate, where fragments of the dedicatory inscription have been found. That the four inscriptions were connected to the water supply of the rebuilt bathing complex at the *Palatium Sessorianum*, although hypothetical, makes good sense.

Although not certain, it is very likely that the Sessorian Palace was Helena's residence in Rome. Supposedly by 326 when the city was the scene for the grand celebrations of Constantine's *Vicennalia* she had been living there for many years.²⁵ How many years is hard to establish. Considering her patronage for the area, based on the epigraphical evidence, we can only establish Helena's association with the area after 1 March 317.²⁶

In addition to Helena's patronage and benevolence of the area surrounding her Sessorian Palace, Helena is also associated with St Peter's Basilica. The *Liber pontificalis* refers to a large golden cross among the benefactions of Constantine to the new basilica bearing the following inscription:²⁷

Constantinus Augustus et Helena Augusta [...] hanc domum regalem simile fulgore coruscans aula circumdat

Constantine Augustus and Helena Augusta [...] This royal house is surrounded with an aula that shines with like brightness

Very little is known about this lost cross apart from the reference in the *Liber* and the fact that it was placed above the tomb of St Peter. It might have been donated by the imperial pair

in 326 when Constantine visited Rome for the celebration of his *Vicennalia*.²⁸ However, there are also serious doubts about this. Glen Bowersock, who doubts the authenticity of the *Liber pontificalis* and hence questions Constantine's involvement with the foundation of St Peter's, makes the interesting suggestion that the cross was originally donated to the Sessorian Palace. The *domus regalis*, royal palace, mentioned in the inscription is, according to Bowersock, a reference to the *Palatium Sessorianum*. Only later was the cross moved to St Peter's.²⁹ This is not at all an improbable scenario. Thanks to Sible de Blaauw's acute observations it seems that the Basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the former aula of the Sessorian Palace, had become a *memoria* for relics of the cross.³⁰ Even though the golden cross is not mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* as a donation to S. Croce in Gerusalemme, it would fit perfectly well into a newly founded church dedicated to the veneration of the cross.

This brings us to the difficult question of the date of the transformation of the aula of the *Sessorium* into S. Croce in Gerusalemme and its connection with relics of the cross. On this De Blaauw has made valuable observations in the above mentioned paper. Our most important source is again the *Liber pontificalis*:

Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in palatio Sossorianum, ubi etiam de ligno sanctae Crucis domini nostri Iesu Christi posuit et in auro et gemmis conclusit, ubi et nomen ecclesiae dedicavit, quae cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem Ierusalem.³¹

If we are to believe this information, and there seems no reason not to, the Emperor Constantine transformed part of the Sessorian Palace into a basilica where he deposited relics of the cross in a container of gold and beset with precious stones (probably a *staurotheca*). Since the cross was discovered in Jerusalem the church was called 'Ierusalem'. The words 'Eodem tempore' are not clear but the change of function of part of the palace into a church must have happened after the cross was found. Narratives which originated in the second half of the fourth century report that the cross was dis-

covered at the site of Christ's tomb and nearby Golgotha. These narratives ascribe the discovery of the cross to Helena; she visited Palestine in the years 327-28 as we know from the *Vita Constantini* composed by Eusebius at the end of the 330s.³² Eusebius reports also that Constantine had given orders to have a grand basilica built in Jerusalem at the site of Christ's resurrection, i.e. his tomb and nearby Golgotha, where a temple of Aphrodite had stood since the second century. The construction of this Church of the Holy Sepulchre started in the second half of the 320s and the church was officially inaugurated in 335. The building of the basilica involved the demolition of the Aphrodite sanctuary and excavation works to lay bare Christ's tomb. It is not unlikely that during this process beams of wood were discovered which were considered to be parts of the cross on which Christ had died. We know from a letter by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (c. 349-87), addressed to Emperor Constantius (337-61) and dated to the year 351, that the cross was found during Constantine's reign and from catechetical lectures of the same Cyril that relics of the cross had already been widely distributed all over the Mediterranean by the mid-fourth century.³³ It is thus not at all impossible that cross relics arrived in Rome in the late 320s or early 330s at the instigation of Constantine and were deposited in the Sessorian Palace. On that occasion the aula of the palace changed function and became a church. Even though architectural and epigraphical evidence dates the transformation of the *Sessorium* to the fourth century 'architectural adaptation could have been undertaken years after the actual change of function'.³⁴ The instalment of a cross relic in the new church in this period makes Rome one of the first cities after Jerusalem where we find a cult of the cross. The cross relic connects the new church and the city of Rome in general to Jerusalem and serves therefore as a *memoria*. The name Ierusalem for the basilica is thus understandable.

As De Blaauw observes (p. 62) it is noteworthy that Helena's name is absent in the foundation report and early history of S. Croce.³⁵ Noteworthy, because the palace complex was her possession and she probably lived there,

and because tradition since the second half of the fourth century associates Helena, and not Constantine, with the (discovery of the) cross. These associations have led to suppositions that Helena, who is considered (justly or not) a devout Christian, herself changed part of her palace into a chapel or personally brought a relic of the cross to Rome following her journey to Palestine, and subsequently changed the aula of her palace into a church.³⁶ However, such assumptions lack any historical foundation. Only when Helena was associated with the finding of the cross in later traditions and these traditions became known in the west, and also in Rome – which only happened around the year 400 – is she connected to the church in the *Palatium Sessorianum*. Surprisingly, the earliest reference to Helena's *translatio* of a cross relic to Rome only dates from around 1100, and does not concern S. Croce but the Lateran basilica. Only in the fifteenth century do sources mention that Helena had brought cross relics to S. Croce.³⁷

There is no conclusive evidence for Helena's residence in Rome but her possession of the *fundus Laurentus* including the *Palatium Sessorianum*, her patronage of the area, and her burial in the mausoleum at Ss. Marcellino e Paulo makes it very plausible that she resided in the Sessorian Palace at least from 317 onwards. The imperial

presence in the south-east corner of the city was strong. Not only was Helena probably living in the *Sessorium*, but Fausta, her daughter-in-law and wife of Constantine, may have lived nearby in the so-called *domus Faustae*.³⁸ The Constantinian presence and interest in this part of the city is furthermore expressed by the construction of the Lateran Basilica, the first church of Rome and the *cathedra* of the bishop of Rome, by Constantine. This area of the city exemplified a close association between the Constantinian family and the Christian faith. Helena's residence in Rome as well as that of Constantine's wife Fausta, his sister Constantia (after 324), and possibly other female members of the imperial family is likely to have embodied the imperial presence in Rome in the absence of permanent residence of the emperor himself and other male members of the imperial house. Helena must therefore have been a prominent inhabitant of Rome with considerable influence, in particular after her son had made her *augusta* at the end of 324. Posthumously, the public memory of Helena and her fame remained alive in Rome. Her association with Jerusalem and the discovery of the cross had a particular impact on the city of Rome and left traces that are still noticeable today.

Notes

* I like to thank Meaghan McEvoy for her critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper and for correcting my English.

1 In the Latin Church her saint's day is celebrated on 18 August. In the Eastern Church it is connected to the feast day of Constantine: 21 May. The celebration of the discovery of the cross is on 14 September.

2 e.g. Stefan Heid, 'Der Ursprung der Helena-Legende im Pilgerbetrieb Jerusalems', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 32 (1989), 41–71; Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991); Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill 1992); Han J. W. Drijvers and Jan Willem Drijvers, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac. Introduction, Text and Translation*, CSCO, 565, Subs. 93 (Leuven: Peeters 1997); Stefan Heid, 'Kreuz Christi: Titulus Crucis und das Heilige Grab in neu-

esten Publikationen', *Forum Katholische Theologie*, 17 (2001), 161–78; Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Holger A. Klein, 'Constantine, Helena, and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople', in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. by Jan-nic Durand and Bernard Flusin, Monographies, 17 (Paris: Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2004), pp. 31–59; Jan Willem Drijvers, 'Helena Augusta, Cross and Myth: Some New Reflections', *Millennium: Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium CE*, 8 (2011), 125–74.

3 Sible de Blaauw, 'Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross', in *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krauthheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. by Renate L. Colella and others (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), pp. 55–73.

4 *Vita Constantini* (hereafter *VC*), III. 47. 1: 'πλείστη γοῦν δορυφορία τιμώμενον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ἀνεκομίζετο, ἐνταυθοῖ τε ἡρίοις βασιλικοῖς ἀπετίθετο'. Date and place of her death are not mentioned in the

- source but since coinage with her name and portrait suddenly ended early in 329, she probably died late in 328 or in the first days or weeks of 329. Constantine was in Trier at the time and since Eusebius mentions that she died in her son's presence (*VC* III. 46. 2) she may have died in this northern imperial residence; Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 43–44. From there her body was transported with a large military escort to Rome.
- 5 For the Helena tradition in Constantinople, see Hans A. Pohlsander, *Helena: Empress and Saint* (Chicago: Ares, 1995), pp. 139–48.
 - 6 *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), xxxiii, c. 26: 'eisdem temporibus fecit Augustus Constantinus basilicam beatis martyribus Marcellino presbitero et Petro exorcistae in territorio inter duas lauros et mysileum ubi mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, via Lavicana, miliario III [...]'. On the mausoleum, see Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann and Arnold Tschira, 'Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena und die Basilika der Heiligen Marcellinus und Petrus an der Via Labicana vor Rom', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 72 (1957), 44–110; Jürgen J. Rasch, *Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena in Rom und der 'Tempio della Tosse' in Tivoli* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998); Mark J. Johnson, 'Where were Constantius I and Helena Buried?', *Latomus*, 51 (1992), 145–50; Mark J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausolea in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 110–18.
 - 7 Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausolea*, p. 118.
 - 8 *LP* xxxiii, c. 27. J. Guyon, 'Helena Augusta Possessio', in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Suburbium*, ed. by Adriano La Regina and others, 5 vols (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2001–08), III (2005), pp. 44–45.
 - 9 Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Thorin, 1886–92), I (1886), 183, n. 91.
 - 10 Robert Coates-Stephens, *Porta Maggiore. Monument and Landscape* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2004), p. 105. See also Silvia Orlandi, 'Elena e Santa Croce in Gerusalemme', forthcoming in conference proceedings *Costantino e i luoghi sacri*. I am grateful to Prof. Orlandi for giving me the opportunity of reading her paper before publication.
 - 11 For the palace complex see in general: Federico Guidobaldi, 'Sessorium', in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, IV (1999), pp. 304–08; *La Basilica di S. Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma quando l'antico è futuro*, ed. by Anna Maria Affanni (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 1997).
 - 12 For recent archaeological research of the area see Elisabetta Borgia, Donato Colli, Sergio Palladino and Claudia Paterna, 'Horti Spei Veteris e Palatium Sessorianum': Nuove acquisizioni da interventi urbani 1996–2008. Parte I', *The Journal of Fasti Online*, 124 (2008), 1–17 in *Fasti Online Documents & Research* <<http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2008-124.pdf>> [accessed 25 June 2016] and *ibid.*, 'Parte II', *The Journal of Fasti Online*, 125 (2008), 18–41 in *Fasti Online Documents & Research* <<http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2008-125.pdf>> [accessed 25 June 2016].
 - 13 For an overview and discussion of all Helena inscriptions see Isabel Lasala Navarro, 'Epigrafiya 'Helenae': Compendio, Analisis y Conclusiones', *Epigraphica*, 71 (2009), 243–51.
 - 14 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (hereafter *CIL*), VI 1134 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (hereafter *ILS*), 709 = *Epigraphic Database Rome* (hereafter *EDR*), 118180: 'Dominae nostrae Fl(aviae) Iui(iae) [sic] | Helenae, piissimae Aug(ustae), | genetrici d(omini) n(ostr)i Constan|tini maximi, victoris, | clementissimi, semper | Augusti, aviae Constan|tini et Constanti beatis|simorum ac florentis|simorum Caesarum. | Iulius Maximilianus, v(ir) c(larissimus), comes, | pietati eius semper dicatis'. See also *Last Statues of Antiquities Database* (hereafter *LSA*), no. 835 <<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=LSA-835>> [accessed 25 June 2016]. The base is now in the Helena Chapel of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
 - 15 Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, p. 39.
 - 16 Timothy D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 7.
 - 17 Arnold H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 2 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), I, pp. 104–05.
 - 18 *Codex Theodosianus*, xv. 2. 1: 'Imp. Constantinus a. ad Maximilianum consularem aquarum'; *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (hereafter *PLRE*), I Maximilianus 2. It is unlikely that he is identical with the *vir clarissimus* and *praefectus vigilibus* AV (Avianus or Aurelius) Maximilianus mentioned in *CIL* VI 233 = *EDR* 142293 as proposed by *PLRE* I Maximilianus 1 and Robert Sablayrolles, *Libertinus miles – les cohortes vigiles* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996), p. 519, n. 40.
 - 19 *CIL* VI 36950 = *EDR* 071921. 'D(ominae) n(ostrae), piissi[mae ac venerabili] | Aug(ustae), Fl(aviae) [Iul(iae) Helenae, genetrici] | [d(omini) n(ostr)i] Constantini maximi, victo[ris ac trium]phatoris, sem[per] | [Augusti, aviae d]d(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Const[an]tini et Cons[tan]tini, bea[tissimi] | [morum ac florentissimorum] | [Caesaru]m. | [Iul]ius M[aximilianus, v(ir) c(larissimus)], | [com]es, dica[tissimus excellen] | [tiae pietatiqu]e eius'. *LSA*, no. 1540.
 - 20 *CIL* VI 1135 = *EDR* 128962. 'Dominae nostrae venerabili | Helenae Augustae, | genetrici d(omini) n(ostr)i Constantini, maximi, | victoris et triumphatoris, semper Augusti. | [F]l(avius) Pi[st]us, v(ir) p(erfectissimus), p(rae)p(ositus) rerum privatarum, | pietati eorum semper devotissimus'. *LSA*, no. 1261.

- 21 *PLRE* 1 (F)l. Pi(st)ius.
- 22 Jones, 1, pp. 412, 414; Roland Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et 'res privata'. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), pp. 216–17.
- 23 *CIL* VI 1136 = *EDR*, 111326. 'D(omina) n(ostra) Helena ven[erabilis do]mini [n(ostri Constantini A)] ug(usti) mater e[t] avia beatis[simor(um) et flore] ntiss[simor(um) Caesarum nostr]oru[m |therm]as incendio de]stru[ctas restituit]'. The reconstructed inscription is now in the Sala a Croce Greca of the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican Museums. See also Marianne Bergmann, 'Zur Bauinschriften der Helenathermen', in *Studien zur Spätantiken und Byzantinischen Kunst*, Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet, ed. by Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow, 3 vols (Bonn: Habelt, 1986), 1, pp. 265–70.
- 24 Joseph F. Merriman, 'The Empress Helena and the Aqua Augustea', *Archeologia Classica*, 29 (1977), 436–46 (pp. 441–43).
- 25 Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 220–21.
- 26 Cf. Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London: Quercus, 2009), p. 326, who, without presenting any evidence, mentions that the Sessorian Palace was Constantine's residence while in Rome and that he only donated it to his mother in 326.
- 27 *LP* XXXVIII, c. 17.
- 28 Richard Gem, 'From Constantine to Constans: The Chronology of the Construction of Saint Peter's Basilica', in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) pp. 35–64 (pp. 38–39, 62). Rudolf Egger, 'Das Goldkreuz am Grabe Petri', *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 12 (1959), 182–202.
- 29 Glen W. Bowersock, 'Peter and Constantine', in *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. by William Tronzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 5–15 (pp. 9–11). Bowersock dates the construction of St Peter's to the reign of Constantine's son Constans (337–50). Cf., however, Paolo Liverani, 'Old St. Peter's and the Emperor Constans? A debate with G. W. Bowersock', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 28 (2015), 485–504; Liverani argues against Bowersock and favours Constantine's paternity of St Peter's; he also doubts whether the cross was originally placed in S. Croce since in that case the inscription would have had *palatium regalis* and not *domus regalis* (pp. 489–90). Richard Westall, 'Constantius II and the Basilica of St Peter in the Vatican', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 64, 2 (2015), 205–42 (pp. 223–24, even prefers a later date for the foundation of St Peter's than Glen Bowersock, namely the years 357–59 under the reign of Constantius II.
- 30 De Blaauw, pp. 66–72.
- 31 *LP* XXXVIII, c. 22.
- 32 *VC* III, 41–44.
- 33 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epistula ad Constantius*, III; *Catechetical Lectures*, IV, 10, x, 19, and XIII, 4.
- 34 De Blaauw, p. 59. See also Holger A. Klein, *Byzanz, das Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), p. 69.
- 35 The earliest written evidence of Helena's association with the church dates from the first half of the sixth century, when the *Gesta Xysti*, which are included in the *Liber pontificalis*, refer to it as *basilica Heleniana quae dicitur Sessorianum*; Duchesne, I (1886), p. 180, n. 79.
- 36 Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 129, n. 16: '[there is] no reason to doubt the tradition of Helena having brought to her Roman palace the relic of the cross from her pilgrimage to the Holy Land'; Sandra A. Fortner and Andrea Rottloff, *Auf den Spuren der Kaiserin Helena: Römische Aristokratinnen pilgern ins Heilige Land* (Erfurt: Sutton, 2000), p. 91.
- 37 De Blaauw, pp. 65–66.
- 38 Margherita Guarducci, 'Nuove testimonianze per la "Domus Faustae"', *Archeologia Classica*, 24 (1972), 386–92; Margherita Guarducci, 'La "domus Faustae" in Laterano e la Cattedra di San Pietro in Vaticano', in Feld and Peschlow, 1, pp. 249–63. Cf. Paolo Liverani, "'Domus Faustae'", in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, II (1995), pp. 97–99, who seriously doubts whether the *domus Faustae* belonged to Constantine's wife; also Paolo Liverani, 'L'area Lateranense in età tardoantica e le origini del patriarcato', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité*, 116 (2004), 17–49 (pp. 22–23).

EPIC ARCHITECTURE:
ARCHITECTURAL TERMINOLOGY AND THE CITIES OF BETHLEHEM
AND JERUSALEM IN THE EPICS OF JUVENCUS AND PROBA*

Roald DIJKSTRA

Soon after Constantine's seizure of power, splendid basilicas were built in Rome and the Holy Land.¹ Constantine had created the conditions necessary for the emergence of a rich Christian architecture. At the same time, Christian poetry now also fully emerged. The first classicizing yet openly Christian poets – Juvencus and Proba – took the Roman epic tradition and in particular Vergil as their main literary examples. In this tradition – and also in Rome's national epic the *Aeneid* – monuments played an important role.² Moreover, the *Aeneid* ultimately told the story of the foundation of Rome.

Juvencus and Proba, however, wrote epics about Christian content. In the New Testament two cities fulfilled a particular role: Bethlehem and Jerusalem, marking the beginning and end of Christ's stay on earth. Consequently, these cities were also mentioned in biblical epic. In this article I will investigate the way in which Bethlehem and Jerusalem were represented in early Christian epic and the use of architectural vocabulary. As a result, this article will throw light on Christian (poetic) notions of the world of architecture in the burgeoning culture of Latin Christianity.

The Innovation of Christian Poetry: Juvencus and Proba

The Spanish presbyter Juvencus is generally acknowledged as the founding father of a tradition of Christian poetry well versed in the classicizing literature.³ In 329, he wrote a versification of the four gospels (hereafter *euang.*) in which he put (mainly) Matthean stories about Christ in chronological order. In his epic, Vergilian references abound.

One of the salient characteristics of Juvencus's poetry is that, as part of his endeavour to ap-

pear as classical as possible while treating biblical content, he omitted many references to Jewish culture, including topographical details.⁴ He was anxious not to alienate his Rome-oriented audience in a poem that was a daunting literary innovation. Words referring to the world of architecture, however, are certainly not absent from his epic.⁵ Most of them can be explained by remarks in the biblical text of the gospels: they either denote (groups of) dwellings, graves, 'spiritual' buildings outside the world of earthly *realia*, or function as building metaphors.

The first poet to follow Juvencus was the poetess Faltonia Betitia Proba, who wrote a cento in the middle of the fourth century in Rome.⁶ Proba is the only female poet of Late Antiquity of whom a substantial work remains.⁷ Her cento consisted exclusively of verses and parts of verses from Vergil. As a consequence, the clarity of her work suffered from the restrictions imposed by the genre. Proba re-arranged the Vergilian elements in such a manner that a new poem appeared, or rather, as she put it herself, she revealed the hidden order of Vergil's oeuvre, which she believed to be about Christ.⁸ The cento mainly treated the story of Creation and events from the life of Christ.

Although different in several respects, both epics are clearly connected through Vergilian influences, generic conventions, biblical content and their innovative character. Moreover, they both mention the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, as will be explained below.

Bethlehem

This place is evidently closely connected to the Birth of Christ (see Matthew 2. 1; Luke 2. 1-7) in the New Testament. However, the small village is also presented as the city of David (Luke 2. 4;

11) and already referred to in the Old Testament as the future birthplace of the Messiah (see Micah 5. 1, referred to in Matthew 2. 3–6 and John 7. 42). Bethlehem is also the place where Herod killed all children younger than two years old (Matthew 2. 16–18).

In Juvencus's versification of the preamble to these events, the humble dwellings of Zachariah and Elisabeth and Mary are mentioned by the neutral word *domus*, although in *euang.*, I. 55, Mary's house is referred to with the more poetic *tecta*.⁹ This word is part of a rare digression (compared to the biblical model text) on Juvencus's part, in which he describes the life of Mary before the Annunciation and emphasises her virginity (vv. I. 54–56).¹⁰ The name of Bethlehem was too important for Juvencus to leave out, despite his general dislike of Hebrew names.¹¹ Luke's reference to King David is also maintained (Luke 2. 4; *euang.* I. 149; 151).¹² Juvencus's rendering of the story emphasises the justification for Bethlehem as the birthplace of the son of God (vv. I. 149; 153–54):

Urbs est Iudaeae Bethleem, Davida canorum
quae genuit
[...]
Hospitio amborum Bethleem sub moenibus
urbis
angusti fuerant praeparua habitacula ruris.

(There is a city, Bethlehem of Judea, which brought forth David of the psalms [...]. Under the walls of Bethlehem, small huts of the poor countryside had become lodging for both of them.)

We are informed that Bethlehem was a city (*urbs*; cf. *euang.* I. 149) with walls (*moenia*), a feature that is stressed again in vv. 236 and 238.¹³ More detailed descriptions are lacking.¹⁴ The existence of *moenia* around Bethlehem is implied in 2 Chronicles 11. 6. Moreover, several testimonies confirm that Bethlehem was walled in Late Antiquity, although it was a small village and it is not known when the walls were constructed. The walls were rather unimpressive.¹⁵ The interest of the Constantinian house in the city of Bethlehem, apparent from the construction of the Church of the Nativity, might have contrib-

uted to Juvencus's knowledge of Bethlehem's walls (if they already existed in his days) or to his willingness to grant the small town with city walls. Another reason for Juvencus to mention them might have been Bethlehem's important role in the history of salvation.¹⁶ The nexus *sub moenibus urbis* stood in a short, but significant poetic tradition.¹⁷ Other instances of the use of *moenia* in Juvencus refer mostly to Jerusalem. In a few cases they indicate the town of Sychar (in the story of the Samaritan woman at the well, John 4. 1–42) or they are used metaphorically.¹⁸

Bethlehem is contrasted with the humbleness of its surroundings by the addition of a diminutive prefix in *praeparua* and the diminutive form *habitacula* (*euang.* I. 154). This is also the term for the place to which the star leads the Magi in their quest for the newborn king (*euang.* I. 245). *Habitacula* is almost exclusively used by Christian writers and occurs frequently in the Vulgate (e.g. in Proverbs 3. 33 for the houses of the just). It is attested only once in Latin poetry before Juvencus.¹⁹

The most important Bethlehem building – the stable of the Saviour's birth – is not mentioned explicitly, but is one of the *praeparua habitacula*: there (*illic*, *euang.* I. 155) Christ was born.

This reference to a place of birth is completely absent in Proba's account of the story (vv. 338–63, but only vv. 338–42 refer to the birth proper), which includes the arrival of the Magi and Herod's wrath. In her version of the Massacre of the Innocents (vv. 364–71), however, Proba refers to a hitherto unspecified *urbs* (v. 368), which is filled with terror.²¹ At the entrances of the houses (*limine primo*, v. 371) the children are slaughtered in front of their parents' eyes (vv. 370–71). The *praeparua habitacula* of Juvencus are mirrored in Proba's description of the place of refuge found by Mary and her child (Joseph is omitted from her account) in Egypt: *hic natum angusti subter fastigia tecti | nutribat* (vv. 375–76): 'here she fed her child under the roof of a small dwelling'.²² The *angusti fastigia tecti* is taken from *Aeneid* VIII. 366, where it describes the humble residence of Euander in which Aeneas stays for the night. The Trojan hero is implicitly compared to Christ more often in Proba's cento. Proba

mentions these circumstances, added vis-à-vis the biblical text, only after the massacre, as to emphasize the contrast with the peaceful mother and child.²³

Jerusalem

The other most important city of the New Testament is definitively Jerusalem. The position of the city is ambiguous in the Bible as well as among early Christian thinkers.²⁴ Its main role in the gospels is that of the place of Christ's death and resurrection. Other major events that are described in the New Testament are the presentation in the Temple (Luke 2. 22-40), Jesus teaching in the Temple (Luke 2. 41-51), the entry into Jerusalem (Matthew 21. 9-10), the cleansing of the Temple (Matthew 21. 12-13) and the prediction of the destruction of both Jerusalem (Luke 19. 41-44) and its Temple (Matthew 24. 1-2). Clearly, the Temple is presented as the most important building of the city.

In vv. 566-70 of Proba's cento, the Temple is mentioned in a remarkable (and rare) ecphrasis:

Iamque propinquabant portis templumque uetustum
antiqua e cedro centum sublime columnis
ingreditur, magna medius comitante caterua,
horrendum siluis: hoc illis curia templum,
hae sacrae sedes, miro quod honore colebant.

(And already they approached the gates and the old temple, sublime through its hundred columns from old cedar. He enters it in the midst of a large crowd that accompanies him. It was wonderful with its woodwork! This temple was their meeting place, this holy dwelling, which they worshipped with remarkable reverence.)

In this context, the Temple is denoted three times with the word *templum* (v. 566; 569; 571). In other verses, Proba uses *domus*²⁵ and *sedes*.²⁶ *Templum* was of course the generic word for pagan temples (and is used as such in v. 491), but also a common word to denote the Temple in Jerusalem. The two notions are taken together

by Proba in v. 566, which borrows *templumque uetustum* from *Aeneid* II. 713; in the latter passage, it describes an old temple for Ceres, now deserted, where Aeneas and his family plan to meet their servants after their flight from burning Troy. At first sight, it may seem no coincidence that the main symbol of the old religion of the Jews, now become obsolete, according to Christians, due to Christ's coming, is compared to a deserted temple outside a burning city. Moreover, the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed in the year AD 70 and not rebuilt.

However, a few decades before Proba, Eusebius still referred to the grandeur of the Temple of Jerusalem to justify the Cathedral of Paulinus in Tyre.²⁷ Verse 567 in particular reflects this tradition of the Temple as a symbol of magnificence. The hundred columns evoked by Proba – originally referring to the palace of Latinus (v. 567 consists of parts of *Aeneid*, VII. 178 and VII. 170) – add a 'feeling of monumentality and wealth'.²⁸ However, they do not correspond to historical reality.²⁹ But historical reality was not Proba's goal, nor was it in her readers' interest, even more so since the (remains of the) Temple of Jerusalem never became a popular place of pilgrimage in the Christian world.³⁰ The cedar is mentioned in the *Aeneid* as the material for wooden statues of ancestors. However, Proba and her readers were probably first and foremost reminded of the cedars from Lebanon, which were frequently mentioned in the Old Testament and used for the construction of the Temple.³¹

The word *domus* (v. 443) is used in Proba's account of the temptation in the wilderness (Matthew 4. 1-11), where Satan challenges Christ to leap from the *pinna templi* (Matthew 4. 5). In the original context of *Aeneid* x. 526 *est domus alta* refers to the house of Magus, piled with riches, as this Latin warrior tells Aeneas (who kills him nevertheless). The only similarity between the two contexts seems to be the opulence of the buildings.³²

In Juvenecus's epic, the Temple of Jerusalem occurs frequently.³³ Of the 32 instances in which he uses the word *templum*, it refers to another structure only once.³⁴ In *euang.* II. 733 Juvenecus turns Matthew's *exiit Iesus* (Matthew

13. 1) into *progreditur templo terrarum lumen Iesus*. But which *templum* is meant? Whereas Jesus was in a synagogue according to Matthew 12. 9 ('et inde transiens uenit in synagogam eorum'), he left it afterwards (Matthew 12. 15: 'Iesus autem sciens secessit inde') and no other location is specified. According to Jerome, commenting on Matthew 13. 1, Christ was in his own house.³⁵ Although Juvencus follows the biblical account of Matthew 12. 9 (ll. 583-84: 'tunc conuenticula ipsorum post talia dicta | ingreditur'), but also 12.15 (ll. 599-600: 'Christus | discedit'), he seems to assume that Jesus is still in the *conuenticula* (which is the synagogue) in 2. 733 (whereas Matthew only makes clear that he was inside a building (his family awaits him outside, *foris*, in Matthew 12. 46). *Conuenticulum* in Juvencus occurs only here and in fact nowhere else in classical and early Christian Latin poetry. With this calque Juvencus avoids using the non-Roman word *synagoga*.³⁶ In most cases he just mentions no such a place at all in his versification.³⁷

In several passages, Juvencus refers to the walls (*moenia*) of Jerusalem:³⁸ *euang.* I. 383, III. 586 (where Christ calls the walls *truculenta*, 'grim', while predicting his fate), III. 641; in *euang.*, IV. 87, *moenia* refers to the Temple. In *euang.*, I. 383, the clause *moenibus urbis* (cf. *euang.*, I. 353 discussed above) is used again instead of the biblical *in sanctam ciuitatem* (i.e. Jerusalem; Matthew 4. 5), in the versification of the temptation in the wilderness. Similarly, the *Soly-morum moenia* (*euang.*, III. 641) replace the Matthean *Hierosoly-ma* (Matthew 21. 10) in the story of the entry into Jerusalem. In Matthew 24. 1-2, Jesus predicts the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. This passage is versified in *euang.*, IV. 86-90. Whereas Christ points his disciples to the *structura templi*, Juvencus is more explicit and mentions the 'praecelsa [...] | moenia' (86-87): again the walls of Jerusalem are highlighted by the poet. Although an ecphrasis of the city is lacking, in conformity with Juvencus's general versifying principles, the poet does transpose the neutral 'Videtes haec omnia' of Matthew 24. 2, into the more elaborate 'Haec operum uobis miracula digna videntur | obtutu stupido' ('You consider these marvellous works worthy

of an astonished gaze'). Via references to Vergil, the walls are compared to the ruinous walls of Troy.³⁹ In biblical imagery the walls of Jerusalem are often referred to metaphorically and this metaphor was taken up in Late Antiquity. Not only were walls an unavoidable element of epic cities in Juvencus's view, he was probably also reminded of biblical reminiscences.⁴⁰

A biblical passage in which the building of the Temple is mentioned several times is that of the cleansing of the Temple in John 2. 13-25. Juvencus deliberately chose to include this story in his epic (*euang.*, II. 153-76), since he generally follows the gospel of Matthew. In the gospel the Temple is indicated with the words *templum* (five times) and *domus* (twice); in Juvencus with *templum* (thrice), *aedes* and *delubrum*. The poet emphasizes the holiness of the place by adding *sancta* to *aedes* (*euang.*, II. 159) and *uenerabile* to *templum* (*euang.*, II. 166). *Delubrum*, a word with strong pagan connotations, is used on one other occasion, in *euang.* I. 188.⁴¹ It is part of a passage (*euang.*, I. 185-88 = Luke 2. 23-24) where a law from the Book of Leviticus (12. 1-8) is recalled: one should bring an offering to the tabernacle after the birth of a child. In Luke this place is not specified. Juvencus translates the old prescription more concretely to the time of Christ and mentions the Temple.⁴² The use of these different words seems to be explained by a pursuit of variation.⁴³ The word *aedes* is otherwise mostly used in the versification of parables.⁴⁴

One remarkable and rather unique architectural detail that Juvencus adds to his biblical example remains: that of the famous Palace of Solomon mentioned in vv. I. 644-45: 'cum regni diuitis aula | aflueret' ('because the palace abounded in the riches of the kingdom'). The word *aula* has no equivalent in the corresponding gospel text (Matthew 6. 29): 'Dico autem uobis, quoniam nec Solomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis'. Similar to Juvencus's mentioning of the walls of Jerusalem, the *aula* seems to be added as a symbol of power and wealth.

Art and the Poets

Although this inventory cannot be exhaustive, a survey of other architectural terms in Juvenecus and Proba reveals that the general pattern remains the same. No buildings are specifically highlighted. This situation is reflected in contemporary early Christian art. There too, the places of Bethlehem and Jerusalem are the only biblical places that are recognisable, albeit not so much through their architectural features. The stable in which Christ is born is depicted on sarcophagi, but visualisations of Bethlehem itself (as a tower) only appear by the end of the fourth century; it is the Church of the Gentiles contrasted to the similarly depicted Church of the Jews that is Jerusalem.⁴⁵ Similarly, the so-called city gate sarcophagi only appear later in the fourth century. Incidentally, buildings are plainly depicted as for example on four sarcophagi with the story of Peter and the dog of Simon Magus and a unique sarcophagus from Gerona with scenes from the story of Susanna.⁴⁶ In the frequently depicted Raising of Lazarus, however, the man's grave was always indicated. City walls were often shown in late antique art (although most examples are from later periods) to refer to cities.⁴⁷ In general, however, the poets' lack of interest in architecture is reflected in that of the producers of early Christian art and vice versa.

Notes

- * I would like to thank Dr Erik Hermans (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, NYU) for correcting my English.
- 1 Initially, modesty was central to Christian views on architecture, but after Constantine this view changed rapidly, as is apparent, for instance, in the life and works of poet-architects such as Ambrose and Paulinus of Nola, see Claire Sotinel, 'Les lieux de culte chrétiens et le sacré dans l'Antiquité tardive', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 4 (2005), 411-34 (p. 427 in particular). Cf. Sible de Blaauw, 'Pralende schijn in vroegchristelijke kerkgebouwen?', in *Romeinse decadentie: Pracht en praal in de Romeinse keizertijd*, ed. by Stephan Mols and others (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2008), pp. 129-42.
- 2 See e.g. Elisabeth Henry, 'Virgil and the Monuments', *Proceedings of the Virgil Society*, 18 (1986), 19-45.

Conclusion

The cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem are among the most important cities mentioned in the early biblical epics. Architectural terms are certainly not absent, but their use never results in extensive descriptions of buildings or places. Slight adaptations that could be detected aim at exalting structures and palaces that were connected with the life of Christ or at a general 'epicising' of the biblical content. Although building metaphors abound in Juvenecus, due to the many gospel parables in which they are used, nor he, nor Proba expand on them for other purposes. Architectural vocabulary seems to be chosen for matters of variety rather than consistency.

The Roman epic tradition accounted for much more interest in architecture. By contrast, Juvenecus's statement that nothing is immortal, not even *aurea Roma* (*praefatio* 2) is telling. New, really immortal matters were addressed: in the initial phase of the development of a Christian poetical language in Christian poetry it was not yet the time for *ornamenta terrestria* (*euang.*, IV. 805) that included architectural features. Early Christian visual culture shows a similar pattern. Only at the end of the fourth century, when Christians felt their cultural norms gradually took over (clearly with preservation of much from Antiquity), there was room for a more successful confluence of poetry and architecture.

- Cf. Brent Gareth Hannah, 'Exegi monumentum: Architecture in Epic' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 2007), pp. 189-90: 'In an age in which architecture was a primary means by which state ideology, and popular culture and taste, were disseminated, the poets of the day explored the various facets of monumentality to examine critically the nature of their own art and its relationship to the society in which it was situated'.
- 3 To be sure, several authors preceded him, Commodianus probably even by eighty years. Optatianus Porphyrius and the author of the *Laudes Domini* wrote in the same period, Juvenecus was already in Late Antiquity considered the first Christian poet: see Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini*, I. 14-15. For Juvenecus, see e.g. Roger P. H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvenecus, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford: Oxford

- University Press, 2006), pp. 1–134 and – most recently – Scott McGill, *Juvenius' Four Books of the Gospels: Evangeliorum libri IV* (London: Routledge, 2016), which appeared too late to include in this article.
- 4 See Ilona Opelt, 'Die Szenerie bei Juvenius: Ein Kapitel historischer Geographie', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 29 (1975), 191–207. Jean-Michel Poinssotte, *Juvenius et Israël: la représentation des juifs dans le premier poème latin chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979) stressed the anti-semitic nature of this feature, but Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament*, pp. 105–12 rightly nuances this.
 - 5 Architectural terms and words referring to buildings and dwellings found in his epic are *adytum, aedes, atrium, aula, castellum, conuenticulum, delubrum, domus, foris, habitaculum, limen, moenia, murus, oppidum, porta, sedes, sepulcrum, tecta, templum, tentorium, tumulus, turris* and *urbs*. Proba has *columna, domus, foris, limen, sedes, sepulcrum, tecta, templum* and *urbs*. Search terms were based on Heinrich Laag, *Kleines Wörterbuch der frühchristlichen Kunst und Archäologie* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2006), with additions.
 - 6 On Proba, see most recently Sigrid Schottenius Cullhed, *Proba the Prophet: The Christian Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); some critical remarks in Gottfried Kreuz, 'Review of Sigrid Schottenius Cullhed, *Proba the Prophet: The Christian Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba*', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 20 (2016), 197–202. On Juvenius and Proba together, see Wolfgang Kirsch, *Die lateinische Versepeik des 4. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie, 1989), pp. 84–150.
 - 7 For the position of women writers in Antiquity, see Jane Stevenson, '1: Antiquity and Late Antiquity' in *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, & Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 31–82 (pp. 64–71 on Proba).
 - 8 *Cento Probae* xxiii: 'Vergilium cecinisse loquar pia munera Christi'. Text: Proba, *Cento vergilianus*, ed. by Alessia Fassina and Carlo M. Lucarini (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).
 - 9 On *domus*: *euang.*, I. 47; I. 81; I. 89 (Zachariah) and I. 104 (Mary). The word *tecta* is used more often by Juvenius than *domus* (twenty-six and twenty-two instances respectively). In most cases it refers to a specific house mentioned in the gospels or to houses in general.
 - 10 v. 55 *caste*, cf. *casto* in v. 70. Cf. Poinssotte, *Juvenius et Israël*, p. 99: 'Où est la fidélité de celui qui 'suit à pas' l'Évangile?', referring to Jerome's judgement on Juvenius (*IV euangelia hexametris uersibus paene ad uerbum transferens, De uiris illustribus* 84). Juvenius, *Juueno: Historia evangélica*, transl. by Miguel Castillo Bejarano (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1998), pp. 65–66, n. 16, suggests that a house of virgins waiting for their marriage is meant, which would have been common in Late Antiquity. Herman Hendrik Kievits, 'Ad Iuueni-
ci euangeliorum librum primum commentarius exegeticus' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1940) at verse 55 refers to Martial, *Ep.*, I. 70. 4, but this is the house of the Vestal virgins in Rome (see e.g. Peter Howell, *A commentary on Book one of the Epigrams of Martial* (London: Athlone, 1980) a.l.) and thus not exactly comparable to the house of a young woman in Palestine.
 - 11 Cf. Poinssotte, *Juvenius et Israël*, p. 43: 'Quant aux villes et aux lieux indissolublement unis aux sommets de la vie du Messie, leurs noms constituent le trésor de la tradition sacrée. Ils sont trop chrétiens, pourrait-on dire, pour être encore, de quelque manière, juifs'. Besides Bethlehem, the same is evidently true for Jerusalem. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 40: the name of Bethlehem is omitted two out of six mentions and that of Jerusalem only four out of twenty-two in Juvenius's epic.
 - 12 King David is the Old Testament character mentioned by far most often in Juvenius's epic: Poinssotte, *Juvenius et Israël*, p. 48.
 - 13 The word *urbs* is normally used for towns with walls. It does not necessarily mean a big city as opposed to a smaller *oppidum* (see Aegidio Forcellini and others, *Lexicon totius latinitatis cum appendicibus*, s.v. *urbs* II.3 (Padua: Typis seminariis, 1940), but combined with the mentioning of the walls the impression remains that Bethlehem is more than a little town of shepherds. In Luke 2. 4 and 2. 11 the Itala indicates the city with the word *ciuitas* (edition: New Testament, *Itala: das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, ed. by Adolf Jülicher (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1963), which is consistently used for biblical texts throughout this article). Nazareth is also called *urbs* by Juvenius (*euang.*, III. 17), equally Sychar (II. 248; II. 272; II. 298).
 - 14 See also Opelt, p. 202.
 - 15 One of the rare sources on buildings in early Christian Bethlehem other than the Church of the Nativity is Bellarmino Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme in seguito agli scavi e restauri praticati dalla custodia di terra santa (1948–51)* (Gerusalemme: tipografia dei PP. Francescani, 1952), pp. 231–65: he notices that most ancient and medieval authors are silent on Bethlehem 'perchè non trovarono cose rimarchevoli da segnalare' (p. 231). The most ancient source is ps.–Eucherius, *De Situ Hierusolimitanae Urbis* 11 ('Bethlehem [...] quae humili muro et absque turribus angustissimo spatio circumdatur'), written before 450. Two other ancient sources are: Procopius, *De aedificiis* v. 9. 12, about Justinian's restoration of the wall, and Adomnanus of Iona, *De locis sanctis* II. 1. 4 ('humilis sine turribus murus'; cf. Beda Venerabilis, *De locis sanctis* 7), dated around 680–88. For dating and context of both ps.–Eucherius and Adomnanus see Maria Guagnano, *Adomnani di Iona. I luoghi santi* (Edipuglia: Bari, 2008), pp. 25; 46–49 on Eucherius.

- 16 Cf. Jerome's remarks regarding the place: Paul Antin, 'La ville chez saint Jérôme' in his *Recueil sur saint Jérôme* (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), pp. 375-89.
- 17 Cf. Opelt, p. 194. *Sub moenibus urbis* was used three times before Juvenecus. The original context does not seem to play a role: the unspecified city in Vergil's *Georgics* (IV. 193), Laurentum, the city of Turnus, in the *Aeneid* (XII. 116) and Troy in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIII. 261).
- 18 *Moenia* in the context of Jerusalem: *euang.*, I. 383; III. 291; III. 586; III. 641; III. 674 (the walls of the temple); IV. 87 (idem); IV. 709, Sychar: II. 248; II. 250; II. 298 and in a metaphorical way: I. 717; III. 280; III. 534; III. 750.
- 19 See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Online* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2009), s.v.
- 20 with Commodianus, *Instr.*, I. 45. 12 (the houses of the pious after the Last Judgement) from the middle of the third century. Jean-Michel Poinssotte, *Commodien: Instructions* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2009), 340 a.l. emphasizes the positive connotations of the word and mentions Proverbs 3. 33. Juvenecus himself also uses the term metaphorically for the house of an impure spirit (II. 718) and the heart of Herod (III. 41), and once in a more literal sense for the houses of a village (*castellum*) in front of Jerusalem (v. III. 625).
- 21 The word *urbs* is also used as a generic term for towns in Galilee in her cento: vv. 383 and 456 (cf. v. 7 for cities in general).
- 22 Proba uses *tecta* also once for towns in Galilee (v. 384) and once for the houses of Jerusalem (v. 444), cf. n. 22. It has been argued that a rather unique influence of apocryphal writings (*i.e.* the *protoevangelium Jacobi*) can be detected in Proba's account of the flight into Egypt, but this has been contested: see Fassina and Lucarini, *Cento Vergilianus*, p. cxvi.
- 23 For the remarkable role of Mary in Proba's cento see Stratis Kyriakidis, 'Eve and Mary: Proba's Technique in the Creation of Two Different Female Figures', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 29 (1992), 121-53; Antonia Badini and Antonia Rizzi, *Proba: Il centone* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 2011), pp. 182-85 and Cullhed, pp. 163-68. It is tempting to link Mary's significant role to the construction of a basilica on the spot of the later S. Maria Maggiore in Rome under Bishop Liberius, more or less contemporary to the publication of Proba's cento, but almost nothing is known of this first basilica and its dedication. The famous legend about snowfall in August at the future location of the basilica is from the thirteenth century; see Sible de Blaauw, 'In the Mirror of Christian Antiquity: Early Papal Identification Portraits in Santa Maria Maggiore', in *Example or Alter Ego? Aspects of the Portrait Historié in Western Art from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Jos Koldeweij, Rudi van Leeuwen, and Volker Manuth (Turnhout and Nijmegen: Brepols, 2016). Cf. also Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: Liturgie en architectuur in laatantieken middeleeuws Rome, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Delft: Eburon, 1987), pp. 165-68 in particular. Although no traces of the veneration of Mary in fourth-century Rome remain, she must have been a popular saint in an early stage already. Veneration is attested in Constantinople around 400. For an overview of the cult of Mary in early Christianity see Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2009), s.v. Maria, Mutter Jesu; Marienfest; Marienverehrung.
- 24 Jerome is exemplary in this respect. Not only the image of the city of Jerusalem, but also that of cities in general was a complex one: see Antin, *La ville chez saint Jérôme*.
- 25 v. 443. The term *domus Dei* was also a biblical term used to indicate the Christian basilica, although it never became a general word for such a building, see Christine Mohrmann, 'Les dénominations de l'église en tant qu'édifice en grec et en latin au cours des premiers siècles chrétiens', *Sciences Religieuses*, 36 (1962), 155-74, p. 164 in particular.
- 26 In both cases the holiness of the building is emphasized: *hae sacrae sedes* (v. 570) and *hae nobis* [sc. God and Christ] *propriae sedes* (v. 576).
- 27 De Blaauw, 'Pralende schrijn', pp. 131-32 with Sible de Blaauw, 'The Church Atrium in Rome as a Ritual Space: The Cathedral of Tyre and St Peter's in Rome', in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Frances Andrews (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2011), pp. 30-43.
- 28 Cullhed, p. 179 (discussion of vv. 566-79 on pp. 178-80). *Aeneid*, VII. 170 was also used in *De ecclesia* 1, another late antique cento. Cf. Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil, 'Aeneid' 7. A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 147 on the Vergilian number: 'C. (*centum*) is a conventional large number [...]'. Proba's combining of *Aeneid*, VII. 178 and VII. 170 makes it most likely that she had this Vergilian passage in mind, although *centum columnis* also occurs in Statius's *Silu.*, IV. 2. 18 (where the number is negated) and Martial, *Epigr.*, II. 14. 9 (where it refers to an actual building with hundred columns on the forum, the so-called *Hekatonstylon*).
- 29 According to Josephus, the temple built by Herod had 162 columns (*Antiquitates judaicae* 15. 414). In Ezekiel's description of the new Temple (Ezekiel 40-43), no number of columns is mentioned. See on the Temple Andreas J. M. Kropp, *Images and monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 263-75 and Hershel Shanks, *Jerusalem's Temple Mount: From Solomon to the Golden Dome* (New York and London: Continuum, 2009).
- 30 See Shanks, *Jerusalem's Temple Mount*, pp. 53-58.
- 31 Cf. e.g. 1 Kings 5. 8; 5. 10; 6. 9-10; 6. 15-18. Proba acts again in a similar way as the poet she imitates. Just as Vergil took recourse to the forefathers of Latinus, the poetess refers to the biblical ancestors of the Chris-

- tians: the Jews and their culture, described in the Old Testament.
- 32 Maybe one of the other temptations – that of earthly wealth (Luke 4. 5–8) – also plays a role.
- 33 Cf. Opelt, p. 202: ‘Als mauerumgebene Stadt selbst von den Hügeln Ölberg und Golgotha flankiert, als topographische Realität ist lediglich Jerusalem geschildert. [...] Iuvenicus hat zu Jerusalem kein neutrales Verhältnis. Es hat für ihn eine doppelte Bedeutung: es ist die Stadt des Tempels und die Stadt der Passion’. According to *ibid.*, p. 205, the raising of Lazarus should be considered to be in Jerusalem, but this is only based on Iuvenicus’s lack of geographical references (the event took place in Bethany: John 11. 1).
- 34 Therefore, the remark by Christine Mohrmann, ‘La langue et le style de la poésie chrétienne’, *Revue des études latines*, 25 (1947), 280–97, p. 286 on Iuvenicus, *euang.* 1. 10 where Gabriel visits Zachariah in the temple (‘On ne saurait dire que le poète ait choisi *adytum*, mot d’une couleur poétique très spéciale, parce qu’il voulait éviter *templum*’) seems doubtful. In *euang.* 1. 298 and 1. 301 the word *aedes* is used for the temple. The status of the Jewish temple was incomparable to that of Christian churches in Iuvenicus’s time, see Sotinel, p. 420.
- 35 *Hier. in Math.*, 2 ad 13. 1. Less elaborate but similarly Origen, see Manlio Simonetti, *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament 1a. Matthew 1–13* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2001), p. 263 (not mentioning Jerome). Cf. Opelt, p. 194: ‘Nach den Verheißungen und den Streitgesprächen mit den Pharisäern, die Iuvenicus wiederum nicht genau lokalisiert hat, tritt Jesus <in einer Stadt> aus dem Tempel [...]’.
- 36 Moreover, it was often used pejoratively (see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s.v.), especially of heretics, which might have played a role too. The word *conuenticulum* was propagated by Lactantius as a replacement of the Greek calque *ecclesia*, but he was not generally followed in this: Christine Mohrmann, ‘Les éléments vulgaires du Latin des chrétiens’, in *Études sur le Latin des chrétiens*, III (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1965), 33–66 (p. 50, n. 54).
- 37 See Poinssotte, *Juvenicus et Israël*, p. 102, n. 329 in particular (where the omission of the first part of Matthew 13. 54 in *euang.* III. 17 is not mentioned). For Poinssotte, these omissions are part of the ‘oblitération du paysage palestinien’, see *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 38 Iuvenicus uses the word *murus* only once: *euang.*, II. 445, where it is added to the biblical text of Matthew 10. 11, probably because cities (in this case a non-specified place) with walls were considered more epic than towns without. *Moenia* is used 17 times in Iuvenicus’s epic.
- 39 See Canali, Santorelli and Malaspina, *Aquilino Giovenico*, p. 388. Cf. Poinssotte, *Juvenicus et Israël*, p. 150 (with n. 524).
- 40 Cf. e.g. Psalm 51. 20 and a passage such as Ambrose’s *Apologiae David*, 1, 17. 83.
- 41 See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s.v.: *delubrum* can refer to the room of the cult statue, to the place of purification, but also to other parts of a temple. Cf. Ulrich Schmitzer, ‘Der symbolische Kampf um die römische Topographie im christlich-paganen Diskurs’, in *Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike. Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst*, ed. by Therese Fuhrer (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 237–61 (pp. 249–50), on the exclusively pagan use of the word.
- 42 *Euang.*, I. 185–88.
- 43 Anton Hilhorst, ‘The Cleansing of the Temple (John 2,13–25) in ‘Juvenicus and Nonnus’’, in *Early Christian poetry: a collection of essays*, ed. by Jan den Boeft and Anton Hilhorst (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 61–76 (p. 66).
- 44 Parables: *euang.*, III. 745; IV. 181; IV. 186. It is also used metaphorically (III. 280) and for the house of a magistrate in Cana: II. 338.
- 45 See A. Betori, s.v. Betlemme, in *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana*, ed. by Fabrizio Bisconti (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2010), pp. 137–38; cf. *ibid.*, s.v. Città (pp. 150–53) and Gerusalemme (pp. 186–87).
- 46 For Peter and the dog, see Roald Dijkstra, *The Apostles in Early Christian Art and Poetry* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 368–69; 474 (only Rep. 2 151 has no building). For the sarcophagus from Gerona see Manuel Sotomayor, *Sarcófagos Romano-Cristianos de España: Estudio iconográfico* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1975), pp. 41–66. Spanish sarcophagi were heavily influenced by Roman examples and Roman import, see Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), pp. 519–35.
- 47 See Johannes G. Deckers, ‘Tradition und Adaption: Bemerkungen zur Darstellung der christlichen Stadt’, *Publications de l’École française de Rome*, 123 (1989), 1283–1304: seven out of fourteen cities he discusses are depicted with walls. Cf. Carlo Bertelli, ‘Visual Images of the Town in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages’, in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 127–46.

Ralf BEHRWALD

Mit der Hinwendung Konstantins zum Christentum im Jahr 312 setzte eine Stiftungspolitik in der Stadt Rom ein, die deren Bild grundlegend änderte. Der Jubilar, dem diese Zeilen gewidmet sind, hat mehrfach und eindrucklich gezeigt, wie sehr die kaiserliche Initiative *cultus* und *decor* in den großen Basiliken Roms prägte; weitere kaiserliche Stiftungen folgten, denen die Bautätigkeit der Päpste an die Seite trat: so feierte S. Maria Maggiore in ihrem Triumphbogenmosaik die *plebs Dei* als Empfängerin *päpstlicher* Wohltaten und betonte damit auch die tiefe Verwurzelung der Kirche in römischen Traditionen.¹ Daneben ist jedoch häufig ein dritter Faktor betont worden: mit der ‚apparition d’un nouvel évergétisme‘² habe sich im 5. Jahrhundert die römische Senatsaristokratie als zeitweilig wichtigster Förderer der Kirche etabliert.³ Jüngst ist diese angebliche Stiftungstätigkeit römischer Senatoren als Fortsetzung des kaiserzeitlichen Euergetismus, ein Element der Kontinuität zwischen Kaiserzeit und Spätantike interpretiert worden.⁴ So hat Carlos Machado⁵ sie nicht in einem unverbindlichen, weiteren Sinne als ‚Euergetismus‘ bezeichnet, sondern konkret auf das vor allem von Paul Veyne entworfene Modell des kaiserzeitlichen Euergetismus bezogen:⁶ Ein Eintreten einer vermögenden Elite für die Ausgaben ihrer Gemeinde, in dem der Zusammenhalt der Bürgergemeinde und eine subtile Hierarchisierung dieser Gemeinde zum Ausdruck gebracht worden sei.

Außerhalb Roms sind solche Kontinuitäten nicht zu übersehen. Private Stiftungen von Kirchen oder ihrer Ausstattung sind – um nur Beispiele zu nennen – für Italien,⁷ Latium,⁸ Norditalien,⁹ Makedonien¹⁰ oder die spätantike Levante¹¹ gut belegt und führen dort kaiserzeitliche Vorstellungen fort,¹² deren Fortwirken auch für die Stiftertätigkeit von Bischöfen diskutiert wird.¹³

Freilich wären soziale Funktion und symbolischer Gehalt dieser Stiftungen getrennt zu

diskutieren.¹⁴ Für das kaiserzeitliche und spätantike Rom kommt ein weiteres hinzu: Senatoren hatten dort die Rolle von Euergeten schon seit der frühen Kaiserzeit weitgehend abgelegt; Baumaßnahmen römischer Stadtpräfekten waren dienstlich motiviert, private Stiftungen daneben beinahe bedeutungslos.¹⁵ Denn die Bau- und Stiftungstätigkeit war in der Stadt Rom bereits seit Augustus faktisch vom Kaiser monopolisiert.¹⁶ Im spätantiken Rom konnten senatorische Stiftungen an die Kirche keine Fortsetzung früherer euergetischer Praxis sein. Und es stellt sich die Frage, wie überhaupt eine solche Stiftertätigkeit aussehen konnte.

Die folgenden Zeilen wollen diese Frage auf der Grundlage aller inschriftlich dokumentierten spätantiken Stiftungen Roms, die den Bau, die Ausgestaltung oder die Erhaltung römischer Kirchen durch Angehörige des Senatorenstandes zum Gegenstand hatten, skizzenhaft beantworten. Auch wenn in der gebotenen Kürze nicht alle Zeugnisse eingehend besprochen werden können,¹⁷ zeigt sich deutlich, daß die Vorstellung eines senatorischen Euergetismus im spätantiken Rom in die Irre führt: im spätantiken Rom stand die dominierende Position von Kaiser und zunehmend auch Papst einer eigenständigen privaten Stiftungstätigkeit entgegen.¹⁸

A.

Mit St. Peter schuf Konstantin auch eine Coemeterialbasilika, die rasch zu einem bevorzugten Ort der Bestattung christlicher Senatoren wurde:¹⁹ ‚during the 4th and for most of the 5th c. aristocratic tombs and funerals were among the most conspicuous memorials and commemorations taking place in the area‘.²⁰ So sind die senatorischen Stiftungstätigkeiten in St. Peter von besonderem Interesse:

1. Ein nicht näher bezeichneter Gallus, Sohn einer Anastasia, stiftete im 4. Jahrhundert Elemente der Kirchengestaltung: ‚Gallus Anastasiae natus decus addidit aulae | quod pro merito illius atque suis | munus ut grate sumat divina potestas | efficit Petrus regia claustra tenens‘.²¹ In ungewöhnlicher Weise stellt die Inschrift die Mutter des Gallus und deren frühere *merita* um die Peterskirche in den Mittelpunkt: sie war so prominent, daß sie allein zur Identifikation ihres Sohnes genügte – und nicht sein Vater, der ungenannt bleibt.

Die Stiftung gehört zu einer Gruppe von Texten, die Angelo Silvagni und François Chausson diskutiert haben.²² Der Name Anastasia ist im lateinischen Westen des römischen Reiches selten; die Trägerinnen dieses Namens aus dem 4.–5. Jahrhundert dürften sämtlich der Familie Konstantins entstammen. Konstantins Neffe Gallus, von 351 bis 354 als Caesar Mitherrscher von Constantius II., heiratete dessen Schwester Constantina. Das Paar hatte eine Tochter unbekanntes Namens.²³ Nach Chausson deutet die Abfolge der Namen Gallus – Anastasia in unserer Inschrift darauf hin, daß es sich hier um Nachfahren der Verbindung von Gallus und Constantina handelte. Zwischen 352 und 354 geboren, könnte Anastasia um 370 einen Sohn zur Welt gebracht haben, der wiederum Gallus hieß. In Konstantins Peterskirche mußten diese Familienbeziehungen nicht weiter erläutert werden: Gallus führte als Angehöriger der – seit 363 aus der Kaiserherrschaft ausgeschiedenen, in weiblicher Linie aber mit dem Kaiserhaus weiter verbundenen – konstantinischen Dynastie eine Familientradition fort.²⁴

2. Anastasia selbst begegnet in einer fragmentarischen Inschrift wohl damasianischer Zeit (366–84): [...], et Anastasia c(larissima) f(emina) eius | [ad augendum splendorem] basilicae apostoli Petri | [pavimentum parietes] item coelum | [sacri fontis quem dudum Da]masus vir sanctus in | [ea ... extruxit sumpt]u proprio marmoru[m] | [cultu et musivo opere] decorarunt‘.²⁵ Ein Bau des Damasus – vielleicht das Baptisterium²⁶ – wurde von dem senatorischen Ehepaar auf eigene Kosten (*sumptu proprio*) ausgeschmückt. Daß es sich um die Mutter des

Gallus aus Nr. 1 und Enkelin Konstantins des Großen handelt, haben Chausson und Silvagni gezeigt; als ihr Ehemann kommt nur ein dem Kaiserhaus sehr nahestehender Senator in Frage;²⁷ es liegt nahe, in ihrer Stiftung die *merita* zu erkennen, die die Inschrift des Gallus erwähnte.

3. Die Verbindung der konstantinischen Dynastie mit der Peterskirche setzte sich fort, wie eine der unter Papst Leo I. (440–61) angebrachten,²⁸ unter Gregor IX. (1049–54) abgenommenen Mosaikinschriften²⁹ bezeugt: ‚Marinianus vir in(ustris) ex p(rae)f(ecto) [praet(orio)] et cons(ul) ord(inarius) | cum Anastasia in(ustris) fe[m(ina) eius] debita vota | beatissimo Petro apostolo persolvit | quae precibus papae Leonis mei | [pro]vocata sunt atq(ue) perfecta‘. Eine Generation nach Gallus, Sohn der Anastasia, dürfte *diese* Anastasia nach Chausson eine Enkelin der Anastasia aus Nr. 2 sein.³⁰ Ihr Ehemann Marinianus, *praefectus praetorio* im Jahr 422 und *consul* des Jahres 423, scheint mit der Stiftertätigkeit für St. Peter die Familientradition der konstantinischen Familie fortgesetzt zu haben.

4. Sie hat noch in der folgenden Generation bestanden. Der Sohn von Marinianus und Anastasia, Rufius Viventius, trug nicht nur erneut das *cognomen* Gallus; wie seine Vorfahren wurde auch er nach Ausweis einer Inschrift als Stifter an St. Peter aktiv: ‚Rufius Viventius Gallus | [v(ir) c(larissimus)] et in(ustris) ex p(rae)f(ecto) ur[b(i)] | pro beneficiis domini apostoli | votum solvit‘.³¹

Andere Stiftungen wohlhabender Laien sind aus St. Peter nicht bekannt. Sämtliche vermeintlich ‚privaten‘ Stiftungen erweisen sich so als Engagement von Nachfahren Konstantins, die die Erinnerung an ihre kaiserliche Abkunft in ihren Namen und in ihrer Stiftertätigkeit wachhielten. Sie setzten eine Tradition fort, die sich in der Stadt Rom stark mit den Frauen der Dynastie verband:³² Konstantins Mutter Helena wie Constantina, die Ehefrau des Caesars Gallus, waren in Rom als Stifterinnen präsent gewesen, und nach Jill Harries könnten beide eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Christianisierung Roms gespielt haben. Diese Zeugnisse belegen nicht einfach, daß ‚rich senators also engaged

in acts of patronage⁴³ – im Gegenteil handelte hier die kaiserliche Familie. Welcher Senator hätte sich mit einer Familie messen lassen wollen, deren Mitglied sich nonchalant als ‚Gallus Anastasiae natus‘ bezeichnen konnte, weil seine Familie an diesem Ort ohnehin berühmt war? Zwei weitere Zeugnisse gehören vermutlich in einen ähnlichen Zusammenhang:

5. Aus S. Anastasia ist eine Inschrift aus der Zeit des Papstes Hilarius (461–68) bekannt: ‚Antistes Damasus picturae ornatat honore | texta, quibus nunc dant pulchra metalla decus. | Divite testatur pretiosior aula nitore, | quos rerum effectus possit habere fides. | Papae Hilari meritis olim devota Severi | nec non Cassiae mens dedit ista d(e)o‘.³⁴ Posthum (!) erinnert sie an eine Stiftung, mit der Severus und Cassia die Kirche ausgestalteten. In Severus hat Gerold Walser Libius Severus erkannt, den Kaiser von 461–65;³⁵ seine auffällig knappe Nennung könnte dann eine diskrete Erinnerung an den Stifter – im Osten nie anerkannt, im Westen bald von Ricimer fallengelassen – sein. Wie die Stiftungen 1–4 würde es sich um eine kaiserliche Stiftung handeln. Severus und Cassia wurden dabei buchstäblich an das Ende des Textes geschoben, der vielmehr die damasianischen Arbeiten und die Rolle des Hilarius betont, denn die *devotio*, die Severus und Cassia ihm gegenüber empfanden, hatte sie zu Stiftern in S. Anastasia werden lassen: Der Papst tritt auf diese Weise zwischen die Stifter und die Empfänger der Stiftung.

B.

In den engsten Umkreis des Kaisers führen weitere Zeugnisse:

6. Möglicherweise auf das Apsismosaik der Lateransbasilika ist die folgende Inschrift zu beziehen:³⁶ ‚Fl(avius) Felix v(ir) c(larissimus) magister utriusque militiae | patricius et cons(ul) ord(inarius) et Padusia eius inl(ustrissima) femina | voti co(m)potes de proprio fecerunt‘.³⁷ Mit Flavius Felix, Konsul des Jahres 428 und im Jahr 430 ermordet, tritt ein *Magister militum* als Stifter hervor, einer der höchsten Offiziere des Reiches. Seit 425 als *Magister militum* belegt, war er in den späten 420er Jahren der führende Militär

des Weströmischen Reiches; als *patricius* geehrt, überragte Felix noch die anderen, zeitgenössischen *magistri militum* des Westreiches. Als *vir clarissimus* und *consul ordinarius* war er zwar formal ein ‚Senator‘ – doch trennten den Militär Welten von der römischen Senatsaristokratie, und hinsichtlich ihrer politischen Bedeutung ist seine Stiftung den kaiserlichen Stiftungen an die Seite zu stellen.

7. Etwa eine Generation später datiert die heute verlorene Stiftungsinschrift in der Apsis der später als S. Agata dei Goti bekannten Kirche: ‚Fl(avius) Ricimer v(ir) i(n)lustris magister utriusque militiae patricius et ex cons(ule) ord(inario) pro voto suo adornavit‘.³⁸ Ihr Stifter war zwischen 455 und 472 ununterbrochen der mächtigste Mann des Weströmischen Reiches; als auf Druck Ostroths der Kaiser Anthemius eingesetzt wurde, erhielt Ricimer dessen Tochter Alypia zur Frau.³⁹ Wieder dürfen die senatorischen Rangtitel der Weihinschrift mithin nicht dazu verleiten, in ihr ein Beispiel für *senatorische* Stiftungen zu sehen; stattdessen manifestiert sich in ihr der Anspruch eines hohen Heerführers, ähnlich wie ein Kaiser als Stifter aufzutreten.

8. Die engste Parallele zu Ricimers Kirchenstiftung ist die wenig spätere Einrichtung der Kirche S. Andreas (Catabarbara) durch eine testamentarische Stiftung des *magister militum* Valila, die eine Versinschrift des Papstes Simplicius (468–83) überliefert: ‚Haec tibi mens Valilae devovit praedia, Christe, | cui testator opes detulit ipse suas, | Simplicius quae papa sacris caelestibus aptans | effecit vere muneris esse tui, | et quod apostolici deessent limina nobis | martiris, Andreae nomine composuit. | Utitur hac heres titulis ecclesia iustis | succedensque domo mystica iura locat. | Plebs devota veni perque haec commercia disce | terreno censu regna superna peti‘.⁴⁰ Flavius Valila Theodovius⁴¹ ist auch aus einer Stiftungsurkunde bekannt, die den Bau einer Kirche in Tivoli zum Gegenstand hatte.⁴² Auch er gehörte als *magister utriusque militiae* zur höchsten militärischen Elite des Westreiches und war möglicherweise mit Ricimer verwandt.⁴³

Als einer jener Heerführer, die die weströmische Politik des 5. Jahrhunderts über weite Strecken dominierten, stiftete Valila nicht allein aus persönlicher Religiosität, sondern als führender Angehöriger des Kaiserhofes und deshalb an die Kirche des Papstes. Es fällt dabei auf, daß in St. Andreas die Apsis mit einer weiteren Mosaikinschrift versehen war, die Christus mit den Worten *Salus totius generis humani* bezeichnete:⁴⁴ vielleicht ein Hinweis auf die göttliche Qualität Jesu und also die zentrale Differenz zwischen katholischer Kirche und ‚arianischem‘ Glauben. Jedenfalls zeigt seine Stiftung in Tivoli, daß Valila schon zu Lebzeiten die katholische Kirche begünstigte, auch St. Andreas auf dem Esquilin wohl nicht erst nach dem Tod des Stifters katholisch wurde.⁴⁵

Zugleich zeigt die Inschrift aber auch ein weiteres Mal, wie Stiftungen durch ihre epigraphische Vermittlung auf den Papst bezogen werden. Der posthume Charakter dieser Stiftung mag es erleichtert haben, sie nicht als direkte Stiftung des Valila an die Kirche, sondern als durch den Papst vermittelt darzustellen: die Inschrift betont, Simplicius habe die Stiftung überhaupt erst bewirkt, auf ihn ist das Verb *devovit*, das die eigentliche Stiftung bezeichnet, bezogen, und hinter ihn trat Valila in jeder Hinsicht zurück.⁴⁶

Als Stiftungen höchster Militärs lassen diese Beispiele eine Einbindung der Stifter in die städtische Senatorenschicht oder überhaupt eine nähere Beziehung der Stifter zu Rom nicht erkennen. Wenn Mathisen feststellen wollte, daß ‚barbarians also participated in traditional senatorial euergetism‘, und daß sie damit ‚fulfilled the traditional civic roles expected of wealthy and influential Roman citizens‘,⁴⁷ so ist im Gegenteil festzuhalten, wie die gewachsene Bedeutung der *magistri militum*, besonders Ricimers, dazu führten, daß auch Kirchenstiftungen in Rom zu einem Element ihrer Selbstdarstellung werden konnten. So konnten hohe Militärs auch ihre Sorge um die Zivilbevölkerung und vielleicht mehr noch ihr Bemühen um ein gutes Verhältnis zur kirchlichen Hierarchie zur Schau stellen. Möglicherweise erklärt dieser Umstand auch, daß Valila keine ‚arianische‘ Kirche stiftete – jedenfalls trug er dazu bei, daß

seine Stiftung auch nach seinem Tod von Papst Simplicius ausgeführt wurde.⁴⁸

C.

Freilich sind daneben auch Stiftungsinschriften mit Angehörigen des alten Senatorenstandes überliefert. Einige von ihnen sind jedoch nicht als Euergeten, sondern als Beauftragte des Kaisers anzusehen:

9. Wohl für St. Anastasia⁴⁹ ist eine Inschrift des *praefectus urbi* der Jahre 400–02, Longinianus, überliefert: ‚Qui peccatorum sordes abolerere priorum | terrenis(ue) optas maculis absolvere vitam: | huc ades ad (Christ)i fontem sacrum(ue) liquorem, | corpus ubi ac mentes pariter sensus(ue) lavantur | aeternum(ue) datur casto baptisate munus. | Hanc autem fidei sedem construxit ab imo | militiae clarus titulis aulae(ue) fidelis | Romanae(ue) urbis p(rae)fectus Longinianus‘; der Stadtpräfekt war also für die Errichtung eines Baptisteriums zuständig gewesen.

Die Inschrift macht klar, daß Longinianus sie in seiner offiziellen Funktion setzen ließ.⁵⁰ Der zweite Satz nennt für Longinianus allein seine offizielle Tätigkeit und hebt seine im Staatsdienst erworbenen Titel (*militiae clarus titulis*) und seine Tätigkeit als Stadtpräfekt hervor. Die einzige Aussage über seinen Charakter, nämlich das Lob seiner Treue zum Kaiserhof (*aulaeque fidelis*), würde sogar einem Heiden gut anstehen, der im Amt eines Stadtpräfekten einen christlichen Kultbau zu beaufsichtigen hat.⁵¹ Als Zeugnis für senatorischen Euergetismus ist die Inschrift deshalb auszuscheiden.

10. Weniger klar ist die Situation im Fall des Stadtpräfekten Flavius Paulus, der im Jahr 438 amtierte. Ein 1849 in St. Paul vor den Mauern gefundenes Architekturfragment dürfte aufgrund seiner Maße (17 × 42 cm) und der Buchstabenhöhe von 4,5–6,5 cm zu einem kleineren Architekturelement oder einem Teil der liturgischen Ausstattung gehört haben – wenn die Inschrift nicht als Spolie ihren Weg in die Kirche fand. Sie lautet: ‚Flavius Paulus v(ir) i[n]l(ustrissimus) praef(ectus) urb(i) ... | [...] sacro(?) cum suis‘.⁵²

Es ist ungewiß, ob es sich um eine privat von Flavius Paulus finanzierte Stiftung handelte oder um dienstliche Bautätigkeiten des Stadtpräfekten; die Formulierung *cum suis* könnte auf eine private Stiftung verweisen. Immerhin hat Silvia Orlandi kürzlich zeigen können, daß Paulus im Jahr 438 umfangreiche Renovierungsarbeiten im Kolosseum veranlaßte, möglicherweise in Vorbereitung der Feierlichkeiten zur Volljährigkeit von Kaiser Valentinian III.⁵³ 438 traf Valentinian nach seiner Heirat mit Eudoxia aus Konstantinopel in Italien ein;⁵⁴ ab 440 residierte er wieder regelmäßig in Rom.⁵⁵ Bereits zuvor hatte Valentinian III. in den 30er Jahren in großem Umfang kaiserliche Stiftungen veranlaßt, und die neuere Forschung hat diese Bautätigkeiten sogar denjenigen Konstantins an die Seite gestellt.⁵⁶ Auch St. Paul vor den Mauern bedachte der Kaiser reich.⁵⁷

Die Inschrift des Flavius Paulus könnte sich also gut in den Zusammenhang dieser kaiserlichen Stiftungen und Bauaktivitäten des Stadtpräfekten einfügen. Doch auch wenn es sich um eine private Stiftung gehandelt hätte, so würde diese sich in den größeren Zusammenhang des kaiserlichen Baus von St. Paul vor den Mauern einfügen. Auf diese Weise würde es sich weniger um einen Akt der Euergesie als vielmehr um eine Loyalitätsbekundung gegenüber dem Kaiser handeln.

D.

Wenn die beiden Inschriften römischer Stadtpräfekten Nr. 9 und 10 also in einem Fall sicher, in einem Fall wahrscheinlich keine Beispiele für senatorischen Euergetismus sind, so sind schließlich jene wenigen Fälle zu besprechen, in denen Angehöriger senatorischer Familien als Stifter für die Kirche auftraten.

11. Im Querhaus der Lateransbasilika fanden Josi, Krautheimer und Corbett einen zylindrischen Block von ca. 65 cm Durchmesser und derselben Höhe. Umlaufend trägt er die Inschrift: ‚[Falconius Adelfius] † v(ir) c(larissimus) et inl(ustris) p(raefectus) u(rbi) pat(ricius) cons(ul) ord(inarius) et Italica inl(ustris) f(emina) [...]‘.⁵⁸ Krautheimer und Corbett deuteten ihn überzeugend als Reliquienaltar.

Die gemeinsame Nennung des Stadtpräfekten Faltonius Adelfius, der 451 den Konsulat bekleidete und wohl davor Stadtpräfekt gewesen war, und seiner Frau Anicia Italica machen klar, daß es sich um eine private Stiftung der beiden handelte. Aussehen und Größe der gemeinsamen Stiftung waren sehr moderat und knüpften gerade *nicht* an Traditionen ostentativer Zurschaustellung von Reichtum und Freigebigkeit an. Dabei mag der Wert der Stiftung durchaus beträchtlich gewesen sein, wenn sie vor allem in den Reliquien selbst und wohl auch in einem kostbaren Reliquienbehälter bestand, der nach der *depositio* den Augen der Gläubigen verborgen bleiben würde. Über die ursprüngliche Aufstellung des Altars läßt sich aufgrund der Fundsituation nichts sagen.

12. Zu ungefähr derselben Zeit dürfte eine Schale aus Pavonazetto geweiht worden sein, von deren Rand ein Fragment auf dem Palatin gefunden wurde. 88 cm breit und 44 cm hoch, trägt das Fragment die Inschrift: ‚† Fl(avius) Arbazac(ius) v(ir) i(nlustris) com(es) et pa[tric(ius) ...]‘.⁵⁹

Der Fundkontext ist unklar, zumal ein Fragment dieser Größe auch sekundär auf den Palatin verbracht worden sein könnte; auch ein Grabkontext ist denkbar.⁶⁰ Nimmt man eine Stiftung an, so hatte diese eher bescheidene Ausmaße. Der Stifter Arbazacius ist nicht zu identifizieren, zumal die Datierung der Inschrift zwischen dem (frühen) 5. und dem 6. Jahrhundert schwankt. Sein Name, der als isaurisch oder iranisch identifiziert wurde,⁶¹ und sein Titel als *comes* zeigen allerdings, daß seine Würde als *illustris* sich nicht der Mitgliedschaft im römischen Senat, sondern dem Dienst wohl im Militär verdankte; als senatorischer Stifter kann er also kaum gelten.

13. Auf weniger unsicherem Boden bewegen wir uns mit vergleichbaren Stiftungen aus der unterirdischen Basilica der Katakomben S. Alexander an der Via Numentana. Bei den Ausgrabungen wurde ein Altar entdeckt, dem mehrere Inschriften zuzurechnen sind.⁶² Auf zwei Basen finden sich die folgenden Stifterinschriften:⁶³ ‚Sanctorum | ornavit und Iunia Sabina | c(larissima) f(emina) eius | fecerunt‘; die

Angabe *femina eius* macht dabei klar, daß noch mindestens ein Stück fehlt, auf dem der Name des senatorischen Ehemannes angebracht war, der hier gemeinsam mit seiner Frau als Stifter auftrat.

Diese Architekturteile dürften zu dem Ziborium gehört haben, von dessen Transenne ein Fragment gefunden wurde, das eine zweite Inschrift trägt: ‚[Sanctis martyrib(us) Eventio] et Alexandro Delicatus voto posuit | dedi|can|te {a}e|pis|cop(o) | Urs[o]‘.⁶⁴ Naheliegend, aber keineswegs zwingend ist die Identifikation des Bischofs Ursus mit dem aus einem Brief des Papstes Innocentius (401-17) bekannten Bischof.⁶⁵

Anders als im Fall des Arbazacius in Nr. 12 kann hier ein Kontext der Stiftungstätigkeit erschlossen werden. Iunia Sabina und ihr Mann leisteten einen eher bescheidenen Beitrag zu einem Komplex der Heiligenverehrung, an dem ein anderer, *nicht* senatorischer Stifter einen höheren Beitrag geleistet haben dürfte. Denn seine Inschrift steht auf der Altartransenne, und seine Inschrift wurde auch durch die Nennung des weihenden Bischofs Ursus hervorgehoben.⁶⁶ Die wohl am Ort ansässige Familie von senatorischer Würde stiftete hier in einer italischen Landgemeinde vor den Toren der Stadt Rom, und sie fügte sich in den Zusammenhang lokaler Stifteraktivitäten ein.

E.

Nicht alle senatorischen Stiftungen hatten jedoch solch bescheidenen Ausmaße. Drei Fälle, die abschließend zu besprechen sind, bezeugen den beträchtlichen Anspruch ihrer Stifter, führen damit aber auch, wie sich zeigen wird, gerade von dem überkommenen Ideal senatorischer Eueresien fort.

14. Für S. Lorenzo in Damaso ist die Stiftung einer Senatorin überliefert: ‚Quisquis plena Deo mysteria mente riquiris, | huc accede, domus religiosa patet. | Haec sunt tecta pio semper devota timori, | auditumque Deus commodat hic precibus. | Ergo laetiferos propera conpscere sensus, | iam propera sacras laetus adire fores. | Ut transacta quaeas deponere crimina vitae, | et quicquid scelerum noxius error habet. | Attica

Felicis Magni clarissima coniunx | sumptibus hoc propriis aedificavit opus‘.⁶⁷ Die Stifterin wird als Frau des gallischen Aristokraten Felix Magnus identifiziert, der wohl 469 *Praefectus praetorio* des Westreiches war und vielleicht schon mit dem Kaiser Avitus aus Gallien nach Rom gekommen war.

Die Formulierung *aedificavit opus* läßt offen, was Attica in oder in der Nähe von der damasianischen Laurentius-Kirche stiftete; *aedificavit* dürfte aber vielleicht am ehesten mit einem Neubau (vielleicht einer kleinen Kapelle?) zu verbinden sein. Damit tritt die aus Gallien stammende Attica am ehesten in einem stifterischen Zusammenhang auf, der sich dem kaiserzeitlichen Modell des Euergetismus vergleichen läßt.

15. Das vielleicht bekannteste Beispiel für die Nennung eines senatorischen Stifters dürfte die Inschrift sein, in der der Papst Leo I. (440-51) an den Stifter des *titulus Pammachii* erinnerte. Die *vexata quaestio*, wie es sich mit der Stiftung dieser Titelkirche verhalte, ist hier nicht zu klären; die in der bisherigen Forschung dominierende Identifikation des Pammachius mit dem bekannten Briefpartner von Hieronymus und Paulinus von Nola ist in jüngster Zeit in Frage gezogen worden, ohne daß sich Sicherheit erreichen ließe.⁶⁸ In der Tat stehen dieser Identifikation Schwierigkeiten entgegen, bedenkt man, daß die Stiftungstätigkeit des Pammachius mehrfach von Zeitgenossen gelobt wurde, dabei aber von einer Kirchengründung keine Rede ist.⁶⁹

Daß eine Kirche des Johannes und des Paulus von einem Pammachius gestiftet worden sei, behauptet bereits die erwähnte, gerade in der Nennung ihres Autors lückenhafte Inschrift: ‚Antistes Domini [Leo] celsa sacra Christi | vestibulum decorat gratia pulchra loci | quae quia compta nitet primaque in fronte renidet | ostendit quantum numinis intus inest. | Quis tantas Christo venerandas condidit aedes, | si quaeris: cultor Pammachius fidei‘.⁷⁰ Hillner hat vorgeschlagen, in diesem Pammachius einen Presbyter zu erkennen. Der von ihr vorgeschlagene Kandidat, der von Augustinus erwähnt wird,⁷¹ ist jedoch mit dem Briefpartner des Hieronymus identisch und scheidet deshalb aus;⁷²

weitere zeitgenössische Träger des Namens sind nicht bekannt, so daß man mit der Einführung hypothetischer weiterer Pammachii zurückhaltend sein sollte. Die prominente Nennung des Pammachius als *conditor* der Kirche wird eher gegen seine Identifikation als Presbyter sprechen; damit gewinnt seine Identifikation mit dem Briefpartner des Hieronymus etwas mehr Gewicht.

Zwei Dinge darf man als gesichert festhalten. Zum einen ist Pammachius aus den Briefen des Hieronymus gerade als eine Ausnahmepersönlichkeit und als ein Mann bekannt, der die senatorischen Konventionen bis zum Punkt des wechselseitigen Verlachens brach; feierte die Inschrift Leos ihn also als Gründer der Kirche von Johannes und Paulus, dann feierte sie gerade keinen Protagonisten eines ungebrochenen senatorischen Euergetismus. Zum anderen hat auch Leo an diesem Bruch mit dem Ideal des senatorischen Euergetismus mitgewirkt, wenn er in seiner Inschrift die eigenen Verdienste weit vor diejenigen des Pammachius rückte. Ein weiteres Mal mußte hier ein (senatorischer?) Stifter hinter den Papst zurücktreten.

16. Ebenfalls im Pontifikat Leos stiftete Demetrias Amnia an der Via Latina die Kirche St. Stephan; an sie erinnert eine Versinschrift: ‚Cum mundum li[nqu]ens Dem[etri]as Amn[ia virgo] | cla[ud]eret extremum non morit[ur]a diem | [hae]c tibi pap[a] L[eo] votorum extrem[orum] | [trad]idit ut s[acr]ae surgeret aula d[omi]ni. | M[and]ati completa fides, sed glor[ia maior] | [al]terius votum [sol]vere quam propr[ium]. | In[ter]trat culmen Steph[anu]s qui primus in or[be] | [r]aptus mort[e] tr[an]siit regn[ant] in arc[e] poli. | [Prae]sulis ha[ec] nutu Tigrinus pr[es]byter instans | excolit ins[er]nis mente labo[re] fide‘.⁷³

Sie ist jüngst als Paradebeispiel für ‚the nature of aristocratic patronage‘ herangezogen worden.⁷⁴ Die Villa, auf deren Gelände St. Stephan errichtet wurde, gehörte mindestens seit dem frühen 4. Jahrhundert der Familie der Anicii, und ein früherer Angehöriger dieser *gens*, der Konsul des Jahres 325 Sex. Anicius Paulinus, wurde hier bestattet.⁷⁵ Die Einrichtung einer

Kirche an diesem Ort habe damit senatorische Traditionen des Totengedenkens fortgeführt.⁷⁶

In der zitierten Inschrift ist zunächst nicht die bischöfliche Kontrolle das Leitmotiv, sondern die Abwägung zwischen verschiedenen Verdiensten. Demetrias hat als letztes *votum* dem Papst den Wunsch übertragen, daß an dieser Stelle die *aula* einer *sacra domus* entstehen möge. Diesen Auftrag stilisiert die Inschrift als ein *mandatum*, dessen Verpflichtung nun eingelöst sei (*completa fides*) – und bis zu diesem Punkt folgt sie gewissermaßen der Logik der Stiftung. Mit dem Wort *sed* wird diese Logik dann jedoch umgedreht: nun ist der Ruhm des Papstes höher zu bewerten als derjenige der Stifterin, denn ein fremdes *votum* zu erfüllen gilt mehr als ein eigenes. Und nach der Anrufung des Heiligen – die Stifterin ist jetzt gewissermaßen ganz in den Hintergrund getreten – konstruiert die Inschrift die Rolle des Papstes neu: mit einem majestätischen Wink (*praesulis nutu*) hat er die Aktivität seines Presbyters veranlaßt.⁷⁷ Die Stifterin wird buchstäblich ihres Ruhmes entkleidet: unabhängig davon, ob Demetrias in den Kategorien senatorischen Euergetismus‘ geplant hatte, lief die Logik der Inschrift diesen Kategorien diametral entgegen.

Doch auch Demetrias selbst hatte sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon von ihren senatorischen Wurzeln entfernt.⁷⁸ Der an sie gerichtete Brief 130 des Hieronymus schildert ihre Konversion zu einem asketischen Leben: Von Kindesbeinen an christlich erzogen, war sie 410 vor den Westgoten nach Nordafrika ausgewichen, hatte sich dort zu monastischer Askese verpflichtet und ein Gelübde der Enthaltensamkeit abgelegt. Nach ihrer Rückkehr nach Rom wird sie zum Inbegriff asketischen Lebens und zur Adressatin wohlmeinender Briefe des Pelagius, Augustins und Prosperus von Aquitanien. Ähnlich wie im Fall des Pammachius war die soziale Rolle der Demetrias nicht in Fortführung bisheriger senatorischer Rollenbilder, sondern in klarer Abgrenzung von ihnen konstruiert.

Es zeigt sich, daß Stiftungen von (entfernteren) Angehörigen der Kaiserfamilie (Nr. 1–4, evtl. 5)

und von Angehörigen der höchsten Reichselite (Nr. 6–8), das Bild dominieren. Neben sie treten Bauten, die Stadtpräfekten während ihrer Amtszeit errichteten und die wahrscheinlich aus staatlichen Mitteln, sicher jedoch nicht in der Tradition des kaiserzeitlichen Euergetismus errichtet wurden (Nr. 9 und wahrscheinlich 10); eine Stiftung ist einem hochrangigen Militär zuzuschreiben, den man trotz seines Rangtitels nicht als römischen Senator bezeichnen sollte (12). Wenn damit II von 16 Stiftungen der profanen Eliten nicht dem Senatorenstand zuzuschreiben sind, so ist dieser Befund zwar nicht als statistische Größe relevant. Wichtig ist es aber festzuhalten, daß andere Faktoren als die Zugehörigkeit zum Senatorenstand und die Fortführung älterer euergetischer Traditionen entscheidend waren: die kaiserliche Stiftungstätigkeit, die sich direkt (über kaiserliche Amtsträger) oder indirekt (über Personen, die sich familiär oder aufgrund ihrer Machtposition dem Kaiser nah oder vergleichbar fühlten) auswirkte – oder, im Fall 12, die Abstammung des Dedikanten aus provinziellen Familien, die in ihren Heimatstädten, zumal im Osten des Reiches, an den euergetischen Traditionen der Kaiserzeit festhielten. In ähnlicher Weise könnte die Senatorin Attica, die aus Gallien stammte, die Haltung dortiger Aristokraten als Stifter der Kirche mitgebracht haben, als sie ihre römische Stiftung (14) unternahm.

In den beiden Fällen jedoch, in denen römische Senatoren tatsächlich als Stifter von Kirchen auftreten (15 und 16), handelte es sich bemerkenswerterweise um Außenseiter, die mit ihrer Konversion zum Christentum die Hinwendung zu einem asketischen Leben verbanden und die im Verzicht auf weltliche Güter und in der – teils schon zu Lebzeiten vorgenommenen, teils testamentarischen – Stiftung dieser Güter gerade ein Ende senatorischer Traditionen inszenierten. Wie sich am Beispiel des Pammachius zeigte, ist diese Abkehr auch von den Zeitgenossen durchaus als eine solche wahrgenommen worden. Einzig die Stiftungen von Faltonius Adelfius und Anicia Italica (11), über deren Hintergrund zu wenig bekannt ist, und der Iunia Sabina (13) lassen sich vielleicht in den Kategorien des traditionellen Euergetismus beschreiben. Doch gerade wenn Iunia Sabina gemeinsam mit anderen die

Ausgestaltung einer Kapelle übernahm, dann erinnert dieses Verhalten an die gemeinschaftlich finanzierte Ausgestaltung von Kirchen, die in Italien und in den Provinzen gut belegt ist. Und erkennbar verband sich im Fall der Iunia Sabina mit dem senatorischen Rangtitel einer *clarissima femina* kein entsprechendes Vermögen, war die Familie anscheinend auf den Status der lokalen Elite von Numentum herabgesunken, mit der sie gemeinsam die Stiftung finanzierte.

Wenn also die wohlhabenden senatorischen Familien Roms in den epigraphisch überlieferten Stiftungen kaum auftauchen, so sind dafür verschiedene Gründe denkbar. Daß spätantike Senatoren ihre Statusrepräsentation zu großen Teilen in den halb-privaten Raum ihrer Residenzen verlegten, ist ein bekanntes Phänomen. Darüber hinaus darf man im Zweifel sein, ob diese Senatoren sich als die *lokale Elite der Stadt Rom* empfanden und nicht als eine Reichselite, die sich eher in den verschiedenen Städten des Reiches und auf ihren Landgütern als Stifter betätigte. Eine senatorische Stiftungstätigkeit in der Stadt Rom war in den Jahrhunderten der Kaiserzeit schon lang an ihr Ende gekommen, und die neuen Bedingungen der Christianisierung des römischen Stadtbildes änderten daran nichts.

Schließlich trat hier sehr rasch der Bischof als beherrschende Persönlichkeit auf: In der Stiftung des Marinianus wird Papst Leo als Anreger der Stiftung genannt, in no. 5 trat der Papst als Vollstrecker der Stiftung von Severus und Cassia in den Vordergrund. Dasselbe Vorgehen ist in den testamentarischen Stiftungen 8 und 16 zu beobachten, die beide in den Dienst einer Statuserhöhung des Papstes gestellt werden; im Fall der Stiftung 1 hört man aus der Formulierung *munus ut grate sumat divina potestas | efficiet Petrus regia claustra tenens* vielleicht ein fernes Echo dieser Vorstellung heraus. In der Stiftung 2 wird Damasus als Errichter des Baptisteriums genannt, die eigene Stiftung also der päpstlichen neben- wenn nicht untergeordnet, wie umgekehrt in 15 eine päpstliche Stiftung den Anlaß bietet, den *conditor* der Kirche zu erwähnen. Ganz ähnlich wie bei den Inschriften römischer Presbyter läßt sich also auch bei den Stiftungen von Laien mit Rafaella Giuliani eine ‚preoccupazione di certificare il suggello, l'imprimatur, dell'autorità papale‘ beobachten.⁷⁹

Damit waren die Stiftungsinschriften römischer Kirchen aber für anspruchsvolle Senatoren, die als Euergeten hätten auftreten wollen, schlichtweg unattraktiv – und es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, daß die beiden Kirchstiftungen, die römischen Senatoren verdankt werden (15, 16), posthum auf Inschriften erinnert wurden; in mindestens einem Fall war auch die Stiftung testamentarisch erfolgt, in dem anderen ist das nicht auszuschließen. Im fünften Jahrhundert war das Selbstbewußtsein und der Anspruch, mit dem die Päpste auftraten, nur noch mit dem Kaiser zu vergleichen. So verglich Papst Hilarus seine Renovierungsarbeiten am Lateransbaptisterium ausdrücklich mit dem Bau der Trajanssäule⁸⁰ – und trat damit neben den wohl prominenteste ‚Idealkaiser‘ in den Augen der Spätantike.⁸¹ Das Bemühen der römischen Bischöfe, die Stiftungstätigkeit in der Stadt an sich zu ziehen, tritt auch im *Liber pontificalis* hervor, dessen Abfassungszeit genau am Ende der hier besprochenen Entwicklung steht: Für beinahe jeden Bischof von Silvester bis Johannes II. wird formelhaft die jeweilige Bautätigkeit festgehalten.⁸² Dabei tritt regelmäßig der Bischof *allein* als Verantwortlicher auf; auch zwischen päpstlichen Renovierungen oder Neustiftungen wird nicht immer klar getrennt. Fragen der Finanzierung und mehr noch Zeugnisse privater Stiftertätigkeit spielen im *Liber pontificalis* eine völlig untergeordnete Rolle, und im Fall von St. Andreas wird die Stiftungstätigkeit des Valila schweigend übergangen.⁸³ Damit war das Feld abgesteckt, auf dem Senatoren allenfalls unter, aber eben nicht neben der Kirche als Stifter hätten auftreten können. In der Kirche war an die Stelle einer städtischen Plebs, die Empfängerin und Gegenüber eines Euergeten hätte sein können, die *plebs Dei* getreten, deren natürlicher *antistes* der römische Bischof war. Die Situation der Kaiserzeit mit ihrer dominierenden Stellung des Kaisers hatte sich aus der Perspektive der Senatoren gewissermaßen wiederholt.

Diese Beobachtungen sind nicht nur für die Sozialgeschichte des römischen Senatorenstandes interessant: für ihn beleuchten sie ein weiteres Mal den Umstand, daß die Senatoren Roms eben nicht als stadtrömische Elite, gewissermaßen als die ‚Munizipalaristokratie‘ der *Urbs Roma* verstanden werden dürfen. Im Gegenteil stand den Päpsten bis an den Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts anscheinend keine solche dezidiert lokale Elite gegenüber, die den Ansprüchen der Päpste auf Führerschaft der stadtrömischen Plebs entgegengetreten wäre.

Die hier vorgestellten Überlegungen könnten aber zugleich auch zum Verständnis der römischen Kirchenbauten und ihrer Ausstattung beitragen. Denn mit der umfangreichen Stiftungstätigkeit lokaler Eliten in den Städten des Reiches ging auch eine Vielfalt der gewählten Ikonographien einher: das Fortleben heidnischer Motive oder deren christliche Umdeutung, die Einfügung von Stifterporträts in Mosaikböden.⁸⁴ Auch wenn der fast vollständige Verlust spätrömischer Mosaikfußböden in Rom zu Vorsicht mahnt – und die Bilderwelt der Katakomben zeigt, daß dort, unter ganz anderen Bedingungen, eine entsprechende ikonographische Vielfalt durchaus noch zu beobachten war –, wird man doch die Frage stellen dürfen, inwieweit die päpstliche Dominanz über das römische Stiftungswesen dazu beigetragen hat, Bildprogramm und Ausstattung der Kirchen auf ihr hohes intellektuelles Niveau zu bringen und zu Medien differenzierter theologischer Auseinandersetzung zu machen: konnten hier anfangs noch – wie im Fall Konstantins – kaiserliche Stiftungen mit ihren Idiosynkrasien Einfluß entfalten, so erlangte der Papst in Rom bald das faktische Monopol auf solche Bildprogramme, so daß vielleicht nicht finanziell, aber wohl doch konzeptionell gelten kann: ‚da quel momento in poi il papa sarebbe stato sempre l’unico committente per tutte le categorie di chiese‘.⁸⁵

Notes

- 1 Jochen Martin: *Der Weg zur Ewigkeit führt über Rom*. Stuttgart 2010; Rainer Warland: The Concept of Rome in Late Antiquity Reflected in the Mosaics of the Triumphal Arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. In: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 17 (2003), S. 127–41.
- 2 Charles Pietri: *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, Rom 1976, Bd. 1, S. 559, vgl. ebd. S. 567–69; leicht modifiziert in: Aristocratie et société cléricale dans l'Italie chrétienne au temps d'Octave et de Théodoric. In: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 93 (1981), S. 417–67, wo S. 426–27. ein Abebben dieser Stiftungstätigkeit bereits in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts konstatiert wird; vgl. ferner Charles Pietri: Évergétisme et richesses ecclésiastiques dans l'Italie du IV^e à la fin du V^e s. L'exemple romain. In: *Ktèma* 3 (1978), S. 317–37.
- 3 Vgl. etwa Yvette Duval und Luce Pietri: Évergétisme et épigraphie dans l'occident chrétien (IV^e–VI^e). In: *Actes du x^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes 4–9 octobre 1992*. Hg. von Michel Christol und Olivier Masson. Paris 1997, S. 371–96; Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai: Il ruolo dell'evergetismo aristocratico nella costruzione degli edifici di culto cristiani nell'hinterland di Roma. In: *Archeologia e società tra tardo antico e alto Medioevo. 12. Seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo, Padova, 29 settembre – 1 ottobre 2005*, Hg. von Gian Pietro Brogiolo und Alexandra Chavarria Arnau. Mantua 2007, S. 107–26. Wichtige Einwände macht Luce Pietri: Évergetisme chrétien et fondations privées dans l'Italie de l'antiquité tardive. In: *Humana sapit. Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*. Hg. von Jean-Michel Carrié. Turnhout 2002, S. 253–63 geltend, die eine wachsende Kontrolle des Bischofs und ein Ausweichen privater Stifter auf Oratorien, Klöster oder xenodochien feststellt.
- 4 Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai: Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal III al VI secolo. In: *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*. Hg. von Ivan Di Stefano Manzella. Vatikanstadt 1997, S. 121–41. Vgl. jedoch die Einwände bei Beat Brenk: Patronage. Imperiale, cristiano, pagano, privato. Dal contesto al significato. In: *Imperial art as Christian art, Christian art as imperial art: expression and meaning in art and architecture from Constantine to Justinian* (= *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 15 (2001)), S. 149–62, sowie Stefan Rebenich: Wohltäter und Heilige. Von der heidnischen zur christlichen Patronage. In: *Epochenwandel? Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*. Hg. von Franz Alto Bauer und Norbert Zimmermann. Mainz 2001, S. 27–35.
- 5 Carlos Machado: Roman Aristocrats and the Christianization of Rome. In: *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire. The Breaking of a Dialogue*. Hg. von Peter R. L. Brown. Wien 2011, S. 493–516. Differenzierter geht Steffen Diefenbach: *Römische Erinnerungsräume*. Berlin, New York 2007, vor, der zwar S. 330 von einer Kontinuität senatorischen Euergetismus' im spätantiken Rom ausgeht, allerdings S. 510–21 dessen gewandelte Semiotik aufweist.
- 6 Paul Veyne: *Le pain et le cirque*. Paris 1976, S. 20–29.
- 7 Jean-Pierre Caillet: *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV^e–VI^e s.)*. Rom 1993.
- 8 Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai: Evergetismo ecclesiastico e laico nelle iscrizioni paleocristiane del Lazio. In: *Historiam pictura refert. Miscellanea in onore di padre Alejandro Recio Veganzones OFM*. Vatikanstadt 1994, S. 237–52.
- 9 Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee: Donors of Early Church Floor-Mosaics in Northern Italy and Dalmatia. In: *Festoen opgedragen aan A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij haar zeventigste verjaardag*. Groningen 1976, S. 577–87; Ville Vuolanto: Male and Female Euergetism in Late Antiquity. In: *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*. Hg. von Päivi Setälä [u.a.]. Rom 2002, S. 271–302.
- 10 Kara Hattersley-Smith: The Early Christian Churches of Macedonia and their Patrons. In: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21 (1995), S. 229–34.
- 11 Rudolf Haensch: Le financement de la construction des églises pendant l'Antiquité tardive et l'évergétisme antique. In: *Antiquité tardive* 14 (2006), S. 47–58; Jean-Pierre Caillet: L'évergétisme monumental chrétien dans la Jordanie de la fin de l'antiquité. In: *Les églises de Jordanie et leurs mosaïques. Actes de la journée d'études [...] à Lyon en avril 1989*. Hg. von Noël Duval. Beirut 2003, S. 297–301; Yannis Augier: Le financement de la construction et de l'embellissement des sanctuaires de Syrie du sud et d'Arabie aux époques hellénistique et romaine. In: *Topoi (Lyon)* 9 (1999), S. 741–76; Basema Hamarneh: Evergetismo ecclesiastico e laico nella Giordania bizantina ed ommayade nel V–VIII secolo. Testimonianze epigrafiche. In: *Vetera Christianorum* 33 (1996), S. 57–75. Vgl. ferner Jean-Pierre Caillet: Les dédicaces privées de pavements de mosaïque à la fin de l'Antiquité. In: *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*. Hg. von Xavier Barral i Altet. 3 Bde. Paris 1986–90, Bd. II (1987), S. 15–36; ders.: L'évergétisme chrétien et l'épigraphie en Afrique du Nord. In: *Committenza e committenti tra antichità e alto medioevo. Homenatge a F. Giunta*. Barcelona 1996, S. 73–82.
- 12 Christoph Begass: Φιλοκτιστης. Ein Beitrag zum spätantiken Euergetismus. In: *Chiron* 44 (2014), S. 165–89.
- 13 Rudolf Haensch: Christlicher Euergetismus ob honorem? Die Einsetzung von Klerikern in ihre Ämter und die von diesen vorangetriebenen Bauprojekte. In: *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*. Hg. von Johan

- Leemans und Peter van Nuffelen. Berlin, New York 2011, S. 167–82.
- 14 Zur neuen Bedeutung der Interzession der Armen bei Gott zugunsten reicher Stifter, die damit in ein Tauschverhältnis treten, vgl. Claire Sotinel: *Le don chrétien et ses retombées sur l'économie dans l'Antiquité tardive*. In: *Antiquité tardive* 14 (2006), S. 105–16 und Peter R. L. Brown: *From Civic Euergetism to Christian Giving*. In: *Religiöser Alltag in der Spätantike*. Hg. von Peter Eich und Eike Faber. Stuttgart 2013, S. 23–30, sowie dens.: *Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*. Princeton 2013.
- 15 Ralf Behrwald: *Die Stadt als Museum?* Berlin 2009, S. 134–44.
- 16 Vgl. Paul Zanker: *Der Kaiser baut fürs Volk*. Opladen 1997.
- 17 Zusammenstellungen: Bryan Ward-Perkins: *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. Oxford 1984, S. 239–41 und Julia Hillner: *Clerics, Property and Patronage. The Case of the Roman Titular Churches*. In: *Antiquité tardive* 14 (2006), S. 59–68, 59, Anm. 1. Vgl. ferner die (nicht auf Vollständigkeit angelegten) Listen bei Heike Niquet: *Monumenta virtutum titulique*. Stuttgart 2000, S. 184 und 207. Auch die Behandlung bei Behrwald, *Die Stadt*, S. 144, hebt zwar die geringe Zahl senatorischer Stiftungen hervor, akzeptiert aber die in der Literatur angeführten Beispiele noch zu unkritisch. Dieser Fehler soll im folgenden korrigiert werden. Eine eingehendere Diskussion aller Beispiele soll an anderer Stelle vorgelegt werden.
- 18 Mit dieser Beschränkung auf die inschriftlich dokumentierten Beispiele bleiben die römischen Titulkirchen beinahe völlig unberücksichtigt. Freilich werfen sie ganz eigene Probleme auf, weil einerseits die Geschichten ihrer Stiftung fast ausschließlich spätere Legenden sind oder überhaupt nur aus dem Namen der betreffenden Titulkirche erschlossen werden, mithin also weitgehend hypothetisch bleiben müssen.
- 19 Paolo Liverani: *La topografia antica del Vaticano*. Vatikanstadt 1999, S. 144–48, Fabrizio Paolucci: *La tomba dell'imperatrice Maria e altre sepolture di rango in età tardoantica a San Pietro*. In: *Temporis signa* 3 (2008), S. 225–52; Machado, *Roman Aristocrats*, S. 493–516, 508–13 und zuletzt Alan Thacker: *Popes, Emperors and Clergy at Old St Peter's from the Fourth to the Eighth Century*. In: *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*. Hg. von Rosamond McKitterick [u.a.]. Cambridge 2013, S. 137–56, hier S. 142–44 (dort auch zu den weiteren Mausoleen an der Nordseite von St. Peter, die der Alphanani-Plan von 1582 zeigt, von denen aber keine Spuren erhalten sind).
- 20 Machado, *Roman Aristocrats*, S. 509.
- 21 *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (hinfort *ICUR*). Hg. von Giovanni Battista De Rossi. Rom 1857–88, Bd. II.1 (1888), S. 148, Nr. 15 = *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series* (hinfort *ICURns*). Hg. von Angelo Silvagni. Rom 1922–, Bd. II (1935) 4122, zuletzt ediert von Heike Niquet als *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (hinfort *CIL*). Berolini [u.a.] 1863–, Bd. VI.8.3 (1975), 41336a (dort auch zur Datierung).
- 22 Angelo Silvagni: *Intorno ad un gruppo di iscrizioni del IV e V secolo appartenenti alla Basilica Vaticana*. In: *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 57 (1929), S. 135–47, der auf Vorarbeiten von Louis Duchesne: *Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age*, III: *Sainte-Anastasie*. In: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 7, Heft 1 (1887), S. 387–413, neu in ders.: *Scripta minora*. Rom 1973, S. 45–71 aufbaute; François Chausson: *Une sœur de Constantin. Anastasia*. In: *Humana sapit. Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*. Hg. von Jean-Michel Carrié. Turnhout 2002, S. 131–55, hier S. 146–48. Diese prosopographischen Verbindungen sind Mark Humphries: *Valentinian III and the City of Rome (425–55)*. In: *Two Romes. From Rome to Constantinople*. Hg. von Lucy Grig und Gavin Kelly. Oxford, New York 2012, S. 161–82 entgangen, so daß er die Inschrift – entgegen ihrem Erscheinungsbild – in das 5. Jahrhundert datiert und auf die hier als Nr. 3 diskutierte bezieht.
- 23 Julian, *Epistula ad senatum populumque Atheniorum*, 272d.
- 24 Chausson, *Une sœur*, S. 150–51.
- 25 *ICURns* II 4097 = *Epigrammata Damasiana*. Hg. von Antonio Ferrua. Rom 1942 (Sussidi allo studio delle antichità Cristiana 2), 4.1 = *CIL* VI.8.3 41331a; vgl. zuletzt Dennis Trout: *Damasus of Rome. The Epigraphic Poetry*. Oxford 2015, S. 87.
- 26 Vgl. Sible de Blaauw: *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*. 2 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1994, Bd. II, S. 487–88; Markus Löx: *Monumenta sanctorum. Rom und Mailand als Zentren des frühen Christentums*. Wiesbaden 2013, S. 68–70 und Olof Brandt: *The Early Christian Baptistery of St Peter's*. In: *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, Hg. von Rosamond McKitterick [u.a.]. Cambridge 2013, S. 81–94.
- 27 Chausson, *Une sœur*, S. 147, Anm. 68.
- 28 *Liber pontificalis* (hereafter *LP*), XLVII, c. 6.
- 29 *ICURns* II 4102 = *CIL* VI.8.3 41397a.
- 30 Chausson, *Une sœur*, S. 147, Anm. 69 und Stemma, S. 146.
- 31 *ICURns* II 4125 = *CIL* VI.8.3 41400.
- 32 Jill Harries, *The Empresses' Tale*, AD 300–60. In: *Being Christian in Late Antiquity. A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*. Hg. von Carol Harrison [u.a.]. Oxford 2014, S. 197–214.
- 33 Humphries, *Valentinian III*, S. 174.
- 34 *ICUR* II.1 25, S. 24 und 18, S. 150 = *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (hinfort *ILCV*). 3 Bde. Hg. von Ernst Diehl. Berlin 1924–31, Bd. I (1924), 1782; vgl. Danilo Mazzoleni: *Osservazioni su alcune epigrafi basilicali romane*. In: *Ecclesiae urbis. Atti del congresso*

- internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo), Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000.* Hg. von Federico Guidobaldi und Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi. Vatikanstadt 2002, Bd. I, S. 265–80, hier S. 278–79.
- 35 Gerold Walser: *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom (Codex Einsidlensis 326)*. Stuttgart 1987, S. 82–84, Nr. 23. Zu Libius Severus, vgl. *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (hinf. PLRE). 3 Bde. Hg. von John R. Martindale [u.a.]. Cambridge 1971–92, Bd. II (1980), Severus 18, S. 1004f.; eine Ehefrau Cassia ist für ihn anderweitig nicht belegt. In *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*. Bd. II: *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)* (hinf. PCBE Italie). 2 Bde. Hg. von Charles Pietri [u.a.]. Paris 1999–2000, Bd. II (2000), S. 2057, wird allgemein eine Identifikation mit einem der Senatoren der Zeit, vielleicht dem Konsul von 470 (PLRE, II Severus 19, S. 1005–06), vorgeschlagen.
- 36 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 116.
- 37 Timo Stickler: *Aëtius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Heermeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich*. München 2002, S. 36–37. Vgl. zuletzt Marcin Pawlak: Some Remarks on Flavius Felix's Domination at the Ravenna Court (425–30). In: *Society and Religions. Studies in Greek and Roman History*. Hg. von Danuta Musiał. Torn 2005, S. 123–42.
- 38 ICUR II.1, S. 438, Nr. 127 = ILCV I 1637; vgl. zuletzt die überzeugende Diskussion von Silvia Orlandi: L'iscrizione di Flavius Ricimer in S. Agata dei Goti a Roma. In: *Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo. Filologia, Storia, Archeologia, Arte*. Hg. von Marcello Rotili. Neapel 2009, S. 215–23.
- 39 Friedrich Anders: *Flavius Ricimer*. Frankfurt am Main [u.a.] 2010; vgl. John M. O'Flynn: *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire*. Edmonton 1983, S. 104–28: Ricimer habe sich faktisch an die Stelle des Kaisers setzen wollen.
- 40 ICUR II.1, S. 461, Nr. 115 = CIL VI.8.3 41402; vgl. zuletzt Mazzoleni, *Osservazioni*, S. 265–80, bes. 267, gegen Margherita Maria Cecchelli: Valilae o valide? L'iscrizione di S. Andrea al Esquilino. In: *Romanobarbarica* 11 (1991), S. 61–78.
- 41 Zu ihm vgl. Silvia Orlandi: *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'occidente romano*. Rom 2004, Bd. VI: *Roma*, S. 513–16.
- 42 Herman Geertman: L'arredo dell'ecclesia Cornutiensis. Annotazioni intorno alla donazione di Flavius Valila (471). In: *Marmoribus vestita. Miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi*. Hg. von Olof Brandt und Philippe Pergola. Vatikanstadt 2011, S. 599–611. Zu Zweifeln an der Authentizität vgl. zuletzt Daniela de Francesco: *La proprietà fondiaria nel Lazio. Secoli IV–VIII*. Rom 2004, S. 99–101.
- 43 Helmut Castritius: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Heermeister des Westreiches. Flavius Valila qui et Theodovius, *Ancient Society* 3 (1972), S. 233–43.
- 44 Neu editiert von Mazzoleni, *Osservazioni*, S. 267–78.
- 45 Anders Umberto Roberto: Il terzo sacco di Roma e il destino dell'Occidente (luglio 472). In: *La trasformazione del mondo romano e le grandi migrazioni*. Hg. von Carlo Ebanista und Marcello Rotili. San Vitaliciano 2012, S. 9–18; vgl. auch dens.: Strategie di integrazione e lotta politica a Roma alla fine dell'impero. La carriera di Fl. Valila tra Ricimero e Odoacre. In: *Xenia. Studi in onore di Lia Marino*. Hg. von Cusumano und Daniela Motta. Caltanissetta, Rom 2013, S. 247–61, bes. S. 254–58 und Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume*, S. 251, Anm. 129.
- 46 Einen weitreichenden Einfluß des Valila auf die Ausgestaltung seiner Stiftung vermutet Gregor Kalas: Architecture and Elite Identity in Late Antique Rome. Appropriating the Past at Sant'Andrea Catabarbara. In: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 81 (2013), S. 279–302, hier S. 292–96; ähnlich Julia Hillner: Families, Patronage and the Titular Churches of Rome, c. 300–c. 600. In: *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome 300–900*. Hg. von Kate Cooper und Julia Hillner. Cambridge 2007, S. 225–61, hier S. 259. In diesem Fall wäre die Diskrepanz zwischen tatsächlichem Stiftungsgeschehen und Darstellung der Inschrift besonders frappant. Der *Liber pontificalis* hat keinerlei Erinnerung an den *magister militum* Valila bewahrt. Von Papst Simplicius heißt es LP XLVIII, c. 1, umstandslos: ‚Hic dedicavit basilicam sancti Stephani in Celio monte, in urbe Roma, et basilicam beati apostoli Andreae, iuxta basilicam sanctae Mariae‘.
- 47 Ralph W. Mathisen: Becoming Roman, Becoming Barbarian. Roman Citizenship and the Assimilation of Barbarians into the Late Roman World. In: *Migration and Membership Regimes in Global and Historical Perspective*. Hg. von Ulbe Bosma [u.a.]. Leiden 2013, S. 191–217, hier S. 210; ebenso bereits ders.: Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani. Concepts of Citizenship and the Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire. In: *American Historical Review* 111, Heft 4 (2006), S. 1011–40, hier S. 1034–35.
- 48 Auch für Ricimers Gründung stellt sich die Frage, ob sie wirklich als ‚arianisch‘ identifiziert werden kann. Nach Friedrich Anders: *Flavius Ricimer*. Frankfurt am Main [u.a.] 2010, S. 317–18. könnte Ricimer auch katholisch gewesen sein. Seine Kirche wird erst von Gregor der Große, über 100 Jahre nach ihrer Stiftung, als *Arrianorum ecclesia* (*Dialogi*, III, 30) bezeichnet. In seinen Briefen (*Epistulae*, IV, 19) schreibt Gregor, die Kirche sei ‚temporibus [...] Gothorum‘ häretisch gewesen, was auf die Zeit der ostgotischen Herrschaft deuten könnte. Möglicherweise findet sich ein Hinweis auf diese Frage in der Apsisdekoration der Kirche, deren Ikonographie zuletzt Bryan Ward-Perkins: Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism? In: *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*. Hg. von Susanne Bangert und David M. Gwynn. Leiden, Boston, Cologne 2010, S. 265–92, hier S. 275–76. besprochen hat. In ihr fand

- sich neben der Inschrift des Ricimer noch die Bezeichnung des in der Apsis dargestellten Christus als ‚salus totius generis humani‘ fand (Mazzoleni, Osservazioni, S. 273). Wenn dieselbe Formulierung wenig später von Simplicius in der Apsis von S. Andrea zitiert wurde, könnte das darauf hindeuten, daß auch die Kirche des Ricimer zur Zeit des Simplicius als eine katholische Kirche galt; die unproblematische Aufnahme dieser Beischrift in St. Andreas spricht auch gegen die Theorie von Ralph W. Mathisen: Ricimer's Church in Rome. How an Arian Barbarian Prospered in a Nicene World. In: *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*. Hg. von Andrew Cain und Noel Lenski. Farnham, Burlington 2009, S. 307–26, hier S. 320–25, sie habe nicht Christus, sondern – in beispielloser Selbsterhöhung – Ricimer selbst gegolten (zur konfessionellen Neutralität des Apsisprogramms. Ebd., S. 311–16).
- 49 Zweifel äußerte De Rossi in: *ICUR* II, S. 150; ihm folgt Richard Krautheimer [u.a.]: *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Cent.)*. 5 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1937–77, Bd. I (1937), S. 44, Anm. 2. Vgl. ferner Margherita Maria Cecchelli: Anastasia. In: *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. 6 Bde. Hg. von Eva M. Steinby. Rome 1993–2000, Bd. I (1993), S. 37–38. und den Kommentar von Manfred Schmidt in: *CIL* VI.8.3 41379 sowie Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, I, S. 490 mit Anm. 2, der selbst unentschieden bleibt.
- 50 Anders Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, I, S. 490, der irrig von einer ‚construction d'un baptistère à Ste-Anastasia aux frais d'un ancien préfet‘ spricht; korrekt *PLRE* II, S. 687.
- 51 Eine Identifikation mit dem Longinus, der mit Augustinus korrespondierte und in den Briefen als Heide begegnet (Augustin, *Epistulae*, 233–35), erwägt *PLRE* II, S. 687.
- 52 *CIL* VI 1726; etwas anders bei Silvagni in *ICURns* II 4781, wo in der zweiten Zeile ‚[Paulo a]p[osto]lo cum suis [obtulit]‘ vorgeschlagen wird (doch vgl. die Einwände von Heike Niquet in *CIL* VI.8.3, S. 4744).
- 53 Silvia Orlandi: Il Colosseo nel V secolo. In: *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*. Hg. von William Vernon Harris. Portsmouth 1999, S. 249–63, hier S. 259–60.
- 54 Otto Seeck: *Die Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.* Frankfurt am Main 1964 [zuerst Stuttgart 1919], S. 366–68.
- 55 Andrew Gillett: Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors. In: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001), S. 131–67.
- 56 Humphries, Valentinian III, S. 161–82.
- 57 *LP* XLVI, c. 5. Die Inschrift des Flavius Paulus läßt an eine Säule denken, die in St. Paul im Jahr 390 errichtet wurde und deren Inschrift die kaiserliche Stiftung und die Bauaufsicht durch zwei Amtsträger festhielt (*ICURns* II 4778c mit den neuen Ergänzungen von Giorgio Filippi. In: *Pietro e Paolo. La storia, il culto, la memoria*. Hg. von Angela Donati. Mailand 2000, S. 228–29; ‚Columna Paul(i) a[postol(i)] natale X[III] Kal(endas) Dec(embres) consulatu d(omini) n(ostri) Valentin[i]ani Aug(usti) IIII et Neoteri v(iri) c(larissimi), administrante Fl(avio) Filippo vir[o clarissimo [...], curato]re Fl(avio) Anastasio [v(iro) c(larissimo) t]rib(uno) praetoria[no]‘.
- 58 Enrico Josi, Richard Krautheimer, Spencer Corbett: Note Lateranensi. In: *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 33 (1957), S. 79–98, hier S. 95–98 (Photo S. 96, Abb. 11) (= *L'Année Epigraphique* 1959, 237); *CIL* VI.8.3 41392. Zu den Stiftern vgl. zuletzt Maria Grazia Gragnino Cecere in: Archer Martin [u.a.]: *The Urbanistic Project on the Previously Unexcavated Areas of Ostia (DAI-AAR 1996–2001)*. In: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 47 (2002), S. 259–304, hier S. 295–99.
- 59 *CIL* VI 31978 (*ILCV* I 199a) = *CIL* VI 41406. Die Inschrift wird in *PLRE* II, S. 128 auf das 5.–6. Jahrhundert datiert, in *CIL* VI 41406 in das 5. Jahrhundert. Der Stifter ist ansonsten nicht bekannt.
- 60 Annarena Ambrogii: *Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati*. Rom 2005, S. 260, Nr. L 63.
- 61 *PLRE* II Arbazacius 2; zum Namen vgl. Ferdinand Justi: *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg 1895, S. 23.
- 62 Der Komplex wird knapp besprochen bei John Crook: *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–1200*. Oxford 2000, S. 41–44.
- 63 *ILCV* I 172 und 1989, gemeinsam ediert als *ICURns* VIII 22959.
- 64 *ILCV* I 1923 = *ICURns* VIII 22958.
- 65 *PCBE Italie* II, S. 2360.
- 66 Sein Name begegnet in der Basilica, zu der der Altar gehörte, noch einmal in der Bauinschrift *ICURns* VIII 22962.
- 67 *ICUR* II.1, S. 151, Nr. 25. Zur Datierung des Textes vgl. Dirk Henning: *Periclitans res publica*. Stuttgart 1999, S. 122–23 mit Anm. 29.
- 68 Julia Hillner: Clerics, Property and Patronage. The Case of the Roman Titular Churches. In: *Antiquité tardive* 14 (2006), S. 59–68, hier S. 62–63; vgl. Hillner, Families, S. 241. Hillner nimmt für diese wie für andere römische Titularkirchen die Benennung nach einem römischen Presbyter an; ähnliche bereits Beat Brenk: *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt*. Wiesbaden 2003, S. 82–112 und Thomas Krönung: *Vom Privathaus zum ‚locus sacer‘* [Diss. Jena 2008], S. 52–54 geäußert. An der Identifikation mit dem Briefpartner des Hieronymus hält dagegen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume*, S. 355–57 fest.
- 69 Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, 48, 49, 57, 66, 77, 83, 97, 118; Paulinus von Nola, *Epistulae*, 13; eine Kirchengründung erwähnt auch Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 62 nicht, der nach dem Tode des Pammachius schreibt. – Die pseudo-damasianische Inschrift, die bei Antonio Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*. Vatikanstadt 1942, S. 229–30 als Nr. 61 aufgenommen ist, kann zu dieser Diskussion wohl nichts beitragen, vgl. ebd., S. 230).

- 70 *ICUR* II.1, S. 150, Nr. 20. Die Inschrift wird freilich nicht wegen der Förderung des Kultes von Johannes und Paul durch Leo I. auf dessen Namen ergänzt (so Hillner, *Clerics, Property and Patronage*, S. 62), sondern weil nur dieser Name von allen in Frage kommenden Papstnamen sich metrisch einfügt.
- 71 Augustinus, *De gratia Christi* [*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 349], II. 3. 3.
- 72 Vgl. nur *PCBE Italie*, II, S. 1576–81.
- 73 *ICURns* VI 15764.
- 74 Machado, *Roman Aristocrats*, bes. S. 500–05.
- 75 *CIL* VI 1680; Machado, *Roman Aristocrats*, S. 502–03.
- 76 Machado, *Roman Aristocrats*, S. 504–05.
- 77 Die Konstruktion der letzten Verse ist nicht völlig klar; während Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, I, S. 376 sie auf den Priester Tigrinus bezieht, hat Ferrua in seinem Kommentar zu *ICURns* VI 15764, *insignis* (nämlich *mente, labore, fide*) als Genetiv auf *praesulis* bezogen: Leo wird damit als an in jeder Hinsicht groß gefeiert, während die Stifterin keine dieser Eigenschaften zuerkannt bekommt.
- 78 Zum folgenden vgl. *PCBE Italie*, I, S. 544–47 sowie Patrick Laurence: Proba, Juliana et Démétrias. Le christianisme des femmes de la *gens Anicia* dans la première moitié de v^e siècle. In: *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 48 (2002), S. 131–63.
- 79 Rafaella Giuliani: Un'interessante novità epigrafica dalla catacomba della ex vigna Chiaraviglio sulla via Appia antica. Ancora sull'attività dei presbiteri Proclino ed Urso a S. Sebastiano. In: *Domum tuam dilexi. Miscellanea in onore di Aldo Nestori*. Hg. von Federico Guidobaldi. Rom 1998, S. 375–97, hier S. 396.
- 80 *ILCV* I 977, vgl. Mariano Raoss: L'iscrizione della colonna Traiana e una epigrafe latina cristiana di Roma del V secolo. In: *Seconda miscellanea greca e romana* 2 (1968), S. 399–435.
- 81 Zu Trajan als Idealbild der Spätantike vgl. etwa Timo Stickler: Trajan in der Spätantike. In: *Traian in Germanien – Traian im Reich*. Hg. von Egon Schallmeyer. Bad Homburg 1999 (Saalburg-Schriften 5), S. 107–13 und zuletzt Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner: Trajan und die symbolische Kommunikation bei kaiserlichen Rombesuchen in der Spätantike. In: *Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*. Hg. von Ralf Behrwald und Christian Witschel. Stuttgart 2012 (HABES 51), S. 33–59.
- 82 Lediglich für die Bischöfe Siricius, Zosimus und Bonifatius II. fehlen entsprechende Angaben.
- 83 *LP XLVIII*, c. 1.
- 84 Vgl. Peter Baumann: *Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land*. Wiesbaden 1999; Alfons Zettler: *Offerenteninschriften auf den frühchristlichen Mosaikfußböden Venetiens und Istriens*. Berlin, New York 2001.
- 85 De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, I, S. 339.

MARTYRIEN UND RELIQUIEN ‚INTRA‘ AND ‚EXTRA MUROS‘ IM 4. UND 5. JAHRHUNDERT

Beat BRENK

Zwei berühmte Bauten in Thessaloniki, Hagios Demetrios und die Rotunde Hagios Georgios, sind von der bisherigen Forschung diskussionslos entweder als Grabstätte des Hl. Demetrius oder als Ort der Verehrung zahlreicher im Mosaik dargestellter Märtyrer bereits für das 4. Jahrhundert *intra muros* in Anspruch genommen worden. Der Hl. Demetrius, so wird ohne zuverlässige Quellenangabe und ohne stratigraphische und bauarchäologische Beweisführung behauptet, soll bereits im 4. Jahrhundert am Ort der heutigen Kirche bestattet worden sein, d.h. nahe beim Forum im Zentrum der Stadt Thessaloniki. Über dem Heiligengrab soll im 5. Jahrhundert die heutige Basilika entstanden sein.¹ Anders liegt der Fall in der Rotunde von Hagios Georgios, die vermutlich von Kaiser Galerius im gleichen baulichen Kontext wie der Triumphbogen, das Hippodrom und der sog. Palast errichtet worden ist. Seit den zwanziger Jahren des letzten Jahrhunderts ist immer wieder, vor allem von Torp, jedoch ohne einen Beweis anzuführen, die Meinung ventiliert worden,² Kaiser Theodosius I. habe die Rotunde christianisiert und zu einer Palastkirche umfunktioniert. Für ihn galt das Axiom: St. Georg ist so schön und so gross, also ist es kaiserlich. Ausserdem habe Theodosius I. die Kuppel mit lauter fremdländischen Heiligen, die weder mit Thessaloniki noch mit Griechenland etwas zu tun haben, schmücken lassen.³ Für diese Thesen ist nie eine fundierte Begründung vorgetragen worden, und es scheint, dass einige Autoren dem Motto folgten: ‚Wenn die Tatsachen nicht meinen Vorstellungen entsprechen, dann umso schlimmer für die Tatsachen.‘ Wer über Reliquien schreibt, hat es ohnehin nicht mit Tatsachen zu tun, sondern mit Glaubensvorstellungen, die – ob wahr oder nicht – die Gemüter der Gläubigen und der Gelehrten ungemein beschäftigen. Tatsache ist, dass auch nicht-religiöse Phänome-

ne wie z.B. eine Kriegsberichterstattung oder eine banale Lebensbeschreibung gewissen Glaubensvorstellungen unterliegen kann, mit denen sich der Historiker irgendwie abzufinden bzw. auseinanderzusetzen hat. Da kein einziges Heiligengrab und keine einzige Reliquie der frühchristlichen Zeit schon beim Begräbnis benannt und datiert worden ist, ist die Frage der Identität der Heiligengräber grundsätzlich unlösbar, d.h. sie ist falsch gestellt.⁴ Der Historiker muss sich mit dem beschäftigen, was die Menschen der Vergangenheit glaubten ohne dieses selbst zu glauben; seine Kritik sollte dazu beitragen, dass Glaube nicht unbemerkt zur Tatsache mutiert. Wenn der Verfasser dieser Zeilen trotzdem einige neue Tatsachen und Glaubensvorstellungen rund um die Frage der Reliquiendeposition und der Märtyrerverehrung *intra* und *extra muros* zur Diskussion stellt,⁵ dann in der Hoffnung, dass diese zum mindesten das Interesse des Jubilars und vielleicht sogar einiger unvoreingenommener Leser finden werden.

Unsere Frage lautet: von welchem Zeitpunkt an und in was für besonderen Fällen und unter welchen Bedingungen ist das altrömische Begräbnisrecht⁶ missachtet oder mit voller Absicht ausgehebelt worden? Da es sich um eine rechtlich relevante Problematik handelt, war sie für die meisten Autoren derart heikel, dass die Fakten, sofern man um sie wusste, nie auf den Tisch gelegt wurden. Deshalb sind die archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnisse zuverlässiger als die Skriptoren.

Griechen und Römer haben ihre Toten grundsätzlich bis ins 5.–6. Jahrhundert *extra muros* begraben, nur die Gräber der Heroen und Stadtgründer lagen häufig innerhalb der Stadt.⁷ Auch in der römischen Kaiserzeit gab es noch *intra muros* gelegene Heroengräber. In Ephesus liess sich der ca. 112–113 verstorbene Prokonsul der Provinz Asia (a. 105–06), Iulius Akylas Pole-

maeanus, unter der Apsis der von ihm gestifteten Bibliothek bestatten. Nach Strocka hat man seit der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts auf den Brauch der Ehrengräber *intra muros* verzichtet.⁸ Gewisse Kaiser wie z.B. Trajan und Konstantin ordneten ihr Begräbnis innerhalb der Stadtmauern an. Wenn die Georgs-Rotunde in Thessaloniki als Mausoleum des Kaisers Galerius konzipiert worden wäre, dann fiel sie in die gleiche Kategorie wie die Mausoleen des Augustus und Trajans. Aber diese Hypothese ist nicht erwiesen, denn Galerius ist in Romuliana⁹ bestattet worden, und ein Grab oder wenigstens ein Sockel für einen Sarkophag ist in der Georgsrotunde nie gefunden worden. Velenis nahm daher an, dass in der Georgsrotunde ein Tempel zu erblicken sei,¹⁰ aber auch diese These steht auf schwachen Füßen, denn es fehlt jeglicher Hinweis auf eine Cella mit einem Götter- oder Kaiserbild sowie auf einen Altar.¹¹ Dass Konstantin sein Mausoleum innerhalb der Stadtmauern Konstantinopels errichten liess, entspricht durchaus römischer Tradition.¹² Neu war aber, dass der Kaiser rund um oder zu beiden Seiten seines Grabes zwölf hölzerne Kenotaphe aufstellen liess, die er mit den Namen der zwölf Apostel versah. Da Konstantinopel nicht wie Rom über eigene Apostel- und Märtyrergräber verfügte, sollten die zwölf Kenotaphe die Präsenz der Apostel in Konstantinopel virtuell evozieren.¹³ Konstantin liess ausserdem bereits im Jahr 336 Reliquien der Apostel Andreas und Lukas in das Mausoleum transferieren.¹⁴ Vielleicht aber war sein Sohn Konstantius 357 für den Transfer verantwortlich. Woher genau diese Reliquien stammten (Andreas von Patras, Lukas von Theben in Boeotia?), ist unklar. Wenn sollte das kümmern? Gräber und Mausoleen – auch kaiserliche – unterlagen privater Initiative, d.h. sie waren Privatbesitz, und konnten daher nur von Familienangehörigen besucht werden. Das Mausoleum Konstantins war zweifellos nicht öffentlich zugänglich, denn es lag innerhalb des Palastareals. Deshalb verbreitete sich das Wissen um seine Form und Funktion nur innerhalb der Aristokratie, zu der häufig auch die Bischöfe gehörten.¹⁵ Es ist die erste überlieferte Reliquientranslation, aber über die Art der Reliquien ist nichts bekannt. Ob es sich um Knochensplitter,

Asche oder Erde aus den Gräbern handelte, wissen wir nicht.

Auch in Rom war es der Kaiser, Konstantin, der eine Reliquie des Hl. Kreuzes innerhalb des kaiserlichen Palastareals, des *palatium Sessorianum*, deponierte.¹⁶ Zwei Faktoren erleichterten diese Deposition innerhalb der Stadtmauern: Erstens handelte es sich nicht um eine Körperreliquie, sondern um ein Stück Holz, das dem Andenken an den Kreuzestod Christi dienen sollte. Zweitens war es allem Anschein nach der Kaiser, der eine Kreuzreliquie in der Kirche S. Croce in Gerusalemme, innerhalb seines Palastes, aufbewahren liess; d.h. auch diese Translation hatte zunächst privaten Charakter.

Grundsätzlich müsste zwischen Heiligenverehrung und Reliquienkult unterschieden werden, insbesondere aber zwischen privaten und offiziell-kirchlichen Reliquientranslationen, und zwischen echten Körperreliquien und Berührungsreliquien (*brandea*) und Andenken von den heiligen Orten. Leider geben uns die Quellen zu diesen Fragen nur sehr beschränkt Auskunft. In diesem Beitrag soll versucht werden, die Chronologie dieser Kategorien und Etappen zu ergründen.

Rom und der Westen

In Rom ist der allmähliche Übergang von privaten zu offiziell-kirchlichen Reliquientranslationen besonders gut dokumentiert. Im ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert scheint eine Privatperson Reliquien in einer winzigen Hauskapelle innerhalb der privaten Domus unter Ss. Giovanni e Paolo auf dem Coelius deponiert zu haben, die die offizielle Kirche nicht anerkannte.¹⁷ Die unbekanntenen Reliquien wurden in einer rechteckigen Wandnische aufbewahrt. Der Hausbesitzer (Pammachius?) liess sich in einem Fresko unterhalb der Reliquienische als Orant darstellen, der von einem frommen Ehepaar in Proskynese verehrt wird. In der Märtyrerdarstellung erkennt man drei unbekanntene Märtyrer, die geköpft werden. Als im 5. Jahrhundert der Hausbesitzer Pammachius über der Domus mit der Hauskapelle eine grosse Kirche errichtete, wurde die Hauskapelle zugeschüttet und nicht mehr weiter verwendet, obwohl sie unter

dem Mittelschiff lag. Weder die Fresken noch die Privatkapelle qua Architektur können typologisch erfasst werden, was ihrem gänzlich privaten Konzept entspricht. Ein Grab ist unter der Hauskapelle nie gefunden worden, so sehr spätere Archäologen danach suchten.

Eine Privilegiertenbestattung konnte Charles Bonnet innerhalb der frühchristlichen innerstädtischen Kathedrale von Genf nachweisen. Hier scheint es sich um zwei Gräber von verehrten Privatpersonen (nicht Märtyrer!) gehandelt zu haben, die in ihrer *Domus* bestattet wurden. Bonnet spricht von einer ‚christianisation dans la demeure d'un aristocrate local‘.¹⁸ Die beiden Gräber wurden um 380 von der Apsis der Kathedrale überbaut, was darauf hinweist, dass hier eine ‚personnalité remarquable‘ bestattet war.

Unter Papst Innozenz I (401-17) errichtete die wohlhabende *femina illustris* Vestina auf ihrem Grundbesitz am *vicus longus* (heute via nazionale) mitten in Rom eine Titularkirche (*titulus Vestinae*, später *titulus sancti Vitalis*), die der *Liber pontificalis* im 6. Jahrhundert als ‚basilicam sanctorum Gervasi et Protasi‘ bezeichnete.¹⁹ Es ist möglich aber nicht beweisbar, dass bereits Vestina Reliquien der beiden mailändischen Heiligen Gervasius und Protasius erwerben konnte. Wenn dem so wäre, handelte es sich um die früheste Märtyrerkirche mit Reliquien innerhalb der Stadtmauern Roms. Das ist aber alles andere als sicher, denn es könnte sein, dass die Umbenennung der Titularkirche nicht mit einer Translation von Reliquien verbunden war. Vom frühen 5. Jahrhundert an wurde es Brauch, Kirchen mit Namen von Heiligen zu benennen, ohne dass Reliquien vorhanden zu sein brauchten. Die Reliquien der beiden mailändischen Heiligen waren offenbar in der Oberschicht der Bevölkerung beliebt und leicht käuflich, denn nur so versteht man die Nachricht Augustins, dass eine Person namens Victoriana dreissig Meilen von Hippo entfernt ein Landhaus besass, in welchem sie eine Gedächtnisstätte (*memoria*) für Gervasius und Protasius unterhielt.²⁰ Auch der Bischof Victricius von Rouen konnte Reliquien von Gervasius und Protasius erwerben, worüber er im *Liber de laude sanctorum* (a. 396-97) Auskunft gibt.²¹

Diese Fälle werfen ein Schlaglicht auf einen Trend. Es waren vor allem Private, meist Aris-

tokraten (insbesondere Kaiser), aber auch Bischöfe, die Zugang zu Reliquien hatten; diese Personen konnten es sich erlauben, Reliquien in ihren privaten *Domus* und Mausoleen (bereits vor 400) und in den von ihnen errichteten Kirchen zu deponieren. Die Zeit um 400 brachte die Wende, weil der Reliquienkult allenthalben überhandnahm. Der enorme Erfolg der Märtyrerkirchen *extra muros* führte bei den Gläubigen seit dem ausgehenden 4. Jahrhundert zu einem allmählichen Umdenken. In Rom sorgte Konstantin mit den von ihm errichteten Kirchen über den Gräbern der Apostel und Märtyrer *extra muros* (S. Pietro, S. Paolo fuori le mura, Ss. Pietro e Marcellino, S. Agnese, S. Lorenzo) für einen enormen Erfolg des Heiligenkultes. Diesem Trend war es zu verdanken, dass sich der Unterschied zwischen einem echten Grab und Berührungsreliquien bzw. Ascheresten, vertrockneten Blutstropfen und Haaren, etc. im Laufe des 4. Jahrhunderts allmählich in nichts aufgelöst hat. Diesen ‚Reliquien-Minimalismus‘ förderten Theologen und Kirchenführer wie Gregor von Nazianz²² und Paulinus von Nola, der in seinem *carmen* (xxvii. 443) die Meinung vertrat, dass auch Staub ‚die Kraft des apostolischen Körpers‘ (*sanctorum pulvere virtus damat apostolici vim corporis*) zu verkünden vermöge.²³ Was sich in den Köpfen der kirchlichen Führungsschicht wirklich abgespielt hat, werden wir wohl nie wissen. Ihre Informationen waren von Hobby-Archäologen abhängig, die sich als Grabschänder betätigten. Damasus war in dieser Hinsicht vorsichtig, denn er fürchtete, die heilige Asche der Frommen zu beunruhigen,²⁴ und manchmal gab er zu, dass er sein Wissen über die Märtyrer ‚vom Hören Sagen‘ bezog.²⁵ Die Grabepigramme des Damasus beziehen sich ausnahmslos auf Gräber *extra muros*. Die offizielle Kirche als halbstaatliche Institution wäre gehalten gewesen, eine Verantwortung für althergebrachte Bräuche wahrzunehmen. Dennoch stellte Hieronymus die letztlich verräterische rhetorische Frage: ‚Sacriligiis fuit Constantius imperator, qui sanctas reliquias Andreae, Lucae et Timothei transtulit Constantinopolim...?‘²⁶ Das erste offiziell-kirchliche Denkmal, welches innerhalb der Mauern Roms Reliquien beherbergte, war das Lateranbaptisterium. Es war

Papst Hilarus (461–68), der das Reliquiendefizit des Laterans aufhob, indem er an das Lateranbaptisterium Reliquienkapellen anbaute, die Johannes dem Täufer, Johannes dem Evangelisten und dem Hl. Kreuz geweiht waren.²⁷ Vermutlich brachte Hilarus Reliquien aus Ephesus nach Rom, denn dort wurde zum mindesten Johannes der Evangelist bereits im 4. Jahrhundert verehrt.²⁸ Die Altäre waren mit einem Goldkreuz und einer silbernen Confessio ausgestattet, was auf die Präsenz von Reliquien hinweist. Damit war in Rom das altrömische Verbot der Bestattung innerhalb der Stadtmauern ausgehebelt, aber es dauerte bis ins 6. und das 7. Jahrhundert, bis sich die Römer entschlossen konnten, ihre Verstorbenen innerhalb der Mauern begraben zu lassen.²⁹

Auch die von Ambrosius aufgefundenen Reliquien wurden ausnahmslos in Coemeterialkirchen *extra muros* deponiert. Die Gervasius- und Protasiusreliquien sind nach dem Zeugnis Augustins (*Confessiones*, IX. 7. 16) in der Basilica von S. Ambrogio vor den Mauern Mailands niedergelegt worden. Paulinus berichtet in der *Vita Ambrosii* (c. 29): ‚In eadem civitate basilicam constituit, in qua deposuit reliquias martyrum Vitalis et Agricolae, quorum corpora in Bononiensi civitate levaverat... Quae cum deponerentur sub altari, quod est in eadem basilica constitutum, magna illic totius plebis sanctae laetitia atque exultatio fuit.‘ Paulinus verfasste das Leben des Ambrosius, der 397 starb, jedoch erst 422. In diesen 25 Jahren fanden die ersten Reliquien-Bestattungen *intra muros* statt. Im Gegensatz zu Damasus und den Römern förderte er wohl als erster Reliquientranslationen nach Oberitalien und Gallien. Die Reliquien von Gervasius und Protasius im Besitz von Victricius von Rouen wurden bereits erwähnt. Als zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt – um 400 – erstmals in Italien Reliquien in einer Kathedrale rekonziert wurden, war sich der Bischof bewusst, dass eine Reliquienbestattung nur *extra muros* erlaubt war. Bischof Eusebius weihte die *extra muros* gelegene Kathedrale von Vercelli dem Märtyrer Theonestus.³⁰ Weder ein Kaiser noch ein Bischof hätte es im 4. Jahrhundert gewagt, innerhalb der Stadtmauern ein Martyrium mit einem Ganzkörpergrab zu errichten. Es waren

die Translationen, die das altrömische Sepulkralrecht allmählich aushöhlten. Die Bindung der Christen Oberitaliens an das altrömische Grabrecht scheint weniger ausgeprägt gewesen zu sein als in Rom. Das sog. Mausoleum der Galla Placidia in Ravenna (ca. 430–50) dürfte eines der frühesten *intra muros* errichteten Mausoleen gewesen sein, in welchem prominente Ravennaten bestattet wurden. Es ist in einer zweiten nicht exakt datierbaren Bauphase an den Narthex von S. Croce angebaut worden.³¹ Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach besaß die Kirche Reliquien vom Hl. Kreuz. Diese Tatsache dürfte die Gläubigen ermuntert haben, sich dort bestatten zu lassen, aber leider sind die Bestattungen nicht datierbar.

Konstantinopel und der Osten

Die frühe Translation von Apostelreliquien ins Mausoleum Konstantins war eine exklusive Ausnahme, weil Konstantin der Stadt Konstantinopel apostolischen Kredit zu verleihen gedachte. Konstantinopel musste Rom übertreffen. Der intraurbanen Reliquienbestattung sind damit keineswegs Tür und Tor geöffnet worden. Vermutlich waren die für das Mausoleum Konstantins erworbenen Reliquien nur Berührungsreliquien, denn die Reliquien von Andreas und Lukas begegnen bereits Ende 4. Jahrhundert in Oberitalien in einer Kirchweihpredigt des Gaudentius von Brescia (gest. 410),³² woraus geschlossen werden kann, dass gerade diese Reliquien, deren Herkunft nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben waren, leichter vermarktet werden konnten als echte Reliquien aus attestierten Ganzkörperbestattungen (was immer man sich darunter vorstellen mag). Gaudentius hatte auf seinen Reisen ins Hl. Land und nach Konstantinopel (a. 406) Einblick in das Verhalten der Ostkirche gegenüber Reliquientranslationen erhalten und ergriff die Gelegenheit, hochkarätige Reliquien zu erwerben. Allem Anschein nach wurden Reliquien von den ‚Reliquien-Tombaroli‘ an die Bischöfe des Westens verkauft.³³ Leemans, Mayer, Allen und Dehandschutter waren der Meinung, dass ‚it was not before the last decades of the fourth century that martyr’s sanctuaries were gradually making

their way into the city centres‘, aber sie konnten gerade für diese Aussage keine Beweise vorbringen.³⁴ Offiziell-kirchliche Bestattungen von Märtyrerreliquien oder Ganzkörpergräbern innerhalb der Stadtmauern sind im 4. Jahrhundert bisher nicht bekannt geworden. Märtyrergräber lagen im 4. Jahrhundert *extra muros*. Die kritische Periode ist die Zeit zwischen 380 und 420. In Augustins‘ Äusserung ‚ecclesiam quotidie et in ea memoriam gloriosissimi Stephani frequentabant‘³⁵ erblickte Lucius³⁶ einen Hinweis auf die Präsenz von Stephanusreliquien in einer Predigtkirche, die sich *intra muros* befunden haben soll; jedoch: eine täglich frequentierte Kirche muss nicht eine Memorialkirche sein. Lucius betonte mit Recht, dass die Sitte, Märtyrerreliquien in den gewöhnlichen Gottesdienstkirchen zu deponieren, auch im 5. Jahrhundert vielerorts noch nicht bestanden zu haben scheint. Da sich Lucius hauptsächlich auf die Predigtliteratur stützte, erhielt er keine präzisen Antworten zur Reliquientopographie. Es war ja auch nicht die Aufgabe der Prediger, hierzu Verbindliches auszusagen. Die Archäologie dagegen liefert häufig eindeutige Informationen. Das Haupt Johannes des Täufers wurde 392 in dem Rundbau des Hebdomon, das Theodosius I. erbaute, ausserhalb der Mauern Konstantinopels bestattet.³⁷ Der unter Diokletian enthauptete Hl. Mocius aus Amphipolis scheint unter Konstantin (?) eine Meile ausserhalb Konstantinopels beerdigt worden zu sein.³⁸ In Konstantinopel ist eine frühe Reliquientranslation in die Stadt im Jahr 415 bezeugt, worauf mich Arne Effenberger dankenswerterweise aufmerksam macht. Es handelt sich um die Translation des Zacharias: ‚Und die Reliquien von Ioseph dem Sohn des Jakobos und von Zacharias, dem Vater des Iohannes Prodromos, wurden von der Anlegestelle in Chalkedon nach Konstantinopel überführt im Monat Gorpiaios, am sechsten Tag von den Nonen des September; die genannten Reliquien wurden in zwei Kästen durch Attikos, Patriarch von Konstantinopel, und Moses, Bischof von Antarados in Phönikien, verwahrt, beide auf einem Wagen sitzend. Diese (Reliquien) wurden zum Verbleib in die Hagia Sophia geleitet, in Anwesenheit von Ursus, dem Stadtpräfekten, und des ganzen Senats‘.³⁹ Wortley charakterisiert

die Situation Konstantinopels wie folgt: ‚the very few early martyria which Constantinople possessed were all located outside the walls of the Constantinian city [...].‘⁴⁰

Über Antiochien berichten Leemans, Mayer, Allen und Dehandschutter: ‚at Antioch the martyrs who had died there over the third and fourth centuries lay buried locally in the countryside and in the cemeteries which lay to the south of the city next to the road to Daphne and to the west across the Orontes near the Romanesian gate.‘⁴¹ Erst im Jahr 459 ist Symeon Stylites der Ältere in der Grossen Kirche in der Stadt bestattet worden. In Edessa ist das Martyrion der drei Bekenner Gûriâ, Sâmônâ und Habib um 360 *extra muros* bezeugt;⁴² eine zweite Kirche der drei Bekenner, die jedoch dem 5. Jahrhundert angehört, lag nach dem An in der Stadt selbst. Das entspricht allgemeinem Brauch. Wenn die *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (c. 19) meint ‚vidi in eadem civitate martyria plurima‘, dann wird man in dieser Aussage keine topographische Aussage erblicken dürfen. In die in der Stadt gelegene konstantinische ‚Alte Kirche‘ werden im Jahr 394 die Reliquien des Apostels Thomas transferiert. Ende 5. Jahrhundert werden ausserhalb der Mauern von Edessa zwei Kirchen der Heiligen Kosmas und Damian erwähnt.⁴³

Basilius schildert in seiner Predigt ‚über den Märtyrer Gordius‘ (c. 1) aus dem Jahr 373 anschaulich ‚wie die Menschenmassen wie aus Bienenkörben aus der Stadt zu dem *extra muros* gelegenen Märtyrerschrein drängten.‘⁴⁴ Dieser so anschaulichen Schilderung entsprechen zahlreiche Martyrien in Kleinasien, so z.B. das Martyrium des Apostels Philippus in Hierapolis aus dem späten 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert oder die Johanneskirche in Ephesos aus der Zeit um 390–420. Beide liegen ausserhalb der Stadt. Paweł Nowakowski,⁴⁵ der sich in einer hervorragenden, noch nicht publizierten Dissertation mit dem Heiligenkult Kleinasiens beschäftigte, konnte nicht eine einzige Inschrift namhaft machen, die eine Reliquien- oder Märtyrerbestattung innerhalb der Mauern bezeugt. Auch in Athen sind weder Martyrien noch Gräber vor 400–30 innerhalb der Stadtmauern bekannt geworden.⁴⁶ Ich füge noch ein Zeugnis aus Ägypten hinzu: In einem polemischen Kontext be-

zeugt Schenute von Atripe ‚we have not seen a martyrion (ΤΟΠΙΟΣ) built over bones inside a church except only at the church of Panopolis.⁴⁷

Weshalb sollte all das in Thessaloniki so ganz anders gewesen sein? Da Theodosius I. 381 ein Gesetz erliess, das die Deponierung von Reliquien innerhalb der Stadt verbietet,⁴⁸ wird eine Bestattung des Hl. Demetrius und eine multiple

Reliquiendeposition in Hagios Georgios innerhalb der Stadtmauern von Thessaloniki im 4. Jahrhundert eher unwahrscheinlich. Ich kann nicht glauben, dass der Kaiser, der die Körperbestattung innerhalb der Stadt gesetzlich untersagte, dieses Gesetz in Thessaloniki umgangen haben soll.

Notes

- 1 Georgios and Maria Soteriou: *H βασιλική τού Αγίου Δημητρίου τής Θεσσαλονίκης* (= *The Basilica of St Demetrius of Thessalonike*). Athen 1951, S. 58–61; Beat Brenk: Zum Baukonzept von Hagios Demetrius in Thessaloniki. In: *Bild- und Formensprache der spätantiken Kunst. Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hg. von Martina Jordan-Ruwe und Ulrich Real (= *Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* 17 (1994)), S. 27–38, hier S. 36; Franz Alto Bauer: *Eine Stadt und ihr Patron. Thessaloniki und der Heilige Demetrius*. Regensburg 2013, S. 30.
- 2 Ernest Hébrard: Les travaux du service archéologique de l'armée d'orient à l'arc de triomphe de Galère et à l'église de Saint Georges à Salonique. In: *Bulletin de Correspondance Héliénique*, 44 (1920), S. 5–40.
- 3 Hjalmar Torp: Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'église Saint-Georges à Thessalonique. In: *ΠΕΙΡΑΜΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΝΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ – Acts of the IX International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. 2 Bde. Athen 1955, Bd. II, S. 489–98; Hjalmar Torp: The Date of the Conversion of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki into a Church. In: *The Norwegian Institute at Athens: The first five lectures*. Hg. von Øivind Andersen und Helène Whittaker. Athen, Bergen 1991 (Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 1), S. 13–18; Hjalmar Torp: La technique des mosaïques de la Rotonde de Thessalonique. In: *Arte Medievale* 4, 4 (2014), S. 267–80.
- 4 H. Buschhausen zeigte jedoch, dass der in der Grabkirche des Klosters Abu Fano a.395 bestattete Bane der erste Heilige Ägyptens sei, dessen Grab einwandfrei identifiziert werden konnte. H. BUSCHHAUSEN [u.a.]: ‚Die Ausgrabungen von Dair Abu Fana in Oberägypten in den Jahren 1991, 1992 und 1993. In: *Ägypten und Levante*, 6 (1995), S. 14–48.
- 5 Bernhard Kötting: *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*. Cologne 1965; Arnold Angenendt: *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*. München 1997; Bauer, *Eine Stadt und ihr Patron*, S. 55.
- 6 Oliviero Diliberto: La legge delle XII tavole nel basso impero. In: *KOINΩΝΙΑ* 38 (2014), S. 235–47.
- 7 Hadwiga Schörner: *Sepulturae graecae intra urbem. Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der intraurbanen Bestattungen bei den Griechen*. Möhnesee 2007 (Boreas, Beiheft 9).
- 8 Volker Michael Strocka: Die Celsusbibliothek als Ehrengrab am Embolos. In: *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstrasse von Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dez. 2006*. Hg. von Sabine Ladstätter. Wien 2009 (ÖAW. Archäologische Forschungen 15), S. 247–55. Für diesen Hinweis danke ich Norbert Zimmermann.
- 9 Beat Brenk: Innovation im Residenzbau der Spätantike. In: *Innovation in der Spätantike*. Hg. von Beat Brenk. Wiesbaden 1996, S. 95–97.
- 10 Georgos Velenis: Architektonische Probleme des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki. In: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2 (1979), S. 249–63.
- 11 Da die Georgsrotunde mit ihrem südlichen Haupteingang mit einer *via porticata* verbunden war, die auf den Triumphbogen des Galerius hinführt, könnte sie als Tempel für den Kaiserkult konzipiert gewesen sein. Diese Verbindung des südlichen Haupteingangs mit der *via porticata* und dem Triumphbogen spricht m.E. gegen eine Verwendung als Mausoleum.
- 12 André Grabar: *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*. 2 Bde. Paris 1943–46, Bd. I (1943), S. 227–34; Cyril Mango: Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics. In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), S. 52–61; Richard Burgess: The Passio S. Artemii, Philostorgios, and the Dates of the Invention and Translation of the Relics of Sts Andrew and Luke. In: *Analecta Bollandiana* 121 (2003), S. 5–36.
- 13 Mango, Constantine's Mausoleum, S. 53.
- 14 Cyril Mango: Constantine's Mausoleum. Addendum. In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), S. 434; Burgess, S. 29; John Wortley: The Earliest Relic-importations to Constantinople. In: *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*. Farnham 2009, S. 207–25, hier S. 209 und 215–19. Nach 357 wurden diese Reliquien aus dem Konstantinsmausoleum in die unter Konstantios II. (337–61) begonnene und am 9. April 370 geweihte Apostelkirche übertragen; vgl. Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger und Arne Effenberger: *Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestandserfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung*. Wiesbaden 2006 (Spätantike – frühes Christentum

- Byzanz Reihe B; Studien und Perspektiven 15), S. 109.
- 15 Mango, Constantine's Mausoleum, S. 55.
- 16 Sible de Blaauw: Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross. In: *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*. Hg. von Renate Colella [u.a.]. Wiesbaden 1997, S. 55-73; Holger A. Klein: *Byzanz, der Westen und das ‚wahre‘ Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*. Wiesbaden 2004, S. 19-27 und 69; Han J. W. Drijvers: Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections. In: *Millennium 8* (2011), S. 135-50.
- 17 Beat Brenk: *Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt*. Wiesbaden 2003, S. 82-113.
- 18 Charles Bonnet: Le groupe épiscopal de Genève après trente ans de recherches. In: *Episcopus, civitas, territorium. Acta XV congressus internationalis archaeologiae christianae*. Vatikanstadt 2013, Bd. 1, S. 665-70; Charles Bonnet: Oratoires ou mausolées dans le groupe Episcopal de Genève. In: *Hortus artium medievalium 18, 2* (2012), S. 359-64.
- 19 *Liber pontificalis* (hinfort LP), XLII, c. 3: ‚eodem tempore dedicavit [d.i. Innozenz I] basilicam sanctorum Gervasi et Protasi ex devotione cuiusdam inlustris feminae Vestinae‘; Richard Krautheimer [u.a.]: *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)*. 5 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1937-77, Bd. IV (1970), S. 313-31; Beat Brenk: Kirche und Strasse im frühchristlichen Rom. In: *Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*. Hg. von Ralf Behrwald und Christian Witschel. Stuttgart 2012, S. 178-81.
- 20 Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, XXII. 8. In: *Corpus Christianorum. Series latina*. Turnhout 1953- , Bd. XLVIII (1955), S. 820.
- 21 Victricius von Rouen: *Liber de laude sanctorum*. In: *Patrologia latina* (hinfort PL). Hg. von Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris 1844-55, Bd. XX, Sp. 448.
- 22 Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Contra Iulianum*, I. 69 (c. 364): ‚Schon Blutstropfen und kleine Leidensreliquien [mikra symbola pathous] vermögen das gleiche zu bewirken wie Körper‘ (*Patrologia graeca*. Hg. von Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris 1857-66, Bd. XXXV, Sp. 589); Alois Kurmann: *Gregor von Nazianz. Oratio 4 gegen Julian. Ein Kommentar*. Basel 1988, S. 226 erwähnt Gaudentius von Brescia: ‚tenemus enim sanguinem, qui testis est passionis‘.
- 23 Thomas Lehmann: *Paulinus von Nola und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile / Nola*. Wiesbaden 2004, S. 196.
- 24 Epigramm auf die Gefährten Sixtus' II und andere Heilige: ‚sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum‘.
- 25 Epigramm auf den Hl. Hippolytos: ‚haec audita refert Damasus; Epigramm auf die Hl. Agnes: ‚fama refert‘.
- 26 Hieronymus: *Contra Vigilantium*, v. In: *PL* XXIII 343C.
- 27 *LP* XLVIII, c. 2: ‚Hic fecit oraturia III in baptisterio basilicae Constantinianae, sancti Iohannis Baptistae et sancti Iohanni Evangelistae et sanctae crucis, omnia ex argento et lapidibus pretiosis.‘ Da Hilarus an der sog. Räubersynode von Ephesos 449 als Stellvertreter Papst Leos I. teilgenommen und sich unter abenteuerlichen Umständen in der dortigen Kirche S. Johann verstecken und anschließend fliehen konnte, setzte er aus Dankbarkeit eine Inschrift an der Johannes dem Evangelisten geweihten Kapelle des Lateranbaptisteriums: ‚LIBERATORI SUO B. JOHANNI EVANGELISTAE HILARUS EPISCOPUS FAMULUS CHRISTI‘. Über der Kapelle Johannes des Täufers steht: ‚HILARUS EPISCOPUS SANCTAE PLEBI DEI‘.
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- 30 Franz Wieland: *Altar und Altgrab im 4. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig 1912, S. 92; Paulinus: *Vita Ambrosii*, XXIX; Gabriella Pantò und Giovanni Mennella: Topografia ed epigrafia nelle ultime indagini su Vercelli paleocristiana. In: *Rivista di archeologia cristiana 70* (1994), S. 346-48.
- 31 Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann: *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*. 3 Bde. Wiesbaden 1969-89, Bd. II: Kommentar, Teil 1 (1974), S. 49-90.
- 32 Gaudentius von Brescia: *Sermo 17*. In: *PL* XX 963A: ‚Jam qui sunt isti quorum beatis reliquiis illustramur, hinc incipiam numerare. Primo in loco Ioannes Baptista est [...] Post hunc habemus Andream beatissimum [...] Tertius beatus Thomas [...] Quartus Lucas est evangelista [...]‘.
- 33 Nikolaus Gussone: Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien: Victricius von Rouen de laude sanctorum. In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien 10* (1976), S. 125-33.
- 34 Johan Leemans [u.a.]: *Let us die that we may live. Greek homilies on Christian martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. AD 350-AD 450)*. London 2003, S. 5.
- 35 Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, XXII. 8. 22.
- 36 Ernst Lucius: *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche*. Tübingen 1904, S. 176, Anm. 6.
- 37 Cyril Mango: *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*. Englewood Cliffs 1972, S. 29; Wortley, The earliest Relic-importations, S. 221-22; Pierre Maraval: *Théodose le Grand (379-95). Le pouvoir et la foi*. Paris 2009, S. 295-96: ‚La basilique de l'Hebdomon est la seule qu'on puisse avec certitude attribuer à Théodose‘;

- Alessandro Taddei: Notes on the so-called Palace of Ioukoundianai at Hebdomon, Constantinople. In: *Hortus artium medievalium* 20, 1 (2014), S. 77–83.
- 38 John Wortley: The Byzantine Component of the Relic-hoard of Constantinople. In: *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*. Farnham 2004, S. 353–78, hier S. 364.
- 39 Marcellinus Comes: *Chronicon ad ann. 415; Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* Hg. von Theodor Mommsen, Berlin 1894 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi 11), Bd. II, S. 72; *Chronicon Paschale*, Hg. von Ludwig Dindorf. Bonn 1832 (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae 9), S. 94.
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- 42 Anton Baumstark: Vorjustinianische kirchliche Bauten in Edessa. In: *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1904), S. 171.
- 43 Baumstark, Vorjustinianische kirchliche Bauten, S. 177.
- 44 Leemans [u.a.], S. 58.
- 45 Paweł Nowakowski: *Facets of the Cult of Saints in Asia Minor. The Epigraphic Patterns prior to the 7th c. AD*. [Diss. Warszawa 2014]. Mein Dank geht an Herrn Paweł Nowakowski, der mir freundlicherweise seine Arbeit zur Lektüre überlassen hat.
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- 47 Ariel G. Lopez, *Shenoute of Atripe and the uses of poverty. Rural Patronage, Religious Conflict and Monasticism in Late Antique Egypt*. Berkeley 2013, S. 151, Anm. 13.
- 48 *Codex Theodosianus*, IX. 17. 6.

THE MEMORY OF THE BISHOP IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA

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In the last thirty years the figure of the bishop in Late Antiquity has been a subject of particular interest for historians. Even in archaeological and art historical studies, the image of the bishop has received attention, mostly in relation to his role as founder or donor:¹ in the sixth and seventh centuries, several mosaics portray bishops – usually in the apse – while they offer to Christ or the patron saint of the church a model depicting the basilica itself.² A small number of well-preserved examples have been discussed several times: Pope Felix IV in the apse of Sts Cosmas and Damian in Rome³ (526–30, albeit completely restored in the seventeenth century), Bishop Ecclesius in the apse of S. Vitale in Ravenna⁴ (second quarter of the sixth century), Bishop Euphrasius in the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč⁵ (c. 540), Pope Pelagius in the Basilica of St Lawrence outside the walls in Rome⁶ (579–90), Pope Honorius (and probably Pope Symmachus) in the apse of St Agnes in Rome⁷ (625–38), and Pope John IV in the oratory of St Venantius near the Lateran baptistery (c. 640).⁸

A good number of lesser known or even unconsidered examples exist, however, which are useful for an overall understanding.⁹ The scarcity of documentation prior to the sixth century has led to the idea that the appearance of the motif of the founder dated back to this time. The Constantinian Age has even (wrongly) been assumed to be an aniconic period,¹⁰ mistaking the absence of documentation for the documentation of an absence. To correct this vision we have to consider those cases where – despite the loss of the figural mosaics – the memory of inscriptions has been preserved, an element that was an integral part of the whole. These inscriptions have not yet been fully utilized, in part for the academic, artificial distinction between epigraphists – who read the texts – and archaeologists or art historians – who look at the images – but also because not always is the mechanism of integration between image and word fully

understood. In particular, beginning with the fourth century it is important to highlight the pragmatic dimension of the new model of epigraphic communication, where the first and second person ('I' and 'thou') are utilized instead of the third ('he'). The beholder-reader addresses the picture, or vice versa, and a 'personal' communication – so far limited to the private and funerary sphere – replaces the impersonal one, which was common in earlier public epigraphy.¹¹

Moreover we should consider that these inscriptions required a reading aloud.¹² In this way a (simulacrum of) dialogue between image and beholder-reader was established.¹³ The first evidence of this dialogue is the lost mosaic on the triumphal arch of the Basilica of St Peter in the Vatican depicting Constantine offering the model of the church to Christ *Kosmokrator* in the presence of St Peter.¹⁴ In other cases, the beholder is in the presence of a dialogue among the figures within the image.¹⁵ Important examples in Rome are the lost mosaics of Pope Damasus in the Basilica of St Lawrence in Damaso and of Sixtus III in St Mary Major.¹⁶ From these premises it follows that the people appearing in these inscriptions – be they explicitly mentioned or implicitly – must be assumed to have also been present in the figural part of the mosaic. At this point a schematic reconstruction becomes possible with an idea at least of some of the essential elements of the lost image, profiting from the comparison with the most common iconographic schemes.

We can now look at the evidence with new eyes. Let us begin with the oldest case. The floor of Bishop Theodore's south hall at Aquileia¹⁷ preserves a famous mosaic inscription commemorating the work of this bishop and dating back to a moment immediately after the Edict of Milan: 'Happy Theodore, with the help of God almighty and the flock granted you by Heaven, you have blessedly finished and gloriously dedicated this work' (Theodore feli[x] | [a]diuvante Deo | omnipotente et | poemnio caelitus tibi |

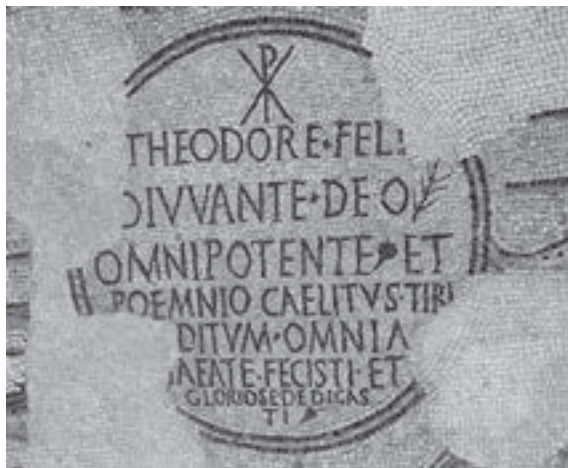


Fig. 1. Basilica of Aquileia, floor of the south hall with the inscription of Bishop Theodorus (*ILS*, 1863), mosaic, early fourth century. Photo by the author.

[tra]ditum [sic] omnia | [b]aeate [sic] fecisti et | gloriose dedicas|ti) (Fig. 1). Neither the type of inscription nor the architecture of the hall have easy comparisons, mainly because of their very early date. The inscription is in prose rather than in verse, as instead is the case for most of the dedications discussed in this paper. We can consider it an acclamation addressed by the priests¹⁸ to their bishop, be he physically present or represented in a fresco on the back wall of the hall.¹⁹ In recent years we have begun to learn more about this new mode of communication of late antique society, which can be documented also through epigraphy.²⁰ As keenly shown by Charlotte Roueché, acclamations inscribed on columns or pavements of Ephesus and Aphrodisias marked spaces where acclamations occurred during important ceremonial occasions²¹ and sometimes indicated also the position well-defined social groups occupied during these celebrations.

Probably the case of the mosaic of Aquileia was a similar one and quite early: on the other hand it is easy to demonstrate that the use of dialogue in monumental inscriptions of western churches appears from the first half of the fourth century. This use was favoured both by the lack of pre-existing models for buildings devoted to Christian worship and by some liturgical features, often

based on a responsorial between celebrant and the people or between God's word and the people.

Proceeding in chronological order, in the fourth century we can cite in Rome the inscription in the apse of the Basilica of St Lawrence in Damaso (366–84). In this distich the Roman bishop addresses Christ directly:²² 'I Damasus dedicated, Lord Christ, this new hall in your honour, safe for the help of Laurence the martyr' (*Haec Damasus tibi, Chr[ist]e deus, nova tecta dicavi | Laurenti saeptus martyris auxilio*). This is type D of my enunciative typology,²³ one in which the figures represented in the mosaic establish a dialogue within the image. It is quite clear Damasus used an already famous model of the Constantinian Age: the inscription on the triumphal arch of the Vatican Basilica of St Peter.²⁴

The structure of the first line of the couplet was inspired by the second line of the inscription of St Peter's. Moreover in this same first line the Roman bishop used the hephthemimeral caesura to scan in three *cola* the three basic elements: Damasus (the dedicant), Christ (the dedicatee) and the act of dedication. The second line, on the other hand, speaks of the martyr Lawrence, the titular saint of the church. The division of roles implies a clear scansion of the characters in the figural part (which is unfortunately lost): we can imagine Christ at the centre between Damasus on one side²⁵ – with the model of the basilica in hand – and St Lawrence on the other.²⁶ In conclusion a three-figure scheme was probably represented, a pattern that, once again, we must recognize as derived from the triumphal arch of St Peter's,²⁷ where Christ *Kosmokrator* appeared between Constantine, with the model in hand, and St Peter.²⁸

The dedication of the Northern Basilica of the episcopal group of Salona is dated to the early fifth century:²⁹ it is a floor mosaic between *synthronon* and apse, thus in a position where the inscription could be read only by priests, a situation similar to that of Aquileia. 'New buildings began Synferius after the old | Hesychius, his nephew, together with clergy and the people completed. | Take, Christ, these grateful gifts of the house.' (*Nova post vetera coepit Synferius [sic] | [H]esychius eius nepos c[um] clero et populo [f]ecit | haec munera domus PX[Christ]e grata tene*). The three hexameters have an im-

precise metre, the text is strongly allusive but clearly subdivided: Bishop Synferius had begun the building of the basilica on pre-existing structures, a work finished by his nephew Hesy-chius who coordinated the efforts and resources of clergy and people. The invocation addresses Christ (type B)³⁰ and closes the dedication with the request of accepting the gift of the church (*domus*). Through comparison with similar cases it is easy to assume that Christ was depicted in the apse (in fresco or mosaic) between the two bishops, one of which offered him the model of the church.

In a later moment, during the fifth century, we find a more complex case in one of the most important basilicas of Rome, St Mary Major, dedicated by Pope Sixtus III (432-40). In the counter-façade was a mosaic, now lost. Still in the sixteenth century, Onuphrius Panvinius³¹ could read the first line of its inscription, originally composed of eight elegiac distiches:

Virgin Mary, to you I, Sixtus, dedicated this
new abode:
a fitting offering to your womb, the bearer of
salvation.
You, o Mother, knowing no man yet bearing
fruit
brought from your chaste womb the Saviour
of us all.
Behold, the witnesses of your fruitfulness
bring you wreaths,
at each one's feet the instruments of his passion:
sword and fire and water, wild beasts and bit-
ter poison.
yet one crown awaits these several deaths.

Virgo Maria tibi Xystus nova tecta dicavi,
digna salutifero munera ventre tuo.
Tu Genitrix ignara viri te denique faeta,
visceribus salvis, edita nostra salus.
Ecce tui teste uteri tibi praemia portant,
sub pedibusque iacet passio cuique sua:
Ferrum, flamma, ferae, fluvius saevumque
venenum.
Tot tamen has mortes una corona manet.³²

Again we have a dialogue within the image:³³ the dedicant, Sixtus III, directly addresses the Virgin Mary, but his speech is inclusive of the reader (*nostra salus*). The image the text referred

to had to be quite articulated: Mary received gifts from a number of martyrs, under each one was an attribute that helped to identify him or her based on the type of death they had suffered. The celebration of Mary's motherhood was clearly expressed through the presence of the Christ Child: it is easy to imagine him in his mother's arms, frontally and centrally positioned, as seen in the apse of the above mentioned Basilica of Poreč. The inscription lists five symbols of martyrdom, corresponding to five saints; however five figures would be asymmetrically distributed on each side of the Virgin: we therefore must add the dedicant, Sixtus III, to reach the canonical seven-figure scheme, which ensures symmetry.³⁴ Probably the bishop offered a model of the basilica and the martyrs crowns.³⁵

The precise identification of the saints is difficult: Wilpert offered the most complete proposal:³⁶ Sixtus II (homonymous predecessor of the dedicant, killed by a sword: *ferrum*), St Lawrence (deacon of Sixtus II, highly venerated in Rome, died on the gridiron: *flamma*), St Tecla (faced wild beasts in the Circus: *ferae*), St Symphorosa (thrown in the Anio river with a stone fastened to her neck, venerated in Tivoli: *fluvius*), St Perpetua (faced the threat of the devil appearing as serpent: *saevum venenum*).

A Damasian epigram for St Lawrence³⁷ offers a sort of typology of tortures, and Prudentius a series of martyrdoms: the hymn for St Eulalia³⁸ lists the saints killed by sword, wild beasts and fire, while the hymn for St Quirinus³⁹ adds river waves. Wilpert's proposals, on the other hand, are uncertain because he considered only the type of martyrdom attested by the *passiones*, failing to examine late antique iconography. The homonymy between Sixtus II and the dedicant is surely a good argument, but the martyrs killed by sword are numerous; St Lawrence is a good candidate, but his specific attribute is the gridiron and fire could be an allusion to St Agnes, who is portrayed above fire (and sword) in the apse of her basilica on Via Nomentana. As for her martyrdom, Damasus⁴⁰ knows only of fire while Ambrose⁴¹ and Prudentius mention the sword. St Thecla was not killed by lions, but it is true that this attribute was used for her in a later period.⁴² St Symphorosa is also a good candidate, considering her death

in the Anio river near Rome and her veneration in Tivoli, but the above mentioned St Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia, who was tied to a millstone and hurled into the Raab River, could also be considered.⁴³ Regarding the *saevum venenum*, Wilp-ert is right to say that only a snake could clearly represent poison.⁴⁴ Moreover there is probably an echo of Lucan, who used the same *iunctura* in the *Pharsalia* to describe a horrible death by snake venom.⁴⁵ St Perpetua, on the other hand, faced a serpent representing the devil, but was not killed in this way. A better candidate is thus St Euphemia, because her church in Rome had an apse mosaic dating back to Sergius I (687–701), in which the saint appeared between two snakes (Fig. 2).⁴⁶

In the end, a reconstruction cannot avoid a certain vagueness. Moreover, we know neither whether the order of the list of the instruments of martyrdom matches that of the saints displayed in the mosaic, nor whether there was a division between male and female saints as is the case in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Based on these considerations, the proposal in Colour Plate II is only approximate.

Another case to consider is that of St Stephen in Via Latina at Rome, where an inscription mentions the construction of the basilica by Pope Leo the Great (440–61) on the basis of the last will of the noblewoman Amnia Demetrias.⁴⁷

When the virgin Amnia Demetrias leaving
this world
brought to a close her last day (yet not truly
dying)
she gave to you, Pope Leo, these final vows,
that this sacred house arise.
The trust of her command is fulfilled, yet it is
more glorious
to fulfil a vow of another than one's own.
Stephen, who first in the world was carried
away
by savage death, and reigns in the height of
heaven, illuminates the summit [of the work].
By order of the bishop, the presbyter Tigrinus
oversaw it, honourable in mind, work, and
faith.



Fig. 2. *St Euphemia*, etching of a lost apse mosaic in the Basilica of St Euphemia in Subura, Rome. From: I. Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, pl. xxxv).

Cum mundum li[nqu]ens Dem[etri]as Amn[ia
virgo]
cla[ud]eret extremum non morit[ura diem,]
[hae]c tibi, pap[a L]eo, votorum extrem[a suo-
rum]
[trad]idit, ut s[a]crae surgeret aula d[omus].
M[a]ndati comple[t]a fides, sed glor[ia maior]
[al]terius votum [s]olvere quam propr[ium].
In[lus]trat culmen Steph[an]us qui primus in
or[be]
[r]aptus mort[e t]ruci regn[at] in arc[e poli].
[Pr]aesulis ha[ec] nut]u Tigrinus pr[esbyter in-
stans]
excolit ins[ig]nis mente, labor[e, fide].

Even here, the beholder-reader directly address-
es Pope Leo leading us to assume the presence
of the bishop's portrait probably depicted in the
apse as donor together with St Stephen, perhaps
on either side of Christ.⁴⁸ Less likely is the pres-

ence of Amnia Demetrias, the patron, and Tigrinus, the supervisor of the work.

The attestations become much more frequent in the sixth century: the first is in the Church of St Sergius in Gaza,⁴⁹ known only through the description by Choricius of Gaza (536).⁵⁰ At the centre of the mosaic in the apse was the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child in her arms, to the far right the Governor – Stephen – with the church model in hand, introduced to the Virgin by St Sergius, patron of the basilica.⁵¹ There is no description of the group to the left, but we can reconstruct it, at least in part, because these compositions show a symmetrical correspondence, so that the figures on the sides are specularly linked by several types of similarities. On this premise it is easy to imagine that the Governor corresponds to the bishop on the opposite side, who had shared with Stephen the weight of the work, accompanied by another saint. In other words, it is a canonical five-figure scheme.

Returning to Ravenna, we find again Bishop Ecclesius (521–34) in the apse of St Mary Major.⁵² The mosaic is lost, but the text of the inscription⁵³ and a description of the sixteenth century allow us to reconstruct once again the central enthroned figures of the Virgin and infant Christ together with Bishop Ecclesius offering the model of the church.

A little known, but very explicit attestation derives from the Church of Sts Peter and Paul in Jerash, dated to about 540. The church was built by Bishop Anastasius, as stated by a metric mosaic inscription in the central nave.⁵⁴ At the end of the north aisle, instead, was an epigram in the form of a dialogue: the beholder–reader queried the figural mosaic depicting Bishop Anastasius that must have been located in the apse at the end of the left aisle. The mosaic answered by expressing the identity of the bishop founder:

- Mosaic, who placed you? – The one who built this church.
- Who (is) the pastor depicted? For whom [does he] proclaim his works?
- The name Anastasius, the city Petra, the glory is the Savior.

- Υηφίς, τίς σ' ἀνέθηκεν; – ὁ δώματα ταῦτα τελέσσας.
- Τίς δ' ὁ γραφεῖς ποιμήν; τίνος εἴνεκα ἔργα πρῆσκει;
- Οὐνομ' Ἀναστάσιος, [Π]έτρα πόλις, ε[ὐ]χος ὁ σωτήρ.⁵⁵

In Ravenna Archbishop Maximian had himself portrayed in the apse of the Church of St Stephen he built in 550, according to Agnellus,⁵⁶ who saw his portrait and recorded the inscription on the arch of the apse:⁵⁷

The holy temple shines for the merits and name of Stephen,
he who first performed the outstanding work of the martyr.

The same palm is given to all for holy blood
however he benefits from it more who was earlier in time.

He himself now assisting your faith and your vow,

great priest Maximian, has completed this work.
For the hand of man alone could not so soon have made

such a hall from its foundation walls.

When the gleaming moon was new for the eleventh time,

the church which had been begun shines established in beautiful completion.

Templa micant Stephani meritis et nomine sacra,

qui prius eximium martiris egit opus.

Omnibus una datur sacro pro sanguine palma
plus tamen hic fruitur tempore quo prior est
ipse fidem votumque tuum nunc magne sacerdos

Maximiane Iuvans hoc opus explicuit
nam talem subito fundatis molibus aulam
sola manus hominum non poterat facere
undecimum fulgens renovat dum luna recursum

et c[o]epta et pulc[h]ro condita fine nitet.

The beholder–reader addresses the image of Bishop Maximian,⁵⁸ perhaps in the act of presenting the model of the church to St Stephen, depicted with the palm of martyrdom in his hand. Maybe the image of Christ appeared in a central position according to the canonical



Fig. 3. Sarcophagus of Concordius, c. 400, Arles: Musée Lapidaire Chrétien. Image in the public domain.



Fig. 4. Rome, Arch of Constantine, detail: *Adlocutio*, marble relief, 315. Photo: German Archaeological Institute of Rome.

three-figure scheme, though there is no explicit allusion to him in the dedication.

As we have seen, in this period the number of occurrences of images of bishops as donors or founders is more than twice as much as usually considered, and the origin of this motif dates back as far back as the fourth century, although there is no doubt that its great diffusion begins with the sixth century. In order to better understand the function and meaning of these images, we need to reconstruct the position of the

figures in the apse in three dimensions. For this purpose we have to consider the peculiarities of late antique perspective, that has little in common with the modern, and to read the figures according to the conventions Noël Duval called 'synthetic representation' and Paul Lampl labelled as 'split edifice'.⁵⁹ Late antique and early medieval artists often represented on the same plane alignments that would be orthogonal to each other.



Fig. 5. Rome, Basilica of Sts Cosmas and Damian, apse mosaic: *Sts Peter and Paul introduce Cosmas and Damian to Christ*, 526–30. Photo: Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology.

For representing a building, for instance, front and sides are delineated successively in a continuous rendering: the edifice seems to have been split open along its longitudinal axis and each half folded sideways. On the sarcophagus of Bishop Concordius from Arles,⁶⁰ for example, Christ appears in the centre with the apostles arranged on both sides in front of two rows of columns (Fig. 3). This is the depiction of a basilica with Christ in the apse and the apostles along the main nave. In other words, Christ and the apostles would have been arranged along orthogonal lines in a three-dimensional space, but on the sarcophagus they were represented on the same plane.⁶¹ A similar case is in the famous scene of *adlocutio* from the Rostra on the Roman Forum depicted in relief on the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 4): the Basilica Aemilia appears to the left of the Rostra on their same

alignment, while being orthogonal to them in the real space of the Forum.⁶²

Let us use this same reading for a well-known mosaic, the one in the apse of Sts Cosmas and Damian (Fig. 5): here Peter and Paul introduce Cosmas and Damian to Christ, at the centre in frontal position. At the ends of the scene are Pope Felix, on the left with the church model in hand, and St Theodore, on the right. If we transfer the image to a three-dimensional space, Christ appears at the centre facing a procession in two parallel lines (Fig. 6): even the concavity of the apse helped in simulating the depth of the depicted scene. Peter and Paul are in the first position of the lines: on the one hand they turn their gaze to the beholder, that is the people of God gathered in the nave, on the other they are moving towards Christ and inviting the faithful to do the same. They introduce Cosmas and Damian (second position in the lines) to Christ, but

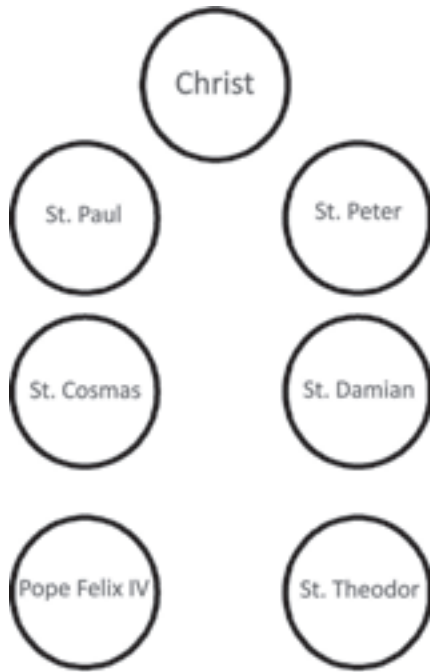


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the position of the figures in the mosaic of the Basilica of Sts Cosmas and Damian, modern perspective.

at the same time serve as mediators and intercessors between God and his people, a role which is not very different from the heavenly patronage Peter Brown acknowledged in the late antique idea of holiness.⁶³ In semiotic terms, Peter and Paul are delegates of the viewer, thrown in the figural utterance to show the beholder the modality he should have while addressing the image of Christ.⁶⁴ This is a parenetic and hortatory function which in the Modern Age was theorized by artists like Leon Battista Alberti and Nicolas Poussin.

In the third position we finally find Pope Felix and St Theodore: the end of the scene is equivalent to the last position in the procession of the saints, but also constitutes a hinge with the liturgical procession of the faithful moving to the altar in the nave. The pope shares with Peter and Paul the function of mediator and forms the hub and junction between the saints and people of God, joined together as they approach Christ. He is a sort of second degree mediator or – in other words – a terrestrial mediator who cooperates with the heavenly mediation of the saints. The bishop also, as well as the saints, appeared as a kind of patron of the congregation.⁶⁵



Fig. 7. Rome, Basilica of St Agnes, apse mosaic: *St Agnes between Honorius and Symmachus* (?), 625–38. Photo: Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology.

In the past, the image of the bishop as donor was seen as a glorification of his role as he was portrayed in the midst of saints, but the above considerations lead us to integrate and, at least in part, modify these conclusions to emphasize his role as a representative of the community of faithful in the scene itself. This role probably

faded in the seventh century: in the mosaics of St Agnes (Fig. 7) and the oratory of St Venantius near the Lateran Baptistery, all the figures face the beholder in full frontality and the processional tension which also embraced the people of God is lost.

Notes

- 1 On the terminology, cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, Kommentar (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), II, pp. 15–21; Carola Jäggi, ‘Donator oder Fundator? Zur Genese des monumentalen Stifterbildes’, *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Zürich*, 9–10 (2002–03), 27–45.
- 2 Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, *The Donor and His Church Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1981); Jäggi; Emanuel S. Klinkenberg, *Compressed Meanings: The Donor’s Model in Medieval Art to around 1300: Origin, Spread and Significance of an Architectural Image in the Realm of Tension between Tradition and Likeness* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Jean-Pierre Caillet, ‘L’image du dédicant dans l’édifice culturel (IV^e–VII^e s.): aux origines de la visualisation d’un pouvoir de concession divine’, *Antiquité Tardive*, 19 (2011), 149–69; Maria Cristina Carile, ‘Memories of Buildings? Messages in Late Antique Architectural Representations’, in *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings. Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker*, ed. by Angeliki Lymberopoulou (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 15–33; Maria Cristina Carile, ‘Buildings in their patrons’ hands? The multifunction of small size models between Byzantium and Transcaucasia’, *kunsttexte.de – Journal für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte*, 3 (2014), 1–14. Also Katherine Marsengill, *Portraits and icons: between reality and spirituality in Byzantine art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 112–36, 186–202.
- 3 Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960), pp. 137–38, no. V, pl. XII,2; Guglielmo Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali della chiesa di Roma*, 2 vols (Rome: Ist. Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1967–68), I (1967), pp. 135–42; V. Tiberia, *Il restauro del mosaico della basilica dei SS. Cosma e Damiano a Roma* (Todi: Castrichini, 1991).
- 4 Ihm, pp. 163–65, no. XXIV, pl. VII,1.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 167–69, no. XXVI, pl. XV,2; Ante Sonje, ‘I mosaici parietali del complesso architettonico della basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo’, *Atti, Centro Ricerche Storiche, Rovigno*, 13 (1982–83), 65–138; Marino Baldi-
ni, ‘Il mosaico altomedievale di Parenzo’, *Atti, Centro Ricerche Storiche, Rovigno*, 25 (1995), 215–31; Gabriella Bernardi, ‘I restauri dei mosaici della Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo’, in *Atti IV Colloquio Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la conservazione del mosaico – Palermo 9–13 ottobre 1996* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1997), pp. 1013–26.
- 6 Ihm, pp. 138–40, no. VI; Matthiae, pp. 149–68.
- 7 Ihm, pp. 141–42, no. VIII, pl. XXVI,1; Matthiae, pp. 169–79.
- 8 Ihm, pp. 144–45, no. X, pl. XXIII,2; Matthiae, pp. 191–98.
- 9 Other types of episcopal images will be considered elsewhere: funerary portraits – such as those in the catacomb of St Gennaro in Naples – ‘serial’ portraits – such as the series of tondos with the popes in the basilicas of St Peter and St Paul outside the walls in Rome – portraits I would call *ex officio* – as they depicted the titular bishops in the basilicas and churches of their diocese.
- 10 Robert Grigg, ‘Constantine the Great and the Cult without Image’, *Viator*, 8 (1977), 4–32; also Jean-Michel Spieser, ‘Le décor figuré des édifices ecclésiastiques’, *Antiquité Tardive*, 19 (2011), 95–108 (pp. 100–02); *contra* Paolo Liverani, ‘Il monumento e la voce’, in *Costantino e i Costantinidi: l’innovazione costantiniana, le sue radici e i suoi sviluppi. Atti del XVI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Roma, 22–28 settembre 2013)*, ed. by Olof Brandt (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, in print).
- 11 Paolo Liverani, ‘Chi parla a chi? Epigrafi monumentale e immagine pubblica in epoca tardoantica’, in *Using Images in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Stine Birk and others (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2014), pp. 3–32; Paolo Liverani, ‘Spätantike Ehrenstatuen zwischen Distanz und Dialog’, in *Leibhaftig Kunst: Statuen und kulturelle Identität*, ed. by Dietrich Boschung and Christiane Vorster (Paderborn: Fink, 2015), pp. 93–121.
- 12 Bernard M. W. Knox, ‘Silent Reading in Antiquity’, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 19 (1968), 421–35; Pieter W. van der Horst, ‘Silent Prayer in Antiquity’, *Numen*, 41, 1 (1994), 1–25; William A. Johnson, ‘Toward a Sociology of Reading in Classical Antiquity’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 121 (2000), 593–627; Stephan Busch, ‘Lautes und leises Lesen in der An-

- tike', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 145 (2002), 1-45 (pp. 1-4). For the basic concepts of orality, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982). For the basic concept of auralità: Walter J. Ong, *Presence of the Word* (New Haven: University of Minnesota Press, 1967). Fundamental studies are Amy Papalexandrou, 'Text in context: Eloquent monuments and the Byzantine beholder', *Word & Image*, 17 (2001), 259-83; Amy Papalexandrou, 'Echoes of Orality in the Monumental Inscriptions of Byzantium', in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. by Liz James (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 161-87 and Gianfranco Agosti, 'Saxa loquuntur? Epigrammi epigrafici e diffusione della paideia nell'oriente tardoantico', *Antiquité Tardive*, 18 (2010), 163-80. For the mediators: Luce Pietri, 'Pagina in pariete reserata: Épigraphe et architecture religieuse', in *La terza età dell'epigrafia: Colloquio Associazione Internazionale d'Épigraphe Grecque et Latine – Borghesi (Bologna 1986)*, ed. by Angela Donati (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1988), 137-57 (pp. 149-50).
- 13 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', type B (the beholder-reader directly addresses the figure in the image, using the second person 'thou') and type C (the figure in the image addresses the beholder-reader again with 'thou').
- 14 The doubts concerning the Constantinian date of the mosaic can be easily overcome: Paolo Liverani, 'Costantino offre il modello della basilica sull'arco trionfale', in *La pittura medievale a Roma. 312-1431: L'Orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini, 312-468. Corpus 1*, ed. by Maria Andaloro (Milan: Jacabook, 2006), pp. 90-91, no. 2b; Paolo Liverani, 'Saint Peter's, Leo the Great and the leprosy of Constantine', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 76 (2008), 155-72 (pp. 155-58); Paolo Liverani, 'Costanzo II e l'obelisco del Circo Massimo a Roma', in *Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, ed. by Annie Gasse and others, *Les Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne*, 5 (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 2012), pp. 471-87 (pp. 476-78). On the date of the basilica: Paolo Liverani, 'Old St Peter's and the Emperor Constans? A debate with G. W. Bowersock', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 28 (2015), 485-504.
- 15 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?': type D.
- 16 Cf. below.
- 17 *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (hereafter *ILS*), ed. by Hermann Dessau, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916), 1863 = *L'Année Epigraphique* (hereafter *AE*), 1986, 243; Jean-Pierre Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges, d'après l'épigraphe des pavements de mosaïque (IV^e-VII^e s.)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), pp. 123-41; on the basilica lastly: Tomas Lehmann, 'Die ältesten erhaltenen Bilder in einem Kirchenbau: Zu den frühchristlichen Kirchenbauten und ihren Mosaiken unter dem Dom von Aquileia', *Das Altertum*, 54 (2009), 91-122.
- 18 The proposal to attribute the acclamation to the priests stems from the position of the inscription at the eastern end of the southern hall – in the middle of a sort of transept – and from the mention of the 'flock' in the text.
- 19 In that case it would be the type B in the enunciative typology of Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?'
- 20 Theodor Klauser, 'Akklamation', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-), 1 (1950), cols 216-34; Charlotte Roueché, 'Acclamations in the later Roman Empire: New evidence from Aphrodisias', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 74 (1984), 181-99; John Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères: Le collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1990), pp. 349-53; Johannes Nollé, 'Εὐτυχῶς τοῖς κυρτοῖς – Feliciter dominis! Akklamationsmünzen des griechischen Ostens unter Septimius Severus und städtische Mentalitäten', *Chiron*, 28 (1998), 323-54; Charlotte Roueché, 'Looking for Late Antique Ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias', in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos: Akten des Symposium Wien 1995*, ed. by Herwig Friesinger and Fritz Krinzinger (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 161-68; Charlotte Roueché, 'Enter your city: A new acclamation from Ephesos', in *Steine und Wege: Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Scherrer and others (Vienna: Phoibos, 1999), pp. 131-36; Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, 'Akklamationen im spätrömischen Reich: Zur Typologie und Funktion eines Kommunikationsrituals', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 86 (2004), 27-73; Charlotte Roueché, 'Acclamations at the Council of Chalcedon', in *Chalcedon in Context: Church Councils 400-700*, ed. by Richard Price and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2009), pp. 169-77.
- 21 Roueché, 'Acclamations in the later Roman Empire'; Roueché, 'Looking for Late Antique'; Roueché, 'Enter your city'; Hendrik W. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City. Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 95-100. Also Angelos Chaniotis, 'Theatre Rituals', in *The Greek Theatre and Festivals: Documentary Studies*, ed. by Peter Wilson (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 48-66 (pp. 54-59); Angelos Chaniotis, 'Listening to Stones: Orality and Emotions in Ancient Inscriptions', in *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, ed. by John Davies and John Wilkes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 299-328 (pp. 307-09).
- 22 *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, nova series* (hereafter *ICUR*), ed. by A. Silvagni and others (Vatican City: Pontificio Institutum Archaeologiae Christianae, 1922-92), II.1 (1888), p. 134; Antonio Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Vat-

- ican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942), p. 212, no. 58.
- 23 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?'
- 24 *ICUR* II 4092: 'Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans | hanc Constantinus Victor tibi condidit aulam'. (Because under your leadership the world in triumph has risen to the stars | Victorious Constantine has founded this hall for you.) Liverani, 'Costantino'; Liverani, 'Saint Peter's', pp. 155-58; Liverani, 'Costanzo II', pp. 476-78. About the date: Liverani, 'Old St Peter's'.
- 25 Usually – but not always – the dedicant is portrayed at the left end of the mosaic.
- 26 Cécilia Davis-Weyer, 'Das Traditio-Legis-Bild und seine Nachfolge', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, 12 (1961), 7-45 (pp. 34-35) has already made a similar suggestion; Jäggi, p. 41, n. 11 argues that at St Andrew Catabarbara (Ihm, pp. 154-55) the inscription praises Valila, the Goth General who donated the basilica in his will, but the donor does not appear in the mosaic. There are, however, counter-objections: as the same Jäggi (p. 35) rightly pointed out, usually the lay donor is not portrayed (cf. Deichmann, pp. 15-21). The strongest argument, on the other hand, stems from the enunciative structure of the text: Valila was mentioned in the third person in the dialogue between the utterer (i.e. in this case the beholder-reader) and Christ (type B in Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?'). Damasus instead appears as enunciator (or – maybe better – as speaker: type D) and therefore he is an essential figure for the 'happiness' of the utterance, which cannot be implied.
- 27 Liverani, 'Il monumento'. Cf. above n. 7.
- 28 Cf. n. 12; Liverani, 'Il monumento'.
- 29 Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* (hereafter *ILCV*), 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924-31), 1843 = *AE* 1903, 177; Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental*, p. 384; Jean-Pierre Caillet, in *Salona IV: Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, ed. by Nancy Gauthier and others, Collection de l'École française de Rome 194.4, 2 vols (Rome, École française de Rome; Split: Musée Archeologique, 2010), I, pp. 237-40, no. 63; Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', pp. 18-19, n. 19.
- 30 Type B in Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?'.
- 31 Onuphrius Panvinus, *De praecipuis urbis Romae Sanctoribusque basilicis, quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant liber* (Rome: Haerdes A. Bladii, 1570), p. 235.
- 32 De Rossi, *Inscriptiones*, II, p. 71, no. 42; p. 98, no. 6; p. 139, no. 28; *ILCV* 976; Ihm, pp. 132-35, no. III; Joan Gómez Pallarès, 'Carmina Latina Epigraphica musiva et depicta non Buecheleriana nec Zarkeriana I', *Minerva: Revista de filología clásica*, 7 (1993), 165-222 (pp. 221-22, no. 69). Frits van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (London: Nelson, 1958), p. 85 (transl. by Mary F. Hedlund and Harold H. Rowley, slightly retouched).
- 33 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', type D.
- 34 Davis-Weyer, 'Das Traditio-Legis-Bild', places great emphasis on this scheme.
- 35 Josef Wilpert, 'La proclamazione efesina e i mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore', *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, 7 (1931), 197-213; Theodor Klauser, 'Rom und der Kult der Gottesmutter Maria', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 15 (1972), 120-35 (pp. 130-35) and Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri*, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), I, p. 356. Less correct is Victor Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure: Une basilique de Rome dans l'histoire de la ville et de son église (V^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 283 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2001), pp. 43-45, who does not consider the necessary presence of the dedicant and then assumes the Virgin – without Christ – in profile facing the procession of the five martyrs. About the place of the mosaic there are incomprehensible differences: Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Thorin, 1886-92), I (1886), p. 235, n. 2 and Lucien De Bruyne, 'Intorno ai mosaici della navata di S. Maria Maggiore: ultime ricerche', *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana*, 15 (1938), 281-318 (pp. 308-11), place the saints among the windows of the nave; Ildefons Schuster, *Liber Sacramentorum: Notes historiques et liturgiques sur le missel romain*, 9 vols (Brussels: Vromant, 1925-33), VIII (1932), pp. 27-28, and Suzanne Spain, 'The Promised Blessing': the iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore', *Art Bulletin*, 61, 4 (1979), 518-40 (p. 532) even place the mosaic in the apse, underestimating Panvinus and hypothesizing a reuse (impossible for a mosaic). Hartmann Grisar, *Roma alla fine del mondo antico*, rev. by Alfonso Bartoli, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Rome: Desclée, 1930), I, p. 341 n. 2, rightly points out that if the saints were in the aisle, then they had their backs to the altar.
- 36 Wilpert, pp. 209-10.
- 37 Ferrua, pp. 167-68, no. 33; Franz Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (hereafter *CLE*), 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895-97) 903 = *ICUR* VII 18368 = *ILCV* 1992: Verbera, carnifices, flammis, tormenta, catenas | vincere Laurenti sola fides potuit' (Scourgings, executioners, fire, torture, chains: | St Lawrence's faith alone managed to overcome all that).
- 38 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, II. 116-20.
- 39 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, VII. 11-16.
- 40 Ferrua, pp. 175-78, no. 37.
- 41 Ambrosius, *De Virginitibus*, I. 5-9; Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, XIV.
- 42 Schuster, p. 27, guesses St Ignatius, but there is no support in the iconography.
- 43 Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, VII. 23; Michael J. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 68.

- 44 Klausner, 'Rom und der Kult', pp. 130-35 guesses a glass of poison, but this image would be unrecognizable.
- 45 Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *De Bello Civili (Pharsalia)*, ix. 775-76: 'Saevum sed membra venenum | decoquit'.
- 46 Ioannis Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta in quibus praecipue Musiva opera sacrarum profanarumq. Aedium structura ... inlustrantur* (Rome: Bernabò, 1699), II, pp. 118-19, pl. xxxv; Ihm, p. 156, no. xviii, pl. xxvi.2.
- 47 Richard Krautheimer and others, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)*, 5 vols (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937-77), IV (1970), pp. 230-42; ILS, 8988 = CLE 2040 = ICUR VI 15764 = ILCV 1765; Anne Kurdock, 'Demetrias ancilla Dei: Anicia Demetrias and the problem of the missing patron', in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome 300-900*, ed. by Catherine F. Cooper and Julia Hillner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 190-224 (p. 223); Carlos Machado, 'Roman Aristocrats and the christianization of Rome', in *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire: The Breaking of a Dialogue (IVth-VIth Century AD)*, *Proceedings of the International Conference at the Monastery of Bose (October 2008)*, ed. by Rita Lizzi Testa and Peter Brown (Münster: LIT, 2011), pp. 493-516 (pp. 503-04); translation by Kurdock.
- 48 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', type B.
- 49 Ihm, pp. 193-94, no. xlviii; Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972, repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 62; Lipsmeyer, p. 32.
- 50 Choricus Gaza, *Laudatio Marciani*, I. 29-31. See *Choricii Gazaei Opera*, ed. by Richard Foerster and Eberhard Richsteig (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1929): p. 29: Ἡ μὲν ὑποχρῶσα καὶ ἀργυριτιδί ψηφίδι κεκοσμημένη τοῦ σωτήρος ἐν μέσῳ δείκνυσι τὴν μητέρα τὸν υἱὸν ἐνθεμένην τοῖς κόλποις ἄρτι τεχθέντα: περιέστηκε δὲ χορὸς ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὐσεβῆς. 30. Ὁ δὲ γε τούτων ἄκρον ἐπέχων τὸ δεξιὸν πάντα μὲν ὧν βασιλεὺς, πρέπων δὲ συγγεγράφθαι θεοφιλεῖ καταλόγῳ καὶ τῶν πάλαι διακονησάντων Θεῷ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην ὁμῶνυμον ἔχειν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ναῷ συναγωνιστῆν (ἐκ) τῶν πόνων τὸν ἱερέα λαβῶν; ἦδει γὰρ ὡς αἰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλοτιμίαι μόνην εὐπρέπειαν τῇ πόλει περιποιούσιν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων κατασκευὴ μετὰ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ δόξαν ὁσιότητος συνεισάγει. 31. Οὗτος οὖν τοῦ νεῶ προστάτην ὄντα πλησίον εὐμενῶς δέξασθαι τὸ δῶρον αἰτεῖ, ὃ δὲ πείθεται καὶ γαληνῶ θεάματι τὸν ἄνδρα προσβλέπει τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ θατέρῳ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπικλίνων καὶ δηλὸς ἐστὶν αὐτίκα συστήσαν αὐτὸν τῇ τε παρθένῳ καὶ τῷ παιδί τῷ σωτήρι' (The latter is adorned with gilded and silver mosaic, and displays in the centre the Mother of the Saviour holding on her bosom her new-born Son: on either side stands a pious band. At the extreme right of these [groups] is a person who is in all respect like an emperor, and who is worthy of both being included in the register of God's friends and of bearing the name of the chief of God's deacons of old [Stephen, Governor of Palestine]: this for many reasons and especially because, with the Bishop as partner of his labours, he has donated the church to his fellow-citizens, knowing well that whereas other liberalities result only in the adornment of the city, the construction of churches brings in not only beauty, but a name for godliness besides. He it is who standing next to the patron of the church [St Sergius], asks him to accept the gift graciously; the latter consents and looks upon the man with a gentle gaze as he lays his right hand on the man's shoulder, being evidently about to present him to the Virgin and her Son, the Saviour.) (transl. by Mango).
- 51 Alternatively the right could be that of the celebrant facing the people or of the Virgin, thus corresponding to the left of the beholder.
- 52 Ihm, pp. 173-74, no. xxx; Deichmann, pp. 343-48; R. Cortesi, 'Due basiliche ravennati del VI secolo: S. Maria Maggiore, S. Stefano Maggiore', *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 30 (1983), 49-86 (pp. 49-67); Jean-Pierre Caillet, 'L'affirmation de l'autorité de l'évêque dans les sanctuaires paléochrétiens du haut Adriatique: de l'inscription à l'image', *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society*, 24 (2003), 21-30 (pp. 24-27); Jäggi, p. 31.
- 53 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen and others, 17 vols (Berolini: Reimerum, 1863-2012), XI (1888), 284: 'Virginis aula micat, Christum quae cepit ab astris | Nuntius e coelis angelus ante fuit. | Misterium! Verbi genitrix et virgo perennis | Auctorisque sui facta parens Domini. | Vera, magi, claudi, caeci, mors, vita fatentur. | Culmina sacra Deo dedicat Ecclesius' (The Hall of the Virgin shines, she who received Christ from the stars. | An angel from the heavens announced [him] in advance. | O mystery! The mother of the Word and perennial virgin, | made Parent of the Lord and her Creator. | Truth, the Magi, the lame, the blind, death, life confess [her], | Ecclesius dedicates these holy rooftops to God.) (Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, transl. by Deborah Maukopf Deliyannis (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), p. 171, with retouches).
- 54 Reinhold Merkelbach and Josef Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (hereafter SGO), 5 vols (vol. I: Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1998; vols II-V: Munich and Leipzig: Saur, 2001-04), 21/23/05; *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, ed. by Carl Hermann Kraeling (New Haven: Yale University, 1938), pl. xxxix (plan), lxxv (mosaic); Gianfranco Agosti, 'Interazioni fra testo e immagini nell'oriente tardoantico: gli epigrammi epigrafici', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, 84 (2011-12), 247-70 (pp. 257-59).

- 55 *Gerasa*, p. 485, no. 330, pl. LXXVI a; SGO, 21/23/06; Cyril Mango, 'Épigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance', in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορώνο* (Rethymnon: University of Crete, 1986), I, pp. 23-35; repr. in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), IX, pp. 23-35 (p. 29); Agosti, 'Saxa loquuntur?', p. 170.
- 56 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 72: 'in cameris tribunae sua effigies tessellis variis infixata est' (in the vault of the apse his image is fixed in multi-coloured mosaic).
- 57 Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*: '[in] supercilium arcus tribunae invenietis versus metricos, continentes ita: [...]' ('And in the triumphal arch of the apse you will find metrical verses, containing the following'). *CIL*, XI 299; Deichmann, pp. 372-74; Cortesi, 'Due basiliche ravennati', pp. 68-86; Dorothy Pikhous, 'La poésie épigraphique en Cispadane', in *Cispadana e letteratura antica* (Bologna: Università di Bologna, 1987), pp. 159-88 (p. 188); Joan Gómez Pallarès, 'Carmina Latina Epigraphica musiva et depicta non Buecheriana nec Zarkeriana II', *Faventia*, 15 (1993), 99-123 (p. 105, no. 74).
- 58 Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', type B.
- 59 Noël Duval, 'La représentation du Palais dans l'art du Bas-Empire et du Haut Moyen Age d'après le Psautier d'Utrecht', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 15 (1965), pp. 207-54; Noël Duval, 'La mosaïque du "Palatium" de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf représente-t-elle une façade ou un édifice aplani?', in *XXV Corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna: Girasole 1978), pp. 93-122; Paul Lampl, 'Schemes of Architectural Representation in early Medieval Art', *Marsyas*, 9 (1960-61), 6-13.
- 60 Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 2000), pl. 153.
- 61 Duval, 'La représentation', pp. 248-49, Fig. 43.
- 62 For the interpretation of the scene and the identification of the depicted monuments, cf. Paolo Liverani, 'Osservazioni sui Rostri del Foro Romano in età tardoantica', in *Res Bene Gestae: Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, ed. by Anna Leone and others (Rome: Quasar, 2007), pp. 169-93.
- 63 Peter Brown, 'Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages', in *Witchcraft, Confessions and Accusations*, ed. by Mary Douglas, Association of Social Anthropologist Monographs, 9 (New York and London: Tavistock, 1970), pp. 17-45; Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM, 1981). Cf. Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', p. 9; Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 152-53.
- 64 About the viewer's delegate in the figural utterance and the 'commentator' there is historical-artistic and semiotic literature: Louis Marin, 'À propos d'un carton de Le Brun: le tableau d'histoire ou la dénégation e l'énonciation', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 40, 157 (1975), 41-64 (pp. 51-53); Louis Marin, 'Figure della ricezione nella rappresentazione pittorica moderna', *Carte Semiotiche*, 2 (1986), 23-35 (pp. 27-35); Felix Thürlemann, 'Il "Compianto" di Mantegna della Pinacoteca di Brera o: il quadro fa l'osservatore', in *Leggere l'opera d'arte*, ed. by Lucia Corrain and Mario Valenti (Bologna: Esculapio, 1991), pp. 81-98; Elisabetta Gigante, 'Il pittore e lo spettacolo: Forme dell'enunciazione enunciata negli affreschi di Luca Signorelli a Orvieto', in *Leggere l'opera d'arte II: Dal figurativo all'astratto*, ed. by Lucia Corrain (Bologna: Esculapio, 1999), pp. 15-26; Lucia Corrain, 'Segni di luce e ombra, d'identità, di ricezione, di prodròmia: Una lettura della Cattura di Cristo di Caravaggio', in *Leggere l'opera d'arte II: Dal figurativo all'astratto*, ed. by Lucia Corrain (Bologna: Esculapio, 1999), pp. 27-41; Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage: Aspects de l'identité en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, Flammarion 1995), pp. 109-11, 116; Liverani, 'Chi parla a chi?', p. 9. Also (with some differences) Roland Tefnin, *Les regards de l'image: Des origines jusqu'à Byzance* (Paris: Edition de la Martinière, 2003), p. 236.
- 65 Claude Lepelley, 'Le patronat épiscopal aux IV^e et V^e siècles: continuités et ruptures avec le patronat classique', in *L'évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle: Image et autorité*, ed. by Éric Rebillard and Claire Sotinel (Rome, École française de Rome, 1998), pp. 17-33.

„DREHMOMENTE“:
ORIENTIERUNGSWECHSEL CHRISTLICHER KULTBAUTEN
IM MITTELALTERLICHEN ROM

Daniela Mondini

Orientierungsfragen

In die alte Debatte, ob sich für den christlichen Sakralbau ein ‚Grundgesetz‘ für die architektonische Ausrichtung und für die liturgische Orientierung, also die Positionierung des Hauptaltars und des Zelebranten, feststellen lasse, hat Sible de Blaauw mit seiner zunächst auf Niederländisch publizierten Studie *Met het oog op het licht*, die aus seiner 1997 an der Radboud Universität Nijmegen gehaltenen Antrittsvorlesung hervorging, ordnungsstiftend und klärend eingegriffen. Anhand einer kleinen Statistik und nach Zeitschnitten chronologisch organisierter Stadtpläne konnte er nachweisen, dass selbst in Rom, der Hauptstadt der frühchristlichen Welt, bei aller durch bestehende Straßenzüge und Vorgängerstrukturen bedingten ‚Unordnung‘ der Kirchengausrichtungen, sich doch das Grundprinzip einer Privilegierung der Ost-West-Achse feststellen lässt.¹ Auch wenn die römischen Kirchen um bis zu 30 bis 40 Grad von der streng astronomischen Ost-West-Orientierung abweichen, ist evident, dass es diese ‚Lichtachse‘ war, die von den Erbauern für die Ausrichtung der christlichen Kultbauten gesucht wurde.

Die Ost-West-Ausrichtung von Kirchen ermöglichte symbolisch und (bei gutem Wetter bzw. nicht zu hohen umliegenden Bauten auch effektiv) das Licht der aufgehenden bzw. untergehenden Sonne optimal einzufangen, indem ihre Strahlen bei niedrigem Stand durch die Fassaden- bzw. Apsisfenster in das Langhaus eindringen konnten. Im Gegensatz zum übrigen Orbis Christianum hielt jedoch Rom über die um das Jahr 400 abgeschlossene experimentelle Phase des frühchristlichen Kirchenbaus hinaus bis ins Hochmittelalter an der Bevorzugung der am westlichen Ende des Langhauses angeordneten Apsis fest. Dies hatte auch Konsequenzen

für die Positionierung und Blickrichtung des Liturgen, der in einem gewesteten Bau, hinter dem Altar stehend nach Osten zum Morgenlicht (und zur Gemeinde) blickte. In einem gewesteten Bau hingegen stand der Liturg mit dem Rücken zur Gemeinde vor dem Altar und betete mit ihr *versus solem orientem*. Die Westausrichtung mag – wie auch das allgemeine Festhalten an frühchristlichen Bautraditionen – als Insignie für ‚römische‘ Tradition schlechthin durch das ganze Mittelalter hindurch gewirkt und Verweischarakter auf die großen konstantinischen Gründungen der Lateranbasilika und S. Pietro in Vaticano besessen haben. Die Westung als intendierter Rombezug fand in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit auch nördlich der Alpen eine punktuelle Resonanz.

Inversion – Umpolung

Wurde in Rom eine frühchristliche oder frühmittelalterliche Kirche durch einen Neubau ersetzt, übernahm dieser in der Regel aus Kontinuitätsgründen bis ins fortgeschrittene Hochmittelalter hinein die Ausrichtung des Vorgängers. Durch Ausgrabungen sind aber auch einige signifikante Fälle von ‚Umpolungen‘ bekannt, bei denen die Bauachse beibehalten, die Apsis mit dem Altar aber vom einen zum anderen Langhausende verlegt und die Kirche um 180 Grad gedreht wurde. Im Folgenden wird anhand ausgewählter Beispiele der Frage nachgegangen, welche Motivationen solch einschneidenden Eingriffen zugrunde lagen.

Ein prominenter Fall ist S. Paolo fuori le mura: Der erste über dem Grab des Apostels in der Nekropole auf der Via Ostiense errichtete Kultbau spätkonstantinischer Zeit (gewollt von Konstantin, möglicherweise aber erst durch seine Söhne Konstantin II. oder Konstanti-

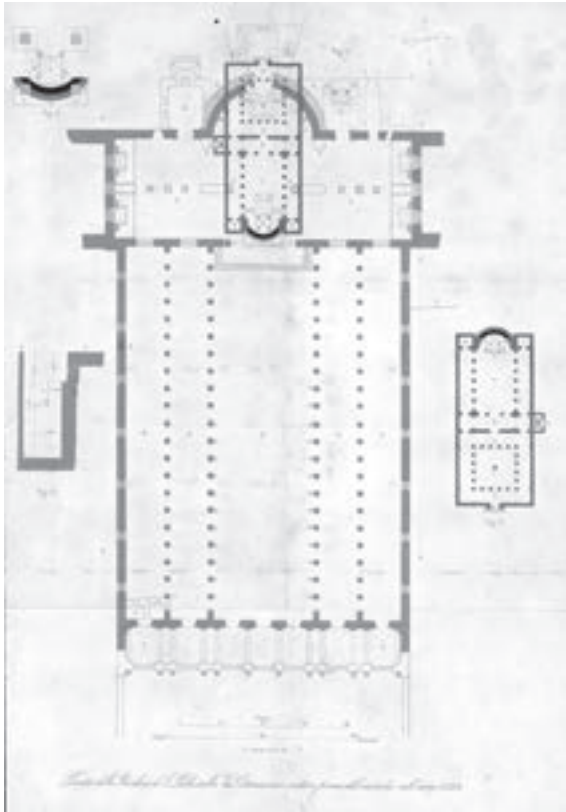


Abb. 1. Grundriss mit ergrabener konstantinischer Apsis, S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rom. Quelle: Belloni 1853, Abb. 1.

us errichtet) war, soweit sich dies aus den wenigen archäologischen Funden belegen lässt, nach Westen ausgerichtet und wohl sehr klein (Abb. 1).² Die Fassade mit dem Haupteingang dieses ersten Memorialbaus wandte sich über einen kleinen Platz oder Vorhof zur Via Ostiense. In den Jahren 384–86 wurde von den Kaisern Valentinian II., Theodosius I. und Arcadius der Neubau einer monumentalen fünfschiffigen Basilika zu Ehren des *Doctor Gentium* beschlossen. Dem Wunsch nach einer Vergrößerung und Angleichung an das Modell der Petersbasilika waren aber topografische Grenzen gesetzt. Man behielt den *locus sanctus* des Apostelgrabes als Fix- und Angelpunkt für die Drehung der gesamten Kultstätte bei, die nun mit einer neuen Apsis im Osten ungehindert ein monumentales Langhaus in Richtung Tiber entfalten konnte. Die Umpolung der Anlage war primär dadurch bedingt, dass das Wegrecht der Hauptverkehrs-

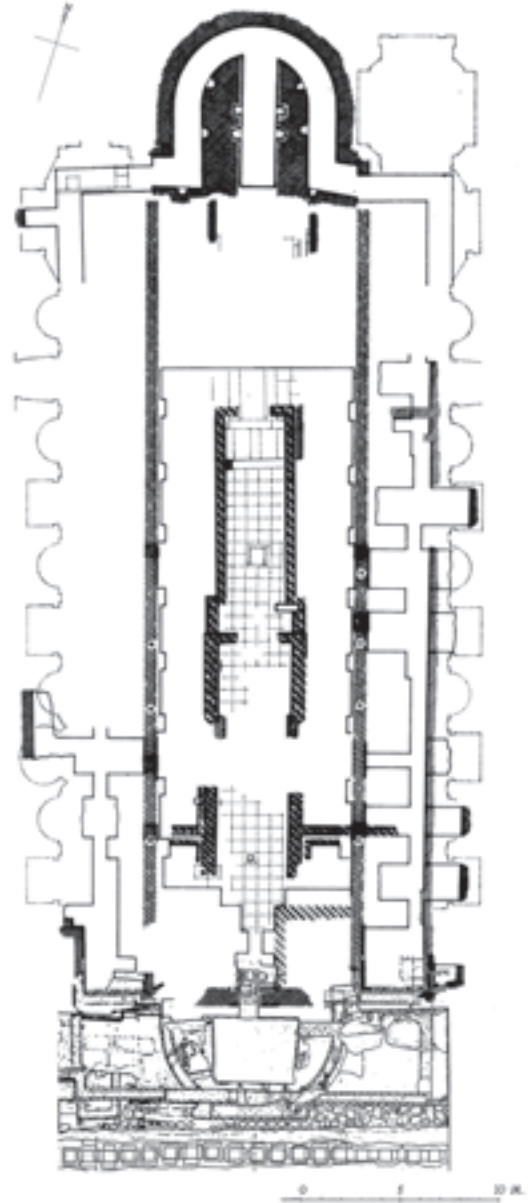


Abb. 2. Grundriss mit der ergrabenen Apsis im Süden des frühchristlichen Vorgängers, S. Marco, Rom. Montage der Pläne nach Krautheimer und Trinci Cecchelli.

ader der Via Ostiense respektiert werden musste und somit ein Ausbau eines großen Langhauses in Richtung Osten ausgeschlossen war.³

Ein Beispiel aus karolingischer Zeit stellt die innerstädtische Kirche von S. Marco dar, deren erste Gründung im Jahr 336 wohl auf Papst

Markus zurückgeht. Die erste in Nord-Süd-Richtung angelegte Aula wies eine nach Süden orientierte Apsis auf, wie die von Margherita Trinci Cecchelli in den Jahren 1988 bis 1990 durchgeführten Grabungen in der Vorhalle der heutigen Kirche belegen (Abb. 2).⁴ Noch in frühchristlicher Zeit, wohl nach einem Brand, wurde die Aula durch eine gleich ausgerichtete, dreischiffige Säulenbasilika ersetzt, deren Niveau sich etwa 1 Meter über dem Boden der ersten Kirche befand.⁵ Die Apsis der ersten Kirche wurde in diesen Neubau integriert. Die ungewöhnliche Nord-Süd-Ausrichtung erklärt sich aus dem Straßenverlauf und der dichten Bebauung der antiken Stadt, in die die Kirche eingefügt wurde. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Haupteingang auf der Ostseite lag, wo sich noch heute ein Portal befindet.⁶ Papst Gregor IV. (828–44) ließ etwa 1,30 Meter über dem Niveau der zweiten frühchristlichen Kirche eine neue 40 Meter lange dreischiffige Arkadenbasilika errichten, deren Säulenschäfte wohl aus dem Vorgängerbau stammen.⁷ Ihre neu errichtete Apsis mit dem noch heute existierenden Mosaik stand nun aber im Norden über einer *ex novo* errichteten Ringkrypta nach dem Modell von St. Peter. In diesem Fall war die Umpolung ein massiver Eingriff, der auch eine Reliquientranslation aus dem ehemaligen Hauptaltar in der aufgegebenen Süd-Apsis in die neue, ca. 50 Meter weiter nördlich liegende Krypta bzw. im darüber angeordneten Hauptaltar der neu errichteten Apsis erforderte.⁸

Die Quellenlage ist zu dünn, als dass sich für S. Marco sicher feststellen ließe, ob die Umpolung primär durch die aufgewertete Straßenführung auf der Südseite der Kirche motiviert wurde, oder ob hier die bewusste Rezeption der gewesteten Petersbasilika mit der Anlage einer Ringkrypta unter dem erhöhten Presbyterium den Ausschlag für die Umorientierung gab.⁹ Es sind die grundlegenden Forschungen von Sible de Blaauw zur Interdependenz von Kirchenbau und liturgischer Nutzung, die durch die Differenzierung zwischen architektonischer und liturgischer Orientierung eine ‚versteckte Regel‘ offen gelegt haben, insofern als eine genordnete Kirche liturgisch wie eine gewestete, während eine gesüdete wie eine geostete Kirche genutzt

wurde.¹⁰ Damit ist auch die Einsicht verbunden, dass topografisch-urbanistische Bedingungen durchaus eine ‚elastische Anwendung‘ der architektonischen und liturgischen Orientierung erlaubten.¹¹ Man könnte sich aber für S. Marco fragen, ob der symbolische Rückbezug auf das Modell ‚Alt-St. Peter‘ für die Anlage von Presbyterium und Krypta nicht sogar als ein Akt der Betonung der *Romanitas* und des päpstlichen Primats in einer Kirche zu deuten wäre, in deren Apsismosaik gerade neben dem ‚römischen‘ Titelheiligen Papst Markus, auch der im Jahr 829 frisch aus Alexandria nach Venedig ‚importierte‘ Evangelist Markus gleich neben dem auftraggebenden Papst Gregor IV. seinen Platz gefunden hatte.¹² Der von Gregor IV. initiierte Neubau führte unter Verwendung der Fundamente der frühchristlichen Vorgängerbasiliken zwar zu keiner Vergrößerung der Grundfläche. Die Drehung war aber ein radikaler Eingriff: Der Hauptaltar mit seinen Reliquien wurde an eine neue Stelle verlegt. Es scheint kein Bedürfnis bestanden zu haben, am alten Ort die Erinnerung an den Altar aufrecht zu halten, dessen ehemaliger Standort sich nach dem Neubau zudem außerhalb der Kirche, wahrscheinlich in einer der Fassade vorgelagerten Portikus auf der Achse des Haupteingangs befand.

Die spektakulärste ‚Umpolung‘ einer römischen Basilika wurde um 1195 von Papst Coelestin III. sowie seinem Kämmerer und Kanzler Cencius anlässlich der Erweiterung von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura auf der Via Tiburtina initiiert (Abb. 3).¹³ Hier wurde im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Beispielen der Vorgängerbau, die dreischiffige gewestete Emporenbasilika, die Papst Pelagius II. (579–90) mit kostbarem Spolienmaterial über einer Katakomben hatte erbauen lassen, nicht nur größtenteils erhalten, sondern durch den Umbau aufgewertet: Mit einem ‚chirurgischen Eingriff‘ wurden die im Frühmittelalter bereits weiter nach Westen verlegte Apsis und das vorgelagerte Binnenquerhaus abgetragen. Direkt auf der Westseite des Apsisbogens des 6. Jahrhunderts schloss man ein monumentales dreischiffiges Langhaus an, wodurch die Gesamtlänge des Baukomplexes etwa verdoppelt wurde. Das Resultat war ein hybrides, aus zwei Langhäusern zusammengesetztes Bauwerk ohne Apsis.

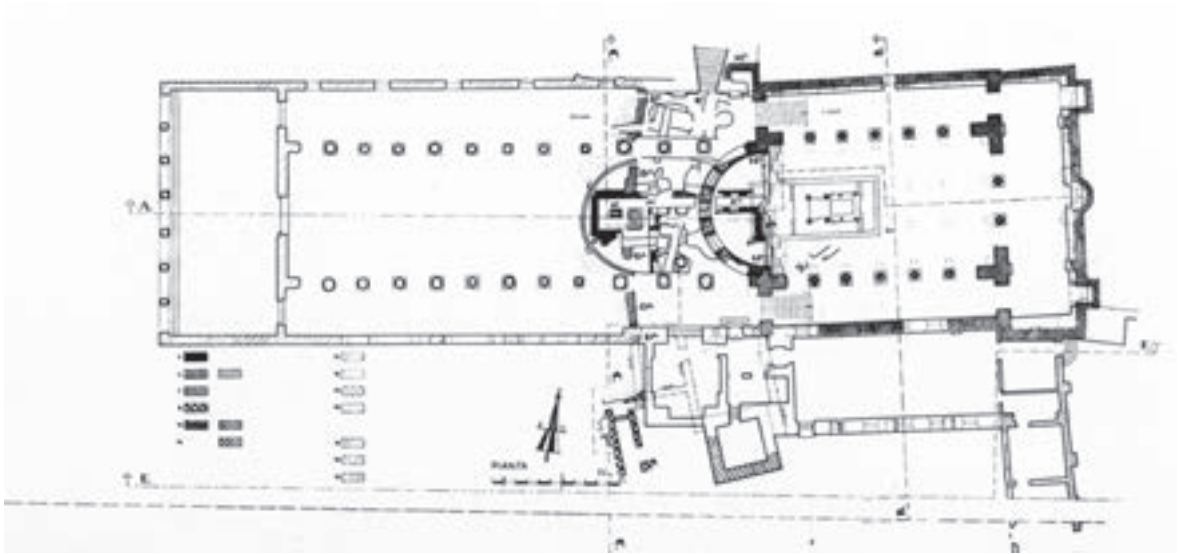


Abb. 3. Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Grundriss mit Grabung. Quelle: CBCR, II (1962), Taf. II.



Abb. 4. Rom, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Langhaus, Detail: ‚Pavimentfenestella‘.

Im Gegensatz zur Kultstätte von S. Paolo fuori le mura, in der das Grab des Apostels zwar auf ein höheres Niveau umgebettet wurde, aber seinen Standort bewahrte,¹⁴ weisen in S. Lo-

renzo fuori le mura – entgegen der Meinung von Richard Krautheimer¹⁵ – die Indizien darauf hin, dass das Märtyrergrab anlässlich dieses einschneidenden Umbaus an die Stelle verscho-

ben werden musste, an der es bis heute steht.¹⁶ Die Erinnerung an den Ort, an dem sich – wie man seit den Grabungen der Nachkriegszeit weiß – das Kataraktengrab befand, bewahrte das Cosmaten-Paviment des 13. Jahrhunderts: Eine maßwerkartig perforierte kreisförmige Marmorplatte sollte den *locus sanctus* des ehemaligen Grab- und Altarstandortes als eine Art ‚Bodenfenestella‘ markieren (Abb. 4).¹⁷ In den folgenden Jahrhunderten ging die Erinnerung daran jedoch verloren.

Für die Liturgie in der Basilika an der Via Tiburtina bedeutete die Inversion der Orientierung eine einschneidende Umstellung. Hatte bis ins ausgehende 12. Jahrhundert der am Hauptaltar zelebrierende Geistliche, wie in gewesteten römischen Kirchen üblich, hinter dem Altar gestanden und nach Osten *versus populum* geblickt, so war die Situation spätestens bei der Schlussweihe der Kirche durch Innozenz IV. (1243–54) im Jahr 1254 eine vollkommen neue: Für die Stationsliturgie (und wohl auch bei der Weihe selbst) stand der Papst vor dem Altar, mit dem Rücken zur Gemeinde. Die östlich des Altars liegende Porphyrstufe ist wohl eine neuzeitliche Hinzufügung um 1600, als, wie Sible de Blaauw überzeugend darlegte, nach der Liturgiereform Sixtus’ V. (1585–90) die Geistlichen die Auflage bekamen, der Gemeinde zugewandt zu zelebrieren.¹⁸ In der Basilika von S. Lorenzo ist für das Hoch- und Spätmittelalter kein Laienaltar nachgewiesen; daher könnte Crescimbenis Aussage, dass am Hauptaltar ausschließlich der Papst auf der Westseite mit dem Blick nach Osten, während auf der Ostseite die täglichen Messgottesdienste durch niedrigere Ränge des Klerus *versus populum* zelebriert wurden, eine vielleicht schon spätmittelalterliche Praxis widerspiegeln.¹⁹

Fragt man, warum kurz vor 1200 eine derart unkonventionelle, meines Wissens einzigartige Lösung für die Erweiterung einer Basilika gewählt wurde, so erscheinen die topografischen Gegebenheiten der einleuchtendste Grund zu sein. Die von Papst Pelagius II. errichtete Emporenbasilika war – wie auch der Neubau aus dem 7. Jahrhundert von S. Agnese an der Via Nomentana – bis auf das Niveau des in der Katakomben aufbewahrten Märtyrergrabs in den

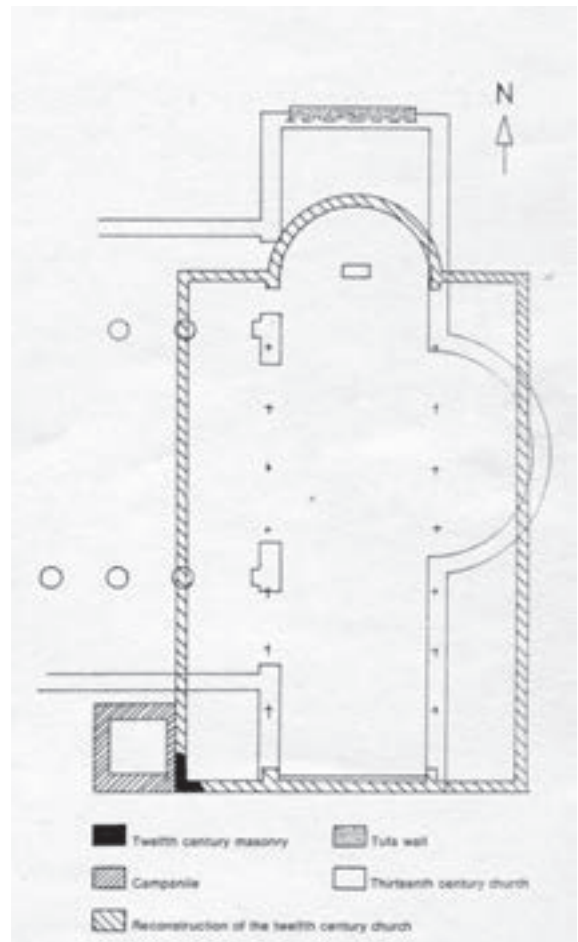


Abb. 5. Hypothetischer Grundriss des benediktinischen Vorgängerbaus, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rom. Quelle: Malmstrom 1976.

Hügel eingetieft errichtet worden. Der Hang fällt Richtung Süden und Westen ab, während er auf der Ostseite noch weiter ansteigt. Daher war ein Ausbau der Basilika nur nach Westen möglich, wenn man nicht riesige Erdmengen abtragen wollte. Der Haupteingang befand sich auf der Südseite, während die östliche und nördliche Umfassungsmauer, sowie die Westapsis direkt gegen den nackten Tuff stießen. Westlich der Apsis durch eine *fenestella confessionis* und größere Fenster mit dem Hauptraum verbunden, befand sich eine in den Felsen eingebrochene Außenkrypta, die mit dem Kataraktengrab auf der Mittelachse – so meine These – die ursprüngliche Bestattung des Laurentius enthielt. Dieser Raum erfuhr im Laufe des Früh- und Hochmittelalters viele Umgestaltungen, die zu



Abb. 6. S. Maria in Aracoeli und Kapitolsplatz, vielleicht um 1540 oder um 1560, Feder auf Papier, Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

einer sukzessiven Aufwertung und schließlich zu seiner räumlichen Eingliederung in die Basilika des 6. Jahrhunderts führten. Offensichtlich wurde das Langhaus des Pelagius-Baus mit seinem Reichtum an antiken Reliefs und Kapitellen als Raumpolie und kostbarer Spolienraum für eine Umwandlung zum Presbyterium als würdig erachtet, zumal dessen Seitenschiffe und der östliche ‚Narthex‘ zu einem ‚rechtwinkligen‘ Chorumgang um das angehobene Presbyterium umgenutzt werden konnten.

Drehung um 90 Grad

Der Um- und Erweiterungsbau von S. Maria in Aracoeli (Abb. 5) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts unterscheidet sich durch seine Drehung um 90 Grad nicht nur von den bisher besprochenen Beispielen, sondern ist nach meiner bisherigen Kenntnis im mittelalterlichen Rom damit auch singulär. Vielleicht ist es kein

Zufall, dass derselbe Papst Innozenz IV., der den Abschluss der Ausstattungarbeiten von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura begleitete, die Voraussetzungen für die Erneuerung der Marienkirche auf dem Kapitol schuf. Im Jahr 1250 hatte er das benediktinische Kloster von S. Maria in Capitolio ‚konfisziert‘ und dem jungen Franziskanerorden als römische Hauptniederlassung übertragen.²⁰ Mit der am 20. März 1252 erlassenen Bulle *Quoniam ut ait*, die alle mit Spenden am Bau Beteiligten mit 40 Ablassstagen bedachte, besteht ein *terminus ad quem* für die noch unter diesem Papst begonnenen Umbau- bzw. Erneuerungsarbeiten der Kirche und der Konventbauten.²¹ Weitere Ablässe folgten 1256 und 1258 unter seinem Nachfolger, so dass die ‚fabbrica‘ reiche Zuwendungen erhielt.²² 1268 wurde für den Campanile eine Glocke gegossen.²³ Dies bedeutet aber nicht, dass der Rohbau zum Abschluss gekommen war. Die Arbeiten zogen sich



Abb. 7. Rom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, Querhaus mit dem Helena-Altar über der Memorie der Augustus-Vision. Foto: Daniela Mondini.

– wahrscheinlich mit Unterbrechungen – bis ins ausgehende 13. Jahrhundert hin.²⁴

Es ist aber zu vermuten, dass von Anfang an, also bereits zu Innozenz' Zeiten, eine Erweiterung der Kirche gewünscht war und daher Spenden für den Erwerb von Grundstücken benötigt wurden. Doch wie sollte diese Erweiterung vor sich gehen, da die Topografie des kapitolinischen Hügels weder nach Norden noch nach Süden eine Verlängerung der auf dem Gelände der antiken Arx nach Norden ausgerichteten dreischiffigen Basilika erlaubte? Es ist zu vermuten, dass früh die Entscheidung gefällt wurde, die Kirche um 90 Grad zu drehen und das alte genordete Langhaus nun als Querhaus zu verwenden.

Im Gegensatz aber zur Vergrößerung von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura verzichtete man hier darauf, die Strukturen des Vorgängerbaus er-

kennbar zu lassen. Die meisten Langhaussäulen wurden wahrscheinlich für das neue Mittelschiff wieder verwendet und versetzt,²⁵ wodurch nur etwa das Volumen des damaligen Mittelschiffs im heutigen Querhaus vermutbar ist, nicht aber seine genauen ursprünglichen Dimensionen. Am Außenbau des südlichen Querhauses sind heute noch wenige Mauerwerkreste der Fassade des 12. Jahrhunderts ablesbar, an die sich die unteren Geschosse des Glockenturms anlehnen (Abb. 6).²⁶ Im Innern jedoch wurde die Confessio mit dem darüber als ‚Ara coeli‘ errichteten Augustus-Altar – ein Porphyrsarkophag mit Reliquien der Kaisermutter Helena – an alter Stätte belassen (Abb. 7).²⁷ Dieser sollte authentizitätsstiftend als Monument und Memoria an den Ort der Vision des Augustus erinnern, die sich nach der Gründungslegende der Kirche, wie sie die frühesten Versionen der Mirabilien referieren, in der *camera*, also im Schlafgemach des Augustus vollzogen haben soll. Im Fresko über dem neuen Hauptaltar in der neuen gotischen, nun nach Osten gerichteten Apsis, soll nach Vasaris Beschreibung Pietro Cavallini der Augustusvision mit einem Fresko ein einprägsames Bild verliehen haben.²⁸

Bei den beiden römischen Großbaustellen des 13. Jahrhunderts von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura und von S. Maria in Aracoeli wurden die Kirchen neu nach Osten ausgerichtet. Meines Erachtens ist aber diese Umorientierung – wie auch bei den älteren behandelten Beispielen – nicht als gewollte Anpassung an die außerhalb Roms im Sakralbau geltende ‚Norm‘ der geosteten Kirche zu betrachten, sondern ein aus den topografischen Bedingungen und den Vergrößerungswünschen resultierender Nebeneffekt.²⁹ Denn – und auch hier folge ich Sible de Blaauws Argument³⁰ – gerade im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts, mit der aufkommenden Vervielfachung der Altäre in den privaten Seitenkapellen, begann sich die liturgische und architektonische Orientierung von ihren astronomischen ‚Ankerpunkten‘ zu lösen, wodurch die Ost-West-Ausrichtung für den Kirchenbau nicht mehr maßgebend war.

Notes

- 1 Sible de Blaauw: *Met het oog op het licht. Een vergeten principe in de oriëntatie van het vroegchristelijk kerkgebouw*. Nijmegen 2000 (Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Cahiers, 2); Sible de Blaauw: *In vista della luce. Un principio dimenticato nell'orientamento dell'edificio di culto paleocristiano*. In: *Arte medievale. Le vie dello spazio liturgico*. Hg. von Paolo Piva. Mailand 2010, S. 15-45.
- 2 Unter dem Triumphbogen der heutigen Kirche wurden 1850 die Mauerzüge einer gewesteten Apsis ergraben: Breite der Apsis 7,58 m, Tiefe 3,79 m. Paolo Belloni: *Sulla grandezza e disposizione della primitiva Basilica Ostiense stabilita dalla sua absida rinvenuta nel 1850*. Rom 1853; Richard Krautheimer und Alfred Frazer: S. Paolo fuori le mura. In: Richard Krautheimer [u.a.]: *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)* (hinfort CBCR). 5 Bde. Vatikanstadt 1937-77, Bd. v, S. 93-164, hier S. 118. Zu den jüngsten Grabungen beim Paulusgrab siehe unten Anmerkung 14.
- 3 Der ansteigende Hügel auf der Ostseite der Via Ostiense erlaubte auch keine Umleitung der Verkehrsachse. Für die Langhauserrichtung musste auch im Westen ein alter Weg wieder in Stand gesetzt werden, weil der jüngere zugunsten des Bauplatzes aufgehoben werden sollte ‚iter vetus quod basilicae prae-terit dorsum, quod quae ripae tiberini amnis adiacet, innovari, ita ut praesens via spatii futuri operis applicetur‘. *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum* [...]. Hg. von Otto Günther. In: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Berlin 1866-, Bd. xxxv (1895), S. 46-47. Zum Forschungsstand allgemein Marina Docci: *San Paolo fuori le mura. Dalle origini alla basilica delle origini*. Rom 2006, S. 18.
- 4 Trinci Cecchelli denkt entgegen Krautheimer an eine einschiffige Aula, vgl. mit älterer Bibliografie Margherita Trinci Cecchelli: *Dati da scavi recenti di monumenti cristiani, sintesi relativa a diversi scavi in corso*. In: *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age* 111, 1 (1999), S. 227-51, hier S. 229. Ferrua und Krautheimer gehen aufgrund der Funde bei einer 1948 im Langhaus durchgeführten Notgrabung hingegen bereits für den ersten Bau von einer dreischiffigen Basilika aus, hierzu Antonio Ferrua: *Antichità cristiane. La basilica di Papa Marco*. In: *La civiltà cattolica* 3 (1948), S. 503-13.
- 5 Ferrua und Krautheimer datieren diesen zweiten Bau ins 5. Jahrhundert, vgl. Richard Krautheimer und Spencer Corbett: *San Marco*. In: *CBCR* III, S. 216-47, hier S. 225-36 und 244. Trinci Cecchelli hingegen ordnet die Errichtung der dreischiffigen Basilika – weniger überzeugend – erst spät, der Initiative von Papst Hadrian (772-95) zu. Die Möglichkeit einer Zerstörung und eines Wiederaufbaus noch im 4.-5. Jahrhundert, die in den Quellen keinen Niederschlag fand (oder absichtlich vertuscht wurde) bleibt plausibler, hierzu Darko Senekovic: *S. Marco*. In: *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050-1300*. Bd. IV: *Kirchen M-O*. Hg. von Peter Cornelius Claussen, Carola Jäggi und Daniela Mondini [in Vorbereitung]. *CBCR* III, S. 222; Rodolfo A. Lanciani: *Forma Urbis Romae*. Mailand 1893-1901, Taf. XXI (1876 nachgewiesener Straßenzug, der von der Via Lata – Via Flaminia, zu dieser Stelle führt); Rodolfo A. Lanciani: *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno alle collezioni romane di antichità*. 2 Bde. Rom 1902, Bd. I, S. 58.
- 6 Krautheimer und Corbett, S. 243.
- 7 Ein 1474 datiertes Inventar, das 1948 bei der Altaröffnung gefunden wurde, nennt neben ‚multa alia ossa‘ die heiligen Reste von Papst Markus, sowie die Reliquien der Hll. Abdon und Sennen sowie Restitutus, vgl. Ferrua, *Antichità cristiane*, S. 506.
- 8 De Blaauw, *In vista della luce*, S. 30.
- 9 De Blaauw, *Met het oog*, S. 31; De Blaauw, *In vista della luce*, S. 30. Vielleicht doch eine Ausnahme zu dieser ‚Regel‘ wäre dann die nach Süden orientierte Kirche S. Lorenzo in Lucina, deren Altar über einer Confessio stand, und folglich nach dem Modell von St. Peter der Zelebrant hinter dem Altar zum Langhaus nach Norden blickte, Daniela Mondini: *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*. In: *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050-1300*. Stuttgart 2002-, Bd. III (2010): *Kirchen G-L*, S. 288, Anm. 115.
- 10 De Blaauw, *In vista della luce*, S. 28, 34.
- 11 Auf die zeitliche Koinzidenz zwischen der venetianischen Neu-Aquisition der Markus-Gebeine aus Alexandria und dem Erscheinen des inschriftlich gekennzeichneten ‚Sanctus Marcus Ebangelista [sic]‘ im Apsismosaik des römischen Neubaus von S. Marco hat Claudia Bolgia hingewiesen, Claudia Bolgia: *The Mosaics of Gregory IV at S. Marco, Rome: Papal Response to Venice, Byzantium, and the Carolingians*. In: *Speculum* 81 (2006), S. 1-34.
- 12 Daniela Mondini: *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, In: *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050-1300*. Stuttgart 2002-, Bd. III (2010): *Kirchen G-L*, S. 317-527, hier S. 343-46; Daniela Mondini: *San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Storia del complesso monumentale nel Medioevo*. Übers. von Giorgia Pollio. Rom 2016, S. 27-31.
- 13 Giorgio Filippi: *Die Ergebnisse der neuen Ausgrabungen am Grab des Apostels Paulus. Reliquienkult und Eucharistie im Presbyterium der Paulusbasilika*. In: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 112 (2006), S. 277-92. Carola Jäggi und Hans Rudolf Meier: *Fundsache Paulus, oder: Archäologie als Medienereignis. Spurensuche in San Paolo fuori le mura in Rom*. In: *Fund-Stücke – Spuren-Suche*. Hg. von Adriano Boschetti-Maradi [u.a.] (= *Zürich Studies in the History of Art* 17-18 (2010-11)), S. 639-57.

- 15 Richard Krautheimer und Wolfgang Frankl: S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. In: *CBCR, Ital. Ausg. Vatikanstadt 1962*, Bd. II, S. 1–144, hier S. 116.
- 16 Mondini, S. *Lorenzo fuori le mura*, S. 446–51, hier S. 456; diese Meinung vertraten unter anderen bereits Guglielmo Matthiae: *San Lorenzo f.l.m.* Rom 1966 (Le chiese di Roma illustrate 89); Simonetta Serra: La tomba di S. Lorenzo. Una messa a punto. In: *La cristianizzazione in Italia fra tardoantico e altomedioevo, Atti del IX Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Agrigento 20–25 novembre 2005*. Palermo 2007, Bd. I, S. 357–73.
- 17 Mondini, S. *Lorenzo fuori le mura*, Abb. 336.
- 18 De Blaauw konnte aufzeigen, dass 1586 bei der Wiedereinführung des Stationsgottesdienst in S. Lorenzo der Zelebrant zunächst mit dem Blick nach Osten vor dem Altar stand, dass man aber bald zur Liturgiefeier *versus populum* nach dem Modell von St. Peter wechselte, vgl. mit Nachweisen Sible de Blaauw: Immagini di liturgia. Sisto V, la tradizione liturgica dei papi e le antiche basiliche di Roma. In: *Römische Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 33 (1999–2000) [2003], S. 259–302, hier S. 288 und Anm. 99; Mondini, S. *Lorenzo fuori le mura*, S. 413–16.
- 19 Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni: *L'istoria della della Basilica Diaconale Collegiata, e Parochiale di S. Maria in Cosmedin di Roma*. Rom 1715, S. 141.
- 20 Mit Nachweisen Ronald E. Malmstrom: 'S. Maria in Aracoeli at Rome' [Diss. New York University 1973], S. 49–50 und 282 (Bulle *Lampas insignis caelestium*, 26. Juni 1250).
- 21 Bulle *Quoniam ut ait*, 20. März 1252, Bullarium Franciscanum (Sbaralea), Bd. I, S. 599, Nr. 397: 'Quoniam, ut ait Apostolus & Sane dilecti Filii Minister, & Fratres Ordinis Minorum de Capitolio Urbis ibidem, sicut accepimus, Ecclesiam cum aliis aedificiis suis usibus opportunis caeperunt aedificare, in qua Divinis possint laudibus deservire. Cum itaque pro hujusmodi aedificiis consummandis, ac etiam pro sustentatione arctae [?] vitae ipsorum indigeant Fidelium juvari subsidiis'. P. F. Casimiro da Roma OFM: *Memorie storiche della chiesa e convento di S. Maria in Araceli di Roma*. Rom 1736, S. 25 zitiert von der im Wortlaut abweichenden Originalurkunde Innozenz' IV. aus Perugia 20. März 1252, die sich 'nel nostro Archivio' befand: 'Omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui eisdem pro dicti consummatione operis, vel pro ipsorum necessitatibus relevandis manus porrexissent adjunctrices, quadraginta dies de inuncta sibi poenitentia'. Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. 51 und 286.
- 22 Mit Nachweisen Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. 52 und 288, 291.
- 23 Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. 54–55 und 295. Malmstrom geht davon aus, dass mit der Fertigstellung der Glocke die neue Kirche in Gebrauch war.
- 24 Ingo Herklotz: I Savelli e le loro cappelle di famiglia. In: *Roma anno 1300. Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'*, Hg. von Angiola Maria Romanini. Rom 1983, S. 567–83, hier S. 571; Marianna Brancia di Apricena: *Il complesso dell'Aracoeli sul colle Capitolino (IX–XIX secolo)*. Rom 2000, S. 63–90; Claudia Bolgia: Santa Maria in Aracoeli and Santa Croce. The Problem of Arnolfo's Contribution. In: *Arnolfo's Moment. Acts of an International Conference, Florence Villa I Tatti May 26–27, 2005*, Hg. von David Friedman [u.a.]. Florenz 2009, S. 91–106, hier S. 103.
- 25 Daniela Mondini: Ostentation von Pracht oder Selbstbescheidung? Antike Spolien in den hochmittelalterlichen Kirchen Roms – Konjunkturen und Intentionen. In: *Zentren und Konjunkturen der Spolierung*. Hg. von Stefan Altekamp [u.a.] (Topoi-Schriften), im Druck. Apricena, *Il complesso*, S. 34 und 66, Abb. 1; Bolgia, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, S. 98.
- 26 Ronald E. Malmstrom: The Twelfth Century Church of S. Maria in Capitolio and the Capitoline Obelisk. In: *Römische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976), S. 1–16. Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. 22–37.
- 27 Die Confessio irrötlich als Altar beschrieben, aber überzeugend um 1200 datiert bei Malmstrom, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. 109, 202. Mit spätem Datierungsvorschlag der Confessio um 1250 siehe jüngst Claudia Bolgia: New Light on the 'Bright Ages'. Experiments with Mosaics and Light in Medieval Rome. In: *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, Hg. von Chris Entwistle und Liz James. London 2003, S. 217–28, hier S. 221–24; Mondini, Ostentation.
- 28 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti*. Rom 2001 [2. Ausg., Giuntina 1568], S. 198. Siehe auch Lajos Vayer: L'affresco absidale di Pietro Cavallini nella chiesa di S. Maria in Aracoeli. In: *Acta historiae artium Academiae scientiarum hungaricae* 9 (1963), S. 39–73.
- 29 Die Mutterkirche der Franziskaner über dem Grab des Hl. Franziskus in Assisi war gewestet.
- 30 De Blaauw, In vista della luce, S. 40–45. Zur kalenderisch-astronomischen Ausrichtung im Kirchenbau der Romanik bis ca. 1200 siehe nun die materialreiche Studie von Eva Spinazzè: *La luce nell'architettura sacra: spazio e orientazione nelle chiese del X–XII secolo tra Romandie e Toscana*. Frankfurt am Main [u.a.] 2016.

SACRALIZING THE PALACE, SACRALIZING THE KING: SANCTUARIES AND/IN ROYAL RESIDENCES IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Peter RIETBERGEN

Arguably, the ideal as well as the reality of (the concept of) kingship – both in the Judeo-Christian world of the post-Constantinian, later Roman Empire and its successor states, and, indeed, in other, non-Christian polities of Eurasia, too – always needed sacralization. Not only through ritual but also through (other) representations, every monarch's subjects had to be impressed with the reassuring fact that the royal person was uniquely positioned to link the natural world to the supernatural cosmos, to 'Das Heilige'.¹ Only in this way could people be confident that, through their ruler who, after all, claimed to be God's legitimate representative on earth, the Divine would actually work in their favour: that harvests would produce abundant – or at least: enough – food, that battles would end in, hopefully resounding victories, that the future of the state would be secure because the man and family embodying it succeeded in procreating themselves, et cetera. Therefore, in medieval Europe, royal residences, from the Byzantine Empire to England, from France to Bohemia, had to be more than the dwelling of a mere mortal monarch. If, somehow, they were turned into places wherein the ruler could (re-)present himself in a sacred context, his prestige and status would greatly increase, and so would, consequently, his power. Hence, constructing a sanctuary in the palace was a necessity.

To examine the varieties of the – also architectural and decorative – strategies chosen by Christian kings to achieve this end, I propose to study four somehow interconnected cases: the chapels in Byzantium's Great Palace; the Sainte-Chapelle in the Parisian Palais de la Cité; the Chapel of St Stephen in London's Palace of Westminster; and the two chapels in the great castle-palace of Karlstejn in Bohemia. Analyzing them in chronological order, I hope to show the ways in which these schemes for sacralizing and thus enlarging royal power did resemble and, even, influence each other.

Chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos: Centre of the 'New Jerusalem'

Crowning the first of the 'seven' hills on which the capital of the Byzantine Empire was built, the palace of the *basileus* – 'to heiron palation', the 'Sacred Palace' – was a complex that, at least in Europe, remained unequalled both in size and in splendor till its almost total despoliation by fellow-Christians during the Sack of Constantinople (1204). By imperial command, the thirty-something churches, chapels and oratories in the imperial compound also came to house the greatest collection of Christian relics ever assembled in one place.

Tradition has it that Constantine, founding the new capital in and with his name, also wanted to sacralize it with relics of the Church's saints.² Of course, he never could hope to emulate the 'first' Rome; there, Peter and Paul were buried and there the catacombs housed the bones of so many hundreds or, as people liked to believe thousands of other martyrs. And yet! Had not his mother, Empress Helena, presented him with a piece of the Saviour's cross and with one of the nails that had pierced his limbs? Indeed, it was said that these relics were enclosed in the emperor's life-size, gilt-bronze statue on the porphyry column in his new forum. Moreover, Constantine did succeed in bringing to the 'second' Rome the body of Peter's older brother, Andrew, the 'first-called', and of other venerable men and women. His successors added to the collections till, by the ninth century, they filled the city's churches to overflowing.³

Outstanding troves of sacred treasure were three of the many sanctuaries within the palace precinct itself – now all destroyed. The first two were the enormous *nea ekklesià* and the small oratory of St Stephen – since *stephanos* means 'crown' or 'wreath', it was used for the coronations of, especially, empresses. But despite its



Fig. 1. The relic of the crown of thorns, once in the chapel of the *theotokos*, of ‘God’s Mother’, of the Pharos, in Constantinople, then in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, and now in that city’s Notre-Dame. Image in the public domain.

relatively modest size, the Church of the Virgin of the Pharos – so-named after its vicinity to the city’s famous lighthouse – was the imperial church-reliquary par excellence.⁴ It served to house the many relics from Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land that from the seventh century onwards were being occupied by Muslim rulers. Their transfer to the imperial capital stimulated the gradual genesis of Constantinople as the ‘Second Jerusalem’. Obviously, the new situation helped to stress the role of the *basileus* as the guardian of Christendom and, indeed, as God’s representative on earth.

Actually, the church very much resembled a jewel-casket. According to the, tantalizingly few and incomplete descriptions, part of the walls and the entire ceiling were covered in gold and silver, the altar and the ciborium were of gold,

doves hovering above it were set with pearls and emeralds, and all holy vessels were made of precious metals, too. Of course, the church’s mosaics must have glimmered as well: Christ looked down from the cupola, surrounded by angels; the Virgin sat enthroned in the apse; prophets, apostles and other saints and martyrs were depicted on the side-walls. Surely, there must have been a few biblical kings, too⁵ – for an opportunity to link the rulers of Byzantium to their Old Testament predecessors in this holiest of holies would have been too good to be missed.

By the end of the twelfth century, the Pharos-Church held a collection of relics linked to Christ’s Passion as complete as any believer might wish. Pilgrims from all over the Christian world were shown (parts of) the purple robe and the crown of thorns (Fig. 1), the Holy

Face – the *mandylion* from Edessa –, the True Cross itself, the Holy Nails, the Holy Lance, the burial shroud, and numerous other items.⁶ Thus, the entire sequence of the Lord's Passion could be re-lived in this space. To even more highlight the relics, most had been put together in what seems to have been a large show-case, its interior entirely set with glass or crystals that constantly reflected the light. It may well have been conceived to emulate the sacred repository in the old Constantinian basilica in Jerusalem.⁷

No wonder that, according to court ceremonial, Sunday Mass in the Pharos-Church – sung by the imperial eunuchs – was attended by the monarch, his family and high-ranking guests.⁸ Inevitably, during Passion week, the True Cross and the Holy Lance were venerated there by the *basileus* and his court. When famine or other crises threatened imperial power, some of the relics were carried in procession through the capital, or borne at the head of the army going into battle, to improve morale.⁹ Moreover, the emperors used pieces of these sacred objects as gifts¹⁰ – mostly to strengthen their ties with neighbouring rulers.

Both the astonishing palace and its relic-filled sanctuaries drew the awed admiration of visitors from the West¹¹ – none more so than what they named the 'santa capella', the Church of the Pharos. No wonder then, that during the infamous Fourth Crusade the treasures of the imperial residence and its churches were robbed by soldiers and knights alike, either to ensure their own salvation or for sale to the highest bidder. One of these bidders was the King of France, Louis, the ninth of that name (r. 1226–70). Indeed, between 1239 and 1241, he seems to have acquired almost the entire content of the Pharos-Church.¹²

The Sainte-Chapelle: A Reliquary and a Dynastic-National Shrine

Power always entails competition. Therefore, relics, as signs of power, are objects of competition.¹³ Might I suggest that Louis, in making his purchases from the Byzantine Empire's spoils, also was motivated by the fact that, precisely in 1238–39, the relics of the Virgin kept in the im-

perial chapel at Aachen, had been transferred to a sumptuous shrine that, for some time, made it a centre of European pilgrimage again?¹⁴

However that may be, having, at staggering cost, bought his own relics – it seems that on the crown of thorns alone Louis spent as much as half the annual budget of his kingdom – the king obviously wanted to exploit their religious-political potential to the full. To house this treasure, he decided to build a new Sainte-Chapelle,¹⁵ as the sacred space of his Parisian palace.¹⁶ In a sense, the Sainte-Chapelle, too, replicated the Constantinian chapel in Jerusalem, as had the Church of the Pharos.¹⁷ Alas, we know little about the ritual-political use of the relics assembled there. It is, however, clear that on the eve of Good Friday Louis personally took the crown of thorns from 'la grande chasse' – the huge, golden shrine, now lost, of which he alone held the keys – to show it to his court and guests. I feel that in doing so he consciously or unconsciously repeated the ceremony performed by the Byzantine emperors with the relics of the True Cross.¹⁸ Also, of course, the image of the king holding the crown of thorns on Good Friday must have been a very powerful one indeed. Actually, already in 1244, Pope Innocent IV – who desperately needed French support in his struggle with the then Holy Roman emperor¹⁹ – told the faithful that the French king had been crowned by Christ himself with his crown of thorns.

But to sacralize French kingship Louis had acquired other holy objects as well. Among his purchases of the early 1240s was the rod of Moses. Already in Byzantium it had been revered as a symbol of royal power and been preserved in St Stephen's Chapel. Was not Moses the first of the line of God-appointed law-givers, a line that continued with the anointed kings of Israel and culminated in Christ himself? Now the proud possessors of the crown of thorns and the Holy Rod, the French kings could present themselves as the true descendants and rightful heirs of this most august line.²⁰

Soon, Louis's chapel, the better part of which was finished in 1248, though primarily serving as a royal oratory acquired the reputation of a national shrine as well. The Sainte-Chapelle



Fig. 2. King Louis and a noble carrying a relic (lower left) and the King and, perhaps, his mother Blanche flanking a priest (upper right), stained-glass window, Paris: Sainte-Chapelle. Image in the public domain.

became the focus of France as a country favoured by God,²¹ in accordance, surely, with Louis's own dynastic and political wishes. This sacred site and its contents gave the French kings a status more exalted than any other Christian monarch. Indeed, precisely in the later thirteenth century, they began to regularly use the designation 'roi très-chrétien'.²² Louis and his successors directly linked their crown, their kingship, to the most holy crown ever, the one that had crowned Christ: a crown, of course, that by that very token was far more sacred than the one used for the coronation of Europe's would-be most important rulers, the Holy Roman emperors. Though the French kings never held the imperial dignity, yet Louis unfailingly presented himself as the equal of its mainly German incumbents: was he not, also, a direct descendant of Europe's first emperor?

Inevitably, deciding to spectacularly sacralize his palace Louis must have remembered the Aachen Chapel of, precisely, Charlemagne²³ – despite the fact that it was octagonal, following Roman-imperial models, whereas the Parisian building was a two-storey, rectangular construction. In Aachen, Louis's ancestor had sat on his throne in the upper gallery, directly facing the fresco depicting Christ.²⁴ In Paris, he himself faced, with his family and other dignitaries, the casket holding the relics of Christ that occupied the apse of the upper chapel.

In a way, the one-nave, very tall Gothic structure of the Sainte-Chapelle mirrors the reliquary in which the sacred objects were preserved.²⁵ Indeed, by virtue of its enormous expanse of stained glass – a construction made possible through the ingenuity of the unknown architect, who contrived to hold the stone skeleton of the building together with a metal chain – shines like a jewel-box itself. But the purpose of the windows – undeniably the chapel's most impressive decoration – was not to dazzle the visitor with its many colours. They were designed to emphasize the various roles of royalty.²⁶

The programme of the fenestration was conceived – by who(m) is not known – in three registers, showing some 1100 different scenes; part of them are thirteenth- and fifteenth-century originals, part are nineteenth-century re-

constructions.²⁷ Admittedly, due to the chapel's narrow dimensions, the middle and upper registers hardly can be 'read' by any viewer. However, starting from left to right, and going from low to high, a (biblically) linear story develops, historically beginning with Genesis and ending with King Louis receiving the relics of the Passion (Fig. 2). I only analyse those windows that have an overt royal-propagandistic content.

In the Exodus-window, the exploits of Moses are highlighted, both in giving the law and in governing his people's spiritual life. The window visualizing stories from Numbers again stresses the dual, royal and priestly power of Moses – now aided by Aaron – and does so precisely above the niche where, according to tradition, King Louis would sit when he attended Mass.²⁸ In the windows that take their subject matter from Deuteronomy and Joshua, the episodes selected clearly refer to battles against infidels, as prefiguring the Crusades. The Ezekiel-window, too, is used to vindicate Christian politics in the Holy Land, referring to the Prophet's vision of the destruction of Jerusalem after its inhabitants have betrayed their faith.

An inevitable choice was, of course, the Book of Judges, always presented as a manual for the various tasks of Christian kings as well. The window dedicated to the stories of Esther, who saved the Jews from the schemes of the Persian king's evil adviser, obviously points to Queen Blanche (1188–1252), Louis's mother. Not only was her piety much revered, also and far more importantly, as regent of France she had saved the kingdom, both for her son – by putting down the rebellion of the magnates – and for the faith, because she had, in a manner, ended the Albigensian insurrection.

The window that sums up the kingship-related stories from Samuel as well as from I and II Kings precedes the one in which Louis receives the relics of the Passion; alas, the latter mostly is a nineteenth-century re-invention.²⁹ Inevitably, the apse-windows show the crucifixion. The biblical ending of the entire sequence is shown in the rose-window that depicts the Apocalypse. In its present state it dates from the fifteenth century but the scene had been part of the original concept already. It suggests that the

king – again as in the window of Numbers – is, really, a priest-king. He and his dynasty will lead France till the end of time.

The Sainte-Chapelle acquired even greater significance when, in 1298, Pope Boniface VIII elevated Louis IX amongst the Church's saints, where he joined his two canonized forebears: France's first queen, Clovis's wife Clotilde, who had converted her husband and, hence, France, to Christianity, and the royal family's most famous representative, Charlemagne. Of course, the silver casket in which the remains of the new saint, St Louis, now were held was brought to the chapel, to join the relics of Christ. But the monks who guarded France's royal necropolis at Saint-Denis would have none of it. In the end, however, Philip the Fair did manage to retain at least his grandfather's head for the chapel, thus sanctifying it through yet another relic.

St Stephen's Chapel: A Vision of Plantagenet Future

In London, little remains of the grand complex that was the main residence of the kings of England, though the Houses of Parliament, built in the 1850s, occupy its site and still are called 'the Palace of Westminster'. The one medieval building that stands is, of course, Westminster Hall. Till the early nineteenth century it was used for royal banquets and other festivities. Even now it is the setting for the lying-in-state of a deceased royal.

Within the nineteenth-century palace, a splendidly decorated lobby, St Stephen's Hall, harks back – at least in its ground plan, of 29 by 9 metres – to a very important part of the former palace: the Chapel of St Stephen. One of the lobby's very romantic frescoes shows King Edward III (r. 1327–77) approving the plans for what was to be his London 'oratory',³⁰ constructed atop an older chapel dedicated to Stephen, reputedly the first disciple of Christ to die a martyr. Another fresco shows that earliest chapel's founder, the one English king who bore the saint's name, Stephen (r. 1135–54).

Alas, Edward's chapel was gutted by fire in 1834. Hence, any reconstruction of what some historians have described as one of the major

royal and, indeed, dynastic buildings of fourteenth-century England only can be tentative. Luckily, drawings survive, made by antiquaries and other scholars prior to the chapel's final demolition.³¹

Edward's foundation, begun in the early 1330s and finished only in the early 1360s, was a two-storied construction, with the, older, lower part accessible to a wider public and the newer, upper part reserved for the royal family and their immediate entourage. This choice obviously and without any doubt consciously referred to the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle,³² built by Edward's great-great-grandfather, the sainted Louis; indeed, the measures of the new London chapel almost exactly matched the Parisian one. However, though the new sanctuary retained the name of the older one, neither St Stephen nor his kingly namesake were given a role, there. Actually, the two statues that adorned the new east front showed St John and, more significantly, St Edward (r. 1043–66), 'the Confessor',³³ from whom Edward himself took his name.

Whereas the lower chapel – heavily restored in the late nineteenth century and now known as the Chapel of St Mary Undercroft – was a shrine to the Virgin, whose statue stood there,³⁴ the upper chapel did not become a reliquary, as its Parisian prototype. Though the English kings owned one of the realm's largest relic collections, including a thorn from the famous crown and a piece from the famous cross, none of these objects were permanently transferred to the oratory, but mostly remained in the royal treasury in the Tower.³⁵ Therefore, I do not agree with those scholars who feel that Edward wanted to create an exact English version of the French shrine.³⁶ But what, then, did the now vanished upper chapel try to convey?

My study of the accounts that document both the construction and the sumptuous decoration taught me that it was adorned with sculpture – certainly of angels but perhaps also of biblical kings – and with murals depicting scenes from the Old Testament. All paintwork, including that on the statues, was done in oil – for which the artists received expensive brushes of various kinds – and, moreover, partly gilded. Indeed, the amount of gold-leaf supplied to the decora-



Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the frescoes on the altar wall showing St George and King Edward III, Westminster: St Stephen's Chapel. Image in the public domain.

tors over the years must have cost a fortune, for gold covered the better part of the walls as well. The windows were, at great cost, filled with coloured glass: blue, red, white, yellow.³⁷ But it is the pictorial decoration of the arcades under the huge window that adorns the East, or altar wall that really shows the meaning the king wanted to give to his new foundation.

Already during his life-time, Edward – famous for his very public display of ‘personal’ piety, shown both in extravagant gifts to sundry churches and monasteries all over his realm and abroad, and in untiring pilgrimages to numerous sacred sites – was likened to the usual

Old Testament kings, to Charlemagne and, of course, to that uniquely English monarch, Arthur.³⁸ However, despite this impressive albeit fictive ancestry, given England’s tumultuous recent past the king may have feared for the future of his dynasty. The Canons of St Stephen’s were ordered to say offices daily, both diurnal and nocturnal, and till eternity, for the king himself, his wife, and, significantly in view of the chapel’s altar murals, for his potential successors.

Those visitors who looked east beheld a series of frescoed scenes that definitely presented a royal, religious-political programme. In the lower register, on either side of the altarpiece

that probably showed the Virgin and Child, all male and female members of Edward's family were portrayed in the full splendour of fourteenth-century knightly and courtly apparel. Thus, the Plantagenets genuflecting in real-life prayer watched themselves do so in paint, too. Moreover, the canons who daily prayed for their masters' salvation always faced them as well.

On the left hand, England's national saint, St George, dressed in contemporary royal garb, beckons the king and his five sons Edward, Lionel, John, Edmund, and little Thomas, to adore the Virgin and her child variously depicted in the upper register (Fig. 3). On the right hand, the very popular Queen Philippa, daughter of the count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, and her four daughters, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret, look upward, too, though, seemingly strangely, not induced to do so by another intercessory saint. What we actually are shown is the entire royal family – as it were embodying the English people – being led to salvation by the nation's patron. At the same time, the murals give proof of the royal couple's felicitous fecundity that, if anything, secured both the family line as well as, thus, England's survival from potential succession wars. In short, a hoped-for future is stressed rather than, as in many such depictions of royals, a hallowed past.

The theme of legitimation becomes even more clear in the murals that constitute the altar wall's upper register. They represent scenes from the Nativity episode, specifically the Adoration of the Shepherds and of the Three Magi. Now, one or more of the latter traditionally were linked to the French royal line³⁹ – and Edward, of course, was French both on his mother's side, as well as, in multiple ways, through his grandfather and grandmother. He also is known to have been a lavish gift-giver especially on the feast of the Epiphany.⁴⁰ Thus, the frescoes link the Plantagenets to the birth of Christianity as well as show, through that link, the legitimacy of their rule.

The Chapel of the Holy Cross: The Seal of the Imperial Dignity?

Arguably, Charles – originally Wenzel – of Luxemburg (1316–78), King of Bohemia, was one of Europe's most interesting fourteenth-century monarchs, both in his political astuteness, that mixed realism with idealism, tradition with modernity, and in his cultural achievements, that were many indeed.⁴¹ Having been elected King of the Romans in 1346 and, again, 1349, he yet awaited his imperial coronation, which took place in Rome in 1355 and made him the fourth Holy Roman emperor bearing the name of Charles. Facing, as all emperors did, opposition both from within and without, he needed to show Christendom that he was, by divine order, its most exalted prince.⁴²

Around the time of his coronation, Charles seems to have decided to start rebuilding the stronghold of Karlstejn, some 35 kilometres from his Bohemian capital Prague, with the specific aim of making it the crowning symbol of his imperial dignity. As part of his dwelling-quarters on the castle's second terrace, in 1357 a chapel was founded. In it, the Virgin, to whom it is dedicated, is depicted with the emperor and the empress at her side; an adjoining small oratory honours St Catherine, and again shows Charles and his wife. Part of the chapel frescoes, finished in the 1360s, tell the story of the House of Luxemburg. In one of the scenes, the emperor is given relics by his Byzantine colleague, John V Palaiologos – not every sacred object had been stolen in 1204!

Interestingly, in another fresco Charles is given or sold some thorns from the famous crown by the French king (Fig. 4).⁴³ Actually, the emperor had received part of his early education in Paris, where he had been entertained at the 'Palais de la Cité' and, undoubtedly, been awed by the Sainte-Chapelle. Its memory as well as his own growing treasure of sacred relics may well have inspired the construction, in the main tower on the third and highest of the castle's terraces, of a chapel meant not only to safeguard as well as show off that collection, which included fragments of the True Cross, but the invaluable imperial insignia, too, with, of course, the



Fig. 4. ‘Translation’ of relics and, hence, of power: Christ’s relics go from Byzantium to France, and from France to Emperor Charles who finally deposits them in his chapel: series of frescoes, finished 1360s, Karlstejn Castle, Chapel of the Virgin. Image in the public domain.

so-called ‘crown of Charlemagne’, used for the imperial coronation, as its most significant and legitimizing item.

Actually, the major parts of the tower were all about legitimation, albeit in a sometimes convoluted way. In the stairwell that winds up to the new ‘Heilig-Kreuz-Kapelle’, the legend of St Ludmilla (860–921), Bohemia’s first Christian queen is shown. She was the grandmother of King Wenceslas (907–35), Bohemia’s patron saint who also was Charles’s name saint. Charles must have felt himself lucky in being able to point to such saintly forebears, thus emulating his French relatives with their saints in their Parisian chapel. Interestingly, Wenceslas is represented as a second Christ – but showing the facial features associated with Charles. Indeed, Charles was the first European prince consistently to use so-called ‘identification portraits’, that were meant

to impart the ideal characteristics of a saint to the person who lent him his face.⁴⁴

The decoration of the Holy Cross Chapel – also founded in 1357 but only consecrated in 1365 – probably dates from the early 1360s as well. Its cross vaults are covered in gold incrustated with Venetian glass and with gems to resemble the heavens with sun, moon and stars. The small window-panes were made of amethyst and rock-crystal. On the lower walls, even nowadays amethysts, cornelians and other semi-precious stones form a multitude of crosses.⁴⁵ Lit, as the chapel once was, by three huge crystal chandeliers, now lost, and by more than 1300 candles,⁴⁶ it must have resembled the jewel-like Chapel of the Pharos even more than the royal chapels in Paris and London.



Fig. 5. Exhibition of the relics of the Prophet amongst which his hair, teeth, and a print of his foot, in the ‘relic rooms’, Istanbul: Topkapı Palace. Image in the public domain.

The chapel walls’ upper reaches, however, are truly unique in that they show a series of 129 portraits on wooden panels set in stucco, all considered the work of a rather elusive albeit idiosyncratic artist, one Master Theoderic, Charles’s court painter,⁴⁷ and his helpers. Though, then, the panels do not in themselves narrate a story, their sequence yet provides the biblical context for the central scene above the altar, that, of course, shows the Crucifixion. Besides the close entourage of Christ – Mary, Joseph, the disciples, the evangelists, et cetera – numerous saints are depicted, some of them with the features of living contemporaries as well. Several portraits were pierced to allow the insertion of the relics associated with the person depicted. Thus, the chapel surrounded the faithful on earth with all the blessed and holy inmates of heaven – a worthy place, as an inscription on one of the doors

had it, for Christ to return to on the Youngest Day.

Not surprisingly, Charles himself is shown as one of the Magi. Actually, the emperor often resided in Cologne where the cathedral was, of course, Europe’s major shrine of the three kings – some of whom, as indicated above, were used by various European royals as their mythical ancestors or, at least, exemplars.

Not surprisingly, either, Charles also ordered the portrayal in the chapel of his real forebear, Charlemagne, whose name he had taken and whose imperial title was the crowning glory of his life. Indeed, Charles did hold very specific ideas about imperial power. In his so-called ‘Golden Bull’ of 1356, which regulated imperial elections and formulated imperial aspirations and quite probably was influenced by such texts as Dante’s *De monarchia*, popes – holy or

not – did not figure. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, without any intervention or sanction by the Roman pontifex, the electors would choose a *caesar-augustus* to rule the temporal ‘imperium’ directly under God.

We do not know what ceremonies were enacted in the Karlstejn chapel. Yet all who saw the emperor praying before Christ crucified, amidst pieces of Christianity’s holiest relics, surrounded by images of Old Testament kings and New Testament saints, and in full view of the jewel-encrusted imperial insignia must have been convinced that Charles was, as he wanted to be, God’s plenipotentiary, the one and only *vicarius Dei*.

Palaces and Kingship Sacralized

The four cases presented above show the variegated ways in which Christian monarchs sought to and succeeded in sacralizing their palaces. Employing a variety of means – architectural and decorative, but also ceremonial and ritual – they created sacred spaces that greatly

contributed to their own status and power. Admittedly, whereas first the Parisian and subsequently the Karlstejn chapel achieved ‘sacrality’ primarily through important relics that once had enhanced Byzantium’s imperial pretences, thus differing from the chapel in Westminster Palace – though there, too, parts of the Holy Cross seem to have been exhibited every now and then – the major function of all three spaces was to visually represent dynastic aspirations in a religious context.

Fascinatingly, after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the ‘Sacred Palace’ whose relic-shrine had inspired Europe’s Christian monarchs yet influenced the representational repertoire of another line of rulers, the conquering Ottomans. Not only did they built their own imperial residence on its site, within it they constructed a ‘chapel’ as well, to house the Prophet Muhammad’s relics brought there to sacralize the sultan’s dwelling and, thus, his power. Significantly, amongst these, was the rod of Moses... But the story of these objects is another one altogether (Fig. 5).⁴⁸

Notes

- 1 The concept famously was coined by Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige* (Munich: Beck, 1917).
- 2 Holger A. Klein, ‘Sacred relics and imperial ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople’, in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft*, ed. by Franz Alto Bauer (= *BYZAS*, 5 (2006)), pp. 75–99; cf. also his: ‘Constantine, Helena and the early cult of the True Cross in Constantinople’, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. by Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation, 2004), pp. 31–59.
- 3 Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantine, part I, III: Les Églises et les Monastères (Constantinople)* (Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1969); Jean Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris: Leroux, 1921).
- 4 Paul Magdalino, ‘L’Église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople’, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, pp. 15–30; about the chapel’s pre-eminence: Romilly Jenkins and Cyril Mango, ‘The date and significance of the tenth homily of Photius’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9–10 (1955–56), 123–40.
- 5 Alexei Lidov, ‘A Byzantine Jerusalem: The Imperial Pharos Chapel as the Holy Sepulchre’, in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space*, ed. by Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 63–103; esp. pp. 71–73.
- 6 E.g. the list in: Krijnie N. Ciggaar, ‘Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais’, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 34 (1976), 211–67.
- 7 Lidov, ‘A Byzantine Jerusalem’, pp. 78–80.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71.
- 9 Ioli Kalevrazeou, ‘Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court’, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), pp. 53–79. Also, despite its idiotic title: Sophia Mergiali-Sahas, ‘Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics: Use, and Misuse of Sanctity and Authority’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 51 (2001), 41–60.
- 10 Lidov, ‘A Byzantine Jerusalem’, p. 69.
- 11 Michele Bacci, ‘Relics of the Pharos Chapel: A View from the West’, in *Eastern Christian Relics*, ed. by Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Progress-tradition, 2003), pp. 234–48; cf. also: Holger Klein, ‘Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries Between Byzantium and the West’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2004), 283–314.
- 12 Jannic Durand, ‘La translation des reliques impériales de Constantinople à Paris’, in *Le trésor de la Sainte-*

- Chapelle*, ed. by Jannic Durand and Marie-Pierre Lafitte (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001), pp. 37–112; cf. also: Daniel Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 13 Edina Bokozy, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis: protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2007) provides a general survey.
- 14 *Der Aachener Marienschrein*, ed. by Dieter Wynands (Aachen: Einhard, 2000).
- 15 Jean-Michel Leniaud and Françoise Perrot, *La Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris: Centre des monuments nationaux, 2007).
- 16 On the palace: Herveline Delhumeau, *Le Palais de la Cité: Du Palais des rois de France au Palais de Justice* (Paris: Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine 2011).
- 17 Matthias Müller, 'Paris, das neue Jerusalem? Die Ste-Chapelle als Imitation der Gulgatha-Kapellen', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59 (1996), 325–36.
- 18 Klein, 'Sacred relics', pp. 89–91.
- 19 Elie Berger, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV: Essais sur les rapports de la France et du Saint-Siège* (Paris: Thorin, 1893).
- 20 Elizabeth Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis', *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982), 201–14.
- 21 Alyce Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), and Beat Brenk, 'The Sainte-Chapelle as a Capetian Political Program', in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. by Virginia Chieffo Raguin and others (University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 195–211.
- 22 Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), p. 287.
- 23 Inge Hacker-Sück, 'La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris et les chapelles palatines du moyen age en France', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 13 (1969), 217–57. See also the contribution of Bianca Kühnel in this volume.
- 24 Peter Rietbergen, *Karel de Grote* (Amersfoort: Bekking & Bliz, 2009), pp. 71–72.
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- 27 Part of the chapel's exterior and interior sculpture (including the altar) as well as the painted decoration are nineteenth-century, and mostly inspired fantasies.
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- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 30 The term was used in the fourteenth century; see the documents published by: Edward Brayley and John Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (London: Weale, 1836), p. 159.
- 31 Emily Howe, 'Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 81 (2001), 259–303.
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FRAGEN AN ROM AUS DEM UMFELD DER BAYRISCHEN JESUITEN: JAKOB RABUS' *BEDENCKHSPUNCTE* VON 1575

Ingo HERKLOTZ

Im folgenden geht es um ein altes Thema, denn zur Diskussion steht einmal mehr der Blick auf Rom. Welchen Wandlungen dieser im Laufe der Jahrhunderte unterlag, wie sehr die Wahrnehmung der Stadt schon im Mittelalter von der Haltung und den persönlichen Erfahrungen des jeweiligen Betrachters abhängen konnte – hier berühren wir eine grundlegende Annahme der *cultural memory studies* –, scheint hinlänglich bekannt.¹ Ebenso wenig blieb der Forschung verborgen, daß diese Wahrnehmung seit der Reformation zunehmend vom Glaubensstreit geprägt war.² Eben diesem Problemkreis, der Konfessionalisierung des Rombildes im 16. Jahrhundert, möchte der vorliegende Aufsatz einen noch unbekannteren Quellentext erschließen.

Ihr Urheber hat im Hinblick auf die Rezeption der römischen Denkmäler – oder im Sinne dieses Bandes: für die Frage *monuments and memory* – bislang kaum Beachtung gefunden.³ Jakob, auch Johann Jakob, Rabus wurde 1545 in Straßburg als Sohn des bekannten protestantischen Predigers und Autors Ludwig Rabus geboren. Seine Ausbildung erhielt er in Ulm, Wittenberg und Tübingen, wo er den Titel eines Doktors der Theologie erwarb. Die Schriften von Eck, Stephalius und Canisius sollen indes schon während der Studienzeit die Fundamente seines protestantischen Glaubens erschüttert haben, so daß Rabus, unterstützt durch die Jesuiten in Dillingen, am 30. November 1565 der katholischen Kirche beitrug.⁴ Eine Zukunft im Umfeld des Jesuitenordens war damit vorgezeichnet. Dieser sandte ihn im Sommer 1566 bis zum Ende des folgenden Jahres an das Collegium Germanicum in Rom, eine Zeit, für die er seinem Gott, wie Rabus später noch schrieb, nie genug habe danken können.⁵ Weitere Stationen seines bewegten Lebens führten ihn zu den Jesuiten in Köln, Mainz und Dillingen, bevor er 1571, im Jahr seiner Priesterweihe, ganz in den

Bannkreis des bayrischen Herzogs Albrecht V. geriet. Als entschlossener Verteidiger der katholischen Kirche bestellte Albrecht den vielversprechenden Jesuiten-Zögling, der sich zu einer wirklichen Mitgliedschaft im Orden allerdings nicht entschließen wollte, zum Hofprediger in München, später dann zum Stadtprediger (1579) und zum Pfarrer von Straubing (1581). Die Münchener Beschäftigung hinderte den streitbaren Gelehrten nicht daran, seine Studien an der Universität Ingolstadt fortzusetzen. Wie schon früher, gehörte Petrus Canisius damals zu seinen Förderern. Sogar an der römischen Kurie dürfte Rabus einen gewissen Rückhalt genossen haben. Nicht nur, daß er in Rom predigen konnte, auch an mehreren päpstlichen Audienzen nahm er teil; schon 1576 schmückte er sich darüber hinaus mit dem Titel eines *protonotarius apostolicus*. Nur wenig mehr als vierzig Jahre alt, scheint er dann 1587 gestorben zu sein.

Die zahlreichen Schriften aus Rabus' Feder lesen sich gegenreformatorisch im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes, denn sie verteidigen überlieferte katholische Lehren und weisen die Glaubenssätze der Protestanten polemisch zurück.⁶ Dennoch bleibt sein Anliegen das der Seelsorge, denn ihm geht es um Glaubenszweifel, um die Häufigkeit der Kommunion, um die Wahl der rechten Taufpaten, um Reliquienkult, Wallfahrt und katholischen Wunderglauben, über den sich der Autor zur Verteidigung des Petrus Canisius gegen den Lutheraner Johannes Marbach ausließ.⁷ In seinem Nachlaß fand sich dann ein umfangreiches Manuskript zu jener Pilgerreise von München nach Rom, die Rabus im Jubeljahr 1575 geleitet hatte. Viereinhalb Monate, vom 18. Januar bis zum 1. Juni 1575, sollte diese Pilgerfahrt dauern, wobei man immerhin elf Wochen (18. Februar bis 4. Mai) in der päpstlichen Metropole verbringen konnte. Karl Schottenloher hat aus dem heute in der Staats-

bibliothek München (MS germ. 1280) bewahrten Manuskript 1925 einzelne Auszüge in einer populären Edition zugänglich gemacht.⁸ Auch dieser Text, eine Mischung aus Diarium, Romtraktat und Liturgiebeschreibung, ist seelsorglich angelegt. Welche Ablass waren wann und wo zu erwerben, welche Heiltümer in den einzelnen Kirchen zu bewundern? Solche Fragen standen für den Autor und die ihn begleitenden Pilger während jener weitgehend von der Fastenzeit geprägten Tage im Vordergrund. Daß man über gemeinsame Gottesdienste, Ablass, päpstlichen Segen und heilspendende Reliquien hinaus noch die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in Augenschein nahm, wurde von Rabus, dem einige Künstlernamen – Michelangelo, Bramante, Sebastiano del Piombo, Giovanni Bologna, Francesco Maria Castaldi – durchaus geläufig waren, nicht als Widerspruch empfunden. Im Gegenteil, die monumentale Überlieferung der Stadt konnte dem Glauben durchaus zuträglich sein. So erinnerte das lateranensische Baptisterium als vermeintlicher Ort der Taufe Konstantins an das gebenedeite Taufwasser, welches dort über das Haupt des frommen Kaisers geflossen sei, und auch daran, daß er die Verfolgung der älteren Herrscher durch die Gnade Gottes ablösen konnte. Mehr noch besinne sich der Pilger auf all jene heiligen Päpste, die hernach an diesem Ort unzählige Heiden mit ihrer Taufspende zu Christen gemacht hätten. ‚Das gibbt dem menschen, der hindersich gedenckht, unnd der ersten Kirchen laufe sich erinnern will, grosse mechtige andacht, unnd sterckht ihn in dem h. christlichen glauben, wenn er der altten fuoßstapffen vor ihm siht, da eben das, so wir noch heutigs tags glauben, auch dazuomal im gebrauch gewesen, unnd geglaubt worden ist.‘⁹ Auch die fromme Andacht mochte mittels visueller Medien vertieft werden. So sah Rabus in der Jesuitenkirche von S. Andrea al Quirinale eine Darstellung des Leidens Christi, so andächtig, daß er sie sein Lebtage nicht aus dem Herzen verlieren sollte.¹⁰

Der Ton des Berichts ist damit bereits charakterisiert. Vollauf entspricht er dem, was man von einem Altgläubigen mit jesuitischer Schulung in den Jahrzehnten nach Trient erwartet. Rom ist für Rabus ein Hort der Rechtgläubig-

keit, für die Pilger, und nicht nur für sie, ein Quell spiritueller Stärkung, denn allenthalben begegnen sie dort den altherwürdigen Zeugnissen und Riten der einzigen wahren Kirche, zu deren Erneuerung gerade der Jesuitenorden einen entscheidenden Beitrag geleistet habe. Was diesen Text, der seine Angaben über die römischen Kirchen vor allem aus Panvinio (1570) und Serrano (1575),¹¹ die zur Antike aus Biondo (erstmal 1481) und Fulvio (erstmal 1513) schöpft, lesenswert macht, obwohl er über diese Vorläufer sachlich kaum hinausgelangt, ist der Umstand, daß er um die kontroversen Punkte katholischer Frömmigkeit weiß und diese auch benennt, seine Ausführungen somit einen defensiven, mithin sogar aggressiv-offensiven Duktus annehmen. Die im Hintergrund stehende Polemik des protestantischen Lagers, welche die römischen Autoren kaum kannten oder nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen wollten, ist bei dem in ständiger Reibung mit den Glaubensfeinden erzogenen Rabus allgegenwärtig. Insofern bietet seine Schrift ein frühes und extremes Beispiel für jene Entwicklung, die man als ‚Konfessionalisierung des Giro d’Italia‘ bezeichnet hat,¹² wobei sie zugleich auch mittelalterliche, katholischerseits nie wirklich in Frage gestellte Frömmigkeitsinhalte bewahrt.

In seiner Ausgabe von 1925 hatte Schottenloher bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß die Münchener Handschrift germ. 1280 über den Reisebericht hinaus weitere Texte enthält, darunter die zehn *Bedenckhspuncte, so sich bei obgethaner Kirchenbeschreibung der gottsheuser zuo Rom zuotragen möchten* und den Pilgern Fragen beantworten sollten, die an verschiedenen Orten der Stadt aufkommen konnten. Wie der Pilgerbericht dürften die *Bedenckhspuncte* schon 1575 konzipiert, später aber noch einmal ergänzt und überarbeitet worden sein.¹³ Mehr noch als die Ausführungen zu den Einzelkirchen setzen sie sich mit konfessionell bedingten Streitigkeiten auseinander. Bei ihnen zeigt sich der Autor dann auch von Panvinio und Serrano weitgehend unabhängig, gleichwohl er wiederholt Probleme berührt, die im katholisch gebildeten Rom jener Jahre debattiert wurden. Zugleich gibt Rabus in diesen Erörterungen seine jesuitische Ausbildung zu erkennen, denn manches

von dem, was er berührt, war zuvor von den Ordensleuten angesprochen worden und sollte von ihnen auch später wieder aufgegriffen werden. Daß die Jesuiten dem historischen Argumentationsniveau ihrer humanistisch geschulten Widersacher dabei nicht immer gewachsen waren, deren Methoden mithin auch gar nicht anwenden wollten, scheint ebenso bekannt wie der Umstand, daß die von ihnen verteidigten Institutionen und Praktiken als ‚Symbole der Loyalität‘ mehr Gewicht bekamen, als ihnen eigentlich zugestanden hätte.¹⁴

Rabus ist sich dieser Tendenz bewußt; mehrfach räumt er ein, entscheidend sei die angesprochene Frage zwar nicht, da aber die Häretiker sich so verbissen zeigten, gelte es, diese zu widerlegen. Die von ihm erörterten Streitpunkte lassen sich unter drei Rubriken zusammenfassen: Einige seiner Ausführungen kreisen um die römischen Reliquien, mehr aber noch geht es um christliche Kunstwerke, bevor sich der letzte Abschnitt mit dem auseinandersetzt, was man als das Kontinuitätsproblem – gemeint ist das Verhältnis der katholischen Kirche zur antiken Vergangenheit – bezeichnet hat. Daß die beiden ersten, an entscheidenden Stellen sich überlagernden Problemkreise wenige Jahre zuvor (1563) auch in Trient verhandelt worden waren, wo man sie kurz vor dem Ende des Konzils in der XXV. und letzten Sitzung gemeinsam diskutiert hatte, wirkt für die Orientierung unseres Autors sicherlich bezeichnend. Auch Sible de Blaauw hat den hier angesprochenen Fragen seine gelehrten Überlegungen gewidmet. An diesen Gedanken teilzuhaben und von ihnen zu lernen hatte der Verfasser des vorliegenden Aufsatzes während seiner mehr als dreißigjährigen Freundschaft mit dem Jubilar immer wieder Gelegenheit. Dafür sei ihm auch an dieser Stelle von Herzen gedankt.

Reliquien

Schon Rabus' erster Punkt wendet sich einer Reliquie zu, die beim frommen Betrachter offenbar Mißverständnisse auslösen konnte. Von der Lateranbasilika aus gelangte der Deutsche in den anliegenden Papstpalast, den er noch vor seiner grundlegenden Neugestaltung unter

Sixtus V. (1585–90) besichtigte. Im Obergeschoß der Residenz stieß er auf die althehrwürdige Silvester-Kapelle, wo mehr als die berühmten Inthronisationsstühle eine andere Kuriosität seine Aufmerksamkeit erheischt: ‚darinn ist ain stain, darauff stehn fünf fingerzaichen, die sollen herkhommen von der h. muter Gottes, dann da ihr verkündigt ward, wie ihr lieber son von Juden gefangen worden, fiel sie in ein omacht, unnd da sie sich an diesen stain begert zuohaltten, wich er, und sein diese zaichen darinnen verpliben.‘¹⁵ Von dem besagten Stein mit den wundersamen Fingerabdrücken der Jungfrau erfährt man bei Panvinio und Serrano nichts. In seinen *Bedenckhs puncten* stellt Rabus klar, daß es sich hier keinesfalls um eine Ohnmacht unter dem Kreuz gehandelt habe. Dem stand das berühmte *Stabat mater* nach Jo 19. 25 entgegen. Vielmehr habe der Pilger an jenen – durch die Evangelisten nicht beschriebenen – Augenblick des Marienlebens zu denken, als die Gottesmutter, möglicherweise im Hause der Magdalena, von der Verurteilung ihres Sohnes erfuhr. Wirkliche Schwäche habe sie auch in diesem Moment nicht erkennen lassen. Ihre tiefe Trauer und das Schwanken ihres Leibes seien vielmehr durch das Verhalten der Ungläubigen hervorgerufen worden, ohne daß ihr Glaube dabei ins Wanken geraten sei. – Rabus zeigt sich hier unter dem Einfluß der spätmittelalterlichen Passionstraktate, welche die Evangelienberichte auf mannigfache Weise ausgeschmückt und dem Leiden Mariens zusätzliche Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt hatten.¹⁶ Nicht zufällig verweist er auf Bernhard von Clairvaux, dem die Vorstellung von der *compassio* und *corredemptio* Mariens entscheidende Impulse verdankte. Mögen die Lutheraner solche Gedanken nur bespötteln, so schließt Rabus ab, Bernhard stehe bei den Rechtgläubigen in weit höherem Ansehen. In dem Ordensgründer aus Clairvaux sah Rabus offenbar einen jener vom göttlichen Geist inspirierten Autoren, denen man, wie er an anderer Stelle erläutert, auch wundersame Berichte zu glauben habe, was er für Quellen wie die *Legenda aurea* oder das *Speculum historiale* des Vinzenz von Beauvais nicht beansprucht.¹⁷ Doch enthielten selbst diese, von der *veritas facti* abgesehen, noch eine *veritas instructionis* oder *significa-*

tionis, die den Leser zur Tugend anleiten könne; und der Verfasser warnt davor, hochmütig und vorschnell unglauwürdig Klingendes als unwahr abzutun.

Von größerer Tragweite als die Behandlung des Werks im Lateranpalast erscheinen jene allgemeinen Überlegungen zum Reliquienkult, die der Autor unter dem sechsten *Bedenckhs punct* beisteuert, denn sie führen unmittelbar in die Reliquienkontroverse des 16. Jahrhunderts hinein. Wenn Rabus betont, daß die Reliquien Petri und anderer Heiliger wundertätig seien und er dazu ausführlich den berühmten Brief Gregors I. an die byzantinische Kaiserin Constantina aus dem Jahr 594 zitiert, so schließt er an eine Fehde an, die er bereits in anderen Schriften ausgefochten hatte. 1573 war sein Buch gegen den Lutheraner Johann Marbach über die von Heiligen bewirkten Wunder erschienen, das bereits Dutzende von vermeintlichen Bibelbelegen und tatsächlichen Väterzitatzen zur Gnadenwirkung der sterblichen Überreste heiliger Männer beibringt.¹⁸ Am 13. März 1574 hatte man dann am reformierten Gymnasium illustre zu Straßburg in öffentlicher Disputation eine Reihe von Thesen gegen den Heiligen- und Reliquienkult vorgestellt, auf die Rabus ebenfalls mit einem eigenen Pamphlet scharf reagierte.¹⁹ Der Straßburger Behauptung, daß sich Heiligkeit allenfalls im Leben manifestieren könne, den sterblichen Überresten eines Menschen indes keinerlei charismatische Kräfte innewohnten, womit jegliche Reliquienverehrung gegenstandslos werden mußte, stellt der empörte Verfasser noch einmal Dutzende von Autoritäten entgegen. Ein knapper Abriß zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultes und der Translationen bemüht sich erneut darum, die fromme Verehrung in den Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte verwurzelt sowie im Alten Testament vorgebildet erscheinen zu lassen.²⁰ Für die angesprochene Wundertätigkeit lieferte ihm nun, als er sein Münchener Manuskript redigierte, der Gregor-Brief zusätzliche, bisweilen drastische Beispiele. Und noch ein zweites Argumentationsschema des Jesuiten-Schülers vermochte das päpstliche Schreiben zu bedienen.

1543 hatte Jean Calvin mit seinem *Advertissement* für ein Reliquieninventar einen Frontalan-

griff auf den katholischen Heiligenkult lanciert, an dem sich die Altgläubigen Jahrzehnte lang abarbeiten sollten.²¹ Calvins Argumente gegen die Reliquienverehrung stützen sich zum einen auf das vermeintliche Schweigen der Bibel und aller frühen Quellen, die weder von einem Kult als solchem noch von bestimmten, zu seiner Zeit mit den Evangelien assoziierten Heiltümern zu berichten wußten. Ein Appell an den gesunden Menschenschenverstand kommt hinzu, denn immer wieder hebt der Autor auf die Unwahrscheinlichkeit, daß man einzelne Objekte aufbewahrt habe, ab. Seine antiquarische Bildung ermöglicht es ihm darüber hinaus, die Fragwürdigkeit zahlloser Gegenstände für die behauptete Entstehungszeit offen zu legen. Als nicht weniger schlagkräftig erweist sich dann ein letztes Argument: Dadurch, daß man Objekte wie das *praeputium* des Erlösers, den Kreuzestitulus, die Lanzenspitze des Longinus, Christi Grabtuch, aber auch das Haupt des Täufers, die Körper der einzelnen Apostel und vieles mehr an unterschiedlichsten Orten zu besitzen vorgab, strafte die konkurrierenden Überlieferungen einander Lügen.²² Für den Reformator war der Reliquienkult mit seiner offenkundigen Bindung an die heidnische Idolatrie deshalb ein Mittel der Geschäftemacherei, erst spät von der durch und durch materialisierten Papstkirche eingeführt, die sich zum Erreichen ihrer Ziele nicht einmal scheute, auf mannigfache Fälschungen zurückzugreifen.

Seitens der Altgläubigen legte der Luther-Gegner Johannes Cochlaeus 1549 eine erste ausführliche Stellungnahme gegen Calvin, der nun auch ins Lateinische übersetzt worden war (1548), vor.²³ Dabei ging es ihm weniger darum, einzelne Heiltümer zu rehabilitieren, als die Methode des *Advertissement* in Frage zu stellen. Viele von Calvins scheinbaren Beweisen waren Beweise *ab autoritate negative*, Argumente *e silentio*, von denen schon die Schulkinder wußten, daß sie unzulässig seien, denn nicht alles, was Christus und die Apostel taten und dachten, sei durch die Evangelien überliefert, und Cochlaeus dreht die Beweislast schlechterdings um: Wie konnte Calvin glaubhaft machen, daß es einen Reliquienkult während der Frühzeit des Christentums noch nicht gegeben habe? Wo hatte Gott einen

solchen Kult verboten? Selbst wenn man sich an Calvins strenges Schriftprinzip hielt, lieferten Altes und Neues Testament etliche Nachrichten, die es gestatteten, die Reliquienverehrung biblisch zu verankern.²⁴ Denn Moses hatte Sorge getragen um die sterblichen Überreste Josephs, diese sogar ins gelobte Land bringen lassen (Gn 50. 25; Ex 13. 19). Durch die Berührung mit dem Leichnam des Elisaeus war ein Toter zum Leben erweckt worden (iv Rg 13. 21), und auch das *Dominus custodit omnia ossa eorum* aus Ps 33. 21 ließ sich in diesem Sinne deuten. Prototypen heiliger und somit auch verehrungswürdiger Gegenstände stellten die Bundeslade, die Tafeln des Moses und die *virga Aaron* dar. Wie den Evangelien zu entnehmen war, wurde die Blutflüssige gesund, als sie den Saum von Christi Kleid berührte (Mt 9. 20–22), und Paulus heilte durch das Auflegen von Schweißtüchern und Binden, *sudaria vel semicintia* (Ac 19. 12). Rabus hat diese Hinweise in seinen Schriften von 1573 und 1574 übernommen. Über die biblischen Bücher hinaus gesteht Cochlaeus den Vätern gemäß dem Traditionsprinzip größte Autorität zu und macht darüber hinaus die Wunder zugunsten des Kultes geltend. Hätte der Schöpfer die Reliquien mit einer solchen *virtus* begnadet, wenn ihm deren Verehrung zuwider gewesen wäre?

Allein an einer Stelle, so räumt der Autor ein, falle es schwerer, Calvin zu widerlegen.²⁵ Wie erklärten sich die häufig gleich benannten Reliquien an unterschiedlichen Orten? Glaubte man das Grabtuch Christi sowohl in Chambéry, Besançon und Aachen als auch in Cadouin, Trier und Rom zu bewahren, und waren sie allesamt durch die *divina virtus* geheiligt, so sprach daraus die Allmacht des Schöpfers. Wer sollte ihm dafür Rechenschaft abverlangen? Dann aber lenkt der Verfasser ein, denn letztlich sei es kein Vergehen, wenn das Volk ein Grabtuch verehere, das nicht mit dem wirklichen Grabtuch identisch sei, solange es dieses für das *verum sudarium* halte. Zur Sünde, so Cochlaeus, der sich damit auf mittelalterliche Vorläufer berufen konnte,²⁶ gehöre stets die böse Absicht. Gott schaue auf die Herzen und die *recta intentio*, nicht auf die *res falsae aut supposititiae*.

Damit hatte Cochlaeus allerdings entscheidendes Terrain preisgegeben, denn immerhin

schiene die *reliquiae supposititiae* nach seinem Vorgehen grundsätzlich möglich. Dieses problematische Eingeständnis dürfte Rabus nicht entgangen sein, denn er schlägt mit seinem sechsten *Bedenckhspunct* einen anderen Weg ein. Der zitierte Brief Gregors des Großen an die Kaiserin Constantina antwortete auf den Wunsch nach dem Haupt des Apostels Paulus und dem *sudarium* des Petrus, hochrangigen Reliquien, die sie für ihre eigenen Kirchenstiftung erstrebte.²⁷ Gregor wies dieses Ansinnen energisch zurück, offenbar entsprach die Zerteilung heiliger Leiber dem westlichen Brauch – anders als im Osten – zu seiner Zeit noch nicht, und er zitiert abschreckende Beispiele dafür, wohin ein solcher Frevel habe führen können. Stattdessen verweist er auf die Effizienz der *brandea*, jener in Rom seit langem schon hergestellten Berührungsreliquien, die durch ihren Kontakt mit dem Heilum dessen übernatürliche Kraft voll und ganz aufzunehmen vermocht hätten.²⁸

Hier sah Rabus eine Möglichkeit, Cochlaeus' Argumentation abzurunden, waren in seinen Augen doch gerade die *brandea* für jene nur scheinbaren Doppelungen und Vervielfältigungen verantwortlich. Die Berührungsreliquie sei dann unter dem Namen des berührten Gegenstandes weitergereicht und verehrt worden. In anderen Worten: Ein Stoffband, das man mit dem Haupt des Täufers zusammengebracht hatte, wäre fortan selbst als Haupt des Täufers bezeichnet worden! Von einer noch immer aktuellen Bedeutung der *brandea* zeigt sich Rabus auch in seinem *Manual* zu den Wallfahrten überzeugt.²⁹ Dennoch fragt man sich, warum er und vor ihm schon Cochlaeus nicht von einer sehr viel näher liegenden Teilung der Reliquien ausgingen,³⁰ wie sie spätestens seit dem hohen Mittelalter auch in der lateinischen Kirche recht bedenkenlos praktiziert worden war.³¹ Vermutlich, weil der Brief Gregors I., den Cochlaeus ebenfalls kannte, sich nachdrücklich gegen diese Praxis verwehrte. Obwohl Rabus an anderer Stelle der Überzeugung war, daß die sterblichen Überreste der beiden Apostelfürsten Petrus und Paulus jeweils zur Hälfte auf die nach ihnen benannten Basiliken verteilt worden waren,³² mochte ihn das päpstliche Schreiben verunsichern haben, wann die Körperteilung aufge-

kommen war und inwieweit sie mit den Vätern im Einklang stand.

Den Schritt, den Rabus offenbar noch nicht zu gehen wagte, tat gut zehn Jahre später ein prominenter Vertreter des Jesuitenordens. Im siebten Teil seiner *Controversiae* setzt sich Robert Bellarmin 1587 erschöpfend mit der protestantischen Polemik gegen den Heiligenkult auseinander.³³ Calvins Argumente gegen den Reliquienkult werden scheinbar ebenso systematisch widerlegt wie die Wycliffs und der Magdeburger Centurien. Bellarmin, für den die *brandea* keine Rolle spielen, bringt das Argument auf den Punkt: „Ad illud, de pluribus corporibus, dico, in variis locis esse partes eorundem corporum, sed denominari à parte totum.“³⁴ Das Prinzip des *pars pro toto* hatte folglich den falschen Eindruck erweckt, man reklamiere denselben Heiligen, dieselbe Reliquie für unterschiedliche Kultzentren. Und mit Basilius dem Großen, Theodoret und Johannes Chrysostomos weiß der erfolgreiche Kontroverstheologe gleich mehrere, bezeichnenderweise östliche Väter zu benennen, die nicht nur die zugrunde liegende Praxis, sondern auch den entsprechenden Sprachgebrauch bezeugen.

Wundertätige Kultbilder

Mit den Lukas-Ikonen, denen Rabus seinen zweiten Streitpunkt widmet, ist ein Thema aus dem Grenzbereich von Reliquien und Bildkunst angesprochen, denn diese gemalten Tafeln waren nicht nur apostolischen Ursprungs, sondern auch wegen ihrer Wundertätigkeit berühmt. Die Legende vom Evangelisten als Maler, vorab als Maler der Madonna, scheint in den Kunsttraktaten der Gegenreformation, so bei Konrad Braun, bei Giulio Castellani, bei Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti, Romano Alberti, Simone Maioli, Gregorio Comanini, Federico Borromeo und Francisco Pacheco, allgegenwärtig.³⁵ Wie bei ihrer Entstehung im byzantinischen Bilderstreit diente sie auch jetzt dazu, die Existenz der christlichen Kunst und insbesondere der Heiligen-Ikonen auf die apostolische Epoche, mehr noch: auf die Umgebung des Heilands zurückzuführen und sie damit gegen alle Widersacher zu legitimieren. Die kritischen

Ansätze des Humanismus hatten dieser Überlieferung nur wenig geschadet. Vielmehr begaben sich die Vertreter der lateinischen Kirche nach 1453 auf die Suche vermeintlich geretteter Tafeln aus der östlichen Reichshauptstadt. Dort durch den Islam bedroht, liefen sie im Westen wenige Jahrzehnte später Gefahr, dem protestantischen Ikonoklasmus zum Opfer zu fallen.

Rabus hat der Lukas-Ikonen auch im Rahmen seiner Kirchenbeschreibungen gedacht. Von zwei Ausnahmen abgesehen, einem Bild auf dem Hauptaltar von St. Peter und einem anderen in der Venantius-Kapelle beim lateranensischen Baptisterium, hält er sich an den im Laufe mehrerer Jahrhunderte etablierten Kanon jener römischen Werke, die man dem Evangelisten seit dem 11. Jahrhundert ihrer unterschiedlichen ikonographischen Ausprägung zum Trotz sukzessive zugewiesen hatte. Dazu gehörten die Marienbilder aus S. Maria Maggiore, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria in Araceli, S. Maria in Via Lata und S. Maria Nuova (heute S. Francesca Romana).³⁶ Als von Lukas erdacht, dann aber auf wundersame Weise vollendet – und auch hier bewegt sich Rabus im Rahmen der lokalen Tradition –, charakterisiert der Autor die berühmte Salvator-Ikone der Sancta-Sanctorum-Kapelle des Lateranpalastes.³⁷ Sieht man seine Ausführungen vor dem Hintergrund jener geradezu inflationären Tendenz von Lukas-Ikonen in der zeitgleichen Guiden-Literatur, so darf man dem Deutschen einen ausgesprochenen Willen zur Beschränkung und zum Traditionalismus bescheinigen. In den *Tesori nascosti* des Ottavio Panciroli (1600 und 1625) ist die Zahl der Zuschreibungen bereits auf mehrere Dutzend angewachsen.³⁸ Auch solchen innerrömischen Differenzen war es geschuldet, wenn der Parochus von S. Apollinare, Niccolò Cassiani, um 1610 das vermutete Œuvre des Heiligen erstmals in seiner Gesamtheit sichtete und wieder auf die klassische Fünzfzahl von Tafeln zurückführte.³⁹ Zahllose Arbeiten, die man außerhalb Roms für den Evangelisten beanspruchte, blieben dabei allerdings außer Betracht. Auch was Eigenhändigkeit und Provenienz der römischen Bilder anbelangte, war Cassiani, wie sich bald herausstellte, weit davon entfernt, einen Konsens zu bewirken.⁴⁰

In seinen *Bedenckhspuncten* setzt sich Rabus mit einem möglicherweise sogar katholischen Einwand gegen die Lukas-Ikonen auseinander. Wie paßte die erstaunliche Zahl der noch zu Mariens Lebzeiten entstandenen Bildnisse zu jener Demut, die als ihre größte Tugend galt und die man sogar ihren gemalten Gesichtszügen hatte entnehmen wollen, wo doch das ‚abconterfeien mher zuo übermuth dienstlich dann zu warer demut‘ sei? Tatsächlich wußten mehrere Varianten der Legende davon zu berichten, daß die Gottesmutter selbst bisweilen zur Ausführung ihrer Bildnisse angehalten hatte.⁴¹ Wer die nicht wenigen Stellen der frühen Kirchenlehrer kannte, die dem menschlichen Porträt gegenüber eine zurückweisende Haltung eingenommen hatten, mußte sich an solchen Überlieferungen zwangsläufig stoßen. Antike Vorläufer zumal aus der neuplatonischen Schule aufgreifend, lehnten Tertullian, Origines, Eusebios von Caesarea, die apokryphen Johannes-Akten, aber auch Johannes Chrysostomos und Theodoret von Kyros menschliche Bildnisse, egal, ob gemalt oder statuarischer Gestalt, ab, da sie lediglich Wiedergaben des fleischlich materiellen Körpers boten, nicht aber der unsterblichen Seele, und überdies ganz in heidnischer Tradition eitle Versuche darstellten, das irdische Gedenken bei der Nachwelt zu bewahren, anstatt nach dem ewigen Leben der Seele zu streben.⁴² Zu bedrohlich wirkte überdies die Gefahr – so hatte es der Kaiserkult gelehrt –, daß die Grenzen vom Profanen zum Religiösen hin überschritten, die PorträtDarstellungen zu Medien einer anschließend eingeforderten Verehrung werden konnten. Spätestens aus Gabriele Paleottis *Discorso intorno alle imagini* (1582), wo sich solche dem menschlichen Bildnis gegenüber feindliche Stimmen erneut gesammelt finden, wird deutlich, wie sehr die Argumentation der Väter auch im 16. Jahrhundert gegenwärtig war.⁴³ Als Bischof von Bologna mahnt Paleotti angesichts dieses Quellenbefundes auch seine Zeitgenossen in puncto PorträtDarstellungen zur Zurückhaltung. Daß diese zumindest im Kirchenraum nichts zu suchen hätten, gehört zu den Leitmotiven der katholischen Traktatliteratur. Selbst Cesare Baronio räumt im ersten Band seiner *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588) ein, die *maiores*

nostris seien einem heidnischen Brauch gefolgt, als sie die Bildnisse Christi und der Apostelfürsten noch zu deren Lebzeiten hatten ausführen lassen.⁴⁴ Daß deren *verae effigies* auf diese Weise überliefert worden seien, schien ihm indes willkommen.

Rabus sucht der offenkundigen Ablehnung des Porträts entgegenzuwirken, indem er betont, die heilige Jungfrau habe sich gewiß nicht aufgrund ihrer Eitelkeit, sondern aus höchst ehrenhaften Erwägungen abconterfeien lassen. Freundlichkeit und Holdseligkeit gehörten zu ihren Gnaden, was dazu geführt habe, daß viele fromme und sogar heilige Leute das Gespräch mit ihr suchten, wie zwei – aus heutiger Sicht mehr als fragwürdige – Beispiele, nämlich Ignatius von Antiochien und Dionysios Areopagita, zu belegen vermochten. Anderen, die den gleichen Wunsch hegten, sei die beschwerliche Reise nach Jerusalem indes nicht vergönnt gewesen. Eben deshalb hätten die ersten Christen zu der Lösung gefunden, wenigstens die von Lukas ausgeführten Bildnisse der Gottesmutter an ihre Glaubensbrüder zu versenden, ihnen zum Trost und zur Erquickung.

Tatsächlich zieht Rabus hier einen Topos heran, genauer: die Hälfte eines Topos, der seit ältesten Zeiten zur Erklärung der Porträtkunst bemüht worden war. Daß diese in dem Wunsch, die Erinnerung an die Toten wach zu halten oder aber die Abwesenden zu vergegenwärtigen, das heißt, einmal zeitliche, zum anderen räumliche Distanz zu überwinden, begründet liege, war schon dem biblischen Buch der Weisheit (14. 15–17) zu entnehmen. Im 4. Jahrhundert griff der Kirchenvater Laktanz diese Umschreibung auf, verzichtet dabei aber auf den polemischen Akzent, der dem Passus im *Buch der Weisheit* noch zu eigen war.⁴⁵ Leon Battista Alberti propagierte die doppelte Porträtfunktion dann in seiner Schrift *Della pittura*, welche letztere für die Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts von entscheidender Wirkung war: ‚Tiene in sé la pittura forza divina non solo quanto si dice dell’amicizia, quale fa gli uomini assenti presenti, ma più i morti dopo molti secoli essere quasi vivi, tale che con molta ammirazione dell’artefice e con molta voluttà si riconoscono.‘⁴⁶ Ähnlich klingt das, was Pomponius Gauricus,

Francisco de Hollanda, Michelangelo Biondo, Johannes Molanus und – unter Rückgriff auf Laktanz – auch Paleotti über die Bildniskunst geschrieben haben.⁴⁷ Sicherlich entsprach die Topik mithin der Praxis. Beschränken wir uns auf Rabus' Argumentation, so wäre an die stellvertretende Rolle des Porträts zu erinnern, die das Bildnis in Antike und Neuzeit besaß, so bei der zeremonialen Herrscherrepräsentation, in der Rechtspraxis oder bei der fürstlichen Brautwerbung.⁴⁸ Doch auch und gerade im privaten, im emotionalen Kontext geben unsere Quellen eine psychologische Wirkung zu erkennen, die dem von Rabus beschworenen Trost und der besagten Erquickung überaus nahe kommt. So richtete Hortensia Borromeo, die Gräfin von Hohenems, 1574 einen Brief an ihren Gatten, um sich für das Bildnis zu bedanken, das er ihr von einem Feldzug in den Niederlanden gesandt hatte: „Ich fühlte so viel Süßigkeit beim Anblick dieses so sehnsüchtig und inbrünstig erwarteten Bildes, daß ich nicht mehr wußte, in welcher Welt ich mich befand. Bei der Bewunderung und beim immer wiederholten Anblick der schönen Figur glaubte ich mich angesungen und verlor dabei die Erinnerung an alles in der Welt. [...] So fließt mir nun die Zeit der Abwesenheit mit weit geringerer Pein dahin als anfangs, da ich mich nun an dieser Ansicht erfreuen werde.“⁴⁹ Offenbar ging es Rabus darum, eben diese private, durchaus aktuelle Porträterfahrung an die alten Marienikonen heranzutragen. Was er dabei unterschlägt, ist deren Kultfunktion. Daß Heiligenbilder ihre Entstehung auch der Absicht verdanken, einen Ersatz für den persönlichen Besuch, wenn nicht des Lebenden, so doch seines Grabes zu schaffen, scheint richtig. Doch dürfte das die Wallfahrt ersetzende Bildnis von Anbeginn als Heiltum verstanden und somit auch angebetet worden sein.⁵⁰

Nur einer römischen Marien tafel hat sich Rabus ausführlicher gewidmet, der als *Salus populi romani* bekannten Ikone von S. Maria Maggiore, die zu seiner Zeit noch in einem Kosmatentabernakel im Mittelschiff der Kirche aufbewahrt wurde, bevor Paul V. sie 1613 zum Altarbild seiner neuen Grabkapelle, der Cappella Paolina, erhob.⁵¹ Unter den römischen Ikonen genoß das

möglicherweise noch vor dem byzantinischen Ikonoklasmus entstandene Bild seit Jahrhunderten eine hervorragende Würde, hatten doch schon die mittelalterlichen Quellen – darunter die weitverbreitete *Legenda aurea* – sie mit der berühmten Pestprozession Gregors des Großen in Verbindung gebracht. Um Gottes Zorn zu besänftigen und die damals grassierende Seuche abzuwenden soll der Papst im Jahr 590 das Gemälde in einer Bußprozession über den Pons Aelius zum Hadriansmausoleum getragen haben, wo sie von Engeln mit einem *Regina coeli* wundersam begrüßt worden sei. Bald darauf erschien dann der Erzengel über dem antiken Bauwerk und verkündete das Ende der Epidemie. Spätestens im 15. Jahrhundert wurde die Teilnahme an der Prozession indes für eine andere Tafel, die sogenannte *Advocata* aus S. Maria in Aracoeli, beansprucht, und der Klerus dieser auf dem Capitol gelegenen Kirche zögerte nicht, den Unkundigen seine Sicht der Dinge mittels einer dem Bild beigefügten Inschrift bekannt zu machen.⁵² Die Reaktionen von Seiten S. Maria Maggiore waren heftig, sollte die älteste und ranghöchste Marienkirche, S. Maria Maggiore eben, doch auch die ehrwürdigste Darstellung der Gottesmutter besitzen. Später trat mit der Kirche von Ss. Domenico e Sisto indes noch ein dritter Konkurrent auf den Plan, denn auch für die dort bewahrte Ikone (heute in S. Maria del Rosario) behauptete man man dieselbe historische Rolle, so daß sich ein Autor des 17. Jahrhunderts genötigt sah, einen Kompromiß zu erarbeiten, dem zufolge Papst Gregor alle drei Marienbildnisse mit sich geführt habe.⁵³

Wenn Rabus die Tafel von S. Maria Maggiore unmißverständlich zum alleinigen Protagonisten der Gregor-Prozession erklärt, so ist seine Parteinahme nicht nur der älteren Tradition, sondern gewiß auch der engen Verbindung des Bildes mit dem Jesuiten-Orden geschuldet. 1569 hatte der Ordensgeneral Francisco Borja durch Pius V. die Erlaubnis erhalten, Kopien des 1572 noch mit zusätzlichen Indulgentien ausgestatteten Gemäldes bei der Missionstätigkeit seines Ordens in Europa und in Übersee einzusetzen; Reproduktionen der römischen Vorlage gelangten bald bis nach China und Brasilien, wo sie als besonderes Zeichen der Societas Jesu

und als Emblem der Orthodoxie verstanden werden konnten.⁵⁴ Andere Repliken, die auch Rabus nicht unbekannt geblieben sein dürften, hingen bei den Jesuiten Süddeutschlands, so in München und Ingolstadt.⁵⁵ In seiner Glorifizierung der Tafel geht unser Autor noch über seine Vorgänger hinaus, indem er sie mit einer anderen berühmten Tafel identifiziert, welch letztere Eudokia, die Gemahlin Kaiser Theodosios' II., 437 von einer Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem an ihre Schwägerin Pulcheria übersandt haben soll. Darüber berichtet der allerdings interpolierte Theodoros Lektor aus dem 6. Jahrhundert, auf den sich um die Wende zum 14. Jahrhundert Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos stützt, so daß keiner der beiden dem Ereignis wirklich nahestand.⁵⁶ Völlig fragwürdig erscheint dagegen der von Rabus ebenfalls herangezogene Symeon Metaphrastes. Pulcheria galt als Gründerin der bedeutendsten Marienkirchen Konstantinopels. Da auch das hauptstädtische Hodegon-Kloster mit ihr in Verbindung gebracht wurde, lag es nahe, die von Eudokia erworbene Lukas-Ikone mit dem berühmten dort bewahrten Marienbild, der Hodegetria – nach ihr wurde der entsprechende ikonographische Typus benannt –, gleichzusetzen.⁵⁷ Eben diese, die vielleicht angesehenste Marienikone des Ostens, beansprucht Rabus – wohl erstmals – für S. Maria Maggiore und den Jesuitenorden. Dem Hodegetria-Typ, der die Mutter als Halbfigur, auf dem linken Arm das Kind, veranschaulicht, entspricht die römische Darstellung tatsächlich. Genauere Angaben darüber, wie das Bild schon vor 590 auf die Apenninhalbinsel gelangt sein soll und wie jene Autoren zu bewerten sind, die es auch danach noch in Konstantinopel bezeugen, macht Rabus nicht. Zweifellos war er keineswegs der einzige, der die vermeintlich vor den Osmanen gerettete Hodegetria nach dem Ende des byzantinischen Reiches für eine westliche Kirche vereinnahmen sollte,⁵⁸ doch bleibt seine Frühdatierung des Ortswechsels in jeder Hinsicht ungewöhnlich.

Mit der Demut Mariens und der Geschichte des prominenten Gnadenbildes war noch nicht die Vielzahl der Lukas-Madonnen erklärt, die sie in den konfessionellen Kontroversen so angreifbar machte. Verschiedene Ketzler hatten die

dem Evangelisten zugewiesenen Gemälde zum Fabelwerk erklärt, betont Rabus und hat dabei wiederum Calvin im Auge, der den *Acheiropoieteta* wie auch den Lukas-Ikonen im Rahmen seines Reliquientraktats einige polemische Glossen gewidmet hatte.⁵⁹ An dieser Stelle gibt sich unser Autor zunächst trotzig: Warum könne der Apostel nicht zwanzig, dreißig, vierzig, ja hundert Tafeln vollendet haben? Wer hätte ihn daran hindern sollen? Doch dann lenkt er ein, und seine Argumentation erinnert an das, was er über die *brandea* schreibt: Wollte man glauben, der Evangelist habe lediglich *eine* Darstellung geschaffen, wohingegen es sich bei zahlreichen der noch erhaltenen Malereien lediglich um Wiederholungen seines Prototyps von der Hand anderer Künstler handele, so sei es unbenommen, auch diese Duplikate als Werke des Heiligen anzusprechen. Selbst zu seiner Zeit, so Rabus, gebe es in Rom einen Maler, den man als *pintore di San Luca* kenne, weil er auf die Kopien der entsprechenden Bilder spezialisiert sei, die er dann in alle Welt versende – noch immer den neu bekehrten Christen zum Trost.

Das Argument schien brauchbar. Etwa gleichzeitig taucht es bei Petrus Canisius auf, mit dessen Denken Rabus vertraut gewesen sein dürfte.⁶⁰ Einige Jahre später nähert sich dann ein sehr viel kritischerer Kopf, mithin ein Vertreter der neuen empirischen Wissenschaft, nämlich Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, dem Problem auf gleiche Weise. Sein Ausgangspunkt ist allerdings das vermeintliche Abgar-Bild von S. Silvestro in Capite (jetzt in St. Peter), das er selbst während des Jubeljahrs von 1600 in Rom gesehen hatte. Die *maniera della pittura* und deren *materia*, so schreibt Peiresc 1637 an Francesco Barberini, ließen sich seines Erachtens nicht mit den älteren Quellen über das wundersam entstandene Bild in Einklang bringen, so daß an der Identität zu zweifeln sei. Dennoch lasse sich die Tradition retten, wenn man nur annehme, daß schon die Alten taten, was auch die Heutigen tun – etwa mit Michelangelos *Jüngstem Gericht*, seinem *Moses* oder Tizians *Magdalena*, die nämlich von anderen Künstlern auf verschiedene Weise reproduziert würden, dann aber noch immer unter der Bezeichnung ‚Michelangelos Gericht‘, ‚Michelangelos Moses‘ oder ‚Tizi-

ans Magdalena⁴ kursierten. „Et in questo senso tutte le pitture del Salvatore copiate da quella d'Abgarò si potevano chiamare del Salvatore d'Abgarò benche in mano et opera differente della prima“.⁶¹

Das von den Gelehrten unterbreitete Angebot, einen Großteil der Ikonen fortan als Wiederholungen nach dem Prototyp des Hl. Lukas zu klassifizieren, fand bei den verehrungsgewohnten Gläubigen indes nur wenig Anklang. Ihr Verlangen nach Originalen, die zugleich Reliquien waren, bestimmte die Frömmigkeit des 17. Jahrhunderts auf ungebrochene Weise. Auch die großen jesuitischen Gnadenbilder-Kompendien, Wilhelm Gumpenbergs *Atlas mariana* (1657) und Johann Gretsers *Syntagma de imaginibus manu non factis, deque aliis de sancto Luca picturis* (1729), zeugen von diesem Anspruch. Mit Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts gab es dann allerdings erste Versuche, den alten Kultbildern nicht mehr nur mittels schriftlicher Quellen und der von ihnen gewirkten Wunder, sondern auch auf der Grundlage einer neuen kunsthistorischen Kennerschaft zu begegnen, was langfristige zu deren Entmythologisierung führte.⁶²

Nicht zufällig folgt auf die Erörterung der Lukas-Ikonen mit Rabus' drittem Abschnitt die Frage, auf welche Weise die Gottesmutter begehre, daß man ihr zu Ehren Kirchen errichte. Hier wie dort ging es um die Verteidigung legendärer, inzwischen unter Beschuß geratener Überlieferungen, es ging um die rechtmäßige Verehrung der Jungfrau, die von der protestantischen Kritik so nachhaltig in Frage gestellt worden war, und es handelte sich überdies darum, mögliche Zweifel an ihrer Demut aus dem Wege zu räumen. Ausgangspunkt der Überlegung war die auch ikonographisch verbreitete Schneewunderlegende von S. Maria Maggiore.⁶³ Nicht nur, daß Maria dem römischen Patrizier Johannes und Papst Liberius im Traum erschienen war, um sie zum Bau der Kirche aufzufordern; über Nacht war es auf dem Esquilin zu einem unerwarteten Schneefall gekommen, woraufhin der Hügel am Morgen unter einer weißen Decke lag, in welcher sich der Grundriß des neuen Gotteshauses bereits abzeichnete – und dieses Wunder ereignete sich am 5. August. Viele hielten das für eine Fabel, räumt Rabus ein,

dagegen hätten so angesehene Männer wie der heilige Bonaventura an die Erzählung geglaubt. Das für die gegenreformatorischen Autoren so charakteristische Autoritätsprinzip greift auch hier. Durch solche und ähnliche Erscheinungen habe die Gottesmutter immer wieder zur Errichtung einzelner Kirchen aufgefordert – erstmals schon bald nach ihrer Himmelfahrt im aragonischen Zaragoza, wo sie sich an den heiligen Jakobus gewandt habe. – Marienkirchen ließen sich somit auf die Apostel zurückführen. Wer aufgrund eines solchen Begehrens Verdacht gegen Marias Frömmigkeit erhebe, so Rabus weiter, der sei ein böswilliger Schalk, habe die Jungfrau solche Kultbauten doch nicht zu ihrem, sondern zu unserem Nutzen gewünscht und überdies zu Ehren ihres Sohnes und der göttlichen Dreifaltigkeit. Und es folgt ein klares Bekenntnis zur Werkheiligkeit und zum Glauben an die Fürsprache der Heiligen: Alles, was der Mensch zu Marias Würdigung veranlasse, werde ihm in der ewigen Seligkeit hundertfach zurückgezahlt.

Mit seiner vierten Erörterung schließt Rabus an die Lukas-Ikonen an, denn sie handelt von Darstellungen Christi, die Blut geschwitzt oder auf andere Weise hervorgebracht hatten. Solche wunderwirkenden Bilder gab es auch in Rom, und der Autor hat sie in seinem liturgisch-topographischen Teil aufmerksam registriert. Berühmt war jene Christustafel in der Silvester-Kapelle des Lateranpalastes, die, wie man in etlichen römischen Guiden lesen konnte, hatte Blut fließen lassen, als sie von einem Juden geschlagen worden war.⁶⁴ Angesichts des Wunders soll sich der Ungläubige zum Christentum bekehrt haben. Ganz in der Nähe, nämlich in der Sancta-Sanctorum-Kapelle, bezeugt Rabus einen Kreuzifixus, der geblutet habe, weil ein verzweifelter Spieler gegen ihn vorgegangen sei.⁶⁵

Wie schon im byzantinischen Ikonoklasmus galten solche Bildwunder auch im 16. Jahrhundert als Ausweis des Wohlgefallens, das Gott an den Darstellungen fand.⁶⁶ Sie zeugten überdies von der innigen Bindung zwischen Abbild und Urbild und ließen die Grenzen von Bild und Reliquie vollends verschmelzen. Diese doppelte Annäherung war im Sinn des Tridentinums, wo die östliche Vorstellung von der Abbild-Urbild-

Relation erstmals zur offiziellen Lehrmeinung der lateinischen Kirche erhoben worden war und das nachfolgende Dekret die bezeichnende Überschrift *De invocatione, veneratione et reliquiis Sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus* trug.⁶⁷ Das den Ikonen und Bildwerken entströmte Blut wurde selbstverständlich bewahrt und ganz wie das entsprechende Kunstwerk selbst als Heilium verehrt. Waren es vormals die Juden gewesen, die den Darstellungen Christi und seiner Heiligen blutende Wunden zugefügt hatten, so hörte man im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert von protestantischen Bildschändungen mit gleicher Wirkung. Rabus' Blick auf die Historie des Phänomens bemüht dann auch den Archetyp aller blutenden Bilder, die Christus-Ikone von Beyrout (Berytos), die ganz wie das Mandylion aus Edessa im 10. Jahrhundert nach Konstantinopel gelangt war, von wo aus sie in Ost und West eine Welle von Nachfolgelegenden auslöste.⁶⁸ Und es fällt dem Verfasser nicht schwer, die Lehre des Bildes von Berytos auf seine Gegenwart umzumünzen, denn auch diese bedürfe der Wunder, welche die Gläubigen in ihrem Glauben stärkten und die Spötter schweigen hießen.

Fragen christlicher Kunst

Soweit Rabus' Fragen an das christliche Kunstschaffen über die wundertätigen Bilder hinausführen, sind sie in erster Linie ikonographischer Natur und bisweilen auch mit Blick auf die zeitgenössischen Bildfindungen formuliert. Zunächst geht es ihm um das Kreuz (Punkt 5), das seines Erachtens vierarmig und nicht dreiarmig, als Tau, zu veranschaulichen sei. In Tau-Gestalt hatten es einzelne Maler des 16. Jahrhunderts gezeigt, sehr zum Unwillen der katholischen Kunstliteraten. Aus Gründen der ihm eigenen Symbolik hatte sich Johannes Molanus schon 1570 für das lateinische Kreuz ausgesprochen.⁶⁹ Rabus trat für das vierarmige Kreuz ein, weil er dieses einmal mehr durch die Tradition gestützt sah. Schon Konstantin sei an der Milvischen Brücke ein entsprechendes Zeichen erschienen, dessen oberer vertikaler Balken dann allerdings die Rundung des Rhos aufgewiesen habe, was dem sogenannten Staurogramm gleichkam. Damit greift der Autor eine kirchengeschichtlich-

antiquarische Kontroverse auf, die zu seiner Zeit mit erstaunlichem Ehrgeiz ausgefochten wurde. War es das Kreuz oder das Christogramm, das Chi-Rho, das Konstantin vor der Schlacht gegen Maxentius am Himmel gesehen hatte? Daraus ergab sich dann auch die Frage, wie das Labarum, das von Konstantin neu geschaffene Feldzeichen, gestaltet war. Der Visionsbeschreibung bei Eusebios von Caesarea (*Vita Const.*, I. 28.2) und den Münzen des 4. Jahrhunderts folgend eilte die numismatische Forschung hier voran.⁷⁰ Baronio widmete dem Problem im dritten Band seiner *Annales ecclesiastici* mehrere Seiten, der römische Antiquar Lelio Pasqualini zur gleichen Zeit einen eigenen Traktat.⁷¹ Jene Autoren, die das Christogramm befürworteten, gingen von einer Verbindung des Chi (X) mit dem Rho (P) und somit von zwei diagonalen Querbalken aus. Möglicherweise sollte Rabus' Plädoyer für das Staurogramm mit nur einem horizontalen Balken das Zeichen der Vision noch näher an das Kreuz heranführen und somit eine Harmonisierung der beiden konträren Auffassungen bewirken. Erstaunen läßt sein Hinweis auf die konstantinischen Münzen, die genau dieses Zeichen vor Augen führten, denn das Staurogramm erscheint lediglich auf den späten, ausnehmend seltenen antiochenischen *solidi* der Jahre 336–37.⁷² Baronio, der sich bald darauf bemühte, alle christlichen Indizien der konstantinischen Münzprägung zusammenzutragen, kannte sie nicht.⁷³

Rabus' Gedanken kreisen anschließend um die Symbolik des Kreuzes. Nur seine vierarmige Gestalt ermöglichte den ins Kosmologische sich bewegenden Assoziationsreichtum, mit dem ihr schon die Kirchenväter begegnet waren, aus denen der Autor mehrere Belegstellen beibringt.⁷⁴ Ihnen war zugleich ein anderer Hinweis zu entnehmen, wie vor Rabus schon sein römischer Gewährsmann Panvinio betont hatte:⁷⁵ Bei den frühen Autoren, zumal bei Rufinus (*Hist. ecl.*, XI. 29), konnte man nämlich lesen, daß das Kreuz, sei es mit oder ohne Rundung, schon von den Ägyptern als ein heiliger Buchstabe verwandt und als Symbol der *vita ventura* verstanden worden sei. Hier eröffnete sich die Möglichkeit einer Deutung im Sinne der *theologia prisca*. Auf diese steuert Rabus zu, wenn

er im selben Zusammenhang deren gewichtigsten älteren Vertreter, Marsilio Ficino nämlich, zitiert.⁷⁶ Damit schien der Zusammenhang von Antike und Christentum enger, als es manche von Rabus' Zeitgenossen eingestehen wollten. Wir kommen darauf zurück. Dem Problem des Kreuzes, seiner Symbolgeschichte und Ikonographie hat übrigens wiederum ein Vertreter des Jesuitenordens, Jacob Gretser, um die Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert eine erschöpfende Abhandlung gewidmet.⁷⁷

Eine weitere unter den Zeitgenossen umstrittene Frage der christlichen Ikonographie spricht Rabus dort an, wo er den vermeintlichen Kardinalstitel des Hl. Hieronymus diskutiert (Punkt 8). Ausgehend von einer Darstellung in S. Maria Maggiore, die den Heiligen wie seit dem 14. Jahrhundert allgemein üblich mit rotem Mantel und flachem Kardinalshut zeigte, erörtert der Autor die historische Berechtigung dieser Insignien. Das Problem wurde in diesen Jahrzehnten auch von Gilio, Molanus, Possevino, Federico Borromeo und Pacheco aufgegriffen, wobei der ikonographische Anachronismus zumeist auf Widerspruch stieß, denn seit Panvinio glaubte man zu wissen, daß der rote Hut erst 1244 von Innozenz IV. eingeführt worden sei.⁷⁸ Dabei stand über die Darstellung des einzelnen Heiligen hinaus ein sehr viel weiter reichendes Problem zur Debatte, nämlich die ikonographische Historisierung biblischer, frühchristlicher und bald auch mittelalterlicher Bildinhalte.⁷⁹ Hier galt es nachzuholen, was für die antiken Themen durch Künstler wie Filarete, Mantegna, Raffael und Giulio mithin schon in der Renaissance erreicht worden war, angesichts der sehr viel schlechter erforschten christlichen Traditionen und Realien indes erhebliche Schwierigkeiten aufwarf. Im konkreten Fall lag die Aufgabe zunächst darin abzuklären, ob der Kardinalstitel in der Zeit des Hieronymus bereits existierte und, falls ja, ob der Kirchenlehrer ihn innegehabt hatte. Rabus findet dabei zu einem Kompromiß, wie ihn ähnlich schon Molanus, dessen Traktat er gekannt haben dürfte, formuliert hatte: Demnach bestand ein Kardinalsrang im 4. Jahrhundert zwar noch nicht, doch habe Hieronymus unter Damasus die Rolle eines päpstlichen Beraters ausgeübt, ganz wie sie in neuerer

Zeit den Purpurträgern zukomme.⁸⁰ War die sachliche Aussage folglich richtig, so sollte man Rabus zufolge an den äußerlichen Details keinen Anstoß nehmen und Hieronymus weiterhin mit Kardinalsinsignien abbilden.

Wenige Jahre später (1583) bemühte sich der Dominikaner und Kirchenhistoriker Alonso Chacon, das Problem differenzierter anzugehen.⁸¹ In einer eigenständigen Schrift, die sich zunächst mit der Darstellung des Heiligen in der neuen Cappella Gregoriana von St. Peter befaßt, kommt er nach einer ausgiebigen Sichtung bisweilen fragwürdiger Quellen zu dem Schluß, daß Hieronymus tatsächlich Kardinalpriester und die Kirche S. Lorenzo in Damaso seine Titulkirche gewesen sei. Den kostümgeschichtlichen Anachronismus, ihn mit roter Kardinalstracht zu zeigen, wie man es nun schon seit dreihundert Jahren zu tun pflegte, übersieht er dabei nicht, entschuldigt ihn aber mit anderen Widersprüchen, auf die man in der kirchlichen Kunst ebenfalls stoße, etwa, wenn Petrus und seine päpstlichen Nachfolger schon vor Sylvester mit Pluviale und Mitra, die Jungfrau, die Apostel und Märtyrer allenthalben mit modernen Gewändern veranschaulicht würden.⁸² Da man eben nicht wisse, wie die Kardinäle der Frühzeit gekleidet waren, dürfe man sie der neuen Zeit anpassen. Das habe seit Jahrhunderten den Konsens des Volkes wie auch der Gelehrten gefunden, so daß Chacon keinen Grund erkennt, um von dieser Praxis abzuweichen.

Vom Hauptaltar der Lateranbasilika und den dort ausgestellten Büstenreliquiaren der beiden Apostelfürsten angeregt streift Rabus in seiner siebten Erörterung schließlich eine der größten ikonographischen Kontroversen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, den Streit, warum in den römischen Apsiden, aber auch auf den Papstsiegeln die Gestalt Petri auf der liturgisch linken Seite, die des Paulus aber auf der rechten Seite erscheine, gleichwohl letztere als die vornehmere dem *princeps apostolorum* hätte zukommen müssen.⁸³ Die Frage war brisant geworden, seitdem das protestantische Lager sowohl den Aufenthalt des Petrus in Rom als auch seinen Vorrang unter den Aposteln nachdrücklich in Frage gestellt und dem päpstlichen Primatsanspruch damit seine Grundlage zu entziehen versucht hatte.

Die ikonographische Tradition hat andererseits selbst etliche neuere Autoren verunsichert.⁸⁴ Der bislang überzeugendste Erklärungsversuch geht dahin, die ideologische Paradoxie rein typengeschichtlich zu begründen. Demnach wäre die Dreierkonstellation von Christus, Petrus und Paulus am Anfang, und so möglicherweise schon in der Apsis von Alt St. Peter, stets mit der *Traditio legis* an Petrus verbunden gewesen. Da dieses Bildschema mit der segnenden bzw. die Rechte zum *Adlocutiogestus* erhebenden Gestalt des Erlösers einherging, dessen Linke dann die Schriftrolle überreichte, mußte sich Petrus dem Herrn zwangsläufig von dessen linker Seite nähern, womit für Paulus nur die rechte Seite verblieb. Diese Gruppierung sei im folgenden beibehalten worden, auch nachdem man auf das Traditiomotiv verzichtet hatte.⁸⁵

Das Problem war bereits im Mittelalter diskutiert worden. In einem schon während des 16. Jahrhunderts reichlich ausgeschöpften Brief des Petrus Damiani (1007–72) an Abt Desiderius von Montecassino hatte dieser die Stellung des Paulus zur Rechten Christi mit verschiedenen Argumenten zu rechtfertigen gesucht.⁸⁶ Zunächst: Paulus stamme aus dem Geschlecht Benjamins, dessen Name auf Lateinisch *filius dextrae manus* bedeute. Benjamin stellt für Petrus Damiani das alttestamentarische Vorbild des Apostels dar. Wie dieser seiner Mutter Rahel, einem Typus der Ecclesia, bei seiner Geburt tödlichen Schmerz zufügte (Gn 35. 16–20), so habe Paulus vor der Bekehrung seine spirituelle Mutter, die Kirche, grausam verletzt. Überdies sei Paulus mit der *vita contemplativa* und auch deshalb mit der rechten Seite zu verbinden, Petrus als Vertreter der *vita activa* hingegen mit der linken Seite. Schließlich trägt Petrus Damiani eine Reihe von Erwägungen zusammen, die, wiewohl er an Petri Vorrang festzuhalten scheint, doch von der außergewöhnlichen Begnadung seines zeitweiligen Gegenspielers zeugen. – Die Ausformulierung des römischen Primatsgedankens bewegte sich mit wechselnden Akzentsetzungen stets zwischen der rein petrinischen Begründung und der Lehre von der doppelten Apostolizität Roms. Den Autoren des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde nicht bewußt, daß Petrus Damiani wie auch Gregor VII., dessen An-

hänger er noch vor dessen Papstwahl war, das Pendel wiederum in Richtung der doppelten Gründung des römischen Bischofsstuhls durch *beide* Apostel ausschlagen ließ.⁸⁷ Der streng petrinisch fokussierten Argumentation, die man nach Trient anstrebte, war der zitierte Text deshalb nicht förderlich.⁸⁸

Für die katholischen Autoren des 16. Jahrhunderts ging es somit darum, den scheinbar ehrenvolleren Platz des Paulus zu verteidigen, ohne dabei den grundsätzlichen Primat Petri in Frage zu stellen. Dieses Dilemma führte zu einer Vielzahl erstaunlich gewundener Erklärungen, nicht aber zu einer befriedigenden Lösung des Problems. Nur ganz wenig sei hier herausgegriffen. Nach typischer Humanistenmanier auf antike und nicht auf christliche Autoren sich stützend erklärte schon der Spanier Elio Antonio de Nebrija (gest. 1522), daß die linke Seite nicht zwangsläufig eine Unterordnung anzeigen müsse. Vielmehr erscheine Paulus in den Bildern als *satelles*, *stipator* und *latro* des Petrus, dem er ‚Flankenschutz‘ gewährt habe, weshalb er, wie für solche Funktionsträger angemessen, zur Rechten Petri positioniert sei. Von dieser Schutzfunktion für den überlegenen Petrus zeuge dann auch sein Attribut, das Schwert.⁸⁹ – Der Versuch ignoriert, daß es abgesehen von den Siegeln nicht um ein reines Nebeneinander der beiden Apostel ging, sondern darum, ihr Verhältnis zu dem mittig stehenden Erlöser zu klären. Angelo Rocca hat Nebrijas Deutung einige Jahre später dann auch als lächerlich abqualifiziert, Paulus’ Schwert hingegen als *gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei* und als Zeichen seines Martyriums interpretiert.⁹⁰ Bellarmin wäre immerhin bereit gewesen, dem Spanier zu folgen, träten die Figuren in der Bewegung auf, nicht aber angesichts der starren Apsiskompositionen.⁹¹

Serrano und – ihm folgend – Jacob Rabus schlugen einen anderen Weg ein, der sich auf die Meßliturgie stützt.⁹² Für sie ist die liturgisch rechte Seite der Kirche die der Juden, die linke die der Heiden. Da die Predigt der Apostel nach Ac 13. 46–47, bei den Juden fruchtlos geblieben war, so daß jene sich fortan den Heiden zuwandten, unter denen sie ihr Bekehrungswerk mit größerem Erfolg ausübten, galt den

beiden Autoren die liturgisch linke Seite als höherrangig. Nicht minder gewagt klingt die zusätzliche Begründung, die frühe Kirche habe ihre Mitglieder in erster Linie aus der Heidenmission rekrutiert. Ein Bild, das man allerdings nur aus einer Beschreibung des Sophronios von Jerusalem kannte, schien die gängige Wertung der Seiten ebenfalls in Frage zu stellen, zeigte es den Gekreuzigten doch angeblich zwischen dem Täufer zu seiner Rechten und der Gottesmutter zur Linken.

Ohne dies kenntlich zu machen, greifen Serrano und Rabus auf mittelalterliche Quellen zurück. Ivo von Chartres und andere Liturgiker hatten in ihrer Exegese der Meßliturgie die *sinistra pars* des Kirchengebäudes mit den Heiden und der Evangelienseite in Verbindung gebracht.⁹³ Den zitierten Passus aus der Apostelgeschichte bemüht Ivo, um die Bewegung des Buches während der Messe zu begründen, so daß auch für ihn die rechte Seite, die später so genannte Epistelseite, mit den Juden gleichzusetzen wäre. Das Erstaunliche dieser sicherlich ex post erdachten Sinngebung liegt darin, daß sie die linke Seite zugleich mit dem Norden assoziiert, als gehe sie von einer gewesteten konstantinischen Basilika aus.

Dem hier imaginierten Modell ließ sich einiges entgegensetzen. In den hochmittelalterlichen Kirchen Roms mit ihren bekannten Kosmatenausstattungen stand der Evangelienambo auf der liturgisch rechten Seite, die weniger aufwendig gestaltete Epistelkanzel auf der linken. Diese Ivo, Serrano und Rabus entgegengesetzte Wertigkeit der Seiten spiegelte sich auch darin, daß das Evangelium seit ältesten Zeiten von einem Diakon, die Epistel von einem Subdiakon gelesen wurde.⁹⁴ Allenfalls hätten unsere Autoren argumentieren können, daß das Evangelium *in Richtung Norden* verlesen wurde, was sie aber nicht taten. Als Heidenapostel galt zudem Paulus, Petrus als Bekehrer der Juden, was wollte man an einer Privilegierung der Heiden festhalten, mit dem unterschiedlichen Rang der beiden Kanzeln in Einklang zu bringen gewesen wäre. Antonio Giorgi hatte dann auch kurz vor Serrano noch das Gegenteil geschrieben, nämlich daß die liturgisch rechte Seite des Gebäudes als Evangelienseite auf die Heidenkir-

che und die linke auf die *ecclesia ex circumcisione* verweise.⁹⁵ Serranos Behauptung einer höheren Würde der *sinistra pars* war übrigens schon der Indexkongregation aufgestoßen, die ihn zu einigen Abschwächungen seiner Formulierungen verpflichtet hatte.⁹⁶ Ihr Berichtersteller war der päpstliche Zeremonienmeister Francesco Mucanzio gewesen, der dem Thema 1573 eine eigene Publikation gewidmet hatte.⁹⁷ Ob ihre Deutung wirklich zu überzeugen vermochte, dürften Serrano und Rabus selbst bezweifelt haben, denn sie bemühen noch ein zweites Argument, das bei Molanus, Mucanzio und Turrianus ebenfalls anklingt.⁹⁸ Demnach war es zugleich auch die *modestia*, die Demut des Petrus und seiner des Titels *servus servorum Dei* sich bedienenden päpstlichen Nachfolger, die sie dazu veranlaßt hätte, jene nun doch wieder ehrenvollere Seite rechts von Christus zu räumen und dem heiligen Paulus zu überlassen. Bellarmin wollte 1586 übrigens nicht ausschließen, daß die ikonographische Verwirrung den unzulänglich gebildeten Künstlern jener frühen Jahrhunderte geschuldet sein könne.⁹⁹ Daß die ganze Streitfrage eher ‚ein fürwitziges als ein nottwendiges bedenckhen‘, also wohl so etwas wie eine gelehrte Spitzfindigkeit darstelle, hat auch Rabus betont.

Mit einer sehr allgemeinen Überlegung, warum es in den römischen Kirchen, im Vergleich zu den gemalten Darstellungen, nur so wenige plastische Bildwerke gebe, ‚nit sovil als bei unuß in unsern landen‘, schließt Rabus seine Erörterungen zur christlichen Kunst ab (Punkt 9). Von der Wirkung der vorbarocken Gotteshäuser Roms auf einen Besucher aus dem Norden, der an die Kirchengestaltungen von Riemschneider, Veit Stoß, Adam Kraft und anderer Meister gewöhnt war, gibt die Aussage einen bemerkenswerten Eindruck. Allerdings schließt Rabus auch hier an den Traktat des Molanus an, der das gleiche Problem aufgebracht hatte.¹⁰⁰ Anders als dieser nutzt der süddeutsche Autor diese Frage jedoch, um die Toleranz der von anderen als durch und durch tyrannisch verheulten Papstkirche herauszustellen. Stets habe Rom – auch hier dient Gregor der Große als Kronzeuge – regionale Eigenarten der einzelnen Ortskirchen geduldet, eben deshalb gebe es

mancherorts vor allem plastische Bildwerke, in anderen Ländern dagegen mehr gemalte Bilder Christi und der Heiligen. Daß man gerade in der Tibermetropole auf die körperhaften Darstellungen verzichtet habe, hänge mit der Überfülle antiker Statuen, Götterbilder einerseits, Grabfiguren andererseits, ebenda zusammen. Um hier jede kultische Verwirrung auszuschließen, habe sich die Kirche an das zweidimensionale Bild gehalten. Angesichts der Inflation antiker Statuen hätte eine solche Ehrung für die Heiligen denn auch kaum noch eine besondere Auszeichnung bewirkt. – Daß der weitgehende Verzicht auf das plastische Bildwerk zumindest innerhalb der byzantinischen Kirche seiner Assoziation mit den heidnischen Kultstatuen geschuldet war, gehört noch heute zu den gängigen kunsthistorischen Lehrmeinungen, wird in den schriftlichen Quellen allerdings erst zu einem späten Zeitpunkt greifbar.¹⁰¹

Nach diesem Exkurs in die Vergangenheit greift der Autor mit dem Paragone der künstlerischen Gattungen einen durchaus zeitgenössischen Streit auf.¹⁰² Viele glaubten, die Malerei sei kunstvoller als das gehauene Bild, eine Meinung, die Rabus insofern teilt, als auch ihm die Zahl herausragender Maler deutlich höher erscheint als die der Bildhauer, obwohl er mit Michelangelo und den heute vergessenen Meistern Magaeo Perusino und Giovanni Battista de Mutina mehrere Talente zu benennen weiß, die diesem Urteil widersprechen. Vollends ins Schwärmen gerät er dann bei der Erinnerung an Giovanni Bologna, dessen Namen er nicht von seiner Heimatstadt Boulogne, sondern von dem bolognesischen Neptunbrunnen des Meisters ableitet. Eine emphatische Panegyrik führt dessen Qualitäten, gipfelnd in seinem angeblichen Marmorkruzifix, das der Großherzog von Toskana unlängst dem spanischen König übermittlelt habe, vor Augen. Bei dem Kruzifix geht es allerdings nicht um eine Arbeit von Giovanni Bologna, sondern um das Werk des Benvenuto Cellini, welches, 1562 für die Grabkapelle des Künstlers vollendet, Francesco I. de' Medici im August 1576 an Philipp II. schenkte.¹⁰³ Die Bezugnahme macht deutlich, daß die *Bedenckhs puncte* erst nach diesem Zeitpunkt zum Abschluß gelangten. Daß Rabus die Autoren-

schaft der beiden Meister verwechseln konnte, erstaunt. Giovanni Bologna selbst scheint ihm während der Pilgerreise oder im Folgejahr, als Rabus noch einmal nach Italien kam, die Skulptur in Florenz gezeigt zu haben. Entweder der Deutsche verstand nicht, was man ihm dazu erklärte, oder aber der Künstler gab die Arbeit dem wenig kundigen Besucher gegenüber keck als eigene Schöpfung aus. Eine Marginalie zu Rabus' Text verweist auf sein *Pantheon*, eine offenbar verlorene oder auch nie ausgeführte Schrift des Autors, die das Kruzifix erneut behandeln sollte, und die Glosse betont, Christi Körper sei völlig nackt; über solche Darstellungen zu schreiben, will sagen: lobend zu schreiben, scheine gefährlich. Damit klingt nicht nur ein Leitmotiv der katholischen Kunstliteratur an, die *decenza* oder *pudicitia*, sondern der Papyrus antizipiert zugleich das spätere Schicksal von Cellinis Werk. Nach seiner Ankunft im Escorial empörte sich Philipp II. über dessen Nacktheit und verbannte es an einen abgelegenen Altar des königlichen Klosterpalastes.¹⁰⁴

Das Kontinuitätsproblem

Die Abgrenzung der frühen Kirche vom römischen Heidentum, die der Rückblick auf die unterschiedlichen künstlerischen Medien anklingen läßt, könnte Rabus' abschließende Gedanken angeregt haben, denn im zehnten Abschnitt spricht er die grundsätzliche Bedeutung des antiken Erbes für die Papstkirche an. Auch die hier versuchte Rechtfertigung war der protestantischen Polemik geschuldet. Ein Leitmotiv der Magdeburger Centurien bestand darin, die Entwicklung der katholischen Kirche weg von der charismatischen Urgemeinschaft zu einer abergläubischen, zunehmend mehr Bestandteile des Heidentums aufgreifenden, die Lehre Christi pervertierenden Machtstruktur nachzuzeichnen.¹⁰⁵ Schon im zweiten Jahrhundert habe dieser im *pagano-papisme*, wie man es treffend bezeichnet hat, mündende Prozeß eingesetzt, denn damals habe man sich bereits des seiner Herkunft nach heidnischen Weihwassers bedient; auch die Reliquienverehrung reiche möglicherweise bis auf diese Epoche zurück.¹⁰⁶ Mit dem dritten Jahrhundert sei dann die Bil-

derverehrung als neue Form des Götzendienstes hinzugekommen.¹⁰⁷ Einen wahren Schub erfuhr diese Entwicklung unter der Herrschaft Konstantins, die neben den vorschnellen und opportunistischen Massenbekehrungen, so die Centurien, auch das persönliche Eingreifen des Kaisers in die kirchlichen Belange mit sich brachte.¹⁰⁸ Altäre, Bilder, prunkvolles, aus der Staatskasse finanziertes Kultgerät und der vormalig, zur Zeit nächtlicher Gottesdienste, noch berechnete, jetzt aber aus reinem Aberglauben bewahrte Lichterglanz gehörten zur üppigen, die Sinnenlust befriedigenden Ausstattung der monumentalen konstantinischen Gotteshäuser, die somit in jeder Hinsicht an die Hervorbringungen römisch-heidnischer Stiftungstätigkeit anschlossen. Das Entzünden von Kerzen und Lichtern zu rechtfertigen, ist ein Anliegen Rabus', und auch sein zweiter Anknüpfungspunkt, das römische Pantheon, war durch die Autoren der Centurien in Verruf geraten. Der Umstand, daß dieser heidnische Tempel von Papst Bonifatius IV. (608–15) in einen christlichen Kultbau umgewandelt worden war, diente ihnen als anschaulicher Beleg für den nahtlosen Übergang zwischen heidnischem und katholischem Kultus.¹⁰⁹

Verschiedene Argumentationsstrategien der Altgläubigen, dem hier erhobenen Kontinuitätsvorwurf zu begegnen, wurden im Laufe des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts entwickelt oder auch nur weitergeführt.¹¹⁰ Die *theologia prisca*, ein Harmonisierungsversuch von Antike und Christentum, der auf die Renaissance zurückging und den heidnischen Denkmälern und ihren Riten bereits eine mehr oder weniger bewußte Kenntnis des einen Gottes unterstellte, gehörte zu diesen apologetischen Ansätzen. Daß auch Rabus sie kannte, kam oben zur Sprache. Gefährlicher war das auf Gregor den Großen sich stützende Argument, die Kirche habe den Neubekehrten Zugeständnisse machen müssen, um sie langsam und schrittweise zum Christentum hinüberzuleiten. Daß diese Toleranz – wie etwa die Totengedächtnisfeiern lehrten – zu unliebsamen Mißbräuchen führen konnte, war auch von den katholischen Autoren des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts einzugestehen.¹¹¹ Bedenkenloser ließ sich ein anderes Modell einsetzen, denn es lehrte die

Übernahme nur äußerlich gleicher Formen, die seitens der Kirche mit neuen spirituellen Inhalten erfüllt worden seien. Eben diesem Erklärungsmuster schließt auch Rabus sich an. Wie töricht schien ihm die ganze Argumentation! Wollte man alles untersagen, was die Heiden getan hatten, so bedurften die Christen einer anderen Luft zum Atmen und einer neuen Weise, ihr Brot zu essen. Sie dürften keine Gotteshäuser errichten und religiöse Feste nicht feiern, denn solche besaßen auch die paganen Kulte. Für die Taufe, das Weihwasser, die eucharistischen Species und die Eheschließungen fänden sich ebenfalls heidnische Vorbilder, wenn man sie unbedingt finden wollte. Doch liege der Unterschied darin, wie man diese Dinge einsetze, denn die Heiden nutzten sie für den Kult ihrer Dämonen, die Christen zu Ehren des lebendigen Gottes und seiner Heiligen. Darauf komme es an, wie auch etliche von Rabus beigebrachte Bibel- und Väterstellen zu untermauern vermögen. Ein sprechendes Beispiel dafür, wie man in Rom einen überkommenen Brauch mit neuem Inhalt angereichert habe, weiß Rabus, der seinen Pilgern die Betrachtung der heidnischen Monumente durchaus gestatten wollte, solange diese sie nicht vom Eigentlichen ablenkten,¹¹² in seinem topographischen Teil zu zitieren. Im Atrium von St. Peter hätten sich die Neubekehrten vor Betreten der Kirche anfangs stets zurückgewendet, um zu morgendlicher Stunde nach heidnischer Gewohnheit die im Osten stehende Sonne zu grüßen. Auf der Ostseite des Atriums habe Leo I. dann aber das Navicella-Mosaik anbringen lassen, wodurch die in ihrer Richtung vollzogene Ehrerbietung einen legitimen Sinn erhalten habe.¹¹³ Eine ebenso angemessene Christianisierung sieht der Autor dort am Werk, wo man antike Tempel, Paläste und Thermenanlagen in Kirchen verwandelt hatte. Eben deshalb zögert er bei seinen Kirchenbeschreibungen nicht, auch die vermeintlich heidnischen Ursprünge der christlichen Bauten gewissenhaft zu notieren.

ANHANG

Jakob Rabus, Bedenckhs puncte

Im folgenden sind die *Bedenckhs puncte* nach der Handschrift München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. 1280, fols 171^v–187^v, wiedergegeben. Bei der Handschrift handelt es sich um Rabus' Autograph. Die Edition löst sämtliche Abkürzungen, von Standardformeln abgesehen, auf, bewahrt ansonsten jedoch die sprachlichen und orthographischen Eigenheiten des Verfassers, auch dort, wo diese inkonsequent erscheinen, denn Rabus bedient sich durchaus orthographischer Varianten: neben *und* auch *unnd*, sowohl *zaichen* wie *zeichen* usw. Die ebenfalls eigenhändigen Marginalien zum Text sind mit M ausgewiesen und in eckige Klammern gesetzt.

[fol. 171^v] Beantwortung ettlicher bedenckhs puncte, so sich bei obgethaner Kirchenbeschreibung der gottsheuser zuo Rom zuotragen möchten.

Der erste punct von Mariae der muter gottes gehabtten Ohnmacht.

Oben in beschreibung S. Stephans Capell zuo S. Joannis ist meldung beschehen,¹¹⁴ wie Maria in ain Ohnmacht gefallen, und ein zeichen in aim stein mit ieren fingern gelassen hab, nach dem ihr verkündigt worden, wie Ihr lieber Son von Juda verrathen, unnd von Juden mit grossem toben unnd wüten gefengen genommen worden sey. Da waiß ich mich nun wol zuoerinnern, was die gelerten schreiben von dem spasma der h. Jungfrauen, unnd sonderlich das der hochgelerth Caietanus ein gantz Tractätlin dawider geschriben unnd genügstem darinn angezaigt hatt, das dieser spasmus der muter gottes vil mher verkhainerlich sei, dann ehrlich unnd rhumbsam.¹¹⁵ Dann es pleibt ein mal war, was Joannes von Ihr schreibt [M: Joan 19], *stabat iuxta crucem mater Jesu: Die muter Jesu STUND neben dem creutz:*¹¹⁶ sie stund nemlich mit dem leib, der durch den glauben bestund im hertzen, versunckh nit, zittert und zagt nit, fiel nit zuoboden, raufft ihr selbs die haar nit auß, sondern stund, *pro salute humani generis mori parata*, sagt Ambrosius [M: In cap. Luc. 23], *als die da willig*

*war, zuo sambt ierem son, wann es sein soltte, für das menschliche geschlecht zuo leiden unnd zuo sterben.*¹¹⁷ War gleichwol traurig unnd wainend, aber diß mher von wegen der untreuen Juden, dan ieres Sons halben, dann sie verstund das mysterium und gehaimnuß der erlösung. [fol. 172^v] Aber diß alles gehört hieher nit. Dann diese traditio von der ohnmacht Mariae davon wir handeln, ist lang vor dem Creutz vorhergangen, weil Maria endweders noch zuo Bethania, oder doch in S. Mariae Magdalenae hauß gewest, und auff den außgang gewartet hatt, was es mit ierem lieben Son zuo letztt für ain end nemen würde. [M: Diß haltt man in betrachtung der 7 schmerzen Mariae, die man auch am freitag pflegt zu betrachten zuor Mettin, in gewöhnlichen wochen gebetthen, etc.] Da hatt es wol sein khönnen, daz sie ob der ersten unverschehen traurigen bottschaft Joannis bekhümmert worden, und in aim schreckhen auffgefahren sei, und ihm auffaren auß verhengnuß gottes diß zeichen hinder ihr verlassen, damit endweders andere die muter gottes desto höher im tod ieres Sons achteten, unnd darob nicht verschmechten, oder aber sie selbs auch durch ein solch mirackhel getröst wurde. Das also diese ohnmacht khain solche ohnmacht sei, wie sie sonsten den menschen ankhomptt, sondern ain tieffe traurigkheit über das wunderbare urtheil der gottlosen leuth, mit denen es ihr Son so herzlich gemaint hatt. Es vermelden die historien, wie Christus der herr selber gezittert, gezagt, blutigen schwaiß geschwitzet unnd grosse zuomal scharpfße traurigkheit an Ihm gehabt hab, erstlich wegen seiner selbs eignen sinnlichkeit unnd sensualitet, die nit an Tod wolt, sondern des gern wer überhebt gewest: zum andern, wegen des zuvil groben falls Judae und der andern Apostel aller miteinander. Wie wann allhie ain Sympathia unnd mittleidung der natur in ainem fleisch, in aim geblieth gewesen wer, unnd Maria in khraft derselben ettwas von diesen beiden Traurursachen in [fol. 172^v] ierem leib empfunden hett, und so wol zittert hette in der ersten angst, ehe sie sambt Christo getröstet worden, unnd sich ieres glaubens erinnert, und also ettwas geschwangkhet hett mit solcher bewegung des leibs, die traurigkheit im menschen pflegt zuoerwegkhen: nit im gemieth, im glauben,

im hertzen, sondern vorbemeldter zwein pein halben, die auch ierem lieben Son zuo solcher commotion und eußerlicher gebärden seins heiligen cörpers getrungen haben? Zwar diese Tradition stimbt mit den revelationibus S. Brigittae der h. Jungfrau überein [M: Lib. 4 cap. 20],¹¹⁸ so ist die andere Tradition auch nit gar zuverwerfen, die ich bei ettlichen frommen leerern finde, daz da Joannes Mariae Magdalenae, und sie der muter gottes den übelstand ieres lieben Sons mit khlaglicher zerbrochner stimm anzeigt, sei die h. Jungfrau gesessen, und in anhörung dieser bottschaft auffgestanden, und sich auff die red mit fleiß ins gebeth begeben, und ieren Son, dem Allmächtigen gott, seinem rechten Vatter, befehlen wöllen, da sei der stein daran sie sich im niderkhnien gehebt, gewichen, unnd als waich worden wie der schnee, unnd darinnen die fingermal verpliben, wie dann solches wol geringern hailigen begegnet ist. Summa summarum, was Mariae hierinn begegnet, daz soll der fromme pilgram wissen, das es gewesen sein *dolores testes naturae maternae, non diffidentiae*, schmerzzeugen der natur, so die muter mit dem Son gleich gehabt flaisches halben, und gar nit anzaigungen ieres unglaubens, spricht Bernardus [M: Bernhar. ser. 26 super Cantica],¹¹⁹ bei dem lassen wir unns finden, was die natur find und ketzerischen Lutheriani dargegen spöttlen, geht unnb nichts an, ain h. Bernardus ist bei unns in grössrem ansehen, als wann die predicanten alle in aim mörser zerstoßen unnd zuo lauter khnust gemacht werden soltten.

[fol. 173^r] Der ander punct. Von Marienbildnussen, welche S. Lucas gemalt haben soll.

Oben ist in beschreibung der kirchen unnd gottsheuser zum mhermals gedacht worden der bildnussen Mariae, so Lucas der h. Evangelist gemacht und gemalt haben soll. Dawider setzen sich ettliche, und vermainen es sei ettwas schimpfflich, das man dises sagen soll, da doch Maria sich khainer hochfart nit geacht, und das abconterfeien mher zuo übermuth dienstlich dann zuo warer demut. Aber die ketzer machen es noch gröber, sagen es sei lauter fabelwerckh, was von den bildnussen Lucae gesagt unnd glaubt wirdtt, sintemal es ohnmöglich, das er

sovil tefeln soltte gemalt haben. Aber ein frommer Christ soll erstlich wissen, das das abconterfeien der würdigen muter Maria gar nit von wegen ainiger hochfart beschehen sei, sondern umb anderer ehrhafften ursachen halben. Es bezeugen glaubwürdige unvernainliche historien, das Maria unnder andern unzelbarn gnaden, mit welchen sie begabt gewesen, auch die gnad an ihr gehabt hab, der freund unnd holdseligkheit, derowegen vil fromme h. leuth bewegt worden, dieselbige bei ierem leben haimzuosuchen, unnd sie allerhand sachen halben zuobefragen. Ignatius der h. bischoff unnd Martyrer, dessen marter wir an seim ortt gedacht,¹²⁰ schreibt zuo dem h. Evangelisten Joanne, in ainem sendbrieff also: *Si licitum est mihi apud te, [fol. 173^v] ad Ierosolymae partes volo descendere, et videre sanctos, qui ibi sunt, praecipue Mariam matrem Jesu, quam dicunt universis admirandam, cunctis desiderabilem. Quem enim non delectet videre eam, quae verum Deum peperit, si sit nostrae fidei amicus?*²¹ Das ist: *Wann es mir durch dich erlaubt und gerathen wirdt, will ich in die gegend Jerusalem ziehen, unnd die heiligen besuchen, die sich daselbst auffhalten, sonderlich aber MARIAM die muter Jesu, von welcher man sagt, das sich jederman über sie verwundern mueß, unnd das sie jederman anmietig sei. Unnd wer soltt nit ein freud haben zuobesuchen die, die den waren Gott geboren hatt, ist er anders ein freund unnsers h. glaubens?* Also lißt man auch von dem h. Jünger S. Pauli S. Dionysio Areopagita, da er erstlich die muter gottes gesehen, wer er schier gesunkhen, wegen der herrlich leuchtenden gnadengestaltt, die auß und von Maria herfür schine. Hatt hernacher also gesagt zu ihr: *facile te DEUM crederem, nisi de divinitate Christi filii tui a Paulo didicissem. Ich müßte schier glauben du werest ein warer gott, wann ich von der gottheit deins Sons Christi von Paulo nit underwisen worden wer.* Dergleichen list man von vilen andern, die auch hertzlich gewünscht und oft begert haben, diesen allerhailigsten Tabernackhel gottes zuobesuchen. Dieweil aber solches nit jederman zuo vollpringen, und nit allen menschen gelegenheit war, über mör, unnd auß andern ferren örtern gehn Jerusalem zuoschiffen unnd zuoziehen: haben die ersten Christen diesen Rhat erfunden, daz man Mariam abconterfeien und [fol. 174^r] an andere ortt, den abwesenden Christen zuo eim trost und erquick-

hung, überschicken soltt: zuo welchem werckh dann der h. Evangelist Lucas, als der vorhin ein maler gewest, deputiert unnd verordnet worden ist: der thatt es ohne das auch desto lieber, weil er vil umb die muter gottes pflegt zuosein, unnd ieres rhats sich in allerhand ehehaften und fürfallenden dingen embsig zugebrauchen wist. Das dem also sei, und ein solch bild von Luca gemaldt worden sei, bezeugt nit allein Nicephorus, oder Simeon Metaphrastes [M: Niceph. lib. 2 c. 14, lib. 15 c. 14, lib. 2 c. 43, Metaphra. in Luca.],¹²² sondern es bezeugts auch vor 1000 Jaren Theodorus Lector, da er schreibt, wie Eudoxia, Kaisers Arcadii schwester, dasselb der Kaiserin Pulcheriae von Jerusalem zuogeschickht hab [M: Theod. in initio collecta].¹²³ Davon meldt Nicephorus weiter, das Pulcheria dem bild zu ehern zuo Constantinopel ain sehr herrlichen Tempel auffgebauten, und das bild dahin verschafft hab, welche hernacher von Kaisern, und von allen Griechen mhermals mit grosser solemnitet besucht und verehret worden sei.¹²⁴ Dasselb ist mitler zeit gehn Rom khomen, da wirdt es, wie der h. Pabst Gregorius Magnus sich dessen selbs vernemen lest, bei unnsrer lieben frauen der grössern, in ain sonderbarn schönen Tabernackhel auch mit gebüender ehr auffbehalten, und zuo gewissen jars tägen dem volckh gottes gezaigt unnd gewissen.¹²⁵

Das aber diß darumb vernaint wirdtt, weil es unmöglich sei, daz Lucas sovil pilder habe malen khönnen, sag ich also, Wann die khetzer lust hetten mher zuo frid und einigkheit, dann zu unzeitigem hadern unnd zanckhen, so wer dieser sachen bald [fol. 174^v] geholffen, in vilen andern haubt stückhen Christlicher Religion mher. Es ist je ein mutwill, daz sie frommer Christen andacht in ain so geringen ding, so hönischer weiß zerrütten oder zertrennen. Erstlich ist gewiß, wie gehört, daz Lucas ein mal die muter gottes abgemaldt hab. Wer wolt dann diß leugnen, daz ers mhermals than hab? sonderlich auf die grosse andacht der Christen die dem bild nachstrebeten. Er hatt 20, 30, 40, ja 100 täfelin, weil er im leben gewesen malen khönnen, auff guotherziger frommer Christen embsig unnd fleissig anhalten, und sie ihnen hin und wider zuoschikhen khönnen. Wer soltt ihm hierinn haben dörfen ordnung geben, wann

er lust gehabt, sein khunst mher mit diesem werckh, dann mit andern stückhen zuo üben? Hernacher unnd wann mans schon zuogibt, er hab nit mher als ein bildnuß gemaldt, so wirdt doch unnsern bildern, die wir Lucae zuoaignen, darmit noch nichts benommen. Dann die bildnusse, die nach dem ainigen gemald S. Lucae von andern khünstlern gemaldt worden, khan man alle S. Lucas pilder nennen, nit daz ers alle gemacht haben soltt, sondern das sie von andern aber nach dem prototypo und ersten bild Lucae troffen und nachgemacht worden sein. Ist doch noch heutigs dags ein sonderbarer aigner maler zuo Rom, den nennt man anders nit, dann den pintore di san Luca, den Lucasmaler, weil er anders nichts maltt, dan lauter ledige Lucasbilder, und die selben hernacher verschickht, in Portugall, Indien, in die neue welt, den neubekährten Christen zuo aim trost.¹²⁶ Der [fol. 175^r] diß rechtgeschaffen zuo hertzen unnd zuo gemieth fiert, der wirdt an diesem andern Puncten der Marienbilder sich nit stossen, unnd sich wider die alte gleubwürdige Tradition gar nit legen, dann daz sein solche leuth, schreibt Augustinus, die vor lauter witz narren [M: Epist. 86 ad Casula],¹²⁷ unnd über ieren vermainten verstand zuo schenden gemacht worden, die nemlich bei gemainem lauffkhündigem der Christen guotachten nit verpleiben, sondern neuerung des Altten suchen wöllen.

Der dritte punct. Was gestaltt Maria die muter gottes beger, das man ihr zuoehren kirchen auffrichte.

In beschreibung der khirchen zuo S. Maria der grössern beschicht meldung der erscheinung Mariae der muter gottes, darinn sie von dem Edlen Römer, unnd Pabst Liberio selber bei nechtlicher weil begertt, man soll ihr an das ortt, da bemeldte khirch jetzo stehtt, ein gottshauß zuoehren auffrichten.¹²⁸ Daz möcht etliche in die augen stechen, als ain fabel. Aber vil stattlicher leuth haben diese erscheinung in schriften warzuosein bekhreffigt: darunter nit der wenigst ist der h. Bonaventura [M: Par. 4 Sum. Tit. 15].¹²⁹ So ist die Christliche kirch selber auch vorhanden, die solche historien in ieren bettbiechern befilcht für Authentisch zuolesen.

Wer soltt es aber mit dieser seul der warhait nit lieber haltten, dann mit aim 40jrigen ketzer? Es ist diese erscheinung nichts neus, die muter gotts hetts mhermals im [fol. 175^v] brauch gehabt, iere lieben andechtigen kinder dergestalt zuvermanen, was sie zuo ierem heil thun oder underlassen sollen. Und damit ich in dieser Pilgramsschriftt anderer geschweig, so ist sie auch under Tyberio dem Kaiser, weil derselb noch bei leben gewesen, erschinen [M: Vide Petr. Anto. Beuter in Chro. His. cap. 23], dem h. Apostel Jacobo zuo Caesaraugusta in Spanien, bei dem flu Ebro, in Aragonien, und hat ihm befohlen, daselbst ain khirche auffzuobauen, unnd in der ehr ieres namens einzuweisen.¹³⁰ Di ist beschehen umb daz 20. jar bemeldts kaisers, der nach Kaiser Augusto Octaviano, darunter Christus geboren worden, regirt hatt. Und stehtt die kirch noch auff diesen heutigen tag, darinn beschehen grosse wunderzeichen, auff anrichtung der h. muter gottes an denen die sich dahin verhaissen. Solcher historien findt man bei den historischreibern vil, aber diese hab ich darumb hie vor andern erzlen wllen, dieweil sie meines erachtens, under andern erscheinungen Mariae, die eltist ist, die bald nach ierem ableiben von dieser welt, und sigreichen himmelfart beschehen sein mu. Wer woltt sich aber dieser antiquitet gern widerlegen? An teufeln, an ketzern, an falschen leerern, an predicanten sollen wirs glauben, daz sie nach ierem Tod den ieren erscheinen, und Mariae der muter gottes, oder auch andern hailigen sollen wir diese dignitet endfieren oder abschlagen? Hatt schon nun Maria die h. muter gottes kirchen gebeu oder was anders begert, was soll es dann mher sein? Soll darumb der handel verdacht sein, weil mancher ein b schalkhafftigis auge hatt, da sie dargegen fromb und hailig ist? Nein warlich. Dann was sie begert, das [fol. 176^r] begert sie nit frnemblich ihr sondern unnb zuo guotem, auch nit zuo frembden, sondern zuo ieres liebens Sons, ja der h. dreifaltigkeit ehr, die ihn ihr, als in ierem ainigen tabernakhel grogemacht wirdtt: unnd waist, daz alles das, was wir der gestalt ihr zuo ehern unnd zuo unnserer wolfart leisten, stiftten, schaffen, verordnen, unnb dermaln ainest in der ewigen seligkheit hundertfeltig widerumb werde compensiret unnd erstattet werden.

Der vierdte punct. Von Crucifixen und bildnussen Christi, so bluo geschwitz, oder von sich haben rinnen lassen.

Oben in beschreibung des heilthumbes zuo Mantua, hab ich ain general discurs gemacht, des bluots halben, so daselbst gezaigt wirdtt, ob es mg des bluots ein thail sein, das ausser Christo ohne abtrag seiner h. menschait, zum trost seiner gleubigen, hatt verpleiben khnnen, oder nit.¹³¹ Dieselb disputation soll allhie mit diesem puncten gar nit vermischet werden. Dann hie reden wir von dem miraculos bluot, so ettwan au ostien, oder au Crucifixen, oder au andern bildern Christi geflossen, daran stossen sich biweilen die unverstendigen, aber ohne ursach, dann was derohalben von ettlichen solchen Crucifixen oben beigebracht worden, das khhr [?] mitt den h. altten vettern fein berein, da solch bluot fleissig aufbehalten, und in die gantz welt verschikht worden ist. Der h. lehrer Athanasius bezeugt in aim sonderbarn biechlin, es hab zuo Berytho ein Christ ein Crucifix gehabt, gegen sein betth ber, in der lenge, grsse, und braite nach Christi h. leib proportioniert, [fol. 176^v] das soll Nicodemus gemacht haben, ein schn andechtig bild, darunder der gut mann seiner andacht fleissig gepflegt hatt.¹³² Di Crucifix haben die Juden durch list zuo wegen gebracht, unnd es auf ein neus, als wann es der lebendig Son gottes, Christus Jesus selbs wer, zermartert, durchstochen, verspeit, gebhrent, verspott, mit essig und gallen getrenckht, mit nageln durchgraben, unnd ihme die seyten eingehauen, darauff dann ein grosser berflu bluots gerunnen, welches alles gantz fleissig auffgehoben worden. Die wortt der histori lauten au dem Latein also: Da solch mirakhel beschehen, sei jederman erfreut worden, sonderlich nach dem der Juden unnd andere ungleubige sehr vil sich zum glauben khrten, und sei ein grosser Triumph gewesen, auch ain Epinikion oder Victori unnd sig gesang gesungen worden von den Juden, *Gloria tibi sit Christe, et tibi omnipotens pater, qui nobis indignis, quamvis sero, revelasti filium tuum unicum Messiam nostrum, ut Esaia cecinit, virgo concepit et peperit. Gloria sit rursus tibi Christe, quem patres nostri in cruce morte horribili afficere non dubitarunt.*¹³³ Das ist: Ehr sei dir

o Christe, und dir allmechtiger Vatter, der du unuß unwürdigen, gleichwol ettwas spatt, eröffnet oder geöffnet hast dein Son, unnsern ainigen Messiam, den, wie Esaias prophereit, ein Jungfrau empfangen unnd geboren hatt. Ehr sei dir widerumb o Christe, den unsere eltern mit ainem so schmehlichen Tod haben dörfen hinrichten. Aber dem Ertzbischoff daselbst war darneben bang wegen des herrlichen und in allweg wunderbaren zaichens, und sonderlich des gegen wertigen bluots halben, wie er dasselb recht [fol. 177^r] ehern möcht unnd ehern soltt. At vero denique ampullas iussu fieri, schreibt die histori, vitreas, in quibus portiones misit singulas de sanguine, quae de imagine domini Salvatoris nostri decurrerant, quas et per Asiam, Aphricam, Europam, per suos nuncios dirigens, omnia quae contigerant, viriliter declaravit.¹³⁴ Das ist: Auff die letzt hatt er sonderbare gleser, wie guttern dazu machen, unnd underschidlich das h. bluot darein fassen, auch dasselb durch sonderbare botten, in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam tragen lassen, hatt darneben glaubwürdig anzeigt, wie sich alle unnd jede stuckh in diesem fall zuogetragen und verlossen.

Darumb unnd auß dieser histori siht der Christlich leser und pilgram wol, was von dem bluot der bildnussen Christi zuohaltten, wann gott ettwan darüber verhengt, daz dergleichen ettwas zuo sterkhung seiner gleubigen, oder zuo zerstörung der spötere sich zuotregt. Der Lutherianus sein will, der far immer hin, wir wissen das die hand gottes noch nit verkhürtzet, sondern eben die mechtige hand ist, die sie allweg gewesen, nit das wir dergleichen zaichen begerten, sondern das wir die bewißne unnd auffgelegte werckh nit zuverachten, sondern mit andacht und großmachung seiner Majestät glori und herrlichkeit in allweg anzuonemen verpflicht und schuldig sein.

Derhalben unnd wann ein frommer pilgram ettwan zuo solhem h. bluoth khomptt, so sehe er, daz er das heilthumb nit verkhleinere, und also zuo ainer sau werde, die von dem himlischen gartten außgeschlossen werden, und hab voraugen [fol. 177^v] je unnd allwegen die schöne erinnerung des obbemelten h. Athanasius, die er gethan zuo seiner zeit, an fromme gleubige Christen, ehe das er vorangezogene wunderbare histori beschriben hatt, die laut also:

Ihr allerliebsten sön der h. Christlichen kirchen, erhebt doch die augen und hertzen euers gemieths und hertzens, unnd betrachtet doch die wunderbare geschicht, die wir euch anzuozaign bedacht sein. Schaut an des allmechtigen gotts wunderwerckh, und gebt ihm sein lob zuo ewigen zeiten. Betrachtet die grösse seiner durch alle geschlecht jeder unnd allerzeit erzaigter güte, wie dieselb alle zeit über daz gantz menschlich geschlecht geleucht hab. Erinnert euch des grossen gehaimnuß, seiner wunderbaren verhengnuß, und auß lauter andacht, nembt an euch trauren, weheklagen, bittere zäher und in eurem wainen betrachtet daz grosse wunder, das er bei unsern zeiten gethan hatt. Dann Gott ist nichts unmöglich: ja es ist ihm auch nichts schwer. Zwar über diesem wunderzeichen, muß des menschen hertz erzittern, die augen verdunckheltt, und daz gehör verstopffit werden. Was in seinen bittern leiden und sterben sich zuo tragen, das hatt er unuß wider erneuert. Das nembt zuohertzen, unnd glaubt das mit vollem glauben, was wir euch derothalben berichten.¹³⁵ Bißhieher Athanasius. Also thue ihm auch der pilgram, er fürcht, glaub, sey danckh, und verharre im dienst und großmachung der werckh seins gotts, so wirdtt er verstehn, wie dise unnd dergleichen werckh zuo gehe. Ein Athanasius ist abermal mher, als 1000 Lutherische, Arrianische, Calvinische praedicanthen. Murren die hirwider, so will ich ihnen wissen zuobegegnen, du Christlicher pilgram pleib allein auf deiner fart, wie du den Anfang gemacht hast. Den hellischen cerberis khan ich an deiner statt auch [fol. 178^r] antwortt geben. Zwar wen ein solch Exempel von der verachtung göttlicher werckh nit abschrekht, der far immer hin, er endlaufe dem Richter doch nit. Fromme Christen haben den gekhreutzigten Christum weit lieber, dann das sie auff Türkisch, Jüdisch, Ketzersch des Crucifix bildnuß uneheren solten.

Der fünfft punct. Von der formb des h. Creutz.

In beschreibung der kirchen zum h. Creutz in Rom wirdtt oben vermeldt, wie auff den alten schaupfenningen, des h. Constantini, das h. Creutz, wie es dem frommen kaiser erschinen, mit dieser formb ꝥ verzeichnet sei.¹³⁶ Darauß ein pilgram zuolernen, das die gestalt des h. Creutz viereckhicht gewesen, unnd nit dreyeckhicht,

wie ettliche fürgeben. Und mit dieser formb khommen überein, die eltisten Crucifix, die man in antiquiteten haben mag: dis billicht zuomal auch der uhralte h. martyr und Christliche philosophus Justinus, unnd meldt daselbsten [M: Adver. Trypho], daz sich dieselb mit der figur fein reime unnd vergleiche, nemlich mit dem Jüdischen bratspiß, daran das Osterlemblin im alten Testament gebraten werden must.¹³⁷ Item Irenaeus, da er also sagt [M: Lib. 2 ad haer. c. 42], das h. creutz hab fünff end, zwai nach der lenge, und zwai nach der breite, ains aber in der mitte, da rhuo der, der mit nögeln durchgraben worden ist.¹³⁸ Und der h. Augustinus [M: Ep. 112 ad Pauli.] benennt nit allein mit itzangezogenen Irenaeo die 4 end des creutz, die er sembt ihm, mißt nach der lenge, und nach der braite, [fol. 178^v] sondern legt zuomal die geheimnussen derselben auß, auß den worten des h. Apostels Pauli inn Apostolos am i. cap. da der Apostel also sagt, *ut possitis comprehendere, quae sit longitudo, et latitudo, et sublimitas, et profundum*,¹³⁹ daz ist, *auff daz ihr begreiffen mögt, was da sei die lenge, und die breite, und die höhe, unnd die tieffe.* Setzt Augustinus diese wortt hinzu: *Ego haec verba Apostoli sic intelligere soleo, in latitudine bona opera charitatis, etc.*¹⁴⁰ Zuo teutsch also: *diese wortt, sagt er, des h. Apostels, verstehe ich also. Durch oder in der breite, verstehe ich die werckh der lieb, durch die lenge, bestendigkeit im guoten biß ans end. In der höhe, die hoffnung himlischer gieter, durch die tieffe, die unerforschliche gericht gottes, doher die gnad gottes in die menschen khompt. Et hunc intellectum coaptare soleo sacramento crucis, daz ist, diesen verstand pfleg ich, sagt Augustinus, zuozeaignen dem gehaimnuß des h. creutz.*

Diese formb hatt auch vorzeiten das creutz der Aegyptier gehabt, ehe Christus geboren worden, hielten vil darauff, denn sie sagten, der Influß des himmels wer durch diß Zeichen sonderbar khrefftig als welches auff die 4 eckh, anschauet oder betreffe die 4 theil der welt, Auffgang, Nidergang, Mittag, mittnacht. Das ist, spricht der fürtrefflich Philosophus Ficinus [M: Lib. de vita coelitus compa. c. 18] ein anzaigung gewest der khreff, welche das creutz durch Christum dermaln einest bekhommen wurde, khain mittel des gestirns.¹⁴¹ Darumb unnd damit die figur sambt der warhait übereinstimm,

ist es vil glaublicher das h. creutz sei 4eckhicht, dann 3eckhicht gewesen: Dann Christus soltte doch alle welt, ja alle thail der welt, deren 4 sein, nach artt der 4 Creutzenden zuo sich ziehen, wie er [fol. 179^r] dann selbs sagt, *Ego cum exaltatus fuero, omnia traham ad me ipsum* [M: Joan. 12], *wann ich erhöht werde, am Creutz, so will ich alles zuo mir ziehen.*¹⁴² Ihm sei aber wie es wöll, so soll ein Christlicher Pilgram wol zuogemieth fassen, die wortt des H. Apostels Pauli [M: Gala. 6], unnd dieselbige ihm offtt nachgesprochen, und also sagen: das sei ferr von mir, das ich mich beriemten soltt, anders, dann in dem Creutz meines herren Jesu Christi, unnd sich dessen befleissen, daz sie das h. Creutz zaichen teglich mit rechtgeschaffner andacht im glauben gebrauchen: das wirdtt im in nöten beistehn.¹⁴³ Gebraucht sich ainn des guten übel, der soll darvon rechenschafft geben: wir haben unns darmit nichts zuo bekhümmern.

Der 6. punct. Von dem Hailthumb Petri unnd Pauli, unnd anderer hailigen gebain.

[M: Diesen puncten merk der Christlich leser, wol.] In beschreibung der herrlichen kirchen zuo S. Paul, beschieht ettwas meldung nit allein von dem hailthumb Petri unnd Pauli, und von dem gebain anderer ausserwölten, sondern zuomal auch von den wunderzaichen, so darbei zum offternmal beschehen sein. Diesen puncten zu erklaren, ist es unns unötten das ich mich dershalden selber vil bemiehe, der h. Pabst und leerer der Christlichen Kirchen, Gregorius Magnus hatt unuß der arbeit überhoben, in einer Epistel, so er an die Kaiserin Constantiae derothalben geschriben, die will ich allhie auß dem Lateinischen transferiern, in teutscher sprach nacheinander erzölen [M: Gregor. in Reg. lib. 3 Ep. 20], so wirdtt der handel lauter und khlar sein. Also schreibt der h. pabst der Kaiserin¹⁴⁴

[fol. 179^v] *Pabst Gregorius wünscht der Kaiserin Constantiae Apostolischen segen, unnd glückh.*

Die weil ein kirch in der ehr des h. Apostels Pauli in dem kaiserlichen Pallast auffgebaut wirdtt, so begert und befiehlt euer gottesfurcht, unnd lieb, so ihr tragt gegen der Religion unnd allerhand hailigkeit, ich soll ihr endweders des h. Apostels Pauli, oder sonsten ettwas von seinem körper für hailthumb überschickhen.

Unnd in dem ich verhoffet, ja von hertzen begert, man soltt mir dergleichen ding befehlen, denen ich gehorchen, unnd also dadurch grössere unnd mherere gnad bei und umb euch khönt: bin ich dazwischen traurig unnd bekhümmert worden, das ihr dergleichen sachen mir auffgelegt, die ich in khain weg nit thun khan, oder auch vermag. Dann die Körper der h. Apostel Petri und Pauli, leichten in ieren kirchen mit so herrlichen und schröckhlichen wunderzaichen, daz man auch umbs gebetths willen ohne große forcht nit darff hinein gehn. Unnd das ich anderer geschweig, sein meins lieben vorfaren seliger gedechtnuß (: verstehe Pelag. 2 :) nit wenig grausame zaichen erschinen, da er das silber, das über dem körper des h. Apostels Petri lag, unnd doch den leib auff die 15 schuoh weit nit berieret, hatt verendern wöllen. Und da auch ich ettwas bei dem h. Körper des Apostels Pauli hab verbessern wöllen, und es die noth erfordert, das man neben sein grab, ettwas übersich graben soltt, hatt der vorsteher desselben ortts (: oder der werkhmaister :) ettliche nebengebäude gefunden, die doch zuo des h. Apostels grab unnd körper khains wegs nit gehört haben. Dieselben weil er sie auffheben, unnd anders wahin hatt legen dörrffen, haben sich ettliche traurige zaichen erzaigen unnd er ist des gähen tods gestorben. Also unnd da mein vorfar [fol. 180^v] seligster gedechtnuß bei dem körper des h. Martyrers Laurentii ettwas verbessern wöllen, in dem man eigendlich nit waist, wa der h. körper lig, unnd also nachgrebt, begibt es sich, das sein grab auß unwissenheit eröffnet wirdt. Darauff sein die, so zuogegen an der arbeit gestanden, mönch und Laienbrieder, die den h. leichnam gesehen, und doch nit beriert, alle miteinander innerhalb x dagen gestorben, daz khainer deren, die den h. körper des gerechten gesehen, lebendig pliben sein.

Darauff soll E. Lieb wissen, daz die Römer den gebrauch gar nit haben, wann sie hailthumb außgeben, das sie ettwas von dem h. leib anriren soltten: Sondern man schickht in ainer büchsen allein Brandeum, das wirdt zuo dem hailigthumb gesetzt. Unnd wann es widerumb weggenommen, setzt mans mit gebürender ehr in die Kirch, die man weihen will, unnd beschehen dadurch eben so grosse zaichen, als wan die h. körper selbs dahin gefiert würden. Dann also ist es zuo Pabst Leonis zeiten geschehen, heiliger gedechtnuß, da ettliche Griechen von dergleichen hailthumb zweifelten, hatt der h. mann ihm ain schär bringen lassen, unnd das Brandeum endzwei geschnitten, und ist bluot darauß geflossen: Und ist in den Römischen unnd allen

Occidentalischen kirchen ein unleidlicher kirchenraub, wann ainer iergends die körper der hailigen mit fleiß anzuorieren sich understeht. Undernimbt ers sich aber auß frevel, so bleibt es nit ungerochen. Darumb verwundern wir unuß sehr hefftig über die Griechen, von denen man sagt, das sie sich nit gescheut haben ettlich hailthumb zuo erheben oder anzurieren. Dann vor 2 Jaren khamen allher auch [fol. 180^v] Griechische mönch, die understunden sich bei nechtlicher weil auff s. Pauli kirchoff die körper der Todten außzuograbn, und daz gebain auffzuohaltten, daz behielten sie, biß sie wolttten wegraisen. Aber da sie darüber erwischt unnd fleissig examiniert worden, haben sie bekhant, sie wolttten dasselb gebain in Griechenland fieren, und für hailthumb außgeben. Darumb zweiflen wir von jenen gar hefftig, ob es war sey, daz sie so kheckh gewesen, das hailthumb warhafftig zuoerheben.

Was soll ich aber sagen von den körpern der h. Apostlen Petri unnd Pauli? Dann da ist khund, daz nachdem sie gelitten haben, sein auß Orient ettliche gleubige khommen, und sie alls iere Landsleuth begert mit Ihnen hinwegzuofieren. Unnd da sie auff 2 welsche meil von hinnen (: Rom :) an das ortt khommen, welches man Catatumbas nennt, sein sie dahin gesetzt worden. In dem sie nun die gantze menge der frembden Christen auß Orient erheben, unnd also wegfieren will, ist also pald ein solch dondern, hageln, plixen unnd andere unruoh des firmaments in der lufft erstanden, das sie solches nit haben ferner wagen dörrffen. Bald sein die Römer hinauß gangen, und haben, weil sie solches umb gott den herren mit ierer inbrünstigen andacht verdient, die h. körper ohne mangel erhebt, und dahin gesetzt, da sie noch sein.

Wer wolt nun jetzunder, durchleuchtigste frau, so khün unnd vermessen sein, unnd ohnangesehen diß alles, sich nichts desto weniger, wie ihr begert, in dem hailthumb vermessen unnd understehn? Derowegen und in dem mir von euch solch ding gepotten wirt, das ich gantz und gar nit thun khan, spüre ich gar wol, daz es nit euer befelch ist: Sondern andere haben hierinnen euer gudtmainen gegen mir [fol. 181^r] endziehen wöllen, darumb haben sie ein solch stückh fürgeschlagen, darinn sie wol wusten, daz ich euch nit dienen khönt. Ich hoff aber auff den Allmächtigen gott, und vertrau ihm, dann euch wirdt nichts endzogen, unnd ihr werdt die khrafft der h. Apostel, die ihr so herzlich lieb habt, wa nit durch leibliche gegenwertigkeit, jedoch auß ierem schutz und schirm, nichtsdesto weniger jeder unnd allerzeit spüren unnd

merkhen. Dergleichen hatt es auch ein gestalt mit seinem schwaißtuoch, das ihr auch begert. Dann man dasselb auch nit berieren darff, so wenig als den körper. Aber damit einer solchen durchleuchtigen fürstin bitth nit gar lär abgehe, will ich sehen, damit euch von der ketten Pauli, die er am halß unnd an henden getragen, und bei welchen bißanher nit geringe wunder geschehen, ettwas mittgethailt werd, wann ichs anders mit feylen gewinnen khan. Dann gegen ettlichen so ihr andacht dabei suchen ergibt sie sich bald, gegen ettlichen aber gar nit, ohnangesehen das man ein guote weil mit der feichel daran arbeit.

Diß ist ja ein wunderbare Epistel dises h. mans, darauß ein pilgram vil abzuonemen, wann er alle unnd jede puncten derselben insonderheit erwegen will. Fürnemblich siht man darinn, wie ain so ernstlich ding es sei mit dem hailthumb, daz es seiner in die haut [?] nit spotten laß: ohnangesehen daz ettliche waghälß dasselb heutigs dags nit allein anrieren, sondern zuomal auch mit fiessen treten, unnd letztlich gantz unnd gar verbrennen dörrffen. Aber der Christus, der da ein zeitlang hatt gedulden khönnen, daz man ihn in sein h. angesicht schluog, unnd andere verachtung mit und auß Ihm [fol. 181^v] trib, der khan solchen hon in seinen glidern auch wol ein weil leiden, er wirdtt aber hernacher mit der straff desto strenger anhalten, je lenger er gedult tragen unnd zuogesehen hatt.

Item hierauß khan man auch den ketzern begegnen, wann sie unns die ungleichheit der hailthumb hin und wider fürwerffen, man find offtt eines heiligen armb, fuoß, haubt, schenkel, hirnschal, an zehen oder zwentzig ortten, das khan, sprechen sie, nit sein, dann der gestalt machen wir die hailigen mher zuo wunderthieren, dann zu h. ausserwöltten dienern gottes. Darauff gibt Gregorius antwortt, der h. körper, oder seine glidmassen khönnen nit mher, dann an ain ortt, auff ain mal sein, item man verthail das hailthumb an Ihm selber nit, sondern man stelle zum hailthumb nur die Brandea, daz ist, das, so man in ain khirch stellen will, es sei darnach auch bain, oder sonst ain materi, da von werd es gehailigt, und tregt darnach den namen des hailigen, dabei es gehailigt worden, nitt daz es warhafftig der hailig sei, dessen namen es tregt, sondern weil es sein sanctification bei demselben bekommen. Dieser Punct wer wol

außzuofieren, sonderlich wider Calvinum unnd Bezam, die zuor verkhlainerung unsers hailthumbs ein böß giftig biechlin geschriben,¹⁴⁵ als hab S. Barbara wol 10 khöpff bein papisten, S. Jacob der grösser wol 6 armb, S. Marx wol 3 körper, das h. Creutz hab wol sovil stuckh in der welt, daz man darauß ein hauß aufbauen möcht, etc. Aber ich hab mhermals gesagt, ich streite mit dieser schrift wider khain ketzer, sonder underweise nur die frommen pilgram in ierer andacht: dabei laß ich es beruoen. Erfordert es die noth, daz ich diß verthädigen soll, so bin ich auch schon gefaßt, gott lob: und will durch sein beistand, [fol. 182^r] dem hailigen Creutz unnd anderm hailthumb sein ehr wol wissen zuo erhalten, wider die auffrierischen sasse [?] Nabuchodener, Philistros, Julianos, die alles hailigthumb der werckh gottes so höhnisch verachten und schenden.

Was die Brandea belangt, davon der h. Gregorius in angezogener seiner Epistel an die Kaiserin Constantiam, Mauriti des Kaisers gemahel, schreibt, das man dasselb bei dem hailthumb weihen laß: ist es ein dunckhels wortt, aber ich nimm auß aim andern ortt eben benants h. Pabsts ab [M: Greg. Reg. lib. 6 Epl. 23], daz es nichts anders gewesen sey, als ein jedweders medium oder mittel, ein jedweder stuckh, darauß man gern hailthumbs khrafft erworben hett, als sauber ehrlich gebain ander verstorbenen Christen, kelch, gürtel, biecher, creutz, schlüssel, unnd wazu ainer lust gehabt, auch auß andacht am aller maisten gezwungen worden ist, wann er sein gestiftt gottes hauß mit hailthumb hatt zieren wöllen.¹⁴⁶ Des schlüssels halben, das es auch ein brandeum gewesen, schreibt der h. Pabst an Theotistan unnd Andrean zween ansehnliche herren zuo Constantinopel also: *So hab ich euch auch den seggen Petri, der über den schlüssel gesprochen worden, nitt abgeschlagen, sondern diesen schlüssel von seim leib überschikht. Von welchem schlüssel ich euch warhafftig diß wunderwerckh thuo berichten. Da auff ein zeit ein Lombarder denselben in Lombardia gefunden, unnd ihn als ain pfaffenwerckh verachtet, weil er von S. Petro den namen trug, liebt ihn aber von wegen des golds (: dann er war guldin :) zo woltt er was anders darauß machen, zehe also sein Instrument herauß, unnd woltt ihn beschneiden. Aber das [fol. 182^v] messer, mit welchem er diß*

unbild verrichten woltt, wich ihm auß, unnd wurde er vom gaist besessen, daz er Ihm dasselbig selbs in sein halß stach, fiel nider, und starb blötzlich. Dazuomal war khönig in Lombardi Autharith, da er erfuor diese geschicht, unnd befand neben andern vil unzelbaren Personen, daz der endleibte Lombarder besonder, der schlüssel aber auch besonder lag, wer khainer so kheckh, das er den schlüssel hette dörfen auffheben. Aber ein Catholischer Lombarder, der gottsforcht unnd dugend halben ein guts zeugniß hatt, hieb ihn auff. Da hatt der König Autharith also bald ein andern khöstlichen guldinen schlüssel machen, unnd ihn mein lieben vofaren, seliger gedechtnuß, überrreichen lassen, mit glaubwürdiger vermeldung der geschicht, wie sich alles derothalben verlofffen. Darumb hab ich Euer herrlicheit denselben schlüssel, mit welchem der allmechtig gott, den bemeldten lesterer getödt, übersenden wöllen auff daz ihr durch den selben, weil ihr gott förcht und liebt, zeitliche unnd ewige wolfart erlangen mögt.¹⁴⁷ Bißhieher S. Gregorius. Sihe dieser schlüssel wirdtt S. Peters schlüssel genennt, nit weil es sein aigen gewesen, sondern weil er ihme zuo ehernen gemacht, gehn Rom geschickt, und bei seim hailigthumb auff sein namen sanctificiert und gehailigt worden ist. Das khanstu frommer pilgram auff allerlei heilthum ziehen, wann dir der Ketzler zuosetzt. S. Gregorius schreibt dergleichen auch zuo andern Potentaten, als Childberto dem König von Franckhreich, Hetharedo dem König der Visigotthier, der Königin Brimichildae, Asclepidoto aim gewaltigen herren auß Frankhreich, etc. alles auff diß wunderbar hailthumb gerichtet.¹⁴⁸ Unnd damit der ungläubig nit iergends fürgeb, der h. Pabst hab hiemit die [fol. 183^r] einfeltigen Layen geöffft, damit sie zuo stiftungen, zuom opffern unnd andern largitionibus oder außschenkhungen desto geneigter weren, so khan, glaub ich, ein vernünfftiger diese stattliche potentaten so wir jetzo anzogen, ja nit für einfeltige privatlaien außrieffen. Man waiß wol was die Lombardischen könig, könig auß Frankhreich, der Gotthen, etc. für verschmitzte leuth gewesen, die sich mher als jetzige welt auff seltzame werckh und practikh verstanden: auch waren auß ihnen die maisten wider Rom unnd die kirchen, noch musten sie diese zaichen passieren lassen. Aber merckh noch ain Exempel, was nemlich der mherbemelt h. Pabst dem Patriarchen zuo Alexandria schreibt.

Derselbig Patriarch war ein überauß hochgelehrter fürtrefflicher sinnreicher mann, mit namen Euligius, war aber in dem alter ettwas übelsehend worden, wegen seins steten unabläßlichen studierens. Dem schreibt S. Gregorius also zuo: *Transmisimus crucem parvulam, in qua de catenis amatorum vestrorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum inserta est benedictio, quae oculis vestris assidue superponatur, quia multa per eam benedictionem miracula fieri consueverunt.*¹⁴⁹ Das ist: *Wir haben euch überschikht ein khlains khreuzlin, darinn ein segen euer liebhaber, der h. Apostel Petri unnd Pauli verschlossen ist, dasselbig last euch stetigs auffeuere augen legen, dann dadurch sein vil stattlicher zaichen beschehen an vilen leuthen, etc.* Sihe also schreibt Pabst Gregorius nit zuo aim unverstendigen Laien, sondern zuo ainem fürtrefflichen hochgelerten mann, der jederman seiner khunst unnd gottsfurcht halben lieb unnd angeneh war. Mainstu er [fol. 183^v] hette solches thun dörfen, wann er nur mit betrug umbgangen wer? Aber ich laß mich zuo weit ein. Fromme Pilgram pleiben bei dem ersten, das obgesagt worden ist.

Der sibend punct. Ob S. Peter vor S. Paul billich stehe, oder S. Paul vor S. Peter.

Bei S. Joann in Laterano werden gezaigt die zwai heubter S. Petri unnd S. Pauli, unnd, wie obvermeldt worden, steht S. Peter auff der linckhen, S. Paul aber auff der rechten hand.¹⁵⁰ Das möcht ettliche wunder nemen, die den handel nit verstehn, dieweil Petrus als der fürst der Apostel, billich auch den ehrlichern ortth haben und tragen soltt: und sich demnach ansehen last, Paulus sei mher als Petrus.

Ist mher ein fürwitziges dann ain nottwendigs bedenckhen, doch gib ich für mein person auch hierinn mein beantwortung, so gut ich khan. Es folggt gar nit, der stehtt zur linckhen, unnd jener zuor rechten in kirchischen empthern, werckhen, gemelden, gehaimnussen, darumb so ist jener weniger als der. Im ambt der h. meß waist ein jeglicher lay, glaub ich, daz das rechte ortt die Juden, und das linkhe die haiden bedeut, weil das h. Evangelion von den Juden genommen, unnd den haiden geben worden ist [M: Act. 13],¹⁵¹ unnd folggt doch nit, das das Judische volckh besser sei als die Christen. Also

nimmt es der praeeminentz des h. Apostels Petri gar nichts, das er in dieser h. Lateranensischen kirchen zur linckhen, Paulus aber zuor rechten hand gesetzt wirdtt. Sophronius der h. hierosolymitanische Bischoff in seiner lobred Cyri und Joan. welche in dem h. Concilio Nicaeano dem andern [M: Syn. 2 Nic. 2 Act. 4] für Authentisch angenommen worden ist, schreibt das er in [fol. 184^r] ain andern Exempel dergleichen auch gesehen. *Da wir, spricht er, auff ein zeit khamen gar in ain wolerbaute kirchen, haben wir darinn alles wol durchsehen, unnd unnder andern bilden gefunden Christum hangend am Creutz, sein liebe muter zur lingkhen, und S. Joannem den Teufer auff der rechten hand.*¹⁵²

Wer waist aber nit, was unnder diesen zween personen Joanne und Maria für ain underschid sei? Als weit die liebe helle sonn, mit ierem schein allen andern sternen bevor geht, so weit übertrifft auch die würdige muter gottes an gnad unnd segen, nit allein Joannem, sondere alle hailigen miteinander. Nichtsdestoweniger so stehtt, wie du auß Sophronio hörst, Joannes als der geringer bei der rechten, unnd Maria die muter gottes als die höher, bei der lingkhen. Warumb diß? allein umb des gehaimnuß willen, damit nemlich durch Mariam die zeit der gnaden, durch Joannem den Teufer aber, die Zeit des Altten gesetz verstanden werde, welches biß auff ihn gewert hatt, wie Christus sagt.

Also soll auch diß verstanden werden wann man Petrum und Paulum beaiinander gemalt, oder allhie in dieser Lateranensischen kirchen warhafftig fürgestellt anschaut, Petrus zwar steht zuo der linckhen, aber nit als ain geringer, sondern umb der bedeutung willen, weil er, Petrus, das haubt ist der kirchen, die im ambt der h. meß durch die lingkhe seiten verstanden wirdtt, das ist, die auß der haidenschafft fürnemlich zuo Christo dem herren gebracht worden ist.

Es geschieht villeicht auch darumb, die dieffe demut des h. Apostels Petri damit anzuzeigen, die er mitten in sein höchsten wurd [fol. 184^v] unnd Regierambt, der universal h. catholischen kirchen, in seinem leben unnd wandel, ja gar in seim Tod, in dem er nit wie sein herr unnd maiter hatt wöllen gekhrechtigt sondern umbkhörtt werden, genugsten dargethan, und damit bewisen hatt, was massen er der lehr Christi nach-

setz, in dem er, als der grösser, worden sei als der khleiner, dessen sich dann auch alle seiner ordenliche successores unnd nachkhömling befleissen sollen, in betrachtung ieres selbs aignen tittels, den sie ihnen geben, da sie sich selbs schreiben unnd nennen *Servos Servorum Dei*, knecht der knecht gottes, unnd nit herren, umb welcher ursachen willen S. Peter in Päbstlichen Bullen gleichfalls unnsern herrn zur lingkhen, Paulus aber zur rechten hand gesteltt wirdt. Wider dieses fürwitzig bedenkhen mag ainer lesen den holdseligen leerer Thomam de Kempis in seinem feinen biechlin von der Nachfolg Christi, im 3. buch am 63. cap. so wirdtt er beschaid finden.¹⁵³

Der 8. punct. Von S. Hieronymo, ob er ain Cardinal gewesen.

Oben in beschreibung der kirchen zuo S. Maria Maior wirdtt des h. Hieronymi gedacht, als soltt die bildnuß so ihm in derselben kirchen in aines Cardinals klaid zuogemessen, recht sein.¹⁵⁴ Das möcht ain wunder nemen, wie das khönte sein, das Hieronymus ein Cardinal gewesen, da doch zuo seiner zeit dieser orden noch nit gewesen ist. Hierauf ist zuowissen, daz nit ohn, zuo Hieronymi zeiten, hatt man nichts wißen zuo sagen von Cardinäl, wie die jetzo ain stand haben, dann Pabst Innocent 4. hatt ihnen allererst Anno 1244 ein solchen roten hut geben, das ander haben die folgenden päbst hinzugethan: schreibt Onophrius.¹⁵⁵ Es [fol. 185^r] ist aber ain gemäl nit allwegen das, das ein ding wesentlich oder warhafft an Ihm selbs ist, sondern es bedeut dasselb. Das khönte mit vilen Exempeln erwisen werden, wann es vonnöten wer. Also unnd was S. Hieronymum antrifft, ob er schon khain Cardinal gewesen, so bedeut doch sein gemäl, wie es zuo S. Maria gesehen wirdtt, das er eben das ambt gefiert bei Pabst Damaso, das jetzo die Cardinäl fieren. Dann also schreibt er von ihm selbs in ainem brieff an Ageruchiam [M: Ep. xi], daz er ettliche jar lang Pabst Damaso in Rhattgeben, Registraturen und Rhatschlagen für die orientalische und occidentalische kirchen bei gestanden sei.¹⁵⁶ Was ist das anders, dann ain Cardinal, oder ain Cardinalsambt? Wann der handel ainerlei ist, was fragt man nach dem eusserlichen gemähe?

Der 9. Punct. Warumb es zuo Rom so wenig Bilder hab.

In beschreibung des kirchenhandels zu Rom, hab ich mhermals meldung gethan viler gemaldter bilder, aber der andern gehauenen bilder, endweders gar khaine, oder doch gar wenig, und das nit ohnbillich, dann zuo Rom hatt es auch deren bilder nit sovil als bei unnß in unnersen Landen. Das hatt manchen Pilgram wunder genommen, unnd möcht auch ander Leuth wunder nemen, wagher es khäme. Aber Beda der Ehrwürdige priester gibt hierauf ein khurtzen beschaid, unnd spricht [M: Beda histor. Eccles. lib. 1 c. 27], die Römische kirch habe niemals begert, das iere privat unnd sonderbare oder aigne gewonhaiten andern frembden nationen, unnd ierer andacht ettwas entnemen soltten: [fol. 185^v] Item das dieselbigen allendhalben gehalten werden sollen.¹⁵⁷ Darumb schreibtt dort der h. Pabst Gregorius dem h. Bischoff Augustino, der die Engellender zum glauben bekhört hatt: *dein lieb waist*, spricht er, *sonders zweifels der Römischen kirchen gewonheit gar wol, darinnen sie auffgezogen worden ist. Mir gefellt aber diß, das wa du ettwas in den Römischen, oder in den französischen oder in den Engellendischen oder andern Kirchen gefunden hast, das gott wolgefallen mag, dasselb heraußnemest, unnd in der neuangehenden Englischen kirchen anrichtest. Dann die Ceremonien vil mher den örtern dienen, dann die örter den Ceremonien, etc.* Also sein in ettlichen kirchen bilder, in ettlichen gemäuel geduldet worden, nach dem es einer jedwedern Nation gelegenheit und auffnehmung im glauben am aller basten erfordern woltt.

Zu Rom aber hatt es nit rhatsam sein wöllen, den überfluß der bilder zuogestatten, nitt allein weil der haidnischen bilder unzelbar vil, sondern auch der bilder bein begrabniessen khain maß war, daz also immerdar zuobefaren und zuobesorgen, es möchten die Christlichen bildertt mit den heidnischen oder begrebnißbildern vermischet, und ohne unterschid verehrt werden: sonderlich von dem gemainen volckh, welches ohne vernunft hinein platzt, wann es nit sonderlich wol in ain ding von jugend auff gegründet ist. So wurde es auch den hailigen ein schlechte ehr gewest sein, wann man schon lang bilder auffgestellt hett, da ihere aschen und

cörper, so allda leibhafftig rasten, mit khainen bildern im wenigsten nit zuvergleichen unnd solche bilderstellung aim jeden, der was wenig vermocht, zuo seiner gedechtnuß auffzuorichten gebrauchlich wer. [fol. 186^r] Damit ich mich allhie nit einlaß, welches khünstlicher und ehrlicher aim sei, bild oder gemälwerckh. Warlich deren sein nit wenig, die da vermainen, es sei mher khunst zuosehen an aim gemaldten dann an aim gehauenen bild, in gemain zuoreden, dann damit leugnet man nit, das ein gehauens bild manchmal ein Conterfeitt übertrefte, etc. Aber in diese disputation laß ich mich nit, und will im wenigsten hiemit nichts benommen haben dem Angelo Florentino, Bonarotto, Magaeo Perusino, Joanni Baptistae de Mutina,¹⁵⁸ und andern khünstlern, sonderlich aber auch dem khunstreichen Joanni de Bologna, welcher diesen namen tregt, weil er die herrlich Fontana unnd brunnen zuo Bononien gemacht, jetzo aber bei den großhertzen zuo florentz sein wohnung unnd ansehenlich einkhommen hatt, da er sonst ein Niderlender der geburth, aber des gemieths halben ein redlicher teutscher ist, der heutigs dags den marmor, er sei was geschlechts er wöll, dermassen zämen khan, das er darein bilden mag was er will, so khendlich, so aigentlich, so underschidlich, daz ers allen malern bevor thuet, und was sie mit farben thun, das bringt der mit seim geistreichen subtilen sinn und abgetribnen henden in stain zuowegen, derowegen er von jederman in eheren unnd wol gehalten wirdt. In diesem jar hatt er ain groß Crucifix außgemacht, und unns dasselb sehen laßen, das wir unns darob ensetzten, unnd anders nit sagen khonten, dann Joannes de Bologna der maister wer in diesem werckh vergottet gewesen. [M: Hievon beschau Christlich Leser mein Pantheon. Dann der Crucifixus, davon allhie meldung beschiebt, ist bloß unnd nackhend gehauen. Ist gefehrlich von dergleichen kunststuckhen zuo schreiben.] Solch herrlich stuckh hatt der großhertzog Königlicher würde auß Spanien über mör zuogeschickht.¹⁵⁹ [fol. 186^v] Solches fürtrefflichen halbgöttlichen khunstlers werckh neme ich in allweg, aber in gemain zuoreden, find man mher guter maler, dann guoter bildhauer. Darvon soll man verstehn, was ich zuvor

vom malwerckh unnd von dieser khunst gesagt hab. Gehört nit hieher.

Woltt aber einer fürgeben unnd sagen, man hette darumb zuo Rom desto weniger bilder, weil es schnitzwerckh und solch ding ist, welches die h. schrifft an mher ortten verbeuth, der irrt gar sehr, erstlich, weil die bilder der hailigen nit solch götzenwerckh sein, wie die haiden gehabt, unnd die ein solcher gegenreder verstehtt, zum andern unnd wann es solch götzenwerckh weren, so würde die Römische Kirch nit allein wenig, sondern gar khaine zuolassen. Dann sie versteht das gebotth gottes am aller besten. Dabei laß es der fromme pilgram beruohen, unnd sprech, *Ich glaub ain h. Catholische, allgemaine und Apostolische Kirchen.*

Der x. punct. Ob alles das unrecht sei, was man von haiden genommen hatt.

Diesem puncten zuantwortten, zwingt mich insonderheit das, das in beschreibung der kirchen zuo Rom, vom kertzen und liechterbrennen oben vermeldtt, und wie der haidnische gottesdienst in Maria der Runden, im Pantheo, auff unns geflossen sei.¹⁶⁰ Dann also möchte ainer auß der ketzerschul leichtlich vermainen, es wer unrecht, weil es von haiden genommen worden, oder aber bei ihnen auch breuchlich gewesen sei. Darauff sag ich also: ist bei unuß Christen nichts zuhalten, das die haiden in ierer art gehalten haben, so miessen wir haben ein andern himmel, ein andere lufftt, anders brott, andere formb und weiß [fol. 187^r] zuessen, unnd das liebe brott zuogeniessen. Oder das ich noch eigendlicher rede, so miessen wir khaine khirchen haben, dann die haiden habens auch gehabt, wir miessen Christo khain fest oder feirtag mher haltten, dann die haiden habens ieren götzen auch gehalten, wir dörffen khein dauff mher auspenden, dann die haiden haben ier Tauff unnd besprengwasser auch gehabt, wir dörffen khein brott und wein mher zum h. Sacrament des altars gebrauchen, wie es Christus eingesetzt, dann in ierem Opfer gebrauchten sich die haiden dieser zweien Elementen so wol als wir: wir dörffen khain Ehestand mher haltten, dann der ist auch bei den haiden breuchlich gewesen. Was khan aber dö-

richters gesagt werden? Haben doch vor zeiten die Juden auß gottes befehl sich eben des opffers gebraucht, wie die haiden, sts ihnen darumb unrecht gewesen? O nein, dann diß war der unnderschied [M: August. Ep. 49 ad Deograt. q. 3], die haiden opfferten den abgöttern, die Juden aber dem lebendigen Gott.¹⁶¹ Vor zeiten war diß Vigilantii red, aber S. Hieronymus begegnet ihm gantz maisterlich, *Illud fiebat Idolis*, sprach er, *et idcirco detestandum: hoc fit Martyribus, et idcirco recipiendum est.*¹⁶² Und S. Augustinus sagt gleichsschlags [M: August. contra Faustum lib. 20. c. 21]: *habebant daemones suos virgines Vestales, habent christiani suas virgines; sed hoc unum interest, quod illae daemoneibus, istae Christo suam pudicitiam consecrant.*¹⁶³ Es hatten, spricht er, die Teuffel iere Vestalische Jungfrauen, die Christen haben iere Jungfrauen auch. Aber das ist der underschaid, das jene dem Teuffel, diese aber Christo dem herren ier keuscheit auffgeopffert haben. Also heltt sich auch [fol. 187^v] mitt den liechtern, so man in den kirchen vor den hailigen brennt: da wirdtt war, was der prophet sagtt [M: Jerem. 5], die augen des herren sehen an den glauben.¹⁶⁴ Dann solch liechterbrennen geschicht auß lauterm glauben, unnd zwar auß aim demietigen andechtigen glauben, dadurch bezeugen fromme Christen, die hailigen, vor welchen man die khertzen anzündt, haben geleucht als herrliche schöne liechter, mitten in diesem argen geschlecht der welt [M: Phil. 2], unnd seien jetzo auß dieser finsternuß geraist und khommen, zuo der ewigen khlarheit, da sie von dem lamb, welches mitten under ihnen ist, bestendig erleucht werden.¹⁶⁵ Darvon khönt vil schöns dings fürbracht werden, aber man findt es sonsten. Will ainer jetzunder sagen, diß liechter brennen khör den haiden zuo, davon Baruch sagtt [M: Baruch. 6]: *Sie zünden ihnen liechter an, und sie sehen khains,*¹⁶⁶ so gib ich zuo antwortt, und sag also: der haid schwört durch gott, Moyses thuot es auch: was macht den underschied? Jener dient unnd verehrt den Teuffel, dieser aber den lebendigen gott, darumb was an jenem unrecht, daz ist an diesem recht. Also zünd ein haid sein götzen zuo ehernen liechter auff, und wirdt darüber verflucht: der Christ zündt sie auch auff, und wirdt doch gelobt, warumb? Dann der hatt mit götzen nichts zuoschaffen, sondern allein mit dem le-

bendigen ewigen Gott, und mit seinen hailigen, darumb diese ehr sie selber antrifft, und deswegen billich nach dem besten gelobt und geprisen werden soll.

Dieser 10 puncten hab ich allhie ein khurtze rechenschafft geben wöllen. Hoff ich hab dem Christlichen Pilgram hieran khain undienst gethan. Dann dieselben werden bißweilen mit dergleichen gedanckhen angefochten.

Notes

- 1 Als ein heute weithin vergessener Vorreiter der *cultural memory studies* sei Arturo Graf: *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*. Turin 1882–83, in Erinnerung gerufen. Zur Wahrnehmung Roms im Mittelalter ist überdies die Studie von Josef Benzing: *Invectiva in Romam. Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*. Lübeck, Hamburg 1968, aufschlußreich.
- 2 Dazu einiges in der Aufsatzsammlung *Rome, l'unique objet de mon ressentiment: regards critiques sur la papauté*. Hg. von Philippe Levillain. Rom 2011. Die Studie von Martin Disselkamp: ‚Nichts ist, Rom, dir gleich‘. *Topographie und Gegenbilder aus dem mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa*. Ruhpolding, Mainz 2013, klammert den Aspekt der Konfessionalisierung merkwürdigerweise aus. Für die methodischen Probleme der Fragestellung sei lediglich verwiesen auf Thomas Packeiser: Zum Austausch von Konfessionalisierungsforschung und Kunstgeschichte. In: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2003), S. 317–38.
- 3 Zu Rabus noch immer grundlegend ist der Artikel von Otto Schmid: Rabus, Johann Jakob. In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 27 (1888), S. 95–97; danach noch die Einleitung von Karl Schottenloher in der von ihm besorgten Edition: *Rom: Eine Münchner Pilgerfahrt im Jubeljahr 1575, beschrieben von Dr. Jakob Rabus, Hofprediger zu München* (hinfort Rabus, Ed. 1925). München 1925, S. xiii–xxix.
- 4 Über seinen Glaubenswechsel hat Rabus selbst eine apologetische Schrift verfaßt: *Ad Ludovicum patrem, etc. V. clariss. pro fide Catholica, ac suo ad eam accessu, Epistola Apologetica*. Köln 1570. Zur Bedeutung der Jesuiten für seine Ausbildung auch ders., *Christlicher und wolgegründter Gegenbericht von Mirackeln unnd Wunderzaichen [...]*. Dillingen 1573, fol. 141^{r/v}.
- 5 Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 188. Rabus' persönliche Erinnerung an das Collegium ist durch die Handschrift München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. 1280, fols 218^r–220^v, überliefert (hinfort Rabus, MS München).
- 6 Ein Schriftenverzeichnis Rabus' gibt Schmid: Rabus, Johann Jakob, S. 96–97. Das Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum hat inzwischen alle Werke des Verfassers in online-Editionen zugänglich gemacht.
- 7 Rabus, *Christlicher und wolgegründter Gegenbericht*.
- 8 Wie Anm. 5. Eine zweite Handschrift des Pilgerberichts konnte Schottenloher in der Bibliothek des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts St. Florian nachweisen. Sie trägt dort die Signatur XI, 562 und wurde für Schottenlohers Ausgabe ebenfalls berücksichtigt. Dennoch entspricht die Edition wissenschaftlichen Kriterien nicht: Die Auswahl der Textpassagen scheint nicht immer nachvollziehbar, wörtliche Transkriptionen wechseln mit Zusammenfassungen, das Deutsch des Verfassers wurde modernisiert.
- 9 Rabus, MS München, fols 76^r–77^r.
- 10 Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 128.
- 11 Diese beiden Quellen waren bereits von Schottenloher erkannt worden; Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. xxiv.
- 12 Antje Stannek: Konfessionalisierung des Giro d'Italia? Protestanten im Italien des 17. Jahrhunderts. In: *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert*. Hg. von Rainer Babel und Werner Paravicini. Ostfildern 2005, S. 555–68; zum gleichen Problemkreis jetzt auch: *Protestanten zwischen Venedig und Rom in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hg. von Uwe Israel und Michael Matheus. Berlin 2013.
- 13 Siehe unten, Anm. 103.
- 14 John W. O'Malley: *Die ersten Jesuiten*. Würzburg 1995, S. 314–15.
- 15 Rabus, MS München, fol. 81^v.
- 16 Thomas H. Bestul: *Texts of the Passion. Latin devotional literature and medieval society*. Philadelphia 1996; Tobias E. Kemper: *Die Kreuzigung Christi. Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu lateinischen und deutschen Passions-traktaten des Spätmittelalters*. Tübingen 2006.
- 17 Rabus, *Christlicher und wolgegründter Gegenbericht*, fols 43^v–46^v.
- 18 Ebd., fols 69^r–84^r. Eine wiewohl nicht vollständige Übersicht zum Reliquienstreit des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts bietet Stéphan Boiron: *La controverse née de la querelle des reliques à l'époque du concile de Trente*. Paris 1989.
- 19 Jacobus Rabus: *Adversus theses contra S. Reliquiarum miracula, III. Idus Mar. Anno LXXIII Argentinae publicè disputatas, succincta velitatio*. München 1574.
- 20 Ebd., der Abschnitt zur Theses LXX [o.P.].
- 21 Jean Calvin: *Advertissement tres utile du grand profit qui reviendroit à la Chrestienté, s'il se faisoit inventaire de tous les corps saintz, et reliques, qui sont tant en Italie, qu'en France, Allemagne, Hespaigne, et autres Royaumes et pays*. Genf 1543. Dem folgten zahlreiche Neuauflagen; zuletzt Jean Calvin: *Traité des reliques*. Hg. von Irena Bacus. Genf 2000, mit einer konzisen Einführung der Herausgeberin. Zu dieser Abhandlung des weiteren Boiron, *La controverse*, S. 41–43; sowie Pierre Antoine Fabre, Mickael Wilmart: *Le Traité des reliques de Jean Calvin (1543): Texte et contextes*. In: *Reliques*

- modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions.* Hg. von Philippe Boutry [u.a.]. Paris 2009, Bd. 1, S. 29–68. Zum Kontext, der französischen Reliquienpolemik des 16. Jahrhunderts, die während der Glaubenskriege zu deren Vernichtung führen sollte, wie auch zur Verankerung des Traktats in Calvins theologischem Denken, ferner Denis Crouzet: *Sur le désenchantement des corps saints au temps des troubles de Religion.* In: *Reliques modernes*, Bd. II, S. 435–82.
- 22 Gerade dieses Argument fand im protestantischen Schrifttum bald weite Verbreitung; vgl. Boiron, *La controverse*, S. 32, 34, 45–46.
- 23 Johannes Cochlaeus: *De sacris reliquiis Christi et Sanctorum eius brevis contra Johannis Calvini calumnias & blasphemias responsio.* Mainz 1549. Zu anderen katholischen Erwidierungen auch Boiron, *La controverse*, S. 79–88; sowie Christoph Burger: Der Kölner Karmelit Nikolaus Blanckaert verteidigt die Verehrung der Reliquien gegen Calvin (1551). In: *Auctoritas Patrum, II. Neue Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kirchenväter im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert.* Hg. von Leif Grane [u.a.]. Mainz 1998, S. 27–49.
- 24 Zum folgenden Cochlaeus, *De sacris reliquiis*, Kap. II und V [o.P.].
- 25 Cochlaeus, *De sacris reliquiis*, Kap. VI und VII.
- 26 Nachweise bei Arnold Angenendt: *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kults vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart.* München 1997, S. 165.
- 27 Zum Brief Gregors des Großen an Kaiserin Constantina vgl. man Anm. 144. Dazu auch John M. McCulloh: The cult of relics in the letters and ‚Dialogues‘ of Pope Gregory the Great. A lexicographical study. In: *Traditio* 32 (1976), S. 145–84; und Achim Thomas Hack: *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert.* Stuttgart 2007, Bd. II, S. 786–91, mit weiterer Literatur in Anm. 475.
- 28 Zur Bedeutung der *brandea* auch Anton Legner: *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult. Zwischen Antike und Aufklärung.* Darmstadt 1995, S. 11–12, 79–80, 203, mit Beispielen aus der Zeit seit Ambrosius von Mailand.
- 29 Jacob Rabus: *Christlichs Manual oder Handbüchlein. Von Rechtem Nutz und Frucht des Walfartens.* Straubing 1585, Punct 7 [o.P.]. Die postum veröffentlichte Schrift geht auf das Münchner Manuskript zurück, hier fols 221^r–234^v.
- 30 Cochlaeus, *De sacris reliquiis*, Kap. VII, hatte die Möglichkeit der Körperteilung nur sehr beiläufig angedeutet.
- 31 Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien*, S. 152–55; und Ursula Swinarski: Der ganze und der zerteilte Körper. Zu zwei gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult. In: *Hagiographie im Kontext. Wirkungsweisen und Möglichkeiten historischer Auswertung.* Hg. von Dieter R. Bauer und Klaus Herbers. Stuttgart 2000, S. 58–68.
- 32 Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 29–30, 43; sowie ders., MS München, fols 147^v, 150^r.
- 33 Robert Bellarmin: *Septima Controversia generalis, de ecclesia triumphante.* Ingolstadt 1587, S. 132–57.
- 34 Ebd., S. 157.
- 35 Für eine Auswahl der entsprechenden Nachweise vgl. man *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma.* Hg. von Paola Barocchi. Bari 1961–62, Bd. II, S. 163, 198, 243, 350, 506–07; Bd. III, S. 232, 234, 303, 557, n. 5; sowie Christian Hecht: *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock.* Berlin 1997, bes. S. 133–37. Zum Problem der Lukas-Ikonen ist die Quellensammlung bei Ernst von Dobschütz: *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende.* Leipzig 1899, II, S. 267^{**}–280^{**}, noch immer grundlegend; darüber hinaus vgl. man die umfassende Monographie von Michele Bacci: *Il pennello dell'Evangelista: Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca.* Pisa 1998.
- 36 Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 30, 49, 55, 83, 103–04, 131, 137–38. Zu den angesprochenen Bildern selbst unter anderem Gerhard Wolf: *Salus populi romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter.* Weinheim 1990; Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 250–80; sowie einzelne Beiträge des Bandes *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* Hg. von Erik Thuno und Gerhard Wolf. Rom 2004; ferner Johanna Weissenberger: *Römische Mariengnadenbilder 1473–1590. Neue Altäre für alte Bilder. Zur Vorgeschichte der barocken Inszenierungen.* [Diss. Heidelberg 2007] <<http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/7623/2/Dissertation.pdf>> [konsultiert 15. März 2016].
- 37 Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 51. Zu diesem Bild bes. Wolf, *Salus*, S. 60–78, und passim; Nino Zchomelidse: The Aura of the Numinous and its Reproduction. Medieval Paintings of the Saviour in Rome and Latium. In: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55 (2010), S. 221–62; zu seiner Bedeutung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert auch Enrico Parlato: La storia ‚postuma‘ della processione dell'Acheropita e gli affreschi seicenteschi della Confraternita del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum. In: *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 15 (2007), S. 327–55.
- 38 Ottavio Panciroli: *I tesori nascosti dell' alma città di Roma.* Rom 1600; sowie ders., *Tesori nascosti dell' alma città di Roma con nuovo ordine ristampati.* Rom 1625.
- 39 Cassianis Abhandlung ist unter anderem durch die Handschrift der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 2100, überliefert. Dazu insbes. Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 268, 356–63.
- 40 Zu den Überraschungen, die sein Text bereit hielt, gehörte es, daß er die Ikone von S. Maria Maggiore aus dem Kanon der Lukas-Bilder ausscheiden wollte. Darauf reagierte unter anderem die Abhandlung des Thomasus Bozius: *De imagine Beatae Mariae in ecclesia S. Mariae Maioris quod sit picta a S. Luca*, die im Zusammenhang mit der Nobilitierung des Bildes durch Paul V. entstand. Bozius' Text ist durch die Handschriften der Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rom, N. 76, fols 20^v–30^v, und H. 29, fols 555^r–567^v, überliefert.

- Zur Kapelle Pauls V. und der Versetzung der Tafel auf deren Altar vgl. man Steven Ostrow: *Art and spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: the Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*. Cambridge 1996.
- 41 Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 157–58, 226.
- 42 Man vgl. die genaueren Nachweise bei Ingo Herklotz: ‚Sepulcra‘ e ‚Monumenta‘ del Medioevo. *Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia*. Rom 1985, S. 25; und ders., Antike Denkmäler in den Proömien mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber. In: *Arte d'Occidente – temi e metodi. Studi in onore die Angiola Maria Romanini*. Hg. von Antonio Cadei [u.a.]. Rom 1999, S. 971–86, bes. S. 976–78. Für die antiken Voraussetzungen dieser Kritik bes. Thomas Pekáry: Plotin und die Ablehnung des Bildnisses in der Antike. In: *Bild- und Formensprache der spätantiken Kunst: Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hg. von Martina Jordan-Ruwe und Ulrich Real (= *Boreas* 17 (1994)), S. 177–86.
- 43 Gabriele Paleotti: Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane. In: *Trattati d'arte*, Bd. II, S. 117–509, hier S. 332–36.
- 44 Cesare Baronio: *Annales ecclesiastici*. Bd. I, Rom 1588, I, S. 630, 636.
- 45 ‚Nam omnino fingendarum similitudinum ratio idcirco ab hominibus inventa est, ut posset eorum memoria retineri, qui vel morte, vel absentia fuerant separati.‘ So Laktanz: *Divinae institutiones*, II.2. In: *Patrologia latina* (hinfort PL). Hg. von Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris 1844–55, Bd. VI, Sp. 259. Zur Rezeption des entsprechenden Topos schon Ingo Herklotz: Zwei Selbstbildnisse von Nicolas Poussin und die Funktionen der Porträtmalerei. In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000), S. 243–68, hier S. 255–56.
- 46 Leon Battista Alberti: *De pictura*. Hg. von Cecil Grayson. Rom, Bari 1975, S. 44–45.
- 47 Man vgl. die genaueren Nachweise bei Herklotz, Zwei Selbstbildnisse, S. 255, 266.
- 48 Aus der kaum überschaubaren Literatur sei nur ganz Weniges herausgegriffen: Gherardo Ortalli: ... *pingatur in palatio...*: *La pittura infamante nei secoli XIII–XVI*. Rom 1979; Adolf Reinle: *Das stellvertretende Bildnis. Plastiken und Gemälde von der Antike bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*. Zürich, München 1984; Friedrich Polleroß: Des abwesenden Prinzen Porträt. Zeremoniell-darstellung im Bildnis und Bildnisgebrauch im Zeremoniell. In: *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Hg. von Jörg Jochen Berns und Thomas Rahn. Tübingen 1995, S. 382–409; Martin Warnke: *Hofkünstler. Zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Künstlers*. Köln 1996, S. 251, 272, 279–82; Miguel Falomir Faus: Imágenes de poder y evocaciones de la memoria. Usos y funciones del retrato en la corte de Felipe II. In: *Felipe II. Un príncipe del Renacimiento*. Madrid 1998, S. 203–27.
- 49 Lorne Campbell: *Renaissance portraits. European portrait painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries*. New Haven, London 1990, S. 267, Anm. 7. Ähnlich auch der fiktive Brief des Baldassare Castiglione, ebd., S. 220. Von der privat-emotionalen Nutzung vieler Bildnisse zeugt auch deren kleines Format und ihre einkalkulierte Bewegbarkeit; vgl. Angelica Dülberg: *Privatporträt. Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1990.
- 50 Gary Vikan: *Byzantine pilgrimage art*. Washington DC 1982, S. 32–36; Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 44–46, 52–55.
- 51 Zu dieser Ikone bes. Wolf, *Salus*, passim, und Bacci, *Il pennello*, passim. Zu ihrer Bedeutung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert des weiteren Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality*, und Kirstin Noreen: The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. An Image and its Afterlife. In: *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005), S. 660–72.
- 52 Zu dieser Kontroverse: Wolf, *Salus*, S. 213–16, 330–38. Zum Bild aus S. Maria in Aracoeli auch Daniela Sgherri: La Madonna advocata di Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In: Serena Romano: *Riforma e tradizione 1050–1198*. Mailand 2006 (La pittura medievale a Roma 312–1431. Corpus 4), S. 110–13.
- 53 Francesco Maria Torrigio: *Historia della Veneranda Imagine di Maria Vergine posta nella Chiesa del Monastero delle RR. Monache di Santi Sisto, e Domenico di Roma*. Rom 1641, S. 26–27.
- 54 Paschalis M. D'Elia: La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'immagine di Maria ‚Salus populi Romani‘. In: *Fede e arte* 2 (1954), S. 301–11; Wolf, *Salus*, S. 148; Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 372–73; Noreen, The Icon.
- 55 *Die Jesuiten in Ingolstadt 1549–1773*. Hg. von Beatrix Ettelt. Ingolstadt 1991, S. 78–79, 226–27, 233–34; *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten*. Hg. von Reinhold Baumstark. München 1997, S. 492–94; Noreen, The Icon, S. 666–68.
- 56 Die entsprechenden Quellen wurden schon von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II, S. 269**–271**, diskutiert. Vgl. auch die Einzelnachweise unten in Anm. 122–24.
- 57 Zum Hodegon-Kloster vgl. man Christine Angelidi und Titos Papamastorakis: The veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Monastery of the Hodegoi. In: *Mother of God. The representation of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Hg. von Maria Vassilaki. Mailand 2000, S. 373–87. Die Gleichsetzung der Hodegetria mit der von Eudochia übersandten Ikone erfolgte spätestens bei Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts: Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II, S. 272**, mit Verweis auf Georgios Pachymeres und Nikephoros Kallistos. Zur Wirkung der Hodegetria auf die Ikonenmalerei auch Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 114–29, und passim; ders., The legacy of the Hodegetria. Holy Icons and Legends between East and West. In: *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Hg. von Maia Vassilaki. Aldershot 2005, S. 321–36.
- 58 Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 403–20.
- 59 Calvin, *Traité*, S. 52; ebd., S. 47, polemisiert der Verfasser ebenso gegen die *acheiropoiet*a und andere Bilder Christi.
- 60 Petrus Canisius: *De Maria virgine incomparabili, et Dei genitrice sacrosancta*. Ingolstadt 1577, S. 697; dazu Bac-

- ci, *Il pennello*, S. 344; Noreen, *The Icon*, S. 666; sowie nach Canisius' *Commentariorum de verbi Dei corruptelis, tomi duo* von 1583, auch Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, S. 136. Angedeutet war die Argumentation indes schon 1548 bei Konrad Braun, Nachfolge fand sie vor allem 1616 bei Andrea Vittorelli: Nachweise bei Bacci, *Il pennello*, S. 335, 364.
- 61 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 6503, fol. 195^r (6. Febr. 1637). Zu dem Bild selbst vgl. man den Ausstellungskatalog *Il volto di Cristo*. Hg. von Giovanni Morello und Gerhard Wolf. Mailand 2000, S. 78, 91.
- 62 Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni: *Stato della basilica diaconale, collegiata, e parrocchiale di S. Maria in Cosmedin di Roma nel presente anno MDCCXIX*. Rom 1719, S. 57–66; und dazu auch Anja Buschow: *Kirchenrestaurierungen in Rom vor dem Hintergrund der päpstlichen Kunst- und Kulturpolitik in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* [Diss. Bonn 1987], S. 138; ferner Giulia Bonardi: Una perizia dimenticata di Sebastiano Resta sulla tavola della Madonna della Clemenza. In: *Horti Hesperidum* 3, 1 (2013), S. 63–88 <https://issuu.com/horti-hesperidum/docs/o3_bonardi> [konsultiert 17. März 2016].
- 63 Giorgio Mancini: *Iconografia nivea. La devozione alla Madonna della Neve*. Neapel 2000.
- 64 Rabus, MS München, fol. 80^v. Die Ikone ist auch erwähnt bei Onofrio Panvinio: *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctoribusque basilicis, quas Septem ecclesias vulgo vocant*. Rom 1570, S. 175.
- 65 Rabus, MS München, fol. 84^{r/v}.
- 66 Einen konzisen Überblick zu den Bildwundern des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts vermittelt Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, S. 137–45.
- 67 Im Rahmen der Sessio XXV: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*. Hg. von Giuseppe Alberigo [u.a.]. Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich ³2002, Bd. III, S. 774–76.
- 68 Zum Bild von Berytos und seiner Wirkung bes. Michele Bacci: The Berardenga Antependium and the Passio Ymaginis Office. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998), S. 1–16; ders. Le Majestats, il Volto Santo e il Cristo di Beirut. In: *Iconographica* 13 (2014), S. 45–66.
- 69 Johannes Molanus: *De picturis et imaginibus sacris liber unus*. Löwen 1570, fols 117^v–118^r, 137^v–138^v; dazu und zu der weiteren umfassenden Kreuzesliteratur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts auch Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, S. 382–84; sowie Giuseppe Scavizi: *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*. New York 1992, S. 205–23.
- 70 Guillaume Du Choul: *Discorso della religione antica de Romani*. Lyon 1569, S. 169–71; Antonio Agustín: *Dialogos de medallas inscripciones y otras antiguedades*. Tarra-gona 1587, S. 20–21.
- 71 Baronio: *Annales ecclesiastici*. Bd. III, Rom 1594, S. 75–79; S. 75–79; Lelio Pasqualini (ohne Titel) im Anhang zu Antonio Agustín: *Dialoghi intorno alle medaglie [...]*, tradotti di lingua spagnuola in italiana da D. O. Sada. Rom 1592.
- 72 Patrick M. Bruun: *The Roman imperial coinage*. Bd. VII: *Constantine and Licinius*. London 1966, S. 666, 695, mit Tafel 24, Nr. 98, 100. Das Chi-Rho findet sich auf den konstantinischen Münzen ebenfalls wiedergegeben; vgl. über Bruun hinaus noch Kay Ehling: *Konstantin 312*. München 2012.
- 73 Er weist das Staurogramm dagegen auf späteren römischen Loculusplatten nach: Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, Bd. III, S. 75. Panvinio: *De praecipuis*. S. 201, scheint indes auch die konstantinischen Münzen gekannt zu haben, wagt, was die Vision an der Milvischen Brücke betrifft, aber keine Entscheidung.
- 74 Der Fragestellung konnte sich auch die christliche Archäologie neueren Zuschnitts nicht verschließen: man vgl. Joseph Sauer: *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*. Freiburg im Breisgau ²1924, passim; sowie Stefan Heid: *Kreuz, Jerusalem, Kosmos. Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie*. Münster 2001, passim.
- 75 Panvinio, *De praecipuis*, S. 209–10.
- 76 Vgl. den Nachweis in Anm. 141. Ficino wird in diesem Zusammenhang auch von Molanus, *De picturis*, fol. 118^r, bemüht. Zur *theologia prisca* der Renaissance und zur Rolle Ficanos für solche Denkmuster u. a. Maria Muccillo: *Platonismo, ermetismo e ‚prisca theologia‘. Ricerche di storiografia filosofica rinascimentale*. Florenz 1996; sowie Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann: *Philosophia perennis: Historische Umrisse abendländischer Spiritualität in Antike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Frankfurt am Main 1998.
- 77 Jacob Gretser: *De cruce Christi, rebusque ad eam pertinentibus*. Ingolstadt 1598–1605.
- 78 Man vgl. die Nachweise in *Trattati d'arte*, Bd. II, S. 33, sowie Anm. 3 auf S. 589; ferner Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, S. 403–04. Zur Ikonographie des Heiligen s. man Eugene F. Rice: *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore 1985; und Daniel Russo: *Saint Jérôme en Italie. Etude d'iconographie et de spiritualité, XIII^e–XV^e siècles*. Paris 1987; sowie Christiane Weibel, *Askese und Endlichkeitsdemut in der Renaissance. Ikonologische Studien zum Bild des hl. Hieronymus*. Weinheim 1988.
- 79 Zu dieser ikonographischen Problemstellung bes. Ingo Herklotz: Michele Lonigo als Kunstkritiker. Zu einer historistischen Rezeption der Altarbilder von Sacchi und Passignano in St. Peter. In: *Ars naturam adiuvans. Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996*. Hg. von Victoria von Flemming und Sebastian Schütze. Mainz 1996, S. 413–29; sowie Birgit Ulrike Münch: *Geteiltes Leid. Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung. Druckgraphik von der Reformation bis zu den jesuitischen Großprojekten um 1600*. Regensburg 2009, S. 228–52.
- 80 Molanus, *De picturis*, fol. 52^{r/v}.
- 81 Alonso Chacon: *Tractatus quod Divus Hieronymus Stridonensis S.R.E. Presbyter fuerit cardinalis*. Venedig 1583.
- 82 Chacon, *Tractatus*, fol. 13^{r/v}.

- 83 Zur Wertung der rechten Seite als der in den mittelalterlichen Schriftquellen privilegierten Seite vgl. man Ursula Deitmaring: Die Bedeutung von Rechts und Links in theologischen und literarischen Texten bis um 1200. In: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 98 (1969), S. 265–92; Hans-Werner Goetz: Der ‚rechte‘ Sitz. Die Symbolik von Rang und Herrschaft im Hohen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Sitzordnung. In: *Symbole des Alltags – Alltag der Symbolik. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*. Hg. von Gertrud Blaschnitz [u.a.]. Graz 1992, S. 11–47; Boris A. Uspensky: ‚Destra‘ e ‚sinistra‘ nella raffigurazione delle icone. In: *Semiotiche della pittura*. Hg. von Lucia Corrain. Rom 2004, S. 137–43.
- 84 Ruth Wilkins Sullivan: Saints Peter and Paul. Some ironic aspects of their imaging. In: *Art history* 17 (1994), S. 59–80; Lasse Hodne: The ‘double apostolate’ as an image of the Church. A study of early medieval apse mosaics in Rome. In: *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 20, 6. Ser. (2006 [2007]), S. 143–62. Andere Autoren haben dem Problem keine Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt; so Christa Ihm: *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart 1992; Erik Thunø: *The apse mosaic in early medieval Rome. Time, network, and repetition*. New York 2015.
- 85 In diesem Sinne Rotraud Wisskirchen: *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom. Ikonographie und Ikonologie*. Münster 1990, S. 35; kritisch dazu Hodne, The ‚double apostolate‘, S. 148–49.
- 86 Petrus Damiani: *Opusculum de picturis principum apostolorum*. In: *PL CXLV*, Sp. 589–96. Eine keineswegs erschöpfende Übersicht der einschlägigen Quellen, die auch einzelne Autoren des 16. Jahrhunderts zur Sprache bringt, findet sich bei John Shearman: *Raphael’s cartoons in the collection of her Majesty the Queen and the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*. London 1972, S. 38–41.
- 87 Zu dieser Akzentsetzung des Investiturstreits, die ihren textlichen und ikonographischen Niederschlag zunächst am deutlichsten in den päpstlichen Urkunden fand, vgl. man Ingo Herklotz: Zur Ikonographie der Papstsiegel im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert. In: *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn. Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*. Hg. von Hans-Rudolf Meier [u.a.]. Berlin 1995, S. 116–30; weitere Literatur zur päpstlichen Primatstheorie des Mittelalters ebd., Anm. 26, 45, 46, 50.
- 88 Zumindest für das 17. Jahrhundert ist die Unterdrückung der doppelten Apostolizität zugunsten der einseitig petrinischen Lehre bereits festgestellt worden; dazu etwa Pietro Stella: *Il Giansenismo in Italia*. Rom 2006, Bd. I: *Preludi tra Seicento e primo Settecento*, S. 20–21; und Marco Cavarzere: *La prassi della censura nell’Italia del Seicento: tra repressione e mediazione*. Rom 2011, S. 91–92.
- 89 Antonius Nebrissensis: *Quinquagena, seu quinquaginta S. Scripturae locorum explanatio*. In: *De locis S. Scripturae hebraicis Angeli Caninii commentarius, et Antonii Nebrissensis Quinquagena*. Antwerpen 1600 [zuerst vor 1522], S. 165–70; dem folgt Bartholomaeus Cassanaeus: *Catalogus gloriae mundi*. Venedig 1571, fols 64^v–65^v.
- 90 Angelo Roccas um 1600 entstandener Text erschien postum in ders. *Opera omnia, tempore eiusdem auctoris, scilicet impressa, necnon autographa, & Romae in Angelica Bibliotheca originaliter asservata*. Rom 1719, Bd. 1, S. 81–100, hier S. 84.
- 91 Robert Bellarmin: *De summo pontifice (Tertia controversia generalis)*. Ingolstadt 1586, S. 713–14.
- 92 Marco A. Serrano: *De septem Urbis ecclesiis, una cum eorum reliquijs, stationibus & indulgentijs*. Rom 1575, S. 63–68.
- 93 Ivo von Chartres: *Sermo V sive opusculum de convenientia veteris et novi sacrificii*. In: *PL CLXII*, Sp. 535–62, bes. Sp. 550. Dazu auch Josef Andreas Jungmann: *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*. Wien 1949, Bd. 1, S. 139–40. Ähnliche Quellen bei Otto Nußbaum: Die Bewertung von Rechts-Links in der römischen Liturgie. In: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962), S. 158–72; und Deitmaring, Die Bedeutung, S. 283–86.
- 94 Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, I, S. 498–519.
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- 106 *Ecclesiastica historia*, Secunda centuria, S. 122–23.
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- 112 Rabus: *Christlichs Manual oder Handtbüchlein*, Der sibend Punct [o.P.].
- 113 Rabus, MS München, fols 47^v–48^r. Das Beispiel ist der römischen Kirchenliteratur entlehnt; vgl. Serrano, *De septem Urbis ecclesiis*, S. 17–18.
- 114 Nicht bei der Stephanus-Kapelle, sondern anlässlich des Silvester-Oratoriums im Lateranpalast; vgl. Rabus, MS München, fol. 81^v.
- 115 Thomas Cajetan (de Vio): *De spasmo beatae virginis Mariae* (1506), wieder in ders., *Opuscula omnia in tres tomos digesta*. Lyon 1588, S. 180–81.
- 116 Mat 19. 25.
- 117 *Sancti Ambrosii Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, x. 132. In: *PL* xv.2, Sp. 1930–31.
- 118 Vgl. etwa *Revelationes S. Brigittae, nunc a Consalvo Duranto a Sancto Angelo notis illustratae*. Rom 1606, S. 261–62.
- 119 Bernhard von Clairvoux: *Sermones in Cantica*, xxvi. 12. In: *PL* clxxxiii, Sp. 911.
- 120 Rabus, MS München, fol. 99^v, zum Martyrium des Hl. Ignatius im Colosseum.
- 121 Der angebliche Brief des Ignatius von Antiochien an den Evangelisten Johannes galt schon im 16. Jahrhundert als fragwürdig. Den Text und Hinweise auf ältere Editionen gibt *Patrologia graeca* (hinfort PG), Hg. von Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris 1857–66, Bd. v, Sp. 943–44.
- 122 Vom Hl. Lukas als Maler berichtet Nikephoros Kallistos in seiner *Ecclesiastica historia* II.43 und xv.14; vgl. PG cXLV, Sp. 876, und PG cXLVII, Sp. 44. Die Werke von Symeon Metaphrastes sind in PG cxiv–cxvi zusammengestellt. Ein Hinweis auf die künstlerische Tätigkeit des Lukas findet sich dort nicht.
- 123 Theodor Lector (Theodoros Anagnosta): *Ecclesiastica historia*, I. 1. In: PG lxxxvii.1, Sp. 165. Rabus zitiert nach den *Collectaneorum ex historia ecclesiastica [...] libri duo*. Basel 1549, u.a. Aufl. Eudokia war nicht die Schwester des Arkadios, sondern die Gemahlin Theodosios' II.
- 124 Nikephoros Kallistos: *Ecclesiastica historia*, xv.14. In: PG cXLVII, Sp. 44.
- 125 Eine solche Verlautbarung Gregors des Großen existiert nicht. Zur späteren Assoziation Gregors mit Lukas-Bildern dagegen Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, II, S. 274^{**}.
- 126 Angesprochen ist möglicherweise einer der Maler, die das Bild von S. Maria Maggiore für den Jesuitenorden kopierten; zu diesen Duplikaten bes. Noreen, *The Icon*.
- 127 Augustinus: *Epistola 36* (an den Presbyter Casulanus). In: *PL* xxxiii, Sp. 136–51.
- 128 Rabus, MS München, fol. 89^{r/v}; Rabus, Ed. 1925, S. 54.
- 129 Welcher Passus aus Bonaventuras *Summa Theologica* hier angesprochen ist, bleibt undeutlich.
- 130 Pedro Antonio Beuder: *Cronica generale d'Hispania, et del Regno di Valenzia*. Venedig 1556. Spätere Auflagen erschienen unter verändertem Titel.
- 131 Rabus, MS München, fols 9^r–14^r. Die Blutreliquien, die auf Christi Passion zurückgeführt werden konnten, waren zu unterscheiden von dem wundersamen Blut, wie es Hostien und Bilder hervorgebracht hatten.
- 132 Rabus dürfte hier dem Traktat von Molanus, *De picturis*, fol. 20^{r/v}, folgen. Der fälschlich dem Athanasius zugeschriebene Text *De passione imaginis Christi*,

- tatsächlich ein Werk aus der Zeit des byzantinischen Bilderstreits, ist ediert in *PG* xxviii, Sp. 813–20 (vgl. auch die Texte ebd., Sp. 797–812). Für diesen und die Überlieferung von Nikodemus als Bildhauer vgl. man Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie*, S. 131–32; sowie Michele Bacci: Nicodemo e il Volto Santo. In: *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo*. Hg. von Michele Camillo Ferrari und Andreas Meyer. Lucca 2005, S. 15–40.
- 133 *De passione imaginis*, III. In: *PG* xxviii, Sp. 817.
- 134 *De passione imaginis*, VI. In: *PG* xxviii, Sp. 819.
- 135 *De passione imaginis*, 'Prolog'. In: *PG* xxviii, Sp. 813.
- 136 Rabus, MS München, fol. 86^r.
- 137 Justinus: *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, 40. In: *PG* VI, Sp. 561. Im folgenden greift Rabus die schon von Molanus *De picturis et imaginibus sacris liber unus*, fols 117^r–118^r, 137^r, zitierten Nachweise auf. Hilfreich für deren Verifizierung war die Edition Molanus: *Traité des saints images*. Hg. von François Bœsflug [u.a.]. Paris 1996.
- 138 Irenaeus: *Contra haereses*, II. 24. In: *PG* VII, Sp. 794–95.
- 139 Eph 3. 18.
- 140 Augustinus: *Epistula* 147, XIV. 34. In: *PL* xxxiii, Sp. 611.
- 141 Marsilio Ficino: *De vita libri tres* (III: *De vita coelitus comparanda*). Basel 1529, S. 199.
- 142 Joh 12. 32.
- 143 Gal 6. 14.
- 144 Vgl. zum folgenden *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*. Hg. von Paul Ewald und Ludwig M. Hartmann. Berlin 1891–99, Bd. I, S. 263–66 (*Ep.*, IV. 30).
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- 146 *Gregorii Reg. Epist.*, I, S. 265 (*Ep.*, IV. 30).
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- 148 Die Briefe an Childebert, Rekkared I., Brunichilda und Asklepiodotus sind in *Gregorii Reg. Epist.*, 1891–99, erhalten; vgl. Index, s.v.
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- 150 Rabus, MS München, fol. 80^r. Für die beiden Büstenreliquiare und zur Geschichte der Reliquien selbst bes. Daniela Mondini: *Reliquie incarnate: Le 'sacre teste' di Pietro e Paolo a San Giovanni in Laterano a Roma*. In: *Del visibile credere. Pellegrinaggi, santuari, miracoli, reliquie*. Hg. von Davide Scotto. Florenz 2011, S. 265–96.
- 151 Ac 13. 46–47.
- 152 Sophronius: *Narratio miraculorum SS. Cyri et Joannis*, xxxvi. In: *PG* lxxxvii, 3, Sp. 3557. Für die Aufnahme dieser Episode in die älteren Editionen der Akten des zweiten Nicaenums: ebd., Anm. 24.
- 153 Thomas de Kempis: *De imitatione Christi et rerum mundanarum contemptu*. Köln 1570, fols 89^r–91^r. Das Thema des Kapitels III. 63 lautet *De alterioribus rebus et occultis judiciis Dei non scrutandis*.
- 154 Rabus, MS München, fols 90^v und 91^r, erwähnt den Heiligen, ohne auf seine bildlichen Darstellungen einzugehen. Die Frage, ob er Kardinal war, wird auch fol. 98^r, anlässlich der Kirche von S. Anastasia, angesprochen.
- 155 So u.a. in Onofrio Panvinio: *De origine cardinalium* (nach 1555). Hg. von Angelo Mai (= *Spicilegium Romanum* IX (1843)), S. 469–511, hier S. 507.
- 156 Hieronymus, *Epistula*, cxxiii. 10 (an Ageruchia). In: *PL* xxii, Sp. 1052.
- 157 *Venerabilis Bedae Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, I. 27. Hg. von Günter Spitzbart. Darmstadt 1982, Bd. I, S. 86. Für das hier zitierte Schreiben Gregors des Großen, den sog. *Libellus Responsionum* vom Juli 601, auch *Gregorii Reg. Epist.*, II, S. 334 (*Ep.*, XI. 56a).
- 158 Die beiden hier genannten Bildhauer sind vorerst nicht zu identifizieren.
- 159 Dazu oben Anm. 103.
- 160 Rabus, MS München, fol. 120^r; ders., Ed. 1925, S. 115–17.
- 161 Augustinus: *Epistola* cii (an Deogratias), Quaestio 3, 18. In: *PL* xxxiii, Sp. 377.
- 162 Hieronymus: *Contra Vigilantium*, 7. In: *PL* xxiii, Sp. 361.
- 163 Augustinus: *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XX. 21. In: *PL* xlii, Sp. 386.
- 164 Jer 5. 3.
- 165 Phil 2. 15.
- 166 Bar 6. 18.

DECORATION AND LITURGICAL FURNISHING

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY FRESCOES 'IUXTA SCALA QUE ASCENDIT IN PATRIARCHIO'

Herbert L. KESSLER

Although I had visited the rooms beneath the Scala Santa already in the mid-1980s, it was not until I returned to the perplexing space with Sible de Blaauw that I was able to begin to understand the puzzling warren and to decipher the seemingly incoherent arrangement of frescoes that adorn the walls. To honour my esteemed friend and sometime guide who has profoundly influenced my thinking about Roman art in its architectural and performative contexts, I make some observations about a monument that remains elusive, like the memories of the wonderful early conversations he and I had about it many years ago.

The building and, with it, the decorations, were largely demolished when Pope Sixtus V (1585-90) refashioned the staircase that had, in the Middle Ages, connected the Campus Lateranensis to the triclinium and other privileged rooms of the Patriarchium and that since the Jubilee of 1450 at least, had been identified as the fateful *scala pilati* Christ climbed to hear Pilate's judgment.¹ Sixtus V had had the architect Domenico Fontana move the stairs-relic to align it with the chapel built by Nicholas III (1277-80) known as the Sancta Sanctorum,² constructing double lateral staircases to accommodate the



Fig. 1. Frescoes in the rooms beneath the Scala Santa, Rome: Sancta Sanctorum.



Fig. 2. *John the Evangelist in his tomb attended by two acolytes*, fresco, Rome: Sancta Sanctorum, rooms beneath the Scala Santa.

throng of pilgrims that visit the site still today. In the process, the space ‘iuxta scala que ascendit in patriarchio’ was virtually demolished;³ nevertheless, it remained of interest to Onofrio Panvinio and other seventeenth-century palaeochristian archaeologists and has been the subject of recent attention.⁴ Building on Sible de Blaauw’s investigation of the documents and Manfred Luchterhandt’s considerations of the archaeological and functional evidence, Antonella Ballardini has considered the room’s purpose in the papal palace.⁵ Since 1955 when Redig de Campos suggested it might be the Oratory of St Sebastian but better left unidentified, the ground-level structure seems surely to have originated in part as a foundation of the ‘macrona’, the eighth-century portico that connected the Basilica of the Saviour (S. Giovanni in Laterano) to the papal domus and its various chapels, including the St Lawrence Chapel that, before Nicholas III’s rebuilding, had housed the icon of Christ known as the *Acheropita* and other precious relics. Now entered from a door around the right side of Fontana’s portico, the structure is utterly confusing; but when the later



Fig. 3. *Pope Sylvester subduing the dragon that had demonized the Roman Forum*, drawing after a fresco fragment, seventeenth century, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 6555, fol. 1^r.



Fig. 4. Pope Sylvester subduing the dragon that had demonized the Roman Forum, fresco, Ceri: S. Maria Immacolata.

intrusions are cleared away either in the mind's eye or in Luchterhandt's reconstructions, a simple rectangular building emerges with vaults supported on evenly spaced piers forming four interconnected rooms. Whether or not and in what way the space once opened to the campus is unclear, as is its original function. In this, it recalls nothing so much as the late thirteenth-century so-called 'cripta' of the Siena Duomo, which also opened to the outside while communicating with the sacred space above.⁶ The structure seems certainly to have served a semi-public purpose, most likely as a place for papal benefactions to the poor and sick.⁷

Of the frescoes, mostly only disjointed pieces survive (Fig. 1) and a few seventeenth-centu-

ry watercolours preserve others that were at that time still visible but have now perished.⁸ Philippe Lauer's great *Le palais de Latran* offers a few pages of description and several excellent plates which leave little doubt that, despite fervent attempts by the *Padri Passionisti* to protect them, the paintings have been further degraded during the past one hundred years.⁹ Mario D'Onofrio's ground-breaking article renewed attention to the puzzling pictures and was followed by Jérôme Crozier's useful *scheda* in *La pittura medievale a Roma*.¹⁰ Maria Alessandra Bilotto has connected the paintings with the Lateran's hypothetical role in manuscript production, which may have been located in the nearby papal archives.¹¹

Beneath a canopy of stars, animals, and vegetation on a white ground, the decorations comprised a variety of subjects, including the enthroned Christ and the Virgin Mary, portraits of diverse saints, condensed hagiographic narratives on the surfaces of the piers, and at least two expanded histories on the peripheral walls. Of the saints, John the Baptist can be identified with certainty; so can the Roman martyr Sebastian being shot with arrows (Fig. 1) and John the Evangelist in his tomb being attended by two acolytes with candles and a censer (Fig. 2). In the abbreviated narratives, the saints do not die. Though blood streams from his abdomen, Sebastian is stoical and his eyes are open; and following the fourth-century *Acta Ioanni*, John the Evangelist is shown raising his arms to collect the manna that falls onto him from heaven.¹² The same is true of the lost hagiographical stories known from drawings; one showed the Crucifixion of St Andrew that, like the martyrdom of Sebastian, focused on the saint's body raised like a devotional image above the tormentors flanking him on either side. The other depicted Sylvester subduing the dragon that had demonized the Roman Forum (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 6555, fol. 1^r; Fig. 3), its identity secured by comparison with a fresco in S. Maria Immacolata at Ceri, just north of Rome (Fig. 4), which also shows bust-length figures of Peter and Paul appearing over the dragon's cave and assisting the pope (the haloed head at the left in the drawing) who arrives with his light-bearing acolytes to tie shut the creature's jaws and, in so doing, to confound the pagans.¹³ Judging from the drawing, the cave and dragon would have dominated the Patriarchium fresco. Ceri also provides a close parallel to John the Baptist holding the lamb (albeit enclosed in a *clypeus*) and wearing a 'hairshirt' trimmed in fur.

Like the paintings at Ceri, the Patriarchium frescoes have close stylistic connections with paintings in the 'lower church' of S. Clemente less than a kilometre from the Lateran, which, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, are to be dated roughly during the time of the anti-pope Clement III (1080–1100).¹⁴ Not only does S. Clemente share a common repertory of

figural motifs with them, but it also juxtaposes isolated figures and collapsed narratives as a means of converting a pre-existing space into a functioning interior.¹⁵ Ceri has something of the same iconographic character; although what dominates the surviving section of the nave is the two-register cycle of pictures based on the lost frescoes in the early Christian Basilica of St Peter, it also includes isolated hagiographic depictions, in addition to the Sylvester episode, the martyrdom of Andrew and George fighting the dragon, along with standing portraits of Sts Nicholas, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, St Martin and St Leonard.

One of the two extended narratives in the Patriarchium room is particularly close to the depiction at Ceri; God creating the universe, Christ creating Adam, and (most likely) the creation of Eve on the south wall also conform generally to the late antique cycles in St Peter's and St Paul's (Fig. 1); but they agree with Ceri in such particular features as the mussel-shell-like mandorlas that enclose the personifications of light and dark, the plants growing along the ground line, and the use of word PLASMAT in the *titulus* to describe the creation of Adam.¹⁶ In contrast, the organization of the Genesis story as a vertical series more closely recalls contemporary *bibbie atlantiche*, for example, the Pantheon Bible (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12 958, fol. 4^v; Fig. 5) that gather as a single frontispiece the opening episodes of Genesis beginning with the Creation of the World, and ending with the Expulsion.¹⁷ The relationship to the manuscript frontispieces may originally have been even closer. What now survives beneath the Scala Santa is only half of the traditional sequence and its focus on the creation of Adam and Eve would be entirely anomalous; although no trace survives of a continuation, it is quite possible that the Fall, Expulsion, and work outside Eden (or, as at Ceri, Cain murdering Abel) were depicted within the space, most likely on the adjacent southwest wall (now punctuated by a door) or nearby.¹⁸ Indeed, in his mid-twelfth-century description of the St Lawrence Chapel, Nicholas Maniacutius cited Eve's sin that brought death into the world as the reason women were not allowed inside the



Fig. 5. Frontispiece of the Pantheon Bible with opening episodes of Genesis, full-page miniature, parchment, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12 958, fol. 4^v.

St Lawrence Chapel;¹⁹ and the Fall and Expulsion are included in the sixteenth-century decorations of the Scala Santa.²⁰

If it indeed ended with scenes of fall and punishment, the pictured beginning of sacred history would have been an appropriate counterpart to the Crucifixion, which occupies a space equal in size to the surviving Genesis pictures and just around the corner from them (Fig. 6). And it would have been in spatial parallel with the half-length portraits of Jeremiah and Hosea on the same pier picturing St Sebastian (Fig. 1) that introduced the subject of Christ's sacrifice on phylacteries with quotations from their respective prophecies: EGO QUASI AGNUS MANSUETUS (I was as a meek lamb [that is carried to be a victim]; Jeremiah 11. 19) and



Fig. 6. *Crucifixion*, fresco, Rome: Sancta Sanctorum, rooms beneath the Scala Santa.

O MORS | ERO | MORS | TUA | MOR-
SUS | TUUS | ERO | INFERNE (O death,
I will be thy death; O hell I will be thy bite;
Hosea 13. 14).²¹

Despite the Crucifixion's importance, the fresco has been almost entirely ignored because it is barely visible behind massive foundations that support the thirteenth-century Sancta Sanctorum.²² A bust-length angel can be discerned in the amoeba-shaped fragment that almost touches Jeremiah on the east wall, an isolated element in the broad composition that includes similar angels on either side of the exceptionally large *titulus* of the cross on which Christ is shown hanging. As is conventional, Mary stands at the left and John at the right; the soldier to the right of the evangelist is presumably Stepaton and, judging from the curve of the arch, Longinus may once have been portrayed at the far left beneath the reinforcing masonry that covers the area. Other figures may have been pictured at the base of the cross. The broad, horizontal

composition and profusion of angels recalls the heavily restored Crucifixion in the so-called Julian Chapel in S. Paolo fuori le mura, where the two angels above the cross are extended by four others on either side; Christ's eyes are open there, too, Mary, John, and the soldiers flanked the cross, and, in place of Jeremiah and Hosea, Peter and Paul displaying phylacteries frame the composition.²³ The most significant difference is that, in the Patriarchium fresco, St John (who closely resembles the evangelist portrayed at Ceri) turns, not toward Christ as is customary, but toward Stephaton in an unusual, perhaps even unique example, of emphasis on the soldier who, according to medieval interpretations, moistened the dying Christ's lips with a vinegar-soaked sponge.

The opposition of a Crucifixion to a Genesis cycle may revert to the nave of St Peter's, the general prototype for the Patriarchium cycle, Ceri and other twelfth-century basilical decorations,²⁴ an oversized Crucifixion dominated the New Testament cycle opposite the stories from Genesis and Exodus. A specific relationship between Adam and Eve's sin and Christ's death on the cross is a feature of the late twelfth-century cycle in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, where a *titulus* tethers the scene of the Fall to Christ's Crucifixion below it: INMORTALEM DECUS PER LIGNUM PERDIDIT HOMO CAELIS;²⁵ and a century later, it was the underlying theme of the great processional cross at the Lateran itself adorned on both surfaces with a Genesis series based on St Peter's surfaces and depicting the Fall in the central medallion on one side and the Crucifixion in the counterpart on the other.²⁶ The Siena 'cripta' has something of the same structure, too, with Christ's Passion emphasized on the focal wall and a Genesis sequence, beginning with the Creation of Adam proceeding around the upper register.

The emphasis on Christ's sacrifice may have had a particular purpose in the Patriarchium, albeit one that is related ultimately to the depiction of humankind's creation and (presumably) sin. Pieces of the True Cross and other relics of Christ's Passion and death were the principal treasures of the St Lawrence Chapel above and were cherished, as well, in the basilica itself and

in the nearby Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.²⁷ Moreover, on one of the most important of these, the wood box with souvenirs from the Holy Land, the INRI *titulus* is particularly emphasized as it is in the fresco. On the tenth-century Byzantine reliquary, Peter and Paul are pictured much as in S. Paolo fuori le mura and Christ is shown flanked by the Maria *avvocata* and John the Evangelist turns away slightly.²⁸ Whether or not the Sancta Sanctorum cross reliquaries actually inspired the frescoes directly, however, they do exemplify the fleshing out of relics with depictions of the authorizing events, a basic principle that may account for Crucifixion's prominence also in the ground-floor space. Another relic may explain the depiction's most unusual feature, namely, John's looking at Stephaton; the sponge was one of the Patriarchium's prized treasures.²⁹

Lateran relics may well account for other images. The rain of manna in the scene of John the Evangelist's entombment, for instance, engaged the 'manna sepulturae sancti Joannis evangelistae ampulla plena' that John the Deacon lists in S. Giovanni itself.³⁰ And the special attention paid to John the Baptist's hair-lined cloak, a feature repeated at Ceri, aligns the saint's depiction in the Patriarchium with the 'cilicium eius de pilis camelorum', listed just before the manna jars. Relics of Stephen, the only other saint identified among the pictures, were honoured in the basilica too.³¹ A detail in the depiction of Sylvester in the Forum may allude to yet another Lateran relic; the apostles that assist the pope, pictured bust-length and side-by-side with Peter's head overlapping Paul's, recall nothing so much as the depiction of Constantine's Dream in Ss. Quattro Coronati a century and a half later.³² Although the tiny panels from the Santa Sanctorum are discreet images and face in opposite directions, other icons of the apostles once above the portal to the 'basilica Theodori' may have been more like the ones in the fresco.³³ One of the Lateran chapels had an altar with relics of St Andrew;³⁴ and Sebastian's presence among the depictions may be explained by the arrows venerated at the Church of S. Maria in Pallara on the Palatine Hill.³⁵ The myriad standing saints, though mostly now bereft of identi-

fying *tituli*, might also relate to the numerous relics in the papal palace and nearby churches.

The inclusion of the copy of the *Acheropita* on the pier to the left of the Crucifixion, the seventh-century portrait of Christ kept on the altar of the St Lawrence Chapel,³⁶ raises the possibility that, in fact, the frescoes not only engaged the local relics but also enacted the itinerary of the icon during the civic liturgy on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 14) when the pope, clergy, and people of Rome travelled with the *Acheropita* to meet with the *Salus populi Romani*, a Lucan icon of Mary, at S. Maria Maggiore.³⁷ The suggestion is supported by the painted copy of the *Madonna avvocata* positioned on the pier to the left of the Crucifixion so that it faces the *Acheropita*, in a manner that recapitulates Maniacutius's report that after Christ's ascension, Mary continued to gaze at Luke's portrait of the son she had carried in her womb.³⁸ According to a fifteenth-century source, the *Acheropita* was carried down at the very start of the annual ceremony when the pope descended the stairs adjacent to the portico space;³⁹ if that staging went back to the twelfth century, then the venerated icon would have passed close to its frescoed copy. The other paintings may have enacted the *ferragosto* itinerary, which passed near S. Maria in Pallara (with Sebastian's arrows) before entering the Forum and which exited at the Arch of Latona, identified with the cave where Sylvester had tamed the dragon and where, according to legend, it

still lurked. Carried by Sylvester's successors, the *Acheropita* was paused at the Arch re-enacting Christ's triumph over death, disease, and sin.⁴⁰

Relics healed; the True Cross, John's manna, and Sebastian's arrows were famously curative. So, too, did images, not only the 'salutifera' semi-acheiropoieton that Luke had painted with the help of an angel but, as Maniacutius asserted, also icons of the Virgin, the apostles, and portraits of the saints made in diverse materials.⁴¹ Perhaps some of the aura would also have adhered to the fresco copies beneath the Scala Santa; but more important, by evoking the distant events that redeemed humankind, the depictions would have reminded viewers of God's power to save and cure: the Crucifixion, most of all, but also the miracles effected in Rome by Christ's saints. Maniacutius reminds his readers that the *Acheropita* and other images were like the brazen serpent that Moses had set up in the desert to heal the faithful who looked at it from the snakes' venom. Gazing at the frescoes on the walls of the *ptochium*, the assembled people, especially the poor and the ill, would have been confronted with reminders that God's power to heal is invested, not only in the sacred, hidden vestiges of the cross, the icon made through divine intervention, manna, Baptist's cloak, and other such actual remnants, but also in salubrious images surrounding them that conjured up the memory of past miracles and rituals that perennially reactivated them.

Notes

- 1 Philippe Lauer, *Le palais de Latran: étude historique et archéologique* (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 205-06; Sible de Blaauw, 'The Solitary Celebration of the Supreme Pontiff: The Lateran Basilica as the New Temple in the Medieval Liturgy of Maundy Thursday', in *Omnes circumadstates: Contributions Toward a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy*, ed. by Charles Caspers and Marc Schneiders (Kampen: Kok, 1990), pp. 120-43; Lauren Donadono, *La Scala Santa a San Giovanni in Laterano* (Rome: Quasar, 2000); Nadja Horsch, *Ad astra gradus: Scala Santa und Sancta Sanctorum in Rom unter Sixtus V. (1585-90)* (Munich: Hirmer, 2014), pp. 25-26 et passim.
- 2 *Sancta Sanctorum* (Milan: Electa, 1995).
- 3 *Liber pontificalis*, xcvi, c. 54.
- 4 Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor: Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994), I, pp. 291, 318, 320; Manfred Luchterhandt, 'Päpstlicher Palastbau und höfisches Zeremoniell unter Leo III', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, 3 vols (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1999), III, pp. 109-22; Mario d'Onofrio, 'Aspetti inediti e poco noti del Patriarchio Lateranensis', in *Medioevo: I modelli (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Parma 27 settembre - 1 ottobre 1999)*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavale (Milan: Electa, 2002), pp. 221-36; *La pittura medievale a Roma, 312-1431: Corpus*, ed. by Maria Andaloro (Milan: Jaca Book,

- 2006), *Atlante*, pp. 231–38; Nadja Horsch, ‘Die Scala Santa im mittelalterlichen Lateranpalast: Eine neue Lektüre der Quellen’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 66 (2003), 524–32; Manfred Luchterhandt, ‘Rom und Aachen: Der Karolinger und der päpstliche Hof um 800’, in *Karl der Grosse: Orte der Macht*, ed. by Frank Pohle, 3 vols (Aachen: Sandstein, 2014), II, pp. 104–14 and ‘Vom Haus des Bischofs zum Locus Sancta: Der Lateranpalast im kulturellen Gedächtnis des römischen Mittelalters’, in *The Emperor’s House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, ed. by Michael Featherstone and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 73–92; Horsch, *Ad astra gradus*, pp. 69–70, 79.
- 5 Antonella Ballardini, ‘In antiquissimo ac venerabili Lateranensi palatio: La residenza dei Pontefici secondo il *Liber Pontificalis*’, in *Le corti nell’alto medioevo (Settimane di Studio, LXII 2014)* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2015), pp. 889–927.
 - 6 *Sotto il duomo di Siena: Scoperte archeologiche, architettoniche e figurative*, ed. by Roberto Guerrini (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2003); Herbert L. Kessler, ‘Joseph in Siena’, in *Joseph of Nazareth Through the Centuries*, ed. by Joseph F. Chorpennig (Philadelphia: St Joseph’s University Press, 2011), pp. 63–76.
 - 7 One medieval text seems to refer to it as the ‘venerabile ptochium iuxta palatium Lateranense’, that is, as a place for caring for the poor. Water for treating the sick was readily available nearby; the *balnea* was at other end of portico adjacent to the Aqua Claudia; see Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), p. 138; Carla Keyvanian, *Hospitals and Urbanism in Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 110, 240. Graffiti published by Mario D’Onofrio, in *Medioevo: I modelli* confirm the space’s semi-public aspect.
 - 8 Inscribed: ‘Pittura nuova se trova alla Scala’; Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna and Munich: Schroll, 1964), p. 41.
 - 9 D’Onofrio.
 - 10 Jérôme Crozier, ‘La decorazione pittorica dei sotterranei del Sancta Sanctorum’, in: *La pittura medievale a Roma: Corpus*, ed. by Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), IV, pp. 224–32.
 - 11 Maria Alessandra Bilotta, *I Libri dei papi: La Curia, il Laterano e la produzione manoscritta ad uso del papato nel Medioevo (secoli VI–XIII)*, Studi e testi, 465 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011) and *ibid.*, ‘La Réforme Grégorienne et ses programmes iconographiques: Le cas des peintures murales de l’ancien Palais des Papes du Latran à Rome et leur rapport avec l’illustration des Bibles Atlantiques’, in *Les Bibles Atlantiques. Le manuscrit biblique à l’époque de la réforme ecclésiastique du XI^e siècle (Actes du Colloque international, Université de Genève 25–27 février 2010)*, ed. by Nadia Togni (Florence: Sismel, 2016), pp. 129–54.
 - 12 Seen best in Lauer, *Le palais de Latran*, Plate XIII. See Edgar Hennecke, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, and Robert McLiam Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963–65), II, pp. 188–259.
 - 13 ‘ISTE DRACO CO[M]PESCITUR ORE LIGAT O’. See Nino M. Zchomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri: Pittura sacra al tempo della Riforma Gregoriana* (Rome: Guido Izzi, 1996), pp. 109–30; Silvia Maddalo, ‘I santi Giorgio e Silvestro e l’ideologia politica della Riforma nel ciclo pittorico dell’Immacolata di Ceri’, in *Le Plaisir de l’art du Moyen Age: Commande, production et réception de l’oeuvre d’art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, ed. by Rosa Alcoy (Paris: Picard, 2012), pp. 678–85. The cross pictured in the Patriarchium narrative (but not at Ceri) may refer to the ‘stationalis crux ante illam’ that the clerics paraded during the annual re-enactment of Sylvester’s victory when they recited Psalm 90 (91); see Nicolaus Maniacutius, *De Sacra imagine SS. Salvatoris in palatio Lateranensis* (Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1709), ch. 4, p. 25; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1990); Marco Petoletti, ‘“Ut patenter omnibus innotescat”: Il trattato di Nicola Maniacutia (sec. XII) sull’immagine acheropita del Laterano. ‘Il Tractatus de ymagine Lateranensis palatii’ di Nicola Maniacutia’, in *Auctor et auctoritas in Latinis Medii Aevi Litteris = Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature. Proceedings of the VIth Congress of the International Medieval Latin Committee*, ed. by Edoardo D’Angelo and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Florence: SISMEL. Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2014), pp. 847–64. All Maniacutius passages (and chapter numbers) quoted here are from the forthcoming edition by Professor Petoletti that he kindly sent me before publication: *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae de ymagine Lateranensis Palatii*.
 - 14 Cristiana Filippini, ‘The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of San Clemente in Rome’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1999); Serena Romano, ‘Le pareti e i pilastri con storie di San Clemente e Sant’Alessio nella chiesa inferiore di San Clemente’ in *Pittura medievale a Roma: Corpus*, ed. by Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), IV, pp. 131–50; Lila Yawn, ‘Clement’s New Clothes: The Destruction of Old S. Clemente in Rome, the Eleventh-Century Frescoes, and the Cult of (Anti) Pope Clement III’, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13, 1 (2012) <<http://rivista.retimedievali.it>> [accessed 25 June 2016]. This would suggest that Paschal II (1099–1118), whose interest in the portico is documented (Horsch, *Ad astra gradus*, pp. 27–28), may have commissioned the Patriarchium frescoes.
 - 15 Gerhard Wolf, ‘Nichtzyklische narrative Bilder im italienischen Kirchenraum des Mittelalters: Überlegungen zu Zeit- und Bildstruktur der Fresken in der Unterkirche von S. Clemente (Rom) aus dem späten 11. Jahrhundert’, in *Hagiographie und Kunst*, ed. by Gottfried Kerscher (Berlin: Riemer, 1993),

- pp. 319–39. The dado imagery also offers parallels to the Patriarchium ceiling, which however recalls nothing so much as early Christian catacombs. For the more or less contemporary activity by the 'workshop' at the Lateran, see Sible de Blaauw, 'A Mediaeval Portico at San Giovanni in Laterano: The Basilica and Its Ancient Conventual Building', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 58 (1990), 299–316.
- 16 At Ceri: '+ QVEM D[OMI]N[U]S PLASMAT PROPRIO S[PECI]MINE DONAT'. Cf. Alcuin: 'Hic deus omnipotens Adam de pulvere plasmata', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae latini*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, 6 vols (Berolini: Weidmann, 1881–1951), 1: *Poetae latini aevi carolini*, p. 346.
- 17 Also derived from the apostolic basilicas in Rome; Lucia Speciale, 'Bibbia del Pantheon', in exh. cat. Montecassino: Abbazia del Montecassino, and Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Le bibbie atlantiche: Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione*, ed. by Marilena Maniaci and others (Milan: Centro Tibaldi, 2000) pp. 262–71; Giulia Orofino, 'La decorazione delle Bibbie atlantiche tra Lazio e Toscana nella prima metà del XII secolo,' in *Roma e la Riforma gregoriana: Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI–XII secolo)*, ed. by Serena Romano and Julie Enckell Julliard (Rome: Viella, 2007), pp. 357–79; Stefano Riccioni, 'La décoration monumentale à Rome aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: révisions chronologiques, stylistiques et thématiques', *Perspective* (2010–11), 319–60; Bilotta, 'Réforme grégorienne', pp. 110–17.
- 18 The fresco of two female martyrs, still in situ, establishes that the westernmost part of the room was, in fact, painted.
- 19 'huc in memoriam mortis quam per Evam incurrimus femina non ingreditur'; Maniacutus, *De Sacra imagine*, ch. 8, p. 18; 'Petoletti, *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae*, p. 79.
- 20 Horsch, *Ad astra gradus*, pp. 202–03.
- 21 Bilotta, 'Réforme grégorienne', pp. 117–18.
- 22 Crozier, Figs 10–11, reproduces Christ's face and the angel above the cross' right arm.
- 23 Felipe Dos Santos, 'Oratorio di San Giuliano in San Paolo fuori le mura', in *Pittura medievale a Roma: Corpus*, ed. by Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), IV, pp. 282–89.
- 24 William Tronzo, 'The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy', in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna S. Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art*, 16 (Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, 1985), pp. 93–112; Herbert L. Kessler, *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002); Manuela Viscontini, 'I cicli vetro e neo testamentale della navata di San Pietro in Vaticana', in *Pittura medievale a Roma: Corpus*, ed. by Maria Andaloro (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), I, pp. 411–15.
- 25 Margaret Manion, 'The Paintings of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina – Shape of Tradition', *Australian Journal of Art*, 1 (1978), 93–110; Tronzo; Kessler, *Old St. Peter's*, pp. 159–78; Manuela Viscontini, 'La decorazione pittorica delle navate e del coro di San Giovanni a Porta Latina', in *Pittura medievale a Roma: Corpus*, ed. by Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), IV, pp. 348–71. Hosea's *mors* and *morsus* may have made a similar link in the Patriarchium; Rupert of Deutz, for instance, applies the words to the progenitors in his exegesis of Christ's life: 'Malus fructus, imo malus morsus, quo Adam per Evam vitam perdidit, et mortem invenit'; *De incarnatione domini*, 1. 2, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–55), CLXVIII, col. 860.
- 26 Kessler, *Old St. Peter's*, pp. 57–59.
- 27 'Et in alia capsula argentea et deaurata cum historiis est crux de smalto depicta, et infra capsam illam est crux Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et in tertia capsula, quae est argentea, sunt sandalia, id est calceamenta Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Est iterum ibi alia capsula deaurata, ubi est de ligno illo sanctae crucis, quam Eraclius devicto Chosroe secum tulit de Perside; Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. by Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, 4 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1940–53), III (1946), pp. 310–73. Maniacutus refers to 'magna pars de ligno crucis, in qua pependit'; *De Sacra imagine*, ch. 10, p. 21; Petoletti, *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae*, p. 98.
- 28 Hartmann Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1908), pp. 112–13.
- 29 'Spongia cum aceto ad os Domini posita'; Longinus' lance was another relic related to the Crucifixion and 'lancia qua perforatum est latus ejus'; Diaconus, *Descriptio*, p. 357.
- 30 The miracle is represented in a quite different fashion the Tivoli triptych which may, as Zchomelidse suggests, 'allude to the spiritual duties of the bishop to his constituency'; Nino Zchomelidse, 'The Aura of the Numinous and Its Reproduction: Medieval Paintings of the Savior in Rome and Latium', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 55 (2010), 221–62 (pp. 250–51).
- 31 Diaconus, *Descriptio*, p. 347.
- 32 See also fragmentary thirteenth-century frescoes from the portico of St Peter's; Jens Wollesen, *Die Fresken von San Piero a Grado bei Pisa* (Bad Oeynhaus: Thieme, 1977); Assaf Pinkus and Michal Oz-eri, 'From Body to Icon: The Life of Sts Peter and Paul in the Murals of S. Pier a Grado (Pisa)', *Convivium*, 1, 2 (2014), 117–41; Manfred Luchterhandt, 'Il sovrano sotto l'immagine: Icone nei cerimoniali di acclamazione a Roma e a Bisanzio', in *Text, Bild und Ritual in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft (8.–11. Jh)*, ed. by Patrizia Carmassi and Christoph Winterer (Florence: SISMEL, 2014), pp. 45–93.

- 33 Leaving the Arch of Latona, moreover, the procession passed more relics of Andrew before reaching S. Maria Maggiore: 'sancti Gregorii in Clivo Scauri, ibi est caput brachii sancti Andreae apostoli'; S. Prassede (whose church was on the route) may be depicted with Pudenziana (Crozier, Fig. 9).
- 34 'Sub alia absida est altare sancti Andreae apostolic [...] et in eo recondidit de reliquiis'; Diaconus, *Descriptio*, p. 353.
- 35 'Sanctae Mariae in Pallara, ubi fuit sagittatus sanctus Sebastianus'; Diaconus, *Descriptio*, p. 362.
- 36 'Super hoc altare est imago Salvatoris mirabiliter depicta in quadam tabula, quam Lucas evangelista designavit, sed virtus Domini angelico perfecit officio'; Diaconus, *Descriptio*, p. 357. On the *Acheropita* and its copies, see Zchomelidse, 'The Aura', pp. 221-62.
- 37 Maniacutius, *De Sacra imagine*; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, pp. 321-25; Petoletti, *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae*, p. 28. Enrico Parlato, 'Le icone in processione', in *Arte e iconografia a Roma dal tardoantico alla fine del Medioevo*, ed. by Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca Book, 2002), pp. 55-72, 201-03; Serena Romano, 'L'icône acheiropoiete du Latran: Fonction d'une image absente', in *Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Age*, ed. by Nicholas Bock and others (Rome: Viella, 2002), pp. 301-14; Zchomelidse, 'The Aura'.
- 38 'Credendum sane est apud beatam Mariam virginem remansisse, ut illius obtutibus maternus pasceret affectus, dum eius ymaginem cerneret quem in utero ipsa portasset'. See Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*; Maniacutius, *De Sacra imagine*, ch. 6, p. 11. Herbert L. Kessler, 'The 'Acheropita' Triptych in Tivoli', in *Immagine e Ideologia: Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, ed. by Arturo Calzona and others (Milan: Electa, 2007), pp. 117-25. The more or less contemporary triptych in Tivoli, still used in a *ferragosto* enactment, depicts the Assumption of the Virgin beneath a depiction of the *avvocata* quite like that in the Patriarchium and repeats the arrangement; Kessler, 'The 'Acheropita' Triptych'; Zchomelidse, 'The Aura'.
- 39 'Discendendo con essa [the Acheropita] la scalinata di marmo nella piazza del Laterano, frà la moltitudine del popolo già adunato (1462)'; Horsch, *Ad astra gradus*, p. 70.
- 40 'Ac cavernis diri generis serpens, qui basiliscus dicitur, latitabat, qui flatu suo cunctos per confinia gradientes celeriter extinuebat [...] infecto spiritu pestilenti [...] ad easdem cavernas accessit intrepidus super foramen unde pestifer flatus ipsius egrediebatur serpentis'; Maniacutius, *De Sacra imagine*, ch. 12, pp. 24-25; Petoletti, *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae*, p. 107.
- 41 'Denique huius salutiferae adinventionis immo divinae dispositionis exemplo consuetudo deinceps inolevit ut non solum Domini Salvatoris ymaginem, sed et gloriosae eius genitricis Mariae ac beatorum apostolorum aliorumque sanctorum vel in tabulis pingere vel ex lapide seu ligno formare aut ex aliquo metallo fundere cultores christianae fidei consuescerent. Nec ignoramus ad has ymagine plura Deum iam fecisse miracula, qui serpentem aereum a Moyse fieri fecit in heremo, ut, dum percussi ab ignitis serpentibus hunc aspicerent, sanarentur'; Maniacutius, *De Sacra imagine*, ch. 4, p. 9; Petoletti, *Tractatus Nicolai Maniacutiae*, pp. 33-34.

CLERGY AND LAITY VIEWING BOTH SIDES OF PAINTED ALTARPIECES IN ROME, SIENA, SAN SEPOLCRO AND PERUGIA*

Bram KEMPERS

Masaccio and Masolino painted a splendid double-sided altarpiece for a free-standing altar in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, probably accessible to both the clergy and the laity. Masaccio executed the lateral panel featuring a pair of saints: Sts Jerome and John the Baptist. He started its reverse side with St Gregory the Great and the apostle Matthias. Masaccio probably started the other lateral panel with Sts Peter and Paul as well. After his death, in 1428 or 1429, Masolino reworked the images and finished both sides, the reverse featuring Sts John and Martin of Tours. The larger central panel was painted by Masolino, one side showing the miraculous foundation of S. Maria Maggiore, the other the Assumption of the Virgin.¹

The altarpiece has been taken down from its altar and was subsequently disassembled, separating the fronts and the backs of the six panels. Sts Jerome and John the Baptist, and its reverse side with Sts Gregory the Great and Matthias were acquired by the National Gallery, London. Both sides of the central panel became part of the collection of the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali in Naples. The John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, in Philadelphia owns the other lateral panel. How were the panels arranged? On which altar was the retable located? Who was the patron, or which people were involved in commissioning Masaccio and Masolino? What did the clergy and the laity see in the basilica around 1430? Although the circumstances of the commission are not directly documented, an intriguing set of written documents allows various hypotheses.

Masaccio probably started the project in 1428, probably in Rome, painting a prominent St Jerome. Then Masolino made some changes to the saints painted by his colleague with whom he had collaborated in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence. After his return from

Hungary, Masolino finished the project in 1430 or 1431. Other craftsmen were involved as well. The panels had extensive gilding and punches; they were held together by an elaborate wooden frame, gilded and richly ornamented. There was probably a painted predella below as well as piers to the sides and pinnacles and finials on the upper tier. The altarpiece looked like the one that Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi had ordered more than a century before; he had himself depicted with the altarpiece in his hands, showing refined woodwork, piers, a painted predella, and an impressive skyline of decorative motifs (Fig. 1). Giotto's Stefaneschi altarpiece may provide clues to the reconstruction of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece and its location.



Fig. 1. Giotto and his Florentine workshop, *Jacopo Stefaneschi Presenting His Altarpiece to St Peter*, detail of the double-sided Stefaneschi Altarpiece, 1313–20, Vatican Museums. Photo: Web Gallery of Art.

A Conversion of Bequests

Two documents shed some light on the original setting and the patronage of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece. In May 1428, Gregorio, secretary of Cardinal Antonio Casini, drew up an extensive document.² He did so at Casini's residence in Rome, next to his titular church, S. Marcello. In the text Pope Martin V Colonna permitted funds to be used for repairs of the church or for other uses. The conversion of two bequests was at stake. The first concerned 100 florins, given by the Venetian Cardinal Pietro Morosini, who had died in 1424. His money was to be spent on a silver reliquary which was to contain the relics of St Jerome; the casket was to be connected to his altar. A second bequest had been made by the Neapolitan Cardinal Rainaldo Brancaccio, archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore until his death in 1427. It involved a silver chalice for S. Maria Maggiore to be paid for on account of his bequest of 25 florins. The canons and the archpriest, the Frenchman Jean Rochetaillé, had appealed to the pope for the conversion of both bequests. Antonio Casini was responsible for the document that allowed the chapter to use earlier bequests with some liberty of choice regarding the original wishes: a chalice and the reliquary to contain Jerome's relics.

The document broadens the destination of the 125 florins. It indicates that the canons and archpriest had a sum of money at their disposal to be used for S. Maria Maggiore, which previously had been connected to the altar of St Jerome which housed his relics. The pope and Antonio Casini were involved in the transaction that allowed the chapter to spend 125 florins on 28 May 1428. One way to connect the data collected so far, is that the archpriest and the canons used the money, previously given by cardinals Pietro Morosini and Rainaldo Brancaccio, to commission an altarpiece for the chapter's altar, dedicated to St Jerome, to be executed by Masaccio and, later, Masolino.

Casini's Testament

The second document that sheds light on the commission and setting of the Masaccio-

Masolino altarpiece is Casini's testament, drawn up on 29 December 1431.³ One of Casini's concerns was his tomb in S. Maria Maggiore. He wanted 'his body to be transported to a tomb where he wants to be buried in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore'. The location of the stone in the floor is indicated. It is to be at the foot of the Epistle ambon, near the stone choir, in the direction of the wooden choir, near the altar or chapel of the relics. The fourfold indication for the location of Casini's tomb implies that he wanted his tomb to be to the north side of the stone choir, which was in the centre of the nave in front of the raised podium with the high altar. This podium protruded into the nave. Stairs descended to the nave. Chapels flanked both sides of the stone choir, the northern one was usually referred to as the 'chapel of the relics'. The southern chapel, referred to as the 'altar of the Virgin', was just behind the larger Gospel ambon. Antonio Casini wanted a simple tomb-slab, with an inscription, at a prestigious location, somewhere to the north of the stone choir in the centre of the nave.

The wooden choir was to the north of the stone choir, but at which side of the colonnade? The testament allows both interpretations. If one locates the choir of the canons in the nave, an otherwise undocumented altar has to be hypothesized as the canon's altar. In none of the documents the altar of the relics is linked to the chapter; it is far too small for an elaborate altarpiece, and it had something of a retable between the rear columns that sustained its baldachin. So another option for the chapter's choir comes into sight: rows of seats in front of the altar of St Jerome (Fig. 2).

Jerome's altar was a free-standing one, centrally placed in the northern aisle, to the right of the free-standing altar of the relics and near the Chapel of the Presepe.⁴ From the point of view of the stone choir 'verso el choro de legnamine' means in the direction of the wooden choir, which is in the aisle. In the testament the location of the tomb in relation to the wooden choir is further specified, that is 'da quella parte presso all'altare de'reliqui overo capella'.

In his testament, Casini favoured several churches, S. Maria Maggiore being the most

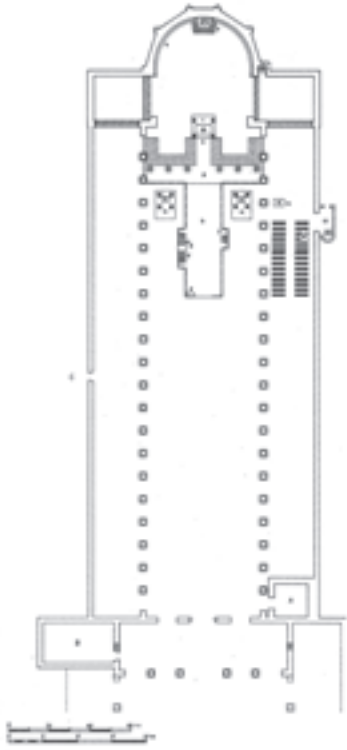


Fig. 2. Ground plan with altars and choirs of S. Maria Maggiore in the fifteenth century (revised reconstruction after De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor : Liturgie*, Fig. 13 and Israëls, Fig. 54).

important. He mentioned its archpriest and canons, and, at other instances, the chapter. Chaplains were to sing masses at the altar of the relics and the altar of the Virgin – both free-standing chapels with baldachins above small altars, both between the stone choir and near the colonnades. His donations included, apart from money, candles to be held by the canons and chaplains, altar clothes, various liturgical clothes, a missal, and a chalice.

Antonio Casini revised his testament several times before his death on 4 February 1439, less than two years after he succeeded the deceased Rochetaillé as archpriest of his beloved S. Maria Maggiore. In none of his extensive testaments Casini referred to St Jerome, the canon's altar or an altarpiece. He may have commissioned an altarpiece before 1431, transferring the retable to the chapter before drawing up his testaments. Yet none of the basilica's inventories mention a

gift on his behalf of an altarpiece, whereas they do record a chalice, altar cloths and a precious miter.⁵ So a new reading of the testamentary bequests is appropriate, in conjunction with Casini's intermediary role concerning the bequests of Morosini and Brancaccio.

There were two related, but different trajectories in patronage, both involving Antonio Casini. First, Antonio Casini arranged, on behalf of the pope, for the conversion of two previous bequests, by cardinals Morosini and Brancaccio. This enabled the chapter to order an altarpiece for their altar and choir, thereby fulfilling the wishes of Archpriest Rochetaillé and the canons who had made a formal request to Martin V. The Masaccio–Masolino altarpiece probably did not result from an individual commissioner – Martin V, Brancaccio or Casini. Instead, a form of collective patronage was at stake, with different, interconnected roles for several parties involved. Closely related, functionally, topographically and chronologically, to this collective commission, was Casini's subsequent initiative, more individually, for his tomb and all the liturgical services connected to his memory. His personal donations focused primarily on the altar of the relics and secondarily on the altar of the Virgin; his main concern was his tomb, in the proximity of other tombs in front of the altar of the relics, and in the direction of the canon's choir.

Spatially, it is unlikely that all the ingredients were squeezed into the narrow space between the stone choir, the ambon and the colonnade. And, the rear of the altarpiece would have been hardly visible if its altar stood just in front of the canopy over the altar of the relics which was closed on its rear side. Full visibility on both sides was indeed guaranteed by the free-standing altar of St Jerome in the northern aisle, near the Chapel of the Presepe. The altarpiece would rise above the seats and the choir enclosure, which would also allow the laity the view its front side, the other side being perfectly visible from the upper part of the aisle.

The Decorative Programme

Masaccio significantly started the panel with a prominent depiction of St Jerome. He stood at



Fig. 3. Masaccio and Masolino, *Sts Jerome and John the Baptist, The Assumption of the Virgin, Sts John the Evangelist and Martin of Tours* 1428–30 (revised reconstruction of the obverse of the double-sided S. Maria Maggiore Altarpiece, after Israëls, Figs 47–52).

the honorary ‘right’ side of the central panel. The church father is dressed as a cardinal, with a red hat and a red gown. In his right hand he holds an open book, inscribed with an abbreviated version of the first verses of Genesis. In his left hand he holds a church. At his feet appears his companion, the lion. He turns to St John the Baptist, next to him, who points to the right side. In his left hand the Baptist holds a cross on a column, referring to the Colonna family and Martin V. John the Baptist points to the central image and to the right hand panel, and, probably, further away to the Chapel of the Presepe. On the other lateral panel, columns reappear, together with the letter M, on the border of the cope of St Martin of Tours, a crypto-portrait of Martin V, to whom the bearded John the Evangelist turns his face.

Below the standing saints there may have been a predella, a feature of most altarpieces in this period. It possibly featured narrative scenes from the life of St Jerome, his death and his posthumous miracles, much like the marble altar commissioned by Guillaume d’Estouteville and executed by Mino da Fiesole between 1461 and 1464. They may have looked like the rectangular narrative scenes painted by various Siennese painters in the decades following 1430. The prominent place of Jerome seems to do sufficient justice to the dedication of the altar and his relics, although it is not required that the saint to whom an altar is dedicated features in the central panel.

Due to the absence of material links between the panels, both the Miraculous foundation of S. Maria Maggiore and the Assumption of the Virgin could flank Sts Jerome and John the



Fig. 4. Masaccio and Masolino, *Sts Peter and Paul, the Miraculous Foundation of S. Maria Maggiore, Sts Gregory the Great and Matthias*, revised reconstruction of the reverse of the double-sided S. Maria Maggiore Altarpiece (after Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve*, Figs 47–52).

Baptist. Both central panels show the Virgin and Christ. The Assumption of the Virgin, received in heaven by Christ and surrounded by a host of angels represented the most important feast and referred most explicitly to the heavenly realm. As the ground of the side panels with Sts Jerome and Martin slopes down to the centre, these lateral panels connect very well with the central image of the Assumption, while they do not connect with the earthly scene and horizon of the Foundation (Fig. 3). The retable stood probably at the rear of the altar table, allowing cross, candles, chalice and missal to be placed on top of the altar. So one side, the one where Mass was celebrated, looked like the normal setting of an altar with a retable painted on one side. In front of the altar, the celebrant would stand on a platform of one or two steps, his assistants behind him. In the direction of the entrances

there were stalls and a lectern. The ensemble of liturgical furniture stood at the disposal of the archpriest, the canons, the chaplains and other members of the clergy during Mass and Divine Office. On duty, they saw on their altar Jerome, John the Baptist, the Assumption of the Virgin, received in heaven by Christ, John the Evangelist and Martin of Tours, alias Martin V.

In addition the clergy in the choir and in front of the altar could have seen scenes related to the Virgin in the upper tier, and a Passion scene in the centre of the predella. Narratives featuring St Jerome probably continued on the other side. The rear side formed a secondary front. It was visible from the apse platform and from the upper side of the aisle. Close to the colonnade all those visiting the basilica, clergy and laity alike, could see Sts Matthias, whose relics were kept at the high altar, and Gregory the

Great. Viewers who passed the canon's altar and looked back could see on the left side the apostle Peter and, on the outer side, Paul. In the centre they would see Christ and the Virgin in heaven, being responsible for the miraculous snowfall in August which indicated, according to legend, the contours of the basilica to be constructed in the honour of the Virgin (Fig. 4).⁶ Below, Pope Liberius started construction work. Behind him a row of cardinals appears. The first, holding his cope, bears the features of Antonio Casini. The second, with a very different face, is probably Jean Rochetaillé. The others, also individualized, possibly refer to Pietro Morosini and Rainaldo Brancaccio. The fifth cardinal is only partly visible. In conjunction with the crypto-portrait of Martin V and the Colonna symbols, all those involved in the collective patronage of the altarpiece are referred to in its iconography, which did full justice to the saints revered in S. Maria Maggiore, the relics proudly kept in the basilica, and its programme of major feasts.

During Mass and Divine Office, the canon's altar and choir were not accessible for the laity, but anyone could see the front side of the retable rising above the wooden choir enclosure. Outside the context of the liturgy, men and women could have walked along the altar and its altarpiece, finding a moment for prayer and contemplation, with a full view of both sides of the retable. During Mass, the laity could see the rear side of the altarpiece. So both sides had a function for all sections of the public, lay and clerical alike, male and female. They could view both sides that constituted one coherent programme, just like the two sides of a painted chapel or nave, forming a continuous flow of images.

The Stefaneschi Altarpiece

Masaccio and Masolino and their collectivity of patrons in S. Maria Maggiore had an outstanding model at their disposal: the Stefaneschi altarpiece with its well-documented framing elements and painted predella. A small-scale version of the retable was painted by Giotto shortly after 1313 on one side of the central panel. Neither of the two double-sided altarpieces could have

been made for the high altar.⁷ In S. Maria Maggiore and St Peter's the celebrant stood behind the high altar, facing the people in the nave and the singers in the central choir. The celebrant looked to the east, i.e. to Jerusalem. Celebration on the nave side of the high altar was impossible in these basilicas, because there was only a small strip, on the nave side of the altar, which rose high above the floor of the nave. A monumental altarpiece on the high altar would have made celebration of Mass impossible. A retable would have blocked the congregation's view of the sacrament, the celebrant and the magnificent papal throne in the apse. A retable would have blocked the view of the pope and his cardinals to the singers, the congregation and the symbolically crucial east.

Arguments in favor of a placement of large-scale double-sided altarpieces on the high altar of Roman basilicas require the hypothesis that these would be removed from the altar during Mass.⁸ Whatever is known about transporting altar belongings, such as textiles, missal, chalice and cross, indicates that objects were placed on the altar during Mass. The portrait of the kneeling Jacopo Stefaneschi holding his altarpiece does not indicate that it was meant to be transported. The painter visualized his gift on a miniature scale, just like French patrons were portrayed with a huge window, reduced to miniature models, or Giotto's Enrico Scrovegni holding the model of his chapel in his hands. Saints were sometimes depicted with a complete city in their hands: St Jerome holds a church on the S. Maria Maggiore altarpiece, for pictorial reasons reduced to the size of the book in his other hand.

The proposed location of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece on the canon's altar in the northern aisle of S. Maria Maggiore strengthens the hypothesis of the Giotto altarpiece being made for the canon's altar of St Peter's: the free-standing altar was located on the southern side of the nave of St Peter's, between the colonnade and the stone choir in the centre of the nave. Entering the basilica, one would see first the canon's choir with its stalls and lecterns. Some space separated the choir stalls and the canon's altar. At or near the back of the altar table Ste-

faneschi's retable rose, allowing missal and other liturgical utensils to be placed on the altar. Its piers, clearly visible on the painted altarpiece, allowed the retable to be fixed on the *mensa*, not with huge three-dimensional piers going down to the ground, but with more moderate ones to the sides and also between the panels. The set of piers made the painted panels into a stable three-dimensional construction which could be fixed onto the rear of the altar. The celebrant would face Christ enthroned, flanked by the martyred apostles Peter and Paul, and above an unusually high predella with in the centre the enthroned Virgin, to whom the altar was dedicated.

On the other side of the altar a space of four or five meters, the size of a medium sized chapel, allowed viewers to see St Peter enthroned, venerated by the kneeling commissioner Jacopo Stefaneschi presenting his altarpiece to the titular saint of the basilica. The secondary front side was perfectly visible from nearby and from further away. Lay people in the transept, the singers in the central choir, and the pope and cardinals on the elevated other side of the high altar could see the large scale Prince of the Apostles in his conspicuous red gown. As in the case of the S. Maria Maggiore altarpiece, during Mass and Office, the Christ side was not directly accessible to the lay public; however the laity could see the front side rising above the stalls from outside the choir enclosure, and everybody could see the splendid images at other moments. There was not an absolute distinction between a side for the clergy and another side for the laity; both groups could see both sides, which constituted a coherent ensemble – not dividing people but connecting them.

The location of the canon's altar and choir in St Peter's is documented in a drawing and print by Tiberio Alfarano. He indicated the altar not to be in the axis of the choir stalls, but closer to the left row and closer to the colonnade. In Alfarano's time the disposition of altar and choir had changed several times in comparison with Stefaneschi's. In his time, the canon's altar probably stood in the axis of the twin rows of choir stalls, two or more meters to the right of the colonnade, perfectly visible from all sides.

St Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore present a disposition with the following ingredients: rows of seats, an open space, an altar, at the rear side of the altar a monumental altarpiece, and, again, another open space, from which the other side of the altarpiece could be viewed. This setting existed next to the main choir in the centre of the nave, with a Gospel and a Epistle ambon on both sides, followed by the high altar, free-standing on the front side of a raised platform, with a baldachin and without an altarpiece.

Double-Sided Altarpieces in Siena, San Sepolcro and Perugia

Roman basilicas with a similar disposition, all lacked a retable on the high altar: St John Lateran, St Paul's outside the walls, S. Clemente, S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Sabina, S. Giorgio in Velabro, and many others.⁹ In that setting altarpieces on the free-standing and elevated high altars were obviously considered inconvenient obstacles. In contrast, several churches in other cities did have a monumental altarpiece on the high altar.

Jacopo Stefaneschi ordered his double-sided altarpiece a few years after the creation by Duccio of an even larger retable for the high altar of Siena Cathedral. Its setting in 1311 looked as follows. First one would see twin rows of choir stalls at the disposal of the canons, chaplains and bishop. After an open space, steps ascended to a platform with the high altar. The choir stood below the dome, the altar in a section behind the dome, higher than the main floor. At the rear of the high altar stood the retable, probably in between the last pair of columns. The retable did not intersect the altar in the middle, but at the rear end, leaving the largest space for the utensils of Mass and a small strip for candles and other items at the rear side. During Mass and Office the high altar was not directly accessible for the laity, but male and female lay people could see both sides of the retable at other moments. So in Siena Cathedral, the clergy and laity could see both sides of Duccio's *Maestà*. The retable was subsequently removed from its altar and located on another altar, more to the east in an extended section of the cathedral. The choir

in front of the high altar was extended and a new set of choir stalls was commissioned at the rear side of the retable, enveloping the high altar. In 1506 Duccio's double-sided altarpiece was removed from the high altar and the choir in front of it as well, while the retrochoir was subsequently reduced in size, leaving only a section behind the high altar.¹⁰

A monumental choir at the back side of the high altar also made its appearance in S. Francesco at Borgo San Sepolcro. In 1444 Sassetta's double-sided retable was placed on the high altar. His retable probably stood on the back side of the large altar table, probably leaving a small strip at the rear. The front side with in the centre the Virgin enthroned faced the altar and the celebrant. The back side, featuring St Francis faced the choir stalls in the large *cappella maggiore*. Probably two choirs co-existed on both sides of the high altar, one in front of the high altar and the other at its rear side. This setting resembled the situation that was created in Siena Cathedral. During Mass the friars had the first choir at their disposal, viewing the front side of Sassetta's polyptych; at other occasions, during Divine Office, they viewed the back side, using the retrochoir. Apart from the liturgical hours, the laity could see both sides of the altarpiece, with its impressive flow of images; the laity and the members of a lay brotherhood could occasionally use one of the two choirs.¹¹

S. Francesco al Prato in Perugia probably, had a choir in front of the high altar with its facilities for the celebration of Mass. At the back side of the altar table a monumental double-sided altarpiece was put up, painted by Taddeo di Bartolo in 1403. In the centre of the front of the heptap-

tych he painted a Virgin and Child. At the rear side of the retable St Francis appeared, flanked by twice three standing saints. Taddeo di Bartolo painted a continuous Franciscan narrative on both sides of the predella, one scene showing the celebration of Mass in front of a golden retable. A second set of choir stalls was constructed behind the main altar and its double-sided altarpiece, with a painted predella, piers and pinacles.

Giotto's St Peter's altarpiece, Sassetta's San Sepolcro altarpiece and Taddeo di Bartolo's Perugia altarpiece provide clues for a reconstruction of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece, suggesting an ensemble of piers, pinnacles and painted predella, to be viewed on both sides by both the clergy and the laity. The disposition in St Peter's and in S. Maria Maggiore differed from the proposed settings in Siena, Perugia and San Sepolcro, where the double-sided altarpieces stood on the high altar, whereas in the Roman basilicas they stood on a prominent free-standing altar in the nave or in the aisle, connected to the choir of the canon's. The setting of the canon's choir and altar in the Roman basilicas resembled the setting of the high altar and choir in Siena, San Sepolcro and Perugia. Double-sided altarpieces rose at the rear end of a free-standing altar, allowing clergy and laity to view both sides. In all these settings a choir existed in front of the altar, sometimes in conjunction with a second choir behind the altar. In addition, the Roman basilicas enjoyed a main choir in the centre of the nave, followed by an elevated platform for the pope and cardinals, who, standing behind the high altar, viewed the singers, the congregation, and the chapter, without a retable in between.

Notes

- * My thanks are due to Machtelt Brüggem Israëls and Gail Solberg for sharing their ideas with me on the visibilities of double-sided altarpieces and their reconstructions.
- 1 See Carl Brandon Strehlke and Mark Tucker, 'The Santa Maria Maggiore Altarpiece', in *The Panel Paintings of Masolino and Masaccio: The Role of Technique*, ed. by Carl Brandon Strehlke and Cecilia Frosinini (Milan: Continents, 2002), pp. 111-29 and Dillian Gordon, *The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, Na-

tional Gallery Catalogues (London: National Gallery Company, 2003), 1, pp. 201 and 224-47.

- 2 Carl Brandon Strehlke, *The Italian Paintings of the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 248-68. The document has been published in full by Strehlke, p. 469; the archive of the chapter preserves a copy of the document which highlights the Chapel of St Jerome in the beginning and end.

- 3 See Machtelt Israëls, *Sassetta's Madonna della Neve: An Image of Patronage* (Leiden: Primavera, 2003), pp. 104-26, the testaments and tomb, pp. 116-17 and the appendix, pp. 205-18, in particular pp. 205, 207-08.
- 4 See Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: Liturgie in laatantiek en middeleeuws Rome. Basilica Salvatoris Sanctae Mariae Sancti Petri* (Delft: Eburon 1987), pp. 201-02, 207-13, also regarding the other relevant altars and their usage, and Figure 13, pp. 632-33. Unaware of Casini's testament, Sible de Blaauw located the canon's choir in the southern transept. See also Sible Blaauw, *Cultus et decor. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale. Basilica Salvatoris Sanctae Mariae Sancti Petri*, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994). The altar of St Jerome was renewed by Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, archpriest from 1445 to 1484, between 1461 and 1464. It was partly relocated in the new chapel which served as a home for the Presepe relics, founded by Sixtus V, to the left of the entrance. This relocation is well documented, but the texts do not inform us about what happened to the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece, which probably did not return on the renovated altar; it was removed to the southern wall where Vasari saw one side of it sometime before 1568. Narrative scenes from Mino da Fiesole's marble altar are in the Museum of Palazzo Venezia. Arguments contradicting a high altar location of the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece were first presented in Bram Kempers and Sible de Blaauw, 'Pauselijk ceremonieel en kunst in middeleeuwen en renaissance', *Akt*, 9, 2 (1985), 22-37.
- 5 Israëls, p. 115. She locates the canon's choir in the nave, in front of the altar of the relics. Her critique of the interpretation of Strehlke and Tucker, p. 112, n. 325.
- 6 Strehlke and Tucker (who first identified Casini on the miraculous foundation, partly using this portrait as an argument in favor of him as the individual patron), Gordon, Israëls and other art historians tend to consider the scene with the snow miracle as the front side, which was recorded in 1568 by Vasari as set against a wall in the southern transept. Technical evidence is inconclusive; the flowers are inconclusive as well.
- 7 See Bram Kempers and Sible de Blaauw, 'Jacopo Stefaneschi, Patron and Liturgist: A New Hypothesis Regarding the Date, Iconography, Authorship and Function of his Altarpiece for Old Saint Peter's', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 47 (1987), 83-113. I do seriously doubt the late date, late 1320s or 1330s, and the authorship outside the orbit of Giotto and his workshop, as proposed in our 1987 article. Because I think the identification of the kneeling figure as Celestine V is correct, the date of his canonization in 1313 has to serve as a *terminus post quem*. As the dates of several other Giotto projects are still very much debated, a date in late 1313 or 1314 is possible, but around 1320 remains an option as well.
- 8 Although various authors have accepted our proposal in favor of the canon's altar and its implications for the Masaccio-Masolino altarpiece, some authors favor a location on the high altar. See Julian Gardner, *The Roman Crucible: The Artistic Patronage of the Papacy, 1198-1304*, *Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 33 (Munich: Hirmer, 2013), pp. 32-34, 290-92, 297-302, and 410-11 and exh. cat. Milan: Palazzo Reale, *Giotto d'Italia*, ed. by Serena Romano and Pietro Petrarola (Milan: Electa, 2015). In his 2013 book and in other publications, Gardner reasserts the high altar destination, the early date of the late 1290s and his doubts about the Celestine identification. Serena Romano accepts the kneeling man as Celestine V and hence dates the altarpiece to shortly after 1313, as has been done in several publications by Margrit Lisner and Andrea de Marchi. See exh. cat. Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 22-24, 102-05 and 11. For the double-sided altarpiece in Florence Cathedral, around 1310, see Bonsanti in exh. cat. Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 85-95. I do not address Florence in this article because I doubt its supposed location on the high altar of S. Reparata, favoring a location on the free-standing altar of St Zenobius in the crypt. Pietro Zander (exh. cat. Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 116-20) equally argues for a location on the high altar. His drawing, leaves out the double row of columns in front of the high altar, which, in fact, do not contribute to the visibility of the Stefaneschi altarpiece (Colour Plate III). Giotto's Baroncelli altarpiece, around 1330, in Julian Gardner (exh. cat. Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 140-53) and the, c. 1333, Bologna altarpiece in Damien Cerutti (exh. cat. Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 154-63). The Milan exhibition actually strengthened my earlier doubts about the possible late date and an attribution outside the orbit of Giotto's Florentine workshop.
- 9 See Sible de Blaauw, 'Das Hochaltarretabel in Rom bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Das Altarbild als Kategorie der Liturgischen Anlage', *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, 55 (1996), 83-110. Double-sided altarpieces were constructed in relation with free-standing altars in S. Maria del Popolo, with the altar table in front of the high altar and choir stalls at its back, and in S. Maria in Aracoeli, the friars' choir being in front of the high altar, while singers used the space behind Raphael's retable, featuring the patron Sigismondo Conti.
- 10 I intend to deal with this reconstruction in a separate publication.
- 11 See *Sassetta: The Borgo San Sepolcro Altarpiece*, ed. by Machtelt Israëls, 2 vols (Leiden: Primavera, 2009). I rely on the contributions by James Banker and Donal Cooper, especially on pp. 57-63, 69-75, 87-89, 102, Machtelt Israëls, in particular pp. 127-31 and Christa Gardner von Teuffel, pp. 214-24, dealing with differ-

ent aspects of location, function, and visibility, and referring to the relevant literature. I doubt the proposed location of the Sassetta altarpiece in the middle of the altar table, as is also suggested by Figure 152 and Plates v and vi. Full discussion of the co-existence of two choirs is needed. The phrase 'l'altro cuoro' (p. 71) does not refer to an earlier (demolished) part of the retrochoir, but to a choir on the other, i.e. front side of the high altar, to be renewed in 1498;

some of the stalls of the renovated front choir are at the Museo Civico. The old antechoir seems to be used as a setting in January 1393 to discuss the completion of the new retrochoir half a year earlier (see p. 587). The existence of a second choir in front of the high altar would fit the drawing of S. Francesco, Arezzo (p. 70) and the way Sassetta depicted the choir on the left side of the predella at the back side of his splendid polyptych.

ST JEROME AND A CHURCH MODEL:
THE ALTARPIECE OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION
IN BERGAMO

Bram DE KLERCK

In one of the side chapels of the Church of S. Agata nel Carmine in Bergamo's *città alta*, a magnificent, recently restored, early sixteenth-century altarpiece catches the eye (Fig. 1).¹ It is not only the bright colours of the blue background, the golden garments and fleshy faces of the figures depicted that attract attention: something else lends a particular fascination to the work. It is what was, even at the time, a somewhat old-fashioned combination of painting and relief-like sculpture in a kind of showcase measuring more than 250 cm in height, and having gothic gables and pinnacles. It shows a serene-looking Virgin Mary who stands with hands folded in a gesture of prayer. A ginger-haired Christ Child is hovering before her in a rather bold pose, his feet placed on the wings of a cherub. The child is dressed in a loosely-draped tunic which leaves his left shoulder uncovered. With his right hand he makes a gesture of blessing. Mother and Child are surrounded by an aureole of red and golden rays of light. The central group is surrounded by four standing and two seated figures, all easily recognizable not only by their attire and attributes but also by inscriptions bearing their names. At the left stand Mary's parents, Sts Anne and Joachim, at the right Sts Anselm and Jerome, while at the bottom corners of the composition Sts Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux sit on low stools. Beneath the central panel is a predella with, each in his own compartment, busts of seven more figures holding books and scrolls with inscriptions.

Two lateral panels, depicting the Carmelite Sts Elijah and Elisha, have been added in the early twentieth century, after the altarpiece had been transferred to its current place in the Chapel of the Baptist in the church of the Carmelite Order. On the basis of stylistic characteristics, the

older parts have recently been attributed to the somewhat shadowy Bergamasque painter and sculptor Jacopino Scipioni (*fl.* 1492–1528) and dated to the first decade of the sixteenth century.² Originally, the retable adorned the altar of



Fig. 1. Jacopino Scipioni (attributed to), Altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception, central panel: *Immaculate Conception*, c. 1500–10. Bergamo: S. Agata nel Carmine. From: *Ancona dell'Immacolata*.

the Chapel of the Brotherhood of the Immaculate Conception, in the Church of S. Francesco of the Conventual Franciscans in Bergamo. It was removed after the Brotherhood's suppression in 1808.³

The overall iconographical message of the altarpiece as a whole is not very hard to decipher: the position of the Madonna, centrally placed within rays of light, as well as the inscriptions on the scrolls and books that the accompanying saints and angels are holding, all suggest the concept of her Immaculate Conception.⁴ According to theological views expressed by authorities such as the thirteenth-century philosopher John Duns Scotus, and ratified by Pope Sixtus IV in 1476, the Virgin Mary, before becoming the mother of Christ the Son of God, had to be exempt from original sin, which since the Fall of Man has been inherited by every human being. The experts, however, did not all agree on how this sinless state had been arrived at. In particular, theologians belonging to the Dominican Order, following Thomas Aquinas's views, contested the belief that Mary's immaculate state stemmed from the very moment of her conception. They held that it came later, when Mary was already in her mother's womb. The controversy continued and it was only in 1854 that the concept was officially proclaimed a dogma of the Church by Pope Pius IX.

The patrons of the Bergamo altarpiece clearly sided with those in favour of the first possibility. A prominent position is occupied by Anne and Joachim, viz. Mary's mother and father. They are not mentioned in the Bible, but are present in texts such as the early Christian apocryphal Gospels and the famous thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* by Jacopo de Voragine.⁵ According to popular belief, Mary was conceived when her already elderly parents met at Jerusalem's Golden Gate after a prolonged and troublesome period of separation. As an obvious clue to the interpretation of the iconography, on the scroll Joachim is holding is written an Old Testament passage from the Song of Songs ('Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te': Song of Songs 4. 7) which is generally understood typologically as a pre-figuration of Mary's immaculate state.



Fig. 2. Jacopino Scipioni (attributed to), Altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception, detail: *St Jerome*, front view (detail of Fig. 1).

All other saints included in the central panel, as well as the seven historical figures including Duns Scotus and the already mentioned Pope Sixtus IV depicted in the predella compartments, hold inscriptions derived from writings penned by themselves, or at least attributed to them at the time. Although all passages can be connected to the concept of the Immaculate Conception, not every one of the saints depicted is generally considered a supporter of the doctrine. I will come back to this peculiarity after having discussed a remarkable iconographical feature of the altarpiece, to wit the figure of St Jerome at the far right, the only one in the central panel looking out in the beholder's direction (Fig. 2). He appears in a monk's habit and in his left hand holds a model of a church, which gains remarkable prominence as it protrudes strikingly from the three-dimensional relief characterizing the woodcarving of the altarpiece (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Jacopino Scipioni (attributed to), Altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception, detail: *St Jerome*, side view (detail of Fig. 1).

Depictions of Architectural Models

Depictions of human figures holding a miniature version of one architectural structure or the other, are far from uncommon in the visual arts of Western Europe. For instance, Cesare Ripa's famous book of reference, the *Iconologia* of 1600, contains many examples of allegorical figures that are recognizable from architectural attributes.⁶ For instance, the author recommends that the personification of the element of Earth be depicted with a castle or tower on her head. Symmetry holds an 'artful building', and Audacity throws to the ground 'a column of marble of an edifice'. Religion holds a model of a temple, as do World and the Italian region Umbria. For lovers of the city it may be gratifying to note that for the personification of *Roma*

eterna a mere model does not suffice: according to Ripa, she should be depicted enthroned inside 'a temple with eight or ten columns'.

Ripa's handbook was quite influential in the visual arts of the seventeenth century and later, but the specific allegories mentioned above do not seem to have gained much popularity, nor should they be considered to be some kind of codification of earlier artistic practices. Rather, from the Middle Ages onward, architectural models can be found in the Christian context of saints and donors. In altarpieces, church decorations or other religious images, saints or ecclesiastic authorities, worldly rulers or private individuals can be found holding miniature versions of buildings, presenting them to Christ or the Virgin Mary, either to humbly acknowledge their devotion, to show off their opulence, or both. Randomly chosen among the many examples from early Christian times onward, are the great mosaic over the south-western entrance of Hagia Sophia in the city then called Constantinople (c. 990), in which, to the right of the centrally placed, enthroned Virgin Mary and Child, Emperor Constantine the Great (c. 272–337) offers her a model of the walled city named after him, while at the left his later successor Justinian (c. 482–565) presents her with a model of the magnificent church he himself patronized.

From medieval Milan, a life-sized crucifixion made of wood covered with embossed copper incorporates an interesting image at the bottom of the cross. It depicts the Milanese Archbishop Ariberto (970/80–1045) offering to the crucified Christ a model of the Church of S. Dionigi. The quarrelsome warrior bishop had had this Ambrosian landmark restored and embellished upon his triumphant return to the city after a protracted absence. The square-shaped halo framing his head indicates that the archbishop was alive at that time but also already, at least by some, venerated as a saint. Exemplary of the new naturalism in late medieval Italian painting is the much more life-like scale model of the famous chapel that Enrico degli Scrovegni (d. 1336) had built in Padua appearing in one of the Florentine painter Giotto's frescoes adorning its interior (c. 1310). Scrovegni needs the



Fig. 4. Giotto di Bondone, *Last Judgement*, detail: Enrico degli Scovegni and a canon offering a model of the chapel to the Virgin Mary, c. 1310, fresco, Padua: Scrovegni Chapel.

help of a canon to present the large, apparently weighty, model to the Virgin (Fig. 4).

Donors are frequently seen in paintings presenting the buildings they founded, but also, and far more often, certain saints carry miniature architectonic structures. A well-known example is the early Christian St Barbara of Nicodemia who often appears holding a miniature tower referring to her legend. Her pagan father locked her up in a tower to keep her away from the outside world. After she had secretly converted to Christianity, she convinced construction workers to place three (instead of the intended two) windows in her tower, in praise of the Holy Trinity. Other examples include the Frenchman Eligius of Noyon (588/90–660), himself a goldsmith and patron saint of metalworkers, who is sometimes depicted with a small golden church in his hand. And St Willibrord (c. 658–739), missionary of the Frisians and the first bishop of Utrecht, holds a small version of Utrecht Cathedral in his hand, for example in the well-known engraving of c. 1630 by Cornelis Bloemaert, in which the building appears anachronistically in

its gothic form with its famous tower, the tallest in the Netherlands. Comparable in intention are depictions of Bishop Heribert of Cologne (c. 970–1021) who is often represented holding a model of one of the Romanesque churches of his bishopric. Not only churches but whole cities could serve as the attributes of saints. Thus, the fifth-century Bishop of Bologna St Petronius holds a model of the city of which he is patron saint, and St Gimignano (312–97) carries a miniature version of the Tuscan town with its characteristic walls and towered skyline, named after him.

St Jerome as a Building-bearer

None of these possibilities, however, seem to fit with St Jerome holding a church model, as he does in the *Immacolata* altarpiece in Bergamo. After all, he is not the patron saint of a particular city or town, nor has he ever executed any sort of construction work. True, Jerome is known to have founded a monastery and a nunnery in Bethlehem, but it in the context of the Italian Renaissance, it would not seem to make much sense to refer to these activities in a far-away country in times long gone.

And indeed, the not very familiar motif of a church model in the iconography of St Jerome appears to have remained confined to a fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Italian context. With a few notable exceptions such as a panel from a polyptych painted around 1400 by Gentile da Fabriano for the monastery of Valle Romita near his home town in the Marche (now Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera), and a side panel of a triptych originally destined for S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, painted by the Florentine Masaccio in 1428 (now in London, National Gallery), examples of this feature only appear in works by artists originating from the Northern Italian region delimited by the Alps and Apennines. Paintings in Venice offer surprisingly frequent instances of Jerome holding a church, the earliest of which seems to be a panel that belonged to an altarpiece painted by Lorenzo Veneziano around 1370 (formerly Berlin Gemäldegalerie; destroyed in 1945),⁷ and, dating from around the same time period, a panel from an altarpiece by

Jacobello di Bonomo in the small town of Arquà Petrarca near Padua (Oratorio della Santissima Trinità). Both depict Jerome with a book in his left hand – referring to his activity as a translator of the Bible – and in his right hand, the church model. These artists depicted the saint dressed as a cardinal, in a red or purplish robe and with the cardinal’s hat on his head – a way of depicting Jerome which in western art has become as customary as it is apocryphal, for in reality the saint never held this dignity.

In his dissertation on Jerome iconography in early Italian art of 1984, Bernhard Ridderbos argues that in both instances the text in Jerome’s book, ‘DOCTOR ET ECCLESIAE FIRMA COLONA FUIT’ refers to his stature as a ‘firm column of the church’, exemplified physically by the miniature building. Moreover, the words seems to point to the saint’s explicit opposition to heresy.⁸ Interestingly, the thirteenth-century Dominican saint Thomas Aquinas also turns out to have been sometimes depicted holding a book and a model of a church, probably even earlier than became customary for Jerome, for instance in a panel painted after 1336 by the anonymous Master of the Dominican Effigies (now in Florence, S. Maria Novella). It seems fair to suppose that, sometime around the middle of the fourteenth century, Thomas’s attributes, including a shining ornament on his breast, have been transferred to Jerome. As Ridderbos explains, during the 1330s, both Thomas Aquinas and Jerome were considered authorities in the condemnation of Pope John XXII and his heretical views.⁹ The popularity Jerome apparently enjoyed in Venice may be explained by his familiarity with Greek heresies in that city, through extensive commercial contacts with Greece and the presence of an apparently rather suspect Greek Orthodox colony.¹⁰

The ‘Venetian St Jerome’ was to remain a customary type in Venetian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notably in paintings by, amongst others, the brothers Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini, Carlo Crivelli, Jacopo and Giovanni Bellini (Fig. 5). In time, however, the number of attributes in these paintings decreased: the shining ornament on Jerome’s breast was the first to disappear, by sometime in the



Fig. 5. Carlo Crivelli, *St Jerome*, outer left panel of an altarpiece for the Church of S. Domenico, Ascoli, late 1470s, panel, 91 × 26 cm, London: National Gallery.

fourteenth century, and the book ceased to be a standard element. What remains in these images is the miniature church, which seems to have retained its meaning as a reference to Jerome as a fighter of heresy. In the maritime Republic of Venice, in particular, with its many contacts and interests overseas, Jerome must have been considered a defender of the Church in the battle against Ottoman influences during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, his small church not only refers to Jerome's reputation as a 'firm column' of the institution, but also to the correct interpretation of the Scriptures as required by the Church.¹¹

St Jerome in the Bergamo Immacolata Altarpiece

Although Bergamo had been part of the Venetian Republic since 1428, it is hard to believe that in this westernmost, far-off corner of the *Serenissima*, anti-Greek-orthodox or anti-Islamic sentiments existed as strongly as they may have done in the capital city. At the same time, a very determined belief in the concept of the Immaculate Conception is evidenced by the iconographical choices for the altarpiece which the Bergamasque Brotherhood dedicated to her. Apparently, this corporation was going to extremes to justify its devotion, for at least two of the saints depicted in the altarpiece – church father Augustine, and the founder of the Cistercian Order, Bernard of Clairvaux, are known to have been avowed objectors to the doctrine. They turn out to have been fitted with apocryphal texts referring to their alleged later change of opinion on the issue. The other two saints depicted, Anselm of Canterbury and Jerome, are also somewhat intruding in the entourage of the Immaculate Virgin. Anselm, then recently canonized (1494) and never a great propagator of the doctrine, is depicted holding a scroll with a corrupt text once attributed to his namesake and nephew, Anselm of St Saba: the *incipit* of a letter to the bishops of England recommending the celebration of the feast of the Immaculate. The text on St Jerome's book does not even refer explicitly to the Immaculata, as it is a passage taken from one of his letters to his confidantes Paula and Eustochium, in which the author admits the inability of human words

to sufficiently praise the Virgin Mary. As Laura Paola Gnaccolini points out in her recent contribution on the altarpiece, the selection of saints, as well as some of the quite peculiar text fragments, derive from the *Mariale; officium et missa Immaculata Conceptionis BMV* tract published in Milan in 1492, by the influential Franciscan and propagator of the doctrine of the Immaculate, Bernardino de' Busti.¹²

However, there may be yet another explanation for the inclusion of St Jerome and his miniature church in the altarpiece. A few striking features make his figure stand out: among the six saints depicted in the central panel of the altarpiece, he is the only one not looking up at the Virgin, but rather at an undefined point in the beholder's space. Although, like those of the others, his clothes have a golden shine, Jerome is dressed in a relatively humble style, in a monk's habit with a leather belt around his waist and a simple cap on his head. Thus, the depiction of his persona does not adopt the tradition of Jerome dressed as a cardinal, reverting rather to the older type of the saint as a monk. He was more commonly depicted as the penitent hermit in the wilderness, and sometimes as a scholar in his study. The detailed features, the long brown beard, as well as the emotional intensity of his face almost makes one think of a portrait. And the early *cinquecento*, Northern Italian realism of painting in combination with sculpture not only draws the beholder's attention to the strikingly protruding church model, but also to a detail to the left of the entrance of that building, which seems to be a holy water font. Could it be that this St Jerome is holding a miniature version of the – long demolished – Church of S. Francesco in Bergamo, where the Brotherhood of the Immaculate Conception had their chapel and altarpiece?¹³

It is interesting to note that in the years to which the altarpiece should be dated, a Franciscan named Gerolamo Terzi (c. 1460–1541) occupied a central place in both the material and the spiritual life of the Convent of S. Francesco. From 1500 onward, Terzi was a member of the Franciscan community, of which he was supervisor in 1506 and 1508. He had a sound scholarly theological reputation and entertained personal

relations with the General of the Franciscan Order, Francesco Sansone, himself depicted among the champions of the Immaculate Conception in the altarpiece's predella. This made Terzi the perfect candidate to be the one whom the Brotherhood would commission to formulate the retable's iconographical programme. Moreover, Terzi is documented as having been responsible for, and directly involved with, construction work in the Convent of S. Francesco.¹⁴

All things considered, the possibility may not be ruled out that St Jerome as he is depicted in the altarpiece contains a reference to recent developments in S. Francesco in Bergamo. The saint is guardian Gerolamo Terzi's patron saint, and, like him, he is presented as a simple friar.

Moreover, with his earnest and powerful brown-bearded face, he is – again, like Terzi – a man of about forty years of age in the full bloom of his life.¹⁵ He turns his gaze to the community of the Brethren of the Immaculate Conception. In his hand he holds a naturalistically conceived small building which by tradition refers to the saint as 'a firm column' of Faith. And even if in reality he was never much concerned with the Immaculate Conception, he also stood for a correct interpretation – at least in the eyes of the members of the brotherhood – of a Church doctrine. In his features the sixteenth-century viewers may have recognized the face of their spiritual guide, and in his model of a church, the form of the building which contained their own chapel.

Notes

- 1 The small, but very useful monographic booklet entitled *L'ancona dell'Immacolata in Sant'Agata nel Carmine* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), was published recently on the occasion of the completion of the restoration. In preparing the present contribution, I have made use extensively of both the text and the many precious bibliographical references.
- 2 For the dating, see Laura Paola Gnaccolini, "'Sine originali peccato est concepita": La celebrazione di Maria Immacolata nell'ancona francescana oggi al Carmine', in *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, pp. 15–16; for the attribution: Simone Facchinetti, 'Jacopino Scipioni, pittore e scultore', in *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, pp. 27–33. For the artistic personality of Scipioni, see Franco Mazzini, 'Giacomo detto Jacopino de' Scipioni', in *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo: Il Quattrocento* (Bergamo: Bolis, 1994), II, pp. 473–513.
- 3 *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, p. 11.
- 4 For the iconography of the Immaculate Conception, see e.g. Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York: The College Art Association of America, 1957); more recently: *Maria l'Immacolata: La rappresentazione nel Medioevo*, ed. by Emma Simi Varanelli, (Rome: DeLuca, 2008).
- 5 *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, transl. by William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 537–38. For the apocryphal sources, see e.g. Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966); *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. by James Keith Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- 6 Yassu Frossati-Okayama, *The Ripa Index: Personifications and their Attributes in Five Editions of the Iconologia* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1992).
- 7 Bernhard Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984), pp. 8–9.
- 8 The most complete of the two is the inscription in the Berlin panel, which reads: 'DOCTOR ET ECCLESIAE FIRMA COLONA FUT FACILE CONTE'. According to Ridderbos (p. 8), the words 'facile conte' may refer to a letter by Pseudo-Eusebius in which he not only speaks of Jerome as 'golden pillar and foundation of the whole church' but also as one who 'smashes [Latin: *conterere*] the bows of the heretics'.
- 9 Ridderbos, pp. 11–13.
- 10 Ridderbos, pp. 13–14.
- 11 Daniel Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie: Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Éditions La découverte; Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1987), p. 87.
- 12 *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, pp. 13–15.
- 13 The possibility was raised cautiously in *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, p. 14.
- 14 For Girolamo Terzi and his importance for the Convent of S. Francesco, see *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, p. 14. In 1523 Terzi would be called upon again for an iconographical issue, viz. the selection of subjects for the famous panels of parquetry in Bergamo Cathedral: Francesca Cortesi Bosco, *Il coro intarsiato di Lotto e Capoferri per Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo: Lettere e documenti* (Bergamo: Credito Bergamasco, 1987), pp. 19, 122–25, 140.
- 15 Terzi's birth date is unknown; he is reported to have died in 1541, at age eighty: *Ancona dell'Immacolata*, p. 24, n. 149.

JERUSALEM AND OTHER HOLY PLACES AS REPRESENTED BY JHERONIMUS BOSCH

Jos Koldeweij

Various works painted by Jheronimus Bosch refer to specific locations, to places in which particular events have to be situated: these are chiefly scenes from the life of Christ. In a more general sense, Bosch also gave a particular character to the environment in which he painted his saints. It is remarkable that, on the one hand, Jheronimus Bosch drew and painted with the utmost precision the animals, people and objects that he observed, while, on the other, he was totally unconcerned about realistic topographical representation. Even more remarkably, he depicted the holy places using urban architecture that was either a general reference to his own surroundings, or else was composed of bizarre buildings. At the same time, it appears from the socio-cultural context that Bosch must have had some idea from others, and undoubtedly also from the visual material of his time, of the buildings and urban structure of Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, he consciously chose not to localize these settings, but to depict buildings that were scarcely or completely indefinable and to present unrecognizable views.

Sacred Topography

Scenes from the life of Christ form a relatively large group in the painted oeuvre of Jheronimus Bosch:¹ the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado and the panel of the same subject in New York, *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in London and on the exterior of the *Last Judgement* in Bruges, the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt and the version in Boston of the same subject from Bosch's studio, *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Vienna and in the Escorial, and the *Calvary* in Brussels. Moreover Bosch painted a full Passion cycle in two of his works, on the grisaille side of the *St John on Patmos* and on the exterior of the *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado. With the exception of both versions of the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* and

the model drawing of the *Entombment* (British Museum), all the Passion scenes by Bosch are set in a landscape and are given an architectural context. The staging of the landscape of *St John on Patmos* and *John the Baptist*, as well as that of Sts Jerome and Anthony, deliberately suggests a non-realistic representation of the topography.

Knowledge of the Near East

When we take into consideration Jheronimus Bosch's socio-cultural context we must assume that he would have been acquainted, to a certain extent, with exotic buildings in the Near East. Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, illustrated with woodcuts and published in Mainz in 1486, was most probably known in 's-Hertogenbosch. In addition to the Latin edition, it also appeared in French, German, Spanish, and in 1483-84 in Dutch.² Erhard Reuwich from Utrecht, had travelled to Jerusalem with Von Breydenbach in 1483-84 and made drawings during the journey, drawings which were probably the basis for the woodcuts in the book, which he also printed. It is conceivable that Bosch based a number of the exotic animals to be found in the Paradise wing of the 'Garden of Earthly Delights' on the illustrations in Von Breydenbach,³ while he ignored the architecture almost entirely. He is likely also to have drawn inspiration for the buildings of the Holy Land from the illustrations of Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, first published in Nuremberg in 1493 in both Latin and German editions. It is highly probable that this printed book was used by Bosch, in particular as a source for the left wing of the *Garden of Earthly Delights*. God the Father with the accompanying text on the exterior and the exotic trees on the Paradise side appear to be based directly on the woodcuts in Schedel's book.⁴

Distant lands were known in 's-Hertogenbosch, and not only at second hand or from lit-

erature imported from elsewhere. In the second half of the fourteenth century a Franciscan friar from 's-Hertogenbosch set out on a journey round the world, travelling to the north as well as to Asia and Africa. His account of his journey has been lost, but parts were known from indirect sources. When in 1569 Gerardus Mercator published his renowned map of the world, innovative because the curved form was shown on a flat surface, he justified his knowledge of the area round the North Pole by referring to the *Itinerario*, the journey of a certain Jacob Cnoyen from 's-Hertogenbosch.⁵ Mercator had probably borrowed the account of the journey from his friend Abraham Ortelius, the Antwerp cartographer. Indeed, when in 1577 the English mathematician and astronomer John Dee asked Mercator about the manuscript and the latter asked Ortelius for another chance to see it, the manuscript was not to be found. Thanks to the notes made by Mercator, which he passed on to John Dee, we know something of the contents. Whether friar Jacob Cnoyen's text was known in 's-Hertogenbosch in Jheronimus Bosch's time, is unknown. A transcription of this travel book was stored in the library of the Church of St Gudula in Brussels under the title 'account of a traveller from 's-Hertogenbosch of what he heard and saw in the lands of the unbelievers'.

Pilgrimages

Jheronimus Bosch would have had more direct information from speaking to the successful merchant Lodewijk Beys or Buys, who lived near him on the genteel north side of the Market in 's-Hertogenbosch. Jan Goessens van Aken, woodcarver and painter, and a cousin of Jheronimus Bosch, was married to the illegitimate daughter of the merchant.⁶ In 1500 Lodewijk Beys undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He returned safely, and set off for the same destination again in 1504 and yet again in 1513.⁷ Lodewijk Beys died in 1516 or 1517, not only a pilgrim who had reached Jerusalem, but also a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. According to his wish, he was buried 'in Sint Jans kercke voor theylich graft' (in St John's before the Holy Sepulchre).⁸ Nothing remains of this

'Holy Sepulchre' in St John's Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch [Den Bosch] except a sculptured late Gothic head of Christ, of exceptionally quality. During the Second World War this head of Christ was still exhibited in Den Bosch with St John's noted as the place it was found. Later, having passed through the hands of various art dealers, it came to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁹ The foundation of this Holy Sepulchre and the presence of this sculpture can probably be attributed to the wealthy Lodewijk Beys. Considering his three trips to Jerusalem and the status being a Knight of the Sepulchre gave him, he certainly had both the interest and the motivation. Beys emphasized this status in the records of the magistrates in Den Bosch by having *eques auratus terrae sanctae* [golden knight of the Holy Land] set by his name.¹⁰ Lodewijk Beys's life style was in accordance with the quality of the sculptured head: his residence on the Market, 'De Leeuwenburg', was extremely genteel. When Archduke Maximilian and his son Philip the Fair spent the winter of 1504–05 in 's-Hertogenbosch his 'new wife, the Empress called Maria Bianca (Sforza), the daughter of the Duke of Milan, was lodged on the Market and then in the house of Lodewijk Beys' (nieuwe huysvrouw, die keyserinne genaemt vrou Blancke Maria, des hartogen dochter van Milanen [...] geloogert aen die Merct [...] te weten in Loey Beys-huys).¹¹ Maximilian himself and his son found lodging in the nearby Dominican monastery,¹² from where they conducted the war against Guelders.¹³ The mansion of Lodewijk Beys was only a few houses away from the considerably smaller house in which Jheronimus Bosch lived after his marriage to Aleid van de Meervenne.¹⁴ Aleid had inherited the house from her grandfather, and after the death of Jheronimus – the couple remained childless – it reverted to her family.¹⁵

Lodewijk Beys was certainly not the only citizen of Den Bosch who went to the Holy Land in Jheronimus Bosch's day. The archives of the city give a number of names of those who made the journey to Jerusalem.¹⁶ In 1462 Jan Ghyselen departed (returned in 1464?). Willem van Brakel was in the Holy Land in 1467, in

1470 the son of the goldsmith Henrick Pelgrom and Willem Henricx van Herlaer set out. Dirk Dirksz de Bever left in 1483. In 1489 Dirk van Meerlaer and Dirk Peter Pels promised to travel to Jerusalem, but it is unclear whether they actually went. Gerit van Wijck left in 1490 and returned safely. In 1495 Jan Alarts together with Ricald van den Broeck set out. Sworn brother of the Brotherhood of Our Lady, and thus of the same fraternity as Bosch, the priest Henricus van der Loo from Oisterwijk left in the jubileum year of 1500; he died on the road and so did not return. In 1506–07 a certain Faes was in Jerusalem, possibly accompanying Lodewijk Beys. Henrick Prouninck van Deventer and his wife Catharina van der Staeck were in Jerusalem before 1511. And undoubtedly there were other fellow citizens and contemporaries of Bosch who undertook this long and dangerous pilgrimage. Before setting out they would have found out what they could about the journey, and on their return would have told of their experiences. Because of the great distance involved and the sea voyage from Venice, the trip to Jerusalem was relatively expensive. Generally speaking, the pilgrims who set out for the Holy Land were wealthier, better situated and more cultured than those who followed the other two *peregrinations maiores*, the journeys to Rome or Santiago de Compostela. For that reason, relatively speaking there are many travel accounts that have been preserved.¹⁷ The illustrated and frequently reprinted *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* by Bernhard von Breydenbach from 1486 would also have been available in 's-Hertogenbosch and possibly Bosch would have seen it. On other grounds already mentioned, we can assume that Bosch was acquainted with Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*, in which Jerusalem and other cities of the Near East are depicted, partly inspired by the book by Von Breydenbach.¹⁸ These woodcuts – or other types of illustrations that would have been in circulation – must have suggested a great degree of accuracy to Bosch's contemporaries. Jheronimus Bosch did not imitate these; at most they were a scarcely recognizable starting point for the worlds in which he set his Christian protagonists.

Bosch's Topography

When we analyse Bosch's buildings and views we have to conclude that, while he painted exotic and even irrational structures and architectural forms, the landscapes and buildings, although not realistic, were actually inspired by his own immediate surroundings. The panel of *St John on Patmos* shows the apostle and evangelist sitting in a mountainous scene, which, strangely enough, is not recognizable as an island (Fig. 1). The high rocks stand out clearly against the panoramic view that depicts a practically flat river landscape, and, in the distance, a town such as would have been common in the Low Countries. The evangelist has with-



Fig. 1. Jheronimus Bosch, *St John on Patmos*, 1490–95, oil on oak panel, 63.0 × 43.2 cm, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 1674A. Photo: Rik Klein Gotink, image processing: Robert G. Erdmann, for the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (hereafter Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP).



Fig. 2. Jheronimus Bosch, *Calvary with a Donor* (detail), c. 1490–1500, oil on oak panel, 74.8 × 61.0 cm, Brussels: Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. no. 6639. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

drawn to surroundings that have already been Christianized to write his Apocalypse: a distant wooden roadside cross on the path behind him makes this clear. The almost-grisaille on the reverse side shows the same alien contrast: the scenes of the Passion are played out in a rocky landscape behind which a perfectly flat view unfolds. Here, too, we can distinguish a similar view of a town. This pattern is repeated again, round and behind the steep rocks in the central tondo above which a pelican tears at its breast to save its young with its own blood. The Passion cycle on the closed *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado is all set on a gigantic rock with buildings only sketchily indicated. Other than the fact that the crucifixion takes place on the top of this somewhat inhospitable pile of rock that stand against a darkening sky, there is no topological reference point.

On the *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado, the three kings worshipping the Christ Child in Bethlehem are shown against a background of dunes with scattered groups of trees. A huge city that undoubtedly represents Jerusalem is shown on the horizon, even though on the right wing this is immediately flanked by a broad stretch of water and an island on which another city is built. Both towns consist partly of ‘ordinary’ north-west European roofs and houses, but these are combined with proportionally enormous and impossible fantastic architectural structures.

A similar urban view is found in Bosch’s depiction of the *Calvary* in Brussels, the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York and Philadelphia and in *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial.

As we noted with the *St John on Patmos*, we find that, in the eyes of Bosch, events of the New Testament take place in a world already Christianized, something that he shows by the church towers in his towns or a roadside cross placed in the landscape. This is apparent in both the centre panel and the left wing of the *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado where monumental crosses can be discerned (Colour Plate IV), and in background of the *Calvary* in Brussels (Fig. 2). The sinful world in which St Anthony finds himself (left wing of the Lisbon triptych) and that of the martyr Wilgefortis (right wing of the Venice triptych) are shown to be Christian by the crosses that have been erected there (Colour Plate IV). In these last two cases the cross emphasizes the sinfulness and unbelief in the Christian community. That Bosch regarded the erection of a monumental cross as having such meaning can be concluded from a remarkable difference between the underdrawing and the painted surface in the landscape behind the vagabond on the exterior of the *Haywain Triptych* in the Prado. In the preparatory sketch the wandering man comes walking along a path beside which a great wooden cross has been set up – it is the dominant Christian world. In the painting

Bosch omitted both the clearly given path and the cross.¹⁹ The choice between good and evil facing the man is not really determined, and is not offered by Christendom as simply as that. The world behind him is shown as sinful, people are dancing to the music of the bagpipes, and a messenger is being robbed of all his possessions. Nevertheless it is a Christian world in which the vagabond must make his choices, as is shown by the tiny chapel, painted but not present in the underdrawing, and the minute crucifix that hangs on a tree in the background.

It is remarkable that the cities of the Near East that are depicted by Bosch, and which must represent Jerusalem, regularly and emphatically appear to be situated in the Low Countries, with white sailed windmills standing a little way outside the city walls. For example the imagined Jerusalem in the background of the *Calvary* scene in Brussels is in fact a large western city enclosed by a crenellated wall with watch towers (Fig. 2). In order to catch the most wind, the city mill is set on a constructed rise, well outside the built-up area. We see this again in the two cities in the *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado and the one in grisaille in the *St Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon, in the town in the *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial, and even in the west European city in the wooded background of the *Wilgefortis Triptych* in Venice (Colour Plate va-e) and the eastern city on the right wing of the *St Anthony Triptych* (Colour Plate vi). In front of the two unplaceable towns in the distance in *Cutting the Stone* (Jheronimus Bosch's workshop), we see, on the left and right, two windmills outside the town walls (Colour Plate vf). The mills on the *Adoration Triptych* in the Prado and the *Calvary* in Brussels are shown in detail as trestle or post mills, the type of corn mills that were very common in Brabant and the Low Countries and characteristic of north-western Europe.²⁰ To be more precise, these are open trestle mills; that is, the rotatable body of the mill rests on a support in which construction beams are wholly visible. Another typical north-western European element that recurs again and again in Bosch's urban views is the square church tower with a high spire, and the church or chapel without a tower but with a ridge turret. From its spires it

appears that a church with a two tower facade is even depicted in the background of *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Escorial (Colour Plate vd).

One panel by Bosch, the *Ecce Homo* in Frankfurt, and its immediate copy from Bosch's workplace, the *Ecce Homo Triptych* in Boston, places this particular scene of the Passion in a fairly enclosed urban environment (Colour Plate viia-b). Both the courts of justice, in front of which Christ is displayed to the turbulent crowd, and the urban view with the broad square, are once again north-western European and from Jheronimus Bosch's own time. In the original by Bosch in Frankfurt, the urban view is characterized by the red pennant with the white crescent that hangs above the steps of what is probably the town hall: it is an eastern, but above all a hostile, environment. This detail was also reproduced in the Boston painting, although this part is mostly reconstructed and the light red pennant is painted almost completely over the craquelé.²¹ In a very accurate sixteenth-century copy in a private collection in France, the red pennant with a minute crescent is also shown (Colour Plate viic), from which it would seem that this was also the case in the centre panel in Boston. In contrast to the largely deserted square in the Frankfurt version, in the Boston panel a second scene, that of Christ carrying the cross, is shown. This too is also faithfully reproduced in the sixteenth-century copy: moreover in this copy there is a double pointed red pennant with the crescent to be seen on one of the long lances carried by the soldiers escorting Christ. On the Boston panel this has been almost completely, and probably deliberately, deleted.²² During restoration, the traces of this pennant appear not to have been recognized as such and have been made invisible by retouching. The result is that the urban view with Christ carrying the cross is both more western and less hostile.

The small but important background scene of Christ carrying the cross is also one of the arguments to attribute the *Ecce Homo Triptych* to Bosch's workshop. In general, this scene is very similar to that on the grisaille side of the *St John on Patmos* panel and there are other details that we find in paintings from Bosch's own hand. An example of the minute detail is the two

nail-studded wooden blocks that make Christ's progress even more difficult and painful and are shown in a larger format in the Vienna and Escorial versions of *Christ Carrying the Cross*. The sharply slanted cross that Christ bears gives extra dynamic to this version, an effect that is also found in the versions in the Escorial and, if to a lesser degree, on the reverse of *St John on Patmos*, and just as dramatically in the Passion cycle on the exterior of the *Adoration* in the Prado. It is surprising that Bosch himself did not personally appear in this *Ecce Homo Triptych* in which Petrus van Os and Franco van Langhel are portrayed along with their wives and children. Not only were both men, like Bosch, sworn members of the Brotherhood of Our Lady and lived close to each other in the centre of 's-Hertogenbosch, but we know that Franco van Langhel, as notary, drew up deeds in which Jheronimus Bosch was concerned.²³

St Jerome and St Anthony

Among the saints painted by Bosch, Jerome and Anthony have a notable place. According to their *vitae*, both withdrew in solitude to dedicate themselves to their belief and to focus on prayer, Anthony to the Egyptian desert, Jerome to Bethlehem. Bosch painted both saints more than once and he always placed them in a very detailed setting, without the geographical or architectural surroundings giving any clue that could identify the place or region. It is the hostile desolation of the places chosen by the saints that he emphasizes. Moreover, he gives an extra layer of meaning to the scenes by adding all kinds of symbolic details. Bosch might have been particularly inspired by the figures of Jerome and Anthony because he bore the name of one and his father, Anthonius van Aken, the name of the other. The centre panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* in Venice and that of the *St Anthony Triptych* in Lisbon, showing Jerome and Anthony respectively, display some similarity in the ruins in which each saint, turned to the right, is placed. Both saints are facing a more or less semi-circular structure that is decorated with figurative reliefs (Colour Plate VIII). These scenes have carefully thought-out symbolism

and cohesion. In St Anthony's case they deal with victory over evil, the devil and heathenism, as well as the revelation of the divine message. Anthony himself indicates the altar, deep in the ruin, where we share his vision of Christ pointing to a crucifix; Christ is referring to his death on the cross whereby mankind was redeemed from original sin. Three reliefs put this further in perspective. The largest, uppermost scene shows dancing around the Golden Calf while Moses receives the tablets of law from Jehovah. Under the dancers, who surround the image of a heathen god, is another idol that is worshipped by a group of people who come bearing offerings. From a split, an owl peers out balefully. Under this we see scouts returning from the promised land of Israel with an enormous bunch of grapes, thereby giving hope for the future and renewed trust in God to the Jewish people wandering in the desert. Further into the background in this centre panel there are scenes that refer to the *vita* of St Anthony. In the central panel of the *Hermit Saints Triptych* Jerome kneels before a crucifix while, in order to purify himself and overcome all evil, he castigates himself with a rock he holds in his right hand. The crucifix is in a structure with three scenes that also show evil being defeated. The centre shows the Old Testament story of the Jewish woman, Judith, who saved her people by beheading Holofernes, the leader of the enemy Philistines. Immediately by Jerome's left hand there is a relief that appears to come from Classical Antiquity: this shows a man who has managed to capture the untameable unicorn. The third scene in the foreground, and close to the ground, shows a figure who has crawled into a basket. Sitting on a staff that sticks out of his backside is an owl acting as a lure for the other birds that swarm around it. Here the owl represents the bird of darkness defeated. Bosch flanked this victory over evil by Jerome, the church father who translated the Old and New Testaments, with additional depictions from Classical Antiquity, the Old Testament and folk traditions.

The ultimate symbolic thematic idea is to be found in the surroundings of the church father in the panel *St Jerome in Prayer* in the Fine Arts museum in Ghent (Fig. 3). In the foreground of



Fig. 3. Jheronimus Bosch, *St Jerome at Prayer*, c. 1485–95, oil on oak, 80.0 × 60.7 cm, Ghent: Museum van Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 1908-H. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

a peaceful landscape with mountains, a farm, a church and a stretch of water, the saint lies prostrate in front of an ominous pile of rock. His red soutane, cardinal's hat and Bible lie behind him; on the other side of the panel stands the lion as constant companion, rendering Jerome immediately identifiable. In the midst of this hostile environment, full of vermin and prickly vegetation, Jerome embraces a crucifix intimately. The piece of stone with which he beat his breast to purge himself of impure thoughts lies next to him. The gravestone above him refers to the passage in his *vita* that reports his promptly digging a grave near the place he had withdrawn to in solitude. The cock, half consumed by the sleeping fox – left in the foreground – the remnants of which can still be seen, is another indicator of mortality, as is the anthropomorphic pile of rock that dominates the whole and stares out at us like a skull with dark hollow eyes. Below, there is the saint, clad only in his under tunic and immersed in prayer. The spotless white garment must refer to the purity of body and soul that Jerome fought to achieve, as well as the purity of Holy Scripture. It makes a visual sequence with the white loin cloth of the crucified Christ, and its significance is emphasized by the tiny little woman in the distance above him who is washing white linen at the edge of a lake. The clean washing lies in the field behind, bleaching in the sun to become as white as possible. The pious viewer of this panel deciphering and considering all this, is not only fixed by the staring skull-like rock but also by the baleful glare of the owl on the desiccated tree trunk. The penetrating gaze of this bird of the night seems to tell the viewer that they, too, belong to the sinful world from which Jerome has set

himself apart. This owl, in its turn, is spied upon by a second owl peering out from a dark hole in the exact centre of the painting. This central position cannot be accidental and this owl emphasizes the game of seeing and being seen, on which the whole thing turns, quite literally. The viewer sees how Jerome with closed eyes concentrates in prayer. He has purged himself of sin and sees Christ with his 'inner eye'. Bosch added the crucifix only when the figure of Jerome was already complete – an addition by which we are enabled to see what Jerome is seeing in prayer. Meanwhile, from the darkness the small owl regards the large owl and sees us too, and our sinfulness.

Bosch's Holy Places

In conclusion, we can state that with Bosch there is an essential difference between the background of the New Testament scenes and those of the lives of saints. The youth and Passion of Christ were placed in landscapes that were familiar to his contemporaries and patrons and with architecture that emphasizes this. The events of the New Testament were brought closer to the viewer, not only geographically but also chronologically: as Bosch depicted them, these events were taking place in the here and now. Jerusalem is not presented as a distant city of the past. The story of redemption is brought up to date and made very immediate. But the scenes from the lives of the saints are a different case. In these, the landscape in which they are set has the sole purpose of giving greater significance to the chief personage – to illustrate more details of his life, but above all, to provide greater depth.

Notes

1 For the works of Jheronimus Bosch mentioned in this article we refer the reader to the recent surveys in which references to the older literature have been included: Stephan Fischer, *Jheronimus Bosch: The Complete Works* (Cologne: Taschen, 2013); exh. cat. 's-Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabants Museum, *Jheronimus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*, ed. by Matthijs IJssink and others (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2016); Luuk Hoogstede and others, *Jheronimus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Technical Studies*

(Brussels: Mercator Fonds, 2016); Pilar Silva Maroto and others, *Bosch: The 5th Centenary Exhibition* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016).

2 At least ten editions appeared during the life of Jheronimus Bosch. Hugh W. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his journey to the Holy Land 1483–84: A bibliography* (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1911).

3 Reindert Falkenburg, *The Land of Unlikeness: Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2011), pp. 119, 122; Larry Silver, *Hierony-*

- mus Bosch (London and New York: Abbeville Press, 2006), pp. 51–52; Larry Silver, ‘World of Wonders: Exotic Animals in European Imagery 1515–1650’, in *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, ed. by Pia F. Cuneo (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), p. 297.
- 4 Fischer, p. 102; exh. cat. ‘s-Hertogenbosch, *Jheronimus Bosch*, pp. 356–79, cat. no. 21; Silva Maroto, pp. 330–47, cat. no. 46.
 - 5 Marijke Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 307–08; Wim van Anrooij, ‘Scheperen achter de horizon: Jacob Cnoyen uit ‘s-Hertogenbosch over koning Artur’, in *Hoort wonder! Opstellen voor W. P. Gerritsen bij zijn emeritaat*, ed. by Bart Besamusca and others (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), pp. 19–24; Jos Koldewij, ‘Jheronimus Bosch en zijn stad ‘s-Hertogenbosch’, in *Jheronimus Bosch: Alle schilderijen en tekeningen*, ed. by Jos Koldewij and others (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and NAI; Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion, 2001), pp. 20–83 (p. 61).
 - 6 Over Jan Goessen van Aken: G. C. M. van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch – de feiten* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001), pp. 32–34.
 - 7 Van Dijck, *Op zoek*, pp. 54–55, 86; Henricus B. M. Essink, ‘De bedevaarten en Bossche Weddenschappen over het tijdvak 1479–1500’, *Brabants Heem*, 9 (1957), 108–11 (p. 109); Koldewij, ‘Jheronimus Bosch en zijn stad’, pp. 36–39; Valentijn Paquay, ‘Den Bosch in zicht: devote reizigers onderweg’, *Bossche Bladen*, 2 (2009), 59–64; Godfried C. M. van Dijck, ‘Bossche Jerusalemvaarders en tachtig weddenschappen’, *De Brabantse Leeuw*, 55 (2006), 234–44; Godfried C. M. van Dijck, *De Brabantse Leeuw*, 56 (2007), 41–49, 116–19.
 - 8 Albertus Cuperinus, *Die Chronicke van der vermaender en de vromer stad van ‘s-Hertogenbosch*, zie: Cornelius R. Hermans, *Verzameling van Kronyken: Charters en Oorkonden betreffende de stad en Meyerij van ‘s-Hertogenbosch*, 3 vols (‘s-Hertogenbosch: Stokvis, 1846–48), 1 (1846), p. 272; Alexander F. O. Sasse van Ysselt, *De voornamen huizen en gebouwen van ‘s-Hertogenbosch, alsmede hunne eigenaars of bewoners in vroegere eeuwen: aantekeningen uit de Bossche schepenprotocollen loopende van 1500–1810*, 3 vols (‘s-Hertogenbosch: Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noordbrabant, 1911), III, pp. 336–37; Essink, pp. 108–11. Cuperinus reports that Beys visited the Holy land twice and Mount Sinai once.
 - 9 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1983 (1983–406). William D. Wixom, *Mirror of the medieval world* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 203–04, cat. no. 246; Koldewij, ‘Jheronimus Bosch en zijn stad’, pp. 36–39, cat. no. 4.17.
 - 10 Sasse van Ysselt, p. 337.
 - 11 Cuperinus, see Hermans, p. 72; Sasse van Ysselt, pp. 336–37; Johan Hendrik van Heurn, *Historie der stad en meyerie van ‘s Hertogenbosch alsmede van de voornaamste daaden der hertogen van Brabant*, 4 vols (Utrecht: J. van Schoonhoven, 1776–78), 1 (1776), p. 408.
 - 12 Van Heurn, p. 408; Sasse van Ysselt, p. 212.
 - 13 Van Heurn, pp. 406–07; Louis P. L. Pirenne, ‘s-Hertogenbosch en de Blijde Inkomst’, *Standen en Landen – Anciens Pays et Assemblées d’Etats*, 19 (1960), 35–92 (p. 39).
 - 14 Ad van Drunen, *‘s-Hertogenbosch van straat tot stroom* (Zwolle: Waanders; Zeist: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 2006) pp. 206–09 (Markt 55, ‘De Leeuwenburg’ owned by Lodewijk Beys), pp. 209–10 (Markt 61, ‘Het Root Cruijs’ owned by Aleid van de Meervenne and Jheronimus Bosch).
 - 15 Van Dijck, *Op zoek*, pp. 31–34, 48–49, 185.
 - 16 Van Dijck, *Op zoek*, p. 55; Van Dijck, ‘Bossche Jerusalemvaarders’.
 - 17 Nathan Schur, *Jerusalem in pilgrims’ and travellers’ accounts: a thematic bibliography of western Christian itineraries 1300–1917* (Jerusalem: Ariel, 1980); Ben Wasser, *Nederlandse pelgrims naar het heilige land* (Zutphen: Terra, 1983); Christiane Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and New York: Peter Lang, 1987); Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994).
 - 18 Alpheus Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), pp. 41–42.
 - 19 Hoogstede and others, pp. 300–01 (Fig.).
 - 20 Jannis C. Notebaart, *Windmühlen: Der Stand der Forschung über das Vorkommen und den Ursprung* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972), pp. 132–33, 275–77, 304–05.
 - 21 Mention of the panel in Paris is included in the dossier of the triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; the panel itself was documented by the author in Paris, 12 January 2015.
 - 22 It is unknown when the removal of the pennant indicating Islam occurred. On a photograph of the panel attested to by Max J. Friedländer on 3 March 1949 it had already been removed. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Curatorial Files.
 - 23 City Archives, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, 14, Old Legal Archives ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Magistrates Archives, 1250, fols 344^{v/v}, in Boschdoc <<http://boschdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/edition/nl/entry/27759/transcription>> [accessed 7 April 2016].

THE CHOIR STALLS OF ST MARTIN IN EMMERICH: HISTORY OF A BATTERED ENSEMBLE

Willy PIRON

When entering St Martin in Emmerich, at the far end of the church, against the southern wall of the transept, one sees medieval choir stalls made by an unknown artist (Fig. 1 and Colour Plate IX, indicated in green).¹ It is clear that the present day location is not the original one. In 1892 Paul Clemen saw the stalls in their original place in the choir and defined them as follows: 'Die Emmericher Chorgestühle sind die reichsten und ausgedehntesten ihrer Gattung am Niederrhein [...]'.² Clemen did not know he was looking at a much-altered ensemble that was missing some of the original elements from 1486. This paper will describe the crucial moments in the history of the ensemble and the substantial changes made to it. Missing elements will be reconstructed in order to come up with a proposal for what the choir stalls looked like in 1486. We will move backwards from the present day. First the context of the choir stalls will be given by means of a short history of the church and its chapter. A biography of the patron of the choir stalls will be included in order to establish the influence he had in the design and whether there are recognizable marks of his patronage.

The Church and Chapter of St Martin

The *vita* of St Radboud of 914 mentions two *presbyteres de coenobio Embricensi* which means that by that time Emmerich already had a chapter or a monastery.³ Emmerich had been an archdeaconry of the diocese of Utrecht at least since the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1131 it is documented that Bishop Andreas von Kuik of Utrecht was provost and archdeacon in Emmerich before his election as bishop.⁴ The Chapter of St Martin, together with the chapters of Deventer, Arnhem and Oldenzaal, formed the oldest chapter of the diocese of Utrecht. The deans of these four chapters in collaboration with the

five chapters of the city of Utrecht chose the bishop of Utrecht.⁵ After the dissolution of the archbishopric of Utrecht during the Reformation, Emmerich became the most detached post of the so-called *Hollandse Zending*. From here the Catholics tried to govern and convert the Protestant parts of the Netherlands. The chapter existed till 1811 when Emmerich became part of France. Under French law all the convents and chapters were dissolved and St Martin became a parish church.⁶

According to legend, in 700 St Willibrord dedicated the oldest church in Emmerich to St Martin. This church was in the south of Emmerich. The Church and Chapter of St Martin were moved to the north of Emmerich at the beginning of the tenth century, after which the old church became the parish church St Aldegundis. In c. 1040 the new Church of St Martin was built by Bishop Bernold of Utrecht (1027–54). Its architecture was very similar to the other churches built by Bernold, such as the Church of St John in Utrecht and St Lebuinus in Deventer. The Church of St Martin was damaged badly in 1237 to 1238 when the Rhine washed away parts of the nave and the western block. From the church that had been built by Bernold only the crypt, choir, crossing, and most eastern bay remained. The church was renovated and enlarged in the fifteenth century, but because the Rhine was flowing directly west of the church, the northern transept was replaced by a double nave with a tower. An *Eisbrecher* or icebreaker, a big round tower to protect the church from the Rhine, was also built on the south west side of the church (Colour Plate IX, inset).⁷ Around 1485 the choir of St Martin was rebuilt radically in the Gothic style and a rood screen was erected.⁸ The church was almost completely destroyed in 1944 and a very plain rebuilding programme was completed in

1966. A more thorough restoration took place from 1976–89.⁹

The Patron of the Choir Stalls

Shortly after 3 June 1483 an entry was made in the *Calendarium anniversariorum* of the Convent of St Martin: ‘Anno domini M° cccc °lxxxij° obiit Venerabilis et Illustris dominus Mauricius comes deSpegelbergh capellarius et canonicus sancte ecclesie Coloniensis ac prepositus Embriencensis archidiaconus ecclesie Trajectensis. Qui tempore vite sue dedit nova sedilia arteificiose et excquisite fabricate’.¹⁰ The deceased was Count Moritz von Spiegelberg, born either at the end of 1406 or the beginning of 1407 as the youngest child of the noble family Von Spiegelberg who were vassals of the bishop of Hildesheim. Their fief was situated between Hameln and Hildesheim, and Moritz was probably born there.¹¹ His grandparents were members of the noble families of Spiegelberg, Hoya, Lippe and Wunstorp.¹²

As was often the case with younger sons of noble families, Moritz von Spiegelberg was destined for a career in the clergy. In 1418 his father succeeded in getting Moritz the post of abbot of Corvey when he was only eleven years old. He was not a priest nor a member of the Benedictine order which meant he was a secular lord of Corvey.¹³ In 1427 he was registered at the University of Leipzig. In 1434 his father was killed after a conflict with the dukes of Lüneburg, Braunschweig–Calenberg and Braunschweig–Wolfenbüttel (the Spiegelberg Feud) and Moritz von Spiegelberg was deposed as abbot of Corvey.¹⁴ Already by 1435 he had become a member of the most exclusive cathedral chapter of Germany, the Chapter of Cologne.¹⁵ In the same year he also became a member of the council of Basel. His activities in 1436 and 1437 are confirmed in the council’s archives.¹⁶

In 1443 Von Spiegelberg applied for a seat in the Chapter of Utrecht but failed. Not until 1468 did he succeed in becoming a canon in Utrecht. In 1444 the position of dean at the Chapter of St Martin in Emmerich became vacant when Peter van der Meer, who had been dean since 1424, died. Von Spiegelberg became

his successor in the same year. He also managed to get seats in the chapters of Trier (1461) and of Maastricht (1466). Despite his appointments in many cities he lived in Cologne where he owned a house and where his presence is stated in the reports of the chapter meetings which he almost never missed.¹⁷ It was not until 1458 that Von Spiegelberg went to Emmerich for the first time, and in the 1460s he spent more time there. A conflict in Cologne in 1474 forced him out of town and for two years he lived in exile in Emmerich, the only part of the duchy of Cleves that was not under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cologne.¹⁸ On 3 June 1483 Von Spiegelberg died in Cologne and was buried, in accordance with his own wishes, in front of the altar of St Anthony in the Cathedral of Cologne. Some time before his death he ordered the choir stalls for the Church of St Martin in Emmerich and, according to the inscription, they were finished three years after Von Spiegelberg’s death.

Von Spiegelberg was an educated man who had friends at the university and who loved books. He was interested in the renewal trends within the church such as the *Devotio Moderna*: this can be concluded from the facts that he ordered a breviary at the Windesheim monastery in Cologne and took care of the convent of the sisters of the *Devotio Moderna* in Emmerich. He was also open to humanism, witnessed by the fact that he owned works by Ovid, Cicero and Boccaccio. Furthermore he almost certainly knew Rudolphus Agricola personally and it is sure he arranged for the young Alexander Hegius to get lessons from him.¹⁹ In Emmerich he transformed the old chapter-school into a Latin school which became very famous in the sixteenth century.²⁰

Description of the Present Day Choir Stalls

The ensemble as it stands today consist of two rows on different levels (Fig. 1).²¹ The lower row is placed in front of the upper row and has two parts, each with four seats and misericords. A stair in the middle leads to the upper row and is closed off by a door. This door is crude and undecorated and does not match



Fig. 1. Emmerich, Church of St Martin, view of the choir stalls. Photo by the author.

the choir stalls. It is probably a later addition because the stairs of choir stalls were generally left open.

The two stall ends of the lower row have carvings of two of the church fathers standing in a vaulted niche, on the left, St Augustine, and on the right, St Gregory the Great. The two ends alongside the central stair are decorated with tracery. These four stall ends are topped by pairs of animals. From left to right: two eagles holding a shield bearing the Arma Christi, a griffin fighting with a dragon, two dogs fighting over a bone, and two lionesses, again holding a shield bearing the Arma Christi.

The upper row consists of ten seats also with misericords. The dorsal above the seats has two rows of eleven panels. In the first, lower, row the panels are decorated with tracery and have pillars between them. Here the most obvious and apparent change to the stalls is visible. On the pillars are empty spaces on which once stood little statues, now long gone. The second row consists of nine panels with coats of arms, the middle panel showing a wild man and the one on the far left having no coat of arms, just tracery. From left to right the coats of arms are as follows: Saxony with crancelin, Mark with a fess chequy of three traits, Hoya with two bear's



Fig. 2. Stall end of the upper row of the north stalls; photo on the left: exterior of the stall end; photo on the right: interior with the carving of *St John the Baptist* (above) and the corner junction (below), Emmerich: Church of St Martin. Photo by the author.

paws erased, Lippe with a rose, Spiegelberg with a stag passant, Homburg with a lion rampant, Oldenburg with two bars and the combined coats of arms of Spiegelberg and Emmerich with stag and bucket (*Eimer*).²²

The panels are rounded off by a canopy. The row is closed off by two stall ends. The left one is decorated on the inside, with a relief of John the Baptist in a vaulted niche (Fig. 1 and 2, on the right. In Colour Plate IX, in red indicated with A). At the top of the stall end is a banderol with the year MCCCCLXXXVI. The exterior

of the stall end is decorated with a bowing donkey and a panel with a linen fold (Fig. 2, left). This is an unusual decoration for the exterior of a stall end. One would expect tracery, or a saint in a niche, as with the stall ends on the other side (Fig. 1). On its outside, the right stall end is decorated with three panels of tracery. The upper part is open and carved on the inside and outside. This stall end is decorated with a pillar on which once stood a statue – now also missing (Fig. 1).

The Events in 1944 and their Consequences

On 7 October 1944 Emmerich was almost completely destroyed by air attacks. The Church of St Martin was hit and burned down. Both sides of the choir stalls were protected against damage by walls erected during the war but when the church caught fire, the burning pulpit spread the fire by way of the stairs attached to the stalls on the south side. This part of the choir stalls

was destroyed along with the church, but the north part survived. In the days following the bombing, a part of the remaining stalls, a panel measuring 50 × 60 cm, was stolen, prompting Carl von Gimborn and employees of the Emmerich factory *Probatwerke* to dismantle the rest of the stalls. In the summer of 1945 the parts were stored in a stable on a farm in Hühthum. In 1946 they were returned to Emmerich, but

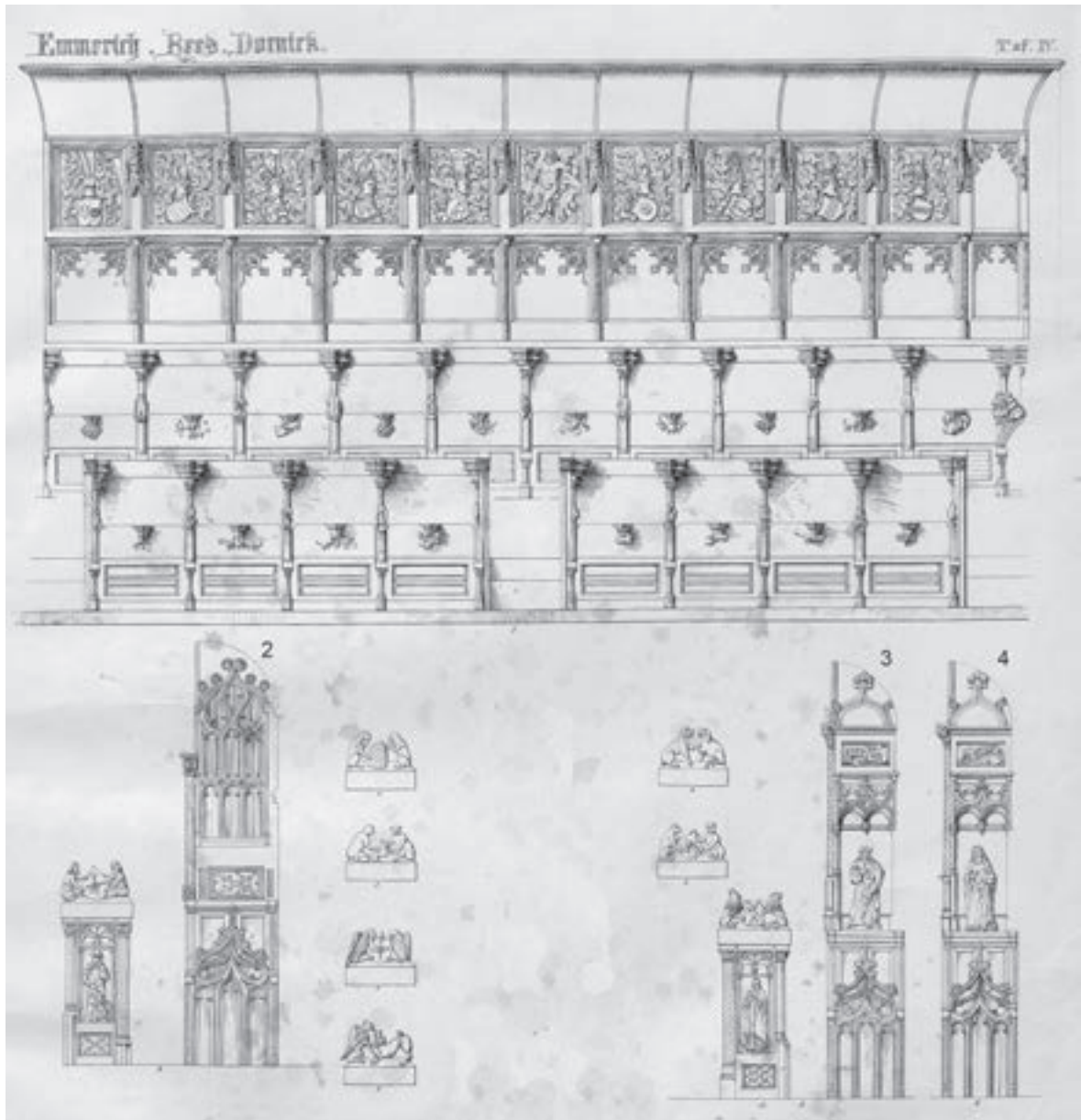


Fig. 3. Adapted illustration of the southern stalls, the stall ends and cappings in the Church of St Martin, Emmerich. From: Aus'm Weerth, Taf. iv.

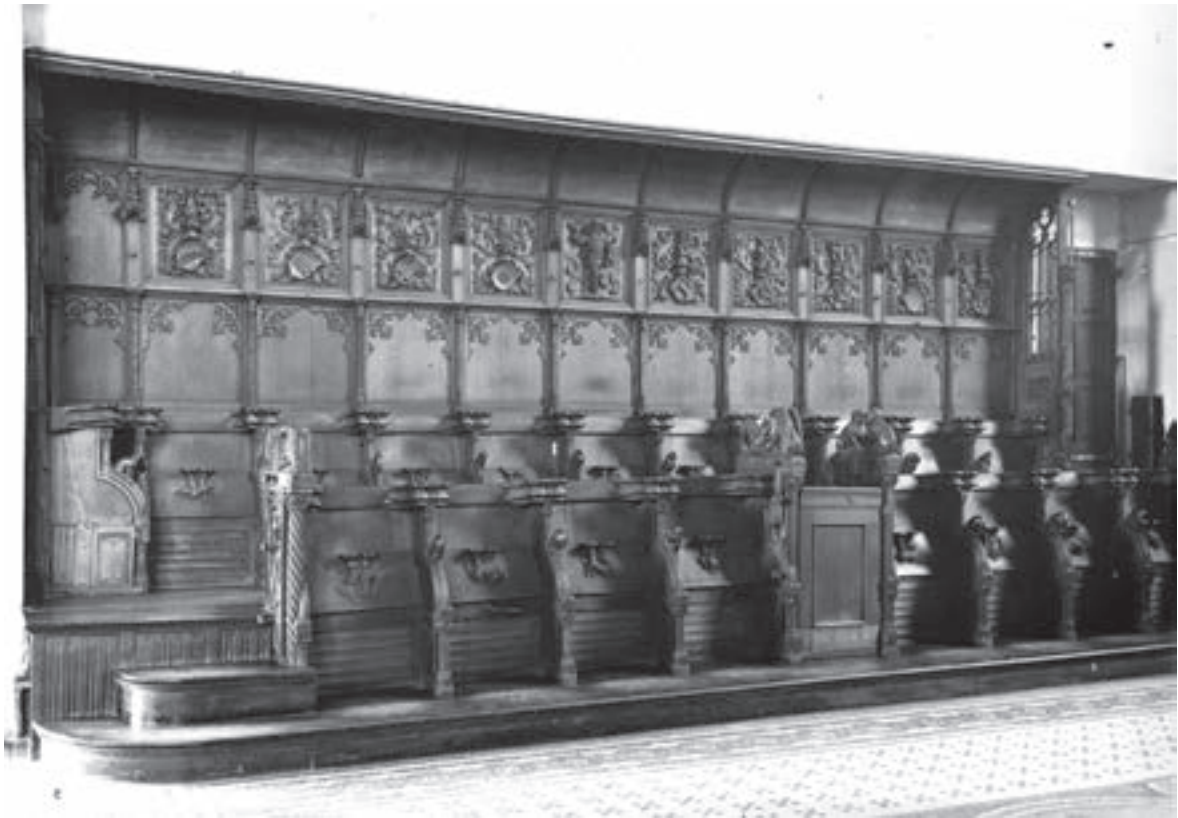


Fig. 4. Northern choir stalls in their niche with, to the right, the door to the northern side chapel, Church of St Martin, Emmerich, 1920. Photo: Stadtarchiv Emmerich am Rhein, 2015/Se.

only to embark on a journey to a variety of locations, among them the ruins of the hospital, the cellars of the *Rheinmuseum* and the presbytery. Between 1974 and 1977 the choir stalls were restored by the firm of Heinrich Görtzen from Kalkar and the sculptor Wilhelm Mathaii from Kleve.²³ The stalls as we see them today, state and position, are a result of this restoration

The State before 1944, Going Back to 1828

After the dissolution of the chapter in 1811 the rood screen became redundant and was demolished in 1828, creating a direct view from the nave into the choir. The condition of the choir stalls in the period 1828–1944 was described and depicted by Aus'm Weerth in 1857 (Fig. 3).²⁴ However, the most extensive description was given by Paul Clemen in 1892. The burned south side of the stalls was still standing and was mirrored by the one on the north side.

On the south pillar of the crossing, the pulpit, from a later date than the stalls, was attached to the stalls by stairs. The upper rows with the dorsals and the canopies were placed in 60 cm deep niches that had been especially constructed for them in 1486 (Fig. 4).²⁵ These niches also contained the passages to the two chapels on either side of the choir (Colour Plate IX, indicated with F and G).

The first obvious intervention in this period is the change of the order of the coat of arms on the north side. Kisky described them in 1934 and they are shown on a photograph from before Second World War.²⁶ The second and third panel, the coats of arms of Mark and Hoya, were changed round when the parts were re-assembled after 1974. The south side had the same coats of arms in the order Kisky described except for the last one. Instead of the combined coats of arms of Emmerich and Spiegelberg the

combined coats of arms of Emmerich and Lippe, a bucket and a rose, were depicted.

The coats of arms depicted on the stalls are the *Ahnenprobe*, or patent of nobility, of Moritz von Spiegelberg in order that all the canons could see who the patron was and what immaculate lineage he had. It is very uncommon to find this feature on choir stalls. In Cappenberg, also, coats of arms are carved on the dorsal but they are the coats of arms of the canons. Only one set of five seats in the chapel of Davensberg has a similar patent of nobility of a single person, namely that of Johann von Büren zu Davensberg with four coats of arms.²⁷ The Emmerich stalls are the only one with a double *Ahnenprobe* of one person.

When one studies the upper stall ends (Fig. 3, nos 2, 3, and 4) in the engraving of Aus'm Weerth, than it has to be noted that something is not right. Judging from the quarter arches at the top of the stall ends where they connect to the canopy, there are three stall ends depicted from one side of the choir stalls and that is not possible (Fig. 3, stall end 2, 3 and 4). It should be two on either side. There is more that is incorrectly depicted. The upper stall ends on the side of the crossing were in a niche, see above (Fig. 4). They were only visible from the inside of the choir stalls and not from the outside (Colour Plate IX, indicated with B). Yet Aus'm Weerth depicted them as full-length stall ends with panels of tracery beneath the sculptures of the saints. This is a type of stall end, however, that did not exist in the Lower Rhine area. Moreover, it was not impossible to portray the stalls in this way because, during this period, the upper rows with the associated stall ends stood in their niches.²⁸ Only the insides of the stall ends were visible. On the north stall end John the Baptist was depicted and on the south stall end Mary Magdalene. Beneath them were no panels with tracery, only seats.²⁹ Standing in the choir one saw, on the right above Mary Magdalene, a banderol with ANNO DÑI (Colour Plate IX, in blue indicated with D). On the left above John the Baptist is the banderol with the inscription MCCCCLXXXVI (Colour Plate IX, in red indicated with B).

As mentioned before, the now missing south side was for a great part a mirror image of the north side but there were some differences in the sculpture such as the western upper stall end described above. Also the lower stall ends had different cappings. Starting east and going west: two seated wild men holding a shield with the Arma Christi, two bears with a beehive, eating honey, two monkeys playing with a little dog, and finally two lions, once again holding a shield with the Arma Christi. The two panels placed on lower stall ends had carvings of the other two church fathers standing in vaulted niches, to the east, St Jerome, and to the west, St Ambrose (Fig. 3). Naturally the misericords and elbow carvings had different motifs.

Reconstruction of the Choir Stalls, 1486

Around 1485 the choir of the Church of St Martin was radically rebuilt in the Gothic style and included a late Gothic rood screen.³⁰ This rood screen is depicted on drawings by Jan de Beyer.³¹ The new construction of the choir and the rood screen coincided with, or were probably the reason for Von Spiegelberg ordering the choir stalls that were finished in 1486, three years after his death.

During a restoration of the church in 1988, over two thousand fragments of the rood screen were found under the church floor. Truus Brandsma and Jos Stöver of Leiden University researched these fragments. They managed to establish how the rood screen had looked. It consisted of five bays with arcades of the following measurements, from north to south: 2.5, 2.65, 2.95, 2.65 and 2.5 metres.³² Under the first arcade stood the altar of St Michael, under the third was the altar of St John the Baptist or of the Sacrament, and under the last was the altar of St Barbara. Under the second and the fourth arcade were passages with steps to the choir.³³ From the fragments of the rood screen it could be concluded that the style of the rood was similar to that of the choir stalls.

The combined facts of a rood screen closing off the choir, the junction in the corner, and a part of a shortened seats at the west end of the north stalls (Fig. 2, right) must lead to the

conclusion that the shape of the choir stalls was originally different from that in the period after 1828. The upper rows must have had an L-shape, positioned along the choir wall and around the corner along the back wall of the first and last bay of the rood screen (Colour Plate IX, indicated with B and D). On the side of the choir, the first and last bay measured 52.5 cm. Taking account of the 60 cm of the niche, the short leg of the L-shaped upper rows (Colour Plate IX, B and D) must have measured 112.5 cm.³⁴ From the middle of one arm rest (also called stall capping) to the middle of the other measures 72 cm which is the width of one seat. The width of the stall end measures 13 cm. Combined, this comes to 85 cm. One can presume that the short leg did not jut out in the passageway to the choir. This leads to the conclusion that there was only space for one seat in the short leg of the L-shape. Whether the short leg was placed against the back of the rood screen, or incorporated in it as the long leg was in the niche in the wall, is impossible to determine.

Research in situ of the stall ends on the remaining lower row show that they were not altered and that they fit to the seats correctly. The conclusion must be drawn that they did not end in an angle of 90 degrees as the lower row of the choir stalls in the Church of the Minorites in Cleves originally did.³⁵ The lower rows are as they were always intended to be and are closed off straight by the stall ends as are the lower rows of the stalls in the Cathedral of Erfurt.³⁶

Today the lower row is placed in the middle before the upper row (Fig. 1). This is also the arrangement as depicted in Aus'm Weerth.³⁷ This position is not correct. If the upper rows had an L-shape, there is very little room left between them and the lower rows for a passage with stairs to the upper row. The space would only be 4.5 cm. In a pre-war photograph in Meurer, and also with some difficulty in Figure 4, we can see that the lower row was placed more to the east in alignment with the upper row, as is common in most places.³⁸ With the lower rows in this position there is more room at the west between the lower and upper rows. The only irregularity is that, in this position, the middle entrance is

not placed under the middle panel with the wild man, but one panel further to the east.

As mentioned before, the panel with St John the Baptist shows a false armrest with a carving of a bowing donkey on the reverse (Fig. 2, left). Below it is a panel with a linen fold as all the stall standards have on both sides and as the stall ends have on the inside (Fig. 1). Above it is a rectangular hole for an arm rest. The measurements of this panel are the same as those of the insides of both stall ends (144 × 51 cm). The only conclusion can be that the St John panel was at first the lower part of a stall end with a seat attached to it and the question is to which stall end? The lower rows are not eligible because they are not altered in their construction and are still the same as they were when originally executed and have their associated stall ends. So only the upper stall ends remain as a possibility. There are only two positions where this panel could have been attached to the upper rows. One of the possibilities is on the east side of the south stalls, but that stall end was unaltered and original (Colour Plate IX, indicated with E).³⁹ Which leaves the north end of the short leg of the south upper row (Colour Plate IX, in red indicated with C) as the only remaining position. Because this panel had a seat attached to it, it was the lower part of the stall end. The panel with St Mary Magdalene was placed opposite. These positions, the panels of St John the Baptist and St Mary Magdalene in a niche with the inscription above, are more in accordance with the tradition in the Lower Rhine area. Similar panels are placed in the same position in the stalls in the churches of St Nicolas in Kalkar, of the Minorites in Cleves, of St Martin in Venlo and Reinoldi in Dortmund.⁴⁰ How the upper part of the stall ends originally looked is not known. Probably they had freestanding statues like the stalls in Cleves and Kalkar.

Conclusion

During the more than five hundred years of its existence only a part of the choir stalls of Emmerich has come down to us. Previous descriptions and research assumed the original choir stalls consisted of thirty-six seats.⁴¹ Now, be-

cause of the L-shaped construction of the upper rows along the rood screen, it appears there were thirty-eight seats. Also, as it turns out, not everything belonging to the south stalls was destroyed. The panel of St John the Baptist was originally the lower part of the southern upper stall end.

The present day position and state is not right. Like so many choir stalls, those from Emmerich lost their function when they lost the people that used them. That loss of function, as is the case with all church furniture, is often the beginning of change in the original setting and misplacing of parts. The position ceases to be important and what was once a functional piece of furniture becomes nothing more than a big, unwieldy piece of decoration.

In 1892 Clemen thought he saw the choir stalls as they had been made in 1486. If he had all the sources at his disposal he would have known he was wrong. This underlines that even if one is fortunate enough to find a beautiful engraving off the stalls dating from 1857, one has to

wonder if it is genuine. Once again it is proven that one must not accept sources unquestioningly. Only critical research of the available sources and of the situation in situ can lead us to correct conclusions.

The coat of arms of one family depicted so prominently on the choir stalls is not seen in similar settings elsewhere and it is an obvious mark left by its patron, Moritz von Spiegelberg. His slab in front of the St Anthony altar in the Cathedral of Cologne is long gone but part of his very expensive donation to the Church of St Martin is still standing and is unquestionably a monument in his memory. His choice to depict such an extensive patent of nobility on the choir stalls, not once but twice, must be a sign that he was conscious of who he was: a man on the brink of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He was interested in *de Devotio Moderna* and in humanism and yet he ordered a very conservative and elite piece of church furniture, albeit in the most fashionable execution.

Notes

- 1 Gerard Lemmens and Guido de Werd, *Kunstschätze aus dem St-Martini-Münster zu Emmerich* (Emmerich, 1977), p. 39. Lemmens and De Werd attribute the stalls of Emmerich to an unknown follower of Arnt Beeldesnider. The attribution of the choir stalls will not be discussed in this paper.
- 2 Paul Clemen, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Rees, 2.1*, (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1892), p. 43: 'The choir stalls of Emmerich are the most lavish and extensive in their genre in the Lower Rhine'. Details of the Emmerich choir stalls can be consulted on the Stalla-database, Radboud University Nijmegen <<http://www.ru.nl/stalla>> [accessed 11 July 2016].
- 3 Helmut Flintrop, *Die St Martinikirche zu Emmerich: Ein Vorposten des Hochstiftes Utrecht* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1992), p. 13.
- 4 Ulrike Spengler-Reffgen, *Das Stift St. Martini zu Emmerich von den Anfängen bis zur mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Bonner Historische Forschungen*, 57 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1997), p. 47.
- 5 Lemmens and De Werd, p. 9.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21.
- 7 *Georg Dehio – Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler. Nordrhein-Westfalen*, ed. by Claudia Euskirchen and others (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005), 1: *Rheinland*, p. 345.
- 8 Truus Brandsma and Jos Stöver, 'Het Doxaal in de Sint-Maartenskerk te Emmerik: van Puinhoop tot Reconstructie', *Madoc*, 6, 4 (1992), (p. 219).
- 9 *Dehio – Handbuch Nordrhein-Westfalen*, 1, p. 346.
- 10 Pfarrarchiv St Martini, Emmerich, B 125: 'In the year of our Lord 1483 the venerable and renowned Lord Moritz Count of Spiegelberg died. He was chaplain and canon of the Holy Church in Cologne furthermore provost in Emmerich and archdeacon of the church of Utrecht. During his lifetime he donated the new skilful and exquisite made seat'.
- 11 Gregor Hövelmann, *Moritz Graf von Spiegelberg (1406/1407-1483): Domherr in Köln, Propst in Emmerich, Mäzen und Stifter* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Becker, 1987), pp. 17-18.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-44.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-83.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 109. Alexander Hegius or Sander van Heek (c. 1439-98) was a humanist and teacher. His most famous pupils were Erasmus and Pope Adrian VI.
- 20 Lemmens and De Werd, p. 13.

- 21 Measured on 2 July 2015, upper row: width: 51 cm, length 793 cm, height 310 cm; lower row: width 53 cm, length 680 cm, height 152 cm. Clemen gave the following measurements in 1892: length 820 cm, height 350 cm.
- 22 Wilhelm Kisky, 'Die Wappen auf dem Chorgestühl in St Martini in Emmerich', *Rheinische Heimatpflege. Zeitschrift für Museumswesen, Denkmalpflege, Archivberatung, Volkstum, Natur- und Landschaftsschutz*, 6 (1934), 525-28 (p. 525).
- 23 Hans Reimann, 'Von der Rettung des Chorgestühls aus St Martini in Emmerich', *Kalender für den Kreis Kleve 1976*, Ausgabe Nord (1976), 190-92.
- 24 Ernst Aus'm Weerth, *Kunstdenkmäler des Christlichen Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden, Erste Abteilung: Bildnerlei* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1857), pp. 8-10, Taf. 1v.
- 25 Flintrop, p. 24. According to 'Hochornordwand, Befundskizze Bader, Zustand 1937', pp. 138-39, Figs 48-49, the measurements of the niches were approximately: height 470 cm, length 1030 cm, depth 60 cm.
- 26 Kisky, p. 525. The photograph is in the Stadtarchiv Emmerich and is also published in Heribert Meurer, *Das Klever Chorgestühl und Art Beeldsnider* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland, 1970), Fig. 106.
- 27 Gerd Dethleffs, 'Die Deutung der Wappen des Cappenberg Chorgestühls', in *Das Cappenberg Chorgestühl 1509-1520: Meister Gerlach und die Bildschnitzerwerkstatt der Brabender in Una*, ed. by Gerd Dethleffs (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2009), p. 159.
- 28 Clemen, p. 41. Clemen also states that the stalls are installed in the wall ('In die Mauer eingelassen').
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 30 Brandsma and Stöver, p. 219.
- 31 Jan de Beijer, *Interior of St Martin in Emmerich*, pencil, pen in black and grey and water colour on paper, Haarlem: Teylers Museum, inv. no. v 009; Jan de Beijer, *Interior of St Martin in Emmerich*, pen in grey and brown, 145 × 210 mm, Emmerich: Kath. Pfarrkirche St Martini.
- 32 Brandsma and Stöver, p. 217.
- 33 Pfarrarchiv St Martini, Emmerich, B 17. Notebook of the Chapter of St Martin. Schematic drawing of the floor plan of St Martin before 1628. Drawing made by Canon Petrus Bögel, dated around 1650. The altars are also indicated on the drawing.
- 34 Measurements were made in situ and on the rebuilding plan by architect Van Aken dating from 1949; Flintrop, p. 117, Fig. 19.
- 35 Meurer, pp. 18-20.
- 36 *Ibid.*, Fig. 96.
- 37 Aus'm Weerth, Taf. IV.
- 38 *Ibid.*, Fig. 106.
- 39 Janneke van Golen, 'Het koorgestoelte van de Martinikerk in Emmerich' (unpublished research paper presented at the Bestaria seminar led by dr Martine L. Meuwese, Utrecht University, 2009), pp. 12-13. Van Golen comes to the conclusion that the panel is attached to stall end indicated with E in Fig. 2.
- 40 Guido de Werd, *Die St Nicolairkirche zu Kalkar*, ([n.p.]: DKV, [n.d.]), Fig. 26; Meurer, Figs 2, 104, 108.
- 41 Ulrike Spengler-Reffgen, 'Emmerich - St. Martini', in *Nordrheinisches Klosterbuch: Lexikon der Stifte und Klöster bis 1815*, ed. by Manfred Groten and others, 5 vols (Sieburg: Franz Schmitt, 2009-), II (2012): *Düsseldorf bis Kleve*, p. 240.

THE TREE OF CHARLEMAGNE? ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR RULERS ON LATE MEDIEVAL CHOIR STALLS

Christel THEUNISSEN

In 2014, the 1200th anniversary of Charlemagne's death was celebrated with exhibitions and publications.¹ Even after such a long period of time the Holy Roman emperor appeals to our historic imagination. Just a couple of months earlier, in December 2013, I identified a figure on a recently discovered sixteenth-century wooden panel as a representation of Charlemagne. This panel, sold at auction, used to be part of a set of four stall ends (Fig. 1).² In this paper I will elaborate on its identification by looking at late medieval images of ecclesiastical and secular rulers on choir stalls and the reasons for their representation. In addition, I will present a hypothesis about the patron who commissioned the stall ends with Charlemagne's image on them.

Four Stall Ends

Choir stalls were part of the church furniture in cathedrals, collegiate and monastic churches, and, on a smaller scale, in parish and village churches. Placed in the choir, the liturgical centre of the church, they functioned as seats for the clergy. Generally, the stalls are made up of one or two rows of tip-up seats placed against the north, south, and sometimes the west side of the choir, and terminated with stall ends at the end of the rows. The back of the stalls is formed by panels, often finished with some canopy work. To give some relief to the clergy who sang and prayed standing up, the tip-up seats were provided with brackets underneath, the so-called misericords. The often prolific decorative sculpture on choir stalls is an abundant source for religious and profane subjects.

Throughout Europe, an estimated 750 such monuments from the late medieval period (1150–1550) have survived. Reformation, wars and secularization have led to the destruction

of many medieval choir stalls. Many more were dismantled, moved, and sold to other churches or private collections. This was also the case with the four sixteenth-century stall ends in question which once belonged to one ensemble. As in so many cases, information about provenance was lost because the nineteenth-century sellers and buyers of these wooden panels showed little interest in the origin of the woodwork.

Between 1836 and 1848 the four stall ends were bought by the Englishman Charles Scarisbrick. During that period, his house, Scarisbrick Hall in the county of Lancashire, was renewed and refurbished by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and his son Edward.³ Decorated with medieval and neo-Gothic furniture and art, the house was a prototype of the English Gothic Revival. Immediately after the death of Charles Scarisbrick in 1860 parts of the collection were sold at organized sales.⁴ Other auctions followed and in 1963 the four stall ends were sold at auction to a private collector from the Netherlands.⁵ Fifty years later the wooden panels returned to Great Britain to be sold to another private European collector.⁶

Trees of Lineage and Narratives

Each stall end depicts a tree with intricate branches springing from a figure sitting or lying down. Three of the four panels show well-known iconographical themes: the Tree of Jesse, *Ecclesia* holding a chalice with a tree, and the Apostles' Tree which springs from the chest of Christ who lies on his tomb. The schematic structure of the tree is an ideal medium to reveal how people and events relate to each other. The *Tree of Jesse*, which visualizes the ancestry of Christ, was immensely popular throughout the Late Middle Ages. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber has explained a large part of the success of this



Fig. 1. Set of four panels from the sides of choir stalls, c. 1510–20, oak, 234 × 54 × 9 cm each, private collection.

genealogical tree with the idea that it expresses ‘the continuity of a line and the community of a lineage’.⁷ *Ecclesia* is the personification of the Church. She holds a chalice from which branches grow. This tree represents the New Testament with the life of Christ and his sacrifice for mankind. From bottom to top these branches hold the Holy Trinity, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Harrowing of Hell, the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. Christ crucified takes the central position.

The Apostles’ Tree grows from Christ’s chest as a New Testament parallel to the Old Testament Jesse. He holds a cross and lies on his grave while the blood flows from his side wound into a chalice. The tree with the apostles – from bottom to top and left to right we see Peter, John, Paul, Bartholomew, James the Great, Andrew, Thomas, Matthew, Simon, Philip, Matthias, and James the Less – with Christ at the root visualizes the Christian community as a family. As such, it seems to point forward to a genealogy



Fig. 2. Jörg Syrlin, stall end on the south west side of the choir stalls, c. 1493, oak, Abbey Church of Blaubeuren (Baden-Württemberg). Photo: Courtesy of the Centre for Art Historical Documentation (CKD), Radboud University Nijmegen.

of Christian faith, because the apostles would continue to spread Christ's word.

Worldly Rulers on Choir Stalls

The fourth panel shows an armoured worldly ruler with sword, crown and orb, resting on a cushion as with Jesse and *Ecclesia*. While he seems to be asleep, a tree springs from his chest. Its branches are decorated with six bishops and six secular figures. Stall ends were mostly decorated with biblical subjects, saints, prophets, evangelists, and church fathers.⁸ But they were also an ideal place to depict ecclesiastical and worldly patrons in order to commemorate them. In the fourteenth century, the master carver Jean de Liège represented himself, together with his patron Amédée VII of Savoie (c. 1360–91), on the ends of the choir stalls in the Church of St Francis at Lausanne.⁹ Jean de Liège kneels with folded hands in front of the standing Count who holds a banner and the coat of arms

of the Savoian family. An inscription states that *Iohannis de Leodio* was the creator of these stalls in 1387.¹⁰

Another beautiful example can be found in the parish church of the German town of Memmingen (Bavaria) where twelve busts decorate the lower rows of the early sixteenth-century stall ends.¹¹ Not only are the church wardens, priest, and organist of St Martin's Church depicted here, but also the mayor and his wife and other local dignitaries. The function of this building as a parish church makes it likely that members of the city council were financially involved in the production of the stall, and subsequently integrated in its decoration.

The commemorative function of sculpture on stall ends is even more visible on the choir stalls in Blaubeuren Abbey (Baden-Württemberg). This Benedictine community was founded in the eleventh century by the counts of Tübingen and Von Ruck. The abbey church was rebuilt in the late fifteenth century after a fire. On this occasion, Jörg Syrlin (1455) made a set of choir stalls under the guidance of Abbot Heinrich III Fabri. In 1493 the set was finished and placed in the church.¹² The stall ends on the northwest and southwest sides are decorated with figures in old-fashioned costumes from about 1400. The clothing denotes that historic figures are presented here.¹³ On the low stall end, southwest side, a man and woman are depicted, the man holding an inscribed scroll (Fig. 2). A bust of a man with a hat and a scroll is placed on top of the stall end. Both the hat and the scroll have text. The inscriptions reveal the identity of the people depicted: they are Count Anselm von Tübingen with his wife Bertha and Count Henricus von Tübingen.¹⁴ In addition, members of the Von Ruck family are depicted on the stall ends. With these representations, the fifteenth-century patron honoured the founding fathers of the abbey and its church.

The aforementioned examples show that ecclesiastical and secular figures were depicted on stall ends. In almost all of these cases these people were the patrons of the choir stalls or the church building. The function of these representations does not differ from the representation of donors on other objects such as paintings



Fig. 3. Stall end on the north west side of the choir stalls, c. 1345, oak, Frankfurt am Main: Cathedral of St Bartholomew. Photo: Courtesy Centre for Art Historical Documentation (CKD), Radboud University Nijmegen.

or altarpieces. The patrons of the choir stalls were, similarly, seeking for salvation. Their representations on the stall ends showed their social position in a memorial to them.¹⁵

Holy Roman Emperors on Choir Stalls

In the collegiate church of St Bartholomew in Frankfurt am Main (Hesse) two stall ends – the ones located on the west side of the choir – show a well thought-out decoration. On the south-west panel we see in the lower section Christ crucified with Mary and Mary Magdalene. Above them, in the higher section, stands St Bartholomew holding his flayed skin. Next to the patron saint of the church, the coat of arms of Kuno II von Falkenstein (c. 1320–88) is depicted. Von Falkenstein, provost of the church's chapter and later archbishop of Trier, was the donor of the choir stalls ordered around 1345 and most probably the inventor of the programme for the stall ends.¹⁶ Sts Agnes and Catherine decorate the lower section of the north-west panel. The crowned man in the upper section holding a sceptre and the model of the church can be identified as Charlemagne who had been venerated as the founder of Frankfurt am Main since the thirteenth century (Fig. 3).¹⁷ The image on the stall end also shows him as the founder of the church. With the representation of St Bartholomew and Charlemagne on the stall ends, Kuno II von Falkenstein was honouring and commemorating the patron of the collegiate church and the presumed founder of the city, and, with the addition of his own coat of arms, he places himself alongside the patron of the choir stalls.

The image of Charlemagne decorates another stall end which is kept in the Focke-Museum in Bremen. Together with three other panels it once belonged to the stalls in the town hall of this city where it was used by the mayor and councillors.¹⁸ The panels, dating from 1405–10, are decorated with full-length figures: St Peter with tiara, holding a key, St Paul with book and sword, Bishop Willehad with staff and church model, and Charlemagne. The emperor wears a cape over his suit of armour. In his hands he holds the regalia: the orb and the sword. The

top of this panel is decorated with the double-headed crowned eagle. Charlemagne and Bishop Willehad (d. 789) were venerated in Bremen as the respective founders of the city and cathedral.¹⁹

Holy Roman emperors are not a common feature on choir stalls but they are traceable in places where they were venerated, mostly as founders of city and church. Images of Henry II (973–1024) – the only Holy Roman emperor who was officially canonized by the pope, in 1146 – and his wife Cunigunde of Luxembourg (975–1040) can be found on the choir stalls in Merseburg Cathedral (Saxony-Anhalt) and in Bamberg Cathedral (Bavaria).²⁰ Most of the time they (or one of them) are depicted holding the model of the church which underlines that they were seen and venerated as the founders of the building.

An image of Emperor Charles V (1500–58) and his wife Isabella of Portugal (1503–39) decorates the back panel of the choir stalls in Dordrecht Minster.²¹ This image is part of the decorative programme on the north side of the choir stalls where the Royal Entry of Charles V in Dordrecht (1515) is depicted. After this grand entry the emperor returned to the city twice again, on 21 and 22 July 1540. It is uncertain whether the emperor made use of the choir stalls on those occasions because the ensemble was under construction between 1538 and 1541.²² It has been suggested that Charles V might have been the patron but it seems more likely that another important benefactor commissioned its decoration.²³ While Charles V might have seen his entry represented in the woodcarving, the aforementioned representations of Henry II and Charlemagne were made after their demise. Patrons instigated these representations to commemorate of these important historic figures.

The Stall End Explained

To interpret the fourth panel with Charlemagne, the aforementioned veneration of the emperor in late medieval Bremen seems to offer a solution. As in the other three panels, Charlemagne is at the base of a tree. In genealogical trees the most important figures are usually located at

the bottom and the top. Here, the emperor at the bottom is counterbalanced by the figure of a bishop. This is reminiscent of the stall ends in the Focke-Museum where Charlemagne was depicted with Bishop Willehad. The veneration of the two started in thirteenth-century Bremen, and one of the earliest examples of this veneration is the first city seal which bears the image of the seated emperor and bishop holding a model of the church (c. 1220–30).

This representation, which became popular in Bremen, can be seen in painting and sculpture until the sixteenth century. A fresco (1532) in the upstairs vestibule of the town hall shows Charlemagne and Willehad in a similar position as on the seal. The church of Bremen takes the central position with both figures enthroned beside it. The composition is framed with an architectural painted border decorated with grotesques and coats of arms. The text, on the left side and at the bottom of the wall painting, refers to the history of Bremen and its position as free Hanseatic city.²⁴

A stone relief with a similar depiction, dating from 1512, stretches horizontally across the west rood loft of Bremen Cathedral (Fig. 4).²⁵ The only preserved part from the former rood screen and organ loft, the relief was commissioned by Archbishop Johann III Rode von Wale (c. 1445–1511).²⁶ Archival and stylistic research has revealed that Evert van Roden and his Münster workshop sculpted the relief, Van Roden and his journeymen working with different materials such as stone and wood.²⁷ In the central position are Charlemagne and Willehad, together holding the model of the church. They are flanked on both sides by five figures in a niche standing under an arch: bishops, male and female saints. The figures immediately next to the central relief are thought to be the archbishops of Bremen: Ansgar, Rimbert, Adalgar and Adalbert. The male saints have been interpreted as Sts Achatius and Quiriacus, whose relics are kept in the church, and Sts Maurice and Victor, both members of the Theban Legion. The female saints represented on the relief are presumably St Corona, whose grave was situated in the church, and St Emma of Lesum whose relics were also venerated here.²⁸ The identifica-



Fig. 4. Evert von Roden, stone relief (detail), *c.* 1512, Baumberger limestone, Bremen Cathedral, west road loft. Photo: Courtesy of the Centre for Art Historical Documentation (CKD), Radboud University Nijmegen.

tion of these figures is confirmed by ten smaller figures, standing between the niches under a canopy, holding the attributes which refer to the bishops and saints. Behind Charlemagne stands a young man with long hair holding the regalia. The figure who accompanies Willehad has in his hands the bishop's staff and stola.²⁹ The two smaller figures on the far side of the relief are recognized as the donors Johann III Rode von Wale and his coadjutor and successor, Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (*c.* 1487–1558).³⁰ Both donors are kneeling and wearing the same kind of garment decorated with tassels. In front of them lies an empty coat of arms. The relief commemorates the founding and the subsequent history of the city and its church with their foremost important, secular and ecclesiastical fig-

ures, Charlemagne and Willehad. The donors, the then bishop and his successor, commissioned this stone relief to the greater honour and glory of Bremen Cathedral and made themselves part of its history.³¹

Possibly, the fourth panel of the choir stalls might have had a similar purpose. A tree springs from Charlemagne's chest. On its branches are prominent figures from the history of Bremen and at the top Bishop Willehad sprouts from a leaf bud (Fig. 5). All the figures, except for Charlemagne and Willehad, present an empty escutcheon.³² The four bishops residing on the left side all have an object in their left hand, from bottom to top: a ring, a flask, a pallium, and a staff. These objects are associated with the ordination of bishops, most probably the bishop



Fig. 5. *Tree of Charlemagne*, c. 1510–20, oak, 234 × 54 × 9 cm, private collection.

who is in the centre of the panel. Since the panel appears from stylistic considerations most likely to have been made between 1510 and 1520, only two persons can be considered for this position: Johann III Rode von Wale or Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. The former was raised in Bremen where his father held a position in the city council, and became archbishop of Bremen in 1497. To gain more power Johann III Rode von Wale entered into an alliance with the ducal family of Von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Through this alliance Christoph became coadjutor of the archbishop when he was only twelve years old. After the death of the archbishop in 1511 he succeeded him. The succession was not without problems, because the papal appointment was not made until 1518.³³ So it might be Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel who takes central stage in this relief. As the new archbishop of Bremen at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he could have commissioned these choir stalls depicting the history of the diocese. In this panel, he made a personal political statement. The six secular figures carrying banners, sword and crown are possibly representatives of the city council and the ducal family.

If the identification of the bishop is correct, the likely location for the lost choir stalls was the Cathedral of Bremen. This location is not at all improbable considering the fact that Johann III Rode von Wale ordered the relief for the west rood loft at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nowadays only the fragments of fourteenth-century choir stalls remain in the cathedral,³⁴ having been dismantled in 1823. The remaining fragments, stall ends, consist of closed panels which are divided into compartments and decorated with bas-relief. They show a completely different style of woodwork from the four openwork panels, not surprising given that the four panels were made approximately one hundred and fifty years later.

An inspiration for the image might have been the fourteenth-century *Levitensstuhl* (sedilia) of the Cathedral of Verden (Lower Saxony) where Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was bishop from 1502 till his death in 1558. The open-work panels of the *Levitensstuhl* are deco-

rated with branches, with half-length figures side by side. More contemporary open-work panels are scarce but can be found in the choir stalls of the Netherlandish St Peter's Church in Oirschot and the Italian Abbey of Staffarda.³⁵ These choir stalls also date from the first half of the sixteenth century and both have a stall end decorated with the Tree of Jesse.³⁶ The Oirschot ensemble – destroyed by fire during World War II – was made by the master, Jan Borchman from the Low Countries, and the choir stalls of Staffarda were the product of a collaboration of French, Flemish and German carvers. While

there are stylistic difference between these panels, amongst other things in the way the figures are carved, the different examples from Germany, the Netherlands and Italy demonstrate that the open-work panels have a long tradition in choir stall carving which started in the fourteenth century. The four panels that were likely commissioned by Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and might have been a part of lost choir stalls made for the Cathedral of Bremen, are a welcome addition to the remaining bits and pieces.

Notes

- 1 Bernhard Pinkser and Annette Zeeb, *Karl der Grosse: 1200 Jahre Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2014); *Karl der Grosse – Charlemagne: Orte der Macht*, ed. by Frank Pohle (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014); *Karl der Grosse – Charlemagne: Karls Kunst*, ed. by Peter van den Brink and Sarvenaz Ayooghi (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014); Dirk Callebaut, *De erfenis van Karel de Grote 814–2014* (Ghent: Provinciebestuur Oost-Vlaanderen, 2014); Stefan Weinfurter, *Karl der Grosse: der heilige Barbar* (Munich: Piper, 2014).
- 2 Sotheby's catalogue, *European Sculpture & Works of Art: Medieval to Modern, 4 December 2013* (London: Sotheby's, 2013), Lot 46.
- 3 Since 1963 Scarisbrick Hall functions as a school.
- 4 Christie, Manson & Woods, *Pictures, removed from Scarisbrick Hall and Wrightington Hall, Lancashire. 1861 May 10–25* (London: Christie's, 1861).
- 5 Henry Spencer & Sons, *Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire: superb XV–mid-XVII century paneling: fine garden statuary (29 November 1963)* (Retford: Henry Spencer & Sons, 1963).
- 6 Erik Bijzet, Director European Sculpture & Works of Art at Sotheby's London, was so kind to provide me with this information.
- 7 Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, 'The Genesis of the Family Tree', *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, 4 (1991), 105–29 (p. 122).
- 8 Regnerus Steensma, *De koorbanken in de Martinikerke te Bolsward en hun Europese context* (Gorredijk: Bornmeer, 2012), p. 29.
- 9 Nicolas Schätti, 'Jean Prindale et l'activité des ateliers de sculpture franco-flamands à Genève et en Savoie au tournant des XIV^e et XV^e siècles', *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz*, 58, 3 (2007), 13–16 (p. 16).
- 10 Jan Karel Steppe, *Wereld van Vroomheid en Satire: Laat-gotische Koorbanken in Vlaanderen* (Kasterlee: De Vroente, 1973), p. 38: 'Iohannis de Leodio architectus Sabaudie cultu sculpsit egregio opus hoc multipharie anno * domini * milleno trecento * cum septeno pariter et octogeno hic oretur corde pleno'.
- 11 Heinz Schauer, 'Das Chorgestühl in der Martinikirche zu Memmingen', in *500 Jahre Chorgestühl in St. Martin zu Memmingen*, ed. by Werner Bachmayer and others (Memmingen: Memminger MedienCentrum AG, 2007), pp. 104–17.
- 12 Barbara Rommé, 'Das Schaffen von Jörg Sürlin dem Jüngeren', *Ulm und Oberschwaben*, 49 (1994), 61–110 (pp. 81–89).
- 13 Angela D. Glover, 'Reconstructing the Office Furniture: the Art of the Early Modern Choir Stall' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 2015), pp. 278–79.
- 14 Anna Moraht-Fromm and Wolfgang Schürle, *Kloster Blaubeuren: Der Chor und sein Hochaltar* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2002), pp. 117–18.
- 15 Jill Caskey, 'Medieval Patronage & Its Potentialities', in *Patronage, Power & Agency in Medieval Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 2013), pp. 3–30.
- 16 Rainer Kahsnitz, 'Der Wandel des Karlsbildes in der mittelalterlichen Skulptur und Goldschmiedekunst', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 104–05 (2003), 317–45 (p. 337); Hans-Joachim Jacobs, 'Das Bild Karls des Grossen in der Stadt Frankfurt im 14. Jahrhundert', in *Karl der Grosse als vielberufener Vorfahr: Sein Bild in der Kunst der Fürsten, Kirchen und Städte*, ed. by Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch (Sigmaringen: Jan Thobcke, 1994), pp. 67–73.
- 17 Kahsnitz, p. 345.
- 18 Rolf Gramatzki, *Das Rathaus in Bremen: Versuch zu seiner Ikonologie* (Bremen: Hauschild, 1994), pp. 50–61.
- 19 Kahsnitz, pp. 331–34; Dietrich Kötzsche, 'Darstellungen Karls des Grossen in der lokalen Verehrung des Mittelalters', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967), IV: *Das Nachleben*, pp. 157–214 (pp. 164–65).

- 20 Klaus Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde, das Heilige Herrscherpaar: Leben, Legende, Kult und Kunst* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2002), pp. 144–70.
- 21 Theunis Watzes Jensma, *De Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk van Dordrecht: Koor en Kapittel* (Dordrecht: Van den Tol, 1983), p. 58.
- 22 Herman A. van Duinen, *De Koorbanken van de Grote of Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk te Dordrecht* (Leiden: Primavera, 2007), pp. 48–55.
- 23 Glover, p. 308.
- 24 Gramatzki, pp. 66–78.
- 25 Reinhard Karrenbrock, ‘Westfalen – Bremen – Niederlande: Westfälische Bildhauer des späten Mittelalters in Bremen’, in *Bremen und die Niederlande: Jahrbuch 1995–96 Wittheit zu Bremen*, ed. by Martina Rudloff (Bremen: Hauschild, 1997), pp. 40–62 (pp. 50–62).
- 26 *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–), x (1974), pp. 480–81.
- 27 Reinhard Karrenbrock, ‘Einflüsse und Wechselwirkungen: die westfälische Steinskulptur der Zeit zwischen 1470 und 1560 und die Brabender’ in *Die Brabender: Skulptur am Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur Renaissance*, ed. by Hermann Arnhold (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), p. 93.
- 28 Karrenbrock, ‘Westfalen – Bremen – Niederlande’, p. 51.
- 29 During restoration work in 1980 the position of these two figures was incorrectly changed. While they first looked at Charlemagne and Willehad, they now are turned away from the seated figures. The young man with long hair is now placed behind Willehad, while the man with stola and staff stands behind Charlemagne. Reinhard Karrenbrock, *Evert van Roden, der Meister des Hochaltars der Osnabrücker Johanniskirche: Ein Beitrag zur westfälischen Skulptur der Spätgotik* (Osnabrück: Wenner, 1992), p. 94.
- 30 *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1953–), III (1957), p. 243.
- 31 Karrenbrock, ‘Evert van Roden’, p. 96.
- 32 Escutcheons on choir stalls are a regular feature, but in many cases no coats of arms are visible. The lack of polychromy on choir stalls makes it unlikely that these escutcheons were once decorated with painted coats of arms.
- 33 Theodor Wolters, ‘Erzbischof Christophs Kampf um das geistliche Fürstentum in den Stiftern Bremen und Verden’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universität Hamburg, 1939).
- 34 Victor C. Habicht, ‘Das Chorgestühl des Domes zu Bremen’, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 36 (1913), 227–80; Alfred Lohr, ‘Das Chorgestühl im Dom zu Bremen: Studien zur niederdeutsche Skulptur um dit Mitte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts’, *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 13 (1974), 123–80. These and other stalls are described in publications from 1753 and 1822, see Zaccharias C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*, 3 vols (Ulm, 1753), II, p. 209; Adam Storck, *Ansichten der freien Hansestadt Bremen und ihrer Umgebung* (Frankfurt am Main: Wilmans, 1822), pp. 248–49.
- 35 Ingrid van Woudenberg, ‘De Koorbanken van Oirschot’, in *De koorbanken van Oirschot en Aarschot gezien door de lens van Hans Sibbelee en Jan Verspaandonk*, ed. by Christel Theunissen (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011), pp. 46–92; Guido Gentile, ‘Il coro dell’Abbazia di Staffarda’ in *La fede e i mostri: Cori lignei scolpiti in Piemonte e Valle d’Aosta (secoli XIV–XVI)*, ed. by Giovanni Romano (Turin: Fondazione CRT Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 2002), pp. 249–82.
- 36 Gentile, pp. 254–67. The choir stalls of Staffarda are now divided over two locations: the Church of S. Vittore in Pollenzo (Piemonte) and the Museo Civico d’Arte Antica (Palazzo Madama) in Turin. The panel with the Tree of Jesse is part of the museum collection, inv. no. CFR. 1778/L/1.

PERSISTING PATTERNS:
ASPECTS OF CONTINUITY IN DUTCH CHURCH INTERIORS
THROUGH THE CALVINIST REFORMATION*

Justin E. A. KROESEN

Zo hebben de reformatoren ook aan de middeleeuwse kerk, ondanks de felle kritiek die zij op haar hadden, gewichtige zaken ontleend, meer dan zij zich soms realiseerden of althans uitdrukkelijk uitspraken.¹

The Reformation is traditionally regarded as the watershed in the history of Western Christianity, for reasons which are easy to understand. As a result, the religious historiography of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe usually abounds with narratives of change and contrast. Although there is undeniably much truth in this, there is also a risk of overemphasizing change, such that certain obvious forms of continuity are either taken for granted or even overlooked.² One important but often neglected source is that of church buildings and their interiors.³ With respect to church furnishings, for example, many spatial patterns and object types which had developed prior to the Reformation remained largely the same. In recent decades, the 'preserving power' (*bewahrende Kraft*) of Lutheranism with respect to material culture has been gaining increasing recognition.⁴ This effect, which may seem paradoxical at first glance, explains why the finest medieval church interiors can be found in Lutheran countries, including parts of Germany and Scandinavia, rather than in regions which remained faithful to Rome. In Catholic churches in turn, the flowering of the Baroque would lead to the large-scale replacement of furnishings and general interior makeovers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This chapter will argue that even in Dutch Calvinism, which is known to have been the most radical of all institutionalized forms of Protestantism, important aspects of continuity in the use and furnishing of medieval churches can be discerned.⁵ These effects have hitherto

been largely overlooked or misinterpreted, both by 'outsiders' and by Dutch Calvinist authors. Our idea of early Dutch Protestant church interiors has been thoroughly shaped by the imagination of painters such as Pieter Saenredam (1597-1665), whose paintings and drawings depict reformed churches as austere, empty and whitewashed, and therefore practically aniconic. However, as C. A. van Swigchem rightly pointed out, Dutch Calvinists never developed a general hostility to images: while depictions of God in the form of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were banned, all other images were permitted in principle.⁶ Regarding the use of medieval church interiors adapted to Calvinist worship, Van Swigchem highlighted that the nave roughly retained its connection to the Service of the Word, in reading and preaching, and the chancel maintained part of its ritual function, in the administration of the Communion and of marriage.⁷

The Treatment of the Nave

During the Reformation all the altars which had once populated the space in the naves and side chapels between the pillars and along the side walls were cleared. At best, only traces of the vanished altars are left, for example on the west side of the nave pillars in St John's in Den Bosch.⁸ Except for that, much in the interior of the nave remained the same. This was observed recently by Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman with regard to St Peter's in Leiden, where most fittings in the nave were maintained in their original position.⁹ Some of the nave columns in this church were adorned with guild panels which mark the location of the altars they had possessed until the Reformation. Furthermore, the primary function of the nave of the



Fig. 1. Gothic pulpit of sandstone, fifteenth century, with post-Reformation text panels (seventeenth century) around the drum, Kampen: Bovenkerk. Photo: Regnerus Steensma.

church as a preaching space was not only generally maintained, but was even reinforced by the arrival of Calvinism and its strong emphasis on the reading and preaching of the Word. The pulpit, which had traditionally been halfway down the south wall of the nave or attached to a pillar, usually remained in its original position. Where the existing pulpit served well, it appears that it was generally tolerated by the Protestants. Today, however, due to later replacements, only around fifteen pre-Reformation pulpits survive in Dutch Reformed churches.¹⁰

Gothic examples are found in the Great Church at Naarden and in St Peter's in Leiden, where they are carved from wood. In the small Church of Fransum in the province of Groningen there is an exception built of brick,

and in the Bovenkerk in Kampen the pulpit is sculpted from sandstone (Fig. 1). In the latter the original images were replaced during the seventeenth century by text panels referring to preaching and listening. Renaissance pulpits survive in around ten Dutch Calvinist churches, in towns as well as villages. The drums in Abcoude from *c.* 1540, Delft (Old Church) from 1548, The Hague (Great Church) from 1550 and Enkhuizen (West Church) from 1567 all follow the same model and iconography, depicting the Four Evangelists and St John the Baptist as a preacher (in Abcoude, St John is depicted at the Baptism of Christ).¹¹ Apparently, the presence of these carved figures, which had been venerated as saints in the Late Middle Ages, was insufficient reason for the Calvinists to replace the pulpit with one of their own. The pulpit at Medemblik from *c.* 1560 has remarkable imagery depicting five episodes from the life of Judith, including the gruesome scene of her putting the head of Holofernes in a bag.

The new furnishings added by the Protestants after the Reformation often followed remarkably traditional models. With regard to pulpits, the design of the drum remained largely the same – often hexagonal with carved panels. The pulpit at Schiedam, dating from around 1600, closely follows the pre-Reformation model with its representations of the four evangelists. The only image to be altered was the depiction of St John the Baptist preaching on the front panel, which was replaced by Christ as the Good Shepherd.¹² Remarkably, this three-dimensional representation of Christ was theoretically even more problematic according to official church policy. In general, it can be said that Calvinist pulpits remained highly pictorial throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Medieval Gospel scenes and representations from the lives of the saints were now replaced by other, surprisingly often figurative, motifs.¹³ In Albert Jansz Vinckenbrück's pulpit created for the New Church in Amsterdam between 1649 and 1664 the old Renaissance model was retained and even enriched with additional motifs. The four evangelists no longer occupy the centre of the panels, but are placed in the lower margins, giving way to the Seven Acts of

Mercy situated between six allegorical women at the corners, who represent the virtues.¹⁴

The richest examples of Calvinist pulpit iconography are found in the province of Friesland.¹⁵ The drum at Kimsward, dating from 1695, shows a series of Old Testament scenes, namely the Fall, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Jacob's Dream, and Moses and the Brass Serpent.¹⁶ The back panel above the pulpit reveals the key to the deeper meaning of this iconographic programme, showing an Old Testament recognizable as such by its edge, which is turned to the left and partly covered by a veil. Its meaning is clear: it is only through the corresponding New Testament motifs, as indicated in the margins of the Bible editions current at the time, that the truth becomes apparent.¹⁷ Pulpits at Workum (1718) and Lemmer (1745) depict a number of the miracles of Christ, while the drum at Longerhouw (c. 1757) shows five New Testament scenes in which, remarkably, Christ features prominently – Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension and Last Judgement. The pulpit in Mantgum, dating from 1781, depicts Christ in three conversations – with Nicodemus, with the Pharisees and Scribes, and as a twelve-year-old in the Temple. All these passages seem to express the idea that man prevails over law. It can hardly be a coincidence that in this part of Friesland, liberal theology would flourish during the nineteenth century.¹⁸

Another element often found in the nave that would survive the Reformation was the organ, although initially this was by no means a sine-cure. Many early Calvinists opposed the presence of organs in their churches, but it was often the local authorities who, having taken over the buildings, prevented these instruments from being destroyed or removed. This goes to explain the relatively large number of medieval organs in the Netherlands, where some ten survive in various states of (in)completion.¹⁹ It was not until the 1630s, however, that the organ gradually came to be accepted to accompany congregational singing.²⁰ From that time on, organ building in the Dutch Republic was to experience an almost unparalleled flourishing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In many Protestant churches eye-catching organs fill the

entire west wall of the nave, with a panoply of shining pipes in richly carved organ cases. Many organs were equipped with painted shutters and ornamented with statues of King David playing the harp, angels playing other instruments or Moses with the Ten Commandments. In visual terms the organ in Dutch Calvinist churches may be interpreted as the answer to the Baroque altarpiece in the Roman Catholic tradition.²¹

Pre-Reformation patterns also persisted with regard to the design and placement of the seating for the elites in the community. Closed box pews with canopies were installed opposite the pulpit in many churches. These pews were often rectangular, of the same type as was common prior to the Reformation.²² Benches for the laity were also presumably retained in many instances, at least during the early decades after the transition to Protestantism.²³ Most were eventually replaced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such that today these late medieval survivals are only found by way of exception.²⁴ With regards to baptismal fonts, it should be noted that in spite of the fact that Calvinists maintained baptism as a sacrament, Romanesque and Gothic stone fonts were considered too closely bound up with the despised Catholic tradition. Therefore, practically all medieval fonts were removed from the churches and replaced by simple brass bowls which were either attached to the pulpit or freestanding inside the pulpit enclosure – wholly different in size, form and location than during the Middle Ages, but still in the nave of the church.

One important medieval element which was often retained by the Calvinists was the partitioning screen between the chancel and nave, either in the form of a fence or a fully-fledged rood loft with a gallery on top.²⁵ The suffering Christ on the rood which originally crowned most of these installations was removed everywhere, as it was regarded as both an offence against the second of the Ten Commandments and a symbol of Catholic sacrificial theology. Nearly forty-five pre-Reformation rood screens, both in wood and stone and with or without galleries, survive today in Protestant churches in the Netherlands.²⁶ This number may seem small, but it is a considerable number com-



Fig. 2. Wooden chancel screen with text panels, c. 1650, Noordwijk: Reformed Church. Photo: Regnerus Steensma.

pared to surrounding countries. For example, across Germany, which is generally much richer in medieval church furnishings, the surviving choir partitions amount roughly to the same number.²⁷ In the Scandinavian countries, with their wealth of altarpieces, roods and baptismal fonts, barely a single screen or screen fragment is known. Six rood lofts and only a couple of relocated screens have survived in Belgium, while in France the numbers may be slightly higher. The only country where medieval chancel screens by far outnumber the Dutch stock is Britain, where no fewer than an estimated one thousand examples survive in Anglican churches.²⁸

In addition to the retention of medieval screens, new chancel screens were installed on a considerable scale. Some fifty Protestant screens from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries survive and their number must have been much higher at the time.²⁹ Among the oldest examples preserved is the screen in Medemblik, whose inscription makes an explicit reference to the

Reformation: ‘The abuse which had gradually invaded the church of the Lord, was removed here in 1572’.³⁰ Most Protestant screens originated in the decades after the end of the Eighty Years’ War in 1648. Some chancel screens were truly exuberant, such as the marble and brass screen from around 1650 made by the goldsmith Jan Lutma for the New Church in Amsterdam, crowned by the city’s coat of arms. In Noordwijk, a screen from the same period carries three large text panels on its cornice, with the central panel displaying the Ten Commandments and flanked by the creed and the Lord’s Prayer (Fig. 2). This textual triad of faith-law-prayer would become very common in Dutch Protestant churches during the seventeenth century. A particularly impressive mid seventeenth-century ensemble of a low chancel screen carrying a series of large text panels on the same topics can be found in the church at Bleiswijk near Rotterdam. It is almost a Calvinist textual response to the *iconostasis* in Eastern Orthodox churches.

Reusing the Chancel

With the transition to Calvinism, the chancel lost its preeminent function as a setting for the celebration of Mass. The Protestant emphasis on the Service of the Word made that the church proper had now been reduced to what had always been the preaching space, i.e. the nave. Common practice as to what should be done with the chancel was never established, which resulted in a variety of solutions, some of which implied a much more radical change than others.³¹ The pulling down of the chancel was obviously a very drastic measure. This occurred in a number of cases where the chancel had sustained severe damage, for example during the Eighty Years' War, while other chancels were never completed due to the abandonment of building projects after the Reformation. Some of the chancels which remained standing were permanently put to purely practical purposes, varying from schools (e.g. in Beets in Noord-Holland and Baarland in Zeeland) to court rooms (Grou in Friesland), meeting rooms (Nijland in Friesland, Zuidhorn in Groningen, and Houten and Loenen aan de Vecht in Utrecht), and storage spaces (Kimsward in Friesland).³² In the Frisian town of Sneek and in Montfoort near Utrecht, a new main entrance was opened through the chancel wall, turning the former sacred realm of the chancel into a mere narthex.

A considerable number of emptied medieval chancels were appropriated by local authorities and transformed into *de facto* mausoleums. In some instances the chancel was turned into a public memorial through the erection of a tomb or epitaph for a prominent figure, while elsewhere this 'memorialization' could be of a more private character. The burial of individuals – both clerics and lay persons – in the chancel had also been known in medieval times, although there would always be a high altar and other liturgical furnishings such as choir stalls, *sedilia*, lecterns and railings to be reckoned with. The Reformation subsequently made the whole chancel available as a burial space, with ample room for tombs, slabs, epitaphs and mourning boards (*rouwboarden*).³³ While monumental tombs would remain a privilege of the very wealthy, it

has been estimated that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, around one hundred freestanding tombs were erected in Dutch Calvinist churches.³⁴ In the western Netherlands those buried in the chancel were usually local heroes such as military leaders and governors, while in the northern and eastern Netherlands, monuments were generally erected by and for the landed nobility.

Among the first installations of a Protestant burial tomb in a medieval chancel, and indeed a very influential one, was the monument for Prince William of Orange (1533–84) in the New Church at Delft. The leader of the Dutch Revolt against Spain, who was assassinated in Delft on 10 July 1584, was soon regarded as the Father of the Protestant Nation. The monument was built by Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621) and finished by his son Pieter in 1621. Under the canopy stands a black marble tomb with a reposing figure of the deceased sculpted in white marble. At the head end is a bronze statue of Prince William seated and clad in armour, while at his feet a figure blowing a trumpet represents Fame. On the corners are four allegorical female figures symbolizing the virtues of Freedom, Force, Justice and Faith. The monumental tomb *aedicula*, marked by four red marble pinnacles, was erected on the very same spot where, until some decades before, the high altar had stood. The sacred body of the tortured and martyred Christ had now made room for the 'sacred' body of the suffering and murdered Protestant leader. Alluding to this striking parallel, Regnerus Steensma recently described this tomb as 'a high altar for the prince'.³⁵

The Delft model was followed in a number of town churches in Holland.³⁶ In the chancel of The Hague's Great Church, a monument to Admiral Jacob Baron van Wassenaer Obdam (1610–65) was erected, created in 1667 by Bartholomeüs Eggers (1637–92) (Fig. 3). The admiral is depicted standing on a white marble tomb under a red marble canopy with the allegories of Fidelity, Vigilance, Force and Prudence at its corners. The open structure of this canopied tomb is somewhat reminiscent of contemporary Baroque altar installations in Catholic churches, such as the famous *baldachino* by Bernini erect-



Fig. 3. Marble tomb monument for Baron Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam (d. 1667), The Hague: Great Church. Photo: Regnerus Steensma.

ed in 1623–34 in St Peter's Basilica in Rome. A monumental tomb for Admiral Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (1607–76) was installed in the chancel of Amsterdam's New Church in 1681 by the famous sculptor Rombout Verhulst (1624–98). It consists of a concave wall at the end of the chancel and is divided into sections in the manner of a triptych. In front of the central section is the black marble tomb on which the reposing figure of the Admiral lies in white marble with his head resting upon a canon. The fatal battle is depicted in the background in the manner of a truly secular Passion cycle; the form and imagery of such installations certainly had sacralizing overtones.

Chancels were transformed into mausoleums for the elites during the seventeenth century not only in urban centres but also in other parts of the Netherlands. The largest noble tomb in the

countryside is found in the church at Midwolde in the province of Groningen (Fig. 4).³⁷ Between 1664 and 1669, the abovementioned sculptor Rombout Verhulst worked on this magnificent monument at the request of Anna van Ewsum (1640–1714), Lady of nearby Nienoord Manor, who had it erected for herself and for her first husband, Carel Hieronymus van In- en Kniphuizen (1632–64), a nobleman of East Frisian pedigree. Two years after his death, Anna married his cousin, Georg Wilhelm (?–1709), who was later added at the back as a standing figure. A black memorial plaquette is placed centrally, carried by putti, while another putto at the top blowing a trumpet represents Fame. A total of thirty-two coats of arms are arranged on both sides, displaying all of the relationships and ancestry of the two noble families united by the marriage. The monument was erected on the very spot where the high altar had stood before the Reformation, some seventy years earlier, and it fills the larger portion of the east wall of the chancel; its creation even blocked the two east windows.

On the left of the monument is an elevated box pew with a richly painted parapet, which has been eloquently called 'a noble skybox'.³⁸ From here, the nobility looked down on their family tomb and on the minister in the richly carved pulpit which they had also donated to the church. The installation of monumental box pews in the chancel became very common in Dutch Calvinist churches during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Examples in Friesland include Hegebeintum, where the village lord, Gideon Gosses van Coehoorn (c. 1656–1724), owner of the nearby Harsta Manor, had one installed in the apse of the Romanesque church. It overlooks the interior of the small church, which is completely dominated by the presence of no less than sixteen monumental hatchments or mourning boards which transform the church into a memorial hall for the local nobility.³⁹ Other examples of noble box pews installed in medieval chancels include Eelde and Zuidlaren in the province of Drenthe, for the Van Welvelde and Burmania families, and De Drews and Van Heiden families, respectively. The Alberda family pew, which

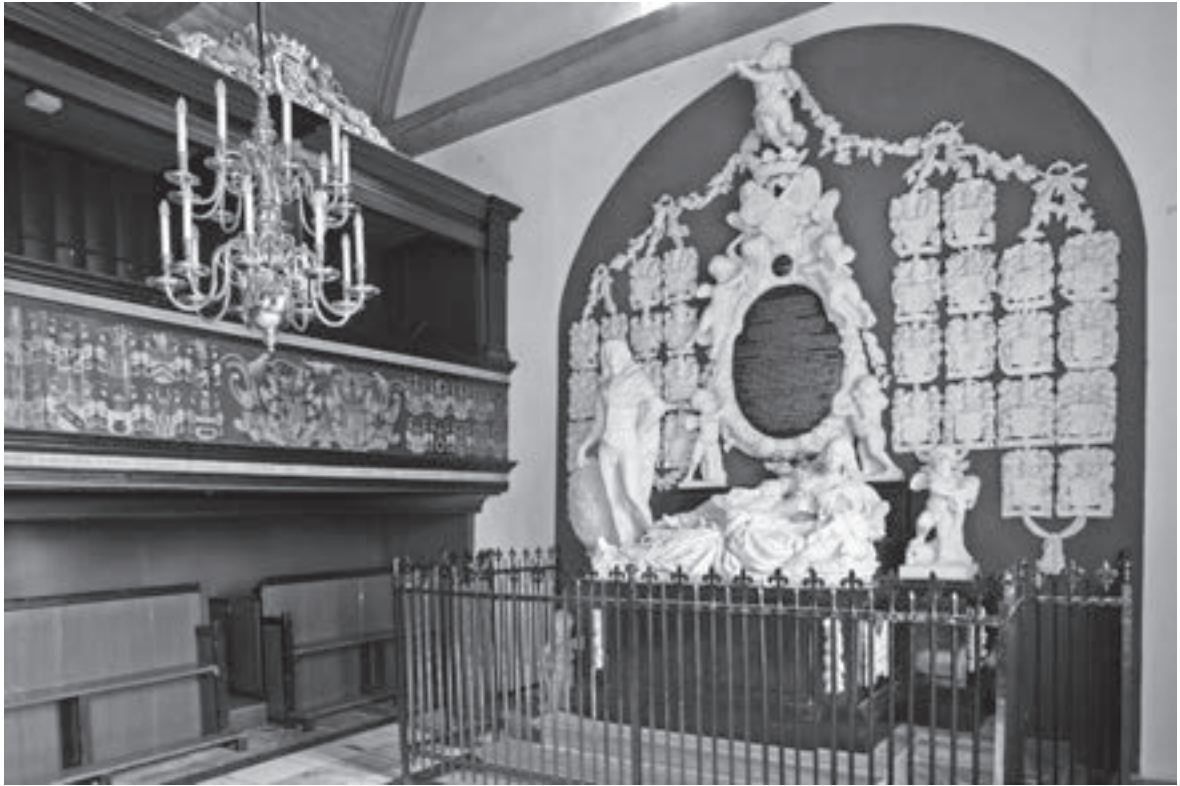


Fig. 4. Marble tomb for the Van In- en Kniphuizen and Van Ewsum families, 1664–69, and elevated box pew (left), Midwolde: Reformed Church. Photo: Regnerus Steensma.

occupies the centre of the marble-tiled chancel of the church at Pieterburen in the province of Groningen, dates from *c.* 1710. Its crowning includes the family's coat of arms, while its front features Hercules as the dragon slayer, probably to be understood as an image of strength and power.

In Pieterburen and Midwolde, richly carved Communion tables with marble slabs were installed in front of the noble pews, indicating that the chancel was also used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper (or *avondmaal* in Dutch, the term employed by Calvinists to refer to the Communion). This ritual, which implied a communal meal, was not celebrated every week in the Dutch Protestant tradition, but only on average four times a year.⁴⁰ Using the chancel as the setting for the celebration of the Lord's Supper must have been much more common in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch Calvinist churches than present-day interiors suggest, since these customs were often

obscured by later changes in liturgical customs and/or rearrangements of the church furnishings. Furthermore, during the nineteenth century, many chancels were filled with benches for the expanding community. The celebration of the Lord's Supper in the chancel implies a remarkable form of ritual and spatial continuity which has barely been acknowledged in scholarly research to date: in the same space where, until the Reformation, bread and wine had been consecrated and consumed by the priest standing at a stone altar, the community would now be seated for the consumption of the same elements at a wooden table.

The use of the chancel for the Lord's Supper provides an explanation for the abovementioned survival of a considerable number of medieval screens in Dutch Calvinist churches and the installation of new ones during the seventeenth century. The screen created a clear dividing line between those who were allowed to approach the table and those who stayed behind in the



Fig. 5. Chancel fitted out with permanent wooden furnishings for the Lord's Supper, second half of the seventeenth century, Noordwolde: Reformed Church. Photo: Regnerus Steensma.

nave.⁴¹ The fact that it was only a small community of believers who used the separate space of the chancel to receive communion must have enhanced their special status.⁴² This aspect of separation is also reflected in the installation of text panels above the screens, as described in the previous section. In the churches at Noordwijk and Bleiswijk, for example, the texts centre on the Ten Commandments as a reminder to the faithful that they were sinful human beings as they moved from the nave into the chancel, where they would receive bread and wine. The commandments called on the churchgoers to test their conscience before partaking of the Lord's Supper, in accordance with the words of St Paul: 'Let a man examine himself' (1 Corinthians 11. 28). In St Peter's in Leiden the Commandments, which crown the Gothic chancel screen from around 1450, are known to have replaced a large Calvary Group.⁴³ The chancel side of this panel, as in Noordwijk, displays the text of 1 Corinthians (11. 23-27) which recalls the last

supper of Christ with his disciples and thus provides a proper backdrop to the ritual.

In Leiden any tables and seating which may have filled the chancel have disappeared. In Noordwijk, in contrast, the chancel still has its timbered seating from 1636 along the walls which surround a centrally placed Communion table.⁴⁴ Above the bench a text frieze displays a passage from Psalm 27 (verse 4). In St Bavo's in Haarlem a large panel with a number of texts relating to the Lord's Supper was installed in 1580 on the axis of the chancel. From this position, where the high altar had stood until shortly before, the text panel presents itself as a true substitute for a medieval altarpiece.⁴⁵ In St Stephen's in Nijmegen a text compiled from several passages from 1 Corinthians 10 and 11 and a number of references to the Gospels were painted in the same place where, prior to the Reformation, the tabernacle had stood. In the Church of Our Lady of the Aa (Der Aa-kerk) in the city of Groningen, ten black canvases with texts relating to

the Protestant church service were attached to the columns of the chancel around 1603, some ten years after the Reformation.⁴⁶ The two central canvases spell out the Ten Commandments and thus provided a suitable backdrop to the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The province of Groningen boasts the largest number of permanent chancel furnishings for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.⁴⁷ A truly monumental set of furniture is found in Noordwolde (Fig. 5). Here, during the second half of the seventeenth century, the chancel was screened off from the nave by means of an elegant low railing decorated with heraldry in the crowning. A heavy oak table which can be extended on both sides was placed in the centre of the chancel, surrounded by six long benches. These furnishings enabled a considerable number of believers to be seated at the table. Another monumental Lord's Supper ensemble in a Groningen village church is preserved at Zandweer, consisting of wall benches centring on a relatively small marble-topped Communion table from 1758. In the church at nearby Middelstum the spacious chancel is entirely filled with tables and benches for the Lord's Supper. On the axis, in the same location where the medieval high altar had stood, is a table in Louis XIV style consisting of a marble slab on a carved wooden support. The long tables on both sides were added in the late nineteenth century. It is not entirely clear whether such monumental Supper furniture was a Groningen speciality at the time or whether it has simply been better preserved in this northern province.

Another ritual celebrated in the chancel of medieval churches appropriated by the Calvinists was marriage. This ceremony was no longer considered a sacrament but it was still preferably carried out in a church, usually in the afternoon or evening services.⁴⁸ Churches whose chancels are known to have been used for this purpose include the New Church in Amsterdam, St Bavo's in Haarlem and St Martin's in Groningen. An engraving in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, published by Bernard and Picart in 1727, shows a tapestry with cushions installed in front of a simple pulpit in the chancel of the New Church in Amsterdam.

Since church interiors were public spaces in the Dutch Republic, chancels were occasionally used for other activities, including political meetings, church synods, commemorations and official proclamations. The use of the medieval chancels for such gatherings could account for the relatively high survival rate of medieval choir stalls in Dutch Calvinist churches. The seating where the canons had sung the Divine Office before the Reformation also proved very useful for profane purposes. The roughly twenty-five sets which survive either in their entirety or in large part constitute a considerable number, even by European standards.⁴⁹

Conclusion

Alongside the many changes brought about by the Calvinist Reformation, there were also important elements of continuity in how churches were furnished and used for religious services. These elements have traditionally been largely overlooked, as scholarship has rather tended to focus on caesuras in theology, liturgy and mentality. We have seen that the traditional function of the nave as a preaching space was maintained and even reinforced with the transition to Calvinism, resulting in pulpits being retained or, if replaced, remaining in the same position. The importance of preaching was often emphasized through the addition of carvings to the drums. Many reformed churches featured a screen or gallery on the boundary of the chancel, as had been the case in medieval churches. This now formed a natural backdrop to the nave, where the religious service was concentrated, and also concealed the utilitarian purposes of the chancel – as a storage space, as a school or meeting room. Another reason why many screens were kept in place is that the chancels of many churches were intended for the occasional celebration of the Lord's Supper, the Calvinist successor to the medieval Mass. This ritual use of the chancel could go hand-in-hand with the creation of mausoleums through the erection of tombs and other memorials for the elites. All of these developments resulted in many Dutch Calvinist churches being neither austere nor devoid of images, as they are generally believed to be. In

fact it was a second revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, that would eventually have a much greater impact on creating the barren, austere church interiors that we now recognize as typical of Dutch Calvinism. In sum, mate-

rial culture – in this case the church space and its furnishings – may sometimes paint a wholly different picture from that which the history of ideas would have us believe.

Notes

- * I am greatly indebted to Sible de Blaauw for his conscientious supervision during my PhD project and his collegial friendship over the years between Rome, Groningen, (East) Frisia, and Spain.
- 1 W. F. Dankbaar, 'Middeleeuwse oorsprongen van gereformeerde liturgie', in *Hervormers en humanisten: Een bundel opstellen door W. F. Dankbaar* (Amsterdam: Ton Bolland, 1978), pp. 221-36 (p. 224).
 - 2 A recent, more balanced survey is *Worship in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Change and Continuity in Religious Practice*, ed. by Karin Maag and John D. Witvliet (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).
 - 3 Cf. Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 3: 'Among the potential sources of evidence most frequently underutilized in conventional histories are the extant art and architecture of parish churches'.
 - 4 See *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums: Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in evangelischen Kirchen*, ed. by Johann Michael Fritz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1997).
 - 5 I elaborated a similar argument more extensively in a recent article 'Accommodating Calvinism: The Appropriation of Medieval Church Interiors for Protestant Worship in the Netherlands after the Reformation', in *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der frühen Neuzeit in Europa: Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte*, ed. by Jan Harasimowicz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), pp. 81-98.
 - 6 See Bert van Swigchem and others, *Een huis voor het Woord: Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1984), p. 133.
 - 7 For a schematic ground plan, see Van Swigchem, p. 4. In an article from 2001, Judith Pollmann also argued that 'Dutch churches [...] retained much more of their pre-Reformation character than used to be thought'. Judith Pollmann, 'The Cleansing of the Temple. Church Space and its Meanings in the Dutch Republic', in *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning (1400-1750)*, ed. by José Pedro Paiva (Coimbra: Palimage, 2001), pp. 177-89.
 - 8 On side altars in medieval churches, see Justin E. A. Kroesen, *Seitenaltäre in mittelalterlichen Kirchen: Standort-Raum-Liturgie* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010).
 - 9 Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman, 'Het interieur na de Reformatie', in *De Pieterskerk in Leiden: Bouwgeschiedenis, inrichting en gedenktekens*, ed. by Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman (Zwolle: WBooks, 2011), pp. 185-209 (p. 188).
 - 10 See Regnerus Steensma, *Protestantse kerken: Hun pracht en kracht* (Gorredijk: Bornmeer, 2013), pp. 61-66.
 - 11 See Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 64-66 and Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, *Church Art & Architecture in the Low Countries before 1566* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1997), pp. 35-38.
 - 12 See Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, p. 65.
 - 13 See also Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566-1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 146.
 - 14 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 75-78.
 - 15 Sytse ten Hoeve, *Friese preekstoelen* (Leeuwarden: De Tille, 1980) and Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 66-73.
 - 16 The only New Testament scene added shows the Curing of a Cripple at the Temple Gate by Peter and John (Acts 3).
 - 17 This line of thought is also expressed in II Corinthians 3. 14: 'For until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the old testament; which veil is done away in Christ' (KJV).
 - 18 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, p. 70.
 - 19 On historical organs in Dutch churches, see the series *Het historische orgel in Nederland*, 15 vols (Amsterdam: Nationaal Instituut voor de Orgelkunst, 1997-2010). The fact that pre-Reformation organs are found not only in large, monumental establishments but also in modest rural locations may be taken as an indication that organ building was widespread in the Low Countries at a relatively early date.
 - 20 On this subject, see Jan R. Luth, *Daer wert om 't seerste uytgekreten: Bijdragen tot een geschiedenis van de gemeentezang in het Nederlandse Gereformeerde Protestantisme, ca. 1550-ca. 1852* (Kampen: Van den Berg, 1986), pp. 214-15.
 - 21 On the organ as a visual element in Calvinist churches, see Van Swigchem, pp. 236-49.
 - 22 Surviving examples include Huizum in Friesland and Holwierde in Groningen (the latter was lamentably destroyed in the late 1940s).
 - 23 Van Swigchem, p. 71.
 - 24 A number of Gothic bench ends survive at Westernijsjerk in Friesland and Leur in Gelderland, while examples in the Renaissance style are found in Friesian Schraard and Huizum.
 - 25 See also Pollmann, p. 181: 'The choir remained clearly separated from the main body of the church.'

- Roodscreens were left intact, and were clearly found important enough to be repaired and maintained’.
- 26 Regnerus Steensma, ‘Het middeleeuwse doksaal in Nederland’, *Jaarboek voor Liturgieonderzoek*, 16 (2000), 187–218, and Justin E. A. Kroesen, ‘Voorreformatische koorhekken in Nederland’, *Jaarboek voor Liturgieonderzoek*, 21 (2005), 129–57.
- 27 See Monika Schmelzer, *Der mittelalterliche Lettner im deutschsprachigen Raum: Typologie und Funktion* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2004). On screens without lofts in Germany, no specific literature exists.
- 28 Remarkably little has been published on the wealth of British medieval screens. The proceedings of a conference on *The Art and Science of Medieval Church Screens* held in Cambridge in 2012 will be published by Boydell & Brewer in 2016.
- 29 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 115–23.
- 30 ‘T misbruyck in gods kerck allengskens ingecomen is hier wederom anno 1572 afgenomen’.
- 31 See Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 135–62 (ch. 4: De omgang met het koor).
- 32 This practice was finally ended in Kimsverd in 2010 when the community decided that this was rather disrespectful to the past. Similar changes have recently occurred in several Calvinist churches in the Netherlands.
- 33 Van Swigchem, p. 267.
- 34 See Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), p. 23.
- 35 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, p. 148.
- 36 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 148–52.
- 37 Studied by Frits Scholten, *Rombout Verhulst in Groningen: Zeventiende-eeuwse praalgraven in Midwolde en Stedum* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1983).
- 38 Kees Kuiken, ‘Heer en heraldiek: Ereplaatsen in de kerken en hun beeldtaal’, in *De Groninger cultuurschat: Kerken van 1000 tot 1800*, ed. by Justin E. A. Kroesen and Regnerus Steensma (Assen: Van Gorcum; Groningen: Philip Elchers, 2008), pp. 135–44 (p. 143).
- 39 Louw Dijkstra, *Hegebeintum: Kerk & terp*, 2nd edn (Leeuwarden: Bornmeer, 2003).
- 40 Van Swigchem, pp. 212–15.
- 41 Cf. Andrew Spicer, ‘Sites of the Eucharist’, in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. by Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 321–62 (pp. 344–47). On p. 347 he writes: ‘The location of the Lord’s Supper within the church behind the choir screen emphasized its restriction to the godly members of the community’.
- 42 Pollmann, p. 185.
- 43 Justin E. A. Kroesen, ‘“Die tralyen voert choer”: Middeleeuwse koorafscheidingen in Holland’, *Bulletin van de Stichting Oude Hollandse Kerken*, 61 (2005), 3–29 (pp. 19–21).
- 44 This table was later moved to the nave of the church.
- 45 Spicer, p. 345.
- 46 Steensma, *Protestantse kerken*, pp. 186–88. These canvases probably replaced a series of painted representations, possibly of the twelve apostles.
- 47 Anne Baljeu and Justin E. A. Kroesen, ‘Der Groninger Abendmahlschor und seine Beziehung zu Ostfriesland’, *Emder Jahrbuch für historische Landeskunde Ostfrieslands*, 93 (2013), 157–77.
- 48 Van Swigchem, pp. 4 and 217.
- 49 Regnerus Steensma, *De koorbanken in de Martinikerke te Bolsward en hun Europese context* (Gorredijk: Bornmeer, 2012).

LITURGICAL REVOLUTION AT THE BASILICA OF S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA (1560–1610)

Nicola CAMERLENGHI

The turn of the seventeenth century was a key moment in the long history of the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, when the venerable church's liturgical layout changed dramatically. Not only did the number of altars wax and wane – from fourteen in 1514, to seventeen in 1560, to twelve in 1600 – but also their dedications shifted considerably under the influence of Roman nobility, foreign potentates, popes, pilgrims and, especially, the adjacent monastic community.¹ This was the moment in which the basilica shed virtually all trace of its medieval liturgical layout in favor of a more modern one that endured until the devastating fire of 1823. Powerful forces at play at S. Paolo, in Rome and across Christendom brought about this liturgical revolution.

The changes recounted here took place in three major phases. The first occurred between 1560 and 1575, the second in 1586–87 and the third developed between 1596 and 1610. The earliest encompassing glimpse of the basilica's liturgical layout is offered by annotations that the historian Onofrio Panvinio made around 1560 and by his posthumous publications of 1570.² Around 1575, Marco Attilio Serrano published a guidebook for pilgrims travelling to Rome for that year's Jubilee.³ Where Serrano diverges from Panvinio, we have evidence of liturgical shifts. The following synthesis of the first phase of change moves clockwise around the transept, turns to the nave and then accounts for notable patterns and trends. Handy visual summations are found in Figure 1 and Colour Plate x.

Since the construction of a transverse wall down the length of the transept during the twelfth century, the space effectively acquired four chapel-like compartments at its northern and southern ends.⁴ Precisely when each of the spaces was outfitted with an altar is unclear, but here too Panvinio provides the earliest record. In

the southeast corner of the transept, he reported an altar to the Annunciation that included the coat of arms of the Orsini.⁵ Given that Orsino degli Orsini willed 1,400 gold ducats for repairs to S. Paolo, I suggest the altar may have been built following his death in 1456.⁶ Fifteen or so years after Panvinio's annotations, Serrano reported that an altar to St Scholastica, Benedict's sister, had taken its place.⁷ A pattern of replacing privately funded altars – presumably established during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries – with others having a distinctly monastic bent will become apparent. Just to the south (or right) of the apse was the Chapel of St Martin, which preserved the Holy Sacrament.⁸ That it had only absorbed this important function from an altar in the nave during the 1560s again suggests that changes were actively underway while Panvinio and Serrano were writing. Nothing is known about Martin's Chapel aside from the fact that in a drawing from 1554 it contained an altar flanked by two windows.⁹

In the southwest section of the transept, Panvinio and Serrano described an altar of St Anthony Abbot.¹⁰ This likely included a late fifteenth-century sculpted altarpiece – currently transferred to the Chapel of St Lawrence – with Sts Denis and Justina alongside Anthony.¹¹ The altar's monastic bent is evidenced by the presence of Justina (Giustina in Italian), recalling the 1426 reforms that bound together the monastic communities of S. Paolo and S. Giustina in Padua.¹² The altar can be attributed on stylistic terms to the circle of Andrea Bregno. Midway between it and the presbytery stood a small altar to St Lucina. It was placed at the centre of a cosmatesque pavement, which itself was believed to mark the burial ground of thousands of martyrs.¹³ Details regarding the appearance (speculatively depicted in Figure 1, and Colour Plates x and xi), dedication and eventual date of demoli-

tion of Lucina's altar remain unclear, but it was last mentioned in Pompeo Ugonio's discussion of S. Paolo from 1588.¹⁴ A fifth altar, donated by Cardinal Guillaume de Pereris in 1494 (probably in response to an invitation by the monks), was set against the central pylon of the transverse wall.¹⁵ The sculpted altar, dedicated to St Luke, includes his figure flanked by Peter and Paul. It too can be associated with Bregno's circle, possibly with Luigi Capponi, who worked for De Pereris elsewhere.¹⁶ I propose that Panvinio, Serrano and others misidentified Luke as Bartholomew.¹⁷ The dedication to the evangelist, first suggested by Pierre Clochar, is reasonable.¹⁸ Unlike Bartholomew, Luke travelled with Paul and was by his side during his imprisonment in Rome and is by his side still on the basilica's thirteenth-century apse mosaic. Furthermore, Luke's relics are famously preserved at S. Giustina, S. Paolo's motherhouse. Finally, had the monks not instigated Luke's cult, the mass celebrated at the basilica in the presence of Pope Julius II on that saint's feast day in 1505 would make little sense.¹⁹ All told, Luke's altar was another instance of the reformed monastic community deploying altars to make their mark on the storied basilica.

Let us shift now to the centre of the transept, where Arnolfo di Cambio's ciborium crowned the main altar over the relics of Paul and Peter.²⁰ Between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries, the remains of the two apostles were believed to have been buried together in each of their respective basilicas.²¹ The presbytery also included the papal throne, seating for the papal entourage, and a wooden crucifix that purportedly spoke to St Bridget in 1350. In Figure 1, and Colour Plates x and xi, the crucifix is ensconced in a protective case, as it appeared during the papacy of Sixtus V.²² At the foot of the altar, beneath a marble slab, Panvinio reported the remains of the Persian martyr Anastasius.²³ The pope, or a representative, would say mass at the main altar facing the apse with his back to the populace gathered in the nave.²⁴ Beneath the presbytery was a medieval crypt with an altar dedicated to the apostles. In comparison to the whirlwind of dedications and rededications around 1560–75, the stasis of this prominent location is striking –

I will say more on this matter after completing the circuit around the transept.

Along the northern arm of the transverse wall – as a pendant to Luke's altar – stood one to St Stephen patronized by the Capranica family.²⁵ It included a marble ciborium supported by a pair of beautiful columns.²⁶ Since the late sixth century, Stephen had been commemorated in proximity to the basilica.²⁷ Though the connection between the Capranica, St Stephen and S. Paolo remains unclear, we can presume a fifteenth-century dedication given that is when the family had its heyday.²⁸ The northern end of the transept also hosted two altars. To the west was one dedicated to Paul.²⁹ We do not know its patron or dedication date, but to distinguish it from the main altar, it probably commemorated the episode of Paul's Conversion. In 1536, Pope Paul III reinstated a papal chapel at S. Paolo to celebrate his namesake's Conversion.³⁰ Indeed, a new altar to the Conversion would be built on this site around 1596. To its east, Panvinio indicated an empty (*vacuum*) altar dedicated to the Virgin with the coat of arms of the Massimo family.³¹ Before his death in 1568, Panvinio updated a sketch he made of the basilica to include the label '*Benedetto*' near that altar, which suggests the new dedication took place between 1560–68.³² Curiously, the later, posthumous publications still referred to it as Marian.³³ In 1575, Serrano confirmed the dedication to Benedict.³⁴ It is apparent that, as with the altar of the Orsini, around 1570, the monks appropriated altars from families of rank and rededicated them to monastic saints. Why and on what grounds this took place remains unclear.

A visitor to the apse in 1575 would have encountered the same trio of altars that marked that space centuries earlier.³⁵ At the far end, a ciborium supported by two columns was built over the altar of the Holy Innocents. Closer to the transept was an altar to St Timothy. The crypt below the apse contained an altar with the relics of Sts Celsus, Julian, Basilissa, and Marcionilla.³⁶ Panvinio is alone in reporting a pergola of six columns across the chord of the apse (the enclosure depicted around each apse altar is conjectural and potentially redundant).³⁷ Much like the presbytery, the area of the apse fell out-

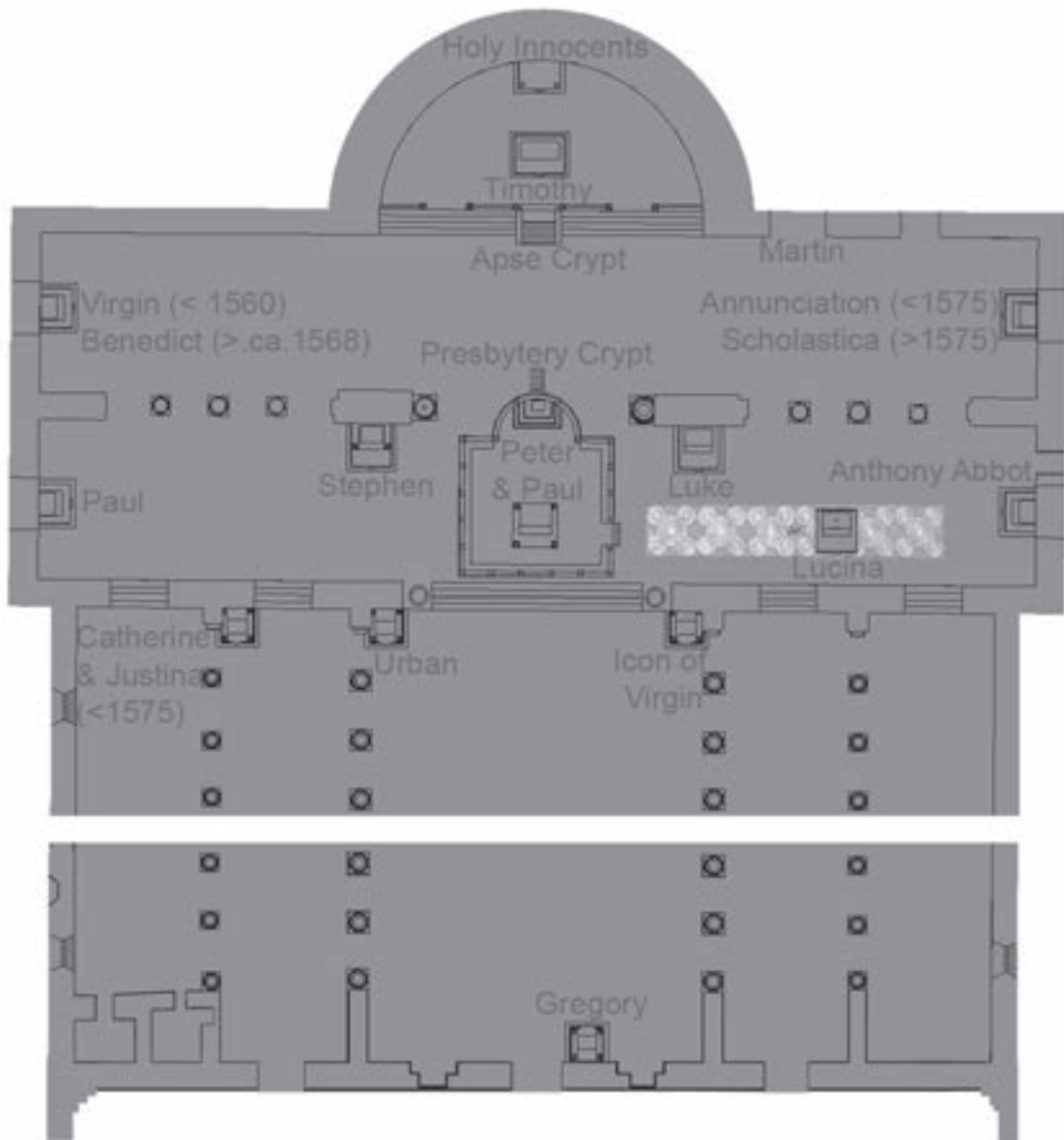


Fig. 1. Plan with liturgical layout, c. 1560–75, Basilica of S. Paolo, Rome. Image devised by the author and produced by Evan Gallitelli.

side the scope of dedications and rededications made by Roman nobility during the fifteenth century, by the monks in the later fifteenth century, and again by the monastic community around 1570. An explanation of this stasis, too, will be offered momentarily.

In addition to the thirteen altars of the transept and apse, Panvinio reported four in the nave. Just to the right of the triumphal arch was

a ciborium with an altar to the Virgin, which housed the thirteenth-century *Virgin and Child* icon still in S. Paolo.³⁸ The Holy Sacrament had been kept at this altar before being transferred to the Chapel of St Martin recounted above. At the opposite end of the triumphal arch was the altar of St Urban with a marble ciborium and the insignia of the French monarchy – testament to a rare foreign influence at S. Paolo.³⁹

We lack more details to secure even a chronology for these altars. Their appearance in Figure 1 and Colour Plate x is largely conjectural. The same lack of information characterizes an altar to Sts Catherine and Justina that included a terracotta ciborium. It was located against the transept wall in the innermost northern aisle.⁴⁰ Its dedication surely postdated the reforms that affiliated the Pauline monastery with that of S. Giustina. Though reported in Panvinio's posthumous publication, it was no longer mentioned by Serrano or later sources, which suggests it was abandoned in the intervening years. The seventeenth and final altar found at S. Paolo around 1560 was actually the first that visitors would have encountered. Since 1330 – as indicated by an inscription – an altar with a ciborium was dedicated to Pope Gregory the Great and placed against the entrance wall, to the right of the main door.⁴¹ Never again would the basilica be filled with as many altars as witnessed by Panvinio.

A number of preliminary observations can be drawn about this first liturgical shift. Of the altars present just before 1575, seven – the altars of Martin, the Annunciation (Orsini), Anthony, Luke (de Pereriis), Stephen (Capranica), Blessed Virgin (Massimi), and Catherine / Justina – were probably newly dedicated during the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries on account of their ties to that period's powerful families or to the newly forged monastic affiliations with the Paduan motherhouse. That most of those changes – especially those that took place between Panvinio's reports from around 1560 and Serrano's publication of 1575 – had a monastic identity suggests that the monks were increasingly in charge of everyday liturgical operations. The rising number of altars secured revenues for the monastic community as each altar either had an endowment or was the beneficiary of donations by the faithful. To receive the full panoply of offered indulgences a pilgrim was to pray at seven 'privileged altars'.⁴² These included the four at the ends of the transept, the two altars at the base of the triumphal arch and the Chapel of St Martin.⁴³ Each was reportedly protected by a parapet or grate (*cancellis circumdata*).⁴⁴ We have seen that many of the 'privileged altars' were re-

vamped, renovated or rededicated in advance of the 1575 Jubilee. In sum, the changes made to S. Paolo's altars between 1560 and 1575 catered largely to monks and pilgrims.

A more complex question arises from the observation that some altars – two around the presbytery (the main one and that in the crypt); three in the apse (to St Timothy, the Holy Innocents, and that in the crypt beneath the apse); and one in the nave (St Gregory) – remained untouched.⁴⁵ These altars shared a long-standing association with the basilica – four of the six were already mentioned in an inscription of Gregory III (731–41), which in the late sixteenth-century was still displayed in S. Paolo.⁴⁶ In light of liturgical changes at other altars, I argue that the decision to preserve these altars denotes an enduring respect for tradition. This was possibly enhanced by the Roman Church's desire to appear ever the same (*'semper eadem'*), a major strategy against Protestant critiques during the mid to late sixteenth century. But it would not be long before the Church changed tack and sacrificed even S. Paolo's medieval liturgical layout in order to express a more confident Counter-Reformation stance.

Pope Sixtus V (1585–90) transformed Rome and its principal early Christian basilicas into the flagships of his triumphant Counter-Reformation agenda. By returning papal liturgies to the city's major basilicas, the papacy hoped to show its seamliness and prove the Church remained ever the same.⁴⁷ The pope assigned S. Paolo three yearly stations: the second Sunday of Lent and the fourth Sunday of Advent, which had never been celebrated at the basilica, and the feast of Paul's Conversion. In order to host the pope, upward of thirty-six cardinals and a coterie of assistants, significant spatial changes became necessary.⁴⁸

By November 1586, the second wave of alterations was underway (Colour Plate xi). The pope ordered the eastern side of the presbytery precinct including the medieval throne dismantled.⁴⁹ A makeshift wooden altar (*altar fictitio*) and podium was appended to the eastern side of the main altar so that mass could be celebrated *versus populum* – mistakenly believed to have

been the early Christian practice at S. Paolo.⁵⁰ In the apse, the pergola was demolished, the altars of the Holy Innocents and St Timothy dismantled and the crypt below the apse enclosed. The relics of the Holy Innocents were transported to Sixtus's funerary chapel at S. Maria Maggiore, while those of Timothy and those from the apse crypt were translated to the presbytery crypt.⁵¹ Once the apse was 'sanitized', it could be outfitted with a throne and flanking marble seats placed along its curvature.⁵² Even a large, enigmatic sarcophagus with sculpted muses along the chord of the apse was removed to allow unobstructed views between the apse and the presbytery.⁵³ It remains unclear how the old entrance to the crypt beneath the presbytery was reconciled with the Sistine changes above (Colour Plate XI is speculative on that front).⁵⁴ By February 1587, the remodelling of S. Paolo was complete and the pope could celebrate his beloved stational liturgies in a proper fashion.⁵⁵

The Sistine liturgical transformations gave a distinctly papal stamp to the basilica. Though the pope's vision informed the patronage, the lack of any record of papal funding at S. Paolo makes it doubtful that he actually paid for the changes.⁵⁶ We know that Sixtus concurrently ordered the excavation, transportation and erection of an obelisk outside the basilica and expected the monks to fund that work – nothing ever came of it.⁵⁷ Likewise, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89) operated in his capacity as protector of the Cassinese Order of monks at the basilica to fund a new ceiling over the transept.⁵⁸ It included the papal coat of arms, despite being built without funds from Sixtus. These projects are emblematic of papal patronage by proxy, typical of the time.

In order to revive the practice of stational liturgies, Sixtus undid much of the basilica's layout and compromised access to many relics and early altars – some of which had been wilfully preserved during earlier liturgical transformations. At S. Paolo, Sixtus's overarching desire to underscore the wealth of saintly bodies that sanctified the Roman cityscape conflicted with his wish to augment the liturgy and enhance papal presence.⁵⁹ Accordingly, the direct veneration of relics took a back seat to the liturgy

when Sixtus transformed the apse from a repository of relics and altars to a stage for the clergy. Though radical for dismantling centuries of tradition, the changes did not endure because their single-minded focus resonated neither with the monastic community nor with changing papal prerogatives. In the end, the second phase of liturgical changes, which took place under Sixtus, proved influential for having gotten the ball rolling toward a more modern, less cluttered configuration, especially around the historic, previously untouched core of the building.

Not surprisingly, once the Sistine papacy ended, so too did its complex cycle of liturgies. Any cardinal serving in the curia – including the future pope, Clement VIII – understood the burden of stational liturgies. Sixtus's revolutionary spaces were suddenly without purpose and ripe for revamping in advance of the influx of pilgrims for the 1600 Jubilee. The bulk of the transformations at S. Paolo took place during the early years of the papacy of Clement VIII (1592–1605), but it was the monks who orchestrated them and, in the process, restaked their claim to the liturgical arrangement of the interior.⁶⁰ The transept and apse acquired a more unified appearance than ever before. Key to this newfound coherence was the fact that one overseer – the abbot – had charged one architect – Onorio Longhi and his workshop – to revamp almost the entire space.

As with Pope Sixtus, these changes affected the presbytery with the exception of the medieval ciborium (Colour Plate XII). A new balustrade replaced the rest of the enclosure that had been only partially dismantled. The new presbytery's broader footprint required stretching the steps into the nave, thereby causing the demolition of the altars of the Virgin and of St Urban. On the eastern flank of the presbytery, the monks built a *confessio* – a decorous space for veneration set below floor level.⁶¹ Pilgrims prayed in the *confessio* and the Eucharist was celebrated within the presbytery. Because the main altar was infrequently used, these activities seldom took place together. Instead, the presence of a *confessio* adjacent to the main altar fostered the proper – rather than the concurrent – performances of both liturgy and veneration.

The new confessio replaced the medieval crypt, which was dismantled by February 1597 when Cardinal Cesare Baronio purchased some of its sculpted elements for reuse.⁶²

If Baronio sought to preserve remnants from the crypt, the monks opted to renew the space and enhance its spiritual cachet. Despite the newly translated relics of Celsus, Julian, Timothy and others and despite the proximity of the apostolic tomb, the monks made St Bridget the centrepiece of their new confessio. Her altar – clad in remarkably rich marbles – culminated in a life-size statue of the kneeling saint by Stefano Maderno.⁶³ The niche with the white marble figure abutted the back of the apostolic altar and recalled the contemporary monument of St Cecilia in Trastevere by the same artist in a marvelous stroke of proto-Baroque theatricality. The miraculous crucifix was moved to an altar along the central pylon of the transverse wall previously occupied by one commissioned by De Pereriis. In this new arrangement, the pious Bridget could perpetually gaze at her miraculous crucifix.

In the apse, the monks devised an equally dramatic transformation by charging Onorio Longhi to build a grandiose altar, whose size impressed viewers from afar and was downright daunting up close.⁶⁴ Longhi crowned it with the monastic coat of arms, while a lower, broken pediment was supported by pairs of monolithic porphyry columns.⁶⁵ The altarpiece depicting the ‘Burial of St Paul’ by Francesco Cigoli was in progress in 1609, when it was first described.⁶⁶ The apse itself was dressed with marble pilasters, fake portals and pedimented niches that contained seating for a prelate or pope. Oval and rectangular pictures painted by Avanzino Nucci represented scenes of Paul’s life that complemented those in the nave.⁶⁷ In 1608, Cardinal Scipione Borghese had the floor repaved with precious marbles.⁶⁸ The new apse was the crown jewel of this latest round of alterations overseen by the monastic community.

The monks also revamped the four side altars against the northern and southern transept walls to blend them with their other innovations (Colour Plate XII). These, too, were designed by Longhi or someone in his workshop, and, un-

like the monochrome engravings through which they are generally known, they were strikingly colourful.⁶⁹ By 1596, bright new paintings stood in the central arches, while porphyry altar fronts and columns and other coloured marbles enlivened the backdrop.⁷⁰ In the southeast corner, the former altar of St Scholastica (previously of the Annunciation) was rededicated again, this time to the Assumption. To its west was a new altar to Stephen.⁷¹ Along the northern transept wall, opposite that of Stephen, was the altar to the Conversion of Paul, which seems to have maintained its dedication through the centuries examined here. To its east was the altar of Benedict, which also suffered relatively few changes.⁷² The new side altars simultaneously reflected many of the traditional, historic cults venerated in the basilica and expressed the modernizing, homogenizing priorities of its monastic caretakers.

But the alterations that took place around the 1600 Jubilee affected the entire interior. The new altar to the crucifix had a pendant one abutting the northern pylon of the transverse wall, which enshrined the icon of the Virgin formerly at the foot of the triumphal arch.⁷³ When the altar of the crucifix was constructed against the transverse wall, De Pereriis’s altar to Luke was moved to the right (as one entered) of the basilica’s central door, where it replaced that of Gregory.⁷⁴ At this point, simply by reshuffling the original fifteenth-century statues and placing that of Paul in the centre, the altar was rededicated to Paul.⁷⁵ To the left of the central door, the monks moved the altar of Anthony, Justina and Denis from the transept and shifted Denis to the central, dedicatory position.⁷⁶

All told, at the start of the seventeenth century, S. Paolo was a remarkable sight and a very different place than just fifty years before. The reversal of the Sistine interventions not only expanded the accessibility of venerable objects, but the resulting proliferation of altars, the homogenization of liturgical furniture and the creation of a colourful and rich marble interior left virtually no aspect of the basilica untouched. Even this brief overview confirms that monastic reforms, the Counter-Reformation and the recurrence of jubilees were the greatest forces in shifting the liturgical layout at S. Paolo.

Notes

- 1 For the altars in 1514, see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), MS Vat. lat. 6041, fol. 105^r; for those in 1570, see Onofrio Panvinio, *Le sette chiese principali di Roma* (Rome: Blado, 1570), pp. 85–108; for the altars around 1600, see Giovanni Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma* (Rome: Fei, 1639), pp. 48–67.
- 2 Onofrio Panvinio, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fols 44^r–47^v and MS Vat. lat. 6781 fols 417^r–18^r. His Italian publication referenced here was preceded by a Latin edition, *De praecipuis urbis Romae* (Rome: Blado, 1570), pp. 67–85.
- 3 Marco Attilio Serrano, *De septem urbis ecclesiis* (Rome: Blado, 1575), pp. 32–39.
- 4 Nicola Camerlenghi, ‘Splitting the Core: The Transverse Wall at the Basilica of San Paolo in Rome’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 58 (2013), 115–42.
- 5 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97.
- 6 Pier Luigi Galletti, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 8029, fol. 47^r. The monastery’s pinacoteca houses an *Annunciation* by a follower of Antoniazio Romano that includes military saints befitting a *condottiero* like Orsino.
- 7 Serrano, p. 38.
- 8 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97.
- 9 The drawing by Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli is in BAV, MS Vat. lat. 7721, fols 83^v and 84^r.
- 10 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97; Serrano, p. 37.
- 11 The first mention of the trio of saints seems to be Baglione, *Le nove chiese*, p. 53.
- 12 St Denis was believed to have been an early convert of Paul. The sculptures have since been switched.
- 13 Panvinio, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 47^r and 44^v (where he describes the cross of Pope Stephen II placed atop the altar of Lucina). In Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 98, Panvinio described the cross atop the main altar.
- 14 Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (Rome: Bonfadino, 1588), fol. 238^r.
- 15 The altar is currently in the monastery’s night chapel.
- 16 Eugène Müntz, *Les art à la cour des papes* (Paris: Leroux, 1898), p. 34.
- 17 Luke’s pen could easily be confused for Bartholomew’s knife.
- 18 Pierre Clochard, *Monuments et tombeaux, mesurés et dessinés* (Paris: [n.pub.], 1815), p. 10 and Plate 14.
- 19 Anselmo Tappi-Cesarini, ‘I papi e la basilica di San Paolo’, *Benedictina* 46 (1991), 25–76 (esp. p. 51); Sible de Blaauw, ‘Immagini di liturgia’, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana 1999–2000*, 33 (2003), 259–302, esp. p. 282, n. 80.
- 20 Sible de Blaauw, ‘Arnolfo’s High Altar Ciboria and Roman Liturgical Traditions’, in *Arnolfo’s Moment*, ed. by David Friedman and others (Florence: Olschki, 2009), pp. 123–40.
- 21 Camerlenghi, pp. 128–30.
- 22 De Blaauw, ‘Immagini’, Figs 7–8; Claudia D’Alberto, ‘Il crocifisso parlante di Santa Brigida’, *Studi medievali e moderni*, 15 (2011), 229–55.
- 23 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 96.
- 24 Sible de Blaauw, ‘In vista della luce: Un principio dimenticato nell’orientamento dell’edificio di culto paleocristiano’, in *Arte medievale: Le vie dello spazio liturgico*, ed. by Paolo Piva (Milan: Jaca Book, 2010), pp. 15–45, esp. 22, 32, 33, 45.
- 25 Panvinio, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 47^r.
- 26 Panvinio’s drawing in MS Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 417^r, shows four columns, but he discussed only two in MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 47^r.
- 27 Ildefonso Schuster, *La basilica e il monastero di San Paolo* (Turin: Società editrice Internazionale, 1934), p. 12.
- 28 The earliest Capranica – named Stefano – lived in the late fourteenth century. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–), XIX (1976), p. 148.
- 29 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97.
- 30 De Blaauw, ‘Immagini’, p. 279, n. 68.
- 31 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97. Aside from an overseer appointed to repair S. Paolo in 1452, no other connection between the Massimo family and the basilica is known. Another painting in the Pinacoteca also by the school of Antoniazio Romano depicts a coterie of figures (Peter, Justina, Paul, and Benedict) around the Virgin and Child.
- 32 Panvinio, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 418^r.
- 33 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97 and *De praecipuis*, p. 76.
- 34 Serrano, p. 38.
- 35 Panvinio, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 47^v.
- 36 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97.
- 37 For earlier uses of the pergola-enclosed apse, see De Blaauw, ‘Immagini’, p. 281.
- 38 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, pp. 97–98.
- 39 Panvinio, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 45^v.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 The altar commemorated the site where purportedly St Lucina had buried Paul’s head. Serrano, p. 35; the inscription is reported by Ugonio, fol. 238^r.
- 42 A similar ritual had been instituted at St Peter’s by the 1140s. Panvinio seems to be the first to discuss the seven altars at San Paolo. Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, pp. 105–08.
- 43 Panvinio, *Le sette chiese*, p. 97; Serrano, pp. 37–38. The order in which one prayed is unclear, because Panvinio suggested one begin in the Chapel of St Martin, then advance to the main altar, to the crucifix in the presbytery, to the remaining four (*sic*) altars. He should have referenced the remaining six altars, for only one of the previously mentioned ones (that of St Martin) was also one of the seven privileged ones.
- 44 Panvinio, MS Vat. lat. 6780, fol. 47^v.

- 45 It is unclear what alterations (if any) took place at the altars of the Virgin and of St Urban.
- 46 Pope Gregory III mentioned the main altar, that in the presbytery crypt and those of Sts Timothy and Gregory.
- 47 Helge Gamrath, *Roma Sancta Renovata* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987), pp. 123–64; De Blaauw, 'Immagini', pp. 279–83.
- 48 De Blaauw, 'Immagini', pp. 280–81. For interpretations of this transformation, see Santi Pesarini, 'La Basilica di S. Paolo sulla Via Ostiense', *Studi Romani*, 1 (1913), 386–427, esp. pp. 414–15; Marina Docci, *San Paolo fuori le mura* (Rome: Gangemi, 2006), pp. 113–17; Tappi-Cesarini, pp. 54–56.
- 49 Ugonio, fol. 237^r.
- 50 De Blaauw, 'Immagini', p. 282.
- 51 The Holy Innocents were translated 5 November 1586. Steven Ostrow, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), ch. 1. For the other relics see Schuster, p. 234.
- 52 Since 1500, a temporary faldstool had been used instead of the old throne.
- 53 Ugonio, fols 236–37.
- 54 At S. Sabina, Sixtus revamped the area of the apse in an analogous fashion: he inserted a throne and additional seating, blocked off the crypt, moved the altar from the apse into the nave, and even demolished a medieval colonnaded pergola comprised of six columns. Ugonio, fols 8–10; Antonio Muñoz, *Il restauro della Basilica di Santa Sabina* (Rome: Palombi, 1938), p. 51.
- 55 De Blaauw, 'Immagini', p. 283, n. 83.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 283, n. 84.
- 57 René Schifffmann, *Roma Felix* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1985), p. 35; Gamrath, p. 66.
- 58 Alexander von Hübner, *Sixte Quinte*, 2 vols (Paris: Franck, 1870), II, p. 496. Panvinio was Alessandro Farnese's librarian.
- 59 Steven Ostrow, 'The 'Confessio' in Post-Tridentine Rome', in *Arte e committenza nel Lazio nell'età di Cesare Baronio*, ed. by Patrizia Tosini (Rome: Gangemi, 2009), pp. 19–32, esp. p. 23.
- 60 For the monks' efforts, see Ottavio Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: Zannetti, 1600), p. 660.
- 61 Ostrow, pp. 21–24.
- 62 Maria Grazia Turco, *Il titulus dei Santi Nereo ed Achilleo emblema della riforma cattolica* (Rome: Librerie Dedalo, 1997), pp. 63–64.
- 63 Pietro Martire Felini, *Trattato nuovo* (Rome: Zannetti, 1610), p. 17; Baglione, pp. 59–60. Bridget's placement is discussed by Harula Economopoulos, *Stefano Maderno Scultore* (Rome: Gangemi, 2013), pp. 143–59.
- 64 Marina Docci, 'L'altare di Onorio Longhi: prime indagini su un'architettura perduta', *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie*, 25 (2006), 159–62.
- 65 Francesco Ficoroni, *Le vestigia di Roma antica* (Rome: Mainardi, 1744), I, 23, p. 153.
- 66 Giovanni Battista Cherubini, *Le cose magnifiche dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome: Mascardi, 1609), p. 12. It was ultimately left incomplete.
- 67 The remnants of a cycle of Paul's life in the apse, reported by Panvinio, may have inspired this approach.
- 68 Tappi-Cesarini, pp. 56–57.
- 69 For attributions of the paintings, see Baglione, *Le nove chiese*, p. 64.
- 70 The completion of the work in 1596, is discussed by Mons. de Vico in his *Visita Apostolica* from 1726 found in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, MS Corsini 738, fols 148^r ff.; Raymond Ward Bissell, *Orazio Gentileschi and the Poetic Tradition in Caravaggesque Painting* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State Press, 1981), p. 134. The twenty columns of the medieval presbytery may have been redeployed around the transept. See Docci, p. 105.
- 71 Cherubini, p. 12.
- 72 The altar panels were engraved by Giovanni Maggi and Jacques Callot.
- 73 Baglione, p. 60; Nicola Maria Nicolai, *Della basilica di S. Paolo* (Rome: De Romanis, 1815), p. 262. The new altars along the transverse wall are **only** known in plan. See, IT AZ704 and IT AZ705 in Vienna's Albertina Museum.
- 74 The new altar preserved the medieval tradition that Paul's head had been discovered there, as noted in an inscription placed above the statues. See Francesco Maria Tosi, *Raccolta di monumenti sacri e sepolcrali* (Rome: [n.pub.], 1853), IV, tav. CVI.
- 75 Baglione, who mistook Luke for John the Baptist (!), was the first to note its presence at the counter-façade in 1639. Baglione, p. 53.
- 76 For the repositioned altar of Denis, see Tosi, *Raccolta*, v, tav. CXVI. For evidence that, by 1665, both altars at the entrance were no longer used see 'Stato temporale delle chiese di Roma', IV (1665) collected in Luigi Nardoni's *Zibaldoni archeologici*, in Archivio Storico Capitolino (Biblioteca) 23346, p. 236.

Dale KINNEY

Memorials invite us to remember people we haven't known. With words and sometimes with images, they offer a highly selective summary of the deeds or virtues that make their subject worthy of recall. They can also function as *lieux de mémoire*, sites that reinforce a sense of community among certain observers. So it was for Pope John Paul II at S. Maria in Trastevere. Visiting the basilica on the third Sunday after Easter in 1980, the pope began his homily with a reference to the wall tomb of his countryman Stanisław Hozjusz (Stanislaus Hosius) in the transept (Fig. 1, D). He revealed that before his election he had come to S. Maria in Trastevere many times to pray because of its strong connection to the history of the Church in Poland, a connection made by two of its titular cardinals: Hosius (1578–79), celebrated as a defender of the Catholic Church in the time of the Counter-Reformation, and the current Cardinal Priest Stefan Wyszyński (1957–81), champion of the Church of Poland during the Soviet occupation.¹ The pope had taken comfort in this virtual community 'especially during the Second Vatican Council and then in the period after it'.²

Memorials manage memory. The image of Cardinal Hosius conjured by his epitaph – renowned for erudition and eloquence, for his vehement defense of the Catholic faith and his attacks on heretics, for the moral virtues of humility, charity, chastity and beneficence, and for his service to Pope Pius IV (1559–65) at the Council of Trent – is, as far as we can tell, a truthful one.³ This cannot be said of the pendant memorial on the left (south) side of the apse, dedicated to Roberto ab Altemps, Duke of Gallesse (1561–81) (Fig. 1, C). Roberto was the legitimized bastard of the prominent Cardinal Marco Sittico ab Altemps, a nephew of Pope Pius IV and Hosius's successor as cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastevere (1580–95).⁴ According to a contemporary source, 'it was said' that Roberto and some accomplices 'seduced and aban-

doned' (*deflorata e tralalzata via*) a handmaid of Lucrezia Crescenzi. Hearing this Pope Sixtus V determined to make him an example: the duke was cited and imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo while his case went before the senator of Rome. His father the cardinal attempted to intervene; eventually the pope exiled the miscreant to Avignon.⁵ Yet Roberto's epitaph, which purports to be the work of his 'most sorrowful' wife Cornelia Orsini, mentions Avignon as a military posting and has Cornelia lament the premature demise of her 'very distinguished' husband.⁶

Memorials themselves can be managed, and this is the subject of my paper. The memorial to Roberto ab Altemps, paid for by his father in 1588–89 and installed in 1591 on the wall adjoining the entrance to the newly completed Altemps family chapel, was among the finishing touches to a thorough renovation of the transept that cleared the space in front of the chapel, altering patterns of traffic and opening a sightline from the aisle.⁷ Already in 1584 the memorial of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon (d. 1397) had been removed from its place in front of the west wall, where it blocked the future opening to the Altemps Chapel.⁸ Comprising an altar, the *gisant* image of the cardinal upon his bier, figured reliefs of the Dormition and the Assumption, and a number of statuettes and other ornaments on a gabled ciborium, the d'Alençon tomb was the grandest ever to stand in S. Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 2).⁹ Cardinal ab Altemps reinstalled parts of it against the transept's south wall, where there had been a door to the fifteenth-century sacristy; this door was walled up and a new one was opened into an antechamber of the sacristy at the end of the south aisle, several steps down from the transept. The d'Alençon altar, dedicated to the apostles Philip and James, was placed in the centre of the wall (Fig. 1, A1). The tomb and the ciborium, described in 1581 as 'a beautiful marble structure that is borne on four columns', were cut apart so that two columns and

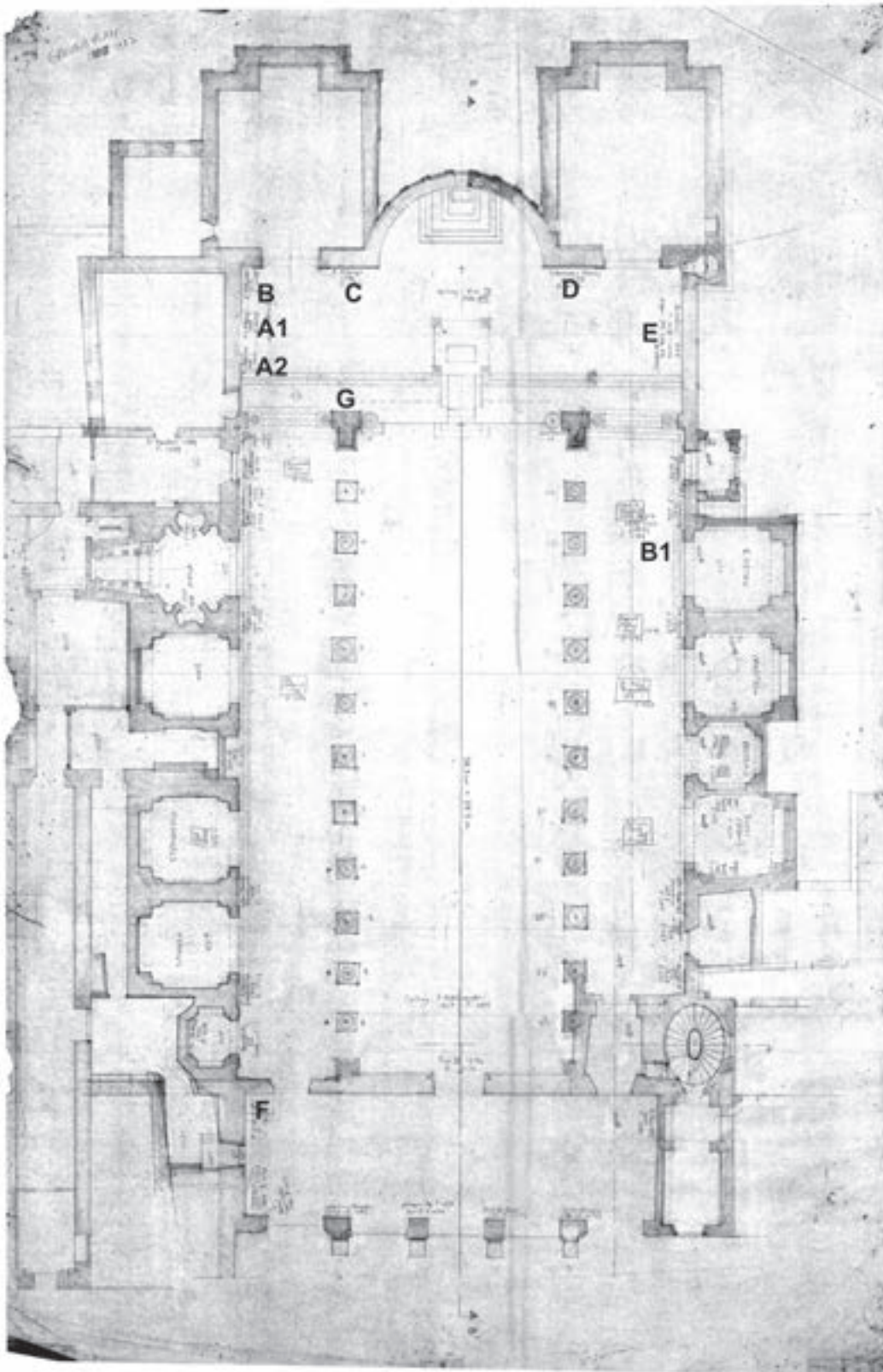


Fig. 1. Ground plan of S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome, with letters indicating location of memorials. Plan: Arch. Marzio Fulloni.

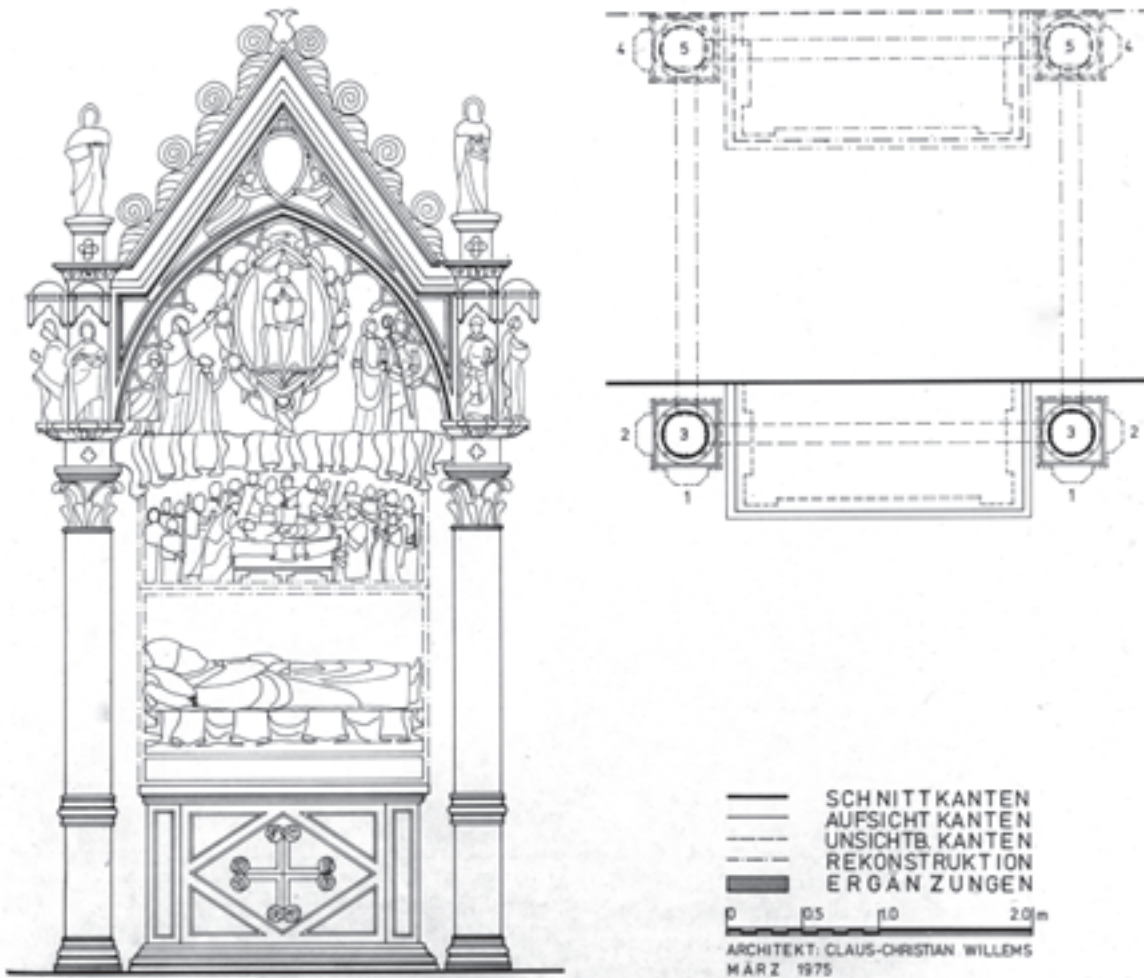


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the tomb of Cardinal Philippe d'Alençon, S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. From: Kühenthal, Abb. 24.

the front gable of the ciborium could be reused to frame the altar.¹⁰ The Assumption relief was affixed to the wall in its original position under the gable, over a new painting of the crucifixion of St Peter and an inscription recording that Cardinal ab Altemps had moved the chapel 'so that it would not take up the transverse nave of the church'.¹¹ D'Alençon's effigy, the Dormition relief, and the epitaph were reassembled in a new frame and placed on the wall to the left of the altar (Fig. 1, A2).

To make a symmetrical composition, the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi (d. 1417) was reinstalled in the wall to the right of the altar (Figs. 1, B; 3). This tomb had been on the

wall of the north aisle, 'next to the altar of St Peter' near the side entrance to the church (Fig. 1, B1).¹² In 1581 an Apostolic Visitor reported that the altar had neither a cross nor its own cloths and its consecration was doubtful; in 1583 it was consigned to Muzia Velli, who began to build a family chapel on the site.¹³ Presumably the construction of the Velli Chapel occasioned the demounting of the tomb. What survives of it in the transept is the *gisant* figure of Cardinal Stefaneschi and a sarcophagus, the front of which is divided into three fields by twisted columns and decorated with the cardinal's coat of arms and a lengthy epitaph containing the signature of the artist (*Magister Paulus fecit hoc hopus*).¹⁴ Scholars



Fig. 3. Tombs of Cardinals d'Alençon and Stefaneschi displayed on south wall of transept, S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Photos: Alinari / Art Resource, NY; montage by Alex Brey.

agree that in its original installation the monument would have had at least a gabled canopy, and possibly also angels drawing aside curtains to reveal the effigy.¹⁵ Since they did not fit the new design, these elements did not survive the transfer.

The symmetrical display of selected parts of the d'Alençon and Stefaneschi tombs mirrors the organization of the massive Armellini tomb on the opposite (north) wall of the transept (Fig. 1, E). Covering the entire wall except for a small door in the northwest corner, the Armellini monument has three compartments separated by Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 4). The lateral sections contain the recumbent effigies of Cardinal Francesco Armellini (1469–1528) and his father Benvegnate, each lying on a sarcophagus with an epitaph in the dado below and a sculptured half-length Virgin and Child in a circular frame overhead. The central section is

occupied by statues of Sts Lawrence and Francis standing under an arch with a half-length figure of Christ in the lunette. Originally an altar stood in front of this central compartment; it was described by the Visitor of 1581 as 'all of stone, wonderfully made but not consecrated, naked and without any cloths', and inaccessible because it was blocked by some old wooden seats.¹⁶ The endowment for this altar had never been paid. In 1592 Pope Clement VIII, making his own visit to the basilica, ordered 'that it be arranged with the heirs of the Cardinal [...] that they endow the chapel and properly adorn it'.¹⁷ Any such efforts were fruitless and eventually the altar was removed, leaving an awkward blank dado below the statues.

The Armellini monument was commissioned in 1521 and installed in 1524, so it was already in place at the time of the Altemps remodeling.¹⁸ Its original design by the Milanese sculp-



Fig. 4. Tombs of Cardinal Francesco Armellini and his father, S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Photo: Ali-nari / Art Resource, NY.

tor Antonio Elia called for a pediment over the projecting central section of the entablature and ornamental lamps and the coat of arms of Pope Leo X (1513–21) over the lateral compartments.¹⁹ Baldassare Peruzzi took on the project after Elia's death in 1522 and proposed to make it even more elaborate, but in the end an impoverished version of Elia's design was erected.²⁰ Either the architectural frame was never properly finished or the pediment and any other crowning pieces were removed under Cardinal ab Altemps in order to install his new organ, which now sits directly on top of the tomb's horizontal entablature.²¹

Francesco Armellini made a fortune as a contractor, speculator, seller of offices and collector of taxes under the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII (1523–34).²² He was notori-

ously avaricious and detested by the people of Rome. Even one of Peruzzi's sketches has the note: 'Here are the sacred bones of the dreadful villain Armellini'.²³ Of course the tomb was meant to present him in a better light. The epitaph boasts that the cardinal became rich and famous through the munificence of the Medici popes, but immediately recalls 'the flux of life, the weakness of the flesh, and the uncertain vicissitudes of things'. Mindful that he would be defenseless should the Lord come upon him with his soul unprepared, 'living and vigilant he prepared this tomb for himself'.²⁴ The inscription ends with a striking phrase borrowed from Varro: *certe homo bulla est* ('surely man is a bubble').²⁵ The learned tag confirms the impression of the effigy, which shows the recumbent cardinal fallen asleep with his finger in a book,

as if in life he had been distinguished by learning rather than commerce. Yet for all the ambition of its planning the memorial seems to have been cheaply constructed, with recycled and mismatched components and simulated marble rather than the ‘most beautiful marble that can be found in Rome’ as specified in the contract with Antonio Elia.²⁶ The desolate altar and the wooden chairs or benches stacked in front of it in 1581 would have enhanced the appearance of poverty and neglect. Presumably the Altemps renovation at least removed the chairs, but it arguably further diminished the tomb by turning it into an elaborate podium for the new organ, which overshadows it.

The impact of the d’Alençon and Stefaneschi tombs was much more strongly affected by the Altemps renovation: they lost their autonomy as works of art and with it much of their memorial distinctiveness. Philippe d’Alençon, the more prominent of the two decedents, was of the French house of Valois, a nephew of King Philip VI (d. 1350). He began his long ecclesiastical career as bishop of Beauvais in 1356. Despite his lineage he was a strong supporter of Roman interests in France and was rewarded with the title of Patriarch of Jerusalem by Pope Gregory XI (1370–78).²⁷ In the turbulent schism that followed Pope Gregory’s death d’Alençon was loyal to Urban VI, who named him cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastevere in 1379. The antipope Clement VII named Niccolò Brancaccio to the same title (1379–88), but Brancaccio followed Clement VII to Avignon, leaving d’Alençon to act in Rome.²⁸ According to a chronicle of his family, by the end of his life Cardinal d’Alençon was a venerated figure, and ‘prayers and requests in the Church of Rome where his body lies have given succor and aid to many people’.²⁹

Cardinal d’Alençon did not prepare his own tomb, but left it to his executors to determine his place of burial.³⁰ The executors chose his title church, where the cardinal already had founded and endowed an altar to the apostles Philip (his patron saint) and James (Bishop of Jerusalem).³¹ They imported a team of sculptors from the cathedral workshop of Florence to create a monument modeled on the early fourteenth-

century funerary chapel of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) in St Peter’s, in which a pre-existing altar was amplified with a ciborium, a sarcophagus and a recumbent effigy placed in a niche behind the altar, and a mosaic image of the pope being presented to the Virgin Mary by St Peter, with St Paul on the opposite side.³² In Tuscan hands the model was transformed to look more like Andrea Orcagna’s milestone tabernacle in Orsanmichele (1352–59), with sculpture matching the very latest work on the cathedral.³³ The result has been called ‘perhaps the most elaborate and sophisticated monument to be erected in Rome before the major achievements of the fifteenth-century papacy’ (Fig. 2).³⁴

D’Alençon’s epitaph is concise, noting his royal lineage (*regum de stirpe*), his last office as cardinal bishop of Ostia (1388–97), his exceptional virtue, and his death in 1397 on the same day as the Virgin Mary (15 August).³⁵ It reads like a programme for the sculpture. The death of the Virgin, now installed below the bier, was depicted above the effigy. The deceased wears a bishop’s mitre and his virtue is denoted by his presence at the foot of Mary’s throne in the Assumption. The royal fleur-de-lis is everywhere: on the collar of the recumbent effigy; all over the cardinal’s cope in the Assumption and on the cloth of honour hanging behind the Virgin in the same scene; in the coat of arms borne by angels in the gable.³⁶ As if that were not enough, the cardinal’s patrons in the Assumption relief include Sts Louis IX and Louis of Toulouse, both also bedecked in fleurs-de-lis.³⁷ It was not necessary to read the epitaph to know that this was the memorial of a very special man. As if to give proof of this, an anonymous source reported that when his tomb was removed from the wall and opened in 1584 ‘they found the cardinal entirely intact, without any loss to his nose or his lips, dressed in a gold chasuble with gloves on his hands still with linings of red silk with rings on his fingers, and on top a white silk cloth embellished with gold flowers [fleurs-de-lis!] with various colours’.³⁸

The Stefaneschi tomb was not as spectacular, but it was still an imposing work of art. As reconstructed with a gabled frame, it was of a type employed for the tombs of high-ranking



Fig. 5. Memorial to five cardinals in the porch, S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. Photo by the author.

clerics and laymen since the thirteenth century. It is often compared to the double tomb of Francesco and Nicola Anguillara in Capranica (1408), in which the sarcophagus is raised from the ground on colonnettes and the effigies lie over it in a thalamus, or curtained chamber.³⁹ The Anguillara tomb may have been made by the same artist, ‘Magister Paulus de Gualdo Cattanie’ (Gualdo Cattaneo, near Perugia), who in addition to the Stefaneschi monument also signed three other tombs in Rome and Lazio.⁴⁰ Among the surviving components of the Stefaneschi tomb the most striking is the epitaph, a beautifully inscribed, intricate composition of ten hexameters in which ornately phrased information (‘To whom his virtue, by its merits, bestowed the cardinal’s hat on his radiant brow at a flourishing age’) is entwined with apostrophe (‘Reader! behold with tears him enclosed by this marble’).⁴¹ The verses extol the cardinal’s

beauty, wisdom, learning, and the rank of his family. Two final lines of prose contain the date of death, the last day of October 1417, and the signature of the sculptor.

Unlike the other cardinals gathered in the transept, Pietro Stefaneschi never held the title of S. Maria in Trastevere; for most of his career he was cardinal deacon of S. Angelo in Pescheria (1405–09, 1410–17).⁴² He was, however, a canon of the basilica.⁴³ His wealthy and distinguished family was based in Trastevere and a distant ancestor, Bertoldo, had commissioned the mosaics attributed to Pietro Cavallini that decorate the wall of the apse.⁴⁴ Bertoldo’s more famous brother, Cardinal Jacopo Gaetani Stefaneschi (d. 1343), composed the hexametral verses that accompany the narrative scenes.⁴⁵ Both brothers are remembered in the necrology of S. Maria in Trastevere contained in a manuscript in The British Library (at 6 November and 24 June,

with a note that the cardinal bequeathed some ‘beautiful vestments’), along with four additional Stefaneschi, all but one of whom left substantial legacies to the church: Petrus Stephani (5 May; 80 pounds), Petrus Petri Stephani (22 March, 40 pounds), Jacoba the wife of Franciscus Stephani (29 July; a palace and a plot of land), and Stephanus Petri Stephani (26 April).⁴⁶ Patronage and remembrance in S. Maria in Trastevere were long-standing family traditions. The epitaph of Pietro Stefaneschi alludes to those traditions, celebrating the stature of his family and emulating the literary achievement for which some of its members were known. It does not reflect at all his long and tumultuous career in politics, juggling the competing ambitions of popes and anti-popes, kings and *condottieri*.⁴⁷ He died in Castel Sant’Angelo, where he had been imprisoned for taking the side of the *condottiere* Braccio da Montone in a struggle for control of Rome.

The dismemberment and relocation of the d’Alençon and Stefaneschi tombs by Cardinal ab Altemps – or more precisely by Martino Longhi, the architect in charge of his renovation – created a museum of cardinals in the transept.⁴⁸ Longhi’s design for the south wall is clever and effective, uniting the *disiecta membra* in a ‘triptych’ that echoes the tripartite scheme of the Armellini tomb across the way.⁴⁹ According to a principle still followed in modern museum installation, the tombs were reduced to similar sizes, framed with similar horizontal entablatures, and placed to either side of a taller work in the centre (Fig. 3). The display flattens the differences between them and enhances their generic features; they appear like representative examples of ‘tombs of medieval cardinals’ rather than the highly personal, distinctive monuments they once were. The epitaphs in Gothic script are unreadable for most observers today and may already have been so in the sixteenth century, when anyone curious about the deceased’s identity might have turned first to the heraldry. The near-anonymity of the effigies suited the purposes of the sixteenth-century museum, which was like a vestibule for Cardinal ab Altemps’ new chapel. The chapel was the more important space: not only a cardinal’s rest-

ing place but home to the Holy Sacrament altar and soon to the venerated, almost relic-like icon known as the ‘Madonna della Clemenza’, which was translated to the chapel in 1593.⁵⁰ The vestibule was populated by suitable company for the chapel but it was enough for visitors to know that they were cardinals, from old times on the left, more recent on the right.

At least five other cardinals were buried in S. Maria in Trastevere. They are memorialized in the porch in a monument set up in 1868 by Virginio Vespignani, whose thorough-going renovation in the 1860s entailed the destruction of the pavements in the nave and aisles (Figs 1, F; 5). Explaining that the original epitaphs were either ‘not extant or worn away with age’, the nineteenth-century inscription commemorates Marco Vigerio della Rovere (titular cardinal 1505–16), Achille Grassi (tit. 1517–23), Miguel da Silva (tit. 1553–56), Niccolò Albergati-Ludovisi (tit. 1666–76), and Domenico Cecchini (d. 1656), who did not hold the title but restored the chapel built as a later pendant to that of Cardinal ab Altemps on the north side of the apse.⁵¹ Presumably the tombs were only floor monuments – hence the abrasion – which might explain why the three early sixteenth-century ones were not included in the Altemps transept-museum.

There is one extraneous item in the museum, a very recent addition tucked away on the western face of the south pier of the triumphal arch, where it is dark and hard to make out (Fig. 1, G). It is a nice surprise to the anglophone scholar who stumbles upon it, for the epitaph is in English:

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS
ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE
1877-1921
FAITHFUL SHEPHERD AND TEACHER
PIONEER ECUMENIST
DEFENDER OF WORKERS’ RIGHTS
ON TAKING POSSESSION OF THIS HISTORIC
BASILICA AS HIS
TITULAR CHURCH ON THE FEAST OF
THE ANNUNCIATION, MARCH
25, 1887, CARDINAL GIBBONS
PREACHED A SERMON WHICH,

IN ITS SUPPORT FOR RELIGIOUS
FREEDOM AND CONSTITUTIONAL
DEMOCRACY, ANTICIPATED AND
HELPED MAKE POSSIBLE THE
TEACHING OF THE SECOND VATICAN
COUNCIL IN DIGNITATIS
HUMANAE AND GAUDIUM ET SPES.

Unlike Karol Wojtyła at the tomb of Stanisław Hozjusz, I did not experience a feeling of community upon encountering this memorial to my countryman. As a non-Catholic I had never heard of him, but the inscription inspired me to learn more. I found that he was ‘an unwitting ecumenist long before that movement had arrived’; that the sermon to which the inscription refers was ‘a forthright defense of American democracy at a time when monarchy was still the preferred form of government in Catholic

Europe and the Vatican’; and that in the same year in which he preached the sermon, Cardinal Gibbons submitted to Rome a defense of the Knights of Labor, an organization with a large and diverse membership – opposed by a number of his fellow bishops in the United States – that agitated for humane working conditions and an end to child labour.⁵² Insofar as they could have understood him at all, Cardinal ab Altemps and the other cardinals in the transept would have found this man mad, and unworthy to be among them. But as history would have it, the positions singled out in the memorial are very much in the spirit of S. Maria in Trastevere today, which through its affiliation with the Comunità di S. Egidio ministers to the disadvantaged of Trastevere and elsewhere in a purely ecumenical spirit.

Notes

- 1 See <https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/it/homilies/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19800427_visita-parrocchia.html> [accessed February 2016]. For the titular cardinals, cf. <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/d1m31.html>> [accessed February 2016].
- 2 For another significant Polish connection see Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, ‘Cult and Patronage: The ‘Madonna della Clemenza’, the Altemps and a Polish Canon in Rome’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 72 (2009), 69–98.
- 3 Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome: Tip. delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1873), II, p. 347, no. 1070.
- 4 Giovanni Francesco Gàmbara (August 1579–December 1580) came between them.
- 5 Giuseppe Cugnoli, ‘Autobiografia di Monsignor G. Antonio Santori Cardinale di S. Severina (Continuazione e fine)’, *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 13 (1890), 151–205 (pp. 169–71; my thanks to Valentino Pace for help with the sense of this passage); Irene Polverini Fosi, ‘Justice and Its Image: Political Propaganda and Judicial Reality in the Pontificate of Sixtus V’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24, 1 (1993), 75–95 (p. 80).
- 6 Forcella, p. 348, no. 1076: APVD/AVENIONEM ET COMITATVM VENAISINVM/MILITARIBVS COPIIS PRAEPOSITO IN IPSO/VIRTVTIS CONATV VT HONORVM CVRSV/IMMATVRE EXTINCTO/CORNELIA VRSINA VIRGINII F CONIVGI/CLARISSIMO MOESTISSIMA POSVIT. The cause of his death is not known; Jurkowlaniec, pp. 91–92, refutes the idea that Roberto was executed by the pope.
- 7 Bruno Torresi, ‘La Cappella Altemps in Santa Maria in Trastevere’, *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, 22 (1975), 159–70 (p. 167); Helmut Friedel, ‘Die Cappella Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere’, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 17 (1978), 89–123 (pp. 94, 115 [doc. 86], 119 [doc. 163]).
- 8 Friedel, pp. 93–94.
- 9 Vicariato di Roma, Archivio storico, Archivio del Capitolo di Santa Maria in Trastevere (hereafter ACSMT) #15: *Visite apostoliche nella Basilica*, fol. 13^v [13 aprile 1581]; Michael Kühenthal, ‘Zwei Grabmäler des frühen Quattrocento in Rom: Kardinal Martinez de Chiavez und Papst Eugen IV.’, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 16 (1976), 17–56 (pp. 38–46). Kühenthal’s reconstruction was corrected by Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 128–29; and by Gert Kreytenberg, ‘Die Bildhauer von Altarziborium und Grabmal des Kardinals Philippe d’Alençon in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rom: Giovanni d’Ambrogio, Lorenzo di Giovanni und Piero di Giovanni Tedesco’, *Arte medievale*, n.s., 1 (2002), 91–126 (pp. 91–94). See also *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler in Rom und Latium vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Jörg Garms and others (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), II: *Die Monumentalgräber*, pp. 122–24.
- 10 ACSMT #15, fol. 13^v: ‘pulchra structura marmorea quae quatuor columnis nititur’.

- 11 Forcella, p. 348, no. 1075: NE TRANSVERSAM NAVEM TEMPLI OCCVPARET/HIC TRANS-TVLIT.
- 12 ACSMT #1, Pietro Moretti, *Storia della Basilica*, fols 267^r, 269^v: 'Juxta altare S. Petri in muro est sepulchrum marmoreum qm Card.^{lis} de Stephaneschis Romani, qui obiit anno Dni 1417'; *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, pp. 126-29.
- 13 ACSMT #1, fol. 267^r; Filippo Mallerini, *Memorie storiche della sacrosancta Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere* (MS, 1871), fol. 57^v; Simona Cesari, 'Il monumento Stefaneschi in Santa Maria in Trastevere', *Lazio ieri e oggi*, 37, 4 (2001), 146-48 (p. 147).
- 14 Forcella, p. 342, no. 1048; *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 127; Simona Cesari, *Magister Paulus. Uno scultore tra XIV e XV secolo* (Rome: Edilazio, 2001), p. 67.
- 15 *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, pp. 128-29; Cesari, *Magister Paulus*, pp. 72-73.
- 16 ACSMT #1, fols 266^{r/v}: 'Altare SS. Laurentii, et Francisci erectum a bo. me. Card.^{li} Armellino, quod est totum lapideu[m] mirifice constructum, non tame[n] consecratum, nudum, et sine ullis paramentis [...] Altare hujusmodi impeditur a quibusdam sedilibus ligneis antiquis eidem praepositis, ita ut ad illud libere accessus minime pateat'.
- 17 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Miscellanea Arm. VII, 3, *Decreta Sancti.mi Dni Nri Clementis Papae Octavi facta in Visitatione Ecclesiarum Urbis VIII. Iunii MDLXXXII*, fol. 54^r: 'Ad Altare de Armellinis. Agatur cum haeredibus Cardinalis bo. me. de Cesis, ut capellam dotent, ac decenter ornent'.
- 18 Jutta Götzmann, 'La Tomba Armellini in Santa Maria in Trastevere', in *Baldassare Peruzzi 1480-1536*, ed. by Christoph L. Frommel and others (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), pp. 241-52; Jutta Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler der Hochrenaissance: Typologie-Ikonographie-Stil* (Münster: Rhema, 2010), pp. 151, 156-61, 276-78.
- 19 Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler*, pp. 164-68, Abb. 92.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-89, Abb. 24, 97.
- 21 Götzmann's proposal (*ibid.*, p. 186) that Peruzzi deliberately eliminated the crowning elements seems unlikely to me.
- 22 Gaspare De Caro, 'Armellini Medici, Francesco', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-), IV (1962).
- 23 Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler*, p. 170: 'Hic Armellini ribaldocj pessimi ossa sacrata'.
- 24 Forcella, p. 344, no. 1060; Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler*, p. 275, no. 3.1: FLVXAM VITAE MOR-TALIVM IMBECILLITATEM ET RERV IN-CERTAS/VICES ANIMO INTVTVS NE NON PARATO DOMINVS SVPERVENIRET VIV-ENS/ET VIGILANS DOMVM SIBI HANC MVNIVIT.
- 25 Marcus Terentius Varro, *Rerum rusticarum libri tres*, ed. by Georg Goetz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912), I. 1, p. 7: 'Si est homo bulla, eo magis senex'.
- 26 Götzmann, *Römische Grabmäler*, p. 276, no. 3.4: 'sepulturas marmoreas ex pulciori marmore qui reperiri poterit in Urbe'; on the execution: pp. 184-89.
- 27 *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 120.
- 28 <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/d1m31.html>> [accessed February 2016]; Dieter Girgensohn, 'Branaccio, Niccolò', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-), XIII (1971).
- 29 Quoted in *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 120: 'Dieu fit et a fait de moult beaulx miracles pour lui, et prie et requis dans l'eglise de Romme, où son corps gist, à donner secours et aide à plusieurs'.
- 30 Gardner, p. 126.
- 31 ACSMT #15, fol. 13^r.
- 32 Kühenthal, pp. 37-38; Kreytenberg, p. 113.
- 33 Kreytenberg, pp. 91-112.
- 34 Gardner, p. 127.
- 35 Forcella, p. 340, no. 1044 (miscalculating the date as 1403); *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 120: FRAN-COR GENITVS REGV DE STIRPE PHILIPPVS ALENCONIADES HOSTIE TITVLATVS AB VRBE/ECCLESIE CARDO TANTA VIRTUTE RELVXIT VT SVA SVPLICIBVS CVMVLENT MARMORA VOTIS/ANNO MILLENO CVM C QVATER ABDE SED I TER OCCVBVIT QVA LVCE DEI PIA VIRGOQ MATER.
- 36 Kreytenberg, Abb. 23-24, 29, 32, 33.
- 37 *Ibid.*, Abb. 31, 34.
- 38 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigi G. IV. 108, 'Anonimo. Note di avvenimenti degli anni 1583-1587', fol. 167^v: 'Adi [lacuna] di Gennaio del 1584. In S^{ta} Maria In Trasteuere fu leuata vna sepultura antica del Car.^{le} Alansone Francese che staua presso alla Tribuna [...] et posata in Terra et aperta la trouarono Il Car.^{le} tutto intiero senza alcun mancamento di naso ne di labri vestito d'una pianeta d'oro con i guanti I[n] mano ancora frese[?] di federati di Ermisino rosso col[n] anelli In dito et sopra un panno bianco di seta laurato a fiori d'oro con diuersi colori'. Similarly Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arch. S. Pietro H 1, fol. 85^r, quoted in *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 121.
- 39 Rosella Cervone, 'L'apporto umbro di Maestro Paolo da Gualdo', in exh. cat. Viterbo: Museo Civico, *Il Quattrocento a Viterbo* (Rome: DeLuca, 1983), pp. 313-23 (p. 316); Cesari, *Magister Paulus*, Fig. 35.
- 40 *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, pp. 128-29. The full signature appears on the tomb of Bartolomeo Carafa (d. 1405) in S. Maria del Priorato in Rome; the other signed works are the fragmentary tomb of Antonio de Vitulis, also in Rome, and the Briobris tomb in S. Francesco in Vetralla. Cervone, 'L'apporto umbro'; Cesari, *Magister Paulus*, p. 74.
- 41 Forcella, p. 342, no. 1048; *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, pp. 126-27: CVI SVA PRO MERITIS RADIANTEM FRONTE GALERV/M/CARDINEVM TRIBVIT VIRTVS ETATE VIRENTI/ASPICE

- CVM LACRIMIS LECTOR QVO MARMORE
CLAVSVM [...].
- 42 <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bstefanes.html>> [accessed February 2016].
- 43 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 8051 P. I [Pierluigi Galletti], 'Chartularium S. Mariae Transtiberim ex eius Tabulario. A. MDCCLXXIII', fol. 77^r, no. 41, a document of 1398 signed by 'Dns Petrus de Stephanescis Dni nostri Pape protonotarius' among the canons.
- 44 Bertoldo's tomb slab is set in the floor below the cardinal's sarcophagus; Forcella, p. 338, no. 1038.
- 45 Forcella, p. 339, no. 1039.
- 46 The British Library, Add. MS 14801, fols 39^v, 23^v, 17^v, 13^v, 27^v, 16^r; Pietro Egidi, *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia di Roma* (Rome: Forzani, 1908), I: *Necrologi della città di Roma*, 101, 95, 93, 91, 97.
- 47 *Die mittelalterlichen Grabmäler*, p. 127.
- 48 On Longhi's role and the extent of the remodeling, which included the aisles and west front as well as the transept, see Friedel, pp. 91-95.
- 49 Gardner, p. 127.
- 50 Carlo Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere: Storia-Iconografia-Stile di un dipinto romano dell'ottavo secolo* (Rome: Eliograf, 1961), pp. 24-26.
- 51 Forcella, p. 377, no. 1169; SEPVLCRORVM TITVLIS AVT NON EXSTANTIBVS AVT VESTVS-TATE DETRITVS. Note that the death date of Cardinal Da Silva is mistranscribed as MDCLVI.
- 52 Thomas J. Shelley, 'Biography and Autobiography: James Cardinal Gibbons and John Tracy Ellis', *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 21, 2 (2003), 31-46 (pp. 35-36, 40-41).

LOST FRESCOES, A FORGOTTEN SAINT AND A REDISCOVERED PLAY: S. MAGNO IN CITTADUCALE

Arnold WITTE

In 1917, Antonio Munoz stated about his regular trips to the Abruzzese as its responsible *soprintendente* that he found many important monuments in this region that had never even been mentioned in the literature: ‘Spesso nelle frequenti escursioni che io faccio, per ragioni del mio ufficio, nelle tre provincie d’Abruzzo, mi trovo dinanzi a edifici di somma importanza, di cui non conoscevo l’esistenza, e che non figurano nelle guide e nei cataloghi ufficiali.’¹ Two years earlier, Munoz had travelled for the first time to Cittaducale (located not far from Rieti and originally called Civita Ducale) where he discovered a city, erected on a geometric grid in 1309, rich with history and equally interesting architectural remains.

The monuments or the historical ties with the Farnese family, to whom it belonged between 1539 and 1732, did not bring me to this small town. Instead, my attention was called to the village by a seventeenth-century play that I came across in the context of a project on S. Martino ai Monti in Rome (Fig. 1). Its text was written by Bartolomeo Abbati, a local author, and was related explicitly to two frescoes. The first of these dated to 1540, and the second was ‘very old’, according to the introduction of the play – and it was also connected to an additional fresco cycle painted around 1575. This play was meant to explain the iconography of these works of art to an audience of fellow-citizens, and revive the memory of St Magnus, patron saint of the city. Apart from presenting a rather unconventional way of explaining the meaning of religious frescoes, this case makes a particularly apt subject for an essay in honour of Sible de Blaauw as it is this same St Magnus to whom to the Church of the Frisians in Rome, where Sible regularly went when he was living and working in the Eternal City, is dedicated.

In 1645, Bartolomeo Abbati, who enjoyed at most regional fame as a Marinist poet, published a play representing the life of St Magnus.² In his introduction to the reader he explained that in two churches located within the defensive walls of Cittaducale, S. Spirito and S. Agostino, this patron saint had been depicted but no inhabitant



Fig. 1. Etched frontispiece of Bartolomeo Abbati, *Il Magno: Tragedia sacra* (Naples 1645), Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Photo: GAP Srl.

was aware of this saint's story, or they confounded it with another saint who in reality had nothing to do with the town. This had happened, as Abbati stated, even in the church dedicated to the patron saint himself, located just beyond the walls, where around the statue of Magnus placed on the high altar a decorative cycle was painted in the late sixteenth century with as its subject St Amandus, Bishop of 'Traietto', present-day Maastricht.³ As a result, the church was generally called S. Amando, or in short S. Manno. The author declared that he wanted to right this wrong by means of historical research and reinforce the devotion for this saint; he also declared that, since his fellow citizens obviously enjoyed theatrical spectacles in the form of *sacre rappresentazioni*, he decided to express the results of his research in verses.

E perché la devotione di questo Santo si vedeva assai raffreddata, non attendendosi con altra premura nella sua festa, che alle contrattioni della fiera da gran tempo introdottavi, e variandosi la cagione per la quale fusse preso per Protettore in alcuni discorsi, che si andavano facendo nella ragunanze di Virtuosi, mi cadette in pensiero d'investigare la verità, e spiegarla in una compositione Drammatica per farla poi recitare in atto.⁴

This play was probably staged in Cittaducale, presumably in a public space such as the main square, and it turned out such a success that Abbati's friends urged him to publish it, which resulted in the rediscovered booklet in small octavo format, including a print in which the martyrdom of the saint is represented (Fig. 2).

Lost Frescoes

The frescoes that inspired Abbati's text are no longer extant – next to nothing remains today even of their original locations. The Church of S. Agostino is, and was, an important church in Cittaducale on account of its size and its decoration, and it is situated on the main square opposite the cathedral. This was also the location where St Bernardino preached to the inhabitants of the town in 1442, and the religious fervour with which he inspired them led to the



Fig. 2. *St Magnus*, etching, in: Bartolomeo Abbati, *Il Magno: Tragedia Sacra* (Naples 1645), Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Photo: GAP Srl.

construction of a new and very ornately sculpted lateral portal in the south wall of the church.⁵ The interior, on the other hand, holds none of its original decoration due to the series of earthquakes that damaged the town from its earliest days until, most recently, 1979. The 1703 quake in fact led to a radical renovation of its interior, during which the walls and ceiling were covered with a stucco decoration that erased the painted representation of 'San Manno' Abbati was talking about.⁶ Also the Church of S. Spirito has disappeared in its entirety; heavily damaged by earthquakes it was torn down and replaced by houses.⁷ Also in this case, we can safely assume that the fresco mentioned by Abbati was located in its interior.



Fig. 3. Plan of Cittaducale (detail), 1851, drawing by Camillo Rosalba, Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare. Photo: IGM Archive, authorisation n. 6878, 27.01.2016.

Likewise, the church outside the walls dedicated to St Magnus himself was completely erased at some point in time; it has left no trace in modern maps or street names in the relatively new residential quarter that has arisen at that side of the town. It was located where now the local cemetery is situated. Maps dating to the mid nineteenth century, as the one drawn by Camillo Rosalba in 1851 (Fig. 3), still indicate the church – logically located not far outside the main gate of the city, aptly called the Porta S. Manno. Its destruction must have taken place after 1871, when many ecclesiastical properties in the region of Cittaducale were either sold or demolished. A reference to the former church can be found in the small cemetery chapel

standing on the site, as this is dedicated to Magnus; of the original building only the church bell seems to have survived in another church in Micciani, as its inscription records.⁸ None of the original decoration can be traced in present-day Cittaducale, except maybe for several objects in S. Maria del Popolo, the cathedral of the town. One or more of these have been transferred from the now demolished church, such as a reliquary bust that might date to the seventeenth or eighteenth century (Fig. 4).

Written sources offer more information about this church dedicated to St Magnus; a chronicle written in 1592 by a member of a noble family of the town, Sebastiano Marchesi, provided an extensive account of its construction – in which its



Fig. 4. Reliquary bust of St Magnus, seventeenth or eighteenth century, wood, Cittaducale: Cathedral of S. Maria del Popolo. Photo by the author.

titular saint had already become mixed up with St Amandus.⁹ Marchesi informs his reader that

nell'anno 1509, si vide l'anno vegnente comparire in Civita il Marchese di Pescara con 12 mila soldati spagnoli, che vi dimorarono alcuni giorni, con grande spesa ed interesse alla Città e suo contado. E sebbene essa si trovasse in tante afflizioni, nondimeno, essendo effetti proprî de' casi avversi il ricorrere a Dio per aiuto, e spesso con erezione di Tempî sacri, questo appunto seguì in Civita, ove a spese del pubblico fu cominciata la Chiesa di S. Amando, e finita di compiere l'anno 1514.¹⁰

He narrated a further story to explain the dedication of the town to this patron saint, namely that Maestro Domenico di Ponzano fell down during the construction of the roof of the

church and died, which was considered a portentous event leading the Università – the city government – to elect at that moment Magnus as its protector. Until the day that the church was inaugurated in 1517, the town was spared further devastations – which were brought onto Italy as a whole by the Spanish-French Wars being fought out on the peninsula's soil.¹¹

Mistaken Identities

Marchesi was not the most coherent of authors and he certainly did not edit or revise his text – it had been handed down in manuscript form and was only printed in 1875.¹² This lack of editing explains why two pages after the story on Maestro Domenici di Ponzano and the building of the Church of S. Manno he provided his reader with quite another account on the election of St Magnus as 'advocate and protector' of the city. Here, he connected this to an event that had taken place in the context of the city's foundation by regal decree in 1309. This foundation, as modern research has made clear, came about as people from the Reatine region had supplicated with the king of Naples to grant them the foundation of a new city in which they would find shelter. Thus, several different groups were to collaborate in the construction of the town, which caused strife between several *comuni* in the territory where the new town was to be erected.¹³ In the end this led to directives issued by Robert of Anjou to the *Capitano della Montagna* responsible for Civita Ducale, such as the one of 1351 in which the inhabitants of the Vallata were ordered to participate in the project.¹⁴ The plan of the town was given a completely regular layout on the basis of a *castrum* with perpendicular straight roads, dividing it into four equal sections given over to four groups of inhabitants coming from four different territories surrounding the city. Each of these 'castelli' was obliged to build its own church (located in the centre of their *quartiere*)¹⁵ and was allowed to nominate two *deputati* for the city's government, the *Accademia*, in order to restrain opposing groups into a new governmental structure.¹⁶

In the sixteenth century, Marchesi simplified this foundation story and the conflict between

different regional communities and related it especially to two groups of workers establishing the new population, the *cavallari* (grooms) and the *bifolchi* (cowherds). According to Marchesi, these groups were contesting each other's position, even seeking recourse to weapons. This protracted strife between the *cavallari* and *bifolchi* ended, as the 1592 chronicle relates, on the day of (as Marchesi assumed) St Amandus:

dopo risolta la comunanza della Vallata con le altre Castella di edificar Civita Ducale, e datovi anche buon principio, si venne a contrasto fra le arti, ed in particolare fra i cavallari e bifolchi, intorno alla precedenza, ed altre capitolazioni, di modo che furono per venire spesso al fatto d'arme. Ma alla fine, in questo giorno che si celebra nel martirologio la festività di questo Santo, si sedarono le gare, ed accordarono le differenze, piuttosto per miracolosa provvidenza, che per giudizio umano. Onde per questo rispetto, ed ancora perchè fu essa un'altra volta in tal giorno libera da grandissima oppressione di sacco, si elesse cotanto alto Avvocato e Protettore.¹⁷

The importance of the patron saint, whatever his identity, was thus based on the moment in which a peaceful cohabitation was constituted within the city walls, not on any particular deed of the saint or his relation with the town. We can assume that this also explains the long delay in building a church dedicated to this saint, and its eventual construction outside the city walls – none of the four original groups coexisting within the city was allowed to 'annex' St Magnus.

The lacking memory of St Magnus's biography by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inhabitants of Cittaducale was also caused by the fact that even the post-Tridentine, reformed *Martyrologio Romano* enumerated eight different saints with the name of Magnus.¹⁸ In 1743, a critical discussion of St Magnus as saint protector of Anagni, with prints illustrating the frescoes in the crypt of the local cathedral, even listed twenty-eight possibilities for saints with this name.¹⁹ Also the *Acta Sanctorum* volume of August, which appeared in the eighteenth century, noted the continuous confusion on the identity



Fig. 5. Carlo de Grandi after Jacopo Pesole, *St Magnus*, etching, in: Giovanni Marangoni, *Acta passionis atque translationum S. Magni episcopi tranensis, et martyris...* (Jesi 1743), Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Photo: GAP Srl.

of the saint in its discussion of various sources – most of them with scarce information on their lives and deeds, and even the question whether he had been bishop of Anagni or Trani.²⁰

Also from an iconographic point of view it is no wonder that Abbati's fellow citizens could not correctly identify St Magnus – he is habitually represented with a bishop's mitre on his head and an episcopal staff in his hands, and no particular attribute distinguishes him from other saintly bishops (Fig. 5).²¹ Only in the crypt of the Cathedral of Anagni we find a distinct iconography that however is determined by the fact that these scenes, painted in the thirteenth century, focus almost exclusively on Magnus's posthumous wonders that happened in this city after the translation of his relics from Veroli.²²

These decorations hardly provided iconographic elements that could be used to discern between Magnus and other saintly bishops.

To complicate the situation even more, another saint venerated in the region of Cittaducale was S. Emidio or St Emygdus, who was invoked as protecting cities against earthquakes – which afflicted Cittaducale at regular intervals and thus led to a widespread veneration in the region around Rieti. He is habitually represented as a bishop, with mitre and staff and often with a miniature city (that of Ascoli) in his hands; or, as in the late eighteenth-century painting by Pietro Tedeschi, abutting a crumbling wall as a sign of earthquake.²³ However, the cult of Emygdus remained geographically restricted to Ascoli Piceno until 1703, and only after the miraculous exemption of this city from the disastrous earthquake of that year his cult spread throughout and beyond the Marche.²⁴ The confusion between Sts Magnus and Emygdus only arises with representations postdating 1700. Abbati, therefore, did not have to face a triple mistake in identity in his explanation of the city's patron saint hagiography.

The Play

In his play Abbati aimed to correct a lack of knowledge and revive, as he stated, the exemplary life of the third-century St Magnus in the memory of his fellow-citizens, which consisted in his youthful conversion, his baptism by Bishop Redemptus of Trani – as whose successor he was elected by popular acclamation – and his subsequent persecution under Emperor Valerian. During this time, Magnus miraculously escaped from the pagan temple where he had been locked in to adore pagan idols. An angel reduced the golden statue of Jupiter to pieces which Magnus then distributed amongst the poor. On his way to Rome, where he was heading in order to visit St Peter's grave, he converted and baptized a noblewoman from Anagni named Secondina, and upon his arrival in Fondi he encountered Paterno who became his disciple and with whom he, according to some interpretations, purportedly founded a monastic community. Here, another miraculous event

took place when two thieves ransacked the church and took liturgical vessels. When these burglars were caught, they confessed their sins and converted to Christianity. It was also in Fondi that Magnus was finally caught by Roman soldiers, and while being imprisoned his soul was taken up to heaven before he could be killed. When the soldiers found his body, they posthumously decapitated him on the 19 August 254 (Fig. 3).²⁵

The extant hagiographies all state that Magnus's relics were first buried in Fondi, but from that moment onwards the interpretations start to differ. One version states that when the Saracens raided southern Italy, his bones were first transferred to Veroli and were sold, purportedly, by a Saracen general to the citizens of Anagni. From that moment, the remains were kept as relics in the cathedral. Another version tells us that his body was found in Fondi by Frisian soldiers from the army of Charlemagne who conquered the Saracens; these soldiers attempted to take these relics back to their home country but were stopped by divine intervention at Sutri. They returned the bones to Rome where they were deposited in the Frisian Church of Ss. Michele e Magno, while one arm of the saint was taken to Frisia.²⁶ This confusion of relics, however, had no relation to Cittaducale, as there was no claim that material remains of the saint were present in the town – apart from the small relics contained in the early modern bust of the saint, which is now in the Cathedral (Fig. 4).²⁷

Abbati's play thus focused on the saint's life and counted approximately 6200 lines divided into five acts with short choirs sung in-between. Twenty-one individual roles were foreseen, and three choirs. As the hagiographical account had been embellished in several sources with additional miracles, these were adopted in the play for the delight and religious instruction of his spectators, which clarifies that it was not meant to be a truly critical evaluation of historical facts in the modern sense of the word. Moreover, the narrative structure Abbati chose for it was not a straightforward one, representing on stage the important moments in the saint's life. The first three scenes of Act I do not even mention the main character at all but depict a generic strug-

gle between devils and angels over the soul of man. In the fourth act, St Magnus is introduced but does not appear on the stage himself. Instead, his youth is narrated by his guardian angel to Paterno who is on his way to meet the saintly man. This is done in rather ornate language:

In quella fertilissima Provincia | Che del Rè
antico Apulio il nome prese | Pria che dell'Asia
le Troiane mura | Fusser' cadute incenerite
a terra' | Fra le molte Città, Terre e Castel-
li, | che gli fanno corona & ornamento | Vi
è Metropoli Trani, il cui splendore, | Quasi
rosa a porpora inostrata | Frà la Plebe de i fiori
inalza il preggio. | In questa il mio Signor fù
dato al Mondo | Da parenti idolatri, e fù chia-
mato | Corrottamente Manno, che la lingua |
Balbutì rozzamente.²⁸

It also strikes the modern reader that there is very limited action in the play – probably due to the fact that representing martyrdom on stage was not the easiest task for a playwright or the actors. But it is significant that Abbati chose to have all important events in the saint's trajectory towards eternal glory narrated by others; most of the scenes therefore consist of dialogues between two or three characters, quite a number of which were personifications of positive values – the guardian angel called *Angeluro*, the group of *Donzelle Christiane* and a heavenly messenger *Nuntio* – and vices, in the guise of *Voluttà* and *Superbia*, who are headed by Astaroth, Prince of Hell.

Only 'minor' events from the saint's life were enacted on stage, consisting in miracles such as the healing of the three children, returning the sight to the blind woman, and the miraculous conversion to Christianity of one of the Roman soldiers, Eutichio, who then retreats to the desert to spend the rest of his life as a hermit in penitence. The one storyline that dominates the theatrical representation is that of the conversion and baptism of Secondina, the noble virgin from Anagni. She is introduced in Act III, Scene 10, halfway the play when the other miracles have already been represented; from that point onwards, her story takes centre stage. As Magnus and Paterno, she is harrassed by devils and vices, and after her conversion and baptism

she also becomes the victim of prosecution by the Roman troops. However, she is not martyred in the play, but transported to Rome to be handed over to the emperor – with which Abbati used artistic licence in his translation of the (extremely short) hagiographical accounts in which she is killed. He also deviated from the visual narration of her life in fresco, in the crypt of Anagni Cathedral.

Abbati inserted more inventions of his own; for example the conversion of Apollo, Magnus's father, is preceded, or better initiated, by a dream. In this dream, the saint appears to his father walking up and down a ladder extending between heaven and earth, and on which angels ascend upwards and downwards:

Però, mentre sorpreso | era nel sonno il ven-
erando Veglio, | Vide giù dalla terra | Am-
mirabile scala ergersi al Cielo; | E per i gradi
l'Angeli à vicenda | Col suo diletto Magno |
Quasi fatto un bel Sol frà quegli Divi, | Scen-
dendo & ascendendo.²⁹

After this vision, which is clearly inspired by the image of Jacob's Ladder, one of the heavenly heralds speaks to Apollo and tells him that, as he brought forth such an admirable son, he should convert to Christianity, which he then did.

But most characteristic for the play is the frequent use of dialogues in which one of the characters asks general questions about the human or divine nature of Christ, the Trinity, or Christ's Sacrifice on the Cross. This latter theme is explained by Magnus to Astaroth, Prince of Hell, who tried to accompany Magnus on his journey to Rome in the guise of a pilgrim. After being unmasked, Astaroth starts to question Magnus about his beliefs:

MAGNUS E in virtù del mio Dio, se tu credessi |
Quest'impossibilità veder potresti. ASTAROTH
Io ciò non credo e non vuò farne prova. | Ma
dimmi un'poco: Questo Dio che adori | Non
morì sù nel legno di una Croce?
MAGNUS Egli in Croce morì, che così volle, |
Sospinto dall'Amore, | Che per l'anima nostra
havea nel core.
ASTAROTH Hor dunque essendo morto fù mor-
tale, | Fù finito, e mutabile, & in Dio | Questo

non può cadere. | E però credi il falso e non è Dio.

MAGNUS È Dio certo & io credo, & credo il vero; | Che l'infalibil verità non mente; | E se morì, l'humanità morio, | Ma la Divinità già mai si estinse.³⁰

Following this, Magnus explains the differences between the human and divine natures of Christ, and the concept of the Trinity – without, of course, succeeding in converting Astaroth.

This exemplifies that Abbati intended to achieve more through his theatrical spectacle than merely revive the saint's life in the memory of his fellow-citizens; it meant to convert the spectators, or at least let them re-experience the essential elements of the Catholic Faith through the example of Magnus. Abbati summarizes his own role in this as follows, in a prediction done by the guardian angel to Magnus:

Onde al tuo nome quel Popolo devoto | Ergerà Tempio, e sacrerà l'Altare | E con solenne rito, e grave pompa | Farà memoria del tuo nome ogn'anno. | Ma perché il tempo con l'avarò dente | Suol divorar' per lunga etade il tutto | Equivocando al Traiattense Amando | Cederà d'offerir' gl'incensi, e i voti. | Ma diffuso nel fin' de' Gigli l'oro. | Indistinto farà lucido campo, | Dove in azurro trasformati i fiori, | Sotto 'l gran Regnator' del seno Ibero [...] | Da te spirato un'humil servo tuo, | Ritroverà l'istoria di tua vita, | E la paleserà con tal chiarezza, | Che quel Popolo tutto unitamente | Torna sempre à te credendo il vero.³¹

As such, the play agreed with the Counter-Reformation attempt to use various media to strengthen the Catholic faith. In the twenty-fifth decree of the Council of Trent, confirmed in 1563, the bishops had declared: 'Illud vero diligenter doceant Episcopi, per historias mysteriorum nostrae redemptionis, picturis, vel alijs similitudinibus expressas, erudiri, & confirmari populum in articulis fidei commemorandis, & absidue recolendis'.³² The wording chosen by the bishops almost invited a combination of words and images whereby one discipline would strengthen the impact of another on the general public. And in fact, the staging of edifying spec-

tacles in which the basics of the Catholic faith were explained continued well into the seventeenth century. Abbati's play fits in very well with this multimedia strategy – even though, in his case, the text of the play intentionally deviated from what the (now lost) images must have shown, correcting in words where the frescoes led their onlookers astray, obfuscating the memory of their true patron saint.

Conclusion

Il Magno: Tragedia sacra represented the 'true' life story of the saint, not as mere fact but as an exemplary early Christian martyr who had died for his faith. And this was represented for the citizens of Cittaducale, presumably on the main square of the town, in order to revive the collective memory of the local patron saint. The fact that many of the crucial events from the saint's life were not enacted but recounted by other characters might have been due to the lack of specific iconography – the two frescoes in Cittaducale itself provided mere iconic depictions of the saint while the fresco cycle in the apse of S. Manno illustrated events related to S. Amando of Maastricht, and so could not function as a visual source for the life of St Magnus. In fact, there exist no representations of Magnus's life whatsoever. In Anagni, the main location of his cult, the focus lies on Secondina due to the fact that she came from Anagni and there, her death is depicted, not her conversion; the same goes for the Church of the Frisians in Rome where we find Magnus only generically represented in an altarpiece.³³

It is also possible that Abbati chose to limit these scenes because it enabled him to locate the whole play within one stage set. It prescribed after the list of *interlocutori*, 'La scena si rappresenta in una Campagna con un sol Tempio, che nel fine resta abrugiato'.³⁴ Indoor scenes and other locations – which abound in the rather itinerant life of the saint – were thus abolished, and frequent (and thus costly) changes in scenery could therefore be avoided. Taken together with the long dialogues, the actual performance will have remained rather static, and as such closely resembled the static, 'iconic', depictions of the

saint in local churches. And, as we can deduce from the many discussions on the Catholic dogma's in the play itself, Abbati did not merely want to revive the memory of St Magnus, but educate the citizens more generally in Christian doctrine.

Whether Abbati was successful in what he intended to achieve by means of the play remains an unanswered question. There are no later representations of St Magnus preserved in Cittaducale that might be related to Abbati's inven-

tions. If such depictions were made, they probably perished during subsequent earthquakes. In any case, the popular devotion for S. Manno is alive today in Cittaducale as a number of statues in the cathedral attest to, and the main gate is still named after him. But his identity is still (or again) mistaken – now he is being confused with Charlemagne, as I was told when I asked an amanuensis of the cathedral about the patron saint.

Notes

- 1 Antonio Munoz, 'Monumenti d'Abruzzo – Cittaducale', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 11 (1917), 35-48 (p. 35): 'I often found myself standing in front of buildings of the highest importance, of which I did not know they existed and that were not listed in guidebooks or official catalogues'.
- 2 Nicolo Toppi, *Biblioteca Napoletana, et apparato a gli uomini illustri in lettere di Napoli, e del regno* (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1678), p. 36. Abbati probably lived in or near Naples (as the dedication of the play attests) but acquired real estate in the region of Cittaducale on 19 February 1644, as recorded by the notary in Cittaducale, Nicola Brunori. See Archivio di Stato L'Aquila, Archivio Notarile, Notary Nicola Brunori 1619-48. He might also be the author of *Il Rapimento di Proserpina: Idilio* which was published in Terni in 1619 (only one copy known in The British Library); see *List of Additions Made to the Collections in the British Museum in the Year MDCCCXXXIV* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1837), p. 14. For the Marinist context of Abbati's writings, see Maurizio Slawinski, 'Poesia e commercio librari nel primo Seicento: su alcune edizioni mariniane ignote o poco note', *Filologia e Critica*, 2-3, 25 (2000), 316-34 (p. 333).
- 3 Bartolomeo Abbati, *Il Magno Tragedia sacra* (Naples: Camillo Cavallo, 1645), p. 9: 'Ma poi corrottamente, e forse per politezza del parlare nominate Amando, che per ciò, circa l'anno 1575 nella restauratione del suo Tempio fuori delle mura della Città furono dipinti nell'Altare maggiore attorno alle sua Statua li miracoli di Santo Amando Vescovo di Traietto'.
- 4 Abbati, p. 9: 'And because the devotion for this saint has cooled down quite a bit, and as the feast day was not awaited with so much expectation as the [cattle] market that long ago was introduced on that day, and as the opinions varied in discussions held during meetings of *Virtuosi* with regard to the reason why he was elected as Patron saint, I began thinking of investigating the truth of the matter and explain it in a dramatic composition so as to have it recited'.
- 5 Munoz, p. 46 and Rosalba Cantone, 'Il portale di Sant'Agostino', in *Cittaducale: Settimana dei beni culturali e ambientali, 27 settembre-4 ottobre 1981: Atti* (Rieti: Il Velino, 1990), pp. 102-10.
- 6 Mariasanta Valenti, 'L'Architettura sacra: S. Agostino e S. Cecilia. Analisi storica di alcuni particolari architettonici, restauro conservativo ed ipotesi di riutilizzo', in *Cittaducale: Settimana dei beni culturali e ambientali, 27 settembre-4 ottobre 1981: Atti* (Rieti: Il Velino, 1990), p. 116.
- 7 Isabella Rossi, 'L'ospedale e la chiesa di Santa Maria dei Raccomandati a Cittaducale: una ricostruzione storica tra fonti, visite pastorali e decorazioni ad affresco', *Horti Hesperidum*, 3, 1 (2013), 139-255 (p. 153). As a result of these earthquakes, the number of inhabitants also decreased, from 7470 in 1561 to only 1165 in 1816; see *Dizionario corografico del Reame di Napoli*, ed. by Ferdinando de Luca and Raffaele Mastriani (Milan: Civelli, 1852), p. 285. The economic situation of the diocese also caused problems in the maintenance of churches. Already in the late sixteenth century, the bishop complained that parishes had to be closed down because the upkeep of the buildings and the liturgical service could not be paid for. See Biblioteca Provinciale L'Aquila, MSS: A. L. Antinori, *Corografia*, parte II, vol. 30-31, pp. 151-54.
- 8 'In honorem S. Magni Episc. et Mart. Dicatam', see <<http://www.prolococittaducale.it/cittaducale-il-territorio/le-chiese-di-cittaducale/>> [accessed 11 April 2016].
- 9 Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina, 'II sezione: Margherita d'Austria e gli Stati farnesiani d'Abruzzo', in *La Bellezza Inquieta: Arte in Abruzzo al tempo di Margherita d'Austria*, ed. by Lucia Arbace (Turin: Allemandi, 2013), p. 34.
- 10 Sebastiano Marchesi, *Compendio storico di Città Ducale* (Rieti: Tipografia Trinchi, 1875), p. 142: 'in the year 1509, one saw [...] appear in Civita [Ducale] the marquis of Pescara with 12,000 Spanish soldiers, who remained here for several days, causing great expense and damage to the town and its surroundings. And

- although finding itself in great affliction, it is an effect inherent to adverse situations that one turns to God for help, often by erecting churches, and exactly this happened in Civita where with public support the Church of S. Amando was started, and it was finished in 1514'.
- 11 Marchesi, p. 142: 'E mentre si faceva il tetto, vi cadde giù e vi morì Mastro Domenico di Ponzano, il che fu riputato caso troppo portentoso, e l'Università si elesse questo Santo per Avvocato e Protettore nelle sue turbolenze. E veramente cominciò a vedersene segno manifesto di protezione; poiché mentre durò questa fabbrica fino all'anno 1517, si visse quietamente'.
 - 12 For a critical evaluation of Marchesi's account, see Andrea di Nicola, 'Il più antico documento di Città Ducale: Contributo per datare la fondazione della città', in *Cittaduale: Settimana dei beni culturali e ambientali, 27 settembre–4 ottobre 1981: Atti* (Rieti: Il Velino, 1990), p. 14.
 - 13 Francesco Paolo Fiore, 'Fondazione e forma di Cittaducale', in *Atti del XIX congresso di storia dell'architettura (L'Aquila, 15–21 sett 1975)* (L'Aquila: Marcello Ferri, 1980), II: *L'Architettura in Abruzzo e nel Molise dall'Antichità alla fine del secolo XVIII*, pp. 476–79.
 - 14 Di Nicola, p. 21.
 - 15 Don Antonio Conte, 'La chiesa cattedrale e gli altri edifici sacri', in *Atti mostra-convegno, il Circondario di Cittaducale come territorio di confine: Storia del paesaggio, trattazioni dotte e diari di viaggio attraverso gli occhi dei viaggianti del passato* (Rieti: Arti grafiche Nobili sud, 1997), p. 20.
 - 16 Fiore, p. 477.
 - 17 Marchesi, p. 144: 'But in the end, on the day at which according to the Martyriology is celebrated the feast of this Saint, the bout was laid down and the differences of opinion were solved, more thanks to divine providence than because of human wisdom. So, for that reason, and because at another time the city was spared of plunder on the same day, this [saint] was chosen as the city's advocate and protector'.
 - 18 Cesare Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum* [...] (Antwerp: Christophorus Plantijn, 1589): 'Index Nomin. Sanctorum' s.v. Magnus.
 - 19 Giovanni Marangoni, *Acta passionis atque translationum S. Magni episcopi tranensis, et martyris* (Jesi: Giambattista Giuli, 1743), pp. 119–24.
 - 20 Mario Bosi and Piero Becchetti, *Ss Michele e Magno, Le chiese di Roma illustrate*, 126 (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1973), p. 35 and *Acta Sanctorum: Augusti* (Paris and Rome: Victor Palmé, 1867–68), III (1867), p. 701 (19 August): 'Proponuntur intricatae difficultates circa distinctionem variorum Sanctorum, qui hac die sub eodem nomine coluntur'. The eighteenth-century chronicle by Antinori even mixed St Magnus up with another saint, St Mamante, martyr from Cappadocia, referring to Flaminio Corner: 'De Martyrio, & Reliquiis S. Mamantis Martyris Caesareae in Cappadocia', in *Nuova raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (Venice: Simone Occhi, 1762), IX, pp. 1–120.
 - 21 George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), cols 717–25.
 - 22 Martina Bagnoli, 'A Pilgrim's Prayer for Salvation: The Miracles of Saint Magnus in the Crypt of Anagni Cathedral', in *Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting*, ed. by Thomas E. A. Dale (London: Pindar, 2004), pp. 69–93.
 - 23 *Opere d'arte dalle collezioni di Ascoli Piceno: la Pinacoteca Civica e il Museo Diocesano. Scoperte, ricerche, e nuove proposte*, ed. by Stefano Papetti (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2012), pp. 254–55.
 - 24 Giuseppe Fabiani, 'Emidio', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 14 vols (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia università lateranense, 1961–87), IV (1964), col. 1173.
 - 25 *Acta Sanctorum: Augusti*, p. 705: 'Philippus Ciammariconus in Sanctuario Anagnino, quod anno 1704 Italice edidit, pag. 187 magnam hujus hymni partem exhibet, & pagina praecedente testatur, hunc aliosque hymnos in veteribus codicibus manuscriptis inveniri, & ab immemorabili tempore in ecclesia Anagnina usitatos fuisse'.
 - 26 Francesco Maria Torrigio, *Narratione dell'origine dell'antichissima chiesa di santi Michel'arcangelo e Magno vescovo e mart., del Rmo capitolo di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1629), p. 68.
 - 27 It did lead to the publication in 1743 by Marangoni who especially on pages 102–24 contested the claim that relics of his body were to be found outside of Anagni.
 - 28 Abbati, I. 4, p. 38: 'In this most fertile province | which takes from ancient King Apulia his name | and before the Trojan walls of Asia | fell incinerated to the ground | amongst the many cities, lands and castles | that adorned and embellished it | there is its metropolis Trani, the splendour of which, | almost like that of a purple rose | raises its flower from amongst the masses. | In this city my Lord was born to the world | by idolatrous parents and they called him | corruptly Manno, with their stuttering tongue'.
 - 29 Abbati, p. 41: 'But, while he was surprised | during his sleep by a venerable wake | he saw extending from the earth | a wonderful stairway rising up to Heaven | and on its steps alternately | with his beloved Magnus | almost seeming a wonderful sun amongst those divine [ones] | going up and down'.
 - 30 Abbati, p. 59: 'MAGNUS And if you would believe in the virtues of my God, | you could see that these impossibilities do happen. ASTAROTH I do not believe in that and I will not try to. | But tell me; this God that you adore | Did he not die on the wood of a Cross? MAGNUS He did die on the Cross, as he wished

- to | driven by the Love | He had in his heart for our souls. ASTAROTH So, being dead, he was mortal | he was finite and mutable & to a God | this could not happen. | And for that reason you believe in the wrong thing and he is no God. MAGNUS He certainly is a God & I believe & believe truly; | that the infallible Truth does not lie / And if he died, his mortality died with him, | but his Divinity cannot be extinguished’.
- 31 Abbati, p. 75: ‘So these people devoted to your name | will erect a temple and consecrate an altar in your honour | and with solemn rites and pomp | will remember your name each year. | But because time with its avid teeth | tends to devour everything over the course of ages | [these people], believing in the wrong thing will offer incense and prayers to Amando from Trajectum. | But [this being] widespread at the end of the age of the golden Lilies [of the Anjou] | the indistinct will make way for clarity | when the flowers will have turned into blue [of the Farnese] | under the great Iberic Governor. | [...]
- Inspired by thee, a humble servant | will rediscover the story of your life | and he will enlighten it with such clarity | that these people in great unison | will return to thee, believing in the truth’.
- 32 ‘By means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people is instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith’. See James Waterworth, *The Council of Trent: The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent* (London: Dolman, 1848), p. 235. For the discussion on the topic during the brief session, see Hubert Jedin, ‘Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung’, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 116 (1935), 143–88.
- 33 Vincenzo Fenicchia, ‘Secondina’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, XI (1968), cols 809–911 and Kaftal, cols 1004–07.
- 34 Abbati, p. 15: ‘The scenery represents a landscape with one single temple, which in the end will be burnt’.

THE SERVATIUS CHALICE IN ST SERVATIUS CHURCH AND ITS 'REPLICA': COMMENTS ON THE ORIGINS

Jean-Pierre VAN RIJEN

When celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood on 8 October 1911, the family of the Redemptorist R. P. Luypen (1859-1928) (known in religion as Fredericus), bestowed on him a remarkable chalice. This was certainly no ordinary gift: the silver chalice is 18 cm high and gilded. The convex round foot is decorated almost entirely with veined, lancet-formed leaves that lead from the stem to the rim of the foot. Near the rim there is the suggestion of underlying lobed leaves. The two parts of the cylindrical stem are decorated with a geometrical pattern in blue enamel. They are separated by what is called a melon or orange *nodus* (pommel, knot), which seems to consist of wedges. The wide *cuppa* (bowl) displays an engraved arcade with a saint under each arch. One of these is Bishop Fredericus, patron saint of the recipient. The *Codex chronicorum* of the cloister in Roermond leaves no room for doubt: the chalice is a copy of a well-known work. It is 'an artistically embossed silver gilt chalice, an imitation of the one belonging to St Servatius in Maastricht; valued at fl 250,-' (Fig. 1).¹

The Church of St Servatius in Maastricht and its treasury, in particular the chalice as one of the reputed personal belongings of the patron saint, are inextricably linked. Church and chalice represent the saint; in many respects architecture and silverware confer legitimacy on each other. This article deals with both the assumptions and the disillusionments of the ecclesiastical goldsmith's art. The chalice will take centre stage, not only the authentic one in Maastricht, but also the copy in Roermond. The stone church building in Maastricht derives its status from the silver chalice relic; and in a similar way the chalice of Maastricht gives significance to the copy in Roermond – assuming Luypen's relatives got what they paid for, and assuming that this copy really is a copy. It was not an exact replica, and

what would have shocked the Luypen family even more was that the exemplar, the renowned *Servatius Chalice*, was not what the Church had had its faithful believe.

The Servatius Chalice

The chalice in the Maastricht treasury, of which Father Fredericus Luypen's chalice is a copy, may aptly be called the *Little Chalice of St Servatius*: the height is 12.5 cm, the diameter 9 cm (Fig. 2). The whole form is made of thin repoussé silver that has been partially gilded. The round foot is hammered and decorated with veined leaves that lead from the stem to the raised rim of the



Fig. 1. Robert van Dawen, chalice made for the Redemptorist Fredericus Luypen, 1911, height 13.2 cm, Roermond: In 't Zand Chapel.



Fig. 2. *The Little Chalice of St Servatius*, mid-13th century, height 12.5 cm, Maastricht: St Servatius Church.

foot and almost entirely cover the base. In the areas between the pointed ends of the leaves there is also the suggestion of lobed leaves. The cylindrical stem, with a motif of triangles some of which are engraved, is interrupted by a segmented knot. The broad bowl is completely smooth.

The chalice is not a solitary item. Among the *Servatiana*, the other possessions attributed to St Servatius and also seen as relics with an exceptional status, there are other examples of the goldsmith's art.² In addition to the small chalice mentioned and which is considered as a *calix peregrinationis* (pilgrimage or travel chalice), there was a large goblet, a *calix pontificalis*, but this one and its paten, as well as a pendant relic (*monile*) disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century. Still in Maastricht are two episcopal staffs (a crosier and the so called pilgrim's staff), a seal, a portable altar, a goblet, and a pectoral

cross which all supposedly belonged to Servatius. Furthermore, there is the monumental silver key of St Servatius, almost 30 cm long and weighing more than a kilogram, with a handle of openwork acanthus *rinceaux*.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century steps were undertaken to restore the whole church treasury. Generous donors were invited to sponsor at least one of the objects. The pilgrim's staff for instance, was restored in 1873 by the silversmith J. H. Schetters in Maastricht, and the pectoral cross much later, in 1906, by Bernhard Witte in Aachen.³ The cultural official and politician, Victor de Stuers, living in The Hague, but born and raised in Maastricht, persuaded his brother in Paris to pay for the cross. The initiative to restore the items came from the German Canon Franz Bock and M. A. H. Willemsen, chaplain and treasurer of St Servatius Church, both renowned antiquarians. In 1872, they published a book in German on the medieval church treasures in Maastricht, and a year later this book appeared in an extended French edition.⁴

Both Bock and Willemsen must have had mixed feelings about the objects in the church treasury. As priests they really wanted to believe that they had held in their hands the things that once belonged to the saint, but as antiquarians they knew better: it has always been assumed that Servatius died in the year 384, or at least in the fourth century, but the chalice was made in the middle of the thirteenth century. Other objects posed the same dilemma. Not one of the relics could have been in the personal possession of the saint. The crosier dates from 1180–85, the pilgrim's staff from the middle or the third quarter of the ninth century⁵ and the silver key from the beginning of the ninth century.⁶

In addition, a number of objects in other treasuries were supposed to have been the personal belongings of saints. They range from the axe of St Martin (Utrecht) to the crosier of St Peter (Cologne). All these objects acquired the status of relic. Many of the supposed relics were chalices, like those of Lebuin (Deventer) and Ludger (Werden), both Netherlandish saints, or of Sts Heribert (Cologne) and Remi (Rheims), German and French by birth. Many copies of

'ordinary' medieval chalices were made in the nineteenth century, and only a few 'saints' chalices' were copied, which might be explained by the progressive insights of the antiquarians of the time. The dating of these saints' chalices, based on stylistic comparison, makes clear that none of the saints and the objects can be connected because the silverware is clearly of a later date. Among these 'relics', the prehistoric serpentine axe of St Martin is quite remarkable. It dates from at least a thousand years *before* the bishop was born.⁷

The Servatius Chalice and a Romanesque Subgroup

We come across elements of the *Servatius Chalice* elsewhere.⁸ First of all, let us consider the segmented knot. Simple late Romanesque chalices with spherical or melon-shaped knots, all quite small and comparable with the *Servatius Chalice*, appeared during the thirteenth century throughout the whole of north-western Europe, with a possible concentration in the region of Westphalia (Soest, Gingen, Süderharz). The knot type is also to be found in two *pyxides* – one from the monastery of Aywières (c. 1235) and Baudouin of Villerec (c. 1250), both now in the Royal Museums in Brussels. We can even recognize the type in the knobs of two small reliquary shrines (second quarter of the thirteenth century), made in the same workshop – the shrine of Oda and George in the Church of Amay and that of Firminus in Amiens Cathedral.

We also recognize the structure of the foot of the *Servatius Chalice* in other objects. The overlapping leaf motif – palm leaves with lobed leaves under them next to the rim of the base – is to be seen on two reliquaries, one in Saint Michel des Lions in Limoges (mid thirteenth century) and on one coming from the Priory of Oignies (1238). The latter is of note here as part of the famous Trésor d'Oignies, which has been beautifully displayed in the Musée Provincial des Arts Ancien du Namurois since 2010. Its maker is one of the few thirteenth-century goldsmiths whose name is known: Hugo d'Oignies. Made by Brother Hugo and his workshop between 1228 and 1230, the chalice is particularly remarkable

(Fig. 3). It was commissioned by the Priory of Oignies that was founded in 1198 by his brothers Gilles, Robert, and Jean de Walcourt.⁹ In its structure this goblet (1228–30) seems to be a slightly older forerunner of the *Servatius Chalice*, with the understanding that the cup in Namur is larger and above all much more expensively decorated. In a formal description great similarities are apparent – the ten equal segments on the knot, the ten leaves on the foot – but the execution of Hugo's chalice is very costly: parts of the knot and base are even ornamented in niello. Other 'look-alikes' are to be found in Wales (Dolgelly) and the German lands.¹⁰ Often these are grave finds, such as the travelling chalice of Siegfried III van Eppstein, Archbishop of Mainz.¹¹ He died in 1249 and had acquired the chalice during a time of prosperity.

Various other chalices were at the time seen as having been the property of long dead saints and therefore regarded as relics. They seem to be products of a peculiar 'historicism': there was no recourse to older chalices. In addition to the *Servatius Chalice*, there are, for example, the *Rupert Chalice* in Salzburg and the *Willibrord Chalice* in Emmerich.¹² These cups were made long after the saints had died, and date from the mid-thirteenth century: Servatius died presumably in 384, Rupert in 723 and Willibrord in 739. For centuries everyone believed that the chalices had once really belonged to these saints. In 1558 the *Willibrord Chalice* was praised in an 'Encomium Calicis aurei S. Guillibrordi' ('eulogy on the golden chalice of St Willibrord'), the *Servatius Chalice* was described in 1628 as 'parvum calicem Sancti Servatii' ('little chalice of St Servatius') and in 1772 the *Rupert Chalice* was recorded as 'Ein alt Silber Vergoldter Kelch Sancti Ruperti' ('an old silver gilt chalice of St Rupert').¹³ It would appear that these saints were allocated a chalice type that at that time was believed to be old. In connection with the chalice made for Father Luypen in 1911, it is interesting to note that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries some other saints' chalices were also copied to a greater or lesser degree.



Fig. 3. Hugo d'Oignies and workshop, chalice, between 1228 and 1230, height 17.8 cm, Namur: TreM.a (Musée provincial des Arts anciens du Namurois), Oignies' Treasury.

The Heribert Chalice

A noticeable decoration on the Luypen chalice that has nothing to do with the *Servatius Chalice* is the engraved arch with saints on the bowl. This part is related to a well-known goblet, famous for its form and simple but elegant decoration, now in the Sankt Aposteln Church in Cologne (Fig. 4). This is also a cup that was deemed to have been the property of a saint. For a long time it was attributed to St Heribert (970–1021), Archbishop of Cologne and founder of the Abbey of Cologne-Deutz. The shrine of the saint can still be found in the Neo-Romanesque Church of Deutz, separated from the cathedral city only by the river Rhine. The chalice dates from around 1230.¹⁴

In 1858, Franz Bock, the German priest-antiquarian previously mentioned, could give only a very rough estimate of its date. He narrowed it down to the thirteenth century, but

even so, Heribert could not have been its owner. In Bock's opinion the attribution was the result of confusion with another chalice belonging to the Bishop, unfortunately lost at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Nevertheless he recognized its value. In the nineteenth century the *Heribert Chalice* would have been widely acknowledged as a prototype of the Romanesque style, both in its structure (round foot with a curve from the rim to the ellipsoid knot, almost hemispherical cup) and its decoration (stamped work, filigree). In particular, the engraving on the bowl, the twelve apostles with their attributes under an arcade of typical round arches, has been copied by many goldsmiths.

It is uncertain whether the *Heribert Chalice* provided the inspiration for the engraving on the Luypen chalice. In 1897, almost forty years after Bock's publication, the British Museum's collection was augmented by the acquisition of an almost identical chalice. The similarities lay not only in the form of the goblet but also in the engraving of the bowl. The piece was left to the museum by Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–97), the first curator of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography.¹⁶ The first catalogue of the silver collection, which appeared in 1928, described the chalice as 'North German, about 1200–1250'. Further on: 'Attention must be drawn to a Romanesque chalice in the church of the Holy Apostles at Cologne, which represents striking points of resemblance to the British Museum chalice, in the outline and the iconography'. The truth emerged only decades later. Franks, known as an eminent medievalist and a relentless exposé of forgeries, had been fooled by a nineteenth-century copy of the *Heribert Chalice*.¹⁷ Apparently unaware of the rage for copies in Germany, fuelled by historicism, the connoisseur had been palmed off with a replica.¹⁸ Strictly speaking, the engraving on the Luypen chalice could have been inspired by the forgery that Franks bought – or by any of the many imitations that were made in the second half of the nineteenth century.



Fig. 4. *The Heribert Chalice*, around 1230, height 19.1 cm, Cologne: Sankt Aposteln Church.

The Model for the Luypen Chalice

For Father Luypen the chalice was nothing less than an esteemed 'imitation of the one from St Servatius in Maastricht' ('imitatie van die des H. Servaas te Maastricht'). That devotion is also expressed in the key of the tabernacle in his cloister, shaped as a miniature of Servatius's key, kept as a relic in Maastricht. A comparison of Luypen's chalice with the *Servatius Chalice*, however, gives rise to the suspicion that Luypen never visited the treasury chamber in Maastricht. A cursory glance is sufficient to realize that the copy is in no way convincing. The silversmith, Robert van Dawen in Venlo, did not (directly) focus on the *Servatius Chalice*. The most obvious conclusion is that he opted for a free copy, loosely based on the chalice type described above. The use of the arcade similar to the *Heribert Chalice* strengthens the assumption that Van Dawen drew on various sources.

That was frequently the case: a chalice in Steyl (Limburg, the Netherlands), made in 1883 by an unknown silversmith, combines the melon or orange knot, unusual in the nineteenth century, with a floral decoration that is reminiscent of the *Servatius Chalice*. A chalice in Bonn, made in 1901 by Gabriel Hermeling in Cologne, replicates the floral decoration of the *Willibrord Chalice*.¹⁹

In the case of the chalice for Fredericus Luypen there was another source, another prototype. It belonged to Frédéric Spitzer (1814–90), a well-known collector and connoisseur (Fig. 5). In 1852, Spitzer, born in Austria as a scion of a distinguished family, moved from Vienna to Paris, where initially he lived in the Rue de Richelieu. He was especially interested in the applied arts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, both profane and religious, armoury and tapestry as well as ivory carvings and goldsmiths' work. He acquired many works of art mainly from other distinguished collectors, such as Louis Fidel Debruge-Duménil, Prince Pjetr Soltykoff, Baron Achille Seillière, Alessandro Castellani and Julien Gréau. When Spitzer died on 23 April 1890, his house on the Rue Villejust was called *Musée Spitzer*, although plans to convert it to a state museum were never realized. At that time, the museum housed no less than 4,000 works of art. Three years later, the collection was sold in accordance with Spitzer's will and the provenance of many objects, including the chalice, was lost. Before the sale the most important 'objets d'art et de haute curiosité' were published in multi-volume and sometimes extremely expensive illustrated works.²⁰ Joseph Braun, the erudite Jesuit who was the first to dedicate an exhaustive study to ecclesiastical goldsmiths' work, was acquainted with the chalice only from one of these volumes of prints and included a small engraving in *Das christliche Altargerät*.²¹ Even then – only thirty years after Spitzer died – Braun had no clue as to where the chalice had gone.

Since then, Spitzer's collection has become notorious for its falsifications, including work by Reinhold Vasters (1827–1909). For this talented silversmith from Aachen such a forgery would have been one of his minor achievements. Even his most complex works such as display goblets,

drinking horns, domestic altars and even jewellery were so convincingly medieval or Renaissance that their authenticity was not questioned until the 1970s. There are some comments to be made about the chalice. The form of the cup is hemispherical rather than bowl-shaped, which is more typical of neo-Romanesque than the thirteenth century. The knot is reminiscent of that of the chalice of Hugo of Oignies in Namen, although more crudely executed, and a similar sort of relief of floral details now also covers the foot. However, such remarks are speculative and, moreover, based on an engraving, the accuracy of which is uncertain. The similarity between the chalice bought from Van Dawen and Spitzer's example is conspicuous, however: apart from the proportions and additions, such as two beaded edgings and an engraving, the copy is very close, even the geometrical motif on the stem is exactly replicated.

The chalice of Fredericus Luypen was a replica of a relic which was never in the possession of a saint to begin with. More than that, it might have been a replica of a chalice from the Spitzer collection. As we have concluded so far, there are indications that the Spitzer goblet was not a thirteenth-century original but might have been a nineteenth-century forgery or a copy. The story became even more complicated when an almost indistinguishable 'Servatius Chalice' was discovered. Apart from the beaded edgings on the stem and the well-known engraved arcade on the bowl, the chalice is identical to the Luypen version. This second replica did not come from Van Dawen, but from fellow townsman and silversmith Jan Boermans (1799-1888).

Notes

- 1 *Codex chronicorum Congregationis SSmi. Redemptoris, Collegii Ruremunda, tomus Ila (1899-1913)*, 8 October 1911: 'een kunstig gedreven zilver vergulden mis-kelk, imitatie van die des H. Servaas te Maastricht; ter waarde van f 250,-'. In the inventory *Geschenken 1911* [Gifts 1911] the chalice is mentioned as a gift from Luypen.
- 2 Franz Bock and Michel Willemsen, *Antiquités sacrées conservées dans les anciennes collégiales de S. Servais et de Notre Dame à Maestricht* (Maastricht: Russel, 1873), pp. 53-74; A. M. Koldewey, *Der gude Sente Servas: De Servatiuslegende en de Servatiana, een onderzoek naar de*



Fig. 5. Chalice, formerly in the collection of Frédéric Spitzer, current whereabouts unknown. From: Molinier and Spitzer.

Obviously Van Dawen's chalice is not unique, and this conclusion raises a number of questions, particularly since both silversmiths are known for their silverware imported from Germany. Both chalices might have been bought from another workshop or a factory. Until the example from Spitzer's collection reappears, the origins of the chalices from silversmiths Van Dawen and Boermans remain mysteries, secrets of historicism.

beeldvorming rond een heilige in de middeleeuwen. 1: De geschiedenis van de kerkschat van het Sint-Servaaskapittel te Maastricht, Maaslandse Monografieën (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1985); *Schatkamers uit het Zuiden*, ed. by Jos Koldewey and P. M. L. van Vlijmen (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1985), pp. 75-77, no. 3.

- 3 On Servatius' pilgrim's staff, see Koldewey, *Der gude Sente Servas*, p. 152; *Schatkamers*, no. 5. On the pectoral cross: Victor de Stuers, 'Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Schatkamer van St. Servaas te Maastricht', *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le*

- Limbourg, 43 (1907), 7–21 (pp. 16–21); Statement at the opening of the reliquary cross, the restoration and reinstatement of the relics in the cross, 18 and 26 October 1906 (included in full in: Koldeweij, *Der gude Sente Servas*, pp. 190–94; De Stuers, p. 21).
- 4 Franz Bock and Michel Willemsen, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunst- und Reliquienschatze zu Maestricht* (Cologne and Neuss: Schwan, 1872), pp. 79–82.
 - 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 80–83; Jos Koldeweij and Pierre N. G. Pesch, *Het blokboek van Sint Servaas | Le livre xylographique de Saint Servais* (Utrecht: Walburg; Maastricht: Veldeke, 1984), pp. 65, 86; Koldeweij, *Der gude Sente Servas*, pp. 145–16; *Schatkamers*, pp. 79–80, no. 5.
 - 6 Bock and Willemsen, *Antiquités sacrées*, pp. 53–74; Koldeweij, *Der gude Sente Servas*, pp. 61–127; *Schatkamers*, pp. 75–77, no. 3.
 - 7 Caspar Staal, 'Het bisdom Utrecht: Relieken, relikwieën en reliekhouders', in exh. cat. Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk and Utrecht: Museum Catharijneconvent, *De weg naar de hemel: Reliekverering in de middeleeuwen*, ed. by Henk van Os (Baarn: de Prom, 2000), pp. 169–70, Fig. 199.
 - 8 Koldeweij, *Der gude Sente Servas*, pp. 216–17.
 - 9 Ferdinand Courtoy, *Le trésor du prieuré d'Oignies* (Brussels: Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1953), pp. 29–36, no. 5; Janine Verster, 'Hugo d'Oignies edelsmid', *Kunstschrift*, 37, 4 (1993), 30–33, p. 32; Emmanuel Collet, *De Schat van Oignies* (Brussels: Koning Boudewijnstichting, 2012).
 - 10 *Dolgelly: The History of Silver*, ed. by Claude Blair (New York: Ballantine Books, 1987), p. 42; Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich: Hueber, 1932; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), Tafel 15, Fig. 45.
 - 11 Exh. cat. Mainz: Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, *1000 Jahre Mainzer Dom 975–1975: Werden und Wandel*, ed. by Wilhelm Jung (Mainz: Will und Rothe, 1975), no. 32.
 - 12 On the Rupert chalice in Salzburg: Gustav Otruba, 'Zur Geschichte des Goldschmiedehandwerks in Österreich bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Tradition: Zeitschrift für Firmengeschichte und Unternehmerbiographie*, 15, 2–3 (1970), 97–148; on the Willibrord chalice in Emmerich: exh. cat. Emmerich: St.-Martini-Münster, *Kunstschätze aus dem St.-Martini-Münster zu Emmerich*, ed. by Gerard Lemmens and Guido de Werd (Emmerich: Romen, 1977), pp. 34–35, no. 7.
 - 13 The quotation about the the Willibrord chalice comes from a laudatory song, noted in 1558 by Hermann Schilder in a *diarium* still kept in the parish archives (no. B I 9a); on the Servatius chalice in Maastricht: Koldeweij, *Der gude Sente Servas*; on the Rupert chalice in Salzburg: Otruba.
 - 14 Exh. cat. Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum and Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, ed. by Anton Legner, 3 vols (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1985), II, pp. 281–82, no. E66; exh. cat. Cologne: Kölner Dom, *Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar: 850 Jahre Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige im Kölner Dom*, ed. by Leonie Becksand others (Cologne: Kölner Dom, 2014), pp. 212–13.
 - 15 Franz Bock, *Das heilige Köln: Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Kunstschätze in seinen Kirchen und Sakristeien aus dem Bereiche der Goldschmiedekunst und der Paramentik* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1858), p. 10, no. 92 (chalice: Fig. xxviii).
 - 16 David M. Wilson, *The Forgotten Collector: Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984). Among other things in the extensive legacy were ninety-nine pieces of tableware and a collection of rings.
 - 17 George F. Browne, *The Recollections of a Bishop* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1915), p. 209.
 - 18 *Fake? The Art of Deception*, ed. by Mark Jones (London and Berkeley: British Museum, 1990), pp. 45–46, no. 21.
 - 19 The chalice in Steyl is unpublished; on the chalice in Bonn see Hildegard Lütkenhaus, *Sakrale Goldschmiedekunst des Historismus im Rheinland: Ein Beitrag zu Gestalt und Geschichte retrospektiver Stilphasen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1992), pp. 176–77, Fig. 162.
 - 20 Emile Molinier and Frédéric Spitzer, *La Collection Spitzer: Antiquité – Moyen-Âge – Renaissance*, 6 vols (Paris: Maison Quantin and Librairie Centrale; London: MM. Davis, 1890), I, no. 72.
 - 21 Braun, p. 86, n. 170.

FROM RAVENNA TO ENSCHEDE: A GLASS MOSAIC OF 1933

Lieske TIBBE

A Prestigious Commission

Sometime in the 1930s, Richard Nicolaus Roland Holst (1868–1938), then a prominent artist in the Netherlands, sent this postcard (Fig. 1) to his nephew Marius. The information written on one side is not retrievable, but what he wanted to communicate through the obverse is still clear.¹ It shows an example of what Roland Holst saw as ‘right art’. In his view, art should be ‘community art’, or, as he named it in the 1930s, ‘monumental art’: it should serve the community in a practical sense by decorating and ornamenting public buildings or designing useful objects, but also ideologically, by reflecting the commonly shared ideas and values of a society. Postcards were among the tools Roland Holst used to express his ideas on art. They present specimens of ‘right art’: archaic Greek sculpture, *tre-* and *quattrocento* Italian art, medieval tapestries and stained glass windows, and works by the man he wanted to emulate as a wall painter, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes.² In this case, the obverse shows the head of the Apostle Peter, a fragment of the fifth-century mosaic in the cupola of the Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna. Mosaics certainly were part of Roland Holst’s canon of good art, as he expressed it in a lecture:

What we [...] want, what we desire, is to be able to decorate buildings of architectural beauty and spiritual meaningfulness. What we want is to make grand paintings glorifying the morality of a free society, imaging them onto walls of noble construction and proportion. What we wish for is to make that kind of stained glass window that brings colourful ideals closer to people, and further away from infinity; what we long for, is to make mosaics in such a way that everywhere we set foot, we should find the beauty of flowering gardens, but also the firm base of law.³

Roland Holst himself never made mosaics, nor did he ever visit Ravenna. The only journey he made to Italy was his honeymoon in 1896. The newly-weds visited Florence, Pisa, Assisi, Milan and Padua. At that time, early Christian and Byzantine art was not a particular interest of Dutch avant-garde artists like Roland Holst: their main focus was on Cimabue, Giotto, Fra Angelico and other *tre-* and *quattrocento* artists.



Fig. 1. Postcard with fragment of a mosaic, R. N. Roland Holst to M. Roland Holst, Zundert, postmark indecipherable [c. 1930], collection of the author.



Fig. 2. G. Friedhoff, Enschede town hall, façade, 1930–33, as photographed in 1933. From: *Openbare en overheidsgebouwen*.

In later years, plans to visit Italy failed when the fascist regime refused Henriette Roland Holst permission to cross the border, because of her international reputation as a leftist radicalist.⁴

From 1926 to 1933 Roland Holst was director of the Rijksakademie voor Beeldende Kunsten (State Academy of Fine Arts) in Amsterdam. During his directorship, he re-organized the curriculum and added a special department to it, Decorative and Monumental Art. Roland Holst attached great importance to students of this subject working in a real-life social context and solicited genuine commissions, mostly through his relations in Amsterdam's local authorities. Under his supervision, students realized some fifteen stained glass windows, mosaics, sculptures, graffiti, and an unknown volume of applied graphics.⁵

In January 1930 a new opportunity to gain experience presented itself. Architect Gijs Friedhoff (1892–1970) had won a competition to build a new town hall for Enschede, at that time a cen-

tre of the textile industry. This town hall was to replace a nineteenth-century one. It had to be considerably larger than the existing building, but, as was stipulated by the municipal authorities in 1927, it should showcase Enschede's current prosperity without being over-exuberant. It was to represent a working community. With this in mind, Friedhoff's building was designed in the rather modest, traditional 'Delft School' style, and the architect also drew inspiration from Scandinavian town halls (Fig. 2).⁶

Exuberance permitted or not, many inhabitants of Enschede had made donations, large and small, to add lustre to the interior of their town hall, long before the start of the competition that resulted in a design.⁷ To Friedhoff, this was a chance to develop an interior that was a real specimen of Community Art, in which architecture and the applied arts were harmoniously connected. And whom could he better turn to than to Roland Holst, the champion of such art? Friedhoff proposed the creation of a glass mosaic that was to decorate a reception room on the first floor, paid for by a donation from the Scholten family, owners of a large textile company.⁸ Roland Holst delegated this commission to two of his students: Willem Molin (1895–1959) and Jaap Bouhuys (1902–83). And it is at this point that Ravenna becomes involved. As part of the preparation for the commission, Roland Holst sent his students to Ravenna to see its famous mosaics. What idea did all three of them have of the mosaics originally? How did Molin's and Bouhuys's journey go, and what did they learn? Did they incorporate what they found into the Enschede mosaic?

Marmor or Smalt Mosaic

One of the two mosaic-workers, Willem Molin, has left archives spanning his whole lifetime. They are very bulky, but also very chaotic: fragments of a diary, ideas for writing, letters that were never sent, drawings, photographs, postcards, newspaper cuttings, technical comments and receipts are all jumbled up in the collection.⁹ Among these are notes concerning the processes involved in creating the Enschede mosaic.

It seems that Friedhoff initially asked Roland Holst to design the mosaic personally. He did not accept, probably in the main because he simply lacked the technical skills. Moreover, he was already involved in another major commission: a series of stained-glass windows in the staircase of the Amsterdam town hall at the Oudezijds Voorburgwal (now a hotel). Molin and Bouhuys, on the other hand, had been experimenting with mosaic-work as part of their work in Amsterdam public buildings commissioned to the Academy (Molin's archives show that this had been a process of trial and error).¹⁰ Roland Holst took Molin and Bouhuys by surprise: after their first lessons in January 1930 he told them about Friedhoff's proposal, and suggested that they should join forces to make the mosaic. 'His relief was apparent when Jaap said: "It's a long-cherished wish of us to cooperate in a project". "Really? That's fine". And two weeks later: "The Boss [Roland Holst] said bluntly: "You two should go to Ravenna! [...] Now that Enschede has agreed, it's my turn to make demands! So I shall try to arrange that they send you out – by any means, it's what you need to complete that mosaic successfully.""¹¹

Of course, the first reason for the study trip was to investigate the technical aspects of making mosaics, because there was no tradition of mosaics in the Netherlands. In spite of Roland Holst's profession of Community Art cited above, Dutch artists associated mosaics with 'Catholic' or 'Byzantine' art. Only Antoon Molkenboer, the Catholic artist and decorator of many churches, was interested in this type of art and he had gone to Ravenna and Venice for inspiration. He had discovered there that Ravennatic craftsmen achieved the shimmering effect in their mosaics through slight variations in the angles of the reflecting surfaces of glass *tesserae*. He had observed that the mosaics had been executed in a studio and not on the scaffolds in situ. However, outside the Catholic circuit Molkenboer's art seems to have found little recognition, and so there was plenty for Molin and Bouhuys to discover about mosaic technique.¹²

Another reason for Roland Holst suggesting a visit might have been to convince Molin and Bouhuys of the appropriateness of glass mosaic,

because they actually did not want to make a glass mosaic at all. A wall with marmor incrustation, they thought, was more subdued, more distinguished, more noble in tone than a multicoloured smalt mosaic, and therefore more fit for a town hall. They felt that a glass mosaic could easily have a gaudy or tacky effect.¹³ In fact, they had adopted this view from Roland Holst himself, who at that time – except in his stained-glass windows – restricted his use of colour to black, gold and a subdued dark green and purple. In this case, however, the teacher was deviating from his teaching. He invited the recalcitrant pupils to dine at his home in Bloemendaal. Subsequently, they visited Friedhoff at his nearby house where they were confronted with the fact that a glass mosaic had already been included in the overall plan. 'I resented the Boss, thinking he had duped us, and outside, when we were alone, I reproached Jaap for not having defended himself more robustly. He said we should wait and see what our trip to Italy brought. I was sick of all that hauling around of glass junk with its limitless colours and the therefore bungled response that we had made.'¹⁴

While Roland Holst had told him that, in the end, the city council was an extension of the textile enterprise to which Friedhoff had to conform, Molin suspected him of 'commercialism' and 'servility to the customer'. He was more right than he probably knew. In 1902 Roland Holst, then an active member of the socialist party SDAP, had coordinated an action 'Kunst voor Enschede' (Art for Enschede) by organizing benefit auctions and lotteries of artworks in support of a textile workers' strike in Enschede. The strikers lost their cause.¹⁵ But by the 1930s nobody referred to this earlier engagement with Enschede, least of all the activist himself. In any case, Roland Holst might have believed that a trip to Ravenna would reconcile his two students with the idea of making a glass mosaic for Enschede.

The Image of Ravenna

What did Roland Holst and his students know or think about Ravenna beforehand, except for some hard to grasp cultural stock-in-trade or a

shared general knowledge? Roland Holst had surely read an 1895 essay on Ravenna by André Jolles in the cultural weekly *De Kroniek*.¹⁶ Roland Holst and Jolles knew each other well, and both worked for *De Kroniek*. In 1895 Jolles was living in Florence, because he wanted to do research on the origins of early medieval Italian art. He visited Ravenna to see if he could find any roots for early Florentine Gothic art, but he had concluded there were no direct connections. On the contrary: 'Byzantine' mosaics were inflexible, rigid, remote, while Gothic wall paintings were humane and full of life, just as Eastern Christendom was dogmatic, and a priestly ritual, while Western Catholicism, in contrast, was the Church of the people. But where medieval frescoes were often faded and damaged, and required physical and mental effort to look at and to reconstruct the story they told, the perception of mosaics, on the other hand, was an overwhelming experience bringing psychological rest:

The dark and golden tones merging together in the architecture of the cupola [...]; the impression of the whole, equally given from all sides, without any individual image breaking the unity [...]; this all creates a feeling of that which is given [...], non-distracting, harmonious space, where the beauty of nature, like music, can appear as a grand hall providing the non-connoisseur with an enjoyment that is beyond understanding.¹⁷

The shiny ornamental ring of apostles around the image of the Baptism of Christ in the Orthodox Baptistery showed more decorative harmony and technical perfection than its later equivalent in the Arian Baptistery, according to Jolles. Roland Holst must have read Jolles's essays on Byzantine and early Gothic art with approval, because the views presented were akin to the vision of John Ruskin whom he also endorsed. Ruskin stated that over the centuries Byzantine art, although still upholding noble traditions and a wealth of symbolic content, had degenerated into splendiferousness and grown rigid and lifeless. The rising Gothic art from Northern Europe, barbaric but vital and vigorous, had fertilized it and given new life to its

guiding principles. In Florence, the two cultures had met, and Giotto embodied the best of both worlds.¹⁸

Around 1900, Roland Holst found an alternative in the use of geometric systems as the underlying fundament of his compositions. Organic forms could move freely within a geometrical framework, as long as their position and gestures corresponded with crucial points in the pattern: 'geometry [...] dictates the rule, in which plastic life at its most beautiful, within these limits, can reveal itself in its fullest expression'.¹⁹ The reverse process, of tightening and stylizing living forms to make them fit a decorative scheme, could end up in a 'lifeless byzantinism'. Roland Holst was stimulated to these convictions by his academy friend Jan Verkade, who entered the Beuron monastery and introduced Roland Holst to the rules of proportion of Desiderius Lenz, founder of the Beuron Art School.²⁰ Another source of information was the architect Jan Stuyt, the main propagandist of the Beuron canon in the Netherlands; Roland Holst attended one of his lectures.²¹ Roland Holst's work never fell victim to the dogmatism of the Beuron Art School although Verkade soon came to experience the Beuron canon as a straightjacket. The latter was strengthened in his doubts by a visit to Italy, and especially to Ravenna when he saw the mosaics. In his opinion they were barbaric, decayed and rigid in form, but also full of warmth and expression.²²

Roland Holst probably picked up some more knowledge about Ravennatic mosaics from two books he owned: *L'archéologie chrétienne* by André Pératé (1892) and *L'art byzantin* by Charles Bayet (c. 1900). They are on the list of books he donated to the Academy when he retired.²³ These handbooks, illustrated by engravings, give overviews of the development, characteristics, and key monuments of early Christian and Byzantine art. Pératé describes the mosaics of Ravenna extensively and gives special attention to the decoration of the cupola of the Orthodox Baptistery; Bayet's main focus of interest is sixth-century S. Vitale, particularly the mosaics of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora with their imperial household. At the time Bouhuys and Molin received the Enschede commission,

these books were not yet in the Academy library, but they might have found more recent and amply illustrated works there, showing the monuments that had been restored after Jolles, Bayet and Pèraté had described them, for example *L'Arte Bisantina in Italia* by restorer Corrado Ricci, and *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. zum XIII. Jahrhundert* of Joseph Wilpert.²⁴ The latter, a monumental scholarly work of four volumes, offers an accurate and splendid visual insight into the state of the mosaics: it has reproductions in colour, for which the most modern reproduction techniques were applied, and which show every separate little stone. It also indicated where restorations had been made. Moreover, historical and iconographical background is given. The aforementioned artists Antoon Molkenboer en Jan Verkade also consulted Wilpert's work.²⁵ In the archives of Molin, however, there is no indication that he or Bouhuys studied these editions or any other book on Ravenna.

Visiting Ravenna

In April 1930 Molin and Bouhuys set course for Ravenna. From the start everything went wrong. There appears to have been a third travelling companion, 'D.' (Dick Broos?), and the three did not get along. The first cause of quarrel was a prolonged stay in Florence; this was not planned and Molin perceived it as a betrayal of Roland Holst. It is not clear how they spent their time in Florence. Molin only refers to a visit to Palazzo Pitti, which only strengthened his aversion of 'bluffing' Renaissance art. He does not mention, for instance, the mosaic ceiling in the Florentine Baptistery, or the unique pavements with marble inlay there and in S. Miniato.²⁶

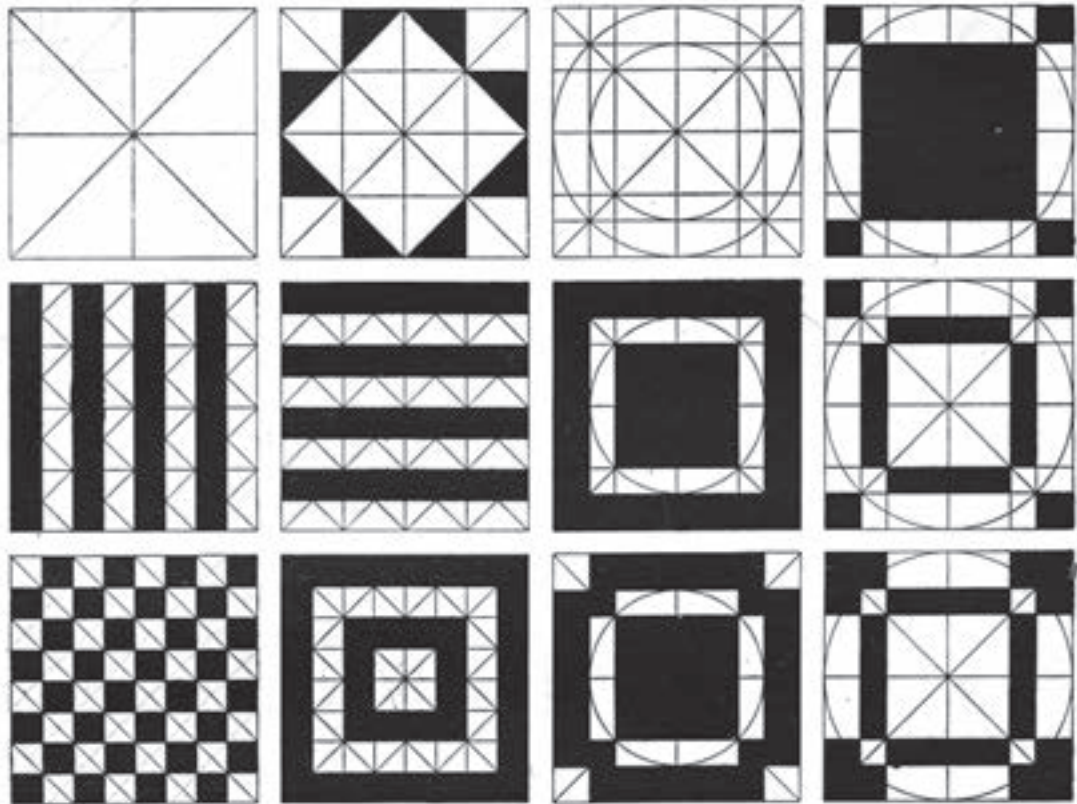
After their arrival in Ravenna, the voyagers put up in the city centre at Albergo Cappello recommended in the 1928 Baedeker as 'einfach, mit Restaurant'.²⁷ It is not clear if or how they made use of this travel guide; it seems unlikely that they did not visit all the monuments of Ravenna, but of the twelve ecclesiastical buildings described in Baedeker Molin only mentions three: S. Francesco, S. Vitale with the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, and S. Apollin-

are in Classe. Moreover, Molin's notes look very haphazard: sometimes he paid more attention to a funerary procession, a market, beautiful women, or an ox-cart than to the monuments. In the churches he describes, he seems to have looked for marmor incrustations first. Did he still hope to find proof for his preference for mosaic in marmor over glass mosaic? If this was the case, his hopes were in vain: 'It turns out to be all glass mosaic so we have to recall to my awful regret, while such an important moral headstart will be lost'.²⁸

He noted briefly: 'Chiesa St. Francesco. Mosaics in flood', and on the mausoleum of Galla Placidia: 'I let the splendour sink in for a while, though it's somewhat barbaric. [...] The mosaics are in this extension [small drawing]; below beautiful marmor incrustations with gold and mother of pearl (also silver)' and 'beautiful glass mosaics, blackish blue, with thin alabaster marmor plates through which shines a warm lamplight, the gold shows up splendidly'.²⁹ He walked to the S. Apollinare in Classe, but wrote more about the walk than about the church: 'Splendid beautiful church, important only the presbytery & the Corinthian columns & capitals'. Furthermore, he copied the inscription on the site where once the saint's relics had been. This is the only sign he had any awareness of or interest in the Christian meaning of the decorations.³⁰ But he was impressed by the mosaic art studio that had been set up with a view to the restoration of S. Vitale. He described the working process, illustrated it with little drawings of utensils, noted prices of materials, and got some samples of stones. He got angry at Bouhuys, who scornfully observed: 'Just like Molkenboer'.³¹ This was yet another moment of annoyance. Throughout Molin's travel records Bouhuys is described as unpleasant, unreliable, and banal. The two seemed to have avoided each other's company as much as possible in Ravenna.

Community Art in Practice

Back in Amsterdam, Roland Holst tried to quiet down the quarrel, but only with partial success. During the preparations, there were continuous tiffs and wrangles; Molin gossiped a lot about



PLAAT 2.

INDEELING VAN HET VIERKANT

Fig. 3. Examples of geometric divisions of squares, illustration in: Van de Vecht. The third pattern in the upper row underlies the scheme of composition of the Enschede mosaic.

Bouhuys with other students, described several incidents and repeatedly made negative comments about him in his notes.³² Bouhuys's opinions on this matter are not known. Molin also had some problems with Roland Holst. Poor as he, Molin, was, and having to maintain his wife and child, he was dependent on scholarships, subsidies, and commissions, and Roland Holst had always been generous in organizing these on his behalf. For this he was grateful, but at the same time he had a sense of obligation towards 'The Boss'. In addition, Molin had gradually growing objections to Roland Holst's theoretical principles.³³ Bouhuys had previously had serious conflicts with Roland Holst and no longer trusted him.³⁴ Slowly, one of the

principles of Community Art, artistic cooperation, was undermined. Only the contacts with Friedhoff, who kept himself informed from a distance, seem to have been business-like and friendly. And of course there was the Scholten family to reckon with.

Molin made a trip to Enschede in September 1930, this time on his own. Where there are no indications he informed himself about Ravenna before going there, he did read up on Enschede beforehand. He consulted two books on the history of Enschede and surroundings, a thorough social-geographical study on the region, a history of the textile industry and a very technical treatise on cotton spinning and weaving.³⁵ Introduced by Friedhoff, he visited father

and son Scholten; he was received most cordially and had two guided tours of the factory. He also explored Enschede (inhabitants gaped at him 'as if I came from Tibet'), bought postcards, took photographs, visited the municipal archives, went on a cycling tour, climbed the church tower, and had a talk with the regional historian Deinse, whose book he had consulted. His attitude towards the Scholtens was ambiguous: he liked them as people, but was very well aware they were capitalists who exploited their workers. He felt strongly engaged with the working-class population of Enschede. They were ugly in build, slow, and were conservative churchgoers: 'They absolutely have to be under discipline & feel at their best when slowly but surely their shroud is being woven'. This all had to do with their harsh labour under hellish conditions. The heavy noise and constantly repetitive movements of the giant machines made their outlook on life equally dull and slow, 'so very different from Paris or even Ravenna'.

He realized that the majority of the population did not have the freedom to act in accordance with its own judgement, and now also understood why Friedhoff had yielded to conditions in Enschede. And so would he: 'I want to make concessions to those people'. His work was to give the workers comfort. Those people, living in hell, deserved dedication from others who had the good luck to know better. 'I'll tell them hard truths, but will also ask myself to have the strength to be mild. [...] To tell them, tell them, that's what I want to work for. Under that sign my mosaic will stand! Consolation & encouragement! It won't be courtly, but full of warm humaneness. It will be there for the simple people, an expiation by Scholten! To turn down that heavy load. This is a depth of meaning only to be felt by simple and big-hearted souls.'³⁶ In this way, he eventually he felt reconciled to the idea of making a colourful glass mosaic, 'barbaric' but most suited to expressing his engagement with this community of poor working people. He evaluated the significance of his two study trips as follows: in Italy he had learnt to understand the body, in Enschede the soul. The mosaic was to be the union of both.³⁷

Despite their frictions Molin and Bouhuys began preparations. At first, several designs for the underlying geometric system were made. The basic structure was most probably borrowed from the manual *De grondslag voor het ontwerpen van vlakke versiering* by Nicolaas van de Vecht, who had been lecturer in perspective and geometry at the Academy since 1930 (Fig. 3).³⁸ At the same time, catalogues and samples of glass cubes were ordered and receipts of mortar tested. The mosaic was made in the Academy in separate parts which were to be assembled at its place of destination; a map of photographs of the parts survives.³⁹ Relying on Molin's scarce annotations, the 'reverse' (or 'Ravenna') method was used: little glass stones were glued upside down on a mirror image tracing paper or ground, reversed and fastened on another support that was to be attached to the wall.⁴⁰ As for the content however, the Christian symbolism of the Ravenna mosaics offered no help. Molin and Bouhuys had to develop a new, civil iconography. Molin, who thought himself artistically and mentally superior to Bouhuys, suggested that he was the author of the conceptual programme, but this is quite unclear. In any case, Roland Holst interfered repeatedly, and Friedhoff a few times.⁴¹ All in all, the project required two and a half years of work, but it was finished in time before 3 August, 1933, the day the new town hall was to be officially inaugurated.

A Golden Mosaic

The mosaic is still in the same place (Colour Plate XIII). It covers one of the short walls totally and is flanked by two wings curving outward, somewhat like organ panels, which hide the outer corners of the wall from view. The large surface (26 m²) is covered with c. 250,000 glass cubes in sixty colours. At first sight, its agility and sprightliness strike the eye; the diagonals of the basic structure dominate the composition with human figures, animals, and utensils and products of textile industry in and between them. These seem to be in movement as if Byzantine rigidity had to be overcome again, and thoroughly. The colouring is rich and warm: hues of red, brown, yellow, grey, and white, and

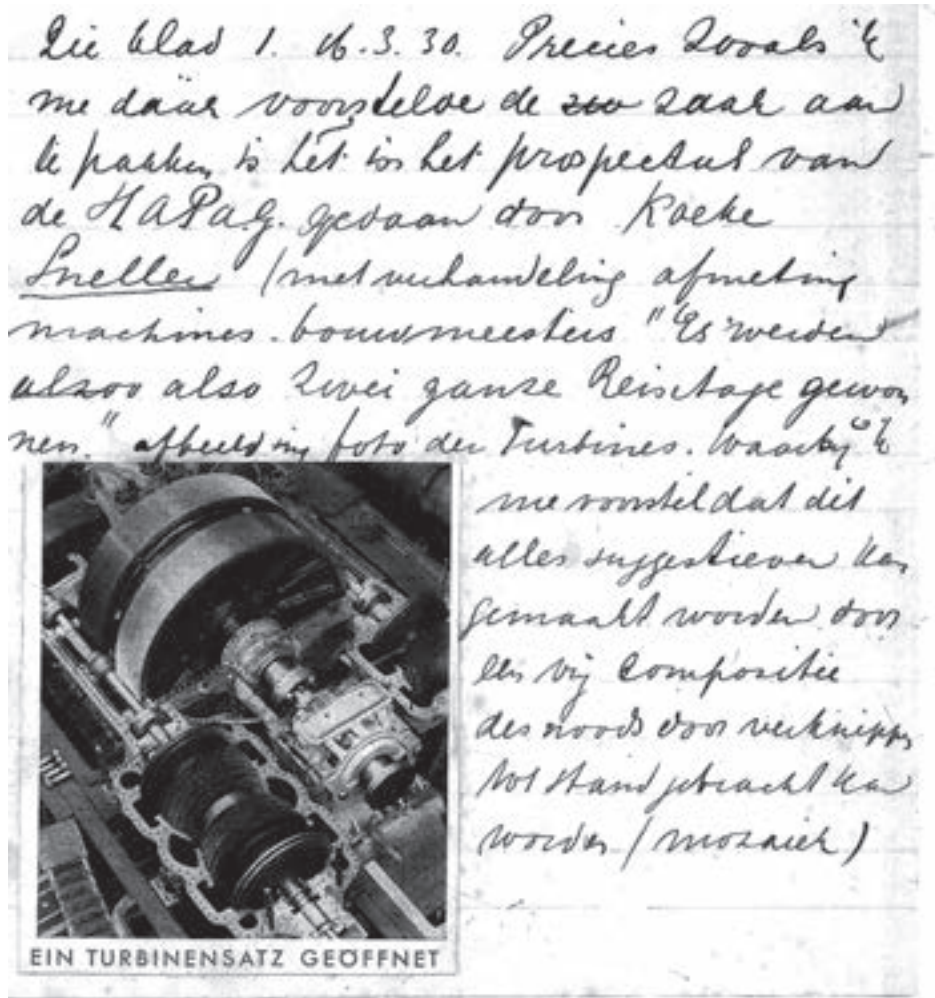


Fig. 4. Fragment of the archive of Willem Molin, dated 16 March 1930, with a newspaper cutting and notes on the composition of the mosaic, The Hague: Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD).

a lot of gold, the reason that in many reviews it is called a *goudmozaïek* (golden mosaic).

At the request of Friedhoff, the two artists (with corrections by Roland Holst) wrote an explanation of the realization and meaning of the mosaic which was frequently quoted in reviews.⁴² In the centre of the upper register stands the patroness of the town, upholding a model of Enschede town hall. She is the most (and practically single) Ravesnesque element of the mosaic, as a somewhat re-styled saint from S. Apollinare. She is flanked by draped curtains bearing the arms of Enschede and of the larger Province of Overijssel. On the left and right, two darkish figures personify the former practices of manual

labour. Below, the modern industrial production of textile is represented in intricate rotating patterns. One of the sources of the pattern might have been a newspaper cutting from Molin's archives showing a machine which was then systematized and adapted to the main structure of the mosaic (Fig. 4).⁴³ Most embarrassing are the curved side panels with animals and plants from the region, elegantly frolics in their lozenges and circles. They represent the four seasons. Interwoven in the image is a text in Gothic letters, a (rather mutilated) sixteenth-century vow.⁴⁴

In their explanatory text, Molin and Bouhuys referred to their stay in Ravenna: 'Due to the fact, that specialist literature on mosaic-making

is incomplete & often mistaken, the designing artists had to make a study trip to Italy to investigate there works in that craft. The experiences we gained enabled us to execute it entirely in the Academy's studios.⁴⁵ Critic Anton van der Boom, who published two articles on the mosaic, copied this and connected the Enschede mosaic with those in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna and early Christian examples elsewhere in Italy.⁴⁶ He also accentuated the cooperative character of the project:

Be aware of the simple fact that two young artists had to create one work cooperatively. They must have given up a lot of the traditional artist's pride about 'exclusive showing rights of heavenly inspiration', and it is also reminiscent of great times in the past when generation after

generation built the cathedrals. [...] Without doubt, Molin and Bouhuys have seen Ravenna, Torcello and maybe also Monreale. Their work is full of respect and admiration for the sharp-edged sparkling of the little stones of the old Byzantine mosaic workers.⁴⁷

Notions of medievalist collaboration also resound in the postcards sent by Friedhoff and by Academy friends to 'guildsmen' Molin and Bouhuys, depicting the mosaics and marmor incrustations of Ravenna.⁴⁸ Thus, rightly or not, the ideals of Community Art were upheld: the mosaic in Enschede combined a centuries-old craft, a collective effort, and a content that focused on the local community. Just like the mosaics in Ravenna, the one in Enschede was 'right art'.

Notes

- 1 The dating 1930s is deduced from Roland Holst's handwriting.
- 2 Lieske Tibbe, *R. N. Roland Holst – Arbeid en Schoonheid vereend: Opvattingen over Gemeenschapskunst*, Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies, 2 (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura; Nijmegen: Stichting Nijmeegse Kunsthistorische Studies, 1994), pp. 302-03.
- 3 Richard N. Roland Holst, 'Moderne eischen en artistieke bedenkingen', in Richard N. Roland Holst, *Over kunst en kunstenaars: Beschouwingen en herdenkingen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1923), p. 126: 'wat wij [...] wenschen, wat wij begeeren, is, dat wij [...] gebouwen te versieren zouden krijgen, die architectonisch schoon en geestelijk beteekenisvol zijn. Wat wij zouden wenschen, dat is: weidsche schilderingen te maken die het zedelijk leven van een vrije samenleving verheerlijkten en in beeld brachten op muren die edel van bouw en afmeting waren. Wat wij zouden wenschen zou zijn, om in grootsche gebouwen glasschilderingen te maken, zóó, dat wij het kleurig beeld van het ideaal dichter bij de menschen en verder van de oneindigheid af zouden brengen; wat wij zouden begeeren zou zijn, om mozaïeken te maken, zóó, dat waar onze voeten gaan, de schoonheid van bloeiende tuinen te vinden zou zijn, maar tegelijk ook de vastheid van de geschreven wet'.
- 4 Henriëtte Roland Holst-van der Schalk, *Het vuur brandde voort: Levensherinneringen*, 4th edn (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1979), pp. 87-88, 227-28.
- 5 Tibbe, pp. 280-82.
- 6 Cf. *Openbare en overheidsgebouwen*, *Moderne bouwkunst in Nederland*, 16 (Rotterdam: Busse, 1934), pp. 24-29, 48-49, and <<http://cultureelerfgoedenschede.nl/>> [accessed 9 May 2016].
- 7 Arij Blonk, *Fabrieken en menschen: Een sociografie van Enschede* (Enschede: Tubantia and Van der Loeff, 1929), p. 152; Jan Slagter, 'Friedhoff's Raadhuis van Enschede', *Elsevier's geïllustreerd maandschrift*, 44, 88 (1934), 26-378; Henri C. Verkruijsen, 'Het nieuwe Raadhuis te Enschede', *Bouwkundig Weekblad Architectura*, 31 (1933), 254-60.
- 8 On the Scholten family, see Arent Benthem, *Geschiedenis van Enschede en zijn naaste omgeving*, 2nd edn (Enschede: Van der Loeff, 1920), pp. 738-39.
- 9 The archives are divided between two institutions: Netherlands Institute for Art History (hereafter RKD), The Hague, Archives Willem Molin, NL-HaRKD.0445, and Amsterdam Municipal Archive (hereafter SAA), Archive 787, W. Molin.
- 10 'Lijst van werken, uitgevoerd door leerlingen der Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten, in opdracht der Gemeente Amsterdam', typoscript, Haarlem, National Archive of Noord-Holland (hereafter NANH), Archives of the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten, 273.
- 11 'hij was zichtbaar verlicht dat Jaap zeide: "dat is al lang onze wensch om eens samen wat te maken. 'Is 't waarachtig? Nou dat treft prachtig.'; 'Dan zei de Baas plompverloren: "Jelui moeten met z'n tweeën naar Ravenna! [...] Nu ze toegestemd hebben van Enschedé zal 'k ook mijn tegeneischen stellen! Zal dus voor elkaar zien te krijgen dat jelui vanaf dien kant uitgezonden worden dat is per sé noodig om dat mozaïek tot een goed einde te brengen"; RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 6 January 1930 and 20 January 1930.
- 12 Marcella Loosen-de Bruin, 'Antoon Molkenboer 1872-1960: 'Met de kiel aan, het gereedschap in de hand'' (unpublished master's thesis, Katholieke

- Universiteit Nijmegen, 1995), pp. 53–76; Frans van Burkom and Yteke Spoelstra, *Monumentale kunst: Categorieaal onderzoek wederopbouw 1940–1965* (Zeist: Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten and Instituut Collectie Nederland, 2007), p. 173; Bernadette C. M. van Hellenberg Hubar, *De genade van de steiger: Monumentale kerkelijke schilderkunst in het interbellum* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2013), pp. 346–58.
- 13 RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 28 January 1930, 29 January 1930 and 22 March 1930.
 - 14 ‘Ik wrokte tegen de baas omdat ik vond dat we er ingeloopt waren, en op straat tegen Jaap nadat we alleen waren heb ik hem even verwijt gemaakt dat hij zich niet méér geweerd heeft, hij zeide dat we maar afwachten moesten & het van de Italiaanse reis te laten afhangen. ‘k Werd er een beetje misselijk van dat gesjouw met die glasrommel met z’n onge-limiteerd aantal kleuren en bijgevolg beunhazerij’. RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 29 January 1930, 27 March 1930 and 28 March 1930.
 - 15 Tibbe, pp. 160–64.
 - 16 André Jolles, ‘Primitieven: Ravenna’, *De Kroniek*, 1, 12 (1895), 91; André Jolles, ‘Primitieven: Ravenna’, *De Kroniek*, 13 (1895), 98–99.
 - 17 Jolles, p. 98: ‘De donker- en goudenkleuren die gezamenlijk opgaan in den koepelbouw [...] het egaal van alle zijden werken van het groot geheel, waarin geen enkele voorstelling [...] uit het geheel treedt; [...] dit alles geeft te zamen een gevoel, zooals [...] door de niet afleidende, harmonische ruimte, natuurschoon geeft, zooals muziek voor den niet-kenner als een hal van onbegrepen genot kan zijn’.
 - 18 Tibbe, pp. 67–70.
 - 19 Richard N. Roland Holst, ‘Ethische factoren in de monumentale schilderkunst’, in Richard N. Roland Holst, *Over kunst en kunstenaars: Beschouwingen en herdenkingen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1923) p. 151: ‘de geometrie [...] bepaalt de wet, waarbinnen het plastische leven op zijn schoonst, binnen die beperking tot volle uitdrukking kan komen’.
 - 20 On the relation Verkade – Roland Holst, see J. A. van Beers, ‘Holländische Anfänge’, in exh. cat. Hohenkarpfen: Kunstmuseum, and Beuron: Erzabtei St. Martin, *P. Willibrord Jan Verkade: Künstler und Mönch*, ed. by Adolf Smitmans (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 2007), pp. 15–28; Tim Huisman, ‘Invloeden van de Beuroner esthetiek in Nederland’, in exh. cat. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, *Jan Verkade: Hollandse volgeling van Gauguin*, ed. by Caroline Boyle-Turner (Zwolle: Waanders, 1989), pp. 67–68.
 - 21 On Stuyt and his introduction to the Beuron canon, see Huisman, pp. 68–69, and Kees Veelenturf, ‘Jan Stuyt, Piet Gerrits, Willibrord Verkade en de School van Beuron’, *Desipientia*, 18, 1 (2011), 36–43. On the influence of Beuron in the Netherlands in general, see Van Hellenberg Hubar, pp. 171–269.
 - 22 Dom Willibrord Verkade, *In blijde gebondenheid: Herinneringen van een schilder-monnik* (’s-Hertogenbosch: Teulings, 1934), pp. 110–11.
 - 23 André Pératé, *L’archéologie chrétienne* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1892); Charles Bayet, *L’art byzantin* (Paris: Maison Quantin, [c. 1900]). Both books are listed in ‘Lijst van werken, aan de akademie geschonken door Professor R. N. Roland Holst’, typoscript, NANH, Archives of the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten, 273. At present they are not catalogued by the Academy Library.
 - 24 Corrado Ricci, *L’Arte Bisantina in Italia* (Milan: Bestetti & Tummicelli, 1923); Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. zum XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1916). For Ricci’s restorations, see Mariëtte Verhoeven, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory*, Architectural Crossroads, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 227–40.
 - 25 Loosen-de Bruin, pp. 54–55; Verkade, p. 111.
 - 26 RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 16 April 1930.
 - 27 *Oberitalien mit Ravenna, Florenz und Pisa: Handbuch für Reisende von Karl Baedeker*, 9th edn (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1928), p. 461; RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 17 April 1930.
 - 28 ‘t blijkt allemaal glasmozaïek te zijn dus moeten we recapitulieren, wat me bar spijt, omdat er zoo’n belangrijke moreele voorsprong verloren gaat’. RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 18 April 1930.
 - 29 ‘k laat even de pracht op me inwerken hoewel ’t toch wel een weinig barbaarsch is [...] de mozaïeken bevinden zich in deze uitbouw [small drawing]; van onder mooie marmerincrustaties met goud en parelmoer (zilver alzo), and ‘mooie glasmozaïeken, blauw zwart-achtig, met dunne platen albast-marmer waardoor een warm lamplicht valt, het goud komt prachtig tot z’n recht’. Ibid.
 - 30 ‘Prachtig mooie kerk, alleen presbyterium belangrijk, & de Corinthische zuilen & kapiteelen’. RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 19 April 1930.
 - 31 RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 19 April 1930.
 - 32 RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 28 April 1930; 20, dated 3 May, 6 May, 7 May and 9 May 1930.
 - 33 RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 13 December 1930; SAA, Archive Molin, 16.
 - 34 RKD, Archive Molin, 23, dated 31 January 1931; Tibbe, p. 284.
 - 35 Benthem; Blonk; Jacobus Joannes van Deinse, *Uit het land van katoen en heide: Oudheidkundige en folkloristische schetsen uit Twente* (Enschede: Van der Loeff, 1922); Charles T. Stork, *De Twentsche katoennijverheid, Hare vestiging en uitbreiding: Herinneringen en wenken*, 2nd edn (Enschede: Van der Loeff, 1888); Jacob P. Huchshorn, *De katoenspinnerij: Beschrijving der werktuigen*, 2nd edn (Deventer: Kluwer, 1920); RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 20 August and 22 August 1930.
 - 36 ‘Kunnen absoluut niet zonder tucht & voelen zich het best wanneer langzaam maar zeker onafgebroken

- hun doodskleed geweven wordt'; 'Ik wil concessie doen aan deze mensen'; 'Ik zal ze harde waarheden zeggen, maar vraag ook de kracht aan in mezelf om mild te zijn'; 'Zeg het hun, zeg het hun, daarvoor wil ik werken. In dat teeken zal m'n mozaïek staan! Troost & aansporing tot kracht! Niet hoofsich maar vol menselijkheid zal het zijn! Het wordt voor de eenvoudigen, een zoenoffer van Scholten! Om af te wentelen die zware last. Dit is de diepe beteekenis die alleen de eenvoudigen & grooten van hart zullen voelen'. RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 28 August and 2-8 September 1930.
- 37 RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 14 September 1930.
- 38 RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 10 March, 16 May and 17 May 1930, and 23, dated 7 and 8 January 1930; Nicolaas J. van de Vecht, *De grondslag voor het ontwerpen van vlakke versiering* (Rotterdam: Brusse, 1927).
- 39 SAA, Archive Molin, 30.
- 40 RKD, Archive Molin, 21, dated 7 June 1930 and 23, dated 15 March 1931. See also Van Burkom and Spoelstra, p. 90.
- 41 RKD, Archive Molin, 23, dated 8, 9 and 24 January and 6 March 1931, and 24, dated 6 December 1931.
- 42 SAA, Archive Molin, 23; RKD, Archive Molin, 27, dated 21 May, 8 and 9 July 1933.
- 43 RKD, Archive Molin, 19, dated 16 March 1930. See Van de Vecht, pp. 20, 59 and 67.
- 44 'Wij laeven dat wij guede Geswaeren wilt zijn | unde vroegen | dat vroechbaer | unde schutten | dat schutbaer | is, unde nicht | genairen eenige | maechschap of | eenig ding ter | wereld | soo Sonne of Maene beschiene mag'. [We promiss we will be good jurors | and fine | what has to be fined | and confiscate | what has to be confiscated | and not | give favour to any family connection or | any thing in the world | sun or moon may shine upon]. This was an annual oath of judges' assistants in the hamlet Lonneker near Enschede. Among other things, the double invocation of God in the original text was left out. See <<http://www.lonneker.nl/1558/o/publications/historie-lonneker/de-schutte>> [accessed 26 January 2016].
- 45 'Mede als gevolg hiervan dat de vakliteratuur over mozaïekwerk zeer onvolledig & vaak misleidend is, dwong dit de ontwerpers een studiereis naar Italië te maken om kennis te nemen van aldaar uitgevoerde werken in dit materiaal. De daar opgedane ervaringen maakten het mogelijk om [...] het geheel te vervaardigen op de ateliers van de Rijksacademie'. RKD, Archive Molin, 27, dated 21 May 1933.
- 46 A. van der Boom, 'Een mozaïek in het stadhuis te Enschede', *Op de hoogte*, 30 (1933), 342-43.
- 47 'Men doordringe zich eens van het simpele feit, dat twee jonge kunstenaars tezamen één werk tot stand brengen. Daar moet van veel ouderwetschen artisten-hoogmoed omtrent "het alleenvertooningsrecht der hemelsche inspiratie" afstand zijn gedaan, terwijl ook dit weer doet denken aan de groote tijden van weleer, toen heele generaties tezamen bouwden aan de kathedralen [...] Zonder twijfel zullen Molin en Bouhuys Ravenna, Torcello en wellicht ook Monreale gezien hebben. Hun werk is vol van eerbied en bewondering voor dit scherp flonkerend kleine steentjes-beweeg der oude Byzantijnsche mozaïekwerkers'. A. van der Boom, 'De medewerkers aan het nieuwe stadhuis te Enschede', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28 July 1933.
- 48 Postcards G. Friedhoff, Venice, dated 23 March 1930; R. Randag, unknown, dated 21 September 1931; C. Stauthamer and H. Schoonbrood, Ravenna, dated 20 September 1933 and 28 September 1933. RKD, Archive Molin, 23, 24 and 27.

A STRANGE LOSTNESS THAT IS PALPABLY PRESENT: ON GERHARD RICHTER'S 'COLOGNE CATHEDRAL WINDOW'

Wouter WEIJERS

When the window that Gerhard Richter had designed for the southern facade of the transept of the Cathedral of Cologne was festively inaugurated with a Holy Mass on 25 August 2007, reactions to his work were, to put it mildly, divided. Opinions also varied among those with administrative, pastoral and cultural duties in the cathedral. Richter had filled the entire neo-Gothic tracery of the 22 metre tall, 113 m² window frame with an orderly pattern of 11,263 glass squares in 72 colours, each measuring 9.6 × 9.6 cm (Figure 1 and Colour Plate XIV). The current cathedral's master builder, architect and art historian Barbara Schock-Werner, was filled with admiration:

The vitreous wall of colour with its beguiling light has dispelled all ornament and seems to contain everything that has ever been said about spirituality, light and colour. All thoughts, all images, and all saints are united in his window.¹

However, Cardinal Joachim Meisner, Archbishop of Cologne at the time of the window's completion, concluded sorrowfully:

The window does not suit the cathedral. It would be more fitting in a mosque or house of prayer. When we are fortunate enough to get a new window, it should clearly reflect our faith, not just any faith.²

Richter himself countered Meisner's criticism by saying that he had not intended to make a Catholic window.³ But if a window in that particular place is not a Catholic window, then what is it?

A Short History

Through the ages, Cologne Cathedral has been a work in progress, with times of industrious building alternating with long periods of stag-

nation.⁴ In 1248, the first stone was laid for the cathedral that would bring the diaphanous architecture of French Gothic to the Rhineland, although it would only be completed 632 years later – and even then only provisionally. In the Middle Ages the tall, light choir with its seven apse chapels was closed off with a wall that would remain in place until well into the nineteenth century. Around 1300, a cycle of fifteen stained-glass windows was installed in the clerestory of the choir and can be seen there to this day. The main zone features a colourful cycle of forty-eight kings depicted in pairs. The background alternates between red and blue, and yellow is used for the many details. Above this, the frame is largely filled with lightly coloured, ornamental patterns. It is only in the quatrefoil tracery up in the window's peak that colour returns in an abstract pattern.

After Cologne had become part of Prussia following Napoleon's defeat in 1815, it was decided that the cathedral, which at that time consisted of little more than the choir and the stump of an unfinished tower of the western facade, would be completed as a national monument to Germany's unity. In 1863, the nave and transept were completed, and the towers reached their highest point in 1880. For the design of the nineteenth-century windows in the clerestories of the nave and transept, the medieval lay-out was largely readopted, only this time with saints and characters from the Old and New Testament instead of kings.

From May 1942, Cologne was heavily bombed by the Allies. The cathedral was not spared, but at the end of the Second World War its dark mass still towered over the ruined city, severely damaged yet still standing. As a precaution, in 1939 the medieval windows had been moved to safe storage but, a small number excepted, the nineteenth-century windows



Fig. 1. Gerhard Richter, *Cologne Cathedral Window*, 2007, 2300 × 900 cm, genuine antique glass, mouth-blown. © Gerhard Richter 2016 (1169).

had remained in place and these were shattered by air pressure during the bombings. After the war, the medieval windows were reinstalled in the choir, but the nave and transept were given new ornamental glazing that created a cold light within the church. The large window frame in the southern transept was filled with opaque, nearly colourless glass by Wilhelm Teuwen in 1947, a solution that was perceived as unsatisfactory from the beginning and that fuelled the longing for the return of colour.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the cathedral's chapter turned to fellow townsman Gerhard Richter and asked him to design new glazing for the window in the southern transept. They suggested he continue the programme of the older windows, and for the six windows in the bottom zone the chapter envisioned figurative depictions of six contemporary, Catholic martyrs, all victims of fascism. Among these would be Edith Stein, the philosopher, who had been born into an orthodox Jewish family but converted to Catholicism and was ordained as a Carmelite nun. Nevertheless she did not escape the persecution of the Jews and was gassed in Auschwitz in 1942. The Polish Franciscan priest Maximilian Kolbe, imprisoned in Auschwitz for taking part in the resistance and condemned to die there by starvation in 1941, was also included in the series.⁵

In 2002, the chapter discussed the desired theme with Richter, but when he revealed his design to them in his studio several months later, they were greatly surprised. They had expected something very different from the grid of coloured squares that Richter proposed.⁶

Why Richter?

Exactly what had motivated the chapter to ask Richter for this commission cannot be deduced from the literature. Naturally, Richter's reputation as one of Germany's leading artists must have played a role, but there are other considerations that may have made Richter a likely choice for this specific theme in this particular place.

Richter was born in Dresden in 1932 into a Protestant family, but as an adolescent he abandoned religion. Nevertheless, Richter states that he knows and values the Catholic Church and much prefers Christian teachings to those ideologies that promise people paradise on earth (Richter grew up under fascist and communist rule and fled to West Germany in 1961).⁷ Yet Richter never became a Catholic, nor did he join any other religion, although he did tell curator Robert Storr of the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2002 that he was moved when his children were baptized Catholics: 'That is my culture, my history, the last 2000 years were Catholic and it was not so bad.'⁸ In his work, Richter has repeatedly referred to Christian iconography by reusing images from art history, and he also, explicitly or implicitly, displayed the sign of the cross in several of his works.⁹

When considering the design they were asking for, the church council must have taken into account the fact that, throughout his oeuvre, Richter had produced both abstract and figurative paintings based on photos, some of them referring directly to the Second World War.¹⁰ Moreover, Richter's *Atlas* (the ever-expanding collection of photos, newspaper and magazine cuttings, and drafts, glued to boards, which sometimes serves as a source for his works and which was published as a book) from an early stage featured images referring to the Holocaust, and Richter considered capturing this nearly incomprehensible mass-murder several times, although all of these attempts failed.¹¹ Richter contemplated turning four of these photos into large grey paintings and including them in his design for a monumental, public, 20 × 3-metre artwork for the lobby of the new Reichstag building in Berlin, the sketches of which can also be found in *Atlas* (Fig. 2).¹² But in the end he chose not to carry this proposal forward ('Perhaps it was shame or pity that held me back. I never figured it out.'¹³) and the finished work consists of six enormous, paired glass panels executed in black, red, and gold (*Schwartz, Rot, Gold*, 1999).

The chapter of the cathedral in Cologne must have been aware of Richter's previous and controversial attempt to find a way of depicting a

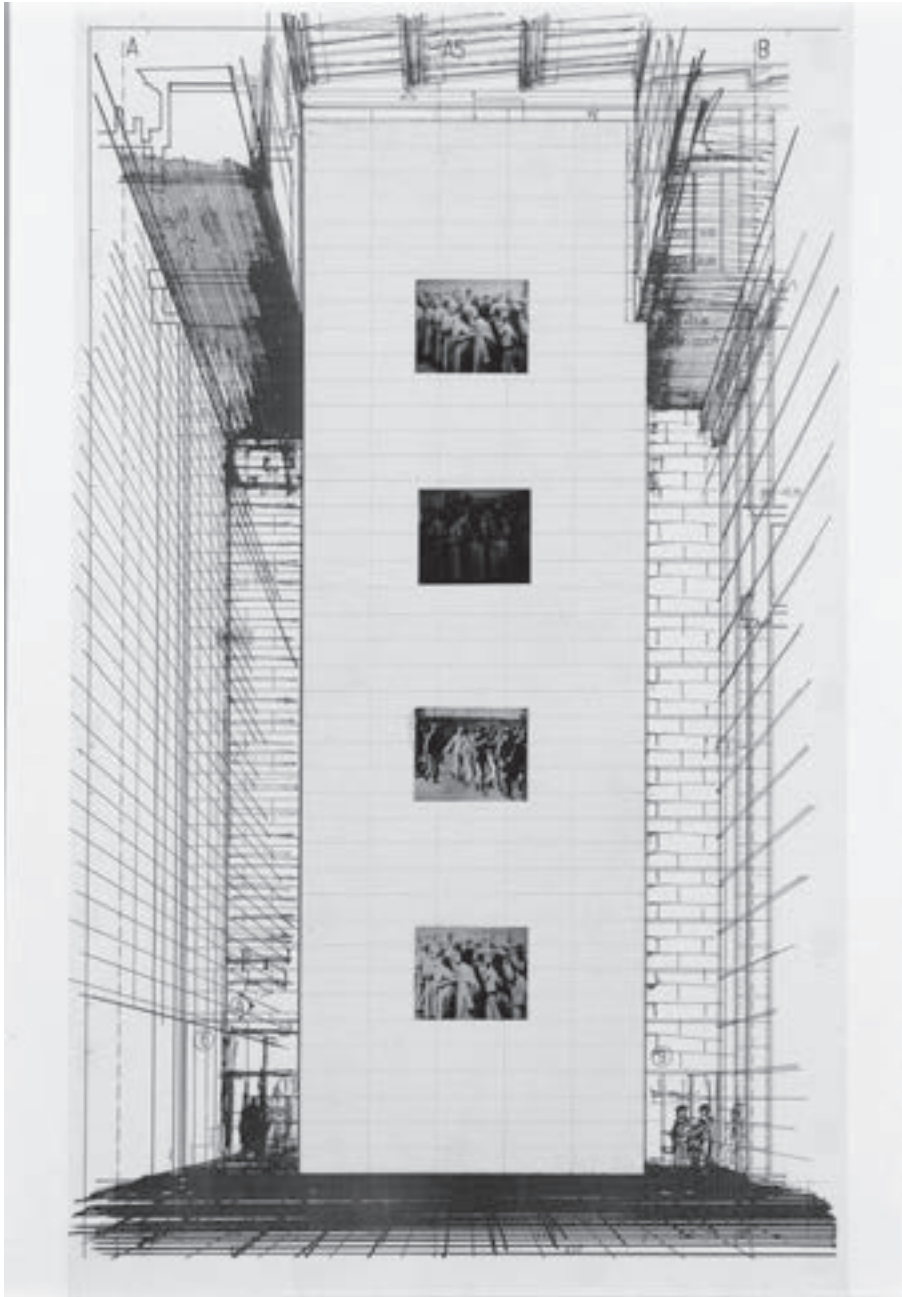


Fig. 2. Gerhard Richter, *Reichstag*, 1997, in: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas*, Sheet 648, 71 × 51.7 cm, Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau. © Gerhard Richter 2016 (1155).

contemporary form of martyrdom. *Dead* (Fig. 3) is one of the paintings in the 15-part cycle *October 18, 1977* from 1988. The date refers to the day on which three members of the left-extremist Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) committed suicide, or, as some believe, were murdered.¹⁴ Earlier, on 9 May 1976, another member of the

RAF, Ulrike Meinhof, had hanged herself in her cell in the same prison. The painting *Dead* is derived from a photo of her dead body, which appeared in *Stern* magazine on 16 June 1976.¹⁵ Yet here we also see a distant echo of *The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb* (1521) by Hans Holbein the Younger.



Fig. 3. Gerhard Richter, *Dead*, 1988, 35 × 40 cm, oil on canvas, New York: The Museum of Modern Art. © Gerhard Richter 2016 (1155).

A Lament for Loss

Meinhof and the three other prisoners were part of the first generation of RAF members and were responsible for a series of anti-fascist and anti-capitalist-inspired terror attacks that killed more than thirty people at the beginning of the 1970s. Richter rejected the RAF members' ideologically- and utopically-motivated violence, but wrote in a letter to Stefan Germer that he was impressed by their uncompromising will and absolute courage.¹⁶ He painted the works of *October 18, 1977* in an 'almost helpless attempt to give shape to feelings of pity, grief and dismay' without offering a view of an answer, statement

or opinion. They provoke 'contradiction because of their helplessness, because of their impartiality'.¹⁷

But *October 18, 1977* also refers to suffering and sacrifice for a higher cause, and the succession of the paintings forms, to Lisa Saltzman's mind, a contemporary Passion cycle that includes arrest, incarceration, death, and burial: '[...] a set of relations, an array of affinities in which Christian iconography comes together with an avowedly painterly practice, producing something of a secularised cycle of martyrdom or, at the very least a commemorative cycle of paintings.'¹⁸ But according to Saltzman the question

is whether these subjects of history are laid to rest, mourned and remembered through their representation in painting, or whether this cycle offers up not closure but ‘infinite repetition, the inevitable and intractable deferrals of a fundamentally melancholic disavowal’.¹⁹

All paintings in this cycle are grey and were painted in a vague and diffuse way, as if something has been obliterated, writes Stefan Germer.²⁰ Richter has subjected the original photos to a kind of erasing, which pushes back the image in such a way that it seems to dissolve. Thus the past is simultaneously brought closer and blurred. In a striking observation, Germer sees the paradox of approach and distancing return in the museum hall, where, from a distance, visitors can still view the paintings as images referring to a historical reality, but where these images also seem to dissolve in an indefinable grey when approached. To Germer, this oscillation between distance and proximity, past and present, absence and presence, forms the essence of these paintings. However, he also concluded that this attempt at a contemporary form of history painting is unable to explain and transcend the events, and, what’s more, that Richter is very much aware of this inability. Therefore these paintings must be seen as ‘monuments of mourning’, as ‘a lament for loss’.²¹ Moreover, the cycle does not only mourn dead people but also art’s inability to give these deaths meaning in our day and age.²² But even though this kind of emptiness and absence forms the core of Richter’s art, that which the image refers to still resonates in the painting. Such thoughts on Richter’s RAF cycle, in my opinion, are also applicable to works that seem to be very different, like his *Cathedral Window*.

Light and Colour

Initially, Richter tried to meet the wishes of the cathedral chapter in Cologne by making two small designs that, although they did not display the Catholic martyrs mentioned, were based on photos of executed victims of Nazism. Yet he decided, as he had done before in respect of his first design for the hall of the Reichstag building, that such shocking scenes of people being

hanged and shot were inappropriate, and that other historical motifs would be inadequate to reflect our own position at the beginning of the twenty-first century.²³ In addition, the window would have to respect the religious context and it should transcend earthly life. The dialectic relationship between presence and absence that he played out in his photo paintings would have to find its own unique expression in a different, specific medium: glass.

Although the design that Richter consequently presented to the chapter seems to steer a radically different course, the transformation that Lisa Saltzman discerns in the ‘figurative’ painting cycle to which *Dead* belongs – ‘the movement from the particular to the generic, from the specific to the symbolic, from the historical to the art-historical, from the secular to the sacred, from the known to the unknown’ – also returns in the ‘abstract’ *Cathedral Window*.²⁴ Even though both Cardinal Meisner and Richter himself may not think it is a Catholic window, it is because of this transformation that – according to the Bishop of Würzburg, Friedhelm Hofmann – Richter’s work reaches into a ‘metaphysical sphere which also inspires religious associations’.²⁵ It seems that the absence of Catholic iconography does not impede the attribution of spiritual expressiveness to the window, and the idea that the spiritual could be reached solely on the basis of light and colour had already been described by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in the twelfth century.

On the occasion of the consecration of the new Gothic chancel in the abbey church of Saint Denis on 14 June 1144, built under his supervision, Suger ordered an inscription praising the light-drenched, diaphanous structure of the architecture: ‘For bright is that which is brightly coupled with the bright [...]’.²⁶ In a whole of aesthetic and religious experiences, the new windows were supposed to illuminate the minds.²⁷ Gilded copper letters on the new church doors read:

Bright is the noble work, but being nobly bright, the work should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights

to the True Light [...] The dull mind rises to truth through that which is material and in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submission.²⁸

Thus the faithful would be brought from the lower to the higher world in a symbolic way: 'transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial'.²⁹ Suger saw the radiance of the multicoloured windows and gems as analogous to God – as an abstract, spiritual 'likeness': 'God is light' (1 John 1. 5) – but also as 'anagogical' in character, meaning that, through the material things,³⁰ the spirit can be brought to the 'true light that illuminates each person' (John 1. 9).

So the spiritual and metaphysical dimensions that some admirers discern in Richter's window are part of an age-old Catholic tradition. Nevertheless, an appeal to this tradition alone cannot explain the window: Richter's relationship to history and religion is too complicated for that. To him, it is impossible for the window's pied beauty to lead to a divine truth. Richter feels art in our age lacks the spiritual foundation on which Suger's reasoning was based. The art of our day will have to make do without ideology, religion and faith. This does not mean that he denies the possibility of transcendence, however. Just as it was for Suger, art is to Richter 'the making of an analogy for something non-visual and incomprehensible: giving it form and bringing it within reach'.³¹

Perhaps it was this thought that inspired Richter to make his design proposal for the cathedral window to the Cologne Chapter. But this window would also have to reflect our own historical position at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Richter's proposal was a window 'as sublime as the godhead, as inexplicable as life, indefinable and without purpose'.³²

The Window

For an artwork in an important religious edifice, Richter's *Cathedral Window* has remarkably prosaic origins. In 1966, Richter made a number of works showing only coloured squares that were painted flatly on the canvas, placed alongside each other, and varying in

number from six to 192 per canvas – the seed of the window in Cologne. At first glance they seem abstract and minimalist, but they are in fact paintings of 'ready-made' colour samples as they can be found in paint shops: Richter's version of Pop Art.³³ The coloured planes are placed in a grid without any internal hierarchy and show nothing more than their own appearance: 'there is absolutely no higher form of realism'.³⁴

During the years 1971–74, Richter worked on a second series of samples, but this time he determined the colours himself through a methodical series of colour mixings, first by systematically mixing yellow, red, and blue and then light grey, dark grey, and green. This resulted in an arithmetic succession of colour combinations that seemed endless, were it not for the fact that the variegations were no longer discernible after 1024 mixings. He repeated all of these 1024 colours four times in the painting *4096 Colours* (1974, 254 × 254 cm, lacquer on canvas) this time arranging the coloured squares in a chessboard pattern and directly against each other, without white interspaces (Colour Plate xv).³⁵ This structure formed the basis of the design for the window in the cathedral in Cologne.

After his first attempts at a design for the window had failed, and, by his own admission, he considered resigning the commission, Richter overlaid a template of the Gothic tracery of the window onto a picture of *4096 Colours* and concluded that this was the only way he could realise the commission.³⁶ Although Richter had previously used a similar colour pattern for a window in the stairwell of a private home in 1989, the question remains why he chose to implement this structure in an explicitly religious context. Richter had started to make his paintings of colour samples out of opposition against both the spiritual aspirations of the expressionistic view on colour as professed by, amongst others, Wassily Kandinsky in his book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* from 1911, and the dogmatization of colour values and colour relations in (neo-)constructivist chromatics. In an interview with Benjamin Buchloh, he called his colour screens

‘an assault on the falsity and the religiosity of the way people glorify abstraction, with such a phony reverence. Devotional art – all those squares – Church handicrafts’.³⁷ Some fifteen years later, Richter designed his own version of church handicrafts in the devotional setting of the Cathedral of Cologne, and presented a structure that, analogous to nature, he sees as ‘a becoming, a coming into being, a being and a being in that way [...] logical, perfect and incomprehensible’.³⁸

Richter’s *Cathedral Window* is composed of seventy-two colours, randomly distributed across an even grid.³⁹ Every colour is repeated and mirrored seventy-two times in the window. The division of the colours across the surface is based on the concept of chance that Richter applied frequently in his work, with objectivity and arbitrariness serving ‘to produce paintings that I haven’t made’.⁴⁰ A specially designed computer programme determined the positions of the (numbered) colours, yet some restrictions were imposed. An entirely random distribution might have led to undesired effects, like the clustering of identical or similar colours in certain places. For this reason, an even distribution of the colours over the entire surface was programmed, although every colour could still end up next to any other one in an anarchistic and egalitarian way. Although the colours were evenly distributed, the colour balance proved to be different between several test setups for the window and the overall colour tone was adjusted to the darker setup of these trials.⁴¹ So, although there was much in the window that appeared unforeseen and unexpectedly, Richter had to, or wanted to, take a number of important aesthetic decisions himself. This also goes for the size of the squares, a question that was finally decided by eye. Another important intervention was Richter’s decision to mirror parts of the pattern to create some order and calm in the vibrant collection of colours: in the finalised window, the first vertical lace frame is reflected in the third, the second in the fifth, and the fourth in the sixth – although this has to be pointed out to most visitors before they actually notice it. ‘By taking chance as the guiding principle in composing the colour

fields [...]’, writes Birgit Pelzer, ‘Richter sets a switch point between decidable and undecidable, between controllable and uncontrollable – an in-between point, a neither-nor, an exchange’.⁴²

Virtual Infinity

‘The colour fields reveal something finite that is capable of infinite propagation. Thus chance – which is by definition something unintentional that happens without reflection, without rules, without choice, without reasons – is assigned here to a virtual infinity [...].’⁴³ Over eleven thousand hand-blown glass squares make up the material component of a window that lives off the interaction with incorporeal light. This light is also at the mercy of the season of the year, the time of day, changing weather conditions: coincidences of which the fleeting, traceless impressions reach us by the grace of the material glass. Due to the use of that material in this place, colour and light do not refer solely to their own appearance but direct us toward what may be called the ineffable, the unknown, the invisible: categories we usually associate with religion, or with the sublime.

In a contribution to the catalogue of *Documenta 7* (Kassel, 1982), Richter had described qualifications such as the unknown, the ungraspable, the infinite as ‘negative names’ for ‘a reality we can neither see nor describe but we may nevertheless conclude to exist’.⁴⁴ For thousands of years, writes Richter, we have depicted what can be neither seen nor understood by way of substitute images, but with abstract painting we created a better means to approach what cannot be described, because abstract art visualises ‘with the greatest clarity, that is with all the means at the disposal of art, “nothing”’.

In Caspar David Friedrich’s painting *Monk by the Sea* (c. 1809, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin) a tiny monk standing on the beach stares at the immense space above the sea and contemplates a ‘nothing’ that is at the same time an ‘everything’ to him. To Richter, this no longer applies to us: ‘We no longer experience the “omnipresence of God in nature”. To us, everything is empty’.⁴⁵ Compared to the art

of Friedrich, whom he greatly admires, Richter sees the art of our time as no more than 'a mirror of our spiritual poverty, our desolation and lostness'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he concludes his text for the *Documenta 7*-catalogue with the phrase 'Art is the highest form of hope'.⁴⁷

To my mind, Richter's hope is to not give up art's aspirations, despite all the feelings of desolation and lostness. As early as 1962 he wrote:

Art is making sense and giving shape to that sense, like the search for God or religion. We are all aware that making sense and picturing are artificial like illusion; but we never can give them up. For belief [...] is our most important characteristic.⁴⁸

In order to visualize in his oeuvre that which is virtually infinite, on account of the unique qualities of the material Richter has often used glass which pairs optical precision with its absence.⁴⁹ In other works of art in his oeuvre, such as the many mirror works (e.g. *Six Gray Mirrors*, 2003) and the sculptures that consist of combinations of window panes (e.g. *7 standing Panes*, 2002, and *11 Panes*, 2003) Richter aimed at 'transmuting the insubstantial through a very precisely articulated substance'.⁵⁰ Whether they are mirroring images that allow the spaces behind or above us to enter our field of vision, or linked or stacked panes that become increasingly blurred as one looks through them, they generate a sense of both a depth and a reach beyond their own 'thingness'. I think the same goes for Richter's *Cathedral Window*.

In Richter's design the window is denied its traditional role as a picture carrier, writes Dorothee Brill.⁵¹ Its undirectedness, randomness and lack of drama reflect the absence of any will to pictorial creation. Instead, the window is perceived as exactly what it is: a pattern of squares of coloured glass. Its patterning has been compared to mosaics or to pixels, but whereas in these cases the coloured particles form a potential repository for every possible image, in the *Cathedral Window* they fail to merge into a single entity. Even if we are willing to consider such dots – whether digital or physical – as the building blocks of a potential image, the window

presents us with nothing but coloured squares, as if, even at a great distance, we are always standing too close. The desire to create a representation of the divine is thus halted, 'It's just that it doesn't appear', as Richter himself says.⁵² And yet, as he wrote years earlier about his abstract paintings: 'Accustomed to recognising real things in paintings we refuse, justifiably, to consider colour alone (in all its variations) as what the painting reveals, and instead allow ourselves to see the unseeable, that which has never before been seen and indeed is not visible.'⁵³ Our refusal to take colour (or the work of art) at face value, tempts us to see what can indeed not be seen. Thus, the 'nothing' that Richter connects to abstract art cannot simply be conceived as a reference to a potential spiritual dimension; it is also the result of the powerlessness of today's art. As Brill writes: 'Richter's conclusions regarding the non-representational nature of the divine arise not – or not only – from spiritual insight, but from his preoccupation, for decades now, with the nature of pictures and their limits.'⁵⁴

The Melancholy Art

The window's transcendental implications are in line with a long cultural-historical tradition, without which Richter's window would be unthinkable. Richter reflects this history but at the same time he does so realizing that, in a reversal of Caspar David Friedrich's *Monk by the Sea*, the Divine 'everything' is an everyday 'nothing', which means that the window can also be seen as an embodiment of loss. Richter realises that his artworks in their own guises can show a glimpse of the ineffable, but that they do this in a modern void, and that this void also concerns the modern artwork itself.

Richter's window extends on history and can also be explained from history, from medieval light mysticism to the modernistic grid, including the subversion of modernist myths by using ready-made images and chance. Yet the window also relates to the fundamental realization that history is irrevocably past.

The way in which Richter's *Cathedral Window* exemplifies absence and loss shows a striking parallel with what art historian Michael Ann

Holly writes in her book *The Melancholy Art* (2013) about the discipline of art history itself. Artworks that come to us from earlier centuries can still be just as much present as material objects as they were at the time they originated. Yet that time is also lost to us, and with it everything that once gave the artwork life: ‘We have a “loss without a lost object” (an authentic melancholic predicament) in which the object is both held onto and gone astray simultaneously.’⁵⁵ Even though art history is concerned with recovering what was lost or forgotten, in Holly’s eyes the discipline can never repair that loss. It is, she thinks, the awareness of this absence in that which is present that gives art history its melancholy undertone.

There is nothing wrong with attempts to give meaning to the artwork, she writes, but there will come a moment when interpretation falls short and when nothing more can be said about something material that transcends our fragile comprehension. ‘Should we call this melancholic recognition the aesthetic moment?’ she wonders.⁵⁶

Holly knows from experience how fascinating art-historical research can be. But she also thinks ‘art’ can never be attenuated to what we

reductively call ‘history’,⁵⁷ and she recognises the threat of stripping the material work of art of ‘its awe, its affects, its “strangeness and astonishment” in Nietzsche’s terms, no doubt the reason why *still* art *still* matters in the first place.’⁵⁸

Holly calls the objects from the past ‘visual orphans’, because they stand before us in the present while the worlds from which they came are long gone. To her, writing about these objects is the activity that tries to build a bridge across the void, but in doing so it only reveals the absence that the passage of time bequeaths to us: ‘whatever [the writer] wants to say, it is nothing’, she quotes Maurice Blanchot.⁵⁹ Writing echoes the distance between the past and the present by interjecting the opaque membrane of language. It may reveal the absence that is the past, but it is also the activity that perpetually resurrects the desire to create meaning where it might no longer exist.⁶⁰

We, too, can consider these insights about our treatment of artworks from the past while we aim our gaze at Richter’s *Cathedral Window* and think of it as a contemporary, translucent membrane between past and present, the visible and the invisible that shows us a strange lostness that is palpably present.⁶¹

Notes

- 1 Barbara Schock-Werner, ‘The New Window as an Integrated Part of the Cathedral’s Historical Glazing’, in *Gerhard Richter – Zufall: Das Kölner Domfenster und 4900 Farben* (Cologne: Kölner Dom and Walther König, 2007), pp. 109–16 (quote on p. 116).
- 2 Meisner quoted in ‘Kardinal Meisner ‘Dom-Fenster passt besser in eine Moschee!’’, *Express*, 29 August 2007 <<http://www.express.de/kardinal-meisner--domfenster-passt-besser-in-eine-moschee---22219834>> [accessed June 2016].
- 3 Richter in ‘Schlingensief für Jesus’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 December 2008, <<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/kardinal-meisner-ueber-moderne-kunst-schlingensief-fuer-jesus-1.767478>> [accessed June 2016].
- 4 This short history is based on Schock-Werner, pp. 109–16; Hubertus Butin, ‘Gerhard Richter’s Window for Cologne Cathedral’, in *Gerhard Richter – Zufall*, pp. 117–24; Gerhard Büttner, *Kirche sein als communio* (Berlin: LIT, 2015), pp. 117–24.
- 5 The other four (priests Rupert Mayer, Karl Leisner, Bernhard Lichtenberg, and Catholic unionist Nikolaus Gross) were also directly or indirectly killed

- because of their opposition to fascist ideas or practices. All six of them were either canonized (Stein and Kolbe) or beatified by popes Paul VI and John Paul II.
- 6 Barbara Schock-Werner, in *Gerhard Richter: Das Kölner Domfenster*, written and directed by Corinna Belz (WDR | Arte and Zero One Film, 2007).
- 7 Gerhard Richter, ‘Interview mit Hans Ulrich Obrist November 2006’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007: Schrifte, Interviews, Briefe*, ed. by Dietmar Elger and Hans Ulrich Obrist (Cologne: Walther König, 2008), pp. 538–39 (quote on p. 538).
- 8 Robert Storr, *Gerhard Richter: Forty Years of Painting* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2002), p. 83.
- 9 E.g. *Kreuz*, 1996, and the series *Abstraktes Bild (Rhombus)*, 1998, where, in Robert Storr’s opinion, the implied vertical body with stretched-out arms is present in the axial orientation. Storr, *Gerhard Richter: Forty Years*, p. 83.
- 10 See for example *Bomber*, 1963, and *Onkel Rudi*, 1965.
- 11 The first attempt in 1967 consists of a group of photos about the persecution of the Jews taken from books, some of which are diffused or coloured in. Gerhard

- Richter, *Atlas* (Cologne: Walther König, 2006), panels 16–20. The second attempt was a larger group of photos, entitled *Holocaust*, which was included in *Atlas* in 1997 (*Atlas*, panels 635–46). Much more recently, four photos that were taken clandestinely at the gas chambers of Auschwitz–Birkenau form the starting point of four abstract paintings entitled *Birkenau*, 2014. Initially, Richter copied the four photos on the canvasses, but these are longer traceable under the abstract painting-over in the finished work. The film *Gerhard Richter Painting*, written and directed by Corinna Belz (WDR / Arte and Zero One Film, 2011) [on DVD], shows one of these photos hanging next to Richter’s design for the *Cathedral Window* in his studio.
- 12 Richter, *Atlas*, panels 647–55.
 - 13 Richter, quoted in Dietmar Elger, *Gerhard Richter Maler* (Cologne: DuMont Literatur und Kunst, 2002), p. 418.
 - 14 The three were Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ennslin and Jan-Carl Raspe.
 - 15 Robert Storr, *Gerhard Richter, October 18, 1977* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2000), p. 111.
 - 16 Richter quoted in Stefan Germer, ‘Ungebetene Erinnerung’ in exh. cat. Frankfurt am Main: Museum Haus Esters, Krefeld / Portikus, *Gerhard Richter 18. Oktober 1977* (Cologne: Walter König, 1989), pp. 51–53 (quote on p. 51).
 - 17 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen November 1988 (für die Pressekonferenz Februar 1989 – Museum Haus Esters, Krefeld)’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 205–07 (quote on pp. 206–07).
 - 18 Lisa Saltzman, ‘Gerhard Richter’s “Stations of the Cross”: On Martyrdom and Memory in Postwar German Art’, *Oxford Art Journal*, 28, 1 (2005), 25–44 (quote on p. 42).
 - 19 Saltzman, p. 43.
 - 20 Germer, pp. 51–53.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
 - 23 Butin, p. 118.
 - 24 Saltzman, p. 44.
 - 25 Hofmann quoted by Butin, p. 117. Hofmann spoke these words in his eulogy at the awarding ceremony of the ‘Art and Culture Prize of the Catholic Church’ to Gerhard Richter on 20 November 2004.
 - 26 Suger, ‘De rebus in administratione sua gestis / On what was done under his administration’ in *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, edited, transl. and ann. by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 41–81 (quote on p. 51).
 - 27 Suger based his neo-Platonic light mysticism on a fifth-century text originating from Syria, which he wrongly thought was written by Dionysius the Areopagite, a convert of Paul, in Athens. Otto von Simson, *Die Gotische Kathedrale* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), pp. 148–49.
 - 28 Suger, pp. 48–49.
 - 29 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 - 30 ‘I can be transported from this inferior to the higher world in anagogical manner’, Suger, p. 65; Von Simson, pp. 163–65.
 - 31 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen 1981’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 119–20 (quote on p. 120).
 - 32 Richter in conversation with Dorothee Brill. Cf. Dorothee Brill, ‘That’s as Far as it Goes’, in *Gerhard Richter: Panorama*, ed. by Mark Godfrey and Nicholas Serrota (London: Tate, 2011), pp. 245–54 (quote on p. 254).
 - 33 Richter, in *Gerhard Richter: Das Kölner Domfenster*, written and directed by Corinna Belz (WDR | Arte and Zero One Film, 2007).
 - 34 Gerhard Richter, ‘Interview mit Peter Sager 1972’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 64–67 (quote on p. 66).
 - 35 Storr, *Gerhard Richter: Forty Years*, p. 51.
 - 36 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen zur Pressekonferenz, 28. Juli 2006’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 526–28 (quote on p. 527).
 - 37 Gerhard Richter, ‘Interview mit Benjamin H. Buchloh 1986’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 164–89 (quote on p. 173).
 - 38 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen 1985’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 140–44 (quote on p. 142).
 - 39 Although it has been claimed that these seventy-two colours were derived from the colours of the medieval windows in the cathedral, I have not been able to find confirmation of this.
 - 40 Richter in conversation with Birgit Pelzer. Cf. Birgit Pelzer, ‘The Asymptote of Chance’, in exh. cat. London: Serpentine Gallery, *Gerhard Richter 4900 Colours* (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2008), pp. 117–31 (quote on p. 117).
 - 41 *Gerhard Richter: Das Kölner Domfenster*, film written and directed by Corinna Belz (WDR / Arte and Zero One Film, 2007).
 - 42 Birgit Pelzer, ‘Chance as Partner’, in *Gerhard Richter – Zufall*, pp. 125–43 (quote on p. 138).
 - 43 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
 - 44 Gerhard Richter, in exh. cat. Kassel, *Documenta 7* (Kassel: D + V Paul Dierichs, 1982), 1, pp. 84–85 (English transl. on p. 443).
 - 45 Gerhard Richter, ‘Interview mit Irmeline Lebeer 1973’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 72–83 (quote on p. 82).
 - 46 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen 1988’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 203–04 (quote on p. 203).
 - 47 Richter, in exh. cat. Kassel, p. 85 (English transl. on p. 443).
 - 48 Gerhard Richter, ‘Notizen 1962’, in *Gerhard Richter, Text, 1961 bis 2007*, pp. 14–15 (quote on p. 14); Storr, *Gerhard Richter: Forty Years*, p. 86.
 - 49 Rachel Haidu, ‘Images of the World and the Inscription of History’, in *Gerhard Richter: Panorama*, pp. 201–13 (quote on p. 212).

- 50 Ibid., pp. 205–06.
51 Brill, pp. 253–54.
52 Richter in conversation with Dorothée Brill, in Brill, p. 254.
53 Richter, in exh. cat. Kassel, p. 85 (English transl. on p. 443).
54 Brill, p. 254.
55 Michael Ann Holly, *The Melancholy Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 6.
56 Ibid., p. xv.
- 57 Ibid., p. xv.
58 Ibid., p. xvii.
59 Ibid., p. xix.
60 Ibid., p. xx.
61 ‘A strange lostness was | palpably present’ (‘Eine fremde Verlorenheit war | gestalthaft zugegen’) is a line from the poem ‘Stumme Herbstgerüche’ by Paul Celan from the collection *Die Niemandrose* (1963). For the English translation, see *Poems of Paul Celan*, transl. by Michael Hamburger (1996).

PLATES

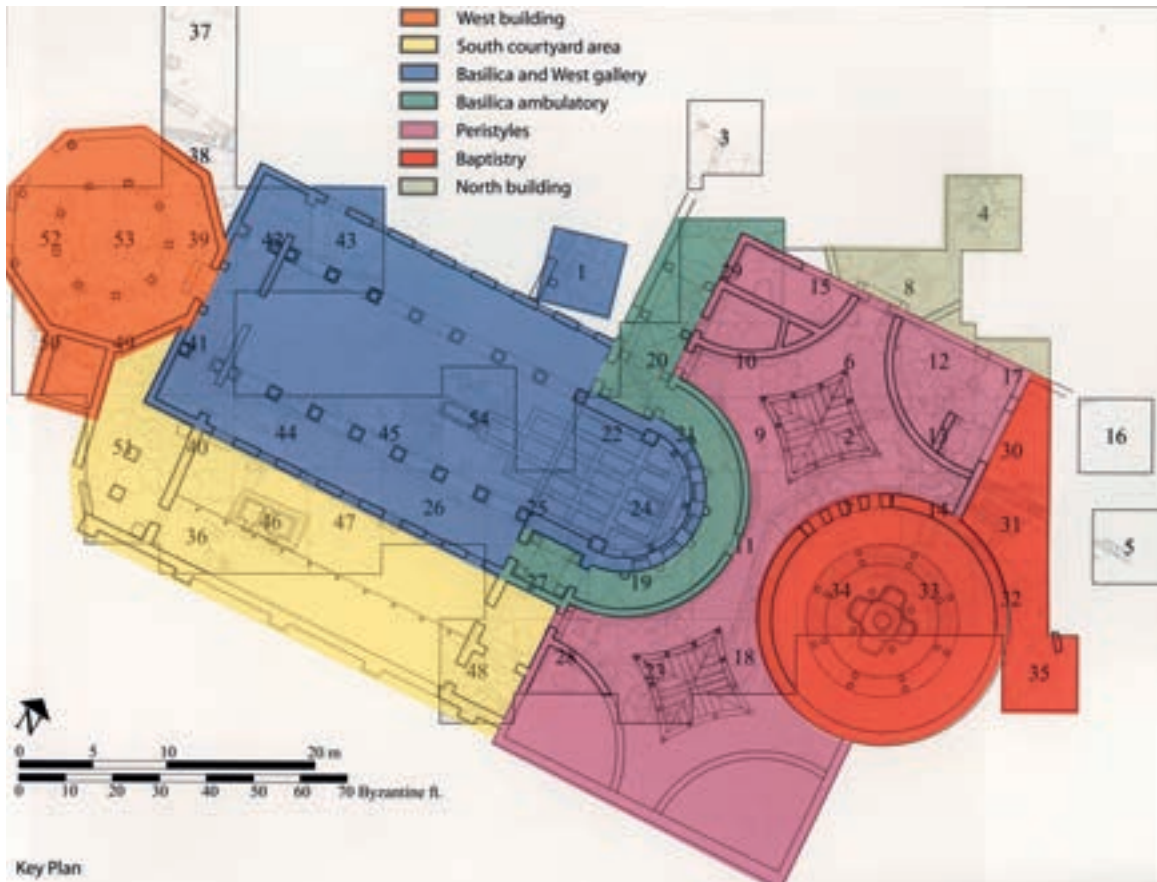


Plate i. Plan of the complex of Bir Ftouha. From: Stevens, Kalinowski, and VanderLeest.



Plate ii. Schematic reconstruction of the lost mosaic of Sixtus III, counter-façade of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. Drawing by Piergiorgio Liverani.



Plate III. Double-sided Stefaneschi Altarpiece, reconstruction as if located on the high altar of Old Saint Peter's. From: Zander, in exh. cat Milan, *Giotto d'Italia*, pp. 116–20.

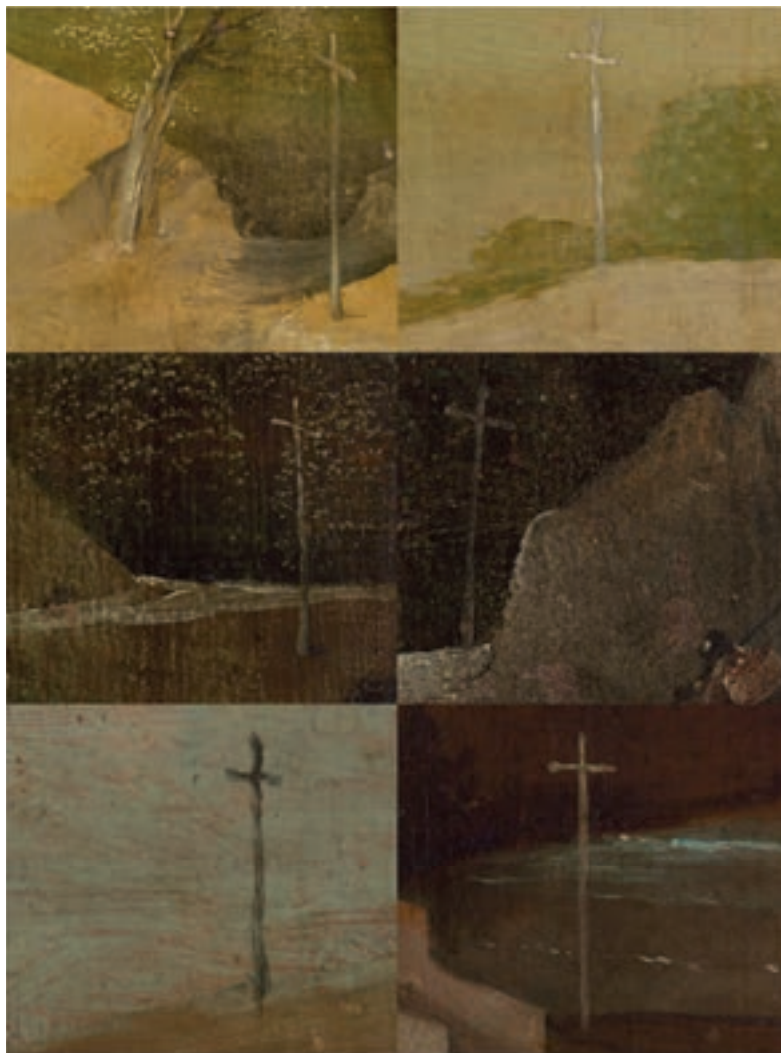


Plate iva. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi* (detail), c. 1491–98, oil on oak panel, central panel, within frame 133.5 × 71.3 cm, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. Po2048. Photos: Rik Klein Gotink and image processing: Robert G. Erdmann for the Bosch Research and Conservation Project (hereafter Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP).

Plate ivb. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi* (detail), c. 1491–98, oil on oak panel, left wing, within frame 135.2 × 32.4 cm, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. Po2048. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate ivc. Jheronimus Bosch, *St John on Patmos* (detail), c. 1490–95, oil on oak panel, 63.0 × 43.2 cm, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 1674A. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate ivd. Jheronimus Bosch, *St Wilgefortis Triptych* (detail), c. 1495–1505, oil on oak panel, right wing, 104.7 × 27.9 cm, Venice: Gallerie del' Accademia. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate ive. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony* (detail), c. 1500–10, oil on oak panel, left wing, within frame 129.6 × 51.6 cm, Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1498 Pint. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate ivf. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony* (detail), c. 1500–10, oil on oak panel, central panel 131.0 × 118.8 cm, Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1498 Pint. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.



Plate va. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi* (detail), c. 1491–98, oil on oak panel, central panel, within frame 133.5 × 71.3 cm, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02048. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate vb. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi* (detail), c. 1491–98, oil on oak panel, right wing, within frame 135.5 × 32.7 cm, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02048. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate vc. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony: Christ carrying the Cross* (detail), c. 1500–10, oil on oak panel, right wing exterior, within frame 129.8 × 51.6 cm, Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1498 Pint. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate vd. Jheronimus Bosch, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (detail), c. 1495–1505, oil on oak panel, 142.8 × 104.2 cm, San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial / Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10014739. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate ve. Jheronimus Bosch, *St Wilgefortis Triptych* (detail), c. 1495–1505, oil on oak panel, central panel, 105.2 × 62.7 cm, Venice: Gallerie del' Accademia. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate vf. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Cure of Folly* (detail), c. 1500–20, oil on oak panel, 48.8 × 34.6 cm, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P02056. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.



Plate vi. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony: St Anthony* (detail), c. 1500–10, oil on oak panel, right wing interior, within frame 129.6 × 51.6 cm, Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1498 Pint. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.



Plate viia. Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo* (detail), c. 1475–85, oil on oak panel, 71.4 × 61.0 cm, Frankfurt am Main: Städelsches Museumsverein, inv. no. 1577. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate viib. Workshop of Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo Triptych* (detail), c. 1495–1500, oil on oak panel, central panel, within frame 73.4 × 58.4 cm, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 532027. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate viic. Jheronimus Bosch, *Ecce Homo* (detail), c. 1525–50, oil on oak panel, 84.0 × 61.0 cm, Paris: private collection. Photo: David Lainé, Melsbroek. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.



Plate viia. Jheronimus Bosch, *Hermit Saints Triptych: St Jerome* (detail), c. 1495–1505, oil on oak panel, central panel, 85.7 × 60.0 cm, Venice: Gallerie dell’Accademia. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

Plate viib. Jheronimus Bosch, *The Temptation of St Anthony: St Anthony* (detail), c. 1500–10, oil on oak panel, central panel, 129.9 × 117.6 cm, Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1498 Pint. Klein Gotink and Erdmann for BRCP.

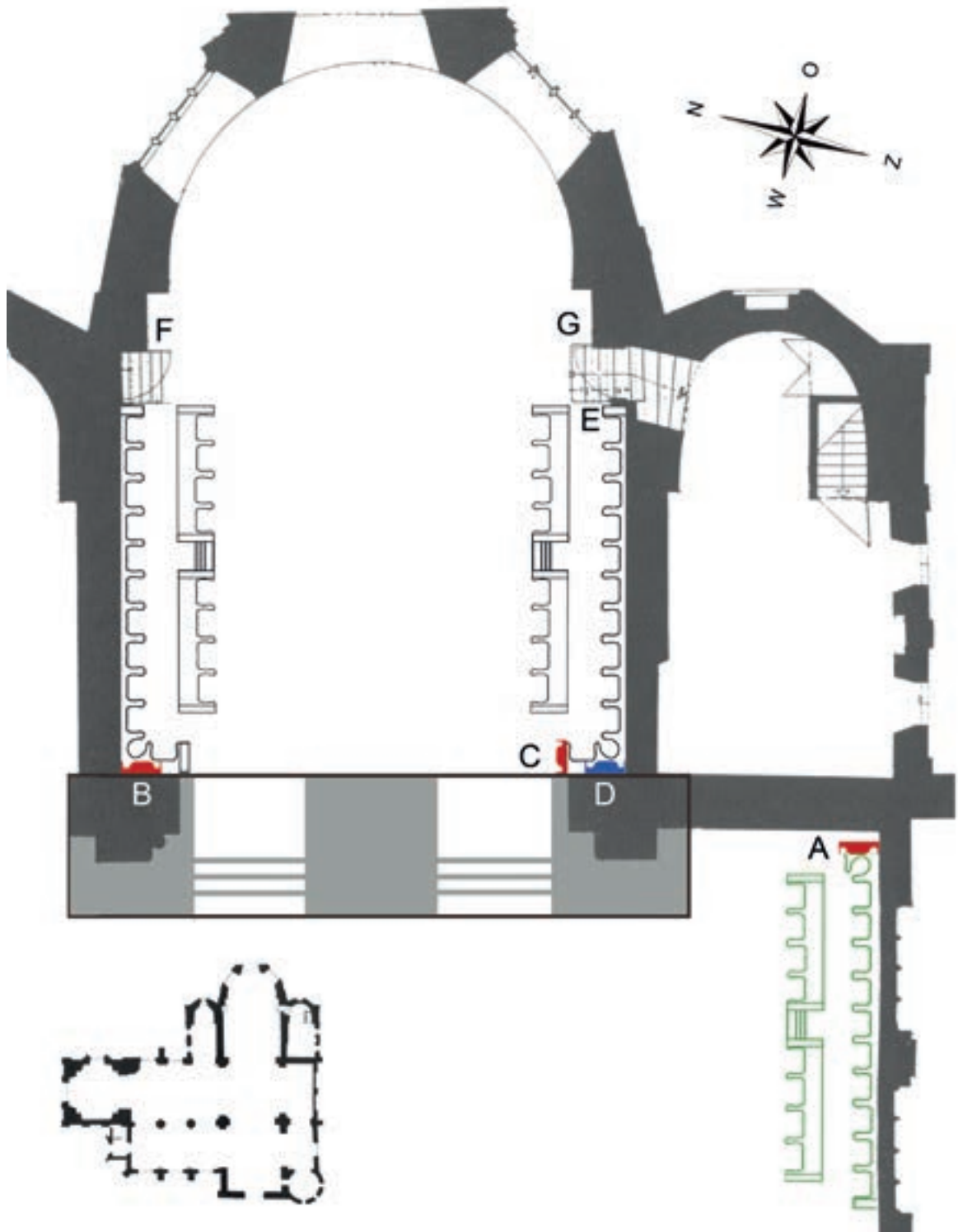


Plate IX. Floor plan of the choir and part of the transept of the Church of St Martin in Emmerich, with the changes and reconstruction of the choir stalls. Inset: floor plan of the whole church. From: Flintrop, edited by Willy Piron.

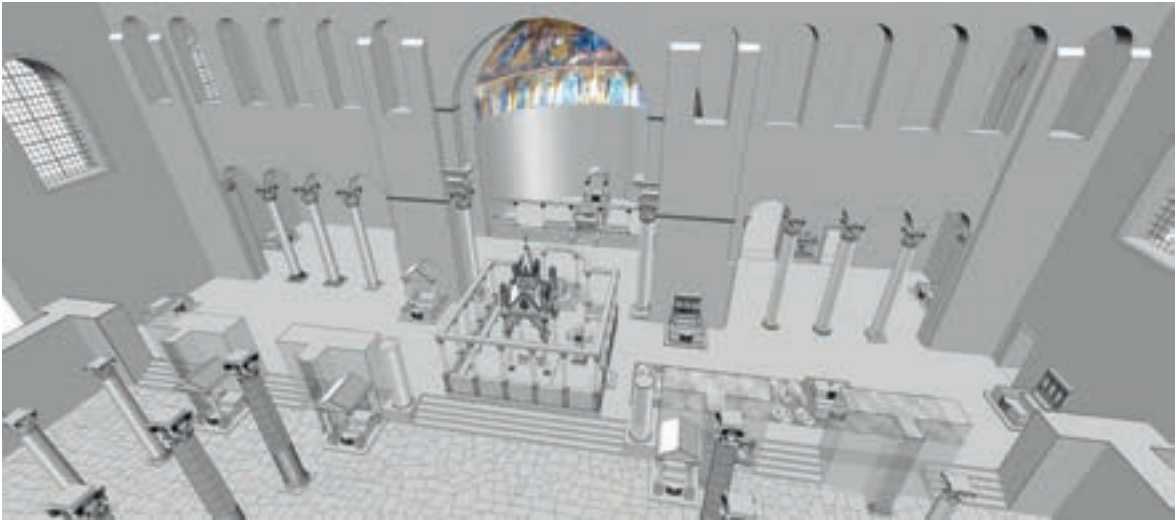


Plate x. Rome, Basilica of S. Paolo, *c.* 1570. Model devised by Nicola Camerlenghi and produced by Evan Gallitelli.



Plate xi. Rome, Basilica of S. Paolo, *c.* 1590. Model devised by Nicola Camerlenghi and produced by Evan Gallitelli.

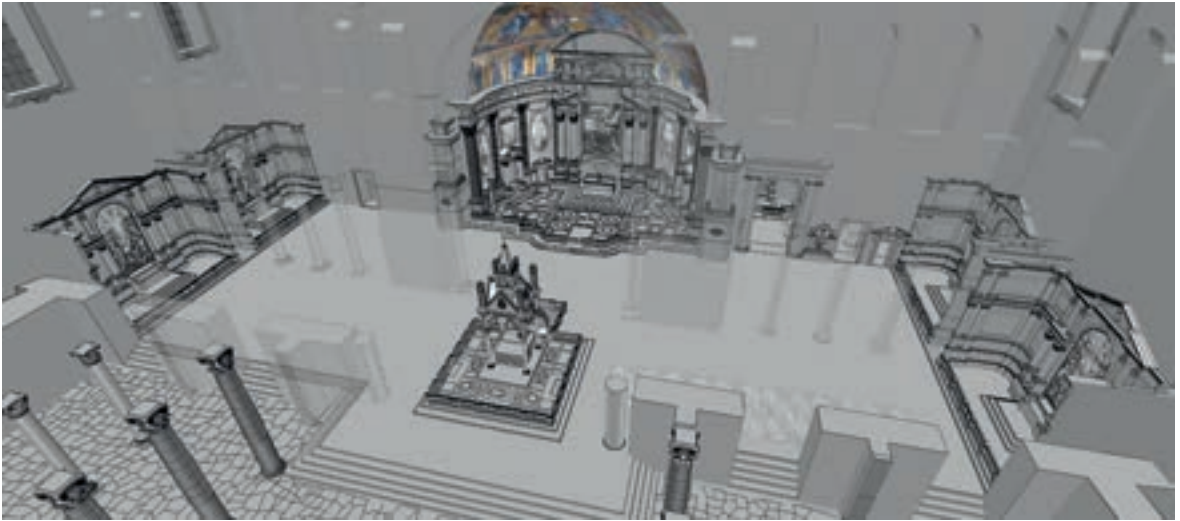


Plate XII. Rome, Basilica of S. Paolo, c. 1610. Model devised by Nicola Camerlenghi and produced by Evan Gallitelli.



Plate XIII. Willem Molin and Jaap Bouhuys, glass mosaic, finished in 1933, Enschede town hal, the wedding room (formerly the reception room). Photo: Ron van der Kolk Photography, Enschede.



Plate xiv. Gerhard Richter, *Cologne Cathedral Window*, 2007, 2300 × 900 cm, genuine antique glass, mouth-blown, Cologne Cathedral. © Gerhard Richter 2016 (1155).



Plate xv. Gerhard Richter, *4096 Colours*, 1974, 254 × 254 cm, lacquer on canvas, private collection. © Gerhard Richter 2016 (1155).

