

**ART AND REFORM IN TENTH-CENTURY ROME – THE
PAINTINGS OF S. MARIA IN PALLARA**

by

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Abstract

The medieval wall paintings of the church of S. Maria in Pallara, situated on the Palatine Hill, Rome, provide insight into the intellectual use of images in the Middle Ages. The fragmentary apse programme survives, supplemented by antiquarian drawings that include copies of lost nave cycles and a lost donor portrait of their patron, Petrus Medicus. The patron, along with his monastic foundation, is documented in tenth-century charters, on which documents the paintings' dating currently depends. Questions about this dating have surfaced in the art-historical literature, as have concerns about gender and historical veracity, matters of historiography which are introduced in Chapter 1. Thus, the goals of this study were to verify the paintings' dating, to examine their use of text and image and to illuminate the context in which they were created.

Chapter 2 describes and analyses the S. Maria in Pallara paintings within Roman artistic traditions of the Romanesque period. Since no contemporary parallel can be found for the iconography of the Apostles on the shoulders of Prophets decorating the church's apse arch, a composition more common to Gothic art, Chapter 3 examines the iconography's diffusion and sources. Textual evidence suggests that a church dedicated to Saint Sebastian preceded the tenth-century foundation of S. Maria in Pallara, which was then rededicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Sebastian and Zoticus. Thus, Chapter 4 examines the visual profile of the cult of Saint Sebastian and its dependence on the *Acta Sebastiani* to provide a context for the church's depictions of that saint, including portraits and a lost narrative cycle. Messages about chastity encoded in these images are also examined. Chapter 5 examines the lost narrative cycle depicting the life of the little-known Saint Zoticus, to whom the church was also dedicated and who was envisioned in the guise of another saint, Getulius, who was martyred with his wife, Saint Symphorosa, and their seven sons. Messages about chastity were also communicated through that cycle's manipulation of S. Maria in Pallara's topographic history. Thus, far from being simple reflections of text, the S.

Maria in Pallara paintings engage Roman history, reforming that history to project a moral image of the future.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: the general historiography of S. Maria in Pallara

The church of S. Maria in Pallara, otherwise known as S. Sebastiano al Palatino or S. Sebastianello, is located on the north eastern slope of the Palatine Hill on the podium of a classical temple and is accessible from the Forum by the Via S. Bonaventura that follows the southerly, ascending course of the ancient Clivus Palatinus. The building is a small, single-cell structure and from the outside there is little indication of its antiquity on account of the church's seventeenth-century restructuring that involved the application of a plaster skin and the addition of pediment-topped portal complete with the Barberini family stemma including their signature plaster bees. Only the adjacent monastic structures remain as a sign of the building's medieval origins, their masonry dated to the twelfth century.¹ Unfortunately, the church did not figure in Richard Krautheimer's *Corpus Basilicarum* or Joan-Barclay Lloyd's continuation of his masonry typology, and it is hoped that some such analysis of the entire structure can take place in the near future.²

While it is generally thought that Maffeo Barberini, better known as Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), was the patron of the church, his nephew Taddeo is often directly referred to in the restoration documents, more of which are to be found than were originally catalogued by Oskar

¹ Laura Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 128 (Rome, 1975), pp.105-108.

² Richard Krautheimer, Spencer Corbett and Wolfgang Frankl, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae. The early Christian basilicas of Rome (IV-IX centuries)*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937-1977). For a most recent contribution to architectural analysis, see Joan Barclay-Lloyd, "The medieval murals in the Cistercian abbey of Santi Vincenzo e Anastasio *ad Aquas Salvias* at Tre Fontane, Rome, in their architectural settings" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 64 (1997), pp.287-348.

Pollak in his study of Barberini patronage.³ An examination of the restoration is a viable future investigation, but will not be attempted here. Further, while Barberini interest in S. Maria in Pallara has generally been explained by the occurrence of plague in the 1630s and Saint Sebastian's efficacy as a plague saint, more mundane reasons may have resulted in their acquisition of the property from the previous owners, the Capranica family, as a saltpetre mine was located on the property, the essential component of gunpowder.⁴

These prestigious patrons, who are well known for their interest in Roman patrimony, prompted substantial interest in S. Maria in Pallara at the time of its acquisition within antiquarian circles, resulting in many early modern treatises dealing with the church. These were collected and published in the nineteenth century by an otherwise unknown abbot, Pietro Antonio Uccelli. While accurately transcribed, the reports themselves are only of moderate benefit in the study of the church due to the spiritual or humanist interests of many of the authors.⁵ More important as evidence are the series of drawings of both the extant medieval paintings and the lost narrative cycles that once covered S. Maria in Pallara's nave walls, commissioned by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) from the artist Antonio Eclissi, about whom little is

³ Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII.*, D. Frey, ed., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1927), I, pp.193-195.

⁴ For the notion that Barberini patronage of the church was motivated by plague, see Pietro Antonio Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano Martire sul Colle Palatino e Urbano VIII P. M. - Memoria storica dell'Ab. P. A. Uccelli con scritture inedite del P. Orazio Giustiniani, indi Cardinale, di Antonio Bosio, del Lonigo, di Francesco Maria Torrigio e di Monsignor Antonio Riccioli, Vescovo di Belcastro e segretario della Congregazione della Sacra Visita* (Rome, 1876), p.29. On the saltpetre mine, see C. Paola Scavizzi, "La salnitriera al Palatino. Il luogo e la fabbrica fra metà Cinquecento e inizio Ottocento," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 120 (1997), pp.211-258. For Barberini contributions to combating plague, see Sheila Barker, "Poussin, plague, and early modern medicine," *Art Bulletin* 86.4 (2004), pp.659-689.

⁵ Uccelli's earliest publication, slightly less exhaustive than that cited in note 4 above, provides the clue that he was an abbot; see *Sopra la Chiesa di S. Sebastiano Martire sul Palatino - Scrittura inedita del P. Antonio Bosio D. O. con Prefazione e Note dell'Ab. Pietro Antonio Uccelli* (Naples, 1873).

known.⁶ Since the Barberini restoration, the church has housed various Franciscan congregations, but in the early twentieth century it was overseen by a rector. The last rector, Monsignor Alfredo Vitali, wrote a history of S. Maria in Pallara, the manuscript copy of which is housed in the Vatican Library, offering a personal view of the church's history.⁷ In 1973 the church was made a Cardinal deaconry and is now primarily utilised for weddings.

Evidence of the structure's medieval origins is found inside the church in the wall paintings decorating the apse and the apse arch which depict a heavenly hierarchy in the manner of Roman medieval artistic traditions. An inscription across the apse records that the paintings' patron was a man named Petrus Medicus and that the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Zoticus and Sebastian. Seventeenth-century drawings document that donor portraits of Petrus Medicus and his wife, Johanna, now lost, were once found on the apse arch. In the early twentieth century Pietro Fedele collected the documentary evidence for the Roman identity of Petrus Medicus which pinpointed the time period of his patronage of S. Maria in Pallara to the tenth century prior to his death which occurred between 973 and 999, a characterisation and dating that have rarely been questioned by Italian art historians.⁸ The documents are all early modern copies of medieval charters purporting to date to the tenth or early eleventh centuries and mention either a Petrus Medicus or a monastery belonging to him in their discussion of land boundaries. Thus, in its earliest documented form S. Maria in Pallara was a monastic church. Guy

⁶ The drawings are preserved in the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 9071, pp.62, 234-250. For an introduction to the drawings and Eclissi's work in general, see Chapter 1.

⁷ Alfredo Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano M. sul Palatino -- studio agiografico, storico, archeologico, aneddotico, folkloristico* (Rome, 1941).

⁸ Pietro Fedele, "Una chiesa del Palatino," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 26 (1903), pp.343-380, esp.356-359.

Ferrari added to this document pool, providing a possible *terminus post quem* of 955 for the monastery's foundation.⁹

We know little about art in tenth-century Rome. Guglielmo Matthiae, in the only comprehensive survey of Roman medieval painting, lamented the fragmentary and sparse survival of tenth-century monuments that failed to illuminate the period's stylistic development, the organising theme of his study.¹⁰ In her revision of that text, Maria Andaloro pointed out the dearth was greater than Matthiae believed, as many monuments previously dated to the tenth century had been re-dated to other periods.¹¹ The wall painting in the monastic chapel of S. Maria in Pallara, which was the only securely dated tenth-century monument in those analyses, was perceived as a stylistic anomaly, as it both harked back to earlier art and introduced a new forward-looking stylistic idiom.¹² While Robert Coates-Stephens has demonstrated that textual and archaeological records document a substantial continuous patronage of church construction and renovation throughout the early medieval period to the tenth century and beyond, few traces of their decorations survive.¹³ Although my analysis of the extant paintings in Chapter 2 reveals that a tenth-century date suits the programme's pictorial conventions, without securely dated comparative monuments further traditional art-historical analysis of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings can yield only limited results.

⁹ Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries: notes for the history of the monasteries and convents at Rome from the V through the X century* (Vatican City, 1957), pp.215-224. A document from the archive of S. Stephano in Capite records land belonging to a Petrus Medicus.

¹⁰ Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura Romana del Medioevo*, with aggiornamento by Maria Andaloro, 2 vols. (Rome, 1987), I, pp.196-204, esp. 196.

¹¹ Ibidem, I, pp. 287-289. These included paintings in S. Maria Antiqua, S. Urbano alla Caffarella and the lower churches of S. Clemente and S. Crisogono.

¹² This view was earlier expressed by Gerhart Ladner, who believed the paintings to have exerted a great influence on Romanesque painting in Rome; see G. Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im XI. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Kunstsammlungen in Wien* 5 (1931), pp.33-160, esp.100-103.

The previous authors studying the paintings in this church did not attempt to explain the artistic phenomena through discussions of historical circumstances. Recent more focused studies of S. Maria in Pallara's paintings have made only partial or selective attempts in this direction. Laura Gigli's excellent monograph dealing with the church offers a general examination of its history and documentation.¹⁴ Julie Enckell Julliard's recent thesis and article investigating the monastic context of the paintings and their sources represents a decent but limited foray in new directions.¹⁵ Thus the paintings offer an important opportunity for further study from an interdisciplinary perspective, although they are not without their historiographic problems.

Despite what can only be described as a wealth of documentation for an early medieval monument, S. Maria in Pallara's tenth-century dating and the characterisation of its patronage has not been as widely accepted outside of Romanist circles. In part this is due to the paintings themselves, which utilise an iconographic formula more common to Northern European Gothic art: a series of Apostles sitting on the shoulders of Prophets appears in the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara's apse arch, an iconography that is also found at Chartres and Bamberg Cathedrals. While most other monuments utilising this iconography date to the twelfth century or later, the problem is not so much iconographic as textual. A famous twelfth-century saying comparing the Moderns to dwarves who sit on the shoulders of the Ancients has caused confusion about the iconography's origin.¹⁶ The twentieth-century's most famed iconologist, Erwin Panofsky, passed judgement on the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, casting doubt on their dating and implying a close

¹³ Robert Coates-Stephens, "Dark Age Architecture in Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997), pp.177-232.

¹⁴ Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, passim.

¹⁵ Julie Enckell Julliard, "*Ut capiat coelestia regna*": *l'émergence d'une iconographie bénédictine à Santa Maria in Pallara*, Unpublished thesis, Université de Lausanne (Lausanne, 1999); eadem, "Il Palatino e i Benedettini: un unicum iconografico a S. Maria in Pallara," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 57, series 3, XXV (2002), pp.209-230.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the iconography, see Chapter 3.

relationship between the iconography and the saying.¹⁷ My investigation of the iconography, its historiography and sources in Chapter 3 illustrates how Panofsky's doubt has led to a general anxiety about this monument and a long hiatus in its study, only very recently broken.

The other challenge offered to Fedele's characterisation of S. Maria in Pallara's patronage arises on account of the church's location. The Palatine has always been a politically laden landscape throughout Rome's history, figuring in the city's foundation myths and as the site of its imperial origins. This symbolism has fed the notion that it was the location of a palace of Otto III (983-1002), who harboured wishes of reviving Roman imperial grandeur, a theory first postulated by Carlrichard Brühl, in whose analysis S. Maria in Pallara appeared.¹⁸ This thesis seeped into art-historical discussions, but to little effect.¹⁹ Recent studies of the matter by Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani and Pierre-Yves Le Pogam have offered correctives to Brühl's theories, both authors reaffirming that the eleventh-century evidence for the location of the Ottonian palace on the Aventine is valid.²⁰ The present examination of S. Maria in Pallara's paintings along with a re-examination of the monument's textual sources, the chronological significance of which was previously underestimated, will offer a new window of ca.950 to 980

¹⁷ Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and renaissances in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), p.110. On the work of Panofsky, see Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the foundations of art history* (Ithaca, 1984).

¹⁸ Brühl preferred a thirteenth-century source, the chronicle of Martin of Troppau that implies Otto's palace was on the Palatine, over an eleventh-century source, the history of the bishops of Cambrai, that identified the Aventine as the location of the palace; see Carlrichard Brühl, "die Kaiserpfalz bei St. Peter und die Pfalz Ottos III auf dem Palatin," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 34 (1954), pp.1-30, esp.19-29.

¹⁹ Ursula Nilgen, "Rom, Santa Maria in Pallara (San Sebastiano al Palatino – San Sebastianello), Malerei in der Apsis," *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen: Katalog der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993. Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Hildesheim; Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum*, 2 vols. M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht, eds. (Mainz, 1993), pp.133-136.

²⁰ Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "La residenza di Ottone III sul Palatino: un mito storiografico?" *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 101 (2000), pp.163-168. Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, "Otton III sur le Palatin ou sur l'Aventin? Note sur les

for the church's re-foundation, making it too early to have been a product of Otto III's renewal. However, topography will be seen to be important to a better understanding of the paintings.

A related problem is classical history's overshadowing of medieval history. Not only was the birth of medieval archaeology delayed by the modern obliterating preference for classical archaeology, but the sheer complexity and magnitude of the field of classical history creates a barrier to the study of medieval monuments in Rome.²¹ This problem is not unique to Rome, but rather one of a general early modern bias. For example, Sheila Bonde observed that the medieval history of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes was long neglected in favour of its classical history. In some ways the temple provides a fitting parallel for S. Maria in Pallara; thought to have been dedicated to Diana, it was converted into a Benedictine convent for women in the tenth century in a gender-specific conversion of history.²² The study of any Roman medieval site, especially one as important as the Palatine, necessitates a thorough investigation of its classical history, which is now immense. Fortunately, Andrea Augenti has made significant contributions towards analysing the continuous history of the Palatine from Late Antiquity to the late Middle Ages.²³

The Palatine's classical topography figures heavily in this study. While in Chapter 4 an examination of that topography reveals that it exercised little influence in the development of the cult of Saint Sebastian, the topographic analysis of the specific site of S. Maria in Pallara included

résidences aristocratiques de l'Aventin au Xe siècle, notamment celle de Sainte-Sabine," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome Moyen Age* 116.2 (2004), pp.595-609.

²¹ For a discussion of the origins of medieval archaeology in Rome, see Andrea Augenti, "Giacomo Boni, gli scavi di Santa Maria Antiqua e l'archeologia medievale a Roma all'inizio del Novecento," *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano, cento anni dopo*, eds. J. Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, G. Morganti (Rome, 2004), pp.31-39.

²² Sheila Bonde, "Renaissance and real estate: the medieval afterlife of the 'Temple of Diana' in Nîmes," *Antiquity and its interpreters*, A. Kuttner, A. Payne and R. Smick, eds. (Cambridge, 1999), pp.57-69.

²³ Andrea Augenti, *Il Palatino nel medioevo: archeologia e topografia (secoli vi-xiii)* (Rome, 1996).

in Chapter 5 recovers a portion of its Roman history during the third century to theorise about how knowledge of that history might have influenced the cult of Saint Zoticus. Both analyses, with their contrasting conclusions, have led to a greater understanding of the profound effect of the site's topographical history on the tenth-century reform of S. Maria in Pallara. This is not to say that the site's classical history had a positive influence; rather, the memory of classical mores was exorcised in the church's hagiography and paintings.

Church reform in tenth-century Rome has been the topic of independent study, primarily by Bernard Hamilton, who characterised the phenomenon as a lay-driven movement, in which light he viewed S. Maria in Pallara.²⁴ Little is known about the patron Petrus Medicus, whose name and epithet echo throughout the *corpus* of Rome's medieval documents on account of early medieval anthroponomy. According to Étienne Hubert "Petrus" and "John" were the most common medieval names for Roman men.²⁵ No such statistical study exists for medieval female names, perhaps the evidence for which is not viable; I have found only one example of the name Johanna in tenth-century Roman documents.²⁶ A recent attempt to deal with the Roman onomastic data has been made, but it offers little help for the study of S. Maria in Pallara's patron.²⁷ Although initially I had hoped to make patronage the focus of this study, it soon became clear that iconographic analyses and re-examination of textual sources were necessary for the study of the paintings before some comment on the nature of the church's patronage could be

²⁴ Bernard Hamilton, "Monastic revival in tenth-century Rome," *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900-1300)* (Aldershot, 1979), II, pp.35-68, esp.57-58.

²⁵ Étienne Hubert, "Évolution générale de l'anthroponymie masculine à Rome du Xe au XIIIe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen âge* 106.2 (1994), pp.573-594.

²⁶ Pietro Egidi, "Un documento Cornetano del secolo decimo," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 34 (1914), pp.1-6.

²⁷ Giulio Savio, *Monumenta onomastica Romana Medii Aevi (X-XII sec.)*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1999), IV, pp.46-47, 53-57.

made. However, some tentative comments along these lines have been extended in the conclusion provided in Chapter 6.

While tenth-century reform in Rome has long been linked with the figure of Odo of Cluny, Hamilton found little evidence of his intervention in the period's material or textual documents, thus concluding that he must have exercised little direct influence.²⁸ This is a false assumption based on a lack of positive evidence that has since elicited little corrective investigation in general and even less in the specific case of S. Maria in Pallara. Instead the church has been subsumed into the historiography of Montecassino, since S. Maria in Pallara became a property of that monastery, the foundation of Saint Benedict himself, obscuring its unique situation. While not even the great early chronicler of Benedictine art Émile Bertaux questioned the *Romanitas* of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, the proponents of twentieth-century art history have done so, in a popular espousal of Cassinese art.²⁹ In the writings of Otto Demus and Ernst Kitzinger the patronage of Abbot Desiderius became connected with the idea of Gregorian Reform and the renewal of art in Rome in the eleventh century.³⁰ As a result, the date of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings began to be openly questioned.³¹ A lack of comparative evidence among tenth-century paintings in Rome facilitated such questioning, especially considering that doubts about the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography had already been expressed.

²⁸ Hamilton, "Monastic revival in tenth-century Rome," p.49.

²⁹ E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), pp.300-301.

³⁰ Otto Demus, *Romanesque mural painting*, M. Whittall, tr. (London, 1970), introduction; Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian reform and the visual arts: a problem of method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972), pp.87-102; Idem, "The first mosaic decoration of Salerno Cathedral," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), pp.149-162; Idem, "The arts as aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy," *Renaissance and renewal in the twelfth century*, R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham, eds. (Cambridge, 1982), pp.637-670. The characterisation continues; most recently see Ursula Nilgen, "Die Bildkünste Süditaliens und Roms im Zeitalter der Kirchenreform," *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt. Geschichte*,

The Gregorian Reform is a well-studied phenomenon, whereas the tenth century is a difficult and understudied era in Rome's history, lacking a grand narrative in which to contextualise S. Maria in Pallara. Papal reigns were short, with internal and external conflict limiting the leadership potential of individual popes.³² Rome's instability increased its dependence on outside forces, a weakness that led to the city's widespread disparagement. For example, the Ottonian bishop Liudprand of Cremona denigrated the Roman nobility and the papacy with gendered invective in his satiric chronicles.³³ Although Chris Wickham has recently characterised the gendered invective as rhetoric, claiming that Rome's civic government remained relatively stable throughout the period, Rome's lack of traditional male authorities in the tenth century has resulted in the current historiographic void.³⁴ Such rhetoric may have reached the ears of the Roman nobility, who controlled the city's administrative infrastructure through the aegis of monastic clergy. Rome's intellectual culture reflected this monastic milieu, which to some degree was denigrated as well. Thus, part of the analysis of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in Chapter 3 involves a re-evaluation of Rome's intellectual culture and some comment about the effect of gender rhetoric is discussed in the concluding comments of Chapter 6.

Unbidden, the name of Odo of Cluny surfaces in almost every major aspect of the textual and social phenomenon surrounding the reformation and decoration of S. Maria in Pallara. In

Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik, C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff, eds., 2 vols. (Munich, 2006), I, pp.309-323.

³¹ This first appears in Demus, *Romanesque mural painting*, p.298.

³² Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, "Biografie dei papi del secolo X nelle continuazioni del Liber pontificalis," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 24-25 (1989-1990), pp.369-382.

³³ Philippe Buc, "Italian hussies and German matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on dynastic legitimacy," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995), pp.207-225.

³⁴ Chris Wickham, "'The Romans according to their malign custom': Rome in Italy in the late ninth and tenth centuries," *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, ed. J. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp.151-167.

Chapter 3 his influence is seen in a revival of monastic learning and in Chapter 5 his reforming hand is seen in a renewal of monastic morals. While Italy was the birthplace of Benedictine monasticism, Benedictinism, a developed monastic identity dependent on the Rule of Saint Benedict and its history, originated outside the country and was imported back into Rome by Odo, as Guy Ferrari concluded in his study of Roman monasteries.³⁵ This lack of a developed Benedictine culture in pre-tenth-century Italy is so marked that it caused Francis Clark to question the authenticity of the order's early history, perhaps too stridently.³⁶ In many ways, the reform of S. Maria in Pallara is a Benedictine reform, albeit with a Roman flavour, even though the church's only portrait of Saint Benedict dates to the eleventh century and Montecassino's tenure. Concomitant with discussions of Benedictine art is the historiographic problem of past characterisations of such art as products of ignorant or superstitious minds.³⁷ Some discussion of these phenomena appears in Chapter 3 and in the concluding summary that is found in Chapter 6.

A final historiographical problem related to the notion of religious reform is the barrier caused by liturgical and hagiographical evidence. It is impossible to effectively analyse religious paintings without dealing with such sources, which require specialised knowledge and direct consultation of the primary material in many cases, due to a general dearth of published sources and critical analyses. Recently, exiguous areas of the field have been bolstered by the hagiographical studies of Carmela Virgilio Franklin.³⁸ Prior to Julia Enckell Julliard's discussion

³⁵ Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp.379-407. There is no evidence to support claims that S. Maria in Pallara was an early medieval Benedictine foundation; see P. Lugano, "San Benedetto sul Palatino e nel Foro Romano," *Rivista storica benedettina* 15.63-64 (1924), pp.201-229; C. Cecchelli, "Di alcune memorie benedettine in Roma," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano* 47 (1932), pp.83-158, esp.122-139.

³⁶ Francis Clark, *The 'Gregorian' Dialogues and the origins of Benedictine Monasticism* (Leiden, 2003).

³⁷ Henri Focillon, *L'an mil* (Paris, 1952), chapter 1.

³⁸ Carmela Virgilio Franklin, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian* (Toronto, 2004); eadem, "Roman hagiography and Roman legendaries," *Roma nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di

of new liturgical sources for the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, there had been no understanding of the liturgical identity of Saint Zoticus, and thus little significance accorded to the lost narrative cycle of the saint's martyrdom recorded in seventeenth-century drawings. For example, Cesare Baronio's conjecture that Saint Zoticus's tomb once existed within S. Maria in Pallara might have been accepted at face value, but the analysis of hagiographical documents in Chapter 5 reveals the notion's impossibility and other interpretations of the paintings have had to be found.³⁹ Throughout this study direct consultation of sources was preferred where possible.

Following the art historical philosophy of John Osborne, who has successfully viewed medieval wall paintings as documents recording the history of Rome, this study aims to recover not only the history of the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara, but some sense of how they functioned as social constructs.⁴⁰ Medieval paintings are here seen to function as liturgical tropes, structuring the cyclical life of procession and prayer of the monks who daily utilised S. Maria in Pallara as a functional space. The paintings also embodied the monastic philosophy espoused at this site, providing moral paradigms, actively structuring reality and offering ideal visions of the future, while at the same time re-structuring history. If today we might not agree with all the messages offered by the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara, we may no longer view them as products of ignorant minds.

studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 48, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 2001), II, pp.857-891.

³⁹ *Martyrologium romanum: ad novam Kalendarii rationem & ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu editum; accesserunt notationes atque tractatio de Martyrologio romano* (Venice, 1611), pp.101-102. "In Aventino in vinea Capranicorum, e regione hortu Farnesio, superest adhuc aedes in memoriam S. Zotici erecta, in cuius parietibus, more maiorum,, eius martyrii historia depicta cernitur: adest & confessio, ubi aliquando sancti martyris corpus asservatum fuisse conijci potest."

⁴⁰ John Osborne, "Framing Sacred Space: eleventh-century mural painting in the churches of Rome," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 30 (2004), pp.137-151; idem, "Wall paintings as documents: an example from the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome," *RACAR* 26.1 (1989), pp.7-11.

Chapter 2

The extant medieval paintings in S. Maria in Pallara

This chapter describes and analyses the extant medieval paintings in S. Maria in Pallara, discussing matters of restoration and dating. The paintings survive on the north wall, comprising the apse and the apse arch of this small single-cell church (Figure 1). They are difficult to view and to photograph on account of the altar screen that was installed as part of the seventeenth-century restoration (Figure 2).¹ The screen, directly behind the altar, is formed by a pediment-mounted frame decorated with marble columns and Corinthian capitals that reaches to the height of the moulding at ceiling level; it shifts the viewer's attention upwards to the seventeenth-century programme of painting covering the pendentives and small dome above the sanctuary.² The frame now holds a crystal pane, but originally it contained a panel painting depicting the sagittation of Saint Sebastian commissioned from Andrea Camassei.³ The panel was removed in 1963 as part of a series of restorations to reduce the accumulation of humidity affecting the

¹ A payment of 100 Roman *scudi* was made from the Barberini accounts on 14 November 1630 to Gabriel Renzi for stone work done in the church; another of 100 scudi was made on 11 December 1630 for work on the high altar; Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Camerale: Libro della Depositeria Generale, busta 1894, pp. 322, 327. A final payment was made on 21 January 1631 for work done on the high altar; ASR, Archivio Camerale: Libro della Depositeria Generale, busta 1895, p. 9.

² The dome is covered in a programme of paintings that include a central image of God in the dome surrounded by the four virtues personified, Faith, Charity, Constance and Contrition. The lunette over the altar depicts the fallen Sebastian being healed by Irene. According to Laura Gigli, the programme was commissioned from Bernardino Gagliardi (d.1660); see Gigli, *S. Sebastiano*, pp.101-104.

³ A payment of 150 Roman *scudi* was made on 16 March 1633 to Andrea Camassei for the painting of a panel depicting the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian for the church of S. Sebastiano in 'Campo Vaccino', as the Roman Forum was then called; the payment was for materials; ASR, Camerale I, Chirografi, busta 160, p.79. Another 150 *scudi* was paid 2 July 1633 upon completion of the 'quadro del Martirio del S. Bastiano'; ASR, Archivio Camerale: Libro della Depositeria Generale, busta 1897, p.170. Ann Sutherland Harris, "A contribution to Andrea Camassei studies," *Art Bulletin* 52.1 (1970), pp.49-70, esp.50, 55, fig.12; Gigli, *S. Sebastiano*, pp.97-98.

medieval paintings and it is now mounted on the west wall of the church.⁴ While the Barberini valued the paintings sufficiently to preserve them, they did not want them to be generally visible, probably on account of their fragmentary state.

The paintings were produced in fresco technique, with some details like inscriptions and facial features having been applied when the plaster was nearly or completely dried.⁵ The apse paintings survive in their entirety with minor loss around the edges and at the base. The apse arch paintings have fared less well, with only fragments surviving. The apse is divided into two registers: the conch, which features a standing Christ flanked by pairs of male saints, and a lower register of female saints and angels (Figure 1). The two registers are divided by a border-like row of apostolic lambs. The apse is structurally united by an ornamental frame formed by columns at either end of the lower register and a festoon border that rises from their urn-like capitals to circle the conch. A border composed of a multi-colour Greek-key pattern crosses the bottom edge of the lower register, a section of which was cut away when a panel of painted plaster was inserted into the vertical center of the apse at that level. The panel depicts three male saints, the details of which are much faded. The bottom of the apse is decorated with a fictive curtain, painted green and covered with a pattern of red-brown interlaced circles filled with duck silhouettes and interspersed with lily-decked *orbiculi*.

The apse arch paintings originally comprised a programme of three horizontal registers, divided by ornamental borders. The programme can still be clearly discerned in two irregular patches of plaster on the left side of the apse and three on the right. A series of white-haired men

⁴ Laura Liquori and Milli Segré, *L'abside affrescata di S. Sebastiano al Palatino, già S. Maria in Pallara: metodologie di studio ed ipotesi di restauro*, Istituto Centrale del Restauro (Rome, 1987), p.167.

⁵ I am grateful to Dottoressa Isabella del Frate for sharing her information on the paintings, including a recent report prepared by Giulia Bordi, Stefania Pennesi, Simone Piazza and Manuela

is depicted in the upper register, fragments of four of which survive either side of the apse; they represent the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse. The middle register presents a series of long-haired male figures carrying other figures on their shoulders; fragments of five pairs survive on each side for a total of ten, which are better understood in Eclissi's drawing (Figure 4a). Originally twelve pairs were likely depicted. These were meant to represent a generic group of Prophets carrying the Apostles on their shoulders. The lowest register, the most fragmentary, presents a series of crown-carrying saints; the remains of two figures facing the apse survive on the left side and the upper torsos of three figures survive on the right, two of which face the apse carrying crowns, while the third is turned in the opposite direction.

The surfaces of the paintings are over-restored and in places secondary details have been lost; in others the pigments are entirely absent and all that remains is plaster and a red preparatory drawing.⁶ The paintings have been the focus of several restoration campaigns, the earliest perhaps unrecorded; according to Claudia Bolgia, medieval paintings were constantly restored throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.⁷ Any possible restoration of the paintings carried out during the seventeenth-century Barberini renovation of the church is undocumented; drawings of the paintings made at that time by Antonio Eclissi for Francesco Barberini presumably record their state prior to any intervention, since these also include the lost nave cycles (Figures 3, 4a, 4b).⁸

Viscontini, for the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici, il Paesaggio e per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico di Roma, dated 2002.

⁶ I am grateful to Cathleen Hoeniger for visiting the church with me and explaining the techniques of modern restoration. For a discussion of the fresco techniques in this church, see Liquori and Segré, *L'abside affrescata*, p.178.

⁷ This personal comment was shared on December 12, 2006.

⁸ The drawings were originally contained in Barb. Lat. 4402, but were then moved to Vat. Lat. 9071 along with Gaetano Mancini's collection of inscriptions. The drawings are found, Vat. Lat. 9071, pp.62, 234-250. The drawings were published by Stephan Waetzoldt; see S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna, 1964), pp.75-76, figs.516-554. The nave paintings included a Christological cycle and one each dedicated to the martyrdoms of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus. For an analysis of the Christological cycle see

Modern restorations were recorded in 1911, 1958 and 1963 with the most recent having taken place in 2000.⁹

Some comment about the Eclissi drawings is necessary. Concern has been expressed about the accuracy of early modern drawings of Roman antiquities in general. For example, Ingo Herklotz has investigated the drawings of the mosaic decorations of Pope Leo III's (795-816) *triclinium* at the Lateran palace within the broader context of seventeenth-century debates about art and religion, and he warns that early modern drawings were often made for polemical reasons and thus must be examined more critically.¹⁰ Ann van Dijk has expressed similar concerns about seventeenth-century reproductions of Pope John VII's (705-707) funerary chapel, but notes that even copies with patent interpolations can yield accurate information if used judiciously.¹¹

No specific concern about accuracy has been expressed regarding Eclissi's drawings, but no commendation has ever been published either, such as has been done for Josef Wilpert's coloured photographs.¹² In her study of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, Kirsten Noreen has determined

Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Freiburg, 1916), pp.752-874; Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: narrative painting, Franciscan ideologies and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996). For analysis of the Saint Sebastian cycle, see Chapter 4. For analysis of the Saint Zoticus cycle see Chapter 5.

⁹ For a discussion of the earlier restorations, see Liquori and Segré, *L'abside affrescata*, pp.164-167, 180-181. The most recent restoration took place under the supervision of Alia Englen and Isabella del Frate; see A. Englen, "Restauro degli affreschi del catino absidale e del presbiterio di S. Sebastiano al Palatino (secc. X - XI)," *Monumenti di roma* 1.1 (2003), p.154.

¹⁰ Ingo Herklotz, "Francesco Barberini, Nicolò Alemanni, and the Lateran Triclinium of Leo III: an episode in restoration and Seicento Medieval Studies," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995), pp.175-196.

¹¹ Ann van Dijk, "The afterlife of an early medieval chapel: Giovanni Battista Ricci and perceptions of the Christian past in post-Tridentine Rome," *Renaissance Studies* 19.5 (2005), pp.686-698.

¹² Per Jonas Nordhagen, "Working with Wilpert: the illustrations in 'Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien' and their source value," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, s.II, 5 (1985), pp.247-257.

that Eclissi's drawings were more faithful than those made by other artists.¹³ Charles Rufus Morey had already come to the same conclusion in his study of Rome's lost medieval mosaics.¹⁴ Claiming that his drawings are the best of his era, John Osborne has noted that early modern authorities of medieval history valued Eclissi's drawings, which were often made *in situ* by an artist who was more skilled in drafting than in figure studies.¹⁵ With S. Maria in Pallara's overly restored paintings in their "naked state," the following analysis will thus also be a test case for the accuracy of the drawings and Eclissi's mode of working.

2.1 Apse conch: description

The S. Maria in Pallara apse conch presents a heavenly landscape inhabited by Christ and a series of male saints (Figure 5). Saints Sebastian and Lawrence stand to the left of Christ in the conch, Saints Zoticus and Stephen to the right, identified by inscription. In general the figures survive in good condition. The figure of Saint Zoticus is the most deteriorated of the five. There are some areas of loss, such as inscriptions, and all of the figures are missing pigment in hair and beard. Some details in the conch appear confused, especially the costume of Saints Lawrence and Stephen where perhaps details were added in a later restoration. In general the figures are somewhat short with large heads, a characteristic that results in the bodies looking slightly

¹³ Two sets of modern drawings exist for S. Urbano alla Caffarella, one made by Eclissi prior to the church's renovation, the other made by another artist, perhaps after renovation; see K. Noreen, "Recording the past: seventeenth-century watercolor drawings of medieval monuments," *Visual resources* 16.1 (2000), pp.1-26.

¹⁴ Charles Rufus Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period* (Princeton, 1915), p.19.

¹⁵ John Osborne, and Amanda Claridge, *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series A, Part II. Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities. Volume I: Mosaics and Wallpaintings in Roman Churches* (London, 1996), pp.48-50, 53, 64.

disproportionate as a result. This disproportion would have been more pronounced originally, as the loss of hair pigment has diminished the ratio.

The upper background of the apse conch is royal blue. The apex of the conch is filled by a two-tiered canopy of heaven, the tiers coloured respectively in a tint and a tone of the same hue of blue. Small, red, triangular clouds fill the canopy. The hand of God emerges from the apex bearing a purple crown. The crown, outlined in white, is ring-like with a medallion decorating its center. The hand, extending from gold and purple-red garments, is pale and the edges of red-brown under painting are visible.

The large-scale figure of Christ, who bears a yellow cruciform halo banded in red and white, dominates the conch. His halo was originally inscribed with the Greek letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, as seen in an early twentieth-century photograph housed at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12262 (Figure 6). Christ's face presents a severe countenance, created by angular features, deep olive-green shadows, and by over-large eyes that are set under a shallow forehead (Figure 7). An angular dark beard adds to the severity, as do heavy black eyebrows and black outlines around the features. A thick, olive-green shadow rims the eyes and the hollows of the cheeks and temples, while the prominent features such as forehead and cheeks are highlighted heavily with white. Linear pink and red brushstrokes once dramatically coloured the upper cheeks, traces of which survive, and the red hue was also used to outline the face. Loop-like ears extended from the side of the head, very faint traces of which remain. The dark brown hair, articulated with numerous black lines, lies twisted over his shoulders, extending to elbow-length on the left side (Figure 8).

Christ wears thin black sandals and a deep royal purple gown decorated with gold *clavi* and gold bands on the sleeve (Figure 8). Over this he wears a *pallium* that is wound around his waist in intricately gathered pleats, almost appearing as an overskirt, that is then swept up and

over his left arm. The folds in Christ's robes are linear, but also fluid in that they are smoothly shaded and curve rather than fall in stiff straight lines. For example, a major fold of drapery in Christ's tunic over his chest almost forms a backwards letter C. The hem of the tunic, decorated with a repeating triple-pearl motif, extends outward to the left by about ten centimetres, as if blown by a breeze. The hem of the *pallium* falls in butterfly folds that curve in upon themselves and the end that wraps around Christ's left arm pools on either side of the limb.

The figure and placement of Christ in the apse conch of S. Maria in Pallara evokes the iconography of the *Traditio legis*, the earliest surviving monumental depiction of which with flanking patron saints is found in the sixth-century apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano that was much copied in Rome throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁶ Christ holds the scroll of the new covenant in his left hand. With his open right hand he gestures to a cruciform-haloed phoenix perched in a palm tree on the left edge of the conch; the trunk is formed from stylised yellow lobes and traces of white fruit dangle from the leaves. A second palm, with few remaining fronds, appears on the opposite side (Figure 5).

One difference from the traditional *Traditio legis* layout is found in the two grass-green banks on either side of Christ that extend up to the mid-point of the conch, the upper edges of which are zigzagged. Some deep yellow lines outlining their shape are visible between the figures of Saints Zoticus and Stephen. While these forms appear to be part of a garden-like landscape, the green pigment was originally a blue azurite that has changed to green malachite over time in the presence of water.¹⁷ The azurite panels may have formed some kind of architectural backdrop or

¹⁶ For SS. Cosma e Damiano, see Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.94-96. For the tradition, see Caecilia Davis-Weyer, "Das Traditio-Legis-Bild und seine Nachfolge," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3 (1961), pp.7-45.

¹⁷ Cathleen Hoeniger first informed me of the chemical change. See Liquori and Segré, *L'abside affrescata*, p.183.

were perhaps meant to represent a curtain.¹⁸ The ground is actually represented by a thin band of light green that crosses the base of the conch at a height of about thirty centimetres. The rivers of paradise apparently were depicted directly underneath Christ, any trace of which is now lost.¹⁹

While the apse conch echoes the Roman *Traditio legis* apse composition, it lacks the usual saints in that composition, Peter and Paul, who are replaced here with the saints to whom the church was dedicated. Saint Sebastian stands immediately to Christ's left offering his crown of martyrdom on *chlamys*-covered hands, his body turned somewhat inwards towards the center (Figure 9). The crown is similar to that depicted in the hand of God in the apex of the conch. Traces of orange-brown pigment beneath the saint's feet originally may have formed a pedestal. No trace of a *titulus* for Saint Sebastian survives, even though Eclissi's apse drawing displays two; a vertical one to the left of the saint, a horizontal one to his right, both of which were unlikely to have been original as there is no precedent for double inscriptions (Figure 3). Eclissi also inscribed Sebastian's crown with a cross, as he did Saint Zoticus's, of which no trace survives.

The saint's facial features are similar to those of Christ, comprising dark olive shadows, strong white highlights and large eyes under a shallow forehead, although his overall appearance is less angular. The features are outlined in deep red hues and red linear brushstrokes colour the cheeks. What remains of the mouth is a red down-turned arc. Saint Sebastian's hair was originally bushy with curls, only traces of which survive (Figure 10). The black outline of his curls is still visible, most of the grey pigment having fallen or been cleaned away. Through this area of loss, the original deep ochre colour of the saint's halo is visible, which is outlined in thin white and red

¹⁸ I am grateful to Claudia Bolgia for discussing the detail with me and suggesting the possibility of a curtain.

¹⁹ According to the history of the church written by Alfredo Vitali, Christ stood above the rivers of Paradise; see Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano M. sul Palatino*, p.325.

bands. Several brushstrokes of a grey moustache and beard remain on the saint's face; the latter's length is confirmed solely by the black outline that descends along the right side of the neck to its midpoint.

Sebastian wears a three-quarter-length green tunic, green hose and black shoes, over which is a floor-length purple brocade-like *chlamys*, closed on the saint's right shoulder with a small protruding clasp, but open to the floor along his right side. The *chlamys* is decorated with an all-over circular pattern executed with a compass, comprising white pearl-encrusted circles filled with bird silhouettes and interspersed with flowers. Traces of this pattern on the saint's right side suggest that the *chlamys* originally covered his right arm. A plain purple rectangular area outlined in black at the edge of the garment's front opening may be a *tablion*. The hem and right shoulder of the saint's green tunic are also decorated with similar jewelled circle-motifs. These details are more clearly seen in an early twentieth-century photo (Figure 11).²⁰

Saint Lawrence appears to the left of Saint Sebastian, his body turned right towards the center of the apse (Figure 12). Lawrence holds a jewelled codex in his hands, the right one bare and the left covered by his dalmatic. The codex is decorated in a diamond pattern accented by small jewel-like flowers. Saint Lawrence also once carried a gem-studded, cross-tipped staff, as recorded in the seventeenth-century drawing (Figure 3), and in an early twentieth-century photograph (Figure 13).²¹ Only the faintest trace of the cross is now visible in the paintings.

The saint, bearing an ochre red-rimmed halo, shares Christ's facial coloring, although he displays a longer, rather horsey countenance. His down-turned mouth suggests he originally had a hieratic mien. Saint Lawrence has large eyes rimmed in dark olive-green shadows and his face is starkly highlighted with heavy white lines; red outlines frame his features and warm brown and

²⁰ The photo is stored at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12263.

²¹ The photo is housed at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12264.

plum hues colour his cheeks (Figure 14). Tonsured, the saint has red-brown curly hair and a brown beard, although little of the latter survives except for its heavy black outlines.

Saint Lawrence's costume appears confused, perhaps the result of a later restoration. He is depicted wearing a light blue *alb* or tunic, whose hem extends outwards fluttering as if in a breeze. Over the *alb* is a brownish-ochre coloured dalmatic, a garment commonly worn by deacons in the Middle Ages.²² The dalmatic's right sleeve has a white cuff decorated with yellow, green and red bands and black crosses. A faint diagonal hemline cuts across the saint's legs without corresponding to any of the garments he wears. It is possible that the saint was originally depicted wearing a white dalmatic and an ochre *pallium*. This is indeed what is shown in the Eclissi drawing; the diagonal hem belongs to a *pallium* draped over the left shoulder that wraps under the right arm (Figure 3). Further, the drawing shows that the dalmatic also once bore a jewelled band running vertically down the right side, visible if the upper garment only partially covered the body. The yellow drapery lined with green folds that appears over Saint Lawrence's right shoulder is likely another remnant of the restoration, as it does not appear to correspond to any known liturgical garment.

On his feet Saint Lawrence wears white hose and *campagi*, leather slippers. According to the Eclissi drawings an image of a tiny grill, the instrument of his martyrdom, was once located between his feet (Figure 3). Whether this was part of the original painting or an interpolation from a later restoration is unknown. No trace of the grill survives. Traces of an orange-brown pedestal also appear beneath the saint's feet.

Saint Zoticus appears to the right of Christ, his whole body turned toward the center in the act of offering Christ a crown on *chlamys*-covered hands (Figure 15). The saint bears a red-

²² Roger E. Reynolds, "Clerical liturgical vestments and liturgical colors in the Middle Ages," *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1999), VI, pp.1-16.

rimmed ochre coloured halo and his facial type is similar to that of the other male figures examined here; the eyes, situated under a shallow forehead, are heavily shaded in olive green and the face is highlighted with stark white lines. No trace of red pigment remains in the face, except for a single red outline atop the forehead (Figure 16). Saint Zoticus has red-brown long hair that is heavily outlined in black lines and falls in a twisted fashion over his shoulder, in the same way that Christ's hair does. The similarity originally went further, as Saint Zoticus also had a pointed beard; traces of red-brown pigment survive on his cheeks and the pointed black outline appears at the midpoint of his neck, the rest of the pigment having been lost.

Saint Zoticus wears a dark purple tunic over dark grey hose and red-brown shoes, but nearly all trace of the pigments of these garments is lacking. The saint also wears a *chlamys* decorated with the same pattern as that of Saint Sebastian's cloak. Although most of the colour has faded, it appears to originally have been dark purple covered with the white pearl-encrusted *orbiculi*. A trace of a rectangular red-purple shape remains at the center front of the *chlamys* that may have once been a *tablion*. Strangely, an early photo seems to show that the saint wears a pointed hood on his head similar to that of the medieval monk's *cucullus* (Figure 17).²³ Since no trace of a hood remains, nor is one found in the Eclissi drawing, it is possible that it was a later addition which has since been cleared away. Traces of Saint Zoticus' horizontal inscription survive in front of his right foot, including the letters TICUS (Figure 18). There is no trace of a pedestal under this figure.

Saint Stephen appears to the right of Saint Zoticus, his body facing forward, his head turning toward the center of the apse (Figure 19). The saint bears an ochre halo outlined in thin white and red bands and he holds a jewelled yellow-ochre codex in his bare hands, the book's cover decorated with a quatrefoil motif. The saint's face is produced with pictorial techniques

similar to those of the other saints, but they appear somewhat more exaggerated. Thick white highlights emphasise the extra-large eyes and shallow forehead (Figure 20). The olive shadows are more extensive than in the other figures, especially under the chin. There is greater use of red pigment; Saint Stephen's face is outlined in red, as are his clam-like ears, and the cheeks and chin are coloured with red linear brushstrokes creating an exaggerated blush. His small lips are painted in bright pink and red hues and appear oddly full and puckered. The saint is tonsured, his hair is dark brown and he appears without any trace of a beard.

Saint Stephen is depicted wearing liturgical garments similar to those of Saint Lawrence, the details of which seem to have been embellished in a later restoration. Stephen's garments include a light blue *alb* that is visible at the neck, sleeve and hem under a white heavily ornamented dalmatic; the hem of the *alb* seems to have originally extended outwards, as if blown by the wind. The dalmatic is decorated with red, green and white *clavi*, from which small red flame-like threads extend; the gown's sleeves are decorated with red stripes and black crosses. Over the dalmatic Saint Stephen seems to wear an ochre-covered *pallium* that was draped over his left shoulder and around his right hip, its hem creating a diagonal line across his legs. Traces of its undulating folds survive, falling from the saint's left arm down to knee-level. The details of the costume are clearly visible in an early black-and-white photo (Figure 21).²³ On his feet the saint wears white hose and black *campagi*. There is no trace of a pedestal underneath this figure.

A vertical inscription survives to the left of the saint's leg; S. STEPHANUS is legible (Figure 22). According to Eclissi's apse drawing, the S-slash abbreviation was used for the word *sanctus* (Figure 3). The STE runs horizontally, with the remainder of the name extending downward vertically. An intriguing mesh of letters is seen in the H and A of the saint's name; the

²³ The photo is found at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12265.

²⁴ The photo is found at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione E 12266.

A is embedded within the bottom of the H in what might be a space-saving technique, but is probably rather an aspect of workshop practice.

2.2 Apse conch: analysis

Many parallels for the paintings of the apse conch can be found in Roman artistic traditions. Early medieval apses in Rome commonly feature clouds to depict heaven, with more ornate canopies appearing in twelfth-century apses; for example, the sixth-century apse of the neighbouring church of S. Teodoro south west of the Palatine or the ninth-century apse in S. Prassede feature clouds, whereas the twelfth-century apse of S. Maria in Trastevere presents an ornate canopy that harks back to Early Christian models.²⁵ With its combination of blue bands and triangular clouds, S. Maria in Pallara's apse conch is somewhere in between. The blue bands and clouds are similar to those found in the ninth-century chapel known as the Crypt of Epyphanius at S. Vincenzo al Volturno, where blue bands radiate out on the ceiling and a row of similar triangular red clouds separate the ceiling from the narrative scenes on the walls (Figure 23).²⁶ The hand of God extending to crown Christ is common to Roman apse designs, although the crown is often a wreath, not a metallic *corona*.²⁷ A similar metallic-looking crown is found in the sixth- or seventh-century apse of S. Teodoro.²⁸

²⁵ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.238-239, 282-283, 322-323.

²⁶ John Mitchell, "The Crypt reappraised," *San Vincenzo al Volturno I: the 1980-86 excavations, part I*, ed. Richard Hodges; Archaeological monographs of the British School at Rome (London, 1993), pp.75-114, esp. plate 7.2.

²⁷ The crowning hand of God is seen in the 6th-century apse at SS. Cosma e Damiano and in the 9th century apse of S. Prassede; see Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.95, 283.

²⁸ While the apse of S. Teodoro is heavily restored, the figure of Theodore apparently has undergone little restoration and his chlamys corresponds to the earliest drawing of the apse that we have that dates to the 1590s; see Claudia Bolgia, "Il mosaico absidale di San Teodoro a Roma: problemi storici e restauri attraverso disegni e documenti inediti," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001), pp.317-351, esp. 331.

The long, well-documented tradition of church decoration in Rome provides specific, dated stylistic parallels for S. Maria in Pallara's depiction of Christ. However, the use of green hues for the definition of flesh is somewhat problematic; it is a characteristic of early medieval church decoration in Rome that is absent from ninth-century monuments, but reappears again in the eleventh century. For example, the technique is present in eighth-century paintings excavated in S. Maria Antiqua; the interior of the church seems to have been abandoned after an earthquake in 847.²⁹ Another early example is found in the eighth-century crypt paintings in the lower church of S. Crisogono, although the dating has recently been disputed.³⁰ An extreme use of green flesh tones is found in the eleventh-century Saint Benedict cycle in the right aisle of this church.³¹ An example of a similar but perhaps more stylised technique than that used in S. Maria in Pallara is found in the paintings depicting the legend of Tempulus in the church of S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, known in the Middle Ages as S. Maria in Campus Martius (Figure 24); the paintings have recently been dated to the late eleventh century.³² Thus the use of green pigments offers no help with dating.

²⁹ For example, green flesh colour is seen in the figure of Pope Martin I (649-655) and in the crucified Christ in the presbytery; see Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The frescoes of John VII. Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* (Rome, 1968), pp.43-44. See also Maria Andaloro, "La parete palinsesto: 1900, 2000," *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano, cento anni dopo*, eds. J. Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, G. Morganti (Rome, 2004), pp.97-112. There is little pictorial evidence that the interior of Santa Maria Antiqua continued to be used, but the atrium continued to function; see John Osborne, "The atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: a history in art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987), pp.186-223.

³⁰ Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, I, p.150, pl.11. Serena Romano and Giulia Bordi, "S. Crisogono," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.79-87. The use of green skin tones in this cycle has recently been used in an argument for the re-dating of the crypt paintings to the Romanesque period; see Giulia Bordi, Serena Romano, "S. Crisogono," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.68-74.

³¹ Beat Brenk, "Die Benediktszenen in S. Crisogono und Montecassino," *Arte medievale* 2 (1984), pp.57-66; idem, "Roma e Montecassino: gli affreschi della chiesa inferiore di S. Crisogono," *RACAR* 12 (1985), pp.227-234.

³² Filipe dos Santos, "S. Gregorio Nazianzeno," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.153-155.

Other details of Christ's depiction present clear examples of the Roman pictorial tradition. For instance, Christ's halo in early medieval church decoration in Rome is generally a simple, undecorated inscribed cruciform shape; according to John Osborne, the rays in the halo only begin to be jewelled in eleventh-century painting.³³ While jewels appear in Christ's halo in the ninth-century apse of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, these were likely added in an early modern restoration, as shown by seventeenth-century drawings that depict the rays as simple bands.³⁴

The best comparison for S. Maria in Pallara's depiction of Christ's face is found in the ninth-century mosaic apse of S. Marco; it displays the same severe and angular facial type, with a short stern forehead, over-large eyes and an angular beard (Figure 25).³⁵ An image of Christ in the securely dated late ninth-century paintings of S. Maria Secundicerio also presents a similar stern physiognomy, incorporating large eyes set beneath thick brows and a shallow forehead, linear white highlights, and similar loop-like ears, but the angularity is absent (Figure 26).³⁶ Another decent parallel for facial type is found in the face of Saint Cyril in the lower church of S.

³³ John Osborne, "The 'Particular Judgment': an early medieval wall painting in the lower church of San Clemente, Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), pp.335-341, esp. 341.

³⁴ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.78-81. The sixth-century apse arch of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura also presents an image of Christ with a jewelled halo, however, that portion of the mosaic is thought to be a later restoration; see Massimo Bonelli and Serena Romano, "S. Lorenzo fuori le mura," *Riforma e tradizione 1050-1198* ed. S. Romano (Milan, 2006), pp.298-301.

³⁵ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.192-193. On the apse, see Claudia Bolgia, "The mosaics of Gregory IV at S. Marco, Rome. Papal response to Venice, Byzantium, and the Carolingians," *Speculum* (2005), pp.1-34.

³⁶ Jacqueline Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome; Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes*, 6 (Brussels, 1959), pl.8. On the dating of the paintings in S. Maria Secundicerio, see John Osborne, "A note on the medieval name of the so-called 'Temple of Fortuna Virilis' at Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988), pp.210-212.

Clemente.³⁷ Generally both earlier and later images of Christ present him with a rounder face and a gentler mien, as in the S. Gregorio Nazianzeno image.

The S. Marco figure of Christ wearing gold-banded dark purple robes also provides a good parallel for the S. Maria in Pallara image; this is in contrast to the slightly earlier depictions of Christ in the apse mosaics of S. Cecilia in Trastevere and S. Prassede, where he is robed in gold.³⁸ Christ is also generally depicted in richer, more elaborate costume in twelfth-century Roman art, as in the apse of S. Maria in Trastevere, where he wears a jewelled tunic and gold *pallium*.³⁹ The drapery of Christ's garments is also chronologically specific; while the double-line fold that is characteristic of ninth-century mosaics and paintings defines Christ's thigh in the S. Maria in Pallara image, the garments in ninth-century decorations generally fall in straight lines.⁴⁰ The stiff linearity that is characteristic of most twelfth-century wall painting in and around Rome is absent in S. Maria in Pallara, such as is found in the paintings of S. Anastasio at Castel S. Elia.⁴¹ The best parallel for the fluid folds of Christ's garments is perhaps found in the late ninth-century paintings of S. Maria de Secundicerio.⁴² A similar repeating dot pattern is also found in the tunic of Saint Cyril in the lower church of S. Clemente.⁴³

The azurite backdrop is a unique feature, for which no exact parallel exists in Roman apses. Many eighth- and ninth-century medieval wall paintings have backgrounds composed of

³⁷ John Osborne, *Early mediaeval wall paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome* (New York, 1984), pp.171-172, 186-187.

³⁸ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.78-79, 282-283.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp.238-239.

⁴⁰ On the double line fold motif, see Kurt Weitzmann, "The ivories of the so-called Grado chair," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp.43-91, esp.74-77. For the paintings of Paschal I, see most recently Claudia Zaccagnini, "Nuove osservazioni sugli affreschi altomedievali della chiesa romana di S. Prassede," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e storia dell'arte* 54 (1999), pp.83-114.

⁴¹ Peter Hoegger, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi* (Frauenfeld, 1975), pp.124-126, fig.3.

⁴² Lafontaine, *Peintures*, pl.IX.

multi-coloured bands, as is found in S. Maria Antiqua.⁴⁴ The panels in the apse of S. Maria in Pallara are not continuous, however, and have a jagged top edge; thus it is more likely that they form some kind of figurative backdrop. A parallel may be found in the full-length images of Saints John and Paul from S. Maria in Via Lata, now in the Crypta Balbi Museum, that contain chest-high, stage-set architectural backgrounds (Figure 27).⁴⁵ This theatricality is echoed in the apse of S. Marco, which features no landscape and instead presents the figures standing on pedestals.⁴⁶ The background panels at S. Maria in Pallara were probably not intended to represent architectural structures, but it is unclear what exactly they represent. Significantly, they appear in most of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, both the extant series and those only known now through modern drawings.

This group of figures surrounding Christ includes two different types of saints: clerical martyrs and soldier saints, both of which appear consistently in the history of medieval church decoration in Rome from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries and beyond. The physiognomy and attributes of these saintly types, and even of particular saints, have a continuous and fairly stable tradition. Costumes, however, are perhaps the least stable aspect of this tradition and they can often provide dating criteria when precisely dated parallels can be found.

This is the case with the deacon saints Lawrence and Stephen, who both possess stable physiognomies in their long shared iconographic history, having been regularly paired together in medieval Roman church decoration from the sixth century.⁴⁷ For example, the two saints feature

⁴³ Osborne, *Early mediaeval wall paintings*, pp.171-172, 187-188.

⁴⁴ Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, I, pp.154-155, pl.13.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, I, pp.182, 284. The paintings probably date to the late ninth century.

⁴⁶ Claudia Bolgia believes that the pedestals functioned rhetorically in the image's creation of meaning; see Bolgia, "The mosaics of Gregory IV," pp.27-33.

⁴⁷ Renate Colella has examined the saints in later medieval iconography suggesting an ecumenical connection between the two with a view to Roman primacy; see R. L. Colella, "Hagiographie und Kirchenpolitik – Stephanus und Laurentius in Rom," *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer*

in the sixth-century triumphal arch mosaic in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura where they present facial physiognomies similar to those in S. Maria in Pallara (Figure 28).⁴⁸ Saint Lawrence, wearing a gold tunic and *pallium*, stands to Saint Peter's left; he is tonsured and bearded as at S. Maria in Pallara and he likewise carries a cross-tipped staff and codex. In contrast, at S. Lorenzo the codex is open and inscribed with a passage from Psalm 111, deriving from the liturgy of the saint's feast.⁴⁹ Saint Stephen stands to Saint Paul's right dressed in a similar manner; his youthful face is beardless, as it is in S. Maria in Pallara. He, too, carries an open book bearing a passage from Psalm 62, which is related to the saint's festal liturgy. The two appear again with similar physiognomy and dress in a twelfth-century painting excavated from a chapel behind the apse of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, which is now displayed in the basilica's right aisle (Figure 29).⁵⁰ Both saints also featured in the lost twelfth-century apse of S. Lorenzo in Lucina.⁵¹

The costume tradition for Saints Lawrence and Stephen was not stable, however, and over time their garments increasingly took on the characteristics of contemporary clerical dress.

zum 100. Geburtstag, eds. R. Colella, M. Gill, L. Jenkins (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp.75-96. The two appear together regularly from an early date, however, as in the ninth-century monastic chapel of the Crypt of Epyphanus where they flank Christ in a niche, depicted almost as twins with similar tonsured heads and beardless faces, wearing light-coloured tunics and pallia; see Mitchell, "The Crypt reappraised," pp.92-95, figs.7.24-7.25.

⁴⁸ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.118-120. Apparently large portions of the mosaic were restored during the Middle Ages, perhaps during the twelfth century; see Massimo Bonelli and Serena Romano, "Restorazione dell'arco di S. Lorenzo fuori le mura," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.298-299. The figure of Saint Lawrence appears to have remained relatively untouched.

⁴⁹ Peter Jeffrey, "Monastic reading and the emerging Roman chant repertory," *Western plainchant in the first millennium: studies in the medieval liturgy and its music*, eds. S. Gallagher, J. Haar, J. Nadas, T. Striplin (Aldershot, 2003), pp.45-103, esp. 67. Similar physiognomy and costume for Saint Lawrence is seen in the early Christian catacomb paintings at S. Senatore at Albano; see Vincenzo Ficocchi Nicolai, "Scavi nella catacomba di San Senatore ad Albano Laziale," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 68 (1992), pp.7-140, esp. 66-67.

⁵⁰ John Osborne, "Dating medieval mural paintings in Rome: a case study from San Lorenzo fuori le mura," *Roma Felix -- Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. E. O'Carragain and C. Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot, forthcoming).

For example, the image of Saint Lawrence on the early twelfth-century apse arch of S. Clemente presents him dressed in a very ornate dalmatic and embroidered slippers (Figure 30).⁵² Saint Lawrence's dalmatic bears *clavi* decorated with red flame-like threads similar to those seen in the costume of Saint Stephen at S. Maria in Pallara. According to Roger E. Reynolds, from the ninth century on the deacon's dalmatic included such ornament.⁵³ The same threads are seen in representations of deacons in tenth-century manuscripts, such as the Landulf Pontifical, Rome, Casanatense 724.⁵⁴ The ornament is also found on images of Saints Stephen and Lawrence in tenth-century manuscripts, such as the Prüm troper, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat.9448.⁵⁵ The unidentified deacon saint in the apse of S. Prassede also bears similar fringes.⁵⁶ Fringes are also found on the portrait of Aribert, bishop of Milan (1018-1045) in the apse paintings of S. Vincenzo in Galliano.⁵⁷ Thus while some aspects of the costume of Saints Lawrence and Stephen appear to belong to a later restoration, the decorative details place these images well within Roman traditions of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Generic symbols such as books are common to depictions of clerical martyrs; a chronologically significant parallel for the decoration of the cover of Saint Lawrence's book in S.

⁵¹ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.190-191. The programme is thought to date to the reign of Paschal II (1099-1118).

⁵² Jérôme Croisier, "Mosaici di San Clemente," *Riforma e tradizione*, p.213.

⁵³ Reynolds, "Clerical liturgical vestments," p.5.

⁵⁴ Roger Reynolds, "Image and text: the liturgy of clerical ordination in early medieval art," *Gesta* 22.1 (1983), pp.27-38, esp. fig. 13.

⁵⁵ Sandro Carletti, "S. Lorenzo," *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 13 vols. (Rome, 1961-1970), VIII, col.108-121, esp.118; Claudia Höhl, *Ottonische Buchmalerei* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp.51-52, figs. 56, 97.

⁵⁶ Rotraut Wisskirchen, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom: Ikonographie und Ikonologie*. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 17 (Munster, 1990), p.44, fig. 53. Although Wisskirchen does not venture an opinion on the saint's identity, she notes that Saint Stephen is a possible option.

⁵⁷ Sandrina Bandera, "Ariberto, tra vecchio e nuovo millennio," *Il crocifisso di Ariberto: un mistero millenario intorno al simbolo della cristianità*, ed. E. Brivio (Milan, 1997), pp.57-88, esp. fig.19.

Maria in Pallara is found in the late ninth-century paintings in S. Maria Secundicerio.⁵⁸ Saint Lawrence is depicted with his cross-tipped staff in Early Christian art, in the same way that Saint Peter's keys are depicted from at least the fifth century.⁵⁹ However, the use of martyrdom symbols is less frequent and the practice had a prolonged development. While scenes of Saint Lawrence's martyrdom exist, such as that found in the ninth-century crypt of Epyphanius, the earliest certain depiction of the saint with the grill of his martyrdom as an independent symbol is found in the twelfth-century wall painting at S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (Figure 29).⁶⁰ However, the practice is seen earlier in Rome, but with other saints; for example, images of a sword and fire appear at Saint Agnes's feet in the seventh-century apse of S. Agnese fuori le mura (Figure 31).⁶¹ S. Clemente is also depicted with his anchor in the eighth-century paintings of the left aisle of S. Maria Antiqua.⁶² It is thus possible that the grill was depicted at Saint Lawrence's feet in S. Maria in Pallara.

Military saints are also depicted in the apse conch at S. Maria in Pallara and while there is a definite typology for these in the history of Roman painting, it is perhaps a less developed tradition than that of clerical saints. Saints Sebastian and Zoticus wear the patterned *chlamys* of military costume, seen for example in the seventh-century mosaic apse of S. Teodoro (Figure

⁵⁸ Lafontaine, *Peintures*, pl. 18.

⁵⁹ Eva Schurr, *Die Ikonographie der Heiligen. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte ihrer Attribute von den Anfängen bis zum achten Jahrhundert* (Dettelbach, 1997), pp.121-134. Peter appears with his keys in the Arian Baptistry in Ravenna.

⁶⁰ For the crypt of Epyphanius image of the martyrdoms of Saints Lawrence and Stephen, see Mitchell, "The Crypt reappraised," pp.94-95.

⁶¹ Early modern drawings found in Vat. Lat. 5407, p.126, made for Alfonso Ciacconio in 1590 depict the motif; see Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien*, p.29, fig.14. For a discussion of the restoration of the mosaics, see Gabriella Delfini Filippi, "Per la storia del restauro musico nel secolo XIX: l'esempio di Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura," *Storia dell'arte* 65 (1989), pp.87-94.

⁶² Eva Tea, *La basilica di S. Maria Antiqua* (Milan, 1937), p.196. Saint Clement is pictured in the series of standing saints to the left of Christ and he holds a small anchor up like a cross. The paintings were commissioned by Pope Paul I (757-767).

32).⁶³ A parallel painted example is found in the seventh-century image of Saint Demetrius in S. Maria Antiqua (Figure 33).⁶⁴ There is no chronologically significant detail in their costume.

While no other images of Saint Zoticus are known to have survived outside of this church, there is a substantial body of evidence for the visual typology of Saint Sebastian in medieval Rome. The best-known medieval image of the saint is a mosaic found in S. Pietro in Vincoli where he is clearly identified by inscription and he is depicted wearing a white *chlamys* (Figure 34).⁶⁵ The mosaic has traditionally been dated to the seventh century. Even though the manner of dress differs, these two images of Saint Sebastian share a similar facial type that became standard in the Middle Ages, comprising grey curly hair, moustache and beard. The Grotto degli Angeli at Magliano Romano, north of Rome, preserves an image of the saint wearing blue and red armour and an ochre cloak (Figure 35).⁶⁶ This depiction presents him with a more elderly mien, having white rather than grey hair and age lines creasing his forehead. Similar facial features are seen in the early fourteenth-century apse paintings of S. Giorgio in Velabro, where Sebastian presents a more muscular body type wearing gold armour, green tunic and purple cloak (Figure 36).⁶⁷ Sebastian's typology is considered so stable that an image of an unknown saint

⁶³ Bolgia, "Il mosaico absidale di San Teodoro a Roma," p.331.

⁶⁴ Ann van Dijk, "Type and antitype in Santa Maria Antiqua: the Old Testament scenes on the transennae," *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano, cento anni dopo*, eds. J. Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, G. Morganti (Rome, 2004), pp.113-127, fig. 6.

⁶⁵ Roberta Flaminio, "Il mosaico di Sant Sebastiano nella chiesa di San Pietro in Vincoli a Roma," *Atti del VIe Colloquio dell' Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico* (Ravenna, 2000), pp.425-438; Gabriele Bartolozzi Casti and Maria Teresa Mazzilli Savini, "Il culto parallelo a S. Sebastiano nelle chiese di S. Pietro in Vincoli di Roma e di Pavia," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 76 (2003-2004), pp.345-448.

⁶⁶ The paintings are dated to twelfth century on the basis of a stylistic analysis. The paintings have been detached and restored and mounted in the cathedral of that city; see Simona Moretti, "Alle porte di Roma: un esempio pittorico e il suo contesto da ricostruire. La «Grotta degli Angeli» a Magliano Romano," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 76 (2003-2004), pp.105-133.

⁶⁷ Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, II, pp.209-211.

with curly grey hair found in excavations of the church of S. Saba on the Aventine was identified as this saint based on the physiognomy alone (Figure 37).⁶⁸

The inscriptions found in the apse conch also provide dating criteria, displaying many characteristics of ninth-century epigraphy and a few common to that of the twelfth century, both in letter forms and placement. For example, the distinctive A embedded within the H found in Saint Stephen's *titulus* is also found in the inscription identifying the portrait Abbot Epyphanius in the ninth-century Crypt of Epyphanius at S. Vincenzo al Volturno (Figure 38).⁶⁹ There are few abbreviations in S. Maria in Pallara's inscriptions; the use of abbreviations in both monumental inscriptions and manuscripts increases over time.⁷⁰ For example, the tenth-century funerary inscription of the monk Merco in S. Maria in Pallara uses minimal abbreviations (Figure 39). In contrast, most twelfth-century inscriptions tend to incorporate numerous abbreviation symbols common to eleventh- and twelfth-century palaeographical contexts. For example, a number of complex abbreviations are found in the twelfth-century paintings at Ceri (Figure 40).⁷¹ The only abbreviation in S. Maria in Pallara's apse is the S-slash for the word *sanctus* that appears as early as the mid-ninth century and is popular in tenth-century Rome.⁷²

⁶⁸ Paul Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas auf dem kl. Aventin in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 28.2-3 (1914), pp.49-96, esp. pp.54-55. The images were excavated from the left aisle of an earlier oratory under the church.

⁶⁹ On the epigraphic traditions at San Vincenzo, see Flavia de Rubeis, "La scrittura a San Vincenzo al Volturno fra manoscritti ed epigrafi," *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Cultura, istituzioni, economia*, ed. F. Marazzi (Monteroduni, 1996), pp. 21-40.

⁷⁰ Bernard Bishoff, *Latin Palaeography: antiquity and the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.150-156.

⁷¹ Nino Maria Zchomelidse, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri: pittura sacra al tempo della Riforma gregoriana* (Roma, 1996), pp.90-100.

⁷² Nicolette Gray, "The palaeography of Latin inscriptions in the eight, ninth and tenth centuries in Italy," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 16 (1948), pp.38-167, esp. pp.118-119, 129-130; Osborne, "The 'Particular Judgment'," p.341; idem, "The Roman catacombs in the Middle Ages," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985), pp.278-328, esp.324-235. The earliest securely dated example of the abbreviation is found in the ninth-century marble calendar of Naples, which

Finally, very few apse programmes in Rome include identifying inscriptions for the saints or patrons depicted therein. One rare pre-tenth century example is the apse of S. Marco created for Pope Gregory IV (827-844), but such a practice was not common until the twelfth century, as seen in the apses or apse arches in S. Clemente, S. Maria Nuova and S. Maria in Trastevere. In contrast, identifying inscriptions in wall paintings were common throughout the early medieval period and filled space by whatever means possible. For example, the inscription identifying the portrait of Pope Leo IV (847-855) in the Ascension panel in the lower church of S. Clemente fills the space around his head using vertical placement for some words and horizontal for others.⁷³ The eleventh-century paintings in the lower church of S. Clemente present numerous well-spaced, clear inscriptions, many of which are organised in cross-like layouts.⁷⁴ At S. Maria in Pallara both horizontal and cross-like placements are found; Saint Zoticus' inscription runs horizontally, whereas Saint Stephen's inscription appears in the form of a cross (Figures 18, 22). Thus in all respects a tenth-century date for the painting of the apse conch of S. Maria in Pallara is plausible.

2.3 Procession of Lambs: description and analysis

The base of the conch is crossed by a faded yellow border-like band some seventy centimetres high. A light green strip crosses the bottom eight centimetres of the band representing a grassy plain, across which march the twelve apocalyptic lambs, six from each side. They exit the portals of the heavenly cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, represented by white tower-like structures at either end (Figures 41, 42). The lambs march across the band towards its center to

is dated between 847 and 877; see Domenico Mallardo, "Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 58 (1944), pp.115-177.

⁷³ Osborne, *Early mediaeval wall paintings*, p.28, fig.2.

surround the *Agnus Dei*, who stands on Mount Zion, from which the rivers of Paradise flow (Figure 43). All the lambs are white with cloven hoofs, their woolly coats rendered by an overlapping scale-like pattern, but only the *Agnus Dei* bears a halo, which is blue. Outlined in black, a red outline is visible in places, perhaps the preparatory drawing showing through the white pigment.

While lambs are found within one of the fourth-century mosaic conches of S. Costanza in Rome, the earliest parallel for the frieze format in the context of monumental art is found in the sixth-century mosaics of SS. Cosma e Damiano.⁷⁵ The developmental iconographic steps from the former to the latter are unclear, but it is generally believed that the intermediary was the earliest apse decorations of Old Saint Peter's basilica.⁷⁶ Lambs can symbolise the Christian soul at baptism, the Christian faithful or the apostles.⁷⁷ A Lamb can also represent the Lord in an apocalyptic sense, referred to in Revelation.⁷⁸

Typologically, the *Agnus Dei* is the sacrificial lamb found frequently in the Old Testament, an epithet applied to Christ in the Gospel of John 1.29, which refers to his death and its commemoration in the Eucharist.⁷⁹ The symbolic Eucharistic significance of the *Agnus Dei* is emphasised in many twelfth-century Roman apses, which include a chalice to catch the falling sacrificial blood from a wound on its chest, a change which reflects contemporary debates about

⁷⁴ Cristiana Filippini, *The Eleventh-Century Frescoes of Clement and Other Saints in the Basilica of San Clemente in Rome*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1999, pp.48, 135, 222, 261-265.

⁷⁵ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp. 94-97.

⁷⁶ Rotraut Wisskirchen and Stefan Heid, "Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter," *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann* (Münster, 1991), pp.138-160. The most convincing proof is a gold-glass disc in the Vatican Museum collections that is decorated with the iconography.

⁷⁷ Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp.14, 37.

⁷⁸ Apocalypse 14.1; 22.1.

⁷⁹ Exodus 12.3; Isaiah 53.7.

the nature of the Eucharist.⁸⁰ For example, this iconography is found in the early twelfth-century apse of the monastic church of S. Anastasio at Castel S. Elia near Nepi (Figure 44).⁸¹ According to Miri Rubin, the debates began to increase in theological intensity in the eleventh century, culminating in the development of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the twelfth century and restrictions on the laity's access to the sacrament.⁸² This iconography is not found at S. Maria in Pallara, thus a pre-eleventh-century date is appropriate.

2.4 Dedication inscription: description and analysis

Below the border of apostolic lambs is a much thinner border comprised of red, yellow and red bands, the whole outlined in black. An inscription, traces of which are still visible, crossed this band. According to Constantino Gaetani (1560-1650) writing around 1600, it read:

VIRGO REDEMPTORIS GENITRIX ET SPLENDIDA MATER CHRISTI, ACCIPE
CUM ZOTICO ET SEBASTIANO VOTA BEATA QUAE SOPHUS ILLUSTRIS
MEDICUS QUOQUE PETRUS OFFERT UT PRECIBUS CAPIAT VESTRIS
COELESTIA REGNA.⁸³

⁸⁰ While scenes such as the Communion of the Apostles appeared in Roman art prior to the twelfth century, these images were not located in Rome's major basilicas, but in minor arts, such as the cross reliquary of Paschal I, and in monastic cave-chapels, such as S. Salvatore near Vallerano, nor were they commenting on the nature of the Eucharist; see Erik Thunø, *Image and relic: mediating the sacred in early medieval Rome* (Rome, 2002), chapter 4; Simone Piazza, "Une Communion des Apôtres en Occident: le cycle pictural de la Grotta del Salvatore près de Vallerano," *Cahiers archéologiques* 47 (1999), pp.137-158.

⁸¹ Hoegger, *Die Fresken*, pp.38-39.

⁸² Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.12-35, 70-72.

⁸³ The inscription is recorded in the essay by Pietro Uccelli and attributed to Gaetani; Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano Martire*, p.106.

[Virgin progenitor of the Saviour and noble mother of Christ, accept with Zoticus and Sebastian the blessed gifts which the wise and distinguished physician Peter offers so that by your prayers he may achieve the heavenly kingdom.]⁸⁴

In the 1630s Antonio Eclissi reported a more abbreviated version on his drawing of the apse (Figure 3).⁸⁵ A black-and-white photo from the early twentieth century confirms portions of the inscription (Figure 45).⁸⁶ The words ...TOR...GENITRIX ...MEDICUS Q ... QUE ... CAPIAT...ESTRIS C...L are still visible. Sections of the inscription appear to have suffered from water damage, but others seem to have been scraped away, such as the portion at the far right (Figure 46).

The script has an upright *cursus* and apparently uses no abbreviations. There is one remarkable letter form, the G of the word GENITRIX, whose lip curls in upon itself. A similar G may be seen in the tenth-century fragmentary funerary inscription of the monk Merco (Figure 39).⁸⁷ While Carlo Cecchelli supposed that this latter inscription was a forgery of the Gothic era on account of the G, there are other early painted parallels for the letter form.⁸⁸ For example, it is used in the word AGNUS in a recently excavated wall painting depicting the Virgin and Child with saints found in the church of S. Susanna, stylistically dated to the eighth century (Figure

⁸⁴ The translation is mine.

⁸⁵ VIRGO REDEMPTORIS GENITRIX ET SPLENDIDA MATER...EDA XPI...CO ET SEBASTIANO VOTA BEA...ILLUSTRIS MEDICUS QUOQUE PETRUS ...CAPIAT VESTRIS CELESTIS REGNA; see Vat. Lat. 9071, f.62v.

⁸⁶ The photos are housed at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12267 and E 12268.

⁸⁷ Gray, "The paleography of Latin inscriptions," p.145. Gray suggests that the indiction IIII in the inscription ranged from September 975 to September 976, although the specific date of 977 is mentioned.

⁸⁸ C. Cecchelli, "Alcune iscrizioni romane del secolo III-XI," *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, V, fasc. 53 (Rome, 1932), p.viii, pl.30.1; reprinted *Archivio Paleografico Italiano, monumenti epigrafici: Ristampa in eliotipia dell'edizione 1904-1949*, fasc. 66, 1967 (Rome, 1970). pp.xv-xvi.

47).⁸⁹ It is also found in the word EGO in an inscription beneath the painting known as the Translation of Saint Clement in the lower church of S. Clemente, dated to the late eleventh century (Figure 48).⁹⁰ Additionally the letter may be seen on the securely dated epitaph of Pope John XIII (965-972) in S. Paolo fuori le mura (Figure 49).⁹¹ There are no epigraphical reasons to preclude a tenth-century date for the paintings.

2.5 Apse, lower register: description

The lower register of the apse features a central image of the Virgin Mary in the *orans* position flanked by archangels and virgin saints bearing their crowns of martyrdom (Figure 50). Like the conch above, the upper third of this register's background is painted bright royal blue and the lower two-thirds are painted with an azurite backdrop that has turned green, the upper edge of which is zigzagged. A thin strip across the bottom of the register is painted bright yellow. Like the male saints in the conch above, the angels and virgin saints below are short with large heads. In contrast to the conch, the female saints are awkwardly positioned within the confines of the register, their halos nearly touching the inscription band, their feet almost resting on the Greek-key border causing a visual tension. These figures also differ from those above in their somewhat more limited palette.

The Virgin Mary is depicted standing on a red-and-white pedestal, her hands held in front of her chest (Figure 51). She has a round, smooth face and large eyes, although almost all

⁸⁹ Ursula Nilgen, "Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in Santa Susanna, Rom: ein römisches Thema mit Variationen," *Bedeutung in den Bildern: festschrift für Jörg Traeger zum 60. Geburtstag* (Regensburg, 2002), pp.231-245. Nilgen opts for a ninth-century date.

⁹⁰ John Osborne, "Proclamations of Power and Presence: The Setting and Function of Two Eleventh-Century Mural Decorations in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome," *Mediaeval Studies* 59 (1997), pp.155-172, esp. 162, fig.2.

⁹¹ Gray, "The paleography," p.144, pl. xxii.1.

pigment is missing from the latter; faint traces of thick black eyebrows can still be seen. Mary's full lips are outlined in thin black and red lines, as are her nose, face, neck and hands; her cheeks bear traces of a red blush created by thin red hatched lines. Contrary to the flesh of the figures above in the conch, there is no green pigment anywhere in her face or on her neck and hands. Her face is also lacking in all shadows, the column of her neck and the palms of her hands are gently coloured in warm brown flesh tones. Also at variance with the conch figures above is a lack of stark white highlights.

The Virgin's warm brown hair is caught up in a hair net, which is decorated with clusters of white pearls around the crossing of the filaments. Two loop-like ears protrude from the sides of the netting. Traces of yellow pigment from the Virgin's halo survive above and to the right of her head, the whole rimmed in a thin red band. Little remains of her crown except for its red under-drawing which indicates that it was shallow and three small dark-purple tri-lobed motifs that spring up from the sides and the center-front suggesting that it was ornately decorated. A white veil extends from the back of the crown to fall behind her shoulders. Details of the Virgin's headdress are better seen in an early black-and-white photo (Figure 52).⁹²

The Virgin wears a short-sleeved blue gown over a red tunic (Figure 50). The gown is decorated with red jewelled borders at the neck, hem and the center front and with an all-over pattern of tiny white flowers, now visible only on the right shoulder. She also wears a yellow *stola*, perhaps originally decorated with small white flowers, the hem of which descends from under the diagonal hem of the gown. Finally, faint traces of ornamental details can be seen on the dark purple shoes that complete the Virgin's costume.

Flanking Mary in the lower register are two archangels that were depicted in the same stylistic manner as that used for the Virgin (Figures 53-56). Their faces are round and smooth,

with large wide eyes. There are no green tones shadowing their flesh, which is uniformly pale with some warm brown skin tones marking the transitions between features. There are minimal white highlights appearing across the brow and in the neck area. The facial features are outlined in thin red and black lines, with red hatching creating a blush on the nose, cheeks and chin. Their lips are full and round, the bottom one forming a W shape, and U-shaped ears extend from the sides of their head.

The angels bear white-rimmed halos that are painted blue-green, nearly the same hue as that of the green jagged backdrop. A series of white triple-notches set at equidistant points along the inside of the halo is visible in that of the angel to the Virgin's right. Both angels are depicted with golden-brown hair that is braided around their head and tied with a white ribbon, the ends of which curl about their heads as if in a breeze. The angels have large, colourful wings that fan out to either side, the under-drawings of which are now visible through the blue background. The contour feathers are ochre outlined in red and black, making them look golden; the flight feathers are light blue-grey, each having a white shaft and black outline.

The archangels are depicted wearing purple dalmatics decorated with gold-jewelled collars and red cuffs; the hem of the gowns are widely slit at the sides to show off the bell-shaped hems of their light blue tunics. Over the dalmatic the archangels wear a red jewelled *loros*, a kind of scarf that wraps intricately around their bodies; it circles the shoulders with one end falling down the center front in a Y-shape, the other end sweeping around from back to front to hang over their opposite arm. The *loros* is rendered very naturalistically in S. Maria in Pallara; not only is the wrapping of the scarf legible, but the end of the scarf trails down to hem-level in generous folds and the light blue underside is visible as it twists in front and before passing over the arm.

⁹² The photo is found at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12269.

The pearls and triangular-shaped jewels decorating the scarves are more clearly visible in black-and-white photos (Figures 57, 58).⁹³

The archangels bear standards in their right hands. In the seventeenth century Constantino Gaetani claimed to be able to read Eucharistic blessings on the banners attached to the staffs, but no trace of the letters is visible now, or in the black-and-white photos; the Eclissi drawing agrees with Gaetani's reading (Figure 3).⁹⁴ The banners appear too small ever to have held more than a few letters, let alone a series of words. The archangels bear light-blue glass spheres in their left hands that are inscribed with the black Greek letters beginning Christ's name, *Chi-Rho*. A horizontal bar cuts through the stem of the *Rho* in order to make it a cross. There is no trace of any identifying inscriptions for the archangels.

Flanking the archangels in the lower register of the apse in S. Maria in Pallara are four Virgin saints (Figures 59, 60). In physiognomy and dress they are similar to the image of the Virgin Mary. They have yellow, red-rimmed halos. Their faces are large and round, with minimal warm brown shadowing and all their features are outlined in red and black lines. Red hatching colours their cheeks, noses and chins and no green shadows are visible in their faces. The large eyes, only traces of which remain, are set under thick black eyebrows and shallow foreheads. Small plum-coloured mouths are defined by rounded red W-shaped outlines. Traces of loop-like ears remain on the right-most virgin.

The virgins wear their brown hair in a manner similar to that of the Virgin Mary, caught up in hairnets. Traces of pearls can be found in the filament crossings in black-and-white photos

⁹³ The photos are found at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12273 and E 12274.

⁹⁴ Uccelli, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, p.107. One read, SCS - SCS - SCS and the other, DOMINVS DEVS SABOATH.

(Figures 61, 62).⁹⁵ Their red shallow crowns are also studded with white pearls; several crowns still display traces of jewels. The colours of the virgins' costumes are the inverse of that of the Virgin Mary; their blue tunics appear from under red, short-sleeved, flower-patterned gowns that have diagonal hems and jewelled borders. The sleeves of blue gowns have red cuffs decorated with jewelled borders. The virgins also wear yellow *stolae*, which were originally decorated with a sparse pattern of small brown flowers as seen on that of the right-most virgin. A similar flower-pattern appeared on the yellow *pallia* worn over their left shoulders and that were draped over their left hands, on which they bore red, shallow, jewelled crowns. The crowns bear distinctive loops that cross over their centers in a perpendicular arc. The virgin saints also carry crosses in their left hands. Almost all trace of their slippers is lost, which appear to have been brown-red, but the black-and-white photos show that they were decorated with diamond-shaped motifs.

So far the Eclissi drawing of the apse has offered little assistance in analysing the paintings of the lower register and this is also generally true regarding the virgin saints (Figure 3). In the drawing, the saints on either end of the register appear to be male, with that on the left even bearing a moustache. It is possible that the paintings were obscured by a growth of mineral salts at the time and thus were not completely visible, resulting in the error. It is also possible that Eclissi was not as interested in these saints as he was in the male figures depicted in the other areas of the paintings. Whatever the reason for the discrepancy, as noted above, Eclissi's drawings are generally credible in their rendering of iconographic details, even if stylistic accuracy is often lost in his aesthetic of documentation.

Eclissi notes an important detail in this area of the drawing: two Latin inscriptions identifying the second and fourth virgin saints. The first inscription, S. LUCIA, is found between

⁹⁵ The photos are found in the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12267, 12268.

the two saints on the left and the second, SCA AGNES, is found between the two on the right. No trace of these inscriptions remains. Since the names are in Latin, it is possible to say that they date before the eleventh century when the vernacular first began to be used, although by no means did Latin stop being used in inscriptions.⁹⁶ Uccelli records that another virgin saint was to be identified as Saint Catherine, but there is no corroboration for this in the drawing.⁹⁷ If indeed the paintings date to the tenth century as is likely, it is unlikely that Saint Catherine was depicted here, as her cult was not popular in Western Europe until the time of the Crusades.⁹⁸ Other possibilities are Saints Cecilia and Euphemia.⁹⁹

2.6 Apse, lower register: analysis

The Virgin at S. Maria in Pallara has been characterised as one of the Maria Regina type; the term derives from actual medieval liturgical hymns, but it has also become an art historical descriptor for the Virgin when bearing the courtly dress of a Byzantine empress.¹⁰⁰ A forerunner of this type is found in the fifth-century apse arch mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore, where the

⁹⁶ Osborne, "The Particular judgment," p.341.

⁹⁷ Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, p.108. Uccelli claims that Constantino Gaetani relates the information, however, it does not appear in the passages written by Gaetani published by Uccelli; see *ibidem*, pp.83-99.

⁹⁸ Osborne, "Dating medieval mural paintings in Rome," forthcoming. As noted by Osborne, the first image of Saint Catherine in Rome may be that in the right aisle of the lower church of S. Crisogono; see Eleonora Mazzocchi, "Una parete dai molti misteri: alcune precisazioni sugli affreschi della basilica inferiore di San Crisogono a Roma," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* ser. IV, 6.1 (2001), pp.39-60, esp.42-43.

⁹⁹ Osborne, "Early medieval painting in San Clemente, Rome: the Madonna and Child in the niche," *Gesta* 20 (1981), pp.299-310, esp. 308.

¹⁰⁰ Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin* 7 (1925), 150-161; Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp.50-52; Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina – ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981), pp.1-33; Osborne, "Early medieval painting in San Clemente, Rome: the Madonna and Child in the niche," pp.303-304.

Virgin was depicted in simpler court dress and is known by the epithet *femina clarissima*.¹⁰¹ The earliest true image of the Maria Regina in Rome is found in the sixth-century paintings of the palimpsest wall at S. Maria Antiqua where the Virgin is wrapped in a jewelled *loros* (Figure 63).¹⁰² Alternatively Mary can be found in some apses and votive images dressed in a simple gown and *maphorion*, a dark cloak, such as the seventh-century apse of the S. Venanzio Chapel and the ninth-century apse of S. Maria in Domnica.¹⁰³ A hybrid between the Maria Regina type and the *maphorion* type Madonna developed in the eleventh century when the *maphorion* came to be decorated with jewelled bands; the crown may or may not feature in such depictions.¹⁰⁴

The Virgin's hairnet in S. Maria in Pallara appears to be a new iconographic development, but parallels may be found in twelfth-century painting in and around Rome. For example, a similar hairpiece is found in the twelfth-century paintings from the Grotta degli

¹⁰¹ Beat Brenk first determined that the crown was not an imperial one, providing the parallel of the fifth-century Diptych of the Consul Stilicho; Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken*, p.50.

¹⁰² Osborne, "Early medieval painting," p.305

¹⁰³ For the S. Venanzio chapel, see Gillian Mackie, "The San Venanzio Chapel in Rome and the martyr shrine sequence," *RACAR* 23 (1996), pp.1-13. For S. Maria in Domnica, see Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Santa Maria in Domnica. Überlegungen zur frühesten apsidalen Darstellung der thronenden Maria in Rom," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 61 (1995-1997), pp.381-393. Several eighth-century images of the Virgin and Child in S. Maria Antiqua have her depicted wearing the *maphorion*. Two niche paintings approximately contemporary to S. Maria in Pallara feature *maphorion*-draped Madonnas; one is found in the crypt of S. Urbano alla Cafferella and the other is in the small rectangular chapel under SS. Cosma e Damiano; for a study of the typology, see Paola Mangia Renda, "Il culto della Vergine nella basilica romana dei SS. Cosma e Damiano dal X al XII sec.," *Rivista nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* s.III, 8-9 (1985-1986), pp.323-364, esp.335-344. For the most recent and balanced view of the visual profile of the cult of the Virgin in Rome, see John Osborne, "Images of the Mother of God in early medieval Rome," *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, A. Eastmond and L. James, ed. (Aldershot 2003), pp.135-156, esp.141.

¹⁰⁴ This iconography is found in the image of the enthroned Virgin recently excavated in the baptistery at S. Clemente, in the twelfth-century apse at the catacomb of Sant'Ermete; see Romano, "Battistero di S. Clemente," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.66-67; Filipe Dos Santos, "La basilica di Sant'Ermete," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.97-101. It is also found in the icons of S. Angelo in Pescheria and S. Maria in Via Lata

Angeli at Magliano Romano (Figure 64).¹⁰⁵ There is some evidence for an early medieval development for this accessory; a hairnet-like jewelled headpiece is found on the figure of Saint Agnes in the seventh-century apse of S. Agnese fuori le mura (Figure 31). Also, the Virgin is depicted wearing a similar hairnet in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart Psalter, biblia folio 23, fol. 84r), a manuscript thought to have originated at the monastery of St-Germain-des-Prés, Paris in the 820s (Figure 65).¹⁰⁶

Two important parallels should be mentioned in relation to S. Maria in Pallara's depiction of the Maria Regina iconography. First, despite the loss of details, it can be seen that the Virgin's crown is not the imperial Byzantine one that consistently appears in eighth-century depictions of the iconography in Rome. The *prependoulia*, the hanging chains of pearls, are absent here and the veil is a significant addition. In this respect a better parallel is found in the ninth-century Crypt of Epyphanius, where the Virgin is depicted in the apse-like vault of the chapel's western arm bearing a fez-like crown that trails a white veil (Figure 66). The Virgin's role as primary intercessor with Christ is viewed as the central argument for chapel's programme.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that this more modest courtly version of the iconography with veil was more appropriate in a monastic setting; the Virgin is referred to in her guise as the Lord's mother here, as GENITRIX.

Another important parallel for the pedestal-mounted Virgin in S. Maria in Pallara was found in the funerary chapel of Pope John VII (705-707) in the north-east aisle of Old St Peter's

¹⁰⁵ Simona Moretti, "Alle porte di Roma," p.122. The hairnet is seen again in the eleventh-century frescoes of two Virgin saints excavated at S. Agnese fuori le mura and now in the Vatican museum; see Giulia Bordi, "S. Agnese fuori le mura," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.63-65.

¹⁰⁶ Ernest T. De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter, biblia folio 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek* (Princeton, 1932), p.65.

¹⁰⁷ Fernanda de'Maffei, "Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno: il ciclo della cripta di Epifanio," *Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise: San Vincenzo al Volturno. Atti del I° convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale*; Miscellanea Cassinese, 51 (Montecassino, 1985), pp.269-352; Robert Deshman, "Servants of the mother of God in Byzantine and medieval art," *Word & Image* 5 (1989), pp.33-70, esp.44-50.

basilica where an *orans* Maria Regina was the central focus of a mosaic decorative programme composed primarily of a Christological cycle.¹⁰⁸ The chapel is now known through early modern drawings, but the image of the Virgin survives in the basilica of S. Marco in Florence (Figure 67).¹⁰⁹ The programme has recently been examined by Ann Van Dijk, who characterizes it within a discussion of the medieval Christian theology of death; since the seventh century the expiation of sin through prayer was considered necessary to achieve eternal salvation and prayer could also be elicited through the patronage of art.¹¹⁰ This view is evident in the pope's epitaph and the mosaics; the inscription has the pope ask for the protection of the Virgin and the mosaics feature an image of the pope offering a model of the church directly to her, emphasising her role as primary intercessor with Christ.¹¹¹ The *orans* gesture is literally one of prayer and thus the Virgin is depicted acting out Pope John's wish.¹¹² Whether the Virgin of Pope John's chapel can be viewed as a direct model for S. Maria in Pallara's *orans* Virgin is unknown without a better understanding of the latter's original appearance; if so, perhaps it was chosen for its funerary significance.

The placement of the Virgin in the lower register of the apse below the central image of Christ does create a direct intercessory relation between the two figures. Exactly when apses began to be two-tiered, featuring an image of the Virgin beneath an image of Christ is unknown.

¹⁰⁸ A similar depiction of Mary is found in the Theodotus chapel at S. Maria Antiqua where the Virgin, flanked by saints, is portrayed standing on a pedestal holding the Child in her arms. While the upper half of the image is now missing, it was probably a maphorion-type Madonna; see Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, I, p.144, fig. 114.

¹⁰⁹ Ann van Dijk, *The oratory of Pope John VII (705-707) in Old St. Peter's*. Unpublished dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1995, fig.12.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, pp.193-205.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, pp.115-116.

¹¹² W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "The orants in the mosaic decoration of the rotunda at Thessaloniki: martyr saints or donors?" *Cahiers archéologiques* 30 (1982), pp.25-45. Kleinbauer refers to many early Byzantine examples of donor or funerary portraits using the pose, as a general posture for prayer in imitation of the form of Christ's Crucifixion.

Christa Ihm argued that the twin-tiered format developed in Egypt, as our earliest surviving evidence comes from the fifth- and sixth-century monastic chapels at Bawit, where the Ascension was a common apse composition.¹¹³ The earliest surviving apse decorations in Rome feature only marble cladding below the conch; whether they always did so is unknown.¹¹⁴

The visual hierarchy formed by configuring a representation of the Virgin below Christ found at S. Maria in Pallara was not new to Roman church decoration. Images of the Ascension are found in the Early Christian and medieval monuments of Rome.¹¹⁵ The first Marian images appearing underneath representations of Christ in medieval apses were perhaps icons, a tradition that may have begun in the sixth century at SS. Cosma e Damiano and S. Maria in Trastevere, but certainly seems to have been common by the early seventh-century when Boniface IV (608-615) transformed the Pantheon into S. Maria ad Martyres; an icon from that church is thought to have served in lieu of relics for the dedication.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei*, pp.95-100. In particular she refers to the monastery of Apollo at Bawit; see *ibidem*, pls.23, 25.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the opus sectile wall panels once found in S. Maria Antiqua, see Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi, "La decorazione marmorea dell'edificio di Santa Maria Antiqua fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo," *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo. Atti del colloquio internazionale Roma, 5-6 maggio 2000* (Rome, 2004), pp.49-66.

¹¹⁵ For example, the iconography of the Ascension is found on the S. Sabina doors; see Peter Maser, "Parusie Christi oder Triumph der Gottesmutter? Anmerkungen zu einem Relief der Tür von S. Sabina in Rom," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 77.1-2 (1982), pp.30-51. It is also found in the ninth-century paintings of the lower church of S. Clemente; see Osborne, *Early mediaeval wall paintings*, pp.24-54.

¹¹⁶ Early modern tradition states that Felix IV (526-530) placed an icon of the Virgin underneath the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano; see Mangia Renda, "Il culto della Vergine," p.326. The case is more certain for the icon of S. Maria in Trastevere which is first referred to in a seventh-century list of churches; see Maria Andaloro, "La datazione della tavola di S. Maria in Trastevere," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e storia dell'arte* 19-20 (1972-1973), pp.139-215, esp.164-169; Eugenio Russo, "L'affresco di Turtura nel cimitero di Commodilla, l'icona di S. Maria in Trastevere e le più antiche feste della Madonna a Roma," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 88 (1979), pp.35-85, esp.53-60. Whether or not the Pantheon Madonna icon sat on an altar is unknown, but certainly the Sancta Sanctorum icon of Christ did; see Carlo Bertelli, "La Madonna del Pantheon," *Bollettino d'Arte* 46 (1961), pp.24-

The earliest surviving apse to feature the Virgin and Child as its central focus is that found in the sixth-century basilica Eufasianiana at Poreč that is located beneath an image of Christ seated on a globe on the apse arch.¹¹⁷ There is no evidence of the earliest apse decorations of the city's first Marian shrines, S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Trastevere.¹¹⁸ An *orans* Virgin is depicted underneath a bust of Christ in the seventh-century conch of the San Venanzio chapel at the Lateran Baptistery.¹¹⁹ An important developmental step in the articulation of a two-tier apse is found on the east wall of the eighth-century Theodotus chapel in S. Maria Antiqua where an image of the enthroned Virgin with Child is found underneath an image of the Crucified Christ; although technically not an apse, this wall is the liturgical focus of the funerary chapel (Figure 68).¹²⁰ Another precedent is the twin-tiered, ninth-century apse in the Crypt of Epyphanius, with its series of archangels in the lower register, an enthroned Virgin in the conch and a figure of Christ seated on a globe on this tiny chapel's ceiling (Figure 23).¹²¹ A two-tiered apse similar to

32; Hans Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art*, E. Jephcott, tr. (Chicago, 1990), pp.63-73, 500.

¹¹⁷ Representations of the Annunciation and the Visitation are found underneath the conch between windows; see Clementina Rizzardi, "Relazioni artistiche fra Ravenna e l'Istria: i mosaici parietali," *XLII corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Seminario internazionale sul tema: Ricerche di archeologia cristiana e bizantina, Ravenna 14-19 maggio 1995* (Ravenna, 1995), pp.817-836.

¹¹⁸ Based on a lost inscription from the apse, Beat Brenk believed that the apse at S. Maria Maggiore was decorated with a donation scene highlighting the patronage of Pope Sixtus III (432-440); see Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken*, p.2. There is no evidence for S. Maria in Trastevere's earliest apse decorations, but the *Liber pontificalis* relates that both Pope Hadrian I (772-795) and Pope Benedict III (855-858) carried out renovations to the sanctuary; see Dale Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere from its founding to 1215*, unpublished Ph.D., New York University, New York, 1975, pp.89-90, 150.

¹¹⁹ The chapel's decoration was the product of the patronage of two popes, John IV (d.642) and Theodore I (d.649), whose portraits appear within the programme; see Mackie, "The San Venanzio Chapel," pp.4-5.

¹²⁰ Hans Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp.55-69; Natalia Teteriatnikov, "For whom is Theodotus Praying? An interpretation of the program of the private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua," *Cahiers archéologiques* 41 (1993), pp.37-46.

¹²¹ Mitchell, "The crypt reappraised," fig.7:8.

that of S. Maria in Pallara is found in the eleventh- or twelfth-century chapel of Sant'Ermete, also a monastic institution (Figure 69).¹²² Thus the two-tiered apse format underwent a gradual development in Roman church decoration, in response to an increasing need for saintly intercession. While the earliest fully articulated examples of two-tier apses are found in monastic churches, their origin probably lies in the ritualistic practices of the Christian commemoration of the dead, rather than in a single institution within that construct, such as monasticism. Thus in iconography and structure, a tenth-century date is suitable for S. Maria in Pallara's depiction of the Virgin.

The location, costume and stance of the archangels in S. Maria in Pallara are distinctive in medieval church decoration in Rome. Angels appear regularly in church decoration outside of Rome from the sixth century. For example, they appear flanking Christ or the Virgin in the apse mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna or the Basilica Eufasianiana at Poreč.¹²³ In both of these examples the angels introduce saints or patrons into the presence of the divinity.¹²⁴ Angels serve a similar function in the procession of saints in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.¹²⁵ There are no apses to point to as equivalents in Rome, where saints took on this presentation function beginning in the sixth century.¹²⁶ The sole surviving Roman apse to include angels is that in S.

¹²² Øystein Hjort, "The first portrait of St. Benedict? Another look at the frescoes of Sant'Ermete in Rome and the development of a 12th-century facial type," *Hafnia* 8 (1981), 72-82; Osborne, "The Roman catacombs in the Middle Ages," pp.322-326; Filipe dos Santos, "Sant'Ermete," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.97-101.

¹²³ Rizzardi, "Relazioni artistiche fra Ravenna e l'Istria," pp.817-836.

¹²⁴ In S. Vitale these are Saint Vitalis and Bishop Ecclesius. In Poreč, the angels introduce Maurus and Bishop Eufrasius.

¹²⁵ Otto G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine art and statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago, 1948; 1969), pp.69-100.

¹²⁶ Recent attempts have been made to contextualise the Roman apse composition within discussions of juridical status; see Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Christus - Apostelfürsten - Heilige - Stifter. Zur Stellung und Beziehung von Einzelfiguren oder Gruppen in Mosaiken stadtrömischer Kirchen," *Chartulae Festschrift für Wolfgang Speyer*, ed. E. Dassmann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband, 28 (Münster, 1998), pp.295-310; Klaus Gereon Beuckers,

Maria in Domnica, where they appear in a representation of the adoration of the Virgin and Child (Figure 70).

Angels often appear on the apse arches of Roman churches. For example, angels appear in the Annunciation scenes depicted on the fifth-century apse arch of S. Maria Maggiore and on the ninth-century arch of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.¹²⁷ On account of its apocalyptic subject matter, angels appear on the sixth-century apse arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano that was widely copied in the ninth century. A host of angels is depicted venerating a representation of the Crucifixion on the seventh-century arch of S. Maria Antiqua (Figure 71).¹²⁸

The earliest surviving images of the Virgin flanked by angels in Rome are in smaller-scale paintings and icons. Joan Barclay Lloyd has recently suggested that such images developed from scenes depicting the Adoration of the Magi.¹²⁹ The iconography is seen in the sixth-century Madonna della Clemenza icon in S. Maria in Trastevere, where the angels gaze at the viewer, gesturing to Christ with their raised open palms, almost in an act of invitation (Figure 72).¹³⁰ In all of these examples, the angels are gowned in simple white tunics and *pallia*.

In contrast, the angels at S. Maria in Pallara wear courtly dress, a practice that dates back to Early Christian art. For example, the *chlamys*-clad archangels Michael and Gabriel are

“Stifterbild und Stifterstatus. Bemerkungen zu den Darstellungen Papst Paschalis I. (817-24) in Rom und ihren Vorbildern,” *Form und Stil. Festschrift Günther Binding zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. S. Lieb (Darmstadt, 2001), pp.56-74.

¹²⁷ J. Deane Sieger, “Visual metaphor as theology: Leo the Great’s sermons on the Incarnation and the arch mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore,” *Gesta* 26.2 (1987), pp. 83-91. Diega Giunta, “I mosaici dell’arco absidale della basilica dei SS. Nereo e Achilleo e l’eresia adozionista del sec. VIII,” *Roma e l’età carolingia: atti delle Giornate di studio, 3-8 maggio 1976* (Rome, 1976), pp.195-110.

¹²⁸ Ursula Nilgen, “The adoration of the Crucified Christ at Santa Maria Antiqua and the tradition of triumphal arch decoration in Rome,” *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano, cento anni dopo*, eds. J. Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, G. Morganti (Rome, 2004), pp.129-136.

¹²⁹ Joan Barclay Lloyd, “Mary, Queen of the Angels: Byzantine and Roman images of the Virgin and Child enthroned with attendant angels,” *Melbourne Art Journal* 5 (2001), pp5-24.

¹³⁰ Andaloro, “La datazione della tavola di S. Maria in Trastevere,” pp.164-169.

depicted on either side of the apse arch in S. Apollinare in Classe, where they bear long-handled banners inscribed with the triple Eucharistic blessing, the *trisagion*, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ (Figure 73).¹³¹ *Loros*-draped angels were depicted holding standards and guarding the empty throne, the *hetoimasia*, on the bema arch of the now destroyed Church of the Dormition in Nicaea, modern Iznik in Turkey.¹³² A related representation of orb-bearing archangels is found in the ninth-century apse of the crypt of Epyphanios, where they wear blue tunics and purple *chlamys* and their number has been multiplied to five (Figure 23). In opposition to the welcoming stance of the angels in the Madonna della Clemenza icon, the frontal pose and challenging gaze in all these depictions set up a hierarchical structure, a multi-level system of access to divinity.

The change in costume also contributes to the new ethos. According to Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, the iconography of the archangels is a statement about the balance of power between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, as the angels' courtly dress, especially the *loros*, signifies that they are equal in power to the emperor.¹³³ The *loros* of imperial costume is found at S. Maria in Pallara

¹³¹ The angels have been dated to the mid-sixth century. Clementina Rizzardi, "I mosaici dell'arco trionfale di Sant'Apollinare in Classe: precisazioni iconografiche cronologiche e stilistiche," *XXXII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina: Cipro e il Mediterraneo Orientale* (Ravenna, 1985), pp. 403-430, esp. 405-411. For a similar representation of angels in Durazzo, see Maria Andaloro, "I mosaici parietali di Durazzo o dell'origine costantinopolitana del tema iconografico di Maria Regina," *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. O. Feld, U. Peschlow (Bonn, 1986), pp. 103-112.

¹³² The date of the bema mosaics is contested; dates from the sixth to ninth centuries have been proposed; see Paul A. Underwood, "The evidence of restorations in the sanctuary mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), pp. 235-243, esp. 240-242; Fernanda de' Maffei, "L'Unigenito consustanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai," *Storia dell'arte* 45 (1982), pp. 91-116; 46 (1983), pp. 185-200.

¹³³ This interpretation of the *loros* and the costume-change in the post-Iconoclast period depends heavily on the dating of the Nicaea mosaics; see Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, "Notes sur la représentation des archanges en costume impérial dans l'iconographie byzantine," *Cahiers archéologiques* 46 (1998), pp. 121-128. On the *loros*, see also Colette Lamy-Lassalle, "Les archanges en costume impérial dans la peinture murale italienne," *Synthronon – Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, eds. A. Grabar, J. Hubert, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 2 (Paris, 1968), pp. 189-198.

and in many Romanesque representations of archangels in and around Rome, such as the Particular Judgement panel in the lower church of S. Clemente, the votive panel in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, as well as the apses of S. Ermete and S. Anastasio at Castel S. Elia (Figure 74).¹³⁴ While the *loros* is correctly and naturalistically draped around the archangels in S. Maria in Pallara, all the remaining examples of the garment are stiffly rendered, as if its use was no longer understood and it was only a series of ornamental bands applied to a garment. Realistic depictions of the garment are found in portraits of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959).¹³⁵

Finally, the archangels at S. Maria in Pallara present a chronologically significant iconographical detail: constancy in halo colour. Early Christian representations of angels in Rome feature either yellow or blue halos. For example, the angels in the sixth-century Maria Regina painting in S. Maria Antiqua and the Madonna della Clemenza icon bear yellow halos, whereas the angels on the apse arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano bear blue halos.¹³⁶ From the seventh to the eleventh century angels in and around Rome are consistently depicted with blue or blue-green halos; for example, this is the case in the eighth-century apse arch in S. Maria Antiqua and in the

¹³⁴ Osborne, "The 'Particular judgement'," p.335; Filipe Dos Santos, "SS. Giovanni e Paolo," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.95-96; idem, "La basilica di Sant'Ermete," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.97-101; Hoegger, *Die Fresken*, pp.47-51.

¹³⁵ Elisabeth Piltz, "Middle Byzantine court costume," *Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, 1997), pp.39-51, esp. figs. 3, 10.

¹³⁶ The dating of the arch mosaics is disputed, with some scholars believing they are a part of a seventh-century restoration; see Rotraut Wisskirchen, "Zur Apsisstirnwand von SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rom" *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 42 (1999), pp.169-183. The mosaics were recently restored and the restorer, Vitaliano Tiberia, found no technical reason for the alternate dating, which he favours on account of stylistic reasons; see V. Tiberia, *Il mosaico restaurato: l'arco della basilica dei Santi Cosma e Damiano* (Rome, 1998), p.15. Another variation in colour is found in the paintings of the Tempietto del Clitunno, where angels bear red halos. The paintings have been variously dated from the sixth to the ninth century; see Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, I, aggiornamento, pl.1; Judson Emerick, *The tempietto del Clitunno near Spoleto*, 2 vols. (Pennsylvania, 1998), I, pp.307-310. A red-haloed angel is also found in the Romanesque paintings of S. Benedetto in Piscinula; Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, p.259.

ninth-century mosaics of the S. Zeno chapel at S. Prassede.¹³⁷ Significantly, the halos in S. Maria Antiqua bear white notches similar to those found in S. Maria in Pallara. Depictions of angels dating to the eleventh century and later usually bear yellow halos, as do the angels in the Particular Judgement panel at S. Clemente (Figure 75).¹³⁸ Yellow halos are also found in the S. Ermete apse, in the SS. Giovanni and Paolo votive panel, and several others.¹³⁹ Thus, the archangels in S. Maria in Pallara present a transitional iconography that bridges early medieval and Romanesque depictions.

S. Maria in Pallara's representation of female virgin saints belongs in a long history of such iconography and many parallels for them can be found in eight- and ninth-century church decoration in and around Rome. There are stylistic affinities; for instance, several of the virgins display the double-line fold definition of thigh-drapery that is found in ninth-century paintings and mosaics as discussed above, a detail that tends to disappear in Romanesque art. There are also iconographic parallels for costume and accoutrements; for example, similar series of female saints are found in the eighth-century paintings of the lower church of S. Clemente, the lost eighth-century paintings of the small chapel behind the apse of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, the eighth-century paintings under S. Martino ai Monti, the newly excavated paintings from S. Susanna and the securely dated ninth-century paintings in the Crypt of Epyphanius.¹⁴⁰ By far the

¹³⁷ Nordhagen, *The frescoes of John VII*, pp.45-47. Blue halos are found in the mosaics of Pope John VII's funerary chapel; see van Dijk, *The oratory of Pope John VII*, pp.58-61. For S. Zeno mosaics, see Gillian Mackie, "The Zeno chapel: a prayer for salvation," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989), pp.172-199.

¹³⁸ Osborne, "The 'Particular judgement'," p.335.

¹³⁹ Filipe Dos Santos, "SS. Giovanni e Paolo," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.95-96; idem, "La basilica di Sant'Ermete," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.97-101; Serena Romano, Julie Enckell, "S. Gabriele sull'Appia," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.56-57; Serena Romano, "S. Andrea del Celio," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.60-61.

¹⁴⁰ Osborne, "Early medieval painting in San Clemente," pp.300-301,307; Nilgen, "Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina," pp.232-233, fig.1; C. Davis Weyer and J. Emerick, "The early

best parallel for the virgin saints is provided by the securely dated late ninth-century paintings of S. Maria Secundicerio, where a similar-looking unidentified virgin appears; the figure is dressed in court costume and bears a cross and the distinctive loop-crossed crown (Figure 76).¹⁴¹ It is perhaps chronologically significant that later Romanesque depictions of virgin saints do not bear crosses. For example, this is the case with the virgin saints in the eleventh-century panels excavated in S. Agnese fuori le mura and those in the Marian oratory of S. Pudenziana.¹⁴² Therefore in their attributes the S. Maria in Pallara virgin saints are best situated within a discussion of eighth- and ninth-century monuments.

2.7 Apse arch: description

The paintings of the apse arch survive in fragmentary condition (Figure 1). Where the plaster has not fallen or been cut away, the upper surfaces have largely faded or been eroded so that little more than the red preparatory drawing and the stain of pigment remain. Despite the losses, the programme can still be discerned, as it involved the repetition of figures and the representation of traditional subjects. Early modern drawings and descriptions can also be used to analyse the paintings. The Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse were depicted in the upper register, a series of Apostles and Prophets were depicted in the second register and a series of saints in the third. Significantly, the paintings of the arch connect with those of the apse in two places on either side of the apse. The contiguity has not previously been discussed, nor has the

sixth-century frescoes at S. Martino ai Monti in Rome,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), pp.3-60, esp.26-28; Mitchell, “The crypt reappraised,” fig.7:5.

¹⁴¹ Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales*, pp.28-29, pl.7.

¹⁴² Giulia Bordi, “S. Agnese fuori le Mura,” *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.63-65; Jérôme Croisier, “S. Pudenziana,” *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.199-206; Valentino Pace, “Riforma della chiesa e visualizzazione della santità nella pittura romana: i casi di Sant’Alessio e di Santa Cecilia,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46-47 (1993-1994), pp.541-548.

painting on the contiguous fragment on the right side of the arch that appears to be synchronous with the programme of the rest of the register. These details, along with programmatic considerations, suggest that the paintings of the arch are contemporary with those in the apse.

The upper most register of the apse arch presents figures that lunge forward to kneel on one knee, holding out wide flat crowns on yellow cloth-covered hands; fragments of four figures survive on each side of the apse (Figures 77, 78). They represent the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse. Eclissi's drawing of the apse arch features a medallion in the center of the arch, in which an image of the *Agnus Dei* is depicted (Figure 4a). No trace of the lamb remains. A thin strip at the top of the register is painted light blue, below which is a green jagged bank similar to that found in the apse, although its peaks are larger and less regular. This bank must originally have been painted with blue azurite, which has since transformed into green malachite. A thin strip at the bottom of the register is painted yellow.

The Elders bear no halos and they wear no crowns. They were depicted with short beards and long hair that fell behind their backs. No trace of hair colour remains, but since the plaster in this area was left bare when the preparatory sketch was produced, it may safely be assumed that it was meant to be white or grey. While natural pigments remain on the faces of the figures to the right of the apse, it is impossible to say how their features were defined. Although the Elders are meant to be old, these figures were depicted with firmly-set shoulders and vigorous bodies defined by strong flowing lines that give strength to their limbs. They were depicted wearing blue tunics and sleeveless yellow robes, the pigment layer of which has all but fallen away leaving only a stain of colour and the preparatory drawings. In some of the drawings a flying hem can be seen that is similar to those of various figures in the apse. If the Elders wore sandals, no trace of them now survives.

A fragment of painting on the right apse arch contiguous with the apse, but not previously discussed, appears to continue the apocalyptic programme of the upper register (Figure 79). The edge of the arch is a smooth join of two *giornate* (Figure 80).¹⁴³ The fragment is painted with a yellow cloth similar to that covering the hands of the Elders, below which is a patch of blue drapery that may represent the lower portion of an Elder's tunic. To the left of the drapery is a patch of grey-green pigment that narrows as it descends and terminates in a black hoof-like shape. These colours are not found in the other depictions of the Elders and thus this patch appears to represent the hind leg of a cloven-hoofed animal. While Eclissi's drawing depicted the *Agnus Dei* at the center of the apse, this patch is found to the right of center and thus it cannot be the lamb. It is possible that it represents a bull, the Evangelist symbol for Saint Luke.

The middle register is less deteriorated than that above, although more fragmentary; a series of roughly-drawn figures bearing other figures upon their shoulders is depicted. It is thought that these represent the Apostles sitting on the shoulders of Prophets (Figures 81, 82). Fragments of three sets of these figures survive on the left apse arch, with the hips of another Prophet surviving on the left edge of this section and the buttocks and drapery of another Apostle surviving on the right edge. Only two sets of figures remain in the middle register on the right arch. The Eclissi drawings suggest that a greater number of figures survived in the seventeenth century, as well as an image of the blessing hand of God on either side of the arch by the apse-edge (Figure 4a). The figures appear to have been generic with no attempt at individuation or identification according to the drawings. No trace of the blessing hands is now visible.

¹⁴³ I am grateful to Dottoressa Isabella del Frate for sharing with me a report on the painting technique and restoration of the frescoes, and to Giulia Bordi for an enjoyable visit to the church to discuss the frescoes further. I am also grateful to Claudia Bolgia for examining my photos and for informing me that the plaster ridge on the arch running parallel to the curve of the apse is probably a reflection of the *voussoirs*, rather than the join-line of *giornate*.

None of the heads of the Apostles survive; the best-surviving body is that of the middle pair found on the left arch. His mate is the only Prophet to survive in its entirety and he faces away from the apse (Figure 83). Bearing no halo, he has long grey hair that flows over his shoulder in rough tufts. His face, seen in profile, is stunted in appearance with an exceedingly shallow forehead, recessive nose and upper lip and a protruding lower lip and chin. It is impossible to know whether the final fresco would have appeared so distorted. The distortion is missing in the Eclissi drawings.

A patch of light blue pigment remains, visible under the arms of the Apostle in this pair, where the peaks of the green backdrop are also seen. The blue pigment is not found on the right edge of this section of painting which is contiguous with the apse, but perhaps this reflects a loss rather than omission. A thin strip of yellow ground decorated with red jaggedly striped vegetation survives at the bottom of the register. Thus, in the background details, this register was visually connected with the apse conch, on which level it is found.

The Prophets were dressed in sleeveless yellow robes over blue tunics, the hems of which flutter as if in a breeze in the way that many of the hems in the apse do. One of the Prophets on the left arch still bears the painted straps of sandals. Although dressed in the same manner as the Elders above, there can be no mistaking the Prophets for those noble-looking figures, as they are depicted with distorted bodies and bulging muscles that are clearly delineated through their garments: shoulder blades, spines and buttocks are all marked by grey lines. Their proportions are also irregular, with their legs looking too long for their torsos. Since medieval artists generally seem to have had great difficulty in depicting figures seen from behind, this awkwardness cannot perforce be considered intentional. The Apostles appear to have been dressed in red and blue robes, and while they do not appear to share in the distortion, a seated back is easier to draw than a standing one.

Very little remains of the lowest register of the apse arch that is on the same level as the lowest register of the apse; a strip of light blue crosses the top of the register, under which is the malachite-green, peaked backdrop, background details that visually unite the two. Fragments of two saints survive on the left side (Figure 84). The left saint had an ochre, red-rimmed halo and wears a light blue tunic with a yellow *pallium* draped over the arm, on which the saint bears a red, jewelled crown. Nothing is visible of the figure's facial features except for the ear which sits within dark brown hair. Since the ear is visible in its entirety, this figure was likely a male saint; from his costume it can be deduced that he was a clerical saint.¹⁴⁴ The right saint, a female, bears a similar halo and wears a purple gown decorated with an indistinct repeating pattern. The saint's left shoulder is draped with a yellow *pallium*, upon which she holds a red jewelled crown. Nothing is visible of this saint's facial features; however, the saint's brown hair covers the better part of her one visible ear, a visual marker for gender. No trace of any identifying inscription remains.

Fragments of three figures survive in the lowest register of the arch on the right side (Figure 85). Again, a strip of light blue is visible at the top of the register, under which is the malachite-green peaked background, details which unite this fragment of painting with the rest of the programme. Bearing a red-rimmed ochre halo, the left-most saint faces the apse and wears a dark purple gown decorated with a tessellated pattern and jewelled collar. Over her shoulder a yellow *pallium* is draped with which she holds a red crown. Nothing remains of her facial features, but she is definitely female as her brown hair is covered by a hairnet. The middle saint, also facing the apse, is dressed in a yellow gown decorated with a red jewelled collar, over whose shoulder a red *pallium* is draped, with which she holds a red crown. Nothing is left of the saint's

¹⁴⁴ I am grateful to Giorgia Pollio for drawing my attention to the gender of this saint and for spending an enjoyable morning at the church discussing its paintings.

facial features and she has brown hair that covers her ears. The most deteriorated figure is the right-most saint, who faces away from the apse. The saint bears a red-rimmed ochre halo and a brown patterned gown; no facial details are visible except for brown hair.

Eclissi's drawings include two donation scenes that correspond with the saints in this lowest register (Figure 4b).¹⁴⁵ The drawing that depicts the scene on the left side of the arch includes a now lost image of a bearded male donor dressed in a short tunic handing a model of the church to Saint Sebastian, who wears an ornate military riding-tunic.¹⁴⁶ Donor and saint were identified by Latin inscriptions, which were both placed partially on a horizontal and partially on a vertical axis: SCS SEBASTIANUS and DOM(nus) PETRUS, the latter with a truncation abbreviation mark over the O. The two surviving figures correspond to the two saints that stand to Saint Sebastian's right in the drawing; they were depicted in a relatively accurate manner, except that the male saint was depicted as female. A greater passage of plaster remained in the seventeenth century, as Eclissi's drawing shows that the scene extended down the level of their feet. All trace of the donor and Saint Sebastian has fallen away or been removed. Underneath the drawing Eclissi included the Italian note, "Segue destra dell'immagini passate fuori del concavo della Tribuna" ["Some images follow to the right extending out of the curve of the apse"].

The Eclissi drawing that depicts the donor scene to the right of the apse includes four figures (Figure 4b). The right-most figure was an unidentified, barefoot female, bearing no halo and dressed in a patterned cloak. A veil is depicted on the women's head and her hands are covered with a cloth on which she holds two round objects that she offers to the male saint facing

¹⁴⁵ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.243. According to Alfredo Vitali, the donor figures survived until his time; Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, pp.339-340.

¹⁴⁶ For eleventh-century depictions of the garment in scene 10 of the Bayeux tapestry, see Olivier Renaudeau, "Problèmes d'interprétation du costume d'après la broderie de Bayeux," *La tapisserie de Bayeux: l'art de broder l'histoire. Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (1999)*, P. Bouet, B. Levy and F. Neveux, eds. (Caen, 2004), pp.237-259, esp. 240-242.

her. The male saint next to her in the drawing corresponds to the right-most surviving figure. He wears a slit-military tunic and is identified by an inscription, SOS [*sic*, SCS] ZOTICUS, which is laid out in the form of an ‘I’ with the majority of the letters running vertically and few at the top and bottom running horizontally; an abbreviation sign appears above the C of SCS. The two surviving crown-bearing female saints are depicted accurately in Eclissi’s drawing, although the figures seem to have existed in their entirety in the seventeenth century, as did the figure of Saint Zoticus. All trace of the female donor figure has fallen away or been removed. Underneath the drawing Eclissi included the Italian note, “Nella medesima [*sic*, medesima] facciata, a sinistra” [“On the same wall, to the left”].

In the seventeenth century the Vatican prefect Michele Lonigo identified the barefoot female donor figure as Johanna, whom he presumed was the wife of *Petrus medicus*.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that the inscription existed without Eclissi having recorded it; Johanna was not named in the donor inscription across the apse and thus was not the main protagonist in this narrative. There is some independent evidence to support Lonigo’s claim. As noted by Laura Gigli, the authors of many sixteenth-century guides to the antiquities of Rome claim that Pope John VIII (872-882) was buried in S. Maria in Pallara; yet according to Petrus Mallius’s treatise describing Old St Peter’s, the pope was buried there.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that the authors were referring to another Pope John VIII; the thirteenth-century myth of the female Pope Joan places her in the mid-ninth century, thus making her the eighth pope of that name in legend.¹⁴⁹ As will be seen in Chapter 5, gender anxiety has always surrounded this church, so it is not difficult to imagine that

¹⁴⁷ Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano Martire*, 57.

¹⁴⁸ Gigli, *S. Sebastiano*, p.19. For Petrus Mallius’s account, see “Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae,” *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, eds. R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, 4 vols., *Fonti per la storia d’Italia* 81, 88, 90, 91 (Rome, 1940-1953), III, pp.375-442, esp.417.

a portrait of a female figure named Johanna found here might have evoked the myth of the female pope among well-read visitors to Rome. It would seem that such comments are further proof for the identity of the female donor figure.

2.8 Apse arch: analysis

The Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse are commonly depicted on the apse arches or triumphal arches of Roman churches. The earliest known depiction of the Elders inside a Roman church is found in the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, where they offer their crowns to a medallion bust of Christ. The present depiction is a copy of a programme created during the reign of Pope Leo I (440-461) and restored after the basilica was damaged by fire in 1823 based on early modern drawings, such as that made by Antonio Eclissi (Figure 86).¹⁵⁰ The iconography appears at SS. Cosma e Damiano in the sixth century and in numerous ninth-century churches.¹⁵¹ However, the version presented in S. Maria in Pallara incorporating the apostles and prophets is unique; its structure and meaning will be explored in Chapter 3.

Some art historical contextualisation is necessary, however. The Prophets' physiognomy is unique in the repertory of Roman art. Prophets with wild hair are more common in Northern

¹⁴⁹ Max Kerner, "Die sogenannte Pöpstin Johanna. Von einer wundersamen und rohen Fabel," *Licet preter solitum: Ludwig Falkenstein zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. L. Kery, D. Lohrmann, H. Müller (Aachen, 1998), pp.143-163.

¹⁵⁰ Stephan Waetzoldt, "Zur Ikonographie des Triumphbogenmosaiks von St. Paul in Rom," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von Leo Bruhns, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich und Ludwig Schudt*; *Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 16 (Munich, 1961), pp.19-28.

¹⁵¹ Ursula Nilgen, "Die Bilder über dem Altar. Triumph- und Apsisbogenprogramme in Rom und Mittelitalien und ihr Bezug zur Liturgie," *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kongresses der Bibliotheca Hertziana und des Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, eds. N. Bock, S. de Blaauw, C. Frommel, H. Kessler (Munich, 2000), pp.75-89.

Romanesque art, as in the *trumeau* figure at S. Pierre at Moissac, France.¹⁵² The disproportion seen at S. Maria in Pallara is generally reserved for images of demons and personifications of vice, as well as geographic personifications such as rivers or the earth.¹⁵³ An interesting parallel for their slump-shouldered, flat-faced figural style can be located in ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts, such as the Utrecht Psalter or the Old English Hexateuch.¹⁵⁴

The Elders in S. Maria in Pallara differ from earlier depictions in stance and costume. First, they kneel, rather than stand. Second, they wear colourful garments whereas in all earlier depictions they wear white tunics and *pallia*. Romanesque representations of the Elders in and around Rome present iconography similar to that in S. Maria in Pallara. For example, standing Elders dressed in colourful garments are depicted on the apse arch at S. Anastasio at Castel S. Elia, where they offer chalices to the *Agnus Dei*, in what is clearly a Eucharistic message.¹⁵⁵ The late twelfth-century paintings on the lateral walls of the sanctuary at S. Giovanni at Porta Latina present colourfully garbed Elders who kneel on both knees to offer over-large crowns to the *Agnus Dei* (Figure 87).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac Part I (2)," *Art Bulletin* 13.4 (1931), pp.464-531.

¹⁵³ For the context of the monstrous in medieval spirituality, see Thomas Dale, "Monsters, corporeal deformities, and phantasms in the cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa," *Art Bulletin* 83.3 (2001), pp.402-436. Personifications of the earth, Terra, often appear with wild hair in tenth- and eleventh-century Exultet rolls from Southern Italy; see Hildegard Giess, "The sculpture of the cloister of Santa Sofia in Benevento," *Art Bulletin* 41.3 (1959), pp.249-256, esp. figs.25-26.

¹⁵⁴ David F. Johnson, "A program of illumination in the Old English illustrated Hexateuch: 'visual typology'?" *The Old English Hexateuch: aspects and approaches*, eds. R. Barnhouse, B. C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp.165-199.

¹⁵⁵ Hoegger, *Die Fresken*, pp.42-47. Chalices are also found in the hands of the elders in the twelfth-century paintings at SS. Abbondio e Abbondanzio at Rignano Flaminio north of Rome; see Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, II, pp.50-51, figs.53-54.

¹⁵⁶ Paul Styger, "La decorazione a fresco del XII secolo della chiesa di S. Giovanni 'ante portam latinam'," *Studi Romani* 2 (1914), pp.261-328, esp.271-272; Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, II, pp.94-105; Manuela Viscontini, "S. Giovanni a Porta Latina," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.348-371.

The lateral walls of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina also include an interesting background detail: a series of zigzag peaks that are similar to the middle register's red jagged lines on yellow ground at S. Maria in Pallara. At S. Giovanni, the iconography of the Elders is spread out on two registers; the background of each register is composed of two horizontal coloured bands, the top one dark grey-blue and the bottom dark green.¹⁵⁷ A narrow green strip crosses both the top and bottom of the register, but only the bottom strip is decorated with darker green zigzag lines. Presumably these were meant to approximate a grassy field. Another example is found in the unstudied Crucifixion scene of St Peter in the left aisle of S. Balbina; red slash-like grass decorates a yellow strip of ground and a shallow strip of jagged mountain peaks crosses the top of the panel (Figure 88). The panel perhaps dates to the tenth century, as does the Saints Cyrus and John panel in the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua that also features the jagged-grass strip.¹⁵⁸

A possible depiction of the bull of the Evangelist Luke on the apse arch in S. Maria in Pallara corresponds to Roman traditions of church decoration in both iconography and placement. A bull was originally depicted on the arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano and covered during the Barberini restorations, but the symbol is found in the ninth-century copy of that programme at S. Prassede, where it is the right-most creature. If the arch of S. Maria in Pallara followed the traditional layout, then the lion of Saint Mark would have been found opposite the bull, with the angel of Saint Matthew and the eagle of Saint John perhaps painted above.

The donor scenes at S. Maria in Pallara are rare in the repertory of medieval painting. The majority of surviving monumental donor images in Rome are papal portraits in the apses of churches or chapels.¹⁵⁹ The sole parallel image in Rome of a lay person as model-carrying donor

¹⁵⁷ A similar band system of blue and green bands is found at S. Anastasio at Castel S. Elia.

¹⁵⁸ Osborne, "The atrium of S. Maria Antiqua," pp.205-209.

¹⁵⁹ As a Roman phenomenon and the belief that the practice emphasised the status and rank of the papal donor, see Wisskirchen, "Christus - Apostelfürsten - Heilige – Stifter," pp.304-307.

for the S. Maria in Pallara donation scenes is that of Theodotus in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta at S. Maria Antiqua (Figure 68). Presumably the lack is explained by negative survival rather than omission, especially when the number of surviving charters detailing the lay donation of churches is considered.

The number of surviving portraits of the laity increases from the eleventh century on, but they are generally minor donors, not patrons of churches, and they tend to be located in marginal areas of church decoration. Significantly, the scale of such figures decreases in relation to the saints depicted with them. For example, donor portraits of two non-clerical patrons, Beno de Rapiza and Maria Macelleria, are found in the late eleventh-century dado of the lower church of S. Clemente, where they offer candles and either bread or wax rings to a bust image of Saint Clement.¹⁶⁰ Johanna is probably offering bread to Saint Zoticus in the drawing.¹⁶¹ Portraits of clerical figures in eleventh- and twelfth-century painting are also diminutive, as in the Particular Judgement panel in the lower church of S. Clemente (Figure 75).¹⁶² By the thirteenth century even papal patrons are depicted at a small scale, as in the portrait of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) in the thirteenth-century apse of Old St Peter's.¹⁶³ Although lost, the donor portraits with their full-scale depictions of Petrus Medicus and his wife Johanna provide important dating information for the extant paintings in S. Maria in Pallara.

¹⁶⁰ Osborne, "Proclamations of Power and Presence," pp.162, 169-172. On the topic see also Kirstin Noreen, "Lay Patronage and the Creation of Papal Sanctity during the Gregorian Reform: The Case of Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome," *Gesta* 40 (2001), pp.39-59.

¹⁶¹ Filippini, *The Eleventh-Century Frescoes*, pp.71-82.

¹⁶² Osborne, "The 'Particular judgement'," p.336.

¹⁶³ Catherine Harding, "Dissent, Dissatisfaction and Papal Self-Fashioning: Pope Gregory IX's Response to the Thirteenth-Century Reform Movement in the Façade Mosaic of San Pietro in Vaticano," *RACAR* 22 (1995), pp.29-39.

2.9 Panel inserted into the apse: description and analysis

At a later date a panel of plaster was inserted into center of the bottom of the apse and painted with the bust-portraits of three saints that have been identified as Benedict flanked by Sebastian and Zoticus (Figure 89).¹⁶⁴ The pictorial rendering of the painting differs from that seen above in the conch, seeming both more naturalistic in technique and figural proportions. The background is blue and the panel is outlined with black and red bands, the bottom edge of which contains an inscription in white letters that has faded to near illegibility and is partially hidden by the overlapping plaster of the fictive curtain below. A record of the inscription is included in Eclissi's drawing of the panel, now in the Royal Library at Windsor castle, EGO BENEDICT' I PP ET MONACHU' PINGERE FECI (Figure 90).¹⁶⁵ Following Jean Mabillon's (1632-1707) transcription of the inscription, this can be translated as, "I Benedict, *prepositus* and monk had this painted."¹⁶⁶

The figure on the left with white curly hair is Saint Sebastian. His white-and-red-rimmed halo is painted yellow ochre and he is dressed in military costume, the details of which are much deteriorated except for a yellow pearl-studded square over his chest that may have been a *tablion*. In his right hand is a pearl-encrusted flat crown and in his left a black cross. On the right side of the panel bearing a red-rimmed ochre halo and dressed in a similar manner is the figure of Saint Zoticus. His physiognomy differs from that above in the apse: here he has a rounder face, short brown hair and he appears sterner, perhaps older.

In the center of the panel is Saint Benedict. Bearing a blue-rimmed ochre halo, he was depicted wearing a black *cucullus* with peaked hood, under which is a white tunic, its collar and

¹⁶⁴ Gigli, *S. Sebastiano*, 89-92; Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.320-321; Julie Enckell Julliard, "S. Maria in Pallara," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.196-197.

¹⁶⁵ Osborne and Claridge, *The Paper Museum*, pp.320-321.

cuffs appearing at neck and wrist. Beardless, his lips are small and full and his cheeks are dotted with pink patches. These youthful features are contrasted by his large, heavy-lidded eyes that were emphasised by a black contour line across his brow and dark lower lids. In his right hand he holds a yellow pearl-encrusted codex; his left hand is raised in a blessing gesture, the middle and forefinger extended.¹⁶⁷ These details are clearly visible in an early twentieth-century photograph (Figure 91).¹⁶⁸

This important painting is one of the few medieval portraits of Saint Benedict to survive in Rome.¹⁶⁹ The paintings have been well-paralleled stylistically with those of the Marian oratory in S. Pudenziana.¹⁷⁰ The panel has traditionally been dated to the period of Cassinese tenure of S. Maria in Pallara beginning in 1061 on account of the subject matter. According to Leo of Ostia (d.1117), the vigil of the feast of Saint Benedict at Montecassino involved the burning of candles before an image of the saint.¹⁷¹ The late eleventh-century martyrology that belonged to S. Maria in Pallara after the property was granted to Montecassino, Vat. Lat. 378, contains a marginal notation recording that an altar in the church was dedicated to Saint Benedict on the same date as

¹⁶⁶ Jean Mabillon, *Museum italicum, seu, Collectio veterum scriptorum ex bibliothecis italicis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1724), I, pp.129-130. "EGO PRB ET MONACHUS PINGERE FECI"

¹⁶⁷ A similar blessing gesture is found in the portrait of Saint Basil in the passage of the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua; see Osborne, "Wall paintings as documents," fig.2.

¹⁶⁸ The photo is housed at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12277.

¹⁶⁹ For an earlier image found in the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, see *ibidem*, fig.1. Another portrait also appears in the paintings of the Grotta del Salvatore at Vallerano; see Piazza, "Une Communion des Apôtres," pp.147-148, fig.2. A partial inscription was found at S. Saba; see Paul Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas auf dem kl. Aventin in Rom,," *Römisches Quartalschrift* 28 (1914), pp.49-96, esp.89, 93.

¹⁷⁰ Julie Enckell Julliard, "S. Maria in Pallara," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.199-206. The paintings in S. Pudenziana have traditionally been dated on the basis of an inscription in the church recording its renovation during the time of Gregory VII (d.1085). It should be noted that an alternative date during the twelfth century has been proposed by Julliard.

¹⁷¹ *Chronica monasterii casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffman. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 34 (Hannover, 1980), III, 38, p.415. "Nocte, qua precedebatur dies de transitu sancti patris nostri Benedicti festivus, dum ad vigiliis unus e custodibus lampadem ante imaginem

the consecration of Abbot Desiderius' new basilica, the kalends of October.¹⁷² If this was the main altar, then a liturgical connection was probably intended between image and altar. No doubt this imposition of cult in sacred space cemented fraternal bonds between the two houses. This panel provides a solid *terminus ante quem* date for the paintings.

2.10 Ornament: description and analysis

There is a good deal of ornament in these paintings and it is distinctive in its richness and variety. The apse conch is outlined by the festoon border formed by fruits and flowers, the whole entwined with a multi-coloured ribbon (Figure 92). Gold and brown hues dominate the festoon, shining warmly in contrast to the bright blue background. The flat, frontal portions of the ribbon are painted light blue, fading to red and gold at the point where they twine and disappear.¹⁷³ While festoon borders are common to early medieval Roman apses, this one is particularly rich. Another border brackets the inside of the festoon that is formed by bands of black, red and yellow ochre, down the center of which is a chain of white pearls. Although no earlier exact parallel can be found, similar borders with a chain of pearls and jewels are seen in the ninth-century mosaics of S. Prassede and the paintings of the Assembly room at S. Vincenzo al Volturno.¹⁷⁴ The version at S. Maria in Pallara becomes very common in later Romanesque painting at Rome.

eiusdem beati patris dependentem reficeret, lapsa subito lampas in pavimentum ruit illesaque permansit,..."

¹⁷² Vat. Lat. 378, 53v-54r.

¹⁷³ A parallel in painting for the ribbon can be found in the paintings of the Libertinus cycle in the lower church of S. Clemente dated by John Osborne to the eighth century; see John Osborne, "Early medieval wall painting in the church of San Clemente, Rome: the Libertinus cycle and its date," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982), pp.182-185.

¹⁷⁴ For an analysis of the ornament in the Paschalian mosaics, see Gillian Mackie, "Abstract and vegetal design in the San Zeno chapel, Rome: the ornamental setting of an early medieval funerary programme," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 63 (1995), pp.159-182. For San Vincenzo, see R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, "The assembly room: part of the lower thoroughfare," *San*

A medallion containing the *Chi-Rho* symbol is found at the apex of the apse where the two arms of the festoon meet (Figure 93). Formed by a compass, a thin white line marks the circumference. The letters were first outlined in red-brown paint and then traced in white; the bowl of the *Rho* has disappeared and not even its red-brown outline remains. The red-brown letters MED appear across the horizontal center of the medallion and the E is nested within the central crossing of the *Chi* and *Rho*, a diagonal slash running through the D indicating that it is an abbreviation. These would not have been painted white originally, or the E would not have been visible. Although the E is visible in photos and with the naked eye from ground level, the extra letters have never been discussed. The abbreviation MED-slash is not listed in palaeography handbooks, but MED' signifies *medicus*.¹⁷⁵ The monogram of Christ is commonly found in this position in Roman church decoration, sometimes being replaced by papal monograms in the ninth century, as in the commissions of Pope Paschal I, but *medicus* never found here. It would be tempting to read it is a reference to the patron of the church, Petrus Medicus, but it probably should be seen as a divine epithet, *Christus medicus*.

The festoon grows out of urn-like capitals that cap multicoloured columns at the outer margins of the lower register of the apse (Figure 94). Only the capital on the right survives painted red and decorated with white acanthus-like forms. The columns survive in good condition on both sides of the register, decorated with a scale-like diamond pattern and each section was

Vincenzo al Volturno 2: the excavations 1980-86, part II, ed. R. Hodges (London, 1995), pp.26-65.

¹⁷⁵ According to Cappelli's handbook the MED' abbreviation only begins to be used in the thirteenth century; see Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*, sixth edition (Milan, 1990), p.216. A tenth-century epitaph of a physician named Crescentius (d.984) in the cloister of the monastery of SS. Bonifacio e Alessio on the Aventine Hill utilises the entire word, MEDICUS, with the I embedded inside the D; see Attilio Degrassi, "La raccolta epigrafica del chiostro di S. Alessio," *Frammenti antichi del convento di S. Alessio*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene (Rome, 1982), pp.70-90, esp. 78-79 and pl.4. D-slash is a common abbreviation for *dies*, and thus is a logically choice for forming an abbreviation of the word.

originally filled with a frond motif. A similar column is depicted in an Eclissi drawing of the lost Christological narrative cycle from the nave.¹⁷⁶ The rows of diamonds alternate in colour in the following sequence: salmon, light blue, white, pink, light blue, brown and black. A parallel for the columns can be found in the late ninth-century paintings at S. Maria Secundicerio where red, beige, blue and brown squares form a repeating diamond pattern down the length of a column.¹⁷⁷

At the bottom of the lower register in the apse is a multicolour Greek-key border sandwiched between bands of black, yellow and red (Figure 95). It was painted over the blue-green backdrop, which is visible in places where there is a gap in the interlacing bands. The lines of the Greek-key are straight and were incised using a straight edge. The bands of the interlocking ornament were coloured red, yellow and purple. Traces of small flowers made from white dots can be found throughout the interlacing bands. Greek-key borders are common in Carolingian and Ottonian paintings and manuscripts, but similar borders can be found in central Italian manuscripts from the sixth to ninth centuries.¹⁷⁸ Certainly in Rome artists had to look no further than the Ara Pacis for an exemplar.¹⁷⁹ More plentiful examples can be found in Italian wall

¹⁷⁶ Gigli, *S. Sebastiano*, fig.18c.

¹⁷⁷ Lafontaine, *Peintures*, pl.14.

¹⁷⁸ For a study of the motif's life, see Betty Al-Hamdani, "The fate of the perspectival meander in Roman mosaics and its sequels," *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995), pp.35-56. The border is found in the Codex Beneventanus; see David Wright, "The canon tables of the codex Beneventanus and related decoration," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979), pp.135-155. A similar border is found in a ninth-century manuscript of Italian origin at the Vallicelliana library; see Wilhelm Messerer, "Zum Juvenianus-codex der Biblioteca Vallicelliana," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von Leo Bruhns, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich und Ludwig Schudt*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 16 (Munich, 1961), pp.58-68.

¹⁷⁹ For a study that claims the monument was perhaps used as inspiration for medieval sculpture, see Karin Bull-Simonsen Einaudi, "«Fons Olei» e Anastasio Bibliotecario," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte* s.III, 13 (1990), pp.179-222.

painting of the Romanesque period, such as at S. Vincenzo in Galliano in Milan and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina in Rome.¹⁸⁰

Ornamental borders separate the three registers on the apse arch. The border above the lowest register is the most ornate and is formed by a purple wave or acanthus-like frond, under which is a white scroll on a green background (Figure 96). The purple wave does not survive on the left side of the arch. The green originally may have been blue azurite. Below this are a series of coloured bands running in the following order from top to bottom: black, yellow, a thick red, yellow and black. This border is unique in the repertory of Roman medieval painting.

Nothing remains of the border between the middle register and the upper register and only the preparatory drawing of the border above the top-most register survives, composed of an architectural frieze that supports a lozenge chain (Figure 97). The early modern drawing of the upper register includes a repeating arch that attests to its general form (Figure 4a). A more ornate parallel for the motif might be found in the cornice-like border above the Twenty-four Elders at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina (Figure 87). An ornamental border rims the apse on the arch, but it is difficult to view or photograph on account of the altarpiece (Figure 98). It is much deteriorated, but seems to be formed by a repeating loop-like scroll pattern in red, purple and green hues.

The ornamental borders at S. Maria in Pallara, while inspired by classical motifs, are not an overt citation of pre-Christian art, but rather a paraphrase. The borders in the apse tend to utilise ornament already existing within the repertory of Christian art and those on the arch tend to assimilate classical models anew and are similar to the more direct copies of classical motifs found in Roman monuments dating to around 1100, such as is found in the lower church of S.

¹⁸⁰ Bandera, “Ariberto, tra vecchio e nuovo millennio,” fig.1; Manuela Viscontini, “S. Giovanni a Porta Latina,” *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.348-371.

Clemente. This shift was first noted by Hélène Toubert.¹⁸¹ According to John Osborne, a new interest in classicising ornament already surfaces in ninth-century church decoration in Rome, such as is found in S. Prassede and S. Maria Secundicerio, reflecting personal antiquarian interests or ties with Eastern contexts where such ornamental vocabulary continued to be used.¹⁸² The ornamental borders in S. Maria in Pallara represent an important developmental stage in this phenomenon.

The final area of ornament in the programme is the fictive *vela* at the bottom of the apse, only a portion of which survives in a much faded condition; the details of its repeating pattern is better visible in a twentieth-century photo (Figure 99).¹⁸³ The background is green, painted with an all-over interlace pattern formed by red-brown circles incised with a compass. The larger interlace circles are painted yellow and feature duck silhouettes. In the interstices between the circles are tri-lobed floral motifs. An area of loss at the upper left edge of the inset panel reveals a fragment of an earlier fictive curtain painted with a similar grey and white ornamental pattern (Figure 95). The fictive curtain was produced after the panel of three saints was inserted into the apse, but exactly when is unknown.¹⁸⁴ Although the fictive curtain motif has a long history in the repertory of early medieval painting in Rome, examples are generally decorated with central

¹⁸¹ Hélène Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII^e siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970), pp.99-154.

¹⁸² John Osborne, "The sources of ornamental motifs in the mural decorations of early medieval Rome: some preliminary observations," *Le rôle de l'ornement dans la peinture murale du Moyen Âge. Actes du Colloque international tenu à Saint-Lizier du 1^{er} au 4 juin 1995*, eds. G. Bianciotto, R. Favreau, P. Skubiszewski (Poitiers, 1997), pp.27-34.

¹⁸³ The image is found at the Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12276.

¹⁸⁴ Julie Enckell Julliard believed this had to have been created after the mid-seventeenth century when the full inscription on the inset panel was read; see Enckell Julliard, *Ut capiat coelestia regna*, p.12.

graphic motifs, although bird silhouettes do feature; such a complex overall patterns as is found in S. Maria in Pallara lacks early medieval parallels.¹⁸⁵

2.11 Conclusion

Some general conclusions can be made about the production of the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara and the mode of thought visible behind their visual logic. In terms of style and pictorial technique, the paintings are well situated between two phases of medieval artistic tradition in Rome. First, they display a pictorial technique and rhetorical strategy that is consonant with securely dated ninth-century art in and around Rome. Of particular interest in this regard are the paintings in the crypt of Epyphanius at the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno and the church of S. Maria Secundicerio. The shared characteristics include physiognomy, costume, hierarchical structure and inscriptions. Further, the paintings tend to cite from various local early medieval models. For example, the basic layout of the apse derives from that of SS. Cosma e Damiano and its derivatives. The figure of Mary seems to derive from the mosaics of the funerary chapel of Pope John VII at Old Saint Peter's. The apses of S. Maria in Pallara and S. Marco also share similar characteristics in their figures of Christ and a certain theatricality of layout.

However, certain features in the paintings in S. Maria in Pallara securely position them at the beginning of a new phase in Roman art that develops over the eleventh century and only comes to fruition in the twelfth. This involves matters of style such as the increased ornamental quality in costume and a greater use of ornamental borders. It also has to do with the innovative programme on the apse arch. The arch paintings in S. Maria in Pallara present a unique iconography involving the Twenty-four Elders that reflects a growing interest in the arch itself as

¹⁸⁵ John Osborne, "Textiles and their painted imitations in early medieval Rome," *Papers of the*

a site of discourse. What these changes are and how they work will be discussed in the following chapter.

Some comments are necessary regarding the paintings as a programme. First, the condition of the apse paintings is far superior to those on the arch. This may be due to the circumstances of survival; the arch may have been damaged when the side walls were restored and plastered in the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁶ Second, there are slight stylistic differences in the arch paintings; the figures have somewhat more elongated proportions and there is a greater ornamental quality in the overall use of line, as well as in costume and decorative borders. While the elongated and lively style of the Elders and Prophets on the arch might be explained by the choice of complex iconography and by the fluid preparatory drawings that are more easily visible through these deteriorated paintings, the more highly ornamented costumes of the female saints on the arch and the classical vocabulary of the ornamental borders cannot be explained away. These variations might imply different campaigns of decoration.

However, the paintings in the apse, with the exception of the inset panel and the fictive *vela*, and those on the apse arch share certain pictorial details that imply that they belong to a single campaign and present a unified programme. These details are the malachite-green backdrop with the zigzagged upper edge and the flying hems on the various figures. Such details would not have been synchronised if the arch paintings were a later addition to the programme, as there is no evidence that medieval workshops attempted to blend subsequent paintings with earlier ones; the lower churches of S. Clemente and S. Crisogono are evidence that they did not. Further, there are references to the patron Petrus medicus in both areas of painting that connect them chronologically: the inscription across the apse and the portraits in the lower level of the

British School at Rome 60 (1992), pp.309-352.

¹⁸⁶ I am grateful to Giorgia Pollio for making this suggestion during our visit to the church.

arch. While the latter no longer survive, the details of Eclissi's drawing of this section correspond well with the remaining paintings from these panels, suggesting once again that his drawings were accurate.

Thus, despite a certain stylistic variety in the arch paintings, the only possible conclusion is that all the paintings belong to a single unified campaign. Perhaps the traditional themes pictured in the apse influenced a traditional style for their depiction, while the innovation found on the arch inspired creativity in their style. It is also possible that the apse and the arch were completed by different artists or workshops.¹⁸⁷ If there was a time lapse in the completion of the arch paintings, it must not have been very great. Thus, the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara mark a transitional stage in the development of medieval painting in Rome.

Finally, this analysis has provided some insight into Antonio Eclissi's drawings, their accuracy and his manner of working. Eclissi made some mistakes in his rendering of the paintings. Primarily these were his depiction of two female saints as male in the lower register of the apse, his omission of the leg of the calf that is the Evangelist symbol for Saint Luke, and his omission of any identifying inscription for the female donor figure. Perhaps the altar was already in place when Eclissi was drawing, thus causing him to miss the Evangelist symbol. It is also possible that the paintings were obscured in places due to the accretion of minerals on the pictorial surface. Further, Eclissi chose not to capture stylistic details. For example, he did not depict the distortion of the Prophet's face. Despite these errors, his drawings can be declared accurate.

Eclissi was most interested in recording details of iconography, such as identifying symbols, gestures and costume down to the detail of flowing drapery, proof of which is found in

the drawings' general reliability, but also in their omission of any ornamental borders or background details. For example his backgrounds bear no peaks, but are generally rendered with wavy lines. Such details, so important for art history today, were unimportant to Eclissi. In sum, his manner of recording is consonant with the purpose for which he was hired: to document the visual history of the cult of saints and the heroic faith of Christians long ago.¹⁸⁸ As discovered in this analysis of the extant paintings and as will be shown in the following three chapters, this was a task at which Eclissi excelled.

¹⁸⁷ Two different workshops have been detected in the sixth-century paintings of the lower church of S. Martino ai Monti, that are thought to lie on the same masonry piers; see Davis-Weyer, Emerick, "The early sixth-century frescoes at S. Martino ai Monti in Rome," pp.33-54.

¹⁸⁸ John Osborne, "The Christian tradition in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome," in Osborne and Claridge, *The paper museum*, pp.43-52.

Chapter 3

“If I’m not making lanterns out of lightning bugs, I would say that Saint John’s vision of the Apocalypse was represented above...”: the apse arch of S. Maria in Pallara

With these words the nineteenth-century Abbot Pietro Antonio Uccelli described the iconography of S. Maria in Pallara’s apse arch.¹ The paintings of the upper register depict the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse (Revelation 4.10) kneeling to offer their crowns to the Agnus Dei. Uccelli’s hesitancy in interpreting the iconography stems from the second register of the arch with its depiction of a series of male figures carrying other figures.² The iconography is rare, appearing in its full form only in three late Romanesque and Gothic monuments: a baptismal font at Merseburg Cathedral, the lancets of the south portal at Chartres Cathedral and the jamb sculptures of the Fürstenportal at Bamberg Cathedral. Uccelli theorised that the S. Maria in Pallara paintings depict a subsequent verse of the Apocalypse (5.8) where the Elders are said to offer their harps and golden vials to the Agnus Dei, symbolising the prayers of the saints, with the Elders carrying the praying saints themselves rather than the symbols.³ In the early nineteenth century, the rector of S. Maria in Pallara, Monsignor Alfredo Vitali, attempted to explain

¹ Uccelli, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, p.103. “Se non temessi di far vedere lucciole per lanterne, direi che sopra si rappresenti la visione di S. Giovanni nell’Apocalisse...”

² Ibidem, pp.102-103. “Se non che, sotto si presenta una scena unica e da me non mai più veduta. Si vedono ventiquattro persone, dodici per parte le quali portano in braccio o sulle spalle ventiquattro altre persone, e queste tutte protendono le mani in atto supplichevole verso il divino Agnello, mentre da’ due lati dell’arco che sta sopra la nicchia, di cui parleremo subito, si sporgono due mani, una per parte, quasi a ricevere le suppliche degli oranti.”

³ Ibidem, p.103. “...e qui si rappresenti la visione del medesimo Apostolo (V.8), dove è detto: viginti quatuor seniores ceciderunt coram agno, habentes singuli citharas et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quae sunt orationes Sanctorum. Se non che, invece di rappresentare le fiale, il pittore credette di figurare più sensibilmente le orazioni de’ Santi che i seniori offrono all’Agnello nelle fiale, dipingendo gli stessi seniori che sorreggono i Santi protendenti le palme in modo di supplica; cioè le presentano a Dio nelle persone stesse che pregano.”

Uccelli's ideas to a German visitor; writing about the encounter later, Vitali recorded his embarrassment when the man corrected him saying that the second register represented the Apostles seated on the shoulders of Prophets.⁴ The anecdote is emblematic of the iconography's historiography, in both its absolutist interpretations and its undertones of nationalistic and intellectual pride. This chapter examines the iconography of the apse arch at S. Maria in Pallara to discuss its textual sources, multivalent meanings and historiography. This analysis will demonstrate that the iconography combines Roman artistic traditions with the intellectual culture of early medieval monasticism.

3.1 Apostles on the shoulders of Prophets: the iconography

The apse arch at S. Maria in Pallara is divided into three registers (Figure 1). The uppermost presents a series of kneeling regal males offering their crowns to the Agnus Dei on *vela*-covered hands. These are the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse. While fragments of only four figures remain on either side of the apse, six figures appeared in Eclissi's drawing, suggesting that exactly half of the full twenty-four were originally depicted. As noted in Chapter 2, the Elders are common to Roman apse arch compositions; they are thought to have been part of the fifth-century programme at S. Paolo fuori le mura where they stood offering their crowns to a bust portrait of Christ and they appeared consistently in arch decorations until the twelfth century. Innovation in the manner of their depiction on apse arches was only occasionally introduced in

⁴ Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano M. sul Palatino*, p.335. "Un giorno, però, si portò in S. Sebastianello un tedesco, il quale alle mie dichiarazioni circa l'interpretazione delle strane figure, mi guardò tra il meravigliato e l'ironico e poi disse: "Ma noi a Bamberg abbiamo lo stesso simbolico affresco nella Cattedrale!...Sono i profeti dell'antico Testamento, che sorreggono gli Apostoli!...Tacqui e...rimasi...umiliato...". The punctuation is Vitali's.

the Romanesque period. For example, the Elders are depicted in two registers in the twelfth-century monastic church of S. Anastasius at Castel S. Elia near Nepi.

A major departure from the norm is found in the second register at S. Maria in Pallara, where a series of figures carry other figures on their shoulders. Fragments of five pairs survive on either side of the apse, exactly the number depicted in the Eclissi drawing. It is probable that six pairs were originally depicted, complementary to the quantity of the Elders. This is the sole representation of this iconography in the corpus of Roman church decoration. These figures were interpreted as the Apostles sitting on the shoulders of the Prophets by Emile Mâle, who claimed that they were equated with the Elders in biblical exegesis.⁵ The equation of Apostles and Prophets is found in exegetical commentaries on the Apocalypse, but not until the eighth century; previously the equation involved the Apostles and the Patriarchs.⁶ The concept is first found in the *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* written by Ambrosius Autpertus (d.778), a Frankish monk at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno. He discusses the Twenty-four Elders by citing Matthew 19.28, where Jesus promises his disciples that they will sit on twelve thrones at the Second Coming to judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel.⁷ Thus this register provides a link between the

⁵ Émile Mâle, *Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1898; 1910), pp.22-23; *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, N. Frye, D. Nussey, tr. (New York, 1972), p.9.

⁶ The Apostles and Patriarchs were commonly associated with the Twenty-four Elders from the fourth century as found in Victorinus of Pettau's *In Apocalypsin*; see *Victorin de Poetovio sur l'apocalypse*, M. Dulaey, ed. Sources Chrétiennes, 423 (Paris, 1997), 4.3, pp.66-67.

⁷ *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, 2 vols., ed. R. Weber, Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, 28 (Turnhout, 1975), 4.3, II, pp.210-213. "Cum Dominus in Evangelio super duodecim thronos praedicatores veritatis sessuros testatur, dicens: In regeneratione, cum sederit Filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae, sedebitis et vos super duodecim thronos, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel, quid sibi vult quod Iohannes in circuitu sedis vigintiquattuor thronos, totidemque introducit seniores sedentes, nisi quia propter geminum Testamentum, numerus etiam duodecim tribuum duplicatur, quatenus aperte monstretur, quia Ecclesia quae ex gentibus venit, in duodecim tribubus mystice figuratur? Hinc est quod numerus signatorum centum quadraginta quattuor milium, ex quo omnis constat Ecclesia, in duodecim tribubus figuratim concluditur. Quia enim Ecclesia Israel vocetur, nulli dubium esse probatur, praesertim cum Abraham ex quo illa gens

upper register and the bottom one. The bottom register of the arch presented donor scenes; the patron Peter was depicted handing a model of the church to Saint Sebastian on the left side and a veiled woman, probably his wife, Johanna, was depicted making a complementary donation to Saint Zoticus on the right side. Thus, the arch represents the donors's particular judgement at the end of time.

As noted in Chapter 2, the apse arch paintings survive in a fragmentary and deteriorated state; they are difficult to photograph on account of the altar screen. The paintings are most easily accessible now through the drawings in Vat. Lat. 9071. Eclissi included several notes on the drawings that have never been examined. He wrote the following Latin passage in cursive script at the top of the drawing of the left arch: "Picturae in dicta Ecclesia SS. Sebastiani et Zotici in Monte Palatino" ["The pictures in the said church of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus on the Palatine Hill"] (Figure 4a). Below that image in cursive script he wrote, "Immagini in faccia sopra la Tribuna" ["Images on the wall above the apse"]. At the bottom of the drawing of the left arch Eclissi wrote in Italian, "A sinistra delle passate pitture" ["To the left of the last pictures"]. Intriguingly he noted a portion of an inscription in capital letters above the uppermost register of the right side of the arch: "...PICTURAE" (Figure 4b). Whether traces of this inscription survive

originem secundum carnem traxit, pater multarum gentium vocetur, sicut scriptum est: Quia patrem multarum gentium posui te ante Deum cui credidisti. Hinc Iohannes Baptista Iudaeis superbientibus dicit: Ne coeperitis dicere: Patrem habemus Abraham. Dico enim vobis, quia potens est Deus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae. Hac itaque ratione vigintiquattuor throni ac vigintiquattuor seniores dicuntur, cum tamen duodecim sint, quia et Apostoli, qui omnem Ecclesiam, sive ex Iudaeis, sive ex gentibus cum Domino iudicabunt, qui Domino iudicabunt, duodecim tantum tribus Israhel iudicaturi perhibentur. Quantum igitur ad distinctionem utriusque Testamenti, Veteris scilicet et Novi, vigintiquattuor sunt seniores ac vigintiquattuor throni; quantum vero ad unitatem et concordiam eorundem Testamentorum, duodecim sunt seniores ac duodecim throni, id est omne corpus doctorum cum subiectis plebibus auditorum. Non enim soli Apostoli cum Domino iudicabunt, sed quotquot vitam Apostolorum tenuerunt, praedicationem Apostolorum administrabant. Sic enim in duodecim thronis cum Apostolis sedebunt ceteri raedicatores, sicut in Petro claves regni caelorum acceperunt. In his etiam duodecim thronis Prophetiae sedebunt, qui Christum vita et vocibus venturum praedicaverunt."

in the paintings is unknown due to the said difficulties in documenting them. However, the singular word *picturae* hints at the nature of the inscription, which was probably a gloss on the paintings to aid in their comprehension. Certainly an explanatory guide would help in deciphering the complex meaning of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, which seems to differ slightly with its every rendition.

The next full presentation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography appears in liturgical sculpture. It is found on the Merseberg baptismal font that is dated to the second half of the twelfth century, a dating based on style and the use of long prophet scrolls (Figure 100).⁸ This depiction of the iconography is the most similar in form to that in S. Maria in Pallara as the Prophets support the seated Apostles on their right shoulders. The pairs appear within an arcade that circles the stone basin. The figures are identified by inscriptions: the Apostles on the arches of the arcade, the Prophets on the long scrolls they hold. Some of the Apostles hold open books. Both sets of figures bear halos and wear ornate costume. The base is decorated with animals and personifications of the four rivers of Paradise. Unidentified portrait busts appear in the arcade spandrels, their faces no longer possessing any distinct physiognomy. Although only twelve in number, it is possible that these busts were intended to represent an abbreviated group of the Twenty-four Elders. The clerical donor figure kneeling at Jeremiah's feet locates this liturgical object within a soteriological context.

The best-known depiction of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is found in the monumental art of Gothic cathedrals, for example, in the windows of the south transept portal at Chartres Cathedral. However, it is a variation of the iconography, featuring the four Evangelists

⁸ H. Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1924), pp.86-89. The font appears to have been brought to Merseburg from a church in Neumarkt. Prophet scrolls appear on the south portal trumeau of Saint Pierre at Moissac and at Santiago de Compostela.

and the four major Prophets (Figure 101).⁹ The south portal presents a programme dominated by an Apocalyptic rose window that includes representations of the full Twenty-four Elders. Set beneath the rose is a series of five lancets. Flanking a central image of the Virgin and Child, the four Evangelists are depicted seated astride the shoulders of the four major prophets: Luke on Jeremiah, Matthew on Isaiah, John on Ezekiel and Mark on Daniel. The figures are identified by inscription and only the Evangelists bear halos. At the bottom of the lancets are portraits of the programme's patrons: Pierre Mauclerc (d.1250), count of Dreux, his wife Alix de Thouars (d.1221), countess of Brittany, and their children, Jean (d.1286) and Yolande (d.1272). The absence of a portrait of their youngest child, Artus (1220-1224), led Françoise Perrot to date the programme to 1219-1220, prior to his birth.¹⁰ The cathedral canons would no doubt have been commissioned to pray for their souls. The programme, as at S. Maria in Pallara, presents an image of the patrons on the day of Judgement.

This interior composition in stained glass to some degree mirrors the exterior sculptural programme of the south portal. The tympanum of the central door also depicts a Last Judgement of sorts, with a resurrected Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, underscored by the lintel, which presents an image of Saint Michael judging the souls of the blessed and the damned. The archivolts encasing the tympanum support a host of angels, patriarchs, prophets and virgins; and statues of the apostles are depicted on the jamb-columns. An image of the millennial Christ of the Second Coming on the *trumeau* confronts the viewer

⁹ The windows are classified as bay 122 in the Corpus Vitrearum inventory; see *Les vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire*, ed. C. Bey (Paris, 1981), pp.39-40.

¹⁰ F. Perrot, "Le vitrail, la croisade et la Champagne: réflexion sur les fenêtres hautes du chœur a la Cathédrale de Chartres," *Les Champenois et la Croisade. Actes des quatrièmees journées rémoises 27-28 novembre 1987*, Y. Bellenger, D. Quérueu, eds. (Paris, 1989), pp.109-130. For an alternative reading of the patronage and dating see Beat Brenk, "Bildprogramm und Geschichtsverständnis der Kapetinger im Querhaus der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Arte Medievale* 5.2 (1991), pp.71-96.

entering the church.¹¹ The lateral doors complement the central ones, presenting images of martyrs and confessors.¹² Jane Williams believed that the central *trumeau* included donor portraits of the counts of Chartres; significantly, the portal faced their castle.¹³ However, Jim Bugslag has recently and convincingly argued that the representations are instead generic *exempla* of charity and avarice, thus the judgement is not particular.¹⁴ Instead, the portal presents an image of the post-apocalyptic universal church. Yves Christe has observed that the portal programme presents an image of the heavenly hierarchy that will take part in the Last Judgement, as discussed by various commentators on the Apocalypse and by Gregory the Great in his *Moralia in Iob*.¹⁵

The south transept portal presented a unified theme of judgement and salvation in both glass and stone in an amazing architectural transparency. Whether this theme reflected the portal's liturgical function is unclear. Peter Cornelius Claussen noted that a sixteenth-century document records that the north transept portal was used for the reconciliation of penitents and he

¹¹ The figure stands on a serpent and a dragon, the asp and the basilisk of Psalm 90.13; Malcolm Miller, *Chartres Cathedral* (New York, 1996), p.84.

¹² The right bay is dedicated to images of the martyrs, with representations of the life of Saint Stephen in the tympanum, flanked by jamb statues of the Church Fathers. The left bay is dedicated to representations of the confessors, with scenes from the life of Saints Martin and Nicholas on the tympanum, performing good deeds and miracles; the jamb statues present doctors of the church; see A. Katzenellenbogen, *The sculptural programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore, 1961), pp.79-90, figs.64-77; Miller, *Chartres Cathedral*, pp.84-86.

¹³ Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, wine & money - the windows of the trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago, 1993), pp.48-51.

¹⁴ James Bugslag, "Largesse and Avarice on the Trumeau of the South Transept of Chartres Cathedral," The Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians, March 9-11, 2006, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁵ Yves Christe, "Et vidi sedes et sederunt super eas et iudicium datum est illis. Sur quelques figures trônantes en complément du Jugement dernier au XIIe – XIIIe siècles," *De l'art comme mystagogie: iconographie du jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique. Actes du colloque de la Fondation Hardt tenu à Genève du 13 au 16 février 1994* (Poitiers, 1996), pp.155-165, esp. 157, 161-162. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, M. Adriaen, ed. Corpus Christianorum, 143, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1979), 26.28.53, III, pp.1308. The biblical passage at the heart of such commentaries is perhaps Matthew 19.28.

extrapolates that the south portal may have served for their ritual ejection from the community.¹⁶ He also suggested that the portal was used for almsgiving based on textual evidence for other cathedrals, a function which relates to the representation of charity and avarice on the *trumeau*.¹⁷ Penitence or alms-giving; the theme of judgement may have served a particular meaning on the inside, but it was one that did not clash with any wider use of the portal.

The Apostle-and-Prophet iconography also appears in the sculpture of the Fürstenportal at Bamberg Cathedral, whose overall theme is also one of judgement (Figure 102). The tympanum features a risen Christ flanked by the blessed and the damned, on whose behalf a kneeling Virgin and John the Baptist intercede. The iconography is found in the jamb statues of alternating archivolts, with halo-bearing Apostles standing on the shoulders of Prophets. While one of the Apostles is clearly identified as Saint Peter by the two keys of the kingdom of heaven that hang down from his waist, the remainder appear with generic features, as do the Prophets, who are indistinguishable from the former except for their lack of halos.¹⁸ There are twelve pairs of figures for a total of twenty-four; the Elders do not appear in the composition. The outer jamb columns support allegorical statues of triumphant Ecclesia and blindfolded Synagoga to the right and left of the portal respectively, with jamb statues of a devil blinding a Jewish man under the latter.

Friederich Ohly noted the importance of the representations of Ecclesia and Synagoga to the meaning of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at Bamberg, a meaning that was also

¹⁶ Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Chartres-Studien zu Vorgeschichte, Funktion und Skulptur der Vorhallen*. Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, 9 (Wiesbaden, 1975), p.11.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p.13.

¹⁸ Manfred Schuller believed that a beardless figure may have been the Apostle John, but the argument is not convincing especially since there is a change of style at a midpoint of the

dependent on symbolic placement.¹⁹ Noting that the iconography subordinates the Prophets to the Apostles through vertical placement, Ohly examined Gregory the Great's homily on Ezekiel's mountaintop vision (40.1-49), where Gregory claims that a southern city seen by the Prophet represents the heavenly Jerusalem and that the temporal city of Synagoga is located to the north, the direction of coldness and evil.²⁰ Such relationships are important, especially when the Fürstenportal faces north, and the opposite, southern portal is known as the Gnadenportal, or the "Mercy portal," presenting an image of Mary's intercession for the founders of the first cathedral, Emperor Henry II and Queen Kunigunde. Thus the iconography could also serve the late medieval Christian teleological conception of history that Kathleen Biddick calls the "typological imaginary."²¹

The Fürstenportal also faced the episcopal residence, and was thus the bishop's entrance. Recently Nina Rowe has examined the portal's message from the perspective of patronage and audience reception.²² The patron of the portal was Bishop Ekbert Andechs-Meran (1203-1237). Noting that Bishop Ekbert was a strong supporter of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194-

programme that likely reflects a change in workshop; see Manfred Schuller, *Das Fürstenportal des Bamberger Domes* (Bamberg, 1993), p.74.

¹⁹ F. Ohly, "Synagoge und Ecclesia. Typologisches in mittelalterlicher Dichtung," *Judentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zum christlich-jüdischen Gespräch*, P. Wilpert, ed. (Berlin, 1966), pp.350-369. For the wider context of the allegorical figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue, see Helga Scieurie, "Ecclesia und Synagoge an den Domen zu Strassburg, Bamberg, Magdeburg und Erfurt: körpersprachliche Wandlungen im gestalterischen Kontext," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46-47 (1993-1994), pp.679-687.

²⁰ Ohly, "Synagoge und Ecclesia," p.352. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hezechihelem Prophetam*, M. Adriaen, ed. Corpus Christianorum, 142 (Turnholt, 1971), II.1.4-5, pp.209-211.

²¹ K. Biddick, *The typological imaginary: circumcision technology and history* (Pennsylvania, 2003). The author stridently posits that Christian envisioning of the relationship between Ecclesia and Synagogue is always supercessionist and cannot be overcome until it is examined, not as ahistorical rhetorical construction, but as a physical and sensory construction grounded in local history. While a valuable contribution, examinations of the construction of rhetoric are just as important as the implementation of that rhetoric into ideology and ideology's activation.

²² Nina Rowe, "Synagoga tumbles, a rider triumphs: clerical viewers and the Fürstenportal of Bamberg Cathedral," *Gesta* 45.1 (2006), pp.15-42.

1250), Rowe hypothesised that the portal, viewed regularly by a clerical audience, communicated affirmation for both the contemporary and the cosmological hierarchy. At a time of Jewish persecution, Frederick subordinated the Jewish communities in his realm for financial gain, a gain that would have filtered down to the episcopal level. Rowe concluded that while the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography symbolised the eras of Law and Grace, the allegorical figures of Ecclesia and Synagoga extended the view into the contemporary world and the Last Judgement tympanum presents the culmination of time.

Renate Kroos noted that the Fürstenportal was also where legal cases were heard by the bishop.²³ Peter Cornelius Claussen confirms that the north porches of many cathedrals were used for tribunals; for example, the Chartres north portal also faced the bishop's residence and fulfilled a similar function.²⁴ The sculptural programme with its Last Judgement tympanum would serve as a reminder to all of the cosmic judgement still to come. Thus the iconography with its theme of judgement responded to broader social needs. Including a reference to the contemporary persecution of Jewish communities and with the personification of Ecclesia and Synagoga, anyone facing judgement at this portal would be harshly warned to stay well within the community of the just.

Two twelfth-century portals in Spain present abbreviated variations of the iconography. The main portal of the Benedictine monastery of S. Julian at Moraime in Galicia comprises a tympanum decorated with an arcade of saints, perhaps the patron saints and their companions, surrounded by a single row of archivolts decorated with generic orant figures, perhaps the

²³ Renate Kroos, "Liturgische Quellen zum Bamberger Dom," in Dethard von Winterfeld, *Der Dom in Bamberg* (Berlin, 1979), pp.160-176, esp. p.162.

²⁴ Claussen, *Chartres-Studien zu Vorgeschichte, Funktion und Skulptur*, pp.13-17.

Twenty-four Elders.²⁵ Six columns flank the door, five of which bear superimposed jamb statues, none of which bear inscriptions. The statues are eroded, thus making it difficult to discern identifying details of attributes and physiognomy. Working inwards on the left side, José de Sousa was able to identify Saint Benedict atop a nude personification of lust, the Prophet Daniel above two mirrored rampant lions and two male figures holding an open book above an Atlas figure or a personification of fortitude. On the right side working inwards, Sousa identified Saint Martin, Saint Paul atop a personification of the law and a bearded figure holding a scroll above an Old Testament figure supported on a tau-shaped staff. Only the last column presents figures that appear to be truly standing one atop the other. This pairing of saints on the shoulders of a personification of a virtue or vice finds an echo in the mid thirteenth-century stained glass windows of the Naumburg Cathedral west choir.²⁶

Similar iconography is also found in the twelfth-century portal of the parish church of Moradillo de Sedano in the province of Burgos (Figure 103). The tympanum features an apocalyptic central Christ in majesty, framed by three rows of figurative archivolts including the Twenty-four Elders.²⁷ The superimposition of figures is found in the sculptures above the jamb columns that flank the tympanum; in both cases the upper figure stands upright on the shoulders of a crouching lower figure, neither of which bears a halo. The lower figure of the right pair is

²⁵ J. Sousa, "La portada occidental de la iglesia de San Julian de Moraime," *Cuadernos de estudios gallegos* 34 (1983), pp.155-178. The monastery was dedicated to Saints Julianus and Basilisa, the Virgin Mary, Peter and Paul and Jacob, and is sometimes called Sant Xulian.

²⁶ E. Schubert, *Der Naumburger Dom* (Halle an der Saale, 1996), pp.122-127. Not all the pairings involve personifications. For example, Saint Peter is paired with Simon Magus and Saint Paul is paired with Nero.

²⁷ Eliane Vergnolle, "Le tympan de Moradillo de Sedano: autour du maître de l'Annonciation-Couronnement de Silos," *Actas del XXIII congreso internacional de historia del arte española entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico* (Granada, 1977), pp.545-554.

depicted with demonic features, thus these statues probably represent saints or virtues atop demons or vices.²⁸

A similar iconography also appears in several manuscripts of Psalm commentaries. An eleventh-century psalm commentary made at Bury St Edmunds (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat.12, 28v) presents an image of Christ standing atop the shoulders of a seated Psalmist to illustrate Psalm 12 (Figure 104).²⁹ Adelheid Heimann described the un-haloed lower figure as the “Psalmist,” but since he bears a crown, it is probable that this is meant to be an image of King David. The Psalm deals with the notion of judgement indirectly. A twelfth-century copy of Augustine’s commentary on the Psalms in the Laurentian Library (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, San Marco ms.622, 124v), contains an historiated initial for Psalm 42, produced by a figure of Christ standing on the back of a bent-over prophet.³⁰ The prophet does not bear a halo. Since ultimately Christ is viewed as the author of the New Testament, and certainly he is its central protagonist, this image still retains the thematic opposition. The image forms the initial “I” for the Psalm’s opening words, *Iudica me*. This context of judgement suggests that the core meaning of the iconography was retained, but just its form was transposed into a different context. This use of the superimposition of figures in Psalm commentaries is well attested; it is also found in the illustration of the same Psalm in a thirteenth-century copy of Peter Lombard’s commentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 56, 77v), where the Evangelist John sits

²⁸ Gerardo Boto Varela, “Victoria del León, humillación del demonio. Una relectura de la fachada de Moradillo de Sedano (Burgos),” *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval: miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces* (Bellaterra, 2001), pp.67-78.

²⁹ Adelheid Heimann, “Three illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their prototypes. Notes on the iconography of some Anglo-Saxon drawings,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), pp.39-59, esp. 43-45, pl.9.

³⁰ Jonathan Alexander, “A twelfth-century Augustine on the Psalms, perhaps from the area of Soissons, containing an unpublished library catalogue,” *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, P. Bjurström, N.G. Hökby, F. Mutherich, eds. (Stockholm, 1987), pp.13-22.

perched astride the shoulders of Ezekiel.³¹ The Evangelist bears a halo, the Prophet does not. These are different versions of Psalm commentary and thus it cannot be argued that one example depends directly on the other. Many other manuscript examples of this variation of the iconography likely remain to be found.

Not all of the reported cases of the iconography are certain depictions. For example, a variation of the iconography appears on a capital in the crossing of the Cluniac priory of Payerne (Figure 105).³² The capital is decorated with two registers of rough figures separated by a band of stars inscribed in circles. The upper register has a series of four pairs of figures, each with one figure carrying his partner astride his shoulders. None of the figures bear halos or any identifying features. George Zarnecki dated the capital to the eleventh century, identifying the iconography and theorising that it derived from representations of the Twenty-four Elders in manuscripts of Beatus' commentary on the Apocalypse. However, none of the comparative examples he provided depict any shoulder-sitting motif. The capital probably does utilise the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, but it is difficult to say anything with certainty about these odd little unidentified figures.

Greater certainty is found regarding another proposed variation of the iconography. It has been proposed that the iconography appears among the tenth-century relief sculptures decorating the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnois, Offaly, Ireland.³³ A side panel bears a depiction of the

³¹ F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge: signification et symbolique*, 2 vols. Paris, 1982, I, pp.84-85. On the manuscript, see Susanne Wittekind, "Verum etiam sub alia forma depingere: illuminierte Psalmenkommentare und ihr Gebrauch," *The illuminated psalter: studies in content, purpose and placement of its images*, F. O. Buttner, ed. (Turnhout, 2004), pp.271-280.

³² George Zarnecki, "La sculpture a Payerne," *L'Abbatiale de Payerne*, Bibliothèque Historique Vaudoise, 39 (Lausanne, 1966), pp.139-164.

³³ Sousa, "La portada occidental," p.169, n.61.

Evangelist Matthew and perched about his shoulders is his symbol, a man.³⁴ This cannot be a variation of the iconography, as there is no oppositional relationship between the two figures, unless one considers that the symbols derive from the Old Testament book of Ezekiel, 1.10. However, it is unlikely to be considered an opposition since one was the foreshadowing of the other. Confirmation that no opposition was intended can be found in a panel on the opposite side of the cross that presents Saint John, above whose head floats an eagle, his Evangelist symbol.³⁵ These representations are similar to the illustrations of the Evangelists in the Lichfield Gospels, an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript.

This brief examination shows that the earliest surviving depiction of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is to be found at S. Maria in Pallara where it formed part of a soteriological programme of decorations that envisioned the salutary hopes for the particular judgement of the souls of the monastery's donors, Peter and Johanna. The iconography was depicted periodically in conjunction with representations of the Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in parish, monastic and cathedral churches across Western Europe from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, where it consistently contributed to messages of spiritual judgement. In the case of Bamberg Cathedral, a secular notion of judgment was also implied. When the iconography was transposed to manuscript illumination it continued to embody a sense of divine judgement. This consistency in the iconography's juxtaposition with representations of the Twenty-four Elders at the Last Judgement, in conjunction with the knowledge that the Elders were commonly equated with the Apostles and Prophets in Apocalypse commentaries, suggests that the S. Maria in Pallara paintings utilise the iconography in its original form, suggesting further that the Evangelist-and-Prophet adaptation found at Chartres is a derivative.

³⁴ François Henry, *Irish art during the Viking invasions 800-1020 A.D.* (London, 1967), pp.139,

While the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography's earliest representations in Rome, Merseburg and in Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalms all feature the Apostles sitting on the shoulders of Prophets, the remaining representations feature them standing on their shoulders. The standing format appears primarily in portal sculpture, utilising a particularly meaningful architectural form: the column. Several key scriptural passages can be used to link the form with the iconography. For example Old Testament descriptions of Solomon's temple with its many columns provided medieval exegetes and artists alike with typological analogies for the Christian church; the twelfth-century exegete Honorius Augustodunensis compared the monastic cloister to the porch of Solomon.³⁶ Saint Paul's description of God's house being built on a foundation of the Apostles and Prophets (Ephesians 2.20) also seems particularly relevant to our understanding of the iconography on the jamb statues. Bruno Reudenbach has examined the symbolism of the apostles as columns in medieval exegesis and literature, stopping just short of discussing the iconography.³⁷ It is possible that implementing the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography on the limited space of columns resulted in the shift in composition from sitting Apostles to standing ones. Whether this embodies any change in meaning is unknown, but the new composition implies a less intimate relationship of the figures.

Finally, this examination has shown that despite the intimate relationship created by the physical intertwining of the figures, the iconography visually embodies a sense of antithesis because, with the exception of the Merseburg font, the Prophets do not bear halos. With its

173, pl.95.

³⁵ Ibidem, pl.91.

³⁶ An especially significant use of columns in that description is in Solomon's porch of judgement (1 Kings 7.7-8). See Wayne Dynes, "The medieval cloister as portico of Solomon," *Gesta* 12.1-2 (1973), pp.61-69.

³⁷ Bruno Reudenbach, "Säule und Apostel: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Architektur und architekturexegetischer Literatur im Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 14 (1980), pp.310-351, esp.340, 345.

pairing of Old Testament Prophets and New Testament Apostles, the iconography expresses a cosmological conception of time; the era of the Law giving way to the era of Grace. The promises given to the prophets were fulfilled in the coming of Christ, his death and resurrection, and thereby the earthly Jerusalem could be replaced by the heavenly Jerusalem at his second coming. The reiteration of such relationships was important for reinforcing the doctrinal ideology of Christianity, both its legitimising syncretism of the Jewish faith and its antithetical divergence. Such relationships were often questioned in the ninth and tenth centuries. For example, Abigail Firey has posited that a new questioning attitude is evident in ninth-century exegesis of Old Testament books such as Leviticus.³⁸ The same attitude is found in the treatise written by the monk Remigius of Auxerre (d.908), who questioned why no Christian churches were dedicated to Old Testament saints.³⁹ Despite the fertile ground these themes offer for discussions of the iconography's sources or its audience reception, it has received little attention as an independent subject. The reasons for this neglect will now be examined.

3.2 Apostles on the shoulders of Prophets: historiography

The main reason for the lack of investigation into the evolution and meaning of the iconography is the matter of its origin, a question that remains to be answered and entails an interpretation of its sources, or at least its relationship to a specific text. A famous twelfth-century

³⁸ For a study of the ninth-century commentaries on Leviticus, see Abigail Firey, "The letter of the law: Carolingian exegetes and the Old Testament," *With reverence for the Word. Medieval scriptural exegesis in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, J. Damen McAuliffe, B. D. Walfish, J. W. Goering, eds. (Oxford, 2003), pp.204-224.

³⁹ Remigius Antissiodorensis, "Epistola II. Cur nullae dedicentur ecclesiae in honorem sanctorum Veteris Testamenti", *PL*131.968-970. The reason given by the author is that the death dates of the prophets and patriarchs are not known, nor are their relics to be had. This seems to have been

saying that originated at Chartres utilizes the shoulder-carrying motif as well, implying a Chartrain origin for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography. In his *Metalogicon*, a treatise in defence of the study of the Liberal Arts, John of Salisbury (d.1180) reported that the grammarian Bernard of Chartres was fond of saying: “We are like dwarves sitting upon the shoulders of giants, as we are able to see more and see farther than they, not on account of the sharpness of our vision or a distinctive physical characteristic, but rather because we are conveyed aloft and are elevated by their greatness.”⁴⁰ The giants were perceived to be the intellectual authorities of ancient Greece and Rome.⁴¹ A teacher of grammar, Bernard of Chartres was famed for his philosophical studies and Chartres’s cathedral school was known as a great center of learning, a fame that was amplified in the school’s own historiography and whose uniqueness has since been questioned.⁴² That the saying went on to become one of the principal axioms for the early modern *querelle* of the ancients and the moderns no doubt contributed to this over-evaluation.⁴³ In light of this historiography, and also Chartres’s prominent place in the study of the origins of Gothic art,

remedied by the eleventh century, as martyrologies dating to that period are full of commemorations of Old Testament figures.

⁴⁰ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 3.4, J. B. Hall, ed. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 98 (Turnhout, 1991), p.116. “Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantum umeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora uidere, non utique proprii uisus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.”

⁴¹ John of Salisbury reports the saying in a discussion of Aristotle’s *De Interpretatione*. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 3.4, pp.115-116.

⁴² *The Glossae Super Platonem of Bernard of Chartres*, Paul Edward Dutton, ed. *Studies and Texts*, 107 (Toronto, 1991). The saying is not found in this sole surviving text written by that author. R. W. Southern, “Humanism and the school of Chartres,” *Medieval Humanism and other studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp.61-85, and *ibid.*, “The schools of Paris and the school of Chartres,” *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R. Benson, G. Constable, C. Lanham (Cambridge, 1982; repr. Toronto, 1991), pp.113-137. A corrective to the paradigm that texts are the only measure for intellectual activity is found in C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels -- Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), pp.128-131, 280-291.

⁴³ For the earliest extended investigation of the saying and its use, see Robert K. Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript* (New York, 1965).

the saying became the battle-standard of scholars arguing for a twelfth-century renaissance of culture and learning.⁴⁴ The historiographic barriers raised by Bernard's dictum are difficult to cross.

In his polemical essay comparing German and French medieval art, the eminent French art historian Émile Mâle first claimed a Chartrain origin for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography. Devoting an entire chapter to sculpture, Mâle complained that German historians refused to admit the dependence of Ottonian architectural sculpture on Northern Italian monuments, let alone admit the artistic transcendence of French Gothic.⁴⁵ When speaking of the Bamberg Fürstenportal, he claimed that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography was based on a French idea, deriving from the Chartres's depiction of the Evangelists and Prophets.⁴⁶ He omitted any discussion of the Merseburg font from the chapter, perhaps unaware of its existence. Strangely, he did not use the *Metalogicon* as evidence of the iconography's French origins. He was aware of the saying, using it in his examination of the sculpture of the Chartres west portal to refer to the cathedral school, which he claimed may have influenced the personifications of the seven Liberal Arts represented there.⁴⁷

A possible reason for this omission exists in an examination of the goals of the latter book. Mâle's study championed medieval art in the face of modern tendencies in France to

⁴⁴ The concept was first proposed by Charles Haskins; see C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927; 1979), p.5.

⁴⁵ E. Mâle, *L'Art allemand et l'Art français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1918), pp.171-205. The background of this polemic may have been the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871) and French resentment at German intervention and usurpation of the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p.193. "Idée étrange, mais qui a sa beauté. Elle a l'air, n'est-il pas vrai, d'être tout allemande. Un Allemand cependant, il faut le dire à son éloge, ne s'y est pas trompé: là encore il a reconnu une idée française et s'est souvenu qu'aux vitraux de Chartres les quatre grands prophètes portent sur leurs épaules les quatre évangélistes."

⁴⁷ Mâle, *Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p.81.

devalue religion and in light of art history's enshrinement of Roman art and its early modern derivatives.⁴⁸ For Mâle, Roman art was imperialistic, to be enjoyed by bankers and connoisseurs, whereas medieval Christian art embodied republican, social values.⁴⁹ Not only did medieval art serve the people, but in that art Mâle viewed a beauty and an ingenuity that he ascribed to a French artistic genius. It is possible that he refrained from discussing the origins of both the dictum and the iconography because he believed that they ultimately lay embedded in classical sources, which he refused to refer to directly for fear of undercutting his argument.⁵⁰

Mâle eventually became aware of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, which he wrote about in the 1930s and 1940s, but he was reluctant to amend his earlier arguments for French artistic primacy.⁵¹ For example, the polemical theme of French cultural dominance prevails throughout his book, *Rome et ses vieilles églises*, and he happily concludes the chapter dealing with S. Maria in Pallara by claiming that Ottonian influence on Roman medieval art was negligible. While Mâle was forced to admit that Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at S. Maria in Pallara dates earlier than the Chartres depiction, he refused to view it as the origin of the iconography, characterising it only as a parallel example. He conceded that while it was possible that the iconography might have been transmitted to France by some Chartrain canon visiting Rome, he believed that it was more plausible that both examples developed independently from some ancient unknown

⁴⁸ Ibidem, introduction, pp.1-10. For a discussion of his aims, see Alain Corbellari, "Émile Mâle et Joseph Bédier: de la gloire de la France à l'apologie des clercs," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 132.1558 (1998), pp.235-244.

⁴⁹ Mâle, *Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, pp.395-403, esp. 403.

⁵⁰ The same bias against Roman art is found in the subsequent study of the art of the twelfth century, which he states in the opening paragraph of the preface; see idem, *Art religieux du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1922), p.xiii.

⁵¹ Idem, "Études sur les églises romaines: l'empereur Otton II à Rome et les églises du Xe siècle," *Revue des deux mondes* 41 (1937), pp.54-82, esp. 68-71; reprinted in idem, *Rome et ses vieilles églises* (Paris, 1942), pp.148-153; *The Early Churches of Rome*, tr. D. Buxton (London, 1960), pp.108-110.

source.⁵² To reinforce the idea of Chartrain primacy, he incorporated Bernard's dictum into his discussion of the iconography's meaning without directly referring to its author: "Le Nouveau Testament repose sur l'Ancien, mais les apôtres, montés sur les épaules des prophètes, voient plus loin qu'eux et de plus haut. Idée pleine de grandeur, mais qui, prise à la lettre et réalisée par l'art, devient d'une farouche étrangeté."⁵³ Viewing Bernard's dictum as a grand idea, he considered the same idea translated into visual terms a vulgarity. In this way, Mâle privileged text over image, despite being a strong proponent of the notion of the intellectual independence of artists.⁵⁴

To some degree this has resulted in a nationalistic bias for the iconography's interpretation.⁵⁵ For example, other French authors have echoed Mâle's opinions. In the earliest widely published catalogue of the Chartres windows, Canon Yves Delaporte, archivist for the diocese of Chartres, claimed that the iconography was Chartrain in origin, pointing directly to the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum as reported by John of Salisbury.⁵⁶ Nationalistic feeling about Chartres is strong; it is consistently characterised as a "national monument," and not just by French authors; Otto von Simson claimed it was the work of all of France.⁵⁷ However, to a greater degree the longevity of the Chartrain-origin theory depends on its textual base and the rather strange

⁵² Idem, *Rome et ses vieilles églises*, p.152. "Il est donc permis de penser que d'antiques modèles, aujourd'hui perdus, ont pu inspirer à deux siècles de distance, à la fois la fresque de Rome et le vitrail de Chartres." See also idem, *Notre-Dame de Chartres* (Paris, 1948), p.73.

⁵³ Idem, *Rome et ses Vieilles Eglises*, p.151.

⁵⁴ Mâle's was concerned with identifying textual origins for iconography, but he viewed the whole of medieval theological literature as heavily tradition-bound and repetitive and he ascribed the success of any piece of art to the genius of artistic invention; see idem, *Art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, introduction, pp.1-10.

⁵⁵ On the subject of national biases influencing the art history of the Romanesque period, see Janice Mann, "Romantic identity, nationalism and the understanding of the Advent of Romanesque art in Christian Spain," *Gesta* 36.2 (1997), pp.156-164.

⁵⁶ Yves Delaporte, *Les Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres, histoire et description* (Chartres, 1926), p.432, n.8. The notion that the iconography echoes Bernard's dictum still pervades the general studies of the windows; for example, see Miller, *Chartres Cathedral*, p.90.

⁵⁷ Otto von Simson, *The Gothic cathedral: origins of Gothic architecture and the medieval concept of order* (New York, 1956), p.180.

shoulder-sitting pose that the iconography and the dictum both share. It also cannot be denied that in the Chartres lancets the Evangelists are depicted at a slightly smaller scale than the Prophets.

Reactions against the Chartrain nationalistic constructs have surfaced that are also nationalistic in nature, but they have not been protracted enough to overcome deep-seated uncertainties about the iconography's origins. For example, German authors writing about the Bamberg Fürstenportal generally referred to the Merseburg font to negate the possibility that Bernard's dictum or the Chartres windows were the sources for the iconography, yet the font has never been the focus of an independent inquiry.⁵⁸ Dating arguments for Bamberg also seem to have responded to unconscious desires to claim, if not origins, at least artistic originality.⁵⁹ For example, Dethard von Winterfeld dates the Fürstenportal and its sculpture to 1224-1225 based on a stylistic analysis.⁶⁰ However, his dating has been criticised by Robert Suckale for being too early on account of the obvious influence of the Rheims sculptural style at Bamberg.⁶¹ Alternative dating theories range as late as 1234, with the cathedral having been consecrated in 1237.⁶² It has

⁵⁸ Georg Dehio, *Der Bamberger Dom* (Munich, 1924; 1939), p.20; Wilhelm Boeck, *Der Bamberger Meister* (Tubingen, 1960), p.15, n.23. See also Arthur Kingsley Porter's review of Beenken's study of German sculpture; A. Kingsley Porter, *Speculum* 1.2 (1926), pp.233-242, esp. 238.

⁵⁹ Not only is there sensitivity to the question of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography's origins, but the adoption at Bamberg of the high Gothic sculptural style of Rheims, a French royal cathedral, is also a sensitive matter; see Willibald Sauerländer, "Reims und Bamberg: zu Art und Umfang der Übernahmen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39.2-3 (1976), pp.167-192. This author has recently taken up the theme of style at Rheims again, to posit that if French style influenced the art at Bamberg, the stylistic influence travelled in the other direction from Germany to Rheims regarding the cathedral's earliest sculpture; idem, "Antiqui et Moderni at Reims," *Gesta* 42.1 (2003), pp.19-37.

⁶⁰ D. von Winterfeld, *Der Dom in Bamberg. Die Baugeschichte bis zur Vollendung im 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1979), p.144.

⁶¹ Robert Suckale, "Die Bamberger Domsulpturen: Technik, Blockbehandlung, Ansichtigkeit und die Einbeziehung des Betrachters," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 38 (1987), pp.27-82, esp.44-60.

⁶² Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven, 1995), pp.93-94. The consecration date of 1237 is found in a papal bull of Gregory IX (1227-1241); see Schuller, *Das Fürstenportal*, pp.59-62.

to be questioned whether the dating of the Chartres south transept portal, currently dated to the mid 1220s, has influenced the dating at Bamberg in any way.

Of greater historiographic import than the nationalistic arguments is the intellectual weight of Bernard's Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, present in Mâle's comment, cited above, about the iconography being a vulgarisation of intellectual notions. In part, this is due to the status of Bernard's dictum as the *locus classicus* of the twelfth century's intellectual rebirth. Authors examining the dictum generally do not acknowledge a connection with the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography; or if they do, they characterise it as a derivative line of thought or a separate tradition of a lesser status. The earliest studies of the dictum focused attention on identifying its classical sources, which generally signified the progress of secular knowledge.⁶³ Most recently, the art historian Tobias Leuker offered a structuralist reading of the dictum, advancing the idea that the Dwarf-and-Giant saying derived from multiple intersecting classical texts, two of which were the most central; these were a passage from a Pythagorean discussion of the immortality of the soul in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (15.148-152) and a passage offering an ironic description of opposites in Juvenal's *Satires* (8.30-34).⁶⁴ The first text features the Pythagorean author claiming that he will stand on Atlas' shoulders to expound on knowledge hidden from the ancients.⁶⁵ The

⁶³ The historian of science George Sarton first noted the saying's twelfth-century manifestation, which he connected with notions of scientific progress expressed by Seneca; G. Sarton, "Standing on the shoulders of giants," *Isis* 24.1 (1935), pp.107-109. The philosophy historian Raymond Klibansky concluded that Bernard's concept of the progress of knowledge was based on a passage from Priscian's *Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*; see R. Klibansky, "Standing on the shoulders of giants," *Isis* 26.1 (1936), pp.147-149.

⁶⁴ Tobias Leuker, "'Zwerge auf den Schulterer von Riesen' - Zur Entstehung des berühmten Vergleichs," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch: Internationale Zeitschrift für Mediävistik* 32.1 (1997), pp.71-76.

⁶⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, G. P. Gould, ed. F. J. Miller, tr., 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1964), 2.15, lines 148-152, I, pp.374-375. "...magna nex ingeniis investigata priorum quaeque diu latuere, canam: iuvat ire per alta astra, iuvat terris et inertis sede relicta / nube vehi validique umeris insistere Atlantis / palantesque homines passim et rationis egentes / despectare procul trepidosque obitumque timentes / sic exhortari seriemque evolvere fati!" "Great matters, never traced out by

second text claims that a dwarf is sometimes called Atlas by ironic sarcasm.⁶⁶ There are numerous references to dwarves and giants in classical literature relating to social stature and titles, creativity and the progress of knowledge that could be cited in reference to the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, and early medieval authors were well aware of these texts and their significance. While Bernard of Chartres was respected for his great learning, not least by John of Salisbury, no such single references can be pinpointed as the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum's sources as the saying itself derives from a uniquely medieval intellectual culture, albeit one based upon a classical foundation of knowledge.

Other textual historians examining Bernard's dictum shifted their focus from rooting out its possible sources to examining the dictum's medieval usage. Hesitating to credit Bernard alone with its invention, Édouard Jeauneau traced the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum's use from the twelfth to fourteenth century.⁶⁷ While he determined that most authors utilized the dictum to signify the progress of knowledge in a secular literary sense, he did recognize that it had an application in biblical scholarship.⁶⁸ For example, it is used in a twelfth-century sermon on the topic of the

the minds of former men, things that have long been hidden, I will sing. It is a delight to take one's way along the starry firmament and, leaving the earth and its dull regions behind, to ride on the clouds, to take stand on stout Atlas' shoulders and see far below men wandering aimlessly, devoid of reason, anxious and in fear of the hereafter, thus to exhort them and unroll the book of fate!"

⁶⁶ Juvenal, *Saturae* G. G. Ramsay, ed. and tr. (London, 1924), 8.30-34, pp.160-161. "Quis enim generosum dixerit nunc qui indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum insignis? Nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus, Aethiopem Cycnum, pravam extortamque puellam Europen." "For who shall call noble the one who is unworthy of family and distinguished only in noble name? We call someone's dwarf an Atlas, we call an Ethiopian a swan, and a depraved deformed girl Europa."

⁶⁷ Édouard Jeauneau, "'Nani gigantum humeris insidentes'. Essai d'interprétation de Bernard de Chartres," *Vivarium* 5 (1967), pp.79-99; reprinted, *Lectio Philosophorum: recherches sur l'école de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp.53-73. See also idem, "Nains et geants," *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12e siècle*, ed. M. De Gandillac, E. Jeauneau (Paris, 1968), pp.21-52.

⁶⁸ Jeauneau, "'Nani gigantum,'" pp.94-95.

priesthood ascribed to Radulf Ardens.⁶⁹ However, the distinction between secular and religious ideas is a fine one from the medieval perspective, as seen in several of Jeauneau's examples. For instance, responding to charges of literary plagiarism in his sermons and epistles, in a letter to the bishop of Bath, Peter of Blois (d.1203) cites the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, noting that the apostles borrowed not only ideas but also words from the prophets, and the Church Fathers from the apostles, "...just as Jerome did from the books of Origen, Augustine and Bede from the books of Ambrose, and indeed Ambrose from the writings of Cicero and Seneca..."⁷⁰

Despite several references hinting at an eschatological resonance, Jeauneau stopped short of declaring a definite correlation between the dictum and the iconography at Chartres. He believed the Chartrain Evangelist-and-Prophet series represented a second tradition of thought, only loosely connected to the Dwarf-and-Giant saying with its focus on the liberal arts. Jeauneau referred to the tenth-century paintings in S. Maria in Pallara in Rome as further proof for this second tradition, noting that there the apostles were not depicted as dwarves, nor the prophets as giants.⁷¹ Jeauneau conceded that if there was any connection between the written and visual

⁶⁹ A probable error in transcription in the *Patrologia Latina* seems to have obscured the paraphrase of the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum in this sermon; Radulfus Ardens, "Unius confessoris. de epistola ad hebraeos sermo," *PL*155.1586-1590, esp. 1589.. "Qui cum in conspectu hominum gradu sacerdotalis ordinis celsiores caeteris videamur, tamen caeteris inferiores vita moribusque jacemus; et cum per ambitionem praesumptuosam tanquam vani [nani?] super gigantes nos elevamus, quid aliud quam opprobrium, contemptus et derisio populi sumus?"

⁷⁰ Jeauneau stresses that Peter of Blois is a grammarian rather than a theologian. Jeauneau, "Nani gigantum," p.91. Peter of Blois, "Epistola XCII. Ad Reginaldum Bathoniens, episcopum", *PL*207.289-291. "Nos quasi nani super gigantum humeros sumus, quorum beneficio longius quam ipsi speculamur, dum antiquorum tractatibus inhaerentes elegantiores eorum sententias, quas vetustas aboleverat hominumve neglectus, quasi mortuas in quamdam novitatem essentiae suscitamus. ... Scimus apostolos a prophetis, doctores ab apostolis, et a doctoribus alios doctores, sicut Hieronymum de libris Origenis, Augustinum et Bedam de libris Ambrosii, Ambrosium vero de scriptis Ciceronis et Senecae, Gregorium quoque de scriptis Augustini et Hieronymi non solum sententias, sed verba ipsa in causam mutui accepisse." For the letters of Peter of Blois in general, see R. W. Southern, "Peter of Blois: a twelfth-century Humanist?" *Medieval Humanism and other studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp.105-132.

⁷¹ Jeauneau, "Nani gigantum," pp.93-94.

traditions, the Dwarf-and-Giant saying might have influenced the iconography through the intermediary of exegetical texts since, “images like myths often defied the laws of logic.”⁷² Without examining the visual evidence, the two-tradition theory was taken up by Brian Stock who hypothesized the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum’s antithesis of moderns and ancients stemmed from a literate tradition and the opposition of dwarves and giants derived from a popular one.⁷³

The intellectual weight of Bernard’s dictum has led to the suppression of discussions of the iconography. For example, even though San Julian at Moraime and Moradillo de Sedano date earlier than both Chartres and Bamberg, authors dealing with the Spanish monuments tended to classify them as humble provincial productions.⁷⁴ As if their intellectual content could not compete with that of the great cathedrals, the antithesis of provincial and humble, they wasted no effort in examining the possibility that these monuments played a role in the iconography’s development or dissemination. For example, José Sousa accepted that Bernard’s dictum was the iconography’s textual source and he also accepted Jeauneau’s distinction that dictum and iconography formed two separate traditions of thought. Noting that the examples of the iconography at Moraime and Moradillo seem in places to invert the relationship of subordinating and subordinated figures, he concluded that the programme at Moraime only betrayed an attempt

⁷² Ibidem, p.94. “Mais il n’est pas impossible que, de l’une à l’autre, une certaine osmose se soit produite. Au reste, la vie et la survie des images sont un peu comme la vie et la survie des mythes: elles défient souvent les lois de la logique. On ne peut à priori exclure que l’image des nains juchés sur les épaules des géants ait influencé les exégètes et, par eux, le programme iconographique des verrières chartraines.”

⁷³ Brian Stock, “Antiqui and moderni as ‘giants’ and ‘dwarfs’: a reflection of popular culture?” *Modern Philology* 76.4 (1979), pp.370-374. Stock discussed the purgatorial vision of Wachelin in Orderic Vitalis’s *Ecclesiastical History*, where giants carry large-headed dwarves on biers. Stock hypothesized that the dwarves with over-large heads represented a new order of intellectuals.

⁷⁴ Vergnolle, “Le tympan de Moradillo de Sedano,” p.545, “...est une de ces multiples constructions rurales”; Sousa, “La portada occidental,” p.171, “La serie estatuaría de la portada de Moraime corresponde a la de un portal marginal, dentro ya de su provincialismo, y en una época además en la que los programas iconográficos desarrollados en las jambas no estaban aún

to organise thought, but that it did not express finished ideas.⁷⁵ Friedrich Ohly, writing about Bamberg, accepted that Bernard's dictum paralleled the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in meaning and that both were products of the twelfth-century intellectual renewal of theology and history, despite his clarification that typology is best expressed in images.⁷⁶

The most influential manifestation of this "twelfth-century Renaissance" myopia, the intellectual bias of text over image, is found in Erwin Panofsky's essay, "Renaissance and renaissances."⁷⁷ Panofsky seems to have equated antiquarianism with intellectualism. He allowed for the possibility that the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum was the source of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography since most surviving depictions seem to date to the mid-twelfth century or later, but he characterised the S. Maria in Pallara paintings as "a very doubtful reconstruction."⁷⁸ The paintings did not support his theory of periodic revival, rather than survival, of classical ideals in art. Characterizing the Carolingian period as a self-conscious revival of classical forms in art and literature, Panofsky primarily viewed the tenth century as a void for art production, calling it an "incubation period" and classifying its art as a negative reaction against Carolingian surface classicism.⁷⁹ Saying little about the eleventh century save that it represented a renewal of Early Christian ideals which were the seeds of the subsequent classical revival, Panofsky could only

plenamente normativizados. La general heterodoxia hispánica en la interpretación de la estatua-columna incide también en su excepcionalidad."

⁷⁵ Ibidem, pp.168-169, 171. "De ahí que no se puedan esperar soluciones muy sistematizadoras ni claras. Sin embargo, a pesar de este carácter, aún se puede observar cierta voluntad – al menos formal – por ordenar y conducir el pensamiento, lo que nos ayudará a profundizar en su sentido."

⁷⁶ Ohly, "Synagoge und Ecclesia," pp.352, 356, 360-361, 365-368. "So erklärt es sich, daß Typologisches ein Gegenstand der Darstellung im Bild ist."

⁷⁷ Panofsky, *Renaissance and renaissances in Western Art*, pp.42-113.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, p.110, n.2. This has led to the general belief that the paintings must date later than the tenth century; for example see Robert Bergman, *The Salerno ivories – ars sacra from medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, 1980), p.117.

⁷⁹ Panofsky, *Renaissance and renaissances*, pp.52-54. Panofsky seemed to refute the idea of an Ottonian Renaissance as such, despite a technical flowering of the arts during this time, always referring to the concept in quotations and stressing the 'de-classicization' of Ottonian art.

envision a possible context for the development of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in the twelfth century.⁸⁰

The twelfth century for Panofsky was a Proto-Renaissance of art with a return to large-scale public architecture and monumental sculpture, their forms attaining plasticity and naturalism to rival Antiquity, as well as a period of “proto-humanism” for literature in the aesthetic use of classical concepts.⁸¹ The overlap of these two movements – an artistic Proto-Renaissance and a literary proto-humanism – resulted in the “reactivation” of classical forms with classical concepts, albeit under the cover of Christian reinterpretation.⁸² Hypothesizing that classical imagery may have evoked notions of idolatry for twelfth-century audiences, Panofsky considered such Christianization of classical ideals polemically analogous to the increasingly negative Judaic representations in contemporary art.⁸³ Thus, the depiction of Apostles on the shoulders of Prophets served as a key example of Panofsky’s twelfth-century *interpretatio Christiana*, with the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum possibly serving as the iconography’s textual base and the visual metaphor expressing an uneasy relationship between the Old and New Laws.⁸⁴ One

⁸⁰ Ibidem, pp.53-54, 57-58. Panofsky characterized the period from 970 to 1020 as a revival of sorts, drawing only indirectly upon classical culture with its dependence on Early Christian, Carolingian and Byzantine sources. He claimed the art of the eleventh century was more prophetic than nostalgic, referring to the classical forms of Romanesque art and architecture. However, in the summation of this chapter, Panofsky seems to have reconsidered his argument and included the eleventh century in his definition of a twelfth-century Proto-Renaissance; see ibidem, p.106.

⁸¹ Ibidem, pp.55-81

⁸² Ibidem, pp.82-100. According to Panofsky this was a combination of artistic forces not found since the art of the Early Christian period, claiming this Proto-Renaissance was followed by a reactionary repudiation of classical ideals that resulted in the Gothic period for art and the Scholastic period for literature, with classicism finally being revived and assimilated fully only in the Italian Renaissance; see ibidem, pp.101-108.

⁸³ Ibidem, pp.108-113.

⁸⁴ This view was not so much stated as implied in Panofsky’s choice of example for the iconography – the Princes’ portal or Fürstenportal of Bamberg Cathedral. Its jamb sculptures are composed of the Apostles standing on the shoulders of Prophets, above which is a figure of a

result of his interpretation is that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is now perceived to have an intrinsic anti-Semitic meaning.⁸⁵ The Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is not well enough understood yet to posit such generalised conclusions.

To some degree Panofsky was correct in his reading of the twelfth-century anxiety over pagan learning; rather than showing unadulterated praise for classical learning at Chartres, the programme subjects it to Christian history as Jean-Paul Deremble has recently shown.⁸⁶ However, the unstated assumption in Panofsky's analysis is that the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, as well as the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, was based in some way on a classical concept. An art historian has attempted to identify a visual source from the corpus of Roman iconography. Noting that shoulder-carrying figures are common in Greek and Roman art, Nikolaos Yalouris has proposed that the classical model for both the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography and the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum might have been a representation of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises on his back.⁸⁷ After the sack of Troy (*Aeneid*, II.804), Aeneas, mourning the loss of his wife Creusa and facing exile, hoists his elderly father Anchises on his back and leads the Trojan refugees away to begin their journey to Italy that eventually results in the founding of Rome.

The *Aeneid* was nearly as popular as the bible throughout the Middle Ages, early medieval clerical authors advocating the use of its form, if not its secular content.⁸⁸ A Trojan

devil blinding a personification of Judaism surmounted by an image of Synagogue; see Panofsky, *Renaissance*, p.110.

⁸⁵ Henry N. Claman, *Jewish Images in the Christian Church. Art as the Mirror of the Jewish-Christian Conflict, 200-1250 C.E.* (Macon, 2000), pp.186-187.

⁸⁶ Jean Paul Deremble, "Les résurgences des motifs antiques dans les premières images gothiques," *Images de l'Antiquité dans la littérature française: le texte et son illustration*, E. Baumgartner, L. Harf-Lancner, ed. (Paris, 1993), pp.23-36.

⁸⁷ Nikolaos Yalouris, "Eine ungewöhnliche Propheten-Apostel-Darstellung," *Byzantine East, Latin West: art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, D. Mouriki, S. Curcic, G. Galavaris, eds. (Princeton, 1995), pp.203-212.

⁸⁸ That Virgil's *Aeneid* was popular throughout the Middle Ages is proven by its many adaptations. For example, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Falconia Betitia Proba: a Virgilian cento in

model would be a fitting suggestion for a church located on the Palatine Hill, a site associated with Aeneas and his descendants in Roman myth.⁸⁹ Yet Yalouris mentioned S. Maria in Pallara only in passing, referring to it in the paper's last footnote in order to cite Mâle's opinion that the iconography developed independently at both sites. Yalouris attempted to connect the Trojan source with the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at Chartres across a centuries-long divide by way of other classical texts. Quoting Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (6.13), he suggested that the Druid-like priests of the people of the Chartres area, the Carnutes, were as well-versed in classical literature as the medieval scholars of the twelfth-century Chartres school.⁹⁰

Indeed, the model of Aeneas carrying Anchises that Yalouris proposes as a source appears to explain the shoulder-sitting posture found in the iconography's earliest representations in Rome and at Merseburg that feature the Apostles sitting on the shoulders of the Prophets. Such a model's possible influence on the structure of Bernard's dictum, which only survives second-hand, is less clear; whether the Moderns/Dwarves were meant to sit on the shoulders of the Ancients/Giants or stand on them is debateable. John of Salisbury reports that Bernard's Dwarves were sitting on the shoulders of Giants, but the majority of medieval authors using the dictum

praise of Christ," *Women Writing Latin: from Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, Laurie J. Churchill, ed. 3 vols. (New York, 2002), I, pp.131-149; Neil Wright, "Bede and Vergil," *Romanobarbarica* 6 (1981-1982), pp.361-379; Emily Albu Hanawalt, "Dudo of Saint-Quentin: the heroic past imagined," *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), pp.111-118. While many Christian authors appropriated the text, others used it to make a rhetorical stand about pagan morals. For example, John of Salerno included a reference to Virgil in his biography of Saint Odo of Cluny, likening Virgil's writing to a pitcher full of snakes, distinguishing that the snakes were the teaching of the ancients, the pitcher the works themselves; see *St. Odo of Cluny*, tr. G. Sitwell (London, 1958), p.14. A pitcher is still useful emptied of snakes.

⁸⁹ John A. Brinkman, "The foundation legends in Vergil," *The Classical Journal* 54.1 (1958), pp.25-33. The author succinctly traces the sources for the separate myths of Romulus' founding of Rome on the Palatine and Aeneas' founding of a dynasty in Latium and the convergence of the two.

⁹⁰ Yalouris, "Eine ungewöhnliche Propheten-Apostel-Darstellung," pp.206-207. The sources do not say this exactly; as Yalouris argued, the Gauls are said to have been well educated in the

ambiguously describe the Dwarves as simply “being” on the shoulders.⁹¹ However, despite the form the model shares with the iconography, it presents a problem of correspondence. Since Anchises is carried by Aeneas, the senior father carried by his youthful son, it does not account for the proportional correlation of Apostles and Prophets. An inversion would have to take place for the model to fit the iconography.

Even when medieval art is evaluated on its own terms, as a tool in the service of religion, intellectual prejudice prevails and classical learning is still credited for creative forces. Studies of the conceptual content and structure of medieval art generally investigate the topic of exegesis, the application of textual comparative techniques to art to create multi-layered typological messages incorporating a minimum of textual explanation by way of inscriptions. The levels of comparison can number from two to four; these include simple, literal discussions of scriptural events as history, allegorical metaphors revealing a concordance between two eras of history, tropological or moral analogies that extend comparisons to a human viewpoint and anagogical projections that foreshadow realities to come.⁹² These levels of comparison are called senses; the greater number of senses an image embodies, the more complex it is. While Rome plays an important role in the dissemination of two-fold exegetical art in the Early Christian period, the city loses its status after this early flowering. It is generally assumed that the full application of

classics, and in a separate discussion about the Carnuti, the Druid priests are said to have educated their young.

⁹¹ See above, note 40. Most authors using the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum render it with the phrase “*sumus super humeros gigantum*”. Only Alexander Neckam in his *De naturis rerum* has the dwarves clearly standing on the shoulders of giants: “Et, ut ait philosophus, nos sumus quasi nani stantes super humeros gigantum”; see Jeaneau, “Nani gigantum humeris,” p.90.

⁹² The classical study of Christian exegesis is Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: 1959-1964). Lubac does not discuss exegesis in art; instead see A. C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: a preliminary study in the method and application of visual exegesis* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp.1-29.

the four-fold method of exegesis only began to appear in Carolingian art, with its true flowering occurring only in the late Romanesque period.

This is the thesis offered by Anna Esmeijer, who published an early comprehensive study of visual exegesis.⁹³ In her discussion of specific monuments Esmeijer would only speak of “historical continuity” in art, rather than referring to the various levels of exegesis. The juxtaposition of Old and New Testament narrative scenes is commonly found in the art of fourth-century Rome, as in the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus that can be understood on both literal and allegorical levels; however, she claimed that the monument offered no discernible programme.⁹⁴ The fifth-century decorations of Old St Peter’s and S. Paolo fuori le mura, known through early modern drawings, are among the earliest examples of the implementation of visual exegesis on three levels; juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes in the nave offered literal and allegorical exegesis, and the series of papal portraits in the roundels above the cycles offered the tropological comparison of contemporary figures as heirs to the apostles; yet Esmeijer would only characterise this as a “more consistent application of the principle of historical continuity.”⁹⁵ Finally, she could only tentatively postulate that a four-fold visual exegesis existed before the Carolingian period, an example of which is the sixth-century presbytery mosaics of San Vitale in Ravenna, where Old Testament scenes of Abel, Melchisedech, Abraham and the Three Magi offer allegorical parallels to the priest officiating at the celebration of the Eucharist in the shelter of these images, a ceremony in which the Emperor Justinian, the Empress Theodora and their retinues also partake on a tropological level through their mosaic portraits. An anagogical

⁹³ Ibidem, pp.16-29.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, p.18. Now see Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *The iconography of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton, 1990).

⁹⁵ Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, p.25.

exegesis is provided by the apse mosaic above, which presents Christ in Paradise. Yet she characterised this monument as displaying only a “continuity of sacrifice.”⁹⁶

Esmeijer was hesitant to interpret these programmes as examples of visual exegesis, because there were no texts, no inscriptions to confirm the exegetical messages that she read in the images. Such a theory is now generally accepted. However, in order to prove that the art of the medieval West functioned on a theory of visual exegesis, Esmeijer turned to an examination of medieval educational texts from the time of Augustine to the age of the “great medieval teachers” of the twelfth century; specifically she examined their use of schematic diagrams that were ultimately derived from the works of classical authorities, like Plato or Cicero.⁹⁷ She believed that these schemata, in the form of trees, ladders or spheres, could be recognised in works of medieval art communicating cosmic significance; the best known is the *quadriga* or vehicle of Ezekiel that was composed of four wheels and was viewed as the basis of Christ in Majesty compositions, which apparently is not based on a classical model.⁹⁸ The Apostle-and-Prophet iconography did not feature in her investigation.

There is an inherent flaw in any study that posits that textual evidence alone can be used to prove that a visual mode of communication exists.⁹⁹ The framework of her study being primarily text based, Esmeijer was forced to conclude that visual exegesis as a theory of art did not truly exist until at least the time of the Carolingian educational reforms and the renewal of Neo-Platonism, which is credited with the Romanesque flowering of exegetical art.¹⁰⁰ Such

⁹⁶ Ibidem, pp.28-29.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, pp.30-72.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, pp.48-53. She concludes her study with examinations over the *longue durée* of two schemata that were particularly well used in the Romanesque period, four-partite schemes of Paradise and Jerusalem.

⁹⁹ It is a flaw that left this valuable study open to criticism; see the review by Anton van Run in *Semiotus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 12.1 (1981-1982), pp.70-77.

¹⁰⁰ Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas*, pp.53-54.

arguments have created the perception that Romanesque art is unique to Northern Europe so that the term is not readily applicable to contemporaneous art in Italy.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Esmeijer qualified that Italy is an exception to the phenomenon of visual exegesis, despite using two key monuments located in Italy, Anagni cathedral and S. Pietro in Civate, the latter a Benedictine church.¹⁰² She was also sensitive about acknowledging the contributions of the Benedictine order, claiming that they were not as great as it appeared from the number of surviving monuments.¹⁰³

It is possible that such conclusions about Italy and the Benedictines stem from related historiographic arguments, one polemically constructed and the other a misunderstanding of a religious *topos*. The textual evidence for the negative status of education in “Italy,” not a geographically relevant term in the study of medieval culture, is found in polemical complaints made against the papacy and the city of Rome.¹⁰⁴ In the Middle Ages Rome was known as the old capital of the Roman empire, as a city of churches and as the home of the princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul; it was not known for its schools.¹⁰⁵ While it is true that a preponderance of exegetical and educational texts survive from Northern Europe from the Carolingian period onward, it would be wrong to negatively evaluate the Italian educational system because of a lack of textual evidence; schools in the Italian peninsula must have been structured on more traditional

¹⁰¹ Henri Focillon accredited the renewal of French culture to the Capetians and Gerbert of Aurillac; see Focillon, *L'an mil*, passim; For Stephen Nichols the Neoplatonism of John Scotus Eriugena inspired Gerbert and other French authors to renew history writing as a symbolic spiritual exercise; see S. G. Nichols, *Romanesque signs: early medieval narrative and iconography* (New Haven, 1983), pp.1-14.

¹⁰² Ibidem, pp.39-40, 54-55, 74-76.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, pp.54-55.

¹⁰⁴ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 8 vols., tr. A. Hamilton (London, 1895), III, pp.135-150, 216-229, 404-412; Irvn M. Resnick has shown that the perception of an anti-humanism in Rome in the eleventh century is primarily a historiographic production; see I. M. Resnick, “Attitudes towards philosophy and dialectic during the Gregorian Reform,” *Journal of religious history* 16.2 (1990), pp.115-125.

¹⁰⁵ Gerd Tellenbach, “La città di Roma dal IX al XII secolo vista dai contemporanei d’oltre frontiera,” *Studi storici in onore di Ottorino Bertolini*, 2 vols. (Pisa, 1972), pp.679-734.

oral instructional methods, and there is also evidence that the city played an important role in the preservation and transmission of knowledge.¹⁰⁶ No doubt the primary professional goal of schools in Rome was the staffing of the city's basilicas and the papal administration, rather than education itself or the production of knowledge.

A concomitant criticism of the negative attitude of the Benedictine order towards learning also appears in the historiography of medieval art and culture. For example, Henri Focillon criticised monks in general, and Cluniac monks specifically, for the propagation of fear and ignorance among the masses, a criticism based in part on the belief that Cluniacs rejected and vandalised books of classical learning.¹⁰⁷ To some degree the complaint against the Benedictines is a misunderstanding of the order's ideals of humility and simplicity that are given form by the biography of Saint Benedict written by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*; Benedict is said to have rejected the self-satisfying drives of the civilised world, abandoned his studies of literature and retired from secular society, "consciously ignorant and wisely unlearned."¹⁰⁸ No doubt the image of Gregory the Great as a destroyer of pagan culture stems from associations of his persona with the Benedictine order.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, many Benedictine houses were conservers of

¹⁰⁶ That the goal of early medieval education was not the production of knowledge is an argument used by C. S. Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, passim. As Jaeger notes, there is no comprehensive study of education in early medieval Italy, the schools of which he believed had great influence; see *ibidem*, p.17. For a reference to the French author Lupus of Ferrières writing to Rome to request a loan of classical sources, the rhetorical and grammatical works of Cicero, Quintilian and Donatus, see Gregorovius, *History of the city of Rome*, III, p.142. During a visit to Rome in 815 the future patriarch of Constantinople Methodios made a copy of the works of Pseudo-Dionysos the Areopagite; see J. Osborne, "The use of painted initials by Greek and Latin scriptoria in Carolingian Rome," *Gesta* 29 (1990), pp.76-85, esp.77.

¹⁰⁷ Focillon, *L'an mil*, pp.56-58.

¹⁰⁸ *Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 3 vols. (Paris, 1978), prologue, II, pp.126-127.

¹⁰⁹ Tilmann Buddensieg, "Gregory the Great, the destroyer of pagan idols: the history of a medieval legend concerning the decline of ancient art and literature," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp.44-65.

classical knowledge.¹¹⁰ The order did not negate classical learning so much as put it to new uses. Noting the inherent tension between the quest for learning and the quest for God, Jean LeClercq showed that this tension was a catalyst for intellectual investigation.¹¹¹ Monastic study did not entail the production of knowledge but moral meditation on literature and scriptures and above all encompassed a devotion to history: “the creative principle underlying all medieval exegesis is the evolutionary character of all Sacred History, the conception of the Church as a growing body, and this body being the total Christ.”¹¹² Thus to a monastic audience, history comprises both classical and Christian eras.

Despite such clarifications about the nature of medieval learning and the central place of history and the exegesis of history, it is still a common misconception that typological art was a product of the Romanesque period. For example, in his recent examination of Romanesque portals in France, Calvin Kendall posited that the “programmatic juxtaposition of Old Testament types with New Testament antitypes” was rare before the second half of the twelfth century.¹¹³ This notion is in part based on the perception that representations of the prophets, on which many typological programmes depend, only developed at this time and art historians studying medieval art in Italy have begun to counter this misconception. For example, in her recent examinations of representations of Prophets in Romanesque sculpture in Italy, Dorothy Glass has clarified the

¹¹⁰ Paul Lehmann, “The Benedictine order and the transmission of the literature of Ancient Rome in the Middle Ages,” *The Downside review* 71 (1953), pp.407-421; Birgen Munk Olsen, “Les poètes classiques dans les écoles au IXe siècle,” *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age (IXe-XIIIe siècle)*, B. Munk Olsen, K. Friis Jensen, eds. (Copenhagen, 1995), pp.35-54.

¹¹¹ Jean LeClercq, *The love of learning and the desire for God: a study of monastic culture*, tr. C. Misrahi (New York, 1982).

¹¹² Ibidem, p.80. The concept that the Church is the body of Christ is developed in the Pauline epistles.

¹¹³ Calvin Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church -- Romanesque portals and their verse inscriptions* (Toronto, 1998), p.195.

historiography of this construction as it was produced and propagated by French scholars.¹¹⁴ In particular, Glass examined the early twelfth-century central portal of the cathedral of Cremona with its representations of the prophets along the jamb edge that are contemporary with the appearance of similar compositions in France. Significantly, the Cremona lintel contains an image of Christ flanked by the apostles, a composition that seems to mirror the Christ in Majesty of Last Judgement compositions. Further, examining the eleventh-century bronze doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome that feature Apostles and Prophets, Valentino Pace was able to claim that the Prophets figured regularly in the art of Southern Italy from at least the eleventh century.¹¹⁵

While it cannot be denied that the first pairings of Evangelists with the four Major Prophets appear in Insular, Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts, the notion that the Prophets appeared infrequently in medieval art in Italy is based on negative evidence.¹¹⁶ There is a long tradition of representing the Prophets in the art of medieval Italy, but these are now known only through early modern drawings and texts. Many of these representations were once found in Rome, where they were paired with the Apostles.¹¹⁷ For example, the Prophets featured alongside

¹¹⁴ Dorothy F. Glass, "Otage de l'historiographie: l'*Ordo prophetarum* en Italie," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 44 (2001), pp.259-273, esp.260-261. Glass points to the S. Paolo fuori le mura doors as precedent for interest in the Prophets on the Italian peninsula. See also D. F. Glass, "Prophecy and priesthood at Modena," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63 (2000), pp.326-338.

¹¹⁵ Valentino Pace, "L'arte di Bisanzio al servizio della chiesa di Roma: la porta di bronzo di San Paolo fuori le mura," *Arte a Roma nel medioevo. Committenza, ideologia e cultura figurativa in monumenti e libri* (Naples, 2000), pp.87-103, esp.101. He makes an exception for S. Maria in Pallara.

¹¹⁶ Lawrence Nees, "The colophon drawing in the book of Mulling: a supposed Irish monastery plan and the tradition of terminal illustration in early medieval manuscripts," *Cambridge medieval Celtic studies* 5 (1983), pp.67-91. Nees discusses examples in Carolingian manuscripts as the first representational pairings of Apostles and Prophets that generally present the Evangelists in the corners of a Christ in majesty page and the Prophets at the center of each edge. A clear representation of pairing is found in the S. Maria ad Gradus Evangeliary in Cologne where a more obvious relationship of correspondence is found in their arrangement; see Peter Bloch, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, 2 vols (Düsseldorf, 1967-1970), I, pp.69-75, pl.15.

¹¹⁷ For a broad catalogue and discussion, see Petra Sevrugian, "Prophetendarstellungen in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992), pp.65-81.

the Apostles in the lost fifth-century decorations of Old St Peter's and S. Paolo fuori le mura, programmes that were widely copied throughout the Middle Ages; these images were found between the windows at the clerestory level as shown in early modern drawings.¹¹⁸ The *Liber Pontificalis* provides further evidence that the Prophets appeared regularly in Roman art; among the gifts of Pope Leo IV (847-855) to various churches was a textile with a gold-embossed representation of the Virgin Mary surrounded by Prophets and a silver-gilt chandelier decorated with effigies of the Prophets and Saint Stephen.¹¹⁹

Prophets also appear in numerous extant eleventh and twelfth-century Roman churches suggesting that such representations were part of an older tradition. These depictions could take the form of *tondo* portraits such as those in S. Maria in Cosmedin and the crypt of S. Nicola in Carcere.¹²⁰ Standing Prophets also appear on the twelfth-century apse arches of S. Clemente and S. Maria in Trastevere where they are paired with various patron saints, as well as in the apse of S. Silvestro in Tivoli where they feature with the Apostles.¹²¹ Whether these last depictions are part of a continuing tradition is worth reconsidering when evidence from outside of Rome is added to the data. For example, archaeological investigation has led to the discovery of a ninth-century programme dedicated to the Prophets at the medieval monastery of San Vincenzo al

¹¹⁸ Herbert Kessler, "«Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum»: Old St. Peter's and church decoration in medieval Latium," *Italian church decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance – functions, forms and regional traditions*, ed. W. Tronzo (Bologna, 1989), pp.119-146, esp.122. Images of the Prophets can still be seen in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo.

¹¹⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp.115, 130.

¹²⁰ Matthiae, *Pittura Romana*, I, p.183; Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien a Rome," pp. 114-117.

¹²¹ Isaiah and Jeremiah appear on the arch in both S. Clemente and S. Maria in Trastevere. For S. Silvestro, see Hanspeter Lanz, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien von San Silvestro in Tivoli. Ein römisches Apsisprogramm der Zeit Innozenz III.* (Bern, 1983), pp.82-103.

Volturmo.¹²² The prophets Jeremiah and perhaps Ezekiel also appear in the apse of S. Vincenzo in Galliano dated to around the year 1000.¹²³ The twelfth-century north portal of the Parma baptistery created by Benedetto Antelami includes depictions of twelve Prophets holding tondo portraits of the Apostles.¹²⁴ If LeClercq is correct in his evaluation of the importance of typological thinking to monastic culture, then many such images have been lost since little monastic art survives in Rome. Fortunately, S. Maria in Pallara is one case of survival.

This analysis of the historiography of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography has shown that the greatest hindrance to its study, especially study of its representation in S. Maria in Pallara, is offered by the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum comparing moderns and ancients that is attributed to Bernard of Chartres. Since a variation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography also appears at Chartres, it has been assumed that it originated there. This supposedly perfect fit of text and image has been used in nationalistic arguments of artistic supremacy and arguments for the intellectual renewal of the twelfth century. The notion of Chartrain origins for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography has led to the belief that the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara must date later than the tenth century and to a devaluation of the other monuments where the iconography appears; for if Bernard's dictum governs the iconography's meaning, then all other citations, especially partial ones, must communicate only incomplete messages. The stylistic and technical

¹²² R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, "The assembly room: part of the lower thoroughfare," *San Vincenzo al Volturmo 2: the 1980-86 excavations*, ed. R. Hodges (London, 1995), pp.26-65; J. Mitchell, "Literacy displayed: the use of inscriptions at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturmo in the early ninth century" *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, R. McKitterick, ed. (Cambridge, 1992), pp.186-225.

¹²³ Beat Brenk, "La committenza di Ariberto d'Intimiano," *Il millennio ambrosiano. La città del vescovo dai Carolingi al Barbarossa*, ed. C. Bertelli (Milan, 1988), pp.124-155, esp. 137-144.

¹²⁴ Geza de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami, architetto e scultore, e l' arte del suo tempo*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1952), I, pp.190-196; Lucia Cesarina Guasti Gardiol, "Benedetto Antelami e il *Liber antiheresis* di Durando d'Osca," *Arte medievale* 5.1 (1991), pp.75-82. The latter analysis compares the jamb sculptures to the contemporary writings of a Waldensian theologian, Durandus of Osca.

analysis of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings in Chapter 2 has shown that this cannot be so; the iconography predates the dictum.

Bernard's dictum is a beacon for medievalists wishing to find a secular island of intellectual content in the medieval sea of religious culture. That the dictum is a commentary on ancient learning and its revival is so well entrenched in the minds of medievalists that it has been assumed that a classical source for it must exist waiting to be discovered. Several scholars have attempted to suggest such sources, both classical texts and models from Roman art. Despite the dictum's close relationship with the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, no one has seriously attempted to suggest that it served as the inspiration for the dictum; it has always been assumed that text inspired image. As the following examination shows, the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography and the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum share a parallel structure, which derives from a uniquely medieval intellectual culture.

3.3 Apostles/Dwarves/Moderns on the shoulders of Prophets/Giants/Ancients: parallel meaning

Despite being unaware of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, Robert Merton agreed that the Apostle-on-the-shoulders-of-Prophets iconography predated the genesis of Bernard's dictum, yet textual scholars have only viewed the iconography as a subcategory of the dictum, image subordinated to text.¹²⁵ Jeauneau first recognised that the dictum's meaning is not stable but varies with each retelling. In his foreword to a subsequent edition of Robert Merton's study, the semiotician Umberto Eco suggested that John of Salisbury used the dictum in his discussion of Aristotle in an attempt to urge his contemporaries to greater original thought, and he in turn urged

¹²⁵ Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants*, pp.183-192.

scholars to research the various meanings of the dictum's different quotations.¹²⁶ But none have gone so far as to suggest examining possible connections between the dictum and the iconography.

Gloria Fossi, in her examination of classical motifs in Romanesque and Gothic art appropriately entitled "Nani sulle spalle di Giganti?," suggested in passing that perhaps Bernard was inspired by images of the Apostles on the shoulders of Prophets.¹²⁷ Yet art historians like Tobias Leuker have been preoccupied with identifying classical texts as sources for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography. Even the model proposed by Nicholas Yalouris, a representation of Anchises carried by Aeneas, is still the embodiment of a classical text. As noted above, the latter model is problematic, as it does not account for the proportional relationship between the Apostles and Prophets. From a normative Christian perspective the Apostles are the greater figures, not the Prophets. For the same reasons, the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is also a problematic model for the dictum, since a proportional dissonance is encountered when comparing the Apostles to Dwarves. For either model to work an inversion would have to take place. A brief investigation of the sources of the dictum is thus warranted in order to understand the connection between the dictum and the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography.

Inversion, however, seems to be intrinsic to the meaning of the dictum. Tobias Leuker hypothesized that Bernard appropriated motifs from several classical texts to form his dictum; he believed that the Atlantean motif derived from a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in order to express an appreciation for the authority of the ancients in the field of grammar as discussed in

¹²⁶ Robert K. Merton, *On the shoulders of giants: a shandean postscript. The post-Italianate edition* (Chicago, 1993), pp.ix-xxv, esp. xvii.

¹²⁷ Gloria Fossi, "Nani sulle spalle di giganti? A proposito dell'atteggiamento degli artisti medievali nei confronti dell'antichità," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri* (Milan, 1984), pp.20-32. The Apostle-and-Prophet iconography was logically not a topic of her article.

Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*; Bernard was after all a master of grammar at Chartres.¹²⁸ The second passage of import for the Dwarf-and-Giant comparison cited by Leuker is found in the eighth book of Juvenal's *Satires* where antipodes like dwarf and Atlas are used ironically to refer to each other.¹²⁹ Leuker suggested that Bernard associated that passage with the use of professional titles, in relation to Cicero's *Tusculan disputations*.¹³⁰ Leuker seems to have viewed the passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Juvenal's *Satires* essentially as structure, the motifs they may have lent to the saying's composition connected only loosely to its meaning, a meaning that could only be postulated by recourse to other classical texts. The Dwarf-and-Giant dictum derives from a uniquely medieval mode of thought, which Leuker might have realized had he discussed the dictum's rhetorical structure or its relationship with the iconography.

As a teacher of grammar at a cathedral school, Bernard of Chartres would have been familiar with both pre-Christian and Christian-era treatises on grammar. It is in the latter group that I believe one of the sources for the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum can be found. The Dwarf-and-Giant dictum's rhetorical action is provided by the trope antiphrasis, as discussed by Isidore of Seville in book I of his *Liber Etymologiarum* dealing with grammar, entitled *De Grammatica et partibus eius*:

Antiphrasis is an expression that is to be understood by its opposite, just as a 'grove' is called *lucus*, because it lacks light on account of the excessive shadow of forests; and a 'spirit,' is called meek, when they are not, and gentle when they are terrible and monstrous; the Furies are also called 'the sparing and kindly ones', because they spare

¹²⁸ Leuker, "Zwerge auf den Schulterer," p.72. See also note 64 above.

¹²⁹ See note 66 above.

¹³⁰ Cicero classified mythical figures like Atlas as the first philosophers, claiming that Pythagoras invented the title of philosopher and that the uneducated, being ignorant of the histories of the philosophers, suffer 'mental darkness'. See Cicero, *Disputationes Tusculanae*, J. E. King, ed. and tr. (London, 1971), 5.2.6-9, pp.428-433.

and help no one. With this trope dwarves are called Atlases, the blind are called the seeing ones, and Ethiopians are commonly called silvery.¹³¹

Although not a direct quotation of Juvenal, clearly Isidore had read the *Satires*.¹³²

The partial reference from Juvenal is combined here with the definition of antiphrasis found in Late Antique treatises on rhetoric and grammar, examples which derive from earlier Greek and Roman literature. Donatus's *Ars maior* classifies antiphrasis using the examples of the grove called *lucus* and the Fates rather than the Furies.¹³³ Similar definitions are found in Martianus Capella and Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*.¹³⁴ The example of the Furies derives from the Greek play, the *Eumenides* by Aeschylus.¹³⁵ It is interesting that in the *Ad Herennium*, a treatise attributed to Cicero, an impious son is called Aeneas by ironic contrast and an adulterer is called Hippolytus.¹³⁶ A paradigm shift occurs with Bede, who illustrates antiphrasis with a

¹³¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), 1.37.24, lines 11-21. "Antiphrasis est sermo e contrario intellegendus, ut 'lucus,' quia caret lucem per nimiam nemorum umbram; et 'manes,' id est mites (quum sint inmites) et modesti, cum sint terribiles et inmanes; et 'Parcas' et 'Eumenides,' Furiae quod nulli parcant vel benefaciant. Hoc tropo et nani Athlantes et caeci videntes et vulgo Aethiopes argentei appellantur." The translation is mine.

¹³² Juvenal's discussion of dwarves and giants makes no mention of antiphrasis, although ironic inversion is the intended use of the comparisons in that passage. There are numerous references to Juvenal in the Etymologies; for example, see Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 1.36.11 and 3.22.12.

¹³³ Donatus' *Ars Maior* exists only in Carolingian copies where antiphrasis is classified as a form of the trope allegory; *In Donati Artem Maiorem*, L. Holtz, ed. 3 vols. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 40 (Turnhout, 1977), I, lines 13-133, p.247.

¹³⁴ Marziano Capella, *Le Nozze di Filologia e Mercurio*, Ilaria Ramelli, ed. and tr. (Milan, 2001), 4.360, pp.224-225; Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, R. P. H. Green, ed. and tr. (Oxford, 1995), 3.30.41-42, pp.172-173.

¹³⁵ *Eumenides*, literally translated as "kindly ones," is a euphemism for the Furies. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, A. J. Podlecki, tr. 2nd edition (Warminster, 1992), lines 991-992, p.123.

¹³⁶ *Ad C. Herennium. De ratione dicendi* H. Caplan, ed. and tr. (London, 1954), 4.34.46, pp.345-6. "Ex contrario ducitur sic, ut si quis hominem prodigum et luxuriosum inludens parcum et diligentem appelet. ...Ex contrario, ut si quem impium qui patrem verberarit Aeneam vocemus, intemperantem et adulterum Hippolytum nominemus."

biblical reference alone in his *De schematis et tropis*, referring to Matthew 26.50, where Jesus calls Judas “friend” before his arrest.¹³⁷

Two of the three examples of antiphrasis in Isidore’s definition – the antithesis of the blind and those able to see, and the contrast of dark- and light-skinned peoples – appear to resonate with key Old Testament passages that were used in Christian discussions of the typological imaginary. The notion that the “blind are called seeing ones” is reminiscent of the passage in Isaiah 6.9-10, where God tells the prophet: “Go, and say to the people: Hear, indeed, but you do not understand, see, indeed, but you do not perceive.” This passage echoes in various books of the Old and New Testaments and is found in the anti-Judaic writings of both Church Fathers and medieval exegetes.¹³⁸ The question of an Ethiopian’s skin colour finds resonance with a passage in Jeremiah 13.23, where at God’s bidding the prophet warns the Jews of the inevitability of their sin and eventual destruction: “Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may you also do good that are accustomed to doing evil.” This passage was also used by Isidore in a discussion of the blindness of the Jews to argue that they can never change their nature.¹³⁹ Whether Isidore found a biblical resonance in the example of the dwarves and giants is uncertain, but as far as I know there is no single direct reference to both dwarves and giants in the Old and New Testaments.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Bede, “De schematis et tropis,” *PL* 90.184. For an analysis of this treatise, see Carmela Virgillio Franklin, “Grammar and exegesis: Bede’s *Liber de schematibus et tropis*,” *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric. From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. C. D. Lanham (London, 2002), pp.63-91.

¹³⁸ Craig A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series*, 64 (Sheffield, 1989), pp.153-162.

¹³⁹ Isidore of Seville, “De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra judaeos ad Florentinam sororem suam,” *PL* 83.476-477.

¹⁴⁰ According to Genesis 6.4 there were giants in the world at the time of Noah; M. J. Mans, “St. Ambrose (‘Intende, qui regis Israel’, 17-20) and the giants of Genesis 6.4,” *Studia patristica* 28 (1993), pp.54-60. The Gammadims referred to in Ezekiel 27.11 are apparently dwarves. In the

It is possible, however, that a specific reference is not necessary as the Dwarf and Giant antithesis corresponds to the oppositional mode of Christian thought. Constance Bouchard has recently discussed the notion that a discourse of oppositions was a common mode of thought in the twelfth century due to a growing interest in Aristotelian dialectic and the desire to clarify the logic of Christian doctrine.¹⁴¹ However, inversion was the basis of Christian ideology from its origins, an ideology that was in opposition to the dominant social mores, and thus many antipodes can be found in the New Testament. For example, in Matthew 11.25 where Jesus speaks of John the Baptist, calling him a prophet, he says, “I thank you Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hid these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them unto babes.” In Luke 18.14 Jesus concludes his parable of the righteous Pharisee and the humble Publican with the following warning: “I tell you this man went down to his house justified rather than the other, for every one that exalts himself shall be abased; and he that humbles himself shall be exalted.” The Pauline epistles provide still another example; in 1 Corinthians 3.18 every man is warned to turn away from gentile beliefs and to keep himself as a temple of God for the time of judgement with the following warning: “Let no man deceive himself. If any man among you seems to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.” These antitheses with their biblical resonances are reminiscent of the iconography: humble, perspicacious Apostles in opposition to the proud and blind Prophets.

If the dictum is considered with Isidore’s definition of the trope antiphrasis in mind, a clearer understanding of its meaning is possible. The dictum’s meaning does not only depend on the superimposition of Dwarf on Giant; antiphrasis can be seen to illuminate the rhetorical

Gospel of Luke 19.1-10, Zacchaeus, a man of small stature, climbs a tree the better to view Jesus as he passed through Jericho on his way to Jerusalem.

¹⁴¹ C. Brittain Bouchard, *‘Every valley shall be exalted’: the discourse of opposites in twelfth-century thought* (Ithaca, 2003).

action of the saying by allegorical irony. Bernard compared his contemporaries to Dwarves, unequal in stature to the Ancients, but equal in the appropriation of their knowledge. Thus the Modern Dwarf becomes a Giant by inversion. The inverse relationship expressed in the dictum by the superimposition of Dwarf on Giant, Modern on Ancient, the one morphing into the other due only to relativity and the passage of time, implies a continuum of learning and Bernard may be seen to have approved of contemporary, creative genius, within a Christian conception of teleological history.¹⁴² The notion of a Dwarf maintains the humility *topos* of Christian authors, but an elevated seat atop a Giant's shoulders allows for ambitious innovation.¹⁴³

Evidence that Isidore of Seville's definition of antiphrasis was indeed intrinsic to the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum's meaning can be found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century quotations of the saying. For example, the preacher and theologian Alan of Lille (d.1203) used the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum twice in his allegorical poem the *Anticlaudianus*, which chronicles the quest of the female personification Nature to improve upon the past and create a new, more perfect man. A clear citation of Bernard's dictum is found in the prologue, used to apologise for the poem's originality; the author claims that although his work reeks of the crudity of the moderns, when dwarfish pride is placed above gigantic excess, it exceeds the giant in altitude.¹⁴⁴ In effect, the

¹⁴² Near the end of Book IV, John confirms Bernard's belief in the teleological specificity of divine providence; John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, 4.35, lines 36-54, pp.173-174. Discussing the teaching methods of Bernard of Chartres, John of Salisbury claimed that every lesson was to be presented for the benefit of the students' spiritual growth, and each school day closed with the recitation of prayers for the dead, the six penitential psalms and the Lord's Prayer; *ibidem*, 1.24, lines 47-76, pp.52-53.

¹⁴³ Both Augustine and Gregory the Great used the Latin term *homuncio*, literally a dwarf, to refer to themselves; Augustine, *Confessiones libri XIII*, 9.3; *Corpus Christianorum*, 27 (Turnhout, 1990), p.136. "...unde me multa interrogabat homuncionem inexpertum." Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, I, 1.8, pp.14-15. For a recent discussion of the *topos*, see Thomas O'Loughlin, "Individual anonymity and collective identity: the enigma of early Medieval Latin theologians," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 64.2 (1997), pp.291-314.

¹⁴⁴ Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, R. Bossuat, ed. *Textes philosophiques du moyen age*, 1. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1955), pp.55-56. "In hoc tamen nulla vilitate plebescat, nullos reprehensionis morsus

author claims that towering pride is made small by humility. It is not a coincidence that in book seven the author, referring directly to the term antiphrasis, uses the antithesis of dwarf and giant to describe the home of Fortune that is located on a rock in the ocean, buffeted constantly by wave and wind; in Fortune's dwelling chance makes the tall cedar a pygmy and the dwarf myrrh becomes a giant by antiphrasis.¹⁴⁵ Another example is found in an early thirteenth-century sermon written by Absalom of Springiersbach, abbot of a house of Augustinian canons near Trier, who uses the idea of inversion to urge his audience to spend time in the study of sacred scripture rather than vanities; he warns that salvation is better sought in poverty than in riches, in humility rather than pride, as frequently the ignorant attain heaven and the literate descend to hell.¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is more likely that Isidore's *Liber Etymologiarum* was a source for the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum's creation, rather than the original passage in Juvenal that does not mention the trope.¹⁴⁷

sustineat, quasi modernorum redoleat ruditatem, qui et ingenii praeferunt florem et diligentie efferunt dignitatem, cum pigmaea humilitas excessui superposita giganteo, altitudine gigantem praeveniat et rivus a fonte scaturiens in torrentem multiplicatus excrescat."

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.169 "Multa antiphrasim gerit illic alea casus: Pygmea brevitate sedens demissaque cedrus desinit esse gigas et nana mirica gigantem induit: alterius sic accipit altera formam." For a discussion of the use of grammar as an ethical exercise in this poem, see Jan Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: the meaning of grammar to a twelfth-century intellectual*, Speculum anniversary monographs, 10 (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

¹⁴⁶ Absalon Abbas Sprinckirsbacensis, "Sermo Primus. De Adventu Domini", PL 211.17. "Sed salus melius quaeritur paupertate quam divitiis, subiectione quam eminentia: et verum est illud Augustini verbum, quia frequenter indocti coelum rapiunt, et verba legis ponderantes cum litteris suis ad inferos descendunt. Forte sublimis et magnus vis apparere, sed in omni labore tuo quo laboras sub sole, hoc assequi non poteris, quia semper meliores et sublimiores supra te aspicias, quorum comparatione quasi nanus inter gigantes reputaberis, et videberis in vanum deduxisse dies tuos, cum tamen nulla jactura gravior sit quam temporis. Ut quid o anima misera captas inanes auras, fumum vaporantem, quem si apprehenderis, vestem habebis infectam, palatum amarum, oculum caecutientem. Quo enim magis sanctae conversationis vestis inficitur, quam labore inutili, cum homo totum studium divitiis et honoribus impendit, virtuti autem nihil?"

¹⁴⁷ Certainly Juvenal was known and read throughout the Middle Ages; see Colette Jeudy, "Un glossaire Carolingien inédit de mots rares extraits des Satires de Juvénal," *Gli Umanesimi medievali. Atti del II Congresso dell' "Internationales Mittellateinerkomitee", Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 11-15 settembre 1993*, C. Leonardi, ed., Millennio Medievale, 4; Atti di Convegno, 1 (Florence, 1998), pp.273-282.

The relationship of the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum to the variation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at Chartres is now clarified with a better understanding of the former's rhetorical mechanism. The Dwarf-and-Giant dictum is composed of figures of modest size seated atop figures of great size, the former possessed of great insight, the latter of limited perspicacity; through a rhetorical inversion their proportions are reversed; that is, they are reversed when re-evaluated on a different value scale. This same explanation can be applied to the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography: the Apostles are the younger and more humble figures, the Prophets are ancient authorities accused of pride and blindness. The Dwarf-and-Giant dictum is not the source for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, but rather the inverse is probably true. Thus, invoking the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum in the iconography's adaptation at Chartres by representing the Evangelists at a slightly lesser scale than the Prophets is not incongruous (Figure 101). The youthful Evangelists maintain their status as giants of Christianity, and the statuesque Prophets are seen to have a lesser status. Instead of presenting an imbalance of the normative relationship of the twin Testaments, the iconography eloquently expresses their interdependence while maintaining priority from a Christian perspective.

The most striking visual attribute of the Dwarf-and-Giant saying, shared by the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, is the shoulder-sitting pose. The passage from Isidore of Seville's *Liber Etymologiarum* does not involve a physical connection between Dwarf and Giant. Can the physical model have been the image of Anchises carried on the shoulders of Aeneas? Inversion was prevalent in both contexts, through the specific discussion of antiphrasis for the dictum and through the general notion of Christian opposition for the iconography. The younger Aeneas was a giant of historical myth, the great founder of an Italian dynasty; the elder Anchises appeared periodically to advise his son, showing him a vision of his dynasty's future in the underworld (6.685-901). If there is an inversion in conception that allows the Trojan motif to serve as the

dictum's model, then both the notions of age and sight must be inverted. Thus, the motif of Anchises carried by Aeneas is not exactly a model for the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, but perhaps it can be considered a kind of anti-model. It is more likely that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography was the model for Bernard's saying, especially when one considers that both pairs of antithetical figures, Moderns and Ancients and Apostles or Evangelists and Prophets, were authors.

Could the notion of Anchises carried by Aeneas have been a model for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography? Secular, classical models have long been thought to have influenced Early Christian art. For example, the liturgical historian Theodor Klauser proposed that representations of the imperial obeisance ceremony known as the *Aurum coronarium* were influential in representations of the Twenty-four Elders offering their crowns to the Agnus Dei.¹⁴⁸ The ceremony entails the offering of gold crowns to the emperor by inferior leaders, an example of which is found on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople, where the subjected figures kneel in obeisance to the emperor much as the Elders do in S. Maria in Pallara (Figure 106).¹⁴⁹ Klauser also discussed the similar ritual of the *Aurum oblativum*, the offering of crowns by the senators, as seen in early modern drawings of the base of the column of Arcadius where the figures stand rather than kneel (Figure 107). The earliest surviving representation of the Elders is found in S. Paolo fuori le mura where they stand on either side of the arch, a modern copy of a mid fifth-century original (Figure 86).¹⁵⁰ A slightly earlier representation in mosaic is

¹⁴⁸ Theodor Klauser, "Aurum coronarium," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico* 59 (1944), pp.129-153, esp.147, 149-150.

¹⁴⁹ R. Traquair, A. J. B. Wace, "The base of the obelisk of Theodosius," *Journal of Hellenic studies* 29 (1909), pp.60-69.

¹⁵⁰ Waetzoldt, "Zur Ikonographie des Triumphbogenmosaiks," pp.19-28.

known to have decorated the facade of Old St Peter's, as seen in an eleventh-century drawing (Figure 108).¹⁵¹

While the Roman ceremony and the Apocalyptic motif can probably be viewed as parallels rather than model and derivative, Klauser chose not to do so; nor did he consider what such a background might mean for the images in terms of power structures, not only from the perspective of the one being worshipped, but also those doing the worshipping. Whether or not the Elders of Roman apse traditions were modelled on representations of the imperial ceremony is unverifiable, but it is positivistic to state that a classical image alone could serve as model for the iconography in a Christian medieval church. Further, it is questionable whether medieval audiences would have had intimate knowledge of the *Aurum coronarium*, or even considered it when looking at images of the Twenty-four Elders.¹⁵² While tribute continued to be part of the political relations between medieval polities, it is uncertain whether these took the form of crowns. For example, the personifications of the provinces Slavia, Germania, Gallia and Roma appear offering tribute to Otto III (983-1002) in the Aachen Gospels (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. Monac. Lat. 4453, 23v), where they carry an orb, a horn, a palm branch and a bowl.

The Christian library of biblical, exegetical and liturgical texts is a more likely repository for iconographic sources of church decoration, rather than the classical one, which only provided

¹⁵¹ Jean-Charles Picard, "Les origines du mot paradisus-parvis," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen-Âge* 83 (1971), pp.159-186. The mosaic was first erected by a consul named Marinianus and his wife Anastasia during the reign of Pope Leo I (440-461); it was subsequently restored in the seventh and twelfth centuries. The drawing is the frontispiece to a life of Gregory the Great once belonging to Farfa, now Eton College, Ms.124.

¹⁵² Isidore of Seville does not mention the *aurum coronarium* ceremony and he claims that a coronarium is a laminated bronze coin stamped with an image of a crown; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 16.20.5. "Coronarium ex ductili aere tenuatur in laminas, taurorumque felle tinctum speciem auri in coronis histrionum praebebat, unde et appellatum."

structure for Christian learning.¹⁵³ As Dale Kinney noted, the composition at S. Paolo fuori le mura represents a break with previous apse arch programmes relying heavily on the Apocalypse; it would come to serve as a model for subsequent Roman apse tradition, a tradition in which S. Maria in Pallara is bound.¹⁵⁴ Kinney claimed that the programme does not present any specific eschatological meaning but a general liturgical one, in the sense of a celebration of the triumph of Christianity that is the nature of chapters 4 and 5 of the Apocalypse from which the images are drawn; in this way she reconciled the “marriage of Christian and imperial imagery.” She concluded with the suggestion that this change may have been a response to apocalyptic perceptions regarding the sack of Rome in 410.¹⁵⁵

Ursula Nilgen has recently gone further to argue that the traditional apse arch programme is a reflection of a specific liturgy.¹⁵⁶ She stresses that the paradigmatic Roman apse arch functioned as an illustration of the Eucharistic liturgy enacted within its confines, with the *Agnus Dei* serving as the Eucharistic offering and the adoring Elders acting out the Eucharistic prayer of the *Sanctus* in which the heavenly hosts, as well as the faithful, are called on to praise the Lord.¹⁵⁷ The Eucharist is a commemoration of Christ’s sacrifice, enacted for the salvation of believers in anticipation of a celestial Eucharist; passages in the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, as well

¹⁵³ In a discussion of grammar, Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and later bishop of Mainz, claimed that secular classical learning could be used in the way that the captive woman in Deuteronomy 21.10-14 could be taken to wife: by shaving her bald and clipping her nails; see Rabanus Maurus, “De clericorum institutione”, 18, *PL* 107.395-396. For a discussion of this passage, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.124-130, esp. pp. 127-128.

¹⁵⁴ Dale Kinney, “The Apocalypse in early Christian monumental decoration,” *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. R. K. Emmerson, B. McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), pp.200-216.

¹⁵⁵ For a discussion of the variety of opinions about the Apocalypse, see Paula Fredriksen, “Apocalypse and redemption in early Christianity: from John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 45.2 (1991), pp.151-183.

¹⁵⁶ Nilgen, “Die Bilder über dem Altar,” pp.75-89; eadem, “The Adoration of the Crucified Christ at Santa Maria Antiqua,” pp.128-135.

¹⁵⁷ Eadem, “Die Bilder über dem Altar,” pp.79-81.

as the book of Revelation, promise a celestial Eucharist meal to all Christians.¹⁵⁸ A change in the representation of the Elders provides Nilgen with proof for her theory; the Elders are replaced by Prophets in the twelfth-century apse arches in S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Clemente, thereby offering a more complex, less apocalyptic message, a change which she explains by noting that there was a contemporaneous tendency to treat the Eucharist as a mystery comprehensible to the clergy alone.¹⁵⁹

If Nilgen is correct and the Twenty-four Elders are typological embodiments of the celebrants, then in monastic contexts they can be understood to embody the monks performing the Divine Office. This would explain the interest and variation in the depictions of the Elders in monastic monuments; an extended cycle of the Adoration of the Elders is a central part of the choir paintings in S. Elia near Nepi and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina.¹⁶⁰ In this respect it is interesting to note that the monastic rule known as the Rule of the Master, composed in Rome perhaps in the early sixth century, draws an analogy between the worshipping Elders and the monks' kneeling posture of prayer during Matins and Vespers of the Divine Office.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Mat. 26: 26-29; Mark 14: 22-25; Luke 22: 16-30; Luke 22:30: "That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Revelation makes a similar statement: Rev. 19: 9, "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb." the liturgical nature of the apse agrees with the salutary theme of the entire programme that is directed to the lowest register of the apse arch.

¹⁵⁹ Nilgen, "Die Bilder über dem Altar," p.89; eadem, "Texte et image dans les absides des XIe-XIIe siècles en Italie," *Épigraphie et iconographie, Actes du Colloque tenue à Poitiers les 5-8 octobre 1995* (Poitiers, 1996), pp.153-165, esp.160-161; S. Sinding-Larsen, "Some observations on liturgical imagery of the twelfth century," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 8 (1978), pp.193-212, esp.203-204.

¹⁶⁰ Hoegger, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi*, pp.42-47; Margaret Manion, "The frescoes of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina – the shape of a tradition," *Australian Journal of Art* 1 (1978), pp.93-110, esp.94, 97.

¹⁶¹ *La règle du maître*, 3 vols., ed. A. de Vogüé (Paris, 1964), II, pp.182, 192. Regarding Matins: "...tam istae sedecim inpositiones in nocturnis quam octo matutinorum inpositiones, similiter viginti quattuor vicibus secundum viginti quattuor seniorum imitationem genua nostra in nocte Deo flectantur cum laudibus." Regarding Vespers: "Ut tam istae cum responsorio et evangelia <octo> inpositiones psallentium sine versum et lectiones quam illae quaternae horarum ipsius diei

This analysis has shown that the source for Bernard's Dwarf-and-Giant dictum is not to be found in classical texts, but rather in Christian ones. If it can be conceived that Juvenal's discussion of antipodes might have influenced the dictum's creation, then it is far more likely that Isidore of Seville's discussion of the same topic in the definition of antiphrasis, a figure of speech, furnished some fundamental structure to Bernard of Chartres, who was a grammar master. An examination of the structure of the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum further reveals that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography shares that same structure. In this way it can be conceived that the iconography served as a model for the dictum. Did Bernard or any of the canons of Chartres cathedral travel to Rome and visit S. Maria in Pallara? Did a representation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography feature in the decorations of an earlier phase in the cathedral's history? It is perhaps impossible to know.

The most striking characteristic shared by the dictum and the iconography is the shoulder-sitting motif. It has been proposed that its model was an image of Anchises seated on the shoulders of Aeneas. The inversion of proportions is no longer an issue in conceptualising such a proposal. However, the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum compares modern scholars or authors with ancient ones, as does the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography; and in the face of such a close correspondance the Trojan proposal is just not a very strong thesis. At most, the motif of Anchises seated on the shoulders of Aeneas is an anti-model. Likewise an analysis of the conjecture that the *Aurum coronarium* obeisance-ritual is at the heart of representations of the Twenty-four Elders has shown that such observations about classical forms are not productive, open-ended at best. There is little evidence that the crown-bearing classical model was

inpositiones, id est per ipsas horas, hoc est primam, tertiam, sextam, nonam, ternarum antifanarum et responsoriis singulis, quae omnes veniunt sedecim absque versos et lectiones, explendo totiens psallere viginti quattuor viciis genua nostra secundum viginti quattuor seniorum

appropriated for the crown-bearing Elders, or even required. Certainly later audiences would not have associated representations of the Elders with such classical models, but with the Christian rituals performed within the shadow of such images, as Ursula Nilgen has shown. Thus, the investigation of the sources and meaning of Christian iconography is more productively conducted within the library of exegetical and liturgical Christian literature.

3.4 The Apostles on the Shoulders of Prophets: exegetical and liturgical sources

The shoulder is an important symbol in both biblical exegesis and liturgy as a means of conveyance and support. For example, in his commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome typologically compared the mother eagle carrying her babies from Deuteronomy 32.11-12 to Christ who extended his wings in the Passion in order to raise his disciples and carry them on his shoulders.¹⁶² In a tropological sense, Jerome related Isaiah 49.22, where the Gentiles convey their sons and daughters on their shoulders to God, to Ephesians 2.20 where the Gentiles and the Jews are said to partake of the household of God, which is built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets.¹⁶³ Speaking typologically, Rabanus Maurus interpreted the brass sea of Solomon's

imitationem, qui incessabiliter adorantes Deum in caelis mittunt coronas suas proni iacentes, die noctuque laudantes Dominum dant gloriam Deo."

¹⁶² Jerome, "Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam libri quatuordecim", 2.7-8, *PL* 25.34. "Et vidi, et ecce manus missa ad me. Pro manu missa, extentam Septuaginta transtulerunt. Quae mittitur et extenditur ad eos, qui beneficia consequuntur. Contrahitur autem ab his quibus loquitur per prophetam: Numquid abbreviata et contracta est manus Domini (Isa. L, 2)? Et in Psalmo: Ut quid avertis manum tuam, et dexteram tuam de medio sinu tuo in finem (Psal. LXXIII, 11)? Denique extendit in passione pennas suas, suscepitque discipulos, et portavit illos in humeris suis, et locutus est: Tota die expandi manus meas ad populum non credentem (Isa. LXV, 2), ut congregaret filios Israel, sicut gallina congregat pullos sub alas suas: et extensione manuum Moysi, Israel superat Amalec (Exod. XVII)."

¹⁶³ *Commentaires de Jerome sur le Prophete Isaie*, 3 vols., R. Gryson, C. Gabriel, et al., eds. (Freiburg, 1998), II, p.1436. "Aedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum ipso

temple carried by twelve oxen as the teaching of Sacred Scriptures that Christ placed on the shoulders of the twelve apostles.¹⁶⁴ In each of these examples, the shoulder-carrying motif served as a link between biblical references in order to generate exegetical meaning and in some cases the connections were completely foreign to the text being explained.

The greatest shoulder-carrying symbol in Christian exegesis is that of Christ who bore the burden of carrying the cross for the salvation of humanity, and the notion of bearing the office of Christian duty on one's shoulder is prevalent in monastic ritual and clerical culture. Gregory the Great spoke of the burdens of Christian service being borne on the shoulder of the heart.¹⁶⁵ In his commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, Smaragdus of St Michael admonishes new abbots to bear on their shoulders any burden that would be imposed on the shoulders of the brothers.¹⁶⁶ Rabanus Maurus discusses the significance of the superhumeral, a garment worn by bishops and priests and inscribed on the shoulders with the names of the patriarchs or the Church Fathers in order to

lapide angulari, qui est Iesus Christus. Ex quo perspicuum est unum esse fundamentum apostologum et prophetarum, dominum Iesum Christum." Jerome uses this reference, not so much to explicate the passage from 49.22, but to lead into it from the previous passage.

¹⁶⁴ Rabanus Maurus, "De universo libri viginti duo", 4.1, *PL* 111.74. "Nam rex Salomon, qui pacificus interpretatur, mare aeneum, id est, luterem super duodecim boves aeneos posuit ante templum, ubi sacerdotes et ministri altaris lavabant manus, cum ingrederentur sanctuarium Domini: ita Christus mare aeneum, id est, confessionem verae fidei vel etiam confessionem delicti, sive sacrae Scripturae doctrinam super humeros duodecim posuit apostolorum, quorum doctrina omnes imbuti fideles per confessionem verae fidei et poenitentiam delictorum ab omnibus mudentur sordibus, et digni efficiantur ad aeterna sancta Domini sui introire et regni coelestis gaudia possidere."

¹⁶⁵ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 6.18.33, I, pp.308. "Vitari enim vis superni consilii nequaquam potest; sed magna sibi virtute hanc temperat, qui se sub ejus nutibus refrenat; ejusque sibi pondera levigat, qui hanc subjecto cordis humero volens portat."

¹⁶⁶ Smaragdus of St Michael, *Expositio in regulam S. Benedicti*, 65, eds. A. Spannagel, P. Englebert, *Corpus Consuetudinum monasticarum*, 8 (Siegburg, 1974), p.318. "Et prior in humeris vel cervicibus suis portet quae portare fratres jubet, et utrum sint levia vel gravia quae fratribus imponit onera, experimento cognoscat; primatumque suum, quem prior ad mensam tenet, primus ad virtutis parcimoniam judicet, et abstinentiam quam lingua praedicat, experimento cognoscat, ne forte subditi tacitis cogitationibus dicant: O quam pulchre nobis praedicat abstinentiam plenus venter!"

remind them of their evangelical burden.¹⁶⁷ John of Salisbury complained of the burden of ecclesiastical office, speaking in his letters of an episcopal burden borne on the shoulder.¹⁶⁸ Actual physical references can be found. For example, during the ordination of a bishop the Gospels are placed on the candidate's shoulder and the officiants lay their hands on his head invoking God's blessing; this follows a series of interrogations about the candidate's beliefs and precedes an exhortation to evangelise and the Gospels symbolise the duties of the episcopal office.¹⁶⁹

As noted above, the pairing of Apostles and Prophets as substitutes for the Elders in the apse arch of S. Maria in Pallara has been explained by the tradition of exegetical commentary on the Apocalypse, and as such it is understood to embody a message about divine judgement. The Apostle-and-Prophet iconography also symbolises the twin Testaments, the Old and the New Covenants, especially when it is represented in programmes incorporating Synagogue and Ecclesia to create the typological imaginary. There is a single scriptural reference that, along with

¹⁶⁷ Rabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Exodum libri quatuor", 4.3 *PL* 108.192. "Quod dictum est, Et pones in utroque latere superhumeralis, memoriale filiis Israel, nunc quoque pontifex in superhumerali nomina gestat patriarcharum, cum doctor quis sive praesul Ecclesiae, in omnibus quae agit patrum praecedentium facta considerat, atque ad eorum imitationem vitam dirigere, et onus evangelicae perfectionis ferre satagit. Quae videlicet nomina patrum apte in lapidibus pretiosis sculpi iussa sunt. Lapides quippe pretiosi, opera virtutum sunt spiritualium; habetque sacerdos in humeris lapides pretiosos, et in eis nomina patrum inscripta, cum et ipse claritate bonorum operum cunctis admirandus exstiterit, et eandem claritatem non a se noviter inventam, sed antiqua sibi patrum auctoritate traditam esse, docuerit. Duplici autem ratione haec in humeris portat, ut et ipse praeceptis dominicis humiliter subditus incedat, et auditoribus suis semper coelestia, sive sua, sive patrum exempla quae sequantur, proponat."

¹⁶⁸ *The letters of John of Salisbury, volume one: the early letters (1153-1161)*, W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler, C. N. L. Brooke eds. (London, 1955), pp.11-12. "Nam decessorum vestrorum tempore, naufragium, exilia, nuditatem, pericula mortis, sicut Ecclesia Dei novit, pro fide sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae non subterfugimus, sed ex adverso principum stetimus, parati, si opus esset, pro indemnitate ecclesiae proprium sanguinem immolare. Vestris quidem creditoribus satisfacimus, et onus vestrum libentissime transtulimus in humeros nostros." It is a letter from Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury to Pope Adrian IV, recommending a candidate for the office of the bishop of London.

¹⁶⁹ M. Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1948-1965), IV, pp.99-110. For representation of the ritual, see Reynolds, "Image and text: the liturgy of clerical ordination," fig.4; K. Edmonson Haney, "Some Mosan sources for the Henry of Blois enamels," *Burlington Magazine* 124.949 (1982), pp.220-230, esp. fig.31.

its traditional exegetical exposition, incorporates all of these notions, as well as the shoulder-sitting motif; it is found in the book of Job, as explained by Gregory the Great in his *Moralia in Iob*.

Classified as one of the Wisdom books of the Hebrew Bible, the book of Job details the trials of an upright man who is tested by God; it was especially esteemed in the Christian tradition for foreshadowing Christ's Resurrection, for moralising the ethics of righteous suffering and for offering an epistemological philosophy.¹⁷⁰ Ann Astell has recently illustrated how the book of Job was characterised as an epic, not incomparable to Vergil's *Aeneid*, where Job is the Christian epitome of both the Homeric warrior-hero and the Stoic philosopher, suffering both physically and mentally.¹⁷¹ As Astell notes, from the medieval viewpoint it is this suffering that leads Job to wisdom, both an interior self-knowledge and an acceptance of God's inscrutability.¹⁷²

The pertinent passage is found fairly late in the Joban tale. After God allows the Devil to destroy Job's children and possessions in order to test his faith, Job's wife and friends try to convince him that his suffering must be due to some past error. In chapter 31, Job protests his innocence of all evils, which he itemises individually, and he asks that God should make known the crime for which he is being punished so that he can defend himself:

Who would grant me a hearer, that the Almighty may hear my desire; and that he himself that judges would write a book, that I may carry it on my shoulder, and put it about me as a crown?¹⁷³ (31.35-36)

Greek exegetes such as John Chrysostom (d.407) and Olympiodorus of Alexandria (fl.6th century), using the Septuagint interpreted the passage as another of Job's protestations; the crown is thought to represent a contract owed to a debtor that is torn and rendered void.¹⁷⁴ The connection between this passage in Job and the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is revealed in

¹⁷⁰ Lawrence Besserman, *The legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), pp.1-40.

¹⁷¹ Ann W. Astell, *Job, Boethius, and epic truth* (Ithaca, 1994), pp.70-96.

¹⁷² Ibidem, pp.87-90.

¹⁷³ Quis mihi tribuat auditorem ut desiderium meum Omnipotens audiat et librum scribat ipse qui iudicat, ut in umero meo portem illum et circumdem illum quasi coronam mihi.

¹⁷⁴ John Chrysostom, *Commentaire sur Job*, 2 vols., eds. H. Sorin, L. Neyrand (Lyon, 1988), pp.146-147; *Ancient Christian commentary on Scripture. Old Testament, VI: Job*, ed. M. Simonetti, M. Conti (Illinois, 2006), pp.157-162.

Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which was based on Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible.¹⁷⁵

Gregory's goal in the *Moralia*, a work intended for clerical audiences only, was to explain the book of Job using the first three exegetical senses; the literal, allegorical and moral meanings are overtly referred to, although anagogical significance is not ignored.¹⁷⁶ The most important medieval commentary on Job and one of the principal works of theological exegesis, especially for monastic schools of the central Middle Ages, the *Moralia* comprised massive tomes and was an encyclopaedia of Christian knowledge; numerous epitomes of the work were made from the seventh to twelfth centuries.¹⁷⁷ Yet substantial structural or thematic analysis of the *Moralia* is still lacking, perhaps on account of its size and scope or possibly even the misconception that Gregory scorned classical learning in this work.¹⁷⁸ While Carole Straw has examined his love of binary oppositions that were built on paradoxes and chiasmus, there has been little discussion of Gregory's very physical mode of expression.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Pierre Salmon, "Le text de Job utilisé par S. Grégoire dans les «Moralia»,» *Studia Anselmiana philosophica theologica* 27-28 (1952), pp.187-194.

¹⁷⁶ Gregory the Great, "Epistola reverendissimo et sanctissimo fratri Leandro coepiscopo," *Moralia in Iob*, 3, pp.4-5. Intending the work for clerical audiences alone, Gregory objected in writing when he knew that Bishop Marinianus of Ravenna read from it to his congregation, as it could be an impediment to uneducated minds; see Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols., Corpus christianorum, 140, 140A (Turnhout, 1982), II, xii, 6, pp.974-976.

¹⁷⁷ René Wasselynck, *L' influence des Moralia in Job de S. Grégoire le Grand sur la theologie morale entre le VII^e et le XII^e siècle*, 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Lille, 1956); *ibid*, "Les compilations des «Moralia in Job» du VII^e au XII^e siècle," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 29 (1962), pp.5-32; *ibid*, "Les «Moralia in Job» dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen âge latin," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 31 (1964), pp.5-31; *ibid*, "L' influence de l' exégèse de S. Grégoire le Grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux (VII^e au XII^e s.)," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 32 (1965), pp.157-204; *ibid*, "La présence des Moralia de S. Grégoire le Grand dans les ouvrages de morale du XII^e siècle," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 35 (1968), pp.197-240; 36 (1969), pp.31-45.

¹⁷⁸ For a collection of modern complaints, see Susan Schreiner, "Where shall wisdom be found?": Calvin's exegesis of Job from medieval and modern perspectives (Chicago, 1994), p.22. In the dedicatory preface addressed to Bishop Leander of Seville, Gregory wrote that he would not submit sacred scripture to the grammatical rules of Donatus; for the context of this citation of a passage in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* that is actually self-flattery, see L. Holtz, "Le contexte grammatical du défi à la grammaire: Grégoire et Cassiodore," *Grégoire le Grand: Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines 15-19 septembre 1982*, J. Fontaine, R. Gillet, S. Pellistrandi, eds. (Paris, 1986), pp.531-540.

¹⁷⁹ C. Straw, *Gregory the Great: perfection in imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), pp.19-20.

The physicality of Job 31.35-36 probably appealed to Gregory, whose explication of it incorporates binary opposition and all four senses of exegesis to discuss such topics as sacred history, the Incarnation and the Last Judgement. There are four main ideas in the Joban passages: Job's desire for a hearing, the judge who writes a book, the book that is carried on the shoulder and the comparison of the book to a crown. Gregory's exegesis of each notion can be seen to contribute in some way to a general correspondence with either the themes or the form of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography.

First, mistaking *audito*rem for *adiuto*rem, a hearing for a helper, Gregory explains that the helper Job refers to is Christ, who assumed human form to help humanity and now acts as a mediator with God, not just for Job, but symbolically for all of Christianity; since Christ attained both the depths of humanity and the heights of heaven, he helps the entire Church to bridge these two extremes.¹⁸⁰ A digression on the proper manner of private prayer follows.¹⁸¹ While not referring directly to the Last Judgement, the discussion does seem to imply such a context, which is significant when representations of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography commonly appear in Romanesque and Gothic Last Judgement programmes.

For Gregory the motif of the judge writing a book symbolises the entire history of salvation and the judge who writes it is God. He states that the text of salvation was first

¹⁸⁰ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, XXII.17.42, pp.1121-1122. "Quis mihi tribuat adiutorem, ut desiderium meum Omnipotens audiat? ...Et quem nimirum nisi unigenitum Dei Filium contemplatur, qui humanam naturam in hac moralitate laborantem dum suscepit adiuvit? Ipse quippe adiuvit hominem factus homo, ut quia puro homini via redeundi non patebat ad Deum, via redeundi fieret per hominem Deum. Longe quippe distabamus a iusto et immortalis, nos morales et iniusti. Sed inter immortalem iustum et nos morales iniustos apparuit Mediator Dei et hominum moralis et iustus, qui et mortem haberet cum hominibus, et iustitiam cum Deo; ut quia per ima nostra longe distabamus a summis, in seipso uno iungeret ima cum summis, atque ex eo nobis via redeundi fieret, quo summis suis ima nostra copularet. Hunc ergo beatus Iob per totius Ecclesiae significationem loquens, Mediatorem requirit, ... Sciebat quippe quod ad requiem liberationis aeternae humanae preces nisi per advocatum suum audiri non possent."

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, XXII.17.43, p.1123.

transmitted to the “fearing people” in the form of the law through the Lord’s servant, Moses, but it was bestowed on the faithful through the Lord himself, who becomes the judge.¹⁸² The six ages of man and the coming of Christ are invoked by a reference to Ezekiel 9.2, which relates a vision of six men entering Jerusalem from an upper gate. One of the six is dressed in linen and bears an inkhorn; he is interpreted as Christ, whose linen garment represents the incorruptible flesh of the Virgin Mary. He carries an inkhorn to symbolise that he was responsible for writing the New Testament through the Apostles.¹⁸³ The book that Job requests to be written is the history of salvation, a notion which resonates with the typological content of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography. This passage further illuminates how the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum mirrors the iconography in the notion of authors taking their places in history.

¹⁸² Ibidem, XXII.18.44, pp.1123-1124. “Et librum scribat ipse qui iudicat. Quia enim timenti adhuc populo lex est transmissa per servum, diligentibus vero filiis evangelii gratia est collata per Dominum, qui ad redemptionem nostram veniens novum nobis testamentum condidit, sed de eiusdem nos testamenti mandato discutiens, quandoque etiam iudex venit, necessarium non est ut per expositionem clarescat quia librum scribit ipse qui iudicat.”

¹⁸³ Ibidem, XXII.18.44, pp.1124. “Quo videlicet constat quia librum scripsit ipse qui iudicat. Quem scilicet librum novi testamenti, quia ipse per se humani generis Redemptor in extremo conderet, bene Ezechiel propheta denuntiat, dicens: Ecce sex viri veniebant de via portae superioris, quae respicit ad Aquilonem; et uniuscuiusque vas interitus in manu eius. Vir quoque unus in medio eorum vestitus lineais, et atramentarium scriptoris ad renes eius. Quid namque aliud in sex viris venientibus nisi sex aetates humani generis designantur? Qui de via portae superioris veniunt, quia a conditione paradisi, sicut ab ingressu mundi, a superioribus generationibus evolvuntur. Quae porta ad Aquilonem respicit, quia videlicet mens humani generis vitiis aperta, nisi calorem caritatis deserens torporem mentis appeteret, ad hanc mortalitatis latitudinem non exisset. Et uniuscuiusque vas interitus in manu eius, quia unaquaeque generatio singulis quibusque aetatibus evoluta, ante Redemptoris adventum in sua operatione habuit, unde poenam damnationis sumpsit. Vir quoque unus in medio eorum vestitus lineis, quia Redemptor noster, etiam de sacerdotali tribu iuxta carnem parentes habere dignatus est, vestitus lineis venire perhibetur. Vel certe quia linum de terra, non autem sicut lana de corruptibili carne nascitur, qui indumentum sui corporis ex matre virgine, non autem ex corruptione commixtionis sumpsit, profecto ad nos vestitus lineis venit. Et atramentarium scriptoris ad renes eius. In renibus posterior corporis pars est. Et quia ipse Dominus postquam pro nobis mortuus est, et resurrexit, et ascendit in caelum, tunc testamentum novum per apostolos scripsit, vir iste atramentarium ad renes habuit. Qui enim scripturam testam. enti novi postquam discessit condidit, atramentarium quasi a tergo portavit. Hoc ergo atramentarium viro lineis vestito inhaerere considerat, qui dicit,: Et librum scribat ipse qui iudicat.”

The most important motifs for understanding the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in the *Moralia*'s exegesis of Job 31.35-36 is the claim that Job will bear the book on his shoulder and bear it about himself as a crown. Gregory explains that bearing the book on the shoulder is to be interpreted as devoting oneself to carrying out the mandates of Holy Scripture, which if done well is rewarded with a crown of victory.¹⁸⁴ With the typological imaginary in mind, Gregory asks how Job could ask for such a book when he did not live to see the New Testament; the answer is God-given grace.¹⁸⁵ The exposition ends with the warning that one does not ascend from the depths to the heights quickly, but by gradual steps.¹⁸⁶ In this way, Job is seen to carry the Bible, or at least the New Testament, on his shoulder. While this discussion does not equate Job with the Old Testament, the reference to the typological imaginary is enough to count as an allusion to that book. The crown can be viewed as a link to the crown-bearing Elders.

I believe that Job 31.35-36, as interpreted in the *Moralia*, can be viewed as a source for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at S. Maria in Pallara. In the *Moralia*, the Apostles and the Prophets are equated with the books of the Bible by metonymy. Job, an Old Testament prophet, carries the New Testament on his shoulder, together symbolising the Christian Bible, the totality of sacred scripture. The teaching of sacred scripture, when applied to everyday life, is rewarded by the crown of salvation. Rewards are given at the time of judgement, judgement occurs at the Second Coming. Through Apocalypse-exegesis, the Twenty-four Elders are equated with the

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, XXII.19.45, p.1125. "Scriptura sacra humero portanda per operationem, ut sicut corona circumdetur per remunerationem. Librum quippe in humero portare, est Scripturam sacram operando perficere. Et notandum quam ordinate describitur, et prius in humero portari, et postmodum sicut corona circumdari, quia videlicet sacri eloqui mandata, si modo bene portantur in opere, post nobis coronam victoriae exhibent in retributione."

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, XXII.19.45, p.1125. "Beatus autem Iob cur scribi librum a iudice postulat, qui ad testamenti novi pervenire tempora non valebat? Sed sicut saepe iam dictu est, electorum vocibus utitur, atque ex eorum significatione postulat, quod profuturum eis per omnia praevidebat. Ipse namque per spiritum, hunc apud se librum iam dudum tenebat, quem per gratiam aspirationis acceperat et vivendo cognoscere et praevidendo nuntiare."

Apostles and Prophets, and the crowns that they offer to the *Agnus dei* are the merits of the saints: virtue, fortitude, knowledge.¹⁸⁷ Everything is here accounted for; the only thing missing is a statement signed by S. Maria in Pallara's programmer to explain his choices!

There is no evidence that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography developed out of a tradition of manuscript illustration, either of the book of Job or the *Moralia*. The earliest illustrated manuscripts of Job, primarily ninth- and tenth-century Greek copies, have been examined by Massimo Bernabò.¹⁸⁸ The illustrations, appearing for the most part in chapters 1 and 2, comprise straightforward narrative images; chapter 31 is not known to have been illustrated.¹⁸⁹ Latin Bible manuscripts occasionally contain frontispiece illustrations, but again these are narrative images.¹⁹⁰

Some luxury copies of the *Moralia* are known to have been illustrated, such as the twelfth-century Cîteaux copy in Dijon, Ms.168, but the majority of these were not.¹⁹¹ While the

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, p.1125.

¹⁸⁷ Ambrosius Autpertus, "Expositionis in Apocalypsin," II, 3, p.229.

¹⁸⁸ Massimo Bernabò, *Le miniature per i manoscritti greci del Libro di Giobbe* (Florence, 2004).

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem, pp.21-139. See also Paul Huber, *Hiob: Dulder oder Rebell? Byzantinische Miniaturen zum Buch Hiob in Patmos, Rom, Venedig, Sinai, Jerusalem und Athos* (Düsseldorf, 1986). It is interesting to note that illustrations of Job's three friends depict them sitting one behind the other in a two-dimensional plane, thus making them appear almost to be stacked atop one another; see ibidem, figs.73, 76.

¹⁹⁰ According to William Diebold, the San Paolo fuori le mura bible's full-page illustration of Job is lost; W. Diebold, "The ruler portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo bible," *Art Bulletin* 76.1 (1994), pp.6-18, esp. 6. For the images of Job in the eleventh-century Ripoll Bible, see Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei: eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte des Auslebens der altchristlichen Kunst in Spanien und zur frühmittelalterlichen Stilgeschichte* (Bonn, 1922), pp.98-101, figs.124-125.

¹⁹¹ Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms.41 is an illustrated *Moralia*, connected with the patronage of Bishop Gunther (1057-1065). Its published illustrations are all narrative images; see Edward Garrison, *Studies in the history of mediaeval Italian paintings*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1953-1962), IV, pp.179-188; Larry Ayres, "An Italian Romanesque manuscript of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*," *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, P. Bjurström, N.-G. Hökby, F. Mutherich, eds. (Stockholm, 1987), pp.31-46; Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination: an historical study*, 2 vols. (London, 1991), II, pp.205-211. Another recently studied

Cîteaux manuscript contains an initial R decorated with an image of a warrior standing on the hunched shoulders of another man, this is found on folio 4v and not in Book 22 and it does not illustrate the pertinent passage or feature Apostles or Prophets.¹⁹² Even though this allegorical treatise is so visually suggestive, manuscripts of the *Moralia* were not generally illustrated because the addition of images would have expanded the text to unmanageable proportions.¹⁹³

In general these tomes were working copies. Occasionally containing marginal notes, they were intended to serve clerics in moral education and private meditation. For example, on the opening folio of Barb. lat. 573, an eleventh-century manuscript written by a monk named Bonizo, the redactor explained that he produced the copy in order to always keep present the memory of heaven, an indicator of what the text symbolised in monastic environments. Thus, the proposal that an esoteric reference in such a text was the basis for the popular Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, especially in the funerary context of S. Maria in Pallara, is not unfathomable.

While the majority of published studies of the *Moralia* focus on Northern European contexts, the text was also popular in Italy, at least from the tenth century when it received

example that has figuratively illuminated initials is the thirteenth-century manuscript known as Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Ms. 1; see Soledad de Silva y Verastegui, “Un nuevo ejemplar ilustrado de los Morales de Gregorio Magno (B.A.H. cod. 1) del siglo XIII inédito,” *Archivo español de arte* 69.276 (1996), pp.407-421.

¹⁹² C. T. Davidson, “Sources for the initials of the Cîteaux *Moralia* in Job,” *Studies in Cistercian art and architecture*, M. Parsons Lillich, ed. Cistercian publications, 89 (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp.46-68; Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and daily life: reading, art, and polemics in the Cîteaux *Moralia* in Job* (Princeton, 1997), pp.54-56, fig.2. Rudolph believes that the image is not directly connected with the text, being a frontispiece for the manuscript. In contrast to Davidson, Rudolph believes that the illustrations do not follow an illustration tradition and that they generally do respond to the text and to a Benedictine spirituality.

¹⁹³ I have consulted numerous manuscripts of that text in the Vatican library (Arch. S. Pietro A10, A11, A12; Barb.lat.573; Pal.lat.245; Vat. lat. 574, 575, 577, 578, 580, 581, 582, 584), and in the Archive of Montecassino (Ms. 74, 78, 79, 87, 269). Apart from an occasional illuminated initial, the manuscripts of the *Moralia* are massive tomes that were rarely illustrated. All these copies

outside approbation.¹⁹⁴ In the first half of that century Odo of Cluny (d.942) was invited to Rome by Prince Alberic (d.954) to reform the city's monasteries; according to Odo's student and biographer John of Salerno, the *Moralia* was a favourite text.¹⁹⁵ In his examination of Roman monasteries, Guy Ferrari postulated that S. Maria in Pallara's foundation may have been an indirect result of Odo's reform.¹⁹⁶ Odo wrote his own epitome of the *Moralia*, and he inspired his protégée John to do the same.¹⁹⁷ Such influence should not be underestimated as a thirteenth-century wall painting in the San Gregorio chapel at the Sacro Speco at Subiaco includes a depiction of Gregory the Great next to an image of Job in a clear reference to his *Moralia*; a portrait of a monk inscribed with the name "Oddo" is also found there, no doubt a tribute to the text's early promoter in Italy.¹⁹⁸ The *Moralia* was a popular text in Rome thereafter, as attested by the lapidary will of the presbyter Romanus found in the church of S. Nicola in Carcere, which

contain Book 22 of the work and there is no indication that the pertinent verses were of special interest.

¹⁹⁴ Perhaps it was not popular because the cult of Gregory the Great was not popular in Rome until this time; see C. Leyser, "Charisma in the archive: Roman monasteries and the memory of Gregory the Great, c.870-c.940," *Le Scritture dai Monasteri. Atti del II° seminario internazionale di studio "i monasteri nell'alto medioevo" Roma 9-10 maggio 2002*, F. De Rubeis, W. Pohl, ed. (Rome, 2002), pp.207-226; Alan Thacker, "Memorializing Gregory the Great: the origin and transmission of a papal cult in the seventh and early eighth centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 7.1 (1998), pp.59-84.

¹⁹⁵ John of Salerno, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, trans. Gerard Sitwell (London, 1958), pp.3-87, esp.22-23.

¹⁹⁶ Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, p.218; see also Hamilton, "Monastic revival in tenth century Rome," p.57.

¹⁹⁷ Gabriella Braga, "Problemi di autenticità per Oddone di Cluny: l'epitome dei «Moralia» di Gregorio Magno," *Studi medievali* 18 (1977), pp.52-145; eadem, "*Moralia in Job*: epitomi dei secoli VII-X e loro evoluzione," *Grégoire le Grande. Chantilly, Centre Culturel Les Fontaines, 15-19 septembre, 1982*, J. Fontaine, R. Gillet, S. Pellistrandi, eds. (Paris, 1986), pp.561-568, esp. p.564. Odo's manuscript is Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. Ms.2455 and the pertinent text is found on folio 109r.

¹⁹⁸ Alessandro Bianchi, "Una proposta per l'inquadramento storico degli affreschi della cappella di S. Gregorio al S. Speco di Subiaco," *Federico II e l'arte del Duecento italiano. Atti della III settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma, 15-20 maggio 1978*, ed. A. M. Romanini, 2 vols. (Galatina, 1980), II, pp.5-14. Bianchi believed 'Oddo' was a forgotten monk of Subiaco.

includes a manuscript of the *Moralia* among other texts and pieces of land bequeathed.¹⁹⁹ References to the *Moralia* can also be found in the late eleventh-century paintings of the Benedictine monastery of S. Pietro in Civate.²⁰⁰

Perhaps even greater specificity can be had in analysing the sources for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in S. Maria in Pallara when these same texts, Job 31.35-36 and the *Moralia* 22.17-20, are considered in the liturgical context of the Divine Office. A daily round of communal prayer chanted at specific times, the Divine Office primarily entails the reading of the Psalms and was celebrated by both secular clergy and monks. Thought to have developed from the Jewish custom of praying seven times a day mentioned in Psalm 118.164, the Divine Office perhaps began as a ritual celebrated by the entire congregation, including the laity; with the growth and popularity of monasticism in the eighth and ninth centuries, it became a more elaborate and esoteric one.²⁰¹ There was an increase in the number of hours; these include Matins (small hours of the morning), Lauds (early morning), Prime, Terce, Sext, None (spread throughout the day), Vespers (early evening) and Compline (bedtime).²⁰² Various votive offices for specific commemorations developed over time that could either take the place of one of the regular hours or were chanted in addition to the regular hours.²⁰³ The only generalisation that can be stated firmly about the Office is that diversity was the norm in its composition and

¹⁹⁹ A transcription of the text, which still exists in the church, is contained in Vat. Lat. 9071, p.98.

²⁰⁰ Y. Christe, *L'Apocalypse de Jean: sens et développements de ses visions synthétiques*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, 25 (Paris, 1996), pp.108-112.

²⁰¹ Jeffrey, "Monastic reading and the emerging Roman chant repertory," pp.45-103.

²⁰² Jonathan Black, *The daily cursus, the week and the psalter in the Divine Office and in Carolingian devotion*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1987; Lila Collamore, "Charting the Divine Office," *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: methodology and source studies, regional developments, hagiography* (Oxford, 2000), pp.3-11.

²⁰³ Sally E. Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: studies in the formation, structure and content of the monastic votive office, c.950-1540* (New York, 1993).

performance; standardisation did not occur until the later centuries of the Middle Ages with the development of a liturgical manual known as the Breviary.²⁰⁴

One of these votive offices was the Office of the Dead.²⁰⁵ As noted, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* was a favored monastic text, as seen in the quantity of surviving monastic copies, but the book of Job was an important text in the Office of the Dead, first performed by monks at Matins for funerals and memorial vigils from at least the eighth century.²⁰⁶ While Job 31.35-36 is not one of the passages recorded in liturgical manuscripts for this office, perhaps these paintings can be viewed as evidence that it was a liturgical choice specific to the monastic church of S. Maria in Pallara.

The hour of Matins is longer than the other hours and involves a great quantity of readings, either from Scripture or from hagiographic texts; the former were chosen on a rotating liturgical schedule and the latter were chosen according to saints' feast days.²⁰⁷ The book of Job was read as part of the Divine Office from at least the eighth century, comprising the readings for Matins during the first week of September in some Benedictine *ordines* and during an unspecified time after Pentecost in others.²⁰⁸ According to Bishop Amalarius of Metz (d. ca.850), it was

²⁰⁴ Andrew Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto, 1982), p.xxxvi, 56-74.

²⁰⁵ Damien Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine : des origines à la réforme carolingienne* (Münster, 1978).

²⁰⁶ Knud Ottosen, *The responsories and versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993), pp. 31-39, 42-44. Denis Brearley, "An eighth-century text of the Lectiones in vigiliis defunctorum: the earliest manuscript witness of the biblical readings for the Vigil of the Dead," *Via Crucis. Essays on early medieval sources and ideas in memory of J. E. Cross*, T. N. Hall, ed. (Morgantown, 2002), pp.355-376.

²⁰⁷ Pierre Salmon, *The breviary through the centuries* (Collegeville, 1962), pp.62-94.

²⁰⁸ Ordo XIII; see Andrieu, *Les ordines romani*, II, pp.475-526. "In dominica prima mensis septembris ponunt Iob, Tobiam, Iudith, Ester et Esdra usque in kal. Octobris." Ordo XVII; see ibidem, III, pp.156-193. "A pentecosten vero libri regum et paralipominon, deinde Salamonis libri, Iob, Tobi, Iudith, Hester adque Machabeorum usque kl. decembris."

Roman practice in the ninth century to read Job during the first three weeks of September.²⁰⁹ In the late eleventh century Guido of Farfa records that the Book of Job was just one of the Old Testament books read in September and October at Matins, noting also that commentaries on these books were to be read.²¹⁰ Specific reference to Job 31.35 is found in the breviary of Haymo of Faversham, written in 1243 for the newly approved Franciscan order and purporting to represent the Roman Liturgy. Haymo not only confirms that Job was still read as part of the Divine Office in the month of September, but he includes the responsory incipit, *Quis michi tribuat*, “Who would give me...,” among the readings.²¹¹

There may be a ritualistic connection between the regular liturgical commemoration of Job in September and the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in S. Maria in Pallara. September 25th was a day for special commemoration at the monastery; S. Maria in Pallara’s martyrology, Vat. Lat. 378, contains a marginal note on that day to record the anniversary of the death of the monastery’s founder, Petrus Medicus. As noted in Chapter 2, the inscription across the apse records his patronage. If indeed the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at S. Maria in Pallara was based on the *Moralia*’s exegetical interpretation of Job 31.35-36, then it is possible that this very

²⁰⁹ *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 3 vols., ed. J. Hanssens, Studi e testi, 140 (Città del Vaticano, 1950), III, p.13. “Interrogavi memoratum archidiaconum quo ordine responsorios cantarent post octavas pentecostes usque ad adventum Domini; responsum est: . . . In prima ebdomada septembris legimus Iob, et cantamus responsorios de psalmis; in duabus sequentibus de Iob; in novissima hebdomada mensis memorati, de Tobia.”

²¹⁰ Guido Farfensis, “Disciplina Farfensis et Monasterii S. Pauli Romae,” *PL* 150.1191-1300. “Legantur tam Dominicis diebus et vigiliis, quam quotidianis refectionis horis libri Job, Tobias, Judith et Hester et Esdra, et ea cum commentationibus, quousque Octobris mensis praesto sit tractatus, de eisdem libris cantentur.” Guido claims that the Farfa customs were inspired by those of Cluny under Abbot Odilo, and indeed this text has been used to create an edition of Cluniac customs; see *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis Abbatis*, ed. Petrus Dinter. *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 10 (Siegburg, 1980), p.160.

²¹¹ *Sources of the modern Roman Liturgy. The ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307)*, S. J. P. Van Dijk, ed. 2 vols. (Leiden, 1963), II, p.111. “Dominica prima mensis septembris ponitur liber Iob Vir erat in terra Hus et legitur per duas ebdomadas. . . R.

striking visual image may have functioned as a cue to remind the monks to pray for the merciful judgement and salvation of Peter's soul on the anniversary of his death. If so, it is fitting then that the lost donor portraits appeared below the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography on either side of the arch.

If this hypothetical reading of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is correct, then other examples of commemorative visual liturgical cues must exist. Numerous portraits of patrons and clients can be found in surviving medieval church decorations. For example, the best-known private chapel in Rome is that of Theodotus (fl.8th century), consul and duke; located to the left of the apse in S. Maria Antiqua, the chapel's extant paintings include portraits of Theodotus and his family.²¹² However, information in order to make such liturgical connections is lacking in most cases; the death-dates of figures like Theodotus just do not survive.

We are better informed about the lives and deaths of clerical figures and two further examples of portraits with similar visual cues for the deceased's liturgical commemoration may be proposed. One is found in a monastic context, in the ninth-century Crypt of Epyphanius at the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno. Located some 130 km southeast of Rome, San Vincenzo was founded in the eighth century by Lombard nobles, historical interest in which was revived in the nineteenth century when the cross-shaped crypt was discovered under a farmer's field.²¹³ The

Quis michi tribuat." It should be noted that there are two passages in Job that begin with Quis mihi tribuat, 19.23.

²¹² The chapel includes a portrait of Pope Zacharias (741-752) and Theodotus is thought to be the uncle of Pope Hadrian I (772-795); see Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," pp.55-69; Teteriatnikov, "For whom is Theodotus Praying?," pp.37-46; Arno Rettner, "Stifterbild und Grabinschrift in der Theodotus-Kapelle von S. Maria Antiqua," *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn: Stifter und Auftraggeber in der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Festschrift Beat Brenk*, ed. H.-R. Meier, C. Jäggi, P. Büttner (Berlin, 1995), pp.31-46.

²¹³ For documentation about the chapel's discovery in 1832, see *San Vincenzo al Volturno I: the 1980-86 excavations, part I*, ed. Richard Hodges; Archaeological monographs of the British School at Rome (London, 1993), pp.234-235. For an introduction to the crypt, see *San Vincenzo al Volturno e la cripta dell'abate Epifanio 824/842* (Montecassino, 1970); Hans Belting, *Studien*

chapel's programme includes a portrait with identifying inscription of the monastery's fourteenth abbot, Epyphanius (824-842), about whose life and death we are informed by the twelfth-century chronicle, the *Chronicon Vulturnense* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 2724) (Figure 109).²¹⁴ According to the chronicle the crypt was one of the two churches that were built by Abbot Epyphanius.²¹⁵

The chapel's programme presents a Christological cycle that gives special emphasis to the Virgin Mary's place in the history of Salvation in her role as humanity's primary intercessor.²¹⁶ An image of the Virgin within a heavenly sphere dominates the crypt's apse; she holds an open book on which are inscribed the words ECCE ENIM EX HOC BEATAM ME DICENT, a citation from Luke 1.48 recording Mary's words of greeting to Elisabeth at the Visitation.²¹⁷ The entire passage, 1.46-55 is the basis for the canticle known as the Magnificat generally chanted at the hour of Vespers.²¹⁸ The Abbot Epyphanius is depicted kneeling at the base of the Crucifixion scene on the wall opposite the apse.

zur beneventanischen Malerei (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp.28ff; Angelo Pantoni, *Le chiese e gli edifici del monastero di San Vincenzo al Volturno*, Miscellanea Cassinese, 40 (Montecassino, 1980), pp.91-115; Mitchell, "The Crypt reappraised," pp.75-114.

²¹⁴ *Chronicon vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, V. Federici, ed., 3 vols. (Roma, 1925-1928), I, p.288.

²¹⁵ Ibidem, p.288.

²¹⁶ de'Maffei, "Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno," pp.269-352; Deshman, "Servants of the mother of God in Byzantine and medieval art," pp.44-50.

²¹⁷ de'Maffei, "Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno," p.274.

²¹⁸ Magnificat anima mea Dominum:

Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo.

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes.

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et sanctum nomen ejus.

Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progeniem timentibus eum.

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cordis sui.

Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles.

Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes.

Suscepit Israel puerum suum, recordatus est misericordiae suae.

Sicut locutus est ad Patres nostros, Abraham et semini ejus in saecula.

Bearing a square halo and wearing a red-brown gown or chasuble, the tonsured Abbot Epyphanius is depicted kneeling in front of the Virgin.²¹⁹ Identified by inscription, +DOM[inus] EPYPHANIVS ABB[as], Epyphanius appears outside the pictorial frame and is thus located in a temporally different plane. The Crucifixion looms above and behind. Gazing out at the viewer, Christ wears the perizoma loincloth and his smooth body is unblemished by agony. The Virgin stands to the left of the Cross with maphorion-covered hands held out in grief and offering toward her Son. To right of the Cross stands the lamenting apostle John, whom Christ charges with Mary's care. The verse from John 19.26 describing this scene appears as an inscription over the left transverse arm of the Cross: MVLIER ECCE FILIVS TVVS.²²⁰ The eclipsed sun and the waxing moon appear overhead above the cross, to the left of which is a personification of Jerusalem, HIERVSAL[em], who sits weeping.²²¹ To her left the scene terminates in an image of the Maries at the Tomb. Guarded by an angel, the tomb is also identified by the inscription SEPVLCHRV[m] D[omi]NI.²²²

This placement is significant. The *Chronicon Vulturense* records that the abbot died on the ides of September, that is, on September 13th in 842. Since September 14th is the liturgical feast known as the "Exaltation of the Cross," and since any major liturgical feast begins the day prior with the celebration of the late-afternoon hour of prayer called vespers, it is possible that this portrait was meant to cue the monks to pray for the abbot's spiritual salvation on the

²¹⁹ De'Maffei, "Le arti a San Vincenzo al Volturno," p.281. On the subject of the square halo that signifies a portrait likeness of a living or recently deceased individual, 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), pp.58-65.

²²⁰ Pietro Toesca, "Reliquie d'arte della badia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno," *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 25 (1904), pp.1-84, esp. 24. The inscription IHESVS CHRISTVS REX IVDEORVM was inscribed on the banner above the Cross.

²²¹ For the Crucifixion see Mitchell, "The Crypt reappraised," figs. 7.21-7.22. For the figure of Jerusalem see Toesca, "Reliquie d'arte," p.24; Belting, *Studien*, pl.7, fig.19.

²²² Ibidem, pl.21, fig.38.

anniversary of his death. Epyphanius' kneeling posture reflects the actual rituals of the feast of the "Exaltation of the Cross." A relatively standardised Office for the feast is thought to have existed from the seventh century when it was first implemented in Rome, with many of its chants deriving from its mass prayers, although monastic votive hymns for the feast are recorded.²²³ Ritual celebrations of the feast involved veneration of the Cross, ranging from either simple prayer to a raised cross or reliquary, to genuflection and kissing of a crucifix.²²⁴ Epyphanius is pictured in such a posture of veneration, perpetually adoring the cross on the feast day on which he died.

The paintings seem to confirm this reading in their mimetic structure. When the Virgin Mary holds out her arms, she may be seen to be interceding for Epyphanius and when Christ is made to say through the inscription, "Behold, woman, here is your son," he may be understood to be referring to Epyphanius as well. The personification of Jerusalem weeping, weeps not only for her nation, but also for the deceased in this funerary context, a context that is perhaps echoed in the depiction of Christ's tomb. While Epyphanius' tomb has not been located, it is possible that it was within this chapel or the atrium of the church. The painting was created after Epyphanius' death, even if the abbot was involved in organising the crypt's construction.

A second possible example of a commemorative visual liturgical cue is found in the ninth-century portrait of Cyril, missionary to the Slavs, in the right aisle of the lower church of S. Clemente, Rome (Figure 110). The bearded figure, bearing a square halo and wearing dark robes and a white hood, holds a jewelled codex in his left hand and holds his right hand open in front of him, perhaps in a gesture of prayer. John Osborne identified the figure on account of his monk's

²²³ Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the cross: toward the origins of the Feast of the Cross and the meaning of the cross in early medieval liturgy* (Leuven, 2001), pp.41-78.

²²⁴ Ibidem, pp.118-121. For ninth-century Italian monastic evidence see André Wilmart, "Prières médiévales pour l'Adoration de la Croix," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932), pp.22-65.

hood and based on Cyril's biography that notes he died on February 14, 869 and was buried in S. Clemente.²²⁵

Cyril and his brother Methodios were responsible for translating the relics of Saint Clement to Rome from the site of his martyrdom, Cherson, a city on the northern edge of the Black Sea. Cyril's biography survives in two versions; the first is appended to an account of the translation originally written by Gauderic, Bishop of Velletri (fl. 9th century), that survives only in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies. The second is a Slavic version that survives in fifteenth-century copies, but dates probably to the ninth century. Both versions record the burial of Cyril in a sarcophagus in the right aisle of the church; the Slavonic version further records that Cyril's portrait was painted over the tomb.²²⁶ Noting that the archeological evidence for the lower church of San Clemente documents the presence of a tomb adjacent to the painting, Osborne proposed that this was the location of his tomb.²²⁷

In the same way that the portrait of Abbot Epyphanios appears outside of a narrative scene depicted behind him, Cyril's portrait is set within a fresco lunette, the two separated by a spirally-fluted column. The lunette features an image of the Anastasis, Christ's Resurrection symbolised by his descent to limbo to open the gates to heaven to Adam and other Old Testament figures. The Anastasis, an event in Christ's life deriving from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, answered concerns about the salvation of those who died before Christ's coming and

²²⁵ John Osborne, "The painting of the Anastasis in the lower church of San Clemente, Rome: a re-examination of the evidence for the location of the tomb of St Cyril," *Byzantion* 51.1 (1981), pp.255-287.

²²⁶ Ibidem, pp.282-283.

²²⁷ Ibidem, p.273. This mirrors the tomb of the papal chamberlain Alfanus (fl.12th century) in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin; see ibidem, p.274. For a discussion of Cyril's tomb, see Leonard Boyle, "The site of the tomb of St. Cyril in the lower basilica of San Clemente, Rome," *Christianity among the Slavs: the heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Acts of the international Congress held on the Eleventh Centenary of the Death of St. Methodius, Rome October 8-11 1985*, eds. E. G. Ferrugia, R. Taft, G. Piovesana (Rome, 1985), pp.75-82.

about the nature of Christ's being in death.²²⁸ Since it is thought to have occurred between the Crucifixion and Easter Sunday, it is also a component of the Byzantine Easter liturgy, as shown by Anna D. Kartsonis in her discussion of the imagery.²²⁹ However, the earliest known images were found in seventh-century Rome at S. Maria Antiqua and Old St Peter's.²³⁰ It is probably not a coincidence that Latin sermons for Easter Saturday include references to the resurrection of Adam.²³¹

Since Easter occurred on April 3rd in 869, this programme cannot be a visual cue to commemorate the anniversary of Cyril's death. However, it may commemorate the translation of Cyril's remains to San Clemente, which was a long, drawn-out journey. According to the Latin biography, Cyril was originally buried in Old St Peter's basilica at the wish of Pope Hadrian II (867-872), who had such great respect for him that after a seven-day mourning period he allowed him to be buried in a sarcophagus that he had prepared for himself. When his brother Methodius petitioned the pope that his body be moved to S. Clemente, the pope attempted to remove the corpse from the sarcophagus, but it was impossible to open. Thus the entire sarcophagus was moved to S. Clemente, where it began to be the source of miracles. When the congregation witnessed the miracles, they were moved to honor him further by having his portrait placed at the

²²⁸ Ibidem, pp.258-259; Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: the making of an image* (Princeton, 1986), pp.19-39.

²²⁹ Ibidem, pp.144-164, 168-203.

²³⁰ Ibidem, pp.69-93. Another image is found in the early ninth-century mosaic decorations of the S. Zeno chapel at S. Prassede, funerary chapel for Theodora Episcopa, the mother of Pope Paschal I.

²³¹ For example, one is attributed to Rabanus Maurus, "Homilia XVI in Sabbato Sancto Paschae", *PL* 110.33-34. "In hac quippe nocte, quasi primitiae dormientium, Christus surrexit; in hac nocte captivitas nostra solvitur, vita, in Adam amissa, restauratur; in hac nocte protoplastus antiquus peregrinus rediit ad paradisi patriam, Christo cherubin movente: ab hac enim nocte Dominicae resurrectionis paradus patet, nulli clauditur, nisi a seipso; nulli aperitur, nisi a Christo."

site of his tomb.²³² The interval for the period of mourning, the first burial, the translation to S. Clemente and the construction of the tomb with the fresco lunette was thus several weeks and the final celebration of Cyril's final resting place may have occurred during the Easter festivities. Considering the content of the fresco painting, the Anastasis, it is arguable that the celebration was planned for Holy Saturday, April 2nd. If so, then the portrait and painting were a liturgical commemoration in stone and plaster.

3.5 Conclusion

Reading S. Maria in Pallara's apse arch programme in relation to the liturgy of the Divine Office repositions its images within the context of religious ritual and ideology. In this way the paintings can be read as mnemonic markers for the votive offices performed each year on the anniversary of the founder's death. Not only is a tenth-century date possible for the Apostle-and-

²³² *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses*, F. Grivec, F. Tomšič, eds. (Zagreb, 1960), pp.210-213. "Et ita obdormivit in Domino, quadraginta duos annos natus, mensis februarii decimo quarto die, indictione secunda, a creatione autem mundi sexies millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo septimo anno (6377; post Chr. 869). Et praecepit apostolicus omnibus Graecis, qui Romae erant, item et Romanis, ut cum cereis congregati super eum canerent et in funus eius prodirent, quale ipsi papae fecissent. Quod etiam fecerunt. Methodius vero frater eius, rogavit apostolicum dicens: "Mater nos obtestata est, ut uter e nobis prius moreretur, alter afferret eum in suum fraternum monasterium, et ibi eum sepeliret." Iussit vero papa poni eum in locello et claudi clavis ferreis; et ita tenuit eum septem diebus, parans ad iter. Dixerunt autem apostolico Romani episcopi: "Quia postquam multas terras peragravit, Deus perduxit eum huc, et hic animam eius accepit, hic eum decet etiam sepultum esse, sicut venerandum virum." Et dixit apostolicus: "Propter sanctitatem eius et amorem, Romanam consuetudinem negligens, sepeliam eum in meo sepulcro in ecclesia sancti apostoli Petri." Dixit vero frater eius: "Quia me non audivistis, neque dedistis mihi eum, si vobis placet, iaceat in ecclesia sancti Clementis, quocum etiam hic venit." Iussit autem apostolicus ita facere. Et iterum congregati episcopi, cum toto quoque populo volentes funus eius celebrare honorifice, dixerunt: "Aperiamus locellum et videamus (num sit totus), num quid demptum sit de eo." Et multo labore adhibito, non potuerunt aperire arcam, secundum Dei voluntatem. Itaque cum arca posuerunt eum in sepulcrum ad dexteram partem altaris in ecclesia sancti Clementis, ubi coeperunt multa miracula fieri. Quae cum vidissent Romani, magis se sanctimoniae eius et honori dederunt. Et depicta imagine eius super sepulcrum

Prophet iconography and for the paintings in S. Maria in Pallara, but its composition may have been due to the very circumstances of their patronage.

The adaptation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography found at Chartres is not an original composition, but it is likely derivative. As seen at S. Maria in Pallara and elsewhere, the iconography developed within depictions of the Last Judgement deriving from Apocalypse commentary, in which the Twenty-four Elders were equated with the Apostles and the Prophets. The Evangelists do appear in such commentaries, but not in the same equation.²³³ The *Moralia in Job* was well known in the context of thirteenth-century Chartres. Pierre de Roissy, chancellor of Chartres (d.ca.1211) was responsible for an epitome of the *Moralia*, now Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.16; the text, at least that part referring to the pertinent passages, is a very abbreviated but straightforward copy of the *Moralia*.²³⁴ However, it is likely that the iconography was transported to the cathedral as a prefabricated part, rather than composed there. The same is likely true of the other renditions of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography.

While these texts were familiar to any educated member of a clerical community throughout the Middle Ages, the iconography was never used in illustrations of the texts themselves. For example, Rabanus Maurus appropriated the Joban passage and Gregory's exegesis of it without citing the *Moralia*, in an exegesis on sacred learning where it is just one

eius coeperunt lumen alere super eum dies noctesque, laudantes Deum ita magnificantes eos, qui eum celebrant."

²³³ For example, a commentary attributed to Alcuin claims that the Elders are the embodiment of the Church on account of its six-fold perfection that is completed by the Four Gospels; or it can also incorporate the twenty-four books of the Old Testament. Alcuin, "Commentariorum in Apocalypsin libri quinque", 4.4, *PL* 100.1117.

²³⁴ Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms.41, f.45r. The text of Job is laid out in the center of each folio and the commentary appears as a gloss in the upper margins and along the sides. On his career, see V. L. Kennedy, "The handbook of Master Peter, chancellor of Chartres," *Mediaeval studies* 5 (1943), pp.1-38.

reference among many to the shoulder as a bearer of meaning.²³⁵ Hildebert of Lavardin bases a sermon on this very Joban passage, referring openly to Gregory this time, to explain why the liturgy for the ordination of a bishop includes the carrying of the Gospels.²³⁶ Such scriptural verse-and-commentary pairs formed *catenas*, chains, in the memory that could be recalled and connected with other texts or manipulated to create sermons. Since many Psalms contain phrases that echo the passages under consideration here, Job 31.35-36 and *Moralia in Iob* 22.17-20, it might be expected that adaptations of the iconography would be used for their illustration.²³⁷ They are not; the iconography is only known to have illustrated Psalms 12 and 42, which encompass notions of Judgement. Thus when the iconography was used in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, the originating texts were not part of its signifying baggage. This analysis suggests that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography derives not from the context of classical learning, not from quotations of classical texts and not from the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, but from the Christian context of scriptural exegesis and liturgy. The images in S. Maria in Pallara seem to derive from a liturgical interpretation of Job 31.35-37 and its explication in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. However, ultimately, the iconography is not based on a single text, or even on web of texts, but on a mode of thought, the Christian idea of inversion that resulted in the valuation of the small and weak, rather than the great and strong, the humble and simple, rather than the proud and sophisticated, for only these were promised the Kingdom of

²³⁵ Rabanus Maurus, "Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam", *PL* 112.959-961. "Humerus, opus justitiae, ut in Job: «Ut in humero meo portem illum,» id est, in opere meo Dominum portabo."

²³⁶ Hildebert Cenomanensis, "In adventu domini sermo secundus", *PL* 171.347-351. "Ad quid, beate Job, librum scribi postulas? ut in humero portes illum. Ideo ordinandi episcopi humeris liber imponitur, ut ei portando, per ordinationem mancipetur. Quod crux in baptizandi scapulis facta significat."

²³⁷ For example Psalms 7 and 25.

Heaven at the Last Judgement. This inversion and opposition, ultimately deriving from the Hebrew Bible, Christianity's Old Testament, also resulted in the typological imaginary.

Chapter 4

“A little church dedicated to a big martyr”: Saint Sebastian in Rome and on the Palatine

With these words Monsignor Alfredo Vitali, the rector of S. Maria in Pallara, described the church in the 1940s.¹ It is small in comparison to the stature of the cult of Saint Sebastian, which looms large from a modern perspective. The dramatic nature of the saint's visual profile in the Renaissance overshadows his modest medieval origins. Saint Sebastian was frequently portrayed semi-naked in the full bloom of youth by Renaissance artists, an academic exercise in depicting the classical nude.² This iconographic tradition led to the saint's homoerotic sublimation to the discomfort of modern church authorities, the evidence for which is only obliquely encountered.³ As a result, the saint has been emblematically adopted by some gay communities, for whom images of the sagittation connote internalised or conflicted male desire; notions of the saint's plague-saving power have also been used to construct messages about the

¹ Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, p.87.

² For example, Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Saint Sebastian cites the work of Michelangelo; see Sebastian Schütze, "San Sebastiano," *Bernini scultore: la nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese*, eds. A. Coliva, S. Schütze (Rome, 1998), pp.78-95. For the naturalism of paintings of Saint Sebastian, see Nigel Spivey, "Vasari and the pangs of St Sebastian," *Enduring Creation: art, pain and fortitude* (London, 2001), pp.86-101. For images of the saint, Jacques Darriulat and Isabelle d' Hauteville, *Sébastien le renaissant: sur le martyre de saint Sébastien dans la deuxième moitié du Quattrocento* (Paris, 1998).

³ According to Richard Spear, while Guido Reni's portraits of Saint Sebastian were criticised as being effeminate, the polished beauty of early modern saintly portraiture was an expression of religious grace; see R. E. Spear, "Guido's Grace," *Docere delectare movere: affetti, devozione e retorica nel linguaggio artistico del primo barocco romano. Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Istituto Olandese a Roma e dalla Biblioteca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut) in collab. con l'Università Cattolica di Nijmegen, Roma, 19-20 gennaio 1996* (Rome, 1998), pp.121-136, esp.133-136. See also Daniela Bohde, "Ein Heiliger der Sodomiten? Das erotische Bild des Hl. Sebastian im Cinquecento," *Männlichkeit im Blick: visuelle Inszenierungen in der Kunst seit der Frühen Neuzeit*, M. Fend, M. Koos, eds (Cologne, 2004), pp.79-98. The often repeated judgement that Saint Sebastian's earliest portraits fittingly portray him in old age betrays discomfort; see G.

AIDS epidemic in contemporary art.⁴ Connections between the medieval cult of Saint Sebastian and its modern appropriation have often been made, even though there has been little serious investigation of the former.⁵ Most examinations of the early cult of Saint Sebastian have striven to establish its historicity, rather than examine its literary or social aspects.⁶

Evidence for the cult of Saint Sebastian in its earliest stages is elusive and little can be ascertained with certainty about its nature. There is an almost complete dearth of textual evidence for the saint prior to the sixth century. Although the *Acta Sebastiani* are ascribed to Saint Ambrose of Milan (374-397), the earliest surviving witness is a seventh-century palimpsest fragment and the evidence linking its authorship to Saint Ambrose is a ninth-century account of the translation of the relics of Saint Sebastian to France.⁷ The few fragmentary images in Rome

B. Lugari, *Memorie pubblicate in occasione del XVI centenario del suo martirio* (Rome, 1889), pp.31-36.

⁴ Richard Kaye, "Losing his religion: Saint Sebastian as contemporary gay martyr," *Outlooks: lesbian and gay sexualities and visual cultures*, eds. P. Horne, R. Lewis (London, 1996), pp.86-105. See also François Le Targat, *Saint Sébastien dans l'histoire de l'art depuis le XVe siècle* (Paris, 1979).

⁵ The iconographic surveys are deficient in their presentation of the early medieval material; see Louis Reau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955-1959), III.3, pp.1190-1199; *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, E. Kirschbaum, et al. eds., 8 vols. (Rome, 1968-1976), VIII, pp.318-324. For some revision, see the catalogue, *Saint Sébastien: rituels et figures*, ed. Sylvie Forestier (Paris, 1983), passim.

⁶ Lugari, *Memorie pubblicate*, pp.1-31; Benedetto Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano a Roma nell'antichità e nel medioevo," *Antoniano* 20 (1945), pp.177-200. For an early examination of the social phenomena of the cult of Saint Sebastian, see Salvatore Minocchi, "Il martirio di S. Sebastiano," *Nuova Antologia* (August 1, 1911), pp.440-451; see also Hippolyte Delehaye's reply, *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912), pp.343-345.

⁷ This is Bern, Burgerbibliothek Cod. 611; see *Codices latini antiquiores. A palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century*, ed. E.A. Lowe, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1934-1971), 7, no.866. For the text of the fragment see Herman Hagen, "Berner Palimpsestblätter aus dem 5.-6. Jahrhundert zur Passio Sancti Sebastiani," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlich Acadmie der Wissenschaften* 108 (1884), pp.19-50. For a discussion of the earliest textual evidence, see Catherine Saliou, "Du légendier au sermonnaire: avatars de la Passio Sebastiani," *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 36 (1990), pp.285-297, esp. 285. For the translation account see Odilo, "Liber de translatione reliquiarum S. Sebatiani martyris et Gregorii papae in suessionense Sancti Medardi monasterium", *PL* 132.577-622, esp.591. Confirmation of the translation is provided by

and Ravenna dating to the Early Christian era suggest that the cult lacked a popular devotional focus, but that it may have been promoted in these large civic centers with the saint representing orthodox religiosity.

Post sixth-century evidence is more plentiful, both textual and visual sources offering a distinct persona for Saint Sebastian. This may be due to the gradual dissemination of the *Acta Sebastiani*, which the Bollandist scholar Hippolyte Delehaye long ago pronounced a piece of hagiographic fiction.⁸ The text is generally dated to the fifth century and has been the focus of minimal critical analysis. Whenever it was written and whatever truth it contains, the *Acta Sebastiani* influenced Saint Sebastian's cult, for not long after its appearance and dissemination, the saint's visual typology as a grey-haired soldier and father-figure developed, as seen in his many portraits in Rome. While a military guardian must have appealed to Roman citizens in the seventh and eighth centuries, especially the nobility that made up the city's military bureaucracy, the *Acta Sebastiani* also bears witness to a monastic aspect of the saint's cult, containing themes of chastity and humility. The connection between the saint and these themes was so strong, that the *Acta Sebastiani* was even cited in the broadly-disseminated Rule of Saint Benedict.

This chapter examines the visual and textual traces of the medieval cult of Saint Sebastian in order to reanimate the historical development of its visual profile and devotional focus and so to contextually situate S. Maria in Pallara within that history. The dedication of S.

the chronicle of the Carolingian noble, Einhard; see *Charlemagne's Courtier: the complete life of Einhard*, Paul Edward Dutton, ed. (Peterborough, 1998), pp.101-108.

⁸ H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934), pp.35-37. While not disputing the historic existence of the saint, which Delehaye believed was proven by sources such as the *Depositio martyrum*, he claimed that the *Acta Sebastiani* reunited disparate saints who had no historical connection in order to provide them with a single narrative; for example, the saints known as the Quattro Coronati, Claudius, Nicostratus, Castorius, Simpronianus, who were buried on the Via Labicana and commemorated on 8 November, about whose identity and cult we know little, feature in the *Acta Sebastiani*. On these saints, see Agostino Amore, "Il problema dei SS. Quattro Coronati," *Miscellanea Amato Pietro Frutaz* (Rome, 1978), pp.123-146.

Maria in Pallara and the surviving portraits of Saint Sebastian in the apse are appropriately situated within the later stage of the development of the saint's cult. Also to be included in this body of evidence is the narrative cycle of Saint Sebastian's life that once decorated the nave of S. Maria in Pallara. Of especial interest is the cycle's depiction of Saint Sebastian's sagittation, an episode in the saint's life that would come to determine his persona in the later Middle Ages.⁹ While the cycle was lost to the Barberini restoration, it was recorded by Antonio Eclissi and is the earliest surviving certain depiction of the saint's martyrdom. Thus, despite its tiny size, the church's dedication and paintings provide important evidence for the development of Saint Sebastian's cult at a key transitional stage.

4.1 Early images of Saint Sebastian in Rome and Ravenna: a civic saint in support of Orthodox Christianity?

In the apse of S. Maria in Pallara Saint Sebastian is depicted wearing military costume. This is not the case in the two earliest images of the saint. These are found in the crypt of Saint Cecilia in the Catacomb of S. Callixtus and in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The catacomb of S. Callixtus was the burial place of many third-century popes, and for a time Saint Cecilia, before her body was removed by Paschal I (817-824) to the church built over the site of her home in Trastevere that he restored.¹⁰ The crypt of Saint Cecilia is a roughly square chapel located to the north of the papal crypt, found in the late nineteenth century during excavations

⁹ I. L. Zupnick, "Saint Sebastian: the vicissitudes of the hero as martyr," *Concepts of the hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. N.T. Burns, C. J. Reagan (Albany, 1975), pp.239-267, esp.239.

¹⁰ The eighth-century itinerary known as the *Notitia Ecclesiarum urbis Romae* records that her remains lay somewhere on the Via Appia in proximity to the grave of Pope Sixtus I (117-126); see Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico*, II, p.87.

organised by Giovanni Battista de Rossi.¹¹ The painting is found in the base of a *lucernario* or skylight and depicts three male martyrs dressed in tunics and *pallia* (Figure 111). The three are identified by inscriptions above their heads as POLICAMUS, SABASTIANUS and CURINUS. De Rossi identified Curinus as a Pannonian bishop, Saint Quirinus.¹² Noting that the saints were depicted without halos and without the designation ‘Sanctus’, De Rossi chose to date the painting to the fifth century, with the knowledge that there had been an intervention in the contiguous chapel by Pope Sixtus III (432-440).¹³ The paintings have recently been restored, the details of which restoration were reported by Fabrizio Bisconti, who proposed a new date of ca.500 based on his analysis of the painting style and chapel’s context.¹⁴

Saint Sebastian is depicted in the center of the panel wearing a tunic and *pallium*, his right hand held in front of his chest in a gesture of “philosophic speech” as described by Bisconti, a detail not visible until the most recent restoration. Whether the saint is depicted with a beard or moustache is unclear. His hair is short, but in no way does it appear curly in photographs. The panel was part of a larger programme that covered the whole of the *lucernario*, comprising three registers. Panels to the side of that of Saint Sebastian presented groups of four male saints. The register above contained a large cross, to which processed the twelve lambs. The next level depicted a series of saints, above which a hand of God extended a crown of martyrdom. In format, this programme is much like that of a traditional apse.

¹¹ G.B. De Rossi, *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1864-1877), II, pp.113-131 and pl.7; Fabrizio Bisconti, “Il lucernario di S. Cecilia: recenti restauri e nuove acquisizioni nella cripta callistiana di S. Cecilia,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 73.2 (1997), pp.307-339.

¹² De Rossi, *La Roma Sotterranea*, p.120.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp.118-119. The intervention was the insertion of a commemorative inscription by Sixtus III (432-440) recording the names of the popes buried there, which is no longer extant, see *ibidem*, pp.33-36.

¹⁴ Bisconti, “Il lucernario,” pp.330-339. Bisconti contextualises the paintings with a discussion of Pope Symmachus’s (498-514) support of African bishops persecuted by the Arian Vandals.

Another early image of Saint Sebastian is found in the mosaics of the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Figure 112). Originally dedicated to the Saviour, the church was located next to the palace of the Arian Ostrogothic king Theodoric (493-526) and served as the cathedral of Ravenna. When Emperor Justinian (527-565) returned the city to Orthodox Christianity in the 540s the church was renovated and rededicated to Saint Martin; only in the ninth century was it dedicated to Saint Apollinaris, an early bishop of that see.¹⁵ The apse decoration is no longer extant, but the original tri-register nave mosaics survive with some renovation; the restorations are thought to have been necessary in order to remove the visual traces of Theodoric and Arianism.¹⁶

The portrait of Saint Sebastian is found in the nave mosaics. The nave is divided into three registers. A Christological cycle appears in the uppermost shallow register that is considered original since it resembles the Early Christian art of Rome and it is recorded that Theodoric desired for “modern” art to mimic the glories of antiquity.¹⁷ The middle register is also considered original, presenting a series of unidentified biblical authorities, thought to be Apostles,

¹⁵ Otto G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine art and statecraft in Ravenna* (Chicago, 1948; 1969), pp.69-100, esp.71.

¹⁶ Not all traces were removed as an inscription recording Theodoric’s patronage above the windows in the apse was visible to the ninth-century chronicler Andreas Agnellus; *ibidem*, p.71, n.11; Emanuela Penni Iacco, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli* (Bologna, 2004), pp.30-32.

¹⁷ Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, p.71, n.13. In a letter to Pope Symmachus I recorded by Cassiodorus, the king praises the pope for being a builder of modern structures and an imitator of the ancient ones; see Cassiodorus, “Libri duodecim variarum”, 4.51, *PL* 69.642-644. In a decree to the prefect of Ravenna, again recorded by Cassiodorus, Theodoric claims that his renovation of ancient Roman structures had created new structures that were dressed up with the glory of antiquity, but lacking ancient defects; see *ibidem*, 7.15, *PL* 69.718-719. “Romanae fabricae decus convenit peritum habere custodem, ut illa mirabilis silva moenium diligentia subveniente servetur, et moderna facies operis affabris dispositionibus construatur. Hoc enim studio largitas nostra concedit, ut et facta veterum exclusis defectibus innovemus, et nova vetustatis gloria vestiamus.” The cycle’s originality is also judged on its presentation of Arian belief; Arianism stressed the humanity of Christ and these mosaics do so in their aging of Christ in consecutive scenes.

Prophets and Patriarchs.¹⁸ The lowest register is a procession of martyr saints; a series of female saints is depicted on the north wall processing from the city of Classe at the entrance end to an enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by angels near the apse; the male saints, including bishops and soldiers, process along the south wall from an image of Theodoric's palace, inscribed PALATIUM, to the figure of an enthroned Christ flanked by angels. The saints in the lowest register are identified by inscription and Saint Sebastian is eighteenth of twenty-six male saints. Except for the endpoints of the processions, that is, the sites of local topography and the images of divinity, the lowest register is thought to be a complete renovation.¹⁹

Saint Sebastian is not depicted in military dress in S. Apollinare Nuovo, but then none of the male saints are. Instead they are all depicted wearing white *clavi*-decorated tunics and *pallia*. Above the saint's portrait is the inscription SCS SEBASTIANUS. Following form, he carries a laurel crown of martyrdom on raised hands, the right one covered with the *pallium*, the left one uncovered. While the female saints are depicted with strict regularity, most of the male saints are depicted with some degree of individual physiognomy. However, there is little to distinguish Saint Sebastian. As in the St Callixtus image, the saint is depicted here with straight grey hair, a moustache and a short grey beard. This is not through lack of means, as Saints Sixtus II (257-258) and Vitalis are both depicted with curly hair. It is uncertain whether the saint is depicted with a tonsure or with the balding pate of mature years.

The reason for Saint Sebastian's inclusion at S. Apollinare Nuovo has never been satisfactorily investigated. Noting the lack of early liturgical evidence for Ravenna's hagiography, Otto von Simson reasoned that the choice of saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo first

¹⁸ The framing technique of the two upper levels confirms that they must be coeval. Recent restorations assert that the two registers are also to be considered identical in terms of technique; see Penni Iacco, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo*, pp.50-51.

¹⁹ For the survivals, see *ibidem*, pp.37-43.

reflected anti-Arian sentiments and then a desire to give collegial prominence to the saints of the Roman or Ambrosian Canons of the Mass.²⁰ For example, Saint Martin, who leads the male procession and to whom the church was rededicated, was a military saint of the neighbouring province of Pannonia known for opposing Arianism.²¹ Several of the saints in the procession have some anti-Arian link, such as Gervasius and Protasius, whose cult was promoted by Saint Ambrose of Milan (374-397).²² Saints Felix and Nabor are also Milanese, while Saints Clement, Sixtus II, Cornelius (251-253), Lawrence, Hippolytus, John and Paul are all Roman saints. However a number of saints were neither Milanese nor Roman, and were not included on either canonical list, with Saint Sebastian featuring among the latter.²³

While not appearing in the earliest Milanese or Roman Canons of the Mass, Saint Sebastian does appear on a liturgical list that is found in the diptych of Anastasius, consul for the year 517, which is known to have been in France in the seventh century in the possession of Bishop Ebregeisus of Noyon (618-630).²⁴ Whether Saint Sebastian would have been considered Gallic, Milanese or Roman in Ravenna is uncertain. The seventh-century redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* states that the saint was born in Narbonne, grew up in Milan and suffered martyrdom in Rome where he was buried.²⁵ The earliest mention of Saint Sebastian outside of the *Acta*

²⁰ Simpson, *Sacred Fortress*, pp.84-85.

²¹ Ibidem, p.71. See also his life written by Sulpicius Severus, "Vita beati Martini", *PL* 20.159-176, esp.164. For the contemporary appearance of the cult of Saint Martin in Rome, see Peter Llewellyn, "The Roman church during the Laurentian schism: priests and senators," *Church history* 45.4 (1976), pp.417-427.

²² Saint Ambrose, "Epistola xxii", *PL* 16.1019-1026.

²³ H. Delehaye, "L'hagiographie ancienne de Ravenne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929), pp.5-30, esp. 10-12. Those saints that did not appear in either canon were Saints Cassian, Ursicinus, Sebastian, Demetrius, Policarp, Pancratius, Protus, Iacintus and Sabinus.

²⁴ V. L. Kennedy, *The saints of the canon of the mass* (Vatican City, 1963), pp.69-76. The list also includes saints of French origin such as Saint Remi of Rheims and Saint Médard of Noyon.

²⁵ *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit*, 68 vols. (Antwerp, 1643-

Sebastiani is a reference in a sermon on Psalm 118 ascribed to Ambrose of Milan, the supposed author of the *Acta*; nowhere in that text is a description of the saint or a discussion of his status in life.²⁶

Recently Enrico Morini proposed that if the S. Apollinare Nuovo series of saints is re-examined in conjunction with those to whom the Arian churches of Ravenna were rededicated, a distinct Byzantine identity emerges.²⁷ Basing his study on the artificial classification of east versus west, the author failed to provide statistics for the two groups; the dedications of the other churches accounted for the majority of the eastern cults, thus skewing the outcome of the study. Morini did not discuss Saint Sebastian and the 'Byzantine' classification would not apply to him. While the name Sebastian derives from the Greek word σεβαστος, meaning revered or august, a designation used for the Roman emperors and the imperial troops since the time of Augustus, there is little early evidence for his veneration outside of Italy.²⁸ Despite a ninth-century Greek version of the *Acta Sebastiani* and a name of Greek derivation, the saint is not Byzantine.²⁹ In a

1794; Brussels, Paris, 1863-1940), January, II, p.265. "Sebastianus vir Christianissimus Mediolanensium partibus eruditus, civis vero Narbonensis, Diocletiano & Maximiano..."

²⁶ Ambrose of Milan, "Expositio in psalmum David, CXVIII", *PL* 15.1483-1502, esp. 1497. In reference to verse 157 about persecution, Ambrose explains that the saint was forced to go to Rome to find persecutors of sufficient savagery. "Utamur exemplo Sebastiani martyris, cujus hodie natalis est. Hic Mediolanensis oriundus est. Fortasse aut jam discesserat persecutor, aut adhuc non venerat in haec partium, aut mitior erat. Advertit hic aut nullum esse, aut tepere certamen. Romam profectus est, ubi propter fidei studium persecutionis acerba fervebant; ibi passus est, hoc est, ibi coronatus. Itaque illic, quo hospes advenit, domicilium immortalitatis perpetuae collocavit. Si unus persecutor fuisset, coronatus hic martyr utique non fuisset."

²⁷ Enrico Morini, "Santi orientali a Ravenna," *Storia di Ravenna: Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, ed. A. Carile (Venice, 1992), pp.283-303, esp.285-289.

²⁸ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature*, tr. W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich (Chicago, 1979), pp.745-746.

²⁹ Xavier Lequeux, "La passion métaphrastique inédite de S. Sébastien, martyr à Rome (BHG 1619z) et son abrégé (BHG 1620)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005), pp.241-288.

recent study of literary and visual identities of warrior cults, Christopher Walter claims to find no trace of the saint in the art or liturgy of Byzantium.³⁰

Many of the saints featured in the decorations of S. Apollinare Nuovo were local clerics and soldier saints from Northern Italy or the neighbouring provinces, whose cults had already been translated to Ravenna. The procession includes Saint Apollinaris who was an early bishop of Ravenna; Saint Vitalis was a Ravennese martyr of Milanese origin and Saint Ursicinus was a Ravennese physician.³¹ Saint Chrysogonus was a martyr of nearby Aquileia.³² The cult of the Spanish deacon Saint Vincent had already been translated to Ravenna by the Empress Galla Placidia (388-450).³³ Saint Cassian of Imola was a bishop of Brescia and his cult had already been translated to Ravenna by Bishop Peter Chrysologus (433-450).³⁴ It is possible that an unrecorded transfer of the relics of Saint Sebastian from Rome to Ravenna occurred during the fifth or early sixth centuries.³⁵

However, in relation to Simson's original hypothesis that the S. Apollinare procession of saints was an anti-Arian statement, it is interesting to note that Saint Sebastian features in a nearly

³⁰ Christopher Walter, *The warrior saints in Byzantine art and tradition* (Aldershot, 2003), pp.254-255. For an eleventh-century image of Saint Sebastian on the bronze doors originally found at a church dedicated to the saint in Atrani, see Secondino Gatta, "Tracce di un culto eterodosso dei santi sulla costiera amalfitana: riflessioni in margine al restauro della porta bronzea della chiesa di San Salvatore ad Atrani," *Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana* 12.3 (1992), pp.35-50.

³¹ Giovanni Lucchesi, "Vitale, Valeria ed Ursicino," *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, XII, col.1229-1231. See also Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian chapels in the west: decoration, function, and patronage* (Toronto, 2003), pp.22-35.

³² Kennedy, *The saints of the canon of the mass*, pp.136-138.

³³ Gillian Mackie, "New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna," *Gesta* 29.1 (1990), pp. 54-60.

³⁴ Angelo Maria Raggi, "Cassiano di Imola," *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1961-1968), III, col.909-913.

³⁵ Although Benedetto Pesci reported that an image of Saint Sebastian was found in the Archbishop's private chapel at Ravenna, no such image is mentioned in the recent literature on the chapel, now thought to have been created in the early sixth century; see Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano," p.181; Mackie, *Early Christian chapels*, pp.104-115.

contemporary case of conversion of an Arian church in Rome. According to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (590-604), the pope himself rededicated the Arian church of S. Agata dei Goti through the deposition of the relics of Saints Agatha and Sebastian, which involved the cleansing of the church from its evil spirits.³⁶ Gregory relates that upon rededication great noises and horrible visions were experienced as the devil expressed his outrage at having the heresy of Arianism cleaned away. There is no further evidence in the redaction of the *Acta Sebastiani* or any other liturgical text to suggest that Saint Sebastian represented orthodox religiosity triumphing over schism, but certainly he might be viewed as a civic protector, as might all the saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo.

Turning back to Rome, it is significant that an image of Saint Sebastian features at the catacomb of St Callixtus in close proximity to the burial site of many third-century popes, the city's religious and civic leaders. Later medieval redactions of the *Acta Sebastiani* characterise Saint Sebastian as a *defensor ecclesiae*.³⁷ Such a characterisation was no doubt stimulated by the saint's place of burial at the Catacomb of the Apostles, an early temporary shrine for the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul, papal Rome's primary patron saints.³⁸ The redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* states that the saint was buried at the entrance of the crypt near the remains of the Apostles, "in

³⁶ *Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand*, 3 vols., A. de Vogüé, ed. Sources chrétiennes, 251 (Paris, 1978), II, 3.30, pp.379-385. For a comparative discussion of the anti-Arian rededications at Ravenna and Rome, see Arthur Urbano, "Donation, dedication and damnatio memoriae: the Catholic reconciliation of Ravenna and the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo," *Journal of early Christian studies* 13.1 (2005), pp.71-110.

³⁷ Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano," p.182.

³⁸ Krautheimer et al., *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, IV, pp.99-147. For a clear summary of the evidence and bibliography, see Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, "San Filippo Neri, le catacombe di S. Sebastiano e le origini dell'archeologia cristiana," *San Filippo Neri nella realtà romana del XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studio in occasione del IV Centenario della morte di S. Filippo Neri (1595-1995) (Roma- 11-13 maggio 1995)* (Rome, 2000), pp.105-130, esp.110-115.

initio cryptae iuxta vestigia Apostolorum.”³⁹ According to the redactor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul had already been moved from their burial place on the Via Appia to their respective basilicas in the mid-third century by Pope Cornelius I.⁴⁰ In some sense, Saint Sebastian guarded their memory.

Independent evidence for his burial is provided by the Filocalian Calendar of 354 that contains the *Depositio martyrum*, a list of martyrs and their sites of veneration; the entry for Saint Sebastian states that he was commemorated “in Catacumbas” on January 20th.⁴¹ However it should be noted that only the early modern copies of this manuscript contain the list of saints.⁴² A votive inscription in the chamber of two priests named Proclinus and Ursus dated to the reign of Pope Innocent I (401-417), now lost but recorded in the early modern period, mentions Saint Sebastian, confirming his presence there.⁴³ Saint Sebastian’s name is recorded among the papyrus labels of the vials of oil collected from the tombs of the Roman martyrs in ca.600 for the Lombard Queen Teodolinda (589-627).⁴⁴ Seventh-century itineraries also confirm the location of

³⁹ AA.SS. January, II, p.278.

⁴⁰ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.9. “In his time, at the request of a certain lady Lucina, he took up the bodies of the apostles Saints Peter and Paul from the Catacombs at night; in fact first of all the blessed Lucina took the body of St Paul and put it on her estate on the Via Ostiensis close to the place where he was beheaded; the blessed bishop Cornelius took the body of St Peter and put it close to the place where he was crucified, among the bodies of the holy bishops at the temple of Apollo on the Mons Aureus, on the Vatican at Nero’s palace, on 29 June.”

⁴¹ *Codice topografico*, II, pp.1-28. “XII kal. Feb. Fabiani in Calisti et Sebastiani in Catacumbas”. Several manuscripts of this calendar exist, dated by its consular list, but the majority of the manuscripts are copies from the Carolingian period. For a description of the manuscript, the original context of its creation and the various copies, see Henri Stern, *Le calendrier de 354: étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris, 1953), pp.14-16, 42-46.

⁴² *Ibidem*, pp.14-16. These are Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms.7543-7549 (16th century), Vienna, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.3416 (1500-1510) and Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms.467 (1622-1628).

⁴³ Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum*, IV, p.100. The inscription was on the chancel screen, part of which still survives although the inscription does not; see fig.129.

⁴⁴ *Codice topografico*, II, pp.29-47, esp.44.

the cult of Saint Sebastian on the Via Appia.⁴⁵ The redactor of the *Liber Pontificalis* records that the Basilica Apostolorum was renovated in the late eighth century by Pope Hadrian I (772-795), referring to the grave of Saint Sebastian for the first time in that source.⁴⁶ By the turn of the ninth century Saint Sebastian was firmly associated with the princes of the Apostles and the renovation of their memory was the responsibility of the bishops of Rome.

This examination has shown that the earliest and most reliable evidence for the history of the cult of Saint Sebastian is to be had in images; early portraits of the saint are found in Rome and Ravenna dating respectively from ca.510 and 560. No certain early textual evidence can be connected with the cult, except possibly for a sermon written by Saint Ambrose that offers no description of the saint, nor a discussion of his life state. The images also present a generic portrait of the saint, wearing non-descript tunic and *pallium*, often described as the costume of a Late Antique philosopher; this was a costume common to all male saints in Early Christian art.⁴⁷ Yet these early images of Saint Sebastian even differ from the saint's later physiognomy, as discussed in Chapter 2. Some catalyst occurred around 600 A.D. that served to propel forward the

⁴⁵ The earliest is a catalogue of the cemeteries of the Rome, the earliest copy of which dates to the twelfth century, Vat. Chigi, 141. Two other references are found in the *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, Vienna, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.795 and the *De locis sanctis martyrum*, Vienna, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.1008. For the texts, see *Codice topografico*, II, pp.49-66, esp.62; pp.67-99, esp.85; pp.101-131, esp.111.

⁴⁶ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 13 (Liverpool, 1992), p.162. "He freshly restored the Apostles' church at the third mile outside the Appian Gate, in the district Catacumbae, where the bodies of St Sebastian and others are at rest, which had reached ruin."

⁴⁷ Paul Zanker, "Dal culto della 'paideia' alla visione di Dio," *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, eds. S. Ensoli, E. La Rocca (Roma, 2000), pp.407-412. This is also the case with the apostles in the fifth-century apse of S. Pudenziana in Rome. Olaf Steen, "The proclamation of the Word: a study of the apse mosaic in S. Pudenziana, Rome," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 11 (1999), pp. 85-113; idem, "The apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana and its relation to the fifth century mosaics of S. Sabina and S. Maria Maggiore," *Ecclesiae urbis: atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma, IV-X secolo, Roma, 4-10 settembre 2000*, 3 vols., eds. F. Guidobaldi, A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (Città del Vaticano, 2002), pp.1939-1948.

development of the iconography of Saint Sebastian as a soldier saint, the soldier's costume being a large component of the saint's identity.

4.2 Images of Saint Sebastian in Rome from the seventh to the ninth centuries: a soldier saint reflecting an elite military class?

It is commonly thought that the *Acta Sebastiani* were first written in the fifth century in order to promote the cult of the saint at the Basilica Apostolorum.⁴⁸ As noted above, the earliest fragmentary manuscript of the *Acta* is a seventh-century palimpsest copy; numerous ninth- and tenth-century copies survive testifying to a stable textual tradition, with a steady increase in manuscript witnesses thereafter.⁴⁹ The *Acta Sebastiani* contain the first elaboration of the saint's identity as a soldier. Contemporary with the appearance and diffusion of the text in the seventh and eighth centuries is the materialisation of Saint Sebastian's military-typology in portraits. A military saint is an appropriate guardian for the elite military class in Rome that staffed the

⁴⁸ Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano," pp.183-184. For the foundation of Sixtus' monastery, see *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.38. "He built a monastery at the Catacombs." According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Nicholas I (d.867) renewed the shrine on the Via Appia and rebuilt and endowed its monastery; see *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), p.232. "On the Via Appia, at the cemetery of Christ's martyr St Sebastian in Catacumbas, where the apostles' bodies lay, as it had collapsed for many years, he renewed it with improved construction; he created a monastery and gathered monks from wherever he could under the rule of an abbot, and enjoined that what was needed for food be provided and that other means be supplied for them."

⁴⁹ The next earliest manuscript is also fragmentary and is thought to date to the eighth century; that is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm.3514. For a list of the manuscripts, see J. E. Cross, "The use of a *passio* S. Sebastiani in the Old English Martyrology," *Mediaevalia* 14 (1988), pp.39-50. For a discussion of the early use of the *Acta Sebastiani* in sermons, see Saliou, "Du légendier au sermonnaire," pp.285-297.

imperial bureaucracy; an appropriate saint, too, for a church located on the Palatine, the site of the imperial administration in Rome until at least the mid seventh century.⁵⁰

The redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* describes Saint Sebastian as a soldier, who was so dear to emperors Diocletian and Maximian that they made him leader of their personal guard, so full of virtue that the soldiers and palace staff revered him with great affection as a father, the grace of God so flowed in him that he was loved by all.⁵¹ The redactor marks Sebastian's military costume as an important aspect of his identity, repeatedly stating that he hid his Christianity under its secular covering, so that as a soldier of Christ he could support Christians who were suffering martyrdom.⁵² Rather than comforting or protecting, the saint works to reinforce the religious resolve of the Christians in the *Acta Sebastiani*.⁵³ Thus, the military costume is an important component of the visual identity of the saint in early medieval images.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the apse programme of S. Maria in Pallara with its votive inscription and donor images represents a single decorative phase corresponding to the church's foundation or re-foundation by Petrus Medicus, in which several images of Saint Sebastian were included. The saint was depicted standing in the apse conch in military dress bearing the crown of his martyrdom (Figure 9). His facial features were rendered using the physiognomy that were his

⁵⁰ For a study of the predominantly eastern military class that governed Byzantine Italy, see T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: imperial administration and aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy A. D. 554-800* (London, 1984), pp.61-81; For the Palatine, see Augenti, *Il Palatino nel medioevo*, pp.46-60.

⁵¹ AA.SS. January, II, pp.257-296, esp. 265. "...Diocletiano & Maximiano Imperatoribus ita carus erat, ut principatum ei primae cohortis traderent...Hunc milites ac si patrem venerabantur: hunc universi, qui praeerant palatio, carissimo venerabantur affectu. ...necesse erat ut quem Dei perfuderat gratia, ab omnibus amaretur."

⁵² Ibidem, p.265. "...tantum sub chlamyde terreni imperii Christi militem agebat absconditum, ut Christianorum animos, quos inter tormenta videbat deficere, confortaret...". Every appearance of the saint in the *Acta* is marked by a reference to his Christianity being hidden under his chlamys; see also paragraphs 9, 23, 60, 68, 85, ibidem, pp.266, 268, 274, 276, 278.

⁵³ This is in contrast to Christopher Walter's recent characterisation of the Byzantine warrior saint as primarily one who protects; Walter, *The warrior saints*, pp.277-284.

standard type by the tenth century, comprising grey curly hair, moustache and beard. Saint Sebastian appeared again in the lost donation scene on the left side of the apse arch, now known only through the Eclissi drawings (Figure 4b). Little can be said with certainty about the manner in which the saint was depicted there, but the figure does bear the moustache and beard of traditional physiognomy. The saint was portrayed without his *chlamys* wearing a richly ornamented tunic that had a slit hem at center front, the latter a feature common to medieval military costume in order to facilitate horse-riding. Saint Sebastian also featured in the icon-like painted panel inserted at the bottom of the apse where he is represented with similar physiognomy and costume (Figure 89). These images are a distinct departure from those portraits in the catacomb of St Callixtus and S. Apollinare Nuovo.

There are a significant number of portraits of Saint Sebastian in early medieval Rome, parallels for the S. Maria in Pallara images, and these have never been examined as an iconographic whole. The earliest such image is the portrait excavated from the lower oratory of S. Saba. Thought to date to the late seventh or early eighth century, the surviving fragmentary image presents only the saint's head and shoulders (Figure 37).⁵⁴ The neck of a white *chlamys* that is clasped together on the right shoulder with a gold *fibula* is just visible, as is a portion of the saint's tunic that is decorated with a brown *segmentum* or badge. Whether the portrait was a votive image is unknown, but the intense direct stare of the saint makes it an appropriate focus for personal devotions. The church was a monastic one, first given over to Greek-speaking monks and then possibly to a Benedictine community.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas," pp.54-55; Francesco Gandolfo, "Gli affreschi di San Saba," *Rome e l'età carolingia* (Rome, 1976), pp.183-187; Krautheimer et al., *Corpus basilicarum*, IV, pp.51-71.

⁵⁵ Styger, "Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas," pp.54-55.

Somewhat in contrast and far more colourful is the military costume seen in the depiction of Saint Sebastian at S. Pietro in Vincoli (Figure 34). The saint's *chlamys* is white, decorated with a bright orange *tablion* and an ornamental border of gold and blue. The *fibula* that holds the *chlamys* together on his right shoulder is jewelled in red and orange *tesserae*. Saint Sebastian's tunic is white, its right shoulder decorated with a multicolour badge on a blue stripe. The tunic is belted with a gold and blue belt, under which he wears a gold and blue striped skirt-like garment that approximates the *pteruges* or leather strips that extended from the breastplate of Roman military costume.

Roberta Flaminio has recently published some significant observations about the S. Pietro in Vincoli image.⁵⁶ It has long been interpreted in light of Paul the Deacon's account in the *Historia Langobardorum* of a plague that occurred in Pavia in 680.⁵⁷ Paul claims that a severe outbreak of the plague was terminated when an altar dedicated to Saint Sebastian was set up in the church of "S. Pietro ad Vincula" in Pavia, the relics for which were obtained from Rome. The *Historia Langobardorum* account says nothing about an image, only an altar, and it does not include any information about where in Rome the relics were obtained. However, since a coeval record of plague is found in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the biographical note of Pope Agatho (678-681), it has always been assumed that the Roman mosaic image at S. Pietro in Vincoli should be associated with the episode.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Flaminio, "Il mosaico di San Sebastiano," pp.425-438.

⁵⁷ Paul the Deacon, "Historia Langobardorum", VI.5, L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, eds. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et italicarum* (Hannover, 1878), p.166. "Moxque subsecuta gravissima pestis est tribus mensibus, hoc est Iulio, Augusto et Septembrio; tantaque fuit multitudo morientium,... Tunc cuidam per revelationem dictum est, quod pestis ipsa prius non quiesceret, quam in basilica beati Petri quae ad Vincula dicitur sancti Sebastiani martyris altarium poneretur. Factumque est, et delatis ab urbe Roma beati Sebastiani martyris reliquiis, mox in iam dicta basilica altarium constitutum est, pestis ipsa quievit."

⁵⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.76. "In his time on the 18th day of June in the 8th indiction the moon underwent an eclipse; also in that

Flaminio observed that the account fails to sufficiently explain the mosaic image. She also notes that the Saint Sebastian mosaic is stylistically and chromatically well-paralleled by the securely-dated ninth-century mosaics at S. Prassede. Flaminio compared it to the similar votive mosaic panels found in the church of St Demetrius in Thessaloniki, also ascertaining that since the panel is slightly concave it originally formed a votive image in a niche.⁵⁹ Her ninth-century comparison for this panel is convincing and thus her conclusion that the dating of the panel should remain open is acceptable. Her analysis also suggests that the image should not be read as an icon associated with plague, but possibly as a simple saintly portrait that may have been the focus of a donor's personal wish.

A recent study of the same image published by Gabriele Bartolozzi Casti and Maria Teresa Mazzilli Savini has raised the question of whether this was the only medieval image of Saint Sebastian in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli.⁶⁰ Watercolour copies of the Saint Sebastian mosaic made for the Dominican scholar Alfonso Ciacconio are contained in two manuscripts preserved in the Vatican Library (Vat. Lat. 5407, 39r and Vat. Lat. 5408, 24r). The latter manuscript contains a watercolour copy of the figure of Saint Sebastian, and another one identical in physiognomy and costume but transposed into a depiction of the saint's martyrdom, the sagittation. The authors of this study suggested that this watercolour depicts a lost image from S. Sebastiano in Vincoli.⁶¹ As will be seen later in this chapter, no other early medieval images of the sagittation present the saint fully clothed. The watercolour is probably the invention of an early modern clerical mind expressing discomfort over Renaissance depictions of the naked saint

month, July, August, and September, there was a great mortality in Rome, more serious than is recalled in the time of any other pontiff; so that parents and their children, brothers and their sisters, were taken in pairs on biers to their graves. Afterwards it kept causing devastation out in the suburbs and walled towns all around."

⁵⁹ Flaminio, "Il mosaico di San Sebastiano," p.430.

⁶⁰ Bartolozzi Casti, Mazzilli Savini, "Il culto parallelo," pp.380-393.

in ecstasy during his sagittation. As noted above, the discomfort was often expressed by approbation for medieval images that depict the saint clothed, an opinion found on both drawings.⁶²

In addition to the depictions of Saint Sebastian in S. Saba and S. Pietro in Vincoli, there are two other early medieval votive images of military saints that may represent Saint Sebastian. One is found in a round niche in the north wall of the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, just to the east of the portal leading to the Forum (Figure 113). The niche paintings, which depict three male military saints, were already much deteriorated when they were first excavated in 1900. Gordon Rushforth published a near contemporary account of the excavations. Noting that there was no trace of any identifying inscription for the three saints depicted therein, he proposed the unsupported hypothesis that they represented Saints George, Sebastian and Theodore.⁶³ Rushforth noted that the niche on the opposite side of the portal contains three corresponding images of female saints and two of these are identified by Greek inscriptions as Saints Agnes and Cecilia, ΗΑΓΙΑ ΑΓΝΗ and ΗΑΓΙΑ ΚΗΚΗΛΗΑ. Again without justification, Rushforth suggested that the third female saint may have been Agatha or Anastasia.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibidem, pp.370-372.

⁶² Vat. Lat. 5407, 39r: “S. SEBASTIANI martyris imago quae extat in a[n]tiquissimo musaico apud S. Petru[m] ad vincula, tempore S. Gregorii magni p’mi facta, ut inscriptio vetusta marmoris testatur qui p[er]peram alibi iuve[n]culus et imberbis depingitur. Advertere hic est, antiquu[m] habitu[m] militarem illo te[m]pore gestuit co[n]suetu[m].” The key word there is *perperam*, ‘wrongly’. Vat. Lat. 5408, 24r, under the sagittation image: “imago S[anc]ti Sebastiani Martyris ex pictura satis vetusta apud S. Petru[m] ad Vincula”. Underneath the second drawing: “imago Sancti Sebastiani Martyris ex opere musius antiquissimo apud sanctu[m] petru[m] ad vincula, ex quo apparet non iuvene[m], sed sene[m] martyrij tempore extitisse sebastianu[m], licet vulgo ut plurimu[m] iuvenili aetati pingatur, quod non caret probabilitate, cum vetusta [next word lost – *pictores?*] imagines iuvenu[m] etiam praeferant.”

⁶³ Gordon Rushforth, “The church of S. Maria Antiqua,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1 (1902), pp.1-123, esp. 94.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p.94. The word ΗΑΓΙΑ is written as a monogram with the letters imbedded in one another.

Writing a decade later, Wladimir de Grüneisen suggested that the three male figures in S. Maria Antiqua ought to be identified as Saints Sebastian, John and Paul, identifications which he chose because they were popular saints who featured in the Canon of the Mass.⁶⁵ Cognisant that he was forming conclusions without evidence, he reasoned that the male figures in the east niche had to be patron saints of Rome at least as famous as their corresponding female counterparts in the west niche. While Grüneisen did not provide any liturgical sources for his suggestions, Saint Sebastian was widely commemorated in the Roman liturgy by the eighth century.⁶⁶

Joseph Wilpert concurred that there was no evidence to identify the male saints as Sebastian, John and Paul, but he was hard-pressed to come up with any other male saints who were as well venerated in Rome as their female counterparts.⁶⁷ Of the two hypotheses, Rushforth's identification of the male saints as George, Sebastian and Theodore is the more preferable, since these saints reflect the dedications of the neighbouring basilicas of S. Teodoro and S. Giorgio in Velabro. It should be noted that S. Giorgio in Velabro was first dedicated to both Saints George and Sebastian, under the patronage of Pope Leo II (682-683).⁶⁸

A detailed description of the S. Maria Antiqua niche was provided by Eva Tea.⁶⁹ All three figures were depicted standing on a green ground and wearing military dress. The central figure wore a purple tunic, over which was a *chlamys* decorated with *tablion* and *orbiculi* or circular motifs. He apparently held a book and a *capsella* or case. The figure on the right wore a belted, rose-coloured tunic over *bracae* or trousers under a *chlamys*; he held a book and a cross. Tea claimed that little remained of the third figure, but noted that his *chlamys* was yellow. He,

⁶⁵ W. De Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911), pp.93, 95 fig.68, 491.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.491; Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano," p.188.

⁶⁷ J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Freiburg, 1917), II, p.716.

⁶⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.81.

⁶⁹ Tea, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp.252-254.

too, may have held a box-like case. While she claimed that traces of inscriptions were visible, she brought no new information to the debate about identity. Significantly, Tea noted that there were nails around the heads of the soldier saints that she supposed once held votive objects.

Preferring not to conjecture about identities, John Osborne studied the pictorial techniques of the niche paintings, confirming their traditional dating to the ninth century.⁷⁰ According to Osborne, the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua was incorporated into a new church at some point in the tenth or eleventh centuries, known as S. Maria de Inferno, which resulted in the preservation of the earlier paintings.⁷¹ He was also able to confirm the probable votive function of the niche images; in his catalogue of the atrium paintings, he noted that a number were votive in nature, as shown by donor portraits, inscriptions and graffiti.

The final early medieval image thought perhaps to be a representation of Saint Sebastian is a votive panel found in S. Maria in Cosmedin (Figure 114).⁷² The painting is located behind a pillar on the narrow wall between the main apse and the left or west one. According to Giovanni Battista Giovenale the rectangular panel was discovered there during the church's nineteenth-century restoration, where it had been hidden by a pilaster raised in an eighteenth-century restoration.⁷³ The painting depicts a trio of military saints; an older, grey-haired saint stands to the right and two shorter, younger male saints stand to the left. A crowd of figures appears behind the trio, the individual features of only a few of which are visible. Giovenale noted that the panel was fragmentary, the right portion of the painting having been lost.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Osborne, "The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua," 192-194.

⁷¹ Ibidem, pp.221-222.

⁷² Hartmann Grisar, "Sainte-Marie in Cosmedin à Rome," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 41 (1898), pp.181-197, esp.191.

⁷³ G.-B. Giovenale, *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome, 1927), pp.125-127.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, pp.125-127.

The older saint wears a yellow tunic decorated with purple ornamental borders and a white *chlamys* decorated with brown *orbiculi* and purple *tablion*. The saint has a grey beard and hair that is wavy, if not curly and his halo is yellow, rimmed with a red band that was once decorated with white pearl-like dots. All facial features are now lost, but an early photograph shows that the saint had heavy-rimmed large eyes, dark heavy eyebrows and what appears to be the outline of a moustache (Figure 115). The saint also once held a cross in his right hand and since he is depicted holding his *chlamys* up with his left he likely presented his crown of martyrdom with it; however this portion of the painting has been lost. The saint to the far left wears a yellow tunic ornamented with purple borders and a red *chlamys*, while that in the center wears a dark grey tunic trimmed with yellow and a red *chlamys*. The purple-brown crowns carried by these two military saints are still visible in their left hands and their fisted right hands indicate that they also originally clasped crosses. These saints, too, bear yellow halos, whose red rims still preserve the pearl-like border.

The panel has a very ornamental setting. While the figures stand on a simple green ground, they are set within a complex frame. Giovenale reported that a fictive *baldacchino* whose outline was studded with gems surmounted the painting, little trace of which now remains.⁷⁵ It may simply be a Greek-key ornamental band.⁷⁶ Underneath the panel is a black band, under which is a red flame-like border, followed by a purple band (Figure 116). The flame-like border is similar to the red grass-like ground under the feet of the prophets in the apse arch of S. Maria in Pallara (Figure 82) and the ground in the crucifixion of St Peter at S. Balbina (Figure 88).

Hartmann Grisar, who published a notice about the image, noted that some traces of white letters remained underneath the scene forming an inscription that he reconstructed to read:

⁷⁵ Ibidem, pp.320-321.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, pp.320-321, fig. 28. This is what appears in Giovenale's sketch.

In honorEM DNI NOSTRI IESu Cristi pro animae meae redemTIONE ET SCI SEBAS.⁷⁷ No trace of these letters remains. This panel then must have been a votive image. Even without the inscription it seems clear from the older soldier's physiognomy that this is Saint Sebastian. The larger stature of the central soldier saint is significant for his identity, as the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* praises Saint Sebastian, saying that all the soldiers venerated him as a father.⁷⁸ The smaller soldiers standing beside him may have perhaps been the martyrs Marcus and Marcellianus, two brothers who are described in the *Acta Sebastiani* as being young.⁷⁹

While Giovenale believed the painting dated to the eighth century, Grisar dated it several centuries later, to the eleventh.⁸⁰ There are several key visual details that suggest that the panel should be dated somewhat later than the eighth century. First, the facial features are outlined in heavy black lines, as seen in the black-and-white photograph. This is a characteristic of late ninth-century painting, as in those found across the road at S. Maria Secundicerio.⁸¹ Second, the painting features very bright colours, a characteristic found in the S. Maria in Pallara paintings and those of the eleventh century and beyond. Finally, pearl-trimmed halos are a distinct feature not common to early medieval painting in Rome, appearing for example in the image of Saint Clement recently excavated in the baptistery of the lower church of S. Clemente and dated to the tenth century.⁸² They also appear outside of Rome, in the paintings of the Grotta del Salvatore at

⁷⁷ Grisar, "Sainte-Marie in Cosmedin," p.191.

⁷⁸ AA.SS. January, II, p.265.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p.265. Their age is implied rather than stated; while they are married and have children of their own, they appear young in relation to their parents who feature in the text lamenting their sons' religious choices and speaking of their childhood.

⁸⁰ Grisar, "Sainte-Marie in Cosmedin," p.191; Giovenale, *La basilica di Santa Maria in Cosmedin*, pp.320-321. Richard Krautheimer believed that the masonry under the painting belonged to the renovations of Pope Hadrian I, but didn't venture to discuss the painting; see Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum*, II, p.296.

⁸¹ Lafontaine, *Peintures médévales*, passim.

⁸² Romano, "Battistero di S. Clemente," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.66-67.

Vallerano near Viterbo, recently dated to the tenth century on stylistic grounds.⁸³ Ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine manuscripts also feature pearl-trimmed halos.⁸⁴ A more suitable date for this painting is the late ninth century or even the early tenth.

A connection with Greek culture is not without significance, considering that S. Maria in Cosmedin was located in a predominately Greek quarter of Rome, the *Schola Greca*.⁸⁵ Further, John Osborne has argued for the continued strong influence of Greek culture on the art of Rome until the late ninth century.⁸⁶ However, S. Maria in Cosmedin is not the only Greek monument to contain an image of Saint Sebastian; almost all of the images examined have Greek connections. S. Saba housed a Greek-speaking community of monks from the Mar Saba lavra outside of Jerusalem.⁸⁷ S. Maria Antiqua served both Latin- and Greek-speaking communities, and even the inscriptions in the niche paintings were Greek.⁸⁸ If the S. Pietro in Vincoli image is to be dated to the late seventh century, then it is interesting to note that Pope Agatho, who reigned during the outbreak of plague that so impressed Paul the Deacon, was a Greek-speaking native of Sicily, as was Leo II who founded a church dedicated to Saints George and Sebastian on the present site of S. Giorgio in Velabro.⁸⁹ While Saint Sebastian may not have been a Byzantine saint, he was a Roman saint of particular appeal to Greek-speaking congregations.⁹⁰

⁸³ Piazza, "Une communion des Apôtres en Occident," passim.

⁸⁴ Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935).

⁸⁵ Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du vi^e s. – fin du ix^e s.)*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1983), I, pp.109-110.

⁸⁶ John Osborne, "Artistic contacts between Rome and Constantinople in the years following the triumph of orthodoxy (AD 843)," *L'ellenismo italiota dal VII al XII secolo*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 2001), pp.261-272.

⁸⁷ Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp.281-290.

⁸⁸ Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux*, p.106.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, p.107.

⁹⁰ This was Louis Duchesne's interpretation for the early history of the church of S. Anastasia at the western base of the Palatine; see L. Duchesne, "Notes sur la topographie de Rome: III. Sainte-Anastasie," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 7 (1887), pp.387-413.

This examination of the early medieval portraits of Saint Sebastian in Rome has shown that at the very moment when the *Acta* were disseminated, the visual profile of the saint changed from that of a generic pallium-draped martyr. Thereafter he was consistently depicted as a grey-haired soldier saint, a father figure, an authority. The portraits are primarily votive images and they appear for the most part in churches with some Greek connection: a patron of Greek origin, a community of Greek monks or a Greek-speaking congregation. However, Saint Sebastian should not be characterised as having an ethnically specific persona, as the civic administration of Rome was in the hands of Greek functionaries answering to the Greek court in Constantinople in the seventh and eighth centuries, an orientation that begins to change in the mid-eighth century, but is not complete until well into the ninth or even tenth century.⁹¹

4.3 S. Maria in Pallara, otherwise known as S. Sebastiano al Palatino

This discussion of the history of Saint Sebastian's visual typology as a military saint leads to the question of exactly when the church of S. Maria in Pallara was founded. Saint Sebastian's martyrdom took place on the Palatine after all, the seat of imperial authority. Alfredo Vitali, rector of the church in the early twentieth century, encountered archaeologists and antiquarians alike who shared opinions on the subject, and in his treatise he reported hypotheses ranging from the fourth to the tenth century.⁹² Vitali noted that Pietro Fedele dated the church to the tenth century, but Vitali expressed uncertainty as to whether he intended this date to apply to an original foundation or just the foundation of Petrus Medicus. Indeed Fedele seems to have

⁹¹ Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux*, pp.206-212.

⁹² Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, pp.188-198, esp.188. Enrico Stevenson, Mariano Armellini, Pietro Antonio Uccelli, Giovanni Battista Lugari all believed the church dated back to the Constantinian era; Orazio Maruchi opted for the fifth century and Giovanni Battista De Rossi for

believed that the church was only founded in the tenth century, claiming that the matter could be solved by examining the documentation recording the church's dedication.⁹³ While Fedele's instincts were correct, tracing the dedication of the church does reveal much about its history, Fedele erred in the interpretation of the sources.

The Palatine church is now popularly called S. Sebastiano al Palatino. Internal evidence supports the conclusion that the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Zoticus and Sebastian, beginning with the apse-inscription that invokes all three. The monastery's eleventh-century martyrology, Vat. Lat. 378, records that the church was dedicated on June 19th in an unspecified year, calling it simply "Sancta Maria in Palladio."⁹⁴ The tripartite dedication seems to have applied to the monastery as well, as four vows of monastic profession found in the martyrology promise obedience and stability to the "monasterio Sanctae Marie de Palladio et Sancti Sebastian martyri et Sancti Zotici martyri."⁹⁵ An eleventh-century papal privilege issued at a synod in Rome in favour of the patriarch of Grado includes on its list of attendees "Simeon abbas S. Mariae in Pallara."⁹⁶ Pope Alexander II's (1061-1073) charter of 1061 granting Montecassino control of the monastery describes it as the "abbey of the martyrs Sebastian and Zosimus (sic) which the locals were accustomed to call by the common name Pallara."⁹⁷ Twelfth-

the seventh, while Louis Duchesne chose not to venture an opinion. Vitale believed that the seventh century was the most reasonable date.

⁹³ Fedele, "Una chiesa del Palatino," pp.365-372. For a recent discussion of the title, see Étienne Hubert, "«In regione Pallarie»: contribution à l'histoire du Palatin au Moyen Âge," *La Vigna Barberini, 1: Histoire d'un site -- étude des sources et de la topographie*. Roma Antica, 3 (Rome, 1997), pp.89-140, esp. 107-114.

⁹⁴ Vat. Lat. 378, 33v: "Dedicatio huius ecclesiae sanctae Mariae in Palladio."

⁹⁵ Ibidem, 33v.

⁹⁶ PL 141.1362-1367. The privilege was issued by Pope Benedict IX (1032-1048).

⁹⁷ Paul Kehr, *Le Bolle Pontificie Anteriori al 1198 che si conservano nell'Archivio di Montecassino*. Miscellanea Cassinese, 2 (Montecassino, 1899), pp.48-49. The scribe calls it the "abbatiam sanctorum Sebastiani et Zosimi, quam vulgares usitato nomine Pallariam solent nuncupare...". The monastery is described as "...monasterio sancte Marie in Palladio..." or "in Pallaria" in the chronicle of Montecassino; see *Chronica Monasterii Cassinensis*, ed. H.

and thirteenth-century scribes vacillate between calling the monastery S. Sebastiano Pallaria or S. Maria in Pallara.⁹⁸ The fourteenth-century Turin catalogue records that the church of S. Maria “in Pallaria” was no longer served by clerics.⁹⁹ The church is described as “S. Maria de Palaria” in the bull of Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) giving the church over to the canons of S. Maria Nova.¹⁰⁰ A *catasto* of 1525 detailing the possessions of the Ospedale Santissimo Salvatore at the Lateran includes the church “S. Maria della Pallara.”¹⁰¹

Two very early textual sources record the presence of a church apparently dedicated solely to Saint Sebastian on this site, one predating S. Maria in Pallara’s tenth-century foundation thus seeming to answer the question as to whether a church dedicated to the saint existed here prior to that date. The early medieval Einsiedeln pilgrim’s guide to Rome includes a church dedicated to Saint Sebastian in the vicinity of the Palatine Hill.¹⁰² The guide is a series of three catalogues of monuments found in ms.326 of the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in present-

Hoffmann, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Scriptores*, 34 (Hanover, 1980), III.36, p.413; IV.81, p.545.

⁹⁸ A privilege of Paschal II for Montecassino dating to 1105 describes it, “in Roma, monasterium Sancti Sebastiani, quod dicitur Pallaria”; see *PL* 163.145-148. A privilege of Calixtus II of 1122 states “In Roma monasterium S. Sebastiani in Palladio”; see *PL* 163.1250-1254. A privilege of Alexander III of 1159 reads similarly “in Roma monasterium S. Sebastiani in Palladio”; see *PL* 200.75-80. In his description of Old Saint Peter’s and Rome Petrus Mallius mentions the monastery, “abbatia sanctae Mariae in Pallara, ubi fuit sagittatus sanctus Sebastianus”; see “Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae,” *Codice topografico*, II, p. 439. In John the Deacon’s twelfth-century description of the Lateran, the monastery is again called S. Maria in Pallara, “sanctae Mariae in Pallara, ubi fuit sagittatus sanctus Sebastianus;” see “Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi,” *Codice topografico*, II, pp.319-373, esp.362. The monastery is described simply as “monasterio de Pallaria” and the church as “Sancta Maria de Pallaria,” by Cencius de Sabellis describing the procession of the feast of St Mark; see *Codice topografico*, II, pp.267, 274.

⁹⁹ Giorgio Falco, “Il catalogo di Torino delle chiese, degli ospedali, dei monasteri di Roma nel secolo XIV,” *Archivio della società romana di storia patria* 32 (1909), pp.411-443, esp.433. “Ecclesia Sancte Marie in Palaria non habet servitorem.”

¹⁰⁰ Archivio Segreto di S. Pietro, Reg. Vat. 211, p.195.

¹⁰¹ ASR, Archivio Ospedale SS.mo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, reg. 373.

¹⁰² Hubert, “In regione pallarie,” p.108.

day Switzerland.¹⁰³ References allow the manuscript's production to be located to the monastery of Reichenau in the first half of the ninth century, but the text is thought to originally have been composed in Rome in the late eighth century.¹⁰⁴

While the itineraries were organised with little thought for topographic organisation, a series of successive entries do pertain to monuments located around the Palatine, in which the key reference is found. The itinerary proceeds from a lost arch in the Circus Maximus to the Septizonium and from there to a lost monument located in a neighbouring field.¹⁰⁵ The itinerary continues to the church of Saint Sebastian, "ad sanctum Sebastianum," after which it traverses the Forum to the basilica of Maxentius and Constantine,¹⁰⁶ the Arch of Septimius Severus, the temple of Concord at the base of the Capitoline Hill, the Arch of Constantine and the Arch of Titus. Except for the last two arches, the monuments follow a logical progressive course. The entry for the Palatine church of S. Sebastiano records the following incomplete inscription:

O quam cito parvulis serenitas nutrimentorum / ad cruciatum vitam perducere cogitasti
[O, how quickly serenity of nourishment [verb?] to the young / you thought that torture
would lead to life].¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ The manuscript contains an epigraphy catalogue and an itinerary of Rome's classical monuments and churches, as well as a description of the city's walls among other monastic texts; see *Codice topografico*, II, pp.155-208. For a new edition with analysis, see Stefano Del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'anonimo augiense*, Miscellanea della società romana di storia patria, 48 (Rome, 2004), pp.42-48.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, pp.14-19. The monuments described in the text date to the eighth century or earlier, and there is no mention of the Leonine walls built by Pope Leo IV (847-855) in order to protect St Peter's. The text is associated with Charlemagne's travels to Rome, as the manuscript includes an epitaph for his brother-in-law Geroldo, who died in 799 and was buried at the monastery of Reichenau.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, p.44. "...in fronte pedes xxii in agro pedes xxvi in monumento...". The monument is ascribed to Marcus Camurius Publius Soranus.

¹⁰⁶ The itinerary may refer to the base of a statue of Constantine found outside the basilica; see *Codice topografico*, II, p.166, n.3.

¹⁰⁷ The same was recorded by Giovanni Battista De Rossi; see *Inscriptiones urbis romae latinae*, eds. G. Henzen, G.B. De Rossi, 17 vols. (Berlin, 1876), VI, p.12.

If the manuscript's dating is correct, then a church dedicated to Sebastian existed on the Palatine prior to the tenth century.

How early the church may have been located there is a matter of conjecture at the moment. According to Andrea Augenti, who examined the results of past archaeological investigation of the Palatine, fragments of sculpture from liturgical furnishings found in and around the church suggest an early medieval ecclesiastical presence on the site. Further, he noted that breaks in the Baroque plaster skin covering the church's exterior display tufa-block masonry underneath that is characteristic of church architecture from the eighth and ninth centuries.¹⁰⁸ During the excavations of the Palatine carried out by the École Française de Rome in the 1990s, graves were excavated in the neighbouring field known as the Vigna Barberini that were originally associated with the church, although the connection is difficult to sustain with our present state of knowledge. These simple tile-covered tombs have been dated as early as the sixth century and contain a mixed group of burials including men, women and children, so that they have been associated instead with some continued functioning of the palace complex.¹⁰⁹ However, the existence of a graveyard suggests some connection with a church. Further archaeological investigation in the direct vicinity of the church would be required to arrive at a more definite conclusion.

¹⁰⁸ Augenti, *Il Palatino nel medioevo*, pp.65-66. For the report, see Simona Pannuzi, "Rinvenimento di sculture altomedioevali sulla vigna Barberini," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 103.1 (1991), pp.109-113.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p.32; Idem, "Iacere in Palatio. Le sepolture altomedievali del Palatino," *Sepulture tra IV e VIII secolo, Atti del 7° Seminario sul tardo antico e l'alto medioevo in Italia centro settentrionale*, G.P. Brogiolo, G. Cantino Wataghin, eds. (Mantova, 1998), pp.115-121; Giorgio Rizzo, Françoise Villedieu and Micaela Vitale, "Mobilier de tombes des VIe-VIIe siècles mises au jour sur le Palatin (Rome, Vigna Barberini)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 111.1 (1999), pp.351-403. The dating is provided by objects of jewellery characterised as 'Gothic'. See also Augenti, "Iacere in Palatio. Le sepolture altomedievali del Palatino," p.115-121.

Contrary to the opinion of Guy Ferrari, the tombstone of the monk named Merco found in the neighbouring field and now hanging on the right wall of the nave by the entrance cannot shed further light on the original dedication of the church or the date of its foundation (Figure 39).¹¹⁰ The tombstone is dated by its fragmentary inscription to 977 [for the text and its translation see Appendix 1].¹¹¹ Saint Sebastian is named in the genitive case in line four, and the letters BEN following his name have led to the speculation that Saint Benedict was evoked here as well. Ferrari believed that this was evidence that the monastery was originally dedicated to both saints, but since his goal was to locate early evidence of Benedictine monasticism in Rome, his conclusions in this respect must be questioned. While the reading of Saint Benedict is possible, the names Sebastian and Benedict in the genitive case could have depended on any accusative term, whether “monasterium,” “ecclesiam” or otherwise. For example, the tombstone might have originally read: “...he took refuge in the strength of the Lord, following in the footsteps of Sebastian and likewise Benedict.” Without the other half of the tombstone, any theorising is blind speculation.

While the Einsiedeln itinerary opens new possibilities to understand the early history of the Palatine church, another travelogue brings the line of enquiry to a close. A reference to the church of Saint Sebastian on the Palatine is found in the writings of Thangmar, presbyter of Hildesheim. In 1001 Thangmar travelled to Rome with Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (d.1022) who was seeking redress from the papacy for a dispute regarding the right of office over the female monastery at Gandersheim. Thangmar included the events of that trip in his biography of Bernward, noting that the Gandersheim matter was settled at a synod organised by Pope Sylvester

¹¹⁰ Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp.215-224.

¹¹¹ According to Nicolette Gray the indiction IIII suggests it was 975 or 976; see Gray, “The paleography of Latin inscriptions,” p.145.

II (999-1003) in a church on the Palatine dedicated to Saint Sebastian.¹¹² The church is described “...in palare in aeclesia sancti Sebastiani martiris.” Pietro Fedele believed that since Thangmar was a foreigner to Rome, his report constituted less reliable evidence of the church’s dedication than Roman sources.¹¹³

However, Thangmar attended the synod in this very church and his report provides important evidence about the matter. Thangmar includes the designation “palare” for Pallara, a term that confirms that the church had undergone a re-foundation prior to the year 1000. It is only with the inclusion of Saint Zoticus in the dedication that the name also came to be applied to the church. The epithet derives from the term Palladium, an icon connected with this site in the *Historia Augusta* biography of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nicknamed Elagabalus. [This term and the significance of the *Historia Augusta* biography for the inclusion of Saint Zoticus in the church’s dedication will be discussed in Chapter 5.] Thus a review of the evidence for the dedication of the church suggests that a cult site dedicated to Saint Sebastian existed on the Palatine at least as early as the eighth or ninth century and that by the turn of the millennium it had been rededicated to Mary, Saints Zoticus and Sebastian. Whether the earlier church belonged to a monastic foundation is not known, but certainly this was the case with the tenth-century re-dedication.

¹¹² Thangmar of Hildesheim, “Vita Sancti Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis,” *PL* 140.385-436, esp. 411.

¹¹³ Fedele, “Una chiesa del Palatino,” p.367. One other tenth-century travelogue survives, but unfortunately it contains no reference to the Palatine church. Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury journeyed to Rome in 990 to collect his pallium, leaving a written itinerary of the churches he visited in his two-day tour of the city. The text is found in the British Library, Cotton Tiberius B, 23v-24r; see Veronica Ortenberg, “Archbishop Sigeric’s journey to Rome in 990,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990), pp.197-246.

4.4 Saint Sebastian in the *Acta Sebastiani*: a military saint providing a moral ideal for monks?

Benedetto Pesci believed that the *Acta Sebastiani* were written to coincide with Pope Sixtus III's foundation of a monastery at the Basilica Apostolorum, but the suggestion has never been researched as an independent subject.¹¹⁴ Certainly the *Acta* contain themes appropriate to monasticism, such as notions of chastity and humility. Chastity and soldier-like discipline are both themes that echo in the Rule of Saint Benedict, which indeed contains a reference to the *Acta Sebastiani* regarding the former.¹¹⁵ The idea that monasticism can be compared to military life is found in the prologue to the Benedictine Rule; the monastic community is compared to a tent in God's army where the monks prepare their hearts and bodies to do battle for the Lord until the hour of their death, sharing in the sufferings of Christ.¹¹⁶ Saint Sebastian is thus an appropriate choice for the dedication of a monastic church, whether or not the community followed the

¹¹⁴ Pesci, "Il culto di San Sebastiano," pp.183-184. For the foundation of Sixtus' monastery, see *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.38. "He built a monastery at the Catacombs." According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Nicholas I (858-867) renewed the shrine on the Via Appia and rebuilt and endowed its monastery; see *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), p.232. "On the Via Appia, at the cemetery of Christ's martyr St Sebastian in Catacumbas, where the apostles' bodies lay, as it had collapsed for many years, he renewed it with improved construction; he created a monastery and gathered monks from wherever he could under the rule of an abbot, and enjoined that what was needed for food be provided and that other means be supplied for them."

¹¹⁵ *RB1980: The Rule of Saint Benedict*, T. Fry ed.(Collegeville, 1981), 7.24, p.194. "Cavendum ergo ideo malum desiderium quia mors secus introitum delectationis posita est." For the corresponding passage in the *Acta Sebastiani*, see AA.SS. January, II, pp.267. "Ipse enim ita creavit hominem ut vineret: & mortem iuxta introitum delectationis posuit, ut hi queis libet a mortis timore evadere, vitam eternam querant;..." While Adalbert de Vogüé claimed that another citation could be found in the earlier monastic rule known as the "Regula Magistri", the passages which he notes can only loosely be associated with similar passages in the *Acta Sebastiani*; see *La règle du maître*, I, pp. 372-374; see also Adalbert de Vogüé, *Rule of the Master*, L. Eberle, tr. (Kalamazoo, 1977), pp.74-75.

¹¹⁶ *RB1980*, pp.156-167, especially passages 22, 40 and 50.

Benedictine Rule, the rule being neither obligatory nor exclusively followed prior to the tenth century, although widely read.¹¹⁷

Saint Sebastian's personal biographical sketch in the *Acta* is limited to a few terse details about his birth in Narbonne, his early residence in Milan and subsequent military service and death in Rome. The majority of the *Acta Sebastiani* is dedicated to examining the conversion of a number of people from the upper strata of society and their discussions of Christian spirituality. The text opens with the saint comforting two incarcerated soldiers, the fellow Christians and brothers Marcus and Marcellianus, who are distracted by the pleas of their parents, Tranquillinus and Marcia, to forget Christianity and conform. Subsequent scenes feature Saint Sebastian converting the imperial office holders Nicostratus and Claudius and their respective wives, Zoë and Symphorosa. Tranquillinus and Saint Sebastian then convert the prefect Chromatius and his son Tiburtius. The martyrdom of the converts takes place followed by the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian himself, who first undergoes sagittation, is healed and then is beaten to death. Three key moral ideals that emerge from their various discussions are chastity, purity and humility.

The notion of chastity is realised in the character of Saint Sebastian himself in chapter seven of the *Acta Sebastiani*. Saint Sebastian meets the Primiscrinus Nicostratus and his wife Zoë. The redactor relates that Zoë has been mute for six years, and so when she sees an angelic vision in the presence of the saint she is unable to remark upon it.¹¹⁸ Saint Sebastian recognises

¹¹⁷ According to Guy Ferrari, there is no evidence that the RB was consistently used in Rome prior to the tenth century; see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp.379-407.

¹¹⁸ AA.SS., January, II, p.268. "Qui Nicostratus habebat uxorem, nomine Zoen: haec ante sex annos aegritudinis nimietate facta est muta, prudentiam tamen audiendi & intelligendi non solum non amiserat, verum etiam melius quam prius habuerat, aurium officium obtinebat. Haec itaque cum intellexisset omnia, quae B. Sebastianus dixerat, & tantum lumen circa eum vidisset; cumque omnes tremefacti miraculi stupore tenerentur, innuebat manu omnibus, ut quasi exprobrandi essent, qui tam evidenti assertioni non crederent, & genibus eius advoluta rogare eum manuum indicii coepit. Sed S. Sebastianus cum videret eam cordis secreta linguae expressione declarare

her distress and asks God to return the power of speech to her just as he had opened the mouth of Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist.¹¹⁹ Zoë is healed and the first words she speaks are an approximation of the Angelic blessing of the Incarnation found in the Gospel of Luke, 1.42-45: “Blessed are you, and blessed is the speech of your mouth, and blessed are those who believe through you that Christ is the son of God.”¹²⁰ Through the Incarnation, Mary became the greatest of the servants of God, the *ancilla dei*, and the paradigm for Christian celibacy that is at the core of monastic spirituality. The comparison of Saint Sebastian with the Virgin is a clear argument for chastity.

The notion of purity is expounded in categories of cleanliness and filth found throughout the *Acta Sebastiani*. The clearest example is found in a metaphor about a gold jewelled ring explained by the figure of Tranquillinus, the father of the soldiers Marcus and Marcellianus, to the urban prefect Agrestius Chromatius. If a ring should fall into the sewer, Tranquillinus asserts that the owner’s servants would be lax in retrieving it from the filth. In contrast, the owner would shed his fine clothes, dress as a servant and descend himself into the sewer in order to retrieve the ring.¹²¹ Tranquillinus explains that the ring symbolises the human body while the jewel is the

non posse, caussas huius silentii percuntatus, didicit sermonis illi copiam nimiam vi infirmitatis ablatam.”

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p.268. “Tunc B. Sebastianus dixit: Si ego verus Christi servus sum, & si vera sunt omnia, quae ex ore meo haec mulier audivit & credivit, iubeat Dominus meus Iesus Christus, ut redeat ad eam officium linguae, & aperiat os eius qui aperuit os Zachariae Prophetae sui; & fecit crucem in os eius.”

¹²⁰ Ibidem, p.268. “Atque ad hac vocem S. Sebastiani, exclamavit mulier voce magna, dicens: Beatus es tu, & benedictus sermo oris tui & beati qui credunt per te Christum filium Dei vivi. Ego enim vidi oculis meis Angelum ad te venientem de caelo & librum ante oculos tuos tenentem, ex cuius lectione universa sermonis tui oratio decurrebat.”

¹²¹ Ibidem, p.272. “Audi similitudinem & intellige veritatem: Verbi gratia, si hodie annulum tuum habentem gemam pretiosam videas in cloaca, aut in sterquilinio volutantem & ad hunc eruendum mittas servos tuos; illi autem nec illum potuerint liberare, sed & seipsos in aliquo dum illum conantur eripere, polluerint; postea vero tu ipse, deponens has sericas quas indutus es vestes, induas te servilem tunicam & descendens in cloacam mittas manus tuas in stercoribus, &

soul. God would rejoice to gain back any single fallen human life. Christ vested himself of his heavenly majesty and took up a human servile form to descend into squalor and suffering to restore salvation to humanity.¹²²

Finally, the ideal of humility comes through in the opposition of notions of education and simplicity found in Saint Sebastian's speech of exhortation to convert Agrestius Chromatius, the urban prefect, and his son Tiburtius. Chromatius asks whether there were any Christians more learned than the rustic, simple folk he had seen who could instruct him on the meaning of being Christian.¹²³ Sebastian counters that God had formerly communed directly with tillers and shepherds, and with the end of the world approaching He did not elect grammarians and orators but fishermen and simple folk to whom to give his message for dissemination.¹²⁴ Through Chromatius's son Tiburtius, who is described as *scholasticissimo*, a very learned person, the redactor explains that to be learned is to subordinate the flesh to spiritual perfection. Tiburtius

annulum aureum simul tuis manibus repraesentes & gemmam, prae gaudio omnes amicostuos invitas ad epulas & laetaris super annulum & gemmam, quod sint de nimis squalloribus liberata.”

¹²² Ibidem, p.272. “Aurum, corpus humanum est, gemma vero anima est, quae in ipso corpore inclusa est. Corpus vero & anima unum hominem faciunt, quomodo aurum & gemma unum hominem faciunt, quomodo aurum & gemma unum annulum facere comprobantur. Sed quantumvis pretiosus tibi sit annulus, longe satis homo pretiosior est centuplum & carus Christo. Tu misisti servos tuos, ut annulum de sordibus eriperent, & nulla ratione eum eruiere potuerunt. Misit & Prophetas suos Deus de caelo loquens ad eos, ut humanum genus a sordibus huius mundi eriperet: et nulla ratione omnino hoc facere vel instatia potuerunt. Tu deposuisti aureas vestes, & servili indumento indutus descendisti in cloacam, & manu tuas misisti in sordibus, ut annulum de sordibus liberares: Exiit & se maiestas Divinitatis suae splendore, non tamen superna relinquens; & induit se servili nostri corporis indumento, & huc in cloacam huius mundi caelo descendens misit manus suas in sordibus passionum nostrarum; & passionem, quae meritis nostris debebatur, in semetipso suscipiens, gloriae nos suorum reddidit digitorum. Nam qui per incredulitatem volutabamur in squalloribus mundi, per fidem abluti a sordibus, divinis sumus manibus, ut ille tuus annulus restituti.”

¹²³ Ibidem, p.273. “Chromatius dixit: Ergo & rusticos & simplicissimos homines non videmus esse Christianos, ita ut inter mille viros vix invenias unum qui possit vel sermonum disciplinam adipisci? Numquid hi omnes ad istam inquisitionem attingere potuerunt dum fierent Christiani?”

¹²⁴ Ibidem, p.273. “S. Sebastianus ait: Hoc responsum tuum nostrae partis firmat assertionem. Nam ab origine mundi cum ruricolis & pastoribus ovium Deus habuit rationem, & iuxta finem

confronts an imposter, Torquatus, who had pretended to join the Christians in order to betray them to the authorities. Tiburtius explains that Christian is the name given to the followers of Christ, who truly study, *philosophari*, and who struggle to subordinate their desires.¹²⁵

This examination has shown that the ideals expounded in the *Acta Sebastiani* are much like those of Benedictine monasticism, although they are not unique to that Order alone. Thus a soldier-like monk must strive to imitate the chastity of Virgin Mary, keeping his soul clean, learning about spiritual perfection rather than empty secular knowledge. A monk must also be a guardian, like Saint Sebastian, ready to fortify those faltering about him. He must be prepared to leave his family behind and live with other men as a soldier must, ready to defend his religious choice against family and friends and to serve the monastic ideal unto death. As will be seen, these ideals are echoed in the lost narrative cycle of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian once found in this church.

4.5 Image and text: the lost cycle of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian

In addition to the S. Maria in Pallara apse images of Saint Sebastian, the lost paintings in the nave included a cycle dedicated to the life of the saint, which was recorded in drawings made by Antonio Eclissi prior to the church's restoration. According to Cardinal Orazio Giustiniani

mundi veniens non elegit Grammaticos & Oratores, sed piscatores & simplices, & ipsis tradidit notitiam suam."

¹²⁵ Ibidem, p.277. "Torquatus diu est quod se Christianum esse mentitur. Virtus enim nominis ipsius sancti graviter fert & moleste, suum nomen non a suis amatoribus usurpari. Revera enim, Vir illustrissime, hoc Christianum vocabulum divinae virtutis est, sectatorum videlicet Christi, qui vere philosophati sunt, qui vere Christiani dicti sunt, qui ad obterendas libidnes fortiter dimicarunt."

(d.1649), the nave walls with the narrative scenes were white washed.¹²⁶ Vitali claims to have investigated the plaster to find some trace of the paintings, but discovered none and so concluded that they were entirely destroyed since they were said to have been badly deteriorated.¹²⁷ The drawings, their only record, are found in a composite manuscript in the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 9071.¹²⁸

According to Eclissi's notes at the top of one of the drawings, the cycle dedicated to the life of Saint Sebastian was located "nella parte dell'Evangelio."¹²⁹ The "Gospel" side is the left side of a church facing the altar, the west wall in this case, if Eclissi is referring to the placement of Old and New Testament cycles at Old St Peter's that was widely copied throughout Rome and its environs.¹³⁰ Eclissi included Italian subtitles under most of the scenes and these appear to reflect his own interpretation of the images, as they are not in Latin; only two scenes in this cycle bear fragmentary Latin inscriptions and these are included within the frames. The cycle comprised at least nine scenes depicting Sebastian's ministry, martyrdom and burial, including the earliest known depiction of the saint's sagittation. Significantly, several scenes feature zig-zag hills in the background that are reminiscent of the green peaked backdrops in the paintings of the

¹²⁶ Vallicelliana H 30, 212r-244r, esp.225v. The treatise was published by Uccelli; see Uccelli, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, pp.31-53, esp.46-47. "Sed et historiam martyrii horum ssrum ego vidi depictam in parietibus dictae Ecclesiae antequam dealbaretur."

¹²⁷ Vitali, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, p.304. "Io, per mio conto, feci dei saggi nel presbiterio e in tutto il resto della Chiesa, sperando di trovare altre tracce degli affreschi, ma restai deluso; si vede bene che l'intonaco affrescato era in pieno distacco e disfacelo; perciò Urbano VIII ne ordinò la rimozione, solo ne rimasero alcune tracce ai lati dell'abside, sulla parete dietro e a fianco dell'altare."

¹²⁸ Vat. Lat. 9071, pp.240-242; see Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien*, pp.75-76, figs.538-554.

¹²⁹ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.240.

¹³⁰ Kessler, "Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum," pp.120-122.

apse and apse arch. This would perhaps suggest that the cycle was contemporary with the paintings of the apse programme.¹³¹

There are four scenes among the various narrative-cycle drawings that have been misidentified in the past; this is due to the way in which Eclissi produced his drawings. Until now these unidentified scenes depicting the martyrdom of an unknown saint have been grouped with the Saint Zoticus cycle (Figures 117, 118). The main protagonist in all these scenes is depicted with a singular physiognomy: dark hair, moustache and pointed beard with a squat, somewhat stocky body. In the scenes where Eclissi was certain he was drawing Saint Sebastian, namely the martyrdom scenes, he rendered the saint with a different and distinct physiognomy: fair, somewhat curly hair and beard with a tall and slender physique (Figures 119-121). A comparison of the iconography of the scenes of this unknown saint suggests that he, too, should be identified with Saint Sebastian.

The first scene in the Saint Sebastian cycle is one of the previously unidentified images depicting two halo-bearing male saints enclosed in a small brick building, visible through a large grille-covered window; this must be a jail (Figure 117, lower frame).¹³² The incarcerated saints are depicted with their arms crossed over their bodies in a self-conscious gesture. Three male figures stand to the left of the building, the centre one also bearing a halo, his hands crossed or tied in front. The two lateral figures wearing short tunics appear to guard the saint; the left one is beardless, the right is depicted with a beard. Eclissi included the Italian caption underneath the scene, “Santo condotto in prigione” [“Saint brought to prison”].

¹³¹ This is contrary to the recent proposal made by Julie Enckell Julliard that the Saint Sebastian cycle represents a thirteenth-century addition to the church; see Enckell Julliard, “Il Palatino e i Benedettini,” p.213.

¹³² Vat. Lat. 9071, p.248. Laura Gigli characterised them as pertaining to the Saint Zoticus cycle; see Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, p. 29.

It is possible that this scene depicts Saint Sebastian comforting the brothers, Marcus and Marcellianus, who were incarcerated for their faith, as it is reminiscent of a similar scene in a late fifteenth-century cycle dedicated to that saint in a small parish chapel in Venanson, in the region of Provence-Alpes-Côtes d’Azur, France, near the Italian border (Figure 122).¹³³ If this interpretation is correct, then the painting of the three figures to the left must have been much deteriorated, as Saint Sebastian cannot have been depicted tied or guarded. Further, the guard-like figures might possibly be identified as the family of Marcus and Marcellianus. Finally, the gesture that the two incarcerated figures make with their arms crossed in front of their bodies is questionable, as such a gesture is common to late medieval Annunciation iconography and signifies acquiescence.¹³⁴ It is more likely that the figures were posed in the *orans* position.

The second scene in the cycle is another previously unidentified image depicting eight halo-bearing male figures standing in a large building, visible through a large grill-covered window; one of the figures is depicted as an angel with wings and a ninth figure appears to sleep in the lower left hand corner of the room (Figure 118, upper frame).¹³⁵ The central figure bears the same physiognomy as that identified as Saint Sebastian in the previous scene; here he is depicted wearing a *tablion*-decorated *chlamys* and holding his hands in the *orans* position. Eclissi included the Italian caption underneath the scene, “Otto santi in prigione” [“Eight saints in prison”]. This scene may depict an early conversion scene where Saint Sebastian preaches in the jail.¹³⁶ If this reading is correct, then the sleeping figure is a guard. Both the angel and the guard would be extra-textual figures.

¹³³ For the passage, see AA.SS., January, II, pp.265-266. For the comparative image, see *Saint Sébastien: rituels et figures*, pp.118-125, esp. figs.2-3.

¹³⁴ Ann Marie Carroll, “Simone Martini’s *Holy Family*: a new interpretation,” UAAC Annual Conference, University of Victoria, British Columbia, November 10-12, 2005.

¹³⁵ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.249. Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, p.29.

¹³⁶ AA. SS., January II, pp.269-270.

The third scene in the cycle is another of the unidentified images and it depicts a confrontation between a crown-bearing authority figure and a saint (Figure 118, lower frame).¹³⁷ The authority is enthroned within a pediment-covered portal; a second figure stands behind him. Three fragmentary figures are depicted to their right, interceding with the enthroned figure, the front one perhaps bearing a scroll. A final saintly figure, only his head and halo visible, appears situated within an architectural frame at the very right of the scene. In physiognomy he is similar to the figure of Saint Sebastian as depicted in the drawings of the martyrdom scenes. Eclissi added the Italian subtitle below the image, “Presidente che interroga un santo” [“The magistrate interrogates a saint”]. Significantly the scene takes place in front of a jagged-peaked backdrop.

There are two possible identifications for this scene, which was evidently much deteriorated. It may represent the conversion of the prefect Agrestius Chromatius and his son Tiburtius. While such an interpretation ignores the crown on the authority figure’s head, it does account for the interceding figures; in the *Acta Sebastiani* Tranquillinus, the father of Marcus and Marcellianus, debates with the prefect in this conversion episode and Saint Sebastian only takes a secondary role. This identification also accounts for the figure standing behind the enthroned man, who could be viewed as Tiburtius.¹³⁸ The other possible reading of the image is to identify it as one of Saint Sebastian’s condemnation scenes, either to sagittation or beating. This would account for the crowned figure, but the only explanation for the interceding figures is to suggest that they are the soldiers who are being ordered to carry out the punishment.¹³⁹

The fourth scene in the cycle represented the sagittation of Saint Sebastian (Figure 119, upper frame).¹⁴⁰ The redactor relates that Diocletian discovered the saint’s hidden faith, asking

¹³⁷ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.249. Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, p.29.

¹³⁸ AA.SS., January II, pp.271-274.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, p.278.

¹⁴⁰ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.240.

him to answer for his betrayal of the welfare of both emperor and state. The redactor has the saint respond that he had always prayed to Christ for Rome's welfare and that praying to stones is insanity.¹⁴¹ In anger Diocletian condemns Saint Sebastian to be taken to a field to serve as a target for his fellow archers. They did so until his body was so full of arrows that he appeared like a hedgehog full of bristles.¹⁴² This episode is exactly what is pictured in this scene.

Saint Sebastian is depicted with wavy, if not curly hair, a moustache and full beard. The saint, naked except for some drapery around his hips, stands at the center of the scene, his discarded clothing lying on the ground at his feet. His hands are tied behind his back, presumably to the post against which he stands. Some thirty arrows transfix the saint's body. Despite the torture, Saint Sebastian stands calmly erect and shows no sign of pain. Four archers, strangely barefoot and wearing close-fitting costumes, flank Saint Sebastian in the process of drawing their bows. They range in age from young to middle age; the front archer at the right is depicted wearing his quiver. Jagged peaked banks form the scene's background. Underneath the image, Eclissi wrote the Italian caption, "S. Sebastiano saettato." As will be seen below, a centrally organised scene comes to be the predominant iconography in medieval images of the sagittation in Rome, a layout that has led to the claim that Saint Sebastian's sagittation invoked images of

¹⁴¹ AA.SS., p.278. "Quem Diocletianus ad se convocans, ait: Ego te inter primos palatij mei semper habui. Et tu contra salutem meam in iniuriam Deorum hactenus latuisti. S. Sebastianus dixit: Pro salute tua semper Christum colui, & pro statu Romani orbis illum, qui in caelis est, semper adoravi, considerans a lapidibus auxilium petere insani capitis esse & vani."

¹⁴² Ibidem, p.278. "Tunc iratus Diocletianus iussit eum duci in medium campum, & ligari quasi signum ad sagittam, & iussit ut sagittarij eum figerent. Tunc posuerunt eum milites in medio campo, & hiinc inde eum ita sagittis repleverunt, ut quasi hericius ita esset hirsutus ictibus sagittarum."

Christ's Crucifixion.¹⁴³ No Crucifixion image was recorded by Eclissi in his drawings of the Christological cycle, which presumably contained one.¹⁴⁴

The fifth scene in the cycle represented the healing of Saint Sebastian by the widow Irene (Figure 119, lower frame).¹⁴⁵ The redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* relates that Diocletian's guards left him for dead. Later that night a pious widow named Irene, intent on burying the body, found Saint Sebastian alive and removed him to her home where he could regain his health.¹⁴⁶ The redactor informs us that Irene was the widow of the *zetarius* or tower-guard Castulus, who a chapter earlier had been buried alive for his confession of Christianity.¹⁴⁷ It was in their home on the Palatine Hill that Saint Sebastian and their fellow Christians had met and lodged previously.¹⁴⁸ While the home is described in the *Acta Sebastiani* as being at the top of a high flight of steps, there is no indication of an exterior setting in the drawing.

The scene takes place in a simple room, unfurnished except for a chair on which the wounded Saint Sebastian sits. Arrows protrude from his body that a woman is pulling from his flesh. While the saint sits upright, his arms are raised as if in painful reaction to the woman's ministrations. The woman wears a belted, long, simple gown and a veil on her head. Underneath the image, outside the frame, Eclissi wrote the Italian caption "Hirene cava le saette dal corpo di S. Sebastiano" ["Irene withdraws the arrows from the body of Saint Sebastian"].

¹⁴³ Zupnick, "Saint Sebastian: the vicissitudes of the hero as martyr," p.245.

¹⁴⁴ A fragmentary image of the Flagellation survives in the drawings, but this does not appear to have had a centralised composition as Christ stands to the left of the pole to which he is tied; see Vat. Lat. 9071, p.236; see also Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, fig.17.

¹⁴⁵ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.240.

¹⁴⁶ AA.SS, p.286. "Aestimantes autem illum esse mortuum abierunt. Tunc relictis Martyris Castuli Zetarij, nomine Irene, abiit nocte, ut corpus eius tolleret & sepeliret. Et inveniens eum vitientem adduxit ad domum suam in scala excelsa ubi manebat ad palatium, & ibi intra paucos dies salutem integerrimam recuperavit in omnibus membris."

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem, p.277.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.276.

The sixth scene in the cycle is the last remaining unidentified image and depicts the beating of a single saint (Figure 117, upper frame).¹⁴⁹ The saint is seated on the ground, naked except for some drapery around his hips. In his hands is a stick, perhaps an arrow. Two cloaks lay on the ground on either side. Two male figures flank the saint, each holding raised clubs. Eclissi included the Italian subtitle, “Santo battuto da due” [“Saint beaten by two men”]. This scene perhaps depicts Saint Sebastian being beaten to death. The redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* relates that despite the urging of his friends to flee, the saint went back to the Palatine to give a speech on the steps of the temple of Heliogabalus, asking the emperors to cease their persecution.¹⁵⁰ Diocletian recognised the saint as the soldier that he had condemned to sagittation and ordered him to be beaten in the hippodrome of the palace.¹⁵¹ The death of Saint Sebastian is not described in any detail; the redactor states only that he died by cudgelling.

The seventh scene in the cycle of drawings depicts the disposing of Saint Sebastian’s body in the sewer (Figure 120, upper frame).¹⁵² Narrative movement progresses from left to right across the panel. At the left stands a group of spear-wielding soldiers, in front of whom are four men carrying the now-naked body of Saint Sebastian. They move him, head-first, towards a square hole in the ground. In the background are hills and buildings. Under the scene Eclissi wrote in Italian, “S. Sebastiano è portato nella cloaca” [“St Sebastian is brought to the sewer”].

¹⁴⁹ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.248.

¹⁵⁰ AA.SS., p.278. “Cumque omnes Christiani ad eum convenirent hortabantur eum abscedere. Ille autem oratione facta descendit & stans super gradus Heliogabali, venientibus Imperatoribus dixit: Iniquis supreptionibus animos Imperii vestri templorum Pontificis obsident, suggerentes de Christianis falsa commenta, dicentes eos Reipub. Esse adversarios; quorum orationibus ipsa Respublica melioratur, & crescit; qui pro Imperio vestro & pro salute Romani exercitus orare non cessant. Cum haec & talia diceret, Diocletianus ait: Tunc es Sebastianus, quem nos dudum sagittis iusseramus interfici? S. Sebastianus dixit: Ad hoc me Dominus meus Iesus Christus resuscitare dignatus est, ut conveniam & contester vos coram omni populo, iniusto iudicio persecutionem vestram in Christi famulos ebullisse.”

¹⁵¹ Ibidem, p.278. “Tunc iussit eum in hippodromo palatii duci & tam diu fustigari, quamdiu spiritum exhalaret.”

While the redactor claims that the soldiers removed the body of Saint Sebastian by night and placed it in the sewer lest the Christians find it and make a martyr of him, there is no indication that this was a night scene.¹⁵³

The final two scenes in the cycle depict different moments in the burial of Saint Sebastian (Figure 121).¹⁵⁴ In one scene two men place the body of the saint in a sarcophagus, carrying it towards the arched portal of a building, behind which is a jagged-peaked backdrop. The body, still essentially naked, is wrapped in loose cloth bands. Behind the sarcophagus from left to right are a layman, three women and two clerics. The women are veiled and each one holds a single candle. The clerics are tonsured and wear liturgical *pallia*. A partial Latin inscription is noted within the frame at the bottom of the scene: FUNERA PASSO, perhaps translated, “with his body laid out for burial.” Underneath the frame Eclissi wrote in Italian: “S. Sebastiano è posto nel sepolcro” [“St Sebastian is placed in the tomb”].

The last scene presents the transportation of the saint in his sarcophagus to his burial place (Figure 120, lower frame).¹⁵⁵ Again the scene features a jagged-peaked backdrop. Two men carry the sarcophagus. A tonsured male cleric wearing a dalmatic leads the group, his raised hand gesturing forward. His identity is defined by a vertical inscription, CAIUS PP. Significantly, the pope wears no headdress. Two veiled women holding candles follow along behind the sarcophagus. One raises a hand to her head in a gesture of mourning. Under the scene outside the frame Eclissi recorded the Italian heading, “S. Sebastiano è portato nelle catacombe nella via Appia” [“St Sebastian is brought to the catacombs on the Via Appia”].

¹⁵² Vat. Lat. 9071, p.241.

¹⁵³ AA.SS., January, II, p.278. “Tunc tulerunt corpus eius nocte, & cloacam Maximam miserunt dicente, ne forte Christiani eum sibi Martyrem faciant.”

¹⁵⁴ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.242.

¹⁵⁵ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.241.

The redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* states that Saint Sebastian appeared to a woman in her sleep, the matron Lucina, instructing her to remove his body from where it was suspended in the sewer and to bring it to the catacombs for burial in the crypt of the Apostles.¹⁵⁶ Whether the cycle once included a scene of the vision is unknown, but no trace of it survives. The redactor relates that Lucina took her servants in the middle of the night to retrieve the body. Placing it in her own bier, she had it brought to the place he had requested.¹⁵⁷ The final paragraph of Saint Sebastian's *passio* in the *Acta Sebastiani* is the subject depicted in these two scenes, except for one extra-textual detail: the addition of Pope Caius I (283-296).

Although Caius appears in the *Acta* in a minor advising role several chapters earlier, the pope was not part of the burial narrative.¹⁵⁸ The addition of a male authority figure is a significant inversion of the Early Christian female paradigm and speaks to the social concerns of the tenth and eleventh centuries. According to Kate Cooper, female characters in Early Christian literature, like Lucina, were used as rhetorical figures in the establishment and inversion of power relationships.¹⁵⁹ In the tenth and eleventh centuries renewed strictures on celibacy caused male clerics, both priests and monks who were essentially gender neutral, to redefine masculine power

¹⁵⁶ AA.SS., p.278. "Tunc B. Sebastianus apparuit in somnis S. Lucinae cuidam matronae religiosissimae dicens: In cloaca illa, quae est iuxta Circum, invenies corpus meum pendens in gompho. Hoc tu dum levaveris perduces ad catacumas & sepelies in initio cryptae iuxta vestigia Apostolorum."

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, p.278. "Tunc B. Lucina ipsa per se cum servis suis medio noctis abiit, & levans eum posuit in pavone suo, & perduxit ad locum, ubi ipse imperaverat, & cum omni diligentia sepelivit. Ipsa autem sancta Lucina per XXX. dies a loco sancto ipso non dicessit."

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, pp.275-277.

¹⁵⁹ On Lucina, see Kate Cooper, "The martyr, the matrona and the bishop: the matron Lucina and the politics of martyr cult in fifth- and sixth-century Rome," *Early medieval Europe* 8.3 (1999), pp.297-313; for a fuller treatment of the topic, see eadem, *The virgin and the bride: idealized womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1996).

roles in society.¹⁶⁰ As was seen in Chapter 3 and will also be discussed in Chapter 5, inversions are recurring themes in the paintings of S. Maria in Pallara.

This examination of Eclissi's drawings of the narrative cycle devoted to the life and martyrdom of Saint Sebastian once found in S. Maria in Pallara reveals that four of the previously unidentified scenes likely pertain to the cycle. Iconographic comparison of an unidentified incarceration scene recorded by Eclissi with a scene depicting the incarceration of Marcus and Marcellianus in the fifteenth-century chapel at Venanson reveals significant similarities. The three remaining scenes of the unidentified set all feature a male saint with the same physiognomy and are perhaps also to be identified as episodes in the *Acta Sebastiani*. Whether the Saint Sebastian cycle at S. Maria in Pallara was widely copied is unknown, but this comparison hints at the possibility that it may have been. The topic requires further investigation.¹⁶¹

This examination also suggests that the Saint Sebastian cycle was coeval with the existing apse programme, as a jagged backdrop, similar to that visible in the paintings of the apse and the apse arch, features in five out of the nine narrative scenes. Two of the scenes that do not feature the backdrop take place indoors and thus did not utilise it; these are the scenes of Saint Sebastian visiting the jail and Irene healing the saint in her home. A final two drawings without the backdrop appear to have been badly deteriorated scenes; these are the incarceration of Marcus and Marcellianus and the fatal beating of Saint Sebastian. The first of the two scenes must certainly have been deteriorated, as the iconography that it depicts, the incarceration of Marcus

¹⁶⁰ Ross Balzaretti, "Men and sex in tenth-century Italy," *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. Hadley (London, 1998), pp.143-159.

¹⁶¹ Other early cycles can be found in in the fourteenth-century Magyar Anjou legendary, in a fifteenth-century triptych by Giovanni del Biondo and in several fifteenth-century churches in the French and Italian Alps; see Ferenc Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou Legendárium: hasonmás kiadás* (Budapest, 1973), pp.84-85; *The Opera del Duomo Museum in Florence* (Florence, 2000), pp.49-51; Marie-Pierre Leandri-Morin, "Représentations Provençales et Piémontaises de la vie de Saint

and Marcellianus, includes possible errors of interpretation. Both it and the final scene in the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian are among the set of previously unidentified images that Eclissi seems not to have recognised. Problems with the state of the painting would help explain why he might have had trouble reading them.

Some comment about the choice of scenes is necessary. If indeed the first scene in the cycle was that of Saint Sebastian comforting the incarcerated Marcus and Marcellianus, then it was a complete cycle, as this is the first episode in the *Acta Sebastiani*. As noted above, the episode might be read as a message about monastic life; monks questioning their vocation may have meditated upon the image, viewing Saint Sebastian's reinforcement of the soldiers' resolve as moral encouragement. The inclusion of scenes from the ministry of Saint Sebastian is significant to the reading of the cycle as a whole, without which the saint's moral significance in a monastic context would not be readily apparent. Spiritual messages may also have been created by the use of iconographic formula. The centrally organised sagittation scene may have evoked images of Christ's Crucifixion for some audiences. Unfortunately there is no trace of an episode depicting the healing of Zoë, which might have communicated a message about chastity if it had been modeled on the iconography of the Annunciation.

Finally, if this examination of the previously unidentified scenes is correct and the cycle featured a complete representation of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, then the saint's topographic connections with the Palatine were clearly visualised, creating a real sense of place. At least three episodes of the martyrdom took place on the Palatine: Irene's healing of the saint, the confrontation with Diocletian and Saint Sebastian's death. If the monks came to identify with the saint, then such topographic specificity would create subjective connections with the

Sébastien: procédés narratifs et sources textuelles," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 109.2 (1997), pp.569-601.

monastery's site and increase the intensity of their spiritual devotions. As will be seen in Chapter 5, the Palatine topography was also used to construct messages about chastity. The most emotive image in the cycle was Saint Sebastian's sagittation. Contrary to modern interpretations of the sagittation as primarily embodying miraculous triumph over plague, there is some evidence that it, too, communicated a message about chastity.

4.6 The sagittation of Saint Sebastian: form and meaning

The martyrdom cycle of Saint Sebastian in S. Maria in Pallara is a unique survival in the history of art. No other complete early medieval cycle dedicated to Saint Sebastian's life has survived, although textual records document that others might once have existed. A number of individual scenes of the saint's sagittation can be found in the monumental art of later medieval Rome. What such images of the sagittation may have signified to medieval audiences is unclear, but an examination of the evidence for the martyr being a plague saint shows that such a reading of the iconography is tendentious, at least prior to the tenth century. If some meagre evidence begins to appear in the texts beginning in the tenth century that suggests a connection between Saint Sebastian and the plague, plague associations with the pagan god Apollo seem only to have been constructed in the late medieval or early modern period. There is consistent evidence, however, to illustrate that Saint Sebastian had long been associated with chastity, even evoking anxiety about gender.

There are several textual references that suggest that other narrative cycles dedicated to the life of Saint Sebastian were to be found around Rome in the early medieval period. A cycle may once have existed in the decorations at S. Agata dei Goti, according to descriptions of the church. In a letter written by Pope Hadrian I (772-795) to Charlemagne (774-814) regarding the second council of Nicaea and the proper use of religious images, the pope relates that Gregory the

Great not only endowed the church with relics, but he was also responsible for having narrative scenes painted on its walls, images that were observed by the author himself.¹⁶² Since he describes these as “diversis historiis,” it is likely that narrative cycles from the lives of Saints Agatha and Sebastian were included in the church’s decorations.

Other chapels or churches dedicated to Saint Sebastian or that possessed the saint’s relics may have included images from his life in their decorations. As noted above, S. Giorgio in Velabro was dedicated to both Saint Sebastian and Saint George in the seventh century and a narrative cycle must have once ornamented its walls. In the ninth century, Pope Gregory IV (827-844) renovated the porticoes of that church, decorating them with paintings. He also renovated the apse and donated a textile decorated with portraits of the saints flanking an image of Christ.¹⁶³ It is possible that the paintings in the porches or around the apse contained a cycle of the life of Saint Sebastian.

¹⁶² PL 98.1285-1287, esp.1286. “Sed et ecclesia Arianorum, cujus ipse sanctus Gregorius in Dialogis suis meminit (Lib. III, c. 30), placuit eidem sancto Gregorio ut in fide catholica, introductis illic beati Sebastiani et sanctae Agathae martyrum reliquiis, dedicari debuisset, quod et factum est. Et post miraculum quod in eadem ecclesia factum est, diversis historiis ipse beatus Gregorius pingi fecit eam; tam in musivo quam in coloribus, et venerandas imagines ibidem erexit, et a tunc usque hactenus venerantur.” For the context of the letter see Anne Freeman, *Theodulf of Orleans: Charlemagne’s spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea*, ed. P. Meyvaert (Aldershot, 2003), I, pp.8-11, VII, pp.186-187.

¹⁶³ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp.55-56. “In Christ’s martyr St George’s church the magnificent prelate provided porticoes on each side and he decorated them with various paintings for this basilica’s adornment. With the Lord’s help he embellished this deaconry’s apse from the foundations with total endeavour. When this God-beloved pontiff carefully saw that this venerable deaconry’s secretarium was decaying from its great antiquity, in his love for him and to gain the favour of others he newly set it up to better honour. There too the holy pope presented these gifts: 1 gold-interwoven cloth, and another with gold-studding, with an image of the Saviour and of the martyrs Sebastian and Gregory [sic, George]; 2 large gold-interwoven veils, 17 small ones.”

The bodies of Saint Sebastian and Gregory the Great, among others, were reputed to have been transferred to the monastery of St-Médard de Soissons by the monk Rodoinus in the 820s.¹⁶⁴ Perhaps in reaction to this threat to Rome's spiritual patrimony, Gregory IV created an oratory dedicated to that pope in Old Saint Peter's basilica, to which he translated the relics of Saint Sebastian along with those of other saints supposedly transferred to France.¹⁶⁵ The pope placed the relics in an altar and adorned it with silver images of the saint.¹⁶⁶ Petrus Mallius confirmed the existence of the oratory in the twelfth century, which was located to the south of the main portal.¹⁶⁷ The chapel's decorations may have once also included narrative scenes.

In a similar protective measure, Pope Leo IV (847-855) deposited numerous relics in the crypt of SS. Quattro Coronati when he restored that basilica, among which was the head of Saint Sebastian.¹⁶⁸ Relics of Saint Sebastian were also found in a tenth-century altar at S. Maria in Aventino that still exists in the church of S. Maria in Priorato.¹⁶⁹ The church of S. Sebastiano de

¹⁶⁴ Odilo, "Liber de translatione reliquiarum S. Sebastiani martyris et Gregorii papae in suessionense Sancti Medardi monasterium", *PL* 132.577-622.

¹⁶⁵ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp.51-52. "As he was inflamed with the fire of divine love he took the body of St Gregory, the prelate of this universal church through whom the grace of the Holy Ghost had imparted a gift of unquenchable wisdom to all the earth, from the place where it had formerly been buried, and brought it not far from there to another place newly constructed within St Peter the apostle's church, and he decorated his silver altar on all sides with silver panels, dedicated an oratory to his holy name and depicted his apse above with gilded mosaic. To this oratory he brought the bodies of the martyrs SS Sebastian, Gorgonius and Tiburtius from the cemeteries in which they previously lay and placed each of them in separate altars."

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.52. "...and on each of the altars of those martyrs [he place] 1 gold-interwoven cloth; 3 images silvered on top and swathed in gold, representing the Lord's face and pictures of those whose particular bodies interred there..."

¹⁶⁷ Petrus Mallius, "Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae," *Codice topografico*, II, p.413. Sible De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, 2 vols. (Città del Vaticano, 1994), II, pp. 574-578.

¹⁶⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp.127-128.

¹⁶⁹ Adriano Peroni, Stefano Riccioni, "The reliquary altar of S. Maria del Priorato in Rome," *Early medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp.135-150.

Via Papae was perhaps founded in the eleventh or twelfth century and was located on the current site of S. Andrea della Valle.¹⁷⁰ It is possible that these churches all contained narrative cycles dedicated to the life of Saint Sebastian, or at least representations of his sagittation.

Numerous examples of Saint Sebastian's sagittation survive in Rome. The most intriguing examples are two shallow relief sculptures found in the saint's tomb chamber in the S. Sebastiano catacomb on the Via Appia Antica (Figures 123-124). These slab-like sculptures depict the saint alone, with arms bound behind the back, arrows protruding. They are anomalies in early catacomb decoration and I have yet to comprehend what function they would have served or to find parallels for them. The bas-relief is not three-dimensional enough to be dated earlier than seventh century and they may date a good deal later than that. One of the sculptures depicts the saint with a bowed head in a somewhat emotional rendering, which leads me to suspect these may even be of late medieval date. Certainly they are not in their original context propped against the wall.

Three other painted depictions of the sagittation survive from late medieval contexts in Rome. One is found in an unidentified oratory under the Scala Santa that would have pertained to the Lateran palace originally built by Pope Zacharias I (741-752) (Figure 125).¹⁷¹ Contrary to earlier opinion that this chapel is to be identified with the one dedicated to Saint Sebastian built by Pope Theodore I (642-649),¹⁷² it has now been identified with a later reconstruction of the vestibule of the palace, its various masonry structures dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth

¹⁷⁰ Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo, cataloghi ed appvnti* (Florence, 1927), pp.460-461; Howard Hibbard, "The early history of Sant'Andrea della Valle," *Art Bulletin* 43.4 (1961), pp.289-318, esp. 292.

¹⁷¹ Giuliana Massimo, "Papa Zaccaria e i lavori di rinnovamento del Patriarchio Lateranense (741-752)," *Arte medievale* 2.1 (2003), pp.17-37, esp.24-25; *Liber pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 13 (Liverpool, 1992), p.44.

¹⁷² *Liber pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 5 (Liverpool, 1989), p.68.

centuries.¹⁷³ The oratory's wall paintings included images of standing saints, with a central Crucifixion located on the east wall that must have been the cultic focus of the space. The sagittation of Saint Sebastian is found on the narrow east wall of the recessed shoulder of the chapel. Wearing only a *perizoma*, the saint appears tied to a post at the center of the composition flanked by two diminutive archers firing arrows. The saint's arms are tied above his head, but no pain or emotion affects his upright pose. He has wavy, if not curly, silver hair, beard and moustache. An early-modern drawing of the painting indicates that an inscription identifying the saint once appeared at the bottom.¹⁷⁴

Another image of Saint Sebastian's sagittation appears in the wall paintings of the subterranean D-shaped chapel known as the Oratory of Honorius III (1216-1227) located underneath S. Sebastiano fuori le mura to the southwest of the apse (Figure 126).¹⁷⁵ Honorius is considered the patron of the paintings because of a lost inscription recording his dedication of the chapel's altar, transcribed in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶ Saint Sebastian was not the sole cultic focus of the chapel, which also commemorated the memory of Saints Peter and Paul, and thus he featured only once in the now much-deteriorated programme. The image of Saint Sebastian was

¹⁷³ Massimo, "Papa Zaccaria e i lavori di rinnovamento," pp.24-25. Jérôme Croisier believes that it is a structure mentioned in two papal bulls of Pope Honorius II (d.1130) perhaps serving some medical function; see Croisier, "Capella di San Sebastiano sotto la Scala Santa," *Riforma e tradizione*, pp.224-232.

¹⁷⁴ Osborne and Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities*, pp.84-85.

¹⁷⁵ Alessandra Acconci, "Indagini su alcuni affreschi medievali presso la catacomba di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia. Ricerche sul cosiddetto oratorio di Onorio III ad catacumbas," *Arte medievale* 12-13 (1998-1999), pp.83-108; see also Daniela Mondini, "Le 'tombe' dei martiri nelle basiliche di San Lorenzo fuori le mura e di San Sebastiano sull'Appia (secolo XIII)," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 59 (2000), pp.209-228. The chapel was originally dedicated to Saint Quirinus, whose relics were transferred to S. Maria Nova in 1140 by Pope Innocent II (1130-1143).

¹⁷⁶ The inscription was copied by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery at S. Sebastian fuori le mura, Don Sisto de Rocho and apparently transcribed by Onofrio Panvinio; see Acconci, "Indagini su alcuni affreschi medievali," p.87, n.24. "Anno ab incarnatione Domini milleximo

located on the chapel's east wall, which was divided into two horizontal registers with the Virgin and Child flanked by angels and prophets in the upper register and the Crucifixion flanked by angels and saints in the lower register; the image of Saint Sebastian was situated at the extreme left of this lower register (Figure 126). Only the saint's head, shoulders and legs were visible in early twentieth-century water-colour enhanced photos.

The saint was depicted with white hair, moustache and beard; he is half-naked with his arms crossed over his chest and he wears the *perizoma* around his hips. Ropes visible around his legs show that he was tied to a post, although the saint was depicted upright with no bodily signs of agony. Numerous white arrows protrude from the flesh of his upper body. Two diminutive archers stood to the left of Saint Sebastian, firing arrows up at him. Traces of an inscription are just visible between the saint and the archers: S. SEB... Whether two other archers originally figured to Saint Sebastian's right is unknown, as there is a good deal of plaster loss on this side, but it seems likely.

A third image of Saint Sebastian's sagittation is found on a pillar in the right-hand corner in the crypt of the Duomo at Anagni. The crypt paintings, recently studied by Martina Bagnoli, are attributed to three different workshops in the first half of the thirteenth century; the Saint Sebastian image is one of a few votive images thought to have been added to the cycle in the 1230s by the third workshop.¹⁷⁷ In the painting the saint wears only a *perizoma* and he has his hands tied behind his back to a pole. Two archers flank the saint, firing arrows at him. The following inscription is found above the image: SUSTINET AFFIXAS DOMINO SERVANTE SAGITTAS RESPICIAT MENTES MARTIR SUA FESTA DOLENTES, "The martyr bears the

ducentesimo octavo indictione sexta dicatum est hoc altare a Papa Honorio...in honorem Sancti Sebastiani Martyris, sociorumque eius."

¹⁷⁷ Martina Bagnoli, *The medieval frescoes in the crypt of the Duomo of Anagni*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1998, pp.9-17, 323-326, fig.201.

affixing arrows while serving the Lord. May the martyr look upon mourning minds on his feast day.” All three paintings – the Lateran image, that at S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura and the version in the crypt at Anagni – utilise the centrally organised sagittation iconography found at S. Maria in Pallara. The only variable in each image is the placement of the hands.

Images of sagittation can also be found in manuscript illustration, but the earliest such illustrations are not in Roman manuscripts and they are ambiguous in their identification, so it is unclear whether they depict Saint Sebastian. For example, an image of sagittation is found in the Stuttgart Psalter, a manuscript assigned to the monastery of St-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, in the 820s (Figure 127).¹⁷⁸ The image appears as an illustration for Psalm 63, where the psalmist asks for help against his enemies who fire the arrows of their words at the immaculate one.¹⁷⁹ There is no inscription, no indication that this is meant to be Saint Sebastian. Arguing against such an interpretation is the fact that the image does not make use of the Roman centralised iconography; the naked figure undergoing sagittation in the Stuttgart Psalter appears on the right side of the composition, rather than at its center. Further, one soldier pokes at the figure with a staff or lance, a detail not part of Saint Sebastian’s martyrdom. Finally, the Psalter’s illustrations generally depict Christological scenes, not saints.

Another such ambiguous image is found in the Sacramentary of Warmundus made for Bishop Warmundus of Ivrea (d.1005) (Figure 128). The image of sagittation bears no inscription and is one of three pages of illustrations pertaining to the feast of All Saints’ depicting eight anonymous martyrdoms, 110v-111v.¹⁸⁰ All other representations of martyrdom in the manuscript,

¹⁷⁸ Bernhard Bischoff, “Die Handschrift: paläographische untersuchung,” *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter, Bibl. fol. 23*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1965-1968), II, pp.15-29.

¹⁷⁹ De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter*, pp.58-59, plate 74v.

¹⁸⁰ Luigi Magnani, *Le miniature del sacramentario d’Ivrea e di altri codici warmondiani* (Città del Vaticano, 1934), pp.32-33, pls.26-28; *Sacramentario del vescovo Warmondo di Ivrea, fine*

such as those of Saints Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Andrew and Martin, are found in the margins of the text commemorating their specific feasts and are identified by inscription.¹⁸¹ Thus, despite its use of a centralised layout, it is difficult to accept that this image represents any particular saint.¹⁸² Other securely identified illustrations of the sagittation of Saint Sebastian are found in northern Gothic liturgical manuscripts, located at the beginning of specific passages commemorating the saint.¹⁸³

Manuscripts are the most likely means by which the iconography first spread outside of Rome. These would either have been illustrated legendaries or *libelli*, pamphlets of the *Acta Sebastiani*.¹⁸⁴ The earliest surviving illustrated *libellus* dates to the tenth century and features the *passiones* of Saints Kilian, Margaret and Theotimus; the manuscript has been studied by Cynthia Hahn, who characterises it as a product of a monastic context produced in an effort to propagate the saint's identity.¹⁸⁵ Many Frankish and Ottonian visitors to Rome acquired relics as souvenirs in the ninth and tenth centuries, as the monk Rodoinus acquired those of Saint Sebastian. It is known that some of these visitors also obtained liturgical manuscripts in order to insure proper

secolo X: Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms 31, Lxxxvi, L. Bettazzi, ed. (Turin, 1990). The feast of Saint Sebastian is found at f.30v.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, 90v, 98r, 111r, 114r and 116v.

¹⁸² It has recently been argued for other Warmundus manuscripts that identifications of similar ambiguous images of martyrdom are possible; see Fabrizio Crivello, "Le miniature del Benedizionale di Ivrea, una scena di martirio ed alcune osservazioni sullo scriptorium warmondiano," *Monastica et humanistica: scritti in onore di Gregorio Penco O.S.B.*, 2 vols. F. Trolese, ed. (Cesena, 2003), II, pp. 591-606.

¹⁸³ For example images of the sagittation of Saint Sebastian are found in two twelfth-century legendaries; see A. Böckler, *Das Stuttgarter passionale* (Augsburg, 1923), figs. 47-48; For an image in the 12th-century Martyriologum Zwiefaltense (Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Hist. 2° 415, 20r), see Wolfgang Kemp, *Narratives of Gothic stained glass* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 29.

¹⁸⁴ Apparently this is the format of the second earliest copy of the *Acta Sebastiani*, CLM 3514, dated to the eighth century; see Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers Latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*; Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 24-25 (Turnhout, 1977), pp.28-30.

institution of the saint's cult upon arrival home.¹⁸⁶ What the cult entailed for these foreign audiences is unknown, but it is doubtful that it had to do with repulsion of the plague.

It is popular myth that Saint Sebastian's role as a plague saint is connected with the manner of his martyrdom, sagittation. According to Millard Meiss, the saint featured rarely in plague art in fourteenth-century Florence and Siena.¹⁸⁷ The association seems to have been promoted only since the early Renaissance when Apollo's iconography was appropriated for depictions of Saint Sebastian's sagittation.¹⁸⁸ Henry Sigerist first attempted to trace the medieval sources for such an association in an article published in 1927.¹⁸⁹ According to Sigerist, who assumed an association between the plague and the plague-bringing arrows of Apollo found in Homer's *Iliad*, Saint Sebastian had been invoked in the plague of 680 since he had overcome sagittation in his *passio*.¹⁹⁰ As further proof for his theory, Sigerist pointed to S. Maria in Pallara, which he erroneously believed had been built in the eighth century on the former site of a temple dedicated to Apollo.¹⁹¹ Thus he viewed Paul the Deacon's account as contemporary corroboration for the beginning of the thaumaturgical orientation of the saint's cult. Denying that Saint

¹⁸⁵ Cynthia Hahn, *Passio Kiliani, Passio Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, Orationes: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. I 189 aus dem Besitz der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek Hannover*, 2 vols. (Graz, 1988), II, pp.3-8.

¹⁸⁶ Anne Wagner, "Collection de reliques et pouvoir épiscopal au Xe siècle: l'exemple de l'évêque Thierry Ier de Metz," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 83 (1997), pp.317-341, esp. 324.

¹⁸⁷ Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), pp.77-78.

¹⁸⁸ Giulio Bodon, "De l'Amazone blessé à Saint Sébastien," *Iconografia* 5 (2005), pp.335-361. Occasionally other classical figures were quoted in depictions of Saint Sebastian; see Luba Freedman, "Saint Sebastian in Veneto painting: the 'signals' addressed to 'learned' spectators," *Venezia Cinquecento* 8 (1998), pp.5-19.

¹⁸⁹ Henry E. Sigerist, "Sebastian-Apollo," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 19.4 (1927), pp.301-317. This error was then propagated with added error by Irving Zupnick who conflated S. Maria in Pallara with S. Sebastiano fuori le mura, the burial site of the saint; see Zupnick, "Saint Sebastian: the vicissitudes of the hero as martyr," p. 242.

¹⁹⁰ *The Iliad of Homer*, 1.61-72, Ennis Rees, tr. (Oxford, 1963; 1991), pp.4-5.

¹⁹¹ Sigerist, "Sebastian-Apollo," pp.314-315.

Sebastian was directly associated with Apollo in this early period, he claimed that the saint functioned as a stand-in for Christ in his expiation of the sins of mankind.¹⁹² Sigerist further believed that the iconography of the sagittation, in particular that found in Vat. Lat. 9071, supported this construct, with Saint Sebastian's beard and loincloth evoking the image of the crucified Christ.¹⁹³

Problematic for such an explanation is that the church was not built on the site of a temple of Apollo, but on the former site of the temple of Heliogabalus, a Syrian sun god.¹⁹⁴ That the temple of Heliogabalus features in the *Acta Sebastiani* suggests this identification was well known to the redactor and to the founders of the church.¹⁹⁵ Classical authors discussing the cults of Sol and Apollo distinguished clearly between the two distinct deities.¹⁹⁶ While a temple of Apollo existed on the south western slope of the Palatine, the god's civic identity was emphasised there rather than his healing cult, a relationship first created by Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) through his translation of the Sibylline books to that temple from the temple of Jupiter on the

¹⁹² Ibidem, p.313. Following this view, see Louise Marshall, "Reading the body of a plague saint: narrative altarpieces and devotional images of St Sebastian in Renaissance art," *Reading texts and images: essays on medieval and Renaissance art and patronage in honour of Margaret M. Manion*, Bernard J. Muir, ed. (Exeter, 2002), pp.237-272.

¹⁹³ Ibidem, p.315-316. Sigerist erroneously believed that the earliest image of Saint Sebastian's sagittation was a lost painting at S. Andrea in Catabarbara; in this he followed the comments of Detlev von Hadeln who wrongly referred to the drawing of the Lateran sagittation; see D. von Hadeln, *Die wichtigsten Darstellungsformen des H. Sebastian in der italienischen Malerei bis zum Ausgang des Quattrocento* (Strasburg, 1906), esp. pp.3, 12-14.

¹⁹⁴ Henri Broise et Yvon Thébert, "Élagabal et le complexe religieux de la Vigna Barberini: Heliogabalium in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit (*HA*, Ant. Heliog., III, 4)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome Antiquité* 111.2 (1999), pp.729-747.

¹⁹⁵ AA.SS., January, II, p.278. "Ille autem oratione facta descendit & stans super gradus Heliogabali,...". This is found in the version of the saint's *passio* contained in the earliest Roman legendary, which is housed in the Vatican Library, Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A2, 127r. It should be noted that Flodoard of Rheims does not mention the Temple of Heliogabalus in his account of Saint Sebastian's martyrdom; see Flodoard of Rheims, "De triumphis Christ," *PL* 135.595-885, esp.710.

Capitoline.¹⁹⁷ The cult of Apollo Medicus had been celebrated elsewhere in Republican Rome, at his temple in the Campus Martius, which was indeed dedicated in response to a plague epidemic.¹⁹⁸ Literate medieval audiences would have known the pagan religious topography of Rome far better than is possible today.

Further, the relationship of Apollo with the plague is more complex than Sigerist believed, as classical myth also records that Apollo was responsible for stopping the plague, having killed the great plague-causing snake Python with numerous arrows, an act that was commemorated with the institution of the Pythian Games.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, it is likely that Saint Sebastian's martyrdom in the *Acta Sebastiani* was modelled on this episode in classical literature. Kathleen Coleman has written on the nature of Roman punishment and the practice of sentencing criminals and social malefactors to act out the trials of the gods, which often proved fatal.²⁰⁰ From a classical viewpoint, Christianity and its martyrs bring on the plague, not Apollo's arrows.

It is also problematic that in the *Historia Langobardorum* Paul the Deacon makes no reference to Saint Sebastian's sagittation, nor does any other early medieval author discussing either the plague or Apollo make any reference to Saint Sebastian. For example, Paul the Deacon

¹⁹⁶ Joseph E. Fontenrose, "Apollo and Sol in the Latin poets of the first century B.C.," *Transactions and proceedings of the American Philological Association* 70 (1939), pp.439-455.

¹⁹⁷ Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, "An inspired message in the Augustan poets" *American journal of philology* 39.4 (1918), pp.341-366; John F. Miller, "Triumphus in palatio," *American journal of philology* 121.3 (2000), pp.409-422. It should be noted that the temple was decorated with terracotta reliefs including an image of Apollo with his arrows opposing Hercules dressed in the lionskin; see Eckard Lefèvre, *Das Bild-Programm des Apollo-Tempels auf dem Palatin* (Constance, 1989), fig.17.

¹⁹⁸ Roberta Capodicasa, "Apollo medico fra Grecia e Roma," *Atene e Roma* 48.1 (2003), pp.17-28. See also Sandro Stucchi, "Statua di Apollo saettante dalle rovine del tempio sosiano," *Bullettino della commissione archeologia comunale di Roma* 74 (1951-1952), pp.3-47.

¹⁹⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2 vols., G. P. Gould, ed. (Cambridge, 1984), I, 1.438-451, pp.32-35.

²⁰⁰ K. M. Coleman, "Fatal charades: roman executions staged as mythological enactments," *Journal of roman studies* 80 (1990), pp.44-73. The primary evidence for such a practice is found in the writings of the Early Christian author Tertullian (fl.ca.200); see Tertullianus, "Apologeticus adversus gentes pro christianis," 15, *PL* 1.257-535, esp.357-363.

claims that the plague in Pavia in 680 was caused by a cosmic battle between angels whose spears, not arrows, delivered the sickness wherever they landed.²⁰¹ When referring to a plague in the *Dialogues*, Gregory the Great claimed that it was administered from heaven by arrows, but Saint Sebastian played no role in the narrative.²⁰² A late medieval legend about the plague in Rome features Gregory the Great initiating a penitential procession to propitiate the heavenly powers; the pope understands that the procession has been successful when he receives a vision of Saint Michael sheathing his sword on the summit of Castel S. Angelo.²⁰³ Analogies between the cults of Apollo and the Archangel Michael have long been noted.²⁰⁴ However, the Virgin was also popularly viewed as a divine intercessor in cases of plague. The penitential procession in the plague-myth about Gregory the Great has its roots in the celebration of the feast of the Virgin's Assumption on 15 August.²⁰⁵ Indeed, the Pantheon was converted by Pope Boniface IV (608-615) during a time of plague and it, too, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²⁰⁶

Rarely did Early Christian or early medieval authors associate arrows with the plague, and when they did, they used it metaphorically rather than applying it to cases of real sickness, never referring to Saint Sebastian. For example, Ambrose of Milan could claim that the servants

²⁰¹ Paul the Deacon, "Historia langobardorum", p.166. "Tuncque visibiliter multis apparuit, quia bonus et malus angelus noctu per civitatem pergerent, et ex iussu boni angeli malus angelus, qui videbatur venabulum manu ferre, quotiens de venabulo hostium cuiuscumque domus percussisset, tot de eadem domo die sequenti homines interirent."

²⁰² Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, III, 4.37.vii, pp.128-129.

²⁰³ Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani: die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim, 1990), pp.97-98, 131-160.

²⁰⁴ G. F. Hill, "Apollo and St Michael: some analogies," *Journal of Hellenic studies* 36 (1916), pp.134-162. The similarities primarily have to do with bulls being guides to mountain-top shrines of Apollo and Michael, both associated with heaven and with healing.

²⁰⁵ Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, pp.131-160. The origins of the myth lie in book ten of Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, where Gregory the Great is said to have led a penitential procession to S. Maria Maggiore in response to a plague epidemic; see Gregory of Tours, "Historia Francorum," *PL* 71.159-571, esp.528-529.

²⁰⁶ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.62.

of the devil infected with the venom of their speech by casting the arrows of their words.²⁰⁷ Sometimes arrows were used in metaphors to describe heresy. Further, Augustine of Hippo compared heretical beliefs to the “arrows of rational thinking.”²⁰⁸ The metaphor could also be inverted. Cassiodorus claimed that the doctors of the Church aimed the “arrows of their mind” at the Arians.²⁰⁹ Authors could also invert the paradigm of Apollo and the plague-bringing arrows. For example, Paulinus of Nola characterises Christ as the new Apollo whose arrows, the Evangelists, bring honey-sweet medicine.²¹⁰ Poisonous arrows could also infect with immorality. Isidore of Seville complained that immoral teachers infect students with perverse arrows shot from the bow of their tongue.²¹¹ Thus, by the ninth century, Rabanus Maurus could create any number of typological metaphors incorporating numerous biblical references to arrows, which abound in both the Old and New Testaments.²¹² It is especially significant that authors of exegetical commentaries on the Book of Lamentations failed to refer to Saint Sebastian in reference to passage 3.12, where the protagonist complains of being made a mark for arrows.²¹³

²⁰⁷ Ambrose of Milan, “Liber de paradiso”, *PL* 14.275-314, esp.302. “Ergo multiplicia tentamenta sunt diaboli. Et ideo bilinguis serpens habetur atque lethalis, eo quod diaboli minister aliud lingua loquatur, aliud corde meditetur. Sunt et alii ministri qui et cordis et vocis suae infectas veneno veluti verborum suorum jactant sagittas, quibus Dominus ait: Generatio viperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali?”

²⁰⁸ Augustine of Hippo, “Sermo CCXCIV”, *PL* 38.1340. “Ego infirmitatem meam his verbis munio, et hac cautela circumseptus, adversus sagittas ratiocinationum tuarum muratus assisto. Sed tu, bellator, hoc est, fortis ratiocinator, huic responde, qui tibi dicit: Prorsus innocens parvulus, et immunis ab omni peccato, et proprio et originali, non solum vitam aeternam habebit, sed etiam regnum coelorum.”

²⁰⁹ Cassiodorus, “Historia ecclesiastica tripartita”, *PL* 69.1112.

²¹⁰ Paulinus of Nola, *I carmi*, ed. A. Ruggiero, 2 vols. (Naples, 1996), II, pp.434-439, lines 50-55. Kurt Smolak, “Apollo und der Pythoktonos: zu Paul. Nol., Carm. App.2,” *Acta Antiqua Hungarica* 40 (2000), pp.435-444.

²¹¹ Isidore of Seville, “Sententiarum libri tres,” *PL* 83.708. “Arcus perversus est lingua magistrorum docentium bene et viventium male. Et ideo quasi ex perverso arcu sagittam emittunt dum suam pravam vitam propriae linguae ictu confodiunt.”

²¹² Rabanus Maurus, Homilia CIII. In Nativitate Sancti Joannis Baptistae, *PL* 110.340-341.

²¹³ Paschasius Radbertus, “Lamentationes Jeremiae Libri Quinque”, *PL* 120.1059-1256, esp.1153.

The only textual evidence that the saint was associated with the plague is found in a tenth-century version of the life of Saint Sebastian. This is the metrical legendary written by Flodoard of Rheims (d.966), *De triumphis Christi*, which was composed in the 930s, perhaps even during a trip to Rome.²¹⁴ Flodoard repeatedly mentions plague, *pestis*, when the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* mentioned the word only once within a list of disasters during the debate between Tranquillinus and the prefect Agrestius Chromatius.²¹⁵ For example, while in the *Acta* the sons of the official Claudius are said to suffer from illness, Flodoard has them suffering from plague.²¹⁶ Second, according to the *Acta*, Saint Sebastian and his group of converts go out to proselytise and heal the sick; however, Flodoard claims that the group hands out cures against plague.²¹⁷ Finally, in a passage that finds no correspondence in the *Acta*, Flodoard states that Christ does not bestow the plague on his followers.²¹⁸ While this text presents the earliest true evidence hinting at a connection between Saint Sebastian and the plague, there is no indication how or even if Apollo might figure into the relationship.

Images of the sagittation of Saint Sebastian abound in the Renaissance, coloring interpretations of the early cult of the saint and creating the impression that the trial by arrows is unique to him alone. It is not such an uncommon martyrdom in the medieval martyrologies. For

²¹⁴ The text is a tripartite poem dealing with the saints of Palestine, Antioch and Italy. For the section dealing with Italy, see Flodoard of Rheims, “De triumphis Christi apud Italiam libri quatuordecim,” *PL* 135.595-885, esp.697-712 for the section paraphrasing the *Acta Sebastiani*. For the date of the text, see Peter Christian Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims: sein Leben und seine Dichtung “De triumphis Christi”* (Leiden, 1978), p.26.

²¹⁵ AA.SS., January, II, p.271.

²¹⁶ Ibidem, p.271. Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi,” *PL* 135.702. “Haec ergo Nicostratus ut fert omnia / Patrata Commentariensi Claudio, / Mox ille gnatos, peste varia languidos, / Quorum fluore venter unum turgidum, / Frequens leprosum fecit ulcus alterum, / Adducit, imo se fidem sub pectore / Tenere fassus, Christus horum gloria / Quod imminente mortis a periculo / Restituet illos sanitate reddita.”

²¹⁷ AA.SS. January, II, p.276. Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi,” *PL* 135.706. “Aegris medelas exhibebant pestium / Larvas fugando, dando caecis lumina.”

example, the eastern physician saints Cosmas and Damian are said to have undergone numerous tortures during the Diocletianic persecutions upon refusing to worship stone. After they had been stretched out on ropes and rescued from the sea by an angel, they were then placed on a pyre, crucified, hung and stoned, and finally they were shot at with arrows. When all these tortures failed to wound them they were martyred by the sword.²¹⁹ During the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41-54) a group of 260 unnamed martyrs were locked up in an amphitheatre outside the walls at the Porta Salaria and were all martyred by sagittation.²²⁰ For having given away her father's golden idols to the poor, Saint Christina of Bolsena was said to have undergone beating, lashing, was weighed down with iron, tied to the wheel, subjected to fire and submerged in the lake, from which tortures she was saved by an angel. When she refused to venerate a representation of Apollo, she was put into an oven, locked in a room with poisonous snakes and her tongue was cut out. Finally she was martyred by being pierced through with arrows.²²¹ If all the saints who suffered sagittation were associated with the plague, then a case could be made that Saint Sebastian was viewed as a plague saint by reason of his martyrdom in the early medieval period. This is not the case, and images of these other saints who suffered sagittation appear in plague art only in the Renaissance.²²² All saints are imitators of Christ and take part in

²¹⁸ Ibidem, PL 135.707. "Non hasce pestes Christus unquam colligit / Nam qualis ante vixit, ecce comprobatur / Quod acta nostra se secuturum asserit, / Praesente te mentibus approbabitur."

²¹⁹ *Le martyrologe d'Adon, ses deux familles ses trois recensions, texte et commentaire*, Jacques Dubois, ed. (Paris, 1984), pp.329-330. Their feast is September 27.

²²⁰ Ibidem, p.96. This is commemorated on March 1st.

²²¹ Ibidem, p.233. Her feast is July 24. The twelfth-century illuminated Stuttgart legendary contains an image of the sagittation of Saint Christina, see Böckler, *Das Stuttgarter passionale*, fig. 99.

²²² With its association with Apollo, the case of Saint Christina of Bolsena is most likely to provide evidence of a plague-association, but this is not the case; see Daria Mastroianni, Barbara Mazzei, "La catacomba di S. Cristina a Bolsena," *Le catacombe del Lazio: ambiente, arte e cultura delle prime comunità cristiane* (Padua, 2006), pp.37-50. For images of Saint Christina in plague art, see Gauvin Bailey, "Anthony Van Dyck, the Cult of Saint Rosalie, and the 1624 Plague in Palermo," *Hope & Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, 1500-1800* (Chicago,

his healing ministry. As noted above, the image of the Saint Sebastian's sagittation does little to invoke figuratively the trials of Christ.

Further, the existence of early medieval accounts of real political execution by sagittation mitigates any specific meaning for the mode of death. For, example in Theophanes's (ca.800) *Chronographia*, the Emperor Phocas (602-610) ordered a scribe named Macrobius to die by sagittation.²²³ Abbo of Fleury (d.1004) actually refers to Saint Sebastian in his life of the Anglo-Saxon king of East Anglia, Saint Edmund (840-869); the reference is found in the description of the king's death, which entailed sagittation and beheading.²²⁴ In his introduction Abbo claims that the narrative was related to him by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury. A monumental depiction of Saint Sebastian's sagittation is thought to have existed once among the twelfth-century capitals of the crypt of St Denis illustrating the life of St Edmund, but the particular capital is now known only through nineteenth-century drawings.²²⁵ That sagittation continued to be used in warfare undermines the notion that it had a single specific meaning. While it is possible that the experience of a saint's cult may have differed greatly from its literary record, the evidence seems to suggest that any association between Saint Sebastian, Apollo and the plague is very late in date, taking place at least when the relationship between Christianity and Classical paganism had begun to change.²²⁶

2005), pp.118-136, esp.122-123, fig.40. For an image with Saints Cosmas and Damian, see R. Crawford, *Plague and pestilence in literature and art* (Oxford, 1914), pl.9.

²²³ *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vols., Carolus de Boor, ed. (Hildesheim, 1963), I, p.297.

²²⁴ *Three lives of English saints*, Michael Winterbottom, ed.; Toronto Medieval Latin texts, 4 (Toronto, 1972), pp.67-87, esp. 78-79.

²²⁵ Pamela Z. Blum, "The Saint Edmund Cycle in the crypt at Saint-Denis," *Bury St Edmunds: medieval art, architecture and economy*, ed. A. Gransden (Leeds, 1998), pp.57-68, esp. 63 and plate XXId. The drawing was made by Albert Lenoire and it is the reverse of the scene depicting the martyrdom of St Edmund. It would be interesting to know how the drawings were made.

²²⁶ Saint Roch is another plague-saint whose popularity rivals that of Saint Sebastian in the fifteenth century. Born in Montpellier, he travelled as a pilgrim to Italy where he was moved by the suffering of plague-sufferers and, tending to them, he caught the disease himself; see Louise

However, that does not mean that Apollo is insignificant to the construction of Saint Sebastian's identity in the early Middle Ages. There is evidence to suggest that the primary significance of Saint Sebastian's cult was chastity and that it inspired gender anxiety. This may have been due to the literary conflation of Apollo and Saint Sebastian, but the conflation is not focused on Apollo's thaumaturgical significance. It has more to do with the sexual content of the myths surrounding Apollo, and specifically the story of his love for the Trojan boy-prince Hyacinth.

The earliest independent evidence for the association of Saint Sebastian with sexual mores is found in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. Gregory tells the story of a woman who, overcome by carnal desire, was unable to refrain from having sex with her husband the night before the dedication of a church to Saint Sebastian. Although frightened by the sin's consequence, she was more embarrassed of censure to admit it and abstain from the procession. When the woman entered the church of Saint Sebastian she was seized by an evil spirit. In reaction to her vexation, the priest wrapped her in the altar cloth, a sort of contact relic in its proximity to any relics of the saint housed in the altar, and he removed her from the church. The devilish torment continued and she was handed over to magicians, who were able to remove one demon, but immediately it was replaced by an army of evil spirits. She was finally brought to the local bishop, who observed that an army was battling within her and by his prayer she was healed.²²⁷ It is perhaps significant that the church of Saint Sebastian is the location for a moral about sexual abstinence. While the cloth touching Saint Sebastian's altar does not heal her, it at least contains the demon. As noted above, the most telling indicator that Saint Sebastian

Marshall, "Manipulating the sacred: image and plague in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47.3 (1994), pp. 485-532, esp.502-503. The saint's life seems to have been modelled on that of Saint Alexis, whose cult was popular in tenth- and eleventh-century Rome for his chastity.

embodied a message about chastity is found in the *Acta Sebastiani*, whose redactor equates Saint Sebastian with the Virgin Mary in his use of the angelic salutation for Zoë's words of greeting.

The evidence that Saint Sebastian caused some anxiety about gender is found in the miracle stories appended to the account of the translation of his relics to the monastery of Saint Médard at Soissons. The account was written by an otherwise unknown monk named Odilo.²²⁸ He complains that jealousy always accompanies anything good, recounting the story of a bitter priest named Ostroldus who was resentful of the presence of the relics of Saint Sebastian at the monastery and the attention they received, both votive and financial. Ostroldus is said to have preached to his congregation that the saint had enough veneration in Rome at the "venerabile Dei Genitricis templum" and that it was wrong that he should seek more elsewhere. Presumably this temple is S. Maria in Pallara.²²⁹ That night, asleep in his bed, the priest Ostroldus is visited by a vision of Saint Sebastian who is described as an "*ephebus* presenting the elegant form of Lord Sebastian." The saint, flanked by two bishop saints, is said to be dressed in a chlamys and holding a golden rod, with which he literally knocks some sense into the priest, requiring him to do public penance for his disrespect.²³⁰ While classical Latin dictionaries report that *ephebus* can be translated as "youth," Medieval Latin lexicons report that an *ephebia* is a "boys' brothel."²³¹

²²⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, II, 1.10.2-5, pp.94-97.

²²⁸ Odilo, "Liber de translatione reliquiarum S. Sebastiani martyris et Gregorii papae in suessionense Sancti Medardi monasterium", *PL* 132.577-622

²²⁹ Ibidem, *PL* 132.605. "Quid, inquiens, Suessionis pervagando quaeritis, quasi Sebastianum martyrem illic reperturi? Noveritis sane quia Romae dudum post sui delibationem sepultus, hactenus ibi jacet a nemine motus. Habetis hic venerabile Dei Genitricis templum, hoc frequentate, in eo vota vestra vovete et reddite. Non opus est vobis aliorum vagari, et externa auxilia expetere."

²³⁰ Ibidem, *PL* 132.605-606. "...ecce vir quidam ephebus eurythmiam domni Sebastiani praetendens, ante stratum eius constitit duobus secum dextra laevaue assistantibus, similque fulgore rutilantibus, infulis tamen pontificalibus redimitis. Ipse vero militari chlamyde amiciebatur, virgam auream manu ferens."

²³¹ *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, J. F. Niermeyer, ed. (Leiden, 1976), p.366.

Further research into the miracle accounts of this text is necessary to determine exactly what its author's viewpoint was.

There is no textual evidence to suggest that Saint Sebastian was the focus of homoerotic desire in the Middle Ages.²³² While one might accept that Saint Sebastian is described innocently as an elegant boy and that the description holds no sexual connotation, it is more difficult to reconcile this description with the iconographic tradition of the saint as an aged soldier. Further, the word *ephebus* is reminiscent of descriptions of the god Apollo in medieval encyclopaedic works. For example, Rabanus Maurus claims that the Greek name Phoebus for the sun god Apollo derives etymologically from *ephebus* and that he is commonly depicted as a boy, because every day the sun rises and is born anew.²³³

It is possible that Zoë's greeting to Saint Sebastian in the *Acta Sebastiani* using the biblical salutation given to the Virgin Mary caused gender anxiety, but I believe the author of the miracle is responding to a more complex message. A philological connection between Saint Sebastian and Apollo exists in the *Acta Sebastiani*. This is found in the episode of the conversion of Zoë, who sees the saint in a heavenly vision. The vision is related at the beginning of the chapter, isolated, before the episode even takes place. The saint is bathed in light and is dressed in white garments by seven angels. A youth appears next to him, saying: "You will always be with me."²³⁴ Presumably this is meant to be Christ.

²³² Expressions of same-sex desire are found in medieval letters and poems, messages that are oftentimes structured using classical allusions to Jupiter and Ganymede or occasionally Apollo and Hyacinth. Saint Sebastian does not appear among such texts; see *Medieval latin poems of love and friendship*, Thomas Stehling, tr. (New York, 1984).

²³³ Rabanus Maurus, "De universo libri viginti duo, PL 111.430. "Apollinem quamvis divinatorem et medicum appellant, ipsi tamen etiam solem dixerunt, quasi solum, ipsum Titan, quasi unum ex Titanis, qui adversum Jovem non fecit: ipsum Phoebum, quasi ephebum, hoc est, adolescentem, unde et sol puer pingitur, eo quod quotidie oriatur et nova luce nascatur."

²³⁴ AA.SS., January II, p.268. "Igitur cum haec Beatissimus Sebastianus, indutus chlamyde, succinctus baltheo, ex suo ore proferret, subito per unam fere horam splendore nimio de caelo

It cannot be coincidence that the same words are found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the myth about Apollo and Hyacinth. The account follows a reference to the myth of Jupiter and Ganymede. Hyacinth and Apollo compete on the playing field and the god sends the discus flying with such force that it kills the boy. In his grief, the healing god proclaims his love and tries to revive his friend without success. To commemorate his love, Apollo creates a flower from Hyacinth's blood and promises to sing of him always, claiming: "You will always be with me and dwell on my mindful lips."²³⁵ Thus, Saint Sebastian is not portrayed in text and image in the guise of Apollo, but as an inversion of what Apollo stands for sexually, a model of same-sex love. The arrows piercing the saint's skin are symbols of sexual penetration, or rather the infection of sexual mores considered unacceptable.²³⁶ As was seen in Chapter 3, other paintings in this church communicate a message of inversion. As will be seen in Chapter 5, the theme of inversion exists throughout every aspect of the decorations of S. Maria in Pallara.

This message against same-sex love is communicated, but it is not offered without hope of penitence and reconciliation. The text "You will always be with me" is reminiscent of a passage in the Gospel of Luke. It is found in the passage describing Christ's death, 23.39-43. Two thieves are crucified with Christ and while one mocks him daring him to save himself, the other begs for mercy, believing he is the Son of God. Before surrendering his spirit, Christ turns to the good thief and says, "Today you will be with me in paradise."

veniente illuminatus est, & sub ipso splendore candidissimo pallio amictus est ab Angelis septem clarissimis & iuvenis apparuit iuxta eum dans ei pacem, & dicens: Tu semper mecum eris."

²³⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 10.173-219, pp.76-79.

²³⁶ Apparently the largest category of Latin sexual euphemisms for male genitalia is weaponry; see J. N. Adams, *The Latin sexual vocabulary* (London, 1982), pp.14-24.

4.7 Conclusion

This examination of Saint Sebastian's visual profile has shown that he was regularly depicted in monumental art from the late fifth to the tenth century and beyond. While the earliest portraits presented the saint as a generic martyr, there was a change in his iconography in the seventh century and thereafter he was consistently portrayed as a military saint. Votive images of the mature soldier saint dating to the eighth and ninth centuries appear at S. Saba, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria Antiqua and S. Maria in Cosmedin and others no doubt existed, as textual references attest. This change in the saint's iconography coincides with the appearance and diffusion of the *Acta Sebastiani* where he is portrayed as a military saint, a fatherly figure, a defender of the Christian faith and model of chastity. Perhaps the earliest surviving copy of the *Acta Sebastiani* is a palimpsest precisely because of substantial revisions to the text in this period. These same values are espoused in the Rule of Saint Benedict, which indeed contains a citation from the *Acta Sebastiani*. Saint Sebastian is an appropriate saint for the monastic church of S. Maria in Pallara, where he was consistently depicted dressed in his military chlamys.

This examination of the textual evidence for S. Maria in Pallara has revealed new information about the history of the church. The Einseideln pilgrim's guide provides evidence that a church dedicated to Saint Sebastian existed on the Palatine at some point in the early Middle Ages, a presence which has been confirmed recently by archaeological finds. An examination of the textual evidence for the church's dedication confirms that it was rededicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Zoticus and Sebastian, a *terminus ante quem* for which is provided by the biography of Bernward of Hildesheim, where it is referred to by the term "Pallara," a name that is connected with the history of the site.

An examination of the early modern drawings of the narrative cycle dedicated to Saint Sebastian in S. Maria in Pallara found in Vat. Lat. 9071 reveals that the paintings also featured

scenes from the saint's ministry, suggesting that they communicated the monastic values found in the *Acta Sebastiani*. The drawings preserve the earliest certain depiction of the sagittation, an iconography which features a central composition found in Roman art until the thirteenth century. While the sagittation has definite associations with the myth of the pagan healing-god Apollo, an examination of the textual evidence for the cult of Saint Sebastian demonstrates that the association had little to do with the god's thaumaturgical aspects. Only in the tenth century is there some hint that Saint Sebastian was associated with plague. Thus, Saint Sebastian's sagittation did not present him in the guise of Apollo, as Renaissance representations eventually would, but as the Python that was killed by Apollo. Textual evidence suggests that the association with Apollo had to do with same-sex love, an example that is subverted by Saint Sebastian as constructed in the *Acta Sebastiani*. Saint Sebastian does not overcome the arrows of plague, but the arrows of "wrong thinking" from the Christian perspective that might try to sanction same-sex desires through pagan example.

Chapter 5

“A picture relates history, a history that is translated from books, illustrating the true faith of times long ago”: image and text in the dossier of Saint Zoticus

Despite knowing little about the saint, the nineteenth-century Abbot Pietro Antonio Uccelli used these words to describe the cycle of paintings dedicated to Saint Zoticus that once decorated S. Maria in Pallara's nave.¹ Then as now, the paintings were only accessible by means of early modern drawings. The *Acta Sanctorum* provided Uccelli with meagre information about Saint Zoticus, the Bollandists having devoted less than a page to the topic, noting only that the surviving acts of that saint were confused with those of another.² Unable to locate any manuscripts containing the authentic acts of Saint Zoticus, Uccelli concluded that the cycle was of great historical value for recording what no texts did.³ Hagiographers have recently identified a number of textual sources for the dossier of Saint Zoticus, acknowledging that he is a composite figure formed by the conflation of two saints. However, the paintings remain the most important source of information, as shown by an examination of S. Maria in Pallara's topographic history. Thematic connections between Saint Zoticus and historical figures associated with the church's topography create a moral gloss on history regarding gender and chastity that is the saint's *raison d'être*. Without the physical presence of the church on this very site with its narrative cycle, there

¹ Prudentius, *Liber peristephanon*, Hymn 9.17-20, ed. M. Lavarenne, 4 vols. (Paris, 1951), I, pp.112-115, esp.112. “Aedituus consultus ait: Quod prospicis, hospes, / non est inanis aut anilis fabula; / historiam pictura refert, quae tradita libris / veram vetusti temporis monastat fidem.” The author visits the grave of Saint Cassian of Imola and views an image of the saint's martyrdom. The guardian of the site explains the image, making the remark which is quoted here.

² AA.SS. February, II, p.380. “Ambigere quis possit, an illud de loco martyrii non sit ex illius Zotici, sive Getulii Actis ad hunc translatus, praesertim cum utrique Amantius socius victoriae fuerit. Qui porro sequuntur decem Milites ibidem martyrii palmam adepti, horum an socii fuerint incertum.”

would be no Saint Zoticus. This chapter examines the cycle, analysing its narrative with the help of textual sources in order to assess how the gloss functioned and how S. Maria in Pallara's dedication and decorations contributed to the message.

5.1 Liturgical memory: the composite nature of the figure of Saint Zoticus

In addition to the images of Saint Zoticus in the apse and on the apse arch, a cycle of paintings dedicated to the saint once decorated the nave.⁴ Two liturgical profiles were fused to form the identity of the cycle's Saint Zoticus: an Early Christian martyr named Zoticus and a saint named Getulius. This conflation was noted and commented upon as early as 1586 by Cardinal Cesare Baronio (d.1607) in the first edition of the Roman Martyrology.⁵ The conflation was first the topic of extended treatment in 1588 by the otherwise unknown Jesuit author Fulvio Cardulo.⁶ The cycle itself is the earliest evidence for the saint's identity, providing clues to his composite nature, the most significant being the cycle's inclusion of Saint Amantius, who is identified by inscription in one of the scenes. Before discussing the cycle itself, it is worthwhile to

³ Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano Martire*, pp.15-16.

⁴ For discussions of the cycle, see George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art. Iconography of the saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence, 1965), pp.1162-1163; Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, pp.23-29. As noted in Chapter 4, Gigli included two scenes from the life of Saint Sebastian in her analysis of the scenes of the Saint Zoticus cycle, an error probably caused by the manner in which the drawings were pasted into Vat. Lat. 9071.

⁵ *Martyrologium romanum: ad novam Kalendarii rationem & ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum*, Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu editum; accesserunt notationes atque tractatio de *Martyrologio romano* (Venice, 1611), pp.33-34, 101-102, 322-323.

⁶ Fulvio Cardulo, *Passio sanctorum martyrum, Getulij, Amantij, Cerealis, Primitivi, Symphorosae ac Septem filiorum* (Rome, 1588). A slightly later Jesuit treatise on the topic uses the hyphenated name Saint Getulius-Zoticus to refer to the saint; see Giuseppe Rocco Volpi, *Vita di S. Sinforosa vedova, e martire, e de' santi Getulio-Zotico dilei consorte, Crescenzo, Giuliano, Nemesio, Primitivo, Giustino, Statteo, ed Eugenio loro figliuoli martiri, Cittadini, e protettori della Città di Tivoli insieme col martirio de' santi Amanzio, Cereale, e Primitivo compagni di S. Getulio, coll'aggiunta delle varie traslazioni delle loro Sante Reliquie* (Roma, 1730).

examine the liturgical and archaeological composite parts that make up the figurative whole that is Saint Zoticus.

There are two different bodies of textual evidence documenting the identity of the Early Christian martyr named Zoticus, whose companions were Ireneus, Iacintus and sometimes Amantius; one is composed of martyrologies, the other sacramentaries. The earliest surviving martyrology is the Hieronymian, the oldest surviving witnesses of which are Frankish copies dating to the eighth and ninth centuries.⁷ Putatively authored by Saint Jerome, the Hieronymian is thought to have been compiled in the region of Aquileia in the fifth century, although alternative origin theories exist.⁸ It should be noted that any conception of the Hieronymian as a standard text is a mistake deriving from the notion of having an early modern edition, as there is great variability across manuscript witnesses. For example, there is a feast on 10 February for either Saints Zoticus and Ireneus, or Saints Zoticus and Amantius buried on the Via Labicana.⁹ All three saints, Zoticus, Ireneus and Amantius, are never mentioned together and Saint Iacintus does not even feature here. Garbled entries hint at a textual conjunction. For example, the Berne codex, Burgerbibliothek ms.289, has commemorations on 10 February for Saint Zoticus on the Via Appia, and for a female Saint “Hierene” on the Via Labicana. A commemoration for the martyr

⁷ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, eds. G. B. De Rossi, L. Duchesne; AA.SS. November, II.1 (Brussels, 1894).

⁸ An argument has been made for a sixth- or seventh-century date of composition; see Felice Lifshitz, *The name of the saint: the martyrology of Jerome and access to the sacred in Francia*, 627-827 (Notre Dame, 2006), esp. 13-29.

⁹ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, pp.19. The eighth-century Echternach manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 10837, contains the notice mentioning Saints Zoticus and Amantius on the Via Labicana: “Rom[ae] n[a]t[alis] soteris et via lavican[a] zotici et amanti alaxan[dria?] pas[sione?] appollonis, prothei, orionis, plausi et alior[um] xx hiereneae in terracina n[a]t[alia] silvani...”.

Amantius follows with no geographical designation, which is probably a later entry in the manuscript.¹⁰

Variability in the commemoration is also found in the early medieval martyrologies, which are to some degree derivatives of the Hieronymian.¹¹ For example, a tenth-century Bedan martyrology in the Vatican, Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro H58, contains a commemoration on 10 February for Saints Zoticus, Ireneus, Iacinthus and Amantius at Rome.¹² Rabanus Maurus's martyrology, thought to date to the 840s, includes the same commemoration with no specific geographical designation.¹³ The martyrology of Usuard of St-Germain-des-Prés (d.877), composed in the 860s, provides a feast for Saint Zoticus and his three companions on 10 February, as well as one for ten unnamed soldiers on the Via Labicana on that same day.¹⁴ Ado of Vienne (d.875), whose martyrology underwent a final recension just after his death, includes the same entries as Usuard.¹⁵ None of these martyrologies were produced in Rome and there is no

¹⁰ Ibidem, p.19. "Via Appia Zotici. Via Lavicana miliario X hierene...sanctonis civitat[is] depos[itio] Sci Troiani epi et conf Amanti martyris".

¹¹ For the relationship between the versions, see Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du Moyen Âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris, 1908; 1969), passim.

¹² Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro H58, 61v. "Rom. Sci. Zotici, Herenei, Iacinti et Amantii...". There is no consensus in the original composition of Bede's (d.735) martyrology, and Saints Zoticus and his companions do not feature on the core list currently thought to represent the original; see Felice Lifshitz, "Bede, martyrologium," *Medieval hagiography: an anthology*, T. Head, ed. (New York, 2000), pp.169-197, esp.174-188. The list seems arbitrarily brief to me for an author who is credited with having expanded the martyrology.

¹³ Rabanus Maurus, *Martrologium*, J. Mc Culloh, ed. Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis, 44 (Turnhout, 1979), p.21 "Romae, Zotici, Herenei, Iacinthi et Amantii."

¹⁴ *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, ed. J. Dubois (Brussels, 1965), pp.159, 177-178. "Romae, natalis sanctorum martyrum Zotici, Hirene, Iacincti et Amantii...Item Romae via Lavicana, militem decem."

¹⁵ *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, p. 83. "Romae, natale sanctorum martyrum Zotici, Irenaei, Hyacinthi et Amantii...Item Romae, via Lavicana, decem militum."

single surviving martyrology tradition that is unique to Rome; those purporting to be so are all early modern compilations.¹⁶

The other early medieval liturgical tradition documenting the historical figure of the Early Christian martyr named Zoticus records a slightly altered group of saints, excluding Saint Amantius. Prayers for a commemorative mass for Saints Zoticus, Ireneus, and Iacinctus appear in copies of the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary and later Carolingian Sacramentaries on 10 February.¹⁷ The Gelasian is thought to have been compiled in Rome in the late seventh century and was used as an exemplar in the creation of the Frankish liturgy, thus its survival only in eighth- and ninth-century Frankish manuscripts.¹⁸ A *terminus post quem* for this tradition is provided by the Gregorian sacramentary, which again survives only in Frankish copies, and is thought to date to the early seventh century, as the commemoration does not appear in that version.¹⁹

There is some evidence for the cult of Saint Zoticus in Rome, at least regarding the location of the site of his burial. The *Liber pontificalis* records that in the early ninth century Pope Leo III (d.817) restored the cemetery of Saint “Iutici,” presumably Saint Zoticus, on the Via

¹⁶ This is true of the so-called Parvum Romanum; see Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p.411. The Martyrologium Romanum compiled by Cesare Baronius and first published in 1583 is also a synthetic creation; see B. De Gaiffier, “Le martyrologe de Saint-Cyriaque: son influence sur le martyrologe Romain,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 61 (1943), pp.72-90.

¹⁷ *Liber sacramentorum gellonensis*, J. Deshusses, ed. Corpus Christianorum, 159A (Turnhout, 1981), p.27; *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier (Autun 19 bis)*, ed. J. Décréaux, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1985), II, p.744 (note that this ms celebrates the martyrs on 12 February); *The sacramentary of Echternach* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 9433), ed. Y. Hen (London, 1997), p.58. For some discussion of the age of the feast see P. Jounel, “Le sanctoral du sacramentaire de la collection Phillipps,” *Rituels: mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P.*, ed. P. de Clerck, E. Palazzo (Paris, 1998), pp.347-356.

¹⁸ The dating of the Gelasian sacramentary depends on the dating of certain feasts associated with Pope Sergius I (d.701). Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval liturgy: an introduction to the sources* (Portland, 1986), pp.64-78; Y. Hen, *The royal patronage of liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), pp.57-61.

Labicana, but unfortunately none of the saint's companions are noted.²⁰ The catacomb has been identified, and is located to the southeast of Rome, near Frascati along the ancient Via Labicana. A thorough discussion of the catacomb was first published by Enrico Stevenson, who assumed that the large central chamber was the saints' burial place, but the identification was not supported by inscriptions, a circumstance that the author blamed on loss and vandalism.²¹ Traces of an altar and possibly a ciborium were found in the central chamber and a fragmentary arcosolium painting of four male figures with scrolls and *capsae* at their feet was found in a contiguous chamber, figures which Stevenson associated with the saints although the evidence was inconclusive.²² A recent archaeological campaign failed to find any further inscriptions or paintings to corroborate the identification of the tomb.²³ From the ninth to the twelfth century the catacomb may have been in the possession of a nearby monastery, at which point it was assigned to the care of the Abbey of Grottaferrata.²⁴

Other epigraphic evidence for the cult of Saint Zoticus in Rome is problematic. The Jesuit priest Fulvio Cardulo published a study of the cult of Saint Zoticus, a.k.a. Saint Getulius, in 1588, claiming that in 1562 an inscribed lead plaque had been discovered in the Roman church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, to which site he believed a pope named Stephen had translated the saint's

¹⁹ Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp.79-93; Hen, *The royal patronage of liturgy*, pp.74-81.

²⁰ *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), II, pp.2, 34 note 11; *Liber pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 13 (Liverpool, 1992), p.181.

²¹ Enrico Stevenson, *Il cimitero di Zotico al decimo miglio della via Labicana* (Modena, 1876), esp. pp.6-14, 29-35.

²² *Ibidem*, pp.8, 33-34, 42-44. A fragmentary inscription was reported, including the letters MA.

²³ V. Cipollone, V. Fiocchi Nicolai, A. M. Nieddu, L. Spera, "Catacombe di San Zotico. Indagini 1998-1999," *Archeologia e giubileo: gli interventi a Roma e nel Lazio nel piano per il Grande Giubileo del 2000* (Naples, 2001), pp.270-273.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.270. For a discussion of the chamber in context, see V. Fiocchi Nicolai, "Riflessi topografici e monumentali del culto dei martiri nei santuari paleocristiani del territorio laziale," *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective. Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven, 1995), pp.197-232.

relics.²⁵ The occasion for the publication was the translation of some of these relics to a Jesuit church in Tivoli. Stevenson could find no trace of the lead plaque, which he claimed must date later than the ninth century on account of its lead composition which he believed was not commonly used in the early Middle Ages. He further confirmed that Saint Zoticus's relics were not among those listed in the inscription at S. Angelo in Pescheria, which still survives documenting the church's relics and consecration during the reign of Pope Stephen II (d.757).²⁶

Also problematic is an inscription purportedly erected by Pope Paschal I at S. Prassede that includes Saints Zoticus, Ireneus, Iacintus and Amantius among those relics the pope translated from the catacombs to that basilica.²⁷ The inscription, which uses a high-quality script that is uniform and regular with no abbreviations, is found on the first pier of the nave in the right aisle. Ursula Nilgen has argued that the lower portion of the inscription is a later reworking, on account of both the physical evidence and the historical context.²⁸ While there is a break line and different coloration in the marble after line 37 as she argued, the script in both sections is uniform and a web of cracks runs through both segments across the break line, physical characteristics that argue against her thesis. If the inscription is a forgery, then it is in its entirety.

This is the dossier for the Early Christian martyr named Zoticus. The martyrologies indicate that he was buried on the Via Labicana, a fact that appears to be corroborated by the

²⁵ Cardulo, *Passio sanctorum martyrum*, pp.15-16. "...qua quidem lectionem confirmat plumbea lamina in templo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ad forum picarium, anno humanae salutis MDLXII Pio IV Pont. Max. cum sacris reliquijs SS. Symphorosa & filiorum reperta, atque hoc epitaphio inscripta, Hic requiescunt corpora sanctorum Mar. Symphorosae & viri sui Zotici, & filiorum eius a Stephano Papa translata."

²⁶ Stevenson, *Il cimitero*, pp.66-67. For a lack of evidence for this plaque or an inscription in that church, see also Krautheimer, et al. *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, pp.64-74.

²⁷ Caroline Goodson, "The relic translations of Paschal I (817–824): transforming city and cult," *Roman bodies. Antiquity to the eighteenth century*, A. Hopkins, M. Wilke, eds. (Rome, 2005), pp.123-141.

Liber Pontificalis entry in the biography of Pope Leo III. Neither the early martyrologies nor the sacramentaries provide information about when Saint Zoticus lived or how he died. That the late-seventh-century Gelasian sacramentary records the commemoration indicates that the cult of Saints Zoticus, Ireneus and Iacinctus achieved some degree of importance in late sixth- early seventh-century Rome, knowledge of which travelled beyond that city. The sacramentaries, which seem to date earlier than the martyrologies, also provide evidence that Saint Amantius was not original to this cult, but an addition perhaps caused by a textual conjunction that occurred in some recension of the Hieronymian. The earliest textual sources to include Saint Amantius are ninth-century copies of the Bedan martyrology or that of Rabanus Maurus dated to the 840s.

A saint named Amantius also belongs to another group of martyrs: Saints Getulius, Amantius and Cerealis were commemorated in martyrologies on 10 June from the ninth century onward, and it is the life of Saint Getulius that becomes conflated with that of Saint Zoticus. In contrast to the case for Saint Zoticus, the martyrology entries for Saint Getulius and his companions do provide an account of their martyrdom. This may reflect a late composition date for the *passio*, as conciliar legislation for monasteries from the mid-eighth century onwards encouraged the daily reading of martyrologies during chapter after the celebration of the Divine Office at Prime, a practice which seems to have resulted in the amplification of entries and the proliferation of texts.²⁹ There is no entry for this group of saints in the early witnesses of the Hieronymian martyrology, although a saint named either Zetolus or Getulus from Pamphilia in Africa appears on 27 May, “V kalends Iunii.”³⁰

²⁸ Ursula Nilgen, “Die große Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Zeno-Kapelle,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 69 (1974), pp.7-29.

²⁹ B. de Gaiffier, “De l’usage et de la lecture du martyrologe: témoignages antérieurs au XIe siècle,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961), pp.40-59.

³⁰ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p.67.

The earliest martyrology that features a commemoration for Saints Getulius, Amantius and Cerealis is that of Rabanus Maurus, who is unique in noting it on 9 June. In light of the textual conjunction that may have occurred with Saint Amantius in the earliest Hieronymian martyrology, it is interesting to note that 9 June is written as “V idus Iunii.” According to Rabanus’s martyrology, Saint Getulius suffered martyrdom during the reign of Hadrian. Having been brought before Hadrian’s deputy Cerealis to answer for his Christian life, Saint Getulius converted him, just as he had the tribune Amantius, a commander in the army. When Cerealis is baptised by Pope Sixtus I (d.124) the three are called before the prefect Licinius to sacrifice to idols. When they refused, they were tested by fire, which failed to harm them.³¹ Their final trial is never stated in Rabanus’s account, nor is there mention of a geographical designation for their martyrdom or place of burial.

The other martyrologies repeat the account with some variation and ever greater detail. Usuard of St-Germain-des-Prés locates the martyrdom on the Via Salaria, adding the tortures of beating and incarceration before martyrdom by fire. He also adds another companion, Saint Primitivus.³² Ado of Vienne provides the fullest treatment, adding details and dialogue. For example, Saint Getulius is said to have survived the fire and was finally beaten to death. Ado also noted that the martyrdom occurred in a part of the Sabina called Capreolis and that the bodies

³¹ Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, pp.55-56. “Eodem die nativitas Getulii martyris, qui sub Adriano imperatore passus est. Nam cum esset Christianissimus, et multas elemosinas et bona opera fecisset, traditus est ab imperatore Cereali vicario suo ad puniendum; sed sanctus Gethulius sana praedicatione convertit eum ad fidem Christi, sicut fecit et Amantium tribunum fratrem ipsius. Sanctus vero Sixtus papa baptizavit Cerealem, et confirmavit in fide. Postea vero cum audisset hoc factum, imperator praedictus tradidit sanctum Gethulium Licinio praefecto suo, ut eum cum sociis suis, si nollet sacrificare idolis, mitteret in caminum ignis ardentem. Quod cum factum esset, nullo modo ab igne lesi sunt.”

³² *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, pp.244-245. “Eodem die, via Salaria, passio beati Getuli, clarissimi et doctissimi viri, sociorumque ejus Cerealis, Amantii et Primitivi, qui jussu Adriani imperatoris, primo caesi, deinde in carcerem reclusi, postremum incendio sunt traditi.”

were collected by Getulius's wife, Symphorosa, who buried them on her estate.³³ Ado ends his account with the very specific notice that Saint Symphorosa and their seven sons were also martyred under Hadrian on 27 June. Ado's martyrology includes an appropriate entry on that date for Saint Symphorosa and her seven sons.

Saint Symphorosa is also a composite figure and she was not always associated with Saint Getulius. She is one of several saintly mother types perhaps ultimately based on a biblical paradigm, the mother of the Maccabees.³⁴ Her cult is at least as ancient as that of Saint Zoticus,

³³ *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp.189-191. "Eodem die natale beati Getulii martyris, tempore Adriani imperatoribus, sub iudice Licinio. Hic in omni lege divina erat doctissimus, et per ejus doctrinam multi in fide Christi erudiebantur. Cujus famam Adrianus imperator audiens, direxit Cerealem vicarium ad tenendum eum. Qui veniens, sanctum Getulium sedentem, et docentem multos reperit. Fuerat autem idem Cerealis in conspectu Adriani cum fratre beati Getulii Amantio acceptus; Amantius vero tribunus, ob metum Adriani absconsus latebat, quem Cereali beatus Getulius declaravit. Ille, eo viso, gavisus est valde, et instructus diligenter de Domino Iesu ab eis, cum jam fideliter crederet, venerunt ad urbem Romam, et accersito beato Sixto episcopo, assignaverunt ei locum ubi baptizaretur. Quem beatus Sixtus vere Christianam fidem amantem baptizavit. Eodem tempore quidam Vincentius nomine, nummorum arcarius, comperiens vicarium Cerealem Christianum, iratus valde nuntiavit hoc Adriano. Qui mox Licinium consularem direxit, ut teneret Cerealem: qui, si immolare nollet, incendio cremaretur. Cum quo beatus Getulius, et Amantius, et Primitivus tenti sunt. Licinius consularis Cereali vicario dixit: Sic desperasti de vita tua, ut praecepta principum, qui dominantur in universo mundo contemnere videaris? Cui beatus Cerealis: Et thesauros publicos declinatione perfecta tradidi in publicum, et Domino Iesu Christo servire promitto, et vita aeterna me frui credo. Licinius dixit: Si desideras vivere, an mori, dicito. Cui beatus Cerealis: Ego si non desiderarem vivere, Christum non confiterer. Tunc conversus ad sanctum Getulium, Licinius dixit: Sacrifica deo Iovi et Marti. Cujus verba risit beatus martyr. Licinius vero accensus ira, jussit eos exspoliari, et caedi, deinde in carcerem diebus viginti septem recludi. Et veniens Romam, Adriano de eis iterum innotuit: qui jussit eos incendio tradi. Sanctus vero Getulius cum igne superviveret, fustibus illiso capite martyrium complevit. Consummati sunt beati martyres in fundo Capreolis, via Salaria, ab urbe Roma plus minus milliario decimo tertio, supra fluvium Tiberim, et in partes Sabinensium. Quorum corpora collegit beata Symphorosa, uxor beati Getulii martyris. Quae non longe post cum septem suis filiis martyrizavit, videlicet XXVII die mensis Iunii. Et sepulta est in praelio suo, in arenario, loco et oppido supra nominato."

³⁴ Hippolyte Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendaire romain: les saints de novembre et de décembre* (Brussels, 1936), pp.116-123; Martha Vinson, "Gregory Nazianzen's homily 15 and the genesis of the Christian cult of the Maccabean martyrs," *Byzantion* 64 (1994), pp.166-92; J. W. Van Henten, "The Martyrs as heroes of the Christian people," *Martyrium in multidisciplinary perspective*, ed. M. Lamberigts, P. Van Deun (Leuven, 1995), pp.303-322; Gabriele Bartolozzi Casti, "Il sarcofago dei Maccabei e gli altari-sarcofago dei ss. Apostoli e dei ss. Cosma e

appearing in the earliest witnesses of the Hieronymian martyrology with a commemoration on July 18 for herself and her seven sons who are said to be buried at the ninth mile of the Via Tiburtina.³⁵ The Hieronymian also includes three other entries for cults of seven brothers; one appears on 28 May and is located on the Via Tiburtina.³⁶ Another is found on 27 June and is localised either on the Via Tiburtina or in Cordoba, Spain.³⁷ The third appears on 10 July and the martyrs are buried on the Via Salaria.³⁸ Different sets of names are provided for each of the groups of seven brothers. For example, of the names associated with the entry for Symphorosa is a son named “Herenei.” However, it is the group of seven brothers from Spain that come to be associated with Saint Symphorosa in the martyrologies and in later legendaries or lectionaries, one of which was named Primitivus. Bede commemorates the group in Tivoli on July 21.³⁹ Rabanus Maurus’s martyrology retains that feast date, but adds the gruesome details of the sons’

Damiano,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 72 (1999-2000), pp.177-209; Van Dijk, “Type and antitype in Santa Maria Antiqua,” pp.113-127; Zoja Pavlovskis-Petit, “The manly mother of the Maccabees: Virgilian influence upon *De martyrio maccabaeorum*,” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 56 (2005), pp.225-242.

³⁵ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p.93. For example, the Berne codex reads: “Romae via Tiburtina miliario nono Sempherosae matris septem germanorum que cum ipsis est posita. Nomina vero germanorum haec sunt Petri, Marcelliani, Ianuarii, Dionisi, Sinproni, Clementis germani et Herenei quorum gesta habentur.”

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p.68. No individual names are given for these saints.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p.83. For example, the Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg codex ms. 23 reads: “Septem germanorum in hispaniis criscantis iuliani nemesi primitivi iustini stacthei eugeni novaciani...”

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p.89. Again the Berne codex reads: “Via Salaria natal[itia] s[an]c[t]orum septem germanorum id est Felicis, Philippi. In cimiterio Vitalis, Marcialis, Maximi, Sci Silani...”. These saints will become the sons of Saint Felicity.

³⁹ Lifshitz, “Bede, martyrology,” p.188. Arch. S. Pietro H58, 69v-70r has: “Aput tiburtinam ubem italiae natalitia Scae Simphore cum vii filiis Crescentem, Iuliano, Nemesio, Primitivo, Iustino, Stacteo Eugenio cum quibus simul parra est ab Adriano principe qui ipsam simphorosam iussit palmis cedi de inde suspendi crinibus sed cum superare nultatenus possed vissit eam alligato saxo influvio precipitari cuius frater Eugenius curie principalis tiburtine colligens corpus eius sepelunt et mane imperator iussit vii figi stipites ibique ad interiores partes altera aut che Adrianus precepit corpora eorum auferri et proici in foveam altam et posuerunt pontifices nomen loci illius ad septem biothanatos.

martyrdoms and a vengeful end for Hadrian.⁴⁰ Usuard's account is an abbreviation and he changes the commemoration to 27 June, a dating that is followed by Ado.⁴¹ Ado further claims that the family was buried at a place called "Septem biothanatos," "the seven tortured souls."⁴²

One connection between these notices of the cults of Saints Getulius, Symphorosa and the seven brothers is the Via Salaria, which features at some stage in their evolution. There is some evidence for the cult of Saint Getulius in the Sabina, that is, the area north of Rome along the Via Salaria. In her study of the cult of Saint Getulius, Maria Grazia Mara found references to

⁴⁰ Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, p.70. "Et apud Tiburtinam urbem Italiae natale sanctae Symphorosae cum filiis vii, Crescente, Iuliano, Nemesio, Primitivo, Iustino, Stacteo, Eugenio, cum quibus simul passa est ab Adriano principe. Qui ipsam Symphorosam iussit palmis cedi deinde suspendi crinibus, sed cum superari nullatenus posset, iussit eam alligato saxo in fluvio praecipitari. Cuius frater Eugenius, curiae principalis Tyburtinae colligans, corpus eius saepelivit. Et mane imperator iussit vii figi stipites, ibique filios eius ad trocleas extendi, et Crescentem in gutture transfigi, Lucianum in pectore, Nemesium in corde, Primitivum per umbilicum, Iustinum per membra distensum scindi per singulos corporis nodos atque iuncturas, Stacteam lanceis innumerabilibus donec moriretur in terram configi, Eugenium findi a pectore usque ad inferiores partes. Altera autem die veniens Adrianus imperator ad fanum Herculis iussit corpora eorum simul auferri et proici in foveam altam. Post vii vero dies in die octavo martyrii eorum filiam Adriani imperatoris arripuit diabolus, et veniens ad locum ubi obruti erant sancti, clamabat per os eius diabolus dicens: 'Domini mei vii germani martyres Christi, incenditis me miseram.' Ipse autem Adrianus similiter arreptus a demonio miserabiliter vitam corporalem finivit."

⁴¹ *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, pp.255-256. "Apud Tiburtinam urbem Italiae, natalis sanctae Symphorosae cum septem filiis Crescente, Iuliano, Nemesio, Primitivo, Iustino, Stacteo, Eugenio. Quorum mater, sub Adriano principe, ob insuperabilem constantiam primo caesa, deinde crinibus suspensa, novissime saxo alligato in flumen est praecipitata. Filii autem, stipitibus ad trocleas extensi, diverso mortis exitu martyrium compleverunt."

⁴² *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp.206-207. "Apud Tiburtinam, Italiae civitatem natale sanctae Symphorosae, beati Getulii martyris uxoris, cum septem filiis Crescente, Iuliano, Nemesio, Primitivo, Iustino, Stacteo, Eugenio, cum quibus simul passa est sub Adriano principe; qui ipsam Symphorosam iussit palmis caedi, deinde suspendi crinibus; sed cum superari nullatenus posset, iussit eam alligati saxo in fluvium praecipitati; cuius frater Eugenius, curiae principalis Tiburtinae, colligans corpus eius sepelivit. Mane autem facto, imperator iussit septem figi stipites, ibique filios eius ad trochleas extendi et Crescentem in gutture transfigi, Iulianum in pectore, Nemesium in corde, Primitivum in umbilico, Iustinum per membra distensum scindi per singulos corporis nodos atque iuncturas, Stacteam lanceis innumerabilibus, donec moreretur, in terra configi, Eugenium findi a pectore usque ad inferiores partes. Altera autem die Adrianus praecepit corpora eorum simul auferri et proici in foveam altam. Et posuerunt pontifices sacrorum nomen loci illius: ad septem Biothanatos. Natale vero sanctorum martyrum est V Kal. Iul. Quorum corpus requiescunt via Tiburtina, miliario nono."

an estate and a church dedicated to the saint in documents from the early medieval monastery of Farfa dated from the eighth to the eleventh centuries.⁴³ One such document stresses that the saint's remains were interred in the church.⁴⁴ Whether this was also near the "fundus Capreolis" mentioned in Ado's martyrology is unclear.⁴⁵ Mara also examined the cult of Saint Iacintus, who was commemorated at Farfa on 9 September, the monastery possessing an estate named after him in the Sabina.⁴⁶ The two properties were located in a region with the intriguing place name "Fornicata."⁴⁷ This area was a few miles southwest of Farfa.⁴⁸ Recently, Eugenio Susi has examined the liturgical evidence for the celebration of the cult of Saint Getulius at Farfa in manuscripts once belonging to that monastery.⁴⁹

For his edition of the life of Saint Zoticus, Giovanni Paolo Maggioni re-examined the Farfa documents in an attempt to situate the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus within the context of ninth-century political conflicts between papal Rome and Carolingian Francia.⁵⁰ Maggioni proposed that Pope Paschal I was the link between the two lives, as that pope translated

⁴³ Maria Grazia Mara, *I martiri della Via Salaria* (Rome, 1964), pp.116-119.

⁴⁴ *Il regesto di Farfa*, eds. I. Giorgi, U. Balzani, 5 vols. (Rome, 1879-1914), II, p.26. "...in loco qui vocitatur acutianus, aecclesiam sancti Gethulii, ubi ipsius corpus requiescit..."

⁴⁵ A mountain named Capriolo is referred to in the Farfa documents; see *ibidem*, IV, pp.85-86. "...et omnia quanta habemus infra comitatum perusinum, sive in territorio tudertino, in fundo monte capriolo, et in fundo agello..."

⁴⁶ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.87-102.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p.42; *Il regesto di Farfa*, II, pp.183-184. "Fundum fornica cum traiecto suo seu gualdo in integrum, in quo est aecclesia sancti gethulii et sancti benedicti, cum ominibus eis generaliter et in integrum pertinentibus..."

⁴⁸ V. Flocchi Nicolai, "Cimiteri paleocristiani e insediamenti nel territorio meridionale della Sabina Tiberina," *Bridging the Tiber. Approaches to regional archaeology in the Middle Tiber Valley*, ed. H. Patterson, Archaeological monographs of the British School at Rome, 13 (Rome, London, 2004), pp.111-124.

⁴⁹ For an introduction to the cults see Eugenio Susi, "I culti farfensi nel secolo VIII," *Santi e culti del Lazio: istituzioni, società, devozioni. Atti del convegno di Studio, Roma 2-4 maggio 1996*, Miscellanea della società romana di storia patria, 41 (Rome, 2000), pp.61-81.

⁵⁰ Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, "La composizione della Passio Zotici [BHL 9028] e la tradizione della Passio Getulii [BHL 3524]: un caso letterario tra agiografia e politica," *Filologia mediolatina* 8 (2001), pp.127-172, esp.134-138.

the relics of Saint Zoticus and his companions to S. Prassede and he also contended with Emperor Lothar I regarding Farfa's rights and privileges. Maggioni was aware of Nilgen's analysis of the inscription, but chose to side with earlier analyses that pronounced it authentic. Without explaining what political function the conflation may have served, Maggioni concluded that the point of contact between the two lives was the location of their cults in two different towns named Gabii, the modern cities of Torri and Prenestina, since later legends claim that Saint Getulius/Zoticus was from Gabii, "Gavis."⁵¹ While Saint Getulius is indeed a Farfa saint, and while Torri in Sabina is in the heart of the Farfa lands, Prenestina does not correspond to the cemetery of Saint Zoticus, being located some distance east of Frascati along the Via Labicana. While topography is important to the conflation, Maggioni's reading of the evidence is unconvincing.

There is no trace of the cult of Saint Symphorosa in the Farfa documents, nor of her seven sons. As noted in the martyrologies, her cult was located farther south of the monastery's estates, to the east of Rome near Tivoli, at the ninth mile of the Via Tiburtina.⁵² A basilica located near Tivoli was excavated in the nineteenth century by Giovanni Battista De Rossi and identified as the burial place of Saint Symphorosa and her sons, an analysis of which was published by Enrico Stevenson.⁵³ The basilica, a double construction formed of a more ancient triconch with an opposing triple-aisled basilica, lacked any inscriptions that might have confirmed its identification.⁵⁴ The early medieval pilgrim's guide *De locis sanctis martyrum* also records a

⁵¹ Ibidem, pp.139-140.

⁵² For an examination of the cult in Tivoli, which is late medieval, see Daniela De Carlo, "S. Sinforosa martire Tiburtina tra agiografia e leggenda," *Atti e memorie della società tiburtina di storia e d'arte* 62 (1989), pp.105-143.

⁵³ E. Stevenson, "La basilica di S. Sinforosa e dei suoi sette figli al non miglio della via Tiburtina," *Gli studi in Italia: periodico didattico, scientifico e letterario* 1 (1878), pp.665-680; 2 (1879), pp.864-886.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, pp.670-673; see also Focchi Nicolai, "Riflessi topografici," p.220.

second cult site for Saint “Simferosa” and her seven sons on the outskirts of Rome. The saints are mentioned with some minor variation in the section dealing with the area around the Porta Tiburtina.⁵⁵ Although manuscripts containing the itinerary are dated to the ninth century, the notices of the monuments reflect an early seventh-century composition date for the text.⁵⁶ So in addition to Saint Symphorosa’s early appearance in the Hieronymian, this is further proof that her cult pre-dates that of Saint Getulius. This is the dossier for Saints Getulius, Symphorosa and the seven sons.

The cults of Saints Symphorosa and her seven sons have their origin in late antiquity and appear as separate entities in the earliest witnesses of the Hieronymian martyrology. Again, while the Hieronymian contains an entry for Saint Symphorosa and seven sons, it is a different group of Seven Brothers that becomes united with that mother, of three possible groups. Saint Getulius is a separate figure associated with the medieval monastery of Farfa, whose eleventh-century archive documents the saint’s existence back to the eighth century. The martyrologies, beginning with that of Usuard of St Germain-des-Prés, record that by the mid-ninth century the cult of Saints Symphorosa and her seven sons was united with that of Saint Getulius, and the two appear as husband and wife. Whether they were always husband and wife and the early martyrologies simply failed to record the relationship is unknown. If their marriage is a literary union, how or why it occurred is also unknown. Perhaps certain saints’ cults were joined by literary artifice in an attempt to provide more efficiently organised texts for liturgical commemoration. Saints who died in the same persecution several days apart, such as Saint Getulius who was martyred 10 June and Saint Symphorosa on 27 June, may have appeared as prime candidates for unification, much

⁵⁵ *Codice topografico*, II, pp.101-131, esp. 114. “...ibi Hereneus, Iulianus, Primitivus, Tactus, Nemeseus, Eugenius, Iustinus, Crescentianus, Romanus sunt sepulti, et sancta Cyriaca, sancta Simferosa et Iustina cum multis martyribus sunt sepulti.”

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp.102-103.

in the same way as the saints known as the Quattro Coronati seem to have been brought together with Saint Sebastian in the *Acta Sebastiani*.⁵⁷

The conflation between Saint Getulius and Saint Zoticus occurred by the mid-tenth century, the main evidence for which is the cycle of paintings at S. Maria in Pallara. The conflation is found fully articulated in eleventh- and twelfth-century legendaries and lectionaries, which present Saint Zoticus in the guise of Saint Getulius, married to Saint Symphorosa. As will be seen, the thematic links between the cults of these male saints are philological and moral, their theatrical polemics playing out at the level of sophistry. The hinge between the two lives is the name Zoticus, but the pin which sets it in motion is the figure of Saint Symphorosa, whose name in Greek, συμφέρουσα, perhaps deriving from the verb συμφέρω, appropriately means ‘bringing together’.⁵⁸ A *terminus post quem* for the conflation of the lives of Saints Zoticus and Getulius is the earliest extended textual narrative of the life of Saint Getulius found in the metrical legendary written by Flodoard of Rheims (d.966), *De triumphis Christi*. That text was composed in the 930s, perhaps even during a trip to Rome, and thus reflects local contexts.⁵⁹ A tenth-century legendary from Lorsch now in the Vatican library, Pal. Lat. 846, is another early textual source for the pre-conflation life of Saint Getulius, an edition of which was provided by Mara.⁶⁰ These two sources will be used in the following analysis of the S. Maria in Pallara cycle dedicated to Saint Getulius/Zoticus.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 4, n.8.

⁵⁸ Enrico Stevenson discussed the similarity between the name and the Greek verb and without giving a translation, denied any connection; see Stevenson, “La basilica di S. Sinforosa,” pp.677-678.

⁵⁹ Flodoard of Rheims, “De Christi Triumphis apud Italiam libri quatuordecim,” *PL* 135.595-885, esp. 639-642 for the section dealing with Saint Getulius. For the date of composition, see Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, p.26.

5.2 Image and text: the lost Saint Getulius/Zoticus cycle

The cycle, now lost, is recorded by drawings made by Antonio Eclissi contained in Vat. Lat. 9071. At least seven of the hagiographic narrative scenes can be securely identified as pertaining to the cycle of Saint Zoticus, who is identified at least in one scene by inscription. The drawings that depict scenes occurring out of doors present a jagged background similar to that found in the paintings of the apse and the apse arch, thus indicating that the paintings were probably contemporaneous. According to Eclissi's notes on the first drawing, the cycle decorated the "parte dell'Epistola" or the right side when facing the altar, that is, the east wall. This location positioned the Saint Zoticus cycle opposite the cycle dedicated to Saint Sebastian. The present analysis will show that the opposition was clearly intended to function rhetorically.

The first scene takes place in a courtyard and presents a confrontation between three saints and an authority figure (Figure 129, upper frame).⁶¹ The courtyard looks much like a medieval cloister, composed of narrow, corridor-like buildings lit by a high row of windows. Two portals give access to the corridor on the left, one in the center of the background, the other in the foreground, in whose shelter sits the authority figure on a stacked throne attended by a second figure. Neither man is bearded. The authority figure, wearing a tunic with a pearled border at the hem, holds an open book on whose pages is written: MAGNUS EST N[oste]R IMPERATOR. The second figure wears a tunic and pallium and cannot be identified as a servant, as he seems to be guiding the seated figure with a hand by the other's elbow; the authority figure gestures to the three saints with his left hand, he looks back to the second figure, as if for guidance. The three saints, wearing simple tunics and bearing halos, are seated on the right side of the scene. The first saint on the left, identified by an inscription as S. AMANTIUS, is bearded and gestures with his

⁶⁰ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.134-147.

⁶¹ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.244.

right hand to the book. The center saint, also bearded, sits with his wrists crossed on his lap as if bound. The third saint has no beard and appears to be younger than the other two. Underneath the scene Eclissi wrote an Italian caption, “Nella parte dell’Epistola. SS. presentati al prefetto” [“On the Epistle side, the saints presented to the prefect”].

According to Flodoard’s account, Saint Getulius lived and preached the Christian message on the outskirts of Rome during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138).⁶² The redactor of Pal. Lat. 846 named the location of the saint’s preaching as Gabii in the Sabina although he clarifies that the saint hailed from Tivoli.⁶³ The emperor sends his representative Cerealis to investigate and confront the Christians. Both authors note that Cerealis was happy to reunite with a colleague, the soldier Amantius, Getulius’s brother in both blood and faith.⁶⁴ In both versions, the indoctrination of Cerealis follows, but in Pal. Lat. 846, the conversion does not occur until after Cerealis attempts to have Saint Getulius sacrifice to the pagan gods.

This is what takes place in the first scene, although it contains an overabundance of figures. In her analysis of the drawings, Julie Enckell Julliard attempted to view the scene as a subsequent episode in the martyrdom, but Eclissi’s note at the bottom of the scene suggests that he perceived that this was the opening image in the cycle.⁶⁵ The enthroned authority holding a pamphlet of imperial propaganda must be Cerealis. The three seated saints are Amantius, Getulius/Zoticus and perhaps Primitivus, the latter being an expendable figure mentioned by Flodoard and the redactor only several scenes later and who adds nothing to the narrative flow of

⁶² Flodoard does not state specifically where Cerealis finds Getulius, but later in the account they have to travel to Rome to find Sixtus; see Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135.640.

⁶³ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.134-135, 138-139.

⁶⁴ Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135.639; Mara, *I martiri*, pp.138-139.

⁶⁵ Enckell Julliard, “Il Palatino e i Benedettini,” pp.209-230, esp. 219.

the text.⁶⁶ It is possible that the figure leaning next to Cerealis is a servant, but again his guiding action seems to prohibit this. Alternatively, the man might be one of the saints, either Getulius/Zoticus or Amantius instructing Cerealis. In contrast to the saints, the figure leaning next to Cerealis in the drawing bears no halo and wears a pallium, but these details might have been interpreted erroneously by Eclissi on account of the cycle's deterioration. While this would explain the figure's gesture by Cerealis' elbow, it would leave one of the seated saints unidentified.

The texts provide some evidence for accepting the suggestion that the standing figure is one of the saints, despite the apparent difference in clothing. Both Flodoard and the anonymous redactor emphasise a close relationship between Amantius and Cerealis, who are described as being favourites of the emperor.⁶⁷ Both authors report that Saint Amantius was hiding in fear of Hadrian, an action which Cerealis does not judge harshly and seems to lead to his decision to take up the Christian faith.⁶⁸ The inscription in the pamphlet that Cerealis holds implies that the emperor is the topic of conversation and since both he and Amantius have a personal relationship with him, such an identification is logical.

⁶⁶ Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL* 135.640; Mara, *I martiri*, pp.142-143. The figure is also found in the latter passio of Saint Zoticus; see see Maggioni, "La composizione della *passio Zotici*," p.153.

⁶⁷ Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL*135.639. "...Cerealis mittitur, / Collega cuius militarat Amantius, / Qui carne frater ac fide Gaetuli; / Uterque gratus Adriano principi, / Docens repertus plurimos Gaetulus / Fratrem tribunum propalavit Amantium / Metu Adriani qui latebat abditus; / Quem Cerealis haud opine contuens / Plenus sodalis fit salute gaudio, / Vitamque sumit hoc reperto spiritus;". Mara, *I martiri*, pp.138-139. "Sanctus Gethulius vocavit ad se fratrem suum, Amantium nomine, tribunum, qui absconsus erat propter metum Adriani Imperatoris et narravit ei omnia de Ceriali Vicario: qui ante conspectum Adriani, Cerialis et Amantius semper accepti fuerant. Tunc Sanctus Gethulius declaravit Ceriali Amantium germanum suum; quem cum vidisset gavisus est gaudio magno." The same motif appears in the later passio of Saint Zoticus; see Maggioni, "La composizione della *passio Zotici*," pp.154-155.

⁶⁸ The line is cited above in note 67: "quem Cerealis haud opine contuens".

The second image in the cycle presents two narrative scenes, one taking place indoors, the other outdoors (Figure 129, lower frame).⁶⁹ A room formed by columns and a roof dominates the left half of the image, its darkness and the three sleeping figures on the floor suggesting a night scene. The figures, bearing halos and dressed in simple gowns, are depicted with their eyes closed. In contrast to the three saints in the previous scene, these saints have no beards. A halo-bearing angel hovers in the air above the saints wearing a yoke-necked gown and with his right hand held out in a gesture of speech or direction.

In contrast to the dark room, the scene in the right half of the image appears to take place outdoors in daylight. A series of zigzag peaks appears in the far background. Three figures stand around a quadrilobe baptismal font; a cleric dressed in a dalmatic stands to the left of the font blessing the forehead of the neophyte, a male figure stands to the right holding the neophyte's garment, and another male figure stands in the background, the only one in the scene bearing a halo. There are no inscriptions in the scene, but Eclissi included an Italian subtitle: "Battesmo (sic) de SS. Amantio, Ireneo e Zotico"["baptism of Saint Amantius, Ireneus and Zoticus"]. As noted by Julie Enckell Julliard, the baptismal font is similar to those found in tenth-century Beneventan manuscripts.⁷⁰

According to Flodoard's poem the three saints took Cerealis to Rome to have him baptised by Pope Sixtus I. That author compares the episode to the baptism of Paul, in that he was someone who intended to persecute Christians, but he came to be tested and converted himself.⁷¹ The redactor of Pal. Lat. 846 claims that Saint Getulius instructed Cerealis in penitence and

⁶⁹ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.244.

⁷⁰ Enckell Julliard, "Il Palatino e i benedettini," pp.213-214.

⁷¹ Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL* 135.640: "Romam inde pergunt, atque Sixto praesuli / Mox baptizandum Cerealem suggerunt: / Factumque Saulo sicut olim contigit, / Ut qui tenere Christianos venerat / Sit ipse tentus; qui salutem tollere / Properabat almis, salvus idem fulserit."

fasting for three days and the two spent the nights together in vigil and prayer, at the end of which time they heard a voice instructing them to travel to Rome to fetch Sixtus back to Gabi in order that Cerealis might be baptised in a crypt.⁷² None of the texts claim that Saint Getulius and his companions required baptism.

This image depicts these two scenes, the details of which correspond more closely to Flodoard's account. While Flodoard does not discuss visions or heavenly voices or angels directly, by referring to Paul he indirectly calls to mind the text of that conversion and baptism. According to Acts 9.1-7 the voice of Jesus came to Paul out of a blinding light that foretold his conversion. The only means available to a medieval artist to depict such an analogy in visual terms in fresco is by translating the heavenly voice into a visible angel, which is seen here. The baptism does not take place in a crypt, but outside. Pope Sixtus officiates and two of the three saints stand and watch. It is chronologically significant that the pope is portrayed without a head covering. Eclissi's interpretation that this scene depicted the baptism of the three saints does not correspond to the textual accounts, thus, the names in his subtitle cannot be used as direct evidence for identifying any of the saints.

The third scene in the cycle also takes place in front of a peaked mountain-like backdrop (Figure 130, upper frame).⁷³ A large area of loss in the left half of the image limits extended identification of the narrative action. A single foot extends from this damaged area. Three haloed saints dressed in simple gowns stand in the right half of the image, their wrists tied before them

⁷² Mara, *I martiri*, pp.140-141. "Et indixerunt ieiunium triduanum, donec responsum acciperent a Deo; et tota nocte in vigiliis et orationibus perstiterunt. Consummata autem tota vigilia noctis, audierunt vocem in unum omnes sancti simul qui aderant cum beato Gethulio et Amantius cum Ceriale dicentem sibi: Vocate ad vos Syxtum episcopum urbis Romae qui tradat baptismum. Itaque venerunt ad urbem Romam et accersito beato Syxto episcopo, venerunt in locum territorii praedicti savinensium in civitatem Gabis, in criptam quandam et fecit secundum ordinem christianorum et catacizavit eum et baptizavit in criptam praedicti oppidi."

with ropes. None of the saints is bearded. The left-most saint remains unidentified as his head and inscription would have appeared within the area of loss. The saints to his right are identified by inscriptions: S. ZOTICUS and S. AMANTIUS. A large bearded figure stands behind and to the right of the saints. He bears no halo and places restraining hands on their shoulders. In the far background is the peaked roof of a narrow building. Eclissi included an Italian subtitle under the scene, “Zotico et Amantio sono condotti al Presidente” [“Zoticus and Amantius are led to the magistrate”].

According to Flodoard’s poem, Hadrian is apprised of Cerealis’ conversion and he sends his consul Licinius to capture Cerealis, Getulius, Amantius and Primitivus.⁷⁴ Licinius questions Cerealis about his respect for the emperor, to which he responds that he gave away public funds and vowed to serve Christ instead. Incensed, Licinius attempts to make the saints sacrifice to Jupiter with no success.⁷⁵ The redactor of Pal. Lat. 846 includes an extra scene of interrogation by a figure named Vincentius, a public treasurer, and he sets the scene with Licinius in Tivoli.⁷⁶ While this scene in the cycle obviously illustrates an arrest, neither the name of the authority figure nor the location of the action is communicated. Whether the scene once included an image of an idol is unknown. By its inscriptions, it is clear that the cycle was dedicated to Saint Getulius/Zoticus.

⁷³ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.245.

⁷⁴ Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135.640. “Hunc praeses arcae Christianum aerariae / Quidam Adriano deprehendens nuntiat; / Qui consularem dirigit Licinium, / Quo Cerealem vinciat vicarium; / Cum quo beatus stringitur Gaetulius, / Ac Primitivus cumque eis Amantius, / ...”. This episode is also found in the later *passio* of Saint Zoticus; see Maggioni, “La composizione della *passio Zotici*,” pp.157-159.

⁷⁵ Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135.641.

⁷⁶ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.142-145.

The next four images communicate the physical torments of the saints' martyrdom. The fourth scene in the cycle presents an episode of torture (Figure 130, lower frame).⁷⁷ It takes place before a peaked mountain-like backdrop. At the center of the image are three bearded saints bearing halos, naked except for the drapery covering their hips. They lie prone on the ground with their hands bound with rope before them, their feet held by a bar or pole that crosses the legs of all three. The saints are surrounded by five beardless figures dressed in short tunics, three of whom raise clubs to carry out the beating while the other two work at securing the saints' hands with ropes. Eclissi included the Italian subtitle at the bottom of the scene, "Son battuti e strascinati per terra i tre santi" ["The three saints are beaten and dragged on the ground"].

The fifth image in the cycle presents the three haloed saints in jail (Figure 131, upper frame).⁷⁸ The scene depicts the facade of a brick building that is dominated by three large arched grill-covered windows. A saint stands at each window wearing only a loincloth and with hands raised in the orant position. The jail's portal is found at the extreme right of the scene, several steps up from street-level, the doors of which stand ajar. Three guards carrying spears and shield sit in front of the windows. An inscription identifies the soldiers, MILITES. The guard closest to the door is depicted sleeping, while the other two look contemplative. Eclissi wrote the Italian subtitle under the scene, "I tre santi sono in prigione" ["The three saints are in prison"]. The image is somewhat reminiscent of the Crucifixion scene on the doors of S. Sabina with its three *orans* figures (Figure 134).⁷⁹ The sleeping guards in this scene might be compared appropriately with an image of the same in scenes of the three Maries at the tomb, such as is found in the Rabula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56, 13r), however, no

⁷⁷ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.245.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, p.247.

early medieval Roman examples of the iconography can be found.⁸⁰ No images of the Crucifixion or the Maries at the tomb were included in Eclissi's drawings of S. Maria in Pallara's Christological cycle.

According to both Flodoard and the anonymous redactor, Licinius was enraged at being unable to make the martyrs sacrifice and thereby break their spirit, so he ordered them to be beaten.⁸¹ This is depicted in the first martyrdom scene. Both accounts relate that the beating failed to break the martyrs' resolve. Flodoard claims Licinius was forced to incarcerate the saints lest he be conquered by their strength.⁸² The anonymous redactor relates that Getulius describes his trial as a "clean sacrifice."⁸³ The saints are incarcerated for twenty-seven days.

The sixth scene in the cycle presents a single martyr in an orant pose, soon to be granted a crown of martyrdom by a waiting angel (Figure 131, lower frame).⁸⁴ The scene takes place outdoors and the background is formed by what appears to be a single mountain. The bearded figure at the center of the scene, wearing a loincloth and bearing no halo, is identified only by his resemblance to the nearly naked figures in the previous image. Four figures surround him, all gazing away from the center beyond the frame; two are seated in the foreground and two appear in the middle ground. The two in the foreground are bearded; the man on the right rests his head

⁷⁹ Richard Delbrueck, "Note on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin* 34.2 (1952), pp.139-145. This was also the format of the Crucifixion scene in S. Urbano alla Caffarella; see K. Noreen, "Lay Patronage and the Creation of Papal Sanctity," pp.42-43.

⁸⁰ Osborne, *Early mediaeval wall paintings*, pp.61-66; Thunø, *Image and relic*, p.101, fig.69.

⁸¹ Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL* 135.641. "At corda qui nequivit alta laedere / Ad laesionem vertat arma corporis; / Carnis amictus impudice diripit, / Quatitque mentis septa inexpubnabilis; /". Mara, *I martiri*, pp.144-145. "Licinius vero accensus iracundia, iussit eos expoliari et caedi dicens: Praecepta principum nolite et diis magnis oboedite."

⁸² Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL* 135.641. "Firmumque robur ut renoscit martyrum, / Victus coerces gloriantes carcere, / Quo per dies et mansere septem et bis decem."/.

⁸³ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.144-145. "Licinius dixit: Quod est sacrificium mundum? Beatus Gethulius respondit: Spiritum contribulatum, cor contritum et humiliatum deus non spernit. Licinius dixit: Levate eos a terra et date in custodia publica in oppido supra scripto."

⁸⁴ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.247.

in his left hand and holds a club with his right; the figure on the left has only one leg, suggesting that this portion of the painting had deteriorated when the drawing was made. The two figures in the middle ground are clean-shaven. The half figure of a haloed angel rises up from the mountain in the upper right hand corner of the scene, bearing an ornate crown in his left hand. Eclissi wrote the Italian inscription under the scene, “Santo nudo tra soldati” [“Naked saint amongst the soldiers”].

The texts relate that Emperor Hadrian was furious to hear of the saints’ resolve and so he ordered them to be tried by fire. The anonymous redactor claims that the saints were taken for their fiery test to the “Fundo Capriolis” on the Via Salaria, some thirteen miles north of the city in the Sabina. While Flodoard reports that Getulius survived the funeral pyre,⁸⁵ the redactor further embellishes the account by claiming that Getulius was miraculously freed from his chains during the ordeal.⁸⁶ It would appear that a scene depicting the martyrdom by fire is missing from the cycle at S. Maria in Pallara, probably the result of loss rather than a deliberate omission. This last scene, featuring a single standing saint, must represent the miraculous rescue of Saint Getulius/Zoticus from the fire. Visual exigencies may have governed the rendering of miraculous details here, too, and the crown-holding angel may have been introduced into the scene to represent divine action. Finally, the two figures in the middle ground might have represented the newly martyred companions, Amantius and Primitivus, although they bear neither crowns nor halos. The central saint is not haloed either, and since the drawing appears to be documenting a deteriorated scene, any further discussion must remain speculative.

⁸⁵ Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135.641. “Postque Adriano nuntiantur vivi, / Christoque fidi a quo jubentur ignibus / Tradi. Beatus ad rogum Gaetulus / Vivens triumphat,…”

⁸⁶ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.144-147. “Veniens ad urbem Romam, nuntiavit omnia quae facta fuerant. Tunc Adrianus furore plenus, missis militibus suis, iussit eos incendio tradi. Eductique sunt in fundo capriolis via Salaria ab urbe Roma plus minus miliario tricesimo supra fluvium Tiberim, ad

The seventh and final image of the cycle presents a martyrdom scene (Figure 132).⁸⁷ The scene appears to take place outdoors against another mountainous background. A single haloed saint lies prostrate on the ground, naked except for his loincloth. He is bearded and his eyes are closed. The saint's hands rest on his stomach suggesting that he was originally depicted with bound wrists. Blotches on the skin of his chest, arms and legs must represent bruises or gashes. Two clean-shaven men wearing short tunics stand on either side of the body wielding clubs. A Latin inscription once must have identified the scene, portions of which were recorded by Eclissi underneath the scene: VALLOR ...TIT[ur] CAP[u]T A LTVM ARALM...MAR. Abbreviation marks appear above the second T, over the PT and the second V. An Italian subtitle was also included by Eclissi: "E battuto" ["He is beaten"].

According to both Flodoard and the anonymous redactor of Pal. Lat. 846, the martyrdom of Saint Getulius ends with a severe beating. Flodoard simply notes that the saint received a beating to the head.⁸⁸ The anonymous redactor offers greater drama to his audience by presenting a vocal Saint Getulius: the saint gives thanks to Christ for his survival from the fire and invokes the Lord as he dies from a severe beating to the head.⁸⁹ Saint Getulius/Zoticus's final martyrdom is what is depicted here.⁹⁰ This identification is confirmed by the Latin inscription recorded by Eclissi that incorporates the word for head, CAPUT.

partem savinensium. Ligatis manibus et pedibus hac fustibus subpositis igni tradiderunt. Sed nequaquam praevaluit ignis beatum Gethulium concremari..."

⁸⁷ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.246.

⁸⁸ Flodoard, "De triumphis Christi", *PL* 135.641. "Vivens triumphat, fustibusque mox caput / Laesus divellit, corripit victoriam."

⁸⁹ Mara, *I martiri*, pp.146-147. "...sed magis confortabatur in domino, et solutis vinculis in medium circumstantium glorificans Iesum Christum dei filium. Et milites quidem videntes minime suam praevalere industriam, quod ignis, eum minime consumi potuisset, eradicatis iterum fustibus, percutientes eum conliserunt caput eius. Invocans dominum emisit spiritum."

⁹⁰ This image is located in Vat. Lat. 9071 on page 246, bracketed by the two previously discussed scenes; it represents my only displacement of the order of the images as they appear in Eclissi's drawings.

A single image from the hagiographic narrative cycle remains unidentified. It depicts a martyrdom scene from the life of a saint other than Saint Getulius/Zoticus and his companions (Figure 133).⁹¹ The scene takes place in front of a peaked jagged backdrop and features a bearded male figure bearing a halo and wearing a chlamys. He stands at the center of the scene and carries a large heavy slab on his shoulders, hunched over from the weight. Four male figures dressed in short tunics surround him and help support the slab. The edge of a building appears on the left side of the image, in whose arched portal sits an authority figure pointing in accusation at the bearded saint. He wears a long dark tunic and short chlamys. Behind him stands an administrative figure. Eclissi included an Italian subtitle under the scene: “Santo che porta una pietra quadra in spalla” [“A saint who carries a square stone slab on his shoulder”].

The image is either the sole surviving depiction from a cycle dedicated to another saint or it represents another saint associated with Saint Getulius/Zoticus. The latter is probably the case. Eclissi claims in the subtitle that the slab carried by the bearded saint is stone. A saint associated with Getulius/Zoticus whose martyrdom involves a stone is his wife, Saint Symphorosa. While both textual variants of the life of Saint Getulius end with the saint’s wife burying him on their property, Flodoard also provides an account of Saint Symphorosa’s martyrdom. She is first beaten with palm fronds, then hung by her hair, and finally tied to a rock and submerged in the Tiber.⁹² The many inconsistencies observed in the previous scenes imply that the cycle was much deteriorated at the time Eclissi made his drawings. This final scene may have been deteriorated to such a degree that Eclissi misread the gender of this figure, an error which also occurred in his

⁹¹ Vat. Lat. 9071, p.250.

⁹² Flodoard, “De triumphis Christi”, *PL* 135. 641-642. “Quae, caesa palmis et librata crinibus, / Elata terris fit polo contermina, / Coelique discit ambulare semitas. / Invicta terris ut probatur aere, / Devincta saxo mergitur sub flumine, / Ex quo triumphans sumitur mens aethere.” This is much the same as the description of her martyrdom found in the martyrologies; see notes 39-42 above.

drawings of the apse paintings.⁹³ Eclissi appears to have been cognisant of the hagiographical subtexts, considering that he included the name Ireneus in his subtitles despite it not appearing in the painted inscriptions or in the texts that I have used here to explicate the scenes. Why he failed to recognise that this scene may have represented the martyrdom of Saint Symphorosa is unclear.

This analysis shows that the S. Maria in Pallara martyrdom cycle dedicated to Saint Zoticus included Saint Amantius; the two are the only saints to be named by inscriptions in the Eclissi drawings. While Ireneus is mentioned in a subtitle by Eclissi, there is no evidence that he or Iacinctus, the saints associated with the Early Christian martyr Zoticus, appeared in the cycle, as the subtitles are general descriptions provided by the artist. Although neither Cerealis nor Primitivus are mentioned in either inscriptions or subtitles, the narrative action in the cycle clearly corresponds to the life of Saint Getulius as represented in Flodoard's tenth-century poem *De Triumphis Christi* and the Lorsch legendary, Pal. Lat. 846. Except for the episode of the trial by fire, not a single major scene from the martyrdom of Saint Getulius is missing from the painted cycle of Saint Getulius/Zoticus. The martyrologies provide no details about the martyrdom of the Early Christian martyr Zoticus with which to compare the S. Maria in Pallara cycle. Whichever saints were included and whatever sources were used to form the narrative of the composite figure that is Saint Zoticus, the monumental cycle in S. Maria in Pallara publicised the saint's life through these images, bringing legitimacy and materiality to this composite figure.

5.3 Image and text: the origin of the life of Saint Getulius/Zoticus

Confirmation for the conflation of Saints Zoticus and Getulius is found in legendary and lectionary accounts of the martyrdoms of Saints Zoticus and Symphorosa in eleventh- and

⁹³ See Chapter 2, p.45.

twelfth-century manuscripts created in and around Rome. These include Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A2, Vallicelliana T.V., Vat. Lat. 1194 and Vat. Lat. 1195.⁹⁴ While the saint's feast is celebrated on 10 February in Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A2, no date is provided in the other three manuscripts. Except for minor variations in detail and the addition of incidental figures, these later versions follow the earlier tenth-century accounts of the martyrdom of Saint Getulius examined here. For example, a change found in these later copies is the addition of a new ending featuring the death of Cerealis; he accompanies the Emperor Hadrian to Jerusalem where he is martyred by beheading.⁹⁵ Presumably this addition occurred when Jerusalem was of topical interest, perhaps at the time of the First Crusade. The majority of the narratives also marry Saint Zoticus to Saint Symphorosa: for example, the account of her martyrdom found in the Montecassino lectionary, Archivio dell'Abazia di Montecassino, MS 142, 48v.⁹⁶ However, the textual narratives are by no means stable. The lectionaries Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A3, 184v-185v, and Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A4, 138v-139v, contain readings for the office of Saint Symphorosa whose husband is named as Saint Getulius.⁹⁷

An alternate life of Saint Zoticus, identified in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi Lat. P.VIII.15 by François Dolbeau, was used by Julie Enckell Julliard in her recent analysis of the S.

⁹⁴ Maggioni, "La composizione," p.141. The lectionary Vallicelliana C62 does not contain an entry for Saint Zoticus, contrary to Pierre Jounel's claim that it does; P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977), p.58.

⁹⁵ Maggioni, "La composizione," pp. 160-162.

⁹⁶ This must be the manuscript referred to by Stevenson, *Il Cimitero di Zotico*, p.68. For its dating, see Francis Newton, *The scriptorium and library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.166, 360.

⁹⁷ The manuscripts are dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For a discussion of the manuscripts, not their contents, see Virgilio Franklin, "Roman hagiography and Roman legends," pp.857-891.

Maria in Pallara cycle.⁹⁸ The manuscript is a homiliary-legendary dated to the thirteenth century by Dolbeau that records late eleventh-century miracle stories.⁹⁹ The redactor of this account commemorates the martyrdom of Saints Zoticus, Ireneus and Iacintus on 10 February, locating it on the Via Aurelia during the reign of Decius (249-251). After performing several conversions and miracles, the saints are incarcerated, only to be liberated by an angel. They then willingly make their way along the Via Aurelia to the site of their predestined martyrdom where they are eventually beheaded. A series of miracle stories follows in which the redactor relates that the relics of Saints Zoticus and his companions were translated to a monastery dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, which Dolbeau identified as S. Michele de Subripa near Cerveteri.¹⁰⁰ In this secondary section the redactor also adds that the saints hid for a time in a place called “Palatium” on the Via Aurelia.¹⁰¹ As Enckell noted, the reference might be an allusion to the church on the Palatine.¹⁰²

The addition of topographical references concerning the sites of saints’ cults to new redactions of their *acta* is a common mode of revision in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the new topographical references are woven into the narratives as if to normalise the recent manifestation of a cult. For example, this is the case with the redaction of the *passio* of Saint

⁹⁸ François Dolbeau, “Notes sur deux collections hagiographiques conservées à la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen âge-Temps Modernes* 87 (1973), pp.397-424. Enckell Julliard, “Il Palatino e i Benedettini,” pp.209-230.

⁹⁹ The miracle stories include the account of a paralysed man named Balduinus who travelled to the tomb of the ‘bishop Zoticus’ and was healed. Enckell believed that the compiler of the miracle stories, Benedictus, is to be identified with the Benedictus of the inscription of the inset panel; see *ibidem*, pp.228-229.

¹⁰⁰ Dolbeau, “Notes sur deux collections hagiographiques,” p.417.

¹⁰¹ Vat. Chigi P.VIII.15, 162r. “Nam cum impiissimi Decii imperatoris persecutionem in custodia sustinens angelo de carcere eius beatum Zoticum eripiente aureliam viam arripiens in loco qui dicitur palatium delitescens, centum xxx homines a paganorum ibi errore liberans in nomine sancte trinitatis baptizavit.”

¹⁰² Enckell Julliard, “Il Palatino e i Benedettini,” p.225. Enckell’s claim that the Palatine was the location of Saint Zoticus’ martyrdom is unsupported however.

Cyriacus that is found in numerous twelfth- and thirteenth-century legendaries. The place name Via Lata appears in these accounts as a site where the saint said mass, although a church dedicated to Saint Cyriacus was built there only in the tenth century.¹⁰³ In much the same way, the redactor of Vat. Chigi P.VIII.15 probably mentions a “palatium” along the Via Aurelia to provide some topographical reference to a site that figured in the past history of the saints’ cult. The author situates the martyrdom of Saints Zoticus and his companions somewhere along the Via Aurelia in the vicinity of a church that recently received a translation of the saint’s relics in order to justify and legitimise the cult’s new location. Vat. Chigi P.VIII.15 is a singular manuscript of a late date and thus its account of the life of Saint Zoticus is a synthetic composition. Whether the account represents some portion of the original *acta* of the Early Christian martyrs Zoticus, Ireneus and Iacinctus, the trio of saints commemorated in the Gelasian sacramentary, is unknown, but if it does, it must be only a partial borrowing.

It is important to note that S. Maria in Pallara’s martyrology Vat. Lat. 378, a late eleventh-century copy of the Hieronymian, records a feast for Saints Zoticus and Amantius on 12 January and another for Saints Zoticus, Ireneus, Iacinctus and Amantius on 10 February.¹⁰⁴ The former, highlighted with coloured ink and ornate letters, includes a brief discussion of the life of Saint Getulius/Zoticus martyred by beating and fire under Hadrian, but it fails to mention Saint Symphorosa (Figure 135).¹⁰⁵ The notice on 10 February is not highlighted, it includes no martyrdom account and makes no connection with the Saint Zoticus that is commemorated on 12

¹⁰³ Bernard Hamilton, “Monastic revival in tenth-century Rome,” pp.52-54.

¹⁰⁴ Vat. Lat. 378, 4r and 9v.

¹⁰⁵ “II id Ian. Rom[ae] nat[alicia] s[an]c[t]or[um] mar[tyrum] Zotici et Amantii qui cu[m] noll[er]et idolis sacrificare iussit Adrianus imperator et fecit eos teneri et fustibus cedi illi, au[tem] magis ac magis roborabant et post ea iussit ligari pedes et man[us] ad stipite[m] sarm[en]tis et igne[m] subponi p[er]cutientes v[er]o capiti eor[um] emis[er]unt[ur] sp[iritu]m”.

January.¹⁰⁶ There is a notice for Saint Getulius on 10 June that includes a full summary of his martyrdom along with Amantius, Primitivus and Cerealis under the Emperor Hadrian.¹⁰⁷ The martyrology's original entry on 27 June for Saint Symphorosa and her seven sons has been scraped away, but is still visible in photographs taken with ultraviolet light (Figure 136).¹⁰⁸ Whether it included any mention of a husband is unknown. Another brief original mention of Saint Symphorosa appears in the entry for July 18 on folio 38v. I have found only one other martyrology in Rome that contains an entry on 12 January for Saints Zoticus and Amantius, Vat. Lat. 4885, which also contains a notice on 10 February for Saints Zoticus, Ireneus and Iacinctus.¹⁰⁹ Most other eleventh-century martyrologies present a commemoration for Saint Zoticus and his companions on 10 February alone.¹¹⁰ The January date is suspiciously the same as that of the Hieronymian commemoration of a series of African martyrs, Saints Zoticus, Castulus,

¹⁰⁶ “III id feb. ...Rom[ae] S[an]c[t]or[um] mar[tyrum] Zotici, Hirenei, Iacincti et Amantii & alior[um] milit[or]u[m].”

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, 32r-32v. “G iii id IUN Rom[ae] ... Eodem die beati Getulii mar[tyris] t[em]p[or]ib[us] Adriani imp[er]atoris sub iudice Licinio. Cu[m] quo etiam et beat[us] Cerialis q[uo] p[er] e[or]u[m] crediderat & Amantius & Primitivus tenti sunt. Quos cu[m] Licinius consularis ad sacrificandu[m] co[m]pelleret atq[ue] derideret[ur] ab eis. Accensus ira. Iussit ed expoliari & cedi. De inde incarcerationem dieb[us] xx^{ti} & vii^{te} recludi & p[er]gens innotuit Adriano imp[er]ator[i]. Qui iussit eos incendio iradi. S[an]c[t]u[s] v[er]o Getulius cu[m] in igne sup[er]viveret. Fustib[us] illiso capite martyriu[m] co[m]plevit.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 35r. “v kl- Iulias Ap[ud] Galatia S[an]c[t]i Crescentis discip[uli] S[an]c[t]i Pauli ap[osto]li...”. The remaining twenty one lines of this entry are erased. The following is legible: “Ap[ud] Tiburtina[m] urbem Italia S[an]c[t]e Simphorose mar[tyris] cu[m] vii^{te} filiis cresce...iul...nemesio, primitivo, iustino, sta.....sub adriano p[ri]ncipe”

¹⁰⁹ The martyrology is dated to the early eleventh century, a portion of which is bound with a late tenth-century martyrology, Barb. Lat. 646; see Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, pp.31-36. Supino Martini believed that it was a late eleventh-century manuscript, but she erred in thinking the notice for Pope Leo IX (d.1054) was original to the manuscript; see Paola Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca (secoli X-XII)* (Alexandria, 1987), pp.490-493. The martyrology is of Roman origin, serving a monastery dedicated to Saint Peter or Paul.

¹¹⁰ Vallicelliana F85, Vat. Lat. 4958, Ottob. Lat. 37, Ottob. Lat. 38.

Quintus, Rogatus and Modestus.¹¹¹ Celebrating the saints on another day provides them with a unique identity, but it seems that the date was logically chosen.

The notice for 12 January in Vat. Lat. 378 is clearly a later correction to an original entry. It thus might be argued that the martyrology itself is the site of the Saint Getulius/Zoticus conflation, especially since an entry for Saint Getulius remains in the manuscript. Connected with such an interpretation is the conjecture that the martyrology was produced for the monks of Montecassino.¹¹² The manuscript is securely dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century, as an original entry commemorating the consecration of Desiderius's new basilica at Montecassino (1071) is found on the kalends of October 1071.¹¹³ Quentin characterised the martyrology as a Beneventan derivative of Usuard's martyrology, which might further suggest that it originated in Cassinese circles.¹¹⁴ If both propositions are true, then a late eleventh-century date for the paintings at S. Maria in Pallara might be inferred, but this would be a hasty and incorrect assumption.

Vat. Lat. 378 is written in a script characteristic of Roman scriptoria of the central Middle Ages called Romanesca.¹¹⁵ All the references to S. Maria in Pallara in the manuscript are later marginal additions, so it is assumed that the martyrology was copied elsewhere in Rome and brought to S. Maria in Pallara shortly after Montecassino was given control of the church.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p.7.

¹¹² Hubert, "«In regione pallarie»,» p.112.

¹¹³ Vat. Lat. 378, 53v-54r.

¹¹⁴ Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques*, p.691.

¹¹⁵ *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, P. Egidio, ed. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 43 (Rome, 1908), pp.105-107; André Wilmart, "La Trinité des Scots à Rome et les notes du Vat. Lat. 378," *Revue Bénédictine* 41 (1929), pp.218-230; Marc Dykmans, "Les obituaires romains: une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble," *Studi medievali* 19.2 (1978), pp.591-652, esp.612-613; Supino Martini, *Roma e l'area grafica romanese*, pp.136-140.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p.139.

Significantly, all the entries in Beneventan script betraying Cassinese authorship are secondary.¹¹⁷ The martyrology is thus a Roman product. S. Maria in Pallara continued to be a Roman monastery even after it passed into the control of the abbots of Montecassino. The document granting Montecassino the use of the property stipulates that it was to be the Roman residence of the abbot of Montecassino, but that the reigning abbot was allowed to continue in his duty with the right of election passing to Cassinese control only after his death. Further, it stipulated that income from the property was still to be owed to the papal curia.¹¹⁸ Significantly, the monastery was only ever ruled by a Cassinese *prepositus*.¹¹⁹ The martyrology was thus produced and updated after the monks from Montecassino arrived at S. Maria in Pallara in order that they might be aware of the sanctoral calendar celebrated at this Roman monastery. The monastery must have possessed numerous martyrologies, as priests were expected to possess individual copies and privileged monks no doubt commissioned or made their own.¹²⁰

It is also significant to mention here that Saints Getulius and Zoticus are not Cassinese saints, neither prior to Montecassino's control of S. Maria in Pallara, nor after. For example, the saints do not appear in the earliest Cassinese calendars or in those from the region around

¹¹⁷ E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: a history of the south Italian minuscule*, ed. V. Brown (Rome, 1980), pp.91, 261; Caterina Tristano, "Scrittura beneventana e scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale," *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979), pp.89-150, esp.122-123. The earliest is the notice of the death of Leo Marsicanus, monk and chronicler of Montecassino and bishop of Ostia, Vat. Lat. 378, 28r.

¹¹⁸ Kehr, *Le bolle pontificie*, pp.48-49; Hubert, "«In regione pallarie»," pp.112-113.

¹¹⁹ Herbert Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1986), I, pp.319-323, esp. 321; Hubert, "«In regione pallarie»," p.113. For S. Maria in Pallara's place in the papal and political circles of late eleventh-century Rome, see Hans-Walter Klewitz, "Montecassino in Rom," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italiensichen Archiven* 28 (1937-1938), pp.36-47.

¹²⁰ De Gaiffier noted that they were often donated in wills; see De Gaiffier, "De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe," pp.55-59.

Montecassino.¹²¹ While the saints do appear in Cassinese martyrologies dating to the late eleventh century or later, there is no evidence of a conflation and the saints are not marked for any special veneration. For example, the late eleventh-century martyrology copied at Montecassino for the Cassinese dependency of S. Maria de Albaneta, Vat. Lat. 4958, contains entries for all three groups of saints: Saint Zoticus, Ireneus, Iacinctus and Amantius are commemorated on 10 February, Saint Getulius and Amantius on 10 June and Saint Symphorosa and sons on 18 July. There is no commemoration for Saint Zoticus on 12 January, and no connections are made between the three saints.¹²²

Contrary to Quentin's characterisation, Vat. Lat. 378 is a Roman martyrology that reflects Rome's spiritual topography and the city's location at the center of Christian Europe. Certain feasts are commemorated here that are particular to Rome alone, such as that of Saint Theodora of Antioch on 12 January (Figure 135).¹²³ The saint, a wife who is tricked by the devil into committing adultery and then dresses as a man to become a penitent monk, is usually commemorated on 28 April. Her feast appears in January in other Roman liturgical manuscripts, such as the martyrology Vallicelliana F85 and the legendary, Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A2.¹²⁴ This saint does not appear in January in Vat. Lat. 4958. Not only is this particular saint's

¹²¹ E. A. Lowe, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino* (Munich, 1908), pp.14-15, 22-23; P. Meyvaert, "A metrical calendar by Eugenius Vulgarius," *Analecta Bollandiana* 84 (1966), pp.349-377, esp.363, 369.

¹²² Vat. Lat. 4958, 4v-5r, 12r, 41v, 48v. This is also the case with the eleventh-century martyrology from S. Nicola della Cicogna, another Cassinese dependency; see *The necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna: Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, cod. 179*, ed. C. Hilken (Toronto, 1991), pp.75, 79, 99, 102, 105. It would be interesting to know whether the changes appear in a later Cassinese martyrology, Ottob. Lat. 3, not consulted here.

¹²³ For an introduction and edition, see Giovanni Maggioni, "La «Vita sanctae Theodora» (BHL 8070). La revisione imperfetta di una traduzione perfettibile," *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), pp.201-268. Maggioni's claim that the saint is celebrated on this day in the ninth-century Naples calendar is incorrect; see Mallardo, "Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli," pp.132-133.

¹²⁴ Vallicelliana F85, 2v. The feast is celebrated on 10 January. It is again celebrated on 12 January in Archivio Cap. S. Pietro A2, 48r-79v.

commemoration proof of the martyrology's Roman context, but her commemoration on the same day as Saint Zoticus is thematically significant for the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus, as will be seen in the discussion of the conflation's message.

This examination of the evidence for the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus shows that the celebration of the cult of the saints in the Middle Ages was variable, not just by geographic location, but even across different sites in a single region or city. The redaction process was a transparent one, at least to those with privileged access to the liturgical materials. There is no reason to believe that the average monk, who was expected to pledge stability to a single house, would have had access to numerous martyrology traditions. S. Maria in Pallara's martyrology, Vat. Lat. 378, contained all the principal parts of the conflation, and no attempt was made to erase the entry of Saint Getulius. The entry for Saint Symphorosa and her seven sons was erased at some unknown date, but I would hypothesise a rather late date for such a purging, especially if the cycle included a representation of her martyrdom. It would appear that Saint Zoticus and Amantius were celebrated at S. Maria in Pallara as a group of unique saints on 12 January, different from Saints Zoticus, Ireneus, Iacinthus and Amantius celebrated on 10 February. Evidence for this phenomenon is provided not only by Vat. Lat. 378, but by the cycle drawings, as Eclissi's subtitles provide meagre evidence that Ireneus or the other companions of Saint Zoticus were included in the cycle. Finally, literary creation occurred in the redaction of saints' lives to account for the particular topographical and ecclesiological details of a local cult, as in the case of the Vat. Chigi P.VIII.15 version of the life of Saint Zoticus. Topography also plays a large role in the construction of the message of the Saint Zoticus cycle at S. Maria in Pallara. It remains to examine how that message was constructed.

5.4 The archaeology of conflation: form and meaning

As noted in Chapter 4, the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* records that part of Saint Sebastian's martyrdom was enacted on the Palatine. The widow Irene brought the saint to her house on the Palatine where he could heal from his sagittation wounds, after which he denounced the emperors from the steps of the Temple of Heliogabalus; his final martyrdom occurred in the hippodrome of the palace on the summit of the Palatine.¹²⁵ According to the *Historia Augusta* biographies of the Roman emperors, the Temple of Heliogabalus was built on the Palatine by Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (d.222), who was nicknamed Elagabalus for his devotion to the sun-god Baal.¹²⁶ Whether the temple podium on which S. Maria in Pallara is situated can be identified as the Temple of Heliogabalus has been debated since the early seventeenth century, a hypothesis that seems to have been proven by recent archaeological investigation of the Vigna Barberini.¹²⁷ Even earlier it was debated whether the same text is responsible for the church's designation "Pallara," thought to derive from Palladium, as the emperor transported a number of religious icons to the Temple of Heliogabalus, including the Palladium, a legendary image associated with Athena.¹²⁸ If Saint Zoticus is the hinge for the conflation and Saint Symphorosa

¹²⁵ See Chapter 4, pp.194-198.

¹²⁶ "Antoninus Elagabalus," iii.4, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, David Magie, tr., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1960-1961), II, pp.110-111. "Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit,...". "As soon as he entered the city, however, neglecting all the affairs of the provinces, he established Elagabalus as a god on the Palatine Hill close to the imperial palace."

¹²⁷ Many important figures, scholars and antiquarians associated with the Vatican library or the Oratory of Saint Filippo Neri wrote letters or commentaries on S. Maria in Pallara. For example the Vatican Archivist Michele Lonigo wrote directly to Pope Urban VIII; see Archivio Barberini, Indice II.70. The Oratorian Cardinal Orazio Giustiniani (d.1649) may have been writing to a Barberini patron, but the treatise exists only in the original copy, a private notebook; see Vallicelliana H.30, pp.212-244. For their published discussions of the relationship of the church to the Temple of Heliogabalus, see Uccelli, *La Chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, pp.31-53, 56-61.

¹²⁸ The Palladium is believed to be either an image of Athena or an image of Pallas made for Athena. For the history of the Roman cult of the Palladium, see Annie Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 118

its pin, an examination of the *Historia Augusta* life of the Emperor Elagabalus shows that he is the door to understanding the message.

The *Historia Augusta* is a collection of biographies purportedly written by various authors and addressed to the emperors Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus (293-305) and Constantine I (306-337).¹²⁹ Not to be characterised as forgery, the texts are more properly classified as historic literature, incorporating historical material and interpolating satirical matter. For example, Timothy Barnes has hypothesised that the majority of the first half of the life of Emperor Elagabalus is authentic, based on a lost history written by a contemporary figure, the consul Marius Maximus.¹³⁰ Recently Gottfried Mader has examined those details considered fiction in an attempt to show how the biography inverted traditional moral norms in order to serve as humorous and edifying satire.¹³¹ Two Greek chronicles of Elagabalus' reign survive to supplement that account, those of Cassius Dio and the Syrian historian Herodian.¹³²

According to the *Historia Augusta*, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was considered the illegitimate son of Caracalla, after his grandmother Julia Maesa purchased the support of the

(Rome, 1989), pp.460-467, 495-498, 504-505; Clifford Ando, "The Palladium and the Pentateuch: towards a sacred topography of the Later Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 55.3-4 (2001), pp.369-410. Most Renaissance authors agree that the name Pallara derives from the Palladium; see Franciscus Albertinus, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Basil, 1519), 27v.; Bartolomei Marliani, *Antiquae Romae Topographia, libri septem* (Rome, 1534), 47r.; Lucio Fauno, *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (Venice, 1552), 67v-68r.

¹²⁹ Not only is the matter of authorship debated, but so is the text's date, with historical anecdotes suggesting that the biographies were written between 395 and 399; for an introduction see T. D. Barnes, *The sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels, 1978), pp.13-18.

¹³⁰ T. D. Barnes, "Ultimus Antoninorum," *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium* 1970 (Bonn, 1972), pp.53-74. The author himself of the life claims to have used the text; see "Antoninus Elagabalus," xi.7

¹³¹ G. Mader, "History as carnival, or method and madness in the *Vita Heliogabali*," *Classical antiquity* 24.1 (2005), pp.131-172, esp. 162.

¹³² Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, E. Cary, tr., 9 vols. (London, 1914-1927), IX, pp.438-479. Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire*, tr. C. R. Whittaker, 2 vols. (London, 1969-1970), II,

army to elect him emperor in 218 at the age of fourteen.¹³³ In actuality his connection with the Severan dynasty was through his grandmother, who was the sister of Julia Domna, empress to Septimius Severus (193-211).¹³⁴ The family was aristocratic in its own right, being the leading clan of Emesa in the Roman province of Syria that possessed the hereditary rights there to the priesthood of the sun god Baal.¹³⁵ The *Historia Augusta* further reports that Elagabalus did not fulfill the duties of his office, but appointed his friends and people of low status to positions of political power, who proceeded to prostitute their authority.¹³⁶ Beyond fulfilling his cultic responsibilities as a priest of Baal, Elagabalus is said to have spent his time gratifying his perverse whims and sexual desires, so that the author calls him a plague and a scourge, “pestes” and “clades.”¹³⁷ Specifically the author states that the emperor “indulged in an unnatural vice with men” so that the soldiers soon came to regret electing him emperor, leading to his downfall and death, which was tyrannicide.¹³⁸ The author seems to judge Elagabalus more harshly for his sexual preferences than for his supposed sacrifice of children.¹³⁹ While Herodian’s account cuts out the salacious material, he claims that Elagabalus’ religious behaviour and subversion of the traditional cults was displeasing to senators and soldiers alike.¹⁴⁰

pp.2-75. On the reliability of Herodian as a source, see G. W. Bowersock, “Herodian and Elagabalus,” *Yale Classical Studies* 24 (1975), pp.229-236.

¹³³ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” ii.1, *SHA*, II, pp.106-107; Herodian, *History*, V.3.8-12-4.2, pp.22-27.

¹³⁴ Herodian, *History*, V.3.1-3, pp.16-17; Barnes, “Ultimus Antoninorum,” p.74.

¹³⁵ Herodian, *History*, V.3.3-7, pp.18-21; François Chausson, “Vel Iovi vel Soli: quatre études autour de la Vigna Barberini (191-354),” *Mélange de l’École Française de Rome Antiquité* 107.2 (1995), pp.661-765, esp.662-718.

¹³⁶ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” x-xii, *SHA*, II, pp.124-131. Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, 15.3-4, pp.466-467.

¹³⁷ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” xix-xxxiii, *SHA*, II, pp.142-173.

¹³⁸ Ibidem, II, pp.114-115. “...omnia sordide ageret inireturque a viris et subigeret, statim milites facti sui paenituit, quod in Macrinum conspiraverant ut hunc principem facerent,...”.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, viii.2, pp.122-123.

¹⁴⁰ Herodian, *History*, V.5.3-V.7.1, pp.38-57.

All three authors agree in their understanding of the sexual orientation of Elagabalus, who is said to prefer male lovers to female, although he married several women. Herodian reports that in an attempt to “provide a semblance of his virility, he pretended to fall in love with a vestal Virgin, a priestess of the Roman goddess Vesta, bound by sacral law to remain a pure virgin to the end of her life,” whom he married.¹⁴¹ Cassius Dio claimed that although Elagabalus had many male lovers his main partner or husband was a charioteer named Hierocles, whom he wanted to make a caesar.¹⁴² Clearly blaming Elagabalus’ downfall on his same-sex desire, Cassius Dio provides several anecdotes about his male lovers, one of which deals with an athlete named Aurelius Zoticus.¹⁴³ The author of the *Historia Augusta* does not mention Hierocles, claiming instead that the emperor married his lover Zoticus, “nupsit et coit.”¹⁴⁴

It would appear that the pagan Zoticus is the syncretistic eponym of Saint Getulius/Zoticus. The pagan memory of Emperor Elagabalus’ male lover, associated with the site of the temple on account of his *Historia Augusta* biography, was replaced by Saint Getulius/Zoticus in a conversion of history.¹⁴⁵ Same-sex love was culturally acceptable during the classical period within limits; love between a man of high social status and one of inferior status or young age was condoned, but it was morally improper for men of equal status to partake. Whether the practice of same-sex love in the classical era should be classified as homosexuality is still debated.¹⁴⁶ Christianity introduced a rhetorical inversion of Roman sexuality, with the

¹⁴¹ Herodian, *History*, V.5.1-2, pp.46-47.

¹⁴² Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, 15.1-4, pp.464-467.

¹⁴³ Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, 16.2-7, pp.468-471.

¹⁴⁴ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” x.2-6, *SHA*, II, pp.126-127.

¹⁴⁵ Only this textual source includes discussion of both the Palladium and the athlete Zoticus.

¹⁴⁶ Amy Richlin, “Not before homosexuality: the materiality of the Cinaedus and the Roman law against love between men,” *Journal of the history of sexuality* 3.4 (1993), pp.523-573; Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1999), pp.17-56.

neutralisation of gender being a requisite for holiness.¹⁴⁷ Same-sex love was the focus of censure over the course of the Middle Ages, a censure which became increasingly more strident from the tenth century on.¹⁴⁸ Where the Emperor Elagabalus and the *Historia Augusta* account of his life fits between these two extremes has not yet been accurately evaluated.¹⁴⁹ Part of such an evaluation entails further study of the text's survival and dissemination; it survives in only a few medieval manuscript copies.¹⁵⁰ The *Historia Augusta* seems to have been well known among Christian authors, as shown by references to the life of Elagabalus in other medieval texts and saints' lives.¹⁵¹ Certainly gender anxiety has resulted in the moral editing of the emperor's biography in the modern era.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Mathew Kuefler, *The manly eunuch: masculinity, gender ambiguity and Christian ideology in late antiquity* (Chicago, 2001), pp.206-244.

¹⁴⁸ V. L. Bullough, "The sin against nature and homosexuality," *Sexual practices & the Medieval church*, ed. V. Bullough, J. Brundage (Buffalo, 1982), pp.55-71; Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the penitentials: the development of a sexual code 550-1150* (Toronto, 1984), pp.129-139; Mark Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian theology* (Chicago, 1997), esp. pp.29-66; Balzaretto, "Men and sex in tenth-century Italy," pp.143-159; Christopher A. Jones, "Monastic identity and sodomitic danger in the *Occupatio* by Odo of Cluny," *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp.1-53.

¹⁴⁹ In my view there is evidence of conflicting contemporary opinions about the episode. Philostratus, a contemporary of Elagabalus, ironically criticised 'that it takes a *real man* to write invective about living rulers', regarding a now lost satire of the emperor written by a Roman sophist named Aelian; see Philostratus, *The lives of the Sophists*, W. Cave Wright, tr. (Cambridge, 1968), pp.304-305.

¹⁵⁰ The reception history of the *Historia Augusta* during the Middle Ages has received only cursory treatment; see Jean-Pierre Callu, Olivier Desbordes, Cécile Bertrand, "L'Histoire Auguste et l'historiographie médiévale," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14-15 (1984-1985), pp.97-130; Oronzo Pecere, "Il codice Palatino dell'Historia Augusta come 'edizione' continua," *Formative stages of Classical studies* (Spoleto, 1995), pp.323-370. The relationship between the *HA* and Christian authors and texts has received minimal treatment; see T. Barnes, "The Historia Augusta and Christian hagiography," *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Genevense*, F. Paschoud, ed. (Bari, 1999), pp.33-41.

¹⁵¹ There are regular references to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in medieval chronicles, as for example in those by Paul Orosius, Isidore of Seville and Freculph of Lisieux; see *Orose: Histoires contre les païens*, M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, ed., 3 vols. (Paris, 1991), III.18.4-5, p.53.; *Isidori Hispalensis Chronica*, Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, 112, J. C. Martin, ed. (Turnhout, 2003), p.141; *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis, 169, M. I. Allen, ed. (Turnhout, 2002), I, pp.558-559. All these authors comment on the profligacy of the emperor. The temple of Heliogabalus also

There is precedent for such direct ecclesiological inversions in the dedication of Christian churches that are converted temples. The best known example is the conversion of the Pantheon, Hadrian's reconstruction of the homonymous temple first built by Marcus Agrippa in 25 B.C.¹⁵³ The temple was converted by Pope Boniface IV (608-615) during a time of famine, plague and flood; the pope asked the Emperor Phocas for the temple and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary and all the martyrs.¹⁵⁴ The correspondence between "all the gods" and "all the martyrs" of the dedication was consistently noted in textual references to the church. For example, the conversion was regularly commemorated in martyrologies. Often these entries would include a note about the rededication having cleansed the site of demons.¹⁵⁵ The conversion was also a subject for discussion in the *Mirabilia* texts, such as that of Master Gregorius.¹⁵⁶

This is not the earliest example of temple conversion, nor was there any consistency in the logic behind such rededications.¹⁵⁷ According to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, Saint Benedict destroyed a temple of Apollo in the sixth century to create the first church of the

features in the acta of Saint Philipp, bishop of Heraclea; F. Chausson, "Le site de la Vigna Barberini de 191 à 455," *La Vigna Barberini: histoire d'un site, étude des sources et de la topographie* (Rome, 1997), pp.31-85, esp.76; AA.SS. October, IX, pp.537-553. The Elagabalium is said to have burned in a fire sent by divine judgement.

¹⁵² Mauro Calcagno, "Censoring Eliogabalo in seventeenth-century Venice," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36.3 (2006), pp.355-377.

¹⁵³ According to Pliny the Elder Agrippa's temple was also dedicated to the pantheon of the gods; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, xxxvi.iv.38, H. Rackham, D. E. Eichholz, trs., 10 vols. (London, 1938-1962), X, pp.30-31.

¹⁵⁴ *Liber Pontificalis*, R. Davis, tr. Translated texts for historians, 6 (Liverpool, 1989; 2000), p.62.

¹⁵⁵ For example the Roman martyrology, Vat. Lat. 4885, 8v: "Memoriam omnium sanctorum quam papa boniphatus iussit focas imperatori inveteri phano quod pantheon vocabatur. Ablatis sordidibus omnium demonum ecclesiam ibi hedificaret omnium sanctorum."

¹⁵⁶ Master Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, tr. J. Osborne (Toronto, 1987), pp.29-30, 76-79.

¹⁵⁷ Frances J. Niederer, "Temples converted into churches: the situation in Rome," *Church history* 22.3 (1953), pp.175-180; Francesco Gandolfo, "Luoghi dei santi e luoghi dei demoni: il riuso dei templi nel medioevo," *Santi e Demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (secoli v-xi)*; Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 36, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1988), II, pp.883-916. Such conversions are said to have occurred in the East even earlier; see Alison Franz, "From

monastery of Montecassino, which was dedicated to St John the Baptist.¹⁵⁸ At first sight, this dedication does not appear to have been an analogous cultic substitution, since it has been proposed that on some level the cult of Apollo was subsumed into that of the Archangel Michael, even the god's association with pestilence, an idea that is in accord with Paul the Deacon's account of the plague in Pavia in 680 and mirrored in Gregory of Tours's account of plague in Rome at the time of Gregory the Great.¹⁵⁹ However, Saint John the Baptist was characterised as a prophet who foretold the coming of the "light of Christ," which might betray an associative relationship with the oracular sun-god Apollo.¹⁶⁰ Similar substitutions have been observed for the cults of Silvanus/Saint Sylvester, the cult of the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux/Saints Peter and Paul and the healing cult of the Lacus Iuturna with the oratory of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste at S. Maria Antiqua.¹⁶¹

In each of these cases the saint assumes an ancient role to fulfill some basic human need, while at the same time rejecting some aspect of an earlier cultic identity. The notion that a church dedication exorcised demons or pestilence was embedded within the liturgy of the consecration

paganism to Christianity in the temples of Athens," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), pp.187-205.

¹⁵⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, pp.168-169.

¹⁵⁹ Hill, "Apollo and St Michael: some analogies," pp.134-162. For a discussion of the accounts, see Chapter 4, p.212.

¹⁶⁰ Ambrose of Milan, "De Spiritu Sancto libri tres", *PL*16.703-816, esp.737. "Lux autem et Filius, quia vita erat lux hominum. Et ut ostenderet se de Dei Filio Evangelista dixisse, ait de Joanne Baptista: Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (Joan. I, 8, 9). Ergo quia Deus lux est, lux autem vera est Dei Filius: sine dubio Deus verus est Dei Filius." See also Éammon Ó Carragain, *Ritual and the rood: liturgical images and the Old English poems of the Dream of the Rood tradition* (Toronto, 2005), pp.106-110.

¹⁶¹ Robert Palmer, "Silvanus, Sylvester and the chair of St Peter," *Proceedings of the American philosophical society* 122.4 (1978), pp.222-247; Birte Poulsen, "The Dioscuri and the saints," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 21 (1993), pp.141-152; Gregor Kalas, "Topographical transitions: the oratory of the Forty Martyrs and exhibition strategies in the Early Medieval Roman Forum," *Santi Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano: cento anni dopo. Atti del colloquio*

ceremony and this cleansing no doubt symbolised the erasure of pagan memories associated with a particular site.¹⁶² Ritual, either of martyrdom or of liturgy, was a means of creating identity or unifying community and as such it was a rhetorical tool.¹⁶³ Medieval authors consciously used classical myth, well known to literate audiences, to produce moralising messages. Such is the case with Saint Hippolytus, a schismatic Roman priest whom Prudentius likened to the mythic Hippolytus who suffered rupture by horses in order to make the analogy that schism pulls communities apart.¹⁶⁴ This is also the case with S. Maria in Pallara.

S. Maria in Pallara was not a converted temple, the church having been built upon a temple podium. According to the *Historia Augusta* author, Elagabalus transported the representation of Baal, a black conical stone, to Rome from Emesa, erecting a temple for it on the Palatine close to the imperial palace.¹⁶⁵ The emperor transferred numerous religious icons to the

internazionale Roma, 5-6 maggio 2000, ed. J. Osborne, J. Rasmus Brandt, G. Morganti (Rome, 2004), pp.199-211.

¹⁶² For the ritual see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, IV, pp.309-402, esp. p.398-399; “Et facit aquuam exorcizatam et dicit orationem hanc: Oremus. Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quaeque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris et elemento huic multimodis purificationibus preparato virtutem tuae benedictionis infunde, ut creatura mysteriis tuis serviens ad abiciendos demones morbosque pellendos divinae gratiae tuae sumat effectum, ut, quicquid in locis vel in domibus fidelium haec unda resparsit careat inmunditia, liberetur a noxa, non illic resedeat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens; abscedant omnes insidiae latentis inimici et, si quid est quod aut incolomitate habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersione huius aquae effugiat, ut salubritas per invocationem tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit inpugnationibus defensa. Per dominum.”

¹⁶³ Brian Repsher, *The rite of church dedication in the Early Medieval era* (Lewiston, 1998), pp.139-168, esp. p.146, 159. Philippe Buc, *The dangers of ritual: between early medieval texts and social scientific theory* (Princeton, 2001), pp.123-157.

¹⁶⁴ Martha A. Malamud, *A poetics of transformation: Prudentius and classical mythology* (Ithaca, 1990), pp.79-113.

¹⁶⁵ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” i.6-7, *SHA*, II, pp.106-107. “...post Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constituit in quo prius aedes Orci fuit, quem e Syria secum advexit.” Numerous interpretations of Aedes Orcus have been suggested, but the term is probably a fictive location; *orcus* is the name for the underworld and it also meant death, an appropriate inverting pun about a temple dedicated to a sun-god created by a disgraced emperor that may even have been reconsecrated by the time the text was written. For alternate readings of this passage, see Jean-Claude Grenier, Filippo Coarelli, “La tombe d’Antinoüs à Rome,” *Mélange*

temple, including an image of the Magna Mater, the fire of Vesta and the Palladium.¹⁶⁶ The emperor was killed by his soldiers, his cousin Alexander Severus was appointed in his place by the Senate and a *damnatio memoriae* was issued on his name.¹⁶⁷ Despite its patron's murder and disgrace, the author of the *Historia Augusta* claimed that the temple still stood on the Palatine at the time of his writing, its dedication uncertain, with some people claiming it was dedicated to the sun, others saying to Jupiter.¹⁶⁸

The site of S. Maria in Pallara was first formally identified as the location of the Temple of Elagabalus by Paul Bigot in 1911, using coins of Alexander Severus that feature a temple of Jupiter Ultor on their obverse, whose distinctive propylaeum and monumental staircase seemed to correspond to the remaining features of the podium on the north east slope of the Palatine.¹⁶⁹ Knowing that classical texts mention a Republican temple dedicated to Jupiter on the Palatine, Bigot assumed that Alexander Severus replaced his disgraced cousin's sun god with this traditional cult.¹⁷⁰ Filippo Coarelli found further support for Bigot's theory in noting similar temple representations on coins of Elagabalus; he also noted that the Chronograph of 354 records

de l'École Française de Rome Antiquité 98.1 (1986), pp.217-253, esp.244-245; Chausson, "Vel Iovi vel Soli," pp.706-711.

¹⁶⁶ "Antoninus Elagabalus," iii.4-5, *SHA*, II, pp.110-111. "...studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens, ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat praeterea Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret." See also *ibidem*, vi.7-9-vii.1-2, pp.116-119.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, xvii.1-4, pp.138-141. See also Eric Varner, *Mutilation and transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman imperial portraiture* (Turnhout, 2004), pp.188-194.

¹⁶⁸ "Antoninus Elagabalus," xvii.8-9, *SHA*, II, pp.140-141. "Opera publica ipsius praeter aedem Heliogabali dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt, et Amphitheatri instaurationem post exustionem et lavacrum in vico Sulpicio, quod Antoninus Severi filius coeperat, nulla exstant."

¹⁶⁹ P. Bigot, "Le temple de Jupiter Ultor et la Vigne Barberini," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 39 (1911), pp.80-85.

¹⁷⁰ Bricks were identified with the stamp of Hadrian and he assumed Elagabalus renovated some Hadrianic structure. On the cult of Jupiter ultor on the Palatine, see Manuel Royo, "Constructions et aménagements antiques antérieurs au grand temple «Sévérien»,» *La Vigna Barberini: histoire d'un site, étude des sources et de la topographie* (Rome, 1997), pp.3-30, esp.16-21, 30.

a commemoration date for the cult of Jupiter Cultor, perhaps better read as ‘Ultor’, on 13 March; he reasoned that this was really a commemoration of the temple’s conversion, since it was also the anniversary of Alexander Severus’ accession.¹⁷¹ François Chausson has further noted that the eagle, a symbol of Jupiter, is also often found in Roman coin images of the sun god and mentioned in inscriptions, suggesting that some iconographic ambiguity caused the *Historia Augusta* author to claim that Elagabalus’ temple was dedicated either to the sun-god or to Jupiter.¹⁷²

Excavations of the north east slope of the Palatine were organised by the École Française de Rome between 1985 and 1999, with results published regularly in the papers of the institute.¹⁷³ A preliminary summary of the excavation campaign in the east sector of the terrace published by Henri Broise and Yvon Thébert reveals that the podium was built over a destruction layer which includes ceramic finds datable from the first to the early third centuries, as well as unstamped bricks of a type that were not used before the reign of Caracalla (211-217).¹⁷⁴ The authors interpret the podium and its supports to have been constructed in a logical and homogeneous

¹⁷¹ Grenier, Coarelli, “La tombe d’Antinoüs,” pp.236-238.

¹⁷² Chausson, “Vel Iovi vel Soli,” pp.679, 681, 741-742. Chausson notes that a passage in the *Historia Augusta*’s life of Caracalla mentions Elagabalus’ temple, repeating the same ambiguity, “vel Iovi Syrio vel soli”; see “Antoninus Caracalla,” xi.6, *SHA*, II, pp.30-31. Chausson also notes that a historiated capital discovered near the Temple of Vesta in the Forum appears to present an image of the sun-god’s stone symbol, surmounted by an eagle; see F. Studniczka, “Ein Pfeiler capitell auf dem Forum,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 16 (1901), pp.273-282, pl.12; see also L. de Arrizabalaga y Prado, “Capitelli con motivi figurati legati al culto di Elagabalus,” *Il giardino dei Cesari: dai palazzi antichi alla Vigna Barberini, sul Monte Palatino. Scavi dell’École française de Rome, 1985-1999*, ed. F. Villedieu (Rome, 2001), pp.105-106.

¹⁷³ “Rome: le Palatin (Vigna Barberini),” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome Antiquité* 101.1 (1989), pp.489-544; 102.1 (1990), pp.443-504; 106.1 (1994), pp.431-486; 108.1 (1996), pp.423-501; 110.1 (1998), pp.473-549 with an initial investigation of the graveyard of S. Maria in Pallara; 112.1 (2000), pp.413-502. Broader summaries were also published; see F. Villedieu, “La vigna Barberini (Palatino): nuove acquisizioni,” *Archeologia laziale* 12.1 (1995), pp.33-39; F. Villedieu, P. Veltri, “Les soutènements nord-ouest et nord de la terrasse de la Vigna Barberini (Palatin),” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome Antiquité* 111.2 (1999), pp.749-778.

manner, indicating a single building campaign. However, the bricks of this campaign date to the Antonine period, with stamps from the reigns of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife, Faustina the Younger, being present.¹⁷⁵ The temple cannot date earlier than its foundations, and thus the authors conclude that the bricks must have been stockpiled. Finally, the authors believe that the podium and temple were heavily pillaged in the fifth and sixth centuries. The authors conclude that the archaeology corresponds to the textual accounts and that this is indeed the site of the Temple of Heliogabalus.

While it is unlikely that the clients of S. Maria in Pallara understood much about the archaeology of the Temple of Heliogabalus, they certainly knew about the life of that emperor from the *Historia Augusta*. A portion of the *passio* of Saint Sebastian occurs on the steps of the Temple of Heliogabalus. The Palatine church in its Romanesque form was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Saints Zoticus and Sebastian as shown by the apse inscription, but as seen in Chapter 4, numerous references to the church describe it as S. Maria in Pallara or S. Maria in Palladio. The latter form is in fact what is recorded in the monastery's own martyrology.¹⁷⁶ According to Pietro Fedele, "Pallara" derives from Palladium, the name of an icon of Athena that had been transferred from the Temple of Vesta in the Forum to the Palatine. Enigmatically he claimed this was done by the "stulto imperatore," an unidentified "foolish emperor."¹⁷⁷ Laura Gigli identified the emperor as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nicknamed Elagabalus, explaining the transition from the "d" of palladium to the "ll" of Pallara as a natural linguistic one. However, she failed to identify a

¹⁷⁴ Broise and Thébert, "Élagabal et le complexe religieux de la Vigna Barberini," pp. 742-745.

¹⁷⁵ This discovery, published several years earlier, led to the premature conclusion that the temple could be identified with that built for the deified Faustina by her husband, Marcus Aurelius; see Claudia Cecamore, "Faustinae aedemque decernerent (*SHA*, Marcus, 26): les fragments 69-70 de la Forma Urbis et la première dédicace du temple de la Vigna Barberini," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome Antiquité* 111.1 (1999), pp.311-349.

¹⁷⁶ Vat. Lat. 378, 33v: "Dedicatio huius ecclesiae sanctae Mariae in Palladio."

¹⁷⁷ Fedele, "Una chiesa del Palatino," p. 369. In modern Italian *un zotico* is a foolish person.

source for the information.¹⁷⁸ Most recently Étienne Hubert allowed that Pallara could derive from either Palladium or Palatium and its derivatives such as Pallanteum.¹⁷⁹ Thangmar of Hildesheim could not have intended “palare” to signify Palatium, a word he used several times throughout Bishop Bernward’s biography to refer both to the mountain in Rome and generically to signify a palace.¹⁸⁰ The term can only refer to the Palladium. As noted above, Emperor Elagabalus’ *Historia Augusta* biography states that when he established his Palatine temple he transferred to it the Palladium of Athena along with several other religious icons. The first text to refer to the church using a version of the name “pallara” is Thangmar’s biography of Bernward. The author states that the bishop attended a synod in Rome in the year 1001 that was held in a church dedicated to Saint Sebastian called “in palare.”¹⁸¹ This text provides a *terminus ante quem* for the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus as well as for the dating of the pictorial cycle in the church.

There are undeniable hagiographic confluences that also suggest that the clients of S. Maria in Pallara were aware of the significance of the *Historia Augusta* account of the life of Elagabalus. The *Historia Augusta* author claims that Elagabalus received a prophecy of his violent death from some Syrian priests; the Latinised Greek word used to render the idea “violent death” was biothanatum, from βιοθανατος.¹⁸² Isidore of Seville clarified that the etymology of the term meant “twice dead”.¹⁸³ Alan of Lille must have been aware of the *Historia Augusta* life of Elagabalus when he explained that twice dead meant a death of the body and also a death of the

¹⁷⁸ Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, pp.7-8, 19-20.

¹⁷⁹ Hubert, “«In regione Pallarie»,” pp.101-105.

¹⁸⁰ Thangmar of Hildesheim, *Vita Sancti Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*. PL 140.411.

¹⁸¹ See Chapter 4, pp.183-184.

¹⁸² “Antoninus Elagabalus,” xxxiii.2-3, *SHA*, II, pp.170-171. “Et praedictum eidem erat a sacerdotibus Syris biothanatum se futurum.”

¹⁸³ Isidore of Seville, *Liber etymologiarum*, x.31.

soul.¹⁸⁴ As noted above, this word is used as a geographic place name in the commemoration of the martyrdom of Saint Symphorosa's seven sons; in Ado's martyrology the brothers are said to be buried at a place called *Septem biothanatos*.¹⁸⁵ The term is also found in the later lectionary accounts of the life of Saint Symphorosa.¹⁸⁶

Another hagiographic confluence is found in the manner of Elagabalus' death. The author of the *Historia Augusta* claims that the soldiers killed him in the latrine where the emperor was hiding. After dragging his body through the streets they attempted to throw it in the sewer, but since the opening was too small to admit the corpse, they tied a weight to it and threw it in the Tiber.¹⁸⁷ Herodian corroborates this account, while Cassius Dio claims only that his body was thrown into the Tiber.¹⁸⁸ This is suspiciously reminiscent of the death of Saint Sebastian. Whether the confluence is coincidental or whether a redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* crafted the saint's death to respond to that of Elagabalus is unknown. The earliest extant copy of the *Historia Augusta* is a tenth-century manuscript from Fulda, now in the Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 899; that the redaction responds to the Palatine church and its hagiographic traditions is also a possibility. However, it should be noted that Saint Sebastian is not alone in having his corpse deposited in the

¹⁸⁴ Alan of Lille, "Liber in distinctionibus dictionum theologicarum" *PL* 210.685-1012, esp.721. "Biothanatus vel biothematus, simplex nomen quod est expositivum ex bis et ota, otae, quod est auris, quia habet divisas otas, id est aures; et in simplici quod intrat per unam et exit per aliam; unde et idiota dicitur qui habet divisas aures ab iduor, iduaris quod est divido, dividis, et ota, otae quod est auris, vel biota, biotae idem est quod ovis, unde dicitur biothanatus, id est fatuus, unde legitur in passione sanctorum Gervasii et Protasii: Vis tu biothanatus fieri, id est fatuus, sicut frater tuus? Dicitur damnatus in corpore et anima; secundum hoc componitur hoc nomen ex bis et thanatos, quod est mors, quasi bis mortuus in corpore, scilicet anima; unde legitur quod Aegeas sepultus fuit inter biothanatos, id est inter damnatos corpore et anima, et de hoc in legenda sancti Andreae."

¹⁸⁵ See note 42 above.

¹⁸⁶ It is found in Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A4, 138v-139v.

¹⁸⁷ "Antoninus Elagabalus," xvii.1-4, *SHA*, II, pp.138-141. "...addita iniuria cadaveri est, ut id in cloacam milites mitterent..."

¹⁸⁸ Herodian, *History*, V.8.8-10, pp.70-73; Cassius Dio, *Roman history*, 80.20.1-2, pp.476-479.

sewer; Saints Felicula, Concordia, Ireneus and Abundus were also thrown into *cloacae*.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, the sewer had long been used as a metaphor in Christian literature for sin, including sexual sin.¹⁹⁰

Motifs in the life of the Emperor Elagabalus also coincide and clash with hagiographical themes found in the *Acta Sebastiani*. The second half of the *Historia Augusta* account is filled with anecdotes about the emperor's predilection for luxury, dealing with jewels, costume and food. For example, the author claimed that he would wear jewel-studded clothing and shoes; he would even wear a jewelled diadem in the manner of women.¹⁹¹ Elagabalus is said never to wear the same shoes or ring twice, and he would mix jewels with apples and flowers at his banquets.¹⁹² Elagabalus is also said to have eaten rare and exotic foods, and to have served his guests pretend food made out of wood and other materials. Further, he would eat arcane foods for foolish reasons; the author claimed that Elagabalus would eat the tongues of peacocks and nightingales because he thought they would help avert the plague.¹⁹³ As if in response to the *Historia Augusta*, the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* included a whole chapter on the reason that God created riches; the answer is that riches are to be eschewed; they exist only in order to be given away in charity.¹⁹⁴ In contrast to the banquets of Elagabalus, whose habits the author of the *Historia Augusta* described as filth, the author of the *Acta* claims that in heaven the air is sweet and the

¹⁸⁹ *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, pp.193, 272, 285.

¹⁹⁰ John Cassian, "Collationes", 20.9, *PL* 49.1167. "Quapropter studendum est nobis ut virtutum potius appetitu et desiderio regni coelorum, quam noxiis vitiorum recordationibus, nosmetipsos ad compunctionem laudabilem provocemus, quia necesse est tamdiu quempiam pestilentissimis cloacae fetoribus praefocari, quamdiu supra eam stare vel coenum ejus voluerit commovere." Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, "De laudibus virginittatis", *PL* 89.136-137. "O quanta caterva credentium in utroque sexu fetidas facinorum cloacas calcitrans, et putida vitiorum volutabra abominans, illorum magisterio ad fidem catholicam conversa, cum martyrii tropaeo triumphans agonizavit!"

¹⁹¹ "Antoninus Elagabalus," xxiii.4-6, *SHA*, II, pp.150-151.

¹⁹² Ibidem, xxxii.1, pp.168-169; xxvii.6-7, pp.160-161.

¹⁹³ Ibidem, xxv.8, pp.156-157; xx.5-6, pp.146-147.

food brings about no excrement.¹⁹⁵ The theme is continued in the analogy of the jewelled ring with the human soul; God values even a single soul so highly that he sent his only Son, more precious than jewels, into squalor and suffering in order to retrieve mankind.¹⁹⁶

Two other themes found in the *Acta Sebastiani* clash with the life and habits of the Emperor Elagabalus, those of purity and humility. The author of the *Historia Augusta* gives many anecdotes about the gender, morals and multiple sexual partners of the emperor. In absolute contrast, the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* likens Saint Sebastian to the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ, in Zoë's first address to the saint.¹⁹⁷ The redactor further arranges for the martyr Tranquillinus to argue that the stories read out in the market place about immoral Roman gods offer unacceptable models of behaviour, including sexual mores, in his definition of incorrect paradigms, specifically incest, rape and same-sex desire.¹⁹⁸ Finally, the *Historia Augusta* author claims that the emperor consulted astrologers and magicians, in addition to his non-traditional worshipping of a stone sun god and collecting numerous icons to his Palatine temple.¹⁹⁹ The author of the *Acta Sebastiani* devotes a chapter to arguing the humility of Christianity, which includes discussions of knowledge and idols; only the simple may recognise the truth of God. Along the same lines, the next chapter of the *Acta Sebastiani* is dedicated to arguing against astrology and the false knowledge it offers; one's time is better spent in acts of charity than in vain quests for knowledge.²⁰⁰ While such *topoi* as chastity, charity and idols are common to hagiographical texts, the many points of contact discussed here would suggest that the

¹⁹⁴ AA.SS. January, II, pp.267-268.

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem, p.267. "Odor aeris delectationem per omnia membra diffundit, & esca ibi nulla stercora conficit."

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 4, pp.187-188.

¹⁹⁷ Chapter 4, pp.186-187.

¹⁹⁸ AA.SS. January, II, p.271.

¹⁹⁹ "Antoninus Elagabalus," ix.1, *SHA*, II, pp.124-125.

²⁰⁰ AA.SS. January, II, p.274.

hagiographical combinations in this church offered satisfying moral exemplars to those of S. Maria in Pallara's clients who were cognisant of the site's topographic history.

The ultimate message of the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus is this: the moral paradigm offered by the *Historia Augusta* was no longer acceptable and required expunging from the local memory. In addition to the emperor's same-sex relationship, the temple was at some point dedicated to Jupiter, who was the primary paradigm for same-sex love in medieval literature and art.²⁰¹ Instead of destroying all trace of the texts that recorded that memory, a portion of that history was retained and utilised. Zoticus was chosen as the focus for the conversion of this history, rather than the Emperor Elagabalus, perhaps because numerous saints named Zoticus existed for easy emendation. The history of the Early Christian martyr Zoticus no longer survives; perhaps it had already been forgotten by the tenth century, facilitating the conflation even further. A marriage of the martyrs Saints Symphorosa and Getulius had already occurred by the ninth century, offering fitting moral identities for substitution. That Saints Getulius, Symphorosa and her sons were martyred under the Emperor Hadrian was further impetus for the conflation, as that emperor was also recorded in the *Historia Augusta* as partaking in same-sex love.²⁰² This might also explain why Saint Zoticus is said to hail from Tivoli, the location of Hadrian's Villa.²⁰³ The memory of the pagan Zoticus was replaced with Saint Getulius/Zoticus, who fit the standards of the Christian moral code as he was married and had seven sons. The church was renovated, the

²⁰¹ Ilene Forsyth, "The Ganymede capital at Vézelay," *Gesta* 25.1-2 (1976), pp. 241-246; V. A. Kolve, "Ganymede/Son of Getron: medieval monasticism and the drama of same-sex desire," *Speculum* 73.4 (1998), pp.1014-1067.

²⁰² "Hadrian," xiv.5-7, *SHA*, II, pp.44-45. Considering the life of Hadrian, it might not be coincidence that the magistrate that persecutes Saint Zoticus and his companions is called Licinius, as Hadrian is known to have had a patron by that name; see J. Juan Castelló, "Licinio Sura y la adopción de Hadriano," *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcinonense*, G. Bonamente, M. Mayer, eds. (Bari, 2005), pp.99-105.

²⁰³ William L. MacDonald, John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and its legacy* (New Haven, 1995).

commemoration of Saint Getulius/Zoticus was moved to a new date, January 12th, and martyrologies and lectionaries were gradually amended and updated.

Historical and moral revision was not specific to medieval culture alone. It was a historical philosophy practised at least from the time of Plato, who believed that children ought not to be told those stories about gods killing other gods or humans battling gods.²⁰⁴ The story of the pagan Zoticus must have been accessible in tenth-century Rome, thus necessitating a revision that would have functioned only if there was insufficient knowledge of the *Historia Augusta* to make such revision ludicrous. The clients of the Palatine monastery were less anxious to cover up the memory of same-sex love, than to utilise it as a warning against infractions within the monastic enclosure. Further, a moral reform of this sort could have been accomplished only subliminally, for fear of promoting the very thing it intended to subvert.

Topographical memory of same-sex love seems to have been regularly, if not systematically, reformed throughout Christian history. For example, a message about Christian chastity was constructed in the Greek life of Saints Julianus and Basilissa of Antinopolis, a life that is cited in the Rule of Saint Benedict.²⁰⁵ The saints were betrothed but chose to remain celibate Christians and were martyred during the Diocletianic persecutions. Such a message was particularly pertinent for Antinopolis, the city that was dedicated by Emperor Hadrian to the memory of Antinous, his deified lover.²⁰⁶

Medieval narrative cycles communicating messages about chastity are known in Rome, as in the eleventh-century cycle in the lower church of San Clemente dedicated to the life of Saint

²⁰⁴ Plato, *The Republic*, P. Shorey, tr., 2 vols. (London, 1963), I, ii, pp.176-181.

²⁰⁵ Mark del Cogliano, "Behind Benedict: the passio Juliani et Basilissae," *American Benedictine Review* 57.2 (2006), pp.287-319.

²⁰⁶ Caroline Vout, "Antinous, archaeology and history," *Journal of Roman studies* 95 (2005), pp.80-96.

Alexis, a saint who abandoned wife and family to live the chaste life of an ascetic beggar.²⁰⁷ Presumably an extended cycle dedicated to the saint once existed in the tenth-century monastic church of SS. Bonifacio e Alessio on the Aventine.²⁰⁸ However, I know of no other such visual messages against same-sex love. One may have existed in the church of S. Caesario on the Palatine that is thought to have been located in the Domus Augustana as early as the seventh century.²⁰⁹ The temple of Apollo was also located in the Domus Augustana, a topographical detail that may be significant to understanding the location of the cult of Saint Caesarius on the Palatine. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* account of his life, Saint Caesarius was an African deacon living in Terracina, who was repulsed by the habits and morals of pagans. When he is threatened by the governor Luxurius either to make homage to Apollo at his shrine or face death, the saint chooses death.²¹⁰ *Luxus* is the Latin term for “excess”, but the word and its derivatives came to signify sexual excess and even homosexuality in the Middle Ages.²¹¹ The moral movement from Saint Caesarius’ rejection of the cult of Apollo to the conversion of history created in S. Maria in Pallara represents an intensification in the message against same-sex love, one that can be compared to Peter Damian’s (1007-1072) treatise, *Liber Gomorrhianus*, the first such text to explicitly define the sin and its moral consequences.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Valentino Pace, “Riforma della chiesa e visualizzazione della santità nella pittura Romana: i casi di Sant’Alessio e di Santa Cecilia,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46-47 (1993-1994), pp.541-548; Filippini, *The Eleventh-century frescoes*, pp.221-240.

²⁰⁸ Ferrari, *Early Roman monasteries*, pp.78-87.

²⁰⁹ Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo*, pp.50-55; L. Duchesne, “La chapelle imperiale du Palatin,” *Bulletin critique* 6 (1885), pp.417-424.

²¹⁰ AA.SS. November, I, pp.84-130.

²¹¹ Jordan, *The invention of Sodomy*, pp.37-40.

²¹² *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, K. Reindel, ed., 2 vols. Monumenta Germaniae historica, Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 4 (Munich, 1983), I, pp.284-330. Jordan, *The invention of Sodomy*, pp.45-66.

5.5 Conclusion

This investigation of the Eclissi drawings of S. Maria in Pallara's lost narrative cycle dedicated to the martyrdom of Saint Zoticus has revealed that it was likely produced during the church's tenth-century restoration. Both visual and textual evidence for this dating can be found. First, many of the scenes include the peaked backdrop that is similarly observed in the extant paintings of the apse and apse arch, whose tenth-century dating was affirmed in Chapter 2. Second, the hagiographic conflation of Saint Zoticus and Saint Getulius, first noted several centuries ago as having been depicted in the narrative cycle, is here seen to depend on S. Maria in Pallara's topographical history, a history that is also responsible for a change in the church's dedication. Liturgical evidence such as Flodoard of Rheims's *De Triumphus Christi* and Pal. Lat. 846 provide a *terminus post quem* of about 940 for the conflation. A *terminus ante quem* of 1001 is provided by Thangmar's biography of Bernward of Hildesheim.

This examination of the narrative cycle has further shown that the iconography of some of its images was based on Christological scenes. This may be the case with the scene depicting the incarceration of Saint Zoticus and his two unidentified companions, presumably Amantius and perhaps Primitivus. It is reminiscent of Crucifixion scenes that include the two thieves on crosses on either side of Christ, such as that found on the wooden doors of S. Sabina. Whether S. Maria in Pallara's Crucifixion scene utilised the same iconographic form, if indeed the Christological cycle included such a scene, is unknown. The identification of a previously unidentified narrative scene has also been proposed; this is the scene depicting the martyrdom of a male saint involving a stone slab. Since the cycle seems to have been in a poor state when the drawings were made, and since Eclissi mistook one of the female saints in the apse for a male saint, it is possible that the saint represented here is Symphorosa, the wife of Saint Getulius/Zoticus. Saint Symphorosa's martyrdom included the tying of a stone around her neck

and submersion in the Tiber. If this proposal is correct, then the scene was part of the cycle dedicated to the martyrdom of Saint Zoticus and his companions.

This investigation of new textual sources for the conflation of Saints Getulius and Zoticus has also revealed how and where the conflation took place, as well as what role the images played in such a process. Textual sources, both early martyrologies and sacramentaries of the Gelasian type, document that Saint Zoticus was an early Christian saint who was martyred in Rome and whose memory was celebrated on the Via Labicana. Some physical evidence also survives to document the liturgical commemoration of the saint, such as the empty tomb on the Via Labicana and the S. Prassede inscription. Martyrologies, itineraries and monastic charters record the liturgical commemoration of Saints Getulius, Symphorosa and her seven sons; Saint Getulius was venerated on the Via Salaria to the north of Rome while Saint Symphorosa along with her seven sons was venerated on the Via Tiburtina, to the east of the city. Each of these saints contributed something to the moral conversion of S. Maria in Pallara's topographical history: Saint Zoticus contributed his name, Saint Getulius his identity and Saint Symphorosa her gender and maternal identity. Despite a wealth of textual sources, the Eclissi drawings of the S. Maria in Pallara narrative cycle provide the earliest record of the life of Saint Zoticus/Getulius. The cycle was also the most important record of that life, as a monumental cycle provided substance and legitimacy in its physical grounding that could never be found in a text alone.

After the monumental cycle, S. Maria in Pallara's martyrology, Vat. Lat. 378, contains the most relevant liturgical evidence for Saint Zoticus/Getulius, who was commemorated in its folia on 12 January, a different date than is recorded for the individual saints involved in the conflation as found in all other sources. This entry in Vat. Lat. 378 also provides evidence that this new saint was uniquely first celebrated on the Palatine. Lectionaries such as Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A3 illustrate that the cult of the new Saint Zoticus was by no means stable, as

the life of Saint Symphorosa located there has her still wed to Saint Getulius, while Archivio Capitolare S. Pietro A2 contains the life of Saint Zoticus, who is wed to Saint Symphorosa but he is commemorated on the ancient anniversary of 10 February.

Finally, this discussion of the conflation's construction illustrates how important the history of texts is to understanding the moral significance of the narrative cycle of the martyrdom of Saint Zoticus. The *Historia Augusta* biography of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, otherwise known as Elagabalus, records that the emperor dedicated a temple on the Palatine to the Syrian sun god Baal, on which podium S. Maria in Pallara was later built. To this temple the emperor transferred various Roman icons including the Palladium of Athena, from which the name of the tenth-century church derives. As noted in Chapter 4 and above, the temple features in the *Passio* of Saint Sebastian, another saint to whom the church was dedicated. The *Historia Augusta* biography also states that Emperor Elagabalus married his male lover, Zoticus. Saint Zoticus is the eponym of the pagan lover and thus the conflation provides a secure heterosexual alibi for the saint in what can only be understood as a Christian conversion of history in order to reform classical values. The scenes of the narrative cycle only present the reformation of the saint's life as an after-image and any true understanding of its significance must have depended on knowledge of the pertinent texts, both classical and medieval. How widespread such knowledge was, we can never know.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Image, text and society in tenth-century Rome

As hinted at in Chapter 1 and indirectly discussed throughout this investigation, the primary hindrance to the study of the paintings in S. Maria in Pallara is the divide that is perceived to exist between image and text. Not only has Bernard of Chartres's dictum about dwarves and giants caused doubts about the origin and dating of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, but the iconic status of the *Acta Sebastiani* and the absence of an authoritative text of the life of Saint Zoticus were barriers that had to be considered in this study. The *Acta* is thought to have been authored by Ambrose of Milan, a religious authority of great stature, and thus efforts to critically analyse the text have not been forthcoming. In the past the Chronograph of 354 has been considered a sufficient authority to document the early existence of Saint Sebastian, despite the pertinent parts of the text surviving only in early modern copies. Paul the Deacon's account of plague has offered a convenient explanation for the cult of Saint Sebastian, so that no other explanations have been sought. A lack of an authoritative life of Saint Zoticus has meant an almost complete absence of inquiry into this figure, on which so much of the meaning of the paintings in S. Maria in Pallara is here seen to depend.

To some degree images should be studied without recourse to texts. Images have a life and history of their own as documents of their time period and the cultural milieu in which they were created. Thus, in Chapter 2 the extant paintings were examined as documents within the Roman tradition of wall painting. First it was found that since paintings produced in different eras in a single medieval monument in Rome never seem to display attempts at visual integration, the arch paintings must be coeval with those of the apse on account of a peaked backdrop seen throughout all the paintings; if the paintings were not coeval, then they were produced in closely

related campaigns, separated by only a slight interval. Second, the pictorial conventions used in these paintings are those of early medieval traditions of Roman church decoration, rendered with a stylistic ethos that is more characteristic of eleventh- and twelfth-century painting. A dearth of securely dated paintings in Rome from the tenth century makes a more precise dating difficult based on visual analyses alone. As noted by Paola Mangia Renda and Julie Enckell Julliard, the paintings are very similar to those in the subterranean chapel under SS. Cosma e Damiano. The latter are not securely dated, nor are some of the other parallels that I have suggested here, such as the painting of Saint Peter's crucifixion in S. Balbina and the image of Saint Sebastian in S. Maria in Cosmedin. Thus, a secure dating and a better understanding of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings will benefit the study of medieval wall painting in Rome.

However, medieval texts and images were often intended to work in tandem and the texts had to be confronted. Thus, examining the sources for the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum alongside those of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in Chapter 3 has revealed the structure of both, as well as the impossibility of the text serving as the source for the iconography. As seen in Chapter 2, it is chronologically impossible to accept that the dictum served as the source for the iconography in S. Maria in Pallara, even if its paintings are dated slightly later than the tenth-century date proposed here, perhaps to the eleventh. A dating for the paintings in the twelfth century or beyond is stylistically inconceivable and the church was nearing its nadir in the thirteenth century; by the fourteenth it was no longer served by a priest, according to the Turin Catalogue. Further, the *Metalogicon*, the text recording Bernard's saying, had limited diffusion in the Middle Ages and never could have fuelled such a geographically widespread iconographic

tradition.¹ Considering the structure of both iconography and dictum, it is far more likely that image served as a source of inspiration for text.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography has a long and complex history, with S. Maria in Pallara's rendition existing somewhere near the beginning of that tradition. The iconography embodies medieval textual metaphors surrounding the Twenty-Four Elders found in Apocalypse exegesis from the ninth century on; specifically the interpretation that they may be typologically equated with the Apostles and Prophets who will take part in the Last Judgement. The S. Maria in Pallara paintings present twelve of the Twenty-Four Elders in the upper register of the apse arch, with the second twelve substituted with pairs of Apostles and generic-looking Prophets in what might be likened to a working drawing for the concept. The iconography fairly consistently signifies a sense of judgement, commonly appearing in representations of the Last Judgement. Even when it was used independently, as in the historiated initials of psalm commentaries, it still communicated a sense of judgement.

If my interpretation of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography's liturgical sources is correct, that it derives from passages in the Book of Job and their interpretation in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, then S. Maria in Pallara's version of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography served as a liturgical cue to remind the monks to pray for the salvation of Petrus Medicus and it is possible that this image belongs at the very head of that iconographic tradition. The iconography is not found in manuscripts of the *Moralia*, but is an independent creation particular to monumental art and I suspect that its appearance in Romanesque and Gothic contexts is due to transmission of the concept or image, rather than to independent invention.² Possible

¹ K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, "The textual tradition of John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 16 (1986), pp.229-283.

² This is not a difficult scenario to imagine since S. Maria in Pallara was an important church in the history of the eleventh- and twelfth-century papacy, with Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119)

parallel examples of such commemorative liturgical cues, albeit none so elaborate, have also been identified in Chapter 3 in the ninth-century paintings of the Crypt of Epyphanius at S. Vincenzo al Volturno and the lower church of S. Clemente. Thus, images are here seen not only to function in conjunction with liturgy, but to record and express liturgy, which is usually characterised as text, either written or sung.

Further evidence for the complimentary nature of text and image in the Middle Ages is found in the depictions of the saints in S. Maria in Pallara. In Chapter 4, I examined the history of the cult of Saint Sebastian, especially his visual profile. While the earliest extant images of the saint in Rome and Ravenna dating to the late fifth and mid sixth centuries depict him as a generic martyr, all subsequent images depict him as a grey-haired military saint, just as he is represented in the *Acta Sebastiani*. These portraits appear in churches with some connection to Greek culture, either a Greek-speaking patron or congregation. Many other portraits of the saint are documented in the faithful papal textual record that is the *Liber Pontificalis*, but these have been lost. With his military identity, Saint Sebastian appears to have embodied a desire for authority in the face of ever-greater withdrawal of imperial forces, and thus the location of a church dedicated to the saint on the Palatine was appropriate, a presence which both textual and visual evidence suggests was manifest by at least by the eighth or ninth century.³ While purportedly dating to the fourth or fifth centuries, the earliest fragmentary copy of the *Acta* is a palimpsest dated to the seventh century. The change in the saint's persona prompts questions about the reason for recycling the Berne copy of the *Acta* and about the nature of its redactions in the seventh or eighth centuries. It also

having been elected there and Innocent II (1130-1143), Alexander II (1159-1181) and Celestine II (1143-1144) having taken refuge there; see Gigli, *S. Sebastiano al Palatino*, pp. 38-42.

³ A similar explanation is proposed for the location of the cult of the Forty Martyrs, a military cult, at the base of the Palatine hill; see Kirsti Gulowsen, "The oratory of the Forty Martyrs: from imperial ante-vestibule to Christian room of worship," *Imperial art as Christian Art, Christian*

raises questions about whether text more commonly dictates the nature of cults or whether the changing nature of a cult governs textual forms.⁴

Saint Sebastian is depicted in S. Maria in Pallara's apse as a grey-haired soldier saint. A narrative cycle dedicated to his life was also located in this church, along with the earliest recorded certain depiction of the saint's sagittation, as found in the Eclissi drawings. It is here proposed that the narrative cycle was coeval with the apse paintings, as both paintings and the drawings display a similar use of the distinctive peaked backdrop. The analysis in Chapter 4 reveals that the cycle was more extensive than previously thought, as comparison with a fifteenth-century cycle of the life of Saint Sebastian reveals a similar iconography in a previously unidentified scene among the Eclissi drawings, illustrating the independence and longevity of images. However, the cycle's moral content only would have been fully apprehended with access to the *Acta Sebastiani*, an examination of which suggests that the saint offered a paradigm for monastic chastity. For example, the metaphor of the ring that is likened to the soul is a textual notion, as is Zoë's greeting to Saint Sebastian in imitation of the Annunciation, neither of which seem to have been illustrated in the cycle. Thus, the full moral potential of medieval images ultimately rested in the simultaneous contemplation of text and image. The *Acta* would have been read by the monks during private devotions and on the saint's feast day as part of the celebration of the Divine Office at Matins.

Further examination of medieval textual evidence in Chapter 4 suggests that Saint Sebastian was not associated with the plague in the early medieval period. Only in the Late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance does this association arise when Saint Sebastian also

Art as imperial art: expression and meaning in art and architecture from Constantine to Justinian (Rome, 2001), pp.77-91.

⁴ The fluidity of medieval narratives of saints' lives was observed by Cynthia Hahn, "Picturing the text: narrative in the life of the saints," *Art history* 13.1 (1990), pp.1-33, esp.6-10.

began to be represented in the guise of Apollo, who was considered both the bearer and healer of plague in the classical era. Such classicising images resulted in both the appearance of gender anxiety about the saint and in homoerotic sublimation. Saint Sebastian's sagittation appears to be modelled on classical accounts of Apollo killing the plague-bearing Python, presenting an inversion of the model; Saint Sebastian is envisioned resisting the homoerotic mores associated with the pagan god in classical myth. Thus texts are seen to act as moral gloss on images, but in turn images are a moral reform of texts, the interpretation depending on one's point of view.

A new window on to medieval relationships between text and image opens in Chapter 5, with an analysis that offers a key to understanding the whole decorative programme of the church. The figure of Saint Zoticus has, until now, defied investigation, but examination of liturgical sources and topographic history reveals how his persona was produced and what purpose it served. It has long been recognised that the saint identified as Zoticus in the drawings of the S. Maria in Pallara narrative cycles was a conflation of two saints, an early Christian martyr named Zoticus who was commemorated on the Via Labicana and Saint Getulius who was celebrated in the Sabina. The cycle, which is here claimed to be coeval with the extant apse paintings on account of the shared presence of a similar peaked backdrop, provides the earliest evidence of the conflation. An examination of liturgical sources for Saint Zoticus, begun by Julie Enckell Julliard and extended here, reveals that the two saints were conflated through the figure of Saint Symphorosa, an independent martyr in early martyrologies who was first united with a separate group of seven brothers that became her sons and then associated with Saint Getulius who became her husband. Thus, texts are legitimate building blocks for the creation of sanctity.⁵

⁵ Cynthia Hahn has shown that medieval authors did not expect saints' lives to represent historical truth, but spiritual truth; see C. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001), pp. 34-45. For the imaginative creation of episodes in saints' lives, see also Herbert L. Kessler, "The

An examination of the topographical history of S. Maria in Pallara reveals another Zoticus in its history. The church was built on the podium of the temple of Heliogabalus, which was built by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus according to the emperor's biography in the *Historia Augusta*. This same text relates that the emperor married his male lover named Zoticus. Thus, the clients of S. Maria in Pallara attempted to Christianise the classical history of the site by editing the gender of the pagan Zoticus and creating a heterosexual saint, the father of seven children who lived in a chaste relationship with his wife. The *Historia Augusta* biography of this emperor also endowed the church with the name "Pallara," the term deriving from the word Palladium, an icon of Athena that was housed in the Palatine temple. Flodoard of Rheims's securely dated poem, *De Triumphis Christi*, perhaps composed when he was in Rome in the 930s, includes an account of the martyrdoms of Saints Getulius, his wife Saint Symphorosa and their seven sons, offering a *terminus ante quem* for the conflation. The earliest use of the term Pallara to refer to the church, Thangmar's biography of Bernward of Hildesheim, offers a *terminus ante quem* of 1001. Topography is seen here to play a large role in the determination of the *passio* and the cult of any given Roman saint, that in turn one is prompted to ask which came first in the *Acta Sebastiani*, the saint's martyrdom or the Palatine location of his cult. While it is impossible to provide an answer at this stage of research, it can be said that images are legitimising documents providing evidence of a saint's connection with the site in which his or her cult is celebrated. Since the beginning of Christianity images have been used to confirm the presence of the holy and the actuality of sacred history, and they continued to serve this function even when that history came to be obviously and synthetically constructed, as in the case of Saint Zoticus.⁶

meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: an emblematic narrative of spiritual brotherhood," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp.262-275.

⁶ William Loerke, "Real presence in Early Christian Art," *Monasticism and the Arts*, T G. Verdon, ed. (Syracuse, 1984), pp.29-51; Robert Ousterhout, "Loca Sancta and the architectural

While it is generally held to be true that the lives of the saints imitated the life of Christ in both text and image, the use of Christological iconographic models in the portrayal of the lives of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus is limited in my opinion.⁷ While the redactor of the *Acta* presents Saint Sebastian in the guise of the Virgin Annunciate, the only scene in the S. Maria in Pallara cycle where the saint might embody the figure of Christ is the sagittation, which is thought to be modelled on images of the Crucifixion. However, the similarity between iconography and model is only approximate in my view. The incarceration scene of Saint Zoticus is reminiscent of Crucifixion depictions that feature flanking crucifixions of the two thieves. This iconography is found in the late eleventh-century paintings of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, so it is possible that a Crucifixion scene appeared in S. Maria in Pallara. Certainly such iconography would be a fitting compliment to the Saint Sebastian cycle in S. Maria in Pallara, considering my interpretation of the philological connections between Christ's acclamation of the saint in the *Acta Sebastiani* and the words of Apollo at Hyacinth's death; such an image would be certain to evoke Christ's words of redemption to the good thief.

It now can be seen far more clearly how the saints in these cycles embody classical figures, although they are antitypes, inversions of their models. Saint Sebastian was an inversion of classical myth surrounding the pagan god Apollo and Saint Zoticus was an inversion of the historical figure Zoticus, the lover and husband of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. The one is visually observable, while the other is dependant on textual knowledge. In a similar manner, the classical model of Anchises carried on the back of his son Aeneas could only be considered an anti-model for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography analysed in Chapter 3. It is likely that

response to pilgrimage," *The blessings of Pilgrimage*, R. Ousterhout, ed. (Urbana, 1990), pp.108-124.

⁷ Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp.34-45. See also James W. Earl, "Typology and iconographic style in early medieval hagiography," *Studies in the literary imagination* 8 (1975), pp.15-46.

such complex messages were included in these cycles because they were intended for a learned monastic audience. As noted by Cynthia Hahn, illustrated texts of saints' lives that utilise Christological mimesis were often intended for lay recipients, a spiritually less disciplined audience.⁸

The metaphors were necessary in a message against same-sex love, a message better suited to images than to text, so as to not spread the very thing against which it argued. This was Pope Leo IX's reason for not endorsing Peter Damian's *Liber Gomorrhianus*: "Plus est enim opere docere, quam voce" [One can teach more by action than by word].⁹ Further, the metaphors were the only means available to structure a message about male chastity without impugning the virility of the male saints in question. A message about resisting rape, a common *topos* in the lives of female saints, is not appropriate to the life of a male saint.¹⁰ However, in some ways the hagiographic narratives of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus are also narratives of resistance.

As noted in Chapter 4, there is evidence that early modern authors discussing the cult of Saint Sebastian experienced gender anxiety. Contemporary authors also seem to have expressed angst about the figure of Saint Zoticus, especially in discussions where the authors repeatedly reiterate S. Maria in Pallara's connection with the Temple of Heliogabalus. Perhaps more concrete evidence of this gender anxiety can be found in discussions of the portraits of Saints Sebastian, Zoticus and Benedict located in the panel subsequently inserted into the apse. As noted in Chapter 2, it was debated in the seventeenth century whether these portraits represented the church's patron saints along with Saint Benedict, or whether Saints Peter and Paul with the Virgin Mary were portrayed. Art historians are in general agreement that the former interpretation

⁸ Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp.21-28.

⁹ Leonis IX, "Epistola, Qua hic sancti viri libellus confirmatur," *PL* 145.159.160.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the visual construction of the virginity *topos* of female sanctity, see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, pp.90-128.

reflects reality, but recently Catherine McCurrach has once again opened the debate, proposing that Saint Benedict was depicted here with Saints Peter and Paul.¹¹ While I disagree with her conclusion, the portraits depict Saints Sebastian and Zoticus in military costume, the images are worth briefly re-examining to recover the rhetoric behind early modern discussions of the image.

In the seventeenth century Constantine Gaetani argued that the panel portrayed the Princes of the Apostles. Saint Sebastian is known as a defender of the Roman church and was associated with Saint Peter at the Basilica Apostolorum and S. Pietro in Vincoli, thus a thematic link exists between the two. Saint Zoticus presents a message against same-sex love, a proscription whose primary authority was Saint Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (1.18-32), again presenting a moral connection between the two saints. In the conclusion to his discussion of the panel, Gaetani refers to Sodom and Gomorrah, thus it would seem that seventeenth-century authors were aware of the messages offered by the cycles of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus in this church.¹² By making such connections among the saints, authors were perhaps discussing the theme of same-sex love and its prohibition in a kind of typological code. Thus when reading early modern discussions of medieval art, one should be aware of possible polemical arguments underlying apparently erroneous readings as the authors, themselves often Catholic monks or clerics, were accustomed to communicate in a typological mode of discourse.

Not only has this analysis of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings shown that images and texts were compatible components of medieval spiritual and intellectual culture, but it has also proven the interdependence of image and text. All of the images in S. Maria in Pallara depend to a greater or lesser degree on texts. This was Lawrence Duggan's conclusion in his discussion of

¹¹ Catherine McCurrach, *The veneration of St Benedict in medieval Rome: parish architecture, monumental imagery and local devotion*; unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2005, pp.168-181.

¹² Uccelli, *La chiesa di S. Sebastiano*, pp.38-99, esp.98.

Gregory the Great's famous saying that images were the books of the illiterate. A basic understanding of medieval images is impossible without knowing something of scripture or hagiography.¹³ Many art historians have felt the need to qualify the dictum's apparent equation of image and text. Discussing Gregory's dictum in relation to Early Christian painting in Gaul, Herbert Kessler attempted to show how images work in messages of Christian education and conversion, stressing their ability to communicate above and beyond texts.¹⁴ Peter Brown believed that Gregory's dictum was prescriptive rather than an accurate characterisation of Late Antique imagery.¹⁵ Celia Chazelle attempted to show that Gregory's instructions were never meant to imply that images could stand alone without text, but that they were intended to perform as visual signs complimentary to text in the conversion and instruction of non-Christians.¹⁶ Several historians have attempted to show that the implied equality of texts and images found in the dictum was beginning to change in the eighth and ninth centuries, with a steadily growing primacy granted to texts thereafter; images were apparently viewed as an affective system of communication, whereas texts are thought to be governed by rules of grammar and reason.¹⁷

¹³ Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was art really the book of the illiterate?" *Word & image* 5.3 (1989), pp.227-251. See also most recently, idem, "Reflections on 'Was art really the Book of the Illiterate?'," *Reading images and texts -- medieval images and texts as forms of communication: papers from the third Utrecht symposium on medieval literacy, Utrecht, 7-9 December 2000*, Mariëlle Hageman, Marco Mostert, eds. (Turnhout, 2005), pp.109-120.

¹⁴ Herbert L. Kessler, "Pictorial narrative and church mission in sixth-century Gaul," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985), pp.75-91.

¹⁵ Peter Brown, "Images as substitute for writing," *East and west: modes of communication. Proceedings of the first plenary conference at Merida; The transformation of the Roman world*, 5, E. Chrysos, I. Wood, eds. (Leiden, 1999), pp.15-34.

¹⁶ Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, books and the illiterate: Pope Gregory I's letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word & image* 6 (1990), pp.138-153.

¹⁷ Celia Chazelle, "'Not in painting but in writing': Augustine and the supremacy of the word in the Libri Carolini," *Reading and wisdom. The 'De Doctrina Christiana' of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, E. D. English, ed. (Notre Dame, 1995), pp.1-22; David Appleby, "Instruction and inspiration through images in the Carolingian period," *Word, image, number: communication in the Middle Ages*, J. J. Contreni, S. Casciani, eds. (Florence, 2002), pp.85-111.

In my view art historians are a long way from understanding the complexity of medieval art and its interplay of text and image. However, based on my understanding of the S. Maria in Pallara paintings, I believe that when Gregory the Great claimed that images were the books of the illiterate, he did not mean to imply that one could read images without the help of a text, but rather that one could access images like a library, reading as much or as little as one was able. The medieval concept of a book was not so much a three-dimensional object, but a living history of ideas that could be reordered and edited, embodying everything that the mind could remember, see and comprehend.

This analysis has worked to show how text and image in the S. Maria in Pallara paintings contend together to create messages about spiritual salvation and moral reform, but the ideology behind the messages remains to be clearly understood, as well as the identities of both the proponents of the messages and their audiences. It is presently understood that a lay patron named Petrus Medicus sponsored the establishment of a monastery on the Palatine, where a church was renovated in his honour. This occurred in the mid-tenth century, in response to an earlier lay-sponsored monastic reform encouraged by Prince Alberic of Rome and carried forward by Odo of Cluny. The following comments can only be considered an invitation to further investigation along these lines.

As first outlined by Bernard Hamilton, the tenth-century monastic reform movement in Rome was lay-driven. That reform has been described by Jan Malcolm Phillips as an outpouring of devotion towards Roman saints, as well as a social strategy, with nobles using patronage as a means of securing wealth and social prestige. He claims that Alberic used such patronage as a

political policy, ruling Rome by the strength of his devotion and by personal magnetism alone.¹⁸ We know little about Petrus Medicus, but it is possible that he was one of Alberic's supporters. If not a client or member of Alberic's family, he was certainly a member of the landed nobility, who somehow came to own land important to the patrimony of Rome. No longer did popes have to ask permission of imperial authorities to convert temples, nor, presumably, did nobles have to seek permission from popes. For example, an early modern copy of a tenth-century donation charter records the donation of the Septizonium, thought at the time to have been a temple, to the monastery of SS. Andrea e Gregorio in Clivoscauri by one Stefanus, the son of the consul and duke Ildebrand.¹⁹ Such donations display both continuity and rupture with the past. For example, in the eighth century the consul and duke Theodotus sponsored a private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua. No less important to patrons like Theodotus was the sponsorship of saints, as shown by Lesley Jessop in her study of the painted narrative cycles of seventh- and eighth-century Rome.²⁰ Scale is the major difference between this eighth-century example and the case of S. Maria in Pallara, both in the size of the donation as well as the social status of the patron, a shift from duke to physician.

Second, it is well documented that Odo of Cluny directed the spiritual side of the tenth-century monastic reform.²¹ While his spiritual philosophy has always been generally described as Benedictine, the specifics of his reform have never been pinpointed and clearly defined. Odo's writings provided context for several aspects of this study. As seen in the discussion of the

¹⁸ Jan Malcolm Phillips, *A study of monastic patronage in Rome from the fifth through the eleventh centuries*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Washington, 1974, pp.74-106.

¹⁹ Augenti, *Il Palatino nel medioevo*, pp.62-63.

²⁰ Lesley Jessop, "Pictorial cycles of non-biblical saints: the seventh-and eighth-century mural cycles in Rome and contexts for their use," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 67 (1999), pp.233-279; eadem, *Pictorial cycles of non-biblical saints: the evidence of the 8th-century mural cycles in Rome*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Victoria, Victoria, 1993.

Apostle-and-Prophet iconography in Chapter 3, Odo's epitome of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* sparked a new growth of interest in this text in tenth-century Rome. As seen in the examination of the Saint Zoticus cycle with its argument against same-sex love in Chapter 5, similar concerns are found in Odo's *Occupatio*. Thus, it can be surmised that Odo's focus in Rome was a general improvement in the quality of Benedictine monasticism, both its intellectual and moral fervour. Gregory the Great's *Moralia* was regarded as the supreme example of scriptural exegesis, as attested by its numerous epitomes created by monastic authors, and by the tenth century Gregory himself was considered to have been an adherent of the Benedictine rule, as seen in the belief that he administered his monastery of S. Andrea in Clivoscauri by the Rule.²² The *Acta Sebastiani* was cited in the Benedictine rule and the mechanics of the moral reform witnessed in the life of Saint Zoticus had been utilised previously in Benedictine history, in both the rededication of the temple of Apollo at Montecassino and in the construction of the life of Saints Julianus and Basilissa which came to be cited in the Benedictine rule. Such evidence, and considering that Merco's tombstone in S. Maria in Pallara probably mentions Saint Benedict, leads to the conclusion that S. Maria in Pallara was indeed a Benedictine monastery prior to Montecassino's takeover of the church.

²¹ Phillips, *A study of monastic patronage*, pp.92-93, 100-102.

²² John the Deacon, "Vita S. Gregorii Magni," *PL* 75.59-242, esp.228-229. "Porro in exilitate baltei, quae unius pollicis mensuram numquam excedit, speciem propositi regularis olim a sancto Benedicto statuti, cujus ipse vitam describens, in dialogo regulam quoque laudaverat, eum servasse luce clarius manifestat, praesertim cum idem venerabilis doctor Gregorius Graecam linguam nescierit, et sui monasterii monachos Benedicti utique regulis mancipatos in Saxoniam destinavit. ... Quod vero monachi, qui a Gregorio in Saxoniam missi, sancti Benedicti regulae fuerint mancipati, 176 inter alia etiam illud ostendit, quod ex ipsius discipulis vix potest in illis partibus monachus aliquis inveniri a quo non observetur tam in proposito quam in habitu regula Benedicti. Quapropter sicut constat Gregorianum monasterium a Latinitate in [a 1Kb] Graecitatem necessitate potius quam voluntate conversum, ita fideliter praestolatur in Latinitatis cultum favente Domino denuo reversurum."

How effective S. Maria in Pallara's reforming messages were is uncertain. On the one hand, no one has ever heard of Saint Zoticus, thus the conflation and conversion of history that produced him cannot be judged to have been very successful over the course of history. Judging how successful the message may have been with the monastic audience of S. Maria in Pallara is dependant on how thoroughly the conversion of history was understood, which is difficult to know given the state of knowledge about the *Historia Augusta's* dissemination. Although the redactor of the *Acta Sebastiani* constructed an argument against same-sex love around Saint Sebastian, the inversion of morals that it entailed was not stable and from the Renaissance on he was gradually perceived as a gay icon. This speaks to the general ineffectiveness of literary inversion as a moral strategy and the fragility of a moral religious reform based on the prohibition of a basic human urge such as sex.

Whether or not real persecution of homosexuality accompanied the production of the images at S. Maria in Pallara is unknown, but I suspect that it did not. A literary message arguing against same-sex love cannot be considered realistically viable in a monastic setting where celibacy was one of the main goals of monastic life. Sure, to some degree such a message can be viewed as a warning against temptation, but the penitential tradition answered much the same concerns. Thus, the message found in the Saint Zoticus cycle, which can only be considered rhetorical, was not directed to the average novice struggling to acclimatise to the rigors of coenobitical life. Rather, it was devised as a rhetorical sign attesting to the purity of the site's monastic endeavour in response to the gendered invective aimed at Romans by outsiders such as Liutprand of Cremona.

As noted, the primary scriptural passage used to argue against same-sex love in the Middle Ages is the story of Lot in the city of Sodom found in Genesis (19.4-11), and its exegesis

in Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1.18-32).²³ However, a more direct biblical pronouncement against same-sex love is found in the book of Leviticus (18.22). As a result, medieval authors discussing same-sex love using the Epistle to the Romans, such as Odo of Cluny in his *Occupatio*, are actually seen to argue against the pride of contravening God's law, rather than against the sin itself. It is perhaps not a coincidence that some of the best-known passages of the Book of Job, one of the sources for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, deal with wisdom and the perception that God is its sole embodiment (12.12, 28.28).²⁴

Whether the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography can be viewed as a statement of reform is debateable. On the one hand, if my interpretation of the meaning and liturgical function of the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is correct and it responds to the anniversary of the death of Petrus Medicus, then it can only be a coincidence that the inspiration for the imagery was Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* and it was not directly due to Odo's regard for that text. Then again, according to the studies of Wasselynck, the majority of the surviving epitomes of the *Moralia* are of French manufacture. Odo appointed a fellow monk from Cluny, Balduinus, as abbot of Montecassino and according to Leo of Ostia, Balduinus's disciple Aligernus ranked as one of the greatest Cassinese abbots.²⁵ Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Montecassino's copies of the *Moralia* date to the tenth century and later.

While ultimately the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography is a message about the Last Judgement, through the gloss of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, it is also an expression of

²³ Martin argues that the discussion of homosexuality in the Pauline epistles is actually part of a larger argument against idolatry and the excessive passions of Gentiles, rather than homosexuality as an unnatural act per se; see Dale B. Martin, "Heterosexism and the interpretation of Romans 1:18-32," *The Boswell thesis: essays on Christianity, social tolerance and homosexuality*, Mathew Kuefler, ed. (Chicago, 2006), pp.130-151.

²⁴ "With the ancient is wisdom and in the length of days understanding." "And unto man God said, Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding."

the unity of the twin Testaments. It is not an anti-Jewish message in itself according to the normative view of Christian doctrine. However, with its differentiation of the Apostles and Prophets by the latter's lack of halos and their rough appearance, it seems appropriate to query whether there is any evidence of anti-Jewish feeling in tenth-century Rome that might have engendered such a representation in S. Maria in Pallara. Recently, Richard Landes and Phyllis Jestice have posited that millennial fears and Jewish reaction to new forms of Christian religiosity in the tenth century inspired anti-Jewish feeling.²⁶

Millennialism has never been seriously studied from a Roman perspective although evidence for apocalyptic anticipation is present in contemporary sources. The monk Benedict of Mount Soracte, whose chronicle is one of the main sources for the history of tenth-century Rome, regularly notes the appearance of evil omens, such as the plague of 964.²⁷ Further evidence can be found in donation charters, whose authors speak of heightened fears inspired by the reading of the bible, presumably Revelation, and who, in language reminiscent of the S. Maria in Pallara programme, call upon the Twenty-four Elders, the twelve apostles, the twelve prophets and all the saints, martyrs, confessors and virgins to guarantee their donations for the good of their souls.²⁸ Such a large number of saintly guarantors is particular for such charters. S. Maria in Pallara and

²⁵ Hamilton, "Monastic revival in tenth-century Rome," pp.48-49; *Chronica monasterii casinensis*, I.56, p.143; I.61, p.157; III, prologue, p.362.

²⁶ Richard Landes, "The massacres of 1010: on the origins of popular anti-Jewish violence in Western Europe," *From witness to witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in medieval Christian thought*, J. Cohen, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp.79-112; Phyllis G. Jestice, "A great Jewish conspiracy? Worsening Jewish-Christian relations and the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre," *Christian attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages*, M. Frassetto, ed. (New York, 2007), pp.25-42.

²⁷ *Il chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il libellus de imperia potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. G. Zucchetti. Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 55 (Rome, 1920), pp.176-177.

²⁸ *Il regesto di Farfa*, III, pp.132-133. "Nunc autem inserimur membris eius et salvamur, alii per spiritum compunctionis reversi ad eum, alii per sanctarum scripturarum terribili minis, quos benigne recipit, sicut pollicitus est...et quicumque homo hoc facere praesumpserit, habeat anathema a patre et filio et spiritu sancto, et a xxiii^{or} senioribus et a xij apostolis et a xij prophetis

its paintings can very much be viewed as products of a millennial mentality, reflecting the desire to impose order so as to obtain the intervention of heavenly intercessors.

While comprehensive studies of the Jewish history of medieval Rome are lacking, there is some evidence to suggest that the city was affected by rising anti-Jewish feeling.²⁹ Certainly Romans were aware of the forced conversions of Jews occurring elsewhere in Europe; Pope Leo VII (936-939) wrote to the bishop of Mainz urging that Jews should be preached to, but not coerced to convert.³⁰ Conversions of Jews also may have occurred in Rome; a charter dated to 1015 pertaining to the monastery of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea speaks of a nobleman's father as "a good Christian," not a common mode of reference, implying an exceptional context.³¹ There is even some evidence that acts reminiscent of the later persecution of Jews occurred in Rome around this time. The Benedictine monk Ademar of Chabannes records in his chronicle that after being informed about an earthquake that was caused by a group of Jews mocking a crucifix, Pope Benedict VIII (1012-1024) organised an inquest and passed a sentence of capital

et ab omnibus sanctis martyribus et ab illis cxliiij milibus qui pro christo passi sunt, et ab omnibus sanctis confessoribus et virginibus, et a beata santaque Maria..."

²⁹ The topic of Jewish communities in Rome in the early medieval period in general is an understudied one; see recently, Alberto Somekh, "Gli ebrei e Roma durante l'alto medioevo," *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*; Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 49 (Spoleto, 2002), pp.209-235.

³⁰ *The Apostolic See and the Jews: documents: 492-1404*, Shlomo Simonsohn, ed.; Studies and texts, 94 (Toronto, 1988), pp.32-33.

³¹ Pietro Fedele, "Le famiglie di Anacleto II e di Gelasio II," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 27 (1904), pp.399-440, esp.402-403; idem, "Carte del Monastero dei SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 21 (1898), pp.454-534; 22 (1899), pp.25-107; 383-447, esp.97-99. "Placuit igitur cum Christi auxilio atque convenit inter Rainerium religiosum presbiterum et monachum atque coangelicum abbatem venerabilis monasterii sanctorum Christi martirum Cosme et Damiani quod appellatur Mica aurea, in hoc ei consentiente cuncta caterva monachorum ac presbiterorum Dei suprascripti venerabilis monasterii, et e diverso Leoni vir magnificus et laudabilis negotiator, filio Benedicti bone memorie Christiani, ut cum Domini adiutorio suscipere debeat a suprascripto Rainerio abbate vel a cuncta eius congregatione monasterii sibi consentiente sicut et suscepit idem Leo heredibusque suis conductionis monasterii."

punishment on the accused.³² Particularly relevant for the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography, Odo of Cluny in his *Occupatio* describes the Jewish race as the “ignorant carrier of the Christian message,” *nesciens portatrix Iudaea*.³³ Thus, anti-Jewish sentiment does seem to have been circulating in Rome at the time when the paintings were created.

Whether the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography at S. Maria in Pallara was perceived as anti-Jewish sentiment by Christian audiences or whether it invoked displeasure from Jewish audiences is unknown. It cannot be denied that the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography defined communities. It was noted in Chapter 3 that early scholarly interest in the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography was sparked by its applicability to nationalistic debates about artistic primacy rather than for its intrinsic intellectual appeal. Primarily French authors argued for the origin of the iconography at Chartres, while at least one German author writing about its appearance in the Merseburg font argued for Germanic origin. Such rhetorical use of the iconography is not irrelevant when considering its intrinsic structure of antithesis. The same antithesis is seen in the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum, which was also used in polemical arguments for the relative value of the Ancients and Moderns.

Identities are shaped by a set of definitions, the opposites of which define what those identities are not. This is exactly the structure of both the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography and the Dwarf-and-Giant dictum. The iconography at S. Maria in Pallara, with its superimposition of Apostles and non-haloed Prophets defines groups, both the community of the Old Testament elect and those of the New Testament, who together form the heavenly host in this programme. The

³² Ademar of Chabannes, “Historiarum libri tres,” 3.51, *PL*141.19-80, esp.64. “His diebus, in parasceve, post crucem adorata Roma terrae motu et nimio turbine periclitata est. Et confestim quidam Judeorum intimavit domno papae, quia ea hora deludebant sinagogae Judeorum Crucifixi figuram. Quod Benedictus papa sollicite inquirens et comperiens, mox auctores sceleris capitali sententia dampnavit. Quibus decollatis, furor ventorum cessavit.”

Apostle-and-Prophet iconography does not portray the Prophets as Jewish per se, but as the forerunners of the Christian Apostles. The Merseburg font and the Chartres lancets even present the Prophets as elegant and noble figures, while the Bamberg Fürstenportal only presents anti-Jewish messages through the addition of the figures of Synagogue and Ecclesia.

The meaning generated by the Apostle-and-Prophet iconography was not stable, and thus I believe that we can say nothing more certain about its significance for the question of Jewish-Christian relations in tenth-century Rome than that it presents ambiguous feelings about the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments, the relationship between the Jewish religion and Christianity. Confirmation that S. Maria in Pallara's clients were probably pondering these issues can also be found in the *Historia Augusta* biography of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who, after translating the ancient Roman icons to his Palatine temple, is said also to have transferred there the religions of the Jews, Samaritans and Christians, so that the priests of Heliogabalus could control every form of worship.³⁴ Since the redactors of the lives of Saints Sebastian and Zoticus made effective use of the *Historia Augusta* in their compositions, it is inconceivable that the church's clients missed the significance of this passage. Thus, in some way S. Maria in Pallara's Apostle-and-Prophet iconography might be responding to the topographical memory of the Jewish cult.

According to R. I. Moore persecution of religious and social groups outside of orthodox Christianity was a late medieval phenomenon imposed from above by kings and bishops, although he noted that negative sentiment had been expressed about such communities – Jews,

³³ *Odonis Abbatis Cluniacensis Occupatio*, iv.355-359, A. Swoboda, ed. (Leipzig, 1900), pp.78-79.

³⁴ “Antoninus Elagabalus,” iii.5, *SHA*, II, pp.110-113. “Dicebat praeterea Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.”

heretics, homosexuals and lepers – beginning in the tenth century.³⁵ Moore believed that there was no quantitative rise in the numbers of such groups in the later period, but that instead the church itself came to perceive these people differently as it strove to impose new religious structures and create a more universal church. The S. Maria in Pallara paintings certainly express the rhetoric of reform that became the ideology upon which later persecution depended.

³⁵ R. I. Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1987), pp.100-123.

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Appendix 1

1	ARTUS HIC TUMULATUR H QUI PRUDENS DEDIT ET MERC AD DOMINI CONFUGIT OPEM SU SEBASTIANI SIMUL BEN	Here his limbs lie buried he, Merco, who was prudent and gave he took refuge in the Lord's strength of Sebastian and also Ben[edict?]
5	[f]ACULTAS PROLES MUND MONACHICUM ORDO ⁹⁴⁹ PETI ARTUS ET CARUS MITIS CU ATQUE INOPUM TURBAS AD AULAM OCIUS FEST	power [and] posterity [of the world?] the order of monks [was sought?] frugal and dear [and] mild and crowds of the weak [he hastened?] to the hall sooner
10	DIVINUM CUIPIENS AUDIRE SEDEN OBSECRO CHRISTICOLAE ROGIT ET QUEAT MERCO SINE FINE CUM SUIS SUPERIS ⁹⁵⁰ SOCIATUS OB REX REGUM CHRISTE DET MERCO	desiring to hear the divine [one?] sitting I beseech and ask the monks/Christians and so that Merco is able without end having joined with his friends above Christ, king of kings, will give to Merco
15	ANN DOM DCCCCLXXVII DEP XI CAL NOVEMB INDICT IIII	anno domini 977 kalends november indiction IIII

⁹⁴⁹ Commonly used as 'habitus monachicum'. The term "Ordo monachicum" is found in a decree of Charlemagne, *PL*97.160. "Item in eodem concilio infra duo capitula, necnon et in decretis Leonis papae, ut nec monachus nec clericus in secularia negotia transeat. Et ut servum alterius nullus sollicitet ad clericalem vel monachicum ordinem sine voluntate et licentia domini sui..."

⁹⁵⁰ Ennodius, Episcopus Ticinensis, "De vita beati Antonii monachi Lerinensis," *PL*63.241. "...qui ut in gratiam redirent cum superis suis..."

Figures



Figure 1 – Composite drawing of the apse and apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 2 – Interior, S. Maria in Pallara



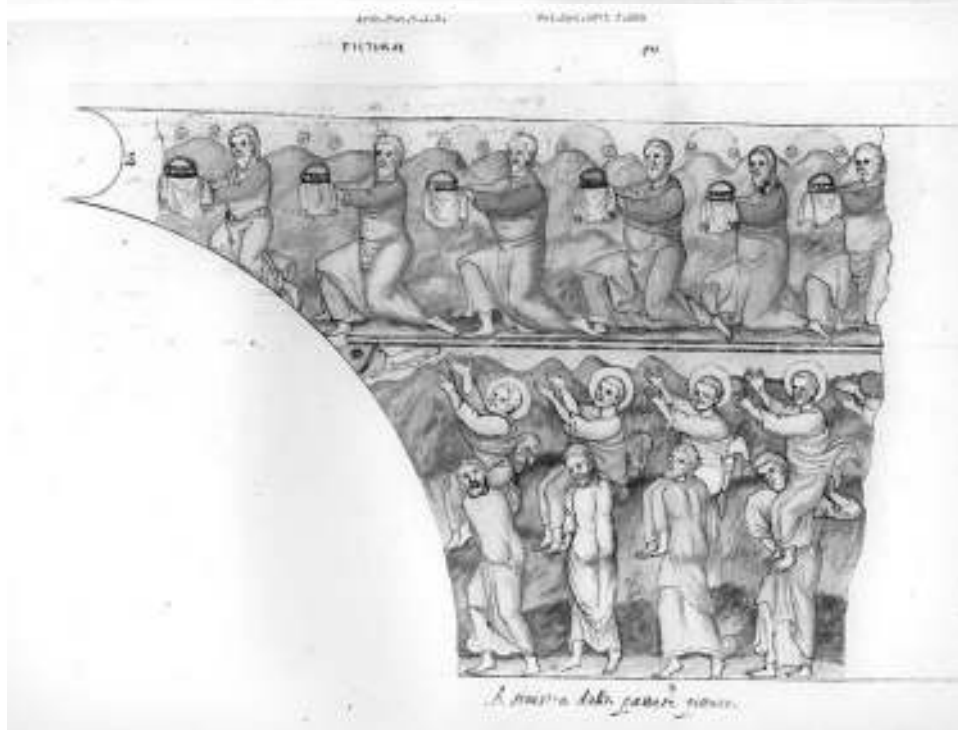


Figure 4a – Antonio Eclissi's drawing of the arch, S. Maria in Pallara (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, pp.234-235)



Figure 4b – Antonio Eclissi's drawings of the lost donation scenes on the arch, S. Maria in Pallara (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p.243)



Figure 5 – Apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 6 – Christ, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12262)



Figure 7 – Head of Christ, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 8 – Christ, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 9 – Saint Sebastian, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 10 – Saint Sebastian, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 11 – Saint Sebastian, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12263)



Figure 12 – Saint Lawrence, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 13 – Saint Lawrence, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12264)



Figure 14 – Head of Saint Lawrence, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 15 – Saint Zoticus, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 16 – Saint Zoticus, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 17 – Saint Zoticus, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara (S. Maria in Pallara, Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12265)



Figure 18 – Saint Zoticus inscription, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 19 – Saint Stephen, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 20 – Head of Saint Stephen, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 21 – Saint Stephen, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione E 12266)



Figure 22 – Saint Stephen inscription, apse conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 23 – Crypt of Epyphanius, S. Vincenzo al Volturno



Figure 24 – Christ, S. Gregorio Nazianzeno



Figure 25 – Christ, apse conch, Basilica S. Marco



Figure 26 – Christ, S. Maria Secundicerio



Figure 27 – S. Paul of Rome, S. Maria in Via Lata, now at the Museo Nazionale Crypta Balbi



Figure 28 – Arch, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura



Figure 29 – Saints from apse chapel, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, now in the right aisle



Figure 30 – Saint Lawrence, apse arch, upper church of S. Clemente

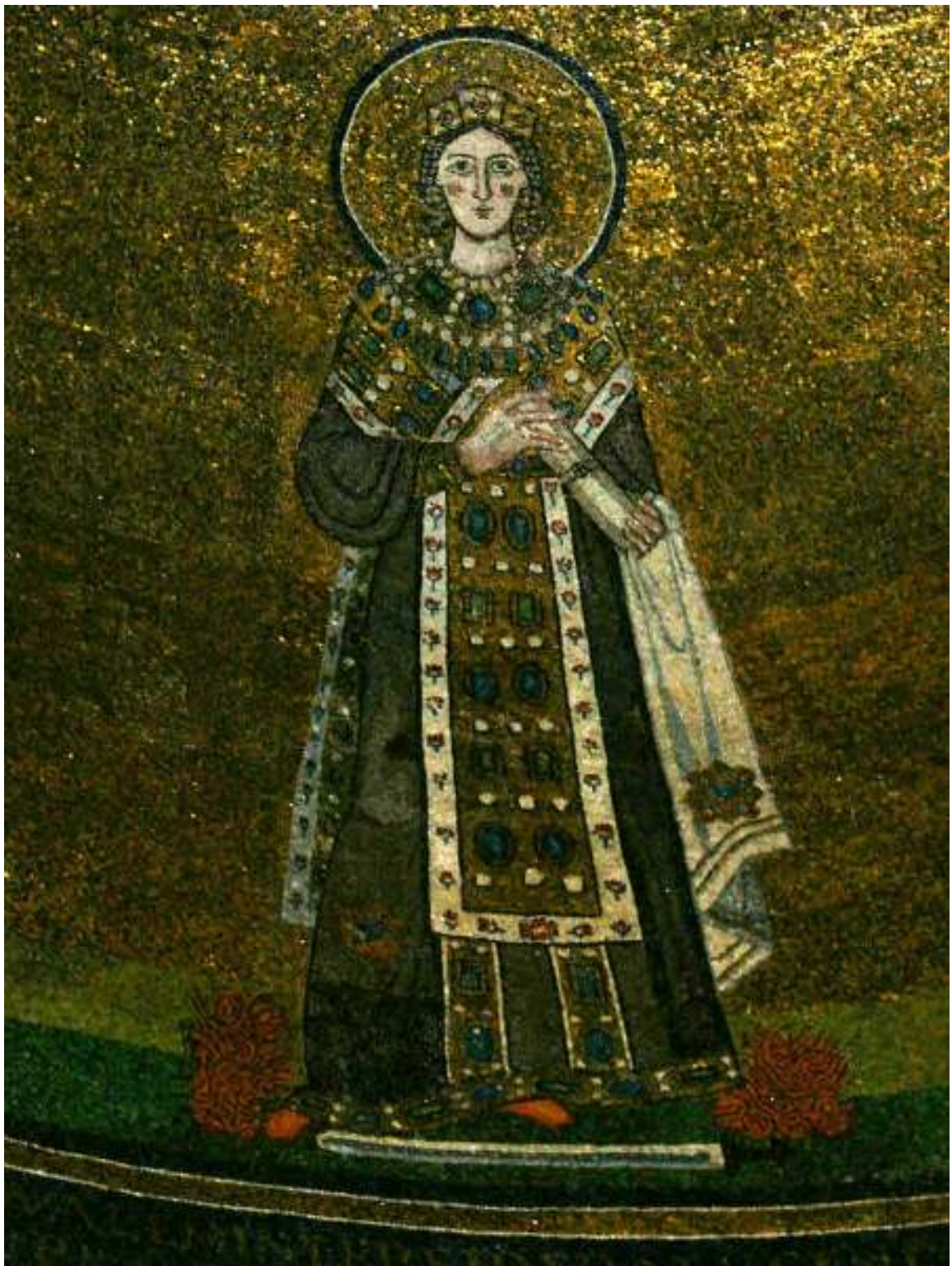


Figure 31 – S. Agnes, apse conch, S. Agnese fuori le Mura



Figure 32 – Saint Theodore, apse-conch, S. Teodoro



Figure 33 – Saint Demetrius, S. Maria Antiqua



Figure 34 – Saint Sebastian, S. Pietro in Vincoli



Figure 35 – Saint Sebastian, Grotto degli Angeli at Magliano Romano, now in the Duomo



Figure 36 – Saint Sebastian, apse conch, S. Giorgio in Velabro



Figure 37 – Saint Sebastian, S. Saba



Figure 38 – Portrait of Abbot Epyphanios, Crypt of Epyphanios, S. Vincenzo al Volturno

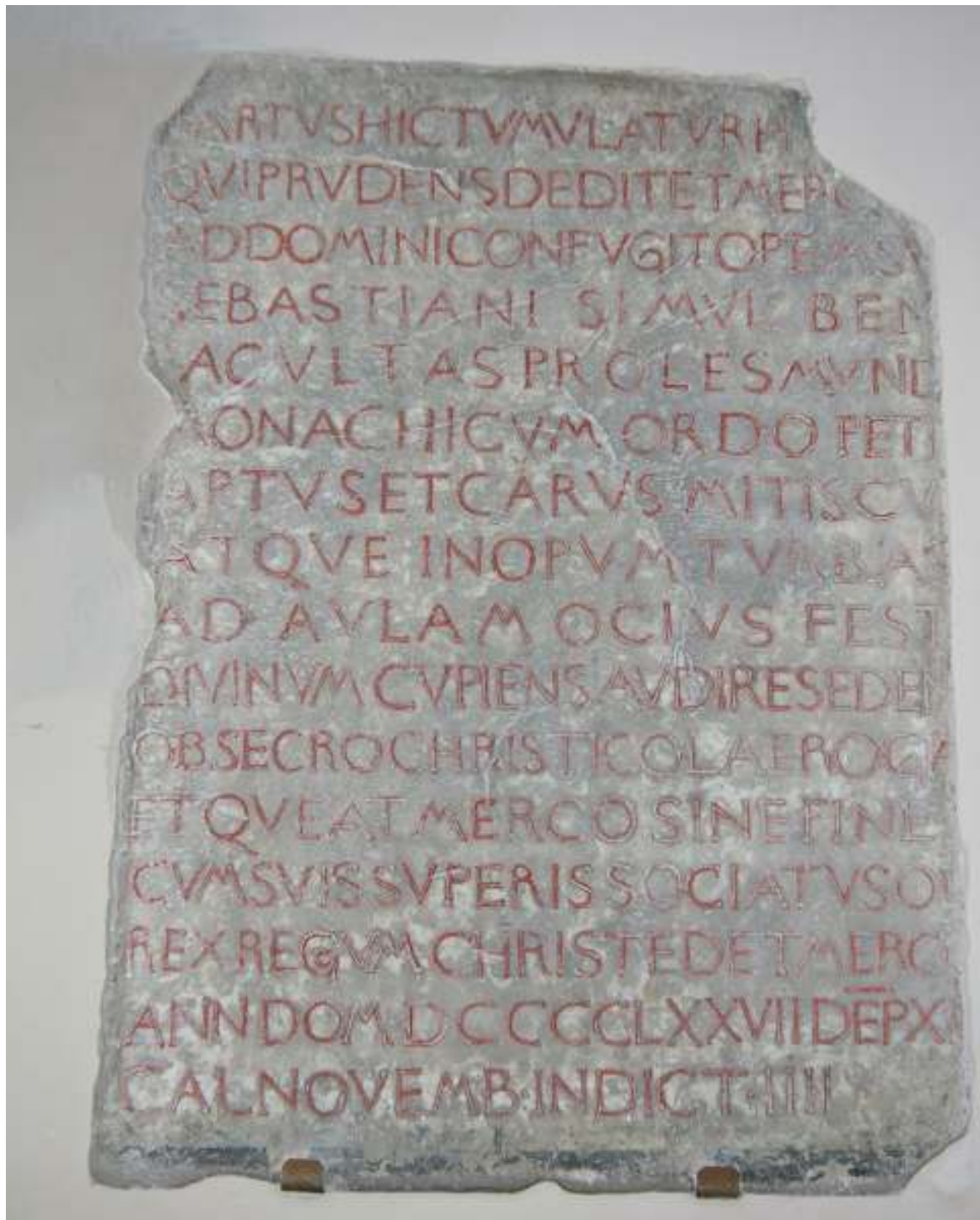


Figure 39 – Merco's tombstone, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 40 – Saints, S. Maria Immacolata, Ceri



Figure 41 – Lamb frieze, left side, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 42 – Lamb frieze, right side, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 43 – Lamb frieze, center, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 44 – Agnus Dei, S. Anastasio, Castel S. Elia



Figure 45 – Fragments of inscription, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12267, E 12268)



Figure 46 – Inscription, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 47 – Inscription, S. Susanna

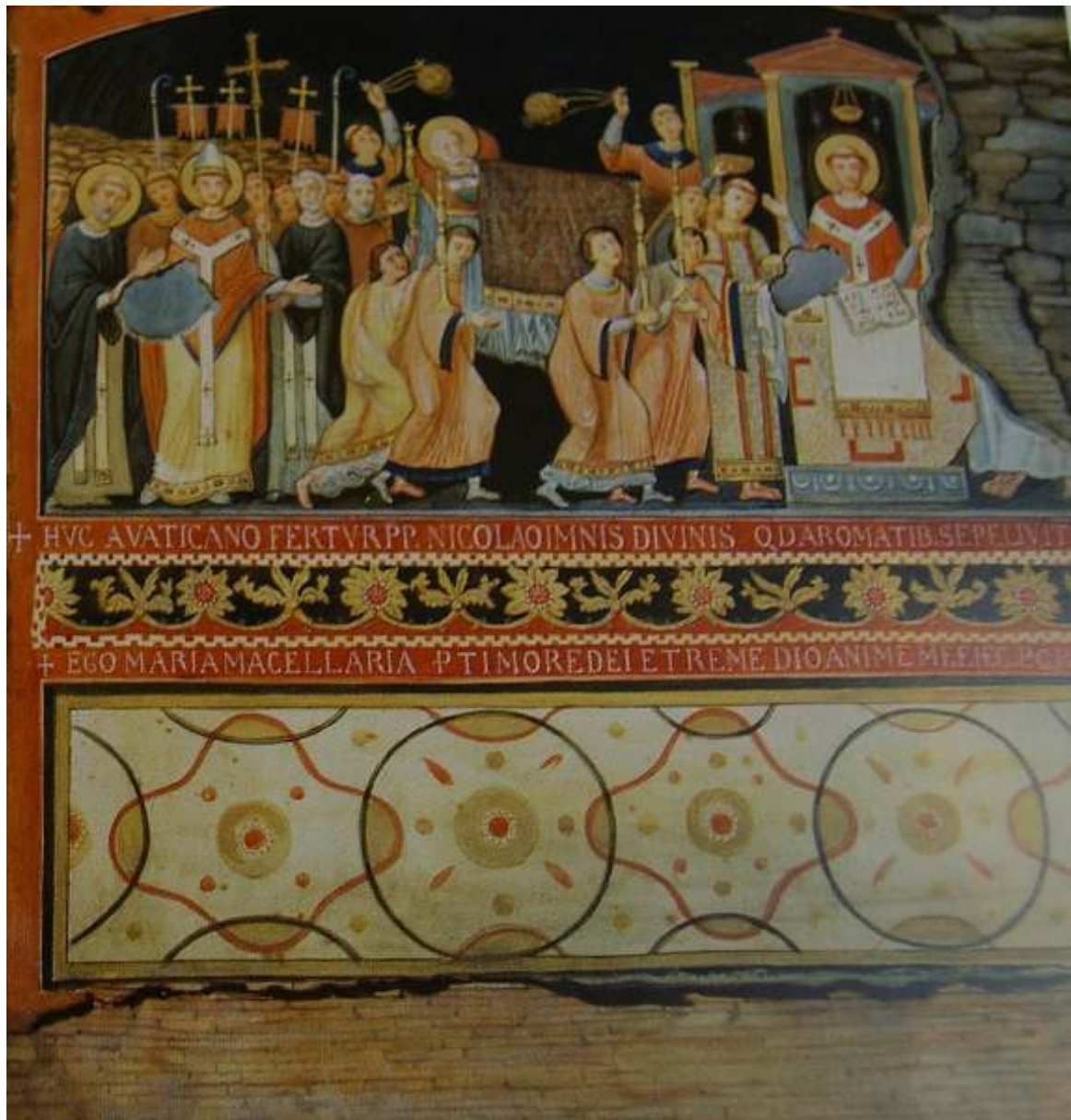


Figure 48 – Translation of Saint Clement, lower church of S. Clemente

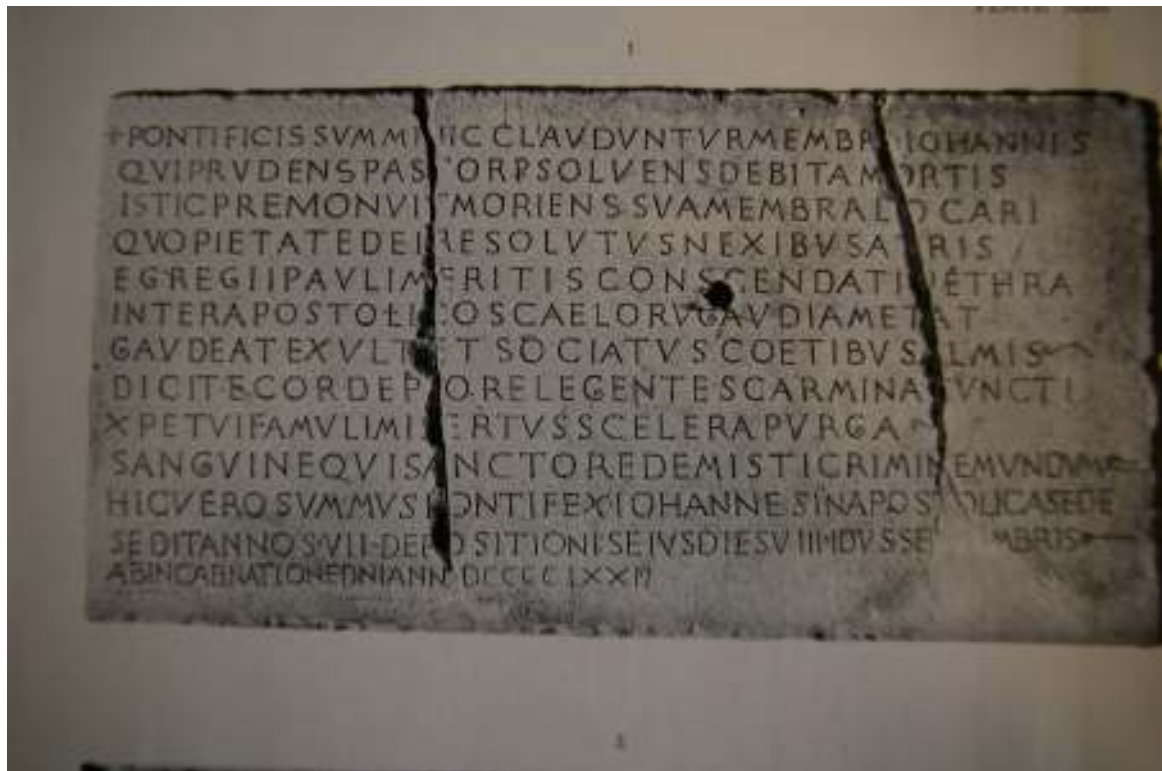


Figure 49 – Funerary inscription of Pope John XIII (965-972)



Figure 50 – Lower register of the apse, centre, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 51 – Virgin Mary, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara

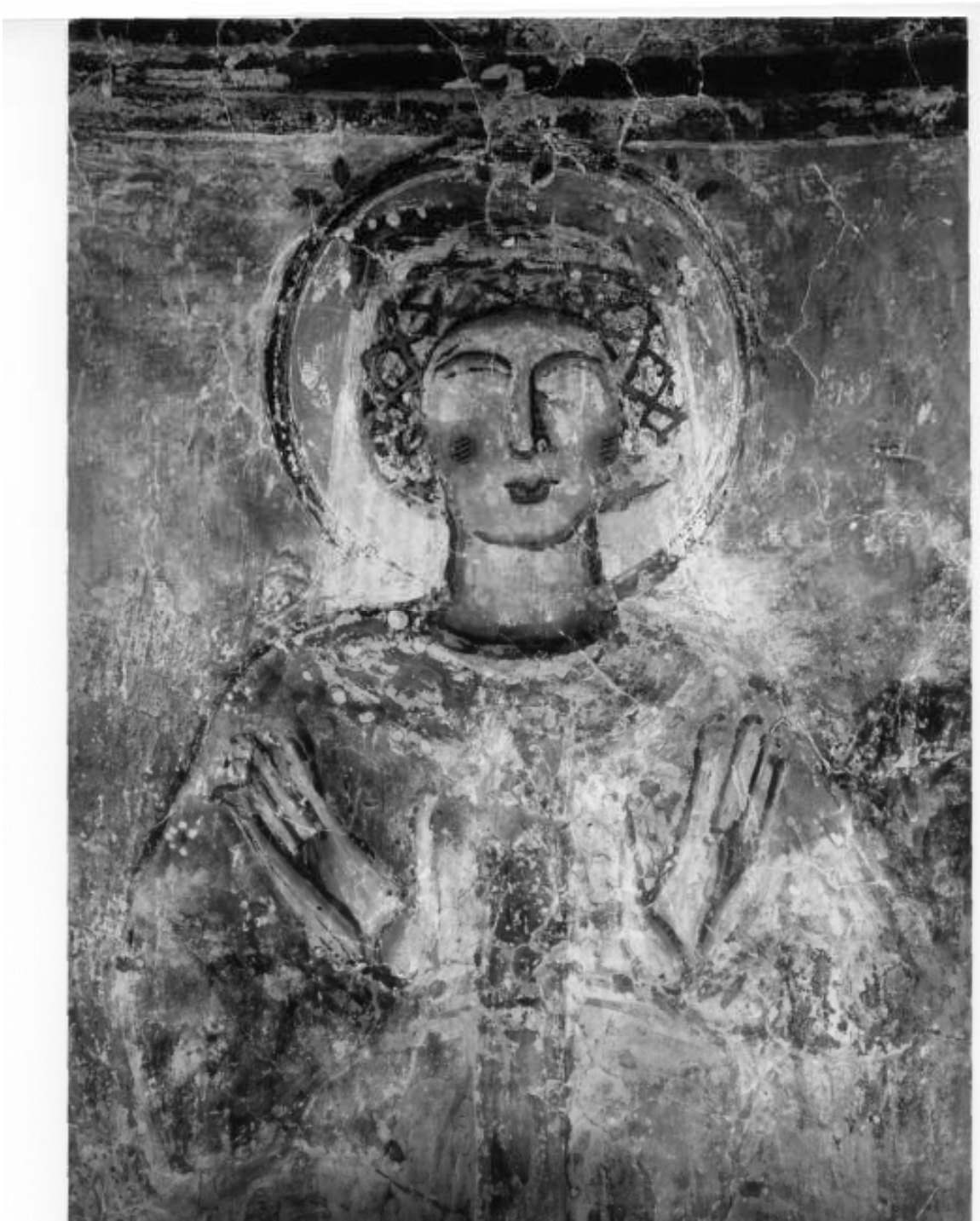


Figure 52 – Virgin Mary, lower register of the apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12269)



Figure 53 – Archangel, right of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 54 – Head of archangel, right of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 55 – Archangel, left of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 56 – Head of archangel, left of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 57 – Archangel, right of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12273)



Figure 58 – Archangel, left of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12272)



Figure 59 – Virgin saint, second to the right, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 60 – Virgin saint, first to the left, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 61 – Virgin saints, left of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12267)



Figure 62 – Virgin saints, right of center, lower register, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12268)



Figure 63 – Maria Regina, palimpsest wall, S. Maria Antiqua



Figure 64 – Presentation in the Temple, Grotta degli Angeli, now Duomo Magliano Romano



Figure 65 – Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart Psalter, biblia folio 23, fol. 84r



Figure 66 – Maria Regina, apse, Crypt of Epyphanius, S. Vincenzo al Volturno



Figure 67 – Virgin, from the chapel of John VII at Old St Peter's, now S. Marco, Florence



Figure 68 – East wall, Theodotus Chapel, S. Maria Antiqua



Figure 69 – Apse, Sant'Ermete



Figure 70 – Adoration, apse, S. Maria in Domnica



Figure 71 – East wall, S. Maria Antiqua



Figure 72 – S. Maria della Clemenza Icon, S. Maria in Trastevere



Figure 73 – Archangel, S. Apollinare in Classe



Figure 74 – Archangel, S. Anastasio, Castel S. Elia



Figure 75 – Particular Judgment, lower church of S. Clemente



Figure 76 – Virgin saint, S. Maria Secundicerio



Figure 77 – Upper register, left apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 78 – Upper register, right apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 79 – Fragment contiguous with apse, apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 80 – Apse edge, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 81 – Middle register, left apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 82 – Middle register, right apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 83 –Middle register, left apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 84 – Lower register, left apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 85 – Lower register, right apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 86 – Drawing by Antonio Eclissi of the apse arch, S. Paolo fuori le mura



Figure 87 – Elders of the Apocalypse, side walls of the sanctuary, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina



Figure 88 – Crucifixion of Saint Peter, left aisle, S. Balbina



Figure 89 – Panel depicting Saint Benedict flanked by Saints Sebastian and Zoticus, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 90 – Drawing of apse panel made by Antonio Eclissi, Windsor Library RL 9215



Figure 91 – Panel depicting Saint Benedict flanked by Saints Sebastian and Zoticus, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12268)

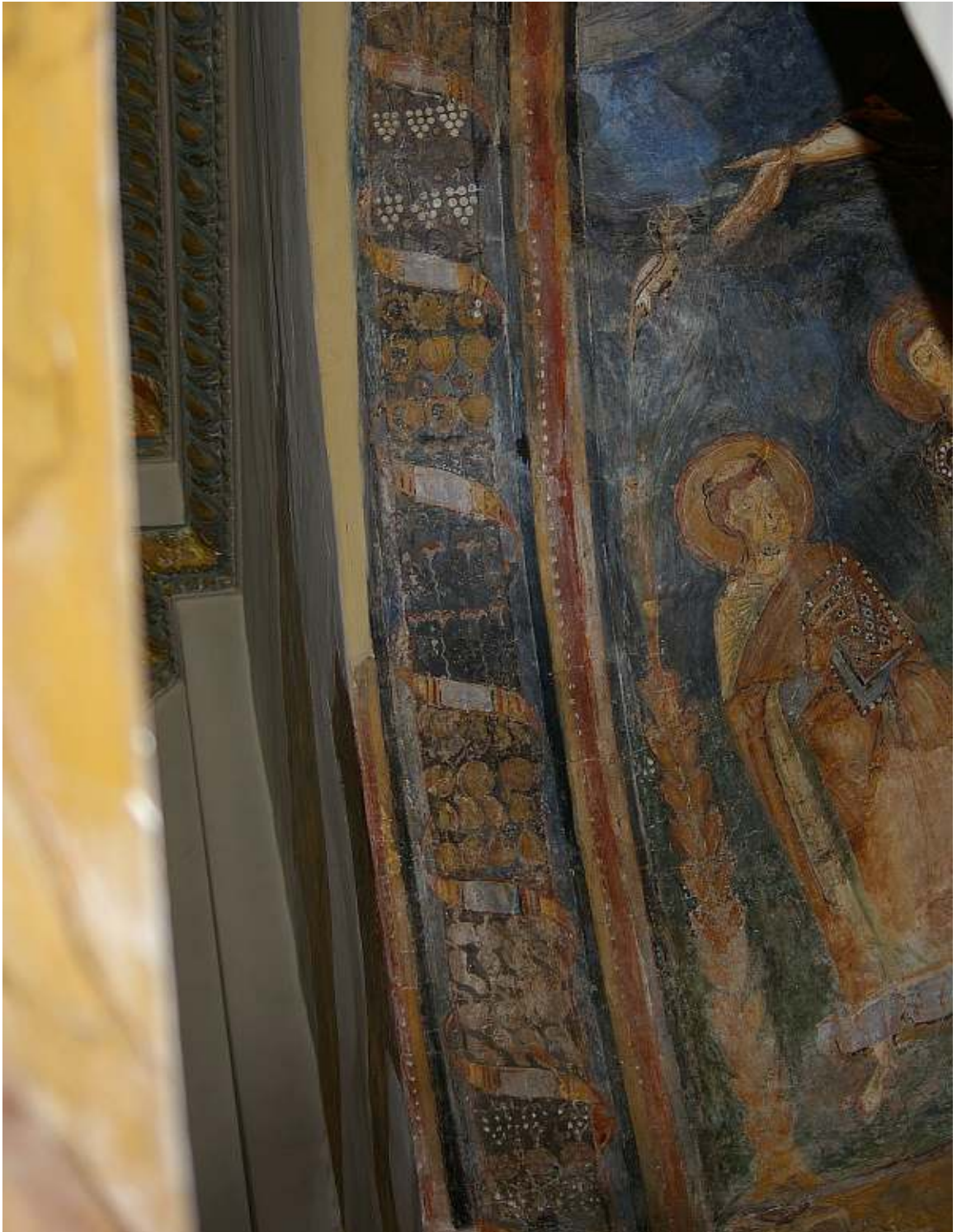


Figure 92 – Border around edge of the apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 93 – Pseudo-monogram at the apex of the conch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 94 – Urn-like capital, lower register of the apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 95 – Greek key border, apse, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 96 – Wave-like border separating middle and lower registers, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 97 – Border above upper register, apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 98 – Border around apse, apse arch, S. Maria in Pallara



Figure 99 – Vela, apse, S. Maria in Pallara (Istituto Centrale per il catalogo e la documentazione, E 12276)



Figure 100 – Baptismal font, Merseburg Cathedral

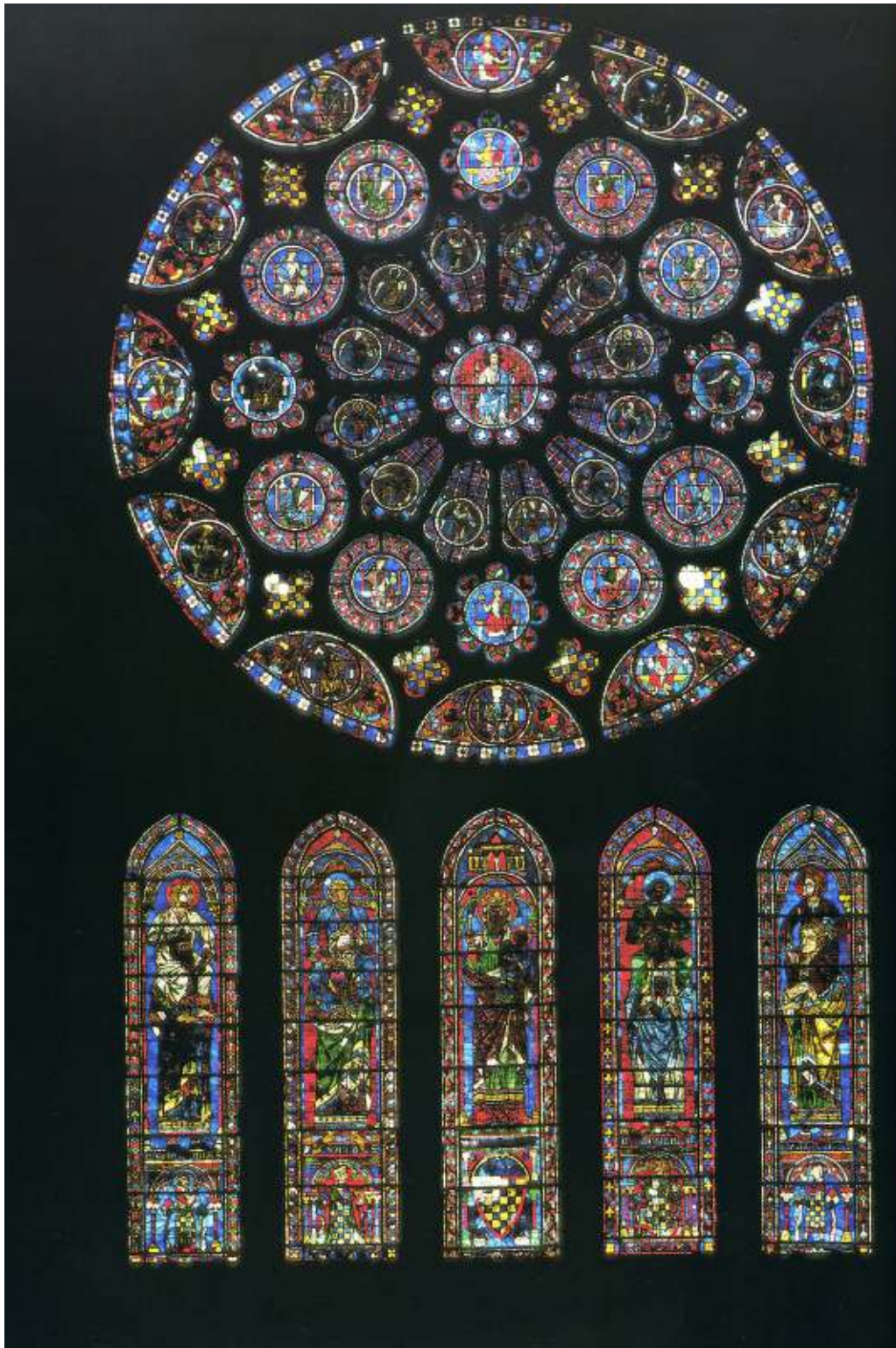


Figure 101 – South-transept portal windows, Chartres Cathedral

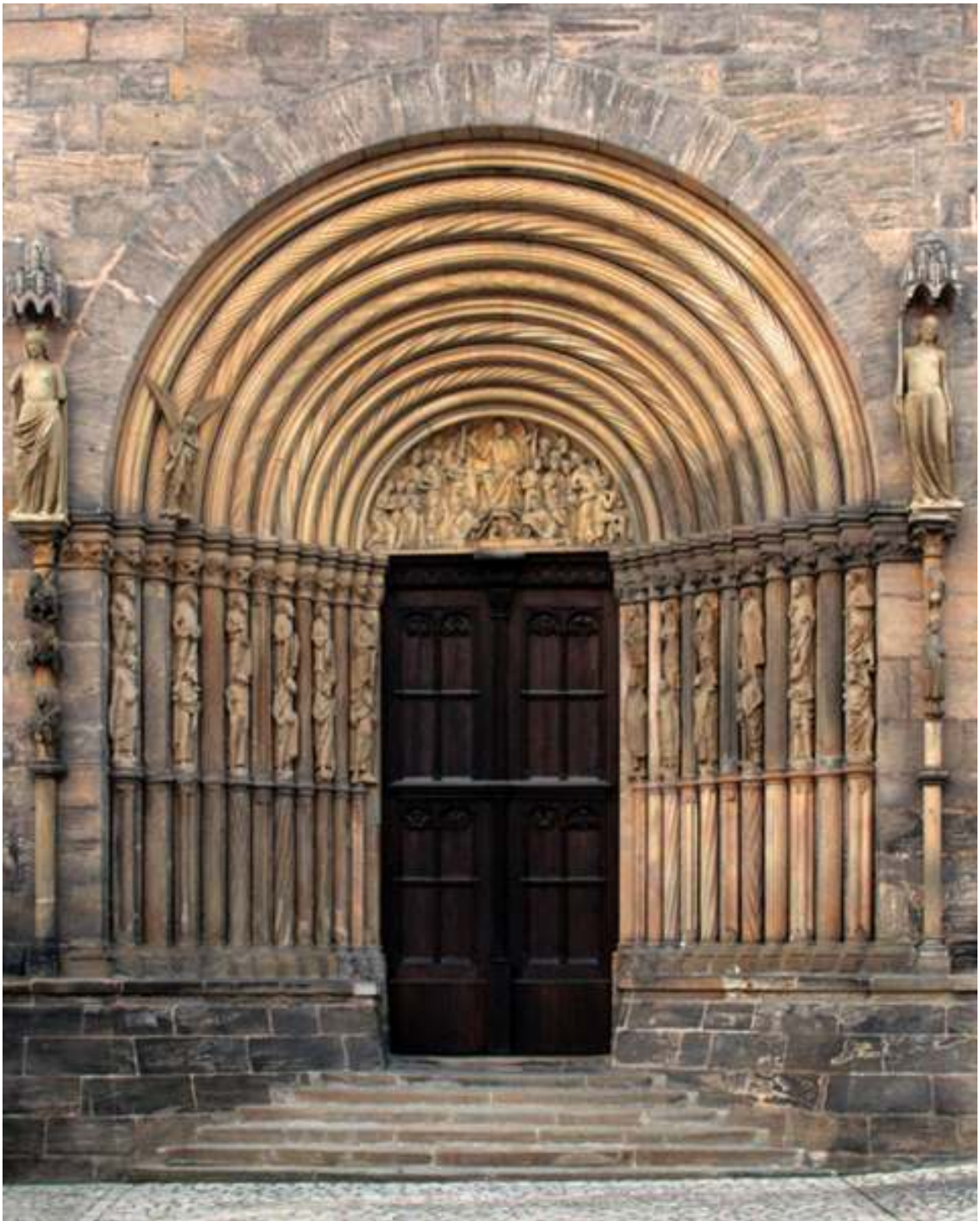


Figure 102 – Fürstenportal, Bamberg Cathedral

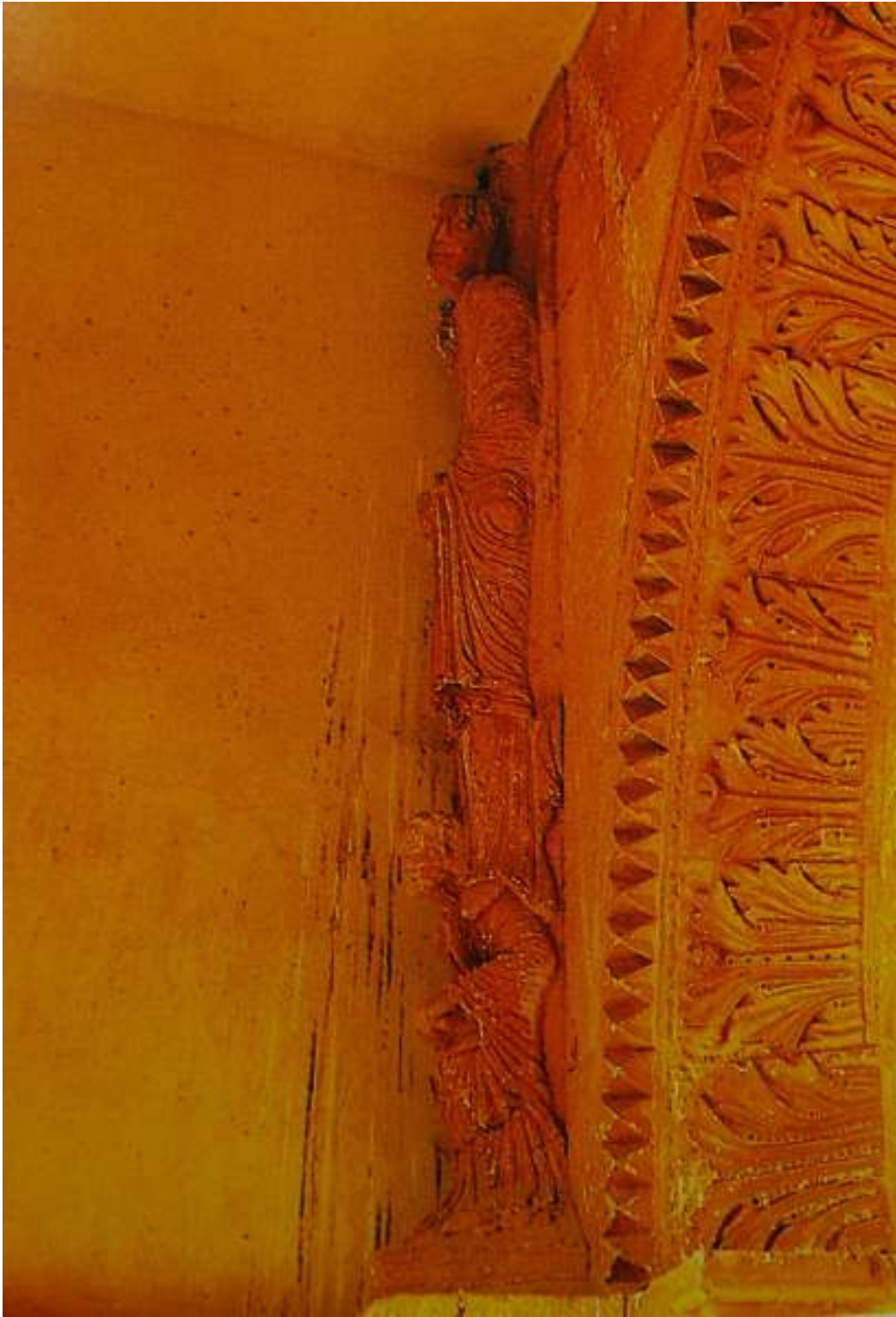


Figure 103 – Portal sculpture, Moradillo de Sedano

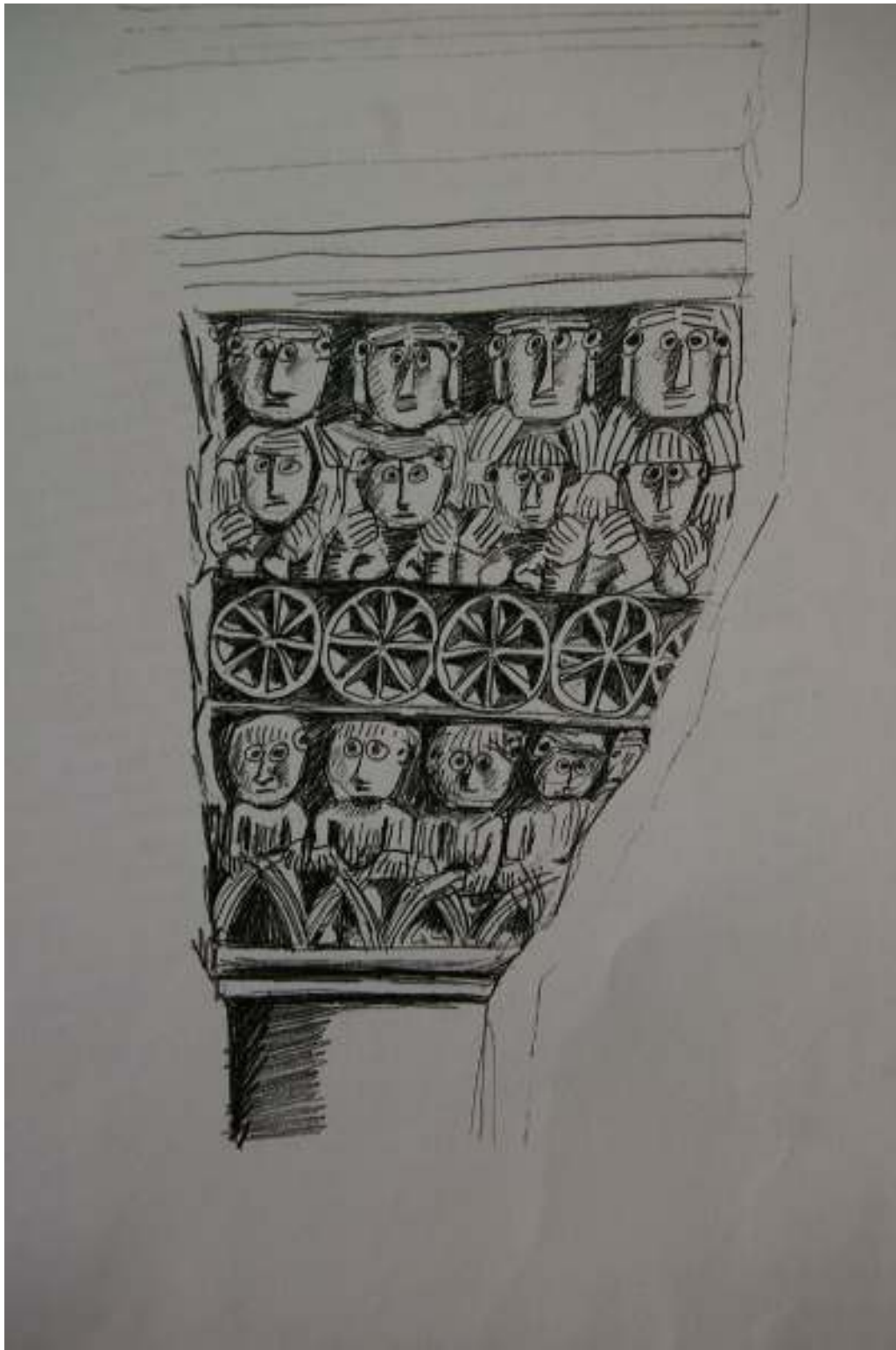


Figure 105 – Drawing, capital, Cluniac Priory of Payerne, Switzerland

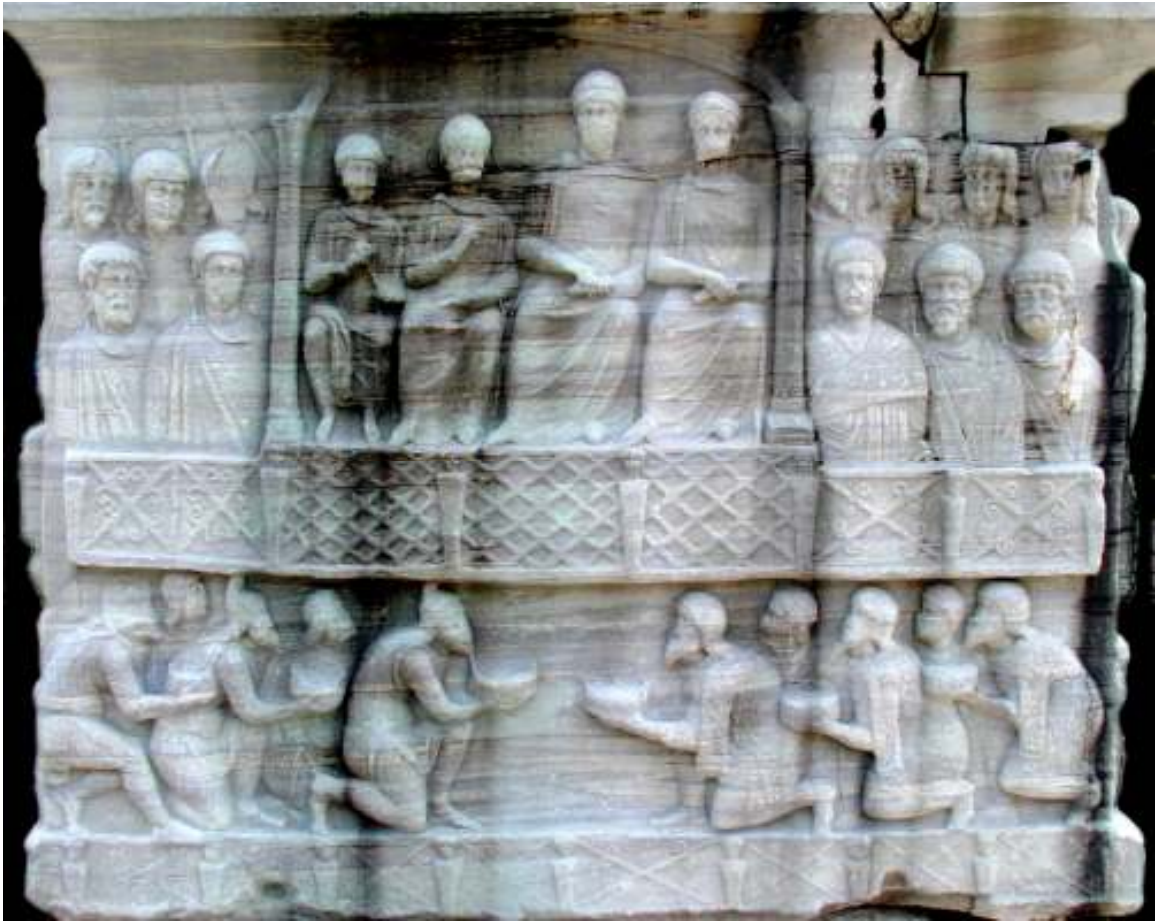


Figure 106 – Base, obelisk of Theodosius, Istanbul

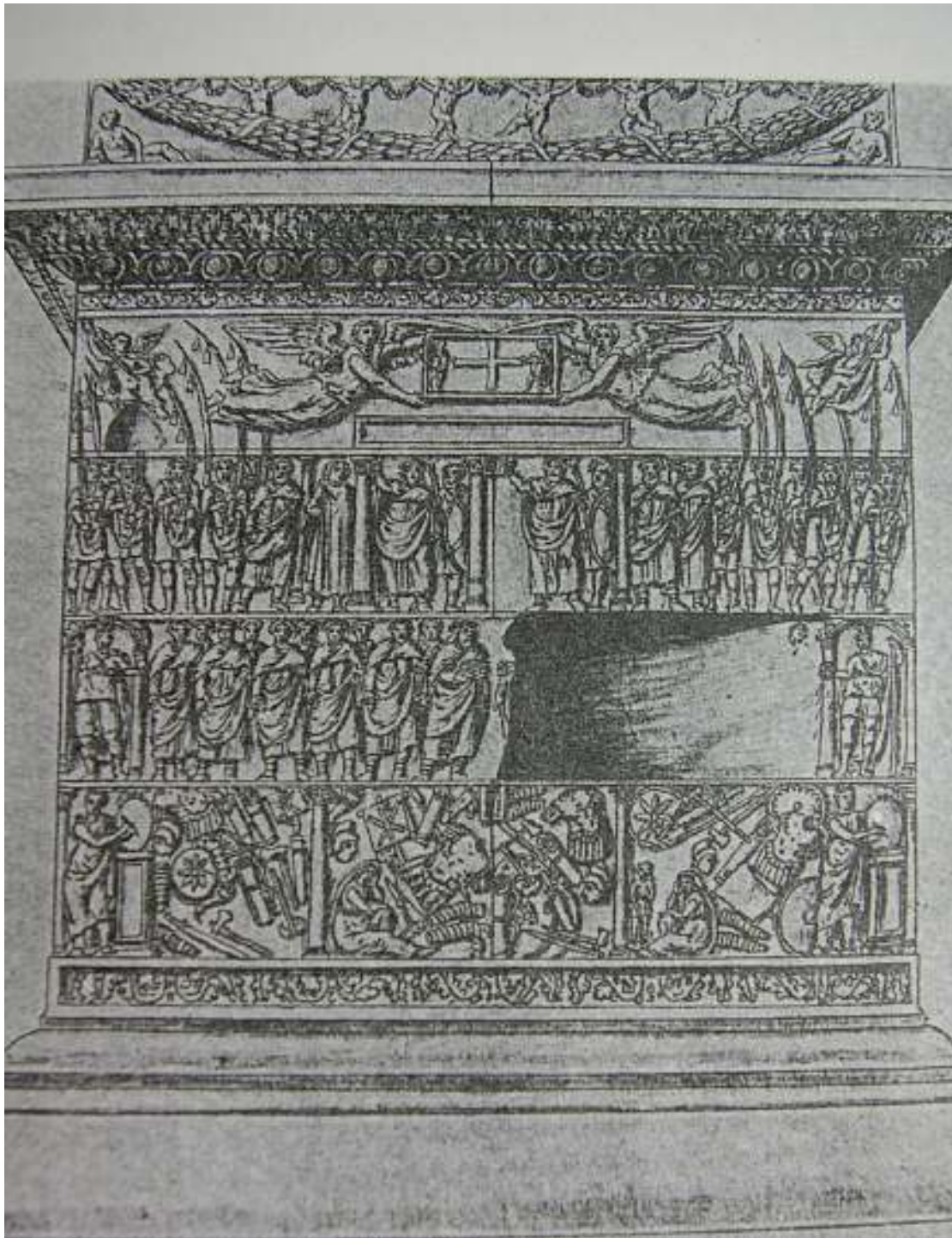


Figure 107 – Drawing of the no longer extant base of Column of Arcadius in Istanbul, Trinity College Library, Cambridge, Ms. 0.17.2

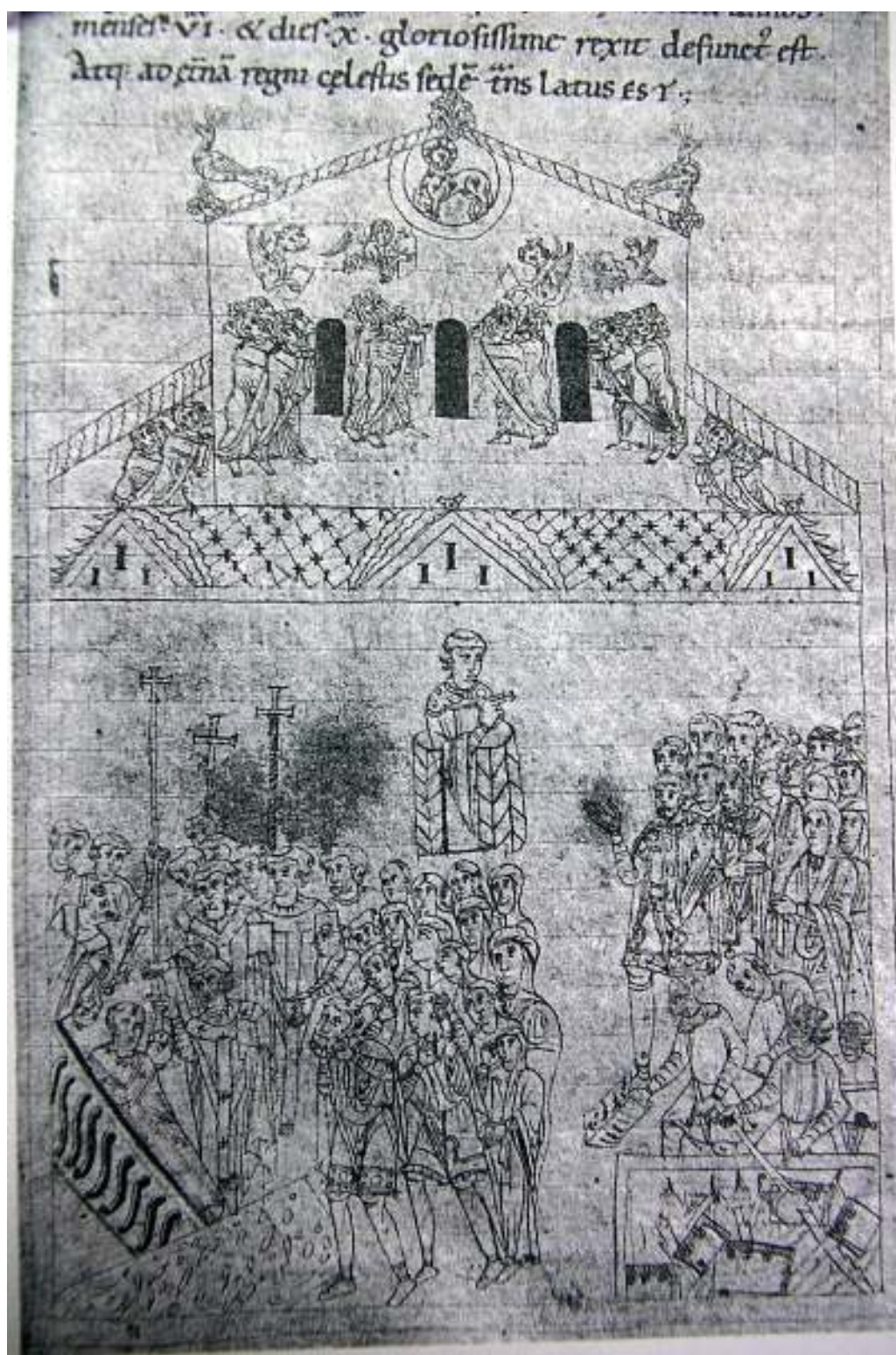


Figure 108 – Facade, Old St Peter's, Eton College Library, MS.124, 122r



Figure 109 – Crypt of Epyphanius, San Vincenzo al Volturno



Figure 110 – Saint Cyril and Anastasis, lunette, lower church of S. Clemente



Figure 111 – Saints Policamus, Sebastian and Quirinus, Crypt of St Cecilia, Catacomb of S. Callixtus



Figure 112 – Male saints, S. Apollinare Nuovo



Figure 113 – Left niche, north wall, the atrium of S. Maria Antiqua



Figure 114 – Wall to the left of the apse, S. Maria in Cosmedin



Figure 115 – Wall to the left of the apse, S. Maria in Cosmedin



Figure 116 – Wall to the left of the apse, S. Maria in Cosmedin

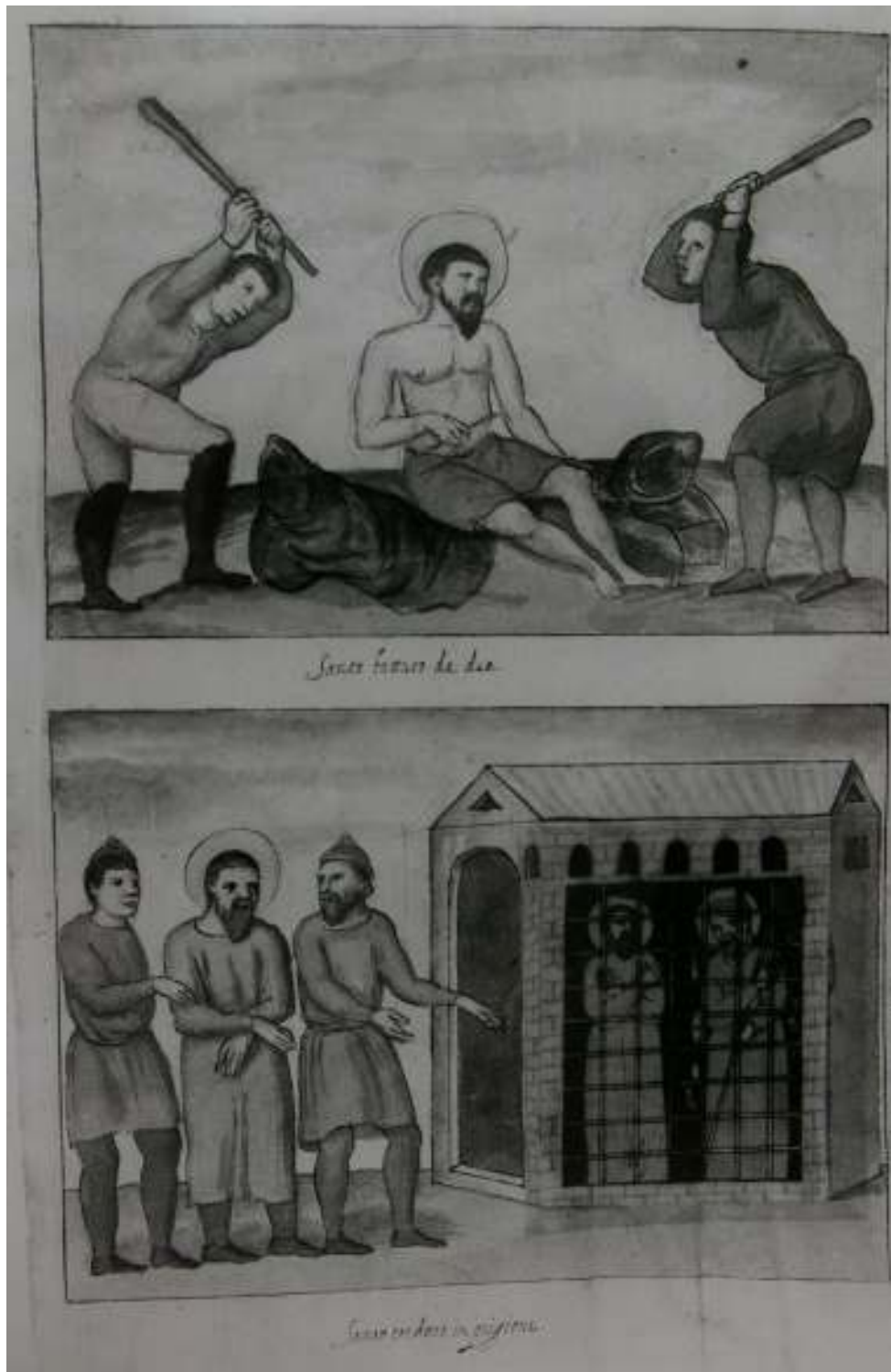


Figure 117 – Death of Saint Sebastian (?), Saint Sebastian visiting Marcus and Marcellianus (?)
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 248)

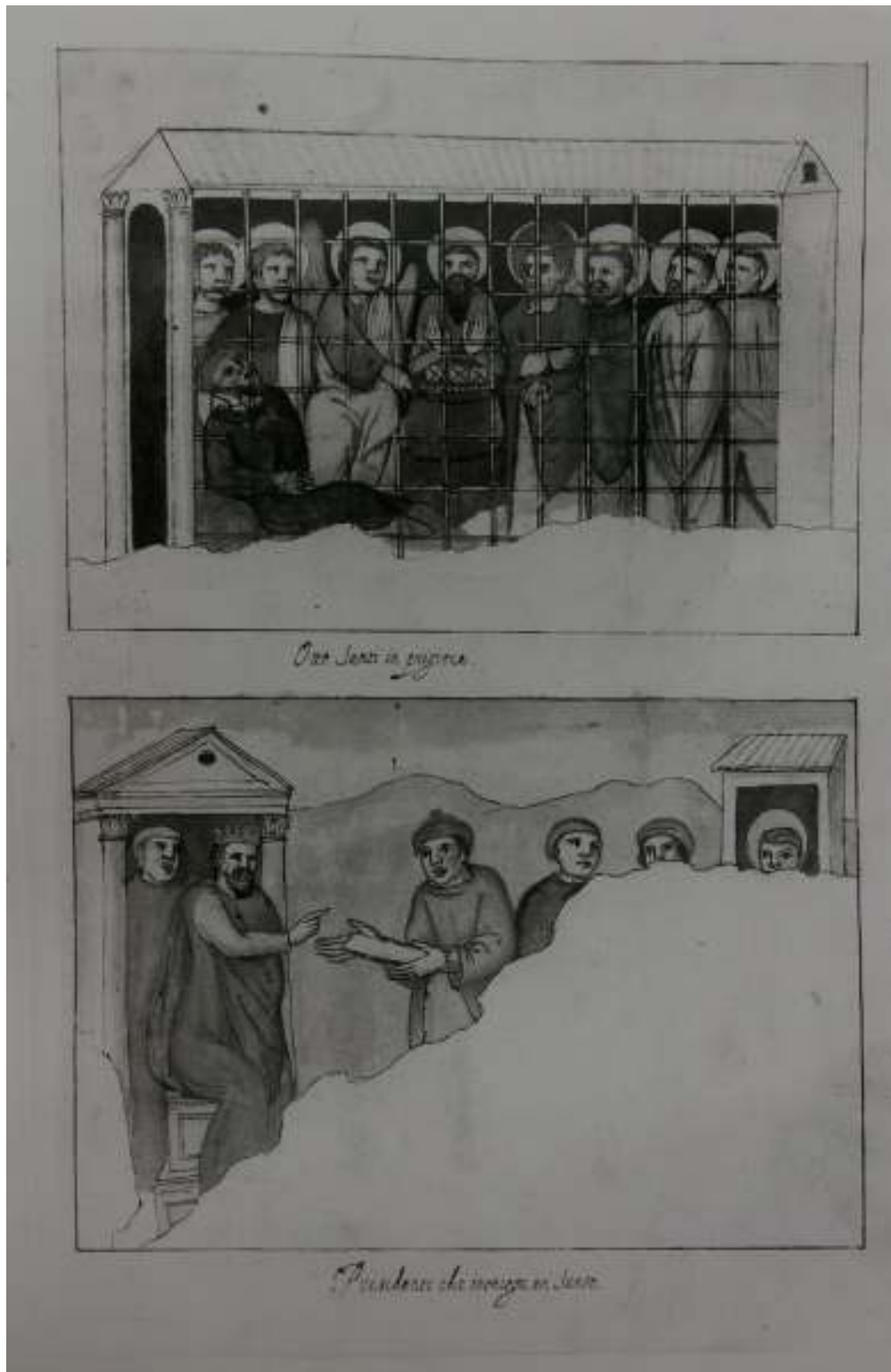


Figure 118 – Saint Sebastian and others in prison (?), Saint Sebastian confronting a Roman authority figure (?) (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 249)



Figure 119 – Sagittation of Saint Sebastian, Healing in the widow Irene's house on the Palatine (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p.240)

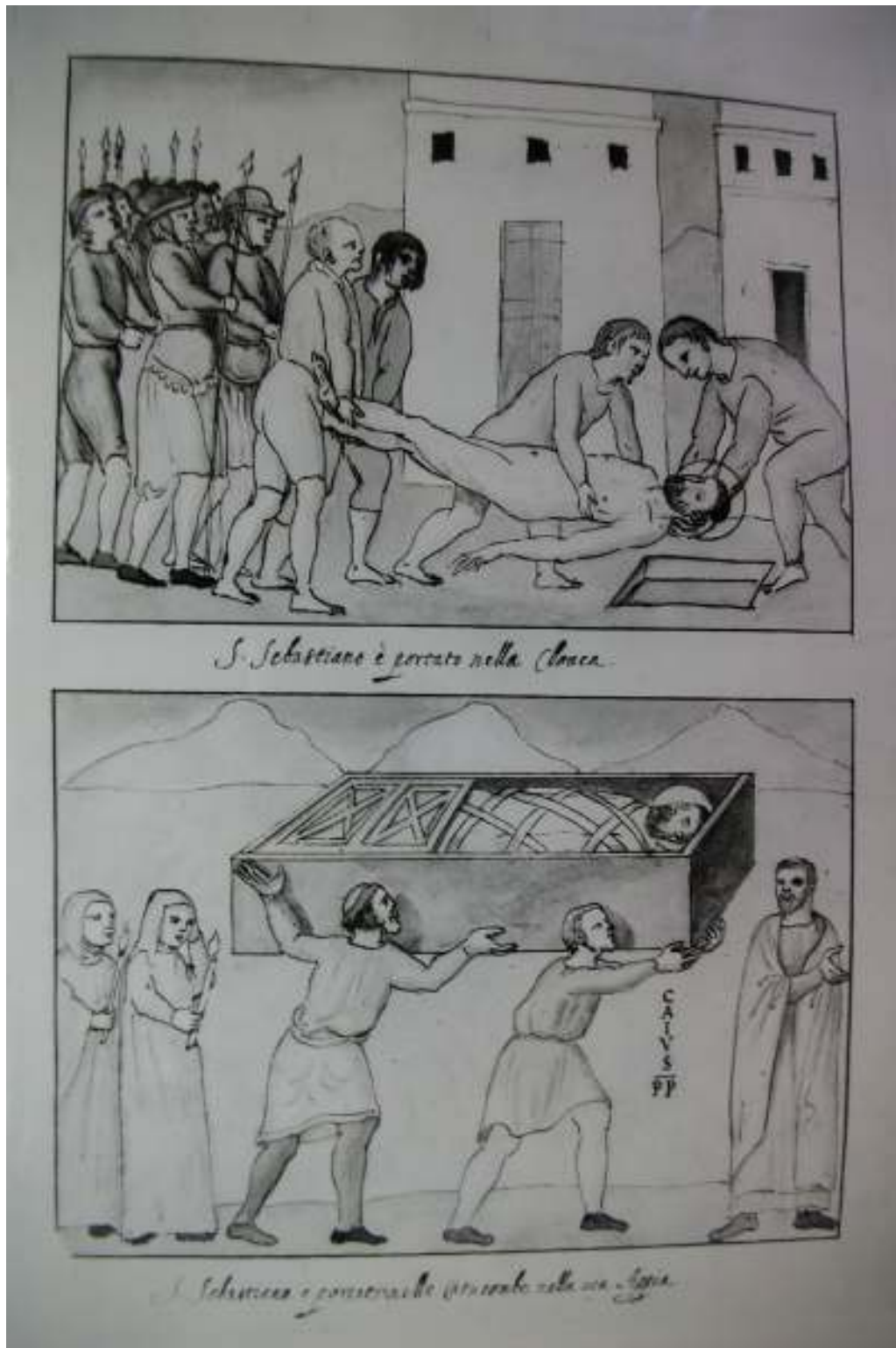


Figure 120 – Saint Sebastian deposited in the sewer, Burial of Saint Sebastian (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p.241)

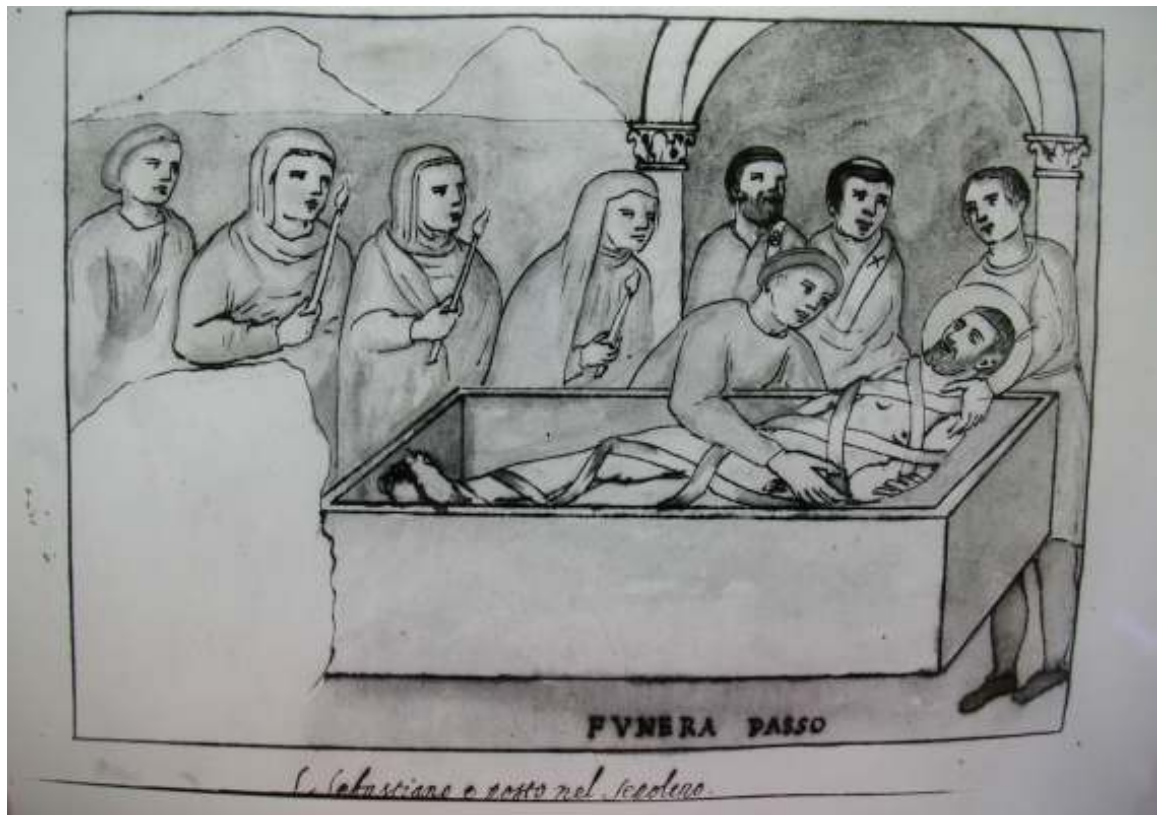


Figure 121 – Preparation of the corpse of Saint Sebastian for burial (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 242)



Figure 122 – Saint Sebastian comforts Marcus and Marcellianus, Chapelle de Venanson
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Figure 123 – Relief sculpture, tomb of Saint Sebastian, Catacomb of S. Sebastiano



Figure 124 – Relief sculpture, tomb of Saint Sebastian, Catacomb of S. Sebastiano



Figure 125 – Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, chapel under the Scala Santa, Lateran

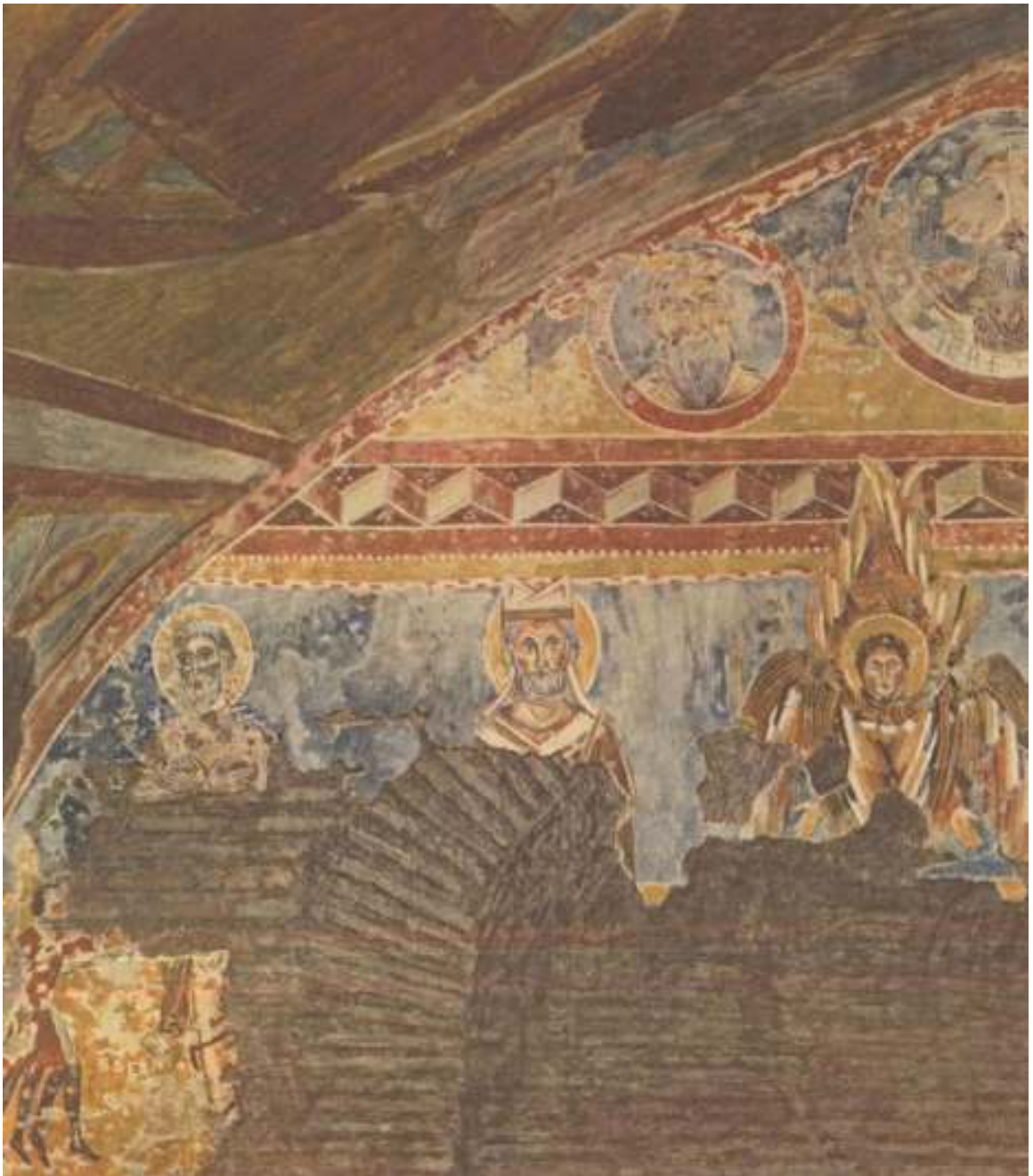


Figure 126 – Saint Sebastian, Platonía oratory, S. Sebastiano fuori le mura



Figure 127 – Image of sagittation illustrating Psalm 63, Stuttgart psalter, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, biblia folio 23, 74v

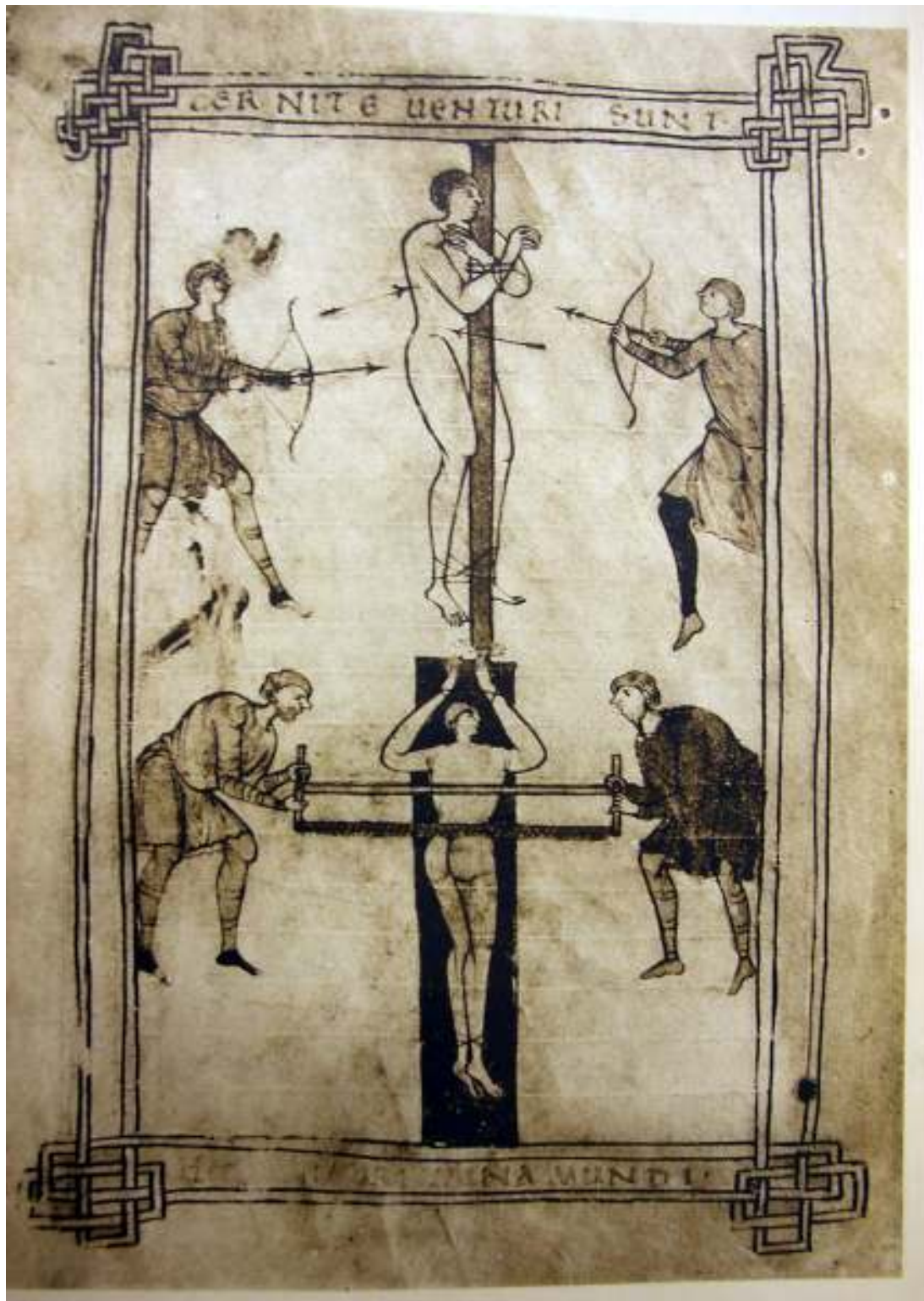


Figure 128 – Illustration for All Saint's day, Warmundus Sacramentary, Biblioteca Capitolare Ivrea, ms.86, 111r

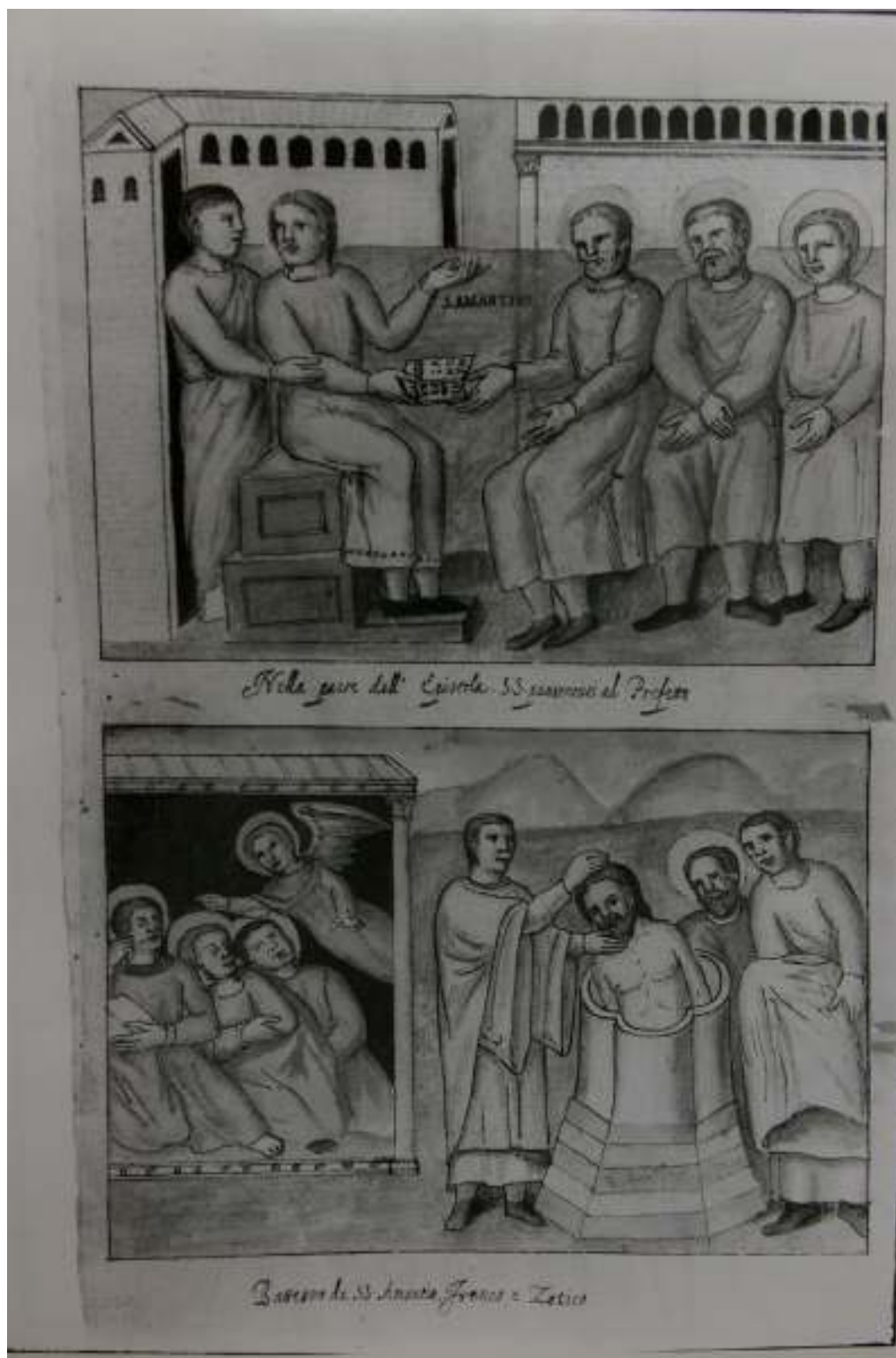


Figure 129 – Confrontation of Saint Zoticus and companions with a Roman authority, Baptism of Saint Cerealis (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 244)

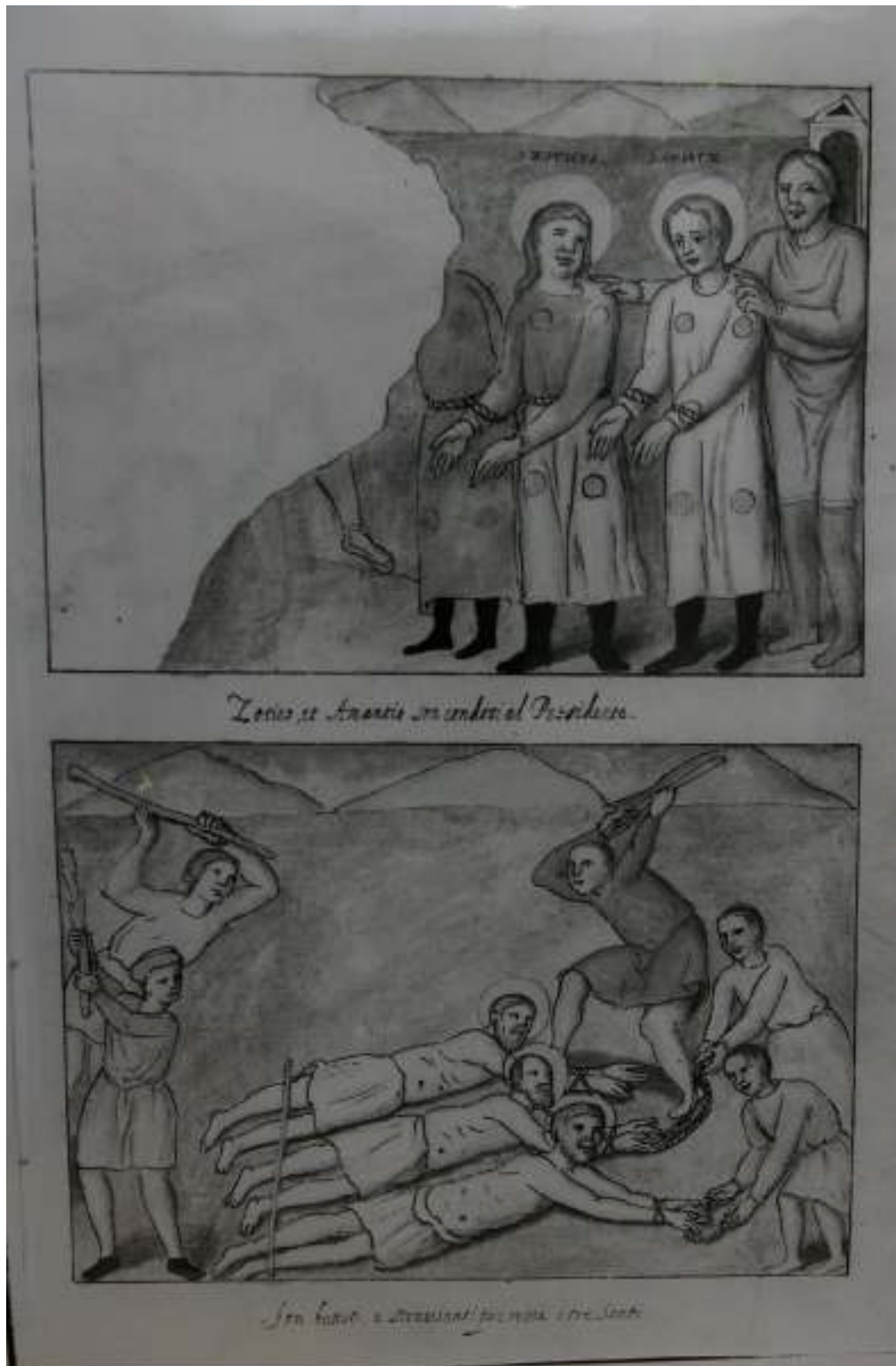


Figure 130 – Arrest of Saint Zoticus and companions, Beating of Saint Zoticus and companions (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 245)

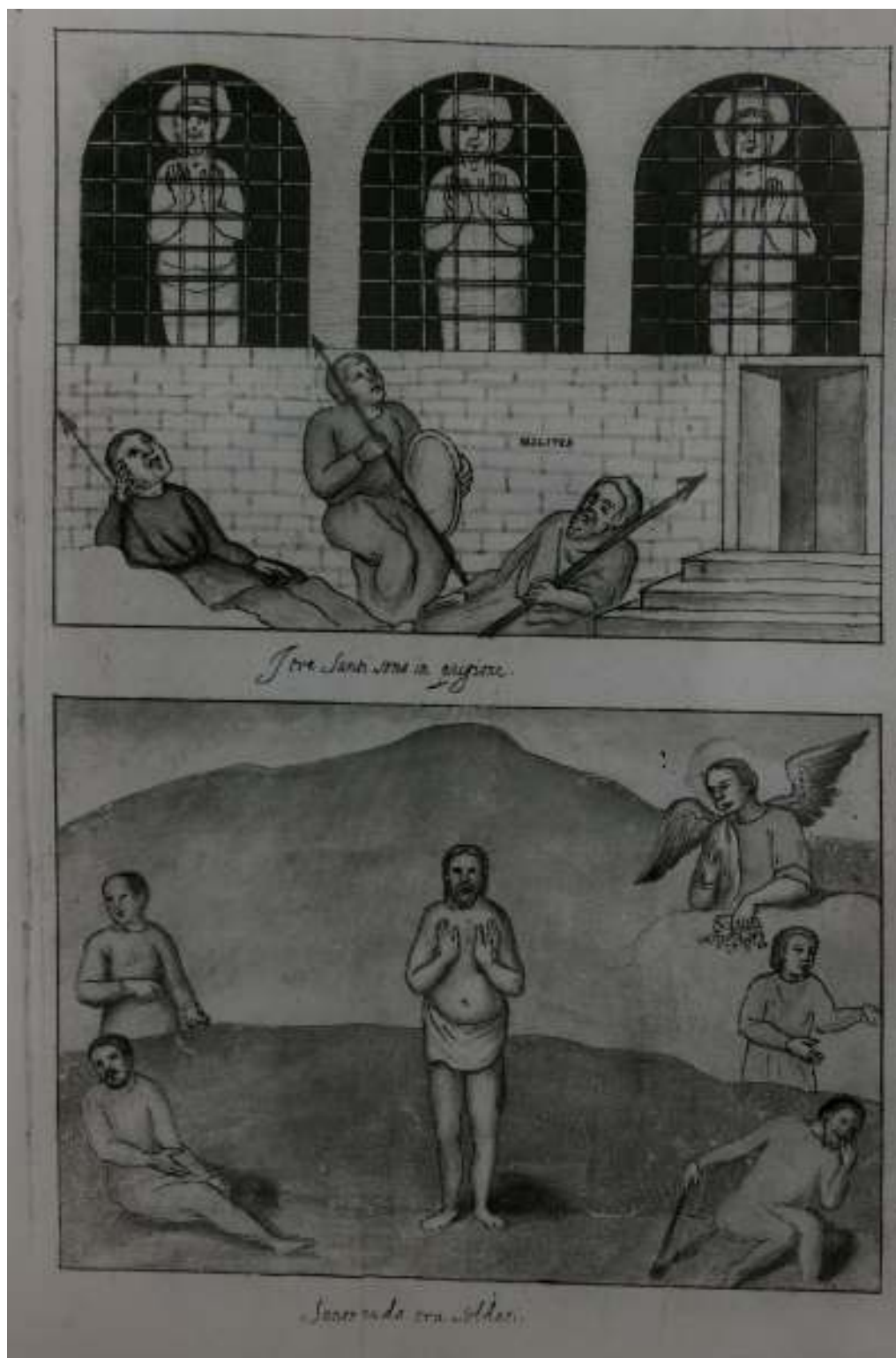


Figure 131 – Incarceration of Saints Zoticus and companions, Saint Zoticus overcomes the fire (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 247)



Figure 132 – Death of Saint Zoticus (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 246)



Figure 133 – Martyrdom of Saint Symphorosa (?) (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 9071, p. 250)



Figure 134 – Crucifixion panel, doors S. Sabina, Rome

