



FAU Studien aus der Philosophischen Fakultät 3

Saints and the City

Beiträge zum Verständnis urbaner Sakralität
in christlichen Gemeinschaften (5.-17. Jh.)

Herausgegeben von Michele C. Ferrari



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Band 3

Herausgeber der Reihe:

Prof. Dr. Michele Ferrari und Prof. Dr. Rainer Trinczek

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Erlangen
FAU University Press
2015

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten
sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

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Der vollständige Inhalt des Buchs ist als PDF über den OPUS Server
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<https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-fau/home>

Verlag und Auslieferung:
FAU University Press, Universitätsstraße 4, 91054 Erlangen

Druck: docupoint GmbH

ISBN: 978-3-944057-29-3
ISSN: 2363-720X

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Vorwort

Michele C. Ferrari

Heiligenkulte haben über Jahrhunderte in mannigfaltiger Weise das Leben der Städte und deren Erscheinungsbild geprägt. Mit der Verbreitung des Christentums im Mittelmeerraum und nach und nach auch im nördlichen und östlichen Europa gehörte die Verehrung von als heilig angesehenen Männern und Frauen zur geistigen Grundlage städtischer Gemeinschaften, die um die Verehrten ihre Identität als Gruppe von Gleichgesinnten bildeten.

Es gehört zu den paradoxen Phänomenen des Selbstverständnisses von Heiligen, dass sie in ihrem Umfeld als Ausnahmeerscheinungen, als Auserwählte handeln, aber ihre Singularität in Wirklichkeit notgedrungen über eine soziale Dimension verfügt, die nicht einmal durch deren ausdrückliche, bisweilen exzessive Negierung (etwa bei Eremiten) völlig getilgt werden kann. Der Heilige ist als *animal sociale* auf seine Umgebung angewiesen, auf die er im Sinne einer Neubegründung von Werten (*conversio*) zu wirken versucht. Das ist seine Aufgabe. Und dasselbe gilt selbstverständlich ebenfalls für jene Identifikationsfiguren aus früheren Zeiten, über die oft – trotz der Bemühungen phantasiereicher Hagiographen – nichts anderes bekannt war, als dass sie die Vollkommenheit der *vita christiana* verkörperten, und von denen die Gläubigen die irdischen Überreste aufbewahrten. Die Gräber der Heiligen prägten nicht nur das religiöse Leben der Menschen, die sich um sie scharten, sondern gestalteten auch den Raum, in dem diese lebten. Wo, wenn nicht in der Stadt, diesem lebendigen, sich in un-aufhörlicher Bewegung neu gestaltenden Schmelztiegel, konnte dies besser erfahren werden? Wo, wenn nicht in den *civitates* des vormodernen Europas, erreichte die Kompenetration von sozialem Gefüge und kultischen Ausdrucksformen einen derart formenden Ausdruck?

Der vorliegende Band, der aus einer Erlanger Tagung für Jungwissenschaftlerinnen und -wissenschaftler vom 8. bis zum 10. Juli 2013 hervorgeht, bietet mehrere Fallstudien zur Ausformung dessen, was wir urbane Sakralität nennen dürfen. Welche Züge trug sie in christlichen Gemeinschaften seit der Spätantike? Welche Faktoren beeinflussten sie am Mittelmeer und im nördlichen Europa? Wie entwickelte sie sich über die Zeit und welchen Einfluss übte sie auf den politischen, sozialen und kulturellen Diskurs ihrer Akteure aus? Welche Medien kamen dabei zur Geltung? Das Spektrum der Tagungsvorträge reichte vom spätantiken Alexandria bis zum frühneuzeitlichen Palermo, von den süditalienischen Zentren bis zur Reichsstadt Köln. Sie verstanden sich ausdrücklich als Diskussionsgrundlage für Gespräche über die Fachgrenzen hinweg, was während der Tagung auch nicht ausblieb.

Eingeladen waren Jungwissenschaftler aus mehreren Teilgebieten der Mediävistik. Die Fachrichtungen Byzantinistik, Germanistik, Geschichte, Kunstgeschichte, Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, Romanistik und Theologie waren auf der dreitägigen Erlanger Tagung vertreten, auf der die Einzelvorträge zum Teil kontrovers besprochen wurden.

Die aus den mündlich vorgetragenen Referaten hervorgegangenen schriftlichen Beiträge bezeugen unterschiedliche Qualifikierungsstufen. Der Herausgeber hat sich bewusst dafür entschieden, alle eingegangenen Beiträge der Jungforscherinnen und -forscher in die Druckfassung aufzunehmen und sie mit zwei Texten von international anerkannten Spezialisten zu ergänzen. Es schien wichtig zu sein, das intendierte Spektrum der Fachrichtungen und Methoden vorzustellen, das die Erlanger Zusammenkunft kennzeichnete (es sei mir einmal vergönnt, den omnipräsenten, inzwischen für jedwedes Allerlei gebräuchlichen Begriff der Interdisziplinarität zu unterdrücken). Die Einladungen nach Erlangen wurden nämlich aufgrund eines Auswahlverfahrens mit dem Ziel ausgesprochen, wichtige Territorien und Epochen in der Geschichte der urbanen Sakralität christlicher Gemeinschaften vom 5. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert zu repräsentieren. Angestrebt wurde zwar der große Bogen, allerdings setzt er sich bekanntlich aus einzelnen, sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Bauteilen zusammen. Die Auto-

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ren und der Herausgeber erheben deshalb keinen Anspruch auf eine wie auch immer enzyklopädische Zusammenschau, sondern laden die Leser auf eine lange und, wie wir hoffen, anregungsreiche Reise durch die christlichen Gesellschaften von der christlichen Spätantike bis zur Frühmoderne ein.

Danksagung

Die internationale Nachwuchstagung, deren Akten hier vorliegen, wurde auf Initiative des Herausgebers im Rahmen der Tätigkeit der DFG-Forschergruppe 1533 «Sakralität und Sakralisierung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Interkulturelle Perspektiven in Europa und Asien» veranstaltet. Ihren Mitgliedern, die sich an der Vorbereitung und an den Diskussionen rege beteiligten, sei hier gedankt, genauso wie dem Interdisziplinären Zentrum für Mittelalter- und Renaissance-Studien (IZEMIR) und der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, welche die Veranstaltung finanziell unterstützten.

Mein großer Dank geht an Frau Prof. Dr. Felicitas Schmieder (Hagen) und Herrn Prof. Dr. Albert Dietl (Regensburg). Erstere hat die Tagung während eines Forschungsaufenthaltes in Erlangen besucht und alle Teilnehmer an ihren profunden Kenntnissen der Materie teilhaben lassen. Sie hat sich darüber hinaus spontan bereit erklärt, einen Text beizusteuern. Herr Kollege Dietl hat im Rahmen der Tagung einen vielbeachteten Abendvortrag gehalten, der in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Lehrstuhl für Kunstgeschichte veranstaltet wurde, und er war so freundlich, eine ausgearbeitete Fassung für den Druck zur Verfügung zu stellen. Beide Texte bereichern den vorliegenden Sammelband in erheblichem Maße.

Der Band wurde professionell und effizient von Frau Beate Gresser von der FAU University Press betreut, der ich für das Engagement sehr danke.

Schließlich gebührt mein Dank den *auxiliares* am Lehrstuhl. Herr Dr. Stefan Weber, Frau Mariëlla Niers M.A. und Frau Johanna Möbius haben sich in der Schlussphase um den Band verdient gemacht, aber es war vor allem Herr Robert Hetterle, dem die angesichts der unterschiedlichen Sprachen und Fachkulturen nicht einfache Redaktionsarbeit oblag. Er hat diese kompetent und geduldig erledigt.

M. C. F.

Saints and the City

Einige Gedanken zum Auftakt

Felicitas Schmieder

Städte, ihre Entstehung und ihr Wachstum, ihre ökonomische, rechtliche, soziale, demographische, bauliche Entwicklung sind lange Zeit auch in der mittelalterlichen Geschichte vornehmlich von den genannten Perspektiven aus betrachtet worden. Da wir unsere Perspektiven vornehmlich unserer eigenen Wirklichkeit entnehmen, waren die Städte daher vor allem ein weltlicher Gegenstand, obgleich sich weltliche und sakrale Sphäre in der mittelalterlichen Lebenswelt gar nicht trennen lassen. Das hat sich mehr und mehr geändert, vermutlich weil uns im beginnenden globalen 21. Jahrhundert die Vermischung von Sakralem und Säkularem wieder mehr interessieren muss, als wir es (zumindest in Europa) lange für möglich hielten. So treten zu frühen Pionierstudien¹ mehr und mehr Arbeiten, die dezidiert nicht allein „Stadt und Kirche“ (was man sehr weltlich fassen kann), sondern die Stadt und Kult oder eben Stadt und Heilige, städtische Gruppen und Heilige in den Blick nehmen.

Heilige stellen für die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Christen das konkrete Element in ihrer von abstrakten theologischen Vorstellungen

¹ Alfred Haverkamp, „Heilige Städte‘ im hohen Mittelalter“, in: František Graus (Hg.), *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter. Methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, Sigmaringen 1987, (Vorträge und Forschungen 35), S. 119–156; wieder in: Alfred Haverkamp, *Verfassung, Kultur, Lebensform. Beiträge zur italienischen, deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte im europäischen Mittelalter. Dem Autor zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, hg. v. Friedhelm Burgard, Alfred Heit und Michael Matheus, Mainz 1997, S. 361–402; André Vauchez, „Patronage des saints et religion civique dans l’Italie communale“, in: ders., *Les laïcs au Moyen Age, Pratiques et expériences religieuses*, Paris 1987, S. 169–186; Hans-Conrad Peyer, *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien*, Zürich 1955; vgl. Paolo Golinelli, *Città e culto dei santi nel medioevo italiano*, Bologna 1991.

geprägten Religion dar. Es handelte sich um zu Lebzeiten oder durch ihren Tod hervorragende Menschen, die sofort mit dem Tod in die Gottesschau eingingen und im unmittelbaren Angesicht Gottes existierten (das normale Sterbliche wenn überhaupt dann erst nach dem Ende der Zeiten und dem Jüngsten Gericht schauen werden). Weil sie zugleich in ihren – unvergänglichen und stets wohlriechenden – Körpern auf Erden präsent blieben, waren die Heiligen in der Lage, Vermittlerfunktionen bei Gott zu übernehmen. Sie wurden als Träger göttlicher *virtus* vorgestellt als direkt ins Leben der Menschen eingreifend (strafend und belohnend, Schaden bringend oder abwendend, in Schlachten schützend und sogar helfend oder behindernd u. ä.). Um die Fürsorge der Heiligen zu erlangen, brachten die Menschen Opfer für sie und verehrten sie. Wo wir nur noch den Martins- und den Nikolaustag feiern, vielleicht auch noch wissen, was hinter der Walpurgisnacht oder dem Johannisfeuer an Bedeutung steckt, bestimmte der Festkalender der Heiligen das ganze Jahr der mittelalterlichen Menschen, waren Heiligenlegenden Teil des mündlichen Traditionsschatzes, der von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben wurde. Heilige hatten ihren Platz in der Messe und in besonderen Liturgien innerhalb sakraler Räume, man pilgerte zu ihnen und sie wurden in Prozessionen und auch in religiösen Spielen aus der Kirche in die Welt der Menschen hinaus getragen. Wo die Heiligen in ihren Reliquien – ihren Körpern und Körperteilen oder in Gegenständen, die sie berührt hatten, vor allem im Falle von Maria (die wie Christus leiblich auferstanden ist und von der es deshalb grundsätzlich keine körperlichen Reste gibt) – präsent waren, fühlten alle oder Gruppen von Menschen, die an den fraglichen Orten lebten, sich und ihre ganze Identität „ihren“ Heiligen als besondere Patrone eng verbunden²: Solche Orte waren zum Beispiel Städte.

Mittelalterliche europäische Städte, ob sie nun ihre Wurzeln in der Antike hatten oder aber aus eher ländlichen Strukturen als verdichtete Siedlungen mit spezifischen Strukturen herauswuchsen, grenzten sich

2 Vgl. hierzu Jürgen Strothmann, „Der Heilige als Haupt der Gesellschaft: Versuch der Stiftung kollektiver Identität in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften“, in: *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge*, Wrocław 1999, S. 21–42.

mehr oder weniger deutlich in baulicher, wirtschaftlicher, sozialer, rechtlicher, funktionaler oder herrschaftlicher Weise von ihrer Umgebung ab. Zugleich waren sie in all diesen Bereichen aber auch mit ihrem Umfeld auf das engste verwoben. Abgrenzung und Verbindung waren daher beide zu Zeiten erwünscht oder sogar benötigt – und Identitätsstiftung für Gruppen ebenso wie Brückenschlag (oder auch das Abbrechen der Brücken) zwischen gleichen und unterschiedlichen Gruppen gehörten eben zu den bedeutsamsten kommunikativen Leistungen, die Heilige im Mittelalter erbringen konnten und sollten. Städte als physischer Raum, von den Heiligen besessen, geschützt und geheiligt, und mehr noch als ein sozialer Raum, der durch die Interaktion und Kommunikation von Menschen gebildet wird³, als „Kult- und Kampfgemeinschaft“⁴, stellten damit in ihrer Beziehungen zu den Heiligen bei allen Besonderheiten nur einen Spezialfall dar, grundsätzlich vergleichbar mit dem Verhältnis zwischen heiligen Patronen und jeglicher anderen größeren oder kleineren dauerhaften oder auch ephemeren sozialen Gruppe, von der Gemeinde bis zum ganzen Volk: Bruderschaft, Zunft, Rittergesellschaft, Universität, Schiffsbesatzung, Dynastie, Rat, Nation und viele andere Gruppen verehrten ihren besonderen Heiligen oder aber eine Heilige, die sie mit anderen gemeinsam hatten.

Bei aller grundsätzlichen Gebundenheit an den Ort des Leibes der Heiligen sind sie recht beweglich. Viele Heilige genießen nicht nur an den genannten Orten Verehrung: Gerade die Gottesmutter Maria besitzt viele Kirchen und dient mehreren Völkern oder anderen Menschengruppen als bevorzugte Identifikationsfigur. Dem Heiligen Nikolaus fühlen sich weitgereiste Seefahrer und Kaufleute besonders verbunden und wollen ihm überall ihren Dank oder ihre Bitten darbringen können. So kennt das lateinische Christentum zum einen

3 Dieter R. Bauer – Klaus Herbers – Hedwig Röckelein – Felicitas Schmieder (Hg.), *Heilige – Liturgie – Raum*. Tagung des Arbeitskreises für hagiographische Fragen, 12.–15.4.07 Weingarten, Stuttgart 2010.

4 Ernst Voltmer, „Leben im Schutz der Heiligen. Die mittelalterliche Stadt als Kult- und Kampfgemeinschaft“, in: Christian Meier (Hg.), *Die okzidentale Stadt nach Max Weber. Zum Problem der Zugehörigkeit in Antike und Mittelalter*, München 1994, (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Beihefte NF 17), S. 213–42.

Patrone von Städten und deren Bürgerschaften oder gar Reichen und deren Angehörigen, zum anderen aber auch Patrone bestimmter Berufsgruppen oder für bestimmte Notlagen. Um diese Funktionen zu gewährleisten, mussten manche Heiligen an vielen Orten zugleich präsent sein, weshalb unterschiedliche Vervielfältigungsmöglichkeit der Reliquien entstanden (v. a. Teilungen und Übertragung der Heiligkeit auf andere Gegenstände durch Berührung). Dadurch konnten Heilige wandern und ihre Wirkungsorte vermehren – und sie konnten damit in ihrer Person Brückenfunktionen zwischen diesen Orten übernehmen, konnten Frieden und Vertrauen stiften, mehr oder weniger dauerhafte und wiederkehrende Kontakte herstellen und gar neue Gemeinschaften konstituieren. Andererseits konnten sie miteinander in Konkurrenz treten und zu Manifestationen von Abgrenzung und Feindseligkeiten von Gruppen gegeneinander werden – unterschiedliche Heilige gegeneinander oder der gleiche Heilige an unterschiedlichen Orten, denn die Übertragung kann gegen den der Bevölkerung des Ursprungsortes (aber mit dem Willen des Heiligen) geschehen sein, Reliquien konnten also geschenkt ebenso wie gestohlen werden.

Während des gesamten lateinischen Mittelalters lassen sich besonders populäre Heilige beobachten – zuvorderst Maria und die Apostel, bei denen man nur dann eine gewisse Exklusivität beanspruchen konnte, wenn man das Grab selbst besaß. Berühmte Fälle sind hier nicht nur der ältere Jakobus in Santiago di Compostela, sondern vor allem Petrus in Rom, der den Vorrang des dortigen Bischofs unter allen anderen Bischöfen begründete – weshalb sich im 8. Jahrhundert Konstantinopel in Konkurrenz dazu des Besitzes des Grabes des Apostels Andreas zu rühmen begann (des Bruders Petri und zugleich des biblisch noch vor Petrus erstberufenen Jüngers Christi).⁵

Die scheinbare Allgemeinheit konnte durchaus erstrebenswert sein: Nicht nur konnte ein Heiliger, der anderswo schon Stärke erwiesen hatte, auch an anderen Orten erwünscht sein, sondern die Orte, waren auch miteinander verbunden. So konnten Beziehungen zwi-

5 Wolfram Brandes, "Zentralität durch Apostolizität. Die Entstehung der Andreaslegende in Byzanz", in: ders. – Caspar Ehlers – Christoph Meyer (Hg.), *Ausprägungen von Zentralität in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter – Normative und räumliche Dimensionen*, Frankfurt am Main (im Druck).

schen Mutterkirche und Tochtergemeinde gefestigt und verdauert werden; ganze soziale Netze konnten auf diese Art und Weise in ihrer Entstehung oder Existenz anhand von Heiligen nachgezeichnet werden, weil ähnliche Lebensbedingungen offenbar ähnliche Heiligenpräferenzen hervorbrachten. Ausgehend von der Präsenz des Heiligen Nikolaus (der hier wohl als Heiliger der zuwandernden Fernkaufleute mit diesen weiterwanderte) in Hunderten von Städten Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, die alle im Zuge der Ostkolonisation deutschsprachiger Siedler im 12. Jahrhundert entstanden, konnte K.H. Blaschke in diesem geographischen Raum eine dutzendfach vorkommende typische Heiligen-Gruppe und sogar -Reihung beobachten⁶: Sehr oft gehört die älteste Pfarrkirche dem Heiligen Petrus, dann folgen Nikolaus und Maria, während die später angefügten Neustädte oft Jakobus-Denomination erhalten haben. In einem solchen Fall hat man wohl nicht nach je individuellen Entscheidungen in den einzelnen Städten zu suchen, sondern nach engen Kontakten der Neusiedler untereinander und dem Bedürfnis nach absichernder Gemeinschaft.

Andererseits gab es auch lokale Heilige, die sich mit einer Stadt und höchstens noch deren Umland verbanden, wie der Dortmunder Reinoldus⁷, bei denen gerade ihre Besonderheit ein hohes Gut war. Neben dem ggf. besonders initiierten Besitz der Reliquien konstituierten auch besondere Taten des Heiligen, der oft auch zu Lebzeiten bereits der Gemeinschaft angehört hatte, wie die heiligen Bischöfe in ihren Städten, oder aber im Tode dauerhafte emotionale Verbindungen. Nicht zuletzt in Schlachten eilten Heilige oft ihren Schützlingen zu Hilfe, so wie sich die Stadt Lübeck bis heute dankend der Maria

6 Karlheinz Blaschke, "Kirchenorganisation und Kirchenpatrozinien als Hilfsmittel der Stadtkernforschung", in: Helmut Jäger (Hg.), Stadtkernforschung, Köln - Wien 1987, S. 23-57; wieder in: Ders., Stadtgrundriss und Stadtentwicklung. Forschungen zur Entstehung mitteleuropäischer Städte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze, hg. v. Peter Johannek, Köln - Weimar - Wien 1997, S. 131-62.

7 Beate Weifenbach (Hg.), Reinold: ein Ritter für Europa, Beschützer der Stadt Dortmund; Funktion und Aktualität eines mittelalterlichen Symbols für Frieden und Freiheit, Berlin 2004.

Magdalena erinnert, die ihnen 1227 im Befreiungskampf gegen die dänischen Herren half.⁸

Wurde hier der einzige Stadtpatron hervorgehoben (können Heilige doch eifersüchtig sein), unterstrich man dort die Überzeugung, dass eine Gruppe von Stadtpatronen⁹ oder sogar durch die Akkumulation von möglichst vielen Heiligen der Schutz verstärkt werde. Abgrenzung und Inklusion waren auch innerhalb der Städte denkbar, wenn Heilige von Gruppen zu Heiligen der ganzen Stadt wurden, wie das für die Patrizierheilige Katharina in Nürnberg gezeigt worden ist.¹⁰ Wir sind noch weit entfernt von einem vollständigen Bild dessen, was wo von wem zu welchen Zeiten aus welchen Gründen bevorzugt wurde: Spezialuntersuchungen sind notwendig, sind sich doch keine zwei Städte völlig gleich gewesen und haben sie sich doch auch ihrer Heiligen bei aller grundsätzlichen Vergleichbarkeit ganz unterschiedlich erinnert, vergewissert und bedient. Gerade in jüngerer Zeit hat es eine ganze Reihe von solchen Spezialuntersuchungen gegeben, die Johannes den Täufer als Patron von Florenz oder Demetrios als Patron von Thessaloniki thematisierten¹¹ und außerdem Tagungen, die das Thema

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- 8 Detmar, *Chronik*, ed. in: *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*. Lübeck, 2 Bde., Leipzig 1884–99, I, S. 307/8 (14. Jh.); vgl. Sascha Möbius, *Das Gedächtnis der Reichsstadt. Unruhen und Kriege in der lübeckischen Chronistik und Erinnerungskultur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2011.
- 9 Olivier Richard, “Eine Stadt mit mehreren Patronen? Regensburg im Spätmittelalter”, in: Ehrich, *Städtische Kulte im Mittelalter* (wie Anm. 12), S. 139–152; Matthias Kloft – Felicitas Schmieder, “Hii sunt vigiles qui custodiant civitatem. Die Frankfurter Heiligentopographie zwischen Kirche, Bürgerschaft und Rat”, in: Bauer – Herbers – Signori, *Patriotische Heilige* (wie Anm. 12), S. 229–52.
- 10 Anne Simon, *The cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria in late-medieval Nuremberg: Saint and the City*, Farnham 2012.
- 11 Jean Lacroix, “Saint Jean-Baptiste, patron de Florence et voix ‘inspirée’ de la ‘renovatio’ dantesque”, in: Jean-Baptiste, *Le précurseur au Moyen Age. Actes du 26e colloque du CUER MA 2001, Aix-en-Provence 2002*, S. 131–147; Franz Alto Bauer, *Eine Stadt und ihr Patron. Thessaloniki und der Heilige Demetrios, Regensburg 2013*. Ohne jeglichen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit, aber mit einem gewissen Augenmerk auf lokale Breite sei zusätzlich zu den bereits zitierten Titeln genannt: Filippo Carlà, “Milan, Ravenna, Rome: some reflections on the cult of saints and on civic politics in late antique Italy”, in: *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 46.2 (2011) S. 197–272; Trpimir Vedriš, “Martyrs, relics, and bishops: representations of the city in Dalmatian translation legends”, in: *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 12 (2006) S. 175–186; Anke

Stadt und Heilige in bestimmter Weise kontextualisierten, wie „Patriotische Heilige“, „Städtische Kulte“ oder „Die oberdeutschen Reichsstädte und ihre Heiligenkulte“.¹² Der vorliegende Band, der regional weitgespannt lokal in die Tiefe geht, will seinen Beitrag dazu leisten.

Krüger, Südfranzösische Lokalheilige zwischen Kirche, Dynastie und Stadt vom 5. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 2001; Willem Frijhoff, „Een stadspatrones, een kapittelheilige en twee halve lichamen: Maria, Walburgis en Justus“, in: M. Groot-hedde (Hg.), *De Sint-Walburgiskerk in Zutphen: Momenten uit de geschiedenis van een middeleeuwse kerk*, Zutphen 1999, S. 189–214. Nicht eingesehen werden konnte Dimitŭr Mollov, „Some aspects of the concept of Venice as a city established on saints' relics in the earliest Venetian chronicles (11th–12th c.)“, in: *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia Universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski". Tsentŭr za slavyano-vizantiiski prouchvaniya "Ivan Duichev" 92* (2005), S. 259–271.

- 12 Dieter R. Bauer – Klaus Herbers – Gabriela Signori (Hg.), *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, Stuttgart 2007 bzw. Susanne Ehrich (Hg.), *Städtische Kulte im Mittelalter*, Regensburg 2010; Klaus Herbers (Hg.), *Die oberdeutschen Reichsstädte und ihre Heiligenkulte – Traditionen und Ausprägungen zwischen Stadt, Ritterorden und Reich*, Tübingen 2005. Mehrere Aufsätze zum Thema Heilige und bürgerliche Identität in Sandra Cardarelli – Emily Jane Anderson – John Richards (ed.), *Art and Identity: Visual Culture, Politics and Religion in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Newcastle 2012.

Stadtpatrone im mittelalterlichen Italien

Die Beispiele Modena und Massa Marittima

Albert Dietl

Nirgendwo sonst hat sich so früh und so intensiv der Kult des Stadtpatrons entwickelt wie in Ober- und Mittelitalien seit den religiös fundierten Anfängen der Kommunebewegung des späten 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Im Stadtpatron als einer das städtische Kollektiv repräsentierenden Kultgestalt verband sich die permanente Rückversicherung der eigenen Stadtgeschichte mit dem Bedürfnis nach einer identitäts anbietenden Rechtsfigur an der Spitze eines institutionell neuartigen, dem Anspruch nach auf der Gleichheit seiner Mitglieder gründenden Gemeinschaftswesen – einer Leitfigur, die zudem mit dem Charisma der Heiligkeit ausgestattet war. Damit waren die Stadtpatrone weniger eine kanonistisch oder ikonographisch als gewissermaßen verfassungsgeschichtlich grundierte Klasse von Lokalheiligen, in der Regel der städtischen, spätantiken Protobischöfe. In den Projektionen ihrer hagiographischen Dossiers brachten sie als fortwährende, himmlische „patroni“ mit immer neuen thaumaturgischen Leistungen für ihr Klientel des zivilreligiösen Kollektivs das Bewußtsein stadteschichtlicher Kontinuität mit den Erfahrungen permanenten Wandels in einen ständigen Ausgleich.¹

Gerade in den italienischen Kommunen mit ihrer Dynamik urbanistischer Expansion, sozialer Partikularisierung und expansiver Schriftbürokratisierung waren aber auch die Bilder und Inschriften früh aus dem vordem exklusiven Refugium des kirchlichen Innenraums in die Stadträume ausgewandert, in denen sie ihre

¹ Grundlegend zum Thema: Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders. The Saints in the Italian City-states*, (International Library of Historical Studies 4), London-New York 1996; vgl. auch hg. v. Dieter R. Bauer – Klaus Herbers u.a., *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, (Beiträge zur Hagiographie 5), Stuttgart 2007.

eigenmedialen, kommunikativen Potentiale der Produktion von Öffentlichkeit, der intendierten Dauerhaftigkeit und der visuellen Evidenz zur Geltung brachten. Mit der urbanistischen Revolution und mit der Formierung der Kommune kam es seit dem 11. Jahrhundert zur Wiederentdeckung der urbanen Räume als heterogener und pluri-funktionaler Räume einer verdichteten, symbolischen Kommunikation.² Zeitlich parallel war in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts auch die monumentale, figürliche Bauplastik zum modernsten, öffentlichkeitswirksamsten Bildmedium aufgestiegen. Als Mitteilungsträger für neue Aufgaben und für neue Gruppen begann die Bauplastik auch bald, Bilder und Vitenszenen der Heiligen, speziell der Stadtpatrone, in die Freiräume der Stadt auszulagern, die sie als Produktionsräume von städtischer Identität und herrschaftlicher Aneignung mitkonturierten. Waren Vitenzyklen von Heiligen vordem auf das Medium des Buches in Gestalt kleinformatiger Libelli, auf goldschmiedene Altarverkleidungen oder auf Wandbilder innerhalb des Kirchenraums beschränkt, machte die Bauplastik nun das Bild des Heiligen im Stadtkörper präsent – im Mit- und Gegeneinander anderer Kartierungen, die die Stadträume mehr und mehr zu komplexen Bilder-, Zeichen- und Schrifträumen überformten.³ Die Bildpräsenz des Stadtpatrons am urbanen und zivilreligiösen Brennpunkt der städtischen Topographie, der Bischofs- und Grabkirche des Heiligen, bezog ihre Überzeugungskraft aus der Realpräsenz seiner Reliquien im Heiligengrab, das vielfach den Ausgangs- und Zielpunkt ritualisierter, inner- und außerstädtischer Bewegungsabläufe in Prozessionen, Zeremonien, Unterwerfungs- und Tributakten vorgab. Zu den bedeutendsten Bildentwürfen für die Viten von Stadtpatronen im Medium der Bauplastik zur

2 Vgl. Albert Dietl, "Der öffentliche Raum als Bühne inschriftlicher Selbstinszenierung von Künstlern in italienischen Kommunen des Mittelalters", in: Jörg Oberste (Hg.), *Repräsentationen der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, (Forum Mittelalter. Studien 4), Regensburg 2008, S. 145–164 (mit Literatur).

3 Zu Vitenzyklen in den Medien von Buchmalerei und Kleinkunst vgl. Barbara F. Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations*, Cambridge-New York u.a. 1994; Leslie Ross, *Text, Image, Message. Saints in Medieval Manuscripts*, (Illustrations to the Study of Art and Architecture 3), Westport 1994; Cynthia J. Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, Berkeley-Los Angeles u.a. 2001.

Zeit der frühen Kommunen gehören die Zyklen für den Protobischof Geminianus am Südportal des Modeneser Doms (um 1106) und für den Frühbischof Cerbonius am Hauptportal des Doms im südtoσκani-schen Massa Marittima (um 1200–1220). Diese narrativen Bildfolgen sind nicht einfach nur Illustrationen hagiographischer Texte, sondern eigenständige Redaktionen innerhalb der hagiographischen Dossiers unter den eigenmedialen Visualisierungsleistungen des Bildes wie etwa der Auswahl und Sequenz der Szenen, des Transfers biblischer Ikonographien, der Akzentuierung durch Gebärden und Komposition, der Einbeziehung von Flächen- und Raumbezügen des Bildträgers oder der eigenkommentierenden Textierung durch Inschriften. Durch ihre hervorgehobenen, fernsichtigen Positionierungen an den dicht-frequentierten Domportalen markierten diese Reliefzyklen, denen in besonderem Maße Permanenz, Anschaulichkeit und öffentliche Sicht-barkeit zu eigen war, nicht nur dauerhaft Kommunikationsachsen in-nerhalb des heterotopen Stadtraums. Sie verhandelten vielmehr in ih-ren Bilderfolgen selbst inner- und außerstädtische Topographien der eigenen, durch das Wirken der Stadtheiligen zum „locus sanctus“ ge-wordenen „civitas“, konstruierten Erinnerung und Kontinuität der städtischen Geschichte.

Der Vitenzyklus des Stadtpatrons und Protobischofs Geminianus († um 397) am 1099 begonnenen Modeneser Dom war nicht am Hauptportal der Westfassade untergebracht, sondern am Architrav des zur „platea publica“ hin orientierten Südportals mit ihren dort nach und nach angesiedelten, kommunalen Amtsgebäuden, auf die um 1220–1230 der Einbau eines weiteren, nach Osten gerückten Südportals am Dom reagierte (Abb. 1).⁴

4 Albert Dietl, *Defensor Civitatis. Der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Ober-italiens*, München 1998, S. 20–175, woran der folgende Abriss orientiert ist; seitdem zu Portal und Geminianuszyklus vgl. Claudio Franzoni – Enrica Pagella, „Wiligelmo: appunti per una biografia artistica“, in: Elena Corradini – Elio Garzillo u.a. (Hg.), *Domus clari Geminiani. Il duomo di Modena*, Cinisello Balsamo 1998, S. 93–133, hier S. 114–122; Chiara Frugoni, „La facciata, le porte, le metope: un programma coerente“, in: Chiara Frugoni (Hg.), *Il Duomo di Modena*, Bd. 1: Testi, (Mirabilia Italiae 9/1), Modena 1999, S. 9–38, hier S. 27–31 bzw. Schede, S. 193–480, hier S. 219–221 (Enrica Pagella); Jens Reiche, „Die älteste Skulptur am Modeneser Dom und die Herkunft Wiligelmos“, in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*



Abb. 1: Modena, Dom, Geminianuszyklus

Mit seiner exzentrisch nach Westen gerückten Position nahm die Porta dei Principi mit dem Geminianuszyklus gezielt die urbanistische Achse der heutigen Via Francesco Selmi auf, die sie mit der hier erstmals eingesetzten, architektonischen Invention eines zweigeschossigen Baldachinportals als eines fernsichtigen „point de vue“ akzentuierte. Der sechsteilige, mit Verstituli kommentierte Bildzyklus des Architravs reflektiert mit der abschließenden Szene der Bestattung des Konfessors die 1106 erfolgte Translation und Deposition der Geminianusreliquien in den Neubau des Doms, deren reale Präsenz im Kultgebäude das Relief öffentlich annoncierte. Die ersten fünf Episoden thematisieren den zentralen, bereits in der kurz vor 900 entstandenen Vita brevior (BHL 3296) enthaltenen Erzählkreis der Geminianushagiographie, der aus der Vita des Zeno von Verona des Coronatus Notarius (BHL 9001) adaptiert war: Diesem Veroneser Grundmodell folgten die weiteren Erzählstationen von der erfolglosen Versuchung des teuflischen Dämons bis zu seiner offenen Kampferklärung an Geminianus, die sich in der Besessenheit der Tochter des oströmischen Kaisers Jovian manifestierte; von der Suche der ausgesickten kaiserlichen Soldaten nach dem Heiligen, den der Dämon namentlich als Adressaten seiner Herausforderung benannt hatte, bis zu seiner gefährlichen Reise

47 (2003), S. 259–310, hier S. 298–300; Erika Frigieri, *Il Duomo di Modena: Tra filosofia e storia*, San Pietro in Cariano 2004, S. 117–132; Francesca Piccinini (Hg.), *Romanica. Arte e liturgia nelle terre di San Geminiano e Matilde di Canossa*, Modena 2006, S. 232–234 Nr. 44 (Saverio Lomartire-Paolo Golinelli); Adriano Peroni, „Per san Geminiano: il sepolcro e la ‘domus’, l’altare portatile, la Porta dei Principi“, in: *Tracce dei luoghi, tracce della storia. L’editore che inseguiva la Bellezza. Scritti in onore di Franco Cosimo Panini*, Modena-Rom 2008, S. 77–96, hier S. 88–96; Dorothy F. Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca 1095–1130. History and Patronage of Romanesque Façades*, Farnham-Burlington 2010, S. 124f.

per Schiff nach Konstantinopel; vom erfolgreichen Exorzismus der Kaisertochter und der reichen Beschenkung durch das kaiserliche Elternpaar bis hin zur glücklichen Rückkehr des Heiligen in seine emilianische Heimat- und Bischofsstadt.⁵ Die Bildredaktion verzichtete damit scheinbar auf eine markante Akzentuierung der bereits in der ersten Vita angelegten Rolle des Geminianus als Schutzinstanz seiner Stadt, der als lebendes Palladion auf den Stadtmauern Modenas unerschrocken dem Belagerungsheer Attilas, der „Geißel Gottes“, gegenübertritt und durch sein Vertrauen auf die spirituelle Schutzmauer Christi einen friedlichen Durchzug der Hunnen und damit die Unbeschadetheit seiner Stadt bewirkt. Unter dem Eindruck des Ungarneinfalls in die Emilia 899/900 verdichtete bald darauf das „Modeneser Wächterlied“, ein halbliturgisch-hymnischer Weckruf an die Wachmannschaften der Modeneser Stadtmauer, die Defensorenrolle des Heiligen, der als lebender Schutzwall seiner Stadt angerufen wird.⁶ Eine modernisierte Vita aus der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts, die Vita longior (BHL 3297–3300), bezog nicht nur neue innerstädtische Kultinstitutionen und Topographien mit ein, sie aktualisierte die Hunnen- zur Ungarnerrettung Modenas durch den himmlischen Patron.⁷ Einen weiteren Kultschub löste nur wenige Jahrzehnte später der Neubau des

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- 5 Vgl. Dietl (wie Anm. 4), S. 29–35; für neuere Editionen der Vita brevior (BHL 3296) vgl. Pietro Bortolotti, *Antiche vite di S. Geminiano vescovo e protettore di Modena*, (Monumenti di Storia Patria delle Provincie Modenesi. Serie delle cronache 14), Modena 1886, S. 61–75; Giuseppe Pistoni, *San Geminiano vescovo e protettore di Modena nella vita, nel culto, nell'arte*, Modena 1983, S. 147–166. Die jüngsten Überblicke zum Geminianuskult und den Viten gibt Paolo Golinelli, „San Geminiano e Modena. Un santo, il suo tempo, il suo culto nel Medioevo“, in: Francesca Piccinini (Hg.), *Civitas Geminiana. La Città e il suo Patrono*, Modena 1997, S. 9–33; ders., „Modena 1106: istantanee dal Medioevo“, in: *Romanica* (wie Anm. 4), S. 1–20.
- 6 Vgl. Dietl (wie Anm. 4), S. 35–43; zum Modeneser Wächterlied (Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. O. I. 4, fol. 154v bzw. 157r) vgl. zuletzt Maximilian Georg Kellner, *Die Ungarneinfälle im Bild der Quellen bis 1150. Von der „Gens detestanda“ zur „Gens ad fidem Christi conversa“*, (Studia Ungarica 46), München 1997, S. 14–16; Franz Kirchwegger, „Die Forschung zur Heiligen Lanze“, in: Franz Kirchwegger (Hg.), *Die Heilige Lanze in Wien. Insignie, Reliquie, „Schicksalsspeer“*, (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 9), Mailand-Wien 2005, S. 10–21, hier S. 17f.
- 7 Vgl. Dietl (wie Anm. 4), S. 48–61; die Vita longior und ihre Redaktionen (BHL 3297–3300) ediert bei Bortolotti (wie Anm. 5), S. 79–104.

Doms aus, den das städtische Kollektiv 1099 programmatisch zur Zeit einer bischöflichen Sedisvakanz in Angriff nahm – nach dem Tod des exkommunizierten, dezidiert antikirchenreformerischen Amtsinhabers Heribert (1054/55–1094/95), der eben noch den Vorgängerbau des Doms modernisiert hatte. Zu dieser hagiographischen Initiative der Jahre bald nach 1100 gehörte einerseits eine Neuredaktion der Heiligenvita (BHL 3300), aber auch ein zeitgenössischer Bau- und Translationsbericht (BHL 3302), der die Etappen des Dombaus seit 1099 referierte, vor allem aber die Umstände der Translation der Geminianusreliquien 1106 in den Neubau in den Mittelpunkt stellte. Zum anderen schloss diese Initiative natürlich den Reliefzyklus mit der von Verstituli begleiteten Vita des Heiligen an der Porta dei Principi selbst mit ein. Wahrscheinlich war der „spiritus rector“ dieser engstens miteinander verzahnten Aktivitäten der von 1096–1110 belegte Domkanoniker Aimo, der kraft seines Amtes als Domscholaster dafür zuständig war, das Kultimage des Geminianus literarisch zu modellieren; eine metrische Bauinschrift an der Hauptapsis machte ihn zudem als Autor ihrer Verse und damit wohl auch aller übrigen zeitgenössischen Verstituli des Doms namhaft.⁸ Breitesten Raum nehmen im Bericht die über Monate dauernden, noch am offenen Grab des Heiligen fortgeführten Streitigkeiten um die Modalitäten der Translation ein. Trotz der Einschaltung der Markgräfin Mathilde von Canossa († 1115) als Schlichterin ziehen sich die Auseinandersetzungen von April 1106, als ein erster Termin der Überführung platzt, bis zu den allerletzten Minuten während der laufenden Handlung der Translation hin, die am 7. Oktober 1106 im Beisein des eigens angereisten Papstes Paschalis II. (1099–1118) vorgenommen wird. Immer wieder aufs neue opponiert die Modeneser

8 Vgl. Diel (wie Anm. 4), S. 61–79; die *Relatio de innovatione ecclesiae sancti Geminiani ac de translatione eius beatissimi corporis* (BHL 3302) ist vielfach ediert, vgl. unter anderem durch Bortolotti (wie Anm. 5), S. 11–116; Giulio Bertoni (Hg.), *Relatio translationis corporis Sancti Geminiani*, (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 6/1), Città di Castello 1907; Pietro Galavotti, *Le più antiche fonti storiche del duomo di Modena* (Biblioteca 23), 2. Aufl., Modena 1974, S. 49–59; Matteo Al Kalak, *Relatio de innovatione ecclesiae Sancti Geminiani. Storia di una cattedrale*, Modena 2004, S. 20–50. Zur Handschrift der *Relatio* (Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. O.II.11) vgl. zuletzt Pierpaolo Bonacini (Hg.), *La fabbrica di San Geminiano. Regesto del codice capitolare O. II. 11*, Modena 2012.

Bürgerschaft gegen das Translationsprocedere des auswärtigen Hochklerus, bis sie schließlich in Gestalt einer quotierten Aufsichtsdelegation aus sechs „militēs“ und zwölf „cives“ selbst in das Geschehen am Heiligengrab einbezogen wird. In der Optik des Berichts wird die leitmotivisch immer wieder neu gefundene Eintracht der innerstädtischen Gruppen zum Motor für die Handlung, scheinen mit der Betonung der Gemeinsamkeit der Beschlussfassung, der Einheit des Willens oder der gemeinsamen Liebe die religiös grundierten Leitbilder der frühen Kommunebewegung auf. Auf die Eintracht von Stadt und heiligem Stadtbischof heben auch die beiden Reliefs der Abreise des Geminianus von und seiner Rückkehr nach Modena ab, die in den Viten als zeremonielle Stationen nur kurz notiert, in der Zyklenredaktion des Architravs dagegen zu den verklammernden Szenen der gesamten Vita aufgewertet sind (Abb. 2).



Abb. 2: Modena, Dom, Ankunft des Geminianus in Modena

Mit den Reliefs des auf einem Prunkpferd in Begleitung eines Akolythen als Träger des Bischofsstabs abreisenden und ebenso

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heimkehrenden, nun vor den Stadtmauern durch einen Kleriker als „pars pro toto“ der Stadtgemeinde empfangenen und inzensierten Heiligen blendete die Bildredaktion des Architravs die Zeremonialschemata der „Profectio“ bzw. des „Adventus“ des Bischofs ein. Die Formen der Verabschiedung bzw. der feierlichen Ankunft, Begrüßung und Einholung des Stadtbischofs durch die Stadtgemeinde, die unter der Führung des Klerus zeremoniell und ständisch gegliedert vor das Stadttor zog, wurzelten letztlich im antiken Zeremoniell von „Profectio“ und „Adventus“ des Herrschers (Abb. 3).

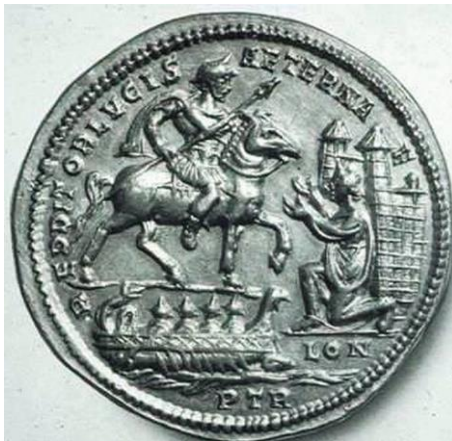


Abb. 3: Münzrevers, Ankunft des Kaisers Constantinus Chlorus in London, 296, London, British Museum

Wie im Zeremoniell der Antike signalisierten diese Begegnungssituationen den „consensus omnium“, die Eintracht zwischen dem ankommenden bzw. abreisenden Stadtherrn und dem städtischen Kollektiv. Der Titulus des Adventusreliefs: DVM REDIT E CONTRA SIBI CVRRIT CONTIO CVNCTA – „Bei seiner Rückkehr eilt ihm (sc. Geminianus) die gesamte Gemeinde entgegen“ – hob nicht nur auf die Präsenz der gesamten Stadtbevölkerung ab. Der Vers brachte terminologisch genau den zentralen Moment des Adventusvorgangs, den „Occursus“

ins Spiel, die Begegnung von Stadtheiligem und Stadtgemeinde, die sich bei jedem Amtnachfolger des Geminianus aufs Neue ereignete.⁹

Nicht weniger raumbherrschend wie in Modena war der Vitenzyklus des spätantiken Kultbischofs und Stadtpatrons Cerbonius († um 575) am Dom der jungen, prosperierenden Montanstadt Massa Marittima in der südtoskanischen Maremma platziert, die im sicheren Hinterland spätestens seit 1062 die endgültige Nachfolge der unweit am Golf von Baratti gelegenen, um die Mitte des 9. Jahrhundert nach und nach aufgegebenen antiken Hafen- und Bistumsstadt Populonia angetreten hatte (Abb. 4).¹⁰

9 Vgl. Dietl (wie Anm. 4), S. 104–145; zu Formen des mittelalterlichen Adventuszereemoniells vgl. zuletzt Peter Johaneck-Angelika Lampen (Hg.), *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, (Städteforschung. Reihe A, 75), Köln-Wien u.a. 2009.

10 Zur Geschichte des Bistums vgl. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, “Scarlino. Le vicende medievali fino al 1399”, in: Riccardo Francovich (Hg.), *Scarlino*, Bd. 2: *Storia e territorio*, (Ricerche di archeologia altomedievale e medievale 10), Florenz 1985, S. 19–74, hier S. 20–24; Gabriella Garzella, “Cronotassi dei vescovi di Populonia-Massa Marittima dalle origini all’inizio del secolo XIII”, in: Gabriella Garzella (Hg.), *Pisa e la Toscana occidentale nel medioevo. A Cinzio Violante nei suoi 70 anni*, Bd. 1, (Piccola Biblioteca Gisem 1), Pisa 1991, S. 1–21; dies., “La diocesi suffraganea di Populonia-Massa Marittima”, in: Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut – Stefano Sodi, *Nel IX centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa. Atti del Convegno di studi (7–8 maggio 1992)*, (Opera della Primaziale Pisana. Quaderno 5), Pisa 1995, S. 171–182; dies., “Populonia, Cornino, Massa Marittima: l’itinerario di una sede diocesana”, in: Anna Benvenuti (Hg.), *Da Populonia a Massa Marittima: i 1500 anni di una diocesi. Atti del Convegno di studio (Massa Marittima, 16–17 maggio 2003)*, Florenz 2005, S. 137–151.



Abb. 4: Massa Marittima, Dom, Cerboniuszyklus

Den bestehenden Dom, für den Baunachrichten fehlen, errichtete im wesentlichen um 1150–1180 eine pisanisch-westtoskanisch geprägte Bauhütte.¹¹ Ein erheblich provinzielleres, wahrscheinlich aus der Lombardei stammendes, aber ebenfalls im antikisierenden „Klassizismus“ der Pisaner Romanik akkulturalisiertes Atelier war für das marmorne, um 1200–1220 entstandene Hauptportal verantwortlich, das am Architrav den Vitenzyklus des Cerbonius präsentierte.¹² Diese kulturelle

11 Zu Architektur und Bauplastik des romanischen Doms vgl. zuletzt Enzo Carli, *L'arte a Massa Marittima*, 2. Aufl., Massa Marittima 1995, S. 17–22; Riccardo Belcari, „Maestri costruttori e scultori nella Maremma pisana del XII secolo“, in: *Arte Cristiana* 94 Nr. 832, 2006, S. 1–14, hier S. 9f.; Guido Tigler, *Toscana romanica* (Patrimonio artistico italiano), Mailand 2006, S. 89–96; auf die Modernisierung des Doms im späten 13. Jahrhundert konzentriert sich Dethard von Winterfeld, „Der Dom von Massa Marittima“, in: Lorenz Dittmann – Christoph Wagner – Dethard von Winterfeld (Hg.), *Sprachen der Kunst. Festschrift für Klaus Gühlein zum 65. Geburtstag*, Worms 2007, S. 27–36.

12 Zu dem wenig behandelten Portal und seinem Stadtpatronszyklus, vgl. Luigi Petrocchi, *Massa Marittima. Arte e storia*, Florenz 1900, S. 24–27; Walther R. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, (Italienische Forschungen N.F. 2), Leipzig 1926, S. 63; Mario Salmi, *La scultura romanica in Toscana*, Florenz 1928, S. 119 Anm. 37; Laura Gronchi, „Il maestro dell'architrave di Massa Marittima“, in: *Critica d'arte* n.s. 16, fasc. 108 (1969), S. 7–22; Enrico Lombardi,

Dominanz Pisaner Werkstätten in Massa Marittima war ein unmittelbarer Ausdruck der hegemoniellen Expansion, die Kommune und Erzbistum der westtoskanischen Metropole seit dem zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts Hand in Hand in der Südtoskana betrieben. Am Südrand des Stadthügels und der Altstadt gelegen – der „città vecchia“, die das Kastell Monteregio der Bischöfe von Massa Marittima als Stadtherrn überragte – dominierte der Dom mit dem Reliefzyklus nicht nur den zentralen Stadtplatz, sondern auch die zur Kirche S. Michele führende Hauptachse des städtischen Straßensystems mit der Einmündung der heutigen Via Moncini, der Straße zum Kastell (Abb. 5). Das Domportal entstand in einer der turbulentesten Phasen der Stadtgeschichte, als die andauernden Konflikte innerer und äußerer Interessengruppen zur allmählichen Ablösung der bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft durch die Kommune führten.¹³

S. Carbone nella leggenda, nel culto e nell'arte, 2. Auf l., Parma 1973, S. 44–46; Enrico Lombardi, Massa Marittima e il suo territorio nella storia e nell'arte, Siena 1985, S. 34–36.; Carli (wie Anm. 11), S. 34–36; Tigler (wie Anm. 11), S. 94f.

13 Die bis heute fundamentale Studie ist Gioacchino Volpe, „Per la storia delle giurisdizioni vescovili e dei rapporti fra stato e chiesa nelle città italiane dei secoli XII e XIII. Vescovi e comune di Massa Marittima“, in: Studi Storici 19 (1910), S. 261–327, 21 (1913), S. 67–236; wiederabgedruckt (ohne Dokumente), in: ders., Toscana Medievale. Massa Marittima, Volterra, Sarzana, Florenz 1964, S. 3–139; vgl. zuletzt Dieter von der Nahmer, Die Reichsverwaltung in Toscana unter Friedrich I. und Heinrich VI., Aalen 1965, S. 159–162; Anselm Haverkamp, Herrschaftsformen der Frühstauer in Reichsitalien Bd. 2, (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 1/II), Stuttgart 1971, S. 471–475, 478–480; Gabriella Garzella, „Vescovo e città nella diocesi di Populonia-Massa Marittima fino al XII secolo“, in: Giampaolo Francesconi (Hg.), Vescovo e città nell'alto medioevo: quadri generali e realtà toscane. Convegno internazionale di studi, (Pistoia, 16–17 maggio 1998), (Biblioteca Storica Pistoiese 6), Pistoia 2001, S. 297–320, hier S. 314–317.

Stadtpatrone im mittelalterlichen Italien

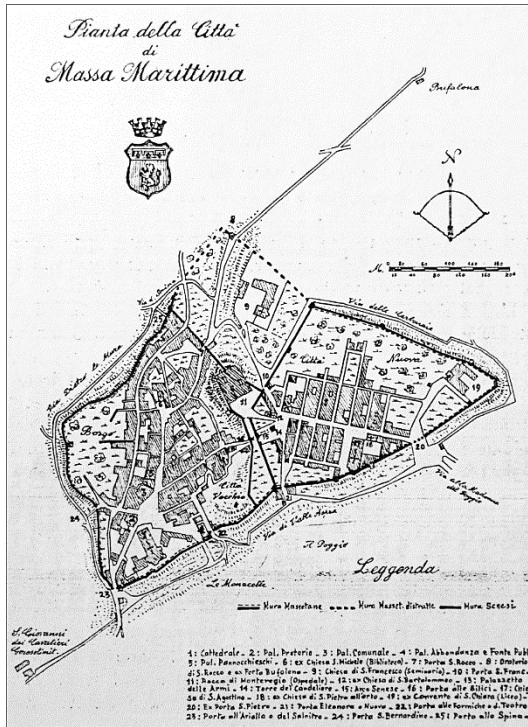


Abb. 5: Massa Marittima, Stadtplan (nach Lopes Pegna 1962)

In den 1190er Jahren hatte der in seinem Stadtkastell in Massa Marittima residierende Bischof Martinus (1189–vor 1209) in einer Reihe von Prozessen vor der staufischen Reichsverwaltung in der Toskana zwar seine Stadt- und Besitzrechte gegenüber den Ansprüchen Pisas wie des Pfalzgrafen von Tuszien, Ildebrandino VIII. Aldobrandeschi behauptet. Noch gravierender war der Konflikt zwischen der sich eben formierenden, 1204 mit Konsuln greifbaren und finanziell potenten Kommune, des verschuldeten, seine Stadtrechte zeitweise an Pisa verpfändenden Bischofs und des Domkapitels. Mehrfach riefen diese Auseinandersetzungen auch die Päpste Innozenz III. (1198–1216) und Honorius III. (1216–1227) auf den Plan, unter anderem 1223 mit der

Androhung, den Bistumssitz an einen anderen Ort zu verlegen, bis im Jahr 1225 die innerstädtischen Konfliktparteien in einem mehrstufigen Verfahrensakt ihre gegenseitige Respektierung beschworen und die Kommune Bischof Albertus II. wie dem Domkapitel die letzten Stadt - rechte abkaufte. Als weithin sichtbares Signum ihrer Autonomie begann die Kommune 1228 mit dem Bau eines eigenen, direkt dem bischöflichen Kastell Monteregio gegenüberliegenden Stadtturms, der sog. Torre del candelieri und mit der planmäßigen Anlage einer gerasterten, 1248 vollendeten Neustadt mit einem eigenen Mauerring, für den wiederum ein lombardischer Bautrupp angeheuert wurde – vielleicht sogar derselbe, der für den Ausbau des Doms verantwortlich war.¹⁴ In dieselbe Zeit fallen auch die ersten Spuren einer architektonischen Präsenz der Kommune am Domplatz selbst, um den sich bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert ihre Amtsgebäude zentrierten, und zwar in einer, wie Enrico Guidoni, der Doyen der italienischen Urbanistikforschung betont hat, bemerkenswert szenographischen Gruppierung mit kalkulierten Achsenbezügen, die einen ihrer Zielpunkte im Hauptportal des Doms mit dem Stadtpatronzyklus hatte.¹⁵

Die Kultgeschichte des Bischofsheiligen Cerbonius war eine Geschichte wiederholter Zäsuren und Translozierungen, die in einem besonderen Maße die Konstruktionen geschichtlicher Kontinuität wie die identifikationsstiftenden Leistungen des Heiligen herausforderten. Schon die Bestattung des Cerbonius in Popolonia war – so referierte Gregor der Große (590–604) den Bericht eines Zeitzeugen, des Bischofs Venantius von Luni (um 593–um 603) in seinen „Dialogi“ III, 11, dem ältesten Kern der Cerboniusvita – nur durch einen räumlichen Transfer zu bewerkstelligen. Denn nachdem sich Cerbonius zusammen mit seinem Klerus vor den arianischen Langobarden von Popolonia auf die Insel Elba geflüchtet hatte, bedurfte es für seine

14 Vgl. dazu hg. v. Emma Mandelli (Hg.), *Le mura di Massa Marittima, una doppia città fortificata*, (Toscana cultura 1), Ospedaletto 2009.

15 Enrico Guidoni, *Arte e urbanistica in Toscana 1000–1315*, (Biblioteca di storia dell'arte 3), Rom 1970, S. 136–142; ders., *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il Duecento*, Bari 1989, S. 280 f.; für die Kommunalbauten vgl. Jürgen Paul, *Die mittelalterlichen Kommunalpaläste in Italien*, Köln 1963, S. 233f.; Franco Cardini-Sergio Ravaggi, *Palazzi pubblici di Toscana. I centri minori*, Florenz 1983, S. 234f.

wunschgemäße Bestattung in sein von ihm selbst vorbereitetes Grabmal in seiner Amtskirche eines waghalsigen Seetransports seines Leichnams in die langobardisch besetzte Heimatstadt, dem der hagiographischen Stilisierung Gregors zufolge erst ein Wunder als Zeichen göttlichen Geleits zur Durchführung verhalf.¹⁶ Nach wiederkehrenden Überfällen auf die Hafenstadt löste die schwere, sogar von den fränkischen Reichsannalen verzeichnete Brandschatzung Populonia 809 durch sarazenische Piraten, wenn auch sicherlich nicht schlagartig, die Aufgabe der Stadt und die Verlagerung der bischöflichen Administration wie der Reliquien des Cerbonius in das geschützte Hinterland aus.¹⁷ Die unveränderliche Präsenz des Heiligengrabes in der Kirche von Populonia versicherte bald nach 810 ausdrücklich eine unter dem Eindruck des Sarazenenfalls angehängte Fortsetzung an die unwesentlich ältere Vita des Walfredus († 762/64), des Gründungsabts des nahegelegenen Reichsklosters S. Pietro in Monteverdi, die sein Nach-Nachfolger Andreas abgefaßt hatte, der dritte Abt und möglicherweise auch Autor dieser „Continuatio“.¹⁸ Gegen die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts muss aber der Prozess der Verlagerung der Bistumsorganisation in die Region des unteren Flusstals der Cornia weitgehend vollzogen gewe-

16 Gregor, *Dialogi* III, 11, 4–6; hg. v. Adalbert de Vogüé (Hg.), Grégoire le Grand, *Dialogues* Bd. 2, (Sources chrétiennes 260), Paris 1979, S. 294–297.

17 Zum schrittweisen Prozeß der Verlagerung in das Val di Cornia vgl. Garzella, Cronotassi (wie Anm. 10), S. 5–7; dies, Diocesi (wie Anm. 10), S. 174–176; dies., Populonia (wie Anm. 10), S. 142f.; Luisa Dallai-Roberto Farinelli-Riccardo Francovich, „La diocesi di Populonia-Massa Marittima. Il contributo dell’archeologia alla comprensione degli assetti urbani e dell’organizzazione ecclesiastica medievale“, in: Anna Benvenuti (Hg.), *Da Populonia a Massa Marittima: i 1500 anni di una diocesi. Atti del Convegno di studio* (Massa Marittima, 16–17 maggio 2003), Florenz 2005, S. 111–136, hier S. 125–129.

18 Die „Continuatio“ der Vita Walfredi lokalisiert das Männerkloster Monteverdi „positum quidem longius a mari esse videtur pene miliaria triginta a portu, qui Populonia dicitur, ubi corpus quiescit humatum sancti Ceruonii confessoris et pontificis“; Heike Mierau, „Edition und Übersetzung der Vita Walfredi“, in: Karl Schmid (Hg.), *Vita Walfredi und Kloster Monteverdi. Toskanisches Mönchtum zwischen langobardischer und fränkischer Herrschaft*, (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 73), Tübingen 1991, S. 37–63, hier S. 58; zur Datierung und Autorenfrage der Vita Walfredi samt der „continuatio“ sowie ihrer Einbeziehung der Cerboniustradition vgl. Ulrich Eigler, „Die Vita Walfredi. Ein spätes Zeugnis ‘langobardischer Literatur?’“, in: ebd., S. 64–74.

sen sein, jedenfalls vor dem Jahr 861, als erstmals die Selbstbezeichnung eines Cerbonius-Nachfolgers mit Namen Paulus in der Zeugenunterschrift unter einer römischen Synode Papst Nikolaus I. (858–867) als „corninus episcopus“ auftaucht, die in der Folgezeit mit dem herkömmlichen Toponym „populoniensis“ konkurrierte. Als bischöfliche Residenzlokalität ist Suvereto zu vermuten, der Hauptort des unteren Cornia-Tales und Sitz eines Zweigs der regionalen Feudalherrnfamilie Aldobrandeschi, in den sicher auch die Cerboniusreliquien transferiert worden waren. Doch kam hier der Kult des Heiligen kaum zur Entfaltung, sieht man von einer erstmals 1071 belegten und dem Kontext zufolge eher bescheidenen, offenbar vorwiegend residenzial genutzten Kirche S. Cerbone in Suvereto ohne Plebanstatus ab.¹⁹ Die eigentliche Geburtsstunde für den Aufstieg des Cerbonius zu einem veritablen Stadtpatron kam erst mit der nächsten, tiefgreifenden Zäsur, der neuerlichen, vor 1062 vollzogenen Verlegung des Bischofssitzes von Populonia als autonomes, direkt dem apostolischen Stuhl unterstelltes Bistum und der Translation der Reliquien in die aufstrebende Montanstadt Massa Marittima, die erstmals mit Sicherheit 1016 erwähnt ist. In dominanter, raumbherrschender Position fast in der Mitte des Bistumsterritoriums auf einem hohen, dreiseitig isolierten Ausläufer der südtoσκanischen Colline metallifere gelegen, bot die topographische Position und das ökonomische Potential der Stadt die Voraussetzungen für eine zentralisierende Funktion.²⁰ Die „Geschichtslosigkeit“

19 Zur Geschichte des Bistums im Val di Cornia vgl. Garzella, Cronotassi (wie Anm. 10), S. 5–9; dies., Diocesi (wie Anm. 10), S. 174–176; dies., Vescovo (wie Anm. 13), S. 302–305; dies., Populonia (wie Anm. 10), S. 143–145.

20 Zu Motiven und Zeitraum der Verlegung des Bischofssitzes nach Massa Marittima, die vermutlich der aus einer Sieneser Adelsfamilie stammende Bischof Tegrimus (belegt 1059–1062) in Zusammenwirken mit dem ebenfalls in der Region verankerten, zugleich als Bischof von Lucca amtierenden Papst Alexander II. (1061–1073) bewerkstelligte, der Unterstützung gegen seinen Rivalen, den Gegenpapst Honorius II. suchte, vgl. Garzella, Cronotassi (wie Anm. 10), S. 9f.; dies., Diocesi (wie Anm. 10), S. 176–178; dies., Vescovo (wie Anm. 13), S. 305–313; dies., Populonia (wie Anm. 10), S. 144–148. Zur Siedlungsgeschichte von Massa Marittima bzw. dem am Fuß des Bergplateaus gelegenen Massa Vecchia vgl. Dallai – Farinelli – Frauncovich (wie Anm. 17), S. 130–136; zu Bergbau und -recht in Massa Marittima vgl. Dieter Hägermann – Karl-Heinz Ludwig, Europäisches Bergrecht in der Toscana. Die Ordina-
menta von Massa Marittima im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert, Köln-Wien 1991.

Massa Marittimas machte aber auch die Erfindung einer Vergangenheit notwendig, die Suche nach einer städtisch-kultischen Identität, die mit der Fiktion einer bruchlosen Kontinuität der Cerboniustradition Populonias einzulösen war. So blieb auch nach dieser neuerlichen Verlegung des Bistumssitzes zunächst die Qualifizierung des bischöflichen Amtsinhabers als „episcopus populoniensis“ dominant, in den päpstlichen Urkunden bis 1138, in den bischöflichen Eigenurkunden bis weit hinein in die zweite Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Bald nach der Transferierung von Bistumssitz und Reliquien sind auch erste Spuren einer Aktivierung des Cerbonius als territorialer Rechts- wie als sakraler Identifikationsfigur fassbar: So ist in einer urkundlichen Gemarkungsbeschreibung vom bischöflichen Grundbesitz als von der „terra de episcopatu sancti Cerbonis“ (1084) die Rede, im April 1068 eine Urkunde ausgestellt „loco Massa, prope ecclesia sancti Cerboni a ipso et episcopatus“. 1099 bestätigten die Witwe und der Sohn des Grafen Ugo Aldobrandeschi eine hälftig an die Kirche San Cerbone „aedificata in loco Massae“ getätigte Schenkung.²¹ Gleichzeitig traten die frühen Massetaner Bischöfe von Tegrinus (belegt 1059–1062) bis Rolandus (belegt 1106–1138) ebenso als engagierte Mitarbeiter, eifrige Synodenbesucher und nach Sardinien oder Bulgarien entsandte Legaten der Reformpäpste von Nikolaus II. (1058–1061) bis Paschalis II. (1099–1118) in Erscheinung wie umgekehrt als häufige Empfänger päpstlicher Privilegien, Besitzbestätigungen und Gebiets Erweiterungen ihrer Diözese. Diese enge Verbindung fand ein Ende, als im Jahr 1133 der zur Zeit des anakletischen Schismas unter Zugzwang stehende Papst Innozenz II. (1130–1143) den bisherigen Status des Bistums Populonia-Massa Marittima der Regelung der strittigen Diözesangrenzen zwischen den mächtigen regionalen Dauerrivalen Genua und Pisa opferte.²² Aus

21 Für die Quellen vgl. Garzella, Vescovo (wie Anm. 13), S. 312–314; dies., Populonia (wie Anm. 10), S. 149f.

22 Vgl. Garzella, Diocesi (wie Anm. 10), S. 171–174; Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, „La sede metropolitana e primaziale di Pisa nei rapporti con i pontefici da Onorio II a Innocenzo II“, in: Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut – Stefano Sodi (Hg.), Nel IX centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa. Atti del Convegno di studi (7–8 maggio 1992), (Opera della Primaziale Pisana. Quaderno 5), Pisa 1995, S. 143–170, hier S. 149–152.

einem bislang autonomen, gleichsam suburbikarischen Bistum zu einem Suffraganbistum Pisas herabgestuft, das der westtoskanischen Metropole neue, eifrig genutzte Optionen zur Hegemonie in der Süd-toskana eröffnete, bedurfte Massa Marittima mehr denn je der Kultfigur des Cerbonius, die historisch-kultische Anciennität und städtisches Eigenbewusstsein generierte.

Im Klima des späten 11. Jahrhunderts, in dem die Massetaner Bischöfe als enge Mitarbeiter und Handlungspartner der an frühkirchlichen Heiligenkulten und Fragen authentischer Liturgie interessierten Reformpäpste auftraten, ist nach der jüngsten Hypothese von Eugenio Susi 2004 auch die erste, hier allein relevante Cerboniusvita in Massa Marittima entstanden (BHL 1728).²³ Der nicht bekannte Kompilator nutzte als eine seiner beiden, ausdrücklich namhaft gemachten Hauptquellen natürlich die zwei Vitenepisoden, die das Cerboniuskapitel der ehrwürdigen Dialogi (III, 11) Gregors des Großen referiert hatte. Für die Herkunfts- und „Jugendgeschichte“ des Cerbonius griff er dagegen auf die frühmittelalterliche Passio des hl. Regulus von Lucca (BHL 7102) zurück, dessen Reliquien der Luccheser Bischof Johannes († 801) vor dem Sommer 781 aus Regulus' erster, nahe an Populonia gelegenen Grabkirche in Gualdo in den Dom von Lucca hatte

23 Eugenio Susi, „Africani, cefalofori e 'saraceni'. I cicli agiografici popolonesi dall'alto medioevo al XII secolo“, in: Anna Benvenuti (Hg.), *Da Populonia a Massa Marittima: i 1500 anni di una diocesi. Atti del Convegno di studio (Massa Marittima, 16–17 maggio 2003)*, Florenz 2005, S. 23–65, hier S. 54–65 zur Datierung der beiden Cerboniusviten BHL 1728 und BHL 1729, für die keine modernen Ausgaben existieren. Die Vita sancti Cerbonii I (BHL 1728) ist nach der Transkription des Sieneser Gelehrten Uberto Benvoglienti (1668–1733) aus Siena, *Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 108* ediert in: Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adiacentium*, 2. Aufl., Bd. 3, Venedig 1718, Sp. 703–709. Die Susi zufolge etwas jüngere Vita sancti Cerbonii II (BHL 1729), die nach der stärkeren Akzentuierung des hl. Regulus wie nach der Konzentrierung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung wahrscheinlich in Lucca entstand, ist auf der Textgrundlage von *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6453* publiziert in: *Acta Sanctorum Octobris V*, Brüssel 1785 (2. Aufl., Paris-Rom 1868), S. 96–101. Grundlegend zu Aufbau und Interpretation der Cerboniusviten bleibt Pietro Conte, „Osservazioni sulla leggenda di S. Cerbonio, vescovo di Populonia († 575)“, in: *Aevum* 52 (1978), S. 235–260, der, mit einer Ansetzung ins späte 10. Jahrhundert, noch für die zeitliche Priorität von BHL 1729 plädiert hatte.

transferieren lassen.²⁴ Die *Passio* des Regulus kleidete ihren Protagonisten in das Gewand eines Erzbischofs, der zusammen mit seinen beiden Schülern und Mitbischöfen Cerbonius und Felix vor der Häresie der arianischen Wandalen aus Nordafrika flüchtete, nach gefährlicher, wundergeleiteter Überfahrt über das Mittelmeer die toskanische Küste erreichte und dort ein Eremitenleben führte, bis ihn die Abgesandten des Ostgotenkönigs Totila enthaupteten. Die auf wundersame Weise über den Tod ihres Mentors informierten Cerbonius und Felix bestatteten Regulus an dem von ihm selbst gewünschten Ort, den der Enthauptete in der Manier eines Kephalophoren angezeigt hatte. Als Papst Alexander II. (1061–1073), zugleich Bischof von Lucca, 1070 den modernisierten Luccheser Dom weihte, in dem Regulus neben Martin zum Hauptheiligen aufgestiegen war, erfuhr der Kult einen weiteren Entwicklungsschub mit der modernisierten Redaktion des Translationsberichts, der Regulus in frühkommunaler Emphase als Schutzpatron der Stadt Lucca verherrlichte – vielleicht eine mitauslösende „*causa scribendi*“ für die bald darauf in Massa Marittima niedergeschriebene erste *Vita* des Regulus-Schülers Cerbonius.²⁵

24 Die erste Redaktion der *Passio sancti Reguli* (BHL 7102) edierte, mit einer Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, Manlio Simonetti, „Note sulla tradizione agiografica di S. Regolo di Populonia“, in: Danilo Mazzoleni – Fabrizio Bisconti (Hg.), *Il Paleocristiano nella Tuscia. Atti del 1 Convegno (Viterbo, 16–17 giugno 1979)*, (Biblioteca di Studi Viterbesi 5), Viterbo 1981, S. 107–130, hier S. 108–130. Nicholas Everett, „The Hagiography of Lombard Italy“, in: *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), S. 49–126, hier S. 107–110, vertrat eine Entstehung der *Passio* im späten 7. oder im 8. Jahrhundert, Susi (wie Anm. 23), S. 36–39 nach 820/30. Zum historischen Hintergrund der Translation der Regulusreliquien 780/781 nach Lucca vgl. Hans-Martin Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana*, (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 41), Tübingen 1972, S. 85–87; Simone Collavini, „Da società rurale periferica a parte dello spazio politico lucchese: S. Regolo in Gualdo tra VIII e IX secolo“, in: Gabriella Garzella – Enrica Salvatori (Hg.), „Un filo rosso“. *Studi antichi e nuove ricerche sulle orme di Gabriella Rossetti in occasione dei suoi settanta anni*, (Piccola Biblioteca Gisem 23), Pisa 2007, S. 231–248.

25 Die von Simonetti (wie Anm. 24), S. 128–130 an seine Edition der *Passio* als cap. 17–20 angefügte *Translatio sancti Reguli* (BHL 7103) dürfte, um die Authentizität der Regulusreliquien im Dom von Lucca zu unterstreichen, im Gefolge der Domweihe 1070 entstanden sein; vgl. Webb (Anm. 1), S. 64; Collavini (Anm. 24), S. 5 Anm. 22, die BHL 7103 als kommunalzeitlich erweiterte Redaktion des älteren

Insgesamt ist die Cerboniusvita in drei Narrationsstränge gegliedert, nach der Terminologie von Pietro Conte, der sich am intensivsten mit ihrer Text- und Quellenstruktur beschäftigt hat, in einen „afrikanischen“, einen „populoniesischen“ und einen „römischen“ Erzählzyklus, zwischen welche die beiden gregorianisch beglaubigten Wunderepisoden im dritten Buch der Dialogi eingeschoben sind.²⁶ Nach dem Prolog handelt der nach dem Vorbild der Passio des Regulus modellierte „afrikanische Zyklus“ der Cerboniusvita die Geburt des Heiligen in Afrika, seine Erziehung und seine Ernennung zum Bischof durch den Erzbischof Regulus ab, ihre gemeinsame, zusammen mit Felix geglückte Flucht per Schiff an die toskanische Küste und schließlich die Bestattung des Regulus durch seine beiden Schüler. Daran schloß der Kompilator das erste Wunder aus den Dialogi an: Cerbonius, wegen der Beherbergung oströmischer Soldaten durch den Ostgotenkönig Totila (541–552) zum Tode verurteilt, übersteht unversehrt die „damnatio ad bestias“ in der Arena durch einen wilden Bären; statt ihn zu zerfleischen, leckt ihm die Bestie nach einem gängigen Erzählschema frühchristlicher Märtyrerakten höchst ergeben die Füße. Darauf folgen die in Populonia spielenden, der kirchlichen Karriere geltenden Vite-episoden des Heiligen, die seinen klerikalen Dienst als Mitarbeiter des Bischofs Florentius, nach dem Tod des Florentius seine Wahl zum neuen Ortsbischof gegen seinen heftigen Widerstand und seine fromme Lebensführung bis ins Alter beschreiben. Die „römische“ Erzählfolge schließlich, der Hauptteil der Vita, wird ausgelöst durch Cerbonius' wiederholte Auditionen des „Gloria in excelsis“-Hymnus der Engel im Morgengrauen, nach der Matutin, die ihn zur Vorverlegung des sonntäglichen Messtermins veranlassen, um so den Zeitpunkt von himmlischer und irdischer Liturgie zu synchronisieren. Von seiner eigenen Gemeinde wegen des frühen Messtermins vor Papst Vigilius (538–555) angeklagt, wird Cerbonius zur Rechtfertigung nach Rom beordert. Der hagiographische Topos des wegen irregulärer Messfeiern vor den Papst zitierten Bischofs wird in der Vita des Cerbonius

Translationsberichts BHL 7104 interpretierte, und zuletzt ausführlich Benjamin Brand, „John Hothby and the Cult of St Regulus at Lucca“, in: *Early Music History* 27 (2008), S. 1–45, hier S. 9–13.

26 Vgl. Conte (wie Anm. 23), passim.

enggeführt auf die Einführung des „Gloria in excelsis Deo“, eines ursprünglich dem Ende des Nachtoffiziums zugewiesenen Gesangs, in das sonntägliche Messordinarium des Bischofs. In einer komplexen, gleichsam liturgiegeschichtlich argumentierenden Konstruktion griff die Vita auf eine Diskussion zurück, die den Papstvitens des Liber Pontificalis zufolge in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts, mithin zu Lebzeiten des Cerbonius geführt wurde.²⁷ Auf der langen Reise nach Rom rettet Cerbonius nicht nur die zu seiner Deportation ausgeschickten, päpstlichen Legaten durch die magische Bannung zweier milchspendender Hirschkühe vor dem Verdursten, kurz vor den Toren Roms heilt er auch drei Malariakranke. Mit einer Schar kurzerhand gebannter Gänse als Gastgeschenk für den Papst zieht Cerbonius in die ewige Stadt ein, wo ihm sogleich der über die Wundertaten des „vir Dei“ in Kenntnis gesetzte und alarmierte Papst Vigilius zusammen mit seinem Klerus unter Psalmgesängen und Weihrauch zur feierlichen Einholung vor die Stufen von Alt-St. Peter entgegeneilt.²⁸ Nach einer gemeinsamen, zum inkriminierten Frühtermin angesetzten Sonntagsmesse in der Peterskirche, bei der Vigilius selbst einer Vision des himmlischen Gloriagesangs der Engel teilhaftig wird, ist Cerbonius rehabilitiert und löst eine päpstliche „Liturgiereform“ nach seinem Vorbild aus. Das Ziel des Hagiographen war es, mit diesem Verdienst des Cerbonius eine behauptete und seit langem tradierte Sonderstellung der eigenen Ortskirche im engen Bündnis mit dem Papsttum über alle geschichtlichen Brüche hinweg zu bekräftigen – nicht zuletzt, um etwaige Ansprüche benachbarter Metropolitansitze auf das Bistum Po-

27 Vgl. Conte (wie Anm. 23), S. 244–250. Für neuere Überblicke zur Einführung des Gloria in das römische Messformular, die der Liber Pontificalis vor allem mit dem Namen des Papstes Symmachus (598–514) verbindet, vgl. Nicolas Schulz, Studien zur Komposition des Gloria. Musikalische Formgestaltung von der Gregorianik bis zu Monteverdi, (Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 3), Tutzing 1980, S. 8f.; Keith Falconer, „Gloria“, in: Ludwig Fischer (Hg.), Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Sachteil, zweite, neubearb. Auflage, Bd. 3, Kassel-Basel u.a. 1995, Sp. 1484–1493, hier Sp. 1484–1488.

28 Zu hagiographischen Modellen der Wundermacht des Heiligen als Herrn der Tiere, die in der Cerboniusvita mehrfach aufgegriffen werden, vgl. Elisa Anti, Santi e animali nell'Italia padana, (Biblioteca di Storia Agraria Medievale 15), Bologna 1998; Dominic Alexander, Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages, Woodbridge 2008.

pulonia abzuwehren, ja nach den Worten von Pietro Conte „das Äquivalent einer ‚petrinischen‘ Gründungslegende der Ortskirche festzuschreiben“. Unmissverständlich kommt dieses Ziel am Ende des „römischen Zyklus“ zum Ausdruck: Denn seit der Zeit des Cerbonius würde bis zum heutigen Tag jedem Bischof von Populonia die, so wird versichert, keinem anderen Amtskollegen oder König gewährte Ehrbezeugung zuteil, dass sich der Papst zur Begrüßung des Besuchers von seinem Sitz erhebe.²⁹ An diesen Erzählkreis schloss die Vita die in Gregors Dialogi überlieferte Episode der Flucht des Bischofs nach Elba, seines Todes und der Translation seiner Überreste nach Populonia an, um mit einem Hinweis auf den „dies natalis“ des Cerbonius und einer abschließenden Doxologie zu enden. Mit keinem einzigen Wort brachte der Kompilator, dem es auf die Konstruktion einer geschichtlichen Kontinuität des Bistums Populonia und seiner Cerboniustradition ankam, den zeitgenössischen Kultort Massa Marittima ins Spiel. Die einzigen in der Vita angesprochenen Städte, Populonia und Rom, waren nicht nur als die Handlungsschauplätze der Taten des Cerbonius verbunden, sondern räumlich durch die Fern- und Pilgerstraße der Via Aurelia entlang der toskanischen Küste. Ausschließlich an ihrer Route und im westlich Roms zur Küste führenden Abschnitt der Via Portuense sind die topographisch benannten Wunder- und Reisestationen des Heiligen auf dem italienischen Festland verortet: Nicht den Stadträumen Populonias oder Massa Marittimas war also die geschichtliche Erinnerung an Cerbonius einbeschrieben, sondern Erinnerungsorten auf dem Weg nach und in Rom, mithin auf den Straßen der diözesanen Verkehrsvernetzung mit der Stadt der Päpste.

In ihren fünf Erzählstationen verstärkte die Bildredaktion des Architravs diese Akzentuierung und hob zugleich mit Rückgriff auf christologische Bildmodelle stärker als der Text auf die christomimetischen Qualitäten des Heiligen ab (Abb. 4). Entgegen der toskanischen

29 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 708B: „Ab illo namque tempore usque in hodiernum diem omnes Venerabiles Papae de sedili suo se elevat, quando Episcopi Populoni Romam pergunt, & ad Papam proficiscuntur. Quia Dominus Apostolicus (contra) nullum alium Pontificem, nec Regem de Sede sua se elevat, nisi contra illum, qui sedem B. Cerbonii, & Pontificatum tenet“. Für das Zitat vgl. Conte (wie Anm. 23), S. 252.

Tradition eines kontinuierlichen Bilderfrieses bespielte das lombardische Bildhaueratelier den Architrav mit einer Sequenz gerahmter, querrrechteckiger Relieffelder, das dem vorbildhaften Muster des Geminianuszyklus am Dom von Modena entsprach (Abb. 1). Die Bilderreihe in Massa Marittima setzt nicht, wie oft behauptet, mit der wunderbegleiteten Überführung des im Heck aufgebahrten Leichnams des Cerbonius per Schiff aus dem Exil von Elba in die heimatische Bischofsstadt Populonia ein, der trotz eines tosenden Unwetters auf dem Meer von keinem Regentropfen berührt wird (Abb. 6).³⁰ Analog zur Erzählchronologie der Vita beginnt sie vielmehr eindeutig mit der „afrikanischen“ Episode der gottbewirkten, himmlischen Errettung des Regulus und seiner beiden Mitbischöfe Cerbonius und Felix bei der Überfahrt über das tosende, sturmgepeitschte Meer von Nordafrika an die toskanische Küste.³¹

30 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 708D–709A = Gregor, Dialogi III, 11, 5 (wie Anm. 16), S. 294. Eine bewußte Voranstellung der Szene des Leichentransports, welche die Präsenz der Cerboniusreliquien in Massa Marittima unterstreichen sollte, vermuteten Petrocchi (wie Anm. 12), S. 25; Lombardi, S. Cerbone (wie Anm. 12), S. 44f.; Gronchi (wie Anm. 12), S. 9; Lombardi, Massa Marittima (wie Anm. 12), S. 35f.

31 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 704C: „Qui dum per maris spatia iter peragerent, subito surrexit contra eos saeva tempestas usque adeo, ut in perturbatione baratri omnes pervenirent. Tunc Beatus Regulus una cum Beato Cerbonio, & Felice Dominum deprecari sunt conditorem, ut eorum navis inter tremulas undas fieret Gubernator, & suos servos exules ab illo aquarum impetu liberare dignaretur. Quorum voces Omnipotens Deus subito piis precibus exaudivit. Sicque mare pacificum extitit, ut a ventorum classibus minime perturbaretur“; zugunsten dieser Identifizierung zuletzt auch Carli (wie Anm. 11), S. 35; Tigler (wie Anm. 11), S. 94.



Abb. 6: Massa Marittima, Dom, Überfahrt des Regulus und seiner Gefährten aus Nordafrika

Denn detailliert führt das Relief die drei durch ihre Körpergröße hervorgehobenen und mit ihren kalottenförmigen Mitren markierten Bischöfe vor, die hoch aufgerichtet am Bug, am Mast und am Oberdeck des Hecks zwischen der verzweifelt gestikulierenden, durchweg barhäuptigen Mannschaft stehen. Alle Insassen des Schiffs stehen im Bann des überirdisch groß über dem Bug erscheinenden Engels mit ausgebreiteten, schützenden Flügeln, der rettend in die Rahe greift. Nach dem Muster eines verbreiteten, ottonischen Bildmodells der Sturmstillung Christi vor allem in der Reichenauer und Echternacher Buchmalerei mit dem gleichzeitig ausgestreckt schlafenden und aufrecht den Winden gebietenden Christus erscheint auf dem Relief im Massa Marittima Regulus in zweifacher Gestalt, einmal als Schläfer unterhalb des Aufbaus im Schiffsheck, einmal als am Mast stehender Hauptakteur (Abb. 7).³² Das Relief unterstrich so seine Rolle als

³² Zur Reichenauer Ikonographie der Sturmstillung Christi vgl. Albert Boeckler, *Ikonographische Studien zu den Wunderszenen in der ottonischen Malerei der Reichenau*, (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen N.F. 52), München 1961, S. 25f.; Koichi Koshi, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien der St. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Bodenseeinsel Reichenau*, Bd. 1, Berlin 1999, S. 97f., 121–127, 228–231. Generell zur Verbreitung ottonischer Bildmuster

Stadtpatrone im mittelalterlichen Italien

christusgleicher Schutzherr seiner Mitbischöfe und Schüler als Nachfolger der apostolischen Jünger Christi.



Abb. 7: Evangeliar Ottos III., Stillung des Sturms auf dem Meer, Reichenau, um 1000, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 103v

Daran schließt der Architrav die vor den Toren Roms, auf dem Campo di Merlo an der Via Portuense spielende Wunderepisode aus Gregors Dialogi an (Abb. 8): Der ostgotische König Totila verurteilt den Gottesmann wegen der Beherbergung feindlicher, spricht: oströmischer Soldaten zum qualvollen Tod im öffentlichen Spektakel einer Zerfleischung durch einen wilden, „erprobten“ Bären, der dem Gottesmann stattdessen aber völlig unterwürfig die Füße leckt und so den in der

in Italien vgl. Irmgard Siede, Die Rezeption ottonischer Buchmalerei in Italien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert, (Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige. Ergänzungsbd. 39), St. Ottilien 1997.

Arena persönlich dem Schauspiel präsidierenden Totila zur Freilassung des Bischofs bestimmt.³³



Abb. 8: Massa Marittima, Dom, Cerbonius in der Arena

Die Komposition des entsprechenden Reliefs bietet die raffinierte Collage zweier Bildtraditionen: Nicht über einem einzigen Bären, sondern über einem ganzen Zoo zähnefletschender Bestien aus einem beidseits bedrohlich flankierenden Bären- und Löwenpaar ragt Cerbonius mit Mitra und Pontifikalgewandung unbeschadet inmitten der halbkreisförmigen Cavea einer römischen, säulengestützten Arena auf. Vor den

33 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 704D–705A nach Gregor, Dialogi III, 11, 1–3 (wie Anm. 16), S. 292–294: „Quod dum Gothus Rex perfido Totilae nuntiasset, & crudelitatis ille immanissimae vesania succensus, hunc octavo hujus urbis millario, qui ad locum moeroris dicitur, ubi tunc ipse cum suo sedebat exercitu, deduci jussit, eumque in spectaculo Populi Urso ad devorandum projecit. Cumque idem Rex perfidus in ipso quoque spectaculo consedisset ad aspiciendam mortem Episcopi, magna Populi turba confluit. Tunc Beatus Cerbonius Episcopus deductus in medio est, atque ad ejus mortem immanissimus Ursus est exquisitus, qui dum humana membra crudeliter carperet, saevi Regis animum satiaret. Dimissus Ursus concite Beatum Cerbonium Episcopum petiit, sed subito suae feritatis oblitus, deflexa cervice, summissoque humiliter capite lambere coepit pedes Episcopi, ut patenter omnibus daretur intelligi, quia erga illum virum Dei, & ferina corda essent hominum, & quasi humana Bestiarum. Tum Populus, qui ad spectaculum venerat mortis, magno clamore versus est in admiratione venerationis. Sicque ad ejus reverentiam Rex ipse colendam commotus est“.

Augen des Spektakelveranstalters Totila, der im Schmuck seines Kron-
diadems an hervorgehobener Position über dem rechten Arenenein-
gang auf einem Ehrensitz Platz genommen hat, beugen sich die Besu-
cher der Arena schaulustig weit über die Brüstung. Im Akt einer gera-
dezu antiquarischen Antikenrezeption kleidete das Relief diese
„damnatio ad bestias“, diese exekutionsverschärfende „Volksfesthin-
richtung“ (Theodor Mommsen) des römischen Strafrechts, passgenau
in die spätantike Zirkusspiel-Ikonographie mit Zuschauern ein, wie sie
römische Münzen, Terra Sigillata-Schalen oder Fußbodenmosaiken
überlieferten, vor allem aber elfenbeinerne Konsulardiptychen des frü-
hen 6. Jahrhunderts wiedergaben (Abb. 9).³⁴

34 Zur Hinrichtung der „damnatio ad bestias“ und ihrer Bildikonographie vgl. Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899 (ND Darmstadt 1961), S. 925–928; Jan Willem Salomonson, *Volutatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet. Observations sur l’iconographie du martyre en Afrique romaine*, Amsterdam 1979, S. 42–50; zur Zirkusspiel-Ikonographie mit spielegebendem Konsul im Tribunaltyp vgl. Hanns Gabelmann, „Circusspiele in der spätantiken Repräsentationskunst“, in: *Antike Welt* 11 (1980), S. 25–38; ders., *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, Darmstadt 1984, S. 198–208. Am engsten verwandt mit dem Relief in Massa Marittima sind, worauf bereits Gronchi (wie Anm. 12), S. 14f., kursorisch hingewiesen hat, die Serien der Konsulardiptychen des Areobindus (506) und des Anastasius (517), vgl. Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 2), Berlin-Leipzig 1929, S. 110–115, Nr. 9–12 (Areobindus) bzw. S. 127–134, Nr. 20f. (Anastasius); Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, (Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 7), 3. Aufl., Mainz 1976, S. 32f., Nr. 8–11 (Areobindus) bzw. S. 35–37, Nr. 17, 21 (Anastasius); zu diesen Konsulardiptychen vgl. zuletzt Josef Engemann, „Die Spiele spätantiker Senatoren und Consuln, ihre Diptychen und ihre Geschenke“, in: Gudrun Bühl – Anthony Cutler – Arne Effenberger (Hg.), *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinwerke im Diskurs*, (Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz B, 24), Wiesbaden 2008, S. 53–96; Anthony Eastmond, „Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-century Constantinople“, in: *Art History* 33 (2010), S. 742–765.



Abb. 9: Konsulardiptychon des Anastasius, Tierkämpfe in der Arena, 517, Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum

Dem Dispositiv der Arenenarchitektur mit Zuschauern und spielepräsidierendem „editor muneris“ ist die Figuration des heraldisch-frontal zwischen antithetischen Bestienpaaren dastehenden „vir Dei“ einbeschrieben, die unübersehbar auf die ebenfalls spätantike Bildprägung des alttestamentarischen Propheten Daniel in der Löwengrube abhob (Abb. 10).



Abb. 10: Daniel in der Löwengrube, Kapitell, Sant'Antimo, Klosterkirche, um 1180

Diese kompositorische Angleichung der Cerboniusszene an das biblische Bildschema des Daniel, eines der ältesten christlichen Rettungsparadigmata, dem ja selbst die Erinnerung an die in den frühchristlichen Märtyrerakten topische Zähmung der wilden Bestien in der Arena einbeschrieben war, machte visuell, jenseits der Textvorgaben, den besonderen Rang des Heiligen als verfolgten und erretteten Glaubenszeugen Christi augenfällig.³⁵ Den folgenden „römischen“ Zyklus leitete die Redaktion des Architravs mit dem ersten Wunder des Cerbonius auf seiner erzwungenen, von den päpstlichen Legaten dirigierte Reise nach Rom ein, das die Vita topographisch in Salinela, im Flusstal der Cornia in der Nähe von Piombino, verortet hatte (Abb. 11).³⁶

35 Für die frühe Bildikonographie Daniels in der Löwengrube vgl. Salomonson (wie Anm. 34), S. 57–89; Reiner Sörries, Daniel in der Löwengrube. Zur Gesetzmäßigkeit frühchristlicher Ikonographie, Wiesbaden 2005; Juliane Ohm, Daniel und die Löwen. Analyse und Deutung nordafrikanischer Mosaiken in geschichtlichem und theologischem Kontext, (Paderborner Theologische Studien 49), Paderborn u.a. 2008.

36 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 706C–707A: „Tunc inierunt iter unanimiter ad partes Romae. Cum autem pervenissent ultra fluvium Corneam ad locum, qui dicitur Salinela, magna sitis Missos Domini Papae arripuit; tunc proclamaverunt ad Beatum Cerbonium dicentes: Pater optime magnam sitim habemus; indica nobis aquam, ut bibamus. Quibus Beatus Cerbonius dixit: Credite mihi, quia in isto loco nescio ubi sit aqua, excepto in isto mari. Illi autem pergentes usque ad dimidium milliarium et sic aestuabant siti, ut nullus super equos tenere se posset, & prostrati in terra, sic clamabant. Pater sancte adiuva nos, quia praesentialiter morimur... Et dum B. Cerbonius oraret, vidit duas Cervas ante se progredi, quibus edixit: praecipio vobis ex autoritate Domini mei Jesu Christi, ut non habeatis licentiam ultra progredi, donec me expectetis. Tunc tulit vas suum, & ivit ad eas, & ex uberibus tulit earum lac, & implevit illud, & post hec absolvit eas dicens: Licentiam Domini mei habeatis pergere quo vultis; deinde accursus est ad legatos, qui iacebant quasi mortui in via ex ariditate sitis. Dedit quoque illis ipsum lactem bibere, & elevavit eos de terra, & restituit eos sanos sicut antea fuerunt“.

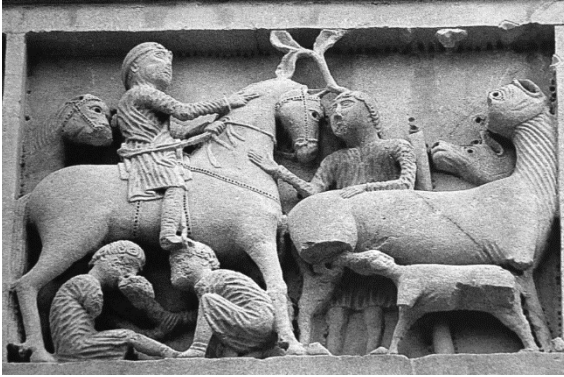


Abb. 11: Massa Marittima, Dom, Cerbonius bannt die Hirschkühe

Der zu Pferd heranreitende Bischof bannt mit dem bezwingenden Segensgestus seiner Rechten zwei Hirschkühe fest an Ort und Stelle, die deshalb verdutzt ihre Köpfe zu dem Wundermann umwenden; das unter der vorderen Hindin hinzugesetzte, säugende Kitz macht anschaulich, dass es sich um milchtragende Muttertiere handelt. Mit ihrer Milch rettet Cerbonius die Legaten vor dem Verdursten, die in der Hitze aus Erschöpfung von ihren Reittieren auf die Erde gestürzt sind und gierig zu seinen Füßen trinken. Angeregt durch den nachfolgenden Vitentext, der für die Beschreibung der Ankunft des Cerbonius in Rom den Einzug Christi in Jerusalem anklingen lässt, entborgte die Bildkonzeption dieses Reliefs ihre Grundmotive diesem christologischen, bereits auf frühchristlichen Friessarkophagen breit überlieferten Bildmodell (Abb. 12): Der auf dem Pferd sitzende Cerbonius, der in der Linken die Zügel hält und seine Rechte zum Segensgestus ausstreckt, ist deutlich dem Bildtyp des in Jerusalem einreitenden Christus angeglichen. Die kindhaft kleinen, agilen Figürchen, die in Szenen des Einzugs Christi in Jerusalem kniend, kauernd oder vorgebeugt ihre Gewänder zum triumphalen Empfang vor dem einreitenden Ankömmling ausbreiten, standen offenkundig Pate für die miniaturisierten Legaten unter Cerbonius, ja sogar der ausladende, blätterreiche und à jour gearbeitete Baum, der auf dem Relief in Massa Marittima nur

noch rudimentär erhalten ist, hatte einen festen Platz für die dem ankommenden Christus akklamierenden Baumkletterer.³⁷



Abb. 12: Friessarkophag mit Szenen aus dem Neuen Testament, 1. Drittel 4. Jh., Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano

Für diese Motive aus der Ikonographie des Einzugs Christi bedurfte es keines spezifischen Rückgriffs auf spätantike Friessarkophage, die ohnehin zur allgemeinen künstlerischen Matrix der zeitgenössischen westtoskanischen Skulptur gehörten.³⁸ Die nachfolgende Reliefszene gilt der Begrüßung des Cerbonius durch Papst Vigilius, der dem Bischof feierlich „usque ante gradus Beati Petri Apostoli“, bis zu der Treppenanlage vor St. Peter entgegenkommt, die als Podest über einem rundbogigen Unterbau inszeniert ist (Abb. 13). Vor den Augen des

37 Vgl. Erich Dinkler, Der Einzug Christi in Jerusalem. Ikonographische Untersuchungen im Anschluß an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment, (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 167), Opladen 1970, S. 17–46.

38 Für die bereits von Gronchi (wie Anm. 12), S. 12f., in Anschlag gebrachten, dem Muster frühchristlicher Friessarkophage verpflichteten Architrave des westtoskanischen Bildhauers Biduinus in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters aus S. Leonardo al Frigido bei Massa Carrara (vor 1180), in S. Cassiano a Settimo bei Pisa (1180) und im Palazzo Mazzarosa in Lucca aus S. Angelo in Campo bei Lucca (um 1185), die jeweils den Einzug Christi in Jerusalem zeigen, vgl. Susanne Heydasch-Lehmann, Der „Taufbrunnen“ in San Frediano in Lucca und die Entwicklung der toskanischen Plastik in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts, (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XXVIII: Kunstgeschichte 123), Frankfurt a. M. - Bern u.a. 1991, S. 151–164 mit Abb. 88–91, 95–99; Joachim Poeschke, Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italien, Bd. 1: Romanik, München 1998, S. 147 mit Taf. 140f.

beeindruckten, zeremoniell mit Codex vor die Kirche gezogenen Vigilus entlässt der Wundermann, der dem Papst auf dem Treppenedest gegenübersteht, mit einer Segensgebärde eine ganze Schar von Gänsen in die Freiheit, die bereits auf- und wegzufattern beginnt; der auf der Via Aurelia in Rom einziehende Cerbonius hatte sie unterhalb des Monte Mario auf den sog. Neronischen Feldern nördlich der Engelsburg mit dem Bann eines Kreuzzeichens unter Begleitzwang gestellt, um sie dem Papst als Gastgeschenk zuzuführen.³⁹



Abb. 13: Massa Marittima, Dom, Cerbonius und die gebannten Gänse vor Papst Vigilus

39 Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 707C: „Tunc Summus Pontifex collecto Clero, qui cum illo erat induere fecit sacerdotalibus vestibus unumquemque secundum suum ordinem, & obviam venit ille cum litanis, & incenso, & psalmodiis, & cum multis laudibus ad gradus Beati Petri Apostoli. Beatus vero Cerbonius dum properaret per pratum Neronis, vidit aves multas, & copiosas, quae anseres vocitant, in ipso prato stantes, & fecit signaculum sanctae crucis contra eas, dicens: Non habeatis licentiam Omnipotentis Dei alicubi volandi quousque veniatis mecum in praesentia Domini Papae. Post hec ipse, & Diaconus ejus usque ante gradus Beati Petri Apostoli, ubi ipse Papa ei obviam venit, ipsos anseres erant perducentes. Tunc dixit Beatus Cerbonius: Ecce munera parva, quae vobis de nostra Ecclesia adducimus. Tunc Dominus Apostolicus magnas ei gratias egit. Beatus vero Cerbonius signaculum sanctae Crucis fecit contra ipsas aves, & absolvit eas, dicens: Ex jussione Domini nostri Jesu Christi vos absolvo, ut habeatis potestatem eundi quocumque vultis. At illae expansis alis, volare ceperunt, & sic liberatae sunt a potestate ipsius Papae.“

Das Zielbild des Architravs gilt der auf Bitten des Bischofs am nächsten Tag zum ungewöhnlichen Frühtermin gemeinsam unternommenen, sonntäglichen Messfeier in St. Peter, um dem Papst den Engelgesang des Gloria und damit die himmlische Begründung des vorgezogenen Messtermins vorzuführen (Abb. 14). Nachdem Cerbonius, zur Demonstration von Eintracht und Untergebenheit, in einem rituellen Akt mit seiner Rechten die rechte Hand des Papstes ergriffen und seinen rechten Fuß unter den des Papstes gestellt hat, ereignen sich die Vision und Audition des Gloriagesanges der Engel, woraufhin Vigilus die Praxis des Cerbonius in die päpstliche Liturgie übernimmt.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Vita sancti Cerbonii I (wie Anm. 23), Sp. 708A: „Tunc Beatus Cerbonius dixit ad Dominum Papam: Surgamus Pater, & eamus, quia hora matutini est canendi. Cumque laus matutini finita fuisset, Beatus Cerbonius dixit Diacono suo: Vade frater, & vide si juxta consuetudinem nostram hora est missas canere. Tunc Diaconus exiens foras, reversus est, dicens: Pater sancte Aurora jam venit, & solitam Hostiam Deo offeras. Beatus vero Cerbonius vocavit Dominum Papam ad se, & apprehendit dexteram manum ejus, & et pedem suum dexterum, super suum stare fecit quasi eum ad signum Sanctae Crucis tenere debuisset, & dixit ei: Pater sancte aspice in Coelum. Cunque ipse, & Papa praefatus in Coelum aspicerent, audierunt ambo voces Angelorum canentes Gloria in excelsis Deo. Tunc Venerabilis Papa dixit ad Beatum Cerbonium: Vere scio, Spiritus Sanctus in te est, & Dominus noster Jesus Christus revelavit tibi secreta sua. Ego autem dum vixero, in hac Ecclesia Beati Petri Apostoli, ubi Custos sum, secundum exemplum tuum faciam, & volo, ut successores mei ipsum ordinem peragant.“



Abb. 14: Massa Marittima, Dom, Cerbonius und Papst Vigilius feiern gemeinsam die Messe

Im Bild des Architravs stehen die beiden Konzelebranten einträchtig hinter einem zweistufig erhöhten Altar unter den herabhängenden Ampeln wohl eines Ziboriums; zu ihrer Linken assistiert ein auf der unteren Altarstufe stehender Diakon mit Buch, auf der anderen Seite zwei ebenerdig postierte Subdiakone, denen sich ein Rompilger mit Stab und umgehängter Pilgertasche anschließt. Die weisende Gebärde des auf den Papst zu seiner Linken blickenden Cerbonius deutet auf das viertelkreisförmige Segment des geöffneten Himmels mit den Büsten zweier einander zugewandter Engel, die aus einem geöffneten, gemeinsam gehaltenen Codex das Gloria intonieren. Die komplexe, in der Vita beschriebene Symbolhandlung konnte das Relief allerdings nur zeichenhaft veranschaulichen: Die beiden Zelebranten, die zu einer einzigen Gebärdefigur verschmolzen sind, legen nicht ihre rechten, sondern linken Hände ineinander, die Figuration des Kreuzes, das ihre Aktion laut Vita evozierte, führte das edelsteinbesetzte, offenbar aufgestickte Kreuzeszeichen auf dem Altartuch vor Augen.

Die Bildredaktion des Architravs inszenierte zweimal den Weg des unter Anklage gestellten, beidemale siegreichen Heiligen nach Rom, einmal in die Arena König Totilas, einmal an die päpstliche Kurie

(Abb. 4). In keinem der Reliefs setzte die Bildredaktion den Schauplatz Populonia in Szene wie sie überhaupt auf Episoden aus dem „populoniesischen“ Erzählkreis verzichtete. Auffälligerweise fehlt auch die am Ende von bildlichen Vitenzyklen obligatorische Szene der Grablegung des Heiligen, ebenso die Darstellung jedes Translationsvorgangs, um im Sinn einer fortgesetzten, ungebrochenen Kultradtition trotz mehrmaligem Wechsel des Kultorts jedwede topographische Festlegung zu vermeiden. Der Architravzyklus kulminierte im „römischen“, den Rang des Bistums Populonia beschwörenden Erzählzyklus, in dem Cerbonius der Behauptung seiner Vita zufolge eine besondere Ehrenbehandlung aller künftigen Ortsbischöfe durch die Päpste erlangte. Der Architrav setzte diese Ehrenbezeugung im Relief des Papstes Vigilius, der sich erhoben hat, um dem Bischof mit seinen Gänsen zum feierlichen Empfang bis zur Treppe vor St. Peter entgegenzueilen, dauerhaft ins Bild (Abb. 13). Die nachfolgende ikonographische Tradition des Cerbonius, die der Architravzyklus des Doms begründete, sollte die gebannten Gänse genau dieser Szene zum feststehenden Attribut des Stadtheiligen von Massa Marittima autonomisieren.⁴¹

Bildnachweise:

Abb. 1, 2: Modena, Museo Civico

Abb. 3-4, 7-10, 12: Regensburg, Institut für Kunstgeschichte

Abb. 5: aus Mario Lopes Pegna, *Storia di Massa Marittima* 1962

Abb. 6, 11, 13: aus Guido Tigler, *Toscana romana* 2006

Abb. 14: Autor

⁴¹ George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, (*Saints in Italian Art* 1), Florenz 1952, Sp. 259f.; Lombardi, S. Cerbone (wie Anm. 12), passim; zum Thema vgl. Sabine Obermaier, „Der Heilige und sein Tier, das Tier und sein Heiliger – Ein Problemaufriss“, in: *Das Mittelalter* 12/2 (2007), S. 46–63.

The Cult of Martyrs and Politics of Sainthood in Patriarch Cyril's Alexandria

Despoina Lampada

About twelve miles along the eastern littoral from Alexandria was the luxury suburb of Canopus. By the late 4th–early 5th c. CE, it had long been one of Egypt's most sacred sites, with a thriving temple of Sarapis established there and a shrine dedicated to Isis established in the neighbouring Menouthis. The history of Canopus-Menouthis conversion to Christianity presents a striking case of the dialectic between rupture and continuity that characterizes the process of Christianization in late antiquity. At some point around 389–391, the Serapeum at Canopus – as well as that of Alexandria proper – was closed down, stripped of its treasures and maybe even destroyed, by Theophilus I, patriarch of Alexandria (385–412).¹ Theophilus then went on to commission a church dedicated to the Evangelists and established the convent of Metanoia there.² These events marked an important step in the

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- 1 The events around the closing down/destruction of the two shrines of Sarapis have been the subject of research and studies into both the textual sources and the archaeological evidence. The different accounts from different points of view comprising the corpus of the textual sources, as well as the schematization of the subsequent Christian tradition leave many uncertainties regarding the events but also the date. As regards the latter, the closing down/destruction of Sarapis' temples in Alexandria is generally associated to the edict issued on June 16, 391 by Emperor Theodosius I, on the abolishing of bloody sacrifices and the cult of pagan statues, and on the closing down of temples. Therefore a date around 391 remains the prevalent view, see Jacques Schwartz, "La fin du Sérapéum d'Alexandrie", in: *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles*, (American Studies in Papyrology 1), New Haven 1966, p. 97–111, esp. 109–110. For a recent effort at re-examination of the events and the sources around the end of the Serapeums in Alexandria and at Canopus, see Annik Martin, "Sarapis et les chrétiens d'Alexandrie: un réexamen", in: Jean-Yves Empereur – Christian Décobert (ed.), *Alexandrie Médiévale* 3, (Etudes Alexandrines 16), Cairo 2008, p. 41–57.
 - 2 Apparently Theophilus had some difficulty establishing a monastic community at Canopus. First he tried to have monks from Jerusalem settled there, but they soon

process of Alexandria's Christianization, as the cult and temples of Sarapis had assumed a central place loaded with symbolism in the civic and patrimonial tradition of the city. But Theophilus was not after every pagan shrine of the suburb,³ for the great shrine of Isis Medica at Menouthis continued to thrive, attracting a wide traffic as an oracular and healing centre. The shrine's importance as a pagan pilgrimage site even grew after the closing down (and possibly destruction) of the two temples of Sarapis: thereafter, Isis remained the only deity at the area to serve as a healing force and her temple resumed, to some extent, the functions of the Serapeum.

It was Cyril, Theophilus' nephew and successor at the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, who took it upon himself to provide a Christian counterpart to Isis' healing function at the same area. In the early years of his episcopate, and at any event before 429 CE, Cyril solemnly translated the newfound relics of saints Cyrus and John from Alexandria to Canopus-Menouthis, establishing there a pilgrimage centre associated to their translated relics, a centre intended to function, among other things, as a healing place. Placed at the church of the Evangelists, under the protection of the Monastery of Metanoia at Canopus, the martyrs' relics were expected to overpower Isis as providers of miraculous cures. But if religious devotion was to be redirected, religious practice itself didn't change much. Cures at Isis's shrine were brought about by incubation and vision: the sufferers slept in the temple precincts overnight and received healings in dream-intimations. Apparently the components of the Christian relics' healing function were more or less the same. The healing shrine of saints Cyrus and John reached an *apogée* of international fame and popularity in the 6th and 7th centuries.

abandoned the site; and Theophilus went on to invite Tabennesiote monks of the Pachomian rule, who established the Metanoia (Repentance) Monastery. See Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*, Baltimore – London 1997, p. 262.

- 3 Theophilus aimed specifically at the temples of Sarapis, in an attempt to divest Roman emperorship of its pagan context, which in Egypt bore the traces of Ptolemaic tradition, and therefore was closely associated with the cult of Sarapis. Sarolta Takács, "The magic of Isis replaced, or Cyril of Alexandria's attempt at redirecting religious devotion", in: ΠΟΙΚΙΛΙΑ BYZANTINA 13 (1994), p. 489–507, esp. 502–3; idem, *Isis and Serapis in the Roman World*, (Religions in the Roman World 124), Leiden – New York – Köln 1995, p. 125.

Even at that time, the Christian writer Sophronius, who writes down an account of the miraculous healings performed by the martyrs, cannot help but record Isis's presence at the area, perceived of course as demonic from a Christian point of view.⁴ But "Cyril's attempt at redirecting religious devotion" should be considered rather successful overall: Menouthis's modern name, Aboukir (from the name of Abu Kyr, St Cyrus) at least suggests so.

The Christianization of Canopus-Menouthis has been interpreted in terms of uninterrupted religious investment in a continually contested holy place. It has been presented as an attempt to vanquish pagan worship at the site altogether, at some point between the end of the 4th and the early 5th c.; as the settling of Cyril's accounts with the pagans of Alexandria; as an attempt of diversion of a cultic practice into a Christian channel. Dominic Montserrat has shown that, even with growing Christianization, Menouthis remained a *locus* of religious and political contestation, and the status and development of SS Cyrus and John shrine were closely tied up with the dogmatic controversies that troubled Egypt between the 5th and the mid-7th c., namely between Monophysites and Chalcedonians.⁵ But in the case presented by the events surrounding the foundation of the two martyrs' relics to Menouthis, as well as the issues raised by the fragmentary documentation of these events, an approach from another perspective is also of interest: an approach that explores the tensions and the implications between the well established and very popular

4 Patrologia Graeca 87,3, col. 4309B: Sophronius actually speaks of a she-demon named Menouthe, after the toponym.

5 Rudolf Herzog, "Der Kampf um den Kult von Menouthis", in: Theodor Klauser – Adolf Rucker (ed.), *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums*. Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern, Münster 1939, p. 119–128; Ciro Cozzolino, *Origine del culto ai santi martiri Ciro e Giovanni in Oriente e in Occidente*, Jerusalem 1976, p. 37–128. Stefan Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1984, p. 438–446 ("Buqir"), offers a comprehensive list of the older bibliography on the site; Dominique Montserrat, "Pilgrimage to the Shrine of SS Cyrus and John at Menouthis in Late Antiquity", in: David Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt, (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 134)*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, p. 257–279, esp. 259, gathers the more recent bibliography on the history of the shrine and the suggested perspectives.

devotion to the martyrs on the one hand, and the tendency for reinforcement of episcopal control through the standardization and the shaping of this devotion on the other.

The Establishment of the Sanctuary of SS. Cyrus and John: a Story and its Complications

The rough outline of the events around the establishment of a healing sanctuary of saints Cyrus and John at Menouthis, as presented above, is in fact an outline of the traditional version of the story. This version has been summarized already by H. Delehay and was more recently defended convincingly in a comprehensive article by D. Montserrat.⁶ According to this version, Cyril was deeply worried that the Christian community at Canopus-Menouthis was being led astray because of the flourishing cult and shrine of Isis there. He was instructed (by an angelic vision, according to a more elaborate version of his story) to translate the relics of Cyrus the martyr from Alexandria to Menouthis. Cyril was led to open a specific tomb in the martyrrium of Mark the Evangelist, only to find relics of two people, instead of one. He was able to identify them as Cyrus and John, a monk and a soldier martyred under Diocletian, although he still could not know which relic belonged to whom. He went on to inaugurate a series of solemn celebrations, concluding in a massive procession from Alexandria to the church of the Evangelists at Canopus-Menouthis, at the head of which Cyril carried the casket with both martyrs' relics to their new location. Three fragments of orations on this occasion, attributed to Cyril, record the events. Recent research on the textual evidence seems to confirm that at least the third of these short orations on Cyrus and John is actually a work of Cyril, the other two being too short to permit any conclusions.⁷ The date is not determined; the translation must have

6 Hippolyte Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, (Subsidia hagiographica 20), Bruxelles 1933, p. 223-224; Montserrat, "Pilgrimage to the Shrine of SS Cyrus and John at Menouthis in Late Antiquity", in: *Pilgrimage and Holy Space* (cit. n. 5), p. 261-266.

7 Jean Gasco, *Les origines du culte de saints Cyr et Jean*, <<http://halshs.ccsd.cnrs.fr/halshs-00009140>>, p. 14-16. Gasco is actually one of those scholars who have challenged the traditional consensus about Cyril's role in the establishment of saints

taken place around July 28th, but the year has been calculated as either 414/5 (very close to the gruesome murder of Hypatia, an event that stained Cyril's early patriarchate⁸) or 427/8 (just before the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy). The same story is preserved in two versions of the saints' *Vita*, which both conclude with the discovery of the relics by Cyril and the translation at Menouthis.⁹ These hagiographic texts date post 5th century; and it seems that at least one of them has been adjusted to correspond to the early-7th C. hagiographic tradition on the two martyrs as established by Sophronius of Jerusalem.¹⁰

At any rate, in the course of the 5th C. the shrine didn't prove as successful as Cyril apparently hoped and intended: In the *Vita* of the patriarch of Antioch Severus (512–518), written by Zachariah of Mytilene and known by its Syriac translation, Cyrus and John's presence at Menouthis is not even mentioned, while Isis's cult, and maybe even a functioning temple, appear to have still survived at the site as late as 489. Around that year, the then patriarch at the Alexandrian see Peter III Mongus (482–490) sent a delegation to exorcise the site, but Zachariah does not record any further actions to Christianize the space.¹¹

Cyrus's and John's cult and healing shrine.

- 8 In 415, the respected pagan philosopher and public figure Hypatia was publicly attacked and killed by a Christian mob in Alexandria. The cause of the hostility and the attack must have been Hypatia's support to the prefect of the city Orestes in his clash with patriarch Cyril; and Cyril had long been suspected of direct involvement in the atrocious murder of Hypatia. See Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.15. Sokrates Kirchengeschichte mit Beiträgen von Manja Sirinjan. Edited by Günter Christian Hansen, (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* ns. 1), Berlin 1995, p. 360–361. More recent scholarship has viewed critically Cyril's alleged involvement in the crime, see Jean Rougé, "La politique de Cyrille d'Alexandrie et le meurtre d'Hypatia", in: *Cristianesimo nella storia* 11.3 (1990), p. 485–504; Susan Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic*, (*Oxford Early Christian Studies*), Oxford 2004, p. 46–57.
- 9 *Patrologia Graeca* 87.3, col. 3677–3689 and 3689–3696. References to Cyril and the translation of the relics in Menouthis: *Patrologia Graeca* 87.3, col. 3688C–3689A (this one also mentions the orations of Cyril, as if they were to be cited right afterwards, as was probably the case in the manuscript); and 3693C–3689B.
- 10 Gascou, *Les origines du culte* (cit. n. 7), p. 10.
- 11 Marc-Antoine Kugener (ed.), "Vie de Sèvre par Zacharie le Scholastique", in: *Patrologia Orientalis* 2, Paris 1907, p. 7–115, esp. 27–32.

Zachariah's silence about Cyrus's and John's cult has been a major challenge to the traditional view of Cyril as the founder of their shrine; its establishment, according to this view, should be placed at a later date.¹² However, as D. Montserrat has shown, one could evoke a series of plausible reasons for the eclipse of the Christian martyrs' cult at Menouthis; mainly the sectarian divisions in the Alexandrian church, which turned against Cyril's party with his successor and bitter supporter Dioscoros, and which may have affected the investment at a site associated not only with Cyril, but also with Theophilus, his uncle and predecessor. About a century later, however, the situation had changed significantly. Saints Cyrus and John's shrine was one of the two famous healing shrines in the area of Alexandria, the other being that of Saint Menas at Mareotis (Abu Mena). The latter was associated with the Monophysites of Alexandria. Therefore, the Chalcedonian clergy which run the former at this point had every reason to exalt Cyril's role in the shrine's establishment on the one hand, and to be discreet about any contribution of Peter Mongus, who had Monophysite inclinations, to the Christianization of the place.¹³

It's also from this time that we actually have our main sources for the story of saints Cyrus and John: Around 610–615, Sophronius, later to be patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638), dedicated an encomium to

12 This has been suggested by Louis Duchesne, "Les sanctuaires chrétiens d'Aboukir", in: *Comptes rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique, IIe session (Cairo 1909)*, p. 121–131; *ibid.*, "Les saints d'Aboukir", in: *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 12 (1910), p. 3–14. His views were prolonged and elaborated by Eva Wipszycka, "La christianisation de l'Égypte aux IV^e – VI^e siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques", in: *Aegyptus* 68 (1988), p. 138–142; and most recently by Jean Gasco, who has studied thoroughly the Greek hagiographic corpus on saints Cyrus and Jean: Jean Gasco, "Les églises d'Alexandrie, questions de méthode", in: Jean-Yves Empereur – Christian Décobert (ed.), *Alexandrie Médiévale* 1, (Etudes Alexandrines 3) Cairo 1998, p. 25; Gasco, *Les origines du culte* (cit. n. 7).

13 Montserrat, "Pilgrimage to the Shrine of SS Cyrus and John at Menouthis in Late Antiquity", in: *Pilgrimage and Holy Space* (cit. n. 5), p. 263, 265–66. On Dioscoros's attempts at suppressing the faction of Cyril in the Alexandrian church see e.g. Eva Wipszycka, "Les gens du patriarche alexandrine", in: Jean-Yves Empereur – Christian Décobert (ed.), *Alexandrie Médiévale* 3, (Etudes Alexandrines 16), Cairo 2008, p. 93–94.

Cyrus and John¹⁴ and an account of their miracles at the healing site of Menouthis¹⁵, after having himself experienced a miraculous healing at their shrine. Sophronius had long been considered the author of the martyrs' *Vita* too, but this view has been revised.¹⁶ Rather, Sophronius seems to have used both versions of the martyrs' *Vita* as sources, although he claims that, except for the orations of Cyril, he relied entirely on the martyrs' "assistance" to compile an account of 70 miracles of theirs.

Could we, then, actually conclude with certainty that Cyril is to be associated with the cult and/or the healing shrine of SS Cyrus and John at Canopus-Menouthis? Arguments against it cannot be easily dismissed, but it still seems to be a strong case. At any rate, from the narrative about the events emerges a patriarch who configures (or at least attempts to do so) spiritual, as well as pragmatic authority by association to the devotion to the martyrs. This would hardly be surprising for a bishop in Cyril's time.

Cyril in the Early 5th-C. Alexandria: Mustering Authority amidst Controversy

Cyril's fame was built upon his role in the Nestorian controversy, but his career as an ecclesiastic leader was broader than this role. Cyril's career had begun at his predecessor's – and uncle's – side, Theophilus, already in 403, when Cyril was ordained lector at the Church of Alexandria at about 25 years of age. At the time of his ascendance to the patriarchal throne of Alexandria, Cyril was already endowed with some experience of church politics at this level. He had also gained the support of no small a faction in the Alexandrian church, which proved very useful when the question of Theophilus's successor arose:

14 *Patrologia Graeca* 87.3: 3379–3422. A French translation by Pauline Bringel is available in <http://halshs.ccsd.cnrs.fr/halshs-00003975>.

15 *Patrologia Graeca* 87.3: 3423–3675; Natalio Fernandez Marcos (ed.), *Los Thaumata de Sofronio. Contribución al estudio de la incubatio christiana*, Madrid 1975. Annotated translation in French by Jean Gascou, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477–479)*, Paris 2006.

16 Gascou, *Les origines du culte* (cit. n. 7), p. 6–7.

although his opponent for office, the archdeacon Timothy, had the support of the Byzantine commander of Egyptian garrisons, Cyril's lay and ecclesiastical power base proved enough to gain him the patriarchal see. But this succession didn't go without some serious turmoil. The Church historian Socrates probably doesn't exaggerate when he speaks of the political and civil disturbance caused around Cyril's ascend. At the same time, he might not do him justice when he goes on to attribute subsequent turbulence within the Church and in the city of Alexandria to Cyril's bellicose early administration. Cyril might well be a leader unable yet to master the forces that formed his own power base, but his portrait as a sinister, power-hungry bishop who goes to such lengths as to instigate atrocious crimes is a rather far-fetched one.¹⁷ That being said, Cyril was the archbishop of Alexandria, one of the highest powers in Byzantine Egypt, rivalling the importance of the city prefect there and the influence of the patriarch at Constantinople: in order to consolidate and expand his power – and he surely did both¹⁸ – Cyril never hesitated to take repressive measures against his opponents and antagonists, both within and outside the Christian church: the Novatianists, the Jews, and the pagans of Alexandria. Such measures and initiatives brought about an antagonism with the prefect Orestes, who was probably worried both by Cyril's expanding power in the city, and by his inability – or even reluctance – to find smooth ways out of the violent crises that occasionally erupted between the city's religious groups.

The rivalry between Orestes and Cyril triggered a number of violent events. The murder of Hypatia by a Christian mob was one of them; another one was the attack of some monks against Orestes. This is an event of particular interest to us, since it offers, in some aspects,

17 John Anthony McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria. The Christological controversy. Its history, theology and texts*, (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 23), Leiden – New York – Köln 1994, p. 6–7, 8–15; Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy* (cit. n. 8), p. 16–21.

18 According to Socrates, “Cyril came into possession of the episcopate with greater power than Theophilus had ever exercised. For from that time the bishopric of Alexandria went beyond the limits of its sacerdotal functions and assumed the administration of secular matters”, Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.7, VII.13. Sokrates Kirchengeschichte (cit. n. 8), p. 353, 358.

something like a parallel to the story of the establishment of saints Cyrus and John cult. In 415, a large number of monks from Nitria (Socrates talks of about five hundred of them) entered the city to support Cyril against the prefect. They confronted the latter in his chariot and accused him of being a pagan, which Orestes dismissed, claiming to have been baptized at Constantinople. One of the monks, Ammonius, went as far as to throw a stone, which injured the prefect on the head, drawing blood, to the terror of his guard. People who had witnessed the incident intervened, restricted the monks and even handed over Ammonius to Orestes, who had him tortured to death. Whether Orestes wanted a confession out of Ammonius incriminating Cyril as the instigator of the event or whether he merely administered punishment to a criminal who had assaulted an emperor's representative, remains unclear. Nor is it clear whether the patriarch had done something to instigate such actions by the monks. But certainly Cyril saw this as an opportunity to escalate his rivalry with Orestes, and ordered that Ammonius would be enrolled among the martyrs, with the appellation "Thaumasios" (i.e. miraculous), maybe in the hope that stories of miracles might become attached to the new "martyr" and thus lend legitimacy to his claims. He also had Ammonius's body deposited at a church to be venerated. However, the Christians of Alexandria seem to have not accepted that Ammonius's death had anything to do with his not denying Christ under torture (*parrhesia*); rather, it seems that he was considered to have suffered the punishment due to his "rashness" (*propeteia*). Cyril could not further pursue Ammonius's canonization without public support, and so he had to accept the memory of this event to be gradually obliterated.¹⁹

In this perspective, Cyril could be easily inscribed in the outlines drawn by Peter Brown in *Power and Persuasion*.²⁰ He offers an example of a powerful archbishop making use of his prominence, a prominence

19 On these events see Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII.14. Sokrates Kirchengeschichte (cit. n. 8), p. 359 – 360; Michael Gaddis, *There is no crime for those who have Christ: Religious violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XXXIX), Berkeley – Los Angeles 2005, p. 220 – 222; McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria* (cit. n. 17), p. 24–26; Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity* (cit. n. 2), p. 266, 305–307.

to which bishops in Late Roman Empire could rise already after the reforms of Diocletian. Bishops, coming from the local elites, just as the provincial and imperial officials, and sharing a similar cultural background with the latter, became their counterparts as the representatives and advocates of their Christian communities. In this capacity, they assumed authority that certainly had secular overtones. Cyril's legal action against the Novatians and the Jews of Alexandria, as well as his rivalry with the prefect Orestes certainly fit to this pattern. On the other hand, such an approach implies the acceptance of a quite sharp distinction between the realms of secular and religious authority in late antiquity. While some distinction could clearly be made by late antique Christians too – Socrates is rather disapproving when he observes that Cyril also assumed authority on secular matters – the issue was anything but clear. Imperial authority had been intricately linked to the divine that guided and guaranteed the Emperor's rule already before the Christianization of the Late Roman Empire. On the other hand, religion was a civil institution with clearly political aspects. Therefore, the religious authority of the leaders and the prominent figures of the Christian communities had assumed secular and political overtones right from the start, since it challenged the coherence of the political, the legal and the religious system nexus of Roman imperial society – a challenge that was perceived as a threat to the hegemony of imperial power. We don't have to wait until the era when the episcopal institution and power emerges full-fledged to look for such implications. Even the spiritual authority of the late antique holy man – a figure hardly evocative of the institutional aspects of the early Christian Church – was attested to by benefactions such as healing from illness, relief of famine and even restoration of social order. Such sort of benefactions, performed as miracles, prevent us in themselves from drawing a clear line between the spiritual and the worldly.²¹

20 Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*, Madison 1992.

21 Peter Brown, "The rise and function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", in: *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), p. 80–101; Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XXXVII), Berkeley – London 2005, p. 6.

Merely recognising the secular aspects of Cyril's actions and authority, therefore, does not account for a satisfying interpretation of such events as the Ammonius/Thaumasios incident, unless we were satisfied to view them as nothing more than manipulative attempts. If anything, such a view would be at least anachronistic: the cult of the martyrs in the early 5th C. was not a game of pretences; rather, "it was the channelling of powerful energies too pervasive for any Christian bishop at the time to have thought that he could try and control them".²² A different understanding of the nature of episcopal authority and leadership might provide a better context for the interpretation of Cyril's efforts to establish certain martyrs' cults in Alexandria, be it Ammonius/Thaumasios or saints Cyrus and John. For the purpose of the present argument, it must be noted that this paper relies heavily on the explanatory model set by Claudia Rapp in her *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*: Episcopal leadership, she argues, is better understood in light of spiritual, ascetic and pragmatic authority, with ascetic authority being "the vital link to the other two" and also providing a link between bishop and holy man. That is not to overlook the fact that, in given historical time and conditions, one of these components – namely, the pragmatic authority of the bishop in his city – might be more enhanced than the others; in fact, this is admittedly the general tendency during the two centuries after Constantine. Still, unlike civic leaders, the bishop's actions on behalf of the community are perceived as a manifestation of his spiritual authority, evidenced by his visible asceticism; so much so that the successful exercise of a bishop's public duties is believed to be a direct consequence, and justified by, his ascetic authority.²³

At Cyril's time, the notion of bishops attaining holiness in their quality as ecclesiastical officeholders entangled in worldly and political affairs not only had occurred, but it had also begun being crystallized in a new hagiographic trend, with *Vitae* of bishops venerated as holy being compiled shortly after their deaths. Prominent examples,

22 Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XXII), Berkeley 1994, p. 215.

23 Rapp, *Holy bishops in Late Antiquity* (cit. n. 21), p. 16–18, 274.

such as Epiphanius of Salamis, Porphyry of Gaza and Ambrose of Milan, were all earlier cases than Cyril. Moreover, Cyril as patriarch at the Alexandrian see probably had yet another concrete example to aspire to: the renowned patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria (328–373), whose leading role against the Arians in the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea and afterwards had earned him recognition as a pillar of Nicene orthodoxy and had enhanced his legacy as an exemplary church leader.²⁴ So let us now return on Cyril's legacy and examine, in this perspective, how he dealt with the challenges associated with his office and authority.

Making Martyrs, Redefining the Community: From Ammonius/Thaumasios to Cyrus and John

Both cases in which Cyril is seen to attempt to introduce a martyr's cult in Alexandria are closely associated with the ongoing clashes between the religious communities of the city and the tensions between the Christian factions of Alexandria. Therefore, they cannot but be perceived in light of Cyril's efforts to assert and consolidate the Christian presence and supremacy, as well as his own authority in his capacity of the leader of the Christian community. On the other hand, the two cases present important differences: the Ammonius/Thaumasios incident was a much bolder and riskier initiative, and this must have played some role in its poor reception. The discovery of the relics of two until then unheard of martyrs and the attribution of them to a period of persecution was a safer way to go, since invention had already been a standard way of founding a new martyr's cult.²⁵ Cyril appears way subtler in his handling of the invention and the translation of Cyrus's and John's relics. The angelic vision which he claimed

24 Rapp, *Holy bishops in Late Antiquity* (cit. n. 21), p. 40–41, 139; Jean-Robert Pouchet, "Athanasie d'Alexandrie, modèle de l'évêque selon Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 21", in: *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana 2*, Rome 1997.

25 Johan Leemans, "General Introduction", in: Johan Leemans – Wendy Mayer – Pauline Allen – Boudewijn Dehandschutter, 'Let us die that we may live.' Greek homilies on Christian martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. AD 350–AD 450), London – New York 2003, p.10; with reference to the parallel of the Passion of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (BHG 1201).

that enabled the invention cast him in a theurgic light which was certainly meant to enhance and attest to his spirituality; and at the same time he made use of a vocabulary that was both recognizable and expected by his audience. The translation of the relics to Canopus-Menouthis in an attempt to create a counterpart that would assume and subvert the functions of the cult of Isis there was also standard practice, as far as Christianization of space goes. The fact that this translation seems to have been much less violent – at least outwardly – than previous initiatives at Christianizing the suburb by Theophilus is also telling; if anything, it might be an indication that the series of violent outbursts in Alexandria had weakened Cyril's place.²⁶ Theophilus's legacy was one of tensions and political intrigue anyway, and it had affected negatively the internal relations of the Egyptian church, especially with the monastic communities. While Cyril cannot be said to have abandoned entirely his uncle's methods of diplomacy, he did turn to Athanasius's example of ascetic policies in an effort to cast his episcopacy as the safe compass both of theological orthodoxy and of appropriate moral conduct for all the community. He thus aimed at assuming a unifying role in the Egyptian church, while winning over the ascetics as his power base. This aspiration is evident in his first Festal letter, which suggests that, already in 414, Cyril had realized that his interventions, pastoral care and overall administration needed to be articulated in a way that could hopefully elevate his status in the eyes not only of the Christian, but also of the non Christian communities of the city.²⁷

Employing a cult of martyrs to expand the Christianization of Alexandria was a course of action which could be perceived along these

26 John Anthony McGuckin, "The influence of the Isis cult on St. Cyril of Alexandria's Christology", in: Elizabeth A. Livinstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica* 24. Papers presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1991, Leuven 1993, p. 291–299, esp. 293.

27 Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy* (cit. n. 8), p. 30–32. That adoption and promotion of the ascetic model and behaviour was considered a strong legitimizing factor, which could elicit recognition and acceptance of the bishop's authority even by pagans, is evident in late 4th C. texts and letters of the Cappadocian Fathers (Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea): Rapp, *Holy bishops in Late Antiquity* (cit. n. 21), p. 41.

lines. In the textual sources, Cyril is described as being in anxiety over the state of the Christian faith at Menouthis and as fervently praying for help. Calling the “mighty dead” to his assistance was viewed both as a duty and as evidence of the Christian bishop’s spiritual power; it was also one of the most effective ways to consolidate his public role in “his” city. Within the context of late antiquity, the city of a Christian bishop is not just the worldly urban environment in which he acts as one of the leading authorities. Rather, it is a reflection of the world he conjures up in his sermons to his congregation and in the liturgical rites he performs in his church; a new community shaped after the example set forth by Christ, upheld by the apostles and the martyrs, the heroes and champions of the Christian faith. This community, in which the bishop plays a crucial role, is not even an accomplished, static reality; rather, it is a process still in motion. In order to keep this process on the right track, the bishop needs to be on constant vigilance, to mould the actual city more and more in the shape of the ideal community reflected upon the community he leads. This meant inevitably resort to some sort of violence, sometimes more outward and sometimes subtler.²⁸ But violence alone would not be effective, if it didn’t operate – and dialectically so – within a context of successfully reconstructed authorities and figures of power.²⁹ Such events as the at-

28 In fact, even interventions such as the translation of relics for the establishment of a new shrine must have appeared way more obscene and sacrilegious to the pagan communities than it seems to the eyes of a modern scholar, since it involved an entirely different attitude towards the deceased. Eunapius, *Lives of Sophists*, VI.11, in: Giuseppe Giangrande (ed.), *Eunapii Vitae sophistarum*, (*Scriptores Graeci et Latini*), Rome 1956, p. 40, offers a telling example of a pagan’s shocked reaction towards such practices. See also Peter Brown, *The cult of the saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, (*Haskell Lectures on history of religion, new series, no. 2*), Chicago 1981, p. 6–7.

29 Brown, *The cult of the saints* (cit. n. 28), p. 63, has pointed out this important aspect of the cult of saints in its quality of projecting a structure of clearly defined relationships onto the unseen world: “The cult of the saints in late antiquity, therefore, did more than dress the ancient dead in contemporary upper-class costume. It was a form of piety exquisitely adapted to enable late-antique men to articulate and render manageable urgent, muffled debates on the nature of power in their own world, and to examine in the searching light of ideal relationships with ideal figures, the relationship between power, mercy, and justice as practiced around them.”

tempts of Cyril at establishing new martyrs' cults reveal aspects of this process of reconstruction, such as the mechanism of attaining holiness as a bishop by association to the invention and/or promotion of a martyr cult.

Mechanism is maybe a strong word, as far as it implies some sort of manipulation on the part of the early Christian bishops who put it in motion. It is probably better to speak of orchestration, instead of manipulation, and of a dynamic process instead of a mechanism. At any rate, Cyril does not represent a particularly early example of this practice; moreover, his efforts don't even seem to be among the most successful ones. A notable and fairly paradigmatic case of such practices, on the other hand, can be found in the invention of the relics of the two Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, in the years of Ambrose's episcopacy. The events around this famous invention put the analogous efforts of Cyril into perspective, and this goes in particular for the narrative around the discovery and translation of saints Cyrus's and John's relics.

Ambrose's invention of Gervasius's and Protasius's relics took place at the aftermath of Valentinian's attempts at having the bishop deposed, when Ambrose was preparing to consecrate his newly built basilica in the western suburbs of Milan, in June 385/6. Built in the Hortus Philippi, the most venerable part of Christian Milan, the church was intended to become the burial place of the eminent bishop. At one level, this was a statement addressed to his imperial adversaries. In both cases when he had found himself threatened in the presence of imperial troops sent for him to Milan, Ambrose had described his bold stance against them as that of a willing would-be martyr³⁰; now he had gone on to prepare what could serve as his own *martyrium*, which would provide a focus for his people's continued loyalty.³¹ So the aspiration at holiness in the case of Ambrose is explicit, although we shouldn't overlook the fact that it is associated to the expectation (or fear of) a violent death. Wishing to enhance his basilica

30 Ambrose, Ep. 20 and 21, in: Michaela Zelzer Ambrosius (ed.), *Epistulae et acta*. III. *Epistularum liber decimus, Epistulae extra collectionem; Gesta concili Aquileiensis*, (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 82/3), Wien 1982.

31 McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* (cit. n. 22), p. 209–10.

with some martyrs' relics, Ambrose was instructed by a vision (he describes his state as "prophetic ardour"³²) where to discover the relics of Protasius and Gervasius. The discovery was followed by miraculous exorcisms that earned credit for Ambrose's success.³³ But in order for this event to be used in its full potential to consolidate Ambrose's power and to undermine the position of his Arian adversaries, Ambrose needed to configure the publicity of this event, and so he did with a hymn he composed, which later became part of the liturgy of the Church of Milan. In this hymn, as in the letters in which he offers his account for the discovery, Ambrose stresses the notion that, in an age without martyrs, the bishop's duty is to procure and honour martyrs, while casting his *inventio* in light of a sign of a special grace bestowed upon him, by minimizing his own personal role and initiative in the event.³⁴

Ambrose's invention of Protasius and Gervasius has offered scholarship an insight in the way episcopal authority interweaved with the devotion to the martyrs; all the more so, since it was held as an example to which other bishops referred. Augustine, for example, evoked it as comparison for his effort at promoting the cult of St. Stephen. It has been established in the literature that the discovery and the reception of martyrs' relics elevated the bishops involved to the status of privileged agents of the holy.³⁵ In the late 4th C., the Cappadocian Fathers have moulded the framework of this relationship between episcopal authority and the cult of the martyrs, while trying to regularize

32 Ambrose, Ep. 22.1 (cit. n. 30).

33 Ambrose, Ep. 22.18–9 (cit. n. 30).

34 Lucy Grig, *Making martyrs in Late Antiquity*, London 2004, p. 3; Cécile Lanéry, *Ambroise de Milan hagiographe*, (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 183), Paris 2008, p. 30 – 31. Cf. Ambrose, Hymn 11.11 – 2: "nequimus esse martyres / sed repperimus martyres"; Ep. 22.12: "quia ipse martyr esse non mereor hos vobis martyres acquisivi", in: Jacques Fontaine (ed.), *Saint Ambroise, Les Hymnes* (texte, trad. française et commentaire), Paris 1992.

35 Brown, *The cult of the saints* (cit. n. 28), p. 95; Grig, *Making martyrs* (cit. n. 34), p. 92–93, 100–1.

and canonize the cult of martyrs in Cappadocia.³⁶ But for the scope of this paper, suffice it to emphasize on Ambrose's assertion that, in an age when the *imitatio Christi* could no longer be reproduced in terms of martyrdom, it became the bishop's duty to find a way to keep the example set by the martyrs relevant and operative for the community. On the one hand, this meant active efforts at conceptualizing the heroic past in specific ways, through the production of literature about martyrs.³⁷ On the other hand, this accorded the bishops the role of the main responsible for construing the example and upholding it, by maintaining a special relation to the martyrs, which is evident in the miraculous ways and visions enabling inventions of martyrs' relics. In an age without martyrs, the bishop has to bring forth the agonistic past, and in doing so, he acts as an example of his community, by association to the martyrs who set Christian examples *par excellence*.

But, as the case of Cyril shows, there are limits in the way and the extent to which "what really happened" can be bypassed in favour of a certain conceptualization. When Cyril attempts to canonize Ammonius, he apparently hopes for some miraculous stories to come up, but he cannot simply make them up himself. After all, Ammonius was not a figure of the past, nor a victim of persecutions against Christians, but a monk who had wounded the city prefect with a stone. It would be extremely difficult to make a successful configuration of the incident's publicity. In the case of Cyrus and John, there is a miraculous story right from the start, as it is an angelic vision which enables the discovery of their relics; so this time Cyril has already something to build upon, something that works in twofold measure: it lends credibility to the martyrs' story as presented by Cyril, and at the same time it enhances the credibility of Cyril himself, as that of a spiritual leader worthy of such angelic visions. The Church of Alexandria (Cyril's Christian city) can therefore be adorned with some mighty champions,

36 Vassiliki Limberis, "The cult of the martyrs and the Cappadocian Fathers", in: D. Krueger (ed.), *Byzantine Christianity*, (A People's history of Christianity, vol. 3), Minneapolis 2006, p. 39–58; Leemans – Mayer – Allen – Dehandschutter, 'Let us die that we may live' (cit. n. 25).

37 Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory. Early Christian Culture Making* (Gender, Theory and Religion), New York 2004, p. 10 – 32 (ch.I).

the actual urban space can be further Christianized with a new martyrs' shrine, but in this process Cyril becomes not just the "*impresario*"³⁸ of the new martyrs but their actual homologue as a vessel of holy power. Merely acting as an *impresario* wouldn't do, as the effort at Ammonius canonization had shown. In order for the patriarch to be able to provide his community with the assistance and support of the mighty dead, the Patriarch must attain some sort of holiness himself; and his memory will be intrinsically linked with the memory of the martyrs he was led to discover.

Ambrose was entombed next to Gervasius and Protasius in his own basilica, preserving their link for all eternity. The case of Cyril and the martyrs Cyrus and John is, as we have already seen, more complicated. Their link has been preserved in hagiography, but it is not certain when it was forged. Still, or maybe because of this ambiguity, it presents a remarkable case, to the extent that it showcases the holy bishop – martyr's cult nexus, even if we reject the traditional view of Cyril's role in the invention of the relics and the foundation of the shrine at Menouthis.

Cyril's prominent role in the Nestorian controversy shaped the second half of his episcopacy. His dogmatic victory against Nestorius left a deep impact in the subsequent Christological doctrine of the two natures in Christ as established at Chalcedon. In the course of this processes, Cyril managed to be elevated to canonical status. Already by the end of his lifetime, he became one of the most revered and influential church fathers, a sanctified orthodox authority against whom no criticism could be tolerated. This became apparent already at the Second Council of Ephesus (449), and even more strikingly so at the Council of Chalcedon (451) and afterwards, when both the Monophysite and the Chalcedonian Egyptian Christianity laid claim to Cyril and his theology. Cyril, in his turn, had laid claim to Athanasius and his anti-Arian, pro Nicene legacy, in order to fortify his position against Nestorius and his party. In fact, part of his strategy was to emulate Athanasius in shaping his theological rhetoric and argumentation, which enabled him to build his image as the staunch adherent and le-

³⁸ The term belongs to Brown, *The cult of the saints* (cit. n. 28), p. 38 and *passim*.

gitimate heir of the Nicene doctrine and cast Nestorius as a threat to this orthodoxy. Cyril's supporters were eager to embrace him as the new Athanasius (already an undisputed authority) against Nestorius as the new Arius.³⁹ In the doctrinal domain, as well as in that of cultic practice, reinterpretation and appropriation of the heroic past labelled as tradition was the process that enabled the Christian communities to constitute and reinforce themselves; the process that provided the Ariadne's thread through the meanders of dogmatic elaborations. Tellingly enough, Nestorius also understood the controversy in terms of the prolonged battle against Arianism; only from his perspective, the accusation of Arianism should be blamed on Cyril.

Back to the shrine and the cult of saints Cyrus and John at Menouthis, if Cyril did establish them, one may argue that they have initially fallen short of their potential. Moreover, some reasonable doubt has been cast over Cyril's actual role in the establishment of the cult; and this question remains open. Still, the dynamic of the link between the establishment of a martyr cult and the holiness of the bishop to whom this establishment is attributed, is attested and even reinforced in this case. By the 7th c., when Sophronius regularizes the hagiographic tradition about Cyrus and John, the link between a holy bishop and the cult of martyrs is apparently even stronger, even if the shrine of the two martyrs at that time has already attained great popularity; even if the context of religious dispute has shifted and is now centred around the antagonisms between Monophysite and Chalcedonian Christianity. At any rate, "what really happened" is not the most important question at that time; what matters is that, in order for a popular pilgrimage and healing shrine to play out its full potential in 7th-C. Alexandria, its legitimacy must be enhanced by a holy bishop, whose memory will therefore be intrinsically linked to the venerated martyrs. One of the miracle stories in the account compiled by Sophronius is particularly interesting in that respect: it is the story of

39 Patrick T.R. Gray, "The Select Fathers: Canonizing the Christian Past", in: Elizabeth A. Livinstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica 23*. Papers presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987, Leuven 1989, p. 21-36; Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian controversy* (cit. n. 8), p. 281-283, 287-295, 297-302.

Athanasia, a noblewoman of Alexandria, who wasn't convinced that Cyrus and John were genuine martyrs, because of the lack of any concrete evidence and records regarding their trial and martyrdom or the authenticity of the relics venerated at Menouthis. Scandalized by that, Sophronius, who has complained himself about the lack of earlier sources on the martyrs to help him in his hagiographic work, maintains that Cyril's testimony (along with the miraculous power of the relics, of course) should be more than enough to assert the authenticity of Cyrus and John as saints.⁴⁰ Association with Cyril settles it, Sophronius more or less says. That this was considered a quite legitimate line of thought in the 7th c. is reinforced by the legendary attribution, at this time, of Abu Mena to Athanasius.⁴¹ Maybe the attribution was partly motivated by the fact that the rival pilgrimage site of saints Cyrus and John could claim association with the great Cyril. Either way, the holy bishops of Alexandria did procure martyrs to the city, even if they didn't manage – or, in Athanasius' case, didn't even try – to do so in their own lifetime.

40 Miracle no. 29, in: Gasco, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Miracles* (cit. n.15), p. 97–8.

41 In fact, Athanasius was very reluctant to promote translations and cult of martyr relics, for a number of reasons pointed out by David Brakke, "Outside the places, within the truth: Athanasius of Alexandria and the localization of the Holy," in: David Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 134), Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, p. 445–482, esp. p. 465, 467sq.

Heiligenverehrung in Benevent im 8. Jahrhundert

Larissa Düchting

Die Beschäftigung mit den Patronen einer Stadt bringt einige Fragen mit sich. Von besonderem Interesse ist beispielsweise, welche Heiligen verehrt wurden, in welcher Beziehung sie zur Stadt standen und wie sich ihre Verehrung gestaltete. Zudem kann man sich mit dem zeitlichen Einsetzen dieses Kultes auseinandersetzen, um so dessen Anfänge und die Entwicklung nachvollziehen zu können. Laut Belting kann man anhand der Wahl der Patrone, die nach Benevent gebracht wurden, die kirchliche Entwicklung der Stadt verfolgen, da diese Wahl Rückschlüsse auf die Beziehung zwischen Herrschaft und Kirche zulasse¹. Somit ist es unmöglich, sich lediglich mit der Heiligenverehrung auseinanderzusetzen; es gilt, auch die politischen Geschehnisse im Auge zu behalten sowie die Intentionen derjenigen, die für die Etablierung und Verbreitung eines Heiligenkultes verantwortlich waren. Daher wird im Folgenden die Stadt Benevent kurz vorgestellt, um dann Herzog Arichis II. (758–787) und die Heiligen, die während seiner Regierungszeit transloziert wurden, genauer zu analysieren. Im Anschluss sollen einige Überlegungen zu den vorgenommenen Translationen aufgezeigt werden.

Die Stadt Benevent im 8. Jahrhundert

Die süditalische Stadt Benevent hatte bereits in vorchristlicher Zeit Bestand und ist beispielsweise für ihren Trajansbogen berühmt. Im ausgehenden 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wurde Benevent dann zum Hauptsitz des gleichnamigen Herzogtums, nachdem die Langobarden um 568 begonnen hatten, große Teile Italiens sukzessiv unter ihre

¹ Hans Belting, "Studien zum Beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), S. 141–193, S. 156.

Herrschaft zu bringen. Nach dem neuesten Forschungsstand sollte man die Langobarden nicht länger als einen ethnischen Verband ansehen, sondern eher als eine politisch, rechtlich und sozial bestimmte Gruppe². So schreibt Schwarz, dass die Langobarden aus linguistischer Sicht zu den Westgermanen, aus historischer Perspektive zu den Sueben zu rechnen sind³. Diese hatten sich im Zuge der Völkerwanderungen in mehreren Etappen⁴ Italien angenähert⁵ und waren nach dem Untergang des Ostgotenreiches und der vorläufigen Wiedereroberung Italiens durch die Oströmer im Jahre 568⁶ zur vorherrschenden Macht in Norditalien und in einigen Regionen Mittel- und Süditaliens geworden, wo die Herzogtümer Benevent und Spoleto gegründet wurden⁷. Es gilt zu beachten, dass Süditalien von der Zeit der Spätantike bis zur normannischen Eroberung nicht unter einer einzelnen Herrschaft stand, sondern mehrere Gruppen gleichzeitig Anspruch auf die Region

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- 2 Zur Problematik der Herkunft und eindeutigen Identifizierung der Langobarden siehe: Walter Pohl, "Geschichte und Identität im Langobardenreich", in: Walter Pohl – Peter Erhart (Hg.), *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 329), Wien 2005, S. 555–566; Jörg Jarnut, "Der langobardische Staat", in: Walter Pohl – Veronika Wieser (Hg.), *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – Europäische Perspektiven*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 383), Wien 2009, S. 23–29, S. 29; Dick Harrison, "Dark Age migrations and subjective ethnicity: the example of the Lombards", in: *Scandia* 57 (1991), S. 19–36.
 - 3 Jörg Schwarz, *Das europäische Mittelalter I. Grundstrukturen – Völkerwanderung – Frankenreich*, (Grundkurs Geschichte), Stuttgart 2006, S. 88.
 - 4 Jörg Jarnut, *Geschichte der Langobarden*, Stuttgart u.a. 1982; Volker Bierbrauer, "Archäologie der Langobarden in Italien: Ethnische Interpretation und Stand der Forschung", in: Walter Pohl – Peter Erhart, *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 329), Wien 2005, S. 21–66; Georg Hauptfeld, "Zur langobardischen Eroberung Italiens. Das Heer und die Bischöfe", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 41 (1983), S. 37–94.
 - 5 Hauptfeld (wie Anm. 4), S. 38; Elke Goetz, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2011, S. 39.
 - 6 Möglicherweise auch erst 569. Vgl. Dick Harrison, *The Early State and the Towns. Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy AD 568–774*, (Lund Studies in International History, 29), Lund 1993, S. 2 Anm. 2.
 - 7 Vgl. Jarnut (wie Anm. 4), S. 37

erhoben⁸. So waren es vor allem die Byzantiner, die versuchten, ihre nominelle Herrschaft durchzusetzen, wobei ab dem 6. Jahrhundert die Langobarden, ab dem 8. Jahrhundert die Franken und ab dem 9. Jahrhundert sarazenische Truppen miteinander um die Vorherrschaft in einzelnen Gebieten rangen. Laut der *Vita des Barbatus*⁹ hingen die Langobarden in Benevent noch lange heidnischen Traditionen an und wurden erst gegen Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts endgültig katholisiert.

Um 700 tat sich die langobardische Herzogin Theoderada durch die Errichtung von Kirchen und Klöstern hervor¹⁰. Über die nachfolgenden Jahrzehnte bis zu den 760er Jahren gibt es nur wenige Informationen bezüglich der kirchlichen Entwicklung innerhalb Benevents, doch ändert sich dies mit dem Herrschaftsbeginn des Herzogs Arichis II., da in dieser Zeit, laut den Quellen, insgesamt drei Reliquientranslationen vorgenommen wurden und eine neue Kirche, S. Sophia, innerhalb der Stadt errichtet wurde, die die Reliquien der neuen Heiligen aufnehmen sollte¹¹. Anscheinend hatten vor dieser Zeit keine Translationen nach Benevent stattgefunden, sodass sich die Frage ergibt, warum es plötzlich dazu kam, wer möglicherweise ein Interesse an der Einholung von Reliquien hatte und wie man sich diese Translationen vorzustellen hat. Natürlich sind dabei auch die Heiligen

8 Goetz (wie Anm. 5), S. 7; Edoardo D'Angelo, "Agiografia latina del Mezzogiorno continentale d'Italia (750-1000)", in: Guy Philippart (Hg.), *Hagiographies. Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en occident des origines à 1550 / International history of the Latin and Vernacular hagiographical literature in the west from its origins to 1550 / Internationale Geschichte der lateinischen und einheimischen hagiographischen Literatur im Abendland von den Anfängen bis 1550 / Storia internazionale della letteratura agiografica latina e volgare in occidente dalle origini al 1550*, Turnhout 2006, S. 41-134, S. 44; Hans Belting, "Probleme der Kunstgeschichte Italiens im Frühmittelalter", in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* (1967), S. 94-143, S. 112f.

9 Georg Waitz (Hg.), "Vita Barbati episcopi beneventani", in: *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI-IX.*, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1), Hannover 1878, S. 555-563.

10 Marcello Rotili, *Forme della cristianizzazione a Benevento e nella Longobardia minore*, in: Rosa Maria Bonacasa Carra - Vitale Emma (Hg.), *La Cristianizzazione in Italia tra tardoantico ed altomedioevo. Atti del IX congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana. Agrigento 20-25 novembre 2004, Palermo 2007*, S. 991-1016, S. 995.

11 Giuseppe Gianluca Cicco, "La scuola cattedrale di Benevento e il vescovo Urso (secolo IX)", in: *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 60 (2006), S. 341-373, hier S. 353.

von Bedeutung, die nach Benevent transloziert wurden, da hier zu fragen ist, welche Heiligen in die Stadt gebracht und nach welchen Kriterien sie ausgesucht wurden.

Aufgrund seiner Präsenz vor Ort, wurde der Verehrte immer mehr zum gemeinschaftlichen Heiligen der Menschen, die in diesem Gebiet lebten, wodurch der Heilige nach und nach die ihm anvertraute Gemeinschaft verkörperte¹². Somit lag seine Verantwortung bei diesen Bewohnern, die seine Feste feierten und ihm Verehrung entgegenbrachten¹³.

Herzog Arichis II.

In der Forschung ist es umstritten, ob es sich bei dem Herzog Arichis II. um einen Adeligen aus dem Norden der Apenninen-Halbinsel handelte, oder ob er aus der Region stammte, in der er später herrschen sollte. Sicher bekannt ist, dass er mit der Tochter des langobardischen Königs Desiderius (757–774) verheiratet war und von diesem zum Herzog in Benevent bestellt wurde¹⁴. Nachdem Karl der Große 774 den langobardischen König entmachtet hatte, war Benevent das einzige Herzogtum, dem es gelang, weiterhin unter langobardischer Herrschaft zu bleiben, wobei Arichis II. nun den Titel eines Fürsten führte¹⁵. Da die Herkunft des Herzogs nicht eindeutig auszumachen ist, ist es schwierig, die von ihm vorgenommenen Translationen vor diesem Hintergrund zu deuten, doch ist es auffällig, dass nur wenige Jahre, nachdem er die Herrschaft in Benevent übernommen hatte, er diese sakral zu verstärken begann.

12 Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1994, S. 128.

13 Angenendt (wie Anm. 12), S. 193.

14 Ian Nicholas Wood, "Giovardi, MS Verolensis 1, Arichis and Mercurius", in: Richard Corradini – Max Diesenberger – Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (Hg.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 405), Wien 2010, S. 197–210, S. 203; Belting (wie Anm. 1), S. 144; Hans H. Kaminsky, "Zum Sinngehalt des Princeps-Titels Arichs' II. von Benevent", in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8 (1974), S. 81–92, hier S. 86.

15 Belting (wie Anm. 1), S. 146.

Hierbei ist zu fragen, welche Ereignisse für dieses Verhalten des Herzogs beispielhaft waren. In der Zeit seiner Herrschaft regierte er in Byzanz mit Konstantin V. (741–775), der heute besonders aufgrund seines Vorgehens gegen die Bilderverehrung bekannt ist und weniger für die Förderung von Reliquientranslationen¹⁶. Mit dem Bau der S. Sophia in Benevent stellte sich der Herzog Arichis bewusst in die Tradition des früheren byzantinischen Kaisers Justinian¹⁷ (527–565), wie es aus dem Translationsbericht eines der Heiligen deutlich wird¹⁸. Möglicherweise versuchte er sich also als besonders christlicher Herrscher zu etablieren. Auch unter den langobardischen Königen war ein solches Vorgehen nicht bekannt, lediglich Liutprand (712–744) ließ die Gebeine des Augustinus nach Pavia bringen¹⁹. Reliquientranslationen zur Darstellung der eigenen Frömmigkeit waren also zu diesem Zeitpunkt bei den Langobarden noch nicht gängig.

Da erst nach dem zweiten Konzil von Nicäa 787 das Vorhandensein von Reliquien in Altären vorgeschrieben wurde²⁰, kann man allgemein keine übermäßig große Anstrengung zur Erlangung von Reliquien vermuten. Somit stellt die Einbringung von Reliquien in eine Stadt eine Neuerung des Herzogs dar, die nicht durch zeitgleiche Geschehnisse erklärt werden kann. In Neapel war es allerdings seit einiger Zeit

16 Ilse Rochow, Kaiser Konstantin V. (741–775). Materialien zu seinem Leben und Nachleben. Mit einem prosopographischen Anhang von Claudia Ludwig, Ilse Rochow und Ralph-Johannes Lilie, (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 1), Frankfurt am Main u. a. 1994; Leslie Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm*, London 2012.

17 Justinian hatte sich in seiner Herrschaft intensiv um die Kirchen in Konstantinopel bemüht und hatte sich auch um kirchliche Belange gekümmert. Neuere Literatur etwa Mischa Meier, *Justinian. Herrschaft, Reich und Religion*, München 2004; Hartmut Leppin, *Justinian. Das christliche Experiment*, Stuttgart 2011.

18 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 576: „Arichis igitur princeps illustris, perfecta iam sancte Sophie basilica, quam ad exemplar illius condidit Iustiniane.“; Reiche bezeichnet die S. Sophia als „freie Kopie der Hagia Sophia“; Jens Reiche, „Frühe Klosterbauten in Italien (4.–10. Jahrhundert)“, in: Gerfried Sitar – Martin Kroker (Hg.), *Macht des Wortes. Benediktinisches Mönchtum im Spiegel Europas*, Regensburg 2009, S. 121–134, hier S. 123; Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past*, Bonn 2007, S. 56.

19 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 163, 181, 422; Hanns Christof Brennecke, „Auseinandersetzung mit sogenannten ‘Arianern’“, in: Volker Henning Drecoll (Hg.), *Augustin Handbuch*, Tübingen 2007, S. 208–212, S. 212.

20 Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 33)*, Turnhout 1979, S. 28.

üblich, die Reliquien der Bischöfe, die in den Katakomben außerhalb der Stadt bestattet worden waren, in die Kirchen innerhalb Neapels selbst zu bringen, da ihnen dort besser Verehrung zuteilwerden konnte²¹. Zudem gilt es zu beachten, dass das Heiligsprechungsverfahren in der Zeit des 8. Jahrhunderts an die Kurie gebunden war²², weswegen es nicht von päpstlicher Seite aus abhängig war, wer als Heiliger anerkannt wurde, sondern die Bevölkerung die Heiligen durch Verehrung in den Status der Heiligkeit erhob. Hierbei konnten Wunder, die durch die Heiligen gewirkt wurden von Vorteil sein, da sie Heiligkeit des Verehrten eindeutig bewiesen.

Bei den zu untersuchenden Quellen handelt es sich um hagiographische Texte, also um Viten, Passiones, Translations- und Mirakelberichte und zudem um Martyrologien und Kalendare. Hierbei wären das sogenannte Martyrologium des Erchempert aus dem 9. Jahrhundert²³ sowie drei Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino aus der Zeit des ausgehenden 8. und beginnenden 9. Jahrhunderts zu erwähnen²⁴.

Translationsen nach Benevent

Im Jahr 760 wurden zwölf Märtyrer aus vier Orten Unteritaliens nach Benevent gebracht, die laut der Legende zwölf Brüder aus Nordafrika gewesen sein sollen, die in Unteritalien in der Zeit des Kaisers Maximian (286–305) an vier verschiedenen Orten das Martyrium erlitten²⁵ und erst durch Arichis II. wieder zusammengeführt wurden, sodass ih-

21 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 404; Nicola Cilento, "Il significato della 'translatio' dei corpi dei vescovi napoletani dal cimitero di S. Gennaro", in: *Campania sacra* 1 (1970), S. 1–6, S. 3.

22 Die endgültige Reglementierung des Heiligsprechungsverfahrens erfolgte erst 1215 durch Innozenz III. (1198–1216) auf dem vierten lateranischen Konzil. Richard Puza, "Selig- und Heiligsprechungsverfahren", in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* Tl. 7, Sp. 1735–1736; Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, (Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde: Beiheft 9), Köln u.a. 2005.

23 Ulla Westerbergh, *Beneventan ninth century poetry*, (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 4), Stockholm 1957, S. 74.

24 Elias A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 3,3), München 1908.

25 Victorio Giovardi, *Acta Passionis, & Translationis sanctorum martyrum Mercurii, ac XII Fratrum*, Rom 1730, S. 77; Wood (wie Anm. 14), S. 204.

nen nun gemeinsam eine Verehrung zuteilwerden konnte. Dabei gilt es zu beachten, dass diese Orte Städte waren, die zum Teil im byzantinisch beherrschten Teil Süditaliens lagen und hier möglicherweise durch die Translationen ein Herrschaftsanspruch verdeutlicht werden sollte²⁶. Der Translationsbericht schildert in der üblichen Weise die Verlegung der Gebeine, die in Benevent von der Bevölkerung ehrenvoll entgegengenommen wurden und dort die ihnen angemessene Verehrung erhielten. Auch wird berichtet, dass Geld von den Stadtbewohnern gesammelt wurde, um die Translation der Heiligen gewährleisten zu können²⁷. Auch wenn es sich hierbei eventuell um einen hagiographischen Topos handelt, so zeigt es doch, für wie wichtig es erachtet wurde, dass die Bevölkerung sich an der Translation, die von Aribis II. initiiert worden war, beteiligte.

In ihren Translationsberichten werden die zwölf Brüder als Patrone der Stadt (*patriae patroni*) bezeichnet²⁸. Hier zeigt sich also, welche Bedeutung ihnen in ihrer neuen Stadt beigemessen wurde. Von diesen Heiligen versprach man sich einen besonderen Schutz.

Eine einzige Quelle²⁹ berichtet über die Translation des heiligen Helianus von Konstantinopel nach Benevent, wobei dort nicht der Herzog die handelnde Person darstellt, sondern ein Gastalde³⁰, der auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel in Seenot gerät und dem dabei besagter Heiliger erscheint. Dieser fordert ihn auf, seine Gebeine nach Benevent zu bringen³¹. In Byzanz kommt er dieser Bitte nach und

26 Wood (wie Anm. 14), S. 203.

27 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 575: „quisque suarum / Pro modulo rerum largitur munera; multi / Testibus inscriptis legali more tabellis, / Ulnis liceat patriae deferre patronos, / Dant patrimonia, promittunt sua quaeque futura.“

28 Karl Heinrich Krüger, „Zur 'beneventanischen' Konzeption der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus“, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 15 (1981), S. 18–35, S. 31; Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 575.

29 Waitz (Hg.), *Translatio Sancti Heliani* (wie Anm. 9), S. 582–583.

30 Unter einem Gastalden versteht man ein Domänenverwalter, in dessen Aufgabenbereich auch militärische, juristische und administrative Angelegenheiten fielen. Ferdinand Hirsch, *Das Herzogthum Benevent bis zum Untergange des langobardischen Reiches (571–774)*, Berlin 1871, S. 30f.; Karin Priester, *Geschichte der Langobarden. Gesellschaft – Kultur – Alltag*, Berlin 2004, S. 59f.

31 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 582: „...decenter locare et Beneventum transfer illudque in basilica, qua a te constructa est.“

erreicht beim Kaiser die Herausgabe der Reliquien, die er dann nach Benevent transloziert. Als Jahr der Ereignisse wird im Translationsbericht selbst 763 angegeben. Allgemein könnte man annehmen, dass es sich bei diesem Werk um die Schilderung der Verlegung eines Heiligen handelt, allerdings werden einige wichtige Aussagen nicht getroffen. So ist es unmöglich, einen Kult um diesen Heiligen innerhalb Benevents festzustellen. Es gibt zudem keinen liturgischen Text, und auch in einem Kalendarium, das in Monte Cassino erstellt und in Benevent ergänzt wurde, wird dieser Heilige nicht aufgeführt³². Im Translationsbericht fordert der Heilige, dass er in eine Kirche gebracht werde, die von dem Gastalden errichtet wurde, wobei hier fraglich ist, welche Kirche gemeint war, da außer dem Namen keine weiteren Informationen über den Gastalden gegeben werden. Nach der Verlegung nach Benevent wurden laut dem Translationsbericht von Helianus dort Wunder gewirkt, doch scheint auch dies keine weitere Verehrung nach sich gezogen zu haben.

Größere Bedeutung scheint dagegen die Translation aus dem Jahr 768 erlangt zu haben, bei der die Reliquien des heiligen Mercurius von Aeclanum nach Benevent transferiert wurden³³. Nach der Legende war er ein byzantinischer Soldatenheiliger, der 660 von Kaiser Konstans II. (641–668) auf seinem Feldzug gegen die Langobarden mit nach Unteritalien genommen worden war, wo er auf eigenen Wunsch in Aeclanum bestattet worden war und sich dann hundert Jahre später dem Herzog Arichis II. geoffenbart hatte und dabei den Wunsch äußerte, nach Benevent gebracht zu werden³⁴. Die besondere Bedeutung des Heiligen kann man beispielsweise daran erkennen, dass das Bildfeld über dem Eingang der S. Sophia bis heute das Bild dieses Heiligen enthält (Abb.)³⁵. Nach aktueller Forschungsmeinung handelt es sich bei

32 Loew (wie Anm. 24), S. 7.

33 Hippolyte Delehaye, "La Translatio Sancti Mercurii Beneventum", in: ders. (Hg.), *Mélanges d'Hagiographie Grecque et Latine*, (Subsidia Hagiographica 42), Brüssel 1966, S. 189–195.

34 Waitz (wie Anm. 9), S. 577; Giovardi (wie Anm. 25), S. 59.

35 Hierbei handelt es sich aber wahrscheinlich um ein Bildzeugnis aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, was die kontinuierliche Bedeutung des Heiligen für die Kirche Benevents offenbart. King (wie Anm. 18), S. 57.

dem in Benevent verehrten Mercurius allerdings nicht um einen aus Konstantinopel stammenden, sondern um einen lokalen Heiligen, der bereits zuvor in Aeclanum Verehrung erfahren hatte und aufgrund der Namensgleichheit im beneventanischen Kult mit dem berühmteren byzantinischen Heiligen gleichgesetzt wurde. Neben dem Translationsbericht wurde für den heiligen Mercurius auch ein Mirakelbericht geschrieben, der allerdings wiederum aus dem Griechischen übersetzt wurde. Darin wird lediglich auf die miraculöse Tötung des Kaisers Julianus Apostata eingegangen, die durch den Heiligen bewirkt worden sein soll. Es werden keine lokalen Wunder genannt, was ein wenig überrascht, da die hagiographischen Schriften den Kult eines Heiligen belegen und verbreiten sollten. Somit hätte es sich durchaus angeboten, noch weitere Wunder des Heiligen anzufügen, durch die seine Heiligkeit eindeutig belegt würde, doch blieb dies entweder aus oder derartige Texte haben sich nicht erhalten.

Mögliche Gründe für die Translationen

Es stellt sich die Frage, warum es ausgerechnet in dieser Zeit zu verschiedenen Translationen kam. Selbst wenn man die Translation des heiligen Helianus nicht berücksichtigt, fanden in der Herrschaftszeit Arichis II. relativ unvermittelt Verlegungen von Reliquien statt, für die es keine Vorläufer in Benevent gibt. Es scheint also ein Bedürfnis nach den Gebeinen von Heiligen existiert zu haben, beziehungsweise der neue Herrscher hatte ein Interesse daran, das kirchliche Leben seines Hauptsitzes neu zu gestalten. Sollte es sich bei ihm tatsächlich um einen Adligen aus Norditalien gehandelt haben, so könnte man vermuten, dass er mittels der Heiligen versuchen wollte, die Bevölkerung über die feierliche Einholung der Gebeine und die anschließenden Festtage mit ihrem neuen Herrscher anzufreunden. Gleichzeitig besaßen Heilige eine identitätsstiftende Wirkung, da sie innerhalb einer Gemeinde die Menschen verbanden, die alle den gleichen Heiligen verehrten und ihm zu Ehren an den gleichen Tagen Feste ausrichteten. Außerdem konnten die Heiligen aufgrund ihres regionalen Hintergrundes den Anschein einer langen christlichen Tradition implizieren. Somit könnte es auch ein Anliegen Arichis II. gewesen sein, die

verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen innerhalb der Stadt durch die gemeinschaftliche Verehrung der neuen Heiligen enger zusammenzuführen. Hierbei boten sich neue Heilige an, die noch keinen bestimmten Verehrungskontext durch die eine oder andere Gruppe besaßen und somit ein neues Identitätsgefühl schaffen konnten.

Zudem ist die Zeit der Translationen auffällig, da sie zum Teil durch das Agieren der Franken geprägt war. Allerdings ging Karl der Große erst ab 773 verstärkt gegen die Langobarden vor³⁶, weswegen es eine sehr frühe Reaktion auf den Frankenkönig darstellen würde. In den Translationsberichten werden für die Verlegung keine Gründe explizit genannt, da in ihnen entweder die besondere Frömmigkeit Arichis II. ausschlaggebend ist oder der Wunsch der Heiligen selbst nach Benevent verlegt zu werden.

Insgesamt kann man vermuten, dass es zu einem Wandel im religiösen Wahrnehmen der Gläubigen kam. Einige der beneventanischen Langobarden waren erst seit dem ausgehenden 7. Jahrhundert tatsächlich zum römisch-lateinischen Glauben konvertiert³⁷, weswegen das Christentum in dieser Bevölkerungsgruppe auf keine lange Tradition zurückblicken konnte³⁸. Die Bevölkerung, die bereits vor den Langobarden in der Stadt gelebt hatte, war möglicherweise mittlerweile in

36 Zuvor hatte er 770 eine Tochter des langobardischen Königs geheiratet, die er allerdings nach kurzer Zeit bereits wieder verstieß. Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Karolinger*, (Urban-Taschenbücher 411), 4. Aufl., Stuttgart u.a. 2006, S. 73f. Somit kann man annehmen, dass zu dem Zeitpunkt der Reliquientranslationen keine tatsächliche Gefahr von den Franken ausging, die ein solches Handeln des beneventanischen Herzogs begründet hätte.

37 Wilfried Menghin, *Die Langobarden*. Archäologie und Geschichte, Stuttgart 1986, S. 136f; Arnold Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter. Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln 1990, S. 168; Daniel König, *Bekehrungsmotive. Untersuchungen zum Christianisierungsprozess im römischen Westreich und seinen romanisch-germanischen Nachfolgern (4.–8. Jahrhundert)*, (Historische Studien 493), Husum 2008, S. 97; Beneykt Zientara, *Frühzeit der europäischen Nationen. Die Entstehung von Nationalbewußtsein im nachkarolingischen Europa*, (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Klio in Polen 1), Osnabrück 1997, S. 268.

38 Man kann über die Religiosität der Langobarden vor ihrem Übertritt zum Katholizismus nur spekulieren, da die Quellen, die darüber berichten erst später niedergeschrieben wurden und es keine eindeutigen Informationen darüber gibt, welcher Glaube wie praktiziert wurde.

dieser Gruppe aufgegangen, sodass keine scharfe Trennung mehr möglich war. Die Kämpfe um die Vorherrschaft innerhalb der Stadt und die Abgrenzung zu den Byzantinern hatte vielleicht zunächst eine kirchliche Politik verhindert, die unter Arichis II. nun durchgeführt wurde. Zudem kann man allgemein feststellen, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts ein Wandel innerhalb der Heiligenverehrung vorstating, da beispielsweise das Vorhandensein von Reliquien in Altären für deren Weihe ab 787 vorausgesetzt wurde³⁹. Somit entstand spätestens ab diesem Zeitpunkt ein allgemeines Bedürfnis nach Heiligengebeinen, wobei Benevent schon einige Jahre vor diesen Bestimmungen Heilige in die eigene Stadt holte. Ein zeitgleiches Vorgehen dieser Art lässt sich anderswo nicht eindeutig ausmachen, da beispielsweise erst im 9. Jahrhundert eine große Anzahl von Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen vorgenommen wurde, wobei es hier zu beachten gilt, dass diese Region erst im 8. Jahrhundert christianisiert worden war⁴⁰. Ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit wie in Benevent wurden auch einige Translationen nach Neapel durchgeführt, die aber nicht absolut datiert werden können, da sie lediglich der Amtszeit eines Bischofs zugeordnet werden, wodurch ein Zeitraum der Jahre 768/9–799/800 entsteht. Vielleicht ist Benevent neapolitanischem Beispiel gefolgt und brachte daher selbst Heilige in die eigene Stadt. Leider geben die Quellen hierzu keine Auskunft.

Man kann also festhalten, dass der neue Herzog in Benevent in seiner Regierungszeit mindestens zwei Reliquientranslationen vornehmen ließ, wofür die Vorbilder nicht eindeutig auszumachen sind. Auch über seine Motive schweigen die Quellen, die lediglich auf seine christliche Gesinnung abheben. Nach seinem Tod wurden vorerst keine weiteren Translationen vorgenommen, so dass man sich fragt, wie es zu diesem plötzlichen Auftreten kam, ohne eine klare Lösung präsentieren zu können.

39 Heinzlmann (wie Anm. 19), S. 28.

40 Hedwig Röcklein, Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter, (Beihefte der Francia 48), Stuttgart 2002.

Heiligenverehrung in Benevent im 8. Jahrhundert



Abb. Darstellung über dem Haupteingang der S. Sophia in Benevent. In der Mitte ist Christus dargestellt. Die zweite Person von rechts stellt den heiligen Mercurius dar, vor dem der Herzog Arichis II. kniet. Links ist Maria zu sehen. (Foto: Larissa Düchting)

Foreign Bishops Using Local Saints

The Passio et translatio sanctorum Firmi et Rustici (BHL 3020–3021) and Carolingian Verona

Francesco Veronese

In 774 Charlemagne conquered the Lombard kingdom of Italy. In a very first and short period, the Frankish king didn't interfere in the inner local politics of the kingdom; he just confirmed the Lombard aristocracies in their administrative charges. But shortly afterwards Charles undertook a new strategy, directed to the assignment of those charges to members of the aristocratic élites of the people already integrated in the Carolingian mechanisms of power, most of all Alamanian, Bavarian and, of course, Frankish ones¹. This change in the king's political plans necessarily involved that the Lombard aristocratic men were partially removed, or at least, as Walter Pohl suggested, that these transalpine élites came alongside them in the government roles of the kingdom². This happened mostly in the towns, the real political and

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- 1 On this period of transition see Stefano Gasparri, "Il passaggio dai Longobardi ai Carolingi", in: Carlo Bertelli – Giampietro Brogiolo (ed.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno. Saggi*, Milano 2000, p. 25–43, and Giovanni Tabacco, "L'avvento dei Carolingi nel regno dei Longobardi", in: Stefano Gasparri (ed.), *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia. Archeologia, società e istituzioni*, Spoleto 2004, (Istituzioni e società, 4), p. 443–479. For a first, general introduction about the coming of transalpine élites men to Italy in the Carolingian times see Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg 1960.
 - 2 Walter Pohl, "Gens ipsa peribit. Kingdom and identity after the end of Lombard rule", in: Stefano Gasparri (ed.), 774. *Ipotesi su una transizione. Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 16–18 febbraio 2006, Turnhout 2008*, (Seminari internazionali del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo 1), p. 67–78, esp. 74.

social centres of the Lombard kingdom and the poles of concentration of the Lombard élites' interests³. This new strategy was probably connected with, and surely subsequent to, the revolt led by the Lombard duke of Friuli Hrotgaud in 775–776, which saw the participation of a large part of the aristocracy from the North-Eastern regions of the kingdom⁴. However, scholars have underlined that it was not (not only, at least) guided by an ethnic, “antilombard”, perspective, as one affirmed until the early '90s of the last century⁵. On the one hand, Charlemagne wished to provide his son Pippin, crowned king of Italy in 781, with a group of loyal public officers, charged with the duty of mediating between the young king's court and the Lombard élites on a local level⁶. On the other hand, he aimed to strengthen his connections with the élites of Alamannia, a region which was undertaking a more and more central place in the Frankish domain: it was a transit area between the Frankish heartlands (North-Eastern France) and the recently conquered regions of Bavaria and Italy⁷. This strategy also meant the opening of important career perspectives within the enlarged Frankish domain to the Alamannian élites: a way to show, as Matthew Innes pointed out, that the acceptance of the Carolingian power and its political logics by the local élites of the subdued peoples

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- 3 On the urban nature of the Lombard society see Stefano Gasparri, “Il regno longobardo in Italia. Struttura e funzionamento di uno stato altomedievale”, in: Idem (ed.), *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia* (cit. n. 1) p. 1–92, esp. 51–72; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005, p. 211–213; and, from a more archaeological point of view, Brian Ward-Perkins, “The Lombard City and Urban Economy”, in: Giorgio Ausenda – Paolo Delogu – Chris Wickham (ed.), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest. An Ethnographic Perspective*, San Marino 2009, (*Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology* 8), p. 95–106.
 - 4 Gasparri, *Il regno longobardo* (cit. n. 3), p. 84.
 - 5 For instance Andrea Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche dominanti e rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari. Alamanni e Franchi a Verona e nel Veneto in età carolingia e postcarolingia*, Verona 1990.
 - 6 Donald A. Bullough, “Baiuli in the Carolingian ‘regnum Langobardorum’ and the career of the Abbot Waldo († 813)”, in: *The English Historical Review* 77 (1962), p. 625–637; and Francesco Manacorda, *Ricerche sugli inizi della dominazione carolingia in Italia*, Roma 1968, (*Studi storici* 71–72), p. 6.
 - 7 Alfons Zettler, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Schwaben*, Stuttgart 2003, p. 60sq.

could be profitable for both sides⁸. In any case, this flux of transalpine men going to Italy to perform administrative and political tasks also created strong and longlasting channels of communications and exchanges between the two sides of the Alps, which found expression in an important range of passages of men, of ideas, of texts⁹.

To this staff, that for what concerns episcopal roles was selected among the powerful Frankish and Alamannian monastic milieus, also belonged the bishops of Verona during the early Carolingian period, Egino, attested between 780 and 802, and Ratold, bishop from 802 to 840¹⁰. This town, crossed by the river Adige, was very important in the Northern Italian horizon. From a geographical point of view, it was placed at the intersection between North-South and East-West route axis: the first ones connected the Po Valley to the Alps to Alamannia and, through the Rhine, to the Northern Frankish regions; the second ones crossed the whole Po plain and reached Eastern Europe and, from there, the Balkans¹¹. From a political point of view, since the period of Theoderic king of the Ostrogoths (early VIth century) Verona had been a *sedes regia*, that is, one of the king's residence places¹²; even if in the Lombard period the kingdom's capital was Pavia, the town maintained

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- 8 Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages. The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*, Cambridge 2000, p. 185.
- 9 Among a very rich bibliography see Hlawitschka, *Franken* (cit. n. 1); Helmut Beumann – Werner Schröder (ed.), *Die transalpinen Verbindungen den Bayern, Alamannen und Franken bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, Sigmaringen 1987; Helmut Maurer – Hansmartin Schwarzmaier – Thomas Zotz (ed.), *Schwaben und Italien im Hochmittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001; Paolo Chiesa, “Le vie della cultura attraverso le Alpi fra VII e XI secolo”, in: Laura Pani – Cesare Scaloni (ed.), *Le Alpi porta d'Europa. Scritture, uomini, idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa*, Spoleto 2009, p. 1–22.
- 10 For general, biographical information about these bishops see respectively Eduard Hlawitschka, Egino, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (= DBI)*, vol. 42, Roma 1993, p. 353–356; and idem, Ratold, *Bischof von Verona und Begründer von Radolfzell*, in: *Hegau 54/55 (1997/1998)*, p. 5–32.
- 11 Claudio Azzara, “Le vie di comunicazione delle Venezie fra tardo antico e alto medioevo”, in: Donato Gallo – Flaviano Rossetto (ed.), *Per terre e per acque. Vie di comunicazione nel Veneto dal medioevo alla prima età moderna. Atti del Convegno, Castello di Monselice, 16 dicembre 2001, Padova 2003*, (Carrubio 2), p. 79–92.
- 12 About Verona as a *sedes regia* in the Ostrogothic period see Giampietro Brogiolo, “Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda”, in: Gisela Ripoll Lopez – Jose Maria Gurt (ed.), *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)*, Barcelona 2000, p. 135–162.

such role, which was reaffirmed after the Frankish conquest, as Pippin chose it as one of his *sedes regiae* together with Pavia and Milan. In the early stage of the Carolingian domain over Italy, Verona was therefore an important centre of passage and exchange, and of political and social communication, too: its control was a matter of the highest interest from the Carolingian point of view, and that is why Verona was assigned with transalpine bishops – and also counts.

To these bishops, to their political and social needs and to the strategies they followed to fulfil their duties a very interesting strategy of exploitation of the cult of saints and relics, and of hagiography as a channel of diffusion for such messages, seems to be strictly connected. Recent researches have demonstrated that the Carolingian bishops of Verona elaborated several strategies of self-legitimation and cooperation with the town's local élites¹³. They particularly invested on the formulation of a range of identity proposals aiming to emphasize a continuity between the past (that is, before 774) and their present, and to propose the Carolingian conquest of Italy as a simple and legitimate prosecution of the Lombard domain. This continuity was furthermore inserted in a larger plan of legitimation of the Carolingian power from a Christian perspective, presenting the Franks and their kings as the new Israel, the people chosen by God¹⁴. This is a founding aspect of the Carolingian strategies of self-legitimation; but it seems to have found a precise and fully structured expression right in Verona, where the local

13 Francesca Santoni, "Scrivere documenti e scrivere libri a Verona", in: Pani – Scaloni (ed.), *Le Alpi* (cit. n. 9), p. 173–211, with particular concern for bishop Eginò's activity of book and cultural production; Alfons Zettler, "Die karolingischen Bischöfe von Verona I. Studien zu Bischof Eginò († 802)", in: Sebastian Brather – Dieter Geuenich – Christoph Huth (ed.), *Historia archaeologica. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin – New York 2009, (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 70), p. 363–385; and most of all Giovanna Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi in Italia. L'Epitome Phillipsiana e l'identità urbana di Verona dopo il 774*, Ph.D. thesis, rel. Maria Cristina La Rocca, University of Padua 2011.

14 Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2004; Mary Garrison, "The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an identity from Pippin to Charlemagne", in: Yitzhak Hen – Matthew Innes (ed.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2000, p. 114–161.

episcopal *scriptorium*, as one has suggested¹⁵, produced a codex called *Epitome Phillipsiana*¹⁶. It gathers a series of older biblical, patristic and historiographical excerpts, mostly focusing on the succession of kings and domains which ruled over Italy through the centuries since the Roman times¹⁷. The Alamannian bishops of Verona therefore formulated a conscious plan of reading of the Italian past from a sort of eschatological point of view, culminating in the Carolingian conquest; so they emphasized the historical importance of the kingdom and recognized its autonomous nature, as Charlemagne himself, who assigned it with a king of its own (Pippin), had already done.

To this higher level of political and ideological communication the Carolingian bishops of Verona seem to have associated a more local one, aiming to underline the prestige of the city (that is, of their own episcopal see). A poetical text in praise of the town composed in Verona between the end of the VIIIth century and the beginnings of the IXth, the *Versus de Verona*¹⁸, has been ascribed to the episcopal milieu¹⁹.

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- 15 Valentin Rose, *Verzeichnis der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 1: *Die Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps*, Berlin 1893, n. 136/137, p. 299–307; Roberto Cessi, *Di due miscellanee storiche medievali*, in: *Archivio muratoriano* 13 (1913), p. 71–96; and, more recently but also more cautiously and with regard for only a part of the collection, Laura Pani, “La trasmissione dell’*Historia Langobardorum* di Paolo Diacono tra Italia e ‘regnum Francorum’ nel IX secolo”, in: Paolo Chiesa (ed.), *Paolino d’Aquila e il contributo italiano all’Europa carolingia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Cividale del Friuli-Premariacco, 10–13 ottobre 2002*, (Libri e Biblioteche 12), Udine 2003, p. 373–403.
 - 16 This is the name Theodor Mommsen, one of the first scholars who studied this collection, gave it; it derives from the fact that an important part of the code is now (and already was at Mommsen’s times) preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, with catalogue definition *Phillips 1885* and *Phillips 1896*. See Theodor Mommsen’s *Prooemium* to his edition of *Iordanes Romana et Getica*, MGH, *Auct. ant.* 5/1, Berolini 1882, p. LVIII.
 - 17 A reasoned proposal of the correct succession of the collection’s contents has been recently made by Tondini, *Un modello* (cit. n. 13), p. 226.
 - 18 The most recent edition of this text was prepared by Giovanni Battista Pighi in: id. (ed.), *Versus de Verona. Versum de Mediolano civitate*, (Studi pubblicati dall’Istituto di Filologia Classica 7), Bologna 1960, p. 152–154.
 - 19 The bibliography about this text, one of the oldest extant examples of *laus civitatis*, is quite rich. See Gina Fasoli, “La coscienza civica nelle laudes civitatum”, in: Fran-

It praises the city both for its Roman monumental ruins, traces of a glorious – even if pagan – past, and for its Christian traditions; it draws a list of the first eight bishops of Verona, those who diffused the faith in the town, and celebrates the saints and relics protecting it like a sort of security cordon. Once again, the connection between past and present is strongly underlined by the reference to king Pippin, who chose the town as one of his *sedes*, and is described as frequently residing there²⁰. Monumental grandeur and Christian glories are called to join themselves in the celebration of Verona's past and present.

As the *Versus* itself shows, these bishops of early Carolingian Verona also made a strong effort to rise a new wave in the cult of local saints and relics. Among the different cultural and literary tools (hagiographical, poetical, historiographical texts) produced in the context of their strategies, a central place was assigned to the celebration of Verona's saintly treasures and to the writing of hagiographical legends commemorating, but also (re)shaping, the memory of them. A *Vita* of the bishop Zeno (BHL 9001–9008d)²¹, who lived in the second half of the IVth century and is also celebrated in the *Versus* as the one who completed the diffusion of the faith in Verona²², has been dated to the end of the VIIIth century, during Egino's bishopric, though in a hypothetical way²³. It was written by a not better identified *Coronatus Notarius*, about whom we know nothing else than that he was the au-

cesca Bocchi – Antonio Carile – Antonio Ivan Pini (ed.), Gina Fasoli, *Scritti di storia medievale*, Bologna 1974, p. 293–318, esp. 294; Jean-Charles Picard, “Conscience urbaine et culte des saints. De Milan sous Liutprand à Vérone sous Pépin I^{er} d’Italie”, in: id., *Évêques, saints et cités en Italie et en Gaule. Études d’archéologie et d’histoire*, (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 242), Rome 1998, p. 349–365; and more recently Rino Avesani, “Il re Pipino, il vescovo Annone e il *Versus* de Verona”, in: Caterina Gemma Brenzoni – Paolo Golinelli (ed.), *I Santi Fermo e Rustico: un culto e una chiesa in Verona. Per il 17^o centenario del loro martirio*, Verona 2004, p. 57–65.

- 20 “Magnus habitat in te rex Pipinus piissimus”: *Versus* de Verona, ed. Pighi (cit. n. 18), p. 154, v. 94.
- 21 The text is edited in: Giampaolo Marchi – Angelo Orlandi – Maurizio Brenzoni, *Il culto di San Zeno nel veronese*, Verona 1972, p. 18–23, under the title “*Sermo de vita sancti Zenonis*”.
- 22 “Octavus pastor et confessor Zeno martyr inclitus / qui Veronam predicando reduxit ad baptisimo”: *Versus* de Verona, ed. Pighi (cit. n. 18), p. 153, v. 45–46.
- 23 Elisa Anti, *Verona e il culto di san Zeno tra IV e XII secolo*, Verona 2009, p. 46–54.

thor of this work – as he himself affirms²⁴. Despite the difficulties in precisely dating this text, it seems it served as a base of information for the *Versus*'s author, whose verses about the holy bishop faithfully follow the data reported in the *Vita*. So in the Carolingian period a poet of ecclesiastical formation, closely linked to the cathedral's *scriptorium* and to the (Alamannian) bishops' cultural milieu, derived themes and episodes from this hagiographical text to celebrate Zeno as one of the most important reasons of prestige and glory for Verona: this appears as a clear sign of the Carolingian bishops' interest for the exploitation of local sanctity. Such exploitation, in the case of Zeno's memory and hagiography, seems to find an interesting confirmation in its manuscript tradition: the *Sermo de vita sancti Zenonis* was indeed copied in a small collection of hagiographical texts (mostly *passiones*) from North-Eastern Italy that Paolo Chiesa has cautiously assigned to the cathedral's *scriptorium* of Verona²⁵, and that was then sent to Reichenau, where it was inserted in a larger collection produced locally in the early IXth century²⁶. The Alamannian bishops, most probably Egino, therefore used the links they created between the two sides of the Alps to spread the hagiographical celebration of Zeno, maybe written under and for Egino himself, in their homelands. So they appear to have strongly invested on this saintly figure as a means to underline the prestige of their own see and to present themselves as the successors of a saint bishop.

But another hagiographical product composed in early medieval Verona seems to present strong similarities with the celebration of Zeno, and more generally with the strategies developed by the early

24 "Ecce de multis eius miraculis ego inutilis Coronatus Notarius, quod compertum tenui, in parvo conclusi, ne legentibus vel audientibus fastidium generarem": Coronati Notarii Sermo, ed. Marchi (cit. n. 21), p. 23.

25 Paolo Chiesa, "I manoscritti delle passioni aquileiesi e istriane", in: Emanuela Colombi (ed.), *Le passioni dei martiri aquileiesi e istriani* 1, Roma 2008, p. 105–125, esp. 109sq.

26 It is the ms Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. XXXII. For its description see Alfred Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*. Neudruck mit bibliographischen Nachträgen, 5/1: *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*. Die Pergamenthandschriften, Leipzig 1906 (rist. Wiesbaden 1970), p. 118–131.

Carolingian bishops of the town. It is the *Passio et translatio sanctorum Firmi et Rustici* (BHL 3020–3021)²⁷. This text relates Firmus and Rusticus's martyrdom in Verona and the journeys of their bodies after death through a route that, after Northafrican and Istrian stages, led them back to the town during the reign of the last Lombard kings, Desiderius and Adelchis (759–774). The merit of the translation is attributed to bishop Anno (760–780), who was then venerated as a saint himself in Verona²⁸. I decided to focus my paper on this text because it seems once again to testify the interest for the exploitation of the town's relics treasures expressed by the Alamannian bishops of Verona, within the strategies I was talking about before; and yet for the difficulties in its exact datation and interpretation a punctual analysis of the text, in its outer and inner elements, is in my opinion necessary.

The *Passio et translatio* relates both the exemplary death of the two saints, born in the region of Bergamo (a little westwards of Verona), and the journeys of their corpses after their martyrdom (see fig. 1). Firmus and Rusticus are captured in Milan and taken to the emperor Maximian (the context is that of the persecutions of 303–304) for the usual interrogation. Then they are assigned to *consiliarius* Anolinus, who transfers them to Verona for the execution. Firmus and Rusticus die here by beheading “extra muros civitatis Veronensis super ripam fluminis Athesis”²⁹, after having survived the classical series of tortures. Before the execution, they also receive the visit of Procolus, bishop of Verona, who brings them his solidarity but also wishes to become a martyr with them; but the imperial authorities release him as they consider him prey of senile dementia. The night after Firmus and

27 This text has been lastly edited in: Paolo Golinelli, “Passione e traslazione dei santi Fermo e Rustico”, in: Brenzoni – Golinelli (ed.), *I Santi Fermo e Rustico* (cit. n. 18), p. 13–23, esp. 13–19.

28 The bibliography about this bishop and his cult in Verona is quite poor. See Silvio Tonolli, Annone, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 1, Roma 1961, col. 1314–1317; Vittorio De Donato, Annone, in *DBI* (cit. n. 10, 3), Roma 1961, p. 356–357; and Paolo Golinelli, “Il Cristianesimo nella Venetia altomedievale. Diffusione, istituzionalizzazione e forme di religiosità dalle origini al secolo X”, in: Andrea Castagnetti – Gianmaria Varanini (ed.), *Il Veneto nel Medioevo*, vol. 1: Dalla “Venetia” alla Marca Veronese 1, Verona 1989, p. 237–331, esp. 279–281.

29 *Passio et translatio*, ed. Golinelli (cit. n. 27), p. 16.

Rusticus's death, a group of seven unidentified merchants recovers their bodies and transfers them to Northern Africa, "in Cartaginensem provinciam in urbem que dicitur Precones"³⁰ – a completely unknown town; the author shows here that the geography of Northern Africa and the region of Carthage is not at all clear in his mind³¹... After some centuries an Istrian merchant named Terentius finds them in that place, as his son Gaudentius, possessed by a demon, is made free from evil by the fortuitous touch of the saints' grave. Terentius buys the bodies and transfers them to Capodistria, on the Istrian coast. Time passes. During the kingdom of the Lombard *piissimi reges* Desiderius and Adelchis (second half of the VIIIth century), the Lombard army intervenes in Istria to repel a raid by the Avars. In that occasion the Lombards are informed of the presence of Firmus and Rusticus's relics, which they provide to transfer to Trieste. Such news come to bishop Anno of Verona's ears, who travels to Trieste together with a large delegation of his see's clergy and people. He buys the relics for a very high amount of money, then he transfers them with great solemnity – the scene is one of *adventus* – to Verona, where they are placed in a basilica "non longe foras muros civitatis"³². During the journey, the bodies show several times their miraculous power, mostly curing the ill. The text ends with the date of the saints' martyrdom and feastday, 9th august.

30 Ibid., p. 17.

31 He also defines Carthage as an *insula*.

32 Ibid., p. 19.

Foreign Bishops Using Local Saints

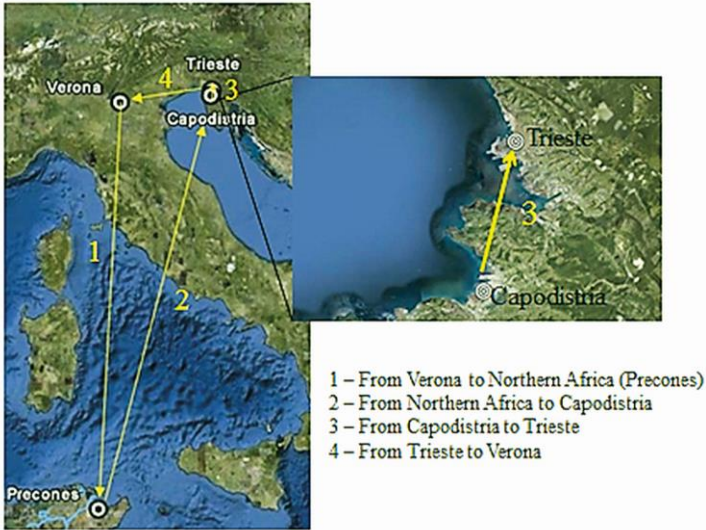


Fig. 1. The journeys of the saints' bodies according to the *Passio et translatio*. (Picture by Francesco Veronese, based on Google Earth)

The *Passio et translatio* of Firmus and Rusticus, as its title suggests, is composed of two quite different parts: the one concerning the two martyrs' passion and death (*Passio*), which ends with the first displacement of the relics to Northern Africa; and the one that refers the stages of their journey back to Verona, passing for Istria (*Translatio*)³³. Differences of literary style and content longlastingly led scholars to consider them as two different texts, composed at different times. The *Passio* was dated to the V–VIth century, so it was considered much older than the *Translatio*, usually dated to the years immediately after the relics' arrival in Verona³⁴. Recent research has questioned and

33 This distinction explains why the editors of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* gave two different numbers (3020 and 3021) to the two parts.

34 That was the opinion expressed by one of the first editors of the text, Scipione Maffei: see *idem*, *Istoria diplomatica*, Mantova 1727, p. 301–302. It has been from time to time reaffirmed until recent times; see for instance Nicholas Everett, *The Hagiography of Lombard Italy*, in: *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), p. 49–126, esp. 88–89, who

denied such reconstruction, and has most of all affirmed the close link between the two parts, which should have been written at the same time³⁵. The afore mentioned differences have been more convincingly explained on the base of the different hagiographical nature of the two parts (a *Passio* and a *Translatio*), and of the different subjects they treat: a martyrdom and a series of relics' displacements³⁶. This simultaneousness involved that also the datation of the *Passio* had to be lowered, and posed, just like the *Translatio*, after the relics' transfer; that is, at least to the second half of the VIIIth century, during the kingdom of Desiderius and Adelchis (759–774). So this can be considered as the term *post quem* for the datation of the text.

The most reliable term *ante quem* is given by its manuscript tradition. We have at least twenty manuscripts of the *Passio et translatio*, which were produced in very different places, covering a very large area – almost the whole extent of the Carolingian empire³⁷; that seems to indicate that this text knew a quite high fortune and diffusion. However the manuscript witnesses are divided between the two versions of the text, BHL 3020–3021, the oldest one (and the one considered in my study), and BHL 3022–3023, testified from the XIth century and perfectly matching with the first one in its content – even if not entirely in its form³⁸. Moreover, one needs to underline that not all of the

talks about “other, later redactions of the *passio* [that] relate that the bodies were later transferred to the city of Precones in Carthage and hidden by angels”.

35 Golinelli, *Il Cristianesimo* (cit. n. 27), p. 281–283; Elisa Anti, *Verona ed il culto dei martiri Fermo e Rustico fino al XII secolo*, in: *Studi Storici* Luigi Simeoni 52 (2002), p. 239–274.

36 Golinelli, *Il Cristianesimo* (cit. n. 28), p. 281. The author has reaffirmed his positions more recently in: id., *Passione e traslazione* (cit. n. 27).

37 For a list of the extant manuscripts of the *Passio et translatio* see *ibid.*, p. 20.

38 This text is only edited in *Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, 2, Antwerpen 1735, p. 419–423. It only reprises the text of BHL 3020–3021 verbatim, sometimes adding short sentences or expressions in order to emphasize Firmus and Rusticus's sanctity. From this point of view it is maybe possible to consider it as a rewriting by expansion of the original text, following the methods described in Monique Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, (*Hagiologia* 4), Turnhout 2005, p. 109–111. For the datation proposal of this text to the Xth–XIth century see Paolo Tomea, “L'agiografia dell'Italia settentrionale (950–1130)”, in: Guy Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies. Histoire interna-*

manuscripts reporting BHL 3020–3021 present the second part of the text, the *Translatio*, whereas the *Passio* is always there; to show a particular lack of interest for the *Translatio* are the manuscripts produced outside Verona and its immediate hinterland. This aspect was also indicated in the past to support the thesis of a chronologically different composition of the two parts, but it finds a more convincing explanation, once again, in their differences of hagiographical nature and concrete liturgical use³⁹. As the feast of Firmus and Rusticus's translation in Verona had a very local character, those who were interested in importing the two martyrs' memory and liturgical celebration would only need the *Passio*; they had no reason to celebrate the translation of the saints to a place they didn't live in. The *Translatio* had a real liturgical use only in Verona: indeed the manuscript witnesses of the text about Firmus and Rusticus produced there (and conserved until now) always report its two parts. From this point of view, the oldest extant codex, a manuscript produced and still conserved in Saint Gall between the end of the IXth and the early Xth century which only presents the *Passio*, can nonetheless be considered as a chronological limit for the composition of the text as a whole⁴⁰. But Hraban Maur's martyrology, composed towards the mid IXth century, seems to pose an even higher term *ante quem*. In the *notitia* about 9th august, Firmus and Rusticus's feastday, the abbot of Fulda traced a short account of their death, referring details he evidently read in the *Passio*, such as the references to the emperor Maximian, to his counsellor Anolinus and to the place of their martyrdom, Verona⁴¹. All of these references are also present in the *Passio*, and Hraban Maur could hardly know them without the text. Even if it is always necessary to consider the possibility of losses of older evidence, one can underline that the only extant source talk-

tionale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550, vol. 3, Turnhout 2001, p. 99–178, esp. 121, n. 48.

39 See once again Golinelli, *Il Cristianesimo* (cit. n. 27), p. 281, and id., *Passione e traslazione* (cit. n. 27), p. 21.

40 Ms. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 566. For its description see Matthias von Scarpattetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, 1/4, Wiesbaden 2003², p. 61–65. The manuscript has been fully digitalised within the project *Codices Electronici Sangallenses* of the Freiburg University's Mediävistisches Institut and can be read online at the address <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/csg/0566>.

ing about Firmus and Rusticus that certainly dates before the second half of the VIIIth century, the so-called Hieronymian martyrology, neither refers anything about their death, nor mentions Verona, although it mentions them at 9th august⁴². To Hraban Maur one can also trace back an even earlier witness of some kind of cult for these two saints in the abbey of Fulda, if not of the local presence of the *Passio et translatio*. In 818, in order to celebrate the end of imposing architectural works in the monastic basilica, he composed a poetic work where all the relics conserved in the local church's altars are listed. Among them we also find a mention of Firmus and Rusticus's relics, together with those of the already mentioned Zeno⁴³ – a further proof of the work of diffusion of Zeno's cult towards the regions on the North of the Alps by the Alamannian bishops of Verona. We don't know when these relics were taken to Fulda; nor we can assume that alongside with them a copy of the hagiographical text travelled to the other side of the Alps. What seems certain is that the echo of the relics' translation to Verona had already found some sort of diffusion north of the Alps; it was most probably vehiculated by the well known and attested communication channels which linked the two sides of the Alps, and particularly Verona, Reichenau and Fulda, all places that in the first half of the IXth century mutually exchanged men, information, ideas, texts and manuscripts⁴⁴. We have already, though briefly, seen such channels at work for the spread of Zeno's cult, hagiography (the *libellus* inserted in

41 Hraban Maur's martyrology has been edited by J. McCulloh in *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium - De Computo*, Turnhout 1979, (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 44), p. 1-161; the *notitia* about Firmus and Rusticus is at p. 78.

42 See the edition of the *Martyrologium Hieronimianum* edited by Hippolyte Delehaye in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, 2/2, Bruxelles 1931, p. 427.

43 For this text, known as *Tituli Fuldenses*, see Hrabani Mauri *Carmina*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, vol. 2, Berlin 1884, p. 205-216; Firmus, Rusticus and Zeno are mentioned in the *titulus* XIV, v. 8, p. 208.

44 For instance Walahfrid Strabo, monk and then abbot of Reichenau, spent some years at Fulda, studying under Hraban Maur. About the connections between Verona, Reichenau and Fulda see Walter Berschin, *Eremus und insula. St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter - Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987; Santoni, *Scrivere documenti* (cit. n. 12); Janneke Raijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, Cambridge 2012, p. 189-190; and the bibliography cited at n. 9.

Reichenau's hagiographical collection) and now, thanks to Hraban Maur's witness, even relics. But also Firmus and Rusticus appear to have passed through very similar processes of diffusion, mediated by their cult, their hagiographical celebration and their earthly remains; and through the same channels.

Let us return for now to the question of the datation of the *Passio et translatio*. The chronological limits we have seen define a period for the composition of the text which goes from 759 (when king Desiderius associated to the throne his son Adelchis, as they are both indicated as kings in the *Passio et translatio*) to 856, when Hraban Maur died – that is, the last possible date of composition for his martyrology, usually attributed to the early 50s. This period includes both the second half of the VIIIth century and the first half of the IXth, but, which is more important, includes both the last years of the Lombard kingdom of Italy and the early times of the Carolingian domain. We have seen that the Carolingian local agents, such as the Alamannian bishops, strongly underlined the characters of continuity between these two stages. Moreover, scholars have recently and correctly rethought the importance of the passage of 774, underlining the inaccuracy of attributing to a political turning point deep changes in the culture, identity and mechanisms of the local society⁴⁵. Nonetheless, these scholars have also examined and emphasized the role of the Carolingian conquest and of the changed political horizon in a whole series of transformations and developments that took place in that period in the former Lombard kingdom: in the production of documents and laws; in the writing of history and the shaping of memory; in the economical mechanisms⁴⁶. Furthermore, we have seen that in Verona, as well as in other Northern Italian towns, after 774 men coming from beyond the Alps replaced the local Lombard élites as bishops and counts, and proceeded to the formulation of the identity strategies I briefly illustrated before. The periods *ante* and *post* 774 therefore represent two possible but quite different contexts for the composition of

45 Stefano Gasparri, "Introduzione", in: id. (ed.), 774. Ipotesi su una transizione (cit. n. 2) p. 78sq.

46 See the contributions by François Boucard, Claudio Azzara, Germana Gandino and Alessia Rovelli in Gasparri (ed.), 774. Ipotesi su una transizione (cit. n. 2).

the *Passio et translatio sanctorum Firmi et Rustici*. To try to better understand this text and its purposes, I think it is necessary to define if it is a Lombard or a Carolingian product; that is, to define with higher precision its time of composition.

Further elements from this point of view, and to proceed to the interpretation of the text, can of course emerge from an analysis of its contents.

The internal element of the text that has mostly attracted scholars' attention is that the relics' transfer is placed during the times of kings Desiderius and Adelchis, for whom the author spends words of praise (*piissimi reges*); and, in a general way, the important role of the Lombards. The protagonist himself, one must remember, is the Lombard Anno, bishop of a Lombard Verona. The insertion of the translation within a Lombard narrative context, that the author exalts and praises, has been considered for long time as unfitting with a composition of the text after the Carolingian conquest of the *regnum Langobardorum*: the new rulers, one assumed, would have no way allowed that one may talk about their predecessors with such good words⁴⁷. Datation proposals were therefore referred to the 760s or early 770s, and in any case before 774. Very recent studies have equally questioned this interpretation on the ground of another source about the transfer of Firmus and Rusticus's relics⁴⁸. It is the already mentioned *Versus de Verona*, composed in Verona between the end of the VIIIth century and the beginnings of the IXth, even if its datation is once again discussed. However the reference to king Pippin of Italy, whom the text presents as living, operating and staying in Verona, seems to pose it unequivocally within the chronological limits of his kingdom, 781–810⁴⁹. That is not a very

47 Anti, Verona ed il culto (cit. n. 35), p. 265–266, and Golinelli, Passione e traslazione (cit. n. 27), p. 21.

48 Giorgia Vocino, Santi e luoghi santi al servizio della politica carolingia (774–877). Vitae e passioni del regno italico nel contesto europeo, Ph.D. thesis, rel. Stefano Gasparri – François Dolbeau, University of Ca' Foscari - Venice, 2010, p. 228–240.

49 The attribution of the status of *magnus* to Pippin in the text led in the past to propose a datation of the *Versus* after 796, when the king defeated the Avars and would have so achieved that qualification thanks to his military prowess: see Luigi Simeoni, *Veronae Rhythmica Descriptio, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 2/1, Bologna 1918, p. XXIII. However it is in my opinion too weak an argument to reduce the date

precise datation, but for what concerns my discourse it is a sufficient starting point. In this poem eighteen lines are consecrated to Firmus and Rusticus's story, their martyrdom in Verona, their translation beyond the sea, their recover by Anno, their coming back to town⁵⁰. This passage ends with a praise of bishop Anno, *presul inclitus*, and the saints themselves. All these data can be found in the *Passio et translatio*, too; only the final praises are missing in the hagiographical text. The two texts also present a common biblical quotation describing the fragrances and incenses offered to the relics after their setting in their new resting place⁵¹. Despite this common feature, some scholars have denied a direct relationship between them: they should rather relate the same events with very similar words, but in an independent way⁵². Others, on the contrary, have argued a close connection between the two texts, also proposing that the author of the *Versus* could find inspiration for this part about Firmus and Rusticus in the hagiographical text – which would be therefore older⁵³. But that's not what is important to me. The *Versus*, talking about the translation of Firmus and Rusticus's bodies, equally mentions the Lombard kings Desiderius and Adelchis, even if it only defines them as “principes reges”, without any praise. A praise is instead addressed to the equally Lombard bishop Anno. A text written during the early Carolingian domain over Italy and coming from the cultural milieu of the Alamannian bishops of Verona attributes the merit of the translation to the same Lombard character mentioned in the *Translatio* without any apparent problem; moreover, there is no problem to present him as a glory for Verona. The text also remembers the last Lombard kings, just before the mention of the Carolingian king Pippin, indirectly presented as their legitimate successor. In the case of the *Versus* no apparent incompatibility seems to emerge between the memory, and also the celebration, of important Lombard figures and a textual composition dating after 774.

of composition to the years 796–810, so I prefer to consider the wider limits of 781–810.

50 *Versus de Verona*, ed. Pighi (cit. n. 18), v. 67–84.

51 In both cases the authors mixed two biblical quotations, Ex 30, 34 and Ps 44, 8–10.

52 Anti, *Verona ed il culto* (cit. n. 35), p. 265.

53 Avesani, *Il re Pipino* (cit. n. 19), p. 61.

The same kind of interpretation could therefore be proposed for the *Passio et translatio*, whose words about Desiderius, Adelchis and Anno are not unfitting *stricto sensu* with a date of composition after the Carolingian conquest. That does not necessarily imply a denial of at least the possibility it could have been written earlier, in the late Lombard period; but that is enough to at least propose the possibility of a composition in the early Carolingian times.

The text's inner data can also be examined in order to understand how it was composed, and particularly its sources and models. From this point of view, the *Passio* in particular has been largely modelled on the ground of more ancient hagiographical texts, dating to late antiquity or the earliest centuries of the early middle ages (Vth-VIth century), composed in Milan. They are the *Passio* of Nabor and Felix (BHL 6029)⁵⁴, from which Firmus and Rusticus's hagiographer gets episodes and characters; and the *Passio* of Victor (BHL 8580)⁵⁵, which he transferred almost verbatim in many parts of his text, simply replacing the names of the saints and conjugating verbs in the plural⁵⁶. Moreover some passages and themes both in the *Passio* and in the *Translatio* can equally be found in a series of hagiographical texts from Aquileia, such as the *Passiones* of Hermacoras and Fortunatus (BHL 3838) and of Hilarius and Tatian (BHL 3881)⁵⁷. The texts from Milan are certainly older than the *Passio et translatio*, and so the latter's author would have used them as his textual models. The chronological relationship between this text and those from Aquileia is instead more

54 This text is edited in Angelo Paredi, *La passione dei santi martiri Nabore e Felice*, in: *Ambrosius 36* (1960), p. 81-96: 88-96. About these saints and their cult in Milan also see Enrico Cattaneo, *Il culto dei martiri Nabore e Felice e le vicende delle loro reliquie*, *ibid.*, p. 97-134.

55 The only edition of this text was published in *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, 7, Antwerpen 1688, p. 427-430. New editions of these two milanese *passiones* are being prepared by Laura Rossi in the context of a Ph.D. work supervised by Francesco Scorza Barcellona at the University of Roma Tre.

56 A comparative schedule of the common parts of these three texts has been prepared by Anti, Verona ed il culto (cit. n. 35), p. 258-261.

57 Both these texts have been recently reedited in Colombi (ed.), *Le passioni* (cit. n. 24), respectively at p. 171-188 (*Passio Hermachorae et Fortunati*, ed. Paolo Chiesa) and p. 304-320 (*Passio Helari et Tatiani*, ed. Marianna Cerno).

uncertain, as recent studies on the Aquileian *passiones* have demonstrated that the Carolingian times, when their oldest extant manuscript witnesses were produced, are the *terminus ante quem* for their composition⁵⁸; which means they could be previous, but also contemporary to the *Passio et translatio*. In both cases, however, the text from Verona and those from Aquileia appear somehow connected, and their authors seem to express the will to put their works in respective dialogue – even if we can't say what side instituted such dialogue. The passages of themes, *topoi* and also entire sections between one hagiographical text and another is one of the most common features of the hagiographical production; but right for that reason the choice of some models rather than other ones can say much about the hagiographical stuff that our author could consult and the reasons of his writing. The references to Milan in the *Passio et translatio* find several pendants in the literary texts produced in Verona in that period. And most of all, once again, in the *Versus de Verona*, which was composed using as a model a similar but older poem written in Milan towards the late years 730s, the *Versum de Mediolano*⁵⁹; its only extant manuscript witness, produced and still conserved in Verona and dating to the end of the IXth or to the early Xth century, was surely based on an older one, which most probably was consulted by the *Versus*'s author⁶⁰. But this is not the only link that connects Milan and Verona in the *Versus*. Among the reasons of glory of the city its author recalls, he also lists the saints and relics preserved in the town's churches and protecting it. In this list we also find the most important saints worshipped in Mi-

58 Emanuela Colombi, "Caratteristiche delle passioni aquileiesi e istriane: un primo bilancio", in: ead. (ed.), *Le passioni* (cit. n. 25), p. 49–104, esp. 102.

59 This text was also inserted by Pighi in his edition of the *Versus de Verona* (cit. n. 18), p. 145–147.

60 Ms Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XC. See Giampaolo Marchi (ed), *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona*. Catalogo descrittivo redatto da don Antonio Spagnolo, Verona 1996, p. 163–167, and Gilles Gerard Meersseman, *Il codice XC della Biblioteca di Verona, "Archivio Veneto"* 104 (1975), p. 11–44. Francesco Stella, *La poesia carolingia latina a tema biblico*, (Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino 9), Spoleto 1993, p. 424–426, proposed that this code could derive from a collection of rhythmical texts composed in Sankt Gallen; but his thesis seems to be denied by the presence of the *Versum*.

lan: Nazarius and Celsus (to which a church in Verona was dedicated), Victor (whose *Passio* was one of the models of the *Passio et translatio*, and was therefore known in Verona), Gervasius and Protasius, and obviously Ambrose⁶¹. The reasons and purposes of such links to Milan's textual production and hagiographical tradition should no doubt be better investigated. One thing appears nonetheless clear. Verona, or better those parts of its society involved in the production of the *Passio et translatio* and the *Versus* – I will come back on that very soon –, seems to express the will to establish some kind of dialogue with Milan, and also, one may argue, to present itself as Milan's heir from a cultural as well as spiritual point of view. But this operation takes place in a moment in which Milan is strongly supported by the Carolingian authorities in order to make it one of their political and religious centres in the kingdom of Italy. The baptism of one of Charlemagne's daughters by Milan's bishop Thomas; the institution of a monastic community in Saint Ambrose's Basilica; king Pippin's (whose frequent presence in Verona was strongly praised in the *Versus*) burial in Milan; the prominent role that some sources assign to Milan's bishop Anselm in Bernard's revolt of 817; and the dedication of the new cathedral in 836: all of these elements have been read as signals of Milan's and its bishops' renewed centrality in the kingdom's political life⁶². Establishing a dialogue with Milan meant in that period to establish a dialogue with the most important and powerful bishopric in Carolingian Northern Italy. All these data could maybe suggest that Verona was willing to open some sort of competition with Milan; but before that, and in order to question such thesis, one has to examine the messages and the possible producers of Firmus and Rusticus's hagiography.

Nonetheless one last textual element needs to be underlined in my opinion. One more theme also associates the *Passio et translatio* and the *Vita* of the bishop Zeno, composed, as we have seen, towards the end of the VIIIth century and almost immediately diffused to the North of the Alps. In the episode of Terentius's son's healing, the hagiogra-

61 *Versus de Verona*, ed. Pighi (cit. n. 18), v. 63–64.

62 Vocino, Santi (cit. n. 48), p. 28–59. Also see Ross Balzaretto, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose. Monks and Society in Carolingian Milan*, Turnhout 2006.

pher says that the evil spirit tormenting the boy explicitly requests the intervention of the two martyrs, the only ones by which it will accept to be sent out⁶³. This is certainly a very frequent *topos*, but it also appears in Coronatus Notarius's work: Zeno is the only one who can set emperor Gallienus's daughter free from the possession of a demon, as the latter himself claims⁶⁴. It is impossible to say if there really was a passage of ideas and themes between these two texts, and in what direction. However, this appears to me as one more element linking Firmus and Rusticus's hagiography to the cultural production of Verona's episcopal milieu of the early Carolingian times. A quite thin connection, I must recognize.

The use of such diverse and rich hagiographical stuff from Milan and Aquileia as a storehouse of models for the composition of the *Passio et translatio*, as well as the many biblical quotations (Exodus, Psalms, Gospels), suggest to assign its author to an ecclesiastic milieu. This is not at all surprising, of course. But one also has to underline that the abundance of textual passages from older hagiographical texts implies that the author could access and consult a quite important corpus, that is, a library where he could find both the Bible and hagiographical collections. The mind runs fast to the library that Verona's Bishop and cathedral chapter had at their disposal since long time, that is, the Biblioteca Capitolare, attested since the VIth century⁶⁵. It was a place where the book patrimony they needed to solve all the functions connected to the bishop and the chapter was stocked and preserved, and where an active *scriptorium* produced always new books. Its activity in the early Carolingian times has been indeed

63 "Nisi te Firmus et Rusticus eripuerint a me, nullo modo relinqueris, sed meo te iure dominioque tenebo": *Passio et translatio*, ed. Golinelli (cit. n. 27), p. 17.

64 "Non egrediar a corpore isto, nisi Zeno episcopus venerit, ac per ipsius imperium egrediar": *Coronati Notarii Sermo*, ed. Marchi (cit. n. 21), p. 20.

65 Giampaolo Marchi, "Breve discorso storico sulla Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona", in: id. (ed.), *I manoscritti* (cit. n. 60), p. 9–26; Nicoletta Giové Marchioli, "Caratteri e trasformazioni della cultura scritta nel V secolo", in: Paolo Delogu – Stefano Gasparri (ed.), *Le trasformazioni del V secolo. L'Italia, i barbari e l'Occidente romano. Atti del Seminario di Poggibonsi, 18–20 ottobre 2007, (Seminari internazionali del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo 2), Turnhout 2010 p. 679–703, esp. 696sq.*

strongly underlined; it was supported and strengthened by the connections with the other side of the Alps I alluded before, and by the will and work of the Alamannian bishops of Verona, the real protagonists of these connections⁶⁶.

Many elements of its content also appear to assign the *Passio et translatio* to the bishops' milieu. As I said, the author of the relics' transfer is bishop Anno. Moreover the *Passio* refers the episode about bishop Proculus, a well-known and since long time venerated episcopal figure in Verona⁶⁷; he tries, the text says, to become a martyr as well as Firmus and Rusticus, but he fails. This episode does not derive from the hagiographical models used to write the text: it is a wholly original production of the author's mind. Despite the negative result, or maybe for that reason, this passage has been interpreted as a justification for the absence, in Verona's sanctorale, of a martyr bishop, a saintly figure one finds in the cultural and hagiographical traditions of many other cities⁶⁸. The fact that such absence could pose some problems, or at least be felt as problematic, seems to be confirmed by a tradition indicating Zeno himself as a martyr. The origins of such legend are unknown: the oldest extant sources reporting it are Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*⁶⁹ and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*⁷⁰, which just attribute to the bishop the qualification of martyr, but don't indicate either their sources or the way Zeno would have been killed; but most of all these texts were obviously not written in Verona. Nonetheless this tradition appears to be attested in Verona for the first time right in the early Carolingian times, and once again in the *Versus*, a real syn-

66 Santoni, *Scrivere documenti* (cit. n. 13).

67 About this figure and his cult in Verona see Elisa Anti, *Il culto di san Procolo fino al XII secolo e la Vita sancti Proculi episcopi et martyris*, "Annuario Storico Zenoniano" 19 (2002), p. 21–28, and the contributions collected in Pier Paolo Brugnoli (ed.), *La chiesa di San Procolo in Verona. Un recupero e una restituzione*, Verona 1988.

68 Anti, *Verona ed il culto* (cit. n. 35), p. 268–269.

69 *Gregorii Magni Dialogi*, ed. Albert De Vogüé, Roma 2000, 3, 19, p. 270–272. Gregory relates here the famous miracle of the waters: during a ruinous flood of the Athesis, the people of Verona took shelter in S. Zeno's basilica; the miraculous power of the saint stopped the water at the church's doors.

70 Paul the Deacon, *Storia dei Longobardi*, ed. Lidia Capo, Milano 1992, 3, 23, p. 152–155, where the author takes up the miracle referred by Gregory the Great.

thesis of the local cultural production and identity elaborations of that period⁷¹. One must recognize that the idea of Zeno's martyrdom was not uncritically accepted even in Verona: Coronatus's *Sermo de vita Zenonis* doesn't indicate the bishop as a martyr. However, the attempt to insist and invest on the figure of a martyr bishop seems to create another link between the *Passio et translatio* and the hagiographical products of early Carolingian Verona. The message expressed in the episode about Procolus appears to be that a martyr bishop had and wanted to be there, but dull-minded imperial authorities ruined everything. However one may read these traditions about wannabe martyrs, Procolus's episode seems in any case to express an evident message favourable to the bishop. These elements, as well as the highly probable use of hagiographical stuff preserved in the library of the chapter for the composition of the *Passio et translatio*, strongly suggest that the latter's author could have been closely linked to the bishops' cultural milieu.

This thesis finds further support if one examines the identity messages transmitted by the *Passio et translatio*; they can also help us to understand what bishops were involved in Firmus and Rusticus's hagiographical celebration: the last Lombard bishops or the early Carolingian (and Alamannian) ones?

Some of them have already emerged. The celebration of the Lombard kingdom and bishop Anno's central role in the translation, that previously had given arguments to propose a high and pre-Carolingian datation of the text, have now been questioned, and reinterpreted in the sense of an at least possible compatibility with a composition in the Carolingian period. The use of hagiographical models from Milan and Aquileia suggests a close and conscious connection between the latter and Verona. The narrative development of the text itself seems to allude to a sort of *translatio sanctitatis* between Milan and Verona: Firmus and Rusticus are arrested in the former, but they are later transferred and killed in the latter. Such connection may probably be posed not only between two (three, with Aquileia) cities, but most of all between episcopal sees, as the *Passio et translatio* aims to celebrate

71 Cit. n. 22.

the local bishop. Lastly, we have seen Proculus's failed and ideal martyrdom, one of the highest points of that celebration within the text.

But Firmus and Rusticus's hagiography also vehiculates other messages, in my opinion. Their protagonist is once again the bishop. In the *Translatio*, he executes the relics' translation personally, but "una cum sacerdotibus, clericis, universisque populorum agminibus"⁷²: he is escorted to Trieste and back by his clergy and the people of Verona. The scene of the relics' arrival in the town, certainly built on the ground of classical images of imperial and relics' *adventus*⁷³, is the occasion for the gathering of the whole urban population around the bishop in a moment of general joy; so its relationship with the chief of its local Church seems to be strongly, although indirectly, emphasized. These passages have been read, correctly I think, as a recall, or better as an admonishment to social and urban unity under the superior guide and authority of the bishop⁷⁴. This message was most probably addressed, as the text itself suggests, to the episcopal clergy ("una cum sacerdotibus, clericis") and to local aristocracies (the *universa populorum agmina*); that is, that part of the urban society one can identify as the local élites, still equipped, all along the period we are considering, with consistent grounds of social, economical and political power, even though they were more and more cut off from the highest local public offices after the Carolingian conquest. The *Passio et translatio* therefore appears as a tool by the means of which the bishops of Verona addressed these levels of the urban society to ask for their cooperation, and also to propose themselves as their pivots and references within the local society; that seems to be the purpose of the literary memory, or maybe construction, of a moment in which harmony between the different social groups of the city allowed them to gain a new, precious treasure of sanctity, also enthusiastically celebrated as such in the *Versus de Verona*.

72 *Passio et translatio*, ed. Golinelli (cit. n. 27), p. 18-19.

73 For a general survey of *adventus* scenes in hagiographical texts see Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 33), Turnhout 1979, p. 66-77.

74 See Anti, *Verona ed il culto* (cit. n. 35), p. 269.

Confident relationship with the Lombard times, maybe in order to underline the continuity between that past and the present; references to a city and a bishopric (Milan) that were going to become a powerful *sedes regia* and the centre of the Carolingian dynastic memory in Italy, and to the two archbishoprics of Northern Italy (Milan and Aquileia); image of the bishop as the central reference for the local society. I concentrated myself on these aspects because I think they perfectly fit with the communication and even self-promotional strategies that recent historiography has assigned to the early Carolingian bishops of Verona. These figures, coming from beyond the Alps, were charged with prestigious and important roles in the social and political scene of the Lombard kingdom, a central but delicate scene in the already *de facto* (and soon later also namely) imperial horizon of the Carolingian power. Most of all, their task was that of transmitting the identity messages elaborated at the highest levels of the Carolingian cultural milieu, but also of formulating and proposing messages of their own, in order to promote the acknowledgement of the Carolingian mechanisms of power by the local élites of the kingdom. The messages I tried to focus on in my proposal of interpretation of the *Passio et translatio sanctorum Firmi et Rustici* really seem to match with these bishops' political and social interests and needs; so I think it is useful to present and underline more deeply such correspondences and matches in the final part of my paper.

The Carolingian kings assigned these transalpine agents to contexts within which they were initially strangers, and where they needed before all to be recognized as holders of political power and social interlocutors; they had the task to intermediate and coordinate the relationships between those contexts and the central administrative structures of the kingdom and of the empire. In order to fulfil that task, the bishops of Verona operated following two basic strategies. On the one hand, they attuned themselves to the general instructions they received from the upper political authorities; that is, they coordinated the insertion of Verona's local (and, at least initially, Lombard) élites in the Frankish domain's social and political mechanisms and in the logics of the relationships between its centre(s) and its peripheries. For

that purpose they needed to elaborate and propose to these élites a range of identity messages to support such integration in a wider horizon than that, Lombard, they were accustomed to. Despite what some scholars thought not so many years ago, their strategy was not based on an attempt to obliterate the Lombard past and identity and to substitute them with an one-sided celebration of the Frankish power. On the contrary, they insisted on the continuity between before and after (774), between the Lombard past and the Carolingian present. The latter, in their vision, had no intention to cancel that past; it aimed instead to present itself as its legitimate heir and successor. This strategy guided the formulation, in Verona and elsewhere, of identity messages addressed to the local Lombard élites; messages of continuity with the condition before 774. The Carolingians had all the interest to present themselves as the legitimate successors of the Lombard kingdom, as the stability of their power over Italy passed through their ability to gather the local élites' consensus. Control over local élites and the ability to stress their relationships with them in a continuous game of aggregations, disgregations and competitions was always one of the main elements of the Carolingian power⁷⁵.

This choice of celebrated continuity also guided, in Verona, the investment on a new wave of veneration for the cult of local saints, which was also expressed by the means of hagiography. That obviously involved the ancient ones, such as the holy bishop Zeno: we have seen that an hagiographical *Vita* consecrated to him was written between the end of the VIIIth and the beginnings of the IXth century. But in the same years another work, a short poem (*Rythmus*), was also dedicated to Zeno⁷⁶: a further expression of the new attention for this figure. In

75 Among an extremely rich and always growing bibliography see Innes, *State* (cit. n. 8); Janet L. Nelson, "How Carolingians created consensus", in: W. Falkowski – Yves Sassier (ed.), *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, Perspectives, champs de recherches. Actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 18–20 novembre 2004*, (*Culture et société médiévales* 18), Turnhout 2009, p. 67–81; and Marios Costambeys – Matthew Innes – Simon MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2011, parts 4 and 6.

76 The *Rythmus de sancto Zenone*, preserved in a very lacunous way, is published in Giuliano Sala, *Il culto di san Zeno nei secoli VIII e IX*, in: *Annuario Storico Zenoniano* 7 (1990), p. 19–36, esp. 32–34.

the *Versus de Verona*, the whole past of the town, since the Roman times, is recovered to celebrate its glory, most of all from a religious point of view, and used to further emphasize the continuity with the Carolingian present, a sort of accomplishment of that glorious past. This picture presents very important similarities with some of the messages we can read in the *Passio et Translatio*. Its recall and praise of the Lombard Desiderius, Adelchis and Anno seems perfectly fitting with such strategy of continuity, that one observes in the *Versus de Verona*, too; and from a more general point of view the whole celebration of the two martyrs appears perfectly similar to that of Zeno. Not only the ancient saints could have been recovered to support these strategies, but also the recently acquired ones – or the ones who were presented as recently acquired.

This is how the Alamannian bishops of Verona acted to fulfil their tasks as imperial agents and public officers. But they also had interests and spaces of action of their own. What is even more important, they had their own ambitions and purposes, and they elaborated precise strategies to pursue them. As I said, the bishopric of Verona was certainly a very important one: it was a prestigious and powerful see; it was linked to the other side of the Alps; it also was central for its geographical position, at the intersections of north-south and east-west route axis. All these elements gave grounds for celebrating the glory and fame of Verona's bishopric, as we have seen in the *Versus*. One must also keep in mind that such celebration equally strengthened the social prestige and political role of the person from time to time called to sit on that see. For at least two of the Alamannian bishops of Verona attested in the first half of the IXth century we are documented about the prosecution of their political careers after or simultaneously to their Veronese stage. Ratold, in the last years of his life and bishopric – between the '20s and the '30s of the century –, was often assigned with charges of imperial *missus* and judge both in Italy and in other regions of the empire⁷⁷. He also appears as one of the most loyal followers of Louis the Pious even in the years of the wars between the latter and his

77 Hlawitschka, Ratold (cit. n. 10); Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, Sigmaringen 1997, p. 382.

sons (833–834); he had a decisive role in the liberation of empress Judith, kept prisoner by prince Lothar in Tortona, in 834⁷⁸. His successor Noting, already bishop of Vercelli, led the Church of Verona between 840 and 844, and was then bishop of Brescia⁷⁹; a very important figure in the cultural scene of those years, he had close and longlasting contacts by letter with Hraban Maur and Incmar of Reims. To the latter he sent a manuscript reporting bishop Zeno's works, at the beginning of which Coronatus's *Vita* was copied⁸⁰: another witness of the Alamanian bishops of Verona's effort to diffuse the knowledge, the cult and the hagiography of this saint to the other side of the Alps. But most of all Noting was always closely connected with Eberhard, marquis of Friuli, one of the most powerful men in the Italian kingdom at the mid IXth century⁸¹.

Verona's episcopal see was therefore an important and prestigious career stage, and, together with their personal network of relationships, constituted one of the elements that allowed its bishops to advance in their career of public officers and members of the imperial élites. It is not impossible, in my opinion, that the effort to celebrate local sanctity may also be connected to that. But most of all that could explain the continuous and potentially competitive dialogue with Milan and Aquileia that our sources let us perceive. The use of a Milanese poetical model for the composition of the *Versus*, its recall of Milanese saints protecting Verona and its mention of Aquileia as the first of the cities praising Verona are but some of these literary links. Quite striking are also the similarities between the investments on the cults of Zeno in Verona and, in the very same period, of Ambrose in Milan. The latter, curiously almost contemporary to the former during his life, was

78 Carl I. Hammer, *From ducatus to regnum. Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and early Carolingians*, Turnhout 2007, p. 327–337.

79 For bibliographical information about Noting see Giancarlo Andenna, *Notingo*, in *DBI*, 78, Roma 2013, p. 778–781.

80 This manuscript perished in a fire in 1775. See Marchi's introduction to his edition of the *Sermo*, p. 17–18, and Anti, *Verona e il culto* (cit. n. 23), p. 198q, n. 19 and corresponding text.

81 Paul E.J. Kershaw, "Eberhard of Friuli, a lay Carolingian intellectual", in: Patrick Wormald – Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2007, p. 77–105.

the object of a renewed hagiographical and liturgical interest in early Carolingian Milan: a monastic community was instituted in the local basilica dedicated to him; and a *Vita* (BHL 377d) of Ambrose, that scholars have read as a tool to reassess Milan's metropolitan role over Pavia – a tool of competition, one may say –, was composed⁸². Such investment on Ambrose's cult finds important correspondences with that of Zeno's one even for what concerns its entrepreneurs: it has been attributed to the bishops of Milan, once again coming from beyond the Alps, of the first half of the IXth century, and most of all to Angilbert II⁸³. So the dialogue between Milan and Verona appears to have been expressed through a variety of means and on many different levels. One may argue – but caution is here extremely necessary – that it could aim to a redefinition of political and ecclesiastical relationships and hierarchies, and to the claim of a metropolitan status for Verona's see, or at least to open some sort of competition between the cities and sees. The time, immediately after the succession at the political top of the kingdom, could give space, or at least could be seen as giving space, to such proposals and strategies. From this point of view the hagiographical models used for the compilation of the *Passio et translatio* and the idea of *translatio sanctitatis* it suggests appear once again perfectly adherent to such perspectives. If read this way, they would even offer the most evident hint for such competition. The text could therefore bear another identity message, elaborated and at the same time addressed to the bishops of Verona, who presented themselves as the legitimate heirs of Milan's tradition and ecclesiastical position, but further investigation about the relationships between these cities and their bishops in this period is necessary. The idea of a competition for a higher ecclesiastical status could also be indirectly supported by the references to another metropolitan see of Northern Italy, Aquileia, whose *passiones* equally seem to have been exploited as sources of themes and *topoi* by Firmus and Rusticus's hagiographer,

82 The text is published in Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur saint Ambroise. "Vies" anciennes, culture, iconographie*, Paris 1973, p. 51–121. Giorgia Vocino is now studying this text in the context of a fellowship with the University of Utrecht in order to prepare a new edition of it.

83 Vocino, *Santi* (cit. n. 48), p. 42–48.

and which is recalled in the *Versus*; but this is a further interpretative step that, even more than the precedent one, needs deeper research to be conducted.

The celebration of Verona's see seems complementary, even if acting on a different level, to the emphasized continuity between past and present, which gives voice to a sort of imperial strategy. From this perspective, the third level of identity messages I underlined before, that of the bishop as guide and pivot for the urban society, can be seen as an in-betweenener. The image of a local society represented as united, harmonious and ready to recognize to the bishop a role of coordination and reference seems to reflect the ideal self-representation that the foreign bishops of Verona needed to express in order to fulfil the tasks that the Carolingians assigned them. The bishop had to manage the coordination between centre and periphery, always patrolling over the good relationships between them. They had to filter all these relationships, always keeping clear the hierarchies of power but also allowing controlled forms of communication with the royal and imperial courts for the local élites. But to do that, in Verona as well as in the other towns bishops needed the local élites to recognize them as their references and interlocutors. This need for recognition and self-legitimation explains all the strategies we have seen, and is their *raison d'être*.

The fact that such an evident image of civic peace under the guide of the bishop was inserted in the *Passio et translatio* is one more hint that it was very probably written in the episcopal cultural milieu of the first Carolingian, and Alamannian, bishops of Verona. The celebration of Firmus and Rusticus's martyrdom and translation seems therefore to be inserted in the general investment these bishops made on the cult of the local saints in order to express, once again, an idea of continuity between local past and imperial present.

Of course the general interpretation of this text is strongly undermined by the difficulties posed by its datation: all of the elements I examined here could very well match with an early Carolingian date of composition, but don't exclude at all an earlier one. Nevertheless I think that one more observation is possible. The difficulty in the pre-

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cise datation of this text seems indirectly to show once again how consciously and strongly the early Carolingian bishops of Verona insisted on the identity strategies I illustrated before, that is, the continuity between past and present and the central role of the cult of local saints and relics in the representation and celebration of the town's glory. I think this is quite a proof of the important investment made on these strategies.

It once again shows in my opinion the very close connection existing between saints, relics and cities, and how these three elements represent identity aspects one could exploit and conjugate depending on political and social needs. Not only in the Carolingian times, of course.

St. Abbondio and St. Orso

Expressions of Devotion in Northern Italy through Architecture, Liturgical Space and Iconography

Stella Ferrari

Movetur urbs sedibus suis et inundans populus ante
delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos.¹
Hieronymus

Art and architecture have always had a close relation with the general interest towards saints and patrons in medieval cities. This is quite obvious, the 'artistic media' being a way to express and to 'live' the sanctity and its devotion.

Nonetheless in this paper I would like to leave aside the countless examples of patrons, bishops and saints' representations in paintings or frescoes, in order to concentrate the attention on two romanesque cases. Some particular aspects could appear marginal, but instead can be read as concerning various expressions of the "political" dimension in the cult of saints, using the architectural setting and particular iconographical choices in the years that followed the Gregorian reform.

In this regard, many north-Italian cities have interested the scholars because of their 'political use' of patrons, reflected in beautiful representations (among the most famous examples we find Ambrosius in Milan, Zeno in Verona, the numerous patrons of the cities in Emilia Romagna like Bologna, Modena, Piacenza, Parma and so on): sculptures on portals or façades of cathedrals are, as well-known, widespread. In this cases the figure of the patron exemplifies the

¹ Hieronymus, Epistola 107, 1.

affirmation of the new commune, or the pride of the city and all its citizens in particular circumstances².

Yet, parallel to these experiences we find something else: I am thinking particularly to those situations in which the figure of the patron represented a way for a specific community to affirm itself against the cathedral clergy or its primacy in the veneration of the local saints. Expressions of these instances are, inter alia, the interventions in the churches of St. Abbondio in Como and of St. Orso in Aosta, between eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

The two cases are not directly connected to each other, nevertheless they have similar origins. In fact both churches were built in the suburbs of their cities, they had funeral functions and above all derived their importance from the burial of the two saints patrons³.

Abbondio and Orso were two *confessores*, they lived respectively in the fifth and (probably) sixth centuries: since the period of martyrs had already passed, Christians developed the need to identify themselves with particular spiritual patrons.

These patrons “were characteristically celebrated, venerated, and – when necessary – appeased, at the primary shrine, the tomb, where they were believed to be most personally effective the fullness of their *virtus*, their wonderworking power.”⁴

The burial place of the saints patrons, related to the position of their sarcophagi, is particularly meaningful for both these complexes, and permits the investigation of two kind of settings for the relics’ veneration (with or without a crypt, essentially). Recently John Crook has pointed out interesting elements concerning *the architectural setting of the cult of saints*⁵, and we may consider that if St. Orso ‘adopted’ a widespread solution (with a crypt under the presbyterial area), the ar-

2 On this topic, among others, see: Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, *Romanische Skulptur in Oberitalien als Reflex der kommunalen Entwicklung im 12. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu Mailand und Verona*, Berlin 1994; Bruno Klein, *Die Kathedrale von Piacenza. Architektur und Skulptur der Romanik*, Worms am Rhein 1995; Albert Diel, *Defensor civitatis: der Stadtpatron in romanischen Reliefzyklen Oberitaliens*, München 1998.

3 See below for these aspects.

4 Alan Thacker – Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the early Medieval West*, Oxford 2002, p. 1–2.

chitects of St. Abbondio chose a very rare key and with an illustrious reference: they create five naves (as St. Peter in Rome), with subsequent apses, but without a crypt⁶.

The peculiarity of these aspects of St. Abbondio, together with the lack of iconographical witnesses in the Romanesque edifice⁷, have conducted my attention mostly to the various connections between the liturgical space and its architecture, in the light of the historical context. In this regard, I would only notice that the establishment of the new community of Benedictine monks in 1010 had been decided by bishop Alberico, who wanted to moralize the clergy of the church according to a widespread use⁸, and chose that particular site because it had been the privileged burial place for his predecessors. The intention of the bishop was probably to keep the new monastery under his dependence (in order to use its properties and material goods) and under an imperial protection (as logical considering the position of the city of Como). But things started to change during the eleventh century⁹, and even more in the twelfth, because we learn of a dispute with the cathedral canons after the abbot of St. Abbondio had claimed his right to stay on the right of the bishop during the most important ceremonies, also in the presence of the emperor¹⁰. The monks of St. Abbondio asked for a papal resolution at the end of the century, hoping to be right. It has been noticed that such a pretentiousness would have

5 John Crook, *The architectural setting of the cult of saints in the Early Christian West, c.300–c.1200*, Oxford 2000.

6 Certainly their status since the eleventh century could have partly determined these choices, because in St. Abbondio a Benedictine monks community was established in 1010, on the contrary the clergy of St. Orso was reformed only in the first half of the twelfth century – they adopted the Augustinian rule in 1132.

7 Clearly there are the windows in the presbyterial area with the beautiful sculptures, but they are aniconic or with little animals. All the important frescoes of the choir or the tribune were executed in the fourteenth century.

8 On this aspect see Giovanni Tabacco, “Vescovi e monasteri”, in: *Il monachesimo e la riforma ecclesiastica 1049–1122*, (Atti della quarta Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 23–29 agosto 1968), Milano 1971, p. 105–123.

9 See below for the direct papal protection.

10 The transcription of these documents is now in Liliana Martinelli, *Carte del monastero di S. Abbondio di Como. Dalla fondazione all'anno 1200*, Milano 2009, p. 268–285.

been impossible for any other monastery of the city, but the 'request' of St. Abbondio found its legitimation in being the place where rested the first important bishops of the city and, among them, the patron. In this light I would try to re-read the internal setting of the church, as the will to affirm this self-awareness and to find solutions in order to keep constant relations and ceremonies with lay people, an aspect not so common for a monastic foundation.

On the other side, the church of Aosta provides not only an interesting architectural setting (the crypt dating eleventh century), but above all a beautiful twelfth-century cloister, with a lot of marvelous capitals representing many episodes of the Bible and a capital dedicated to the patron Orso, which expresses in images the significant political situation in the city. The relation with the local contemporaneous events is even more evident than in Como: in fact it is not the representation of the patron on a capital the relevant aspect, but the role that the community of the collegiate decided to assign to the saint, once again in a dispute with the cathedral clergy. Clearly the cloister has to be considered together with all the other elements, because the change of the community *status* (from canonical to regular clergy) implied important interventions.

For both situations, in any case, seem particularly appropriate the words used by Barbara Abou-El-Haj to introduce her work on the medieval cult of saint: "In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the liturgical organization of the veneration of saints was incorporated into public spectacles coordinated with feasts and market fairs for a sometimes volatile audience of locals and pilgrim visitors. Central to these efforts was the range of art and architecture, the visual and spatial topography generated for the cult of saints".¹¹

In this regard we can remember the procession in occasion of St. Abbondio's feast, or the great participation to the fair of St. Orso, still existing today.

Considering all these elements, the stress on the historical and local contexts has to be related to the kind of investigation: methodolog-

¹¹ Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and transformations*, Cambridge 1997, p. 1.

ically these two cases are perfect examples showing how historical or literary written sources, by leading beyond a simple formal study, allow us to understand other reasons of 'artistic' perception in Middle Ages.

The Paleochristian Origins

The Christianization of Como and Aosta is testified only at the end of the fourth century, late if we compare it with other centers in Northern Italy, like Milan or Aquileia.

For this reason, the origins of the edifices of St. Abbondio and St. Orso can likewise be traced at the beginning of the fifth century and their evolution, related to the two saints' cult, provides fundamental elements to understand the two complexes' role in Romanesque period.

Both churches, as already said, had at first a funeral function, because established in the suburban areas of the cities on previous roman necropolis¹².

Having been founded at the beginning of the fifth century, the first edifices couldn't have the actual dedications.

The paleochristian church on the site of the today St. Abbondio came to light in 1863, when Serafino Balestra decided to restore the Romanesque edifice of St. Abbondio. We are informed about this intervention thanks to the study of Camillo Boito, who assisted the restorations¹³. The church had a single nave with transept and

12 See Gisella Cantino-Wataghin – Chiara Lambert, "Sepolture e città. L'Italia settentrionale tra IV e VIII secolo", in: G.P. Brogiolo – G. Cantino Wataghin (ed.), *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo (VII seminario sul tardo antico e l'Alto Medioevo in Italia centro settentrionale, Gardone Riviera, 24–26 ottobre 1996)*, Mantova 1998, p. 89–114; Irene Nobile, "Le necropoli romane in Como", in: *Archeologia urbana in Lombardia*. Como, Como 1984, p. 86–96; Alexandra Chavarria-Arnau, *Archeologia delle chiese. Dalle origini all'anno Mille*, Roma 2009; Charles Bonnet, "L'Église cruciforme de Saint-Laurent d'Aoste. Rapport préliminaire après les fouilles de 1972 à 1979", in: *Atti del V Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana*, Roma 1982, p. 271–295.

13 C. Boito, "La chiesa di Sant'Abondio a Como e la basilica dissotto", in: *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia con una introduzione sullo stile futuro dell'architettura italiana*, Milano 1880, p. 3–64. See also: Liliana Grassi, "Ristorando S. Abbondio sull'antica forma. Note sui restauri ottocenteschi della basilica comasca", in S. Ab-

semicircular apse preceded by an oblong space; on either side of the nave there was a hall opening into the nave by lateral doorways and the entire edifice was preceded by a narthex. The dedication of the church has been variously transmitted as SS. Apostles or SS. Peter and Paul.

In this particular regard, Jean Charles Picard has analyzed the different phases of the paleochristian churches' dedications in many dioceses of Northern Italy, identifying among them an element interesting for our discourse, i.e. what he defines *une orientation romaine*¹⁴. Picard explains that, after the initial moment when the custom had been the dedication to the Apostles in general, since the very beginning of the fifth century, in a "second generation" of foundations the exclusive dedication to Peter and Paul (or a rededication to the only Peter) found significant diffusion. He has correctly included in this group the case of Como, confirming that the basilica would have been founded by bishop Amanzio¹⁵.

Amanzio was Abbondio's predecessor on the *cathedra* of Como; when he died he was buried there and with him started the tradition of bishop's burials in the church.

Furthermore, the cult of Abbondio found diffusion probably only at the beginning of the seventh century, during the so-called "dispute of the Three Chapters", because he had contributed to the Chalcedon Council, in 451. In this light, the choice of the other bishops who, until the middle of the sixth century, decided to be buried in St. Abbondio, should be referred to the Apostles' dedication, not yet to the importance of their predecessor, also because we don't know exactly when the church was re-dedicated to the local bishop: in any case it was before 818, when is mentioned in a diploma of Louis the Pious¹⁶.

bondio lo spazio e il tempo. Tradizione storica e recupero architettonico, Como 1984, p. 283-308.

14 Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X siècle*, Roma 1988. The chapter important for our discourse is "L'Inhumation auprès des Apôtres", p. 280-288.

15 Felice Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia. II, La Lombardia*, Bergamo 1932, p. 271.

16 The document has been transcribed by Tatti; see Primo Luigi Tatti, *Degli Annali sacri della città di Como*, vol. 1, Como 1663-1734, p. 946-948.

We can assume that the significance of being buried in this church changed during the Carolingian period, when the affirmation of the patron's cult as expression of a local particularism, together with new liturgical uses – as for example the diffusion of the mass for dead people¹⁷ – contributed to create what Picard defines “*le triomphe de l'inhumation épiscopale auprès des saints locaux*”¹⁸. This would be the case, for example, of bishop Amalrico who, buried in St. Abbondio, had provided the church with an altar probably dedicated to All Saints¹⁹, in order to celebrate also the mass in the anniversary of his own death.

Some elements provided by Picard could be useful also to inquire the peculiar situation in Aosta. First of all we have to consider that Orso wasn't a bishop, only a priest, a *confessor* of the city²⁰. The main source to inquire the Life and the miracles of the saint is the *Vita Beati Ursi* (or *Vita Sancti Ursi*), a text handed down by two versions: the first one, which is also the oldest, is transmitted in manuscripts dating from ninth century. The other one is testified from the second half of the twelfth century in manuscripts referable to the Valle d'Aosta. This second version present many more details compared to the first one, but generally doesn't change the episodes²¹.

At the beginning of the story, the anonymous authors tell us that Orso lived at the time of bishop *Ploceanus*, a man whose bad actions are particularly stressed. Ploceano hasn't been identified in the

17 The All Saints day finds diffusion in Northern Italy during the ninth century, but was anciently celebrated in Gaul.

18 Picard, *Le souvenir* (cit. n. 14), p. 311–325.

19 This is the idea of Picard; in my opinion this is probable and moreover, we could suspect that this altar was on the site of the 'Romanesque' altar dedicated to saint Benedict. Different is the interpretation of Antonella Ballardini, who has suggested that Amalricus consecrated an altar dedicated to Abbondio, Console and Esuperanzio. See: A. Ballardini, “Hic requiescit Abondius episcopus: la chiesa di Sant'Abbondio di Como e il suo arredo in età carolingia”, in: A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: Arte Lombarda*, (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 26–29 settembre 2001), Milano 2004, p. 88–105, here p. 99. See also below.

20 Orso “shares” the patronage of Aosta with Grato, the second bishop of Aosta.

21 The first version is published in: Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le fonti per la storia della Valle d'Aosta*, Aosta 1966 (1998), p. 162–167; the second version is published in *L'insigne collegiale d'Aoste*, Ivrea 1929, p. 9–23.

chronology of the city's bishops, but has been traced in a period between the sixth and seventh centuries.

Orso is commonly described as *Vir Dei* and the second version of his Life explains that he lived and offered his aid *circa ecclesiam vero Sancti Petri*. If we considered reliable this notice, we would have the first dedication of the church of St. Orso. And yet the first version of the *Vita* transmits that the saint was priest at the *concilia dominorum Sanctorum*²², probably meaning the whole funerary complex in this area.

The reasons of the stress on the dedication of St. Peter would be interpreted in the light of the dispute between the Collegiate and the Cathedral (see §3), if we consider that this version of the *Vita* follows the events of the first half of the twelfth century.

The paleochristian complex has only recently come to light, during the excavations conducted by Charles Bonnet and Renato Perinetti²³. The iconography of the church of St. Orso is similar to the one of the paleochristian St. Abbondio, but without a transept, i.e. there was only a nave with annexes.

Probably more interesting for the archeologists have been the results of the excavations in St. Lorenzo. This edifice too has been existing since the fifth century and even if traces of bishop's burials have been found also in St. Orso, until the death of the saint the most important edifice between the two was probably S. Lorenzo where Grato, the second bishop of the city and co-patron of Orso, was buried. The most important aspect for our discourse is that during the subsequent interventions through the centuries, the axe of the church of St. Orso has been moved to south, reasonably to preserve a particular grave²⁴.

22 For the mention of St. Peter, see L'insigne (cit. n. 21), here p. 14; for the mention in the first version, see Frutaz, *Le fonti* (cit. n. 21), here p. 164-165.

23 The more recent articles with a former bibliography of the authors are: Charles Bonnet, *L'église* (cit. n. 12); Charles Bonnet - Renato Perinetti, "La Collegiata di Sant'Orso dalle origini al XIII secolo", in: Bruno Orlandoni - Elena Brezzi Rossetti (ed.), *Sant'Orso di Aosta: il complesso monumentale*, Aosta 2001-2003 p. 9-39; Renato Perinetti, "Aosta. La chiesa dei SS. Pietro e Orso", in: *Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 62 (*Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archaeologiae Christianae*), Wien 2006, p. 589-608.

24 C. Bonnet - R. Perinetti, *La collegiata* (cit. n.23), p. 21.

St. Abbondio in Como

The role of privileged burial place for bishops characterizing the church dedicated to St. Abbondio²⁵ has to be considered the key point leading in the in-depth study of some peculiar interventions regarding altars and liturgical setting, notably between eleventh and thirteenth century.

The establishment in 1010²⁶ of the Benedictine monks' community, in order to reform the canonical clergy resident in St. Abbondio since the fifth century, played a fundamental role in the building of the new church. The decision of bishop Alberico²⁷ can certainly be an aspect clarifying the preeminent and unique position of this monastery in the city. The foundation was confirmed in 1013 by the patriarch of Aquileia²⁸ and by Henry II. In 1015 the same Henry II made a donation to the monastery, which received also two other donations in 1027 and 1063 (this one was made by bishop Rainaldo²⁹), to increase its

25 St. Abbondio is the only church in the city of Como dedicated to a bishop. The close relations with the Cathedral chapter, the particular 'role' and meaning of saint Abbondio for the bishops of eleventh and twelfth centuries, the foundation of the monastery directly decided by bishop Alberico, are all elements which justify and express the exceptional position of this community in Como, and explain also the dispute with the Cathedral canons in the second half of the twelfth century.

26 The documents are published now in: L. Martinelli, Carte (cit. n. 10), here p. 3–6. In the document of 1010 we find that the bishop, after having understood the necessity of a reform for the churches of the city, asks 'directly' to Abbondio: *Ubi tamen aptius haec renovatio consurgeret quam ubi tuum corpus venerabile iacet?* (p.4).

27 See Savio, Gli antichi vescovi (cit. n. 15), here p. 318–322.

28 See again L. Martinelli, Carte (cit. n. 10), here p. 7–10.

29 Even if we don't know precisely the years in which the new edifice was built, the type of masonry, the donations and a consideration of the city's bishops in the middle of the eleventh century have permitted to propose Rainaldo as possible "inventor" of St. Abbondio's renovation. We know that he promoted other important constructions in Como, such as St. Giacomo, and his 'political profile' would combine an interest for the Imperial reality with, in the second part of his life, a strict relation with the papacy. These are facts that could have been reflected in the architecture of St. Abbondio. For the German influence on one side, and the inspiration to St. Peter in Rom in the five naves on the other, see below. For Rainaldo's profile see Werner Goetz, "Rainald von Como. Ein Bischof des 11. Jahrhunderts zwischen Kurie und Krone", in: *Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger, Köln-Wien 1974*, p. 462–494; Pietro Zerbi, "Il vescovo comense Rainaldo: un momento dei rapporti fra

properties and wealth. Furthermore on the 3rd and 4th of June 1095 the church of St. Abbondio was consecrated by Urban II who, a month earlier, had provided the monastery of the direct papal protection³⁰. Livia Fasola has suggested³¹ that the searching and the ‘preference’ of the monks for the papal protection instead of the imperial one (which was promoted by the bishop founder Alberico), can be read in the light of the general Reform of the second half of the eleventh century: an important aspect in a city like Como, which had a “pro-imperial” tradition, often revealed in the bishops’ elections. In this case (maybe it’s not a coincidence) no Episcopal intervention supported the decision of St. Abbondio’s Benedictine community, who wanted to depend directly upon the Holy See.

Among the historical local sources regarding the Diocese of Como, the Pastoral Visit of bishop Ninguarda³² written in conjunction with the sixteenth century renovations of St. Abbondio, is one of the most relevant to inquire the edifice and its role in the community – even if it is not the only one³³. Here the author describes the extraordinary veneration in which the church was held, not only in the anniversary of the patron, the 9th of April, but also because of the indulgences of Urban II for the remission of all venial sins and a third part of all mortal sins to all those who would have visited the sanctuary with its *stationes* on the festival of its consecration, on the feasts of all the saints here buried, and each day during the octaves. He emphasizes particularly the concourse of people who flocked to the basilica, explaining

Como, la Chiesa e l’Impero nel secolo XI”, in: Atti dei convegni celebrativi del centenario 1878–1978 della Società Storica Comense, Como 1979, p. 23–43.

30 Serena Contini – Lorenzo Dominioni, “Papa Urbano II e il monastero di Sant’Abbondio. Edizione critica del privilegio del 16 maggio 1095 e della sua copia autentica, conservati ad Halle”, in: Archivio storico della diocesi di Como 9 (1998), p. 11–22.

31 Livia Fasola, “Il monastero di S. Abbondio nel quadro istituzionale comasco della prima età comunale (secoli XI–XII)”, in: S. Abbondio (cit. n. 13), here p. 69–116.

32 Feliciano Ninguarda, Atti della visita pastorale diocesana (1589–1593), Como 1992, p. 83–100. Interesting is that Bishop Ninguarda dedicates a lot of space in describing all the events or facts related to St. Abbondio, with an attention not dedicated to the description of the cathedral of Como or of other important churches.

33 For the others, particularly the Visit of Bonomi and the Chronicon of Benzo d’Alessandria, see below.

how the anniversary of the saint was a solemnity attended officially by the city magistrates and by all the corporations who, observing two days of feast, arrived and entered the church in a definite order determined probably since the twelfth century and, we could suspect, following precise “routes of visit” to the saints’ bodies³⁴. Such an extensive attention to the laics (not obvious for a monastic foundation with different prerogatives than a canonical church, or a cathedral), testified also by the significant indulgences of the pope, contributed to make St. Abbondio a centre of what we could define ‘local pilgrimage’ on the holy bishops’ tombs, first of all on the patron’s tomb. This veneration is recorded, inter alia, by Benzo d’Alessandria who, in the *Chronicon* written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, describes his stay in Como.

Sed, quod non occultandum est, subiungo quia inibi multa gloriosa corpora requiescunt et sollempni habentur reverencia, scilicet corpus gloriosus confessoris Abundii, eisdem civitatis antistitis, quod in sollempni monasterio eius dicato nomini requiescit et in omni secunda feria a cuncto populo devote visitatur ibidem³⁵.

How the internal space ‘answered’ to these necessities?

The church (fig. 1, 2) consists today, as in the end of the eleventh century, of a central nave, double side aisles ending internally in *absidioles* which are marked externally by a flat wall, a choir of two bays, and two campanili rising over the eastern bays of the inner side aisles (creating in this way a *chevet harmonique*). The edifice was preceded by an ample narthex in two stories, destroyed in the sixteenth century interventions: it had three aisles – corresponding to the three internal aisles – and three bays (measuring overall 18x21 meters). The upper room, called in the sources *paradisus*, was directly connected to the western gallery of the church (fig. 1), which nowadays is still accessible through the original stair in the façade-wall³⁶. On the pavement of the

34 Ninguarda, Atti (cit. n. 32), p. 85–86.

35 I quote the passage of Benzo from Fasola, Il Monastero (cit. n. 31), here p. 114 (n.98).

36 For a depth architectural description see Boito, La chiesa (cit. n. 13); Arthur Kingsley Porter, Lombard Architecture, 2, p. 301–312; more recently Luigi Carlo Schiavi, “La basilica romanica”, in: Sant’Abbondio a Como: le pitture murali, a cura di Carla Tra-

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central nave of the church are still visible the signs of the pre-existent basilica.

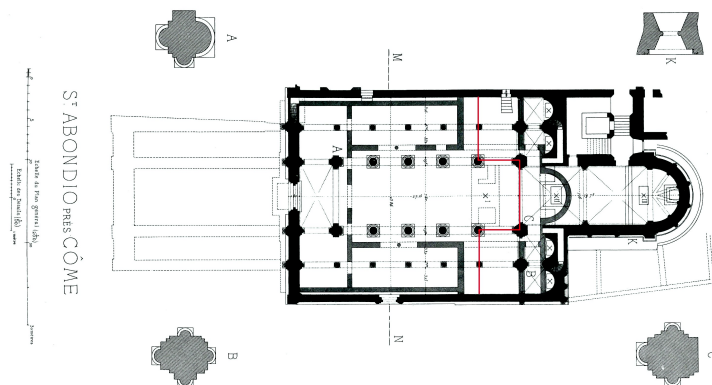


Fig. 1: Plan of the Church of St. Abbondio in Como The red traces represents the signs that Boito found in the pillars and in the columns during the restorations. (Taken from: Fernand De Dartein, *Étude sur l'architecture lombarde et sur les origines de l'architecture romano-byzantine*, Paris 1865–1882, planche 75)

As already mentioned, in 1863 began the excavations and the restoration conducted by Serafino Balestra, who wanted to bring again St. Abbondio to the “original Romanesque form”³⁷. During the restoration came to light not only the traces of the paleocristian basilica, but also those of the narthex, the frescoes, and a large number of Carolingian slabs and sculptures, today preserved in the Museo Civico of Como³⁸. Moreover, Balestra removed all the baroque changes and additions. As

vi, Milano 2011, p. 11–19.

37 His results are testified, as I said, by the article of Camillo Boito who took part in the intervention, and also by Fernand De Dartein who had the possibility to assist. See also: Fernand De Dartein, *Étude sur l'architecture lombarde et sur les origines de l'architecture romano-byzantine*, Paris 1865–1882, p. 315–327.

38 Maria Letizia Casati (ed.), *La sezione medievale dei Musei civici di Como*, (I quaderni della Pinacoteca di Como, 4), Como 2004.

a result, the church that we can see today is the product of an intervention³⁹ influenced by the “purist” idea of restoration⁴⁰.

Since the nineteenth century different scholars have found various interesting aspects⁴¹ (the most peculiar architecture and plan, the beautiful external sculptures, and the fourteenth-century frescoes of the choir⁴²) in St. Abbondio. Particularly relevant for the internal ‘topography’ of altars is the question regarding the edifice’s single plan and construction.

Thanks to the recent inquiries of Adriano Peroni and Norbert Funke⁴³ on the original church’s ceiling⁴⁴, we can now assume that St. Abbondio was conceived with a single project and, for the most part, also its realization⁴⁵. This implies a strong coherence in its

39 To be precise the church was interested also by another intervention, the one of Giussani, but this was mostly an intervention of conservation; see Antonio Giussani, “I restauri della basilica di S. Abondio in Como”, in: *Rivista Archeologica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como* 111/113 (1936), p. 159–196.

40 Even if it has been scientifically conducted, the influence of that theory of restoration was inevitable in the nineteenth century.

41 For a complete bibliography, before the contributions of Schiavi and Travi see Elisabetta Rurali, “La basilica di Sant’Abondio a Como – scheda”, in: Paolo Piva – Roberto Cassanelli (ed.), *Lombardia Romanica* 1, Milano 2010, p. 103–111.

42 The most complete study regarding the frescoes has been recently published by Carla Travi, *Sant’Abbondio a Como: le pitture murali*, Milano 2011.

43 Adriano Peroni, “Riflessioni sul rapporto tra interno ed esterno nelle coperture dell’architettura romanica lombarda”, in: *Medioevo: Arte Lombarda*, a cura di A. C. Quintavalle (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 26–29 settembre 2001), Milano 2004, p. 113–127; Norbert Funke, *S. Abbondio in Como. Untersuchungen zu Struktur und System – ein Beitrag zur Klärung der baugeschichtliche Stellung*, Dissertation der Technischen Universität Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig, 1999; Norbert Funke, “Como und Speyer: Zur Datierung der Comasker Kirche Sant’Abbondio”, in: *Arte Lombarda* 136 (2002/3), p. 5–10.

44 The choir, the western bay of the nave and the eastern bays of the side aisles are covered with domed groin vaults, the *absidioles* with half domes, and the main apse has a half dome with ribs of rectangular section; on the contrary the naves are roofed in timber, expressing a distinction between different liturgical spaces, widespread in the evolution of the first Romanesque period in Northern Italy.

45 A doubt concerns the series of arch roofs on the main apse, and also the decoration above the arch roofs: aspects revealing an execution surely in the twelfth century. This would possibly mean an intervention after the conclusion of the works, or that at the time of the altars’ consecration the edifice wasn’t totally built. Internally, we notice that the ribs with rectangular section are explicable after the experiment of

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architectural development which, reusing the foundations of the paleochristian basilica and the same space, expresses the intention to create a 'multiplication of altars' without adding a crypt, but using five naves and providing almost all of them with 'local' dedications.

These dedications are partly remembered in the already mentioned Urban II's consecration of 1095, a well-known moment for the historiography: the 4th of June the pope consecrated the entire church and the main altar dedicated to Abbondio; the day after the altars dedicated to Adalberto, Rubiano, Eupilio and Eusebio (likely in the lateral apses), four of the first fifteen bishops of Como. Nevertheless in this document we don't find any mention of other altars (for example in the tribune, a part existing already in 1095, or in the nave – the so-called 'altar of the laics').



Fig. 2: The church of St. Abbondio today (Photo: Stella Ferrari)

A more complete situation (and a little different) is fortunately testified in the Visit of Ninguarda and, above all, in an until-now-unpublished Visit written by Mons. G. F. Bonomi⁴⁶, preceding the other one.

Bonomi explains that the altar in honor of Abbondio was on the site of the paleochristian one, dedicated to Peter and Paul. To remember that, this was moved eastern, towards the main apse. For the lateral

S. Ambrosius in Milan, which is nowadays the first example in Northern Italy and is dated in twelfth century. (Nonetheless, for this aspect, Norbert Funke tends to a different conclusion, dating eleventh century every part of the church. See here n. 43).

46 ASDC (Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Como), Curia Vescovile, Visite Pastorali, cart. 2, ff. 84–89. The Visit of Bonomi has been written in 1578, he was an Apostolic Visitor.

absidioles of the presbyterial area, he mentions the altars dedicated to Eupilio and Eusebio on the left, and to the Virgin and Amanzio on the right. Finally, both Bonomi and Ninguarda notify that between the nave and the choir was placed an altar dedicated to St. Benedict (the ‘altar of the laics’), and in the western tribune an altar dedicated to both SS. Adalberto and Rubiano.

As a result, we may most likely conjecture that between the end of the eleventh and the fourteenth century probably one important change occurred in the internal setting of St. Abbondio, if at first the altars dedicated to Adalberto and Rubiano were correctly separated and positioned in two *absidioles*, not in the western tribune. There is no certitude on this point, because the internal tribune existed since the construction of the edifice; but the mention of the altars as separated in the consecration’s document, allow us to think that the situation changed. Even if we don’t know precisely when this change occurred⁴⁷, the fact that the relics of these two bishops⁴⁸ were placed under a common altar in a separate space and the consequent creation of the *paradisus*, that Fernand De Dartein properly defined an *église aérienne*⁴⁹, testify that this space was intended as sanctuary exclusively dedicated to those veneration, as also some parts of frescoes of fourteenth century, with episodes of Adalberto’s life, still testify⁵⁰. Today only the original stair in the wall is existing, but Ninguarda notified that at his time, at either end of the gallery a door opened upon stairs.

By considering together documents and iconographic evidences, we could better understand the period in which the *paradisus* was added in front of the façade with a subsequently enlargement of the tribune’s space. Concerning the construction of this higher store of the narthex we find payments to *Petro de Parancio et manoalibus qui*

47 I would suggest two possibilities: or in the second half of the twelfth century, and in this case the edification of the *paradisus* wanted only to enlarge the space. Or directly in the thirteenth century, parallel to the interventions in the presbyterial area (see below). The western tribune was often a “reserved” space for important people.

48 To see the events related to Adalberto and Rubiano, see Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi* (cit. n. 15), here p. 295–297.

49 De Dartein, *Étude* (cit. n. 37), p. 318.

50 On the north internal wall. See Travi, *Sant’Abbondio* (cit. n. 42), here p. 247–257.

*cohoperierunt paradisum*⁵¹, dating 1283: this would possibly mean the addition of the space in the second half of the thirteenth century, to enlarge a sanctuary originally confined in the internal tribune⁵².

There is a second element related to this period of time: a fresco on the south external wall of the tribune representing a bishop raising his right hand in sign of benediction. The picture has been studied only recently by Carla Travi, who has proposed an execution in the last decades of the thirteenth century⁵³; the composition must have been conceived as we can see it today, with a single character, because the figure is painted in a light-blue panel bordered by two picture-frames. Being hardly visible from the nave, we can assume that the fresco was painted after the construction of the two stairs leading up from the main floor of the basilica: in this way the bishop would have 'received' the people entering in the privileged sanctuary. The parallel question implies who had access to the tribune. It has been suggested that this could have been a reserved space for the bishops of Como, during their visits to the monastery⁵⁴. This could certainly be possible, but rather than restrict to a single 'category' its use, the dimensions of the *paradisus* and the creation of a sort of 'chapel' totally dedicated to Adal-

51 Roberto Perelli Cippo, I registri del Monastero di S. Abbondio in Como: secolo XIII, Como 1984, p. 240. Than there is another mention of the *paradisus*, p. 249 (corresponding to the year 1293).

52 The proposal requires caution, because the lack of information regarding the interventions in the church, together with the destructions don't allow any certitude. I propose here the new edification of this part in the thirteenth century, but another hypothesis would see only a renovation of a place already existent since the twelfth (?) century, with a re-building of the ceilings. The doubt is specifically related to the function of the westworks and to their period of diffusion. For a possible solution of this point, see the interpretation below. In any case we have to assume that the inferior part, so a simple narthex, existed already in the twelfth century: we don't find payments for the building of this part and by reading the witness of the dispute with the cathedral chapter, we find mention of a *trevuna* (see Martinelli, Carte, as in n. 10), word that could signify the apse, but also – this is a case – the narthex, as for example in S. Petronio in Bologna. In this way we would have a *terminus ante quem*, i.e. 1193.

53 Travi, Sant'Abbondio (cit. n. 42), here p. 248, with image.

54 Travi, Sant'Abbondio (cit. n. 42), here p. 251.

berto and Rubiano with frescoes and relics would suggest multiple accesses, connected to the specific cult of these two personalities.

Thanks once again to Benzo d'Alessandria, in fact, we learn that unless one time a year, i.e. in occasion of St. Adalberto's feast, the 'sanctuary' was opened to lay people coming from the city and the neighborhoods⁵⁵.

We don't know why the community of St. Abbondio decided to dedicate a separate space precisely to these bishops, with a stress on the figure of St. Adalberto. I would only suggest that Adalberto, friend and successor of Rubiano on the Episcopal *cathedra* of Como, is the only bishop, together with the patron, who is remembered for some healings' miracles, well-known in the tradition of Como until the sixteenth century – as a painting in the church of St. Bartolomeo testifies. It wouldn't be the first time that a peculiar space with relics of a holy bishop or local saint capable of miracles became in particular occasions centre of pilgrimage of people looking for recovery⁵⁶.

The recognition of the *paradisus*' destination and function is part of the issue related to its possible 'model'. Since the analysis of Camillo Boito, the main term of comparison for the scholars who have studied St. Abbondio has been the cluniac *galilaea*. Only in the last years this relation has been interpreted in a different way⁵⁷.

Boito tried to compare the case of St. Abbondio to those of Tournus, Vézelay and Châtel-Montagne⁵⁸, but our knowledge on this kind

55 *Ibi similiter corpus beati Adalberti quiescit, quod annua eciam reverencia frequantur*. For the quotation see n. 35.

56 This is for example the case of St. Orso of Aosta. See below.

57 Luigi Carlo Schiavi, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Milano da Ariberto a Federico Borromeo: genesi ed evoluzione di una chiesa ideale*, Pisa 2005, p. 175–196; Stella Ferrari, "Osservazioni su altari e arredo liturgico nella chiesa romanica di Sant'Abbondio a Como", in: *Rivista dell'Istituto per la Storia dell'Arte Lombarda* 4 (2011), p. 79–86. For a general reevaluation of the westworks in Northern Italy see Saverio Lomartire, "L'organisation des avant-corps occidentaux. À propos de quelques exemples de l'Italie du Nord au Moyen Âge", in: Christian Sapin (ed.), *Avant-nefs & espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV et le XII siècle* (Actes du colloque International du CNRS, Auxerre, 17–20 juin 1999), Paris 2002, p. 351–371.

58 Boito, *La chiesa* (cit. n. 13), here p. 39–58.

of structures doesn't allow nowadays such a comparison⁵⁹. First of all the diffusion of the so-called *galilaea* is strictly referable to the direct filiations of Cluny and St. Abbondio has never been a cluniac monastery. Even more important and peculiar is the architectural development consequent to the liturgical function of the *galilaea*. Kristina Krüger has definitively clarify that “the abbot of Cluny decided to enlarge the church to the west with a two-storey construction allocated exclusively to the memory of the dead”⁶⁰. *Galilaea* literally means the place where Jesus had predicted seeing his disciples after the resurrection; for this reason many authors interpreted it in an eschatological sense “as signifying the meeting with the Saviour at the end of time”⁶¹.

In this perspective, by privileging an analysis of the *paradisus*' function as distinctive from similar structures, also a comparison with the original Carolingian *Westwerk* would be inappropriate⁶².

A possible key to better understand the case of St. Abbondio could simply come from a double-level interpretation, suitable for the entire edifice: in the church coexist the influence of German/imperial experiences (such as the *chevet harmonique*, the particular extension of the choir and a monumentality not so common in North-Italian architecture) – proof that those cases were well-known in the city⁶³, and also proof of the pretentiousness of St. Abbondio – together with an execu-

59 Kristina Krüger, “Die galilaea genannten Westbauten und Cluny. Zur Funktion der Doppelgeschossigen Vorkirchen des 11. Und 12. Jahrhunderts”, in: *Revue Mabillon* 11 (2000), p. 280–284; K. Krüger, “Tournus et la fonction des galilées en Bourgogne”, in: *Avant-nefs* (cit. n. 57), p. 414–423; K. Krüger, “La fonction liturgique des galilées cluniennes: les exemples de Romainmôtier et Payerne”, in: *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au Moyen Age* (Actes du Colloque du 3ème Cycle Romand de Lettres, Lausanne – Fribourg, 24–25 marzo, 14–15 aprile, 12–13 maggio 2000), Roma 2002, p. 169–190; K. Krüger, *Die romanische Westbauten in Burgund und Cluny. Untersuchungen zur Funktion einer Bauform*, Berlin 2003; K. Krüger, “Architecture and Liturgical Practice: the Cluniac galilaea”, in: N. Hiscock (ed.), *The White Mantle of Churches – Architecture, Liturgy and Art around the Millennium*, Turnhout 2003, p. 139–154.

60 Krüger, *Architecture* (cit. n. 57), here p. 152.

61 Krüger, *Architecture* (cit. n. 57), here p. 151.

62 On the history of this term, its evolution and the structure's functions in German context see Dagmar von Schönfeld de Reyes, *Westwerkprobleme: Zur Bedeutung der Westwerke in der kunsthistorischen Forschung*, Weimar 1999.

tion in a Lombard character (the comparisons for the masonry are obviously traceable in the territory of Como and its Lake, for example with the church of S. Benedetto in Valperlana or S. Vincenzo in Gravedona). This also implies that a ‘general’ kind of structure, such is the case of the narthexes in front of the façades, is reconsidered and used to promote ‘simply’ a specific cult, related to the origins of the Church of Como. In this context it wouldn’t be improper the comparison with examples of westworks with similar function, which adapted a well-known and widespread structure to local necessities: it is the case, for example, of the Abbey of Moissac in the twelfth century, whose community celebrated two local martyrs in the higher room of the narthex⁶⁴.

The changes at the western end of the church were probably related (or subsequent) to some interventions in the choir area. Concerning this particular point there are two issues related to what I would define “devotional route” in St. Abbondio: the existence of what the historiography has defined *jubé* and, parallel to this, the position of the saints’ tombs.

The word *jubé* has been used by Boito⁶⁵ to describe the signs he had found in the pillars and in the columns during the restorations (fig. 1), with reference to the description in the Visit of Ninguarda, who had written that in the nave there was a *paries obliquus qui claudebat chorum* and then *muro (per eam) oblique ducto impedita*.

Paries obliquus, murus are terms suggesting for sure the presence of a choir screen, closing the direct access to the altars in the presbyterial area. Only an altar is said to be *extra septa chori*: the one dedicated to St. Benedict, i.e. the “altar of the laics”.

With reference to the word *jubé*, we may consider that it wouldn’t be correct⁶⁶ in describing the hypothetical structure of St. Abbondio,

63 Como was in a privileged position, it was a passage from the Italic reign towards Chur and the Imperial area.

64 This specific aspect has been recently explained in a conference by Taichihiro Sugizaki at the CESC (Centre d’Etudes Supérieures de civilisation médiévale) in Poitiers.

65 Boito, *La chiesa* (cit. n. 13), here p. 37–38.

66 Important studies on this kind of structure: Erika Doberer, “Der Lettner: seine Bedeutung und seine Geschichte”, in: *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende*

but what is relevant for our discourse is the possible date of this structure. Even if choir screens found diffusion already in the second half of the eleventh century, the peculiarity of the one proposed by Boito, together with the situation in other edifices of the city, let us conjecture a conception of this structure in the thirteenth century.

In fact Ninguarda, *inter alia*, used similar words to describe the situation of St. Giorgio in Borgovico in Como: *Ad medium eiusdem navis est aliud altare parieti adiunctum*⁶⁷.

Barbara Rossini has inquired the internal setting of this church and the altars' position, suggesting namely for the altars of St. Thomas Becket and of St. Donato that "*sarebbero stati addossati a tale recinzione (parieti adiunctum) e allineati (e regione), rivolti verso la metà occidentale della chiesa.*"⁶⁸ The relation between the dedication of the altars and the frescoes representing events of these saints' lives has permitted the dating of their execution and, accordingly, the dating of this setting: the first half of the thirteenth century.

There is another interesting aspect which relates the church of St. Giorgio in Borgovico with St. Abbondio: the donation, in occasion of the new arrangement in St. Giorgio, of some relics directly from the body of Abbondio. This would imply a recognition of the patron's tomb in this period⁶⁹. Thanks to the witness of Ninguarda we know that in occasion of the sixteenth-century renovations the tomb of Abbondio, positioned *sub altare*, was opened and they found his body.

Kunstforschung in Wien 9/2 (Dec. 1956), p. 117–122; Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches", in: *The Art Bulletin* 82, Num. 4 (Dec. 2000), p. 622–657.

67 Ninguarda, *Atti* (cit. n. 32), here p. 118.

68 Barbara Rossini, "Pittura, reliquie, culto dei santi in San Giorgio di Borgo Vico a Como (sec. XIII)", in: Paolo Piva (ed.), *Pittura murale del Medioevo lombardo. Ricerche iconografiche (secoli XI–XIII)*, Milano 2006, p. 176.

69 We know that this wasn't the first one. Ninguarda notified that when they discovered the burial of Abbondio at the end of the sixteenth century and saw him, the body had the *mitra*, an element characterizing bishops only since the twelfth century (A particular noticed also by Picard and Ballardini). Maybe a recognition of the tomb was made in occasion of the consecration of Urban II, we may suspect, at least one time between twelfth and thirteenth century.

But was the tomb positioned in the same place also in the twelfth and thirteenth century? The answer is not so simple.

St. Abbondio has never had a crypt and for this reason, analyzing the setting in the ninth century and speaking about the tomb of the patron, Antonella Ballardini⁷⁰ has argued a possible exposure *retro altare* in the Carolingian period, with reference to the Frankish typology analyzed by Werner Jacobsen⁷¹. Ballardini suggests that the change, with the burial *sub altare*, should be ascribed to the bishoprics of Pietro or Leone, between 803 and 824. In her opinion, their successor Amalrico leaved his epitaph to underline the will to be buried near the body of Abbondio and of two other bishops of the city, Console and Esuperanzio⁷². The assonance with the ‘Frankish setting’ is interesting also for the Romanesque edifice. As a matter of fact, in the renovations’ description set out in the unpublished Visit of Bonomi, with reference to the choir’s tombs of bishops we find:

Sepulcra sanctorum quibus altaria sacra sunt, quique omnes fere episcopi Comenses fuerunt, cum sint lateritia et nuda, tamen serico panno diebus festis et subserico ferialibus, ut maxime decent, et saltem corii inaurati obtegi⁷³.

The words, describing the tombs as ‘naked’ and without decoration, together with the necessity to cover them seem to refer to clearly visible sarcophagi. In this case we would suggest that they could have been placed behind their altar, in the apsidal niches.

Such a location of the lateral altars doesn’t answer to the question about the main altar dedicated to Abbondio in these centuries, but if there was an intention to leave the sarcophagi visible, we should think to the original Romanesque *septum* of the presbyterial area. In this

70 Ballardini, *Hic requiescit* (cit. n. 19).

71 Werner Jacobsen, “Saints’ Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture”, in: *Speculum* 72 (1997), p. 1107–1143.

72 As explained above, the position of Ballardini differs from the one of J.C. Picard, who suggests that Amalrico dedicated an altar to All Saints, and in his epitaph he would have made reference to these saints, in general (*Per omnia merita sanctorum quorum in honore hoc altare ab illo est dedicatum*); for the epitaph see Benedetto Giovio, *Novocomensis Historia Patria libri duo*, Venezia 1629, vol. 2, p. 166–167.

73 Bonomi (cit. n. 46), f. 88.

regard, the paleochristian basilica had been provided in the Carolingian period with a lot of beautiful slabs of marble, the same recovered by Serafino Balestra in the nineteenth century. The reutilization of these slabs in the pavement of the church is testified for the interventions in the sixteenth century⁷⁴. Signs of re-working on the slabs indicate that, they were reasonably reused in the Romanesque edifice for a first low choir screen.

After the restorations it is impossible to determine the original tracing of the Romanesque choir screen, but the most likely hypothesis would imply that the Carolingian slabs had been already positioned following the traces of Boito and afterwards were raised to create a higher wall.

In any case since the twelfth century in correspondence with the altar of St. Benedict, an ambo with pulpit was positioned outside the screen, as the conservation of a frontal of ambo, dating the beginning of the twelfth century and coming from St. Abbondio, would indicate.

A vision of the saints' tombs by the devotees is, together with the other problems, related to the local pilgrimage.

Recently, Paolo Piva has talked about the "rectilinear longitudinal route"⁷⁵, a typology of approach to the relics or to the holy bodies referred for the first time to St. Paolo in Rom, then also to Fulda, Dijon, Saintes. These cases are certainly more complex and peculiar than St. Abbondio, but could offer an idea of how the laics would perceive and "benefit" the internal space of the church. The route of approach to the saints' tombs was most likely rectilinear in St. Abbondio too, and the exposure of the sarcophagi permitted an observation from a distance.

In this light considering the absence of a crypt and the importance of Abbondio's veneration, we could conjecture an exposure retro altare also for his tomb during the twelfth century (in the city of Como this wouldn't be an isolate case, as Ninguarda recalls still in the sixteenth the body of St. Provino in the church named after him in *arca post*

74 For their finding during the intervention of Balestra see Boito, *La chiesa* (cit. n. 13).

75 Paolo Piva, "The ambulatory and pilgrimage routes in western churches. Tenth-twelfth centuries", in: Paolo Piva (ed.), *Medieval Art. The routes of liturgical Space*, London 2012, p. 81-129.

summum altare, or the body of St. Giorgio, in the already-mentioned church, in *arca post altare primarium*).

If we have to argue a change of position this should be after the donation of a relic to the church of St. Giorgio in Borgovico in the thirteenth century. Changes in period interested both the presbyterial area and the west end of the church. A higher choir screen was provided, covering also the lateral apses' burials and leaving visible for the laics only the altar dedicated to St. Benedict and, before the end of the century, the *paradisus* enlarging the internal western tribune was built. Thanks to this new room the laics could have a new space to commemorate their local saints, in a place named as the first paleochristian atrium of St. Peter in Rome⁷⁶.

St. Orso in Aosta

Qui enim illam [the Church] conculcant, extra illam cum daemonibus conculcabantur; et qui illam glorificant, in illa et cum illa inter angelos glorificabantur⁷⁷.

The words written by Anselm of Canterbury to Humbert II (Count of Savoy, the reign comprehensive of the city Aosta) interpret symbolically the instances of renovation which interested, among others, the collegiate church dedicated to St. Orso. In this light we have to re-consider and interpret peculiar interventions in the church since 1132, year in which the canons regularized themselves by adopting the Augustinian rule. This reconsideration is particularly relevant for our discourse regarding the devotion towards the saint patron, because the role and the 'image' of St. Orso are in this moment used to affirm the self-awareness of the reformed canons and the vicissitudes of their relations with the Cathedral⁷⁸. I would argue that the particular circumstance of opposition between Orso and bishop Ploceano, as we have mentioned above with reference to the *Vita* of the saint, is re-used

76 Jean-Charles Picard, "Les origines du mot Paradisus-Parvis", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 83/2 (1971), p. 159-186.

77 Anselmus Cantuariensis, *Epistola* 65, in PL 159, 102A-103C.

78 So the role of the patron is not 'used' for, or from, the entire city, but from the second most important church of Aosta against the Cathedral.

iconographically to contextualize (together with other biblical episodes) the problematic 'atmosphere' in the city immediately after the adoption of the rule (notably between 1133 and 1151).

The excavations testify that the paleochristian edifice had been already rebuilt in the Carolingian period, after an overflow of the Buthier⁷⁹ (the river nearby Aosta) and despite the successive interventions the edifice's structure has remained with a nave and side aisles ending in three apses⁸⁰.

An affirmation of the city's veneration towards St. Orso had found a remarkable expression related to architectural setting's changes at the end of the tenth century, precisely during the bishopric of Anselm (994–1025). In this period a crypt was built together with a general reconstruction of the presbyterial area – choir and apses⁸¹. Particularly interesting are the first phases of transformation, from the construction until the twelfth century. Since the beginning, the crypt was divided in two by a transverse wall, in which there were three openings: two one-light windows, and one two-light window (in the middle). The eastern part ended with three radial apses along the curve of the principal apse of the church. To enter this part there were two flight of stairs on the sides, but to enter the western part there was only one stair, probably not opened to the laics.

The windows had clearly a purpose of 'visual connection' between the two areas, and this should be related to the function of the western part. As already noticed, the axis of the church had been progressively

79 The frequent overflows of this river are remembered also in the *Vita Beati Ursi*, Frutaz, *Le fonti* (cit. n. 21), p.164; *L'insigne* (cit. n. 21), p. 13–14.

80 The edifice as we can see it today is the result of the important intervention in the fifteenth century, due to Giorgio of Challant. The two lateral apses have been substituted with two "cappelle"; the vaults are certainly referable to this period and also the façade, in which is still perceptible the presence of the tenth-century campanile. For the evolution's aspects see Bruno Orlandoni, "Il complesso di Sant'Orso dal XIII al XV secolo", in: *Sant'Orso* (cit. n. 23), here p. 111–130. Also Porter, in his 'Lombard Architecture' is interested in St. Orso, but at his time, the excavation hadn't been started yet, so he wrote mostly on the description of the capitals. See Porter, *Lombard* (cit. n. 36), here p. 54–67.

81 Before his election as bishop of Aosta, Anselm provided the church of S. Orso with a *tour-porche*. A dendrochronological analysis has fixed its execution in 989. See Bonnet-Perinetti, *La collegiata* (cit. n. 23), here p. 20.

moved to south, most likely to preserve *in situ* the burial place of one – or more – weighty personage. We know that the church had a funerary function since the fifth century, also for bishops tombs (even if S. Lorenzo was privileged). Such a necessity would make sense by admitting St. Orso had been buried here, as also Aubert has proposed⁸². In this way his body, which in the paleochristian edifice would have been along the lateral wall, as widespread before the eighth-ninth centuries, after the translation of the church succeeded in occupying the core of the new edifice and its crypt. Even if the hypothesis is quite intuitive, the literature hasn't almost focused on this point. The *Processionale Augustanum* could corroborate such a supposition: it attests the liturgy in occasion of St. Orso's feast, the 1st of February, and in other occasions. The descriptions of the processions explicitly mention the *Confessio sancti Ursi*, also named *Martyrion* with reference to the crypt⁸³. The author records a particular 'folk' tradition survived until the nineteenth century during the day of St. Orso: a number of devotees went downstairs into the crypt and they knelt to turn around a statue of the saint, by passing in a hide area.

By admitting that, we should assume the possibility of a pilgrimage (or visit) road. The situation in Aosta represents a widespread solution for the relation with lay people entering the church of the patron: the creation of a separate space from the choir. We also have to think that in this period (and until 1132) the church of St. Orso had secular canonical clergy, which had steady contacts with laics. This would also have motivate a larger attention to the "exigencies" of the principal local cult of the city.

Nevertheless the creation of two separated parts is not so common in the series of Romanesque crypts and, till now the probable reasonable comparison is with the crypt of Saint-Jean de Maurienne, in

82 Édouard Aubert, *La Vallée d'Aoste*, Paris 1860, p. 224.

83 Robert Amiet, *Processionale Augustanum: édition intégrale de trente-et-un processionaux valdôtains*, (*Monumenta liturgica Ecclesiae Augustanae*, 5), p. 204-205.

Savoy⁸⁴. This arrangement could exemplify the will to maintain visible the important burial, but not accessible⁸⁵.

A second intervention in the presbyterial area occurred between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, but didn't change the general setting and the 'visual connection' between the two rooms of the crypt⁸⁶.

The most important works followed the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine in 1132: if we observe the evolution of the choir in parallel with that of the crypt, we will notice that a floor mosaic was positioned in the lower choir, above the centre of the funerary area; and, just in front of the mosaic the archeologists have found evidences of an altar. They argue that this happened in the same period of a partial liturgical abandonment of the western room of the crypt, and thereby the mosaic was positioned above the privileged tomb to signal its position. In this regard, the representation of the mosaic could be interpreted in different ways: at the centre of the composition, there is the biblical scene of Samson wrestling with a lion. In the four corners of the square there are animals and fantastic figures: a lion cub in the eastern corner; a figure with a fish's tale, a human torso and holding a snake in the southern corner; a dragon in the western one; an eagle (or a stork) with two bodies and one head in the northern corner. The outer ring contains a verse inscription in rhymed hexameters⁸⁷: the pa-

84 Mariacloilde Magni, *Architettura religiosa e scultura romanica nella Valle d'Aosta*, Aosta 1974, p. 82–83 and Jean Hubert, "La crypte de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne et l'expansion de l'art lombard en France", in: *Il Romanico pistoiese nei suoi rapporti con l'Arte romanica dell'Occidente (Atti del I Convegno Internazionale di Studi medioevali di Storia e Arte)*, Pistoia 1966, p. 183–190.

85 This could make sense by considering the changes after 1132. See below.

86 The pavement of the eastern part of the crypt was lowered (0,70 m), and the central window was lowered too, in order to maintain the visual connection. The choir was divided in two levels, connected by four steps and corresponding to those in the crypt.

87 *Interior domini domus hec hornata decenter, querit eos qui semper psallant reverenter*. For the analysis of the mosaic and the meaning of the inscription in the light of the theological context of the twelfth century see Lucy Donkin, "Ornata decenter: perceptions of 'fitting decoration' amongst Augustinian canons of S. Orso in Aosta in the mid-twelfth century", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008), p. 75–93; on a simple description of the mosaic see Paolo Papone – Viviana

leographical characteristics and the similar style suggest to associate this inscription to the one present on a capital of the cloister⁸⁸, and to fix both their executions most likely in the fifth decade of the twelfth century. Another connection between the mosaic and the cloister could be suggested with reference to the iconography and the sources (Commentaries, *Allegoriae*) known by the inventor of the two programs. In this regard, by analyzing some particular cycles of the cloister, Jean Wirth has recently pointed out the possible use of the Commentary of Raban Maur. Other works of Raban could be interesting to interpret some aspects of the mosaic, for example the ambivalence that the lion had in the medieval culture. Concerning the episode of Samson he wrote:

Catulus, diabolus, ut in libro Judicum a Samsone catulus leonis interficitur, quod a Christo diabolus superatur.

In his work *De rem naturis*, on the contrary, he specified the identification of the lion cub with Christ, emphasizing his victory against the Devil and the death⁸⁹. The mosaic represents a lion cub in the eastern corner, in the 'direction of God', while on its opposite we find the dragon, representing the devil symbolically defeated.

This aspect leads us to the cloister, the only part of the complex built *ex-novo* after the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine (this is attested by capitals nn. 25, 35 and 36⁹⁰), which is the most significant

Vallet, "Il mosaico del coro", in: Sant'Orso (cit. n. 23), p. 35-48.

88 The inscription is on capital n. 25 and recites: *Marmoribus variis haec est distincta decenter, fabrica nec minus disposita convenienter.*

89 Ps. Hrabanus Maurus, *Allegoriae* in *Universam Sacram Scripturam*, PL 112, coll. 889A-889B; Hrabanus Maurus, *De Universo (De rerum naturis) libri viginti duo*, PL 111, coll. 217-218. For the cloister see Jean Wirth, "Les chapiteaux du cloître de Saint-Ours à Aoste", in: *Medioevo: Arti e Storia*, a c. di A.C. Quintavalle (atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma 18-22 settembre 2007), Milano 2008, p. 261-271.

90 A specification is necessary: for the numeration of the capitals I adopt the order established by Robert Berton in: *I capitelli del chiostro di Sant'Orso. Un gioiello d'arte romanica in Val d'Aosta*, Aosta 1956. The same numeration is used also by the scholars who have studied the cloister (inter alia: Sandra Barberi, *Il chiostro di Sant'Orso ad Aosta*, Roma 1988; Paolo Papone, *Il chiostro di Sant'Orso in Aosta e la sua interpretazione*, Aosta 2011).

expression of the new community ideas, thanks to a very coherent and meaningful iconographical program.

From an historical point of view, the Reform's origins and diffusion in Savoy have been recently analyzed by considering the importance of the figure of Count Amadeus III, son of Humbert II, who was "personally involved in the reformation of the secular canons at St. Maurice of Agaune and in the initial formation of a daughter house of St. Maurice, the abbey of Abondance"⁹¹.

The propagation of the ideas of renovation in Savoy in the first half of the twelfth century has generally be considered in the light of the Reform began in the eleventh. Probably it is not a case if this "belated" manifestation of reform involves particularly canonical communities reformed in regular clergy and not in monks, as was widespread in the eleventh century (the same St. Abbondio exemplifies this tendency in Northern Italy). In Aosta the important bishop for the reformation was Herbert, also represented on a capital of the cloister⁹². Because of its probable provenance from Abundance it has been suggested that perhaps his purpose in establishing a new regular community was to continue his previous religious practice even as bishop. Whatever it is, this

91 Cheyl Lynn Kaufman, *The Augustinian Canons of St. Ursus: Reform, Identity, and the Practice of Place in Medieval Aosta*, Austin 2011. The author analyzes many different aspects and documents. The abbey of St. Maurice was founded in 515 by Sigismund, son of the king of Burgundy, in order to create a place of pilgrimage in honor of the martyr St. Maurice and his legion, the Theban martyrs. The importance of this abbey during the sixth century is related to the introduction of the *laus perennis* (i.e. chanting the divine offices day and night without interruption). During the ninth and tenth centuries the abbey experienced a decline, material but above all spiritual, because the kings of Burgundy appointed laymen to serve as abbots of the abbey. Only in the twelfth century, thanks to Amadeus III who gave up his lay abbacy of St. Maurice, the community could regularized himself, in 1128. Also for St. Maurice, as we will see for Aosta, the documentation remembers an *episcopus reformans*. Probably more important for the reform of St. Orso is the situation of the abbey of St. Mary at Abundance. This college was a daughter house of St. Maurice, but adopted reforming ideals some twenty years before its mother house. Thanks to the Abundance canons, the Augustinian Rule could spread throughout Savoy and if we think that the 'reforming bishop' of Aosta is remembered as "our canon" in the necrology of Abundance (*Obiit Herbertus Augustensis episcopus and canonicus nos-ter*), the consequentiality between the two reformations appears probable.

92 Capital is n. 35 in the numeration of the cloister.

renovation provoked strong tension between the Cathedral clergy and the canons of St. Orso, surely until 1151, when the first prior of the Collegiate, Arnulf, became bishop of Aosta.

The particular situation of Aosta has been compared with the one in Chartres where bishop Ivo (1040–1115), after he was unable to reform the Cathedral clergy, decided to reform a collegiate church outside the walls of the city, St. Jean, at the end of the eleventh century. This act provoked a similar reaction than in Aosta, so that Ivo had to protect the community of St. Jean from his own cathedral chapter. For this reason: “it is possible, with due caution, to suggest that Herbert turned to the canons of St. Ursus outside the walls of Aosta after the cathedral canons chose not to reform”⁹³.

From the period between 1133 and 1152 thirteen documents concerning this situation in Aosta are conserved. Among them we find Papal bulls (from Innocent II in 1133 and 1136, Lucius II in 1144 and Eugenius III in 1146 and 1152), letters and charters from bishops. Particularly interesting for our discourse is the bull from Innocent II dating 1136: here two elements concur in clarifying on one side the difficult relation with the Cathedral chapter after the adoption of the Rule⁹⁴ and on the other the meaning of a co-dedication of St. Orso’s church to St. Peter, who is also represented on the same capital as Herbert (n. 35)⁹⁵.

Apparently this would be the first mention of St. Peter as co-titular of the collegiate (SS. Pietro and Orso). This is quite interesting, considering the few information we have about the paleochristian church before its dedication to Orso⁹⁶. Lynn Cheryl Kaufman has suggested that this was a totally new dedication, in order to underline the connection between the new regular canons and the papacy, so that it

93 Kaufman, *The Augustinian* (cit. n. 91), here p. 74.

94 *Statuimus ergo ut neque matri ecclesie, nec alicui omnino hominum liceat vestram ecclesiam temere perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre, vel ablata retinere, minuere, seu a vobis quidquam ultra id quod est antiquitus consuetum exigere, aut vos quibuslibet molestiis fatigare.* For the entire bull see Pope Innocent II, *Privilegium pro Ecclesia S. Ursi Augustensis*, PL 179, 165C–166A.

95 The same privileges, together with a ‘threat’ to the *matri ecclesie* and the co-dedication of Ss. Peter and Orso, are reaffirmed by the bulls of Lucius II and Eugenius III in 1144 and 1146.

96 For this aspect see above the first paragraph.

could be obvious for anyone who made reference to the collegiate⁹⁷. By admitting this onomastic change, even if the simple St. Peter could have been a normal paleochristian dedication not testified nowadays in written sources, we could agree with Kaufman's conclusion that the new community 'needed' the addition of papal authority to the reforms taking place. Nevertheless the importance of St. Peter's meaning wouldn't change even if this wasn't a new dedication. In fact, relevant is the decision to use iconographically the image of St. Peter to underline the papal protection and approval, being St. Peter already the coded symbol of the papacy of Rome. In this light the image of the principal apostle together with those of St. Augustine, St. Orso, the bishop of Aosta Herbert and the prior Arnulf are a witness of the regular life began in 1133, where the new prior receives directly the blessing from St. Augustine, the protection of Aosta's bishop and Aosta's patron (St. Orso is laying his hand on Arnulf's back and arm) and the symbolically defense of the papacy, whose role in this reform had been important. Thus this is a *manifesto* of affirmation of the new community, who continuously remembered it, every day looking at the capital.



Fig. 3: Capital n. 32 from the cloister of St. Orso in Aosta (Paolo Papone, *Il chiostro di Sant'Orso in Aosta e la sua interpretazione*, Aosta 2011)

97 Kaufman, *The Augustinian* (cit n. 91), here p. 84–85, and also “In the context of this tension over material assets and struggle for autonomy, Arnulf reformulated the identity of the regular canons by adding St. Peter as co-titular of their college (...) No longer were they identified by a merely local patron; now the regular canons also claimed a universal saint that compared with the patrons of the cathedral, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist.” p. 98.

The fundamental cloister's capital in which the new canons not only could remember the particular event of their constitution, but could associate their own story with that of the saint patron, is capital n. 32 (fig. 3), the one representing episodes of St. Orso's life. The comparison with the main hagiographical source, the *Vita Beati Ursi*, is inevitable⁹⁸. The figurative narration is supported by a lot of inscriptions, very useful to identify the episodes in relation with the written source.

On the capital, first we see St. Orso giving alms to the poor, PAUPERES, who kneel in front of him. In the next scene the saint is striking with his cane a fountain, FONDS, from which emerge three streams of water and above there is a church. Orso is sitting in front of this church (is it a symbolic representation of the Collegiate?) holding a book; he is approaching by an *armiger* (armor-bearer) who is riding up a bishop's horse (ERRANS EPISCOPI CUM PALAFREDO). Orso receives his confession and then we find him interceding for the armiger with the bishop of Aosta *Ploceanus*. In the next scene the poor guy is tortured by two men, and in this case we assume that they have been sent by the bishop, because near we can see him cruelly tormented in his bed by two DIABOLI. On the abacus is inscribed a curse: ECCE D(EI) S(A)C(RAMENTU)M: QUIA FALLERE NON TIMUISTI, DEMONIIS ES PREDA, MISER, QUIA SIC MERUISTI. PRESULIS EXEMPLO SUBEANT NIGRA TARTARA LUSI QUI NOS I(TEM) PUGNANT, CECA FORMIDINE FUSI.

By reading his *Vita* we can remark some things: first of all the episode of the fountain simply doesn't exist in the texts. Also in the following scenes of the capital there are episodes which cannot find a right correspondence in the texts, and the inscriptions explicit a sort of 'transposition'. As a matter of fact, in both versions of the *Vita* there's the nice episode of a horseman who has lost his *dominus'* best horse. St. Orso miraculously reveals to him that the horse the man is riding is the very horse he seeks. Immediately after this one, the authors mention another story, which recalls a simple servant seeking immunity for crimes he committed in the service of bishop Ploceanus.

98 See §1, n. 21.

The man confesses to Orso who decides to talk to bishop *Ploceanus* (here we recognize the moment of the intercession), who promises that he will forgive the servant, while he had already said to his men to catch him and torture him⁹⁹. Ploceano deceives St. Orso. After the torture the servant goes back to Orso who prophesies the bishop's death, the servant's death and his own death. We gather that the capital represents something different as if, in a way, the sculptor had made a 'fusion' of the two episodes, with the bishop becoming the *dominus* of the horseman, and the horseman becoming the servant of the bishop, in order to create only one episode. But also in this case we should notice an independence in the denomination of the protagonist, an *armiger*, different from the texts (*caballarius* or *iuves*). Finally, curious and uncertain are the words SIC IUGULATUR that, written above the tortured man, should be referred, according to the Life, to the bishop in the next scene.

The kind of differences between the representation and these sources don't mean the existence of a totally different tradition of the life, but maybe a parallel one (an oral one?) known by the sculptor of the cloister.

An interesting question is connected to the words on the abacus and parallel to this to the organization of the narration: a big part of the capital is dedicated to bishop *Ploceanus* and stresses his negative crimes (probably more than the *Vita*, because here we cannot understand if the servant dies, in this case the bishop would be responsible of his death). Also the gestures of St. Orso and Ploceano display the sharp contrast between a moral and immoral priest.

The words inscribed on the abacus are precisely directed to the bishop, who had deceived Orso, and yet interesting is the consequent extension of the warning to those who *nos pugnant*, in the twelfth century. Considering the conflicts between the two communities of the city, is it possible that the receivers of the *monito* on the capital were the cathedral's canons representing those who didn't want to correct and moralize themselves after the instances of the Reform?

99 For these episodes in the versions of the *Vita*: Frutaz, *Le fonti* (cit. n. 21), here p. 165 and p. 166; *L'insigne* (cit. n. 21), here p. 17 and p. 19.

A first attempt to trace the working of some 'religious conflicts' in the iconography of the decorated cloisters was made by Leon Pressouyre, whose article is up to now extremely relevant and after him the topic has been inquired following different point of view by Ilene Forsyth, among others¹⁰⁰. According to these studies, the desire to proclaim the legitimacy and strength of a particular Order does determine the type of representation exalting the Rule, and the founder. In this perspective we should consider capital 32 together with capital 35 as the will to legitimate the adoption of the Rule against the enemies¹⁰¹.

At the end of this circle we return to the figure of St. Peter, representing the guarantee that the Rule was in total accordance with the ideals of Christ, being the apostles the model *par excellence* of communal life. It is not a coincidence that this concern with the *vita apostolica* was one of the Gregorian Reform's fundaments.

By 'reading' St. Orso's capital in the general conception of the cloister, also the other cycles will appear not only significant but, in a certain way, connected to each other.

The south gallery, which was contiguous to the refectory contained logically the capitals with reference to the communal life of the canons; among them we find the Resurrection of Lazarus, scenes of the life of the canons and the *fable* of the Stork and the Fox from Phaedrus, regarding (once again) the deceiver who is deceived.

Important is the cycle with episodes of Jacob, which occupies 11 capitals¹⁰². This is the cycle on which has focused the attention Jean Wirth, noticing that the inventor probably used the Commentary of Raban Maur, and also that the program was conceived in function of the religious life. Moreover, in this cycle Rachel and Lia appear always

100 Leon Pressouyre, "St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic ideals and iconographic programs in the cloister", in: *Gesta* 12 (1973), p. 71–92; Ilene H. Forsyth, "The *Vita Apostolica* and Romanesque sculpture: some preliminary observations", in: *Gesta* 25/1 (1986), p. 75–82. Interesting for a study on liturgical practices related to a cloister is the study of Leah Rutchick, "A Reliquary Capital at Moissac: Liturgy and Ceremonial Thinking in the Cloister", in: *Decorations for the holy dead*, (International Medieval research, 8), Brepols 2002, p. 129–150.

101 Pressouyre, St. Bernard (cit. n. 100), p. 71–74.

102 The cycle is positioned, as in origins, in the western gallery of the cloister.

together, even if not required, and also Martha and Maria¹⁰³. For this aspect the explication is in the Commentaries based upon Gregory the Great: the two women represent *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, an aspect on which the reformed canons insisted: it was necessary to find an equilibrium between them, to solve the problems of the secularized church.

Finally, relevant is the cycle of the prophets, which occupies 5 capitals. The inscriptions are far to be encouraging; as a matter of fact in this cycle the eschatological theme of the divine revenge against the bad and the deceivers is particularly stressed¹⁰⁴.

The insistence on the foundation of the cloister and on the adoption of the Rule, the good example given by the correct equilibrium between *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*, the threats of the prophets against the deceivers, the curse of St. Orso against those who were opposite to his reformed community and finally the arrival of the reign of Christ: these are components of a unique program affirming not only the right necessity of leaving the "life in the century" typical of the canons not reformed, but above all affirming that the reformed canons were those in accordance with the apostolic life of the origins, and their legitimacy in the city passed through St. Peter, St Augustin and St. Orso, the confessor who gave continuously his example through the centuries.

I have tried to underline some specific aspects of the complexes of St. Abbondio and St. Orso which could give a more complete idea of the interventions in the two churches. Parallel to this, being St. Abbondio and St. Orso only two examples, they show different kind of factors that contributed to define the internal setting of a church, or an iconographical choice.

The fact that these examples concern different realities is simply another witness of the general political use of the cult of the saint patrons, by using art and architecture.

In this way the artistic dimension in Middle Ages answered to peculiar criteria and to real, historical motivations.

¹⁰³ For example in capital nn. 20 and 34.

¹⁰⁴ The prophets are represented on capitals nn. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Exuperantius – Heiliger der Stadt?

Andrea Beck

Das heutige Siegel der Stadt Zürich zeigt drei kopflose Gestalten. Es sind die Heiligen Felix, Regula und Exuperantius. Der frühesten überlieferten lateinischen Biographie zufolge, der *Passio sanctorum Felicis et Regule*, sei das Geschwisterpaar Felix und Regula am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., nachdem sie mit der berühmten Thebäischen Legion um Mauritius nach Europa gekommen seien und sich von dieser getrennt hätten, bis zum *castrum Turegum*, dem heutigen Zürich, weiter gezogen. Häscher des Kaisers Maximianus († 310) hätten die beiden jedoch entdeckt und sie gefangen genommen. Ein römischer *tyrannus* namens Decius habe die Gefangenen dann verhört. Trotz der Androhung und Durchführung diverser Foltermethoden hätten sich Felix und Regula erfolgreich geweigert, die römischen Götter anzubeten bzw. ihnen Opfer darzubringen. Schließlich seien sie in Zürich, am Ufer des Flusses Limmat, enthauptet worden. Doch nach der Enthauptung hätten sich ihre Leiber wieder aufgerichtet, ihre heruntergeschlagenen Häupter aufgehoben und an die Stelle getragen, wo die Märtyrer hätten begraben werden wollen. Über dieser Grabstätte erhebt sich seit dem Mittelalter das Zürcher Grossmünster, ein Chorherrenstift.

In jener *Passio*, die im 8. Jahrhundert niedergeschrieben wurde, wird – wie soeben zusammengefasst – das Martyrium der Geschwister Felix und Regula geschildert.¹ Der dritte Kopfträger Exuperantius, der ja auch auf dem eingangs genannten Siegel abgebildet ist – und dort

¹ Ediert ist die *Passio* von Iso Müller, "Die frühkarolingische *Passio* der Zürcher Heiligen", in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1971), S. 132–187, hier S. 135–144; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiqua et mediae aetatis*, hg. v. [A. Poncelet], 2 Bände, Brüssel 1898–1901, *Novum Supplementum*, hg. v. Heinrich Fros, Brüssel 1986, Nr. 2887.

somit gleichwertig zum Geschwisterpaar zu sehen ist –, wird aber mit keinem Wort erwähnt.

Wer also ist dieser Exuperantius? Das historisch-biographische Lexikon der Schweiz gibt die Auskunft², dass er „nach später Legende Diener u. Leidensgefährte der Hl. Felix und Regula“³ gewesen sei. Und tatsächlich findet sich kein Hinweis auf Exuperantius oder auch nur einen namenlosen Diener in den anderen frühen Texten zu Felix und Regula. So fehlt er in einer weiteren Passio, deren früheste erhaltene Abschrift auf die Zeit um 1130 datiert wird.⁴ Diese Abschrift liegt heute in der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart und enthält auch die älteste bildliche Darstellung von Felix und Regula, aber eben ohne Exuperantius.⁵

Doch in der Fassung der Lebensbeschreibung, die in die *Legenda aurea* aufgenommen wurde und von der Handschriften ab dem 13. Jahrhundert belegt sind⁶, wird Exuperantius genannt – und zwar genau einmal: Nämlich an einer Stelle, an der Felix sowohl zu seiner Schwester als auch zu Exuperantius spricht. Interessant ist, dass auch Regula in dieser Version nur einmal beim Namen genannt wird, nämlich gerade dort, wo sie und Exuperantius von Felix angesprochen werden. Abgesehen von der einmaligen namentlichen Nennung tritt Exu-

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- 2 Nur wenige Lexika haben einen eigenen Eintrag für Exuperantius. Häufig wird innerhalb des Nachschlagewerks auf einen Artikel über Felix (und Regula) verwiesen, wie zum Beispiel im Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Band 3 (1959), Sp. 1323 oder im Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, Band 6 (1974, Sonderausgabe 1994), Sp. 213. Im Heiligenlexikon findet sich unter insgesamt neun Heiligen dieses Namens als fünfter Eintrag auch der Zürcher, vgl. Vollständiges Heiligenlexikon oder Lebensgeschichten, Band 2 (1861), S. 152.
 - 3 Friedrich Hegi, „Exuperantius“, in: Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz, Band 3 (1926), S. 97; dieser Wortlaut bereits vorher bei Ernst Alfred Stückelberg, Die schweizerischen Heiligen des Mittelalters, Zürich 1903, S. 33.
 - 4 BHL (wie Anm. 1), Nr. 2891, abgedruckt bei Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Novi Testamenti*, Zürich 1667, Band 8, S. 1056–1061.
 - 5 In dieser Fassung (BHL [wie Anm. 1], Nr. 2891) taucht Exuperantius in nur einer von insgesamt neun erhaltenen Handschriften mit diesem Text auf: Eine Wiener Abschrift aus dem 15. Jahrhundert nennt ihn drei Mal im Text, doch nicht als Handelnden, sondern nur in Aufzählung nach Regula.
 - 6 Vgl. zum sog. Normalcorpus Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda Aurea*, (Subsidia Hagiographica 72), Brüssel 1991, S. 30–37, S. 107 (LA 183) und S. 382, S. 387–389, und S. 488 (R11).

perantius nicht mehr in Erscheinung; auch sein Status als Diener geht nicht aus diesem Text hervor.⁷

Nichtliterarische Quellen bezeugen ihn mehrfach als gleichwertigen Begleiter von Felix und Regula, wie zum Beispiel das Stadtsiegel, dessen Wurzeln weit zurück reichen. Alle drei Heiligen zusammen sind zuerst auf dem städtischen Siegel aus dem Jahr 1225 dargestellt. Für dasselbe Jahr ist aber auch die Verwendung eines Siegelbildes, das nur Felix und Regula zeigt, zwei Mal nachzuweisen, und zwar einige Monate zuvor. Die Einführung des neuen Typs dürfte zwischen Juni und Dezember 1225 erfolgt sein. Nach Unterbrechungen durch Siegeltypen, die wiederum nur Felix und Regula zeigen, ist auch Exuperantius ab 1347 durchgängig bis heute auf dem Siegel zu sehen.⁸

Unter den Zürcher Siegeln des Mittelalters gilt es aber, die des Stadtrates und die der zwei Stifte, dem Fraumünster und dem bereits genannten Großmünster, zu unterscheiden. Das Fraumünster war im 9. Jahrhundert von König Ludwig dem Deutschen († 876) reich dotiert

7 Beispielsweise in einer der wohl frühesten erhaltenen Handschrift in Einsiedeln, Klosterbibliothek, Ms. 629 (258). In der Handschrift Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Ms. L 34 wird der dritte Heilige noch in der Überschrift genannt.

8 Vgl. Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich, hg. v. Johann Jakob Escher, 13 Bände, Zürich 1888–1957, hier Band 1, Nr. 431 (8. Dezember 1225) und Nr. 432 (18. Dezember 1225) – die Siegel mit Exuperantius – und ebd. Nr. 426 (nach Januar 1225) und Nr. 429 (2. Juni 1225) – die früheren städtischen Siegel ohne den dritten Heiligen. Die Bearbeiter des Urkundenbuchs weisen auf die Möglichkeit hin, dass mit den zwei Siegeltypen die Siegel des kleinen Rats und des großen Rats unterschieden worden sein könnten, ebd., S. 310. Vgl. Margot Seidenberg, „Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule. Die Stadtheiligen als Siegelmotiv“, in: Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen Felix und Regula. Legenden, Reliquien, Geschichte und ihre Botschaft im Licht moderner Forschung, hg. v. Hansueli F. Etter u. a., Zürich 1988, S. 63–77, hier S. 74 mit Abb. 35 und 37. Abbildung auch bei Cécile Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius. Ikonographie der Stifts- und Stadtheiligen Zürichs, (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 47), Zürich 1973, Tafel II, Abb. 116. Furrer setzte das Siegel mit Exuperantius ins Jahr 1228, vgl. Konrad Furrer, „Die Zürcher Heiligen: Felix und Regula“, in: Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz 6 (1889), S. 226–237, hier S. 227. Vgl. auch allgemein Anton Largiadèr, „Die Entwicklung des Zürcher Siegels“, in: Zürcher Taschenbuch 62 (1942/1941), S. 1–29, mit einer Abbildung des Siegels mit Exuperantius auf S. 19, Abb. 2 und siehe auch Emil Schulthess, Die Staedte- und Landes-Siegel der Schweiz. Ein Beitrag zur Siegelkunde des Mittelalters, Zürich 1853, Tafel II, Abb. 1.

worden, dessen Töchter Hildegard († 856) und Bertha († 877) dem Stift als erste Äbtissinnen vorstanden.⁹ Bei der Weihe des Fraumünsters um das Jahr 874 fand eine Translation von Felix- und Regula-Reliquien vom Großmünster, der Grabstelle östlich der Limmat, über den Fluss in das westlich gelegene Fraumünster statt.¹⁰ Als Patrone der Fraumünsterabtei wurden die beiden daher im Siegel der Äbtissin abgebildet. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen besitzen diese Siegel eine spitzovale Form und zeigen ab dem 13. Jahrhundert die Häupter von Felix und Regula meist mit einer kniend betenden Äbtissin darunter, wie das der Äbtissin Gisela von Spiegelberg († 1221) aus dem Jahr 1221. Spätere Typen präsentieren die beiden Stiftsheiligen als Halbfiguren bzw. stehend.¹¹

Ähnliche Darstellungsweisen von Felix und Regula finden sich auch in den Siegeln des Großmünsters. Spätestens ab dem Jahre 1259 werden Felix und Regula in den Siegeln der Pröpste des Chorherrenstifts von einer dritten Person begleitet, jedoch nicht von Exuperantius, sondern von Kaiser Karl dem Großen († 814), von dem im Jahre 1233 Reliquien nach Zürich gelangt waren und den das Großmünster als seinen Gründer ansah und folglich als weiteren Stiftspatron erwählte, auch um in einer gewissen mit dem Fraumünster herrschenden Rivalität aufzutreffen.¹² Zudem soll es Kaiser Karl gewesen sein, der die verloren gegangene Grabstätte der Heiligen wieder aufgefunden

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- 9 Zur Diskussion, ob das Kloster von Ludwig neu gegründet wurde oder neu begründet, vgl. zum Beispiel Judith Steinmann, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei zum Fraumünster und ihr Verhältnis zur Stadt Zürich 853–1524*, (Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige, Ergänzungsband 23), St. Ottilien 1980, S. 11–15; Dieter Geuenich, „Aus den Anfängen der Fraumünsterabtei in Zürich“, in: *Geschichte und Kultur Churrätens*, hg. v. Ursus Brunold u. a., Disentis 1986, S. 211–231, hier S. 212 mit Anm. 8; Peter Vogelsanger, *Zürich und sein Fraumünster. Eine elfhundertjährige Geschichte (853–1956)*, Zürich 1994, besonders S. 35–49.
- 10 Vgl. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, „Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches aus dem alten Zürich“, in: *Ex fontibus hauriamus. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte*, (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 60), hg. v. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, Zürich 1993, S. 68–80, hier S. 71 mit Anm. 15; Vogelsanger, *Zürich und sein Fraumünster* (wie Anm. 9), S. 62–74.
- 11 Vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 67, mit Abb. 30.

den habe.¹³ In den Siegeln einzelner Chorherren des Grossmünsters sind in der Regel zwei Kephalphoren, also Kopfträger, oder nur einer zu sehen, wobei es sich dann um Felix handelt.¹⁴

Die Ausnahme bildet das Chorherren-Siegel des Johannes Manulus aus dem Jahr 1381, denn hier sind alle drei Kopfträger unter der Hand Gottes dargestellt. Man könnte vielleicht in der Aufnahme des Exuperantius in dieses Siegel eine Anlehnung an das in jener Zeit bereits schon länger vorhandene Stadtsiegel mit allen drei Heiligen annehmen,¹⁵ da

der demokratische Rat ... diesen apokryphen Gefährten ins Siegel aufgenommen [hat], offenbar als kleine demokratische Demonstration gegenüber den hochnoblen Stiften der Abtei und der Chorherren, die beide stets nur die zwei adligen Heiligen in ihren Siegeln bewahrten.¹⁶

Zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts hatte sich ein Rat der Stadt gebildet. Ausschlaggebend war wohl das Jahr 1218, als die Linie der Herzöge von Zähringen erlosch, die bis dato die Reichsvogtei Zürichs inne gehabt

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- 12 Vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 69f.; Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zürich, Band 3, Die Stadt Zürich, Teilband 1: Altstadt rechts der Limmat – Sakralbauten, (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz 110), hg. v. Regine Abegg u. a., Bern 2007, S. 88 und Schwarz, *Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches* (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 72 und 73–75.
 - 13 Diese Legende ist in der deutschsprachigen Chronik Brennwalds zu finden, Heinrich Brennwalds *Schweizerchronik*, (Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte, Neue Folge, I. Abteilung: Chroniken 1), hg. v. Rudolf Luginbühl, Basel 1908, Band 1, S. 84–87. Brennwald lehnt sich an die Fassung von Martin von Bartenstein an, die in einer Handschrift nach 1487 überliefert ist (Hystorien oder legendt von den seligen martren sanct Felix, sanct Regula und sanct Exuperancio, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, A 118). Dort ist auf fol. 42r ebenfalls die Inventio der Heiligen durch Karl genannt. Eine Untersuchung dieser deutschen Legende und ihre Beziehungen zu den anderen, v.a. den lateinischen, ist ein Forschungsdesiderat. Eine unveröffentlichte Zürcher Lizenzatsarbeit über diese Handschrift war der Verfasserin nicht zugänglich.
 - 14 Vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 72f. mit Abb. 34/9–11.
 - 15 Vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8) hier S. 73 mit Abb. 34/12.
 - 16 Vogelsanger, *Zürich und sein Fraumünster* (wie Anm. 9), S. 31. Vgl. auch Daniel Guttscher, *Das Grossmünster in Zürich. Eine baugeschichtliche Monographie*, (Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz 5), Bern 1983, S. 37.

hatten, und als König Friedrich II. († 1250) die Stadt, das Großmünster und das Fraumünster für reichsunmittelbar erklärte.¹⁷ Auf die Entwicklung der Stadt nahmen mehrere Parteien Einfluss, darunter auch der neugebildete Stadtrat. Im Lauf der folgenden Jahrhunderte gelang es diesem, die Relevanz der Abtei und auch des Großmünsters zu vermindern.¹⁸ Das gesteigerte Selbstbewusstsein ließ sich bereits zu Anfang erkennen, als die Stadt die bisherigen Stiftsheiligen Felix und Regula auch als ihre Patrone beanspruchte und sie soz. für politische Zwecke einsetzte.¹⁹ In den Siegeln des 13. Jahrhunderts sind durchgängig Felix und Regula zu sehen, – bis auf das eine des Jahres 1225, in das zusätzlich auch Exuperantius aufgenommen ist.²⁰

Das neue Siegel, das noch heute verwendet wird, stiess offensichtlich auf Widerstand. Der Rat konnte es erst nach dem Umsturz von 1336 wieder benutzen, nachdem sich die Zünfte in Zürich etabliert hatten.²¹

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- 17 Vgl. zum Beispiel kurz Jürg Schneider, "Städtegründungen und Stadtentwicklung", in: Geschichte des Kantons Zürich. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter, Band 1, hg. v. Niklaus Flüeler, Zürich 1995, S. 241–268, hier S. 243f.
- 18 Zum Einfluss des Rates auf das Fraumünster vgl. zum Beispiel Vogelsanger, Zürich und sein Fraumünster (wie Anm. 9), S. 190–193 und öfter und vor allem die Dissertation von Steinmann, Die Benediktinerinnenabtei zum Fraumünster (wie Anm. 9).
- 19 Vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 76, Schwarz, Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 75 und Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, "Die Stadt- und Landespatrone der alten Schweiz. Antrittsrede an der Universität Zürich am 9. Mai 1964", in: *Ex fontibus hauriamus. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte*, (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 60), hg. v. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, Zürich 1993, S. 174–189, hier S. 180.
- 20 „Vermutlich will sich damit die Stadt, welche 1218 die Reichsunmittelbarkeit erreicht und eine eigene Stadtpolitik zu treiben beginnt, von der Äbtissin klar abheben und ein städtisches Patronatsbewusstsein schaffen“, Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), S. 5. Thomas Lau, *Kleine Geschichte Zürichs*, Regensburg 2012, S. 21: „Der neue Märtyrer signalisierte das Bedürfnis und die Fähigkeit der Stadtgemeinde, eigene religiöse Leitbilder zu entwickeln“, vgl. ebd.
- 21 Markus Brühlmeier – Beat Frei, *Das Zürcher Zunftwesen*, 2 Bände, Zürich 2005, Band 1, S. 50. Vgl. in diesem Band auch zur Brunschen Umwälzung im Jahr 1336 S. 15–71, und Anton Largiadèr, Bürgermeister Rudolf Brun und die Zürcher Revolution von 1336, (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 31, Heft 5), Zürich 1936.

Im Zuge seines Aufstiegs gelang es dem Rat allmählich auch, das Münzrecht zu kontrollieren. Zunächst hatte die Äbtissin des Fraumünsters das Münzrecht neben anderen Privilegien wohl bereits seit dem Jahr 1045 ausgeübt.²² Hatte das Fraumünster das Schlagen der Münzen anfangs noch selbst ausgeführt, sind seit der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts Belege erhalten, dass der Münzschlag zeitweise an außenstehende Personen übertragen wurde.²³ 1364 empfahl dann der Stadtrat zum ersten Mal der Äbtissin das Abtreten der Münzprägung an solche Außenstehende und sein Einfluss auf die Vergabe des Münzschlags begann zuzunehmen, bis ihm 1425 von König Sigismund († 1437) sein eigenes Münzrecht bestätigt wurde, während das Fraumünster allerdings weiter Pfennige prägte.²⁴

Unter den erhaltenen Münzen Zürichs sind die Stiftspatrone erst auf diejenigen ab Ende des 12./Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts geprägt – also zeitlich nahe an der Aufnahme der Heiligen in die Siegel.²⁵ Zunächst wurde Felix' Kopf geprägt, dann Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts als ein Janus-artiger Doppelkopf zusammen mit Regula.²⁶ Bis zur ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts sind die Heiligen auf den Zürcher

22 Vgl. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs im Mittelalter, Aarau 1940, S. 27f. und Hans Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte, Zürich 1966, S. 27f.; Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zürich, Band 2, Die Stadt Zürich, Teilband 1: Altstadt links der Limmat – Sakralbauten, (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz 99), hg. v. Regine Abegg – Christine Barraud Wiener, Bern 2002, S. 32: „Vielleicht schon seit 1045, sicher ab Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts verfügte die Äbtissin über die Regalien. Nachdem die Abtei unter der Schirmvogtei der Zähringer ab 1173 politisch praktisch ausgeschaltet war, stellte die Verleihung der Regalien nach deren Aussterben 1218 die älteren Rechte wieder her“.

23 Vgl. Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 22), S. 27 und Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 38.

24 Vgl. Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 39 und 66. Die Bemühungen der Äbtissin Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts, dem Stadtrat das Münzrecht streitig zu machen, blieben erfolglos, und 1524 übergab sie ihr verbliebenes Münzrecht an den Rat, vgl. ebd. S. 64f. Vgl. auch Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 22), S. 83 und v. a. 112f. und Steinmann, Die Benediktinerinnenabtei zum Fraumünster (wie Anm. 9), S. 105.

25 Vgl. Hans-Ulrich Geiger, „Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild“, in: Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen Felix und Regula. Legenden, Reliquien, Geschichte und ihre Botschaft im Licht moderner Forschung, hg. v. Hansueli F. Etter u. a., Zürich 1988, S. 78–83, hier S. 79.

Pfennigen nachgewiesen.²⁷ Mit zunehmendem Einfluss des Stadtrats, der jedoch noch nicht dem Fraumünster das Münzmotiv vorschreiben konnte, wurden Felix und Regula vom Abbild der jeweiligen Äbtissin verdrängt, die auf diese Weise ihre Macht zu demonstrieren vermochte.²⁸ Erst mit Aufkommen der größeren Nomine an Silbermünzen und nachdem die Stadt das Münzrecht verliehen bekommen hatte, wurden auch wieder die Märtyrer als Motiv interessant: Die sog. Dicken von 1504 und 1505 zieren Felix und Regula,²⁹ und ein Taler von 1512 ist nach dem Stadtsiegel von 1347 gestaltet,³⁰ dort ist also auch Exuperantius zu sehen. Dies ist das einzige Mal, dass er auf einer Münze dargestellt ist, denn während der Reformationszeit bekamen die drei Patrone keinen Platz auf den Zürcher Geldstücken. Erst zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts erlebte das Motiv der beiden Geschwister ohne Diener eine Renaissance: auf einem Dukaten.³¹

Der Taler von 1512 und das dauerhafte Siegelmotiv ab 1347 deuten an, dass Exuperantius vor allem im Spätmittelalter bis zum Ausbruch

26 Vgl. Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 22), S. 117–119 mit Abb. 19–24. Zuvor war ein einfaches Kreuz das Motiv, ebd. Vgl. auch Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 36f. und Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 82 mit Abb. 38/5, Abbildung auch bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel I, Abb. 17.

27 Vgl. Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 22), S. 119f. mit Abb. 28 und Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 80–82 mit Abbildungen.

28 Vgl. Schwarz, Münz- und Geldgeschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 22), S. 120, Abb. 30 und Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 82.

29 Vgl. Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 82, Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 82 mit Abb. 38/10, Schwarz, Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 76f. und Die Kunstdenkmäler 2,1 (wie Anm. 22), S. 64; Abbildung auch bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel I, Abb. 148.

30 Vgl. Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 91 und Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 82 mit Abb. 38/11, Abbildung auch bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel I, Abb. 152.

31 Vgl. Hürlimann, Zürcher Münzgeschichte (wie Anm. 22), S. 109 und Geiger, Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen im Münzbild (wie Anm. 25), hier S. 82 mit Abb. 38/12; Abbildung auch bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel I, Abb. 201a.

der Reformation Beachtung erfahren hat. Das lässt sich auch anhand erhaltener bildlicher Darstellungen nachvollziehen.

Zum Beispiel sind alle drei Kopfträger auf einem Fresko aus dem Haus „Königsstuhl“ an der Stüssihofstatt in Zürich, das aus der Zeit um 1400 bis 1425 stammt.³² Zusammen mit drei weiteren Heiligen bewegen sie sich auf dem Fresko nach links. Vielleicht war ursprünglich auf der linken Seite noch Christus zu sehen, dem sie sich dann also zuwenden – das ist ein später wiederkehrendes Motiv.

Berühmt sind die Tafelgemälde von Hans Leu dem Älteren († 1507), der die drei Märtyrer um 1500 vor dem Stadtpanorama Zürichs präsentiert hat. Auf drei Tafeln ist das Martyrium dargestellt: Links sieht man Felix, der zu Regula am unteren Bildrand blickt – man kann hier gut erkennen, dass die Tafeln ursprünglich größer waren und unten beschnitten worden sind; in der Mitte wird Felix für die Folter entkleidet, wovon Regula ihren Blick abwendet; und ganz rechts sieht man, dass auch Exuperantius dabei ist: er wird hier zusammen mit den anderen in einem Kessel mit heißem Öl stehend gepeinigt. Leus Tafeln gehörten zu einem Altar in der Seitenkapelle des Großmünsters, in der sich die Gräber von Felix und Regula befanden.³³

Eine weitere Altartafel, und zwar aus St. Moritz aus dem Jahre 1506, zeigt ebenfalls alle drei Kopf losen, die hier von Christus empfangen werden. Im Spruchband ist ein Vers aus Kapitel 25 des

32 Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, LM 20991. Vgl. die Abbildung bei Regula Frei-Stolba u. a., *Römische Zeit*, in: *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter*, Band 1, hg. v. Niklaus Flüeler, Zürich 1995, S. 78–108, hier S. 87. Abbildung auch bei Ramer, *Felix, Regula und Exuperantius* (wie Anm. 8), Tafel VI, Abb. 131.

33 Heute befinden sich die insgesamt fünf erhaltenen Tafelbilder im Schweizerischen Landesmuseum in Zürich, Inv. AG-7.1–3; *Die Kunstdenkmäler 3,1* (wie Anm. 12), S. 106–108; vgl. auch Peter Jezler, „Die Desakralisierung der Zürcher Stadtheiligen Felix, Regula und Exuperantius in der Reformation“, in: *Heiligenverehrung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, hg. v. Peter Dinzelbacher – Dieter Bauer, Ostfildern 1990, S. 296–319, hier S. 299–303; Vgl. kurz Carola Jäggi, „Sakralität im Protestantismus, oder: Wo steckt das Heilige nach der Reformation?“, in: *Sakralität und Sakralisierung. Perspektiven des Heiligen*, (Beiträge zur Hagiographie 13), hg. v. Andrea Beck – Andreas Berndt, Stuttgart 2013, S. 53–70, hier S. 63 mit teils farbigen Abbildungen auf S. 205, Farbtafel 10 und 11.

Matthäus-Evangeliums (Mt 25,34) zitiert, der auch Eingang in die geschriebenen Legenden gefunden hat.³⁴

Aus dem gleichen Jahr stammt eine Glasmalerei in der Kirche aus Maschwanden. Diese Glasgemälde wurden von Zürichs bedeutendstem Glasmaler der Spätgotik, Lukas Zeiner († um 1513), angefertigt und von der Stadt Zürich der Maschwander Kirche geschenkt. Dazu schreibt Magdalen Bless-Grabher Folgendes:

In der Dorfkirche repräsentieren die Zürcher Stadtheiligen die Oberhoheit der über die Landschaft regierenden Stadt, was durch die Farben von Regulas Gewand und Mantel subtil unterstrichen wurde; sie sind in Blau bzw. Weiss gehalten, den Zürcher Stadtfarben, die damals auch gewisse städtische Funktionäre trugen.³⁵

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- 34 Die Altartafel wird ebenfalls in Zürich im Schweizerischen Landesmuseum, Dep. 839, aufbewahrt. Abbildung bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel IX, Abb. 186. Der gleiche Vers stand auch auf der großen Glocke des Großmünsters von 1451, die 1889 zersprang. Die erhaltenen Fragmente zeigen Christus die drei Heiligen empfangend, vgl. Die Kunstdenkmäler 3,1 (wie Anm. 12), S. 125. Eine frühere Glocke aus dem Jahr 1428 nennt dagegen in der Inschrift Maria, Regula, Felix und Carola, vgl. ebd.
- 35 Magdalen Bless-Grabher, "Veränderungen im kirchlichen Bereich 1350–1520", in: Geschichte des Kantons Zürich. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter, Band 1, hg. v. Niklaus Flüeler, Zürich 1995, S. 438–470, hier S. 465 mit Abbildung. Ähnlichen Wortlaut hat auch schon Schwarz, Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 78 mit Anm. 53. Aufbewahrt wird die Doppelscheibe in Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Dep 579a und b. Abbildung bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel XII, Abb. 187ab; vgl. auch Jenny Schneider, Glasgemälde. Katalog der Sammlung des Schweizerischen Landesmuseums Zürich, Zürich 1970, 2 Bände, hier Band 1, Tafel 98/99, S. 51f. und S. 159. Eine kurze Biographie zu Lukas Zeiner ebd., Band 2, S. 492. Im Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg liegt ebenfalls ein Glasfenster aus Zürich mit den drei Patronen (Empfang durch Christus-Motiv), das von Hans Leu dem Jüngeren 1517 gefertigt wurde, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. MM260; vgl. Schwarz, Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 79: „Dies erinnert daran, dass diese Scheiben, wie auch die leider verschollenen von Mettmensstetten und diejenigen im Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg von 1517 ... Schenkungen der Stadt Zürich an Landkirchen ihres Hoheitsgebietes waren. Hatten die Heiligen hier nicht auch die Funktion, die Autorität der regierenden Stadt zu präsentieren, deren Überlegenheit nicht nur auf politischem und wirtschaftlichem, sondern auch auf dem geistlichen Gebiet zu dokumentieren und als allgemein bekannte Stadtpatrone an heiliger Stätten den Untertanen ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Stadt Zürich vor Augen zu führen?“. Umso

Einzig Exuperantius hat im Saum seinen Namen in Form eines Spruchbandes eingenäht, er allein muss dem Betrachter vorgestellt werden.

Exuperantius ist auf dem städtischen Siegel, auf einer späten Münze und auf Gemälden zu sehen, also auf Darstellungen, die in irgendeiner Form mit dem Stadtrat zu tun haben oder von ihm veranlasst wurden,³⁶ was die Forschung bewog, Exuperantius als einen Heiligen der Stadt zu bezeichnen: er sei von ihr „eingeführt“ und gar „aufgedrängt“ worden.³⁷

bemerkenswerter ist es, dass der letzte Propst des Grossmünsters, Felix Frey († 1555), im Jahre 1519 der Chorherrenstube des Grossmünsters ein Fenster schenkte, auf dem Karl der Große in der Mitte, in den Zwickeln oben Christus sowie Felix und Regula zu sehen sind (das Fenster ist in Privatbesitz, vgl. Johann Rudolf Rahn, „Zum Titelbild“, in: Zürcher Taschenbuch 3 (1880), S. 318–320, Abbildung ebd., Tafel I), – und eine zweite Scheibe, die wohl erst „in den 1530er Jahren“ entstanden ist, enthält alle drei Heiligen im Zwickel (vgl. [Friedrich Salomon Vögelin], Die Glasgemälde aus der Stiftspropstei, von der Chorherrenstube und aus dem Pfarrhause zum Grossmünster [Neujahrsblatt der Stadtbibliothek in Zürich], Zürich 1883, S. 5, Zitat ebd.; das zuvor genannte Fenster ist dort ebenfalls beschrieben, ebd. S. 4f.). Die Motive zwei weitere Scheiben aus dem Jahre 1545 (Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, AG-1167) und um 1551 (Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, AG-1179) sind dieser ähnlich, vgl. ebd., S. 6–8 mit einer Abbildung der Scheibe von 1545 vorne; vgl. auch Schneider, Glasgemälde (wie Anm. 35), Band 1, Tafel 235, S. 88f. und 198, bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel XVI, Abb. 205. Siehe zu einer dritten Scheibe mit ähnlichem Motiv um 1551 (Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, AG-1179) bei Schneider, Glasgemälde (wie Anm. 35), Band 1, Tafel 258, S. 95 und 205. Vgl. zu den Fenstern auch Eduard Wymann, Uri-Rheinau. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Felix- und Regula-Verehrung, [Altdorf 1904 = Sonderdruck aus: Historisches Neujahrs-Blatt für den Kanton Uri 11 (1905)], S. 18–20 und kurz Thomas Maissen, „La persistance des patrons: la représentation de Zurich avant et après la Réforme“, in: *La ville à la Renaissance. Espaces – représentations – pouvoirs*, (Savoir de mantice 16), hg. v. Gérald Chaix, Paris 2008, S. 58–80, hier S. 66 mit Abbildung auf S. 67.

36 „Durch die Stadt ist dann auch der Kult der Stadtheiligen noch intensiver als durch Stift und Abtei auf der Landschaft verbreitet worden“, Schwarz, Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 77.

37 Vgl. Gutscher, Das Grossmünster in Zürich (wie Anm. 15), S. 37; Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 74 oder auch Martina Wehrli-Johns, *Geschichte des Zürcher Predigerkonvents (1230–1524)*. Mendikantentum zwischen Kirche, Adel und Stadt, Zürich 1980, S. 200, Anm. 70: „Exuperantius, dessen Kult im 13. Jahrhundert in Konkurrenz zu den Stiftsheiligen Felix und Regula von der Stadtgemeinde besonders gefördert wurde“; Christine Barraud Wiener – Peter

Exuperantius – Heiliger der Stadt?

Aber kann die Stadt ganz ohne Unterstützung der Geistlichkeit einen Heiligen und dessen Kult in Zürich etablieren? Das Fraumünster hat Exuperantius wie oben erwähnt nicht beachtet.³⁸

Bezeichnend ist, dass nicht nur die Abtei diesen fragwürdigen Heiligen nie in ihr Siegel oder Wappen aufgenommen hat, sondern dass sich auch das Chorherrenstift gegen dessen Einführung in die kirchliche Verehrung wehrte.³⁹

Als Beleg dafür, dass das Grossmünster, welches die Grabstätte der Geschwister besaß, sich gegen den dritten Heiligen „wehrte“⁴⁰, wird der

Jezler, Liturgie, „Stadttopographie und Herrschaft in den Festtagsprozessionen des Zürcher Liber Ordinarius“, in: Der Liber ordinarius des Konrad von Mure, (Spicilegium Friburgense 37), hg. v. Heidi Leuppi, Freiburg 1995, S. 127–156, hier S. 153: „Andererseits verehrt die Stadt den hl. Exuperantius als Genossen von Felix und Regula und führt ihn als unbenannten dritten Stadtpatron bereits 1225 im Stadtsiegel. ... Karl der Grosse und Exuperantius sind gleichsam die Eigenheiligen von Grossmünster und Stadt, die den übrigen Parteien aufgedrängt werden, aber von ihnen vorerst keine Anerkennung finden.“; Erwin Eugster, „Klöster und Kirchen“, in: Geschichte des Kantons Zürich. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter, Band 1, hg. v. Niklaus Flüeler, Zürich 1995, S. 209–240, hier S. 229: „Ab 1220 versuchte sie [die Stadt Zürich] ihrerseits, den beiden anderen städtischen Machtpolen den heiligen Exuperantius als Stadtheiligen aufzudrängen.“ Vgl. Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Zürich, Band 1, Die Stadt Zürich, Teilband 1: Stadt vor der Mauer, mittelalterliche Befestigung und Limmatraum, (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz 94), hg. von Christine Barraud Wiener – Peter Jezler, Basel 1999, S. 209: „Sein Kult scheint von der Stadt ausgegangen zu sein und wurde vom Grossmünster anfänglich nicht akzeptiert.“

38 Hegi schreibt, dass der Kult des Exuperantius im Fraumünster unter Äbtissin Mechthild von Wunnenberg (1256–1268) beginne, denn er werde 1256 und 1258 erwähnt und 1264 den beiden anderen Stadtheiligen gleichgestellt, doch verwechselt der Autor hierbei die Äbtissin und nennt stattdessen Mechthild von Tirol, die allerdings 1143–1153 Vorsteherin des Fraumünsters war; Die Erwähnungen beziehen sich zudem auf Schenkungen ans Grossmünster, vgl. Hegi, Exuperantius (wie Anm. 3), S. 97; die Information aus Stückelberg, Die schweizerischen Heiligen (wie Anm. 3), S. 33, muss Hegi falsch zugeordnet haben.

39 Vogelsanger, Zürich und sein Fraumünster (wie Anm. 9), S. 30, Anm. 23, die auf S. 466 zu finden ist; vgl. auch Gutscher, Das Grossmünster in Zürich (wie Anm. 15), S. 37.

40 So auch Hansueli F. Etter, „Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien“, in: Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen Felix und Regula. Legenden, Reliquien, Geschichte und ihre Botschaft im Licht moderner Forschung, hg. v. Hansueli F. Etter u. a., Zürich 1988, S. 103–119, hier S. 114, wo folgender Grund angegeben wird: „Das Chorherrenstift hat sich gegen

Liber ordinarius aus dem Jahre 1260 angeführt, in dem die Liturgie, die Vorgänge und Abläufe für alle Feierlichkeiten durch das ganze Kirchenjahr hindurch geschildert werden. Doch für den 11. September, den Festtag der drei Heiligen, sind darin lediglich Anweisungen für eine Feier und eine Prozession zur Ehren Felix' und Regulas zu finden, und Exuperantius wird nicht einmal erwähnt.⁴¹

Aber nur kurze Zeit darauf, genauer gesagt vier Jahre später, nämlich 1264, wurde vom Kantor des Großmünsters Konrad – der auch den Liber ordinarius revidiert und Exuperantius offensichtlich in der Liturgie dabei unberücksichtigt gelassen hatte – eine metrische Passio der Märtyrer verfasst, in der Exuperantius nun tatsächlich mitwirkt. Leider sind von dieser Passio nur einige hundert Verse des Anfangs erhalten, so dass die genaue Funktion oder Handlung dieses angeblichen Dieners von Felix und Regula darin nicht deutlicher wird.⁴² Vielleicht

die Einführung des dritten Heiligen gewehrt, da er nicht auf das alte Überlieferungsgut zurückgeht“. Ähnliches findet sich öfter in der Forschungsliteratur: „Rein sagenhafter Art ist dasjenige, was man bis jetzt über den hl. Exsuperantius, den angeblichen Diener von St. Felix und Regula, beigebracht hat. Wir lassen ihn also dahingestellt“, Alois Lütolf, Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor St. Gallus, Luzern 1871, S. 204 und so auch Furrer, Die Zürcher Heiligen (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 227. Auch die Bollandisten nehmen das Fehlen des Exuperantius in den frühen Quellen als ein Argument, ihn nicht zu Felix und Regula zu zählen, wissen aber um die Problematik ihrer Argumente und zählen ihn unter Vorbehalt doch dazu, Acta Sanctorum, September III, Antwerpen 1750, S. 764f., besonders Abschnitt 11. Vgl. auch Gerald Dörner, Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523), (Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 10), Würzburg 1996, S. 164: „Die Einbeziehung des Exuperantius in die Verehrung ging auf die Initiative der Bürgerschaft zurück, während sich vor allem das Großmünsterstift dagegen sträubte.“

- 41 Vgl. Vogelsanger, Zürich und sein Fraumünster (wie Anm. 9), S. 30, Anm. 23 auf S. 466. Ediert ist der Liber ordinarius auch: Der Liber ordinarius des Konrad von Mure, (Spicilegium Friburgense 37), hg. v. Heidi Leuppi, Freiburg 1995, vgl. darin auch den Betrag von Barraud Wiener – Jezler, Liturgie, Stadtopographie und Herrschaft (wie Anm. 37), hier S. 152–155; Gutscher, Das Grossmünster in Zürich (wie Anm. 15), S. 37.
- 42 Einer Edition dieses erst in den 1990er Jahren in einer Handschrift der Zwickauer Ratsbibliothek entdeckten Textes hat sich Michele C. Ferrari angenommen. An dieser Stelle sei ihm herzlich für die Einsicht ins Manuskript gedankt. Exuperantius wird im erhaltenen Text insgesamt vier Mal genannt, davon drei Mal zusammen mit Felix und Regula in Abschnittsüberschriften und einmal folgendermaßen:

kann diese Dichtung als Versuch des Leiters der liturgischen Angelegenheiten am Grossmünster dahingehend gedeutet werden, den Dritten im Bunde bei den Chorherren zu etablieren.

Genau in jenem Jahr 1264 fand nämlich am 26. April eine bemerkenswerte Schenkung an das Grossmünster statt. Die wichtige Stelle in der zugehörigen Urkunde lautet:

...Item secundum petitionem eiusdem R[üdigeri] in omnibus collectis, que tam ad horas quam ad missas de sanctis martiribus Felice et Regula in ecclesia nostra dicuntur, nomen Exuperantii deinceps subiungemus...⁴³

Die Chorherren versprechen hier Ruodiger, Meier zu Albisrieden, der ihnen all seine Güter überträgt, dass bei allen Stundengebeten und in den Messen, die zu Ehren Felix und Regulas in der Kirche abgehalten werden, bei jeder Anrufung Felix' und Regulas auch der Name des Exuperantius genannt werde.⁴⁴ Seit dem 14. Jahrhundert wird Exupe-

...Tamen uberiore
forma nobilitat in diuiciis et honore
Thuregum Felix et Regula consociusque
Exuperans aut Exuperancius ¶ Hos utriusque
sexus turba colat Thuregi semper honorem
predicet amplificet amet et feruenti adoret
nam uisus cecis pes claudis linguaque mutis
et per eos datur omne bonum cuiusque salutis.

43 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 1255, S. 335, vgl. ebd., Anm. 1.

44 Vgl. Gutscher, Das Grossmünster in Zürich. (wie Anm. 15), S. 37. Vgl. Salomon Vögelin, Geschichte der Wasserkirche und der Stadtbibliothek, Zürich 1848, S. 3, Anm. 1: „Und im Jahr 1264 versprachen die Chorherren ..., daß sie ... auch den Namen Exuperantius beifügen wollen ...; was also früher nie geschehen war, und in der Folge auch wieder unterblieb.“ Furrer, Die Zürcher Heiligen (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 227, datiert die Urkunde ins Jahr 1265, in dem „ein frommer Bürger von Albisrieden dem Probst vom Grossmünster seinen ganzen Hof angeboten, wenn er Exsuperantius wieder [!] in das Kirchengebet aufnehme ... So wurde für einige Menschenalter Exsuperantius in die Gebete der Kirche wieder[!] aufgenommen, und sein Bild erscheint fortan auch wieder auf dem Stadtsiegel.“ – Furrer geht also davon aus, dass Exuperantius schon vorher in der Liturgie beachtet wurde; auf dem Stadtsiegel ist Exuperantius jedoch erst wieder ab der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Ferner sei es nach Furrer, ebd., „das Verdienst eines Albisrieder Bürgers gewesen, dass wir heute noch diese 3 Gestalten in unserm Standessiegel haben“. Seidenberg hält fest, dass

rantius dann in den Anniversarien des Großmünsters genannt, er wurde also dort in der Liturgie gefeiert.⁴⁵

Neben Fraumünster und Großmünster gibt es noch einen dritten Ort in Zürich, der gerade erst ab der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts schrittweise mit der Geschichte der drei Heiligen in Verbindung gebracht wurde: die Wasserkirche, die zwischen dem Großmünster und dem Fraumünster heute am Ufer, im Mittelalter auf einer Insel in der Limmat stand. Zum ersten Mal urkundlich bezeugt ist sie für das Jahr 1250.⁴⁶ Sechs Jahre später, 1256, wurde die Wasserkirche, die bis dahin die Grafen von Kyburg besaßen, dem Großmünster geschenkt.⁴⁷ In dieser Urkunde ist Exuperantius zum ersten Mal schriftlich erwähnt.⁴⁸

die Schenkung unter Propst Heinrich Manesse gemacht wurde, dieser aber den nun gleichgestellten dritten Heiligen nicht in sein Siegel aufgenommen habe, dafür aber den anderen Patron des Großmünsters, nämlich Karl den Großen, und damit den Karolinger als erster auf einem Zürcher Siegel Platz einräumt, vgl. Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 72 und Schwarz, *Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches* (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 76.

- 45 Vgl. Gutscher, *Das Grossmünster in Zürich* (wie Anm. 15), S. 37 und Etter, *Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien* (wie Anm. 40), hier S. 114. Hegi schreibt, zu Glareans Zeit sei der Kult um Exuperantius nicht mehr gepflegt worden, Hegi, *Exuperantius* (wie Anm. 3), S. 97 und auch Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 3, Anm. 1, der Glarean († 1563) zitiert: „Exuperantius wird heutzutage in Zürich nicht gottesdienstlich gefeiert“.
- 46 *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 2, Nr. 789. Vgl. zur Wasserkirche und auch für das Folgende *Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1* (wie Anm. 37), S. 204–210.
- 47 *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 958. Vgl. Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 6f. Abgedruckt ist die Urkunde ebd., S. 16f. Zum Schenkungs- und Übertragungsvorgang vgl. kurz Andreas Meyer, *Zürich und Rom. Ordentliche Kollatur und päpstliche Provisionen am Frau- und Grossmünster 1316–1523*, Tübingen 1986, S. 561, auch *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 959.
- 48 Vgl. Gutscher, *Das Grossmünster in Zürich* (wie Anm. 15), S. 37. Doch nach Barraud Wiener – Jezler, *Liturgie, Stadtopographie und Herrschaft* (wie Anm. 37), hier S. 153, sei „Exuperantius am 21. Januar 1257 anlässlich der Inkorporation der Wasserkirche ins Grossmünsterstift [urkundlich] fassbar“ und verweisen auf die entsprechende Urkunde, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 995.

In einer Urkunde aus dem folgenden Jahr wurde die Wasserkirche in der Umgebung des Martyriums verortet.⁴⁹ Im Jahr 1284 galt sie erstmals als der Ort der Enthauptung.⁵⁰ Jedoch erst für das Jahr 1288 ist auch das Patrozinium der Märtyrer dort schriftlich belegt – ein früheres Patrozinium ist nicht bekannt.⁵¹ Der Raum in und vor der Wasserkirche wurde mindestens von 1250 bis 1414 als Gerichtsstätte genutzt, wobei die gerichtlichen Handlungen dort nicht nur das Groß- und das Fraumünster ausführten, sondern zunehmend auch die Stadt.⁵² Die Wasserkirche gewann für die Stadt immer mehr an Bedeutung, so etablierte sich im 14. Jahrhundert eine städtische Pflegerschaft; der Rat besetzte im Wechsel mit dem Stift die obersten Pfründen.⁵³

1288 gab es offenbar zwei Hauptaltäre in der Wasserkirche: ein Oberer Felix-und-Regula-Altar und ein Unterer. – Und Exuperantius? Ihm wurde wohl erst 1324 zusammen mit anderen Heiligen ein Nebenaltar geweiht.⁵⁴

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- 49 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 995: „...quam in veneracione sanctorum martirum Felicis et Regule ac Exuperancii circa locum, in quo passi dicuntur...“; vgl. dort Anm. 1.
- 50 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 5, Nr. 1896: „Cum itaque cappella, que dicitur Aquatica, ubi sancti martires Felix, Regula et Exsuperancius fuerunt pro Christi nomine decollati...“; vgl. dort Anm. 4 auf S. 229. Vgl. Vögelin, Geschichte der Wasserkirche (wie Anm. 44), S. 9 sowie den Abdruck der Urkunde dort auf S. 19.
- 51 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 6, Nr. 2011: „...in diebus patronorum, videlicet sanctorum martirum Felicis et Regule et Exsuperantii ibidem patrocinantium...“; auch gedruckt bei Vögelin, Geschichte der Wasserkirche (wie Anm. 44), S. 19f.; Nach Vögelin sei es denkbar, dass die Wasserkirche vor der Schenkung andere Patrone hatte, denn wäre sie Felix und Regula geweiht gewesen, hätte sie ihnen nicht geschenkt werden müssen, ebd., S. 7. Vgl. auch Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 205 mit Anm. 1662, wo ein früheres Agnes-Patrozinium vorgeschlagen wird. Anders Emil Vogt – Hermann Herter, Wasserkirche und Helmhaus in Zürich, Zürich 1943, S. 47 und S. 48f.
- 52 Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 209.
- 53 Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 210.
- 54 Vgl. Vögelin, Geschichte der Wasserkirche (wie Anm. 44), S. 10 und 12, dazu S. 19f. bzw. Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 6, Nr. 2011, und Meyer, Zürich und Rom (wie Anm. 47), S. 561–563: 1324 wurde der Dreikönigsaltar gestiftet, der „der Dreifaltigkeit, Maria, Johannes dem Täufer, den heiligen drei Königen, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius geweiht“ war (Zitat ebd., S. 563).

Insgesamt sind an allen drei wichtigen Kultorten der Märtyrer – Fraumünster, Großmünster, Wasserkirche – nur wenige Altäre nachzuweisen, die auch Exuperantius geweiht waren.⁵⁵ Freilich darf dabei nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass ein Altar in den Quellen nur als „Felix-und-Regula-Altar“ bezeichnet werden kann, in der Tat aber allen drei Heiligen geweiht worden war. Erst für das Jahr 1335 ist eine Altarstiftung für das Großmünster verzeichnet, für die bei der Einweihung 14 Jahre später auch Exuperantius genannt wird.⁵⁶ Und auch das Statutenbuch des Großmünsters von 1346 verzeichnet für die Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten von Jahrzeitstiftern, dass die Feier der dritten Messe „in altari sanctorum Felicis et Regule et Exuperantii ad tumbas martirum celebretur“⁵⁷.

Die geringe Anzahl an Altären, die Exuperantius (mit-)geweiht waren, überrascht, wenn man bedenkt, dass ja bereits in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts von Ruodiger aus Albisrieden verfügt wurde, nicht nur Felix und seine Schwester Regula, sondern explizit auch Exuperantius anzurufen.⁵⁸

Vielleicht ist die niedrige Zahl an Altären auf einen Mangel an Reliquien zurückzuführen, denn noch unklarer als die Geschichte der

55 Eine breite Übersicht zu den Pfründen und damit auch zu den Heiligen, welchen die entsprechenden Altäre geweiht waren, gibt Meyer, Zürich und Rom (wie Anm. 47): Unter den Altären des Fraumünsters ist der Hochaltar nur den beiden Felix und Regula geweiht (S. 526); im Großmünster ist ebenfalls der Hochaltar dem Geschwisterpaar geweiht (S. 546) und der Martin-/Gallusaltar dort ist auch zu Ehren von Felix und Regula errichtet worden (S. 547); Pfründen zu Ehren von Felix und Regula siehe dort S. 550.

56 Vgl. Meyer, Zürich und Rom (wie Anm. 47), S. 552: „Ritter Rudolf Biber stiftete 1335 einen neuen Altar, welcher Maria, Nikolaus, Georg, Ägidius, Leonhard, Bartholomäus, den Aposteln, Felix, Regula und *Exuperantius*, den heiligen drei Königen, Maria Magdalena, Katharina, Verena, Augustinus, Dominikus und Franziskus geweiht war; ... 1349 wurde der Altar von Johann, Bischof von Castoria, der Dreifaltigkeit, Maria, Nikolaus, Ägidius, Georg, den heiligen drei Königen, Felix, Regula und *Exuperantius*, Augustinus, Franziskus, Anna, Maria Magdalena und Katharina geweiht“ (Hervorhebungen des dritten Heiligen durch die Verfasserin). Vgl. Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 11, Nr. 4651.

57 Die Statutenbücher der Propstei St. Felix und Regula (Grossmünster) zu Zürich, hg. v. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, Zürich 1952, S. 98.

58 Siehe oben.

Reliquien von Felix und Regula⁵⁹ scheint die der Überreste des Exuperantius zu sein. Von Felix' und Regulas Gebeinen wissen wir beispielsweise, dass Teile davon im 9. Jahrhundert an andere Kirchen abgegeben worden sind.⁶⁰ Für die Verehrung und besonders für Prozessionen war die Präsenz von Reliquien jedoch unabkömmlich.⁶¹ Und bereits im Jahre 1258 wurde denjenigen ein gewisser Ablass gewährt, die unter anderem die Überreste des Exuperantius besuchten.⁶²

Woher also kamen Exuperantius' Reliquien dafür? Hansueli Etter ist der Ansicht, die Chorherren hätten sich durchaus Knochen des Exuperantius beschaffen können, indem sie „das Naheliegendste, nämlich irgend einen zufällig freigeschaufelten, gut erhaltenen Schädel aus Zürichs Boden, vielleicht sogar aus dem Friedhof des Fraumünsters unter dem heutigen Münsterhof“⁶³ hätten nehmen können.

Doch im Schatzverzeichnis des Grossmünsters von 1333 sind nur kunstvoll eingefasste Reliquien von Felix und Regula verzeichnet, keine von Exuperantius.⁶⁴ Hinsichtlich der brenzligen Situation der feh-

59 Vgl. Urs Baur, „Reformation und Gegenreformation. Von Zürich nach Andermatt“, in: Die Zürcher Stadtheiligen Felix und Regula. Legenden, Reliquien, Geschichte und ihre Botschaft im Licht moderner Forschung, hg. v. Hansueli F. Etter u. a., Zürich 1988, S. 87–97 und im gleichen Sammelband die Beiträge von Etter, „Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien“ (wie Anm. 40) und Georges Bonani – Waldemar A. Keller, „Die Datierung der Reliquien“, S. 120f. Vgl. auch Andrea Beck – Michele C. Ferrari, „Martertodt in Helvetischen Landen – Die Heiligen Felix und Regula im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Zürich“, in: Sakralität und Sakralisierung. Perspektiven des Heiligen, (Beiträge zur Hagiographie 13), hg. v. Andrea Beck – Andreas Berndt, Stuttgart 2013, S. 33–51, hier S. 42–44.

60 Zum Beispiel an das Fraumünster, siehe oben.

61 Dörner, Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben (wie Anm. 40), S. 176 weist darauf hin, dass bei der Prozession am Mittwoch nach Pfingsten die Zünfte neben den Stadtpatronen schritten und sich so als Beschützer der Heiligen und auch als Bewahrer der geistlichen Fundamente der Stadt präsentierten; zur Prozession vgl. ebd. S. 173–179, vgl. auch kurz Brühlmeier – Frei, Das Zürcher Zunftwesen (wie Anm. 21), Band 2, S. 86f.

62 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 3, Nr. 1035: „...precipue tamen gloriosissimis reliquiis sanctissimorum martirum Felicis et Regule et Exuperantii...“ mit Anm. 1 dort.

63 Etter, Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien (wie Anm. 40), hier S. 114.

64 Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 11, Nr. 4498, v. a. S: 389. Kommentar und Übertragung ins Deutsche bietet Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, „Das Schatzverzeichnis des Grossmünsters in Zürich von

lenden Knochen des dritten Heiligen behalf sich das Großmünster wohl mit folgender Begründung, die 1346 im Statutenbuch festgehalten ist:

...[Karolus imperator] ossa vero Exuperancii in Saxoniam deportavit et ibidem ad honorem ipsius regalem abbaciam fundavit, quam magnis diviciis ditavit et honoribus ampliavit.⁶⁵

Allerdings gibt es keine weiteren Belege davon, dass Karl der Große nach der Auffindung der Märtyrergäber, und nachdem er Felix und Regula mit der Errichtung der Propstei geehrt habe, alle Überreste des Exuperantius nach Sachsen verschenkt habe, um dort eine königliche Abtei zu gründen. Zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts heißt es dann in der deutschen Chronik des Heinrich Brennwald († 1551) über eine Translation durch Karl folgendermaßen:

...und sant Exuprancium fueret er [keiser Karolus] mit im das wasser nider gen Ach [Aachen], da er erlichen bestattet wirt. Und als er demnach über ettlich jar, namlich, als man ... das wirdig münster buwte, da liess er dieselben heiligen wieder an ir vorige statt tragen und an sant Exuprancius statt bracht er den körper des wirdigen heiligen sant Placidi...⁶⁶

Und im 17. Jahrhundert galt die erzbischöfliche Stadt Trier als Translationsort für Exuperantius. So schrieb Heinrich Murer († 1638): „...führte Kayser Carolus nachmahlen den ganzen Leib Exuperantij mit

1333“, in: *Ex fontibus hauriamus*. Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte, (Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 60), hg. v. Dietrich Walo Hermann Schwarz, Zürich 1993, S. 113–125, hier S. 117, vgl. aber dort dazu die Anm. 33.

65 Die Statutenbücher der Propstei (wie Anm. 57), S. 149.

66 Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik (wie Anm. 13), S. 86. Auch in der Fassung von Martin von Bartenstein ist die Translation „yn sachsenland gen Ach“ genannt, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, A 118, fol. 42v. Hier dürfte es sich um eine falsche geographische Zuweisung eines Zürchers handeln.

sich gen Trier, und vergabete denselben diser Statt“⁶⁷. Dies wird durch Trierer Quellen jedoch nicht bestätigt.⁶⁸

Gegen eine Translation des ganzen Körpers sprechen jedoch Zürcher Quellen aus der Reformationszeit, die Exuperantius' Reliquien erwähnen. So zum Beispiel die Inventarliste des Kirchenschatzes des Großmünsters aus dem Jahr 1523.⁶⁹ Allerdings besaß wohl Zürich nicht den kompletten Leib, da schon früh

berichtet wird, zu Heiligenberg in Schwaben seien die Reliquien der Martyrer Felix, Exsuperantius und Regula zu Kaiser Ludwigs II. Zeiten begraben worden.⁷⁰

Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts werden die Häupter von Felix und Regula in Andermatt verehrt.⁷¹ Untersuchungen dieser Reliquien haben – so Etter – ergeben, dass Felix' Schädel einem jungen Mann aus der Zeit um die erste nachchristliche Jahrtausendwende zugeordnet werden könne. Etter macht den Deutungsvorschlag, dass es sich hierbei eigentlich um das Haupt des Exuperantius handelte, während die Stücke von Felix' und Regulas Köpfen, die beim Transport be-

67 Vgl. Heinrich Murer, *Helvetia Sancta*. H. Schweitzer-Land, St. Gallen 1751, S. 50, vgl. *Acta Sanctorum*, September III (wie Anm. 40), S. 764.

68 Nach Brennwald seien immerhin von Felix und Regula Reliquien nach Trier abgegeben worden, vgl. Heinrich Brennwalds *Schweizerchronik* (wie Anm. 13), S. 87 und Ernst Alfred Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz* (Schriften der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 1), S. 13: „980. Erzbischof Egbert von Trier (977–993) bringt Reliquien von den hh. Felix und Regula aus Zürich nach Hause“.

69 Vgl. Konrad Escher, „Rechnungen und Akten zur Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des Großmünsters in Zürich. I, Bis 1525“, in: *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N. F. 32 (1930), S. 57–63, hier S. 57 und auch im September 1525, ebd., S. 133–142, hier S. 138 (Eschers Zusammenstellung der Rechnungen und Akten des Großmünsters ist auf mehrere Beiträge und auch mehrere Bände im *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde* verteilt, angefangen bei Band 29 [1927] bis 32 [1930]). Nach Stückelberg habe der „Bildersturm ... den in Zürich gebliebenen Überresten des heiligen Exuperanz den Untergang“ gebracht, Stückelberg, *Die schweizerischen Heiligen* (wie Anm. 3), S. 33.

70 Lütolf, *Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz* (wie Anm. 40), S. 206.

71 Vgl. Baur, *Reformation und Gegenreformation* (wie Anm. 59).

schädigt worden sein könnten, im 17. Jahrhundert in Andermatt zu einem Schädel zusammen montiert worden seien.⁷²

Die alten Felix und Regula zugewiesenen Schädelbruchstücke klebte man zusammen auf den neu geschnitzten Holzkopf von Regula, den gut erhaltenen Schädel von Exuperantius verehrte man von nun an als Felix.⁷³

Somit dürfte ursprünglich auch das Haupt des Exuperantius nach Andermatt gekommen sein, was wiederum ein weiterer Beleg wäre, dass das Großmünster in der Tat Reliquien dieses Heiligen besaß – ob es dafür „zufällig geschaufelt“ habe, sei dahingestellt. Die Version, dass sie alle nach Sachsen verschenkt worden seien, wurde nicht weiter verbreitet, sie war nun sogar nachteilig für das Großmünster. Offensichtlich waren zu Beginn der Exuperantius-Verehrung im 13. Jahrhundert zumindest für die Gewährung des Ablasses 1258 Reliquien des Heiligen vorhanden, doch im 14. Jahrhundert nicht (mehr), so dass zunächst eine Legende über dessen Abtransport nach Sachsen geschaffen wurde, die das Fehlen erklären sollte. Irgendwann zwischen dieser Legende, die im Statutenbuch von 1346 festgehalten ist, und der Nennung in der Inventarliste von 1523 waren (wieder) Reliquien im Großmünster vorhanden.

Stellt sich noch die Frage, woher Exuperantius so plötzlich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts gekommen ist. Eine Theorie für sein Auftauchen ist, dass er vielleicht nur eine Trias von Heiligen vervollständigen sollte. Die Dreizahl weist auf die Trinität und damit zu Gottesnähe hin, wodurch sich „das sakrale Potential der sich im allgemeinen Aufschwung befindenden Stadt erhöhen sollte“.⁷⁴

72 Vgl. Etter, Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien (wie Anm. 40), hier vor allem S. 113–115.

73 Etter, Die Untersuchung an den Reliquien (wie Anm. 40), hier S. 115.

74 Vgl. Michele C. Ferrari, „Kult, Sakralität und Identität in Zürich 800–1800“, in: Sakralität zwischen Antike und Neuzeit, (Beiträge zur Hagiographie 6), hg. v. Berndt Hamm u. a., Stuttgart 2007, S. 261–274, hier S. 269 (Zitat ebd.). Auch in der Chronik Brennwalds wird diese Verbindung gezogen, Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik (wie Anm. 13), S. 67: „...die hat gott der allmechtig folbracht mit siner heiligen drivalentigkeit ...; der dise lobliche statt Zürich ouch durch die drifaltigen zal Felix, Regellam und Exepranciam zuo hocher er, ruom und wesen gebracht hat“.

Exuperantius – Heiliger der Stadt?

Die drei Enthaupteten ... zeigten die Gleichheit dreier ungleicher Märtyrer vor Gott. Sie waren Leitbilder, die auch den Aufsteigern und Handwerkern der Stadt zu vermitteln waren und sie zugleich von den grossen geistlichen Gemeinschaften abgrenzten.⁷⁵

Nach Adolf Ribl solle die „Dreizahl der Zürcher Heiligen, nur durch die noch ziemlich dunkle Anfügung des Exuperantius erfüllt, ... ein schwaches Indiz sein, dass auch die Gottheiten christlich umgedeutet wurden“⁷⁶. Er rückt die Märtyrer so in die Nähe heidnischer Götter.

In der Forschung wurde im Zusammenhang mit Exuperantius bereits auf einen anderen Thebäer, der mit Mauritius und dessen Legion das Martyrium erlitten habe, hingewiesen: auf Exuperius von Aganum. Dessen Reliquien seien 1225 in Saint-Maurice wiedergefunden worden.⁷⁷ Also genau in dem Jahr, in dem der Zürcher Rat Exuperantius in das Siegel aufnahm, welches den ersten Beleg für Exuperantius bildet. Jene Wiederentdeckung der heiligen Gebeine des Exuperius in Saint-Maurice fand an einem 26. Oktober statt⁷⁸, und die zwei Zürcher

75 Lau, Kleine Geschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 20), S. 21.

76 Adolf Ribl, „Ein zeitgenössisches Zeugnis zum Umbau der Zürcher Wasserkirche von 1479–1484“, in: Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 4 (1942), S. 97–107, hier S. 100.

77 Vgl. Hegi, Exuperantius (wie Anm. 3), S. 97; diese Verbindung ist schon angedeutet bei Stückelberg, Die schweizerischen Heiligen (wie Anm. 3), S. 33: „Im Jahr, da zu Saint-Maurice die Reliquien des heiligen Exuperius wieder entdeckt wurden (1225), erscheint das Bild des heiligen Exuperanz auf dem Siegel der Stadt Zürich.“ Die Bollandisten forschten über Exuperius v.a. in Zusammenhang mit Gembloux, vgl. Acta Sanctorum, September VI, Antwerpen 1757, S. 898–900. Vgl. den Eintrag zu diesem Heiligen bei Stückelberg, Die schweizerischen Heiligen (wie Anm. 3), S. 32; sehr kurz und nicht sehr informationsreich ist der Eintrag in Vollständiges Heiligenlexikon (wie Anm. 2), S. 153. Die Gebeine des Exuperius wurden mit denen des Candidus und v.a. des Mauritius wiederentdeckt. Als eine Bitte aus Engelberg um Reliquien des Anführers der Legion an Saint-Maurice erging, wurden stattdessen Reliquien des Exuperius und des Candidus nach Engelberg geschickt, vgl. Léon Dupont Lachenal, „L'abbé Nantelme (1223–1258) et la „Rélévation“ des martyrs de 1225: à Saint-Maurice au XIIIe siècle“, in: Annales valaisannes, Ser. 2, 9/31 (1956), S. 393–444, v.a. S. 411–416, vgl. zur Reliquiensendung nach Engelberg auch kurz Stückelberg, Geschichte der Reliquien (wie Anm. 68), S. LVIf. Der Brief nach Engelberg ist auch bereits abgedruckt in Joseph Bernard de Montmélian, Saint Maurice et la légion thébénne, Paris 1888, Band 2, S. 395.

78 Vgl. Dupont Lachenal, L'abbé Nantelme (wie Anm. 77).

Urkunden aus dem Jahr 1225 mit Exuperantius auf dem Siegelbild des Stadtrates wurden jeweils erst im Dezember ausgestellt.⁷⁹ Hatte man vielleicht den neu gefundenen Thebäer dem thebäischen Geschwisterpaar in Zürich dazugesellt? Bereits bei Salomon Vögelin im 19. Jahrhundert wurden Exuperius und Exuperantius zu einer Person zusammengezogen:

Später ward dann die Legende dahin erweitert, daß ihnen jener Exuperius, nun Exuperantius genannt, da sein Hinrichtungsort nicht bekannt war, als Gefährte oder Diener beigelegt wurde, der hier mit ihnen zugleich den Märtyrertod erlitten.⁸⁰

Es existieren jedoch keine Belege dafür, dass Reliquien des Exuperius nach Zürich gelangten, wo dann eine Veränderung bzw. Anpassung des Namens stattgefunden haben könnte.⁸¹ Auch Stückelberg vermutete: „Sein [Exuperantius'] Name scheint abgeleitet zu sein von dem des berühmteren Exuperius von Agaunum.“⁸² Ferner ist Exuperantius ein sprechender Name – wie ja auch „Felix“ und „Regula“: „Exsuperare“ heißt „übertreffen“⁸³.

Im Volksmund wurde Exuperantius auch „Häxebränz“ genannt.⁸⁴ Dies ist eine Verballhornung der lateinischen Namensform, deren

79 Vgl. Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich (wie Anm. 8), hier Band 1, Nr. 431 (8. Dezember 1225) und Nr. 432 (18. Dezember 1225). Zu den vorherigen Siegeln im gleichen Jahr siehe Anm. 8 dieses Aufsatzes.

80 Vögelin, Geschichte der Wasserkirche (wie Anm. 44), S. 3, Anm. 1. Auch Bernard de Montmélian, Saint Maurice (wie Anm. 77), S. 246 setzt sie gleich: „Les sceaux de l'État de Zurich ne portent pas les armes de saint Maurice, mais les trois saints Thébéens: Félix, Régula, Exuperantius ou Exupère, tenant dans leurs mains leurs têtes coupées.“

81 Nicht zu leugnen ist, dass Exuperius bereits in der frühesten Fassung des Martyriums zusammen mit Candidus und Viktor in einer Aufzählung von Christen genannt wird, vgl. Müller, Die frühkarolingische Passio (wie Anm. 1), hier S. 136.

82 Stückelberg, Die schweizerischen Heiligen (wie Anm. 3), S. 33. Dass es noch weitere solcher Wechsel gegeben hat, zeigt Röcklein am Beispiel der Reliquien des Exuperantius, Diakon des heiligen Bischofs Sabinus von Spoleto, vgl. Hedwig Röcklein, „Bernward von Hildesheim als Reliquiensammler“, in: 1000 Jahre St. Michael in Hildesheim. Kirche – Kloster – Stifter, hg. v. Gerhard Lutz – Angela Weyer, Petersberg 2012, S. 107–127, hier S. 110–112. Ihr sei herzlich für diesen Hinweis gedankt.

83 Vgl. den Eintrag in Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, Band 3 (2007), Sp. 1723f.

84 Vgl. Hegi, Exuperantius (wie Anm. 3), S. 97.

Entstehung mit Hilfe einiger Bildumschriften veranschaulicht werden kann. Zum Beispiel zeigt ein Tafelbild aus der Wasserkirche um 1510 die Enthauptung der drei Zürcher Heiligen. Felix liegt bereits geköpft am Boden, sein Blut tropft in eine Quelle, Regula erwartet auf Knien den Schwerthieb und Exuperantius steht betend daneben. Auf dem Rahmen steht, dass im 284. Jahr des Herren unter dem Richter Decius folgende Personen enthauptet worden seien: nämlich – und das kann man im rechten Teil des Spruchrahmens lesen: „die lieben heiligen S. felix regula exceprancius“.⁸⁵

Ein anderes Bild, und zwar ein Wandbild aus der Zürcher Kirche St. Stephan, das 1523 von Hans Leu dem Jüngeren († 1531) gemalt wurde, zeigt die Räderung der Heiligen. Dieses Bild ist nur fragmentarisch erhalten, aber es ist noch zu erkennen, wie Felix in Folge der Folter auf dem Boden liegt. Im Hintergrund links ist Exuperantius als alter Mann⁸⁶ dargestellt, der für die Räderung entkleidet wird. In der Beschriftung darunter werden die Namen genannt: Felix, Regula und

85 „Anno . d[omi]ni . cc . lxxxiiii . iar . vnder . decius / . dem . richter . wurden . enthaupt . vf . disser . stat . die . lieben / heiligen S[anct] . felix . regula . exceprancius“, Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, AG-33; Abbildung bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), S. I. Aus der Abbildung war schwer ersichtlich, ob der Name des dritten Märtyrers auf -cius endet oder mit einer Kombination der Buchstaben c/t und y/ii/ius. Die Namensformen von Felix und Regula sprechen für eine Endung auf -ius. Vgl. Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 225, dort allerdings mit Transkriptionsfehlern.

86 Unklar ist, warum der „Diener“ als alter Mann dargestellt wird. Zuerst dürfte Exuperantius als Diener und alter Mann in den deutschen Fassungen der Legende auftreten, vgl. Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik (wie Anm. 13), S. 74: „...mit Exeprancio, irem diner, der ein alt man was“. In der Fassung von Martin von Bartenstein (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, A 118) wird Exuperantius als „gesell“ bezeichnet, zum Beispiel auf fol. 6v und 17r, jedoch auch als „der liebe heilig ritter gottes sanct exuperancius“ (fol. 18v). Interessant ist auch, dass Felix und Regula zu Adligen werden, dazu meint Lau, Kleine Geschichte Zürichs (wie Anm. 20), S. 21: „Der Kult um die beiden jenseitigen Stadtherrn erhielt durch ihn einen aristokratischen Charakter. ... [Exuperantius] war keineswegs aristokratischer Herkunft, sondern, so liess man wissen, der Diener des römischen Missionspaares.“

„Exiprantz“⁸⁷ – Anhand dieser beiden Beispiele kann also leicht die Entstehung der Namensform „Häxebränz“ nachvollzogen werden.⁸⁸ Auch eine gewisse, freie Enzyklopädie im Internet sei erwähnt, die einen längeren Eintrag zu Exuperantius enthält, in dem unter anderem folgende These über dessen Existenz aufgestellt wird:

Eine weitere Erklärung geht von einem Übersetzungsfehler aus. Der Text «*Felix exuperantius et Regula*» (also *Felix, der sich hingebende zusammen mit Regula* – ...) wurde geschrieben als FELIX EXUPERANTIUS ET REGULA und dann übersetzt mit *Felix, Exuperantius und Regula*, wodurch aus zwei Personen drei wurden.⁸⁹

Diese These lässt sich allerdings nicht belegen, zumal auch in den schriftlichen Fassungen die Reihenfolge immer zuerst Felix, dann Regula und zuletzt Exuperantius lautet und nicht etwa Exuperantius an die zweite Stelle setzt.⁹⁰

Die oben genannten Darstellungen der Heiligen aus der vorreformatorischen Zeit weisen auf eine Blüte im Kult der drei Zürcher Heiligen etwa ab dem letzten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts hin.⁹¹ Dazu hat sicherlich der auf fünf Jahre angesetzte Plenarablass beigetragen, den

87 Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, LM 10849, Abbildung bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8), Tafel VIII, Abb. 69; vgl. Die Kunstdenkmäler 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 61f.

88 Auch bei Brennwald variiert die Schreibweise, vgl. zum Beispiel Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik (wie Anm. 13), S. 75: „Exuberancio“ und „Exeprancio“.

89 Wikipedia, die freie Enzyklopädie, <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exuperantius>, Zugriff am 14.08.2013.

90 Eine Ausnahme bestätigt die Regel: Einmal findet sich in der Chronik Brennwalds in einer Aufzählung einiger Thebäer die Reihenfolge anders: „...Felix, Exuberantius, Regula,...“, Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik (wie Anm. 13), S. 74.

91 In der Chronik des Diebold Schilling von 1513 wird der dreirohrige Brunnen an der Rathausbrücke abgebildet, der mit einem Bild aller drei Heiligen (Empfang durch Christus-Motiv) geschmückt war. Bless-Grabher weist daraufhin, dass Wege und Stege sakralen Charakter hatten und daher mit Heiligenbildern, Bildstöcken, Wegkreuzen und Kapellen gesäumt waren, vgl. Bless-Grabher, Veränderungen im kirchlichen Bereich (wie Anm. 35), hier S. 446. Weitere Abbildungen der Heiligen aus dieser Zeit bei Ramer, Felix, Regula und Exuperantius (wie Anm. 8).

die Stadt bei Papst Sixtus IV. († 1484) im Juli 1479 erwirkt hat.⁹² Für diesen Ablass sollten die Gläubigen die Beichte ablegen, das Bußsakrament empfangen und vor allem das Fraumünster, das Großmünster und die Wasserkirche in der Festoktav von Felix und Regula besuchen sowie für den Erhalt der genannten Kirchen spenden.⁹³ Die Einnahmen aus diesem Ablass wurden für einen Neubau der Wasserkirche verwendet, deren bedenklicher Bauzustand den Zürcher Rat überhaupt zur Bitte um päpstliche Hilfe veranlasst hatte.⁹⁴ Bei Beginn der Arbeiten habe man beim alten Fundament eine Quelle gefunden, an der kurz darauf Heilungen stattgefunden haben sollen und die als Geschenk der Märtyrer angesehen wurde, wie es beispielsweise der Dominikaner Albert von Weissenstein († nach 1480) in seinem Traktat über den besagten Ablass beschreibt.⁹⁵ Dieser Traktat, der den Ablass

92 Die Bulle vom 12. Juli 1479 ist abgedruckt bei Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 35–37, vgl. ebd., S. 26f.

93 Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 26f. und 35f.; Vgl. auch Christian Moser – David Vitali, „Der Zürcher Ablasstraktat des Albert von Weissenstein (1480)“, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 95 (2001), S. 49–109, hier S. 50. Zur Entwicklung der Jubelablässe kurz ebd., S. 51f. und kurz auch Martina Wehrli-Johns – Peter Stotz, „Der Traktat des Dominikaners Albert von Weissenstein über das *Salve regina* (gedruckt: Zürich um 1479/1480)“, in: *Päpste, Pilger, Pönitentiarie. Festschrift für Ludwig Schmutz zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. v. Andreas Meyer u. a., Tübingen 2004, S. 283–313, hier S. 283f.; vgl. auch Nicolaus Paulus, „Das Zürcher Jubiläum vom Jahre 1479 und die Ablassschrift Albrechts von Weissenstein“, in: *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 23 (1899), S. 423–437. Bless-Grabher, *Veränderungen im kirchlichen Bereich* (wie Anm. 35), hier S. 452.

94 Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 21 und 26. In der Bulle heißt es über die Wasserkirche, dass sie „*vero parietibus collisis in fluvium collapsa est*“, ebd., S. 35. Vgl. auch Moser – Vitali, *Der Zürcher Ablasstraktat* (wie Anm. 93), hier S. 49 und im Traktat selbst, ebd., S. 104 („...preclari cives Thuricensis considerantes ecclesiam in loco martirii eorum olim constructam et nuper ex vetustate in fluvium collapsam magnis sumptibus restaurare et ampliari curaverunt.“). Vgl. *Die Kunstdenkmäler* 1,1 (wie Anm. 37), S. 218–221.

95 Vgl. Vögelin, *Geschichte der Wasserkirche* (wie Anm. 44), S. 22; Vgl. Moser – Vitali, *Der Zürcher Ablasstraktat* (wie Anm. 93), S. 56, und der entsprechende Text Alberts ebd., S. 104 und 106, Übersetzung ebd., S. 105 und 107. Vgl. auch Ribi, *Ein zeitgenössisches Zeugnis* (wie Anm. 76), der auf S. 102–106 Genaueres zu Heilungen berichtet und einen Abschnitt aus der deutschen Fassung über das Martyrium von Felix, Regula und Exuperantius von Martin Bartenstein zitiert. Vgl. Wehrli-Johns – Stotz, *Der Traktat des Dominikaners Albert von Weissenstein über das *Salve regina** (wie

bekannt machen und dessen Erlös steigern sollte, gehört zu den ältesten Drucken Zürichs und enthält einen kurzen Abschnitt, der die drei Stadtpatrone lobpreist.⁹⁶

Hii sunt primicerii fidei cristiane in hiis terris. Quos Thuricensis civitas in suis bellorum victoriosis vexillis iugiter defert, quibus universorum hostium agmina in fugam vertuntur.⁹⁷

Spätestens seit dem 9. Jahrhundert zeigen die Heiligen Felix und Regula, die Patrone der beiden großen Stifte, Fraumünster und Grossmünster, in Zürich eine starke Präsenz. Ab dem zweiten Viertel, mindestens ab der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts kommt schrittweise mit Exuperantius ein dritter Heiliger und mit der Wasserkirche dann sogar ein dritter Kultort hinzu. Da bei vielen Quellen, die Exuperantius abbilden bzw. nennen, auf eine städtische Initiative geschlossen werden kann, ist durchaus zu vertreten, dass der Kult des dritten Kopfträgers von der Stadt aufgegriffen und propagiert wurde. Allerdings erstreckte sich die Verehrung des Exuperantius nur auf Zürcher Einflussgebiet, da der Kult nicht einmal in der ganzen Diözese Konstanz Verbreitung gefunden hat.⁹⁸ Doch hielt die Stadt Zürich an ihm fest, so dass er auf dem Stadtsiegel die Reformation unbeschadet überstehen konnte.⁹⁹

Anm. 93), hier S. 284; zu Albert von Weissenstein allgemein siehe auch Wehrli-Johns, *Geschichte des Zürcher Predigerkonvents* (wie Anm. 37), S. 206–209.

96 Vgl. Wymann, *Uri-Rheinau* (wie Anm. 35), S. 22 und Moser – Vitali, *Der Zürcher Ablasstraktat* (wie Anm. 93), S. 102 und 104. Übersetzung ebd., S. 103 und 105.

97 Moser – Vitali, *Der Zürcher Ablasstraktat* (wie Anm. 93), hier S. 104 (deutsche Übersetzung ebd., S. 103).

98 Vgl. Hegi, *Exuperantius* (wie Anm. 3), S. 97, Stückelberg, *Die schweizerischen Heiligen* (wie Anm. 3), S. 33, Schwarz, *Liturgiegeschichtliches und Ikonographisches* (wie Anm. 10), hier S. 72 und Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben* (wie Anm. 40), S. 164, Anm. 310.

99 Schwarz, *Die Stadt- und Landespatrone der alten Schweiz* (wie Anm. 19), hier S. 181: „Auf den Siegeln blieben die drei Stadtpatrone erhalten, vermutlich, um keine Zweifel an der staatsrechtlichen Kontinuität aufkommen zu lassen.“ So auch Seidenberg, *Sigillum Sanctorum Felicis et Regule* (wie Anm. 8), hier S. 76. Vgl. auch Maissen, *La persistance des patrons* (wie Anm. 35), hier S. 63f., der auf die Verwendung der Heiligen nach der Reformation im Umgang mit katholischen Städten hinweist.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln und in der deutschsprachigen Spieltradition des Mittelalters ¹

Lina Keppler

Weise aus dem Morgenland kamen, um den neuen König anzubeten, so heißt es im Matthäus-Evangelium. Ein Stern hatte sie geleitet, sie huldigten ihm und schenkten Gold, Weihrauch und Myrrhe. Aus diesen Weisen wurden drei der bedeutendsten Heiligen für das Christentum. Sie hatten das Christuskind leibhaftig gesehen und waren als erste Heiden durch es bekehrt worden. In der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts wurden ihre Reliquien unter der Anleitung Rainalds von Dassel, als Siegesbeute von Mailand nach Köln transferiert. Welchen Einfluss die Heiligen drei Könige auf das Kölner Leben und welche Auswirkungen die örtliche Verehrung auch auf den gesamten deutschsprachigen Raum hatte, werde ich im Folgenden vorstellen.

Der Text wird sich dabei in drei Teile gliedern: In einem ersten Schritt werde ich auf Rainald von Dassel und die durch ihn mit der Translation der Gebeine eingeführten jährlichen Tradition von Kölner Umzügen, der Reise der Heiligen drei Könige nachempfunden, eingehen. Im zweiten Schritt werde ich die These aufstellen, dass sich in der Fortführung dieser Tradition schon erste *Spielszenen* finden, wie wir sie aus den ebenfalls zu dieser Zeit aufkommenden Weihnachtsspielen kennen. Und in einem dritten Schritt wird der Blick über Köln hinaus geworfen und auf die Einflussnahme der Umzugstradition, aber auch der Aufnahme der Reliquientranslation in die deutschsprachige Literatur verwiesen. Dabei soll deutlich werden, dass aus der fest zusammengehörenden Gruppe von drei Fremden durchaus drei zum Teil einzeln agierende Könige werden konnten.

¹ Im Folgenden habe ich den Vortragsstil beibehalten und den Text durch die wichtigste Forschungsliteratur erweitert.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln

1164 war ein bedeutendes Jahr für Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, für Rainald von Dassel, aber vor allem für Köln. Die Reliquien der *Drei Weisen aus dem Morgenland* waren zwei Jahre zuvor, bei der Eroberung Mailands in einer Kirche entdeckt worden und vom Kölner Erzbischof und engem Vertrautem des Kaisers, Rainald von Dassel, in die heimatliche Stadt mitgebracht worden. Von hier übten sie einen unwiderstehlichen Reiz auf alle frommen Menschen aus. War er zuvor in der Stadt eher selten gesehen², erkannte Rainald den politischen, aber auch kirchlichen Wert der Reliquien und trat die sofortige Rückreise mit den Gebeinen im Gepäck an³. Schon einen Tag später ließ er aus Vercelli der Kölner Domgeistlichkeit einen Brief zukommen, in dem er von dem Erwerb der Reliquien berichtet und um die nötigen Vorbereitungen bittet⁴.

Am 23. oder 24. Juli 1164, seit dem Ende des 12. Jh.s wird der 23. Juli als Translationsfest begangen, erreichte er Köln und wurde von einer jubelnden Bevölkerung empfangen. Von Gebeten und Gesängen begleitet, wurden die Reliquien in den romanischen hohen Dom gebracht und dort feierlich beigesetzt⁵. In der Folge entstand eine rege Verehrung der Gebeine und Rainalds Nachfolger, Philipp von Heinsberg gab dem berühmten Goldschmied Nikolaus von Verdun den Auftrag einen kostbaren Reliquienschrein zu bauen. Die Bedeutung der Reliquien wuchs derart schnell an, dass sich bereits ab 1288 die drei Kronen der Heiligen Drei Könige im Kölner Stadtwappen wiederfinden.

Aber zurück zu Rainald. Nach der Rückkehr in seine Stadt, stiftete er jährlich zehn Mark zur Feier der Epiphanie⁶. Hiervon wurde die Ausführung einer Prozession durch die Stadt bezahlt, „die dem Weg der Magier vom Orient nach Bethlehem entsprechen sollte, und am Ort der Anbetung, hier dem Dom, endete⁷“. Hierbei folgten drei kö-

2 Mick: Köln im Mittelalter, S. 28. (Vgl. zu den Literaturangaben die Bibliografie auf S. 192)

3 Regesten der Stadt Köln, S. 131.

4 Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 13.

5 Ebd.: S. 15.

6 Die Regesten der Stadt Köln, S. 131.

7 Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 15.

niglich gekleidete Personen einem Stern, der vor ihnen her getragen wurde. Repräsentanten der Stadt hatten bei diesen Prozessionen die Aufgabe die echten Reliquien zu tragen und die feierliche Messe wurde dann gemeinsam mit dem gesamten Stadtklerus im Dom begangen. Zuvor wurde aber die Anbetungsszene der Könige vor dem Christuskind, durch die drei verkleideten Könige nachgestellt⁸. Man kann in diesen Prozessionen durchaus schon eine Art Spiel, vielleicht sogar eine Vorform der später aufkommenden Weihnachtsspiele erkennen und zugleich bieten sie die Vorlage für das später aufkommende und noch heute bekannte Sternsingerbrauchtum⁹.

Ende des 12., Anfang des 13. Jh.s kristallisierte sich ein eigenes Fest für die Heiligen Drei Könige heraus. Neben dem Dreikönigstag, der Epiphanie am 6. Januar, sowie dem am 23. Juli begangenen Translati-onstag, wurde der 1. Januar als Gedächtnistag für König Kaspar, der 6. Januar für König Melchior und der 11. Januar für König Balthasar gefeiert¹⁰. Wurde die homogene Masse aus der Matthäuserzählung, in der ja nichts zu Anzahl, Herkunft oder Status der *magi* gesagt wird, schon bei den Umzügen durch drei Individuelle Personen dargestellt, so wurden sie nun noch weiter aufgewertet, in dem jeder seinen eigenen Feiertag bekam. Auch die „Spielszenen“ erlangten, nach dem ersten Aufkommen von Weihnachtsspielen im 13. Jh. eine Ausformulierung und einen Szenereichtum, der den Bericht des Matthäusevangeliums bei weitem überstieg. So wurde die Entdeckung des Sterns, die Deutung desselben als Prophezeiung des Aufstiegs eines neuen Königs, der Verlust des Sterns vor den Toren Jerusalems, die Begegnung mit Herodes, die Weiterreise nach Bethlehem nach dem Erneuten auftauchen des Sterns und schließlich die Anbetung an der Krippe und der nächtliche Traum mit der Warnung des Engels bis ins kleinste Detail nachgespielt. Dass es später nicht nur um ein Nachspielen, sondern auch um ein Überarbeiten und Ausschmücken ging, werde ich im letzten Teil aufzeigen.

8 Die Regesten der Stadt Köln, S. 132.

9 S. dazu auch Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 15.

10 Ebd., S. 16.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln

Ein weiteres „Nachspielen“ der Anbetung durch die Heiligen Drei Könige lässt sich auch in einem festen Ritual der Königskrönung erkennen. So gehörte es sich, dass der neugewählte König ein Goldopfer zu den Füßen des Reliquienschreins bringen musste. Dabei stellten die Könige und später auch Fürsten sich ganz in die Tradition der Heiligen Drei Könige, in dem sie die Anbetungsszene vor dem Christuskind nachstellten. Sogar französische Könige griffen diese Tradition auf und brachten Gold, Weihrauch und Myrrhe den Reliquien dar¹¹. Vor diesem Hintergrund wurde Köln zum ersten Wallfahrtsort der deutschen Könige, die sich ihre eigene „Spieltradition“ schufen, in der sie sich mit den ersten von Christus empfangenen Königen, auf eine Stufe stellten und sich somit quasi durch Christus selbst legitimierten.

In den folgenden Jahren, Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten entwickelte sich Köln zu einem der wichtigsten Wallfahrtsorte des Mittelalters. Nach Jerusalem, Rom und Santiago de Compostela wurde es zum vierten großen Wallfahrtsort, an dem ein Christ gewesen sein musste¹². Diese Tatsache führte zu einem großen Reichtum bei den Händlern, Wirten, Kaufleuten und Handwerkern und einem nicht nachlassenden Strom von Pilgern¹³. So gibt es eine Schilderung von der Krönungsfahrt Karls IV., der 1349 auf einer von nach Köln Pilgernden Masse auf dem Weg stecken blieb¹⁴. Viele Berichte und Pilgererzählungen waren es, die den drei großen Stadtheiligen Kölns zu einem noch größeren Bekanntheitsgrad verhalfen.

„Die Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige,“ so hat es Manfred Becker-Huberti treffend formuliert, „war also in Köln konzentriert durch die Präsenz der Reliquien und die über Jahrhunderte dorthin führenden Wallfahrten. Sie war aber nicht auf Köln beschränkt¹⁵.“ So finden sich ab dem 12. Jh. mit aufsteigender Tendenz Berichte über die drei Fremden aus dem Morgenland. Einerseits finden sie einen größeren

11 S. dazu: Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 141.

12 S. dazu: Verordnung des Papstes Bonifaz IX: „1394 Sept. 10: Papst Bonifaz IX. ordnet in Rom für alle sieben Jahre eine Heiligtumsfahrt in der Stadt Köln an und bewilligt den Teilnehmern einen Ablass.“ In: Chronik zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, S. 340.

13 Mick: Köln im Mittelalter, S. 30.

14 Kaltwasser: Heiliges Köln Sündiges Köln, S. 37.

15 Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 26.

Einklang in den Marien- und Jesusleben, andererseits bekommen sie eigene Geschichten und Legenden verpasst und entwickeln auf vielen Ebenen, eine gewisse Eigendynamik.

Ich werde mich im Folgenden auf zwei Aspekte dieser Ausweitungen konzentrieren. Zum Einen, die Reiseerzählungen, die sich um die Reliquientranslation ranken und zum anderen die schon angesprochenen Ausweitungen der Szenen in den Weihnachtsspielen.

Unzählige Legenden ranken sich um die Translation und Wunder-taten der Gebeine auf der Reise nach Köln. Zwei Beispiele möchte ich im Folgenden benennen. Zum einen ein Text aus einer späten Chronik, der Koelhoffschen Chronik, von 1499 und zum anderen ein Kapitel aus der ‚Historia trium regum‘ des Johannes von Hildesheim aus dem 14. Jh.. Sie sollen nur als Beispiele dafür dienen, wie unterschiedlich von derselben Begebenheit berichtet wurde und aufzeigen, welche Wichtigkeit die Herkunftsgeschichte der Reliquien, also ihre gesamte Geschichte, mittlerweile erlangt hatte.

Die ‚Historia‘ des Johannes von Hildesheim ist ursprünglich in Latein verfasst, erlangt aber schon bald große Bekanntheit und wurde in viele Sprachen übertragen. Sie enthält, der Name verrät es, die Legende der Heiligen Drei Könige. Neben der ausgiebigen Schilderung ihrer Herkunft, wird natürlich auch von ihrer Reise dem Stern hinterher, der Begegnung mit Herodes, der Anbetungsszene und dem Traum berichtet. Aber hier hat die „Geschichte“ nicht ihr Ende, sondern es wird auch von ihrer Rückkehr, ihrem Wirken, ihrer Taufe, ihren Wundertaten vor und nach ihrem Tod berichtet. Und schließlich von der Auffindung ihrer Reliquien durch die Kaiserin Helena, ihre Aufbahrung in Konstantinopel, ihren Erwerb durch Eustorgius von Mailand und den Transport durch Rainald von Dassel nach Köln. Die große Bedeutung dieser Legende macht einerseits ihre große Verbreitung aus, andererseits ihre Verdichtung und Ausdeutung der in Köln kursierenden Gerüchte rund um die Reliquienbeschaffung durch Rainald von Dassel.

Johannes von Hildesheim berichtet, dass die Mailänder die Reliquien vor dem Heer und der Belagerung durch Friedrich versteckten. Nach der Einnahme Mailands soll der Erzbischof Rainald von Dassel bei einem gut situierten Bürger, dem Herrn Asso untergekommen

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sein. Dieser war beim Kaiser wohl in Ungnade gefallen und er berichtete Rainald von dem Versteck der Reliquien. Der ließ sie umgehend nach Köln bringen um erst im Nachhinein dem Kaiser davon zu berichten. Dieser war einverstanden und sie konnten unter großem Widerhall der Öffentlichkeit in die Stadt geführt werden¹⁶.

Der Text zeigt, wie sehr man sich mit dem gesamten Werdegang der Drei Könige beschäftigt hat. Als Heilige, die ihre eigene Hagiographie bekamen, mussten ihre Leben, ihr Tod und ihre Wundertaten erzählt werden. In dem besprochenen Abschnitt geht es nur um die Überführung ihrer Gebeine nach Köln. Für die Kölner, und durch die angestiegene Bewunderung von Außen nun mehr auch für Andere, konnte dieser Abschnitt der Reise vermutlich nicht so kurz abgehandelt werden, wie er tatsächlich war, sondern musste eine eigene „Sage“ bekommen. Belege für die „List“ des Rainald gibt es keine, die Beliebtheit dieser Art der Ausformung lässt sich aber in vielen verschiedenen Texten finden. Als ein weiteres Beispiel soll die Koelhoffische Chronik von 1499 dienen. Die von einem anonymen Autor verfasste Chronik ist eine der bedeutendsten gedruckten deutschen Stadtchroniken, die nach ihrem Druckverleger, Johann Koelhoff, benannt wurde¹⁷. Sie berichtet über die Geschichte der gesamten Welt und konzentriert sich dann auf die Geschichte der Stadt Köln. Der zu besprechende Abschnitt befasst sich mit der Beschaffung der Reliquien durch Rainald von Dassel¹⁸.

Nach einer kurzen Einführung der Person Rainalds, wird auch hier von der Belagerung gegen die Aufständischen Mailänder erzählt. Nach der Einnahme, so der Text, wollte der Kaiser zur Strafe den Bürgermeister hängen lassen. Im Folgenden wird von der Schwester des Bürgermeisters berichtet, die Äbtissin in dem Nonnenstift war, in welchem die Reliquien lagen. Im Austausch für das Leben ihres Bruders bietet sie Rainald die Gebeine an. Beide ersinnen gemeinsam eine List, bei der Rainald zunächst den Kaiser dazu bringt, der Äbtissin das zu lassen, was sie um ihren Hals trüge, dann taucht die Nonne mit ihrem

16 Johannes von Hildesheim: Von den Heiligen Drei Königen, S. 107–108.

17 S. dazu: Henn: Zum Welt- und Geschichtsbild, S. 224.

18 Die Cronica van der hiliger stat Coellen. Coellen 1499, V ii.

Bruder, den sie trägt, auf, und im Anschluss muss sich Friedrich geschlagen geben und sein Wort halten¹⁹. Wenn die Geschichte hier doch auch ein wenig anders klingt, bleibt doch die List, mit der Rainald seinen Kaiser hintergeht und dafür sorgt, dass Köln in den Besitz der Reliquien der Heiligen Drei Könige kommt.

Neben der Tatsache, dass hier die Person Rainald einen schlaunen Charakterzug erhält, zeigen die beiden Beispiele deutlich, wie wichtig den Kölnern die Reliquien ihrer Stadtheiligen waren und mit welchen Geschichten sie diese weiter aufzuwerten versuchten. Neben diesen Beschreibungen über die Reliquienerlangung gibt es nämlich noch zahlreiche Berichte über die Fahrt des Rainald von Dassel, auf der Abenteuer bestanden und Wunder vollbracht werden mussten. Alle diese Erzählungen zeigen auf, welche Popularität die Reliquien mit ihrem Transport nach Köln erlangt haben und mit welcher Beliebtheit man ihre „Story“ ausschmückte um sich im Umkehrschluss stolz mit dem Besitz der Reliquien zeigen zu können. Anhand dieser Beispiele wird aber auch noch etwas anderes deutlich, was zwar immer wieder auftaucht, wenn es um die Lebens- und Wundergeschichten von Heiligen geht, das sich bei den Heiligen Drei Königen aber gehäuft finden lässt. Es geht um die „Andichtungen“, die sich zu dem Kern der Geschichte gesellen. Die Kargheit des Matthäus-Evangeliums bot nur den Vorlauf. Weder wird dort benannt wer diese Weisen, die *magi*, waren, noch woher sie kamen oder was aus ihnen wurde. Und dennoch wurden sie zu diesen besonderen, königlichen Heiligen. Sie haben die mittelalterlichen Dichter im besonderen Maße angeregt. Um ihnen Gestalt zu verleihen, für einen Stadtheiligen ein gewichtiger Punkt, wurde, wie in den gezeigten Texten ihre Geschichte aufgepeppt, aber auch die drei Könige selbst mussten mit Leben gefüllt werden. Wie dies unter anderem vonstatten ging, will ich anhand der letzten beiden Textbeispiele, zwei Ausschnitten aus zwei Weihnachtsspielen, exemplarisch aufzeigen.

Natürlich kannte man den Festakt rund um den Epiphanietag, die Feier zur Geburt Christi, schon aus spätantiker Zeit und im Abendland hatte er im Besonderen durch Augustinus eine stärkere Ausprägung

¹⁹ Ebd., V ii.

erlangt, die sich auch in der besonderen Hervorhebung der drei Weisen zeigt, die für ihn die ersten bekehrten Heiden und mit ihrer Reise zum Christuskind Vorbilder für alle Christen waren. Dennoch unterschieden sich diese frühen Festakte von der nun aufkommenden Tradition. Stand zuvor die Nähe zur Messe und den liturgisch gelesenen Texten im Vordergrund, so rückte nun die „Spielpraxis“ und das Agieren der einzelnen handelnden Personen in den Vordergrund. Rainald von Dassel griff also auf bekanntes, wie die Anbetung des Kindes durch die Magier zurück, überhöhte ihre Bedeutung dann aber mit seinen durchgeführten Umzügen, um die Einbindung der Reliquien in die Stadt und damit die Bekanntheit und Bedeutung der Stadt, über Assimilation von Bekanntem und der Einführung von neuen Traditionen zu erreichen. Und dies zeigte Wirkung. Im 13. Jahrhundert lassen sich vermehrt Berichte über so genannte Weihnachtsspiele im deutschsprachigen Raum finden²⁰. Aus Frankreich kommend, wurde die Tradition, zunächst die der Osterspiele, dann aber schon bald die der spielerisch nachvollzogenen Weihnachtsgeschichte aufgegriffen. Aus dem direkten Kölner Raum sind uns leider keine dieser Spiele erhalten, wir können aber anhand der Chroniken und überlieferten Berichten davon ausgehen, dass sie auch hier stattfanden, beziehungsweise die durch Rainald eingeführte Umzugstradition eine weitere Aufwertung erlangte.

Aber dazu genauer: Ein Weihnachtsspiel umfasst in der Regel fünf Szenen: 1.) die Verkündigung, 2.) die Hirtenszene, 3.) die Magier-/bzw. Dreikönigsszene, 4.) die Herodesszene mit dem Kindermord und 5.) die Klage Rahels um ihre Kinder²¹.

Als ersten Textausschnitt möchte ich das St. Galler Weihnachtslied genauer betrachten. Es ist das älteste bekannte volkssprachliche Weihnachtsspiel und befindet sich in einer Sammelhandschrift aus der Mitte des 15. Jh.s. Der Text selbst deutet aber mit seinem Sprachstand auf das letzte Drittel des 13. Jh.s. als Entstehungszeit hin. Ebenso verwei-

20 Krieger: Die mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Spiele S. 10.

21 Spiewock: Geschichte der deutschen Literatur des Spätmittelalters, S. 196–197.

sen sie auf eine Herkunft des Codices aus dem östlichen Teil des alemannischen Sprachgebietes²².

Das Weihnachtsspiel befindet sich ziemlich in der Mitte der Handschrift, die eine umfangreiche Sammlung von geistlichen Texten darstellt, und umfasst 1081 Verse. Der Rollentext ist in abgesetzten Versen aufgezeichnet und ist wohl ein schriftlicher Reflex einer tatsächlichen Spielpraxis²³.

Es beinhaltet als ersten „Akt“ den Auftritt von acht Propheten, welche die Geburt verkünden. Darauf folgt die Vermählung von Maria und Joseph, die Verkündigung an Maria, die Heimsuchung, eine Beschwichtigung von Josephs Argwohn, die Geburt des Christuskinde, die Verkündigung an die Hirten und die Anbetung durch die Hirten, die Huldigung der Gottesmutter durch die Töchter Zion, und schließlich wie die Heiligen Drei Könige sich auf die Suche begeben um den neugeborenen Erlöser zu finden. Wie sie vor Herodes gelangen und die Schriftgelehrten nach dem Geburtsort befragen und auf dem Weg nach Bethlehem den Hirten begegnen. Danach folgt die Anbetungsszene vor der Gottesmutter und dem Kinde und die vor Herodes verheimlichenden Rückkehr der Könige in ihre Heimat. Daran anschließend berichtet das Spiel noch von dem Wutanfall des Herodes, der Darstellung im Tempel und dem Befehl zum Kindermord. Ebenfalls enthalten sind die Flucht nach Ägypten, der dortige Sturz der Götzen, der Kindermord, die Rahelklage, Herodes Höllenfahrt und die Heimkehr aus Ägypten²⁴. Deutlich wird bei dieser Auflistung schon der hohe Stellenwert, den die Szenen um die Heiligen Drei Könige bekommen. Unabhängig von dem, was man aus dem Matthäus-Evangelium weiß, werden hier Episoden dazu gedichtet, wie etwa die Begegnung mit den Hirten, die so nirgendwo sonst überliefert ist. Es wird deutlich, dass die Heiligen Drei Könige, neben der Geburt des Heilands, zum wichtigsten Bestandteil des Weihnachtsspiels gehören und welche Popularität die Heiligen Drei Könige mittlerweile erlangt hatten.

22 Krieger: Die mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Spiele S. 217.

23 Bätschmann: Das St. Galler Weihnachtsspiel, S. 11.

24 Krieger: Die mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Spiele, S. 247.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln

Wenn man nun genauer in den Text einsteigt, ist eine Sache bemerkenswert. Bei ihrem ersten Auftritt, heißt es *die hailigen dry künig komend (nach) nach Ierosolymam*²⁵ Sie sprechen gemeinsam, wobei nicht deutlich aus den Regieanweisungen hervor geht, ob wirklich mit einer Stimme oder ob nur einer in der Wir-Form spricht. Nach dem Empfang bei Herodes bekommt jeder der drei Könige einen eigenen Auftritt, in dem er sich mit seinem Namen, seiner Herkunft und gewissen Eigenschaften vorstellt. Wir haben als erstes Melchior:

Herr, iurem grüss sy genygen.
Iuch sol vnlang sin verschwigen
Von wanna oder wer wir s(ien)
Wa von zú müt (käm vns dryan),
Daß wir fürind in diss land.
herr, ich bin (M)elchior genampt,
der künig von (A)rabia.
daß beste gold vand man íe da,
daß in aller welt ist.
von büchen mänig list
Ist in dem land da erdächt,
der ander schwar vnd her ist brächt.
Nun sond iuch min geselle,
ob ir selv wellent,
Ir namen sagen vnd ir land.
So grosse kunst sy selber hand,
Daß sy wol mugend sprechen fur sich.
Gebietend irß, dar nâch sprich ich²⁶.

Er stellt sich als König von Arabien vor, also des Landes, in dem man das beste Gold findet. Besonders interessant ist der letzte Abschnitt seiner Rede, in dem er davon spricht, dass auch seine Reisegefährten sich mit den Besonderheiten ihrer Länder vorstellen sollten. Und dass diese *grosse kunst*²⁷ sie soweit auszeichnet, dass sie für sich selber sprechen müssen. Impliziert dies zum einen schon die später Überreichten Geschenke, über die ein mittelalterliche Rezipient genauestens Be-

25 Bättschmann: Das St. Galler Weihnachtsspiel, S. 57, V. 506.

26 Ebd., S. 59, V. 562–578.

27 Ebd.: V. 576.

scheid wusste, so kommt hier doch noch eine weitere Komponente zum Vorschein. Allen drei Königen wird eine eigenständige Persönlichkeit zugestanden. Traten sie zuvor noch als eine Einheit auf, die auch mit gemeinsamer Stimme sprach, so hat nun jeder seinen eigenen Part. Und Melchior spricht es sogar selbst aus, ihre Herkunft, ihr Land und damit auch sie selbst sind so bedeutend, dass sie mit eigener Stimme sprechen sollen. So folgen Balthasar aus Saba und Caspar aus Caldea seinem Beispiel und stellen sich, ihr Land und ihre Gaben vor²⁸. Im Anschluss erhebt noch einmal Melchior seine Stimme und berichtet von ihren astronomischen Kenntnissen, in anderen Spielen wird das zumeist nur in Andeutungen sichtbar. Dies erfolgt in einem längeren Monolog, der sich über 49 Verse²⁹ erstreckt und mit weiteren Ausführungen über das Wissen über das die Drei Könige verfügen. Dies verleiht ihnen deutlich mehr Kontur und Fähigkeiten, als sie ihnen ursprünglich im Matthäus-Evangelium zugesprochen werden. Nachdem Herodes mit seinen Schriftgelehrten gesprochen hat, kommt es zu einem weiteren interessanten Phänomen: Hatten sich die Könige zuvor ausgiebig vorgestellt und traten als drei eigenständige Personen auf, so bleibt davon jetzt nicht mehr viel übrig. Im weiteren Verlauf ist in den Regieanweisungen nur noch die Bezeichnung *der ain künig*³⁰, *der ander künig*³¹ und später, bei der Anbetungsszene vor dem Kind und der Maria, von dem ersten, dem zweiten und dem dritten König³² die Rede. Diese Formulierungen passen wieder zu den lateinischen und den früheren überlieferten Spieltexten, in denen nur von den drei Königen, oder, wenn wir noch weiter zurück gehen, von den drei *magoi* die Rede ist. Auf Grund der frühen Entstehungszeit dieses Textes, kann man ihn durchaus als einen Zwischenschritt sehen, in dem die alte Tradition aufgegriffen wurde, die drei Fremden aber auch punktuell mit eigenen Identitäten und einer eigenen Geschichte ausgestattet wurden. Warum dies geschah, darüber lässt sich natürlich nur spekulieren, sicher ist aber, das ein Jahrhundert zuvor die

28 Ebd., S. 59, V. 579–596.

29 Ebd., S. 60, V. 597–646.

30 Ebd., S. 64, V. 723.

31 Ebd.: S. 65, V. 748.

32 S. Ebd.: S. 66f, V. 772, 789, 798.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln

Reliquien nach Köln transferiert wurden und ihre Popularität sich schnell verbreitete. Das Verlangen nach einem „mehr“ kann also durchaus der Antrieb für diese Ausweitungen der Szenen und der Personen gewesen sein und da die Bibel nicht viel über diese Episode berichtet, konnten diese Lücken gut gefüllt werden.

Als zweiten Text werde ich einen Ausschnitt aus dem Erlauer ‚Ludus trium magorum‘ betrachten. Das Erlauer Weihnachtsspiel setzt sich zusammen aus einem Weihnachtsspiel und einem Dreikönigsspiel. Für mich ist besonders der zweite Teil interessant. Es handelt sich bei dem Erlauer Text um das älteste erhaltene vollständige Dreikönigsspiel. Es umfasst ganze 356 Verse. Inhaltlich ist es etwas enger gestrickt als das St. Galler Spiel. Zu Beginn verkünden die Engel den Hirten die Geburt des Christuskindes, die Anbetung durch die Hirten fehlt dagegen völlig. Weiter geht es stattdessen mit der Befragung der Hirten und Könige durch Herodes, auf welche die Anbetungsszene des Kindes durch die Könige folgt³³. Bemerkenswert ist, dass es bei dem in der Eingangssequenz der Darsteller gesungenen Weihnachtslied ‚Puer natus in Bethlehem‘ in den meisten Überlieferungen auch eine Dreikönigsstrophe vorhanden ist³⁴. Im Spieltext selbst treten sie erst in der dritten „Szene“, an Herodes’ Hof, in Erscheinung³⁵. Die Regieanweisungen, hier in Latein gehalten, sprechen zunächst von dem ersten und dem zweiten König, der dritte kommt gar nicht zu Wort. Sie sprechen über sich zunächst in der Wir-Form. Schon bald brechen sie vom Hof des Herodes wieder auf ohne groß von ihrem astronomischen Wissen zu berichten. Hierzu gibt es nur eine kurze Zwischensequenz, als sie dem Stern nach Bethlehem folgen, in der der erste König davon berichtet, wie der Stern sie aus dem Orient hierher geleitet hat.

Herodes, das will ich dir sagen:
wier haben gesehen in disen tagen
scheinen einen neun stern!
davon westt wier gern,
wo der chunig geporen wær,

33 Krieger: Die mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Spiele, S. 247.

34 Ebd., S. 239.

35 Ebd., S. 240.

von dem di propheten lange mæ
unzher habent gesait!
Also hab wier un berait,
von oreitn sei wier chomen,
sein gewalt hab wir vernomen
an dem stern, der uns derschinen ist.
Wier wellen auch zu dieser frist
Unser oppher bringen dar
Und des chunigs nehmen war,
wann er ist ein fuerst reich,
gewaltig himels und erdreich³⁶!

Im Folgenden kommt es aber zu einem scherzhaften Dialogszene, in der es zu einem Barttausch zwischen dem dritten und hier wohl jüngstem König mit dem ältesten König kommt.

Caspar, durch dein tugent
das du mier gæbst dein alter umb mein jugent,
des ich der erst mœcht gesein
für Ihesum den sheppher mein!
Caspar dicit:
Ich will dich gerweru so zehant
Der pet, der du mich hast gemant:
Nim hin mein graben part
Hie an dieser vart
Und verleich du mier dein jugent,
di fuer ich auch zu dieser stund³⁷!

Die Wortwahl lässt vermuten, dass das durch einen tatsächlichen Barttausch dargestellt werden sollte. Interessanterweise ist dies die einzige Szene, in der ein Name, nämlich der von König Caspar, fällt. Er wird durch den dritten König direkt angesprochen und erwidert seine Worte. Die Szene wirkt, zumal es im Anschluss direkt mit der Anbetungsszene vor dem neugeborenen Kind weiter geht, wie ein Einschub. Sicher ist, dass sich für eine solche Barttauschaktion keine Textvorlage finden ließ. Sie diente an dieser Stelle wohl nur der direkten

³⁶ Froning: Das Drama des Mittelalters, S. 943, V. 73–88.

³⁷ Ebd.; S. 946, V. 179–188.

Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln

Unterhaltung des Publikums. In den jüngeren volkssprachigen Weihnachtsspielen lassen sich dann vermehrt derb-komische Szenen finden. Häufig geht es dabei um betrunkenen Hebammen, naive Hirten oder eben um die drei Könige, die durch die komischen Situationen aus dem starren Spielgeschehen herausgehoben wurden und ihnen somit eine größere Bedeutung zukam. Auch dies sind Anzeichen für die Bekanntheit gerade dieser drei Heiligen, die anscheinend über einen großen Wiedererkennungswert verfügten. Ein weiterer interessanter Aspekt an dem Erlauer Dreikönigsspiel ist die Tatsache, dass der Eintritt der Magier und die spätere Flucht der Heiligen Familie auf einem Schlitten auf eine Aufführung im Freien schließen lässt. Eine Tatsache, die sich so woanders nicht finden lässt, die uns aber doch stark an die Umzüge, die ja weiterhin in Köln stattfanden erinnern lässt, in denen im besonderen die Reiseszenen der Heiligen Drei Könige vor den Toren des Doms, über die ganze Stadt verteilt stattfanden.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch kurz das Freiburger Dreikönigsspiel erwähnt, welches sich zwar erst in einer späten Überlieferung aus dem 16. Jh. finden lässt, man weiß aber, dass es 1425, 1507 und 1509 in Freiburg aufgeführt worden ist³⁸. Hier ist es so, dass am Morgen des 6. Januars die Bevölkerung durch Glockengeläut, Trommeln und Pfeifen geweckt wurde, drei als Heilige Drei Könige verkleidete Priester die Heilige Messe lasen und sich im Anschluss auf Pferden und in königlicher Verkleidung zu Herodes begaben, der sich auf dem Liebfrauenplatz befand. Dann begab man sich in einer Prozession, angeführt durch Maria, die auf einem Esel saß und Joseph, der sie zu Fuß begleitete, zum Münster St. Nikolai. Dabei folgte man einem Stern, der an einem Seil vor dem Zug hergezogen wurde. Am Tor des Münsters legten die als Könige verkleideten Priester ihre Messgewänder über und hielten das Hochamt ab, um im Anschluss der Maria-Darstellerin die Gaben zu überreichen³⁹.

Hier haben wir einen Beleg dafür, dass die Umzugstradition, die in Köln begründet wurde, auch andernorts vollständig in die Spieltradition der Weihnachtsfeierlichkeiten übernommen wurde. Der Zug der

³⁸ Krieger: Die mittelalterlichen deutschsprachigen Spiele, S. 325f.

³⁹ Ebd., S. 326f.

Magier, ihre Geschichte, sie selbst als Heilige hatten also eine so große Bedeutung und Berühmtheit erlangt, dass sie das gesamte Spielgeschehen bestimmten und zu einem festen Bestandteil in der Liturgie der Heiligen Messe und im Kirchengeschehen wurden.

Ich hoffe es konnte gezeigt werden, welche Bedeutung die Reliquien der Heiligen Drei Könige für Köln, aber auch für die Tradition einer deutschsprachigen Spieltradition hatten. Ich habe dies nur Anhand von Teilaspekten aufzeigen können, weitere Indizien für die Verbreitung der Bekanntheit der Reliquien und ihrer Bewunderung in der Bevölkerung, lassen sich, neben der Literatur auch in dem seit dem 13./14. Jh. vermehrt aufkommenden Namen Kaspar, Melchior und Balthasar als Vor- oder Familienname finden⁴⁰, sowie durch das vermehrte Auftauchen im Volksglauben und bestimmten Bräuchen, wie Dreikönigswasser, Haussegnung, Dreikönigssalz, agieren als Schutzheilige, Bohnenkönig, Königsspiel, etc. finden. Alle diese Aspekte zeigen auf, welche Faszination die drei heiligen Fremden auf die Menschen des Mittelalters ausgeübt haben müssen und welchen Wert der Besitz solcher Reliquien als Stadtheilige für Köln gehabt haben muss. Diese „Saints in the City“ Köln waren also auch literarisch produktiv; denn die Ausschmückungen der Spiele und Performances stehen am Anfang und neben der Herausbildung szenischer theatraler Praktiken, die erst später in der Tradition eines institutionalisierten Theaters mündeten, von denen das Kasperl-Theater vielleicht auf einen der Kölner Stadtheiligen zurückverweist.

⁴⁰ Becker-Huberti: Die Heiligen Drei Könige, S. 119.

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Sancte Evergisle, ora pro nobis!

Heiligenverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Köln

Tobias Kanngießner

Kölner Heilige

Köln hat bis heute nicht nur einen Stadtpatron. Die Sancta Colonia kann mit einer Vielzahl von Patronen, Heiligen, heiligen Orten und Kirchen aufwarten¹. Auf dem sogenannten Altar der Stadtpatrone von Stefan Lochner, der um 1445 für die Kölner Ratskapelle entstand, sind die Heiligen Drei Könige, die heilige Ursula mit ihren Gefährtinnen und heiligen Männern sowie der heilige Gereon mit seinem Gefolge zu sehen. Ein Banner der Stadt, datiert auf nach 1450, trägt drei Kronen als Symbol für die drei Könige, und seit 1475 sind auf dem Wappenschild zusätzlich elf Hermelinschwänze zu sehen², stellvertretend für die heilige Ursula und ihre legendären 11.000 Jungfrauen. Die Stadtheiligen sind in der heraldischen Repräsentation der Stadt angekommen. Aber das sind noch längst nicht alle Heiligen, die in Köln eine besondere Verehrung als Stadtpatrone erfahren haben. Zu den bereits

1 Vgl. zur Sancta Colonia: Anton Legner, *Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer. Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur*, Köln 2003, S. 7–15; Heribert Müller, „Köln. Ein Erinnerungsort des Christentums in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit“, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 122 (2011), S. 52–81; und in Verbindung mit Petrus im Stadtsiegel von 1149: Manfred Groten, „Der Heilige als Helfer der Bürger. Auf dem Weg zur Stadtgemeinde: Heilige und frühe Stadtsiegel“, in: *Rheinisch – Kölnisch – Katholisch. Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Landesgeschichte sowie zur Geschichte des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens der Rheinlande*. FS Heinz Finger. Hg. v. Siegfried Schmidt, (*Libelli Rhenani* 25), Köln 2008, S. 125–146, hier S. 138–141.

2 Vgl. Heiko Steuer, „Die Heiligen Drei Könige und das Wappen der Stadt Köln“, in: *Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Darstellung und Verehrung*. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln. Hg. v. Rainer Budde, Köln 1982, S. 97–111, hier S. 103.

genannten lassen sich weiter Petrus, Severin, Evergislus, Paulinus Levita, Agilolphus, Kunibert und Albinus aufzählen.

Kölner Heilige in Sankt Cäcilien

Ausgehend von einem *Liber Ordinarius* aus dem Kloster der Augustiner-Chorfrauen Sankt Cäcilien in Köln werden hier Texte miteinander verglichen, die der Verehrung von Heiligen dienten. Die ausgewählten Heiligen haben eine besondere Bedeutung für Sankt Cäcilien und die Stadt Köln. So soll gezeigt werden, wie die Chorfrauen für eine Erinnerung an die Heiligen sorgten, welche Bedeutung diese für die eigene Gemeinschaft hatten und wie deren Verehrung und Präsenz im eigenen Konvent und in der Stadt sicher gestellt wurde.

Auf einer 1579 gehaltenen Prozession wurden die „5 Patron[e] dieser löblicher statt Coelnn“³ mitgeführt, von denen einer in Sankt Cäcilien eine herausragende Verehrung erfuhr, der heilige Evergislus.

Sankt Cäcilien wurde im letzten Drittel des 9. Jahrhunderts auf dem Boden römischer Thermenanlagen gegründet⁴. Bis 1475 bestand es als freiadeliges Damenstift, das im 12. Jahrhundert seine Blüte hatte. Aus dieser Zeit stammt die erhaltene dreischiffige Pfeilerbasilika⁵, in der heute das Museum Schnütgen untergebracht ist. Seit dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts kam das Gemeinschafts- und Gebetsleben fast zum Erliegen⁶ und das Stift wurde nur noch von der Äbtissin, Elisabeth von Reichenstein, und einem jungen Mädchen bewohnt⁷. Zur selben Zeit lebten Augustiner-Chorfrauen, die ihr Kloster Sankt Maria

3 Köln, Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, Pfa St. Peter, Bestand Pfarrei St. Peter, B 12 1579 Mai 31 Genaue Beschreibung einer an diesem Tage stattgehabten Prozession der Pfarr- und Stiftskirchen Kölns.

4 Vgl. Toni Diederich, „Stift, Kloster, Pfarrei. Zur Bedeutung der kirchlichen Gemeinschaften im Heiligen Köln“, in: Köln: Die Romanischen Kirchen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Hg. v. Hiltrud Kier – Ulrich Krings, (Stadtspuren – Denkmäler in Köln 1), Köln 1984, S. 17–78, hier S. 37.

5 Vgl. Elisabeth M. Spiegel, „St. Cäcilien. Die Ausgrabungen. Ein Beitrag zur Baugeschichte“, in: Köln: Die Romanischen Kirchen. Von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Hg. v. Hiltrud Kier – Ulrich Krings, (Stadtspuren – Denkmäler in Köln 1), Köln 1984, S. 209–234, hier S. 228.

6 Vgl. Nicolaus Michel, Das alte freiherrliche Kanonissenstift St. Cäcilien in Köln, Saarlouis 1914, S. 11.

zum Weiher außerhalb der Stadtmauer Kölns Anfang August 1474 im Zuge des Neusser Krieges verlassen mussten, ohne passende klösterliche Räume in der Dechanei Sankt Aposteln. Diesen Umstand nahmen Kaiser Friedrich III. und der Päpstliche Legat Alexander von Forlì zum Anlass, die Augustiner-Chorfrauen in die Konventsgebäude von Sankt Cäcilien einzuziehen zu lassen⁸. Dafür wurde das Stift Sankt Cäcilien aufgehoben und in ein Kloster umgewandelt, was auf erbitterten Widerstand von Elisabeth von Reichenstein stieß. Nach langen Auseinandersetzungen, die zeitweise mit ihrer Exkommunikation einhergingen, musste sie sich schließlich beugen, ohne sich aber bis zu ihrem Tod am 13. September 1486 mit der Situation abgefunden zu haben. Noch im September oder Oktober desselben Jahres wählten die Augustinerinnen eine Äbtissin, ein Amt, das bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt in deren Konstitutionen nicht vorgesehen war. Die Wahl einer Äbtissin war eine Bedingung von Papst Sixtus IV. im Zusammenhang mit der Umwandlung des Stiftes in ein Kloster⁹. 1487 erneuerten die Chorfrauen ihre bisherigen Statuten in Anlehnung an diejenigen des Stiftes von 1463. Und schließlich wurde durch die Vollendung eines *Liber Ordinarius*¹⁰ am 20. Dezember 1488 die Liturgie der Nonnen an ihrem neuen Ort festgeschrieben. Dieser *Liber Ordinarius*¹¹ ist die Grundlage für den anzustellenden Vergleich der Heiligenverehrung. Die Handschrift¹² wird heute in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl-Ossietzky Hamburg unter der Signatur cod in scrin 94 aufbewahrt. Im Kolophon erfahren wir Namen und Amt der Schreiberin: die Priorin Goetgine

7 Vgl. Irene Gückel, Das Kloster Maria zum Weiher vor Köln (1198–1474) und sein Fortleben in St. Cäcilien bis zur Säkularisation, (Kölner Schriften zu Geschichte und Kultur 19), Köln 1993, S. 60.

8 Vgl. zu den historischen Ausführungen: Gückel, Kloster, wie Anm. 7, S. 58–76.

9 Vgl. Gückel, Kloster, wie Anm. 7, S. 74.

10 *Liber Ordinarius* Sankt Cäcilien, Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek cod in scrin 94.

11 Meine Dissertation umfasst die Edition dieses *Liber Ordinarius* mit einer entsprechenden liturgiewissenschaftlichen und historischen Bearbeitung.

12 Zur Beschreibung der Handschrift: Vgl. Tilo Brandis, "Cod. 94 in scrin. Liber ordinarius monasterii s. Caeciliae Coloniensis", in: Tilo Brandis, Die codices in scrinio der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg 1–110, (Katalog der Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg 7), Hamburg 1972, S. 159–160.

Buschoff. Der *Liber Ordinarius* umfasst insgesamt 220 beschriebene Seiten und teilt sich in die Teile Kirchenjahr und Heiligenfeste. Das Stundengebet und seine Teile sind sehr detailliert als *Incipits* wiedergegeben. Darüber hinaus kann für die Untersuchung das zweibändige Antiphonar der Anna von Hachenberch¹³ aus Sankt Cäcilien herangezogen werden, das ca. 1520/30 entstanden ist. Damit liegen teilweise noch nicht bekannte liturgische Texte für den Vergleich der Heiligenverehrung vor, zum Beispiel ist dies für das Fest des heiligen Paulinus Levita der Fall¹⁴. Beide Handschriften sind in ihrer Verwendung aufeinander bezogen und in äußerst engem Zusammenhang zu sehen.

Mit dem Einzug der Augustiner-Chorfrauen in Sankt Cäcilien übernahmen sie auch die Reliquien des Stiftes und sorgten für eine kontinuierliche Verehrung bis zur Aufhebung des Klosters 1802. Zu diesen Reliquien gehörten die des heiligen Evergislus und des heiligen Paulinus Levita¹⁵.

Evergislus ist um 589/90 als Bischof in Köln nachweisbar¹⁶ und gilt der Legende nach als Schüler des Bischofs Severin in Köln, was jedoch aufgrund ihrer beider Lebensdaten nicht der Wahrheit entsprechen kann¹⁷. Zwischen 590 und 594 wurde Evergislus in der Nähe von Tongern von Räufern ermordet. Zwischen 954 und 959 entdeckte der damalige Kölner Erzbischof Brun seine Gebeine und ließ sie nach Köln in die Kirche Sankt Cäcilien überführen, in der seine Schwester Berth-

13 Antiphonar der Anna von Hachenberch, Köln, Museum Schnütgen C 44 a–b. Vgl. dazu: Die Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Schnütgen-Museums Köln. Bestandskatalog. Hg. v. Anton von Euw, Köln 1997, S. 44–56.

14 Vgl. Heinz E. Stiene, Von Ägyptischen Tagen und wohlütigem Staub. Untersuchungen zum Festkalender und zu den Offizien im Antiphonar der Anna von Hachenberch, Köln 2010, S. 35–36. – Unveröffentlichtes Manuskript, zugänglich in der Bibliothek des Museum Schnütgen.

15 Beide wurden nach 1802 in die benachbarte Pfarrkirche Sankt Peter übertragen, wo sie bis heute aufbewahrt werden.

16 Vgl. Heinz Finger, “St. Evergislus”, in: Heinz Finger – Werner Wessel, Heilige Kölner Bischöfe. Eine Ausstellung der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln im Jubiläumsjahr 2013, 1700 Jahre Kirche von Köln, (Libelli Rhenani 44), Köln 2013, S. 77–86, hier S. 78.

17 Vgl. zum Widerspruch in der Legende: Wilhelm Levison, “Bischof Ebergisil von Köln”, in: Festschrift Albert Brakmann, Weimar 1931, S. 40–63.

suita Äbtissin war¹⁸. Vermutlich wurde im Rahmen dieser Translation die Westkrypta mit dem darüberliegenden Chor für die Stiftsdamen errichtet¹⁹. Evergisus war der Patron der Kölner Glaser und Maler. An Sankt Cäcilien existierte eine Evergisusbruderschaft, die 1449 belegt ist²⁰.

Die Gebeine des heiligen Paulinus Levita wurden bei Bauarbeiten im Umfeld der Kirche gefunden. Zu seinen Ehren wurde eine Kapelle auf der Nordseite der Kirche errichtet, die als Vorhalle diente²¹. Er gilt als Schüler des Maternus, des ersten Bischofs von Köln²². Mit diesem Paulinus wurde ein anderer Heiliger namens Paulinus in Verbindung gebracht, der um 750 in Konstantinopel das Martyrium erlitt. Die Verehrung des Paulinus Levita ist wohl nicht über Sankt Cäcilien hinaus gekommen²³.

Das Stift war auch im Besitz einer Reliquie seiner Patronin. Aus dem Pilgerbericht des Würzburger Kartäusers Erhard von Winheim ist überliefert, dass es sich um ein Armreliquiar der heiligen Cäcilia handelte, das temporär auf dem Hochaltar aufgestellt wurde²⁴. Cäcilia²⁵ lebte zu Beginn des 3. Jahrhunderts und stammte aus einer wohlhabenden römischen Familie. Schon als Kind hat sie das Versprechen der Jungfräulichkeit abgelegt. Als sie mit Valerianus verheiratet wurde, offenbarte sie ihm in der Hochzeitsnacht dieses Versprechen und erzählte, dass ein Engel auf ihre Jungfräulichkeit achte. Valerianus bat sie,

18 Vgl. Michel, Kanonissenstift St. Cäcilien (wie Anm. 6), S. 8.

19 Vgl. Spiegel, St. Cäcilien, 1984 (wie Anm. 5), S. 227.

20 Vgl. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Struktur und kollektiver Eigensinn. Kölner Laienbruderschaften im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung, (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 209), Göttingen 2005, S. 100.

21 Vgl. Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Köln. Die kirchlichen Denkmäler der Stadt Köln I, St. Alban-St. Georg, bearbeitet von Wilhelm Ewald und Hugo Rahtgens, hg. v. Paul Clemen, (Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz 6,4), Düsseldorf 1916, S. 163–193, hier S. 175–176.

22 Vgl. Stiene, Von Ägyptischen Tagen (wie Anm. 14), S. 30–31.

23 Vgl. Stiene, Von Ägyptischen Tagen (wie Anm. 14), S. 29.

24 Vgl. Erhard von Winheim, Sacrarium Agrippinae. Hoc est Designatio Ecclesiarum Coloniensium, Praecipuarum Reliquiarum: Quarundam itidem Antiquitatum memorabilium, Köln 1607, S. 119.

25 Vgl. zur Legende der Heiligen Cäcilia: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*. Deutsch von Richard Benz, Volksausgabe, Jena 1925, hier Bd. 2, Sp. 411–421.

diesen Engel zu sehen, was ihm nach seiner Taufe zuteil wurde. Gemeinsam mit seinem Bruder Tiburtius starb er den Märtyrertod. Nach dem Versuch Cäcilias, beide zu beerdigen, sollte auch sie sterben, indem sie in kochendes Wasser getaucht wurde. Weil ihr Tod nicht eintrat, wurde versucht, sie zu enthaupten. Erst nach drei Tagen starb sie und wurde in gekrümmter Haltung beigesetzt, in der sie der Legende nach auch starb.

Über weitere Reliquien sind Angaben bei Ägidius Gelenius²⁶ und bei Erhard von Winheim²⁷ zu finden. Ein vermutlich aus dem Jahr 1625 stammendes Reliquienverzeichnis²⁸ listet weitere auf. Die heiligen Cäcilia, Evergislus und Paulinus Levita hatten eine besondere Bedeutung für Sankt Cäcilien: die heilige Cäcilia war die Patronin der Kirche, Evergislus war ein Kölner Bischof und das Grab von Paulinus Levita wurde bei der Kirche gefunden.

Neben die Offizien dieser drei Heiligen sollen die liturgischen Texte von Heiligen gestellt werden, die für die Stadt Köln von Bedeutung waren. An erster Stelle sind hier die Heiligen Drei Könige zu nennen²⁹, deren Gebeine 1164 nach Köln überführt wurden.

An zweiter Stelle folgt die heilige Ursula mit ihren Gefährtinnen³⁰. Ursula, eine bretonische Königstochter sollte den englischen Königssohn Aetherius heiraten, doch reiste sie zuvor nach Rom und machte auf ihrem Weg dorthin Halt in Köln. Als sie auf ihrem Rückweg wieder durch Köln kam, war die Stadt von den Hunnen besetzt. Deren König wollte sie zur Frau, doch als sie sich weigerte, starb sie 304 oder 451 den Märtyrertod, ebenso wie ihre Gefährtinnen. Die legendären 11.000 Gefährtinnen entspringen vermutlich einem Lesefehler, indem 11 M, was für 11 martyres steht, mit M als römischer Zahl für 1.000, und damit

26 Vgl. Ägidius Gelenius, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine Coloniae*, Reproduktion der Ausgabe Köln 1645, Köln 2005, S. 357–361, hier besonders S. 358–361.

27 Vgl. Winheim, *Sacrarium* (wie Anm. 24), S. 116–125.

28 Vgl. Köln, Archiv des Erzbistums Köln Pfa St. Peter, Bestand St. Cäcilien, A II 15 Nr. 5, Reliquienverzeichnis.

29 Vgl. dazu den Beitrag von L. Keppler in diesem Band.

30 Vgl. zur Legende der 11.000 Jungfrauen: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* (wie Anm. 25), Bd. 2, Sp. 297–303.

mit 11.000 aufgelöst wird³¹. Die Gebeine der heiligen Ursula wurden im 7. Jahrhundert entdeckt. Eine noch heute in Sankt Ursula erhaltene Inschrift aus dem 9. Jahrhundert spricht von einer Kirche der Heiligen Jungfrauen, wie sie bis zum 17. Jahrhundert genannt wurde³². Durch weitere Grab- und Reliquienfunde lebten Kult und Verehrung der Jungfrauen im 12. Jahrhundert wieder auf, verbunden mit weiterer Legendenbildung durch die Seherin Elisabeth von Schönau³³.

An dritter Stelle stehen die Texte, die am Fest des heiligen Gereon verwendet wurden. Gereon³⁴, ein römischer Soldat der Thebäischen Legion, starb der Legende nach im Jahre 304 den Märtyrertod und wurde in einen Brunnen geworfen. Darüber ließ Kaiserin Helena die Kirche Sankt Gereon errichten, die bei Gregor von Tours um 590 im Zusammenhang mit einer Heilung Bischof Evergislus' als Kirche *Zu den goldenen Heiligen*³⁵ genannt wird³⁶. 1121 fand Norbert von Xanten nach einer durchbeteten Nacht die Gebeine Gereons in der Kirche³⁷.

Die drei letztgenannten Heiligen stehen in einer besonderen Beziehung zu Köln: Ursula und Gereon starben in Köln den Märtyrertod. Über ihren Gräbern wurden bedeutende Kirchen errichtet, in denen später ihre Reliquien verehrt wurden. Und in der Bischofskirche der Stadt wurden die Gebeine der Heiligen Drei Könige in einem

31 Vgl. Frank W. Zehnder, Sankt Ursula. Legende, Verehrung, Bilderwelt, Köln 1987, S. 21–22.

32 Vgl. Zehnder, Sankt Ursula (wie Anm. 31), S. 70.

33 Vgl. Elisabeth von Schönau, Werke. Hg. v. Peter Dinzelbacher, Paderborn 2006, S. 145–163.

34 Vgl. zur Legende des Heiligen Gereon: Claus Coester, Art. "Gereon", in: Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, Bd. 21 (2003), Sp. 472–473.

35 Vgl. zum Namen *Zu den goldenen Heiligen*: Marianne Gechter, "Frühe Quellen zur Baugeschichte von St. Gereon in Köln", in: Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 23 (1990), S. 531–562, hier S. 533. Das Patrozinium Sankt Gereon taucht erstmals 727 auf, vgl. dazu: Ebd., S. 534.

36 Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis, Liber in Gloria Martyrum, c. 61, in: MGH Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum, 1/2. Hg. v. Bruno Krusch, Hannover 1885, S. 80, und Gechter, Frühe Quellen (wie Anm. 35), S. 534.

37 Vgl. Anton Legner, Kölner Heilige (wie Anm. 1), S. 35–36; "Das Leben des Heiligen Norbert, Erzbischofs von Magdeburg (Fassung A)", in: Lebensbeschreibungen einiger Bischöfe des 10.–12. Jahrhunderts. Übersetzt von Hatto Kallfelz, (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 22), Darmstadt 1973, S. 443–541, hier S. 484–487; Gechter, Frühe Quellen (wie Anm. 35), S. 553.

Sancte Evergisle, ora pro nobis!

herausragenden Schrein aufbewahrt und verehrt. Die Offizien, die am Festtag der Heiligen in Sankt Cäcilien verwendet wurden, können durch den *Liber Ordinarius* genau benannt werden. Die meisten liturgischen Texte sind bereits bekannt und ediert. Mit Hilfe des Antiphonars der Anna von Hachenberch lassen sich vor allem die Texte der Tagzeitenliturgie am Festtag des heiligen Evergislus und insbesondere des heiligen Paulinus Levita rekonstruieren bzw. bereits vorhandene Editionen vervollständigen. Die einzelnen Texte der Hymnen, Antiphonen usw. habe ich auf ihren konkreten Bezug zu Köln hin durchgesehen und dabei auf die Worte *Colonia* und *Agrippina* und auf einen Bezug zum Ort Sankt Cäcilien geachtet. In Reihenfolge des Kalenders werden in einem ersten Schritt Auffälligkeiten der einzelnen Feste dargestellt und im zweiten Schritt die Ergebnisse verglichen.

Hochfest des Märtyrers Paulinus Levita – 4. Mai

Das Offizium zu Paulinus Levita, das in Sankt Cäcilien an seinem Festtag erklang, ist zum Teil in den ‚Analecta Hymnica‘³⁸ ediert und auf der Grundlage des Hachenberch-Antiphonars von H. Stiene vervollständigt³⁹. *Colonia* wird während des Festes, das in Sankt Cäcilien als Hochfest gefeiert wurde, ein Mal in der Antiphon zum Magnifikat am Vorabend erwähnt:

1. Gaude satis, ecclesia
Dicta sancta Cecilia,
Plaude tota Colonia
Paulini de presencia, ...⁴⁰

Die Kirche Sankt Cäcilien solle sich freuen und ganz Köln soll in den Lobpreis mit einstimmen, denn Paulinus ist gegenwärtig, denn die

38 Die Edition basiert auf der Grundlage einer Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Kölner Kartause Sankt Barbara. Vgl. *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi*. Hg. v. Clemens Blume – Guido M. Dreves, 55 Bde., unveränderter Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1888–1922, Frankfurt a. Main 1961, hier Bd. 28, S. 315, Nr. 198, und Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 35–36.

39 Vgl. Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 37–43.

40 Antiphonar Hachenberch (wie Anm. 13), Bd. a, fol. 281v, bzw. Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 37.

Präsenz der Reliquien versprach eine „heilende und heiligende Virtus“⁴¹. Die Verehrung des Paulinus wird ausgehend von der Gemeinschaft der Chorfrauen auf die ganze Stadt Köln ausgeweitet. Der Grund des Lobpreises ist die Gegenwart des Paulinus. Die Antiphon beschreibt im weiteren Verlauf sein Leben und Martyrium und, wie alle weiteren Texte, die besondere Qualität des Märtyrers, der auf diese Weise vergegenwärtigt und gepriesen wird. Die Besonderheit bei diesem Heiligen ist, dass er nicht nur ideell präsent war, sondern seine Reliquien ausschließlich in Sankt Cäcilien verehrt wurden und sich sein Kult auf diesen Ort beschränkte.

Hochfest der Translation der Gebeine der Heiligen Drei Könige – 23. Juli

Bei den Heiligen Drei Königen habe ich mich für den Tag ihrer Translation entschieden, da am 6. Januar das Fest der Erscheinung des Herrn gefeiert wird. Durch die *Incipits* des *Liber Ordinarius* findet sich ein liturgischer Gesang, in dem *Colonia* vorkommt. Es handelt sich um die Sequenz zur Messe, *Maiestati sacrosanctae*⁴², *Agrippina* kommt an keiner Stelle vor. Die überwiegenden Texte verweisen mit ihren Vokabeln Stern, Orient, Jerusalem, Betlehem auf das Fest Epiphanie und beziehen sich nicht auf die Legende der Drei Könige, die Stadt Köln oder gar auf Sankt Cäcilien. Auch wenn damit der Bezug zur Stadt Köln fehlt, gilt dennoch in gleichem Maße, was für die Vergegenwärtigung des Paulinus in Bezug auf Sankt Cäcilien gesagt wurde: Im Lobpreis der liturgischen Texte wird an den unmittelbaren heilsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der Könige erinnert. Davon geben ihre Reliquien in der Bischofskirche der Stadt Zeugnis, also in der Kirche mit dem höchsten Rang.

41 Arnold Angenendt, Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart, München 1997, S. 158.

42 Vgl. *Analecta Hymnica* (wie Anm. 38), Bd. 55, S. 365–366, Nr. 331.

Hochfest des Märtyrers Gereon und seiner Gefährten – 10. Oktober

Das Fest des heiligen Gereon heißt im *Liber Ordinarius*: „De sancto gereone et socijs eius“⁴³. Somit sind seine Gefährten im Titel mit aufgeführt. In allen liturgischen Texten des Tages wird das Martyrium Gereons und seiner Gefährten gepriesen. Im *Liber Ordinarius* lassen sich keine Texte finden, die durch *Colonia* oder *Agrippina* einen direkten Bezug zu Köln herstellen und auch nicht zu Sankt Cäcilien.

Die Kanoniker von Sankt Aposteln, einer Stiftskirche in der Nähe von Sankt Cäcilien, gingen an diesem Tag nach Sankt Gereon, so überliefert es deren *Liber Ordinarius* aus dem 13. Jahrhundert⁴⁴. Das *Ceremoniale* des Kölner Domes, ca. 1320, berichtet, dass das Domkapitel in einer Prozession ebenfalls nach Sankt Gereon zog⁴⁵. Von einer solchen Prozession ist im *Liber Ordinarius* von Sankt Cäcilien keine Rede⁴⁶.

Hochfest der 11.000 Jungfrauen – 21. Oktober

Im *Liber Ordinarius* fällt zu Beginn des Festes die Bezeichnung auf: Fest der 11.000 Jungfrauen⁴⁷, im Titel erscheint nicht der Name Ursula, in den Texten findet er sich teilweise. So zum Beispiel im Responsorium *Deonoto*⁴⁸ der 1. Nokturn⁴⁹. Der räumliche Bezug zu Köln entsteht in der Sequenz zur Messe⁵⁰, *Letabundus*⁵¹. Darin wird die Legende der

43 LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 186.

44 Vgl. Andreas Odenthal, Der älteste Liber Ordinarius der Stiftskirche St. Aposteln in Köln. Untersuchungen zur Liturgie eines mittelalterlichen Stifts, (Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte 28), Siegburg 1994, S. 259.

45 Vgl. Gottfried Amberg, Ceremoniale Coloniense. Die Feier des Gottesdienstes durch das Stiftskapitel an der hohen Domkirche zu Köln bis zum Ende der reichsstädtischen Zeit, (Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte 17), Siegburg 1982, S. 220–221.

46 Vgl. zu den Unterschieden zur Kölner Stationsliturgie: Tobias Kanngießner – Andreas Odenthal, „Konkurrierende Systeme. St. Caecilien in der Kölner Stationsliturgie und der Liber Ordinarius der Augustiner-Chorfrauen von 1488“, in: Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften. Forschungen zum „Liber ordinarius“. Hg. v. Klaus Gereon Beuckers, (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift 10), Essen 2012, S. 131–149.

47 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 189.

48 Vgl. *Analecta Hymnica* (wie Anm. 38), Bd. 28, S. 247.

49 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 190.

50 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 191.

51 Vgl. *Analecta Hymnica* (wie Anm. 38), Bd. 55, S. 368–369, Nr. 333.

Jungfrauen nacherzählt und *Colonia* wird als Ort des Martyriums genannt und dafür gleichzeitig als glückliches Köln gepriesen.

In Sankt Aposteln wurde an diesem Festtag die große Glocke geläutet und die Kanoniker gingen zur Kirche der Heiligen Jungfrauen⁵². Das *Ceremoniale Coloniense* berichtet, dass die Stiftskollegien an diesem Tag zur Kirche der Heiligen Jungfrauen gingen⁵³. Der *Liber Ordinarius* von Sankt Cäcilien überliefert nichts dergleichen.

Hochfest des Bischofs und Märtyrers Evergislus – 24. Oktober

In den liturgischen Texten⁵⁴ vom Tag des heiligen Evergislus wird kein Mal *Colonia* erwähnt, aber drei Mal *Agrippina*. In den liturgischen Texten des Tages wird seine Vita nacherzählt und ein Lob auf sein Martyrium angestimmt. Zu Beginn des Festes am Vorabend wurde zur Eröffnung der 1. Vesper die Antiphon *Patroni* gesungen:

1. Patroni digni merita
Nostra frequentans concio
Evergisli preconio
Laude resultat debita.⁵⁵

Durch das *nostra* stellt sich die Gemeinschaft, die den Patron Evergislus feiert, als Träger der Verehrung vor. Evergislus wird im darauffolgenden Responsorium „*pie pastor Agrippynensis ecclesie*“⁵⁶ – als treuer Hirt der Kölner Kirche bezeichnet. Durch beide Aussagen wird eine Beziehung zum Konvent und zur Stadt hergestellt. Vermutlich wurde Evergislus auch durch die bereits erwähnte Bruderschaft verehrt, von der keine eigenen gottesdienstlichen Feiern und Texte, soweit sie überhaupt vorhanden waren, überliefert sind.

52 Vgl. Odenthal, *Liber Ordinarius* (wie Anm. 44), S. 259.

53 Vgl. Amberg, *Ceremoniale Coloniense* (wie Anm. 45), S. 222–223.

54 Neben den veröffentlichten Texten in den *Analecta Hymnica*, ist es wieder H. Stiene, der das Offizium des heiligen Evergislus aus Sankt Cäcilien auf der Grundlage des Antiphonars der Anna von Hachenberch bereit gestellt hat, vgl. Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 57–61.

55 Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 57.

56 Stiene, *Von Ägyptischen Tagen* (wie Anm. 14), S. 57.

Hochfest der Jungfrau und Märtyrerin Cäcilia – 22. November

Das Fest der heiligen Cäcilia wurde in Sankt Cäcilien als Hochfest gefeiert⁵⁷. In den liturgischen Texten findet sich kein Bezug zur Stadt Köln. Mit der Antiphon zur 1. Vesper zu Beginn des Festes wird ein konkreter Bezug Cäcilias zur Kirche Sankt Cäcilien hergestellt:

Virgo sancta Cecilia, templum dei, sponsa christi, sacrarium spiritus sancti, thesaurus suos in celo reposuit domum suam ecclesiam consecrari fecit⁵⁸.

Cäcilia hat ihr Haus zur Kirche weihen lassen – *domum suam* kann als die Kirche Sankt Cäcilien gedeutet werden, ebenso wie mit *templum* und *ecclesia* Vokabeln verwendet werden, die neben *domum* eine Verknüpfung mit dem Kirchengebäude herstellen⁵⁹.

Mit der Bezeichnung Cäcilias als *sponsa christi* – Braut Christi – wird ein anderer bildlicher Vergleich hergestellt. Seit dem 12. Jahrhundert findet sich für Nonnen die Bezeichnung *Braut Christi*⁶⁰. So stellt diese Vokabel eine Parallele zwischen der Jungfrau Cäcilia und den Jungfrauen⁶¹ der Augustinerinnen her.

In der Antiphon *Sancta preconia* zum Nunc Dimittis⁶² wird gesungen, dass Cäcilia bei Gott für die Betenden – *pro nobis* – Fürsprache halte.

57 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 203.

58 Antiphonar Hachenberch (wie Anm. 13), Bd. b, fol. 257v.

59 Vgl. Miriam Czock, Gottes Haus. Untersuchungen zur Kirche als heiligem Raum von der Spätantike bis ins Frühmittelalter, (Millennium-Studien 38), Berlin 2012, hier S. 29–39.

60 Vgl. Eva Schlotheuber, “Die gelehrten Bräute Christi. Geistesleben und Bücher der Nonnen im Hochmittelalter”, in: Die gelehrten Bräute Christi. Geistesleben und Bücher der Nonnen im Hochmittelalter. Vorträge. Hg. v. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, (Wolfenbütteler Hefte 22), Wiesbaden 2008, S. 39–81, hier S. 54–57, und Gisela Mutschiol, Klausurkonzepte. Mönche und Nonnen im 12. Jahrhundert, Habilitationsschrift, Münster 2000, S. 267–269.

61 Am Rande sei auf die Inschrift verwiesen, die sich auf dem sogenannten Cäcilientympanon befindet und einen Bezug zur Jungfräulichkeit aufweist: „Vos qui spec-tatis hec premia virginitatis expectate pari pariter virtute beari“. Das Tympanon, be-fand sich über dem Nordportal der Kirche Sankt Cäcilien. Heute ist an dieser Stelle eine Replik, das Original wird im Museum Schnütgen aufbewahrt, Köln Museum Schnütgen K 275.

62 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 204.

Mit dieser Antiphon wenden sich die Chorfrauen direkt an die heilige Cäcilia. Da der Name der Heiligen austauschbar ist, konnte diese Antiphon auch an anderen Heiligenfesten gesungen werden⁶³, und ist damit kein auf Sankt Cäcilien beschränkter Text. Ansonsten werden die auch aus anderen liturgischen Büchern bekannten Gesänge verwendet, ohne einen besonderen Bezug zum Ort haben.

In allen Texten werden die jeweiligen Heiligenviten in poetisch bearbeiteter Form in Hymnen, Antiphonen oder Sequenzen vorgetragen⁶⁴. So wird das Leben der Heiligen in Erinnerung gerufen, für diesen Tag vergegenwärtigt, ihr Handeln aktualisiert und in die Gemeinschaft des Konvents gestellt. Der Glaube, für den einige der Heiligen in den Tod gegangen sind, wird gepriesen und wegen ihrer Nähe zu Gott werden sie um Fürsprache bei ihm gebeten. Indem der Konvent Träger dieses Lobpreis ist stellt er sich in den Dienst des Erinnerns. Für die in Sankt Cäcilien verehrten Paulinus Levita und Evergislus werden zum Teil eigene Hymnen, Responsorien und Antiphonen verwendet, die nach jetzigem Forschungsstand an keiner anderen Stelle überliefert sind. An beiden Festtagen wird in den Texten Bezug zum Verehrungs-ort ihrer Reliquien genommen. Die Reichweite dieser Heiligen bleibt indes nicht auf Sankt Cäcilien beschränkt, sondern wird in den Offizien immer auch auf Köln ausgeweitet. Für die Heiligenfeste der Kölner Tradition werden Texte verwendet, in denen kein besonderer Bezug zum Ort Sankt Cäcilien oder zu Köln ersichtlich ist. Lediglich am Festtag der 11.000 Jungfrauen wird Köln als Ort des Martyriums Ursulas und ihrer Gefährtinnen genannt.

63 Im *Liber Ordinarius* von Sankt Cäcilien erscheint die Antiphon *Sancta preconia* nur im Zusammenhang des Festes der Heiligen Cäcilia. In den ‚*Analecta hymnica*‘ ist die Antiphon im gleichen Wortlaut am Fest der Heiligen Blithilde aufgeführt, lediglich „venerande Cecilie“ ist ersetzt durch „Beatae Blithildis“; vgl. Antiphonar Hachenberch (wie Anm. 13), Bd. b, fol. 259r und *Analecta Hymnica* (wie Anm. 38), Bd. 12, S. 75.

64 Vgl. zur Heiligenverehrung und ihrer Vergegenwärtigung, gezeigt am Beispiel der Heiligen Vinzenz von Zaragoza: Sofia Meyer, *Der heilige Vinzenz von Zaragoza. Studien zur Präsenz eines Märtyrers zwischen Spätantike und Hochmittelalter*, (Beiträge zur Hagiographie 10), Stuttgart 2012, hier S. 23.

Eine Prozession mit Kölner Heiligen, darunter auch Reliquien aus Sankt Cäcilien

In diesem Abschnitt wird die Bedeutung der in Sankt Cäcilien aufbewahrten Reliquien des heiligen Evergislus für die Stadt Köln am Beispiel einer Prozession dargestellt. Die Prozession wurde am 31. Mai 1579, am Sonntag Exaudi, dem 6. Sonntag nach Ostern, abgehalten und fiel in die Kölner Prozessionssaison zwischen Ostern und Pfingsten⁶⁵. Es wurden die Reliquienschreine der Heiligen Severin, Albinus, Kunibert, Agilolphus und Evergislus mitgetragen. Veranstalter der mittelalterlichen Prozessionen in Köln konnten Klöster, Pfarreien, Kapitel oder der Rat sein⁶⁶. Anlass für die hier genannte Prozession waren Unruhen in den Spanischen Niederlanden, die Kaiser Rudolf II. schlichten wollte⁶⁷. Als Verbündeter Rudolfs war der Kölner Erzbischof Gebhard Truchseß von Waldburg Gastgeber für die Verhandlungspartner und vermutlich auch Veranstalter der Prozession. Grundlage zur Beschreibung der Prozession ist ein Bericht aus dem Bestand Sankt Peter des Historischen Archivs des Erzbistums Köln⁶⁸. Eine weitere Beschreibung der Prozession findet sich in der Autobiografie des Kölner Ratsherren Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1597)⁶⁹, der als Ratsherr den

65 Vgl. Andrea Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten. Politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit*, (Norm und Struktur 12), Köln 1999, S. 103 und Wolfgang Herborn, „Fast-, Fest- und Feiertage im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 25 (1983/84), S. 27–61, hier S. 46, 48.

66 Vgl. Udo Scholten, „Die Stadt als Kultraum. Prozessionen im Köln des 17. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien. Hugo Borger zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hg. v. Klaus Gereon Beuckers – Holger Brülls – Achim Preiß, Weimar 1995, S. 109–136, hier S. 110–111.

67 Vgl. Friedrich Mering, Ludwig Reischert, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln am Rhein. Von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*, nach handschriftlichen Quellen und den besten gedruckten Hilfsmitteln bearbeitet, Bd. 3, Köln 1839, S. 150–152.

68 Vgl. Köln, *Archiv des Erzbistums Köln B 12* (wie Anm. 3).

69 Vgl. Hermann von Weinsberg, *Das Buch Weinsberg. Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*. Hg. v. Konstantin Höhlbaum, 5 Bde., (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde 3, 4, 16), Nachdruck der Auflage Leipzig – Bonn 1886–1926, Düsseldorf 2000, hier Bd. 3, S. 39–41.

Schrein des heiligen Severin trug⁷⁰, und in der Domchronik des Domvikars Goswin Gymnich⁷¹ (ca. 1540–ca. 1608⁷²).

Prozessionen sakralisieren den städtischen Raum⁷³, indem sie die Stadt mit dem Heiligen, in diesem Fall mit Reliquien und dem Altarsakrament, in Berührung bringen. Gleichzeitig sind sie Orte der Repräsentation, zum einen für die Kirche und zum anderen für die Stadt⁷⁴, denn neben den geistlichen Würdenträgern waren auf der Prozession Bürgermeister⁷⁵ als Repräsentanten der Stadt und sowohl Ratsleute als auch Schöffen als Träger der Schreine zugegen⁷⁶. Prozessionen können ein Gemeinwesen konstituieren⁷⁷, Bernhard von Clairvaux (1090–1153) bezeichnete sie als gemeinschaftliche Handlungen⁷⁸. Johannes Beleth (1135–1182), ein Liturgiker des 12. Jahrhunderts unterschied in den Kapiteln sechs und sieben seiner ‚Summa de ecclesiasticis officis‘ drei Arten von Prozessionen⁷⁹:

70 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 39.

71 Vgl. Erich Kuphal, „Die Kölner Domchronik des Goswin Gymnich. 1550–1608“, in: Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins 14 (1932), S. 246–292, hier S. 248–249.

72 Zu seinen Lebensdaten lassen sich keine genauen Daten angeben, vgl. dazu: Kuphal, Domchronik (wie Anm. 71), S. 246–247.

73 Vgl. Löther (wie Anm. 65), S. 107.

74 Vgl. zu Prozessionen als Ausdrucksform einer städtischen Gesellschaft am Beispiel von Brügge im Spätmittelalter: Andrew Brown, *Civic ceremony and religion in medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520*, New York 2011.

75 Vgl. Kuphal, Domchronik (wie Anm. 71), S. 271.

76 So war Hermann von Weinsberg als Mitglied des Kölner Rates „verordnet, s. severin zu holen“, Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 39 und die Schöffen vom Stadtteil Niederich trugen den Schrein Kuniberts, vgl. ebd., Bd. 3, S. 40.

77 Vgl. Scholten, Stadt als Kultraum (wie Anm. 66), S. 124.

78 Vgl. Bernhard von Clairvaux, „In Purificatione S. Mariae, Sermo secundus“, in: Ders., *Sämtliche Werke. Lateinisch/Deutsch*, Bd. 7. Hg. v. Gerhard B. Winkler, Linz 1996, S. 412–417.

79 Vgl. zu den Ausführungen: Johannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*. Textus, Indices. Hg. v. Heribert Douteil, (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 41 A), Turnhout 1976, S. 17–20. Übersetzung dazu: Johannes Beleth, *Summe der kirchlichen Offizien*. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen. Hg. v. Lorenz Weinrich, (Corpus Christianorum in translation 11), (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis 41 A), Turnhout 2012, S. 47–50.

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- *statio* – Dankprozession, erfordert kein Fasten, es werden Antiphonen und Responsorien gesungen und die Kleriker tragen Chorkleidung;
- *processio* – Prozession, erinnert an den Durchzug Israels durchs Rote Meer, klassisches Beispiel dafür ist die Palmsonntagsprozession;
- *letania* – Litanei, Bittprozession, verbunden mit Fasten, Büsserkleidung und Arbeitsruhe.

In den Beschreibungen der Prozession von 1579 ist kein Hinweis auf Fasten oder Büsserkleidung zu finden. Auf der Grundlage der Ausführungen Beleths in Verbindung mit dem Anliegen der Prozession um einen friedlichen Ausgang der Verhandlungen ist hier meines Erachtens von einer Bittprozession zu sprechen, die es in ähnlicher Form bereits 1428 und 1437 gab⁸⁰. Zur Zeit der Pest wurde 1564 „eine Bittprozession vom Dom nach Maria im Kapitol“⁸¹ abgehalten und dort eine Messe gefeiert⁸². Für eine Bittprozession spricht auch die Tatsache, dass es in den drei Berichten keine Aussagen zu Gebeten oder Gesängen während der Prozession gibt. Da in dem Bericht aus dem Pfarrarchiv von Sankt Peter gesungene Antiphonen und Responsorien vor und nach der Prozession genannt werden, hätte der Schreiber oder die Schreiberin sicher auch von Gesängen während der Prozession berichtet. Die beim Abholen und Zurückbringen des Evergisschreins⁸³ in Sankt Cäcilien gesungenen Antiphonen und Responsorien wiederum könnten ein mögliches Argument gegen eine Bittprozession sein. Meiner

80 Vgl. Jakob Torsy, „Acht Hundert Jahre Dreikönigenverehrung in Köln“, in: Kölner Domblatt 23/24 (1964), S. 15–162, hier S. 61. Auch Torsy bezeichnet die Prozession als Bittgang, vgl. dazu: Ebd., S. 62.

81 Herborn, Fasttage (wie Anm. 65), S. 48.

82 Wiederum ist es Weinsberg, der diese Prozession am 30. Juli 1564 beschreibt, er spricht aber nur vom Heiligen Sakrament, das vom Dom nach Sankt Maria im Kapitol getragen wird, nicht von Reliquienschreinen, vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 2, S. 131.

83 Der Schrein des Heiligen Evergissus wurde jüngst restauriert. 2011 ist er geöffnet worden, wobei sich Urkunden von Schreinsöffnungen aus den Jahren 1270 mit dem Siegel Albertus Magnus, 1456 mit dem Siegel Elisabeths von Reichenstein, 1829 und 1889/90 fanden.

Meinung nach sind diese beiden Teile zu Beginn und Ende als von der Prozession unabhängig zu betrachten. Sie fanden in der Kirche statt, sind aufs engste mit dem Ort Sankt Cäcilien verknüpft und dienten dem Abholen und Wiederbringen des Schreins. Die vom Verfasser oder der Verfasserin notierten Antiphonen, Responsorien und die Sequenz *Evergisli* sind auch als *Incipits* im *Liber Ordinarius* verzeichnet, so zum Beispiel am Anfang die Antiphon *Evergisle martyr preciose*, die als Antiphon zum Magnificat in der Evergislusoktav gesungen wurde⁸⁴. Hinter der Sequenz *Evergisli* verbirgt sich vermutlich die Sequenz, die an seinem Festtag im *Liber Ordinarius* zur Messe verzeichnet ist⁸⁵.

Gemäß dem Dokument aus dem Pfarrarchiv Sankt Peter wurde der Evergislusschrein am Samstagabend in der Kirche Sankt Cäcilien aufgestellt⁸⁶. Am Sonntag wurde der Schrein dort von den Kanonikern, Vikaren, Offizianten, dem Pfarrer von Sankt Peter mit den Kaplänen, dem Schulmeister mit den Schülern und den Brüdern der Malerzunft, die nach Weinsberg den Schrein trugen⁸⁷, in der Kirche abgeholt. Von den Konventualinnen aus Sankt Cäcilien wird nur erwähnt, dass sie ihre Prim vor fünf Uhr feierten und im Anschluss die Messe hielten. Danach setzte sich die Prozession in Bewegung, deren Ziel erst einmal der Dom und dann Sankt Maria im Kapitol war. Sternenförmig wurden die Schreine der Heiligen zum Schrein der Heiligen Drei Könige in den Dom getragen. Auf dem Weg stießen andere Pfarrgemeinden, Gruppen aus Pfarreien, Klostergemeinschaften oder Sondergemeinden mit und ohne Schreinen dazu, um den Weg gemeinsam fortzusetzen. Viele Kölner Bürger standen als Publikum an den Straßen⁸⁸.

Bei einem ersten Halt der Prozessionsgruppe aus Sankt Cäcilien kam der Schrein des heiligen Albinus⁸⁹ aus Sankt Pantaleon mit

84 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 193.

85 Vgl. LO Cäcilien (wie Anm. 10), p. 193 und dazu: *Analecta Hymnica* (wie Anm. 38), Bd. 37, S. 165–166, Nr. 186.

86 Die Beschreibung folgt dem Bericht aus dem Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, Köln, Archiv des Erzbistums Köln B 12 (wie Anm. 3), und wird nicht einzeln belegt.

87 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 40.

88 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 41.

89 Albinus, Gedenktag 22. Juni. Albinus war ein frühchristlicher Märtyrer, dessen Gebeine um 990 durch Kaiserin Theophanu nach Sankt Pantaleon, Köln, kamen. Auf ihn wurde die Legende Albans von England, römischer Soldat, erster Märtyrer Eng-

Angehörigen weiterer Pfarr- und Stiftskirchen dazu. Der Zug setzte sich fort und kam mit einer aus mehreren Gemeinschaften bestehenden Gruppe zusammen, die sich von Sankt Severin ausgehend zusammengefunden hatte und den Schrein Severins⁹⁰ trug⁹¹. Im weiteren Verlauf der Prozession zum Dom warteten an den in die Hohe Straße einmündenden Gassen oder an Kirchen andere Gemeinschaften aus Kloster- und Pfarrkirchen mit ihren Heiligtümern, um sich in die bereits bestehende Prozession einzugliedern. Die Prozession mit den Schreinen der Heiligen Evergislus, Severin und Albinus traf vor dem Dom an der Hachtptoforte auf die Prozession mit den Schreinen Kuniberts⁹² aus Sankt Kunibert und des Agilolphus⁹³ aus Sankt Maria ad Gradus. Gemeinsam gingen

lands († 304), übertragen. Vgl. dazu: *Translatio S. Albinus Martyris*, ediert von L. Heinemann, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores XV,2*, S. 686–688; Wolfgang Peters, „Zur Verehrung des hl. Albinus im mittelalterlichen Köln. Beobachtungen zur Entstehung eines städtischen Heiligenkultes“, in: *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 67 (1996), S. 13–28, hier S. 15–16.

- 90 Severin von Köln, 316–396, Gedenktag 23. Oktober. Die Severinslegende hat sich auf der Grundlage der Erzählungen der von Gregor von Tours verfassten *Vita Martins von Tours* herausgebildet. Martin und Severin waren befreundet. Im Moment des Todes von Martin erlebte Severin in Köln eine Vision, in der er Martin gen Himmel auffahren sah. 376 soll Severin ein Monasterium gegründet haben, das als das Stift Sankt Severin in Köln interpretiert wurde. Vgl. dazu: Bernd Päffgen, „Der hl. Severin im Spiegel der frühen historischen Überlieferung“, in: *Der hl. Severin von Köln. Verehrung und Legende, Befunde und Forschungen zur Schreinsöffnung von 1999*. Hg. v. Joachim Oepen u.a., (Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte 40), Siegburg 2011, S. 441–534, hier S. 441–449, und Tobias Wulf, *Die Pfarrgemeinden der Stadt Köln. Entwicklung und Bedeutung vom Mittelalter bis in die Frühe Neuzeit*, (Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte 42), Siegburg 2012, S. 21.
- 91 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 40.
- 92 Kunibert, 2. Viertel 7. Jahrhundert, Gedenktag 12. November. Kunibert ist 623–663 als Bischof in Köln nachweisbar, er ließ eine Clemenskirche errichten, auf die später sein Patrozinium übertragen wurde und in der er beigesetzt und verehrt wurde. Während einer Messfeier wurde ihm der Legende nach durch den Heiligen Geist der Ort des Ursulagraves mitgeteilt. Vgl. dazu: Heinz Finger, „St. Kunibert“, in: Finger, *Heilige Kölner Bischöfe* (wie Anm. 16), S. 87–96.
- 93 Agilolphus, um 750, Gedenktag 9. Juli. Agilolphus war Abt des Klosters Stavelot und Unterhändler im Dienste Karl Martells, er ist 746 als Bischof von Köln erwähnt. Im 11. Jahrhundert wurde er mit dem in Malmedy verehrten Abt und Märtyrer Agilolf verwechselt, dessen Gebeine Erzbischof Anno 1062 nach Sankt Maria ad Gradus, Köln, übertragen ließ. Vgl. dazu: Heinz Finger, „St. Agilolf“, in: Finger, *Heilige Köl-*

die Gruppen in den Dom zum Dreikönigenschrein⁹⁴, wo alle fünf Schreine auf einem hergerichteten Gesteige abgesetzt wurden. In einer bestimmten, nicht näher beschriebenen Ordnung⁹⁵, wurden die Schreine wieder aus dem Dom heraus getragen, gefolgt vom Heiligen Sakrament, das der Weihbischof trug⁹⁶ und die Prozession setzte sich in Richtung Sankt Maria im Kapitol fort. Der Schrein der Könige ist vermutlich nicht mitgetragen worden, da sich dazu in allen drei Beschreibungen keine Aussage findet⁹⁷. Auf dem Weg zum ehemaligen Kapitolshügel reihten sich auf dem Heumarkt weitere Gemeinschaften mit ihren Heiligtümern ein. In Sankt Maria im Kapitol schließlich wurde die Heilige Messe gefeiert, die Schreine standen währenddessen auf einem Gesteige vor dem Hochaltar im Chor. Nach der Messe wurden die Schreine wie beim Auszug aus dem Dom nach einer bestimmten Ordnung aus der Kirche getragen, gefolgt vom Heiligen Sakrament. Laut dem Bericht von Weinsberg ging diese Prozession zurück in den Dom, von wo aus alle Schreine wieder in ihre Kirchen getragen wurden⁹⁸. Der Bericht aus dem Pfarrarchiv von Sankt Peter hingegen beschreibt, dass sich die Wege der Schreine bereits an dem Punkt trennten, an dem sich auf dem Hinweg die Prozession aus Sankt Severin mit der aus Sankt Pantaleon/Sankt Cäcilien traf. Gleiches

ner Bischöfe (wie Anm. 16), S. 97–100.

94 Der Schrein der Heiligen Drei Könige stand zwischen 1322 und 1864 in der Achskapelle des Chorumganges, vgl. dazu: Rolf Lauer, *Der Schrein der Heiligen Drei Könige*, (Meisterwerke des Kölner Domes 9), Köln 2006, hier S. 93–95.

95 Die genaue Ordnung ist weder durch die Beschreibungen aus dem Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, den Bericht bei Weinsberg noch bei Gymnich zu eruieren.

96 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 40. Weihbischof war zu dieser Zeit Theobald Craschel, 1577–1587, vgl. auch: Kuphal, *Domchronik* (wie Anm. 71), S. 270.

97 Mit J. Torsy ist davon auszugehen, dass der Schrein nicht mitgeführt wurde, vgl. dazu: Torsy, *Dreikönigenverehrung* (wie Anm. 80), S. 62–63. Bereits 1552 gab es eine vergleichbare Prozession, auf der dieselben Patrone zum Schrein der Drei Könige getragen wurden und anschließend nach Sankt Maria im Kapitol, vgl. dazu: Kuphal, *Domchronik* (wie Anm. 71), S. 248. Es scheint nicht üblich gewesen zu sein, den Dreikönigenschrein nach seiner Aufstellung 1322 in der Achskapelle des Domes durch die Stadt zu tragen, stattdessen war er Ziel von Prozessionen und Wallfahrten, vgl. dazu: Hans Hofmann, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Zur Heiligenverehrung im kirchlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben des Mittelalters*, (Rheinisches Archiv 94), Bonn 1975, hier S. 130–137.

98 Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 41.

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berichtet auch Goswin Gymnich, der für alle fünf Schreine aufzählt, in welche Richtung sie von Sankt Maria im Kapitol aus getragen wurden, bzw. wo sich die Wege trennten und durch welche Straße diese Prozession ging. In die Richtung des Domes wurden die Schreine von Sankt Agilolphus und Sankt Kunibert mit dem Heiligen Sakrament getragen. Der Schrein der Heiligen Drei Könige wird nicht erwähnt⁹⁹, was wiederum ein Argument dafür ist, dass der Dreikönigenschrein nicht mitgeführt wurde.

Reliquien aus Sankt Cäcilien für Köln

Neben den fünf Heiligen, wurden auch andere Reliquien auf der Prozession mitgetragen, die aber nur beiläufig genannt werden. In der Beschreibung aus dem Pfarrarchiv von Sankt Peter wird der heilige Eliphius genannt und Weinsberg erwähnt den heiligen Antonin¹⁰⁰. Interessanterweise werden andere bedeutende Kölner Heilige im Rang eines Stadtpatrons nicht genannt und auch nicht mitgetragen: Ursula und Gereon. Obgleich doch gerade ihre Reliquien zum Heil der Stadt hätten mitgetragen werden müssen. Die Auffälligkeit muss an dieser Stelle nur genannt bleiben.

Von zwei bedeutenden Heiligenreliquien aus Sankt Cäcilien sind zumindest die des heiligen Evergislus auf dieser Prozession mitgetragen worden. Es waren bei diesem Ereignis nicht die Konventualinnen, die ihn verehrten und seine Bedeutung für Köln herausstellten, sondern es war die Stadt, bzw. der Erzbischof, der seine Fürsprache im Anliegen um einen friedlichen Ausgang der Verhandlungen in Anspruch nahm. Der Radius der Verehrung und die Wirkmacht des heiligen Evergislus wurde über seinen Verehrungsort Sankt Cäcilien hinaus ins gesamte Reich ausgeweitet.

⁹⁹ Vgl. Kuphal, Domchronik (wie Anm. 71), S. 271.

¹⁰⁰ Vgl. Weinsberg (wie Anm. 69), Bd. 3, S. 40.

Urban Hermits of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis in Croatia Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands?

Mislav Kovačić

Introductory Remarks

This title, appearing long and perplexing at first glance, can in fact be easily grasped since there are but three things to be understood. Let us disclose them one at a time.

First, *Third Order Regular of St. Francis* is the name of the institution of the consecrated life with canonical status; it is a branch – probably the least known – of the widespread Franciscan family. The adverbial *in Croatia* is by no means purely an accessory that confines the order within the boundaries of a nation/country, but rather it is an intrinsic quality. The Third Order Regular of St. Francis has played a considerably important role in Croatian religious and culture history as it has taken up thoroughly distinct features, evident essentially by its vigour for preserving the autochthonous liturgical language, different from the intangible and "most holy triad" *Latin-Greek-Hebrew*.

Second, *Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands* is the name of the last of the *Ten Oxherding Pictures*, a very helpful Zen Buddhist training manual. It represents a man who, having attained *satori* in seclusion, now endeavours to put his enlightenment into practice, so he enters the marketplace, the symbol of public affairs¹, ignorance and sin², in order to help others, without repulsive attitude of supreme

1 Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*. First Series, New York 1949, p. 363–376.

2 This nonetheless must be comprehended apart from Judaeochristian connotations.

docility and therefore without being recognized as the enlightened one.

Finally, the term *urban hermits*. It is a link connecting these two realities that pertain to two different cultural and religious milieus. But the syntagm *urban hermits* is at least at some point oxymoronic. *Hermit* (ἐρημίτης) means 'the one who dwells the desert', i.e. a radically isolated place (ἐρημος), incompatible with the noise and the lot mingling amidst the urban structure. Franciscans of the Third Order Regular, as well as some Zen monks, lived indeed in the city, but keeping their hermitic features. How these two opposites are reconciled, and – more fundamentally – are they reconciled at all, we must yet discover.

A Note on the Method

Given the fact that what we are going to compare are two rather different things, we have to ask ourselves about the method we are about to apply. We are not dealing with just two religions – as a matter of fact Zen is not a religion whatsoever, although to a certain extent it belongs to religious tradition, which is the reason we shall cautiously consider it a religion, being well aware of the consequences of our decision – but with two underlying realities with two differing cultural worlds and their way of knowing, two languages that express their fundamental concepts – in brief, two different epistemologies, anthropologies, theologies.

There are several models of comparing two religious systems – starting from the historical, more fundamentalistic one (albeit we prefer not to speak of religious fundamentalism), and reaching finally the contemporary "ecumenical" approach. Christian theology is fond of naming them exclusivism, inclusivism and religious pluralism. Without qualifying them we shall turn our attention to the fact that all three – especially the first one – are likely to be vexing and futile on a practical level, because the problem they treat cannot be solved. By comparing two religions, one in the end unexceptionally arrives to metaphysics, with a subsequent step consisting of some sort of competition in possessing the truth. If we would like to settle fierce disputes once for all – assuming we are dealing with reconcilable realities, a hy-

pothesis which is utterly doubtful – we would have to assert one and only one methodology, thoroughly applicable to Christianity as well as to Zen. It is our academic responsibility to confess without hesitation that no such methodology exists nor may exist. Certain progress may be perceived as interdisciplinary sciences increasingly take their shape – but they too cannot convey to us the *panacea* we crave for so eagerly.

This does not mean, however, that we should say together with Wittgenstein: "Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen"³. An attempt to find the solution urges us to step back from the explicit fixation to the metaphysics and to direct ourselves to the operative sphere, which is a far more satisfying approach. Practice is always a reflection of what actually happens – its description, analysis, diagnosis, and may by chance even become its therapy plan. To deal with practice means therefore to perceive real life. Practice helps us to surpass the annoyance caused by the restless endeavour of fathoming what is unfathomable and to catch a glimpse of both realities in their motion and hence in their vitality⁴.

Being constantly aware that what we are dealing with entails two opposite methodologies, we may take the anthropological substrate as our starting point, and it is indeed a domain both sides partake in. Man in his concreteness precedes both the Third Order Regular of St. Francis and Zen: by no means a somewhat empiristic attitude – but we cannot compare ideas putting aside (or even roughly neglecting) the man realizing them. Both the Third Order Regular of St. Francis and Zen share man as their fundament, which implies that both – leaving aside important, but likewise burdensome differences – function more or less unanimously. Keeping that in mind, it even becomes possible to come close to the edge of metaphysics, but now with the nauseant aporia being stripped off.

3 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*. Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung, p. III. Available at: <http://people.umass.edu/klement/tlp> (date of access: 4 July 2013).

4 Mislav Kovačić, "Franjevaštvo i matematika – prilog djelu fra Mate Zoričića", in: *Zbornik o Mati Zoričiću*. Edited by Pavao Knezović and Marko Jerković, Zagreb 2012, p. 131–132.

Four Important Premises

With the title of our subject being *Urban Hermits of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis in Croatia. Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands?* we have engaged ourselves to try to compare urban eremitism in the West with its counterpart in the East. Furthermore, this assignment, taking into account what has been said of the method, and prior to any comparison, has to be elaborated in several logical steps. That is, having taken man as the basis for our comparative analysis, it is important to reckon elements in common to both phenomena, which have to work on both sides in order to enable the comparison. And these are as follows:

1. To be an "urban hermit" means literally to be a hermit and nonetheless to live in a city (presuming we define *urban* as 'of, relating to, or located in the city', and not as the 'characteristic of the city or city life');
2. Hermitism is identified by a distinguished solitary lifestyle (at this point we do not introduce into discussion the "inner reasons" that impel a man to embrace hermitry; in addition, for the purpose of this subject, we shall not regard the community of hermits as something opposite to living in reclusion and therewith incompatible⁵);
3. Hermits, living in an urban area, are compelled to a certain amount of social interaction; a hermit may have some importance in the city and for the city – it is due to the fact that he⁶ assumes a social role, and is not a "crazy hermit the whole city knows" just because he leads an awkward life;

5 This means we shall leave aside the usual classification of monks into anchorites, hermits and cenobites.

6 Hermitism has no gender connotations by any means; however, because we are scrutinizing the male Catholic religious order, and because of the prevalence of male Zen monks and monasteries, the masculine pronoun is used in the text. A reader interested in the subject may find useful information in: Paula Arai, "Sōtō Zen Nuns in Modern Japan: Keeping and Creating Tradition", in: *Nanzan Bulletin* 14 (1990), p. 38–51.

4. To engage in interaction with city inhabitants makes it necessary for a hermit to use actively – at least to some extent – the same language they use; a hermit, after all – no matter whether Christian or Zen – is by his origin related to a birthplace, parents, environment – and that implies a mother tongue, which is certainly not any of the sacred languages.

Our examination, as it can be noticed, strives to put the main accent on the language, and by that we mean the spoken idiom, believing it represents an interpreting key for the phenomenon of the hermits and the city. It may, in fact, even be extended to the concept of the saint in general, for every saint or "sacred person"⁷ has to be a hermit up to a certain degree since he must "abandon" the world from time to time and devote himself to prayer⁸ in order to be able to put himself at the disposal to others. Ethics indeed, and especially social ethics with its problem of the suffering of the world, plays an important role both in Christianity and Zen, though it varies considerably in respect to its origin and conceptual framework.

Excursus I. St. Francis and the Vernacular

When speaking of St. Francis of Assisi, one must not judge his life and importance as if he did not belong to his time. The consequence of this libertinistic hermeneutics is visible in numerous romanticist accounts portraying the Saint as a frivolous troubadour or a hippy revolutionist standing against every possible norm. It is crucial, therefore, to interpret him by putting him in the historical, social and

7 This is perhaps more neutral and thereby more acceptable term inasmuch as it does not have to consider specifically theological meaning – namely, a person of exceptional holiness of life, formally recognized by such by Church, especially by the act of canonization.

8 Obviously, the word *prayer* does not cover the same meaning in Christianity and Zen, because it differs already concerning its addressee, which is conceived as a person and as the *śūnjatā*, respectively. It seemed suitable to accept the definition of prayer given by Alexis Carrel: "La prière paraît être essentiellement une tension de l'esprit vers le substratum immatériel du monde", in: Alexis Carrel, *La prière*. Available at: http://456-bible.123-bible.com/livres1/carel_priere.htm (date of access: 4 July 2013).

theological context. In the late 12th and early 13th century Assisi was experiencing profound division into two principal classes: the *maiores* and *minores*⁹. There were also two marginalized social groups: the poor ones and the lepers. Francis, by birth, belonged to the *minores*. But he also deliberately chose – and that is not merely the psychological phenomenon known as "sour grapes" – to be little and close to the lowest ones. His determination is still visible in the name of the order he founded: *Ordo fratrum minorum*. What exactly does it mean? For St. Francis and his first companions it meant to serve those who were in greatest need – undoubtedly including the poor ones and lepers. Following the development of the Franciscan Order, however, one can notice that the minority, in the course of history, has transcended these two preferential categories and began to attune itself to new "signs of times": each period brings along its own "little ones" who need to be served and provided with preferential care.

One of the vital instruments of attending the minority was certainly the language. As we can see in his writings, especially in autographs, written without extensive preparation, Latin was not familiar to St. Francis, *minoris*. The ability to use Latin was regarded, more or less, as a matter of "literacy", and was absolutely an indispensable tool for any kind of participation in both public and Church affairs. When having been constrained to express himself in Latin (e.g. 'Epistula ad Fratrem Leonem'), St. Francis did not try to conceal his unskillfulness. On the contrary, his 'Canticum fratris solis', perhaps his most intimate text, was written in his native Umbrian dialect that was actually spoken and therefore vivid¹⁰. 'Fonti franciscanes' revealed to us that the brothers often sang it, notably at the Saint's deathbed, when the last strophe was composed. We cannot emphasize enough the fact that the

9 Anton Rotzetter, Thadée Matura, *Živjeti evanđelje s Franjom Asiškim*, Zagreb 1997, p. 19.

10 Ivan Slamnig, "Hrvatski narod u spletu Mediterana", in: *Dubrovnik* 6 (1995), p. 8–9.

canticle was used as a liturgical¹¹ prayer, possibly in antiphonal manner.

The 'Canticle of the Creatures' is the expression of genuineness, simplicity and minority. It draws upon ecstatic moments, which the Saint was experiencing from time to time. All mystics had come to know what was happening thereat: discursive reasoning withdraws on account of a simple and conscious presence whereby the language accordingly becomes more and more simple up to the extent of being totally inappropriate to express in words what is taking place. Had he instead made an artificial effort to fit his experience of the transcendence into the classical poetic form and had he followed linguistic and metric standards of a language acquired through the time-consuming and strenuous process of learning, the result could certainly not be compared to the spontaneity one feels when using his mother tongue. Moreover, to use the vernacular to express the experience of the Divine means to convey that experience to those who use the same language – i.e. to those who are not acquainted with Latin – namely, the little ones. They, not having completed formal education, being poor at theology and hardly literate (if at all), were fond of (not to say constrained to) taking his religious, notably mystical, experience, verbalized in the vernacular, as their praying model, catechesis, rule of life, testimony of faith, and a threshold to contemplation – which thus ceased to be the privilege of those who spoke Latin and to whom the ascetical and mystical writings were available almost exclusively¹².

From that time onwards, the plebeians were bestowed with the unique gift of being enabled to nurture their spiritual life with the prayers of the Saint, perhaps the first one in so many years whom they actually could understand¹³. And the words that represent an

11 By saying "liturgical" we aim at a somewhat broader context than is usually understood. St. Francis developed a great sense for liturgy, a sense that can be seen already in interpreting their fraternity, presuming it to be a divine gift, as *opus divinum*. See Sebastian Lopez, "Liturgia", in: *Dizionario francescano*, Padova 2002, p. 1003–1018.

12 Mislav Kovačić, "Čuvanje hrvatske glagoljaške tradicije kao franjevačka vrednota", in: *Sbornik Konference mladých slavistů*. Edited by Marcel Černý – Kateřina Kedron – Marek Příhoda, Praha 2012, p. 61.

13 It is not suggested here that Francis of Assisi was the first popular saint (*popular* in the sense of 'pertaining to the common people'): by the 13th century many saints ap-

immediate reflection of the mystical bliss seem to be far more suitable thereto than the constructions uttered in a language unfamiliar to the addressee linguistically, culturally or spiritually – and no matter how perfect the semantic and stylistic potential of that language might be.

Third Order Regular of St. Francis in Croatia

The discourse on the importance of the vernacular in the life of St. Francis, which we have just displayed – somewhat in length, though – is not purely a "learned" digression; it, instead, represents a key that enables us to enter the world of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis and to demonstrate their "urban hermitism".

The Third Order Regular is – as we may put it – an institutionalized form of desire of many men and women determined to follow St. Francis in a spiritual way, without being obliged to give up their families and professional activities. Nevertheless, it soon occurred that single individuals among them started to live together and to take vows as if they were monks. In 1289, Pope Nicholas IV approved their Rule, and in 1447, Pope Nicholas V granted them the privilege to elect a general minister.

One may wish to be rather attent while pondering various elements that have led to the formation of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis in Croatia. As we have already pointed out, the adverbial *in Croatia* is a qualitative determinant, because it conveys the idea of Croatian specificity, which consists in its unique eremitic tradition, shaped under the influence of St. Jerome. It is not only because he turns out to be quite an important figure in laying down the theological principles as well as

peared who were not an immediate offspring of the old monastic conception of holiness. Nay, at that time dozens of heretical movements were flourishing, almost all of them emphasizing simplicity over extravagance, ignorance over subtle and mostly unintelligible theological disputes, poverty over luxury. But Francis was the first one who – within his own person – united all these elements with the affectionate sense of the Church as his Holy Mother, to whom reverence and obedience is owed. As a consequence, his poverty or calling himself *ignorans et idiota* has nothing to do with corresponding assertions of the Cathars. See Oktavian Schmucki, "Soy ignorante y idiota' (CtaO 39). El grado de formación escolar de S. Francisco de Asis", in: *Selecciones de franciscanismo* 31 (1982), p. 89–106.

the rule for monastic form of living, but foremost because he was believed to have invented the Glagolitic alphabet due to his Dalmatian provenience (he was born close to the border of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia), which the Glagolitic clergy, in accordance to the medieval way of thinking, understood as him being a Croat¹⁴. This theory, having been proved to be false, has been discarded already long ago¹⁵, but in the middle of the 13th century it was the crucial argument in beseeching Rome for the privilege of using Old Church Slavonic in liturgy. So what has been said of "Jeromian" eremitism was actually the foundation on which the penitential movement from Italy built on, having it renewed in the Franciscan spirit. Just a few chronological data will do: the eremites of the St. Francis are mentioned for the first time in Zadar in 1251; the first official document of the Church in which the clear confirmation of the organized Croatian province is found dates back to 1473; in 1602, Dalmatian and Istrian monasteries were united with the Generalate in Rome, becoming a homogenous religious entity.

But what makes them urban hermits? Their solitary lifestyle, a bit opposed to Franciscans of the First Order, was dominantly influenced by penance. It is highly important that the term *penance* be grasped in the very sense St. Francis had conceived it. Unusual, even unnatural practices of mortification, that at once come to our mind when we think of penance in the Middle Ages, practices that arise from an over-literal interpretation of the Gospel, often lacking any trace of common sense, and intensified with the medieval fascination with the Passion of Christ, had – contrary to popular belief – only an accidental impact on our saint. "To do penance" signifies in the Franciscan vocabulary to love God above all, to confess one's creation and dependency upon Him, and that is not a question of one moment, but rather a

14 Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Tisuću i sto godina od moravske misije", in: Slovo 13 (1963), p. 34-35; Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Determinante hrvatskog glagolizma", in: Slovo 21 (1971), p. 20.

15 The first one who managed to demonstrate, on scientific grounds, its inconsistency was Croatian priest and historian Franjo Rački (19th century). Earlier suggestions, however, were provided already by the first Croatian translator of the Bible, Bartol Kašić (17th century).

life-lasting itinerary¹⁶. This apprehension, as a second step, is to be applied in one's everyday life: the fruit of *metanoia* is serving others and caring for them lovingly and passionately, with society's cast-offs being one's first neighbour, i.e. the one in greatest need.

The penitential aspect of living of the Third Order Regular is quite prominent and – as for history – abundantly witnessed. Their monasteries are, as a rule, very tiny and outside the city walls, as the eremitical tradition requested. Later on, as the interest for eremitism re-increased and a renewal took place, bringing along some new shifts, they would move closer to the city, settling its outskirts and quarters populated by the poorest social stratum. Under Franciscan influence, the perception of the hermitism has also undergone a change at some point: from that time on, "being a hermit", besides its usual meaning, also began to signify "being a neighbour to those who suffer the most", inasmuch as they were conceived as a vast and desert area awaiting God, present in the hermit, to indwell therein. But even then, the monasteries of the Third Order Regular remained a poignant sign of minority: very simple dwellings with equally modest and sober churches witness of a pastoral activity that was all but mass. After all, this was in accordance with their possibilities, and moreover to the ideal they vowed to live. When valuing this altered meaning of hermitism, we should always be attent not to underestimate it, thinking of those who had embraced it as of incapable of "real" solitary and contemplative life. The truth is that the preferential option for the poor is not an easier path to follow at any rate, nor may it be regarded as such; it is solely an alternative mode of living the intense relationship with God, expressed in the ancient saying *contemplata aliis tradere*.

The activities of the Third Order Regular clearly show the preferential option for the poor: they establish hospitals, lazarettos, almshouses and shipwreck shelters; they are spiritual counsellors serving the imprisoned and galley-slaves. It is not necessary to recall that

16 For the Franciscan view on penance see Raffaele Pazzelli, "Penitenza, mortificazione", in: *Dizionario francescano*, Padova 2002, p. 1447–1472.

the beneficiaries of their care were appropriately the "little ones" of whom St. Francis had been writing in his Testament:

Quia cum essem in peccatis, nimis mihi videbatur amarum videre leprosos. Et ipse Dominus conduxit me inter illos et feci misericordiam cum illis¹⁷.

An integral part of having mercy (*facere misericordiam*) upon someone is the language. To approach another person as one's neighbour assumes speaking his language. There is no doubt that the meaning of this assertion is primarily existential, but it can be also taken literally: if the languages that my neighbour and I speak are mutually incomprehensible, my having mercy upon him shall indeed be of little importance. The proof that what we are speaking about is not a sheer tautology can be found in the problems regarding liturgical enculturation.

But we should already at the start make a due distinction. Although we speak of the Croatian privilege of using the vernacular in liturgy, our terminology is not quite correct. The Old Church Slavonic that was used in liturgy on the basis of papal privilege was not the everyday speech in the strict sense, but rather a stylized idiom¹⁸. Yet, as such, it was far more understandable to the common people than Latin¹⁹, for they actively participated in the liturgy; in addition, if the wider context, namely the cultural references of the Glagolitic movement, is taken into consideration, we have enough arguments to mark the Old Church Slavonic as vernacular.

Having focused on the poor ones, the Third Order Regular Franciscans, at the same time, opted for speaking the language of those who were not familiar with Latin. Today we are in possession of many written records that bear evidence to their engaging with the vernacular – liturgical (e.g. The Glagolitic Roman Missal, Breviary and Psalter)

17 Test 1–2. *Fontes franciscani*. Edited by Enrico Menestò, Stefano Brufani et al., Assisi 1995, No. 110.

18 See Katarina Lozić Knezović – Gordana Galić Kakkonen, "Odnos crkvenoslavenskoga jezika i govornoga jezika u hrvatskome srednjovjekovlju", in: *Croatian Studies Review. Časopis za hrvatske studije* 1 (2010), p. 211–226.

19 The reasons for this are various, and we cannot specify them in detail.

edited by Dragutin Antun Parčić) and non-liturgical books (martyrologies, Ivančić's Codex, various supplements to missals, always of explicit Franciscan orientation etc.). But the vernacular idiom (now we mean "vernacular" in the strict sense) was also used for writing down their religious constitutions, recording the course of their chapters, visitations, chronicles and so on. In addition, since the language of public communication on the eastern Adriatic coast was almost exclusively Latin, Franciscans of the Third Order Regular also engaged themselves as translators, interpreters and intermediaries, assisting those who wished, for example, to write their own testament but had difficulties to do so or were, for any reason, required to address the public authorities.

We should finally mention education, a very important aspect of caring for little ones. The Third Order Regular Franciscans taught children to read and write using the Glagolitic alphabet. Thus they contributed to forming the domestic intellectual elite, itself thenafter becoming the protagonists and custodians of the Glagolitic heritage. Up to the mid-20th century, it was widely believed that the Glagolitic clergy (with the Third Order Regular of St. Francis being its significant part) was, when compared to the Latin clergy, far less educated and thereby less capable of being the national intellectual and spiritual power. Professor Hercigonja's keen research helped to dismiss the hypothesis as historically conditioned and thus untrue²⁰.

20 See Eduard Hercigonja, *Tisućljeće hrvatskoga glagoljaštva*, Zagreb 2009.

Excursus II. On Zen and the Language

When we now turn to Zen Buddhism we are facing the same task as with the Franciscans of the Third Order Regular. We shall examine the relation between a Zen monk (presuming him to have experienced the enlightenment and to have proved himself as an experienced monk) and the city, following our hermeneutical key point by point. Unfortunately, there is no space to linger upon the historical development of Zen or to discuss in detail the process of spiritual transformation of a Zen monk. Anyone who is interested in the subject, however, can find plenty of information elsewhere.

Furthermore, as one starts to contemplate the role language has in Zen, he will soon find himself in trouble. According to Zen, language is a trap and an obstacle to enlightenment for it reflects the logic of duality, the main enemy of the ability to see things as they really are. A man is, by his mind, deceived and tied to discursive knowledge without being aware that words are only words, an "expressional frame" that cannot replace nor communicate reality²¹. Expressions we use to depict reality have therefore only a relative value: by asserting – one sets a limit, and by negating – one excludes. No matter whether we assert or negate, we are not capable of seeing the whole. By taking the concept to be reality, we identify experience with a word, and life with an abstract term. A life submitted to the tyranny of logic cannot bring man the freedom and happiness he longs for, because the logic is totally useless when the ultimate question of life erupts²²; a man therein stays alone, with five thousand volumes of odd ideographs²³.

We had decided at the beginning not to touch upon the question of metaphysics; yet what we have done was the urgent demand. For the one who is raised in the Western culture thinks of language (except perhaps those engaged in the philosophy of language) more or less in Judaeochristian categories, taking the word as *logos*, the principle of existence, be he a believer or an atheist alike.

21 Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, London 1969, p. 54, 59.

22 Suzuki, *An Introduction* (cit. n. 21), p. 67.

23 Kakuzo Okakura, *Knjiga o čajju*, Zagreb 1989, p. 35.

Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands²⁴

Ten Oxherding Pictures, the author of which is said to be Rinzai Zen master Kokuan Shien, portray the spiritual development of a man, from being imprisoned in the dungeon of logic and up to his appearance in the marketplace, prompt to help others. What has happened? In order to reach enlightenment, one must subject his whole being, normally guided by dialectics, to the total experience of life. Its sudden apprehension is in Japanese called *satori* (悟り) or *kenshō* (見性), and is an absolutely indispensable element of Zen. Though Zen, in order to reach it, does not impose on man any form, for to prescribe it would mean to destroy the absolute freedom of spirit, it is generally accepted that the training, exercised under a competent master and in a kind of reclusion, would be the best way; external conditions help a novice to master his spirit tangled in duality. During the training process, the language is – at least according to linguistic rules – used in an unusual, even an odd way: equipped only with our logic, and with our inner eyes being closed to reality, we find words of the Zen master illogical, absurd, senseless²⁵.

But what after the *satori* is achieved? A life must not be restricted, so there is not one single rule of what the enlightened one should do. He may choose to withdraw from the world and to lead a secluded life deep in the mountains or equally, he may decide to settle in a village living like any other man²⁶, well far from an eager wish to announce to the world his awakening. He may work in the rice-field or even in the fish-market, knowing that there is no difference between the awakened one and the unawakened one.

The Tenth Oxherding Picture is explained as follows:

24 The original Japanese term, 入麩垂手, is translated variously into English: 'Entering the Marketplace with Arms Hanging Loose', 'Entering the City with Bliss-Bestowing Hands', 'Entering the Marketplace with Extended Hands' and so on. By deciding for the above translation we do not want to pledge for it as for the best solution; it is simply a matter of convenience.

25 The student who keeps insisting upon the verbal explanation of the truth of Zen may well be surprised if a master thereupon spills a cup of hot tea onto his face. See Tucker Callaway, *Zen Way – Jesus Way*, Tokyo 1976, p. 48.

26 Suzuki, *An Introduction* (cit. n. 19), p. 130.

His thatched cottage gate is closed, and even the wisest knows him not. No glimpses of his inner life are to be caught; for he goes on his own way without following the steps of the ancient sages. Carrying a gourd he goes out into the market, leaning against a staff he comes home. He is found in company with wine-bibbers and butchers, he and they are all converted into Buddhas", and is accompanied by the following verses: "Bare-chested and bare-footed, he comes out into the market-place; Daubed with mud and ashes, how broadly he smiles! There is no need for the miraculous power of the gods, For he touches, and lo! the dead trees are in the full bloom"²⁷.



Picture 1. Entering the Marketplace with Helping Hands (The Tenth Oxherding Picture)²⁸

The state of "being a hermit" is, for the enlightened one, only of merely relative value; will he live alone or will he share his life with someone, the decision is totally upon him; both options are equally good, as we

²⁷ Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Manual of Zen Buddhism*, London 1948, p. 93.

can see from the example of two notable Zen-masters, Hakuin and Ryōkan. Practice shows, however, that those who reach the *satori* generally prefer to lead a solitary life, but it does not mean that those who maybe fall in love with someone are not hermits somehow or another. That is, if "being a hermit" belongs to a category that, in Zen, can be identified in any way, it should be taken as an "inner state", as the absolute freedom of spirit, with its sociological correspondence being only accidental, much more than it is the case with Christianity. Indeed, theology speaks of living the freedom of the children of God as of the highest ideal, attributing in this way certain relativity to the concrete form of realizing one's Christian life. Nevertheless, because of the belief in an absolute being as a Person *par excellence*, because of the doctrine of creation in the image of God, because of Jesus' salvatory work, because of the Church being a sociological concept as well, because of the eschatological teaching, it is thence not totally irrelevant how one is going to live one's life. By choosing to be a hermit one does not simply accept a way of life, but moreover responds to God's call which has, *sub specie æternitatis*, an impact on his utter destiny, postulating the uniqueness and unrepeatability of life, and presuming that a person is fulfilled but in eternity. Zen holds back resolutely from such statements and is consequently free to conceive hermitism without much attachment to any external pattern of life.

A "hermit" living in a city does not have to adhere to any specific lifestyle. He is not a formal member of the *zendo* (meditation hall or, more generally, Zen monastery) any more, so he does not have to obey its schedule. It does not follow, however, that his life is arbitrary or whimsical: on the contrary, the ever-changing experience of life inclines him to a certain daily routine which prevents him from idleness, the greatest enemy of a fresh and awakened mind. He indeed may

28 Ten Oxherding Pictures, in this version made by Tokuriki Tomikichiro, were published in the book *Zen Flesh, Zen Bones* by the Charles E. Tuttle Co. Inc. The publisher was kind enough to have allowed the online publication of the work, with the information added that the book is available in hardcover from Tuttle, so those who are interested in purchasing the book may do so.

choose whatever he wants, for to one who is of the sovereign spirit no boundaries are laid down.

On the other hand, the idea of "living in the city" brings about a necessity for a social structure. Aware of dissemblance regarding the concept of a city in the East and West, and despite the deep transformations a city has undergone throughout history, the main feature of the urbanity remained unaffected: a rich network of various relations that the inhabitants participate in, whereat being mutually reliant upon each other. Now, if we picture a hermit making a living as a wage earner or wandering about the streets and plazas and laughing loudly, or precisely being "in company with wine-bibbers and butchers", or doing any other thing whatsoever, we obviously do not have to be very imaginative to portray to ourselves a vivid scenery. For his task now, after being enlightened, encompasses engagement in saving²⁹ *all* sentient beings. And to engage to save them presupposes he has encountered them already.

Again, the concrete form of realization of his mission is, as seen, considerably loose. He may be regarded as a fool on account of his seemingly unorthodox appearance, for he has determined to "dim his light and mingle in the dust"³⁰. He knows well his priestly golden robe represents an obstacle rather than being any kind of a "sign"; wearing a brocade would not help him to approach the people weighed down with the burdensome circumstances of life, whose main occupation is managing to survive, not having an opportunity to cast off and, having shaved their heads, set out being monks themselves. He would have to adjust to their conditions and to live alongside them covered in dust, having tea with the elderly man down the street or taking a seat at the roadside vendors' stalls. At first sight, nothing stunning happens. Yet by his smiling and chitchatting "those who are rough and coarse in heart [...] discover the light in their lives"³¹ and get suddenly awakened to their Buddhahood.

29 The term *saving* must nowise be understood in its Christian meaning.

30 Mumon Yamada, Lectures on The Ten Oxherding Pictures, Honolulu 2004, p. 98.

31 Yamada, Lectures (cit. n. 30), p. 101.

For sure, by preaching or lecturing upon the sacred texts written in Pali, Sanskrit or Classical Chinese, all of them being highly stylized sacred languages, a monk could scarcely hope to achieve even the basic understanding, not to say a word of that being a helpful staff to rely upon in setting on his quest for an ox. He must instead use language anyone can understand, be it a shoemaker, a housewife or a drunkard. It is essential to realize that no one is excluded from "reacquiring his original face"³², regardless of the inexorable social stratification and *Gutes Benehmen*. This also means a hermit has to adopt as many "languages" as the number of people he meets, and the universal language of compassion and meekness shall once be realized as a laugh, another time as a quiet sitting, yet another time as a stirring discussion concerning the quality of fish. It is not a profanation of life, having taken the life as the supreme value; rather, what we are dealing with here is its demystification, doing away with its discriminatory notions – as it were, so to say, "a life that should be lived" and "a life unworthy of living". Such behaviour of the hermit is life itself.

Towards the Conclusion: Similarities and Differences

What we have strived for throughout this paper was an attempt to compare, on the level of practice, two different religious and cultural systems of integrating a hermit, by nature leading a solitary lifestyle, into the urban community. Having developed a four-step model, based on language as its keynote, the twofold path has been opened. Willing now to restrain ourselves from further analysis, it concerns us to bring forth a proposal of comparative understanding of these two types of hermits.

1. As for the outward features of hermitism, the Third Order Regular of St. Francis shows a much more firmly fixed structure than is the case with Zen monks. Although both are well

³² It is an appealing Buddhist saying which means exactly to free oneself from the duality and to experience the "real nature of things". The connection to Hui Neng's discourse of "thinking of neither good nor evil" is obvious. See *Il Sutra di Hui Neng. Scrittura fondamentale del buddhismo zen*, Roma 1977.

organized, the Franciscans of the Third Order Regular conceive their life as a response to a divine call – *in the community*. Furthermore, the Order itself is a canonical institution and, as such, subject to obligations and rights according to the Canon Law. Pertaining to it implies being subject to the supreme authority of the Church³³. In Zen, yet, despite its formal organization (schools, monasteries, government), only the all-transcending life is recognized as the supreme authority. A monk who has proven himself to be living Zen down to the dregs is no longer obliged to remain in the monastery. Just the opposite,

his intellectual attainments must be put on trial by coming into actual contact with the world³⁴.

A dangling hermit is in Zen, hence, quite a normal phenomenon³⁵.

2. A city is the fundamental locus for the Franciscan mission. In the city, the cast-offs, poor ones, lepers, illiterates – all of whom God's Good News is aimed at – are found. It is one of the reasons why the monks of the Benedictine provenience have experienced a decline. They could not cope with the development of cities: they themselves "were the city", now abandoned in favour of new urban areas. The Franciscans instead seemed to have caught the point. Especially the Franciscans of the Third Order Regular in Croatia opted for those who were experiencing nothing but harshness of life – whether materially or spiritually. As far as Zen is concerned, living in a city is only one option for a hermit. If he settles there, his life assumes the feature of "helping hands", with his mission to help all beings in attaining enlightenment. The

33 Codex iuris canonici, can. 590 § 1.

34 Suzuki, *An Introduction* (cit. n. 21), p. 129.

35 The history of Christianity also knows these vagabond hermits, but because of their frequent flirting with heresy the Church was always very cautious on the matter.

symbol of the marketplace is used to designate a place that intellectuals, who turn out to be merely boosters and self-assertives, often disdain. And the enlightenment may take place in the middle of a crowd smelling of fish, quarrelling, caressing the late night friend chickens and drinking excessively – just as well as during the tense meditation upon the learned scripture.

3. Both the Franciscan and Zen hermits address simple people, many of them being ignorant, by using their language. Sacred languages they are acquainted with have no worth at all. What counts is humbleness, genuineness, kindness, charity; and for them only a few simple words are needed. Though having radically differing concepts of language, and though each of them belong to their own distinguishing tradition, they generally share the idea of using the language of ordinary people: the Franciscans of the Third Order Regular – being a religious institution – by using the vernacular in liturgy and public affairs, and Zen monks – taking the supreme spirit as the high realm – by simple talking and smiling.

Putting our discussion to an end, we dare notice that our topic exceeds the theology of language and opens itself to the theological pragmatics. Here also lays *terra incognita* waiting yet to be explored. Maybe this modest contribution will encourage further research.

Between the City and the Cloister Saints, Liturgy and Devotion in the Dominican Nunneries in Late Medieval Castile

Mercedes Pérez Vidal

Female Cloisters in the City or a City inside the cloister. Enclosure versus Permeable Boundaries

Despite the great efforts made by the master general Humbert of Romans in the middle of the 13th century in order to end the previous confusion and heterogeneity in the Order of Preachers, the yearned *uniformitas* remained an utopia. Regional and local peculiarities on issues such as legislation, jurisdiction, observance of enclosure, liturgy and also architecture lingered on for a long time. Romans himself was aware of this failure and he admitted this lack of homogeneity, even in their buildings, as well as the dependence of local models:

Habent namque ecclesias et officinas ejusdem formae, et eodem modo dispositas: nos autem fere quot domos tot varias formas et dispositiones officinarum et ecclesiarum habemus¹.

¹ Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita Regulari*. Edited by Joachim Joseph Berthier, Turin 1956, vol. 2, p. 5, cit. in Costantino G. Gilardi, "Ecclesia Laicorum e Ecclesia Fratrum. Luoghi e oggetti per il culto e la predicazione secondo l' Ecclesiasticum Officium dei Frati Predicatori", in: *Aux Origines de la Liturgie Dominicaine: Le Manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1*. Edited by Léonar Boyle and Pierre Marie Gy, Paris – Roma 2004, p. 379–443, here 384. For instance, the convent of San Pablo de Burgos had a three aisle church, following the local custom. José Antonio Casillas, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos, Historia y Arte*, Salamanca 2003, p. 162. The layout of Santo Domingo de Toledo was also likely influenced by the local architectural context, but, in this case, the cause could have been also the close relationship of the nunnery with the royalty from its origins, through the lineage of the

As well as the architectonic solutions, functions of monastic spaces were largely determined by the influence of the local religious context, but, on the contrary, Dominicans also exerted a strong influence in the cities in which they settled². As a consequence, there was a difficult balance between the aspiration of universality of the Order and the various local identities, as evidenced by some texts, e.g., the *Vitae Fratrum* written by Gerard of Frachet³. Both this heterogeneity and the dependence of local models were even more outstanding in the case of Dominican nunneries, as a result of the complex panorama of these nunneries, which contrasts with the oversimplified view given by some historians, still relying on the idealised interpretations given in the Dominican chronicles. However, the study of Dominican nunneries in Castile has revealed the complexity of both the processes of foundation and the mechanisms to join at the Order, as a consequence of the different patrons and protectors, and the diverse origin of the religious women: from pious or penitent communities – *beatas* –, from Dominican tertiaries, or from nuns belonging to other orders – Premostratensian or Augustinian canonesses –, and finally the ones created *ex novo* with nuns from other Dominican nunneries. Moreover, the master general Humbert of Romans was not successful in bringing order, and ending the previous confusion in affiliations of women to the Order of Preachers, and far from being settled in 1267, the *cura monialium* controversy carried on and the legal status of nunneries remained variable at least until the Council of Trent⁴.

Castilla, to which belonged the prioresses Teresa de Ayala and her daughter Maria de Castilla.

- 2 Panayota Volti, *Les couvents des ordres mendiants et leur environnement à la fin du Moyen Âge: le nord de la France et les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Paris 2003, p. 8.
- 3 Cécile Caby, “Couvents et espaces religieux chez Gérard de Frachet et Bernard Gui: une topographie légendaire des origines dominicaines?”, in: *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e–XV^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44 (2009), p. 357–388, here 362.
- 4 About these problems see Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Uniformitas vs diversitas en los monasterios femeninos de la Orden de Predicadores en Castilla (siglos XIII–XV)”, in *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 8 (2013), p. 133–152; and Idem, *Arte y Arquitectura de los monasterios de la Orden de Predicadores de la “Provincia de España”. Desde los orígenes hasta la reforma (1218–1506)*. PhD dissertation, University of Oviedo, 2013, unpublished, vol. 1, p. 90–118.



Fig. 1: Santo Domingo de Toledo at the beginning of the 16th century (author's reconstruction over the ground plan of the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1881).

Lastly the introduction of the observance varied from one nunnery to another, and it gave way to an intricate net of dependencies among Dominican nunneries in Castile, although, again, this has not been hitherto studied by scholars. Indeed, Spanish historiography still relies on the aforementioned Dominican chronicles which sought to conceal any type of problem or even confrontation⁵. Together with the *vita communis*, and the observance of the Constitutions, the

5 In the case of Poor Clares we are slightly more fortunate, as we have the works of Tarsicio de Azcona, "Reforma de las clarisas en Cataluña en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos", in: *Collectanea Franciscana* 27 (1957), p. 10; Ignacio Omaecheverría, *Las clarisas a través de los siglos*, Madrid 1972, p. 90–102; José García Oro, *Cisneros y la Reforma del Clero Español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid 1971; Idem, "Conventualismo y Observancia. La reforma de las órdenes religiosas en los siglos XV y XVI", in: *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. Edited by Ricardo García Villoslada, Madrid 1980. vol. 3, p. 211–345; Carmen Soriano Triguero, "La reforma de las clarisas en la Corona de Aragón (ss. XV–XVI)", in: *Revista de Historia Moderna* 13/14 (2005), p. 185–198. In this case is clear how the first centres of the reform were nunneries: Santa Clara de Gandía and Santa Isabel de los Ángeles de Córdoba, and conflicts were documented, e.g., in San Antonio de Barcelona, Santa María de Pedralbes or Santa Clara de Villafranca del Penedés.

enclosure was one of the main aims of reform. However, before and after their introduction, enclosure was not always an imposition, but it seems to have been often negotiated or even embraced voluntarily, and, on the contrary, in other cases, strongly rejected, and it was not observed until the pass of the *Circa Pastoralis* in 1566. Thus, as Creytens did in the case of Italy, in Castile we can clearly distinguish between “closed nunneries” and “open nunneries”, without it being correlative to a distinction between nuns and tertiaries. Moreover, in many instances tertiaries embraced enclosure in a much more strict way than nuns did, and, in some cases, they even became nuns by their own will⁶.

Obviously, the Nuns’ relationship with the environment depended largely on the observance of enclosure. Among the “open nunneries” were included not only many of the tertiaries’ houses, but also some nunneries, which considered themselves exempted of enclosure, because they have never observed it, or had particular concessions about it. In Castile nuns of the wealthier convents – like Santo Domingo de Madrid or Santo Domingo de Toledo – enjoyed great freedom of movements, and a great permeability of enclosure. Physical boundaries, i.e., the monastic wall *alta et fortis*, was not built in some nunneries until late dates, as well as the compulsory separation between the church and the choir, established in the Constitutions of 1259⁷. For instance, in Santo Doming de Madrid, the monastic

6 Raymond Creytens, “La Giurisprudenza della Sacra Congregazione del Concilio nella Questione della Clausura delle Monache (1564–1576)”, in: *Apollinaris* 37 (1964), p. 252–285; Idem, “La riforma dei monasteri femminili dopo i Decreti Tridentini”, in: *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina*, Roma 1965, vol. 1, p. 45–85, here 46–49.

7 Ante omnia detur opera quod clausura sit ualde alta et fortis: ita ut egrediendi uel ingrediendi per clausuram opportunitas nulli detur. Non sit autem in clausura sororum. nisi unum hostium forte et bonum: quod cum duabus clauibus uel pluribus. quantitate et forma differentibus. claudatur cum una interius. et cum alia exterius. Interior autem custodiatur exterius. uel intus: secundum dispositionem prioris prouincialis. uel uicarii eius: exterior uero intus secundum dispositionem priorisse et conuentus/Aptetur autem in aliquo loco conuenienti ipsius clausure. in ipso muro inseparabiliter adherens. ipsi aliquod instrumentum rotundum. quod rotam uocamus: per quod ita possint res necessarie dari. et accipi. quod dantes et accipientes nullatenus possint se uidere. In ipsa uero ecclesia. in aliquo loco interme-

wall was not built until 1301, when a path that crossed the nunnery, connecting the Puerta de Valnadú with the nearby benedictine monastery of San Martín, was closed with the authorization of Fernando IV. In this way, the new building – “labor nueva” – was linked with the houses in the other side, belonging also to the nunnery⁸. Similarly, in 1396 the city council of Toledo allowed the nuns of Santo Domingo – founded in 1364 – to close a street leading from the Francisca Gudiel’s houses to the Mercedarian monastery, in order to build the church⁹. Nevertheless, even when the construction of the monastic wall was completed, this was frequently also a permeable boundary, as we can see, e.g., in a drawing of the Dominican nunnery of Oetenbach in Zürich, dating back to 1520¹⁰.

Likewise, in some cases, the separation between choir and church was probably done in a more open way, i.e., with walls not reaching the ceiling or maybe even with an altarpiece, as could have happened in Toledo¹¹. Moreover, nuns would abandon cloister temporarily for

dio inter sorores et exteriores aptetur aliqua fenestra ferrea competentis magnitudinis. in qua fiant sermones: et in aliquo loco apto due fenestre paruule ferrate ad confessiones audiendas / Poterit autem haberi aliquod locutorium ad loquendum cum extraneis in aliquo loco conuenienti. ubi aptetur fenestra ferrata simili modo sicut dictum est de fenestra maiore in ecclesia: uel in ipsa ecclesia ad fenestram maiorem poterunt fieri locuciones cum extraneis. “De edificiis, Constitutiones sororum ordinis fratrum praedicatorum (1259)”, p. 2, in: *Constitutiones et Acta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Berlin 2002, p. 150 (cf. Const O-P1259, p. 346–347).

- 8 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Parchments 1358/ 8, 6^o; María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, “Madrid en la Documentación de Santo Domingo el Real”, in: *En la España medieval* 7 (1985), p. 991–1010, here 1005.
- 9 Toledo, Archivo de Santo Domingo el Real, Doc 299; Antonio Sierra Corella, “Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Noticias sobre su fundación y suerte”, in: *Revista española de arte* 4/7 (1935), p. 304–308, here 304. Transcription of the text in Balbina Martínez Caviro, *Mudéjar toledano. Palacios y Conventos*, Madrid 1980, p. 348.
- 10 *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 1. Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter, Zürich 1995.
- 11 The passing of the *Circa Pastoralis* in 1566 coincided with the start of the construction of a new church, and also of a wall between it and the choir decorated with the coat of arms of Felipe II, firm supporter of the tridentine reform. Taking into account that the construction of this wall obstructed the western door of the church, as well as other features of the internal life in this nunnery, it seems likely that before Trent the separation between choir and church would have been done in a more open way. Elías Tormo y Monzó, “Informe acerca de expediente sobre

specific liturgic processions, and also friars and some laywomen entered into the cloister, or even the choir in special occasions¹².

The “closed nunneries”, i.e., those which embraced enclosure, especially after the reform, developed both penance practices and a series of liturgies, paraliturgies, and representations, and they re-used pre-existing spaces, or built new spaces *ex professo* for those celebrations. These practices not only convey a particular meaning and defined the collective identity and memory of these nuns, but, even more, they sometimes recreated within the cloister some urban processions, as well as some places of pilgrimage which nuns' could not reach. By doing so, they built inside the cloisters a kind of *heterotopia*, which represents a subtle form of reasserting nuns power over the nunnery, after the reformers' attempts of depriving them of it, as will be seen below¹³.

declaración de monumentos histórico-artísticos de las iglesias de San Justo y San Miguel y los conventos de Santo Domingo el Real y Capuchinas de Toledo”, in: Boletín de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 107, year XXVI (1933), p. 90–121, here 108.

- 12 Friars entered the enclosure to perform masses, funerary offices, processions, and other ceremonies, like the extreme unction and the bringing of the *viaticum*. Likewise, nuns went out to perform some processions, like the one held in the Corpus Christi's feast. Moreover, in some cases some women, foundresses or benefactors had houses communicated with the nunnery, and they could enter the enclosure, like happened in the Dominican nunneries of Salamanca, Toro, Santo Domingo de Toledo, Medina del Campo and Santo Domingo de Madrid, but also in some Poor Clares foundations, like Pedralbes, Calabazanos or Medina del Pomar. Most of these women did never professed as nuns, with the exception of Constanza de Castilla, prioress of Santo Domingo de Madrid, who had her own rooms around a secondary cloister, and who enjoyed great freedom of movements outside the cloister, with the appropriate permissions.
- 13 Following the definition of heterotopia by Foucault: Il y a également, et ceci probablement dans toute culture, dans toute civilisation, des lieux réels, des lieux effectifs, des lieux qui ont dessinés dans l'institution même de la société, et qui sont des sortes de contre-emplacements, sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés, des sortes de lieux qui sont hors de tous les lieux, bien que pourtant ils soient effectivement localisables. Ces lieux, parce qu'ils sont absolument autres que tous les emplacements qu'ils reflètent et dont ils parlent, je les appellerai, par opposition aux utopies, les hétérotopies. Michael Foucault, “Des espaces autres (conférence au

Passion inside the Cloister

The most popular of these recreations was the enacting of the Passion, which was also frequently associated with virtual pilgrimages to Jerusalem or Rome. Indeed, these performances were granted by papal bulls with the same privileges of real pilgrimages¹⁴. However, they were even more complex, as they reproduced inside the monastic walls other local recreations of the Passion, like the devotion to the Falls of Christ, well spread in northern Europe and which frequently had seven stations, but sometimes more, up to thirty-two¹⁵.

Cercle d'études architecturales 14 mars 1967)", in: *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (october 1984), p. 46–49.

- 14 Dominican nuns of Saint Catherine of Augsburg received a papal bull in 1487, by which Innocence VIII conceded the same indulgences obtained by pilgrims traveling to the Seven Basilicas of Rome to the nuns who prayed three *Pater Noster* and three Hail Mary in three different places of the enclosure, appointed by the prioress. Indications to these processions were taken from the *Indulgentiae ecclesiae urbis Romae and the Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae*. Moreover, as a consequence of this concession, nuns from Saint Catherine of Augsburg commissioned to Hans Holbein, Hans Burgkmair the Older and another painter identified with the initials L.F seven panels for the Chapter House, with depictions of the Seven Basilicas of Rome, as well as some saints especially worshiped by nuns, Pia. F. Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early Renaissance Augsburg", in: *Women's Art Journal* 19 (1998), p. 21–25; Marie Louise Ehrenscheidtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg", in: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60/1 (January 2009), p. 45–73, here 65–68. Likewise, a papal brief of Alexander VII to the Dominican nuns of Segovia gave the same privileges as those received by the pilgrims to Rome to those who visited a chapel or altar in the cloister four times a year, praying for the removal of heretics and the glory of the church. Segovia, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Breve de Alejandro VII a la priora y monjas del monasterio. Dado en Roma, en Santa María la Mayor, bajo el anillo del Pescador el día 15 de septiembre de 1661. Año séptimo de nuestro pontificado. About these issues Cf. Kathryn. M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent, Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2011.
- 15 Amédée Teetaert da Zedelgem. *Saggio storico sulla devozione alla Via Crucis. Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*. Edited by Amilcare Barbero and Pasquale Magro, *Evocazione e rappresentazione degli episodi e dei luoghi della Passione di Cristo*, Ponzano – Casale Monferrato 2004 (Original edition in French, 1949), p. 86.

Between the City and the Cloister



Fig. 2: Santo Domingo de Toledo. Claustro del Moral. Room in which nuns would do penance (Photo: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo. Fondo Rodríguez.01A-281).

Sometimes, a panel painting depicting all the stations, served as a guide for religious women, as was the case of a panel preserved in the Poor Clares nunnery of Madre de Deus in Lisbon and also probably of a small triptych from San Juan Bautista de Quejana¹⁶. In Lisbon this procession was performed every Fryday of Lent by the nuns, carrying an image of Christ with the Cross, and singing various antiphons and the *Miserere*¹⁷.

16 It was probably donated by the king of France and it depicts the Seven Hours of the Passion: the Judas's Kiss, the Flagellation, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixión, the Deposition of Christ, the Entombment and the Resurrection. Maria Soledad Silva Verástegui, "El Tríptico gótico de la Pasión procedente de Quejana", in: *La formación de Álava. 650 Aniversario del Pacto de Arriaga (1332-1982)*, Vitoria 1985, p. 921-932; Ángela Franco Mata, "Tríptico de la Pasión de Cristo", in: *Canciller Ayala (Catedral Nueva María Inmaculada, Vitoria, 18th April-26th July 2007)*, Vitoria 2007, p. 436-439. According to this author, the triptych can be related to the funerary chapel of Pedro López de Ayala, but also to the paraliturgical representation of the Passion from the Palm Sunday to the Holy Saturday. In my opinion, this representation could have been a recreation of the Passion through different stations, i.e., a precedent of the *Via Crucis*.

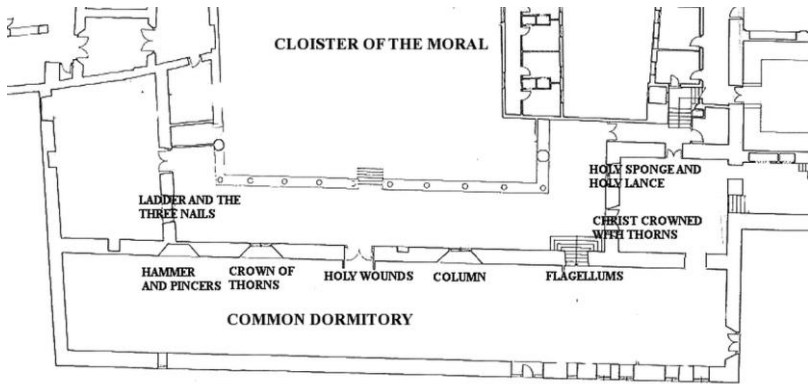


Fig. 3: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Cloister of “el Moral” with the *Arma Christi* (author’s reconstruction over the ground plan of the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1881).

In Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, nuns would also do penance every Friday of Lent in a room located in the upper storey of the Moral cloister, singing the *Miserere* in front of an image of Christ – called “Cristo de las Aguas” – or a Pietá (fig. 2)¹⁸. Moreover, each window and door of the lower storey of this cloister was decorated with the *Arma Christi* and the Five Holy Wounds (figs. 1 and 3). The *Arma Christi* were frequently associated with a funerary context, together or not with the Mass of Saint Gregory, but they could be also linked with extreme penitential practices, like those performed by Saint Catherine of Siena and Blessed Henry Suso. As is well-known, the last one included several examples of these exacerbated practices commemorating the Passion in his *Vita*, written as spiritual guide for Dominican

17 Lisboa, Museu Nacional do Azulejo, *Práticas na fogueira*, fol. 226v–227v, cit. in Alexandre Pais et Alexandra Curvelo, “Memórias da Fogueira. O primitivo mosteiro da Madre de Deus”, in: *Casa Perfeitíssima: 500 anos da Fundação do Mosteiro da Madre de Deus, 1509–2009*. Edited by Alexandra Curvelo, Lisboa 2009, p. 75–83, here 78.

18 Antonio Sierra Corella, “Santo Domingo el Real” (cit. n. 9), p. 307.

nuns¹⁹. Moreover, he related how he performed a kind of *Via Sacra* through different altars located in the cloister, the chapter house and the choir, which symbolized as many places of the Holy Land. This *Via Sacra* was performed in two different ways: every night after maitins, and following the singing of the *Salve Regina* after Compline²⁰. We have also evidences of the use of the *Arma Christi* by some nuns enacting the Passion, as a cistercian nun from Córdoba – Sor Lucía de San Ambrosio – related in ther biography:

Procuraba cada religiosa elegir para sí la más penosa parte del aparato doloroso que estaba dispuesto para este fin en un rincón del claustro. Allí sobran cruces varias, coronas de espinas, sogas nudosas, disciplinas gruesas y otras diversas insignias²¹.

In the case of Toledo, these depictions of the *Arma Christi* and the Holy Wounds, as well as the aforementioned penances and the documented complexity of processions performed in this wing of the Moral cloister, should be linked, in my opinion, to the Spanish reformer *Beata de Pídráhita*. Moreover, it is also striking to note how the dates of the moving of the *Beata* to Toledo, in order to introduce reform, in 1507, and the subsequently veto of her reforms by the Master General one year after, completely fit with the beginning and conclusion of the construction of this range of the cloister²².

19 The *Vita* was included in the *Exemplar*, probably written between 1362 and 1363, in collaboration with Elsbeth Stagel, prioress of Töss, and in which were also included other books, like *The Little Book of Truth* and *The little Book of Eternal Wisdom*, eleven letters and an introduction. Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary, Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, Cambridge 1998, p. 198–200.

20 Henry Suso, *The Life of the Blessed Henry Suso* by himself. Translated from the original German by Thomas Francisc Knox, London 1865 (reedited by Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Grand Rapids), p. 51–56.

21 Felisa Cerrato Mateos, *El Císter de Córdoba. Historia de una clausura*, Córdoba 2005, p. 224.

22 The spirituality of Sor María de Santo Domingo was strongly influenced by Savonarola's piety and focused on the prayer and contemplation of the Passion, which leads to mystical ecstasy, as it was described in the *Beata's Book of Prayer*. Mary. E. Giles, *The Book of Prayer of Sor María of Santo Domingo. A Study and*



Fig. 4: Altarpiece from St. Gertrud Köln (1460–1470).Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Nr. WRM 0342 (Photo: RBA, Nr. Cozo465).

Translation, Albany 1990, p. 169–177. The first Spanish translation of Savonarola, la *Devotísima exposición sobre el psalmo de Miserere mei Deus*, was indeed ordered by the Beata's protector Cardinal Cisneros and published in Alcalá de Henares in 1511. Moreover, in this same year, the cardinal also commissioned the first translation into Spanish of the Life of Saint Catherine to friar Antonio de la Peña, a follower of the Beata de Piedrahita. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "Las corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI", in: *Miscelánea Beltrán de Heredia*, Salamanca 1971–1973, 3, p. 519–672, here 528; Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, "La creación de la Observancia regular en el convento de San Esteban de Salamanca durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos", *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 80 (2006), p. 91–126, here 114. The influence of Savonarola mysticism was also documented in the Portuguese Court of Manuel I, through the sister of the king, Leonor, and we found also the *Arma Christi* in the decoration of the cloister of the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon. Paulo Pereira, *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos*, Londres, 2007, p. 95–113.

Furthermore, taking into account all the aforementioned elements, from the decoration and architectonic features to the penitential practices during Lent, the devotional works encouraging them – like the *Vita* of Suso, or the Life of Saint Catherine of Siena –, or the probable influence of the exacerbated spirituality of Beata de Piedrahita, it is not unlikely that nuns of Toledo performed here a kind of *Via Crucis* following the stations marked with the *Arma Christi* and the Holy Wounds²³.

Coming back to depictions of these penitential practices enacting the Passion, Dominican nuns were sometimes represented as pilgrims, as in the chapter house of Saint Catherine of Augsburg, or as active participants in the Passion, like in the chapter house of Saint Niccolò di Prato, where the Virgin was depicted as a Dominican nun, or even carrying the cross, like in one of the panel paintings of an altarpiece of Saint Gertrud of Cologne (fig. 4)²⁴. In this last one, two Dominican nuns were carrying the Cross in front of a Resurrected Christ with the flag, who welcomes the nuns with the words *komt in mynen wyngart*. Moreover, above the Cross we can read the motto: *Gehorsam, Reynlickeit, woyllich Armoyt*, which refers clearly to the reform.

23 About the decoration of this cloister and the performance of processions after Compline see Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Devociones, prácticas espirituales y liturgia en torno a la imagen de Cristo Crucificado en los monasterios de Dominicás en la Edad Media”, in: *Los Crucificados, religiosidad, cofradías y arte* (Proceedings of the Symposium, 3/6-IX-2010). Edited by Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, San Lorenzo del Escorial 2010, p. 195-212, here 201-205; Idem, “Compline and its Processions in the Context of Castilian Dominican nunneries”, *Life and Religion in Middle Ages*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing (in press); Idem, “La liturgia procesional de Completas en el ámbito de los monasterios femeninos de la Orden de Predicadores en Castilla”, in: *Hispania Sacra* 2015 (forthcoming).

24 About St. Catherine of Augsburg see note 14. The chapter house of San Niccolò di Prato was painted in 1509 by Girolamo Ristori. He depicted the Crucifixion in the center with the Climb to Calvary on the left, and the Lamentation of Christ on the right. As the Virgin was depicted wearing a Dominican habit, the nuns of Prato could easily identify themselves with the suffering of the mother of Christ. We must remember that in the *Orto del Gosto* of this nunnery was still preserved one of the few examples of reproduction of the *Scala Santa*, which was likely a station of an enactment of the Passion, and virtual pilgrimage. G. Morini – S. Niccoli – D. Palamedi, “Un edificio da riscoprire: la Scala Santa in San Niccolò”, in: *Prato Storia e Arte* 90-91/38 (1997), p. 117.

Indeed, the painting is dated 1460–1470 and the introduction of the observance in St Gertrud took place, after years of struggle, on the 6th of November of 1466²⁵.

In Castile, apart from the aforementioned examples of Quejana, Toledo and Segovia, we have also evidences of these performances in Santa María de Medina del Campo, and maybe also in Madrid²⁶.

Thus, although these virtual trips were better known in the case of Poor Clares and Cisterican nuns, we must bear in mind that one of the first examples was included in the *Vita* of Blessed Suso. This and the aforementioned examples highlight the role of the Order of Preachers, even from the 14th century, in the shaping and spreading of these devotions, true antecedents of the *Via Crucis*, the creation of which had been so far attributed to Franciscans.

The influence of the local context on these performances inside the cloister is clear in the case of Santo Domingo de Lekeitio, where nuns followed the local custom of climbing the mount Lumentxa, a local reproduction of the Calvary, on Good Friday²⁷. Likewise, according to different features, a *Stabat Mater* as liturgical sequence in a gradual-

25 Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Nr. WRM 0342. Cf. Jutta Prieur, *Das Kölner Dominikanerinnenkloster St. Gertrud am Neumark*, Köln 1983, p. 111.

26 In the case of Medina del Campo, the *Liber Q* of the AGOP includes the description of fr. Gaspar de Alarcón of five chapels located in the cloister, dedicated to as many episodes of the Pasión: the Agony in the Garden, the Climb to the Calvary, and the last with a painting known as the *Santo Cristo de la Vestidura*, which probably depicted the disrobing of Christ. We must add another chapel dedicated the Crucifixion, which was initially located in the chapter house and then moved to the choir, and we can not exclude the existence of more chapels. Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie XIV, *Liber Q*, second part, f. 1040. In Santo Domingo de Madrid, the prioress Constanza de Castilla included in her Book of Devotions a long prayer of the Life and Passion of Christ. Although its forty four chapters could seem to many to be related to a similar practice in the nunnery of Madrid, we must remember, as we have seen above, that the devotion to the Falls of Christ sometimes had a high number of stations. Moreover, we have the example of the Poor Clares of Villingen, who arranged an astonishing number of altars to commemorate both the Passion and the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Rome. Similarly, given the magnitude of the nunnery of Madrid, it may well also have a large number of altars, chapels or stations. Constance. L. Wilkins, *Constanza de Castilla, Book of Devotions-Libro de devociones y oficios*, Exeter 1998, p. 1–48.

kyrial of Santa María Magdalena di Val di Pietra in Bologna, dating back to the third decade of the 14th century, could be also linked with the reproduction inside the cloister of the complex of churches of Santo Stefano, the Sette Chiese, or the *Gerusalemme bolognese*, and the processional liturgy related to them²⁸.

Finally, nuns performed also virtual pilgrimages to other places, and shrines of different saints, like the virtual travel to the tomb of Saint Peter of Verona in Saint Eustorgio of Milan, performed by the Dominican nuns of Oetenbach²⁹.

Local saints versus Dominican saints

Dominicans were reluctant to accept the incorporation of new saints in their calendar. Already in the 13th century, an anonymous friar admonished the nuns in his care and prohibited special devotions to saints beyond those prescribed in the official calendar, stating: *Nulla*

27 Jaione Velilla Iriondo, "Origen y evolución de la Villa de Lekeitio", in: Cuadernos de Sección. Historia-Geografía 21 (1993), p. 115-134, here 130; Lekeitio, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Crónica de Santo Domingo de Lekeitio, vol. II, Chapter XXI, p. 48.

28 It was a *contrafactum* on the melody of *In caelesti Ierarchia*, a sequence in honor of Saint Dominic and this proves the importance of the festivity or occasion in which the *Stabat Mater* was sung. The A containing a miniature with Saint Helena in front of the Cross and the *Arma Christi* and a group of five nuns beneath has led musicologists to relate the sequence with the Invention of the Cross (May, 3rd), or the Exaltation of the Cross (September, 14th), but the *Alleluia* verse with mentions to the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns and the Crucifixion does not fit with any of these feasts. Ruini has pointed out that the *Stabat Mater* could have been sung in a particular or votive feast of this nunnery. Finally, I suggest that the *Stabat Mater* as sequence could have been sung by nuns in procession through different chapels located the cloister, duplicating inside the nunnery the *Gerusalemme bolognese*, i.e., the group of churches of Santo Stefano. Bolonia. Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 518. Estefania Roncroffi, Psallite Sapienter. Codici Musicali delle Domenicane Bolognesi, Firenze 2009; Cesarino Ruini, "Un' antica versione dello *Stabat Mater* in un Graduale delle domenicane bolognesi", in: Philomusica on-line, 9/3 (2010), p. 212-234.

29 Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, "La Bibliothèque d' Unterlinden et l' art de la formation spirituelle", in: Les Dominicaines d' Unterlinden (Musée Unterlinden, Colmar, 10th of December to 10th of June of 2001), Paris 2000, vol. 1, p. 110-159, here 154-155.

*tamen fiat diversitas vel difformitas*³⁰. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 15th century the resistance of Dominicans to the ever growing invasion of the *Temporale* by feast of saints gradually wore down, and new saints were introduced in their liturgy, while the number of *totum duplex* feast increased significantly³¹. Moreover, also as a consequence of the influence of local context some saints were venerated inside the Dominican nunneries, although they did not belong to the Order's tradition. This was probably one of the reasons for the multiplication of altars, not only in the nuns choir but also in the nave, in the cloister and in other monastic buildings.

They were entitled to different saints and Marian Patronages, occurring a certain liturgical and cultural exchange among several of them. Moreover, they served as focal points for the nuns' *orationes secretae* – which could not be recited in the church –, constituted stations for the processional liturgy, and had, obviously, also a funerary function³².

30 Edmund Ritzinger – Heribert Christian Scheeben, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Teutonia in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts“, in: Archiv der Deutschen Dominikaner 3 (1941), p. 11–95, here 26. Le sanctoral du Archetype has been edited and studied in Anne-Élisabeth Urfels-Capot, *Le sanctoral du lectionnaire de l'office dominicain (1254–1256): édition et étude d'après le ms. Rome, Sainte-Sabine XIV L1 Ecclesiasticum officium secundem ordinem fratrum Praedicatorum*, Paris 2007.

31 William Bonniwell, *A history of the Dominican Liturgy (1215–1945)*. Second Edition. Revised and enlarged by Joseph. F. Wagner, New York 1945, p. 254.

32 However, in contrast with the documented proliferation of altars in some Dominican nunneries, some authors have pointed out that nuns would not have needed so many altars, as they were no priest and “the whole churches for mendicant women did not serve as burial place for the laity”. Ann Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art. The convent of San Domenico of Pisa, Hampshire 2008*, p. 60. According to Roberts, although nunneries received many pious foundations for masses and chantries, burials and funerary chapels were not frequent in them, and they would have been even banned. However, we must be careful as this author follows the work of Saint Antoninus of Florence, *Summa Theologica Moralis* (Venice, 1477), which exerted a strong influence in Italy, and specially among nunneries attached to the reform, but which should not be extrapolated to other geographical and cultural contexts.

Confraternities inside and outside the Cloister

Some altars were related to confraternities as they were documented also in nunneries, like in Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo, where nuns were divided between those devoted to Saint John the Baptist – *señoras Bautistas* –, and those to Saint John Evangelist – *señoras Evangelistas* –, as well as also happened in St. Katharinental in Zürich³³. In both the cases, both the factions produced several images of these saints. In Toledo, nuns' choir had two altars dedicated to the Baptist, in the Gospel side, made in 1571, and another to the Evangelist, in which remains are preserved. Moreover, both the saints were depicted in two panels located to the west of the choir³⁴. In Santo Domingo de Madrid existed also both altars dedicated to the Baptist and the Evangelist, on two chapels or ante-choirs situated respectively on the Epistle and the Gospel side of the nun's choir (fig. 8)³⁵. In Medina del Campo two images of these saints, dating back to the 16th century, are preserved and they probably belonged to

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- 33 María Jesús Galán Vera, "La devoción de los Santos Juanes en Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo", in: *El culto a los santos: cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte* (Proceedings of the Symposium, 2/5–IX–2008). Edited by Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, El Escorial 2008, p. 251–268. The "krieg" among the nuns adherents of St. John the Baptist and the ones devoted to the Evangelist in St. Katharinental was related in the life of Clara Anna Von Hochenburg, the first prioress of Schönensteinbach, in the chronicle of Johannes Meyer, *Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens*. Edited by Benedictur Maria Reichert (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland 2/3), Leipzig 1908–1909, vol. 2, bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 61–62, cit. in Jeffrey. F. Hamburger, *The Visual* (cit. n. 18), p. 440–441.
- 34 Isabel Mateo Gómez, *Retablo del Coro de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo*, Madrid 1999, p. 7–12 and 31–45; Palma Martínez-Burgos García, *Dominicas VIII Centenario*, Toledo 2007, p. 182–192.
- 35 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Book, 7338, *Libro de las memorias, fiestas y missas perpetuas que el convento de Santo Domingo el Real de esta villa de Madrid, tiene obligación de hacer y decir en cada un año para siempre jamás*, s.f.; Corona de Jesús Vidal, *Breve reseña histórica del convento de Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid, desde su fundación por el mismo Santo Patriarca, año del Señor de 1218*, Santiago de Compostela 1946, p. 48, 61–64. However, in the case of Madrid the cult of Saint John Evangelist was apparently not as important as the devotion to the Baptist, and the chapel of the Gospel side was probably not built until the 16th century.

a disappeared altar. Finally, both the saints had an outstanding place in the liturgy of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de Salamanca, as their festivities were appointed by the Master General Thomas Turco in 1647 among those in which nuns could gain indulgences, praying before an altar located in the enclosure³⁶.

Lay confraternities do not seem to have existed in the Dominican nunneries in Castile until well into the Early Modern period³⁷. However, the influence of the celebrations of confraternities in nearby male convents inside nunneries can sometimes be traced, mainly from the 16th century onwards. Despite what Lekeitio's chronicle says about the foundation of a confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary by San Vicente Ferrer in 1412, this is obviously impossible, as the first confraternities were founded much later³⁸. On the contrary, in Benavente the influence of the confraternity of the Rosary settled on the convent of the friars, has probably contributed to the spread of this cult in the neighbouring nunnery of Sancti Spiritus, whose main altar had an altarpiece of Our Lady of the Rosary, now in Jaén³⁹.

36 Esteban García Chico, *Catálogo monumental de la Provincia de Valladolid*, Medina del Campo, Valladolid 1973, vol. 3, p. 176–179, here 178. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Leg. 5893.

37 As example of the existence of lay confraternities in nunneries we can mention the one founded in 1661, with the authorization of Alexander VII, to St. Cecilia in the Madre de Dios of Toledo. As we can read in the book of the confraternity, not only the nuns of Madre de Dios were members, but also some friars of San Pedro Mártir, as well as several ecclesiastical dignities and lay men and women. Toledo, Archivo del Monasterio de Santo Domingo el Real, Libro de la Cofradía de la Señora Sta. Cecilia Virgen y Mar. Sita en el conv. de la Madre de Dios de Toledo, Año 1662, s/f.

38 Lekeitio, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, *Crónica de Santo Domingo* (cit. n. 27), Book II, fol. 64. As happened in other cases during the Castilian campaigns of Saint Vincent Ferrer, his alleged presence is based on the local hagiographic tradition, with nothing to back it up. Pedro María Cátedra, *Sermón, Sociedad y Literatura en la Edad Media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411–1412)* estudio bibliográfico, literario y edición de los textos inéditos, Valladolid 1994, p. 25.

39 Rafael González Rodríguez, "El monasterio de Sancti Spiritus de Benavente. Aventuras y desventuras de dos retablos zamoranos en Marmolejo (Jaén)", in: *Brigecio: revista de estudios de Benavente y sus tierras 18–19* (2008–2009), p. 301–305.

Between the City and the Cloister



Fig. 5: Santo Domingo de Toledo. South range of the cloister of the Moral (Photo: AHPT, Fondo Rodríguez F-020-01).

An altar or chapel devoted to this marian avocation existed also in the churches of Santo Domingo de Madrid, San Juan Bautista de Quejana, Santo Domingo de Lekeitio and Santa María de la Encarnación de Bilbao, whereas in Santa Catalina de Valladolid, Santa María de Medina del Campo, Sancti Spiritus de Toro and Santo Domingo de Toledo the altar of the Rosary was located in the nuns' choir⁴⁰.

40 In Valladolid a confraternity of the Rosary was settled in the friars' convent at the end of the 15th century, and, as a consequence, a chapel devoted to the Rosary was built in the nuns' choir in Santa Catalina de Siena, which was subsequently

Moreover, in some cases, both the processions and the litanies sung by confraternities were reproduced inside the female cloisters, frequently inserted into the processions after Compline, and also related to the liturgy of the Dead⁴¹. In Santo Domingo de Toledo, they were probably performed in the aforementioned cloister, decorated with the *Arma Christi* and the *Holy Wounds*, as is suggested by some elements, specially an inscription with the antiphon *O lumen*, and several altars dedicated to Saint Dominic, Saint Thomas Aquinas and probably also to the Blessed Virgin (figs.5 and 6)⁴². Moreover, the Five Holy Wounds were, together with the psalm *Miserere mei* – which, as we have seen, was sung by nuns each Friday during Lent in this range of the cloister – the emblem of the Rosary, since the foundation of the confraternity of Cologne by Jakob Sprenger⁴³.

enlarged in 1555. Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie 12, 388000, Copia de la Crónica conventual de Santa Catalina de Sena, fol. 25–29. Dominigo de Montemayor's preaching in the Basque Country spread the devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary and this resulted in the creation of many confraternities dedicated to her. Fermín Labarga García, “La devoción del Rosario: datos para su historia”, in: *Archivo Dominicano* 24 (2003), p. 225–277, here 224–239.

- 41 A book published in Rome in 1593 included music composed by Palestrina for the letany of the Virgin “which is sung everywhere in chapels of the Rosary Society”, and which was divided into five parts corresponding to the five decades of the Rosary. Willian Bonniwell, *A history of the Dominican* (cit. n. 31), p. 328. We must bear in mind that among the functions of the Rosary's confraternities was the celebration of masses and funerary offices for their members. This assistance to the confraternities' members after their death was closely linked to the Virgin, not only through the weekly prayer of the Rosary, but also by the celebration of an office of Maitins with nine lessons, and a Mass sung for the dead in the Marian feast days. According to the statutes of the confraternity of Colmar, after these masses the psalms *Miserere mei* and *De profundis* should be sung. Jean Claude Schmitt, “La confrérie du Rosaire de Colmar (1485). Textes de fondation, *Exempla* en allemand d' Alain de la Roche, listes des Prêcheurs et des sœurs dominicaines”, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 40 (1970), p. 97–120, here 110; Henri Dominique Saffrey, “La fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475. Histoire et iconographie”, in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), p. 143–164.
- 42 About this see the aforementioned papers Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Compline and its processions” (cit. n. 23), and idem, “La liturgia Procesional de Completas” (cit. n. 23).
- 43 They were interpreted in term of numbers, as the Five Wounds represented the five *Pater Nosters* and the *Miserere Mei* the fifty *Ave Marias*, following the exhortation

In the case of Toledo, a confraternity of the Rosary was founded in the nearby male convent of San Pedro Mártir, between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the next century. Its rich endowment included a *corpus* of ten liturgical books, made between 1490 and 1510, which disappeared during the Civil War. However, Lorenzo Candelaria has recently indentified a Kyrial and several leaves, preserved in American Libraries, as belonging to this confraternity. All of them are decorated with the Knight of Cologne, and the emblem of the Five Wounds along with the inscription *Miserere Mei*⁴⁴.

of Sprenger to confraternity members, which should pray three full cycles of the Rosary. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 144, ChL 316, Jakobus Sprenger, Erneuerte Rosenkranz-Bruderschaft, Augsburg 1476, fol. 3-3v, cit. in Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral. Ritual and Social Design in Chantbook from Early Renaissance Toledo*, Rochester 2008, p. 70.

- 44 The Kyrial is nowadays preserved at the Beinecke Library of the Yale University (Ms 794), and Lorenzo Candelaria has identified independent leaves coming from graduals in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Detroit Public Library and the Getty Museum. All of them share the same feature: the Five Holy Wounds were repeated three times on the opening leaves, thereby representing the complete praying of the Rosary. Moreover, this author has pointed out how the adoption of this emblem and the illuminations displaying “The knight of Cologne” reflect the foreign influences of the confraternity of Toledo. Indeed, he mentions how in other confraternities in Spain, like in Zaragoza, the emblem were the seven red roses. Lorenzo Candelaria, *The Rosary Cantoral* (cit. n. 41), p. 75-76.

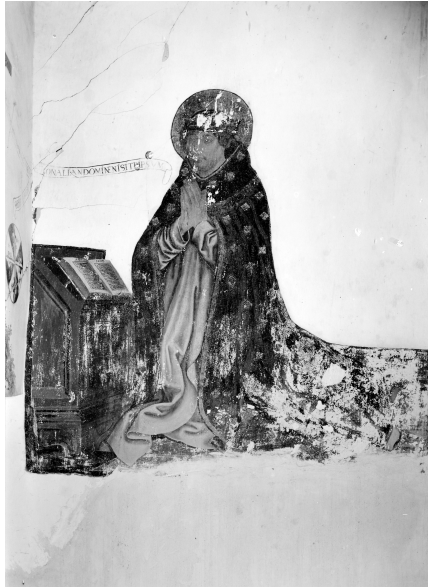


Fig. 6: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. St. Thomas praying before a crucifix disappeared (Photo: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo Fondo Rodríguez. F. 49).

In Madrid, the urban procession of the Immaculate Conception, held every year since 1348, in gratitude for her help against the plague, was also reproduced and performed inside the Dominican nunnery of this town⁴⁵. Also in this case, there was a cultural contamination between the celebration of Compline and other Marian devotions, as this procession was held indeed after Compline⁴⁶.

45 A document of this year related in detail the institution and development of this procession and another devoted to Saint Sebastian. Madrid, Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, Secretaria, sig. 2-272-16. cit in: Ángela Muñoz Fernández, “Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas en el Madrid medieval. Un primera acercamiento al tema”, in: *El Madrid medieval: sus tierras y sus hombres*, Edited by Juan Carlos de Miguel Rodríguez, Madrid 1990, p. 151–175, here 160–162.

46 Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Compline and its processions” (cit. n. 23). In this case, given the official maculist position of the Order of Preachers, the celebration of the Immaculate feast could seem an oddity. However, we must take into consideration, as

Dominicans and the Spread of the Devotion to the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Castile

As well as happened with this marian devotions the veneration or not of some saints inside the cloister, was also closely linked to the local, diocesan or even national religious environment. The Eleven Thousand Virgins were highly revered by the Order of Preachers, they were commemorated in the Dominican calendar on the 21st of October, and their feast became *totum duplex* between 1419 and 1421⁴⁷. In some nunneries, the devotion to them is well documented in early dates, as happened in Unterlinden, where an altar dedicated to them was created in 1288, or in San Domenico di Pisa, where there was a small altarpiece of Saint Ursula in the choir, which must be linked to the liturgy of the nunnery and to the local importance of this saint, as she was a protector and patron of Pisa. Furthermore, Dominicans in Tuscany promoted Ursula's cult and her martyrdom was connected with nuns' monastic life in a sermon of fray Giordano di Pisa⁴⁸.

However, in contrast to that, in Castile, with the exception of Caleruega, Zamora and Madrid, we only have belated notices of this cult in Dominican nunneries. Even in the case of Santo Domingo Caleruega, which was closely linked to the cistercian monastery of Gumiel de Izán, where the relics of the Virgins of Cologne were preserved since the 1223, we only have notice of their worship from the 16th onwards. According to the dominican Marieta, in this century an

I have mentioned above, the importance of the influence of local religious context in nunneries. Moreover, from the beginning of the 14th century onwards there were some supporters of the Immaculate among Dominicans, as it is proved by the inclusion of this feast in some liturgical books of this century, as well as by some treatises written in her defense by dominican friars, like Nicolas Eymerich or Juan de Torquemada. Cf. Adeline Rucquoi, "Mancilla y limpieza: la obsesión por el pecado en Castilla a finales del siglo XV", in: Os "últimos fins" na cultura ibérica dos séculos XV-XVIII: colóquio, Porto, 19th-21st of October 1995, Porto 1997, p. 113-135.

47 *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, 1256, reedited by the Master General Ludovicus Theissling, Rome 1921, p. 264.

48 Catherine Leroy, "Retable des vierges martyres", in: *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden* (cit. n. 29), vol. 2, p. 34-35; Anne Roberts, *Dominican Women* (cit. n. 32), p. 129.

office for Saint Orofrigia – whose body was supposedly preserved in the nuns' choir – was included in the liturgy of this nunnery, to be celebrated on the 22nd of October, one day later of the Eleven Thousand Virgins' feast⁴⁹. Indeed, this saint was incorporated among the Virgins of Cologne into the Spanish *flos Sanctorum* on this moment and this devotion seems to have been a peculiarity of Caleruega, as we do not have evidences of Saint Orofrigia's devotion in the rest of nunneries studied. At the end of the 17th century, friar Balthasar Quintana considered that this devotion would have been introduced by Alfonso X, although we do not have documentary evidence for this assertion⁵⁰.

It is also worth to note that the general chapter convened at Salamanca in 1551 tried to remove apocryphal elements from the office, especially from the lessons of the breviary, many of them taken from lives of saints, like the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. Among the lessons removed or revised were the nine belonging to the office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which were restricted to one lesson, whereas the other were taken from the Book of Wisdom, a homily on the Ten Virgins and a sermon on the Forty Martyrs⁵¹. However, popular devotion was an strong obstacle to these reforms, and, as the example of Caleruega shows, some nunneries rather preferred to follow it than the breviary's reforms established by the Order of Preachers.

The devotion to the virgins of Cologne is also documented from the 16th century onwards in Santa María de Zamora, as well as in the male convent of San Pablo de Burgos, where a chapel dedicated to them was built between 1499 and 1506, and in Santo Domingo of Madrid⁵². This last nunnery received in 1524 some relics donated by the prince Ferdinand, belonging not only to the Eleven Thousand

49 Juan de Marieta, *Historia eclesiástica y flores de Santos de España en la qual se tata de todos los Santos martyres que ha avido en ella, desde el tiempo de los Apóstoles hasta ahora y de los Santos Confesores Pontífices del mismo tiempo*, Cuenca 1594, vol. 3, Chapter LIII, fol. 109.

50 Adolfo Robles Sierra, "El P. Baltasar de Quintana y su información sobre Caleruega", in: *Santo Domingo de Caleruega. Contexto Cultural III Jornadas de Estudios Medievales*, Edited by Cándido Aniz Iriarte – Luis V. Díaz Martín, Salamanca 1995, p. 361–380, here 369–70.

51 William Bonniwell, *A history of the Dominican Liturgy* (cit. n. 31), p. 281–282.

Virgins, but also to the Ten Thousand Martyrs, the Saints Maures of Cologne and St. Maurice⁵³.



Fig. 7: Saint Acacius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs. Ca. 1400. From the dominican Nunnery of Belvis (Photo: Museo de Pontevedra).

Nevertheless, we have earlier evidences of this cult. An altarpiece of Saint Ursula probably existed in San Pablo de Palencia since the beginning of the 15th century, and the panels were subsequently reemployed in another Barrock altar, dedicated to Saint Pius V, in the friars' church. Nowadays, they are preserved both in the Port Sunlight

- 52 The previous sacristy of San Pablo de Burgos was transformed into a chapel dedicated to the Eleven Thousand Virgins between 1499 and 1506. Juana de Aragón and her husband Bernardino de Velasco, Constable of Castile, were subsequently the patrons of the chapel, which was given in 1563 to Andrés an Francisco de Maluenda. José Antonio Casillas García, *El convento de San Pablo de Burgos: historia y arte*, Salamanca 2003, p. 238–242.
- 53 Madrid, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Bulls, 30, cit. in Juan Ramón Romero Fernández-Pacheco, *Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid*, Salamanca 2008, p. 260.

collection and in the Prado Museum in Madrid⁵⁴. The personal relationship between saint Dominic and Engelbert of Berg, Archbishop of Cologne was used to explain a probably early devotion to Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Palencia⁵⁵. Following this consideration, in my opinion, and notwithstanding the lack of earlier evidences, at least in the nunnery of Caleruega the devotions to Saint Ursula and her companions probably existed earlier, either by the influence of Saint Dominic himself or the cistercians of Gumiel de Izán⁵⁶.

54 Four panels are preserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid), four in the Lady Lever Art Gallery of Port Sunlight, whereas other fragments of the predella are scattered in various collections. Post confirmed that these panels belonged to the aforementioned altar in San Pablo de Palencia, and Frenchina has recently assigned the panels to Jaime Mateu, disciple of Pere Nicolau, dating them around 1400 ca. Gutiérrez Baños has suggested that they could have been commissioned for the chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the cathedral of Palencia, in relation with a donation of the bishop Juan de Castromocho (m. 1397), being later transferred to the Dominican convent. Chandler. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge 1953, reprinted, 1970, passim; María Victoria Rodríguez López y Fernando Pérez Suescún, "Iconografía de Santa Úrsula en Palencia: el retablo de San Pablo de Palencia", in: *Actas del III congreso de Historia de Palencia*, 30, 31 de marzo y 1 de abril de 1995. Coord. by María Valentina Calleja González, vol. 4, 1995 (*Historia de la lengua y de la creación literaria e Historia del arte*), p. 763–772; José Gómez Frenchina, "El gótico internacional en Valencia", in: *Obras maestras restauradas. El retablo de San Martín, Santa Úrsula y San Antonio abad*. Museo de Bellas Arte de Valencia, Madrid 2004, p. 70–73. Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, "La corona en la encrucijada: corrientes pictóricas en la Corona de Castilla en tiempos del infante don Fernando de Antequera", in: *Artigrama* 26 (2011), p. 381–430, here 426–427.

55 Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, *La leyenda de las once mil vírgenes*, Murcia 1991, p. 101.

56 During his travel in Germany in 1223, where he had been sent in diplomatic mission by Ferdinand III, the abbot Pedro of Gumiel de Izán received a document of the archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, which certified the authenticity of the relics collected in this city by the abbot. The document in latin is preserved in the archive of the Burgo de Osma's cathedral, and its importance was first pointed out by Wilhelm Levison, who, however, was not able to offer a transcription of this document. Years later Ferreiro Alemparte published it, as well as the transcription of a copy in romance language preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional. Wilhelm Levison, "Eine Urkund Engelberts des Heiligen in Spanien (Kleinere Beiträge)", in: *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das alte Erzbistum Köln* 125 (1934), p. 108–111; Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, "España y Alemania

In Galicia, the cult of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, as well as the Ten Thousand Martyrs were established in early dates. Altars were documented in the Cathedral of Lugo, from the beginning of the 14th century, and also in Santiago in 1341⁵⁷. Maybe this context can explain the existence of an altar devoted to the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the friars convent of Bonaval and to the Ten Thousand martyrs in the nunnery of Belvis. From this last, a panel painting has survived and it is preserved in the Museum of Pontevedra (fig. 7)⁵⁸. It has been dated in the last quarter of the 15th century, before 1489, when Innocence VIII issued a bull, which is the only remaining documental source for this panel⁵⁹.

Saint Dominic. Memory, Liturgy and Penance

Obviously, Saint Dominic occupied a central role both in the liturgy and devotions of Dominican nunneries, especially in those which, according to tradition, were directly linked to the holy founder. This

en la Edad Media”, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 170 (1973), p. 319–376, 467–573; 171 (1974), p. 77–91, 267–295 and 479–521.

- 57 In 1288 a solemn procession of the Ten Thousand Martyrs was held in the cathedral of Lugo and in 1309 a chapel dedicated to them was built in the cloister, in order to serve as a burial place for the cathedral’s dignities. In turn, in 1341 another chapel devoted to these saints was founded in the Santiago de Compostela’s cathedral, near the Epistle choir’s door, and with two altars devoted to Saint Jorge and to the Ten Thousand Martyrs and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Both basilicas must have had depictions of these saints, which could have inspired the altars of Bonaval and Belvis. About Lugo: Madrid, *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, codex 1402 B, fol. 39r and 47r. According to this codex the office of the Ten Thousand Martyrs was already included in a Breviary coming from the cathedral of Lugo, and dating back from the 13th century. About the chapels and the altars in Santiago: Madrid, *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Clero, Carp. 1332 G, n 17 bis, and Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa a. m. iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 6, 1903, Appendix. 25, p. 119–122.
- 58 Museo de Pontevedra, Retablo de San Acacio y los Diez Mil Mártires del Monte Ararat, ca. 1400, Inv 017605. Carro García, “Unha táboa do convento de Belvis”, N, n. 101 (1932), p. 74–77; Aureliano Pardo Villar, “El convento de Santa María de Belvis”, in: *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos* 15 (1945), p. 32–100, here 49; Carmen Manso Porto, *Arte gótico en Galicia. Los dominicos*, La Coruña, 1993, vol. 2, p. 589–591.
- 59 Belvis, *Archivo del monasterio de Santa María*, Leg. 1, n. 12.

was the case of Santo Domingo de Madrid, where a chapel, supposedly built by the Saint himself, was preserved for centuries within the walls of the enclosure⁶⁰. According to monastic tradition, Saint Dominic celebrated Mass and did penance here, in the same way as he was depicted in the third of the Nine Ways of Prayer, which were subsequently copied in the so called *Codex Matritensis*, written at the end of the 14th century, and preserved in this nunnery. The vernacular lives or *legendae* of Saint Dominic, Saint Peter Martyr and Saint Thomas Aquinas, as well as the vernacular offices for the two feast of this last one, were also included in this *Codex*, and used in the nuns' liturgy⁶¹. The *legendae* were intended to be read or sung, being frequently inserted in the office of Matins, and they were probably

60 Rome, General Archive of the Order of Preachers, Serie XIV, *Liber Q*, Parte Seconda, f. 1007. As well as the corporals, the chalice and the portable altar in which he celebrated Mass, a fragment of bone and another of his cloak, a piece of leaf from his prayer book with some words from the office of St. Agatha Martyr, a link of the chain used by Saint Dominic in his penances, and the letter sent to the nuns of Madrid in 1220. Most of these relics disappeared during the Civil War. Gil González Dávila, Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid. Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España, Madrid, 1623, p. 276; Luis. G. Alonso Getino, "Centenario y cartulario de nuestra comunidad", Ciencia Tomista 19 (1919), p. 5–20; 127–143; 253–272; here p. 14. Moreover, according to the monastic tradition, also the *Madona* de Madrid, have been donated by Saint Dominic, although the image clearly dated back to the 14th century. Finally, in the 17th century arrived at the monastery from Caleruega the baptismal font of Saint Dominic.

61 The codex included, first, the Life of Saint Dominic, which would have been written by a dominican friar, who partly translated the *Legenda Sancti Dominici* of Humbert of Romans, – widely spread as it was included in the dominican lectionary –, but taking also some elements of the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine as well as the *Flowers* of Saint Francis of Assisi. María Teresa Barbadillo de la Fuente, Vida de Santo Domingo de Guzmán. Edición y estudio, Madrid 1985, Vol I, p. 2–13; Fernando Baños Vallejo, Las Vidas de Santos en la literatura medieval española, Madrid 2003, p. 90–91. The *legenda* of Saint Dominic is followed by the Nine Ways of Prayer, and then, a section dedicated to Saint Thomas Aquinas. This includes the *legenda* of the Saint as well as the offices – *Estorias responsorias* – written in vernacular language for both the festivities of the saint (March, 3rd and 28th January). They were written in the 14th century and were probably intended for theatrical representation. Luis. G. Alonso Getino, Leyenda de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Siglo XIV, Madrid 1924, p. 177–198, here 186. Finally, the codex includes a life of Saint Peter of Verona and a poem to the Blessed Virgin. Pedro María Cátedra, Liturgia, poesía y teatro en la Edad Media, Madrid 2005, p. 15, 136–142.

linked to images and several altars. Indeed, apart from the chapel of Saint Dominic, we have documentary evidence of the existence of both altars dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr and Saint Thomas Aquinas (fig. 8)⁶².

Likewise, another chapel was built by the Blessed Manés, according to tradition, in the birthplace of Saint Dominic, Caleruega, and it was subsequently incorporated into the nunnery's building, at the end of the 16th century, playing also an outstanding role in the celebrations of the Saint's feast, and on the processions after Compline. Indeed, according to fr. Baltasar Quintana's account, nuns climbed to the tower attached to the monastic church of Santa María from which they were able to see the little church of Saint Dominic and, facing it, they sang *O spem miram*⁶³. However, assuming that this account is post-Tridentine and considering the consequences of the Council decrees over the enclosure of nuns, we must take under consideration the possibility of a development of this procession not to the aforementioned tower, but outside the monastery walls, to the church of Saint Dominic, as is documented in other cases⁶⁴.

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- 62 These altars were located around the ante-choir of the Epistle side and their documented existence makes me consider this space not as a place intended for the preparation of the office, as it was settled by the Constitutions, but as a space for the celebration, performing of the Office. However, the altar of Saint Thomas, which, initially was probably also here located, was subsequently moved to a chapel dedicated to him by Pedro de Castilla and build at the end of the 15th century, which was also granted with several indulgences in 1497 by Alexander VII. Madrid, Archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo, Bulls, n. 26; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, Book, 7338, Libro de las memorias (cit. n. 35).
- 63 Adolfo Robles Sierra, "El P. Baltasar de Quintana" (cit. n. 49), p. 361-380. The protracted responsory *O Spem Miram*, belonging to the matins of Saint Dominic's feast was sung in a procession performed after Compline on the fourth Sunday of each month to an altar devoted to the founder of the Order, between the singing of the *Salve* and the *O lumen*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Caeremoniale iuxta ritum sancti ordinis praedicatorum*, Mechelen 1869, p. 523.
- 64 From the Early Middle Ages onwards there are documentary evidences of processions to chapels and other churches located outside the nunneries. Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space. Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages" in: *Crown and veil. Female monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth centuries*. Edited. by Jeffrey. F. Hamburger – Susan Marti, New York 2008, p. 191-206, here 198.

Dominicans of the 15th century seem to have been against hermitism, and thus, images of both of Saint Dominic Penitent and other hermit saints, are supposed to have been avoided in Castile until well into the 16th century, when they were spread in the wake of Counter Reformation. However, Saint Dominic was represented doing penance in the aforementioned *Nine Ways of Prayer*, dating from the beginning of the 15th century⁶⁵. Moreover, he was probably also depicted in this way in a disappeared altarpiece painted by Pedro Berruguete to Santa Cruz la Real de Segovia, which has been recently reconstructed by Francisco Egaña, who has dated it around 1485, following the chronology proposed by Eduardo Carrero for the church's building⁶⁶. We have also the examples of Álvaro de Córdoba, in the early 15th century and of a panel of Ambrosius Benson, now in the Prado Museum (ca. 1530), and coming from the altarpiece of Santa Cruz's of Segovia's church, in which we can see the saint doing penance in the background⁶⁷.

65 The Nine Ways of Prayer are preserved in three different codices: the *Codex Rossianus* 3, of the Vatican Library, the *Codex Bononiensis* of Bologna – which was stolen in 1982 –, and the *Codex Matritensis*, preserved in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid. The text of this last one was edited in Luis G. Alonso Getino, “Los nueve modos de orar del Señor Santo Domingo”, in: *Ciencia Tomista* 24 (1921), p. 5–19; Cf. Simon Tugwell, “The Nine ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic. A Textual and Critical Edition”, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1958), p. 94–103.

66 Francisco Egaña Casariego, “El Cristo crucificado de Berruguete del convento de Santa Cruz de Segovia y el primitivo retablo de la Cueva de Santo Domingo de Guzmán”, in: *Estudios Segovianos* 103 (2003), p. 107–128; Idem, “Una obra desconocida de Pedro Berruguete en Segovia: el primitivo retablo de la cueva de Santo Domingo en Santa Cruz la Real”, *Goya* 309 (2005), p. 323–338; Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, “El convento de Santa Cruz la Real de Segovia. De los orígenes románicos a la fábrica tardogótica” in: *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 91 (2003), p. 146–164.

67 Blessed Álvaro de Córdoba constitutes an isolated example of the eremitic way or reform. He retired with some friars to Escalaceli in the mountains near Córdoba, here he founded a convent, recreating also the topography of Holy Land. Álvaro Huerga, Escalaceli, Madrid 1981.

Between the City and the Cloister

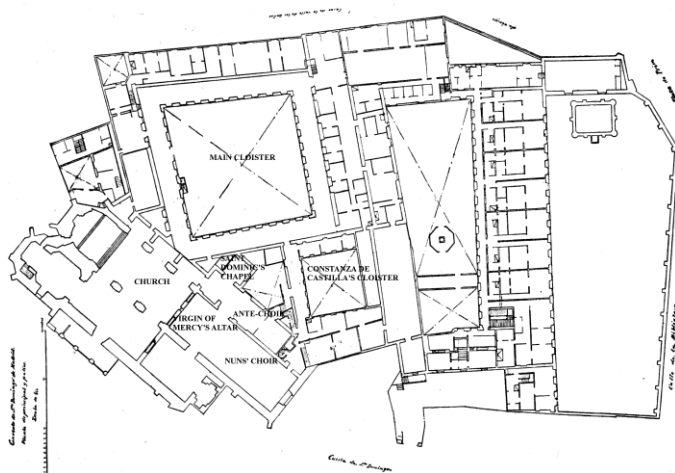


Fig. 8: Ground plan of Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid in the 16th century (author's reconstruction over the ground plan of the Museo Municipal de Madrid. IN. 2695).

In any case, the devotion for the penitent and hermit saints is related to a generalised obsession with sin that characterised the Castilian society in the transition to the Modern Era, and it greatly spread from the 16th century onwards⁶⁸. A secondary cloister with a chapel devoted to Saint John the Baptist and maybe also to the Magdalene was built in Santa Catalina de Valladolid on the second half of this century⁶⁹.

At the western end of the southern range of the cloister of Caleruega, there is a little altar or niche, which was constructed by commission of the prioress María de Sandoval in the 1545. Moreover, we can read also the incomplete names of San Jerome, on the right side, and Saint Mary of Egypt, on the left. In my opinion, we can relate them to the likely influence of the reformer Juan Hurtado de

68 Adeline Rucquoi, "Mancilla y limpieza" (cit. n. 46), p. 113-135.

69 Here existed probably also another chapel devoted to the Magdalene, as the one existed in the garden of las Descalzas Reales of Madrid. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Arte y mentalidad religiosa en el Museo de las Descalzas Reales", in: Reales Sitios. Año XXXV, 138 (fourth trimester of 1998), p. 13-24, here 23.

Mendoza, which around 1540 founded the nearby friary of Sancti Spiritus in Aranda de Duero⁷⁰.

The Magdalene and the Magdalenes in the Shaping of Nuns Idyiosincrazy

The Magdalene, was the prototype of penitent and hermit saints. Her penitential character was not a creation of the Counter Reformation, but had a medieval origin and it had been spread in the north of Europe between the 12th and the 13th centuries, by the sermons aimed not only at *religiosa mulieres*, like Beguines or tertiaries, but also to the nuns, and lay people, as a model of contrition⁷¹. Nevertheless, on the southern regions, this image of penance and repentance became popular later, in the wake of the Counter Reformation. Between the 13th and 16th centuries both in Spain and Italy, the Magdalene was considered mainly a religious model of the Poor Clares and Dominican nuns, becoming the paradigm of the contemplative life, next to the Virgin. Dominicans had undoubtedly an outstanding role in the rise of the devotion of the Magdalene through sermons and accounts, especially the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus of Voragine, but also the sermons of Humbert of Romans, and, in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, in the 15th century, Saint Vicent Ferrer's sermons⁷².

70 Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, "Incorporarse a Jesucristo: prácticas sacramentales y penitenciales entre los dominicos castellanos en el siglo XVI"; in: *Hispania Sacra* 58-117 (January-June 2006), p. 39-67, here 55.

71 Michael Lauwers, "Noli me tangere, Marie Madeleinte, Marie d' Oignies et les pénitentes du XII^e siècle", in: *Mélanges de l' Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes*, 104/1 (1992), p. 209-268.

72 Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: Preaching and popular devotion in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 2000. Unfortunately, as happens more often than desired, this study did not consider the Iberian Peninsula, which was studied in: Alfonso Espronera Cerdán, "Algunos materiales sobre la vinculación de los dominicos con Santa María Magdalena a lo largo del a Historia", in: *Teología Espiritual* 29 (2005), p. 282-303. About the sermons of Saint Vincent see also: Alberto Ferreiro, "St. Vicent Ferrer's Catalán sermon on Saint Mary Magdalene", in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40/1 (2010), p. 415-433.



Fig. 9: Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. *Noli me Tangere*. Remains of frescoes in the choir. Second decade of the 15th century(Photo: Archive of Santo Domingo de Toledo).

In the 15th century Mary Magdalen had an active role in the transmission of the revealed truth, of the Word, e.g., in the work of Isabel de Villena. She is the *apostola apostolorum*, the first preacher, a controversial role, if we take into account that preaching was forbidden to women⁷³. This was represented by the episode of *Noli me tangere*, that

73 María del Mar Graña Cid, “Teólogos de una nueva memoria evangélica en el Renacimiento hispano. Jesucristo como defensor de las mujeres (Isabel de Villena y Juana de la Cruz)”, in: *Memoria e Comunità Femminili. Spagna e Italia sec. XV-XVII. Memoria y comunidades femeninas. España e Italia, siglo XV-XVII*, Florence-Madrid 2011, p. 49-72. However, the problem of women preaching was solved by establishing a distinction between public preaching and private preaching or “*exhortatio*”. The *licentiam exhortandi* was conceded to women, lay people and even some converted from heresy. However this was limited to the *aperta* of the Scriptures.

we found in a surviving fragment of the mural frescoes of the choir of Santo Domingo of Toledo, dated on the first quarter of the 15th century (fig. 9)⁷⁴. She wears luxurious garments, according to her aristocratic origin, which has been already assumed by Humbert of Romans, who quoted her as example in a sermon delivered to noble women in the middle of the 13th century⁷⁵. She was also depicted in this way in another painting dated between the 1560 and th 1580, coming from this nunnery, providing a model for the noble nuns of Toledo⁷⁶. They had little to do, therefore, with repentants of *Convertite* houses for which representations of Magdalene doing penance were preferred. This type of representation was probably a deliberate choice of the Dominican nuns of Toledo, who built their identity and idiosyncrasy essentially regarding their previous membership of a particular social group, rather than their religious status⁷⁷. Moreover, also in this case, the influence of the *Beata de Piedrahita*, the “New Magdalene” in the words of Surtz, should not be dismissed. Indeed, despite of her life of penance and mortification, she was accused by her detractors of wearing rich robes and wear long hair⁷⁸.

Even the representation of the Assumption of the Magdalene on a panel painting in the west wall of the Choir of this nunnery, dating back to the beginning of the 16th century, exemplifies the model of the contemplative life, as we can read in the inscription: *O BONE IHV LAUS TIBI / VENI, DILECTA MEA*, which are the *incipit* of two antiphons. The

74 St. Marc 16:9 and St. John 20:14–18. Previously, Martínez Caviro had considered this a depiction of the queen Catherine of Lancaster. Balbina Martínez Caviro, “El arte en el monasterio toledano de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo. Los monasterios de Madre de Dios y de Jesús y María”, in: *Dominicas* (cit. n. 34), p. 60.

75 However, Romans proposed also the Magdalene as model for the prostitutes. H. Romans, “De eruditione praedicatorum”, in: T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, Roma 1975; Carla Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del secolo XIII. Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borone*, Milán 1978, reedited in 1997, p. 11, 28–32.

76 Palma Martínez-Burgos García, “La meditación de la muerte en los penitentes de la pintura española del Siglo de Oro. Ascetas, melancólicos y místicos”, in: *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 1999, p. 162–163; *Idem*, *Dominicas* (cit. n. 34), p. 240.

77 As has been pointed out Gilchrist regarding the English nunneries. Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of Religious women*, London – New York 1994, p. 19, 169.

first belong to laudes of the Office of Saint Mary Magdalene⁷⁹. The second is probably a bad transcription of the responsory of the maitins of the office for female saints not virgins, which is supposed to have been a paraphrase of the text from the Song of Songs: *Veni de Libano, sponsa, mea, Veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis*⁸⁰. Moreover, this responsory is also associated to the feast of the Assumption, as, according to the *Golden Legend*, this were the words pronounced by Christ when he welcomed her mother into Heaven. As a consequence it was also frequently used in sermons delivered to nuns for praising the enclosure, and simbolized the Mystic Marriage between the nun and Christ⁸¹.

In conclusion, as we have seen, it seems clear that the devotion to the holy penitents and hermits in Castile was delayed with respect to the Italian context, probably because the reform took place also on later dates. In any case, their presence in devotional books or iconographic representations, and also their influence on the penitential practices of the nuns seems to have been closely linked to the observance or, and perhaps more importantly, to the reform movements of the late 16th century and early 17th⁸². In contrast to what happened in northern Europe, and among *convertite*, for nuns Magdalene was a model of contemplation as well as the *apostola apostolorum*.

78 Ronald, E. Surtz, *Writing in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, p. 88, 100.

79 *O bone Jesus, laus tibi: remisiste peccatrici multa peccamina, quia te dilexit multum.c. Benedic. Euouae*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Antiphonarium iuxta ritum sacri ordinis praedicatorum*, Mechelen 1862, vol. 2, p. 458.

80 *Veni electa mea, et ponam in te thronum meum; quia concupivit rex speciem tuam*. Alexandre Vicent Jandel, *Antiphonarium* (cit. n. 80), vol. 1, p. 111.

81 We found it also in sermons, like one delivered by San Vicente Ferrer. "Sermón de la Asunpción de Santa Maria. RAE 294, fol. 93v in, Pedro María Catedra, *Sermón, Sociedad y literatura* (cit. n. 38), p. 431. This was the title of a sacred drama, allegorical, which was sung in the nunnery of Santa Clara of Balaguer. *Veni sponsa mea dilecta, veni libano, veni coronaberis: drama sacro, alegórico que se canta en el religiosissimo y real convneto de Santa Clara de Balaguer*, Imp. de la Real Universidad 1780.

82 About these movements among Castilian Dominicans Cf. Guillermo Nieva Ocampo "La creación de la Observancia" (cit. n. 22).

Finally, regarding this cult and others we must consider also the outstanding role of some women in the development of liturgy and devotions inside the cloisters, and also outside of them. This was the case of Constanza de Castilla in Santo Domingo el Real de Madrid or Chiara Gambacorta, in Santo Domingo di Pisa. This last one had a special devotion to Saint Bridget of Sweden. Notwithstanding the saint was not included in the Dominican calendar, due to the influence and efforts of Chiara, she was especially celebrated in the Pissan nunnery. Moreover, she contributed to spread her worship in the city⁸³. In conclusion, Dominican nuns seem to have had both inward and outward interaction, as they not only imitated urban liturgy inside the cloister but they had sometimes fostered the spreading of some devotions outside the walls, into the city.

83 Ann Roberts, *Dominican Women* (cit. n. 32), p. 84–91; Celeste Aida Cruz-Carandang, *Divine Intervention: Visionary Imagery and authority in the Convent of San Domenico of Pisa*, Honor Thesis at the Washington and Lee University, 2011. <http://annie.wlu.edu/record=b1781892> (consulted on the 8th of January 2014).

One Saint and Two Cities

Bernardino da Siena at L'Aquila¹

Pavla Langer

Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444) operated as an itinerant preacher and was a central figure of the Franciscan Observant movement in many Italian cities in the first half of the 15th century. His sermons were considerable local events. Bernardino's popular style of preaching often employed local figures and objects as examples². The IHS

¹ I am most grateful to Michele C. Ferrari for the opportunity to discuss some ideas from my current research (dissertation under direction of Georg Satzinger at the University of Bonn with the working title "The gravesite of S. Bernardino da Siena at L'Aquila in the context of veneration of saints in the 15th and early 16th centuries") during the Workshop at Erlangen and to publish them now. Furthermore I thank Koichi Toyama, Wolfgang Loseries and Marion Heisteberg for discussion on the topic and their enriching comments.

The following abbreviations are employed: Acta Sanctorum (AASS), Archivio Civico Aquilano (ACA), Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila (ASA), Archivio di Stato di Siena (ASS). I will follow the modern paginations in manuscripts and those of new editions. Since it wasn't possible to integrate all the stimulating ideas and suggestions of Mauro Mussolin's thematically very close article which was edited simultaneously to the present contribution, it shall be mentioned foremost: "Aquila ladra innamorata di Bernardin Beato. Culto di San Bernardino, Osservanza francescana e identità civica tra Siena e L'Aquila nel Quattrocento", in: *Architettura e identità locali II*. Edited by Howard Burns and Mauro Mussolin, (Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum"; Serie I: Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia 425), Florence 2014, p. 103–152.

² For *exempla* in Bernardino's sermons in general see Carlo Delcorno, "L'exemplum nella predicazione di Bernardino da Siena", in: Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo. XVI Convegno internazionale di studi (Todi, 9–12 October 1975), (Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale, Università degli Studi di Perugia 16), Todi 1976, p. 71–107. For Bernardino's use of specific examples of public places and works of art see Enzo Carli, "Luoghi ed opere d'arte senesi nelle prediche di Bernardino del 1427", in: Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo, see above, p. 153–182; Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena*, (Saggi 846), Turin 2002, p. 171–175. For Bernardino as a patron see Machtelt Israëls, "Painting for a preacher. Sassetta and Bernardino da Siena", in: Sassetta. The Borgo San Sepolcro altarpiece. Edited by Machtelt Israëls, (Vil-

monogram³ surrounded by rays of light, which he designed and further developed as a sign of both veneration of Jesus and pacification, adorned many public and private buildings⁴ in the towns he visited.

This paper focuses on the differing strategies for venerating Bernardino during the first decades after his death in two communities that had been crucial to his life and activities: L'Aquila, where he died, and Siena, his hometown. This contribution will present some findings from a current dissertation project examining Bernardino's mausoleum at L'Aquila (finished in 1505), which has received little attention by art historians. The project investigates the significance of the monument and the whole gravesite by means of a multi-perspec-

la i Tatti 25), Florence 2009, vol. 1, p. 121-139. For Bernardino and civic life see Jean-Claude Maire-Vigueur, "Bernardino et la vie citadine", in: Bernardino predicatore nella società del suo tempo, see above, p. 251-282.

- 3 Already since the beginning of Christianity the monogram had been an object of veneration and was used for devout practices. Bernardino applied a specific layout: he had 'YHS' – in gothic letters – painted in a golden glory of twelve major and 144 minor rays on panels with a blue background and displayed them during his sermons to augment the audience's devotion. 'IHS' was the (misspelled) abbreviation for Greek ΙΗΣΟΥΣ and was also interpreted as the Latin 'Iesus Hominum Salvator' or other formulas (see Corinna Tania Gallori, *Il monogramma dei nomi di Gesù e Maria: storia di un'iconografia tra scrittura e immagine*, [Enki 3], Asola 2011, p. 27-31). See also Daniel Arasse, "Iconographie et évolution spirituelle. La tablette de saint Bernardin de Sienne", in: *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974), p. 433-456; Vincenzo Pacelli, "Il 'monogramma' bernardiniano: origine, diffusione e sviluppo", in: *S. Bernardino predicatore e pellegrino*. Edited by Francesco D'Episcopo, Galatina 1985, p. 253-260; Bolzoni, *Rete* (cit. n. 2), p. 206-217.

However, the cult of the name of Jesus supported by the painted tablets was controversial. In 1426 Bernardino defended himself successfully against charges of heresy and idolatry (see Ephrem Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus", in: *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 [1935], p. 443-476; 29 [1936], p. 142-168, 443-477; 30 [1937], p. 170-192; Daniel Arasse, "Entre dévotion et hérésie. La tablette de saint Bernardin ou le secret d'un prédicateur", in: *Res* 28 [1995], p. 118-139).

- 4 One of the most prominent examples is shown at the centre of the façade of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. As a result of a fervent sermon by Bernardino in 1425 it had been commissioned by Battista di Niccolò da Padova, Turino di Sano and Giovanni di Turino (see Vincenzo Pacelli, "Il monogramma del Nome di Gesù", in: *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana. Bibliografia, Iconografia, Vestigia, Biografia*, Centro Promotore Generale delle Celebrazioni del VI Centenario della Nascita di S. Bernardino da Siena [1380-1980]. Edited by Enrico d'Angelo et al., L'Aquila 1980-1985, 4 vols., here vol. 2 *Iconografia* [1981], p. 183-205).

tive approach, taking stylistic and typological, religious and social, as well as political and urban implications into account.

“Aquila ladra innamorata di bernardin beato”⁵: Bernardino at L’Aquila

Although founded only in 1254⁶, L’Aquila had become the second most important town in the Kingdom of Naples⁷ by the Quattrocento. Despite continuous struggles for the crown of Naples between the Spanish House of Aragon and the French rulers in the Abruzzo region⁸, L’Aquila maintained a relatively autonomous and self-consciously active attitude⁹ towards the Royal government and the divergent political

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- 5 These words originate from a rotulus containing 14 mourning poems or lauds in honour of Bernardino. The parchment scroll is likely to be dated shortly after the preacher’s death and to be located in the circle of the Franciscan Observants at the *Siene*se *Osservanza* (see Aldo Lusini, “Un rotulo bernardiniano”, in: *La Diana. Rassegna d’arte e vita senese* 4 [1929], p. 161–170, here p. 164, 169; cf. the more recent catalogue entry Lucia Simonato, G.7, in: *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello. Le arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, [Siena, 26 March–11 July 2010]. Edited by Max Seidel et al., Milan 2010, p. 528–531).
 - 6 For an edition of and commentary on the foundation privileges of 1254 see Sonja Boesch Gajano-Maria Rita Berardi (ed.), *Civiltà medioevale negli Abruzzi, L’Aquila 1990–1992*, 2 vols., here vol. 2 (1992), p. 265–286; cf. Alessandro Clementi, *Storia dell’Aquila: dalle origini alla prima guerra mondiale*, Rome et al. 2009, chapter 2, p. 17–43.
 - 7 “... una delle più importanti città del Regno dopo Napoli ...” Maria Rita Berardi, *I monti d’oro: Identità urbana e conflitti territoriali nella storia dell’Aquila medievale*, (*Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno* 5), Naples 2005, p. 33; see also Simonetta Ciranna, “La costruzione della cupola di San Bernardino all’Aquila tra XV e XVIII secolo”, in: *Lo specchio del cielo. Forme significati tecniche e funzioni della cupola dal Pantheon al Novecento*. Edited by Claudia Conforti, (*Documenti di architettura* 104), Milan 1997, p. 151–165, here p. 162 note 3.
 - 8 Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Abruzzen und Molise. Kunst und Geschichte*, (*Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 23), Munich 1983, p. 213; see the *Biblioteca Hertziana’s* living book online edition of this standard work on Abruzzo art <http://db.biblherz.it/abruzzo/index.xml> [15.09.2013].
 - 9 “... L’Aquila presenti una effettiva e lunga costanza di personalità e di iniziativa politica.” Giuseppe Galasso, “Sovrani e città nel Mezzogiorno tardo-medievale”, in: *Principi e città alla fine del medioevo*. Edited by Sergio Gensini, (*Centro di Studi sulla Civiltà del Tardo Medioevo San Miniato: Collana di studi e ricerche* 6; *Pubblicazioni degli archivi di stato/Saggi* 41), Pisa 1996, p. 225–247, here p. 228.

interests. The city's wealth and therewith its cultural refinement¹⁰ was mainly facilitated by its wool commerce with Florence and the saffron trade, as it was situated along the much travelled *Via degli Abruzzi*¹¹, which led from Florence to Naples. From the end of the 13th century onwards, the *Via degli Abruzzi* was also increasingly used by pilgrims¹² on their way to the sanctuaries of Saint Nicholas at Bari and of Archangel Michael at Mount Gargano, or to the Holy Land.

Bernardino's death

Born in 1380, Bernardino degli Albizzeschi¹³ was one of the major representatives of the Franciscan Observant reform movement and as an itinerant preacher he travelled to many Italian communities. Due to his charisma, his popular style, and his rhetorical as well as diplomatic

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- 10 For the civic culture of L'Aquila and the Abruzzo region see several contributions in *L'Abruzzo dall'umanesimo all'età barocca*. Edited by Umberto Russo and Edoardo Tiboni, Pescara 2002.
 - 11 For this trade route see Paola Gasparinetti, "La via degli Abruzzi e l'attività commerciale di Aquila e Sulmona nei secoli 13.-15.," in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 54-56 (1964-66), p. 5-103; Hidetoshi Hoshino, *I rapporti economici tra l'Abruzzo aquilano e Firenze nel basso medioevo*, (Studi e testi - Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria 11), L'Aquila 1988.
 - 12 Mario Sensi, "L'indulgenza della Porziuncola e la Perdonanza di Celestino V", in: *I Giubilei nella storia della Chiesa. Atti del congresso internazionale in collaborazione con l'École française de Rome* (Rome, 23-26 June 1999), Vatican City 2000, p. 179-223, here p. 208.
 - 13 Apart from the *Acta Sanctorum* (Quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Johannes Bollandus, operam et studium contulit Godefridus Henschenius, Antwerp-Brussels 1643-1940 [Acta Sanctorum database on CD-ROM, release 1-4, Cambridge et al. 1999-2000]) and the chronicle of the Franciscan Order by Lucas Wadding (*Annales minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 1731-1964) see the following selection for general information on Bernardino: Dionisio Pacetti, "Cronologia Bernardiniana", in: *Studi Francescani* 15 (1943), p. 160-177; *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* (cit. n. 4), here vol. 4 *Biografia* (1985); Vittorino Facchinetti, *S. Bernardino da Siena: mistico sole del secolo XV*, Milan 1933; Iris Origo, *Der Heilige der Toskana. Leben und Zeit des Bernardino von Siena*, Munich 1989.

skills, Bernardino was highly esteemed not only by laypeople but also by secular rulers and the high clergy¹⁴.

In the year 1444, a preaching journey took the aged Bernardino to the Abruzzo region. After several days of illness he and his companions reached the city of L'Aquila¹⁵ on May 17th. There he died¹⁶ on May 20th in a cell of the Franciscan Conventual monastery of S. Francesco al Palazzo. The Aquilani immediately recognised the significance of this event and prevented Bernardino's companions from transporting his dead body back to his native city Siena; as such the friars had to content themselves with bringing home some of their confrère's personal belongings¹⁷. As soon as the news of Bernardino's death spread, occurrences in proximity to the corpse were interpreted as miracles and it was consequently ardently worshipped. These miracles were carefully documented, notarised and certified by the city's *camerario*¹⁸. In doing this, the Aquilani collected material for the process of canonisation, which in the 15th century was primarily held at the place of the

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- 14 Not only had Bernardino been offered three bishoprics (1427 Siena, 1431 Ferrara, and 1435 Urbino, all of which he rejected), but he had also been on diplomatic missions, e.g. to Milan in 1442 (cf. Pacetti, *Cronologia* [cit. n. 13], p. 175).
- 15 In 1438 Bernardino had already visited L'Aquila in the capacity of Vicar General of the Observants, aiming to resolve conflicts among the local friars and also to preach in the town. During a cycle of sermons on the feast of the Assumption (or the Nativity of Mary) 1438 on the *platea* of S. Maria di Collemaggio there miraculously appeared a bright star above the preacher's head (Giovanni da Capestrano, for instance, reports as an eye witness in *Sancti Bernardini Senensis, Ordinis Seraphici Minorvm, Opera Omnia*. Edited by Joannis De La Haye, Lyon 1650, 5 vols., here vol. 1, p. 32–33). For Bernardino and L'Aquila in general see Luigi Rivera, "San Bernardino e la città dell'Aquila", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 35 (1944), p. 47–119.
- 16 For Bernardino's last journey and decease see Giacinto Marinangeli, "Eamus Aquilam! Ad Aquilam missus sum. Nota storico-critica", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 70 (1980), p. 163–196.
- 17 "Una lettera di un testimone oculare sulla morte e sui miracoli di Bernardino da Siena", in: Boesch Gajano-Berardi, *Civiltà* (cit. n. 6), here vol. 2 (1992), p. 451–457; see also Wadding, *Annales* (cit. n. 13), vol. 11, p. 220.
- 18 "... Camerarius quinque artium et universitas civitatis Aquile fidem facimus et in verbo veritatis attestamur omnia supra scripta miracula" AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 (cit. n. 13), p. 287; see also Berardi, Monti, see note 7, p. 46; Letizia Pellegrini (Ed.), *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena (1445–1450)*, (*Analecta Franciscana: Documenta et studia* 16,4), Grottaferrata 2009, p. 65*.

One Saint and Two Cities

candidate's death¹⁹. Conscious of the importance of Bernardino for L'Aquila, the town council made him a civic patron²⁰, together with Massimo, Equizio and Celestino, only two months after his death, even though the canonisation process began only in June 1445 (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Death mask of S. Bernardino with the city's keys of L'Aquila (from: 5. centenario della canonizzazione di S. Bernardino da Siena: L'Aquila maggio-novembre 1950. Edited by Saro Joele [1950], p. 5).

- 19 See Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter*, (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 28), Cologne et al. 2004, Diss. phil. Heidelberg 2001–2002, p. 455.
- 20 Already in the aforesaid miracle compilation, attested by the Aquilano civic government on 19 July 1944, Bernardino was called a patron and protector of L'Aquila (cf. AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 [cit. n. 13], p. 284). Massimo di Aveia (ca. 228–251) had already been the patron of the 1256/57 newly-installed diocese of L'Aquila, even though his remains were only translated into the cathedral in 1414 (for the founding of the Aquilano diocese cf. Salvatore Piacentino [Ed.], *Regesto Antinoriano*, L'Aquila 1977, p. 56–57; for the translation of Massimo's relics see Anton Ludovico Antinori, *Annali degli Abruzzi*, Bologna 1971 [reprint of the manuscript conserved at the Biblioteca Provinciale Salvatore Tommasi at L'Aquila], vol. 14 p. 69, 74, vol. 15/2, p. 586; for S. Massimo in general see AASS, Oct. VIII, Dies 19 [cit. n. 13]; Domenico Da Sant'Eusanio, *L'Abruzzo aquilano santo o sia Vite de' Santi, Beati ed altri Servi insigni di Dio o nati o morti o presentemente riposanti col corpo nella provincia dell'Aquila nel regno di Napoli*, L'Aquila 1849–1850, 2 vols., here vol. 1, p. 248–255; Filippo Murri, *Santi, beati, servi di Dio e morti in concetto di santità dell'Arcidiocesi aquilana*, L'Aquila 1994, p. 15–27). Equizio (ca. 490–ca. 570) was an abbot in the region between L'Aquila, Rieti and Tivoli and had been venerated in the Aquilano area. His relics, however, were not transferred from nearby Pizzoli to the church of S. Lorenzo di Pizzoli inside town until 1461 (see AASS, Mar. I, Dies 7 [cit. n.1 3]; Da Sant'Eusanio, *Abruzzo*, see above, p. 124–130; Murri, *Santi*, see above, p. 56–69). For Celestino see paragraph “Observants and Celestines” below.

Bernardino's Funeral

Bernardino's exequies²¹ took place in S. Francesco al Palazzo and in L'Aquila's S. Massimo cathedral. The monastery of S. Francesco had been the first Franciscan settlement in the town and had been established almost contemporary with the foundation²² of the city in 1254. The epithet 'al Palazzo' was a result of its position in the political centre of the town next to the *palazzo della città* and the *palazzo del*

21 Bernardino's last days at L'Aquila, his death and the occurrences immediately following are documented by a letter of 23 May 1444 written by Giuliano da Milano. The eye witness probably was a merchant not a friar as sometimes has been assumed and he addressed his Milan companions, who should divulgate the news of Bernardino's decease and the miracles he operated. Three years later "Iulianus Francisci de Mediolano" was interviewed during the second investigation of Bernardino's canonisation process (Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 191-193). A transcript of Giuliano's letter exists at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze (Codice Magliabechiano II, II, 325, fol. 195r-198r); for the following see the edition in Boesch Gajano-Berardi, *Civiltà* (cit. n. 6), here p. 452:

"... In efetto si fece diliberatione di non lassare portare il chorpo a Siena, chome voliano fare li chompagni suoi e di falli solennissimo honore. Per quella sera non si fecie altro: la mattina sequente che fue il di dell'Asensione venne il veschovo chon parecchi preti e achonpagniero il corpo dalla cella infino nel mezo della chiesa ciò è di santo Francescho, e qui estando esso benedetto corpo vestito di suoi propri panni in che era morto è chominciò il popolo a baciagli le mani e chi i piedi e in mia presentia e di tutto il popolo che ci stava, li due primi miracoli furono due putti, come più giù insieme con altri udirete. Stando poi insino alle xviiiij hore e raunato li signori tutti li officii tutti e mercatanti insieme tutto lo popolo maschi e femine. Nella chiesa vennono tutti i religiosi dell'Aquila e con solepnità feceno la vigilia, come si costuma qua, cioè l'officio. E fatto questo venne lo veschovo con tutti li preti di questa terra e feceno un'altra volta l'officio. E stando sempre fermo tutto lo popolo, la mattina seguente similmente si radunò la corte col popolo e tutti li religiosi e il vescovo con 170 preti. Eranoci 40 croci d'ariento e due di lengnio, 45 torcie e nella chiesa sopra el corpo stava uno padiglione grande di legniamme tutto charicho di chandele appiccate con torcie, una per chantone e una in cima. Alli preti e frati fue dato le candeledopie, ciò è per uno, due. Sonavansi di molte campane, fra laltre quella del comune che mai la vollono sonare per vescovo, né per re, né mai si sonò a morto se none mò. E in questo modo si levò il corpo in una cassa in detto mortorio coperta di sciamito e sempre portata da religiosi per la terra con una brighata, ciò è putti che andavano gridando - Misericordia, misericordia. Tutta la città maschi e femine lo siquitavano colle chandele e torcie appiccate come si fa alla festa del Corpo di Christo; e poi si ripose in Santo Francescho sotto il detto padiglione; e nella piazza uno maestro in teologia dell'ordine di Santo Agostino fecie una predicha, e la proposta fue - *Quis*

*capitano*²³. The fact that from about 1322 until the middle of the 15th century the archives of civic documents²⁴ were stored at S. Francesco must have depended not only on its central location but perhaps also on the high reputation of the Franciscans within the civic community.

At the beginning of the funeral solemnities the corpse was carried before the city authorities from the mortuary cell to the church of S. Francesco²⁵. It was positioned on a catafalque adorned with candles and a Mass was said by the Franciscans. The following day, to the tolling of the city bell, the body was laid in a sarcophagus embellished with cloths and processed to the cathedral²⁶ where the bishop cele-

est iste formosus in schola sua. ...

- 22 Regarding the first installation of the Franciscans in the area of L'Aquila different hypotheses compete: Aniceto Chiappini assumes a date before 1252 because in that year the hagiograph Tommaso da Celano finished his "Tractatus de miraculis S. Francisci", in which he mentions a Franciscan settlement at L'Aquila (Aniceto Chiappini, "La fondazione dell'Aquila e le sue origini francescane", in: Studi Francescani serie 3, 21 [1949], p. 37-44). Anton Ludovico Antinori instead argues that the Friars Minor had come to the town only in 1256 (Antinori, *Annali* [cit. n. 20], vol. 47/2, p. 456; cf. Berardi, Monti [cit. n. 7], p. 158 note 37). For the Franciscans in the Abruzzo region cf. Aniceto Chiappini, "Profilo di storia francescana in Abruzzo dal secolo 14. al 16.," in: *Bullettino della Reale Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria* 17 (1926), p. 9-67.
- 23 The *palatium civitatis*, seat of the town council, is documented as early as 1289 (I registri della cancelleria angioina ricostruiti da Riccardo Filangeri con la collaborazione degli Archivisti Napoletani, vols. 1-47, here vol. 30 [1289-1290], p. 50-51, 57). Close by, the new *palazzo del capitano* as residence of the officials who represented the monarchy's interests in town was erected from 1300 (Luigi Lopez, "Palazzi regi e palazzi del magistrato nell'Aquila", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 74 [1984], p. 49-120, here p. 51).
- 24 Maria Rita Berardi, "Le scritture dell'Archivio Aquilano e l'ufficio del Cancelliere nel sec. XV", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 65 (1975), p. 235-258, here p. 243. Another proof of the position of trust that the Franciscans were given was their custody of the ballot boxes of the civic offices inside the sacristy of the Observants' church S. Bernardino, which was founded in 1454 (Pierluigi Terenzi, "Per libera populi suffragia. I capitoli della riforma istituzionale de L'Aquila del 1476: una nuova edizione", in: *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 25 [2010], p. 183-266, here p. 198, 250-252).
- 25 The church of S. Francesco is first referred to in 1256 and the convent in 1269 (Giacinto D'Agostino, *San Francesco e i francescani negli Abruzzi, Lanciano 1913-1927*, 4 vols., here vol. 1 p. 125-126).
- 26 Wadding, *Annales* (cit. n. 13), vol. 11, p. 221.

brated a High Mass in the presence of the *signori*. In order to allow public veneration, the body was displayed for 26 more days²⁷ in a chapel²⁸ of the Franciscan church but was protected by an iron grate and guarded day and night by Observant friars²⁹. Subsequently, the corpse was kept in an *arca* with iron fittings locked with twelve keys³⁰. Both at this early stage and in the following periods, it was continually well protected with grates, locks, protective cases or guards. It seems that the Aquilani had become cautious after the initial attempt to transport Bernardino's body to Siena and were determined to prevent a *furto sacro*³¹ by every possible means.

The entire political and clerical elite of the city took an active part in the exequies; the celebrations were located in the political – S. Francesco, by the government buildings – as well as the religious – S. Massimo cathedral – centres of the town.

Construction of the Basilica of S. Bernardino³²

Although Bernardino's body was initially kept by the Conventual Franciscans, he was of major importance to the Observant branch of the

27 Wadding, *Annales* (cit. n. 13), vol. 11, p. 221.

28 This chapel had initially been under the patronage of Nuccio della Fonte, but then shifted to that of the Pica family (Salvatore Massonio, *Vita, morte et miracoli del gloriosissimo S. Bernardino da Siena protettore della fidelissima citta dell'Aquila*, Naples 1614 [reprint L'Aquila 1980], p. 57).

29 Later on, the Observants resigned from their guard duty in favour of the Conventuals (AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 [cit. n. 13], p. 316).

30 Wadding, *Annales* (cit. n. 13), vol. 11, p. 194.

31 The Aquilani knew what they had to fear. They themselves had obtained possession of the relics of their patron saint Celestino in such a way. At the beginning of 1327 monks of the Celestine congregation secretly transferred their founder's remains from the town of Ferentino to L'Aquila (cf. Olga Bei, "La *Traslazio Corporis* di Celestino V", in: *Celestino V nel settimo centenario della morte: Convegno nazionale* [Ferentino, 10–12 May 1996]. Edited by Biancamaria Valeri, Casamari 2001, p. 15–22).

32 The building history of S. Bernardino can only be treated very roughly in this paper. For a concise study of S. Bernardino with the essential literature see Orlando Antonini, *Chiese dell'Aquila: architettura religiosa e struttura urbana*, Pescara 2004, p. 225–238. For the measurements of the complex see the recent survey on the building *Il Complesso Monastico di San Bernardino a l'Aquila. Studi e rilievi per la valorizzazione*. Edited by Cesare Cundari, Rome 2010, 2 vols.

order, of which he had been the most prominent exponent³³. A main promoter of the cult of Bernardino and his canonisation who deserves mention was Giovanni da Capestrano (1386–1456), a friend of his and a considerable preacher in his own right, who worked miracles with secondary relics of Bernardino³⁴. This influential Observant friar supported the growth of the Franciscan reform movement and it achieved recognition and independence³⁵ from the Conventuals by Pope Eugene IV in 1446. Soon after Bernardino's canonisation in 1450, Giovanni together with the Aquilano magistrates seized the opportunity to obtain a papal concession³⁶ to build a church and Observant convent in honour of Bernardino, the first saint of this reform branch. Previously, there had only been an Observant convent outside the city walls: the complex of S. Giuliano³⁷, which dated back to 1415 and was situated on a tree-lined hill north of the town³⁸.

33 Cf. Dionisio Pacetti, "S. Bernardino da Siena Vicario Generale dell'Osservanza (1438-1442) con documenti inediti", in: *Studi Francescani* 42 (1945), p. 7–69.

34 Aniceto Chiappini, S. Giovanni da Capestrano e il suo convento, *L'Aquila* 1925, p. 64; Facchinetti, S. Bernardino (cit. n. 13), p. 507 note 1.

35 Ciranna, *Costruzione* (cit. n. 7), p. 161 note 1.

36 See the remarks by Fra Francesco dall'Aquila, site manager and probably project architect, regarding Nicholas' V bull from 28 September 1451 (entry in the account book of the newly founded complex): "... una bolla supplicata dalli magnifici singiori della camera dell'aquila concessa alle loro singiorie et al patre Iacobu della marcha ..." (*Libro Grande de manu Fra. Francisco dell'Aquila dove sono registrate tutte le cose pertinenti allo edificio e Conventu di Santu Belardino*, ASA, ACA S 52, fol. 143r).

37 For the complex of S. Giuliano see Orlando Antonini, *Architettura religiosa aquilana*, *L'Aquila* 1988/93 (reprint Todi 2010), 2 vols., here vol. 2, p. 58–73.

38 Not without reason Maria Rita Beradi asked why the sick Bernardino was not brought to the Observants at S. Giuliano but rather to the Conventuals inside the city (Maria Rita Berardi, "Esigenze religiose ed egemonie politiche nella fabbrica di San Bernardino all'Aquila", in: *Luoghi sacri e spazi della sanità*. Edited by Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia, Turin 1990, p. 507–525, here p. 507). Assuming a 'prefiguration' of the Observants' presence in town seems, however, overshooting; presumably practical considerations were more decisive as for instance the best possible medical care for the critically ill friar. For the Franciscan Observants in the Abruzzo region cf. Luigi Pellegrini – Maria Grazia Del Fuoco, "Ricerche sugli insediamenti dell'Osservanza francescana in Abruzzo", in: *Fratres de familia. Gli insediamenti dell'Osservanza minoritica nella penisola italiana* (sec. XIV–XV). Edited by Letizia Pellegrini and Gian Maria Varanini, (*Quaderni di Storia Religiosa* 18), Caselle

The site for the basilica of S. Bernardino (fig. 2) was chosen in a sparsely built-up area³⁹ to the northeast of the city, next to the Ospedale S. Salvatore⁴⁰, which had been founded in 1446/47 by Giovanni da Capestrano as a place to cure the sick and also to host pilgrims, as well as merchants during trade fairs. The gravesite was not only situated next to the Ospedale; it also formed part of an east-west street axis that can be interpreted as an intentionally planned route for pilgrims through the town. It led from the eastern Porta Leone gate to S. Bernardino and the nearby Ospedale, crossed the city's main north-south axis⁴¹, and ended at S. Francesco al Palazzo.

Although the concession for the new church building had already been made in a bull⁴² by Nicholas V in 1451, S. Bernardino was only founded in 1454⁴³. During the cornerstone-laying ceremony⁴⁴, Giacomo

di Sommacampagna 2012, p. 249–294.

- 39 However some houses, which mainly had served for wool manufacture, had to be demolished for the new buildings (Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 145v, 177v) and also the small church of Sant'Alò (Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 125v).
- 40 With the aid of a papal bull granted by Nicholas V in May 1447 Giovanni obtained permission to unite the smaller Aquilano hospitals, so his foundation was often called Ospedale Maggiore (cf. Angelo Tozzi, *L'Ospedale S. Salvatore dell'Aquila nel passato e nel presente*, *L'Aquila* 1956, p. 27; Arturo Di Francesco, "Gli antichi ospedali aquilani", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 65 [1975], p. 127–234, 178–180).
- 41 For the positioning of S. Bernardino within the Aquilano urban structure cf. Alessandro Del Bufalo, "La basilica di S. Bernardino all'Aquila e l'intervento di G.B. Contini", in: *Atti del XIX Congresso di storia dell'architettura: L'architettura in Abruzzo e nel Molise dall'antichità alla fine del secolo XVIII* (L'Aquila, 15–21 September 1975), L'Aquila 1980, 2 vols., here vol. 2, p. 539–554, p. 539–540.
- 42 The bull issued on 8 October 1451 (ASA, ACA U 83, doc. 1) is published in Nunzio Federigo Faraglia, *La Chiesa primitiva e il Monastero di San Bernardino dell'Aquila*, Trani 1912, p. 21–23. The bull already indicates a possible building site in the vicinity of the newly founded hospital.
- 43 With a fervent letter dated 12 May 1454 from Krakow, Giovanni da Capestrano had reminded the Aquilani of their promise to erect a church in Bernardino's honour (for a transcript of the letter see Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 2r–4v, transcribed in Faraglia, *Chiesa* [cit. n. 42], p. 23–32).
- 44 In a letter Giacomo della Marca informed his confrère Giovanni da Capestrano about the foundation rite on 28 July 1454 (published by Alfonso Miola, "Lettera di S. Giacomo della Marca scritta a S. Giovanni da Capestrano", in: *Miscellanea Francescana* 3 [1887], p. 77–79).

della Marca – another Observant monk, confidant of Giovanni da Capestrano, and site manager from 1451⁴⁵ –, the civic treasurer, and the politically powerful feudal lord Count of Montorio Luigi de' Camponeschi together broke the ground. The funds for the building project came from private donations – including a sum of 5000 ducats from the sovereign Alfonso I⁴⁶ – and communal contributions. For instance, in 1466 the commune allocated the tax revenue from the saffron trade⁴⁷ to the S. Bernardino works for a period of ten years and representatives of the city's four quarters oversaw the building activities as authorised supervisors⁴⁸.

45 As early as 22 September 1451 the pope had authorised Giacomo della Marca (1393–1476) together with the *Signori della Camera* to look for an adequate building site (Wadding, *Annales* [cit. n. 13], vol. 12, p. 118). For Giacomo della Marca and his connections to L'Aquila see Aniceto Chiappini, "S. Giacomo della Marca a L'Aquila", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 54–56 (1964–66), p. 105–118.

46 *Libro della fabbrica* (cit. n. 36), fol. 63r.

47 Leopoldo Cassese (ed.), "La 'Chronica Civitatis Aquilae' di Alessandro de Ritiis", in: *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 27 (1941), p. 151–216; 29 (1946), p. 185–268, here 29 (1946), p. 186–187.

48 Among these authorised procurators of S. Bernardino was the later patron of the saint's funerary monument, Iacopo di Notar Nanni (*Libro della fabbrica* [cit. n. 36], fol. 6r).

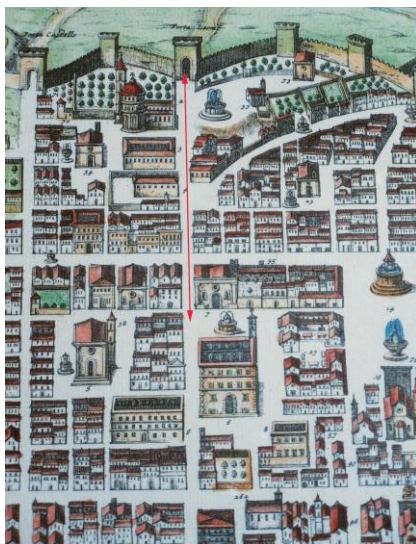


Fig. 2: Girolamo Pico Fonticulano, Map of L'Aquila (1575, engraved by Johannes Blaeu, 1663; archive Pavla Langer).

The basilica (fig. 3) was erected with six bays and three naves with flanking chapels. It contains a vast domed octagonal space with radial chapels and an extended choir. Even if the generous layout of the basilica and its adjacent convent built with four cloisters contradicted the Observants' rules of poverty⁴⁹, the convent nonetheless attained the headship of the Franciscan province of the Abruzzo region, which was renamed *Provincia di San Bernardino* in 1457⁵⁰.

49 Even if there had been critics of the magnificent project for S. Bernardino from the Franciscans' own ranks (Johannes Hofer, Johannes Kapistran. Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche, [Bibliotheca Franciscana 1], Heidelberg 1964–1965, 2 vols., here vol. 2 [1965], p. 330; Chiappini, Giacomo [cit. n. 45], p. 111–112), this church achieved an accepted singular status as the mausoleum for the Franciscan Observants' first canonised friar (cf. Roberto Cobianchi, *Lo temperato uso dele cose: la committenza dell'osservanza francescana nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, [Medioevo francescano: Arte, 2], Spoleto 2013, p. 42).

50 During the General Chapter at Milan in 1457 the *Provincia Pennensis* had been renamed (see Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica fratrum minorum observantiae*. Edited by Leonhard Lemmens, Rome 1902, [Fragmenta Franciscana 2], p. 84–85). The

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Fig. 3: Façade and convent of S. Bernardino, L'Aquila (postcard, archive Pavla Langer).

The church's present shape is the result of a baroque rebuilding campaign and repairs made after the heavy seismic events of 1703⁵¹. Currently, there are extensive restoration measures⁵² underway to repair damage resulting from the earthquake of 6 April 2009.

Chapel and mausoleum of the saint

A pronounced enlargement of the second bay from the octagon interrupts the rhythmical sequence of the nave of S. Bernardino. At this point, flanking the southeastern aisle, the Cappella di S. Bernardino was erected starting in 1458⁵³; Bernardino's body was translated into

convent of S. Bernardino was seat of the province novitiate. It included a weaving mill that provided textiles for the whole province, and a pharmacy also supplying the Aquilano citizens (see Lorenzo Di Virgilio, "L'inventario della chiesa e del Convento di San Bernardino a L'Aquila", in: *Studi Francescani* 23 [1951], p. 74–92, here p. 92).

51 See Antonini, *Chiese* (cit. n. 32), p. 227–228.

52 For the recent measures for security and restoration see Maria Benedetta Bossi, *La basilica di San Bernardino a L'Aquila: cronaca della messa in sicurezza e del restauro del tamburo e della cupola*, Castelli 2012.

53 For the year 1458 the *Libro della fabbrica* records a donation by countess Covella da Celano for the erection of the chapel for Bernardino's remains. The countess had received authorisation from the civic government: "... data dalla magnifica contessa Covella da Celano data perla cappella dove starra el corpu del gloriosus san B. la quale

this chapel or its crypt in 1472⁵⁴. The primary funerary monument can only vaguely be reconstructed as a ciborium⁵⁵ raised on two figural supports and elevated on a base with stairs. As early as 11 March 1487⁵⁶ the adequacy of the location for the saint's body came under discussion at a meeting of the civic council. Finally, at the end of the 1490s, the Aquilano merchant Iacopo di Notar Nanni⁵⁷ donated a lavish mausoleum (fig. 4) which was finished in 1505. The construction was

cappella fo donata alla ditta contessa dalli magnifici singiori della camera dellaquila et la ditta contessa la pillio gratiosamente ..." (Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 22r). The following years also saw donations for this chapel: on 26 January 1471 Marco di Antonello di Sassa gave a sum "... pro ornamento loci ubitur habebitur corpus S. Bernardini in ecclesia nova ..." (cf. Berardi, *Esigenze* [cit. n. 38], p. 512). The Notar Nanni family seems to have been supporting the Cappella di S. Bernardino from 1467 (Mario Chini, *Silvestro aquilano e l'Arte in Aquila nella II. metà del sec. XV.*, *L'Aquila* 1954, p. 279, 322; cf. a transcript of the testament of Nicola di Notar Nanni, who left the chapel to his younger brother Iacopo, who had to supply its decoration in Antinori, *Annali*, see note 20, vol. 16, p. 17).

By combining the longitudinal nave with an octagonal space the basilica introduced a new type at L'Aquila. This particular solution has raised the question of whether the saint's tomb had not been initially planned in the exposed space under the cupola, in analogy to centralised tomb and memory buildings since antiquity (cf. Antonini, *Chiese* [cit. n. 32], p. 226; Ciranna, *Costruzione* [cit. n. 7], p. 152-153; for a counter-argument see Umberto Chierici, *La basilica di San Bernardino a L'Aquila*, *L'Aquila* 1964, p. 23).

- 54 De Ritiis, *Chronica Civitates* (cit. n. 47), here 29 (1946), p. 204-205; Massonio, *Vita*, (cit. n. 28), p. 87 (cf. Ugo Speranza, "La traslazione del corpo di S. Bernardino da Siena avvenuta nell'Aquila il 1472 con documenti inediti", in: *Bullettino della Reale Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 26 [1935], p. 81-86). On the occasion of the translation Sixtus IV granted a plenary indulgence. The contemporaneously held General Chapter of the Observants seemed important enough to be mentioned in the future mausoleum's central rear inscription.
- 55 "Et avemmo canne 8 de scalj delle ditte prete davanti allu altaro et canne 15 de scalj inturmo allu altaro de prete roscie e bianche a rascione de ducati ..." (Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 168v); "Et avemmo dece figure in nelle dece casette dellj pilieri dellu altaro nantj dittu..." (Libro della fabbrica [cit. n. 36], fol. 169v).
- 56 *Liber reformationum* 2 March 1486-2 March 1489, ASA, ACA T 4, fol. 118r ff. (cf. Berardi, *Esigenze* [cit. n. 38], p. 513).
- 57 The wealthy salesman Iacopo (cf. the cadastral entry in ASA, ACA S 124, *Catasto di Civita Reategna*, fol. 421-431) occupied important civic positions such as official of the *Consiglio dei Cinque*, mayor and *Camerlengo*; he had been various times an authorised signatory for S. Bernardino (see note 48), moved in humanistic circles and

carried out by the local sculptor Silvestro Aquilano⁵⁸ and his workshop.



Fig. 4: Silvestro Aquilano, Mausoleum of Bernardino, L'Aquila, S. Bernardino (1505; from: Luigi Lopez - Attilio M. Cecchi, L'Aquila. Guida turistica, L'Aquila 1992, p. 68).

Apart from commemorating the private donor, who had himself prominently depicted at the front of the monument, the eclectic yet innovative design took liturgical, political and representative

was appointed a *familiare* of the Neapolitan Court in 1498 (Chini, Silvestro [cit. n. 53], p. 327–331). Were he to die in the town, according to his last will, he should be buried in the Cappella di S. Bernardino (for a transcript of the no longer extant testament see Antinori, *Annali* [cit. n. 20], vol. 17, p. 550–551). In 1504, death overtook him outside L'Aquila so he was entombed in S. Maria del Soccorso beyond the city walls.

- 58 Silvestro di Giacomo da Sulmona (1440/50–1504) or Silvestro Aquilano, as he had referred to himself by a signature on the funerary monument for cardinal Amico Agnifili in the Aquilano cathedral, was the city's leading sculptor in the late Quattrocento. The most profound work on the artist remains Chini, Silvestro (cit. n. 53); see also recently Vincenzo Di Gennaro, "Silvestro di Giacomo e la Scuola Aquilana", in: *L'arte aquilana del Rinascimento*. Edited by Michele Maccherini, (L'Aquila magnifica citade 2), L'Aquila 2010, p. 59–120.

considerations into account. The mausoleum extends to a height of 8.25 m⁵⁹ and consists of a pedestal zone and two storeys. Its front and rear are its main visual components and have corresponding structures with segmental blind gables. Within the outer pilasters, a large bipartite opening covered by a grate makes up the first storey. On the front wall, the second storey is composed of a figural relief and on the corresponding rear wall there is an inscription panel. The flanks are designed in a more austere manner, but are conspicuous for their precious material and are arranged in pairs of pilasters framing porphyry panels⁶⁰. Vaulted and paneled on the inside, the freestanding mausoleum resembles a monumental ‘show shrine’. In fact, the strategy for exhibiting the saint is noteworthy. One can reconstruct an effective periodic display that enabled a progressive unveiling of the entire and incorruptible body. Historic photographs show painted panels⁶¹ covering the monument’s openings and it seems likely that they prevented visual contact with the mausoleum’s interior during Lent. Outside of this period the saint was concealed in a lavish sarcophagus⁶². On fixed feast days the cover of the sarcophagus was lifted by means of a chain

59 For the mausoleum’s exact measurements, a photogrammetric survey, a ground plan and vertical section see Gianfranco Ruggieri, “Il rilievo del mausoleo di S. Bernardino a L’Aquila: misura e proporzione”, in: *Disegno e conoscenza. Contributi per la storia e l’architettura*. Edited by Rodolfo Maria Strollo, (Collana di studi e ricerche sul disegno dell’architettura e dell’ambiente 3), Rome 2006, p. 221–236.

60 Neither the iconographic programme nor the extensive inscriptions nor the monument’s typological relations can be further treated in this paper. See the current dissertation research and for first ideas on the topic Pavla Langer, “Ein Stadtpatron im Geflecht der Interessen – Der heilige Bernhardin von Siena in L’Aquila“, in: *Städtische Kulte im Mittelalter*. Edited by Susanne Ehrlich and Jörg Oberste, (Forum Mittelalter: Studien 6), Regensburg 2010, p. 189–216.

61 Giulio Cesare Bedeschini (active at L’Aquila 1583–1625) is the author of the four covering paintings that show scenes from Bernardino’s (after)life: Bernardino preaching before the Madonna di Porta Camollia (Siena), Bernardino distributing alms, Bernardino’s decease, Bernardino’s body operating miracles (cf. *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* [cit. n. 4], here vol. 2 *Iconografia* [1981], p. 143–144). Whether these panels from the Seicento had predecessors from the time immediately following the mausoleum’s completion can be assumed, but is still to be proven.

62 For the primary silver sarcophagus, which housed the saint’s body from 1481 to 1529 see paragraph “Territorial aspects”.

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mechanism⁶³ in order to completely display the saint in an inner crystal sarcophagus (fig. 5).

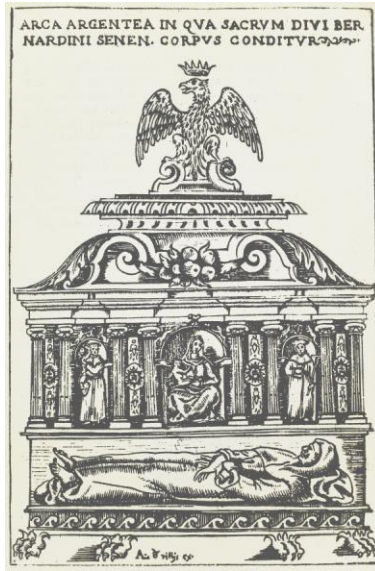


Fig. 5: after Alessandro De Ritiis, Elevated sarcophagus and Bernardino's body (from: Salvatore Massonio, *Vita, morte et miracoli del gloriosissimo S. Bernardino da Siena protettore della fidelissima citta dell'Aquila*, Naples 1614 [reprint L'Aquila 1980]).

63 From 1614 at the latest a chain mechanism existed with which the sarcophagus could be easily lifted (Wadding, *Annales* [cit. n. 13], vol. 14, p. 11); today a similar apparatus is still *in situ*. This mechanism was perhaps inspired by the machinery that was used in Siena for the canonisation celebrations (see below). The machines for Announcement and Ascension representations in Florentine churches ascribed to Filippo Brunelleschi document the Quattrocento's interest in show effects and in staging the supernatural. On the Franciscan sector we can find mechanically floating angels who accompanied the Holy Spirit that came down from a sphere in the vaults on Pentecost 1389 and 1444 in the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi (Johannes Tripps, "Duccio's *Maestà*, Drei schwebende Engelchen und der Sienerer Dom als Erlebnisraum", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 44 [2000], p. 150–168, here p. 162, 167 note 44).

Access to the saint's body was only possible in agreement with the Aquilano bishop and the civic magistrate who had control of the keys⁶⁴. Possibly to compensate for this lack of access, contact relics were produced on Bernardino's feast day in the form of cotton-wool swabs – the so called *bammàce benedetta*⁶⁵ – which had been brought into contact with the saint's corpse.

Observants and Celestines

Both rivalry and synergy seem to have determined the relationship between the Franciscan Observants and the local order of the Celestines⁶⁶. Their founder, Pietro del Morrone, later Pope Celestino V⁶⁷,

64 Generally only four patricians who were chosen by the magistrates and two friars of S. Bernardino were allowed to be near the saint's body inside the mausoleum during its display for the purpose of safeguarding it (Domenico da Sant'Eusanio, *Compendio della vita di S. Bernardino con alquante notizie della sua Chiesa in Aquila*, L'Aquila 1844, p. 48–49). Exceptions from this strict access policy were only granted to cardinals, monarchs and the *vicere* of Naples (Massonio, *Vita* [cit. n. 28], p. 100). Access was enabled by a trap door in the mausoleum's floor that led to the crypt and to an exit in the adjacent chapel that was sealed by a stone block.

65 Donatangelo Lupinetti, *S. Bernardino nella tradizione e nei canti popolari abruzzesi*, L'Aquila 1957, p. 43; *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* (cit. n. 4), here vol. 3 *Vestigia* (1984), p. 16. Since when this specific practice was used is not clear; turning objects into tertiary relics by touching the dead body was however practised instantly after Bernardino's death; see for example Giuliano da Milano's report (Boesch-Berardi, *Civiltà* [cit. n. 6], p. 456).

66 Within the civic community the Celestine monks were highly respected; in the 14th century, for instance, they had been elected several times for the important office of the *camerario* (Maria Rita Berardi, "I monaci camerari della città dell'Aquila e la costruzione della nuova chiesa di S. Maria di Collemaggio", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 96 [2006], p. 43–86). For the relation between the two orders see Luigi Rivera, "Gli Ordini celestino e francescano. I SS. Pietro del Morrone, Bernardino da Siena, Giovanni da Capestrano e L'Aquila", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 4 (1956), p. 31–50.

67 Pietro del Morrone (1209/10–1296) has become known mostly for the only abdication – until recently – in the history of the papacy (December 1294). In 1313 he was canonised and his remains reached L'Aquila in 1327. Celestino had had a particular significance for L'Aquila. He chose the town as the place for his coronation and introduced the *Perdonanza*, so that L'Aquila also became famous outside the realm. At the request of the Aquilani he granted many indulgences for the churches of the town and its *contado* (Buccio di Ranallo, *Cronaca aquilana rimata*. Edited by Vin-

was another, if not the most important, patron saint of L'Aquila. In 1294 he had made it the place of his papal coronation and had granted the so-called *Perdonanza*⁶⁸. This plenary indulgence could (and can still) be shared when visiting the church of S. Maria di Collemaggio outside the city walls on the day of the Beheading of St. John (28/29 August), the anniversary of Celestino's coronation. Soon, the *Perdonanza* became the most significant event in the Aquilano ecclesiastical calendar.

A synergetic effect arose from the fact that the feast days of Celestino and Bernardino, 19 and 20 May, directly succeeded each other. Exploiting this lucky combination, the display of Bernardino's body was only allowed on two occasions a year⁶⁹: on the saint's feast day – in conjunction with Celestino's – and during the *Perdonanza*. Even though there is little surviving information about the annual festivities on Bernardino's feast day, we do know that in some instances the solemnities for both patron saints were celebrated in conjunction. In 1446, feasts, dancing, and tournaments⁷⁰ were arranged in honour of Celestino and Bernardino.

cenzo De Bartholomaeis, [Fonti per la storia d'Italia 41], Rome 1907, p. 42). For a recent overview on the vast literature on Celestino see Roberto Rusconi, *Santo Padre: la santità del papa da san Pietro a Giovanni Paolo II*, (Sacro/santo N.S. 14), Rome 2010, p. 636–641.

- 68 The *bolla della Perdonanza* dated 29 September 1294 is still conserved by the Aquilano urban administration; for an edition and commentary see Edith Pasztor, "Celestino V e Bonifacio VIII", in: *Indulgenza nel medioevo e Perdonanza di Papa Celestino. Atti del Convegno storico internazionale (L'Aquila, 5–6 October 1984)*. Edited by Alessandro Clementi, L'Aquila 1987, p. 61–78. For the *Perdonanza* and S. Maria di Collemaggio see Sensi, *Indulgenza* (cit. n. 12); Carla Bartolomucci, *Santa Maria di Collemaggio: interpretazione critica e problemi di conservazione*, (Collana Facoltà di Architettura Valle Giulia/Quaderni), Rome 2004, p. 15–35.
- 69 See bull by Clement VIII dated 27 May 1593 (cf. Wadding, *Annales* [cit. n. 13], vol. XIV, p. 14–15). Even though currently no earlier documents for the opening regulations are familiar, it seems that Clement confirmed a previous practice: "... conforme all'antico costume ..." (cf. Massonio, *Vita* [cit. n. 28], p. 100).
- 70 "Et hec omnia fiebant tot dies propter reverentiam et festivitatem Sancti Bernardini et Petri Celestini, unde quasi per totum mensem maji festabantur artes in civitate." De Ritiis, *Chronica Civitatis* (cit. n. 47), here 27 (1941), p. 200.

A unique feature of the festivities in 1470 was a fake battle between Christians and Turks⁷¹ which was organised for both feasts. Another strategy to link the two Aquilano 13th- and 15th-century patron saints – and to set them apart from the early Christian patrons Massimo and Equizio – was the promotion of their legendary encounter on Bernardino's last journey, during which Celestino recommended the town of L'Aquila to his later co-patron⁷².

Economic Aspects

From a financial point of view, the remains of Celestino and Bernardino, much like the *Perdonanza*, were of no little significance for L'Aquila; one might even say that the religious setting in the town became crucial to its economic life⁷³. Giovanni da Capestrano, for instance, wrote to the Aquilani that their city had become “molto grassa per sancto Bernardino”⁷⁴, that it had gained considerable financial advantages from the presence of the saint's body. The feast days of Celestino and Bernardino in May were accompanied by trade fairs. In 1456 a Royal decree⁷⁵ authorised a period of eight days' fair before and after these days (11–19 and 21–28 May).

Such tactics of accumulation and economic exploitation had already been previously pursued in 1361 when the King was asked to shift

71 “Item predicto anno [1470] pro festo Sancti Petri et Bernardinj, de medio, fuerunt ordinate a juvenibus civitatis nonnulla nova, et precipue fuit factum castrum in platea de tabulis et pannis et debellabatur a turchis cum pomerangnis ex utraque parte.” De Ritiis, *Chronica Civitatis* (cit. n. 47), here 29 (1946), p. 203.

72 At first glance, this episode originates in the poem “De santo Bernardino” by Cola di Borbona, dated 1450 to 1456, and in one of the sermons of Michele da Carcano on the occasion of the translation of Bernardino's remains in 1472 (Carlo de Matteis, *Quattrocento letterario aquilano: restauri e recuperi*, Manziana 2011, p. 23–24). The legendary encounter already had an iconographic tradition in the second half of the Quattrocento; see for example the fresco cycle in the Cappella di S. Bernardino in S. Francesco, Lodi, which was completed in 1477.

73 Berardi, Monti (cit. n. 7), p. 31.

74 For the letter (cit. n. 43) (cf. Faraglia, Chiesa [cit. n. 42], p. 27).

75 ASA, ACA V 9, doc. 14.

the annual fair from October to May⁷⁶. That period of ten days spanned the holidays of patrons Massimo⁷⁷ (10 May) and Celestino.

The *Perdonanza* fair improved the local economy in the same way and made L'Aquila an attractive place for commerce, because merchants could also occasionally share the plenary indulgence. Furthermore, the fairs and feast days coincided with important moments in the transhumance calendar: the saints' days in May mark the return of the Abruzzo herds from the Apulia lowlands; the *Perdonanza* in August takes place on the eve of the great drift⁷⁸ to the southern pastures.

Social Aspects

The newly constructed basilica of S. Bernardino became a focal point for private donations by the prosperous Aquilano *haute bourgeoisie* of the second half of the Quattrocento⁷⁹. On the contrary, Celestino's gravesite, the church S. Maria di Collemaggio, which he founded himself, remained principally a place for joint donations by the guilds and other corporations. In 1351 the influential *Arte della Lana* had commissioned a chapel in S. Maria di Collemaggio to venerate Celestino, whom they had proclaimed "protector et defensor noster"⁸⁰. Distinctions can also be found, for instance, regarding the patronage of the sepulchres of Bernardino and Celestino. On the one hand Bernardino's mausoleum was the result of a private commission; on the other hand

76 Alberto Grohmann, *Le fiere del Regno di Napoli in età aragonese*, Naples 1969, p. 83; Berardi, Monti (cit. n. 7), p. 169.

77 Over the centuries the feast day of Massimo da Aveia had been shifted several times (Murri, Santi [cit. n. 20], p. 20).

78 Berardi, Monaci (cit. n. 66), p. 48. The *Regia Dogana della mena delle pecore in Puglia* introduced by Alfonso I opened on 8 May and closed on 29 September (Dora Musto, "La regia dogana della mena delle pecore di Puglia", in: *Quaderni della Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato* 28 [1964], p. 7–42, here p. 7–8).

79 Berardi, *Esigenze* (cit. n. 38), p. 509; Raffaele Colapietra, *Spiritualità, coscienza civile e mentalità collettiva nella storia dell'Aquila*, (Deputazione abruzzese di storia patria. Monografie), L'Aquila 1984, p. 186.

80 Berardi, Monti (cit. n. 7), p. 31. For the chapel see Orlando Antonini, "La scomparsa trecentesca cappella di S. Celestino a Santa Maria di Collemaggio", in: *Incontri culturali dei soci IX* (Supplemento *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*), L'Aquila 2002, p. 11–19.

the funerary monument for Celestino (fig. 6) – completed in 1517 – was financed by the *Arte della Lana*⁸¹. The latter shows many formal parallels⁸² to the former. In particular, the tripartite structure in the form of an aedicula, the conspicuous huge openings and the bichromy are evident reflections of the earlier monument, even though Celestino's sepulchre has slimmer proportions and reduced dimensions. Bernardino's mausoleum apparently set a new standard of representation⁸³ in the flourishing city that could not be ignored either by the Celestine monks or by the *Arte della Lana*.

And yet one should not over-interpret the polarization of private and corporate donations, because to some extent there had been private investments in Celestino's monument⁸⁴. Moreover, it seems obvious that the *nouveau riche* merchants should choose the newly-built and lavishly-planned church of S. Bernardino for their patronage.

81 The mausoleum's designer is mentioned in its inscription OPUS MAGISTRI HYERONIMI VICENTINI SCULPTORIS. He has been identified as Girolamo Pittoni (Lionello Puppi, "Un'opera di Girolamo Pittoni all'Aquila", in: *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 51–53 [1961–63], p. 151–159). For a photogrammetric survey with exact measurements and a transverse section see Gianfranco Ruggieri, "Il rilievo del mausoleo di papa Celestino V (sec. XVI)", in: *Rappresentazione e formazione tra ricerca e didattica*. Edited by Rodolfo Maria Strollo, (Collana di studi e ricerche sul disegno dell'architettura e dell'ambiente 4), Rome 2008, p. 325–336.

82 These analogies have been repeatedly pointed out (cf. Ignazio Gavini, *Storia dell'architettura in Abruzzo*, Milan et al. 1927–28, 2 vols., here vol. 2 p. 291; Luigi Serra, *Aquila*, Bergamo 1929, p. 86; Chini, *Silvestro* [cit. n. 53], p. 438–439; Antonini, *Chiese* [cit. n. 32], p. 181).

83 A further part of this filiation could be considered the sepulchre of patron Equizio dating to the 17th century but no longer extant. Without providing documentary proof Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus asserts formal parallels between the Equizio and Celestino monuments (Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Abruzzo* [cit. n. 8], p. 227). Therefore, one is tempted to state a development towards a proper typology of tombs for Aquilano patron saints (cf. Barnaby Robert Nygren, *The Monumental Saint's Tomb in Italy: 1260–1520*, Ann Arbor 1999 [Diss. Cambridge, Mass. 1999], p. 160).

84 For the inscription on the mausoleum's rear and the donation by a certain Mariana see Luigi Lopez, *Celestino V, la Perdonanza, Collemaggio*, L'Aquila 1987, p. 149.



Fig. 6: Girolamo Pittoni, Mausoleum of Celestino, L'Aquila, S. Maria di Collemaggio (1517; from: Orlando Antonini, *Chiesa dell'Aquila: architettura religiosa e struttura urbana*, Pescara 2004, p. 180, fig. 218).

Territorial Aspects

Bernardino's gravesite also involved territorial interests that were interwoven with civic politics. Alfonso I (1396–1458)⁸⁵, King of Naples and sovereign of L'Aquila and its *contado*, acted as one of the principal promoters of the canonisation process and was a major donor to the *fabbrica* of S. Bernardino. His involvement can be read as an attempt to ameliorate diplomatic relations with the Holy See and the Aquilani, who were known to be rebellious subjects.

Similarly, the precious gift of a now lost silver sarcophagus by Louis XI (1423–1483) of France in the year 1481 can be interpreted as something between a votive offering and a political present. Not only did it

85 For Alfonso's I engagement for Bernardino's canonisation and a transcript of his letter of recommendation see Pellegrini, *Processo* (cit. n. 18), p. 84*, 155–156; cf. AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 (cit. n. 13), p. 271–272. As one of the earliest donors the sovereign had provided a start-up financing for the building project consisting of 5000 ducats (see note 46).

emphasise Louis' personal devotion, but also the territorial ambitions of the French monarchy for the crown of Naples. The expensive gift was first sent to Rome to be blessed⁸⁶ by Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan. This would seem to be a strategic move aimed at establishing a positive connection with the head of the Papal State which adjoined the Abruzzo region.

Louis' sarcophagus appears to have been taken into consideration in Silvestro Aquilano's design. The form and dimensions of the mausoleum's openings seem to have been calculated precisely to ensure that the saint's body *and* the elevated sarcophagus could be displayed together⁸⁷ on certain feast days. Here we can not only deduce a general pride in the city's possession of a prominent saint who was an object of veneration even of kings, but one can also hypothesise a deliberate parallelising of Iacopo di Notar Nanni⁸⁸ to king Louis, because both the merchant on the mausoleum's main relief and the monarch on the sarcophagus were depicted kneeling before the Madonna.

86 On the one hand it has been assumed that the sarcophagus was an ex voto in return for the king's or his heir Charles' recovery (De Ritiis, *Chronica Civitatis* [cit. n. 47], here 29 [1946], p. 225–226; Werner Paravicini, "Sterben und Tod Ludwigs XI.," in: *Tod im Mittelalter*. Edited by Arno Borst et al., [Konstanzer Bibliothek 20], Konstanz 1993, p. 77–168, here p. 91). On the other hand political implications of this gift are very likely (Lorenzo Di Virgilio, *La Basilica di S. Bernardino a L'Aquila. Storia ed Arte*, L'Aquila 1950, p. 96). For the whole episode see Faraglia, *Chiesa*, see note 42, p. 71–75; Urte Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam. Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento*, (Italienische Forschungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz, I Mandorli 16), Berlin et al. 2012, p. 106–108.

87 When in 1529 the *vicere* of Naples, Filiberto di Chalon, occupied L'Aquila and asked for an enormous ransom, the silver sarcophagus had to be melted down. In 1550 Bartolommeo Romanelli and his brothers finished a new casket that had been commissioned by the city's officials (cf. Faraglia, *Chiesa* [cit. n. 42], p. 77–78). The current sarcophagus dates from 1944 and was crafted by Giuseppe Cardilli (cf. *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* [cit. n. 4], here vol. 3 *Vestigia* [1984] p. 17).

88 Nygren, *Monumental* (cit. n. 83), p. 478. For a description of the French sarcophagus see De Ritiis, *Chronica Civitatis* (cit. n. 47), here 29 (1946), p. 225–226.

After a comprehensive examination of the veneration strategies in L'Aquila, Bernardino's place of death, we will now take a closer look at Bernardino's hometown of Siena in Tuscany, where he had passed most of his life, and the name of which he already bore during his lifetime. It is, therefore, not surprising that when Bernardino died in an odour of sanctity in L'Aquila the Sienese immediately demanded the return of their compatriot's corpse. A situation of direct rivalry arose with both cities claiming the famous preacher as symbol of their civic identity. When the Sienese asked for Bernardino's remains, the Aquilani argued against returning them by referring to the popularity of the friar, his expected sanctification and the ancient concept of the *corpus integrum*. It was only in the 15th century that this Christian ideal of the undivided saint's body became increasingly put into practice⁸⁹. The Aquilano magistrate argued that due to the people's veneration for Bernardino they were unable to translate him to Siena and neither could they fragment the corpse; only contact relics could be made available to the Sienese⁹⁰. Therefore, in the presence and absence of the worshipped body respectively, L'Aquila and Siena developed divergent cult strategies.

89 See Krass, Nah (cit. n. 86), chapter 3, p. 48–52.

90 Report by Lazzaro di Benedetto to the Sienese *signori*: "... Ipsam diem consumpsi in visitando Capitaneum Aquile, dominum Episcopum, dominum Antonutium et comitem Montorii, qui omnes valde, large se obtulerunt, me rogantes, quod eos commendarem Vostre Magnifice Dominationi petentes veniam, si secundum vota Vestre Excelletie facere non potuerunt, et in spetiali, sub secreto, dixit comes Montorii, quod facta canonizatione ipse erit ille qui omnino faciet quod, Senensis comunitas habebit de reliquiis dicti sancti corporis, nam de toto corpore est impossibile." Alfredo Liberati, "Le prime manifestazioni di devozione a S. Bernardino dopo la sua morte da parte del Comune di Siena", in: *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 42 (1935), p. 143–161, here p. 150; cf. Francesco Bruni, "Teologia del corpo e pietà popolare. Le reliquie come metonomia", in: *Anima e corpo nella cultura medievale: atti del V Convegno di Studi della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale* (Venice, 25–28 September 1995). Edited by Carla Casagrande et al., (Millennio medievale 15; Millennio medievale / Atti di convegni 3), Florence 1999, p. 259–275, here p. 264; Krass, Nah (cit. n. 86), p. 49. The Sienese had good reason to expect at least the transfer of some of Bernardino's limbs. Similarly they had received the head and a finger of their compatriot Caterina Benincasa, who had died in 1380 in Rome in the odour of sanctity.

“Pianghe e ghode Città di Siena el beato bernardino”⁹¹: Bernardino in Siena

Born in 1380 at Massa Marittima, a town under Sienese rule, Bernardino moved to Siena (fig. 7) at the age of eleven after his parents' early deaths. His religiosity was notably influenced by his Sienese aunt Bartolomea del Tuliardo, an Augustine tertiary, and his cousin Tobiola dei Tolomei, a Franciscan tertiary⁹². Certain places in Siena were seen to have particular connections with Bernardino's life and some of these achieved major significance for his cult. In 1400 Bernardino had volunteered to attend the plague-stricken in the city's most important hospital, the *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*; in 1402 he took the cloth at the Franciscan church of S. Francesco; around 1404 he founded a small Observant settlement on the Capriola hill several kilometers to the northeast of the town which later became called *Osservanza*⁹³.

Apart from the Madonna Assunta, who was (and still is) the principal Sienese patron, Ansano, Crescenzo, Vittorio and Savino had been the four official “patroni et defensori”⁹⁴ of Siena at the beginning of the Quattrocento. Additionally, several local *santi* or *beati* were venerated⁹⁵, some of whose cults would never be legitimised. Indeed,

91 Lusini, Rotulo (cit. n. 5), p. 169.

92 AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 (cit. n. 13), p. 288–289.

93 Bernardino was given the site of the hermitage of S. Onofrio by the rector of the *Ospedale* to make it his own and his confrères residence (François van Ortroy [ed.], “Vie de S. Bernardin de Sienne par Léonard Benvoglianti”, in: *Analeacta Bollandiana* 21 [1902], p. 53–80, here p. 74).

94 Cf. an entry in the Liber Censuum from the year 1400 cited by Diana Webb, *Patrons and defenders. The saints in the Italian city-states*, (The international library of historical studies 4), London et al. 1996, p. 290, 297 note 68. See also Paolo di Tommaso Montauri, “Cronaca senese”, in: *Rerum italicarum scriptores*. Edited by Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti, Bologna 1931, vol. 15.6, p. 774.

95 For a selection of Siena's most important ‘secondary’ saints and *beati* see the wings of the so-called *Arliquiera* at the *Ospedale della Scala* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena). Besides the four defenders Ansano, Crescenzo, Vittorio and Savino there are depicted their later co-patrons Bernardino and Caterina, and also Ambrogio Sansedoni, Pietro Pettinaio, Agostino Novello, Andrea Gallerano, Sorore, and Galgano. While many Italian cities at the time had several local saints to worship, Siena had by far the hugest pantheon from which the citizens drew a unique identity (see Dati, Op-

One Saint and Two Cities

Bernardino had only been declared “quintus advocatus et protector magnifici communis et populi Civitatis Senarum”⁹⁶ in a civic council decree after his canonisation in Rome on 24 May 1450. However, veneration of him by the Sienese began immediately after his death.



Fig. 7: Sano di Pietro, Bernardino preaching on the Piazza del Campo, Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (c. 1448; from: Roberto Barzanti – Alberto Cornice, *Iconografia di Siena. Rappresentazione della città dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Siena et al. 2006, p. 285, fig. 196).

Funeral Solemnities

The news of Bernardino's decease arrived in his hometown around 7 June 1444⁹⁷. For the funeral solemnities the *Consiglio Grande* decided

era, 1503, p. LXIIIr; cf. Emily Ann Moerer, *Catherine of Siena and the use of images in the creation of a saint, 1347 – 1461*, Ann Arbor 2005, p. 104).

⁹⁶ ASS, Consiglio Generale 225, fol. 39v (cf. Webb, *Patrons* [cit. n. 94], p. 302).

⁹⁷ On this day a friar of the Capriola reported Bernardino's decease and the miracles happening next to his body to the *signori* (ASS, Concistoro 470, fol. 50v). Further-

on the following⁹⁸: in the absence of the dead body there should be built a “castello ligneo”⁹⁹, a wooden catafalque adorned with numerous candles, in front of the cathedral, the religious centre of the city. The political importance of Bernardino’s cult for Siena at this early stage is demonstrated by the council’s decision that the celebrations should be organised by a committee of citizens and that they were to be financed by the whole community by means of a tax on meat products. The civic and clerical authorities were to explicitly attend these exequies *in absentia* and solemn processions with relics which took place for three days¹⁰⁰. The celebrations at S. Francesco on 22 June were also given an official character because of the participation of the *signori* and other civic dignitaries¹⁰¹. Around this time the church of S. Francesco emerged as a focal point for the cult of Bernardino, as is confirmed by the annual *fiesta* in his honour.

more, the letter by Giuliano da Milano (see note 21) was to be publicly read (cf. Martino Bertagna, “Memorie Bernardiniane”, in: *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 71 [1964], p. 5–50, here p. 7)

98 ASS, Concistorio 470, fol. 52v–54v; published in Giuseppe Sanesi, *Documenti relativi a S. Bernardino da Siena, Pistoia 1895*, p. 11–17. See also the description by chronicler Tommaso Fecini: “A dì 20 di maggio [1444] morì Sancto Bernardino a l’Aquila, féssi in sù la piazza dello Spedale uno castello con molta quantità di cera e messe e ufizio solenne e prediche a onore di detto Santo. / A dì 16 di giugno [1444] si fe’ per tutta Siena una devota pocissione e onorata con molte reliquie: dipoi si fe’ uno uffizio a Sancto Francesco, e fuvi la signoria e predicossi e fuvi molta gente e dipoi all’Osservanza il simile.” Tommaso Fecini, “Cronaca senese”, in: *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (cit. n. 94), p. 856.

99 ASS, Concistorio 470, fol. 53r; cf. Fecini (cit. n. 98). A similar catafalque had been erected for the Aquilano exequies (see above).

100 ASS, Concistorio 470, fol. 51r–52r. Alongside the bells of the commune, all of the church bells in the town and in the *contado* were to be rung.

101 ASS, Consistorio 470, fol. 59v; cf. Fecini (cit. n. 98).

Two processional banners¹⁰² that were commissioned, one of which depicted Bernardino on a blue background, the other showing Eugene IV's coat of arms, are no longer extant. In combining the effigy of the *beato* with the Pope's arms, the Sienese seem to have anticipated Bernardino's canonisation¹⁰³. Therefore, the funeral not only marked the starting point of a civic Bernardino cult but at the same time the beginning of his iconography¹⁰⁴.

Annual *fiesta* and S. Francesco

Elements such as a solemn Mass and procession with (secondary) relics, arranged as they were for the funeral ceremonies, established the basis for the annual commemoration and feast of Bernardino. In the years following his canonisation, 1451/52, the *Consiglio del Popolo* elected a committee of citizens to organize the saint's *fiesta* according to the following regulations¹⁰⁵: the *signori*, the magistrates, the guild officials and other groups and corporations were to be present at the Mass and the procession that followed. A prisoner was to be released and safe conduct was granted to outcasts for five days.

102 A 1446 inventory of the Sienese cathedral records the two banners, which had already been on loan to the friars of S. Francesco or the confraternity of S. Giovanni Battista della Morte in 1444: "Due drappelloni grandi di seta azurra, l'uno v'è la figura del beato Bernardino, nell'altro l'arme della chiesa e di papa Eugenio" (ASS, Opera Metropolitana 31, fol. 23r; quoted after Machtelt Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance. Early Images of Bernardino da Siena and the Issue of Portraiture [with a new proposal for Sassetta]", in: *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 11 (2007), p. 77–114, here p. 80 note 8).

103 Israëls, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 80.

104 Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 11 (cf. Israëls, *Absence* [cit. n. 102], p. 89). For Bernardino's iconography in general see Jasmin Wilson Cyril, *The imagery of San Bernardino da Siena, 1440–1500. An iconografic study*, Ann Arbor 1991; *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* (cit. n. 4), here vol. 2 *Iconografia* (1981); Daniel Arasse, "Saint Bernardin ressemblant. La figure sous le portrait", in: *Atti del simposio internazionale cate-riniano-berardiniano* (Siena, 17–20 April 1980). Edited by Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi, p. 311–332.

105 ASS, *Consiglio Generale* 225, fol. 161r–162r; cf. Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 35–36. Also in the years preceding Bernardino's canonisation his feast had been celebrated; although in more regulated forms particularly after the process had begun, when the sanctification seemed only a matter of time (Bertagna, *Memorie* [cit. n. 97], p. 23).

New regulations were drawn up on 19 May 1456 defining the order of the participants and the quantities of wax offerings¹⁰⁶ for each group, prescribing a new route for the procession, confirming the paragraphs on amnesty and safe conduct, and stipulating that the commune was to commission a wooden portable scaffolding (“barella di legname”¹⁰⁷) to transport the most important secondary relic, Bernardino’s *cappa*. Apart from some variations, these regulations remained basically unchanged until the 19th century¹⁰⁸: on the morning of the feast the Observant friars accompanied the venerated *cappa* from the Capriola hill to S. Francesco; the procession formed by the Observant and Conventual friars, corporations, and the devout, set out from S. Francesco, processed the standard of Bernardino – perhaps the one mentioned above – and the relic under a baldachin carried by members of the *Compagnia di S. Bernardino* to the Piazza del Campo. In front of the Palazzo Pubblico the *signori*, the guild and other officials joined the procession after offering their candles and then returned to S. Francesco, where a Mass and sermon were held. Afterwards, the *signori* were led back to the Campo¹⁰⁹. The whole celebration took place in neat decorated streets, since in 1452 the contrada di Oville had been charged with cleaning their district and lining it with flags¹¹⁰.

106 On the basis of the civic statutes, which precisely defined the donation of wax on the feast days of the city’s patrons and other religious holidays one can deduce the popularity or spiritual hierarchy of the Sienese pantheon (cf. Mario Ascheri [ed.], *L’ultimo statuto della repubblica di Siena* [1545], [Monografie di storia e letteratura senese 12], Siena 1993, p. 366–370). For an edition and commentary of the new statutes regarding Bernardino’s festa see Fabrizio Nevola, “Cerimoniali per santi e feste a Siena”, in: *Siena e il suo territorio nel Rinascimento / Renaissance Siena and its territory*. Edited by Mario Ascheri, Siena 1986–2000, 3 vols., here vol. 3 (2000) (*Documenti di storia* 36), p. 171–184.

107 Nevola, *Cerimoniali* (cit. n. 106), p. 179. The reliquary for Bernardino’s *cappa*, which was preserved at the Osservanza, had been a civic commission as well (authorised in 1446, but only finished by 1461: cf. Elisabetta Cioni, Catalogue entry F.30, in: *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello. Le arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, [Siena, 26 March–11 July 2010]. Edited by Max Seidel et al., Milan 2010, p. 496–497).

108 Cf. Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 38.

109 ASS, Concistoro 568, fol. 24r; cf. Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 39.

The annual *fiesta* for Bernardino was a demonstration of civic *pietas*¹¹⁰: Even if the *Cerimoniale* of 1456 tells us that the *ligrittieri*'s guild (second hand dealers) was responsible for Bernardino's *fiesta*, the Commune's presence was very visible as it commissioned the reliquary for the *cappa*-relic and the *barella* to carry it in procession; moreover the civic representatives were solemnly collected at and accompanied back to the Palazzo Pubblico, the communal centre. S. Francesco, the Franciscan church *intra muros*, marked the procession's official starting point and was the venue of the High Mass. Meanwhile, the *Osservanza extra muros* was used as a safe place to conserve Bernardino's relics and belonged to the prelude to this festival. It became – as we will see further on – a place for individual worship.

Ambassadors at L'Aquila and Rome

After Bernardino's companions had been prevented from transferring his remains to his native city, the Siense council appointed Lazzaro di Benedetto ambassador to L'Aquila. He was entrusted with the requisition of the body for Siena¹¹² and with stimulating a joint campaign in the two cities to encourage Bernardino's sanctification. Only the latter undertaking was successful¹¹³, since the Aquilani had not only docu-

110 Cf. Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 39; cf. Nevola, *Cerimoniale* (cit. n. 106), p. 174, 178–179.

111 Webb, *Patrons* (cit. n. 94), p. 300; see also Nevola, *Cerimoniale* (cit. n. 106), p. 173, 178.

112 ASS, Concistoro 470, fol. 76v; cf. Israël's, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 78 note 3. For instructions for the legates see also the documents published in Sanesi, *Documenti*, (cit. n. 98) and their reports *Liberati, Prime* (cit. n. 90).

113 Only in June 1610 did primary relics of Bernardino reach his native city: Some of his inner organs were sent by the guardian of S. Bernardino to the convent of the *Osservanza* together with the knife with which the body had been opened (*Mostra Bernardiniana nel 5° Centenario della Canonizzazione di S. Bernardino: catalogo, Siena 1950, [exhibition Siena May–October 1950], p. 27*). In return, the Siense gave three sanctuary lamps and an annual donation of oil to burn in them (cf. Angelo Leosini, *Monumenti storici artistici della città di Aquila e suoi contorni, Aquila 1848, p. 207*). At some point also Bernardino's teeth were venerated in Siena's cathedral and the Oratorio di S. Bernardino (cf. Girolamo Gigli, *Diario sanese in qui si veggono alla giornata tutti gli avvenimenti più ragguardevoli spettanti si allo spirituale si al temporale della città e stato di Siena, Siena 1854 [first published in 1723]*,

mented all the miracles that occurred in proximity of the corpse¹¹⁴ but they had already sent a delegate to the Holy See to promote Bernardino's case.

Despite consensus regarding the canonisation process, the Siense government tried to obtain Bernardino's remains in secret by asking for the mediation of the Pope. For this unsuccessful diplomatic mission Leonardo Benvoglianti and Bartolomeo di Pietro Pecci¹¹⁵ were dispatched to Rome.

The process¹¹⁶ itself took place in three separate investigations and covered the period from 1445 to 1449. In both cities, L'Aquila and Siena, acts were examined and witnesses were interrogated. As had been agreed early on, the Siense and Aquilani together bore the expenses of the procedure¹¹⁷.

p. 233–234).

- 114 The first 30 day's miracles were collected in the compilation "Mirabilis Deus", which was published on 19 July 1444 (see „MIRACULA XXX. Intra LII dies ab obitu patrata, & coram Eugenio IV producta. Ex instrumento publico Aquilano“, AASS, Maii V, Dies 20 [cit. n. 13], p. 284–287).
- 115 Sanesi, *Documenti* (cit. n. 98), p. 19–23. On 3 July 1444 the two were also carrying with them letters to 15 of the cardinals Eugene IV had created (cf. Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 61*). Elizabeth H. Vogel suggests that in order to maintain peaceful relations with the Kingdom of Naples Eugene IV did not want to bring about a rupture with the Aquilani by removing Bernardino's remains (Elizabeth Hall Vogel, *Sanctity set in stone. Popular piety and the Oratory of San Bernardino in Perugia* by Agostino di Duccio, Ann Arbor 1999 [Diss. New Brunswick 1999], p. 181–182).
- 116 The process proceeded in three phases: 1. Investigation in L'Aquila, June to September 1445; 2. Investigation in L'Aquila, July to September 1447; 3. Investigation in Siena, June 1448 to June 1449. For the process see Pellegrini, *Processo* (cit. n. 18); Letizia Pellegrini, *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena: studio ed edizione*, Rome 2004, Enrico Bulletti, "Per la canonizzazione di S. Bernardino", in: *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani* 10 (1944/50), p. 106–158; Alfredo Liberati, "Le vicende della canonizzazione di S. Bernardino", in: *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani* 2 (1936), 2, p. 91–124.
- 117 As early as 13 July 1444 Lazzaro had been requested by his compatriots to verify if the Aquilani would participate in financing the process (Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 61*). Finally a letter by Giovanni da Capestrano and the Siense representatives from Rome dated 20 March 1449 attested the city of L'Aquila's intention to provide half of the procedure's expenses and asked the Siense to raise the other part, which was 2500 florins (Alfredo Liberati, "La Repubblica di Siena e San Giovanni da Capestrano", in: *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 44 [1937], p. 375–402,

Original copies of the canonisation bull¹¹⁸ can be found in both Siena and L'Aquila (figg. 8, 9). Contrary to the usual simplicity¹¹⁹ of papal documents, the two exemplars feature figural and decorative drawings: the initial of the Aquilano bull combines the papal coat of arms with the IHS monogram, a Franciscan cingulum and God the Father, while the Sienese exemplar depicts Bernardino's effigy holding a *tondo* with the monogram flanked by two angels. The latter can be interpreted as compensation for the absence of the saint's body¹²⁰.

The break with the standard format of canonisation bulls in illuminating the initials may be explained by the general splendour of the Holy Year 1450¹²¹, which Nicholas V had lavishly arranged. Another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction could be the exceptional dating of the bull: it was the first to present the date of the solemn canonisation ceremony¹²². In this way the official rite, which had intentionally been combined with the feast of Pentecost and the Franciscan's General Chapter in Rome, was given greater emphasis.

here p. 396–397 doc. 35). Due to financial problems a new tax was levied to procure the funds (cf. Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 101*).

118 The documents are conserved in the respective cities' State Archives: ASS, *Diplomatico*, San Bernardino dei minori osservanti presso Siena c. 1289 (originally at the *Osservanza* convent) and ASA, ACA U 83, doc. 2 (originally at S. Bernardino convent). For further examples of the bull see Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heilig-sprechung. Die päpstliche Kanonisation vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch*, (Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, Beiheft 9), Köln 2005, p. 956–965; the bull is published e. g. in Wadding, *Annales*, (cit. n. 13), vol. 12, p. 60–64.

119 Krafft, *Papsturkunden* (cit. n. 118), p. 957.

120 This supports Machtelt Israëls' hypotheses (see paragraph "Sienese images proliferate" below and note 149). The question of authorship is interesting but cannot be dealt with here.

121 See Helene Burger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der äußeren Merkmale der Papsturkunden im späteren Mittelalter", in: *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932), p. 206–243, here p. 241.

122 Krafft, *Papsturkunden* (cit. n. 118), p. 956. In fact the process had already been successfully concluded in June 1449 (*Liberati*, *Repubblica* [cit. n. 117], p. 399 doc. 39).

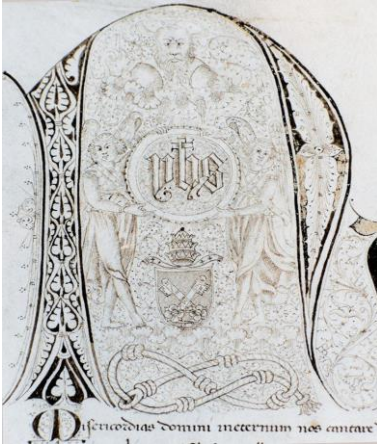


Figure 8



Figure 9

Fig. 8: Initial of the Aquilano original copy of the canonisation bull, ASA, ACA U 83, doc. 2 (1450; Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, photo Pavla Langer).

Fig. 9: Initial of the Sienese original copy of the canonisation bull, ASS, Diplomatico, San Bernardino dei minori osservanti presso Siena c. 1289 (1450; Archivio di Stato di Siena).

Canonisation Ceremony in Siena

The canonisation ceremony in Rome on 24 May 1450 was the first to be held during a Jubilee and was one of the outstanding religious solemnities of the Holy Year¹²³. The civic council in Siena also organised splendid festivities to celebrate Bernardino's sanctification¹²⁴. During

¹²³ Bernardinus Aquilanus, *Chronica* (cit. n. 50), p. 37–38. The canonisation is also mentioned as one of Nicholas' *res gestae* on his epitaph (cf. Israël, *Absence* [cit. n. 102], p. 93–94; see <http://requiem-projekt.de/datenbank/web-datenbank/> [15.09.2013]).

¹²⁴ For a detailed analysis of the celebrations see Daniel Arasse, "Fervebat pietate populus. Art, dévotion et société autour de la glorification de Saint Bernardin de Sienna", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité/Antiquité* 89 (1977), 3,

the opening procession there were no secondary Bernardino relics instead the bishop carried the Eucharist. Daniel Arasse has emphasised the dual character of the processional route, which by leading from the *duomo* to the Palazzo Pubblico marked the communal as well as the religious centres. The strictly hierachical sequence during the parade and the presence of the bishop beneath a baldachin displaying the Blessed Sacrament – the city’s highest-ranking cleric with the Holy of Holies – bore a decidedly official imprint¹²⁵.

The highlight of the feast’s second day was a theatrical representation in the Piazza del Campo in front of the Palazzo Pubblico. Above the Cappella di Piazza a *paradiso* stage set was constructed and an actor representing the new saint floated up to the heavenly sphere. This ascent by means of a hidden mechanism and the sudden outburst of a flaming tree in the middle of the piazza exploited visual strategies and surprising stage effects and made the devout burn with pious devotion. With this spectacle the *Consiglio* created a sentiment of civic identity through the burning *pietas* of the citizens, who had good reason to thank their political leaders for arranging the festivities. They gave expression to inner civic pride and fostered political and religious unity.

Contemporary sources describe the entire city changing its appearance in those days: the streets were adorned with garlands, everywhere altars and ephemeral pieces of architecture had been built. This abundance of decoration can be explained by the Sienese system of the so-called *contrade*. Each of these traditionally competing neighborhood associations was in charge of adorning its own district. Here we see an expression of the double character of Sienese civic identity: one be-

p. 189–263. His study is based on the report of the chronicler Agostino Dati (“*Historiae*”, here vol. 1, p. 48–49; published in Arasse, see above, p. 227–228).

125 Apart from the political implications one can also associate the processing of the Eucharist with Bernardino’s veneration for the sacrament of the altar. Not only had Bernardino linked the cult of the name of Jesus with the Blessed Sacrament, he was also one of the first to promote Eucharist processions beyond the feast of *Corpus Domini* (Benedetto Rossi, “San Bernardino da Siena ‘predicatore’ dell’Eucaristia”, in: *Panis vivus. Arredi e testimonianze figurative del culto eucaristico dal VI al XIX secolo*. Edited by Cecilia Alessi and Laura Martini, Siena 1994, p. 257–260).

longed to both the community as a whole and to a particular *contrada*¹²⁶.

The fact that the Franciscans were included only on the last day of the solemnities with a High Mass at S. Francesco and that places of veneration of Bernardino such as the *Osservanza* and the *Ospedale della Scala* were excluded sustain Arasse's thesis¹²⁷ of the official civic character of the celebrations.

The *Osservanza*

As a place closely linked to Bernardino's life and where most of his belongings were housed, the convent of the *Osservanza* developed into a focal point of the Bernardino cult. An official inventory¹²⁸ of Bernardino's possessions written by the guardian of the *Osservanza* and witnessed by civic functionaries shows the municipal authorities' wish to control the precious objects. Indeed, the deceased preacher's enormous popularity led to numerous illustrious personalities¹²⁹ requesting Bernardino's relics so that in the end a ban on exporting them was imposed¹³⁰. Civic involvement in the *Osservanza* convent is already documented in 1444, when the *Consiglio* decided to finance the acquisition of a site on which to build an annex library¹³¹ for

126 Arasse, *Fervebat* (cit. n. 124), p. 197.

127 Arasse, *Fervebat* (cit. n. 124), p. 198.

128 "... scripture per me frate Lodovicho guardiano del detto convento, ne la presentia de' tre spectabili Ghonfalonieri della città di Siena, cioè Tommè di Nofrio, Antonio di Ghorò et Ghino Belanti et di Agnolo di Filippo, Tommaso di Giovanni Franceschi et Lonardo di Meo di Nicholò, tutti mandati per parte de' Magnifici Signori di Siena a fare lo detto inventario questo dì XV di Giugno MCCCCXLIIII ..." (quoted after Liberati, *Prime* [cit. n. 90], p. 143–161, here p. 156–157).

129 Apart from the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, also the *condottiere* Niccolò Piccinino and the Duchess of Piombino, Paola Colonna, requested Bernardino's objects (Liberati, *Prime* [cit. n. 90], p. 146–147).

130 Liberati, *Prime* (cit. n. 90), p. 147.

131 In the beginning the Capriola monks were ordered to copy Bernardino's manuscripts, but soon they were allowed to chain the originals to their library desks, whereupon the Sienese *consiglio* had the keys (cf. Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 86*). For a corpus of Bernardino's manuscripts and an examination of the scriptorium established by him see Rossella De Piero, "Lo scriptorium di san Bernardino nel Convento dell'Osservanza a Siena", in: *In margine al Progetto Codex: aspetti di*

Bernardino's books and autographs. Again in May 1446 various renovation works at the complex were paid for by the civic community¹³².

In his *Vita* of Bernardino¹³³, Giovanni da Capestrano reports on miracles that his former confrère performed at the *Osservanza*, where his former cell was gradually transformed into a kind of relic chapel, and the civic consistory also witnessed miraculous occurrences in front of Bernardino's cowl and *cappa*,¹³⁴ according to a letter to Filippo Maria Visconti. Machtelt Israëls¹³⁵ has argued that in the absence of Bernardino's body the cult focused on an early effigy painted by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio (1444, still in place); and in fact the canonisation records¹³⁶ witness countless votive gifts surrounding this image (fig. 10). The *Osservanza* panel can be regarded as one of the prototypes of the rich Siennese iconographic tradition¹³⁷. Bernardino's face is shown in three-quarter view and with strongly individualised physiognomy: he is portrayed as an old man with a gaunt wrinkled face, a toothless mouth and long nose. He seems caught in the act of present-

produzione e conservazione del patrimonio manoscritto in Toscana. Edited by Gabriella Pomaro, (Toscana biblioteche e archivi 3), Ospedaletto-Pisa 2014, p. 29–105.

132 ASS, Concistoro 482, fol. 25v–26r; cf. Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 19.

133 "... ad locum de la Capriola cum libris & aliis rebus deferunt extra ciuitate Senarum, vbi diuina clementia disponente beneficia plurima impenduntur multis infirmis & tribulatis, qui praefatum locum visitant cum deuotione & confidentia meritorum S. Bernardini, & praefato tanguntur habitu, vel signantur ..." (cit. n. 15, p. 36).

134 Bernardino's garments, which are still in situ, were restored between 2005 and 2012 (Maria Giorgi – Anna Maria Guiducci – Isetta Tosini, "Il restauro delle Vesti di San Bernardino da Siena", in: *Lo stato dell'arte 4: 4. congresso nazionale IGIC* [Siena, 28–30 September 2006], Gruppo italiano International Institute for conservation, Florence 2006, p. 221–230). For Bernardino's cell and its transformations see Martino Bertagna, *L'Osservanza di Siena. Studi storici*, Siena, 1963–1964, 3 vols., here vol. 2 (1964), p. 105–107.

135 Israëls, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 81.

136 "... et in domum paternam reportata, casu predicto Anthonio Marci patri dicte puelle notificato, voto facto per eum ad beatum Bernardinum de ymagine cerea deferenda figure ipsius beati Bernardini in loco Capriole, ubi eiusdem capa seruatur, statim dicta puella pristina sanitati restituta fuit et, surgens de lecto, cymbalum accepit et pulsavit, ac si nichil mali passa fuisset." Pellegrini, *Processo* (cit. n. 18), p. 409, see also p. 415, 429, 489.

137 For the later added inscription see Peleo Bacci, *Documenti e commenti per la storia dell'arte*, Florence 1944, p. 103.

ing the Holy Scripture and the monogram that he frequently displayed during his sermons. The “image seems above all designed to preserve the historical memory of the preaching friar”¹³⁸, whose sermons many Sienese had personally experienced. The *Osservanza* appears to have been authorised as a place of worship on 20 March 1451, when Nicholas V granted an indulgence of seven years and seven *quarantine* to those who visited the church, which meanwhile had been dedicated to Bernardino, on the saint’s feast day¹³⁹.



Fig. 10: Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, Bernardino, Siena, Church of the *Osservanza* (1444; from: *L'Osservanza di Siena. La basilica e i suoi miniati*, Milan 1984, p. 79).

¹³⁸ Israëls, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 82.

¹³⁹ For the bull see *Bullarium Franciscanum*, T. 1. *Continens constitutiones, epistolas, diplomata Romanorum pontificum Eugenii IV et Nicolai V ad tres ordines S.P.N. Francisci spectantia* (1431–1455). Edited by Ulricus Hüntemann, Grottaferrata 1929, p. 735–736, no. 1457.

The Ospedale della Scala

The *Ospedale di S. Maria della Scala*¹⁴⁰, a hospital where pilgrims, orphans, the sick and the poor were nursed, was one of the oldest and most revered charitable organizations in Siena. Originally founded by the canons of the cathedral during the late middle ages, it developed into a central social-economic institution under the growing influence of the communal authorities. In 1357/59, important relics of Christ, the Cross, of the Virgin Mary, and of other saints were purchased turning the hospital's church into a focal point of veneration¹⁴¹. Moreover, notable indulgences ensured great acclaim from pilgrims, mostly on their way to Rome on the *Via Francigena*, so that the *Ospedale* became an important economic factor in the town¹⁴².

Bernardino had been represented at the complex of the *Ospedale* even before his sanctification. He was depicted on a drape in the pilgrim's ward (1444, Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio), on the so-called *Arliquiera*, a reliquary cupboard in the sacristy (1445, Vecchietta and Workshop), and from 1449 a chapel in honour of Bernardino was planned in the hospital church¹⁴³. Moreover, a special status in the church was reserved for a depiction of Bernardino that Sassetta had been paid for in early 1445¹⁴⁴. This painting is now lost, but may have been comparable to Sassetta's panel for the *Compagnia della Morte*¹⁴⁵.

140 The foundation of the hospital can be assumed to date to the 9th century, but written records go back only to 1090 (cf. Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, *Lo Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala in Siena. Vicenda di una committenza artistica*, Pisa 1985, p. 55).

141 See the exhibition catalogue *L'oro de Siena. Il tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*. Edited by Luciano Bellosi, Milan 1996.

142 Hendrik W. Van Os, *Vecchietta and the sacristy of the Siena hospital church. A study in Renaissance religious symbolism*, (*Kunsthistorische studien van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 2), 's-Gravenhage 1974, p. 8–10.

143 ASS, Spedale 520, fol. 414r; ASS, Spedale 521, fol. 323r (published in Gallavotti Cavallero, *Spedale* [cit. n. 140], p. 425 doc. 225/226; p. 427 doc. 303).

144 "Maestro Stefano di Giovanni dipentore die avere a di vij di gienao 1444 [sic! 1445] lire sesanta quatro e qua sò per una figura di beato Bernardino ci dipinse in tavola la quale è in ne la nostra chiesa d'achordo messer Urbano nostro chon maestro Stefano.." (ASS, Spedale 520, fol. 419v, quoted after Gallavotti Cavallero, *Spedale* [cit. n. 140], p. 425 doc. 257/258).

145 Israëls, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 85. The painting dates to December 1444 and is currently in the collection of Siena's Pinacoteca Nazionale.

In the sanctification process records Giovanni da Capestrano and the hospital's rector¹⁴⁶ give evidence of an increasing number of miracles in proximity to the image and the countless votive offerings that were donated.

Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's painting at the *Osservanza* and Sassetta's lost panel for the hospital church were the thaumaturgical images that became focal points of the Siene's veneration for Bernardino, whose body they sorely missed. The stand-in function of images was not unique: Bernardino's effigy had miraculously healed a girl in the Cappella di Sant'Andrea in the Franciscan church of Rieti¹⁴⁷.

Siene's Images Proliferate

Compared with L'Aquila, Siena's iconographic tradition is extremely rich in effigies showing the individual features of Bernardino. In fact verisimilitude had sometimes even been an integral part of contracts for paintings¹⁴⁸ which are among the earliest veristic representations of

146 In his *Vita of Bernardino*, Giovanni da Capestrano describes: "... in Ecclesia etiam Sanctae Mariae de Scala Hospitalis Senensis, Sanctus Bernardinus tot & tantis coruscet miraculis, quod si omnia scripta forent, magna librorum volumina complerentur. Testantur etiam imagines argenteae, & cereae quasi innumerabiles pendentes ibidem." (cit. n. 15, p. 36). The rector of the hospital, Urbano di Pietro del Bello, states: "Interrogatus super 18, dixit vera esse contenta in articulo. Interrogatus in causa sciencie, dixit quod audivit ita teneri et reputari in civitate Senarum et partibus coadiacentibus, et quod fere nulla est dies quin aliqua imago cerea deferatur ad figuram ipsius fratris Bernardini que est in hospitali Sancte Marie de la Scala quod ipse testis gubernat, propter miracula que deferentes ipsas credunt et tenent facta fore precibus et meritis ipsius fratris Bernardini." (Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 377-378).

147 "... videbatur viscera corporis ipsius puelle, et videntes quod dicte plage erant incurabiles, cum magna devotione et fide accesserunt ante presenciam prefati venerabilis patris et olim bone memorie fratris Bernardini, qui erat in ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Reate, videlicet in claustrum loci dicte ecclesie, iuxta capellam Sancti Andree dicte ecclesie, et ibi, genuflexi ante dictam presenciam, ostenderunt ei dictam eorum puellam filiam ut premitteret infirmam, rogantes eum ut intercederet pro ea ad dominum nostrum Iesum Chistum. ..." (Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 289; cf. Israëls, *Absence* [cit. n. 102], p. 85). For the phenomenon of long distance effects of relics see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge et al. 2005; e. g. p. 452: "Eventually, the image came to play the same role as the relics ..."

148 An unusual stipulation in a contract between Sano di Pietro and the *Compagnia della Vergine* says that the artist had to repaint Bernardino's effigy as often as would

saints or *beati* and among the first autonomous portraits in Siena in general. Following Machtelt Israëls and Urte Krass, one can assume a connection between the physical absence of Bernardino's remains on the one hand and the increased likeness in the visual representations of him on the other¹⁴⁹.

Interestingly, in March 1445 Giovanni da Capestrano wrote from L'Aquila to the Siense community requesting a depiction of Bernardino "quantum naturalis similitudinis fieri possit"¹⁵⁰. Apparently, he did not want to assign the task to a local artist¹⁵¹. Even though the Aquilani had both the incorrupt body and Bernardino's death mask at their disposal¹⁵² it seems that Siense artists defined standards in verisimilitude.

be necessary to obtain the commissioner's approval. This has been read in the sense of reaching verisimilitude or at least converging to a certain prototype (Gaudenz Freuler – Michael Mallory, "Sano di Pietro's Bernardino altar-piece for the Compagnia della Vergine in Siena", in: *The Burlington Magazine* 133, 1056 [1991], p. 186–192, here p. 189; the document from 28 August 1445 is published on p. 192). For a visual *corporate identity* in imagery of saints see Krass, *Nah* (cit. n. 86), p. 158.

149 Israëls, *Absence* (cit. n. 102), p. 79, 85, 106; Krass, *Nah* (cit. n. 86), p. 86.

150 "... ut unam mihi figuram, quantum naturalis similitudinis fieri possit, beati Patris Bernardini per eundem fratrem Dominicum qui ad me cito venturus est, dignaremini destinare, pro mensura staturae eiusdem beati Patris..." Letter from Giovanni da Capestrano to the Siense Consiglio on 22 March 1445 (quoted after Vittorio Lusini, *Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*, Siena 1894, p. 113).

151 The painting mentioned in 1445 has often been identified with a panel by Sano di Pietro from the sacristy of the convent that Giovanni da Capestrano had founded in his native town; today it is preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo (cf. e. g. Israëls, *Absence* [cit. n. 102], p. 86). Gabriele Fattorini instead brings the painting ordered by Giovanni together with a document from 13 September 1448. It registers the payment of Sano di Pietro by the *Compagnia della Vergine* for a painting that Giovanni da Capestrano should get (published in Freuler – Mallory, *Sano* [cit. n. 148], p. 192). The fact that Giovanni da Capestrano stayed in Siena in this period to assist the third part of the process supports Fattorini's hypothesis (cf. his paper "Da Siena all'Aquila: il San Bernardino di Sano di Pietro per Giovanni da Capestrano" at the congress "La 'Via degli Abruzzi' e le arti nel Medioevo", L'Aquila, 11–12 May 2012; the proceedings of the congress are in press). Israëls in contrast argues that Giovanni ordered a second depiction of Bernardino (Israëls, *Absence* [cit. n. 102], p. 95–96).

152 Bernardino's mask is the earliest extant death mask and is still conserved at S. Bernardino. For saints' death masks see Krass, *Nah* (cit. n. 86), chapter 8, p. 118–166.

Starting from the middle of the 15th century, various public places in Siena were decorated with depictions of the city's pantheon of patrons, Bernardino having been included as a new member¹⁵³. At the Palazzo Pubblico he appeared in three official spaces: in the *Stanza del Biado* (administration for corn and other food) together with other saints he flanked the Madonna della Misericordia (1453–57, Vecchietta); at the *Ufficio della Biccherna* (financial administration) he acted as “patrono et defensor” of Siena with a model of the city in his hands (1445–1461, Sano di Pietro, fig. 11); and a full-length depiction of him by Sano di Pietro (1450) in the *Sala del Mappamondo*, where the council met, faced the huge fresco of the IHS monogram that had been painted in 1425 by Battista di Niccolò da Padova. In addition, Bernardino and some other local saints or *beati* as well as the four official protectors of the city (Ansano, Crescenzo, Vittore, and Savino) were shown on the outer wings of the above-mentioned relic cupboard *Arliquiera*¹⁵⁴, which was already finished in 1445, and he was placed in a series of half-figure frescoes of the city's patrons on the arch above the high altar in the baptistery under the *duomo* (1447–53, Vecchietta and Workshop). This phenomenon of visual propaganda for patrons and (local) saints in mid-15th-century Siena conforms to a general tendency of civic mythologizing during the Quattrocento, as does, for instance, the humanist stylisation of Siena's Roman origins¹⁵⁵.

153 Caterina Benincasa, who had died in the year of Bernardino's birth, was canonised in 1461 by Pius II (also a Siennese) and thus completed the Siena pantheon. For the canonisation celebration for Caterina see Arasse, Fervebat (cit. n. 124), p. 211 note 58; Philine Helas, *Lebende Bilder in der italienischen Festkultur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, (Acta Humaniora), Berlin 1999, p. 24.

154 Ashley Jane Elston, *Storing sanctity: Sacristy reliquary cupboards in late medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Diss. University of Kansas 2011, (ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing), p. 127–140.

155 Van Os, *Vecchietta* (cit. n. 142), p. 22. See also Gerald Parsons, *Siena, civil religion and the Siennese*, Hampshire 2004, p. 16–19.

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Fig. 11: Sano di Pietro, Bernardino, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Cancelleria di Biccherna (c. 1450; from: Roberto Barzanti – Alberto Cornice, *Iconografia di Siena. Rappresentazione della città dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Siena et al. 2006, p. 22, fig. 17).

Cathedral

In the cathedral a no longer extant chapel in honour of Bernardino was planned in 1452¹⁵⁶. It can be hypothesised as a niche in the western front wall of the north transept. As had been done for all of his co-patrons, a bell in the cathedral's *campanile* was dedicated to Bernardino (1453)¹⁵⁷ and a silver statue of the saint added to the series of patron figures on the high altar (1454/57)¹⁵⁸. Furthermore, in

¹⁵⁶ A sculpture for the chapel had already been commissioned in September 1452. The consecration took place on 10 September 1453 although artists were employed in decorating the chapel until 1458. See Peter Anselm Riedl – Max Seidel (edd.), *Die Kirchen von Siena*, (Italienische Forschungen / Sonderreihe), Munich 1985ff., here vol. 3.1.1.1 *Der Dom S. Maria Assunta*. Textband. Edited by Monika Butzek et al. (2006), p. 150–151. Already on 12 June 1450 Nicholas V had proposed to build a chapel for the newly sanctified Bernardino in the cathedral and granted an indulgence of seven years and seven *quarantine* for it (Butzek, *Dom*, see above, p. 146; see also *Bullarium Franciscanum*, see note 139, p. 709–710, no. 1376). For the decoration of the chapel see Robert Mode, “San Bernardino in Glory”, in: *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973), p. 58–76, here p. 66–68.

¹⁵⁷ Butzek, *Dom* (cit. n. 156), p. 151.

¹⁵⁸ Butzek, *Dom* (cit. n. 156), p. 151–152.

1489/90 six large statues in gilded stucco representing the principal patron saints, including Bernardino, were placed at the inner foot of the cupola¹⁵⁹ (by this time Caterina had been added to this group).

The civic government and the Franciscan Order were the main protagonists in the promotion of Bernardino's annual *fiesta*. As one of the principal patrons – but nevertheless subordinate to Maria Assunta – Bernardino was initiated into this pantheon of dignitaries in both the religious and the public sphere of the cathedral with various standard 'patron features' (chapel, bell, statue on the high altar and the cupola spandrels).

Compagnia and Oratorio di S. Bernardino

On 27 February 1451 Nicholas V authorised the construction of a church in Bernardino's honour in the vicinity of S. Francesco¹⁶⁰. The result of this papal concession was the Oratorio di S. Bernardino, seat of the *Compagnia di S. Bernardino*, which was only completed in the 16th century (fig. 12). Bernardino himself had been a member of this brotherhood, which initially had been called *S. Maria degli Angeli e S. Francesco*. After various renaming it was – shortly after 1450 – dedicated to S. Bernardino and found great acclaim due to the saint's popularity¹⁶¹. Initially the brotherhood had mainly taken care of pilgrims and the sick in a small hospital near S. Francesco, but reorganised by Bernardino as the *Compagnia del Nome di Gesù* in 1425 it specifically addressed the cult of the name of Jesus, and then later focused on the cult of Bernardino¹⁶². For instance, the members carried the baldachin

159 For the postmedieval decoration of the cupola and the statues by Giovanni di Stefano and workshop see Wolfgang Loseries, "Le decorazioni postmedievali della cupola del duomo", in: *Le sculture del duomo di Siena*. Edited by Mario Lorenzoni, Cinisello Balsamo 2009, p. 64–66.

160 Bullarium Franciscanum (cit. n. 139), p. 732, no. 1446. One may assume that here again Giovanni da Capestrano was the driving force as he had not only initiated the building of S. Bernardino at L'Aquila but also promoted the completion of Siena's church of S. Francesco (cf. Lusini, *Storia* [cit. n. 150], p. 95–116).

161 Alfredo Liberati, "Chiese, Monasteri, Oratori e Spedali senesi", in: *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 65 (1958), p. 137–152, here p. 140–142.

162 Bertagna, *Memorie* (cit. n. 97), p. 31 note 40.

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and reliquary of the saint's *cappa* during the annual processions and arranged a *palio* on his feast day¹⁶³.



Fig. 12: Oratorio di S. Bernardino, Siena (early 16th century; photo Jörg Dittmer).

“Tutti quanti jubilando”¹⁶⁴: Bernardino Elsewhere

Bernardino's prominence and his ample sphere of activity also led to the promotion of his cult in several other towns¹⁶⁵. An example of the widespread interest in him can be found in 13 letters that accompany the first investigation in the canonisation file in which rulers and personalities from various Italian regions recommended Bernardino's sanctification¹⁶⁶. Much could be written about Bernardino's veneration

163 Girolamo Gigli reports in his “Diario sanese” (first published in 1723) that in occasion of the *fiesta* the *Compagnia di S. Bernardino* supplied nine poor girls with endowments, released two prisoners and received the Senato at their oratory where an “IHS”-panel, a tooth and some entrails of Bernardino were at display (cf. Gigli, *Diario* [cit. n. 113], vol. 1, p. 232–233).

164 Lusini, *Rotulo* (cit. n. 5), p. 169.

165 Cf. *Enciclopedia Bernardiniana* (cit. n. 4), here vol. 3 *Vestigia* (1984).

166 These recommendations originate from Alfonso I of Naples, Francesco del Balzo (Duke of Andria), Raimondo Orsini (Prince of Salerno), Giovanni Antonio di Marzano (Duke of Sessa), Leonello d'Este (Margrave of Ferrara), Guidaccio Manfredi

in Ferrara, where splendid canonisation festivities were held¹⁶⁷, or about the cult of the saint in Rome, where Bernardino had worked miracles at the Franciscan church of S. Maria in Aracoeli¹⁶⁸.

Unfortunately, in this paper there is room only for a brief mention of Perugia. This city – about halfway between Siena and L’Aquila – was particularly devoted to Bernardino¹⁶⁹. As in Siena, the Perugians erected an oratory dedicated to him next to the local Franciscan church. At Perugia, however, the building was already completed in 1462 and was resplendent with a lavishly sculpted façade¹⁷⁰, which Agostino di Duccio and his workshop had created between 1457 and 1461. An allusion to the procession during the saint’s annual feast day is embedded in a banner painted by Benedetto Bonfiglio in 1465 (today in the Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria, Perugia). Beneath a representation of the saint interceding on behalf of Perugia before the Redeemer there is depicted a scene in which the Perugian citizens bring their

and Giangaleazzo Manfredi (Dukes of Faenza), Antonio Ordelaſſi (*Signore* of Forlì), Elisabetta da Varano (Camerino), the clerics of Ravenna und the *priori* of Arezzo (see Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 84*, 155–163).

167 See for example Gregorio Giovanardi, “Ricordi ferraresi”, in: *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani* 14 (1935), p. 166–177; Teodosio Lombardi, “Presenza e culto di San Bernardino a Ferrara”, in: *Atti del simposio internazionale cateriniano-bernardiniano* (cit. n. 104), p. 623–630; Roberto Cobiانchi, “Fashioning the imagery of a Franciscan Ob-servant preacher”, in: *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 12 (2009), p. 55–83.

168 The following deposition in the third process investigation suggests that in Rome an image was used as a substitute in the cult of Bernardino as well: “Nobilis vir Cicchus de Bocchabellis, civis Romanus ... se beato Bernardino commendavit et votum ad eum, de portando faculam unam ceream unius libre ad figuram ipsius beati Bernardini que est in Ara Celi si ab omnipotenti Deo eius liberacionem impetraret, emisit.” (Pellegrini, *Processo* [cit. n. 18], p. 432).

169 For Bernardino cult in Perugia see Antonio Fantozzi, “Documenta perusina de San Bernardino Senensi”, in: *Archivum Historicum Franciscanum* 15 (1922), p. 103–154, 406–475; cf. Vogel, *Sanctity* (cit. n. 115), p. 87–93.

170 Even though it differs in function and category, one cannot deny certain formal similarities between the oratory’s façade and the Aquilano mausoleum (see Antonini, *Architettura* [cit. n. 37], here vol. 1, p. 334; Vogel, *Sanctity* [cit. n. 115], p. 190). For the façade see Sabine Hesse, *Die Fassade des Oratoriums San Bernardino in Perugia. Ein Beitrag zum Werk des Agostino di Duccio*, (Göppinger Akademische Beiträge 122), Göppinger 1992 (Diss. phil. Freiburg 1979).

candles and wax offerings to the Franciscans in front of the oratory after the feast day procession¹⁷¹.

While in L'Aquila Bernardino's dead body marked the focal point of veneration – first at S. Francesco, then at S. Bernardino – in Siena there emerged various smaller cult centres in places that were related to his life. The absence of the remains led to the rapid development of a veristic iconography and its programmatic distribution around the city. These images were intended to encourage Bernardino's canonisation and to keep the memory of the compatriot alive; some of the prototypes of these 'authentic portraits' worked miracles and therefore served as substitutes for the body. Unlike L'Aquila, where the corpse was kept in a permanent and well-guarded place, the Sieneese organised processions with secondary relics of Bernardino that demonstrated civic *pietas*. Meanwhile, the Aquilani knew how to deploy their patron saint to economic effect and to glorify their city.

Rivalry, however, is but one facet of the difficult relationship between L'Aquila and Siena, for in the context of Bernardino's sanctification both cities concentrated their efforts synergistically and eventually shared the costs of the procedure, which was partly situated in one and partly in the other city. This successful collaboration formed the core around which the cult of Bernardino spread widely both in Italy and beyond.

171 Cf. Arasse, *Fervebat* (cit. n. 124), p. 204. Robert Mode supposes that the banner depicts a theatrical ascension that would have taken place in Perugia, like the one in Siena (Mode, Bernardino [cit. n. 156]). For the banner see also Andreas Dehmer, *Italienische Bruderschaftsbanner des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, (Italienische Forschungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz, I Mandorli 4), Munich et al. 2004, p. 328, no. 68.

The Political Stakes in the “War of the Saints” in Early Modern Sicily

Delphine Montoliu

By using the expression *guerra dei santi*, Leonardo Sciascia¹ refers to the emergence and to the large number of sacred demonstrations which were reminiscent of the special place which occupied the city, illustration of the Spanish greatness, in the complex political and religious situation of Early Modern Sicily. As a crossroad between Europe and Africa, Sicily became the repository of syncretism, and as a secular central place between the cultures of both western Mediterranean peninsulas, its joining of a national culture thus meant the claim of its regional identity: the choice of the “Sicily nation”, between Italy and Spain, was determined for these centuries when the scholar who was an aristocrat and/or a cleric questioned his role and his aspiration, exactly through his diverse works on the religious identity of his homeland.

A Complex Political and Religious Context

Under the Hapsburg regime (1559–1701), which came within the continuity of the previous Spanish domination², Sicily built a complex relationship with the viceroys, due to the specificity of its institutions.

¹ Leonardo Sciascia, *Feste religiose in Sicilia*, Bari 1965, p. 15–16, 21–24.

² Sicily had passed in 1442, with King Alphonse the Magnanimous, under Spanish domination of the Aragon. In the XVth century, it was governed by Ferdinand II of Aragon (1479–1516), and then by Charles the Fifth (1516–1556). Years 1556–1559 marked a period of political transition: Sicily which, up to there, was a part of the Hapsburg Empire of Charles the Fifth, went to the Spanish branch in 1556 on the occasion of the division of this one during the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Year 1701 announced its decline, with the beginning of the wars of succession which brought gradually to the Bourbon regime in 1734.

Contrary to the duchy of Milan and to the vice-kingdom of Naples³ which had been conquered by weapons and had had to adopt Spanish statutes, Sicily, although governed by viceroys who had a sovereign authority, had preserved its structures and their secular workings. Nevertheless, the viceroys managed to maintain a relative order on the island⁴, in particular by making sure, at the same time, of the loyalty of the cities and of the aristocrats who were involved in the governmental or religious authorities:

a parte il settore della difesa, era per loro sufficiente mantenere viva la natura apolitica dei siciliani, e dunque la loro conseguente lealtà (o quantomeno l'accettazione) del lontano monarca. Gli spagnoli raggiunsero questo scopo ... conservando i privilegi delle *élites* locali (ovviamente la nobiltà, ma anche le corporazioni e le ricche istituzioni ecclesiastiche)⁵.

So the obstacles of the viceroys were, on one hand, in the Sicilian Parliament⁶ and, on the other hand, in the conflicts of jurisdiction of the diverse present institutional organs in Sicily, not only royal or autonomous, but also political or religious⁷, of which there were members of the Spanish ruling class as well as the Sicilian one:

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- 3 Hapsburg dominated the Italian peninsula because they governed, besides Sicily, the duchy of Milan, the vice-kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the States of Presidi.
 - 4 Virgilio Titone, *Sicilia e Spagna*, Palermo 1998, p. 52: “... il problema è uno: uno per la Spagna e uno per i suoi vicerè. Per l’una e per gli altri si tratta di conservare lo *statu quo*, di mantenere indisturbato il potere. Non innovare dunque, non mutare l’ordine delle cose esistente. Se si parla di riforme attuate o da attuare, ci si riferisce quasi sempre a certi abusi da sradicare, a diritti della corona da far valere, a un ritorno, molto spesso, alle origini”.
 - 5 Helmut Koenigsberger, “Introduzione”, in: V. Titone, *Sicilia e Spagna*, Palermo 1998, p. 19–21.
 - 6 Cf. Vittorio Sciuti Russi, *Astrea in Sicilia: il ministero togato nella società siciliana dei secoli XVI e XVII*, Napoli 1983; Valentina Vigiano, *L’esercizio della politica: la città di Palermo nel Cinquecento*, Roma 2004.
 - 7 Two institutions governed the religious control on the island: the Tribunale della Regia Monarchia dating 1098 (bull of pope Urban II) and the Spanish Inquisition dating 1478 (bull of pope Sixtus IV). The advent of new religious orders after the Counter-Reformation, in particular the foundation of several colleges by the Jesuits from 1548 on the island, complicated all the more this much politicized Sicilian context.

la contaminazione fra teologia, morale e politica, tratto distintivo della società di antico regime, rendeva oltremodo difficile l'intelligenza dell'azione politica e giuridionale delle molteplici istituzioni dell'isola ... La storia politico-religiosa della 'quasi capitale' Palermo, diventa quindi punto strategico per la comprensione dei processi che hanno caratterizzato la costruzione politica e culturale della città⁸.

The complexity of the political and religious management of Sicily “si rivela[va] centrale, giacchè da lei dipend[eva]no la fondazione delle massime istituzioni del sapere, l'introduzione di nuovi Ordini religiosi nel periodo della Controriforma, la gestione della cosa pubblica per mezzo del Diritto, l'organizzazione intellettuale e morale della comunità cattolica, gestita dalla Santa Inquisizione, l'istituzione delle Deputazioni di Sanità e del Protomedicato, la costituzione dei reticoli sanitari per una adeguata difesa dal territorio”⁹.

The will to reaffirm the centrality of the Spanish power was favored very early, just like the way it spread across such a vast territory: the Sicilian feudal cities gradually became state-owned, and were managed by the aristocracy which played the game of strategic alliances¹⁰.

On the Tribunale della Regia Monarchia, see Salvatore Fodale, *Comes et legatus Siciliae: sul privilegio di Urbano II e la pretesa Apostolica Legazia dei normanni di Sicilia*, Palermo 1970; id., *L'apostolica legazia e altri studi su Stato e Chiesa*, Messina 1991. On the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily, see for example Francesco Renda, *L'Inquisizione in Sicilia. I fatti, le persone*, Palermo 1997; V. Sciuti Russi, “Inquisizione, politica e giustizia nella Sicilia di Filippo II”, in: *Rivista storica italiana* 111 (1999), 1, p. 37–64. On the Jesuits in Sicily, see for example A. Romano, “Il Messanenese Collegium Prototypum Societatis Iesu”, in: *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI–XVIII)*. Atti del Convegno di studi. Parma, 13–15 dicembre 2001, a cura di Gian Paolo Brizzi, Roberto Greci, Bologna 2003, p. 79–94.

- 8 Lina Scalisi, *Il controllo del sacro: poteri e istituzioni concorrenti nella Palermo del Cinque e Seicento*, Roma 2004, p. 9.
- 9 Corrado Dollo, “Problemi delle istituzioni di cultura nella Sicilia spagnola”, in: *Nuovi quaderni di geografia umana per la Sicilia e la Calabria* 1 (1988), p. 15–16.
- 10 On feudalism in early modern Sicily, see Orazio Cancila, *Baroni e popolo nella Sicilia del grano*, Palermo 1984; Francesco Benigno, “Vecchio e nuovo nella Sicilia del Seicento: il ruolo della colonizzazione feudale”, in: *Studi storici* I (1986), p. 94–107; Rossella Cancila, “Per la retta amministrazione della giustizia. La giustizia dei baroni nella Sicilia moderna”, in: *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 16 (agosto 2009), VI, p. 315–352.

Redefinition of Urban and Sacred Spaces

The Sicilian peculiarity lay in the fact that it was necessary to distinguish between the cities of the capital of the vice-kingdom: the fight for this title between Palermo and Messina livened up the Sicilian reign of the Hapsburgs, not only through the political and religious events, but also in the environment of the culture, in which Messina gradually asserted its structural ascendancy. The municipalism thus illustrated an island polycentrism – which drew little by little the cultural and identity policy of every city – set up by the Spaniards:

Il perché dei *monopoli* va ricercato nella politica generale del governo spagnolo che cercava di equilibrare i cespiti di ricchezza per non attirarsi malcontento e resistenze dalle principali città. Così ad ognuna veniva accordato un particolare privilegio: Palermo aveva la residenza del Vicerè, Siracusa la *camera reginale*, Messina la Zecca di Stato, e Catania l'Università¹¹.

The city of Messina, more than Catania or Syracuse, represented a very real counterpart to Palermo, politically, economically, socially and culturally¹². As seat of the order of Malta in Sicily¹³, Messina re-

11 C. Dollo, “Problemi delle istituzioni di cultura nella Sicilia spagnola”, in: Nuovi quaderni di geografia umana per la Sicilia e la Calabria 1 (1988), p. 18. On Catania, see Andrea Romano, ‘Legum doctores’ e cultura giuridica nella Sicilia aragonese. Tendenze, opere, ruoli, Milano 1984, p. 184. On Syracuse, see Francesca Fausta Gallo, “‘La gloriosa vita passata’. Storiografia e lotta politica a Siracusa tra XVI e XVII secolo”, in: Il libro e la piazza. Le storie locali dei Regni di Napoli e di Sicilia in età moderna. Atti del Convegno Nazionale di studio, Maratea, 6–7 giugno 2003, a cura di Antonio Lerra, Manduria-Bari-Roma 2004, p. 319–336.

12 Until the revolution of 1674–1678, Messina distinguished itself from other Sicilian cities in particular for the superiority of its merchant aristocracy in local institutions as the Senate, for the ascendancy of its commercial and entrepreneurial activities in the economy of the city (silk, silverware, etc.), for its legal system which met the requirements of the economic activities and of the maritime business (Consulate of the silk, maritime Consulate, etc.), for the existence of its monetary and financial structures (*zecca*, private banks, etc.), and for its active cultural context (Jesuit college, university, academies, edition, etc.).

13 The siege of the order of Malta in Messina was the first one to be established outside Jerusalem (papal bull of 1113). Cf. Andrea Minutolo, *Memorie del Gran Priorato di Messina*, Messina 1699.

mained until the revolt of 1674–1678 a rival of the military and aristocratic administrative center of Palermo, in Sicily as in the political context of the Hapsburg kingdom. This opposition between these two cities which linked Sicily to the Iberian and Italian peninsulas went back in reality to the Middle Ages, and was developed in the course of the centuries in a municipal patriotism. Through the aristocracy of each of two cities there was a confrontation between two conceptions of the sovereignty¹⁴. The desire to assert a religious and sacred ascendancy was always present and was illustrated in a contemporary way by the excitement caused by the discovery of the remains of Saint Placid and his companions in Messina in 1588, and by the transfer of Saint Nymph's relics from Rome in Palermo in 1593.

On August 4th, 1588, the Prior of the knights of Malta, while restoring the church of Saint-Jean-Baptist in Messina, found a sepulchre with four bodies five meters deep, near the altar dedicated to Saint Placid: more thorough excavations uncovered other burned and beheaded bodies. As a not unpleasant smell came from it and as it was very close to a spring of sacred water, the experts deducted that it contained the remains of Saint Placid and his companions massacred by the Saracens in 541, and this was validated by pope Sixtus V. This event caused a big religious but also political fervor¹⁵, due to an “impegno ... riconducibile all'interno di un contesto fortemente incentivato dalle più alte istituzioni del Regno a promuovere cerimoniali religiosi e politici di acquisizione e sistemazione dei sacri corpi, indispensabili a definire l'appartenenza, l'identità e la continuità delle antiche comunità dei fedeli e del popolo siciliano”¹⁶. It was the same for

14 Palermo and Messina each had their Senate, their Court of justice, and their “entrances”. On the politics of Palermo and Messina in the Early Modern period, see C. E. Tavilla, “Per la storia delle istituzioni municipali a Messina tra Medioevo ed età moderna”, Messina 1983; Valentina Vigiano, “L'esercizio della politica. La città di Palermo nel Cinquecento”, Roma 2004.

15 Cf. F. Cavatore, *Trionfo, e pompa solenni che fece la nob. città di Messina per la inventione de' ss. martiri Placido, et compagni*, Messina 1590; Filippo Goto, *Breve raguglio dell'inventione, e feste de' gloriosi martiri Placido, e compagni*, Messina 1591.

16 Sara Cabibbo, *Il paradiso del magnifico regno: agiografi, santi e culti nella Sicilia spagnola*, Roma 1996, p. 52.

the repatriation of Saint Nymph’s relics in Palermo in 1593, at the request of the Spaniards and more particularly of vice-queen Maria Pigmentel de Fonseca, the bishop of Patti Gilberto Issar di Castiglia, and the archbishop of Palermo Diego of Haedo.

If the mandate of viceroy Enrico Guzman Count of Olivares (1592–1595) was not very favorable to the public celebrations in Palermo, the decree of 1591, which recognized Messina as the second capital of the island, changed the priorities of the authorities of Palermo, who then brought back the celebrations to maintain the city’s prestige.

The festivities organized for the arrival of the new viceroy had two objectives: to demonstrate, especially to Messina which had celebrated Saint Placid and his martyred companions the previous year, the greatness acquired by Palermo; and to raise an image of abundance and of artistic and scientific magnificence. For the celebration of Saint Nymph, the civil and religious powers were celebrated at the same time, in order to inspire a certain devoutness, necessary for the people after the numerous epidemics and famines:

Nel corso di questo processo la festa tende a svuotarsi dei più profondi valori rituali e sociali per cedere il posto al gusto delle immagini e alla tecnica della persuasione¹⁷.

The authorities made this religious celebration an ode to Palermo, by the repetitive and exaggerated use of the *immaginifico*¹⁸, in streets and public places, as well as in enclosed places, for example in the cathedral which welcomed the relics.

The answer from Messina was that of the President of the kingdom Giovanni III Ventimiglia (1595–1598), prince of Castelbuono, who based the Academy of the knights of *Stella* there in 1595 to compete with the first Sicilian academy funded by the viceroys, the *Cavalieri* of Palermo (1566–1636)¹⁹.

17 Giovanni Isgro, *Teatro del Cinquecento a Palermo*, Palermo, 1983, p. 134.

18 Giovanni Isgro, *Teatro del Cinquecento a Palermo*, Palermo, 1983, p. 135.

19 On Early Modern Sicilian academies, see Delphine Montoliu, *Les académies siciliennes sous le règne des Habsbourg (1559–1701)*, 3 vol. and 1 cd-rom (Thèse de doctorat, Université Toulouse II-Le Mirail/Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 2012);

In this indirect fight for the aristocratic, and thus political and religious prestige, Messina had gradually become a powerful obstacle to the desire of political and economic hegemony of the capital, Palermo. In the 1620s, the conflict between both cities was so much that Messina offered two million crowns to the Hapsburgs in exchange for a new division of the vice-kingdom, establishing a new province in which it would be the capital, including the valley of Demone and a part of Calabria²⁰: this did not happen but, in compensation, its privileges of 1591 were always respected in Madrid to the great displeasure of the viceroys. If Hapsburg voluntarily maintained voluntarily this opposition between Palermo and Messina to prevent a Sicilian large-scale coalition against the Spaniards, the viceroys did not appreciate the relative independence of Messina and they often applied to reduce its autonomy: the degradation of relationships between Messina and the viceroys and Madrid was made little by little in the course of the decades of the XVIIth century and resulted in the revolution of Messina between 1674–1678, a singular historic episode of Early Modern Sicily, among which the origins, the characteristics and the consequences were determined by the political, structural and cultural life of the island²¹.

D. Montoliu, "Accademie siciliane 1400–1701". IT Bio-bibliographical Database. Published online in 2014 on the site of the reviewline@editoriale: (<http://blogs.univ-tlse2.fr/lineaeditoriale/banche-di-dati/>).

- 20 Cf. Francesco Benigno, "La questione della capitale: lotta politica e rappresentanza degli interessi nella Sicilia del Seicento", in: *Società e storia* 47 (gennaio–marzo 1990), XIII, p. 27–63; M. Aymard, "Palermo e Messina", in: M. Ganci e R. Romano, *Governare il mondo. L'impero spagnolo dal XV al XIX secolo*, Palermo 1991, p. 143–164.
- 21 On the revolution of Messina of 1674–78, see for example Émile Laloy, *La révolte de Messine. L'expédition de Sicile et la politique française en Italie (1674–1678)*, avec des chapitres sur les origines de la révolte (1648–1674) et sur le sort des exilés (1678–1702), Paris 1929–1931, 3 vol.; *La rivolta di Messina (1674–78) e il mondo mediterraneo nella seconda metà del Seicento*. Convegno storico Internazionale del 10–12 ottobre 1975 a Messina, a cura di Saverio Di Bella, Cosenza 1979; Luis Antonio Ribot García, *La revuelta antiespañola de Mesina. Causas y antecedentes (1591–1674)*, Valladolid 1982; Luis Antonio Ribot García, *La Monarquía de España y la guerra de Mesina (1674–1678)*, Madrid 2002; F. Benigno, "Lotta politica e sbocco rivoluzionario: riflessioni sul caso di Messina (1674–78)", in: *Storica* 13 (1999), V, p. 7–56; Saverio Di Bella, *Caino Barocco: Messina e la Spagna, 1672–1678: con documenti inediti e*

This infighting, this exaggeration of the Sicilian municipalism found in particular its justification in a requirement of a sacred and national identity, which resulted in a territorial implanting of every saint and in an exhibition of the proofs of this implantation:

I santi celebrati dall’agiografia siciliana di età moderna, le loro reliquie, le loro vite riemerse, con maggiore o minore rigore storico-filologico, dalle antiche fonti greche e latine, ridefiniscono i territori della Sicilia governata dalla *pax hispanica* e dai progetti evangelizzatori della Controriforma²².

The obvious aristocratic excitement at the beginning of the Hapsburg regime, was then channeled in various political, religious or cultural institutions in Palermo in the XVIth century. This courtier context evolved in the next century because Messina asserted itself as second capital of the kingdom, in similar domains to those of Palermo; Catania, with the advent of the typography and the theater, participated in this conflict for the urban superiority. So, if the Sicilian erudite networks were defined according to a geographical reality at first sight, the political implications which represented the fight between both capitals divided the scholars into two clans, in whom Catania remained relatively neutral. The Spanish distrust of Messina was shared by the aristocrats of Palermo who felt disadvantaged by the autonomy which their rivals enjoyed; that is why the social, political and religious dispute became so cultural.

rari, Cosenza 2005; Salvatore Bottari, *Post res perditas: Messina 1678–1713*, Messina 2005; Antonella De Capua, *I rami della rivoluzione: aspetti della rivolta antispagnola nella Messina del Seicento, 1674–1678*, Benevento 2009.

22 Sara Cabibbo, *Il paradiso del magnifico regno: agiografi, santi e culti nella Sicilia spagnola*, Roma 1996, p. 8.

The Cult of the Saints²³: between *municipalistica* and Hagiographical Prose

Palermo, Catania and Messina represented the reference centers of the Sicilian culture, but divided the ascendancy: the spreading of the new scientific ideas on the island²⁴ had accentuated the desire of every urban area to defend its own organs of knowledge. The political ideal of autonomy of the city of Messina developed in particular through its academy of Fucina (1642–1678)²⁵, which could be compared with an *agora*.

It is in this context of political municipalism that numerous controversial historic works were written:

Il XVII secolo rapidamente si infittisce di storie generali e di storie celebrative dell'origine e dell'antichità delle varie città dell'isola, che certamente possono essere lette, all'interno di quel nuovo interesse anti-quario cui si è più sopra accennato, come la rappresentazione culturale della delicata e complessa dinamica fra istituzioni, forze sociali e gruppi di interesse che si contendevano il potere nell'isola²⁶.

After the 16th century 'Decades' of Tommaso Fazello²⁷, the only history of Sicily written in the XVIIth century was the one by Giuseppe Buonfiglio Costanzo, who published two volumes between 1604 and 1613²⁸.

23 Peter Brown, *Il culto dei santi: l'origine e la diffusione di una nuova religiosità*, Torino 1983; Paolo Desideri, Marcella Forlin Patrucco, Sofia Boesch Gajano, Adriano Prosperi, "Il culto dei santi", in: *Quaderni storici* 57 (dicembre 1984), XIX, p. 941–969.

24 Cf. C. Dollo, *Modelli scientifici e filosofici nella Sicilia spagnola*, Napoli 1984.

25 From the officialization of the academy in 1642, the academician *Fucinante* Carlo Musarra, nevertheless senator, launched in his poem a patriotic call: "Choro. Venite, o Muse, a dispiegare i pregi / Dell'invitta Messina, / Ne la fertil Trinacria alta Reina, / Raddoppiate i suoi vanti, alzate i carmi / Hor che sono le lettere unite a l'armi" (Carlo Musarra, "Dialogo del D. D. Carlo Musarra detto l'Estinto Recitato in musica nell'aprirsi dell'Accademia della Fucina nella città di Messina", in: *Le Muse Festeggianti nell'aprirsi l'Accademia della Fucina nella città di Messina*, Bologna 1642, p. 22).

26 Sara Cabibbo, *Il paradiso del magnifico regno: agiografi, santi e culti nella Sicilia spagnola*, Roma 1996, p. 54.

27 Thomae Fazelli, *De rebus Siculis decades duae*, Panormi 1558.

28 Giuseppe Buonfiglio, *Dell'istoria siciliana*, Venetia 1604–1613.

After him, the works illustrated the Sicilian social and religious context under the Hapsburg domination: with genealogies, hagiographic prose, and municipal stories, the Sicilian typography of the XVIIth century was characterized by numerous false editions as well as by a number of counterfeiters who participated in debates *municipalistic*²⁹. These works had a double interlocutor, the central power and inhabitants of the concerned cities, as well as a double purpose, that to denigrate the opponent and to excite its own *municipium*, a propaganda to build and to strengthen a feeling of identity.

From the beginning of the XVIIth century, one hundred polemical works were indeed published in Messina under false editorial indications (author, place of edition, publisher or printer, year of publication)³⁰. The revolts of 1647–1649 in Palermo constituted an opportunity that scholars of Messina, which had until then remained faithful to the vice-royal power, seized “per mettere in atto un’articolata offensiva politico-propagandistica contro la città rivale al fine di volgere a proprio vantaggio gli orientamenti della monarchia spagnola”³¹. It was the political opportunity and/or the avoidance of the preventive censorship of the civil and religious authorities which increased the forgery: Placido Reina indeed published in 1658 his ‘Notizie Istoriche della città di Messina’³² apparently without false indications, which received the praises of the scholars Leone Allacci and Giovan

29 Cf. N. Rodolico, “Il municipalismo nella storiografia siciliana”, in: Nuova Rivista Storica gennaio–aprile 1923, 7, fasc. I–II, p. 57–72; F. Benigno, “Considerazioni sulla storiografia municipale siciliana di età spagnola”, in: Il libro e la piazza. Le storie locali dei Regni di Napoli e di Sicilia in età moderna. Atti del Convegno Nazionale di studio, Maratea, 6–7 giugno 2003, a cura di Antonio Lerra, Manduria-Bari-Roma 2004, p. 51–68.

30 Giuseppe Lipari, Il falso editoriale a Messina nel Seicento, Messina 2001, p. 6: “Nella plurisecolare contesa per la ‘preminenza’ in Sicilia fra le città di Messina e Palermo motivazioni e impulsi tutt’altro che secondari sono stati trasmessi dall’elaborazione ideologica e dalla vivacità culturale che hanno sempre preparato, accompagnato e fatto da sfondo ai momenti più aspri dello scontro politico e sociale”. Giuseppe Lipari distinguishes three editorial moments: 1620s, revolt of 1647–1649 and the decade before the revolution of 1674–1678.

31 G. Lipari, Il falso editoriale a Messina nel Seicento, Messina 2001, p. 11.

32 Placido Reina, Delle notizie storiche della città di Messina, Messina 1658.

Francesco Loredan³³, as well as the protagonist of these debates, Vincenzo Auria³⁴.

Parallel to these historical and historiographical debates, the Sicilian publishers promoted hagiographic works on the new patron saints of the island which aroused a public frenzy, encouraged by the municipalities which saw in these “nuovi patronati, una sanzione anche religiosa delle nuove realtà politico-sociali”³⁵.

Francesco Maurolico however had already denounced in 1562 the weakness and the gaps of the Sicilian hagiography in his ‘Ad Reverendissimos Tridentinae Synodi Legatos epistola’³⁶. In this letter which addressed the conciliar fathers, he requested as a matter of fact a catholic *restauratio* of a Sicilian mentality defined as *pansicula*, giving criteria of philological and historic contextualization in sources. It is moreover this criterion which determines the difference between the hagiographic works of the XVIth and of XVIIth centuries:

I tentativi ‘globali’ compiuti nel Cinquecento sotto la spinta della Riforma hanno ceduto il campo nel Seicento ad una folla di lavori settoriali che riflettono lo sforzo delle nazioni, province, gruppi di riconoscersi per affermarsi³⁷.

Three elements confirmed that the claiming of a place crowned by illustrious religious origins indeed served present interests: the authors of works with *municipalistico* character who also composed hagiographies, the recurring presence of saints’ lives in the local stories; the

33 Cf. Giacomo Nigido-Dionisi, *L’Accademia della Fucina di Messina ne’ suoi rapporti con la storia della cultura in Sicilia (1639–1678)*, Catania 1903, p. 87–88.

34 Vincenzo Auria, *Osservazioni sopra la prima e seconda parte dell’Istoria di Messina di Placido Reina*. This manuscript is kept within the Biblioteca comunale of Palermo (Qq D 42 n. 2).

35 Angelo Sindoni, “Il culto di S. Placido in Sicilia in età moderna. Linee interpretative”, in: *Annali di storia moderna e contemporanea* 9 (2003), p. 632.

36 Francesco Maurolico, “Ad Reverendissimos Tridentinae Synodi Legatos epistola”, in: *Sicanicarum rerum compendium Maurolyco abbate siculo auctore*, Messina 1562, fol. 118r–121r.

37 Serena Spanò Martinelli, *Le raccolte di vite di santi fra 16 e 17 secolo*, Firenze 1992, p. 462.

fact that the genealogists wrote the life of illustrious families as well as that of the saints of the island, often justifying the first ones thanks to second ones³⁸.

These works gave another dimension to the identical debates which already livened up Palermo and Messina: Placido Samperi’s ‘Iconologia’ was the example of the interpenetration of the hagiography and the *municipalistic* praise³⁹:

pienamente partecipe della temperie municipalistica peloritana, intese offrire una testimonianza impegnata a superare il momento politico del fatto religioso, per esaltare invece le valenze devozionali e spirituali del culto mariano⁴⁰.

With another purpose than that of writing the biography of a saint, the hagiography sacrifices, as we have said, in the sources of its work: the scholars of the XVIIth century evaded the problem, basing their narratives on the local historical heritage kept in the archives of the city and in the antiquarian bookshops:

38 Cf. Filadelfo Mugnos, *Leggendario delle Vite de’ Santi del Regno di Sicilia*, manuscript “in cui le vite dei trentadue santi celebrati ... si susseguivano a riannodare i fili di antiche nobiltà e di nuove aristocrazie, a declinare le variabili di un *nomos* sovranazionale, che nell’impero romano come nel viceregno spagnolo si era volto a definire i confini della nazione Sicilia” (Sara Cabibbo, *Il paradiso del magnifico regno: agiografi, santi e culti nella Sicilia spagnola*, Roma 1996, p. 58). Cf. Filadelfo Mugnos, *Teatro genealogico delle famiglie titolate feudatarie ed antiche nobili del fedelissimo Regno di Sicilia viventi ed estinte*, Palermo 1640–1670.

39 Placido Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina*, Messina 1644.

40 Enrico Pispisa, “L’Iconologia specchio di Messina barocca”, in: P. Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa Vergine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina*, Messina 1991, p. LXXXI: “pienamente partecipe della temperie municipalistica peloritana, intese offrire una testimonianza impegnata a superare il momento politico del fatto religioso, per esaltare invece le valenze devozionali e spirituali del culto mariano”.

alcuni personaggi che della crescente domanda di cultura facevano un'occasione per poco ortodosse operazioni di *marketing* o per vere e proprie falsificazioni, approfittando del desiderio dei nuovi e vecchi nobili per costruire fantasiose genealogie millenarie o della gara di prestigio che contrapponeva città e chiese per inventare storie di santi e di città e riprodurre documenti del tutto inattendibili⁴¹.

This erudite and political instrumentalization did not escape either the religious and vice royal authorities, which saw in these internal ideological confrontations on the island, a favorable opportunity for the maintenance of the Hapsburgs:

La vicenda di santa Rosalia – inserita peraltro nel più generale processo di controllo e organizzazione della religiosità popolare precisato negli stessi anni dalla Sede apostolica con i decreti del 1625, 1631 e 1634 – confermava così come in una società divisa tra liturgia e pietà, tra ortodossia e pratica, la costruzione di un culto potesse divenire ad un tempo elemento di riequilibrio e modello sul quale comporre una vita cristiana non ancora nel senso più confessionale del termine⁴².

Even if there was no debate on the patron saint of Palermo, Saint Rosalia⁴³, there were several on *Sagra Lettera* of Messina and on Saint Agata, patron saint of Catania. However, the assertion of these three major saints engaged paradoxically the municipal authorities of the second half of the XVIIth century in a Sicilian alliance against the Spaniards.

41 Domenico Ligresti, *Sicilia aperta: mobilità di uomini e idee nella Sicilia spagnola (secoli XV–XVII)*, Palermo 2006, p. VI. La cultura letteraria e filosofica, p. 242.

42 L. Scalisi, *Il controllo del sacro: poteri e istituzioni concorrenti nella Palermo del Cinque e Seicento*, Roma 2004, p. 23–24.

43 See for example these letters between Vincenzo Auria and Pietro Antonio Tornamira from Palermo: *Censura e risposta del P. D. Pietro Antonio Tornamira circa il monacato, ed altre memorie per la nostra S. Rosalia, di Vincenzo Auria palermitano* (Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, Qq C 5); *Esame della conclusione della Idea congregtuale della vita di S. Rosalia del P. D. Pietro Antonio Tornamira dall'Auria* (Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, Qq C 5 n. 7).

***La Lega sacra*: Towards a “Regional Unity”?**

Sagra Lettera is a letter of blessing and protection of the Virgin Mary written to the inhabitants of Messina, brought by the apostle Paul, in answer to an embassy (Marcello Bonifacite, Ottavio Brizio, Girolamo Driggiano and the centurion Mulè) sent in Jerusalem in 42 before J. C.

In spite of the authentication of the letter⁴⁴ in 1629 by the Hungarian Jesuit Melchior Inchofer (1585–1649)⁴⁵, an expert in forgery, the book was put on the Index because the archbishop of Palermo, Cardinal Giannettino Doria, was worried about the success of the *Madonna della Lettera* at the expenses of Saint Rosalia. Inchofer revised his copy and gave a more moderate version, approved by the congregation of the Index, and published in Viterbo in 1630, when the authenticity of the letter passed from indisputable to likely: the scholars of the city of Messina agreed then to demonstrate the credibility⁴⁶.

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- 44 It is in reality about the authentication of the translation of a Greek letter in Latin, made in the XVth century by Constantin Lascaris. Made prisoner by the Turks during the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Constantin Lascaris (Constantinople 1434 – Messina 1501) managed to escape and took refuge in Italy. Cf. Abel-François Villemain, *Lascaris ou les Grecs du XV^e siècle; suivi d'un essai historique sur l'état des Grecs depuis la conquête musulmane jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1826; Antonino De Rosalia, *La vita di Costantino Lascaris*, Palermo 1959; Teresa Martínez Manzano, *Constantino Láscaris: semblanza de un humanista bizantino*, Madrid 1998.
- 45 Melchior Inchofer, *Epistolae Beatae Virginis Mariae ad Messanenses veritas vindicata ac plurimis gravissimorum scriptorum testimoniis et rationibus erudite illustrata*, Messina 1629. On this Jesuit, see Thomas Cerbu, “Melchior Inchofer, ‘Un homme fin et rusé’”, in: *Largo campo di filosofare. Eurosymposium Galileo 2001, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 2001*, p. 587–611.
- 46 Cf. Benedetto Salvago, *Apologia proprietate Messanensium ex traditione repromissae protectionis in Epistola Beatae Mariae Virginis*, Messina 1634; Placido Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina*, Messina 1644; *Discorso Academico sopra la lettera scritta da Maria Vergine ai Messinesi. Composto e recitato nell'Accademia della Fucina dal dott. Girolamo Basilicò, Academico dell'istessa, detto lo Stabile*, Messina 1650. The collective work of the ‘Prose of Fucina’ of 1669 contains several speeches on *Sagra Lettera*; Scipione Errico also wrote an entitled poem ‘La lettera della Madonna’ (in: id., *Rime*, Messina 1619); Bartolomeo Pisa published in 1668 ‘La lettera provata’, the summary of all which was said on the aforementioned letter; the same year Placido Reina published the second part of his ‘Notizie’ in which he speaks about the letter. Cf. G. Nigido-Dionisi, *L'Accademia della Fucina di Messina ne' suoi rapporti con la storia della cultura in*

Moreover, from these exercises to increase the fervor for the *Madonna della Lettera*, resulted, indirectly, in the legend of Saint Rosalia in Palermo: indeed, during the plague of 1624–25, it was the saint of Messina which saved the inhabitants of the Strait⁴⁷ and, at the same time there was the discovery of Saint Rosalia's relics which did the same miracle on the other side of the island⁴⁸: it was in reality about the illustration of a “rinascita urbana di un sentimento religioso fino ad allora latente in città e vivo”⁴⁹.

Saint Agata's figure inspired, much more than the historic papers⁵⁰, the religious and cultural debates of the island between Palermo and

Sicilia (1639–1678), Catania 1903, p. 59, 138–140; M. L. Tobar, “Prospetto delle controverse spagnole sulla lettera della Madonna ai messinesi”, in: *Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti* 69 (1993), p. 433–486.

47 Placido Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa vergine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina*, Messina 1644, lib. I, cap. IX. *Dell'antica miracolosa immagine della Madonna della Lettera a' Messinesi*, p. 55–57: “se bene fosse entrata, con l'inganno delle sentinelle, dentro le mura di Messina, gente del contado, in quei precinpij attualmente infetta, non solamente non si comunicò agli altri la peste, ma quelle persone così ma affette, e a' spiranti cadaveri, più tosto che a' vivi somiglianti, allo spirar di quest'aria messinese, ove padroneggia la Vergine, svanito il morbo si riavevano e alla primiera sanità, non senza maraviglia di chi lo sapeva, ritornavano”.

48 Sainte Rosalie was born in the XIth century in Palermo, and was the Sinisbaldo Lord of the Quisquina and Rose's daughter, from the royal family of the counts of Marsi. Having avoided the family house, she withdrew and became a penitent martyr in a cave of the mounts of Quisquina. Escorted by the angels, she passed to of that Mount Pellegrino. She died on September 4th, 1159. Her body embedded in the stone, was found on July 15th, 1624 and this is when Palermo was saved from the plague: in spite of the perplexities of the doctors of Palermo, the archbishop of the city Giannettino Doria, several times President of the Kingdom of Sicily, authenticated the skin and declared her saint of the city.

49 Valerio Petrarca, *Genesis di una tradizione urbana: il culto di Santa Rosalia a Palermo in età spagnola*, Palermo 1988, p. 12. With the assertion of saint Rosalia as rescuer of Palermo during the plague, the worship for the patron saint until then, Cristina di Bolzena, was abandoned because she was considered less prestigious for the city, without link of protection with the people of Palermo as Rosalia had had to during the plague.

50 Cf. Vincenzo Casagrandi, “I primi due storiografi di Catania (Ottavio D'Arcangelo e Pietro Carrera)”, in: *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 5 (1908), I, p. 303–314; Paolo Preto, “Una lunga storia di falsi e falsari”, in: *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, Aprile 2006, III, p. 11–38.

Catania, in the same way as those concerning the political superiority between Palermo and Messina. In 1601, in Rome, on the occasion of the reform of *Breviario Romano* requested by pope Clement VIII, the question of Saint Agata’s original homeland was approached in the presence of cardinals Silvio, Antoniani and Bellarmino⁵¹: their answer was that the saint protected Palermo as well as Catania, but Palermo continued to deny that she could be native to Catania⁵². Besides the historic proofs, it was the false voluntary publications which maintained the doubt: Pietro Carrera was the major figure of the historic forgery of Catania, but also the one from Syracuse⁵³. In 1636, he published three entitled books ‘Del Mongibello’, where the natural sciences get involved in the literary, religious and popular myths to evoke Etna and saint Agata.

In any event, we find from 1614 in the acts of the Senate of Catania celebrations in honour of the saint⁵⁴, while Catania had received from

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- 51 Cf. Carmelo Crimi, “L’encomio ‘lacerato’. A proposito di una apocrifo secentesco su S. Agata”, in: *Synaxis* 3 (1985), p. 387–412, 389–390.
- 52 Cf. Giovan Battista Guarneri, *Le zolle storiche catanee: Dell’origine di Catania patria di S. Agata. Del suo martirio. Della sua traslazione, Di trionfo della sua festa. Delle liberazioni della sua patria, Catania 1651; Vincenzo Auria, Opposizione alle ‘Zolle storiche catanee’ di Gio. Battista Guarneri (manuscript kept within the Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, Qq D 208 n. 8). Tommaso Fardella, native of Trapani, published under Andrea Lamostolfo’s pen name his ‘Catania vindicata’ (Macerata 1656), in answer to the demonstration of Fulgenzio Arminio Monforte, as made it Giovan Battista Guarneri with *La penna ultrice. Invettiva agli argomenti pubblicati del P. M. Fulgentio Arminio, che S. Agata V. e M. non sia nata nella clarissima Città di Catania, Catania 1656*. Cf. *Lettere dirette a Vincenzo Auria riguardanti S. Agata vergine e martire, di Domenico Caramella, Alfonso Salvo, Paolo Spucces, Giuseppe Marascia, Silvestro Ajossa, Giovan Battista Avila (Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, Qq H 46 n. 6)*.*
- 53 Pietro Carrera, *Delle memorie storiche della città di Catania, Catania 1639*. On the accuracy and the objectivity of the works of Pietro Carrera, see Vincenzo Casagrandi, “I primi due storiografi di Catania (Ottavio D’Arcangelo e Pietro Carrera)”, in: *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* 5 (1908), I, p. 303–314; P. Preto, “Una lunga storia di falsi e falsari”, in: *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, Aprile 2006, III, p. 13–17.
- 54 *Atti del Senato di Catania, vol. 149 (1614), “Mandata”, fol. 125; Atti del Senato, vol. 152 (1616–1617), “Mandata”, fol. 81r: “A notar Vincenzo Sfuente capo della Accademia degli Clari per agiuto di pagare il magazzino grande al Guardiano di S. Francesco e per la scena per recitarse tre opere nella festa di S. Agatha per decoro della detta Festa onze 4”; Atti del Senato, vol. 155 (1620), fol. 65b–66. The administrative information was*

Messina a document in old Greek proving the origin of Saint Agata, in a manuscript revealed on April 23rd, 1613. If this polemical document was registered only in 1651 by *Giurati* of the city, it illustrates however to what extent all the Sicilian cities were bound in the sacred assertion of their homeland.

The second half of the 17th century presented another face of sacred Early Modern Sicily. Indeed, with the low harvest of 1671 Palermo proved its generosity to Messina, by opening its doors to the poor people of the island, by creating hospitals there for the severe diseases that spread following the famine, and by giving loads of wheat to the city of Messina. The following summer, as everything was back to normal, the authorities of Messina decided to thank the city of Palermo, by celebrating the *Vergine del Pellegrino*, and by offering to every *Pretore* of Palermo a golden necklace with a medallion on which was engraved on one side with an image of the *Madonna della Lettera* and on the other side the name of the recipient. The Senate of Palermo thanked the city of Messina⁵⁵ which sent in return one of its ambassadors, Giuseppe Reytano, to present it with the aforementioned medals:

Per legar l'animi ad una santa reciprocanza di voleri l'atto indissolubile è quello che origina dal Cielo, e questo si intreccia col filo della devotione et principalmente verso la Gran Madre di Dio Maria, Sovrana Imperatrice del Regno dell'eterna pace e nostra perpetua protettrice ... Non stimano le VV. SS. Ill.me nella picciolezza del dono mancanza di volontà, ma si persuadono che tanti maggiori conserveremo gli obblighi, quanto meno possiamo per le nostre debolezze disgravarne⁵⁶.

registered in the acts of the Senate kept in the Archivio Storico Comunale: unfortunately, the fire of December 14th, 1944 destroyed a big part of these archives, including the acts of the Senate.

55 Cf. "Lettera di ringraziamento del Senato di Palermo del 22 luglio 1672", in: Consulte del Senato di Palermo, anno 1672, fol. 102-103. This document is kept within the Archivio Comunale of Palermo.

56 Giuseppe Arenaprimo, *Le feste di Santa Rosalia in Messina nel 1672 e 1673*, Palermo 1897.

The Senate of Palermo answered:

Due reciproche venerazioni sono queste che, legando gli animi nostri con fortissimi vincoli di scambievole pietà, saranno dal Cielo esaudite, mentre da esso derivano per lo accrescimento delle felicità comuni di ambedue le Città⁵⁷.

In the 1670s, the Sicilian identical rivalries thus eased due to the tensions between Messina and the Spaniards: the capital of the Strait asked for the support of Catania, Syracuse and even Palermo which, paradoxically, answered favorably. To prove its good faith, Palermo sent in return to Messina its ambassador Geronimo Termine who presented the city with a relic of Saint Rosalia, on the breast of a statue of silver in its effigy, placed on a very rich silver base with the symbol of the eagle of Palermo holding in its beak a lily branch on the top. This agreement was confirmed with common religious celebrations on April 9th of the following year in Messina; on April 14th, the Senate of Messina solemnly proclaimed that Saint Rosalia was one of the patron saints of Messina. This is why on June 3rd, 1673, on the occasion of the celebration of the *Madonna della Lettera*, the idea of the *Lega sacra* was launched with Catania and Palermo, illustrated in particular by allegorical floats:

La Concordia, stando ai suoi piedi un leone devorativo d'una pecora, e nelle mani tiene incatenato un serpente denotante la Discordia, tenendo anche in mano tre corone d'olivo, una delle quali pone sul capo di Palermo prostrato a' suoi piedi; e Catania e Messina sono in piedi, e sopra vi è un motto: *Fiat pax in virtute tua* ... La Giustizia pacera delle città di Palermo, Messina e Catania, tenendo nelle mani la Discordia incatenata, quale dice: *Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima* ... Palermo, Messina e Catania, con tre verghe nelle mani intrezate in una, con motto: *Fortiores*⁵⁸.

57 Giuseppe Arenaprimo, *Le feste di Santa Rosalia in Messina nel 1672 e 1673*, Palermo 1897.

58 V. Auria, “Memorie varie di Sicilia nel tempo della ribellione di Messina dall'anno 1674 a' 30 dicembre 1675”, in: G. Di Marzo, *Diari della città di Palermo dal secolo XVI al XIX pubblicati sui manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale*, Palermo 1870, vol. 5, p. 225–226. Cf. S. Di Bella, “Festa e crudeltà nella Sicilia barocca. Messina in rivolta e

Since 1673 the celebration of the *Madonna della Lettera* has become the opportunity for traditional allegorical inventions. However, it quickly provoked excesses as, for example, characters dressed as French people or in effigies of the French royal coronation, which caused the first revolt in Messina⁵⁹, until a peace treaty was signed in Nijmegen during the summer, 1678.

This religious solidarity of the *Lega sacra* aroused by the devoted population had, however, the capacity to raise the identity debate of the Sicilian cities, that would have been improbable at the beginning of the Hapsburg regime:

Il partito malvizzo messinese trova, oggi, nel 'sacro' e nella festa popolare uno strumento duttile e atto ad inalberare il vessillo del nazionalismo isolano, così come lo era, ieri, a costruire una identità separata, e persino opposta alle città, ora, 'consorelle'⁶⁰.

Conclusion

The Sicilian polycentrism built itself up on the rivalries of three big cities of the island which are Palermo, Messina and Catania: this opposition maintained by the Spanish authorities inspired an editorial municipalism, in the often hybrid contents where the hagiography was an important part and had in its turn a *municipalistica* value, with exchanges based on falsified works, either in shape or content. But these identical debates participated in a not only Sicilian but also Southern reality:

la Madonna della Lettera (1672–1678)”, in: Pagnocco. Rassegna quadrimestrale di cultura e informazione 1 (settembre–dicembre 2003), p. 8–23.

59 The revolution of Messina (1674–1678) was the theater of internal disorders in the city, which participated in the war setting France against Spain and against the Netherlands: “Per quattro anni, dal 1674 al 1678, la città è al centro di una complessa vicenda nella quale la dimensione locale s'intreccia con i più generali scenari internazionali delineati dal conflitto in atto tra Francia e Spagna nell'ambito della guerra d'Olanda” (Michela D'Angelo, “Prefazione”, in: S. Bottari, *Post res perditas: Messina 1678–1713*, Messina 2005, p. 9).

60 S. Bottari, *Post res perditas: Messina 1678–1713*, Messina 2005, p. 69.

The Political Stakes in the “War of the Saints” in Early Modern Sicily

la ricostruzione che si opera della memoria municipale nel Regno di Napoli è organizzata su elementi facilmente riconducibili ad un unico modello: la fondazione eroica e leggendaria della città, la vita del santo protettore, il rinvenimento miracoloso del suo corpo, la costellazione di chiese e di edifici sacri, la cronotassi episcopale⁶¹.

This Southern reality had a new form in Sicily with the repression of the Hapsburg yoke in Messina. When the viceroys launched the process of submitting urban policies in Messina, the Sicilian aristocracy, whatever it was, abandoned its structural disputes as ideological to build a municipal, and also island identity, in order to resist the Spanish oppression. This Sicilian unity so dreaded by Hapsburg remained unbroken: the earthquake of 1693 which destroyed the oriental part of the south of the island stopped any desire to politically divide the territory.

The vice-kingdom of Sicily took shape here through, and at the same time, a cultural, political and religious route which led the island to build its own autonomous sacred identity in its relationship with Spain in the Early Modern period.

61 A. Spagnoletti, “Ceti dirigenti e costruzione dell’identità urbana nelle città pugliesi tra XVI e XVII secolo”, in: *Le città del Mezzogiorno nell’età moderna. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Maiori nel 1999*, a cura di Aurelio Musi, Napoli 2000, p. 37.

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ISBN 978-3-944057-29-3



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