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### Pope Calixtus and the Madonna Della Clemenza

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Dale Kinney

### Pope Calixtus and the Madonna della Clemenza

One of the advantages of teaching at Bryn Mawr College was the neighborliness of Larry Nees. A prolific scholar and a charismatic teacher, he has been an unfailingly generous resource for colleagues and students at nearby institutions, who for decades have been inspired by the range and depth of his expertise. It is a pleasure to acknowledge his collegiality and friendship with this essay.

### The Chapel of St. Nicholas

The crux of my study is an image of the Virgin Mary in imperial regalia, seated frontally with the Child on her lap, archangels sprouting like wings from behind her backless throne. She is presented motionless in strict frontal view, holding a cruciform staff in her right hand. A pope kneels on the ground below her left hand. The earliest and best-known example of this image is the encaustic icon known as the Madonna della Clemenza, presently over the altar in the sixteenth-century chapel of Cardinal Marco Sittico ab Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome (Fig. 1). The origins of the icon are mysterious, but they are not my primary topic here. My concern is a copy of the icon that once existed in the papal palace adjoining the Lateran Cathedral. Destroyed in 1747, it is known from two copies made a century before: a watercolor sketch by Antonio Eclissi, part of the “paper museum” of the Christian antiquarian Cassiano dal

Pozzo (Fig. 2), and an engraving in the Life of Pope Gelasius II by Costantino Gaetani, published in 1638 (Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup>

Eclissi's watercolor shows the central group in a lunette on a roseate star-studded background (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> The archangels hold flaming torches, but otherwise the group is close to the version in Trastevere. Two popes kneel on the ground on either side of the throne, each holding one of Mary's red slippers. Two more popes stand left and right. The engraving shows that the image was part of a two-register composition (Fig. 3). The lower zone contained images of eight popes, four on either side of a semi-circular niche; inside the niche was a bishop holding a crozier.<sup>3</sup> Gaetani took care to indicate the three-dimensionality of the niche with light and shadow, and the figure within it appears to be three-dimensional as well, a statue rather than a painting.

The caption to the engraving identifies the subject as the apse of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace, which was constructed "from the foundations" by Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124).<sup>4</sup> The attribution echoes the inscription in a band between the two registers of painting, reproduced by both Eclissi and Gaetani: SVSTVLIT HOC PRIMO TE(m)PLV(m) CALIXTV(s) AB IMO / VIR CLARV(s) LATE GALLORVM NOBILITATE / PA [lacuna]

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<sup>1</sup> Constantinus Caietanus, ed., *Vita et passio S. Erasmi ... scripta a Ioanne Caietano ... qui & Gelasius papa II ... edita vero, ac scholijs illustrata* (Rome: Officina Typographica Caballina, 1638), pl. XXa. I have not been able to see the engraving published by Gattola in 1733, cited but not reproduced by Gerhard B. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, *Bis zum Ende des Investiturstreits* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1941), 203–204, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 908981; Henrietta McBurney, "History and contents of the dal Pozzo collection in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle," in *Cassiano dal Pozzo. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Francesca Solinas (Rome: De Luca, 1989), 74–94, at 85–86; John Osborne and Amanda Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities*, vol. 1, *Mosaics and Wallpaintings in Roman Churches* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), 110–111.

<sup>3</sup> Eclissi recorded the popes in the lower zone separately, on four sheets (RCIN 909205, 909206, 909213, 909214); Osborne/Claridge, *Mosaics and Wallpaintings*, 112–117.

<sup>4</sup> "Apostolicum Venerandae Memoriae Monumentum, quod etiamnum extat in Abside Oratorij S. Nicolai Ep(iscop)ij quinq(ue) ab hinc Saeculis a B(eato) Calisto P(a)P(a) II a fundamentis extracta intra Lateranense Patriarchium..."

PAT(us) CVLMINE [lacuna] / HOC OPVS ORNAVIT VARIISQVE MODIS DECORAVIT  
 (“First Calixtus, a man widely renowned, of Gallic nobility, raised this temple from underground / ... at the summit ... he adorned this work and decorated it in various ways”). Calixtus II (Guy of Vienne), a son of the Count of Burgundy, was indeed of Gallic nobility.<sup>5</sup> He raised the chapel “from underground” by constructing a massive two-story addition to the palace, with a *vestiarum*, or treasury, in the lower vaulted spaces. Above the vaults were the chapel, a bed chamber, and a room “for secret deliberations” (“camera pro secretis consiliis”).<sup>6</sup>

All of the popes in the seventeenth-century depictions are identified by inscriptions. Calixtus himself (CHALISTO II P[a]P[a]) is the figure kneeling on the Virgin’s favored side (the viewer’s left); his counterpart is ANASTASIVS III (1153–1154).<sup>7</sup> Behind Calixtus is Sylvester (314–335), and behind Anastasius IV is another Anastasius, presumably the first (399–401).<sup>8</sup> In the lower register, the popes are labelled Gelasius II (1118–1119), Paschal II (1099–1118), Urban II (1088–1099), and Leo (I? 440–461) to the left of the niche, and Gregory (I, 590–604), Alexander II (1061–1073), Gregory VII (1073–1085), and Victor III (1086–1087) on the right. The bishop in the niche was St. Nicholas, whose relics had been brought from the coast of what is now Turkey to Bari in 1087.

The line-up of popes, except for the two great early Christian ones who served as models, is a gallery of heroes of the so-called Gregorian Reform. The same popes were represented in the adjoining room for private consultations, where a suite of paintings commemorated their

<sup>5</sup> Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1123). A Pope born to Rule* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 6–12.

<sup>6</sup> Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, (Paris: Thorin, 1892, rept. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1981), 2:378–379; Ingo Herklotz, “Vicarius Christi. Le camere di consiglio di Callisto II e i loro dipinti,” in idem, *Gli eredi di Costantino. Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 2000), 95–158, at 105–106.

<sup>7</sup> Per Eclissi, RCIN 908981. Gaetani’s readings are more standardized: CALLISTVS P(a)P(a) II, ANASTASIVS P(a)P(a) IIII.

<sup>8</sup> S. SILVESTER (Gaetani: S[an]C[tu]S SILVESTER), S(anctus) ANASTASIVS (S[an]C[tu]S ANASTASIVS).

triumphant battle against lay interference in Church governance and its culmination in the Concordat of Worms, signed by Pope Calixtus II and the German Emperor Henry V on 8 September 1122.<sup>9</sup> The apsidal paintings in the chapel expressed gratitude for this triumph and for the divine assistance that made it possible. The object of the kneeling popes' obeisance is described by the inscription around the arch of the niche, which intrudes into the conch: PRESIDET ETHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS ("The Blessed Virgin Mary presides over heavenly choirs").

The program is easily grasped and consistent except for the presence of Pope Anastasius IV. Elevated to the cardinalate by Pope Paschal II in 1113/14, Anastasius (Conrad of Suburra) was a member of Calixtus II's curia but outlived him by several decades. In 1127 he was made bishop of Sabina, a position he held until 1153, when, probably the oldest member of the curia, he was elected pope. He died after only a year.<sup>10</sup> By that time the conflict addressed at Worms was long in the past. Given the chronological gap, it is striking that both kneeling popes are tagged with "square" (actually rectangular) haloes. A convention of the eighth and ninth centuries, the square halo signified that a face was painted from life.<sup>11</sup> This is unlikely to have been true of subjects who died thirty years apart. Except in extraordinary circumstances, two popes cannot be alive at the same time.

Gaetani claimed that Anastasius IV was depicted because he restored the original paintings, adding his own portrait in the process. As evidence he quoted a version of the third

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<sup>9</sup> Serena Romano, ed., *La pittura medievale a Roma 312-1431, Corpus*, vol. 4, *Riforma e tradizione 1050-1198* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2006), 270–271.

<sup>10</sup> Hélène Tillmann, "Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del Collegio Cardinalizio nel XII secolo, II/1. Identificazione dei Cardinali del secolo XII di provenienza romana," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26 (1972): 313–353, at 325–330.

<sup>11</sup> John Osborne, "The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome: A Re-Examination of the So-Called 'Square' Nimbus, in *Medieval Art*," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 47 (1979): 58–65, at 63–65.

line of the inscription that differs from Eclissi's as well as from that in his own engraving: "Verum Anastasius Papatus culmine quartus" ("Truth, Anastasius the fourth at the summit of the papacy").<sup>12</sup> This only adds to the confusion, as it makes Anastasius rather than Calixtus the subject of the following line ("he adorned ... and decorated"), and raises doubts about what words or letters Gaetani actually saw. His account seems to be a variant of a statement made by Alfonso Chacón in the 1590s. According to Chacón, it was written ("legitur") that the painted figures had been restored by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181).<sup>13</sup> Alexander was thought to be the kneeling pope on the viewer's left. Neither this pope nor his counterpart on the right had an inscription, and Chacón offered no identification for the latter.<sup>14</sup>

Onofrio Panvinio's vivid description of the Lateran palace in 1570 makes clear why the identity of these popes was so uncertain, and is a caveat that the seventeenth-century reproductions contain features that are not medieval. The palace was so ruinous that the canons had obtained papal permission to knock it down. The roof beams and tiles had been moved to the Lateran Basilica for reuse, and all that remained in situ were unroofed walls and supports. Panvinio could still make out the chapel of St. Nicholas and some other rooms, "whether by the heraldry, or the paintings, or the inscriptions ... even though they cannot be reached without a ladder."<sup>15</sup> He seems to have made the climb, as he left sketches of the murals in the room for

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<sup>12</sup> Caietanus, *Vita et passio S. Erasmi*, 135.

<sup>13</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 5407, quoted by Eugène Müntz, "Recherches sur l'oeuvre archéologique de Jacques Grimaldi," *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. 1 (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1877), 225–269, at 253: "Reperitur in patriarchio lateranensi ad sacellum poenitentiariorum, quam effigiem cum multis aliis adpictis legitur renovasse Alexander III, papa."

<sup>14</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 5407, quoted by Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Esame storico ed archeologico dell'immagine di Urbano II Papa e delle altre antiche pitture nell'oratorio di S. Nicola, entro il Palazzo Lateranense* (Rome: Tipografia di Roma, 1881), 18: "sine ulla inscriptione, creditur esse Alexandri III PP. effigies qui caeteras Romanorum Pontificum renovavit." Cf. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, 1:205 Fig. 134, 206 Fig. 135, 207.

<sup>15</sup> Onofrio Panvinio, *Le sette chiese romane*, trans. Marco Antonio Lanfranchi (Rome: Heredi di Antonio Blado, 1570), 228: "Si uedono anchora alcune reliquie di mura della corte Leoniana, delle camere d'Innocentio ii. & Callisto ii. della chiesetta di santo Nicola, & delle stanze di Celestino iii. li quali, ouero dalle armi, ò dalle pitture, ò dalle iscrizioni anchora si ponno conoscere, benche senza scala non ui si possa andare."

secret deliberations adjoining the chapel.<sup>16</sup> In the chapel itself he recorded the names of the standing popes and noted that Calixtus II appeared in the conch “at the foot of the Saviour.”<sup>17</sup>

Access to the chapel must have been made easier, and its condition improved, when it was ceded to the Lateran Penitentiaries shortly after Panvinio described it. Presumably Chacón did not need a ladder to sketch all the popes in the chapel in the 1590s.<sup>18</sup> According to Giacomo Grimaldi, whose description was written sometime before 1621, the chapel had a wooden shingled roof. “Out of ignorance,” the Penitentiaries had whitewashed the painted walls except for the apse, where they “refreshed the sacred images with colors.”<sup>19</sup> Chacón apparently made his sketches before this “refreshment,” because he identified four popes in the lower register differently than Grimaldi, Gaetani, and Eclissi.<sup>20</sup> The Penitentiaries must have been responsible for recreating the missing inscriptions in the conch, making the kneeling pope on the right Anastasius IV and the standing pope behind him Anastasius (I).<sup>21</sup> It is even possible that they changed some iconography, transforming the “Saviour” seen by Panvinio into Maria Regina. It is more likely, however, that Panvinio’s “à piedi del Salvatore” referred to the child on his mother’s lap, or that cleaning the paintings prior to their refreshment revealed details of the large seated figure that had been obscured by grime. Grimaldi was the first to recognize the central

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<sup>16</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 2738, fols. 103v, 104, 105v; Jérôme Croisier, in Romano, *La pittura medievale*, 4: 270–271.

<sup>17</sup> Panvinio, *Sette chiese*, 220: “tutta la [cappella] fece depingere facendo porre nella tribuna tutti quei Papi che dopò Alessandro ii. erano stati, be(n)che in pittura brutissima ... & se stesso nella testudine della tribuna à piedi del Salvatore...”

<sup>18</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 5407, pp. 75-96; Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, 1:202–207, Figs. 129–140.

<sup>19</sup> Müntz, “Recherches,” 253, quoting BAV, Cappon. 145: “Hoc oratorium, sive aedicula pulchra et longa cum tecto ligneo imbricato ... scribit Panvinus suo tempore esse totam depictam, nunc poenitentiariorum ibi degentium ignorantia, tota est alba praeter absidem cujus sacras imagines coloribus refricarunt.” A slightly different version of the text is found in BAV, Vat. Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 314v– 315v: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.2733.pt.2](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.2733.pt.2).

<sup>20</sup> Chacón’s variants are: Caelestinus I, Calixtus I, Gelasius I, Paschal I; see Müntz, “Recherches,” 253; Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, 1:202 Figs. 129–130, 204 Fig. 133, 205 Fig. 136.

<sup>21</sup> Müntz, “Recherches,” 253, quoting BAV, Cappon. 145: “in sinistris autem Anastasius IV cum planeta et pallio et quadrato diademate pariter prostratus.”

image as a Maria Regina similar to that in the Altemps chapel in S. Maria in Trastevere.<sup>22</sup> He described the angels as holding staffs (*virgas*), so the torches shown by Eclissi and Gaetani must have been misunderstandings or later intrusions. Grimaldi also studied the inscription at the base of the conch, and counted the missing letters in the lacunae: four between VIP (sic) and LATE in the second line, and seventeen at the beginning of the third line.<sup>23</sup>

The testimonies just reviewed are all related. Grimaldi, Gaetani, and Eclissi built on one another and all went back to Panvinio and Chacón for details that had been changed or lost (e.g., Gaetani relied on Panvinio for the names of some of the popes).<sup>24</sup> The only witness independent of this chain is from the end of the fifteenth century, in a sylloge of inscriptions compiled by Pietro Sabino for presentation to King Charles VIII of France (d. 1498).<sup>25</sup> Pietro's rendition of the problematic third line is unlike all the others: LETUS CALLISTUS PAPATUS CULMINE FRETUS ("Joyful Calixtus, secure at the summit of the papacy"). It is impossible to say whether Pietro saw all these words or filled in gaps by conjecture.

Assembling the pieces of this messy puzzle in 1881, Giovanni Battista De Rossi concluded that the version of the inscription presented by Pietro Sabino is authentic, save for a transposition of two words (CALLISTUS LAETUS) for the sake of internal rhyme.<sup>26</sup> Thus reconstructed, the inscription says that Calixtus, of Gallic nobility, raised the chapel from underground, and Calixtus, secure in the papacy, adorned and decorated it in various ways. The redundant attributions echo the two-step description in Cardinal Pandulph's life of Calixtus II in the *Liber Pontificalis*: "[Calixtus] made the church of St. Nicholas in the palace; he enlarged the

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<sup>22</sup> Müntz, "Recherches," 253: "In apsidis testudine est imago Deiparae Virginis Imperatricis, similis illi, quae est in sacello Altempsiano in basilica Transtiberina; tenet crucem, filium sinu gestat."

<sup>23</sup> Müntz, "Recherches," 254.

<sup>24</sup> Caietanus, *Vita et passio S. Erasmi*, 136.

<sup>25</sup> The manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; it is quoted by De Rossi, *Esame storico*, 19.

<sup>26</sup> De Rossi, *Esame storico*, 19–21.

vault and ordered that it be painted in a wondrous manner, as it appears today.”<sup>27</sup> “Meanwhile,” Pandulph continued, Calixtus finally subdued the antipope Gregory VIII (Maurice of Braga, known as Burdinus) by dispatching an army to his stronghold in Sutri. De Rossi inferred that the successful battle with Burdinus interrupted work on the chapel, which was resumed after Burdinus’s defeat. The victory explains the description of Calixtus as “secure in the papacy” in its second phase.<sup>28</sup>

De Rossi’s straightforward explanation was immediately overtaken by Louis Duchesne, who, in his own words, went farther.<sup>29</sup> Duchesne questioned Pietro Sabino’s transcription on the grounds that the verses are too few to justify repetition of the pope’s name in the third line. He also found it unlikely that the pope would have described himself as “a famous man of Gallic nobility,” which sounds like an accolade made by someone else.<sup>30</sup> He concluded that the construction of the chapel and its painting must have been the work of two different popes, the later of whom was responsible for the inscription and was named in its third line. In his view, the second pope must have been Calixtus’s successor Honorius II (1124–1130) or his successor, the antipope Anacletus II (1130–1138). Honorius was ruled out by the Leonine meter; therefore, Duchesne emended the third verse to read PRAESUL ANACLETUS PAPATUS CULMINE FRETUS.<sup>31</sup> To justify this radical emendation, he pointed to the very lacuna he was filling, attributing it to an erasure of Anacletus’s name that would have followed the occupation of the

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<sup>27</sup> Joseph M. March, ed., *Liber pontificalis prout extat in codice manuscripto Dertusensi ... Pandulphi scriptoris pontificis* (Barcelona: La Educación, 1925), 195: “ecclesiam sancti Nicolai in palatio fecit, cameram ampliavit et pingi sicut apparet hodie miro modo praecepit”; similarly Udelrico Přerovský, ed., *Liber pontificalis nella recensione di Pietro Guglielmo OSB e del card. Pandolfo, Glossato da Pietro Bohier OSB* (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1978), 2:748; Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:323.

<sup>28</sup> De Rossi, *Esame storico*, 21–22.

<sup>29</sup> Louis Duchesne, “Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge, IV et V. – Le forum de Nerva et ses environs. – Le nom d’Anaclet II au palais de Latran,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire* 9 (1889): 346–362, at 359: “Je vais plus loin.”

<sup>30</sup> Duchesne, “Notes,” 359; see also Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:323–324 n. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Duchesne, “Notes,” 359–362.

Lateran palace by his opponent Innocent II in 1138. He also noted that Anacletus II enjoyed Calixtus's favor in his lifetime, and that the standing cleric behind "Anacletus" wore the episcopal pallium but not the papal tiara. Maintaining that this figure could not have been St. Nicholas (who was a bishop) because St. Nicholas was represented in the niche, Duchesne reasoned that it must have been Anacletus II's namesake Pope Anacletus I (ca. 79–92), who reigned in an age before popes acquired the tiara.<sup>32</sup>

Duchesne's thesis created instant consensus and has been accepted by every modern student of the chapel.<sup>33</sup> It has never been re-examined, yet it is not without flaws. The argument is essentially circular: the kneeling figure is identified as Anacletus II by an inscription made up by Duchesne himself. It entails some dubious assumptions and too easily elides the papacy of Honorius II, who occupied the Lateran palace for five years before Anacletus II came to power. It ignores a strikingly anachronistic feature of the supposed portrait: "Anacletus II" is the only pope in the apse without a beard.

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<sup>32</sup> Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:324 n. 22 bis. According to the eighth-century "Donation of Constantine," the tiara was among the insignia bestowed on Pope Sylvester I.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., Charles Rufus Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915), 64–70; Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, 1:206–208; Herbert Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Montecassino," *Traditio* 8 (1952): 159–264, at 178–80; Hélène Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 99–154, rept. in *Une art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et Iconographie* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 239–310, at 308–309; Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina. Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981): 1–33, at 3–7, 24; Ingo Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken. Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturstreits," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989): 145–214, at 212–214; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus populi romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1990), 122; Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power. The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, New York, etc.: E. J. Brill, 1991), 132–149; Croisier, in Romano, *La pittura medievale*, 4:292; Jochen Johrendt, "Das Innozenzianische Schisma aus kurialer Perspektive," in *Gegenpäpste. Ein unerwünschtes mittelalterliches Phänomen*, ed. Harald Müller, Brigitte Hotz (Vienna, Cologne, etc.: 2012), 127–163, at 136–142; Sible De Blaauw, "Kirchenbau und Erinnerung in Rom unter Anaklet II. und Innocenz II.," in *Damnatio in memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte*, ed. Sebastian Scholz, Gerald Schwedler, and Kai-Michael Sprenger (Cologne, Weimar, etc.: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 129–152, at 132–133, 145–146; Alison Locke Perchuk, "Anacletus II, the Pierleoni, and the Rebuilding of Rome, ca. 1070–1150," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 141 (2018): 35–56, at 48–50.

The most compelling aspect of the argument is the supposed erasure, which Duchesne likened to the ancient Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>34</sup> Recent scholarship on the papal version of memory damnation suggests that the analogy is oversimplified; the papal version was more complex than simple erasure, with different dimensions pertaining to the man and to the office.<sup>35</sup> With respect to the office, popes who survived a schism had to generate memory of their opponents as “antipopes” in order to demonstrate and cement their own legitimacy; this was the purpose of the paintings in the room adjoining the St. Nicholas chapel.<sup>36</sup> “Antipopes” were to be remembered as such and only as such. To that end the new edition of the *Liber pontificalis* made by Anacletus’s adherent Cardinal Pandulph was banned; we know it only because a single manuscript was brought to France shortly after Anacletus’s death, and a copy of that manuscript survives.<sup>37</sup> To avoid future confusion about legitimacy, the antipope’s sacramental and legal actions were cancelled. Thus Pope Innocent II opened the Second Lateran Council in April 1139 by declaring Anacletus II “an unlawful person [who] made unlawful decrees.” “Whatever he set up we pull down, whomever he promoted we demote, everyone he consecrated we degrade and depose.”<sup>38</sup> The Council’s final canon rendered null and void all of Anacletus’s ordinances and

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<sup>34</sup> Duchesne, “Notes,” 362.

<sup>35</sup> Kai-Michael Sprenger, “*Damnatio memoriae* oder *damnatio in memoria*?” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 89 (2009): 31–62; *idem*, “Memoria Damnata – Ein Konzept der Kurie zum Umgang mit Gegenpäpsten (und anderen Kirchenfeinden?),” in *Damnatio in memoria. Deformation und Gegenkonstruktionen in der Geschichte*, ed. Sebastian Scholz, Gerald Schwedler, and Kai-Michael Sprenger (Cologne, Weimar, etc.: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 153–180.

<sup>36</sup> Sprenger, “*Damnatio memoriae*,” 41–42. On the generation of such histories see Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, “Anacleto II, gli antipapi e la chiesa medievale. La storia come esito di possibilità aperte,” *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 141 (2018): 5–23, at 15–21.

<sup>37</sup> Carmela Vircillo Franklin, “History and Rhetoric in the *Liber Pontificalis* of the Twelfth Century,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 23 (2013): 1–33, at 8–10, 32–33. Přerovský suggested that the manuscript was taken to the monastery of Psalmodì by its abbot, who was in Rome in 1139: Přerovský, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 1:123–124. The copy is in the archive of the cathedral of Tortosa; it was published by José-Maria March (March, ed., *Liber pontificalis*), and subsequently by Přerovský. An edited copy of the lost original was made at Saint-Gilles du Garde by Petrus Gulielmus in 1142, and is now in the BAV (Vat. Lat. 3762).

<sup>38</sup> Léon Mirot, ed., *La Chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912), 74: “Unde quia inordinate persone inordinata sunt decreta, quodcumque ille statuerat destruimus, quoscumque exaltaverat

those of “other schismatics and heretics.”<sup>39</sup> Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres was sent to Aquitaine to destroy all the altars consecrated during the schism, because the cardinal legates there had been loyal to Anacletus.<sup>40</sup>

With regard to the man, liturgical commemoration was proscribed, impeding prayers for his salvation. Tombs were destroyed and the body deposited where it could not be found.<sup>41</sup>

Objects connected with his memory were destroyed. Thus Innocent II razed to the ground S.

Maria in Trastevere, of which Anacletus II had been cardinal priest for ten years preceding his elevation to the papacy, and replaced it with a grander basilica bearing his own name.<sup>42</sup> He

allowed lesser works to stand, but they were appropriated for his own memory by papal

publicists. Thus Innocent’s biographer Cardinal Boso of S. Pudenziana credited him with

replacing the roof of the Lateran Basilica and strengthening St. Paul’s Basilica with a wall

through the transept, both of which probably were the work of Anacletus.<sup>43</sup> Had Innocent

inherited paintings sponsored by Anacletus in the papal chapel of St. Nicholas, he probably

would have taken the same approach, leaving them intact but claiming them as his own work.

Mary Stroll suggested that he replaced the name Anacletus with the words “Letus Callistus” seen

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degradamus, et quotquot consecraverat exordinamus et deponimus”; Richard Cusimano, *A Translation of the Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny, France, c. 1100-1150* (Lewiston, NY, Lampeter: E. Mellen Press, 2003), 137.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Izbicki, ed., *Concilium Lateranense II 1139*, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta: editio critica*, II/1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Chronique de Morigny*, 74–75; Cusimano, *A Translation*, 139.

<sup>41</sup> Sprenger, “*Damnatio memoriae*,” 43–47.

<sup>42</sup> Sprenger, “*Damnatio memoriae*,” 47–48. Recent scholarship has favored the notion that Innocent II only appropriated a basilica built by Anacletus II: De Blaauw, “Kirchenbau und Erinnerung,” 129–152; Alison Locke Perchuk, “Schismatic (Re)Visions. Sant’Elia near Nepi and Sta. Maria in Trastevere in Rome, 1120–1143,” *Gesta* 55 (2016): 179–212, at 204–210; Perchuk, “Anacletus II,” 45. I have rebutted this idea in my entry on S. Maria in Trastevere in *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300*, 5, ed. Daniela Mondini, Carola Jäggi, and Peter Cornelius Claussen (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, forthcoming in 2021).

<sup>43</sup> Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:384; Dale Kinney, “Patronage of Art and Architecture,” in *Pope Innocent II (1130–43). The World vs the City*, ed. John Doran and Damian J. Smith (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 352–388, at 353, 362–363. For the wall at St. Paul’s see Nicola Camerlenghi, “Splitting the Core. The Transverse Wall at the Basilica of San Paolo in Rome,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 58 (2013): 115–142; *idem*, *St. Paul’s outside the Walls. A Roman Basilica, from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 153–159.

by Pietro Sabino.<sup>44</sup> There is a better explanation, but Stroll was correct that Innocent would not have left a conspicuous erasure in the middle of the inscription to attract the viewer's attention and curiosity. The gap of seventeen letters observed by Grimaldi must have been caused by something else, perhaps related to the Penitentiaries' repainting.

Strengthening the likelihood that the 17-letter lacuna did not contain the name Anacletus is the description of the project in the *Liber pontificalis* by Anacletus's own publicist, Cardinal Pandulph.<sup>45</sup> It was Pandulph who implied that the painting was carried out by someone other than Calixtus. While the painted inscription says "he adorned this work [the chapel] and decorated it," Pandulph wrote that Calixtus made the chapel and "ordered that the room be painted."<sup>46</sup> He gave no indication that it was Anacletus who fulfilled the order in the "wondrous manner" seen in his day. It seems unlikely that he would have passed up the opportunity to credit Anacletus, had it been there.

The supposed presence of Anacletus I behind the kneeling pope does not save the argument. The idea that this figure was the obese pope's namesake originated with the Penitentiaries, who named both figures Anastasius. The relationship did not hold on the other side of the conch, where the pope behind Calixtus II was Sylvester. The bishop on the viewer's right is much more likely to have been the dedicatee of the chapel, St. Nicholas.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Stroll, *Symbols as Power*, 136–137.

<sup>45</sup> For Pandulph's bias toward Anacletus II: Přerovský, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 1:120–123; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and innovation* (Cambridge, New York, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 63; Franklin, "History and Rhetoric," 4–5.

<sup>46</sup> See above, n. 27; Franklin, "History and Rhetoric," 17–18. Stroll maintained that the *camera* in Pandulph's notice ("cameram ampliavit et pingi ... praecepit") was not the chapel but the adjoining room for private consultations: Stroll, *Symbols as Power*, 137–138. Pandulph does not explicitly mention that room, however; it is known from the version of Cardinal Boso (above, n. 6). For the meaning of "camera" in the *Liber pontificalis* see Paolo Liverani, "Cameræ e coperture delle basiliche paleocristiane," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 60–1 (2001–02): 13–27, esp. 19.

<sup>47</sup> Carlo Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere. Storia – Iconografia – Stile di un dipinto romano dell'ottavo secolo* (Rome: Eliograf, 1961), 22: "sicuramente San Nicola ... cui [Callisto II] era particolarmente divoto." Duchesne's objection that St. Nicholas was represented in the niche is countered by Gaetani's rendition of

In sum, the identification of the kneeling pope as Anacletus II rests solely on Duchesne's emendation of the inscription. It is not corroborated by any material evidence or known practice. Honorius II, rejected because his name would not fit the meter, is otherwise a much more promising candidate. Honorius had an unusually stable reign of just over five years (21 December 1124–13 February 1130), and he passed it almost entirely at the Lateran.<sup>48</sup> He traveled little; Enrico Veneziani estimated that 87% of his pontificate was spent in Rome.<sup>49</sup> All but one of the many letters sent from Rome by his chancery were issued from the Lateran.<sup>50</sup> Members of the chancery must have frequented the chapel of St. Nicholas, especially if Ingo Herklotz is correct that it was intended for the use of papal chaplains and *scriptores*.<sup>51</sup> Oaths may have been sworn on its altar. The assumption that such an important part of the palace was left in its raw state for the duration of Honorius's pontificate seems improbable.

Duchesne provided a clue to the authorship of the decoration when he observed the anomaly of the inscription's second line, "a widely renowned man of Gallic nobility."<sup>52</sup> Although the status of his family was a factor in Calixtus's election, apsidal inscriptions normally ignored such worldly qualifications in favor of moral and spiritual ones.<sup>53</sup> It is fair to ask who might have thought Calixtus's French noble origins were important. A likely candidate is Honorius's chancellor Aimeric, who stemmed from Burgundy himself. It was Calixtus who

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the figure in the niche as a statue; it looks to have been of later date than the painting, which explains why Eclissi did not record it.

<sup>48</sup> Stroll, *Symbols as Power*, 94.

<sup>49</sup> Enrico Veneziani, "The ecclesiology of the papacy of Honorius II (1124–1130), with a preliminary calendar of letters" (Ph.D. diss, University of St Andrews, 2017), 160–161.

<sup>50</sup> Veneziani, "Ecclesiology of the papacy," 237–267, 272–282, 286–313, 315–322, 330–342, 345–350, 354–364, 366–367. The exception is No. 189, by-lined "Habitantes in domo Domini."

<sup>51</sup> Herklotz, "*Vicarius Christi*," 112–113.

<sup>52</sup> Duchesne, "Notes," 359.

<sup>53</sup> See the compendium of inscriptions in Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome. Time, Network, and Repetition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 209–215. On the importance of Calixtus's social status to his election: Stroll, *Calixtus II*, 59–62.

raised Aimeric to the cardinalate, naming him Cardinal Deacon of S. Maria Nova on 8 May 1123. He served as chancellor to three popes, Calixtus, Honorius, and Innocent II, from 1123 until his death in 1141.<sup>54</sup> Consistently the most powerful man in the curia, Aimeric is thought to have engineered Honorius's election.<sup>55</sup> He would have had personal as well as professional motivation to execute the decorative program left undone by his papal patron. Decorum demanded that the unadorned chapel be painted. Painting it according to Calixtus's plan demonstrated Aimeric's gratitude and respect for a fellow Frenchman and reformer. Honorius II could not have objected had his formidable chancellor undertaken the decoration in his predecessor's name. There was no need to fit Honorius into the meter.

I suggest that, with De Rossi, we accept Pietro Sabino's reading of the inscription as essentially, if loosely, correct. Calixtus was mentioned twice, in an inscription that may have been composed by Aimeric or someone else in the curia. The pope was depicted kneeling on the favored side of Maria Regina, with a square halo indicating that his likeness was a portrait, even if painted shortly after his death. But who was the subject of the portrait on her left?

#### The Madonna della Clemenza

The icon known since the sixteenth century as the "Madonna of Clemency" is a large (1.64 m. x 1.16 m.) encaustic painting on linen pasted to three boards of cypress wood, representing the Virgin and Child, two archangels, and a male figure kneeling at the lower right (Fig. 4).<sup>56</sup> It is

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<sup>54</sup> Barbara Zenker, "Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159" (Ph.D. diss, Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg, 1964), 142–144; Stroll, *Calixtus II*, 400, 461–462; Pascal Montaubin, "Innocent II and Capetian France," in *Pope Innocent II (1130–43). The World vs the City*, ed. John Doran and Damian J. Smith (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 107–151, at 111–112.

<sup>55</sup> Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198*, 66–68; Johrendt, "Das Innozenzianische Schisma," 139.

<sup>56</sup> The dimensions of the icon are surprisingly hard to ascertain. The measurements given here are from Maria Lidova, "Empress, Virgin, *Ecclesia*. The Icon of S. Maria in Trastevere in the Early Byzantine Context," *IKON* 9 (2016): 1–20, at 1. She is mistaken that they include the frame; according to Bertelli (*La Madonna*, 28), the dimensions with the frame should be at least 1.85 m. x 1.39 m. Elio Corona wrote that the maximum length of the individual

surrounded by a chestnut-wood frame with a painted Latin inscription, only partially preserved, that was deciphered by Carlo Bertelli as: “Because God made himself (in your womb?) ... The princes of the angels stand amazed ... to gestate the Child.”<sup>57</sup> Mary is shown in the guise of a Byzantine empress, wearing a belted purple dalmatic with a jeweled collar (*maniakion*) over a long-sleeved purple under-tunic with jeweled cuffs.<sup>58</sup> The end of a pearl-bordered *loros* hangs below the hem of the dalmatic near her left foot.<sup>59</sup> Her slippers are bright red and her crown is hung with long strings of pearls. With her right arm she holds up a long cruciform staff; her left hand rests on the knee of her child. Christ is dressed entirely in gold and holds a rolled scroll in his left hand. The archangels pop up obliquely from behind the Virgin’s throne, making symmetrical gestures of acclamation. The kneeling male is preserved only in outline, save for a fragment of his face and collar that interrupts the jeweled hem of Mary’s garment. His right ear, brow, and part of the eye show that his face was turned frontally toward the viewer, though his back was in profile. On the basis of minute traces of color, Bertelli described his garments as a white dalmatic under an ochre mantle (*paenula*), with a white pallium to which an early repainting added circles and crosses. His hair was short, dark, and curly, and he may have had a tonsure.<sup>60</sup>

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boards is 1.92 m. (“Note dendrocronologiche sul quadro di S. Maria della Clemenza in Roma,” *Studi Trentini di Scienze Naturali*, Sez. B 47, no. 2 [1970]: 133–140, at 135). Pietro Amato gave the size as 2 m. x 1.33 m. (*De vera effigie Mariae. Antiche icone romane* [Milan: Arnaldo Editore and Rome: De Luca Edizioni d’arte, 1988], 26).

<sup>57</sup> Carlo Bertelli, “Osservazioni sulla Madonna della Clemenza,” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, s. 3, *Rendiconti* 30–31 (1957–1959): 142–152, at 146–150; similarly Bertelli, *La Madonna*, 34–35, 37. On the left upright: D(ominu)S QYOD IPSE FACTYS EST Y(tero?). On the top and right upright: ASTANT STYPENTES ANGELORYM PRINCIPIES – GESTARE NATYM ... A... For a recent interpretation of this incomplete inscription see Maria Lidova, “Le guardie celesti della Madre di Dio: ‘Maria tra gli angeli’ nella prima arte bizantina,” in *Fra oriente e occidente: Donne e Bibbia nell’alto medioevo (secoli VI–XI) greci, latini, ebrei, arabi*, ed. Franca Elena Consolino and Judith Herrin (Trapani: Il Pozzo di Giacobbe, 2015): 105–135, at 132–135.

<sup>58</sup> Bertelli described three layers of dress: *tunica intima*, *tunica exomis*, and dalmatic: Bertelli, *La Madonna*, 66. Because of the icon’s condition they are difficult to distinguish.

<sup>59</sup> Pentcheva called it a *trabea* (Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* [University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006], 22–23), but cf. Bertelli, *La Madonna*, 70–71.

<sup>60</sup> Bertelli, *La Madonna*, 65.

The icon was restored in 1954–1955 at the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro in Rome.<sup>61</sup> When the restoration began everything but the angels and the Child was covered with later paint. The overpainting was removed except in a few areas where no original colors survived beneath it: in the Virgin’s cross staff and her belt, parts of the throne and the background, and the square nimbus of the kneeling pope. In these places “very old” repainting was left in place.<sup>62</sup>

The date of the icon is disputed. The iconographic type of the imperial Virgin, imprecisely known as “Maria Regina,” originated in the sixth century.<sup>63</sup> This is also the era of the distinctive composition, with angels rising in acclamation from behind the Virgin’s throne (Fig. 5).<sup>64</sup> The icon itself is not necessarily that old. A little-noticed report by a dendrochronologist gave the date of the cypress boards as “7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, with preference for the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>.”<sup>65</sup> In the book that followed the restoration, Carlo Bertelli argued for an attribution of the icon to Pope John VII (705–707) and for the kneeling pope as his portrait.<sup>66</sup> Maria Andaloro countered with an equally detailed argument for the sixth century.<sup>67</sup> Subsequent scholarship is divided in favor of one date or the other, with some splitting the difference.<sup>68</sup> I

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<sup>61</sup> Cesare Brandi, “La Madonna della Clemenza,” *Bollettino dell’Istituto Centrale del Restauro* 41–44 (1964): 7–11, at 11.

<sup>62</sup> Giovanni Urbani, “Le condizioni del dipinto ed i provvedimenti adottati,” *Bollettino dell’Istituto Centrale del Restauro* 41–44 (1964): 15–24, at 15, 24. See pp. 16–19 for photos of the icon before restoration. Among the repaintings Urbani also mentioned a tiara, which would have been an addition of the later middle ages. Nordhagen speculated that the cross scepter was once a real object attached to the wood: Per Jonas Nordhagen, “Icons Designed for the Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 453–460, at 459.

<sup>63</sup> John Osborne, “Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome,” in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium, Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. Antony Eastlake and Liz James (Aldershot ENG, Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2003): 135–156, at 138–140; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 21–26; Maria Lidova, “The Earliest Images of Maria Regina in Rome and the Byzantine Imperial Iconography,” in *Niš and Byzantium. The Collection of Scientific Works VIII*, ed. Miša Racocija (Niš: Univerzitet u Nišu, 2010), 231–243, at 233–235.

<sup>64</sup> Lidova, “Le guardie celesti,” 118–122.

<sup>65</sup> Corona, “Note dendrocronologiche,” 133, 136, 139.

<sup>66</sup> Bertelli, *La Madonna*, esp. 59–63, 80–86. The identification as Pope John VII had already been made by Carlo Cecchelli, *S. Maria in Trastevere* (Rome: Danesi Editore, n.d. [1933?]), 123–124, 151–157.

<sup>67</sup> Maria Andaloro, “La datazione della tavola di S. Maria in Trastevere,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte* N.S. 19–20 (1972–1973): 139–215.

<sup>68</sup> Following Bertelli: John Beckwith, review in *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): 550–551; David H. Wright, review in *Speculum* 38 (1963): 623–626; Nordhagen, “Icons,” 453; Ursula Nilgen, “Eine neu aufgefundene Maria Regina in

lean to the late end of the spectrum, but that is irrelevant here.<sup>69</sup> For this study it is important that when it was copied by the painter of the St. Nicholas chapel, the icon displayed a kneeling pope with short, curly hair and a square halo.

Written sources from the early middle ages speak of a miraculous image of Mary in S. Maria in Trastevere. The first, a list of intramural churches appended to an itinerary of cemeteries from around 635–645, includes “the Basilica that is called S. Maria in Trastevere; there is an image of St. Mary that was made by itself.”<sup>70</sup> An *acheiropoietos* in Trastevere is also mentioned in a Greek text from the latter part of the eighth century, published by Alexander Alexakis.<sup>71</sup> Alexakis identified this list of icons as part of an iconophile florilegium composed at

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Santa Susanna, Rom. Ein römisches Thema mit Variationen,” in *“Bedeutung in den Bildern.” Festschrift für Jörg Traeger zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Möseneder, Gosbert Schüssler (Regensburg: Schnell + Schneider, 2002): 231–245, at 234; Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 131; Valentino Pace, “Alla ricerca di un’identità: affreschi, mosaici, tavole dipinte e libri a Roma fra VI e IX secolo,” in *Roma e il suo territorio nel medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell’Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Roma 25–29 ottobre 2012, ed. Cristina Carbonetti, Santo Lucà, and Maddalena Signorini (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2015): 471–498, at 484 n. 34. Following Andaloro: Eugenio Russo, “L’affresco di Turtura nel cimitero di Commodilla, l’icona di S. Maria in Trastevere e le più antiche feste della Madonna a Roma,” *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 88 (1979): 35–85, at 77–80; Giorgio Leone, *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*, 1 (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 2012), 58; Lidova, “Empress, Virgin.” Gerhard Wolf opted for the seventh century: “Alexifarmaka. Aspetti del culto e della teoria delle immagini a Roma tra Bisanzio e Terra Santa nell’alto medioevo,” in *Roma fra oriente e occidente*. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 49 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2002): 2:755–796, at 783–786.

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps not as late as 827–844, proposed in my dissertation, as this has met universal disbelief: Lidova, “Empress, Virgin,” 2.

<sup>70</sup> “Istae vero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur,” in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, 2 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 118–131, at 122: “Basilica quae appellatur Sancta Maria Transtiberis; ibi est imago sanctae Mariae quae per se facta est”; the same in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 321. See also Anna Blennow, “Wanderers and Wonders. The Medieval Guidebooks to Rome,” in *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition from the Middle Ages to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. Anna Blennow, Stefano Fogelberg Rota (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 33–87, at 67.

<sup>71</sup> Alexander Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 349. Titled Περὶ ἀχειροποιήτων εἰκόνων, the text appears in only one manuscript, Venice, Marcianus Graecus 573, of the ninth century. The manuscript was written in Constantinople or another eastern center, according to Vera von Falkenhausen, “Die Darstellung der griechische Gemeinde in Rom im *Liber pontificalis* (7.–9. Jahrhundert),” in *Das Buch der Päpste – Liber pontificalis. Ein Schlüsseldokument europäischer Geschichte*, ed. Klaus Herbers, Matthias Simperl (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2020), 270–285, at 277–278.

the papal curia in 770, known from an apograph of 774–775.<sup>72</sup> Its account of the icon is etiological:

The image truly *acheropita* that is the object of veneration and cult in the church of Trastevere at Rome, of which it is said that the Lady, having made her own the room that they wanted to assign to one of the martyrs, appeared there, painted not by human hands, with the son of God on her lap, and in this way she took possession of the building under construction not with her hands – may that never be said! – but acting as a sovereign and at the same time bringing honor to the servant; because the servant too considers it an honor when the lord chooses to live in his truly humble abode.<sup>73</sup>

Baffling on first reading, this story is explained by the history of S. Maria in Trastevere.

The church was erected in the mid-fourth century by Pope Julius I (337–352) “next to Calixtus”; this must have been a place or object in Trastevere associated with Pope Calixtus I (217–222).<sup>74</sup> Pope Julius also built a basilica “at Calixtus,” over the tomb in the cemetery on the via Aurelia where Calixtus I was buried. Considered a martyr, Calixtus had a following that ballooned when his *passio* began to circulate in the late fifth century.<sup>75</sup> By the sixth century he was credited with founding the basilica in Trastevere, and his name became part of its title

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<sup>72</sup> Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115*, 100–108, 254–255, 348–350, 360.

<sup>73</sup> Translated from Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115*, 349 by Vera von Falkenhausen and Francesco D’Aiuto, whom I thank for their kind assistance. The text is obscurely written even for Byzantinists. A rougher translation by Michele Bacci was published by Maria Lidova, “L’icona acheropita della Vergine di Santa Maria in Trastevere a Roma,” in *Le arti a confronto con il sacro. Metodi di ricerca e nuove prospettive di indagine interdisciplinare*. Atti delle Giornate di studio Padova 31 maggio–1 giugno 2007, ed. Valentina Cantone and Silvia Fumian (Padua: Cleup Casa Editrice, 2009), 19–28, 233–236, at 24.

<sup>74</sup> *Catalogus Liberianus*, in *Das Kalenderhandbuch von 354. Der Chronograph des Filocalus, 2, Der Textteil*, ed. Johannes Divjak and Wolfgang Wischmeyer (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2014), 528: “fecit ... basilicam trans Tiberim regione xiiii iux(ta) Callistum.”

<sup>75</sup> András Handl, “Bishop Callistus I. of Rome (217?-222?): A Martyr or a Confessor?” *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 18, no. 3 (2014): 390–419. For the *passio*: Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1910), 1:268–271; Michael Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs. Introduction, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 287–296.

(*titulus sancti Iulii et Calisti*).<sup>76</sup> Around the same time, before 587, the basilica was rededicated to Mary, whose name also became part of the title. Julius was virtually forgotten, and the church was known as “Titulus [or Basilica] sanctae Mariae quae vocatur Calisti,” with various embellishments, throughout the early middle ages.<sup>77</sup> This history could well be the kernel of truth in the tale told in the florilegium (the basilica, newly named “of Calixtus,” was appropriated by the image of the Lady), but a more precise parallel occurred later, in the eighth century.<sup>78</sup>

Despite his prominent association with the basilica in Trastevere, Calixtus’s physical remains stayed in the cemetery on the via Aurelia until sometime after the papacy of Gregory III (731–741). They were translated to S. Maria in Trastevere probably later in the eighth century.<sup>79</sup> Around the same time, an apse was added to the south aisle of the basilica, which lies directly beneath the basilica of Pope Innocent II (Fig. 6).<sup>80</sup> The purpose of the apse is uncertain, but because the addition of relic chapels was a common practice in the eighth century, it is reasonable to associate it with Calixtus’s translation.<sup>81</sup> A ninth-century source describes the relics as buried “on the south side of the church behind the backs of the people.”<sup>82</sup> This could be a reference to the new apse, or it could mean that the relics were in the south aisle. Either way,

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<sup>76</sup> For the documentation of these changes see Kinney, “S. Maria in Trastevere.”

<sup>77</sup> E.g., “Titulu[s] sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae [sic] vocatur Calisti trans Tiberim,” in Duchense, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 1:509. The entry is from 772–795.

<sup>78</sup> For a more allegorical interpretation see Wolf, “Alexifarmaka,” 782–783; Gerhard Wolf, “Cult images of the Virgin in mediaeval Rome,” in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot ENG, Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2005): 23–49, at 38–39.

<sup>79</sup> Giovanni Nino Verrando, “L’attività edilizia di papa Giulio I e la basilica al III miglio della via Aurelia ad Callistum,” *Mélanges de l’École Française, Antiquité* 97, no. 2 (1985): 1021–61, at 1061.

<sup>80</sup> Stefano Coccia, Federico Guidobaldi, Francesco Scoppola, “Titulus Iulii (Santa Maria in Trastevere): nuove osservazioni sulle fasi più antiche,” in *Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma*. Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana Roma, 13 marzo 2008, ed. Hugo Brandenburg, Federico Guidobaldi (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012): 33–61, at 49–50, 52.

<sup>81</sup> On relic chapels: Franz Alto Bauer, “La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 75 (1999): 385–446, at 406–417; idem, “The Liturgical Arrangement of Early Medieval Roman Church Buildings,” *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 59 (2000): 101–128, at 114–117.

<sup>82</sup> Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:80: “sancta corpora beatorum Calisti et Cornelii et Calepodi in meridiana plaga aecclisiae tumulata postergum populi iacentia.”

the story told in the florilegium seems like a reworking of the historical event: the imposing icon took possession of the chapel, the intended dwelling or chamber (οἶκος) of the martyr, forcing him to share his abode or even displacing him, but making him her servant and bringing him honor in the process.

Regardless of its specific point of departure, the story makes clear that the pope in the icon must be Calixtus I, the martyr who was honored by Mary's choice to occupy his space. The pope is present not as the donor of the icon but as an attribute of its subject, Mary and her child. His figure identifies the image as the reification of Mary's appearance in a particular guise in a particular place: Calixtus's church in Trastevere. If this story was forgotten in the later middle ages, the kneeling pope still could have been identified as Calixtus I by simple inference: the icon had always been in S. Maria in Trastevere; it was very old; it must go back to the time of the founder, Calixtus I.

### Two Popes Calixtus

The kneeling pope opposite Calixtus II in the apse of the chapel of St. Nicholas was the pope in the icon.<sup>83</sup> If Gaietani and Eclissi are reliable, both had the same short curly hair and square nimbus. Too little of the face remains to tell if the pope in the icon was clean-shaven, but early medieval popes generally had short beards, sometimes cropped close to the jawline.<sup>84</sup> Calixtus II must have recognized this figure as his namesake.<sup>85</sup> By adding his own portrait to the group, the

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<sup>83</sup> I made this argument in my contribution to the symposium "Framing Anacletus II (anti)pope, 1130–1138," held in Rome in April 2013. Perchuk subsequently claimed that the figure in the apse originated as Calixtus I but was appropriated by Anacletus II ("Anacletus II," 50).

<sup>84</sup> Among popes who were portrayed with square haloes, see John VII, Zacharias (741–752), Paul I (757–767), Hadrian I (772–795), and Paschal I (817–824): Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse*, 1, *Tafeln*, pls. XI c, XII a-b, XIV a-b, XV a; Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A. D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 3 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1968), pl. XLVII. Pope Theodore (642–649) was depicted nearly clean-shaven: Ladner, pl. IX, b.

<sup>85</sup> Bertelli, "Osservazioni," 151–152; Bertelli, *La Madonna*, 23, 101 n. 54.

twelfth-century Calixtus expressed his veneration of Mary in the particular manifestation of her icon in Trastevere, and perhaps his veneration of the icon itself.

The representation of an icon in the conch of the apse was highly unusual in medieval Rome, if not entirely unprecedented.<sup>86</sup> In her foundational article on the iconography of Maria Regina, Ursula Nilgen both acknowledged and denied the significance of this unusual choice of subject. She acknowledged the icon as a vehicle for iconography, demonstrating that the reproduction of the Madonna della Clemenza in the Lateran chapel spawned a revival of images of Maria Regina in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Rome and south Italy; but she denied that it signaled the pope's personal veneration of a particular image, or even of Mary in general.<sup>87</sup> According to Nilgen, the Madonna della Clemenza was chosen as the subject of the apse decoration because, and only because, it represented Mary in a guise that resembled medieval personifications of the Church, as a woman in imperial regalia with a cruciform scepter.<sup>88</sup> The choice of iconography was driven by politics: "in the ecclesiastic-political conflicts of the first half of the [twelfth] century, the question of the true Church was the center of interest."<sup>89</sup> Maria-Ecclesia was a political cult image with which all popes wished to be identified. Mary Stroll disputed this interpretation, arguing that the apse depicted Anacletus II's specific and personal vision of the pope as head of the Church.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Some think that the mosaic of Pope Paschal I in the apse of S. Maria in Domnica represents an icon: Floriana Svizzeretto, "Il mosaico absidale manifesto iconodulo: proposta di interpretazione," in *Caelius I. Santa Maria in Domnica, San Tommaso in Formis e il Clivus Scauri*, ed. Alia Englen (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2003), 241–256; endorsed by Caroline J. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I. Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 153.

<sup>87</sup> Nilgen, "Maria Regina," 30.

<sup>88</sup> Nilgen, "Maria Regina," 20–22; Wolf, *Salus populi romani*, 125, 128.

<sup>89</sup> Nilgen, "Maria Regina," 30.

<sup>90</sup> Stroll, *Symbols as Power*, 144–149; similarly *eadem*, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe. Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College, London, April 1995*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Rochester NY: Boydell Press, 1997): 173–203, at 179–180.

While Stroll's interpretation is ruled out by her identification of the pope on the viewer's right as Anacletus II, Nilgen's is, on one level, correct. The ensemble of saintly predecessors and Pope Calixtus II paying homage to the allegorical image of Mary-as-Ecclesia was an emblem of the Church of the Gregorian Reform. I disagree, however, that this was its sole meaning. All allegories have a double significance; Mary-as-Ecclesia is also Ecclesia-as-Mary. The allegorical eye of the twelfth century was accustomed to such double meanings, and even non-elite viewers could recognize, juggle, and intertwine them.<sup>91</sup> The intended audience of the chapel of St. Nicholas easily would have seen the central image as both Calixtus II in obeisance to the Church and Calixtus II venerating Mary in the guise of her icon in Trastevere.

It is only with the benefit of the century of research done after his death in 1922 that I dare to challenge even a relatively minor contribution of the great Louis Duchesne, a colossus of medieval scholarship. I readily concede that he was not entirely wrong about the involvement of Anacletus II in the St. Nicholas chapel, albeit not as pope or antipope. As Cardinal Deacon Peter Pierleoni, the future Anacletus was instrumental in marshalling Roman support for Guy of Vienne after the Frenchman was elected to the papacy at Cluny in 1119.<sup>92</sup> In June of the following year, Calixtus II rewarded Pierleoni with promotion to the prestigious title of S. Maria in Trastevere, and he remained friendly with the cardinal throughout his papacy.<sup>93</sup> It is generally believed that Calixtus's involvement with the Madonna della Clemenza resulted from his alliance with Pierleoni. The depiction of the icon in the Lateran chapel should not be taken as merely a tribute to their relationship, however, nor was it an unambiguous tribute to the icon. Rather, it was an act of visual appropriation that lifted the icon from its context in Trastevere and

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<sup>91</sup> See Dale Kinney, "Communication in a Visual Mode: Papal Apse Mosaics," *Journal of Medieval History* 44, no. 3 (2018): 311–332, at 328–329.

<sup>92</sup> Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 2:322; Stroll, *Calixtus II*, 65–66, 293–295.

<sup>93</sup> Stroll, *Calixtus II*, 447–449.

absorbed it into the image-realm of the papacy. The program of the apse as a whole witnesses the unique closeness of every legitimate pope to the sources of human salvation, Christ and his Church. It teaches that clemency cannot be bestowed by an inanimate object, but only through papal intercession.

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#### INDEX TERMS

Anastasius IV, pope  
 Calixtus I, pope  
 Calixtus II, pope  
 Honorius II, pope  
 Innocent II, pope  
 Anacletus II, antipope (Peter Pierleoni)  
 Aimeric, chancellor

Nicholas, saint  
 Eclissi, Antonio  
 Gaietani, Costantino  
 Duchesne, Louis  
 Rome, Lateran palace  
 Rome, Lateran palace, Chapel of St. Nicholas  
 Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere  
 Maria Regina  
 Damnatio memoriae  
 Acheiropoietos

## KEYWORDS

Icon  
 Lateran  
 Pope Calixtus II  
 Antipope Anacletus II  
 S. Maria in Trastevere  
 Madonna della Clemenza

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| Fig. 1    | ¼ page?<br>b/w?  | Fig. 1: Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, Cappella Altemps, altar   | Kinney 2009  |
| Fig. 2    | ½ page,<br>color | Fig. 2: Apse of the Chapel of St. Nicholas, Lateran Palace, watercolor copy by Antonio Eclissi, before 1640, Royal Collection, Windsor, RCIN 908981 | Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020   |
| Fig. 3    | ½ page,<br>b/w   | Fig. 3: Apse of the Chapel of St. Nicholas, Lateran Palace, engraving in Caietanus, <i>Vita et passio S. Erasmi ...</i> , 1638                      | © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana   |
| Fig. 4    | ½ page,<br>color | Fig. 4: Madonna della Clemenza, Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere  | Scala / Art Resource, NY   |
| Fig. 5    | ¼ page,<br>b/w   | Fig. 5: Virgin and Child with angels, Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst   | bpk Bildagentur / Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst / photo: Jürgen Liepe / Art Resource, NY   |
| Fig. 6    | ¼ page,<br>b/w   | Fig. 6: S. Maria in Trastevere, plan of excavation 1994–1999  | Coccia, Guidobaldi, Scoppola, “Titulus Iulii (Santa Maria in Trastevere)” in <i>Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma</i> . Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana Roma, 13 marzo 2008, (2012), Fig. 2 |