

“When our Sun is risen”: observations on eschatological visions in the art of the first millennium-I*

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I. The mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome

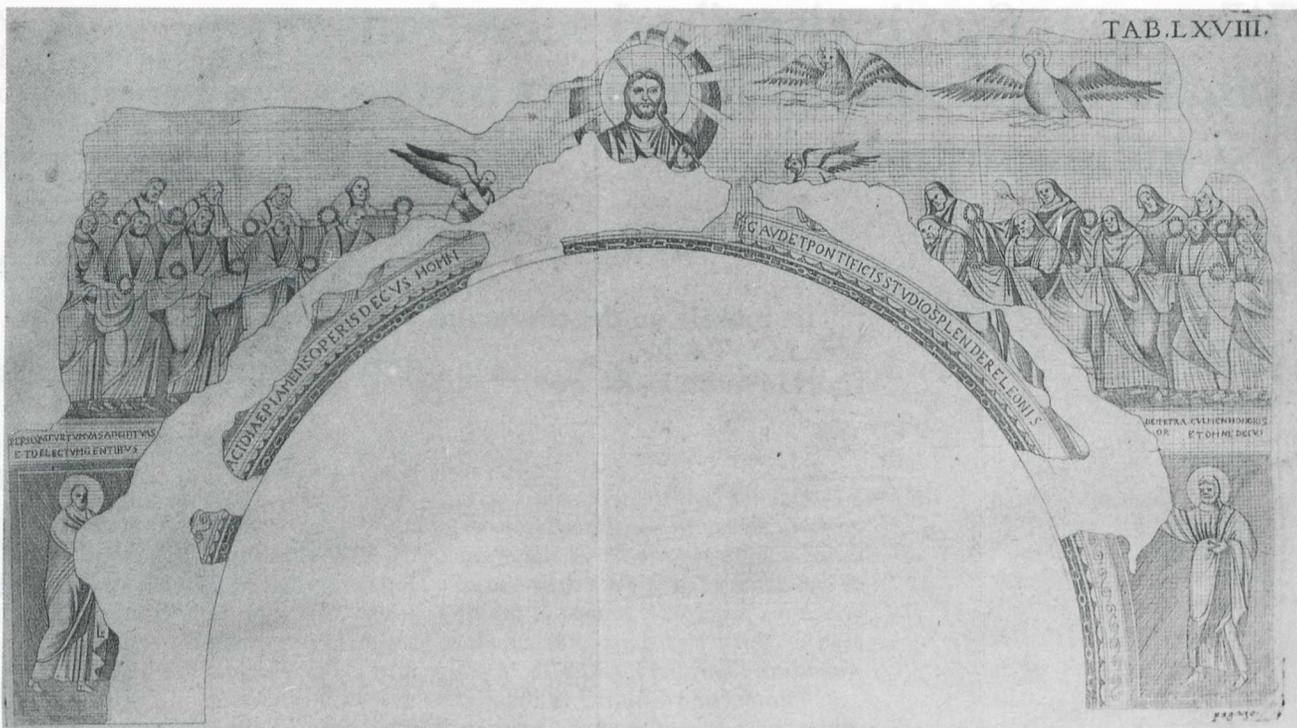
Quando venerit ipse Dominus, et ortus fuerit Sol noster: non iste qui oculis videtur, et oritur super bonos et malos; sed de quo dicitur: “vobis qui temetis Deum, oriatur Sol justitiae, et sanitas in pennis eius”... Ipsa erit aeras nostra. St. Augustine, Enarr in Ps. CXLVIII, 16.

The Second Coming is a major subject in the art of the first Christian millennium¹. References to this eschatological event are to be found in representations of the Transfiguration and the Ascension². Moreover, there are numerous other themes in which the Second Coming seems to provide an underlying layer of meaning. Many of them distinctly refer to solar symbolism. Though frequently referred to in passing the subject has not so far received systematic attention. This paper is an attempt to partially fill the gap. Its point of departure is the mosaic in S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, depicting the Homage of the Elders of the Apocalypse³.

In Giovanni Ciampini's *Vetera monumenta*, there is an engraving depicting the mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome⁴ (fig. 1). The mosaic, commissioned by Galla Placidia during the pontificate of Leo the Great, was already damaged when Ciampini saw it. More than half a century earlier, most probably around 1634, an unknown artist made a drawing of it (Cod. Barb. Lat. 4406/fol. 140)⁵ (fig. 2). These two representations prove that the reconstruction of the mosaic after the fire in 1823 (fig. 3, 3a), despite some differences and mistakes, still reflects the original mid-5th century iconography faithfully enough⁶. There are two other sources which offer some valuable information: the first is a letter written by pope Hadrian I c. 772 to Charlemagne which contains the following words:

“Leo papa (...) in basilica beati Pauli apostoli arcum ibidem maiorem faciens et musivo depingens Salvatorem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum seu vigniti quattuor seniores suo versibus decoravi”⁷. Leo and Galla Placidia are also mentioned in an inscription on the arch⁸. The second source is a sketch by Pompeo Ugonio (fig. 11) now in the Cod. Barb. Lat. 2161 fol. 29r⁹. This schematic drawing showing only the bust of Christ adds an important element – Christ is shouldering a cross, which is not the case in any of the other representations or in the restored mosaic. On the basis of written and iconographic sources it is possible to reconstruct approximately the original iconography of the arch in S. Paolo. The central part of the composition contained a representation of the long-haired and bearded Christ, enclosed in a huge clipeus shown perhaps against a background of clouds. Nine broad rays emanated from the Saviour's head or nimbus and on His shoulder He carried a cross with a long staff. The four symbols of the Evangelists – each holding a book – emerged from the clouds on either side of Christ. The Elders of Revelations carried wreaths in their veiled hands and were arranged in two symmetrical groups below the symbols of the Evangelists. On either side of Christ appeared two winged angels. It is hard to say whether or not they originally held “croquet mallets” as described by Fritz van der Meer¹⁰. It is also difficult to ascertain the gesture of Christ's right hand, as this portion of the mosaic was no longer extant when the drawing of 1634 and Ciampini's engraving were produced. The theophany was witnessed by the apostles Peter and Paul who were pictured below the Elders.

Nell'arte cristiana del I millennio, sono assai numerose le rappresentazioni di Cristo o del suo simbolo, l'Agnello, riconducibili alla concezione di Helios/Sol e alla multiforme simbologia solare; esse si incontrano sovente nell'iconografia del Secondo Avvento del Signore, ricorrente in quell'epoca. L'articolo vuole essere un'analisi, seppur parziale, di tale problematica, a partire dai mosaici dell'arco trionfale della chiesa di San Paolo fuori le mura a Roma e della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Tessalonica (risalenti alla metà del V secolo), e dalle rappresentazioni preromaniche, soprattutto caroline, dei vegliardi apocalittici adoranti l'Agnello. Nella prima parte dell'articolo sono esaminati i moduli raffigurativi del Cristo nel clipeus “dal volto come un sole” in San Paolo fuori le mura e la simbologia relativa. Una visione forse prodottasi sia per assorbire il perdurante culto pagano del sole – ne parlano le fonti scritte pagane e cristiane e, tra queste, l'Omelia di papa Leone Magno durante il pontificato del quale fu realizzato il mosaico – sia per annunciare, in quel tempio costellato di sepolcri, che “i giusti risplenderanno come il Sole”.

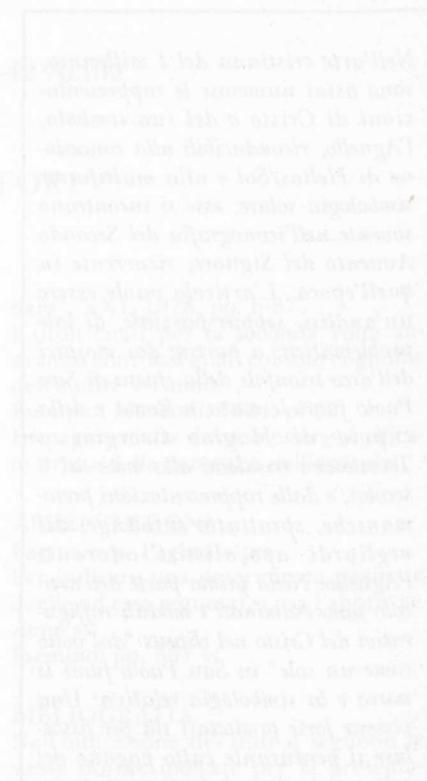


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The unusual character of the S. Paolo mosaic has been noticed by many scholars but neither its iconographical antecedents nor its meaning have been satisfactorily explained. Models for the Elders have been suggested but the iconography of Christ requires further consideration¹¹. As to the meaning of Christ's portrayal, so far only some laconic observations exist. According to Van der Meer this image depicts both the human and the divine nature of Christ¹². For Hermann Schnitzler the rays illustrate the words from Revelation: "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thundering and voices" (Rev. IV, 5)¹³. Stefan Waetzoldt comments as follows: "The nimbus of Christ resembles a radiate crown which on coins of roman Emperors defines their similarity to divine being. This is also the attribute of Sol Invictus and encircles the head of the phoenix which, in Christian art, is the symbol of Resurrection. On the S. Paolo mosaic the radiate crown has the same meaning: it underlies the majesty of Christ and characterises the Resurrected. As such he is Lord of the Heavens"¹⁴. Some scholars have hinted that the S. Paolo Christ could be the Sun of justice¹⁵. These opinions, though partially correct, are far from exhaustive and, therefore the object of what follows is to offer a more comprehensive treatment. The

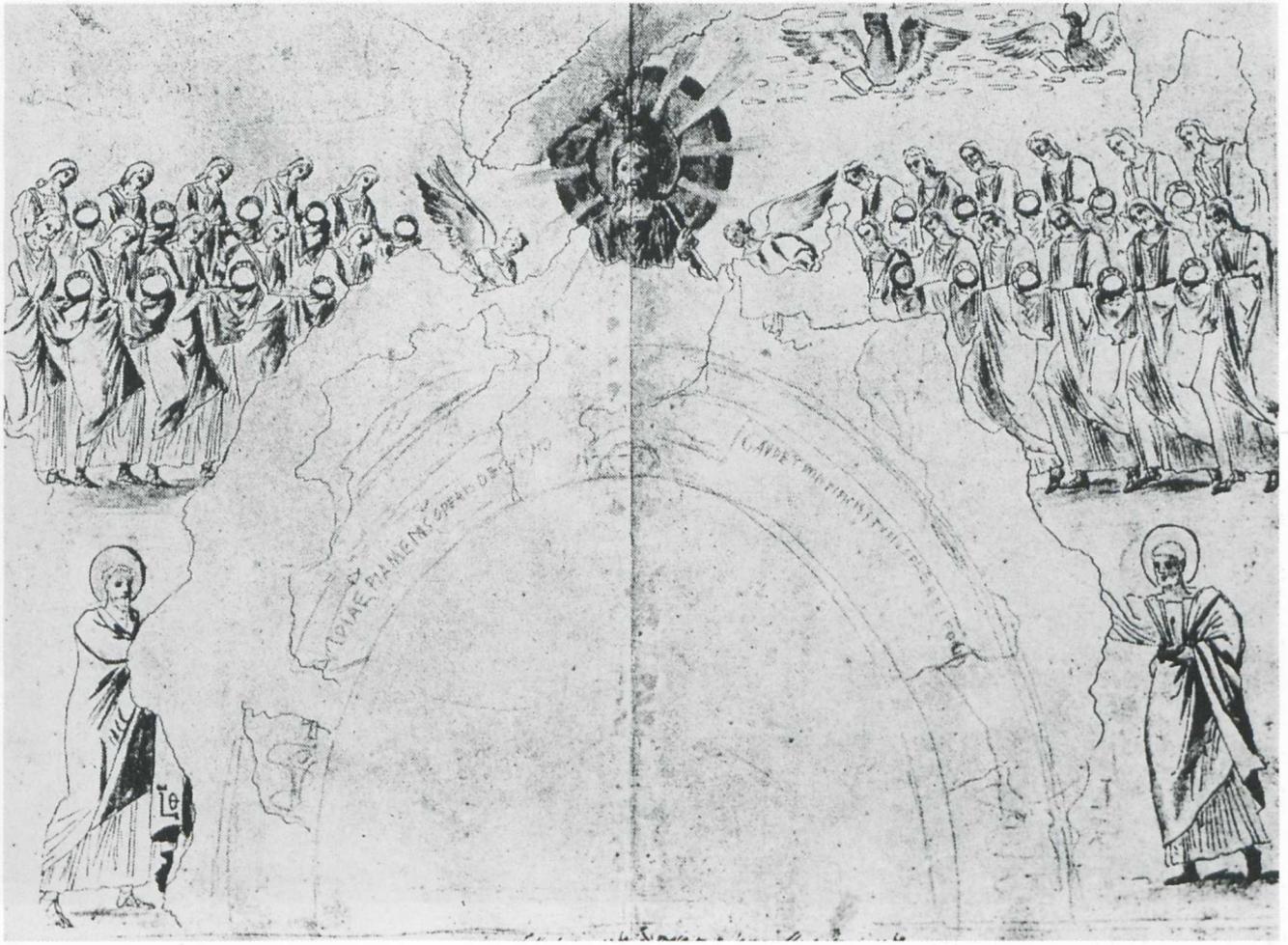
most important questions to be answered are; why was Christ depicted in this particular way and what meaning and purpose can be ascribed to this image. In order to answer these questions it is first necessary to discuss the iconographical antecedents of this portrayal.

Representations of the sun in the form of a circle or disc were very popular in ancient art in the region of the Fertile Crescent, and especially Egypt¹⁶. It was most probably in Mesopotamia, however, that a representation of the sun in the form of a human face, or a bust in a disc, emanating rays appeared for the first time¹⁷. The art of classical antiquity took up this conception very fruitfully. It is worth recalling here the beautiful *imago Solis* in a *clipeus* with numerous pointed rays adorning a red-figure *kalyx-krater* found in central Italy, now in Parma (c. 400 BC)¹⁸. Similar images can be found on some Etruscan mirrors and on small terracotta *clipei* from the Eroses Tomb in Eretria, dating most probably from the 3rd century BC, now in Paris and Boston¹⁹. On some of the latter the radiant head of Helios seems to bear the features of Alexander the Great²⁰. Other examples are the bronze coins of Marcus Antonius, in the British Museum (fig. 4), which depict the temple of the Sun erected near the Circus Maximus in Rome²¹. Between the co-



1. Mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, J. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta*, engraving of 1690.

2. Mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura, drawing of 1634.



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lumnns of a schematically drawn temple appears a bust of a facing, long-haired sol in suo clypeo²². On one of the coins the countenance of Helios emanates nine rays as Christ does in the S. Paolo mosaic. Other good examples are a bronze medallion showing Caracalla with ten rays surrounding his head (Berlin)²³ and a porphyry disc in the British Museum with Serapis-Helios whose head radiates six long, wide rays (fig. 6)²⁴. Long, wide rays, so characteristic in the portrayal of Christ in S. Paolo are also to be found in the Mithraic painting at Marino, where the sun transmits his "power" to Mithra in the act of killing a bull²⁵, and in a bust of Serapis in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (fig. 5)²⁶, and also in a relief on the so-called Decennalia base in the Forum Romanum²⁷. The closest affinity with the S. Paolo mosaic, however, occurs in two other representations of the sun. One a bronze bust, most probably from the mid-3rd century (fig. 8), found at Vetus Salina²⁸, the other a miniature in the Vatican Vergil (fig.

9)²⁹ which is almost contemporary with the S. Paolo mosaic. In both cases Helios has the countenance of a young man, and radiates seven long rays.

The S. Paolo Christ is related to Helios iconography not only in the use of a clipeus and the long rays, but also by the cross with a long shaft originally held by Christ. The cross replaced the sceptre or whip which can be found in several pagan images of the sun, Serapis-sun or the emperor as the sun³⁰. It suffices to mention a Mithraic relief, now in the Louvre (fig. 11a), from the beginning of the 3rd century, and a Constantian gold medallion from Ticinum. The former shows a personification of the sun on the cloud whose head emanates rays and who is holding a whip-sceptre in the left hand³¹, and the latter depicts Constantine the Great with a sceptre on his shoulder twinned with Helios³².

The investigation of the artistic filiations of the portrayal of Christ in S. Paolo should be supplemented with that of some similar Christian

images whose meaning has not yet been fully explained. In the S. Calixtus catacomb in Rome there is a barely visible painting dated c. 220 which represents a ship in a storm³³. On board the ship is an orant and above him hovers a bust in a clipeus (according to Otto Brendel this is the first example of a mandorla in Christian art³⁴) with a head emanating two long rays. Sol in suo clypeo and with a corona radiata occurs on a sarcophagus found in the Vatican cemetery, now in the Museo Pio Cristiano, dated c. 300³⁵. Shown in three-quarter view it shines above Jonah being swallowed by the whale. Perhaps the same scene was represented in the S. Calixtus painting and perhaps in both cases the figure in a clipeus is Sol salutis³⁶. It is also worth recalling a relief in the small church at Quintanilla de la Vinas dating from the 7th or 8th century (fig. 10)³⁷. It represents the sun with nine rays in the form of petals in a medallion held by two flying angels. This "apotheosis" of the sun has antecedents in pre-Christian art³⁸. Thus in



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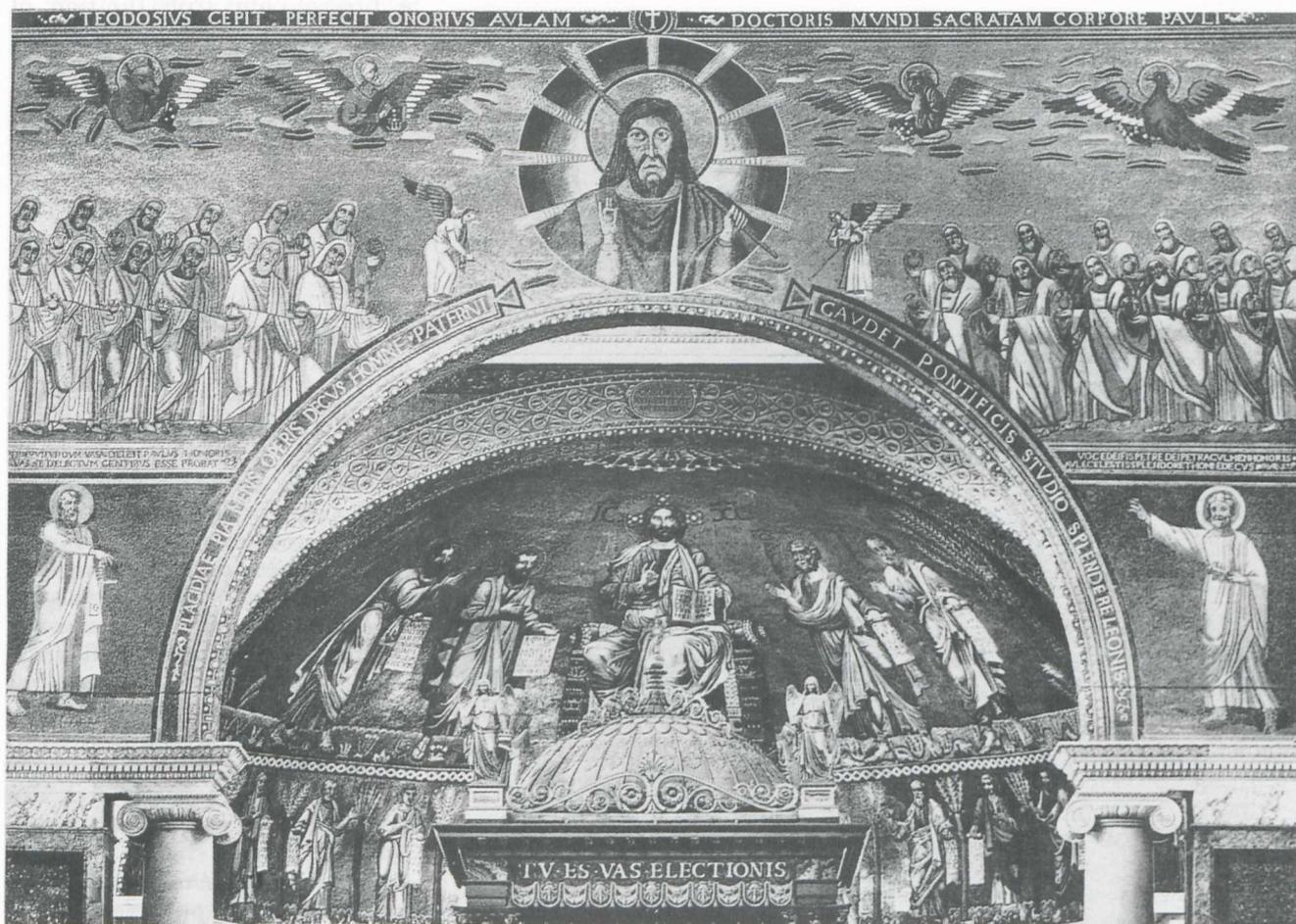
the light of comparative material the relation between the S. Paolo Christ and the iconography of the sun seems obvious. But what was the purpose and meaning of this portrayal?

As is well-known the pagan cult of the Sun, so important in the religious life of late antiquity, reached its peak in the 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th³⁹. It continued into the 5th. This is confirmed by both pagan and Christian sources. For the pagans, there is Macrobius and Martianus Capella: Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, written most probably c. 420, develops a kind of solar henotheism⁴⁰. He says, for example: "Certainly it is not empty superstition but divine reason that makes them relate almost all the gods – at any rate the celestial gods – to the Sun"⁴¹? Martianus exclaims: "(O) Sun, the eye of the Universe, the splendour of shining heaven (...) Hail true face of the gods"⁴². Similar turns of phrase occur repeatedly in the writings of Proclus, one of the last official teachers of the Platonic Academy in Athens (d. 485)⁴³. It is important to bear in mind that although, accor-

ding to the Neo-Platonists, the visible sun was only the lowest in the hierarchy of a series of suns it was also considered to be a god⁴⁴. In the 5th century Proclus and the Manichaeans⁴⁵ were not alone in praying to the visible sun: the cult was wide-spread in the Roman Empire, as is demonstrated by the numerous inscriptions, hymns, and invocations in the Greek *Magical Papyri*⁴⁶.

It is also well-known that Christianity sought to neutralize the cult of the sun by assimilating it⁴⁷, having at its disposal a wide range of solar metaphors both from the Old and New Testaments (e.g. Book of Wisdom 5,6, Malachi 4,2, Luke 1,78) the Church promoted a rich solar speculation. Christ – "the Light of the World" (John, 1,1-9; 8, 12) became the Sun of justice, true, great, new and ever-rising Sun, etc.⁴⁸. These solar descriptions and comparisons were used both to demonstrate that the visible, wordly sun was created by God-Logos shining in the spiritual world and to express the fundamental truth of revelation⁴⁹. In this process of assimilation the Church be-

gan to celebrate *Dies Domini* on *Dies Solis* and Easter on the first Sunday following the first Spring full moon, and Christmas on December 25, the day of the birth of *Sol invictus*⁵⁰. In art this process of assimilation is documented e.g. by the representation of Christ-Oriens driving the *currus solis* in the tomb of Julii beneath the Vatican basilica (fig. 7)⁵¹. In this beautiful image, produced most probably at the beginning of the 4th century, Christ's countenance emanates long rays of light arranged in a cruciform manner⁵². Is it also possible to relate the S. Paolo mosaic to doctrinal issues? The sermons of Leo the Great could perhaps be of help here. In one of them he says: "From such a system of teaching proceeds also the ungodly practice of certain foolish folk who worship the sun as it rises at the beginning of daylight from elevated positions: even some Christians think it proper to do this so that before entering the blessed Apostle Peter's basilica, which is dedicated to the One Living and true God, when they have mounted the steps which lead to the raised platform, they turn



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3. S. Paolo fuori le mura after the fire in 1823.

3a. Mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura, 19th cent., reconstruction.

round and bow towards the rising sun and with bent neck do homage to its brilliant orb. We are full of grief and vexation that this should happen, which is partly due to the fault of ignorance and partly to the spirit of heathenism: because, although some of them do perhaps worship the Creator of that fair light rather than the light itself, which is His creature, yet we must abstain even from the appearance of this observance: for if one who has abandoned the worship of the gods, finds it in our own worship, will he not hark back again to this part of this old superstition, as if it were allowable, when he sees it to be common both to Christians and to infidels? This objectionable practice must be given up... But what is the sun... but an element of visible creation and material light... Confine the material light to your bodily senses, and with all your mental powers embrace that "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world"⁵³. It is important to note that similar words occur in other sermons by Leo⁵⁴ as well as in the writings of John Chrysostom⁵⁵, Jerome⁵⁶,

Augustine⁵⁷, Theodoret of Cyr⁵⁸. Augustine's writings in particular contain numerous examples. One of these, a passage from the Enarratio in Ps. 103 reads: "Nor ought you to think, brethren, that the sun is to be worshipped on the ground that the sun doth sometimes in the Scriptures signify Christ. For such is the madness of men; as if we said that a creature should be worshipped, when it is said that the sun is an emblem of Christ... Observe how numerous are the types of Christ: all these are Christ in similitude, not in essence... That Sun, therefore, we now say it without apprehension, that Sun of righteousness, doth not without cause rise to the ungodly, even though they wish..."⁵⁹.

Leo's text, quoted above, well-known to patrologists and historians of liturgy⁶⁰, and discussed at length by Franz J. Dölger⁶¹, has never been involved in connection with the S. Paolo mosaic. A mosaic depicting the Homage of the twenty-four Elders is also said to have adorned the facade of St. Peter's basilica in Rome during Leo's pontificate⁶². Leo's homily may

4. Bronze coins from the time of Marcus Antonius, London, British Museum (Phot. British Museum).



Van der Meer considers the scene in S. Paolo “synthetic”: i.e. based on various texts⁶⁹. Beat Brenk and Joseph Engemann have shown that such a synthetic representation is not exceptional in early Christian art or indeed the art of the entire first millennium⁷⁰. Let us consider another such “synthetic” image executed c. 440 on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 13). In the central part of the arch the Empty Throne of God is depicted in a clipeus. On the throne are a diadem and a *crux gemmata*, and at its base is the apocalyptic scroll with seven seals. Peter and Paul holding open codices, stand on either side of the throne and raise their arms towards it in a gesture of acclamation. Above them are depicted the symbols of the Evangelists with golden wreaths⁷¹. This scene is, as it were, a *pars pro toto* of what could be seen in S. Paolo, although the Elders’ attribute⁷². The motifs taken from different chapters of the Apocalypse and from the Gospels, especially Matthew 24, 29-31, can be found in many other representations produced in the 5th and following centuries. For example in Ravenna, the mosaics in S. Vitale⁷³, and S. Apollinare in Classe⁷⁴, in S. Prisco in Capua Vetere⁷⁵, and S. Pudenziana in Rome⁷⁶. Even if these representations refer also the “actual presence” of the Saviour in His Church, their main reference is most probably the Second Coming⁷⁷. The same seems to be the case in S. Paolo. The mosaic appears to combine various visions both from the Apocalypse and the Gospels (possibly also from the Old Testament) i.e. the visions of the “One coming on the clouds” (Rev. I, 7 ff.), the Homage of the Elders (Rev. IV; V; XI, 16-17; XIX, 4 etc., and Matthew 24, 29 ff., etc.)⁷⁸ Revelation

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have been delivered in this basilica to which it refers. The object of the Elders’ adoration, however, is still datable. In the Farfa Codex (fig. 12), produced in the 11th century, now in Eton College, there is a drawing which shows the facade of St. Peter’s with the Lamb of God in a clipeus being adored by the Elders⁶⁵. The same scene, this time with the Lamb emanating rays, appears in the Soissons Gospels, executed c. 800, and probably modelled on the Vatican mosaic (fig. 12a)⁶⁴. On the other hand a text dating from the 7th century, describes this particular image in the following way: “in fronte foras in ecclesia sancti Petri ubi illi animalia circa christum sunt picta”⁶⁵. Some scholars suggest that in Leo’s time Christ in a clipeus was shown on the facade – the image which was to

be replaced by the Lamb of God at the end of the 7th century⁶⁶. Although this matter is difficult to resolve it seems plausible that the Vatican mosaic included solar symbolism. It seems also plausible to argue that Leo might have commissioned a representation of Christ as the Sun or the Lamb “in the Sun” (as in the Soissons illumination) on the facade of the non-oriented basilica of St. Peter i.e. with the facade towards the East, in order to convert “the ungodly practice of foolish folk” – i.e., paying homage to “the brilliant orb” of the sun into the worship of the true Sun⁶⁷. It seems Leo did not hesitate to use old solar iconographic formulae in S. Paolo to represent the apocalyptic vision – the cross shouldered by Christ very clearly defines the new, true Sun⁶⁸.

5. *Serapis*. Terracotta plaque, 3rd cent., Alexandria, graeco-Roman Museum.

6. *Serapis-Sol*, porphyry disc, c. 200, London, British Museum. (Phot. British Museum).

reads: "I turned to see... one like unto the Son of Man... and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength" (1, 2-16). As early as the first half of the 3rd century Origen⁷⁹ in his scholia to Revelation, and then Ticonius⁸⁰ in his Comments on this book called Christ the true Sun or the Sun of justice. In the following centuries, solar symbolism is nearly always present in commentaries on the Apocalypse: Pseudo-Augustine, Primasuis of Hadrumetum, and Andrew of Caesarea⁸¹. Primasius, who probably follows Ticonius's now only partially preserved commentary, refers to Christ as Malachi's Sun of justice in connection with Rev. IV, 2-4 and XXI, 23: "a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne... and there was a rainbow round about the throne", and "the city had not need of the sun... to shine in it"⁸². Gregory of Nyssa offers a gloss on Revelation XXI, 23: "The great day (of everlasting life) will no longer be illumined by the visible sun but by a true light, the Sun of justice which is called Oriens (the rising Sun) by the prophets because it is no longer hidden by any setting"⁸³. Other literary sources for the S. Paolo mosaic might have been the commentaries of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, as well as the apocryphal Letter of the Apostles⁸⁴. In the letter last mentioned Christ speaks of Himself as returning at the end of time "like the rising sun"⁸⁵. Such an image of eschatological Christ the Sun was especially appropriate to the church of S. Paolo which, similarly to St. Peter's, was filled with graves.

The above interpretation of the S. Paolo mosaics seems to be confirmed by the decoration in the domed ceiling of the so-called mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (fig. 14), as already mentioned, the Empress also



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7. *Christ-Helios*, mosaic on the vault in the Mausoleum of the Tomb of Julii beneath the basilica of St. Peter's, beginning of 4th cent.

commissioned the S. Paolo mosaic⁸⁶. Above the four symbols of the Evangelists emerging from thin coloured clouds, rises the sky with 567 golden stars rotating concentrically round a golden, oriented Latin cross set in the centre. In the four lunettes on each side of the dome are in two white figures of the Apostles, with Paul and Peter on the eastern wall, all adoring the shining cross. According to Carl. O. Nordström's convincing interpretation, this cross symbolises Christ as the rising Sun in the Second Coming⁸⁷. Nordström's interpretation is supported not only by patristic texts but also by the seven stars that appear between the arms of the cross; these often defined Jupiter as the Sun in antique art. The iconographic formula of the Ravenna mosaic is different from the S. Paolo representation but both refer to the eschatological Saviour who is "the Light beyond all lights".

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** Quoted from CCSL, Vol. XL, p. 2176
The following abbreviations are used throughout:
CCSL: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout 1954 ff.
CCM: Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio

Medievalis, Turnhout 1957 ff.
CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1866 ff.
PG: Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1857 ff.
PL: Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1844 ff.

(1) B. BRENK, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends, Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes*, Vienna, 1966, pp. 55 ff.; J. ENGEMANN, *Images parousiaques dans l'art paleochretien*, in *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques. II-XIIIe siècles*, Actes du Colloque de Ila Fondation Hardt, Genève, 1979, pp. 73-97.

(2) For the Transfiguration as announcement of the Second Coming see: E.

DINKLER, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinaire in Classe*, Cologne, 1964, passim; J. MIZIOLEK, *Transfiguratio Domini in the Apsis at Mount Sinai and the Symbolism of Light*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", LIII, 1990, pp. 42-60, with further bibliographical references. On the Ascension as announcement of the Secundus Adventus: Y. CHRISTE, *Les grands portails romans, Études sur l'iconographie des théophanies romanes*, Geneva, 1969, pp. 66 ff.; J. ENGEMANN, *Zu den Apsies-Tituli des Paulinus von Nola*, in "Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum", XVII, 1974, pp. 39-42.

(3) For the Homage of the twenty-four Elders see: F. VAN DER MEER, *Majestas Domini. Théophanies de L'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien*, Città del Vaticano, 1938, pp. 82-125; H. AURENHAMMER, *Lexikon der christlichen*

8. *Sol*, bronze bust from Dolichenum at Vetus Salina, 3rd cent.



stlichen Ikonographie, I, Wien 1967, pp. 638-40; K. HOFFMANN, *Altesten, Vierundzwanzia*, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Allgemeine Ikonographie*, eds. E. Kirschbaum et al., I. Rome etc. 1968, cols 107-109, with bibliography. Prudentius (c. 400) records the Homage of the Elders which was to be depicted in a church, perhaps at Saragossa, see: PL60, col. 112; cf. Van der Meer, 1938, p. 89. Y. CHRISTE (*Apocalypse et interprétation iconographique: Quelques remarques liminaires sur les images du règne de Dieu et de l'église à l'époque paléochrétienne*, in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", LXVII, 1974, pp. 92-100) is of the opinion that the representations of the Homage of the Elders cannot be seen as the Second Coming but as the images of "the present reign of Christ". Cf. n. 77 infra. The opinion of commentators as to who the Elders are is given by Van der Meer, 1938, p. 88. See also idem, *Vision from the Book of Revelation in Western Art*, London, 1978, pp. 59-80 ff.

(4) J. CIAMPINI, *Vetera monumenta...*, I, Rome, 1690, pp. 228 ff., and pl. LXVIII. See also S. WAETZOLDT, *Zur Ikonographie des Triumphbogenmosaiks von St. Paul in Rom*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, München, 1961, p. 20 and fig. 9; R. KRAUTHEIMER, S. CORBETT, A.K. FRAZER, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, V, Città del Vaticano, 1977, pp. 137 ff., and fig. 132. In the latter (pp. 93 ff.) there is detailed information about the foundation of the church and the iconographical sources of the mosaic are gathered. See also R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Rome, Profile of the City 312-1306*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 42 f.; Ch. IHM, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1960, pp. 135 ff., with bibliography.

(5) S. WAETZOLDT, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Malerei in Rom*, Vienna, 1964, no. 835 and fig. 453; J. WILPERT, W.N. SCHUMACHER, *Die römische Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten von IV-XIII Jahrhundert*, Freiburg, 1976, pp. 87 f., and fig. 58, with a discussion of the differences between this drawing and that in *Vetera monumenta*.

(6) On restorations (and the problem of the original iconography) of the mosaic: Waetzoldt, 1961, pp. 19 ff.; Wilpert-Schumacher, 1976, pp. 87 f.; M. ANDALORO, in *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, Rome, 1990, pp. 111-118; M. SCHAPIRO (*Notes on Castelseprio, part 1. The Three-Rayed Nimbus*, in "Art Bulletin", XXXIX, 1957, pp. 292-297) is of the opinion that "the mosaic of Christ on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo f.l.m. in Rome, may be of late eighth century", cf. H. BELTING, *I mosaici dell'Aula Leonina come testimonianza della prima "Renovatio" nell'arte medievale di Roma*, in *Roma e l'età carolingia*, Rome, 1976, p. 181, n. 57 who writes: "L'iconografia del Cristo Helios nella raggiera non sembra essere un'invenzione del medioevo".

(7) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Epp. V, p. 50. See also Van der Meer, 1938, p. 89, n. 2.

(8) For this and other inscriptions on the arch, see Wilpert-Schumacher, 1976, pp. 87 f.; Krautheimer, Corbett, Frazer, 1977, pp. 98 ff.; Ihm, 1960, pp. 135 ff. The inscription under discussion is the following: "Placidiae Pia Mens Operis Homne Paterni Gaudet Pontificis Studio Splendere Leonis".

(9) Waetzoldt, 1964, no. 837 and fig. 454; idem 1961, pp. 20 ff.; Wilpert-

Schumacher, 1976 pp. 87 f. and fig. 57.

(10) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 90.

(11) For the composition of the Homage of the Elders and its sources: T. KLAUSER, *Aurum coronarium*, in "Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung", LIX, 1944, pp. 147 ff., esp. 150; idem, *Aurum coronarium*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, Stuttgart, 1950, col. 1017.

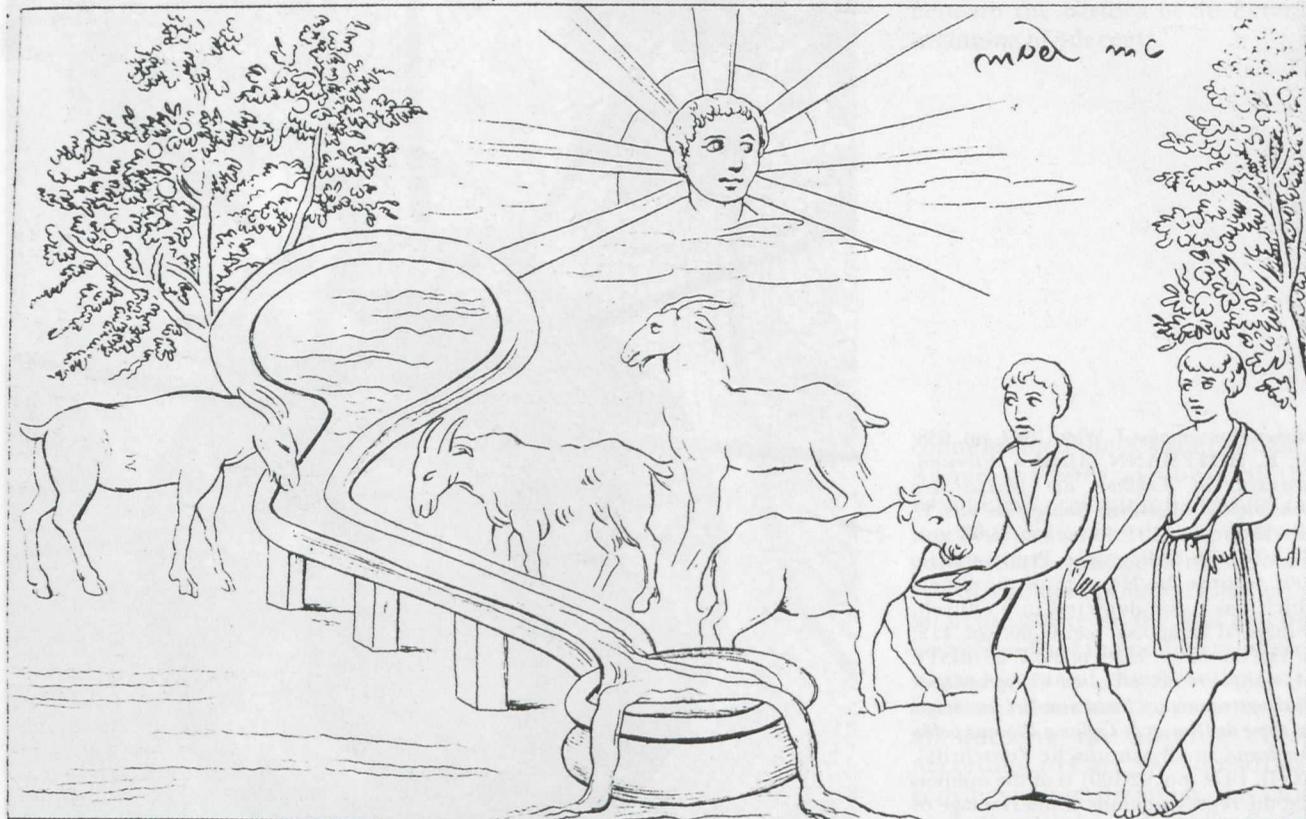
(12) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 91.

(13) H. SCHNITZLER, *Das Kuppelmosaik der Pfalzkapelle*, in "Aachener Kunstblätter", XXIX, 1964, p. 32.

(14) Waetzoldt, 1961, p. 23.

(15) See: J. BOLTEN, *Die image clipeata, Ein Beitrag zur Portrait- und Typengeschichte*, Paderborn, 1937, p. 49; L. HAUTECOEUR, *Mystique et architecture. Le symbolisme du circle et de la coupole*, Paris, 1954, p. 192, n. 9; see also Belting, 1976. Cf. n. 6 supra.

(16) F. BOLL, *Die Sonne im Glauben und der Weltanschauung der Alten Völker*, Stuttgart, 1922, passim; R. WITTKOWER, *Adler und Schlange*, in idem, *Allegorie und der Wandler der Symbole in Antike und*



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Renaissance, Cologne, 1984, pp. 28 ff., with previous bibliography in notes 24-28. See also C. ALDRED, *Akhenaton. Pharaoh of Egypt*, London, 1968, passim.

(17) K. SCHAUBURG, *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott*, Berlin, 1955, p. 13 and notes 37-8. See also: H.P. L'ORANGE, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953, pp. 19 ff.

(18) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia XLVI, ceramica etrusca a figure rosse*. Museo Nazionale di Antichità di Parma, ed. P. Rossignani, Rome, 1970, pls 1, 1-2; 2, 1-3; Miziolek, 1990, pp. 48 f. and pl. 3 a, b; Schauburg, 1955, pp. 11-14.

(19) For the mirrors: C.Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca*, Milano, 1935, pl. 133, 1; Schauburg, 1955, pp. 12 f. and fig. 1. For the terracotta clipei, see CC. VERMEULE III, *A Greek Theme and its survivals. The Ruler's Shield (Tondo Image) in Tomb and Temple*, in "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society", CIX, 1965, p. 367 and fig. 15; L'Orange, 1953, p. 94, fig. 66.

(20) Vermeule, 1965, p. 367.

(21) See M. GUARDUCCI, *Sol Invictus Augustus*, in "Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti", XXX-XXXI, 1957-1959, p.

167 ad b fig. 6; see also: J.H. HUMPHREY, *Roman Circuses*, Berkeley etc, 1986, pp. 91-95. Cf. B.M. FELLETTI-MAJ, *Sol*, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica ed orientale*, VII, Rome, 1966, p. 398. On representations of the sun adorning buildings in Antiquity see, H. JUCKER, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkeilch, Geschichte und Bedeutung einer römischen Porträtform*, Lausanne etc, 1961, pp. 142-150. For the number of rays surrounding the head of Helios: F.J. DÖLGER, *Das Sonnengleichnis in einer Weinachtspredigt des Bischofs Zeno von Verona. Christus als wahre und ewige Sonne*, in "Antike und Christentum", VI, 1940, pp. 36-51.

(22) This description is to be found in Tertullian, *Apolog.* XVI, 10.

(23) O. BRENDEL, *Der Schild des Achilles*, in "Die Antike", XII, 1936, p. 275 and fig. 2; H.B. WIGGERS, *Das römische Herrscherbild, Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla*, Berlin, 1971, pp. 57 f.

(24) W. HORNOSTEL, *Serapis*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 216 f. and fig. 165a.

(25) G. MANSUELLI, *Roma e il mondo romano, II Da Trajano all'antichità tarda (I-III sec. d.C.)*, Turin, 1981, pp. 285 f. and colour ill. on p. 285.

(26) Hornostel, 1973, pl. XCVII, 270.

(27) Jucker, 1961, fig. 26.

(28) J. FITZ, *The Great Age of Panonnica AD 193-284*, Budapest, 1982, figs 61-2. For similar representations of *Sol in suo clypeo*, now in Castel Madama, dating from the 3rd cent. see: L. TRAVAINI, *Un rilievo raffigurante il busto di "Sol" con iscrizione medievale conservato a Castel Madama*, in "Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia dell'Arte", LI, 1978, pp. 61-74 and pls. 2-3.

(29) *Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Ms. lat. 3225*, see J. de WIT *Di Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus*, Amsterdam, 1959, p. 28; W.N. SCHUMACHER, *Hirt und "Guter Hirt"*, Rome etc, 1977, pp. 120 f. and pl. 25 c. cf. also, R. WARLAND, *Das Brustbild Christi*, Rome etc., 1986, fig. 36, pp. 44 ff.

(30) See P. BASTIEN, *Clypeus et buste monétaire des empereurs romains*, in "Numismatica e antichità classiche", X, 1981, pp. 315-352 and pls. I, 4; IV, 32-34; V, 48-50; VIII, 73, 76-78 etc.

(31) See *Spätantike und frühes Christentum, Ausstellung im Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main*, 1983, No. 142.

(32) Bastien, 1981, p. 336 and pl. VI, 51; For further similar examples ibidem pl. VI, 52 and VIII, 70. See also M.R. ALFÖLDI, *Die Konstantinische Goldprägung Untersuchungen zu ihrer Bedeutung für Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst*, Mainz, 1963, pl.



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V, 60 and XXII, 274.

(33) J. WILPERT, *Die Malereien der Sacramentskapellen in der Katakombe des hl. Callistus*, Freiburg i. Br, 1897, p. 21, fig. 12; idem, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg i. Br. 1903, pp. 22 f.; Schumacher, 1977, pp. 189 ff.

(34) O. BRENDDEL, *Origin and Meaning of the Mandorla*, in "Gazette des Beaux Arts", 6^e ser. XXV, 1944, p. 17; see also B. BRENK, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 174.

(35) F.W. DEICHMANN (ed.), *Repertorium der christlichantiken Sarkophage, I Rom und Ostia*, Wiesbaden, 1967, no., 35; *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art Third to Seventh Century, Catalogue of the Exhibition*, ed. by K. Weitzmann, New York, 1979, no. 363, with bibliography.

(36) Ibidem, no. 363. See also Bolten, 1937, p. 39; O. MITIUS, *Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums*, Freiburg, 1987, pp. 14-17.

(37) H. SCHLUNK, T. HAUSHILD, *Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Mainz am Rhein, 1978, pp. 230 ff. and fig. 149a. See also H. LAAG, *Sonne*, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, 1972, col. 176.

(38) See H. LECLERCQ, *Astres*, in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, I, 2, Paris, 1924, col. 3027 and fig. 1057. See also Jucker, 1961, pp. 144 and fig. 27.

(39) For the cult of the Sun in late antiquity see e.g.: M.P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II, Munich, 1961, pp. 509-19; H. SEYRIG, *Le culte du Soleil en*

Syrie a l'époque romaine, in "Syria", XLVIII, 1972, pp. 337-373; G.H. HALBERGHE, *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, Leiden, 1972; J. TUBAGH, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes. Der Sonnenkult in Edess. Harran und Hatra am Vorabend der christlichen Mission*, Wiesbaden, 1986; For philosophical background see F. ALTHEIM, *Porphyrios Schrift über den Sonnengott in Aus Spätantike und Christentum*, Tübingen, 1951, pp. 1-58.

(40) For Macrobius's solar theology see J. FLAMANT, *Macrobe et le neoplatonisme latin a la fin du IVe siecle*, Leiden, 1977, esp. 652 ff.

(41) *Saturnalia* 1, 17, 2, see MACROBIUS, *The Saturnalia*, tr. by P.V. Davies, New York etc. 1952, p. 114. For latin text see *Ambrosii Tehodosii Macrobi Saturnalia*, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1970, p. 82. Cf. *Saturnalia*, I, 23, 21-22 and passim.

(42) *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1983, pp. 52 f. (II, 185-193). For English version see MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, tr. W. Harris Stahl et. al., New York, 1977, pp. 58 f.

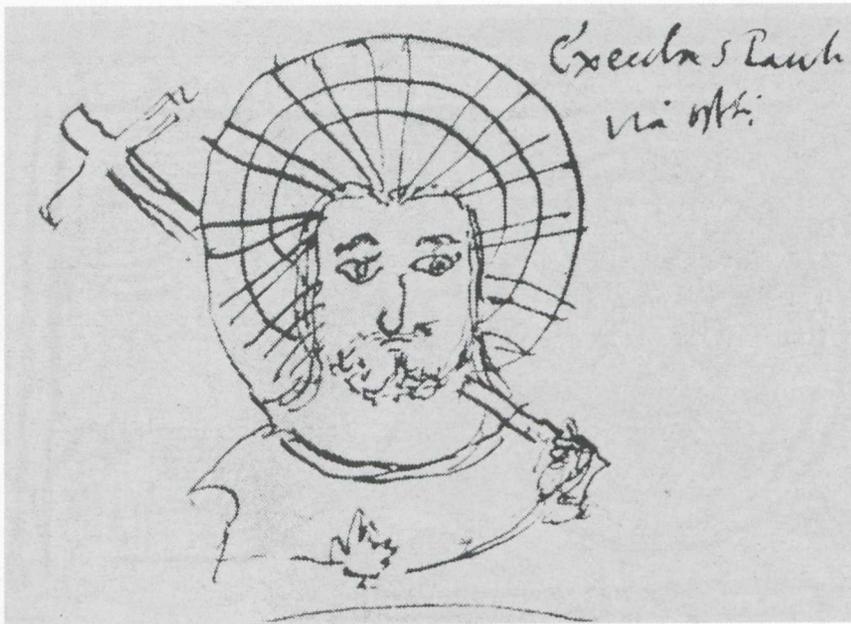
(43) For Proclus' considerations on the Sun see the excellent paper by H.D. SAFFREY, *La dévotion de Proclus au Soleil*, in *Philosophies non chrétiennes et christianisme*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 73-86.

(44) See e.g.: JULIAN THE APOSTATE, *Oratio IV (To King Helios) and Oratio V (To the Mother of the Gods)*, in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, I, tr. W.C. Wright, London, 1962, pp. 353-435 and 443-503. Among the numerous writings of Proclus it suffices to mention here the *Hymn to Apollo*, quoted by Saffrey, 1984, pp. 84-86. On the "series of suns" see ibidem.

(45) On Proclus praying three times a

9. Drawing of a scene from the Vatican Vergil, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 5th cent. (from: C.B.L.C. Seroux, D'Agincourt, *Storia dell'arte*).

10. Relief with *Apotheosis of the Sun*, church at Quintanilla de las Vinas, 7th or 8th cent.



11. *Christ on the triumphal arch in S. Paolo fuori le mura*, drawing by Pompeo Ugonio, 16th cent.

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day to the Sun see MARINUS OF SAMARIA, *The Life of Proclus or Concerning Happiness*, tr. K.S. Gurthie, Grand Rapids, 1986, p. 39 (chap. 22). For Manicheans see F.J. DÖLGER, *Konstantin der Grosse und der Manichäismus. Sonne und Christus ion Manichäismus*, in "Antike und Christentum", V, 1936, pp. 301-314, esp. 312 ff. Apart from the text of Augustine and other writers discussed by Dölger one may point to other homilies of LEO THE GREAT: e.g. *Sermo XLII*, 5, (CCSL, CXXXVIII, A, pp. 246 f.).

(46) For inscriptions see Halsberghe, 1972, pp. 163 nd 170. On hymns and invocations in Greek Papyri: Papyri Graecae Magicae, vols. 1-2, ed. and tr. K. Preisendanz, Stuttgart, 1973-1974, passim. See also Saffrey, 1984, p. 81. One should also point to the *Corpus Hermeticum* which contains many interesting passages; one of them reads: "If you wish to see him (the Lord), think on the sun... the sun is the greatest of the gods in heaven; to him, as to their king and over-lord, all the gods of heaven yield place; and yet this mighty god, greater than earth and sea, submits to have smaller stars circling above him", Lib. V, 2-3, quoted from *Hermetica. The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus*, ed. W. Scott, I., Oxford, 1924, p. 158.

(47) See. H. RAHNER, *The Christian Mystery of Sun and Moon*, in idem, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, tr. B. Buttershaw, London, 1963, pp. 89 ff.; idem, *Mysterium Lunae*, in idem, *Symbole der Kirche*, Salzburg, 1964, pp. 91 ff., J.A. JUNG-MANN, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory The Great*, London, 1980, pp. 21 ff., 133 ff., 141 ff. See also H. USENER, *Sol Invictus*, in "Rheinisches Museum" IX, 1905, pp. 465-491; R. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*,

Collgeville, 1986 pp. 14 f., 20-28, 285-90, 348-59.

(48) F.J. DÖLGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, Münster i. W. 1918, esp. 100-110; idem, *Sol Salutis, Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*, Münster i. W. 1925, passim; idem, 1940, pp. 1-56; E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Oriens Augusti-Lever du Roi*, in "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", XVII, 1963, pp. 135 ff.; Tubach, 1986, pp. 83-114.

(49) In patristic literature the whole life of Christ from the Nativity through Baptism, Transfiguration, Resurrection and Ascension appears as a great Sun mystery. This mystery is to include also the Second Coming. See Rahner, 1963, pp. 89 ff., esp. 99 and 135 f.; Dölger, 1925 passim.

(50) See for example Jungmann, 1980, pp. 21, 133, 141; Rahner, 1963, passim; J. DANIELOU, *Bible et liturgie*, Paris, 1951, passim; S. BACCHIOCCHI, *From Sabbath to Sunday. A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity*, Rome, 1977, passim.

(51) See. O. PERLER, *Die Mosaiken der Juliergruft*, Freiburg, 1953; Kantorowicz, 1963, pp. 143 f. See also: J.F. MOFFITT, *Helios, Christ, and Christmas*, in "Arte Cristiana", LXXVII, 741, 1990, pp. 337 ff. J. MIZIOLEK, *Sol versus. Studies in the Iconography of Christ in The Art of First Millennium*, Wroclaw, pp. 31-49, 171-74.

(52) Kantorowicz, 1963, pp. 143 f.

(53) "Etiam illa gneratour impietas, ut sol in inchoatione diurnae lucis exurgens a quibusdam insipientioribus de locis eminentioribus adoretur. Quod nonnulli etiam christiani adeo se religiose facere putant, ut priusquam ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam,

quae uni Deo uiuo et uero est dedicata, perueniant, superatis gradibus quibus ad suggestum areae superioris ascenditur, conuerso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curuatis ceruicibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent. Quod fieri partim ignorantiae uitio, partim paganitatis spiritu, multum tabescimus et dolemus, quia etsi quidam forte Creatorem potius pulchri luminis quam ipsum lumen, quod est creatura, uenerantur, abstinendum tamen est ab ipsa specie huius officii, quam cum in nostris inuenit qui deorum cultum reliquit, nonne hanc secum partem opinionis uetustae tamquam probabilem retentabit, quam christianis et impiis uiderit esse communem?... Abiciatur ergo a consuetudine fidelium damnanda peruersitas... Quid autem est sol... nisi uisibilis creaturae et corporeae lucis elementa... Lucem corpoream sensu tange corporeo, et toto mentis affectu illud uerum lumen amplectere quod "inluminant omnen hominem uenietem in hunc mundum", *Sermo XXVII, In Natiuitate Domini VII*, 4-6 Quoted from CCSL (vol. CXXXVIII) pp. 135-137.

(54) See *Sermo XXII*, 6 and *XL*, 5: CCSL, CXXXVIII-VXXXVIII A, pp. 246 f.

(55) E.g. *On the statues*, Homily X, 8-10, in *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, Oxford, 1842, pp. 181-185.

(56) See Rahner, 1963, p. 149.

(57) *Sermo XLC*, VII, 1: (PL38, col. 1007); *Enarrationes in Psalmos X*, 3; XXV, 2, 3; LXXX, 14; XCIII, 4-5; CIII, 3, 19-21; CXLVIII, 16 (CCSL XXXVIII-XL). Augustine says about "sol qui adoratur a paganis et Manichaeis" (*Enarr. in Ps. XXV*); on "adoratores solis" *Ennar. in Ps. LXXX*, 14, etc.

(58) *Hellenikon therapeutike pathematou*, III, 6-13: THEODORET DE CYR *Therapeutique des maladies helleniques*, ed. P. Canivet, Paris, 1958, pp. 172 ff.

(59) *Enarr. in Ps. CIII*, III, 20 (CCSL XL, p. 1516). English tr. cited from St. AUGUSTINE, *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, tr. by J. Tweed et al., V. Oxford, 1853, p. 122.



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(60) C. VOGEL, *Sol aequinoctialis, Problem et technique de l'orientation dans le culte chrétien*, in "Revue des Sciences Religieuses", XXVI, 1962, pp. 193 f.; Rahner, 1963, p. 152; Jungmann, 1980, pp. 136; Saffrey 1984, p. 75.

(61) Dölger, 1925, p. 1-20.

(62) See Waetzoldt, 1964, pp. 67-68; F. GANDOLFO, in *Fragmente picta*, as in no. 6 supra, pp. 131-134, esp. 132, with previous bibliography on p. 134.

(63) Cod. 124, fol. 122r; see Van der Meer, 1938, p. 93 and fig. 16; Waetzoldt, 1964, no. 884 and fig. 473; J. Ch. PICARD, *Les origines du mot Paradisus-parvis*, in "Melanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Âges", LXXXIII, 1971, pp. 178 ff. and fig. 3.

(64) Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 1: see D. DENNY, *Allusions to Old Saint Peter's in the Soissons Gospels*, in "Marsyas", IX, 1960-61, pp. 1-5 and fig. 2. See also notes 143 and 188 infra. In a scene described by Prudentius (c. 400) see n. 3 supra, the Elders were also to praise the Lamb.

(65) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 93; Picard, 1971, p. 178.

(66) H. GRISAR, *Il prospetto dell'antica basilica Vaticana*, in "Analecta romana", I, Rome, 1899, pp. 463 ff. esp. 465-483; G. MATTHIAE, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1967, pp. 127 f. Gandolfo (in *Fragmente picta*, as in n. 6 supra, p. 132). According to Wilpert (Wilpert-Schumacher, 1976, pp. 87 f.) both the Lamb in clipeus and Christ, below on the throne, were depicted on the facade of St. Peter's. Of the same opinion is e.g. Picard, 1971, p. 181.

(67) The old Vatican basilica faced East as does the new one. On the orientation of churches see: E. WEIGAND, *Die Ostung in der frühchristlichen Architektur*, in *Festschrift für Sebastian Merkle*, Düsseldorf, 1922, pp. 370-385; Vogel, 1962, pp. 175-211, with ample bibliography. See also, Jungmann, 1980, pp. 134 ff. B. MAURMANN, *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters*, München, 1976, passim.

(68) If G.J. HOOGEWERFF is right (*Il mosaico absidale di S. Giovanni in Laterano ed altri mosaici romani*, in "Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana in Archeologia, Rendiconti", XXVII, 1955, pp. 297 ff.) there would be another representation linked with solar symbolism executed during the pontificate of Leo the Great, i.e. in the apse of the Lateran basilica. This was to be the ancestor of all similar figures including that of SS. Cosma e Damiano. See notes 87 and 112 supra. For the meaning see notes 110-111.

(69) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 91.

(70) Brenk, 1966, pp. 55 ff.; Engemann, 1979, pp. 73-97. See also X. BARRAL i ALTET, *L'iconographie de caractère synthétique et monumental inspirée de l'Apocalypse dans l'art médiéval d'Occident*, in *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (as in n. 1), pp. 187-216.

(71) Brenk, 1975, pp. 14 ff.; Engemann, 1974, pp. 42 ff.; Wilpert-Schumacher, 1976, pls. 68 f.

(72) Brenk, 1975, p. 16; E.W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, Kommentar 3*, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 307; G. HELLEMO, *Adventus Domini. Eschatological Thought in IVth Century Apses and Cathedrales*, Leiden etc, 1989, pp 106 ff.

(73) Deichmann, 1976, pp. 143 ff., esp. 166 ff.; Engemann, 1979, pp. 94 f. and figs. 17-18.

(74) Dinkler, 1964 passim; C. MÜLLER, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe, Eine Strukturanalyse* in "Römische Quartalschrift", LXXV, 1980, pp. 11-50; Engemann, 1979, pp. 95 f.; Deichmann, 1976, pp. 245 ff.

(75) Brenk, 1975, pp. 16 ff.; Wilpert, Schumacher, 1976, figs. 82-85.

(76) Engemann, 1979, pp. 79 ff. and fig. 2 Cf. Y. CHRISTE, *Gegenwärtige und endzeitliche Eschatologie in der frühchristlichen Kunst. Die Apsis von Sancta Prudenziana in Rom*, in "Orbis scientiarum", II, 1972, pp. 47 ff.

(77) Christe in his numerous publications (most of them are cited by Engemann, 1979, p. 73, n. 2) points out that many representations illustrating Revelation or including motifs from this book produced in the first millennium refer not to the end of time but to the present reign of the Elders in his opinion: "...une image de la gloire de Dieu et de l'Eglise dans son palais-temple celeste... apres la mort et la Resurrection, acte d'investiture qui etablit un regne nouveau et fonde par la même occasion le Regne du Christ et de l'Eglise" – see Christe, 1974, pp. 92 f. See also idem, *Les représentations médiévales d'Ap. IV/V/en visions de Seconde Parousie, Origines, textes et contestes*, in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XXIII, 1974, pp. 61-72; idem, *Traditions littéraires et iconographiques dans l'interprétation des images apocalyptiques in L'Apocalypse de Jean*, as in n. 1, pp. 198 ff. Cf. idem. *La vision de Matthieu* (math



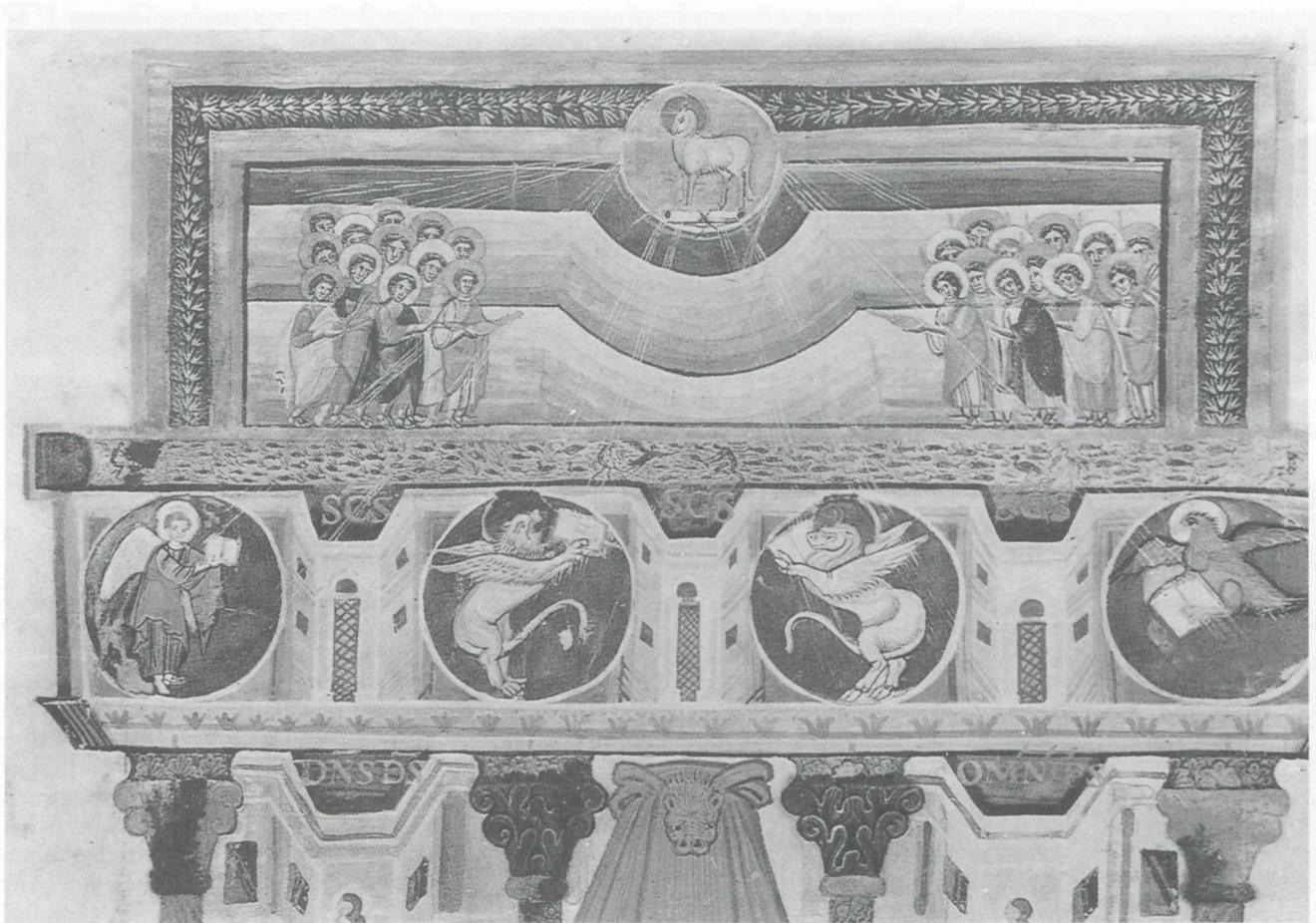
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XXIV-XXV). *Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie*, Paris, 1973, pp. 27 and 66 f. The Homage of the Elders appears also in Ap. XI, 16-17 and XIX, 4, where the eschatological context to be considered as an image of a "synthetic" character, based on different texts, both from Revelation and the Gospels, see: Brenk, 1966, pp. 55, 65 and 73; Engemann, 1979, pp. 74 ff. and 90. See also Christe, 1969, pp. 139 ff.

(78) Ambrose of Milan commenting on Luke 21,27 ff. (and Matthew 24,30) "And they shall see the Son of man coming in clouds... recalls the Ps. XVIII/XIX, "he set a tabernacle for the sun" and refers also to Zacharias 6, 12: "Uidit enim propheta sicut nubem uenire ab Orientem" (Exp. Evang. sec. Lucam X, 39-42), see AMBROISE DE MILAN, *Traité sur l'Évangile de S. Luc*, tr. G. Tissot, in "Sources chrétiennes", no., 52, Paris,

1958, pp. 169 ff. It is difficult to say whether the original mosaic in S. Paolo included "the sign of the Son of man" (Matthew, XXIV, 30) above the clipeus with Christ.

(79) See, C. DIOBOUNIOTIS, A. HARNACK, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 24-25. See also Dölger, 1918, p.



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12. Facade of St. Peter's basilica in the Vatican, drawing in the Farfa Codex, 11th cent.

12a. *The twenty four Elders and the Lamb, the Soissons Gospels, c. 800, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale.*

012, n. 2. For commentaries upon the Apocalypse in the first millennium, see G. KRETSCHMAR, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Die Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im Jahrtausend*, Stuttgart, 1985.

(80) See F. LO BUE, *The Turin Fragments of Ticonius Commentary on Revelation*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 100 f. and 178 f. Passage on Ap. 1.16 is lost, the pages pointed refer to Ap. IX, 2 and XII, 1. In Ticonius's Commentary the accent is on the First Coming, or on the actual presence of Jesus in his Church. Cf. His *Liber de septem regulis* (chapt. VII) where Christ as the Sun of justice appears in the eschatological context: PL, XVIII, cols. 57 f. See also Commentary of Victorinus from Petavio: CSEL, 49, pp. 82 ff. For the influence of the Commentary of Ticonius see, K.B. STEINHAUSER, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius, A History of its Reception and Influence*, Frankfurt am Main etc, 1987, esp. pp. 81 ff.

(81) For Pseudo-Augustine (*Expositio in Apocalypsim b. Joannis*): PL, XXXV, cols. 2419 and 2451. For Andreas of Caesarea (*Commentarius in Apocalypsin*) PG, CVI, cols. 229 and 440.

(82) See PL, LXVIII, cols. 814 and 928.

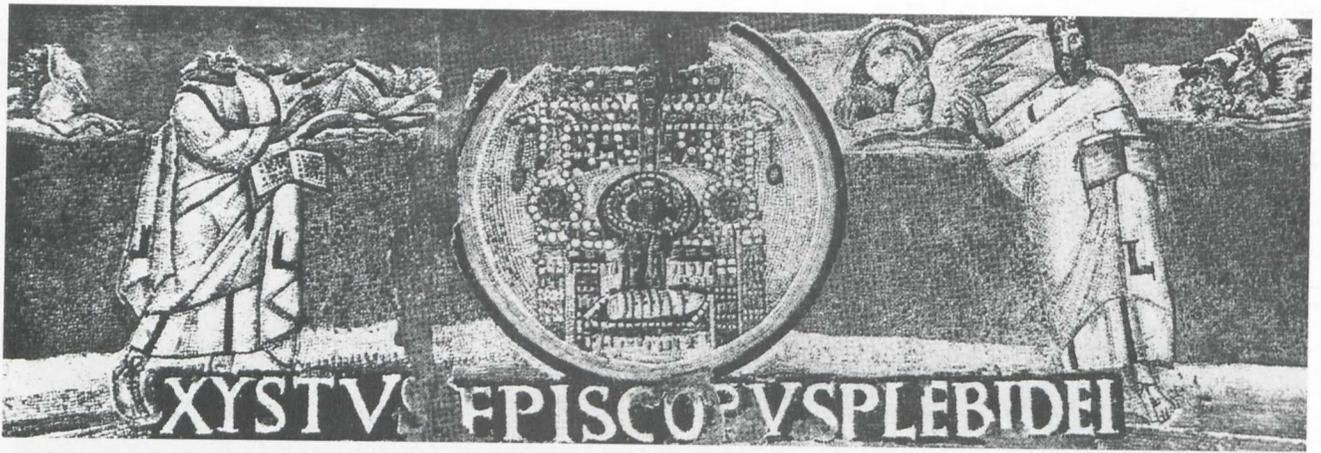
(83) *Treatise on the titles of the Psalms*, see PG, XLIV, col. 505.

(84) As to Augustine see *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 35, 1-3 and XX, 27: CCSL, XLVIII, pp. 751 f. For Jerome see e.g. *Commentary on Isaiah* (LX, 19-20): CCSL, LXXIII A. p. 704: "Et hoc capitulo congrimur omnia quae dicta sunt et dicenda, ad ultimum referre tempus... Et erit Dominus ipse lumen perpetuum, ut quae carnaliter asserunt esse complenda, nos spiritaliter futura credamus, in qualitate promissionum, non in tempore discrepantes. Quibus breviter respondendum est, quod pseudo-prophetis et peccatoribus sol occidit merdie, et e contrario timetibus Dominum oritur sol iustitiae".

(85) See E. HENNECKE, W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, London, 1963, p. 200. Similar words occur in the Apocalypse of Peter (ch. 1), see ibidem, II (1965), p. 668; see also Hellemo, 1989, pp. 112 ff.

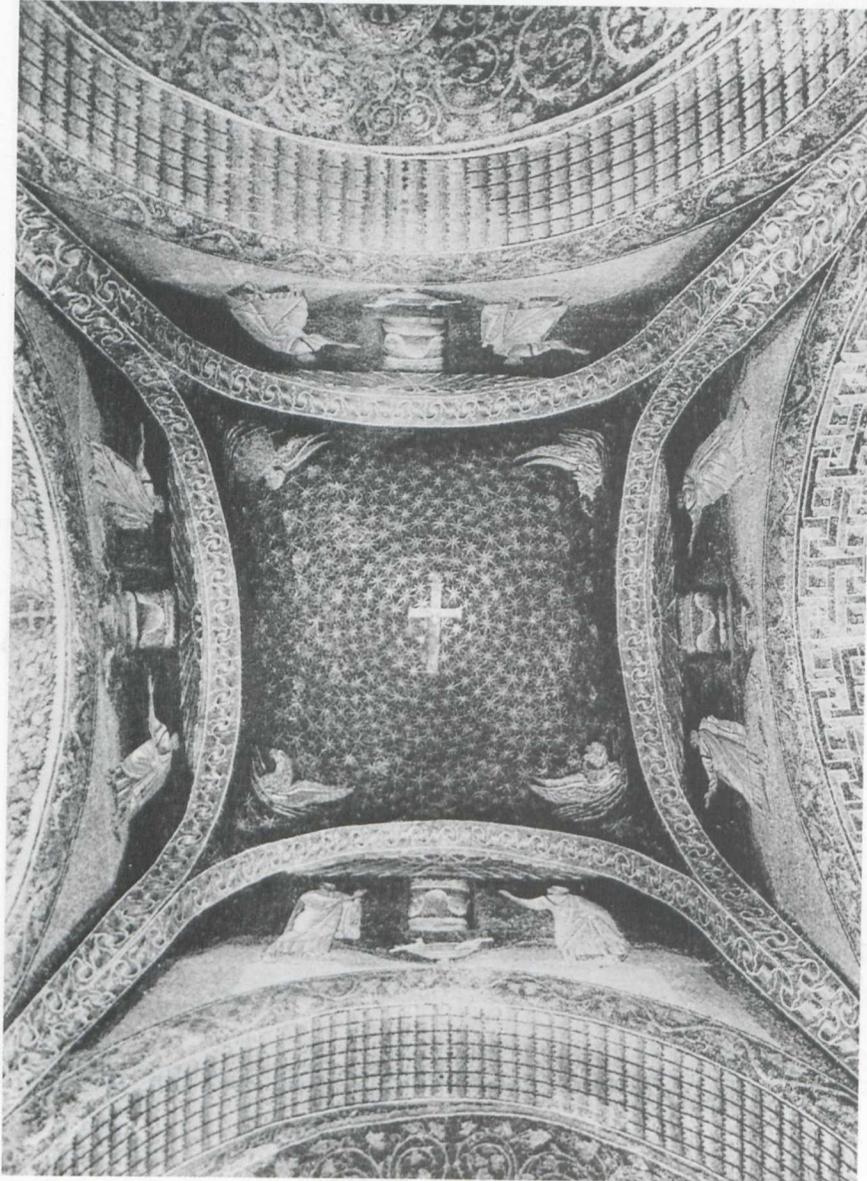
(86) Engemann, 1979, pp. 91 ff. and figs 15-16; Deichmann, 1974, pp. 63 ff., esp. 84-87.

(87) C.O. NORDSTRÖM, *Ravennastudien, Ideengeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen über Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Stockholm, 1953, pp. 26-31. See also Deichmann, 1969, pp. 163, f. idem. 1974, p. 85; idem, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie*, Darmstadt, 1983, p. 198; P. VERDIER, *La colonne de Colonia Aelia Capitolina et l'image clipeata du Christ Helios*,



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in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XXIII, 1974, p. 36, Brenk, 1966, p. 64 and n. 36. For a similar representation at Casaranello, most probably having the same meaning, see: Dinkler, 1964, p. 57 and fig. 20.



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13. Mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, c. 440.

14. Mosaic in the dome in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, mid-5th cent.