

When our Sun is risen: observations on eschatological visions in the art of the first millennium - II

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III. The Mosaic in the dome of the church of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonika

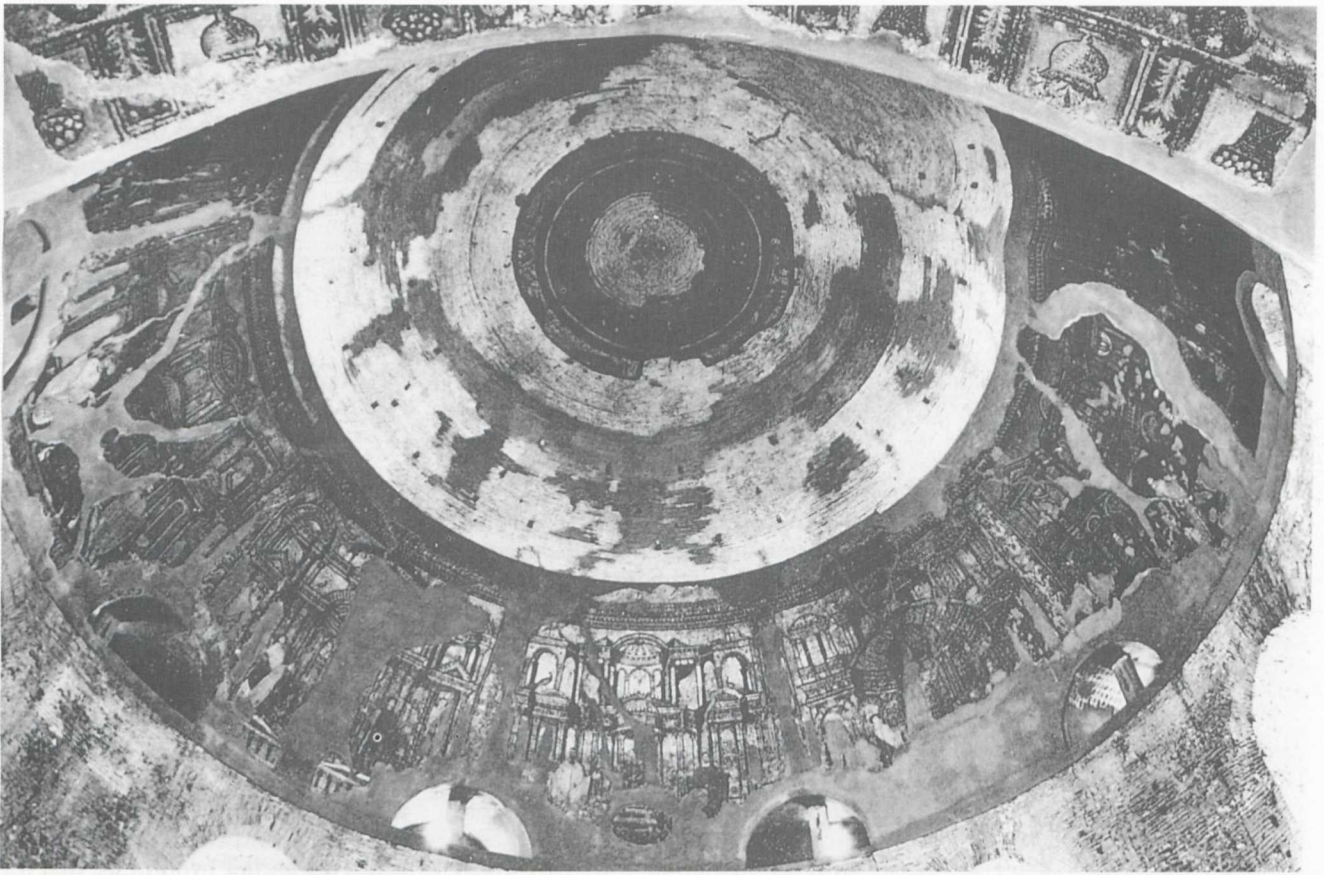
La raffigurazione del Cristo nella cupola di Hagios Georgios, ispirata ai simulacri di Helios, potrebbe aver avuto la finalità di assorbire il perdurante culto pagano del Sole e di dimostrare la divinità di Cristo - Lux mundi. Anche in Grecia come in Italia rimaneva vitale nel V sec. il culto del Sole, fra l'altro nelle dottrine dell'illustre filosofo pagano e scolarca dell'Accademia Platonica Proklus, morto nel 485. L'autore sviluppa l'ipotesi che in questa decorazione musiva pervenutaci solo in parte, il Cristo fosse adorato dai Vegliardi apocalittici. Nell'ultima parte dell'articolo viene considerata la tesi secondo cui, nel piano originario della Capella Palatina di Aquisgrana, l'oggetto di venerazione degli apocalittici Vegliardi fosse un Agnello raggianti, collocato al centro della cupola, simile alle raffigurazioni miniate dall'Evangelario di Saint-Médard a Soissons e di quella del Beatus di S. Millan de Cogolla. L'autore considera numerosi testi d'epoca riguardanti la simbologia della luce e del sole nel contesto della fine dei tempi e della Gerusalemme Celeste e avanza l'ipotesi che l'archetipo figurativo dell'Agnello "nel Sole" sia stato il mosaico della facciata della basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano del tempo di Leone il Grande..

More or less contemporary with the representations of the Parousia in Rome and Ravenna, discussed in the first part of this article, is the mosaic decoration of the dome of the Galerius Rotunda in Thessalonika (converted into a church or a palace chapel, and later dedicated to St. George) (fig. 1, 1a)⁸⁸. Though poorly preserved, the existing fragments enable one to distinguish the three basic zones of the original programme (fig. 2)⁸⁹. The first was a medallion in the centre of the dome showing the figure of Christ, on the east-west axis. Only the right hand, nimbus and upper part of the cross have survived. The figure can be reconstructed, however, from the preliminary drawing made in black on the brickwork, which was discovered by Hjalmar Torp in the early 1950s (fig. 3)⁹⁰. Christ was pictured as a full-length figure facing outwards, with his right arm raised to the level of his head and with his left arm slightly bent and lowered holding a cross with a long staff. He was shown in *contrapposto* with the left, partially bare, leg slightly forward, clad in a himation reaching to the heels, and a short billowing chiton. The Saviour was probably depicted as youthful, beardless, and with long hair swept back. The medallion was surrounded by two rings of mosaic - the inner showing eight-pointed stars, the outer seasonal fruits and flowers; it was supported by four-winged angels, now only partially visible. A cross emanating rays was shown to the left of Christ, and a phoenix above His head. The second zone is almost completely destroyed: only feet and lower hems of white garments remain. The third zone, however, is quite well preserved. It depicts fanciful architectural scenery, (resembling the *scenae frons* of ancient theatres), and is divided into eight pa-

nels. Each of these panels bears two or three figures of orant-saints, twenty in all, who are identified by inscriptions.

Owing to the poor state of preservation and the lack of written sources, the overall theme of the composition remains in doubt. Recently, however, some of its rich iconographical content has been clarified. It has been argued persuasively that the subject of the mosaic was the Second Coming. This supersedes the earlier hypothesis, that the scene depicted was the Ascension⁹¹. Similar iconographical formulae were often used for representing the Ascension and the Second Coming. Moreover, in some representations of the Ascension references to the Second Coming can be found⁹². In this case, however, the shining cross and the phoenix seem to point clearly to the Parousia. Another argument which could be put forward is that the Ascension is depicted in the apse of the Rotunda and it would not have been possible to have two portrayals of the same subject in one church⁹³. The most controversial zone, however, is the middle one. Grabar⁹⁴ thought it must depict prophets, but other scholars suggested a chorus of angels⁹⁵ or even the Elders of the Apocalypse⁹⁶. Thus the subject of the Hagios Georgios mosaic is still debatable in many points. Without trying to explain the whole of the programme, an attempt can be made to clarify the iconography of Christ and to consider its possible links with the Apocalypse.

Attention has been drawn to the similarities between the Thessalonika Christ and Apollo, because of his youthful countenance and garments, and between Christ and *Sol Invictus* because of his outstretched right hand⁹⁷. These observations, though correct, are too general, and



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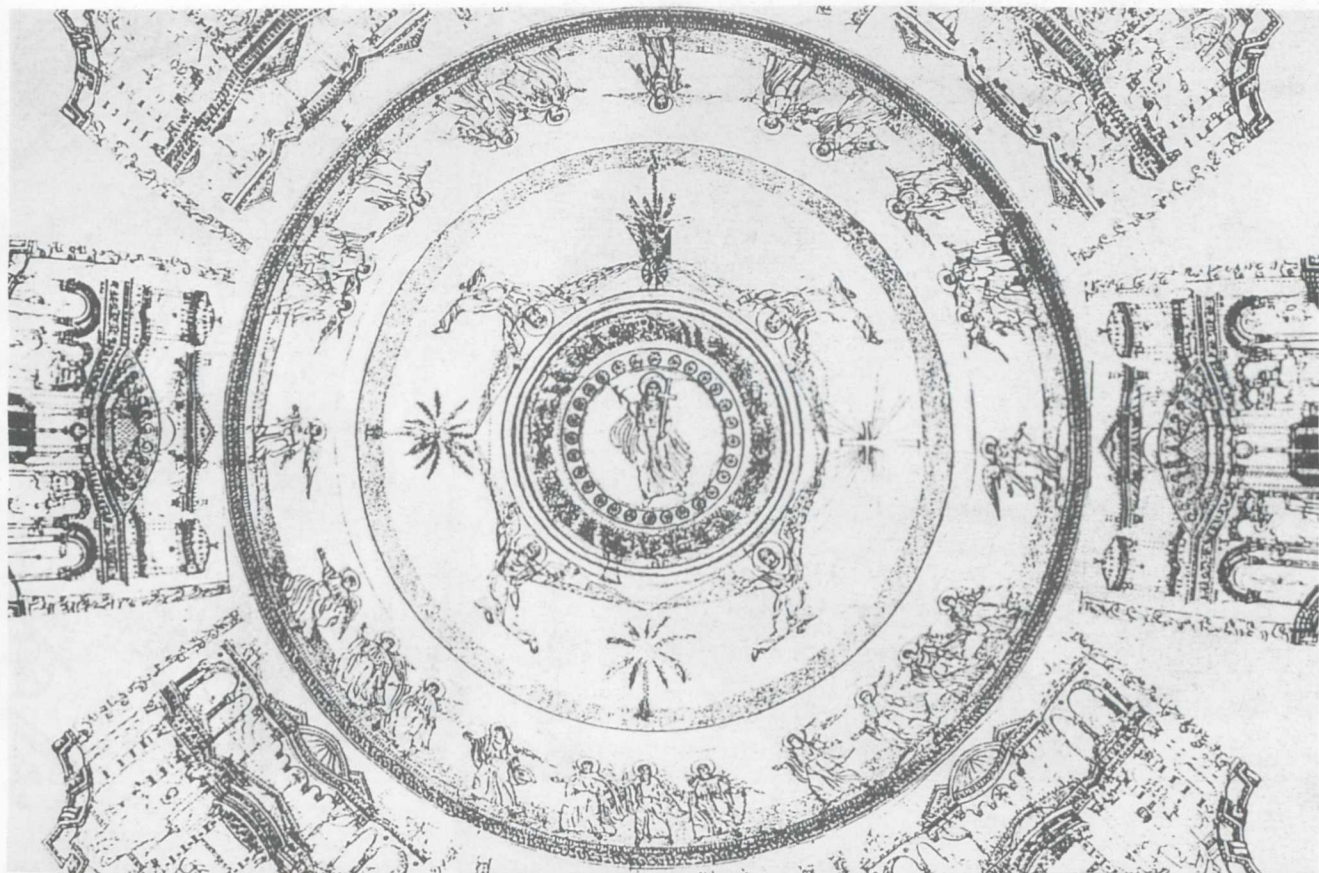
require further examination. The gesture of the outstretched right hand with the open palm occurs not only in depictions of Sol but also in representations of other gods, and in personifications of provinces and towns⁹⁸. It also appears in Christian art, in scenes of the Raising of Lazarus (Catacomb of St. Calixtus in Rome), the Teaching of the Apostles (S. Aquilino), and the *traditio legis* (see *infra*)⁹⁹. Is it possible, therefore, to find in the Thessalonika image of Christ links with solar symbolism? There are other elements in this representation to support this possibility.

The artistic antecedents for the Thessalonika Christ are to be found not only among late antique portrayals of *Sol Invictus* but also among those of the Greek Helios¹⁰⁰. Dio Chrysostom tells of numerous monuments in Rhodes, cultic and non-cultic, representing Helios¹⁰¹. Unfortunately, neither the cult statues, nor other representations, nor even a copy of the famous Colossus have survived¹⁰². Ernst Langlotz may be right in discerning schematical representations of the Colossus on the amphora stamps from Sinope produced in the 3rd and 2nd century BC

(fig. 4)¹⁰³. These show a full-length figure of a man with the right arm raised and the left one lowered and bent at the elbow. On local Cretan coins dating from the time of Vespasian, Helios is depicted with a radiant crown, a sceptre in his left hand, and his right hand raised (fig. 5)¹⁰⁴. His *contrapposto* and garment should also be noted – the weight of his body is on his right leg, the left is slightly forward, and he is clad in a coat which flows from his back down to his calf. A nearly identical basileus Helios appears on a relief, perhaps from the 2nd century, now in Naples (fig. 6)¹⁰⁵. The only difference is in the weight of the body falling on the left leg, and the right leg placed slightly apart. There is another representation of this god on a 2nd century cameo in the British Museum, clad in a long coat flowing down to his calf and carrying a sceptre or whip (fig. 7)¹⁰⁶. The weight of the body is again on the left leg, with the right leg slightly forward. One can immediately observe the close affinity between the Thessalonika Christ and these representations, not only in the gesture but also in the coat, the *contrapposto* and the cross in the left arm which replaces the sceptre (or

1. The dome of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonika with fragments of the mosaic decoration, mid-5th cent.

1a. Reconstruction of the mosaic decoration in the dome of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonika, from: M.G. Sotiriou, 1971.



1a

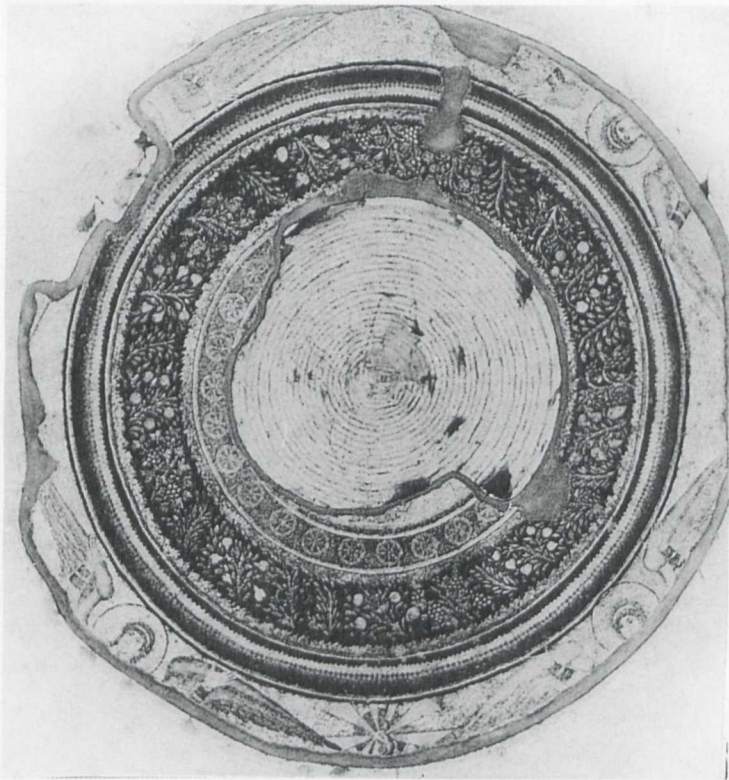
whip). Mention should also be made of a bronze statue of Constantine on a huge porphyry column erected c. 330 in Constantinople (fig. 8). This much-debated effigy is known from written sources and from a simple drawing showing this statue with a lance in the left hand and a globe in the right¹⁰⁷. It appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a reliable 13th century copy of a 2nd century map as revised in the 5th century¹⁰⁸. Some written sources state that on the top of the globe was a cross and that Constantine held a sceptre and not a lance¹⁰⁹.

The representation in Hagios Georgios is not the only portrayal of Christ in the art of the first millennium patterned on the full-length figure of Sol. Cecilia Davis-Weyer suggests that in the *traditio legis* scenes, Christ could be *Sol iustitiae* on account not only of the characteristically raised right hand, but also because of the phoenix and the rising sun¹¹⁰. Whatever the applicability of this interpretation to the *traditio legis* in general, it does seem to apply to the representation of it in the mosaic in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome (c. 530) (fig. 9)¹¹¹. In this beautiful mosaic a bearded Christ ap-

pears in the midst of the heavens, against dark blue, red, pink and white clouds, flanked by the apostles Peter and Paul and the Saints Cosmas and Damian, Theodore and Pope Felix IV. The "solar" aspect of the theophany is confirmed by the dawn clouds – a reference to Oriens, and by the stars over the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul, thus allowing us to consider them as Christian Dioscuri. There is no doubt that the Second Coming with Christ Oriens is depicted here. One should add that this composition, as has been suggested by some scholars, was possibly patterned on the lost mid 5th century apse mosaic at the Lateran¹¹².

There is yet another representation of great interest to these investigations. It occurs in one of the miniatures of the Soissons Gospels, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 10, 11, 11a)¹¹³. It shows the Fountain of Life housed in a tholos with a Greek cross at the top. A medallion in the centre of the cross bears a full-length, frontal figure with a slightly advanced left leg, clad only in a coat flowing from his shoulders to the ground, with the right hand raised to head level and a cross or sceptre

lowered left. There is a striking resemblance between this figure, the images of Helios as discussed above and the Thessalonika Christ. The representation in the Soissons Gospels has not, so far, been interpreted. It brings to mind cameos which were often used in pre-Romanesque art to adorn crosses and reliquaries; sometimes imitations of these occur in illuminated manuscripts¹¹⁴. The Soissons Gospels are a case in point¹¹⁵. Even if the Soissons miniature is modelled on such cameos or other works of art, it seems, however, that in this instance it is Christ Himself who is portrayed. This is likely not only because of the setting of the cross, but also because of the disc which supports the cross itself¹¹⁶. What is important is the sun in the form of a radiant circle. Some scholars have suggested that the circle/clipeus, a common element in Irish high crosses, has distinct references to ancient solar discs¹¹⁷. A cross joined to a clipeus bearing an image of Christ-the-Sun, in the form of a bust, is to be found in a drawing in a copy of Bede's *Liber de Locis sanctis* from Prüfening, now in Munich (fig. 12)¹¹⁸. Though executed in 1165, it was most probably based on



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an earlier model¹¹⁹. Also There is the cross of Modoalus with the apocalyptic Lamb in a clipeus emanating rays, dating from 1107, now in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne (fig. 24)¹²⁰. The Lamb is shown amidst the symbols of the Evangelists and is probably linked, as we will see later, with solar symbolism.

Further support for this interpretation may be sought in patristic writings. John Chrysostom in his *In coemeterii appellationem et in cruce[m] Jesu Christi* compares Christ's cross to a lamp and a torch, and calls Christ on the cross the Sun of justice¹²¹. Moreover a Carolingian poet Audraudus Modicus in his *Liber de fonte vitae* talks of the Fountain of Life and the Resurrection in terms of solar symbolism¹²². Paul A. Underwood has shown that representations of the Fountain of Life are derived from architectural compositions of late antiquity¹²³. One may surmise, therefore, that the image of Christ under discussion was patterned on early Christian models and that this kind of representation may have been quite widespread.

Among the hypotheses concerning the figures represented in the second zone of the Thessalonika dome, one of the better documented is that which suggests a chorus of angels¹²⁴. The arguments are as follows: firstly, about 800 the church was cal-

led "the holy sanctuary of the Archangels", and secondly, a miniature in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold shows the Second Coming with Christ accompanied by a host of angels¹²⁵. The Benedictional dates from the second half of the 10th century but the miniature seems to be a copy of a Carolingian model, derived in turn from an early Christian prototype¹²⁶. Mark, 13, 26-27 has been suggested as one of the sources: "And they shall see the son of man coming in clouds... and then shall he send his angels..." This is not very convincing, as the appellation "the sanctuary of the archangels" could be derived from the four angels supporting the central medallion. Moreover, the Benedictional scene differs distinctly from the Thessalonika composition, as it shows the angels hovering over Christ, and holding the instruments of the Passion. Although it is difficult to determine the number of figures in the second zone, some scholars believe there were twenty four, suggesting the twenty four Elders of the Apocalypse¹²⁷. But as is well known, John's Apocalypse was rejected by the Eastern Church¹²⁸. James Snyder, however, has shown that during the 5th and 6th centuries Thessalonika was the seat of a Roman Vicariate and, as such, would have been a natural meeting ground for ideas from

2. Mosaic in the centre of the dome of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonika, 5th cent.

3. The preliminary drawing for the mosaic in the centre of the dome of Hagios Georgios in Thessalonika, 5th cent.

4. *Helios?* (*the Colossus of Rhodes?*) amphora stamp from Sinope, 3rd cent. BC.

5. *Helios*. Bronze coin from Crete, second half of the 1st cent., London, British Museum (photo British Museum).



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the East and the West¹²⁹. Thus the Apocalypse might have been accepted here as a canonical book of the Bible. Moreover, in this city western architectural conceptions can be found¹³⁰, as well as the apse mosaic in the church of Hosios David, dating probably from the second half of the 5th century, which is based on various written sources, including most probably also Revelation¹³¹.

The Thessalonika dome has three zones, and thus can be compared with the S. Paolo composition. Both feature a clipeus bearing *imago Christi* surrounded by angels, with an adoring chorus further down, and saints (or donors) in the lowest zone. In both churches the Second Coming was represented but the saints in the lowest zone varied according to the dedication of each church or the relics kept in it¹³². Both representations of Christ show a distinct relation to pagan images of Helios whose sceptre was replaced in Christian interpretation by the cross. Perhaps, then, what was once visible in the dome of Hagios Georgios was a version of the representation on the flat wall in S. Paolo (or vice versa). The objection that the symbols of the Evangelists are missing in Thessalonika can easily be dismissed since they are also absent in other scenes of the Homage of the Elders e.g. in the Codex Aureus from St.

Emmeram in Regensburg, now in Munich (fig. 18)¹³³. As suggested by Van der Meer, this composition is patterned on an early Christian model¹³⁴. It is worth mentioning a scene with three zones in the Trier Apocalypse (most probably a copy of a 6th century codex) depicting the Elders in the second zone and a procession of martyrs holding palms in the third, lowest zone¹³⁵.

The mosaics in Hagios Georgios are contemporary with Proclus. This famous philosopher not only prayed to Helios (Apollo) three times a day, but also worshipped the god of light in his numerous writings. In his hymn to the Sun/Apollo he exclaims: "O best of gods, blest daemon crown'd with fire... And soul's leader to the realms of light"¹³⁶. The mosaic in Hagios Georgios could be another example of a polemical interpretation of the cult of the Sun, as in S. Paolo and perhaps S. Pietro in Vaticano. It is Paulinus of Nola who addresses Christ: "Salve, o Apollo vere"¹³⁷ and again comparing Christ with Apollo, he writes: "He (Christ) is the Light of truth, the Path of life, the Power and Mind, Hand and Strength of the Father. He is the Sun of justice, Source of blessings, Flower of God, God's Son, Creator of the world... So when He has flashed His rays over our hearts, He cleans the enfeebling foulness from our sluggi-

sh bodies and renews the dispositions of our minds"¹³⁸. As Hagios Georgios was probably to serve as a palace or as a court church¹³⁹, recalling Eusebius of Caesarea's *Tricennial Oration* would be in order, mentioning as it does the future life of "the blessed powers" in what sounds like a gloss on Revelation: "It (the heavenly Kingdom) is not lit by the sun nor illuminated by the multitude of stars nor the beams of the moon, for it has the Luminary Himself, the Divine Logos, Sole-Begotten Child of the Ruler of All. Thus the ineffable teachings of the divine scripture reveal that He is the very Sun of justice and the Light beyond all lights, that He is the One who illuminates with rays of justice and gleams of wisdom the blessed powers, that He receives souls fortified with piety, not merely into the sphere of heaven, but into His own bosom" (VI, 18-20)¹⁴⁰. It is hard to say whether the author of the iconographical programme for Hagios Georgios was familiar with Paulinus's poems, or Eusebius's *Oration*, or what were the other literary sources of the mosaic, but it seems probable that Revelation (IV; V; XI, 16-17; XIX, 4) on the Elders and also I, 12, 16 (in which Christ has the countenance of the Sun) were among them¹⁴¹.



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III. The Lamb “in the Sun” in the Homage of the Elders of the Apocalypse in pre-romanesque art

The Homage of the Elders of the Apocalypse was one of the most popular subjects of pre-romanesque art¹⁴². The scene appeared both as mural decoration in Rome and North of the Alps, and in numerous illuminated codices. Among the latter, the Soissons Gospels, c. 800, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 10), provides an especially beautiful example of the Homage depicted on the facade of a building which is supported by four columns¹⁴³. In the focal point of the composition the Lamb of God replaces Christ. It is shown in profile in a golden clipeus with the apocalyptic scroll at its feet. Beneath stand the twenty four Elders arranged symmetrically in two groups. In the first two, some carry string instruments, others golden cups; their nimbed heads are bent towards the Lamb. The composition

is completed by “the sea of glass”, and the symbols of the Evangelists with codices depicted in medallions. A characteristic element of this image are the “bunches” of white rays which emanate from the clipeus bearing the Lamb.

An equally interesting scene of the Homage of the Elders occurs in a manuscript of Beatus’ commentary on the Apocalypse from San Millan de Cogolla now in Madrid (fig. 14)¹⁴⁴. As in the Soissons Gospels, rays of light emanate from a centrally situated clipeus containing a multi-eyed Lamb surrounded by the Symbols of the Evangelists, and the Elders. These miniatures are not the only examples of pre-Romanesque representations of the Homage of the Elders which contain a clipeus emanating rays. It also appeared in the mosaics which once adorned the dome of the Capella Palatina in Aachen, executed c. 800¹⁴⁵. The entire work has been lost; the last fragments were destroyed in the early 18th century. It is known mainly from a drawing and an engraving. The drawing, made in 1607 or 1608

6. *Sacrifice to Helios-Sol Invictus*, relief, beginning of 3rd cent., Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico.

7. *Helios*, gem, 2nd or 3rd cent., London, British Museum.

for Peiresc (fig. 16)¹⁴⁶, depicts only one Elder facing to the right and holding a crown in both hands. Above him is a radiant clipeus, which, however, contains no picture. The engraving appears in the second volume of Giovanni Ciampini’s *Vetera monimenta* (fig. 15)¹⁴⁷. It has a description in Latin, the most important part of which reads: “Depressior illi concaemeratio contigit musivi operis beneficio, coleum aureum repraesentans, ut in annexa tabula rubris siderum imaginibus inter punctum; media inter haec sidera pro chori conspectu effigies Christum Dominum exhibet, solio insidentem, aureo diademate... coronatum... Adstant singuli utrinque angeli, apertum volumen exhibentes et regis sui humeros alacres stipantes. E tholi centro, luminis in morem, erumpunt radij, qui se circum Christi caput diffundunt... Coronas aureas manibus praeferunt sedibus relictis, stantes, et candidis vestibus ornatae imitantu (sc. imagines),... seniores in codice Apocalypsis descriptos”¹⁴⁸. Two other sources contain information on the mosaics. One is a description by Pierre Bergeron, dated 1619. It says

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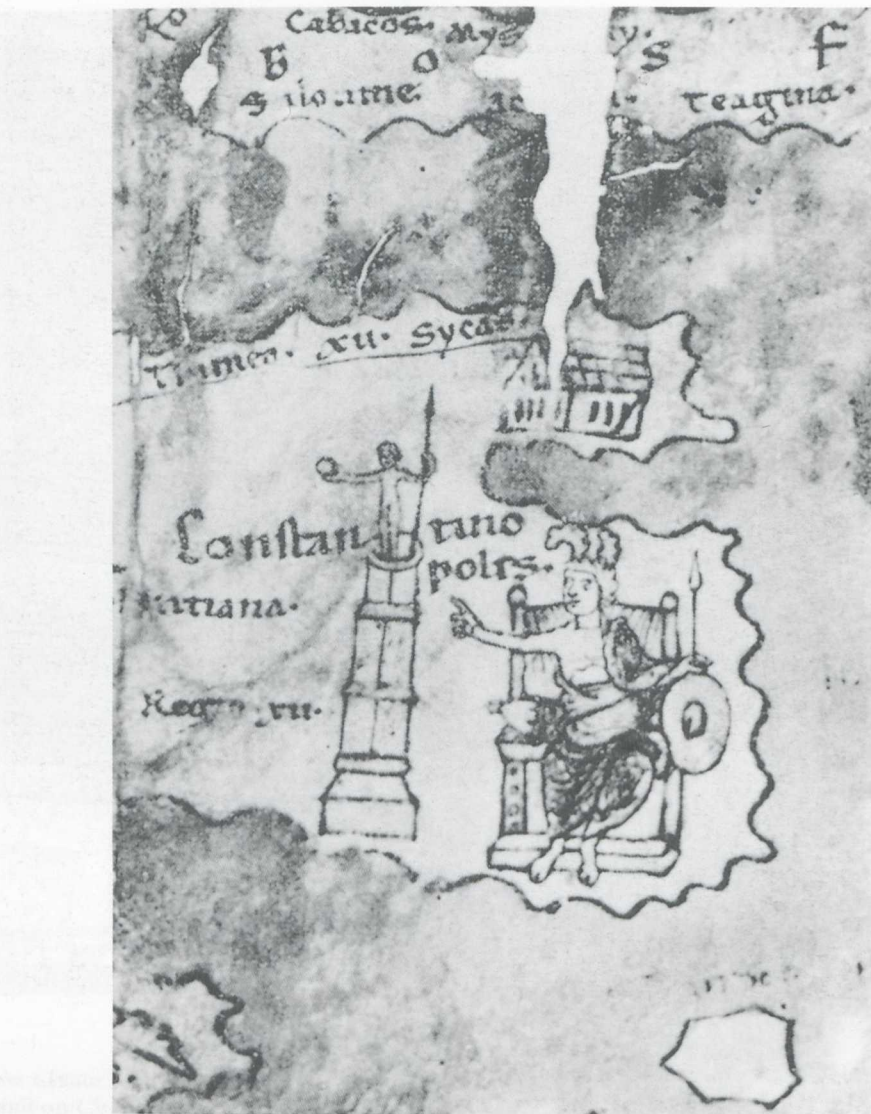


8. The Column of Constantine in Constantinople, drawing in the Tabula Peutingeriana, 13th cent.

that the whole dome was adorned with mosaics depicting Christ, angels and stars¹⁴⁹. From the other, the History of Aachen by Petrus a Beeck, of 1620, we learn that in the east side of the dome Christ was shown on a throne, clad in a *pallium pluviale*, amidst the four apocalyptic "beasts" and with the Elders of the Apocalypse below paying homage to Him¹⁵⁰.

Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the original iconography of the Aachen mosaics. There is no reason to doubt that the Elders were represented. However questions remain as to whether angels, as in Ciampini and Bergeron, or the four apocalyptic beasts, referred to by Beeck, were depicted, and what was the object of their adoration¹⁵¹. Let us leave aside the first, less essential, problem and attempt to deal with the second.

In the Ciampini engraving, which shows only the east side of the dome, the focal point is the enthroned Christ, while the radiate medallion in the centre, of which only a fragment is visible, contains no image. Neither is there an image in the clipeus in the drawing made for Peiresc. Wolfgang Schöne suggested it might have depicted the Dove of the Holy Spirit¹⁵². According to Bianca Kühnel it contained a *dextera dei*, which was a much used Carolingian theme¹⁵³. Hermann Schnitzler, on the other hand, concludes that the enthroned Christ is a later addition, dating either from the time of Frederick of Barbarossa (c. 1165) when the chandelier presented by the emperor was hung in the Capella, or from the restoration after the fire in 1234¹⁵⁴. Initially the Elders were believed to have adored the apocalyptic Lamb in a clipeus placed in the centre of the dome, which was removed c. 1165 or in 1234. This hypothesis is supported by two facts:

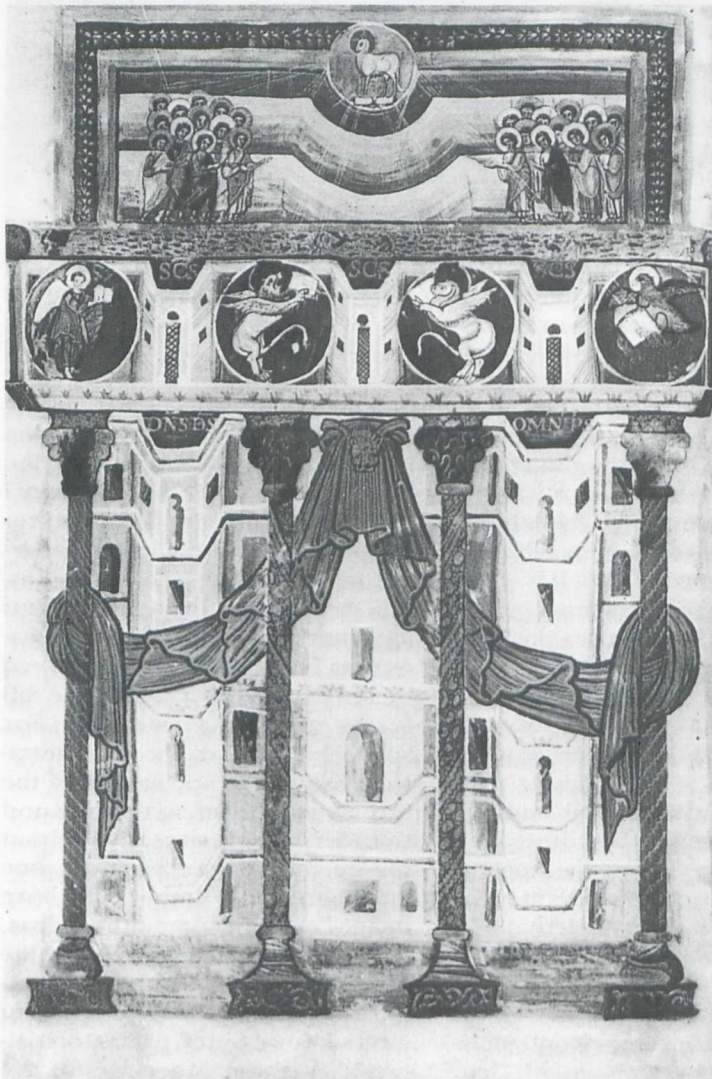


pothesis is supported by two facts: Christ is not shown wearing a *pallium pluviale* before the 10th century, and the throne is not Carolingian but Romanesque. Schnitzler's hypothesis, though criticised by many scholars, seems quite convincing¹⁵⁵. It is worth recalling here the scene in the Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald from St. Emmeran of Regensburg (fig. 18)¹⁵⁶. It shows the Lamb on high in a clipeus, on a golden disc, with the twenty four Elders gazing up in humble adoration and raising their crowns. This miniature is undoubtedly connected with another (fig. 17) earlier one showing the emperor enthroned with bodyguards at his sides. Thus we have here eternal adoration and at the same time, as it were, a scene from the Carolingian Mass in the Capella Palatina with the emperor on his throne contemplating the apocalyptic vision.

Finally the question should be raised – why does the clipeus with the Lamb in the Soissons Gospels, in the Beatus, and in the Aachen Chapel emanate rays of light? This problem has already been signalled in the literature on the subject. Don Denny, who devoted a study to the Soissons miniature, argued that “the rays emanating from Him (the Lamb) to them (Evangelists) describe the diffusion of God’s words”¹⁵⁷. For Schnitzler, however, the rays illustrate Revelation IV,5: “And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thundering and vices”¹⁵⁸. Without rejecting these interpretations, one must consider whether the above images contain some other ideas. Jurgis Baltrusaitis points out that the Beatus miniature is related to the representations of the sun as a radiant circle known since prehistoric times¹⁵⁹. Van der Meer says of the



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9. Mosaic in the apse in SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome, c. 530.

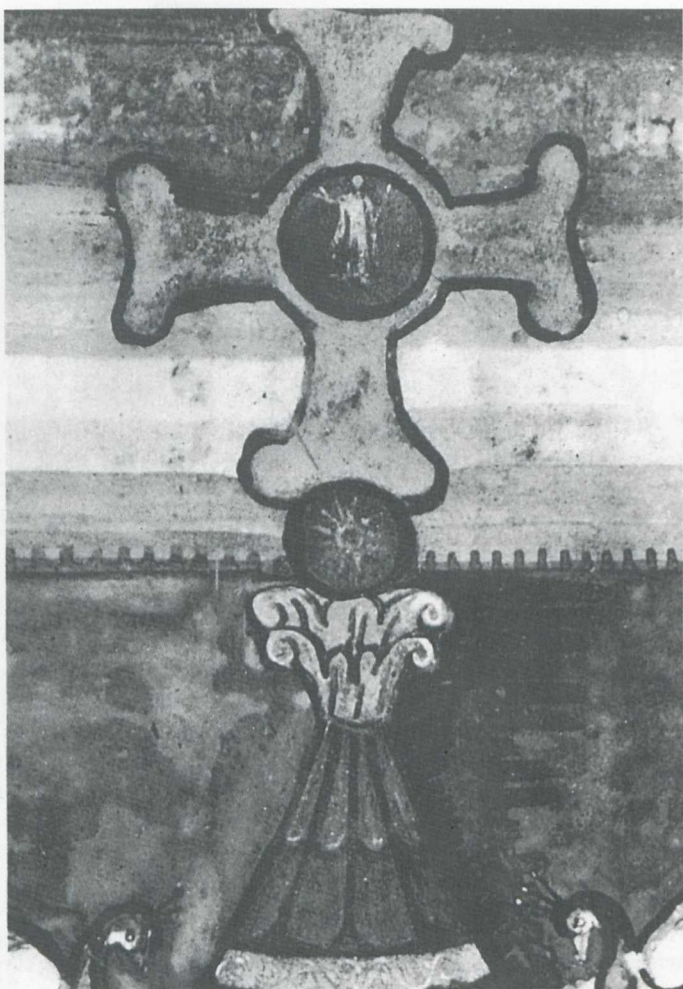
10. *The twenty-four Elders and the Lamb* from the Soissons Gospels, c. 800, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Lat. 8850, fol. 6v)

11. *Fountain of Life*, from the Soissons Gospels, c. 800, Paris, Bibliothèque, Nationale, fol. 1v, (photo Bibl. Nationale).

11a. *Cross on the top of the Fountain of Life*, (part of fig. 11).



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11a

Lamb in the Soissons Gospels that it "shines like the sun"¹⁶⁰. Their explanations, though incomplete, suggest reasonable possibilities.

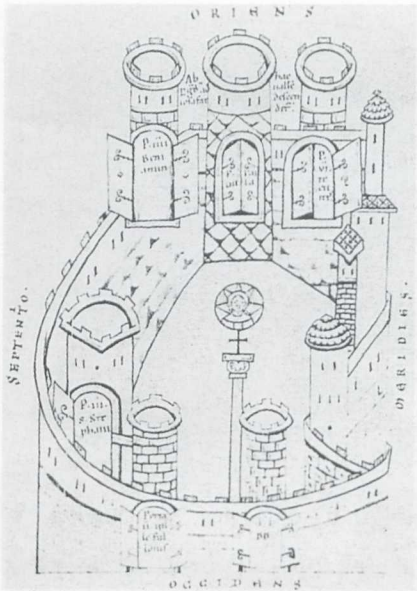
The representations under discussion show two kinds of circle emanating rays. In the Soissons Gospels, the rays come out of the lower part of the circle only, while in the Beatus and in the Capella Palatina the whole circle emanates rays of light. Representations of the sun-circle beaming its light on figures below, as in the first example, go back to the art of Ancient Egypt especially in the time of Akhenaton¹⁶¹. They occur also in classical and medieval art. Consider for example a drawing in the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, now in the Biblioteca Vaticana (fig. 19)¹⁶², where the sun lights up the earth with its rays, or an illustration to Psalm 120 in the Utrecht Psalter where God-Christ is protecting the Psalmist from the heat of the sun with His shield¹⁶³. Other fine examples are: a scene on the Pala d'Oro dating from c. 1020 in Aachen (fig. 20)¹⁶⁴ and also another 11th century painting at San Pietro

in Civate¹⁶⁵. In the former, the rays fall on Christ's tomb, a person seated in front of it and three Holy Marias, in the latter – the *Mulier amicta sole*.

To the examples collected by Baltrusaitis depicting the whole circle of the Sun emanating rays a few more may be added, both ancient and medieval: scenes on Etruscan mirrors, referred to earlier¹⁶⁶, and a 5th century Christian oil lamp from Selinunte with a cross surrounded by twelve rays having the shape of flower buds¹⁶⁷. In some of the Christian examples, i.e. in the scenes on the Pala d'Oro in Aachen and in Civate, the rays have a symbolic meaning. A miniature in the Bernward Gospels (fig. 21), dating from 1011 has been similarly interpreted¹⁶⁸. It depicts a radiant semi-circle with the ascending Christ. The interpretation is supported by the words of the Psalm LXVII, 33-4 "... cantate Deo, psallite Domino. Psallite Deo, qui ascendit super caelum caeli ad orientem"¹⁶⁹.

Is the pre-Romanesque, Lamb "in the sun" connected with the "solar" conception of Christ¹⁷⁰? There

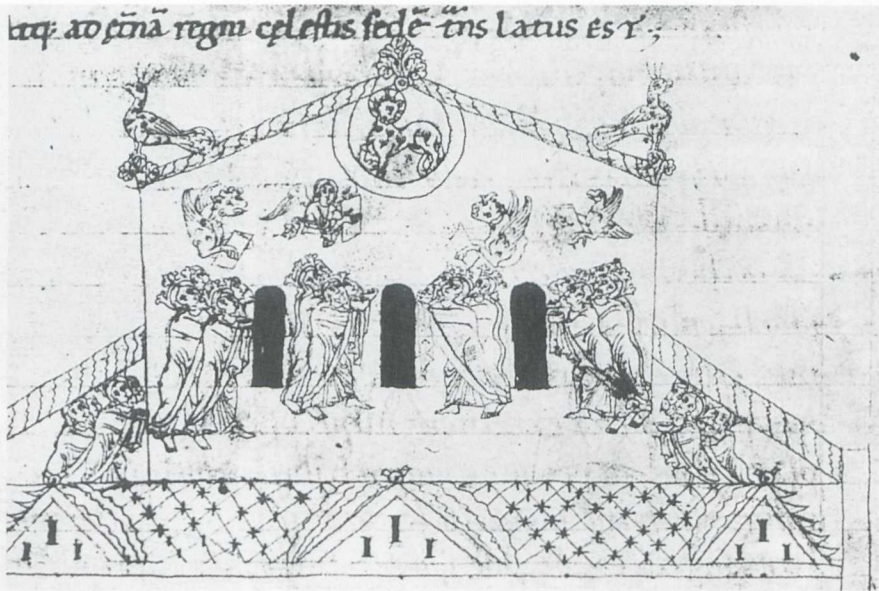
are numerous examples of rose-windows in Italian art dating from the 12th and 13th centuries which contain the apocalyptic Lamb "in the Sun" or radiant circles surrounded by the apocalyptic "zodia" (fig. 22)¹⁷¹. These representations have been related to the conception of Christ as the Sun of justice¹⁷². For our purposes the most interesting example is to be found in Pieve di Castel Ritaldi, dating from 1141, depicting the Lamb emanating rays and surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists (fig. 23)¹⁷³. The Lamb was later transferred to the bell-tower. German art offers a parallel in the cross of Modoaldus dating from 1107 (fig. 24)¹⁷⁴. As in Pieve di Castel Ritaldi it shows the apocalyptic Lamb in a radiant clipeus placed in this instance at the point of intersection of the arms and surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists. Further examples of the Lamb "in the Sun" can be found in the centuries that follow, e.g. in the Florence Baptistery and in a window at Sulmona (fig. 27)¹⁷⁵. In most cases the derivation from Beatus and from the Aachen scene is



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obvious – from the latter, if we accept, as is quite plausible, the “zodia” surrounded the Lamb.

The comparative material presented so far allows the hypothesis that the Lamb “in the Sun” in the Beatus, the Soissons Gospels and the Aachen dome implies the idea of the true Sun. Of particular interest is the Aachen mosaic because of the solar symbolism of the dome¹⁷⁶. This finds confirmation in the commentaries on the Apocalypse written in the second half of the first millennium which often refer to Christ as the “Sun”¹⁷⁷. Suffice it to mention Alcuin who may have been the author of the programme for the words of Rev. 4,4: “Et in circuitu throni vidi sedes viginti quattuor” as follows; “Sol dictus est (Christus) propheta testante: “ecce vobis, qui timetis Dominum, orientur Sol justitiae”; quia quasi horas diei duodecim apostolos elegit, de quibus ipse ait: “vos estis lux mundi”¹⁷⁸. Et in hoc duodecim apostolos omne corpus episcoporum solidavit. Et in omne corpore episcoporum coniunxit omnem populum christianum”¹⁷⁹. If this passage does not clearly refer to the end (fulfilment) of time, other passages in Beatus, e.g. those on Ap. 1,16, speak undoubtedly about the Second Coming of the Lord¹⁸⁰. One should bear in mind that the Palatine Chapel, while being structured according to the number eight, which suggests “Sunday and Easter, resurrection and regeneration, Spring and new life”, as John Scouts Eriugena put it, refers also to the Heavenly Jerusalem (Ap. 21, 16)¹⁸¹. Alcuin’s disciple Rabanus Maurus in his poem *De fide catholica*



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rythmus, clearly referring to Ap. 21, 23, described the Heavenly Jerusalem as follows: “Tunc fideles nam caelestem/ urbis summae Hierusalem/ sustollentur ad patriam/ introibunt ad gloriam/ ubi fulget vera pacis/ lux Christus, sol mirabilis.../ sic vigniti felicibus/ quatuor senioribus/ coronas iam mittentibus/ agni dei sub pedibus/ laudatur tribus vicibus/ trinitas, aeternalibus”¹⁸².

The “solar” meaning of pre-Romanesque representations of the Lamb in a radiant clipeus is supported not only by early Christian images as discussed earlier, of the Second Coming, but also by some Carolingian images of Christ which demonstrate the familiarity in this period of the conception of Christ as the true Sun. Such examples are e.g.: two drawings in the Utrecht Psalter, one depicting Christ in a chariot¹⁸³, and the other showing Christ leaving the Tomb with Sol standing by the Tomb and holding a torch in his left hand (fig. 25)¹⁸⁴. Christ and Sol with a torch side by side can also be found in the Stuttgart Psalter (fig. 26)¹⁸⁵. Furthermore, some Roman churches decorated with mosaics in the Carolingian period contain images of Christ-Oriens patterned on the apse composition in SS. Cosma e Damiano¹⁸⁶. The most impressive and beautiful is the scene in the apse of S. Prassede¹⁸⁷.

Finally an attempt should be made to answer the question as to where, and why the Lamb “in the Sun” appeared for the first time. To answer the question let us return to our discussion of the mosaic on the

facade of St. Peter’s, where most probably the Lamb was depicted with the Elders paying homage to Him (fig. 13)¹⁸⁸. This is supported by the drawing in the Farfa codex. Rays are not present in this late, 11th century witness, but they are to be found in the Soissons miniature which, as Don Denny has convincingly pointed out, was patterned on the Vatican mosaic (fig. 10)¹⁸⁹. If one adds to this Leo’s condemnation of the habit of greeting the orb of the sun in prayer at the entrance, facing East, of St. Peter’s basilica, the evidence for the “solarity” of the Vatican Lamb, though circumstantial, seems fairly solid¹⁹⁰. The answer to the question why the Lamb is shown instead of Christ Himself seems at first glance obvious as Revelation reads: “the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof” (Ap. 21, 23 and Ap. V,6)¹⁹¹. One should, however, consider, whether the representations of the Lamb “in the Sun” might not also refer to the mystery of Easter which is celebrated at the time of the vernal equinox¹⁹². While not even offering a partial explanation it is worth quoting from Eusebius of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus. Eusebius in his treatise *On Easter* says of Christ, who “is the Lamb and the Sun of justice”, that during the “divine Spring” he changes men’s lives for the better¹⁹³. Gregory says in a sermon: “He (the paschal Lamb) is called “of one year” as Sun of justice, either as having come from on high, or as limited in his visible being and returning to himself, as the blessed

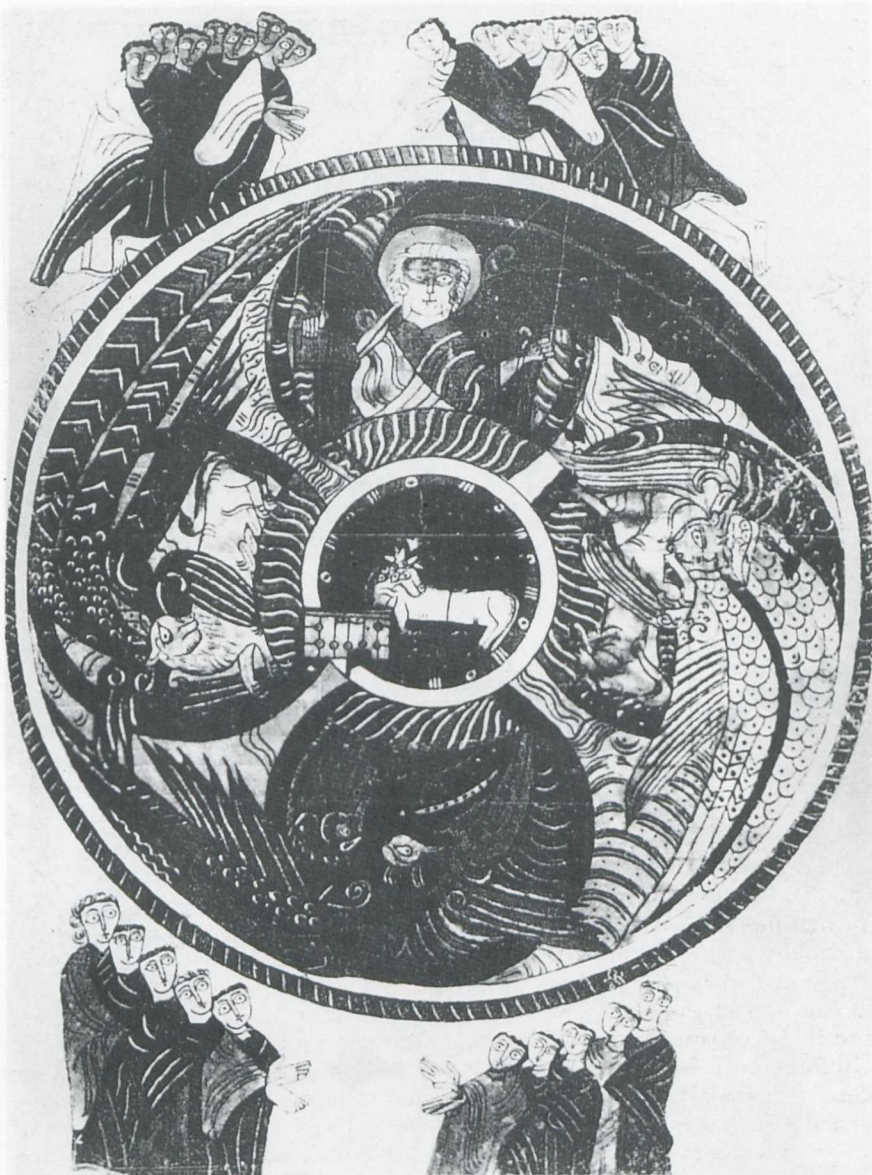
12. Drawing in the *Liber de Locis Sanctis* of The Venerable Bede from Prüfening, 12th cent.

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

14. *Vision of the Lamb*, from Beatus, from San Millan de Cogolla: second half of 10th cent., Madrid, Academia de la Historia (Ms. 33, fol. 92).

crown of goodness and in everything equal and like to himself"¹⁹⁴. These words bring to mind the Lamb and the mystery of Easter in the context of the "growing light" symbolising Christ's Resurrection. Moreover, Easter is a time when the sun is in Aries¹⁹⁵. The mosaic in St. Peter's is perhaps yet another example of the assimilation of paganism, given the importance of astrology in late antiquity. It is enough to recall here Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* where Aries is called the first of all the Signs of the Zodiac and even "the head of the Universe"¹⁹⁶. Consider also St. Zeno of Verona's allegorised Christian horoscope in which Aries is replaced by the Lamb of God "Igitur fratres genesis talis est uestra. Primus uos qui in se credentem reprobatur nullum, non Aries sed Agnus exceptit..."¹⁹⁷. Finally, a Carolingian writer known as "Hirenicus", in a poem on the Zodiac, attempted to adjust the signs to Christian symbolism, turning Aries into the Lamb¹⁹⁸.

Summing up, one could say that the representations of the eschatological visions which contain solar symbolism were among the most popular and widespread images of the first millennium. In the first half of the millennium (and perhaps also in the 6th century) they may have served to



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oppose the cult of the sun. It seems, however that their main purpose throughout was to express the idea of Christ as "the Light of the world" (e.g. John 1, 1-9; 8, 12, etc.), a prolegomenon to the mystery of His Divinity. It is also probable that the representations of Christ as the Sun or the Lamb "in the Sun" were to remind

Christians of the words from St. Matthew: "then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun" (Mat. 13, 43). This is confirmed by the commentaries on the Apocalypse of e.g. Pseudo-Augustine¹⁹⁹, Primasius²⁰⁰, Beatus²⁰¹ and Alcuin²⁰² who adduce these words in connection with the passage "...and his countenance was as the sun"²⁰³.

(88) H. TORP, *Mosaikkene i St. Georg Rotunden i Thessaloniki*, Oslo, 1963; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1979, pp. 82 and 492 f., n. 30 f., with previous literature on the subject. J.M. SPIESER, *Thessalonique et les monuments du IV^e au VI^e*

siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne, Paris, 1984, pp. 125-164. There is no agreement among scholars as to the date of rebuilding and the mosaic decoration; some propose late 4th cent. others 5th or even 6th. It seems that E. KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge Mass, 1979,

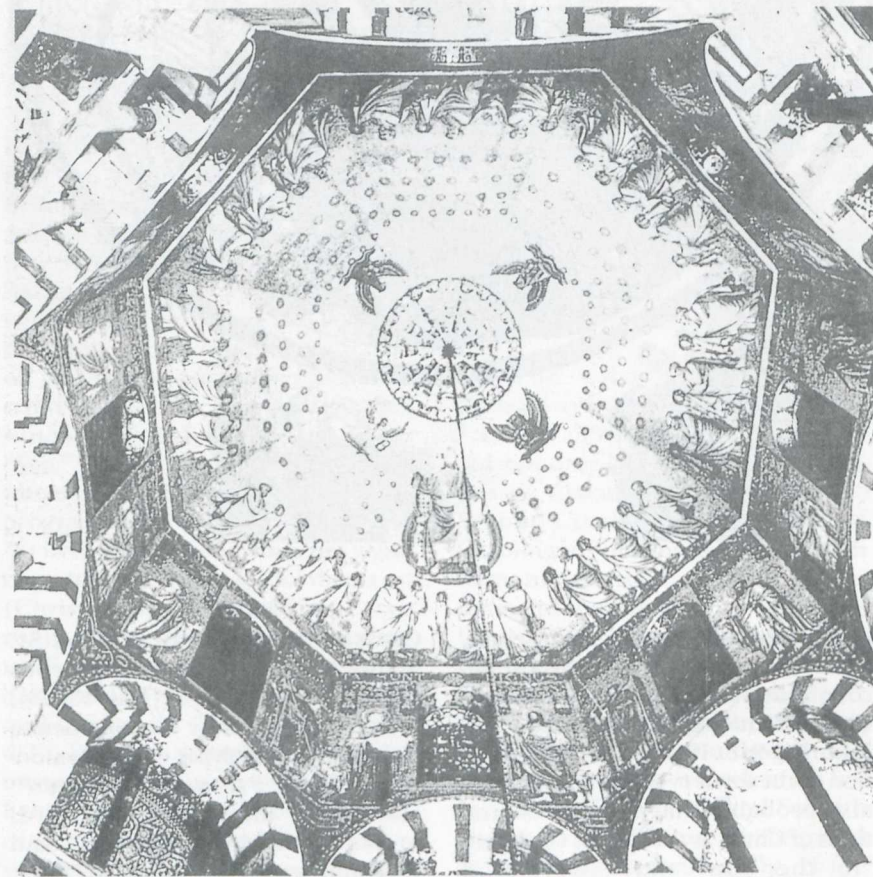
pp. 56 f. and n. 26 on p. 139) and KLEINBAUER (*The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessalonika*, in "Viator", III, 1972, pp. 27 ff.) are right in suggesting the date c. 450.

(89) For reconstruction drawing by M.



15. The dome mosaic in the Capella Palatina in Aachen, engraving of 1693 (from J. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta*, II).

15a. The dome mosaic in the Capella Palatina in Aachen, the 19th cent. reconstruction.



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Corres, see M.G. SOTIRIOU, *Sur quelques problèmes de l'iconographie de la coupole de Saint-Georges de Thessalonique*, in *Memoriam Panayotis A. Michelis*, Athens, 1971, fig. 1.

(90) Torp, 1963, pp. 34 ff., and fig. on p. 37.

(91) See. A. GRABAR, *A propos des mosaïques de la coupole de Saint Georges a Salonique*, in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XVII, 1967, pp. 59-81; Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 29 ff.; idem *The Original Name and*

Function of Hagios Georgios at Thessalonika, in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XXII, 1972, pp. 55 ff., esp. 59; Torp, 1963, pp. 37 ff. argues for the Ascension. Cf. Kitzinger, 1979, p. 57.

(92) See n. 1 *supra*.

(93) This fact has been noticed by A.M. AMMANN, *Le titre primitif de l'église de Saint Georges a Salonique*, in "Orientalia Christiana Periodica", XXII, 1956, pp. 59 ff.; see also Grabar, 1967, p. 60.

(94) *Ibidem*, p. 59.

(95) Torp, 1963, p. 34; Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 41 ff.; Sotiriou, 1971, pp. 220 ff.

(96) Ammann, 1956, p. 65; F. GERKE, *Le sorgenti dell'arte cristiana*, Milan, 1969, p. 171; B. BRENK, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Berlin, 1977, p. 76; Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 40 f.; idem, 1972 (2), p. 59; idem, *The Orants in the Mosaic Decoration of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki; Martyrs Saints or Donors*, in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XXX/XXXI, 1982, pp. 25-45, esp. p. 25; this paper contains interesting discussion concerning the third zone.

(97) See Torp, 1963, pp. 52 and 85; Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 32 ff. and n. 31. See also H.P. L'ORANGE, *I mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonico*, in "Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina", XVII, 1970, p. 262.

(98) For this gesture, see. A. ALFÖLDI, *Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser*, in "Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung", L, 1935, pp. 107 ff.; H.P. L'ORANGE, *Sol Invictus Imperator, Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose*, in idem, *Likeness and Icon. Selected Studies in Classical and Early Medieval Art*, Oslo, 1973, pp. 325, ff.; idem, 1953, pp. 2139 ff. See also R. BRILLIANT, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, New Haven, 1963, pp. 208 ff.

(99) See L'Orange, 1953, pp. 156 and 165 ff. figs. 112 and 116. For S. Aquilino: Wilpert-Schumacher, 1976, pp. 302 f. and pl. 6.

(100) For Helios and its iconography: E. CAHEN, *Sol*, in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, IV, 2, Paris, 1911, pp. 1373 ff.; Schauenburg, 1955, *passim*. See also H. HOFFMAN, *Helios*, in "Journal of American Research in Egypt", II, 1963, pp. 117-123.

(101) See Cahen, 1911, p. 1380, n. 5. See also C. PICARD, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La sculpture*, IV, Paris, 1963, pp. 520 ff.

(102) *Ibidem*; Hoffman, 1963, pp. 117 ff., esp. 121. Cf. H.P. L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis of Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo, 1947, *passim*.

16. Drawing made for Peiresc, 1607/8, Ms 1791, Bibliothèque Municipale, Carpentras (Photo Bibliothèque Municipale).

(103) E. LANGLOTZ, *Eine Nachbildung des Helios von Rhodos*, in "Atti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti" 48, 1975/1976, pp. 141-150, esp. 149 and fig. 6 see also: Z. SZTETYLLO, *Quelques problèmes relatifs à l'iconographie des timbres amphoriques. Les représentations des statues*, in "Études et Travaux", III, 1966, pp. 54-62.

(104) W. WROTH, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Crete and Aegean Islands*, reprint, London, 1986, pl. I, 8. See also L'Orange, 1953, pp. 154 f. For the sceptre: Alföldi, 1935, pp. 110 ff.

(105) J. SCOTT-RYBERG, *Rites for the State Religions in Roman Art*, Rome, 1955, p. 173 and pl. LXII, 104.

(106) H.B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman (in the British Museum)*, London, 1926, pl. XXII, 1657. For other examples see Kantorowicz, 1963, fig. 15. There are some representations of Serapis-Helios with the sceptre, e.g. L'Orange, 1953, fig. 111.

(107) See Th. PREGER, *Konstantinos-HELIOS*, in "Hermes", XXXVI, 1901, pp. 457-69. See also R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals*, Berkeley etc, 1982, pp. 55 ff.; H.P. L'ORANGE, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie Konstantins*, in *Likeness and Icon*. (as in n. 98), pp. 27 ff.

(108) Krautheimer, 1982, pp. 55 f., fig. 53.

(109) See J. MAURICE, *La dynastie solaire des seconds Flaviens*, in "Revue Archeologique", XVII, 1911, pp. 398 ff., esp. 401 and n. 3.

(110) C. DAVIS-WEYER, *Das Traditio-Legis Bild und seine Nachfolge*, in "Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst", XII, 1961, pp. 7-45, esp. 18 ff. See also Y. CHRISTE, *Apocalypse et Traditio-legis*, in "Römische Quartalschrift", LXXI, 1976, pp. 42-55, with previous literature on the subject in n. 1. See also G. HELLEMO, *Adventus Domini. Eschatological Thoughts in 4th Century Apocryphal and Catecheses*, Leiden and New York, 1989, esp. pp. 32-39.

(111) Davis-Weyer, 1961, pp. 25 ff., esp. 31-2 and fig. 12. See also Waetzoldt, 1964, no. 79 and fig. 38.



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(112) Hoogewerff, 1955, pp. 297-326. See also Krautheimer, 1980, pp. 93 f.; R. WISSKIRCHEN, *Das Mosaikprogramm von S. Prassede in Rom, Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, Münster in W., 1990, pp. 31 ff. and 109 ff.

(113) Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 6. J. HUBERT, J. PORCHER, W.F. VOLBACH, *L'impero carolingio*, Milan, 1968, fig. 75; P.A. UNDERWOOD, *The Fountain of Life in the Manuscripts of the Gospels*, in "Dumbarton Oaks Papers", V, 1950, fig.s 26 and 63.

(114) For this problem see W.S. HECKSCHER, *Relics of pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings*, in "Journal of the Warburg Institute", I, 1937-38, pp. 204-220.

(115) See R.M. WALKER, *Illustrations to the Priscillian Prologues in the Gospels Manuscripts of the Carolingian Ada School*, in "Art Bulletin" XXX, 1948, figs. 3-6; *Karl der Grosse, III: Karolingische Kunst*, ed. by W. Braunsfels and H. Schnitzler, Düsseldorf, 1965, pls. XII-XIV.

(116) Cf., however, material gathered by J. DEER, *Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz*, in "Schweitzer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte", XIII, 1955, pp. 48-110. Representations discussed in Deer's paper are Byzantine and Ottonian not Carolingian.

(117) See. H. FOCILLON, *L'an mil*, Paris, 1952, p. 32.

(118) Staadtbibliothek, clm, 13002, fol. 4, see Verdier, 1974, pp. 20-40, and fig. 1.

(119) Verdier, 1974, p. 31.

(120) *Ornamenta Ecclesiae, Kunst und Künstler der Romanik, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen Museum*, I, Cologne, 1985, pp. 462 f. and fig. on p. 464.

(121) PG. XLIX, col. 397. See also Dölger, 1925, p. 353.

(122) *Liber de Fonte Vitae*, 325 ff., see



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AUDRADO DI SENS, *Il Fonte della Vita*, con testo a fronte, a cura di F. Stella, Firenze, 1991, pp. 114 f.

(123) Underwood, 1955, pp. 43-138, esp. 114 f. See also J. BECKWITH, *Byzantine Influence on Art at the Court of Charlemagne*, in *Karl der Grosse*, (as in n. 115), pp. 288 ff. According to Denny, 1960/61, pp. 1-5, *Fons vitae* in the Soissons Gospels is based on the fountain which once adorned the atrium of St. Peter's.

(124) See n. 95 *supra*.

(125) Cod. Add. 49598. Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 43 f. and fig. 7. For colour ill. see F. WORMALD, *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold*, London, 1959, p. 20. pl. 3.

(126) *Ibidem*.

(127) Torp, 1963, pp. 30 ff.; Kitzinger, 1977, p. 57; Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 39 ff. See also Sotiriou, 1971, fig. 1. For opinions on the representations of the Elders see n. 96 *supra*.

(128) See e.g. N. THIERRY, *L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine*, in *L'Apocalypse de Jean*, (as in n. 1) pp. 319-330.

(129) J. SNYDER, *The Meaning of the "Majestas Domini" in Hosios David*, in "Byzantion" XXXVII, 1967, pp. 143-152, esp. 151 f.

(130) Krautheimer, 1979, p. 124.

(131) F. HODDINOTT, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia*, London, 1963, pp. 173-7, pls. VI-VIII. Snyder, 1967, pp. 143 ff. See also M. WERNER, *On the Origin of Anthropomorphic Evangelist Symbols: The Early Christian Background*, in "Studies in Iconography", X, 1984-86, pp. 15 f.

(132) For the relics of saints in Hagios Georgios: Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 55 ff.; *idem*, 1982, pp. 25 ff.

(133) Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 6r, see n. 156 *infra*.

17. Charles the Bald on his throne, from the Golden Codex of Charles the Bald, c. 870, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, (Cod. 14000, fol. 5v).

(134) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 121 and fig. 27.

(135) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 31, fol. 23v; *ibidem*, fig. 34. See also J. SNYDER, *The Reconstruction of the Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation*, in "Vigiliae Christianae", XVIII, 1964, pp. 146 ff.; P.K. KLEIN, *Der Kodex und seiner Bildschmuck in Trier Apocalypse*, Kommentarband, Graz, 1975, pp. 51 ff.

(136) See notes 43 and 45 *supra*. For Apollo/Sun in late Antiquity, most recently R.L. RIKE, *Apex omnium, religions in the Res gestae of Ammianus*, Berkeley etc. 1987, pp. 28 ff. and 98 ff.

(137) For this verse which was taken from Carmen II, see CSEL, 30, p. 349. It is hypothetically ascribed to Paulinus.

(138) Poem X, to Ausonius, cited from *St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. WALSH (Ancient Christian Writers, 40), New York, 1975, p. 58 f. For Latin text: PL, LXI, cols. 453 f.

(139) See Krautheimer, 1979, p. 82. Cf. Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 56 ff.; *idem*, 1982, pp. 25 ff.

(140) Cited from H.A. DRAKE, *In Praise of Constantine*, Berkeley etc. 1976, p. 94. For the Greek text: PG, XX, col. 1349.

(141) On the mosaic in Hagios Georgios as an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem see *La Gerusalemme celeste*, Catalogo della mostra, Università Cattolica del S. Cuore, Milan, 1983, no. 123, with bibliography; see also *ibidem*, pp. 81 ff.

(142) See Van der Meer, 1938, pp. 98-125; Schnitzler, 1964, pp. 7-44; Belting, 1976, pp. 167-182; *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (as in n. 1), *passim*. See also Y. CHRISTE, *A propos du decor de l'arc absidal de Santa Restituta a Naples*, in *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, II, Bonn, 1986, pp. 157-161; P. HOEGGER, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi*, Stuttgart, 1975, pp. 42-47.

(143) Ms. lat. 8850, fol. 1v; Hubert, Porcher, Volbach, 1968, pp. 84 ff. and fig. 74. W. BRAUNFELS, *Die Welt der Karolinger*, Munich, 1968, p. 369, pl. XXIX; *Karl der Grosse* (as in n. 155), pl. XI.

18. *The twenty four Elders and the Lamb*, from the Golden Codex of Charles the Bald, c. 870, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, fol. 6r.

(144) Real Academia de la Historia, Ms. 33, fol. 92; Van der Meer, 1938, pp. 115 ff. fig. 25; Schnitzler, 1964, pp. 31 f., fig. 33; M. DURLIAT, *Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, Freiburg etc. 1987, p. 183.

(145) P. CLEMEN, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinländern*, Düsseldorf, 1916, pp. 1076; Schnitzler, 1964, pp. 17 ff. See also C. HEITZ, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*, Paris, 1980, pp. 64 ff., idem, *Retentissement de l'Apocalypse dans l'art de l'époque carolingienne*, in *L'Apocalypse de Jean*, (as in n. 1), pp. 217 ff.

(146) Carpentras, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 1971, fol. 491v, see E. STEPHANY, *Die Bilder aus Aachen für Monsieur Peiresc*, 1607/08 in "Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins", LXIX, 1957, pp. 67-70.

(147) Ciampini, 1699, II, pp. 134 ff. and pl. XLI.

(148) Ibidem, p. 134 f.

(149) See Clemen, 1916, p. 20 and n. 40

(150) Ibidem, p. 22.

(151) See Clemen, 1916, p. 23; Schnitzler, 1964, p. 34; H. SCHRADE, *Vor- und frühromanische Malerei*, Cologne, 1958, p. 40; Heitz, 1980, pp. 74 ff.

(152) W. SCHÖNE, *Die künstlerische und liturgische Gestalt der Pfalzkapelle Karls des Grossen in Aachen*, in "Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft", XV, 1961, p. 102, n. 9.

(153) B. KÜHNEL, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, Rome, etc. 1987, p. 131.

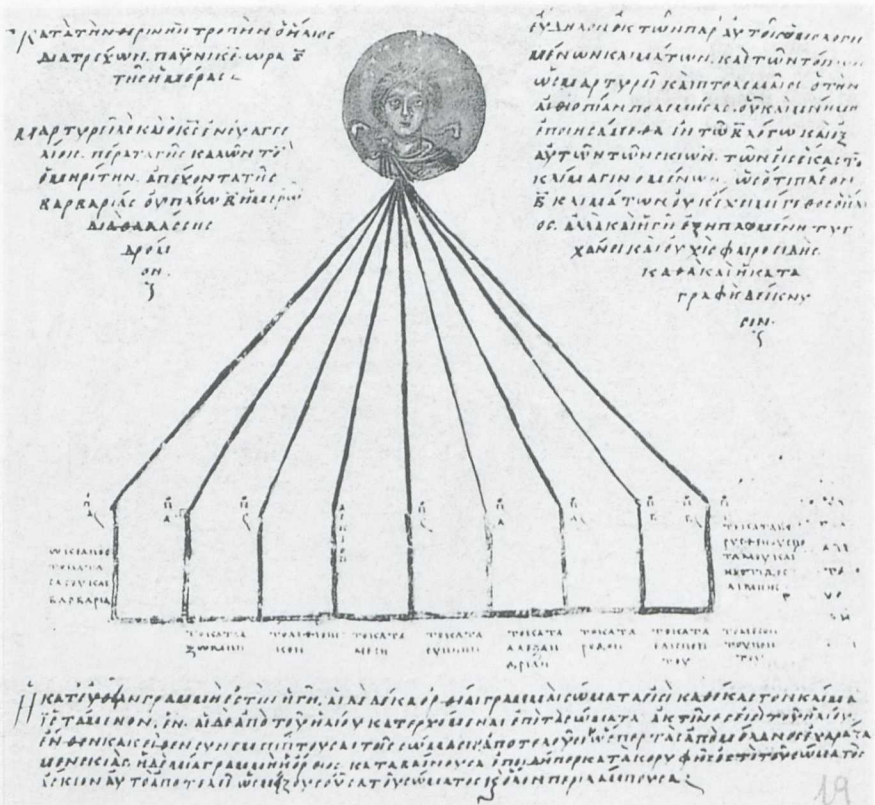
(154) Schnitzler, 1964, pp. 17 ff.

(155) For critical opinions see: H. SCHRADE, *Zum Kuppelmosaik der Pfalzkapelle und zum Theodorich-Denkmal in Aachen in "Aachener Kunstblätter"*, LXV, 1974, pp. 49-58. See also C. HEITZ, *L'image du Christ entre 780 et 810 - une éclipse?*, in *Nicee II, 787-1987*, Paris, 1987, pp. 229 ff. Cf., however, V.H. ELBERN, *Die "Libri Carolini" und die liturgische Kunst um 800* in "Aachener Kunstblätter", LIV/LV, 1986/87, p. 19.



(156) Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14000, fol. 5v and 6r; See, Schnitzler, 1964, pp. 38 ff. and figs. 41-2. See also Elbern, 1986/87, p. 19 and figs. 5-6. D. ALIBERT, *La majesté sacrée du roi: image du souverain carolingien*, in "Histoire de l'Art", V/VI, 1989, pp. 25 f., figs. 5a nd 5b. One should also pay attention to the text ascribed to Alcuin, beneath this illumination, which reads: "Everything which the earth presently nourishes and produces; everything which the surface of the sea surrounds with ample girdle; all, O Lamb, worship God on lofty throne. You, who by your shed blood cleansed the sins of the world, you upon the cross, cleanse the wounds of Charles the King. Those called the pure company and worthy band of prophets, the group of apostles approaching with heavenly garlands, show love and fear from faithful breast. And Charles the ruler is on watch with open face, praying that he may live with you to a great age, for ever". Cf. J. HUBERT, *La mosaïque disparue de la chapelle du palais de Charlemagne à Aix-la-Chapelle*, in "Bulletin de la Antiquaires de France", Paris 1935,

pp. 135-140, esp. p. 134 and n. 2; Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, XV, 2, col. 3123. This poem seems to support clearly our hypothesis regarding the Lamb. One should also underline the presence of the huge eight-pointed star in the illumination in question shining above the Elders. Could it stand for Christ? One might perhaps think about a passage in the Pseudo-Dionysius's *De Coelesti Hierarchia* II, 5, as an inspiration, which reads that "the divinity is concealed beneath subtle "forms" - sometimes it may be the Sun of righteousness, sometimes the day star rising in the hearts of the faithful, and it could also be the spiritual light whose rays embrace us", see PG, III, col. 144C. It was Charles the Bald himself who requested the Irishman John Scotus, called Eriugena, to make a Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius's *Corpus*. This translation was finished by 862. See J. LECLERCQ, in *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works/The Classic of Western Spirituality*, London, 1987, pp. 26-27. R. ASSUNTO, *La critica d'Arte nel pensiero medioevale*, Milan, 1961, pp. 73-79.



19. Illustration in the "Christian Topography" of Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Cod. gr. 699, fol. 93r.

20. *Three Maries at the Tomb*, antependium of Aachen Cathedral, beginning of 11th cent.

(161) See Aldred, 1968, *passim*.

(162) *Bibl. Ap. Vat. Cod. gr. 699, fol. 93r.* W. WOLSKA, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Paris, 1961, pl. IX.

(163) *Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Script. eccl. 484*, see Braunfels, 1968, fig. 90. There are many other similar representations in this Psalter, see S. DUFRENNE, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht, Sources et apport carolingien*, Paris, 1977, *passim*.

(164) G. SCHILLER, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, III, Gütersloh, 1971, pp. 26 ff. and fig. 27.

(165) E.W. ANTHONY, *Romanesque Frescoes*, Princeton, 1951, fig. 164.

(166) See notes 18-19 *supra*.

(167) See DÖLGER, *Lumen Christi*, in "Antike und Christentum", V, 1936, pp. 33 f. and fig. 2. See also Rahner, 1963, p. 129, n. 1.

(168) Hildesheim, Domschatz, fol. 175r, see H. SCHRADER, *Zur Ikonographie der Himmelfahrt Christi*, in "Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg", 1928/29, Berlin, 1930, pp. 173 ff., pl. XV, 30. Another example is reproduced by G. SCHILLER, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, II, Gütersloh, 1969, fig. 376.

(169) For discussion on commentaries upon this passage, see Dölger, 1925, pp. 217 ff.

(170) The solar aspect of the Lamb in art has already been noticed by H.R. ENGLER, *Die Sonne als Symbol*, Küssnacht etc., 1962, pp. 268 ff., however, he does not consider the representations discussed in this paper. On light symbolism in the art of the Carolingian period writes: J. VIRET, *Un cryptogramme carolingien du Christ - Soleil*, in *Le Soleil, la Lune et les étoiles au Moyen Age*, Aix-en-Provence, 1986, pp. 421-435. See also H.P. L'ORANGE, *Lux aeterna. L'adorazione della luce nell'arte tardo-antica ed altomedioevale*, in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*, XLVII 1974/1975, pp. 191-202.

(171) K. NOEHLES, *Die Fassade von S. Pietro in Tuscania*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch



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(157) Denny 1960/61, p. 3; see also Walker, 1948, p. 3. Cf. M.T. GOUSSET, *La représentation de la Jerusalem céleste à l'époque carolingienne* in "Cahiers Archéologiques", XXIII, 1974, p. 52.

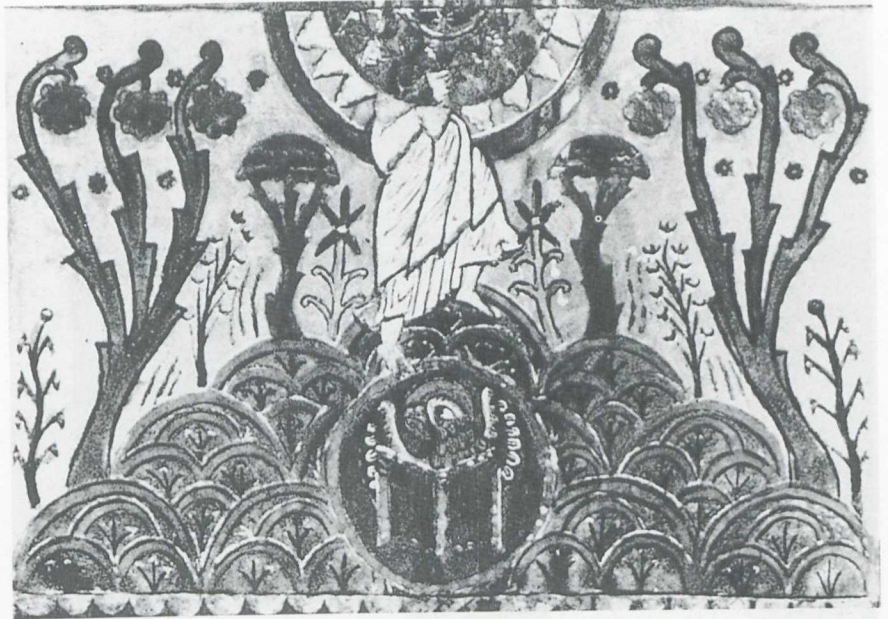
(159) J. BALTRUSAITIS, *Quelques survivances de symboles solaires dans l'art du Moyen Age*, in "Gazette des Beaux Arts", 6e serie, XVII, 1937, pp. 75-82.

(160) Van der Meer, 1938, pp. 80 and 117.

(158) Schnitzler, 1964, p. 32.

21. *The Ascension*, in the Gospel Book of St. Bernward, 1011, Hildesheim, Domschatz, fol. 175v.

22. Rose window in S. Pietro in Tuscania, 12th cent.



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für Kunstgeschichte", IX/X, 1961/62, pp. 15-72. For the rose-window symbolism see: P. REUTERSWARD, *Windows of Divine Light; and, The Forgotten Symbols of God*. in Id, *The Visible and Invisible in Art*, Vienna, 1991, pp. 45 ff and 57 ff. respectively

(172) See H. SEDLMAYR, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*, Zürich, 1950, pp. 144 ff.; H.J. DOW. *The Rose-Window*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XX, 1957, pp. 248-297. In his *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Honorius of Autun identifies the four beasts with the four Evangelists and the four mysteries of Christ, the Sun of justice, see PL 172, col. 833.

(173) See Noehles, 1961/62, pp. 24 f. and 63 ff., fig. 14-15; A reconstruction of the original state of the facade is to be found in U. TARCHI, *L'arte cristiano-romantica nell'Umbria e nella Sabina*, II, Milan, 1937, pl. CXXXV ff.

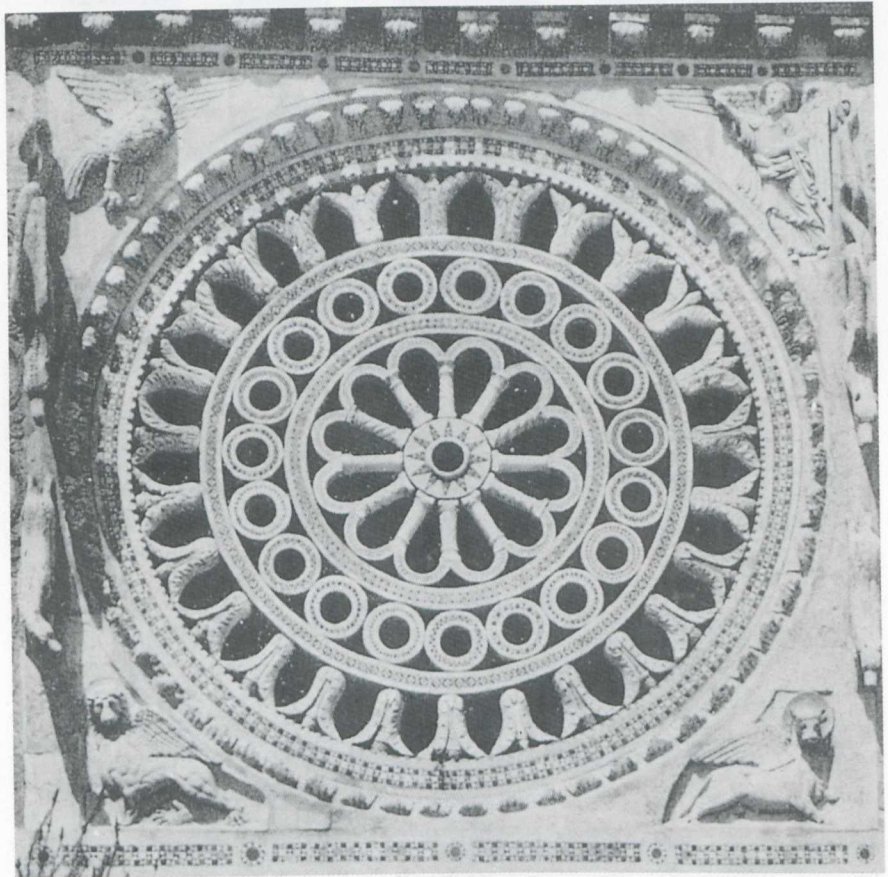
(174) See note 120. See also Schnitzler, 1964, p. 32 and fig. 34.

(175) For the representation in the Baptistry, see: Noehles, 1961/62, pp. 66f and 54; K. LEHMANN, *The Dome of Heaven*, in *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History*, ed. E.W. Kleinbauer, New York, 1971, p. 243 and fig. 41. For the Sulmona relief, most probably produced at the beginning of the 15th cent., see Engler, 1962, pp. 268 ff. and fig. 585.

(176) See Hauteceur, 1954, passim. See also Lehmann, 1971, pp. 227 ff.

(177) For example: The Venerable Bede: PL, XXIII, cols. 201 ff.; Ambrosius Autpertus; CCM, XXVII, pp. 288 f., 384, 802 f.; Alcuin: PL, C, cols. 1116, 1126, 1129, 1152; Beatus of Liebana, Sancti Beati a Liebana, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, I-II, rec. E. Romero, Rome 1985. I, pp. 279, 451, 470, 599, 667 and II, p. 245; Walafrid Strabo: PL, CXIV, cols. 722 f., 747. For the duality in the interpretation of John's vision in the Carolingian age (i.e. stressing either the eschatological aspect or "the actual presence") see Kühnel, 1987, p. 120 f.

(178) For Alcuin (or Pseudo-Alcuin), see PL, C, col. 1116 (Commentary upon IV, 3): "Sole quippe nubem illustrante iris apparuit, quia cum Patris Verbum, quod sol



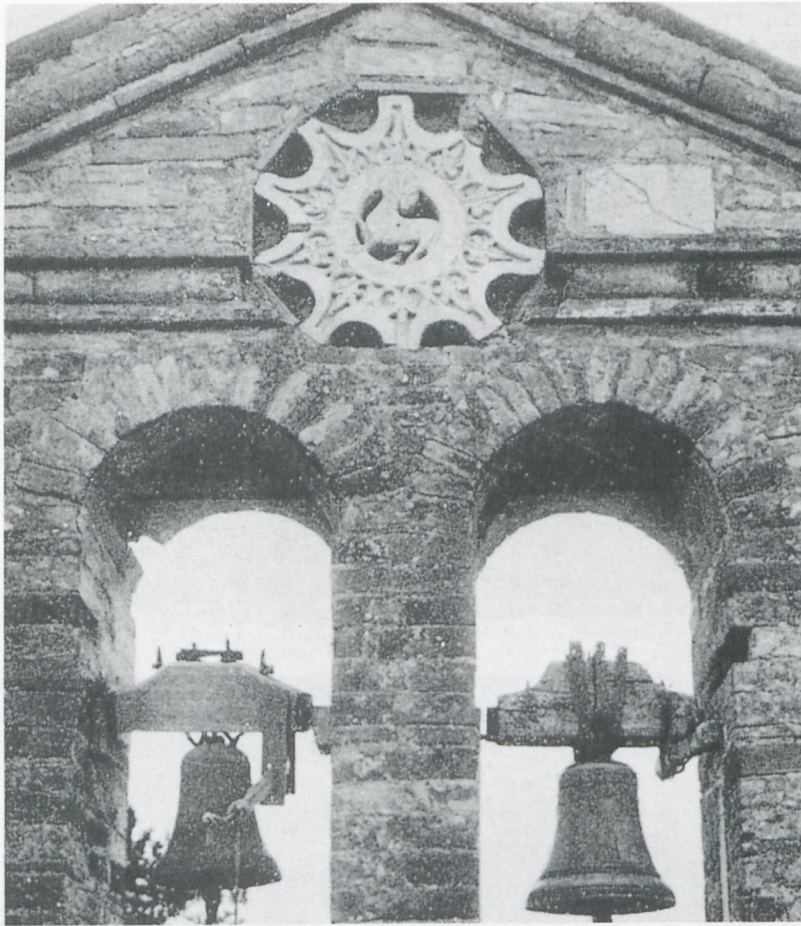
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justitiae est, humanam naturam suscipiendo irradiavit, ipsa humanitatis eius susceptio, quae a propheta "nubes" vocatur, reconciliatio facta est mundi". For Alcuin see also Engemann, 1979, p. 75.

(179) Quoted from: *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim*, ed. H.A. Sanders, Rome, 1930, p. 271.

(180) For this text see n. 201 infra.

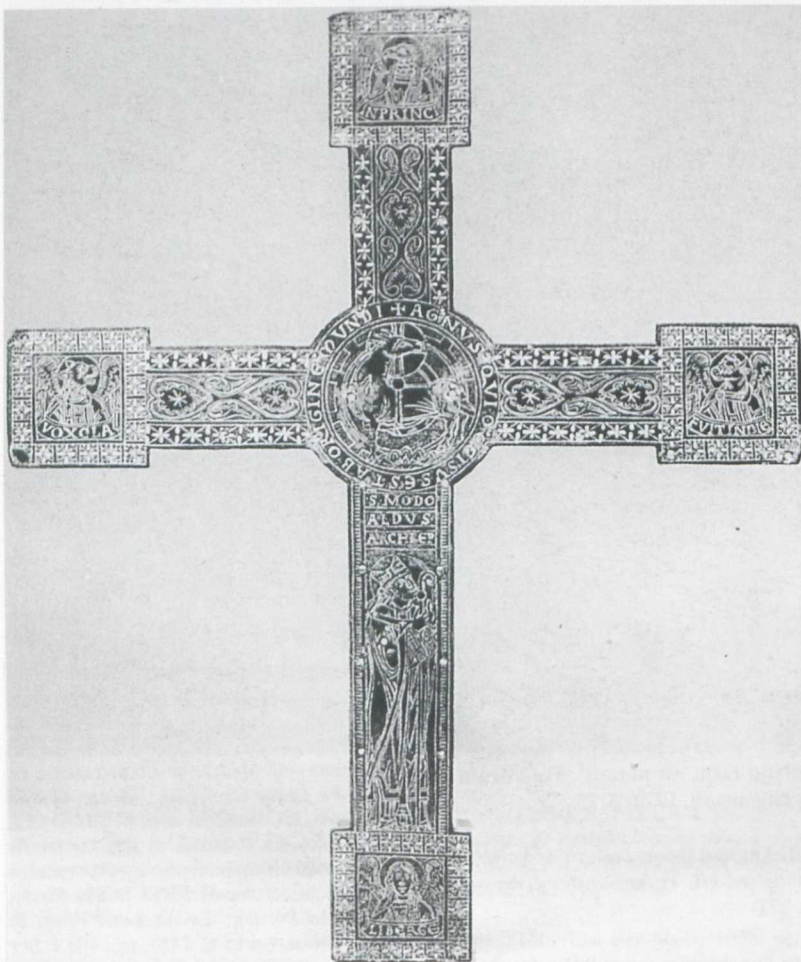
(181) The passage of John Scotus Eriugena is cited and discussed by R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture*, in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, London etc., 1969, p. 122. For the Capella Palatina as the Heavenly Jerusalem (with apocalyptic measurements 8x18=144, etc.) see F. KREUSCH, *Kirche, Atrium und Porticus der Aachener Pfalz*, in *Karl der Grosse*, (as in n. 115), pp. 498 f. See also Heitz, 1980, pp. 6 ff.; idem, 1987, p.



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23. *The Lamb "in the Sun"*, Bell tower, Pieve di Castel Ritaldi (previously in the church facade), 1141.

24. Modoalus Cross, 1107, Cologne, Schnütgen Museum.



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241; Kühnel, 1987, pp. 131 ff; Gousset, 1974, pp. 47 ff.

(182) Cited from: *Poetae Latini. Aevi carolini, II, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. E. Duemmler, Berlin, 1884, p. 203. For Rabanus Maurus' text referring to the end of time, see: Engemann, 1979, pp. 74 and 88. On the Sun of justice who is to shine in the Heavenly Jerusalem see Commentaries by the Venerable Bede: PL, XCIII, cols. 201 f.; Ambrosius Autpertus; CCM, XXII, pp. 802 f.; Walafrid Strabo: PL, CXIV, col. 747. Christ as the Sun appears not only in the commentaries on Revelation but also in encyclopaedias, see: ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De rerum natura*, cap. XV.; PL, LXXXIII, cols. 988 and 990; and RABAN MAURUS, *De Universo*, IX, 9: PL, CXI, cols. 267 ff. On a chandelier in Hildesheim, dated c. 1050, there is an inscription: "Urbs est sublimis (Jerusalem)... in virtute sua Solis, Sol lucet in illa". see: W. BERGES, *Die älteren Hildesheimer Inschriften bis zum Tode Bischof Hezilos*, Göttingen, 1983, pl. 26 and p. 126.

(183) Dufrenne, 1977, pp. 134 f. and pl. LXXXIV, 33.

(184) Schrade, 1932, p. 39, fig. 6 Cf. Dölger, 1940, p. 16, n. 4.

(185) Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Biblia, Folio, 23, fol 10, see E.T. DEWALD, *The Stuttgart Psalter*, facsimile, Princeton, 1930, p.14; H.MEYER, *Metaphern des Psaltertextes dem Illustrationen des Stuttgarter Bildpsalter*, in *Text und Bild, Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 180 ff. and fig. 2.

(186) See Davis-Weyer, 1961, pp. 17 ff., esp. 25 ff; Krautheimer, 1980, pp. 126 ff.; *La Gerusalemme celeste*, (as in n. 141), nos. 79 f.

(187) Davis-Weyer, 1961, p. 25 and fig. 13; Wisskirchen, 1990.

(188) See notes 62 ff., *supra*.

(189) Denny, 1960/61, pp. 1-5.

(190) See n. 53 *supra*.

(191) Van der Meer, 1938, p. 29.

(192) For the problem: Easter (celebra-

25. Illustration to Ps. 18, The Utrecht Psalter, first half of 9th cent., Utrecht, University Library, script. eccl. 484.

26. *Christ and Helios protecting the naked souls from the attack of the enemy*, ill. to Ps. 9, The Stuttgart Psalter, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. Biblia, Folio 23, fol. 10r.

ted on Sunday) and the vernal equinox, see Rahner, 1963, 109-129; Jungmann, 1980, pp. 25 ff.; Danielou, 1951, pp. 220 ff. and 388 ff. See also A. STROBEL, *Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders*, Berlin, 1977, esp. 374-94.

(193) P.G. XXIV, col. 697, see also Danielou, 1951, pp. 391-2.

(194) PG, XXXVI, col. 641; see also J. DANIELOU, *The Twelve Apostles and the Zodiac*, in *Primitive Christian Symbols*, trans. D. Attwater, London, 1964, pp. 130 f.; F. NIKOLASCH, *Das Lamm als Christussymbol in den Schriften der Väter*, Vienna, 1963, pp. 136-8.

(195) See H. DUNBAR, *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy*, New Haven, 1929, pp. 407, ff. See also E. NORDEN, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 16 f. For the problem of Zodiac see W. HÜBNER, *Zodiacus Christianus*, Königstein, 1983, esp. pp. 145 f. for Christ the Sun in the middle of the Zodiac.

(196) "Aiunt enim incipiente die illo qui primus omnium luxit, id est quo in hunc fulgorem caelum et elementa prugata sunt, qui ideo mundi natalis iure vocatur, Arietem in medio caelo fuisse, et quia medium caelum quasi mundi vertex est, Arietem propterea primum inter omnes habitum, qui ut mundi caput in exordio lucis apparuit" (I, 21,23); cited from: AMBROSII THEODOSII MACROBI, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1970, p. 82. See also Norden, 1924, pp. 16 f.

(197) CCSL, XXII, p. 105; PL, XI, col. 492 ff. For detailed discussion on this text see W. HÜBNER, *Das Horoskop der Christen* (Zeno 1,38), in "Vigiliae Christianae", XXIX, 1975, pp. 120-137. For Aries as a model for the Lamb, see F. BOLL, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, Berlin, 1914, p. 48.

(198) See R. SALOMON, *Opicinus de Canistris*, London, 1936, p. 120; J. SEZNEC, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1961, p. 50.

(199) PL, XXXV, cols. 2419 and 2447.

(200) PL, LXVIII, col. 802.

(201) «Et facies eius sicut sol lucet in virtute sua». Mirus ordo membrorum, post pedes scribitur facies; hic facies illius soli comparatur. Indignum est enim et satis humile putare Christum discoloribus membris aut claritatem eius soli comparatam. Nam si de iustis dicit: "fulgebunt sicut sol"; quam periculosum est dicere quod pari claritate fulgeant iusti cum Domino, cum ipse sit suorum claritas, et pro operum meritis unusquisque ab alio plus fulgeat, sicut scriptum est; "stella ab stella differt in claritate". De sua autem claritate Dominus, in quantum scire possumus, dixit: "sicut fulgur exiit ab oriente et apparet usque in occidentem, ita erit adventus Filii hominis". Tamen quod dicit "facies eius sicut sol", apparitio illius fuit, quod locutus est hominibus facie contra faciem... Ostendit enim post pedes ignitos sicut solis faciem lucere; id est, post novissimi certaminis flammam in diem iudicii manifestari ecclesiae claritatem, sicut Dominus collectis de regno eius zizaniis, manipulis, peccatorum ad comburendum, "tunc, inquit, iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in

regno patris sui": *Beati in Apocalipsin...*, ed. Sanders, 1930, p. 81.

(202) PL, C, col. 1099. See also Ambrosius Autpertus: CCM, XXVII, pp. 84 ff. and 387 f.; Haimon from Halberstadt: PL, CXVII, col. 958.

(203) It is worth remembering that the "solar" aspect of the Saviour occurred also in Renaissance art e.g.: in the Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo modelled Christ's countenance on the Apollo of Belvedere, so it may have been conceived as eschatological Sol justitiae. For the resemblance of Michelangelo's Christ to Apollo of Belvedere see A.L. CASTELLAN, *Lettres sur l'Italie, I*, Paris, 1819, p. 211. Cf. J.M. GREENSTEIN, "How Glorious the Second Coming of Christ". *Michelangelo's Last Judgement and the Transfiguration in "Artibus et Historiae"*, 20 (X) 1989, p. 49. On light and solar symbolism in this representation, see also Ch. de TOLNAY, *Michelangelo, V. The Final Period*, Princeton, 1960, pp. 47-49 and H. HIB-

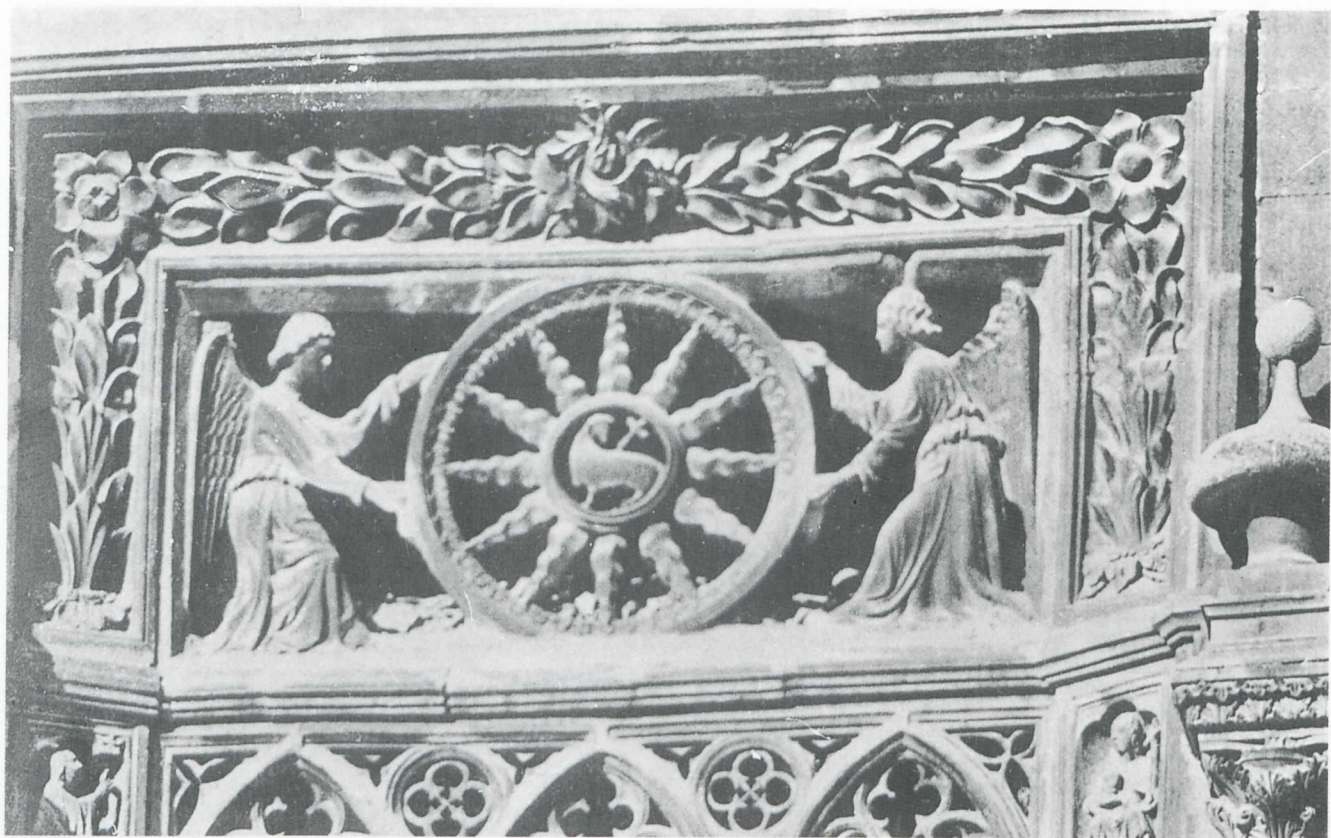


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BARD, *Michelangelo*, Harmondsworth, 1985, pp. 246 f. Cf. Dürer's famous *Sol justitiae* of 1498 with "shining countenance" discussed by E. PANOFSKY, *Albrecht*

Dürer and Classical Antiquity, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 298-308.

POSTSCRIPTUM

After the submission of the present paper Helmtrud Köhren-Jansen's book *Giottos Navicella: Bildtradition, Deutung, Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Veröffentlichungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rom), Worms am Rhein, 1993 has appeared. This study (pp.

130-133) gathers and discusses 16th and 17th centuries texts (eg. by Serrano and Panciroli) that lend support to my interpretation of the lost mosaic on the facade of Old St. Peter's.

27. *The Lamb "in the Sun"*, Sulmona relief in a window, 14th or 15th cent.

ATTI DEI CONVEGNI DI ARTE CRISTIANA

I.	ICONA E ICONOCLASTIA Fascicolo 724 esaurito	Nel 1988
II.	LA QUALITÀ ECCLESIALE NELL'ARTE Fascicolo 737/738	Nel 1990
III.	L'ALTARE, la struttura, l'immagine, l'azione liturgica Fascicolo 753	Nel 1992
IV.	LA VOCAZIONE ARTISTICA DEI RELIGIOSI Fascicolo 764/765	Nel 1994