

Ludwig Pollak, Wilhelm von Bode's Trusted Art Dealer on the Roman Art Market (1902–1929): New Findings on the Provenance and Historical Context of Early Medieval and Byzantine Liturgical Sculptures sold to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum

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Between 1902 and 1929, the archaeologist, connoisseur, and art dealer Ludwig Pollak (Prague 1868–Auschwitz 1943) sold over a hundred works of art, which he found specifically for the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (now Bode Museum), to its founding director, Wilhelm von Bode. The objects date from the 2nd to the late 14th century and became part of the museum's early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval collection. New insights have been gained into the provenance and historical context of these artworks, thanks to largely unpublished archival materials, historical photographs, and museum inventories preserved both in the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst and in the Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. In particular, 380 surviving letters and postcards written by Pollak to Bode contain valuable information about the business negotiations between the museum director in Berlin and the art dealer in Rome.

In a 2017 article, Elisabeth Ehler evokes the large number of artworks sold by the Rome-based archaeologist, connoisseur, and art dealer Ludwig Pollak (fig. 1) to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at the beginning of the 20th century.¹ Yet, to date, there has been no thorough study published of Pollak's major role in enriching the museum's early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval collection during Wilhelm von Bode's time as its director. Consequently, drawing on documentary and photographic sources, the present article aims to demonstrate Pollak's pivotal role in assisting Bode in turning the museum's department of early Christian and medieval art into one of the most outstanding of its time.

I began by examining the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum's historical inventory (in particular those records compiled during the first two decades of the 20th century), photographs and documents recording the acquisition, transport, and entry into the museum's collections of individual objects. I then looked at the fundamental findings that emerged from an analysis of the correspondence between Ludwig Pollak and Wilhelm Bode. This exchange comprises over 380 letters and postcards written by the archaeologist to Bode between 7 February 1902 and 25 December 1927, attesting to the plenipotentiary director's intense commercial negotiations for the acquisition of artworks.² In many of his letters, Pollak refers to the photographs he attached to the acquisition proposals, often asking for their return in the event that the objects should fail to capture Bode's interest – both for the sake of confidentiality, as well as in order to be able to present them to other potential clients. Unfortunately, these precious images were separated from the individual letters for conservation purposes and, despite earlier research attempts by archivists, remain untraceable, except in a very few cases.³

After collecting and comparing the data culled from this rich documentation, I counted at least 106 objects sold by Pollak to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum – a surprising result, considering the much lower number reported by previous research and the museum's records.⁴

This article is part of my PhD thesis in History of Art at Sapienza University of Rome, dedicated to the Jewish archaeologist, connoisseur, and art dealer Ludwig Pollak (Prague 1868–Auschwitz 1943). The findings emerged from research I carried out at both the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst and the Zentralarchiv between 2021 and 2022, with the invaluable help of Gabriele Mietke, Cécilia Fluck, and Michaela Hussein-Wiedemann. They allowed me to study and analyze the rich archival documents and bibliography preserved in the Bode Museum and Zentralarchiv, helping me whenever I inevitably encountered difficulties in reading and interpreting the old German script *Kurrent*, which Pollak used in his handwritten letters to Wilhelm Bode. I would also like to thank Melanie Herrschaft, Marco Labitzke, Marco Fischer, and Viktor Ehrlich for handling the heavy marble artworks in the storage facilities of the Bode Museum in Hohenschönhausen. Moreover, I owe special thanks to Fabio Betti, the advisor for my PhD thesis with the working title »Ludwig Pollak and Medieval Works of Art. The Interests and Studies of a Key Figure in the Art Market and in Art Collecting in Post-Unification Rome« for his constant supervision and advice regarding methods, as well as for his useful bibliographical suggestions.

1 Elisabeth Ehler, »Für wenige hundert Lire das Stück.« Ein nahezu vergessener Sarkophagkasten im Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, in: Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 59, 2017, pp. 7–14. For detailed information about Ludwig Pollak, see Margarete Merkel Guldan, Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893–1934, Vienna 1988; Margarete Merkel Guldan (ed.), Ludwig Pollak, Römische Memoiren. Künstler, Kunstliebhaber und Gelehrte 1893–1934 (Studia Archaeologica LXXII), Rome 1994; Orietta Rossini (ed.), Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte (Praga 1868–Auschwitz 1943). Gli anni d'oro del collezionismo internazionale da Giovanni Barracco a Sigmund Freud, exh. cat. [Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, Museo Ebraico di Roma, 5.12.2018–5.5.2019], Rome 2018; Orietta Rossini (ed.), Ludwig Pollak archaeologist and art dealer (Prague 1868–Auschwitz 1943). The golden years of international collecting from Giovanni Barracco to Sigmund Freud, Rome 2019; Federica De Giambattista, Sacro e profano nella collezione d'arte di Ludwig Pollak. Una scultura di *Diana cacciatrice* di epoca imperiale e una *Vergine col Bambino* del Trecento napoletano, in: Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma XXXV, 2021, pp. 5–22.

2 The Archivio Pollak at the Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco in Rome holds over 160 letters from Wilhelm Bode to Ludwig Pollak which are currently not accessible to scholars and researchers. Unfortunately, until this correspondence is released, the Berlin director's voice in this exchange will remain unknown.

3 I am referring to seven photographs found with the help of Gabriele Mietke in the non-digitized photo archive of the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, which reproduce the artworks with the following inv. nos.: 3020, 4688, 6669 (2 photographs), 6670, 6702, 6723.

4 Objects with the following inv. nos: 2735, 2704, 2785, 2983, 2984, 3020, 3021, 3036, 3058–3062, 3261, 3262, 4685 a–b, 4684, 4686–4689, 6123–6127, 6167, 6169–6172, 6174, 6175, 6260–6262, 6264, 6265, 6268, 6276, 6277, 6365, 6366, 6368, 6376–6378, 6416, 6417 (now in the Antikensammlung, inv. no. 31544), 6420–6422, 6435a–c, 6439, 6440, 6588, 6590, 6598,



1 Unknown: Ludwig Pollak at the writing desk in his apartment in Palazzo Odescalchi in Rome, 1935–1943, gelatin silver print, 89 × 138 mm, Museo di Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina, inv. no. AF 6261

Indeed, the existing academic literature has largely underestimated Pollak's contribution, providing only a brief account of the Prague art dealer's role in enriching the museum's early Christian and medieval collection. I am referring here in particular to the work of Margarete Merkel Guldan, who wrote of Bode's acquisition of some 27 artworks offered to him by Pollak, and of Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Barbara Paul, who, in 1997, edited a new edition of Bode's autobiography, »Mein Leben,« which presents the same information.⁵ (It should be noted, however, that Guldan only had at her disposal the material provided by Arne Effenberger, the former director of the Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung – most likely without any opportunity to verify the documentary sources firsthand.)

With the help of the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst's two senior curators, I also found in the museum's archives an unpublished and undated typescript, most likely compiled between the late 1980s and early 1990s, which contains a list of the objects acquired by Pollak between 1903 and 1929 (fig. 2). Comprising 29 artworks, it lists them according to their inventory numbers and with references to the corresponding entries in three catalogues: two written by Oskar Wulff alone (in 1909 and 1911) and one written by Wulff in collaboration with Wolfgang Fritz Volbach (in 1923).⁶ While the addition of two objects to the aforementioned 27 is significant, it is far from exhaustive, considering the more than 100 objects I identified.

From among this large number of pieces, this paper focuses in particular on the early medieval and Byzantine liturgic sculptures that Pollak found on the Roman and south Italian art market between 1903 and 1911, which include some rare objects of great historical and artistic value that are quite unique in the world's collections dedicated to the Middle Ages. As Bode himself stated in his account of 50 years of working for Berlin's royal museums, the early Christian and Byzantine works of art and several other medieval pieces found in Italy are largely fragmentary, but »Sie geben die Kunst der Hauptschulen und vielfach selbst der Hauptmeister in charakteristischen Arbeiten wieder und vergegen-

6626–6630, 6648–6651, 6654, 6658–6661, 6666, 6667, 6669, 6670, 6672, 6673, 6683, 6685–6691, 6700–6703, 6719, 6721 a–f, 6722, 6723, 6742, 6758–6761, 6777, 6778, 6810, 9582, 9583, 9614.

⁵ Merkel Guldan 1988, as note 1, p. 160, note 180; Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, 2 vols., edited by Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Barbara Paul, Berlin 1997, p. 250; see also Eloisa Doderro, who presents the same information, in Rossini 2018, as note 1, pp. 72–81: 78.

⁶ Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Dritter Band. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil 1: Altchristliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1909; Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil II: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1911; Oskar Wulff, Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Die Altchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Byzantinischen und Italienischen Bildwerke, Berlin/Leipzig 1923.

- 1 -

Anlage: Liste der Erwerbungen von L. Pollak, die sich jetzt in der Frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung (FBS) befinden

Abkürzungen:
 Wulff III,1 - Oskar Wulff, Altkristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke, Teil 1: Altkristliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1909 (2. Aufl.).
 Wulff III,2 - Oskar Wulff, Altkristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke, Teil 2: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1911 (mit Nachträgen zu Wulff III,1).
 Erg. Bd. - O. Wulff/W. F. Volbach, Die altkristlichen und mittelalterlichen byzantinischen und italienischen Bildwerke, Dritter Band, Ergänzungsband, Berlin und Leipzig 1923.

Inv.Nr. der FBS	Wulff-Nr. bzw. Erg. Bd.	Jahr der Erwerbung	Bezeichnung
2735 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.7, Nr.12 mit Abb.	1903	Sarkophagkasten
3261 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.9, Nr.16 mit Abb.	1902	Fragment vom Kasten eines Sarkophages
4684 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.1f., Nr.1 mit Abb.	1905	Unvollständiger Sarkophagkasten (sog. Pseudoarkophag)
4685 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.3, Nr.3 und 4, mit Abb.	1904	Fragmente eines Sarkophagdeckels
4686 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.5, Nr.7 mit Abb.	1904	Fragment eines Sarkophagdeckels
4688 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.9f., Nr.17 mit Abb.	1906	Linke Hälfte eines Sarkophagdeckels
4689 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.11, Nr.21 Taf. III	1907	Tisch- (oder Gefäß?)rand, Bruchstück, Marmor.
6125 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.307, Nr. 1621 mit Abb.	1908	Fragment eines Sarkophagdeckels
6127 ✓	Wulff III,1 S.307, Nr. 1623 mit Abb.	1908	Fragment vom Kasten eines Sarkophages
6276/6277 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.16f., Nr. 1727 mit Abb.	1903	Ciboriumsbogen (6276) und Friesbalken (6277)

- 2 -

Inv.Nr. der FBS	Wulff-Nr. bzw. Erg. Bd.	Jahr der Erwerbung	Bezeichnung
6365 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.17, Nr. 1728 mit Abb.	1909 oder 1910 ?	Brüstungsplatte bzw. Schranke, Marmor
6366 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.17ff., Nr. 1729 mit Abb.	1909 oder 1910 ?	Brüstungsplatte bzw. Schranke Marmor
6420 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.87, Nr. 1963, Taf. XII	1906 oder 1907 ?	Bruchstück eines Beschlages, Bronzeblech
6421 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.89, Nr. 1964	1906 oder 1907 ?	Bruchstück eines Beschlages, Bronzeblech
6435 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.27f., Nr. 2222 bis 2225 mit Abb.	1910/1911	Zierplatte und zwei Ziersteine
6588 ✓	Wulff III,2 S.127, Nr. 2221 mit Abb.	1910	Brüstungsplatte, Marmor.
6672 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.4f. mit Abb.	1912	wandbelag, Palombinoplatte (jetzt in Westberlin)
6700 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.28 mit Abb.	1912	Boden eines jüdischen Goldglas
6701 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.1, mit Abb.	1908	Fragment vom Kasten eines Sarkophages
6721 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.3	1913	4 bzw. 5 Fragmente eines Sarkophagreliefs (z.T. nicht zusammenhörig)
6722 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.61 mit Abb.	1913	Kapitell
6742 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.65 mit Abb.	1913	Statuette, Humilitas, Marmor
6777 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.2f. mit Abb.	1914	Fragment vom Kasten eines Sarkophages
6778 ✓	-	1914	Zwei Fragmente einer Loculusplatte
6810 ✓	Erg. Bd. S.45	1915	Goldener Ring
9582 ✓	-	?	Geschnittener Chalcedon (?) mit Guten Hirten, ehem. Sammlung Stroganoff, jetzt in Westberlin
9583 ✓	-	?	Ohrring, jetzt in Westberlin
9614 ✓	-	1929	Ring

2 Unknown: »Liste der Erwerbungen von L. Pollak, die sich jetzt in der Frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung (FBS) befinden« (List of L. Pollak's acquisitions now in the Early Christian and Byzantine Collection), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst

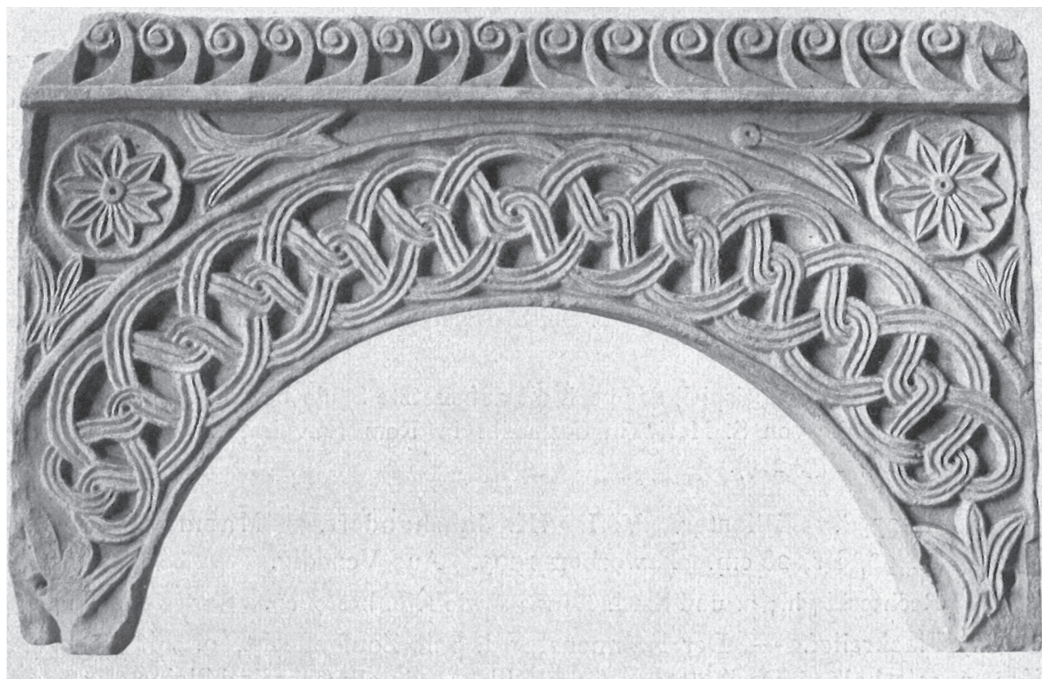
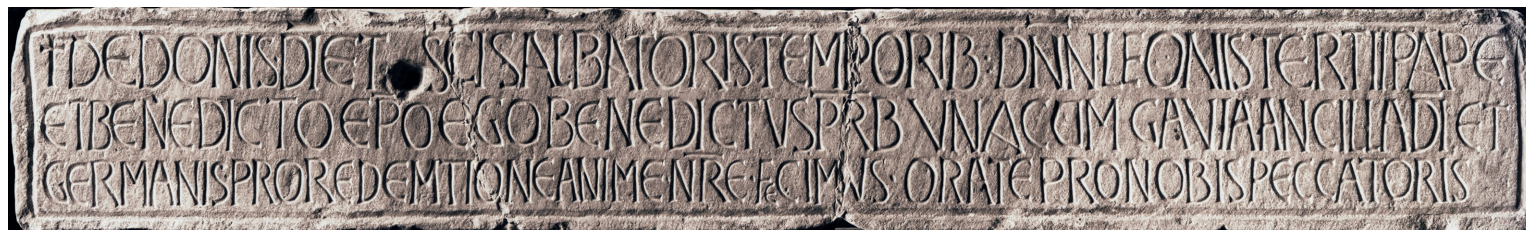
wärtigen die Entwicklung so gut und reichhaltig wie keine andere Sammlung außerhalb Italiens.«⁷

Analysis of the many letters Pollak wrote to Bode suggests that the archaeologist usually worked alone, with some help from a very few trusted collaborators, who handled requests for export permits, tax payments, and the transport of the objects from Italy to the German capital, mostly via the ports of Naples and Hamburg. In his correspondence, Pollak sometimes mentions other Rome-based antique dealers, including Alfredo Barsanti, Attilio Simonetti, and the brothers Ugo, Ettore, and Augusto Jandolo, who often offered Pollak works of art on the Roman or south Italian art market, which he could then decide to propose to sell to Bode or refuse, if he felt that they were not of sufficiently good quality.⁸ For Pollak was, in fact, Bode's most trusted art dealer in Rome and the only one who really knew what kinds of objects the Berlin director sought.

The first outstanding early medieval piece I would like to discuss that Ludwig Pollak sold to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum is the arch of a ciborium (altar canopy), along with a contemporary inscription, which is undoubtedly one of the finest examples of 9th-century Carolingian liturgical sculpture preserved outside Italy, remarkable above all for its entirety and the presence of the two sculptors' names within the inscription (fig. 3). For these reasons, together with other very rare works of art, it is part of the permanent exhibition of the Museum für

7 Wilhelm von Bode, Fünfzig Jahre Museumsarbeit, Bielefeld/Leipzig 1922, p. 53: »They reflect the art of the leading schools and often also of the leading masters in characteristic works and present the development better and more richly than any other collection outside Italy.«

8 Alfredo Barsanti (1877–1946) trained as an antique dealer with the artist and art dealer Attilio Simonetti (1843–1925) and the antiquities dealer Eliseo Borghi before opening his own gallery in via Sistina 48 in Rome, where his wealthy international clients included John Marshall (1862–1928), an agent for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the American collector Edward Perry Warren (1860–1928). Barsanti became famous for his collection of Renaissance bronzes, now exhibited at the Palazzo di Venezia in Rome, a prestigious catalog of which was curated by Ludwig Pollak, with a preface by Wilhelm von Bode. See Ludwig Pollak, *Raccolta Alfredo Barsanti. Con prefazione di Guglielmo Bode*, 2 vols., Rome 1922; Valeria Paruzzo, *Barsanti, Alfredo*, in: *Bloomsbury Art Markets*, London 2023, DOI: 10.5040/9781350924383.2762614 [last accessed 15.6.2023]. – The Jandolo brothers were members of a well-known family of Roman art dealers, which had been active under Salvatore Jandolo since the time of the unification of Italy. Ugo, together with his brother Augusto, who was also a writer, had his own antiquities gallery in via del Babuino 92; see Katharina Thurmair, *Jandolo, Ugo*, in: *Bloomsbury Art Markets*, London 2023, DOI: 10.5040/9781350924390.1165840 [last accessed 15.6.2023]. – For detailed information about Attilio Simonetti, see Giovanni Carboni, *Attilio Simonetti e la Maison Goupil*, in: Paolo Serafini (ed.), *La Maison Goupil. Il successo italiano a Parigi negli anni dell'Impressionismo*, exh. cat. [Rovigo, Palazzo Roverella, 23.2.–23.6.2013; Bordeaux, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 23.10.2013–2.2.2014], Cinisello Balsamo/Milan 2013, pp. 97–105; Virginia Napoleone, *La galleria Simonetti e la collezione di un grande antiquario romano*, in: Andrea Bacchi, *Giovanna Capitelli* (eds.), *Capitale e crocevia. Il mercato dell'arte nella Roma sabauda*, *Atti della giornata di studio Il mercato dell'arte in Italia intorno al 1900. Mercanti, collezionisti e conoscitori nella Roma sabauda (1870–1915)* (Nuovi diari di lavoro 8), Bologna, Fondazione Federico Zeri,



3 Arch of a ciborium and pillar with inscription from the church of San Salvatore in Bomarzo (Viterbo), 795–816, marble, ciborium: 71.5 × 114.5 × 12.5 cm, pillar with inscription: 22 × 147 × 12.5 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. nos. 6276, 6277 (from Fabio Betti, in Anna Maria D’Achille, Antonio Iacobini, Francesco Pio Pistilli (eds.), *Domus sapienter staurata*. Scritti di storia dell’arte per Marina Righetti, Cinisello Balsamo/Milan 2021, p. 79)

Vor- und Frühgeschichte at the Neues Museum.⁹ The ciborium arch and inscription¹⁰ are from the early medieval church of San Salvatore in Bomarzo, in the province of Viterbo, a building which has long since disappeared. The arch is decorated with geometric patterns – waves and intertwining wicker-like loops – and dates to the age of Pope Leo III (795–816), who is mentioned in the inscription written on the long side of an ancient pillar, together with the local bishop Benedetto. The two sculptors of the ciborium, Ursus and Martinus, are also mentioned on one of the short sides of the same pillar.¹¹

Another very rare liturgical piece acquired by Pollak is a Byzantine marble slab, most likely from a box-shaped eucharistic altar, worked in bas-relief and delicately incised lines (fig. 4a).¹² The slab is delineated by two frames, a slightly broader external one with a smooth profile and a second, internal one comprising two ›steps‹; the space between the two frames is decorated with a continuously engraved branch with trefoil leaves arranged in alternating order. The center features a depiction of two lambs facing each other on either side of a roundel with a cross pattée with indentations indicating the probable placement of colored stones resembling jewels, which rests on a sphere, a symbol of the universe. Along the upper edge of the external frame, which is preserved intact for almost its entire length, runs a Latin inscription in capital

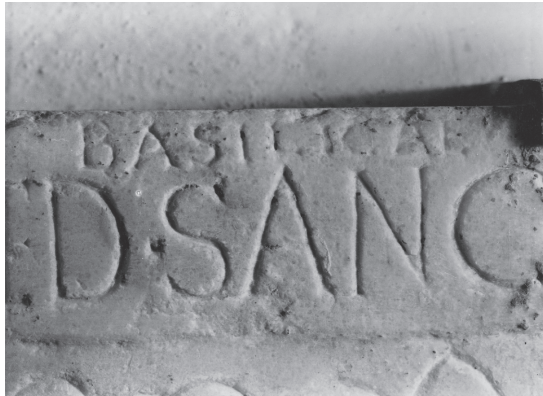
15.11. 2017, Cinisello Balsamo/Milan 2020, pp. 95–115; Sabrina Spinazzè, Simonetti, Attilio, in: *Bloomsbury Art Markets*, London 2023, DOI: 10.5040/9781350924406.2762403 [last accessed 15.6.2023].

9 The same exhibition also includes three other works of art purchased by Wilhelm Bode from Ludwig Pollak in the first decade of the 20th century: an early Christian strigilated sarcophagus from Patti (Messina), inv. no. 3020; a fragmentary 8th-century marble slab from the ancient basilica of St. Peter’s in the Vatican, inv. no. 6588; and a 6th-century Byzantine silver spoon with niello engraving, inv. no. 6627.

10 For the historical-artistic analysis of these two objects and insight into the original context, I am drawing on the contribution I presented at the conference »In corso d’opera. Giornate di studio dei dottorandi di ricerca in Storia dell’arte della Sapienza Università di Roma« held on 5–6 July 2022: Federica De Giambattista, *Tre esempi di arredo liturgico medievale provenienti dall’Italia nelle collezioni della Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst dei Musei Statali di Berlino. Analisi e contesti di provenienza*, in: Gianlorenzo Chiaraluce et al. (eds.), *In corso d’opera 5. Ricerche dei dottorandi in Storia dell’arte della Sapienza*, Atti delle giornate di studio, Sapienza Università di Roma, Dipartimento SARAS, 5–6 luglio 2022, Rome (forthcoming in 2024).

11 »+ De donis Dei et Sancti Salvatoris temporibus Domini nostri Leonis tertii pape – et Benedicto episcopo ego Benedictus Presbyter vna cum Gavia ancilla Dei et – germanis pro redemptione anime nostre fecimus. Orate pro nobis peccatoris // Vrsus-Martini-vrsi magistri«. Inv. nos. 6276 and 6277; for more information, see entries nos. 1 and 2 in the list at the end of this article.

12 This work is also discussed in my forthcoming publication, as note 10.



4a, b Altar slab with lambs, roundel with jeweled cross, and inscriptions; detail of the inscription on the upper frame, second half of the 6th century, marble, 54.5 × 139.5 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 3021

letters, which refers to the church from which the antependium originates: »*In nomine Domini dedicatum basilicae Sanctorum Martyrum Zenonis Victoris Apollinaris et Sebiri die VII idvs S.*« (the word »*basilicae*« was added later in smaller letters) (fig. 4b). A second inscription with the name of the donor runs around the outer circumference of the central roundel: »*De donis domini Martvrvs cvm svjs votvm optvlit.*« The iconography – with the two perfectly symmetrical lambs, symbolizing the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul, or, more generally, the community of believers – immediately recalls certain famous monumental representations, such as the mosaic in the apse of the basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, in which the cross that appears in the sky as a »sign of the Son of man«¹³ represents the hoped-for return of Christ, as well as other examples from Ravenna, such as the frontal altar in the basilica of San Vitale. As a result, the Berlin piece can reasonably be attributed to an Italian workshop of sculptors influenced primarily by mid-6th-century Constantinopolitan sculpture.¹⁴ Moreover, the names of the holy bishops and martyrs mentioned in the inscription on the external frame suggest a north-Italian provenance: Zenone was bishop of Verona (362–380 C.E.), Apollinare of Ravenna (50–78 C.E.), Vittore a holy martyr of Milan (second half of the 3rd century–303 C.E.), and Severo could refer to the twelfth bishop of Naples (363–410 C.E.) or to the homonymous twelfth bishop of Ravenna (283–348 C.E.).¹⁵

Ludwig Pollak also provided Wilhelm Bode with several fragments of early medieval sculpture directly from Rome. In this regard, it is interesting to recall the architect Ferdinando Mazzanti's words of appreciation for Roman sculpture of late antiquity and the early medieval period:

Roma nei bassi tempi ha uno stile proprio assai più elegante e corretto di quanto si rinviene qua e là per altre parti d'Italia [...] Che se poi si potessero rimettere in luce quei moltissimi lavori che stanno ancora nascosti ne' suoi vecchi monumenti, e la cui presenza ci è rivelata dai frammenti che qua e là appaiono, ci sarebbe da credere che, come al tempo dei Cosmati, l'officina principale di tali sculture fosse Roma.¹⁶

These fragments include less than half the length of a pillar, dated to the 9th century (fig. 5a), which entered the collections of the Berlin museums in 1903 and presents significant similarities with several contem-

porary fragments of liturgical furnishings from the patriarchate of San Giovanni in Laterano and from the basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.¹⁷ The piece is damaged (a large portion is missing from the lower left corner and a smaller one from the corresponding upper corner) and has very worn bas-relief decorations: a »rotating« rosette surmounted by a cross pattée with a braid pattern, with the four spaces between the arms of the cross embellished with two small lilies (on top) and two smaller »rotating« rosettes (on the bottom). Pollak, in a letter to Bode on 22 May 1903, provided a very detailed sketch of the fragment to persuade him to buy it despite the obvious fractures, but did not indicate a precise provenance and limited his description to »*Architekturtheil*« (fig. 5b).¹⁸ Bode deemed 125 marks a fair price for it, and, several weeks later, the fragment, sent to Bruno Güterbock,¹⁹ entered the collections of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum.

13 The Holy Bible, Gospel of Matthew, 24:30.

14 For further information about this object, inv. no. 3021, see entry no. 3 in the list at the end of this article.

15 See Pius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro apostolo, Leipzig 1931, pp. 716, 795, 805, 904.

16 Ferdinando Mazzanti, *La scultura ornamentale romana nei bassi tempi*, in: *Archivio Storico dell'arte*, Serie Seconda, fasc. II, Rome 1896, p. 85: »Rome in the early medieval period had its own style, much more elegant and proper than what can be found here and there throughout other parts of Italy [...] If it were then possible to bring to light the many works that are still hidden in its old monuments, and whose presence is revealed to us by the fragments that appear here and there, one would have to believe that, as at the time of the Cosmati family, the main workshop for these sculptures was Rome.«

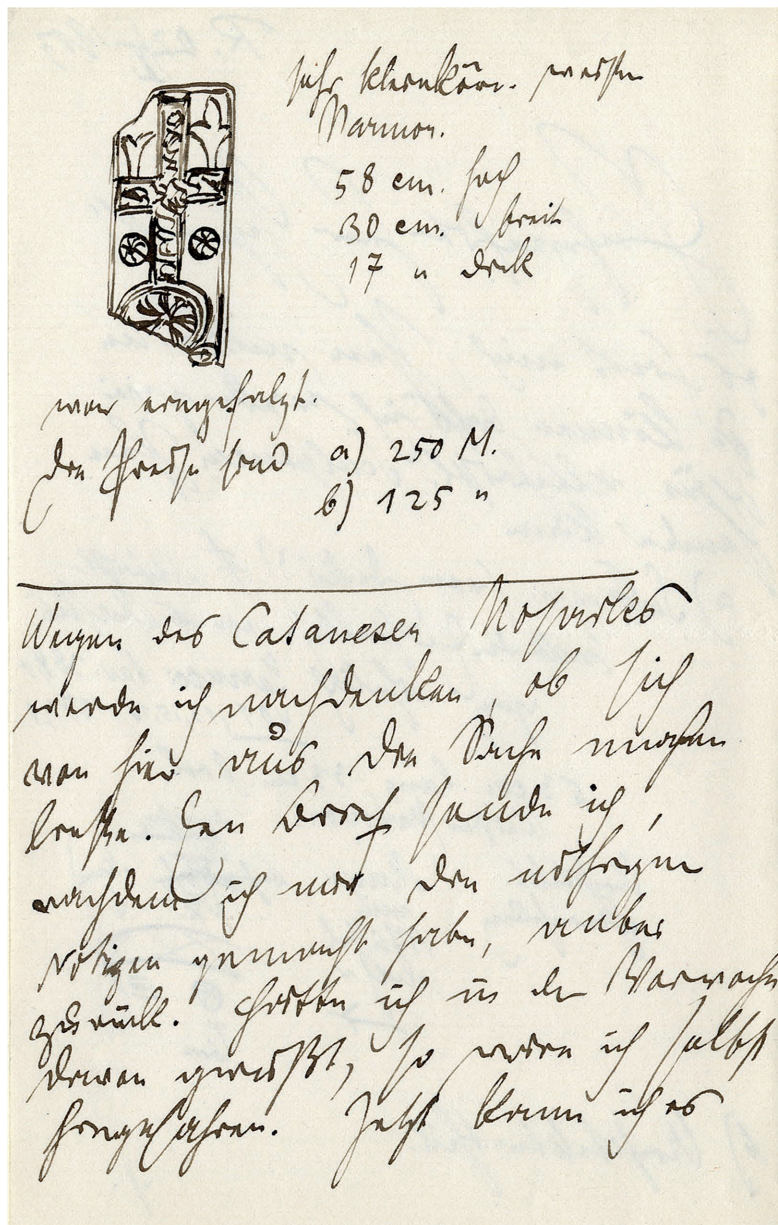
17 Inv. no. 6368; for further information, see entry no. 4 in the list at the end of this article. See also Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, *La diocesi di Roma. La II Regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della Scultura Altomedievale, vol. 3)*, Spoleto/Perugia 1974, pp. 107–109, 116–117, 148–150, cat. nos. 41, 62, 103, pl. XIX, XXV, XLI.

18 See SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 4215, letter from Pollak to Bode, 22.5.1903: »Architectural part.«

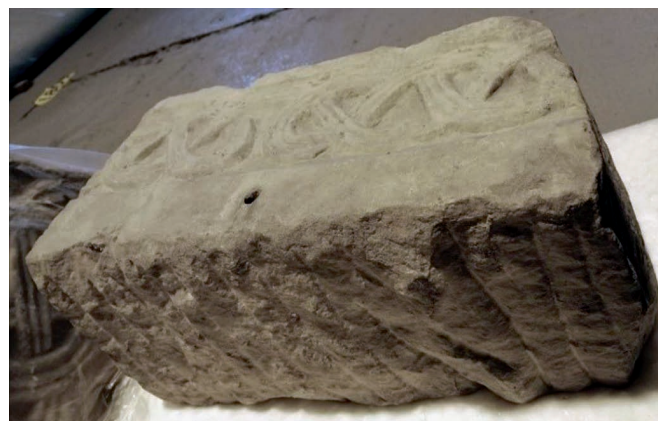
19 Bruno Güterbock (1858–1940) was from a wealthy Jewish family that converted to Christianity. After earning a doctorate in linguistics from the University of Königsberg in 1882, he served for many years as general secretary of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and the Kaiser Friedrich Museumsverein. He helped Bode, as a volunteer, in reorganizing Berlin's royal museums' collections of Eastern art. In 1936, he was forced to resign from his position and he died of pneumonia four years later. See Einar von Schuler, *Siebzig Jahre Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 100, 1968, pp. 6–21: 10–13, fig. 7.



5a Fragment of a pillar, 9th century, Greek marble, 56 × 29 × 12 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6368



5b Ludwig Pollak, letter to Wilhelm Bode with a sketch of the fragment inv. no. 6368, 22 May 1903, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv, Nachlass Bode 4215



6a, b Fragment of a portal jamb with peacocks and wicker-like strands twisted into large knots (two sides), 8th century, marble, 17 × 40 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6264



7a, b ›Crutch‹ capital with a pecking peacock (two sides) and tripartite vertical bands (two sides), first half of the 9th century, marble, 19.5 × 39/18 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6667

A second fragment, also most likely from Rome, is part of the jamb of an 8th-century portal, sculpted on two faces: one side probably featured a row of peacocks (one bird is preserved in its entirety, along with the tail of another) (fig. 6a),²⁰ while the other has several wicker-like strands twisted into large knots and, along the side edge, distinct signs of the chiseling used to remove the piece from its original setting (fig. 6b).²¹ The two peacocks, sculpted in a rather summary manner, are recognizable thanks to their rich plumage and elongated tails; the fully preserved bird is represented pecking at a small fruit, probably a grape. Pollak mentioned this fragment, along with a list of other works of art, in a letter to Bode on 17 May 1906, describing it as »Fragment mit langobard[ischen] Ornamenten. Rom« sold for the rather low price of 50 lira.²² The piece entered the collections of the Berlin museums as a donation on 6 June 1906, arriving at the port of Hamburg from Italy together with other objects packed into six crates that Pollak had entrusted to the shipping company Carl Stein.²³

The iconographic motif of the peacock²⁴ reappears in another sculpture Pollak sold to Bode several years later: a ›crutch‹ capital, simple and clear in structure (fig. 7a, b), from the villa of Count Macchi di Cellere in Rome, not far from the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano.²⁵ In July 1911, the capital passed through the port of Naples, from where Pollak's trusted forwarder A. Fauconnet shipped it to Hamburg on the vessel *Kronprinz*, before it continued on to the German capital.²⁶ Characterized by two corner volutes and four very elongated ovals, its four faces are decorated in pairs.²⁷ The first pair, probably the main one, with very geometrized shapes and a rather rough overall appearance, shows a peacock pecking at a bunch of grapes (fig. 7a), while the second features three tripartite vertical bands, one in the middle and the other two along the corners, which divide the space into two sections (fig. 7b). The triangular pattern with which the plumage is rendered on the bird's body and neck is of particular note for its regular and punchy chisel strokes. There are many examples similar to this capital, which dates to the first half of the 9th century, both in Rome itself and in Lazio, including certain ›crutch‹ capitals from the early medieval church built inside the ruins of the temple of Juno Lucina at Norba on the Volscian

mountains. These capitals from Norba are similar to the Berlin one in terms of the corner volutes and elongated ovals, as well as the presence of a pecking bird; another comparable bird, its plumage also only chiseled with short strokes, is represented on a fragmentary architrave from the sacred area of Largo di Torre Argentina in Rome.²⁸

20 Max J. Friedländer described it as »ein Pfeileraufsatz mit Vogel« (»a column capital with bird«), see SMB-Zentralarchiv, *Königliches Kaiser Friedrich Museum Acta: I/SKS 39*, F. 1292/08.

21 Inv. no. 6264; for further information, see entry no. 5 in the list at the end of this article.

22 SMB-ZA_IV/NL Bode 4215, letter from Pollak to Bode, 17.5.1906: »Fragment with Lombard ornaments. Rome.«

23 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 36, F. 822/06. The Carl Stein company had its headquarters in Rome, first in via della Mercede 42–45, then in piazza di Spagna 35–37. For more about the firm, see Paolo Coen, *Esportare opere d'arte da Roma nell'anno 1900: il caso Germania*, in: Angela Cipriani, Valter Curzi, Paola Picardi (eds.), *Storia dell'arte come impegno civile: scritti in onore di Marisa Dalai Emiliani*, Rome 2014, pp. 205, 208; Paolo Coen, *Il recupero del Rinascimento. Arte, politica e mercati nei primi decenni di Roma capitale (1890–1911)*, Cinesello Balsamo/Milan 2020, pp. 204–205.

24 Both Oskar Wulff and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach identified the pecking bird as a dove rather than a peacock. See Oskar Wulff, *Neuerwerbungen mittelalterlicher italienischer Plastik*, in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIII, 11, August 1912, Berlin 1912, pp. 261–280: 261–262, fig. 115; Wulff, Volbach 1923, as note 6, p. 57, cat. no. 6667; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 10, cat. no. 6667.

25 The historical inventory of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum bears the following indication: »Erworben 1911. Aus Rom. (Villa del Conte Cellere a Porta S. Giovanni)« (»Acquired in 1911 from Rome. [Count Cellere's villa at Porta San Giovanni]«). This provenance is confirmed by a letter from Pollak to Bode dated 24.8.1911, in which the archaeologist states that there were remains of catacombs in the same villa. See SMB-ZA, I/SKS 45, F. 1631/12. The villa of Count Macchi di Cellere (1866–1919), built at the end of the 19th century, was destroyed during the demolitions that affected large areas of Rome in the early 1960s.

26 SMB-Zentralarchiv, I/SKS 44, F. 1816/11. In addition to the name A. Fauconnet, the transport document also mentions the Hamburg-based shipping company Matthias Rohde & Co., which oversaw the capital's transport to Berlin. See also SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 4215, letter from Pollak to Bode, 24.5.1903, in which Fauconnet is referred to as »sehr gutbekanntem Spediteur Fauconnet« (»the very well-known shipper Fauconnet«).

27 Inv. no. 6667; for further information, see entry no. 6 in the list at the end of this article.

28 See Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, Lidia Paroli, *La Diocesi di Roma. Il Museo dell'Alto Medioevo (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. 6)*, Spoleto/Perugia 1995, pp. 207–215,



8a, b Fragmentary pillar, face with double braided band and face with scrolled tendril and ›rotating‹ rosettes, 9th century, marble, 63 × 16 × 17 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6265

Returning for a moment to 1906, the objects that Pollak procured for Bode that year include a beautiful fragment of a Carrara marble pillar, dated to the 9th century, which has attracted the particular interest of a number of art historians over the years (fig. 8a, b).²⁹ In fact, this piece in Berlin has a very clear relationship with two other small pillars, now part of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, respectively (figs. 9, 10), which appear to come from the same liturgical furnishing.³⁰ The Berlin pillar is decorated on all four sides, delimited by a smooth frame: the first face shows a double braided band (fig. 8a), two other faces show a scrolled tendril with ›rotating‹ rosettes (fig. 8b) and the fourth (not pictured) a tendril with symmetrically coupled half palmettes in the arch-

plates XXXVI–XXXVII, figs. 127, 128, 129b, 132b, 133; Lidia Paroli, *La scultura in marmo a Roma tra l’VIII e il IX secolo*, in: Paolo Delogu (ed.), *Roma medievale*, Florence 1998, pp. 93–122: 114–115, figs. 25, 27, 28; Fabio Betti, *Materiali scultorei altomedievali delle diocesi di Velletri e Tres Tabernae*, in: Clemente Ciannamaroni, Ettore Di Meo, Pio Francesco Pistilli (eds.), *Cori nel Medioevo. Memoria e sopravvivenze*, Cori/Latina 2021, pp. 39–57: 48–52,

figs. 23–24; Marilda De Nuccio, *Materiali scultorei altomedievali inediti dall’ »area sacra« di largo Argentina a Roma*, in: Eugenio Russo (ed.), 1983–1993: dieci anni di archeologia cristiana in Italia, *Atti del VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Cassino, 20–24 settembre 1993, Cassino/Frosinone 2003, pp. 503–513: 512, plate CCXXXII, fig. 11.

²⁹ See Wulff 1911, as note 6, pp. 20–21, cat. no. 1735; Volbach 1930, as note 24, p. 3, cat. no. 6265; Klaus Wessel, *Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1953, p. 27; Klaus Wessel, *Rom, Byzanz, Russland. Ein Führer durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1957, p. 96, fig. 25; Gunther Bröker, Tea Joksch, *Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 64, cat. no. 93; Lisbeth Castelnovo-Tedesco, Jack Soultanian (eds.), *Italian Medieval Sculpture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Cloisters*, New York 2010, p. 11, cat. no. 3, where the first author inaccurately assigned the sale of this pillar to the Tuscan art dealer and collector Stefano Bardini (1836–1922), like the one in the medieval collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Elisabeth Ehler, Pfeiler, in: Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, Gabriele Mietke (eds.), *Wissenschaft und Turbulenz. Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, ein Wissenschaftler zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen* [Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode Museum, 13.10.2017–29.1.2018], Wiesbaden 2017, pp. 91–92, cat. no. 51.

³⁰ The first pillar, inv. no. 18.70.21, complete with its capital, reaches a height of 120,7 cm. Purchased by the Museum from Stefano Bardini in 1918, it is currently displayed in Gallery 304 of the Metropolitan Museum as an example of 9th-century South Italian liturgical sculpture. The second, inv. no. 27.536, not on view, was purchased at the Parke-Bernet Galleries auction in New York on 9.6.1949 from the private collection of Joseph Brummer. See Yaelle Biro, Christine E. Brennan, Cristel H. Force (eds.), *The Brummer Galleries*, Paris and New



9 Pillar with capital, 9th century, marble, 120.7×23.5×22.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, inv. no. 18.70.21



10 Pillar fragment, 9th century, marble, 65.5×22×21.7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. no. 27.536

es, motifs that exactly reflect those of the two small pillars preserved in the United States.³¹ It is therefore likely that these three pillars, together with a fourth of unknown location, were freestanding and supported a ciborium, rather than being supports for a chancel barrier, doorposts, or fragments of a pilaster.³²

Related to these considerations is an interesting photograph I found recently in the miscellaneous papers archive of the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst which shows two pillars, complete with bases and capitals, that are very similar in shape and general appearance to the three aforementioned ones. The back of the photograph bears the stamp of the photographer Salvatore Pensa, whose studio was located on Piazza dei Martiri – giardino Nunziante in Naples, as well as some anonymous handwritten notes indicating the sales price, measures, and name of the owners of the two sculptures: the Canessa brothers (fig. 11).³³ I believe that these two architectural elements come from the same Campanian region as the three other aforementioned pillars, attesting to an artistic school of sculpting that worked according to well-coded models.

Oskar Wulff, who in 1911 first published the pillar fragment sold by Pollak five years before, proposed a comparison with a similar piece from Ravenna; then, in 1930, Wolfgang Fritz Volbach suggested more punctual and widely shared parallels with some fragments from Cimi-

York. *Defining Taste from Antiquities to the Avant-Garde* (Studies in the History of Collecting & Art Markets, vol. 17), Leiden/Boston 2023.

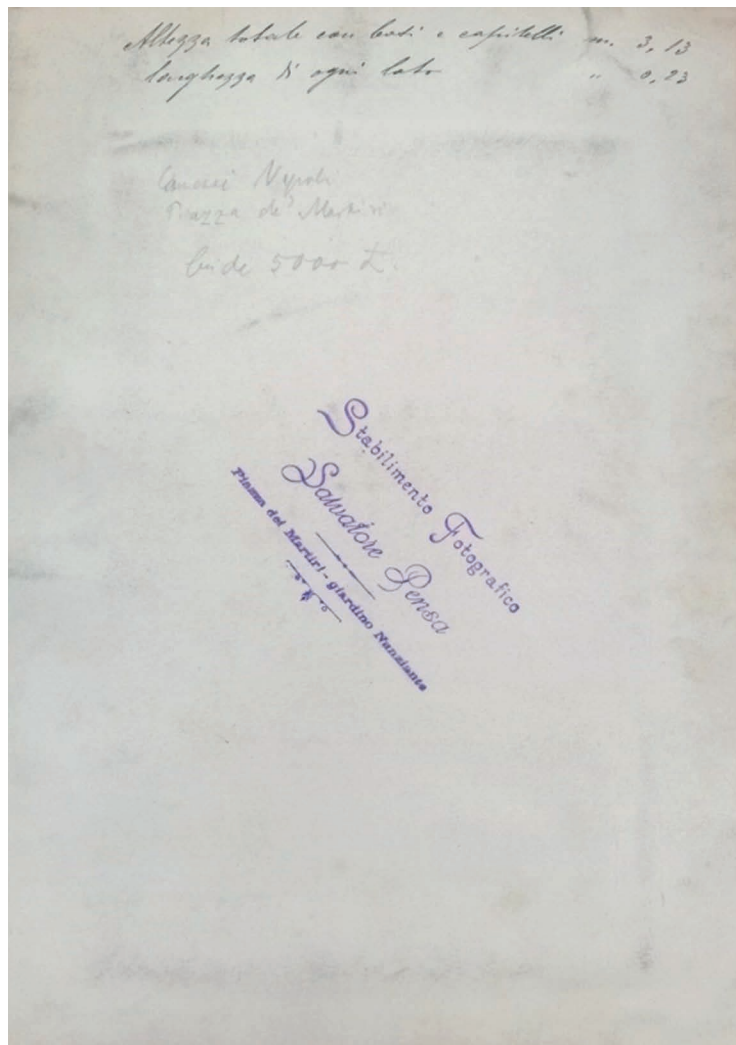
31 Inv. no. 6265; for further information, see entry no. 7 in the list at the end of this article.

32 The latter hypothesis was suggested by Eloisa Doderò, in Rossini 2018, as note 1, p. 78.

33 The two handwritten notes on the back of the photograph are in German and Italian, respectively: »Canessi Napoli / Piazza dei Martiri / beide 5000 lire« (»Canessi Napoli / Piazza dei Martiri / both 5,000 lire«) and »Altezza totale con basi e capitelli m. 3,13 / larghezza di ogni lato 0,23 m« (»Total height with bases and capitals 3.13 m / width of each side 0.23 m«). The brothers Cesare (1863–1922) and Ercole Canessa (1868–1929) owned a famous art gallery located on Piazza dei Martiri 23 in Naples and on Rue Lafayette 19 in Paris. They also opened an office at 479 Fifth Avenue in New York, which gave them the opportunity to be among the trusted antique dealers of the famous banker and collector John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913). For further information about their activities, see Italo M. Iasiello, *Napoli da capitale a periferia. Archeologia e mercato antiquario in Campania nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, Naples 2017, pp. 357–362.



11 Two early medieval pillars with capitals and bases, photograph by Salvatore Pensa (front and back), date unknown, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, non-digitized photo archives, no inv. no.



tile, near Nola, and from the church of San Giovanni di Assemini near Cagliari in Sardinia.³⁴ Upon closer examination, the decorative motif of the double intertwined band is very similar to that of some marble fragments found inside the demolished altar of the Sardinian church, which were likely part of a ciborium or of the jambs and architraves of some portals.³⁵ Moreover, there are close similarities with the fragments of several small pillars found in Cimitile, in the chapel of Santi Martiri and in the contiguous basilica of San Felice in Pincis, which attest to the restoration of both these early Christian buildings, first under the local bishop Lupeno in the second half of the 9th century and then under Leo III between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century.³⁶

The individual decorative motifs can also be compared to several pieces in the Lazio region, both in Rome and in the Tuscia Viterbese, as well as in the Pontine area in the far south of the region. In particular, I would like to underline the similarity of the motif of scrolled tendrils with rotating rosettes to the following pieces: several fragments walled in the portico of the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome; a fragmentary section of the ambo from the *domusculata* of Santa Cornelia preserved at the National Museum of the Early Middle Ages in

Rome; two fragmentary pillars, one in the basilica of Castel Sant'Elia, the other in the cathedral of Gaeta; a fragment of a stone slab with a propeller motif in a privately owned room in via Faustina, also in Gaeta;

34 Wulff 1911, as note 6, pp. 20–21, cat. no. 1735; Volbach 1930, as note 24, p. 3, cat. no. 6265.

35 See Francesco Giarrizzo, La chiesetta di S. Giovanni di Assemini, in: *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, XIII, 1919, pp. 116–132: 116, 131, fig. 8. The author gives detailed information about the excavation work in the church promoted by the Regia Soprintendenza agli Scavi in 1919, under the direction of the archaeologist Antonio Taramelli (1868–1939). The weaving motif, as pointed out by Ferdinando Mazzanti, comes from Roman models of the late imperial age; see, for example, one of the external decorative bands of the 4th-century mosaic from the catacombs of Saints Marcellinus and Peter in Rome, published in Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, p. 179.

36 See Maria Teresa Tozzi, Di alcune sculture medioevali della Campania, in: *Bollettino d'arte* XXV, 1931, pp. 272–281: 275–277, fig. 4–6; Hans Belting, Die Basilica dei SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frühmittelalterlicher Freskenzyklus, in: *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie* 5, 1962, pp. 136–147; Carlo Ebanista, Inediti elementi scultorei altomedievali dal santuario di S. Felice a Cimitile, in: Rossana Martorelli, Antonia Piras, Pier G. Spanu (eds.), *Isole e terraferma nel primo cristianesimo. Identità locale ed interscambi culturali, religiosi e produttivi*, Atti XI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana,



12 Fragment of a chancel barrier slab with interlacing circles and ›rotating‹ lilies, first half of the 9th century, marble, 113×224×9 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 2983



13 Unknown photographer: fragment of the chancel barrier slab, inv. no. 2983, on display with Venetian early medieval sculptures, c. 1910–1930, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Archiv

and a marble barrier in the basilica of Santa Prassede in Rome.³⁷ These examples, together with many others, indicate that the motif of scrolled tendrils with ›rotating‹ rosettes was also common in the central regions of Italy.

Since Pollak does not mention the Berlin pillar in his letters (at least not in those that have been preserved in the Nachlass Bode), the only

additional information available about it comes from the document recording the object's entry into the collections of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, dated June 1906, which describes it as »Architekturfragment langobardisch,« transported to Berlin by Carl Stein with the collaboration of the Berlin company Borchardt & Frühfahrt.³⁸

Another valuable early medieval piece acquired by Wilhelm Bode in the same period, a fragment of a white marble chancel barrier (fig. 12), can also be traced back to Ludwig Pollak's intermediary role as the Berlin director's principal adviser on and supplier from the Roman art market. This is possible thanks to a postcard and a letter, written respectively on 1 and 8 November 1905, in which the archaeologist suggests that Bode should acquire a »frühmittelalterliche Knotenplatte« available for 725 lira – a reference that may indicate precisely the fragment in question here, which dates to the 9th century.³⁹ A fascinating example of liturgical furnishings, now fragmented into three parts, it is preserved in the storage facilities of the Bode Museum, but a historical photo shows that it was once exhibited together with other early medieval sculptures from the Venetian region, including a portal architrave, a 9th-century sarcophagus from the church of Santa Maria Formosa, and the arch of a ciborium (fig. 13).⁴⁰

The marble slab features a tight grid of interlacing wicker-like strands forming circles, each of which contains three lilies ›rotating‹ around a small central button, a fabric-like pattern framed by three striated bands; on the far right is an extremely elongated, stylized tree. The largest fragment is the most interesting, as the entire flat band along the bottom (about 35 cm high) is preserved, beveled on one edge to make it easier to drive into the floor of the unknown presbytery area to which the slab belonged. These characteristics, and the type of frame especially, point to a kinship with the plutei carved in stonecutters'

Cagliari, Pontificia Facoltà Teologica della Sardegna, Sant'Antioco, Sala Consiliare del Comune, 23–27 settembre 2014, Cagliari 2015, pp. 743–756: 743–744, 748–749, fig. 1, nos. 1–3; Carlo Ebanista, La committenza vescovile nella Campania altomedievale. I casi dei presuli nolani Lupeno e Leone III, in: Alessio Monciatti et al. (eds.), Geografia delle committenze. Dinamismo politico, artistico e culturale nell'Italia centro-meridionale (IX–XIV secolo), Cerro al Volturno/Isernia 2021, pp. 39–70: 42, 45, 48.

37 See Rudolf Kautzsch, Die römische Schmuckkunst im Stein vom VI. bis zum X. Jahrhundert, in: Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte III, 1939, pp. 1–73: 13, 17, figs. 18, 29; Paroli 1998, as note 28, pp. 104–105, fig. 16; Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, p. 174, fig. b; Joselita Raspi Serra, Le diocesi dell'Alto Lazio: Bagnoregio, Bomarzo, Castro, Civita Castellana, Nepi, Orte, Sutri, Tuscania (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VIII), Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 145, no. 166, plate CXVI, fig. 189; Daria Mastrorilli, Daniela Quadrino, Alessandro Vella, Gaeta tardoantica e altomedievale: topografia cristiana e arredo scultoreo, in: Mario D'Onofrio, Manuela Gianandrea (eds.), Gaeta medievale e la sua cattedrale, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Gaeta, Palazzo de Vio, 11–13 marzo 2016, Rome 2018, pp. 49–81: 58, figs. 7a, b; Antonella Ballardini, Maurizio Caperna, A Santa Prassede, nella Gerusalemme nuova. L'assetto architettonico dello spazio absidale, l'arredo e la disposizione liturgica, in: Chiara Bordino, Chiara Croci, Vedran Sulovsky (eds.), Rome on the Borders. Visual Cultures during the Carolingian Transition (Convivium Supplementum, vol. 5), Brno 2020, pp. 192–194, fig. 14. IV.

38 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 36, F. 822/06; I/SKS 39, F. 1292/08: »Lombard architectural fragment.«
39 Inv. no. 2983; for further information, see entry no. 8 in the list at the end of this article. See also SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 4215, postcard and letter dated 1.11.1905 and 8.11.1905, where the object is defined as follows: »Roman[ische]. Platte mit den Knoten« (»Roman[esque] stone slab with knots«) and »die frühmittelalterliche Knotenplatte« (»the early medieval stone slab with knots«).

40 Several metal pins fixed with stucco, now almost completely uncovered, were inserted into the three fragments of the slab. The objects from the Venetian area have inv. nos. 5, 6a, 3255.

workshops in Rome during the years of the pontificate of Paschal I (817–824) – in particular those in the basilicas of Santa Prassede, Santa Maria in Domnica, and Santa Cecilia – suggesting that the Berlin piece could come from Rome or the surrounding areas.⁴¹

The closest comparison is, in my opinion, the parapet of one of the access ramps to the ambo in the early medieval church of the *domusculta* dedicated to Santa Cornelia near Veii north of Rome, which is very similar in the articulation of the tight mesh of knotted circles, even in the absence of ›rotating‹ lilies. The latter, on the other hand, can be seen on a fragmentary pluteus inserted into the portico of Santa Cecilia, together with other geometric motifs, including ›rotating‹ rosettes between the circles.⁴² Moreover, similar decorations can also be found in locations further afield from Rome; indeed, as Oskar Wulff pointed out, there is a close consonance between the fragmentary stone slab in Berlin and the right panel of a pluteus in the crypt of the cathedral of Otranto in Apulia, published for the first time by Émile Bertaux in 1904, as well as another fragmentary pluteus preserved in the museum of the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari.⁴³ These two examples provide clear evidence of the wide dissemination of the same decorative models throughout the Italian peninsula in the Carolingian era, probably thanks to the ›cartoni‹ that circulated between the stonemasons' workshops.

Between 1909 and 1911, Pollak sold Bode four panels from chancel barriers and a rare Byzantine capital, which, together, are undoubtedly among the most important additions to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum's collection of medieval sculpture. The first chancel barrier panel (fig. 14a, b) is surprisingly intact and in excellent condition, except for a large puttied hole near the lower left of the frame.⁴⁴ The front (fig. 14a), delimited by a frame composed of three fillets, has three large roundels, each circumscribed by several wicker-like strands that connect the three circles and form four small loops at the corners; each roundel contains a Greek cross whose arms fuse with the circumference, all composed of the same wicker-like weave, though it is twisted here. The four triangular spaces between the three roundels are filled with two trilobed plant motifs (in the top pair of spaces) and two elongated lilies (in the bottom pair). Upon careful observation, the slab reveals a slight asymmetry in the position of the decorative elements: the roundel on the left is sculpted slightly higher than the other two, and the knots of the intertwined bands are uneven – now tighter, now looser. There is a particular irregularity on the surface of the upper part of the central roundel, which could suggest the presence of a further decorative element or an inscription that was abraded for some unknown reason. These features add to the overall charm of the panel while also highlighting its authenticity. The back of the marble slab (fig. 14b), very worn, was repurposed as the support for a funeral epitaph engraved in Latin capital letters and accompanied by two noble coats of arms, the first completely abraded, the second showing a rampant lion with a gnarled stick between its front legs.⁴⁵ Still legible in the text of the epitaph, along with very few other words, is the name of Pietro Ludovico Capizucchi (b. 1491?), a member of one of the oldest noble families of Rome.⁴⁶

In searching for possible traces of this funeral panel in the documentary sources linked to the family, I discovered a volume dedicated to the history of the Capizucchis, written by the scholar Vincenzo Armani (1608–1684) from Gubbio and published in 1668, in which the author clearly mentions that the Berlin panel covered the tomb of Livia

Paola Mazzatosta (1473–1563), Pietro Ludovico's second wife, who was buried under the floor of the central nave of the papal basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in 1563.⁴⁷ The funeral inscription is also mentioned in an unpublished manuscript, dated around 1750 and preserved in the archives of the basilica, which lists all the grave inscriptions that were

41 See Letizia Pani Ermini, *La diocesi di Roma. La IV regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.1)*, Spoleto/Perugia 1974, pp. 116–122, plates XXI, XXIV–XXVIII, figs. 58–64. For the typology of frames, see in particular Antonella Ballardini, *Scultura in pezzi: appunti sulla scultura alto medievale di Santa Prassede*, in: *Summa. Revista de cultures medievals IX*, 2017, pp. 5–28: 9–15, figs. 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 13–14. For more about the intense building activities promoted by Paschal I in Rome during the seven years of his pontificate, see an undated manuscript of six pages, preserved in the Archive of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Miscellanea II, ABPSMM 965.10, which contains the text attributed to Anastasius Bibliothecarius entitled »In vita Paschalis Papa I«, the same text also included in the »Liber Pontificalis« about the deeds of the pope. According to the most recent critics, however, Anastasius only compiled the life of Nicholas I and not the other biographies in the »Liber«, so it would be incorrect to attribute the manuscript to him. For more about the figure of Anastasius, who lived between 800–817 and 877, see Arthur Lapotre, *De Anastasio Bibliothecario Sedis Apostolicae*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1885, pp. 335–336; Girolamo Arnaldi, *Anastasio Bibliothecario*, in: *I Papi. Da Pietro a Francesco*, 3 vols., Rome 2014, pp. 735–746: 744–745. See also Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, II, Paris 1892, p. 60; Francesco Gandolfo, *La cattedra di Pasquale I in S. Maria Maggiore*, in: *Roma e l'età carolingia, Atti delle giornate di studio*, Roma, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, Università Sapienza di Roma, 3–8 maggio 1976, Rome 1976, pp. 55–67; Antonella Ballardini, *Dai Gesta di Pasquale I secondo il Liber Pontificalis ai Monumenta iconografici delle basiliche romane di Santa Prassede, Santa Maria in Domnica e Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*, in: *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria CXXII*, 1999, pp. 5–67: 21, 23, 49–67; Antonella Ballardini, *Scultura per l'arredo liturgico nella Roma di Pasquale I: tra modelli paleocristiani e Flechtwerk*, in: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: arte e storia, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi*, Parma, 18–22 settembre 2007, Milan 2009, pp. 225–246; Ivan Foletti, Valentine Giesser, *Il IX secolo: da Pasquale I (817–824) a Stefano V (885–891)*, in: Mario D'Onofrio (ed.), *La committenza artistica dei papi a Roma nel Medioevo*, Rome 2016, pp. 219–238; Serena Ammirati, Antonella Ballardini, Giulia Bordi (eds.), *Grata più delle stelle. Pasquale I (817–824) e la Roma del suo tempo*, 2 vols., Rome 2020; Ballardini, *Caperna* 2020, as note 37, pp. 192–194, 198.

42 See Paroli 1998, as note 28, pp. 104–105, figs. 14–15; Marina Righetti, *Pasquale I e la fondazione carolingia*, in: Carlo La Bella et al. (eds.), *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*, Rome 2007, pp. 77–81; Ballardini 2009, as note 41, pp. 225–246: 227, 239–240, figs. 6, 39; Ballardini 2017, as note 41, pp. 5–28: 13, 26, fig. 9; Damiana Di Bonito, *Lastra laterale della scala di un ambone*, in: Marina Righetti, Anna Maria D'Achille (eds.), *Roma medievale. Il volto perduto della città*, exh. cat. [Rome, Museo di Roma, 21.10.2022–16.4.2023] Rome 2022, pp. 222–224, cat. no. 82.

43 See Emile Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, vol. I, Paris 1904, p. 76; Wulff, as note 6, 1911, p. 20, cat. no. 1733; Joselita Raspi Serra, *Sculture tardoantiche, paleocristiane ed alto-medievali di Otranto*, in: *Bollettino d'arte*, Ser. V, 57, 1972, pp. 138–143: 141, fig. 30; Mariarosaria Salvatore, Nino Lavermicocca, *Sculture altomedievali e bizantine nel museo di S. Nicola di Bari. Note sulla topografia di Bari bizantina*, in: *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte*, Ser. III, 3, 1980, pp. 93–135: 95, 100, fig. 6.

44 Inv. no. 6365; for further information, see entry no. 10 in the list at the end of this article.

45 The coat of arms with the rampant lion is that of the Mazzatosta family, while the one on the left was presumably the coat of arms of the Capizucchi family with a diagonal golden band across a solid blue background.

46 The following text is still partially legible on the back of the panel: »DOM LIVIAE PAVLLEMAZATOSTIAE [...] LVDVICI CAPISVCCHIE [...] BILI MATRONAE [...] RI IN DEIPARAM PIETAT [...] M DIVAE SIMVLACRV [...] IVSSA [...] CAPISVCCHI VS [...] FECIT [...] XIII.«

47 Vincenzo Armani, *Della nobile & antica Famiglia dei Capizucchi Baroni romani*, tip. Nicol'Angelo Tinassi, Rome 1668, p. 59: »Livia Paola sudetta è sepolita nella Chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore, dove in una lapide posta nella nave di mezzo si legge [»The aforementioned Livia Paola is buried in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where one can read on a tombstone inserted (in the floor) of the central nave«]: D. O. M. Liviae Paulae Mazzatostiae Petri Ludovici Capisucchi nobili Matronae, singulari in Deiparam pietate, ante eiusdem Divae, tua fmulacrum eius jussu Marcellus Capisucchius filius matri pientiss. fecit. Vixit annis xc. diebus xv. Obijt viij. Idus Iunij MDLXIII [...]«



14a, b Chancel barrier slab with three roundels and inscribed Greek crosses from the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (front and back), third decade of the 9th century, Greek marble, 83.5 × 181.5 × 8 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6365

inserted into the floor of the church before the renovations commissioned by Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758).⁴⁸ (Already at that time, the epitaph must no longer have been legible, as the anonymous author of the manuscript introduced numerous ellipses for words that had disappeared over the course of some two centuries.) Ten years later, in 1760, the accurate and valuable collection of Roman inscriptions edited by the Cassinese monk Pier Luigi Galletti (1722–1794) did not include the text inscribed on Livia Paola Mazzatosta's burial plate, indicating that it must have been removed in the meantime.⁴⁹

The most probable hypothesis is that the tombstone was removed during the extensive work that Pope Benedict XIV commissioned the Florentine architect Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1782) to carry out in Santa Maria Maggiore on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1750. The pope paid over 300,000 scudi to: »rinovare questa Basilica, [...] sbassare e rifare il coro, pavimento, ara massima, navate et altri infiniti lavori.«⁵⁰ A detailed drawing by Ferdinando Fuga provides partial evidence of the interventions to the floor of the basilica.⁵¹ It shows the layout of the three naves and indicates, with great accuracy, all the Cosmatesque mosaic inserts and a large number of tombstones: twelve in the left aisle and eight in the right. If Armanni's account is to be believed, the panel now in Berlin must have been positioned in the central nave, in one of the four spaces between the mosaic panels decorated with large roundels with smaller circles at the corners that were spared during Fuga's renovations. Since we know for sure that the architect removed the tombstones inserted in the floor, it is safe to assume that the Berlin panel was also removed and stored in another (unknown) location precisely at the time of these restorations. In attempting to reconstruct the provenance and repurposing of the marble panel based on the abovementioned

documentation, we can assume that it was part of the liturgical furnishings of the chancel ordered by Paschal I at the beginning of the third decade of the 9th century, and that it is the work of the same sculptors employed by the pontiff in the Roman basilicas of Santa Prassede, Santa Cecilia, and Santa Maria in Domnica.⁵²

Seven centuries later, in 1563, the panel, still intact, was reused for the burial of Livia Paola Mazzatosta at the behest of her son Marcello Capizucchi, whose name appears in the epitaph – without any particular attention to the panel's value as a historical artifact from the »*bassi tempi*« or to the high quality of its sculpted decoration.⁵³ On the other

48 See the manuscript entitled »Inscrizioni che esistevano nel Pavimento della Sacrosanta Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore prima della istaurazione della medesima fatta dal Sommo Pontefice Benedetto XIV di S. M. l'anno 1750«, f. XXXII, Archivio Liberiano, ABPSMM, 965.02, Roma ante 1750.

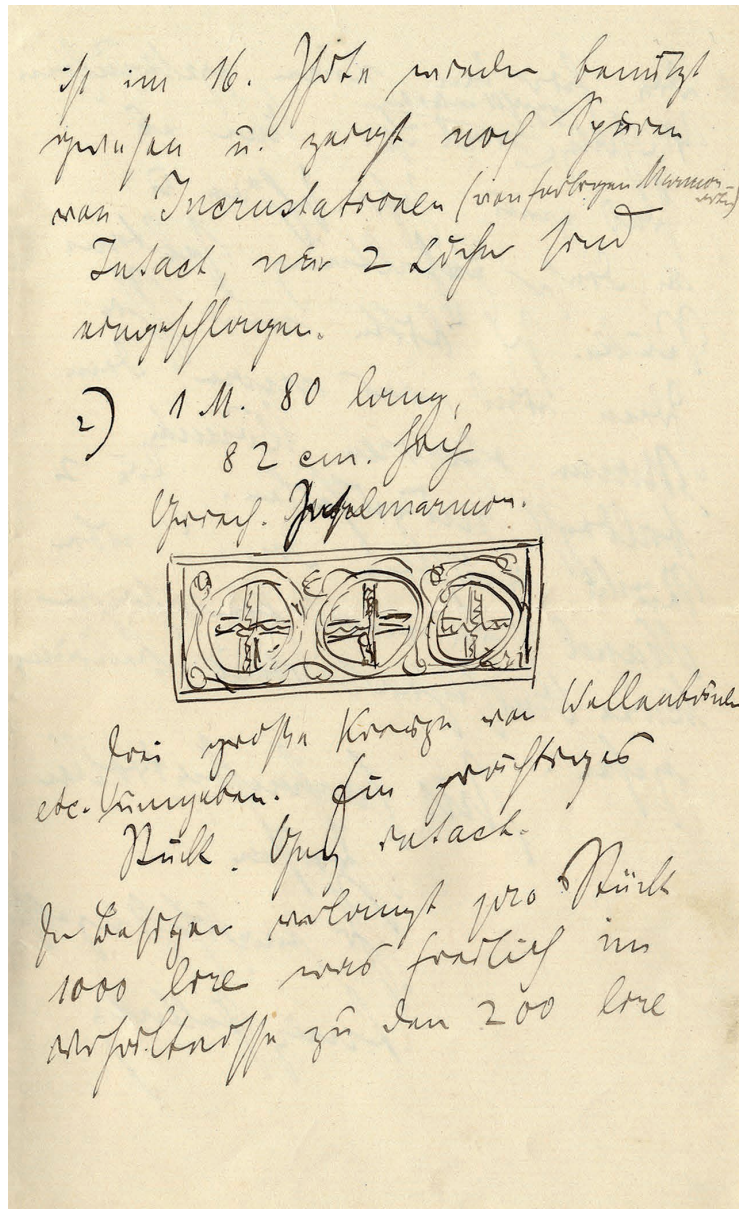
49 See Pier L. Galletti, *Inscriptiones romanae infimi aevi Romae exstantes*, 3 vols., tip. Jo Generosi Salomonii Bibliopola, Rome 1760. A later reference to the epitaph was made by Vincenzo Forcella in 1877, who did not claim to have seen it himself but pointed to a manuscript written by the noble collector Francesco Gualdi (1574–1657) from Rimini. See Vincenzo Forcella, *Inscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, vol. XI, Rome 1877, p. 39, no. 71; Francesco Gualdi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 8253, II, f. 329 *recto*. Francesco Gualdi was a famous collector of classical and Christian antiquities and a »*cameriere segreto*« (secret chamberlain) of the popes Leo XI, Gregory XV, and Urban VIII, as well as holding the office of Senator of Rome. For more about this figure and his manuscripts for the publication of the treatise »*Memorie sepolcrali*« now kept in part in the Vatican Library and in part in the Casanatense Library, see Fabrizio Federici, *Il trattato delle Memorie sepolcrali del cavalier Francesco Gualdi: un collezionista del Seicento e le testimonianze figurative medievali*, in: *Prospettiva* 110/111, 2003, pp. 149–159: 152.

50 Quoted after Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, vol. XVI: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Benedikts XIV. bis zum Tode Pius' VI. (1740–1799)*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1931, p. 114, note 1: »Renovate this Basilica. [...] disassemble and reconstruct the choir, floor, main altar, naves, and myriad other works.«

51 Ferdinando Fuga's drawing is preserved at the Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte di Roma, Collezione Rodolfo Lanciani, Roma XI, 46, II. 3.

52 As concerns the chancel of Santa Maria Maggiore, the white marble plutei were assembled from numerous porphyry elements, including columns, stairs, and floor panels, positioned in front of and inside the confessional, as reconstructed in detail by Judson J. Emerick and, later, Sible de Blaauw. Emerick has argued that the panels of the barrier between the six porphyry columns of the templon in front of the raised floor of the chancel were also made of porphyry – an assumption that the Greek marble panel in Berlin would seem to contradict. See Paolo De Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe Descriptio et delineatio*, tip. Bartholomaei Zannetti, Rome 1621, p. 88: »*Paschalis Papa Primus, egregie pius, circa annum Domini 818 preter plurima ad Basilicam necessita, etiam marmorea ornamenta adiunxit*«; Duchesne 1892, as note 41, p. 60: »*Presbyterium quoque ipsius ecclesiae diversis marmoribus quam pridem fuerat in melius reparavit*«; Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*. Liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale, I, (Studi e Testi, vol. 355), Vatican City 1994, pp. 383–393; Judson J. Emerick, *Focusing on the Celebrant: the Column Display inside Santa Prassede*, in: Sible de Blaauw (ed.), *Atti del colloquio internazionale Arredi di culto e disposizioni liturgiche a Roma da Costantino a Sisto IV*, Roma, Istituto Olandese, 3–4 dicembre 1999 (Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome LIX), Maastricht 2000, pp. 129–159: 149–150, fig. 13; Victor Saxer, *Sainte-Marie-Majeure. Une Basilique de Rome dans l'Histoire de la Ville et de son Église (V–XIII siècle)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 283), Rome 2001, pp. 80–91; Ballardini 2009, as note 41, pp. 225–226, notes 17–18. – For Santa Maria in Domnica, see the frames of the frontals and fragmentary plutei published in Melucco Vaccaro 1974, as note 17, pp. 169–175, nos. 130–137, plates XLIX–LI.

53 In this regard, see the statement by Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, p. 36: »*Le pietre di un edificio che non sia stato mai abbandonato, rimangono sempre sul luogo, per quante trasformazioni o ricostruzioni questo abbia subite. [...] Se manca la materia prima e se mancano i mezzi per procurarsela, si utilizzano i marmi dei loculi delle catacombe, i rivestimenti marmorei delle vecchie basiliche, i plutei dei bassi tempi, e la stessa materia prende nuove forme, nuovi ornamenti, nuova impronta di stile*« (»The stones of a building that has never been abandoned always remain on the site, no matter how many transformations or reconstructions it has undergone.



15 Ludwig Pollak, letter to Wilhelm Bode with a sketch of the chancel barrier slab, inv. no. 6365, 15 November 1908, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv, Nachlass Bode 4215

hand, it is precisely thanks to this repurposing that the front of the panel, sculpted in the 9th century, has remained intact and in such an excellent state of conservation to this day.

In a letter written to Bode on 15 November 1908, Pollak himself described it as »Ganz intact« (fig. 15).⁵⁴ This unpublished document is fundamental because, in addition to a sketch and detailed description of the sculpture and another pluteus (fig. 17a, b), which I will analyze shortly, it reveals three very important details: the location where the archaeologist first saw these objects, the former Villa Altieri in Rome, then the seat of a congregation of Dorothean nuns;⁵⁵ the asking price of 1,000 lira each requested by the strictly anonymous owner; and the port of Naples as the chosen shipping point, where Fauconnet, Pollak's trusted man on the ground, certainly would have been able to obtain the export permit more easily than in Rome. In the absence of further documentation, it remains unclear when, why, and how the panel was

transferred from Santa Maria Maggiore to Villa Altieri, from where it was then exported via the port of Naples. In the archives of the Sisters of Saint Dorothy, a record attached to the rental contract of the villa is preserved, dated 12 April 1898, which includes an exact description of several rooms of the building and the garden, listing several sculptures then observable on site, but, unfortunately, it does not mention the Carolingian marble panel.⁵⁶

One final consideration: Pollak, in his letter dated 15 November 1908 and in a subsequent one written on 16 February 1909, admitted that, while the asking price for the two marble objects was particularly high, he deemed it acceptable because they were »sehr schöne u[nd] in dieser Erhaltung seltene Stücke«; moreover, referring to Bode, he wrote: »Sie haben Recht: die 2 langob[ardischen] Platten sind nicht billig gewesen aber sie sind hervorragend schön.«⁵⁷ The fact that Pollak makes no reference at all to the prestigious origin of either piece, however, leads me to believe that he was unaware of it, for otherwise surely he would have mentioned to Bode the impressive provenance from a papal basilica and asked an even higher price. In the letter dated 16 February 1909, the archaeologist also briefly mentions the middleman who facilitated the sale of the two panels – a certain Molinari – who was owed a commission of 160 lira. Moreover, a document from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum's general administration refers to the panel from Santa Maria Maggiore as »longobardische Marmor Schranken mit Ornament (IX. Jahrhundert. n. Chr.)« – a clear indication that the distinction between Lombard and

[...] If the raw material and the means to obtain it are lacking, the marble from the loculi in the catacombs are used, the marble coverings of the old basilicas, the plutei from the Middle Ages, and the same material takes on new shapes, new ornaments, a new stylistic imprint.«

54 SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 4215, letter from Pollak to Bode, 15.11.1908. Pollak's full description in the letter reads: »In der ehemaligen Villa Altieri zeigte man mir eben zwei ganz exceptionell schöne langobardische Altarvorsätze: 1) 1 m. 67 cm lang 87 cm. hoch weißer Marmor. Die üblichen Knotenornamente in drei Reihen u[nd] in ihnen Vögel, Weintrauben u[nd] Kreuze, Rosetten. Die Rückseite ist im 16. Jhdte wieder benützt gewesen u[nd] zeigt noch Spuren von Incrustationen (von farbigen Marmorarten) Intact, nur 2 Löcher sind eingeschlagen 2) 1 M. 80 lang, 82 cm. hoch Griech[ischer] Inselmarmor drei große Kreuze von Wellenbändern etc. umgeben. Ein prächtiges Stück. Ganz Intact« [sic] (»In the former Villa Altieri, I was shown two exceptionally beautiful Lombard altarpieces: 1) 1 m 67 cm long 87 cm high white marble. The usual knot ornaments in three rows a[nd] inside them birds, grapes, crosses, a[nd] rosettes. The back was reused in the 16th century a[nd] still shows traces of incrustations [of colored types of marble] Intact, only 2 holes are punched 2) 1 m long, 82 cm high Greek island marble three big crosses surrounded by wavy ribbons, etc. A magnificent piece. Completely intact.«).

55 Cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi Albertoni Altieri (1623–1698) commissioned the architect Giovanni Antonio De Rossi (1616–1695), who had already overseen the project of the cardinal's urban palace in Rione Pigna, to build Villa Altieri, along with its gardens, kitchen gardens, and a labyrinth. The villa, built on the Esquiline, was one of the most sumptuous examples of a suburban building in the Roman context of the 17th century and also housed the cardinal's rich collection of ancient art. After his death and several changes of ownership, including the General Society of Roman Railways and, in 1862, Monsignor Francesco Saverio de Mérode (1820–1874), the building was used as a women's prison and later, from 1897 to 1933, rented to a congregation of Dorothean Sisters to house a school for young ladies. In 1935, the villa was rented to the Municipality of Rome, which for many decades used it as a seat for schools before its ownership passed to the Province of Rome in 1975. This wide range of uses resulted in the destruction of several parts of the building and garden. See Bruna Amendolea, Laura Indrio (eds.), *Villa Altieri sull'Esquilino a Roma* (Palazzo Valentini, Collana di Studi e Materiali, vol. 5) Rome 2009, with related bibliography.

56 The document was published by Amendolea, Indrio 2009, as note 55, pp. 262–268.

57 SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 4215, letters from Pollak to Bode dated 15.11.1908 and 16.2.1909: »Very nice a[nd], in this condition, rare pieces«; »You're right: the 2 Lombard panels were not cheap but they are superbly beautiful.« The second panel in the quotation has inv. no. 6366.

Carolingian art was very blurred in the early years of the 20th century and that certain historical-artistic terms were often assigned to artworks rather ambiguously.⁵⁸ Another document referring to the transport of the two marble panels abroad reveals that they were shipped by Fauconnet from the port of Naples to Hamburg and then transferred to Berlin in July 1909.⁵⁹ These precious objects have been kept in the storage facilities of the Bode Museum for some years now, but were exhibited in the past as part of the museum's early Christian and Byzantine collection, as evidenced by some photographs from the early 1950s.⁶⁰

The panel from Santa Maria Maggiore has several similarities with contemporary fragments of sacred furnishings, both in Rome and in Lazio, though none of these examples demonstrates the compositional balance and sharpness of execution achieved in the Berlin piece. The most compelling similarity is to the surviving panels of the chancel barrier of Santa Prassede, which are similar in size, frame type, and the quality of their decorations, though the iconographic motifs are largely different. The same frame is also found in the only fragment of the chancel barrier of Santa Maria Maggiore that has been published to date – a similarity that can be explained by the shared patronage of Paschal I.⁶¹ Also worth noting in this context are: a fragment of a pluteus in San Giorgio al Velabro, first published by Ferdinando Mazzanti; a second one, similar in terms of the motif of the roundel with a Greek cross, both rendered with wicker-like strands, which is preserved in the archaeological area of the Teatro di Marcello in Rome and was included in the recent exhibition »Roma Medievale. Il volto perduto della città« at the Museo di Roma in Palazzo Braschi; and a third one in the abbey of San Giovanni in Argentella, which is similar in terms of the roundels with four loops at the outside »corners« (fig. 16).⁶²

The second significant marble slab that Pollak acquired for Bode traveled to Berlin with the same shipment as the previously discussed piece, from Naples to Hamburg, and at the same time, in July 1909 (fig. 17a, b). The original decoration of the panel, typical of the mid-9th century, shows a tight grid of 18 knotted circles formed of wicker-like strands, which also delineate a rectangular border, interconnected at regular intervals with the circles, along the entire perimeter (fig. 17a).⁶³ The circles contain heterogeneous motifs: nine show birds pecking fruit or with a snake in their beak, five enclose star-shaped rosettes, two contain bunches of grapes, one has a trefoil vine leaf, and the last encompasses a small Greek cross pattée. The tight spaces between the roundels feature lily buds, which are very inhomogeneous in shape. Two large puttied holes and four other smaller ones are evident on the front. This panel, too, is well preserved and was also repurposed, the perimeter edge reworked and twelve circular indentations made on the back for the insertion of marble encrustations of different colors (fig. 17b). It is not clear precisely for what purpose it was reused – perhaps as the front of an altar or as a tombstone.⁶⁴

The panel was probably the work of a medium-level stonemasons' workshop, as it presents extensive irregularities that are particularly evident in the uncertain »ductus« of the engraved lines and in the arrangement of the individual motifs within the circles; nevertheless, it is a significant example of a kind of decoration that was widespread both in Rome and in other smaller cities in central Italy. In fact, there are two very similar panels in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, a fragmented one inserted into the wall of the atrium in the church of San Marco, and another in the courtyard bordering the southern side of the church of



16 Panel from liturgical furnishings, middle of the 9th century, marble, 81.3 × 24 × 12 cm, Rome, Teatro di Marcello storage facilities, inv. no. TM 14405 (from Fabio Betti, in Marina Righetti, Anna Maria D'Achille [eds.], *Roma medievale. Il volto perduto della città*, exh. cat., Museo di Roma, 21.10.2022–16.4.2023, Rome 2022, p. 226, cat. no. 90).

58 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 40, F. 232/10: »Lombard marble chancel barrier with decoration (9th century A.D.).« See note 63.

59 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 40, F. 1330/09.

60 See Wessel 1957, as note 29, fig. 45. In the same room, the ciborium arch from Bomarzo, inv. no. 6276, and the slab with intertwined circles, inv. no. 6366, are clearly recognizable.

61 See Pani Ermini 1974, as note 41, pp. 108–109, cat. no. 51, plate XXI, fig. 51; Ballardini 2009, as note 41, p. 225, note 17. The Berlin slab measures 83.5 × 181.5 × 8 cm, the almost integral ones in the basilica of S. Prassede, nos. 58 and 59, measure, respectively, 98 × 198 × 6.5 cm and 100 × 224 × 6.5 cm.

62 See Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, p. 164; Fabio Betti, *Frammento di lastra di arredo liturgico*, in: Righetti, D'Achille 2022, as note 42, pp. 226–227, cat. no. 90. As regards the early medieval fragments found during the excavations in S. Giorgio al Velabro and the pluteus of S. Giovanni in Argentella, see three historical photographs preserved in the photo library of the Fondazione Federico Zeri in Bologna, inv. nos. 3187, 3192, 3111. These photos most likely come from the dismantled archive of Antonio Muñoz (1884–1960), cousin of Federico Zeri and for many years a leading figure in the Amministrazione Capitolina delle Belle Arti. For more about this figure, see in particular the contribution by Fabio Betti, Gloria Raimondi, *Inedite testimonianze grafiche dell'attività di Antonio Muñoz conservate presso il Museo di Roma*, in: *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, XXII, Rome 2009, pp. 147–184.

63 Inv. no. 6366; for further information, see entry no. 11 in the list at the end of this article.

64 See Wulff 1911, as note 6, p. 18; Volbach 1930, as note 24, pp. 15–16; Arne Effenberg, Hans-Georg Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, p. 209.



17a, b Chancel barrier panel with interlacing circles, birds, and plant motifs (front and back), middle of the 9th century, marble, 87.5 × 168 × 8 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6366

Santa Maria in Aquiro.⁶⁵ There are also other pieces worth mentioning in this context: in the area north of Rome, one of the panels of the templon of the church of San Leone Magno in Leprignano (now Capena); and, in the Viterbo area, a fragment of a limestone panel from the facade of the parish church of Ischia di Castro and two marble plutei, one in the ancient cathedral in Civita Castellana, the other in the church of Castel Sant'Elia.⁶⁶ Moreover, sculptures very similar to the pluteus in Berlin can also be found in Orvieto, in particular a panel in the ancient apse area of the church of Santi Andrea e Bartolomeo and another from the Badia dei Santi Severo e Martino, now preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.⁶⁷

Ludwig Pollak managed to export not just one but two objects from a papal basilica to Berlin: the previously discussed panel from Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 14a, b), as well as a fragment of a panel that was originally part of the early medieval chancel barrier of St. Peter's (fig. 18).⁶⁸ Both objects are of the utmost historical and symbolic relevance. The fragment from St. Peter's, delimited at the top and bottom by a frame of three flat bands, is decorated with arches set on twisted columns resting on a cubic base, with capitals composed of three pairs of pinnate leaves; beneath the arches are two date palms with curled caulicoli, pointing to an early Christian inspiration.⁶⁹ The piece in Berlin is completed by two other fragments, first identified by Eugenio Russo in 1985 as parts of the same early medieval pluteus and preserved in the Vatican grottoes beneath St. Peter's (fig. 19a).⁷⁰ Together, these three fragments make it possible to reconstruct the 8th-century appearance of a portion of the chancel barrier of the basilica, which was renovated several times between the 6th and 8th century, in particular under Pope Gregory III (731–741), who erected a second row of six spiral columns linked by marble slabs in the area in front of the chancel, as an addition to the existing porphyry columns with vine decoration from the Constantinian era.

The original pluteus was composed of a row of four arches, each decorated with a wavy line with dots in the spaces on either side. I recently discovered some interesting photographs in this regard in the photo library of the Fondazione Federico Zeri in Bologna. The first, belonging to Antonio Muñoz and dated 13 July 1938, attests to a previous attempt to reconstruct the full piece, a suggested reconstruction that was reflected a year later by Rudolf Kautzsch, who shows an origi-

nal pluteus with a total of three arches, unaware of the existence of the Berlin fragment, which is undoubtedly the missing core element (fig. 19b).⁷¹ The other two photographs show several early medieval pieces, which can also be dated to the 8th century and compared to the Berlin panel due to the presence of a row of arches on columns decorated with leaf capitals: a ›vera da pozzo‹ previously in the collections of the former Museo Artistico Industriale in Rome and now in the National Museum of the Palazzo di Venezia, and three fragments that were part of the early medieval liturgical furnishings of the church of San Giorgio in Velabro.⁷² In addition, the Zentralarchiv holds two letters Pollak wrote

65 See Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, p. 163; Kautzsch 1939, as note 37, pp. 18–19, fig. 32; Melucco Vaccaro 1974, as note 17, pp. 155–157, nos. 110–111, plate XLIII; Paroli 1998, as note 28, pp. 102–103, fig. 13; Peter Cornelius Claussen, S. Maria in Aquiro, in: Daniela Mondini, Carola Jäggi, Peter Cornelius Claussen, Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300, vol. 4: M–O. SS. Marcellino e Pietro bis S. Omobono (Corpus Cosmatorum, II,4), Stuttgart 2020, pp. 78–84: 83, fig. 60.

66 See Raspi Serra 1974, as note 37, pp. 52–53, 67–68, 151, 154–158, nos. 31, 44, 177, 180, 182, plates XXIII, XXXII, CXXVII, CXXX, CXXXIV, figs. 41, 56, 207, 210, 215.

67 See Kautzsch 1939, as note 37, p. 21, fig. 37; Donatella Scortecci, La Diocesi di Orvieto (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. XVI) Spoleto/Perugia 2003, pp. 82–83, 133–136, nos. 22, 84–84a, plates XIII, XXXVII. The panel preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Orvieto bears the following inscription in capital letters along the lower margin: ›Teuzo episcopus dedicavit hoc altare sacratissimus Iohannes A.‹

68 Inv. no. 6588; for further information, see entry no. 12 in the list at the end of this article.

69 The motif of arches on the pluteus is very similar to other 8th-century Italian sculptures, including some cylindrical Venetian ›vere da pozzo‹ on which the arches similarly rest on leafy capitals and frame geometrically rendered palm trees. See Lorenzo Seguso, Angelo Seguso, Delle sponde marmoree o vere dei pozzi e degli antichi edifizii della Venezia marittima. Periodo arabo-bizantino sec. IX–XII, Tipografia del commercio, Venice 1859, plate IV; Jolán Balogh, Studi sulla collezione di sculture del Museo di Belle Arti di Budapest. VI, Parte I. I pozzi veneziani, in: Acta Historiae Artium XII, 1966, pp. 211–279: 213–216, figs. 3, 4, 6.

70 See Eugenio Russo, La recinzione del presbiterio di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal VI all' VIII secolo, in: Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia LV–LVI, 1982/1984, pp. 3–33: 26–28, figs. 16–17, with related bibliography.

71 Fondazione Federico Zeri, inv. no. 3206. The following annotations are on the back of the photograph: ›Muñoz [...] VII/05616/11,9.‹ At the top center is a stamp dated 13.7.1938: ›Archivio Fotograf. Gall. Mus. Vaticani NEGATIVE N. I 10.20‹; see Kautzsch 1939, as note 37, p. 55, fig. 85.

72 Fondazione Federico Zeri, inv. nos., 3187, 3189, 3322. The Museo Artistico Industriale of Rome was founded in 1874 as a collection of various artistic objects dating from antiquity to the 18th century, but also as a school to train specialized craftsmen, who could use the pieces exhibited in the museum for their own studies and experiments. When the museum closed



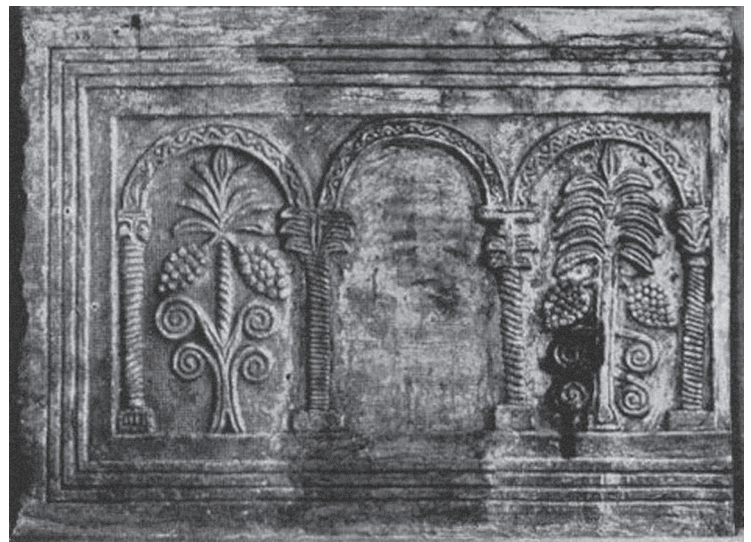
18 Chancel barrier panel with arches on twisted columns and date palms from the ancient basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican, 731–741, marble, 114.5 × 66.6 × 5.6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6588

to Bode in November 1910, in which the archaeologist dwells on the prestigious provenance of the »*altchristl[iche] Balustradenfragment mit den Palmen aus St. Peter stammt!*« embedded in the floor of the basilica along with the two other previously mentioned fragments published by Eugenio Russo.⁷³ The transport document concerning the slab has also survived. Dated 12 December 1910, it indicates that the shippers were A. Fauconnet and Matthias Rohde, the shipping point the port of Naples, the vessel the *König*, and the price 1,000 marks.⁷⁴

Another slab from a chancel barrier – more specifically, an antependium with bas-relief (fig. 20) – that also entered the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum collections in 1910 thanks to Ludwig Pollak has very strong similarities with the 6th-century plutei reassembled in the 12th century in the upper Roman basilica of San Clemente, and with others



19a Eugenio Russo, reconstruction of the chancel barrier slab with arches on twisted columns and date palms from the ancient basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican, 1985, photomontage (from Eugenio Russo, in: *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia LV–LVI*, 1982/1984, p. 27, fig. 17)



19b Rudolf Kautzsch, hypothetical reconstruction of the same original chancel barrier slab, 1938–39, photomontage (?) (from Rudolf Kautzsch, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte III*, 1939, p. 55, fig. 85)

in Santa Maria in Cosmedin.⁷⁵ It is well preserved, except for some chipping at the upper right corner and the smoothing of the back, probably so that it could be reused as flooring. The front is decorated

in 1954, the collections were dismantled and moved to the warehouses of several Roman museums, including Palazzo Barberini (which holds the most significant nucleus of over 2,000 artworks), the Museo di Roma, Museo Nazionale di Castel Sant'Angelo, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Museo della Civiltà Romana, Musei Capitolini, and Istituto Statale d'Arte di Roma in via Odescalchi.

⁷³ SMB-ZA-IV/NL Bode 4215: letters dated 11.11.1910 and 28.11.1910: »Early Christian balustrade fragment with palm trees comes from St. Peter's!«

⁷⁴ SMB-ZA, I/SKS 43, F. 3211/10.

⁷⁵ See Mazzanti 1896, as note 16, pp. 49–50; Kautzsch 1939, as note 37, pp. 50–51, fig. 79; Melucco Vaccaro 1974, as note 17, pp. 145–146, nos. 99–100, plates XXXVIII–XXXIX.



20 Byzantine pluteus with roundels and crosses pattées, 6th century, Greek marble, 105 × 159 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6598

with two rectangular frames, side-by-side, each containing a roundel with a Latin cross pattée.⁷⁶ The piece has long been kept in the storage facilities of the Bode Museum, but was displayed in the past in the room with the mosaic from the Ravenna church of San Michele in Afrisco, together with some 6th-century Venetian and Constantinopolitan works of art.⁷⁷ In a letter to Bode on 24 January 1910, Pollak described the antependium meticulously and provided a quick sketch, as well as the measurements and details of the decoration: »In der Mitte der erhobenen in den Rahmen eingeschriebenen convexen [sic] Rundschilde, im Relief je ein langobardisches Kreuz«; he also indicated its beauty and intactness as the reasons why, as he revealed to Bode, he had already purchased the object for the fair price of 600 lira.⁷⁸ (The fact that Pollak describes the crosses as »Lombard« demonstrates once again that, at the time, there was considerable confusion about the distinction between sculptures from the Lombard and Byzantine period.) The Greek marble slab was entrusted for transport to Fauconnet in Naples, who shipped it on the steamship Neckar, and then to the company Ehrhorn, Emden & Meyer for the onward journey to Berlin, where it arrived on 28 July 1910.⁷⁹

Also among the key early medieval sculptures that Ludwig Pollak procured for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum is a notable Byzantine capital of rare beauty, which has been on display continually since its acquisition in 1911 (fig. 21a, b). The decoration of the composite capital is

quite worn in places but still discernable: a band of ovules alternating with trefoils at the base; then, on one side, two rows of acanthus leaves (fig. 21a) and, on the other (most probably the original front side), a network of crossed bands of laurel leaves with some palmettes inserted in between (fig. 21b). Immediately below the abacus is a Latin cross accompanied by a barely legible monogram, which Pollak, in a letter to Bode from 12 July 1911, described as »Theodorichs Monogram.«⁸⁰ Between the various kinds of decoration originally separated by a slightly raised band, an anonymous sculptor inserted two larger Latin crosses (fig. 21a). This attests to reuse of the piece, which is further confirmed by the presence of a cavity in the body of the capital with a rounded upper edge and by the worn appearance of several motifs along the

76 Inv. no. 6598; for further information, see entry no. 13 in the list at the end of this article.

77 See the historical photograph preserved in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv, inv. no. 2.18_00990.

78 SMB-ZA-IV/NL Bode 4215, letter dated 24.1.1910: »A Lombard cross in relief in the center of each of the raised convex round shields inscribed in the frame.«

79 Ehrhorn, Emden & Meyer, founded in 1887 and based in Bremen, was active in the ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Geestemünde.

80 Inv. no. 6666; for further information, see entry no. 14 in the list at the end of this article. See also William E. Betsch, *The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital in Constantinople*, Doctor of Philosophy, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania 1977, p. 233; SMB-ZA, I/SKS 44, F. 2074/11: »Theodorich monogram.«



21a, b Byzantine capital with acanthus and laurel leaves, palmettes, Latin crosses, and a monogram, (two sides), second half of the 6th century, Greek marble, 71 × 90 × 82/60 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6666

upper and lower edges, pointing to its probable repurposing as a fountain basin.

The type, shape of the impost, and way the surface is worked by hand suggest that the capital dates to the second half of the 6th century. Significant parallels include one of the capitals of the proto-Byzantine basilica of Tébessa in Algeria and two others preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.⁸¹ In the historical inventory of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, the short description of the capital is followed by the remark: »Erworben 1911 in Adria durch Pollak aus Ravenna. Geschenkt von Mr. Langton Douglas.«⁸² The piece, undoubtedly created by stonecutters from Constantinople, was acquired in the small town of Adria in the Veneto region, near Ravenna; however, its provenance from the capital of the Ostrogothic kingdom cannot be proved, as Ludwig Pollak did not provide any information about the specific monument to which it belonged. Consequently, it could be an architectural element originating from other cities in the Po region where Theodoric promoted the construction and restoration of ancient buildings, as documented in the chronicle dedicated to the deeds of the Ostrogothic king in the so-called »*Anonymus Valesianus*«: »*Erat enim amator fabricarum et restaurator civitatum. Hic aquaeductum Ravennae restauravit [...] Item Veronae thermas et palatium fecit et a porta usque ad palatium porticum addidit [...] Item Ticini palatium, thermas, amphitheatrum et alios muros civitatis fecit.*«⁸³

The surviving transport documents indicate that the capital was shipped from Italy in July 1911, arriving at its destination in Berlin on 18 August, together with the aforementioned »crutch« capital described as »frühlangobardisch« (fig. 7a, b).⁸⁴ The most important information about the piece, however, can be found in a letter attached to the transport documents, in which Pollak's usual shipper, Fauconnet, who oversaw the shipping of the two objects from the port of Naples, replied to a question from the company Matthias Rohde & Co., which was in charge of the transport within Germany. In reply to the German company's inquiry as to why no specifications were provided about the

transported load, which was defined generically as »antique marble«, Fauconnet responded that he was not able to provide a specific description of the piece because it concerned works of art illegally exported from Italy, and encouraged the sender to turn to »*Herr Dr. P. in Rom*«⁸⁵ – a clear reference to Ludwig Pollak – for further clarification.⁸⁶ In a

81 See Albert Ballu, *Le Monastère Byzantin de Tebessa*, Paris 1897, p. 19, fig. 9; Rudolf Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom Vierten bis ins Siebente Jahrhundert*, in: *Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte IX*, 1936, p. 99, plate 40, nos. 663–664.

82 »Bought in 1911 in Adria thanks to Pollak, from Ravenna. A gift from Mr. Langton Douglas.« Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951) was a professor of modern art history who later chose to devote himself to the art market, opening a gallery on Piccadilly in London, which was active between 1904 and 1912. He also worked as an art agent for private collectors and prestigious museums, in particular for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin. Between 1916 and 1923, he was director of the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin and, in 1940, he moved to New York, where he worked for the Duveen brothers. A great admirer of the city of Siena, which was the subject of his 1902 volume »*History of Siena*,« Douglas was buried there after his death in Fiesole in 1951.

83 Theodoric the Great (c. 451–526 C.E.) chose the city of Ravenna as the capital of his kingdom between 493 and 526 C.E. He restored several ancient monuments and promoted a strong policy of constructing new buildings, in particular in the Po region and subalpine area. The restorations included fortresses, aqueducts, thermae, and palaces in several cities, such as Ravenna, Verona, Pavia, Monza, and Monselice. Theodoric also promoted the construction of new buildings in Spoleto, the main administrative center of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in central Italy. In addition, he restored many palaces in the Roman Forum and on the Palatine Hill. See Roberto Cessi (ed.), *Fragmenta Historica ab Henrico et Hadriano Valesio primum edita [Anonymus Valesianus]*, in: Ludovico Antonio Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millesecento*, vol. XXIV, part IV, Città di Castello/Perugia 1913, p. 18; Silvia Lusuardi Siena, *Teodorico*, in: *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. XI, Rome 2000, pp. 118–125.

84 Inv. no. 6667. SMB-ZA, I/SKS 44, F. 1816/11; I/SKS 45, F. 1631/12: »early Lombard.«

85 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 44, F. 1816/11.

86 Other cases of the illicit export of artworks acquired by the royal museums of Berlin around the same period were recently reported in the following volume: Laura Puritani, Martin Maischberger, Birgit Sporleder (eds.), *Konstantinopel – Samos – Berlin. Verpfändung, Fundteilung und heimliche Ausfuhr von Antiken am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges (Schriften zur Geschichte der Berliner Museen, vol. 7)*, Heidelberg 2022.

letter written to Bode dated 24 August 1911, the archaeologist, explaining that he had acquired the capital from a Rome-based antique dealer (whose name he did not disclose) but that its original provenance was without a doubt Ravenna, implored the Berlin director not to mention it in the »*Amtliche Berichte*« (official reports), which listed the most recent works of art acquired by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, presumably because he feared that the Italian authorities would challenge its export.⁸⁷

There can be no doubt that Ludwig Pollak deserves the special attention of art historians wishing to deepen our understanding of the expansion and enrichment of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum's early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval collection – due to his long-lasting professional relationship with Wilhelm von Bode, the rareness and quality of the artworks he procured for the museum, and his personal standing among his peers. Pollak's close correspondence with Bode reveals that, as an art dealer behind the scenes, the Rome-based archaeologist served the cause of the Berlin museum director with diligence and perseverance.

The previously mentioned antique dealer and writer Augusto Jandolo, who knew Pollak very well, offers additional significant evidence of Pollak's merits. In his book »*Le memorie di un antiquario*,« Jandolo paints a vivid portrait of him:

[...] a Roma, si ricorreva sempre al dottor Ludovico Pollak [...] perché egli ha saputo accoppiare a una seria e profonda cultura scientifica, decenni e decenni interi di pratica, in Roma e fuori di Roma. Egli è passato dalle biblioteche ai retrobottega degli antiquari, dalle sale dei musei alle

fucine dei falsificatori [...] si conquistò presto stima e grandi simpatie nel mondo antiquario romano; egli fu ben presto chiamato, consultato da amatori e negozianti per la sua lealtà e la sua cultura che si estende dall'antichità più remota, ai disegni dei così detti Nazareni della metà dell'Ottocento.⁸⁸

Jandolo also mentions the close meetings between Pollak and Bode in Rome, where the museum director traveled twice a year when he was young, and then every two years when his health deteriorated:

Guglielmo Bode suo [di Ludwig Pollak] intimo e fiduciario da trenta anni, nelle due gite annue che faceva a Roma, non trascurava mai di avvertire in tempo l'amico, il quale lo accompagnava dovunque fosse cosa degna della sua attenzione [...] Gli antiquari italiani, i veri, i seri antiquari lo aspettavano come gli ebrei aspettavano la manna. E c'era la sua ragione: lui solo poteva dare il giudizio definitivo su di una scultura, su di un quadro, sopra un bronzo quattrocentesco. Il suo parere, espresso con poche parole, dopo un breve esame, non ammetteva appello. E questo alto riconoscimento non era solo per gli italiani, non solo per gli europei, ma per il mondo intero.⁸⁹

While Jandolo's description of the two men as close friends may be exaggerated, there is little doubt that Ludwig Pollak held a leading position among the selected and trusted art dealers with whom Wilhelm von Bode skillfully surrounded himself during the first three decades of the 20th century.

⁸⁷ SMB-ZA, I/SKS 45, F. 1631/12.

⁸⁸ Augusto Jandolo, *Le memorie di un antiquario*, Milan 1938, pp. 25, 244, 247: »In Rome, Dr. Ludovico Pollak was always consulted [...] because he was able to combine a serious and deep scientific culture with many decades of practice, in Rome and outside Rome. He went from libraries to the back rooms of antique dealers, from museum halls to the workshops of forgers [...] He quickly gained esteem and great sympathy in the Roman antiquarian world; he was soon called upon, consulted by amateurs and merchants for his loyalty and his culture, which spanned from the earliest antiquity to the drawings of the so-called Nazarenes of the mid-19th century.«

⁸⁹ Augusto Jandolo, *Le memorie di un antiquario*, Milan 1938, p. 244; Augusto Jandolo, *Aneddotica*, Milan 1949, p. 49: »Wilhelm Bode [Ludwig Pollak's] intimate and trustee for 30 years, during his two annual trips to Rome, never failed promptly to alert his friend, who accompanied him wherever there was something worthy of his attention. [...] The Italian antique dealers, the real, serious antique dealers, waited for him as the Jews waited for manna. And there was a reason: he alone could render definitive judgment on a sculpture, on a painting, on a 15th-century bronze. His opinion, expressed with few words, after a brief examination, brooked no appeal. And this high recognition was not only for Italians, not only for Europeans, but for the whole world.«

List of the Early Medieval and Byzantine Liturgic Sculptures
Procured by Ludwig Pollak for Wilhelm Bode

Nos. 1, 2

**Arch of a ciborium and pillar with inscription from the church
of San Salvatore in Bomarzo (Viterbo) (fig. 3)**

795–816

Marble

Ciborium arch: 71.5 × 114.5 × 12.5 cm

250 kg

Pillar with inscription: 22 × 147 × 12.5 cm

165 kg

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. nos. 6276, 6277, on display in the Neues Museum, room 2.06

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1903

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1903 aus Rom (durch Dr. Pollak)«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 4, 7, 14, and 19 May; 4, 12, 15, and 24 June; 23 July 1903

Exhibitions: Paderborn 1999, cat. no. IX.11

Bibliography: Paul Clemen, *Das Kaiser Friedrich Museum zu Berlin. Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Kaiser Friedrich Museums zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1904, p. 24; Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil II: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, pp. 16–17, cat. no. 1727, plate I; Pietro Toesca, *Il Medioevo*, Turin 1927, pp. 280–281, 293, no. 56; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 9, cat. nos. 6276, 6277; Klaus Wessel, *Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1953, p. 25; Klaus Wessel, *Kunstwerke aus der Frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung. Ein Bildheft*, Berlin 1955, p. 14, fig. 23; Francesco Macchioni, *Storia civile e religiosa della città di Bagnoregio dai tempi antichi sino all'anno 1503*, Viterbo 1956, p. 112; Klaus Wessel, *Rom, Byzanz, Russland. Ein Führer durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1957, pp. 45, 93; Günther Bröker, *Thea Joksch, Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 62, cat. no. 78; Letizia Pani Ermini, *La diocesi di Roma. La raccolta dei Fori imperiali (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.2)*, Spoleto 1974, p. 92, no. 22; Letizia Pani Ermini, *La diocesi di Roma. La IV regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.1)*, Spoleto 1974, p. 70, note 21; Letizia Pani Ermini, *Il ciborio della basilica di Sant'Ippolito all'Isola Sacra, in Roma e l'età carolingia. Atti delle giornate di studio*, Roma, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Roma, 3.–8.5.1976, Rome 1976, pp. 337–344: 340, 344, note 21; Margarete Merkel Guldan, *Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893–1934*, Vienna 1988, p. 157, note 168; Arne Effenberg, IX.11 Ziboriumsbogen und Inschrift, in: Christoph Stiegemann, Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), 799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn, I, II, exh. cat. [Paderborn, institution

not indicated in catalog, 23.7.–1.11.1999], Mainz 1999, pp. 624–626, cat. no. IX.11; Francesca Dell'Acqua, *Sulle attestazioni di artefici nella scultura altomedievale in Italia*, in: Maria Monica Donato (ed.), *Le opere e i nomi. Prospettive sulla ›firma‹ medievale in margine ai lavori per il Corpus delle opere firmate del Medioevo italiano*, Pisa 2000, pp. 15–19: 16–17; Luigi Cimarra, *Testimonianze epigrafiche e manufatti altomedievali a Bomarzo*, in: *Biblioteca e società XXII*, nos. 3–4, 2003, pp. 38–40, fig. 3; Walter Koch, *Inschriftenpaläographie des abendländischen Mittelalters und der früheren Neuzeit. Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, Vienna/Munich 2007, pp. 84–85, fig. 58; Albert Dietl, *Die Sprache der Signatur. Die mittelalterlichen Künstlerinschriften Italiens (Italienische Forschungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, vol. 6)*, Munich 2009, I, p. 318, cat. no. A89, II, pp. 635–637; IV, p. 2040, figs. 84–85; Tiziano Gasperoni, Giuseppe Scardozzi, *Carta archeologica d'Italia. Bomarzo, Mugnano, Bassano in Teverina, Viterbo* 2010, pp. 74, 93, 228–229, fig. 244; Elisa Pallottini, *Un aggiornamento critico sull'iscrizione altomedievale di Bomarzo. Nuova lettura e nuove ipotesi*, in: *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo CXV*, 2013, pp. 1–22: 2, 10–11, notes 35–36, fig. 4; Eloisa Dodero, »Die Vielseitigkeit und das Gedächtnis!« Ludwig Pollak e la collaborazione con Wilhelm von Bode, in: Orietta Rossini (ed.), *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte (Praga 1868–Auschwitz 1943). Gli anni d'oro del collezionismo internazionale da Giovanni Barracco a Sigmund Freud*, exh. cat. [Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco and Museo Ebraico di Roma, 5.12.2018–5.5.2019], Rome 2018, p. 78, note 34; Fabio Betti, *Dall'acropoli al castrum. Studio storico della collegiata di Otricoli dall'antichità al Medioevo*, Rome 2020, p. 143, fig. 159, note 68; Fabio Betti, *Ursus Magester e gli altri. Le sottoscrizioni di artefici nella scultura altomedievale in Italia centrale: analisi comparativa e contesto storico* in: Anna Maria D'Achille, Antonio Iacobini, Francesco Pio Pistilli (eds.), *Domus sapienter staurata. Scritti di storia dell'arte per Marina Righetti*, Cinisello Balsamo/Milan 2021, pp. 75–86: 79–80, notes 22–23, fig. 5.

No. 3

Altar slab with lambs, roundel with jeweled cross, and inscriptions (fig. 4a, b)

Second half of the 6th century

Marble

54.5 × 139.5 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 3021, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1905

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben durch Herrn Dr. Pollak aus Aversa«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 35, F. 37/04.

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 3 and 20 March, 5 May, and 30 October 1902; 14 and 17 November 1904

Exhibitions: Paderborn 1996, cat. no. 66; Ravenna 2000, cat. no. 20

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Dritter Band. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische*

tinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil I: Altchristliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1909, pp. 1, 12, cat. no. 24; Hjørvardur Harvard Árnason, Early Christian Silver of North Italy and Gaul, in: *The Art Bulletin* XX, 2, 1938, pp. 193–226: 211–212, note 128, figs. 14–16; Letizia Pani Ermini, La diocesi di Roma. La IV regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.1), Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 65; Eugenio Russo, Studi sulla scultura paleocristiana e altomedievale. Il sarcofago dell'arcivescovo Grazioso in S. Apollinare in Classe in: *Studi medievali*, Ser. 3, XV, 1974, pp. 25–142: 42, notes 56–57, plate VIII a; Arne Effenberger, 66. Votivrelief Kreuz zwischen Lämmern, in: Christoph Stiegemann (ed.), *Frühchristliche Kunst in Rom und Konstantinopel. Schätze aus dem Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst Berlin*, exh. cat. [Paderborn, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, 6.12.1996–31.3.1997], Paderborn 1996, pp. 240–241, cat. no. 66; Arne Effenberger, 20. Frammento di pannello votivo. Croce entro clipeo fiancheggiata da due agnelli, in: *Konstantinopel. Scultura bizantina dai Musei di Berlino*, exh. cat. [Ravenna, Museo Nazionale di Ravenna e Complesso Benedettino di San Vitale, 15.4.–17.9.2000], Rome 2000, pp. 38–91: 78–79, cat. no. 20; Roberto Coroneo, *Scultura altomedievale in Italia. Materiali e tecniche di esecuzione, tradizioni e metodi di studio*, Cagliari 2005, pp. 51–52, fig. 40; Carlo Ebanista, L'arredo scultoreo paleocristiano e medievale della basilica di S. Giovanni Maggiore a Napoli, in: Adele Coscarella (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Roma*, Arcavacata di Rende/Cosenza 2019, pp. 76–102: 81, note 51.

No. 4**Fragment of a pillar (fig. 5a, b)**

9th century
Greek marble
56 × 29 × 12 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6368, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1903

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1903 aus Rom«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 22 May; 4, 12, 15, and 24 June 1903

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Zweite Auflage. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil II: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 20, cat. no. 1734; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz. Zweite Auflage*, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 12, cat. no. 6368.

No. 5**Fragment of a portal jamb with peacocks and wicker-like strands twisted into large knots (fig. 6a, b)**

8th century
Marble
17 × 40 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum

für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6264, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome on 6 June 1906

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1906 aus Rom. Von Ludwig Pollak in Rom erworben und als anonyme Schenkung in die Sammlung gelangt«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 36, F. 822/06; I/SKS 39, F. 1292/08.

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letter dated 17 May 1906

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Zweite Auflage. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil II: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 21, cat. no. 1736; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz. Zweite Auflage*, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 17, cat. no. 6264.

No. 6**Crutch capital with a pecking peacock and tripartite vertical bands (fig. 7a, b)**

First half of 9th century
Marble
19.5 × 39 cm (upper part), 18 cm (lower part)

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für

Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6667, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1911 from the Villa of Count Macchi di Cellere

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1911 Aus Rom (Villa des C[on]te. Cellere von Porta S. Giovanni.)«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 44, F. 1816/11; I/SKS 45, F. 1631/12.

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letter dated 24 August 1911

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Neuerwerbungen mittelalterlicher italienischer Plastik*, in: *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* XXXIII, 11, 1912, pp. 261–280: 261–262, fig. 115; Oskar Wulff, Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Dritte Auflage. Die Altchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Byzantinischen und Italienischen Bildwerke*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1923, p. 57, cat. no. 6667; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz. Zweite Auflage*, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 10; Günther Bröker, Thea Joksch, *Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 63, cat. no. 89.

No. 7**Fragmentary pillar (fig. 8a, b)**9th century

Marble

63 × 16 × 17 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6265, on display in the Bode Museum, room 115

Provenance: acquired in Rome in June 1906

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1906 Aus Rom. Von Ludwig Pollak in Rom erworben und als anonyme Schenkung in die Sammlung gelangt«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 36, F. 822/06; I/SKS 39, F. 1292/08.

Exhibitions: Berlin 2017, cat. no. 51

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, pp. 20–21, cat. no. 1735; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 3, cat. no. 6265; Klaus Wessel, *Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1953, p. 27; Klaus Wessel, *Rom, Byzanz, Russland. Ein Führer durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1957, p. 96, fig. 25; Günther Bröker, *Thea Joksch, Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 64, cat. no. 93; Lisbeth Castelnovo-Tedesco, Jack Soultanian (eds.), *Italian Medieval Sculpture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Cloisters*, New York 2010, pp. 11–13, cat. no. 3; Elisabeth Ehler, Cäcilia Fluck, Gabriele Mietke, *Wissenschaft und Turbulenz. Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, ein Wissenschaftler zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen*, exh. cat. [Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, 13.10.2017–29.1.2018], Wiesbaden 2017, pp. 91–92, cat. no. 51; Eloisa Doderò, »Die Vielseitigkeit und das Gedächtnis!« Ludwig Pollak e la collaborazione con Wilhelm von Bode, in Orietta Rossini (ed.), *Ludwig Pollak archeologo e mercante d'arte (Praga 1868–Auschwitz 1943). Gli anni d'oro del collezionismo internazionale da Giovanni Barracco a Sigmund Freud*, exh. cat. [Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco and Museo Ebraico di Roma, 5.12.2018–5.5.2019], Rome 2018, p. 78, note 35.

No. 8**Fragment of a chancel barrier slab with interlacing circles and ›rotating‹ lilies (figs. 12, 13)**First half of the 9th century

Marble

113 × 224 × 9 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 2983, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1906

Historical inventory notes: »Geschenk eines Ungenannten«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 36, F. 56/1906. SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 1 and 8 November 1905

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 20, cat. no. 1733; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, pp. 14–15, cat. no. 2983.

No. 9**Chancel barrier slab with circles, palmettes, half palmettes, and crosses**9th century

Marble

64.8 × 168.5 × 5.3 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6261, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1908

Historical inventory notes: »Aus Rom 1908. *Gesch[enk] des H[errn] Gen[eral] Direktors*«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 39, F. 2169/08, 2068/08. SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letter dated 15 November 1908

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 19, cat. no. 1730; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, p. 14, cat. no. 6261.

No. 10**Chancel barrier slab with three roundels and inscribed Greek crosses from the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (figs. 14a, b; 15)**Third decade of the 9th century

Greek marble

83.5 × 181.5 × 8 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6365, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1909

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1910 Aus Rom (durch L. Pollak)«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 40, F. 1259/09, 1330/1909, 232/10.

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 15 and 29 November 1908, 16 and 31 January, 16 February, 2 May, 9 June, 12 July 1909

Exhibitions: Paderborn 1999, cat. no. IX.12; Aachen 2014, cat. no. 162

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 17, cat. no. 1728; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, pp. 13–14, cat. no. 6365; Klaus Wessel, *Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1953, p. 25, plate XI; Klaus Wessel, *Rom, Byzanz, Russland. Ein Führer durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1957, pp. 94–95, fig. 22; Günther Bröker, Thea Joksch, *Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 62, cat. no. 77; Margarete Merkel Guldan, *Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893–1934*, Vienna 1988, p. 160, note 180; Arne Effenberger, Hans-Georg Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst*, Mainz 1992, pp. 66, 206, cat. no. 118; Arne Effenberger, *Schrankenplatte mit Flechtbandkreuzen*, in: Christoph Stiegemann, Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), *799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, II, exh. cat. [Paderborn, 23.7.–1.11.1999], Mainz 1999, pp. 626–627, cat. no. IX.12; Frank Pohle (ed.), *Karl Charlemagne der Große. Orte der Macht*, exh. cat. [Aachen, Krönungssaal Rathaus, Centre Charlemagne, Dom-schatzkammer, 20.6.–21.9.2014], Dresden 2014, p. 135, cat. no. 162.

No. 11

Chancel barrier panel with interlacing circles, birds, and plant motifs (fig. 17a, b)

Middle of the 9th century

Marble

87.5 × 168 × 8 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6366, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1909

Historical inventory notes: »*Erworben 1910 Aus Rom (durch L. Pollak)*«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 40, F. 232/10, 1259/09, 1330/1909

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 15 and 29 November 1908, 16 and 31 January, 16 February, 2 May, 9 June, 12 July 1909

Exhibitions: Hildesheim 1993, cat. no. V-12; Paderborn 1999, cat. no. IX.13

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, pp. 17–19, cat. no. 1729; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, pp. 15–16, cat. no. 6366; Klaus Wessel, *Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*,

Berlin 1953, p. 27, plate XII; Klaus Wessel, *Rom, Byzanz, Russland. Ein Führer durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1957, pp. 96–97, fig. 23; Günther Bröker, Thea Joksch, *Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung*, Berlin 1964, p. 63, cat. no. 86; Letizia Pani Ermini, *La diocesi di Roma. La raccolta dei Fori imperiali (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.2)*, Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 44; Letizia Pani Ermini, *La diocesi di Roma. La IV regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.1)*, Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 67; Margarete Merkel Guldan, *Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893–1934*, Vienna 1988, p. 160, note 180; Arne Effenberger, Hans-Georg Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, pp. 66, 209, cat. no. 121; Arne Effenberger, *Schrankenplatte Kreisnetz mit Füllmotiven*, in: Michael Brandt, Arne Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, exh. cat. [Hildesheim, Dom and Diözesanmuseum, Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum], Hildesheim/Mainz 1993, II, pp. 268–269, cat. no. V-12; Arne Effenberger, *Schrankenplatte mit Medaillons in: Christoph Stiegemann, Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), 799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, exh. cat. [Paderborn, Kaiserpfalz-Museum, Diözesanmuseum, 23.7.–1.11.1999], Mainz 1999, II, pp. 627–628, cat. no. IX.13.

No. 12

Chancel barrier slab with arches on twisted columns and date palms from the ancient basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican (fig. 18)

731–741

Marble

114.5 × 66.6 × 5.6 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6588, on display in the Neues Museum, room 2.06

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1910

Historical inventory notes: »*Erworben 1910. Aus Rom (durch Dr. L. Pollak)*«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 43, F. 3211/10. SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 11 and 28 November 1910.

Exhibitions: Hildesheim 1993, cat. no. III-7; Frankfurt am Main 1994, cat. no. VII-12; Paderborn, cat. no. IX.6; Aachen 2014, cat. nos. 163–4; annheim 2017, cat. no. B. 1.4.6.

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*. Zweite Auflage. *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, Teil II: *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, Berlin 1911, p. 127, cat. no. 2221; Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums. Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*. Zweite Auflage, Berlin/Leipzig 1930, pp. 7–8, cat. no. 6588; Rudolph Kautzsch, *Die römische Schmuckkunst im Stein vom VI. bis zum X. Jahrhundert*, in: *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte III*, 1939, pp. 3–73: 54–55, fig. 85; John B. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and Its Twelve Spiral Columns*, in: *Journal of Roman Studies XLII*, 1952, pp. 21–33; Alejandro Marcos, *Consideraciones en*

torno al aspecto del presbiterio realizado de la Basílica de San Pedro in Vaticano, in: Cuadernos de trabajos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma IX, 1957, pp. 145–165: 156–159, figs. 11–12; Günther Bröker, Thea Joksch, Wegleitung durch die Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung, Berlin 1964, p. 63, cat. no. 90; Letizia Pani Ermini, La diocesi di Roma. La raccolta dei Fori imperiali (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.2), Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 28, notes 40–41; Letizia Pani Ermini, La diocesi di Roma. La IV regione ecclesiastica (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, vol. VII.1), Spoleto/Perugia 1974, p. 96, notes 6–7; Eugenio Russo, La recinzione del presbiterio di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal VI all' VIII secolo in: Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia LV-LVI, 1982/1984, 1985, pp. 3–33: 26–28, figs. 16–17; Achim Arbeiter, Alt-Sankt Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft. Abfolge der Bauten, Rekonstruktion, Architekturprogramm, Berlin 1988, p. 175; Margarete Merkel Guldan, Die Tagebücher von Ludwig Pollak. Kennerschaft und Kunsthandel in Rom 1893–1934, Vienna 1988, p. 160, note 80; Arne Effenberger, Hans-Georg Severin, Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Mainz am Rhein 1992, pp. 66, 205, cat. no. 117, fig. 70; Arne Effenberger, Fragmente einer Schrankenplatte: Palmen unter Arkaden in: Michael Brandt, Arne Eggebrecht (eds.), Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen, exh. cat. [Dom- und Diözesanmuseum; Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum], Hildesheim/Mainz 1993, II, pp. 121–123, cat. no. III-7; Bettina Güdelhöfer, Schrankenplatte aus St. Peter, in: Johannes Fried et al. (eds.), 794 – Karl der Große in Frankfurt am Main. Ein König bei der Arbeit, exh. cat. [Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum, 18.5.–28.8.1994], Siegmaringen 1994, p. 150, cat. no. VII-12; Arne Effenberger, Fragment einer Schrankenplatte, Palmen unter Arkaden in: C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff (eds.), 799 – Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn, II, exh. cat., [Paderborn, Kaiserpfalz-Museum, Diözesanmuseum, 23.7.–1.11.1999], Mainz 1999, pp. 617–619, cat. no. IX.6; Antonella Ballardini, Scultura per l'arredo liturgico nella Roma di Pasquale I: tra modelli paleocristiani e Flechtwerk, in: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (ed.), Medioevo: arte e storia. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 18.–22.09.2007, Milan 2009, pp. 233–235, figs. 25–26; Antonella Ballardini, Scultura a Roma: standards qualitativi e committenza. L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto, in: Valentino Pace (ed.), Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli/Udine, 4.–7.12.2008, Cividale del Friuli 2010, pp. 145, 387, fig. 179; Frank Pohle (ed.), Karl Charlemagne der Große. Orte der Macht, exh. cat., [Aachen, Krönungssaal Rathaus, Centre Charlemagne, Domschatzkammer, 20.6.–21.9.2014], Dresden 2014, p. 136, cat. nos. 163–4; Irmgard Siede, Schrankenplatte, in: Alfried Wiczorek, Stefan Weinfurter (eds.), Die Päpste und die Einheit der lateinischen Welt. Antike – Mittelalter – Renaissance, exh. cat. [Mannheim, Museum Zeughaus, 21.5.–31.10.2017], Darmstadt 2017, p. 193, cat. no. B. 1.4.6.

No. 13**Byzantine pluteus with roundels and crosses pattées (fig. 20)**6th century

Greek marble

105 × 159 cm

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6598, Bode Museum storage facilities

Provenance: acquired in Rome in 1910

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1910. Anonymes Geschenk«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS-40, F. 465/10, 1888/10; I/SKS 42, F. 2119/10.

SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 24 January and 3 February 1910

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Zweite Auflage. Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke, Teil II: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke, Berlin 1911, p. 3, cat. no. 2236; Rudolph Kautzsch, Die römische Schmuckkunst im Stein vom VI. bis zum X. Jahrhundert, in: Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte III, 1939, p. 51, note 85.

No. 14**Byzantine capital with acanthus and laurel leaves, palmettes, Latin crosses, and a monogram (fig. 21a, b)**Second half of the 6th century

Greek marble

71 × 90 × 82 (upper part)/60 cm (lower part)

Current location: SMB-Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 6666, on display in the Bode Museum, room 114

Provenance: acquired in Adria in 1911

Historical inventory notes: »Erworben 1911(in Adria durch Pollak) Aus Ravenna. Gesch[enk] v[on] Mr. Langton Douglas«

Archival documentation: SMB-ZA, I/SKS 44, F. 1816/11, 2074/11 (includes a letter from Pollak to Bode, dated 12 July 1911); I/SKS 45, F. 1631/12 (includes a letter from Pollak to Bode, dated 24 August 1911). SMB-ZA/IV_Nachlass Bode 4215, letters dated 24 April, 9 May, 7 August, and 17 December 1911

Exhibitions: Munich 2004, cat. no. 84

Bibliography: Oskar Wulff, Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. Dritte Auflage. Die Altchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Byzantinischen und Italienischen Bildwerke, Berlin/Leipzig 1923, p. 7, cat. no. 6666; Rudolph Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom Vierten bis ins Siebente Jahrhundert, in: Studien zur Spätantike Kunstgeschichte IX, 1936, p. 199, note 2, p. 257, cat. no. 664; Helmut Schlunk, Literaturbericht zu Rudolph Kautzsch, Kapitellenstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte VI, 1937,

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Credits

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