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TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN CHURCH DECORATION IN ROME AND CERI AROUND 1100

This study derives largely from my master's thesis on 'The Frescoes in the lower Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome' (unpublished, Munich 1987) and from my doctoral thesis on 'The Medieval Frescoes in S. Maria Immacolata in Ceri' (unpublished, Bern 1992; to be published in 1996). Most of the research for my dissertation was done during my term as a research assistant in the photo archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. I would like to thank Christoph L. Frommel, Matthias Winner and the staff of the Bibliotheca Hertziana for all their vari-

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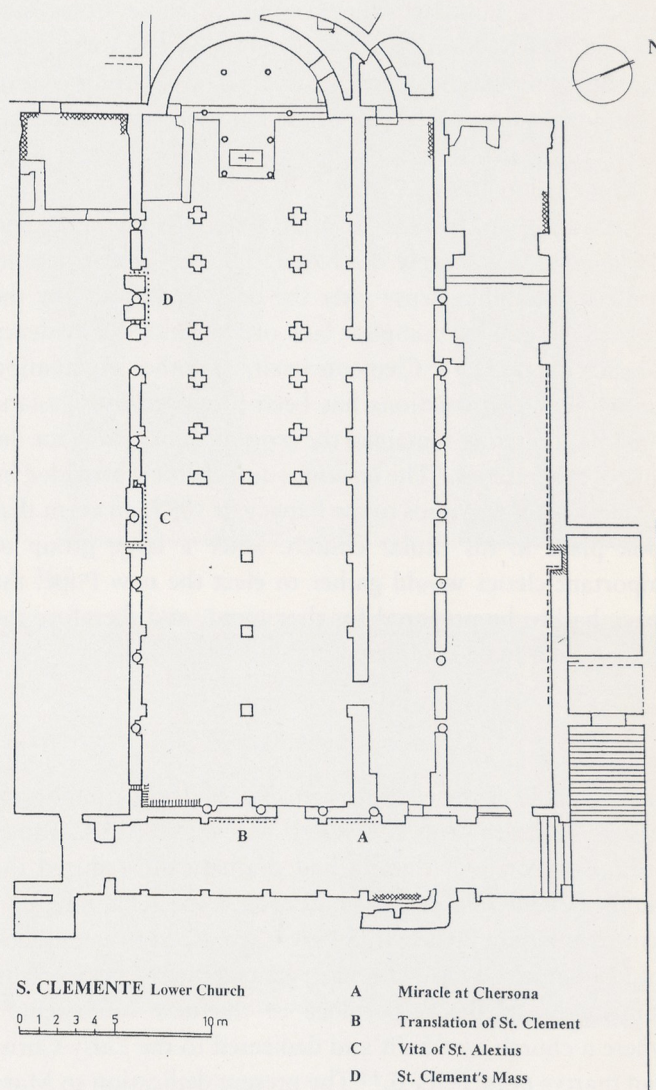
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Introduction

The subject of this study is tradition and innovation in the programs of two church decorations in and near Rome. The first of these is in the lower church of S. Clemente, located between the Colosseum and the Lateran, which preserves four piers which were frescoed with scenes of the lives of saints between 1088 and 1099.¹ The second is found in S. M. Immacolata in Ceri, ca. 35 km north of Rome, near the Via Aurelia.² During a restoration campaign of this church in 1974, mural paintings were discovered on the right nave wall.³ These paintings in Ceri were executed around 1100 by the same workshop that worked at S. Clemente.⁴ In the Roman church, narrative scenes with lives of saints were placed above socle decorations. At Ceri, an Old Testament cycle is placed above single scenes of saints, either narrative or iconic. Though at first glance these decorated schemes do not seem to be connected in terms of iconography, they are good examples of church decoration during the Reform Papacy. Further, iconographic analysis reveals that these programs are informed by the same spirit and by the similar intentions of their patrons, who were committed members of the Reform Party in Rome; moreover, in some cases both ensembles look back to traditional Early Christian subjects, while in others they introduce striking iconographic innovations.

Focusing on iconographic questions, this study will exclude style. The results of the iconographic study, however, contribute a strong argument for the dating of the Ceri frescoes, which, because written documents are missing, has been based mainly on style. In addition to the dating of Ceri, the *terminus post quem* of the S. Clemente frescoes can also be clarified through this iconographic study.

- 1 J. B. Lloyd, *The medieval church and canonry of S. Clemente in Rome*, Rome 1989; eadem, 'The building history of the Medieval Church of S. Clemente in Rome,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 45 (1986), 197–223; H. Toubert, 'Rome et le Mont Cassin. Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint Clément de Rome,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 30 (1976), 1–33.
- 2 A. Cadei, 'S. Maria Immacolata di Ceri e i suoi affreschi medievali,' *Storia dell'Arte*, 44 (1982), 13–29, and H. Toubert, 'Peinture murale romane. Les découvertes des dix dernières années. Fresques nouvelles, vieux problèmes, nouvelles questions,' *Arte Medievale*, 3 (1987), 127–160; N. M. Zchomelidse, 'Die mittelalterlichen Fresken in S. Maria dell'Immacolata Concezione in Ceri bei Rom', unpublished Diss., Bern 1992.
- 3 *L'Osservatore Romano*, 23/24 September 1974.
- 4 See Zchomelidse (as note 2) 1992, 57–64, 74.



1. Rome, S. Clemente, Lower basilica, plan

Historical Overview

1. S. Clemente in Rome

S. Clemente was the titular church of the Cardinal priest Ranerius, who was elected Pope Paschal II in 1099. Ranerius was a friend of Gregory VII and Urban II, both on the side of the moderate reformers at the time of the Investiture Controversy;⁵ and, until his death in 1118, he asserted the

- 5 Lloyd 1989 (as note 1) p. 54 with Bibliography; C. Servatius, *Paschalis II. (1099–1118). Studien zu seiner Person und seiner Politik*, Stuttgart 1979.

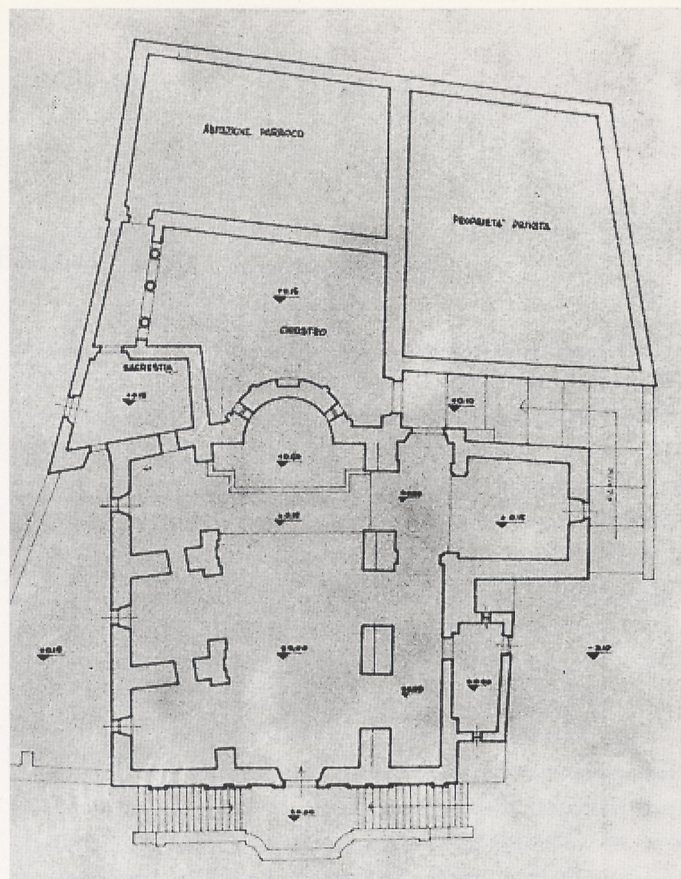
primacy of the popes against the German emperors and supported the attempts at internal reform of the Roman Church.

A three-aisled basilica with apse and narthex (fig. 1),⁶ S. Clemente is decorated with frescoes showing the legends of St. Alexius and St. Clement, placed on piers that were erected in the main nave and the narthex later than the main fabric of the building. The location of these frescoes is unusual. The new wall space was interpreted as a structural element, and its construction date gives a *terminus post quem* for the date of the paintings. The piers have been connected to the invasion of the Normans in Rome under Robert Guiscard in 1084.⁷

According to reports of that time, the area around S. Clemente was largely destroyed. The new constructions inside would make sense after the damage suffered by the church. Despite the complete lack of archeological evidence for such damage to S. Clemente itself,⁸ no other explanation for the new constructions has been proposed by scholars. 1084 has therefore remained the *terminus post quem* for the date of the frescoes.⁹ The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the election of Ranerius to the Papacy in 1099, an event that took place in his titular church. Since a large group of important clerics would gather to elect the new Pope, the space had to be prepared for that event, and therefore the frescoes had to be completed.¹⁰

2. S. Maria Immacolata in Ceri

In the middle of the eleventh century, the former important diocese of Caere vetus (Cerveteri) was sold to the Cardinal Bishop of Porto.¹¹ Malaria had dramatically reduced the number of inhabitants and had caused the remaining citizens to abandon the town. A new Caere (Ceri) was founded four kilometers away. The strategic position of the location contributed to the importance of the new settlement,¹² where a church was built and dedicated to the Early Christian martyr-pope Felix II.¹³ The present dedication to Mary dates only to 1854.



2. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata, plan after Cadei, *Storia dell'Arte*, 44 (1982), fig. 2

The frescoes found in the middle nave of the church in Ceri were first dated by Cadei and Toubert between 1170 and 1180 (fig. 2).¹⁴ Though both scholars recognized similarities to the paintings in S. Clemente, they thought they were separated in time by about eighty years. A stylistic study of both decorations instead proves that they not only date from the same period, but they were also executed by the same workshop.¹⁵ This is proved by the similarities of the garments, the architectural backgrounds and the colors: in addition, the style of the *tituli* in both cycles is identical, as are the ornamental friezes that form a frame for each panel. My new proposed date for the Ceri frescoes is 1100 to 1130.¹⁶

6 F. Guidobaldi, *Il complesso archeologico di San Clemente*, Rome 1978; Lloyd 1989 (as note 1), 113–118; R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 1, Vatican City, 1937, 118–136.

7 Lloyd 1989 (as note 1), 56.

8 *Ibid.*, 56: 'It must be admitted, however, that there are no traces of fire in the lower basilica.'

9 *Ibid.*, 56–57, n. 17. Lloyd suggests that an earthquake was the reason for the restoration campaign, such as the earthquake in 1091 which necessitated the renovation of S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere.

10 *Ibid.*, 59.

11 G. Cappeletti, *Le chiese d'Italia. Dalla loro origine ai nostri giorni*, 1, Venice 1844, 549.

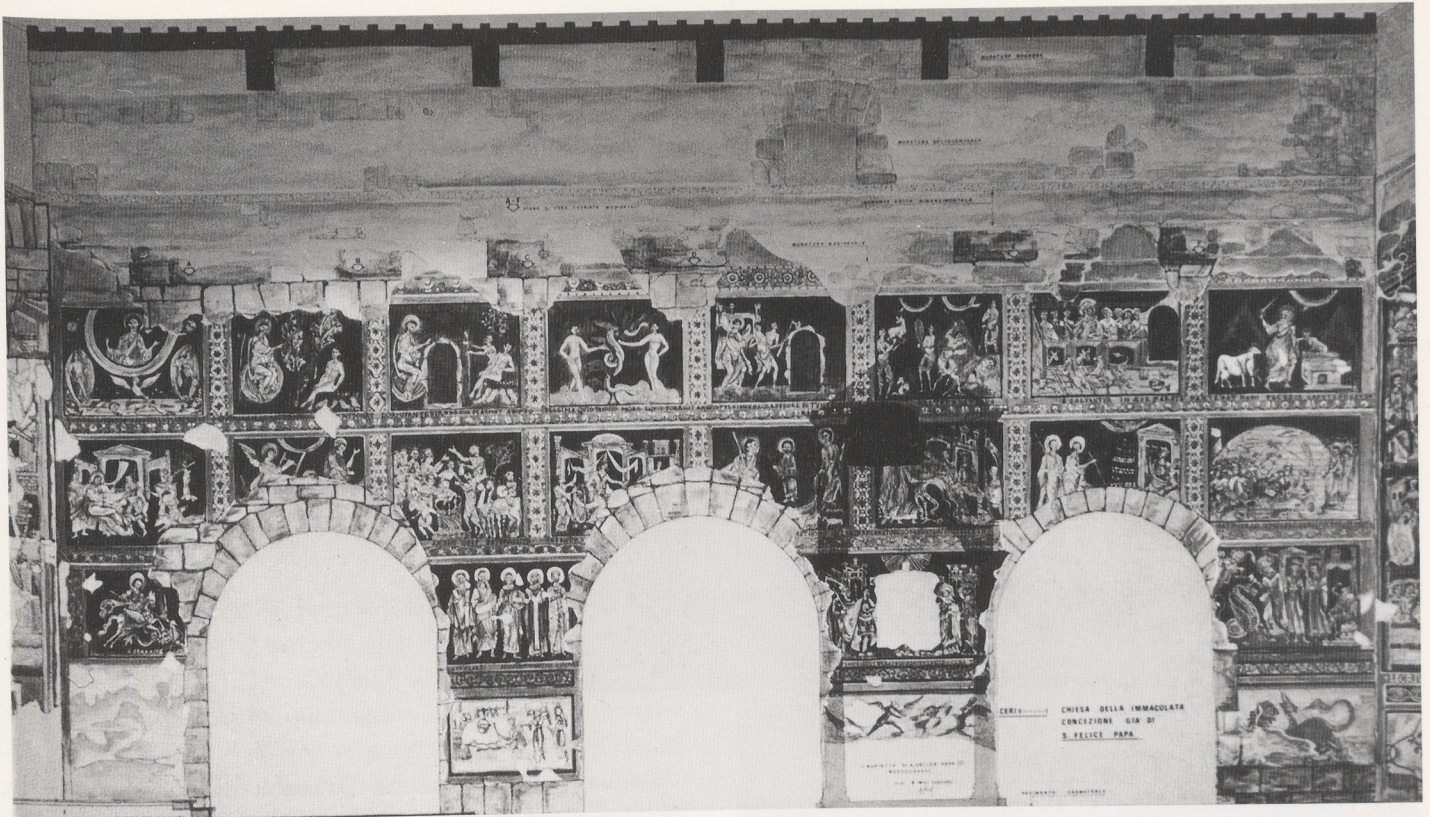
12 G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana*, (new edition by L. Chiumenti and F. Bilancia) 1979, 631.

13 No written source proves the dedication to Felix II before 1484. A reliquary altar for the head relic of Felix II was installed in front of the right nave wall in 1484: 'CORPVS DIVI FELICIS: RO: PP II MCCCCLXXXIII'.

14 A. Cadei (as note 2), 13–29; Toubert (as note 2), 3, 1987, 130.

15 Zchomelidse (as note 2), 57–74.

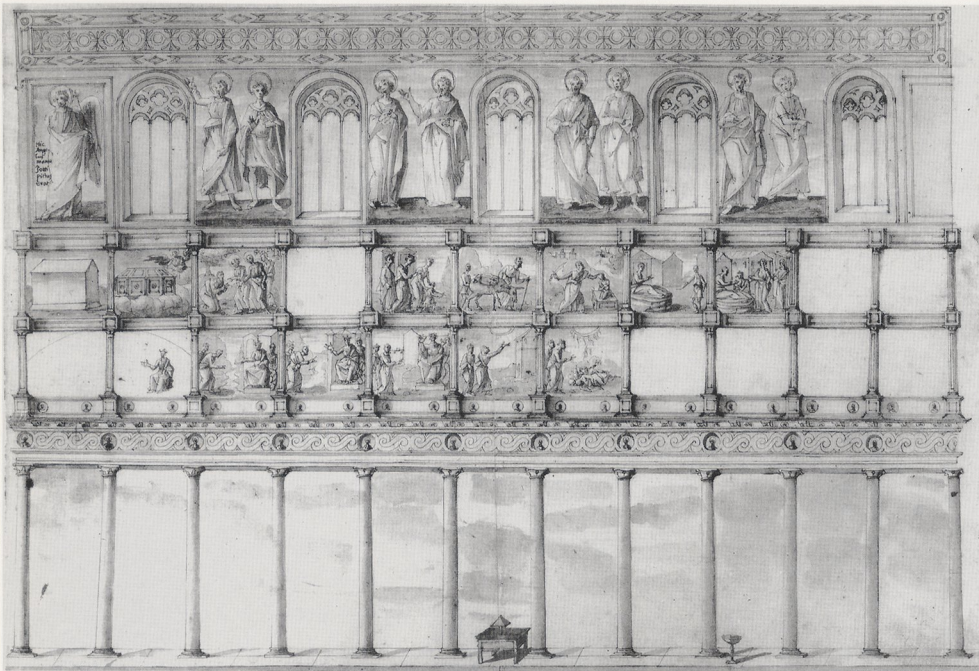
16 H. L. Kessler, 'Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum': Old St. Peter's and church decoration in medieval Latium,' in: W. Tronzo (ed.) *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Bologna 1989, 119–146. In his article (p. 129) Kessler connects the Ceri frescoes with the S. Clemente workshop too, but dated them earlier 'around the turn of the twelfth century'.



3. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata, right nave wall and corners. Drawing: Arch. B. Meli



4. Jean Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, drawing of the right nave wall of S. Paolo fuori le mura. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 9843, fol. 4r



5. Domenico Tasselli, *Album of S. Pietro*, drawing of the right nave wall of S. Pietro. *Biblioteca Vaticana*, Cod. A 64, ter, fol. 13r

The Iconographic Programs

At first glance, the decorative programs at Rome and Ceri seem to differ significantly. At S. Clemente, four large piers are decorated with paintings; at Ceri, the complete decoration of one nave wall and fragments from inside the inner entry wall and the apse wall are all that remain. The main subjects of the Roman church frescoes are scenes from the lives of St. Alexis and St. Clement. In Ceri an Old Testament cycle is followed by a third register with scenes of saints; on the entry wall is a Last Judgment (fig. 3). In both churches, the lower zones contain genre scenes or demonic subjects that differ in style from the other parts of the decoration.

1. The Old Testament Cycle at Ceri

The iconography of the Old Testament cycle at Ceri goes back to that of St. Peter's and St. Paul's in Rome.¹⁷ The Early Christian decorations are preserved in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies. The drawings in Barberini Codex 4406¹⁸ and a drawing of Jean Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt¹⁹ give a good overview of the original decoration of Old St. Paul's (fig. 4). For Old St. Peter's we have only a writ-

ten description by Giacomo Grimaldi and a watercolor by Domenico Tasselli from 1605 (fig. 5).²⁰

The walls of St. Peter's and St. Paul's were both covered with two rows of Old and New Testament scenes. Below these, medallions of popes complete the decoration of the nave walls. Because the parish church at Ceri differs greatly in size from the Roman apostolic churches, the Old Testament cycle there contains far fewer scenes. From 44 in St. Peter's and 42 scenes in St. Paul's, 25 scenes condensed into 16 images are represented at Ceri.

A few examples demonstrate the similarities and distinctions between the two apostolic churches and Ceri. At St. Paul's, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel spans two images (fig. 6). In Ceri, with less wall space, the three episodes of sacrifice, murder and God's address to Cain are condensed into one image (fig. 7). The iconographic dependence is obvious. The scene of Jacob and the ladder and the consecration of the stone in Bethel are conflated into one image at St. Paul's, as at Ceri (figs. 8, 9). The same is true for the temptation of Joseph in the two churches: the images are almost identical, except for the addition of the female servant at Ceri (figs. 10, 11).

Despite the many similarities between Ceri and St. Paul's, the Roman church cannot be considered the primary model for Ceri. The cycle in the apostolic church ends with the Killing of the Firstborn Sons in Egypt, whereas in Ceri the final image is the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Drowning of the Pharaoh and his Troops in the Waters (fig. 12). That was

17 *Ibid.*, 119–146, and idem, 'L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per la decorazione delle chiese medievali,' in: *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano* (Exhibition catalogue), Rome 1990, 45–64.

18 S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Wandmalereien in Rom*, Vienna and Munich 1964, 56 ff.

19 BAV, Vat. lat. 9843, fol. 4r. Waetzoldt, *ibid.*, 61, no. 670, fig. 408.

20 G. Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Bibl. Vat. barb. lat. 2733*, ed. R. Niggel, Vatican City 1972, 140.



6. *Story of Cain and Abel, drawing after the right nave wall of S. Paolo fuori le mura. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fols. 31, 32*



also the final scene at St. Peter's. Some other scenes missing in St. Paul's are found at Ceri, such as the animals entering Noah's ark (fig. 13). The Grimaldi description of St. Peter's referred to that scene by quoting the *titulus: animalia ingrediuntur in arcam*.²¹ While reconstruction of the original program of St. Peter's is more difficult than that of St. Paul's, there is good reason to believe that St. Peter's was the model for the Old Testament cycle at Ceri, which copied its distinguished Roman prototype without making any meaningful changes.²² In addition, by pure chance or not, S. Maria Immacolata in Ceri was oriented toward the west, as was St. Peter's.

In copying the program of the funerary church of the prince of the apostles and the first bishop of Rome, the patron of Ceri followed a Roman tradition. The prominence and the high rank of St. Peter's stood behind this choice. St. Paul's was the first copy of St. Peter's, and in it the decoration was already reduced, with certain elements eliminated from the program.

Both apostolic basilicas were highly venerated during the twelfth century in the area of Rome, and Ceri is only the oldest known copy of St. Peter's among a group of other churches in the area.²³ The importance of St. Peter's as a model for church decoration in Rome and Lazio cannot be overestimated.

21 Grimaldi, *ibid.*, 140; Kessler (as note 16), 125, n. 32.

22 'But the essential agreement of the two compositions is certain and points clearly to a common source in St. Peter's.' Kessler 1989 (as note 16), 130; idem 1990 (as note 17), 45–64; see here p. 55: '... non lasciano dubbi su quale chiesa (St. Peter's) sia stata il modello principale per il ciclo di Ceri'.

23 Kessler 1989 (as note 16), 126, n. 36. lists all medieval copies of St. Peter's. In some of his articles he focuses on medieval copies of St. Peter's and the role of this church as a model. In his studies he differentiates carefully between the two apostolic basilicas St. Peter's and St. Paul's.



7. *Story of Cain and Abel. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata*

2. The Last Judgment

Another traditional element of the program at Ceri is the Last Judgment (fig. 14). Only a narrow fragment inside the inner entry wall has survived to permit identification of the subject.

Until the discovery of the Ceri frescoes, the Last Judgment panel in the Vatican Museum was regarded as the earliest example of this theme in Rome.²⁴ The other represen-

24 Vatican Museums, Inv. No. 526 (520); F. W. Volbach, *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana*, 1, Vatican City 1979, cat. no. 3, 17–21; D. Redig de Campos, 'Sopra una tavola sconosciuta del secolo undicesimo rappresentante il Giudizio Universale,' *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 9 (1935), 139–156; idem, 'Eine unbekannte Darstellung des Jüngsten Gerichts aus dem 11. Jahrhundert,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 5 (1936), 124–133.



8. *Jacob scenes. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata*



9. *Jacob scenes, drawing after the right nave wall of S. Paolo fuori le mura. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 40*



10. *Temptation of Joseph, drawing after the right nave wall of S. Paolo fuori le mura. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 46*

tations are later: S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, Chapel of St. Silvester in Ss. Quattro Coronati, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Maria in Vescovio. All the Roman monuments share several features: a composition divided into registers; angels who play the tuba; an altar with the Passion instruments; the unrolling of the sky, with Christ sitting on a throne; and the Virgin Mary as Intercessor. One can assume a common model for all of these features in Early Christian Rome. Except for the chapel in Ss. Quattro Coronati all of the churches with Last Judgment scenes copy Old St. Peter's, but nothing is known about this Roman 'Urbild' of the Last Judgment. There is no documentary evidence for such a scene at Old St. Peter's, although in the sixteenth century Panvinio mentions one in the Lateran church.²⁵ The fragment at Ceri supports the likelihood of such a model in Early Christian Rome.

25 'Frons basilicae intus tota pictoris antiquis et parum elegantibus ornata est, christi scilicet servatoribus novissimo die humanum genus iudicantis.' Cod. Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 315. See also W. Paeseler, 'Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatikan. Ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes in der römischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts,' *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 2 (1938), 313-393, 319. The source is problematic, since the Lateran was completely restored under Pope Nicholas IV. The restoration is mentioned in the apse inscription: 'Posteriorem et anteriorem ruinosas huius sancti templi a fundamentis reedificari fecit et ornari opere mosayco'.

11. *Temptation of Joseph.*
Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata



12. *The Drowning of the Pharaoh.*
Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata



Within the group of Roman Last Judgments the Vatican Panel, a monumental roundel with a predella found in 1935 in the church of S. Maria in Campo Marzio and measuring 288 x 242 cm (64 x 139 cm for the predella), is an exception

(fig. 15); the composition is divided into five horizontal registers. Each register is underlined by a *titulus* related to the picture above, or by a dedicatory inscription or signature.



13. *Animals Entering
Noah's Ark.*
Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata

The Last Judgment is a rare subject for panel painting in Roman art of the twelfth-thirteenth century. The panel contains both Western and Byzantine elements. Byzantine elements like the rolling out of the sky, the angels playing tubas, the sea- and land monsters vomiting human bones and body parts are combined with western motifs such as the altar with the Passion instruments and the acts of charity.

The most unusual detail of the Vatican panel is the representation of three acts of charity. These are the same as in the Ceri frescoes (fig. 16). The three acts of charity go back to a western tradition, in Rome found in the context of a Last Judgment only at Ceri and on the Vatican Panel.

The combination of acts of charity and mercy is based on Matthew 25: 34–37, where six acts of charity have to be fulfilled in order to be admitted to paradise. Three of those are depicted in Ceri and on the Vatican Panel: feeding the sick, clothing the naked, and visiting prisoners. Because a large part of the fresco is missing, no further speculation about a complete version of the acts of charity in Ceri can be made.

Charity is a central argument in theological discussion within the Gregorian Reform Movement. Desiderius of Montecassino,²⁶ Petrus Damiani²⁷ and Bruno of Segni were

most interested in this subject. In his Exodus commentary Bruno of Segni regards the fulfillment of God's will as the best nutrition for the soul.²⁸ God's will consists of all kinds of charity; he lists examples such as almsgiving, clothing the naked, and other acts of piety. The acts of charity are also central to Bruno's commentary on the Confessors, in which he relates them to the Last Judgment.²⁹

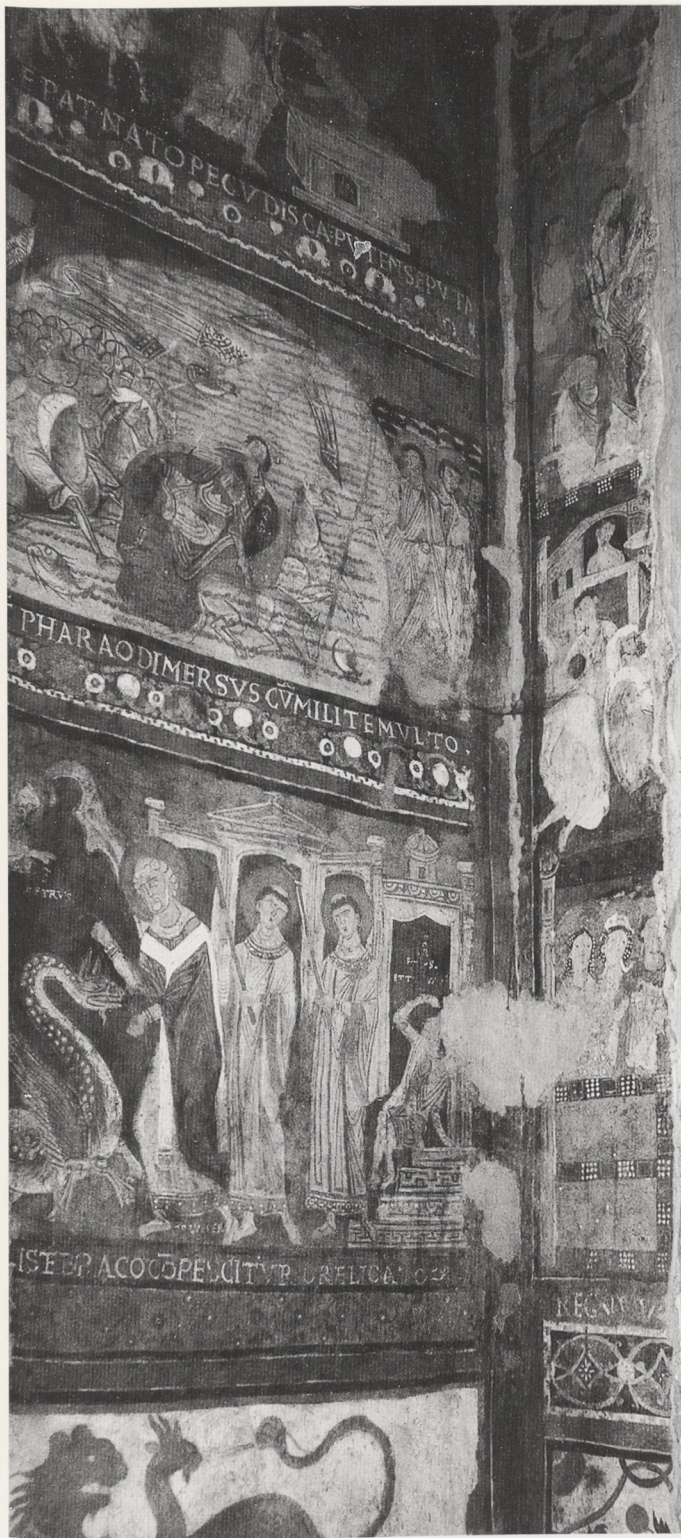
If at the end of the eleventh century acts of charity became an important subject of discussion within Reform theology in Italy, immediately thereafter the theme was translated into art, as seen at Ceri. The Ceri Last Judgment contains traditional Roman elements, such as its composi-

26 A. Moppert-Schmidt, *Die Fresken von S. Angelo in Formis*, Zurich 1967, 106–107. Moppert-Schmidt considers the program of the nave decoration in S. Angelo in Formis as a 'Vorstufe zur Darstellung der eigentlichen Taten der Barmherzigkeit...'

27 Petrus Damiani considers the giving of welfare as a *conditio sine qua non* for the relationship among human beings. Such a relationship would please the Lord. See V. Poletti, 'Prospettive del pensiero morale di S. Pier Damiano,' *Studi su San Pier Damiano in onore del Cardinale Amleto Giovanni Cicognani*, Faenza 1961, 116.

28 D. R. Grégoire, *Bruno de Segni. Exégète médiéval e théologien monastique*, Spoleto 1965, 228; Bruno von Segni: *Expositio in Exodum* after PL 164, 258 CD.

29 Bruno of Segni: *Sententiae* Lib. VI, Caput II, De Confessoribus. Sermo I. PL 165, 1049 D – 1050 A.: 'Sed nullius montis habitatores tantam in iudicio gloriam habebunt, quantam qui habitaverint in monte Oliveti, in monte misericordiae et pacis, in monte charitatis et pietatis; pax enim, pietas, misericordia et charitas pene idem significare videntur. Et vide modo quid in iudicio dicturus sit Dominus: 'Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum (Mt 25, 34).' Quare? 'Quia esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitiivi, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes fui, et collegistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me; nudus, et cooperuistis me; et in carcere fui, et venistis ad me (ibid 35 et seq.)'



14. Last Judgment. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata

tion in registers of apostles and angels (and the holy Virgins) but it also includes for the first time the depiction of acts of charity, based on the recently formulated theological discussion.³⁰ The patron of this Last Judgment must have been familiar with these recent discussions.



15. Last Judgment (formerly S. Maria in Campo Marzio). Rome, Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca

3. The Introduction of New Saints in the Roman Area

At S. Clemente in Rome, additional wall space was created in order to expand the space available for the program. Each new pier was divided into three sections, with the most important subjects placed at the top. The *Maiestas Domini* and Enthronement of St. Clement are in the highest zones; narrative scenes of saints are in the center; and genre scenes are at the bottom.

The narrow sides of the piers in the central nave are also decorated, but previous scholarship on the frescoes of S. Clemente has not studied these sides critically. They feature St. Gilles and St. Blaise, saints who did not have a well-established cult in Rome in the eleventh century. The figure

30 B. Kühnel, 'The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter,' in: *Tesserae. Festschrift für Josef Engemann*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 18, Münster 1991, 340–357. The ivory book cover of the Codex Egerton 1139 shows King David fulfilling all the six acts of mercy. The Psalter was made for Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem between 1131 and 1144. Kühnel (p. 348) regarded the ivory as the 'earliest and most consistent representation of the deeds of mercy known in Christian art.'



16. Last Judgment, detail. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata

of St. Nicholas in the *Maiestas Domini* is symmetrically paired with the patron saint of the church, St. Clement. Nicholas can be identified by his inscription, which combines the Greek letters *kappa* and *omega* with Latin letters (fig. 17). The Greek writing helps to identify the saint, since there is a different Nicholas represented with a Latin inscription in the Translation of the Relics of St. Clement.³¹

St. Nicholas of Myra is a saint venerated mainly in the East. His cult was established in Rome through Greek monks in the sixth and seventh century.³² The French Pope Urban II (1088–1099) was a strong supporter of the Nicholas cult both in Rome³³ and in Bari, to which the relics of Nicholas had been translated in 1087.³⁴ In Bari, he dedicated the altar with the relics of St. Nicholas in the basilica of S. Nicola,³⁵ and a council he convened met in the crypt

of the church.³⁶ Nicholas was the pope's favorite saint. Paschal II and Calixtus II followed Urban in popularizing the cult of this saint.³⁷ Petrus Damiani, the important reform monk, is said to have placed St. Nicholas immediately after the Virgin Mary in his prayers.³⁸

St. Gilles and St. Blaise are venerated mainly in France. One of the most important stations on the pilgrimage route to Compostela was St. Gilles du Gard in the south of France. Urban II visited St. Gilles twice, dedicating an altar and renewing the position of the abbey under the immediate

31 The *titulus* under the fresco mentions a pope 'NICOLAVS' but the lettering of this inscription is Latin.

32 A Greek colony existed in Rome between the Palatine hill and the Tiber port. From 642 to 752, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, nine popes from the East were raised to the papal throne. This explains the growing number of saints from the East whose cults were established in Rome. The Greek colony had their own churches, such as S. Maria in Cosmedin (schola greca), S. Anastasio, S. Giorgio in Velabro, and their own monasteries, such as S. Erasmo, S. Andrea, S. Stephan and Silvester, S. Maria in Campo Marzio. K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande*, Düsseldorf 1931, 54; *San Nicola di Bari e la sua Basilica. Culto, arte, tradizione*, (Giorgio Otranto, ed.), Milan 1987.

33 He raised the status of S. Nicola in Carcere to that of a titular church, in order to honor the Pierleoni family. The Pope had found refuge from his opponents in their property and would die in one of their houses on the Isola Tiberina. S. Nicola is located in the neighborhood of the Pierleoni family and was the family's church. Like the Pierleoni protected Urban II, St. Nicholas was regarded as the protector of the Pierleoni family. M. Stroll, *Symbols as Power. The Papacy following the Investiture Contest*, Leiden 1991, 102.

34 The first written documentation of the translation was that of the Benedictine monk Nicephorus of Bari. He describes that event shortly after 1087 and before 1089. With the translation of the relics the cult of Nicholas became more popular. In June 1087 Roger donated a courtyard of the Katapan palace to Archbishop Urso. Connected with that donation was the permission to build a new church in honor of St. Nicholas. Meisen (as note 32), 94; see also on the translation P. Corsi, 'La traslazione delle reliquie,' in: *San Nicola a Bari e la sua Basilica*, Milan 1987, 37–48.

35 G. Cioffari, 'Dalle Origini a Bona Sforza,' in: *San Nicola a Bari e la sua Basilica*, Milan 1987, 140–173, see 140.

36 *Ibid.*, 142.

37 In 1105 Pope Paschal II declared the date of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas as an event of highest importance, and the church of S. Nicola in Bari received special protection from the Roman church. During the reign of Calixtus II, S. Nicola is listed among the main churches in Rome in papal documents such as in the 15th canon of the Lateran council of 1123. Meisen (as note 32), 99. After the end of the Investiture Controversy Calixtus II built an oratorium 'S. Nicolai' in the Lateran. An inscription with the text of the 'Wormser Konkordat' was fixed to the wall of the adjacent *cubiculum*, which clearly connected this saint to the Reform Movement. I. Herklotz, 'Die Beratungsräume Calixtus II. im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken. Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturstreits,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 52 (1989), 192–193.

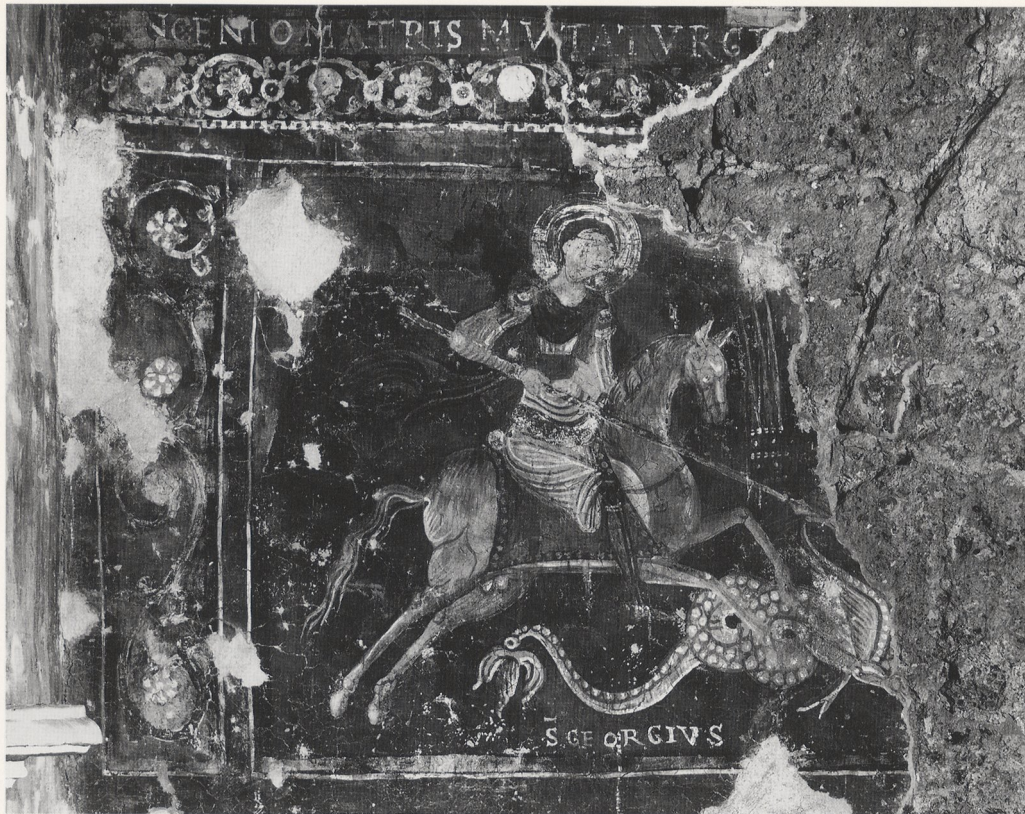
38 G. Zimmermann, 'Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel im Mittelalter dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem alten Bistum Würzburg,' *Würzburger Diözesan- Geschichtsblätter* (1958), 26.

17. *Maiestas Domini*.
Rome, S. Clemente,
lower basilica



18. *Five Standing Saints*. Ceri,
S. Maria
Immacolata





19. St. George
Killing the Dragon.
Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata

authority and protection of the Roman church.³⁹ In Berzé-la-Ville, near Cluny, a cycle of the life of St. Blaise is placed in the apse of the church.⁴⁰

The presence at S. Clemente of two saints so prominently venerated in France suggests a strong French influence on the Roman church. Pope Urban II was a prior at Cluny before his election and may have inaugurated the cult of some saints from his home country in Rome. Further, his personal influence on the decoration at S. Clemente has been evidenced from his support of the Nicholas cult. Given the prominence of these saints in S. Clemente, the frescoes in the lower church cannot have been done before 1088, when

Urban was raised to the papal throne. Thus the generally accepted date of post-1084 for these paintings is therefore not far off the mark – and not only because of the date of Robert Guiscard's invasion of Rome. Another reason for the construction of additional wall space at S. Clemente is more probable. The additional piers were erected after 1088 to accommodate the need for new painted decoration. This campaign was a product of the new ideas developed within the Gregorian Reform movement. At Ceri, the piers existed already and could be used according to the desires of the patron.

New saints appear also at Ceri. The third register below the Old Testament cycle contains St. George Killing the Dragon, Five Standing Saints, the Crucifixion of St. Andrew, and the Binding of the Dragon's Mouth from the legend of St. Silvester.

The panel of the Five Standing Saints (fig. 18) includes the French St. Leonard. His *vita* dates only from the eleventh century⁴¹ and his cult became popular first in France, then all over Europe;⁴² his church in Noblat is one of the most

39 C. Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Facade of Saint Gilles-du-Gard*, New York/London 1977. The monastery in France and the papacy had a close relationship during the time of the Investiture Controversy. Urban's II visits were extremely long, over one week and over one month. In 1118 Pope Gelasius II sought refuge in St. Gilles and so did Innocent II in 1130. Ferguson p. 13; K. Köster, 'Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostrassen. Saint-Léonard. Rocamadour. Saint Gilles. Santiago de Compostela', *Ausgrabungen in Schleswig, Berichte und Studien*, 2 (1983), 89–98.

40 In the priory church of Berzé-la-Ville near Cluny a cycle of the life of St. Blaise is painted in the apse. The style of the frescoes is similar to the wall paintings in the Oratory of S. Pudenziana in Rome. Artistic exchange between Cluny and Rome was a common practice. J. Wettstein, *La fresque romane. Italie, France, Espagne. Etudes comparatives*, Ginevra 1971; C. di Matteo, 'Les peintures murales,' *Monuments historiques de la France*, 114 (1981), 84–96, esp. 84–86.

41 *Vita Sanctissimi Leonardi*, Paris B.N., ms. lat. 5134, fols. 38–41, ed. Arbellot, (Abbé): *Vie de Saint Léonard, Solitaire en Limousin*, Paris 1863, 277–289.

42 *Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat: Un culte, une ville, un canton*. Cahiers de l'Inventaire 13, Limoges 1988, 12. Through Benedictine monasteries the Leonard cult spread over France, Germany, England, Austria and Italy. Over 50 European libraries contained the *vita* of the saint.

important stations on the pilgrimage road to Compostela.⁴³ In Rome, Leonard's name is found in calendars only after the beginning of the twelfth century,⁴⁴ and the frescoes at Ceri include the earliest known depiction of the saint in Italy.⁴⁵ Once again, a French saint is introduced into Rome under Urban II. St. Nicholas is depicted in the same iconic panel and here, too, as at S. Clemente, the inscription uses both Greek and Latin lettering.

The dragon slayer, St. George, is a new subject (fig. 19); no representations are known before the twelfth century. Legends of this saint's life concentrated on detailed descriptions of his martyrdom, and only the martyrdom or the standing saint were represented.⁴⁶ Through stories about miracles he performed during the crusades, George became popular in the West in the eleventh and twelfth century.⁴⁷ Before the twelfth century, the earliest written description is found in a manuscript dated between the twelfth and thirteenth century.⁴⁸ The origin of the dragon myth is to be sought in the East, where representations of St. George killing an evil man with a lance are found in Sinai icons of the eighth-ninth century,⁴⁹ and in Georgian icons of the eleventh century.⁵⁰

An early Italian example of George slaying the dragon is at Ferrara cathedral, where the *tympanum* of the main portal was decorated with this subject between 1130 and 1135.⁵¹ Since an arm relic of George was brought to Ferrara

by the Crusaders, the saint became the patron of the city.⁵² Byzantine representations of equestrian saints came to the West with the Crusaders in the form of small ivories or icons.⁵³

The fresco at Ceri dates shortly before Ferrara, and is thus the first known version of George killing the dragon in Italy. Interesting, George fighting the dragon is a theme that concerned Petrus Damiani, the Gregorian Reformer, who in one sermon stated that the saint slays a beast.⁵⁴ The illustration of this legend in the West is therefore contemporary with the first written discussion of the subject in the West, also done in the context of the Gregorian Reform.

4. The Socle Paintings

The lower parts of both the right nave wall at Ceri and the piers at S. Clemente differ in style from the images above; they appear to be roughly and quickly executed. Their subjects are unusual, too.

The largest fresco in the socle zone of S. Clemente depicts an episode from the Clement legend (fig. 20). The saint tries to convert Sisinnius, the Roman prefect, who orders his slaves to put Clement in chains. However, instead of the saint, the servants capture only a stone column. For the first time in Italy, inscriptions in the vulgar tongue are combined with Latin.⁵⁵ They appear like speech balloons in comics and are used only by the saint's opponents. The servants are named, but these names do not derive from any written tradition of the legend; they seem to appear only to make the whole scene more naturalistic.

St. Clement is not depicted, but he 'speaks' in Latin: 'Duritiam cordis vestris saxa traere meruistis.' The saint is visualized in the scene through his inscription, not through his presence. Latin, as the noble language, is chosen to characterize St. Clement, whereas the figures standing for evil are talking in *volgare*. The choice of language is a meaningful one that indicates the relative status of the speakers.

Representing St. Clement's triumph over the pagans, Sisinnius and his slaves, the scene has a double significance:

43 Köster (as note 39), 22.

44 P. Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran e du Vatican au douzième siècle*, Rome 1977, 304.

45 The earliest representation of the saint is found in the Paris manuscript of his *vita*, where he is shown liberating prisoners. Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat (as note 42), 19, fig. 3.

46 K. J. Dorsch, *Georgszyklen des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, Bern, New York 1983, 91, n. 2 and *ibid.* 36.

47 C. Verzár-Bornstein, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State. The Sculpture of Nicholas in Context*, Parma 1988, 97.

48 Cod. lat. Monacensis 14473. See W. F. Volbach, *Der heilige Georg*, Straßburg 1917, 13; Volbach dates the manuscript to the 13th century. Dorsch (as note 46), 19, n. 6.

49 Dorsch (as note 46), 20; G. and M. Soteriou, *Icones de Mont Sinai*, 1+2, Athens 1957/58; see 2, pl. 31.

50 In Mestia a silver cross representing St. George fighting an evil man dates from the 11th century, see *LCI*, VI, 371 and in Nakipari a silver gilded icon with this topic dates from the 1st quarter of the 11th century; see *LCI*, VI, 369 and fig. 3.

51 S. A. Zavin, *Ferrara Cathedral Facade*, Columbia University Diss., Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1973, 55 dates the portal, based on historical relations and on the interpretation of some documents, between 1130–1135. E. Kain, *The sculpture of Nicholas and the development of a northern Italian Romanesque workshop*, Vienna 1986, 77–85, comes to the same dating after a detailed stylistic analysis. The latest publication on this subject puts the time of the portal construction at post-1135. D. Balboni, 'L'anno della fondazione (1135) e della consacrazione (1177) della cattedrale di Ferrara (1135–1177),' in *L'arte sacra nei Ducati Estensi. Atti della II settimana dei Beni storico-artistici della Chiesa nazionale negli Antichi Ducati Estensi Ferrara 13–18 settembre 1982*, Ferrara 1984, 61–68.

52 J. Bentini (ed.), *San Giorgio e la Principessa di Cosmè Tura*, Bologna 1985, 43; and Verzár-Bornstein (as note 47), 97.

53 *Ibid.*, 97.

54 Petrus Damiani: Sermo XIII de S. Georgio martyre. edition: CCCM, 57, 1983, 57. 'Sed cum insignis athleta Christi spumantia ex antiqui serpentis ore uenena contempneret, et non iam primi parentis originem, sed secundi potius in se uiuere titulos demonstraret, protinus ille, tamquam sagitta de Satanae faretra prodiens, immanem lupum qui latebat aperuit, et ad inferenda diuersa poenarum supplicia cruenta bestia feraciter ebulliuit.'

55 C. Cecchelli, *S. Clemente*, Chiesa di Roma illustrate, 24–25, n. d., 175; S. Raffaelli, 'Sull'iscrizione di San Clemente. Un consuntivo con integrazioni,' in F. Sabatini, S. Raffaelli, P. D'Achile, *Il volgare nelle chiese di Roma. Messaggi graffiti, dipinti e incisi dal IX al XVI secolo*, Rome 1987, 35–66, see 47.



20. W. Ewing, *Legend of St. Clement*, watercolor after the fresco in the lower church of S. Clemente in Rome. Rome, S. Clemente

it illustrates a concrete hagiographic tradition, and simultaneously it contains a moral injunction to the observer. The same message, the triumph of Christianity over evil and incredulity, can be found in the two other scenes.⁵⁶ In the legend of St. Blaise, two stories are chosen for illustration: the saint curing the son of a widow, above; and below, the wolf who had stolen the widow's pig returning it. The lower scene, in the socle, refers to the one above. The subject on the other pier is Daniel in the Lions' Den and here too the theme is divided in two parts. The prophet flanked by lions in the image above is being watched in the socle by a group of lions. The lions are multiplied. As in the scenes of St. Blaise, the prophet overcomes the beasts, symbols of evil, with the help of God. We find similar patterns of vertical correspondence between scenes at Ceri (fig. 3). Under the Silvester story a chimera is represented; under the Crucifixion of St. Andrew is a scene with fighting demons; and under the Five Standing Saints is a strange cooking scene.

56 J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, 4, Freiburg i. Br. 1924, pl. 239.



21. *Apocalyptic Vision*. Civate, S. Pietro, marble panel



22. *Fighting Demons*, Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata. Drawing: Claire Nydegger

The chimera is a symbol of evil, like the dragon above it in the Silvester scene.⁵⁷ The dragon and the chimera are both 'composite beasts' who stand for the devil. Here, as in the Daniel scene in S. Clemente, the representatives of evil are shown twice, in both registers.

Very similar to Ceri in the location of the chimera is a marble panel at S. Pietro in Civate, in Lombardy (fig. 21), where the entrance to the church is flanked by two marble panels, each decorated with a composite beast, a griffon and a chimera. In Ceri, as in Civate, the chimera is placed beneath a dragon fight: the apocalyptic dragon killed by St. Michael is the subject of the fresco in the lunette above the entrance to S. Pietro.⁵⁸ In both churches, a dragon fight is above a chimera flanking the entrance. S. Pietro in Civate, a benedictine monastery on the southern side of the Alps belonged to the sphere of Cluny, and the monastery seems to have played an important role as intercessor between Cluny and Rome.

57 Isidore of Seville: *Etymologia*, IX, 3, v. 36 cfr. PL 82, 423; RdK, III, Stuttgart 1954, 435.

58 C. Mognetti and G. Barcara, *L'abbazia benedettina di Civate*, Civate 1957; P. Hoegger, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi*, Frauenfeld and Stuttgart 1975, 95-96.

23. *The Crucifixion of St. Andrew. Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata*



Within the program of the church, the chimera has more than one function. Besides its apotropaic role as guardian of the entrance, the beast repeats the dragon in the scene above and is a connecting element to the Last Judgment. In the *Actus Silvestri*, which is the literary source for the Silvester scene, we learn that the dragon remains locked in his cave until the day of Judgment.⁵⁹

Under the Crucifixion of St. Andrew, the fighting demons are dark skinned with wings, and matched against a bigger

figure of a man lying on the ground (fig. 22). Blood streams from his head, and the man is clearly dead. The figure can be identified as Aegeates, the consul in the Crucifixion scene above.⁶⁰

According to the Apocrypha,⁶¹ Aegeates committed suicide after the Crucifixion of St. Andrew because his mind found no peace and he was tortured by bad thoughts.⁶² The scene in the socle represents exactly this struggle of Aegeates, driven to death by the evil demons.

In the upper scene Andrew triumphs over death, singing the *hymnus crucis* (fig. 23). As an ideal imitator of Christ, he refuses to be released from the cross. While he is dying, he still teaches against weaknesses of the flesh and resists temptations. Martyrdom is the summit of his philosophy, eternal life the heavenly reward. In contrast to him Aegeates is the loser, and suffers the real death. The apostle Andrew became important after the schism of 1054.⁶³ Two sermons

⁵⁹ W. Pohlkamp, 'Tradition und Topographie: Papst Silvester I. (314 bis 335) und der Drache vom Forum Romanum,' *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 78 (1983), 1-100, 41.

⁶⁰ Zchomelidse (as note 2), 160.

⁶¹ E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, II, 3rd ed. (ed. by W. Schneemelcher), Tübingen 1964, 270-296; Bibliography for the tradition of the Acts of St. Andrew and the reconstructed text of the martyrdom, see 291-296; The Acts of St. Andrew date (according to Hennecke/Schneemelcher) between 150-190, 275; An important role for the tradition of the life of St. Andrew was played by the 'Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli' of Gregory of Tours. 'Das Buch des Gregor ist eine Epitome, die er unter Ausscheidung aller häretischen Elemente und unter Beschränkung auf eine Auswahl von Wundern hergestellt hat.', 276.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 295.

⁶³ The legend of the saint became known in the West only in the tenth century, through Luitprand of Cremona. F. Dvornik, *The idea of apostolicity in Byzantium and the legend of the apostle Andrew*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, 278.



24. *Kitchen Scene.*
Ceri, S. Maria Immacolata

by Petrus Damiani, the Cardinal bishop of Ostia and important reform monk, discuss Andrew. In one, Petrus ranks Andrew second within the apostolic chorus, praising his good relationship with his brother Peter. The first called, Andrew had never complained about being ranked behind his brother or demonstrated any jealousy towards him.⁶⁴ In the second sermon, Petrus states that the legend and martyrdom of St. Andrew are widely known.⁶⁵

The strangest scene in the socle zone of the Ceri program is a kitchen scene placed below the Five Standing Saints (fig. 24). A cook prepares a barbecue — a pig is grilled above the fire, and sausages, ham and chicken are hanging in the smoke. Two servants carry wine and bread on their heads. Traces of inscriptions remain near the heads of the servants, and are probably their names, but 'IOSA' and 'SIA' do not permit a complete reconstruction. Additional traces of inscriptions between the head of the left maid and the cook also are illegible.

There are some similarities between this scene and that of St. Clement and Sisinnius in S. Clemente: both contain inscriptions and the servants wear contemporary costumes. Like the names of the slaves in the Clement fresco, naming

the servants at Ceri can be interpreted as a way of making the whole scene more lively. There is no reason to suppose reliance on a written tradition for these servants' names.

The kitchen scene at Ceri does not correspond with any of the legends of the saints in the panel above. However, a vertical connection between the socle scene and the image above should be sought in the basis of the consistent connections already discussed. The connection is likely to be with the central and most prominent figure in this group of five standing saints, John the Baptist (fig. 18).

John is gesturing to a lamb in a roundel, the symbol of the eucharistic meal leading to salvation.⁶⁶ The scene underneath illustrates preparations for an earthly meal. The pork, sausages, ham and chicken are temptations for the viewer, and the cook seems to be inviting the viewer to join the scene. The real meal, naturalistically displayed to the viewer's eye, is a contrast to the spiritual meal of salvation. The socle scenes at Ceri all deal with the theme of evil, and the cooking scene may also be interpreted as an allegory of evil, in this case 'gluttony'. Temptation and Salvation is the theme of this vertically connected unit, and a change of style was used to underscore the differences between the two parts.

64 Petrus Damiani: Sermo LVII, *PL* 144, cols. 823 B, C; 827, B; 828, B; Dvornik (as previous note), 281, n. 44 and 282, n. 45.

65 Petrus Damiani: Sermo LVIII, *PL* 144, col 830 A.

66 Joh 1, 29–36. F. Nikolasch, *Das Lamm als Christussymbol in den Schriften der Väter*, Vienna 1963, 121

Patronage in Rome and Lazio around 1100

The innovative elements in the decoration of Ceri and S. Clemente may be connected with the Gregorian Reform Movement and its representatives. Church decoration in Rome and Lazio was the main medium by which the Reform Party could translate its new ideas and ideals for an audience that was not skilled in theology. The decorative campaigns at Rome and Ceri were big and ambitious, and seem even more striking because both churches were already decorated with paintings. At St. Clemente, remains of wall paintings dating from the ninth to the tenth century cover a large part of the walls,⁶⁷ and at Ceri too there is evidence for an earlier fresco layer.

At Ceri, fragments at the corner of the apse wall and in some sections of the right nave wall show architectural details of a frame and the garment of a figure. The style of the architectural framing with cyma moulding and prospectively rendered consoles is similar to the framing found in two painted decorations in Rome, in the lower church of S. Crisogono and in S. Urbano alla Caffarella. S. Crisogono has been dated to 1059–70⁶⁸ and S. Urbano is assigned a date around 1090.⁶⁹ The earlier fresco layer in Ceri belongs to the same group of monuments, and can be dated between 1060 and 1090.

Reasons for the new painting campaigns at both Ceri and S. Clemente therefore have to be sought in the status of the churches and their patron saints, as well as in the intentions of their patrons. Both churches were originally dedicated to Early Christian martyr popes. St. Felix II, the original patron saint of the church at Ceri⁷⁰ belonged to the group of saints whose rank was raised during the Reform movement. At the end of the eighth century only twelve popes were mentioned in the papal sacramentary, whereas at the end of the twelfth century their number increased to about sixty more.⁷¹ Felix II is mentioned in two manuscripts from the first quarter of the ninth century, and he remained important throughout the Middle Ages.

In the 23rd sentence of the *Dictatus papae*, Gregory VII refers to the holiness of all popes because they had succeeded Peter.⁷² Canonical ordination is the main argument for this holiness, which becomes official through the act of enthronement.⁷³ Gregory VII differentiates between a holiness because of tenure (*Amtsheiligkeit*), which characterizes every pope, and a holiness based additionally on special virtues. Martyrdom is the crown among these virtues, and with Gregory VII the feast days of the martyr popes were celebrated '*cum pleno officio*' in the Lateran church.⁷⁴ The rich decoration of Ceri becomes comprehensible against this background. The presence of paintings of the highest quality and with a sophisticated iconographic program in a little church in the countryside can be related to the importance of the patron saint within the Reformer milieu in Rome. Ambitious projects like this were based on the new status of the Early Christian popes, and emphasized the past and present importance of the papacy and the holy Roman church.

The patron saint of the ancient Roman titular church of S. Clemente was also a holy martyr pope. St. Clement was even more important than Ceri's St. Felix II because he was the third pope after Peter. His enthronement is depicted at the same height as the *Maiestas Domini* on an adjacent pier at S. Clemente. This is a rare subject in the iconography of the saint.⁷⁵ The expansion of the wall surface to provide space for scenes from Clement's life served to honor the titular church of a very prominent saint, and to make the holiness of its patron saint more popular. The Reform movement in Rome and its surroundings used church decoration as a platform for propaganda.

The importance of the patrons of the two programs cannot be overestimated. We know that Paschal II commissioned the frescoes in the lower church of S. Clemente during his time as Cardinal priest.⁷⁶ He belonged to the moderate wing of the Reform movement, which fought against the German emperors during the Investiture Controversy. For the ambitious decoration at Ceri, no written sources tell us the name of the patron. But since S. Clemente and Ceri have

67 J. Osborne, *Early Medieval Wall Paintings in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome*, New York and London 1984.

68 B. Brenk, 'Die Benedikttszenen in S. Crisogono und Montecassino,' *Arte Medievale*, 2 (1986), 57–65, n. 38. He connects the frescoes to the bronze doors of St. Paul's outside the walls.

69 Williamson's study of the paintings of S. Urbano arrived at a new and convincing date of around 1090. P. Williamson, 'Notes on the Wall Paintings in Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 55 (1987), 224–228; 227.

70 Cadei proposed a dedication to S. Silvestro because of the Silvester fresco. After the restoration of the whole nave wall and the discovery of the representations of many other saints, this hypothesis seems

unlikely. The location of this scene near the entrance wall is not very prominent either. The actual dedication to the Immaculate Conception dates from 1854, when the dogma was introduced. Cadei (as note 2), 15.

71 Jounel (as note 44), 170.

72 *Ibid.*, 180; H. Fuhrmann, 'Über die 'Heiligkeit' des Papstes,' in *Einladung ins Mittelalter*, Munich 1987, 156.

73 Fuhrmann (as previous note), 160.

74 Jounel (as note 44), 180–181; Fuhrmann (as previous note), 158–159.

75 There is only one more example of the Enthronement of St. Clement, at S. Marco in Venice.

76 Lloyd 1989 (as note 1), 58.

so much in common, the patron must be sought in the same milieu. The Cardinal bishop of Porto, to whom Ceri belonged, was named Peter. He was consecrated by Pope Paschal II in 1102 and was a close friend of his.⁷⁷ During the pope's absence from Rome, Peter was the Vicar of the city. He followed the Reform ideas of Paschal II and for more than 30 years was politically active; within the Roman Curia he performed many tasks and was an important figure in the circle around the pope. During his tenure he always maintained the closest contact as counselor to the pope, even after the death of Paschal II. Such a man, familiar with both traditional and new ideas about church deco-

ration in the Roman orbit, is a good candidate for the patron at Ceri. The time of his tenure as Bishop of Porto, 1102 – ca. 1130/35, accords with the dating of the frescoes based on style.

The virtues of the Early Christian church and the saintly figures associated with that period were of special interest within the Gregorian Reform of the eleventh to twelfth century. The traditional elements of the decorative programs at S. Clemente and Ceri derive in part from prominent Early Christian church decorations in Rome. The combination with innovative elements marks these programs as exemplars of this powerful religious movement in Rome around the year 1100. The circle around Paschal II exploited the possibilities inherent in church decoration to make the message of Reform and the continuity and primacy of the Roman church more public.

77 R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms*, Tübingen 1977, 122–124