THE VOLTO SANTO OF LUCCA:
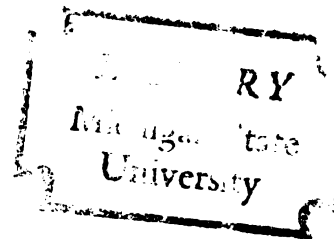ITS PROVENANCE AND LITURGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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THESIS

ABSTRACT

THE VOLTO SANTO OF LUCCA:

ITS PROVENANCE AND LITURGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By

Gary M. Radke

This study attempts to delineate how the Volto Santo of

Lucca, an over-life-size representation of Christ upon the

Cross, was originally used during Passion Week and Eastertide.

By examining published fragments of ceremonies which involved

the Volto Santo, it has been possible to suggest that the

Volto Santo's Chapel symbolically represented both Golgotha

and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The relationship of the

Volto Santo Chapel's placement in the north aisle of Lucca

cathedral to the main altar of that church mirrors the re-

lationship between the Golgotha Chapel and the Holy Sepulchre

in Jerusalem.

The statue itself, like the present chapel, replaces a

lost original. Since the present statue shows many similari-

ties with German works of art and there were strong political

ties between the Ottonian emperors and Lucca, it can be con-

cluded that the original Volto Santo was based on German

prototypes and was carved sometime in the second quarter of

the eleventh century. Indeed, Bishop Giovanni II of Lucca had frequent dealings with the German leaders and the Volto Santo's advent can be specifically associated with events in his bishopric. The present Volto Santo, on the other hand, was probably carved in the early thirteenth century by a sculptor conversant with the style of Benedetto Antelami.

This study's discussion of the Volto Santo's provenance summarizes and expands upon a large body of art historical literature on this subject, while the discussion of the statue's liturgical significance depends more heavily upon the scholarship of historians of drama. Such a union of studies in the arts, drama and liturgy has recently gained some popularity among art historians, but the full implications of such a study of the Volto Santo and of its cult are still to be explored.

THE VOLTO SANTO OF LUCCA:

ITS PROVENANCE AND LITURGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By

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INTRODUCTION

"What is the Volto Santo? ...

It is evident that we are face to face

with a mystery of the first class."[1]

The Volto Santo ("Holy Face") of Lucca is an over-life-
size wooden simulacrum of Christ. Local tradition credits
Nicodemus with having imparted the Lord's actual features to
this statue. Dressed in a long-sleeved colobium and trium-
phantly displayed upon a cross, the Volto Santo is famous
not only for its associations with Nicodemus; it is also dis-
tinguished by its unusual Eastern garb and its placement in
a freestanding chapel in the north aisle of Lucca cathedral.
The present study of the Volto Santo's provenance and litur-
gical significance originated in an attempt to discern the
origins and symbolic intention of these peculiarities of
dress and placement.

The first scholars to be fascinated by the mysteries
of the Volto Santo were Italians who had very parochial con-
cerns in mind. The seventeenth century work of Franciotti,[2]
along with the nineteenth century treatises of di Poggio and
Barsocchini,[3] sought to defend the integrity of the Volto
Santo as a sacred image. These early writers also began the
task of collecting and reviewing the surviving medieval

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records which relate to the Volto Santo.

In the late nineteenth century Almerico Guerra wrote his _Storia del Volto Santo_.[4] This book is still the standard work on all aspects of the statue and its cult. Examining historical documents and local tradition, Guerra discussed the Volto Santo's history from the statue's presumed origins at the hands of Nicodemus to its place in the life of nineteenth century Lucca.

German scholars began to take interest in the Volto Santo in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Articles written by Wüscher-Becchi, Schnürer and Panofsky indicated how the cult of the Volto Santo had spread throughout northern Europe during the Middle Ages.[5] The image of the Volto Santo itself was shown to be recorded in paintings at Schaffhausen and Kronberg and in a monumental, colobium-clad crucifix at Braunschweig. This period also saw the first investigations of how, during the late Middle Ages, the Volto Santo had been transformed into a female saint known as St. Kümmernis or St. Wilgefortis. These studies culminated in the definitive 1934 work on this subject by Schnürer and Ritz.[6]

Research between 1920 and 1936 turned more directly to the Volto Santo itself. During this period there was a renewed popular interest in the medieval processions and ceremonies celebrated on September fourteenth of each year to honor the Volto Santo, as witnessed by articles published by

Guidi and Lazzareschi.[7] In 1922 Luigi Dami published the
first photograph of the Volto Santo which showed the statue
without its extravagant accumulation of later ornaments.[8]
On stylistic grounds Dami proposed a late twelfth or early
thirteenth century date for the Volto Santo. Since this date
does not correspond with surviving records of the Volto
Santo's early history, heated arguments about the Volto
Santo's dating and origins ensued. It was not until 1936
that Francovich was able to bank the fires of this debate.
He suggested, and scholars readily agreed, that the present
Volto Santo is probably not the original statue known by that
name, but a copy of the original.[9]

The studies of Francovich and Schnürer and Ritz did
solve many of the problems regarding the Volto Santo, but
few of the implications of their studies were developed dur-
ing the unsympathetic Fascist and Nazi regimes of the next
decade. Also hindered by the disruptions of World War II,
scholars have only recently resumed studying the Volto Santo.

A 1955 article on an Italian copy of the Volto Santo
and Reiner Hausherr's cogent reinvestigation of the Braun-
schweig crucifix of 1962 both take an indirect look at the
Volto Santo.[10] Even an admirable work such as Schwarzmaier's
1972 study of Lucchese history up to the end of the eleventh
century deals only with a very narrow consideration of the
Volto Santo's cult in the eighth century.[11]

Returning to the earlier studies of Guerra, which
focused directly upon the Volto Santo, I shall attempt to

reconstruct the history of both the present and original Volto
Santos. By observing precedents in Ottonian manuscript il-
luminations and by citing the strong political ties between
Lucca and the German emperors, I shall suggest that the origi-
nal Volto Santo arrived in Lucca during the second quarter
of the eleventh century.

It will be necessary to return to a discussion of the
legends surrounding the Volto Santo and the history of eighth
century Lucca in order to clarify the composite character of
the image's cult.

This study shall also explore the original significance
of the Volto Santo's chapel in Lucca cathedral. Concurrently,
its use in the liturgical ceremonies of Passion Week and
Eastertide will be studied. An increased interest in art
historical research which unites studies of art, architecture
and liturgy, as exemplified by Carol Heitz's 1963 study of
architecture and liturgy in Carolingian and Ottonian times,[12]
has made this study possible and suggested its approach. I
am likewise indebted to the efforts of Gordana Babić, Thomas
Mathews and Ilene Forsyth for their delineations of some of
the relationships between the visual and dramatic arts.[13]
Young's pioneering studies of the origins of the liturgical
drama shall serve as the basis from which a synthesis of the
artistic and dramatic qualities of the Volto Santo can be
explored.[14] In the present study, the path to a discussion
of these concerns proceeds from an exploration of the various

legends and local traditions which account for the Volto Santo.

The original chapel in which the Volto Santo was placed and the ceremonies in which it played a part will be related, as other authors have related their particular monuments, to prototypes at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The associations with this monument will be shown to be of special importance to the symbolic significance of the Volto Santo in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In the end these explorations are very modest beginnings. Although I shall suggest answers to previously unasked questions, my replies must remain tentative in view of the paucity of documentary evidence available in published form outside of Lucca today. In this sense, this study is a proposal for further study, a suggestion of the sorts of answers one might expect to derive from extensive research in the Lucchese archives.

NOTES - INTRODUCTION

[1]Arthur Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, Vol. 2 (Florence: Pantheon, 1928), 8.

[2]Cesare Franciotti, Historia delle miracolose imagini e delle vite de i santi (Lucca: D. Guidoboni, 1613).

[3]F. di Poggio, Illustrazione del SS. Crocifisso di Lucca, detto volgarmente il Volto Santo (Lucca, 1839) and Domenico Barsocchini, "Ragionamento sul Volto Santo," Memorie e Documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca, 5 (1844), 41ff.

[4]Almerico Guerra, Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: Tipografia Arcivescovo s. Paolino, 1881).

[5]E. Wüscher-Becchi, "Grosse Gott von Schaffhausen," Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde, NF 2B (1900), 116-26, Gustav Schnürer, "Das Volto Santo-bild in der Burgkapelle zu Kronberg," Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst, 3 (1913), 77-88 and Erwin Panofsky, "Das Braunschweiger Domkruzifix und das Volto Santo zu Lucca," Festschrift für H. Goldschmidt (Lipsia, 1923), 37-44.

[6]Gustav Schnürer and Joseph M. Ritz, Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1934).

[7]Pietro Guidi, La 'Luminara' di S. Croce nel medio evo (Lucca: Tipografia Casini, 1920) and E. Lazzareschi, "La festa di S. Croce a Lucca," Le Vie d'Italia, 40 (1934), 627-39.

[8]Luigi Dami, "Volto Santo di Lucca," Dedalo, Anno II, Vol. III (February 1922), 708-11.

[9]Géza de Francovich, Il Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: Scuola tipografica Artigianelli, 1936).

[10]Hugh Honour, "An Unpublished Romanesque Crucifix," Connoisseur, 136 (1955), 150-54 and Reiner Haussherr, "Das Imvardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 16 (1962), 129-70.

[11]Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, _Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts_ (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1972).

[12]Carol Heitz, _Recherches sur les rapportes entre Architecture et Liturgie à l'époque carolingienne_ (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963).

[13]Gordana Babić, _Les Chapelles Annex des Églises Byzantines. Fonction Liturgique et Programmes Iconographiques_ (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1969); Thomas F. Mathews, _The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy_ (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971); Ilene H. Forsyth, _The Throne of Wisdom_ (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[14]Karl Young, _The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre_ (Madison, Wisconsin, 1920) and _The Drama of the Medieval Church_, 2 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933).

CHAPTER I

THE LEGEND OF LEOBINO

In Lucca the history of the Volto Santo has tradition-
ally been reckoned from the legend of Leobino. This narration
of the events associated with the Volto Santo's arrival in
Lucca states that the statue was sculpted by Nicodemus and
subsequently brought to Lucca in the eighth-century. However,
the earliest surviving manuscripts of the legend date from
the twelfth-century. This chapter will retell Leobino's tale
and then subject it to a brief literary analysis in order to
determine whether an eighth-century date can truly be assigned
to the Volto Santo.

In the prologue to the legend the deacon Leobinus
greets all his brothers in Christ and states his intention
to tell all that he has seen with his own eyes and heard from
men of faith ("que oculis nostris vidimus et auribus nostris
per religiosos viros audivimus").[1] He is sure that his recount-
ing of the story of the Volto Santo will be useful for the
believer and non-believer alike ("ad fidelium scrire cupien-
tium eruditionem, ad infidelium confutationem seu quod melius
est conversionem").

    I. "De revelatione"

        Gualefredus, referred to by Leobino as "subalpinus

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episcopus," was forced to stay in the Holy Land for an extend-
ed period of time on his pilgrimage there, because his fellow
pilgrims were sick. On account of his continuous prayers,
fasting and alms-giving he was accorded a very special honor.
Having fallen asleep after all the pious activity of a busy
day, Gualefredus was greeted by an angel who appeared to him
in a dream and said, "Rise, servant of God and find the most
holy face sculpted by Nicodemus ('sacratissimum vultum a
Nichodemo sculptum')." It was revealed to Gualefredus that
the most holy face was to be found next to his lodgings in a
cave below the house of a certain Christian called Seleucio
("in domum Seleucii viri christianissimi hospicio tuo adher-
entem ibique sanctissimum vultum in cripta positum invenies").

 This Nicodemus was the one mentioned in the gospels
who had come to Jesus by night. After Jesus' resurrection
and ascension Nicodemus always had the image of Christ on
his mind ("semper gestaret Christum in pectore, semper haberat
in ore"), and translated his recollections into wood with di-
vine help ("sacratissimum vultum non sua, sed divina arte
desculpsit"). Before his death, Nicodemus entrusted the
sculpture to Isachar who hid it from the Jews so that succeed-
ing generations are still able to venerate it. This image is
of our Savior incarnate as he hung upon the cross for us
("Preciosi vultus figura redemptorem nostrum incarnatum et
pro nobis in cruce pendentem quasi quibusdam liniamentis
representatum exprimit").

II. "De sanctissimi vultus inventione"

   After having found the Holy Face, Bishop Gualefre-
dus and his companions decided to place it in a ship and
transport it, with God's help, back to Europe ("deo gubernante,
usque ad Romanas partes"). Gualfredus placed the holy crucifix
inside the boat, along with many lit candles and lamps, at the
port of Jaffa. Gualefredus made the boat waterproof with bi-
tumen, as Noah had done to the ark ("sicut de archa Noe sancta
Geneseos narrat hystoria"). He committed the vessel to Divine
Providence and prayed with his companions that so precious a
gift would find its way to a place where many devoted Chris-
tians would enjoy its protection ("ac talis locus ditatus
ornaretur, in quo innumerabiles populi christiane religionis
concursum devote et fideliter facientes, visu eius et presidio
assidue protecti et defensi gratulentur"). Without human ef-
fort, the boat was guided across the sea by divine power to
the port of Luni ("nullo mortalium remigante- non enim intus
ullus fuerat- sed sola divina potentia"). The inhabitants
of Luni, professional pirates ("fraudibus et rapinis marinis"),
sought to capture this ship, but God did not let its valuable
cargo fall into the hands of such people.

  III. "Qualiter Lucam translatus fuerit"

   At this time, Bishop Giovanni of Lucca, "vir quidem
Deo acceptus," had a dream in which an angel appeared to him
and said, "Rise, servant of God and go without delay, along
with your brothers, to the port of Luni where you will find
a ship and inside it a representation of Christ as he hung

upon the cross ('salvatoris mundi imago posita, qualiter in cruce pro hominibus passus sit'). It was made by Nicodemus who saw and touched Christ ('qui Christum vidit et tetigit'). God wills that you bring this work to your city."

Giovanni, along with the clerics of Lucca, hurried to Luni and saw the vessel which refused to be captured by the Lunese. ("Lunenses gemina ope remis et velis laborabant... sed nichil machinando proficiebant"). The Lucchese sang hymns and the sea calmed and the ship miraculously came to rest on the shore. With tears of happiness and gratitude the Lucchese sang "Gloria in excelsis" ("prae gaudio lacrimas effuderunt et ymnum angelicum decantantes divine misericordie gratias retulerunt").

There necessarily arose a dispute between the Lucchese and the Lunese as to the ownership of the miraculous vessel, but Bishop Giovanni resolved the conflict by giving the Lunese a glass ampulla of the blood of Christ ("ampullem vitream Christi precioso sanguine") and taking the Volto Santo back to Lucca ("preciossimum vultum ad suam urbem cum magna gloria Christo duce portavit") amidst the rejoicing and singing of the Lucchese.

This took place in the year of our Lord 742, in the second year of the reigns of Charlemagne and Pepin ("tempore Karoli et Pipini serenissimorum regum, anno regni eorum secundo"). The image was placed in the south aisle, near the door, of the cathedral ("prope valvas eiusdem basilice ad australem plagam").

A brief analysis of the legend of Leobino suggests that the provenance of the Volto Santo is other than that which is stated in the legend. Developed and preserved through oral tradition, the legend may, nonetheless, offer veiled glimpses of the actual circumstances of the Volto Santo's creation and arrival in Lucca. The following pages are a necessary beginning at penetrating nearer, if not always arriving at, the truth therein.

Although the writer of the legend identifies himself with the eighth century events he narrates, scholars are in agreement that of some nineteen texts of this legend that survive,[2] none can be dated earlier than the twelfth century.[3] Furthermore, the manner of narration employed is a typical example of <u>cursus leoninus</u>, the style which appears in documents of 1098 that summoned the Lucchese to the Crusades.[4] It is not the style used by writers of the eighth century. Some authors have judged generalized statements such as "<u>subalpinus episcopus</u>" to be typical of the eighth-century,[5] but I agree with Gustav Schnürer who sees such statements as indications that the author was not a contemporary of the events he narrates.[6] Indeed, even the name Gualfredus found in the legend does not appear in Italy until the twelfth century.[7]

The very date espoused in the legend for the arrival of the Volto Santo in Lucca gives further reason to date the manuscripts from the twelfth century or just slightly earlier.

The A.D. 742 indicated as the second year of the reigns of Charlemagne and Pepin is historically inaccurate.[8] Such a date was, however, consonant with medieval understanding of Carolingian history;[9] a number of Lucchese manuscripts survive which say that Charlemagne reigned, together with Pepin, from 741.[10] Furthermore, in a medieval manuscript of the life of San Frediano preserved at Lucca, the bishopric of Giovanni, the bishop associated with the translation of the Volto Santo to Lucca, is dated "usque ad tempore Caroli et Pepini," the exact same wording as that which is used by Leobino.[11]

That the author of the legend may indeed be an early twelfth-century writer is still further indicated by the greater specificity with which he relates miraculous events in the appendix to the legend. In fact, these supposedly later additions are written in the same style as the main text.

One of these stories concerns Stefano da Butrione, whose existence is confirmed by his inclusion in the Lucchese Annales ecclesiastici for the year 1099.[12] While on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Stefano went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre, where, according to the legend, he was approached by a Syrian named Gregory who told him that the Volto Santo was a true portrait of Christ. Inside the crucifix, said the Syrian, were placed relics: an ampulla of the blood of Christ, one quarter of the crown of thorns, a nail from the

cross, and finally some of Christ's hair and fingernails. Another story of contemporaneous date relates how a Lucchese cleric was informed that Nicodemus had sculpted the Volto Santo, and that Nicodemus had placed relics of the crown of thorns, nails and Christ's clothes in the Volto Santo.[13]

Could this Stefano da Butrione therefore have been, as Haussherr calls him, "der Vermittler der ganzen Nikodemus-tradition"?[14] It would seem certain that with his return to Lucca and the invention of new relics, it became necessary and desirable to codify the legends which may have been part of the local oral tradition. A rather late attribution of the Volto Santo to Nicodemus could have demanded that a special section which spoke about Stefano da Butrione and which reinforced Nicodemus' authorship be added to the legend. As will be seen in Chapter 4, however, Nicodemus and the Volto Santo had probably been linked together as early as the eleventh century through the vigil ceremonies of Easter.

Interestingly, the reinforcement of this association between Nicodemus and the Volto Santo around 1000 coincides with the translation of the bones of Nicodemus, Gamaliel and Abibo by the Pisans. They had brought these relics back to their city after the First Crusade.[15] The Pisans and Lucchese were perennial political rivals,[16] and the Lucchese were not to be outdone in the number nor glory of the relics acquired by the Pisans.[17] More than merely following the example of the Pisans, the Lucchese felt the need to assert their pre-eminence over the Pisans. The Lucchese also had a Nicodemean

relic, and they claimed to have possessed it since the eighth century. After the First Crusade they may have been understandably anxious to reconfirm the Volto Santo's hallowed origins. Perhaps it was the Pisans who consciously sought out a relic of Nicodemus because their rivals had one. Following such reasoning, I am inclined to think that the discovery of the location of new relics in the Volto Santo by Stefano da Butrioni probably encouraged the Lucchese to write down the history of the Volto Santo, but that Butrione was not the originator or transmitter of new ideas regarding Nicodemus' authorship.

It is my opinion that no manuscripts exist for the legend of Leobino before the twelfth century because until this time there was no great impetus to record the legend in formal written form. But I would not exclude the possibility that the name of Nicodemus was already associated with the Volto Santo as early as the eighth-century.[18]

[1]I follow the basic Latin text as published by Gustav Schnürer and Joseph Ritz, Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1934), 128-32. My English translation follows the Italian version published by F. P. Luiso, La Leggenda del Volto Santo - Storia di un cimelio (Pescia: Benedetti and Niccolai, 1928), 9-12.

[2]Gustav Schnürer, "Sopra l'età e la Provenienza del Volto Santo di Lucca," Bolletino Storico Lucchese, 1 (1929), 77-78 gives a detailed accounting of these nineteen manuscripts and their present locations.

[3]The most complete discussion of the dating of these works can be found in Gustav Schnürer and Joseph Ritz, Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1934), 117-158.

[4]Schnürer (1929), 79-81.

[5]In particular see Almerico Guerra, Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: Tipografia Arcivescovo s. Paolino, 1881), 310.

[6]Schnürer (1929), 90.

[7]Reiner Haussherr, "Das Imervardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 16 (1962), 140 relates that this had been previously observed by Ernest von Dobschütz, Christusbilder (Leipzig, 1899), 286. I unfortunately have not had access to this work. Adriano Bernareggi, "Il Volto Santo di Lucca," Rivista di archeologia cristiana, 2 (1925), 125, n. 1 suggests that Gualfredus may correspond, in an altered form, to a Bishop Guelprando, son of Duke Gualperto, mentioned in documents of A.D. 754. On the other hand, Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1972), 341 notes more plausible connections between Lucca and Gualfredus of Siena in the early twelfth century.

[8]Charlemagne ruled from A.D. 768 to 814, while his son Pepin ruled as King of Italy from 781 to 810. Thus, it had been suggested by earlier writers that Leobino had perhaps meant to write 782 instead of 742, a date which more closely corresponds to the bishopric of Giovanni at the end of the eighth century. Pietro Guidi, "La Data nella Legenda di

Leobino," _Archivo Storico Italiano_, Series 7, 18 (1932), 151-64 has shown, however, that no such mistake can be assumed either in transcribing the legend or making the date historically correct, since 782 would still not be the second year of both of their reigns.

[9]Guidi, 155 states that "_il 742 non recò alcun disturbo nella mentalità medievale dei secoli XI-XV._"

[10]Guidi, 159, n. 2 lists such works. One such example is Codice 618, Biblioteco Capitolare, Lucca.

[11]Guidi, 161. See also Schwarzmaier, 337.

[12]In the _Annales_ published by Caesar Baronius, according to Haussherr, 150, n. 33.

[13]See Schnürer-Ritz, 139-40 for the text of the two legends I cite.

[14]Haussherr, 141.

[15]Schnürer (1929), 90.

[16]_The Cambridge Medieval History_, Vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 227 notes that "already in 1003 the cities not yet communes, were fighting."

[17]The similarities in styles of architecture between the two cities may reflect this same rivalry. For example see S. Burger, "L'architettura romanica in Lucchesia e i suoi rapporti con Pisa," _Atti della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Lettere, storia e filosofia_, 23 (1954), 121-28, and Carlo Ragghianti, "Architettura lucchese e architettura pisana," _Critica d'arte_, 8 (1949), 168-72.

[18]Nicodemus had early been associated with the authorship of the cross of Beirut, at least in Western tradition. In the translation of the Acts of the Counsel of Nicaea of 787, dedicated by the papal librarian to Pope John VIII (872-882), Nicodemus is cited as the creator of the Beirut crucifix, according to Schnürer (1929), 90. The association of Nicodemus with the Volto Santo may be a contemporaneous attribution or may even predate this documented instance. According to Schnürer (1929), 90 this pairing of Nicodemus and crucifixes was probably invented in the West. Yet, as Dr. Molly Teasdale Smith has reminded me, the idea of associating an image with first-hand knowledge of the person portrayed in an Eastern rather than Western idea and stands behind the whole tradition of icons. William Wood Seymour, _The Cross in Tradition, History and Art_ (New York: G. P.

Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1898), 185 mentions
that there are also crosses in the cathedral of Palermo and
somewhere in Spain which are supposed to have been sculpted
by Nicodemus.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT VOLTO SANTO AND ITS PROVENANCE

The Volto Santo of Lucca is an over-lifesize representation of Christ on the cross (Illustration 1). Sculpted of walnut,[1] the figure measures 2.25 meters from its head to its heels, 2.50 meters if one measures to the toes.[2] Although it is carved in the round, independent of the cross, it is nearly flat on the back with an opening between the shoulders in which relics were kept.

Christ wears a long-sleeved tunic known as a colobium. It is belted at the waist and falls to just above the ankles where the right side of the gilt hem hangs noticeably lower than the left. Folds of cloth are suggested by concave furrows which splay to the left and right as they approach the simply rendered belt. This belt falls in two long parallel bands down the lower portion of the colobium. The furrows re-emerge above the belt more closely spaced, with three furrows extending all the way up into the left sleeve, whereas the right sleeve shares only one furrow with the rest of the garment. This differentiation between the two arms would seem to have been made in response to the manner in which Christ's head leans heavily towards his right shoulder. Moreover, the lower hanging hem on his left side visually counterbalances the emphasis given to his right side by the heavier

folds of cloth and leaning head. The wide sleeves continue the same sort of folds until the last third nearest the hands.

Attached to the cross by one nail each, the hands are somewhat elongated and their narrow wrists become lost in the wide sleeves. The feet are likewise very narrow and they have some reddish tinge, whereas the hands and head are dark.[3] The feet, although attached to the cross by nails, do not have the nail heads showing on their surface.

Christ's face is framed by long plaits of hair which flow from a central part (Illustration 2). Just below the very low placed ears, the hair continues down his neck and out across his shoulders. His beard curves around the sides of his face and ends in two wavy sections which just cover the otherwise cleanshaven chin. The equally wavy ends of the moustache lie gently over the lower beard. Though the tilted head and heavy-lidded eyes suggest the dead, crucified Christ, the glass paste eyes are intensely alive.

The cross upon which the Volto Santo hangs is 4.34 meters tall and 2.65 meters wide. Its arms are 7 centimeters thick and 27 centimeters wide.[4]

Bernareggi has observed that some bits of linen are attached to the surface of the colobium around the ribs,[5] but Dami[6] and Kingsley Porter[7] contend that the entire colobium was covered with a thin, closely adhering layer of linen. In either case, it is noteworthy that this practice of applying cloth to the wood surface before it was polychromed was common

in the Middle Ages.[8]

The Volto Santo as it is displayed today is placed in
an octagonal chapel in the north aisle of the church of San
Martino, the cathedral of Lucca (Illustration 4). The chapel
was commissioned by Domenico Bertini and built between 1482
and 1484 according to the designs of Matteo Civitali (Illus-
tration 5).[9] Eight white marble columns rise from a white
and red marble dado and support a gilded entablature with a
fruit-garlanded frieze. Eight segmental gables, gilded and
framing ornamental shells, rise above the eight sections of
entablature. The edifice is then crowned by a dome orna-
mented with blue, green, yellow, and purple tiles, and eight
gilded ribs rising to a slender, pointed lantern.

The chapel may be entered from either the front or two
sides but is normally closed off by open-work grills. Two
of the front sides have windows, while the back three sides,
against which the image is placed, are solid. The interior
is adorned with votives offered to the Volto Santo, which it-
self rests above a marble and bronze altar made by Filippo
Iuvara of Messina in 1725.[10] The exterior is completed by a
statue of Saint Sebastian on the solid wall behind the Volto
Santo. Inscriptions in the marble record both the artist
and the benefactor.[11] The entire chapel was restored in
1838.[12]

The decorations which adorn the Volto Santo for festi-
vals are all later in date than the statue (Illustration 3).

The nine-centimeter wide aureole, which terminates in two
fleurs-de-lis and is placed behind the Volto Santo, is cover-
ed with silver and glass inlays in the style of the thirteenth
century.[13] Some authorities consider that it replaced an
earlier nimbus which surrounded the Volto Santo's head.[14]

The Volto Santo has been crowned since at least the
twelfth century. A denaro grosso of the late twelfth century
preserves an image of the Volto Santo with an earlier, less
elaborate crown than the present one.[15] This new crown is a
work from around 1665. It was designed by the Lucchese
painter Girolamo Scaglia and executed by Giannoni da Massa.
It contains some sixteen pounds, three ounces of gold, num-
bers of precious jewels and has a representation of God the
Father and the descending dove of the Holy Spirit on its
front, flanked by three seraphim on each side. A slender
cross rises from the top.[16]

The splendid collar and necklace are also works of the
seventeenth century. The 336 diamonds set in silver for the
necklace were given to the Volto Santo in 1660 by Laura Nieri
Santini, a wealthy Lucchese, to enlarge one she had previously
given in 1637.[17]

Covering the lower skirt of the colobium is a black
velvet petticoat from the nineteenth century, over which is
placed a gold belt with twenty-three little niches, ordered
by the Senate of Lucca on February 19, 1384.[18] Each niche
contains a bust of a saint except for that in the lower cen-
ter which contains a representation of the Madonna and Child.

Although the parament-like hangings which are placed on the
Volto Santo's wrists appear similar to the skirt decorations,
I have been unable to determine exactly when they may have
been added.

The decorative metal slippers which cover the feet of
the Volto Santo on major holidays may also date from the four-
teenth century. Guerra indicated that these shoes probably
replaced ones that had been added to the statue, along with
the chalice placed beneath its right foot, in the twelfth
century.[19]

Little of the original decorative paraphenalia of the
Volto Santo survives today, except in the altered form of
later, and presumably richer, replacements. This "habit of
honouring statues with gifts of jewelry, so common today, was
also the custom in the Early Middle Ages."[20] Even if the
modern worshipper is no longer dazzled by those particular
ornaments initially intended to add visual richness to the
statue, he can still surmise what its original effect may
have been.

On the other hand, it has not been so easy a matter for
scholars to determine when the Volto Santo itself was sculp-
ted. There are those who propose that the image is indeed a
work by Nicodemus.[21] Other opinions vary, with authors sug-
gesting wide ranging dates between the seventh and thirteenth
centuries.

Those who opt for an early date agree neither on the
date itself nor the location in which the Volto Santo was

created.[22] Suggestions do usually center around the Near
East and Palestine, the colobium worn by Christ being cited
as a typically Eastern, and specifically Syrian, mode of pre-
sentation. Such a crucified Christ does appear in the Gospels
of Rabbula (Illustration 6), which were written at Zagba in
Eastern Syria in 586. Although typical of many Byzantine
portrayals of the crucified Christ, the colobium-clad Christ
also appears early in the West. A fresco in the church of
Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, painted during the pontificate of
the Syrian Pope Zacchary (741-52) presents Christ in this
manner.[23] Even if one admits the possibility of Syrian or
Palestinian origins of the Volto Santo, the difficulties in-
volved in transporting such a large object over such a long
distance make the suggestion unconvincing.[24] Also, it is not
clear whether crucifixes the size of the Volto Santo were made
at that time, even though walnut was probably available in
Syria.

If then, an eighth-century or earlier date seems im-
probable, if not impossible, might not the Volto Santo be
related chronologically to the existing twelfth-century manu-
scripts of its legend?

In 1922 Luigi Dami published the first photograph of
the Volto Santo unencumbered by its later decorations. On
purely stylistic grounds he suggested that the Volto Santo
was probably sculpted in the late twelfth or early thirteenth
century.[25] Such a dating would require one to believe, how-
ever, that the legend of the Volto Santo was created for an

object which did not exist until a century after the earliest versions of the legend were written. Yet, his analysis was not without merit. Whereas others had contended, and would continue to contend, that no similar sculpture of wood existed in Italy at that time,[26] Dami compared the Volto Santo with the mid-thirteenth-century Volterra Deposition (Illustration 7). Of special interest to him was the manner in which the folds of cloth on each of the figures outline parallel concave furrows. Even though the Christ in the Volterra example has closed eyes, the general disposition of his features and hair shows a certain affinity, like the folds of the cloth, to the manner of sculpting seen on the Volto Santo.

There are indeed general stylistic similarities between the Volto Santo and such thirteenth century works,[27] but Dami's refusal to deal with any historical considerations other than those of style prompted an outraged reply to his suggestions by Adriano Bernareggi who published documents which proved that the Volto Santo existed before the twelfth-century.[28] A papal bull of Pasquale II, dated September 18, 1107, speaks of the revenues received from the Volto Santo and states that the practice of offering gifts to the Volto Santo had been established by predecessors of the current Bishop Rangiero.[29] Since Rangiero's bishopric began in 1097, we must assume that such practices were established at least before 1097 and probably even much earlier.[30]

This documentary evidence seems not only to disprove Dami's dating, but also to make untenable any suggestion that

the Volto Santo may have been brought to Lucca only after the
First Crusade, as were the Pisan relics of Nicodemus. Only
the invention of the relics learned of by Stefano da Butrione
can be assigned such a date.

Furthermore, Eadmero (died 1121) reported in his Historia
novorum that William II, duke of Normandy and King of England
(1087-1100) swore "per Sanctum Vultum de Luca."[31] If the cult
and the renown of the Volto Santo had already spread to
England by the early twelfth-century, it certainly cannot be
thought of as a newly invented relic or one of the thirteenth-
century.[32]

Bernareggi also notes that copies of the Volto Santo
already appear before the thirteenth century.[33] The most
famous and well-documented copy of the Volto Santo, the so-
called Imervard Crucifix (Illustration 8) is indeed dated
circa 1166, over a quarter century in advance of Dami's date.[34]

Following an earlier suggestion by A. Kingsley Porter,[35]
Bernareggi concluded that the Volto Santo was a Western cre-
ation, perhaps from either Spain or southern France. His
dating, while earlier than Dami's, lent little more specifi-
city to the dispute. Bernareggi suggested that the Volto
Santo was sculpted sometime before the middle of the eleventh
century but not earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries.[36]

Kingsley Porter began his excursus on the Volto Santo
by admitting what is by now most evident: "The Volto Santo
is a baffling riddle."[37] He also attempted to show its simi-
larities to certain Catalan Crucifixes from north-eastern

Spain. The head of the Volto Santo recalled to him "the same peculiar shape as that of the Erilavall Deposition at Vich,"[38] which he had dated from the second half of the twelfth century. The Volto Santo is also similar in type to the Majestad from Caldas de Montbúy which he dated from the first quarter of the twelfth century.[39] Similarly dated is the Majestad from San Juan de las Fuentes.[40] From the second quarter of the same century Porter cited the Baget Majestad.[41] All these figures, as well as the late eleventh-century Barcelona Majestad (Illustration 9),[42] wear a colobium belted at the waist like the Volto Santo, and their eyebrows and long noses are all portrayed in a similar manner.

Unfortunately, as will be seen below, the inaccuracies of Porter's chronology discount his suggested date from the third quarter of the eleventh century for the Volto Santo. Porter did, nonetheless, provide a strong series of possible links between Spain and the Volto Santo. He saw strong similarities between Spanish legends and Leobino's legend, as Bernareggi had noted great similarities with the legends of the Christ of Valencia (S. Salvatore) and of Santa Maria del Grao nearby.[43] Porter also noted that the manufacturing of a sacred image by angels closely parallels the story of the Cross of the Angels in the Cámara Santa of Orviedo.[44] The translation of the body of Saint James to Compostella, according to the Golden Legend, was accomplished, like that of the Volto Santo, with a boat that "had neither rudder nor

steersman,...set sail, trusting to the providence of God to determine the place of his burial."[45] Porter also remarked that the discovery of sacred objects in caves is a "constantly reappearing commonplace in Spanish legends."[46]

Such a Spanish origin could partially account for the legendary arrival of the Volto Santo by ship, in this case, in a rather easily accomplished journey. Specifically, Kingsley Porter suggests that the Volto Santo "may well have come to Lucca at the time the cathedral was reconstructed (1061-1073). The study of Spanish miraculous images shows that such usually put in their first appearance at the time of the reconstruction of churches."[47]

In the same year as Porter's pronouncement, Salmi suggested a mid-twelfth-century date and French origins.[48] He gave no explanation for this designation, but perhaps he had in mind such a work as the Belpuig crucifix,[49] which closely resembles the above-mentioned Catalan crucifixes. Mâle considered the Belpuig work to be a twelfth-century Volto Santo copy.[50]

It was not until 1936 that Géza de Francovich clarified the above issues.[51] He began his discussion with the Deposition group from San Juan de las Abadesas (Illustration 10) which can be securely dated by the "1251" carved on its base.[52] Its affinities with the previously discussed Volterra Deposition are numerous.[53] Although the Spanish example appears stiffer and more generalized, the artists of both works rendered drapery as concave surfaces against the skin. The Christ

in each is dead, though not yet the horrific representation
found often in Gothic sculpture. The spacing of the folds
on the Volto Santo's colobium is repeated on the garment
worn by the Virgin from the Spanish group. The accompanying
thief's loincloth also splays in a manner very similar to the
treatment given the Volto Santo, even though the cloth on the
thief admittedly adheres more closely to the body beneath.
The rather similar styles found in both Tuscany and Catalonia
in the mid-thirteenth-century tend to weaken the case for de-
pendence of the Volto Santo upon Spanish examples. A native
Tuscan tradition of sculpting would appear to have existed.[54]
Certainly the Volterra Deposition did not arise from an ar-
tistic vacuum.

Furthermore, Francovich's refutation of Kingsley Porter's
dating weakens the supposed connection between the Volto Santo
and Catalonian Majestads. Although the Tahull and Erilavall
Depositions initially might appear earlier than the San Juan
de las Abadesas group of 1251, whose surfaces are more highly
polished and well preserved than those of the Tahull and
Erilavall groups, these same groups express a new Gothic
aesthetic in their manner of portrayal. As Francovich has
observed,[55] the loincloths of each no longer are suggested
by stylized uniform curves but more closely resemble and imi-
tate real thicknesses of cloth. The artist has shown an in-
terest in portraying the natural folds of skin around the
knees, and most importantly, the open-mouthed, pierced-sided
Christ. This suffering Christ is certainly typical of the

new humanity of the Gothic. Such a representation would be inconceivable in the twelfth-century but widespread throughout Europe at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth-centuries, later even than the controversial early thirteenth-century date suggested by Dami for the Volto Santo.

Similarly disputable is the late eleventh century date Porter assigns to the Barcelona Majestad. I would concur with Francovich who sees the Barcelona example as certainly later than the sculpture from Caldas de Montbúy, which Porter himself dates in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The Barcelona Majestad should probably, therefore, be redated circa mid-twelfth-century, as is the similar Baget Majestad.[56]

Even the Caldas de Montbúy work is subject to redating since it more closely resembles the yet later and definitively dated 1251 Abadesas group.[57] Thus none of the Spanish examples predate the requisite 1107, when the Volto Santo is first mentioned in surviving documents.

Stylistically, the Majestads and the Volto Santo are also at variance. Although they all wear similar colobiums, their physiognomy and hairdos are "assolutamente differente."[58] None of the Majestads shows the same inclination of the head to the side, nor the half-open, half-closed eyes of the Volto Santo. Even the similar colobiums end horizontally, while the Volto Santo's dips noticeably on one side. The wide concave folds are not found at all in the Majestads but only in the mid-thirteenth century Abadesas Deposition. The stumpy nailed feet of the Majestads also show no similarity to the elegant

elongation of the Volto Santo's feet.

Those correspondences which do occur between the Majestads and the Volto Santo may suggest that both shared a common artistic root.[59] In the case of the Majestads, perhaps their large size reflects a source in works such as the now lost lifesize crucifix placed by Theobard in the cathedral of Narbonne (c. 890).[60] In fact, early in the ninth century, Narbonne had become the metropolitan see of Gerona, Barcelona and Vich.[61] As will be seen in Chapter 3, the Volto Santo may also have evolved from such early works, though modified and transformed by Ottonian artists. Perhaps the circumstances of their use were also similar. The liturgical dramas of Good Friday and Easter which involved the Volto Santo (see Chapter 4) are also known to have been quite popular in Catalonia.[62]

Outside of Catalonia it is difficult to find statues which look like the Volto Santo from the eleventh through the mid-twelfth-centuries.

Francovich finally turns to the new plastic sense of sculpting which appears in the mid-twelfth-century at St. Denis and more specifically on the facade of Chartres (1145-55). On the figures there, one side of a hem is longer than another. Even similar belts are worn by female figures in these two monuments.[63]

The greatest Italian disseminator of the new Gothic style was Benedetto Antelami. The garment worn by the priest

in the Presentation in the Temple (Illustration 11) over the south door of the Baptistry at Parma (1200-10) is very similar to the Volto Santo's colobium and would seem a forerunner of the similarities previously observed with the Volterra Deposition. Francovich adds that the Queen of Sheba portrayed by Antelami on the exterior of the baptistry (c. 1208-10) wears the same sort of belt as the Volto Santo.[64] Furthermore, the garment worn by Saint Andrew in the tympanum of the central portal of S. Andrea a Vercelli (1219-27) has the same gently curving, uninterrupted surfaces of cloth which run from above the belt into the sleeve like the Volto Santo. On all these examples the folds of the cloth are portrayed like those of the Volto Santo as parallel concave furrows.

For these reasons, Francovich agreed with Dami's suggested late twelfth-or early thirteenth-century date and could only account for the disparity with the historical documents by suggesting that the original Volto Santo may have been damaged somehow. Owing to its great fame, the Volto Santo was, he suggests, probably replaced quietly with a new copy which suggests certain early types in the face but betrays the work of an artist trained in the manner of Antelami.[65]

The records of building and refurbishing on the Cathedral of San Martino suggest to me ample opportunity for such a copy to have been executed. The facade of the cathedral was entirely rebuilt in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In fact, an inscription records that in 1204

Guidetto was in charge of the work.[66] During such disruptions it would certainly not have raised any great suspicions to have removed the Volto Santo from view under the guise of protecting it. Of even greater interest is the fact that the chapel of the Volto Santo, as Guerra relates, was renovated around 1200 and in it were painted frescoes depicting the coming of the Volto Santo to Lucca.[67] During such work it would have been absolutely necessary to remove the Volto Santo from its chapel for an extended period of time.

Art historians have also noted the influence of Antelami's art upon other works in Lucca, for example, the early thirteenth-century Martyrdom of St. Regulus over the south portal of the cathedral.[68] Since Parma is on the northern end of the Via Francigena which led from Lucca to Rome,[69] artistic ideas developed in Parma could easily have found their way to Lucca.

Only by recognizing that the Volto Santo venerated today is probably not the original can one make sense out of the history of this famous crucifix.[70]

NOTES - CHAPTER II

[1]Most authorities today agree that the figure is sculpted of the juglans regia. Almerico Guerra, Storia del Volto Santo (Lucca: Tipografica Arcivescovo s. Paolino, 1881), 15, on the other hand, thought the body to be of oak and the face somewhat hopefully, to be of cedar of Lebanon. Reiner Haussherr, "Das Imvardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 16 (1962), 132 says that walnut is a very popular material for Italian crucifixes.

[2]These measurements are according to Guerra, 28.

[3]Perhaps the lighter color of the feet is indicative of the wear incurred by the kisses of many centuries of pilgrims.

[4]Guerra, 25. He notes on 427, n.2 that an unspecified drawing of the eleventh or twelfth century shows the letters Alpha and Omega on the ends of the cross. There were no traces of these letters when Guerra examined the cross.

[5]Adriano Bernareggi, "Il Volto Santo di Lucca," Rivista di archeologia cristiana, 2 (1925), 122.

[6]Luigi Dami, "Il Volto Santo di Lucca," Dedalo, Anno II, Vol. III (February 1922), 708-11.

[7]Arthur Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, Vol. 2 (Florence: Pantheon, 1928), 11.

[8]Dr. Molly Teasdale Smith has referred me to her article, "A Gothic Woodcarving in the MSU Collection," Kresge Art Center Bulletin, 5 (October 1971). In note 1 she refers the reader to J. Rorimer, "A Monumental Catalan Wood Statue of the Fourteenth Century," Metropolitan Museum Studies, 3 (1930), 102 regarding this practice.

[9]Guerra, 188-89. Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori (Vol. 2). Annotations and Comments by Gaetano Milanes (Florence: Sansoni, 1906), 119-20 speaks of Civitali's Volto Santo chapel: "il qual tempio non è veramente se non molto bello e proporzionato."

[10]Lapis Aesaris, Il Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: L. Tommasi, 1962), 11.

[11]Guerra, 190 gives the exact inscriptions.

[12]Guerra, 195. This included the removal of eight angels with instruments of the Passion which had been placed in the cupola of the chapel under the supervision of Muzzio Oddi da Urbino in 1623. Likewise relocated were four statues of the evangelists which had been placed in the Volto Santo chapel by de Francelli of Rome in 1663. They were removed to the baptistry. According to Guerra, 221 the gold sceptre which is placed beneath the Volto Santo's right arm on holidays was given to the cathedral on September 12, 1852. When a new gate to the city was opened in the nineteenth century a new key was created to join those placed to the Volto Santo's left.

[13]Guerra, 27.

[14]For example, Gustav Schnürer, "Über Alter und Herkunft des Volto Santo von Lucca," Römische Quartelschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, 34 (1926), 272.

[15]Guerra, 124.

[16]Guerra, 198-201 describes the circumstances of its creation. After a series of sermons given by Father Candido da Verona asking for special offerings for a crown for the Volto Santo, a box was placed in the Volto Santo chapel to collect the funds.

[17]Guerra, 202. There is also record of a contract for late Trecento embellishments. See Guerra, 83 and 446, n. 12.

[18]Guerra, 202. It is thought to have replaced an earlier, non-figural belt which is represented in such manuscripts as the Trecento Tucci-Tognetti Codex- E. Lazzareschi, "La festa di S. Croce a Lucca," Le Vie d'Italia,[40] (1934), 636 reproduces a page from this manuscript. Dr. Molly Teasdale Smith has suggested to me that the saints portrayed in the niches of the belt may correspond to some sort of litany. In this instance, Guerra, 258 speaks of an unspecified, very old prayer used in Litaniae during times of public need.

[19]Guerra, 32 states that the boots were added for decorum and to protect the feet from the kisses of the faithful.

[20]Ilene H. Forsyth, The Throne of Wisdom (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 48. She cites a necklace hung about a Madonna in Coventry (eleventh century) and a statue in Avallon (c. 1078) which was adorned with a golden crown and bracelets.

[21]The major proponent of such a theory is Guerra, 1-24. One cannot help but be fascinated by his ingenious, but nevertheless inappropriate, use of Biblical tradition to "prove" that the Volto Santo could have been sculpted by Nicodemus. Bernareggi, 128 reports that Grimouard de Saint-Laurent also asserts that we cannot exclude the possibility of an attribution to Nicodemus.

[22]Bernareggi, 128 reports that Gaffre sees it as a Semitic work of unknown date; Marucchi and Scaglia date it between the sixth-and seventh-centuries; Ridolfi sees it as a Byzantine work of not later than the eighth-century; Dobschütz and Wüscher-Becchi assign it to the eighth-century. Schnürer, 300 reports that Saint-Laurent also suggests a seventh-century Armenian provenance; Kraus dates the Volto Santo as a work of the seventh- or eight-century and Stockbauer, Miller and Schnürer, 276 agree on an eighth-century date.

[23]According to V. N. Lazarev, "L'Arte Bizantina e Particolarmente la Pittura in Italia nell'Alto Medioevo," L'Oriente Cristiano nella storia della civiltà (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1964), 664 he was of Syrian origin. Gertrude Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. 2, Trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1972), 94 on the other hand, says that he was a Greek from southern Italy. Lazarev, 665 says that between 606 and 752 there were ten Greek and Syrian popes. The fresco from Rome is illustrated in Paul Thoby, Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente (Nantes: Bellanger, 1959), Pl. VIII, no. 20.

[24]Haussherr, 142 cites this same problem.

[25]Luigi Dami, "Il Volto Santo di Lucca," Dedalo, Anno II, Vol. III (February 1922), 708-11.

[26]As for example, Schnürer, 293.

[27]Such backward looking interpolations of styles are admittedly dangerous and a case certainly could be made for the Volto Santo having somehow influenced the Volterra Deposition, no matter when the Volto Santo was created, because of its great fame.

[28]See his article, pages 117 to 155 cited above in note 5.

[29]The entire Latin text is printed by Bernareggi, 138.

[30]Porter, Vol. 2, 9.

[31]J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Latinae, 159 (Paris: Garnier and J. P. Migne, 1894), 364. The same story is also repeated in William of Malmesbury's (died 1143) account, Migne, PL, 179, 1275.

[32]Such is the reasoning of Schnürer, 278 who concludes that the Volto Santo arrived in the eighth century. Obviously Dami chose to ignore all literary evidence at his disposal. Guerra, 83 had already reported in 1881 the documents which Bernareggi subsequently published. Guerra, 104 also speaks of a diploma of February 10, 1123 from Henry IV which recognizes the existence of the Volto Santo.

[33]Although the dates Bernareggi assigns to most of the Volto Santo copies are currently thought to be unrealistically early, his observation still holds true. He wisely admits the possibility of some common source for the Volto Santo and its replicas, particularly in Spain, whereas Porter, 8, sees any work similar to the Volto Santo as a Volto Santo copy.

[34]Haussherr, 156. See also Erwin Panofsky, "Das Braunschweiger Domkruzifix und das Volto Santo zu Lucca," Festschrift für H. Goldschmidt (Lipsia, 1923), 37-44.

[35]Bernareggi, 150, n.2 refers the reader to Porter's Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads. Vols. 5 and 6 (Boston: Jones, 1923).

[36]Bernareggi, 154.

[37]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 8.

[38]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 11. See Vol. 2, Plate 69. The much more refined modelling of the Volto Santo, however, shares little in common with the Erilavall example.

[39]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, Plate 63.

[40]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, Plate 65. According to Porter, 11 this work retains its original polychromy.

[41]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, Plate 64. Porter, 11 records that the nose and feet of this eight foot tall figure are restorations. The silver crown is modern.

[42]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 1, Plate 34.

[43]Bernareggi, 126, n. 1.

[44]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 9.

[45]The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, translated by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 371-72.

[46]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 9.

[47]Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 10. On page 11 he also admits the possibility that the Volto Santo could have been made in Tuscany.

[48]Mario Salmi, Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany (Florence: Rinascimento del Libro, 1928), 78.

[49]Emile Mâle, L'Arte religeux du XIIe siècle en France Troisième Edition (Paris: Armand Colin, 1928), 255, Figure 170. Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, 12 reports that this work "has been ruthlessly overpainted." Mâle also cites similar works at La Llagonne and Angoustrine. Both these works are illustrated in Dictionnaire des Églises de France, Vol. 2 (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1966), that at Saint-André, Angoustrine-II C 8 and that at Saint-Vincent, La Llagone- II C 79. Richard B. Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 25 notes that after Charlemagne's reign Catalonia was "closely linked with France in every way."

[50]Mâle, 256

[51]Géza de Francovich, Il Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: Scuola Tipografico Artigianelli, 1936).

[52]See Porter, Romanesque, Vol. 2, Plate 72.

[53]Francovich, however, did not concern himself with the relationship of the Catalan example to the Volterra Deposition, nor to their relationship to the Volto Santo.

[54]For much earlier work in Italy see Nicolette Gray, "Dark Age figure sculpture in Italy," Burlington, 67 (November 1935), 191-202. Francovich discusses other sculptures similar to the Volto Santo and the Volterra Deposition in his article, "A Romanesque School of Wood Carvers in Central Italy," Art Bulletin, 19 (1937), 5-57. See also his Scultura medioevale in legno (Rome: Tumminelli, 1943).

[55]Francovich, Volto Santo, 4-5.

[56]Francovich, Volto Santo, 6.

[57]Francovich, Volto Santo, 7.

[58]Francovich, Volto Santo, 12.

[59]Schiller, Vol. 2, 145.

[60]Ilene H. Forsyth, The Throne of Wisdom (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 73 lists a number of these large sculptured crucifixes from the ninth century.

[61]Donovan, 26.

[62]Donovan, 21. The cathedral of Barcelona employed a specially constructed sepulchre for the liturgical ceremonies of Easter week, according to Donovan, 161. Similarly, "from earliest times the cathedral of Gerona was famous throughout Catalonia for its numerous and colorful liturgical customs." Donovan, 98.

[63]Perhaps this helps to explain in part the curious transformation of the Volto Santo in Northern Europe to a female martyr usually identified as Saint Kümmernis. For a complete discussion of this cult and its basis in the popularity and dispersion of the cult of the Volto Santo see Gustav Schnürer and Joseph Ritz, Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1934). This female saint was also known as Saint Wilgefortis. See J. Gessler, "Wilgefortiana, een bibliographisch overzicht," Oostvlaamsche Zanten, 16 (January- April 1941), 1-13. Ironically, this transformed cult was later reintroduced into Italy.

[64]Francovich, Volto Santo, 17.

[65]Francovich, Volto Santo, 18. This idea has gained wide acceptance, as for example Haussherr, 136. Antelami's style is very similar to that of the Romanesque reliefs at St. Gilles (late twelfth-century), which in turn are related to the sculpture at Chartres.

[66]Oscar Mothes, Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1884), 739, n. 1366 records the exact inscription: "Condidit electi tam pulchras dextra Guidetti. MCCIV."

[67]Guerra, 83. He unfortunately gave no documentary evidence. On page 424, n. 8 he similarly states that "sappiamo da antiche scritture che nella capella eretta per questo simulacro nel secolo XII era dipinta l'istoria del Volto Santo."

[68]Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. 12 (New York: McGraw-Hill 1966), Pl. 256. Goffredo Rosati, "Benedetto Antelami," Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. 1 Rev.prtng. (New York: Mc-Graw-Hill, 1968), 473 also cites those scenes showing St. Martin.

[69]The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 5 (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 227.

[70]Since Francovich made his suggestion that the present Volto Santo replaces an earlier sculpture, Hugh Honour, "An Unpublished Romanesque Crucifix," Connoisseur, 136 (1955), 150-54 has suggested that a crucifix from Bocca di Magro in Tuscany may reflect the form of the original Volto Santo. The Braunschweig crucifix must also reflect the original statue.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINAL VOLTO SANTO AND ITS PROVENANCE

Since the Volto Santo honored today in the cathedral
of Lucca probably is not the original statue known by that
name, previous attempts at dating the advent of this highly
renowned statue in Lucca must be reconsidered. To this end
must we be content like Bernareggi to suppose that the origi-
nal version of the Volto Santo arrived in Lucca at an un-
specified date between the eighth and eleventh centuries?
I think not. While Volto Santo II probably is not a direct
copy of Volto Santo I, the present Volto Santo must never-
theless have preserved many of the original's essential fea-
tures. By reexamining the account of the Volto Santo's ar-
rival as given in Leobino's legend and by considering the
present Volto Santo's similarities to Ottonian works of art
which may have served it as conceptual prototypes, I shall
propose that Volto Santo I was a work of the second quarter
of the eleventh century.[1]

Attempts to assign an eighth century date to Volto
Santo II failed because of stylistic discrepancies. Leobino's
legend did specify, however, that Bishop Giovanni had trans-
ported the Volto Santo to Lucca in the year 742. In fact,
there appears to be some coincidence between the events nar-
rated in the legend and the documented history of eighth-

41

century Lucca. Although Pope Pasquale II's bull of 1107 is the first documented account of the Volto Santo's presence in Lucca, Barsocchini had suggested as early as 1844 that the eighth-century foundation of a church dedicated to Dominis et Salvatoris may have appropriately recorded the arrival of the Volto Santo and the honor accorded it.[2] This church first appeared in documents of 797.[3] It was evidentally demolished sometime in the early tenth century, since a document of 930 records that there had been a church of Dominis et Salvatoris near the cathedral but that it no longer existed at that time.[4] It has generally been assumed that with the destruction of this church Volto Santo I was placed in the south aisle of Lucca cathedral, the site Leobino had indicated in his legend.

Such circumstantial evidence for the eighth century existence of Volto Santo I has left most recent writers unconvinced.[5] Those who associated the Volto Santo with the church of Dominis et Salvatoris cited the large number of donations presented to the church as indicative of its importance. On the other hand, an analysis of these donations by Pedemonte has shown that the church thrived during the bishopric of Giovanni I but that during the remaining years of its existence the church received only three recorded gifts.[6] Apparently the church was a favorite of its episcopal founder, but its patrimony remained modest. It was neither the richest nor the poorest church in the diocese.[7] In short, the church of Dominis et Salvatoris "non presenta nessun

carattere di eccezionalità."[8] Furthermore, many other churches in the late eighth and early ninth centuries dedicated to the Savior were more richly endowed than the one in Lucca.[9]

Nonetheless, there are some indications that Leobino had good reason to cast Bishop Giovanni I as the protagonist of his legend. It was Giovanni who first actively acquired relics for Lucca,[10] precisely when Charlemagne occupied the territory of the Longobards and the center of power in the region was transferred to Lucca.[11] Until this time the Lombard dukes had had possession of Luni,[12] but now this town, which figures so importantly in the Volto Santo legend, began to rely upon Lucca for its defense.[13] Indeed, the legend's assertion that it was necessary for Giovanni to come to Luni before the ship laden with the Volto Santo would come to shore corresponds accurately with Lucca's new responsibility for a large portion of the Ligurian coast.[14] Corsica and Luni were strategic points in Charlemagne's late eighth century plans to counter the Saracens, and since 797 Charlemagne's boats to and from Jerusalem had landed there.[15]

Of particular importance to our concern is the fact that relics of the Holy Cross and of Christ's blood were transmitted from the Holy Land via this route. A tenth-century report of the translation of a particle of the True Cross and relic of the Redeemer's blood to Reichnau (c. 799) indicates such a practice.[16] The legend says that Azan, Prefect of Jerusalem, was bringing costly gifts to Charlemagne.

Resting in Corsica, Azan became very ill, so Charlemagne sent
two emissaries to receive the gifts and to bring them back to
him at Ravenna. This closely corresponds to the historical
annals of 799 for the Frankish court which record that the
Saracen Azan, Prefect of Huesca, had given the key of his
city to Charlemagne and that the Patriarch of Jerusalem had
sent relics which were brought to Aachen by a monk.[17] Simi-
larly, Charlemagne received presents and a relic of the True
Cross from two monks, one from the Mount of Olives and the
other from St. Sabas, while he was in Rome in 800.[18] Further-
more, it is recorded that in 801 the emissaries of the Calif
Harun-al-Rachid stopped in the region of Luni as they brought
gifts, among them the famous elephant, to Charlemagne.[19]
Having thoroughly studied such accounts, Schwarzmaier has
convincingly suggested that a relic of the Redeemer's blood
and some sort of cross actually acquired from Charlemagne or
from those persons transporting relics from Jerusalem were
later incorporated into Leobino's tale.[20]

Often, legends do correspond to actual historical events.
The religious foundations of St. Riquier, Toulouse, Chartres
and Paris all credit Charlemagne with the donation of relics,[21]
as also do Sens, Sitter, Florence and Corbie.[22] Charlemagne's
palace at Aachen had become a major point from which relics
were dispersed,[23] and Lucca can thus be seen as one of the
many centers in which grew the cult of relics of the Savior
and dedication of churches to Him.

Such a widespread popularity sufficiently accounts
for the establishment of the church of Dominis et Salvatoris
by Bishop Giovanni, and the donation of a relic of Christ's
blood to the Lunese seems only logical since it was probably
through their port that the relics were received. On the
other hand, the question of whether Volto Santo I itself ar-
rived at this time remains unanswered.

Forsyth has recently shown that "in ninth century Europe
large, sculptured crucifixes existed in considerable numbers."[24]
Although "the descriptions of these lost works suggest that
the crucifixes were of grand size, often of human proportions"
like Volto Santo II, the Carolingian works were "ordinarily
made of gold or silver attached to a wood base and ornamented
with gems" unlike the present Volto Santo.[25] Was Volto Santo
I one of these large gold or silver crucifixes, the wooden
core of which has been transmitted to us, in effect, in the
rendition of Volto Santo II? Such a conclusion seems unlikely.
There is little in the legend of the Volto Santo or in local
tradition and documents to suggest such an elaborate and ex-
travagant donation. There are also very few examples of
Carolingian crucifixes in which Christ wears a colobium.[26]
Finally, while the threads of the Volto Santo's legend can
be seen to have their beginnings at the end of the eighth cen-
tury, these large-scale crucifixes did not appear, for the
most part, until the second quarter of the ninth century.
Even then they were made despite condemnation by such church

councils as the Paris Synod of 825.[27] It was indeed the cult

of relics and not the cult of images which had been sponsored

by Charlemagne. It thus cannot be assumed that Volto Santo I

was of Carolingian provenance.

It is interesting to note, however, that a list of al-

tars from the cathedral of Lucca which dates from between

1065 and 1109 commences with mention of an "Altare ante Vultum"

and an altar "Ante Crucem veterem."[28] Although Guidi identi-

fied both the "Altar before the Face" and that "Before the

Old Cross" as the Volto Santo,[29] Pedemonte questioned such

an equation of the two terms.[30] There seems to be little

doubt that two distinct objects are described before two dif-

ferent altars. Schwarzmaier has suggested that perhaps the

old cross may have been a cross reliquary like that acquired

by Reichnau. Brought to Lucca by Bishop Giovanni and later

translated into the legend of Leobino, perhaps it provided

some of the relics which Stefano da Butrione found in the

Volto Santo.[31] Leobino's legend does have the inconsistent

quality of a work which resulted from the merger of a number

of traditions. The discovery of relics around the year 1000,

some forty years after the cult of the Volto Santo was proba-

bly first promoted in Lucca, indicates in some measure the

way various elements were brought together by this late

eleventh- or early twelfth-century writer.

In suggesting that the cult of the Volto Santo was first

promoted forty years prior to the discovery of relics within

the statue, I am focusing attention upon the bishoprics of
Anselm I (later Pope Alexander II) and his nephew Anselm II.
As has been shown above, the cult of the Volto Santo was well
established in England in the early twelfth century, primarily
due to the efforts of Pope Alexander II. Although born in
Baggio near Milan "he was made bishop of Lucca in 1057, re-
taining the see as pope" (1061-1073).[32] "In 1066 we find
the Pope officiating from August until November in the cathe-
dral of San Martino ... so it must have been at Lucca that
he received the ambassadors of Duke William of Normandy and
declared him to be the legitimate successor to the throne of
England."[33] Furthermore, when William the Conqueror was
crowned on Easter Day, 1070, it was under orders from Alex-
ander II and accomplished by two of his papal legates.[34]
Thus, when William II swore "per Sanctum Vultum de Luca"
he was recalling the papal sanction of his reign and con-
comittently paying homage to the sacred image which was as-
sociated with the Pope's bishopric of Lucca.[35] It was also
under Pope Alexander II that the cathedral was remodelled,
and as it will be recalled, Kingsley Porter has suggested
that it was at this time that the Volto Santo may have first
appeared in Lucca.[36] One of the miracles cited in Leobino's
legend likewise indicates that the Volto Santo was revered
during the bishopric of the Pope. One of the miracles is
supposed to have taken place during "tempore Lamberti et
Blanchardi archidiaconi qui fratres uterini fuerunt."[37]

These two brothers, Lambertus and Blanchardus, served under either Bishop Anselm I or Anselm II.[38] This association of the bishops' archdeacons with the Volto Santo, taken in conjunction with the other events of their careers, strongly suggests that the Pope and his nephew were the principal promoters of the Volto Santo cult in its initial stage.[39]

An analysis of the artistic prototypes upon which Volto Santo I may have been based suggests a type slightly earlier than mid-eleventh century. Thus, Volto Santo I's arrival may actually predate the bishoprics of the Anselms. In this case, the Volto Santo can be seen as an image whose presence in Lucca was well-established before it was elevated to its position as chief religious symbol of the town.

The general character of the face of Volto Santo II seems somehow related to the face of Christ as depicted on the wooden crucifix probably carved for Archbishop Gero of Cologne (969-76).[40] Admittedly, the Gero crucifix (Illustration 12) expresses human emotion as particularized in Christ's suffering, while the Romanesque Volto Santo is more stylized. The pained expression of the Gero crucifix seems to be transformed into a profoundly stoic sadness on Volto Santo II. Yet, the similar manner in which the hair of both statues spreads across their shoulders and the way their eyebrows arch high over bulging eyes intimates some distant relationship. In fact, if one imagines Volto Santo II without its staring, glass-paste eyes, the similarities appear even greater. Perhaps Volto Santo I's portrayal more closely approximated the

emotional sense of the Gero crucifix than does the present
Volto Santo. Volto Santo II is, after all, one more step re-
moved from its original prototype than was Volto Santo I.

Admittedly, no extant, monumental Ottonian crucifix
presents Christ in a colobium, but this Eastern manner of
robing the crucified Christ is found, significantly enough,
in numerous Ottonian manuscripts, for example in the Cruci-
fixion from an eleventh century Metz Gospel Book, (Illustra-
tion 13) now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[41] Here
the bearded Christ is dressed, like the Volto Santo, in a
long-sleeved colobium. The borders of the hems and rounded
neckline are equally narrow. The colobium is folded at the
waist to suggest a sort of belt. His feet resting upon a
chalice, Christ is accompanied by the Virgin and St. John
below and personifications of the sun and moon in roundels
above. Whereas the Byzantine representation usually shows a
short-sleeved colobium, as for example, that on the Rabbula
Gospels,[42] Ottonian manuscript figures and Volto Santo II
have long sleeves. The three-quarter-length sleeves of the
Ottonian colobium are not significantly different in length
from the Volto Santo's sleeves. An examination of Volto
Santo II reveals an interesting similarity to Ottonian rep-
resentations. The closely spaced folds of Volto Santo II's
sleeves end approximately at the point where the Ottonian
examples terminate altogether. For some reason the sculptor
of the Volto Santo seems to have found it more agreeable to

extend the sleeves to the wrists, even though this lengthen-
ing produced wide cuffs on the sleeves which do not corre-
spond to the narrow border of the bottom hem.[43] Besides this
suggestion of a mutated Ottonian type in Volto Santo II, the
inclined, bearded head, hair spreading over the shoulders
and the delicate, elongated hands of the Ottonian manuscript
figures all have visual counterparts in Volto Santo II.

German influences have been noted by art historians in
numbers of Tuscan manuscripts from the eleventh century.[44]
These borrowings are only a logical reflection of close po-
litical ties. Lucca in particular had frequent dealings with
the Ottonian emperors and their officials in Tuscany. "Lucca
commanded the Via Francigena, which after the Lombard period
was one of the principal roads between Lombardy and Rome and
which assumed fresh significance after Otto I's coronation
as Holy Roman emperor in 962."[45] For the next century, every
Holy Roman emperor made expeditions into Italy, often pene-
trating Byzantine southern Italy.[46] In 1051 Henry III
strengthened his power with his marriage to Beatrice of Tuscany,
"whose lands lay across the main route from Germany to Rome."[47]

Giovanni II, bishop of Lucca from 1023 to 1056, actually
met the Emperor in Florence.[48] After the council called there
by Pope Victor II, it seems certain that Henry passed through
Lucca on his return to Germany.[49] Giovanni II also had deal-
ings with Conrad II, Henry's predecessor, who had granted
three privileges to the clerics of San Martino and a fourth
to the Lucchese ecclesiastical community in general.[50] It

is also known that in 1022 Henry II had visited the villa of the Dukes of Tuscany near Lucca.[51] Since the first document which speaks of Giovanni II, dated 1023, carries the name "of a small Bavarian city, it can be believed that this bishop, soon after his elevation, accompanied the emperor Henry to Germany, and perhaps assisted there at a council called by the same emperor."[52]

Besides having had these explicit connections with the Ottonian emperors, Giovanni II may perhaps also be implicated in Leobino's legend.[53] While Giovanni I is mentioned in both the legends of San Frediano and St. Regulus, it is significant that it was only under Giovanni II that the invention of the relics of San Frediano took place.[54] It has already been noted that Bishop Giovanni is the protagonist of the Volto Santo legend. This correspondence between the acts of the two bishops Giovanni seems far from accidental. Could the events associated with the Giovanni in the legend of Leobino be the collected recitation of both their deeds? The Volto Santo legend purports that the events narrated there took place, like those at San Frediano, "usque ad tempora Karoli et Pipini serenissimorum regum."[55] And yet we know, at least in the case of San Frediano, that it was Giovanni II who brought these relics to light. In Giovanni's many dealings with the Germans he could have easily obtained an appropriate prototype such as a manuscript for Volto Santo I or he may have acquired the statue itself. He may thus have become involved with the Volto Santo legend. Since it is under the

bishopric of Pope Alexander II that the cult of the Volto

Santo would appear to have first been widely promoted, it is

not difficult to see the arrival of this image through the

efforts of Giovanni II some years before.[56] Even after

Giovanni's time, Lucca remained loyal to the emperor for suc-

ceeding generations, as witnessed by an early thirteenth-

century coin minted at Lucca with images of both the Volto

Santo and the Emperor.[57] Thus it is not surprising that the

Volto Santo resembles such Ottonian manuscripts as that from

Metz or even the Crucifixion from the Pericopes of Henry II,

now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek.[58]

An appropriate theological climate which would have

welcomed the creation of such an image as the Volto Santo

also existed at the beginning of the second quarter of the

eleventh century. Around 1025 the statement issued by the

Synod of Arras sanctioned and encouraged the creation of

sacred images. Regarding worshippers' adoration of artistic

representations of Christ's passion, the Synod statement de-

clared that

> "while they [worshippers] venerate this out-
> ward appearance... they are adoring only
> Christ, not the work of men's hands. For it
> is not a stock of wood that is adored; rather,
> through that visible image is awakened man's
> inner discernment in which the passion and the
> death of Christ undertaken for us are inscribed
> as if on the scroll of the heart, so that each
> one recognizes within himself how much he owes
> to his Redeemer."[59]

As Forsyth has noted, such a statement aligns the West with

the Eastern idea that the honor of an image passes from the

original to the prototype and thus has the power "to incite a mystical contemplation of the meaning of Christian grace."[60] This is especially true in the case of the Volto Santo whose legend stresses that the image of Christ's face is the "vera icon" executed with the assistance of both Nicodemus - the historical person who had actually seen Christ's face - and angels who imparted its divine character. Perhaps still sensitive to the possibility of such an image being regarded as an idol, the creators of the Volto Santo legend wisely associated the work with Nicodemus. As will be demonstrated below, the use of the Volto Santo in the Adoratio crucis ceremony of Good Friday requires that the worshipper be aware that the honor he bestows upon the image of Christ is addressed in the end to Christ Himself.

Another element related to the ceremonies of Good Friday, the chalice placed beneath the Volto Santo's right foot, may also have Ottonian origins. As the object in which the Host and consecrated wine were commingled, the chalice in its liturgical use contains the body and blood of Christ. The Volto Santo's visual image of Christ's body is symbolically completed by the addition of the chalice. The Church is founded upon the sacrifice of Christ which both redeems and nourishes it. That the chalice be placed to Christ's right recalls the water and blood which flowed from Christ's side and symbolically recalls the death and new life of baptism. The sharing of Christ's church in this death and resurrection

is particularly important to the events of the Easter Vigil with which the Volto Santo was also associated.

The earliest surviving example of an actual chalice being portrayed with the crucifixion appears in a miniature from the ninth-century Sacramentary of Drogo.[61] Unlike the chalice placed beneath the Volto Santo's foot, the chalice in this miniature is held to the wounded side of Christ by a small figure. It is only with Ottonian examples, such as our previously cited example from Metz, that the chalice is regularly placed in its ritualistic position below Christ's feet.[62]

Although there is no specific mention of the chalice of the Volto Santo prior to 1213 when it was replaced by a new chalice connected with a box to receive offerings,[63] this replacement does suggest that a chalice had always been there. Even the earliest representations of the Volto Santo show it with a chalice.[64] Schnürer,[65] along with later writers,[66] excused the chalice as a device to hold up the Volto Santo's loose right shoe. According to a twelfth-century legend, the Volto Santo kicked off this shoe to an itinerant musician who had pleased the statue.[67] The earliest account of this miracle comes from an Icelandic monk writing around 1150 who had heard the story in Lucca on his way to the Holy Land.[68] Although the legend may account for a shoe which actually did fall off the foot of the Volto Santo, it does not sufficiently account for the chalice. In fact, the legend itself in no way attempts to account for it.[69]

A number of objects which could have been easily trans-
ported from Ottonian Germany to Lucca show a chalice placed
below a crucifix. These manuscripts and ivory carvings, like
that from the Cologne school in the first half of the eleventh
century now in the Musée de Cluny,[70] could have provided a
precedent for adding the chalice to the Volto Santo.

Even the basic iconography of the Volto Santo suggests
Ottonian sources. The colobium clearly reflects an adoption
of the Eastern form as interpreted by the Ottonians, whose
political and artistic ties with the Byzantine Empire are
well known.[71] The eschatological meaning of this mode of
presentation is clear. Its basic form derives from the
Revelation of John I:13 which speaks of "a figure like a Son
of man, dressed in a long robe tied at the waist with a golden
girdle."[72] This priestly garment worn by the Volto Santo
would have been especially appropriate during the bishopric
of Giovanni II. He attempted to reform the clergy and follow
the rules that the Bishop of Metz, Crodegango, had established
for his clerics.[73] Considering the strong ties between
Giovanni and the German emperors, one wonders whether this
acquaintance with the rule of Metz did not extend also to an
acquaintance with manuscripts such as those discussed above.
In any case, an image of Christ as the eternal High Priest
could well have reinforced the bishop's intentions to have
his clerics lead a priestly life more like Christ's.

This representation of the Apocalyptic Christ was proba-
bly made even more explicit by the addition of an alpha and

an omega on the arms of the cross. Guerra reports that a
drawing of perhaps the twelfth century shows these Greek
letters on the ends of the cross arms. He found no trace of
such lettering upon his inspection and therefore questioned
whether these actually did ever appear.[74] It seems certain
to me that they did. Not only does the first chapter of
John's Revelation describe Christ, but this robed figure
states in verses seventeen and eighteen:

> "Do not be afraid; it is I, the First and
> the Last; I am the Living One, I was dead
> and now I am to live for ever and ever, and
> I hold the keys of death and of the underworld."

The sculptor could have hardly translated these words more
fittingly. The Volto Santo is the image of the crucified
Christ who nonetheless is alive and triumphs in the End. The
cross behind the copy of the Volto Santo at Bocca di Magro
likewise has an alpha and an omega inscribed on the cross,
though in this case above Christ's head.[75] It has also been
noted by Schiller that the designation of the very similar
appearing Spanish Majestads "confirms their interpretation
as the type of the Apocalyptic Christ."[76] As will be seen
in Chapter 4, this image, with its aspects of both the living
and crucified Christ, is appropriate to the Easter ceremonies
in which the Volto Santo played a part. It is in conjunction
with these ceremonies that the eschatological meaning of the
Volto Santo became most apparent.

[1]In order to identify clearly whether I am referring to the present Volto Santo or to the earlier original, I shall adopt the designation of Volto Santo II for the former and Volto Santo I for the latter. References applicable to both works shall be designated as Volto Santo without a Roman numeral.

[2]As reported by Almerico Guerra, Storia del Volto Santo di Lucca (Lucca: Tipografia Arcivescovo s. Paolino, 1881), 440, n. 1. Guerra, 68-76 discusses this idea and adopts Barsocchini's suggestion as well as summarizing the documents which refer to the church. See also Antonio Pedemonte, Quando venne il Volto Santo a Lucca? (Lucca: Scuola Tipografica Artigianelli, 1936), 5-9.

[3]Guerra, 68. Pedemonte, 25 emphasizes however that the altar was dedicated to St. Peter and that the first donation was specifically given to the altar of St. Peter.

[4]Guerra, 73.

[5]For example, Reiner Haussherr, "Das Imvardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 16, No. 3-4 (1962), 140.

[6]Pedemonte, 11. Pedemonte, 15 shows that by 880 the church had lost its autonomy and passed to the dominion of the bishop.

[7]Pedemonte, 13.

[8]Pedemonte, 11.

[9]Pedemonte, 23 cites the monasteries of San Salvatore in Bresciano and San Salvatore di Sesto. Guerra, 55 mentions a contemporaneous founding of San Salvatore in Mura at Lucca and Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1972), 362 says that San Salvatore in Montione was rebuilt in 800 by the Tuscan Duke Wichram.

[10]Schwarzmaier, 337. Giovanni I is associated with the legends of the translation of the relics of Saints Regulus and Frediano, according to Schwarzmaier, 347. It is also recorded by Isa Belli Barsali, La Diocesi di Lucca (Spoleto:

Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1959), 27, n. 6
that he built the crypt at San Frediano in the late eighth
century. Prior to Carolingian times no relics had been ac-
quired at Lucca in spite of the fact that it was located on
the ancient road to Rome. See A. Solari, "Lucca centro
itinerario nell'antichità," Bolletino storico lucchese,1
(1929), 25-30.

[11]Gustav Schnürer, "Über Alter und Herkunft des Volto
Santo von Lucca," Römische Quartelschrift, 34 (1926), 295-96.

[12]Schwarzmaier, 355. Luni was located on the Via
Francigena near La Spezia. In 1204 the diocese was transferred
to Sarzana, and Luni was left uninhabited.

[13]Schwarzmaier, 358.

[14]Schwarzmaier, 365.

[15]Schwarzmaier, 368 "seit 797 die Boten nach Jerusalem
und die von dort kommenden Gesandtschaften an Land gegangen
sind."

[16]Schwarzmaier, 356-7 relates the entire story in
greater detail.

[17]Schwarzmaier, 357.

[18]Jean Ebersolt, Orient et Occident, 2nd ed. (Paris:
E. De Boccard, 1954), 46.

[19]Schwarzmaier, 357.

[20]Schwarzmaier, 358.

[21]Ebersolt, 47.

[22]Schwarzmaier, 359-60.

[23]Schwarzmaier, 361.

[24]Ilene H. Forsyth, The Throne of Wisdom (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1972), 73. She lists examples
from Auxerre (813-23), Le Mans (835), Redon (869) and Narbonne
(c. 890).

[25]Forsyth, 73. She remarks only on the ninth-century
works, making no mention of the Volto Santo.

[26]Haussherr, 160. Exceptional is a short-sleeved rep-
resentation in the Utrecht Psalter. See Haussherr, 159, Ill.
22.

[27]Forsyth, 81.

[28]Published by Pietro Guidi, "Per la storia della Cattedrale e del Volto Santo," Bolletino storico lucchese, 4 (1932), 169. The list continues on page 170. The first two items are fully listed as follows: "Altare ante Vultum: in honore XII Apostolorum, Cornelii et Cipriani atque Concordii, Gregorii martyris Spoletini. Ante Crucem veterem: Blasii, Valentini, Remigii et Xmilium Martyrum." There is no indication within the manuscript as to where these altars were located in the church.

[29]Guidi, 178.

[30]Pedemonte, 45.

[31]Schwarzmaier, 355.

[32]J. J. Ryan, "Alexander II, Pope," New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 288.

[33]Janet Ross and Nelly Erichsen, The Story of Lucca (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1912), 18.

[34]Horace K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages, Vol. 6, 2nd ed. (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder Book Company, 1925), 333.

[35]These ties with England remained rather strong. Schwarzmaier, 348 says that "Es mag in Lucca eine förmliche, englische Kolonie gegeben haben." Likewise, many of the Lucchese who participated in the First Crusade were transported in English Ships. See Raoul Manselli, "Lucca e Lucchesi nei loro Rapporti con la Prima Crociata," Bolletino storico lucchese, 12 (1940), 158-68.

[36]Arthur Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture, Vol. 2 (Florence: Pantheon, 1928), 10.

[37]As quoted in Schwarzmaier, 349.

[38]Schwarzmaier, 349. Blanchardus first appears in documents of 1057. The two are last mentioned in September 1078.

[39]Alexander II also gave special gifts to the church of San Frediano, according to S.J.P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy, (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1960), 71. George S. Tyack, The Cross in Ritual, Architecture and Art, 2nd ed. (London: William Andrews, 1900), 49 reports that in 1070 Alexander II allowed the bishops of Lucca and Pavia to have processional crosses carried before them, an honor usually accorded to archbishops.

[40]Illustrated in John Beckwith, Early Medieval Art (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), 151, Ill. 141 and 142.

[41]Illustrated in Paul Thoby, Le Crucifix des Origines au Concile de Trente (Nantes: Bellanger, 1959), Pl. XX, No. 42.

[42]Thoby, Pl. V, No. 11. See also the representation on a gold and crystal cross given by Gregory the Great to Queen Theolinda at the beginning of the seventh-century, Pl. VII, No. 18; eighth-century enamel work in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Pl. IX, No. 26; eleventh-century Ada ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Pl. XXIII, No. 50; manuscript of the Discourse of St. Gregory Nazianzus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Pl. XLI, No. 92; and eleventh-century Greek psalter in the British Museum, Pl. XLII, No. 95. Exceptional are the eighth-century encolpion from Monza which shows a long sleeved, beltless colobium, Pl. VII, No. 19 and an embossed sixth to seventh-century Syrian silver paten now in Leningrad, Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. 2 (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1972), Pl. 322.

[43]The uniformly hemmed colobium is not restricted only to Ottonian examples. In the Deposition carved by Benedetto Antelami for Parma Cathedral in 1178, illustrated in Gustav Künstler, Ed., Romanesque Art in Europe (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), No. 125, the soldiers are rolling dice to determine the ownership of Christ's gown. It has similar narrow borders on the hems of the sleeves and the bottom.

[44]For example, see E. B. Garrison, "Lucchese Passionary Related to the Sarzana Crucifix," Art Bulletin, 35 (1953), 109-19.

[45]Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 14 (Chicago: William Benton, 1972), 391.

[46]According to Britannica, Vol. 16, 1159, Otto I was in Italy from 966 to 972, Otto II - 980 to 982, Otto III - 983, 998 and 1000 (Vol. 16, 1160), Henry II - 1004, 1013 to 1014, and 1021 (Vol. 11, 372), Conrad II - 1027 and 1036 to 1038 (Vol. 6, 362) and Henry III - 1046 to 1047 and 1055 (Vol. 11, 373).

[47]Britannica, Vol. 11, 373. Guerra, 132 records a gift to the Volto Santo from Beatrice.

[48]Augusto Mancini, Storia di Lucca (Florence: Sansoni, 1950), 48.

[49]Mancini, 49.

[50]Mancini, 47.

[51]Guerra, 97.

[52]Almerico Guerra, Compendio di storia ecclesiastica lucchese dalle origini a tutto il secolo XII (Lucca: Coop. Tipografica Editrice, 1924), 135 "di una piccola città della Baviera, può credersi avere questo vescovo, tosto dopo la sua elevazione, accompagnato in Germania l'Imperatore S. Enrico, ed avere forse assistito colà ad un concilio convocato dallo stesso Imperatore."

[53]Pedemonte, 33 has suggested that the "in primodilis fere gentis illius" of the legend more accurately refers to the situation in Lucca during the time of Giovanni II than Giovanni I.

[54]Guerra, Compendio, 140.

[55]As quoted from the eleventh-century legend of San Frediano by Schwarzmaier, 337.

[56]It is interesting to note that it was also Giovanni II who brought the relics of St. Lucina from Rome to Lucca, according to Guerra, Compendio, 140. St. Lucina was believed to have discovered the body of St. Sebastian after his martyrdom and have given him an honorable burial. To this day, a statue of St. Sebastian graces the back of the Volto Santo's chapel.

[57]Guerra, Storia, 105. On page 124 Guerra says that Otto IV was responsible for monetary reform in Lucca in the early thirteenth century. Schwarzmaier, 355 also records that he was the first documented visitor to the relic of the Holy Blood at Luni.

[58]Illustrated by Haussherr, 159, Ill. 23. See also the crowned, bearded Christ on the cross with a slightly shorter but more elaborately draped garment from the Gospel Book of Abbess Uta of Kirchberg, c. 1020, now in Munich, Illustrated in Thoby, Pl. XVI, No. 35. This sort of garment is also worn by the Majestad from Las Caldas de Montbuy, Porter, Vol. 2, Pl. 63.

[59]Translated by Forsyth, 93. She prints the Latin text on 94, n. 2.

[60]Forsyth, 94.

[61]Clairece Black, "Origin of the Lucchese Cross Form: The Significance of the Chalice Base," Marsyas, 1 (1941), 32. See illustration on Pl. XV, Fig. 13.

[62]This practice is not restricted to colobium clad representations. Two crucifixes with Christ garbed in the traditional Western perizonium are found in an eleventh-century sacramentary in Bamberg and a twelfth-century pericope in Munich, Black, Pl. XVII, Figs. 19 and 20. Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 501 cites a tenth-century fresco in the choir of St. Pierre-les-Églises, near Chauvigny in Poitou as depicting a crucifix and a chalice, but this was not the general practice.

[63]Cited in Gustav Schnürer and Joseph Ritz, Sankt Kümmernis und Volto Santo (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1934), 146, as "calicem sancte crucis."

[64]Perhaps the earliest of these is the unspecified seal which Guerra, Storia, 126 dates from the time of Alexander II and which has representations of the Volto Santo and St. Martin.

[65]Schnürer, "Herkunft," 275.

[66]For example, Black, 35.

[67]See Wendelin Foerster, "Le Saint Vou de Lucques," Mélanges Chabaneau (Erlangen, 1907), 1-55 for a thorough treatment of this legend. His ideas are condensed by Joseph Bédier, Les Légendes Épiques, 3rd ed., Vol. 2 (Paris: Librarie Ancienne H. Champion, 1926), 223-29.

[68]Schnürer and Ritz, 163.

[69]For the Latin text of the legend see Foerster, 53-54.

[70]Illustrated in Thoby, Pl. XXVII, No. 63. It is very similar to a near lifesize crucifix from Cologne c.1170, Thoby, Pl. LXXIII, No. 167.

[71]While the colobiums do differ, it is not necessary to assume that the Volto Santo is the resumption of an early Byzantine type as suggested by Haussherr, 160. The over-whelming number of relationships between Lucca and Germany favor an Ottonian prototype.

[72]First noted by Haussherr, 158.

[73]Guerra, _Compendio_, 137. This reform movement continued under Bishops Anselm I and II. See E. Kittel, "Der Kampf um die Reform des Domskapitels in Lucca im 11. Jahrhundert," _Festschrift_ _Albert_ _Brackmann_ (Weimar: H. Böhlaus, 1931), 207-47.

[74]Guerra, _Storia_, 427, n. 2.

[75]Hugh Honour, "An Unpublished Romanesque Crucifix," _Connoisseur_, 136 (November 1955), 151, Ill. 1. See also the crowned image of Christ from Kirchberg, cited in note 58 which has an alpha and omega placed on the manuscript page just above the arms of the cross.

[76]Schiller, II, 145.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VOLTO SANTO'S PLACEMENT IN
LUCCA CATHEDRAL AND THE STATUE'S LITURGICAL USE

The particular location of the Volto Santo in the ca-
thedral of Lucca is crucial to the interpretation of its
liturgical significance. Its present location in an autono-
mous structure in the north aisle of this church is first
documented in 1119 when Bishop Benedetto dedicated a chapel
to the Volto Santo.[1] In 1107, however, Pasquale II's papal
bull had already mentioned a "_Sacrarium Vultus_," indicating
the existence of a separate structure which housed the Volto
Santo. Unlike the present octagonal chapel of 1482, the
original would appear to have been square, as indicated by
the contract for the construction of the new chapel.[2]

Since Leobino's legend states that the Volto Santo was
placed in the "_australem plagam_," not the north aisle of its
present location, scholars have attempted to determine at
what time this venerated image was moved to its new location.
General consensus dates this transfer between 1060 and 1070.
The Volto Santo is assumed to have been placed over an altar
dedicated to the twelve apostles and other saints.[3] I would
propose, however, that the present location of the Volto
Santo or one very similar to it is that which it occupied
since its arrival in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

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It has already been suggested that the Volto Santo legend may actually be the merging of a number of traditions dating back to the eighth century. It is not difficult to imagine that the Carolingian relics or reliquary cross acquired at Luni were transferred to a position near the south portal (accounting for Leobino's "australem plagam") upon the demise of the church of Dominis et Salvatoris in the early tenth century. It thus would not be necessary to assume that the Volto Santo was moved at all. In fact, it may have been the original cross with its relics which was moved near the Volto Santo. There is mention of a large silver cross in the legend which accounts for the invention of relics at least fifty years after it may be assumed that Volto Santo I arrived in Lucca. This image of Christ was hung in the middle of the church to commemorate the miraculous discovery of the relics.[4] It is certainly tempting to identify this cross with the Carolingian donation. Even a new cross created especially for the occasion may have been modelled on the type of this "crux vetus." At any rate, the Volto Santo's demonstrable use in the liturgical ceremonies of Good Friday and Easter, and its appropriate iconography for such celebrations suggest that Volto Santo I was originally and purposefully intended to be placed in or near the north aisle.

Previous scholars have not considered the significance of the Volto Santo Chapel's placement. Most have excused it as more convenient or quieter than a location near the portals

of the church.[5] I would submit that this chapel belongs to
a large group of analogously positioned Altars of the Cross
which have their origins in the monuments of the Holy Sepul-
chre in Jerusalem.

The location of the Volto Santo chapel is very similar
to the locations of the Altars of the Cross at the monastery
of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai and at San Marco in Venice.[6]
These altars with ciborium-like structures over them are
placed next to the nave arcade on the north side of the church.

The monastery at Mt. Sinai was regularly frequented by
pilgrims in spite of its isolated location.[7] By the eleventh
century a large number of Easterners also made pilgrimages
to the West. One such traveller of particular importance to
our concerns is a certain Simeon who was born in Syracuse.
He studied in Constantinople, later served seven years as a
guide for pilgrims in Jerusalem and then became a monk at Mt.
Sinai. Sometime afterwards he is known to have gone to Rome
and later to Normandy. It is more than likely that he passed
through Lucca on this northward journey which ended with his
death as a recluse at Trier in 1035.[8]

Such specific associations with the church of St.
Catherine are not totally necessary, however, to account for
the placement of the Volto Santo. By the ninth century many
German and Frankish churches had specific Altars of the Cross,
though they were usually placed in the middle of the nave.
The pre-830 ideal plan for the monastery of St. Gall locates

an "'altare sancti salvatoris ad crucem,' as at Saint-Riquier

and at Fulda, in the middle of the central nave, approximately

mid-way between the two apses."[9] Similarly, ceremonies from

Essen and Saint-Riquier both mention altars of the Holy

Cross.[10] In Italy the rectangular chapel built in the middle

of the nave in the fifteenth century by Michelozzo at San

Miniato al Monte, Florence is likewise a Chapel of the Holy

Cross,[11] and a 1519 rite for Holy Thursday from Aquileia takes

place in the middle of the nave before the altar of the Holy

Cross.[12]

In many churches of the later Middle Ages, this chapel

was incorporated into the choir screen and rood loft, but at

Lucca it retained its integrity as a separate structure. Al-

though the chapel in Lucca cathedral is specifically associ-

ated with the Volto Santo, documents do frequently speak of

it as the chapel of the Holy Cross.[13] The identification

of the north side of the church with altars of the Holy Cross

was persistent in Lucca, where, until 1506, the St. Augustine

chapel in the left aisle of the church of San Frediano was

called "Santa Croce."[14]

The Lucchese placement, like that at Mt. Sinai and

Venice, more closely replicates the actual disposition of the

monuments at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem than do those

which place the altar in the middle of the nave. Yet, the

general relationship to the high altar remains the same. In

fact, Heitz has concluded that for the Carolingian monuments

cited above "Jerusalem, le Saint-Sépulcre et la liturgie de la Résurrection sont à l'origine du tout."[15] Constantine's "basilica on Golgotha, Jerusalem,"[16] dedicated on September 14, 335 by members of the Council of Tyre,[17] provides the basic prototype for Altars of the Cross. At this monument in Jerusalem, which united the Holy Sepulchre, The Rock of Calvary and a basilical martyrium, "the rock of Calvary some thirty meters (one hundred feet) south-east of the tomb was shaped into a cube."[18] The original Volto Santo Chapel and Michelozzo's altar, for example, both had this same shape.

The Volto Santo chapel is located to the north-west of the main altar. In Lucca cathedral the main altar, like that in any church, can be seen to represent the Holy Sepulchre. The Liturgical reenactment of Christ's death and resurrection occurs here each time the Eucharist is celebrated. The relationship of the Volto Santo chapel to the high altar mirrors the relationship of the rock of Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In the end, it is not the actual physical directions of the compass but rather the relationship expressed among the structures which is crucial to our concerns.[19] The rock of Calvary in Jerusalem was located to the south-east of Christ's tomb rather than the north-west merely because the buildings in Jerusalem were not oriented.

Although numbers of pilgrims actually did travel to the Holy Land, the monuments there were primarily known from descriptions of schematic diagrams such as that made by the Gallic bishop Arculfe in the late seventh century (Illustration

14).[20]   At least four ninth-century copies of this plan exist

in Vienna,[21] Paris,[22] Zurich,[23] and Brussels.[24]   They all

represent the structures in terms of circles and rectangles.

The chapel built around the rock of Calvary is shown as hav-

ing either a square (Paris) or rectangular (Vienna) floor

plan like that of the original Volto Santo chapel.

Of particular interest on these plans is the proximity

of the chapel in which the Holy Grail was displayed- in the

Vienna example immediately next to and behind the Golgotha

Chapel, while on the Paris example directly behind it. Per-

haps the image of the Volto Santo displayed with the chalice

below its right foot was intended as an allusion to both the

Golgotha chapel and the chapel of the Holy Grail. Even

though the monuments in Jerusalem were destroyed in 1009,[25]

they continued to live in the memories of Christians by means

of manuscripts and also buildings like San Stefano in Bologna

which reflected the general scheme of the structures.[26]

According to tradition,

"as early as the time of Modestus the rock
of Calvary was enveloped by a double chapel.
The upper section of this chapel showed the
hole (which is still exhibited) that held
Christ's Cross, while the lower section en-
closed Adam's grave and the crevice in the
rock through which the Saviour's blood flowed
to annoint Adam's skull."[27]

I am convinced that it is this structure which is symbolically

portrayed in the crucifixion from the mid-eleventh-century

Echternach Gospels (Illustration 15).[28]   Christ on the cross

wears a typical long-sleeved colobium generally similar to

that of the Volto Santo. A large chalice which rests beneath his feet resembles those beneath the crosses in the Metz manuscript and Cologne ivory. To Christ's sides are the Virgin and St. John, and the sun and moon appear in roundels above. Below the cross Adam and Eve rise from their graves. The inclusion of this detail clearly suggests an association with the Golgotha chapel in Jerusalem. Similarly, perhaps the chalice in this manuscript and the one placed below the Volto Santo are references to the chapel of the Holy Grail which was adjacent to the Golgotha chapel in Jerusalem.[29]

The preparation of the Eucharistic gifts in the Byzantine mass takes place to the north of the main altar, again recalling the relationship of the chapels of the Holy Grail and Golgotha to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Although the ceremonies of the Byzantine rite differed substantially from those of Western Roman rite, they were known in the West. The example of Azenerius, abbot of Saint-Martin, Massay may be cited. According to the acts of the Concilium Lemovicense of 1031, he had assisted in a liturgical service at Hagia Sophia.[30] There, as in all Byzantine services, the Great Entrance, that is, the entry of the celebrant with the Eucharistic elements, is made from the north of the church. In pre-Iconoclastic churches this entrance was made from the skeuophylakion, a structure which served as a sort of sacristy and "was located somewhere north of the church."[31] Significantly, the eighth-century writer Germanus says that "the preparation of the gifts which takes place in the skeuophylakion

stands for the place of Calvary where Christ was crucified."[32]
A twelfth century compilation of liturgies attributed to
Pseudo-Sophrone concurs in interpreting the skeuophylakion
as "the place of the skull as it was prefigured by Abraham."[33]

In present practice, the deacon and the celebrant "go
to the prothesis table which is located at the north side
of the sanctuary or in a separate chapel north of it" to pre-
pare the Eucharistic gifts.[34] In the tenth and eleventh cen-
turies new formulae were developed for the cutting of the
bread on the Prothesis table and the act was also "given a
symbolic meaning because the accompanying text alludes to the
death of the Lamb, Jesus Christ, on Golgotha."[35]

Further reference to Christ's sacrifice and the north
side of the church is reflected in a monument such as the
church at Daphni where the famous mosaic Crucifixion (c.1100)
is located in a lunette on the north wall of the left cross-
arm of the church.[36] At Hosios Lukos in Phocis, Greece an-
other mosaic rendition of the crucifixion was placed in the
left side of the narthex around the year 1000.[37] Likewise,
the tympanum over the left portal of Lucca cathedral shows
the Deposition. The doorway is known as the "Porta della s.
Croce," as is also the north portal of the Florence Bap-
tistry.[38]

The left or north side has traditonally connoted the
darkness of temporal existence. This is made clear in St.
Gregory's Twenty-First Homily, based on the Gospel read dur-
ing Easter matins in the Roman rite. He rhetorically asks,

"For what signifieth the left, but this life which now is? or the right, but life everlasting?"[39] The positioning of the Volto Santo chapel in the north aisle of Lucca cathedral thus appropriately commemorates Christ's sacrifice on this earth, in fact, the very spot in Jerusalem where he made that sacrifice. Far from being just the "Sacrarium Vultus," the Volto Santo chapel is also a Golgotha chapel intimately linked with Christ's tomb.

The liturgical ceremonies associated with the Volto Santo also may have their origins at the holy places of Jerusalem. From the fourth century account of the Pelegrinatio Etheriae we learn how the Golgotha chapel was used on Good Friday:[40] Etheria tells how the Bishop holds the Holy Wood of the Cross between his hands while deacons stand guard. The faithful come forward, she says, and touch the relic "first with their foreheads and then with their eyes; then they kiss the Cross and pass through."[41] They also adore other objects. "All the people are passing through up to the sixth hour, entering by one door and going out by another."[42] At the sixth hour everyone gathers in front of the Cross where the Bishop is seated, and lessons are read from the gospels regarding Christ's passion. Hymns are sung and prayers are said. "At the beginning of the ninth hour, there is read that passage from the Gospel according to John where He gave up the ghost. This read, prayer and the Dismissal follow."[43]

The form of this commemoration of Christ's passion acted at the places where they actually occurred was imported

to the West and took the form of a stational drama within the Good Friday liturgy. "By the seventh century it was a regular part of Roman usage. The station for the day, Santa Groce in Gerusalemme, is chosen explicitly for the ceremony - a reminder of the tendency of coincidence to operate in terms of space as well as time."[44]

Not unexpectedly, the station for this drama in Lucca cathedral was the Volto Santo chapel "ubi Christi crux adoratur."[45] Previous scholars studying the Volto Santo have neglected the importance of this ceremony; their energies were concentrated on unraveling the mysteries of the Volto Santo's provenance.[46] While all the problems regarding its provenance are far from solved, recent studies on the relationship between architecture and liturgy, as exemplified by Carol Heitz' study of Carolingian and Ottonian architecture,[47] have suggested the importance of investigating the Volto Santo's liturgical function.

Since the thirteenth century the Volto Santo has been intimately associated with three church festivals: the solemn recollection of Christ's death on Good Friday, the Feast of the Invention of the Cross on May third and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on September fourteenth.[48] The Lucchese have adopted the autumnal celebration as their civic holiday. The elaborate processions and services in honor of the Volto Santo on the latter have overshadowed the former two church holidays.[49] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the other hand, the major celebrations surrounding the Volto Santo

took place during Passion Week and Eastertide. According to local tradition, the Volto Santo arrived in Lucca on the Friday after Easter, which is still known in Lucca as "il venerdi dello scontro della croce."[50] Unspecified documents and liturgical records of the cathedral indicated to Guerra that the original festival of the Volto Santo was celebrated on the second day of Easter, that is, Easter Monday.[51] The day began with the ringing of church bells and after a procession in the vicinity of the cathedral, the bishop presided pontifically at mass in the cathedral. Indeed, a papal bull of Pope Gelasius II from 1118 prohibited the celebration of mass in any other church on this day.[52] The special character of this day is indicated by the fact that it was the only day in the year that the canons were permitted the use of the mitre. After the mass was completed, the eight cantors received two gold coins from the Guardians of the Holy Cross.[53] Such practice indicates that this day was none other than the ancient festival of the Volto Santo.

This large-scale celebration on Easter Monday was a fitting continuation of the Easter celebrations of the day before. In effect, the news of Christ's resurrection was brought to all the people of the town, much as Christ had appeared to his disciples on the road to Emmaus.[54] The Volto Santo which had been adored on Good Friday was now adored as the risen, triumphant Christ. This dual character of its iconography is suited to a comparable Easter custom at Rome which "requires an especially elaborate vesper service

throughout the week."[55] "It has all the elements of a resurrection ceremony...and begins with actions recalling the Crucifixion and the Adoration rite of Good Friday."[56]

The ancient form of this adoration rite in Lucca contains all the basic elements of the Roman form.[57] In the fragments of this rite which have been published, the ceremony begins after the reading of an unspecified tract. The deacon announces the reading of the Passion of the Lord which is presented in an austere manner without responses, incense or even making the sign of the cross over the gospel or oneself. The only exception occurs when the words "venit autem Nicodemus" are read. The act of crossing oneself in this instance would clearly seem to be in deference to the sculptor of the Volto Santo.

When the reading of the passion is completed, prayers are said. Then the bishop, with the choir, goes down to the chapel of the Holy Cross where the Volto Santo is located. The bishop prostrates himself on a carpet before the chapel and the responsory "tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram" is sung by the cantor and the subdeacon. When this is finished the choir to the right sings the Greek portion of the Trisagion, "the holiest of all Greek prayers."[58] Afterwards, the other choir sings it in Latin. Then four cantors enter the Volto Santo chapel. The two on the side of the cross facing the people sing "Popule meus quid feci tibi?" Except for a few altered details, the Lucchese ceremony parallels the Roman rite. As at Rome, "the Cross ceases

to be a simple object of meditation. It is treated as the original Cross,...[the] reproaches (improperia) understood to be spoken by Christ himself."[59] The Lucchese manuscript is incomplete regarding the next actions, but it does indicate that the other two cantors sing something in reply from the other side of the cross. In Roman practice Christ's lament continues with "a reference to Christ's deliverance of the Hebrews:....'Quia eduxi terra Aegypti, parasti crucem Salvatori tuo.'"[60] The lacuna in the manuscript would also appear to have eliminated the singing of the Greek portion of the Trisagion by the right choir, for the manuscript resumes as the choir on the left sings it again in Latin.[61] Once more two voices are heard from within the chapel singing "the second improperium, also an allusion to Exodus...: 'Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis.'"[62] The ceremony is interrupted as the bishop ascends the pulpit and preaches a sermon about peace.[63] The ceremony is later continued with confession. Then the bishop enters the chapel of the Holy Cross and uncovers the Volto Santo. The invitation to adore the cross is sung: "Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi perpendit. Venite adoremus." Finally the feet of the Volto Santo are kissed by the priests and the people. The rest of the rite proceeds, according to Mansi, as in the nineteenth century.[64]

In this ceremony the Passion of Christ is not read before the cross as at Jerusalem and the reading precedes rather

than follows the adoration of the cross, but the special honor

accorded Nicodemus is clearly a reference to the Volto Santo.

The gospel reading serves as a prologue to the actual visit-

ing of the symbolic site of Christ's crucifixion in the church.

The divine history which has been read is now reenacted. As

the Volto Santo chapel is transformed in the minds of the wor-

shippers into the Jerusalem Golgotha chapel, the mood is set

by the foreboding responsory's reminder that darkness was

over the entire earth. The deathly stillness is shattered by

the cantors who sing Christ's reproaches to his people. It

would have seemed as though Christ Himself were in the chapel,

embodied in the form of the Volto Santo. At the conclusion

of the rite, the Volto Santo's feet are kissed, just as were

the relics of the True Cross in Jerusalem. Although the

cross was viewed symbolically in this manner in any church

which followed the basic form of the Adoratio crucis, it

was all the more fitting at Lucca where the Volto Santo was

believed to be an accurate image of the Savior himself,

housed in a chapel which recalled the very place of his cru-

cifixion in Jerusalem.

The ceremonies which followed this dramatic encounter

between Christ and his people at the foot of the cross are

not specified in the published account of the Lucchese rite.

In most cases, the liturgy continues the metaphoric narration

of events leading to Christ's burial. "The most important

expression of sorrow on Good Friday is the cessation of the

daily sacrifice."[65] A special Mass of the Presanctified

usually followed the Adoration of the Cross. A Host which
had been consecrated on Holy Thursday and reserved for Friday
was used. In Lucca the extra Eucharistic elements consecrated
for Good Friday were taken to the sacristy after all had com-
muned on Holy Thursday.[66] These elements were probably brought
quietly back to the main altar as the Adoratio crucis finished.
Upon the conclusion of the Adoration, the doors of the Volto
Santo chapel were most likely closed.[67] Whether this occurred
before or after the Mass of the Presanctified is not certain,
but such an act does symbolically allude to the deposition
and burial of Christ, who had just been adored upon the cross,
suffering for mankind.

Since the Lucchese manuscript stops short with the Adora-
tion of the Cross, it is not certain whether the Lucchese
actually developed any formal 'burial' rite for Good Friday,
but extra-liturgical ceremonies of this type are known as
early as the tenth-century Concordia Regularis of St. Athewold
used at Winchester.[68] The rubrics provide that

> "on that part of the altar where there is
> space for it shall be a representation, as
> it were, of a sepulchre, hung about with a
> curtain, in which the Holy Cross, when it
> has been venerated, shall be placed."[69]

After a ceremony in which the cross is wrapped in a sindon
and buried

> "in imitation as it were of the burial of our
> Lord Jesus Christ,...the Holy Cross shall be
> guarded with all reverence until the night of
> the Lord's Resurrection."[70]

This burial was followed by the Mass of the Presanctified in which all communed in silence.

Such ceremonies developed a wide popularity,[71] and permanent or semi-permanent structures were constructed to serve as the sepulchre for both the Cross and the Host. The majority of the Depositio crucis ceremonies which have been preserved are of South-German provenance.[73] Since we have previously suggested numerous other connections with Germany, it is of importance that the "German sepulchre was usually in the nave." Sometimes it was actually placed at or near the Altar of the Holy Cross.[74] On the other hand, the sepulchre in England and France was usually placed in the choir.[75] "In Italy it seems...to have been usually in the nave,"[76] such as at Cividale and Venice.[77] In fact, at Aquileia it was placed, like the Volto Santo chapel, in the north aisle.[78]

Akin to the practice described at Winchester, the Prüfening Deposito crucis immediately followed the Adoratio crucis. The rubrics for this ceremony specifically indicate that a sepulchre was prepared at the Altar of the Holy Cross:

> "ultimo portitores crucis, et fit stacio ante
> altare sancte crucis quod antea a custode loco
> dominici sepulchri lintheo magno specialiter
> ad hoc apto velatum existit."[79]

Related to this practice, in turn, is that at Moosburg, Germany which specified that after communion the sepulchre for the crucifix should be set up where the crucifix was adored:

> "super altari mobili posito portatur ad locum
> in quo crucifixus est adoratus et ibi sepul-
> chrum pro sepultura crucifixi debet esse positum
> et circumductis pannis decenter preparatum."[80]

Admittedly, the Volto Santo could not actually have been placed in a separate sepulchre upon the altar as at Prüfening, but the entire chapel with its doors closed probably did serve as a symbolic sepulchre.

A number of churches built large scale, permanent sepulchres at least as big as the Volto Santo chapel. As noted above, the large circular structure known as the San Sepolcro, located in the second bay of the north aisle of Aquileia cathedral,[81] likewise corresponds to the Volto Santo chapel's placement in the north aisle of Lucca cathedral. The San Sepolcro is known to have existed already in 1077,[82] and ceremonies describe its use as a repository for both a cross and a Host which were then elevated on Easter.[83] Analogous ceremonies are associated with the Altar of the Cross at Prüfening.[84]

Perhaps such ceremonies which included the burial of both the cross and a Host,[85] usually placed in a monstrance or chalice, may lend yet more plausibility to my suggestion that the chalice of the Volto Santo was not a makeshift addition but had its origins in Easter ceremonies. The Roman Ordo from a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript speaks of a chalice to reserve the Host:

> "calicem cum corpore Domini nostri reservato,
> non illum calicem in quo celebravit, sed
> solum magnum de auro.[86]

That the preconsecrated elements for Good Friday were

reserved in the sacristy and not the Volto Santo chapel does raise some questions. Yet, the Depositio crucis et hostiae at Regensburg specifically provides that both elements - that is, the cross and the Host - be placed in the sepulchre only to be removed promptly to the sacristy for safekeeping by the Abbott when the ceremony is completed.[87] A manuscript from Laon also indicates that the Host was placed on the altar of the sepulchre before Matins on Easter, in spite of the fact that it was stored elsewhere, as at Lucca.[88] The ceremonies for Holy Thursday from Essen suggest yet another alternative. The fourteenth-century Liber ordinarius, which probably reflects tenth-century usage at Essen, requires that three Hosts be consecrated on Holy Thursday: one for the mass of that day, one which was stored in a sacristy for the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday and a third which was deposed in a symbolic sepulchre called the sacrarium corporis Christi.[89] There had been mention of a "sacrarium Vultus" in Pope Pasquale II's bull of 1107. In its general sense this term indicates a special area or chapel reserved for the hallowed Volto Santo, but perhaps further research into the entymology of the term may also show a more specific relationship to the Essen sacrarium in which a Host was buried.

That the Volto Santo was originally placed over an altar dedicated to the Twelve Apostles in no way weakens the hypothesis that the Volto Santo was used in Easter rituals. "Sometimes chapels other than Sepulchre Chapels were used for these ceremonies as the Chapel of St. Sebastian at St. Gall,

of St. Finstan at Rheinau and of Simon at Meissen."[90] In Italy

a thirteenth-century Deposito crucis ceremony from Padua in-

dicates the Chapel of St. Daniel as the site of the sepulchre:

"deferunt Crucem ad altare Sancti Danielis, et deponunt eam

in Sepulchro ante altare."[91] Of special interest is the co-

incidence with a ceremony from Polling, Germany where the

altar of the Apostles served as the setting for a liturgical

drama representing the Three Maries' visit to the tomb

(Visitatio Sepulchri): "itur processionaliter ad altare apos-

tolorum. Et ibidem peragatur visitatio sepulchri secondum

consuetudinum."[92]

Such sepulchres and their use of Christ's symbolic

burial necessitated complementary resurrection or Elevatio

ceremonies. These acts were in perfect harmony with the

Easter message of Christ's resurrection from the tomb. How-

ever, unlike the public, communal rites of the Adoratio and

subsequent Depositio,

> "the Elevatio was often performed almost pri-
> vately in a subdued voice and behind closed
> doors. The performance was usually given not
> for rejoicing throngs but rather for small
> groups of penitent clerics."[93]

The earliest example of this ceremony is a counterpart to

the Depositio found in St. Athelwold's Concordia Regularis.

It very simply provides that the cross which was deposited

be taken out of its sepulchre and be put in an appropriate

place.[94] "Since it is certain that Christ was resurrected

before the women and disciples came to the sepulchre," says

an Elevatio ceremony from Gran, Hungary, "it is fitting that

this ceremony be completed before the people gather in the

church."[95] In fact, the Synod of Worms of 1316 prohibited lay people from participating in the Elevation.[96]

A ceremony of this type at Lucca would assuredly have been private. The Volto Santo no doubt had been displayed without its ornaments on Good Friday.[97] It would now have been necessary to adorn it for Easter with its crown, gilt belt and shoes, all of which, like the chalice, are indicated in early representations of the figure. Such a vesting of the statue would have been undesirably awkward and difficult to perform publicly and can justifiably be assumed to have occurred privately. Once dressed, the Volto Santo became the perfect image of the transfigured, resurrected and even apocalyptic Lord who had been dead but now lives forever.[98]

Although the principal readings for Eastertide are predictably chosen from the gospel accounts of the Resurrection and the ensuing encounters between the risen Christ and his disciples, the oldest of the Ordines romani for use at the Lateran specifies that lessons from the Epistles, Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse be read until Pentecost.[99] More specifically, the Liber Comicus, reflecting the custom at Toledo around 660, required the reading of Revelation I:9-16, 17-18 on Holy Saturday and Revelation I:1-18 for Easter itself.[100] In both cases, the verses which are read are at the very basis of the Volto Santo's iconography. If not read on Easter in Lucca, perhaps these lessons were read on the following day when the original feast of the Volto Santo was celebrated. Precedent for such a practice occurs already

around the eighth century in the lessons for Eastertide speci-
fied by the lectionary of Luxeil in Gaul.[101] Although the
lessons for Easter Day are missing from this document, those
for Easter Monday include Revelation I:14 through II:7. For
the moment such remarks are merely speculative but in the
future it would perhaps prove worthwhile to examine the litur-
gical documents in Lucca for evidence of readings from the
Apocalypse at Eastertide.[102]

What I have been able to determine of Lucchese Easter
ceremonies does indicate that the Volto Santo was displayed
for Easter and that the Volto Santo chapel was treated sym-
bolically as the sepulchre of Christ. An undated Easter Vigil
collected by Mansi in the seventeenth century begins with
rites for lighting the Paschal candle.[103] After the candle
is lit, the twelve traditional lessons for the Vigil are read
by canons from the various municipal churches.[104] During
these readings, four priests prepare the catechumens for bap-
tism. After the priests annoint them with holy oils, the
bishop, clerics and people descend to the font.[105] Four
priests from the cathedral and four from the church of Santa
Reparata officiate as the entire community witnesses the
spiritual death and rebirth of the neophytes. This idea is
expressed most clearly in St. Paul's letter to the Romans
VI:3-4:

> "When we were baptized in Christ we were bap-
> tized in his death; in other words, when we
> were baptized we went into the tomb with him
> and joined him in death, so that as Christ was
> raised from the dead by the Father's glory, we
> too might have a new life."[106]

St. Basil's interpretation of this passage further explicates the essential symbolism of baptism:

> "How then do we achieve the descent into hell?
> By imitating through baptism the burial of
> Christ. For the bodies of the baptized are, as
> it were, buried in water...For there the death
> on behalf of the world is one, and one the res-
> urrection of the dead, whereof baptism is a
> type."[107]

When the rite of baptism is concluded, the entire con-
gregation liturgically recreates Christ's descent to hell and
his resurrection as follows. The bishop, deacon and subdeacon,
ornately vested and preceded by candelabra, thuribles, incense
and three crosses, begin the prayer "Deus qui ecclesiam tuam"
at the door of the cloister.[108] Then all process around the
church singing the antiphon "Cum rex gloriae."[109] This anti-
phon reflects the story of Christ's Harrowing of Hell and is
frequently found in Elevatio ceremonies.[110] It continues the
recollection of the events of Christ's death and resurrection
begun in the baptismal rites. Moving through the church the
congregation recalls how Christ descended into hell. "The
chief inspiration for the treatment of this theme is, directly
or indirectly, the Gospel of Nicodemus."[111]

The ceremony continues with an actual dramatization of
this theme at the church door. An Elevatio ceremony from
Bamberg clearly states that the ceremonial at the door sym-
bolizes Christ's descent to hell.[112] At St. Gall the door
was actually struck with the base of a cross "as a sign of
the redemption of souls from limbo."[113] In Lucca the rubric

indicates that the bishop announces, "_Tollite_ _portas_, _princi-_
pes, _vestras_, _et_ _elevamini_, _portae_ _aeternales_, _et_ _introibit_
rex _gloriae_" ("Lift up your gates o rulers and be lifted up
o everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in.")[114]
These words, taken from Psalm 24, are precisely those which
begin the Nicodemean account of Christ's descent into hell.
Although the response to the bishop's acclamation is missing
from the Lucchese manuscript, it can be assumed that the
chorus responded with the usual "_Quis_ _est_ _iste_ _rex_ _gloriae_?"
("Who is this king of glory?"),[115] since the bishop is respond-
ing to this question when the manuscript resumes: "_Dominus_
virtutum _ipse_ _est_ _rex_ _gloriae_" ("The Lord of strength, this
is the king of glory.") Again, the manuscript is incomplete
following the words "_Hoc_ _fit_ _ter_...," but since similar cere-
monies entail a dialogue repeated three times and the account
in the _Descensus_ in Nicodemus' Gospel has the Lord repeat the
phrase "Lift up your gates" three times before the souls are
released from hell, it can be assumed that the "ter..." is a
truncated form of "_tertio_."

When this symbolic harrowing of hell was completed, the
doors to the church must have been opened, because the Lucchese
manuscript says that all the church bells are rung and the
people enter the church. This obvious commemoration of the
resurrection is again made explicit at St. Gall where all the
bells were rung "_in_ _signum_ _resurrectionis_."[116] At Lucca the
procession stops "_ante_ _crucem_" and the bishop declares, "_Iam_

Christus _Dominus_ _resurrexit_." ("Christ the Lord is risen.")[117]
No clearer indication that the Volto Santo chapel was viewed
symbolically as the Holy Sepulchre is necessary. The first
verbal recognition of Christ's resurrection is said before
the cross which was adored and symbolically buried on Good
Friday. The triumphant Christ who released the souls from
hell in Nicodemus' Gospel is seen face to face. If the rub-
rics here are as incomplete as others throughout the manu-
script, perhaps the antiphon continued with a more specific
reference to Christ's tomb. A twelfth-century Antiphonary
probably from a Camaldolite monastery near Lucca reminds us
of the angel's words at the empty tomb: "_Iam_ _surrexit_.
Venite _et_ _videre_ _locum_ _ubi_ _positus_ _erat_ _dominus_."[118] Even
if the antiphon at Lucca did not continue with this admoni-
tion to come and see the place where Christ was laid, such a
meaning was certainly implicit. The people responded by say-
ing "Thanks be to God." The announcement of Christ's resur-
rection and the people's response were repeated two more
times before the procession moved to the choir. This three-
fold repetition not only corresponds to the thrice repeated
entreaty at the doors of the church, but it also leaves no
doubt about the association of the Volto Santo chapel and
Christ's resurrection. The three major acts of the Easter
vigil ceremony at Lucca can be seen to involve Nicodemus.
According to the gospels, he assisted at Christ's burial,
symbolically enacted during the rite of baptism. He also is
credited with having written the account of Christ's descent

into hell which is reenacted in the baptismal act, in the singing of the Cum rex gloriae and in the dialogue at the portals of the church. This trilogy of associations is completed by the Volto Santo itself which Nicodemus is reputed to have sculpted and which serves as the image of the risen Lord later in the service.

At the high altar the bishop said the Gloria in excelsis in his highest voice and the mass continued from there. Again we are reminded of Leobino's legend where, when the ship carrying the Volto Santo came to shore, the Lucchese are said to have sung the Gloria in thanks for God's divine mercy. (ymnum angelicum decantantes divine misericordie gratias retulerunt). In the Easter ceremony at Lucca the resurrection as commemorated before the cross is likewise followed by the people's "Deo gratias" and the singing of the Gloria at the high altar.

The mass at the main altar, though not specified in the Lucchese manuscript, can be assumed to have resounded with the triumph of the Easter message. By the eleventh century a special Easter trope was usually added to the introit for the day.[119] Evidently originating at St. Martial of Limoges between 923 and 934,[120] the trope took the form of a sung dialogue which soon gained widespread acceptance throughout Europe. It freely repeated and elaborated upon the encounter between the Three Maries and the angel at the tomb. The question "Quem quaeritis?" ("Whom do you seek?") usually began the sequence. In Italy such liturgical

embellishments are documented in eleventh century ceremonies
from the Abruzzi, Bobbio, Rome, Vercelli, Monza, Mantua, Monte
Cassino, Novalesa, and Ivrea.[121]

Although the Quem quaeritis trope served as the source
for the liturgical drama of the Visitatio Sepulchri,[122] which
was popularized in England, France and Germany, this trope
remained virtually unchanged in Italy for the entire twelfth
century.[123] Exceptional is the quite elaborate Visitatio
performed at Aquileia where a permanent Holy Sepulchre had
been erected.[124] A Visitatio was also performed at the Parma
sepulchre which, unlike most Italian examples, was located in
the choir behind the altar.[125]

Although a Quem quaeritis trope may have been sung dur-
ing the mass at Lucca, the liturgical drama of the Visitatio
Sepulchri would have been inappropriate. In these plays
priests representing the Three Maries usually came to a rep-
resentation of the empty tomb, where the dialogue ensued.[126]
Although a Host could be removed from the Volto Santo chapel
with little difficulty, the large sculpture itself is not
likely to have been. In fact, the Volto Santo's ornamented
presence within the chapel would have rendered senseless the
import of the drama which depended upon an empty tomb as the
visible sign of Christ's resurrection. The Easter ceremony
discussed above does indicate the chapel as the place of
Christ's resurrection but in no way attempts a literal, re-
presentational enactment of that scene. A sepulchre could

have been set up nearby, as in the German examples cited
above, but the Volto Santo chapel is so emphatically treated
as a sepulchre in other Easter ceremonies that the addition
of a temporary structure would have been an unwelcome re-
dundancy. A sepulchre specifically used for Easter plays is
reported to have been constructed in Lucca, perhaps as early
as the thirteenth century, but this sepulchre was a civic
monument. It was evidently located in the chapel of the town
hall[127] and therefore was probably not a part of the liturgi-
cal ceremonies which took place in the cathedral.

The Quem Quaeritis trope does not appear to have under-
gone significant development in Italy; hence, it is not sur-
prising that mystery plays did not appear there until the
thirteenth century.[128] The separation of liturgy and drama
at this time does suggest, nonetheless, an interesting cor-
relation with development of the cult of the Volto Santo.
It must be admitted that the main celebration involving the
Volto Santo was probably transferred to September fourteenth
because of the great fame the statue had acquired; a celebra-
tion of its own, divorced from the chief celebration of the
church year, was indeed warranted. However, it is curious
that at this very time the Volto Santo and its effects should
be so completely transformed. Its chapel was redecorated, a
new chalice was installed, a new feast was appropriated and,
if art historians be correct, even a new Volto Santo was
sculpted. Haussherr has noted that by 1200 the original mean-
ing of the colobium-clad Apocalyptic Christ was no longer

known.[129]   Especially in the case of the Volto Santo, its own image had become more important than its type. Perhaps even its associations with the Easter ceremonies were weakening. While the munificence of a thriving populace may be credited with the embellishments for the Volto Santo around 1200, might not an actual change in function also be reflected? The chalice, once a sacred vessel symbolically associated with Christ's sacrifice, was transformed into a receptacle for gifts to the Volto Santo. The new series of frescoes which decorated the chapel are said to have depicted scenes from the legend of the Volto Santo. Along with its new association with the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, the Volto Santo would appear to have taken on an autonomous existence. It was no longer Christ on the cross but the Volto Santo which people desired to see and exalt. Although the discovery of relics around 1100 had made the Volto Santo a reliquary, by 1200 it was its own most famous relic. Though still used for the Adoratio ceremony of Good Friday and even recognized during the Easter vigil, the actual drama of Easter would seem to have been transferred to that sepulchre outside the church.

In the end, it was a happy compromise. The Easter drama and the Volto Santo were removed from competition. Un-happily, much of the original meaning and significance of the Volto Santo were nearly lost to us. Those vestiges which have survived, those traditions which have been perpetuated, even

in their presently fragmented state, have helped to recon-
struct how important the monuments of Jerusalem and the
events which took place there were to that peculiar image,
placed in the north aisle of Lucca cathedral, which we know
as the Volto Santo.

[1]Almerico Guerra, <u>Storia</u> <u>del</u> <u>Volto</u> <u>Santo</u> <u>di</u> <u>Lucca</u>
(Lucca: Tipografia Arcivescovo s. Paolino, 1881), 83.

[2]Guerra, 446, n. 12. According to Guerra, 484, n. 16
the documents are published by F. di Poggio, <u>Illustrazione</u>
<u>del</u> <u>SS.</u> <u>Crocifisso</u> <u>di</u> <u>Lucca,</u> <u>detto</u> <u>volgarmente</u> <u>il</u> <u>Volto</u> <u>Santo</u>
(Lucca, 1839), 160, 161 and 216 ff. A Trecento illumination
from the Tucci-Tognetti Codex in the Biblioteca Governativa
di Lucca which illustrates a procession in honor of the Feast
of the Exaltation of the Cross gives some indication of the
chapel's character. Illustrated in E. Lazzareschi, "La festa
di S. Croce a Lucca," <u>Vie</u> <u>d'Italia</u> 40 (1934), 636. A fifteenth
century painting now in the Louvre clearly shows the rectan-
gularly shaped chapel, illustrated in Gustav Schnürer and
Joseph Ritz, <u>Sankt</u> <u>Kümmernis</u> <u>und</u> <u>Volto</u> <u>Santo</u> (Dusseldorf:
L. Schwann, 1934), Pl. XXIII, Abb. 52.

[3]For example, Pietro Guidi, "Per la storia della Cat-
tedrale e del Volto Santo," <u>Bolletino</u> <u>storico</u> <u>lucchese,</u> 4
(1932), 180-81. Antonio Pedemonte, <u>Quando</u> <u>venne</u> <u>il</u> <u>Volto</u>
<u>Santo</u> <u>a</u> <u>Lucca?</u> (Lucca: Scuola Tipografica Artigianelli, 1936)
48-49 contends, on the other hand, that the Volto Santo was
not yet moved from near the portal as it appears in Guidi's
list of altars from between 1065 and 1109 (Guidi, 169-170).
Pedemonte assumes that the Volto Santo was not in its present
position because it was placed over an altar dedicated to the
twelve apostles and other saints. One of the legends in the
appendix to Leobino's legend regarding a woman of Siena spe-
cifically states, however, that she went "ad <u>locum...ubi</u>
<u>Christi</u> <u>Crux</u> <u>adoratur...In</u> <u>medio</u> <u>enim</u> <u>fere</u> <u>Ecclesiae</u> <u>locus</u>
<u>aliis</u> <u>paululum</u> <u>habetur</u> <u>excelsior,</u> <u>septemtrionali</u> <u>parti</u> <u>vici-</u>
<u>nor,</u> <u>et</u> <u>ibidem</u> <u>in</u> <u>honorem</u> <u>duodecim</u> <u>Apostolorum</u> <u>et</u> <u>beatissimum</u>
<u>Corneli</u> <u>et</u> <u>Cypriani</u> <u>martyrum</u> <u>altare</u> <u>sacratum</u> <u>colitur,</u> <u>et</u> <u>super</u>
<u>illud</u> <u>imago</u> <u>Christi</u> <u>collocatur,</u> <u>quam</u> <u>tota</u> <u>Europa</u> <u>devotissime</u>
<u>celebrat.</u>" Quoted by Guerra, 444, n.8.

[4]Guerra, 114. This cross was destroyed in 1798 but
Guerra, 460, n. 5 reports that Fioriti, writing in the middle
of the eighteenth century, tells of the cross and a document
preserved within it relating the story of the legend.

[5]For example, see Guidi, 181; Pietro Lazzarini, <u>Il</u> <u>Duomo</u>
<u>di</u> <u>Lucca</u> (Lucca: Zincongrafica Fiorentina, September 1970), 42.

[6]The Mt. Sinai example is illustrated in a nineteenth-
century lithograph after a drawing by David Roberts reproduced
in Kurt Weitzmann, "The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery
on Mount Sinai," Proceedings of the American Philosophical
Society, 110, No. 6 (December 1966), 393, Fig. 2.   Although
the monastery was founded by the Emperor Justinian in the
sixth century, it is not known whether the Altar of the Cross
is part of the original structure.   The San Marco altar post-
dates the Volto Santo chapel.   According to Ursula Schlegel,
"Observations on Masaccio's Trinity Fresco in Santa Maria
Novella," Art Bulletin, 45, No. 1 (March 1963), 29 the struc-
ture was erected in 1290 to house a cross from Constantinople.
The chapel is illustrated in Richard Krautheimer, Early
Christian and Byzantine Architecture (Baltimore: Penguin Books,
1965), Pl. 172.

[7]Jean Ebersolt, Orient et Occident, 2nd ed.   (Paris:
E. De Boccard, 1954), 39 discusses the elaborate itineraries
of a number of eighth-century pilgrims which include stops
at Mount Sinai.

[8]Ebersolt, 55.   Guerra, 96 records the presence of a
S. Simeone in Lucca in the first years of the eleventh century.

[9]Carol Heitz, Recherches sur les rapportes entre
Architecture et Liturgie à l'époque carolingienne (Paris:
S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963), 68 "L'autel de la Sainte-Croix (altare
sancti salvatoris ad crucem) se dresse, comme à Saint-Riquier
et à Fulda, au milieu de la nef centrale, a peu près a mi-
chemin entre les deux absides."   For the plan of the church
see Heitz, Fig. 33.   See also the ninth century plan of Corvey,
Fig. 6.

[10]For Essen see Heitz, Fig. 39, ceremonies described on
193.   For Saint-Riquier see Caecilia Davis-Weyer, Early
Medieval Art.   300-1150.   Sources and Documents. (Englewood
Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 95.

[11]Schlegel, 28.   She also suggests that Masaccio's
Trinity and Buggiano's Cardini Chapel in San Francesco, Pescia
are Golgotha Chapels.

[12]Archdale A. King, Liturgies of the Past (Longmans,
Green and Co., 1959), 46.

[13]Guerra, 461, n. 9 speaks of a thirteenth century church
calendar which requires that the lessons for Matins during the
octave of the Feast of the Holy Cross be chosen "dei miraculi
descritti nel Libro della Capella di s. Croce."   Giovanni
Domenico Mansi, Diario Sacro delle Chiese di Lucca (Lucca,
1836), 78 publishes a ceremony for Good Friday in which
"descendat Pontifex cum choro ante Capellam s. Crucis" which
is later identified as "capella SS. Vultus."

[14]Guerra, 56. The chapel is now decorated with six-teenth century frescoes by Amico Aspertini representing scenes from the legend of the Volto Santo.

[15]Heitz, 286. See also 91-121.

[16]Krautheimer's appellation is most apt for our discussion here. Krautheimer, 39, Fig. 16.

[17]L. Duchesne, Christian Worship. Trans. M. L. McClure, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 274.

[18]Krautheimer, 39-40.

[19]Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture, "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 18 speaks of how the Holy Sepulchre's "pattern...is clearly reproduced in the plan of the buildings at Bologna," that is, San Stefano, even though the directions are reversed.

[20]Heitz, 113. He apparently visited the Holy Land sometime between 679 and 682.

[21]The following four citations are from Heitz, 114. Originally from Salzburg. Heitz, Pl. XXIX, A.

[22]Originally from Corbie, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Heitz, Pl. XXIX, B.

[23]Originally from Rheinau.

[24]Originally from Stavelot. Now in the Bibliothèque royale.

[25]Ebersolt, 58. The Holy Sepulchre was consequently rebuilt in 1048 (Ebersolt, 50) but it was closed to Western pilgrims from 1056 until July 15, 1099 (Ebersolt, 51).

[26]According to Ebersolt, 58 "Malgré sa destruction, la basilique continue à vivre dans le souvenir des générations jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle."

[27]Schlegel, 26.

[28]Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. 2 Trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1972), Pl. 387, now known as the Egerton Manuscript.

[29]The chalice is obviously not meant to be merely a receptacle to collect the blood which flowed from Christ's feet, as in the example at Chauvigny cited in note 62 to Chapter 3, since no nails appear on the surface of the Volto Santo's feet.

[30]Ebersolt, 58. Oderic, bishop of Orleans in the eleventh century, is also supposed to have assisted at the ceremonies for Holy Saturday in Jerusalem.

[31]Thomas F. Mathews, _The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy_ (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 160.

[32]Quoted by Mathews, 159.

[33]Quoted by Gordana Babić, _Les Chapelles Annexes des Eglises Byzantines_ (Paris: Edition Klincksieck, 1969), 63.

[34]Mathews, 155.

[35]Meletius Michael Solovey, _The Byzantine Divine Liturgy_, Trans. Demetrius Emil Wysochausky (Washington, D.C.: University of America Press, 1970), 106.

[36]David Talbot Rice, _Byzantine Art_, Rev. ed. (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1968), 203, Ill. 178. I thank Dr. Molly T. Smith who brought the location of this mosaic to my attention.

[37]Rice, _Art of the Byzantine Era_, 272. Photograph on page 97, Ill. 82.

[38]I am grateful to Dr. Webster Smith for bringing this fact to my attention.

[39]Quoted by O. B. Hardison, _Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages_ (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), 229 from the Roman Breviary II.

[40]Duchesne, 492-523 publishes the entire Latin text of the _Pelegrinatio_ with English translation 541-571. The texts under consideration here are from 510-11 and 558-60.

[41]Duchesne, 559. Latin, 510 "_primum de fronte, sic de occulis tangentes crucem et titulum et sic osculantes crucem pertranseunt._"

[42]Duchesne, 559. Latin, 510-11. It is not clear whether the original Volto Santo chapel also had doors on either side, but the present chapel does allow for worshippers to enter from the nave, place their gifts upon the altar and exit by the opposite door for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

[43]Duchesne, 560. Latin, 511.

[44]Hardison, 131.

[45]Guerra, 444, n.8. This is taken from the Latin text of a legend regarding a woman of Siena.

[46]These ceremonies have been neglected for almost a century. Guerra, 247 in his completeness was the last to consider them important enough to discuss them in relation to the Volto Santo.

[47]See note 9 above.

[48]Since 1836 the last Friday in November has also been set aside as a special day to honor the Volto Santo, since the Volto Santo was believed to have saved the city from a cholera epidemic in that year.

[49]For example, there are numerous articles written about the celebrations of September fourteenth but none on the Easter ceremonies. See Guerra, 119-127 and 149 for details of the September celebrations. See also Lazzareschi, 627-39 and Pietro Guidi, La 'Luminara' di S. Croce nel medio evo (Lucca: Tipografia Casini, 1920).

[50]Guerra, 53.

[51]Guerra, 147.

[52]Guerra, 147. Latin text, 467, n. 1 "Nulla Ecclesia Missas solemnes celebret in Festivitate Beati Martini et sancti Reguli et in secunda feria Paschae, donec stationes solvantur."

[53]Guerra, 147. He also says that "si recavano all'altare secondo il vetustissimo rito i sacri dittici."

[54]By the thirteenth century Easter Monday was often associated with this encounter of Christ and his disciples. Richard B. Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 172-3 prints one of these Peregrinus plays.

[55]Hardison, 173.

[56]Hardison, 173-74.

[57]The Lucchese ceremony was published by Mansi, 78 with no indication of its source nor its date. It does follow traditional forms for this rite and the mention of the "capellam ss. Vultus" clearly places it after the eleventh century. Mansi describes it as merely "il rito antico della chiesa di Lucca." The insertion of the sermon between the basic parts of the ceremony and the confused order of the elements in the ceremony seem to indicate a later medieval date. In my account of the ceremony, I have completed the

texts read or sung but only indicated by the opening words in
the Lucchese manuscript by following Hardison, 131-32 and
Guerra, 257. Since the text has been neglected for so long,
I reproduce it in its entirety: "Finito tractu pronunutiat
Diaconus ita: Passio D.N.J.C. sine responsione, et sine incenso,
et lumine incipit legere. Ita incipiendo Passio Domini nostri,
et non faciat crucem nec super librum, nec super se, nisi ubi
dicitur: venit autem Nicodemus. Finita passione Pontifex, in-
cipit dicere orationes etc. Finitis orationibus, descendat
Pontifex cum Choro ante Capellam s. Crucis, et episcopo super
tapetum prostrato, et orante dicatur hoc responsorium: tenebrae
factae sunt, a Cantore incoeptum versum cantetur a canonico
Subdiacono. Quo finito, Chorus a dextera parte cantet totum
Agyos etc. Respondeat alius Chorus latine totum Sanctus Deus
etc. Tunc quatuor Cantores intrent capellam ss. Vultus, et duo
versa facie ad populum ab imo latere crucis cantent excelsa
voce: Popule meus. Alii quoque duo ex altera parte crucis....
Et alter Chorus, qui est ad sinistram sequitur totum Sanctus
Deus. Item duo Cantores, qui sunt interius cantant: Quia
eduxi te etc. Deinde Pontifex adscendit pulpitum, et facit
sermonem ad populum, et specialiter de pace etc. Finito ser-
mone facit confessionem. Dein intrat ad crucem, et discooperiens
eam, canit hanc Antifonam: ecce lignum etc. Postea osculetur
devote pedes crucis cum Clero, et Populo."

[58]Hardison, 132. In ninth and tenth-century usage this
dialogue was sung by a presbyter and chorus as follows:

Presbyter:	Agios o Theos.
Chorus:	Sanctus Deus.
Presbyter:	Agios ischyros.
Chorus:	Sanctus fortis.
Presbyter:	Agios athanatos, eleison imas.
Chorus:	Sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis.

[59]Hardison, 131. In some cases this was all the more
effective because the deacons concealed themselves behind
the altar.

[60]Hardison, 132.

[61]In earlier practice this was the first time that the
Trisagion had been sung. In such rites, according to Hardison,
132, the cross was advanced after each improperium. The sta-
tionary positioning of the Volto Santo does not allow this
dramatic movement to take place.

[62]Hardison, 132.

[63]At this point only two of the usual three improperia
have been sung. Evidently the third was eliminated at Lucca
by this time and the sermon was inserted which breaks the
dramatic quality of the Adoratio ceremony.

[64]Mansi. 78. "Il resto non ha niente di diverso dal presente rito." I have unfortunately not had access to what the present rite requires at Lucca.

[65]Hardison, 128.

[66]Mansi, 74 says that "Porta processionalmente il ss. Sacramento al sepolcro," but the Latin text, 76 merely says "Reportentur ampoletae in Sacristia cum magna reverentia, ut supra dictum est." Again, this ceremony is undated.

[67]Although no drawings or paintings indicate the doors on this chapel, F. P. Luiso, La leggenda del Volto Santo (Pescia: Benedetti and Niccolai, 1928), 68 published a document of February 15, 1308, which speaks of the doors of the Volto Santo chapel as being closed.

[68]For the Latin Text see Karl Young, The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature No. 10, Madison, 1920) 73.

[69]As translated by Hardison, 137.

[70]As translated by Hardison, 137-38. Guards are also known to have been placed around the sepulchre at Prague, according to a sixteenth century compilation of liturgies. See Young, 86 for the Latin text.

[71]Young, 72-91 publishes a wide variety of these ceremonies.

[72]See Neil C. Brooks, The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1921).

[73]Young, 91.

[74]Brooks, 56.

[75]Brooks, 58.

[76]Brooks, 58. At Parma a special Paradisus was erected in the choir. The sepulchres at Monte Cassino, Novalesa and Brescia were located on the main altar, 60.

[77]Brooks, 58. The ceremonies from Venice are printed by Young, 56-60 and 67-69 but they do not indicate where the sepulchre was placed. Brooks reports that William Durandus (c. 1220-1296) indicates its existence outside the choir.

[78]Friúli, Venezia, Giulia (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1968), 289.

[79] See Brooks, 105 for complete text from Ordo de divinis officiis of the Benedictine monastery of Prüfening near Regensburg, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek.

[80] From the Breviarium ecclesie Mosburgensis of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek, published by Brooks, 104. At Erlangen, according to Brooks, 56 the liturgical drama of the Visitatio Sepulchri took place near the Altar of the Cross. A similar practice also occurred at Halle. See also the ceremony from Gran, Hungary, published by Young, 34.

[81] Friúli, 289. Its sides are constructed of Greek marble slabs while the attic consists of thirteen colonettes among which hang twelve lamps. Illustrated in Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), Pl. IX. Also of interest is Alberti's Holy Sepulchre which was built in the Rucellai Chapel of San Pancrazio, Florence in 1467. This structure is rectangular. See illustrations in Girolamo Mancini, Vita di Leon Battista Alberti, 2nd ed. (Rome: Bardi, 1971), 431 and 432.

[82] Friúli, 289.

[83] See Young, Dramatic Associations, 93-94 for the Depositio crucis et hostiae. According to Young, the Elevatio can be found in Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis (Venice, 1575), 112-15. A 1495 Visitatio is published by Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 321. A similar location in the north corresponds with the imprecise "sepulchrum in parte aquilonari" of Hildesheim (Brooks, 57).

[84] See Brooks, 105-7 for Latin texts.

[85] A large number of these ceremonies are published by Young, Dramatic Associations, 92-127.

[86] Young, Dramatic Associations, 13.

[87] Young, Dramatic Associations, 109-10 from a fifteenth-century manuscript now in Munich. Although such directions are unique in surviving manuscripts, Young, 111, n. 74 does not dismiss the possibility that such a practice occurred more frequently.

[88] Young, Dramatic Associations, 55. Latin text, 53.

[89] Heitz, 190. I am grateful to Dr. Molly T. Smith for bringing this detail of the ceremony to my attention.

[90] Brooks, 64.

[91]Young, _Drama of the Medieval Church_, Vol. 1, 617.

[92]Brooks, 57.

[93]Young, _Drama of the Medieval Church_, Vol. 1, 177.
Examples published in _Dramatic Associations_. See Augsburg,
96-97 and Diessen, 124 where the sacrament was removed before
the elevation of the cross. The Parma _ordines_ of 1417 had
the sacristan remove the buried host before the beginning of
Matins, 44.

[94]Young, _Dramatic Associations_, 74 gives the Latin text.

[95]Young, _Dramatic Associations_, 33. In this text from
1580 the sacristan removes the host privately "_sicut enim
certum est Christum antequam Mulieres et Discipuli ad sepul-
chrum venirent resurrexisse, ita conuenit hanc ceremoniam
peragi priusquam populus in templum conueniat._"

[96]Young, _Dramatic Associations_, 34, n. 24.

[97]Although the rubrics cited above do not state whether
the image was adorned, general practice throughout the Middle
Ages required the shrouding of all images during Holy Week.
Probably reflecting the practices of the nineteenth century,
Guerra, 257 states that the Volto Santo was displayed on Good
Friday without any ornament.

[98]It is interesting to note in this connection the Christ
of the Transfiguration painted by Fra Angelico in the monastery
of San Marco, Florence (Frederick Hartt, _History of Italian
Renaissance Art_ [New York: Prentice-Hall and Abrams 1969],
183, Ill. 218). The Transfigured Lord in the fresco stands
with his arms outstretched as on a cross and he stands upon
a square outcropping of rock, both clear references to the
crucifixion and Calvary. His hair parted in the middle and
flowing gently 'across his shoulders, the beard separated into
two ropy sections, the arms and the gently outstretched hands
are remarkably reminiscent of the Volto Santo. Guerra, 159
relates that the Society of the Holy Face had a chapel in San
Marco which presumedly contained some representation of the
Volto Santo. A small relief carving of the Volto Santo is
still to be seen on the architrave over the third altar on
the left side of the nave.

[99]Heitz, 132, n. 1 quotes the Latin text.

[100]Heitz, 140.

[101]Heitz, 131. She refers the reader to Migne, _PL_, LXXII,
171-216.

[102] In the foreword to Almerico Guerra, Compendio di storia ecclesiastica Lucchese (Lucca: Coop. Tiopgrafica Editrice, 1924), IX, Pietro Guidi indicated his intent to publish a work dealing with "L'antica Liturgia Lucchese in genere" and "Delle stazioni, propriamente dette, cioè delle Stazioni Pasquali" in a second volume of the Compendio; however, I have been unable to locate any reference to its having been published.

[103] Mansi, 80-81. This ceremony, like the Adoratio has remained unnoticed since 1881. The following is the Latin text: "Hac die, hora octava vadunt processionaliter ad s. Reparatam cum tribus crucibus nihil cantando, et venientes ad ecclesiam Pontifex, benedicit ignum novum etc. Qua finita, Archidiaconus, seu diaconus solus Dalmatica indutus in cereo, qui benedicendus est, signum facit sancte crucis; et in ipso signo quinque grana incensi ponit in modum crucis; et scribit cum grafio circa ipsum signum A et Ω et ipsum annum Dominicae Incarnationis circa ipsum cereum, accendatque cum ex igne novo etc. Post haec ascendit..... in ambonem absque titulo sic incipiat etc. Tres primae lectiones leguntur a canonicis s. Martini; quatuor mediae a canonicis s. Reparatae; octava ab uno de s. Maria Forisporiam, decima ab unto de s. Petro majori, undecima ab uno de s. Michele in Foro, duodecima ab uno de s. Frigdiano, si est praesens, aliquando ab uno de s. Martino. Interim dum lectiones leguntur, quatuor Sacerdotes faciant sputum et unctionem Olei Sancti, duo seorsum super masculos, et alii duo seorsum super foeminas. Quibus rite peractis dum Episcopus cum Clero, et populo ad fontes descendit, Cantor incipit: Christe audi nos etc. quae its protrahantur, ut cum fuerint ad fontes incipiat inde Cantor: Sancta Maria; prius facendo septenam Letaniam, postea quinam, postea tertiam deinde dicantur; propitius. Quibus finitis benedicuntur fontes, dein baptizantur pueri a quatuor Sacerdotibus invitatis pro Ecclesia nostra, et aliis quatuor pro Ecclesia s. Reparatae.

Finito Baptismo, Episcopo, Diacono, Subdiacono ornatis sacris vestibus, praecedentibus eos candelabris, thurribolo, et incenso, et tribus crucibus dicatur oratio in porta claustri versus fontes, quae sic incipit: Deus qui Ecclesiam tuam. Procedunt omnes in circuitu Ecclesiae canendo hanc antifonam: Cum Rex gloriae. Cum autem venerint ante Portas Ecclesiae dicit Episcopus: Tollite portas principes vestras, usque Rex gloriae. Et ille respondeat.......... Respondet Pontifex: Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae. Hoc fit ter .... tunc intrantes in Ecclesiam sonent campanae, quoe mox ut auditae fuerint, omnia signa in universis Ecclesis nostrae Civitatis pro diutius solito pro gaudio tantae solemnitatis sonantur, et ab omnibus Ecclesias insimul in officiis intrantur. Cum vero autem sunt ante crucem, dicit Episcopus mediocri voce: Jam Christus Dominus resurrexit. Respondet Chorus: Deo gratias. Hoc fit tertio. His dictis, Cantor pluviali indutus incipit alta voce: Alleluja, quater. Et finitur in Choro. Et cum ad Altare venerit, dicit Episcopus excelsa voce: Gloria in

excelsis Deo etc. Pontifice vero communicato, populus communicat etc. Completo Officio, revertuntur ad Ecclesiam B. Martini, et vadunt cum Episcopo, et tota schola coenatum.

[104]Hardison, 150 lists the traditional lessons.

[105]There is no indication as to where this font was located.

[106]Krautheimer, "Iconography," 26-27 uses this passage to demonstrate the strong symbolic ties between mausolea and baptistries in Early Christian architecture.

[107]Krautheimer, "Iconography," 27 quotes from The Book of St. Basil on the Spirit, cap. XV.

[108]I am unsure of which prayer is indicated by this truncated rubric. Perhaps it corresponds to the collect usually designated for the Tuesday after Easter which recalls that God continues to enlarge his church: "Ecclesiam tuam novo semper foetu multiplicas" published by Hardison, 168.

[109]Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 151 gives the rest of the text: "...Christus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem ejus portas principum tolli praeciperet, sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captivus, voce lacrimabili clamaverat: Advenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte vinculatos de claustris. Te nostra vocabant suspira; te larga requirebant tormenta; tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis.

[110]See Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 149-77.

[111]Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 148. See also Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, Ed. Trans. R. McL. Wilson, I (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 470-76. The Latin text which concerns us is published by Young, I, 149-50.

[112]Young, Dramatic Associations, 117 "ad oculum repraesentatur, quomodo Christus Dominus post passionem suo ad inferos descensu."

[113]Young, Dramatic Associations, 90 "in signum redempcionis animarum ex limbo."

[114]My interpolation follows Young and Hennecke as cited in note 103.

[115]As shown in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Dublin, Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 170. It is also the next line of the psalm.

[116]Young, Dramatic Associations, 91.

[117]Mansi, 79 indicates in his Italian translation "avanti l'altare di s. Croce."

[118]Antiphonaire Monastique. XIIe siécle. Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Lucques, Andre Mocquereau, Ed. (Tournai: Société de Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste, Desclée, Lefebvre and Co., 1906), Facsimile folio 208.

[119]Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 201.

[120]Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 204.

[121]For the texts of these tropes see Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 207, 207, 570, 208, 209, 210, 214-15, 215-16, and 223 respectively.

[122]Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 201. Hardison, 219 feels that the Quem quaeritis and subsequent Visitatio owe more to the precedents of the Easter vigil than the phenomenon of trope singing, but William L. Smolden, "The Origins of the Quem Quaeritis and the Easter Sepulchre Music Drama as Demonstrated by their Musical Settings," The Medieval Drama, Sandra Sticca, Ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), 131 rejects Hardison's conclusions since there are no musical similarities between the compositions.

[123]See Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, for the retention of the simple form in the twelfth century at Ravenna-206, Vercelli - 205 and 208, Piacenza - 216, Bobbio - 207, n. 2, Benevento - 215, and Monza - 226. In the thirteenth century another example from Monza - 228-29 is the only surviving example of the simple form at such a late date.

[124]Hardison, 222 dates this text from the eleventh century. See Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 628 for the Latin text.

[125]The Ordines of 1417 indicate that the Vistatio precedes Matins, according to Young, Drmatic Associations, 45. Latin text: Young, Drama of the Medieval Church, Vol. 1, 300.

[126]This play was evidently performed at Modena. See Gustav Cohen, "The Influence of the Mysteries on Art in the Middle Ages," Gazette des Beaux Arts, Ser. 6, 24 (1943), 333, Fig. 2 from the eleventh century which shows the women buying spices. It is obviously a scene from an Easter play since the three women all have beards.

[127]Mansi, 76. "Nel tempo della Repubblica, nella cappella di Palazzo si faceva il SS. Sepolcro con nobilissimo apparato e tutta la corte intorno vi compiva un'ora d'orazione."

[128]Alessandro D'Ancona, Origini del teatro in Italia, I (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1877), 81.

[129]Reiner Haussherr, "Das Imvardkreuz und der Volto-Santo-typ," Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 16, No. 3-4 (1962), 160.

CONCLUSION

Attempts to assign an eighth century date to the present
Volto Santo have failed because of stylistic discrepancies.
The present Volto Santo clearly seems to be a late twelfth-
or early thirteenth-century work carved by a sculptor who was
conversant with the style of Benedetto Antelami. Since the
Volto Santo was already mentioned in documents of 1107, it is
certain that the present Volto Santo must have replaced an
earlier work. I have suggested that the original Volto Santo
may have derived from German sources in the second quarter
of the eleventh century. There were strong political ties
between Lucca and the German emperors, and manuscripts of
this period show the influence of German types. Furthermore,
in Germany and Italy, unlike the rest of Europe, the Easter
sepulchre with which the Volto Santo was probably symbolically
associated was regularly placed in the nave.

The inconsistent quality of the legend of Leobino may
well have resulted from a merging of traditions surrounding
Volto Santo I and still earlier works. It seems likely that
some sort of cross reliquary or relic may have been acquired
by the Lucchese from Charlemagne or his representatives in
Italy. The history of this Carolingian donation probably
merged with that of the original Volto Santo when the Lucchese
first formally recorded the legend around the time of the

First Crusade.

A celebration held in honor of the Volto Santo on Easter Monday probably predates the Crusades. The use of the statue in the liturgical ceremonies of Good Friday and Easter, along with its appropriate iconography, suggests that the Volto Santo was originally and purposefully intended to be placed in or near the north aisle of Lucca cathedral. The relationship of the Volto Santo chapel to the high altar of the cathedral mirrors the relationship of the rock of Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The ceremonies celebrated at these sites likewise have been shown to be at the origin of comparable rites performed at Lucca.

The originally quadrangular form of the Volto Santo chapel also reflects the form of the Golgotha chapel in Jerusalem, known in the West from pilgrims' accounts and from schematic diagrams such as the seventh-century plan of Arculfe. These reports indicate that a chapel of the Holy Grail was located nearby. The proximity of the Golgotha chapel to that of the Holy Grail, along with precedents in Ottonian manuscripts for placing a chalice below the crucifixion, and the frequent use of a chalice for the Depositio crucis et hostiae ceremonies of Good Friday indicate that the chalice located beneath the right foot of the Volto Santo was not a makeshift addition.

Likewise, the Volto Santo appears to have been attributed to Nicodemus for good reason. According to the biblical account, Nicodemus assisted at Christ's burial. As early as the

ninth century he had been associated with the creation of the Beirut crucifix. Moreover, his authorship of the Volto Santo may have been suggested by the story of Christ's descent into Hell as told in the Gospel of Nicodemus; it served as the basis for part of the Easter vigil which involved the Volto Santo at Lucca.

Answers to many of the questions regarding the Volto Santo nonetheless remain unanswered. Further research in the municipal and church archives of Lucca may yet produce other neglected examples of Good Friday and Easter ceremonies similar to those which I have discussed above. Those festivals currently held in honor of the Volto Santo or in which it plays a part may also prove to contain vestiges of ancient practices. Ironically, Alessandro d'Ancona had already recognized such facts in 1877. As he studied the liturgical dramas and mystery plays of Italy he met problems similar to those which face the scholar studying the Volto Santo:

> "If the examples which we would cite most often
> come from churches which are more likely than
> not to be non-Italian, that does not mean that
> the churches of Italy had other uses...but it
> is certain that if one were to search among the
> ancient missals, diurnals, processionaries,
> responsories and antiphonaries of Italian churches,
> much could come of it."[1]

Indeed, d'Ancona's recommendation still holds true today. Art historians have too long worried about precisely determining the age and provenance of the Volto Santo without concerning themselves with its liturgical function. Yet, there remain purely artistic matters which also have been neglected:

the ornate gold belt of 1384 has never been described nor photographed in detail; likewise, the seventeenth-century crown and necklace have not received any attention from art historians; even the charming Renaissance _tempietto_ which now encloses the Volto Santo has remained unstudied.

Scholarly research regarding the Volto Santo is far from nearing its conclusion. This study has hopefully evidenced that there still remain many documents to be read, inferences to be drawn, and pages to be written before the Volto Santo of Lucca ceases to be what Porter has called "a mystery of the first class."[2]

NOTES - CONCLUSION

[1]Alessandro d'Ancona, Origini del Teatro in Italia
(Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1877), 30. "Se gli esempj
che più spesso verremo citando appartengono, più che altro,
a Chiese oltremontane, ciò non vuol dire che quello d'Italia
avessero altre usanze...ma certo è che si frugasse per entro
gli antichi messali e diurnali e processionarj e resposorj
e antifonarj delle Chiese italiane, molto si potrebbe rivenire."

[2]Arthur Kingsley Porter, Spanish Romanesque Sculpture,
Vol. 2 (Florence: Pantheon, 1928), 8.

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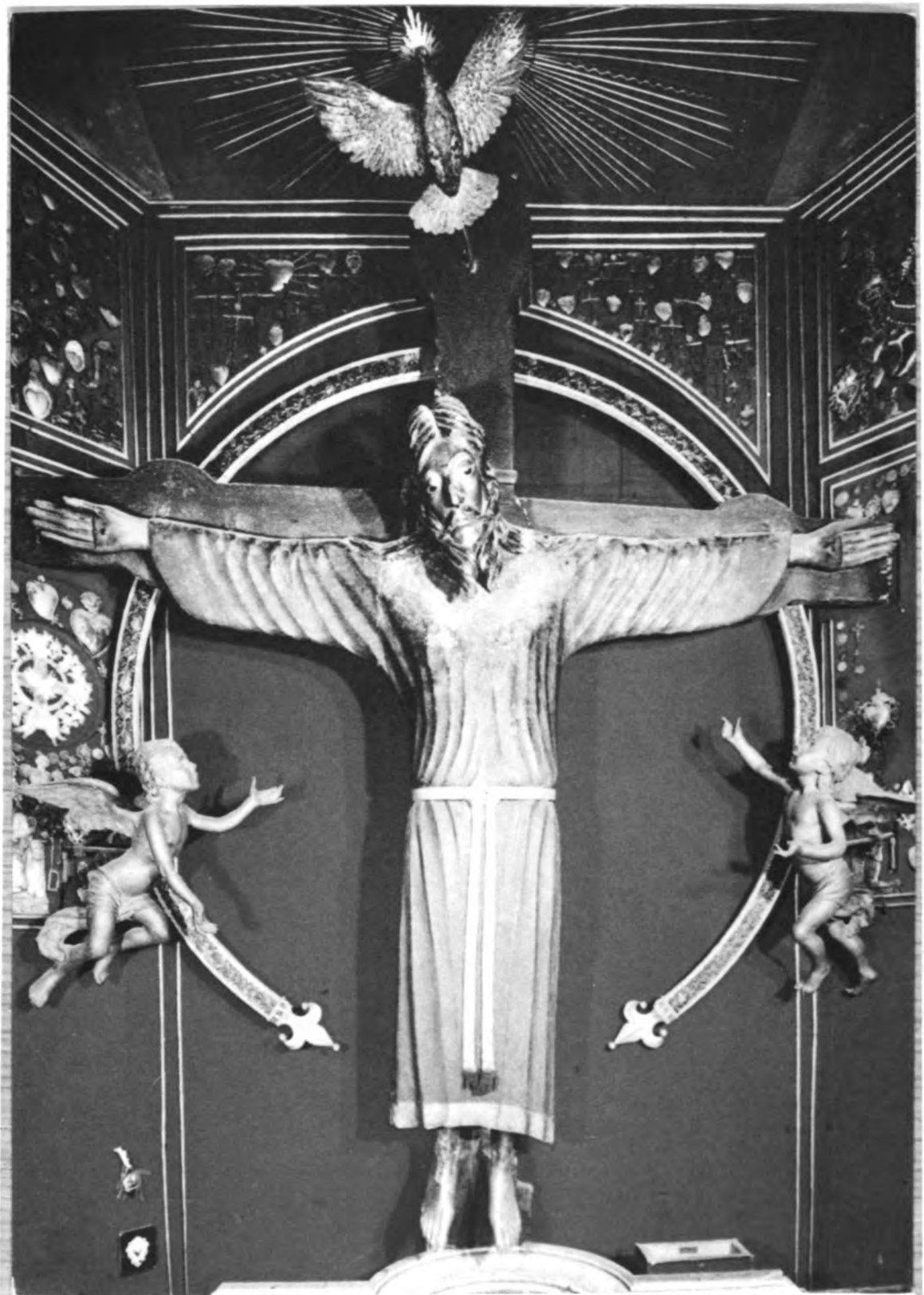   ature 10. Madison, 1920.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1:   The Volto Santo of Lucca.   Walnut.
Lucca cathedral.   Late twelfth or
early thirteenth century.

Illustration 2: Detail of Illustration 1.

Illustration 3: The Volto Santo of Lucca as
displayed for festivals.

Illustration 4:   Interior of nave.   Lucca cathedral
Early fourteenth century.
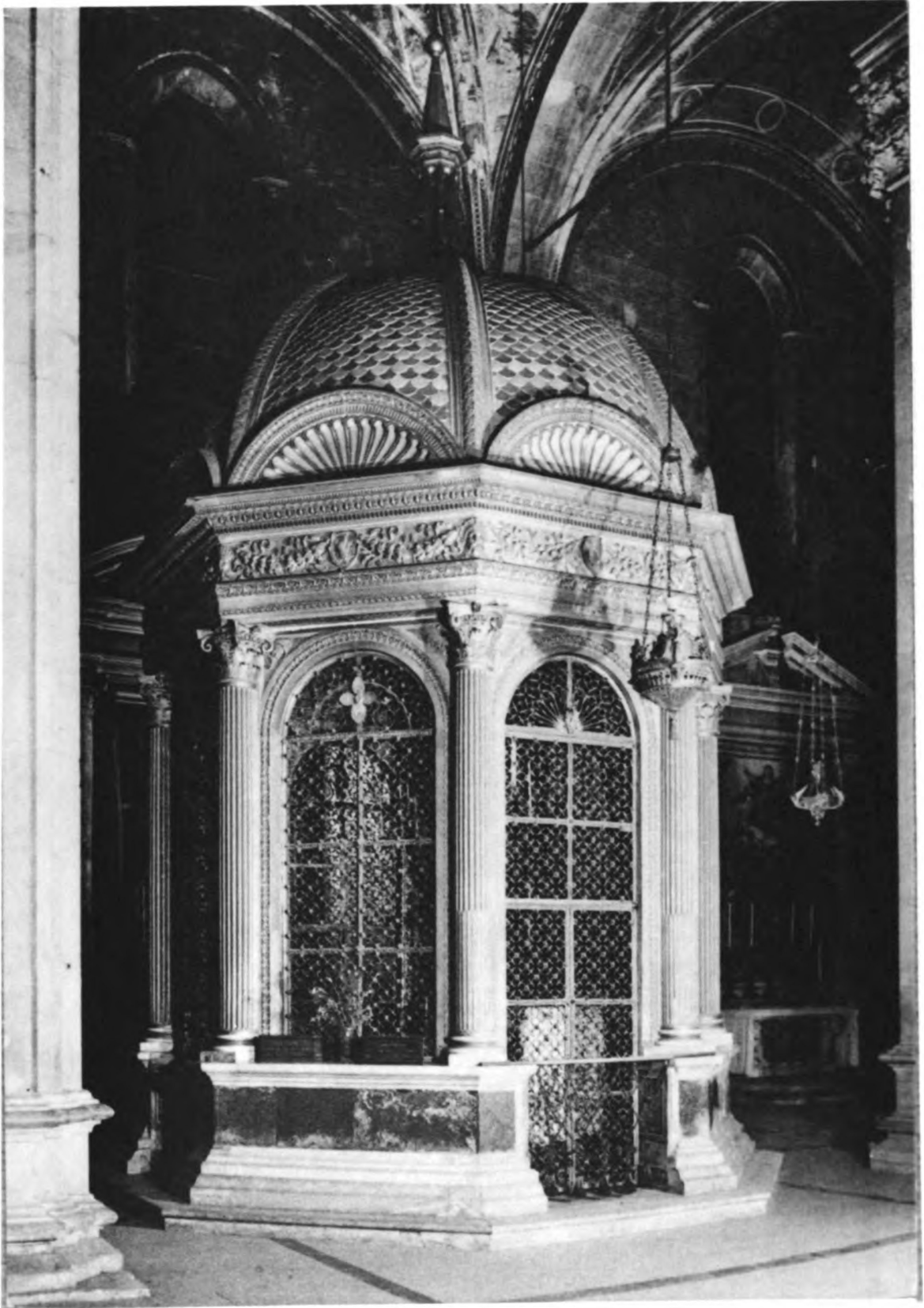
Illustration 5:   Matteo Civitali.   Chapel of the Volto Santo.
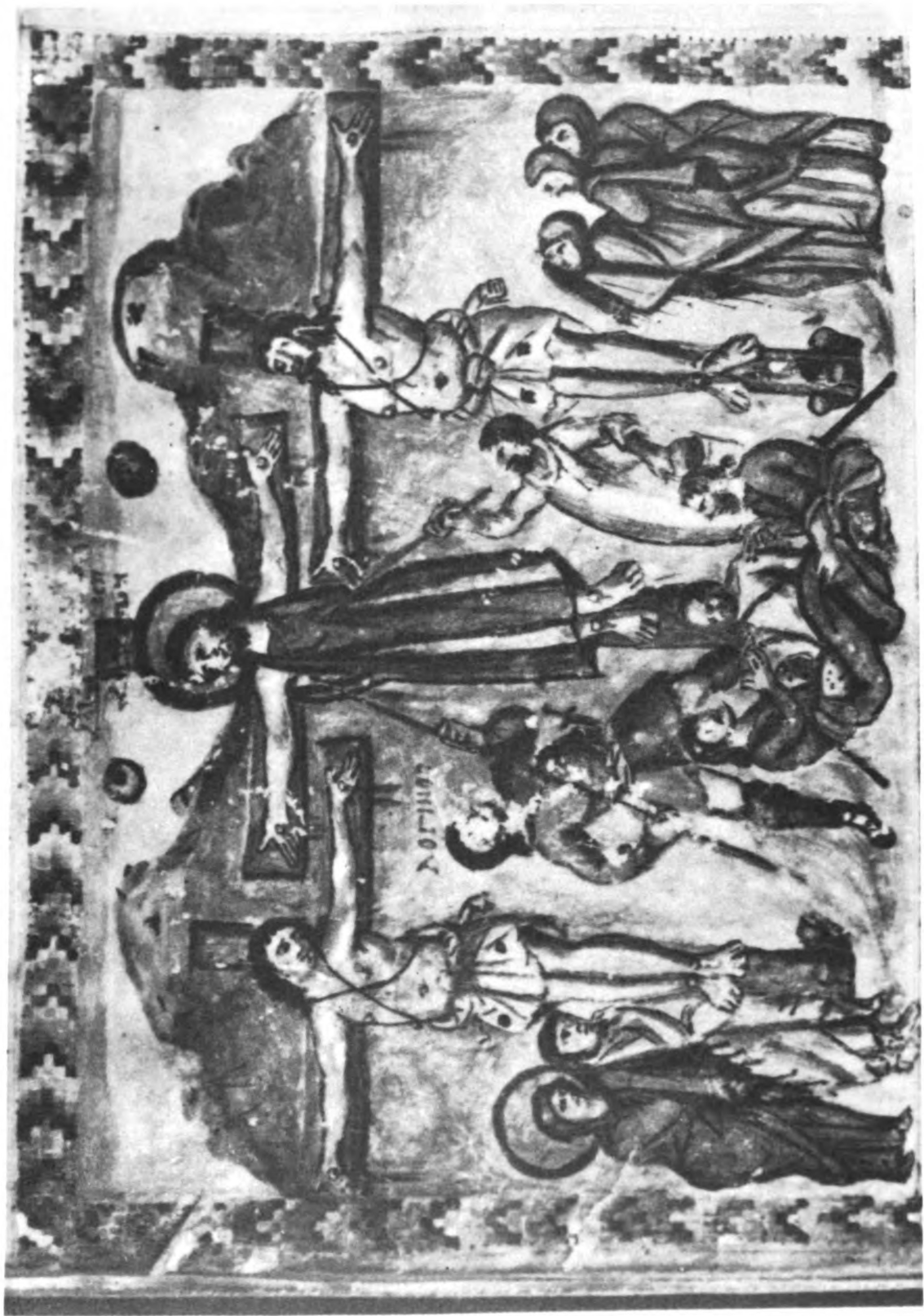North aisle of Lucca cathedral.   1482-84.

Illustration 6: Crucifixion from the Rabbula Gospels. Syrian. Laurentian Library, Florence. Sixth Century. (Photo: Thoby, pl. V. No. 11).

Illustration 7: Deposition Group. Wood. Volterra, Italy. Mid-thirteenth century. (Photo: Francovich, 1937, Fig. 31).

Illustration 8: Crucifix. Wood. Braunschweig, Germany.
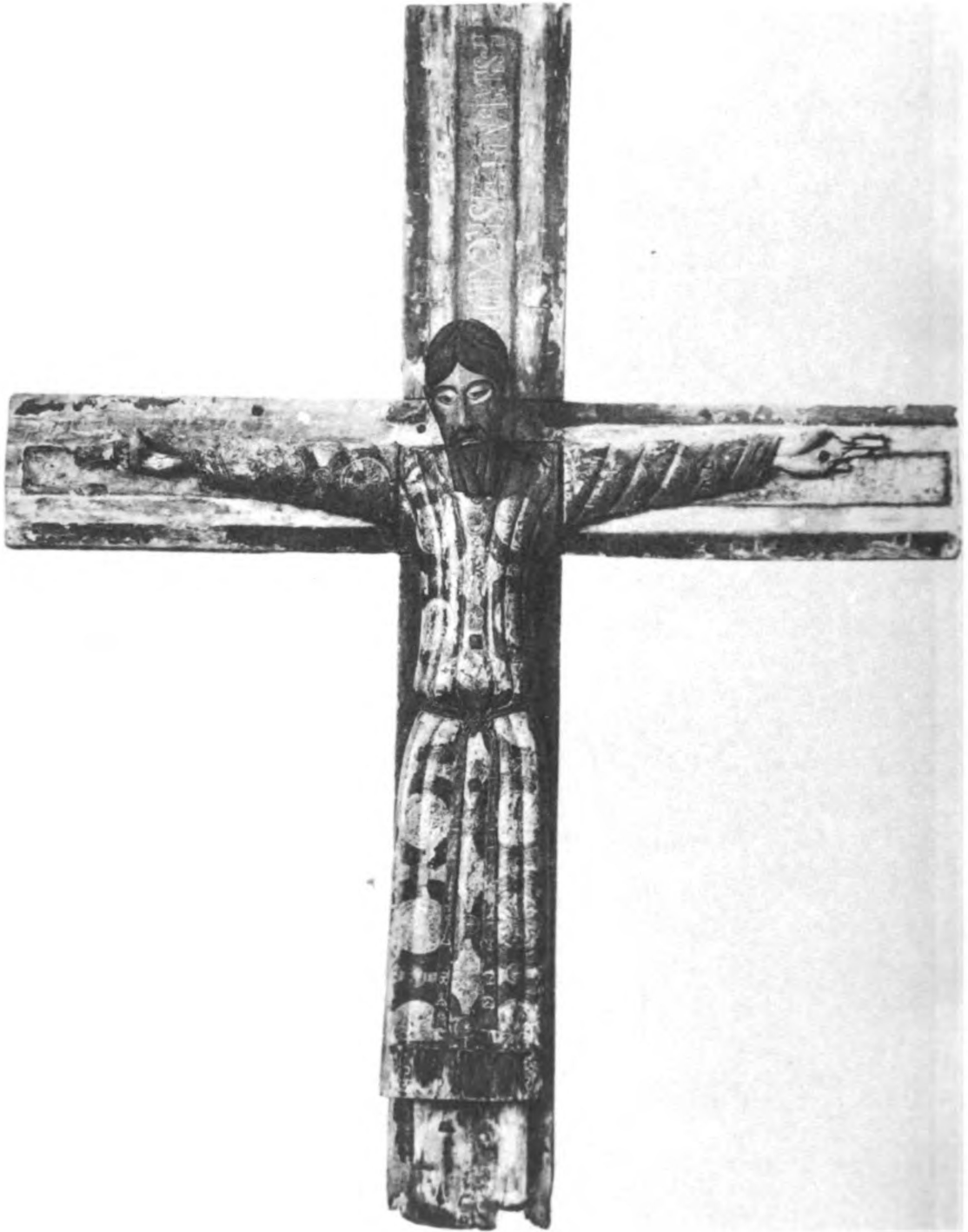c. 1166. (Photo: Thoby, Pl. LXXIII, No. 166).

Illustration 9:   Majestad.   Wood.   Museo de la Ciudadela,
               Barcelona.   Mid-twelfth century.
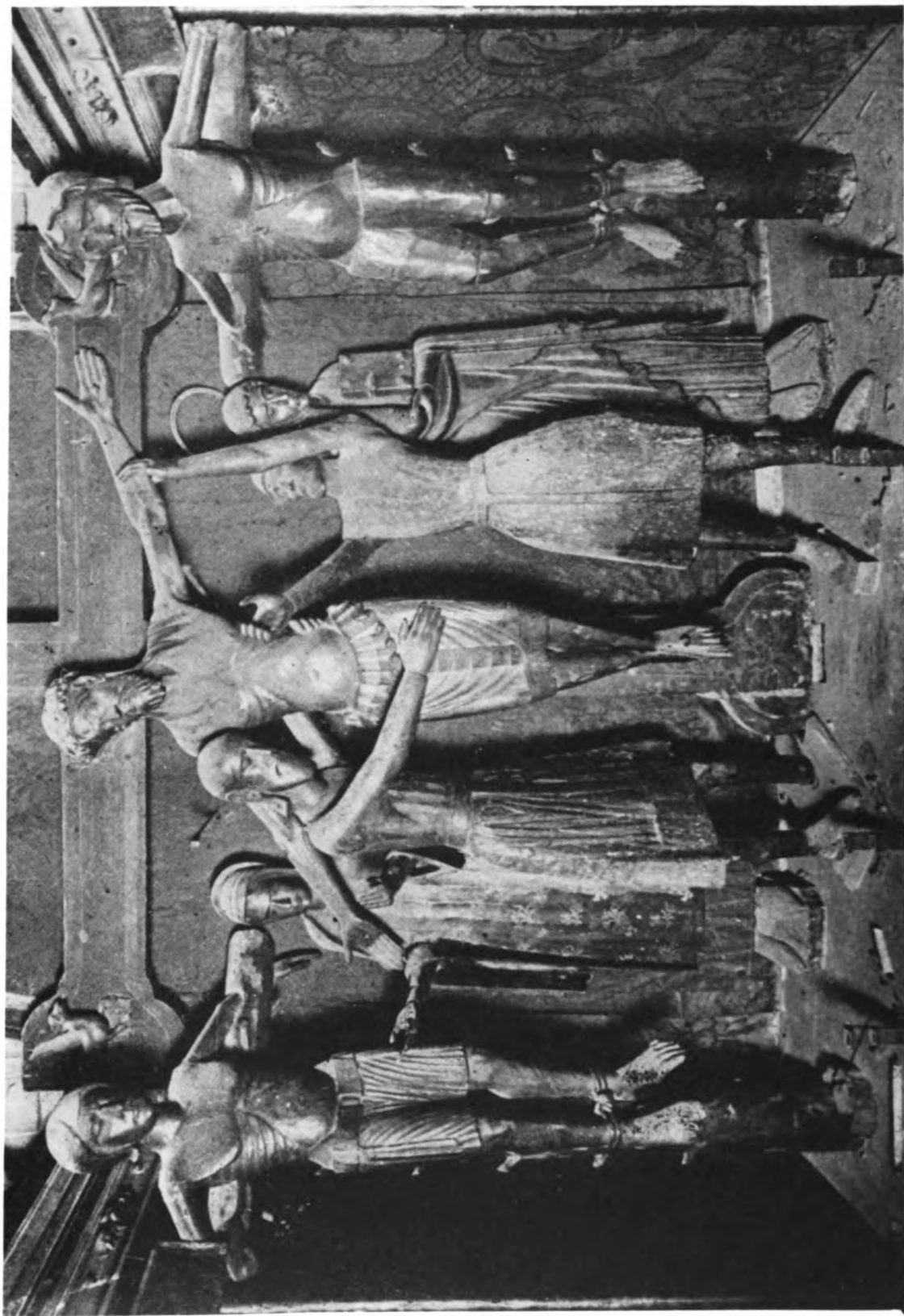   (Photo: Porter, Vol. 1, Pl. 34).

Illustration 10: Deposition Group. Wood. San Juan de las Abedesas, Spain 1251. (Photo: Francovich, 1937, Fig. 65).

Illustration 11:   Benedetto Antelami.   Presentation in the
                   Temple.   Stone.   Detail of lunette over the
                   interior south portal, Parma Baptistry.
                   c. 1200-10.   (Photo: Salvini, Ill. 152).

Illustration 12. Gero Crucifix. Oak. Cologne Cathedral.
969-76. (Photo: Janson, Ill. 328).

Illustration 13: Crucifixion from Metz Gospel Book. Ottonian.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Eleventh
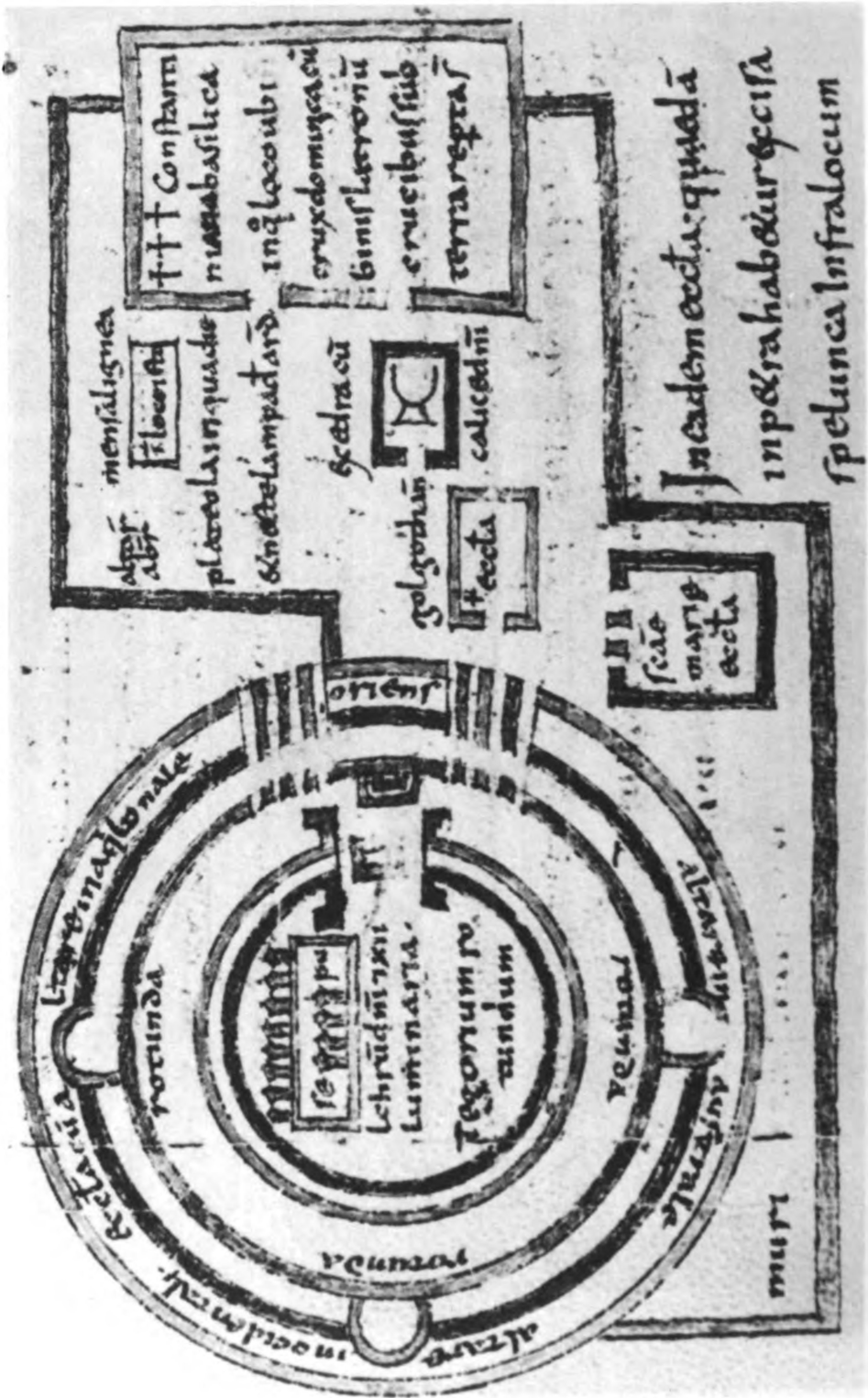century. (Photo: Thoby, Pl. XX, No. 42).

Illustration 14: Manuscript plan of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem according to Arculfe. Vienna. Ninth century. (Photo: Heitz, Pl. XXIX, A).

Illustration 15: Crucifixion from the Echternach
                  Gospels. Ottonian. London. c. 1050.
                  (Photo: Schiller, Vol. 2, Ill. 387).