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HIERUSALEM IN LATERANO: THE TRANSLATION OF SACRED SPACE IN FIFTH CENTURY ROME[1]

Richard Krautheimer was the first to remark on the building surge that took place in the southeast of Rome during the course of the fifth century: "Centered on the Lateran and extending in a vast arc north [to S. Maria Maggiore], west [to Sto. Stefano Rotondo], and east [to S. Croce in Gerusalemme], a *borgo* seems to be outlined, much as the one that some hundred years later extended from St. Peter's and the Vatican" (Figs. 1–2)[2]. Krautheimer argued convincingly that these topographical changes manifested papal ambitions to consolidate power in the Lateran cathedral[3], but he was unable to identify any unifying theme beneath the new construction. As Krautheimer's explained, with evident bewilderment, "I have asked myself whether the three churches [S. Croce in Gerusalemme, S. Maria Maggiore, and Sto. Stefano Rotondo] were not meant to outline the perimeter of a territory extended from the Lateran and set apart as the pope's very own part of Rome"[4]. Krautheimer had detected something new, the development of a distinctive hierotopy taking shape around the cathedral church. As this paper will argue, the "sacred landscape" of fifth-century Rome was ultimately shaped by the topographical blueprint of the Holy Land, transforming Rome into a "New Jerusalem".

The growth of the Lateran *borgo* occurred in the wake of civic and religious upheaval. Indeed, the abandonment of the Forum Romanum in the preceding decades embodied a general decline of the city's pagan establish-

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[2] *Krautheimer R.* Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics. Berkeley, 1983, p. 120.
[3] Ibid., p. 93–121.
[4] Ibid., p. 119.

ment, while the appearance of vast martyrial shrines along the outskirts underscored the concomitant rise of the Roman clergy[5]. Widespread urban blight followed: in the year 400, Rome's population hovered around 800,000, but by the end of the fifth century, a mere 100,000 residents continued to occupy the city. Cassiodorus did not exaggerate when, in the mid-sixth century, he remarked that Rome had been "handed over to spoliation and ruin"[6].

The reorganization of Rome fell hardest on the Church, which had assumed administrative and religious leadership of the city[7]. Operating from the basilica of St. Giovanni in Laterano, the pope and the Roman curia were isolated from the city's principle residential neighborhoods in Trastevere and the Campus Martius, located to the west. Moreover, the Lateran was ill equipped to oversee the major pilgrimage sites cropping up around the city, most significantly, the basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican Hill, which stood roughly 4.5 kilometers northwest of the cathedral on the opposite bank of the Tiber. Although the Lateran had initially provided the Church with a strategic base of operations away from the pagan aristocracy, the basilica's geographic isolation was becoming an increasing liability[8]. In an age in which the pope was responsible for both aqueducts and baptisms, the Lateran's peripheral neighborhood threatened to marginalize the church[9].

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[5] *Krautheimer R.* Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308. Princeton, 1980, p. 36–37; *Pietri C.* Roma Christiana: Recheches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son Oragnisation, sa Politique, son Idéologie de Militade à Sixte III (311–440). Rome, 1976, p. 405–460; see also: *Curran J.* Pagan City and Christian Capital : Rome in the Fourth Century. Oxford, 2000. The fruits of imperial patronage were on display in the basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican Hill, which was furnished with gifts of golden chalices, silver *metrae*, jeweled martyrs' crowns, and other lavish liturgical instruments. The basilica grew wealthy through the donation of imperial properties in the eastern Empire, whose annual revenues amounted to 8000 *solidi* per year (*Liber Pontificalis* [hereafter LP] 34.16; *Duchesne L.*, ed. Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction, et Commentaire. Paris, 1955 (unless otherwise noted, all references will be to Vol. I), p. 176–177).

[6] *Cassiodorus*. Epist. III, 30; cited in: *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., p. 109; *Krautheimer* (1980), op. cit., p. 65–66.

[7] Pope Damasus (366–384) was among the first pontiffs to assume large scale administrative leadership, initiating repair work on the decaying aqueducts, worn streets, and battered ramparts along the city's outskirts. "Through the improvement of the city's collective services he probably aimed both to show the benefits of papal government and to embellish what had definitively become the capital of the papal, ecclesiastical, and temporal rule" (*Delogu P.* The Papacy, Rome, and the Wider World in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries // Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honor of Donald A. Bullough / Ed. J. M. H. Smith. Leiden, 2000. p. 217). For more on papal involvement in Rome's administration see: *Vielliard R.* Recheches sur les Origines de la Rome Chrétienne. Macon, 1941, p. 123–129.

[8] *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., p. 28–29, 56.

[9] *Krautheimer* (1980, op. cit., p. 57) provides several reasons why the Lateran remained the episcopal seat. In later centuries, with the focus of Roman pilgrimage at the tomb of St. Peter, the Vatican would become a direct rival to the Lateran's primacy. The confused rela-

The expansion of the Lateran greenbelt during the fifth century signaled an attempt to resolve this crisis. With the construction of S. Maria Maggiore and Sto. Stefano Rotondo, the Lateran joined the existing basilica of S. Croce in Gerusalemme in forming a new papal *borgo* in the once moribund districts in Rome's southeast quarter[10]. In addition to their proximity to one another, each of the four churches fell under the supervision of the Lateran clergy. Together they transformed into the nerve centers of a special episcopal jurisdiction, reaffirming the centrality of the pope in the liturgical and administrative life of the city.

Although Krautheimer successfully explained these developments in the context of Rome's topography and ecclesiastical politics, the overriding symbolic scheme of the Lateran *borgo* eluded him[11]. In his closest assay, Krautheimer speculated that the revival of classical architectural styles in the *borgo* reflected a desire to channel Roman antiquity into a Christian context. But the antiquity of Augustus and the Capitol less interested the Roman Church than the Biblical antiquity of King David and Jerusalem. S. Paolo fuori le Mura, constructed to commemorate the site of Paul's martyrdom on the Via Ostia, embodied this new spiritual inclination. As the first oriented church in Rome, S. Paolo enabled the faithful to worship in the direction of the Holy Land, *conversi ad Dominum*, thereby acknowledging the locus of Christ's death, resurrection, and eventual return[12].

Iconic representations of the Holy Land also adorned Roman churches during this time. The apse mosaic at Sta. Pudenziana, for example, depicts the figure of Christ before a cityscape of the Heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. 3). Dating to the pontificate of Innocent I (402–417), the mosaic presents several discrete features of the earthly Jerusalem (Fig. 4), including the hill of

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tionship between the two basilicas would not be entirely resolved until the sixteenth century, when the new St. Peter's was incorporated within the Leonine Walls of Rome and the papal curia shifted operations to the Vatican. For more on St. Peter's emergence as the popular center of the Roman Church see: Birch, D. Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change. Woodbridge, 1998, p. 27–33.

[10] *Pietri*, op. cit., p. 83–89. For S. Maria Maggiore, see *Krautheimer R*. Corpus Basilicarum Urbis Romae: The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Cent.). 5 vols. Rome, 1937–1977 (hereafter Corpus): Vol. 3, p. 1–60; for Sto. Stefano Rotondo, Corpus (Vol. IV), p. 199–240; for the Lateran, Corpus (Vol. V) p. 1–92; for S. Croce, Corpus (Vol. I), p. 165–195.

[11] *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., p. 103–104; see also: *Krautheimer R*. The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth Century Renascence? // De Artibus Opuscula XL — Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky/ Ed. M. Meiss. New York, 1961, p. 291–302.

[12] *Krautheimer R. & Ćurčić S*. Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. London, 1986, p. 87; *Krautheimer*, Corpus (Vol. 5) 103–127. *Pietri* (op. cit., p. 514–519) contains a good description and bibliography for the church's fourth century foundation. *Krautheimer* (1967, op. cit., p. 123–126) details the role of the apse in the Constantinian basilicas of Rome.

Golgotha, the round dome of the Anastasis, and the polygonal apse of the basilica at Bethlehem[13]. Sta. Pudenziana, whose apse, like S. Paolo's, was on the eastern end of the building, provided a monumental space for liturgical devotion to the Holy Land.

The rise of pilgrimage in the eastern Empire, particularly among members of Rome's Christian aristocracy, spurred this hierotopical focus on Jerusalem. St. Jerome, who spent the final decades of his life in a cell near Bethlehem, spoke eloquently for these pilgrims, explaining that they desired to worship "where the feet of the Lord rested" and "to see the physical traces of our Lord's birth, his Cross, and his Passion"[14]. Seizing upon hagiographical fantasies of St. Anthony and John Cassian, Romans of noble lineage renounced their material possessions and fled into the desert. While many, including Jerome's disciple, Marcella, led an exodus to monasteries outside Jerusalem, still more recreated the Palestinian "desert" in the suburban convents of Rome, where the experience of ascetic communion was as real as it seemed to Jerome and his auditors in the Holy Land. Ultimately both models testify to a spiritual reawakening in Late Antique Rome, whose compass was firmly set on the Palestinian *loca sancta*[15].

The triumphal arch at S. Maria Maggiore substantiates this spiritual revolution (Fig. 5)[16]. Fashioned as a traditional Roman victory monument, the arch mosaics do not commemorate scenes of military triumph, but rather, events from Christ's early life. In doing so, Roman history becomes intertwined with Biblical history — indeed, the only *augustus* pictured anywhere in the mosaics is on left-hand spandrel, where the infant Jesus is shown seated atop a jeweled throne surrounded by his heavenly retinue. As Krautheimer himself noted, the dedicatory inscription in the center of the arch — "Xystus episcopus plebi Dei" — bears a tone "both Biblical and classical", attesting to the synthesis of *Christianitas* and *Romanitas* in papal Rome[17]. In creating a sense of Christian antiquity through architecture and monumental decoration, the popes sought to transform Rome into the Augustinian vision of the heavenly city. *The City of*

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[13] *Kühnel B.* From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium. Rome, 1987, p. 63–72; for a thorough treatment of the apse see: *Dassmann E.* Das Apsismosaik von S. Pudentiana in Rome; Philosophie, Imperiale, und Theologische Aspekte in einem Christusbild am Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts // RQ 65 (1970), p. 67. A recent study on the apse and the topography of Jerusalem: *Pullan Wendy.* Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega in the Santa Pudenziana Mosaic // The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art / Ed. B. Kühnel. Jerusalem, 1998, p. 405–417.

[14] *Jerome,* Epist. XLVII, 2; Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL) 54, p. 346.

[15] *Curran*, op. cit., p. 260–320.

[16] *Nestori A. & Bisconti F.* I mosaici paleocristiani di Santa Maria Maggiore negli acquarelli della collezione Wilpert. Città del Vaticano, 2000, p. 18–20.

[17] *Krautheimer* (1980) op. cit., p. 49.

God was, after all, written in response to the sack of Rome in 410, and Augustine's allegorical vision is imbued with characteristically Late Antique ideals of civic life. In this respect, Rome was the "New Jerusalem," an earthly paradise city "bear[ing] the likeness of the church to come and the city of the saints, where the angelic life already exists"[18].

Despite the wealth of contextual evidence, the rise of a Christian hierotopy in Late Antique Rome has spurred few comparisons with the earthly city of Jerusalem[19]. Among the most compelling ties emerge from records of the Roman stational liturgy, which, conveniently, developed around the same time as the foundation of churches such as S. Maria Maggiore and Sto Stefano Rotondo[20]. Rome's stational system offers a particularly useful tool for understanding the organization of the Lateran *borgo*, for it reveals the forgotten connections between these churches, as well as their role in the developing hierotopy.

S. CROCE IN GERUSALEMME

Although the Lateran is technically the oldest church in the papal *borgo*, the renovations conducted under popes Sixtus III (432–440) and Hilarius (461–468) require us to examine the cathedral against the backdrop of other fifth-century foundations, namely S. Maria Maggiore and Sto. Stefano Rotondo. Discussion of this basilica will thus be postponed to the end of the study. S. Croce in Gerusalemme provides a worthy place to begin instead, for in many respects, the church foreshadowed the development of a mimetic Jerusalem throughout the rest of the Lateran greenbelt in the coming decades.

The *Liber Pontificalis* entry on Pope Sylvester (314–325) offers a preliminary description of the church's early history: "The emperor Constantine built a basilica in the Sessorian Palace; there he placed some of the wood of our Lord Jesus Christ's holy Cross and sealed it with gold and jewels; and from this he chose the name for the dedication of the church, which today is called Jerusalem"[21]. Archaeological evidence suggest that the Sessorian Pal-

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[18] *Augustine*, Enarrationes in Psalmos, 9, 12; CSEL 38, p. 64; for an extensive discussion of Patristic commentary on Jerusalem see: *Kühnel*, op. cit., 73–81.

[19] Grisar was the first to suggest that the liturgical organization of Late Antique Rome was based on that of Jerusalem. *Grisar H.* Das Missale im Lichte Römischer Stadtgeschichte: Stationen, Perikopen, Gebräuche. Freiburg, 1925, p. 4–16.

[20] Baldovin offers discussion of the origins of the Roman stational system, dismissing theories that posit its genesis around the time of Gregory the Great. *Baldovin J.* The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy. Rome, 1987, p. 147–153.

[21] LP 34, 22; Duchesne 179; trans. *Davis R.* Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715. Liverpool, 2000, p. 21. Scholars have doubted the authenticity of the entry due in part to the statement: "quae cog-

ace was first built around 200, and given the proliferation of traditions connecting the site with the Empress Helena, it seems likely that the structure once functioned as an imperial residence. Sometime between 325 and 337, the existing palace was converted into a Christian basilica, with an apse installed at its eastern end[22].

The most intriguing aspect of the *Liber Pontificalis'* entry is its reference to "the wood of the Holy Cross"[23]. Sible de Blaauw suggests that the relic of the True Cross was probably housed in a chapel behind the apse — a chamber which was part of the original palatine structure, but which underwent renovations in the fifth century, later to be rededicated to St. Helena (Fig. 6, chamber "H"). Probably brought to Rome by the Emperor Constantine in the 320's, the relic was installed at the Sessorian Basilica no later than 336, thereby transforming the church into a *memoria* of the Holy Cross. The tradition linking S. Croce to St. Helena appears to develop from an eleventh-century source, which stipulates that Helena brought the relic to St. John Lateran, not S. Croce[24]. Hagiographers from the High Middle Ages seem to have conflated this tradition with the shadowy history surrounding the Sessorian Palace, leading them to suspect that the building once served as Helena's private residence[25].

Despite its late origins, the Helena-S. Croce tradition illuminates a far older association between the church and the Holy Land. From the earliest period, after all, S. Croce was intended to serve as "Jerusalem in Rome," a symbolic status underscored by its ownership of a piece of the True Cross from Jerusalem. Even the layout of the fourth-century basilica may have been intended to parallel that of the Golgotha martyrium (Fig. 7). \ The hill of Calvary in Jerusalem, which also guarded a major relic of the Cross, stood

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nominatur usque in hodiernum diem Hierusalem" (which today is still called Jerusalem), implying a retrospective position on behalf of the writer. While the clause may indeed be a later addition, the earliest epigraphic evidence, which dates from the beginning of the fifth century, refers to the church as "Sancta Ecclesia Hierusalem" (*De Blaauw S.* Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross // Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag / Eds. R. Colella, M. Gill, L. Jenkins, & P. Lamers. Wiesbaden, 1997, p. 56–59, 61–62; *Krautheimer*, Corpus (Vol. I) 167, 192.

[22] *Krautheimer*, Corpus I, 165; *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., 23; *De Blaauw*, op. cit., 64.

[23] Sta. Croce's donation list distinguishes between gifts related to the relic and to the altar, thereby suggesting that they were not physically proximate to one another.

[24] "Quod beata Helena ibi de iherusalem attulit"; Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 712, f. 88v; *De Blaauw*, op. cit., p. 66, fn. 36. For a brief summary of the Cross legend see: *Wilkinson J.* Egeria's Travels: Newly Translated with Supporting Documents and Notes. London, 1971, p. 240–241.

[25] It is not until the fifteenth century that this longstanding oral tradition is recorded in a manuscript. Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata* contains the earliest textual link between Helena and S. Croce, although her dedication in the western chapel certainly predates this (*De Blaauw,* op. cit., p. 65–66; see fn. 38).

northwest of the martyrium's *hemisphairon*. While the Constantinian shrine on Calvary was little more than a roofed aedicule, around the year 400, an elaborate bema was constructed to commemorate the site of the crucifixion[26]. In the 380s, Egeria referred to this site as *post Crucem*[27]. Like *post Crucem*, the Cross shrine at S. Croce was positioned behind the apse, off-center from principal longitudinal axis of the church[28]. In this, S. Croce seems to have adopted the topographical footprint of the episcopal complex at Golgotha, reinforcing its claim to be "Jerusalem in Rome."

For both sites, the premier liturgical commemoration of the year occurred on Good Friday during the adoration of the Cross. In Jerusalem, this service marked the beginning of a daylong celebration of Christ's Passion. As Egeria explained: "The bishop's chair is placed on Golgotha *post Crucem* (the cross there now), and he takes his seat. A table is placed before him and a cloth put on it, the deacons stand round, and a gold and silver box is brought to him containing the holy Wood of the Cross. It is opened and the Wood of the Cross and the Title are taken out and placed on the table"[29]. As Egeria observed, the faithful lined up to kiss the relic, with some prostrating before the deacons and touching the relic to their heads. The service lasted from roughly eight in the morning until midday, at which point the congregation reassembled in the *ante Crucem* atrium for prayer, which was followed by a general dismissal into the basilica[30].

In Rome, surviving sources which detail the Good Friday liturgy date from the late fifth century onward. The late-fifth-century Comes of Würzburg, the oldest source for the Roman stational liturgy, refers to the Good Friday commemoration at S. Croce, "AD HIERUSALEM"[31], a station confirmed by the mid-seventh century Roman Gospel Lectionaries[32]. While

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[26] *Kühnel* (op. cit., p. 66–68) suggests that the late fourth century bema may be pictured in the foreground of the Sta. Pudenziana apse mosaic.

[27] Iternarii Egeriae (hereafter IE) XXXVI–XXXVII; see also: *Baldovin*, op. cit., 47–48.

[28] Grisar offers provides some preliminary observations on this parallelism. *Grisar H.* Analecta Romana. Rome, 1899, p. 556–558.

[29] IE XXXVII, 1; trans: *Wilkinson* (1971), op. cit., p. 136–137.

[30] Armenian Lectionary (hereafter AL): Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121 // Patrologia Orientalis XXXV (Introduction) — XXXVI (Text) / Ed. A. Renoux. Brepols, 1969–1971, p. 281–293; Georgian Lectionary (hereafter GL): Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem // Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalum 188–189 (Tome I), 204–205 (Tome II) / Ed. M. Tarchnischvili. Louvain, 1959–1960, p. 95–106 (in which the shortened Adoration service is truncated, most likely due to restrictions imposed by the Islamic conquest); IE XXXVII, 2–9.

[31] Comes of Würzburg (hereafter CW) LXXXIII: *Morin G.* Le plus ancien 'comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine // Révue Bénédictine 27 (1910), p. 41–74; *De Blaauw*, op. cit., p. 72.

[32] Roman Gospel Lectionaries (hereafter RGL): *Morin G.* Liturgie et Basiliques de Rome au milieu du VIIe siècle d'après les listes d'Evangiles de Wurzbourg // Révue Bénédictine 28

these texts offer little insight into the ceremonial aspects of the service, they do confirm S. Croce's symbolic role as a Roman proxy for Golgotha on Good Friday.

Ordo Romanus XXIII, an early eighth-century record of the Paschal Triduum, provides the richest details for the commemoration of Good Friday in Rome[33]. The text recounts a barefoot procession that begins at St. John Lateran and eventually winds its way east to the Sessorian basilica. According to the text, the pope marches at the head of the procession, accompanied by a cadre of deacons, one of whom bears the Cross relic[34]. Upon arriving at S. Croce, the *lignum crucis* is placed on the altar, "at which point the pope opens the reliquary. He then prostrates himself before the altar in prayer and after rising, kisses it and goes to his throne. At his command, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons kiss the cross on the altar. They then place it atop a small chest in a shallow groove and there the rest of the people adore the relic"[35]. A series of pericopes follow the service, including the Passion narrative from the Gospel of John. The congregation then processes back to the Lateran, where silence is observed until the following morning[36].

Still more thorough is *Ordo Romanus* XXVII, a late eighth century source which omits all reference to the Lateran, focusing entirely on the church of S. Croce. The text opens with a series of prayers, followed by the presentation of the Cross before the congregation — held aloft *inde a duobus acolitis*. The pope approaches the altar and "kisse[s] the Cross in adoration, followed by the bishops, the presbyters, the deacons, and the rest according to their rank, and then the people"[37]. The veneration is followed by a communion service, which closes with the famous antiphon of the Cross that is still proclaimed today in the Good Friday liturgy: "Behold the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world is hung. Come let us worship!"[38]

(1911), p. 296–330. Here: p. 304: FER VI AD HIERUSALEM legatur passio dni. sec. Ioha. k CLVI. Et egressus Ihs. trans torrentem Cedron usq. quia erat monumentum possuerunt Ihm.

[33] *Andrieu M.* Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age. 4 vols. Louvain, 1931–1961. Here: (Vol. III) p. 265–266. Andrieu refers to the text as an "aide-memoire" which would have provided a non-Roman a reference for understanding the celebration of the Paschal Triduum in Rome; see also *Baldovin*, op. cit., p. 136–137.

[34] Ordo Romanus (hereafter OR) XXIII, 11 (*Andrieu*, op. cit., Vol III, p. 270–271).

[35] OR XXIII, 12–15; *Andrieu* (Vol. III), op. cit., p. 271.

[36] As the Ordo informs us, those who wished to talk after the service left to go to other churches: "Et qui noluerit ibi communicare, vadit per alias aecclesias Romae seu per titulos et communicat" (OR XXIII, 22; *Andrieu*, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 272).

[37] OR XXIV, 42 (*Andrieu*, III, op. cit., p. 357).

[38] OR XXIV, 47 (*Andrieu*, III, op. cit., p. 358). The latter half of *Ordo* XXVII contains information concerning the vespers service held on Good Friday at S. Croce. Of particular interest, the *Ordo* describes a procession that from nave to the subsidiary chapel where the relic of the True Cross was kept (OR XXIV, 90). From there, "after the prayer to the Holy Cross, [the pope and retinue] proceed to the baptismal fonts." Recent excavations at S. Croce have

Detailed comparison of the Roman stational mass with the Good Friday liturgy of Jerusalem reveals several important parallels. On one level, S. Croce's titular connection with "Hierusalem" made it a logical station for the commemoration of Friday in Passion Week. While evidence for this feast in Rome is more substantial than comparable sources for Jerusalem, the ritual at S. Croce borrowed the essential elements of the service that Egeria witnessed, namely the participation of a bishop seated on the *cathedra*, the veneration of the Cross, and the dismissal to the cathedral. Even the position of the relic "inde a duobus acolitis" evokes the ring of deacons who were ordered to protect the Wood at Golgotha. While the presence of a True Cross relic at S. Croce, as at Golgotha, may seem self evident, later *Ordines Romani* allow for the veneration of only an effigy of the cross — in stark contrast to the station at S. Croce, whose liturgy revolved around the veneration of an *authentic* Cross relic from Jerusalem[39].

S. Croce hosted only one another stational service in the course of the year: Laetare Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Unlike Good Friday, Laetare Sunday carried no historical links with the city of Jerusalem. Yet its entry in the Roman Missal is imbued with scriptural allusions to the holy city, a coincidence which reflects S. Croce's foundational status as a proxy for Jerusalem in the Roman hierotopy. As the introit proclaims: "Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and come together all you that love her; rejoice with joy, you that have been in sorrow: that you may exult, and be filled from the breasts of your consolation"[40]. S. Croce represents the earliest effort at manufacturing a mimetic Holy Land in the city of Rome. In this respect, S. Croce foreshadowed the creation of a sprawling Jeruselamite hierotopy throughout the rest of the Lateran *borgo*. But these developments owe much to the Sistine renaissance of the fifth century, and so we turn to S. Croce's neighbors along the southern and western reaches of the greenbelt.

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revealed the presence of an early Christian baptistery in the *aula absidata* on the east of the Helena chapel (Excavations outlined in: *Cecchelli Margherita*. Dati da Scavi Recenti di Monumenti Cristiani // Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome 111, 1 (1999), p. 227–251. Here: p. 241–250).

[39] OR XXIV, 29 (*Andrieu*, III, op. cit., p. 293); *De Blaauw*, op. cit., p. 71. This Ordo was probably composed in Rome for churches outside the city, in northern Italy and Gaul.

[40] *Willis G. G.* Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy. London, 1968, p. 83; Isaiah 66: 10–11. For an extensive treatment of the station at S. Croce in Gerusalemme on the fourth Sunday of Lent, see: *Schuster I.* The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical & Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal. 2 vols. / Trans. A. Levelis-Marke. London, 1924–1925. Here: (Vol. II), p. 113–116. The third major station at S. Croce was the second Sunday of Advent. A review of the proper for this day reveals a similar emphasis on Jerusalem, as exemplified by the communion antiphon: "Jerusalem, surge, et sta in excelso: et vide jucunditatem, quæ veniet tibi a Deo tuo" (Baruch 5. 5; 4. 36). See: *Willis*, op. cit, 83, *Schuster* (Vol. I), op. cit., p. 323–325.

S. MARIA MAGGIORE

For Krautheimer, the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore embodied the ideals of the classical revival under Pope Sixtus III. Elegantly constructed with a mighty triumphal arch, the church evoked a classical purity uncharacteristic of early Christian buildings in other cities of the late Roman world[41]. Constructed following the Council of Ephesus in 431, S. Maria Maggiore was intended to replace the ruined Liberian basilica[42]. Rebuilt in truly staggering dimensions (71 meters long, 56 meters wide), the basilica was intended from the beginning to serve, not as a parish church, but as a pontifical foundation for large liturgical assemblies[43].

The hierotopical significance of S. Maria Maggiore is detectable in the sources for the stational liturgy. As befitting its dedication to the Virgin, the basilica became home to many Marian feast days, as well as several stations surrounding the feast of the Nativity. Sources such as the Comes of Würzburg, as well as the festal homilies of Gregory the Great place the Christmas Eve stational mass at S. Maria Maggiore[44]. The Roman Gospel Lectionaries, from the mid-to late-seventh century, also place the first Eucharist of Christmas Day at the basilica[45]. Although evidence concerning the commemoration of the Assumption (August 15th) in Rome is associated with the introduction of liturgical processions under Pope Sergius I (687–701)[46], S. Maria Maggiore may have provided a station for this feast as early as the fifth century[47].

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[41] Scholars, long perplexed by the persistence of purely classical conventions in this supposedly fifth century building, have long attempted to place it in early periods of Roman architecture. Its decorative program, mortar, and brick construction, however, collectively suggest that the basilica dated to the fifth century. See: *Krautheimer* (1961), op. cit., p. 291; *Krautheimer*, Corpus (Vol. III), op. cit., p. 1–60.

[42] In light of earlier comments concerning the orientation of apses toward the Holy Land, S. Maria Maggiore's occidented plan is surprising. This, however, likely stems from the restrictions imposed by the surviving foundations of the Liberian basilica, which had been destroyed during the Ursinine uprisings of the late fourth century. For more on the church's foundations, see: *Krautheimer*, Corpus III, op. cit., p. 32–37.

[43] *Pietri*, op. cit., p. 510–513; *Baldovin*, op. cit., 111; *Lauer P.* Le Palais de Latran — Étude Historique et Archéologique. Paris, 1911, p. 41. S. Maria Maggiore was not classified never classified with the city's *tituli* (LP 46.3; Duchesne 232–233).

[44] CW 46; PL 76, 1085–1086.

[45] RGL 297.

[46] The late seventh century Greek-speaking popes are credited with the introduction of new eastern liturgical customs to the Roman Church. In addition to major processionals on the Marian feasts days, they oversaw the introduction of the Exaltation of the True Cross and the feast of St. Symeon to the stational calendar (LP 86, 14; Duchesne 376; *Llewellyn R.* Rome in the Dark Ages. London, 1993, p. 170; *Richards*, op. cit., p. 278; for more on later Roman Cross feasts see: *De Blaauw*, op. cit., p. 70–72).

[47] The Hadrianum, the Roman Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne during the 780's, contains the earliest reference to the feast of the Dormition. Though the manuscript tradition dates to the

In light of these commemorations, S. Maria Maggiore shows important ties to the hagiopolite organization of Jerusalem. In particular, the basilica seems to have functioned as a proxy for Bethlehem in Rome, hosting many of the same stational services as the great Constantinian basilica erected over the cave of Christ's birth. This church, consecrated by the Empress Helena in 329, was perhaps the most distant of the early stations near Jerusalem, and like S. Maria Maggiore, hosted many Marian and Nativity-related feasts[48]. The Armenian Lectionary, a source contemporary with the expansion of the papal *borgo*, describes the celebration of the Assumption at the 2nd mile from Bethlehem[49]. The Georgian Lectionary, a redaction of different texts dating between the fifth and eighth centuries, provides evidence for several Nativity stations left unmentioned in both the Armenian Lectionary and Egeria[50], including the commemoration of Christmas Eve "at the Shepherds" — the field where the angels proclaimed the birth of Christ to the shepherds[51] — followed by a procession to a stational Eucharist at Bethlehem[52]. Judging from the absence of any liturgy at Golgotha the following morning, the liturgy at Bethlehem seems to have been the principle commemoration of Christmas for the church of Jerusalem[53]. Altogether, S. Maria Maggiore and the basilica of the Nativity shared many common feasts in the liturgical calendars of their respective cities.

The presence of S. Maria Maggiore's most famous relic, the manger of Christ, underscores the basilica's connection to Bethlehem. The first reference to this relic comes from the *Liber Pontificalis'* entry for Pope Theodore (642–649), which describes the flight of the imperial cartularius Maurice "ad beata Maria ad Praesepe"[54]. Meanwhile, the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Gregory

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[48] late eighth century, the Hadrianum draws significantly on early seventh century liturgical conventions. Hadrianum ex Authentico 661 (*Deschusses J.* Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses Principales Formes d'Après les Plus Anciens Manuscrits. 2 Vols. Fribourg, 1971–1979. Here: Vol. I, p. 262–263).

[48] The most comprehensive treatment of late antique and medieval Bethlehem can be found in: *Vincent & Abel*. Bethléem: Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité. Paris, 1914. For the basilica's history between Constantine and Justinian, see esp: p. 107–118.

[49] AL, LXIV (*Renoux*, op. cit., p. 355). This tradition is corroborated by a slightly later edition of the same typikon, which places the Assumption at the 3rd mile from the shrine.

[50] The text of IE shows a lacuna preceding the Christmas return to Jerusalem; this missing page likely detailed a Vigil station at the Field of the Shepherds described by the GL (*Kopp C.* The Holy Places of the Gospels. New York, 1963, p. 38).

[51] Fifth century evidence suggests the existence of a hut at this site (for discussion of the Shepherd's station, see: *Kopp*, op. cit., p. 35–47).

[52] GL (CSCO 189) 6 (*Tarchnischvili*, p. 9).

[53] Following the Bethlehem vigil service, the text resumes with a stational commemoration of David and James at Sion on December 25th (GL, CSCO 189, 32; *Tarchnischvili*, op. cit., p. 14; see also: *Baldovin*, op. cit., p. 74).

[54] LP 75, 2; *Duchense*, op. cit., p. 331; see also: *Birch*, op. cit., p. 96.

IV (827–844) describes the installation of a copycat manger at Sta. Maria in Trastevere which was modeled on the original relic at S. Maria Maggiore[55]. It is difficult to determine whether the S. Maria Maggiore relic referred to in the seventh century was present at the time of the church's foundation. Given the basilica's early ties to Bethlehem, however, it seems plausible that the relic was installed as early as the fifth century. The Constantinian basilica at Bethlehem, after all, is known to have possessed its own manger around the turn of the fifth century, when St. Jerome described the replacement of a modest clay relic with one of silver and gold[56]. Even if a manger did not arrive at S. Maria Maggiore until the seventh century, its purposeful installation reflects an extant tradition linking the basilica to Bethlehem.

The iconographic program inside the basilica reinforces these liturgical associations. The mosaics on the triumphal arch chronicle important episodes surrounding the Nativity of Christ, including the Annunciation, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Adoration of the Magi. Bethlehem, rendered as a jewel-encrusted city surrounded by high walls, stands opposite a matching image of Jerusalem on the left-hand spandrel (Figs. 8–9). Inside are several classical buildings, the farthest left of which may be the Constantinian basilica, whose octagonal martyrium could be represented by the pyramidal building pictured at the rear. Such a precise rendition would complement the truthfulness of the corresponding image of Jerusalem, which shows the rotunda of the Anastasis in striking detail.

S. Maria Maggiore displays numerous ties to the basilica at Bethlehem. Set within the broader context of Holy Land associations at nearby S. Croce, the basilica may be seen as the second of the "Jerusalemite" foundations within the expanding papal *borgo*.

STO. STEFANO ROTONDO

Just as S. Maria Maggiore augured the beginning of the classical revival in fifth century Roman architecture, so did Sto. Stefano Rotondo commemorate its end. Located due west of the Lateran, Sto. Stefano was practically without precedent in the architectural vocabulary of early Christian Rome.

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[55] LP 103, 25; *Duchese* (Vol. 2), op. cit., p. 78: "In that basilica he provided a manger similar to the manger of the holy mother of God['s church], which is called Major, which he adorned with sheets of silver and gold." A third manger was installed at the Oratory of the Virgin at St. Peter's between 705–707 (LP 88; *Davis*, op. cit., p. 90–91). The reference in the Liber Pontificalis makes no allusion to the corresponding relic at S. Maria Maggiore; for post-fifth century replicas of the manger, see: *Grisar* (1899), op. cit., p. 584.

[56] *Wilkinson*, op. cit., p. 286; *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (hereafter CCSL) 78.524f. In a later epistle, Jerome notes that the relic served as an altar in the cave where Christ was born: "Tu inter ostia quondam praesepis domini, nunc altaris amatorias epistulas fulciebas, quas postea illa miserabilis quasi flexo adoratura genu inveniret et legeret" (*St. Jerome*, Epist. 147, 4; CSEL 56, 320).

Its round footprint, circumscribed by a barrel-vaulted ambulatory, found its closest parallel in the mausoleum of Sta. Costanza on the Via Nomentana, as well as other late antique tombs and baptisteries[57]. As a functioning space for liturgy, Sto. Stefano was peculiar, built without such conventional subsidiary structures as a presbyterium or an apse (Figs. 10–11)[58].

Sto. Stefano's foundation is first recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Pope Simplicius I (468–483), who reigned during the Ostrogothic conquest of Rome in 476[59]. Its construction is partly comprehensible in light of the rapid expansion of the cult of St. Stephen in the fifth-century city. Pope Leo I, for example, constructed a church dedicated to St. Stephen on the Via Latina around 450[60], while Pope Hilarius built both a *praetorium* and an oratory at the Lateran in the saint's honor between 461 and 468[61]. Meanwhile, smaller churches of St. Stephen were founded near S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, St. Peter's (Sto. Stefano degli Abessini), and S. Paolo fuori le Mura[62].

This sudden and intense devotion to the cult of St. Stephen was catalyzed by the recovery of his body around 415[63], and the dedication of his basilica just north of Jerusalem in 439[64]. St. Stephen's martyrium was the larg-

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[57] *Brandenburg H. S.* Stefano Rotondo. Der letze Groβau der Antike in Rom: Die Typologie des Baues. Die Ausstattung der Kirche. Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung des Kirchenbaues und seiner Ausstattung // Santo Stefano Rotondo in Roma: Archeologia, Storia dell'Arte Restauro; Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma 10–13 Oktober 1996 / Eds. H. Brandenburg & J. Pal. Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 35–65. This article provides a comprehensive overview of the architecture in its fifth century context; see also: *Krautheimer* (1935), op. cit.; *Krautheimer*, Corpus (Vol. IV), op. cit., p. 199–240; *Krautheimer* (1980), op. cit., 52; *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., p. 105–107; and *Krautheimer* (1961, op. cit., 293–294) provides good perspective on the church's place in the fifth century Sistine revival.

[58] Pope Theodore renovated the cross chapel on the north side of the building during the mid-seventh century to create a makeshift apse (*Brandenburg*, op. cit., p. 41).

[59] LP 49, 2; *Duchesne*, op. cit., p. 249; *Krautheimer* (1935), op. cit., p. 96. For Krautheimer's revised theory of fifth century dating, see: *Krautheimer* (1980), op. cit., 333, and also the postscript for the 1969 reprint of 1935's "Sto. Stefano Rotondo in Rome and the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem," p. 104–105. *Brandenburg* (op. cit., p. 38–39) provides the most recent theories of dating, which posit the church's construction at the earliest 456, but likely later in the 460's.

[60] *Vincent & Abel* theorize that the *confessio* of this church was modeled on the form of the crypt at the original Martyrium of St. Stephen near Jerusalem. *Vincent H. & Abel F.-M.* Jérusalem — Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie, et d'Histoire: Tome Second — Jérusalem Nouvelle. Paris, 1922, p. 796–797.

[61] LP 48, 12: "He built…a praetorium to St. Stephen (he also built the oratory of St. Stephen in the Lateran Baptistery."

[62] *Krautheimer* (1935) op. cit., p. 70.

[63] Acts 7: 1–58 *Vincent & Abel* (1922, op. cit., p. 743–745) provide a detailed summary of Stephen's martyrdom within the context of first century Palestine.

[64] The relics were discovered by Lucian, a priest in the nearby village of Caphargamala. In a letter addressed to the entire church, he describes how St. Stephen appeared to him in a dream, and after informing the Patriarch of Jerusalem of this encounter, Lucian discovered

est of Jerusalem's stational churches, surpassing the dimensions of even Golgotha and Sion[65]. The church appears to have been finally completed in 460, when the body and sarcophagus of St. Stephen were placed in a shrine in the basilica's polygonal apse[66].

In Rome, Sto. Stefano Rotondo was the undisputed focus of St. Stephen's cult. Stational sources indicate that the church served as the designated station for his feast day on December 27th from at least the sixth century onward[67]. In this respect, Sto. Stefano filled an analogous role to the martyrium of St. Stephen, which provided the station for the same feast in Jerusalem[68].

While not architecturally related to its parent basilica, Sto. Stefano Rotondo shows striking parallels with another famous *locus sanctus*: the Anastasis. Built around 348, the Anastasis featured a circular ambulatory surrounding an inner ring of columns, which, in turn, supported a wooden roof, much like Sto. Stefano's[69]. Krautheimer was the first to notice this parallelism, and he remarked that while these similarities might have developed as part of a common architectural idiom, even the dimensions of the two structures were identical. Indeed, the central space of the fourth-century Anastasis was roughly 75.8 meters in circumference, while the circular sanctuary at Sto. Stefano Rotondo measured 75.76 meters. As Krautheimer showed, this parallelism extended to numerous other dimensions, from the width of their ambulatories, to the heights of their interior elevations. These suggest that Sto. Stefano may have been purposely built to mimic the design of the Holy Sepulcher[70].

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the tomb. As they opened the grave, the earth reportedly trembled, beautiful fragrances wafted forth, and demons were chased away. The relics were immediately brought to Sion, where they remained until the dedication of Stephen's martyrium in 439 (French translation of the letter available in: *Mommert C.* Saint Etienne et ses Sanctuaires à Jérusalem. Jerusalem, 1912, p. 53–60). The diaconikon is pictured directly to the right of Sion in the Madaba map mosaic (*Avi-Yonah M.* The Madaba Map Mosaic. Jerusalem, 1954, p. 56).

[65] *Vincent & Abel* (1922), op. cit., p. 766–804; *Mommert*, op. cit., p. 109–147; *Krautheimer & Ćurčić*, op. cit., p. 158; *Baldovin*, op. cit., p. 54.

[66] Construction on this site continued under Eudoxia's supervision until 460 (*Vincent & Abel*, 1922, op. cit., p. 752–753; for a history of the translation of Stephen's relics in the mid-fifth century, see: *Mommert*, op. cit., p. 91–94; for the mid-fifth century construction: Ibid. p. 148–168).

[67] CW VIII (*Morin* 46).

[68] CW LXXIIII (*Morin*, op. cit., p. 53), CXIII (Ibid., p.58). Different manuscripts of the fifth century Armenian lectionary reflect the transfer of St. Stephen's relics from the diaconicon at Sion to the new Martyrium. Ms. J, which dates to between 417 and 439, posits the station at Sion, and Ms. P, composed between 439 and 442, places the station at the Martyrium (AL LXXII; *Renoux*, op. cit., p. 369). Curiously, the late fifth to eighth century Georgian Lectionary still describes the feast of St. Stephen at the Sion diaconicon (GL, CSCO 189, 42; *Tarchnischvili*, op. cit., p. 15).

[69] *Conant*, op. cit., p. 44–48.

[70] *Krautheimer* (1935), op. cit., p. 93–95.

As Krautheimer pointed out, the Anastasis was perhaps the most frequently copied structure of the early Christian and medieval periods[71]. It was, after all, the martyrial church nonpareil of the Christian world. In searching for a template for their new martyrial church, the Roman architects of Sto. Stefano may have simply copied the most iconic tomb shrine of all — the Holy Sepulcher[72].

The significance of the Anastasis, however, may not have arisen entirely from its martyrial symbolism. The Holy Sepulcher could have also provided a useful model based on its iconic ties to the city of Jerusalem as a whole. Already in the mid-fourth century, Eusebius spoke about the Holy Sepulcher as an emblem of Constantinian Jerusalem, and in a similar vein, Sto. Stefano may have elicited comparisons with St. Stephen's Jerusalem by mimicking the architecture of another more characteristically Jerusalemite monument, namely the Anastasis[73]. St. Stephen, whose cult was intimately tied to the city of Jerusalem (much as Peter and Paul were intimately tied to the civic identity of Christian Rome), came to be represented by that church which constituted the *omphalos* of his beloved city.

Building on Krautheimer's observations concerning the classicizing elements in Sto. Stefano's architecture, Hugo Brandenburg has recently suggested that the churches of the Sistine Renaissance were intended to stand in polemical opposition to the decrepit, albeit prestigious monuments of the city center. While incorporating many architectural idioms from these older pagan buildings, churches like Sto. Stefano appropriated ancient forms to reinforce a sense of rival "Christian antiquity" around the Lateran. Sto. Stefano — "der letze Großau der Antike" — thus bolstered the cathedral's claims to primacy by creating the impression of an equally ancient Christian center away from the historic buildings of the Forum and Capitol[74]. Although Brandenburg disagrees with Krautheimer's hypothesis concerning the Holy Sepulcher, his observations are, in fact, strengthened by Krautheimer's theory. If we regard the Holy Sepulcher as the emblem of Christian Jerusalem, and Jerusalem as the embodiment Christian Antiquity, then Sto. Stefano's architects may have purposely chosen the Anastasis to express the ideal of *Roma Christiana* at once Classical in form and Biblical in spirit.

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[71] See: *Krautheimer R.* An Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture // Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942), p. 1–33.

[72] *Krautheimer* (1935), op. cit., p. 95–98. St. Stephen on the Via Latina may have, by contrast, been modeled on the basilica of St. Stephen at Jerusalem (see: fn. 60 above; *Krautheimer*, Corpus [Vol. IV] 239–253).

[73] *Eusebius*, Vita Constantini, 3.33: "...καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον ἡ νέα χατεσχευάζετο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντιπρωσόπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμέν ἥ μετὰ τὴν χυριοχτόνον μιαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπεῖσα δίχην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων".

[74] *Brandenburg*, op. cit., p. 41–46, 64–65.

ST. JOHN LATERAN

The Lateran Basilica, which stood at the center of Rome's fifth-century revival, is examined last for several reasons. For one, the renovations of it in the 460's encapsulate many of the thematic principles underlying the organization of the entire papal *borgo*. In this sense, the basilica offers a lens through which to evaluate the phenomena detailed in the rest of this study. For not only did the renovations articulate the political ambitions of the ascendant papacy, but they demonstrated that the "shadow of the Holy Land" had definitively passed over the entire Lateran greenbelt, transforming papal Rome into a New Jerusalem.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the renovations at the Lateran that took place under Pope Hilarus (461–468) included the addition of chapels dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, as well as a new oratory dedicated to the Holy Cross, which was encrusted in "silver and precious stones"[75]. This last chapel, destroyed in 1588, survives primarily through engravings and drawings from the Renaissance (Fig. 12)[76]. Despite the dearth of archaeological evidence, scholars speculate that the chapel was a Greek cruciform structure 13.15 meters in width, with a hexagonal chamber at each of the four cardinal points[77]. The oratory stood immediately to the northwest of the remodeled baptistery, leading some to speculate whether the oratory served an secondary role as a *consignatorium*, where the newly baptized were confirmed[78].

References to the Lateran Cross relic are scant in the early period. The most important source for the relic is the aforementioned *Ordo Romanus XXIII*, which chronicles the Good Friday procession from the cathedral to S. Croce in Gerusalemme. While S. Croce remains the traditional station for

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[75] LP 48.3; *Duchesne*, op. cit., p. 242: "Oratorium sanctae Crucis: confessionem ubi lignum posuit dominicum; Crucem auream cum gemmis… ex argento in confessionem".

[76] *Krautheimer* (1980) op. cit., p. 50.

[77] *Johnson M.* The Fifth Century Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran in Rome // Architectura 25, 2 (1995), p. 128–155. Here: p. 138. *Krautheimer* (1983, op. cit., p. 115) argued that the baptistery, like the Sessorian palace, was a renovated pre-Christian structure, namely a garden pavilion. His theory was corroborated by the sixteenth century drawings of Giuliano da Sangallo, which he believed depicted naked male caryatids and other "non-Christian" iconography in the chapel vaults. Johnson, however, convincingly argues that the structure of the chapel was not pre-Christian, for the site was formerly covered over by a bathhouse and a Roman street. Moreover, the oratory vaults were constructed using *cannelle torte* — a lightweight terra cotta tubing found in such fifth century churches as Sto. Stefano Rotondo and SS Cosmas and Damian, but at no earlier sites (*Johnson*, op. cit., p. 149; see also: *Wilson R. J. A.* Terracotta Vaulting Tubes: On Their Origin and Distribution // Journal of Roman Archaeology, 5 (1992), p. 97–129).

[78] *Johnson* 130; *Grisar* (1899) 599. Chrismation was performed *in signo crucis*, perhaps giving a secondary significance to the oratory's dedication to the Holy Cross.

the day's liturgy, the translation of the relic from the cathedral marks a definite change from an earlier period when the liturgy was centered exclusively on the Sessorian basilica[79].

The collect outlined in *Ordo* XXIII is unremarkable, but it underscores the considerable confusion surrounding the history of Cross relics in Rome[80]. Previously, the Good Friday station took place entirely at S. Croce. But with the construction of the new Lateran oratory and the installation of a relic there, Good Friday appears to have shifted west to the Lateran (or at least partially, as reflected in *Ordo* XXIII). It remains unclear, however, whether the Holy Cross Chapel was designed to house the relic originally enshrined at S. Croce, or whether it possessed an entirely different relic of the Cross. Although many Cross relics are known to have passed through Rome in the Late Antique period[81], the permanent installation of two separate relics in neighboring churches like St. John Lateran and S. Croce seems unlikely. Rather, as the collect of the Good Friday liturgy intimates, the fragment at the Sessorian basilica was probably transferred to the Lateran oratory at some point in the mid-late fifth century. Indeed, the oratory was probably intended to serve as a repository for the S. Croce relic from the very beginning.

This translation is peculiar for several of reasons. For one, S. Croce was an established church with important ties to the imperial court and the Holy Land. The removal of its precious relic would have, in some senses, undermined the church's identity as a proxy for Golgotha in Rome. Moreover, the dimensions of the Holy Cross Chapel were diminutive in comparison to those of S. Croce. The popes of the fifth and sixth centuries clearly recognized this when they elected to preserve the adoration service of Good Friday at S. Croce, presumably out of a desire to accommodate large numbers of worshippers.

It is important to keep in mind that the translation of S. Croce's relic came on the heels of extensive renovations to the Lateran's baptistery (432–440)[82]. The original Constantinian structure, a simple unvaulted octagon, was gutted and rebuilt with eight *spolia* columns around the central baptismal pool (Fig. 13). These columns, in turn, circumscribed a vaulted ambulatory much like that at Sta. Costanza[83]. The installation of opulent marble

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[79] OR XXIII, 11 (Andrieu, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 270–271).

[80] The collecta refers to the procession that took place between the day's stational liturgy. The faithful would meet the bishop at a designated church — the collect — and together march to the day's statio (*Willis*, op. cit., p. 11–15; *Baldovin*, op. cit., p. 158–166). See also: OR I, 1–15 (*Andrieu*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 67–72).

[81] A chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross was built at St. Peter's during the pontificate of Symmachus (498–514) LP 53.7 (*Duchesne*, op. cit., p. 261–262). Another Cross relic turned up at St. Peter's two centuries later (LP 86.10).

[82] *Giovenale G. B.* Il Battistero Lateranense. Rome, 1929. p. 89–116.

[83] *Krautheimer & Ćurčić*, op. cit., p. 65–67.

sheathing and new mosaics accompanied these major structural renova-
tions[84]. Along with the oratory of the Holy Cross, the new baptistery consti-
tuted a key component in the creation of Golgotha at the Lateran.

A basic point of comparison between the two churches concerns their
canonical status as cathedrals. Moreover, by the mid-fifth century, both epis-
copal complexes possessed subsidiary structures unusual among Late An-
tique churches. The Holy Cross Oratory, in particular, invites comparison
with the *post Crucem* shrine at Golgotha. Relatively small and positioned
away from the primary axes of their basilicas, both shrines served as focus of
Passion devotion in their respective cities. Moreover, their ownership of
Cross relics, coupled with their central role in the Good Friday liturgy, trans-
formed these shrines into *memoriae* of the Crucifixion.

Even the baptisteries of Golgotha and the Lateran are alike. At Jerusa-
lem, the baptistery (Fig. 7) was positioned directly south of the Anastasis
and outside the *ante Crucem* court[85]. The baptistery, whose topographical
prominence is evidenced by its depiction on the Madaba map, provided the
station for baptismal services on the Easter vigil[86]. Not surprisingly, the bap-
tistery at the Lateran served an identical liturgical role during Holy Week,
and even its location inside the cathedral complex recalls the displacement of
the baptistery behind and to the side of the apse at Golgotha (Fig. 14). Its po-
sition adjacent to a colonnaded forecourt also mirrors the placement of the
baptistery in Jerusalem beside the *ante Crucem* atrium.

While these structural similarities suggest common architectural origins,
we should not lose sight of the symbolic connections they ultimately reinforce.
The addition of the baptistery and Holy Cross oratory, after all, must be inter-
preted as part of a continuous expansion of the Lateran over the course of
thirty years, which points to the existence of an underlying hierotopical order
to the construction. When examined alongside the construction of a new ora-
tory dedicated to St. Stephen[87], one cannot help but notice the blueprint of Je-
rusalem guiding the Lateran's renovations. The Lateran builders replicated
two of the most distinctive components of the Golgotha complex — the bap-
tistery and *post Crucem* shrine. It is worth noting that none of the other fifth
century oratories at the Lateran were dedicated to Roman martyrs, but to saints

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[84] *Krautheimer* (1983), op. cit., p. 115; *Krautheimer* (1961) op. cit., 294; see also: *Giovenale*,
op. cit., p. 117–139.

[85] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, 594, 2–4 (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, CLXXV, 17;
trans: *Coüasnon C.* The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Trans. J.-P. B. Ross &
C. Ross. London, 1974. p. 48; *Wilkinson*, op. cit., p. 158).

[86] Descriptions of the baptistery from architectural and textual perspectives are offered in:
Coüasnon, op. cit., p. 46–50; *Conant*, op. cit., p. 12–13, 44. For the Madaba map, see: *Avi-
Yonah*, op. cit., p. 54.

[87] LP 48, 12; for notes see: *Duchesne* 247.

with direct ties to the Holy Land (St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist). Short of producing a copy of the Holy Sepulcher in the Lateran's western courtyard, the popes remodeled their own cathedral in the guise of the episcopal church of Jerusalem — baptistery, Calvary, St. Stephen, and all. With this framework in mind, the relocation of the Cross relic to the Lateran becomes less astonishing. By installing the *lignum crucis* inside the new oratory, the popes advanced one step further in making the Lateran the centerpiece of their Roman New Jerusalem.

CONCLUSIONS

For the popes of the fifth century, Jerusalem represented a tool of self-legitimization. Indeed, Leo the Great, whose pontificate coincided with the expansion of the Lateran *borgo*, was the first pope to envision the city as both *Respublica Christiana* and *Sedes Apostolica*[88]. In light of these developments, there was no greater statement of episcopal ascendancy than the creation of a "Holy Land" district around the cathedral church of St. Giovanni. Facing devotional challenges from the outlying martyrial shrines, the bishops expressed their primacy through a symbolic evocation of Jerusalem in the form of S. Maria Maggiore, Sto. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Croce.

While the development of this Roman Jerusalem took place over an extended period of time, its thematic unity can be demonstrated through a few observations. First, none of the pontifical foundations carried dedications to Roman saints. At a period in which the popes commissioned basilicas in honor of local martyrs such as St. Paul, St. Laurence, and St. Clement, the papal *borgo* was distinguished by a virtual absence of dedications to Roman saints[89]. By contrast, S. Croce, S. Maria Maggiore, Sto. Stefano Rotondo, and the Holy Cross oratory all carried dedications to saints or relics affiliated with the Holy Land. Moreover, the pontifical foundations never hosted martyrial feasts, serving instead as the stations for major Biblical celebrations. Coupled with their jurisdictional ties to the Lateran and symbolic classical architecture, the southeastern greenbelt was clearly developed as part of a unified hierotopy.

The spiritual dimension of this program provides a good point at which to conclude. St. Paul conceived of a patriotic relationship between the faithful on earth and the divine city. As he wrote, "…Our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Philipians 3: 20). The pilgrim church, in exile from its true home in

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[88] See esp: Leo I, Sermon XIV (PL 54, 505A–508C).

[89] By 500, dedications to Roman saints comprised the majority of ecclesiastical building in the city. Fifth century foundations included S. Crisogono, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Pietro in Vinculi, S. Clemente, and S. Anastasia (*Krautheimer*, 1980, fig. 28, p. 32).

the city of God, built for itself a proxy of the Heavenly Jerusalem. In the eyes of the Roman clergy, nothing could come closer to this ideal than an imitation of the terrestrial Jerusalem. Not only did this holy city convey the charism of Augustine's *civitas Dei*, but in the process, bolstered Rome's claims to material sanctity and apostolic primacy. As the Roman faithful — the citizens of the New Jerusalem — would chant each year on Laetare Sunday, "Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and come together all you that love her"[90].

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ИЕРУСАЛИМ В ЛАТЕРАНО. ПЕРЕНЕСЕНИЕ САКРАЛЬНОГО
ПРОСТРАНСТВА В РИМЕ V ВЕКА

Ричард Краутхаймер был первым, кто отметил активную строительную деятельность в юго-восточной части Рима в течение V века. Центром был Латеранский собор и дворец, к северу находился собор Санта Мария Маджоре, к западу — Сан Стефано Ротондо, к югу — Санто Кроче ин Джерусалеме. Возникает некое целостное пространство (borgo), подобное тому, что через столетие возникнет вокруг собора Св. Петра и Ватикана. Краутхаймер убедительно показал, что произошедшие топографические изменения были связаны с папскими амбициями сделать Латеранский собор важнейшим центром власти, и заметил существование особой сакральной среды, возникающей вокруг этого храма, но он не смог выделить некую объединяющую тему всего иеротопического замысла. В настоящей работе доказывается, что сакральная топография Рима V века была напрямую связана с идеей перенесения Святой Земли и превращения Рима в «Новый Иерусалим».

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[90] See above, fn. 39; Introit for the stational mass of Laetare Sunday, S. Croce in Gerusalemme.

1. Map of Lateran district, M. Cartaro, 1577. After *Richard Krautheimer*. Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 57, fig. 52

2. Map of Rome with churches and new secular buildings, ca. 500. After *Richard Krautheimer*. Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 32, fig. 28
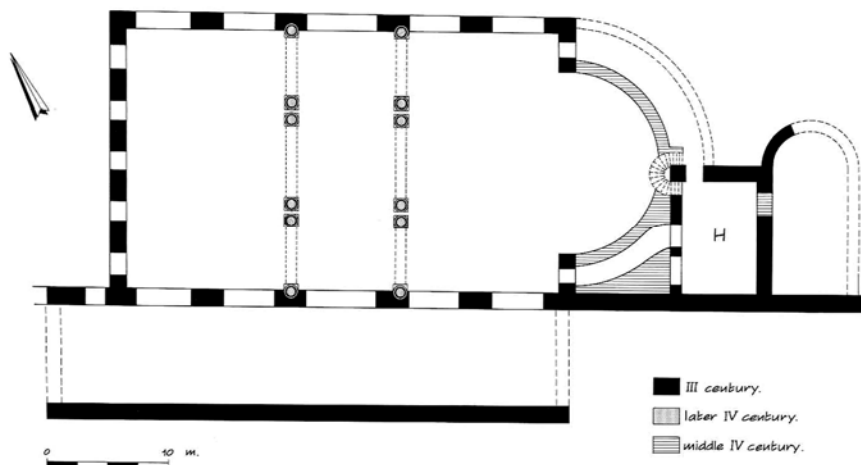
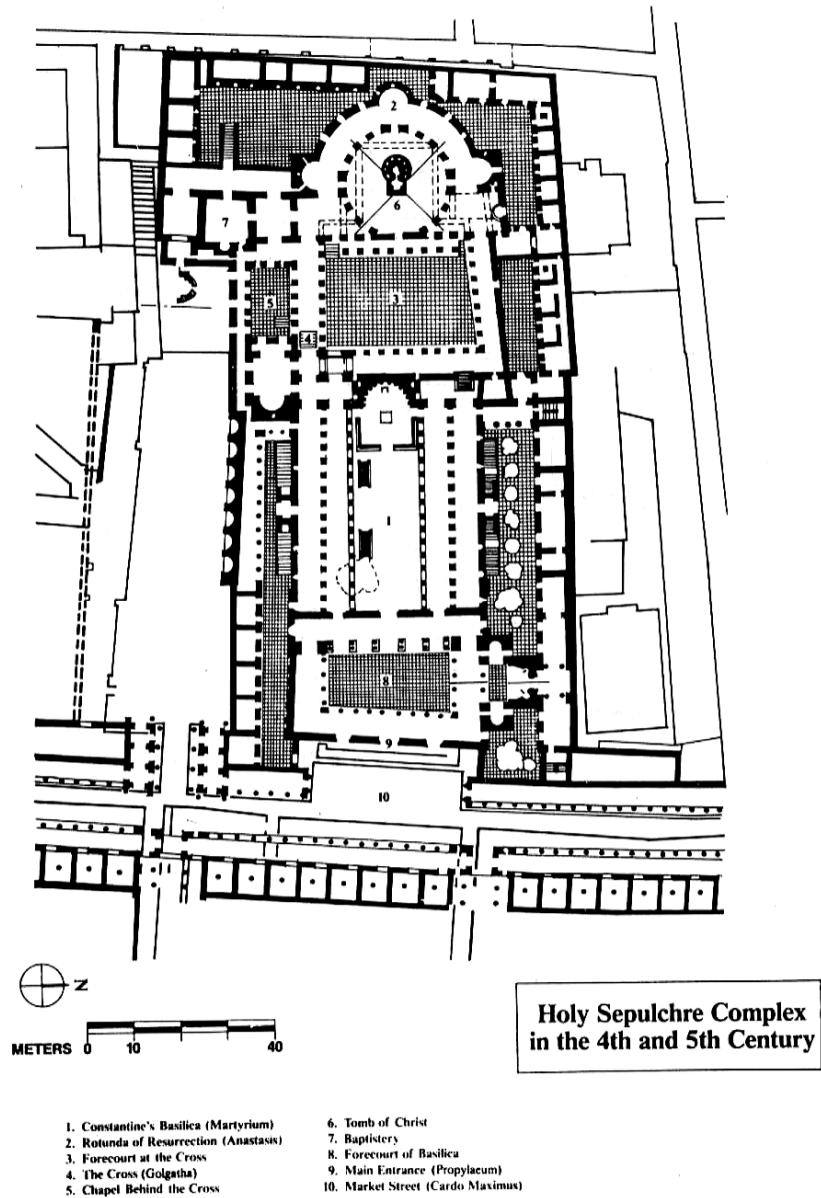3. Apse mosaic, Sta. Pudenziana, Rome, 402–417. Photo: Author
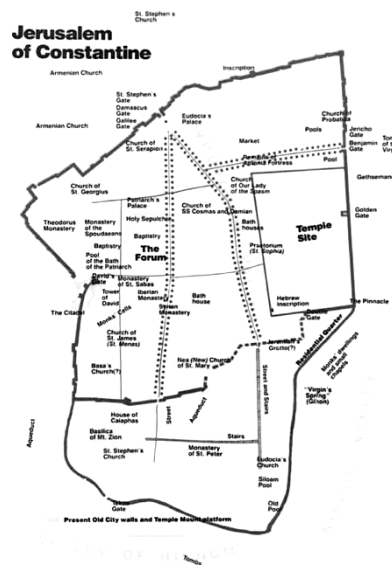
4. Map of Jerusalem, mid. 4th century. Photo: Archive of author

5. Triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, ca. 430's. Photo: Author

6. S. Croce in Gerusalemme, ground plan, mid-fourth century. After *Sible De Blaauw.* Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross / Ed. Renate Colella, Meredith J. Gill, Lawrence A. Jenkins, & Petra Lamers // Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert, 1997), p. 57, fig. 1

Holy Sepulchre Complex in the 4th and 5th Century

1. Constantine's Basilica (Martyrium)
2. Rotunda of Resurrection (Anastasis)
3. Forecourt at the Cross
4. The Cross (Golgatha)
5. Chapel Behind the Cross
6. Tomb of Christ
7. Baptistery
8. Forecourt of Basilica
9. Main Entrance (Propylaeum)
10. Market Street (Cardo Maximus)

7. Golgotha and Holy Sepulcher Complex, fourth-fifth century. After *John Baldovin*. The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), p. 272
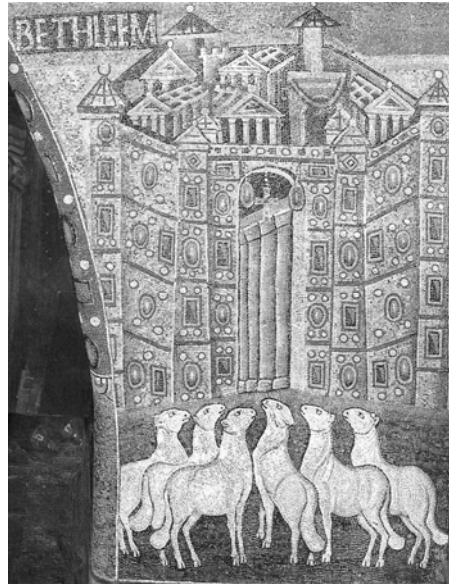
8. Bethlehem, mosaic, triumphal arch, S. Maria Maggiore, ca. 430's. After
   Heinrich Karpp. Die Frühchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in San-
   ta Maria Maggiore zu Rom (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm, 1966), plate. 28

9. Jerusalem, mosaic, triumphal arch, S. Maria Maggiore, ca. 430's. After
   Heinrich Karpp. Die Frühchristlichen und Mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Santa
   Maria Maggiore zu Rom (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm, 1966), plate. 27
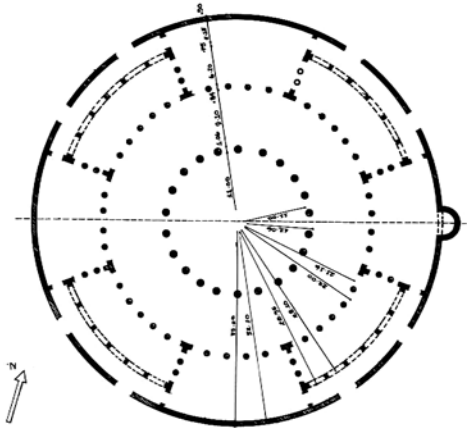
10. Sto. Stefano Rotondo, ground plan, 468–483. After *Richard Krautheimer*.
Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome and the Rotondo of the Holy Sepulchre in
Jerusalem // Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art /
Trans. Howard Saalman (New York: New York UP, 1969, originally pub-
lished 1933), p. 76, fig. 1
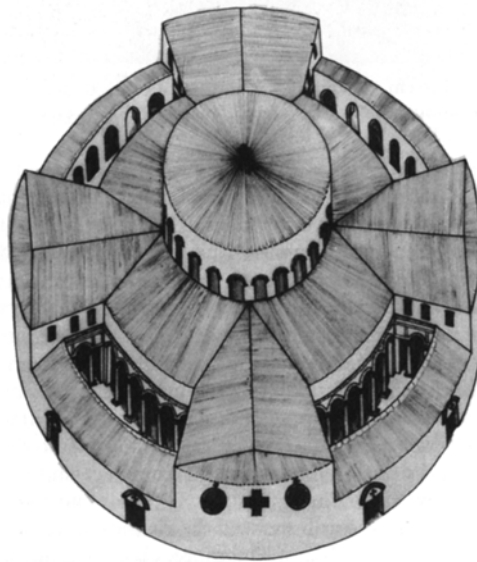
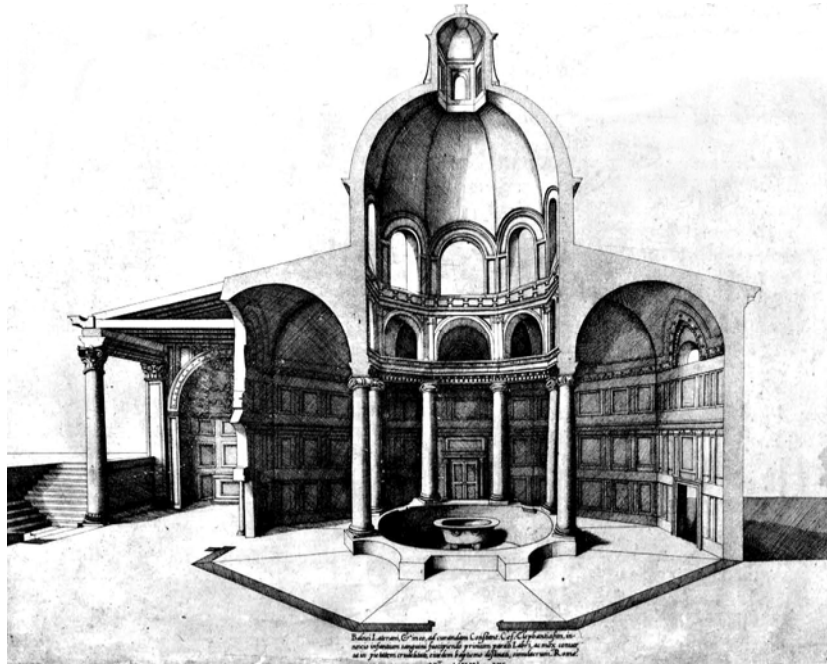11. Sto. Stefano Rotondo, elevation reconstruction, 468–483. After *Richard
Krautheimer*. Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308 (Princeton: Princeton Uni-
versity Press, 1980), p. 52, fig. 48
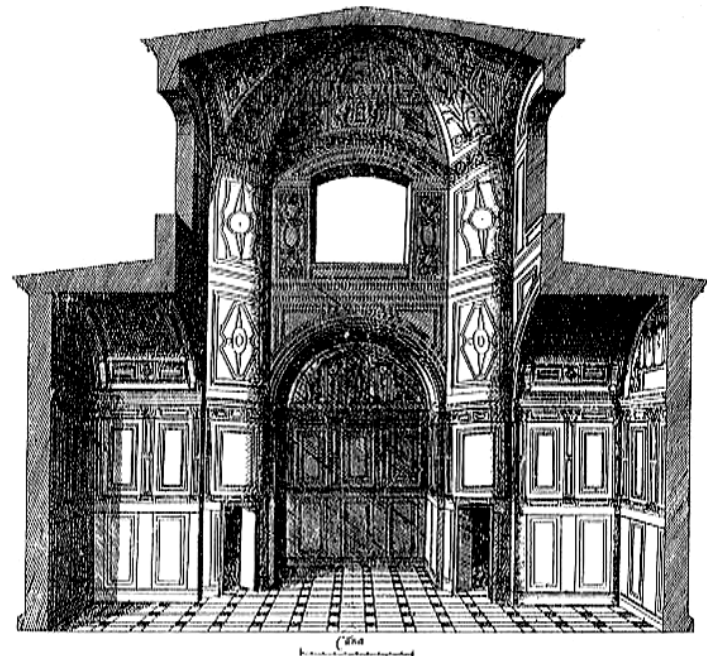
SACELLI·S·CRVCIS·AB·HILARO·PAPA·APVD·BAPTISTERIVM·CONSTANTINI·EXAEDIFICATI
ET·MARMOREA·INCRVSTATIONE·EMBLEMATIBVSQVE·ORNATI·DEFORMATIO·ROMA
ANNO ∞ DLXVIII
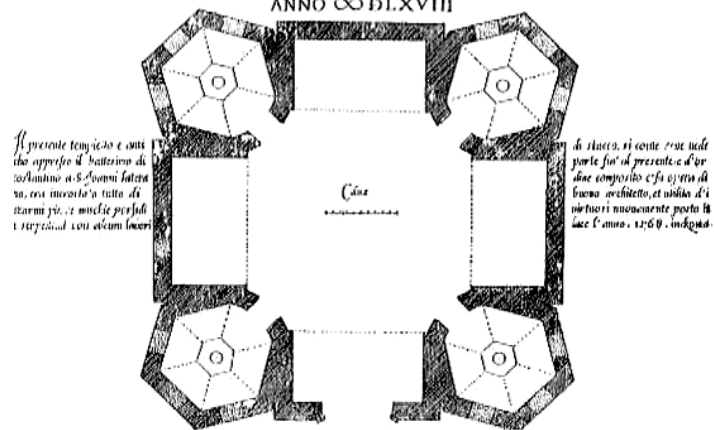
12. Oratory of the Holy Cross, St. John Lateran, ground plan and cross section,
    Laférey, 1572. After *Mark J. Johnson.* The Fifth Century Oratory of the Holy
    Cross at the Lateran in Rome // Architectura 25, 2 (1995), p. 139, fig. 11.

13. Lateran Baptistery, St. John Lateran, cross section, Laférey, 1560. After
    Richard Krautheimer. Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308 (Princeton: Prince-
    ton University Press, 1980), p. 50, fig. 46.
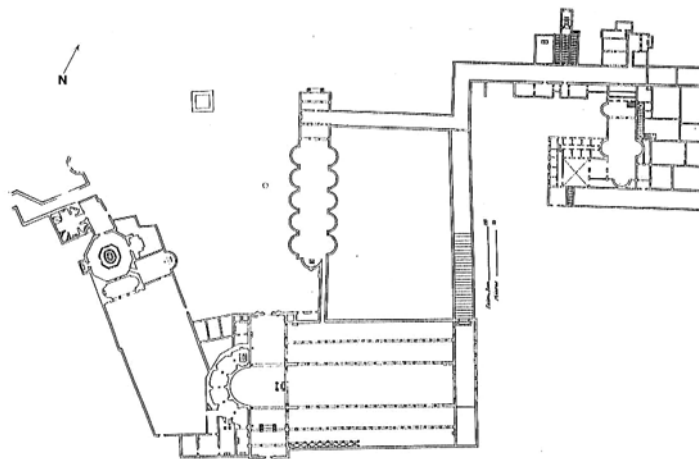
14. St. John Lateran, episcopal complex, archive plan ca. 1555, nineteenth cen-
    tury tracing. After *Mark J. Johnson*. The Fifth Century Oratory of the Holy
    Cross at the Lateran in Rome // Architectura 25, 2 (1995), p. 133, fig. 3.