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NARRATIVE AND ICONIC SPACE — FROM PONTIUS TO PILATE

This paper is not about the construction of a New Jerusalem but rather, even if marginally, about the destruction of the old and the translation of its relics and remains, some of which even form a negative heritage. We concentrate exclusively on the Medieval Latin tradition and the new formation of a sacred topography in the West that starts with the Crusades and the intensification of pilgrimage in the 12th century. We aim to question the relationships between narration (verbal and pictorial) and site, and thus our main questions are: How did legends become affixed to relics or sites or, inversely, how were legend sites located in geographical or urban space? What role do images or the iconization of a site play? We are looking at the formation of local centres in Western Europe on the one hand, and on the other at an enormous amount of narrations regarding biblical figures in a post biblical time, or post biblical figures who were increasingly related to specific sites.

Pontius Pilate is perhaps the most prominent of all of them. His well-known legends form an extremely curious phenomenon that would need much further research; here we can only touch on some fundamental problems and individual stories¹. Pilate is an ambivalent figure. He is not simply

¹ Pilate's 'afterlife' in the Middle Ages had been studied mainly by philologists and theologians; among the most important contributions the following should be mentioned: *Creizenach W.* Legenden und Sagen von Pilatus // Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1, 1874, p. 89–107; *Ernst von Dobschütz.* Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende. Leipzig, 1899 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur, N.F. III); *Knape J.* Die 'Historia apocrypha' der 'Legenda Aurea' (dt.) // *Joachim Knape, Karl Strobel.* Zur Deutung von Geschichte in Antike und Mittelalter. Bamberg, 1985, p. 113–172; and recently: *Mattig-Krampe B.* Das Pilatusbild in der deutschen Bibel- und Legendenepik des Mittelalters, Heidelberg 2001; *Scheidgen A.* Die Gestalt des Pontius Pilatus in Legende, Bibelauslegung und Geschichtsdichtung vom Mittelalter bis in die frühe Neuzeit. Literaturgeschichte einer umstrittenen Figur. Frankfurt et al., 2002.

seen in negative terms, being Roman, pagan and the man who presented Christ with the prophetic words “Ecce homo”, but at the same time agreed to his death. One important aspect of the Pilate tradition is his role in the legends of the images of Christ. Irenaeus of Lyon already speaks of an image of Christ painted by Pilate². The pilgrimage account by Pseudo-Antoninus of Piacenza, who mentions an image and footprint of Christ in the “praetorium” of Pilate³, dates back to the late 6th century. In later centuries the Latin legends of images not made by human hands were bound to that of Pilate. In Byzantium the biblical figures involved in the story of the Mandylion are the disciple Taddaeus and the apostle Thomas, whereas in the Western tradition they are the bleeding woman — later called Veronica — and Pilate⁴.

A German World Chronicle dating back to 1270/75 contains the oldest known depiction of Saint Veronica with the image of Christ (fig. 1)⁵. She appears three times in two different episodes. The stories are well known: The emperor Tiberius, who was afflicted with leprosy, had heard of Jesus of Nazareth, the miraculous healer in Palestine. Hoping to be cured he sent him a messenger. However Jesus had just been crucified by the time Volusian, the messenger, reached Jerusalem. Volusian heard of a woman whose bleeding had been stopped by Christ and that she had an image of him imprinted on a cloth. Volusian found her and invited her to come to Rome with him. The Emperor was healed the moment he set his eyes on the image on the veil. The illuminations in the German manuscript not only show Volusian worshipping Veronica’s image and Tiberius holding the veil up to his face,

² “Et imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua material fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato illo in tempore in quo fuit Iesus cum hominibus“, Irenaeus of Lyon: *Against Heresies*, Book I, Chapter XXV, 6 (Fontes Christiani, Bd. 8 / Ed. by Norbert Brox, Freiburg i. Br. 1995, p. 314); see also Wolf G. Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance. Munich, 2002, p. 13.

³ Antoninus sees Christ’s footprints in Pilate’s Pretorium, and also an image of Christ next to them which would have been painted when Christ was still alive: „Petra autem quadrangula, [...], in ea levatus est Dominus, quando auditus est a Pilato. Ibique remansit illius imago, pedem pulcrum, modicum, subtilem, statura communis, pulcra facies, capillo subanelato, manum formosam, digiti longi, quantum imago designat, quae illo vivente et pedibus ambulante picta est, et posita in ipso praetorio“ (recensio altera), *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini. Un viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d. C.* / Ed. by Celestina Dilani, Milan 1977, 23, 4–5, p. 163–165.

⁴ For the different traditions see Dobschütz 1899 (as in note 1), p. 102–262; cf. also the contributions of Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf in: *Il Volto di Cristo*, exh. cat. Rome 2000/01 / Ed. by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, Milan 2000, p. 67–76 and 103–114.

⁵ The Saxonian World Chronicle, Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. Memb. I. 90; for the manuscript see in particular: *Das Buch der Welt. Die Sächsische Weltchronik*, Ms. Memb. I 90 Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha. Kommentarband zur Faksimile-Ausgabe / Ed. by Hubert Herkommer, Luzern 2000, with an edition of the text.

but the picture sequence starts with Pilate, tied up by Volusian and his helper⁶. Pilate, having been brought to Rome for trial, stands handcuffed behind the messenger and Veronica in front of the Roman emperor. A couple of pages later we come across another depiction of Veronica, standing with her veil in front of a ruler, who in this case is identified as Vespasianus by an inscription. Wasps fly out of his nose. According to Eike von Repgow, the chronicle's author, it is said that Vespasianus was healed by Veronica's veil just like Tiberius before him⁷. Vespasianus' recovery is followed by a description of the Jewish War and the destruction of Jerusalem as narrated by Flavius Josephus. The two stories of such a miraculous healing had been wide-spread since the early Middle Ages⁸. Their common motifs are a sick ruler, the woman called Veronica and 'retribution for the death of Christ'. The story of Tiberius' healing has been handed down by the apocryphal *Acta Pilati* as well as by the more elaborate *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, which end with the punishment of Pilate. The story of Vespasian, on the other hand, has its origin in the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. In the latter it was still Titus, a prince under Tiberius and sub-king in Spain, who suffered from worms in his nose. After being healed he set out for Jerusalem with Vespasianus to avenge the death of Christ and destroy the Holy City.

The *Historia Evangelica* of the Ambrosian Library, a manuscript widely-illustrated with pen drawings, which contains Apocrypha on the infancy of Christ (Pseudo-Matthew) and the Gospel of Nicodemus, was probably written around 1370/80 (fig. 2–4)⁹. Here Veronica is always depicted in the same way. Statue-like, she stands frontally turning to the viewer, holding the image of the veil before her body (fig. 2)¹⁰. Only her surroundings change. In fact, the narrative sequence of the story is shown in the changing scenery around her. The messenger meets the woman in an open landscape standing for the Holy Land. Subsequently, we see Veronica in Rome stand-

⁶ „Do tornede sere Volusian uppe Pylatum, dat he des unreches gestadet hadde, unde let ene vān unde binden unde oc werpen unerlike an den bodem des scepes, dar he inne over mere kūmen was“, Saxonian World Chronicle, Gotha, Ms. Memb. I. 90, fol. 27r (quoted from *Herkommer* 2000, p. 47).

⁷ „[...] men seget oc, dat he gesunt worde van den wispen, de an sineme hovede waren, van deme antlate unses herren, dat dar hetet Veronica, dat Tyberius hadde gehalet laten van Ierusalern, darvan ime oc bat was geworden van ener groten suke“, Saxonian World Chronicle, Gotha, Ms. Memb. I. 90, fol. 34r (quoted from *Herkommer* 2000, p. 60).

⁸ Their combination is a late form of a complex and manifold tradition; see *Menzel M.* Die Sächsische Weltchronik. Quellen und Stoffauswahl, Sigmaringen 1985, p. 123.

⁹ For this manuscript see particularly: *Evangelica Historia. Disegni Trecenteschi del Ms. L. 58. Sup. della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* / Ed. by *Bernhard Degenhart, Annegrit Schmitt*, Milan 1978.

¹⁰ Cf. also *Philine Helas*, *Historia evangelii // Il Volto di Cristo* 2000 (as in note 4), Cat. IV. 40, p. 198–199.

ing between the messenger and Tiberius on his throne. In the third scene there is a carpet at Veronica's feet as sign of her important role. By this time, between the late 13th and 14th centuries, the woman with the veil had made a veritable career in art, her relic becoming the centre of pilgrimage to Rome or more precisely Saint Peter's: a relic from Jerusalem from the time before the city's destruction¹¹.

According to the *Historia*, however, not only Veronica's veil came to Rome at the time Tiberius was waiting to be healed, but also another Jerusalemite textile. The illuminations in the manuscript cannot show direct evidence of this (fig. 3), but it becomes clear by reading the text: The Emperor wanted to reprimand Pilate for the death of Christ, but this proved to be impossible. Instead of insulting him as wished, Tiberius involuntarily bowed in reference, much to the surprise of the other witnesses to the scene. The man who had washed his hands in innocence was led off and brought forward a number of times, but the Emperor's anger always dispersed the moment Pilate stepped in front of him: "This tunic belonged to the Lord Jesus Christ"¹². Pilate was wearing Christ's seamless coat beneath his own gown, the coat that had been touched by the bleeding woman — "and Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me"¹³, and the woman's bleeding had stopped. It cannot be accidental that the gown and the veil are linked here¹⁴. "You were worthy of touching the fringes of the tunic of Christ!", remarks Tiberius in the early *Cura Sanitatis*, when he falls to the ground, healed after looking at the image of Christ¹⁵. The *Historia* continues with a description of the events of 70 AD.

The story of Pilate wearing the gown is first reported by Jacobus de Voragine¹⁶; earlier legends do not mention this episode. Later manuscripts bear no reference to how Pilate came into possession of the gown¹⁷, nor

¹¹ See Wolf 2000 (as in note 4), p. 104–112; Wolf 2002 (as in note 2), p. 43–120.

¹² "Illa tunica fuisse domini Jesu Christi". The text of the Milan manuscript has been edited for the first time by Tischendorf as "Mors Pilati" in: *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig 1876, p. 456–458. The narration on Pilate here forms a later version of the *Legenda aurea*-tradition; see Knape 1985 (as in note 1), p. 121.

¹³ "et dixit Iesus tetigit me aliquis nam ego novi virtutem de me exisse" (Lc 8,46).

¹⁴ See also Scheidgen 2002 (as in note 1), p. 208–211. In a later version of the Saxonian World Chronicle, in a 15th Century manuscript, it is Veronica herself who reveals the magic secret, exclaiming that Pilate has to wear Christ's tunic, cf. *ibidem*, p. 209.

¹⁵ "Tu meruisti tangere fimbriam vestimenti Jhesu!"; cited from: Dobschütz 1899 (as in note 1), p. 163**–189**, §13.

¹⁶ "Pylatus autem tunicam domini inconsutilem secum detulit quam indutam coram imperatore portavit"; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, De passione Domini 51, 233–244 (ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, Florence 1999, p. 351).

¹⁷ Only in the 15th Century explanations were given by the Donaueschingen Passion play and the Towneley Mysteries, cf. Creizenach 1874 (as in note 1), p. 98.

where it is kept. The motif of the Relic's magical power is not new, a literary hero had already benefited from it: another legend probably around the end of the 12th century states that the relic was worn by Orendel, a prince of Trier, who travelled to Jerusalem to find a bride. Thanks to Christ's coat he became invincible¹⁸. While the Orendel story is bound to a site — he brings the holy coat to Trier, where the relic is still preserved —, the stories about Pilate make no reference to an actual veneration site; they are “free floating” legends not born in order to explain any given cult or object. Regarding Veronica's veil, the legend was connected to the relic in St. Peter's in Rome for the first time by Robert de Boron in the later 12th century¹⁹, whereas there is no enduring connection to any relic for the tradition stating that Pilate wore Christ's tunic whilst he stood before the Emperor in judgement and so brought it to Rome²⁰. Instead, and this is much more intriguing, they mention the inglorious story of Pilate's wandering corpse: a third relic that found (or might have found) its fate in the West.

Generally Pilate is said to have been born in Vienne — a town in France, whose name has been derived from Via Gehennae (Hebrew Gehinnom, the gorge of Hinnon below Jerusalem, the Road to Hell) — as well as in Germany, or in Mainz or near Forchheim, in the surroundings of Bamberg. He suffered a terrible death under Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Vespasianus or Titus: beheaded, murdered by Nero, skinned, sewn into a cow hide with a cock, a viper and a monkey and cooked in the sun; or he was locked into a tower where he either committed suicide or was swal-

¹⁸ For Orendel see: *Embach M.* Im Spannungsfeld von profaner ‚Spielmannsepik‘ und christlicher Legendarik — Der Heilige Rock im mittelalterlichen Orendel-Gedicht // *Der Heilige Rock zu Trier. Studien zur Geschichte und Verehrung der Tunika Christi* / Ed. by Erich Aretz, Michael Embach, Martin Persch and Franz Ronig, Trier 1995 (2nd edition 1996), S. 763–797. For other examples concerning the relics magical power see also *Gildemeister J., Heinrich von Sybel.* Der heilige Rock zu Trier und die zwanzig andern heilige ungenähten Röcke. Eine historische Untersuchung, Düsseldorf 1844, p. 49–50. In the romance “Perceval li Gallois” (1225) a piece of Christ's tunic was also thought to be affixed to Parzival's shield (which contradicts the tradition of the indivisible cloak, however); cf. *Dobschütz* 1999 (as in note 1), p. 236.

¹⁹ Quant Vaspasiens l'entendi,/ En son cuer mout s'en esjoï./ Ainsi firent, ainsi alerent,/ Ainsi la semblance aporerent;/ On l'apele la Veronique./ C'on tient à Romme à grant relique”, Robert de Boron, *Le Roman du Saint-Graal*, v. 1743–1748 (ed. by *Hans Robert Jauss* and *Erich Köhler*, Munich 1981, p. 160); see also *Wolf* 2002 (as in note 2), p. 51.

²⁰ Johann Gildemeister and Heinrich von Sybel refer that the story of Pilate wearing the tunic of Christ has been told in Trier substituting the Emperor Tiberius with Constantine, but the legend did not take roots there; cf. *Gildemeister, Von Sybel* 1844 (as in note 18), p. 49; nevertheless Ernst von Dobschütz supposed a connection between the legend and the cults of the seamless coats that was wide-spread in the 12th century in different regions (*Dobschütz* 1899 [as in note 1], p. 236).

lowed by the earth together with the whole tower²¹. These many torturous deaths seem to assimilate his life to that of a martyr. At least the early versions of the *Acta Pilati* still report that angels fetched the head of the ‘just’ man²². Later on, when they no longer did this, his corpse was thought to have been thrown in the Rhône (near one of his birthplaces), or first in the Tiber and then into the Rhône. The body was salvaged again and transported elsewhere: it was making too much noise and not only that — the Devil was playing around with the sunken corpse (fig. 3). First it was brought to Lausanne, and finally it ended up in an Alpine lake (fig. 4), sometimes said to be on the “septimus mons”²³: a series of locations and translocations of the unwanted relic²⁴.

Around the time the Milan Manuscript was written, in the third quarter of the 14th century, the wanderings of Pilate had become a rather prominent legend in central Switzerland, and founded its concrete sites. The new passage over the Alps via the Sanct Gotthard Pass was becoming more important than the old Septimer Pass. With that, the Pilatus Mountain near Lucerne (on the way to the Gotthard) soon became one of Europe’s most famous mountains²⁵. “Fräkmünt” (*fractus mons* / broken mountain) was its original name, but the name “Pilatus” became its common denomination in the 15th century²⁶. The secluded mountain lake, in which Pilate’s corpse was said to have finally been sunk in, was supposed to be located on this moun-

²¹ For the numerous legends and different sources on Pilate’s biography see in particular: *Graf A.* Un monte di Pilato in Italia // Miti, leggende e superstizioni del Medio Evo. Torino 1925, p. 339–355; Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Bd. 7, Berlin–New York 1987 (1936), s.v., Pilatus’, coll. 25–28 (Sartori); *Knape J.* Topographie des Heils und räumlicher Weltordo im 12./13. Jahrhundert (Pilatus-Vta und Ebstorfer Weltkarte) // Reisen und Welterfahrung in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters / Ed. by Dietrich Huschenbett and John Margetts, Würzburg 1991, p. 141–161; *Demandt A.* Hände in Unschuld. Pontius Pilatus, Köln 1999, as well as the titles cited in note 1.

²² The Apocryphal New Testament, translated by Montague Rhodes James, Oxford 1924, p. 155. For the positive valuation of Pilate in early Christian times see also *Scheidgen* 2002 (as in note 1), p. 31–37.

²³ For example in the ‘Historia apocrypha’ (12th century): “Puteus autem hic vicinus est monti, qui vocatur Septimus mons, vel quia montibus aliis circumseptus, vel septimus mons tanquam de septem montibus eminentioribus unus”; as cited by *Knape* 1985 (as in note 1), p. 156.

²⁴ The early medieval *Cura Sanitatis* banned Pilate to Tuscany, the 7th century *Vindicta* to Damascus. The wandering corpse was probably a 12th century invention. Jakobus de Voragine also mentions it.

²⁵ See also *Wyss B.* Der Pilatus. Entzauberung eines Naturdenkmals // Das Denkmal und die Zeit, Alfred A. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Bernhard Anderes et al., Lucerne 1990, p. 182.

²⁶ For the first time Felix Hemmerlin (*1388/89, †1458/59), a swiss theologian, connected the *mons fractus* with the burial of Pilate; cf. *Graf* 1925 (as in note 21), p. 342.

tain (fig. 5)²⁷. It is a popular belief that the undesired relic of the prefect of Judea rises from the water once a year on Good Friday and sits on a throne wearing the red gown of the blood-stained judge, before returning to his grave again on Easter Sunday. Thus it seems that the ‘relocation’ of Pilate’s burial place to the *mons fractus* is connected with the change of traffic routes in the late Middle Ages.

The Swiss mountains are by no means the only places linked with Pilate’s inglorious death and burial. For example there is a “mont Pilat” located near Lyon — today a protected natural park²⁸ — and another, “Lago di Pilato”, lies at the foot of the so-called “Pizzo del Diavolo”. The latter is a glacial lake in the Italian province of Le Marche, in the Apennines between Norcia and Ascoli²⁹. This lake is also (and even better) known as that of Queen Sibyl, located in the Sibyllian Mountains with the grotto, where the prophetess is supposed to live with her royal court. The history of pilgrimages to an Appenninian oracle site probably goes back to late Antiquity³⁰, but as in the case of the “Fräkmünt” close to the Saint Gotthard Pass, the linking of this site with the Pilate legend is not documented before the 14th century. The earliest known reference is probably that given by Fazio degli Uberti. In his *Dittamondo* he reports that in *Le Marche* he visited the city of Scariotto, identified with the town of Judas, as well as the mountain with the lake of Pilate. He does not mention the Sibyl, however. Instead, he reports that the lake attracts those who understand “Simon mago”, meaning magic, and wish to consecrate their spell books there. Thunderstorms would occur whenever this happened³¹.

In the second half of the 15th century, probably around 1470, a painter illustrated a manuscript with a double-paged landscape which shows two mountains (fig. 6)³²: the left one is cone-shaped and pointed with a lake at

²⁷ Cf. Wyss 1990 (as in note 25), p. 182. In 1370 a priest from Lucerne is reported to have climbed the Pilate Mountain together with a few of his parishioners to visit the lake. A terrible storm came up shortly afterwards. Henceforth climbing the mountain was forbidden to all. Seventeen years later six priests were punished for having disregarded this prohibition, which have been abolished by the council of Lucerne only at the end of the 16th Century attempting at the same time to dry up the lake and thus to disenchant the area; see *ibidem*, p. 183.

²⁸ See <http://www.parc-naturel-pilat.fr/>.

²⁹ Cf. Graf 1925 (as in note 21).

³⁰ Chirassi Ileana. Un pellegrinaggio del fantastico: itinerario al Regno di Sibylla // *Homo viator* / Ed. by Bonita Cleri, Urbino 1997, p. 37–64, p. 59.

³¹ “Entrati ne la Marca, com’io conto,/ io vidi Scariotto, onde fu Giuda,/ secondo il dir d’alcun, di cui fui conto./ La fama qui non vo’ rimanga nuda/ del monte di Pilato, dov’è il lago/ che si guarda la state a muda a muda,/ però che qual s’intende in Simon mago/ per sagrare il suo libro lá su monta,/ ond’è tempesta poi con grande smago,/ secondo che per quei di lá si conta.”, Fazio degli Uberti: *Dittamondo*, Libro 3, Cap. 1, v. 103–112.

³² Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, Ms. 653 (924), fol. 5v–6r.

the top and a spiral path leading up it; the other has two paths and seems more accessible and less precipitous. Both mountains are named, the right one after Queen Sibyl whilst the inscription above the other reads “Le mont du lac de la Roynne Sibyle qualcuns dissent le lac de pilate” (The mountain of the lake of Queen Sibyl, which some also call the Lake of Pilate). Two villages are shown, Colino and Montemonaco, which are passed when climbing the mountain from the Adriatic side. The landscape painting in the manuscript precedes Antoine de la Sale’s account *Le paradis de la Reine Sibylle*, in which the French author describes a journey to Italy³³. In 1420, as a ‘tourist’ searching for rare impressions and observations in nature, Antoine de la Sale visited the place that he had heard so much about since his youth: the Sibylline Mountains. He described the site in a manner similar to pilgrim reports and linked them with the relevant legends. The pictorial representation of the places with *tituli* attached to them is reminiscent of holy sites, particularly those of holy mountains such as Mount Sinai, respectively Mount Horeb, as for example in Hartmann Schedel’s World Chronicle (fig. 7)³⁴. Pilate’s burial lake — in a certain sense — takes the place of St. Catherine’s sepulchre at the top, whereas the cave replaces the Saviour’s Church on “mons (h)oreb”. Antoine de la Sale, following the legends he heard speak of, assigned antithetic characterisations to the two Italian mountains, offering more than a simple legendary explanation of the natural qualities of the sites themselves: At the foot of the Mount of Pilate’s lake you can see the Church Saint Mary of Foggia and a small village nearby with a fountain bringing water from the lake and channelling it to the river Aso. Its water is some of the most toxic and drinking it is perilous. From the top of the mountain opposite with the grotto you can see both seas of Italy (East and West). There are also two fountains, but their water is clean, fresh and healthy (trebelles et bonnes fontaines, froides a merveilles). The lower part of the mountain is rocky and without vegetation, but the upper part is wonderfully green and flourishing like the garden of paradise, in a way that is impossible to describe (les plus beaux et plaisans que a peine pourroit on deviser). There you can find exotic plants and flowers, eat them and use them as spices³⁵. However, the Sibyl’s mountain remains an ambiguous place itself, especially inside. Within the cave visitors are described as living in earthly pleasure and sin. Some of them never return, but many signed their name or coat of arms at the entrance before going inside. Antoine de la Sale reproduced some of

³³ Antoine de la Sale, *Le paradis de la Reine Sibylle*, *Il paradiso della Regina Sibilla*, ed. and transl. by Patrizia Romagnoli, Verbania 2001.

³⁴ Hartmann Schedel’s World Chronicle, fol. 31r. 1493, Moses with Josue and the adoration of the golden calf; on this image see also Rücker Elisabeth. Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit, Munich 1988, p. 108–111.

³⁵ La Sale (ed. Romagnoli 2001, as in note 33), p. 8/9–22/23.

the pilgrims' graffiti in his journey report (fig. 8). He also inscribed his own device, a kind of rebus, at the entrance of the Sibyl's cave, as he did at the entrance of the lower church of S. Francesco in Assisi and in S. Gregorio in Spoleto, both of them are even preserved³⁶. As an example of this common pilgrimage practice we only mention the case of Wilhelm von Vlatten, a knight and councillor of the Duke of Jülich who left his signature and coat of arms at the door of St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai in the year 1442 (fig. 9)³⁷, the same year in which Antoine de La Sale apparently completed his "Salade", a miscellaneous book dedicated to Jean d'Anjou, duc de Calabre, in which he inserted the account of the Reine Sibylle³⁸.

After dedicating his book to the Duchess of Bourbon and the Auvergne, Antoine begins his description of the Paradise of Queen Sibyl with Titus and Vespasianus: "Da quelle parti si racconta" (People in these regions say), that Titus, after having destroyed Jerusalem, brought Pilate to Rome. With the words "Io lo trovo falso" (I believe this is false) the author distances himself from the reference to Titus and even argues with his literary knowledge, quoting Orosius on several occasions. According to him, the emperor must have been Tiberius³⁹. De la Sale relates the stories told by the local people almost like an ethnologist studying a foreign culture. The people there say, reports the author, that the emperor fulfilled Pilate's last wish: Pilate had asked for his body to be laid on an oxcart (fig. 10). He wished to be buried wherever the oxen took him. The curious emperor followed the oxcart until its rest in the Sibylline mountains. Antoine de la Sale does not mention any other active burial of the unwanted corpse, even though the motif of the travelling corpse is still present. He also mentions the rumours about necromantic visitors that told of an island in the centre of the lake: no more than a single rock which was once surrounded by a wall, the remains of which would have still existed. A footbridge that once led from the shore of the lake to the island was destroyed by local people making it no longer visible below the water level so that anyone seeking the island in order to consecrate magic books would never find it.

³⁶ See *Romano Cordella*, Il 'motto' di Antoine de La Sale tra I graffiti di S. Gregorio in Spoleto // La basilica di San Gregorio Maggiore in Spoleto, Spoleto 1979, p. 123–131; *Detlev Kraack*, Monumentale Zeugnisse der spätmittelalterlichen Adelsreise: Inschriften und Graffiti des 14.–16. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 1997, p. 280–283, 293; *Detlev Kraack*, Die Magie des (Wallfahrts-)Ortes und der Zwang zur Verewigung Religiöse und profane Mobilität im Spiegel vormoderner (Pilger-)Graffiti [<http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/conferences/conf2/Kraack-Detlev-2002-09-08/HTML/kraack.html>]

³⁷ For the graffiti of St. Catherine's monastery in general and on Wilhem von Vlatten's in particular see: *Kraack*, 1997 (as in note 36), p. 150–248 and resp. 182sq (K38).

³⁸ Cf. the Daniel Poirion's preface in: Antoine de La Sale, Le paradis de la Reine Sibille, trad. Francine Mora-Lebrun, Paris 1983, p. 11.

³⁹ La Sale (ed. *Romagnoli* 2001, as in note 33), p. 2/3–6/7.

Pilgrimage to Rome leads to another memory of Pilate: the Scala Sancta (fig. 11). Whereas the wandering corpse of Pilate was a kind of anti-relic without any reference to a site in Jerusalem, the Scala Sancta reproduces a sacred place in Jerusalem within the papal palace: Pilate's pretorium (according to the condensation of Jewish and Christian relics in the Lateran)⁴⁰. The Scala Sancta takes part in a complex spacial *mise en scène*: at its top the Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum houses an highly venerated image of Christ on its main altar, transforming the mounting of the steps which Christ is thought to have ascended into a devotional *climax* of penitence aiming for an encounter — looking through a metal grating, — with the image of the Saviour. We cannot discuss the transformation of the Scala Sancta and the Sancta Sanctorum into a pilgrimage site, which should, after all, also consider their role in papal ceremonies⁴¹ in the 15th century. This aspect was central for the new shrine housing it, built by Sixtus V (1585–1590). As we have seen, the pilgrims experience an inversion of the biblical account: they climb the steps on their knees to approach the divine king and judge represented by the icon, whereas on the steps in the pretorium of Pilate it was Christ who was brought before his judge. The Lateran icon of Christ is thus bound to a specific reconfiguration of the situation in Jerusalem, on the other hand it has been reformulated as the triumph of Christ and the penitential act of ascending can be seen as graceful anticipation of the heavenly face to face encounter. The latter is also true for the veil of Veronica, connected to the story of Pilate in another way. Whereas the Lateran Saviour thought to be painted by Saint Luke and coloured by angels resides in a “New Jerusalem” in Rome (with a spatial evocation and the guarantee of relics, mostly from the temple) and remains bound to this tradition, the Veronica, the miraculous imprint of Christ's face was, from the beginning, defined as an image to be sent to somebody, to become an universal token or vexillum of the Roman church. The original veil was preserved in the Vatican where no reference to the memory of Pilate's palace or legend could be found, and in fact this tradition became more and more marginal for the pilgrims, as they focused on

⁴⁰ An anonymus manuscript, dated 1375, mentions the “Scala santa” as “Scalae Pilati” connecting it with the “domus Pjilati”, the pretorium of Pilate (Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. N. 4265, fol. 214v). The steps were thought to have been brought from Jerusalem to Rome by Helen, the mother of Constantine, in the year 326; cf. *Donadono L.* La Scala Santa a San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome 2000, p. 34, n. 1. However, the first evidence that the steps have been venerated as a passion relic is given by Giovanni Rucellais' Pilgrim report of 1450; see *Horsch N.* Die Scala Santa im mittelalterlichen Lateranpalast. Eine neue Lektüre der Quellen // *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 66.2003, p. 524–532, 531 n. 34; see also *Cempanari Mario, Amodei Tito.* Scala Santa e Sancta Sanctorum, Rome 1999, p. 14–16.

⁴¹ *Horsch Nadja.* Ad astra gradus. Scala Santa und Sancta Sanctorum in der Neuinszenierung Sixtus' V., Ph.D. Aachen 2005.

the episode (which had been partially developed within it) of Saint Veronica's encounter with Christ on his way to Calvary.

As a further step, we could now turn to the pictorial and ephemeral representations of scenes where Pilate appears within the Passion narrative. The spatial rendering of the Washing of the Hands and the Ecce Homo would have special interest; as an example we only mention Hans Memling's Passion panel in Turin, where the scenes are placed around the tunic of Christ, thrown on the floor at the centre of Pilate's pretorium⁴². One could also ask in which way Pilate's pretorium itself was shown in Old Jerusalem and in "New Jerusalem"⁴³. We cannot follow this subject here, but rather wish to offer a brief look at a Mass of Saint Gregory dating to around 1500, which shows Pilate in the context of another highly venerated image of Christ, the man of sorrows or "imago pietatis" (fig. 12)⁴⁴. The mass of Saint Gregory was a widely diffused image in the 15th and early 16th centuries, above all in the North⁴⁵. It shows Christ's body appearing to Pope Gregory the Great during the Mass, a visionary experience bound to a small mosaic icon in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, which is thought to be a *pictorial document* commissioned by Gregory. In reality it dates from about 1300 and was probably brought from Saint Catherine's monastery to Rome. In any case, the Mass of Saint Gregory frames the appearance of Christ, rendering visible the transubstantiation in the form of the body rising from a sarcophagus often surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, the so-called *arma Christi*. The "Mass of Saint Gregory" offers a complex iconic contraction of the events of the Passion in liturgical time and space, an image itself endowed with indulgence. The picture we are looking at is of particular interest as it does not represent the *arma Christi* in the usual way but — in a kind of stage opening behind the sarcophagus located on the back of the altar — here the

⁴² Tim Urban is writing a Ph.D. on this panel in the context of the concepts of Jerusalem.

⁴³ For the pretorium of Pilate see: *Mommert C.* Das Prätorium des Pilatus oder Der Ort der Verurteilung Jesu, Leipzig 1903; *Halbwachs M.* Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte, 2. ed., Paris 1971 (1st ed. 1941), p. 75–80.

⁴⁴ Meisters der Heiligen Sippe (workshop), Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum. Originally the panel formed the central part of a bigger altar; for this painting see particularly *Westfeling Uwe.* Die Messe Gregors des Großen. Vision, Kunst, Realität, exhibition catalogue, Cologne 1982, Cat. 3, p. 58sq; *Zehnder F. G.* Katalog der Altkölner Malerei, Köln 1990 (Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums, 9), Nr. 167, p. 308–314; *Gormans A.* Zum Greifen nahe. Die Gregorsmesse — ein gemalter mnemotechnischer Traktat des Spätmittelalters, in: *Das Bild der Erscheinung. Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter* / Ed. by Andreas Gormans and Thomas Lentz, Berlin 2007 (KultBild.Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne, 3), p. 259–301.

⁴⁵ See most recently: *Meier E.* Die Gregorsmesse. Funktionen eines spätmittelalterlichen Bildtypus, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2006; *Das Bild der Erscheinung. Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter 2007* (as in note 44).

body of the Saviour is surrounded by gesticulating figures according to different Passion scenes, among them in a prominent way that of Pilate washing his hands and looking up at Christ. Pilate, wearing a crown, places his arms on the edge of the sarcophagus, mantled by a grey cloth that corresponds to Christ's tunic on the left. Both textiles bridge the space between the narrative and that of the liturgy, reinforced on the side of Pilate by the position of the servant with the vessels in the sacred space itself. Thus Pilate gives a double testimony, in a fusion of the "Ecce Homo" with the Eucharistic self offering of Christ in his "Hoc est corpus meum", to be performed in the mass⁴⁶. And finally this legitimates and endows the picture itself for the spectator in front of it, engaged in a contemplation of what not all participants of the mass within the image seem to be able to see⁴⁷. A further detail may not be overlooked: quite frequently Saint Gregory's Mass represents the holy coat and the Veronica, but in this specific example Pilate, the coat and the veil, whose interaction we know from the legends, are combined in a particular way: Veronica's veil is present in the form of an liturgical object, i.e. as a pax-board, and placed directly in front of Pilate so that its top leans on his cloak, falling in turn over the border of the sarcophagus. A clear hint at the legend, but also a complex interplay of references: Pilate's gaze towards the body of Christ is complemented by the "contact" of his garment with the sacred veil, transformed in this copy into an object of the liturgy of Saint Gregory as well as, potentially, every church.

We would like to conclude our observations with a brief look at a vision of Nikolaus von Flüe (1417–1487), the Swiss mystic and eremite, known as Brother Klaus (fig. 13)⁴⁸. In his so-called "Vision of the pilgrim" the mount of Pilate assumes a role: "[...] a man in the appearance of a pilgrim [...] came" and asked "the person for an offering. "And suddenly the latter [...] had a penny in his hand. The Pilgrim raised his hat and caught the penny in it. And the person had never known that it was such a great honour to receive an offering in a hat. The person was rather surprised, who this pilgrim was and where he came from. And he stood in front of him and looked at him. Then he changed his aspect: His head was now bare, he wore a blue or grey jacket without a coat, as a well-built noble man, who had to be looked at with considerable lust and desire. His face was browned, giving him a noble appearance. His eyes were black like a magnet, his limbs so well-shaped

⁴⁶ However, this moment of the mass is not shown.

⁴⁷ For the spatial structure of the painting see in particular *Gormans* 2007 (as in note 44), p. 263.

⁴⁸ For Brother Klaus, his biography and his teachings, see for example: *Nigg W.* Nikolaus von Flüe in Berichten von Zeitgenossen, Olten/Freiburg i.Br. 1980; *Gröbli R.* Die Sehnsucht nach dem "einig Wesen". Leben und Lehre des Bruder Klaus von Flüe, Zürich 1990; *Meier Pirmin.* Ich Bruder Klaus von Flüe. Eine Geschichte aus der inneren Schweiz, Zürich 1997.

that it was wonderful to look at. And even though he wore clothes, it was still possible to see his limbs. And as he stood there looking at him, the pilgrim turned his eyes on him. Then many, many wondrous things happened; the Mountain of Pilate alighted onto the ground, and the whole world lay open, revealing all the sins of the world. And a large number of people appeared and behind these people stood Truth, because they had all turned their faces away from the truth. And a great wound appeared on their breasts near their hearts, as big as two fists. This wound was self-interest, which disconcerted them so much that they could no longer bear to look at the man's face, just like people having to turn their eyes away from flames. And they ran around ignominiously in utmost fear; he saw them running in the distance. And Truth — the man — stayed there. And his face changed to that of a Veronica and the person developed an urge to look at him [...]⁴⁹.

The transformations of the pilgrim end with his appearance (and finally disappearance) in the shining skin of a bear: a reference to the resurrection of Christ — as that of Veronica was to his Passion, if not after all to the *true* appearance of his Face. We may not consider it surprising that the bowing down mountain is identified with that of Pilatus, for Bruder Klaus' hermitage was located not far from it. But, in the context of the vision, the mount of Pilate gains a deeper significance for it evokes the final submission of the judge (Pilate) under the accused (Christ) or rather the inversion of their roles. While nature has been jubilating in a cosmic chant at the beginning of the vision, welcoming the pilgrim coming from the region of the rising sun, she now transforms into the dramatic scenario of the bowing down mountain and the opening of the earth — assimilated to the ulcerated bodies of the sinners. Whereas Tiberius' leprosy had been healed by looking at Christ's face, here the people turn away from it, driven by their selfishness and losing themselves in disorientation and despair for which Pilate could be a model. There is no doubt then, that the spectacle engaging the mountain submitted to the divine force and the Veronica in the face of Truth draws on the legendary contact of Pilate and the veil, transferred into an apocalyptic visionary landscape⁵⁰.

In this article we were not concerned with the construction of a New Jerusalem, but with different ways of referring to and transforming the "old" in places far from it, concentrating on the ambiguous figure of Pilate.

⁴⁹ The "Vision of the Pilgrim" has been handed down to us in two different versions. The author of the quoted text is Kaspar Ambühl (end of the 15th century), published in: *Rupert Amschwand*, Bruder Klaus, *Ergänzungsband zum Quellenwerk von Robert Durrer*, Sarnen 1987, p. 28–29; see also *Gröbli* 1990 (as in note 48), p. 60–63, 178–185, 236–237.

⁵⁰ For the apocalyptic dimensions of this vision see also *Meier* 1997 (as in note 48), p. 23, 120–122.

In the first example we were discussing the role of Pilate in the transferral of Veronica's veil to Rome as narrated in medieval legends. While the earthly Jerusalem was destroyed by the Roman army, seen as an agent of the divine providence to punish the Jews, an image/imprint of Christ's face healed an emperor in Rome, i.e. in the centre of political power, pre-announcing the conversion of the empire. Pilate's involvement with the images of Christ finds no easy explanation, his "neutral" testimony as a judge (of the classical world addicted to portraits) and the iconic dimension of the "Ecce homo"⁵¹ may have inspired it. In our context the major focus lies on the ambiguity of the figure of Pilate in medieval legends. Once we deal with his punishment he becomes a rather exclusively negative hero; "post mortem" he turns out to be the restless and undesirable "relic" we encountered in magical sites like Mount Pilate in Switzerland or the Monti Sibillini in central Italy. In contrast to the *New Jerusalems* which aimed to become fully endowed substitutes of the "original", these places do not reproduce a place in the Holy Land but are rather an extension of it, in analogy to the legends of the transfer of Saint Mary Magdalene or Lazarus to their respective sites in France⁵². However, in the case of Pilate, these places are rather non-sites to be avoided or exorcized, even if attractive in their own way. Antoine de La Sale's account proves this kind of "perverted" pilgrimage. We must also note that we are dealing with a rather heterogeneous corpus of sources and images, none of them is an "official" voice of a religious or political authority, many of them are anonymous and consist of complex layers of narratives formed over centuries. For that reason they are an extremely interesting, even if not yet well-studied material for the study of the interplay of the sacred and profane, religious and poetic imagination, and the concepts of history and topographies in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

With the Scala Sancta we returned to Rome, encountering an apparently more traditional model of reconfiguration of a site in Jerusalem. However, the legends around it claim the presence of the "original" (the staircase of the house of Pilate) and it is not a *mise en scène* of a place of the Passion narrative, as in the *Sacri monti* or other "inhabited" copies of Jerusalem, but rather a complex inversion of the situation in the pretorium Pilati, locating the image of Christ as that of the merciful judge at the top of the Scala Sancta. Rome and

⁵¹ Ginzburg C. Occhiacci di legno. Nove riflessioni sulla distanza, Milan 1998, p. 100–117.

⁵² See Hansel H. Die Maria-Magdalena-Legende. Eine Quellen-Untersuchung, Greifswald 1937, p. 100–107; Garth H. M. Saint Mary Magdalene in Mediaeval Literature, Baltimore 1950, p. 44–59, 98–107; Lobrichon Guy. La Madeleine des Bourguignons aux XIe et XIIe siècles // Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres / Ed. by Eve Duperray, Paris 1989, p. 71–88.

the Lateran do not copy Jerusalem, but cite a site of the Passion to convert it into the triumphal presence of Christ in the papal palace.

In the depiction of the mass of Saint Gregory of Cologne we were confronted with an encounter of Pilate and a pope. Thus, Jerusalem has been transformed into the here and now of the liturgical reenactment of Christ's sacrifice involving complex processes of transfer and a no less complex structure of timescales within the image, as well as with regard to the spectator. Here Pilate acts as a witness at the border line between the evocation of the Passion events in a contracted narrative surrounding the man of sorrows, and the liturgical "presentification" of Christ in the mass. A passage pointed out by the detail of the *Pax* showing the Veronica, thus transferring one of the "arma Christi" into the realm of a liturgical object. Pilate in the Mass of Saint Gregory is a figure at the edge, a *hinge* between the different levels of time and space, whereas the picture itself performs a double translocation: from Jerusalem — the site of the crucifixion — to the mass celebrated by Pope Gregory in Rome, the site of his vision of the man of sorrows in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme where a small icon thought to be a document of this vision is preserved, and finally to its evocation by means of a painting or print for a spectator far away from Rome, pictures endowed with an indulgence — making "Jerusalem" ubiquitous as a virtualized site of salvation, bound to the authority of the Roman church.

Bruder Klaus's vision brought us back to the "real site" of Mount Pilate, but again it is the case of a vision where the bowing of the mountain and the opening of the earth shows an apocalyptical scenario accusing the selfishness of mankind that turns away from the face of Christ embodied in the figure of Truth, which rises in the place of the mountain of Pilate, sunk to Earth. If we could speak of "Jerusalem" here it would be in the universalized form of Nature herself: celebrating the arrival of her Saviour pilgrim like the *filia Sion*⁵³, temporarily "destroyed" by the sins of mankind, but saved again in the inner space of the heart of Bruder Klaus, to whom the pilgrim appears in the shining skin of a bear, an Alpine Christology which shows Nature gloriously enveloping the figure of the divine pilgrim with a sanctified body. Jerusalem as the site of salvation is everywhere or nowhere, if not meditated in the hearts of the pious. In each case, Pilate plays an indispensable role in the history of salvation according to the Western tradition.

⁵³ „laetare filia Sion quia ecce ego venio et habitabo in medio tui ait Dominus“ (Zacharias 2, 10). Nicolaus Maniacutius cited this verse regarding the Lateran Saviour in its shrine; cf. *Historia Imaginis Salvatoris* (ca. 1145), in: Wolf G. *Salus populi romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim 1990, p. 323; cf. also *idem*, *Laetare filia Sion. Ecce ego venio et habitabo in medio tui: Images of Christ transferred to Rome from Jerusalem*, in: *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art* / Ed. by Bianca Kühnel, Jerusalem 1998 (Jewish art, 23/24.1997/98), p. 419–429, 424.

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ПОВЕСТВОВАНИЕ И ИКОНИЧЕСКОЕ ПРОСТРАНСТВО —
ОБРАЗ ПОНТИЯ ПИЛАТА

Эта статья не касается вопроса о построении Нового Иерусалима, она посвящена другим способам преобразования евангельского Иерусалима, и главное внимание сосредоточено на неоднозначной фигуре Пилата. Пилат участвовал в перенесении плата Вероники в Рим, о чем рассказывают средневековые легенды. И хотя древний Иерусалим был разрушен римской армией, которую рассматривали как орудие божественного провидения, посланное наказать евреев, отпечаток лика Христа исцелил императора в Риме, т. е. в центре политической власти, и этот акт предвещал обращение империи. Участие Пилата в перенесении образа Христа не так легко объяснить, хотя источником этого мотива могли стать его «нейтральное» свидетельство как судьи и его иконическая роль в сцене «Ессе homo» (Се человек). В нашем контексте внимание концентрируется на двойственности фигуры Пилата в средневековых легендах. В истории Христа он воспринимается как исключительно негативный персонаж; но после *post mortem* образ Пилата становится своего рода «реликвией», которую мы встречаем в таких магических местах, как гора Пилата в Швейцарии или горы Сивилл в центральной Италии.

В отличие от *Новых Иерусалимов*, ориентированных на полноценную замену «оригинала», эти места не воспроизводят конкретные реалии Святой Земли, но скорее являются ее продолжением, по аналогии с легендами о перенесении св. Марии Магдалины или св. Лазаря в соответствующие центры во Франции. Однако в случае с Пилатом подобные места не относятся к числу тех, которые следует избегать или очищать путем экзорцизма, они даже во многом привлекательны. Упоминание Антуана де Ла Саля о его путешествии по Сивиллиным горам является примером такого «перевернутого» паломничества. Следует отметить, что мы имеем дело с корпусом весьма разнородных источников и образов, ни один из которых не является «официальным» голосом религиозных или политических властей, многие из них анонимны и представляют собой сложное наложение повествований, накопившихся за столетия. По этой причине они исключительно интересны, причем мало изучены. В них смешивается сакральное и профанное, религиозное и поэтическое, исторические и топографические представления средних веков и раннего нового времени.

В случае Scala Sancta в Латеранском дворце в Риме как «исторической» Святой Лестницы, по которой взшел Христос, мы сталкиваемся с очевидно более традиционной моделью преобразования конкретного

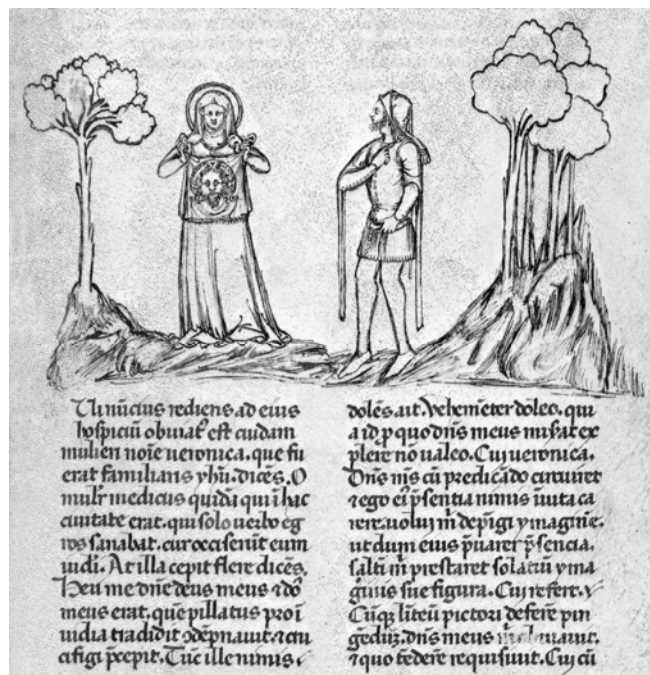
места в Иерусалим. Сопутствующие легенды опираются на наличие «оригинала» (лестницы в доме Пилата), и хотя здесь не воспроизводятся события Страстей, как на Святых Горах (*Sacri Monti*) или при сооружении других «обитаемых» копий Иерусалима, наличие реальной лестницы в претории Пилата позволяет воссоздать ситуацию — паломники поднимаются по Святой Лестнице в Риме к нерукотворному образу Христа, который выступает как милостивый судья. Рим и Латеран — не копия Иерусалима, но напоминание о месте Страстей и триумфальном присутствии Христа в папском дворце.

В изображении «Мессы св. Григория» в Кёльне мы видим встречу Пилата и папы. При этом Иерусалим преобразуется в литургическое воспроизведение жертвы Христа, что требует сложного процесса переноса символов и не менее сложной структуры времени, создаваемой внутри образа, учитывающей и присутствие зрителя. При этом Пилат выступает как свидетель на пограничной черте между воспоминанием о событиях Страстей и литургическим «представлением» Христа в мессе. Фрагмент, посвященный истории плат Вероники, таким образом, превращается в одно из «орудий Страстей Христовых», входит в круг литургических предметов. В сцене «Мессы св. Григория» Пилат находится на краю композиции, словно узел, скрепляющий разные временные и пространственные пласты: распятие, происходившее в Иерусалиме, и мессу, которую служит папа Григорий в Риме. Как известно, папе было видение Христа во Гробе в церкви Санта Кроче ин Джерузальме, что и представлено на небольшой мозаичной иконе, хранящейся в этой церкви. Это событие, изображенное на картинах или гравюрах, доступных зрителям вдали от Рима, а также на индульгенциях, делало «Иерусалим» вездесущим в качестве виртуального символа спасения, находящегося во власти Римской церкви.

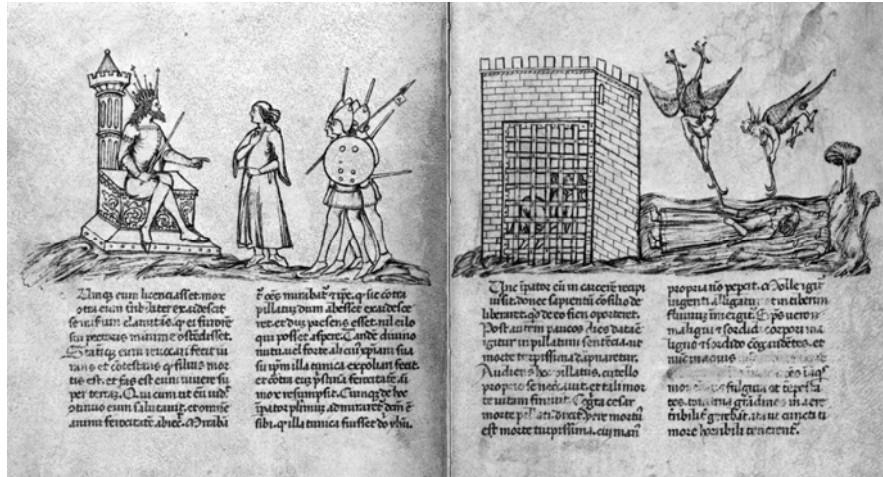
Видение брата Клауса возвращает нас к «реальному месту» на горе Пилата, но в этом видении снова склон горы и пропасти земные демонстрируют апокалипсический сценарий, выступая упреком человечеству в эгоизме и в том, что люди отворачиваются от лика Христа, воплощенного в фигуре Истины, возвышавшейся на горе Пилата и поглощенной землей. Если мы будем говорить об «Иерусалиме» в данном контексте, это будет универсализованная форма самой Природы, празднующей явление ее Спасителя-паломника, подобного сыну Сиона (*filia Sion*), временно «разрушенного» грехами человечества, но вновь спасенного во внутреннем пространстве сердца брата Клауса, которому явился этот паломник в сияющей медвежьей шкуре. Иерусалим как место спасения находится повсюду или нигде, если не исключительно в сердцах набожных людей. И в каждом случае, согласно западной традиции, Пилат играет незаменимую роль в истории спасения.



1. Pilate being tied up, Volusian worshipping the veil and Tiberius holding it up to his face. *Saxonian World Chronicle* (Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. Memb. I. 90, fol. 27r)



2. Veronica and Volusian, *Evangelica Historia* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. L. 58. Sup., fol. 66r)



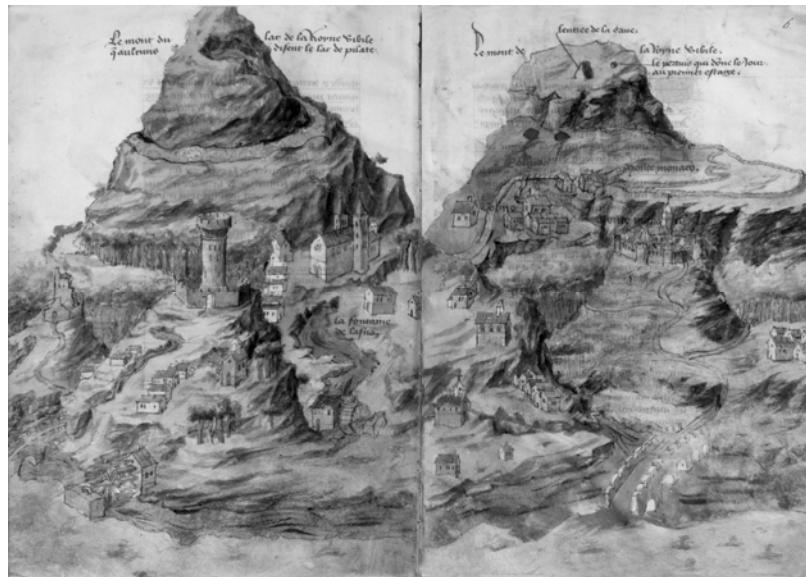
3. Pilate in front of Tiberius and Pilate's corps in the Tiber, *Evangelica Historia* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. L. 58. Sup., fol. 67v-68r)



4. Pilate's corps thrown in the Alpine lake, *Evangelica Historia* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. L. 58. Sup., fol. 68v)



5. "Pilate", engraving from: David Herrliberger, *Neue und vollständige Topographie der Eydgnosenschaft*, 1754–1777



6. The mountains of Pilate and Sybille from: *Antoine de la Sale*, *Le paradis de la Reine Sibylle* (Chantilly, Musée Condé de Chantilly, Ms. 653 [924], fol. 5v-6r)



7. Moses with Josue and the adoration of the golden calf, Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle*, 1493, fol. 31r



8. La Sale's Device from: *Antoine de la Sale, Le paradis de la Reine Sibylle*



9. Wilhelm von Vlatten's signature and coat of arms (Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's monastery)



10. Pilate's corpse on the oxcart, from: Antoine de la Sale, *Le paradis de la Reine Sibylle* (Chantilly, Musée Condé de Chantilly, Ms. 653 [924], fol. 4r)



11. Scala Santa (Rome, Lateran)



12. Mass of Saint Gregory, Meister der Heiligen Sippe (workshop) (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum)



13. Bruder Klaus, 1492 (Sachseln, Bruder-Klaus-Museum)