THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PORTAL SCULPTURES OF BAMBERG CATHEDRAL

Ursula C. Isenberg

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ABSTRACT

The Iconography of the Portal Sculptures
of Bamberg Cathedral

This thesis deals with the iconographic programmes of the three sculptured portals of the present cathedral of Bamberg: the Adam Portal, the Portal of Mercy and the Princes' Portal, carved during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The depictions capture and portray the importance assigned to Henry II and Kunigunde, the founders of an earlier cathedral at Bamberg, and that of the patron saints common to both churches. It is almost certain that the old liturgy of penance influenced the iconography of two of the portals; and the third was based on themes derived from thirteenth-century French Gothic sculpture, the traditional Last Judgment and cycles of typology. The considerable influence of French cathedral portals is discussed, as are the variations and original departures at Bamberg; the responses of the planners to architectural, stylistic, liturgical, and cultural differences are noted, and their effects on the iconography discussed.

ABSTRAIT

L'iconographie des sculptures des portails
de la Cathédrale de Bamberg

Cette thèse traite des programmes iconographiques des trois portails sculptés de la cathédrale actuelle de Bamberg: le portail d'Adam, le portail de la Miséricorde et le portail des Princes, sculptés au cours du premier quart du treizième siècle. Ces sculptures saisissent et interprètent l'importance attribuée à Henri II et à Cunégonde, les fondateurs d'une cathédrale antérieure à Bamberg, ainsi que celle des patrons communs aux deux églises. Il est presque certain que l'ancienne liturgie de pénitence ait influencé l'iconographie de deux des portails; celle du troisième repose sur des thèmes provenant de la sculpture gothique française du treizième siècle - le Dernier Jugement traditionnel et divers cycles de typologie. L'auteur discute l'influence considérable jouée par les portails des cathédrales françaises ainsi que les variations et nouvelles tendances qui se manifestent à Bamberg; elle souligne les réactions des planificateurs vis-à-vis des différences architecturales, stylistiques, liturgicales et culturelles ainsi que leurs conséquences sur les considérations iconographiques.

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INTRODUCTION

The cathedral of Bamberg is situated at the top of a hill; it rises high above the roofs of the houses of the old city of Bamberg which grew up around it over the last thousand years (Fig.1). The present cathedral, not the first to have occupied this hilltop, was begun during the second decade of the thirteenth century; a work of the Staufen period, it was built in the Late Romanesque style of architecture at the time Frederick II was Holy Roman Emperor and king of Germany. It stands on the foundations of the original cathedral built by Henry II during the early eleventh century; and it is from the original cathedral that it took many of its features and its patron saints, Saint Peter and Saint George.

Important architectural elements of the present cathedral are its four tall, pointed towers, two semicircular elevated choirs with two crypts in the east and west respectively, and a transept at the west end. However, it is the east side that provides the most striking view to the beholder when coming up from the Old Town; the east choir, projecting from the gable between the two façade towers, is a great masterpiece of Late Romanesque architecture (Fig.2).[1]

The man most instrumental in the construction of the present cathedral was Bishop Ekbert, Count von Andechs-Meran, who was bishop of Bamberg from 1203 to the time of his death in 1237. He was a widely travelled man, a man of great influence and power, and a friend and adviser to Frederick II. He is known to have taken a personal inter-

est in both the architecture and the sculptural programmes of the cathedral, his intention being to recreate the cathedral of Henry II, which suffered considerable destruction in two fires.[2] This effort to recreate the earlier cathedral brought features to the thirteenth-century building which really belong in style to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, examples being the tower chapels and the elevated double choirs and western transept mentioned above.[3]

The cathedral of Bishop Ekbert, built from east to west, was probably constructed in three periods during each of which a different group of masons was employed.[4] It was completed in the year 1237 when the church was consecrated.

The first masons likely came from the Upper Rhine region: they built the east choir and the lower stories of the east towers which were, however, to be completed later in the Gothic style.

The next phase of construction, the period during which the nave, aisles, transept and part of the west choir were completed, was performed by the second workshop which may have come from nearby Ebrach. It is thought to have worked somewhat earlier there on a Cistercian monastery. (Wortwinus, who is mentioned as <u>magister operis</u> in a document dating from 1229, may also have come to Bamberg from Ebrach.)[5]

The third and final stage of construction, when the west towers were added, is attributed to a workshop whose master was acquainted with the newly-built Gothic cathedrals of Northern France. In concept and execution the west towers show clearly that the master was familiar with the towers of Laon Cathedral, but in borrowing the design of the Laon towers he altered them to some extent to render them consistent

with the German Romanesque architectural style of the church.[6]

The two corresponding halves of the cathedral are by no means identical and any possible monotony has been broken by using Romanesque forms of ornamentation in the east choir and more Gothic forms in the west. At the east choir we have such Romanesque elements as a low, open gallery set high in the wall under the roof, and five deeply-cut, large windows framed by ball-pattern mouldings. There are geometric forms along the base of the windows and zigzag ornaments and small sculptures along the walls.

The cathedral has four portals, two of which extend over the entire width of the ground floor of the east towers. The oldest one, the Adam Portal (Adamspforte) on the south-east side, has little depth and originally had no figural ornamentation. The Portal of Mercy (Gnadenpforte), on the north-east side has been cut deeply into the wall and bears the earliest, nevertheless the most controversial, sculptures at Bamberg. A third richly sculptured portal, near the centre of the north side, is the Princes' Portal (Fürstenportal). The fourth portal, situated on the north side of the transept, is the Saint Vitus Portal (Veitstür) with no figural decoration.

Several workshops of different backgrounds and shaped by different traditions contributed to the sculptured portals as they are seen today. It is known that there were at least two such workshops and there is considerable likelihood that there was a third. However, Bishop Ekbert remained the most important theological adviser throughout.[7]

The Portal of Mercy and part of the Princes' Portal were carved by a local Romanesque workshop about the year 1220. This work was fol-

lowed about ten years later by the completion of the Princes' Portal by a different group who had learned their art at Reims cathedral. The six statues of the Adam Portal were carved still later - probably around the year 1235 - by this same workshop.[8]

The present thesis will discuss the iconography of the three carved portals, identifying characteristics in the Bamberg programmes found to be unique among German and French cathedrals. As part of the wider discussion it will focus on one of the most important of these characteristics: that, notwithstanding a certain relationship between the liturgical functions of two of the portals, the conception of the programme of each portal can be seen as a single and separate unit representing, within itself, an iconographic whole. This unusual plan differs from French Gothic cathedrals, like Laon or Chartres, where each portal is a link in a vast programme extending over the entire façade.

The author will place the Bamberg sculptural programmes within the medieval tradition of portal and façade sculpture, relating them to earlier and contemporary works done in France, Italy and Germany which influenced the iconography of the Bamberg carvings.

This study will submit the idea that the liturgy contributed to the programmes, and the suggestion will be made that the history of the cathedral and its founders, as well as then-current political situations, are reflected in the sculpture of the portals.

It will be shown that, in the subject matter of the Adam Portal and the Portal of Mercy, two salient themes predominate: firstly the importance of the patron saints, especially Saint Peter; and, secondly,

the continued dedication to the royal founders, Henry II and his wife Kunigunde, who are closely linked to the bishopric and to the cathedral of Bamberg.

No mention will be made of stylistic problems in this thesis, and the different masters and workshops referred to earlier will be discussed only briefly in connection with the iconography.

Study of the cathedral has resulted in a large body of scholarly writings. In particular, the work done by many great German scholars has provided a comprehensive store of information and insights into almost all areas of interest to art historians. The history of the cathedral; its excavations, building history, and architectural problems; the master question and related stylistic problems that pertain to the sculptures; French influences - these subjects have been intensively examined. However, the iconography of the portal sculptures has received relatively little attention. No in-depth interpretations have been written.

The most important work on the iconography was done by W. Vöge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He identified the subject matter and made a general analysis of the sculptures. That portion of his work that is devoted to the interpretation of the three portals is considered valid to this day.[9]

K. Franck-Oberaspach was the first to identify the little figure at the feet of the Virgin in the tympanum of the Portal of Mercy as that of a knight with the cross of the Crusaders on his mantle.[10]

H. Jantzen[11] and E. Panofsky[12] wrote major works about the sculptures of Bamberg during the 1920s, their attention focusing more

on the master problem than on the iconography. The first scholar to do a detailed analysis of the Portal of Mercy, H. Fiedler, writing in 1956, dealt exclusively with iconography, but his work, unfortunately, is much influenced by preconceptions.[13] Nevertheless, an interesting contribution is Fiedler's belief that the knight with the Crusader cross was a specific person, Hermann von Salza, who will be discussed later in this thesis.

E. Sauser, a theologian, wrote an article, in 1956, on the Adam Portal and its place within the liturgy that relates to repentance.[14]

In 1960 W. Boeck, in his book on Bamberg, discussed and placed in perspective everything written up to that time.[15] Two years later E. Verheyen wrote an article which dealt only with the Princes' Portal, his work concerning matters both of style and iconography.[16] However, neither W. Boeck nor E. Verheyen added further to the information already published regarding the iconography of the portals, because emphasis in their work was placed on the controversy surrounding the younger master.

A knowledge of Henry II, founder of the bishopric and first cathedral of Bamberg in the early eleventh century, and of the life and times of Bishop Ekbert is necessary for an understanding of the sculptural programmes of the portals of the present cathedral.

The importance of Ekbert will be dealt with later in this thesis in connection with the particular portal in which he is portrayed. However, it will be necessary to devote much of the first chapter to the history of the bishopric of Bamberg and to the earlier cathedral of Henry II; both are quite relevant to the subsequent thirteenth-

century cathedral and to two of its sculptural programmes.

NOTES

1. For the history of the building, see Noack, 11-19; this work is the first complete history that concentrates on the structure itself; it continues to be employed as a reference by most contemporary scholars.

2. Noack, 7-11; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 125; Winterfeld, Untersuchungen, 152. Looshorn's work on the bishopric of Bamberg and its bishops gives the most complete account of the life of Bishop Ekbert, see Looshorn, 591-651.

3. See Sage, 104; this work discusses the results of the excavations done between 1969-1972.

4. Reitzenstein differs from the generally accepted belief and divides the construction of the cathedral into four stages, see Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 132. The construction of the cathedral is also discussed by Mayer, 31-35; Winterfeld, Untersuchungen, 5-198.

5. The document deals with the consecration of an altar in the east choir which was dedicated to the Virgin. In it Ekbert refers to Wortwinus, magister operis, and his contribution to the building of the cathedral, see Noack, 14; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 130; Boeck, 43.

6. See Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 126-128; Valentiner, 8.

7. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 126-129; Valentiner, 8.

8. See Hamann, Mittelalter, 134; Piltz, 100; Valentiner, 56; however, Beenken and Jantzen were among the first to show convincingly that all the sculptures at Bamberg fall into the period between 1220-1237, see Beenken, Bildwerke, 15; Jantzen, 176-178.

9. Vöge, Domsculpturen, (1899), 94-104; (1901), 195-229 and 255-289.

10. As mentioned by Vöge, see Vöge, Domsculpturen, 264.

11. For stylistic analysis and dating of the Bamberg sculptures, see Jantzen, 98-178.

12. Panofsky, Plastik, 131-138.

13. Fiedler, Marientüre.

14. Sauser, Adampspforte, 189-192.

15. This work is most valuable for stylistic analysis and dating of the sculptures done by the younger workshop, see Boeck.

16. This article is important for the younger master problem, and for its discussion of French influences on the sculptures of the Princes' Portal, see Verheyen, 1-40.

CHAPTER I

The History of the Bishopric and Cathedral of Bamberg

Bamberg was mentioned for the first time in a document that dates from 902-903; it was referred to as the Castrum Babenberg, i.e., the Babenberg Castle. It is known that shortly after the time of this document in the year 906, after a long and bitter feud between the East Frankish House of Babenberg and the Rhenish-Frankish House of Conradin, the vanquished House of Babenberg was forced to give its possessions, including the castle and its lands, to the king who at that time was a member of neither of the feuding houses.

However, in 911 a member of the House of Conradin became King Conrad I. The subsequent power shifts, which led to the development of the influence of the House of Saxony, brought about the transfer of the castle to the king of Saxony during the time of Henry I.

From Henry I it passed to Otto I who, upon being crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope in Rome, succeeded in reviving the Imperial tradition. In 973 his successor to the throne, Otto II, gave the Babenberg Castle to his cousin, the Duke of Bavaria, known as Henry the Quarreler; it passed to the Duke's son who, following the death of his cousin Otto III, became King Henry II in the year 1002, continuing the reign of the House of Saxony. However, some years prior to ascending the throne, Henry had presented the castle to his wife Kunigunde, in 997, following the old German tradition of "Morgengabe", the gift of the day after marriage.

It was Henry II who founded the bishopric of Bamberg in the early years of his reign; today the generally accepted belief is that he had begun the building of his cathedral even prior to the bishopric's actual founding, probably beginning the new structure on the site of an earlier chapel on the castle property.

When Henry II proposed the founding of a bishopric at Bamberg it was met with resistance by the bishops of Würzburg and Eichstätt because they were reluctant to part with appreciable portions of the territories of their own bishoprics. However, he succeeded with his plan and his wish was granted at the Synod of the German Episcopate in 1007 in Frankfurt, following which Henry II appointed his chancellor, Eberhard, as first bishop of Bamberg.[1]

Not only was Henry II responsible for the building of the cathedral and other projects for the new seat of the bishop, but also for the decoration of the interior of the cathedral and for the acquisition of beautiful liturgical objects and manuscripts that would be both rare and valuable.[2]

Perhaps the singular most important requirement for a church in the Middle Ages was that it contain relics that would augment its importance (and thereby its fame) and which would serve as a focus for attracting large numbers of pilgrims. Henry II or Bishop Eberhard obtained several major relics to be held among the treasures of the cathedral of Bamberg: two splinters and a nail believed to be from the Holy Cross and, as well, a knife represented as having once belonged to Saint Peter.[3]

In order to provide the necessary funds for the bishop in the ad-

ministration of the bishopric, Henry II presented in the form of land endowments such royal holdings as the Abbey of Schuttern, the Abbey of Gengenbach near Strasbourg and other estates, some very distant, making Bamberg equal in importance and prestige to the older, longer-established bishoprics.[4]

This showering of gifts upon the bishopric is thought by some scholars as having resulted from the fact that Henry and Kunigunde had remained childless; that they may have looked upon Bamberg as a memorial that would endure long after they had gone. However, other scholars have speculated that Henry's lavishness was in pursuit of dual political aims: the strengthening of his eastern border on the one hand and the securing of the continuous loyalty of the Bamberg church's aristocracy on the other.[5]

Whatever the reasons for his generosity, Henry II saw to the completion of the cathedral and to its consecration on his fortieth birthday, May 6th, 1012. Under his aegis the cathedral and the bishopric were cast into a unique position within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church; unlike all others they were placed under the direct authority of Rome and the Pope.[6] It was this special relationship that brought about the selection of Saint Peter as one of the patron saints of the cathedral.

In the year 1014 at age forty-one Henry II was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope at the time of his second expedition to Rome and ten years before his death in 1024.[7]

His burial place was in his beloved cathedral at a point in front of the altar dedicated to the Holy Cross. Eleven years later, in

1033, Henry II's wife, Kunigunde, was laid to rest next to her husband, followed seven years further on, in 1040, by Bishop Eberhard who found his final resting place on the other side of the emperor.[8] Henry II was canonized in 1146; in 1200 Kunigunde was similarly elevated.[9]

It should be noted that the cathedral of Bamberg was not the only church built under the auspices of Henry II. In fact the cathedral complex did not remain the sole religious foundation at Bamberg for long.

Still within the time of Henry II and under his patronage, there followed the building of two other churches: the Benedictine monastery church of Saint Michael and the church of Saint Stephen. They were followed somewhat later during the eleventh century by the churches of Saint James and Saint Gangolph. All were built on elevated sites and each of these formed a small town in itself.[10]

The chronicler, Magister Heimo, who died in 1139 but was a contemporary of Bishop Otto (later Saint Otto), tells us in his book, "Von der Zeiten Lauf", that the five churches of Bamberg formed a cross; that Saint James was located at the right arm, Saint Stephen at the left arm, and Saint Gangolph at the foot of the cross.[11] The cathedral at the centre was, of course, the most important of the five structures.

The ground plan of this original cathedral, reflected on a somewhat larger scale in the thirteenth-century cathedral that we see today, is known to us as a result of excavations that were done in this century, in the years 1936 and 1969 through 1972.[12] It was a three-

aisled basilica with a western transept, two eastern towers, and an east and a west choir both of which had crypts raising them above the nave and aisles. Churches with double choirs are not infrequent among those that date from this time; and at Bamberg, as in the case of many such churches, the main entrance to the cathedral was probably on the north side.[13]

The western transept, much more unusual than an eastern one, is also to be found in such Ottonian cathedrals as those at Mainz and at Augsburg; the western transept was directly employed also in the design of the ninth century Carolingian monastery church at Fulda. According to Beckwith, this usage is a reflection of Old St. Peter in Rome because of its orientation toward the west.[14]

There were two main altars, five minor ones, and an eighth dedicated to the Cross.[15] From documents that were drawn up on the occasion of the consecration it is known where the altars were placed and to whom they were dedicated. It is worth noting that these same dedications are reflected in much of the iconography of the portal sculpture in the later thirteenth-century cathedral.

The altar of the west choir was dedicated to the Trinity, Saints Peter and Paul, all the Apostles, the Holy Cross and to Saint Kilian who was also the patron saint of Würzburg out of which Bamberg had been created in part.[16] The altar of the east choir was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to Saints Michael and George,[17] the latter of whom soon became more important as the patron saint of the cathedral chapter.[18] Minor side altars were dedicated to local saints and to the protomartyr Saint Stephen, who was the patron saint of Metz, the home

of Kunigunde.[19]

Notwithstanding the earlier-held belief of most scholars that there were portals at either side of the east choir in the structure of Henry II, the excavations that took place between 1969 and 1972 unearthed nothing that would indicate that the two eastern portals existed in the original cathedral. It should be noted too that available eleventh-century documents make no mention of them.[20]

On the contrary, during the excavations a graveyard was discovered, positioned directly in front of the present Adam Portal in the south-east tower, further support for the view that the eastern portals originated in the design of the late structure.[21]

Indeed, even the third carved door, the Princes' Portal, may have appeared for the first time only in the thirteenth-century church. If an entrance corresponding in position to the Princes' Portal existed in the cathedral of Henry II, we do not know of it.

Henry II's cathedral stood for the relatively short duration of seventy years; in 1081 it was greatly damaged by fire.[22] It took a long time for repairs to be made, and it was probably not until Otto became bishop in 1102 that it was completely rebuilt and refurnished. Bishop Otto made several changes to the church of Henry II in the process of reconstruction, one of the major innovations being the further raising of the east or Saint George's Choir.[23] The excavations of 1970 show that the crypt under this choir was lengthened by Otto to reach under the nave area.[24] It was in this rebuilt cathedral that the relics of Henry II, canonized during the previous year, were enshrined in 1147.

In 1185 another, even more serious fire severely damaged the cathedral. Repairs were begun immediately, and it must have been in this hastily repaired cathedral that the enshrinement of Kunigunde's relics took place in 1201 in the presence of the Staufen king, Philip.[25] At this time a plan for a new cathedral may already have existed.

Finally, although it is not known exactly in which year, the new thirteenth-century building was begun. It was probably built completely under Ekbert of Andechs-Meran, mentioned in the introduction, who was bishop of Bamberg from 1203-1237. He was assisted by his uncle Poppo, then dean of Bamberg Cathedral and, after Ekbert's death, bishop of Bamberg. The old cathedral, badly deteriorating, was torn down in sections; and as the thirteenth-century cathedral progressed from east to west, the old one slowly disappeared.[26]

It is certain that Bishop Ekbert intended to keep the memory of Henry II and Kunigunde alive in this new thirteenth-century cathedral. Not only were the bishopric's founders to feature prominently in the portal sculptures, but even in the essential architectural ground plan the present cathedral was only to be an enlarged replica of the early eleventh-century conception; so stated Winterfeld, albeit allowing for the differences represented by the enrichment of the two western towers, and the reduced western crypt.[27]

A certain veneration for the founders, Henry II and Kunigunde, and their work was further manifested by the use of the two elevated choirs, the two crypts, the tower chapels and the prominent western transept, all characteristics unusual to cathedrals built as late as the thir-

teenth century.[28] In addition Ekbert selected the same patron saints as had the founders and repeated all of their altar dedications.

Virtually all scholars on the subject are agreed that there are two reasons why the present cathedral was built to so closely resemble the earlier one. In lesser measure they attribute it to the existence of the early foundations, undestroyed by fire, which could serve, in part, to carry the thirteenth-century planners' somewhat enlarged and reoriented structure. More importantly, they believe the new church was so built to memorialize the founders of the bishopric and to honour both the early cathedral itself and the traditions and legends of Bamberg's history.

Only one authority, Kroos, has dissented from this view and her proposition, decidedly different, is worthy of mention and consideration before the completion of this chapter. She suggested that it was the preservation of the liturgy which actually required the use of the same architectural arrangement. She questioned why the order of a service that had developed in about the year 1012 and which had become accepted through the following two hundred years, should be changed radically because of a "modern" building, i.e., a building with only one choir and a representational façade. In support of her position she advanced the opinion that so major a change in the architectural plan would have had the effect, in fact, of destroying the liturgical tradition of the cathedral of Bamberg.[29] Her view seems reasonable; perhaps a reconsideration and study of the more general view would be worthwhile.

NOTES

1. In his article on the construction of Bamberg Cathedral Reizenstein provides the historical background to the founding of the bishopric, and a partial biography of Henry II. In doing so, he refers both to secondary and original sources; one of the latter, his most important reference for the Saxon kings, is Thietmar, a contemporary of Henry II and bishop of Merseburg from 1009-1018, see Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 113-116.

2. Haas, 3; Beckwith, 111.

3. Haas, 4; Traeger, 8.

4. Noack, 5; Haas, 4; Burkhard, 939.

5. Noack, 16; Haas, 4.

6. A papal bull dating from 1007, signed by Pope John XVIII states that the bishopric of Bamberg is exempted from any subordination to any church other than Rome. The original of this document has been lost. A further document, which was drawn up by Henry II at the time of Pope Benedict VIII's visit to Bamberg in the year 1020, shows that the bishopric had been exempted from subordination to the archbishopric of Mainz. It states that Henry II donated the cathedral of Bamberg, with "all" and "everything" that belonged to the bishopric, to the Church of Rome and to Pope Benedict and his successors. Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg regarded himself thereafter as romanae sedis subditus. On May 1, 1020, Pope Benedict in another document, acknowledged the annual gift of a white horse which Bamberg, as the only unsubordinated bishopric in Europe, would present to him; see Fischer, 59-60, 68; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 115; Traeger, 11.

7. Haas, 5; Fischer, 42; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 122.

8. Haas, 5.

9. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 125.

10. Fischer, 27; Haas, 5.

11. Fischer, 27; Haas, 5.

12. Haas, 4; Sage, 104; Winterfeld, Untersuchungen, 198.

13. Sage, 93.

14. Beckwith, 18.

15. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 110; Boeck, 10.

16. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 116; Fischer, 91; Sage, 91.

17. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 116; Fischer, 91; Boeck, 10.

18. The patron saints of the old castrum Babenberg were already the Virgin Mary and Saint George. Saint George was also represented on the coat of arms of the old city of Bamberg. Henry II must have been aware of the historical facts, see Fischer, 91.

19. Theodorich, the brother of Kunigunde, was bishop of Metz from 1005-1044, see Boeck, 10; Fischer, 85; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 117.

20. Kroos, 114.

21. Kroos, 114; Sage, 93.

22. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 124; Noack, 7-11.

23. Haas, 5; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 125.

24. Haas, 6; Sage, 98.

25. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 125.

26. Haas, 6; Mayer, 40.

27. Winterfeld, Untersuchungen, 198.

28. Winterfeld, Untersuchungen, 198.

29. Edmund Karl Farrenkopf published without commentary the two earliest ordinals of the cathedral which were binding for the performing of the service. They are the Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris called by Farrenkopf Manuscript A (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, ms. lit. 116); the exact date is unknown but probably ca. 1189. The second ordinal also published by Farrenkopf and called by him Manuscript C (Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Bamberger Domkapitel B.86 No.241); exact date unknown but Farrenkopf estimated it at ca. 1250. Manuscript A concerns the cathedral of Henry II; whereas Manuscript C, according to Farrenkopf, takes the thirteenth-century cathedral for granted. Little difference exists between the two, see Kroos, 109.

CHAPTER II

The Adam Portal

Medieval sources, in referring to what today is called the Adam Portal, employ as a name the longer and somewhat more fully descriptive Adam und Eva Tür, the Adam and Eve Portal.

It is so described, for example, in the Acta Sanctorum (AA.SS. Juli III, 688), a series of documents that date from the year 1513 and which deal with the cobblestone-paving of the then recently added Domkranz, an elevated terrace that links the Adam Portal and the Portal of Mercy at the cathedral's east choir and which carries a lattice-work masonry ballustrade along its perimeter. The documents say that the terrace was paved a porta Adae et Eva usque ad portam gratiae.[1] (The porta gratiae, or Portal of Mercy, is also known as the Madonna Portal; its iconography will be the subject of Chapter III.)

Another example of the longer usage is from a different medieval source, the Bamberg Heiltumsbuch of 1493 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek cod. lat. 428). For its title page (f.253 V) this book is illustrated with a woodcut of the procession of the reliquary of Henry II as it entered the portal, described in the accompanying text as the Adam and Eve Portal.[2]

A still further instance of the use of the longer name is to be found in another Heiltumsbuch. This book's exact date has not been established but it is known to date from before 1509; showing again a procession with the reliquary of Henry II, but in this case in

front of the choir (London, British Library ms. add. 15689 f.36). This illustration depicts the east end of the cathedral without the Domkranz, the terrace, which permits the generally accepted conclusion that it was built sometime between the years 1509 and 1513.[3]

Kroos refers to the above medieval documents for support of her statement that the portal was named for its most prominent or most easily recognizable sculptural pieces, the figures of Adam and Eve.[4] Boeck differs, believing that the portal was planned, designed and named for a liturgical function of iconographic significance; his views are dealt with later in this chapter.[5]

Whichever of the two scholars is correct, it is reasonable to believe that the present shorter version of the name, Adam Portal, evolved through the years as an abbreviated shorthand reference that gradually came to take the place of the original longer name.

It was mentioned earlier, in passing, that the Adam Portal, the present cathedral's oldest portal, was conceived and executed initially without figural sculpture. It depended for its ornamentation solely upon geometric forms, specifically two double zigzag bands, Norman in style, which form round arches surrounding the graduated but relatively shallow doorway on its two outermost planes.

It is interesting that today the portal is reduced again to the original conception described above, the only difference being two baldacchini of the later sculptural addition that still remain in place on either side of the door (Fig.3). The supplementary figural sculpture which exceeded and beautified the initial design has been

removed in recent years and is housed in the adjoining Diocesan Museum, shielded from further damage by weathering. Notwithstanding these changes, the present author's description of emplacements will relate to the Adam Portal in its intact and correct configuration.

In the thirteenth century, as the new cathedral neared completion and the sculptural programmes of the Portal of Mercy and Princes' Portal had taken form, Bishop Ekbert, in retrospect, may have regretted the simplicity of the Adam Portal. No space had been provided for a tympanum in the prior construction thereby eliminating the possibility that sculpture could be applied in this area. Nevertheless, within the possibilities, a decision could still be reached to embellish and beautify the portal by placing six carved life-size figures on columns in the niches between the Norman zigzag bands. The decision to proceed with this elaboration of the portal design was reached and, as a result, the six figures described below were created (Fig.4).

Beginning with the position nearest to the doorway and to the left side, the bearded figure of Henry II, a crown resting on his almost shoulder-length hair, stands on a base formed of Gothic arches (Fig.5). His facial expression is serious and collected, becoming to a man of his eminence and position. He holds in his right and left hands respectively the sceptre and orb, the attributes of a ruler that denote his worldly power. The drapery of his toga falls in soft vertical folds over which a stole is arranged diagonally.

Proceeding outward, at the emperor's side is his wife, Empress

Kunigunde, her head crowned, her features bearing the haughty, noble expression that was to be expected of a lady of her station in the High Middle Ages, her gown falling in long straight folds and her mantle fastened by a cord knotted above her breasts. She stands on a short column, the capital of which bears a decoration of leaves. Her left hand is raised in salutation while, cradled in her right arm, she carries a miniature Gothic cathedral.

The church held by Kunigunde is actually in the French Gothic style. It is generally believed that the master of the statues of the Adam Portal had received his training in Reims, a likelihood evidenced both by stylistic characteristics of the portal sculptures and by the Northern French Gothic architectural features reproduced in Kunigunde's model. This style is exemplified here by two round façade towers on either side of a single portal, an east end with many projecting apsidal chapels, and flying buttresses jutting from the walls.

The model symbolizes Kunigunde's significant role as founder. It serves to identify her, and gives emphasis to her importance as owner and donor of the land on which the cathedral stands.[6]

The figure at the extreme left in the Adam Portal arrangement is that of a young man standing on a socle of carved clouds. His head, covered by a tonsured hemisphere of numerous small, identical curls, is inclined in pious gesture, and he smiles the "Gothic" smile believed to have originated at Reims. He is the protomartyr Saint Stephen and, in accordance with tradition, he is garbed in the robes of a deacon of the Church. He holds between his hands a large stone,

the object of his martyrdom and, as such, his attribute.

This sculpture honours the saint who, having been made the first Christian deacon by the Apostles during the first century A.D. (Acts 6, 1-6), met death by stoning, the first to die a martyr for his Christian faith. The patron saint of Metz and a favourite in all of Bavaria,[7] Henry II had built a church in Saint Stephen's name in the eleventh century and two altars were dedicated to him in both the early and present Bamberg cathedrals.

The three figures on the left jambs, Henry II, Kunigunde and Saint Stephen, are placed beneath baldacchini that consist of Gothic arches, towers and rib vaulting, and which are similar but not identical to the complementary ones on the other side of the portal.

The monumental figure of Saint Peter, stern of expression and saintly of bearing, stands to the right of the opening, facing Henry II on the left (Fig.6). Set on leaves that are attached to a column, the spokesman among Christ's disciples is depicted, with a single important exception, in the traditional way: short, thick, curled hair adorns his head and outlines a tonsure; he is bearded and he holds in his left hand a large Latin cross, the object of his martyrdom by crucifixion and one of his attributes. In this sculpture the gown is draped in long, diagonal folds that parallel those of the stole of Henry II, the drapery gathered and held in his right hand.

However, quite exceptionally and only in this portal, Saint Peter is represented solely with the cross. The key or keys that are his more common attribute, the "keys of the Kingdom of Heaven", are omitted, not by oversight or for compositional purposes, but because he

is present primarily in the role of crucified martyr who died for his faith.

The two nude figures to the right of Saint Peter, Adam and Eve, are milestones in art history. Their thin, elongated bodies are almost identical, the somewhat emaciated and unrealistic forms probably resulting from the sculptor's inexperience in reproducing the undraped body. Although the intent in the Adam Portal was simply to use the first humans' nudity as an attribute, the figures that were produced are nevertheless the first full-sized nude sculptures in the history of medieval art.[8]

Adam stands on a capital decorated with leaves and Eve on a clump of earth, the meaning of which has not been explained by scholars writing on the subject of the Bamberg sculptures.

However, the explanation may be found in the fact that the early Christians borrowed many of their images from antiquity, substituting Biblican personages in place of the mythological figures previously employed. Esche has convincingly demonstrated that the repenting figure of Eve was interchanged for the ancient personification of Terra.

Among her examples, she mentions a miniature found at the beginning of the Gospel of Saint John in the Gospel book of Saint Bernward of Hildesheim, circa 1000. Here Christ is depicted surrounded by a mandorla.[9] Oceanus is portrayed in the lower left corner and in the lower right is a representation of a figure that could be either Terra or Eve, shown, as in antiquity, rising out of the earth. Her arm encircles a tree around which coils a snake with

an apple in its mouth, an image that suggests that Eve, rather than Terra, is the subject of the portrayal.

Another example of Terra-Eve given by Esche is a miniature found in the Homilies of the monk Jacobus, a twelfth-century Byzantine manuscript. Mary is seen resting on her way to Elizabeth and, below, there are portrayals of Oceanus and Gaea (Terra), again in the corners.[10] The nude figure of Gaea emerges from the earth, her large breasts symbolizing fertility. Her hands reach toward Mary in supplication, a gesture that Esche believes is more properly attributable to Eve, mother of all men. Indeed, as Esche points out, in the New York variation of a Lorenzetti fresco, beneath the Virgin, Eve is depicted rising out of the earth no longer accompanied by the Oceanus figure.[11]

From the examples cited by Esche it can be seen that artists, both in the east and west, were familiar with the iconography of this motif; in this author's opinion the Bamberg sculptors were similarly aware of it. The clump of earth, then, on which Eve stands alludes to the fact that she is the mother of all men, here portrayed as evolved from the ancient, pre-Christian image.

The fig leaves employed to hide the nakedness of Adam and Eve and which in the case of Eve are held in place by her left hand, accurately follow the well-known passage in Genesis.[12]

In the art of the Middle Ages, Adam and Eve were frequently placed in typological scenes, as, for instance, on the bronze doors at Hildesheim,[13] at Notre Dame of Paris, or at the cathedral of Amiens.

At Notre Dame they appear among the free-standing sculptures on

the west façade, above the gallery of kings. Mary, Queen of Heaven and New-Eve, stands before the rose window; she is flanked by two angels, to the left and right of which are the nude carvings of Adam and Eve, set in front of the tower windows.[14]

At Amiens, however, on the trumeau of the right doorway of the west portal, the portrayal is of a single prominent figure; Mary, here also in her identity as the 'New Eve', is shown trampling the serpent. On the socle the allusion to Eve is enlarged upon in various reliefs abstracted from their Genesis source: the Fall, the Expulsion of Adam and Eve, and their consequent toil in the fields.[15]

Nevertheless, a different significance attaches to the separate statues of the first humans that were placed, occasionally, in the porches or on the portals of other churches. These exterior locations were to be seen as the earthly paradise, in contrast to the heavenly Paradise inside the church; they are intended, here, to represent times <u>ante legem</u>.[16] However, almost always in such cases there was a further meaning to be understood from their presence. Such seems to be the case at the Adam Portal of Bamberg Cathedral.[17]

Although numerous documents exist that relate to the cathedral of Bamberg, none has been found that deals with the portal sculptures or which provides evidence for the possible functions of the portals.[18] Nevertheless, from what is known about the portal functions of other contemporary medieval cathedrals, certain assumptions can be made relative to the connection between the liturgy and the various Bamberg portals.

As mentioned earlier, Boeck, in keeping with the position of

Reitzenstein, believes that, apart from its being named for the purpose; in its actual use the Adam Portal served as the exit through which the sinner, i.e., the "Adam", was driven from the cathedral by the bishop on Ash Wednesday. The Lenten period of penitence and fasting allowed him no re-entry into the church until the time of his forgiveness at Easter.[19] Both hypothesize that this custom was already established and followed in the earlier cathedral of Henry II.[20]

Therefore, it appears the further meaning, or purpose, of the carvings of Adam and Eve was illustrative of the portal's use. Their inclusion, in turn, favours the belief that this, indeed, was the function of the portal, at least in the later cathedral of Bishop Ekbert, as in many other German churches of the time. The iconography, then, relates directly to the function: The rites of penance.[21]

It is possible to turn to Sauser for a more detailed account of the expulsion practice. According to his description, during the <u>eiectio poenitentium</u> on Ash Wednesday, the bishop would explain to the assembled congregation that sinners were cast out from the church in the same way that Adam and Eve had been expelled from Paradise for their sins.[22]

The liturgy required that the ceremony of expulsion be executed in accordance with a prescribed ritual. After a formal benediction by the bishop, the sinners were to be expelled and, until Maundy Thursday, they were to be allowed to take part only in the prayers; and even this participation, limited to the church's exterior, excluded

them from the Mass and the Eucharistic sacrifice.[23]

The Ordo Romanus antiquus from the tenth century deals with this custom in a section on confession and repentance. It describes the penitents being strewn with ashes, receiving the benediction and their banishment from the church; it draws the comparison to the expulsion of Adam from Paradise.

> "Hic mittendus est cinis super caput poenitentis dicendo: Memento homo quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris. Statimque imponendum cilicium dicendo: Contere cor tuum et humilia animam tuam in cinere et cilicio, cor enim humiliatum Deus non despicit. Sequitur oratio: Adsit quaesumus Domine huic famulo tuo inspiratio gratiae salutaris, quae cor eius fletuum ubertate resolvat sicque macerando conficiat, ut iracundiae tuae motus idonea satisfactione compescat. Per."
>
> Post hanc eiciendus est ab ecclesia et tali modo increpandus: Ecce eiceris hodie a sinu matris tuae sanctae Ecclesiae propter peccatum tuum, sicut Adam primus homo eiectus est a paradiso propter transgressionem suam. Sequitur: In sudore vultus tui.

> "At this point, ashes are to be placed on the penitant's head, with these words: 'Remember, o man, that you are dust and will return to dust.' Then a hair-shirt is to be put on him, with these words: 'in ashes and hair-shirt, mortify your heart and humble your soul, for God does not despise a contrite heart.' Then this prayer follows: 'We pray, Lord, that the inspiration of your saving grace may be with this man; may it abundantly relieve his suffering heart, even as it consumes it in mortification, so that the power of your wrath may be, by this fitting compensation, subdued. Through [Jesus Christ etc. ...]."
>
> Following this, the penitent shall be expelled from the church and a proclamation made in this manner: 'Behold, today you are thrust forth from the bosom of your holy mother the Church because of your sin, just as Adam, the first man, was thrust out of Paradise because of his transgression.' Then follows: 'In the sweat of thy brow shall you earn your bread.'[24]

The Ordinarius Papae of the Papal pontificates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and of the pontificate of Noyon, circa 1300, point again to the metaphor. According to these ordinals, however, the sinners were to be driven out through specified doors by ministers specially appointed for the purpose.

> ... quod sicut Adam proiectus de paradiso est, ita et ipsi ab ecclesia pro peccatis abiciuntur. Post haec iubeat ministris, ut eos extra ianuas ecclesiae expellant ...
>
> ... for just as Adam was thrust out of Paradise, so you are separated from the Church because of your sins. After these things are finished, he [the priest] shall order his ministers to drive [the penitents] out of the church doors.[25]

This latter requirement was not followed universally; a northern French ordo, circa 1200, obliged the bishop himself to perform the casting out of the sinners "cum baculo", i.e., with crozier.[26]

Although in Rome the custom was abandoned in the early twelfth century, its observance continued elsewhere for hundreds of years. In the cathedral of Halberstadt the ritual is known to have been followed in modified form as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries;[27] here only one man, representing all sinners, was driven from the church.[28]

Among the manners of observance that evolved, probably the most exceptional was the one followed in the Liebfrauenkirche of Halberstadt. In what is believed to be the only such instance, a woman, symbolizing Eve and representative of all sinners, was cast out from the church and imprisoned until Maundy Thursday. In 1530

Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg ordered the practice stopped because of his view that great distortions had befallen the ritual's original intent.[29]

The weight of evidence strongly supports Reitzenstein, Boeck and Sauser in their conclusion as to the function of the Adam Portal. It further lends authority to Sauser's belief that there were many more German church portals with such a function. Some, he says, were known as "Adam" portals and others as "Paradise" portals. (The latter were used both for the banishment and the re-admission, examples of this usage being found in Magdeburg, Paderborn and Münster.) They came to symbolize the border between the domain of light and that of darkness.[30]

Nevertheless, a contrary hypothesis has been advanced and is mentioned here for the sake of completeness. It refers to the elevation of Adam and Eve out of the realm of sinners, to the level of the Prophets of the Old Law. Such a revision did, indeed, take place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; on the portals of the church of Saint Lawrence and the Liebfrauenkirche, both constructed later in Nuremberg, Adam and Eve are seen on the jambs flanking Mary on the trumeau.[31]

Considering the function of the portal, essentially an exit for the disgraced and unworthy, how then can we account for the four figures of saints that grace the adjacent columns, Henry II and Kunigunde, Saint Peter, and Saint Stephen?

One explanation that has been offered is that the six figures of the portal sculpture represent the concept of beginning; that

Adam and Eve are presented in their roles as the first human beings, Henry II and Kunigunde as the founders of the bishopric and first cathedral of Bamberg, Saint Peter as the first among the patron saints of Bamberg and first bishop of Rome, and Saint Stephen as the first martyr.[32]

A second theory holds that all of the figures, including the four saints, are to be seen as sinners. It proposes that Saint Peter, because of his denial of Christ (Matthew 26, 75), is the patron of all sinners, and the cross he holds, rather than being intended as the object of his martyrdom, is the cross of penance; Henry II and Kunigunde, aware of their weaknesses, humbly see themselves as sinners; Saint Stephen is related to the sinners by the stone, a link to the passage in Deuteronomy that tells of stoning as a punishment for adulterers (Deuteronomy 22, 20).[33]

In accounting for the presence of the four saints, the present author prefers to believe that the planners at Bamberg would have devised a portal programme that accorded with the needs of the people of the bishopric; but, in addition, they were familiar with the work of planners elsewhere and would have shared with them the responsibility and the desire to remain consistent with the teaching methods and objectives of the Church.

In the Middle Ages, at a time when the veneration of saints was of utmost importance in the daily lives of the people, when entire doorways were devoted to the legends of the saints, to their martyrdom and to their good deeds, it is hardly likely that, at Bamberg, they were seen as sinners.

Regularly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, saints whose relics were treasured within a cathedral were incorporated into the portal programmes without. An excellent example is the church of Sainte-Foy, at Conques, which houses the relics of the saint for whom it is named, and which includes her representation in a Last Judgment tympanum.[34] Similarly, at Chartres Cathedral, which obtained the head of Saint Anne in 1204, a statue of the saint has a place of honour on the trumeau of the centre doorway of the north transept.[35]

In other churches it was common practice to portray patron saints in the portal as, for example, at the abbey church of Saint-Denis where the figure of the saint occupied the trumeau (now destroyed); his martyrdom is shown in the right tympanum.[36]

Many portals contain the figures of the great saints of the Church, Saints Stephen, Martin, Nicholas, Jerome and others. The left tympanum of the south transept of Chartres Cathedral embraces the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, illustrating how best to achieve right judgment and eternal life. The opposite tympanum narrates the good deeds of Saint Martin and Saint Nicholas as inspiration to the faithful who would wish to enter the kingdom of Heaven.[37]

Frequently, saints venerated only locally were celebrated in portal programmes. Saint Calixtus, Saint Nicasius and Saint Remigius are so honoured in the north transept at Reims.[38]

Therefore the inclusion of the saints in the Adam Portal at Bamberg is clearly within the comprehensive order of things as the planners saw it. Two of the saints on the jambs are saints of the Church, Saint Peter and Saint Stephen, both martyrs who died for

Christ's sake, and, in the case of Saint Peter, a patron of the cathedral. The honouring of Henry II and Kunigunde, local saints whose relics were enshrined in the cathedral and carried regularly in processions, was completely in keeping with both the cathedral's function and the practices of veneration then existing.[39]

A humanistic and compassionate sort of religion had already evolved in the pre-Renaissance times of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The awesome, all-powerful and distant God remained; but the simple people, drawn by the seeming accessibility of their saints and encouraged by the stories and legends that surrounded them, were able to see them as patrons, intercessors and protectors on a familiar, almost personal level.[40]

Completely apart from Ekbert's late, but probably deliberate, plan to emulate the free-standing statuary at Reims, the placement of the saints at the Adam Portal should be seen as a gesture of mercy and succur reflecting the religious attitudes of the times. To penitent sinners, seated on benches before the portal during their banishment, the saints must have promised the possibility of eventual re-admission to the Church, salvation and, ultimately, admission into Paradise.

NOTES

1. Kroos, 113, studied these documents and reported on them.
2. For illustration of this woodcut, see Kroos, 113, fig. 2.
3. For illustration of this page see Kroos, 133, fig. 7.
4. Kroos, 113.

5. See Boeck, 12.

6. For the transfer of the land to Kunigunde, see Chapter I, 10.

7. Fischer, 86, states that relics of Saint Stephen were kept in the cathedral, however, no other scholar mentions this.

8. Valentiner, 57.

9. For a description and interpretation of this miniature, see Esche, 41; for illustration, see Esche, pl.29.

10. Esche, 45; for illustration, see Esche, pl.31a.

11. Esche, 46.

12. Genesis, 3, 7.

13. For illustrations of the bronze doors of Hildesheim circa 1015, see Beckwith, figs. 147, 136, 138.

14. For illustration, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl.144.

15. A similar crowned Madonna, actually the first of this kind, adorned the trumeau at Notre Dame in Paris, west portal, left doorway, now destroyed. For illustrations of the Amiens trumeau, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl. 168, and ills. 85-87.

16. Schade, 42; Esche, 46; Aurenhammer, 38; Reygers, 149.

17. Esche, 46.

18. Kroos, 110.

19. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 120; Boeck, 12.

20. A letter written by Canon Bebo of Bamberg to Henry II (Bamberg, ms: bibl. 78. (B.IV 18 f. 1,7) mentions the granting of absolution by Pope Benedict VIII during the latter's visit to Bamberg in 1020; it names no particular portal, see Boeck, 12; Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 140; Kroos, 113.

21. Schade, 44; Esche, 46.

22. Jungmann, Symbolik, 67-68.

23. Sauser, Adamspforte, 189; Emminghaus, Adamspforte 1957, 135.

24. Sauser, Adamspforte, 190, quoting from J. Jungmann "Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung", 1932, 48 and 67; the translation is by Faith Wallis.

25. Sauser, Adamspforte, 190, quoting from J. Jungmann, "Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 1932, 48 and 67; the translation is by Faith Wallis.

26. Sauser, Adamspforte, 190.

27. Sauser, Adamspforte, 191, refers to two Papal bulls. One signed by Pope Boniface IX in 1401, the other by Pope Leo X in 1515.

28. For this practice, see Sauser, Adamspforte, 191, and Emminghaus, Adamspforte 1957, 135.

29. Sauser, Adamspforte, 192.

30, Jungmann, Symbolik, 67-68.

31. Guldan, 128; Esche, 51, however, does not agree with Guldan that Adam and Eve are to be seen as prophets in the portal at Bamberg; but she accepts this interpretation as appropriate for the portals of the two churches in Nuremberg.

32. Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 120; Boeck, 13.
T. Breuer presented a theory to a group of scholars at a symposium at Bamberg in 1975 with regard to the sculptured figures of the Adam Portal. In his opinion at the very beginning only the statues of Adam and Eve were intended for the portal, whereas those of Henry II, Kunigunde, Saint Peter, and Saint Stephen were meant for use in the tomb of Pope Clement inside the cathedral. Breuer theorized that only a change in the original plan had caused the statues of the four saints to be used on the cathedral's exterior in the Adam Portal, see Breuer, Überlegungen Kunstchronik, 438-447.

33. Sauser, Adamspforte,189, gives this account. Emminghaus, Adamspforte 1957,135, takes a similar position. He states, without explanation, that Henry is seen kicking aside a stone. He, too, mentions the stoning in Deuteronomy. Koeniger, Adamspforte 1930, 91, says that clarification may be found in a legend concerning Kunigunde wherein, after having been accused of committing adultery, she submitted to trial by ordeal; to refute the slander she walked unhurt over red-hot ploughshares, thus proving her innocence. For Kunigunde's legend, see also Tabor, 56.

34. See Sauerländer, Gothic, 39; for illustration, see Mâle, XIIe siècle, fig. 235.

35. See Sauerländer, Gothic, 40, pl. 87. For the practices of the veneration of saints in France, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 39-41.

36. See Sauerländer, Gothic, 39, pl. 48.

37. See Sauerländer, Gothic, 41; Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 80-81; for illustration of the martyrdom of Saint Stephen, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl. 114; for illustration of Saint Martin's gift of his cloak, and Saint Nicholas's gift of gold, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl.119.

38. See Sauerländer, Gothic, 40, pls. 244, 246, 248.

39. For the practice wherein the relics of Henry II and Kunigunde were carried in processions, see Haimerl, 10.

40. For the role of the saints during the Middle Ages, see Mâle, Gothic Image, 267-281.

CHAPTER III

The Portal of Mercy

Perhaps more than either of the other sculptured portals, the Portal of Mercy demonstrates the collective genius and the subtle inventiveness of the cathedral's creators. Unique, controversial, wide-ranging in its content, in some ways this portal stands alone in the history of medieval art.

The two Bamberg Heiltumsbücher, cited earlier, portray the Portal of Mercy, unnamed, with woodcut illustrations.[1] However, it was mentioned by name for the first time in an early sixteenth-century ordinal (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lit. 118) that is still unpublished; the portal was referred to as the ianua gratie and, in the same document on f. 53, as "die gnadenreich thür", the door of mercy.[2] The same Acta Sanctorum (AA. SS. Juli III, 688) that were referred to in the previous chapter speak of the Portal of Mercy together with the neighbouring Adam Portal in dealing with the paving of the connecting terrace.[3]

The sculptures of this portal were the first to be executed during the building of the present cathedral. They are the work of the so-called "older" workshop whose master was also responsible for somewhat later sculptured works that decorate the church's interior.[4] In their transitional Late Romanesque style, they pre-date the Gothic manner of most of the other portal sculptures which were carved by the "younger" workshop, the group that was trained at Reims.

Striking in its over-all simplicity and profound in its message

of welcome and forgiveness, the Portal of Mercy draws the entrant under high, round arches through the portal, which penetrates deeply into the wall of the north-east tower (Fig.7). Although columnar design was employed in the portal - unusual in this period - it is, nonetheless, a masterpiece of Late Romanesque architecture.

Eight columns line the obtuse angles to the left and right of the graduated doorway in a symmetrical arrangement, four columns of even height but not quite equal circumference on each side. The two outermost columns, at the position least concave, are decorated with the zigzag pattern; the pair that follows next is fluted; and the remaining two on each side, the deepest-set inner columns, are smooth and without decoration.

Overhead, separated by striated parallel arcs, four arches that correspond to the columns below delineate the archivolt, suggesting a continuation or connection between the columns of the left and right. However, unlike the upright members below, the two middle arches of the archivolt are adorned with rosettes of lead.[5] This curvilinear, concentric treatment has precedents in the archivolts of numerous Romanesque cathedrals, e.g., Ferrara and the abbey church of Saint-Gilles, and must have been a deliberate preference to the contemporaneous sculpture that was applied in France in the archivolts of Early Gothic cathedral portals.[6]

Eight forceful carved figures, arranged in order of importance and graduated in size accordingly, form a balanced composition in the tympanum set above the doorway; an additional very small figure that would hardly be apparent to the casual observer is present in the pos-

ition customarily given over to the donor. The individual sculptures are carved in high relief and appear to emerge completely from their background; the heads are carved wholly in the round. Through the depth of carving light plays an effective rôle, adding highlights and contrasting accents of shadow to the figures. The flat, simple background against which the sculptures are seen is broken only by the large, carved shell halos behind the heads of the saints. (Fig.8).

The majestic Madonna figure is enthroned in the centre. Shown frontally, knees extended forward toward the viewer, she is clothed in a hooded robe. Her hair and much of her forehead are hidden under a veil that covers her head completely and falls softly over her shoulders. Following the Byzantine tradition the Virgin wears no crown.[7] In her right hand she holds an apple, her attribute as the second Eve. (Fig.9).

The Christ-child sits on Mary's left knee supported by her left hand and arm. Dressed in a long-sleeved robe, shown in profile and with a cross-halo at the back of his head, He holds an open scroll in His left hand. His right hand is missing, but it may reasonably be assumed that, originally, it was raised in benediction because such a gesture would accord well with the practices of the time.

The throne on which they sit rests on two columns. Steps in the form of rows of small, columned arcades like those featured in Early Christian basilicas lead up from the corners of the tympanum to the throne, with a decoration of Corinthian capitals between the second and third steps on each side. The steps are employed as plinths which

carry the six other major sculptured figures, all ascending.

Saint Peter, immediately beside the Virgin, is the first of three figures on her right. Rendered in full profile, he looks straight ahead at Mary, a large key suspended from his left arm and, in his hands, an open book. One step lower, following Saint Peter, Saint George is portrayed in full armour, his body frontal, his face in three-quarter view. As he looks toward the Virgin, his bent right arm reaches in the other direction where the much smaller figure of Bishop Ekbert, identified by the pallium and the mitre, and with banderole in hand, follows a further step below.[8]

The first figure ascending at Mary's other side and shown at the level of Saint Peter, Henry II, is recognized by his crown, by the trefoil sceptre in his right hand, and by the church model - not a replica of the cathedral he founded - in his left. Following her husband a step below, Empress Kunigunde wears a crown and, like Henry II, carries the trefoil sceptre and church model. Behind her, employing again the much smaller proportions that were used for Bishop Ekbert opposite, Dean Poppo, in clerical raiment and carrying a large banderole, climbs the stairs after Kunigunde.[9]

At Mary's feet kneels the enigmatic, miniscule figure of a knight, his long hair parted in the centre and rolled just above the shoulders (Fig.10). He carries a large banderole and wears a shirt of chain-mail, a sleeveless tunic over it, and a generous flowing mantle. On his sleeve, to the mystification of the observer, is carved the cross of the Crusaders.

The eloquent sculptured busts that form a band over the capitals

are another unusual feature in the composite of the portal design. Supple in their lateral movement, expressive and elegant in their execution, they add a compelling grace, both as functional and as iconographically important elements, to the joining of columns and archivolt.

The nine busts on each side of the doorway are placed just below the level of the tympanum. The inner six in each series hold long, narrow continuous banderoles which undulate in their sideward movement toward the door, compositionally directing the eye toward the entrance and its overhead tympanum. They represent the twelve Apostles and they carry the instruments of their martyrdom; the three remaining busts on each side are portrayals of angels.

In reading the sculptures on the left side it can be noticed that only three of the Apostles are recognizable by distinctive attributes (Fig.11): Saint Peter, the innermost figure whose traditional features include short, curled hair, tonsure and beard, is presented with the key and the cross. The third Apostle, identified by his beardlessness and a cup, Emperor Domitian's cup of poison, is Saint John, the youngest of Christ's Disciples. To his left is Saint Thomas, an uncertain identification based on the spear-tip he bears.[10] The three remaining Apostle figures on the left capitals do not reveal their identities; two carry only swords and the third a cross.

The outer figures of the left are the three angels, the first of whom, immediately beside the Apostles, holds an object, now broken away, that may once have been a cross-banner.[11] The other two, ar-

ranged to suggest their unity of purpose, carry the symbols of the Eucharist, the chalice in one case and the tabernacle with the host in the other (Fig.12).

The area above the capitals on the right of the portal is considerably more damaged than its counterpart on the left. On this side the lack of distinguishing attributes prevents the identification of any of the six Apostles (Fig.13). Five are portrayed with swords and the sixth, nearest to the doorpost, with a cross. The first and second of the three angels holds a censer and a reliquary, respectively; the third angel appears to have held a Gospel book but the wear and tear of centuries have damaged the figure so severely that no certain conclusion can be reached (Fig.14).

In addition to the formal balance already described, there is one other half-figure at this level. The cross-halo behind His head and the Latin cross on His shoulder identify the subject as Christ (Fig.12). This figure was executed as an element arhythmic to all of the other elements which, without exception, follow the deep concave portal design. Nearest to the beholder, it faces directly outward from its position on the outermost plane of the most forward outlining pier at the extreme left. Its nearest neighbours, the angels with the objects of the Eucharist, are slightly below and angled away from the figure of Christ.

Although the sculptures on the capitals of the portal are smaller, less prominent and designed for less visual impact, they nevertheless enhance the total picture presented to the viewer, adding continuity, ornament, and flow to the overall composition. They link

the four capitals on either side of the portal with a frieze-like band, composed largely of fantastic hybrid creatures intertwined with tendrils, foliage, and occasional human forms.

On the capitals of the left side we see birds with human heads and, still further to the left, more animal-like faces (Fig. 15); the single human figure on the innermost capital is looking into the distance, away from the portal. However, the capitals on the right, although similar in manner to those on the left and still bearing figures half human and half avian, do carry three human figures. Two of them are bent in sinuous motion looking outward from the capital adjacent to the entrance, and the third, depicted still smaller in scale, is in the position furthest to the right.

For more than two centuries in the Middle Ages, from the First Crusade of 1096-1099 to the Eighth that extended into the fourteenth century, military expeditions were undertaken under the sanction of the Church to recover Jerusalem from the Muslims and to defeat the "unbelievers" and "heretics".

This situation entered into the iconography of the Portal of Mercy, an occurrence in itself unprecedented in medieval times, by way of the Crusader cross which marks a fine detail on the kneeling knight supplicant in the tympanum. In so doing it created the riddles and the controversy that today still continue to attract the speculations of scholars.

Apart from the simplest possibility that he is shown as a representative of all who were taking part in the Crusades, the question of the knight's identity in itself has occupied many authors and has led, since Franck-Oberaspach's discovery of the knight's cross and Vöge's reference to him as "a member of a knightly order", to a variety of identifications that are genuinely startling in their diversity:[12] Mayer suggested the earlier-mentioned magister operis, Wortwinus, in the role of Crusader knight;[13] Jantzen differed, proposing instead the lapicida, the carver of the ensemble;[14] Beenken referred to him as the "master and donor of the sculptures";[15] Rensing considered that the small carving might represent Duke Otto VII of Meran, Count Palatine of Burgundy and brother of Bishop Ekbert, and he developed a rather elaborate theory in support of his identification.[16]

The investigation and exhaustive research of Fiedler, working in the middle years of the present century, have provided another possibility; Fiedler's conclusion that the tiny knight figure is intended to immortalize Hermann von Salza, donor, champion of the Crusades and powerful man of affairs, has earned considerable attention and is preferred by the present author.

Von Salza who is thought to have been in Bamberg in 1216, was among those present at a Court meeting held in Nuremberg in December, 1216. This meeting convened to plan arrangements for the Fifth Crusade, the expedition of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia that was to follow. Bishop Ekbert also is believed to have attended. Both von Salza and Ekbert participated in the Crusade in 1217-1218.[17]

Furthermore, in 1219, after his return, von Salza, considered to have been a financial genius, used some of his vast wealth to buy the village of Langeln in Lower Saxony from the convent of Saint James at Bamberg, a transaction undertaken to assist the bishopric. The village was transferred to him in absentia in a solemn ceremony in the east choir of the cathedral. Von Salza provided still further funds to Ekbert, either as a loan or contribution, for use in the building of the cathedral.[18]

This prestigious personality was grand master of the Teutonic Order. If one considers that the Virgin was the patron and protector of the Order, the case for Hermann von Salza being honoured as knight in the Portal of Mercy of circa 1220 becomes a strong one indeed. It is still further reinforced by the possibility that, in addition to the monies he advanced for the building of the church in general, he may also have been one of the donors of this particular portal.[19]

Therefore, if the knight in the tympanum is Hermann von Salza, as this author believes, then his portrayal in the sculpture was as donor and as representative of his Order, joined with Bishop Ekbert and Dean Poppo in appealing to the Virgin for intercession. The Crusader cross would have been employed only as a distinguishing feature that would, quite naturally, have been used to identify the man in his own time.

Fiedler also points to the sculptural representations of Ekbert and Poppo, again contemporary personages; he considers their inclusion not only unconventional but exceedingly rare in German portal sculpture, and almost without antecedent even outside of Germany.[20] Whether or not they were included as donors, as some believe, there were only

two analogous instances of contemporary figures in tympana that predated Bamberg, one in France and the other in Germany: the Saint Anne Portal of Notre Dame in Paris, circa 1160, and the Saint Gall Portal of the Basle Minster, circa 1185.

Fiedler mentions only the latter and suggests that this portal was probably known to Ekbert and may have been the inspiration or point of departure that led to the eventual design of the Portal of Mercy in Bamberg.[21]

However, the inclusion of the contemporary figures of von Salza, Ekbert and Poppo has created yet more controversy and conjecture than that discussed previously. Fiedler's researches and arguments led to the identification of von Salza and a fuller appreciation of the unorthodox features of the portal, both major contributions. However, his conclusion that the entire portal design was intended to immortalize the Crusades, and certain personages in their connection with these ventures, depends on deductions made from premises that are themselves uncertain and incomplete.

From a single clue, the tiny Crusader cross used as a token to mark a prominent leader's identity for the people of the bishopric, Fiedler expands his arguments until, ultimately, he reaches the conviction that the Crusades are the consistent theme that links the figural sculptures of the whole portal. He submits that the knight-figure in the tympanum, Hermann von Salza, is an initial statement of the theme; that Bishop Ekbert is represented because, in 1215 at the coronation of Frederick II, he was among those who had sworn to crusade for the liberation of Jerusalem and had, in fact, participated in the Fifth Crusade of 1217-1218; that Dean Poppo was a financial supporter

who is cast as a sponsor of the expedition.[22]

The hybrid creatures on the capitals are the unbelievers in Fiedler's hypothesis.[23] The sculptures above the capitals, the Apostles and angels led by Christ, are seen as helping to reinforce the idea of the Crusades. In their raised swords, in the crosses in their hands, in the symbols of the Eucharist, and in the reliquary that he says may have contained relics of the Holy Cross, Fiedler sees symbolized the weapons of Heaven itself in the struggle for the Holy Land. He theorizes that the use of a reliquary in the arrangement was derived from the knights' custom of carrying relics into battle, especially relics of the Holy Cross, to kindle their courage.[24]

The present author finds it difficult to accept the larger conclusion reached by Fiedler. It attaches too much weight to the Crusader cross detail that identifies the knight, and depends for its support on selected arguments, rather than on comprehensive proofs; it overlooks contradictions, incongruities and other possibilities; it fails because it does not link together all sources available into a working hypothesis.

Instead, the present author prefers to believe that, when separated from the perplexities and the controversy brought about by the allusions to the worldly and profane, the portal should be seen as illustrating the concepts of deliverance and redemption. It offers several interacting explanations of essential simplicity, in the union of which is reflected the portal's exquisitely profound liturgical function.

It must have been the planners' intention to incorporate into the portal a celebration of the patron saints and founders of the old and new cathedrals; Saints Peter and George, Henry II and Kunigunde, Bishop Ekbert and Dean Poppo are placed in the preferred positions in the tympanum on either side of the Madonna enthroned. A further objective must have been to reflect in the exterior sculptures the various altar dedications and the specific means of grace that were to be found inside the cathedral. Implicit in the representations of Henry and Kunigunde, whose relics were enshrined in the interior, there was the reminder of their power to perform miracles.[25]

However, the planners and their theological advisers transformed these simple iconographic elements into important contributions to the portal's more complex greater theme. The enthroned Mother of God, holding an apple and surrounded by saints, founders and donors, is portrayed here as Mater Misericordia and the New Eve.[26] She and the other tympanum figures are engaged in an action that appears to illustrate the concept of absolution. The entire sculptural ensemble lends itself to this interpretation, which is consistent with the liturgical function generally associated with the portal.

Those who had been expelled from the church at the onset of the Lenten observance and driven out of the Adam Portal, here were granted absolution on Maundy Thursday, their right to partake in the Mass and the Eucharistic sacrifice restored. It was the duty of the bishop to conduct the Mass for the purpose of reconciling penitent sinners ("ad reconciliandum poenitentes") and, in the use of the Portal of Mercy for the subsequent re-admission, the correlated functions of the adjoining

portals were completed.[27]

Sauser refers to a similar practice in Basle. He mentions a manuscript (ms.1341 Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe) which contains an ordo of reconciliation for the cathedral of Basle. It speaks of readmittance of penitents through a Paradise Portal.

> "Heute werden die öffentlichen Büssenden eingeführt ... der Bishof, angetan mit den bischöflichen Gewändern und Abzeichen, tritt, sobald die Non gesungen ist, aus der Vorhalle der Sakristei heraus und schreitet ... zur Pforte des Paradieses herab ..."
>
> "Today the public sinners will be readmitted ... the bishop wearing the dress and insignia of his office, leaves the vestry as soon as the non has been sung and walks to the Paradise Portal ..."[28]

The role of Mary as Mater Misericordia was already accepted when the portal programme at Bamberg was devised. The Fathers and early ecclesiastical writers had only implied that Mary, as the associate of Christ, had the power to intercede and bestow grace; however, at the time of the building the concept had evolved into doctrine.[29]

In the first half of the tenth century Saint Odo of Cluny is known to have referred frequently to Mary as "Mother of Mercy". His example was followed, and the title adopted, by others in the Cluniac monasteries of the time.[30] Nevertheless, it was due primarily to the influence of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, during the twelfth century, that the doctrine was brought to its fullest recognition in the Middle Ages. He said: "God has willed that we should have nothing that did not pass through the hands of Mary".[31]

The tympanum sculpture apprehends and describes the power attributed to Mary in its conception of the Mother of Mercy as intercessor

among her patitioners: Bishop Ekbert and Dean Poppo represent their congregation, the first recommended by Saint George, the latter led by Kunigunde; and the kneeling Hermann von Salza represents his Order. All appeal to the Madonna for intercession.

In the tympanum, there is another complementary identification of Mary, as the New Eve, united with the portrayal above; it is evoked by the apple that she holds, her attribute in this role since circa 1000. When held by Mary, or by the Christ-child, the apple is intended to point to the overcoming of original sin and to symbolize salvation.[32]

One of the earliest examples of Mary distinguished by the use of the apple attribute is the Golden Virgin of Essen, the early eleventh-century statue. Another such example is to be seen in the tympanum of the Golden Portal of Freiberg Cathedral, circa 1235.[33]

The theme of the new Eve was originally introduced by the Fathers. From the time of Saint Justin and Saint Irenaeus in the second century, it has been traditional to employ the Eve-Mary comparison in defining Mary's importance in the Redemption of mankind. Contrasting the scene of the Fall with that of the Annunciation, the Fathers taught that what the first Eve had forsaken for mankind by her disobedience and her complicity in the original sin, the new Eve restored by surrendering to God's will. Thus, according to the Fathers, she was instrumental in bringing about man's salvation through Christ.

Although this Eve-Mary theme was current in Germany, it was not generally as strongly formulated in German portal programmes as it was in the French trumeau sculptures of the thirteenth century, as,

for example, in the one at Amiens, mentioned earlier.[34]

Bearing in mind the portal's probable connection with deliverance and redemption, the likely message communicated to the faithful by the tympanum sculptures can be simply stated: Through the intercession of Mary, and with the assistance of the saints, absolution and readmittance to the church are possible.

Apart from the tympanum, the half-figures of Christ, the Apostles and the angels complete the portal's statement, elaborating on the concept of redemption.

The present author agrees with Mayer that Christ, in the isolated position earlier described, is portrayed here as the Redeemer, and is so identified by the cross halo and by the Latin cross on his shoulder. The inclusion of the chalice and the host in the hands of the angels is a reference to the Eucharist.[36] The Apostles, those who were present when the Eucharist was instituted and to whom it was entrusted at the Last Supper, provide a similar connotation. In total, there is a strong and effective re-emphasis on the promise given to absolved sinners, i.e., a return to the Holy Communion, and thus the possibility of entry into Paradise.

The portal delivers its message with power and a certain pristine eloquence, effectively counterpointing its neighbour. The Adam Portal symbolizes the Fall, and the Portal of Mercy, Redemption. Together, then, they express the dogma of Fall and Redemption, the central conception of Christianity.

NOTES

1. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. 428, and London, The British Library, ms. add. 15689, see Kroos, 113.

2. Kroos, 113.

3. Kroos, 112.

4. They are the screens of the east choir which represent pairs of conversing Apostles and Prophets, see Jantzen, 73-94, pls. 30-43.

5. Haas, 28.

6. For illustration of Ferrara Cathedral and the abbey church of Saint-Gilles, see Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, figs. 7,8.

7. In Byzantine painting and sculpture Mary is always portrayed without a crown, a mark of distinction accorded her only in Western art, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 32.

8. Ekbert received the pallium in 1203 at Rome directly from the Pope. The granting of the pallium to the bishops of Bamberg and their ordination directly by the Pope, rather than by the Archbishop of Mainz, is clearly an indication of the exceptional relationship which existed between the Bishopric of Bamberg and Rome. Pope Innocent II referred to Bamberg as filia specialis, see Boeck,8,36.

9. Poppo seems to have had a special veneration for Kunigunde; in 1231 he founded a village in her honour, called Kunigundenreuth, see Boeck, 13.

10. Vöge, Domsculpturen, 264, gives this tentative identification. However, he does not explain his reasons.

11. This is suggested by Mayer, see Mayer, 48.

12. According to Vöge, Franck-Oberaspach was the first scholar to notice the cross. Vöge sees in this small figure a member of a knightly order, see Vöge, Domsculpturen, 264.

13. According to Mayer Wortwinus is a Crusader of 1217, see Mayer, 47.

14. Jantzen, 116.

15. Beenken, Bildwerke, 12.

16. Rensing proposes that the knight represents Otto VII, who, at the time of Ekbert's Crusade, was the most powerful member of the House of Andechs and the largest landowner in the Bishopric of Bamberg. It is known that the Crusades were a long-established and honourable concern of the Andechs-Meran family. Earlier members had campaigned

16. (Cont'd)
for the Crusades of Konrad III and Barbarossa; the family's support also included generous endowments, e.g., Ekbert's own endowment to the monastery of Michelsberg at Bamberg before he started for Jerusalem. The documents of transmittal were witnessed by Otto. Rensing's notion that the tympanum was ultimately a testament to the prominent members of the politically adept Andechs-Meran family prepared him to accept the knight with the cross as Otto, see Rensing, 69. It is of anecdotal interest that a certain notoriety is attached to Otto as a figure in medieval history. On June 21, 1208, his marriage in Bamberg to Beatrice, niece of the Staufen king, Philip, was marred by scandal. During the nuptials King Philip was murdered by Count Otto of Wittelsbach. The murderer escaped, but Otto and Ekbert were accused of complicity in the assassination. Ekbert was forced into a three-year exile in Hungary at the court of his brother-in-law, only to be reinstated as Bishop of Bamberg in 1211, see Reitzenstein, Baugeschichte, 128, footnote 10.

17. Fiedler, Marientüre, 27; Looshorn, 619.

18. Fiedler, Marientüre, 11-12; Looshorn, 632.

19. Fiedler, Marientüre, 12.

20. Fiedler, Marientüre, 32.

21. Fiedler, Marientüre, 33; according to Vöge, the tympanum is more closely related to the Saint Anne Portal of Notre Dame in Paris, see Vöge, Domsculpturen, 257; for illustration of the Saint Anne Portal, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl. 40; for illustration of the Saint Gall Portal, see Reinhardt, fig. 58.

22. Fiedler, Marientüre, 34-35.

23. Fiedler, Marientüre, 41.

24. Fiedler, Marientüre, 40. Writing after Fiedler, Traeger, not referring to Fiedler's work, nevertheless provided what could be seen as some slight support. He writes that Cross relics and the cult of the Cross seem to have had a long-standing tradition in Bamberg. Already Henry II had obtained several splinters of the Holy Cross for his beloved cathedral, a very large splinter having been given to him by Rudolph of Burgundy; up to the seventeenth century, this particular relic was kept in a Carolingian reliquary. According to Traeger, today it is part of the Cathedral Cross, see Traeger, 8.

25. Haas, 9; for this practice in France, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 39-40.

26. According to Koeniger, Gnadenpforte 1930, 555; Emminghaus, Gnadenpforte 1957, 102; Escha, 46, Mary is present in the role of Mater Misericordia.

27. Jungmann, Symbolik, 191; Sauser, Adamspforte, 189-190. However, according to Koeniger and Emminghaus, the rites of penance were no longer strictly observed after the twelfth century, see Koeniger, Gnadenpforte 1930, 550; Emminghaus, Gnadenpforte 1957, 102. Another contrary opinion is that of Haimerl, who wrote on the processions of the Bishopric of Bamberg. He believes that the rites of penance for public penitents were abandoned during the eleventh century, and that, from the thirteenth century onward, all of the faithful participated in the modified rites, see Haimerl, 142.

28. For this practice and for the German passage quoted, see Sauser, Adamspforte, 191; translation is mine.

29. Carol, 364; for Mary's role as intercessor, see also, Male, Gothic Image, 232-34.

30. Beissel, 99, 125.

31. Carol, 364.

32. Aurenhammer, 173; Stauch, 750.

33. Aurenhammer, 173; for illustration of the Essen Madonna, see Panofsky, Plastik, pl.1; for illustration of the Freiberg tympanum, see Panofsky, Plastik, pl. 42.

34. Carol, 361; Esche, 44.

35. Guldan, 128.

CHAPTER IV

The Princes' Portal

The oldest recorded name for the Princes' Portal, Ehetür (Marriage Door) was used for the first time in a bill from the years 1583-84 and, again, several times in eighteenth-century documents. In German medieval language usage the first meaning of the word ê (Ehe) was not marriage, as it is today, but rather the writings which contain the rules of the faith.[1] The altiu and the niuwiu ê were the old and the new dispensations, the Old and the New Testaments.[2]

Kroos expresses the view that the name Ehetür was not originally intended to be understood as Marriage Door, believing that the early usage in the Middle Ages would preclude the possibility. The iconography of some of the sculptures of the portal, as will be shown later, would seem to confirm Kroos' interpretation.

However, Boeck is of the opinion that the name did mean Marriage Door and offers as support the fact that, attached to the cathedral, was a small parish for lay members where marriages were performed.[3]

The present name, Princes' Portal, cannot be traced before the eighteenth century; its origin, however, is clear. As far back as the year 1220 the Bishop of Bamberg had received the title princeps and, in 1316, that of princebishop; because his residence was located opposite this doorway, he used it when entering and leaving the cathedral.[4]

It is the main portal and considerably larger than the two eastern portals. As in other churches with double choirs, the main entrance in

Bamberg is situated on the longer side of the cathedral and leads into the north side aisle (Fig.16).

The doorway was probably planned and its figure-decoration begun by the older workshop, which had carved the sculptures of the Portal of Mercy in their entirety.[5] This is apparent in the treatment of the columns on either side of the doorway and in the arches of the archivolt, where a variety of decorative motifs have been employed for adornment that are similar in manner to those of the earlier portal.[6]

The style and iconography of most of the figural sculptures, however, show a knowledge of French portal decoration and are, therefore, attributed to the younger workshop. In fact, the Princes' Portal has long been acknowledged as the meeting place of the older and younger workshops.[7]

The subject of the portal sculpture is a moving Last Judgment (Fig. 17). The centre of the semi-circular tympanum displays the large figure of Christ, the Judge, seated on a simple throne, His feet resting on its mushroom-shaped base. His hands are raised in the gesture of the ostentatio vulnerum, and through His open garment is seen the wound in His side (Fig.18).[8]

On either side of the base Mary and Saint John the Baptist, as intercessors for mankind, are seen kneeling in supplication; they are depicted on clouds to illustrate that the scene takes place in heaven. These considerably smaller figures are grasping the feet of Christ. Between them, and below Christ's feet, two naked, resurrected souls emerge from the coffins, their hands held in prayer and their faces bearing the "Gothic" smile.

On Christ's left, the Damned are driven toward Hell by an angel, probably Michael, who carries the handle of a broken, bladeless sword (Fig.19). Satan is at their head, long-eared, his extended tongue dangling from a grinning mouth, his calves winged and his feet clawed. He pulls the chain-tied procession of the Damned,[9] five figures that include Pope, bishop, king, and money-clutching miser.[10] Presumably for lack of space, the mouth, or cauldron, of Hell of French Judgment tympana has been omitted.

On Christ's right two angels appear (Fig.20). One carries the Cross, and the second leads a king toward Christ, the Judge. Above them the heads of two other angels emerge, these bearing other instruments of the Passion: the crown of thorns in the first instance, and the nails and lance in the second. Their hands are covered by a napkin in reverence for the sacred objects they carry, the practice usually followed in such portrayals.[11]

The angels are wingless, except for two - Michael on the side of the Damned, and the Cross-bearing angel on the side of the Elect; the latter, actually, has only a single wing which is attached rather awkwardly to his left shoulder. The inconsistencies and the placement of these wings have given rise to speculations concerning changes of plan that may have taken place in the arrangement of the tympanum sculptures. It has been suggested that the figure of Christ originally had been placed within a mandorla which was then reworked and transformed into the wings of the two angels.[12]

The Deesis group, the angels with the instruments of the Passion, the Saved and the Damned have, of necessity, been compressed into the small, undivided field of a round-arched tympanum. This compositional approach

contrasts with contemporaneous French design wherein, because of the wide-pointed tympana, Last Judgments were given much more space to unfold.

Artists in France had begun to divide the tympanum into several zones in which the story was illustrated, flowing over onto the lintel and into the archivolt;[13] because of the divisions, the figures of Christ, the intercessors and the angels were isolated from the rest of the narrative, and the Christ figure was allowed to lose some of its monumental impact.

However, in the Bamberg Last Judgment, Christ is still formally connected with the other scenes and continues, powerfully, to dominate the composition by His hierarchical scale and frontality.[14] Thus the sculptor of Bamberg arrived at a successful compromise when he accommodated a French Gothic theme to a German Romanesque architectural framework.

Two compelling statues, the patriarch Abraham (Fig.21) and the trumpet-blowing angel of the Last Judgment (Fig.22), have been placed in front of the left archivolt.[15] They rest upon soft clouds and are thus related to the kneeling intercessors in the tympanum scene. Abraham, seated on a throne, holds in his bosom the souls of the Blessed, five naked figures of which three have been rendered headless by damage; the two still intact smile in the "Gothic" manner.[16] Some scholars are of the opinion that companion pieces had originally been planned for the right archivolt.[17]

On the jambs on either side of the doorway, alternating with the decorated columns, the twelve Apostles stand on the shoulders of twelve

Prophets (Figs. 23, 24). Not true column figures, the pairs have been fitted into the intervals as equivalent rising elements, each with base and capital. The six on the left jamb and three badly damaged ones on the right were carved by the older workshop; only the three outer pairs of the right side are attributed to the younger group.[18]

All of the Apostles are portrayed with halos, one of which is differentiated by spikes, and eleven of the twelve have beards. Each carries either a book or scroll except for Saint Peter, next to the doorpost on the left jamb, who also carries his traditional key. The last Apostle on the right jamb, perhaps Saint John, occupies a special position; youthful, beardless, smiling, he is the only one who is seen walking rather than standing; and unlike the others, although he is placed above a Prophet, his feet actually rest on two consoles of leaves.

The Prophets of the left jamb wear the cone-shaped cap associated with the Jews of the Middle Ages, while those on the right are shown with heads uncovered. On each of the capitals above the pairs a dove hovers, carrying a banderole in its beak; the other, alternating capitals are decorated with foliage or birds.

The personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue stand atop columns which flank the portal.[19] The figure of Ecclesia, dressed in its traditional mantle and wearing a crown, has lost the chalice and cross banner, the attributes it is always accorded (Fig.25). On the uniquely-treated supporting column beneath are seen the symbols of the four Evangelists: the angel of Saint Matthew with an open Gospel book, and

the eagle of Saint John, partially destroyed, above a baldacchino; below, are the lion of Saint Mark, and the ox of Saint Luke (Fig.26). Still lower and attached to the column is the damaged figure of a seated Prophet, its head missing (Fig.27).

Synagogue, on the opposite side of the portal, wears no crown. Her eyes are veiled, and in her hands she holds the Tables of the Law and the broken shaft of her lance (Fig.28). Attached to the column on which she stands, once more a unique treatment, a grinning, short-tailed devil hangs, reaching below to blind a Jew; the cone-shaped cap is used again for identification. Garbed in a belted gown and mantle, the lower figure is placed on a console which bears leaf decoration identical to that on the capital on which Kunigunde stands at the Adam Portal (Fig.29).[20]

The concept of a Last Judgment is much older than its visual representation. Already the Prophets had foretold its coming (Job 24, 25, and Daniel 7, 9-10); the founders of Christianity kept alive the belief, and it was enlarged upon by the patristic writings.[21]

The earliest actual depiction in Christian art is thought to be a relief from a third-century sarcophagus. Christ, the Good Shepherd, stands in the centre; his right hand caresses the sheep while, with his left, he turns away the goats. From the fifth century comes the mosaic of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, in Ravenna, which again shows the separation of the sheep and the goats.[22] The images, allegorical and

symbolic representations of the separation of the Saved and the Damned, illustrate the metaphor in Matthew: "He will separate men into two groups, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will place the sheep on his right hand and the goats on his left." (Matthew 25, 32).

However, it is not until the twelfth century that one finds the prominent, carved Judgment scenes in the tympana of the Romanesque churches: Some were inspired by the Apocalypse, the tympanum of Moissac, for example (Apocalypse 4, 1-11); but most, like those at Beaulieu, Autun and Conques, were based on the Gospel of Saint Matthew (Matthew 19, 28 and 24, 29-31).[23] In these Judgments the theme is presented in ominous, retributive terms; the consequences of sin and the frightening horrors of Hell darkly threaten.[24]

In contrast, the early Gothic Judgments, from Saint-Denis onward, exhibit an inherent, conceptual change. Instead of the concentration on the terrors of Hell and the joys of Paradise, the process of judging itself becomes the most striking element. Finally, beginning with Chartres, a new interpretation makes its appearance; and here, supplication for mercy has developed into an essential idea within the theme.[25] Mâle says that the Last Judgment of the thirteenth century was a great drama.[26]

Its sources of inspiration were many. They were found in the Gospel of Saint Matthew (Matthew 24 and 25), in a passage from Saint Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (I Corinthians 15, 52), sometimes - but, by this time, less commonly - in a few details from the Apocalypse, in the commentaries of many theologians who wrote on the

Biblical passages, and even in stories from the supernatural imaginings of the people.[27]

One of the most important of the theologians was Honorius of Autun who wrote circa 1100, before the great thirteenth-century Judgments were created. The third book of his Elucidarium dealt with the end of the world and the Last Judgment, and is responsible for many of the features that were adopted by the later planners and artisans.

Another was Vincent of Beauvais who, writing in the early years of the thirteenth century, compiled the entirety of the medieval belief concerning the second coming of Christ into the epilogue of his Speculum historiale.[29]

The new concept, and the Last Judgment which had evolved from the broader references, were the basis for the portrayals at Laon, at Notre Dame in Paris, and at Reims; and through France it reached the Princes' Portal at Bamberg.

Vöge has stated that the Princes' Portal Last Judgment was constituted entirely of motifs derived from the Last Judgment at Reims Cathedral, north transept, circa 1230.[30]

With reservations, Verheyen accepts Vöge's arguments, but draws attention to various flaws in the comparison, probably the most serious of which is the substantial difference that, at Reims, there is no connection between the Last Judgment and the personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue. He calls into question whether Reims can be regarded as the only or, more importantly, the original prototype, and prefers to believe that, in addition to the direct inspiration of Reims, the earlier Last Judgments of Laon and Paris also contributed to the

iconography at Bamberg, albeit probably by way of Reims.[31] Considerable evidence to this effect is offered by Verheyen whose position, following hereafter, is favoured by the present author:

He sees the possibility that Christ's gesture of displaying the stigmata - hands held outward from raised forearms and bent wrists - might follow either Reims, as Vöge suggests, or Laon, where this rendering was first employed. In this detail Bamberg clearly did not depend upon the example of Paris where, in the manner of the tympanum at Chartres, the wrists of the Christ figure remain unbent with hands extended vertically.[32] Significantly, again at Laon, Christ the Judge rises the full height of the tympanum, a scale similarly reflected in the Princes' Portal image. An additional element, the Resurrected emerging from their coffins, is a motif generally believed to owe its origin to Reims; nevertheless, it too was a part of the earlier narration at Laon.[33]

It is the cathedral at Paris, however, which provides the major precedent that Reims, as noted above, does not, for the personifications of Ecclesia and Synagogue on either side of a Last Judgment portal.[34] Also, the representation of the Damned bound by chains and hauled by the devil, was here already included; only later was it used at Reims, but Vöge, unlike Verheyen, makes no mention of Paris in this regard. The greater variety among the Damned at Reims and Bamberg may suggest a certain dissimilarity with Notre Dame and may explain Vöge's omission.

No question of the ultimate source attaches to the kneeling intercessors, Mary and Saint John the Baptist. In this respect the Last

Judgment at Reims is the only one in France that follows the Byzantine tradition of portraying, as did Bamberg later, the Baptist rather than the Evangelist.[35]

Finally, Verheyen believes that Abraham as well, was undoubtedly a derivation from Reims, and refers to the conforming opinions of Vöge and Boeck. Although the Reims Abraham is placed in the lowest tympanum zone, and is neither as accomplished nor as monumental as the freestanding Bamberg figure, the motif is clearly the same.[36]

Central to the thirteenth-century Judgment interpretation and to its introduction of the concept of mercy, is the changed portrayal of Christ. At Bamberg, as elsewhere, no longer is He simply the awesome Judge of earlier times; He is the Son of Man and great emphasis is placed on the sign and symbols of His martyrdom

> "Then will appear in heaven the sign that heralds the Son of Man. All the peoples of the world will make lamentation, and they will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with great power and glory." (Matthew 24, 30).

The benign description of Christ in the tympanum, hands held to exhibit the stigmata and lance wound exposed, is correlative to His human nature; theology holds that He has resumed His humanity and is showing Himself to men as He was when amongst them.[37] Much has been written to explain the gesture, first rendered in portal sculpture at Laon;[38] the venerable Vincent of Beauvais, for example, commented that "he shows his wounds to bear witness to the truth of the Gospel and to prove that he was in truth crucified for us."[39]

The idea of Christ's martyrdom on the Cross as the Son of Man is further reinforced by the angels on His right carrying the instruments

of His Passion, especially the Cross, "the sign that heralds the Son of Man" according to the Fathers.

Saint Jerome, and others, wrote that the Cross represents not only the instrument of Christ's Passion but also the sign of victory:

> "Signum hic, aut crucis intelligamus, ut videant juxta Zachariam (Zach.12:10) et Joannem (John 19:10) Judaei quem compuxerunt; aut vexillum victoriae triumphantis."
>
> "This we may understand either as a sign of the cross as the Jews perceived to an extent in Zacharius (Zach.12:10) and John (John 19:10), whom they persecuted, or as a banner of triumphant victory."[40]

Further, the instruments emphasized in thirteenth-century tympana have been described as comparable to the insignia of a king:

> "Sicut, cum imperator ingressurus est civitatem, corona ejus, et alia insignia praeferuntur, per quae adventus ejus cognoscitur, ita Christus in ea forma, qua ascendit, cum ordinibus omnibus angelorum ad judicium veniet: angeli crucem ejus ferentes praeibunt."
>
> "Just as an emperor, when he is preparing to enter a city, will be offered a crown and other regalia, through which things his advent is made known, so Christ, in that form in which he ascended, will come, with all his orders of angels, to judge the world; and angels, bearing his cross, will fly in the vanguard."[41]

The kneeling figures at the base of the throne, Mary and Saint John the Baptist, are not mentioned in the Gospels as intercessors. Although theologians had always upheld the tenet that no prayer could move the Judge on the Last Day, ordinary pious people continued to hope, a human tendency that was encouraged by the intercessors' inclusion.[42]

Other descriptions are, similarly, evolutions from, or perhaps enlargements upon, the Scriptures, rather than literal illustrations.

As explained, the dividing of the Saved and the Damned rests only on the account, in Matthew, of the separation of the sheep from the goats (Matthew 25, 32-33). The pictorialization of Hell arises not out of dogmatic teachings, but rather out of the imaginative visualizations of the artists and the people; the Gospels speak only of eternal fire (Matthew 25, 41), unquenchable fire (Mark 9, 44), and fire and sulphur (Apocalypse 20, 10). The inclusion of Pope, king and bishop among the Damned appears to have been intended simply as a rudimentary example, or reminder, of the universal equality of all before the Judge.[43]

> "With a trumpet blast he will send out his angels,
> and they gather his chosen from the four winds,
> from the farthest bounds of heaven on every side."
> (Matthew 24, 31).

> "but we shall all be changed in a flash, in the
> twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet-call.
> For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will
> rise immortal, and we shall be changed."
> (I Corinthians 15, 52)

Some of the Judgment elements evoked by these quotations were, of necessity, somewhat diminished at Bamberg. Their sparing, abbreviated treatment is accounted for by the restrictions of space that were earlier observed and justified. Nevertheless, the iconographic message was left unaltered and its virtuosity unimpaired.

According to the teachings of the Church, the Resurrected would rise nude; man would come forth from the earth as he was when God created him.[44] Accordingly, the two souls emerging from their coffins at Bamberg are so carved; their numbers, however, represent a substantial reduction from those who fill two bands at Reims. For the

same reason only the single large, free-standing angel, before the left archivolt, signals "the gathering of the chosen", an abridgement from the customary two to four usually included.[45]

The brevity at Bamberg allows only for the portrayal of the Judgment as seeming already to have taken place; many sequences fully described in other tympana are only implied by the sparsity of scenes and figures, but the sense of wholeness remains. The weighing of souls by the archangel Michael, often a major element in Last Judgments, is omitted, most likely as an accommodation to the same problem of space.

In illustrating Paradise the sculptors probably accepted the impossibility inherent in the passage from Saint Paul:

> "Things beyond our seeing, things beyond our hearing, things beyond our imagining, all prepared by God for those who love him." (I Corinthians 2,9).[46]

Therefore, in place of a dubious rendering, Abraham with the comforted souls was devised and came to symbolize Paradise. In the West, the motif was first used in France by the Romanesque sculptors; it was borrowed to portray Paradise in the great Judgment portals of the thirteenth century.[47]

In keeping with the passage in Matthew, and with iconographic tradition, the Apostles, as assessors, had always been seated next to the Judge; but, prior to the building of the present cathedral, they had been removed to the jambs on other, somewhat earlier portals.[48] However, here they are depicted atop the shoulders of their Old Testament predecessors, the first such representation on so monumental a scale;[49] symbolized is the New Testament built on the Old, the concept of the Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti.[50]

Medieval typology contrasts the bearers of the New Testament, the Apostles, with the Prophets of the Old. The incorporation of the two Testaments into a single doctrine of salvation was the result of systematic study and comparison by the early Church Fathers. An appropriate passage from the writings of Paulinus of Nola (circa 400) was quoted repeatedly through the centuries: "The Old Covenant establishes the New, the New fulfills the Old: in the Old is hope, in the New, faith. But Old and New are wedded by the grace of Christ."[51]

The doves carrying banderoles above the Apostles have been identified as messengers of Christ and as doves of the Holy Ghost.[52] They bring Christ's message to the Apostles, the representatives of the New Law, to spread His Word to the four corners of the earth. (John 20, 21 and 2 Corinthians 5, 20).

The beautiful allegories of Ecclesia and Synagogue are again representative of the Old and New Laws.[53] However, in portraying Ecclesia with the chalice and cross banner, and the Tables of the Law slipping from the grasp of veiled Synagogue, who carries the broken shaft, the message departs from that of Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti; rather the implication is that Ecclesia has triumphed, that the Law is passing to her. The emplacements, Ecclesia on the side of the Saved and Synagogue opposite, suggest election and rejection.[54]

The Jew and the attacking devil dramatize the act of blinding, a torture them sometimes used by kings against their enemies;[55] but more importantly, they further illustrate the idea of rejection, in contrast to the symbols of the four Evangelists on the left. The damaged lower figure on this left column is thought to be the Prophet Ezekiel, whose

vision foretold the coming of the Evangelists. The symbols above him represent those who witnessed the life of Christ and authored the Gospels; thereby they transform the column into the foundation on which the Church, Ecclesia, stands.

What then is the overall meaning to be found in the Princes' Portal? Notwithstanding its intricate iconographic links to so many sources and changing Last Judgment traditions, certainly, in the portal's message, there is no obscurity. In keeping with the objective of other Judgments, its aim is, essentially, man's concern with eternal blessedness; and together with the Deesis group in the tympanum, the various adjacent images simply assist man in the selection of his path.

NOTES

1. This definition was given by Kroos, referring to G. Benecke and W. Müller, Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch Bd.I, Leipzig, 1854, and M. Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch Bd.I, Leipzig, 1872, see Kroos, 110.

2. Kroos, 110.

3. Boeck, 14-15. Kroos, however, argues that the altar of the parish, the Saint Vitus altar, was located in the north transept and that the most convenient way to reach it was not by the Princes' Portal, but, rather, by the Saint Vitus Portal. A further argument against Boeck's interpretation, according to Kroos, is the fact that the parish was very small with only one confessional, see Kroos, 110.

4. Kroos, 110; Winterfeld, Fürstenportal, 147.

5. Winterfeld, Fürstenportal, 147; Boeck, 19-20; Verheyen, 2.

6. A similar arrangement is seen in the Golden Portal of Freiberg Cathedral, circa 1230, see Panofsky, Plastik, pl. 42.

7. According to Vöge, Pinder, Dehio and Jantzen, the younger workshop was trained in Reims, see Vöge, Domsculpturen, 202; Pinder, Dom, 39; Dehio, 130; Jantzen, 138; according to Verheyen, the workshop knew Laon, Paris and Reims, see Verheyen 5; according to Beenken, the influence came from Lombardy, see Beenken, Bildwerke, 8.

8. For the different types of the ostentatio vulnerum, see Panofsky, Imago, 307; the bare right side is found for the first time in the Last Judgment of Laon Cathedral, see Panofsky, Imago, 307.

9. The chain motif is also featured in the Last Judgment of Reims Cathedral and at Notre Dame of Paris, and earlier in the Hortus Deliciarum of the Herrad of Landsberg; and, according to Molsdorf, in a thirteenth-century French manuscript, Paris, Bib.Nat. ms. lat. 8846, pls. 6, 15, see Molsdorf, 116. The wings and claws are already featured in the twelfth-century Hortus Deliciarum; the long, protruding tongue is seen at Notre Dame in Paris, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl.149.

10. A similar group, representing the Damned, is also to be seen at Reims Cathedral and at Notre Dame, Paris, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pls. 239, 147.

11. Mâle, Gothic Image, 370; Boeck saw, in the napkin with the nails, the sudarium, see Boeck, 115.

12. Both Boeck and Verheyen see a half-mandorla as at Laon, see Boeck, 27; Verheyen, 12, 27; already Vöge spoke of a change in plan, see Vöge, Domsculpturen, 148; Winterfeld, however, believes that Boeck's and Verheyen's theories are speculations which are not consistent with the actual findings, see Winterfeld, Fürstenportal, 159.

13. Examples are: Chartres Cathedral, south transept; Notre Dame, Paris, west portal; Reims Cathedral, north transept; Amiens Cathedral, west portal; see Sauerländer, Gothic, pls. 107, 145, 236, 161.

14. This was the case in the tympanum of Laon Cathedral, circa 1180.

15. The trumpet and the hands of the angel are made of wood and are later restorations, see Boeck, 111.

16. Other examples of Abraham with the souls in the bosom are to be found at Chartres, Notre Dame of Paris and at Reims. The Reims figure, however, shows the closest resemblance to the Bamberg sculpture.

17. Jantzen, 154, believes that the Dionysius angel from the interior of the cathedral was to have been placed in front of the right archivolt; Boeck, 15, suggests another angel, perhaps Michael, as pendant for the trumpet-blowing angel as at Freiburg Cathedral.

18. Weese, 89; Vöge, Domsculpturen, 137; Boeck, 117, attribute these three pairs to the younger master; Jantzen, 112; Noack, 123-26; Pinder, Dom, 41; Beenken, Bildwerke, 14, are of the opinion that these three pairs were carved still by the older workshop, but under the influence of the younger one.

19. The two figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue were moved to the interior of the cathedral in 1937.

20. The head of the devil is a nineteenth-century restoration, see Boeck, 23.

21. Milosevic, 6-7.

22. The sarcophagus is today in the Lateran Museum in Rome, see Lowrie, pl. 24, fig. c.; for the mosaic, see Milosevic, fig.12.

23. Mâle, XIIe siècle, figs. 1, 137, 238, 235.

24. For the discussion of the Moissac tympanum see Mâle, XIIe siècle, 4-8; for Beaulieu see Mâle, XIIe siècle, 178-179; for Autun and Conques, see Mâle, XIIe siècle, 410-419.

25. For the development of the theme of Redemption, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 27-32.

26. Mâle, Gothic Image, 367.

27. Mâle, Gothic Image, 365.

28. Mâle, Gothic Image, 366-367.

29. Mâle, Gothic Image, 367 and footnote 2.

30. Vöge, Domsculpturen, 202-203; for the Last Judgment of Reims Cathedral, north transept, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 481-482 and pls. 236, 238, 239.

31. Verheyen, 15.

32. For the Last Judgment of Laon Cathedral, see Mâle, XIIe siècle, fig. 234; for the Last Judgment of Notre Dame of Paris, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl. 147; for the Last Judgment of Chartres Cathedral, see Sauerländer, Gothic, pl. 108.

33. For illustration of the tympanum of Laon Cathedral before restoration, see Verheyen, 19, fig.12.

34. Sauerländer, Gothic, pl.144.

35. According to Verheyen, in Germany, other than at Bamberg, Saint John the Baptist intercedes for mankind at Mainz and at Wechselburg, see Verheyen, 21; the practice wherein the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist flank Christ and intercede for mankind was established in Byzantine art. The Deesis group was at first represented alone; only later did it become a part of the Last Judgment theme, see Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 84; for the development of the Deesis group, see Bogyay, 1197-1206. According to Mâle, a different idea is being expressed at Reims. The Baptist there is seen pointing at Christ, saying, "Behold, 'tis He of whom I spoke", see Mâle, Gothic Image, 371, footnote 2. Except for Reims, the second intercessor of French Gothic Judgments is, invariably, John the Evangelist; according to Sauerländer, since Paris, the intercessors are not enthroned and seated next to Christ but kneeling, a posture which, Sauerländer says, then became canonical in northern French representations of the theme, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 450.

36. Boeck, 110; Vöge, Domsculpturen, 204; Verheyen, 22.

37. Mâle, Gothic Image, 369.

38. Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 83.

39. Quoted by Mâle from Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale, Epil., CXII, see Mâle, Gothic Image, 369.

40. The quotation is by St. Jerome from his Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum, IV, 24; P.L., XXVI, col.187, referred to by Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 83, footnote 12; the English translation is by Faith Wallis.

41. The quotation is by Honorius Augustodunensis, from his Elucidarium, III, 12; P.L., CLXXII, col.1165, referred to by Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 83, footnote 13; the English translation is by Faith Wallis.

42. The reason that John the Baptist was chosen originally to intercede for mankind together with Mary may, perhaps, be found in the fact that he was the precursor and first to believe in Christ, see Milosevic, 69.

43. Mâle, Gothic Image, 374.

44. Elucidarium, XI, and Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale, see Mâle, Gothic Image, 374.

45. Milosevic, 70.

46. Mâle, Gothic Image, 383; Milosevic, 72-73.

47. The motif had its origin in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16, 22, and Matthew 8, 11). Lazarus was carried into Abraham's bosom by the angels. Saint Augustine, in his Questiones evangelicae II, describes Abraham's lap as Paradise. As a result, in Byzantine art during the ninth century, Lazarus, alone in Abraham's lap, was the symbol of Paradise. Gradually, the single figure evolved into a depiction of several souls, as at Bamberg, see Aurenhammer, 28; Möller, 97.

48. At Saint-Denis and Laon the Apostles were still shown beside the Judge, but at Chartres for the first time Christ appears without his assessors; the Apostles thereafter appear on the jambs holding the instruments of their martyrdom; see Katzenellenbogen, Chartres, 85; Sauerländer, Gothic, 31.

49. Other similar examples are the Merseburg baptismal font, circa 1180; Benedetto Antelami's tympanum of the north portal of the Parma Baptistery shows twelve Prophets holding medallions with busts of the Apostles; at Chartres, in a window, four Prophets bear the four Evangelists on their shoulders, see Aurenhammer, 218; Katzenellenbogen, Apostles, 824.

50. The concept is discussed by Seiferth, 13-25.

51. According to Seiferth, one of the sources that refers to this quotation is the Hortus Deliciarum of the Herrad of Landsberg, see Seiferth, 14.

52. According to Boeck, the doves are seen as Christ's messengers, see Boeck, 15; Mayer refers to them as doves of the Holy Ghost, see Mayer, 51.

53. For the development of Ecclesia and Synagogue, see Weber, Seiferth, Weis, Greisenegger.

54. Verheyen is of a contrary opinion. He argues that the two personifications, in the context of the Last Judgment, follow earlier teachings; the Fathers held that, on the Last Day, Judaism would see its error and be saved, and that the veil of Synagogue would be lifted, see Verheyen, 23. An earlier French example of Ecclesia and Synagogue from circa 1160, now destroyed, comes from Saint-Bénigne at Dijon. It was a Majestas in which Ecclesia and Synagogue were placed on the right and left of the enthroned Judge, suggesting election and rejection, see Sauerländer, Gothic, 13 and Ill.8. The well-known Strasbourg figures of Ecclesia and Synagogue, similar to those at Bamberg, are placed in a Marian context and not in connection with a Last Judgment.

CONCLUSION

The façades and portals of all of the great cathedrals of the thirteenth century honoured the Virgin, celebrated the virtues of the saints, and illustrated the Last Day. Considerable variation, however, is to be found in the manner in which their common intents were pursued and rendered. Each church developed many of its own themes and sequences and, within them, sometimes created new departures that were seized or put aside in the evolution that was to follow. Frequently, greater emphasis was placed on one or another aspect while, at the same time, references to others may have been reduced in their importance.

The iconography of the portal sculpture at Bamberg clearly was influenced to a large degree by programmes that were developed in France, testifying to Bishop Ekbert's interest in and deep understanding of contemporaneous French doorway treatments.

Nevertheless, the planners at Bamberg had to take account of the special conditions and requirements of the place, quite different from those generally found in France. The portal designs had to be, and were, the results of compromise and selection, the weighing of the inspiration that France offered against the desire to align the cathedral and its iconography with the ways and needs of the people.

Divergences were to arise from many factors: the decision to build a somewhat enlarged replica of the earlier cathedral, the obligation to accommodate the time-honoured liturgical practices and traditions of

that church, the continuing currency of architectural and artistic styles still rooted in the Romanesque manner, and the recognition of other inherited cultural legacies that would have rendered the intricate, more delicate French mode alien both to its setting and to the people.

As discussed earlier, the bishop saw many reasons to model the new structure after the old; but among them was that the Romanesque style of architecture, with its Ottonian reminiscences, had lingered in Germany far into the thirteenth century, despite the gradual acceptance of Early Gothic features. Therefore, lacking the façade of the French cathedrals of the period, the Bamberg planners and artists were unable to emulate France's vast, illustrated cycles.[1] Their Gothic sculptures could not spread over the walls to form elaborate iconographic tapestries in stone; on the contrary, their works had to be confined to the doorway areas as had been the carvings in the earlier French portals of Burgundy and Languedoc.

The sculptors at Bamberg did succeed in portraying the customary themes, the founders, the saints and patron saints; but, compelled to fashion an iconographic entity at each portal and, in doing so, to satisfy the liturgical requirements concerned with portal function, they were faced with the restrictions and limitations of the architectural framework. As a consequence, their work could not reveal the broad range of ideas or the massively organized schemes of thought reflected in the sculptures of the cathedrals of France.[2]

To achieve their purpose the planners, of necessity, had also to reconcile contemporary French influence with the effects of German

history. The marriage of Otto II to a Byzantine princess in the tenth century had established a direct link between the two Imperial courts; the continuous rapport and interaction which then developed had led to profound changes in German art, which eventually absorbed many of its features from Byzantium. The Bamberg portals reflect this influence, and, in part, exemplify it by the portrayal of the monumental Madonna figure in full frontality, a depiction that was no longer popular in French Marian scenes, and by the choice of Saint John the Baptist, rather than the Evangelist, as intercessor.

Only the Princes' Portal can be said to have taken its iconography entirely from France, although as a necessary result of the Romanesque architecture, it was hampered, perhaps in greater measure than the other portals, in the portrayal of its theme. Notwithstanding the problems of space, it succeeded in incorporating more than the Last Day concept; its other carvings illustrated salient elements of typology, but the renderings and their usage, and in some cases the motifs themselves, were out of the ordinary or even unique.

It was the other portals that varied furthest from French practice. The planners applied complex iconographic programmes to the Adam Portal and the Portal of Mercy, in their own way combining and illustrating several ideas in each. Both gave visualization to their related liturgical functions, the historic Adam and Eve nudes among the saints in the first instance, and the specially-honoured Mater Misericordia, together with the saints and petitioners, in the second. Further, they exalted the most important saints of the Church and the patron saints of the cathedral, especially Saint Peter, a reminder of the singular asso-

ciation with Rome enjoyed by the bishopric. In their concentration on the venerated royal founders, the portals helped to sustain two hundred years of illustrious cathedral history and accumulated prestige. The inclusion at one doorway of contemporary figures, though unusual, brought about no substantial alteration in its essential iconographic message; however, it did, once more, underline the historical dimension.

Much of the art historical significance of the Bamberg portals rests on the iconographic solutions the planners devised. The present work has shown that they created unprecedented enlargements of elements and equally unusual reductions; they invented and used unique motifs; they introduced new or rarely-employed combinations of oft-used themes; and they united local with Byzantine and French traditions. Now, almost eight hundred years later, the powerful masterpieces that were born of their genius are undiminished in their significance; they continue to command and merit the attention of scholars.

NOTES

1. In fact in Germany in many instances the finest carvings were executed for the interior, which allowed for the development of an individuality and an expressive freedom greater than that of French models, see Busch-Lohse, 22; the well known figures of Mary and Elizabeth of Reims and Bamberg are comparable examples; for illustration, see Jantzen, pls. 61, 59, 60.

2. The most complete iconographic programmes are to be found at Chartres. As Mâle so rightly expressed, "the cathedral of Chartres is medieval thought in visible form, with no essential element lacking", see Mâle, Gothic Image, 390.

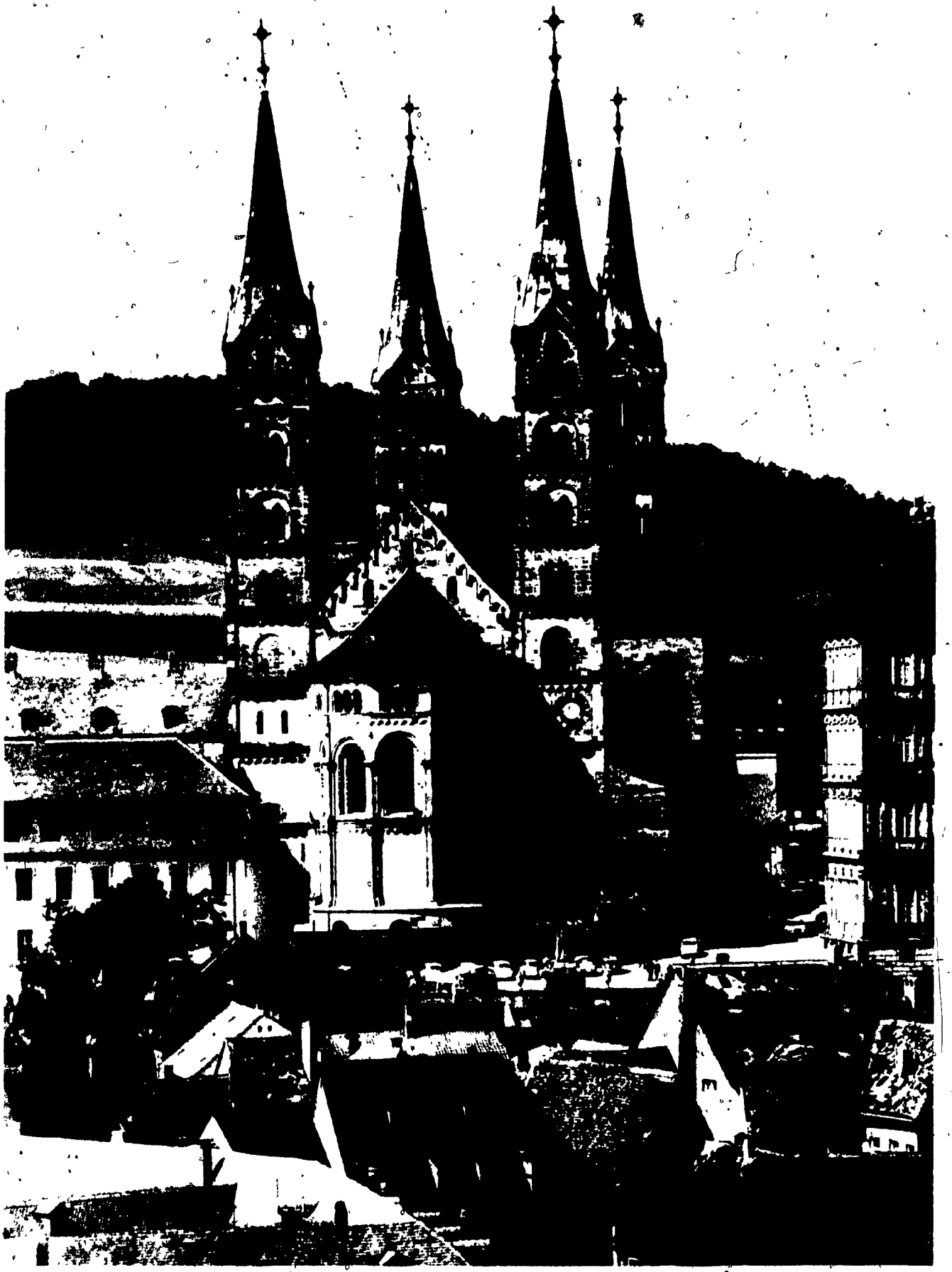

Fig.1

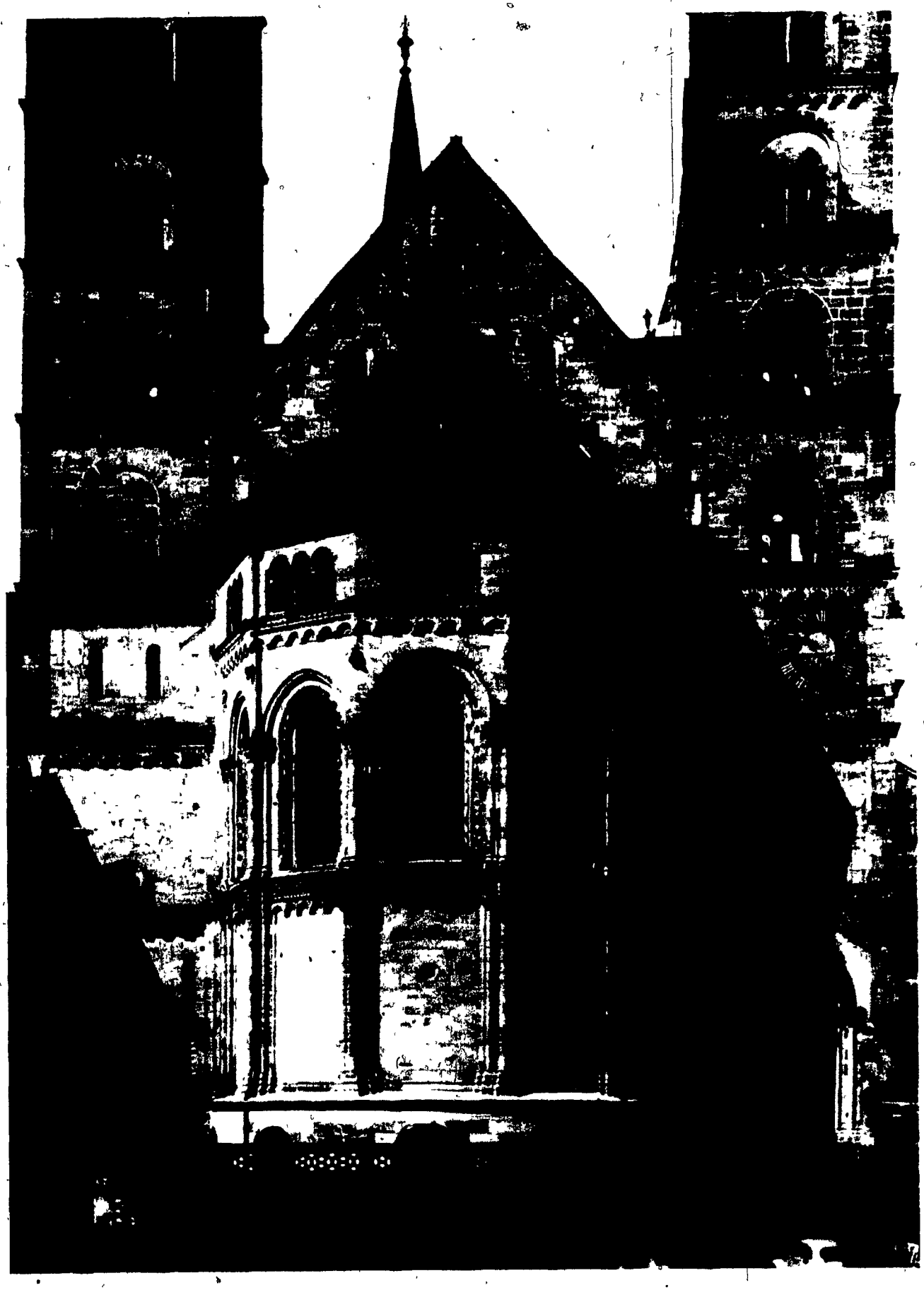

Fig.2

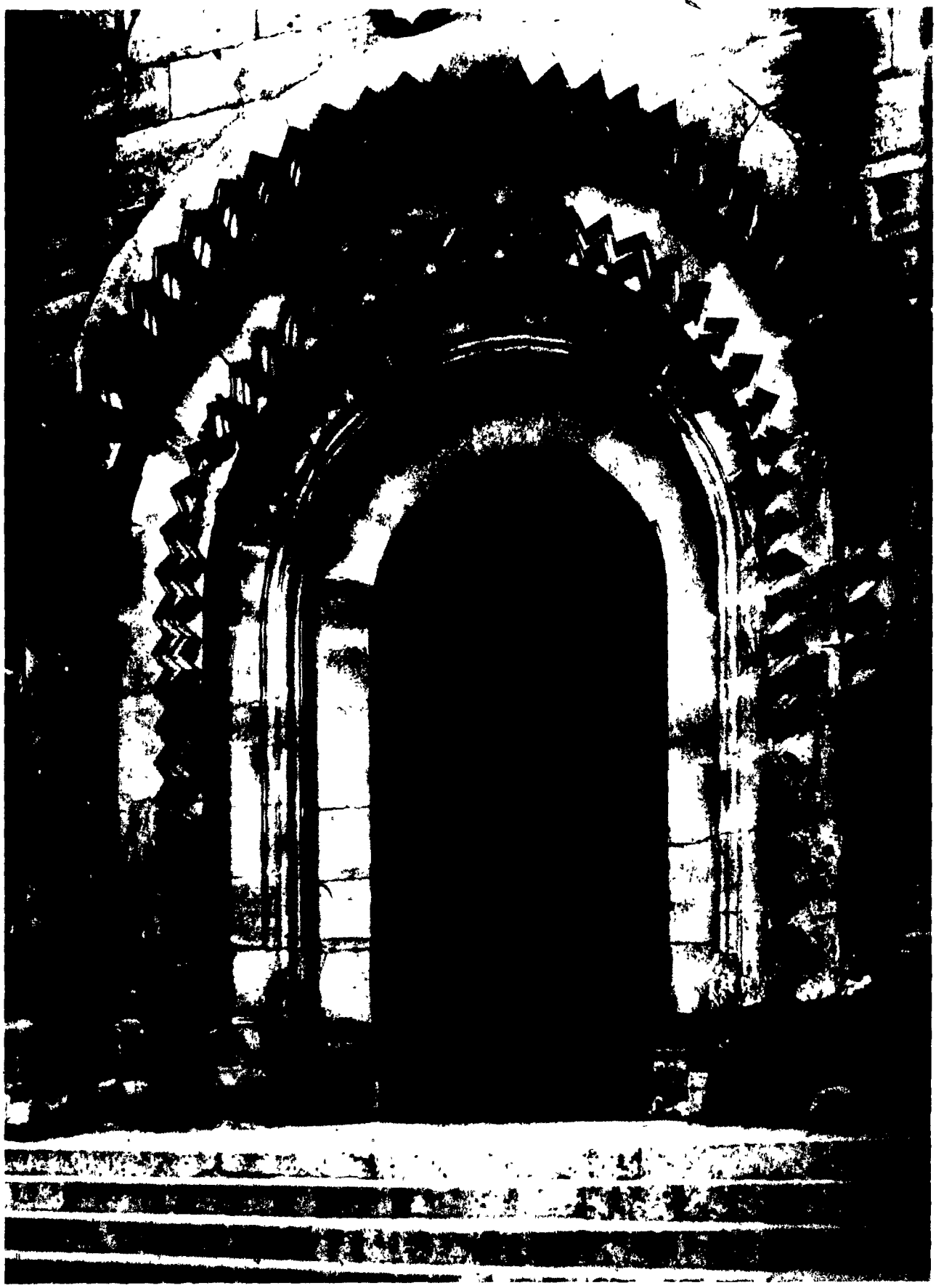

Fig.3

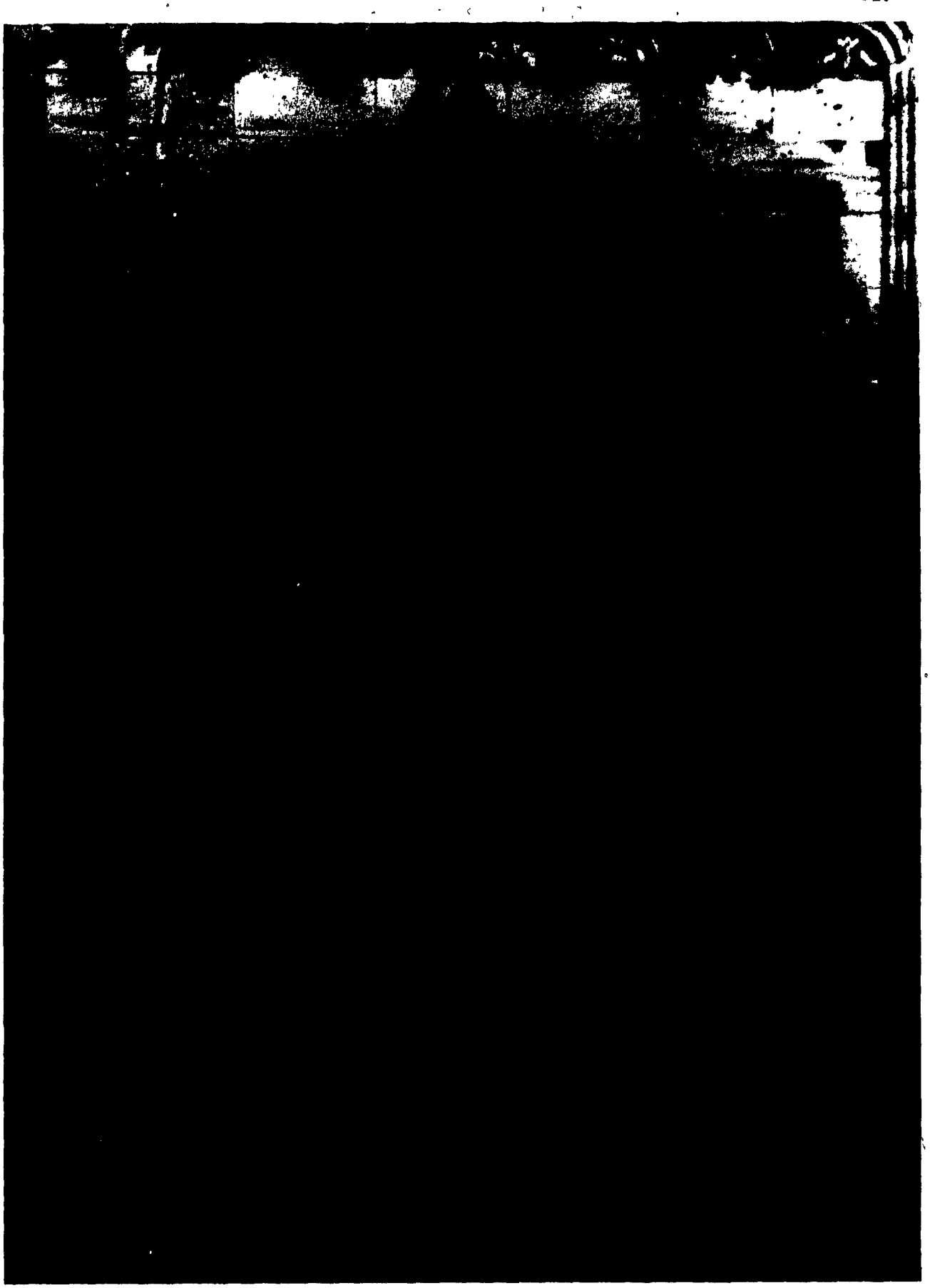

Fig.4

Fig.5

Fig.6

Fig.7

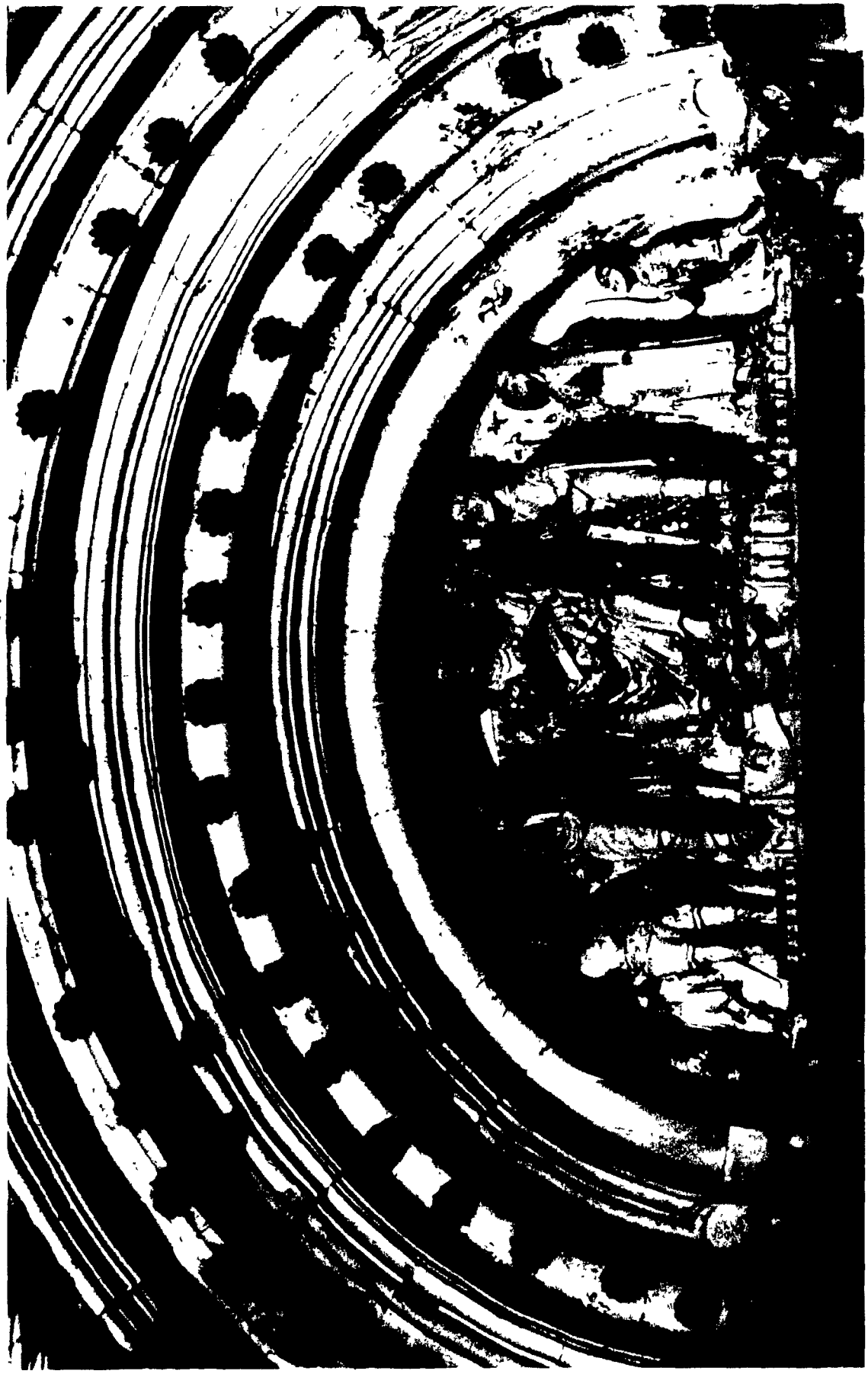

Fig.8

Fig.9

Fig.10

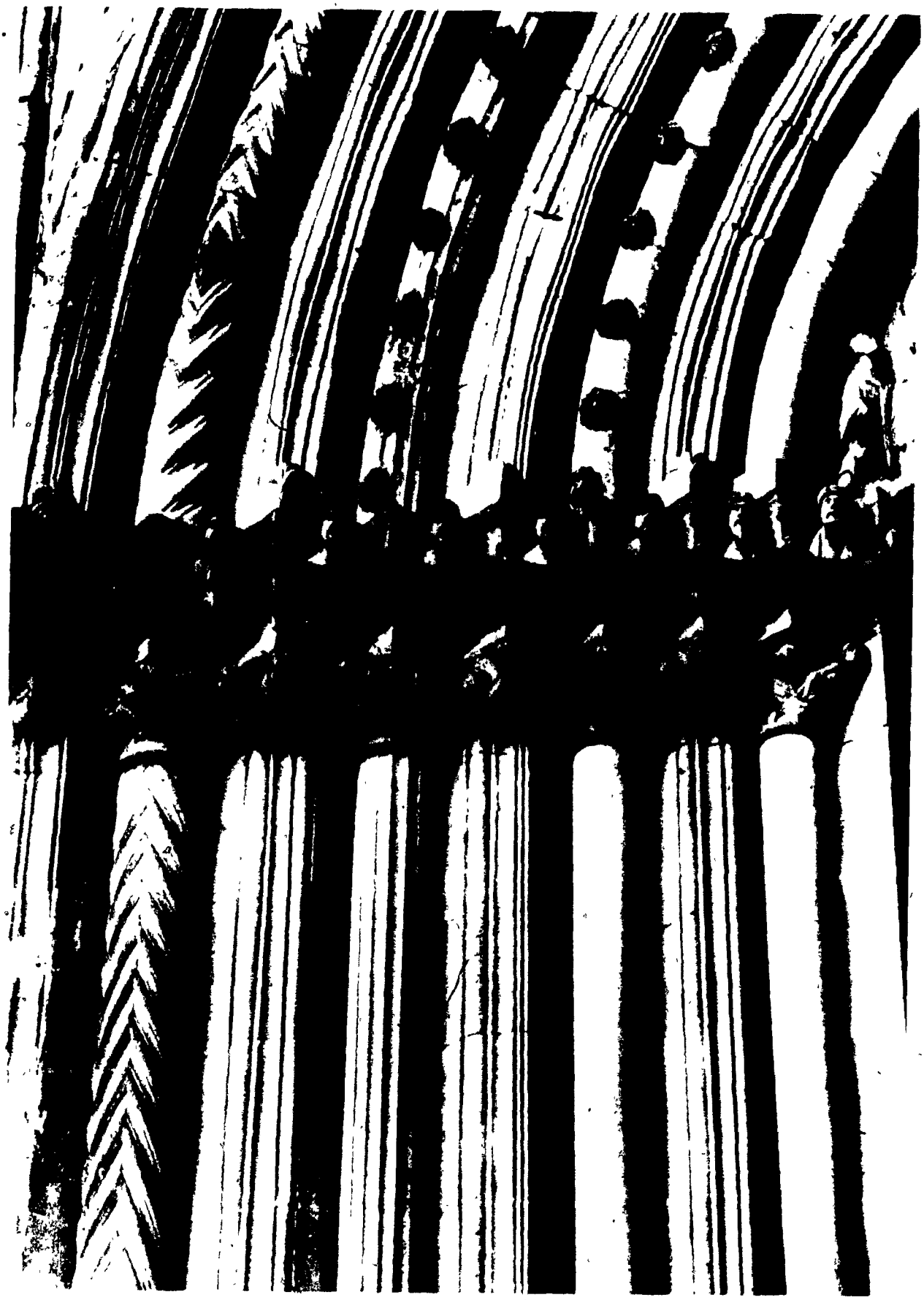

Fig.11

Fig.12

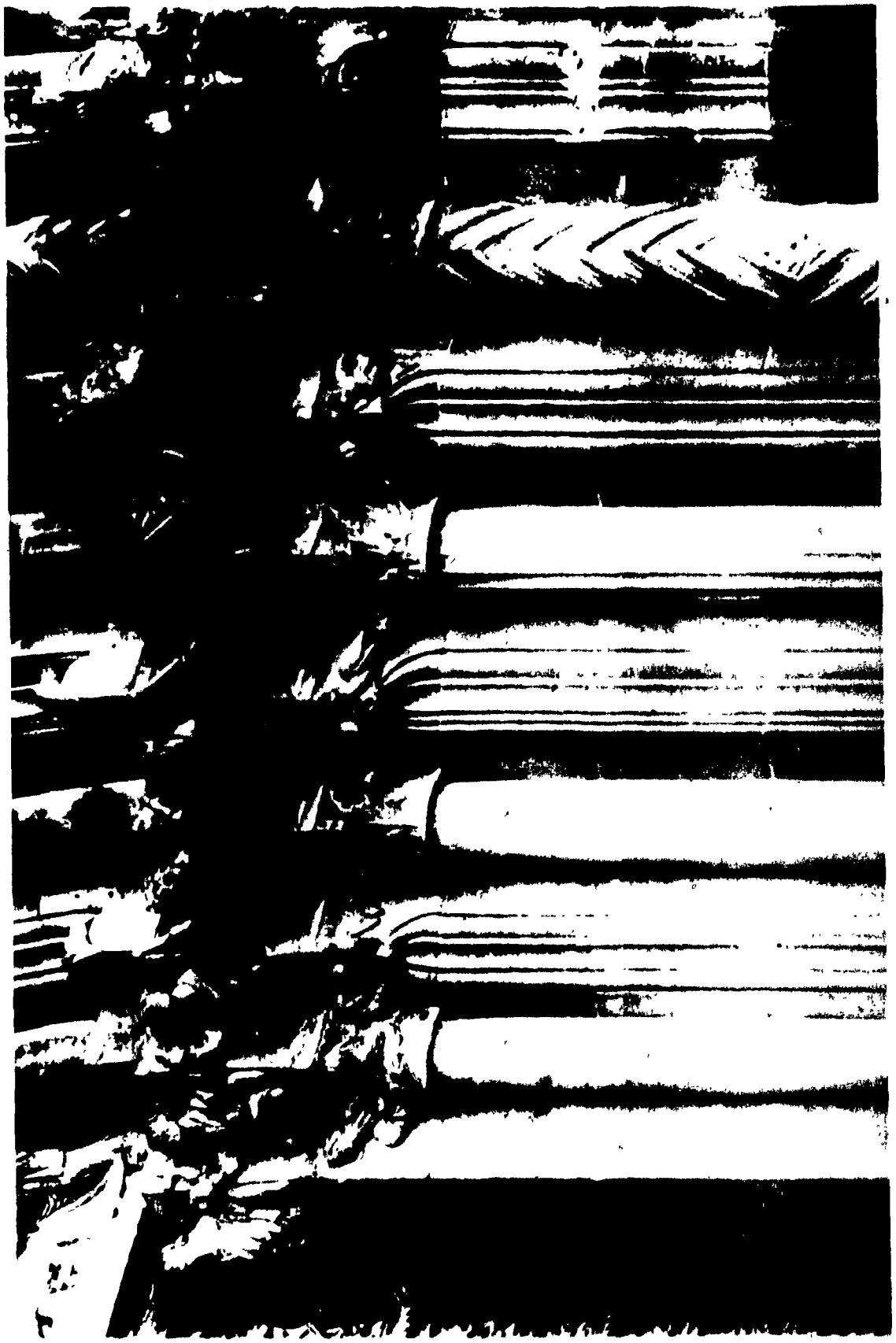

Fig.13

Fig.14

Fig.15

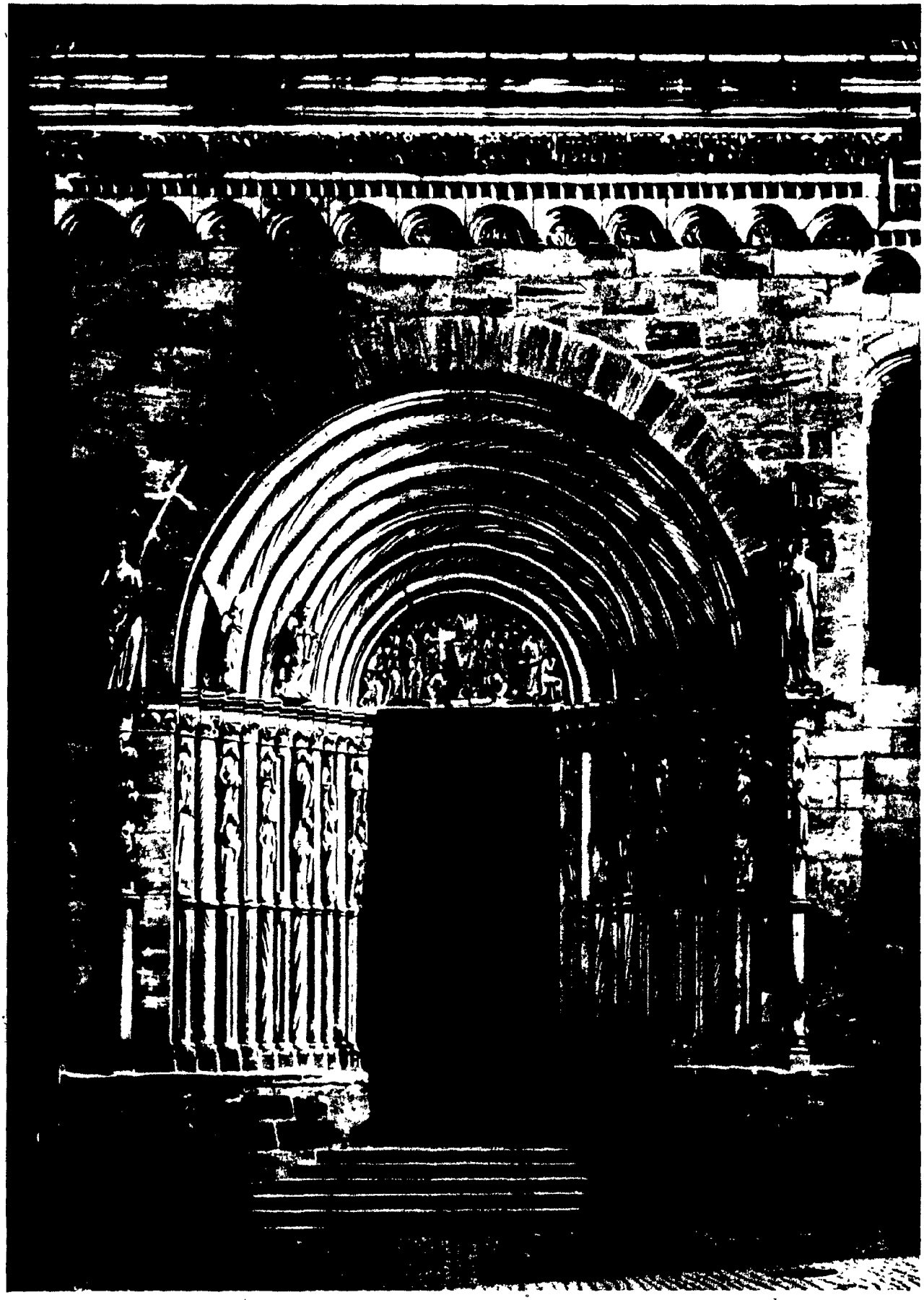

Fig.16

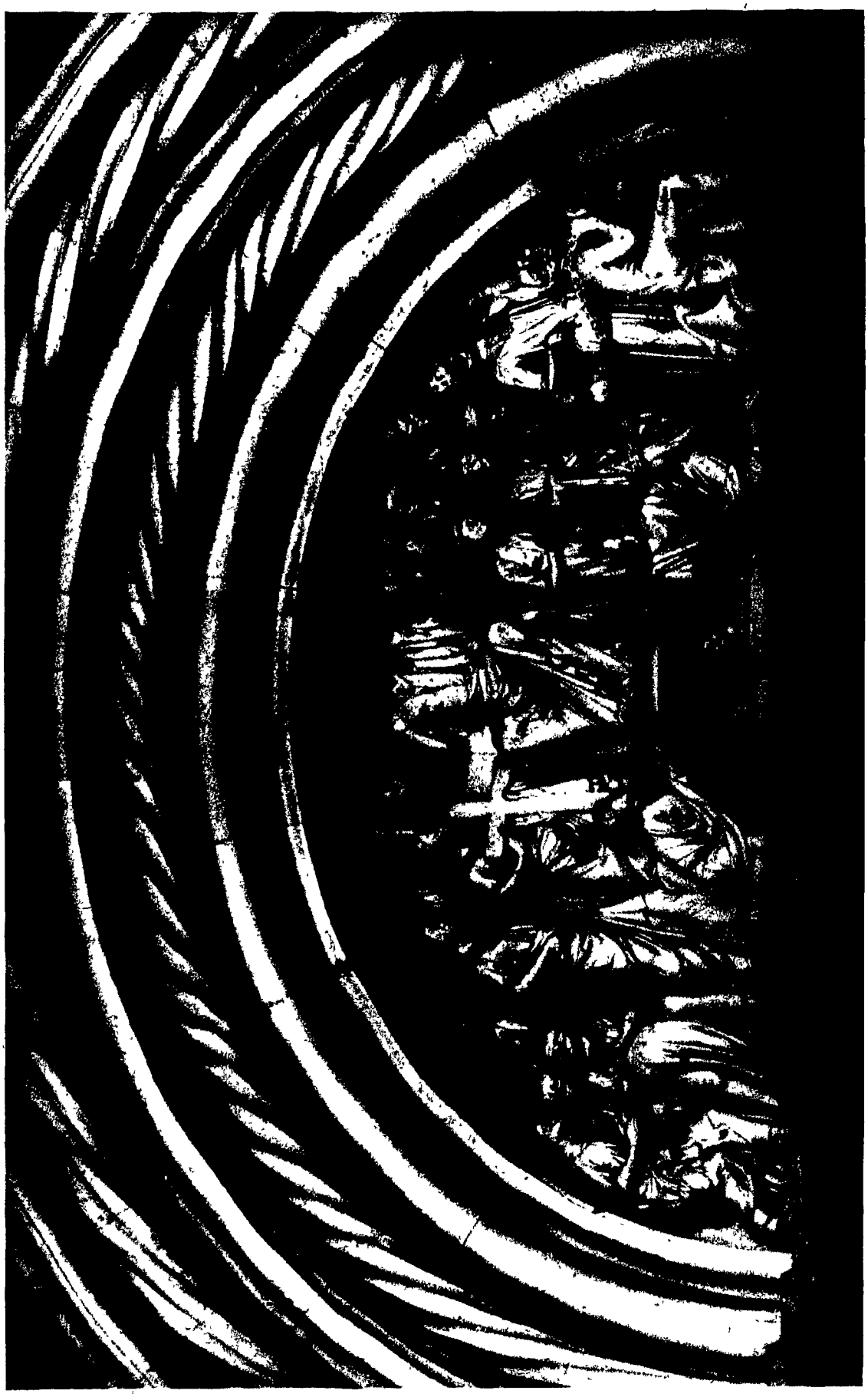

Fig.17

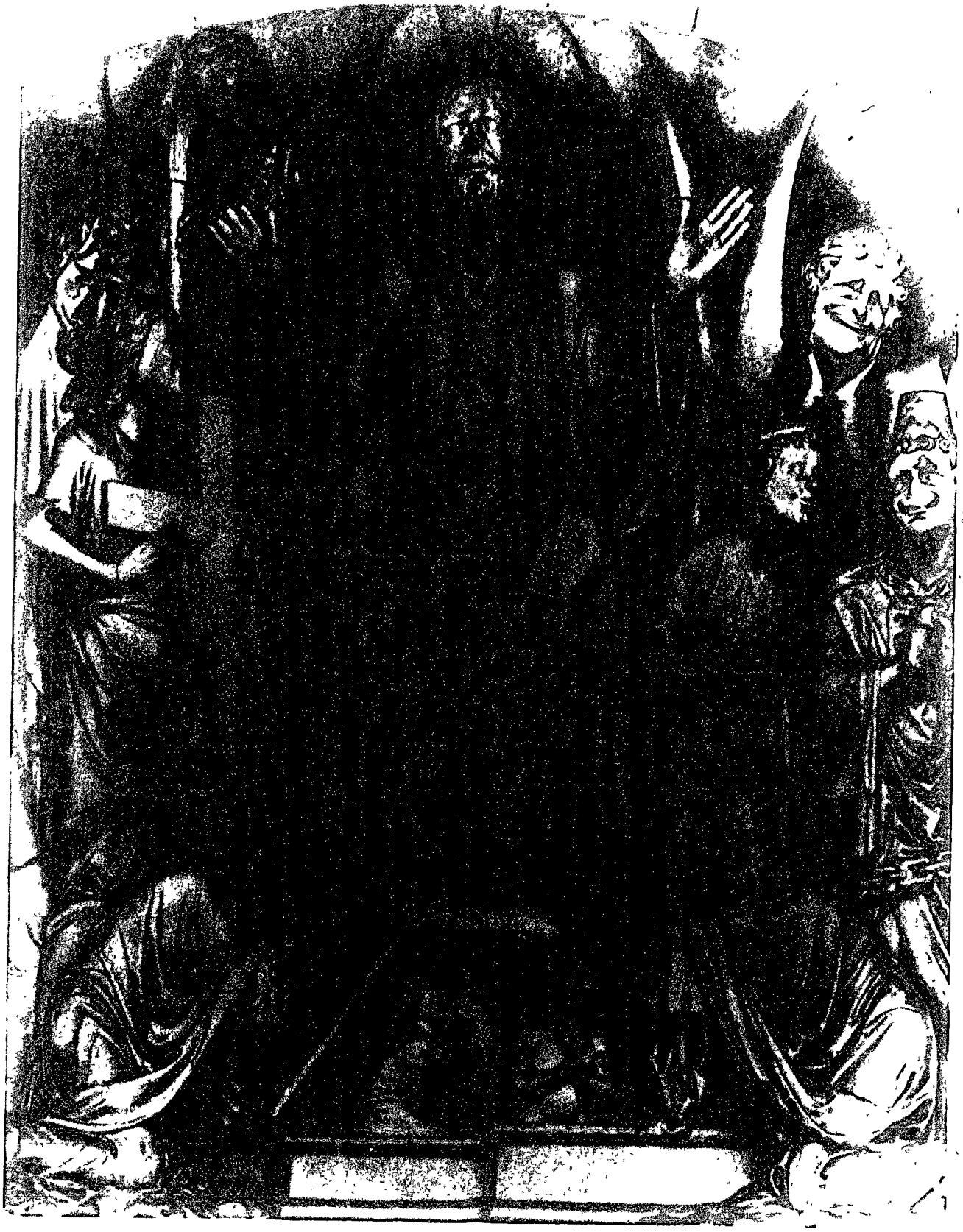

Fig. 18

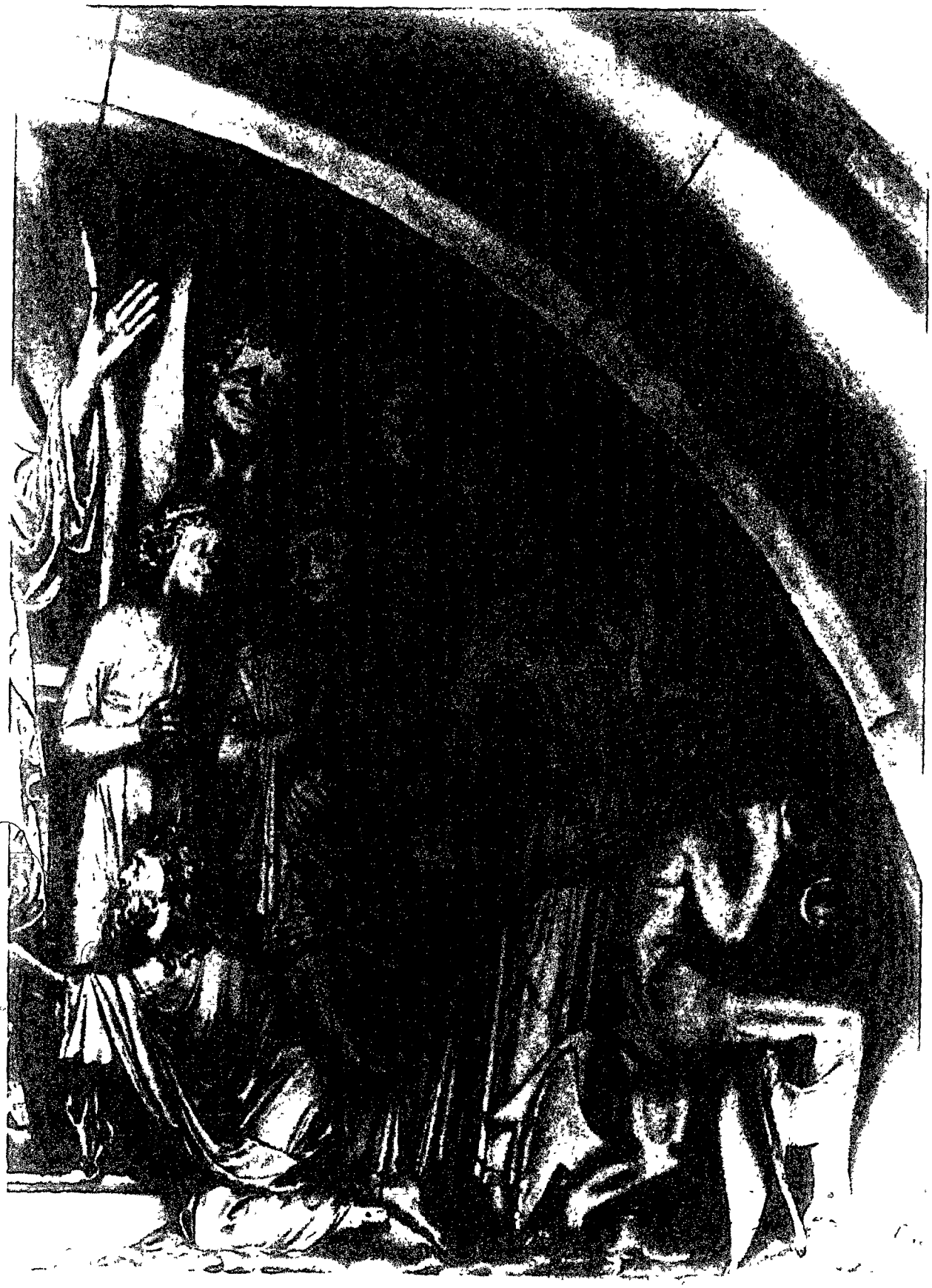

Fig.19

Fig.20

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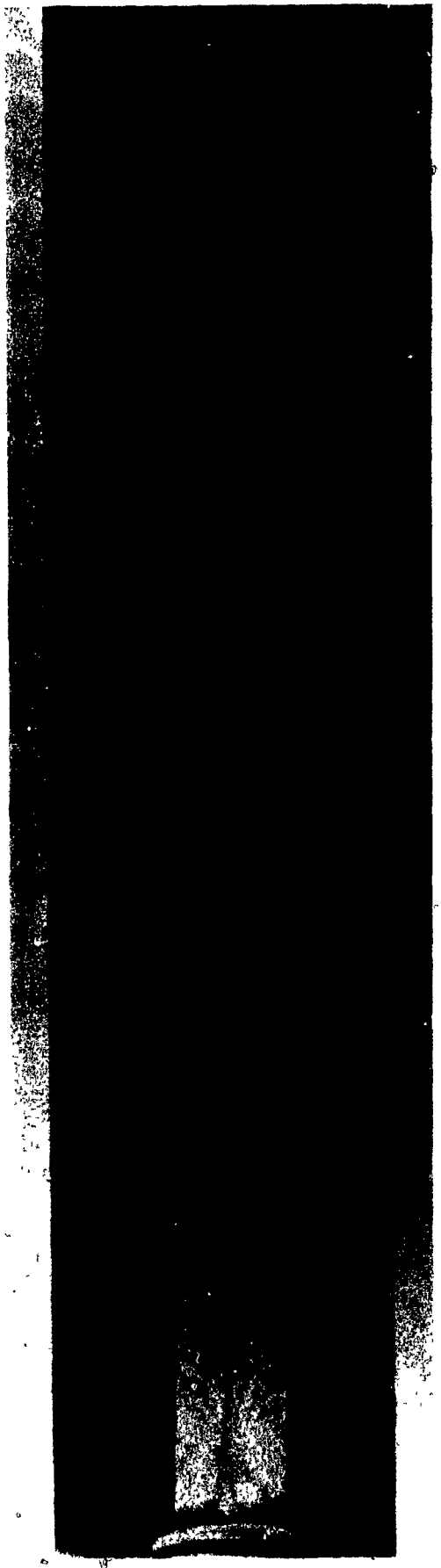

Fig.29