

QUOD VOCATUR PARADISO: THE PIGNA
AND THE ATRIUM OF
OLD ST. PETER'S

by

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ABSTRACT

Today, a monumental ancient bronze *pigna*, or pinecone, rests on a marble capital in the Cortile della Pigna of the Vatican Museum in Rome. Modern viewers appreciate the *pigna* largely as a curiosity, but what is often overlooked by the casual visitor and the art historian alike is the sculpture's rich history and the meanings it amassed over the two thousand years it spent in the vicinity of the *Ager Vaticanus*. The exact origins of the *pigna* are a mystery, but early renovations to the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome suggest that the sculpture once served as the essential and unifying water feature of a fountain located in the center of the atrium of the church no later than c. 752-57. In this thesis, I focus on the *pigna*'s eighth-century incorporation into the atrium of Old St. Peter's and examine the fountain's symbolic value within the architectural ensemble of which it once formed an essential part. This study explores the *pigna*'s soteriological meaning, and suggests that the addition of the *pigna* sculpture transformed the pre-existing atrium into the embodiment of an earthly and celestial Paradise. To demonstrate this, I show how the addition of the *pigna* led to the creation of a new architectural term—the *paradiso*—that designated the physical and spiritual significance of the space. I focus on issues of medieval reception, suggesting that the *pigna* sculpture inspired, shaped, and completed the *paradiso* in the minds of eighth-century viewers through its form, function, and basic botanic identity. This study contributes a greater understanding of the *pigna*'s Christian significance, and suggests that the *pigna* sculpture's addition to the atrium in the eighth century reflected the church's emergent status as a center for pilgrimage and papal influence.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Jessie, who was supportive, loving, and patient during the time I was a virtual pilgrim in Rome and remembered me when I got back.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PRÉCIS OF CHAPTERS

Today, a monumental ancient bronze *pigna*, or pinecone, rests on a marble capital in the Cortile della Pigna of the Vatican Museum in Rome (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).¹ It sits at the top of a double flight of stairs, and beneath it is a plaque inscribed with lines from Canto XXXI of Dante's *Inferno*:

“La faccia mi pareva longa e grossa
Come la pina di S. Pietro in Roma.”

(His face appeared to me as long and large
as is at Rome the pine-cone of Saint Peter's).²

The quotation is from Dante's descent into the eighth circle of hell, and in the *pigna*'s current installation the inscription serves as an explanatory subtitle for an object that is simultaneously glorified and obfuscated. The *pigna* is the focal point of the Upper Belvedere Courtyard, and its elaborate pedestal and niche signify the sculpture's importance, but the current installation gives few clues to the object's meaning. The *pigna* is appreciated today largely as a curiosity, or merely as an ornament to Donato Bramante's (1444-1514) fifteenth-century courtyard and Pirro Ligorio's (c. 1500-83) sixteenth-century *exedra*.³ What is often overlooked by the casual visitor and the art historian alike is the sculpture's rich history and the meanings assigned to it over the two thousand years it has spent in the vicinity of the *Ager Vaticanus*.

The exact origins of the *pigna* are a mystery, but a signature on the sculpture's base suggests that it was produced in the first century. It reads “P. CINCIVS. P.L. CALVIVS. FECIT” (This is the work of Publius Cincius Calvius, freedman of Publius Cincius).⁴ Beginning

in c. 752-57, however, the *pigna* served as the essential and unifying feature of a fountain located in the center of the atrium of the Church of Old St. Peter's in Rome. In that location, the *pigna* acted as a pilgrim's introduction to the church and signaled the beginning of a transcendent religious experience.

This study responds to two questions. First, why was the *pigna* brought to the atrium of Old St. Peter's in the eighth century? Second, how did the *pigna* fountain become a symbol for one of the most important churches in the Christian world? In this paper, I focus on the *pigna*'s eighth-century addition to the atrium of Old St. Peter's and a pre-existing fountain structure, and argue that its inclusion identified the space as an earthly and celestial Paradise, referencing a range of typological, ideological, and political concepts, including the Tree of Life, the Fountain of Life, and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. As such, the *pigna* fountain's Biblical and medieval referents contributed to the devotional and spiritual experience of Old St. Peter's by infusing the church with multivalent meaning that was elucidated through visual connections made during the journey through the atrium towards the tomb of Peter. I also argue that the *pigna* fountain's connection to Paradise and the Holy Land was cultivated by Pope Stephen II (r. 752-57) and his successor Pope Paul I (r. 757-67) to increase the importance of Old St. Peter's in Rome as a center of the Christian faith and emphasize the papal state's independence from the Eastern Orthodox Church by claiming the pinecone fountain type and the Tomb of Christ for the Western church.

The earliest visual record of the *pigna* fountain is a drawing in pen and ink, dating from c. 1515-25, on the *verso* of a sheet now in the drawings department of the Uffizi in Florence (Figure 1.3).⁵ Scholarship on the drawing is limited and little is known about its history.⁶ It is currently unattributed, but was formerly assigned to the Italian architect and draftsman Simone

Pollaiuolo, called Il Cronica (1457-1508).⁷ In the sketch, the *pigna* is covered with smooth, pyramid-shaped scales that are largest at its base and decrease in size as they move upwards. Four low walls surround the *pigna* to form a basin or *cantharus*. Each side is made up of two panels decorated in low relief depicting griffins holding candelabra. Eight columns support an elaborate bronze canopy above the *pigna* that is, in turn, ornamented with two bronze peacocks in front of a rounded grill. The birds face one another, necks crossed, in imitation of the *chrismon* (monogram of Christ) medallion above. This circular ornament includes the Greek letters *chi* (χ) and *rho* (ρ), flanked by *alpha* (α) and *omega* (ω). Dolphins at the four corners likely served as rainspouts. The top of the canopy is decorated with crockets which may be generic buds, fruits, or tiny pinecones.

The *pigna* sculpture is mentioned explicitly for the first time in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, or Marvels of Rome, a twelfth-century guidebook for pilgrims to the city.⁸ The document comes surprisingly late—the *pigna*’s antiquity, combined with this medieval source, establishes a textual gap in the sculpture’s history of over a thousand years. An earlier, implicit referent to the *pigna* fountain, however, is found within an early version of the *Liber Pontificalis*, or Book of Popes, from c. 752-92.⁹ Tiberio Alfarano’s *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura* (On the Old and New Structure of the Vatican Basilica) (c. 1571-82) and Giacomo Grimaldi’s *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Description of the Old Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican) (1608-20) are also essential to the study of the *pigna*, since they describe the fountain’s appearance before the ensemble was dismantled in the early seventeenth century (c. 1608-10).¹⁰ The *pigna* is also mentioned in a sixteenth-century poem by the anonymous Italian known as the “Prospettivo Milanese” and provides the punch line in Pietro Aretino’s *La cortigiana* (The Courtesan) (1525-34), where a visitor to Rome hears

about the “cone” (*pina*) at Old St. Peter’s and mistakes it for a giant scoop of gelato.¹¹

Modern scholarship on the *pigna* is primarily concerned with the sculpture’s possible origin and location prior to its arrival at Old St. Peter’s in the eighth century. Early studies include Georges Lacour-Gayet’s “La Pigna du Vatican” (1881), which focuses on early sources related to the *pigna*, and Hartmann Grisar’s “I monumenti del Paradiso nella basilica di S. Pietro” (1903), a commentary on Tiberio Alfarano’s early, engraved ground plan of the church (c. 1589-90).¹² These contributions were followed by a series of early German publications. J. Strzygowski’s “Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier” (1903) is a broad introductory study that focuses on images of pinecone fountains in medieval illuminated manuscripts and carved reliefs.¹³ In a more specialized article, “Pigna-Brunnen” (1903), E. Peterson argues that the *pigna* was once fixed to a metal grate that covered the *oculus* of the Pantheon in Rome.¹⁴ The last article in this group, C. Huelsen’s “Der Cantharus von Alt-St.-Peter und die antiken Pignen-Brunnen” (1904), responds to Peterson’s theory and argues that the holes in the *pigna* were cast, rather than bored, suggesting the sculpture was originally intended as a waterspout for a fountain.¹⁵

In two of the only English-language contributions to the study of the *pigna*, Margaret Finch addressed the work in her unpublished dissertation, “The Stones of the Mons Vaticanus” (1987), and an article entitled “The Cantharus and Pigna at Old St. Peter’s” (1991).¹⁶ In the article, Finch pursues multiple threads, all of them involving the pagan or classical world. Another focused study of the *pigna* is Paolo Liverani’s “La Pigna Vaticana: Note Storiche” (1986), which transcribes several important primary sources.¹⁷ This article was accompanied by Sergio Angelucci’s conservational analysis of the sculpture, “Il restauro della pigna vaticana”

(1986), which describes how water was brought into the hollow body of the *pigna* through a single tube and dispensed.¹⁸

In spite of the length and conspicuity of the *pigna* fountain's presence at Old St. Peter's, the early installation of the sculpture and the attendant religious and political meanings it conveyed to contemporary viewers have received little scholarly attention. To be sure, the *pigna* and its eight-century architectural surroundings are difficult subjects of study. Only a few elements of the original ensemble survive, and the *pigna* itself possesses a surprisingly scant documentary record.¹⁹ There are only a handful of studies devoted exclusively to Old St. Peter's. Richard Krautheimer's *Corpus Basilicarum* (1977) remains a seminal survey of the church, containing important details related to the atrium's development and archeological investigations.²⁰ There has also been a growing interest in Old St. Peter's over the last decade, including Antonio Pinelli's (ed.) *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (2000), William Tronzo's (ed.) *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (2005), and Rosamond McKitterick's (ed.) *Old St. Peter's, Rome* (2013). These publications provide helpful methods for discussing the church of Old St. Peter's as an enduring, layered site, but none focus on the moment of the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium.²¹

The eighth century was an important time in papal history, analogous to the Constantine's legalization of Christianity and move to Constantinople in the fourth century and the church councils of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since the installation of the *pigna* fountain was sponsored by the papacy, it must be viewed within this highly charged political *milieu* as well as its broader social circumstance. The eighth century included the first iconoclastic period (726-87); conflict between the Eastern and Western Churches' over the proper use of images in Christian worship culminating in Pope Gregory III's (r. 731-41) excommunication of the Byzantine Emperor (731); the Roman Revolution and the papacy's alliance with the Franks

(754); and the Donation of Pepin and the birth of the independent Papal States in Italy (756).²²

The eighth century also marked a new height of pilgrimage to Rome following Pepin's defeat of the Lombards (756), when devotees arrived at Old St. Peter's from established pilgrimage routes inside the Italian peninsula and beyond the Pyrenees Mountains. Early medieval pilgrimage to Rome has been the topic of limited study, including works by Debra Birch, who concentrates on the social lives and ritualized actions of pilgrims in Rome, and Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, who focus on pilgrims' travel to and experience of the Lateran and Old St. Peter's.²³ Pilgrims came to Old St. Peter's to touch the stones around the bodily remains of Christ's vicar on earth, Peter, and come away with a precious contact relic or a vial or holy oil taken from the lamps around the Apostle's tomb. Visitors were most often uneducated and illiterate, coming from a low social strata, but devotees also included the elite and erudite. An extraordinary example is the Emperor Charlemagne (r. 800-814), who visited the church of Old St. Peter's several times during his life and performed all the actions expected of a humble pilgrim. Significantly, the profusion of architectural structures, images, and religious enactments inside and outside the church Old St. Peter's made the pilgrim experience largely visual, and allowed the decorative program's salvific meaning to be accessible to all. An original contribution of this study lies in considering the *pigna*'s meaning within the larger decorative, architectural, and political context of the eighth-century church and how the *pigna* fountain was potentially used and viewed by medieval pilgrims of the period.

In this thesis, I focus on the *pigna*'s eighth-century incorporation into the church atrium. This study explores the *pigna*'s soteriological and eschatological meaning, and suggests that the addition of the sculpture transformed the existing atrium into the embodiment of an earthly and celestial Paradise. To support this thesis, I explore the formal and ideological resonances of the

pigna, in order to show how the fountain was linked to importance Christian symbols associated with the Garden of Eden and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In arguing that the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium created a *paradiso*, I move from a discussion of the shape of the atrium and fountain, to what the atrium was called, to the *pigna* fountain's symbolic and architectural referents. This study contributes a greater understanding of the *pigna*'s Christian significance, and suggests that the sculpture's addition reflected Old St. Peter's emergent status as a center for pilgrimage and papal influence.

My approach to the study of the *pigna* fountain is informed by three studies that do not deal with the *pigna* fountain directly, but provide guidelines for understanding the ensemble as a highly associative structure. First, Richard Krautheimer's "Introduction to 'An Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'" (1942, 1969), which deals with the referential abilities of the medieval copy as well as "the medieval pattern of 'double-think,' or better, 'multi-think,'" that defines many medieval structures.²⁴ Krautheimer's analysis is formal but historically grounded, and I try to emulate his approach with my own discussion of the atrium of Old St. Peter's as form, void, and important pilgrimage site. Krautheimer's definition of a medieval copy also has direct bearing on this study because he makes it clear that a medieval copy was not necessarily a strict formal replica of an original—instead, a copy needed only to reflect a few key aspects of its original. Krautheimer thus asserts the medieval viewer's ability to make associations between structures, and this influences my own study, which is essentially organized as a series of comparative images.²⁵

Christopher Wood and Alexander Nagel's *Anachronic Renaissance* (2010) also influences my approach, since the authors deal with artworks that have long, flexible, or uncertain historicities.²⁶ Significantly, Wood and Nagel do not insist on fixing objects in one

time and one place. Rather, they explore the plurality or flexibility of works of art, suggesting that for medieval viewers objects might encapsulate many times and places simultaneously.²⁷ For the purposes of this study, I use Wood and Nagel's notion of temporal flexibility to address the *pigna*'s age and the layered site of Old St. Peter's. In the same vein, I reference their notion of spatial flexibility to suggest that the *pigna* was connected to the topography of Old St. Peter's—its tangible, physical ground—and also recalled important sites in the Holy Land through a kind of virtual pilgrimage.²⁸

My method is also indebted to a group of contemporary art historians who have written on layered architectural sites and emphasized temporality in their methodological approach. First, Nicola Camerlenghi's "The Longue Durée and the Life of Buildings" (2011), an introduction to the significance of layered sites that also includes a brief treatment of the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome.²⁹ Second, Marvin Trachtenberg's *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (2010), a comprehensive, book-length study that focuses on long-term building projects undertaken in Italy.³⁰ Finally, Federica Goffi's *Time Matters(s): Invention and Re-Imagination in Built Conservation, The Unfinished Drawing and Building of St. Peter's, the Vatican* (2013), which concentrates on Tiberio Alfarano's combined ground plan of Old St. Peter's and New St. Peter's (1571 and c. 1589-90) and identifies the cleric's drawing as a mnemonic device.³¹ These publications offer diachronic analyses of medieval and Renaissance architecture while also considering how the history of building on a site can influence its most recent architectural developments. These studies have inspired by own interest in how pilgrims' experience of the eighth-century *pigna* fountain could recall the topographical layers (or strata) of Old St. Peter's and the memory of structures that were built, destroyed, and rebuilt in Rome and the Holy Land.

After the Introduction, Chapter 2, “The Development of the Atrium and Pigna Fountain,” provides an architectural orientation to Old St. Peter’s, tracing the development of the church atrium from its foundation (c. 319-50) to the moment of the *pigna*’s addition to the space (c. 752-57). This section serves as an introduction to the church, and demonstrates how the atrium’s original, fourth-century fountain influenced the development of the space around it. I attempt to form a reliable image of the eighth-century atrium and *pigna* fountain by comparing textual and visual descriptions, specifically the medieval *Liber Pontificalis* and Renaissance views of the atrium by Francisco de Hollanda (c. 1538-40) (Figures 1.4 and 1.5), Tiberio Alfarano (1571 and c. 1589-90) (Figures 1.6 and 1.7), Giovanni Antonio Dosio (c. 1574-75) (Figure 1.8), G.B. Cavalieri (1575) (Figures 1.9 and 1.10), and Domenico Tasselli (before 1619-20 or c. 1611) (Figure 1.11). In this chapter, I also introduce Pope Stephen II (r. 752-57) as the likely patron for the *pigna* fountain, and suggest that the sculpture’s eighth-century installation signified Rome’s importance as a social, political, and spiritual center. This will include a brief discussion of Old St. Peter’s as the primary destination for medieval pilgrims in Rome, and lay the ground work for a fuller treatment of visitors’ experience of the *pigna* fountain in the chapters that follow.

In Chapter 3, “The Creation of the Paradiso,” I address how the *pigna*’s eighth-century addition to the atrium led to the creation of a new architectural term—the *paradiso*—that referenced the physical and spiritual form of the space. Although they are not devoted exclusively to Old St. Peter’s, J.C. Picard’s etymological study of the *paradisus-parvis* (or “paradise-square”) (1971) and his “Le quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre du Vatican” (1974) are key sources in this discussion, because they focus on the early uses of the word *paradiso* in reference to the atrium of Old St. Peter’s.³² I discuss the placement of the *pigna* sculpture inside the atrium’s pre-existing, fourth-century fountain structure, and suggest that the atrium’s renovation

and altered toponymy captured the architectural emphasis already placed on the courtyard's porticoes, but only accomplished this unification through the symbolism supplied by the *pigna*.

I begin by highlighting how the *pigna*'s place in the middle of the *paradiso* engaged an established architecture of Paradise found in a variety of medieval narratives and images related to the Garden of Eden and the Heavenly Jerusalem. Within this discussion, I also emphasize how the *pigna* was integrated into a decorative program that already featured images of Paradise, and focus on viewers' experience of the *pigna* by recreating medieval pilgrims' line of sight as they entered the atrium through the central gatehouse. In conclusion, I argue that the *pigna* fountain's functionality as a water spout reinforced the atrium's connection to Paradise, focusing on the feature's use by ordinary and extraordinary medieval pilgrims such as Charlemagne, the *pigna*'s identity as a seed that is constantly being watered, and its relation to the Tree of Life from the Garden of Eden.

In Chapter 4, "The Pigna's Architectural and Political Referents," I clarify how the *pigna* fountain's connection to Paradise impacted its medieval reception. First, I investigate the *pigna*'s architectural referents on-site, and discuss how the fountain was modeled after structures inside the church of Old St. Peter's. I begin this section by reiterating the *pigna*'s funerary significance, and suggest that the *pigna* fountain's immediate architectural surroundings foreshadowed the tomb of the Apostle in Old St. Peter's (c. 170) as well as the baldachin over the tomb in the church's western apse (c. 319-350). After making those local architectural connections, I frame my discussion in terms of the *pigna* fountain's architectural referents off-site, and explore how the symbolic form of the *pigna* fountain allowed medieval pilgrims to engage in "mental" or "virtual" pilgrimage to the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. To make this connection, I discuss the contemporary building projects at Old St. Peter's in Rome (c.

319-50) and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (c. 325-35). I provide a general sense of the fourth-century shrine protecting Christ's Tomb and then compare it to the *pigna* fountain to suggest that the eighth-century ensemble embodied the site of Old St. Peter's in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

In the final section of Chapter 4, I re-emphasize the *pigna* fountain's eighth-century historical context to explain why the *pigna* was added to the atrium at that political and social moment. I contextualize the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium in light of increased pilgrimage to Rome in eighth century, arguing that the fountain's paradisiacal symbolism placed Rome at the center of a Christian empire that was forging new alliances and shifting their political focus westward. I revisit Pope Stephen II's (r. 752-57) role as the possible patron of the *pigna* fountain, and suggest that the sculpture's addition to the atrium was informed by the pope's recent alliance with the Frankish Empire, designed to rescue the city's identification as *caput mundi* and increase its power relative to the Byzantine East. In this vein, I also offer a comparison between the *pigna* fountain and a Carolingian copy of the ensemble possibly commissioned by Charlemagne around the year 800 and installed in the atrium of his Palatine Chapel in Aachen, suggesting that this appropriation for another Christian capital is evidence of the *pigna*'s political purpose.

This study contributes a greater understanding of the *pigna*'s Christian significance and suggests that the sculpture's addition reflected the church's emergent status as a center for pilgrimage and papal influence. It suggests that the *pigna* fountain was a symbol of Paradise, but was also used by its papal patrons to communicate the church's temporal power and Rome's importance in the Christian world. This thesis also delves into the layered history of use and reuse at Old St. Peter's, the architectural layering of built and destroyed structures, and the

conversion of pagan artworks into Christian symbols. It suggests that the history of the Vatican site had a direct influence on the church's development, and demonstrates how the topographical layers of the *Ager Vaticanus* shaped the built architectural fabric of Old St. Peter's.

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1. For basic facts about the *pigna*, see *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance*, s.v. “Colossal Pine Cone,” accessed 2 January 2014, <http://www.census.de/census/database>; and Phyllis Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, 2nd ed. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010), 238-39.
 2. Dante Alighieri, *The Inferno*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 270.
 3. Donato Bramante and Pirro Ligorio are responsible for the Belvedere courtyard project, but during Pope Clement XI’s (r. 1700-21) renovation of the Upper Cortile the *pigna* was set on a monumental capital from the Terme Alessandrine depicting the coronation of an athlete. From c. 1608-10 the *pigna* rested on the simpler, circular base seen in Maggi engraving *La grande veduta del Tempio e del Palazzo Vaticano* (1615).
 4. For a detailed analysis of this inscription, see Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, “Le iscrizioni della pigna vaticana,” *Bollettino: Monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie* 6 (1986): 65-78.
 5. The best reproductions of the Uffizi drawing are found in *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “inv. 157 S v,” accessed 2 January 2014, <http://www.census.de/census/database>; Alfonso Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze* (Florence: Bontempelli, 1914), 6:9; Margaret Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna at Old St. Peter’s,” *Gesta* 30, no. 1 (1991): 16; and Dale Kinney, “Spolia,” *St. Peter’s in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 33.
 6. The most significant studies on the *pigna* fountain are Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 16-26; Dale Kinney, “Spolia,” *St. Peter’s in the Vatican*, 31-34; and Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Città del Vaticano: Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1977), 5: 261-71.
 7. For the debate over the drawing’s attribution, see Hubertus Günther, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1988), 69-70; Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 16; Margaret Finch, “The Stones of the Mons Vaticanus,” Ph.D. dissertation (Bryn Mawr University, 1987), 16; and Kinney, “Spolia,” 44, note 108.
 8. “In St. Peter’s Paradise is a basin made by Pope Symmachus, constructed with pillars of porphyry that are joined together by marble tablets with griffins and covered with a top of costly brass, with flowers and dolphins of gilt brass pouring forth water. In the middle of the basin is a bronze Pine Cone that, with a roof of gilded brass, covered over the status of Cybele, mother of the gods, in the opening of the Pantheon. Water out of the Sabbatine Aqueduct was supplied by an underground lead pipe to this Pine Cone. Since it was always full it poured water through the holes in the nuts to all that wanted it. Through the underground pipe some part of the water also flowed to the emperor’s bath near the Needle,” from Francis Nichols, trans., *The Marvels of Rome*, 2nd ed. (New York: Italica Press, 1986), 34.

9. The reference to the *pigna* fountain is found in the biography of Pope Stephen II (r. 752-57). The pope's biography was likely written sometime during his reign, but before the entire *Liber Pontificalis* was rewritten in the late eighth century. For the pope's biography, see Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis, Texte: Introduction et commentaire* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1955-57), 262, 455. For the rewriting of the *Liber*, see Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), ix.

10. Tiberio Alfarano, *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura, ca. 1570-1582*, ed. D.M. Cerrati, *Studi et Testi* 26 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1914), 108-28; Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano: Codice Barberini latino 2733*, ed. Reto Niggli, *Codices e vaticanis selecti* 32 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1972), 52. For an in-depth discussion of the destruction of the church, see J.A.F. Orbaan, *Der Abbruch Alt-Sankt Peter's* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlags Guchhandlung, 1918), 1-139.

11. For a transcription of the poem by the "Prospettivo Milanese," see Paolo Liverani, "La Pigna Vaticana. Note Storiche," *Bollettino, monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie* 6 (1986), 56. The *pigna* reference appears in Act II, Scene II of Aretino's comedy, when the Sienese protagonist, Messo Maco, turns to his friend and says, "Let's go. I want to eat that cone, and I don't care what it costs" (*Andiam, ch'io voglio mangiare quella pina, e costi ciò che la vuole*); Pietro Aretino, *La cortigiana e alter opere*, ed. Angelo Romano (Milan: RCS Libri S.p.A., 1999), 27.

12. Georges Lacour-Gayet, "La Pigna du Vatican," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (1881): 312-21; Hartmann Grisar, "I monumenti del Paradiso nella basilica di S. Pietro," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 18, no. 12 (1903): 460-69. For Alfarano's ground plan see Hartmann Grisar, "I monumenti del Paradiso nella basilica di S. Pietro," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 18, no. 12 (1903): 460-69; J.C. Picard, "Le quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre du Vatican," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 86, no. 2 (1974), 861-63; Enzo Bentivoglio, "Tiberio Alfarano: le piante del vecchio S. Pietro sulla pianta del nuovo edita dal Dupérac," *L'architettura della basilica di San Pietro: storia e costruzione*, ed. G. Spagnesi (Rome: Università di Roma, 1997), 247-54; and Federica Goffi, *Time Matters(s): Invention and Re-Imagination in Built Conservation, The Unfinished Drawing and Building of St. Peter's, the Vatican* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2013), 27-36, 47-60, 69-87.

13. Josef Strzygowski, "Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903): 185-206.

14. Peterson suggests that a fire in the Pantheon in the year 80 melted this grate, resulting in a long fall and the damage to the *pigna*'s tip; see E. Petersen, "Pigna-Brunnen," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1903): 312-28.

15. C. Huelsen, "Der Cantharus von Alt-St.-Peter und die antiken Pignen-Brunnen," *Römische Mitteilungen* 19 (1904): 88-102.

16. I am very grateful to Dr. Finch for making portions of her dissertation available to me; see Finch, “Stones of the Mons Vaticanus”; and idem., “Cantharus and Pigna,” 16-26.

17. Paolo Liverani, “Pigna Vaticana,” 51-63.

18. Sergio Angelucci, “Il restauro della pigna vaticana,” *Bollettino: Monumenti musei e gallerie pontificie* 6 (1986): 5-49.

19. Old St. Peter’s was gradually destroyed from c. 1506-1610, and the *pigna* fountain suffered through a similar, slow disbanding. According Giacomo Grimaldi, the *pigna* was brought to the Vatican Gardens in c. 1608-10; Grimaldi, *Descrizione*, 186-87. The bronze canopy above the *pigna* was melted down during the reign of Pope Paul V (c. 1608-21), and its raw material used to cast the statue of the Madonna on the tall column in front of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome; see Annewies Van Den Hoek and John Hermann, “Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards, and Canthari,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 93, no. 3 (July, 2000): 199; H.V. Morton, *The Fountains of Rome* (London: George Rainbird Ltd., 1966), 205; Angelucci, “Restauro,” 9. The panels of the *cantharus* basin were removed and placed in the pavement in front of the southern entrance (the Judgment Gate, or *portam Iudicij*) to the church sometime before c. 1574-75, since they do not appear in views of the atrium by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1574-74), G.B. Cavalieri (1575), or Domenico Tasseli (before 1619-20, or c. 1611). They are now lost. For their move to the *portam Iudicij*, see Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 109. Two of the *pigna* fountain’s bronze peacocks are now kept in the New Wing (Braccio Nuovo) of the Vatican Museum in Rome (inv. inv. 5117 and 5120), but they were originally installed with the *pigna* after the reconstruction of the cortile under Clement XI (1700-21); Angelucci, “Restauro,” 6. Two of structure’s eight porphyry columns may be preserved in the Salle des Saison, Louvre Museum, Paris (inv. MA 1096); one depicts the Emperor Trajan and the other the Emperor Nerva. *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Nerva”; see *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Trajan.”

20. Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 165-279.

21. The essential recent studies on the church of Old St. Peter’s are Antonio Pinelli, ed., *St. Peter’s in the Vatican* (English Edition), 4 Vols. (Modena: Pannini Editore, 2000); William Tronzo, ed., *St. Peter’s in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story, eds., *Old St. Peter’s, Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). The *pigna* fountain is neglected in specialized studies of Old St. Peter’s and topical anthologies where it could feature prominently, including Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter’s in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004); Michael Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1989); Jan Hendrik Jongkees, *Studies on Old St. Peter’s* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1966); Charles McClendon, “The History of the Site of St. Peter’s Basilica, Rome,” *Perspecta* 25 (1989): 32-65; and Maria Hansen Fabricius, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome* (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2003).

22. For scholarship on Roman politics in the eighth century, see D.H. Miller, "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century: A Study of the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and the Alliance with the Franks," *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974): 79-133; Ibid., "Byzantine-Papal Relations During the Pontificate of Paul I: Confirmation and Completion of the Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century," *Byzantinisch Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 47-62; and T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of Saint Peter: The Birth of the Papal State 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

23. Debra Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 1998), 101-47, 191-204; and Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 182-218. For other works on pilgrimage to Rome and Old St. Peter's during the medieval period, see Richard Krautheimer, *St. Peter's and Medieval Rome* (Rome: Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia, storia e storia dell'arte in Roma, 1985), 11-38; Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (London: Faber & Faber, 2003), 308-368; and Alan Thacker, "Popes, emperors and clergy at Old St. Peter's from the fourth to the eighth century," *Old St. Peter's, Rome*, eds. Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 137-56.

24. Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (London: 1969), 149; originally published as idem., "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33.

25. Krautheimer, "Introduction" (1969), 116-30. Günter Bandmann's *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning* (1951) followed shortly after Krautheimer's "Introduction" was first published in 1942, and is closely related. Bandmann's book concerns the symbolic potential of architectural forms, and he is adept at analyzing architectural forms from a particular vantage point (what could be called "medieval gaze"). I agree with his supposition that medieval objects are more than metaphors for a concept—instead, they *partake* of concepts—and this has encouraged my belief that the atrium at Old St. Peter's was more than a symbol or illustration of Paradise. It *became* a Paradise. Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 22. For a similar idea of objects becoming what they signify, see: Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2010), 10.

26. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 7-19.

27. For an introduction to the authors' ideas on plural and spatial temporality, see: Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 7-19. Their interest in time, space, and meaning can be compared to what *philosophers of history call an object's fourth dimensionality. For this approach, see: Theodore Sider, Four-Dimensionalism: An Ontology of Persistence and Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Mark Heller, *The Ontology of Physical Objects: Four-Dimensional Hunks of Matter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); and Frederic Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (New York: Verso Books, 2007).

28. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 61. For the notion of "virtual," "mental," "substitute," or "armchair" pilgrimage, see Daniel Connolly, "Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 4 (December, 1999): 598-622; Robert Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 311-21; idem., "Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage," *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 311-21; idem., "Flexible Geography and Transportable Topography," *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, eds. Bezalel Narkiss and Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 393-404; idem., "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (March, 2003): 4-23; Kathryn Rudy, "Northern European Visual Responses to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453-1550" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2000), 59-129; and idem., "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64/64 (200): 494-515.

29. Nicola Camerlenghi, "The Longue Durée and the Life of Buildings," *New Directions in Medieval Architecture* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 11-20.

30. Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

31. Goffi, *Time Matters(s)*, 1-17.

32. Jean-Charles Picard, "Les origines du mot Paradisus-Parvis," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 83, no. 2 (1971): 159-186. Idem., "Quadriporticus," 851-90.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATRIUM AND THE PIGNA FOUNTAIN

In this chapter, I trace the evolution of Old St. Peter's from the fourth to the eighth century, focusing specifically on details related to its atrium and central fountain. This architectural reconstruction lays the groundwork for a more synthetic discussion of the atrium of Old St. Peter's as an architectural, terrestrial, and celestial paradise, and also allows for a richer imagination of the pilgrim experience of the church in the eighth century. The church was built in the fourth century and endured until the papacy of Julius II (r. 1503-13), when it was gradually demolished and replaced, so this reconstruction necessarily involves a survey of the atrium's evolution over time. First, I discuss the origins and evolution of the atrium of Old St. Peter's with a particular emphasis on the periphery of the space (its gatehouse, porticoes, and decorative program). Second, I introduce the atrium's fourth-century *cantharus* fountain, arguing that both the atrium and its central water feature were original, influential features of the church and completed by c. 350. Finally, I associate the *pigna* sculpture's eighth-century addition to the atrium fountain with the papacy of Stephen II (r. 752-57) and discuss the *pigna* fountain's political symbolism and use during a time of increased pilgrimage to Rome and new military alliance with the Frankish Empire. The information in this chapter offers the first analysis of the atrium and fountain as part of a unified ensemble, essential to the subsequent discussion of the symbolic import of the *pigna* and its place within the architectural and decorative program of the church. Tracing the evolution of the atrium's porticoes and fountain will clarify the appearance

of these architectural features and show that the early design of the atrium emphasized the boundary and center of the space.

I. The Origins and Site of Old St. Peter's (c. 319-757)

The initial patron for the building of the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome was likely Constantine the Great (r. 306-37), who may have ordered the construction of the large wooden basilica following his victory over Maxentius at the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312).¹ The history of the evolution of Old St. Peter's, however, stretches across millennia. Today, the church of Old St. Peter's (c. 319-1610) is reduced to a few representative elements embedded into the fabric of New St. Peter's (c. 1506-present).² The most vivid memory of the church, however, is buried in the layered topography of the site. Here, in the church's foundations, the stones of the Vatican Grottos speak most eloquently of the early church of Old St. Peter's and provide basic insights regarding its history.³ These underground chambers contain the crypt, shrine, and tomb chamber of St. Peter.

Eusebius' (c. 260/65-339/40) *Ecclesiastical History* (2.25.5-7) (303-24) contains the earliest description of Peter's martyrdom.⁴ Eusebius explains that Peter was martyred in the *Ager Vaticanus*, a valley located on the northwest side of the Tiber River in Rome. In antiquity, this thinly populated area was ornamented with the gardens of Nero (r. 54-68), located next to Nero's circus (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). According to Eusebius, Peter was crucified in the killing field that abutted this racetrack and, presumably, buried in an attached cemetery. Eusebius' account also includes testimony from a third century Christian named Gaius, who provides the earliest first-hand account of a monument (τρόπαιον, in Latin *tropaion*) erected in Peter's honor on the Vatican Hill.⁵ This claim was validated in the twentieth century (1940-49 and 1953-57) when archaeologists investigated traces of a monument or memorial encased within a slightly larger

structure known as Constantine's *aedicule*, or "little building."⁶ I discuss the appearance of this *aedicule* in detail in Chapter 3, but for now I will focus on the area around the second-century *tropaion* and suggest how its design shaped the development of the fourth-century atrium of Old St. Peter's.

Before the church of Old St. Peter's was built, Peter's *tropaion* overlooked a *campo* that held around thirty to forty people.⁷ Unfortunately, knowledge of this space is limited, but the orientation of the *tropaion* and *campo* is most clearly shown in a recreation by the British archeologist Jocelyn Toynbee (1956) (Figure 2.3). The drawing reflects conclusions drawn from the second major archeological campaign at the Vatican, and shows a shrine made up of two levels. The bottom level is a miniature porch, with a roof supported by Corinthian columns. The top level rests on this platform, and takes the form of a tabernacle with a semi-circular niche surmounted by a pediment. Most interesting, however, is the fact that Toynbee's monument is engaged in a wall surrounding the *campo*.

In Toynbee's recreation, Peter's *tropaion* resembles a typical funerary shrine or tomb ornament from the antique period. However, its orientation had a profound effect on the construction of Old St. Peter's in the fourth century. While it is easy to focus on the magnificence of the church itself, Old St. Peter's essential function was to protect and preserve Peter's shrine. The *tropaion* could not be disturbed, regardless of constrictions at the site. When the floor of Old St. Peter's was laid it had to match the level of the second-century *campo* or risk burying the shrine entirely.⁸ This seemingly small detail led to one of the greatest earth-moving projects of all time.⁹ As previously mentioned, Peter's monument was located in the *Ager Vaticanus*, or Vatican Valley, with slopes to the north, south, and west (Figure 2.1). The topography required that Old St. Peter's take on an unusual, reverse orientation, with Peter's

tomb, the apse, and the high altar near the *Mons Vaticanus* to the west and the nave stretching towards the church entrance to the east.¹⁰ The church builders were also confronted with the valley's substantial eastward slope. Buildings and tombs to the west of Peter's monument—which were positioned above the level of the new floor—had their foundations cut from underneath them. Structures to the east were completely buried.

The creation of a level platform drastically altered the natural topography of the Vatican Valley. Significantly, the desire to create a level platform for a fourth-century atrium at Old St. Peter's proves that the forecourt was part of the church's original design, and was essentially an expansion of the second-century *campo*. As a result, it is possible that a memory of the earlier space inspired the atrium's inclusion in the original ground plan.¹¹ The platform for the atrium was located at the farthest end of the valley's natural, eastern slope, and builders would not have expended the effort to create such a shelf without a specific use in mind. So while it is not certain that a wall surrounded the atrium of Old St. Peter's in the fourth century, the atrium's foundation and floor were laid, and it is likely that the space had some kind of monumental entrance (*propylaeum*) but no porticoes.¹²

II. The Atrium at Old St. Peter's

With this background in mind, it is possible to trace the history of the atrium from the fourth century (c. 350) to the moment of the *pigna*'s addition in the eighth century (c. 752-57), with a specific focus on the walls and porticoes. The emphasis on the boundary likely began with Pope Simplicius I (r. 468-83), who attached covered porticoes to the atrium's lateral and eastern sides to protect pilgrims from the rain. Interestingly, this information is not contained in the medieval *Liber Pontificalis*, or Book of Popes, but comes from a tenth-century Latin *sylloge*, or record of fifth-century funerary inscriptions from Old St. Peter's.¹³ Simplicius I's three-sided—

and likely wooden—porticoes were then replaced by Pope Symmachus I's (r. 498-514) four-sided marble portico (*quadriporticum*).¹⁴ Finally, Pope John I (r. 523-26) embellished the space, and Pope Donus I (676-78) paved the forecourt with marble flagstones.¹⁵

The atrium's appearance in the seventh century was likely close to its representation in Tiberio Alfarano's (1525-96) ground plan of Old St. Peter's, originally drawn in 1571 (Figure 1.6) and reproduced in an engraving from c. 1589-90 (Figure 1.7).¹⁶ Alfarano's engraving clearly shows porticoes running along the north ("L") south ("K"), east ("M"), and west ("I") sides of the atrium, and gives a sense of the larger layout of the church. In discussing Alfarano's plan, however, it is important to note that the church canon and archivist did not attempt to document the atrium's appearance in the sixteenth century. Instead, he attempted to reach back and recover the medieval appearance of Old St. Peter's before its sixteenth-century destruction. Strikingly, the four-sided atrium and porticoes depicted in Alfarano's ground plan did not exist when the plan was drawn.¹⁷ Alfarano's plan is by degrees faithful record, memory, and fantasy, but it does provide one means of recovering the lost church.¹⁸

III. The Fourth-Century *Cantharus* Fountain

Up to this point, I focused on the boundaries of the atrium at Old St. Peter's. Moving forward, I emphasize its central water feature. This includes an analysis of the atrium's original, fourth-century fountain, which I refer to as the *cantharus* fountain, and the atrium's renovated eighth-century fountain, which I call the *pigna* fountain. I aim to clarify the distinction between the two ensembles and demonstrate that the eighth-century *pigna* fountain included the same architectural surroundings as the fourth-century *cantharus* fountain but featured a different central water spout (the pinecone).

A single text, written by Bishop Paulinus of Nola (354-431) confirms the fourth-century (c. 397) presence of a fountain in the atrium of Old St. Peter's. In this letter, Paulinus describes a charity banquet held at Old St. Peter's in honor of his wife, Paula, who had recently died. Paulinus describes moving east along the nave of the church, passing through the vestibule, and emerging into the open atrium.¹⁹ As his eyes adjust, his attention is drawn to the atrium's central fountain: "There is a bright atrium, where a cupola [*tholus*] topped with solid brass adorns and shades a *cantharus*, which belches forth streams of water serving our hands and faces."²⁰ In some ways, Paulinus' description is perplexing, because he uses the word *cantharus*, apparently in reference to a water spout. Traditionally, a *cantharus* is defined as a well or collecting basin, but the word is somewhat flexible and may also refer to a fountain.²¹ Regardless, the text affirms the presence of a late fourth-century fountain. This is also confirmed by an early ninth-century Roman *sylloge* recording fifth-century inscriptions placed on the *cantharus* fountain by Pope Boniface I (r. 418-22) and Pope Celestine I (r. 422-32).²²

These sources make it clear that the *cantharus* fountain was an early feature of Old St. Peter's. Archaeological evidence gathered during the Renaissance demonstrates that the *cantharus* fountain was a critical component of the church's original design. In his *On the Old and New Structure of the Vatican Basilica* (c. 1571-82), Tiberio Alfarano comments on how water was brought to the *pigna* fountain through underground lead tubes (*plumbeas fistulas*).²³ Similarly, in his *Description of the Old Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican* (1608-20) the church historian Giacomo Grimaldi (1560-1623) noted that three great tubes of lead (*tres magni tubones plumbei*) were exposed beneath the base of the sculpture during its removal from Old St. Peter's in c. 1608-10.²⁴ In all likelihood, these pipes connected the fountain to the Roman aqueduct known as the Aqua Traiana, a channel dedicated in 109 CE that supplied water

to Trajan's baths on the Oppian Hill near the Colosseum and his *naumachiae* near the Vatican.²⁵ When Old St. Peter's was built, the antique channel must have been diverted to serve the church, and this would only have been done to serve a functioning fountain. That this project occurred sometime between c. 319-50 can be inferred from traditional building practices and the fact that the pipes were likely buried before the pavement was laid during the initial construction of the church.²⁶

These ancient and Renaissance sources, then, suggest that the *cantharus* fountain at the center of the atrium was an original feature of the fourth-century church of Old St. Peter's. This is a significant point, as most scholars discuss the atrium and *cantharus* fountain as later additions, not in conjunction with the founding of the church (if they discuss them at all).²⁷ Rather than later accretions, though, the atrium and *cantharus* fountain appear to have been identifying features of the church that were instrumental in establishing the standard form of the new Christian basilica. The symbolic and visual connectivity of the elements is also suggested by a close reading of the life of Symmachus I (r. 498-514) in the *Liber Pontificalis*. According to the Latin text, the pope embellished the vaults of the atrium's porticoes with mosaics of lambs, crosses, and palms. The atrium is described as being *compaginavit*, which some scholars translate as "enclosed" or "paved," but can also mean "to assemble" or "to bring together various elements."²⁸ The relation between the mosaics and the central fountain is also described in the *Liber*, and reads *Ad cantharum cum quadriporticum*.²⁹ The language connotes both centering and surrounding, and suggests that the atrium's late fifth or early sixth-century marble colonnades actually *belonged* to the fountain. As a result, they might be viewed as the fountain's supporting columns, multiplied. The passage suggests that, in the eyes of contemporary viewers, the design of the fourth-century *cantharus*

fountain was reflected in surrounding architectural features. Simultaneously, the language alludes to the presence of an expansive, open courtyard around the central fountain. The author's word choice suggests that the atrium was empty, untouched, and intentionally preserved as a sacred precinct that was separate from the outside world and closer to God.

IV. The Eighth-Century *Pigna* Fountain

To trace the next stage of the atrium's history, we turn to the marginal notes accompanying Tiberio Alfarano's engraved ground plan of Old St. Peter's (c. 1589-90) (Figure 1.7), which, as we have seen, recreates the early medieval appearance of the space. On Alfarano's plan, the atrium fountain is labeled "116," and a short annotation in the left margin provides further details. The Latin text reads, *Pinea Aenea Specciosissima a Symacho Papa*—"the splendid gilded pinecone of Pope Symmachus."³⁰ Alfarano's accompanying, full-length text makes it clear that the fountain was located "in the middle of the atrium" (*in medio Atrij*) and featured a pinecone water spout.³¹

The fountain's original fourth-century water spout—whatever it may have been—had been replaced.³² While no text mentions the transition, the *pigna* was most likely added to the pre-existing fountain structure during the papacy of Stephen II, in c. 752-57. Stephen II is not a widely-studied figure, but his reign was defined by the so-called "Roman Revolution," a political and religious schism between Rome and Constantinople resulting from a debate over the proper use of images in Christian worship and Stephen II's military alliance with Pepin the Short, King of the Franks (r. 752-68). The Franco-papal alliance resulted in Pepin's highly successful military campaign against the Lombards, and subsequently a great deal of power for the Frankish king and his army. Surprisingly, in the direct aftermath to the struggle Pepin returned all of his conquered territories back to the papacy, a gift that is now called the Donation

of Pepin.³³ This action led to the birth of the Papal States in Italy and a new era of temporal control led by Pope Stephen II. Pepin's defeat of the barbarians also created a new sense of security that led to an unprecedented period of pilgrimage to Rome, a point I will return to in Chapter 3.³⁴

The *pigna*'s presence in the fountain of Old St. Peter's can be inferred through Stephen's biography, which mentions how the pope "renewed" (*renovavit*) the fountain's surrounding architectural structure to include eight supporting columns, rather than the initial four.³⁵ Margaret Finch realized, as Richard Krautheimer had before her, that the *pigna* must have been added to the structure prior to that restoration, since the narrowed gaps between the additional columns would have prohibited the object from being inserted.³⁶ In some ways, the change was minimal, since the *pigna* sculpture merely replaced the water spout of the earlier, fourth-century fountain ensemble, but the effort it took to transport the monumental pinecone to this site—and the decision to insert it into a prominent, centrally located fountain—suggests that *pigna*'s symbolism contributed to an decorative program that had evolved since the church's founding in the fourth century.

The eighth-century *pigna* fountain was disassembled from c. 1575-1610, so recreating a reliable image of the ensemble is key. Thankfully, the decomposition process did not go unrecorded, and can be traced through a variety of visual and textual sources. The griffin panels making up the collection basin were the first removed. This likely occurred before c. 1574-75, because they do not appear in any Renaissance views of the atrium after that point (Figures 1.8, 1.9, and 1.11).³⁷ Their removal is also mentioned by Tiberio Alfarano, who notes that the panels were placed in the pavement outside the Judgment Gate of Old St. Peter's, which was located at the southern entrance to the church.³⁸ The second element removed was the *pigna* sculpture

itself, an event that is recorded in detail by Giacomo Grimaldi's *Description of the Old Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican*.³⁹ Significantly, the *pigna* sculpture's move to the Vatican Gardens in c. 1608-10 corresponds with the final destruction of the church of Old St. Peter's. In this regard, the translation may have been symbolic. Once the sculpture was safely installed in its new environs, the last remnant of the old church was destroyed.⁴⁰ In c. 1608-21, the *pigna*'s bronze canopy was also melted down, and its raw material was used to cast the statue of the Madonna that now stands on the column in front of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.

To create a reliable image of the *pigna* fountain as it existed in the eighth century, it is helpful to return to the drawing from the Uffizi (c. 1515-25) (Figure 1.3). The Uffizi sketch shows a remarkably high level of finish, and the idiosyncratic nature of its details and its date suggest that the drawing was likely done *in situ* while the fountain was still intact.⁴¹ The similarity between details of the Uffizi sketch and the surviving remnants of the *pigna* fountain also show that the work reliably documents the fountain's appearance in the early sixteenth century. While visual remnants of the *pigna* fountain are scarce, fragments that do survive provide useful points of reference. Two bronze peacocks are preserved in the New Wing (Braccio Nuovo) of the Vatican Museum in Rome, and the birds' contour, patterning, and the particular angle of their heads are all carefully recorded in the Uffizi sketch. The connection is particularly strong regarding the peacock on the right side of the entablature—the bird's upright posture, staggered feet, and slightly angled head are clearly modeled after the bronze statuette (Figures 2.4 and 2.5). Other fragments of the fountain can be identified due to the artist's careful rendering of one of the ensemble's porphyry columns. The column near the back left of the structure features a figural bust emerging halfway up the shaft (Figure 2.6). This feature has been

used to identify two sculpted porphyry columns in the Louvre, known as the Two Princes (“Les Deux Phillippes”), as part of the *pigna* ensemble (Figures 2.7 and 2.8).⁴² The connection between the columns and the *pigna* ensemble is suggested by a small detail—a small orb, barely visible in the Uffizi sketch, which supports the curved base of the bust resting above it.

The exactitude of the Uffizi sketch is also confirmed through comparison with the idiosyncrasies of the *pigna* sculpture. Today, the sculpture’s tip is broken but was fitted with a metal cap at an unknown date.⁴³ The Uffizi sketch, however, predates this restoration and provides a glimpse of *pigna*’s shattered appearance during the medieval period. Finally, the sketch’s accuracy is evidenced by the fountain’s shallow plinth. In the Uffizi sketch, this base is unusually thin, and elevates the structure slightly above ground level (Figure 1.3). This is likely the remnant of an earlier, more substantial base that was swallowed up when Pope Donus I (r. 676-78) paved the atrium with marble flagstones.⁴⁴ That renovation heightened the level of the atrium floor and likely buried the fountain’s original podium along the way.⁴⁵

It is clear that the Uffizi drawing was executed with great care and is accurate in many regards. However, there is also evidence to suggest that it was not a purely documentary work, because the proportions established by surviving remnants of the *pigna* fountain do not correspond to the dimensions drawn by the artist. This is evident in the proportional disparity between the porphyry columns in the Louvre and the body of the *pigna* sculpture. According to the measurements made during the *pigna*’s restoration (1986), the body of the sculpture is nearly four feet taller than the porphyry columns kept at the Louvre. However, in the Uffizi drawing the *pigna* sits below the level of the columns. Similarly, the diameter of the *pigna* sculpture measures four times the thickness of the columns, but it appears much wider than that in the artist’s depiction.⁴⁶ It is clear that the proportions of form and void, column and sculpture in the

Uffizi drawing exhibit some artistic license. The columns are made to appear tall and slender, and the structure itself becomes artificially light and airy. The ensemble should, in fact, have appeared much denser, with columns, griffin panels, and *pigna* sculpture closely grouped and the broken tip of the *pigna* obscured beneath the vault of the canopy. As the Uffizi drawing is, then, an edited ensemble, there is need to create a reliable understanding of the fountain's imagery through comparison with other images.

Only one other focused study of the *pigna* fountain survives. This is sketch ink by Francisco de Hollanda (1517-85) made c. 1538-40 during the artist's time in Rome (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). This sketch is now in the Escorial in Madrid and provides a better sense of the proportions of the original ensemble. It includes all the details provided in the Uffizi sketch—the porphyry bust, shallow plinth, peacocks, and the *pigna*'s blasted tip—but the dimensions are decidedly more cramped and much more in keeping with the proportions established by the fragments in the Vatican and Louvre. In the Hollanda sketch, the columns are set much closer together, and the structure is elongated vertically, rather than square.

V. The Atrium and the Fountain

Other sixteenth and seventh-century depictions of the *pigna* fountain also include views of the atrium and provide a better sense of the surrounding space. One is a sketch by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609), entitled *Old St. Peter's, looking west* (1574-75) (Figure 1.8). The drawing is done in pen with brown wash on distinctive blue paper, and shows the *pigna* fountain raised slightly above the atrium floor. The sculpture is surrounded by eight Ionic columns and is reduced to its most basic features. The sketch provides the best view of the *pigna*'s baldachin, comprised of two intersecting barrel vaults. In the background, the drum of the dome of New St. Peter's rises above the nave of Old St. Peter's and the eastern portico makes up the narthex of the

church. Most relevant to the development of the atrium, however, is that the sixteenth-century depictions do not show the atrium's *quadriporticum*. By the time this image was made in the late sixteenth century, the atrium's lateral porticoes were replaced by two structures infringing on the view—a pointed gable on the left, and a three-story building on the right.

As a design for an engraving, Dosio's sketch is not highly finished and was completed in the following year by G.B. de' Cavalieri (Figures 1.9 and 1.10).⁴⁷ Cavalieri's rendering of the *Forecourt of Old St. Peter's* (1575) is much more detailed than Dosio's representation and labels the buildings that frame the scene. The rounded bronze grill of the *pigna's* canopy is also more distinct, and the entablature is inscribed "SYMMACHI FONTS," reflecting the often-repeated—and mistaken—belief that the fountain was installed during the reign of Pope Symmachus I (r. 498-514). Cavalieri's engraving shows the celebration associated with the opening of Porta Santa, or Holy Door, the south entrance to the basilica that was only accessible during Jubilee.

The image also gives information regarding the atrium. It shows Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85) seated beneath an honorific canopy surrounded by visitors to the church. On the right (to the north) is the Palace of Innocent VIII, possibly begun by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-84) and finished by Innocent VIII (r. 1484-92). On the left (to the south) is a crenellated wall and an open space known as the Campo Santo. The building behind it is the archpresbytery of St. Peter, a house for priests and officials of the church, and the gabled structure attached to the narthex of the church (with triple arches) is the home of the choir of Old St. Peter's.⁴⁸ The mosaic of the Twenty-Four Elders and Christ Enthroned on the façade of Old St. Peter's, present in the drawing by Dosio and completed during the papacy of Gregory IX (1227-41), is oddly absent. The thirteenth-century mosaic replaced a closely related image of the Lamb of the Apocalypse, recorded in a miniature from the Farfa Codex (Figure 2.9) (c. 1050). That mosaic is dated c. 450

based on an inscription that links it to the pontificate of Leo I (440-61), and since it was not replaced until c. 1227-41 it was an important part of the *pigna* fountain's decorative environment.

A final image of the *pigna* fountain is a drawing in ink with wash by Domenico Tasselli de Lugo, entitled *Facade of Old St. Peter's* (c. 1619-20, or c. 1611) (Figure 1.11). The sketch shows many of the same features recorded in the other drawings, but it also shows the *pigna* fountain mounted on a circular pedestal as well as the thirteenth-century mosaic of the Twenty-Four Elders and Christ Enthroned.⁴⁹ A two-story structure on the south side of the atrium interrupts the crenellated wall in Cavalieri's drawing. This could be the house of the archpresbytery of St. Peter, moved up from behind the Campo Santo, or possibly the Chapel of the Confraternity of Corpus Christi, a structure built under Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85).⁵⁰ Together, these Renaissance *vedute* give a much better sense of the atrium's appearance in the sixteenth century, and show that the ornamentation of the atrium's boundary eventually overtook the porticoes that had previously defined the space.

As we move forward, it is important to realize that Alfarano's ground plan, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and surviving images of the *pigna* fountain and atrium all show that, over time, the expansive, open interior of the atrium was maintained, while its boundary became more and more densely ornamented. This was evidenced in the slow transition of the atrium's surrounding porticoes (from wood to marble, three sides to four) recorded in the lives of the popes from the *Liber Pontificalis*, and also Renaissance view of the atrium, which illustrate how the *quadriporticum* was eventually infringed upon and replaced by multi-story structures (see once again in the gabled and crenellated structures that frame the views in Figures 1.8, 1.9, and 1.11).

In one sense, this evolution was entirely natural—courtyards are *meant* to be open—but I suggest that the gradual massing of this boundary was particularly meaningful at Old St. Peter's.

Changes to the atrium suggest a reflexive loop, meaning renovations to the forecourt referred back to the history of the site, amplifying the initial, second-century appearance of the space over time. Demonstrating this, during the medieval period, the site transitioned from having a walled *campo* (in the second century, as seen in Toynbee's reconstruction shown in Figure 2.3); to a paved and gated atrium (in the fourth century); to an atrium with covered porticoes on all four sides (by the late fifth or early sixth century, as in Tiberio Alfarano's ground plan shown in Figure 1.7). In one sense, these renovations constitute a linear evolution, since the eighth-century *quadriporticum* around the atrium of Old St. Peter's was essentially an expansion of the second-century walled *campo* in front of Peter's shrine. However, the embellishments to the space were also cyclical, in that each renovation recalled the original appearance of Peter's shrine and its broader surroundings. In the end, the memory inherent in the atrium's design referenced the long history of veneration at the site, and also the worth and longevity of the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome.

VI. Conclusion

In discussing the development of the atrium of Old St. Peter's and the appearance of the *pigna* fountain in the eighth century, I focused specifically on changes to the atrium's porticoes and described the massing of the periphery as one of the space's key characteristics. In so doing, I argued that the *pigna* sculpture was added to the atrium's pre-existing, fourth-century fountain structure in the eighth century, when it replaced an earlier, unidentified water spout. My goal was to create a reliable image of the *pigna* fountain and atrium and provide a decorative context that

would allow for deeper synthetic analysis involving the forecourt's connection to the Garden of Eden, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and pilgrim experience at Old St. Peter's in the eighth century.

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1. The precise date of the founding of Old St. Peter's is not known, but the broadest range puts construction between c. 319-50. Traditionally, the building project is associated with the reign of Constantine the Great (r. 306-337) and the papacy of Sylvester I (r. 314-36), primarily because of mentions of Sylvester's role in the medieval *Liber Pontificalis* and a dedicatory inscription on the triumphal arch in the apse of the church erected by Constans (in the inscription, *filius*) that may suggest that Constantine (*pater*) was the founder of the church; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 171-72. For Pope Sylvester I's involvement, see *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 176; Platina, *Lives of the Popes* (Antiquity), ed. Anthony F. D'Elia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 1:179-80; and Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 171. Recent scholarship has been particularly critical of the *Liber Pontificalis* as a source, however, noting that the compilation wasn't begun until nearly two hundred years after Constantine's death and more contemporary texts are silent on the Emperor's involvement, including Eusebius' exhaustive *History of the Church* (303-24) and his *Life of Constantine* (337/9). So while it was not unusual for medieval accounts to gloss over specific details regarding construction, the omission is conspicuous. This has led to the suggestion that the church was actually begun by Constantine's son, Constans I (r. 337-50) and completed by his death in 350. For opinions on the date of the church, see: Richard Gem, "From Constantine to Constans: the chronology of the construction of Saint Peter's basilica," in *Old St. Peter's, Rome*, eds. Rosamond McKitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson, and Joanna Story (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 35-64; Glen Bowersock, "Peter and Constantine," *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5-15; and T. Bannister, "The Constantinian Basilica of Saint Peter at Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27, no. 1 (March, 1968): 3, note 1.
 2. Remnants of Old St. Peter's are displayed in the Vatican Grottos, the Archive of the Fabbrica of Old St. Peter's, and the Vatican Museum. For the preservation of remnants of Old St. Peter's, see Anna Bortolozzi, "Recovered Memory: The Exhibition of the Remains of Old St. Peter's in the Vatican Grottos," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 80, no. 2 (2011): 90-107.
 3. For information on the Vatican Necropolis, see Paolo Liverani, Giandomenico Spinola, and Pietro Zander, *The Vatican Necropolies: Rome's City of the Dead* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010), 41-141.
 4. Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Ecclesiastical History* (Loeb Classical Library), Vol. 1, trans. Kirsopp Lake (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1926-1932), 180-83. Another important source is Tacitus' *Annals* (Book 15), which does not mention Peter's death but describes Nero's persecutions of Christians following the conflagration in Rome in 64 CE (the likely context for Peter's martyrdom); see Tacitus, *The Annals*, trans. A.J. Woodman (Hackett Publishing: Indianapolis, 2004), 325-36.
 5. Gaius wrote in Greek, and *τρόπαιον* suggests a trophy, monument, or memorial more than human remains, which has increased the debate over whether St. Peter's bones are actually buried in the Vatican or not; see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 182.

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6. Major archeological investigations of the Vatican Necropolis and the Memoria Petri took place from 1940-49 and 1953-57. For a summary of these investigations, see Zander, “The Necropolis Underneath St. Peter’s Basilica: Conservations and Restoration,” *The Vatican Necropolies: Rome’s City of the Dead* (Città del Vaticano: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 2010), 287-330; and Jocelyn Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1958).
7. Glen Bowersock, “Peter and Constantine,” *St. Peter’s in the Vatican* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7. Archaeologists call this “Campo P.” For information on the courtyard, see Zander, “Necropolis Underneath St. Peter’s Basilica,” 47-48; and Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 182-83.
8. The floor of the Constantinian basilica added a few feet to the level of the *campo*, and this buried the lower portion of the shrine. For an elevation plan of Peter’s aedicule with the respective pavement levels, see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 257.
9. “In order to obtain a level terrace on which to build his church, Constantine’s engineers had to cut back the steep south-eastern slope of the Vatican Hill and to build out from it an enormous platform, an operation which involved the cutting and dumping of over a million cubic feet of earth, and which may be compared, on an enormous scale, with the construction of a tennis-court on a shelving bank”; Toynbee and Perkins, *Shrine of St. Peter*, 12; also Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 185-86.
10. This plan did not resolve all difficulties, because the gap between the mountains was fairly narrow and laying the platform for the nave still meant digging into the Mons Vaticanus (to the north) and the slope of the Janiculum (to the south).
11. Krautheimer believed that “from the first an atrium was planned”; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 262.
12. Richard Krautheimer also argued for the presence of a foundation, floor, and gateway in the fourth century. He believed that during this initial stage the atrium was marked only by a freestanding arch or gateway—a structure that was presumably linked to the church at a later date; see Krautheimer, *St. Peter’s and Medieval Rome*, 12; and Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 262. The adoption of the Roman basilican plan for Christian churches also suggests that the atrium was an original feature. In the fourth century, the Christian basilica had just emerged as an architectural type, with Old St. Peter’s (c. 319-50) and the Lateran (c. 312-13) built in Italy and the Church of Holy Sepulchre (c. 325-35) built in Jerusalem. Recreations of these sites are closely related, and often include a four-sided atrium with a central water feature. For Constantine’s fourth-century church building in Rome and the Holy Land, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 17-44.

13. The book of inscriptions is known as *Sylloge I* (Vat. Lat. Pal. 833), and in the tenth century the manuscript belonged to the library of the monastery of Saint-Nazaire Lorsch; see G.B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (ICUR) (Rome: Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1888), 2: 220. The relevant passage concerns the location of an inscription related to Pope Simplicius I (r. 468-483). For comments on the *sylloge*, see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 267. For the date of the *sylloge*, see Picard, “Origines,” 163.

14. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 262. At this point, it is important to note that the existence of these four-sided porticoes (*quadriporticus/um*) is gleaned from a variety of primary texts, and their construction is not universally accepted. The most prominent sceptic is Hermann Egger, who claimed that variations of the word *quadriporticus* are only used twice in the *Liber Pontificalis*—once in life of Pope Symmachus I (r. 498-514) and once in the life of Pope Donus I (r. 676-78); see Hermann Egger, “Quadriporticus Sancti Petri in Vaticano,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (November, 1950): 102. As evidence against the *quadriporticus*, he also cites the extensive documentary study of the destruction of Old St. Peter’s by J.A.F. Orbaan, which did not uncover any record of the lateral porticoes replacing the later structures that infringed on the space; Orbaan, *Abbruch Alt-Sankt Peter’s*, 1-119. However, Jean-Charles Picard points out that Egger is mistaken about the frequency of the term, since it actually appears six times in the *Liber*; see Picard, “Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre,” 874. Krautheimer also believed the lateral porticoes were built during the time of Pope Simplicius I and Pope Symmachus I; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 267.

15. Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 174-75.

16. For Alfarano’s ground plan see Grisar, “Monumenti del Paradiso,” 460-69; Picard, “Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre,” 861-63; Bentivoglio, “Tiberio Alfarano,” 247-54; and Goffi, *Time Matters(s)*, 27-36, 47-60, 69-87.

17. During the medieval period the atrium’s porticoes had been infringed upon—and eventually replaced—by the multi-story structures seen in Dosio’s (1574-75), Cavalieri’s (1575), and Taselli’s views (before 1619-20, or c. 1611) of the atrium. On the south (left) side of the atrium, this included the Cappella Giulia (*capellae Iuliae*, possibly the *schola cantorum* set up by Gregory the Great in c. 600), the house of the archpresbytery of St. Peter’s (*palatii archipresbyteri*, or *domus altaristae*), and the Campo Santo. The south side also included the Chapel of the Confraternity of Corpus Christi (built during the reign of Pope Gregory XIII in 1572-85). On the north (right) side of the atrium was the dining hall (*triclinium*), of Pope Leo III (r. 795-815), and later the Palace of Innocent VIII (r. 1484-92). This palace was possibly begun by his predecessor Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-84). Leo III’s *triclinium* seems to have doubled as the main hall for the medieval Auditorium Rotae (*Rotae auditorium*), and there must have been some remnant of the structure in the seventeenth century, since the door to this auditorium is labeled in Tasselli’s drawing from before 1619-20 or c. 1611. For these structures, see Grimaldi, *Descrizione*, 186-87; Picard, “Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre,” 871-72; Egger, “Quadriporticus,” 102; Krautheimer, *St. Peter’s and Medieval Rome*, 21; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 261; Aretino, *Cortigiana*, 27.

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18. Goffi, *Time Matters(s)*, 27-36, 47-60, 69-87.
19. Krautheimer, *St. Peter's and Medieval Rome*, 17.
20. Van de Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 180-84; also Wilhelm von Hartel's *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani* (Viena: Tempsky, 1894), 29.94-95, Ep. 13.13.
21. The word *cantharus* was used in reference to a collecting basin around the later, eighth-century *pigna* fountain, where its sides were decorated with griffin motifs. However, as recent scholarship has shown, the Latin *cantharus* is derived from the Greek *κάνθαρος*, and Paulinus' use of the word shows a flexibility that may have referenced the visual similarity between the water spout and a Greek drinking cup with ear-like handles; see Van de Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 180-84.
22. The stone inscriptions themselves are lost, but transcriptions survive in the Lorsch *sylloge*, which records the panels' original location; see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 173; and De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2: 148. For the date of this *sylloge*, see Picard, "Origines," 164.
23. Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 108-10.
24. Grimaldi, *Descrizione*, 187.
25. The sources of the Aqua Traiana (also known as the Sabate, or Aqua Sabbatine) were springs known as the "aqua Flora" on the northern and western slopes of the Monte Rocca Romana, which bordered on Lake Bracciano (twenty five miles from Rome). The channel entered the city above the Janiculum Hill, descended into the city through Trastevere, crossed the Tiber, and then moved toward the Vatican; see Katherine Rinne, *The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 139; William Gell, *The Topography of Rome and Its Vicinity* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1834), 1: 22; and Thomas Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Washington: McGrath Publishing, 1930), 300.
26. The atrium pavement was replaced by Pope Donus I (r. 676-78), and this would have allowed for the pipes and fountain to date to the seventh century, but this theory does not account for Paulinus of Nola's fourth century description of a fountain (c. 397), or the inscriptions on the *cantharus* fountain by Simplicius I (r. 468-83) and Celestine I (422-32); for the relevant inscriptions, see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 173; and De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2: 148.
27. I am not aware of any studies of the atrium of Old St. Peter's beyond those published by Picard, "Les Origines," 159-186; idem., "Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre," 851-90; Egger, "Quadriporticus," 101-3; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 261-279; and Grisar, "Monumenti del Paradiso," 460-69. Some studies on Tiberio Alfarano investigate the atrium, but only as means of discussing his unreliability; see Bentivoglio, "Tiberio Alfarano," 247-54; and Goffi, *Time Matters(s)*, 27-36, 47-60, 69-87.

28. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Symmachus I (r. 498-514) “embellished the area around the *cantharus* of Saint Peter with a quadruple porch made out of marble and adorned it with lambs and crosses and palms made of mosaics” (*Ad cantharum cum quadriporticum... marmoribus ornavit et ex musivo agnos et cruces et palmas ornavit*); English from Van Den Hoek and Hermann, “Paulinus of Nola,” 184; Latin from Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 262. For the confusion over the word *compaginavit*, see Picard, “Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre,” 858.

29. See Van Den Hoek and Hermann, “Paulinus of Nola,” 184; and Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 262.

30. Pope Symmachus I (r. 498-514) is often incorrectly cited as the patron of the *cantharus* fountain. The inscription beneath an engraving of the *pigna* fountain by Giovanni Maggi says that “*la quale Simmaco Papa ne fece fare una fontana, dentro il Cortile di S. Pietro.*” On Alfarano’s plan, the *pigna* (116) is also labeled “*Pinea aenea speciosissima a Symacho Papa.*” The confusion may arise from a passage from the life of Pope Symmachus in the *Liber Pontificalis*, already discussed, which describes how the pope made significant renovations to the space; see Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 262. However, Paulinus’ description of a fountain in the atrium nearly a hundred years earlier (c. 397) and records of inscriptions on the *cantharus* fountain by Simplicius I (r. 468-83) and Celestine I (r. 422-32) prove that Symmachus (r. 498-514) was not the original patron for the *cantharus* fountain; see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 173; De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2: 148. It is more likely that Symmachus merely inscribed his name in a prominent place on the fountain (for example on the entablature, exactly as it is shown in G.B. Cavalieri’s engraving from 1575), and from that point on he was given credit for the fountain’s construction.

31. The text reads, “In the open air in the middle of the atrium there is first seen the antique gilded bronze pinecone [used] by Pope Symmachus to adorn this most holy Basilica, with bronze armored peacocks rescued from the Mausoleum of Hadrian and gilded dolphins that give forth water, supported by eight porphyry columns with panels inscribed with marble griffins...” (*In primis in medio Atrij sub divo inspicitur Pinea (116) aenea / antiquissima deaurata a Symmaco Papa ad decorem huius sacrosanctae / Basilicae extracta, cuius aeneum tegmen pavonibus, ex Mole Adriani / erutis, et delphinis deauratis aquam fundentibus, columnis octo porphi- / reticis fulcitur / cum cariatibus vel spondis ornarmoreis quae griffones / incisos habent...*); Alfarano, *Basilica Vaticana*, 108-09. The author is mistaken about the functionality of the fountain, claiming that water issued from the body of the *pigna* through fissures in the each nut, rather than from a single tube running through the hollow body of the sculpture; Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 108-10. Alfarano likely made this mistake because the Roman aqueduct that brought water to the atrium was repeatedly severed by barbarians invading the city (the Lombards in 752, Longobards in 775, and Saracens in 846), and it is entirely likely that the fountain didn’t function after the twelfth century. On theories regarding the functionality of the *pigna* fountain, see Rinne, *Waters of Rome*, 40; and Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 18.

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32. This early, fourth-century water feature may have been a cup with ear-like handles; for this, see Van Den Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 203.
33. For medieval politics during Stephen II's reign and Pepin's campaigns against the Lombards, see: T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of Saint Peter: The Birth of the Papal State 680-825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 71-103.
34. For the Roman Revolution and the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, see D.H. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations During the Pontificate of Paul I: Confirmation and Completion of the Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century," *Byzantinisch Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 47-62; and idem., "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century: A Study of the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and the Alliance with the Franks," *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974): 79-133.
35. "Meanwhile in the atrium called the *quadriporticus*, in front of the doors of St. Peter's, he renewed 8 marble sculpted columns of wondrous beauty; he linked them on top by stone blocks, and over the top he placed a bronze roof" (...*renovavit in atrium ante fores...qui quadriporticos dicitur, columnas marmoreas VIII... sculptas quae desuper quadrio composuit et aereum desuper conlocavit tegnum...*). See, Davis, *Lives*, 74-75; and Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2: 455.
36. Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 271; and Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 18.
37. This includes the *vedute* by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1574-75), G.B. de' Cavalieri (1575), and Domenico Tasselli (before 1919-20, or c. 1611).
38. The Judgment Gate is labeled "137" on Alfarano's map; see Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 109. The removal of the basin has substantial implications, since it suggests that the ensemble did not function as a fountain after 1575.
39. "*Sub Paolo V pontifice maximo, dum ad templi frontem erigendam pinea praedicta loco suo mota fuit et in hortos Vaticanos translata...*"; Grimaldi, *Descrizione*, 186-87.
40. For scholarship on the destruction of the church, see: Orbaan, *Abbruch Alt-Sankt Peter's*, 1-119.

41. Today, the sketch is inventoried within a group of drawings in the Santarelli Collection and is attributed to an artist known as the “Pseudo-Cronaca,” or more generally “a follower of Baldassare Peruzzi.” I find the association with Peruzzi (1481-1536) particularly compelling. It pushes the drawing’s date into the early sixteenth century (c. 1515-25), past the most commonly assigned date (1475-1489), which still adheres to the time Il Cronaca spent in Rome. Several of the drawings from the Santarelli Collection with closely related inventory numbers also feature remnants of Roman antiquity, and a sketch of the Pantheon with the exact dimensions of the *pigna* sheet is closely related stylistically. The *recto* of the *pigna* fountain drawing also features an image of the Tomb of the Plautii near Tivoli, which may suggest that the artist was aware of the *pigna*’s alleged history as an *acroterion* for the Mausoleum of Hadrian and played off the relation between these funerary monuments on the double-sided sheet. For the debate over the drawing’s date and attribution, see: Günther, *Studium der antiken Architektur*, 69-70; Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 16; idem., “Stones of the Mons Vaticanus,” 16; Kinney, “Spolia,” 44, note 108.

42. *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Nerva”; *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Trajan.” If these columns were once part of the *pigna* fountain, they were not chosen at random. Their selection may be explained by the fact that both Nerva and Trajan were considered “good,” rather than tyrannical, emperors. For the notion of “good emperors,” see Niccolo Macchiavelli, *The Discourses* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1979), 205.

43. Angelucci, “Restauro,” 28-31.

44. Paul the Deacon, *History of Lombards*, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 235.

45. For the level of the podium and pavement see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 266.

46. With its modern cap, the *pigna* is approximately 11’ 6” tall, and the porphyry columns are approximately 7’ 8” tall. The *pigna* is approximately 5’ 7” in diameter, and the porphyry columns are 1’ 4” in diameter. *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Colossal Pine Cone”; *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Nerva”; *Census of Antique Works*, s.v. “Porphyry Column Shaft with a Portrait of Trajan.”

47. For the relation between the design by Dosio and the engraving by de’ Cavalieri, see Picard, “Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre,” 865. Krautheimer believed the engraving was by Dosio as well, and merely published by Cavalieri; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 169.

48. The archpresbytery of St. Peter is labeled “DOMUS ARCHIPRESBYTERI S. PETRI.” The choir is labeled “DOMUS CAPELA IVLIA.”

49. The circular mount for the *pigna* sculpture in Taselli's drawing is the same base that currently attaches the sculpture to the marble capital in the Cortile della Pigna, and a close examination gives some clues to the *pigna*'s history. The base of the *pigna* is ragged, suggesting that its removal from Old St. Peter's to the Upper Belvedere Courtyard in c. 1608-10 was relatively violent. The twisted edges of the base are welded to an intermediary base, which is, in turn, attached to metal ring that clasps the top of the marble capital; see Angelucci, "Restauro," 38-39; and F. Castagnoli, "Il capitello della Pigna Vaticana," *Bullettino Commissione Archeologica Comunale* 71 (1943-45): 3-30.

50. Picard, "Quadriporticus de Saint-Pierre," 872.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CREATION OF THE PARADISO

In Chapter 2, I discussed the development of the atrium of Old St. Peter's and the appearance of the *pigna* fountain in the eighth century. With this foundation established, it is now possible to pursue a deeper synthetic analysis involving the forecourt's connection to the Garden of Eden, the Heavenly Jerusalem, and pilgrim experience at Old St. Peter's in the eighth century. In this chapter, I address fundamental questions regarding the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium of Old St. Peter's, including: [1] recreating an eighth-century pilgrim's journey to the atrium and their use of the *pigna* fountain; [2] the origins of the Vatican *pigna* and the historical uses of pinecones; [3] how the addition of the *pigna* sculpture changed what the atrium was called and how it was perceived by medieval viewers; [4] how the atrium and *pigna* fountain recalled an established architecture and appearance of Paradise; and [5] how the design of the *pigna* fountain interacted with a larger decorative program that emphasized images of Paradise.

When these questions are considered within a phenomenological, etymological, visual, and textual context, the addition of the *pigna* sculpture to the atrium of Old St. Peter's in the eighth century appears to have established the space as an earthly and celestial Paradise. The atrium's typological connection to Scriptural prototypes such as the Garden of Eden and the Heavenly Jerusalem was made by identifying the atrium's boundary as the walls of Paradise and the *pigna* fountain as the garden or city's central water feature. The addition of the *pigna* sculpture increased this effect by interacting with the atrium's eighth-century decorative program, with the goal of providing a more vivid, affective devotional experience. This effect is

best understood by imagining pilgrims' arrival at the church with a particular emphasis on their movement through space and the function of the *pigna* fountain. This sensory approach to the study of the *pigna* fountain provides a social examination of the structure's significance, and explores how the ensemble's use as a cleansing fountain contributed to its paradisiac symbolism.

I. The Pilgrim's Arrival at Old St. Peter's and Use of the *Pigna* Fountain

Old St. Peter's had been a pilgrim destination in Rome since the fourth century, but an increasing number of pilgrims flooded into the city in the eighth century. Rome had experienced such influxes before—particularly in the sixth century, in the wake of a devastating war and plague—but all precedents were passed by the deluge of the eighth century.¹ This increase was likely the result of heightened security following the Frankish King Pepin the Short's defeat of the invading Lombards in 756, which led to a greater sense of safety and stability for European travelers and an incredible build-up of commercial activity. Due to the human strain on the city, new hostels and welfare centers were built in Rome, including two in the Vatican vicinity. Pragmatically, pilgrims were required to bathe every Thursday, and priests only distributed alms after this duty was performed.² Over the preceding four hundred years, Old St. Peter's prominence relative the Lateran (the church and seat of the bishop in Rome) had also increased, to the point where Mass was held in the Vatican on high holy days.³ The security, accommodation, and spectacle of the Vatican precinct was unprecedented in the eighth century, and the recently-installed *pigna* fountain no doubt contributed to the church's attractiveness to medieval visitors.

Pilgrims arriving at Old St. Peter's would have reached the church atrium by climbing a series of steps—often on their knees—to an open landing. After passing through the gatehouse and vestibule, they would have been rewarded by the sight of the *pigna* shimmering under a

fantastic bronze baldachin. The sculpture must have had a stunning effect—it was gilded and massive, and a slight sheen of water would have made it oddly amorphous in the sunlight. Pilgrims likely would have stopped at the *pigna* fountain to wash their hands and feet, an action that was both ceremonial and functional. Pilgrim itineraries from the late medieval period do not record the function of the *pigna* fountain, but it is likely that its use was not highly supervised.⁴ However, washing at the *pigna* fountain was an important aspect of preparing to enter the church of Old St. Peter's. John Chrysostom, a preacher from the fourth century, wrote that "It is customary that there are fountains in the courtyards of houses of prayer, so that those who are going to pray to God... first wash their hands, [and] lift them to pray in this way."⁵ Similarly, Eusebius writes in his *Ecclesiastical History* about a *cantharus* fountain in the atrium of a church at Tyre (modern day Palestine), saying that no one was allowed to enter the church with dirty feet.⁶ These sources show that a central water feature was an important aspect of a visitor's gradual arrival at the church portal, and also suggest that the everyday use of the *pigna* fountain was likely more robust and pragmatic than the more highly ritualized, proscribed use of basins of holy water placed at the entrance of Christian churches. However, pilgrims' use of the *pigna* fountain followed by lavers of holy water also had symbolic, redemptive undertones tied to the purpose of pilgrimage and the remission of sin, and these significances would have been fully appreciated by more erudite viewers, including clerics, high-ranking religious leaders, and members of the ruling class.

To understand the meaning the *pigna* fountain conveyed to the array of medieval viewers who encountered it, it is also important to appreciate the established symbolism of pinecones prior to the eighth century, including their purely formal and decorative use, the possible origins of the Vatican *pigna* as an *acroterion* for a large building in Rome, the funerary use of

pinecones, and the appearance of pinecone fountains in the Near East and Byzantium. These pursuits deal largely with the wider history of the *pigna* before the eighth century, but they provide some context for the study of the *pigna* fountains Christian use and bring the modern viewer closer to a medieval appreciation for its accumulated symbolism.

II. The Origins of the Vatican *Pigna* and the Historical Uses of Pinecones

The simplest explanation for the *pigna*'s inclusion in the atrium fountain at Old St. Peter's was its alluring, decorative quality. Traditionally, pinecones served either as knobs in metalworking or conical adornments. In this usage, pinecones are reduced to their most formal quality and provide a more tapered, elegant ending to a blunter surface. Pinecones were also used to ornament classical swags—both painted and carved—where they appeared as symbols of plenty. They were later used as exemplars for vegetative, regenerative potential, and this is one reason pinecones often appear in heraldic devices or in the marginalia of family trees, where they reiterate the fertility and the longevity of the family line. This background may suggest a superfluous use for the *pigna* sculpture, which is easily classified as ornamental, oversized, and even ungainly. It is important to realize, however, that the body of the *pigna* was once completely gilded, and this precious quality, combined with the object's size, would have made the work an attractive oddity.⁷ So while the object's humor was certainly not lost on medieval and Renaissance viewers—Dante and Pietro Aretino in particular—it also possessed a visual magnetism that contributed to its selection for the atrium at Old St. Peter's.⁸

Pinecones were also used as *acroteria* for large buildings. The *pigna* is mentioned for the first time in the *Marvels of Rome*, a twelfth-century guidebook for pilgrims to Rome, where the anonymous author writes that the sculpture once “covered over the statue of Cybele, mother of the gods, in the opening [*oculus*] of the Pantheon.”⁹ While the spatial relationships established in

the quotation are not clear, the passage implies that a cult statue of the goddess Cybele was once installed on the floor of the Pantheon, with the *pigna* sculpture fixed to a metal grate covering the *oculus* above it. Interestingly, twentieth-century scholars supported this installation by referencing the *pigna*'s blasted tip, which they argued could only have resulted from some massive trauma.¹⁰ According to this theory, the *pigna* was installed in the Pantheon until 80 CE, when a fire in the building melted the metal grate over the *oculus* and caused the *pigna* to crash to the floor below. Today, the loss of the *pigna*'s tip is not immediately apparent, because the sculpture is fitted with a crude metal cap, but a comparison between the sculpture's current condition and the Uffizi and Escorial drawings make the damage clear (Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3).¹¹

The *pigna*'s alleged installation above the Pantheon is unlikely. First, there are no eyewitness accounts of the *pigna* in this location, only a litany of authors retelling an accepted version of history. In this case, the historian's logic was circular—the novelty of the story increased its popularity, and popularity suggested its veracity. Second, subsequent “recollections” of the *pigna*'s place above the Pantheon tend to be fantastic, as with a fourteenth-century account by the traveler Hermann of Fritzler. As a visitor to the city, Hermann likely had the *Marvels of Rome* guidebook in hand when he wrote that following Pope Boniface IV's (r. 608-16) conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian church, “the devil took the pinecone away from the top... carried it in front of St. Peter's... and the hole in the church where the pinecone was... remains open and nobody wants to close it.”¹²

Given the stories' entertaining nature and the suggestion of the object's Christian conversion, it is not surprising that they passed into the public imagination. Beginning in the sixteenth century, however, a competing narrative emerged, claiming that the *pigna* had

actually served as an *acroterion* for the nearby Mausoleum of Hadrian (today, the Castel Sant'Angelo). The story is repeated in the largest number of Renaissance sources, so it appears that contemporary viewers at least believed in this origin and chose to enforce the mythology surrounding it. This included Tiberio Alfarano, who said that both the “antique gilded bronze *pigna*” (*Pinea aenea antiquissima*) and its “armored bronze dolphins” (*aeneum tegmen pavonibus*) were “rescued from the Mausoleum of Hadrian (*ex Mole Adriani erutis*).”¹³ Similarly, the inscription beneath a seventeenth-century engraving of the *pigna* fountain by Giovanni Maggi said “many believe” (*multi credono*) that the *pigna* came from the Mausoleum of Hadrian (c. 1600) (Figure 3.4). This position is fancifully recorded in a reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Hadrian by Maggi, where the *pigna* is shown at the top of the dome that vaulted the emperor's tomb (Figure 3.5).

In spite of these records, the *pigna*'s historical origins before its arrival at Old St. Peter's in the eighth century remain obscure.¹⁴ The desire to connect the *pigna* to important Roman sites, however, may provide some precedence for the sculpture's inclusion in the atrium of Old St. Peter's. Pinecones were associated with Bacchus' *thyrsus* and the staff or hand of Jupiter Sabazius, but the majority of scholarship on the Vatican *pigna* has addressed the object's pagan association with the cult of the Greco-Roman goddess Cybele, particularly because her shrine, or Phrygianum, was located on the Vatican site until it was replaced by the Circus of Gaius and Nero and subsequently the church of Old St. Peter's.¹⁵

Interestingly, Cybele's Phrygianum and the Mausoleum of Hadrian were both located near the Vatican precinct, making the massive object's translation to the site entirely feasible. It seems that the appropriation of the *pigna* sculpture for the atrium of Old St. Peter's was based on a combination of factors, including the object's novelty and a desire to engage the topography of

the Vatican site by evoking the memory of destroyed structures, including Cybele's Phrygianum, Nero's Gardens, the Circus of Gaius and Nero, and the *tropaion* over Peter's tomb.¹⁶ It is likely that the *pigna* sculpture's link to the Vatican and other famous sites within the city of Rome was also informed by a desire to convert the sculpture's pagan symbolism into the Christian tradition, meaning that the *pigna* sculpture was chosen for the atrium for what it meant in the pagan past and what it could mean in the Christian future.¹⁷ So while the *pigna* was likely claimed as a pagan ornament, it became a token with deep Christian potential. As a result, any examination of the phenomenology of the *pigna* must appreciate the sculpture's converted significance and the highly charged sacred environment at Old St. Peter's.¹⁸

Especially relevant to the study of the inclusion of the *pigna* is the funerary use of pinecones as symbols of regeneration, resurrection, and immortality. This use can be traced back to the first century BCE, with early examples found in Etruscan Italy and Cyprus (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). As Margaret Finch suggested, these associations were fitting, since Old St. Peter's essential function was to serve as a mausoleum for the bones of the saint.¹⁹ In the pagan world, the pinecone symbolized immortality. For Christians, the pinecone would have signified Christ's triumph over death, and the believer's own hope in an afterlife.²⁰ The funerary associations of pinecones, combined with the *pigna* sculpture's conical form, also may have prompted viewers to move from an appreciation of the object to a contemplation of the history of Vatican site. As previously discussed, half of the church of Old St. Peter's was built on top of the Circus of Gaius and Nero (Figure 3.8), located next to the site of Peter's crucifixion. This circus was a racetrack with conical turning posts at each end that also served as fountains (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). Water emanated from holes in the cones to cool the air, which refreshed the competitors as they made each turn. While the *pigna* did not rest in their exact location, it is possible that their memory

may have inspired the *pigna*'s inclusion in the atrium of Old St. Peter's.²¹

Another meaningful context for the *pigna* fountain may be found within the long-established tradition of pinecone fountains in both the pagan and Christian world.²² The earliest iconographic roots of *pigna* fountains are found in Assyrian culture, and subsequently passed to Byzantium and closely related cities like Venice and Ravenna.²³ In Italy, the type can be traced back to domestic architecture in Pompeii, and specifically a miniature pinecone waterspout that was discovered in a room next to the open garden (*viridarium*) of the Casa del Camillo (Figures 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13).²⁴ To my knowledge, no early pinecone fountains survive intact, but several depictions are preserved in medieval stone reliefs and illuminated canon tables.²⁵ One example is in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice (date unknown) (Figure 3.14).²⁶ In the middle of this relief, a long fountain jet with a pinecone bud springs from a double-handled drinking cup flanked by griffins. Significantly, each of these components—cup, cone, and griffin—resonate with the *pigna* fountain from Old St. Peter's and provides some comparison for the Roman example's complex system of symbols. Another, later example comes from the top margin of an Eusebian canon table from the Vani Gospels produced in Constantinople (c. 1200) (Figure 3.15). Here, a square pool is surrounded on three sides by a covered portico and a garden filled with exotic animals. Given the Byzantine origin of this page, it is possible that the iteration at Old St. Peter's is part of a larger genre that was formed under a multitude of international influences ranging from East to West.

III. The Creation of the *Paradiso*

These images suggest the rich visual and ideological tradition that surrounded the atrium fountain of Old St. Peter's, but its prominent position in the space suggests a deeper Christian meaning. I suggest that the addition of the *pigna* sculpture led to the creation of a new

architectural term—the *paradiso*—that captured the physical and spiritual significance of the space. This is in agreement with Jean-Charles Picard, who was the first to argue that the connection between the *pigna*’s addition to the atrium in the eighth century and the renaming of the space was more than chronological, as well as Margaret Finch, who suggests that the *pigna*’s installation at Old St. Peter’s could have inspired later medieval cloisters to be renamed *paradisi* and the Marian iconographic type known as the *hortus conclusus*.²⁷ The earliest evidence of the *pigna*’s effect on the church of Old St. Peter’s is provided by an interpolation into the life of Pope Paul I (r. 757-67) from the *Liber Pontificalis*. As a living document with collective authorship, the *Liber Pontificalis* underwent constant revision, particularly during the eighth century, when it was completely rewritten by papal scribes.²⁸ One of these revisions concerns the chapel of S. Maria ad Grada, which Pope Stephen II (r. 752-56) commissioned to be built beneath a tower in the atrium’s eastern gatehouse. In an early version of Paul I’s biography, likely written around 767, the forecourt of Old St. Peter’s is referred to as the “atrium.” Then, in a subsequent edition, written no later than 792, equivalence is made between “atrium” and another term, more recently minted—the “*paradiso*.” Here, the text made it clear that chapel was connected to the atrium “*quod vocatur Paradiso*”—known as the *paradiso*. Importantly, this identification of the forecourt as a Paradise, and not simply an atrium, was made just after the *pigna*’s addition to the fountain structure at Old St. Peter’s. The papal scribe’s use of *paradiso* constitutes an important moment in the history of Old St. Peter’s. It represents a moment of creation, when the significance of the word *paradiso* was customized to capture the physical characteristics of the atrium of Old St. Peter’s. In this new form, the word *paradiso* had a multiplicity of meanings. First, it contained long-established connotations related to the earthly and celestial Paradise, and recalled Biblical descriptions of those spaces in the books of Genesis,

Ezekiel, and Revelation.²⁹ More importantly, it inaugurated a completely new architectural connotation referring to an atrium surrounded by porticoes.

The addition of the *pigna* effectively changed how the atrium of Old St. Peter's was perceived to the point of altering its toponymy. The *pigna*'s presence in the atrium necessitated a change in vocabulary that engaged the latent meaning suggested by the porticoes, which I suggest were also identified with medieval notions of Paradise. In its early history the architectural term *paradiso* was also used exclusively in reference to the atrium at Old St. Peter's, suggesting that the architectural term originated in Rome and was diffused to later medieval structures. After its appearance in the *Liber Pontificalis*, *paradiso* is used for the second time in the *History of the Lombards*, written by Deacon Paul sometime before 800. In that text, Pope Donus I (r. 676-78) is said to have resurfaced the "place called 'Paradise' in front of the Basilica of the Blessed Apostle Peter."³⁰ The term then appeared in an early ninth-century *sylloge*, or book of inscriptions, which is now in the Vatican Library. The collection includes a copy of an epigraph associated with Pope John I (r. 523-26) that was once "in the paradise of St. Peter" ("*in paradiso beati Petri*"), as well as an inscription on the atrium's central fountain erected under Pope Simplicius I (r. 468-83) that was "in Paradise" ("*in parad[iso]*").³¹ This text was written shortly after the *pigna*'s addition in the eighth century, and shows how the notion of the atrium of Old St. Peter's as a *paradiso* was recorded in contemporary sources.

To modern readers, the use of *paradiso* as an architectural term is somewhat surprising. More common usages refer to heaven or Eden, but these significances are fairly recent, and only begin to touch upon the word's etymological roots. In Latin, the word *paradisus* is derived from the ancient Greek *παράδεισος*, used by Xenophon to describe the enclosed parks or orchards of the Persian kings.³² In that usage, the word is closely related to the Latin *vīvārium*, an enclosure

for wild game, and the Old Iranian *pairidaēza*. The word's make-up reflects its more intrinsic meaning. It is a compound of “*pari*” (around) and “*daiz-*” (wall). These preserves were often surrounded by arcades, punctuated by rivers and streams, and organized around a central water feature. The Sassanian rulers Shapur II (310-79) and Khusraw II (590-628) built notable examples of this type, and their appearance is suggested in Lars-Ivar Ringbom's reproduction of a Persian *pairidaēza* at Shiz (Figure 3.16).³³ Strikingly, this complex closely resembles the *pigna*'s current installation in Donato Bramante and Pirro Ligorio's Upper Belvedere Courtyard and Nicchione (Figure 3.17). *Pairidaēza* are also captured in Sassanian bronze salvers, where their covered porticoes can be seen along the rim of the dish (Figure 3.18).

Over time, use of the term *paradiso* expanded, and was adopted to describe the forecourt of Romanesque cathedrals and abbey churches.³⁴ This is how the space is labeled in the famous tenth-century plan of St. Gall, which shows hemispherical courtyards labeled as *paradisi* at both ends of the central basilica (Figure 3.19). By the eleventh century, *paradiso* was also used to refer to the gardens located in the center of monastic cloisters, with the earliest example likely appearing in the writings of Honorius of Autun (1095-1135).³⁵ In later centuries, describing the interior of a church—particularly a Gothic church—as a Paradise became common place. It became an architectural trope, a *topos*, and was used in a multitude of religious writings.³⁶ Art historical literature on this concept is similarly vast.³⁷ What is striking, then, is that this conception originated at Old St. Peter's and involved the installation of the *pigna* sculpture.

In multiple cultures and over time, then, versions of the word *paradiso* contained significances related to walls and gardens. The use of *paradiso* at Old St. Peter's also unified the architectural elements already present in the atrium. First, it acknowledged the emphasis that had already been instilled in the atrium's porticoes. Second, it established the atrium as a garden,

with the *pigna* at its heart. The question that remains, however, is how the *pigna* fountain's design interacted with the environment of Old St. Peter's to embody a Christian notion of Paradise.

IV. The Architecture of Paradise

Not surprisingly, the word Paradise appears many times in Hebrew (סֶדֶד), Greek (*παράδεισος*), and Latin (*paradisus*) translations of the Old and New Testament. It refers to both the earthly and celestial Paradise, but, surprisingly, a surrounding wall is rarely mentioned. Instead, the Bible makes frequent mention to the “gate of heaven” (Gen. 28: 17), which is closely related to the “gate of the righteous” (Ps. 118: 19-20, Prov. 14: 19) and the “gates of death” (Job 38: 17, Ps. 9: 13). This gate is described as the entrance to Zion, Bethel (“the House of God”), or the Heavenly Jerusalem, but is also figured as Christ himself, who holds the key to everlasting life.³⁸ The gate to the celestial heaven most often appears in iconography related to the Last Judgment, where naked souls pass through a freestanding arch or gateway into a building or forecourt, with Peter or the archangel Michael acting as warden. One example of this type is a slightly later illumination from the Trinity Apocalypse (c. 1225) depicting the New Jerusalem with its twelve gates (Figure 3.20). The scene comes from John's vision in the Book of Revelation 21: 9-14, where the city is said to shine like a “very precious jewel” and have a “great, high wall with twelve gates.”³⁹ The illumination shows John at the bottom left of the scene next to an angel who gestures towards the Heavenly Jerusalem. In this depiction, the gates act as a kind of surrounding portico, which enclose an image of Christ Enthroned with the River of Paradise flowing from his feet into a host of curling, scroll-like plants that symbolize the Tree of Life.

These images and texts provide some context for an identifiable architecture of the celestial Paradise. However, the tradition of a walled or gated earthly paradise is not explicitly Biblical. The Book of Genesis (3: 21-24) records how Adam and Eve were cast out or banished beyond the boundary of Eden, and mentions an angel with a flaming sword who guards the path on the east side of Eden that leads to the Tree of Life, but a wall is not explicitly described.⁴⁰ The boundary appears largely in apocryphal texts, and particularly those involving the Expulsion of Adam and Eve and Seth's return to Paradise. In *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, Seth describes his father Adam's mortal sickness and his subsequent journey "to the very gate of Paradise."⁴¹ In *The Life of Adam and Eve*, Seth says he "will go to the nearest of the gates of Paradise and put dust on my head and prostrate myself before the gates of Paradise and lament and entreat the Lord with a loud and better lament."⁴² Similarly, in *The Apocalypse of Moses*, the snake waits for Eve on "the wall of Paradise" since he cannot enter without being invited. Eve narrates the critical encounter saying, "I opened the gate for him, and he came inside, into Paradise."⁴³

Since there is a question of the availability of these early apocryphal texts in the West, it is likely that the development of the architecture of the earthly Paradise was as much iconographic as textual. In art, the Garden of Eden is often depicted in Expulsion scenes as surrounded by a wall, signified by a gate. One later example is provided by a mosaic of the Expulsion from Eden that appears in the cupola of the atrium of San Marco in Venice (c. 1250) (Figure 3.21). In this image, Adam and Eve are expelled through Eden's gate by an angel pushing them away at arm's length. Adam holds the spade he will use to work the hard soil, and Eve holds the spindle and distaff, the symbols of her own labor. Behind them, a Cross appears between the branches of the Tree of Life and is flanked by two phoenixes. While this mosaic dates from the thirteenth century, it was likely based on fifth or sixth-century designs contained

within the text of the Greek Cotton Genesis. That illuminated manuscript—heavily damaged by fire—is one of the earliest books featuring illustrations of the Garden of Eden.⁴⁴ Thus, it is likely that the mosaic at San Marco captures one of the earliest imaginations of the walled Eden.

Another image of a gated Eden is provided by a thirteenth-century French illumination now at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (c. 1250) (Figure 3.22). In this depiction, Adam and Eve are also expelled through Eden’s gatehouse. The most interesting aspect of the illumination, however, may be the secondary scene to the right, which shows the Labors of Adam and Eve. Three vegetative forms spring from the ground behind the three primary figures—Adam, Eve, and Seth—and the connection could allude to the proliferation of mankind through this family group.⁴⁵ There are also smaller versions of the plants springing up around the figures’ ankles, suggesting that they are being grown. As a result, it is unlikely that these pods are the “thorns and thistles” described in Genesis (3: 18).⁴⁶ In fact, they are much more like the figs seen in a twelfth-century illumination of the *Arbor Bona*, or Good Tree, from the *Liber floridus* (c. 1120) (Figure 3.23). Since the Tree of Life was sometimes considered a fig tree, it is possible the scene depicts the beginning of agriculture—the fruit of the seeds of Paradise, given to Adam and Eve to sustain them when they left Eden.⁴⁷

Finally, medieval maps of the world, or *mappamundi*, depict Adam and Eve inside a walled Eden, reflecting the larger cosmogony defined by the edges of the map. One of the most famous examples is the *Psalter World Map* (c. 1265) now in the British Library in London (Figures 3.24 and 3.25). In typical fashion, the city of Jerusalem is shown at the center of the world, with a walled Eden in the east (the top of the plan), with four rivers flowing out of it. Adam and Eve are shown in profile directly beneath God the Father, with the Tree of Knowledge

or the Tree of Life between them. The source of the River of Paradise is shown in the midst of the roots of this Tree, and outside the walls of Paradise it divides into four headwaters.⁴⁸

V. The *Pigna* as the Tree of Life

The *pigna*'s symbolism for medieval viewers is also suggested by its basic botanic function. A pinecone is fundamentally a container for seeds, and the *pigna* is referred to as such in an anonymous poem published in Rome in 1500.⁴⁹ Beyond comparing the *pigna* to gems (*gemme*), a half-moon (*mezzallun*), and a bell (*campanella*), the poet describes the sculpture as being *piantata*—"planted"—in the atrium. The religious associations are rich. As a seed, the *pigna* symbolized new growth, fertility, and resurrection. The *pigna*'s spines are also ascended, suggesting that it is still green, and has yet to release its seeds. These connotations were particularly strong within a fountain installation, because the presence of water, combined with *pigna*'s enormous size, alluded to its remarkable potential for growth. In the medieval world of botany, the pine tree was already seen as miraculous, because it had the ability to renew itself from a tiny fragment, or slip, its "fruit" (the seeds inside) emerging from a dry container.⁵⁰

Through a slight elision, the *pigna* seed becomes a tree and, given the *paradiso*'s significance as a garden, it can be argued that the sculpture was the centerpiece of a decorative program that recalled the Biblical account of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. As we have seen, the *pigna* fountain was located in the center of the atrium, and authors, artists, and architects emphasized this position.⁵¹ This location takes on heightened significance viewed in light of the Book of Genesis (2: 9). The Biblical text says that "The Lord God made all kinds of tree grow out of the ground—trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

While the *pigna* may have started out as a piece of pagan *spolia*, its addition to the atrium transformed it into a Christian object capable of referencing important moments in salvific history, from the Garden of Eden at the beginning of time to the Heavenly Jerusalem at the end of time. As a reference to the Tree of Life, the *pigna* was the visual expression of a tradition joined to the Cross of Christ. After a period of gradual development, many of the stories involving the wood of this Tree were codified in Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*. In Voragine's text, Seth sees that his father, Adam, is dying, and returns to Eden to seek a cure.⁵² Somewhat tangentially, the angel in the garden gives him a twig—or alternately, a seed—from the Tree of Life. When Adam dies, Seth puts this seed in his father's mouth, and it grows into a Tree.⁵³ After several historical twists and turns, the wood from the Tree is used to fashion the cross that was used in the Crucifixion. The story symbolizes Christ's redemption of mankind, and was reflected in variety of medieval images depicting a "living cross." One example comes from a mosaic in the twelfth-century apse of San Clemente in Rome (Figure 3.26). Here, the crucified Christ hangs on a cross that sprouts from an acanthus plant. Vegetative scrolls, often called the "vines of paradise," emanate from this bush. Closely related visually are the twelfth century *Cloisters Cross* (Figure 3.27) and the thirteenth century *Harbaville Triptych* (Figure 3.28). Although later, I suggest that these images partake of an iconographic tradition that the *pigna* was instrumental in establishing.

It is now possible to make one final connection between the *pigna* and Biblical accounts of the Garden of Eden. In Genesis, the River of Paradise is also said to flow "from Eden" (Gen. 2: 10) from which point it separates into four headwaters. The description of Eden from Genesis 2: 6 also says that "streams came up from the earth and watered the whole surface of the ground," and early versions of the Latin Vulgate called these streams *fons*, or fountains. Thus,

through a symbolic twist, the *pigna* fountain became situated in the center of a new Eden, in the place of these springs and the Tree of Life. This conflation is supported by changes in the extra-Biblical literary tradition and *mappamundi*, where the spring was eventually considered to flow directly beneath the roots of the Tree of Life. In the Middle East—the origin point for the Christian motif—this Tree was even considered to be a pine.⁵⁴

VI. The Pilgrim Experience of Paradise

The *pigna* fountain's relation to the Tree of Life strengthened the atrium's identification as a Christian *paradiso*, and the forecourt's decorative program also supported this Biblical typology. This effect is best understood by recreating a pilgrim's line of sight as they entered the atrium. Behind the *pigna*, in dazzling display, was a mosaic of Paradise. This was the *Lamb of the Apocalypse* mosaic, the monumental vision of the End Times that was installed in c. 450 by Pope Leo I (r. 440-61). Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227-41) replaced the mosaic in the thirteenth century, but its appearance is preserved in the drawing kept at Eton College (Figure 2.9). For those standing at the eastern end of the atrium, looking towards the façade, there would have been a definite optical relationship between the *pigna*, the mosaic, and the burial monuments of the popes located beneath the western portico of the basilica. In this line of sight, the *pigna* was literally integrated into a pilgrim's vision of paradise.

It is likely that not every medieval viewer was capable of grasping the entrenched, symbolic meaning of the *pigna* fountain and the atrium at Old St. Peter's. Most eighth-century pilgrims were illiterate, and the space's relation to the earthly and celestial Paradise would have been most easily grasped by the highly educated. That being said, visual typologies connecting the medieval present to the Biblical past were an integral aspect of religious devotion. Followers were trained to make connections across time as they listened to sermons containing Biblical

exegesis, looked at pictures in moralized Bibles, or gazed at large-scale artistic programs making connections across space, either wall to wall, ceiling to floor, or along the nave of a church. As a result, an appreciation for the *pigna* fountain's paradisiac symbolism was also accessible to the ordinary medieval viewer. As we have seen, the *pigna* fountain's relation to Paradise was densely layered, but also based on a few repeated features. The observant pilgrim would have realized that both the earthly and celestial Paradise were surrounded by a wall, possessed a central water feature, and featured a tree, and that each of these features were embodied at Old St. Peter's. The pilgrims' varied backgrounds, cultures, experiences, and knowledge no doubt tempered their experience of the *pigna* fountain, but it is likely that most pilgrims could appreciate some level of the atrium's deep significance.

This expanded analysis of the pilgrim experience at Old St. Peter's—and the role of the *pigna* fountain in the devotee's arrival—suggests new avenues for understanding the range of meanings the interrelated spaces evoked. The walls of Old St. Peter's had always served as a threshold, boundary, or delineation in sacred space, but the addition of the *pigna* and the design of the *paradiso* heightened the effect to transport devotees from earth to heaven. Pilgrims simultaneously became the *beati*, or blessed souls, entering the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the *pueri*, or children, of the Book of Matthew (18: 3) entering the Kingdom of Heaven.⁵⁵ The connection was particularly strong at Old St. Peter's, given that the door of the church was known as the Judgment Gate (*portam Iudicij*), and the Gate of Heaven can also be seen as Peter's Gate.⁵⁶ Moving from the confines of the gatehouse to the open air of the atrium, visitors were meant to be filled with a sense of their own relative smallness, and the *pigna*'s macrocosmic scale likely aided in this effect. The *pigna* fountain provided a visual and physical anchor for the expansive, empty interior of the church forecourt, and this priority imbued the

pigna and its surroundings with deep religious meaning. The *pigna* was impossible to ignore or avoid, and experiencing the fountain was unavoidable prior to entering the church. The *pigna* fountain was positioned directly between the atrium's gatehouse and the entrance to the church, and pilgrims were propelled towards the fountain from the moment they entered the space.

The “bottleneck” experience of moving through the gatehouse at Old St. Peter's also mirrored descriptions of the Bridge of Paradise in the *Vision of St. Paul*, where this passage is “narrow as a hair.”⁵⁷ The “narrow gate” to heaven is also described in the Book of Matthew (7: 13-14), one of many Biblical passages that describe the straight and narrow path to heaven.⁵⁸ The conflation of earthly and celestial space also made sense theologically. The church is the house of god (*domus dei*), and the gate to that church is the gate to heaven (*la porta caeli*), which is also known as the gate to truth (*la porta della verita*).⁵⁹ Contemporary practice respected and recognized these boundaries. The atrium was the sacred limit for followers waiting to be baptized and those who were prohibited from taking part in the sacred rites conducted inside the church.⁶⁰ Atriums were also legal sanctuaries—officials could not remove a criminal if they took refuge in the church atrium.⁶¹

The *pigna*'s status as a symbol of paradise was also reflected in how it was used. Importantly, the *pigna* fountain was part of an established program of water that constituted a series of ritualized ablutions, from the ceremonial to the functional.⁶² As a result, it is likely that the *pigna* fountain presented an opportunity to stop, reflect, and perform a gesture that anticipated the placing of hands in a laver of holy water. In one sense, the pilgrim's ongoing interaction with water was hygienic—after a long journey, they were unclean, but repeated cleansings also evoked the symbolism of baptism, and thus salvation.

In the Christian faith, the metaphor of spiritual cleansing is tied closely to the act of everyday cleansing, or bathing. The central mystery of baptism is transforming water—from a river, font, pitcher, laver, or fountain—into a sanctified substance that miraculously removes sin. When Christ is baptized in the River Jordan by John, the stream is typologically linked to the incorruptible, unsullied River of Paradise that originates in Eden beneath the roots of the Tree of Life. The source (*fons*) of the River of Paradise figures prominently in medieval *mappamundi*, which are shaped by their cosmographic circularity but inscribed by the triangular dispersal of the River of Paradise into the Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates (Gen. 2: 10-14). The walls around Eden in the *Psalter World Map* (Figures 3.24 and 3.25) are also circular—the traditional shape of medieval baptismal fonts. Medieval *mappamundi* show that the Tree of Life, the River of Paradise, and the walls of Eden are related geographically and eschatologically, since they are all symbols of redemption. In the same vein, the *pigna* fountain inspired, shaped, and completed the *paradiso* in the minds of medieval viewers through its location (the *paradiso*), function, and basic botanic identity.

VII. Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium not only changed what the space was called but altered how it was perceived. I suggested that the design of the *pigna* fountain contributed new meaning to the atrium's porticoes, a boundary that was augmented by the centrism of the *pigna* and evoked an established architecture of Paradise explicated in image and text. This discussion contextualized the *pigna* fountain's paradisiac symbolism in relation to eighth-century pilgrimage to Rome, and showed how the ensemble's metaphysical meaning was reflected in its everyday use. Up to this point, I have fixed my analysis of the *pigna* within the atrium of Old St. Peter's, concentrated my analysis in the eighth century, and organized my

discussion of the space in terms of its typological, formal, and etymological significance. But the atrium's connection to Paradise also makes it an emulation of a Biblical prototype, and this opens the discussion to an entirely new vocabulary of originals, copies, models, and replicas.

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1. Hibbert, *Rome*, 77; and Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 150-86.
 2. Krautheimer, *St. Peter's and Medieval Rome*, 23-25.
 3. Ibid., 31-32.
 4. Further research on the medieval itineraries (cartularies) listed by Debra Birch in her study of Roman pilgrimage could uncover significant references to the *pigna* fountain in the twelfth century; see Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages*, 158-70.
 5. Van den Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 185; the original source is John Chrysostom's *Habentes eundem spiritum* (homily 1-3, 51, 300.34-43).
 6. Van den Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 185; the original source is Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4.4.39-41.
 7. It is likely that the *pigna* was gilded in the first century directly after being cast, meaning the object's stunning visuality was one of its key characteristics from the moment of its creation.
 8. For mentions of the *pigna* in these Renaissance source, see Alighieri, *Inferno*, 270; and Aretino, *Cortigiana*, 27.
 9. Nichols, trans., *Marvels of Rome*, 34.
 10. Petersen, "Pigna-Brunnen," 312-28. Beyond the legends related to Cybele's Phrygianum perpetuated by Hermann of Fritzlar, the alleged connection between the *pigna* and the Pantheon was likely due to the *rione pinea*, one of the neighborhoods of Rome that is located in the area around the Pantheon. Margaret Finch cites this connection as a possibility, but I find it unlikely, since the *pinea* district was not named until the fourteenth century, long after the *pigna* had been moved to Old St. Peter's in c. 752-57; see Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 18.
 11. This restoration is distinguishable by the cap's somewhat misshapen, hammered appearance, as well as the varying rate of oxidation on the metal; Angelucci, "Restauro," 28-31.
 12. Margherita Guarducci, *The Tradition of Peter in the Vatican: In the Light of History and Archeology*, trans. Rev. Edward Egan (Rome: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963), 35.
 13. Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 108.

14. Opinions on the *pigna*'s antique origins are divided. Twelfth and fourteenth-century primary sources suggest that it came from the top of the Pantheon, but Tiberio Alfarano suggested the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Scholars have also suggested Cybele's Phrygianum (in the Vatican), the Temple of Isis (in the Serapeum near the Pantheon), the Campus Martius (on the east bank of the Tiber), and the Baths of Agrippa (in the Vatican); for these theories, see C. Huelsen, "Porticus Divorum und Serapeum," *Römische Mitteilungen* 18 (1904): 46; Guarducci, *Tradition of Peter*, 33; Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 221; Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 18; and Kinney, "Spolia," 33.

15. For the *pigna* sculpture's link to the goddess Cybele, see Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, 195; Guarducci, *Tradition of Peter*, 31; Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 220-21; and Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 19.

16. Leonard Barkan refers to this kind of symbolic excavation as "linear history rendered as vertical geography"; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 26.

17. Dale Kinney calls the conversion of pagan objects into Christian emblems *interpretatio Christiana*; Dale Kinney, "The Concept of Spolia," *Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, M.A.: Blackwell, 2006), 236.

18. All primary source documents concerning the *pigna* sculpture's origins suggest the object's use as an *acroterion*. No records claim that the *pigna* sculpture was originally used as a water spout in a pagan fountain ensemble. To my knowledge, only a few historians have put forth theories involving the *pigna*'s prior use as a fountain, and this does not account for Sergio Angelucci's recent restoration of the *pigna* (1986) and his conclusion that the sculpture was originally cast as a water spout, rather than being cast and later bored to allow water to pass through it; Angelucci, "Restauro," 39-41. Christopher Hibbert argued that the *pigna* was associated with the Baths of Agrippa, a complex adjacent to the Gardens of Nero in the area later known as the Vatican; Christopher Hibbert, *Rome: The Biography of a City* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 355. H.V. Morton suggested that the sculpture was installed as a fountain in the middle of the artificial lake included in these gardens; Morton, *Fountains of Rome*, 202.

19. For the pagan uses of pinecones as grave markers, see Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, 195-96; and Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 22-23.

20. As a tombstone, the *pigna* marked an ending, which was also a desired goal. Margaret Finch writes, "The term *meta* derived from the name for the conical turning-post in a circus track... Very early, the word had acquired the meaning of a terminus or goal, actual or figural, even referring to the extent of one's life"; Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 20.

21. Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 21.

22. For an iconographic study of pinecone fountains with a particular emphasis on Near Eastern and Byzantine examples, see Strzygowski, “Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier,” 185-206. Interestingly, there was also a giant pinecone attached to what is now called the Rough-Stone Obelisk in the Hippodrome in Constantinople before it fell during an earthquake in 869; I am grateful to Christopher Timm from Florida State University for this information.

23. Strzygowski, “Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier,” 186-99.

24. For more on the pinecone fountain from the Casa del Camillo, see Eugene Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: A Study of Five Pompeian Houses and Their Contents* (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1982), 60.

25. Besides the example from Old St. Peter’s, the most famous pinecone fountain during the medieval period was installed in the atrium of Charlemagne’s Palatine Chapel, but there are also surviving Italian examples in Rome, Perugia, and Rimini.

26. Strzygowski, “Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier,” 194-96.

27. Margaret Finch claimed that the atrium at Old St. Peter’s was given the name *paradiso* after the *pigna* sculpture was installed, and cites Jean-Charles Picard as the first scholar to notice this connection; Picard, “Les origines,” 159-86; and Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 22, 23, and note 74. Finch provides this insight for further analysis, which I pursue in this paper.

28. Davis, *Lives*, xi.

29. In Genesis 2: 5-14 and Genesis 3: 23, the author describes the earthly Eden, including the streams that came up from the ground, the garden’s location in the east, the Tree of Life’s position in the middle of the Garden, and the river that flowed from the garden and divides into four headwaters. In Ezekiel 48: 30-35, the prophet describes the twelve gates of the New or Heavenly Jerusalem and their names. In Revelation 21: 9-14, John describes the city, which shone like a precious jewel and also had twelve gates.

30. Paul the Deacon, *History of Lombards*, 235.

31. For the epigraph related to Pope John I (r. 523-26) see De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2: 148. For the inscription related to Pope Simplicius I (r. 468-83) see De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae*, 2: 220.

32. “...and round about it [the palace] were many large villages, stored with provisions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks (*παράδεισος*), others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace”; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, Books I-V (Loeb Classical Library), trans. Carleton Brownson (New York, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1918), 269-71. For the etymology of *paradiso*, see *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “paradise,” accessed 2 January 2014, <http://www.oed.com>.

33. For this reproduction and the “architecture of Paradise,” see Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Paradisus Terrestris* (Helsinki: Oy Tilgmann, 1958), 224-84; for more on the Persian *pairidaēza* at Shiz, see Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden* (New York: G. Braziller, 1979), 31-32.

34. As Jean-Charles Picard notes, the term *paradiso* was also used to describe courtyards at the abbey churches of Monte Cassino, St. Gall, Saint-Riquier, and the same can be said for the Abbey Church at Fulda; Picard, “Origines,” 166, 168, 169.

35. This reference appears in Part I of Honorius’ *Gemma Anima*, “Moreover, the cloister represents Paradise (*paradisum*), and indeed the monastery is a more secure Paradise (*paradisi*) than Eden. The fountain (*fons*) in this place of pleasure is the baptismal font (*fons baptismatis*) in the monastery; the tree of life (*lignum vitae*) in paradise is the body of Christ in the monastery... truly the enclosure of the cloister bear the image of heaven, in which the just are segregated from the sinners as those who profess the religious life are sequestered in the cloister from secular people. Moreover monasteries foreshadow the celestial paradise (*coelestem paradisum*)”; quoted in Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 138, 302, note 16.

36. L.H. Stookey, “The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources,” *Gesta* 8 (1969): 35-41.

37. Wayne Dynes, “The Medieval Cloister as Portico of Solomon,” *Gesta* 12, no. 1/2 (1973): 61-69.

38. Genesis 28: 16-17 describes Jacob’s dream at Bethel: “When Jacob awoke from his sleep, he thought, ‘Surely the Lord is in this place, and I was not aware of it.’ He was afraid and said, ‘How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God; this is the gate of heaven.’” In John 10: 9, Jesus says “I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved.” Similarly, Psalm 118: 20 says, “This is the gate of the Lord through which the righteous may enter.”

39. “Then came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues and spoke to me, saying, ‘Come, I will show you the Bride, the wife of the Lamb.’ And he carried me away in the Spirit to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God, its radiance like a most rare jewel, like a jasper, clear as crystal. It had a great, high wall, with twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and on the gates the names of the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel were inscribed—on the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them were the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb”; Revelation 21: 9-14.

40. "Then the Lord God said, 'Behold, the man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil. Now, lest he reach out his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat, and live forever—' therefore the Lord God sent him out from the garden of Eden to work the ground from which he was taken. He drove out the man, and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim and a flaming sword that turned every way to guard the way to the tree of life"; Genesis 3: 21-24.

41. Willis Barnstone, ed., "The Gospel of Nicodemus," *The Other Bible* (San Francisco: Harper Row, 1984), 375.

42. H.F.D. Sparks, ed., "The Life of Adam and Eve," *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 155.

43. H.F.D. Sparks, ed., "The Apocalypse of Moses," *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 162-63.

44. The Cotton Genesis is catalogued as British Library Cod. Cotton Otho B VI. The correlation between the mosaics and the early illuminations are discussed in Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Trees of Eden in Mediaeval Iconography," *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical, and Literary Images of Eden*, ed. Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1992), 167; also see Kurt Weitzmann, "The Genesis Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures," *The Mosaic of San Marco, Venice*, ed. Otto Demus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2: 162-67.

45. Since the two smaller figures in the illumination are shown together, they could be Cain and Abel. This family group would logically follow the Expulsion and reflect the narrative order established in the Biblical text. However, the fact that three vegetative forms spring from the three top-most figures suggests that the figure with the bundle over his shoulder is Seth, who God grants to Adam and Eve after Abel is killed (Genesis 4: 25-26). The figure relegated to the lowest register would still be Cain, however, since he is forced to wander and his labor goes unrewarded (Genesis 4: 12).

46. "And to Adam he [Christ] said, 'because you have listened to the voice of your wife and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it', cursed is the ground because of you; in pain you shall eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you; and you shall eat the plants of the field"; Genesis 3:17-18.

47. In *The Life of Adam and Eve* (c. 60-300), "the Lord God sent Michael the archangel with different kinds of seeds and gave them to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground so that they might have fruit on which they and all their descendants could live"; H.F.D. Sparks, ed. "The Life of Adam and Eve," *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 152.

48. “A river flowed out of Eden to water the garden, and there it divided and became four rivers”; Genesis 2:10.

49. The poem may have been written by a figure known as the Milanese Prospectivist, who came to Rome to see the city’s great antiquities and wrote about what he saw in a long poem composed in three-line stanzas published within a larger pamphlet; for a transcription of the poem, see Liverani, “La Pigna Vaticana,” 56. Some scholars have suggested that this so-called “Prospectivo” is Donato Bramante, but Creighton Gilbert disagrees; Creighton Gilbert, “A Painter Comes to Rome to See the Sights,” *Italian Art 1400 – 1500: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1980), 101-103.

50. The *pigna*’s miraculous potential for growth can be gleaned from a wide variety of sources, but its symbolism may be summarized best by an emblem from the sixteenth century created by the Dutch antiquarian Hadrianus Junius (1511-75) and dedicated to Hieronymus Tennerus—Frederik II, King of the Danes (r. 1559-88). The emblem depicts a monumental pinecone floating close to the picture plane in front of a jagged landscape, and compares the *pigna*’s “sweet fruit” within a “hard shell” to the pursuit of virtue or wisdom, which according to the emblem’s title is “hard, but fruitful.” The emblem’s accompanying text also mentions that the pinecone was part of Frederik II’s family crest, and that the “sweet kernels” of the pinecone were “of great use in treating a variety of maladies of the body”; see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 40.

51. In Tiberio Alfarano’s description, the *pigna* fountain was designated “in the middle of atrium” (*in medio Atrij*), a location that is corroborated by his plan and the *vedute* of the atrium by Renaissance artists.

52. Jacobus Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 1: 277.

53. Voragine, *Golden Legend* 1: 277.

54. Finch, “Cantharus and Pigna,” 22. Most commonly, however, the Christian Tree of Life is considered a cedar, palm, olive, or fig tree; Geo Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1951), 5, 18. In Ezekiel 17: 22-23, however, a slip or sprig from the cosmic cedar tree acts very much like a regenerative pine tree: “This is what the Sovereign Lord says: I myself will take a shoot from the very top of a cedar and plant it; I will break off a tender sprig from its topmost shoots and plant it on a high and lofty mountain... Birds of every kind will nest in it; they will find shelf in the shade of its branches.”

55. This insight and terminology is indebted to the work of Paul Barolsky, *Giotto’s Father and the Family of Vasari’s Lives* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 5.

56. Alfarano, *Basilicae Vaticanae*, 109.

57. The *Vision of St. Paul* is discussed by Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 182.

58. “Enter through the narrow gate. For wide is the gate and broad is the road that leads to destruction, and many enter through it. But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it”; Matthew 7:13-14.

59. The significance of atriums is expressed best by William Durand (c. 1230-96), who wrote that “The open court signifieth Christ, by Whom an entrance is administered into the heavenly Jerusalem: that is also called porch, from *porta*, a gate, or because it is *aperta*, open... Furthermore, as the church signifieth the Church Triumphant, so the cloister signifieth the celestial Paradise, where there will be one and the same heart in fulfilling the commands of God and loving him”; quoted in Stookey, “The Gothic Cathedral,” 35.

60. J.P. Morrissey, *The Genius in the Design: Bernini, Borromini, and the Rivalry that Transformed Rome* (New York: W. Morrow, 2005), 45.

61. Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture*, 98, 279, note 1220.

62. Paulinus’ letter (*Ep. 13.13*) (c. 397) says that the fourth-century cantharus fountain in the atrium “belches forth streams of water serving our hands and faces”; Van den Hoek and Hermann, “Paulinus of Nola,” 176. For the use of atrium fountains, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 4.4.39-41, in which the author comments on a *cantharus* in the atrium of a church in Tyre, in Palestine; and John Chrysostom, *Habentes eundem spiritum*, 300.34-43.

CHAPTER 4

THE PIGNA'S ARCHITECTURAL AND POLITICAL REFERENTS

In Chapter 3, I suggested that the *pigna* fountain and atrium formed a highly associative space that held paradisiacal connections for medieval viewers. The goal of this chapter is to extend that discussion and address the *pigna* fountain and its salvific significance in a more nuanced chronological, geographic, and political matrix, particularly in reference to sites associated with the Holy Land in Jerusalem.

In the first half of this chapter, I address the *pigna* fountain's relation to the tomb of St. Peter in Rome and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem in order to show how the Vatican ensemble connected to the Holy Land across space. In so doing, I explore a dialectic that involves both physical pilgrimage to Rome and virtual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, suggesting that the *pigna* fountain's engagement with the tomb of Peter, the Fountain of Life, the Rock of Golgotha, and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem emphasized the path to Paradise by revivifying the Biblical time associated with Christ's life, Passion, and Resurrection. My method emphasizes the spatial and temporal flexibility of the *pigna* fountain, and is so doing establishes it as a symbolic token (or *sumbolon*, to use Aby Warburg's terminology) of Paradise that effectively elided past and present, near and far.¹ In the second half of the chapter, I focus on the *pigna* fountain's use in eighth-century politics, and relate the structure's paradisiac symbolism to Pope Stephen II's efforts to assert the primacy of the Roman papacy relative to the Byzantine East and the emerging Frankish Empire. The *pigna* fountain's political meaning builds on the typological comparisons already established, and shows how popes and emperors used the Roman *paradiso*

to legitimize their rule. This chapter also suggests that the design of the *pigna* fountain collapsed the distance between Rome and Jerusalem, and contributes to a broader discussion of Old St. Peter's as a layered site filled with a multiplicity of meaning.

I. The Atrium Fountains and the Tomb of Peter

As the reader will recall, in Chapter 3 I suggested that the *pigna* fountain formed an integral part of the pilgrim experience at Old Saint Peter's. Here, I extend the consideration of the *pigna* fountain's role in medieval viewers' experience, suggesting that it functioned as a preparatory marker for pilgrims arriving at Old St. Peter's, alerting them to the presence of the tomb of the Apostle inside the church. To demonstrate this, I first revisit the *pigna*'s relation to grave markers and compare the *pigna* fountain to the original *tropaion* over Peter's tomb (built in c. 170) and the baldachin and *aedicule* in the apse of Old St. Peter's (finished by c. 350). Then I provide an iconographic analysis of the *Pola Casket*, a fifth-century ivory reliquary box that contains a rare glimpse into the apse of the old church.

In the current church of New St. Peter's (c. 1508-1620), the tomb of Peter is located in the central crypt, which is situated directly beneath the church's massive dome. Above ground, the tomb is bracketed by Bernini's twisting Solomonic columns and honorific baldachin (1623-34), which direct the pilgrim's gaze towards the *Cathedra Petri*, or Throne of Peter, a wooden throne from the ninth century encased in bronze in the church's western apse. Not surprisingly, the study of Peter's tomb is ideologically complex, and much of its history remains obscure. There have been several major archeological campaigns at the church, but investigators cannot risk disturbing the saint's remains, so these efforts have not been intrusive enough to answer fundamental questions about the tomb structure.² What is clear, however, is that the shrine of Peter in the Vatican has been the center of the saint's veneration since the second century.³

The ancient roots of Peter's cult suggests continuity, but the shrine's surroundings underwent renovations in the fourth, seventh, and thirteenth centuries.⁴ In the church's original, *tau*-cross (T) plan, Peter's tomb was located at the far western end of Old St. Peter's, just in front of the hemispherical apse. Significantly, the location of the tomb could not change in the later version of the church, but its surroundings certainly did, and Tiberio Alfarano's layered ground plan is helpful once again (Figure 1.7). On Alfarano's plan, the contours of the fourth-century, basilican church are shown in a darker, hatched black. In contrast, the massive piers and exterior walls supporting the dome of the centralized, sixteenth-century plan for New St. Peter's are filled with light grey stippling. Alfarano's plan illustrates that the new dome overtook most of the interior of Old St. Peter's, and later representations of Carlo Maderno's (1556-1629) modified, seventeenth-century basilican plan show that the exterior of the new façade marked the lateral boundary formerly established by the eighth-century *pigna* fountain. In spite of their differences, the plans make it clear that both structures were built to protect and celebrate Peter's tomb, and used architectural space to focus attention on the crypt as a spiritual center.

Peter's tomb was the final destination for pilgrims arriving at the church. The tomb was marked with a shrine dating from c. 170, and careful excavation at St. Peter's Basilica in 1940 and 1956 were able to uncover traces of this *tropaion*, which is marked with a cross in the engraving (c. 1589-90) (Figure 4.1) after Alfarano's original drawing (1571) (Figure 1.6).⁵ As we saw in Chapter 2, the fourth-century appearance of this shrine is most clearly shown in Toynbee's reconstruction, which shows the two registers making up Peter's monument (Figure 2.3). In this drawing, the top level of the shrine resembles a tabernacle with a niche and pediment, and the bottom level features a simple porch. During the construction of Old St. Peter's in the fourth century, the integrity of this shrine was carefully preserved, while its early

campo and surrounding wall were largely destroyed. In its second iteration under the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, Peter's *tropaion* was separated from the wall of the second-century *campo* to become a free-standing *aedicule* with columns, niche, and pediment encased in a box-like sheath. That renovation is captured in another reconstruction by Toynbee, which shows the rectangular *aedicule* vaulted by a baldachin in the apse of Old St. Peter's (Figure 4.2).

The fourth-century apse of Old St. Peter's was destroyed in the early sixteenth century, but its arrangement is likely preserved in the *Pola Casket*, a reliquary box from the first half of the fifth century now at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Venice. Its early date suggests that it is the most reliable view of the original apse of Old St. Peter's.⁶ The wood casket is decorated with detailed ivory panels on all four sides, but the relevant panel (Figure 4.3) is found opposite an image of the Lamb of God standing above the Four Rivers of Paradise (Figure 4.4). It depicts the apse of Old St. Peter's from a vantage point somewhere in the transept. The relief includes a depiction of the church's original, fourth-century baldachin, which was likely finished by the time the building was completed in c. 350 and survived until its renovation during the reign of Pope Gregory I in 590-604.⁷ The relief shows four twisting columns supporting the curved arches of the baldachin, as well as a male and female figure praying underneath the canopy (Figure 4.5). The figures rest against two engaged columns with Corinthian capitals, which correspond to those shown in the upper register of Toynbee's reconstruction of Peter's *tropaion* (Figure 2.3). The rounded arch of the niche from Toynbee's reconstruction of the *tropaion* and *aedicule* is also recognizable, but the recess has been closed off by a two-paneled door.

The general form of the apse closely resembles the architectural surroundings of the *cantharus* fountain from the atrium of Old St. Peter's. These objects (Figures 4.5 and 4.6) were also nearly contemporary—the *cantharus* fountain dates from before c. 397 and the *Pola Casket*

from c. 400-50. Like the fourth-century atrium fountain, the baldachin over the apse at Old St. Peter's also had four columns, a small entablature, and a simple canopy.⁸ In a slightly expanded view of the *Pola Casket*, the baldachin is also surmounted by a wreath containing the letters *alpha* (α) and *omega* (ω), a jeweled cross, and multiple birds (Figure 4.7). It is striking that the *cantharus* fountain and the structures in the apse were so close together, were experienced by pilgrims in direct succession, and played off one another's general form and redemptive iconography.

The atrium fountain in the forecourt and the shrine of Peter, then, are related but not identical. Here we should recall Richard Krautheimer's definition of an architectural copy, established in his "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'" (1942).⁹ As Krautheimer suggested, a medieval copy was not a replica of its original. For two structures to be related, they only needed to be evocative of one another. According to Krautheimer, a copy and its original may share similar dimensions or proportions, feature an equal number of structural supports, or share similar interactions between their largest geometric parts.¹⁰ So while the *cantharus* fountain and the structures in the apse of Old St. Peter's share all of the characteristics established by Krautheimer, the connection would have been made based solely on the fact that both structures had four columns and a baldachin.

The formal relation between the *cantharus* fountain and Peter's shrine suggests that the *pigna*'s addition in the eighth century aimed to reinforce a pre-existing formal and ideological connection between Peter's tomb and the atrium fountain. The *pigna* sculpture's funerary undertones, including its relation to grave markers, speaks to a repeated desire to link the fountain to other holy structures across space. I suggest that the *pigna* sculpture was brought to the Vatican in service to Peter's tomb, and its placement was part of a highly proscriptive

program that considered pilgrims' movement through space and the order they encountered specific monuments. The *pigna* fountain's funerary significance, its formal relation to the shrine of Peter, and its priority in the center of the atrium all foreshadowed the pilgrim's arrival at the tomb. As an anticipatory marker, the *pigna* fountain provided yet another division in sacred space that reminded pilgrims of Peter's martyrdom and signaled progress towards their ultimate goal.

II. The Atrium Fountains and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Having established the formal, ideological, and architectural connections between the *pigna* fountain and the tomb of Peter on-site, we might expand the discussion to consider the fountain's referents off-site, particularly the Rock of Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. While the Muslim caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634-44) did not damage Church of the Holy Sepulchre following his successful Siege of Jerusalem (637) and allowed Christians access to the holy site, western travelers were still wary of the holy city in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹¹ For many pilgrims, a journey to Rome provided a safer alternative to the long and difficult pilgrimage across the Mediterranean Sea. In this section, I suggest that the *pigna* fountain ensemble at Old St. Peter's offered an ideological link with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, one likely made in an instant by medieval pilgrims.

The notion of pilgrims' mental transport from Rome to Jerusalem by viewing the *pigna* fountain ensemble and its surroundings relies upon the concept of virtual or "armchair" pilgrimage. This was a frequent medieval trope, as Daniel Connolly, Robert Ousterhout, and others have demonstrated in discussions of imagined pilgrimage in Matthew Paris' (1200-59) itinerary maps of Rome and the Holy Land and substitute pilgrimage to Jerusalem exhibited in

twelfth-century renovations to the Church of Santo Stefano in Bologna.¹² I suggest the practice was encouraged by the medieval designers and patrons of Old St. Peter's because it increased the sanctity and attractiveness of the church by allowing pilgrims to experience multiple sites simultaneously. In the discussion that follows, I link the church of Old St. Peter's in Rome (c. 319-50) to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (c. 325-35) by discussing the structures as contemporary building projects initially sponsored by the Emperor Constantine (r. 306-337). I explore similarities in the church designs with a specific focus on how the atrium fountain in Rome and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem were both positioned in the center of open atriums surrounded by porticoes. I then compare the fourth and eighth-century fountains at Old St. Peter's to Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, based largely on early pilgrim accounts of visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and surviving images of the Tomb in pilgrims' *ampullae* and a sixth-century memory box. In conclusion, I again identify the *pigna* fountain as a Fountain of Life by comparing the ensemble to images of this iconographic type appearing in manuscript illuminations from the eighth and early ninth century. This genre shows the Tomb of Christ's pervasive influence on the Fountain of Life genre, the atrium fountains at Old St. Peter's, and medieval architecture more broadly.

In the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine was involved with numerous church building projects beyond Old St. Peter's in Rome, among them the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.¹³ Like the project in Rome, construction in Jerusalem began slowly, as a pre-existing Temple of Aphrodite had to be destroyed and the Grotto of Christ disinterred from the surrounding rock. This effort likely began directly after the Council of Nicaea in 325, when Constantine's mother, Helena, and Bishop Makarios of Jerusalem (r. 312-35) asked permission to recover the site.¹⁴ The construction of the church took ten years, and the first shrine over the

Tomb of Christ was likely completed before the church was dedicated in 337.¹⁵ By the end of the fourth century, the church was a major pilgrimage site and is described in accounts by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* (337), the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (340), and the travel diary of the nun Egeria (395).¹⁶

In the earliest days of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Figure 4.8), the Tomb of Christ may have been located in the center of an open, three-sided atrium located behind the apse of the basilica.¹⁷ In this unusual ground plan, visitors entered a small atrium to the east (A), passed through the narthex into the double-aisled basilica (B), and finally exited through one of the side-aisles that transitioned into the porticoes surrounding the Tomb of Christ (a). In its basic construction, this space was similar to the church being built simultaneously to hold the relics of Christ's vicar on earth, Peter, in Rome (Figure 4.9). The fundamental difference was that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had two atriums, with the western atrium (D) bearing the closest resemblance to the forecourt at Old St. Peter's (E). Since the Christian basilica was a new form introduced under Constantine, the structures' similarity takes on additional continuity through their shared patronage, and it is likely that the structures' designs responded to one another.

III. The Atrium Fountains and Golgotha

As we have come to expect based on Krautheimer's conclusions, the structures in Rome and Jerusalem, while related, were not replicas of one another. Unlike Old St. Peter's, the large atrium (D) at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the culmination of the entire church. In its early plan, the southern portico of the atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre likely intersected the Rock of Golgotha (b), the site of Christ's Crucifixion.¹⁸ This jagged outcropping was encased in a multi-level shrine with a platform (or *bema*) in the fourth century that terminated just below the crown of the hill.¹⁹ This platform was, in turn, topped by a jeweled

cross (*crux gemmata*) donated by Constantine, which rested in the crevice in the Rock that originally held the Cross of Christ. The arrangement is reflected in an apse mosaic from the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome (c. 340-50), which includes a view of the rounded arches and columns making up the atrium's covered porticoes (Figure 4.10).²⁰

Significantly, the *crux gemmata* on Golgotha had a pendant in Rome. This second golden cross was placed directly over the shrine of Peter in the church of Old St. Peter's, and was given to the church by Constantine and Helena in 329.²¹ This cross is likely depicted in the scene I have already discussed from the back of the *Pola Casket*, positioned between the outstretched hands of two kneeling figures (Figure 4.11). In the past, scholars have suggested that the tessellated appearance of this rounded detail is based on a fourth-century apse mosaic from Old St. Peter's (now lost), but this does not account for the fact that the two figures seem to address the *aedicule* of Peter, not the vault in the apse, and also overlooks the significance of Constantine and Helena's gift. What has not been explored fully is that the male figure on the left is Constantine and the heavily-draped woman to the right is Helena in the act of donating the *crux gemmata* as an ornament for the tomb of Peter. The emphasis on Helena would have been particularly appropriate, since she first discovered the True Cross (the *inventio cruces*) in a well beneath the site of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²²

Identifying the figures on the back of the *Pola Casket* as Constantine and Helena would seem to fix the image in Rome, but certain details are still unresolved. First, the cross from the *Pola* relief is surmounted by a canopy that follows the rounded niche of Peter's shrine, and to my knowledge the *crux gemmata* over Peter's shrine had no such canopy. Second, the cross from the *Pola* relief is fixed in a triangular, jagged outcropping whose form suggests more than a votive stand. Both details from the *Pola Casket* recall the *crux gemmata* in Jerusalem more than the

cross in Rome, especially because the cross at Golgotha was vaulted by an arbor by the fourth century.²³ Since the *Pola Casket* dates from the first half of the fifth century, a firm chronology cannot be established, but it is at least possible that the canopy at Golgotha was in place by the time the *Pola Casket* was made. As a result, it is possible that the design of the relief refers to the golden crosses in both Rome and Jerusalem, and a spatial slippage is taking place. The three-dimensional, kneeling figures suggest Constantine and Helena's donation of the cross to the shrine of Peter, but the two-dimensional scene in the flat hemisphere behind them with its rock, cross, and canopy suggests Golgotha in Jerusalem. Significantly, there is some basis for this geographic caesura in Early Christian mosaics, where the hemispheres are framed by the city gates of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. A slightly later example of this type comes from the apse Old St. Peter's, and was commissioned by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216). The mosaic is lost, but is preserved in a drawing by Giacomo Grimaldi that shows the cities in the lowest register (Figure 4.12). Here, two rows of lambs stream out from each city gate and converge on the Lamb of God in the center of the scene.

The craggy appearance of the Rock of Golgotha was also echoed in the spines of the *pigna*, right down to its creviced, broken tip (Figure 4.13). The pilgrim known as Daniel the Abbot estimated that the crevice at Golgotha was around a cubit deep (18") and a span wide (11") (c. 1106-07), and John of Würzburg wrote in his *Description of the Holy Land* (1160-70) how pilgrims put offerings in this round hole.²⁴ This crevice was the physical remnant, the imprint, of the Cross of Christ, and its presence (or lack of presence) emphasizes the presence of the wood of the cross that came from the Tree of Life. Given the visual resemblance between the *pigna*'s jagged tip and the plateau on the top of the Hill of Golgotha, it is evocative to imagine that the *pigna* sculpture was selected for the atrium precisely because it was broken, and that its

low-pressure, gentle flow of water recalled the blood of Christ running down the Hill—a vivid image that is seen in any number of artistic depictions, including a much later example by Duccio di Buoninsegna on the back of the *Maestà* altarpiece (1310) (Figure 4.14). As previously discussed, this wood of the True Cross was perceived by medieval viewers as the prime instrument of their salvation and the first worldly item to be cleansed by Christ’s redeeming blood. The *pigna*’s formal relation to this symbol, then, increased its sanctity and affirmed the eighth-century fountain’s salvific meaning.

IV. The *Pigna* Fountain and the Tomb of Christ

As a Jerusalem pilgrim moved west through the atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, past the Rock of Golgotha (Figure 4.8, b), he or she next encountered the site’s most sacred treasure, the Grotto or Tomb of Christ (Figure 4.8, a). The Tomb was located along the central axis of the atrium, at the far western end of the space. According to Constantine’s biographer Eusebius (263-339), a baldachin was erected over the Tomb and surrounded by columns and vaulted by a bright canopy: “Above all, he [Constantine] embellished the sacred Grotto, the divine monument as the principle point of the whole...The Emperor’s magnificence in decorating this centerpiece with selected columns of abundant ornamentation, made the venerable grotto shine under a glittering ornament.”²⁵ Eusebius’ description of the Tomb seems to anticipate Paulinus’ description of a “bright atrium” with a fountain vaulted by a “cupola topped with solid brass,” but this comparison requires a careful reconstruction process.²⁶

The appearance of the early Tomb of Christ from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is elusive. However, recovering the early appearance of the Tomb of Christ is takes a combinatory approach, because it was created, renovated, destroyed, and rebuilt for over sixteen hundred years.²⁷ In order to recover its early appearance, we must look to a variety of contemporaneous

images and texts. Visual records of the shrine around the Tomb of Christ most often appear in depictions of Biblical narratives related to Christ's triumph over death—either his Resurrection, Assumption, or the Marys' visit to his empty tomb (John 20: 1-18). One of the earliest examples of this type is a Byzantine pilgrim's flask, or *ampulla*, that dates from the late sixth or early seventh century (Figures 4.15 and 4.16). It shows the two Marys and the archangel Gabriel flanking a vaulted shrine supported by four columns. The details of the ensemble are difficult to make out in this scale—the flask is only a few inches in diameter—but its composition is clarified by a closely related detail from the lid of a sixth-century box containing stones, *eulogia* or “memories” from the Holy Land, that is now in the Vatican Museum (Figure 4.17). The detail in the upper left corner of the lid precisely mirrors the version of the Tomb in the pilgrim's *ampulla*, with Gabriel seated on a stone at right gesturing towards the interior of the Tomb. Most striking is the fact that the Tomb of Christ is positioned beneath the distinctive fourth century rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The presence of the rotunda gives the scene from the memory box an anachronic twist. Certainly, we are in the right place. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built over the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, and both are painted on the lid. The scene, however, is not set in the right time. It does not take place the week after Christ's Crucifixion, as the Gospels describe.²⁸ Instead, it occurs sometime after the fourth century, when the dome of the Church of Holy Sepulchre was completed.²⁹ This temporal inaccuracy was allowed, however, because the architecture of the rotunda and what it was called (Anastasis, meaning “resurrection”) reinforced the meaning of the narrative. The empty tomb—the ultimate proof of Christ's Resurrection—is surmounted by the dome that was emblematic of the church structure and acted as yet another honorific canopy for Christ's miracle. Since the reliquary box was created in the sixth century in

the Holy Land (Syria or Palestine) and contained earth relics from Jerusalem, it provides some sense of the early form of the Tomb of Christ.

Two more images of the Tomb of Christ from a contemporary pilgrim's *ampulla* and earlier ivory casket give a sense of the shrine's appearance. The pilgrim's *ampulla* was created in Jerusalem and dates from the late sixth or early seventh century and is kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Figure 4.18). Its depiction of the Tomb varies slightly from the Monza example, since the rectangular shrine has a pediment, not a baldachin. In this case, the four columns around the shrine also serve as structural supports for the drum of the dome, which is punctuated by a row of rounded windows that resemble those in the painted memory box. The consistencies and inconsistencies between the various images, however, are not what is important here. What is significant is the relation between the structures' largest geometric parts. In the *ampulla* kept at in the Treasury at Monza (Figures 4.15 and 4.16), the rectangular form of the shrine is contrasted with the rim of the pendant, which I suggest stands in for the Anastasis rotunda. Similarly, in the Dumbarton Oaks *ampulla* (Figure 4.18) the rectangular shrine and triangular baldachin is contrasted with the circular sweep of the drum of the Anastasis dome.

A similar effect is seen in a fifth-century ivory plaque (Figure 4.19). It shows a slighter different vision of the Tomb—a square base and an open door, surmounted by a circular lantern—but since this ivory dates from the fifth century, it is unlikely that it represents a different shrine than the one shown in the late sixth or early seventh century *ampullae*.³⁰ I suggest that the ivory relief shows the rectangular shrine over Tomb of Christ and the circular Anastasis dome simultaneously, compounded into one structure. I believe this architectural combination made the Tomb more recognizable to medieval viewers, and some clarification comes from bringing in one final image. It is a ground plan of the west end of the Church of the

Holy Sepulchre, and dates from after the Anastasis rotunda was completed in the fourth century. The plan was drawn in the seventh century in Jerusalem by a traveler named Arculf, and soon after copied into Adomnán of Iona's manuscript on the Holy Land, entitled *De locus sanctis* ("Concerning the Sacred Places") (Figure 4.20). Arculf shows the church's layout schematized in a way that highlights the complex's geometric parts, including how the circular walls and repeated ambulatories underneath the Rotunda contrasted with the rectangular courtyard encompassing the Rock of Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ. I suggest that this geometric relation is precisely what is at work in the British Museum ivory. The Tomb is conjoined with the Rotunda, the architectural form that gives structure to the empty space contemplated by both Marys. Rendering the site in this way signified, rather than documented, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and distilled the site into a portable memento.

The collection of *ampullae*, memory box, and ivory relief brings us closer to the Tomb of Christ and the *pigna* fountain at Old St. Peter's. The distance between the structures begins to collapse, and *resemblance* becomes a possibility. Significantly, the shrine around the Tomb of Christ was first designed in the fourth century (c. 325/26-35), and it could have influenced the structure around the *cantharus* fountain in Rome (c. 319-50). The recognizability of this connection, however, drastically increased with the inclusion of the *pigna* sculpture in the eighth century (c. 752-57). With the addition of the *pigna*, the square, fourth-century baldachin was matched with a circular interior, creating a similar relation to that of the Tomb of Christ in the Anastasis rotunda. As a result, it can be argued that the *pigna* was added to the fountain of Old St. Peter's because it had the ability to embody the site of Old St. Peter's but also to transport pilgrims to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

V. The *Pigna* Fountain and the Fountain of Life

Medieval images of the Fountain of Life are also a fundamental part of the visual *milieu* between Rome and Jerusalem, and Paul Underwood's "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels" (1950) is a fundamental, comparative study of images of the Fountain of Life and the Tomb of Christ. His illustration of a page from the eighth-century Godescalc Gospels (c. 781-83) is particularly useful to understanding the significance that I assign to the *pigna* fountain (Figure 4.21).³¹ At first glance, the Fountain of Life image in the manuscript could be a depiction of the *pigna* structure. It also has a four-sided collecting basin, eight columns, a barrel vault, peacocks, and is surmounted by a cross.³² The Fountain of Life image from the Godescalc Gospels also attracts a wide array of animals, and in this regard it recalls the *pigna* fountain, which is also covered with exotic creatures and vegetative motifs. Importantly, this page also comes from a Gospel book that commissioned by an extraordinary pilgrim to St. Peter's, Charlemagne (r. 800-14), who, as we have seen, had visited Old St. Peter's several times and had direct knowledge of the *pigna* fountain. The ninth-century images of the Fountain of Life from the Gospel Book from Saint-Médard de Soissons (c. 800-50) (Figures 4.22 and 4.23) also seem to confirm the *pigna* fountain's relation to the source (*fons*) of the River of Paradise in the Garden of Eden, described in the Latin Vulgate (Gen. 2: 6).

The *pigna* fountain's relation to Golgotha, the Tomb of Christ, and contemporary images of the Fountain of Life unifies its significance. For eighth-century Christians, relics and sites in the Holy Land—the True Cross, the blood spilt over Golgotha, and the empty Sepulchre—were the greatest symbols of God's redemptive power, and the *pigna*'s connection to these potent symbols elevated and strengthened the *pigna* fountain's relation to redemptive symbols of baptism such as the Fountain of Life and the Rivers of Paradise. In this heightened discourse, the

pilgrim's movement towards the *pigna* was analogous to the journey towards salvation, and the *pigna*'s layered symbolism made this religious experience possible. The *pigna*'s multivalent symbolism also made pilgrims' experience richer, more nuanced, and spatially complex, and celebrated the sculpture as a redemptive, paradisiac symbol of the Christian faith.

VI. Papal Politics and Patronage

This thesis emphasizes the *pigna*'s meaning through a multitude of visual and textual referents. But a discussion of the moment of the *pigna*'s inclusion in the eighth century begs the question, "why then?" The answer is contained within the symbolism suggested here. Due to its prominent location at Old St. Peter's, the fountain also became an important political symbol for the emerging Papal States, and was used as such by Pope Stephen II (r. 752-57) and his brother Pope Paul I (r. 757-67). The *pigna* was, fundamentally, a centrifugal object. It established a center for the ornamented spaces around it, and a destination for pilgrims preparing to enter the church. The *pigna*, I suggest, was used to communicate the primacy of Rome, and was particularly necessary and powerful in the eighth century, when the papacy was embattled by an iconoclastic controversy, church schism, and a constant Lombard threat.

In the eighth century, Rome was in a state of disintegration. Constantine's decision to move the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople (330) had removed the city from direct imperial protection, and gradual neglect led to centuries of repeated pillaging of the city by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.³³ By the eighth century, the Eastern and Western churches were also in the middle of an iconoclastic controversy (726-87) that created a deep divide between the pope in Rome and the Byzantine Emperor and patriarch of the Greek church in Constantinople. The lead up to this schism began a generation before Pope Stephen II's reign (r. 752-57), when Pope Gregory III (r. 731-41) excommunicated the Byzantine Emperor Leo III

(r. 717-41) over harsh taxes and the emperor's proscription on the role of images in the Christian faith (731).³⁴ Closer to home, there was also the gradual encroachment of the Lombards, led by Aistulf, who occupied the coastal city of Ravenna in 751 and gathered for an assault on the city of Rome. Pope Stephen II (r. 752-57) petitioned the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V (r. 741-75) for help but was ignored, and the Lombards sacked Rome in 753.

The continued threat of the Lombards, combined with the loss of support from the Byzantine Empire, made Rome increasingly vulnerable. As we saw in Chapter 2, Stephen broke with the East to ally with the Franks, led by Pepin the Short/Younger (r. 752-68), and completed the arrangement by personally journeying from Rome to the far north of the Frankish kingdom where he allegedly flung himself at Pepin's feet.³⁵ Stephen's goal was not subservience to the Franks—he no doubt saw the alliance as a way to gain a reliable army, protect Rome from the Lombards, and reassert the papacy's influence. In return, Stephen endorsed Pepin as the “patrician of the Romans,” and Pepin's army routed the Lombards twice in the next two years.³⁶

Knowledge of Stephen's alliance with the Franks and the Donation of Pepin after the defeat of the Lombards in 756 provides an important historical backdrop for the *pigna*'s addition to the atrium of Old St. Peter's. Pope Stephen II was the most likely patron for the selection, transportation, and installation of the *pigna* in the fourth-century fountain ensemble, but as previously discussed in Chapter 2, there is no documentation of this event. Stephen's renovation of the structural supports around the *cantharus* fountain, however, offers a *terminus ante quem* for the sculpture's inclusion (c. 752-57). Regardless of Stephen's involvement, it is suggestive that a Roman pope from the schismatic period patronized a fountain design developed in Byzantium, Venice, and Ravenna (Figures 3.14 and 3.15). Stephen's selection of the *pigna*, then, likely responded to the sculpture's specifically Roman origins at the Pantheon, Mausoleum of

Hadrian, or Cybele's Phrygianum. Spolia was often "consecrated" in recycled, Christian use—only in this case, the Vatican claimed an Eastern type for Western use and linked it to the authority of sites in Rome and the Holy Land.

The papacy's willingness to install a pagan sculpture at Old St. Peter's in the midst of an iconoclastic controversy (726-87) also deserves attention. The participants in the iconoclastic debate attempted to clarify the difference between image veneration and idolatry, and the *pigna*'s medium (gilded bronze) and pagan history would have made it an easy target for iconoclasts. Though the source comes from hundreds of years later, the traveler Hermann of Fritzler did write in c. 1343-49 that following the consecration of the Pantheon, "the devil took the pinecone away from the top [the *oculus*]" and "carried it in front of St. Peter's."³⁷ In this narrative, the devil is forced to find a new place for his pagan idol, and strangely enough he picks the atrium of Old St. Peter's. If the story has a moral, it is that the devil's intentions were not fulfilled. The devil is not able to pollute the church site, and the *pigna* was transformed to the point of being used in ceremonial ablutions. This conversion is a miracle of the church, and perhaps an exemplification of the proper use and adoption of a pagan image the iconoclastic period.

Pope Stephen II's successor, Pope Paul I (r. 757-67), is also an important figure in the iconoclastic period, because he did not support the proscription against images laid down by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V (r. 741-75).³⁸ Paul I was not involved in the *pigna*'s installation, but his reign came shortly after the sculpture's addition, when perceptions of the atrium began to change. As I have already discussed, this is evidenced in an interpolation in Paul's biography from the *Liber Pontificalis* (c. 767-92), where the "atrium" becomes the "*paradiso*." Significantly, the passage refers to the decoration of the façade of a chapel dedicated

to Mary, proving that Paul I was indeed a patron of the arts and was eager to put his own mark on the church.

Beyond the issue of patronage, it is also important to consider that, in the eighth century, pilgrimage to Rome was at its peak, and the industry brought a massive amount of revenue to a desperate city.³⁹ Decoration, ornamentation, and precious novelties like the *pigna* were meant to attract pilgrims, encourage further devotion, and fund the Catholic mission. Old St. Peter's was already the most popular pilgrimage site in Rome, and the *pigna* fountain's evocation of the Tomb of Christ would have increased the church's value and popularity. Travel to sites in the Holy Land was extremely dangerous, and sometimes impossible, during this period. The Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 637/38 limited pilgrims' willingness to travel to the city, and Muslim control is symbolized in images from the period showing the Tomb of Christ or the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre surmounted by a crescent. The *pigna*'s integration into the eighth-century fountain, as we have seen, effectively collapsed that distance, and allowed for a kind of virtual pilgrimage that encouraged more and more followers to pass within its sacred walls.

A dramatic testament to the *pigna*'s political value relates to Charlemagne, who ruled as King of the Franks from 758-814 and Emperor from 800-14. Like his father, Pepin the Short, Charlemagne played a key role in Roman politics, including Pope Hadrian I's (r. 772-95) battle to contain the continued threat of the Lombards in the Papal States.⁴⁰ Due to his involvement in peninsular politics, Charlemagne visited Old St. Peter's several times. His first pilgrimage on Easter Sunday, 774, is well-documented. According to contemporary accounts, Charlemagne approached Old St. Peter's on horseback, but dismounted as soon as he caught sight of the church. From that point, he behaved as an ordinary pilgrim, walking to the eastern entrance of the church and kissing every stair leading up to the *paradiso*.⁴¹ After that initial visit,

Charlemagne returned to Old St. Peter's in 800, when he was crowned Emperor by Pope Leo III (r. 795-816). We should also recall Charlemagne's patronage of the Godesclac Gospels, which showed deep familiarity with Fountain of Life, their debt to the shrine over the tomb of Christ, and their similarity to the *pigna* fountain.

Charlemagne would have encountered the *pigna* fountain during both visits to Old St. Peter's, and his experience apparently inspired the creation of his own pinecone fountain for the courtyard of the Palatine Chapel in Aachen (Figure 4.24).⁴² It was also made out of bronze, and was part of a fountain that included four figures personifying the rivers of paradise at the each corner (now lost).⁴³ Unlike the example at Old St. Peter's, the pinecone was small, approximately three feet tall, and water spouted from under each scale, rather than a single tube at its tip. The departures from the *pigna* fountain are substantial, but can be reconciled considering the Carolingians' inexperience in casting such a large-scale figural bronze as well as the fact that the atrium at the Palatine Chapel was considerably smaller than Old St. Peter's. Many scholars have suggested that the layout of the Palatine Chapel in Aachen responds to the central plan of the Lateran Baptistery in Rome, and it is equally likely that the emperor modeled his fountain after a Roman model. The Palatine Chapel was located at the heart of Charlemagne's Frankish Kingdom, served as the emperor's final resting place, and held the coronation ceremonies for his Carolingian successors.⁴⁴ As a result, it seems that Charlemagne, fully aware of the multivalent symbolism here-assigned to the Vatican *pigna*'s fountain looked to claim it for the centerpiece of his new Christian empire.

VII. Conclusion

The *pigna*'s historical reality adds a final layer to its Christian significance, and suggests that the *pigna* sculpture's addition to the atrium reflected Old St. Peter's emergent status as a

center for pilgrimage and papal influence. As I have attempted to show, the *pigna* fountain had a high, metaphysical engagement with Christian notions of Paradise, but it was also used by world leaders as the focal point of their earthly empires. I suggest that this was particularly apparent during the reign of Pope Stephen II and Charlemagne, who both exploited the *pigna*'s multivalent symbolism in service of their own legitimacy.

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1. Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 10.
 2. In Book 2, Chapter 15 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius writes, “It is related that in his time Paul was beheaded in Rome itself, and that Peter likewise was crucified, and the title of ‘Peter and Paul,’ which is still given to the cemeteries there, confirms the story, no less than does a writer of the Church named Caius, who... speaks as follows of the places where the sacred relics of the Apostles in question are deposited: ‘But I can point out the *trophies* of the Apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way you will find the trophies of those who founded the Church’”; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 180-83.
 3. There are various theories on the location of Peter’s bodily remains. Gaius’ account calls the structure a trophy (*tropaion*), which does not necessarily suggest that it was a tomb with human remains. It is also possible that Peter’s bones left the Vatican area in c. 258, during fierce persecution of the Christians during Emperor Valerian (r. 253-64), and transferred to the catacombs of St. Sebastian. According to Jerome, Peter’s remains were then reburied on the Vatican in 336; on these possibilities, see Hibbert, *Rome*, 330.
 4. In c. 319-36, Constantine surrounded the original, second-century shrine (*tropaion*) with a new *aedicule*, in c. 590-604 Pope Gregory I (the Great) commissioned a complete restructuring of the apse, including a new high altar and a silver canopy over the shrine (altering the conditions seen in the *Pola Casket*), and in the thirteenth century Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) replaced the original apse mosaic; Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 173-76; and Jocelyn and Perkins, *Shrine of St. Peter*, 10-14.
 5. Zander, “Necropolis Underneath St. Peter’s Basilica,” 287-330.
 6. Jas’ Elsner, “Closure and Penetration: Reflections on the Pola Casket,” *Acta ad archaeologiam et atrium historiam pertinentia* 26, no. 12 (Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2013), 183-227.
 7. Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 174.
 8. At this point, it is important to remember that the atrium fountain didn’t have eight columns until Pope Stephen II’s renovations in c. 752-57.
 9. Krautheimer, “Introduction” (1969), 115-50.
 10. *Ibid.*, 115-30.
 11. Wood and Nagel, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 55-56.
 12. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage,” 598-622; and Ousterhout, “The Church of Santo Stefano,” 311-21. For further discussions of the notion of virtual pilgrimage, see once again the work of Ousterhout, Connolly, Rudy, and Nagel and Wood as cited in Chapter 1.

13. For Constantine's fourth-century church building in Rome and the Holy Land, see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 17-44.

14. Permission to begin construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was granted to Bishop Makarios and the Empress Helena at the Council of Nicaea (325). The Tomb of Christ was then disinterred from the existing Temple of Aphrodite in 326/27, and the Church was dedicated on 17 September, 335. Eusebius writes "Once the Emperor had written this letter [about details related to the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] the work began to take shape, and over the true memorial of salvation was built the New Jerusalem, facing the far-famed Jerusalem of old time [meaning the Church of the Holy Sepulchre faced east, towards Solomon's Temple in the real city of Jerusalem]"; John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1993), 17-19; and Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 132.

15. John Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of its Structural History," *Levant* 4, no. 1 (1972): 83-97.

16. For Eusebius (337), the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (340), and the nun Egeria's (397) descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 135-36; and Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 31, 142, 144-47, 156-57, and 163. For literature on the early appearance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Neil Brooks, *The Sepulcher of Christ in Art and Liturgy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1921), 1-24; K.J. Conant, *The Original Buildings of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1956); Andre Parrot, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957); Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ," 83-97; Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem*, trans. J.P. and B. Claude Ross (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); Shimon Gibson and Joan Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulcher: The Archeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1994); Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Phoenix Mill, UK: Sutton, 1999), 20-27; and Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (March, 2003): 4-23.

17. Eusebius refers to this atrium, writing that "He [the visitor traveling through the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] then went on to a very large space wide open to the fresh air, which was decorated with a pavement of light-colored stone on the ground, and enclosed on three sides by long surrounding colonnades"; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 135-36. This atrium is not to be confused with the forecourt of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is also described by Eusebius; "Going on towards the entries in front of the church he [Constantine] introduced a court. This was the entry court, and it had colonnades on either side and doors at the far side"; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 20.

18. It is likely that these porticoes made up the *parvis ante crucem* (“the square in front of the Cross”) mentioned by Egeria (395): “At midday they go Before the Cross—whether it is rain or fine, for the place is out of doors—into the very spacious and beautiful court-yard between the Cross and the Anastasis, and there is not even room to open a door, the place is so crammed with people. They place the bishop’s chair Before the Cross, and the whole time between midday and three o’clock is taken up with readings”; Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels*, 156.

19. The *Beviarius of Jerusalem*, a summary of the topography of Jerusalem from the late fourth century, remarks “And going from there [the inside of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre] into Golgotha there is a great court where the Lord was crucified. There is a *silver screen round this Mount* [my emphasis], where the Cross of the Lord has been displayed, adorned with gold and gems and a dome above. *Outside it has a screen* [my emphasis]”; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 118. On the testimony of Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 313-86) and the date and appearance of the early platform or *bema* around Golgotha, see Conant, *Original Buildings of the Holy Sepulchre*, 6.

20. The *crux gemmata* in Jerusalem is likely the golden cross seen in the apse mosaic showing the Rock of Golgotha from the apse of Santa Pudenziana in Rome (c. 340-50). This cross was in place from the fourth century until 614, when the Persians sacked and looted the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Persians removed the cross from Jerusalem in 622, it was subsequently reclaimed by the Emperor Heraclius and the Christians in 628, and finally taken to Constantinople for safe-keeping in 633. At that point, it was replaced at Golgotha by a silver cross, which was removed and presumably destroyed by Hakim in 1009. For this cross, see Gibson and Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 60.

21. For the *crux gemmata* in Rome, its date, and related *niello* inscriptions, see Krautheimer, *Corpus*, 5: 274; and Antonio Pinelli, “Old St. Peter’s,” *St. Peter’s in the Vatican*, ed. Antonio Pinelli (Modena: Pannini Editore, 2000), 1: 23.

22. Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Boston: Brill, 2004), ix-x.

23. To quote the *Beviarius of Jerusalem* once again, “And going from there into Golgotha there is a great court where the Lord was crucified. There is a silver screen round this Mount, where the Cross of the Lord has been displayed, adorned with gold and gems and *a dome above* [my emphasis]; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 118. This “dome” or canopy is also seen in pilgrims’ *ampullae* with representations of the Cross on the Rock of Golgotha. For the dome or arbor over Golgotha, see Conant, *Original Buildings of the Holy Sepulchre*, 6; and Coüasnon, *Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, 38.

24. Gibson and Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 60.

25. Coüasnon, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 15.

26. Van de Hoek and Hermann, "Paulinus of Nola," 180-84; and Von Hartel, *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani*, 29.94-95, Ep. 13.13.

27. The development of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem can be summarized as follows: [1] In 325/26, the Tomb of Christ was excavated under the supervision of Bishop Makarios of Jerusalem (r. 314-33) and the Empress Helena, at which point the Tomb of Christ was surrounded by a shrine made up of columns and a conical roof; [2] in 1009, the Egyptian Caliph Hakim destroyed Constantine's shrine and the structure was subsequently rebuilt by the Christians as a rectangular shrine with a tall lantern and cupola; [3] in 1555, the Byzantine shrine was replaced by Boniface of Ragusa; [4] finally, this early modern shrine was replaced in 1809-10 by the existing shrine by the Greek Orthodox Church. For the clearest, most succinct summary of the four phases of the shrine, see Wilkinson, "Tomb of Christ," 83-97; and Biddle, *Tomb of Christ*, 53-64.

28. "Early on the first day of the week, while it was still dark, Mary Magdalene went to the tomb and saw that the stone had been removed from the entrance." John 20: 1.

29. The Anastasis dome is dated based on a description in the travel diary of Egeria (c. 397), and the lack of description in texts by Eusebius (303-24, 337) and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (340). For Egeria, Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 142, 144-47, 156-57, and 163; for the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 31; and Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 135-36.

30. The ivory dates from c. 420 and the ampulla from c. 600, and the Tomb of Christ likely did not undergo any renovations until after the church fire in 614 and the repairs by the Abbott Modestus (d. 630).

31. The relationship between the *pigna* structure and images of the Fountain of Life are also explored in Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 17.

32. For an in-depth discussion of the iconography of the Fountain of Life, see Paul Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950): 41-138.

33. Sacks of the city were carried out by the Visigoths (410), Vandals (455), Ostrogoths (527), and Lombards (753).

34. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations," 47-48.

35. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations," 47-50.

36. Ibid.

37. Guarducci, *Tradition of Peter*, 35.

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38. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations," 52-62.
39. Krautheimer, *St. Peter's and Medieval Rome*, 11-38.
40. Miller, "The Roman Revolution," 79-133.
41. For this narrative, see Hibbert, *Rome*, 79.
42. Once again, Charlemagne's patronage of this pinecone fountain is not documented, but some scholars have associated the commission with him and all date the fountain to sometime between c. 800-1000. Art historians are not in agreement that Charlemagne was the patron of the Aachen pinecone fountain. Kinney dates the Aachen pinecone (tentatively) to no later than 1000; Kinney, "Spolia," 33. Margaret Finch dates the Aachen fountain to the ninth century; Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 22.
43. Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 22.
44. Charles McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, AD 600- 900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 158.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis offers the first extended analysis of the multivalent Christian, paradisiac, and political significance of the *pigna* fountain at Old St. Peter's in the eighth century, the moment of its assemblage. As such, it references some of the most important visual and textual documents related to the *pigna* fountain to provide a clear statement of the relation between the fourth and eighth-century fountain installations. Further, it contextualizes the *pigna* fountain within the larger eighth-century decorative program of which it formed an essential and unifying part. Beyond formal considerations, a key contribution of this study lies in offering an extended analysis of the function and symbolic value of the fountain for a range of period viewers and audiences ranging from the likely patron, Pope Stephen II, to the Emperor Charlemagne, to the array of pilgrims who entered the space.

As existing studies of eighth-century pilgrimage in Rome are limited, the extended description of pilgrim movement through space, the consideration of ceremonial and functional use of the atrium fountain, and the recreation of pilgrims' line of sight as they looked towards the church's western façade provided here have broader implications for the study of the object and site. This analysis demonstrates the full range of the *pigna* fountain's paradisiac symbolism, specifically referents to the Garden of Eden (including the Tree of Life and the River of Paradise), the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Tomb of Peter, Golgotha, the Tomb of Christ, and the Fountain of Life. Each of these allusions inspired greater religious devotion in pilgrims arriving at the church and brought them closer to God.

However, we also saw that the *pigna* fountain was used for temporal or worldly gain by Pope Stephen II, Pope Paul I, and Charlemagne, who shaped the *pigna*'s symbolic meaning for their own political gain.

This thesis contributes to emerging research on Old St. Peter's as a highly influential architectural space, social interactions between Rome and Jerusalem, and the spatial flexibility of architectural forms. In many regards, this study of the *pigna* fountain at the moment of the sculpture's inclusion in the eighth century acts as an introduction to further study on the *pigna* fountain and atrium of Old St. Peter's, because so much scholarship on the church of Old St. Peter's has yet to be completed. Further study on the *pigna* fountain and *paradiso* at Old St. Peter's could, for example, address their influence on Romanesque cloisters that were renamed *paradisi* after the sculpture's addition to the atrium fountain in the eighth century, including those at the abbey churches of Monte Cassino, St. Gall, Saint-Riquier, and Fulda.¹ One avenue into this line of thinking may be provided by a group of column capitals featuring pinecones surrounding the *paradiso* in the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, which are preserved in the Cloisters Collection in New York (c. 1130-40) (Figure 5.1). One capital shows an overturned, hollow pinecone being used as a water basin for two peacocks (Figure 5.2), and further study could make the link to Old St. Peter's explicit.

Additional research might also contend with the issue of the *pigna* fountain's non-functionality during a turbulent medieval period. In Chapter 2, I briefly mentioned the Aqua Traiana, the Roman aqueduct that fueled the *pigna* fountain in the eighth century, but I did not discuss damages to the channel during the Middle Ages that would have prohibited the fountain from functioning after the tenth century.² A closer examination of the effects of barbarian invasions, sacks, and floods on the functionality of the *pigna* fountain after the eighth century is

needed in order to determine if the presence of water has been exaggerated.³ Future scholarship on the *pigna* in the late medieval period should account for this lack, and consider how medieval viewers may have appreciated the structure as a sculptural ensemble rather than an active water feature.

Finally, future study might also profitably consider the *pigna* sculpture's meaning in Donato Bramante (1444-1514) and Pirro Ligorio's (c. 1500-83) fifteenth and sixteenth-century Upper Belvedere Courtyard, beginning in c. 1608-10 when the *pigna* was removed from the atrium of Old St. Peter's and installed in the new cortile under orders of Pope Paul V (r. 1608-21). The appearance of this courtyard is recorded before the *pigna*'s arrival in a sketch in pen and brown ink by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609) from c. 1558-61 (Figure 5.3) and shortly after its addition in a detail of an engraving by Giovanni Maggi (1566-1618) from c. 1615 (Figure 5.4). Study of the *pigna* sculpture in the Late Renaissance should also consider Pope Clement XI's (r. 1700-21) renovation of the Upper Belvedere Courtyard, when the *pigna* sculpture was finally set on the monumental capital from the Baths of Alexander Severus (Figure 1.2). Additional research could determine Bramante or Ligorio's awareness of the *pigna*'s history, and whether any of these architects intended to use *pigna* sculpture to transform the Upper Belvedere Courtyard into a *paradiso*. These pursuits could further validate the *pigna*'s multivalent, paradisiac symbolism, and prove once again the fountain ensemble at Old St. Peter's was engaged in a long string of models, copies, and substitutes that stretched across time and geographic borders.

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1. The need for such a study is also alluded to in Finch, "Cantharus and Pigna," 22.
 2. During the course of the Middle Ages, Rome shrunk to a portion of its former size and the Roman aqueducts that brought water into the city became vulnerable to attacks led by various barbarian leaders and natural disasters. These included the invasion of Rome led by Aistulf the Lombard (752), the Longobards (775), earthquakes, and later damages implied by documented renovations of the Aqua Traiana channel by various Roman leaders.
 3. For the history of the Roman Aqueducts, see Rinne, *Waters of Rome*, 139.

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Figure 1.1
 Pirro Ligorio (c. 1500-1583) and Donato Bramante (1444-1514)
Pigna of Old St. Peter's inside the Nicchione
 Cortile della Pigna (Upper Belvedere Courtyard)
 Vatican Palace, Vatican State, Italy
 Nicchione added in 1560 by Pirro Ligorio to the courtyard
 designed by Bramante
 Pigna installed c. 1608-10



Figure 1.2
Pigna of Old St. Peter's
 Installed in the Cortile della Pigna
 (Upper Belvedere Courtyard)
 Sculpture cast in the first century
 Vatican Palace, Vatican State, Italy
 Bronze with traces of gilding, 356 cm x 175 cm

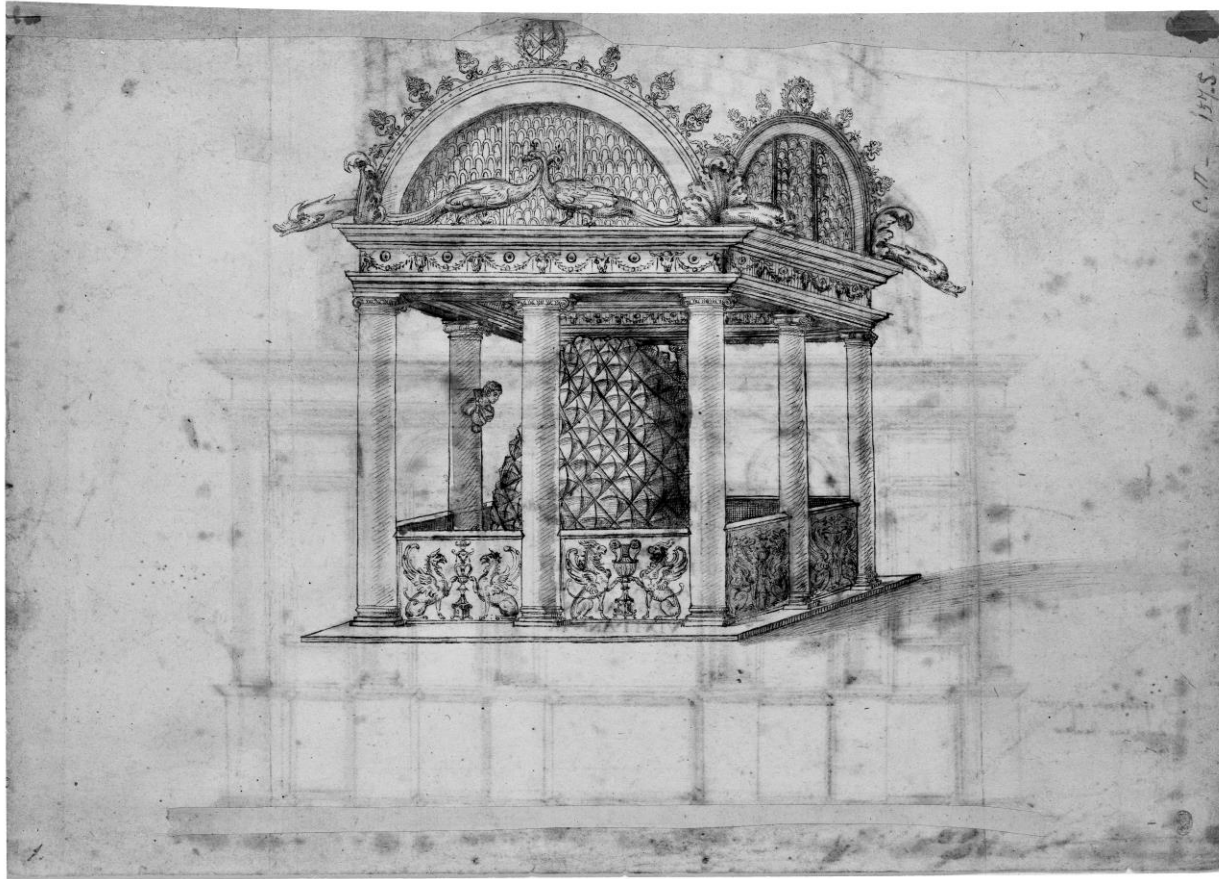


Figure 1.3

Anonymous, formerly Il Cronaca (Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)

Cantharus and Pigna of Old St. Peter's

c. 1515-25

Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Santarelli Collection 157^v

Sketch in pen and wash, 245 mm x 342 mm

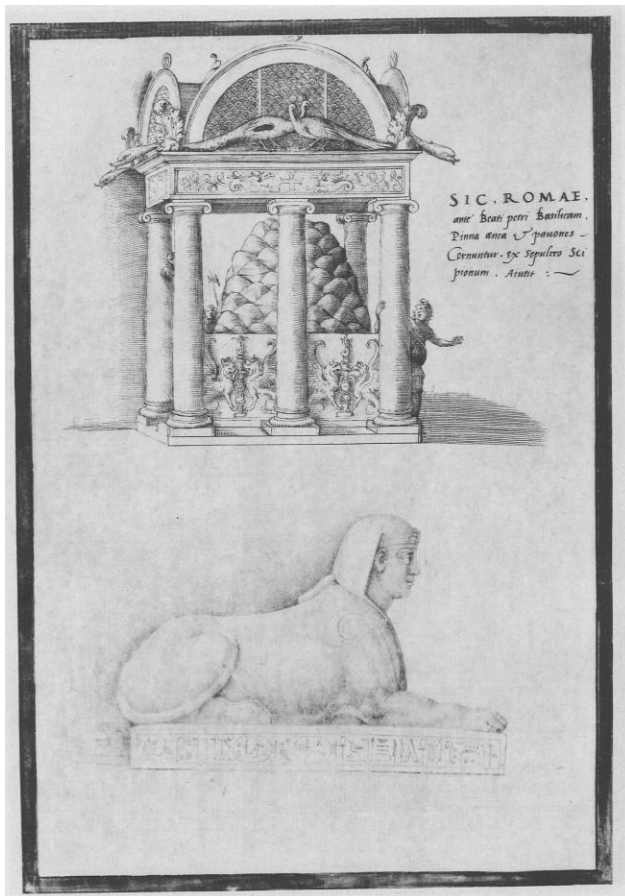


Figure 1.4
 Francisco de Hollanda (1517-1585)
Cantharus and Pigna of Old St. Peter's
 c. 1538-40
 Escorial, fol. 26^v, 5^r, Madrid, Spain
 Drawing in ink

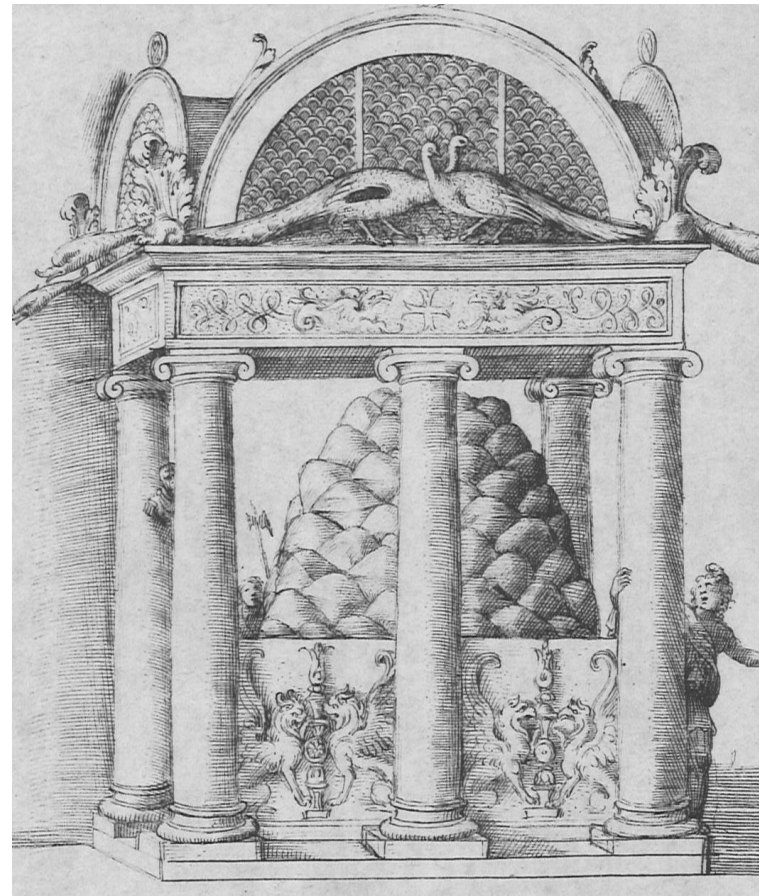


Figure 1.5
 Detail of *Cantharus and Pigna of Old St. Peter's*



Figure 1.6
Tiberio Alfarano (1525-96)
Original hand drawing and print of Old St. Peter's
1571
Mixed media
Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro, Vatican State

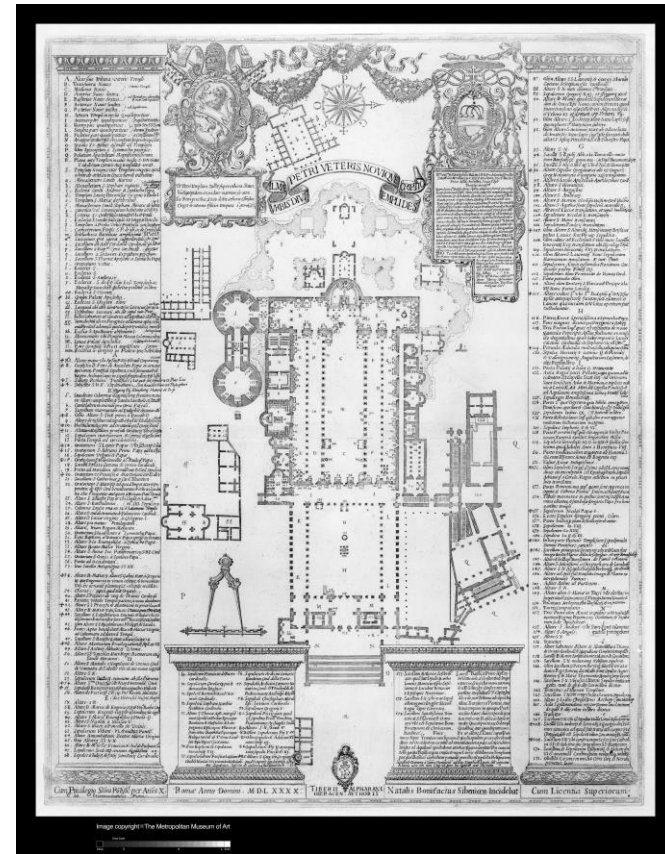


Figure 1.7
Tiberio Alfarano (1525-96)
Engraving of the basilica of Old St. Peter's
c. 1589-90, based on a drawing from 1571
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
56 x 43.5 cm

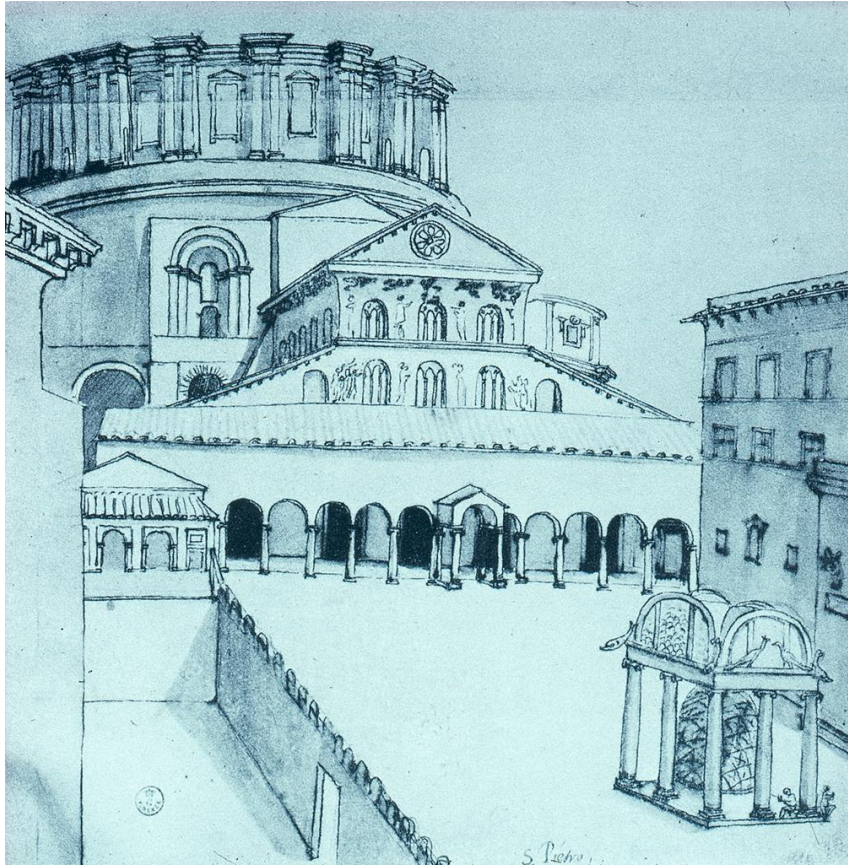


Figure 1.8
Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609)
Old St. Peter's, looking west
1574-75
Formerly Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 2555/A (now lost), Florence, Italy
Drawing in pen with brown wash on blue paper



Figure 1.9
G.B. de' Cavalieri (1525-1601)
Forecourt of Old St. Peter's
1575

After a design by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609) from 1574-75
British Museum 1874.0613.613, London, England,
Engraving



Figure 1.10
Detail of the Forecourt of Old St. Peter's

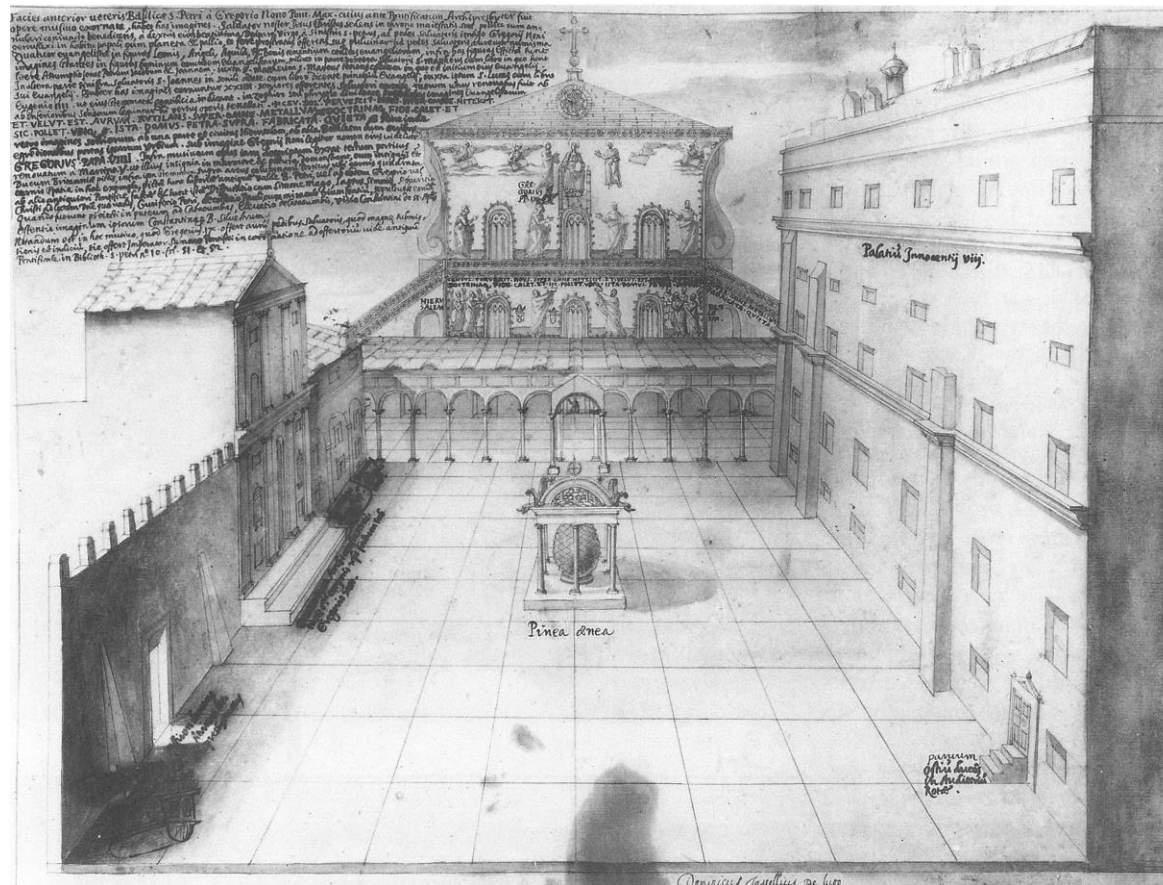


Figure 1.11
 Domenico Tasselli
 Facade of Old St. Peter's
 Before 1619-20, or c. 1611
 Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro A 64 ter, fol. 10r, Rome, Italy
 Drawing in ink and wash

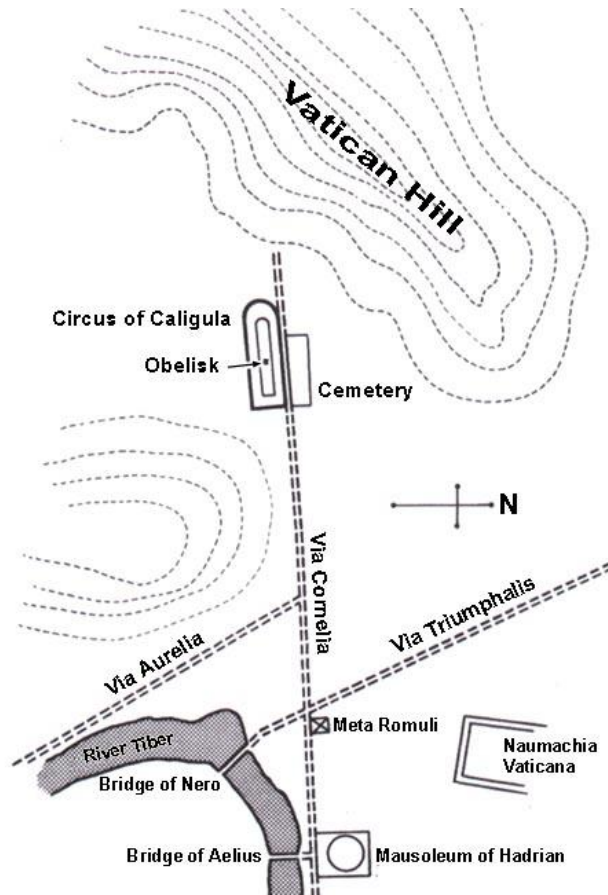


Figure 2.1
The topography of the *Mons Vaticanus* and *Ager Vaticanus*

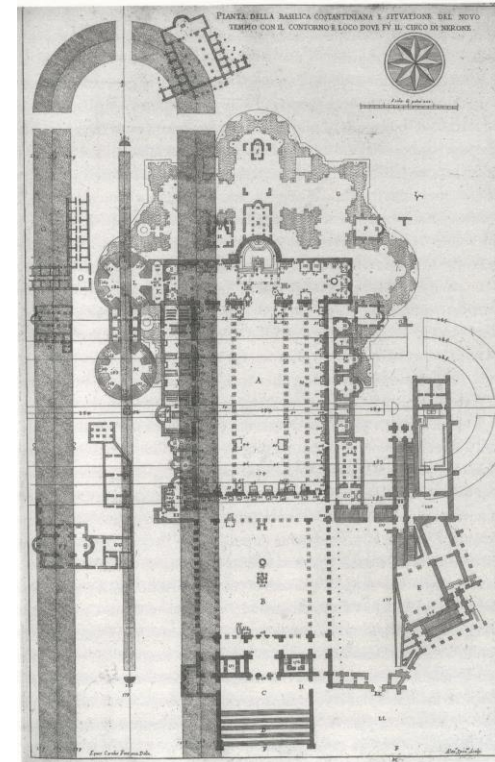


Figure 2.2
Carlo Fontana (1634-1714)
Layered site of Old St. Peter's
Showing the Circus of Gaius and Nero,
Old St. Peter's, and New St. Peter's
Published in his *Templum Vaticanum* (1694)
Engraving

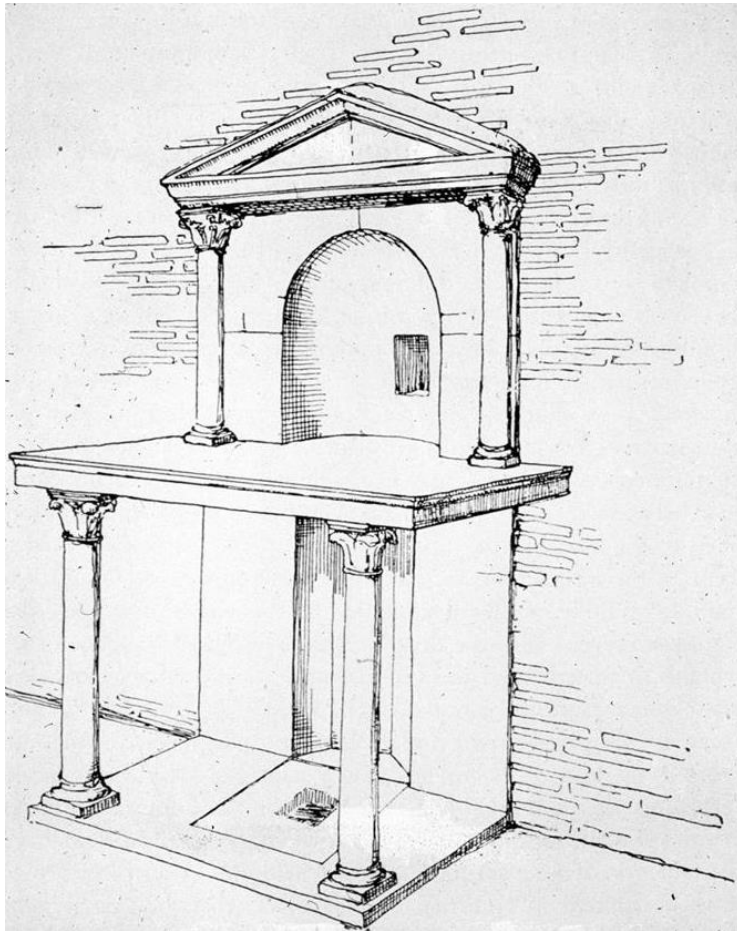


Figure 2.3
Jocelyn Toynbee
Shrine of St. Peter (*tropaion*) in the second century
From *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (1956)

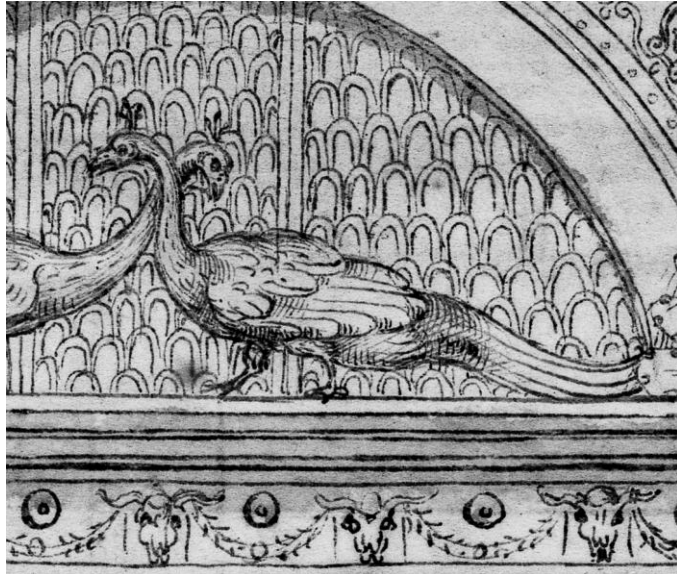


Figure 2.4
 Anonymous, formerly Il Cronaca
 (Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)
 Detail of the peacock from the
Cantharus and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
 c. 1515-25 CE
 Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy
 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Santarelli Collection 157^v
 Sketch in pen and wash



Figure 2.5
 Bronze peacock from the *pigna* fountain at Old St. Peter's
 Sculpture cast in the second century (?)
 New Wing (Braccio Nuovo) of the Vatican Museum
 inv. 5117 and 5120
 Bronze with traces of gilding

Figure 2.6 (top)

Anonymous, formerly Il Cronaca (Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)
Detail of a porphyry column from the *Cantharus* and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
c. 1515-25
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Santarelli Collection 157^v
Sketch in pen and wash

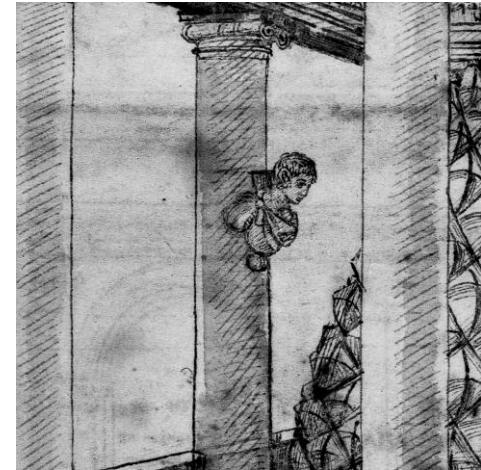


Figure 2.7 (bottom left)

Porphyry column with a portrait of the Emperor Trajan
Formerly installed around the *pigna* fountain at Old St. Peter's (?)
Originally from the Mausoleum of Hadrian
Second century (?)
Salle des Saison, Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. MA 1096

Figure 2.8 (bottom right)

Porphyry column with a portrait of the Emperor Nerva
Formerly installed around the *pigna* fountain at Old St. Peter's (?)
Originally from the Mausoleum of Hadrian
Second century (?)
Salle des Saison, Louvre Museum, Paris, inv. MA 1096

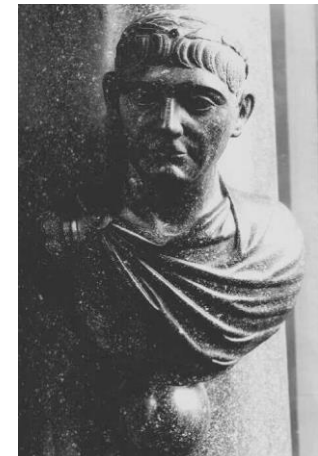
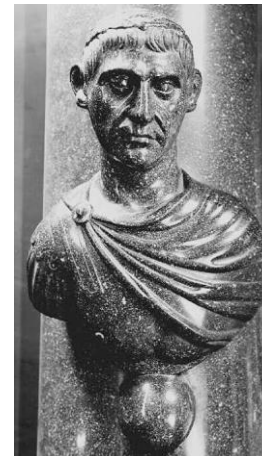




Figure 2.9

Facade of Old St. Peter's and Lamb of the Apocalypse mosaic

Eleventh century

Miniature from a manuscript of the *Life of St. Gregory* by John the Deacon

Originally from the Abbey Church of Farfa

Now Eton College, Codex Farfensis, Ms. 124, fol. 122r

Windsor, England

Figure 3.1 (top)
 Detail of the tip of the *pigna* of Old St. Peter's
 Post-restoration (1986) condition
 Sculpture cast in the first century
 Installed in the Cortile della Pigna (Upper Belvedere Courtyard)
 Vatican Palace, Vatican State, Italy



Figure 3.2 (middle)
 Francisco de Hollanda (1517-1585)
 Detail of the tip of the *pigna* from *Cantharus* and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
 c. 1538-40
 Escorial, fol. 26^v, 5^r, Madrid, Spain
 Sketch in ink

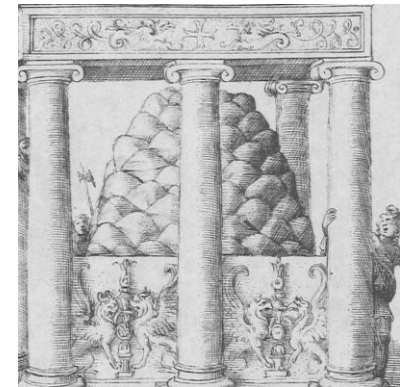


Figure 3.3 (bottom)
 Anonymous, formerly Il Cronaca (Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)
 Detail of the tip of the *pigna* from of the *Cantharus* and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
 c. 1515-25
 Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy
 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Santarelli Collection 157^v
 Sketch in pen and wash

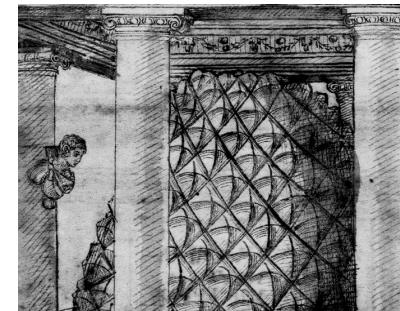




Figure 3.4
 Giovanni Maggi (1566-1618)
La Pi(g)na nel cortile di S. Pietro
 Designed by Bartolomeo Rossi
 Published by Andrea Vaccario in Rome as
Ornamenti di fabbriche antichi et moderni Dell'Alma Citta di Roma:
Parte Seconda (18) (1600)

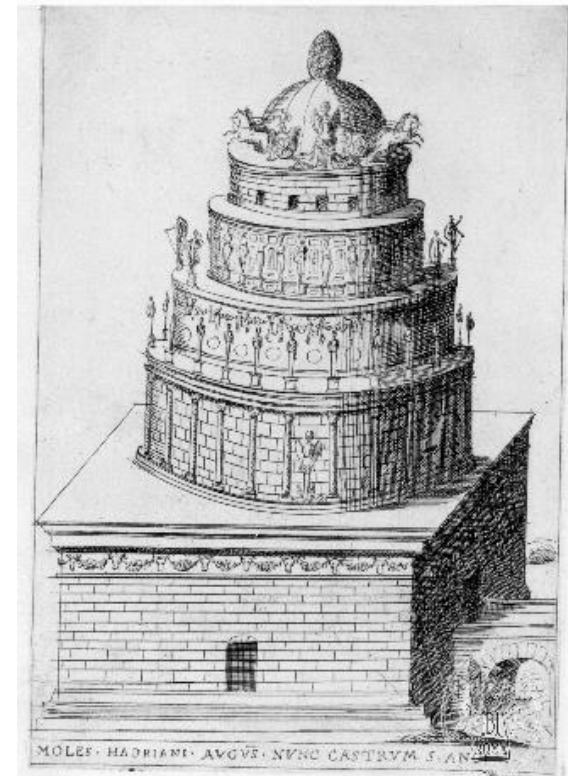


Figure 3.5
Pigna as an acroterion on the
Mausoleum of Hadrian
 Giovanni Maggi (1566-1618)
 Engraving
 Published in *Aedificiorum et ruinarum Romae*
ex antiquis atque hodiernis monumentis (1618)
 Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, Italy



Figure 3.6 (top left)
Pinecone tomb markers
Sixth century
From the Necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo Orvieto, Italy Etruscan



Figure 3.7 (top middle)
Limestone pinecone from a funerary *cippus*
Date unknown
From Cyprus
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.2777
Limestone, 22.9 x 14 cm

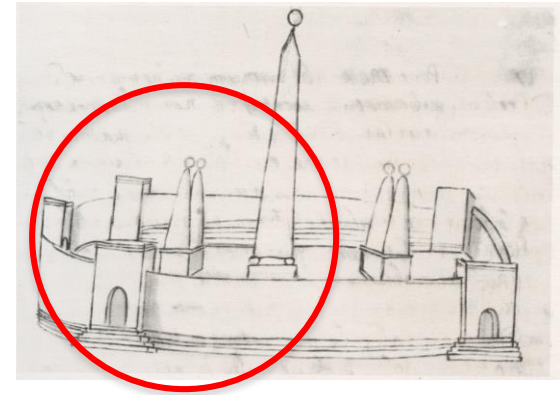


Figure 3.9 (bottom left)
Pirro Ligorio (c. 1500-1583)
Reconstruction of the Circus Maximus in Rome
(with *metae* analogous to those at the Circus of Gaius and Nero)

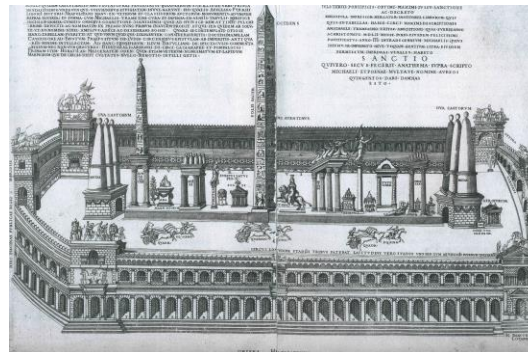


Figure 3.8 (top right)
Giacomo Grimaldi (1560-1623)
Circus of Gaius and Nero (c. 1608-1620)
Sketch for his *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (1620)
Pen and wash

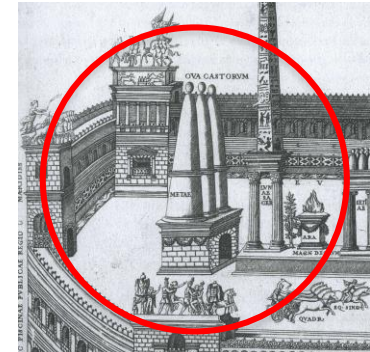


Figure 3.10 (bottom right)
Detail from Ligorio's Reconstruction of the Circus Maximus in Rome



Figure 3.11
Bronze fountain-jet
in the form of a pinecone
From the Casa del Camillo
in Pompeii, Italy
Roman, created in the first century CE
Bronze, 53.34 cm tall
British Museum, 1856,1226.1007



Figure 3.12
Viridarium from the
Casa del Camillo
Showing the original context for
the pinecone fountain jet
with a later fountain basin
Pompeii, Italy

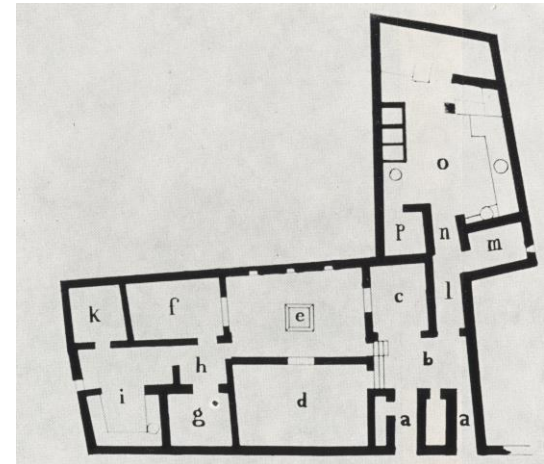


Figure 3.13
Ground plan of the Casa del Camillo at Pompeii
(*Viridarium* labeled “e”)

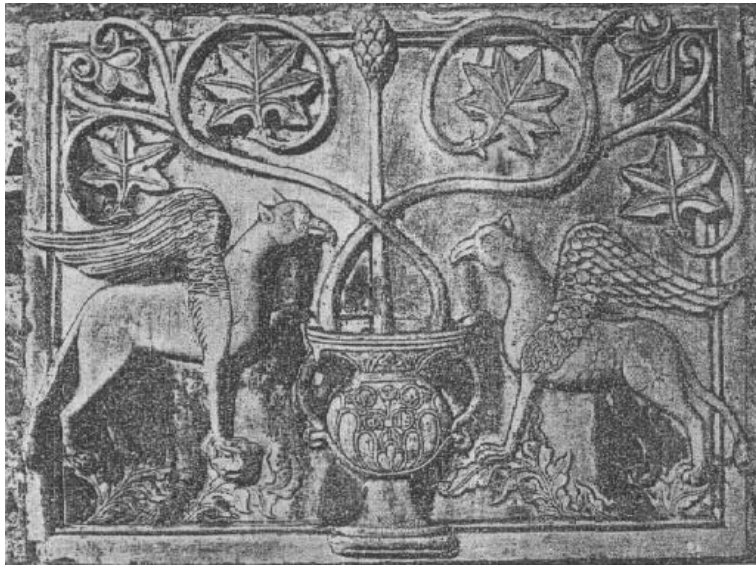


Figure 3.14
 Stone relief of a *pigna* fountain
 Unknown date
 Created in Byzantium (?)
 Treasury of San Marco in Venice

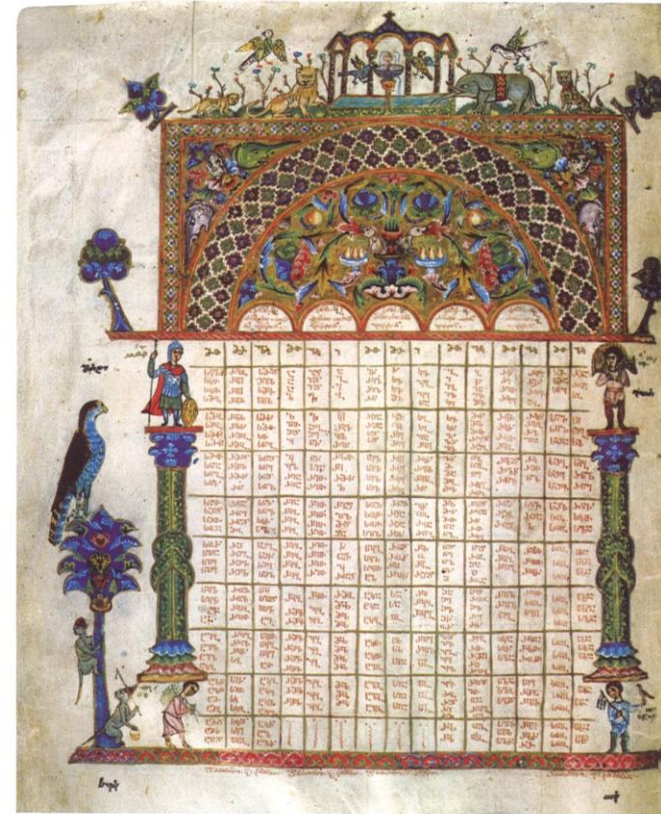


Figure 3.15
 Illuminated manuscript page with a *pigna* fountain
 c. 1200
 Created in Constantinople
 The Vani Gospels, folio 3v
 National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, A1335
 28.5 x 19.5 cm

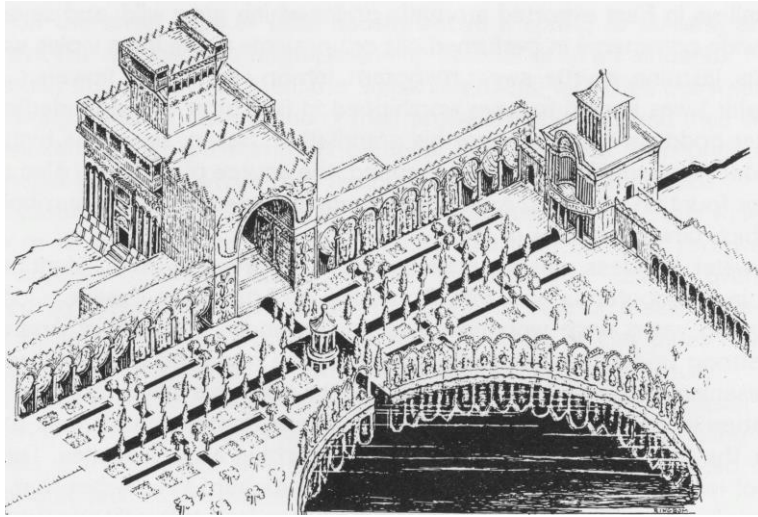


Figure 3.16 (top left)
Conjectural drawing of the sacred buildings at Shiz with *pairidaeza*
From Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Paradisus Terrestris* (1958)



Figure 3.17 (top right)
Pirro Ligorio (c. 1500-1583) and Donato Bramante (1444-1514)
Wide view of the Nicchione and *Pigna*
Cortile della Pigna, Vatican Palace, Vatican State, Italy
Nichione added in 1560 by Pirro Ligorio to the courtyard designed by Bramante
Pigna installed c. 1608-10



Figure 3.18 (bottom right)
Line drawing of a bronze salver showing the *pairidaeza* at Takht-i-Suleiman
Hermitage Museum, Moscow, Russia

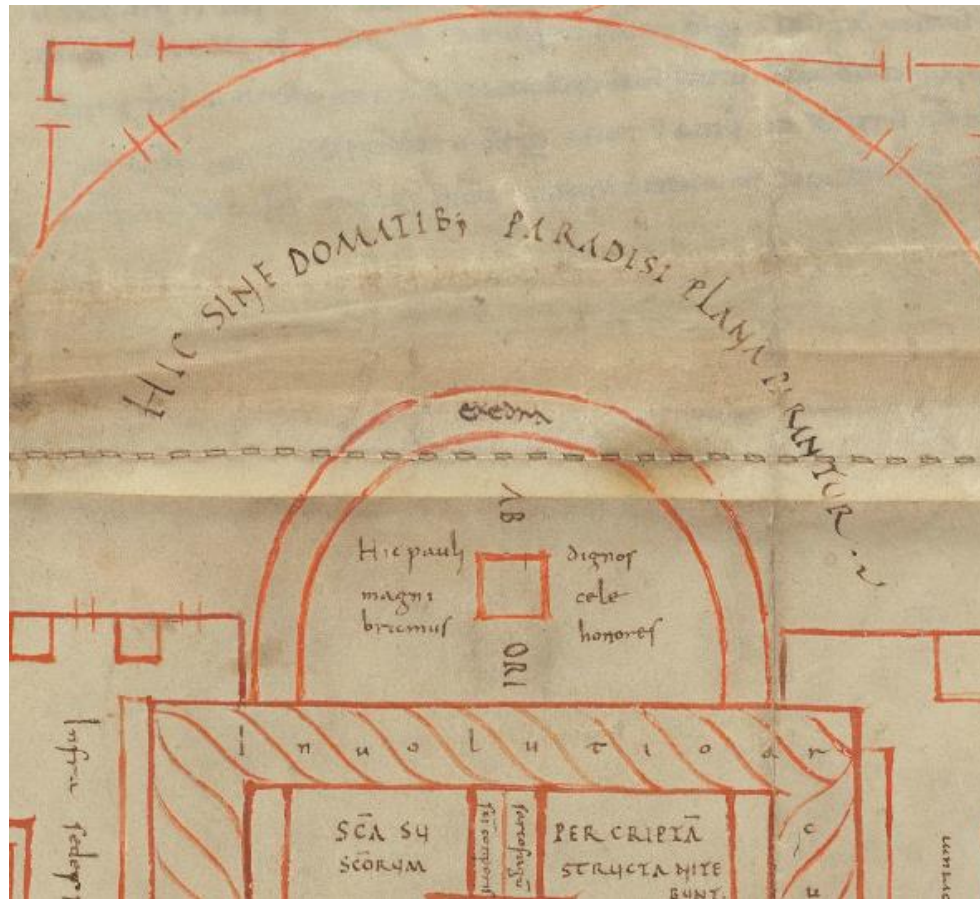


Figure 3.19
 Eastern *paradisi* from the Plan of St. Gall
 Ninth century (c. 820-30)
 Five pieces of parchment sewn together
 Codex Sangallensis 1092, 112 x 77.5 cm

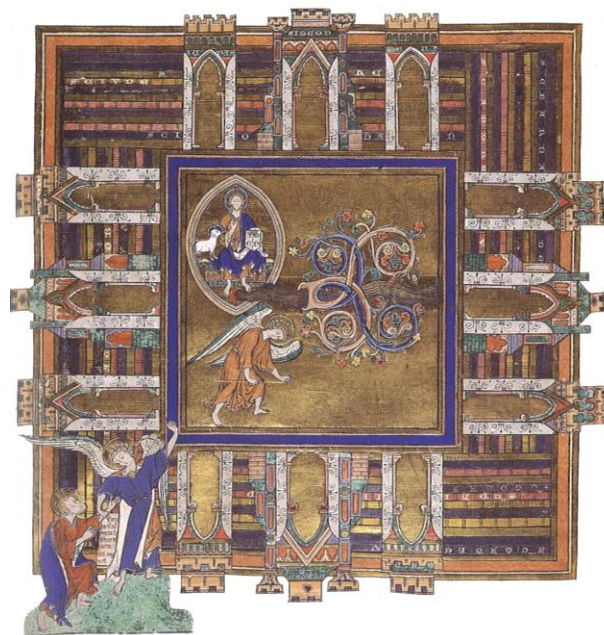


Figure 3.20
Illuminated manuscript page of the
Heavenly Jerusalem
Trinity College Apocalypse
c. 1225
Parchment, 43 x 30 cm



Figure 3.21
The Expulsion from Eden
Cupola from the atrium of San Marco, Venice
Thirteenth-century mosaic based on the
fifth-century Cotton Genesis (?)

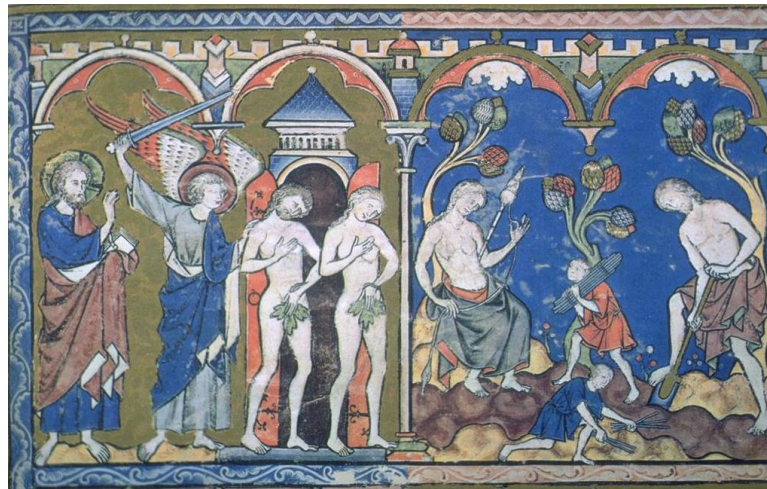


Figure 3.22
Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise
c. 1250
Created in France
Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, New York



Figure 3.23
Arbor Bona, or Good Tree, from the *Liber floridus*
c. 1120



Figure 3.24
Psalter World Map
 c. 1265
 British Library, London, England

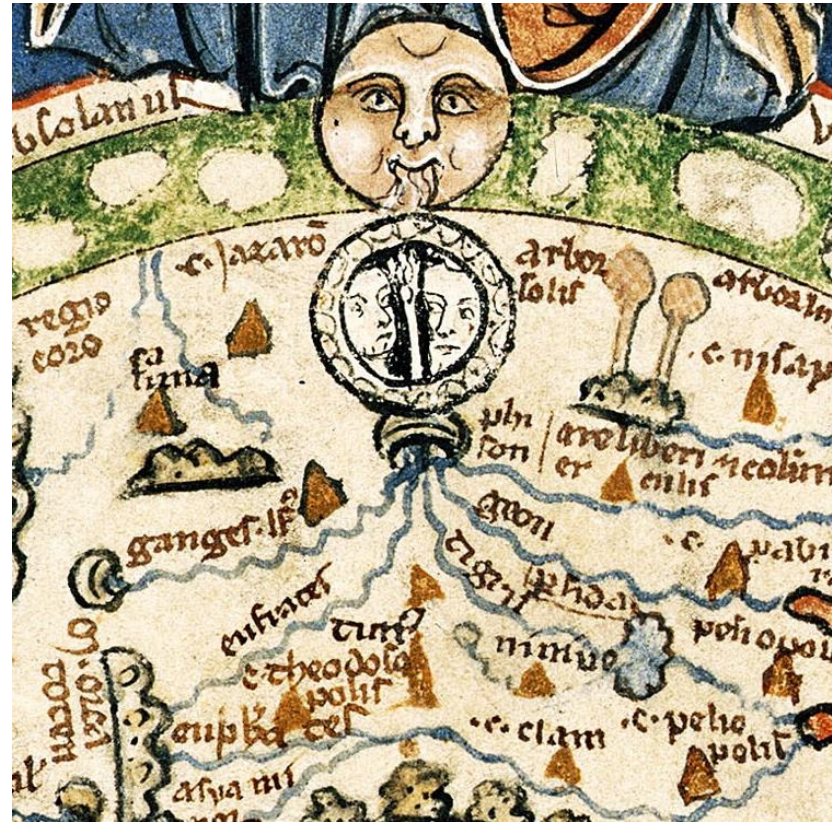


Figure 3.25
 Detail of the *Psalter World Map*
 c. 1265
 British Library, London, England

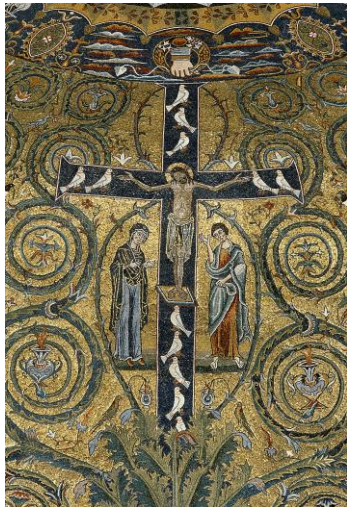


Figure 3.26
Christ crucified on a
living cross
Apse mosaic from
San Clemente, Rome, Italy
c. 1130



Figure 3.27
Cloisters Cross
c. 1150-60
Created in England
Metropolitan Museum of Art
The Cloisters Collection, New York
Walrus ivory, h. 57.5 x w. 36.2 cm (overall)



Figure 3.28 (right)
Harbaville Triptych (closed)
Mid-tenth century
Louvre, Paris, France
Ivory with traces of polychromy, h. 24.2 cm x d. 1.2 cm

Figure 4.1 (top)

Tiberio Alfarano (1525-96)

Detail of the apse from his plan of the basilica of Old St. Peter's
Engraving from c. 1589-90, based on a drawing from c. 1571-82

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

56 x 43.5 cm

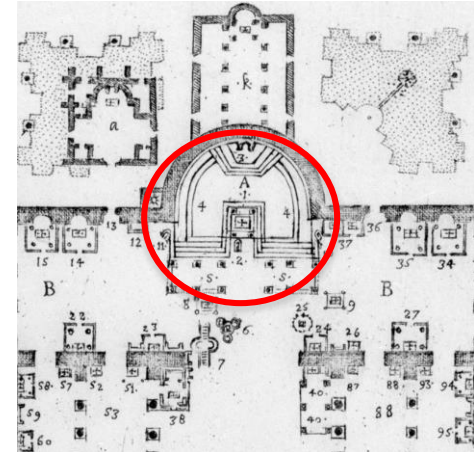


Figure 4.2 (bottom)

Jocelyn Toynbee

Apse of Old St. Peter's and the Shrine of St. Peter (*aedicule*) in the fourth century

From *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (1956)

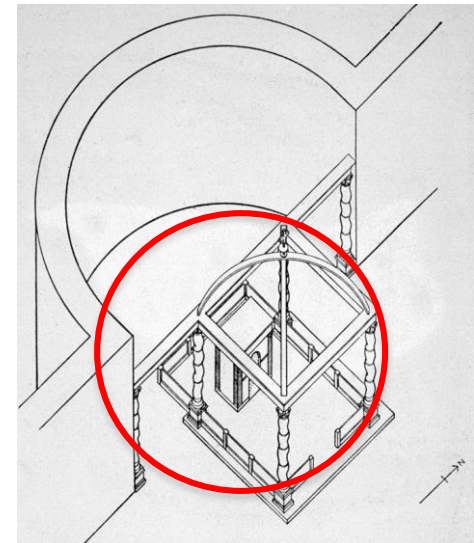




Figure 4.3
 Back of the *Pola Casket (Capsella of Samagher)*
 Showing the apse of Old St. Peter's
 and the Shrine of St. Peter
 First half of the fifth century
 Created in Rome (?)
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Venice, 1952.279
 Ivory and silver over a wood core, 19 x 20 x 16 cm



Figure 4.4
 Front of the *Pola Casket*
 Showing the Lamb of Christ
 with the Four Rivers of Paradise
 First half of the fifth century



Figure 4.5
(Detail) Back of the *Pola Casket*
Showing the apse of Old St. Peter's and the Shrine of St. Peter
First half of the fifth century

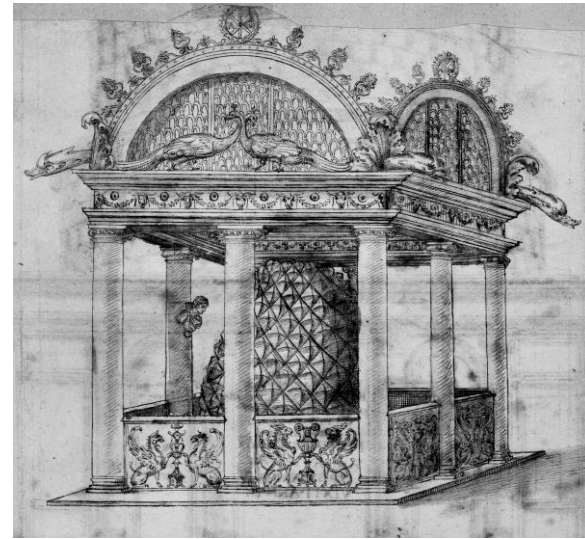


Figure 4.6
Anonymous, formerly *Il Cronaca*
(Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)
Detail of the *Cantharus* and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
c. 1515-25
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Santarelli Collection 157^v
Sketch in pen and wash, 245 mm x 342 mm



Figure 4.7
(Wide view) Back of the *Pola Casket*
Showing the apse of Old St. Peter's and the Shrine of St. Peter
First half of the fifth century

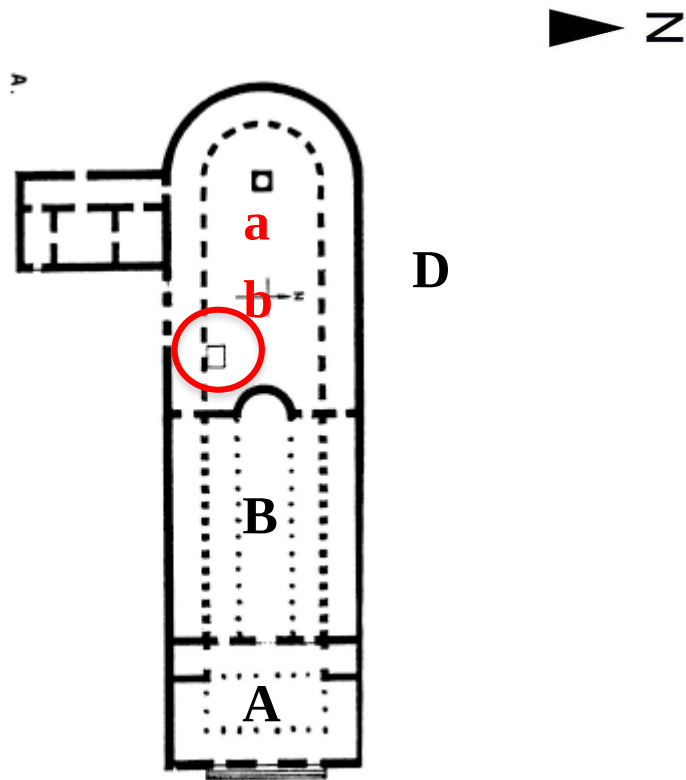


Figure 4.8 (left)
Ground plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, c. 325/26-335
In-scale with Figure 4.9

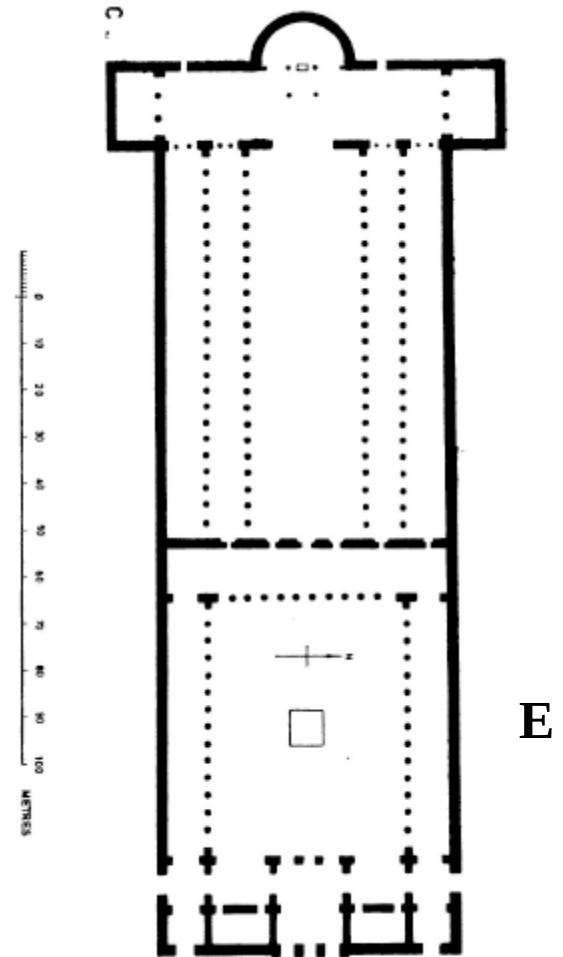


Figure 4.9 (right)
Ground plan of Old St. Peter's
Showing the interior as it appeared in c. 312-350
Showing porticoes around the atrium as they appeared by c. 468-483
In-scale with Figure 4.8

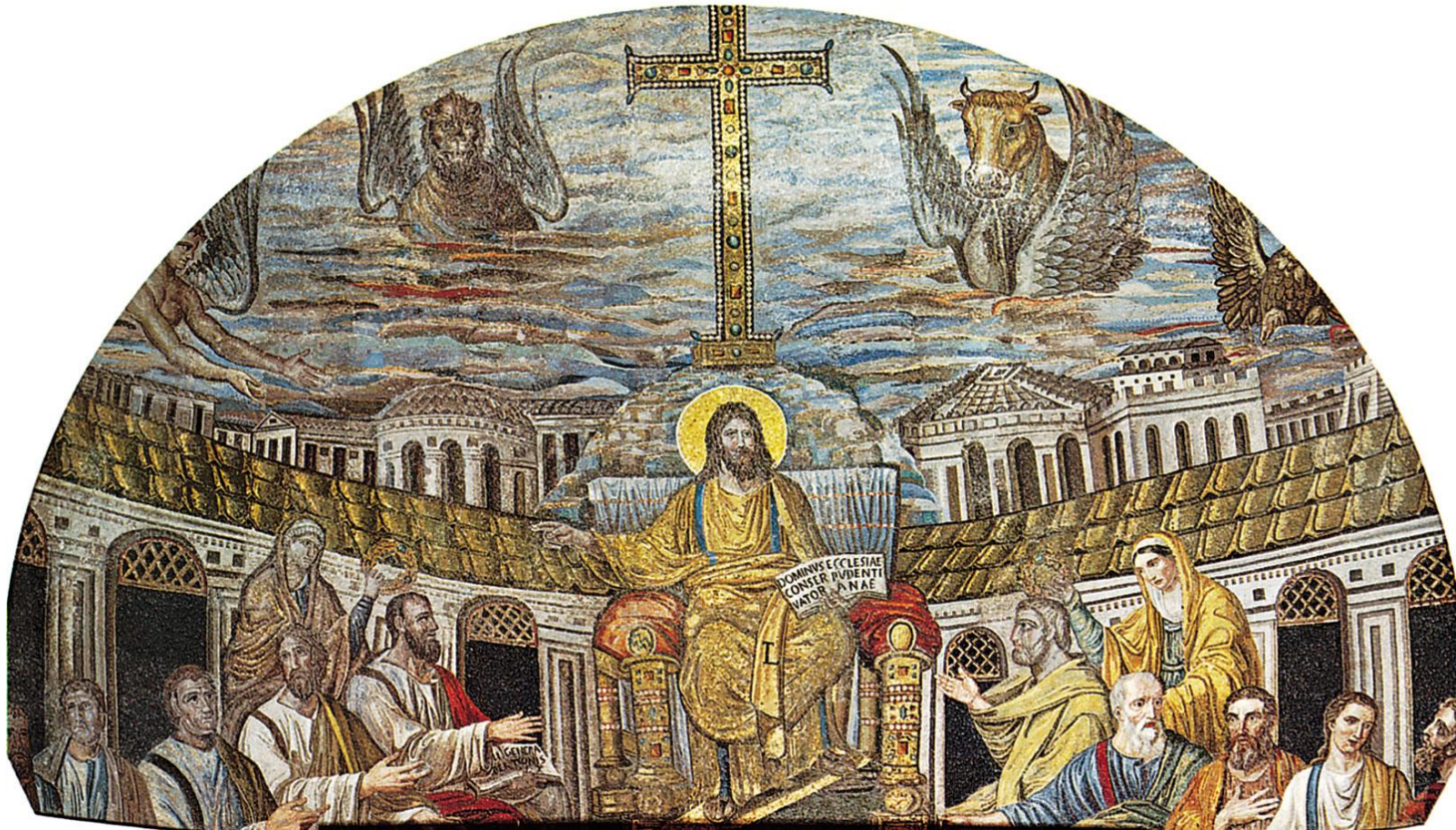


Figure 4.10
Apse mosaic from the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome
Showing the Rock of Golgotha and Constantine's jeweled cross (*crux gemmata*)
c. 340-50



Figure 4.11
(Close detail) Back of the *Pola Casket*
Showing Constantine's jeweled crosses (*crux gemmatae*) in Rome and Jerusalem
First half of the fifth century
Created in Rome (?)

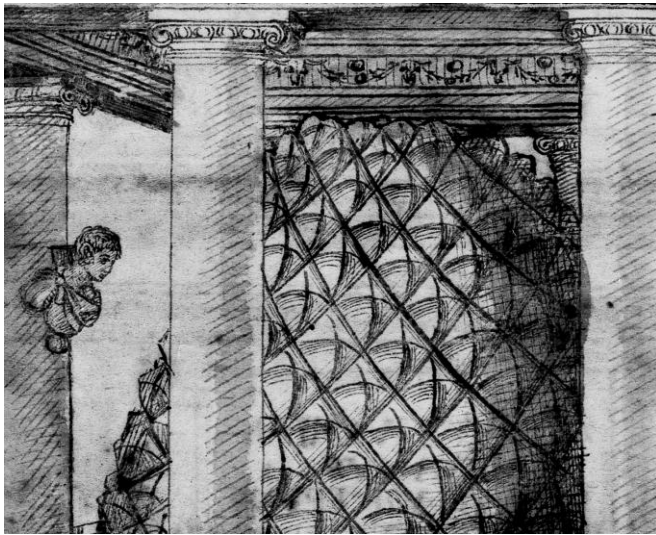


Figure 4.13
Anonymous, formerly Il Cronaca
(Simone del Pollaiuolo) (1457-1508)
(Close detail) Plateaued tip of the
Cantharus and *Pigna* of Old St. Peter's
c. 1515-25

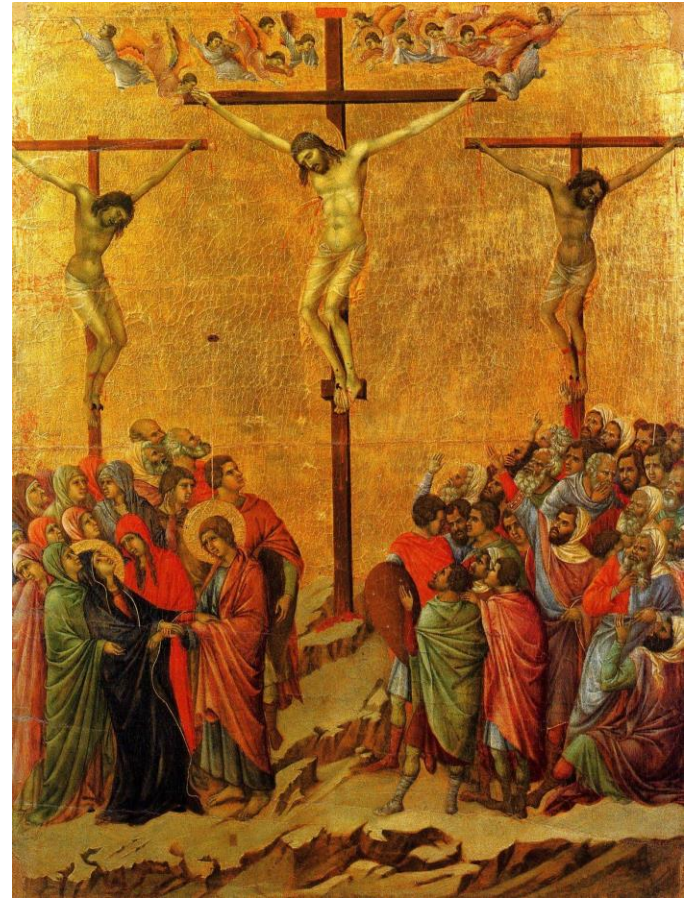


Figure 4.14
Duccio di Buoninsegna
Crucifixion with the Rock of Golgotha
From the back of the *Maestà* altarpiece
1310

Figure 4.15 (top left)
 Tin-lead pilgrim flask
 showing the Anastasis Rotunda with the Marys and Gabriel
 Late sixth or early seventh century
 Museo e Tesoro del Duomo Monza (Monza 3)



Figure 4.16 (top right)
 Line drawing of the Monza pilgrim flask
 From Wilkinson's "The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of its
 Structural History," 92

Figure 4.17 (middle)
 (Detail) Reverse of lid from pilgrim's box with stones from the Holy Land
 Sixth century
 Created in Syria or Palestine
 Painted wood, stones, wood fragments, and plaster, 24 cm x 18.4 cm (overall)
 Museo Sacro Vaticana, Vatican Museum, inv. no. 61883a
 Vatican State, Italy



Figure 4.18 (bottom)
 Lead *ampulla* with Scenes of the Crucifixion and the Women at the Tomb
 Late sixth or early seventh century
 Made in Jerusalem
 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, BZ.1948.18
 Washington, D.C.





Figure 4.19
Ivory plaque with the Tomb of Christ
c. 420
Created in Rome
London, British Museum 1856.0623.6
30.77 mm x 99 mm

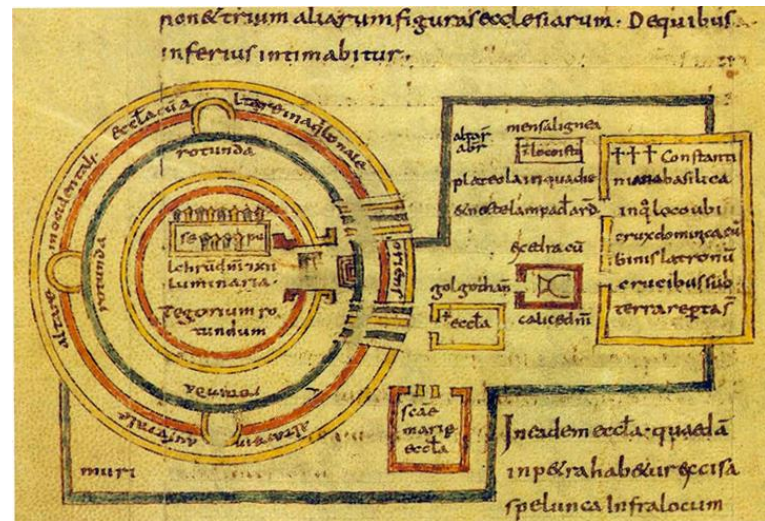


Figure 4.20
Arculf's Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
c. 670
From Adomnan's *De locus sanctis* ("On Holy Sites")



Figure 4.21
 The Fountain of Life from the Godescalc Gospels
 c. 781-83
 Illuminated manuscript page
 Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. nal. 1203 fol. 3v, Paris, France



Figure 4.22
The Fountain of Life from the Gospel Book
from Saint-Médard de Soissons
Early ninth century
Illuminated manuscript page
Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8850, fol. 6v,
Paris, France



Figure 4.23
Arch of Canons 6, 7, and 8
from the Gospel Book from Saint-Médard de Soissons
Early ninth century
Illuminated manuscript page
Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8850, fol. 11r, Paris, France



Figure 4.24
Pinecone fountain from the atrium of Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel
c. 800-1000
Aachen, Germany
Bronze, 91 cm tall



Figure 5.1
 Cloister from Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa
 Catalonia, c. 1130-40
 From the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa
 Near Perpignan, France
 The Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 New York, 25.120.398-.954



Figure 5.2
 Detail of a column capital from the Cloister of
 Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa
 Showing a pinecone and peacocks
 Catalonia, c. 1130-40

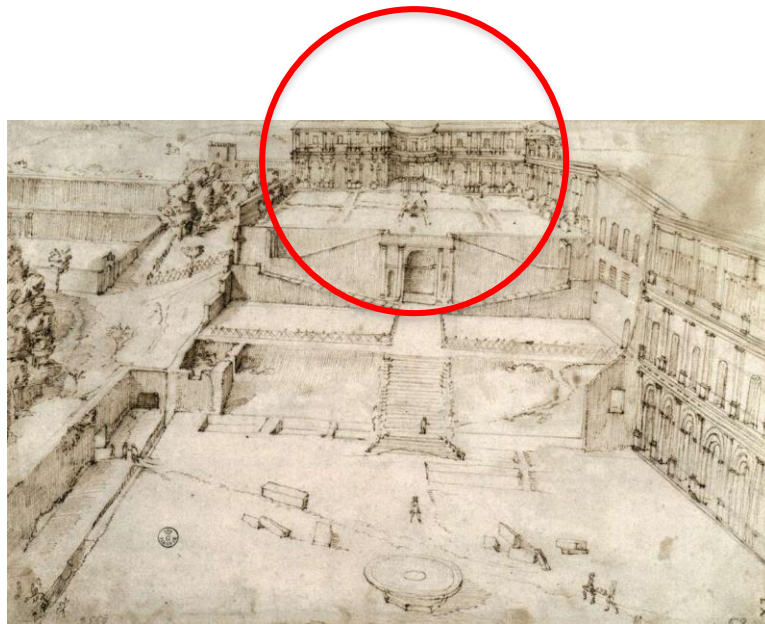


Figure 5.3
Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609)
Belvedere Courtyard under construction
c. 1558-61
Pen and brown ink with traces of chalk
221 x 332 cm
Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy



Figure 5.4
Giovanni Maggi
Detail from *La Grande Vedute del Tempio e del Palazzo Vaticano*
c. 1615
Showing the Upper Belvedere Courtyard, the Nichione, and the *Pigna* Sculpture
Published by Giocomo Mascardi