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The Santa Croce Drawings: A Re-examination

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See table of contents

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Article abstract

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Nous croyons pouvoir identifier ce deuxième édifice comme un « double » de l'oratoire d'Hilaire, construit au Vatican par le pape Symmaque (498–514), sanctuaire qui était aussi dédié à la sainte Croix et qui a été démoli par Nicolas V (1448–55), au milieu du XVe siècle, pour faire place au nouveau choeur de Saint-Pierre. Ces dessins constitueraient alors nos seules informations sur l'apparence physique du sanctuaire de Sainte-Croix au Vatican. Enfin, ils montrent aussi une chapelle cruciforme plus petite, adjacente au bâtiment principal. Nous croyons qu'il s'agit de la chapelle dédiée à saint Jean-Baptiste par Symmaque et démolie en 1453.

The Santa Croce Drawings: A Re-examination

Gillian Mackie, University of Victoria

Résumé

L'oratoire de Santa Croce dans le baptistère du Latran fut édifié et consacré par Hilaire (461–68) au Ve siècle pour être finalement démoli vers la fin du XVIe siècle par Sixtus V (1585–90). On connait ce monument grâce à des dessins exécutés pendant les XVe et XVIe siècles et ceux-ci font état d'inconsistances inexplicables qui ont rendu difficile la compréhension de l'édifice. À l'analyse, ces dessins se divisent en deux groupes : un ensemble principal avec inscriptions et un plus petit nombre de dessins sans inscription. Ceux-ci représentent un édifice qui, même s'il est construit sur le même emplacement que Santa Croce du Latran, s'avère différent sur plusieurs points : l'élevation et la décoration.

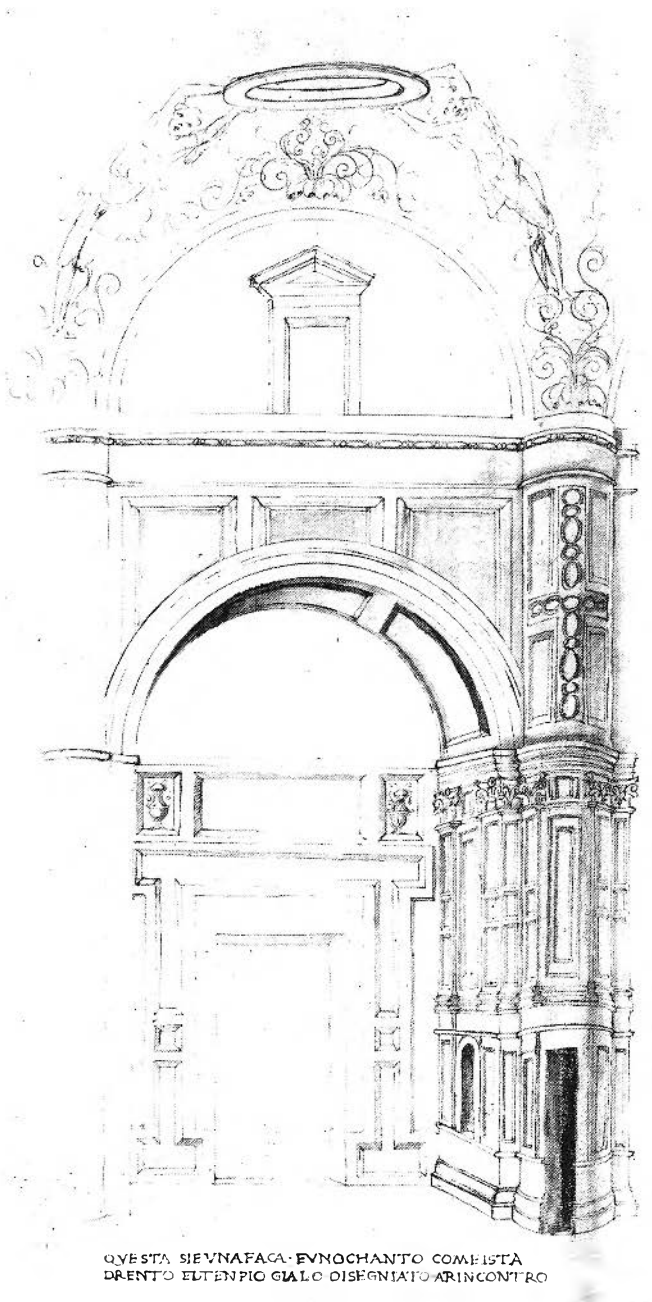
Nous croyons pouvoir identifier ce deuxième édifice comme un « double » de l'oratoire d'Hilaire, construit au Vatican par le pape Symmaque (498–514), sanctuaire qui était aussi dédié à la sainte Croix et qui a été démoli par Nicolas V (1448–55), au milieu du XVe siècle, pour faire place au nouveau choeur de Saint-Pierre. Ces dessins constitueraient alors nos seules informations sur l'apparence physique du sanctuaire de Sainte-Croix au Vatican. Enfin, ils montrent aussi une chapelle cruciforme plus petite, adjacente au bâtiment principal. Nous croyons qu'il s'agit de la chapelle dédiée à saint Jean-Baptiste par Symmaque et démolie en 1453.

The Oratorium of Santa Croce at the Lateran Baptistery in Rome, the gift of Pope Hilarus I (461–68),[1] was pulled down by order of Pope Sixtus V (1585–90), as we know from contemporary sources. Pompeo Ugonio, for example, tells us that it was altogether "ruined and desolate" when Sixtus had it demolished to improve the view of his new facade of St John's Lateran and the Lateran Palace.[2] Ugonio's *Historia delle Stationi di Roma* was published in 1588, and the demolition of Santa Croce must therefore be dated to the period between 1585 and 1588. Giacomo Grimaldi (1560–1623) also confirms that the Oratorium was pulled down on the orders of Pope Sixtus so as to enlarge the piazza and create a great open space.[3] Before its destruction, however, the chapel's beauty and the intricacy of its plan had led to its being depicted by many Renaissance architects and draughtsmen in the last century of its existence. The distinctiveness of the ground plan – a Greek cross with chapels between its arms – and the constraints which this imposed on the elevation, such as the piers supporting the central vault being pierced by the narrow doors of the four corner chapels, have lent an overall likeness to these drawings. Nevertheless, they have always posed problems of interpretation, because they are so different in detail from one another. I propose that these problems stem from our reluctance to imagine that more than one building could exist with this unusual and complex plan. It has hitherto been assumed that any drawing of a building with a ground plan that looks like that of Santa Croce *al Laterano* must by definition *be* a drawing of Santa Croce.

In fact, drawings of Santa Croce which show the plan, exterior or interior elevations can be broadly divided into two groups, according to whether or not the drawing is inscribed with its exact location in a contemporary hand. Most of the first group state their model to be Santa Croce "beside the Lateran" or "at the Baptistery of Constantine".[4] The most informative of these drawings are those of Giuliano da Sangallo[5] (fig. 1–3) and of Baldassare Peruzzi[6] (fig. 4, a–d), which also bear a scale in Florentine *bracci* and measurements in Roman *palmi*, respectively. Some of the most detailed drawings, though, lack any information as to either the building's name or the location.[7] Nevertheless, on the basis of their distinctive type of groundplan and resulting elevation, they have traditionally been included in the *corpus* of representations of Santa Croce at the Lateran, and this inclusion has not previously been questioned.

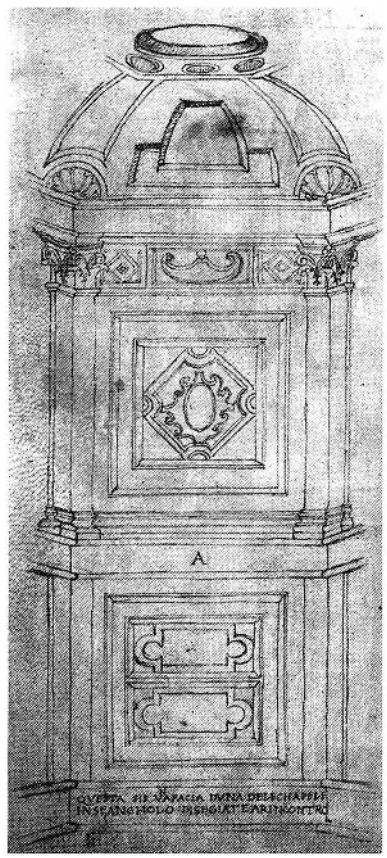
However, two of these sets of drawings differ markedly from the main group ("group A"), while sharing many distinctive features with each other. They will here be considered to constitute a separate group, here named "group B". Although neither of the group B sets, each of three drawings, is inscribed with the building's identity, one drawing does locate it securely in Rome with the simple words "in roma". The group B drawings consist of the work of an anonymous Italian artist, preserved as Uffizi 1864A,[8] (fig. 6, a–f), and three drawings (figs. 7–9) of another anonymous artist, from Siena, identified by Giustina Scaglia as Giovanbatista Alberto, an attribution which now seems unlikely.[9] The artist will be called the "Sienese Anonymous" here.[10] Scaglia's study presents him as a copyist of considerable merit, in the circle of the Sienese architect and painter Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1502), whose surviving drawings of antique buildings are obviously the models for some of the Sienese Anonymous' work,[11] though no exact models survive for his Santa Croce group B drawings.[12] The Sienese Anonymous' Santa Croce drawings are preserved in an album, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828, on folios 41, 93 and 118.[13] Although they are not now on the same sheet, they are keyed by the symbol "-V-" (figs. 7–9). To these I propose adding the Sienese Anonymous' drawing 161 on

Figure 1. Giuliano da Sangallo, Bibl. Vat., ms. Barb. lat. 4424, fol. 32v: Interior of Cruciform room, view towards main door (Photo: Archivio fotografico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



folio 111, called "Temple P" by Scaglia,[14] which has been recently identified as a drawing of Santa Croce by Marco Romano (fig. 10).[15] Romano, however, identifies the larger building on the right as the Lateran Baptistery and the smaller to the left as Santa Croce. He explains the considerable inconsistencies in the rendering of the Baptistery, which is still standing, as "una soluzione architettonica ideale". However, it is the larger building in drawing 161 (fig. 10) which shares many features, such as pyramidal roof, semicircular exedra and style of cornices and pediments, with the Sienese Anonymous' exterior view (fig. 8).

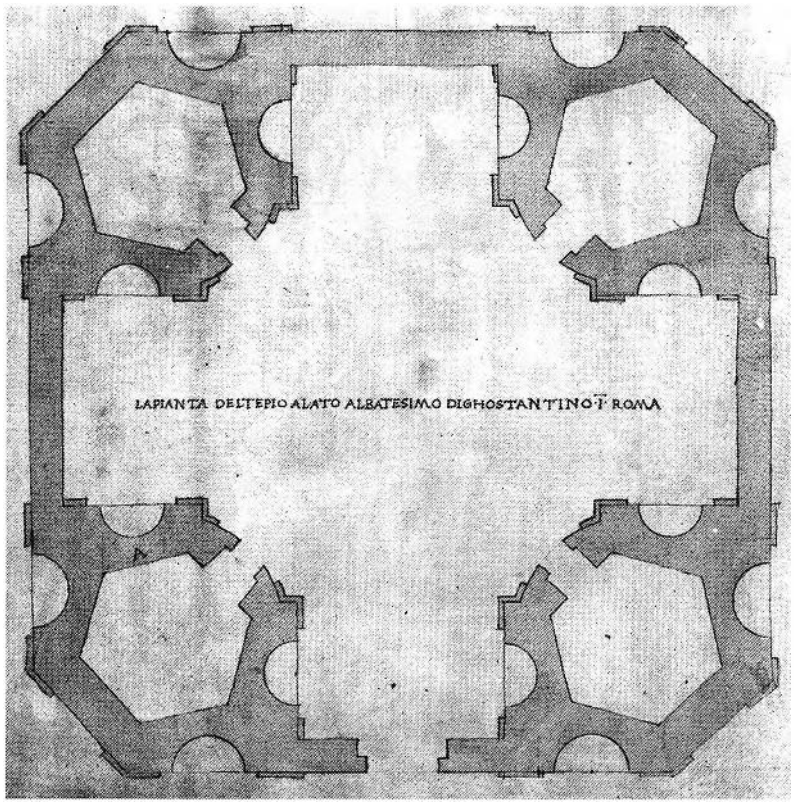
Figure 2. Giuliano da Sangallo, Bibl. Vat., ms. Barb. lat. 4424, fol. 33r: Interior of corner chapel A (Photo: Archivio fotografico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



I suggest it should also be identified as a "group B" rendering of Santa Croce. The Sienese Anonymous' ground plan (fig. 7) suggests the viewpoint was towards the porticoed main entry at the top of the drawing: his other exterior view (fig. 8) must depict the side entry to the right of the portico. Romano's "Santa Croce" probably depicts one of the smaller Baptistery chapels: I will return to this point.

In both sets of Group B drawings the corner chapels are round, rather than hexagonal as in group A. This difference has previously been accepted as a variant due to inaccurate or unfinished draughtsmanship, because even in group A the polygonal corner chapels may be portrayed as anything from hexagonal through octagonal to decagonal. This may be explained by the fact that many of the drawings are mere sketches, used as vehicles for sets of measurements, and this detail was unimportant for their purpose.[16] Each group B draughtsman has included an exterior view, in which the corner chapels are shown as circular and domed (figs. 6a, 8, 10). By contrast, the only exterior views of Santa Croce among the A group, those of Baldassare Peruzzi in Uffizi 438A (fig. 4c), and the similar, anonymous rendering of Uffizi 1955A (fig. 5), show a polygonal corner chapel with a hipped roof, while Peruzzi's interior view reveals that the corner chapel was lit by an oculus (fig. 4d), as confirmed by the Sangallo drawing (fig. 2). No interior view of the group B corner chapel has survived. The B group exterior is characterized by a hexagonal, blank-walled, central tower with pyramidal roof sections sloping down from a small, globular finial (figs. 6a and 8, where it is merely suggested), whereas Peruzzi's uneven octagon is crowned by a flat, stepped dome reminiscent of the Pantheon (fig. 4c). The Anonymous drawing, Uffizi 1955A (fig. 5), also shows this feature, along with a chimney-like extension of the central roof, possibly a lantern. A further reminiscence of the Pantheon in group A is the oculus that

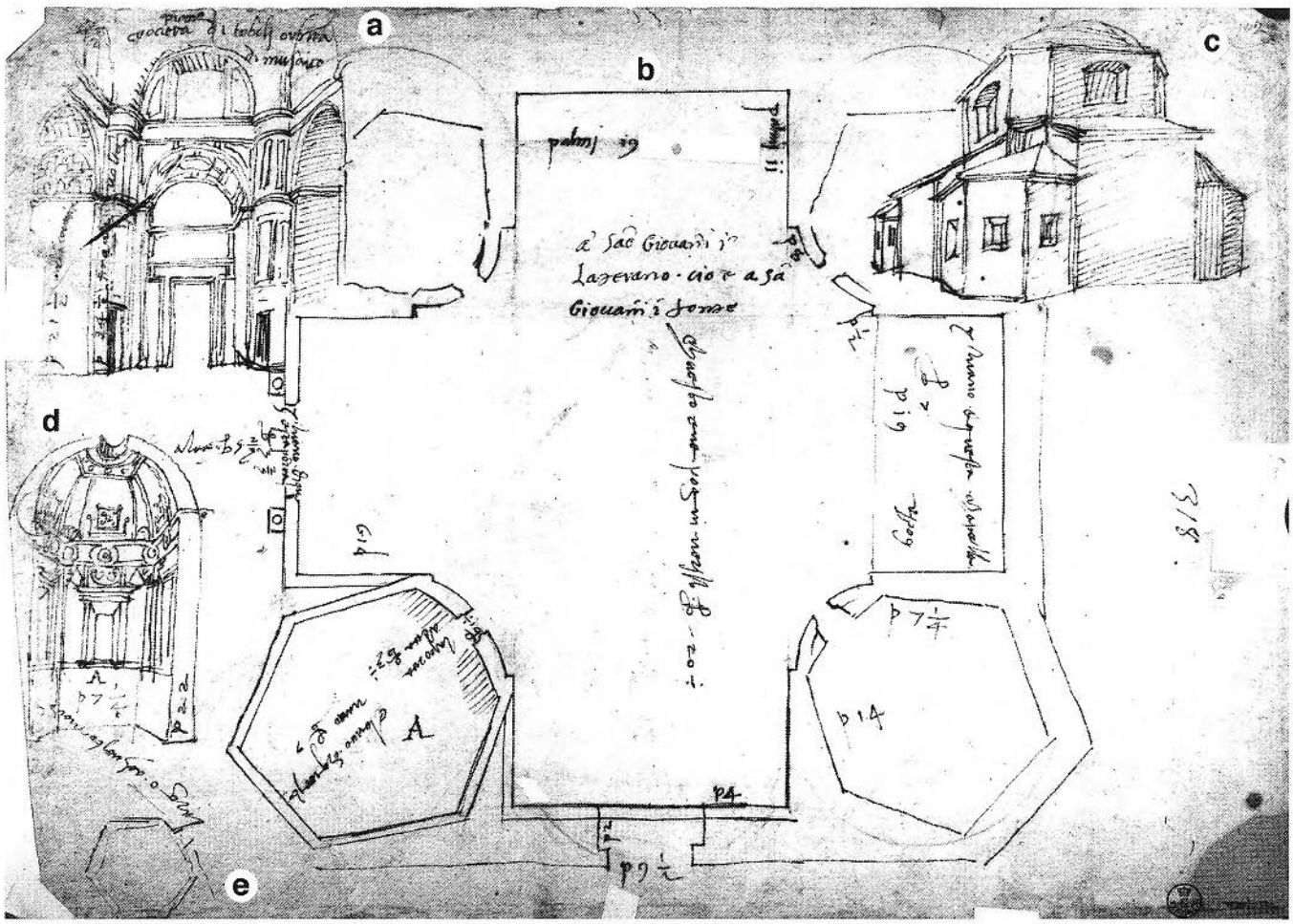
Figure 3. Giuliano da Sangallo, Bibl. Vat., ms. Barb. lat. 4424, fol. 33r: ground-plan (Photo: Archivio fotografico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



pierces the dome, as the Sangallo drawing shows (fig. 1). In group B the windows in the corner chapels are tall and narrow and, in one version, round-headed, and placed high on the walls (fig. 6a), in contrast to those of Peruzzi and the Anonymous of Uffizi 1955A, which are small, rectangular and situated relatively low down, in both internal and external versions (figs. 4, a, c and d, and 5). The group A central tower's large windows, of which Peruzzi gives both exterior and interior views, while several other group A drawings show them from the interior,[17] are replaced by blank walls in group B drawings. By contrast, the exterior end walls of the cruciform room, which are uninterrupted in group A except for the tall door in the entry arm, have pediments supported by framing columns in group B, (fig. 6a, where they are just visible on the side arms behind the corner chapels). In addition, both group B artists show the entry arm, at least, pierced by a small rectangular window high up over the door (figs. 6a, 8). This window appears in interior views as well, while the Sienese draughtsman also shows a window in the sidewall of one arm of the cross. Unfortunately, we do not possess a drawing of the group A main portal from the outside, but Peruzzi and the Uffizi 1955A Anonymous make it clear that the other terminal walls of the group A chapel at ground level were blank (figs. 4c, 5).

The group B interior views of the cruciform central room also show a multitude of features which are not shared by group A drawings of Santa Croce *al Laterano*. Most conspicuous are the five continuous bands of intarsia decoration on the upper walls. These are interrupted only by the giant pilasters which frame the entries of the four chapel arms. The Uffizi 1864A Anonymous (fig. 6b) and the Sienese artist (fig. 9) agree in many, but not all, their details. Common to both is the layout of the decoration. Narrow bands of diamonds frame two wider friezes, and above the crossing they are surmounted by the widest register of all, which is dominated by four tall Latin crosses framed by slender diamonds. The complex geometric designs are based on the themes of diamonds alternating with rectangles and rectangles framing diamonds. The materials used were precious marbles, including porphyry and serpentine, as we know from the annotation on Ashburnham 1828, fol. 118.[18] The lowest band of decoration in the side arms was an intricate strip of intarsia work: a shallow footed cup or inverted *pelta* was framed by scrolls and presumably repeated. Both artists represent the lower wall-sections as completely devoid of decoration, and the corner doors are shown as plain rectangles by the Uffizi 1864A Anonymous, with small pediments by the Sienese artist. By contrast, the group A lower interior was articulated from the socle up by two series of narrow vertical panels, which were subdivided by a cornice above the height of the corner doors (fig. 1). The almost sculptural quality of the deeply bevelled panels of marble facing are well shown in all versions of the group A cruciform interior, and the presence of this revetment allows us to include the Albertina drawing Egger 108r and Sallustio Peruzzi's Uffizi 664A v in group A also. In this series, *opus sectile* seems to have been limited to the triple panels above the main door, and the rhythmic repetition of the Corinthian capitals also provided strong visual interest right around the chapel at that level. These capitals crowned short pilasters that originated from the median strip of the revetment, in contrast to the giant pilasters of group B. The tall crosses above the corner doors, which some group A draughtsmen show, appear to be "jewelled" inserts into a pre-existent rectangular framework. One may speculate that they were added when the building was converted to Christian use in the fifth century. The revetments resemble those of fourth-century buildings such as the Basilica of Junius Bassus, later S. Andrea Catabarbara, which Sangallo also portrayed.[19] In group B, though, the decorative arrangement recalls the decor of small chapels of the early fifth to the mid-sixth centuries, where the lower walls are finished with absolutely plain marble panelling, while the upper walls and vault are the site of brilliant decoration, typically in mosaic.[20]

Figure 4. Baldassare Peruzzi, Florence, Uffizi, 438A. a. interior, cruciform room, view towards door. b. ground plan. c. exterior view. d. interior, corner chapel A. (Photo: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe).

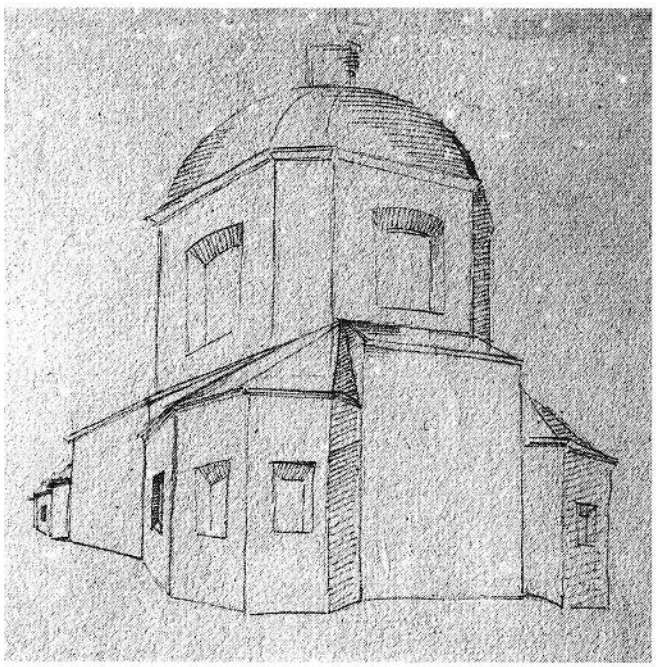


This brief summary confirms that elevations, ground-plans and decorative schemes show consistency within each group, but that groups A and B differ quite remarkably from each other. In addition, there is an internal logic within each set of drawings, and any given architectural feature, such as the circular chapels, can be traced through the ground-plan, interior and exterior elevations of the same artist.

The evidence that there are two internally consistent groups of drawings, rather than a single one with confusingly wide variations, suggests that two buildings, rather than one, are depicted. There is no doubt that the group A drawings depict Santa Croce *al Laterano*, since they all bear either its name or its location, or are closely related in detail to drawings that do. But what do the group B drawings represent, and why do they bear this tantalizing but incomplete resemblance to group A buildings, especially in the ground-plan, with its inscribed cross and corner chapels, in the rich interior, and in the depiction four times over the crossing of a tall, Latin cross?

Information to be culled from the drawings of group B about the location, the artist, and the date of execution is meagre indeed. On location, the only clue is the inscription on the Sienese Anonymous' ground plan (fig. 7), which informs us tersely that the building was "in roma." This immediately rules out the idea that this draughtsman's drawings are fantastic inventions: he drew an actual building which was in Rome, and the implication is that he drew it from life. Although we do not know anything about this individual beyond his skill as a copyist of the drawings of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, this in itself is testimony to his accuracy as an architectural draughtsman. It places his professional life broadly in the fifteenth century, since Francesco, born in 1439, could hardly have produced drawings to copy before the mid-1450s, and the Sienese Anonymous was part of his circle. However, it is impossible in the present state of knowledge to determine whether the Sienese Anonymous was a youth or a mature artist when he copied Francesco's work, and hence whether he was active before the mid-1550s when the building I will suggest as the subject of the drawings was demolished. And since he was a skilled copyist, he need not necessarily have been active at that early period: rather, he could have copied his Santa Croce drawings from originals which have not

Figure 5. Anonymous artist, Florence, Uffizi, 1955A, Exterior of Santa Croce at the Lateran Baptistery. (Photo: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe).



survived. Unlike many of the Sienese draughtsman's other drawings from the antique, which have been paired with the originals of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, his Santa Croce set has no known antecedents in Francesco's or any other hand: the chronology of the Santa Croce drawings is therefore open to speculation, but plainly, the Sienese Anonymous either drew the building from life, or copied earlier drawings which had been made while it still stood. I will return to this point.

The Uffizi 1864A Anonymous' work reveals even less about the location of the buildings, the identity of the artist himself or the date of the drawings, which therefore stand on their own as testimony. They do not appear to be copied from the Sienese Anonymous' set, which differ from them in some important respects, such as the number of doors and the size of the portico depicted in the ground-plan.

There is, however, an extremely interesting clue as to the setting of the group B buildings in the fact – surely more than a coincidence – that both depict an identical second building along with their group B rendering of Santa Croce. The smaller building in Ashburnham Appendix 1828, fol. 111 (fig. 10) was identified above as a "copy" of one of the smaller Baptistery chapels, and re-appears in the Uffizi 1864A Anonymous' work, on the same sheet as the rendering of Santa Croce. Here we find a very similar exterior view, which is supplemented by an interior and a ground-plan: all three drawings are keyed with the same symbol (fig. 6, d–f). The juxtaposition of the same two chapels in each artist's work, in one case apparently drawn from life, in the other arranged as six sketches on the same sheet, suggests that the buildings were indeed adjacent. The smaller building, while close in plan to the still-extant chapels at the Lateran Baptistery, differs from them in a fundamental way: the interior outline of the ground-plan does not follow the exterior, but has an extra articulation in each corner, which indicates the foundation of giant corner piers supporting the central vault, as shown in the interior view (fig. 6e). Neither of the Lateran Baptistery chapels dedicated to the two saints John exhibits this feature, and it seems that this chapel, too, is a copy of one of them, but a copy that is subtly different from the original. Since the Evangelist's chapel at the Lateran was not adjacent to Santa Croce, and has an atrium, I hazard a suggestion that the smaller chapel shown in the Group B drawings represents a "copy" of San Giovanni Battista at the Lateran Baptistery, which was adjacent to the Lateran Holy Cross, and never had an atrium.

This is further evidence that the group B drawings do indeed depict different buildings from those beside the Lateran Baptistery, but that the two complexes of chapels were related in some fundamental way. The larger building was built on a very similar ground plan to that of the Lateran Santa Croce, while the smaller one resembled the adjacent chapel of the Baptist. I suggest that this similarity was no accident. It is surely significant that a second cluster of buildings was built at the Vatican at the turn of the sixth century for exactly the same purpose as the Lateran Baptistery chapels, and that at least two of these chapels were still standing in Rome in the mid-fifteenth century. Of these, the most important in both size and beauty was dedicated to the Holy Cross. This building was not only related to Santa Croce *al Laterano* by ties of history, dedication and function, but was in all probability a direct copy of it. Like its prototype, it was destroyed during the Renaissance. We can date the demolition exactly owing to the work of Maphaeo de Vegio (Maffeo Vegio), an antiquarian at the court of Pope Nicholas V (1447–55). In his description of Old St Peter's, *De Rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae*, written between 1455 and his death in 1458, Maffeo informs us that the Vatican Santa Croce was pulled down during the reign of Nicholas V.[21] Records also exist of the loss of the chapel of the Baptist in 1453, in the same building campaign.[22] Thus, it is clear that the chapels survived into the period of revival of interest in classical buildings that characterized the Renaissance and were in all probability drawn by artists and architects before they were demolished. This supposition is made all the more likely by the presence of Leon Battista Alberti at the papal court at that time. Nicholas V was himself an early humanist and attracted artists and architects to his court, among them Alberti.[23] Whether the Sienese Anonymous was part of this circle, or whether he copied the work of a member of the group, perhaps even that of Alberti himself, may never be known.[24] But it is clear that there was both an opportunity to record the ancient chapels at the Vatican before they were pulled down and the

Figure 6. Anonymous Italian, Florence, Uffizi, 1864A. a. exterior. b. interior, cruciform room, towards main altar. c. ground-plan. d. San Giovanni Battista (?), exterior. e. San Giovanni Battista (?), interior. f. San Giovanni Battista (?), ground-plan. (Photo: Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe).

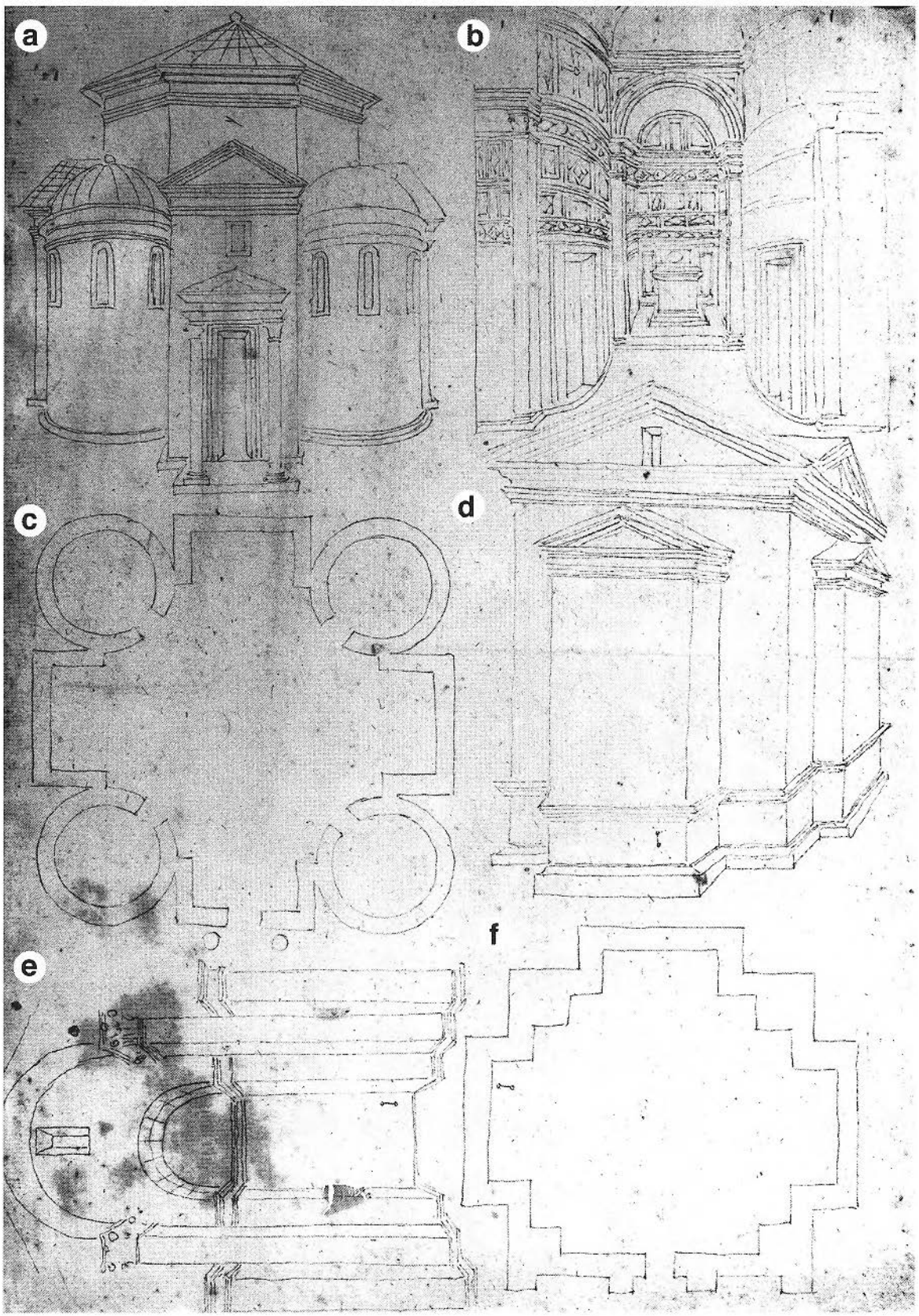


Figure 7. Sienese Anonymous, Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, fol. 41, drawing 60; ground-plan. (Photo: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

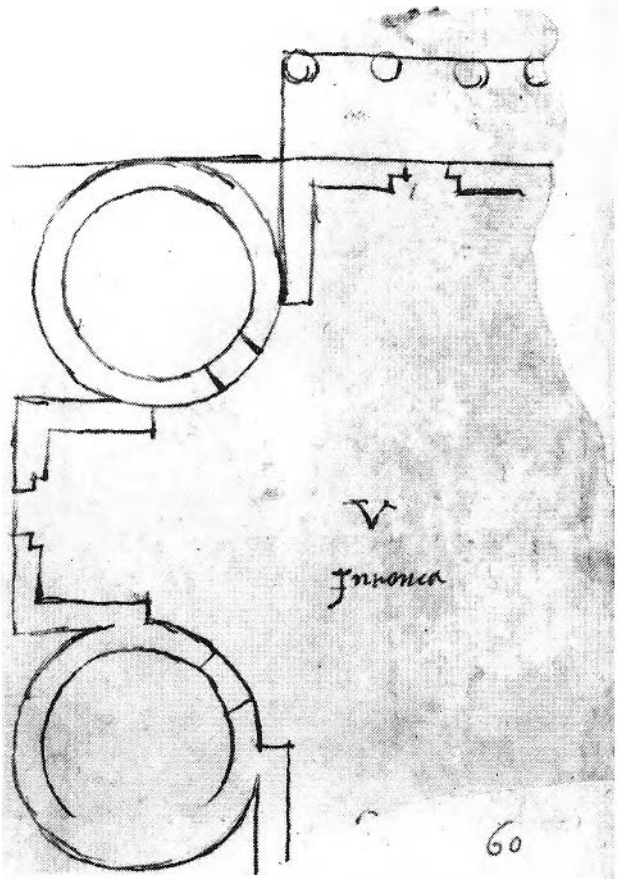
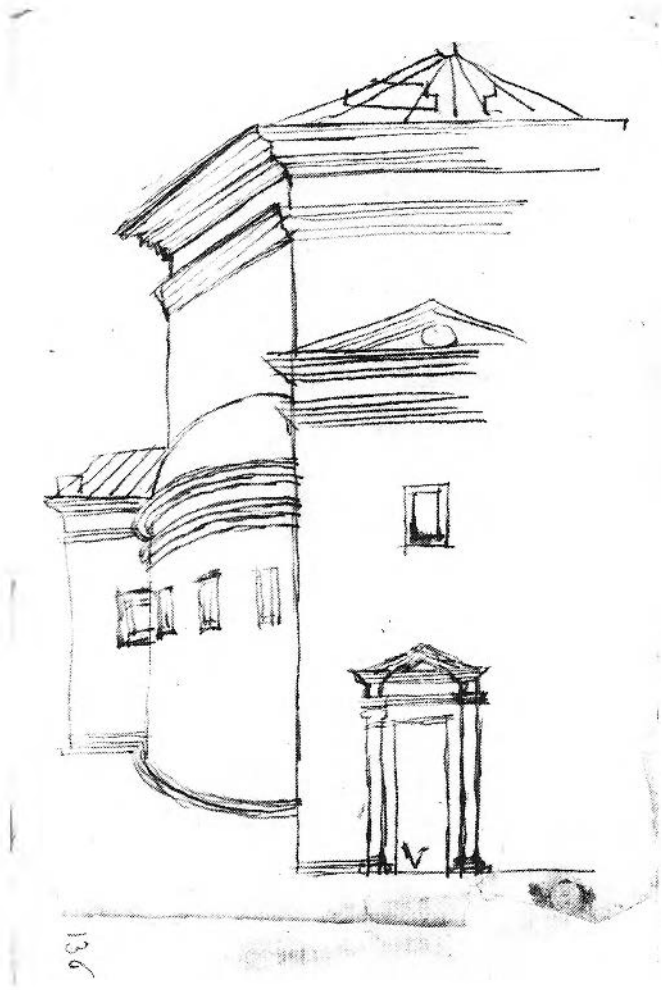


Figure 8. Sienese Anonymous, Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, fol. 93, drawing 136; exterior elevation (doorway shown on left in ground-plan, fig. 7) (Photo: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

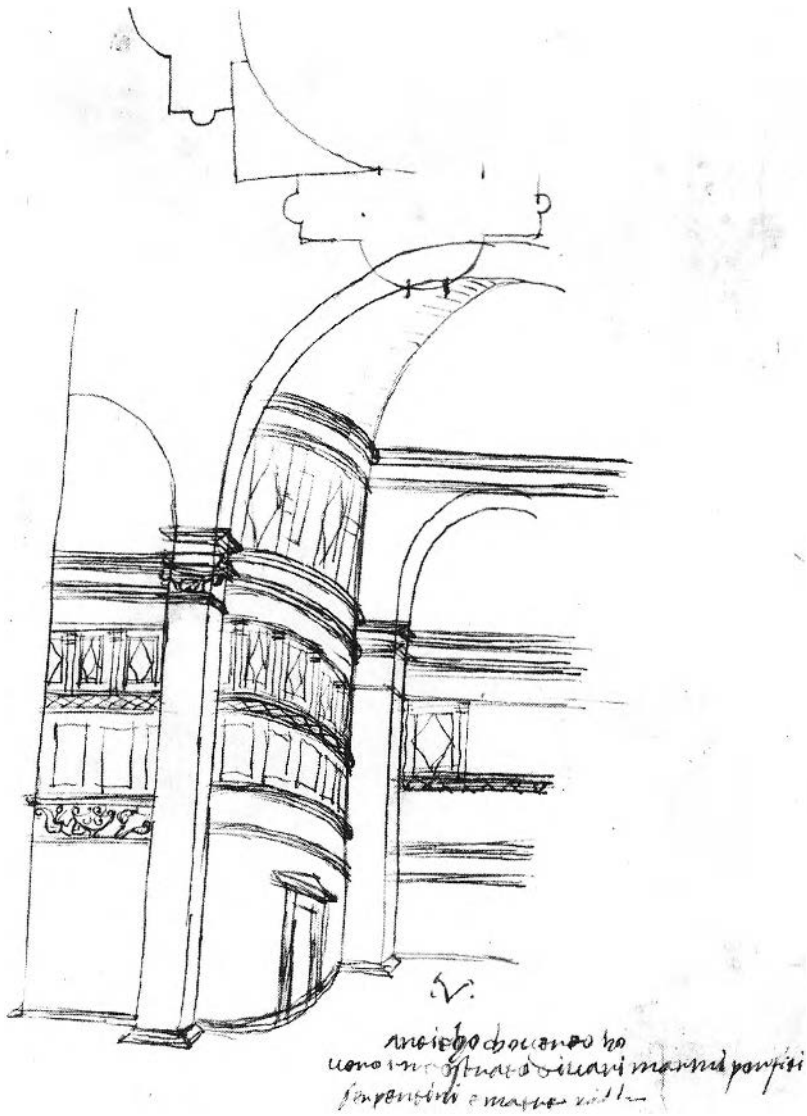


skilled draughtsmen at the court to carry out the work. Such a record, one may surmise, would have been in keeping with the interests of the humanist circle around Nicholas V.

We know quite a lot about the history of these oratoria. They were two of the three chapels that Pope Symmachus (498–514) built beside the fourth-century Baptistery of Pope Damasus at St Peter's, replicating in their dedications, and quite possibly in important other features, those which Hilarus I (461–68) had built beside the Lateran Baptistery a few decades previously.[25] Symmachus built the baptistery chapels in the early years of his reign, probably as a statement of his legitimacy as Bishop of Rome, since his rival for the papacy, antipope Lawrence (498–505), was in control of the Lateran Palace and Basilica. A similar move had been made by Pope Boniface (418–22) when he founded a baptistery at Sant'Agnese *fuori le mura*, thus establishing his right to celebrate the papal baptism of Easter 419 there, while the antipope Eulalius (418–19) had control of the Lateran.[26] Until recently, the similarity of Symmachus' chapels to those at the Lateran was thought to end with their dedications, which in both cases were to the two saints John and to the Cross. As all trace of the Vatican baptistery complex had vanished during the rebuilding of St Peter's, it was assumed that the baptismal font had always been in the centre of the right (north) transept of St Peter's, surrounded by internal chapels bearing the Lateran dedications, as shown in the Alfarano Plan of 1590, which, however, was prepared over forty years after the demolition of this part of Old St Peter's.[27]

These assumptions have recently been challenged, for although the documentation of the chapels in Symmachus' biography has meant that their actual existence and their dating to his pontificate were not in doubt, their exact location has always been open to speculation, both because of the mystery of the position of the Damasus Baptistery itself, and also because the chapels' remains have failed to surface in the archaeological record. This is no doubt because the sites of Symmachus' Santa Croce and San Giovanni Battista, at least, lie beneath the massive foundations of the apse of St Peter's, as recorded by Maffeo Vegio.[28] Excavation at the site of St Peter's has not yet extended to the area behind the Constantinian apse,[29] but the assumption that Damasus' baptistery at St Peter's was also a free-

Figure 9. Sienese Anonymous, Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, fol. 118, drawing 169; interior, cruciform room, view from main doorway (Photo: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).



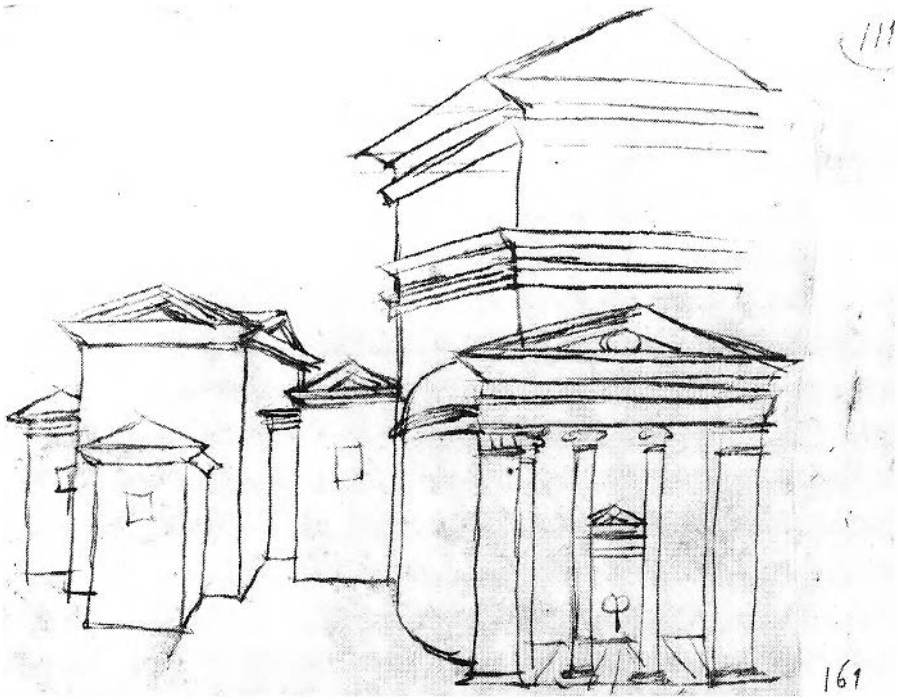
standing building seems reasonable, on the grounds that the early Church preferred a separate building as the setting for the mysteries of initiation.[30] Very few integral Early Christian baptisteries are known, none of them at the major shrines of Christendom.[31]

There is also independent evidence that the baptistery was a separate building. This is found in the donation list of Pope Leo III (795–816), which refers to the baptistery at the Vatican as "a rotunda" which Leo rebuilt from its foundations.[32] We may reasonably infer that if the Baptistery was a separate building its chapels would have been disposed around it, as at the Lateran, and this is the impression given by the lengthy entry on Santa Croce *al Vaticano* in Leo's biography. Santa Croce is described as in the same place "as the above" (the previous entry is the Vatican Baptistery). We are told that Leo found Santa Croce on the point of collapse and rebuilt it, with its apse, from the foundations. This statement, if taken literally, poses certain problems, for the decorative scheme in the drawings is in a typically Late Antique medium, *opus sectile*, a medium which was only beginning to be revived in the Carolingian period in Rome. Cut-stone work floors of that era survive at various churches and chapels in and around the city, and include those of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, refurbished by Hadrian I (772–95), the San Zeno chapel of Pope Paschal I (817–24) at Santa Prassede, and Farfa Abbey, dated in all probability before 844.[33] All are assumed to have been constructed out of antique spoils, since the technology for making these marble materials had been lost.

The *pelta* pattern visible in the Ashburnham drawing (fig. 9), while typical of late Antiquity, was also at the beginning of a revival in other media in the early Middle Ages, being present in Carolingian Court manuscripts, from the Godescalc Evangelistery (781) onwards. It also occurred in mosaic in the San Zeno chapel.[34] However, rather than suppose that a full-blown example of an *opus sectile* wall revetment was possible as early as 805 to 806, as must be assumed if Leo III entirely rebuilt *S. Croce al Vaticano*, another possibility must be considered. This is that the chapel was extensively repaired, rather than totally rebuilt. It is clear that the papal biographers sometimes exaggerated the accomplishments of the popes in building and restoration, intending to leave the most favourable impression of papal generosity for posterity. Sometimes these overstatements can be documented from the subsequent state of the building. Biographical hyperbole must account, for example, for the claim that Gregory III (731–41) restored the roof of the Pantheon (S. Maria *ad Martyres*), which had been "thrown down" or even "utterly destroyed" by long decay: the word used is "*demolitum*." Gregory cannot have rebuilt the roof, for the second-century dome survives.[35] Another example of biographical overstatement concerns the *titulus Callisti*, S. Maria in Trastevere, which Hadrian I is said to have rebuilt "newly, entirely, in every part" and yet in subsequent papal biographies was reported to be in bad repair.[36]

In Leo III's donation list itself, we read of precious and easily damaged gifts of hangings and metals being given as late as 812 to 813 to churches which Paschal I, a scant five years later, would declare to be so ruined as to need totally rebuilding.[37] Although conclusions about Santa Croce *al Vaticano*

Figure 10. Anonymous Sienese, Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, fol. 111, drawing 161; "Temple P: facade". Exterior elevation of Santa Croce, main facade with portico, as shown in ground plan (fig. 7), top. On left of drawing: chapel of San Giovanni Battista (?). (Photo: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).



must be more conjectural, since it has not survived, these precedents suggest that the Oratorium, which was said to be "in imminent danger of collapse," may have been saved by extensive renovations from the foundations up rather than being entirely rebuilt, despite the statement of Leo's biographer.[38] In this case, the early sixth-century structure of Santa Croce would have survived, complete with its decorations, and lasted until it was razed to the ground in the mid-fifteenth century.

Pope Leo's work at the Oratorium was extensive.[39] We read that the apse, which surely refers to the central arm of the cross, received decorations of mosaic, paintings and marble; the (main) altar was crowned with a canopy and railed off by a fastigium of columns and a silver cornice.[40] Arches of silver and images in silver-gilt, lamps and a cross were given, and the building received a total of forty-five silk curtains (*vela*), large and small, and divided into several groups numbering multiples of three, four and seven. There were also three altar cloths. The gifts are not inconsistent with use in a building on the Santa Croce plan, with its potential for seven altars: three in the cruciform room and four in the corner chapels. A set of seven *vela*, for instance, suggests one each for these seven altars, while twenty-one *gabatas*, a sort of lamp or, according to Raymond Davis, a "chased silver bowl,"[41] (a considerable number for a small building), also suggest the modularity of seven, with three to light each altar. A set of four *vela* with interwoven gold might have been provided for the four corner chapels. Finally, the special gifts – three silver arches, three silver-gilt images and their curtains, and three splendid altar-cloths – could well have been furnishings for the three altars in the cruciform room.[42] The furnishings do not, by contrast, suggest a building on the basilica plan, for which paired sets of curtains would be provided to hang between the columns of the arcades.

With regard to Symmachus' chapels, it was almost unknown to dedicate interior spaces within churches as chapels at the turn of the sixth century, because of the proscription against having more than one altar in a church. In the earliest days of organized Christianity, between the early fourth and the late sixth centuries, secondary altars did not exist inside churches or chapels, because the single altar was seen as the site of the oblation wherein the Last Supper was recreated by a single priest in memory of Christ's own sacrifice.[43] If new altars were needed, new churches were built, or exterior chapels were added to the outside of churches, their doors and vestibules allowing them to be seen as separate buildings. It therefore appears logical that both Damasus' baptistery and Symmachus' chapels would have been annexed or separate structures, rather than integral spaces, and this supposition is confirmed by accounts such as Maffeo's, which were written while the Vatican chapels were still standing. P.A. Février has also recently concluded that the baptistery and its annex chapels were free-standing buildings outside the right transept of St Peter's.[44] He bases his argument not only on the Early Christian preference for the separate baptistery, but on Petrus Mallius' twelfth-century description of St Peter's, in which he refers to the chapels at the baptistery there as *ecclesiae*, a term he almost invariably uses when describing free-standing chapels as opposed to internal ones, which he terms *oratoria*.[45] Février was plainly unaware of the Maffeo de Vegio text; he makes no suggestions as to the form the chapels took, but suggests that the whole baptistery complex may well be buried without trace under the massive foundations of St Peter's apse. Some evidence for this comes from the presence there of water channels which could possibly have constituted the plumbing for the font.[46] I suggest that there is no conflict between Février's argument and the Alfarano plan: both are correct, but sequentially. For the major part of the period under discussion, the Damasus baptistery complex lay outside the perimeter of Old St Peter's. After the demolitions of the 1450s a baptistery was still needed, and the baptismal font and its surrounding chapels were relocated in the north transept of the ancient basilica, just as Alfarano located them on his plan. Perhaps this was an inexpensive

temporary measure, since the grandiose plans for rebuilding St Peter's were already under way.

If we accept that the original Vatican baptistery complex was made up of free-standing buildings, it was obviously a closer copy of that at the Lateran than has previously been realized, copying it not just in the dedications, but in the architecture as well. This fuller imitation of the original explains the similarities between the two buildings that are depicted in the drawings of groups A and B. Discrepancies can probably be explained by the medieval attitude to making a copy, which differed from our own. In the early Middle Ages, Richard Krautheimer has proposed, medieval copies of architecture might copy only certain salient features of the original, rather than faithfully replicating every detail of the model:[47] if so, Santa Croce *al Vaticano* would seem to be an unusually faithful copy of the original at the Lateran. Obviously, the pertinent features were the complex cruciform ground plan, the crosses over the corner doors, the rich interior and, perhaps, the symbolism of the number six, which at the Vatican is transferred from the corner chapels to the main tower of the building. Since the time of Genesis, this number had had potent symbolism: the creation was accomplished in six days, with Mankind created upon the sixth; six was sacred to the name of Christ, since his name in Greek, IHCOUC, contained six letters. Even his crucifixion took place upon a Friday, the sixth day of Holy Week. A central room with six unbroken sides appears to have embodied in its architectural form a symbolism relating to Christ and his death upon the Cross, a fragment of which was housed in each of the two Holy Cross chapels, as we know from Pope Hilarus' biography, for Santa Croce *al Laterano*[48] and from Petrus Mallius, for the Vatican chapel.[49]

The failure to copy every feature of the Lateran's Santa Croce can also be explained by the patron's desire to create a structure that was modern and beautiful in early sixth-century terms. Rather than slavishly copying a re-used older building, the ancient Santa Croce was to be improved upon, while retaining the salient features that gave it meaning. Thus, the open oculus in the centre of the vault at Santa Croce *al Laterano*, which we know from Panvinio to have been plugged by an insert bearing the image of the cross, was replaced by a solid roof at Santa Croce *al Vaticano*,[50] while the internal decorative scheme was improved upon by the use of varicoloured stone mosaics in sixth-century style in place of the sombre panels of bevelled marble.[51]

Surviving chapels of the fifth and sixth centuries typically have the same vaulted cruciform architecture as the group B building, though I know of none that has the same ground-plan with corner chapels, nor the hexagonal tower.[52] Among the surviving cruciform chapels of this era are Santa Matrona at San Prisco, near Capua Vetere; the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna (both fifth century); Santi Tosca e Teuteria, Verona; Santa Maria Mater Domini, Vicenza; and Santa Maria Formosa, Pula, Croatia (all sixth century). The cruciform ground-plan was thought to be especially suitable for both mausolea and *cellae memoriae*. Both Santa Croce *al Laterano* and Symmachus' copy at the Vatican fit into this pattern. Each was used as a shrine to house an important relic, a piece of wood from the Cross of Christ. If each chapel were cruciform, as I suggest, the form perfectly symbolized the sacred contents and adhered to a formula which, already common in the context of death and burial, was elevated in the Holy Cross chapels to suit shrines which commemorated the manner of Christ's death on Golgotha.

In conclusion, when the *corpus* of drawings of the Lateran Holy Cross is divided into two groups, A and B, and the small but distinct sub-group B is laid aside, it becomes possible for the first time to contemplate a reconstruction of Santa Croce *al Laterano*, using the evidence contained in the main group of drawings, group A. All these drawings are securely identified by inscription as representing the Lateran Holy Cross and are clearly the only legitimate source of information on its architecture, decoration, proportions and measurements, since the remains of the building itself have yet to be found. These core drawings were copied, sometimes accurately, more often inaccurately, by a considerable number of other architects and draughtsmen who recorded the building, thinking to use the information in their own work. Others used the plans and elevations as the basis for the architectural fantasies which were popular in the Renaissance. From all these sources we can visualize the Lateran Holy Cross as a five-roomed building, on the Greek cross plan, with a low, central tower lit by great arched windows. The small, hexagonal rooms between the arms of the cross, like the central vault, were pierced by oculi (figs 2, 4d) and also lit by windows on their outer walls. The plain exterior of the building was of brick, contrasting with the interior, which was lavishly decorated with marbles and mosaic.

A second building, however, also takes on substance from the *corpus* of Santa Croce drawings, but this time it is based on the group B drawings. It is revealed as a variation on the same Greek Cross plan and theme as its Lateran model, but this version is interpreted in the idiom of the Early Christian period. With the help of the drawings of the Sienese and Uffizi 1864A Anonymous draughtsmen, we can visualize this long-lost structure, its quincunx plan, its tall hexagonal tower with blank walls, its formal doorways, one with a columned portico, its hipped tower roof, its circular, domed corner rooms and its elaborate interior in colourful *opus sectile*. Through the drawings, it rises from the mists of oblivion: I suggest that the evidence presented here points to its identity as the early medieval "copy" of the Lateran Holy Cross chapel which Pope

Symmachus raised beside the Baptistery of Damasus at the turn of the sixth century. The drawings of another, smaller, cruciform chapel (figs. 6, d–f and 10) that appear beside it in the work of the two group B artists gives us, I suggest, a glimpse of another long-lost chapel, Symmachus' San Giovanni Battista, which like its larger neighbour, was demolished to make way for the new choir of St Peter's, but not it seems, without being recorded in the work of these two anonymous artists.

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Above all, I am indebted to George Mackie for discussion, encouragement and technical help.

Notes

1 Hilarus' patronage of three chapels at the Lateran Baptistery, including Santa Croce, is confirmed in his biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92), I, 242: "Hic fecit oraturia III in baptisterio basilicae Constantinianae, sancti Iohannis Baptistae et sancti Iohannis evangelistae et sanctae Crucis, omnia ex argento et lapidibus pretiosis:

...Oratorium sanctae Crucis:

confessionem ubi lignum posuit dominicum;

crucem auream cum gemmis, qui pens. lib. XX;

ex argento in confessionem, ianuas pens. lib. L;

supra confessionem arcum aureum qui pens. lib. IIII, quem portant columnae unychinae, ubi stat agnus aureus pens. lib. II;

coronam auream ante confessionem, farus cum delfinos, pens. lib. V;

lampadas IIII aureas, pens. sing. lib. II;

nympheum et triporticum ante oratorium sanctae Crucis, ubi sunt columnae mirae magnitudinis quae dicuntur exatonpentaicas, et concas striatas duas cum columnas purphyreticas raiatas aqua fundente; et in medio lacum purphyreticum cum conca raiata in medio aquam fundentem, circumdatam a dextris vel sinistris in medio cancellis aereis et columnis cum fastigiis et epistuliis, undique ornatum ex musibo et columnis aquitanicis et tripolitis et purphyreticis."

2 Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (Rome, 1588), 46.

3 Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S.Pietro in Vaticano*, Bibl. Vat., ms. Barb. Lat 2733; see the near facsimile edition, edited by Reto Niggl (Vatican City, 1972), 50. Portions of the manuscript were edited by Philippe Lauer, *Le Palais du Latran* (Rome, 1911).

4 With inscriptions placing the chapel at the Lateran: Giuliano da Sangallo, Bibl. Vat., ms. Barb. lat. 4424, fols. 32v and 33r; Baldassare Peruzzi, Uffizi 438A; F. di Giorgio Martini, Turin, Bibl. Reale, Codex 148, fol. 81v; French anonymous, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. No. 68–769.44; Italian anonymous, Uffizi 669A; Antonio Lafréri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Rome, 1573–77), pl. 159; London, Royal Institute of British Architects, volume VIII, fol. 3r; and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Delorme sketchbook, fol. 44r.

5 See *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, ed. C. Huelsen (Leipzig, 1910; new edn, Vatican City, 1984). Huelsen dates the drawings before 1494.

6 This drawing is firmly attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi by H.W. Wurm, *Baldassare Peruzzi. Architekturzeichnungen* (Tubingen, 1984), pl. 454, who places it within the last five years of Peruzzi's life, 1531–36.

7 Among drawings which do not state the exact location are: drawings by various Italian anonymous artists, Florence, Uffizi 1964A, 1955Av and 1864A; Sienese Anonymous drawings, Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, folios 41, 93 and 118; Vienna, Albertina, Egger 108r; Sallustio Peruzzi, Uffizi 664Av; Milan, Ambrosiana, Bramantino Sketchbook, 33r. With the exception of Florence, Uffizi 1864A, and the drawings from the Laurenziana's Codex Ashburnham Appendix, 1828, all the above are related to the group of inscribed drawings listed in note 4, above. I would dispute Marco Romano's identification of the two drawings on fol. 116 of Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828 as showing Santa Croce. In our present state of knowledge they must remain unidentified. See M. Romano, "L'oratorio della S. Croce al Laterano," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LIX (1959), 337–59, esp. 346–47 and fig. 9.

8 Alfonso Bartoli, *I Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, 6 vols (Rome, 1914–22), I, pl. 4, and VI, pl. 5, dates it to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, not earlier than 1474.

9 These drawings were attributed to Giovanbatista Alberto by Giustina Scaglia, "Architectural Drawings by Giovanbatista Alberto in the circle of Francesco di Giorgio Martini," *Architectura*, (1978/79), 104–124, on the basis of a signature "giovanbatista alberto" on Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828, fol. 136, drawing 205. Scaglia identified this draughtsman with Giovanbattista or Giovani di Bartolommeo Alberti, a Sienese artist who was probably born in 1466 and died after 1532. However, Howard Burns has pointed out that the name on drawing 205 is in another colour of ink than the drawing itself and its annotations, which are not in the same hand. Hence it is probably an attribu-

tion, rather than a signature. See H. Burns, "Un disegno architettonico di Alberti e la questione del rapporto fra Brunelleschi ed Alberti," in *Filippo Brunelleschi. La sua opera e il suo tempo*, I (Florence, 1980), 105–25, esp 119, note 15, on the "Giovanbatista Alberto" signature: "la nota 'Giovanbatista Alberto' e quasi certamente in una calligrafia diversa di quella dell'autore dei disegni ed altre note sul foglio, ma è contemporanea."

10 This individual must not be confused with Giustina Scaglia's "Anonymous Sienese Architect;" see Scaglia, "Architectural Drawings," 106.

11 See Scaglia, "Architectural Drawings," 110–12 and, for a list, appendix 1, 122.

12 Francesco's extant Santa Croce drawings are in Codex Saluzziano (Turin, Bibl. Reale, cod. 148), fols. 80v and 81. I would classify fol. 81 as a Group A drawing, in which Francesco's dominant interest is in the rhythms of the marble mouldings, to the exclusion of other features such as doors and windows. Fol. 80v is an extremely inaccurate ground plan of the Lateran Baptistery complex, perhaps done from memory. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Monumenti Antichi, trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, 2 vols, ed. C. Maltese, tr. L. Maltese Digrassi (Milan, 1967), I, 122 (ground plan); I, 281 (interior).

13 Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828, fols. 41, drawing 60; 93, drawing 136; and 118, drawing 169.

14 Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828, fol. 111, drawing 161 is called "Temple P" by Scaglia, "Architectural drawings", 113 and fig. 14.

15 Marco Romano, "Materiali di spoglio di San Giovanni in Laterano: un riesame e nuove considerazione," *Bolletino d'arte*, LXX (1991), 31–70, esp 35–36 and fig. 7.

16 Arnold Nesselrath, *Das Fossombroner Skizzenbuch* (London, 1993), 161.

17 Uffizi 1955Av (fig. 5); Florence, Uffizi 1964A; Vienna, Albertina, Egger 108r (where a window is sketched in as a horizontal rectangle); Lafréri, *Speculum Romanae*. Sangallo, *Libro*, fol. 32v. (fig. 1), shows a large window, but this differs from other versions in being a tall rectangle with pediment. F. di Giorgio Martini's Codex Saluzziano, fol. 81, omits both the tower windows and the corner doors.

18 "Anticho choverto hovero incostrato di vari marmi porfiti serpentini e matre pelle" (text ed. Scaglia, "Architectural Drawings," 111).

19 See G. da Sangallo, *Libro*, fol. 31. Originally built on the Esquiline Hill by Junius Bassus, consul in AD 331, the basilica was converted to a church dedicated to St Andrew in the pontificate of Simplicius (468–83).

20 See, for example, the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the Archbishops' Chapel in Ravenna, or San Prosdocimo at Santa Giustina in Padua, dating from the early fifth to the mid-sixth centuries respectively: the Ravenna chapels are illustrated in F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, 3 vols (Wiesbaden, 1969–89), III, and San Prosdocimo is illustrated in Maria Tonzig, *La basilica romanico-gotica di Santa Giustina in Padova* (Padua, 1932).

21 Maphaeo de Vegio, (1406–58) "De antiqua S.Petri AP Basilica in Vaticano," *Acta Sanctorum*, June 7, 80, n. 116: "(Oratorium S.Croce) fu distrutto sotto Nicolo V". Vegio's text, written between 1455 and his death in 1458, makes it plain that S. Croce was already razed to the ground. "Juxta vero duo illa sacella vetustiora, erat oratorium magnum sanctae Crucis, magnae habitum devotionis feminisque inaccessum, quod Papa Symmachum primo supra libro retulimus, eximio cum cultu extruxisse, in absideque ejus decem libras ligni sanctae Crucis recondidisse; ac nunc; diruto eo inventum, a canonicis reverentissime custodiri. Huic contiguum erat aliud majus etiam oratorium, multis altaribus munitum, quod sacri fontis causa sanctus Damasus Papa extruxerat. Quod etsi nunc dirutum sit, extant tamen subterranei ipsi meatus, quibus per multa miliaria aqua ducebatur, magna arte atque impensa fabricati."

The text also appears in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, IV, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 91 (Rome, 1953), 375–98, "De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae." The editors date "De Rebus" to the period after 1455.

22 The *Bullarium Vaticanum*, II, 140, quoted in E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes* (Rome, 1884), I, 123, tells of the razing of the Chapel of St John the Baptist beside the foundations of St Peter's on 12 July 1453.

23 See Franco Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti* (Oxford, 1977), esp. 29–58, "The Rome of Nicholas V."

24 Burns, "Un disegno architettonico," 106 and fig. 2, identified the only known autograph drawing of Leon Battista Alberti. This is the bath building shown in fols. 56v and 57r of the Laurenziana's Cod. Ashburnham App. 1828. Alberti's drawing is a ruled ground-plan, so it is not possible to use it as evidence that the Sienese Anonymous copied either Alberti's drawing technique or his style.

For more recent work on the bath-building plan, see G. Scaglia, "A Vitruvianist's Thermae Plan and the Vitruvianists in Roma and Siena," *Arte Lombarda*, LXXXIV–V (1988), 85–101, who disagrees with Burns' attribution to Alberti on epigraphic grounds. The question remains open.

25 Symmachus' patronage of chapels at the Vatican is described in *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 261–62: "Item ad fontem in basilica beati Petri apostoli: oratorium sanctae Crucis ... fecit autem oratoria II, sancti Iohannis Evangelistae et sancti Iohannis Baptistae ... quas cubicula omnes a fundamento perfecta construxit."

26 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 227.

27 Tiberius Alpharanus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae, antiquissima et nova structura*, ed. D. Michele Cerrati, Studi e Testi, 26 (Rome, 1914), XXVII, pl. II, where S. Croce is indicated as chapel 35.

28 The foundations were seven meters thick and rose to a height of 1.75 m., before work was put on hold in 1452, apparently on the advice of L.B. Alberti who was at the papal court at that time.

29 See R. Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, 5 vols (Vatican City, 1977), V, for a summary of the excavations.

30 See A. Khatchatrian, *Les Baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris, 1962), for plans of Early Christian baptisteries known at that time. For a summary of the present scholarship on the Baptistery of Damasus, see Joseph Alchemes, "Petrine Politics: Pope Symmachus and the Rotunda of St Andrew at Old St Peter's," *The Catholic Historical Review*, LXXXI (1995), 1–40.

31 See, for example, Ambrose's baptistery at S. Tecla, Milan; San

Giovanni in Fonte at S. Restituta, Naples, and the Constantinian baptistery at the Lateran itself. On the other hand, an interior font has been found in a room to the left of the sanctuary at the fifth-century basilica of St Stephen at Mile 3 of the Via Latina. See Krautheimer et al., *Corpus*, IV, 241–53.

32 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 17: "... isdem praesul a fundamentis ipsum baptisterium in rotundum ampla largitate construens in meliorem erexit statum ..."

33 Charles B. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa. Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1987), 56–57, and *idem*, "The Revival of *Opus Sectile* Pavements in Rome and the Vicinity in the Carolingian Period," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XLVIII (1980), 157–65.

34 For the use of *pelta* in the chapel, see the author's "Abstract and Vegetal Design in the San Zeno Chapel: the Ornamental Setting of a Ninth-Century Funerary Programme," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, LXIII (1995), 159–82. Dorothy Glass, *Studies in Cosmatesque Pavements* (Oxford, 1980), discusses the ninth-century *opus sectile* floors.

35 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 419: "Item in basilica sanctae Dei genetricis quae appelatur ad Martyres tectum vetusta caria demolitum purgare fecit ad purum et cum calce abundantissimo seu chartis plumbeis noviter restauravit et quacque per circuitum eiusdem fuerat dissupatum novo nitore construxit." See also R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Liverpool, 1992), 25, n. 38.

36 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 509; "Itemque titulum sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae quae vocatur Calisti trans Tiberim, noviter in integro ex omni restauravit parte." trans. Dale Kinney, "S. Maria in Trastevere from its founding to 1215," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975, 81–82. She writes: "Doubtless the biographer exaggerates, for later entries show that S. Maria continued in ill repair for some time, and the sheer quantity of the churches restored by Hadrian I makes it unlikely that more than a handful of his projects were very thoroughgoing." This is true of Leo III also, of course, with his extremely long lists of projects and donations.

37 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 54: "nimia iam lassata senio, ita ut fundamentis casura ruinamsui minaretur" (S. Prassede); 55 "iam ruine proximam ... ampliorem melioremque quam ante fuerat a fundamentis aedificans renovavit" (S. Maria in Domnica); and 55–56 "iam a fundamentis ruitura ... et pene ruinis confracta ... in loco eodem magnifico opere novam construere ecclesiam cepit" (S. Cecilia).

38 See note 39, below, for text.

39 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 17: "Oratorium vero sanctae Crucis ubi supra, quod iam prae nimia erat vetustate ruiturum, hic praecipuus pastor eum a fundamentis simul cum absida novo aedificio erexit et ad perfectum usque perduxit, atque ipsam absidam ex musibo diversis decoratam picturis atque marmoribus miro splendore ornavit; ubi et obtulit hoc: cyburium super altare cum columnis suis atque faciem ipsius altaris investivit ex argento purissimo, pens. simul lib. CXXI et uncias II; regnum spanoclistum ex auro purissimo, cum cruce in medio, pendentem super ipsum altare, pens.lib. I et uncias XI; necnon et alias columnas argenteas IIII et super ipsas columnas regularem investitum ex argento purissimo, pens. inibi lib. LXIIII et uncias III; arcos argenteos III, pens. lib. XLIII et uncias VIII; imagines argenteas deauratas III, pens. inibi lib. XXX; canistros argenteos interrasiles XII, pens. simul lib. LXXVIII; gabatas argenteas interrasiles fundatas XXI et cruce I, pens. in uno lib. L; vestem super altare fundatam I et aliam de blati cum chrisoclabo, necnon et alia veste alba rosata cum chrisoclabo; velum modicum chrisoclabatum cum crucifixum et margaretis ornatum; vela de stauraci VII; vela de fundato IIII; vela modica quae pendent in regularem ante imagines, tireas, VI; vela alba sirica, ornata in circuitu de fundato, XII; velum maiorem album rosatum, ornatum desuper de quadrapulo I, et alium velum rubeum cum bubalo, qui pendent ante regias maiores; vela modica de stauraci III, qui pendent in regularem ante imagines; seu et alia vela promiscua sirica, numero XI. Fecit ubi supra ad fontes vela tyrea III, quae pendent in regularem ante imagines, et alia vela sirica numero XXI."

40 These furnishings do not appear in the drawings and were evidently lost by the mid-fifteenth century. They were probably purloined for some other building project, as had happened at the Lateran Holy Cross, according to sixteenth-century antiquarians.

41 Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, 207.

42 The arrangement of these altars can be inferred from the original layout in such cruciform funerary chapels as the fifth-century Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna and the ninth-century San Zeno Chapel at Santa Prassede in Rome, in both of which the main altar faced the door and sarcophagi occupied the side arms of the structure. At Santa Croce, which never had a funerary function, the side arms were probably the sites of additional altars by the time of Leo III. See G. Mackie, "The Zeno Chapel: a Prayer for Salvation", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, LVII (1989), 171–99, and *idem*, "The Early Christian Chapel: Decoration, Form and Function," Ph.D. Diss., University of Victoria, 1991, chap. 7.

43 The classic source on the altar is J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner historischen Entwicklung* (Munich, 1924). For a discussion of the evolution of chapel types, both annexed and internal, see G. Mackie, "Early Christian Chapel," 236–50.

44 P. Albert Février, "Baptistères, martyrs et reliques," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, LXII (1986), 109–38, esp. 131f.

45 P. Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, Bibl. Vat. Lat. 3627 (ca. 1159–81), ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della citta di Roma*, III, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 90 (Rome, 1946), 375–442, esp. 422: "De oratorio sanctae Crucis:" "Ab alia parte est ecclesia sanctae Crucis, quam construi fecit beatae recordationis Symachus papa ..."

46 Février, "Baptistères," 133.

47 R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), 1–33, updated in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur europäischen Kunstgeschichte* (Cologne, 1988), 191–97.

48 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, Hilarus, 242: " Oratorium sanctae Crucis: confessionem ubi lignum posuit dominicum."

49 Mallius, *Descriptio*, 422: "... ecclesia sanctae Crucis ... cuius absidam columnas porfireticus et optimo mosibo decoravit, et .x. libras ligni sanctae Crucis in ea recondidit."

50 O. Panvinio, *De Sacrosancta Basilica Baptisterio et Patriarchio Lateranensi* (Rome, 1562), ed. Lauer, *Le Palais du latran* (Paris, 1911), 467–68: "Tectum ...cum quatuor angelis sanctam Crucem tenentibus;" and P. Ugonio, Bibl. Vat. ms. Barb. lat. 1994, 67, ed. Lauer, *Latran*, 580: "La volta di supra si vedono 4 angeli che tengono in mano forse una croce alta onde venne detto di Santa Croce."

51 Surviving sixth-century examples of this technique include the *opus sectile* apse decorations at San Vitale, Ravenna (ca. 548), and at the Basilica Euphrasiana at Poreć (ca. 550).

52 André Grabar has drawn attention to the Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs at Gerasa and to Hosios David, Thessaloniki, as comparable examples of this ground plan. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 3 vols (Paris, 1946), fig. 85. See also Mark Johnson, "The Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran," *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts*, 20 (1994), 16–17, who compares the Lateran Holy Cross not only with Hosios David and Gerasa, but with SS. Tosca e Teuteria, Verona. In the latter, though, the corner rooms are a XII–XIV century addition; see Paolo Verzone, *L'Architettura Religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, (Milan, 1942), 13–15.

Addendum. Mark Johnson's excellent study of the Holy Cross oratory at the Lateran has become available to me only as this paper goes to press. See M. J. Johnson, "The Fifth-Century Oratory of the Holy Cross at the Lateran in Rome," *Architectura*, (1995, published May 1996) 128–55.