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**Abstract:** Pope Leo III (795-816) built two monumental representative rooms for banquets, court hearings and ceremonies in the Lateran. These, called *triclinia*, were inspired by ancient and byzantine models, rich in imperial symbolism.

The interiors of these buildings were decorated with marbles, paintings and, above all, mosaics in the main apses. The first celebrated the role of the pope as successor of Peter, vicar of Christ and medium for the transmission of the secular power from Constantine to Charlemagne. In the latter, the pope was usually represented taking part in a banquet with eleven diners in the central apse, where Christ, Peter and Paul were depicted, so that the pope become part of the group of the apostles, whose stories were represented on the walls. These magnificent buildings are unfortunately destroyed, so this paper offers a reinterpretation of these monuments by reviewing the literary and figurative evidences and taking new elements into account. It reveals that the choice of architectural models and iconographic programs was designed to build an iconic image of the papacy which emphasized the legacy of the ancient word, the pope's role as an intermediary with Christ and his leadership over the temporal power.

### ***The two triclinia of Pope Leo III as "icons of power"***

The latin word *triclinium* indicates the place used for banquets in the residences of Roman patricians and takes its name from the presence of three couches to accommodate the diners while

eating. These rooms gradually assumed monumental forms, often characterized by a *tricora* plan, and gained a high representative and ceremonial value, associated with the cult of the emperor, a tradition which has survived, especially in the East, at the end of the ancient world<sup>1</sup>.

In early medieval Rome the *Liber pontificalis* designates in different ways the place where banquets were held, such as the *Basilica Vigilii*, where the Emperor Constans II (641-668), when visiting the Lateran, could wash and eat<sup>2</sup>, while *accubita* (dining sofas) were placed by Leo III into an elegant *domus* near the Basilica of San Pietro<sup>3</sup>.

The same source certifies that Pope Zacharias (741-752) had built a *triclinium* decorated with paintings, mosaics and marble in the Lateran palace<sup>4</sup>, in front of the Basilica founded by Pope Theodore I (642-649)<sup>5</sup>. Still in Lateran, his biography also recalls the construction of a *triclinium* decorated with inscriptions and with an *orbis terrarum descriptione*<sup>6</sup>, within a structure which, according to the description, seems to recall the *Chalké*, the monumental entrance of the Great palace of Constantinople<sup>7</sup>, which had already inspired Theodoric for his residence in Ravenna, also containing a *triclinium*<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, the desire to imitate the ceremonies of imperial power was behind the recovery of this type of building and its proper name.

The term *triclinium* appears again fifty years later in the life of Pope Leo III (795-816) who, around 797<sup>9</sup>, built a *triclinium* in the Lateran palace (fig. 1) described as bigger than any other, giving an implicit indication of the spread of these buildings. In a few lines the text outlines a magnificent building, with fine marbles, a mosaic in the main apse and painted stories on the walls: “*Fecit autem et in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium maiorem super omnes triclineos nomini suo mire magnitudinis decoratum, ponens in eo fundamenta firmissima et in circuitu lamminis marmoreis ornavit, atque marmoribus in exemplis stravit et diversis columnis tam purfireticis quamque albis et sculptis cum basibus et liliis simul postibus decoravit. Et camera cum absida de musibo seu alias II absidas diversas storias pingens super marmorum constructione pariter in circuitu decoravit*”<sup>10</sup>.

A similar structure was built shortly afterwards<sup>11</sup> by Leo III, adjacent to the Vatican Basilica<sup>12</sup>, again described as a building decorated with marble, paintings in the side apses and a mosaic in the

main one: “[...] *iuxta ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli in Acoli fecit triclinio maiore mire pulchritudinis decorato et absida de musibo ornata, alias et absidas duas dextra levaque super marmores picture splendentes. Et in pavimento marmoreis exemplis stratum et caeteris amplis aedificis tam in ascensum scale quamque post ipsum triclinium compta fecit*”<sup>13</sup>.

Between 801 and 802<sup>14</sup>, Leo equipped the Lateran palace (fig. 1) with another representative room, even more monumental, remembered as a *triclinium*, furnished with a fountain and sofas and decorated with precious marbles, a mosaic in the main apse and paintings depicting the Preaching of the apostles—in the other ten, five on each side: “*Itemque fecit in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium mire magnitudinis decoratum cum absida de musibo, seu et alias absidam decem dextra levaque, diversis storiis depictas apostolos gentibus predicantes,coherentes basilicae Constantinianae; in quo loco accubita collocavit, et in medio concam porphireticam aquam fundentem; necnon et pavementum ipsius marmoribus diversis stravit*”<sup>15</sup>.

During the following decades the popes held the Christmas banquets there, but these were celebrated in reduced forms by Gregory IV (827-844) and Sergius II (844-847) because of the bad condition of the building, also called with a significant synecdoche *accubitum* in the biography of Leo IV (847-855)<sup>16</sup>; this pope, after a restoration, re-launched the convivial function of the building, which continued until the end of the Middle Ages<sup>17</sup>. On these occasions the pope used to sit in the apse flanked by eleven guests, dominated by the image of the Savior on the mosaic, so he condensed in his person the imperial, Christological and sacerdotal symbols<sup>18</sup>.

It was perhaps the poor condition of that complex which led Gregory IV, around 831<sup>19</sup>, to build another *triclinium* in Lateran (fig. 1); its decoration consisted again in a mosaic in the central apse and paintings with “*variis storiis depictas*” on the two sides<sup>20</sup>.

The biography of Nicholas, lastly, mentions the construction of a *triclinium* at Santa Maria in Cosmedin<sup>21</sup>, but the lack of information on the decorative features and the presence of a fireplace suggest, in this case, the image of an essential structure, linked with the function of the church as a *diaconia*.

The repetition of the same terms and linguistic formulas in the *Liber pontificalis* suggests that these were buildings which conformed to a precise architectural type, linked to the triconch of ancient tradition and which recovered its high representative value. Even the constant reference to the use of marble suggests an allusion to the classical world through the use of *spolia*.

The wall decoration was maybe quite original and it was also realized with a prestigious mosaic technique in the central apse, while painting clothed the sides, which in some cases we know used to display narrative subjects, for instance the stories or the Preaching of the apostles, mentioned in the *triclinia* of Leo III and Gregory IV, like in the *triclinia* of ancient world, often decorated with epic themes.

All these buildings are lost and for most of them there is only the description in the *Liber pontificalis*, except for the two *triclinia* of Leo III in the Lateran palace<sup>22</sup>, for which, instead, it is possible to contextualize the few lines in the biography of the pope with copies and descriptions provided between 16th and 17th century (figs. 2-3).

The first *triclinium* (fig. 2), located in the ground floor of the Lateran palaces (fig. 1), consisted of a triconch with arches and, although it was already dilapidated<sup>23</sup>, the rear wall with the main apse and mosaic decoration partially survived<sup>24</sup> the reconstruction of the Lateran promoted by Sixtus V (1585-1590)<sup>25</sup>.

In 1623 Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the nephew of Urban VIII (1623-1644), started the restoration of this important evidence of the medieval papacy, celebrated in 1625 by Niccolò Alemanni with an instant book called *De Lateranensibus parietinis*, which illustrates the phases of the work and the choices adopted (figs. 4-5).

Despite the fact that the wall had been framed with an elegant Baroque pediment and the mosaics restored with the missing parts by Giovanni Battista Calandra (fig. 5), this structure obstructed the square in front of the Lateran Basilica, so, around 1730, Clement XII (1730-1740) decided to turn the ancient wall of 180° and place it against the flank of the Scala Santa (fig. 6), a decision which

caused the loss of the medieval mosaic: only two heads survived in Vatican Museums (figs. 7-8), one of which dates back to the restoration of 1623<sup>26</sup> (fig. 8).

The apse facing the square today is therefore just a copy of Leo's *triclinium* (fig. 9), made in 1743 by the painter Pier Leone Ghezzi, under the patronage of Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758); it was already heavily integrated during the restoration commissioned by Barberini, particularly on the arch which, as a result of that renovation, showed two groups of three figures, while all the copies prior to 1625 (figs. 2, 4) indicates that the left side was already destroyed<sup>27</sup>.

In his text Alemanni prevents any objection by saying that the reconstruction of this part of the mosaic was not a work of imagination, as it was based on a drawing providentially found by Cardinal Barberini and deposited in the Vatican Library where, however, it has never been found, consequently creating many doubts about the existence of this proof<sup>28</sup>.

The issue is full of implications because of the message in the figurative projec, which was also the reason of the desire to preserve the mosaic – or at least a copy - as a valuable document, in the modern age.

The apse (figs. 5, 9) depicts the *Missio Apostolorum*, with Christ positioned in the middle and sending the apostles to evangelize people with an imperious gesture, which appears promptly caught by Peter, who is represented in a dynamic pose. On the left side of the arch (fig. 10), according to the reconstruction by Barberini, Christ delivers the banner to Constantine and the keys to St. Peter or, according to some scholars<sup>29</sup>, to Pope Sylvester who would seem, however, to be excluded because of the presence of the keys, which were symbolically linked only to St. Peter until the end of the 13th century<sup>30</sup>. On the other side (fig. 11) the scene of investiture is repeated, but roles and characters change: this time St. Peter gives the banner to Charles the Great and the pallium to Leo III<sup>31</sup>.

Although the failure in finding the source used for the reconstruction led some scholars to suppose that the left side was conceived by Barberini<sup>32</sup>, the sequence as a whole is plausible in the context of Rome in 8th-9th century, where the *Constitutum Costantini* was produced and Charles the Great

was crowned emperor. In fact, the real protagonist of the sequence is Peter – therefore the Roman Church – who first obeys the command of Christ, in the apse, and is the only one present in both groups in the arch, allowing the revival of Constantine’s empire through the investiture of Charles the Great<sup>33</sup>.

A new element might be identified to support of the reconstruction by Barberini and this interpretative key. Lorsch’s *sylloge* mentions a lost inscription from the Vatican Basilica, dating from the time of Pope Adrian I; Bauer suggested that it must have been on the *antependium* of the main altar, together with a painted scene<sup>34</sup>, which probably was able to explicit its meaning: “*Caelorum dominus qui cum patre condidit orbem / Disponit terras virgine natus homo. / Utaque sacerdotum regumque est stirpe creatus / Providus huic mundo curat utrumque geri. / Tradit oves fidei Petro pastore regendas / Quas vice Hadrianus crederet illa sua. / Quin et romanum largitur in urbe fideli / Pontificatum famuli[s] qui placuere sibi; / Quod Carolus mira praecellentissimus [hic] rex / Suscipiet dextra glorificante Petri / pro cuius vita triumphique haec munera regno / Obtulit antistes congrua rite sibi*”<sup>35</sup>.

What is striking in this text, however, it is the extraordinary concordance with the theme developed on the arch of the *triclinium* of Leo III: if so, this would no longer be a *unicum*<sup>36</sup>, but could have had a prestigious precedent on the altar of the Vatican Basilica. The inscription in fact states that any power comes from Christ, who put the government of the world in the hands of kings and priests. The flock of God was also under the care of St. Peter and then - with a real historicizing passage - given to pope Hadrian I, emphasizing the legitimacy and sanctity of papal lineage within the Church. Rome is the official place of temporal power, where Christ placed the banner entrusting his servants, chosen according to his will, thus reaffirming the importance of the consecration of the kings by the Pope. The text concludes that Charles received the flag from the hands of St. Peter, as depicted in the *triclinium*, and that this gift, which celebrates the power of Charles, was consecrated by the Pope by placing it on the altar.

It is a complex text, which anticipates some of the themes developed by the ceremony of Christmas in 800, when Charles received the imperial crown by Leo in the Vatican Basilica<sup>37</sup>, where, in the *confessio* renewed by Leo III<sup>38</sup>, *pallii* were consecrated. So the text underscores the transmission of royal and imperial power through the Church, which finally formed the strong thought of the papacy for many centuries. In this light, it is also remarkable that Stephen IV (816-817), the successor of Leo, after his election, went to Reims to confirm the coronation of Louis the Pious with a crown presumed to be that of Constantine the Great<sup>39</sup>.

In the second triclinium of Leo III in Lateran (fig. 3), also called *aula concilii* or *domus leoniana*, instead, the exaltation of papal power was entrusted to the choice of architectural forms.

It was a monumental building (52 x 13 m)<sup>40</sup> at the west wing of the *Patriarchio* (figs. 1, 12), consisting of a rectangular body, with eleven apses, five for each long side and one on the rear wall; on the left there was a staircase leading down to the Basilica. The hall was then overhead and it was accessible through a vestibule which originated a long corridor, passing through the building and leading to the first *triclinium*.

The arrangement of these elements coincides with the descriptions of the *triclinium* of the nineteen couches of Constantinople<sup>41</sup>, an *aula* of the imperial palace reserved for ceremonies, perhaps dating back to the 4th century<sup>42</sup>. The excavations in the area of the Hippodrome also have unearthed some remains of a long hall with a central apse and three apses on each side<sup>43</sup>, a structure similar to the hall of Leo III which appears significantly inspired by Constantinopolitan models.

Inside, the *aula concilii* was adorned with columns, pilasters, a porphyry basin and a floor in *opus sectile* laid on the dining sofas; of these elements today only the doorways remain, replaced in the Scala Santa<sup>44</sup> (fig. 13), and a marble table in the Lateran cloister (fig. 14), considered a relic of the Last Supper because of the inscription *me(n)sa Christi*; this, mistakenly read as *me(n)s(ur)a Christi*, has generated the curious tradition that the columns that hold it up correspond to the height of Christ: almost 2 metres<sup>45</sup>!

This curious furniture, in a drawing by Pompeo Ugonio<sup>46</sup> is called *S(ancta) Me(n)s(a)*<sup>47</sup> and it is placed in front of the main apse on (fig. 3). This drawing is the only figurative evidence about the room and its decoration which consisted of paintings depicting the Preaching of the apostles, in the side apses, while the main one was decorated with a seven figures mosaic representing the Savior in the middle, flanked by Peter; thanks to Panvinio's description<sup>48</sup> it might be assumed that on the other side there was Mary<sup>49</sup>, followed by Paul, as in the lost apse mosaic of Santa Susanna, commissioned by Pope Leo III a few years earlier<sup>50</sup>.

According to Ugonio's drawing, the two characters at the ends seem to bear an offer, probably a code and the model of the building<sup>51</sup>, they could be a saint and Leo or two popes<sup>52</sup> like in the mosaics of Santa Agnese fuori le mura and San Venanzio in Lateran Baptistery<sup>53</sup>.

The ornamental band hosted the monogram of the pope in the center, while below the *titulus* invoked the divine protection on the building – called *domus* - and on the faithful commensals recalling how it had saved Peter and Paul from great dangers: “*Deus cuius dextera Beatum Petrum ambulans in fluctibus ne mergeretur erexit et coapostolum eius Paulum ter naufragantem de profundo pelagi liberavit, tua sancta dextera protegat domum istam et omnes fideles convivantes, qui de donis Apostoli tui hic laetantur*”<sup>54</sup>. This text, sung at the end of the banquets, partly falls outside Roman tradition of *tituli*<sup>55</sup> and had the character of a benevolent farewell formula.

The reference to Peter and Paul in the text was also considered a sign of their pre-eminence in the main apse, which completed the program of the aisles, dedicated to the other ten apostles involved in preaching<sup>56</sup>. The depiction of preaching constituted a continuation of the *Missio Apostolorum* of the first *triclinium* but also provided a reminder of the Acts of the apostles painted on the north wall of the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, whose lost apse mosaic inspired, according to Belting, the one in the apse of *aula concilii*, similarly to what can also be detected in the pattern of the mosaic on the arch<sup>57</sup> (fig. 15).

Here, in fact, Panvinio<sup>58</sup> reported the presence of the 24 Elders and some of the 144,000 Sealed from the Apocalypse with four angels. In this area Ugonio<sup>59</sup>, instead, sketches (fig. 3) a *clipeus*,



flanked by the symbols of the evangelists<sup>60</sup>, while on a lower register it reproduces two groups of figures accompanied by the word “saints”<sup>61</sup>. However, the placement on the wall and the offer of the crowns confirm their identification as Elders, reiterating the consistency of the arch with the Roman tradition sanctioned precisely from that of San Paolo fuori le mura, probably restored by Leo III<sup>62</sup>.

The issue of the Sealed from the Apocalypse mentioned by Panvinio<sup>63</sup> remains open; these should correspond, in Ugonio’s drawing (fig. 3), to the double row of figures with outstretched arms under the Elders, accompanied by an inscription which I read as *poveri*, “the poor”: they could be an allusion to the guests of the Lord’s banquet and to the *triclinium* as a place of physical and spiritual nourishment. This proposal is strengthened by the notice that, at the time of Hadrian I, a group of poor people was painted nearby in the *porticus* of the Lateran Palace, where one hundred meals were distributed daily<sup>64</sup>. Severano<sup>65</sup> moreover interpreted as a banquet - “*un convito e gente che mangiavano*” - the scene on the left apse of Leo first triclinium.

Banquet scenes had to be usual in these types of buildings which reflected the dining halls of the ancient world, this aspect is also confirmed by the case of the *triclinium* of the five *accubita* built by Neone (450-475) in the bishop’s palace of Ravenna<sup>66</sup>, a five apses hall decorated with marble and mosaics depicting, among others, the Multiplication of loaves and fishes, stories of St. Peter and the Creation of the world<sup>67</sup> which might be a premise to the cosmography of the *triclinium* of Zacharias in Lateran<sup>68</sup>.

Therefore, the recovery of the late antique models in papal *triclinia* was not limited to the architectural theme of the multi-apsed hall, but it probably extended to the contents of the decoration, in a plot which connects the major centers of power of late antiquity: Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople<sup>69</sup>. In the Carolingian period, in this dense network, there was also Aachen<sup>70</sup> where the *Aula regia*, for its *tricora* plan and its location in the palace<sup>71</sup>, appears to be inspired by the Roman examples and their prototypes in Constantinople<sup>72</sup> and Ravenna<sup>73</sup>. Ravenna, in fact,

constituted an important symbolic reference to Charles the Great and was the place of restorations promoted by Leo III<sup>74</sup>.

It is a game of mirrors, which involves the buildings symbolic of power and extends to entire city-scapes, also considered like icons. This feature is also confirmed in the will of Charles the Great<sup>75</sup>, which resembles a silver square *mensa* with a description of Constantinople destined to the Vatican Basilica, one silver, round *mensa* with the likeness of Rome donated to the bishop's palace of Ravenna and a third silver *mensa* which contained a *totius mundi descriptionem* within three concentric circles, once again a cosmography in a context related, like *triclinia*, in terms of typology, with food and banquets.

**Summary** (to be translated in Croatian): **Gaetano Curzi, *The two triclinia of Pope Leo III as "icons of power"***

Pope Leo III (795-816) built two monumental representative rooms for banquets, court hearings and ceremonies in the Lateran Palace in Rome. These, called *triclinia*, were inspired by ancient and byzantine models, rich in imperial symbolism. The choice of this architectural types confirms Krautheimer's theory that we can interpret with iconographic and iconological method also the medieval architecture.

The interiors of these buildings were decorated with marbles, paintings and, above all, mosaics in the main apses. In the first was celebrated the role of the pope as successor of Peter, vicar of Christ and medium for the transmission of the secular power from Constantine to Charlemagne. In the latter, the pope usually was taking part in a banquet with eleven diners in the central apse where Christ, Peter and Paul were depicted, so that the pope became part of the group of the apostles, whose stories were represented on the walls.

These magnificent buildings are unfortunately destroyed, so in this paper, reviewing the literary and figurative evidences and taking into account new elements, I try to propose an original interpretation of these monuments. It reveals that the choice of architectural models - adopted in the

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<sup>3</sup> “*Fecit et iuxta eosdem grados parte dextra atrii domum a fundamentis mire magnitudinis et pulchritudinis decoratam, in qua etiam et accubitos collocavit*”: *Le Liber Pontificalis, op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 28.

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<sup>5</sup> “*Hic in Lateranense patriarchio ante basilicam beate memorie Theodori papae a novo fecit triclinium quem diversis marmorum et vitro metallis atque musibo et pictura ornavit*”: *Le Liber Pontificalis, op. cit.*, 1886-1892, I, p. 432.

<sup>6</sup> “[...] *super eandem turrem triclinium et cancellos aereos construxit, ubi et orbis terrarum descriptione depinxit atque diversis versiculis ornavit*.” *Le Liber Pontificalis, op. cit.*, 1886-1892, I, p. 432.

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- <sup>13</sup> *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 8.
- <sup>14</sup> H. GEERTMAN, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 43
- <sup>15</sup> *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 11.
- <sup>16</sup> “*Nam et accubitum, quod dominus Leo bonae memoriae tertius papa a fundamentis construxerat et omnia ornamenta ibi paraverat, tunc prae nimia vetustate et oblivione antecessorum pontificum deleta sunt, et in die Natalis domini nostri Iesu Chrisit secundum carnem tam dominus Gregorius quam et dominus Sergius sanctae recordationis ibidem minime epulabantur. Iste vero beatissimus et summus praesul Leo quartus cum gaudio et nimia delectatione omnia ornamenta sive alimenta quae inde deleta fuerant noviter reparavit et ad usum pristinum magnifice revocavit*”: *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 109.
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- <sup>18</sup> P. LAUER, *Le Palais de Latran. Étude historique et Archéologique*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1911, II, pp. 583; A. BALLARDINI, *op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 926-927.
- <sup>19</sup> 831-833: H. GEERTMAN, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 73.
- <sup>20</sup> “*Verum etiam fecit in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium mire magnitudinis decoratum, cum absida de musibo; seu et alias absidas duas, dextra levaque posita in paracellaria, variis storiis depictas*”: *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 76, nr. 665. This building was at East of the first *triclinium* of Leo III: P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, I, p. 121.
- <sup>21</sup> “*Nam renovavit in basilca Dei genitricis Mariae quae dicitur Cosmidi secretarium, ibique pulchri operis fecit triclinium cun caminatis, ad honorem et decorem eius*”: *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, II, p. 161.

- <sup>22</sup> H. BELTING, “Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III. im Lateran und die Entstehung einer päpstlichen Programmkunst”, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 12, 1978, pp. 55-83; C. MECKSEPER, “Zur Doppelgeschossigkeit der beiden Triklinien Leos III. im Lateranpalast zu Rom”, in *Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern*, vol. 4, 1998, pp. 119-128; M. LUCHTERHANDT, “Päpstlicher Palastbau und höfisches Zeremoniell unter Leo III.”, in *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn*, III, *Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung*, C. Stiegemann – M. Wemhoff (eds.), Mainz, von Zabern, 1999, pp. 109-122; idem, “Rom und Aachen: die Karolinger und der päpstliche Hof um 800”, in *Karl der Große*, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 104-113; A. BALLARDINI, *op. cit.*, 2015, pp. 918-927.
- <sup>23</sup> O. PANVINIO, *De sacrosancta basilica, baptisterio et patriarchio Lateranensi* (1562), in P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II, pp. 481-482; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2160, c. 5r (Pompeo Ugonio, drawing).
- <sup>24</sup> A. IACOBINI, “Il mosaico del Triclinio Lateranense”, in *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, catalogo della mostra, Roma, Argos, 1989, pp. 189-196.
- <sup>25</sup> A. IPPOLITI, *Il Palazzo Apostolico del Laterano*, Roma, De Luca, 2008.
- <sup>26</sup> M. LUCHTERHANDT, “no. II.8-II.9”, in *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn*, I, *Katalog der Ausstellung*, C. Stiegemann – M. Wemhoff (eds.), Mainz, von Zabern, 1999, pp. 47-50.
- <sup>27</sup> A. IACOBINI, *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 191-193.
- <sup>28</sup> I. HERKLOTZ, “Francesco Barberini, Nicolò Alemanni, and the Lateran Triclinium of Leo III: an Episode in Restoration and Seicento Medieval Studies”, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 40, 1995, pp. 175-196.
- <sup>29</sup> G.B. LADNER, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, III, *Addenda et corrigenda, Anhänge und Exkurse*, Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1984, pp. 25-30; A. IACOBINI, *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 192-193; I. HERKLOTZ, *op. cit.*, 1995, p. 182.
- <sup>30</sup> A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Le Chiavi e la Tiara. Immagini e simboli del papato medievale*, Roma, Viella, 1998, p. 20.
- <sup>31</sup> M. LUCHTERHANDT, “Famulus Petri. Karl der Große in der römischen Mosaikbildern Leos III.”, in *799. Kunst und Kultur*, *op. cit.*, 1999, III, *Beiträge*, pp. 55-70.
- <sup>32</sup> C. WALTER, “Papal political imagery in the medieval lateran palace”, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, vol. 20, 1970, pp. 155-176.
- <sup>33</sup> On the importance of Constantine in those years see: H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 76.
- <sup>34</sup> F.A. BAUER, “Il rinnovamento di Roma sotto Adriano I alla luce del Liber Pontificalis: immagine e realtà”, in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, vol. 60/61 (2001/02), pp. 189-203.

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- <sup>35</sup> *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Septimo saeculo antiquiores*, G.B. DE ROSSI (ed.), II, Roma, Libreria pontificia, 1888, p. 146, no. 8; in the notes de Rossi argued that the inscription was on a chandelier above the main altar (also M. LUCHTERHANDT, *op. cit.*, 1999, pp. 64-65).
- <sup>36</sup> As assumed by H. BELTING, “I Mosaici dell’ aula leonina come testimonianza della prima “renovatio” nell’ arte medievale a Roma”, in *Roma e l’ età carolingia*, Roma, Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte, 1976, pp. 167-182.
- <sup>37</sup> P. DELOGU, “Leone III”, in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000, I, pp. 695-704.
- <sup>38</sup> *La pittura medievale a Roma. 312-1431. Atlante*, I, *Suburbio, Vaticano, Rione Monti*, M. ANDALORO (ed.), Milano, Jaca Book, 2006, p. 42.
- <sup>39</sup> P. DELOGU, “Stefano IV”, in *Enciclopedia dei papi, op. cit.*, I, pp. 704-705.
- <sup>40</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Architettura sacra paleocristiana e medievale*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1988, pp. 96-97.
- <sup>41</sup> M. LUCHTERHANDT, “Stolz und Vorurteil: der Westen und die byzantinische Hofkultur im Frühmittelalter”, in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft: frühmittelalterliche Residenzen - Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, F.A. Bauer (ed.), Istanbul, Ege Yayınları, 2006, pp. 171-211; M.C. CARILE, *op. cit.*, 2012, pp. 175.
- <sup>42</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- <sup>43</sup> E. TORELLI LANDINI, “Note sugli scavi a nord-ovest dell’Ippodromo di Istanbul (1939-1964) e loro identificazione”, in *Storia dell’arte*, no. 68, 1990, pp. 9-35.
- <sup>44</sup> N. HORSCH, *Ad astra gradus. Scala Santa und Sancta Sanctorum in Rom unter Sixtus V. (1585-1590)*, München 2014, p.80; A. BALLARDINI, *op. cit.*, 2015, p. 922.
- <sup>45</sup> P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, I, pp. 103-104; M. DELLE ROSE, “Il patriarcio: note storico-topografiche”, in *Il palazzo Apostolico, op. cit.*, Roma 1991, pp. 19-36.
- <sup>46</sup> Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2160, c. 157v; P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II, pp. 577, 583.
- <sup>47</sup> Or *S(ancta) Mes(ura)*. Given a height of nearly two meters, if it was used as a table there had to be a podium.
- <sup>48</sup> O. Panvinio, *De sacrosancta basilica, baptisterio et patriarchio Lateranensi*, in P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II, pp. 410-490: 483-484.
- <sup>49</sup> Belting believes that Panvinio mistakes acknowledging Maria in the apse: H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 68.
- <sup>50</sup> 797-798: H. GEERTMAN, *op. cit.*, 1975, p. 40; C. DAVIS-WEYER, “Das Apsismosaik Leos III. in S. Susanna. Rekonstruktion und Datierung”, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 28, 1965, pp. 177-194.
- <sup>51</sup> It’s strange that the patron, bearing the model of the building, was on the right side, instead of the left as usual; a precedent could be found in the Theodotus chapel, in this case however there is a hierarchical reason, on the left side indeed there is Pope Zacharias.

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- <sup>52</sup> Maybe Leo III as patron of the building and Leo IV as restorer. It has also been speculated they were Leo III and Charles the Great: H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 73; P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, pp. 32-33.
- <sup>53</sup> About roman mosaics with two popes see: M. GIANANDREA, “Il “doppio papa” nelle decorazioni absidali del Medioevo romano”, in *Le plaisir de l’art du moyen âge. Commande, production et réception de l’oeuvre d’art. Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet*, Paris, Picard, 2012, pp. 663-669.
- <sup>54</sup> Panvinio in: P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II 484; the *incipit* is in the in Ugonio’s drawing also.
- <sup>55</sup> E. THUNØ, *The apse mosaic in early medieval Rome: time, network, and repetition*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- <sup>56</sup> H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 71.
- <sup>57</sup> H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1976, pp. 177-178; *idem*, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 70.
- <sup>58</sup> In P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II, 483.
- <sup>59</sup> Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2160, c. 5r (Pompeo Ugonio, drawing).
- <sup>60</sup> Ugonio wrote: *Evangelist(arum) insigna*
- <sup>61</sup> *S(an)c(t)i* on the left side and *Santi* in the other.
- <sup>62</sup> *La pittura medievale*, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 97-121; Belting points out the similarity between the archs of San Paolo fuori le mura e Sant’Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, both restored by Leo III: H. BELTING, *op. cit.*, 1976, pp. 175-178
- <sup>63</sup> In P. LAUER, *op. cit.*, 1911, II, 483.
- <sup>64</sup> “[...] *ut omni die centum fratres nostri Christi pauperum, etiam et si plus fuerint, aggregentur in Lateranense patriarchio et constituentur in portico quae est iuxta scala que ascendit in patriarchio, ubi et ipsi pauperes depicti sunt*” *Le Liber Pontificalis*, *op. cit.*, 1886-1892, I, p. 502.
- <sup>65</sup> G. SEVERANO, *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma*, Roma, Giacomo Mascardi, 1630, p. 546.
- <sup>66</sup> C. RIZZARDI, *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 715-719; *eadem*, “Le sale di rappresentanza dell’episcopio di Ravenna nell’ambito dell’edilizia religiosa occidentale ed orientale dal tardoantico all’alto medioevo”, in *L’Audience. Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l’Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge*, Paris, Picard 2007, pp. 221-239.
- <sup>67</sup> AGNELLUS DE RAVENNA, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, C. Nauerth (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 1996, pp. 150-156.
- <sup>68</sup> This scene was deemed an allusion to the universality of papal power: G. MASSIMO, “Papa Zaccaria e i lavori di rinnovamento del Patriarchio Lateranense (741-752)”, in *Arte Medievale*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2003, pp. 17-37.
- <sup>69</sup> P. VERZONE, “La distruzione dei Palazzi imperiali di Roma e di Ravenna e la ristrutturazione del Palazzo Lateranense nel IX secolo nei rapporti con quello di Costantinopoli”, in *Roma e l’età carolingia*, *op. cit.*, 1976, pp. 39-54.
- <sup>70</sup> M. D’ONOFRIO, *Roma e Aquisgrana*, Napoli, Liguori, 1996<sup>2</sup>.



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<sup>71</sup> M. UNTERMANN, “Opere mirabili constructa”. Die Aachener ‘Residenz’ Karls des Großen”, in 799. *Kunst und Kultur*, *op. cit.*, 1999, pp. 152-164. See also the *Aula regia* at Ingelheim, characterized by a rectangular plan with a single apse: H. GREWE, “Die Königspfalz zu Ingelheim am Rhein”, in 799. *Kunst und Kultur*, *op. cit.*, 1999, III, *Beiträge*, pp. 142-151.

<sup>72</sup> E. BOLOGNESI RECCHI FRANCESCHINI, “Der byzantinische Kaiserpalast im 8. Jahrhundert. Die Topographie nach dem Schriftquellen”, in 799. *Kunst und Kultur*, *op. cit.*, 1999, III, *Beiträge*, pp. 123-129; J. BARDILL, “Der große Palast in Konstantinopel zur Zeit Karls des Großen”, in *Karl der Große*, *op. cit.*, 2014, II, pp. 140-149; M. LUCHTERHANDT, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 179-180; A. BALLARDINI, *op. cit.*, 2015, p. 924.

<sup>73</sup> A. RANALDI - P. NOVARA, “Karl der Große, Ravenna und Aachen”, in *Karl der Große*, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 140-149.

<sup>74</sup> R. WISSKIRCHEN, “Leo III und die Mosaikprogramme von S. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna und SS. Nereo ed Achilleo in Rom, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 34, 1991, pp. 139-151.

<sup>75</sup> D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, “Charlemagne’s silver tables: the ideology of an imperial capital”, in *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2003, pp. 159-177.