Ravenna as a Capital: Art and Display as Discourse
in Late Antiquity and Beyond

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Abstract

Title: *Ravenna as a Capital: Art and Display as Discourse in Late Antiquity and Beyond*

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Ravenna is renowned for its collection of exceptionally well-preserved fifth and sixth century mosaics. As a body of data, these mosaics and the buildings which house them are generally accessible and easy to view, making them widely used in the study of Late Antiquity and no secret to modern tourists. However, numerous analyses of Ravenna's artwork have taken for granted that access to it might not have been so straightforward in other historic periods. This thesis seeks to answer new questions about 'old' data in order to provide a critical examination of the relationship between Ravenna's historic and modern audiences. This is achieved first through an archaeological and architectural survey of the late antique cityscape during Ravenna's life as the later Roman, Ostrogothic, and early Byzantine capital (c. AD 400-600). This survey is accompanied by re-visioning the way ancient viewers were able to access and receive certain imagery. Second, it analyses how we 'curate' different forms of display (buildings, monuments, artwork) for today's tourists in a UNESCO city. Many of the assumptions about modern viewership began with the Grand Tour and became more solidified in Italy in the nineteenth century with Italian unification and the creation of regional offices in charge of conservation and restoration. Drawing on gaze theory, sociological theories of space and place, and a large bibliography of art historical analysis, this thesis draws conclusions about how 'viewers' have helped create both scholarship and public knowledge over the *longue durée*, and how buildings often contextualise social and personal interaction with artwork.

Acknowledgements

> Though it had been my wish to glide in my little boat by the edge of the peaceful shore and, as a certain writer says, to catch little fishes from the pools of the ancients, you, brother Castalius, bid me set my sails toward the deep.
>
> Jordanes
> Preface, *Getica*

Jordanes perfectly captures the sentiment of acknowledgements in the beginning of his *Getica* (*Gothic History)* when he thanked his friend Castalius for imploring him to write it. A necessary 'Thank You' goes out to everyone who has bid me set my sails toward deeper water these last many years. First and foremost to my supervisor, Prof Neil Christie, for his endless patience and kindness, and for always making sure I've had enough snacks. Thank you also to my second supervisor Dr Andrew Merrills and my advisory panel Deirdre O'Sullivan and Dr Sarah Scott for their helpful guidance throughout the writing process. My thanks go to my examiners Prof Liz James (Sussex) and Dr Mary Harlow for their insightful comments and overseeing my viva. I am incredibly grateful to Dr April Harper and Dr Sallie Han, among other SUNY Oneonta faculty, who encouraged me to apply for graduate school in the first place.

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1.1. Introduction

Ravenna has attracted the interest of travellers and writers as far back as the Grand Tour. Historians have been attempting to succinctly tell the city's story since the ninth century AD, when a young Ravennate priest, Andreas Agnellus composed his *Book of Pontiffs* chronicling the lives of Ravenna's bishops from the time of St. Peter. Ravenna is the famous city of Dante's exile, the headquarters of prolific Romantics like Lord Byron and Oscar Wilde, and the dour industrial backdrop of post-fascist Italian cinema. Since the 1960s it has been the subject of scholarly interest in late antique art and architecture and is a city so well published that one might wonder what more there is to say. Ravenna boasts of some Late Antiquity's best preserved churches and finest mosaics, making it a must-see UNESCO destination.

Yet, despite this fame and scholarly attention, questions remain: much of the city, beyond its churches, remains undiscovered; the demographics of the capital remain uncertain; and the ways in which people experienced this environment is only partially understood. This means analysing a set of relatively well-known, 'old' data and interpreting them in a new light. In the last twenty years the disciplines of Art History, Archaeology, and Anthropology (among other disciplines) have been converging onto topics within 'Visual Culture' that explore aspects of visualisation, sensory experience, and viewer participation (both in antiquity and at present). This thesis addresses the nature of public display and viewer reception in the capital of the Later Roman and Early Byzantine Empires in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, and then how these images and modes of display have been received since the Grand Tour up to and beyond Ravenna's adoption as a UNESCO site.

Ravenna was the focal point of state and episcopal patronage across the last century of Western Roman rule after its creation as a capital in 402. It remained a capital and focus

of display during the period of Ostrogothic control of Italy (493-530), and during the Byzantine conquest under Justinian (535-553). The fifth and sixth centuries demonstrate transitions in power, yet continuity of spaces, as Ravenna offers scope to observe displays of imperial, royal, and episcopal images within and among its monuments. Its transformation from the seat of the Gothic Kingdom to the seat of the Byzantine Exarchate marks a key moment in the Eastern 'Roman' Empire's effort to reclaim the heart of the old West, and in some ways an effort by the Emperor Justinian to reclaim the glory of Rome. Scholars have variously ascribed the 'restoration' of Rome to either the Gothic king Theoderic the Great or to Emperor Justinian, or even to the Catholic Popes in the Early Middle Ages (For studies of Theoderic: Arnold 2014, Moorhead 1992; for Justinian: Evans 2000; for the Popes: Heather 2013). Each new administration left its visual mark on the city, whether in new buildings or in public decoration; Ravenna was a new environment away from Rome, where late antique display developed separately from its 'classical' predecessor. Furthermore, Ravenna was purpose-built as an imperial seat, which increasingly became an episcopal capital – thus we find a mix of ecclesiastical and imperial imagery inside its churches.

This thesis aims to identify and discuss images that were used in civic and ecclesiastical contexts as a form of rhetoric (imperial, royal, or religious), contextualised within a single prominent city to provide a critical examination of the relationship between Ravenna's historic and modern audiences. Drawing on gaze theory, sociological theorisations of space and place, and a large bibliography of the work done on the Augustan Age and High Empire, this thesis will apply an understanding of the 'Roman viewer' to the iconography on display in Ravenna in order to answer questions of interpretation, access, and dissemination not just of power imagery, but of images that remain 'powerful' to the present day.

1.2. Present-Day Ravenna: A UNESCO City

Ravenna is among the best-known of late antique cities and, especially in the last decade, has also been one of the best studied (Augenti 2003, 2005, 2012; Cirelli 2008; Deliyannis 2010; Verhooven 2011; Herrin and Nelson 2016). Despite the new research generated around the history of Ravenna and its port city of Classe before and beyond its time as an imperial capital, the public image of Late Antiquity comes almost entirely from

Ravenna's status as a UNESCO World Heritage site and from the high volume of culture tourists interested in its early Christian monuments. Eight properties were listed by UNESCO[1] in 1996 after their initial nomination as they 'represent the most outstanding collection of religious buildings of late antiquity and mosaics in the world' (UNESCO nomination, 23/10/1995).

Legal status and care of these properties are divided between the State, the Church (Opera di Religione della Diocesi di Ravenna), and since 2005 a local UNESCO coordinator and an office of Tourism Service and Cultural Activities. In 2016 it was announced that the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism (Ministero dei Beni e della attività culturali e del turismo) would be reorganised, dismantling some of the local Soprintendenze, merging others, and implementing a general level of reorganisation from the top down. Ravenna's new designation falls under the Soprintendenza di Archaeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le province di Ravenna, Forlì-Cesena e Rimini. This 'Superintendence of Archeology, Fine Arts and Landscape' is a merger of two previously separate bodies[2].

Perhaps Ravenna's most famous mosaics are the dual portraits of the Emperor Justinian and his wife, Theodora, in the church of San Vitale dating to the 540s AD (Fig. 1.1 and 1.2). The Justinian mosaic in particular has become a metonym for Late Antiquity and is ubiquitous in modern scholarship on the cover of books centring on the 'Roman', 'Later Roman', 'Early Byzantine', or 'Byzantine' Empires – thus making it an image which somehow seems to represent the history of nearly nine centuries (for example: Elsner 1995; Bowerstock, Brown, and Grabar (eds.) 1999; Moorhead 2001, Rautman 2006, Luttwak 2011, Heather 2013). This enduring impact and recognition deserves consideration. This modern display reveals how an image of imperial power can resonate across time, and yet perhaps fails to consider whether or not this portrait was originally meant to be so representative of the imperial image during the early Byzantine period in the West. This question is revisionist in nature, as the imperial panels of Justinian and Theodora themselves have received numerous formal analyses and art historical studies

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[1] They are: Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Neonian Baptistery, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Arian Baptistery, Archiepiscopal Chapel, Mausoleum of Theoderic, Church of San Vitale, and Sant'Apollinare in Classe. Ravenna's UNESCO/World Heritage listing can be found here: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/788

[2] http://www.soprintendenzaravenna.beniculturali.it/

(covered in Chapter 5): it asks us to rethink our construction of ancient viewership to tell the story of these portraits over time, and is largely the jumping-off point for some of the main research questions posed below.

Figure 1.1 The imperial panels of San Vitale: Justinian panel with Archbishop Maximian and retinue. Image from the Yorck Project, under Free Documentation License.

Figure 1.2 The imperial panels of San Vitale: Theodora panel. Image by Petar Milošvić, with permission.

At present, a modern tourist typically enters Ravenna by exiting the train station on the east side of the city (Fig. 1.3). In antiquity the city gates in the eastern wall would have been in direct proximity of the ancient coastline (entry may have been mainly from the South and North gates onto the long Roman road running through the city). The modern train station runs parallel to this old route, although the coast has now shifted approximately five miles eastward. The first monument a tourist reaches after crossing the plaza is the church of San Giovanni Evangelista, commissioned in the middle of the fifth century by Galla Placidia, daughter of the Emperor Theodosius I, in order to commemorate her safe homecoming after a harrowing sea crossing from Constantinople. Stripped of its original decoration, the interior of San Giovanni Evangelista is now simple with exposed brick walls. Although it suffered heavy bombing damage during WWII, some of its later thirteenth-century mosaics have been saved and repositioned around the nave after restorations to the building itself. Notably, this is not a property on the UNESCO list for Ravenna, but it was perhaps among the first churches in Italy to contain imperial portraiture, and one of the most important monuments in the late Roman city.
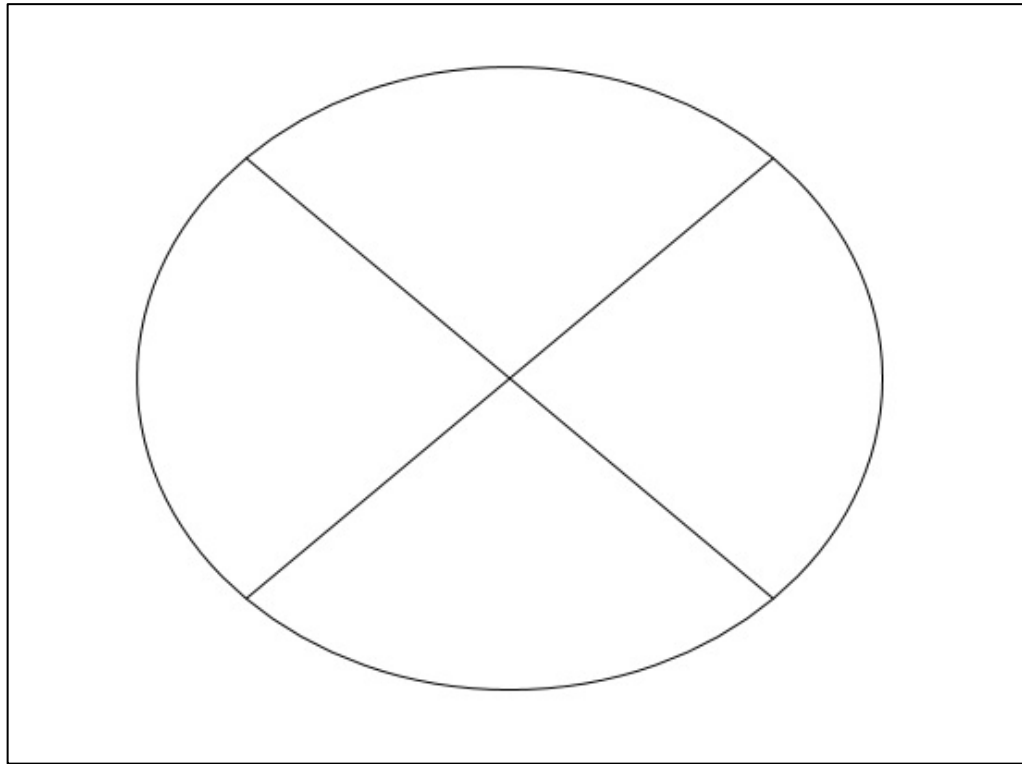
Figure 1.3 A Lonely Planet guide map of Ravenna – notably missing San Giovanni Evangelista, and pointing toward the move visually interesting churches and museums in the city centre.

Walking back out the front door of the church and turning southward and then west will bring you to the next key monument: Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, the palace church of the early sixth-century Gothic king Theoderic, one of Ravenna's most visually striking interior spaces. It is also the typical starting point of the UNESCO city tour. This brief route into the city can be summed up by an inscription on the inside of the Archbishop's chapel in the Episcopal palace (dedicated 494-520): 'Either light was born here, or captured here it reigns free' (*LPR* 50). The mosaics in Ravenna's churches are rightly ascribed as having Outstanding Universal Value, as they are some of the best preserved and most beautiful in the ancient world.

However, our understanding of these mosaics is skewed by the emphasis on modern cultural tourism: they are cleaned, polished, well lit, and highly accessible for viewing (Fig 1.4). Just by virtue of how easy it is to get close to these mosaics now, and how often they are reproduced in print, we forget that some of these images were in restricted locations, and so forget that these images may not have been publically accessible in antiquity. Although cultural tourists often benefit the places they travel to, the idea of 'cultural tourism' is generally a concept 'more widely present in the minds of policy makers and academics' than in the minds of the public or even the people doing the travelling (Smith and Richards 2012, 1).

This can be shown in Ravenna's Periodic Cycle Report published for UNESCO (Fig. 1.5). As part of UNESCO's reporting and monitoring methods, they have created a series of cycle reports in which World Heritage States submit a review of their application of the *World Heritage Convention* to the World Heritage Committee to assess their properties and promote regional information exchange[3]. These have taken place in six year cycles since 2000, with Cycle III beginning in 2017 and lasting until 2022. Ravenna's Cycle II report (2008-2015) lists the availability of professionals and training opportunities for

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[3] http://whc.unesco.org/en/periodicreporting/

Tourism within the city as 'Good' and 'High' respectively, while, strikingly, Research and Community Outreach were rated as 'Poor' and 'Non-existent' respectively.
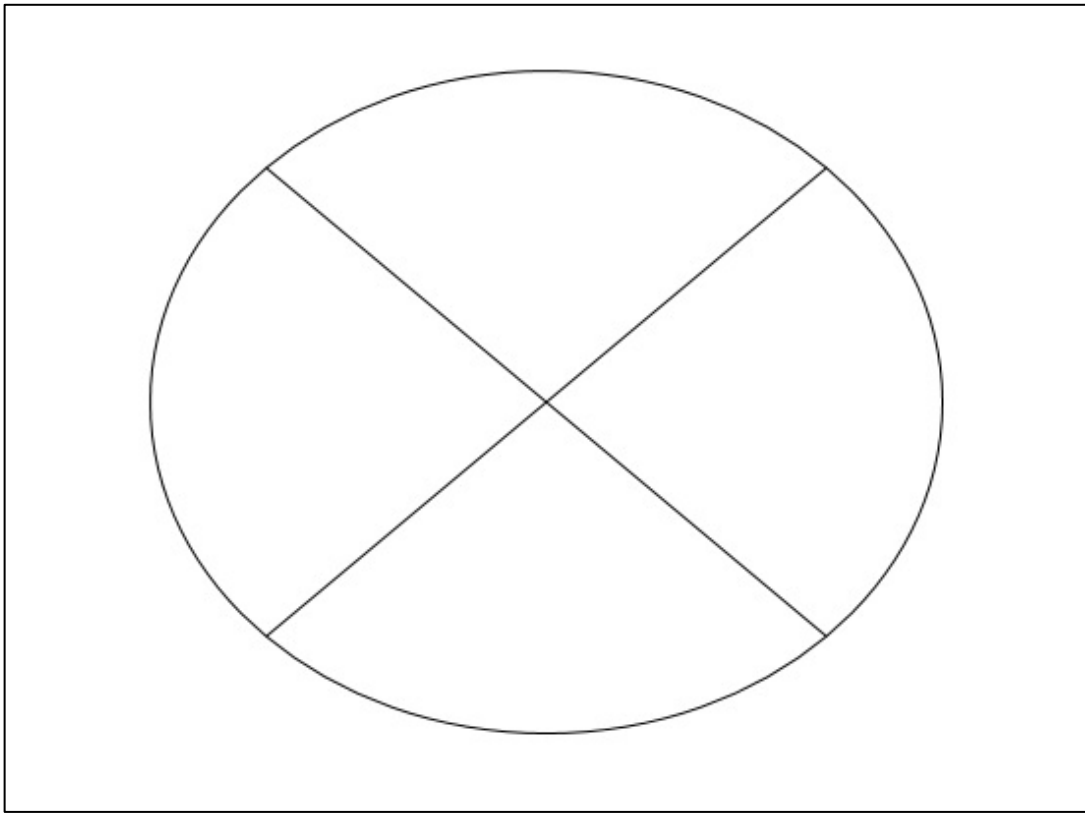
Figure 1.5 UNESCO Periodic Report from Ravenna, Cycle II, 2014.

The next section in the report likewise reveals the disparity between research and outreach:

Is there a planned programme of research at the property which is directed towards management needs and / or improving understanding of Outstanding Universal Value?

There is considerable research but **it is not** directed towards management needs and / or improving understanding of Outstanding Universal Value.

This is not to say that research is not being done; as previously stated, Ravenna has long been a well-studied and well-published site, even more so in recent years with an array of local exhibitions. And neither of these reports suggests that education or interpretation of Ravenna's monuments is poor or lacking. Rather, it seems to indicate to me that there is discord between academic research on Ravenna and its fame as a tourist attraction. There is a necessity to problematize the relationship between tourism and authenticity at

a heritage site: is our general perception of ancient viewership informed by the way heritage sites are framed for tourists? In some ways, I would argue, yes: visualising past landscapes is difficult even for specialists, since 'selling' a past landscapes involves a certain amount of curating and construction to translate it into a digestible tourist attraction. However, this is certainly not to say I expect the modern tourist to critically engage with recent scholarship, rather, that our scholarship can and should be made more accessible to the public in the places they engage with the most.

Accessibility is an especially prevalent problem for Italy, as Smith and Richards (2012, 2) note, because so much of its heritage needs to be displayed in addition to being conserved. The necessity to make history accessible is in some ways the definition of Heritage Tourism: the commodification of history is a tried and true source of income and meta-curation for tourist sites (On the connection between tourism and culture: Lowenthal 1985; Hewson 1987; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Leask and Fyall 2006). One of the goals of this thesis is to explore the relationship between academic research and its translation to the public via cultural tourism, and the ways in which this has been interpreted in the past will be explored in Chapter 6.

1.3. Questions and Materials

The core research questions driving this thesis revolve around (in a very basic sense) what spaces and places in the past looked like, and whether there is an empirical way to assess this question. 'What did it look like?' is categorically different from 'how did people look at it?', but these two questions are related through the ways in which we attempt to present past historic environments through scholarship, media, and tourist attractions. Additionally, 'what could people see (literally, physically)?' is different from 'what did they say they could see?', the latter of the two being an expression of a mode of viewing. This thesis asks: what is the difference between the two, and when does it become important?

In Late Antiquity, images were often set up and valued because they were powerful: literally because they 'contained power'. Today, we often couch their power in terms of how meaningful or visceral our response was to these images: are they beautiful? Do they move us? The visuality of power takes on more than one meaning in this context: 'vectors'

of power are the intersection of things like class, gender, race, and sexuality with structures of power such as government authority, the Church, and designated spaces for these relationships to play out (Butler 1993). These relationships play out in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages via the control of access to public and private spaces, patronage of artwork and buildings, and in the ecumenical debates surrounding the proper use of religious images that produced the Iconoclasm controversy. They play out today largely through how people can access information about the past. In this regard, the question is also: what is the relationship between how people viewed Ravenna in antiquity and how people view it today?

Art historical studies of materials from the ancient world often involve formal analysis of sculpture and ceramics. Sometimes they include public art such as monuments and even coins, but can also encompass private or personal art in the form of decorative tableware, jewelry, ivory diptychs, funerary reliefs, and votive objects. For Late Antiquity the study of art or art objects largely encompasses 'Christian art': churches and their decorations, illuminated manuscripts (see Reece 1999). Art figures prominently in the study of Late Antiquity, and arguably generated the field itself through an attempt to categorize and define the distinct artistic style of the period (James 2008, 22).

As Edward James (2008, 22) noted, one of the strengths of Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity* is how it introduced the art of the period as a representation of late antique culture. Yet, there has still been considerable debate about a term that accurately characterizes the art of this period as summed up by Cormack (2000, 885):

> Parallel with this critical and general overview of these centuries has been the debate on whether the term 'early Christian art' (or alternatively late antique art) is the appropriate label for the production of all or part of this period – for not all of it was produced in the service of religion, and even some art produced in the service of religion does not appear to modern hindsight to be sufficiently 'Christian'. Some have wished to subdivide the period, resisting the idea that 'early Christian art' could label the artistic situation right up to the period of Byzantine iconoclasm in the eighth century. The debate is really about whether it is useful to use a cover-all term encompassing the complex and changing historical circumstances within which a 'European' art was developed.

Discussion of late antique artwork has typically revolved around the notable stylistic changes that happened between the mid-fifth and late-sixth century as it is measured

against the styles of Greco-Roman antiquity. One question that has concerned art historians is *where* artistic innovation took place: did Christian art develop directly out of the manuscript? Was it developed on the walls of churches? Or perhaps in the minor, personal arts? (Cormack 2000, 887) It will be my stance in this thesis that walls were indeed the canvas for artistic innovation (at least, for innovation that was largely accessible and 'monumental'), and that this facilitated new responses from viewers in terms of their relationship with the divine, the body, and the world. As Liz James (1996a, 1) has argued, 'very simply, mosaic art is monumental art'.

Ravenna lends itself well to this proposed study because of the abundance of late antique standing buildings with original artwork still in situ, meaning that viewing can be explored in multiple settings throughout the cityscape. The city contains very little in the way of standing 'classical' public monuments that we might anticipate from an imperial capital of the later Roman Empire but instead its monumental form comprises church buildings (basilicas). This means that the 'materials' drawn from consist chiefly of buildings and their decoration, as well as considerations of how buildings were used by people in the past. For each period of occupation and construction in the city, my thesis will mainly focus on structures which are still extant as we have the most to gain from them, but will also include historical and archaeological data to help produce a fuller picture of what the city looked like.

Further research questions concern access and control of spaces and images. Were churches considered a 'public' place the way old Roman spaces like the forum functioned as a public arena for visual discourse between the ruling class and the wider populace? How was space for worship different from space for public convening? Could the 'public' access all of this art? Did that access change depending on the type of liturgy, church ownership, or even time of day or year? This also leads us to question who the 'public' was: who populated the city of Ravenna in the Ostrogothic and Byzantine periods? How much did an 'ordinary' population – including the clergy, administration, wealthy elite, urban poor, traders, soldiers, sub-urban visitors, etc. – engage with this imagery? Each audience arguably would have viewed 'authority' or 'power' in different ways. It is important, therefore, to place Ravenna's churches into their wider urban context to see how the city plan evolved, where (and why) the foci of ceremony and power moved to, and how church buildings contextualised interactions with both sacred and secular

imagery. These are important questions as the later parts of this thesis will demonstrate how these notions changed over time, so that by the modern period attitudes toward sacred art and architecture were markedly different from those in Late Antiquity.

1.3.1. Ravenna's Archaeology

Perhaps surprisingly, the archaeology of Ravenna's urban centre is still extremely incomplete, in part due to the local geomorphological conditions, with Roman layers buried deep in alluvial deposits and built over by successive centuries. In addition, excavations around the city have been locally directed and often only partially published. Early excavations carried out by sixteenth- to nineteenth-century antiquarians were poorly done and poorly published (Deliyannis 2010, for an overview). In the early twentieth century, from 1908 to 1914 Gherardo Ghirardini excavated the area that is generally identified as Theoderic's palace, just to the east of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (Augenti 2003). These excavations resulted in a partial publication only, and as a result reconstructions of this palace are often composite images from various trenches rather than a secure floor plan of one excavated area. Excavations that damaged some of the floor levels under the main altar at San Vitale in the 1870s resulted in the prohibition of any further excavations in/underneath the church (Deichmann II,2 1976, 59; Verhoeven 2011, 283). Mario Mazzotti, a local priest who later served as the director of the archiepiscopal archive and museum, oversaw excavation of the area near San Salvatore *ad Calchi* in the late 1940s and mid-1950s. In the 1960s Giuseppe Cortesi, then head of Biblioteca Classense, directed excavations near San Vitale, many of which were published (see Cirelli 2008 for detailed excavation history of these sites). Chapter 3 will cover art and architectural surveys of Ravenna from the 1960s-1980s, notably by Friedrich Deichmann and Giuseppe Bovini.

From the early 1990s the University of Bologna's Archaeology department took over several excavation projects in Ravenna, with Professor Andrea Augenti as the lead. This included a European Commission funded project called the Ravenna-Classe project which ran 2005-06 to better understand the economic and cultural connections between Ravenna and its port of Classe; this involved excavations in cooperation with the Central European University, University of Leicester, University of Barcelona, University of Bologna, and the Fondazione Parco Archaeologico di Classe. Centered on the church of

San Severo, the project was designed to enhance understanding of Ravenna's port city. A refurbished archaeological park opened at Classe in 2015, including a small museum and a long boardwalk around the site that showcases the ancient port and some of its warehouses and boat storage facilities along the inland canal. While a significant amount of archaeology has been done here, the park is not as convenient to get to from Ravenna's centre as is the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe which is mere minutes from Classe's train station. Augenti (2016, pers. comm.) expressed his interest in merging the architectural tour of Ravenna more completely with its archaeological park or perhaps creating a more centralized museum that tells the full Ravenna-Classe story to its tourists. Augenti has consistently pushed for wider incorporation of Ravenna's antiquities into narratives that showcase economic and social histories over time, like the 'Santi Banchieri Re' exhibition that ran March-October 2006, about Ravenna and Classe in the seventh century (with a catalogue put together by Augenti and Bertelli 2006).

1.3.2. *Cultural Tourism and a Changing Ravenna*

Italy has one of the longest standing traditions of cultural heritage tourism in all of Europe due to its inception in the Grand Tour's emphasis on Classical art and architecture (Gilli 2012, 98). This 'competitive advantage', as Gilli (2012, 98) called it, has a downside: it has made it very difficult to renew or transform Italy's tourism image internationally. Additionally, it has made it difficult for smaller cities with much less to offer in terms of Classical or Renaissance aesthetics to emerge as part of the tourist market (Gilli 2012, 94). Ravenna is certainly one of those cities, and yet it does not 'suffer' so much as might be expected. With a wealth of standing buildings to present to tourists it still draws many visitors to the Adriatic coast (albeit mostly day trippers). This is mostly because Ravenna has capitalized on what are its best features: beautiful works of art that make a very sellable version of its past (Fig. 1.6).

Figure 1.6 They have even sell a 'Mosaic Perfume', which presumably smells like glass? Photo by author.

These buildings are active, living spaces – they have intrinsic materiality, but they also structure human social interactions and many of them have been in use since the fifth century. Accordingly, this means they underwent multiple phases of interior arrangement, decoration, destruction and/or disrepair, and restoration which all add to their historical 'life'. Some of the difficulties in understanding viewership come from understanding these transitions. Today, the church of San Vitale reflects a nineteenth-century version of this building: a tourist destination showing off the height of Byzantine art and architectural influence in the late antique West, stripped of many of its later additions. It precludes all other periods of use in an attempt to get to the 'original' form of the building and make this version definitive. The later part of this thesis will engage with some of the 'lost' materials that were recorded by Grand Tour visitors and nineteenth-century restorers: what can this tell us about the tourist gaze, travel, and expectations about a late antique city in the modern era? The long standing debates about restoration methods and viewer experience affect our perception of these buildings even today.

1.4. Methods and Approaches to Viewership in the Past

This project requires an approach to modeling the ways in which people in historic periods viewed artwork, and, further, how this artwork could be read as discourse – especially 'power' discourse between patrons, commissioners, honorands, and the public. Multiple channels of power could be expressed in similar symbolic forms and within the same locations – notably, we find both secular and sacred images within Ravenna's urban basilicas. To use Geertz's (1977, 152) observation: 'there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing' – this governing elite was both the Church and the State, while their symbolic forms were both imperial and sacred.

Often in modern scholarship, artwork inside of buildings is decontextualised for the sake of demonstration. For example, Ravenna's mosaics are almost always presented as full-page close-up images that put the viewer at eye level with the scene, as though it was a painting hanging in an art gallery. While this is useful for formal analysis, it very much confuses their physical context since viewing from such a vantage point was (and is still) almost impossible. My study aims to better orient the 'viewers' in their physical context and explore the use of space from an 'on the ground' perspective. My methodology is 'traditional' in the sense that it will mainly be about synthesizing literary and archaeological sources to produce a 'mental' picture of the city rather than being able to produce a corpus of illustrations or spatial analysis maps. This has been done by first surveying the archaeological and architectural evidences in Ravenna to provide a strong foundation for analysis, followed by modeling viewership within specific spaces and places. Many approaches to viewing and artwork will be addressed more fully in Chapter 2, but I will outline two ways by which this thesis will engage with the material below.

1.4.1. Method One: Agnellus as a Tour Guide

One route to follow in attempting to reconstruct ancient viewership is through our available primary sources and drawing conclusions about visual material directly out of a source that records works of art, buildings, or monuments. In this approach - one perhaps most notably used by Jaś Elsner (1995, 11) in his study of the late antique art - the aim is to try to 'entice ways of viewing' from one specific person as a model for how people generally thought about vision, artwork, and symbolism in antiquity. Andreas

Agnellus was a ninth-century Ravennate priest, later 'abbot', who wrote a history of Ravenna in the form of a series of Bishops' lives that was closely modelled on the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*. Although written between 830-840, almost three hundred years after the reign of Justinian (527-565), this *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (*LPR*) remains the most comprehensive source of information about fifth- and sixth-century Ravenna and its buildings and monuments. This text will be used throughout this thesis as a common thread: Agnellus can only report what he saw in the ninth century and thus already provides a retrospective to Ostrogothic and Byzantine Ravenna, thus he is both a historian and, in some ways, a 'tourist' to the past. Agnellus' occupation as a clergyman and his personal interest in Ravenna's history led him to write his bishops' lives 'with the voice of the antiquarian and local eccentric', as his modern biographer J. M. Pizarro (1995, 5) stated. In many ways this makes him the most fitting tour guide for ancient and medieval Ravenna. As will be explored in Chapter 3, Agnellus' text is a full of descriptive, colloquial anecdotes that take place in and around well-known locations in the city. He frequently situates himself as a viewer within both the physical context of the city and within its history; for example:

> While I was living in my monasterium of the blessed and ever-virgin Mary which is called ad Blachernas, which is located not far from [the gate of] Wandalaria, when I wanted to examine the lives of all the bishops of Ravenna, I had doubts in my soul about the tomb of this holy man [Peter I].
>
> (LPR 26)

> In his reign he [Maximian] built near my house the barracks of the regiment which is called the First Flag.
>
> (LPR 77)

Our literary image of late antique Ravenna comes almost exclusively from Agnellus, as very few texts were written in Ravenna that we know of, and no surviving historical texts exist which were written in Italy between 540 and the mid-600s (Deliyannis 2010, 202). For Ravenna this situation is partly because of a fire in the archive of the archiepeiscopal palace under Archbishop Damian (693-709) (Verhoeven 2011, 19). Cassiodorus, Theoderic's state scribe under the Ostrogoths (c. 506-538), produced a *Gothic History* for the Amal dynasty but it only survives in parts of Jordanes' *Getica*, which was based on this lost work of Cassiodorus. Cassiodorus' surviving work, *Variae* (translated by Barnish 1992), was a series of letters that were presumably written in Ravenna at the court of the

Ostrogoths, but it is thought to have been compiled c. 540-554 from Constantinople, where he was living as a political refugee following the outbreak of the Gothic War (Bjornlie 2013, 18-20). Procopius' *The Buildings*, a hybrid *ekphrasis* and traditional panegyric, would have been an obvious choice for this study, but unfortunately it does not include Italy. As Elsner (2007a, 38) pointed out: 'the great advantage of buildings as a choice of subject was the geographical scope by which the emperor's works could be used to represent the extent of his empire'.

This approach is not without obvious problems, one of the first being the fact that literary genres contain clichés, traditions, and conventions that may affect their accuracy as historical sources. Agnellus' writing is based in part on hagiographies and historiographies: especially the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*; Paul the Deacon's (c 720-799) *Historia Longobardorum* and *Historia Romana*; Jordanes' *Getica;* and Gregory of Tours' various letters and sermons (see Pizarro 1995 for in-depth discussion of stories in the *LPR* which were modelled on these works). Thus some of the stories in the *LPR* are strongly stereotyped and are meant to be recognized within their own time and place.

Another problem is one that all literary sources invariably suffer from, and that is that we are only hearing 'elite', educated views. Elsner (1995, 11-12) was aware of this problem of privileging an elitist view if he endeavoured to use literary sources as a method of understanding the Roman viewer; it also privileges the centre (i.e., wealthy capital cities like Rome and Ravenna) and male voices. However, we only have one source for early medieval Ravenna, and he was a local priest from a wealthy family. In a way, that makes him as good a viewer as any: as will be shown, Agnellus actually had access to certain spaces that the average person could not access, and he gives us some insight into the privilege and status of members of the clergy. Additionally, his interest in church history and decoration is due to the elitism of his education: he is a great benefit to modern scholarship for recording and preserving many dedications, inscriptions, and images that are now lost to us.

The heavy rhetorical language of descriptions of art in Byzantine and early medieval culture might be viewed as a 'problem' - they often express attitudes and reception rather than reality (James 2007, 4). Therefore they rarely give specific descriptions of whether or not they could see a certain work of art, how clean or dirty it was, whether it was moved

from somewhere else or in the process of being built or repaired; they do not offer a technical description of what can be seen the way a modern scholar and critic would, but instead may describe how one *should* see a work of art. These expressions of a mode of seeing are valid for what they tell us about how people perceived artwork, but they do not lend themselves to categorical reconstruction. Agnellus' appreciation of mosaic and theological subjects is evident across the *LPR*, and, although himself not a Byzantine, he was appreciating and commenting largely upon Byzantine art.

1.4.2. *Method Two: Engaging with Visual Material*

One solution to the problems of literary sources is to turn directly to visual material to supplement descriptions with images. Producing a corpus of illustrations of late antique cityscapes was one goal of University of Kent's Leverhulme Trust-funded project *Visualising the Late Antique City* (2013-2015) under the direction of Luke Lavan. They were able to collaborate with Will Foster, a professional historical illustrator, to produce new images of *everyday* scenes in a late antique city; some of these illustrations are available for viewing on the project website. It focused mainly on the Eastern Empire in Late Antiquity, and also on evidence drawn from Kent's major project site, Ostia. The project's aims and concerns are relevant to Ravenna, and this thesis, in many ways:

> The late antique period has been the subject of four decades of intense research and debate. However, we still have no image of urban life at this time to present to the wider public. This contrasts with other periods of classical history, which are more widely known, thanks to effective synthesis and representations in art or film. As a result, late antiquity is effectively absent from popular historical consciousness.

> To achieve this, scholars must be able to evoke the material atmosphere of late antiquity convincingly, in both text and images, to create an imaginative space in which the public can conceive of the events and cultural development of the time. (https://visualisinglateantiquity.wordpress.com/the-project/)

While I noted above that present day Ravenna has been the backdrop for some Italian art films, late antique Ravenna is very rarely the setting or subject of popular art or film. As an example, the American television film *Attila* (dir. Dick Lowry, 2001) makes use of Ravenna's imperial panels (Fig. 1.7), but incorrectly drops them into what was supposed

to be the imperial palace at Constantinople in what might have been the year AD 440, a full century before their actual composition.
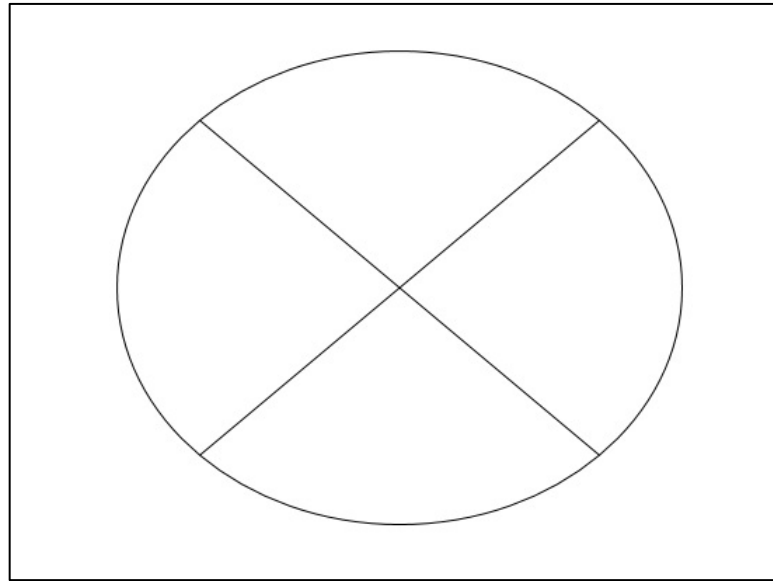
Figure 1.7 Theodosius II (Tim Curry) and general Aetius (Powers Boothe) dine together in the imperial palace in Constantinople. The Theodora panel appears poorly rendered in the background.

This scene shows that both the image and the imagining of Late Antiquity and its various symbols of power and fame are easily confused even to a modern audience. This scene is set both out of time and place: the panel has been transferred to a more famous city (Constantinople rather than Ravenna) and set in a more 'correct' building for an imperial image (a palace rather than a church). 'To be able to evoke the material atmosphere of Late Antiquity convincingly' is no small task; although I would have liked to produce my own illustrations for this thesis it was not possible within the constraints of funding, time, and availability of archaeological illustrators. Throughout this thesis readymade archaeological reconstructions, tourist photographs, historic and archival photographs, and antiquarian sketches and engravings will provide insight into the ways modern people view Ravenna as both a site of study and one of pleasure. Illustration is highly impactful because it communicates the idea of an ancient city in one image that anyone can understand, quickly and in one viewing. For the public, this is sometimes more demonstrative than archaeological plans, isovist maps, or even a live site visit (especially if there are not many standing structures left).

A newer field that also contributes to how we understand how ancient viewers perceived their environment is Visual Analysis Studies. These studies aim to recreate ancient

experience either through visual data or other types of sensory experiences such as auditory and olfactory senses. 'Space syntax' or 'isovist analysis' methods take into account what can be seen from a given point in a 360-degree field of view, or, a measure of the volume of space that can be seen from any given point (Turner et al. 2001). This method can then be used to generate visual integration or visibility graphs that are intended to show us how much the everyday person would see in a place like a church, for example. I personally have not produced any such maps, but two isovist and archaeoacoustic studies have recently been completed for the basilica of San Vitale by Paliou and Knight (2013) and Tronchin and Knight (2016).

Paliou and Knight used a virtual model of the church to discuss sight lines and visual integration from the gallery (second storey) to the ground floor, and ask questions about what kind of sensory experience viewers on this level might have had compared to those in the centre of the main sanctuary. Tronchin and Knight's paper mapped sound atmospheres inside the building to understand how a congregation might have heard regular oration, and they conducted a second visual experiment to gage the amount of daylight the surface of the ground floor might have had during the sixth century. While space syntax analysis does not feature prominently in my thesis, the implications of these studies are valuable and will be discussed further in Chapter 5, since the application of this method in future architectural studies can help reveal some of the 'invisible' qualities of ancient buildings.

1.5. Organisation of Thesis

Chapters Two and Three will follow this introductory outline with an assessment of viewing and an overview of modern scholarship on Ravenna and Late Antiquity. Chapter Two discusses the various art theroies stemming from the fields of Art History, Archaeology, and Anthropology that can be used to engage with artwork of different dates and types. It also addresses the nature of 'the gaze', and establishes whether or not these theories can be conceptualised transhistorically and/or cross culturally.

Chapter Four serves to establish Ravenna as a capital city and to question what that means both to us as modern scholars and to the past inhabitants who originally conceived of it as a capital. It begins as an archaeological and architectural survey of Ravenna's

cityscape to establish how the city was organised, where the foci of power were located, and the type of patronage invested in Ravenna from the early fifth century to the mid-sixth century. This chapter will cover both late Roman Ravenna under Galla Placidia and Valentinian III and Ostrogothic Ravenna under Theoderic the Great. We will see how the 'Roman city' and the 'Gothic city' share an overlapping visual aesthetic that suggests the look of a capital city in Late Antiquity was in the process of changing and therefore the use of space, place, and visual material did not always conform to a convention.

Chapter Five covers Ravenna's Byzantine period. While this is the most 'famous' era of Ravenna's artistic life, there is scope to re-visit the ways the city was perceived more widely as a showpiece of the Byzantine administration. In this period (the sixth century) especially we see multiple expressions of visual power. Additionally, as Ravenna progressed to a 'tourist' city as early as the ninth century, ideas of cultural heritage prizes, 'antiquarianism', and heritage display became present in the way early medieval kings like Charlemagne treated the city's Roman and Ostrogothic history. This chapter finishes with a discussion of how church buildings contextualised interactions with sacred and secular power.

After assessing the foundation of Ravenna as a late antique and early medieval capital, **Chapter Six** jumps forward almost eleven centuries in time to look at Ravenna during the Ground Tour and to discuss the origin of contemporary tourism. From Grand Tour literature we can gain a better understanding of how people – chiefly outsiders - viewed these spaces, what types of monuments interested them, and what kind of knowledge could be read in the images in this time. The later part of this chapter looks at the nineteenth century as the starting point of proper heritage tourism in Ravenna (and Italy more widely). Ravenna's Office of the Superintendent of Monuments was created in 1879, headed by Corrado Ricci (1858-1934) until 1906. This body changed the way people saw Ravenna's monuments – not as derelict and neglected buildings form Late Antiquity, but as important treasures of Byzantine art and architecture.

Finally, the concluding chapter (**Chapter Seven**) will discuss the topography of power and place to address connections between context and reception in multiple eras. It will relate this discussion back my core research questions and look to Ravenna's current status: How do we 'curate' forms of display such as mosaics, inscribed public artwork,

and entire buildings such as churches? Are these messages influenced and informed by the very nature of cultural tourism?

Chapter 2. On Images and Viewing: Theories for Art and Eyes

2.1. Introduction: Theorising Art, Eyes, and Institutions

Application and analysis of the words 'seeing', 'looking' and 'viewing' are having a heyday in Archaeology, increasingly so within the last five years (Birk and Poulsen 2012, 9). One need only to look at the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) 2016's annual conference theme: 'visualisation' and the session titles it produced: 'Visualising People in Past Landscapes', 'Visualising the Body', 'Visualising Words', 'Archaeological Visualisation-Making in Practice', to name but a few. To say that this thesis is about Ravenna as a place for 'viewing' is at once to call attention to Ravenna's status as the 'città dell'arte' and also to an anthropological approach to art – one where we try to envision the people who are actually looking at it. The very nature of visual material constitutes a discussion about what 'art' is, what 'viewing' means, and more generally about how people interpret the world within their respective cultural contexts. I accept as a starting point Geertz's assertion that people interpret art just as they interpret nearly anything else in their world, whether that be religion, nature, or even other people (1976, 1475). But even in these terms we must accept that individual people interpret the world differently and that there are in fact many ways of 'seeing', just as there are many ways to understand how people see. An anthropological framework within which we interpret art objects and their purpose has been the critical subject of works by Bourdieu (1968), Geetz (1976), Coote and Shelton (1992), Gell (1998), Freedberg (2008), and Belting (2011), and yet a definitive way to approach art anthropologically has yet to be defined.

This chapter serves to introduce the anthropological theory underlying the modalities of art and viewership addressed in this thesis and some of the major works which have influenced my thinking in particular. Section 2.2 attemps to establish an anthropological approach to art, and addresses the connection between the disciplines of Anthropology and Art History. Section 2.3 moves from art to eyes with a more direct discussion of 'viewing' and 'the gaze' in scholarship and of how these theories have been influenced by anthropological and sociological work. Sections 2.3.1 - 2.3.3 will situate some of these

theories in the Classical, late antique, and early Byzantine worlds, and ask questions about how ancient people might have understood viewing and how we might approach these issues through archaeology, texts, and tourism. Section 2.4 makes some concluding points about viewing specifically in early medieval and Byzantine contexts, especially with regard to the reception of monuments in later periods and in light of Christianised modes of viewing.

2.2. The 'Anthropology' of Art

It is my assertion that an art historian should also be an anthropologist.

(David Freedberg 2008, 5)

The place where Art meets Anthropology is a subject of ongoing of critical debate, particularly as it relates to more well-defined and established theories in Art History and Semiotics. Is there a way to frame the discussion of a people 'in history' - as Claude Lévi-Strauss called them (see Leach 1970, 15) - through anthropological means? Or does the 'anthropology of art' only apply to questions of cultural difference when analysing Western and non-Western 'art' objects today? As Romans, Ostrogoths, and Byzantines are certainly peoples 'in history' and with history (i.e. texts), they sometimes will tell us how they interpreted their own images in their culture-specific/contemporary writing. The long tradition of antiquarianism that preceded the disciplined study of Classics is often cited as one of the hindrances to theoretically-based studies in Classical Archaeology, largely because it was the history of Europe – traditionally the history of the very people who make and write history (Wolf 1982/1997 revised preface, x; cf. Price and Thonemann 2010, 9). And more pressingly, this same Eurocentric discourse has also formulated most Art Historical theories in regard to Western art. When it comes to ancient art in particular, Sarah Scott (2006, 628) has been adamant in cautioning historians and archaeologists to think about the ways in which this art has been collected and displayed in artificial categories that are closely linked to the development of modern Art History.

Freedberg's (2008, 5) positive claim that 'an art historian should also be an anthropologist' comes from a supposition that the two disciplines are distinct. Yet, as Freedberg himself has argued elsewhere, Art History has often been 'anthropological' with its focus on social and cultural meanings. I do believe that the relationship between Art History and Anthropology is conjunctional: as Geertz admonished us almost 30 years

ago, 'take care of the conjunctions and the nouns will take care of themselves' (1990, 334). Once we figure out what the '*and*' between Art History and Anthropology means (likewise Archaeology and Art History, or Archaeology and Anthropology), we can begin to build meaningful links between them. One of the biggest hurdles to an anthropological study of art has been the temptation to create a set of universial or cross-cultural aesthetics; or, the question of what constitutes 'art' in other times and other places and whether is it possible to interpret it as such within the bounds of modern art history? Matthew Rampley (2005, 529) put the problem of cultural incommensurability thusly:

> Its radical particularism, stressing the absolute heterogeneity and incommensurability of visual practices of different cultures, militates against the possibility of comparison to highlight *either* similarities *or* differences. As Donald Davidson has argued, it is only against a background of assumed commonalities that meaningful differences can emerge *as* differences.

This section presents a discussion about whether or not it is useful to use anthropological, archaeological, or art historical approaches to past 'art' objects and where the differences may steer the interpretation in one direction or another. Take, for instance, the letters of correspondence between Franz Boas (the 'Father' of American Anthropology) and Aby Warburg from the mid-1920s: they reveal the diverging of two disciplines at a time when it seemed necessary to draw boundaries between methodological differences (see Cestelli Guidi 2007, 221; reprinted letters 1924-25). This was the divergence of Warburg's Cultural History (*Kulturwisenschaft*) and American Cultural Anthropology - a distinction born of conflicts over art criticism and the nature of so-called 'primitive' art. Lines were not only drawn between disciplines but within institutions as Franz Boas began to institutionalise the first Anthropology department in the United States at Columbia University - a 'Four Fields' version to which Archaeology belongs that still dominates American schools of thought today[4]. This distinction between disciplines has certainly not stayed so severe. Anthropologised Histories or Historical Anthropologies can be

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[4] A recent anonymous opinion editorial in *University Affairs* entitled 'Why archaeology needs a divorce from anthropology' (August 2015) suggests that we should enter a new phase of (North) American-style Anthropology which does not include Archaeology as one of its Four Fields. The author's arguments revolved around applied theory, the alignment of other disciplines, and of course the receipt of national body funding. While I am still a firm Boasian, opinion pieces like this are part of the necessary discussion about the future of Archaeology and Anthropology. See: http://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/in-my-opinion/why-archaeology-needs-a-divorce-from-anthropology/

found in the works of Eric Wolf (1982) and Simon Price (1984), and theoretical discourses from anthropology include those in archaeology and have impacted upon those theories in Art History.

It might be useful here to first take stock of archaeological theory in the 2010s. The existence of bodies like TAG (Theoretical Archaeology Group) and (the younger) TRAC (Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference) both point to increased interest in explicit discussion of theory within Archaeology. Andrew Gardner, in his introductory paper for the proceedings of TRAC 2015, remarks that an ever present problem in archaeological theory is whether we choose to lead our research with ideas or with objects (2016, 2). The problem for archaeologists and historians who would otherwise be anthropologists is quite simple: our cultural informants are long gone. We are not speaking *to* anyone so much as we are trying to speak *for* people who no longer speak for themselves through the medium of their material culture. This has led to the aphorism that 'archaeological theory' may be redundant, because by nature all archaeology is theoretical interpretation. The relationship between theory and practice can be dubious, but open dialogue and the mergeing of theory and discourse across disciplines can help us engage with past historical artwork and its cultural context. Gardner stressed throughout his paper that archaeological theory is currently in a state of, or at least often tending toward, fragmentation and that this fragmentation is the result of the tension between ideas and materials. Theoritical discourses, in this case, are so often interative – we have not abandoned the framework of culture-centred archaeology or anthropology, but it is a construct consistently challenged and critiqued.

Generally speaking, a good deal of the methodology dealing with art or art objects falls into the realm of structuralist thinking, including interpretive schools of thought like iconology. The distinction in anthropological theory between functionalism (things exist because they have a function in society) and structuralism (things exist because they are a simplified imitation of natural phenomena as understood by the human brain) has caused copious theoretical division. Structuralism, most closely associated with Lévi-Strauss, is a theory in which an interpreter must derive the signs from the system. Signs (in any form we think of them – the words we speak, visual symbols that represent ideas, objects that signify a given meaning such as 'Stop' or 'Go') are arbitrary in and of themselves, and they only have meaning within their respective 'system' or culture. The Interpretive

branch of Symbolic Anthropology can be most closely associated with the work of Clifford Geertz and proposes the theory that the signs *are* the system. In this theory, 'culture' is made up of symbols or symbolic action, and symbols are systems of communication. Art is one of the most symbolic forms of social action, alongside things such as religion, morality, law, and ritual (Geertz 1973, 30). Geertz's simple definition of semiotics posits that 'man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun' (1973, 5; note that this is his personal take on Max Weber's concept of culture).

In order to get to the heart of what the 'webs' mean, we have to engage in what Geertz calls 'thick description' – a total way of describing a culture as a context in which symbols can be understood. Thus the method of 'thick description' is quite as literal as it sounds, but can have potential pitfalls in veering too far from acknowledging the aesthetic or intrinsic qualities of artwork (or past culture more generally). Beryl Smalley (1961), reviewing Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), put the problem simply: 'A history of the metaphors in which political thought is expressed takes us one stage further away from their historical setting. As R. W. Southern wrote in his review of this book (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, x, 1957): "Men are never so absorbed in the shadow world of symbols that they cannot express without them whatever is necessary to their practical ambitions". We should not put "the symbol before the reality"'. This might pose a problem, unless, as Elsner (1995) set out to prove, in late antique Mediterranean culture symbols *are* the realtiy (discussed below).

Still, for some scholar's Geertz's version of semiotics does not represent an 'anthropology of art'. The 'anthropology of art' has been the more recent focus of Alfred Gell (art as a social agent) and Hans Belting (images as anthropology), but, according to Gell (1998, 8), the 'sociology of art' is separated out by its reliance on art institutions and an 'art public', as in the works of John Berger and Pierre Bourdieu. Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency* (1998) is a highly ambitious (and at times convoluted) attempt to outline an anthropological theory of art where he felt none existed before. This contention arrises from the relationship between anthropology and art history (Gell 1998, 2):

> The 'anthropology of art', one might reasonably conclude, has an approximately similar objective [to Art History], except that it is the 'way of seeing' of a cultural system, rather than a historical period, which has to be 'eliucidated'.

His basic contention with all other aesthetic or semiotic theories of art was that they relate specifically to Western art and art theory and are not 'anthropological' because they do not resemble any other anthropology. An anthropological theory of art, rather than an Art Historical or Semiotic theory of art, would be, in Gell's view, one that resembled an already established Anthropological theory and incorporates art objects as part of social relationships that mediate social agency. I agree with Gell's assertion that no distinct theory of anthropology exists in relation to art (and that this theory should resemble other anthropology), but I feel that Gell rejects any Boasian version of anthropology because he rejects the culture concept as the centre of anthropological investigation. Instead, he puts social relationships and action at the centre by creating an 'art nexus' which proposes all the various relationships that occur between artist, art, prototype/referent, and the recipient. Because he focused on non-western art and art objects that might in fact not behave like 'art' within their respective social settings his important critical points emerge in relation to the idea of Western aesthetics and how art can be situated within social practice. However, there is still debate about whether or not this is specifically 'anthropological', as has been argued elsewhere, many of the tenets of Gell's proposal are parts of already accepted discussions within art history (see Rampley 2005 for critical overview of Gell's theory).

There are values and limits in Gell's theory. The limit to Gell's social agency theory is in its inaccessibility for anyone but a very specific version of the interpreter (an anthropologist, namely), and in its strong rejection of the idea that Western art could be analysed as anything other than an aesthetic object. In the Forward to *Art and Agency*, Nicholas Thomas notes that Gell may have been thinking about whether or not his theory could apply to Western art, but that these thoughts were never fully developed due to his untimely death. Gell argued that theories which posit art as 'symbolic' are not useful because he rejected the idea that art objects can be interpreted 'as if' they are texts. However, if we are seeking an anthropological theory of art that resembles other anthropology then we could turn to Symbolic or Visual anthropology and find just those theories. I suspect Alfred Gell did not engage with Clifford Geertz's brand of symbolic anthropology because it was both Boasian (culture-centred) and semiotic. The value of Gell, as proposed by Rampley (2005, 544), is in the way the art nexus forces an alternate means of conceptualising the shifting relationships between art, its producers, its patrons,

and its prototypes – particularly with regard to the shift between the 'primitive cult of the image-as-presence and the modern notion of image-as-representation' and as a potential means to solve the problem of artist authorship as agency. However, the underlying thread of this thesis posits that artwork indeed functions as discourse – so while visual material might not always be read 'as if they are texts', it *does* create a visual 'language' interpretable by its viewers. That art has a social function that it carries out in relation to its physical, social, and cultural settings has indeed been part of art historical discourses before and after Gell, and several will be explored in the remainder of this chapter.

2.2.1. *Iconology: an Anthropology of Art?*

The interpretation of images can broadly fall into three categories: semiotics (the 'anthropological' types discussed above), iconology (addressed here), and various types of 'image studies' or 'visual culture studies' (addressed in the next section; cf. Lorenz 2016 for similar breakdown). Iconology is an overarching art-historical framework developed by Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) in which the exploration and interpretation of symbolic values transcends 'the isolation of descriptive analysis' (Panfosky 1955, 22). This loose definition was to be contrasted with iconography's emphasis on the analysis of aesthetics alone, and any framework which purported to be about the 'pure description' of art. Lorenz (2016, 5) has argued that Panfosky belonged to the last generation of scholars to have had an impact on the interpretation of ancient art, and that the problems they encountered in interpreting ancient art had reciprocal impact upon art-historical discourse. For this reason, Lorenz (2016, 4 n.6) notes, 'to get locked into combat with Panfosky appears *de riguer* for any respectable analytical enterprise in the visual arts'. Iconology, as a total way of interpreting art, may perhaps present us with an 'anthropological' version of art theory.

Panofsky's vision for a total theory of art interpretation was based on his stance that art reflected the human mind, and therefore can be used to gain an understanding of culture in the period in which it was created. Levi-Strauss called him a 'grand structuralist' in the tradition of semiotics (Lorenz 2016, 5). Iconological interpretation involves three separate levels of understanding that happen simultaneously for the interpreter, definitions which Panofsky refined over the course of his career between 1920 and 1960 (see Holly 1984 for an overview of Panofsky's career):

1. The Phenomenal (or 'Primary') meaning, broken down into 'Factual' and 'Expressional' meaning.

- Factual meanings are the immediate, perceived meaning.
- Expressional meanings are the reaction in the viewer's self to the image ('good', 'bad', etc.)

This level of interpretation is based on our experience of being, which includes the interpreter's knowledge of the history of styles.

2. Secondary or Conventional meaning, or a meaning based on content.
This level of interpretation is 'iconographic analysis', or the recognition of a motif as a story or allegory.

3. Intrinsic Meaning, or 'Documentary Meaning', the meaning that comes from a world view and general intellectual history. This is 'iconological interpretation'.
This level of interpretation is the 'zeitgeist' meaning of art that equals the whole sum of things – attitudes, class, period, expressions, and other personal viewpoints that may even be unknown to the artist at the time of making.

Thus Panofsky's iconology presents as a total way to interpret art through multiple, and sometimes interdisciplinary, approaches. The pitfall, however, comes in achieving the third level of interpretation. As Lorenz (2016, 33) notes, the interpreter in Panfosky's model must have 'considerable ingenuity and historical understanding' in order to come to an informed synthesis of all of these meanings; however, in practice the interpreter often falls short of Panfosky's aims. As with Gell's art nexus, the interpreter in Panofsky's model must be a very specific type.

It has been argued that much of the 'new art history' that emerged towards the end of the twentieth century was mostly a reaction against Panofsky's methods (Squire 2009, 79). However, others have argued that iconology IS a useful concept, but that we must seek a 'new' iconology theory. Hans Belting (2011) has taken on the concept of iconology as a particular type of 'anthropology' in his *An Anthropology of Images*. Belting has proposed that this anthropology of images is a triad: image-medium-body. Images in this framework are not simply 'viual material', but are defined by the viewer with symbolic

meaning and mental 'frame' (Belting 2011, 9). The distinction in this framework between 'image' and 'medium' allows for a discussion of how images exist within the human mind: images 'colonise' our bodies (brains), meaning that they both *affect* and *reflect* human history. Medium is thus the image as imbedded in a particular technology (painting, mosaic, photo), and body is the physical living body of the viewer (or the locus of images). Belting argues throughout his book that there has been a false dichotomy between discussing 'image' as a mental production and 'picture' as a technological production: there is no way to separate the two, and the anthropology of images can solve this by grounding the 'double nature of images' by understanding how bodies receive and transmit images.

Belting's anthropological iconology wraps art interpretation in a digestible framework, adding back in Warburg's Culture History that Panosky steered away from. Alternatively, Lorenz (2016, 35) has also proposed taking up Panfosky's version of iconology with an additional corrective: adding in the viewer to map opposing or contrasting expressions. Within this thesis, iconology is used in the broadest sense of Panosky's vision for art interpretation that 'transcends' descriptive analysis. However, it focuses primarily on the viewer – grounded, as Belting suggests, within their body's experience in time and place. This 'anthropology' of art is not at odds with Art History or art theory, but aims to avoid the pitfalls of a history of aesthetics or even a 'history of viewing' as an approach to heritage sites over time. Rather, I want to acknowledge that viewing art (and art itself) does not 'tend toward' a certain type (globally or linearly), and that frameworks for both interpretation and viewing can help **de**construct our modern modes of viewing and potentitally **re**construct ancient modes of viewing.

2.2.2. *Visual Culture*

To summarise a major problem facing the interpretation of art and viewership in the past, I would like to briefly address the term 'visual culture'. The projection of current paradigms onto historical phenomena is certainly problematic: is it possible to use contemporary theory transhistorically or transculturally? (See Frederick 2002a, 2-4, for how the problem specifically applies to Roman art history). The question of personal or cultural bias has been at the core of Anthropology's deconstruction for decades – indeed the self-critique of the culture concept continues to be a central lynchpin in

methodological discourses. Freedberg (2008, 7) has argued that the same is not true of Art History. He argues that Art History is a much more conservative discipline and so a revisionist version of the whole discipline has not emerged as it has in Anthropology (Freedberg 2008, 8). Elsner and Lorenz (2008, 33) argued that theory in Art History is currently a 'watered-down version of French-influenced post-structuralism', and a reaction against formalism, positivism, and iconology. This has led to the fragmentation (just as in archaeology) of art historical methods, with some scholars pushing away from iconology (such as Didi-Huberman 2005).

The emergence of 'Visual Culture' as a sub-discipline of Art History or Archaeology in the early 2000s could possibly be seen as an attempt to change the focus of art discourse and 'fix' fragmentation by making art theory explicitly anthropological in its definitive inclusion of the term 'culture'. Visual Culture moves the discussion of visual material away from the institutionalised art world and onto the socio-cultural function of all would-be art (broadly, any visual material) along with questions of production, context, and viewer response (see Duncum 2001 for a provisional overview of the rise of 'Visual Culture' and Cherry 2004 on whether or not is in fact a separate discipline). The bibliography for 'Visual Culture' is now quite large, though its usefulness as a category has been challenged by many, while other scholars firmly uphold it as a more egalitarian version of Art History (also of note are Duncum 2009 and 2011, since he is particularly interested in Visual Culture as a means of art education). This would seem, however, to be broadly reflective of the aims of the anthropological art theories presented above. Is 'Visual Culture' actually different, methodologically or materially, from other art theory? For some, this is a debate 'essentially of terminology' (James 2004, 524) because Art History already dealt with some or most of these questions.

Within this thesis I have used the term 'visual culture' as a broadly defined category of visual material that may or may not have functioned like 'art' in its respective time or place, but would not say that this thesis falls within a methodological category of 'Visual Culture' because it takes an anthropological stance on Art theory.

2.3. Finding the viewers: A History of 'the Gaze'

A distinct feature of both Iconoloy and Gell's art nexus are that they ignore specific discussion of viewers. In Gell's case this can possibly be explained by viewers inhabiting all of the possible positions in the nexus, but in Panfosky's case this was a purposeful omission based on his belief that focusing on individual viewer interpretation would cause circular reasoning (Lorenz 2016, 34 n. 70). This section moves away from the theory of art objects to focus on the debates centering on viewers and theories of vision. What do we mean by 'viewing'? At the most basic, we are asking: what do eyes do (physically)? But also: What are eyes *supposed* to do (socially)? So, what do they do they they look at art? John Berger's BBC programme *Ways of Seeing* (1972) perhaps introduced the gaze to the public as he stood before a bluescreen pointing to his eyeball with both hands, explaining that viewing is like a 'beam from a lighthouse' in reverse: images travel directly into our eyes and up to our brain. The idea of vision as a physical beam connecting our eyes to objects in the world was known from Classical Antiquity through theories of *intromission* and *extramission.* Aristotle treated intromission in *On Sense and the Sensible* (trans. Beare 1931): lights and colours travel to our eyes through elemental media such as air and water. The theory of extramission, where our eyes emit beams of vision rather than objects emitting beams of light, was particularly influential in the Byzantine period as the way people interacted with icons (Connor 2016, 135). In many periods of antiquity vision was not just a way to see things, but a way to *know* things.

Thus, modes and models of viewing can be culturally constructed (in as much as culture is a system of beliefs which are learned and shared), and group notions of viewing do exist in given historical and temporal contexts. In the ancient world, eyes could do many things with their gaze: 'ensoul', 'desoul', shame, honour, or worship and these codified ways of understanding vision were affected by social norms as much as visual material itself. With these considerations in mind, this section explores the scholarly notion of 'the gaze' and what it does. It will also explore how 'gaze' and 'viewing' can be applied specifically to archaeological data and historical finds. Finally, I will consider the contemporary gaze in the form of tourism, photography, and instant media.

Tracing a history of the word 'looking' is an exceedingly difficult task as not all cultures specifically wrote about how they conceptualised vision (the physical act of looking at

something) or the gaze (the conceptual notion of intentional looking, to interpret purposefully). 'The gaze' was classified by Lacan (1977) as the psychological gap between the 'thing' out there in the world and the way human eyes and brain interpret it; thus parts of an image's meaning or structure will inevitably elude us (Lacan, *Seminar XI,* 73). We already 'write' on the objects we are meant to 'read' (interpret) simply by viewing them because we do so with pre-existing knowledge – this is our education, class, circumstance, and our place in history (Panofsky 1962, 6). A 'pure gaze' - one in which we only physically look at an image's aesthetic - would be feasible if we only had eyes but no brain with which to think about what we saw. But Bourdieu argued that the concept of the 'pure gaze' is essentially an invention of modern Art History: 'Pure painting […] is meant to be beheld in itself and for itself as a painting […], the pure gaze (a necessary correlate of pure painting) is a result of a process of purification [of the discipline of Art History over time]' (1987, 207). The first step in understanding the gaze is therefore to acknowledge that there does not seem to be a scholarly consensus on its definition, and even to Lacan it was elusive and undefinable (Scott 2011, online edition) – therefore the 'history of looking' is not very straightforward.

Lacan's psychological application of the gaze has been taken on in various studies. Beginning in the 1970s psychoanalytic theory spread in all fields, and we see more application of psychoanalytical theory together with philosophical theory to the topic of vision. Thus 'gaze' became a frequently used term in critical discussion of everything from contemporary media and cinema (Mulvey 1975 – the masculine gaze), to fine art (Baxandall 1972 – the 'period eye'), architecture and space (Wilson 1992), and even pornography (Richlin 1992*)*. More recent volumes have continued this discussion of the gaze, and frequently we are moving toward discussions of 'the viewer' and representation-response frameworks when classifying 'the gaze' in various periods of antiquity (see especially Frederick ed. 2002; Elsner 1995 and 2007b; Stewart 2008). The influence of Structuralism and Anthropology can be seen in what Frederick (2002a, 2) has classified as the on going debate between 'essentialists' and 'constructivists'. Essentialists take the position that it is possible to use contemporary theory transhistorically because a continuous tradition of human habit exists, and thus we as modern people are a suitable parallel to ancient Romans. This is also the position of the feminist theories that combined with psychoanalytic theory to produce such influential critiques as Laura Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975).

Constructivists, on the other hand, do not accept that human behaviour is the same across time or space; rather, there are discontinuous periods of specific social and cultural contexts that construct social behavior and responses to visual material. Frederick (2002a, 10) describes this position as being linked to both body history (the intersection of feminist, queer activism, and structural anthropology) and Foucauldian 'panopticism' – a 'surveillance' gaze where people (usually men) police the activities of other people (other men and also women) to behave within social norms (Foucault 1975/1977 English).

In Frederick's volume, he acknowledges that all of the contributors are conscious that these theories 'contain contradictory assumptions about what "the gaze" is and has been historically' and that they are difficult to apply specifically to the Roman world (2002a, 4). As J. R. Clarke (2013, 12) notes, the 'only viewer that modern scholarly literature has given us [is] an upper-class male who knows everything because he has read all of Latin and Greek literature and has the advantage of photo archives and history books'. Increasingly, recent scholarship is attempting to combine essentialist critique of vision and the gaze with a constructivist body history, and sometimes in doing so may well make contradictory statements about their findings. Alison Sharrock circumvented this problem in her essay 'Looking at Looking' by stating it outright: viewing is fragmentary and so are the paradigms in which we discuss viewing (2002, 270). Resisting any kind of initial reading of a work of art in order to give it a new, deconstructed one can be problematic: 'It could be, I suggest, that there are some readings that, at some level, we cannot unread, even though we may seek, as a political act, to reject them, to try to deny their power over us' (Sharrock 2002, 272). A deconstruction of hierarchies (whether they be social, political, or internal to the artwork) does not make them disappear – therefore the viewer remains fragmented in their reading of an image on multiple levels.

Sharrock's paper also asks an important question about response (2002, 288): who makes meaning? Is it the artist, the piece of art itself, or the viewer? So far I have spent time arguing that meaning lies with the viewer. However, images can be set up to direct our gaze – in benign, aesthetic ways linked to their context, or in very purposeful and propagandistic ways. Artists, too, impact our gaze; in composing their artwork they bring with them their preconceived biases and existing knowledge without always consciously realising it (Panfosky's 'intrinsic' meaning). This can be framed by Bourdieu's Field Theory: an entire set of 'agents' engaged in the field of both producing and consuming

Art dictate the conditions of its materiality and also its meaning (Bourdieu 1987, 205). These 'agents' are other artists, clients and commissioners, collectors, and Art Historians and other scholars. Thus reception might change modes of production or vice versa (Bourdieu 1987, 208):

> As the field closes upon itself, the practical mastery of the specific knowledge - which is inscribed in past works, recorded, codified, and canonized by an entire body of professional experts in conservation and celebration, along with literary and art historians, exegists, and analysts - becomes a part of the conditions of access into the field of production.

Bourdieu's 'pure gaze' theory is a kind of satire about contemporary Art History: arguing over methods of interpretation as though they are the only canonical version of understanding an image is trivial in light of the fact that Art History would not exist without the artwork in the first place. This makes the distinction between analysis of form and analysis of meaning very blurry – inevitably certain forms arise in certain socio-cultural settings that also condition meaning (cf. Bourdieu 1987, 208).

David Freedberg (Columbia University) is leading new research stemming from ideas he first set out in *The Power of Images* (1989) about the relationship between art, history, and cognition. Freedberg was appointed Director of the Warburg Institute (University of London) in 2015, an institution that has traditionally been engaged with art and its transmission around the world (plus what its Mission Statement says are 'often considered the superstitious, irrational and emotional elements of cultural phenomena' - precisely what allows the Institute to produce such important contributions to the Humanities). Under his direction the institution saught projects which investigated the relationship between movement and emotion in art, and psychological responses to and reception of images that can be understood through the use of new neuroscientific paradigms (on neuroscience and art and response: Freedberg 2011; Massaro *et al.* 2012; Freedberg *Art and the Brain*, forthcoming). The application of neuroscience very directly links looking with the brain, as a physical, biological phenomenon rather than a conceptual one. It may open the possibility to understanding what happens within the human brain when people look at artwork – where their eyes move, what emotions it triggers, what memories it triggers, how movement informs our response to art, and possibly if there are similar or general responses to a work of art common across groups of people.

Thus, viewing (or looking) can be a highly reciprocal process between the artist's intentions and the viewer's reception and interpretation, with both of these counterparts situated within their respective cultural contexts. The closer we get to the present, the more this entire discussion is situated in historiographic terms within the scholarly history of artwork, the body, and the gaze. These concepts seem, and are, highly contradictory: it is possible that viewing is both period-specific and person-specific, but it is also possible to use structuralist theories to critique how the gaze has been written about historically. Below I will outline some possible ways to apply these theories to archaeological and historical data within a reader-response framework.

2.3.1.   *Reader-Response Frameworks in Archaeology*

Formal analysis of Late Roman art as a 'transformation' of style (called *Stilwandel* in German tradition, after Riegl) dominated Art History prior to the Second World War, until, as J. R. Clarke put it, 'positivist archaeology began to dominate again, with its attempt to impose catalogues on works of art in the guise of returning to true, "scientific" aims' (Clarke 1996, 376; Clarke cites examples of formalism: Riegl 1901/1984 (English); Wegner 1931; Rodenwaldt 1935). This dichotomy between Art History and Archaeology persists in the opinion of some scholars, but for others a holistic approach to viewership in the ancient world is bringing them closer together. The *way* people respond to art (broadly conceived as any visual material) and *why* they do it are two critical concepts within the study of Art and Art History. The most direct way to engage with vision in antiquity is to explore a culture's visual material. Visuality, along with reception or 'reader response', is a major topic in both Classics and Archaeology. Even if a particular culture has not written about the gaze, they are certain to have produced visual material. I have already highlighted that we interpret visual material just by the act of looking at it. In some contexts this is *implicit* knowledge contained within the image itself, and of course in others, like our own, it is an *explicit* subject of discourse.

What can the images themselves tell us about how late Roman and early Byzantine people conceptualised vision or viewing? Scholars have tackled this question by looking at broad visual programmes – like statuary, public and private wall paintings, or coins – and asking about the impact of repeating motifs across these media (Zanker 1988; 1997; Stewart 2008). Others have thought about the impact of space: how do we approach art that is also

place (Yasin 2009)? Stine Birk, Troels Myrup Kristensen and Birte Poulsen, out of Aarhus University, have published two valuable collections (*Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity,* 2012 and *Using Images in Late Antiquity,* 2014) that seek to go beyond just viewers and also ask questions about commissioners and the socio-cultural context of art as it is exchanged as a commodity. Ways of seeing are not only known through art objects. Vision can also be understood through ambulation - while walking and talking (Corbeill 2002; O'Sullivan 2011) - or through visual spectacle like gladiatorial games and theatrical performances (Kondoleon 1999).

A starting point by way of Roman imagery is outlined in Paul Zanker's major work *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1988/1990 English translation). This book concerns one of the most prominent examples of the creation of a visual language at the outset of the Roman Empire (31 BC – AD 14). Zanker was concerned with art and architecture as a mirror of the State; however, he introduced some concepts not explicitly stated in previous scholarship (such as L'Orange 1965). He tells us that he uses the phrases 'visual language' and 'visual imagery' in order to convey that he is not particularly interested in the interpretation of individual monuments, but more concerned with the overall effect that multiple visual concepts (including ritual, poetic imagery, and buildings) had on a contemporary viewer (1990, 3). In the Preface to his book, he called upon art historians and archaeologists to take responsibility for the lack of critical interest in visual art's historical contexts (1990, vi) (admittedly this can be taken as a bit dismissive of many of the works introduced here). *The Power of Images* does take into account the whole visual rhetoric of the Augustan age – urban layout, statues, coins, temples, inscriptions, triumphal monuments, personal style, private spaces and their artwork (lamps, tables, etc.), and imperial tombs among other things – in order to demonstrate how visual discourse could slowly become internalised by people through the power of social and political change. Yet, despite all of his valuable discussions, the book has no explicit discussion of 'the viewer' or everyday responses to this new visual language – the discussions are strewn throughout the book as part of this 'internalisation' of images in the Roman world during the time of Augustus (cf. the review of this volume by Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 162).

In the majority of studies about Roman art and architecture, especially those which focus on art as propaganda or political message, there is always reference to 'the viewer' – some

anonymous Everyman who does the looking. It is important to unpack this concept more fully: the audience for any group of images is bound to be a broad and varied group of people. These can be specialised people (those with knowledge of the subject), non-specialised (the 'average' person), local, foreign, public, private, gendered, adult or child, or any configuration thereof. The 'viewer' (if not explicitly stated to be one person) is therefore never a homogenised group. Zanker's 'In Search of the Roman Viewer' (1997) did tackle 'the viewer' more directly than his earlier work. It compared sculptured decoration on Roman public buildings from the early imperial period to how they appeared on coinage of the same period to help to understand contemporary perception of monuments. He concluded that early coins tended to depict a single sculpture as overly large compared to the building, while later imperial coins tended to show a whole building with a wide range of sculptures on top of it. This, he argued, was largely due to the propagandistic message of early imperial coins – one sculpture emphasised one political or ideological message (Zanker 1997, 182). Zanker also theorised that the later coins lack such strong ideological messages because the public lost interest, and, increasingly, saw lavish public buildings and their ornamentation as simply the background to daily rituals (1997, 183).

In this comparison, it is possible that viewer expectations conditioned the change in style of the coins; however, our only evidence for that is the coin programme itself. Further, comparing the coins to actual visual spaces in Rome makes it clear that not all spaces had coherent visual programmes, and so visitors could make free associations with works of art that they saw (Zanker 1997, 187). This is the fragmentary nature of the gaze – contextually, image programmes may appear coherent and therefore warrant a single reading. However, public space was inhabited by a varied public that could choose to read images in the way that suited them best. Additionally, that reading might change each time they stop to view the monument – perhaps reading it less strongly each time.

Echoing some of Zanker's methods, Peter Stewart significantly updated the corpus of scholarship on Roman statues and their function in society (2003; 2008). Arguably, work on statuary had been largely out of fashion by the time of Stewart's writing, with most previous work focused on formal analysis and collection. Stewart's *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response* (2003) analysed the mass response to art in public contexts, statues as both 'art' and as foci of public performance in the city of Rome and

especially in the Forum Romanum. He examined the role of statues as a social object based on the language repeatedly used to describe them – *statua*, a familiar, common Latin word for statue; *simulacrum* or *signum* for a statue of a god; and *imago* literally meaning 'image', often used to describe a bust (2003, 20-21). Rather than treating statues as 'sculpture', Stewart questioned how 'statues' as a collective category existed in the minds of Roman people being that they were so ubiquitous in the city of Rome (2003, 12). This broader scope allowed him to draw conclusions about the cityscape and to recognize where statues were part of active ceremony versus where they became background or decorative objects due to their stationary nature. Roman responses to these statues were largely couched in whether or not they were 'lifelike' or simply 'statuesque' (Stewart 2003, 36), but increasingly into Late Antiquity they were considered background objects unless they were moved or paraded in order to draw attention to them (2003, 149). This dichotomy is as much reflected in Stewart's own analysis of what it meant for a statue to be 'powerful': in the Principate and early Empire 'powerful' could be taken to mean that the statues literally 'contained power', while, as noted above, in the modern sense we tend to ask whether or not the response to the statue is powerful and perhaps why that is so (2003, 298).

J. R. Clarke puts himself in the middle of what he calls 'the new Roman art history' - a theoretical standpoint that 'seeks to understand how, in specific circumstances, visual representation functioned within a multi-layered system of communication' (2003, 3). This means he can ask questions not only about form or changes in style, but about context, patrons, commissioners, and viewers. Clarke has often asked 'where are the voices of the marginal people?' (2002, 150). His *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans* (2003) moves the focus of Roman art to considerations of the non-elite: freeborn working poor, foreigners, and freedmen/former slaves. His book analyses art in its original context (houses, public spheres, social spaces like public taverns or entertainment venues, tombs and sarcophagi) in order to question the patron's notion of their own social status as ordinary or non-elite. His approach to 'ordinary' viewers is quite different from that of Elsner, in fact Clarke believes Elsner's literary approach is too elite-centred. Instead, he constructs 'what if' scenarios for his imagined ordinary Romans (2003, 12). These scenarios, he admits, are an exercise in historical imagination, for he cannot reconstruct the responses with any certainty. In his analysis of the decorative frieze on the Ara Pacis, for example, Clarke (2003, 28) constructs a few such scenarios using ordinary families

and working-class rural people who may have been attracted by its floral and pastoral scenes:

> I propose that for such Romans the "decorative" frieze would have been a magnet with much greater power than the processional or mythological panels; these are people who would have spent many an hour discussing the natural world and its inhabitants in front of these conspicuously placed and elegantly carved reminders of the natural world they knew so well and missed so much. The very artificiality of the frieze, especially the way the artist grafted foliage and flowers from different plants into the acanthus, must have evoked comment. People might have brought their children there to play at finding all the creatures and identifying them. There were plenty hidden among the foliage: a scorpion, lizards, birds, frogs, a butterfly, grasshoppers, cicadas, birds, snakes, a snail. Popular beliefs and stories about each of these animals and insects - like those that scholars have gleaned from elite literature - would have been the stuff of the conversations between parent and child, between one viewer and another.

Clarke's scenarios are another example of fragmented gaze: that there is a traditional, likely 'authoritative' reading (or set of readings) of the Ara Pacis and its friezes – the narratives of Pax Romana, victory, and allegorical mythology – but that does not mean this reading was the one taken in by the ordinary viewer as they pass by or contemplate the image. Clarke's method, although he does not say so, is a version of 'thick description' for the past.

'Space' and 'place' are also used to contextualise images, and although many scholars are engaged in the practice of describing and understanding spaces that humans use (e. g. Agnew 1987; Cresswell 2004), both are loose academic terms without specific definitions. Place is another way by which we understand the world and make it meaningful through human agency. This is why context is so utterly important for understanding viewership. Many things happen(ed) in or around public or religious built space – ritual, sacrifice, parades, ceremony, weddings, coronations, markets, festivals, and general daily coming-and-going through a city. Two recurring arguments arise concerning public space and its architecture in antiquity: (i) that the strategic placement of images in urban settings was propagandistic and related to specific visual reference points (Birk et al. 2014), and (ii) that all public architecture is simply the background or 'stage' for civic and religious ceremony (Zanker 1997; Doig 2008; Von Simson 1987). Sometimes, though, we lack context because ancient objects or images have been moved, broken, or reused in a later period and so we know very little about their original context. This is when the 'period eye' or context specific gaze matters: the local interpretation of

art cannot be measured if context is lost. We have to turn to comparative sources, analogous methodology, and sometimes simply have to take a single object as a point of reference for a particular motif. Alternatively, the lack of original context can lead to observations about a particular image's reuse and reception at a later time, or a paradigm shift in the reception of images (notably in the transition from 'pagan' to Christian art).

2.3.2. *Text and Images*

Yet analysing visual material to understand viewing can only go so far in what it might tell us. To explore how ancient people thought about vision (not simply 'what did they think about images') we have to turn to their texts. The relationship between text and image together has been highly debated. It has been argued that our modern, Western conception of text and language as they relate to images can be traced directly back to the sixteenth century Protestant revolution and subsequent era of iconoclasm (Squire 2009, 17). This iconoclastic debate, led by Martin Luther, held that images were idolatrous, and only acceptable if they were controlled by textual descriptions (i.e. if you were given the signified from the signifier). The difficulty of this idea was summarized by Squire: 'an image cannot be reduced to the terms of a text, nor a text to the image of a picture' (2009, 38). Squire's overview of twentieth-century scholarship echoes Frederick's (2002) discussion of the Roman gaze - there are essentialists on one side and historicists on the other - but Squire's criticism is that the modern frameworks that have been applied to past conceptions of viewing have not themselves been critical of their own ideological derivation (2009, 88). To complicate the matter, Frederick suggested that ocularcentrism is key to understanding Roman vision, whereby seeing was thought to be the most important sense, and so images hold great importance; whereas Squire says that modern scholarship is entrenched in a logocentric paradigm in which texts are always more important than images. Accordingly, this section will give a brief overview of the different ways that texts and images from the ancient and early medieval worlds have been analysed together in an attempt to understand their parallel, if often complex, role in the visual.

Texts allow us some insight into the mind of individual viewers. Granted, this is normally a male, elite view of the world and one that privileges both the literate and the centre (in capitals like Rome or Constantinople). However, literature might also let us in on some

of those invisible contextual factors, like sensory experience (smell, touch, taste) and how it adds to the interpretation of a given space or set of images. And it gives us direct language with which ancient people communicated what they saw. One such type of text for analysis is *ekphrasis* –'descriptions' of a work of art, or narrative that aims to produce a viewer experience in some way (see Elsner 1995 and 2007b and Webb 2009 for various definitions of the genre). These can describe actual works of art, but more often are an imagined scene or even a visual representation of something from a text. Ekphrasis is very much a literary genre, but it is a reading that is also a 'viewing' in how it evokes a sense of direction, place, and quality (Elsner 1995 25; 28). Generally, these are not works *about* viewing, they are works intended to make the listener 'see' (Webb 2009, 2); thus they represent perhaps the most enmeshed version of 'texts and images' because it is text that produces an 'image' (in Belting's definition). Not all texts that 'describe' a work of art can be considered ekphrasis by classical definition. And it has also been noted that 'for the ekphrasist as art historian or archaeologist, as committed to representing (never replicating) a specific and special object, the actuality of the thing described matters very much' (Bartsch and Elsner 2007, v). Thus, ekphrasis as an 'archaeological source' has been a somewhat problematic methodology, even more so when considering Byzantine ekphraseis, as outlined by James and Webb (1991).

Jaś Elsner has tackled the usefulness of ekphrasis to art analysis several times over. In his first book, *Art and the Roman Viewer* (1995), based on his PhD thesis, Elsner sought to explain the transition from Classical art to 'late antique' art not through a change in style or form, but through the change in interpretations by its viewers (1995, 5). Elsner defined viewing as 'one activity in which people confront the world' (1995, 4). This is somewhat vague, but is in line with Geertz's 'Art as a Cultural System' (1976): meaning is the result of the viewer and their worldview. He strongly disagreed with the argument that late antique art was a lesser form of Classical art or that there was a 'decline' in the style or quality of artwork in Late Antiquity. His approach was a broad-spectrum deconstructive analysis of artwork from Augustus to Justinian, in which he analysed texts specific to each period which could be considered ekphrasis.

Elsner's book explores viewing 'society' through the lens of Roman houses and the text of Vitruvius, and further explores viewing the sacred through the mosaics in St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai and the text of Gregory of Nyssa. He concluded that the 'transformation' of

art from naturalism in the Classical world to abstraction in Late Antiquity happened because of a cultural shift in the way patrons saw their art. Art in Late Antiquity was heavily semiotic and religious; it was 'scriptural' rather than natural (1995, 88). In his view, pagan art in the Roman Empire could be interpreted much like its literature – in terms of irony, satire, deconstruction or parody; Christian art had to be interpreted as 'image' of something 'beyond' – everything about it is allegorical. This book was met with greatly varied critiques. Clarke's review in the *JRA* made very clear his disagreements with Elsner's premise and methods (1996), accusing Elsner of historicism and of ignoring scholarly tradition, even proclaiming as a sin the fact that Elsner appeared to have not read Riegl and other German *Stilwandel* scholars (1996, 376). While Elsner's first book is perhaps a less successful total synthesis than Zanker's *Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, nonetheless he continued to engage with visuality and reader-response in his later works (2002, 2007b).

A recent volume entitled *Viewing Inscriptions* (Eastmond ed. 2015) tackles text from a different perspective – as pieces of visual art. Eastmond notes in his Introduction that most often inscriptions are studied as texts and rarely have they been looked at for their visual qualities (2015, 2). Yet they have spatial, scriptural, and stylistic elements to them because they are meant to be viewed in a particular setting, not as a transcription. Many forms of viewership are addressed in this volume by its various authors. Central to the main theme is the question of literacy: who reads inscriptions? This is a question of education, but also of the placement and readability of inscriptions in the first place. Eastmond proposes a 'sliding scale' of literacy in which the further down one goes, the greater the emphasis on *viewing* the inscription rather than reading it (2015, 4). Yasin's paper in the volume looks at devotional graffiti left by pilgrims who visited churches, catacombs, and early Christian cult sites; this very small version of text, she says, is a physical manifestation of a devotional practice – even if a person could not read or write completely, they could recognize simple names and symbols and often knew how to sign their own name (2015, 40). The practice of graffiti was widespread and frequent around the early medieval world and seemed to call up a sense of 'popular piety' in which the graffiti added to the sacredness of the space as more and more devotees scribbled a prayer and/or left their name.

Text, as language, literature, or script, relates to images in many ways. First text can give us words used for certain types of visual media and for categorizing visual material. It can also be used to make a word picture, or a pictorial scene in the form of ekphrasis; these literary pictures allow us access to precise narratives of visual material that evoke viewer experiences (i.e., a mose of seeing). Finally, we can see how text itself can be an image, but this topic needs much more study to expand our understanding of more mundane texts such as inscriptions, graffiti, and even such small text as an artist or craftsman's signature. Squire suggested that to overcome the supposed distinction between texts (and language) and images we must pay attention to the early modern sense of theological conditioning that influenced western thought, even if we believe ourselves to now be in a secularist, post-structuralist stance on Art History (2009, 89) . Text does not simply 'caption' the image, nor does an image simply 'illustrate' a text (Squire 2009, 297) – their relationship is much more complicated and entwined when thinking about the viewer experience. Text and image enhance the understanding of each other.

2.3.3. Visual Anthropology for the Tourist Gaze

As this chapter has so far demonstrated, the cross-disciplinary scholarship on text, image, and ways of viewing is substantial. However, by and large, most people who visit heritage sites do not prepare by critically engaging with scholarship. They prepare in much quicker ways: by reading guide books, searching for photos on the internet, or perhaps engage in film or television tourism after viewing one or the other media (as, admittedly, I have done). Commodification of heritage sites was briefly addressed in Chapter 1, but this section will address the opposite side of the coin: consumption (note that tourism in Ravenna in historic periods, such as the Grand Tour and the nineteenth-century Romantic period, will be covered in Chapter 6). Thus, our modern gaze is largely affected by consumption products and modern media.

'Tourists' as a category comprises several groups - from specialists in the field and/or their students, to an ordinary holiday-goers. How do we bridge the gap between these two worlds? How do we communicate our research and understanding of monuments and space to audiences who may only be interested in heritage tourism as an experience, and, who possibly create a meaningful experience through consumption rather than education (Richards 1996, 262-263)? This section thus turns to the modern tourist experience to

gain a clearer conception of how consumption of heritage sites, and especially how photography and instant media, help form a specific type of 'tourist gaze'. This reveals itself to be a rather important area of engagement in that the scholarship on actual material (sites, buildings, the archaeological data) seems to be wholly separate from scholarship on tourism as a branch of heritage management or social consumption. And, just as Squire has observed that current critical paradigms are influenced by historic thought paradigms, I believe our concept of the visual is heavily influenced by modern consumption culture.

Speaking specifically about the rise of the middle class in America in the mid-twentieth century and their consumption culture, Boorstin noted the use of the word 'attraction' to gain tourists' attention (1964, 103). 'Attraction' as a word used to describe a place or experience a consumer might like has only been used since the 1860s – perhaps not coincidentally in conjunction with the rise of photography. The word itself suggests some kind of 'drawing in' just the way a particularly well-staged photograph might. The advent of photography, and especially the Internet, has greatly changed the way we access and view heritage sites. Tourists now have the advantage of being able to plan not only what they want to see, but exactly how they want to see a monument before they travel (a point made by Sally Crawford, co-director of Oxford's Historic Environment Image Research (HEIR) project, Oct. 21 2015). Individuals can have a pre-conceived idea of what a site looks like before going there because they are able to scan a plethora of photos online. They also engage in the performance of tourism by selecting and sharing their own photos - an act that Lo and McKrecher (2015) say is rapidly changing and defining the 'tourist gaze'.

The tourist gaze has been defined as a socially-constructed desire to share differences of place and time (Lo and McKrecher 2015, 106), but it has also been argued that the tourist gaze is 'fading' as it becomes enmeshed with everyday life and the performance of self on social media (Urry and Larsen 2011). Tourist photos, therefore, do not look much different from other photos of daily activities. This research suggests that young tourists especially (ages 18-35) might be more influenced by the expectation of the audience of their photos than they are by the actual space and place they visit (Lo and McKrecher 2015, 107). Tourism as social performance is linked to class, education, and social geography. Critical feminist theory has taken this into consideration to analyse the construction of tourist landscapes and their promotion in the West: Pritchard and Morgan

(2000, 892) found that, historically, tourist advertisements have been constructed for a particular white, western, male, heterosexual gaze. Further, landscapes themselves could be gendered, especially landscapes in the developing world which seem to be written as exotic and female, awaiting exploration (Pritchard and Morgan 2000, 89). Tourism is rational, scientific, exploratory and sometimes imperial – all things that traditionally appeal to a male gaze. What is yet unclear is the intersection of gendered landscapes in the West. Ten years ago Hunter noted that 'in tourism studies, researchers have yet to establish the relationship between the phenomenon of imagery and the mechanism of its discourses, the iconography of the tourism experience' (2007, 356). This 'iconography' of tourism has the potential power to sell heritage locations, or rewrite and erase certain histories, particularly those in endangered locations (Hunter 2008, 364). Heritage sites are important nationally and supra-nationally, but they are also important for the private narratives of identity and meaning making that happen when people engage with both visual and experiential spaces. These private meanings - an individual's gaze - are often presented in a photograph.

Roland Barthes is often famously quoted as saying about a photograph that 'a pipe […] is always […] a pipe' (1980, 5). He meant that a photograph is always the thing that is pictured, and is a purely self-referential medium. Photography might be a 'pure gaze' (as Barthes would have it), if we take it as a literal and exact capture of a moment in time. But photographs are a medium that reads as both Art and personal object, primary source and contemporary artefact. Photos can be modified or manipulated with software and filters, and often enough photos are staged, particularly tourist photos (Fig. 2.1), selfies, and advertisements. However, I do not feel this detracts from their usefulness. Early photographs were far more expensive and time consuming to produce and process compared to how rapidly we are able to take photos and store them instantly on digital cameras or on our phones or tablets today. That seems to suggest that taking a tourist photo in the past had to be for something extraordinary, 'worth' the price of the film. Encountering 'the ordinary' does not seem to warrant many historical, or even contemporary, photos (Lo and McKrecher 2015, 110). Unfortunately that means that many 'ordinary' scenes are lost to us even with the advantage of photography, but photos do capture and record, albeit accidentally, information that may otherwise be lost: a building that is now torn down, the arrangement inside of a room that has been refurbished or refurnished, a sign or advertisement for something and so on.

Notably, photographs might also capture historians and archaeologists in the midst of practice. As we know very little about excavation methods a century ago, photographs can provide records that do not exist otherwise (Verhart 2008, 224). While Barthes felt that photographs have the same relation to History as biographeme has to biography (1980, 30) – that perhaps they only add interesting trivia or emotionality to what is otherwise the 'real' or authoritative recording of facts - arguably, photographs can be much more important to the study of historic landscapes than mere minutiae. Historic photographs capture processes that might not have been written about in an excavation report, or perhaps only in a report that went unpublished.
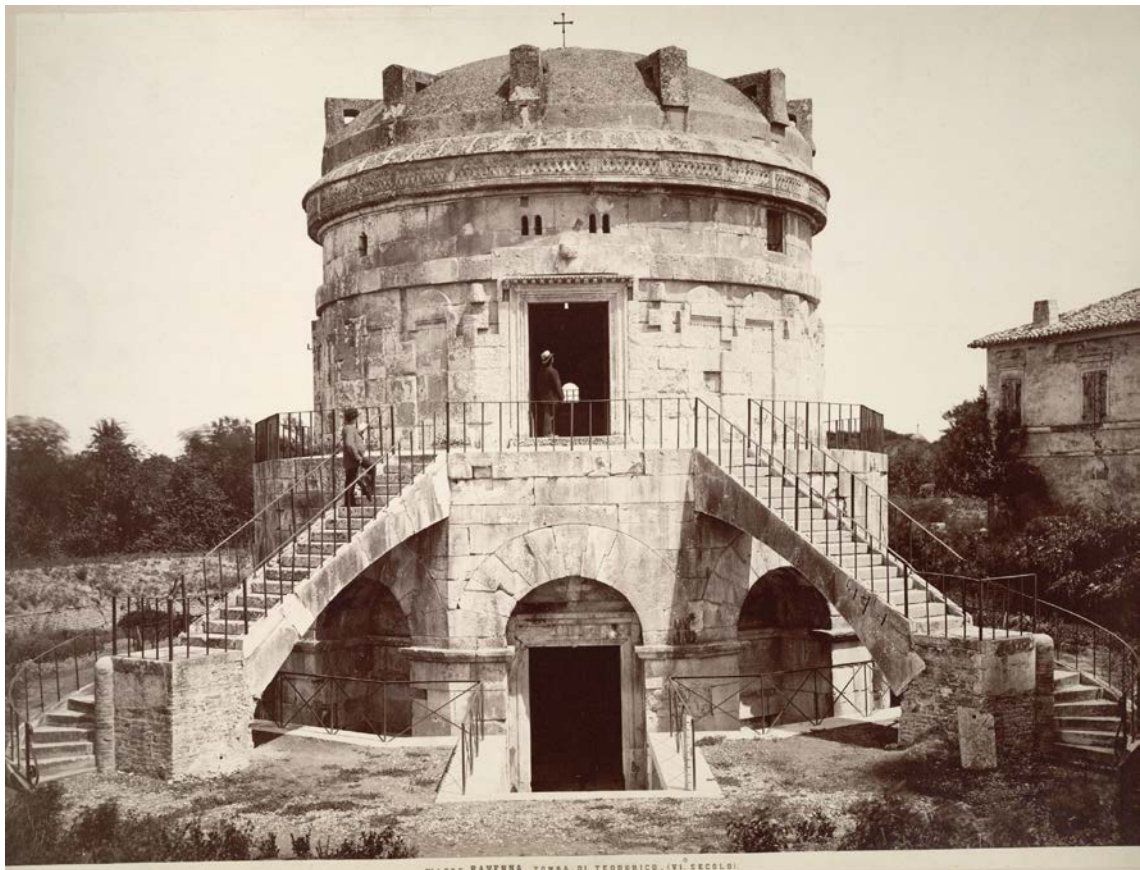
Figure 2.1 Tourists admiring Theoderic's Tomb in Ravenna. Fratelli Alinari, 1865-95. Andrew Dickson White Architectural Photograph Collection, #15-5-3090. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Photographic collections often languish in boxes both in North American and European institutions, especially the large corpus of nineteenth-century tourist photographs that

seem to exist in huge numbers because of the emerging popularity of the (then) new medium. Many of these photographs remain unpublished and only held in public institutions for scholarly use. A recent conference in Aquileia brought together a body of work on unpublished photographic archives in Italy and how they might be useful to researchers (proceedings published by *Quanderni Friulani di Archaeologia* 2016). Many of these photographic archives are underused. As one example, from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection on Ravenna, relevant boxes are labelled with as much information as they might have: 'Box 104 Italy > Ravenna > Churches > S. Apollinare in Classe (9 photos)', 'Box 30 Italy > Ravenna > San Vitale Presbytery (57 photos)'. More specific than that, however, requires access to the physical collection (ideally, but this is often a matter of time, travel, and especially of money). Many libraries, even one as large and well-funded as Dumbarton Oaks, do not have a dedicated archivist to pull these collections for individual research and instead ask for a sum of money for digitized or printed copies of the photographs, plus the time of the staff member who must do it.

How does the tourist gaze affect presentation of research? Viewing and the tourist gaze are complex in that narratives are formed both before tourism (in viewing photographs, films, guide books, etc. – what is a place like?) and after (in reviewing and selecting photos to share – what was my experience of that place?) Even if we do not engage directly with tourism research, the fields of Heritage and Archaeology, and the consumer culture inherent in the tourism industry, are all linked through their production of knowledge. It has been noted that 'consumers of heritage tourism are either the witless dupes of a commodity production system or they are the originators of authentic modern cultural products' (Richards 1996, 265). As if in response, some museums and archives, such as the Brooklyn Museum in New York and the HEIR project out of Oxford, are making a concerted effort to digitize their collections and make them available for public and scholarly use through open access websites like Wikimedia Commons. These open access platforms provide opportunities for the distribution of knowledge, and add to the growing visual catalogue of online resources that might aid the private narratives formed between tourist and heritage site. It also aids in the dialogue between institution and public as Wikimedia (and its parent company Wikipedia) comprises an open-source platform that allows community editing and sharing, and similarly HEIR's tagging project and phone app (http://www.heirtagger.ox.ac.uk/) are crowd-sourced in that they allow anyone to add information to existing images (by 'tagging' them with pre-set themes) or upload

new images of certain places to the database. These platforms might well teach us about community expectations, 'public' versus 'specialist' gaze, and how we might use the rapidly evolving environment of the tourist gaze (social media, the internet) to gauge methods of education and dissemination of knowledge.

2.4. Concluding Remarks: Images and Viewing in Late Antique and Early Medieval Contexts

If Frederick was right in his argument that within the history of philosophy and discussion of the gaze in particular 'Rome has been cast as the uninteresting sequel to Greece' (2002, 6), then surely Late Antiquity has been seen as an even less interesting sequel to Classical Antiquity as a whole. We tend to conceptualise monuments and buildings in antiquity just as they are presented to us today – restored, cleaned, well lit, and made accessible to tourist traffic. And while the popular mental image of 'ancient Rome' is a world busy with marble temples, monumental baths, gladiators and games, the post-classical world is far less imagined. Yet the periods of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the beginning of the proverbial 'Dark Ages', in fact saw innovative architecture and artistic vitality, especially in a context of Christianisation. But, do we call all of this craftsmanship 'art'?

Traditionally, early Byzantine art was thought of, as Robin Cormack called it, as 'Rome with a Christian face' (2000, 1). This is reflected in the outputs of the early Dumbarton Oaks scholars such as André Grabar, Ernst Kantorowicz and H. P. L'Orange, who certainly influenced the early interpretations of Ravenna's art and mosaics (See Chapter 3). Contention in their works arose around the subject of the Roman or Byzantine Emperor in comparison to depictions of Christ: did Christian art only borrow from Roman imperial art? Mathews (1993, 20) dubbed this the 'Emperor Mystique', a theory that he believed no one had questioned between the 1930s and the 1990s because so much of the scholarship was driven by the outputs from Dumbarton Oaks. This assertion may be too sweeping, as several studies discussed already did expand the study of imperial and theological images before 1990.

Much of the work of these early scholars have been updated and expanded upon. For instance, Gilbert Dagron's *Emperor and Priest* (2003) is a very well-rounded study of

imperial ceremony in Byzantium that helps update some of the problems presented by Kantorowicz (1957). Dagron uses the reign of Constantine to demonstrate one of the central arguments in his book: the organisation of Church and State in the Eastern Empire proved the 'two powers' or 'two bodies' theory to be problematic (2003, 2). He strongly argued against problematizing the separation of Church and State in the minds of late antique people (128): in the East, these institutions were completely enmeshed and therefore the emperor acted as a kind of king-priest. Dagron argues that imperial Christianity (the Emperor's religion) was 'Old Testament', meaning that the emperor derived his kingship by divine right, but Christianity of the Empire was 'New Testament' and clergy-oriented, especially in the West (104). The connection between power and ceremony in the East, especially in later Byzantine periods, was a form of memory recall in which the emperors sought to 'surround themselves with symbols' (203).

'Late Antiquity' as a periodisation is a term that is perhaps only 45 years old. It has its proponents – notably Peter Brown who introduced us to *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971), but also Avril Cameron (1993), G. W. Bowersock and Oleg Grabar (1999). Conversely, there are sceptics and those who have preferred period terms like 'Late Roman' or 'Early Medieval' over 'late antique' – arguably Bryan Ward-Perkins, Wolf Liebeschuetz, and Chris Wickham (see James 2008 for a discussion of the rise and function of Late Antiquity as a concept). The first problem, perhaps, is the very broad timespan that ranges from c. AD 200 to 700 with no strong consensus on its exact beginning or ending. It encompasses the final centuries of the Roman Empire in the West and the rise of the Byzantine Empire in the East. This characterisation is manifested in H. P. L'Orange's (1965) proclamation about the period of the Tetrarchy (c. AD 294-313) that 'the everyday life of the average man – his whole political, economic, and social life – was transformed during Late Antiquity' (1965, 3). This generalisation effectively supposes that a 'Classical' Roman went to bed one night in the fourth century and woke up the next morning believing himself to now be a 'Late' Roman (and notably L'Orange used the periodisation 'Late Antiquity' before Brown's book).

The characterisation for radical change or broad continuity with the Roman period has to do with region of study: it has been argued that Late Antiquity is a useful periodisation for the southern and eastern parts of the Mediterranean to discuss continuity between Late Roman and early Byzantine cultural products; but it is distinctly less useful for

Merovingian/Frankish Gaul, Visigothic Spain, and Anglo-Saxon England, or for any of the models which propose decline in post-Roman Italy (see Liebeschuetz 2001; Ward-Perkins 2005). Ravenna occupies an interesting position within the periodisation. Its art and architecture span from Late Roman to early Byzantine styles, making it exemplary of the periodisation of 'Late Antiquity' – the reason why I have so far used these terms interchangeably or in tandem. Broadly speaking, using the term 'Late Antiquity' helps to link concepts across the fifth and sixth centuries in Ravenna, but using 'late Roman' or 'early Byzantine' might help clarify certain cultural modes of viewing (should we be able to distinguish 'late Roman' from 'early Byzantine' at all).

Accordingly, I would like to flag some key points as we move from Roman modes of display and viewing to early medieval contexts. First, the range of art in this latter period mostly includes, not entirely, but substantially, theological themes that were interpreted within the bounds of theological viewing (Elsner 1995, 88). This means that some of the paradigms discussed above that have been used to critique Roman modes of viewing will not be as suited to analyse material that was regarded with intensely Christianised connotations in the Byzantine period. As already noted, theories about vision and what it does were ubiquitous in the Greco-Roman world from Plato's praise of vision to Aristotle's theory of intromission. While the focus on vision as a primary sense continued into the Byzantine period, it became imbued with a sense of what images do in return, especially in the case of a religious icon (discussed in Chapter 5).

This thesis will not engage with many Byzantine sources about art and architecture, largely because (as noted in Chapter 1) those sources for the Byzantine West are absent. Additionally, as with ekphrasis, analysing any type of text for objective reconstruction holds the assumption that texts function like the actual work of art in what they can tell us about an image, or possibly that we are able to 'extract' lost Byzantine art from their texts (James 1996b for an overview of this theme). However, what the texts might do is reveal the nature of the Byzantine gaze. It has often been observed that Byzantine descriptions of their own art differ greatly from modern perception of their art, and that Byzantine writers did not discern any differences between their own art and art of the Classical period (see Mango 1963, 65; Maguire 1974, 113), establishing the consensus that Byzantine writers must have used ancient ekphrasis as a model for their descriptions. This debate (and indeed observation of this debate) is long suffering in Byzantine Art

studies (see Grigg 1987 for an overview; also see Cormack 1977; Maguire 1974; Grigg 1984).

Grigg (1987, 4) argued for a Byzantine model of thinking in which Byzantines might have seen the differences between two *specific* works of art, but might not have recognized these differences as representative of the *general* difference between their art and the art of pervious periods, especially the art of classical antiquity. Grigg's (1987, 5) central point was that Byzantine people did not have a critical framework concerning time or the origin of their own artwork (i.e. that it is AFTER Greek or Roman artwork) because they believed their artwork WAS ancient Christian artwork that began around the time of Christ and had been copied over for many centuries. However, Liz James (1996b, 14) has sufficiently refuted Grigg's claim on the basis that it misrepresents what Byzantine writing is about. The most prevalent concern of all Byzantine writing 'about art' is that images are powerful, and this can be conveyed through a number of different cultural attitudes toward and responses to different types of art (James 1996b, 15).

I would further question why Byzantine people would be required to have a critical framework concerning ancient artwork in order to comment upon (or respond to) their own. There was a great deal of internalised knowledge in the Byzantine world about how certain types of artwork like mosaics were made, and their production alone was part of the reason they were so highly regarded. Mosaic was the primary medium for Byzantine artwork, and it is, to be sure, a technically difficult one that demands the right conditions for viewing (such as light and setting). As James (1996a, 2) noted, 'coloured glass is not a flexible medium', it required skill and artistry to master.

A second consideration regards access to images: most of the images discussed in this thesis appear either inside basilicas or in an outdoor space such as an attached courtyard. There are practical aspects of viewing to consider – did people sit or stand in a church? Could they see all of the decorative programmes at once? Were they made to always view from the same place? Could they go in when there was not a service or ceremony? They also provide more intimate spaces for viewing – small personal chapels, altars, or small *monasteria* for particular saints. Nearly all spaces inside of the church were set up in conjunction with a performance of the liturgy – a chancel for the clergy to read scripture, seating for the priests and choir, spaces for procession of the offertory and communion,

and, depending on the shape of the basilica, multiple entrance points for procession of the clergy, including the bishop (Doig 2008, 91). The multiple sensory inputs of a church space imply that ecclesiastical architecture arose in response to ecclesiastical performance.

A third aspect is the judgement value we make when looking at art produced in the past. Understandably, we often hold up extant artwork as very important because of its very existence, but the reality is that extant material is very scant compared to the mass of material we have lost. When did monuments or statues lose their value as display pieces and become 'junk', or decoration, or something to be removed or recycled? For instance, although there is a strong epigraphic record for the existence of imperial statues or statue groups in Rome and Constantinople, very few still exist. This is largely because the material of choice for honorific sculpture in the Roman Empire was cast bronze. By the Middle Ages, however, bronze became valuable as a scrap metal to be melted down and reused, leaving us with only marble statues to study (Højte 2005, 30). In the early sixth century Cassiodorus, Theoderic's court scribe, already laments the poor state of Rome's statues and how little care they were given (*Variae* 7.13; 7.15). His letter suggests that old imperial statues were perhaps losing their meaning as honorific sculpture and were becoming increasingly an historic nuisance. Capital cities like Rome or Constantinople, crowded with older monuments, had to look for new public spaces to erect monuments for current monarchs and wealthy aristocrats. In the early ninth century we have record of imperial statues being lifted as cultural heritage prizes – such as when Charlemagne carted off the equestrian statue of Theoderic from Ravenna to his palace in Aachen (*LPR* 94). The translation of images had the potential to transform their meaning, and thus their reading. There will be some 'readings' that are indeed non-readings when images became broken or unrecognizable and simply reads as 'decoration'.

A final concern, and one that will be explored across this thesis, is how artwork arrived in public spaces. Who were the major players in the commissioning artwork, monuments, and churches? Who looked at this art? For the purposes of a discussion about the late antique world, we are talking about the mix of people within late Roman and early Byzantine cities. This is first a somewhat ethnographic question, but also one of settlement patterns. How people came to live in a place and the socio-cultural beliefs they brought with them necessarily had an impact on their interpretation of symbols (explored

in Chapters 4 and 5). That does not mean that one group cannot understand or accept the symbols of another, or that there are no cross-cultural symbols which belong to many groups at once in the ancient or modern worlds, indeed, several examples will be explored later. Any cohesive notion of what 'Roman' viewing meant in Late Antiquity is difficult to agree upon, since viewing was extremely fragmentary just as identities were. Liturgical viewing, on the other hand, may provide us space to make assumptions about how people were at least supposed to read the decorations. Byzantine viewing spans both the Eastern and Western parts of the (former) Empire, but, as Chapter 5 will explore, the two halves disagreed on the role of images in the Church, especially in the eighth and ninth centuries.

This chapter has demonstrated the place of this thesis within broader disciplines; though Ravenna is the core site of study, the wider study of images and approaches to them ranges several disciplines, including but not limited to Archaeology, Art History, Architectural History, and Anthropology. In my opinion, these studies can be broken down into two broad categories: (i) studies which focus on 'the viewers' (i.e. how people view art or monuments, responses to art in public spaces) or (ii) studies which focus on materials themselves (i.e. formal aesthetic and/or architectural studies). This thesis largely falls into the first category, with a focus on viewership and reception of images in Late Antiquity and beyond.

Chapter 3. A Historiography of Ravenna

3.1. Introduction

Ravenna has a long history of publications, but, tellingly, the majority of these have been traditionally written by Ravennate locals: bishops, priests, local historians or antiquarians, librarians, and institutional heads (for a longer overview of the history of scholarship on Ravenna see Deliyannis 2010, 5-13 and David 2013, 7-15). This tradition of 'Ravennate' history was especially prominent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, exemplified in the creation of the local journal *Felix Ravenna* in 1911 led by Corrado Ricci. Detailed studies of the city's heritage are still largely Italian language only, although general studies of Ravenna's history and artwork are now quite numerous (e.g. Deichmann 1969-89; Andreescu-Treadgold 1994; Bassett 2008; Deliyannis 2010). Many of these studies are heavy on formalism, as they focus on the iconography and meaning within the images, and on the placement of these images into a wider historical or art-historical context. Pieces of Ravenna, especially the imperial panels, become part of a series of studies about 'early Christian' or 'late antique' art, or 'imperial iconography' wherein they represent the last 'Roman' imperial portraits or are a kind of 'sum up' to Roman art (Elsner 1995 and Reece 1999 in particular). From the standpoint of 'popular' publication about Ravenna, the Italian guidebooks about artwork and mosaics remain widely popular in local shops (Fig. 3.1).

Figure 3.1 A row of typical guidebooks in any number of shops/monuments in Ravenna. The book put together by Guiseppi Bovini, *Ravenna: Mosaics and Monuments* in 1991 still lines shelves in many languages. Photo by author.

Even today, a good portion of publications are locally produced by the Longo Editore, a publishing house in the centre of Ravenna that has been in operation since 1965. This chapter's survey of publications on Ravenna (its history, art, monuments, or churches) also reveals the strong gap in applied theory to a city which has been regularly studied, in modern terms, since the nineteenth century.

3.2.   Ravenna's First Historian: Andrea Agnellus

The tradition of Ravennate people writing Ravenna's history begins with Agnellus' *Liber Pontificalis ecclessiae Ravennatis* in the ninth century. The *LPR* contains a biography of each Bishop of Ravenna from the episcopate's mythical foundation with Saint Apollinaris (for whom we do not have secure dates, but he was perhaps a disciple of St. Peter) up to Archbishop George (c. 837-846) in Agnellus' own time, written over a period of possibly fifteen years between 831-846 (Deliyannis 2004 15-16 for a discussion of possible chronologies). This text, as T. S. Brown (1986b, 107) noted, 'had no apparent impact outside Ravenna and it is highly idiosyncratic in its approach'. The *LPR* was not made more readily available until it was published in 1708 by Benedetto Bacchini, the librarian of the Duke of Modena (Paris: 1864; preprint of Milan: 1723). A full-text Latin version

was also published by Oswald Holder-Egger in 1878, which remained the most popular Latin text used for translation until recently. The foremost twentieth century scholar on Agnellus was Alessandro Testi Rasponi who published the first Italian version of the *LPR* in 1924. This version remained unfinished - with the text only translated up through chapter 103 - but it was widely read and used by many scholars, and cited frequently, for example, by Deborah Deliyannis in her English (2004) and Latin (2006) editions.

Part of the reason Agnellus has remained relatively unknown for so long has to do with how he compares to other medieval historians and hagiographers – he writes quite personally, and often colloquially, making it difficult to take him serious as an historian (Pizarro 1995, 4). Brown (1986b, 108) called the *LPR* 'tediously homiletic' and 'a confused, exasperating pot-pourri of a work'. Reception of this work depends largely upon what we look for in Agnellus' text: the colloquial and personal aspects of his writing make him appealing as a window to his specific context in Ravenna in the ninth century. While I have briefly introduced Agnellus in Chapter 1 as the 'tour guide' of this thesis, we actually know very little about him or his life, and for this reason few modern scholars have written about him (Archaeologist: Nauerth 1974; Literary scholar: Pizarro 1995; Historian: Deliyannis 1996; 2004). The only information that we have comes directly from his own writing: Agnellus was a local priest raised to the position of 'abbot'; he was thirty-two years old at the time of composition (*LPR* 54); he presumably came from a wealthy family (Deliyannis 2004, 7-9 for overview of his possible family tree); and he was likely born and raised in Ravenna and not particularly well-travelled. Deliyannis summed up the totality of our knowledge of Agnellus' life in one sentence: 'a nobly born, wealthy young priest, educated within the Church, abbot of two *monasteria*, and owner of a luxurious house in the centre of town' (2004, 13).

The world in which we meet Agnellus is a small one, basically composed of Ravenna and its environs. He mentions two other cities to which he has travelled – the farthest of which was Pavia, where he had seen Theoderic's palace (*LPR* 94), and an estate called Argentea (*LPR* 89), located 44 km northwest of Ravenna. He never went to Rome or Constantinople, and rarely does he even mention them except as places other people go; there only exists a mental and metaphorical relationship between Ravenna and these two cities (Pizarro 1995, 13). This makes his connection to Ravenna all the more pertinent. With (almost) nothing to compare it to, Ravenna is naturally the most beautiful city in the

world and a befitting stage for every story he tells us. Agnellus serves as the best source we have for fifth and sixth century Ravenna, as well as an interesting insight into several ninth-century circumstances including Ravenna's relationship with Rome and the Popes, and the relationship between clergy and bishops in this period.

Agnellus' credits as a professional historian are few, but Deliyannis (2004, 54-55) compiled a list of archival documents he had access to that included episcopal lists, perhaps some sort of '*Annales*' of Ravenna, and a lost *Chronicon* attributed to the Byzantine Archbishop Maximian, which Agnellus says is about 'emperors and kings' (Deliyannis 2006, 29-30 on the *Chronicon* as a historical source). Agnellus' sources were only those he found in the archives of the Church of Ravenna and mostly relate to the Latin Church – notably, he is unfamiliar with Procopius, whose histories we might have expected him to consult (Deliyannis 2006, 31). These sources can be divided into those he probably saw because he cites or quotes them directly, and those we assume he saw because he makes oblique references to their content. As mentioned in Section 1.4.1, Agnellus' writing is heavily stylized after other serial biographies and the text includes elements of hagiography, sermon or homily, anecdote, and panegyric. The inclusion of what Deliyannis (2006, 22) dubbed 'sermonettes' in a historical text is unprecedented and only adds to the odd character of Agnellus' work.

It is possible that Agnellus intended for several passages of the *LPR* to be performed out loud, as a lecture or an oratory, in front of an audience (Pizarro 1995, 9). Deliyannis (2004, 16), however, does not agree that these passages were written for lecture, but speculates instead that they simply reflect the style copied from many written sermons which Agnellus might have read by Peter Chrysologus and Gregory the Great. It is hard to make a distinct argument about the place and purpose of Agnellus' writing because, again, our only information about it comes from within. We do not know if he actually had patrons urging him to write, other members of the clergy asking for a history of Ravenna's bishops, eager followers or listeners who came to the doorstep of his *monasterium*, or whether he simply took it upon himself to compile the book because he read so many other important ecclesiastical works and decided Ravenna needed one of its own. Delyannis (2004, 19) makes a strong argument that the structure and genre of the *LPR* indicate that it was written to demonstrate Ravenna's antiquity and its independent history from Rome, and is primarily an anti-papal statement from the clergy to Bishop

Petronax (c. 818-837, whose life is missing from the *LPR*) who may have been pro-papacy.

I believe all of these sentiments to be present in the *LPR*, but also feel it significant that Agnellus was a low-ranking member of the clergy, an ordinary priest. While he held the title 'abbot', in this case it does not seem to mean anything in particular or that he was in charge of an 'abbey'; in fact, Agnellus only became 'abbot' by way of his family giving 200 gold solidi to Bishop Martin in exchange for his placement in the church (*LPR* 25; 167). He was never raised to a higher position in the church; he would not have had the same kind of sway Peter Chrysologus or Gregory the Great had in their time. He represents the plight of the ordinary clergy, but it also seems to me that Agnellus' text comes to us as a great exercise in fascination with the history of his city and its Church. Thus, Agnellus is, largely, a well-informed, enthusiastic local with access to privileged historical documents. As Pizarro (1995, 32) argued, 'no other episcopal history makes such a conscious effort to entertain'; making Agnellus both historian and tour guide, clergy and antiquarian.

3.3. Medieval to Early Modern Writing

After Agnellus, very little was written in or about Ravenna until the thirteenth century (Deliyannis 2010, 7). Several medieval, Renaissance, and early modern works were produced between the thirteenth and the nineteenth centuries, but they relied heavily on Agnellus and the *LPR* for their Roman and late antique history. Once the *LPR* was copied and collated into a large volume of historical texts (the *Codex Estensis*) in the early fifteenth century it was then more widely consulted by other scholars (Deliyannis 2010, 8; this volume is now housed in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena, the same manuscript found by Bacchini). These works were, again, locally published and circulated. Perhaps the most interesting thing to happen before the Renaissance was the poet Dante Alighieri's exile from Florence and arrival in Ravenna in 1318 (who in fact became an 'attraction' himself in the nineteenth century).

Once Ravenna was annexed into Venetian territory in 1440, many of its nobles took an interest in Ravenna's history. Desiderio Spreti (1414-1474), a Venetian patrician, impacted perceptions of Ravenna's architecture by being the first person to mention the

Hagia Sophia as a model for the church of San Vitale in his *De ampliatione, de vastatione et de instauratione Urbis Ravennae* (1489). In it he tells a story of a young (future Emperor) Justinian running away to Ravenna and meeting Julian Argentarius (the church's patron) who sheltered him (quoted in Verhoeven 2011, 126). In this story, Justinian later commissioned San Vitale after his great church in Constantinople as a thank you to Julian. This perception of the church as being distinctly Byzantine, and of Julian being a personal friend of Justinian's continued well into modern scholarship, such as in Testi-Rasponi's translation of the *LPR* where he further developed Julian as an agent of Justinian.

Two important historical sources came out of Ravenna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Girolamo Rossi's *Historiuarum Ravennatum* (1589) and Girolamo Fabri's *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica* (1664) both of which were widely consulted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rossi, a historian and doctor known as Hieronymus Rubeus in Latin, wrote ten full books of histories that, until *Storia di Ravenna* (1990-1996), were the most complete historical works on the city (Verhoeven 2011, 22). Rossi was critical of the information given by Spreti, however, his book still relied quite heavily on Agnellus for historical data and many of the stories he presents were arguably as unfounded. Rossi says that he saw the bones of Galla Placidia in the chapel of Nazarius and Celsus in San Vitale one day when someone accidentally knocked a candle into the sepulchre and the sheets of cypress wood on the inside caught fire; he also recounts that Justinian and Theodora were present at the consecration of San Vitale, even though we know this is not true (Rossi 1589; trans. Verhoeven 2011, 125-126). Fabri's history instead concentrates on describing Ravenna's churches and their decoration – and is in fact a valuable source for the Ursiana Cathedral, which was destroyed in 1733 (see Chapter 6).

The eighteenth century will be the focus of Chapter 6, where the opening up of the city to tourism and the Grand Tour writing will be discussed at length.

3.4. Modern Scholarship

Arguably it was with Italian Unification in the early nineteenth century and the foundation of the Italian system of the heritage offices that Ravenna became a central site for Italian

scholarship (see Chapter 6). The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mark the first 'proper' archaeological excavations within the city, the more consistent restoration of many of Ravenna's most famous monuments, and the institutionalisation of academic departments and journals dedicated to Ravenna's history. The early Christian period and Ravenna's 'original' monuments became an intense focus of research, contributing to the idea of an 'unchanged' Ravenna (this topic is treated at length by Verhoeven 2011).

The early to mid-nineteenth century had seen archaeology and restoration done poorly by local antiquarians. The name most associated with the better restoration of Ravenna's monuments is Corrado Ricci (1858-1934), who became the first Superintendent of Monuments (Sopraintendenza ai Monumenti di Ravenna) in 1897. In most of Ravenna's local historiography he is regarded as the hero who 'rescued' Ravenna from its derelict state and put the city on the map again as the Città d'Arte (Verhoeven 2011, 225). Together with his successor Giuseppe Gerola he initiated major excavations and new restorations which took place around the city in the earliest part of the twentieth century. In addition, as noted, and Ricci can also be credited with founding the journal *Felix Ravenna* in 1911, dedicated solely to scholarship about Ravenna's history and archaeology. Post-war scholarship on Ravenna increasingly came from departments at the nearby University of Bologna. In particular, in the 1950s Giuseppe Bovini, Professor of Archaeology there, began convening an annual conference (with publication), the *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate Bizantina* (CARB) which ran yearly until 1998, and in 1960 he founded the Institute of Antique Ravenna and Byzantine Studies as a part of the archaeology department at the University of Bologna. *Felix Ravenna* and *CARB* produced numerous important studies and papers, however a real synthesis of Ravenna's history and monuments was yet to be published (Deliyannis 2010, 11), and presently neither the journal nor the conference continue to run.

Otto Von Simson was the first to bring Ravenna to the Anglophone world; his *Sacred Fortress* was published in 1948 (although the 'revised' edition was issued in 1987, Von Simson chose not to update the text in light of more recent scholarship and so it only contains updated images, with the text otherwise the same as the 1948 edition). Von Simson argued for the purposeful statecraft and political messages of Ravenna's Byzantine artwork; this was the only publication in English to focus on Ravenna's mosaics with contextual approach tied to history, literature, art, liturgy, and politics

(Maguire 1989, 1049). His work heavily relied on the Dumbarton Oaks scholars, especially Andre Grabar and Ernst Kantorowicz. This is evident in his statement that the mosaics in Ravenna are 'the greatest surviving monuments of the early period of Christian art', aligning the imperial portraits with other 'early Christian' works. To Von Simson, these portraits expressed 'inexorable deeds of power' and 'sublime visions of faith' (1987, vii). This book could not be called a 'synthesis' of Ravenna's archaeology, but more an art-historical approach to Byzantine art in the west.

Although *Sacred Fortress* is long out of date in terms of its interpretation of some of the mosaics, it long remained one of the only English publications on Ravenna's artwork. After this, the focus of much work was in German. Most prominently, German scholar Friedrich Deichmann's seminal work on Ravenna's art and archaeology was published over the course of two decades (1969-1989), opening up Ravenna's scholarship to a wider and academic (and German-reading) audience. In his review of Von Simson's *Sacred Fortress*, Deichmann (1951, 341) criticised Von Simson for his stance on Julian as a direct mediator between Emperor Justinian and Ravenna, and disagreed with some of his treatment of Ravenna's monuments. Deichmann's work, titled *Ravenna, Haupstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes* (*Ravenna, Capital of the Late Antique West*) is often regarded as a 'four volume' set, but contains six books in total. Volume I (1969) is a survey of Ravenna's history and monuments and includes the commentary for a book of 405 different photo-plates that was initially published in 1958 (reissued by the publisher in 1969 as 'Volume III' of the set). Volume II spans three separate books: *Kommentar I* (1974), *Kommentar II* plus a separate book of plans and maps (1976), and *Kommentar III* (1989) which chronologically and systematically examined each building and monument in Ravenna; finally, Volume II.3 provided Deichmann's general summation and argumentation about Ravenna's architecture. His analysis contains detailed structural and archaeological evidence for all of the structures mentioned by Agnellus. As a result, Deichmann's works have formed the basis of nearly all other studies of Ravenna in terms of its art and architecture since their publication, and only recently has this work been updated and expanded upon - especially by Cirelli (2008) on the city's archaeology; Deliyannis (2010) on its history; and Deichmann's 1958 volume of photo-plates is better supplemented by Massimiliano David's *Eternal Ravenna* (2013) which contains finely detailed full colour plates done by the studio BAMSphoto Rodella.

As noted, *Storia di Ravenna* (1990-1996) is the most complete history of the city since the Renaissance; it is an edited six volume Italian-published history of Ravenna from 'antique' to contemporary times, with two volumes dedicated to Late Antiquity. It was published in collaboration with the Biblioteca Classense, the Arcivescovile Museum and archive, the state archive at Ravenna, and the University of Bologna. Mostly Italian and local scholars were represented in these volumes, with exceptions such as Irina Treadgold and T. S. Brown. Together with *CARB* and *Felix Ravenna* they represent the local, and, in some ways, 'closed' nature of Ravenna's scholarship into the modern period even after Deichmann. And, as Deliyannis (2010, 11) notes, even Deichmann's work has been rather off-putting for non-German speakers studying Ravenna.

Deborah Deliyannis is arguably the most prominent American scholar of Ravenna. Her unpublished PhD was the first English translation of Agnellus' *LPR* (University of Pennsylvania, 1994). She has produced updated versions of his text with commentary in English (2004) and Latin (2006), and has published the only comprehensive history of the city of Ravenna in English, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (2010). This book was, in her own words, 'conceived as a history of the city of Ravenna in late antiquity' in which 'individual monuments are presented in considerable detail because such surveys are not available, for the most part, in English' (2010, 19). In addition, she has published more widely on Ravenna's role in Early Medieval Europe, and the role of bishops and buildings in Late Antiquity (2016; 2014).

Ravenna features in other recent historical or archaeological studies, mostly as a point of comparison with other cities or with other Roman or Byzantine artwork and architecture, or as the location for an important historical event. The Ostrogothic period and the reign of Theoderic have always been very well published (Chapter 4), see Amory (1997), Arnold (2014), Halsall (2007), Heather (1991; 1996; 2007), Moorhead (1992; 2001). Topographical comparisons with Rome and Constantinople are also frequent in recent scholarship (Gillet 2001; Bjornlie 2013) Richard Krautheimer, notable architectural historian, does not include Ravenna in his *Three Christian Capitals* (1983), although he touches on Ravenna in *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (1965; latest edition 1992 with Sloboan Ćurčić). Annabel Wharton includes Ravenna in *Refiguring the Post Classical City* (1995), which she conceived as a supplement to Krautheimer's *Three Christian Capitals*. T. S. Brown's *Gentlemen and Officers* (1984) focused on the

administrative and legal history of Byzantine Italy, with Ravenna often at its centre. Studies from the University of Bologna remain prominent, and some of the recent studies to come from Italian scholars include Farioli Campanati (1992), Cirelli (2008; 2010); and Augenti (2003; 2005; 2006). Cirelli especially has looked to the city's archaeology more generally, expanding the archaeology to the Middle Ages, while Augenti has been engaged in linking Ravenna's history with that of Classe more regionally.

Yet, while Ravenna's heritage has become more widely published in English and its scholarship has taken a more international tone, there is still lacking the application of comprehensive theoretical approaches to its artwork and monuments. Ravenna represents an immeasurably important site for researching past-historic modes of perception and this is evident in the sheer multitude of scholarship already generated around it. I cannot here detailed surveys of all of this scholarship over the course of this thesis; rather my aim is to begin introducing the theoretical and methodological approaches to modelling viewership presented in Chapter 2 in a way that makes use of many of the archaeological and architectural surveys outlined here in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4. Making a Capital City in Late Antiquity

4.1. Introduction: Identifying a Capital

Ravenna represents a somewhat difficult case study as a fifth-century capital, not the least because of its liminal position between Rome and Constantinople, but also because of the rapidly developing relationship between Church and State that began to change the way cities were organised over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. This is complicated by our available sources for Ravenna in the fifth and sixth centuries, and further by the archaeological record. There has been an inclination to define late antique capitals by certain diagnostic criteria that can be identified archaeologically: a palace, a circus, city walls, a mint, and perhaps a cathedral. These features are found in most of the Tetrarchic capitals (Humphrey 1986, 579), but they can also be found in large provincial capitals throughout the late empire (Lavan 2001). However, only Rome, Ravenna, and Constantinople had the privilege of truly being imperial capitals for their respective halves of the Roman Empire, and yet Ravenna is so different from the other two that it is useful to begin with a discussion of how we have traditionally viewed civic architecture as it relates to foci of power.

Modern urban centres too are subject to anthropological definitions: population density, unique physical appearances, and patterns of social interaction (Low 1996, 384). Meanwhile, Rotenberg (1993, xii) argues that for people living in urban spaces 'metropolitan knowledge' is a 'subset of the knowledge people gain from their lived experience and value socialization', and Low (1996, 400) comments that 'city dwellers share the knowledge because they live in dense and specialized concentrations of people, information, built form, and economic activity'. This suggests that an urban setting is not simply a set of diagnostic features, but is rather the commonality between people whose experiences may otherwise be quite diverse. Thus the creation of Ravenna as a specific type of urban centre would have profoundly affected its inhabitants and their day-to-day life. As Brown (1986b, 110) remarked, 'it is worth stressing how cosmopolitan and rootless the society of Ravenna was in the fifth and sixth centuries; all new capitals, like

Brasilia and Canberra today, are cities of immigrants'. This chapter will explore how Ravenna's prominent patrons envisioned its urban environment and created both public and private spaces to suit the needs of a growing population.

Ravenna illustrates the contradictions of fifth and sixth century cityscapes and represents a new, post-classical Christianised capital. This chapter also questions what a capital is, both for us diagnostically (archaeologically) and for the people who lived in it – is it simply a political hub? A place where the imperial or royal house sits? Are there distinct criteria that clearly and visually mark what a capital city was in this period or can we say that many assumptions about the urban landscape were up for debate? This may be a question of what we *expect* to see versus what we are *told* by written sources and then weighed against what can be argued meaningfully (indeed, this is true for capitals of any pre-industrial period; see Trigger 1974). Of note to Ravenna's organisation is an almost complete absence of classical units such as public statues and triumphal monuments, the lack a central public forum, and of course the new monumental form: the basilicas themselves. Did this create a dual vision of Ravenna: one for the bishops, and one for the royal seat?

Sections 4.1.1 - 4.1.1.2 below will briefly survey Ravenna's Late Roman phase under the direction of Galla Placidia and Bishops Peter I Chrysologus (431-450), and Neon (450-473). This aims to highlight the level of cooperation between the bishops and the imperial family in creating a new visual landscape that speaks to the Christianised nature of the city. Section 4.2 highlights Ravenna's growing episcopal power and the relationship between the episcopacy and the imperial family. Section 4.4 - 4.5 will then cover the main building phases in the new capital, with a case study on Theoderic's palace church (today known as Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). Finally, Section 4.6 will discuss viewership and 'place' in the city and ask whether or not we can define certain spaces or artistic styles as distinctly 'Arian' against the backdrop of Orthodox Christianity. To what extent did Ravenna's inhabitants understand or accept the remodelling of Ravenna as the Gothic royal capital, and how much was this evident through the imagery of its ecclesiastical spaces?

4.1.1. The Fabric of the late Roman City

Imagining Ravenna in the late Roman period is an exercise in source discussion, as many of its buildings no longer exist or were wholly rebuilt. Agnellus provides information about the palaces and churches and highlights some important points: first that there are architectural similarities between secular and episcopal spaces, and secondly that the Emperor is often situated between these secular and sacred poles of authority. Thus we have some specific examples of buildings which illustrate the integration of secular and scared modes of display and performance. Of all of the major late imperial buildings, the only surviving units are the baptistery of the cathedral, the basilica of San Giovanni Evangelista (minus its original decoration), and a side chapel of the Church of the Holy Cross that is now known as the 'Mausoleum of Galla Placidia'. This leaves us with a rather partial picture of late Roman Ravenna, and there is some difficulty in establishing just how many new structures were built or how they relate to one another. This section will thus survey the available archaeological and textual evidence with these gaps in mind.

Prior to the relocation of the court, Ravenna was a small Roman colony with a large port to the south. Archaeological finds point to brickworks in the area, with stamped bricks dating to the second century (as displayed in the National Museum of Ravenna), and possibly a workshop for sarcophagi. Perplexingly, the translation of the capital here from Milan in the early fifth century did not seem to coincide with any large scale public works in the new city: Honorius is credited with sponsoring very few buildings, save a church to St. Lawrence built outside the city walls in the southern suburb of Caesarea (*LPR* 35). This church was apparently meant to be a palace for the Emperor, but the architect, Lauricius, instead built a church. According to Agnellus (*LPR* 35) this did nothing to ingratiate Lauricius with the emperor:

> Sitting in the imperial costume, [Honorius] began to ask the architect Lauricius in anger if the whole royal hall, which he had ordered him to make, had been completed in all its works. The envious and inveterate fraud of wicked men had assailed the ears of the emperor, saying that blessed Lauricius had not built an imperial dwelling but a church.

Lauricius had at first told Honorius that he had built 'a great hall, with courts, and that he had placed below these high arches many *cubilia* at the sides of the house' (*LPR* 35), and so when the Emperor arrived in Caesarea and saw 'the sublime buildings he was very

pleased' (*LPR* 35). This story, though debatable in its veracity, suggests something about the appearance of late antique basilicas and administrative buildings in that they may have appeared very similar externally. It was only after entering the building and being faced with the altar and mosaics depicting St. Lawrence that Honorius realised he was in a church. The church, at least, certainly did exist, since the specific Ravenna shrine is referred to as a place of healing in one of St. Augustine's sermons from 425 (*Sermon* 322), and likely functioned as an extra-mural martyr shrine for funerary purposes (Deliyannis 2010, 61).

It has been argued that the city expanded to the north of the early imperial Roman colony, into the so-called *regio domus augustae*, during the reign of Honorius, and then east out into the larger part of the city along the Via Caesarensis/*regio caesarum* (Testi-Rasponi 1924, 117-118; cf. Christie and Gibson 1988, 163, noting issues with this sequence). Imperially-sponsored building began more properly under Galla Placidia and during the reign of Valentinian III with this expansion of the city. A summary of structures that were certainly built between 400 and 450 is as follows (Fig. 4.1):
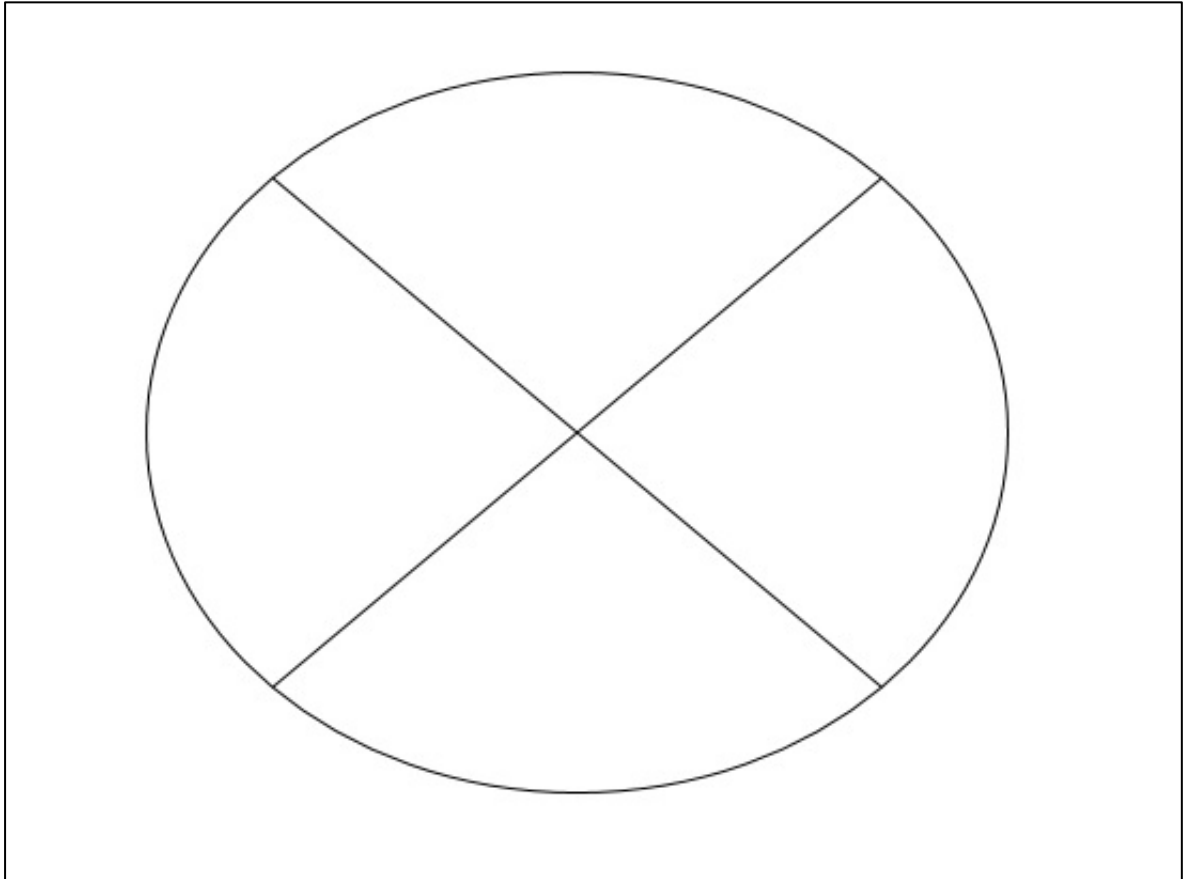
Figure 4.1 Map of late Roman Ravenna, c. AD 480. After Deliyannis (2010, 42)

4.1.1.1. Imperial Structures:

Walls: Agnellus tells us that Ravenna was expanded from a small Roman colony to a newer, larger city with defensible walls built during the reign of Valentinian III (*LPR* 40). Christie and Gibson's (1988, 193-194) detailed study of the city walls revealed that a mid-fifth century date, under Valentinian as Agnellus states, is highly plausible for the 4.5km circuit, perhaps with various points of incompletion due to the swampy nature of the surrounding environs. Christie and Gibson's conclusion (1988, 194) disagrees with older traditional arguments made by Testi Rapsoni (1924) and Mazzotti (1970) suggesting that the walls were not completed until Theoderic or the Byzantine exarchs – rather, they argue that the whole circuit, enclosing roughly 166 hectares, was most likely completed in one core phase.

Palace(s?): While many sections of the city walls exist in a fair state of preservation, the site of Valentinian's palace remains elusive. The question of Ravenna's palace (or

palaces?) is rooted in the somewhat confusing way that they have been written about by contemporary writers. We are told Honorius meant to have a palace built but instead received a church. Agnellus mentions a 'Laurentian Palace' (*Laurenti palatio*) (*LPR* 132) near the Caesarean Gate (also called the Laurentian Gate after its proximity to the noted church of St. Lawrence built by Lauricius). He further mentioned that Valentinian III built a palace called 'At the Laurel' (*LPR* 40 *ad Laureta* or *in Lauro*). This place is also cited in the sixth-century chronicle the *Anonymus Valesianus* as the location where Theoderic killed Odoacer in 493 (2.11.55). Additionally, parts of a short poem dating to the 430s by Merobaudes - described as a poet and 'mediocre rhetorician' (Clover 1971, 1) - are thought to be an ekphrasis of dining room decorations in Valentinian's residence (*Carmina* I-II; see commentary by Clover 1971). Together, the sources tell us that some sort of palace existed in Ravenn - or at least that contemporary writers thought of it that way, even if we have trouble establishing this space archaeologically. The archaeological evidence is less telling, but one possibility is that Honorius simply reutilised and enlarged an urban villa or elite *domus* for his palace (Cosentino 2015, 55; Cirelli 2008 41-43 for archaeological evidence of urban villas); alternatively this palace complex may have been composed of multiple buildings constructed over many phases. There is no solid archaeological evidence of a palace for Honorius, but Cirelli (2008, 89) has argued that there is partial evidence of buildings, mostly sections of wall foundations and mosaic pavements, in the area *ad Laureta* that could possibly be considered part of the complex of buildings constructed under Valentinian.

Mint(s?): Ravenna saw the minting of gold and silver coinage as early as 402 and continued steadily through 455 (Arslan 2005, 195-6). A mint for gold and silver coinage must have been instituted in this period, or plural 'mints', one for silver and gold and another for copper (Prigent 2016, 151 n. 1). Prigent (2016, 151) argues that it is safe to assume that an 'imperial' mint must have always been located within the palace, and that this centralised location was staffed with borrowed help from Milan and Aquileia. The place called the *Moneta Aurea* by a papyrus dating to 552 is probably the same *Moneta Aurea* mentioned by Agnellus (*LPR* 115, 164). A large building that could be considered the mint was discovered along the Via Porticata, north west of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (Cirelli 2008, 86 fig. 65; also see Cirelli 2008, 210 no. 46). This is not inside the palace but rather inside the 'palace zone' or 'imperial quarter', but either way a connection between the minting of coinage and the palatine zones of the city is clear.

Circus: The circus, like the palace, has a tenuous and highly debated location within the city. Some scholars stress that a 'proper' late Roman imperial capital should have had a circus attached to the palace as present at Milan and at the Great Palace in Constantinople (Humphrey 1986, 632; Johnson 1988, 83; Cirelli 2008, 90; Cosentino 2015, 55), though without agreeing upon its location. Ravenna's circus is often marked on a plan in the south-east zone in a large area empty of other important structures (Cirelli 2010, 244). Deliyannis (2010, 60) finds the presence of such a large structure inside of the city walls highly unlikely, especially in the absence of archaeological evidence. Documentary evidence for an extramural *stadium tabulae* or a *circulum* dates to the ninth and tenth centuries (*LPR* 22; Deliyannis 2010, 59). It is perhaps curious that no GPR survey has been done in the supposed areas.

Imperially-sponsored basilicas or monasteria: Galla Placidia commissioned two churches after her journey from Constantinople: San Giovanni Evangelista and a Church of the Holy Cross. Additionally, she gave funds for her niece Singledia to build a small *monasterium* dedicated to St. Zacharias which was attached as a side chapel to the Church of the Holy Cross (*LPR* 41).

San Giovanni Evangelista presents a valuable, but perhaps unfortunate example of late Roman imperial architecture – at least from an art historical point of view, as none of the interior decoration survives. The church was a typical three-aisled brick-built basilica, with a colonnaded entrance (narthex) typical of late antique basilicas. However, it has undergone such extensive reconstruction and restoration that practically nothing of the original exists: the floor levels were raised and repaved several times, the narthex was closed and became part of the nave, the original wall decorations were removed in the sixteenth century, and it suffered heaving bombing damage during World War II (See Verhoeven 2011, Appendix 3 for total chronology of the church's transformations). Consequently the interior is 'white-washed', as much of the nave and the entire apse had to be rebuilt. This is one of the first major basilicas constructed in Ravenna, and the first inside the city walls constructed by a member of the imperial family. It may have also have been the first church to feature images of the imperial family inside of an ecclesiastical structure - a new artistic style that created a 'Christian capital' through decoration (Deliyannis 2010, 63 and 68). While Agnellus makes a brief comment on the

apse mosaic of Bishop Peter Chrysologus, Gerolamo Rossi gave a detailed record of the whole programme his *Historiarum Ravennantum* (1589):

> One saw there also the Lord in majesty presenting a book to the Evangelist, underneath which was written St. John the Evangelist. On both sides was the glassy sea, on which two ships were agitated by turbulent storms and powerful winds. In one St. John has come to the aid of Placidia. There are also the seven chandeliers and other mystical images from the Apocalypse. Furthermore there are images of Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian and others who belong to the imperial family.
>
> (trans. and quoted in Davis-Weyer 1986, 16-17)

Following this, Rossi lists ten Emperors whose portraits could be found 'on the arch of the apse', and images of the imperial couples Theodosius II and Eudokia and Arcadius and Eudoxia found 'close to the choir bench'. This description has led to several variant reconstructions, all of which differ in minor details but generally depict a full triumphal arch of portraits and an apse stocked with imperial and biblical scenes (see Deliyannis 2010, 69 fig. 13 for her reconstruction of the positions of the mosaics, based on Ricci 1937 and Bovini 1955, both based on Rossi 1572). Deliyannis (2010, 70) sees this church as a distinct message about imperial power, heavily emphasizing the connection between the imperial dynasty and the Orthodox Church through a depiction of their piety; whether or not it is a true palatine church does not matter so much as its message to members of the Roman elite.

The only extant section of the Church of the Holy Cross is a small chapel often referred to as the 'Mausoleum of Galla Placidia', even though she is not buried there. Her 'mausoleum' gives us as sense of the richness with which mid-fifth century churches were decorated – this small chapel contains a full mosaic programme in each niche, culminating in the vision of the cross depicted against the night sky on the vault. The true function of this small chapel is unknown, but it was possibly a side chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence, venerated by the Theodosians; an image of St. Lawrence appears in the lunette opposite the door. The original exterior of the church was also richly decorated, as Agnellus alludes to a depiction of the apocalyptic vision of Christ Enthroned above the main doors (*LPR* 41) with a large poetic verse above describing the scene from the Book of Revelations (Deliyannis 2004, 150 n. 30). He does not mention the interior decoration, but Agnellus (*LPR* 41) does relate an interesting story about Galla Placidia praying before the doors of the church:

Some say Empress Galla Placidia herself ordered candelabra to be placed on four round slabs of red marble, which are before the said main doors, with candles of specific measure, and at night she threw herself down in the middle of the pavement, pouring out prayers to God, and she would pass the night praying in tears, for as long as those lights lasted.

This scene is interesting for two reasons: first it gives us some insight into how a church façade could have been lit at night, with candelabra made to highlight the exterior decoration; second, the Empress had to remain outside to pray and did not enter one of these supposed private prayer chapels. While this story may not genuinely relate to the fifth century, it indicates that churches were not open for public prayer at any time or else Agnellus might have had Galla Placidia praying through the night inside of one of the chapels. Nor does it place the imperial family entering a church (even one of their own sponsorship) for personal use outside of its normal function.

4.1.1.2. Episcopal structures:

Cathedral: While Ravenna's role as an imperial seat in the late mid- to late fifth century was perhaps ambivalent (see Gillett 2001; and see Deliyannis 2010 on Ravenna's official title), its role as an episcopal seat of growing importance is well attested to in the epigraphic and archaeological record, and Ravenna's bishop was raised to Metropolitan status sometime after 431. Near to and partially incorporated with the original walls of the old Roman colony in the south west, the city's main cathedral was built and named after its dedicator, Bishop Ursus (405-431). The Ursiana, its baptistery, and the first buildings of the episcopal residence (*episcopium*) were constructed around the time Ravenna became a capital, no doubt as part of the city's wider restructuring into an imperial seat (Appendix I). The cathedral was a large five-aisle basilica with an equally impressive two storey baptistery; both were richly decorated in mosaics and marbles (Kostof 1965, 2 states that it rivalled Milan's cathedral and was possibly inspired by it). This original structure was demolished and built over in the middle of the eighteenth century, but valuable floor plans and sketches of the first building were made by its renovators Giovanfrancesco Buonamici and Camillo Morgia (Novara 1997; David 2013, 267). David (2013, 56) warns that we must be careful of these drawings; the structure was never properly excavated since the modern cathedral sits directly on top – therefore, there is no archaeological confirmation of the size and built shape of the original. Agnellus tells us that Ursus 'lined the walls with most precious stones' and that he 'arranged diverse figures in multicolored mosaics over the vault of the whole temple' (*LPR* 23). Deliyannis (2010, 61) argued that although there is no evidence of imperial patronage for the

cathedral, it is possible that Honorius and/or his family financially assisted in its construction and/or decoration.

Orthodox/Neonian Baptistery: Bishop Neon (451-473) is credited with expanding and decorating the Ursiana's baptistery some decades after its initial construction, and for this reason the structure is often referred to as the 'Neonian Baptistery' (*LPR* 28). This structure is both well-preserved and well-documented with monographs published since Corrado Ricci (1878) (see Kostof 1965, 5 and 9 for early historiography of the monument). The decoration of the baptistery is a striking example of the 'new participatory functioning of art' (Wharton 1987, 358), one which overlaps with Christian liturgy and supposes both an audience for the images and the ritual which mimicked them. Wharton (1987) based her study of the baptistery largely on texts written by Bishop Ambrose of Milan, Ravenna's closest liturgical and legal cousin, whereby she could 'stage' the baptismal rite explained by Ambrose in the Neonian Baptistery. She concluded that the decorative programme both emphasises and enhances the ritual at all stages. Neon's domed ceiling contains a mosaic scene of Christ being baptised in the Jordan, surrounded on the outside by the twelve apostles, and in the third register by an alternating ring of thrones and altars. Baptism in Late Antiquity was an important semi-public ritual that only took place at certain times of the year, usually just before Easter (Wharton 1987, 361; Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto* 1.17). Wharton speculates that Ravenna in the fifth century would have had a number of initiates similar to Milan in the fourth century, perhaps nearing 1000 adults at the ceremony (1987, 361). Based on Ambrose's text, she argues that the baptistery was only open during the ceremony and not for any related services or readings, highlighting the importance of the rite itself (1987, 361; *Sacraments* 4.1.1-2). The baptistery's architecture lends itself to the argument with its open floor plan and comparatively large baptismal font (2.7m in diameter) – suggesting a hall for a large group event.

Episcopium: Ravenna's *episcopium* (the bishop's residence) was possibly a walled precinct of buildings behind the apse of the cathedral; it included the bishop's house (part of the old Salustra Tower), a storage building and dining hall, and later contained a chapel, public baths, and further reception halls. It is even possible that the bishop's residence pre-dated the cathedral and thus was the reason Ursus chose the location for his church (Millar 2000, 23; Deichmann 1974, 193-194). Neon built a large dining hall called the

'Five Couches' (*quinque accubita*; *LPR* 29) named for the number of niches it contained for dining couches. This style of hall was traditionally found in elite Roman houses in Late Antiquity, and Millar (2000, 27) has argued that the original *episcopium* drew on existing architectural types both from the aristocracy and the imperial palace.

Episcopal residences in northern Italy have all but disappeared from the archaeological record and they have been largely destroyed by later renovations in Milan, Brescia, Pavia, and Modena – thus Ravenna's episcopal centre may be the only one to preserve the late antique location and size, and even one of its chapels (Miller 1992, 148; Marano 2010 286-289). Maureen Millar's (1992; 2000) invaluable work on late antique episcopal residences and medieval bishops palaces is crucial to the study of Ravenna's early episcopal centre, given that these architectural structures were largely overlooked in previous scholarship; even today Ravenna's episcopal residence and associated buildings are some of the least studied in the city. Millar has effectively shown how the bishop's residence linked authority with landscape throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages as bishops navigated the needs of their cities. It functioned as a reception hall for the bishop, for entertaining guests at banquet, and perhaps for other functions but these are hard to separate from those served by the cathedral itself (Millar 2001, 38). However, this surely created a visible and somewhat fluid space in which the bishop was the central figure of authority.

Other episcopal basilicas or monasteria: Over the course of the *LPR*, Agnellus describes over fifty different religious structures. When referring to certain structures, Agnellus repeatedly uses the Latin word '*monasterium*' to describe them. Most do not survive, and for many it is not particularly clear what he means when he uses the word. Sometimes it means 'monastery' as we would use the term today; at other times it means a side chapel added to an existing church; but just as often it seems they were small, stand-alone structures dedicated to a particular saint (Deliyannis 2004, glossary p. 330). The word itself has been debated in case it might offer some indication as to the function of the building; for example, Agnellus notes that he lives in a '*monasterium*', suggesting that a priest might live in the church he tends to and implying perhaps that they were small, private structures rather than public basilica for mass. However, Deliyannis notes in her translation that Agnellus does not use other common Latin words to describe small chambers (e.g. *capella*, *oratorium*, *memoria*) and instead only uses the term

'*monasterium*', which might simply mean that this was the only word in common use in the ninth century and was one that could be applied to a variety of different structures (2004, 332). Reasonably we can say that there were major basilicas in Ravenna accompanied by many minor *monasteria* whose function might have been for more private worship of a particular saint.

The earliest basilicas recorded in Ravenna largely no longer exist. They include St. Agatha (Sant'Agata Maggiore), parts of which were used in the rebuilding of the cathedral (*LPR* 44, 84, 92); St. Agnes, built near the *ad Nimpheos* region and constructed by a sub-deacon named Gemellys (*LPR* 31) was destroyed in 1930; and a large basilica commissioned by Bishop Peter Chrysologus in the port of Classe, called the Petriana (*LPR* 24; 115; 151; 155). The completion and decoration of the Petriana are credited again to Neon (*LPR* 28). Agnellus says that no church was larger in length or height (*LPR* 24), possibly indicating that it rivalled Ravenna's cathedral. He also mentions an image of Christ over the door of the church which he comments was 'so very beautiful and lifelike that the Son of God himself in the flesh would not have disliked it' (*LPR* 24). However, given that Agnellus tells us this church was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth century (*LPR* 151), he could never have actually seen it or any of its images.

A basilica of unknown provenance and a debatable history is the Church of the Holy Apostles (*basilica Apostolorum*), dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul (*LPR* 29, 56, 21), built near the city's centre. Although the modern tourist information board panel in San Francesco (the modern church) says Neon built and dedicated the church, this may be erroneous. Deliyannis says that Agnellus implies that it was built during Neon's reign (2010, 102); however, I do not find the reading of that passage particularly convincing. Agnellus mentions the Church of the Holy Apostles first as the burial place of Bishop Florentius, who likely lived during the mid-fourth century, and next as the burial place of Neon in the mid-fifth century. Agnellus' (*LPR* 30) description is in fact quite vague:

> And you have seen the house he built, and in that house, you have seen, where the images of the apostles Peter and Paul are made of mosaic, flanking the cross on either side, and you have read a little line of verse in which it says, 'May the Lord bishop Neon be long remembered among us'.

This passage was interpreted by Deichmann as meaning the 'house' in the *episcopium*, rather than the Church of the Holy Apostles (1972, 77), to which Deliyannis responded

that there is no mention of a picture of St. Paul anywhere in Agnellus' description of the decorations of the *episcopium* (2004, 133 n14). Elsewhere Deliyannis noted that even when Agnellus tells us that a bishop was buried in a certain church, it 'need not mean that the church was built by that bishop, or even necessarily before his reign, since Agnellus tells us that the bodies of bishops were sometimes reburied' (2010, 102). The custom of reburial that takes places in Agnellus' own lifetime makes it more difficult to trace the original location of a given bishop's burial place and likewise to date a church's construction if the dedication is unclear. The Church of the Holy Apostles was rebuilt and rededicated to San Francesco in the thirteenth century when it was entrusted to the Franciscan order, but Neon's body remains near its original resting place (Fig. 4.2 and 4.3; *LPR* 29).

Figure 4.2 Neon's sarcophagus now located in a small niche below the main altar of San Francesco. Photo by author.

Figure 4.3 The original crypt of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Neon's bones were rescued from the original level of the crypt that has long since flooded. However, tourists may pay €2 to light up the flooded crypt to view the floor mosaic with parts of the original epitaph for Neon and the many goldfish who now call the crypt home. Arguably the oddity of a goldfish pond below the altar tends to draw more modern viewers than Neon's simple sarcophagus behind them. Photo by author.

4.2. Ravenna: Episcopal Capital

The city's bishop was responsible for presiding over ceremonies and feast days, for leading important public rituals like baptism, and for care of the cathedral. As Ravenna became a new centre of political power, its bishop was also granted the status of metropolitan in the 430s, gaining several suffragan sees who answered to him. Facilitating access to certain spaces and to the general relationship between clergy and lay people or clergy and the imperial family was also largely in the realm of the bishop's care. Each bishop was an individual, of course, and some were more deeply involved in clerical life or with imperial families than others. As this section will demonstrate, Ravenna's bishop became a central figure of mediation between the imperial family and the public, and Ravenna itself became a very important stage for the shifting power dynamics of the mid-fifth century.

Northern Italy already had a tradition of prominent bishops, most notably Ambrose of Milan (340-397) and his spiritual progeny Augustine of Hippo (350-430). Arguably Ambrose set the precedent for how bishops could interact with royalty, while Augustine set precedents for how clergy interacted with their bishop. There is general consensus that episcopal clergy in Late Antiquity lived with their bishop, largely based on Augustine's

monastic model (Brown 1967). Secular clergy might have lived in parish houses (Krautheimer 1986, 96), but there is not much evidence of parish 'house' architecture anywhere let alone in Ravenna, beyond the references Agnellus makes to living in a 'house' (*LPR* 148) or a *monasterium* (*LPR* 26). Although Krautheimer (1986, 95-96) argues that monastic tradition and monastic architecture began in the fifth century, there is again little evidence of a proper monastic centre in Ravenna until the tenth century (and arguably limited evidence for monastic architecture elsewhere in Europe in the fifth century).

However, as Miller (2000, 81) pointed out, Ambrose and Augustine were surely exceptional (and important) characters, but holding all late antique dioceses to their standards is problematic. The only late antique Ravennate bishop for whom we have a record of texts written in their own hand is Peter Chrysologus (431-450), particularly his Sermons and several letters. These are all the more intriguing in light of the fact that his Petriana church and his mosaic in San Giovanni Evangelista are no longer extant. We know Chrysologus gave his inaugural sermon as Ravenna's bishop in the presence of Galla Placidia, and that he also offered several sermons outside of Ravenna. Ganss (1953, 5) viewed him as a lesser theologian than Augustine and more as a great administrator who preached well and often to his congregation (cf. Testi-Rasponi 1924, 11, who ranked him alongside Augustine and Ambrose). His nickname 'The Golden Wordsmith' seems to have been bestowed upon him by Agnellus in the ninth century: 'divine wisdom emanated from him daily, like a refreshing fountain; whence for his eloquence I have called him Chrysologus' (*LPR* 47/Deliyannis 2004 n.1). Potentially this epithet was made up by Agnellus to give Ravenna a similar historical counterpart to Antioch's John Chrysostom ('The Golden Mouthed').

The survival of his sermons might support the view that Chrysologus was bishop when Ravenna was elevated to metropolitan status. He preached at the consecration of bishops of suffragan sees and alludes to the decree of a 'Christian leader' that gave him such a privilege - presumably Galla Placidia (*Sermon* 175.3; Palardy 2004, 10; Agnellus, however, states that Valentinian granted this honour to John I, *LPR* 40). Palardy (2004, 11) points out that Ravenna's elevation came at the expense of Milan, whereby Ravenna was given certain sees previously under the jurisdiction of Milan. Ravenna was quite closely tied to Rome in this period, as far as its liturgical practices were concerned

(Palardy 2004, 7), and Chrysologus was personally loyal to the Pope for supporting his elevation to metropolitan. Notably, Chrysologus' affiliation can be viewed as against the general trend of Ambrose and Chrysostom's uncooperative attitude toward kingship (Palardy 2004, 9). A new, more palatable relationship between the ruling house and the sitting bishop thus formed between Chrysologus and Galla Placidia at Ravenna.

Indeed, his admiration for Galla Placidia is obvious in Sermon 130 (which Palardy 2005, 195 n. 1 believes is the first sermon he gave after being confirmed as Ravenna's bishop, in or around 431):

> Also present is the mother of the Christian, eternal, and faithful Empire herself, who, by following and imitating the blessed Church in her faith, her works of mercy, her holiness, and in her reverence for the Trinity, has been found worthy of bringing to birth, embracing, and possessing an august trinity. […] She has been found worthy of giving honor to herself and rejoicing that the grace of God has made her an object of devotion like him.
>
> (Sermon 130.3, trans. Palardy 2005)

He speaks also about cooperation with those who hold power: 'Pray, brothers, that, since our Christian rulers deign to share in our joys and be present at our solemnities with their pious devotion, all the priests may also with equal grace be devoted in offering supplication for them throughout the length of their days' (Sermon 130.3, trans. Palardy 2005). Both of these passages clearly link the imperial family to their piety, and note that the imperial family was actively present at church services – they also suggests that ordinary priests could have been present at his induction. A sermon on the Pentecost was given in front of the imperial family, since Chrysologus notes: 'Standing here is the most pious imperial family, serving the One, so that they may reign over all; bowing their heads to God, so that all nations may bend their necks to them' (Sermon 85b, trans. Palardy 2005).

A further clue to the relationship between Chrysologus and Galla Placidia comes from the *Life of St. Germanus*, written around 480 by Constantius of Lyon, which mentions Germanus of Auxerre's visit to Ravenna, the city where he eventually died. His relics were then split by Chrysologus and Galla Placidia: 'The Empire takes one portion and the episcopate claims the other; […] The Empress acquired the container with the relics; Bishop Peter took possession of the cloak with the hairshirt within' (Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germani* 35 – English edition Hoare 1994). It is unclear from the passage exactly

where the relics went, but presumably the bishop's portions went to the cathedral or another church he serviced; there were no special *monasteria* built for St. Germanus in Ravenna. Whether this reflects a competition between the episcopacy and the imperial family to claim important relics, or a reasonable way to evenly split the glory is hard to say. This episode is not mentioned by Agnellus, so either he never read the *Vita Germani*, and/or possibly the relics were no longer present in Ravenna in the ninth century. The argument for equality appears to be more strongly supported by the position of Chrysologus in the apse mosaic in San Giovanni Evangelista, where he was depicted as a central figure surrounded by the imperial family, as described by Agnellus (*LPR* 27):

> Galla Placidia ordered that his image in mosaic should adorn the lower wall of the apse, behind the back of the bishop, over the seat where the bishop sits. This image was made thus: having a long beard, with hands extended, as if he is singing the mass, and as if the host is placed on the altar, and behold an angel of the Lord is shown facing the altar, receiving his prayers

Patronage was also a clearly important part of late antique social life, and both the bishop and the imperial family were expected to act as patrons to prove their piety. Chrysologus' appeals to authority and readiness to cooperate with Galla Placidia and the Bishop of Rome speak to a wider framework of patronage performance and social strategy (see Schor 2009 on patronage as social performance). In contrast to Ambrose, Chrysologus' letters paint a picture of a Bishop who enthusiastically embraced imperial modes of display. His legacy of building and public performance is clearly seen in his successor Neon's (450-473) works as shown above, and generally sets the tone for Ravenna's Late Roman episcopal building phases. Being a patron made the bishop – and royalty – prominent and visible to the public. The episcopal office was learning its place between shepherding the clergy and lay people, and building the appropriate links to sources of power and patronage that generated spectacle and pride in a thriving city.

4.3. Imagining Late Roman Ravenna

Galla Placidia and then Valentinian III's capital seems to have been alive with commerce, building works, and a vibrant court, as attested by the poet Merobaudes:

> Harmony of the table portrayed hovers over the doors,
> as does the sacred pair of the imperial house, where
> festive guests carry on eternal banquets and the
> royal couches are resplendent with purple coverlets.
> The Emperor himself in full splendor occupies

with his wife the center of the ceiling, as if they were
the bright stars of the heavens on high; he is the
salvation of the land, and worthy of veneration.

<div align="right">(Carmina I)</div>

The relationship between bishops and the imperial family likewise seems evident and mutually beneficial during a time when religious heresy was front and centre of the Catholic Church's agenda. While the archaeological evidence is sometimes difficult to interpret, it is safe to imagine Ravenna as having an eastern 'imperial quarter' extending from the area just south of San Giovanni Evangelista down to the Porta Wandalaria (Cirelli 2008, 86). This included a mint, a series of administrative buildings that made up the 'palace', and the north-south running *Via Popilia* linking Rimini to Adria. Cirelli (2010, 244) has argued that there were also dedicated areas surrounding the imperial palace for ceremony and 'demonstration of imperial power' - though what these demonstrations were without a circus or clearly defined processional way is unclear. The south-western part of the city, by contrast, could be labelled the 'ecclesiastical quarter' in that it included the cathedral and its associated buildings. To the south, Classe, Ravenna's port and city, also thrived as a centre of trade and production for the new capital (Augenti 2006, 17; Christie 2011, 155-156).

If we take Agnellus' account of the church of St. Lawrence as a reference point for the exterior appearance of many buildings, it is possible to say that church and state buildings did not look all that different from each other and the city developed a quite homogenized outer appearance of brick basilicas for various needs. Indeed, most public architecture in the post-Constantinian Latin West was a variation on the basilica theme (Krautheimer 1986, 203). Ravenna was, therefore, an entirely different environment from both imperial Rome and the monumental provincial capitals in the East that flourished in Late Antiquity, such as Pergamum or Ephesus. It contained some of the traditional elements of a Roman capital – a palace, a mint, and the presence of high ranking clergy - but it lacked traditional spaces such as a forum or circus in which the imperial family performed public ceremonies; and, in an absence of grand public architecture or public monuments and statuary, the visual decorative programme of the city was embodied by its basilicas. The growth of the episcopacy is also a key element in understanding Ravenna's visual programme. Churches largely brought the splendour of the Roman world inside rather than displaying it on the outside – in order to see most of these new decorative

programmes one had to attend a church service or ceremony that took place in a basilica or one of its buildings such as the cathedral's baptistery. Church and palace were also inexorably linked through their symbolism and decoration in Late Antiquity (Janes 1998, 36-37); this is a period in which both seats of power are drawing upon each other.

Following Valentinian III's departure for Rome in the 440s, Ravenna experienced a 30 year period of mostly absent emperors with intermittent administrative visits (Gillet 2001), capped by the general Odoacer's capture of the city. The city's bishops appear to have been the only source of building patronage at least until Exuperantius (473-477) and John I (477-494), who are very unlikely to have been such prolific patrons as their predecessors Peter Chrysologus and Neon. Nonetheless, four emperors were crowned at Ravenna in this period (Majorian, Libius Severus, Glycerius, and Romulus Augustulus - see Gillett 2001, 150-155), though it is unclear how much time, if at all, they spent in residence there. The senatorial body remained in Rome, while Ravenna reverted to its position as a coveted military seat. This leaves a rather sizable question mark about the state of the city between c. 450 and 494, after the Theodosians left and before the Ostrogoths arrived. This period is typically glossed over in many major studies, perhaps because we know very little about it (e.g. Deliyannis 2010; David 2013).

Sidonius Apollinaris, a fifth-century diplomat and court poet to Majorian (457-461), reveals some details about the city in two letters dating to 467 and 468. After Majorian's death in 461 and the usurpation of Rome's control by the general Ricimer, Sidonius had been spending his time in exile in his native Lyon. However, when the Eastern Emperor Leo I was able to appoint Anthemius to the throne in 467, Sidonius set off for Rome with renewed political aspirations. His journey over the Alps took him through Ravenna by way of the Po River. Here he gives some insight into a city traversed by diverse waterways and canals, but perhaps plagued by poor roadways:

> We just touched at Brescello to take on Aemilian boatmen in place of our Venetian rowers, and, bearing to the right, soon reached Ravenna, where one would find it hard to say whether Caesar's road, passing between the two, separates or unites the old town and the new port. The Po divides above the city, part flowing through, part round the place. It is diverted from its main bed by the State dykes, and is thence led in diminished volume through derivative channels, the two halves so disposed that one encompasses and moats the walls, the other penetrates them and brings them trade - an admirable arrangement for commerce in general, and that of provisions in particular.

However, Sidonius had one major complaint about his trip to Ravenna:

> But the drawback is that, with water all about us, we could not quench our thirst; there was neither pure-flowing aqueduct nor filterable cistern, nor trickling source, nor unclouded well. On the one side, the salt tides assail the gates; on the other, the movement of vessels stirs the filthy sediment in the canals, or the sluggish flow is fouled by the bargemen's poles, piercing the bottom slime.
>
> (*Letters* I, V. to his friend Herenius; trans. O.M. Dalton, 1915)

His rather unfavourable description suggests that the Trajanic-period aqueduct was not in serviceable order despite Ravenna having been the imperial capital for several decades. A year later he further expressed his dislike of Ravenna's swampy environs to a friend he deemed unfortunate enough to have been exiled there:

> In that marsh of yours [Ravenna] the laws of everything are always the wrong way about; the waters stand and the walls fall, the towers float and the ships stick fast, the sick man walks and the doctor lies abed, the baths are chill and the houses blaze, the dead swim and the quick are dry, the powers are asleep and the thieves wide awake, the clergy live by usury and the Syrian chants the Psalms, business men turn soldiers and soldiers business men, old fellows play ball and young fellows hazard, eunuchs take to arms and rough allies to letters. And that is the kind of city you choose to settle in, a place that may boast a territory but little solid ground.
>
> (*Letters* I. VIII, to his friend Candidianus; trans. O.M. Dalton, 1915)

While this is s somewhat satirical description, it does lead us to speculate on just how bad things had gotten without the permanent presence of a royal court. Clearly some of Ravenna's utilities were in disrepair: the aqueduct, possibly the walls and their towers, and public baths. It seems too that its prefectures were ill staffed. Sidonius clearly views Ravenna as a backward city in comparison to that of his beloved Rome – perhaps, in his mind, the more 'proper' capital city.

If, on the other hand, we look at the episcopal evidence we see Bishop Neon (450-473) completing the Petriana in Classe, renewing and decorating the baptistery of the cathedral in Ravenna, and building a new dining hall within the *episcopium*, all of which were richly decorated with mosaic and verse inscriptions. Perhaps Neon was lucky to have inherited a newly metropolitan (and well-funded) bishopric from Peter Chrysologus and

could thus continue building and renewing its structures, but of his successor Exuperantius (473-477) Agnellus could only lament that 'he does not have a memorable history' (*LPR* 31). The life of John I (477-494) is one of the longest in the *LPR*, but is one which also contains many erroneous anecdotes - for instance, much of the information about Galla Placidia is found in the life of John I even though she lived thirty years before him. To elevate his city (and its bishops) Agnellus casts John I as the bishop who met Attila (*LPR* 37), Odoacer (*LPR* 39), and Theoderic (*LPR* 39) and through his sanctity convinces each of these men to spare Ravenna from harm. Pizarro (1995, 109-111) shows how many of these stories were lifted both from the Roman *Liber Pontificalis* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana* in an attempt to highlight Ravenna's bishops as having had as much impact upon the course of late Roman history as Rome's. In the absence of any other evidence of John I's life, we might assume that it was just as unmemorable as Exuperantius', for very little building is documented between 476 and 494 (see Appendix I). With Ravenna in a possible state of neglect at the time of Theoderic's arrival, it seems the city was long overdue for large-scale renovation and renewal as the Italian capital.

4.4. Settling and Governing Ravenna under the Ostrogoths

A clearer picture of Ravenna as a capital emerges in the Ostrogothic period (c. 494-540), especially because more of the structural and decorative programmes survive to the present. However, it is also arguably a more complex picture of ethnic and religious compromise over the cityscape. Jordanes' (*Getica* 151) description of Ravenna as a 'threefold' city with a wealthy suburb implies a great deal about its growth in the early sixth century:

> The city itself boasts of three names and is happily placed in its threefold location. I mean to say the first is called Ravenna and the most distant part Classis; while midway between the city and the sea is Caesarea, full of luxury.

It brings to mind distinct zones: an administrative centre in Ravenna itself, a suburban residential district in Caesarea, and a port and trade city furthest away in Classe (Fig. 4.4). But do we know enough about how these parts of the city interacted with each other to comment on the accuracy of Jordanes' statement? Was Ravenna a cosmopolitan centre, or simply a 'government town' as Moorhead (1992, 142) proposed? Ravenna grew to its largest population under the Ostrogoths, estimated at around 10,000 people (Cosentino 2005, 411). However, compared to Rome or Constantinople during the fifth century,

whose populations fluctuated between 300,000-500,000 people, Ravenna was quite a small city (Dagron 1974, 526-549). In considering these questions we should ask who made up the population of Ravenna in the Ostrogothic period: were there many actual Goths? Was there a garrison? Who made up Theoderic's court? How prominent were the diverse clergies? In sum, how did these varied populations mix to make up the 'Ravennates'? Arnold (2014, 6) proposed an 'accommodation' model for Ostrogothic Ravenna, one which views it as a continuation of the late Roman period. As will be shown, both Theoderic's style of governance and his building programmes conform to an overall Roman model. The bibliography on the Ostrogoths is large and long, especially as it sits within 'Barbarian studies', and by necessity what follows will not be an exhaustive analysis of Ostrogothic identity.
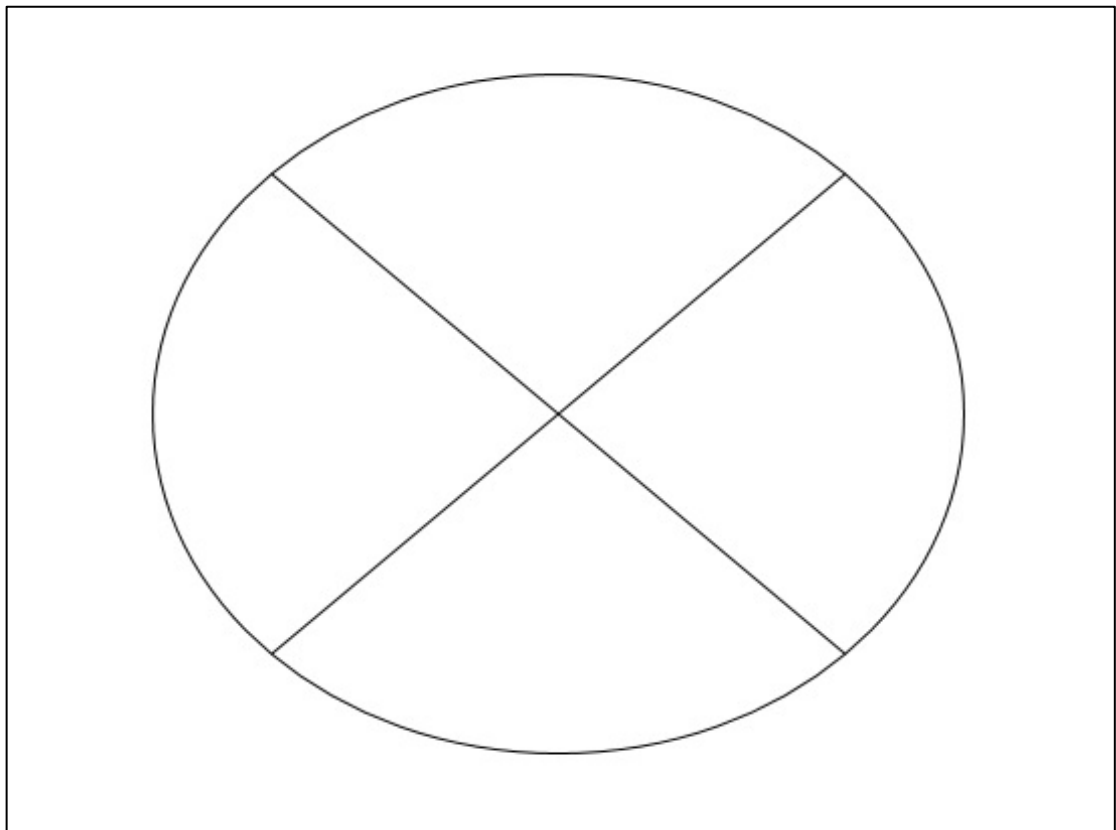
Figure 4.4 Port of Classe with Ravenna in the background, VI century. Reconstruction by Jean-Claude Golvin for RavennAntica.

The size and ethnic composition of Theoderic's forces when he reached Italy are much disputed (Amory 1997; Heather 2003, 98; Barnish and Marazzi 2007), as is the mode of land allocation and settlement (Goffart 1980; Barnish 1986; Amory 1997; see Halsall 2007, 417-454 for a general overview of both issues). The sources are not specific enough

to tell us exactly how the Ostrogoths settled and where they did so, other than that they settled between Ravenna and Rome and along the Adriatic and Ligurian coast (Procopius, *Wars* 5.8.8-9; Barnish 1986, 184). Furthermore, Ostrogothic populations are not easily archaeologically identifiable and so plotting their whereabouts with any accuracy is implausible (Halsall 2007, 448). Ravenna's topography does not suggest that the Ostrogothic and Roman populations were separated, although some scholars have argued that the Ostrogoths kept to their own quarter (Budriesi 1990, 109; Lazard 1991, 122; *cf.* Deliyannis 2010, 116). While many Ostrogothic buildings were built in the north-east corner of the city, this seems only logical given the city's earlier overall growth – it was an area of the city where there was still scope for construction activity within the circuit of the walls. Indeed, Gothic Arian churches were built in Ravenna's centre, as well as in Caesarea, and in Classe (*LPR* 86), suggesting that they intermingled with the local populations of the suburbs and the port.

Our best source for the administrative structure of Ostrogothic Italy is Cassiodorus, a Roman Senator from a wealthy family who was an *illustris* with several ranking titles held during the course of the Ostrogothic administration – Quaestor of the Palace, 'Ordinary Consul', Master of the Offices, Praetorian Prefect and Patrician. Between 506 and 538 he composed letters on behalf of Theoderic and later members of the Amal dynasty as Questor (legal adviser) or sometimes as Praetorian Prefect. These *Variae* were compiled later from Constantinople, but presumably the original letters came from or are based on Cassiodorus' time in Rome and Ravenna during the respective monarch's reign. As a source, Cassiosorus' text is rich with information about Theoderic, but, as Bjornlie (2013)'s study of the *Variae* revealed, the text is 'an image of palatine governance that was attuned to Constantinopolitan debates about legitimacy and tradition in order to make the governmental elite of Ravenna appear suitable for return to office after the conclusion of the Gothic War' (Bjornlie 2013, 331). Thus, Cassiodorus tells us perhaps more about the politics of Constantinople than anything else, but he illuminates some of Theoderic's personal preferences for patronage, euergetism, and general care of both Rome and Ravenna.

During the late fifth century Italy had seven active civilian *illustres*, in order of highest rank: Praetorian Prefect of Italy, the Urban Prefect of Rome, Quaestor of the Palace, Master of the Offices, and the Counts of the Sacred Largesses, Private Estates and

Patrimony (Barnish 1992, xi). Only those of the highest ranking were allowed to sit and speak in the Roman Senate even if they retained a title granting them the name 'Senator' (Heather 2016, 18). Consul and Patrician were the highest ranks in Senatorial tradition, one in Rome and one in Constantinople, both appointed by the Emperor. Theoderic himself was the Eastern consul in 484 and also held title of Patrician before his march to Italy. This suggests that to be appointed one of the high ranking senators, one had to already be a very active member of the court (Heather 2016, 19). Ravenna did not have a senatorial institution like Rome or Constantinople, but many of these government officials would have lived in Ravenna to be at court during their term of office just as they did in the late Roman period (McCormick 2000, 140). Thus, Theoderic's court was probably made up of high-ranking Italian or local officials, rather than just members of his own Gothic regime.

Where all of these administrators lived and exactly where they worked is up for some debate, but, as Deliyannis (2010, 50) remarked, 'you cannot put a 1,500-person bureaucracy in a place that does not have buildings to accommodate them'. Jordanes' proclamation that Caesarea was 'full of luxury' also implies a wealthy residential area outside of the city. There is far more evidence of exactly what court officials do in Constantinople than there is for Ravenna, but many scholars assume that it must have been similar but on a smaller scale (e.g. McCormick 2000, 139-142 describes the palaces at Ravenna and Constantinople in tandem). However, Theoderic did expand and/or possibly build a brand new palace complex in the sixth century that could accommodate many more people than the old imperial palace (Theoderic's palace as a centre of power and performance is detailed below).

4.4.1. The Arian Episcopal Centre

The Gothic religion has been described as a 'non-Nicene, Homoean Christianity' (Heather 2003, 105), but is commonly called 'Arianism'. Arianism, or other forms of non-Nicene religions, was loosely characterised by the stance that Christ is subordinate to God the Father as opposed to the Orthodox belief that Christ and God were equals in the Trinity (Mathisen 2014, 146 for overview). Ostrogothic Arianism has been much debated, particularly in terms of its visibility in art and architecture, and especially in terms of its specific liturgical practices and beliefs (Bredt and Steinacher, eds. 2014

provides a good overview). The importance of Gothic religion to the creation of Ravenna as a capital has much to do with its presences in the cityscape: under Theoderic many new Arian churches were constructed, and the appearance of new churches also brought new church officials. We see the residency of a Gothic bishop who existed side-by-side with the already present Orthodox bishop. Did this bring tension or competition between the two? Can we discern anything about 'Arian' liturgy or scripture from its surviving iconography? This last question has been often asked and little answered, since, as we will see, the iconography of Arian churches does not directly indicate anything about Arian liturgy (Mathisen 2014, 149).

Very little is known about individual Arian bishops aside from their names and civic locations (Mathisen 1997, Appendix list of named 'barbarian' bishops). For example, Agnellus mentions an Arian bishop named Unimundus, but has (unsurprisingly) little to say about him other than that he founded an extramural church dedicated to St. Eusebius (*LPR* 86). The various Arian churches also imply the presence of a body of lower clergy, but some of these churches may have been privately owned and operated (Mathisen 1997, 690). Mathisen (1997, 692-693) has shown that the role of the Arian bishop in several Gothic populations was largely as the attendant of the king, and their only responsibility seems to have been to conduct services for the king or the army. Thus for Theoderic's capital to have an Arian bishop is unsurprising, but what his function was in relation to the Orthodox bishop remains unclear.

Most of our evidence for a Gothic Arian population in Italy comes directly from Ravenna, which had a large see with a considerable number of clergy and land holdings (Brown 2007, 417). Ravenna had eight or more Gothic churches (Fig. 4.5), but for most of these only a general location is known and none have been excavated. Apart from Ravenna, only Florence still preserves remains of an Arian ecclesiastical complex (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 97). Agnellus tells us the Arian churches were 'built in the times of the Goths or of King Theoderic' (*LPR* 86); more specific dating is not possible but it is safe to assume that the majority were built under Theoderic's direction. Additionally, all of the Gothic churches were given to the Orthodox Church after the Byzantine reconquest (*LPR* 86) and rededicated under Archbishop Agnellus (557-570). Thus the names of the churches given in the *LPR* are presumably those given to the churches after their rededication (Deliyannis 2010, 144). Agnellus lists as those churches 'reconciled' by

Archbishop Agnellus as: St. Eusebius, St. George, St. Theodore (the Arian Cathedral), St. Martin (Theoderic's palace church), St. Sergius (in Classe), and St. Zeno (in Caesarea). Two churches not listed are San Andrea dei Goti and one called the *Ecclesia Gothorum*. San Andrea dei Goti was torn down by the Venetians to make room for the Rocca Brancoleone in the city's north-eastern corner (Johnson 1988, 80). Possibly this is the same church referred to by Agnellus as 'St. Andrew the Apostle' (*LPR* 121) and 'St. Andrew the Apostle called *Jerichomium*' (*LPR* 148) (Deliyannis' 2004 translation does not include a discussion of San Andrea dei Goti or the *Ecclesia Gothorum* - both are referenced only obliquely).
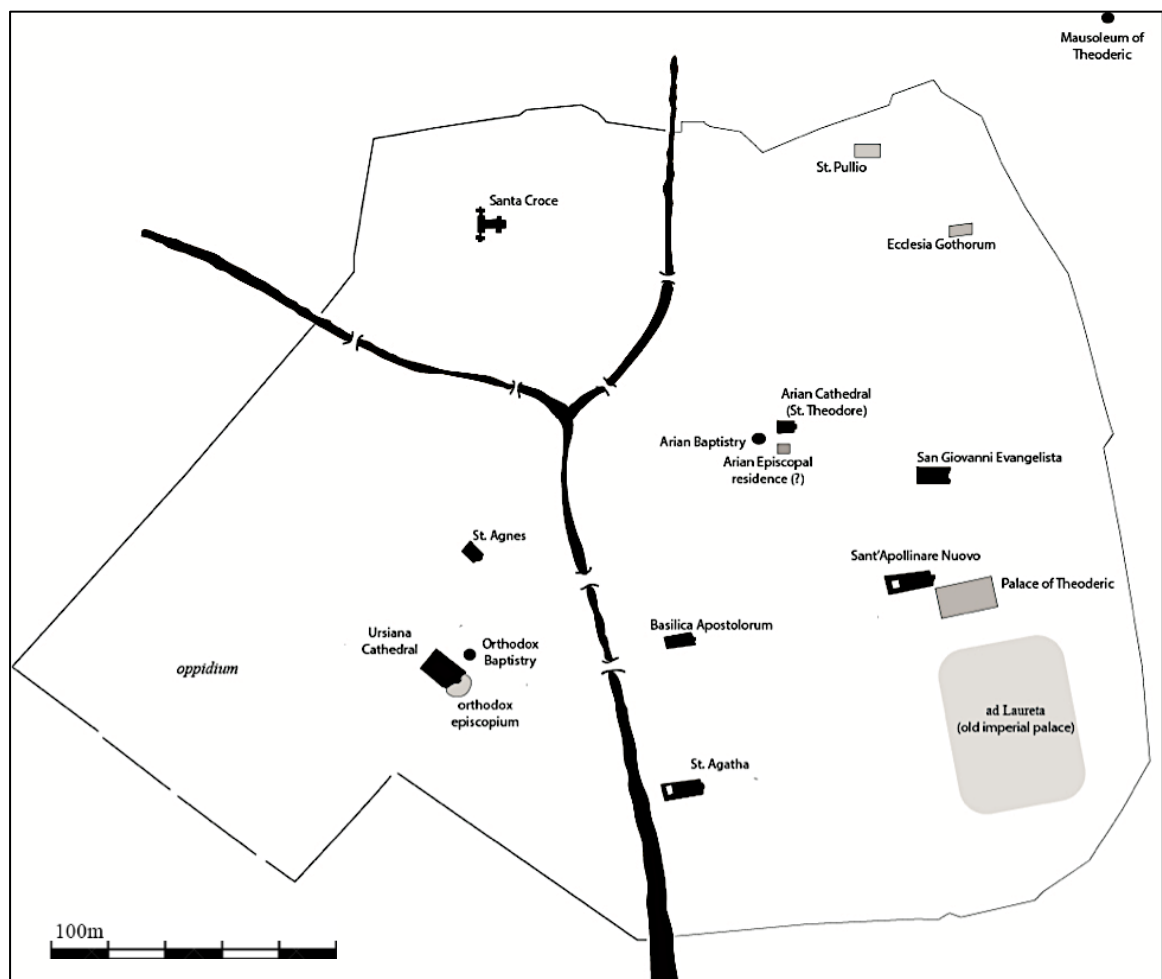
Figure 4.5 Map of Ostrogothic Ravenna. Redrawn after Hen 2007, 34.

The Arian episcopal centre was almost certainly erected during the (considerably long) reign of Theoderic and located in the north-eastern quadrant of the city, and included the

Arian cathedral dedicated to the Anastasis (rededicated to St. Theodore, now Spirito Santo) and residence that possibly rivalled the Orthodox *episcopium*. Spirito Santo is now a sixteenth-century edifice that was rebuilt using some of its late antique elements, and, like many churches in Ravenna, has undergone extensive restoration since the late nineteenth century (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 98). Areas around Spirito Santo were in fact excavated in the early twentieth century in an attempt to find a connecting structure between the church and its baptistery, but poor visibility due to ground water prevented any conclusive interpretation (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 116). Agnellus reports that where the cathedral's baptistery used to be 'now there is a *monasterium* to the holy and always inviolate virgin Mary' (*LPR* 86). This church, called St. Mary *in Cosmedin*, is equated with the Arian Baptistery, just re-dedicated and turned into a small church of its own sometime during the reconciliation under Archbishop Agnellus 557-570 (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 97).

The actual episcopal residence likewise remains undiscovered, but it probably lay just south of the cathedral complex (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 118-119). A description of the residence after it was converted into a private house is provided by Agnellus (*LPR* 86):

> Indeed in the city of Ravenna the church of St. Theodore, not far from the house of Drocdo, which house together with a bath and a *monasterium* to St. Apollinaris, which was built in the upper floor of the house, was the episcopal palace of that [Arian] church.

Carile and Cirelli (2015, 118) speculate that the presence of baths and a chapel inside the residence reveals how the Arian episcopal residence was constructed in the fashion of elite housing in the sixth century – the location of important rooms on the upper floor follows the architectural model of imperial or state rooms of other buildings. The chapel in the Orthodox episcopal residence constructed under Orthodox Bishop Peter II (494-521) around the same time as the one in the Arian cathedral (discussed in Chapter 5). It is telling that during Peter's episcopate very little orthodox building took place except for some additions to the *episcopium*. This part of the Arian complex was demolished by a later Orthodox bishop and used to furnish the ongoing Orthodox residence (Millar 2000, 219).

Although Theoderic's reign had a general policy of tolerance and non-interference (*An. Val.* 2.12.60), Brown (2007, 421) argues that Theoderic may have discouraged Catholic building, which only resumed under Bishop Ecclesius after Theoderic's death. This argument is more compelling in light of Carile and Cirelli's (2015) statements, demonstrating the wealth and urban centrality of the Arian Church under Theoderic at least in the early to mid-sixth century. However, I am not inclined agree that Arian churches supplanted or undermined their Orthodox counterparts. Indeed, as Bockmann (2014, 215) has argued: 'Arian and Nicene churches are physically not distinguishable, neither in ground plans or liturgical installations, nor in the iconography of their accoutrements'. Ravenna's Orthodox bishop had previously been tightly tied to the imperial family, but Theoderic arrived (presumably) with his own bishop to support and invest in. The Orthodox Church may have suffered in the absence of an Orthodox ruler, but certainly it does not seem that the cityscape suffered for lack of equal representation.

4.5. Urban Renewal under Theoderic

By 511, Theoderic held the Western Roman capital, hegemony over the Burgundian and Vandal kingdoms on his borders, and had managed to consolidate the two Gothic empires after a Byzantine-supported war in Visigothic Gaul led to the death of their king Alaric II. Theoderic salvaged what was left of the Visigothic treasury and shipped it to Ravenna, assuming control over two seats and presumably the greater part of the kingdom's wealth (Barnish 1992, xii; *Variae* 1.45-46, 2.38, 3.1-4). There was a direct link between Theoderic's desire to cast himself as a Roman ruler and his desire to foster large-scale building projects in his capital. Theoderic's building programme was perhaps the most substantial and enduring phase of Ravenna's development. He commissioned the largest palace and church complex, erected an imperial-like honorific statue of himself, and has the only free-standing imperial mausoleum in Ravenna or its environs. Combined, Theoderic's Ravenna gives the impression of 'new' Roman capital.

There have already been significant and useful syntheses of the archaeological evidence of the urban renewal projects under Theoderic and the Amali (Ward-Perkins 1984; Johnson 1988; Brogiolo 2007; Marazzi 2007; Cirelli 2008). Roman-style civic euergetism was faithfully renewed under Theoderic as the *Anonymous Valesianus* tells us 'he was besides a lover of building and restorer of cities' (*An. Val.* 2.12.70) and Cassiodorus'

Chronica sings his praises in AD 500. In brief, Theoderic can be credited with restoring Trajan's aqueduct in Ravenna (*Chronica* AD 502, cf. *An. Val.* 2.12.70-71), a series of restoration projects undertaken in Rome which included the restoration of the Theatre of Pompey (*Variae*, 4.51.3), encouraging civic works in Sicily, and, further afield in Gaul, updating fortifications in Arles for which he proudly proclaimed: 'while the city's fortune is founded on its citizens, it shall also be displayed by the beauty of its buildings' (*Variae*, 3.44).

Sadly, little is revealed in Cassiodorus' *Variae* about Ravenna due to the fact that Theoderic's letters often address foreign dignitaries or the Senate in Rome, but we do know that he invested a great deal in his chosen capital through the striking visibility of his personal brand – his monogram appears on church column capitals and his name in inscriptions on the water pipes laid in the aqueduct, and a few inscriptions recorded by Agnellus clearly name him as a builder and patron. Theoderic made no attempt to change or alter the centre of power in the eastern 'imperial' part of the city; in fact, he mimicked the established structure by having a palace built in the same region (Johnson 1988, 79). It should also be highlighted that, as Ian Wood (2007, 250) has argued, there is nothing specifically 'Gothic' about any of the architecture in Theoderic's Ravenna. Much of it drew on the existing visual programme of the late Roman capital, and equally upon Theoderic's time as a 'captive' in Constantinople. As has been noted many times, the palatine complex evokes both local patterns and eastern influences (Johnson 1988, 73; Piccini 1992, 44-45; Longhi 2010, 189).

4.5.1. *The Palace-Church Complex*

If church and palace were invariably linked in the late Roman period, they were physically and purposefully linked under Theoderic. As Cassiodorus' letter on the appointment of the palace architect revealed: 'These halls are the delights of our power, the worthy face of our ruler, the public witness of our kingdoms' (*Variae* VII.5; quoted by Ward-Perkins 1984, 159). It seems from Agnellus' (*LPR* 132) description that Theoderic's palace and the older imperial palace were thought of as two separate places, one having to walk by the old palace to get to the new one:

[The priest] left, having traversed Caesarea, and from the Wandalarian gate, which is near the Caesarean gate, having passed the Laurentian palace, he entered the palace of Theodoric, and he asked to be presented to the exarch.

This palace was first located by excavations under Ghirardini in the early twentieth century, but the excavation area was very small and only part of the building was revealed. The plan that accompanies the report is 'a confusing composite drawing' (Johnson 1988, 82) that shows several phases of building. More recent GIS assessment has revealed the deposit data below the palace and shows the development of the complex in at least four different sectors (Cirelli 2008, 88-89). The first phase consisted of vast reception rooms and a small spa facility (Cirelli 2008, 88). The *Triclinium ad mare* mentioned by Agnellus (*LPR* 94, 'dining hall by the sea') also made up this area of the palace (D on Fig. 4.6). These were connected to a large rectangular courtyard that theoretically extended west to Theoderic's palace church and ended in an ornate gate called the Chalke (*ad Calchi*, E on Fig. 4.6). Just outside this gate a gilded-bronze equestrian statue of Theoderic stood:

In their sight a base of square stones and rhombus-shaped bricks, in height about six cubits; on top of it a horse of bronze, covered with gleaming gold, and its rider King Theoderic bore a shield on his left arm, holding a lance in his raised right arm. Birds came out of the spreading nostrils of the horse and of its mouth, and in its belly they built their nests. For who could see anything like it? Whoever does not believe [me], let him make a journey to the land of the Franks, there he will see it.

(*LPR* 94)

Deliyannis notes that the phrase '*in aspectu ipsorum*' ('in their sight') at the beginning of Agnellus' description is slightly problematic in that there is a gap in the original text before this paragraph – she is unsure if he means public sight, the sight of the citizens, or something else (2004, 75). In her reconstruction Deliyannis places the statue just in front of the Chalke Gate, to the south of the main door of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; she speculates that this was a public plaza much like that found in front of the Lateran palace in Rome. The second courtyard, outlined in the figure by dashes between E (the Chalke Gate) and B (the known excavated courtyard), is purely speculation – otherwise the interior courtyard of the palace between the gate and the halls would have been gigantic (Deliyannis 2004, 74).
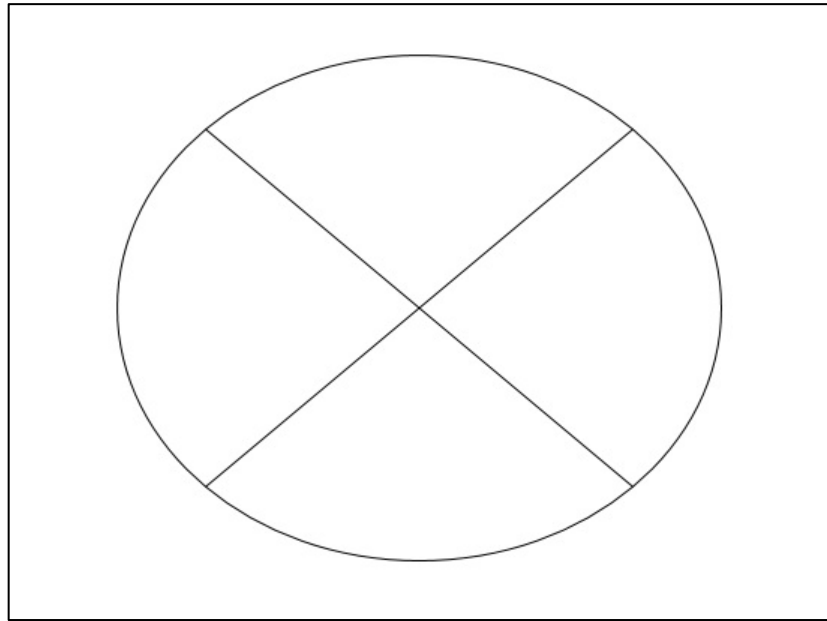
Figure 4.6 Plan of Theoderic's palace and surrounding buildings, with hypothetical reconstruction of western area. A. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; B. Peristyle courtyard; C. Large apsed hall; D. Triconch room; E. Chalke Gate; F. Statue of Theoderic?; G. St. Saviour (8th century church). From Deliyannis 2004, 72.

The reference to this statue is notable in that it very much recalls a Roman imperial equestrian statue of the type common during the High Empire (the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome) and less often used in Late Antiquity but still recorded in the Eastern capital (e.g. that of Theodosius I in Constantinople). Perhaps not enough attention has been given to this particular statue other than as a piece of *spolia* taken by Charlemagne in the ninth century (as in Johnson 1988, 87; Moorehead 1992, 42; Deliyannis 2010, 298) or as being part and parcel to the palace mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (as in Longhi 2010). There are no statues recorded in Ravenna under Honorius or Valentinian, although a fragmentary porphyry imperial statue from the mid-fourth or early fifth century that is now in Ravenna's Museo Arcivescovile might relate to Honorius. Theoderic's statue would have stood out as a 'Roman' oddity in a city that did not have much classical artwork. It represents a non-ecclesiastical focal point of viewing in the sixth-century capital – what possible function could it have had? Statues acted as symbols and foci of visual power and political mediation, but statue use dropped off sharply after 500 (Smith 2016, 3; 6). Thus for Theoderic to erect one says as much about his personal take on imperial power as it does his expectation of audience. Agnellus relates the theory that the statue was actually meant to be dedicated to the Eastern Emperor Zeno (474-491), but that Theoderic 'embellished it with his own name' (*LPR* 94). It was common for Eastern and Western emperors to recognize each other through a statue dedication in Late

Antiquity, and for Theoderic to shun his half of the dedication could speak to political estrangement from Constantinople. However, the public display of such a statue also demonstrates Theoderic's assertion of himself in the landscape of his capital. It created a link between past Roman traditions and current politics by styling himself an imperial equal. There could be little doubt for the viewer that a gilded bronze equestrian statue was supposed to be an emperor, and that in fact one was resident in the city again.

One of the more difficult passages to interpret in the *LPR* is Agnellus' description of a mosaic of Theoderic somewhere in the palace. He gives this description directly after telling us he has seen a mosaic in Pavia depicting Theoderic on horseback:

> There was a similar image of him in the palace that he built in this city, in the apse of the dining hall [*triclinium*] that is called By the Sea, above the gate and at the front of the main door that is called Ad Calchi [Chalke], where the main gate of the palace was, in the place which is called Sicrestum, where the church of the Savior is seen to be. In the pinnacle of this place was an image of Theoderic, wonderfully executed in mosaic, holding a lance in his right hand, shield in his left, wearing a breastplate. Facing the shield stood Rome, executed in mosaic with spear and helmet; and there holding a spear was Ravenna, figured in mosaic, with right foot on the sea, left on land hastening toward the king.
>
> (*LPR* 94)

> Hic autem similis fuit in isto palatio quod ipse aedificauit, in tribunal triclinii quod uocatur Ad mare, sopra portam et in fronte regiae quae dicitur Ad Calchi istius ciutatis, ubi prima porta palatii fuit, in loco qui uocatur Sicrestum, ubi ecclesia Saluotoris esse uidetur. In pinnaculo ipsius loci fuit Theodorici effigies, mire tessellis ornate, dextera manu lanceam tenens, sinistra clipeum, lorica indutus. Contra clipeum Roma tessellis ornate astabat cum hasta et galea; unde uero telum tenensque fuit Rauenna tessellis figurate, pedem dextrum super mare, sinistrum super terram ad regem properans.

The whole passage is oddly worded and scholars have spent considerable time debating whether this image was in one of the apses of the dining hall (D), or if it was 'above the gate' / 'in the pinnacle' above the Chalke Gate (E). Or was he describing two images – one in the dining hall and one in a lunette above the main gate of the palace (above the gate: Duval 1960, 358-59; two pictures: Deichmann 1974, 140; Porta 1991)? Deliyannis, however, disagrees with the previous interpretations and believes there was a single image in the dining hall in one of its apses (2010, 121 and 2004, 73); her argument is that the dining hall could be the triconch uncovered at D, and if so then it was located in the upper storey of the building. As already noted, having important rooms on the second storey was common in Late Antiquity, and thus Deliyannis argues, the room could have

been located at the western edge of the palace at a level where one could see the sea, giving it the nickname '*ad mare*' or 'By the Sea' (2004, 73-74).

However, this does not seem to solve the problem of it being described as 'above the gate and at the front of the main door that is called Ad Calchi' – unless Agnellus is describing one's viewshed from directly in front of Ad Calchi in that the dining hall would indeed be 'above the gate' in the background. Its placement, surely, it irrelevant unless we understand how people were able to view it. Was it more visible if on the gate or more visible if in the dining room? If it was above the gate (E), it would seem to parallel the statue of Theoderic in the courtyard; viewers would see a double equestrian image of Theoderic in a single viewshed. Because the personification of Ravenna is described as having a 'right foot in the sea', it does suggest a rather larger mosaic with a whole scene around it that might have better fit the theme of the dining hall 'by the sea'.

The exact relationship between the palace and the church is currently unknown, but it is often speculated that the edge of the ceremonial courtyard extended to the church apse. Theoderic's palace church, originally dedicated to Christ, was rededicated to St. Martin of Tours after the Byzantine conquest (540s), but is currently and commonly known as Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Theoderic's church was nicknamed 'The Golden Heaven' (*LPR* 86) for its impressively decorated interior (Fig. 4.7). Sant'Apollinare Nuovo features arguably one of the most impressive interiors still preserved in Ravenna, and today it is one of only two late antique churches in Italy whose nave mosaics survive (the other being Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome). The original apse does not survive, however, having been wholly rebuilt in a Baroque style. The preference for gold backgrounds is a stand-out feature in Ostrogothic mosaic decoration. Wood (2007, 252) has commented that this rising preference for gold needed a thorough investigation equivalent to Baxendall's (1972); Dominic Janes' *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (1998) did touch on the subject a bit. However, a detailed study of the artwork and architecture of the building including historical modifications and restorations up to the twentieth century has been carried out by Penni Iacco (2004).
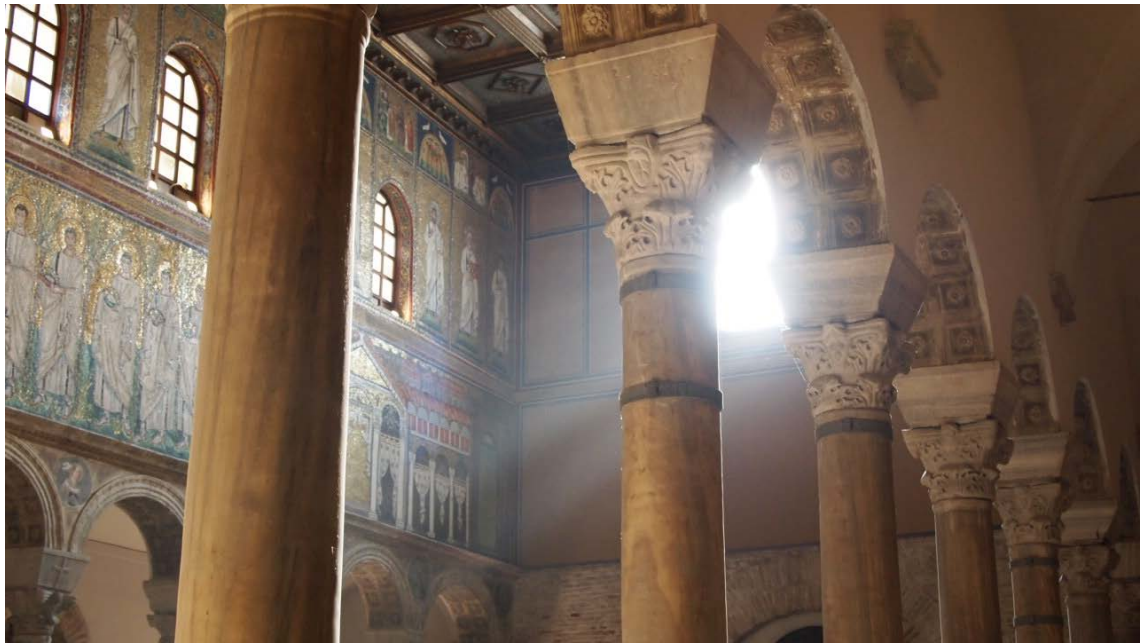
Figure 4.7 Interior of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, view of the nave from the ambulatory: the light streaming in on the mosaics making them shine 'golden'. Photo by author.

Some of the mosaic programme which survives in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo belongs to its original foundation under Theoderic – this includes two civic scenes in the nave just inside the entrance, one of Theoderic's palace in Ravenna and one of the port and city of Classe (Fig. 4.8 and 4.9), as well as the upper two registers of the clerestory which depict various unnamed prophets and apostles, and scenes from a Christological cycle. The middle of the lowest register of the nave depicting female martyrs processing from Classe and male saints from Ravenna belongs to the later revisions made under Archbishop Agnellus after the Byzantine re-conquest (c. 557-570). I will not explore in detail the upper two registers here, which have been treated before (Von Simson 1948/87, 76-79; Elsner 1995, 236), for the most part because most people would not have been able to see these images. Wood (2007, 254) argues that the uppermost images functioned the same way images on religious clothing might – to surround and protect rather than to be specifically viewed all the time.

Figure 4.8 Palatium mosaic, south wall of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Photo by author.

Figure 4.9 Classe mosaic, north wall. Photo by author.

The lowest register containing the scenes of the harbour and walls of Classe on the north wall and the *palatium* mosaic on the south wall are of greater interest. Both of these mosaics once held standing figures between the arches of their buildings, the walls of Classe and having been 'bricked' up in the Byzantine period and the palace arches subsequently covered over with curtains. It is often speculated that these niches may have originally contained members of Theoderic's court, and further that the Byzantine period

procession of saints and martyrs covers up what would have been a procession from the port and palace toward the apse to two depictions of Christ (Von Simson 1948/78, 82; Deichmann 1969, 1989; Johnson 1988, 91). That there were figures in the civic scenes is evident in the way they were poorly removed – several disembodied hands are still clearly visible in the columns of the *palatium* and general fading of the later colours have left visible outlines of those figures in the walls of the gates (Fig. 4.10. Davide Longhi (2010) has hypothetically reconstructed the figures in the original palace (Fig. 4.11).

Figure 4.10 One of the archways next to the palatium mosaic that has obviously been modified, but the outline of a figure remains visible. Photo by author.
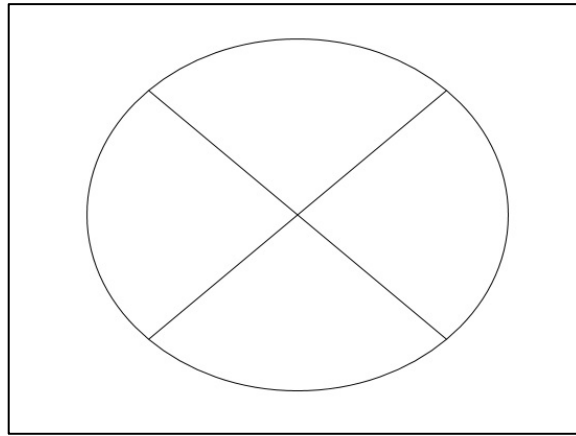
Figure 4.11 The hypothetical reconstruction of the figures that were erased from the palatium mosaic by Longhi 2010.

We have no way of knowing what the original nave wall decorations were. In part, the procession theory is popular because it is difficult to imagine what else could have been there (Wood 2007, 257). Wood (2007, 257-258) suggests that a parallel with the Great Palace at Constantinople is possible and thus a procession mimicking Constantine's palace decorations seems feasible. However, he cautions that this would make a very oblique reference and very few people at Theoderic's court in Ravenna will ever have seen the palace in Constantinople. Rather, Wood's contender for the inspiration for Sant'Apollinare Nuovo is far more local: San Giovanni Evangelista – the 'palatine' church of Galla Placidia and Valentinian III that contained the first imperial images inside of a church mixed with Biblical and historical themes. But without knowledge of the apse decorations to give us a clue as to what the nave scheme may have been 'processing' toward, we may only make guesses about the themes with which Theoderic would decorate his palace church (Wood 2007, 259 suggests a seascape on the Classe wall, with ships sailing toward Virgin and Child). These images are balanced toward the apse by a Christ enthroned on the palace side and the Virgin and Child on the Classe side, fusing imperial and scriptural elements (MacCormack 1981, 238).

One final element of the decorative programme of this church is the portrait noted by Agnellus as having been just inside the door on the back wall of the church, which he says is of Emperor Justinian and Archbishop Agnellus (*LPR* 86). Indeed, the nineteenth-century restoration of the head of a man in imperial costume labels him IUSTINIAN (see figure 5.8 in Chapter 5). Many have argued over the origin of this portrait – was it original to the Ostrogothic period and actually an image of Theoderic that was later reworked as Justinian? (Deichmann 1974, 151; Johnson 1988, 86; Wood 2007, 259-260; Arnold 2014,

109-111). There is no clear answer to this question because this portrait has been subject to many restorations over the years. I would assume it entirely plausible for there to have been a large portrait of Theoderic in his private, palace church. However, it is interesting that it appears on the back wall, rather than in the apse as with other donor portraits in Ravenna. It is worth considering here the audience of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo's images. This church was closely connected to the palace, both physically and (it seems) politically. If it was indeed a palace church, who might we expect attended services here? It may well have only been Theoderic's family, or some of his court officials. If only an official audience could see these mosaics, we can assume that the themes closely followed historical and ceremonial imagery like that in San Giovanni Evangelista. Perhaps Theoderic's portrait on the back wall places it within the context of a viewer: Theoderic himself looks on from the audience, while Christ receives the position of honour (hypothetically) in the apse. Wood (2007, 260) wondered if Theoderic's image perhaps appears in the back because of his less-than-imperial status when compared to Galla Placidia or Valentinian III. I would suggest, however, that Theoderic considered himself suitably imperial based on all of the other imagery displayed in the capital (especially his equestrian statue which sat just outside of the church) – I would imagine, rather, that Theoderic only saw himself as needing a lesser place of honour than Christ, to whom his church was dedicated.

As this chapter has clearly shown, Theoderic's reign was busy with building activity in a way the city had not been in the previous half a century, helping to create a powerful visual language for Ravenna as a capital. This focus on visual art has been cited by Sabine MacCormack as an Ostrogothic 'tradition' in which art was hailed as a higher medium than text (in her argument, panegyric), and that we even see a new addition to the repertoire of official images in the personification of Ravenna in Theoderic's palace mosaic (MacCormack 1981, 235). The overall visual programme of the city retained the style inherited from other northern Italian cities, with some of Theoderic's more personal buildings incorporating elements of Eastern style – much like Galla Placidia's San Giovanni Evangelista. Ravenna's architecture, artwork, and topography reflect the choices of its greatest patrons: Galla Placidia and Theoderic, who both spent time in Constantinople, and the city's bishops who drew on the great ecclesiastical traditions of Rome and Milan.

4.6. Discussion: Performance in Late Fifth- and Early Sixth-Century Ravenna

When thinking about how we understand these spaces today, it is useful to turn to both architectural and artistic analysis; as Von Simson (1948, 98) noted: 'the mosaics at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo are stage decorations, not fully intelligible unless we know the drama for which they were designed'. In discussing how an ordinary citizen might have experienced these spaces, I want to explore a ritual that catered to many people at once and was common between Goths and Romans. In the absence of any recorded imperial ceremony at Ravenna (in contrast with, for example, Middle Byzantine Constantinople), an ecclesiastical ceremony will do, and baptism fits the parameters. Early liturgical instructions for baptism are fairly brief: there must be water, and you must be dipped or anointed three times in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Milburn 1988, 203). It would seem that baptism required very little in the way of performance, and yet specialised structures were built wholly in service to this ritual. In the fifth century, Christianity developed a set of norms for both performance and architecture; this meant that distinct building types emerged in response to the needs of the performance and that regional types developed in response to their local architecture. These include separate types and spaces for congregational services (galleries, apses, aisles and naves), baptism (baptisteries with fonts), private devotion to individual saints (side chapels or other *monasteria*), and spaces for public reception and gathering (atria/forecourts, narthexes, or *salutatoria*) (Krautheimer 1986, 94). Many churches in Ravenna have side chambers attached to their apses that were for a wide variety of needs including general storage or library spaces (Smith 1990, 193). In the sixth century in both the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy and the Byzantine Empire in the East, we see much more innovation and overlap in architecture and artistic style. This poses some questions about how spaces functioned in the Ostrogothic period – how accurately might we reconstruct separate ritual, procession, or ceremonial within or outside of these churches?

One crucial aspect of Wharton's (1987) study of the Neonian Baptistery at Ravenna (discussed above in Section 4.1.1.2) is how it reveals some of the mysteries surrounding late antique Christianity in the sources she chose: in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, Bishop Ambrose of Milan and his contemporary John Chrysostom were preaching at a time when Christianity still necessarily defined itself against a backdrop of late Roman paganism. Spaces were made sacred by induction into the Christian

community and therefore only certain people (the initiated) could enter them at certain times (during rites). Therefore the baptisteries remained closed to the public unless a ritual was taking place there, and these only happened once a year, heightening the mystery and performative nature of the rite (Doig 2008, 43-44). Most other canonical sacraments took place as public ritual, even confession – only in the central Middle Ages did confession become an individual act (Poschmann 1964, 156). In a later story similar to the one he tells about Galla Placidia praying in front of the Church of the Holy Cross (*LPR* 41), Agnellus tells the story of his ancestor Johannicis walking alone near San Giovanni Evangelista at night when the doors miraculously and suddenly opened to allow him in to pray, and just as miraculously closed and bolted themselves shut after he leaves (*LPR* 147). This might signify that churches also remained closed at night, and could be locked shut on other occasions. These considerations all lend themselves to the argument that churches and their decorations were very much thought of as the setting and stage for performance and access to that performance was highly regulated. Most members of the public will have only accessed some of these spaces as part of a mass, a sacrament, or a public ceremony (usually during a feast day). It means considering decoration – both interior and exterior – in the context of these rituals.

One example that we might look to is the decoration of the Arian Baptistery in comparison with that of the Orthodox Baptistery. These two structures have been compared before in terms of what they might tell us about Arian versus Orthodox belief (e.g. Von Simson 1948, 73; Kostof 1965, 86-87; Wharton 1987, 370-372), and for what they might say about earlier mosaic versus later mosaic. Deliyannis (2010, 178-179), however, effectively showed that there is no evidence of ritual difference between Arian baptism and Orthodox baptism in Italy – it seems that the Italian Arians, unlike their Spanish counterparts, practised more or less the same ritual of triple immersion in the name of the Holy Trinity as did the Catholics - a ritual criticised as hypocritical to Arian doctrine in the late fourth century by Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli (*De Trinitate* 7.10). Therefore, the points of interest are not so much in the difference of ritual baptism, but perhaps in how each building engages the participant throughout the process. I would argue that the use of the buildings was rather more complex than a simple in-and-out. If we are presuming, as Wharton does, that Ravenna's orthodox bishop had to initiate several hundred people in a single day then there must have been a way to file them in and out efficiently and neatly while still retaining a modicum of mystery.

In terms of the mosaics, two points of difference are immediately apparent: first, in the Orthodox Baptistery, Christ is depicted as a mature man with a beard as opposed to the young, beardless Christ who appears in the Arian programme (Fig. 4.12 and Fig. 4.13). It has been suggested that the bearded Christ is a later addition, perhaps when the central roundel was restored at an uncertain date but likely after the eighth century (Kostof 1965, 86-87). Second, and more striking, is that the mosaics are oriented differently: upon entering the Arian Baptistery the mosaic appears 'upside-down' to the viewer. Wharton (1987, 370) hypothesizes that this is because the Orthodox Baptistery purposefully supposes a non-clerical audience (the initiates and their sponsors) for the images, whereas the Arian baptistery conversely addresses the bishop who would have been performing the ceremony. In the Orthodox Baptistery, initiates would see the mosaic of Christ being baptised from the correct orientation just as they participated in the ritual of baptism themselves. Wharton (1987, 372) argues that in the Arian Baptistery, this image is not so much participatory as it is a 'sign' or a mediator of the ritual rather than part of it, and instead it highlights the power of the bishop as initiator of the rite.

Figure 4.12 Ceiling of the dome of the Neonian Baptistery. Photo by Petar Milošević, reproduced with permission.

Figure 4.13 Ceiling of the dome of the Arian Baptistery. Photo by Petar Milošević, reproduced with permission.

While Wharton's argument is salient, parts of it can be re-examined. First, her modelling of the baptisteries relied upon Ambrose, who was exceptional for his time and place. The figure given for the amount of people seeking ritual baptism at Easter - nearly 1000 - may have been one that only happened under Ambrose and only happened at Milan. The assumption that the initiates viewed certain mosaics at particular intervals because of the architecture of the building is both valid and problematic if we do not know exactly how it was used. She claims that initiates entered the baptistery 'from the east, facing west' in order to renounce the Devil, which might be a problem given that there was no door in the eastern wall of the building (Fig. 4.14). Wharton states that the original doors of the baptistery were south and west (1987, 362), but in reality they were in the north and west walls (Deliyannis 2010, 93; cf. Kostof 1965, 36-7 who says that there may have been a

door in each wall but he does not believe they were original to the structure), thus one always entered facing east or south (the dome mosaic is oriented for south-east viewing from the entrance, facing one of the four apses). In either case, no one could enter from the east or south (as Wharton supposes later in the same paragraph). Thus, upon first entrance initiates would be oriented correctly to look at the dome mosaic, but we do not know after that how the procession continued. The act of entering the font bodily for baptism is well documented in Late Antiquity, but Wharton admits 'how it was entered or how deep it was cannot be reconstructed' (1987, 363). After immersion the initiate would go up to the bishop to be anointed with oil in a signing of the cross on their forehead. Wharton guesses that the bishop would have been seated in his throne in the south-eastern apse (1987, 364).
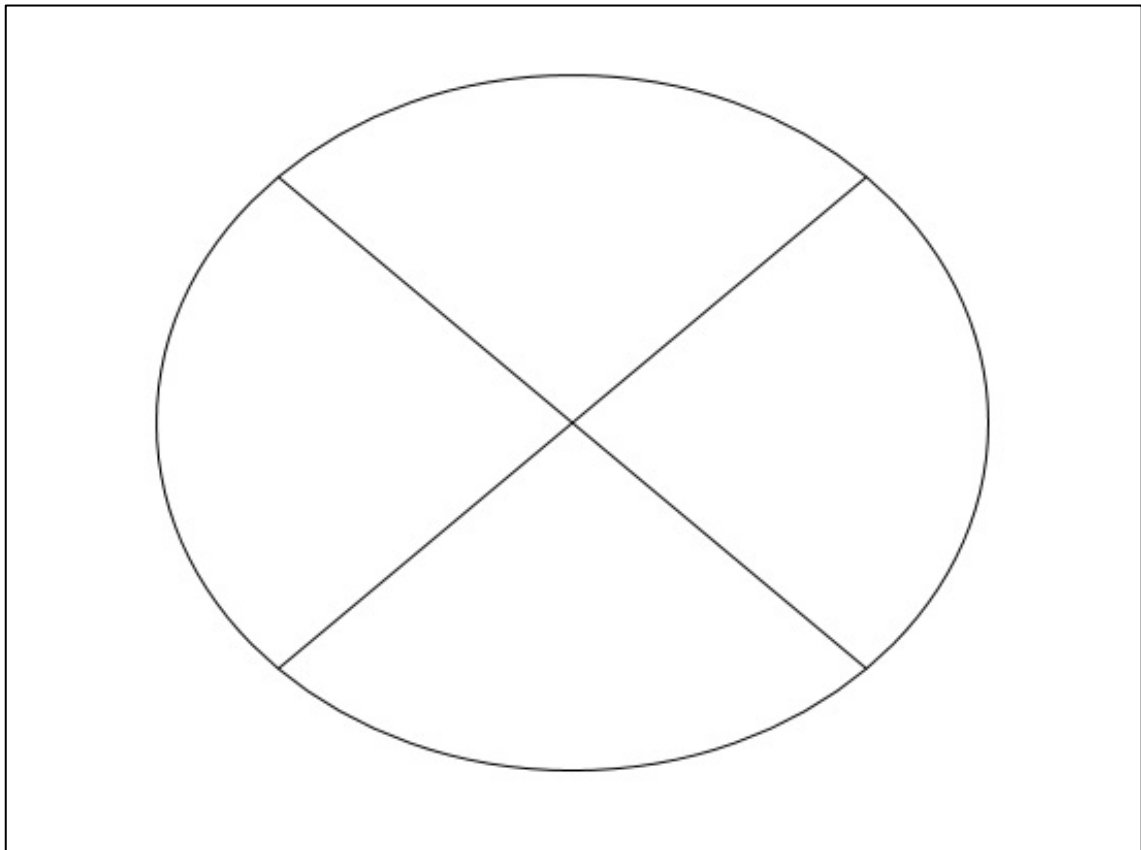
Figure 4.14 Ground plan of the Orthodox Baptistery, present condition. 1:100 (Deichmann 1976 2.II, Plan 2)

I believe that the Arian Baptistery thus presents a different conception of the ritual, perhaps not liturgically, but processionally. The matter of the 'wrong' orientation of the ceiling mosaic has more to do with our own conception of whether or not an initiate should be viewing it upon entering the building. Wharton's 'staged' baptism does lend itself well to the argument that the Orthodox Baptistery had signifiers around the room

for the initiates, as they were the people who 'needed' to be told the liturgical significance of baptism; presumably the bishop and his clergy already understand the liturgical importance of initiation. I would suggest, however, conceptualising the space of both baptisteries as being used more efficiently and concentrically as the design (and the mosaics themselves) dictates. The buildings are both octagonal, creating a centrally planned interior. Perhaps initiates to the Orthodox Baptistery entered from the northern door, proceeded with their ritual denunciation of the Devil, and then turned 'east', meaning that they looped down around the font to the bishop to receive baptism and anointment. In both the Orthodox and Arian mosaics, Christ is facing outward at the viewer rather than facing John the Baptist or the personified River Jordan who sits on the other side. Perhaps initiates too faced outward toward the rest of their peers before immersion, or stood in the font and then dipped their head under and then lifted it to the ceiling. After, they may have processed out the other door in the western wall, having completed the kind of circular motion also reflected in the mosaic. This is a purely a speculative analysis, as no part of the liturgical text nor Ambrose's lectures alludes to a procession by the initiates.

The Arian Baptistery is a much smaller building with an interior diameter of 6.75m and interior wall length of 2.86m (compared to the Orthodox building's 4.5m long sides). The smaller size of the building suggests that the Arian Church did not need as much space for new initiates as there were not as many as Orthodox initiates. It originally had an outer ambulatory surrounding the octagonal core that no longer exists that was roughly 1.9m wide (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 105, based on Gerola 1923 and Mazzotti 1970). The outer ambulatory had entrances which faced the cathedral to the east (Fig. 4.15), while the inner structure's doors are on the opposite side with openings in the north-west and south-west (today the north-west door is the only one open). Any baptismal procession, then, actually began outside the structure – possibly even from the Arian cathedral through a portico (Carile and Cirelli 2015, 115). The outer ambulatory consisted of rooms and passageways separated by arched openings which may have provided spaces for disrobing (Deliyannis 2010, 180). All this could point to the idea that there was a good deal of movement involved, from space to space, ultimately into the central building containing the font. The ritual was likely very similar to the Orthodox one, but again our conception of the 'right' way to view the mosaic is temporal. It is indeed upside-down upon entering from

one of the doors, but it would be right-side-up after processing around the font to stand before the bishop.
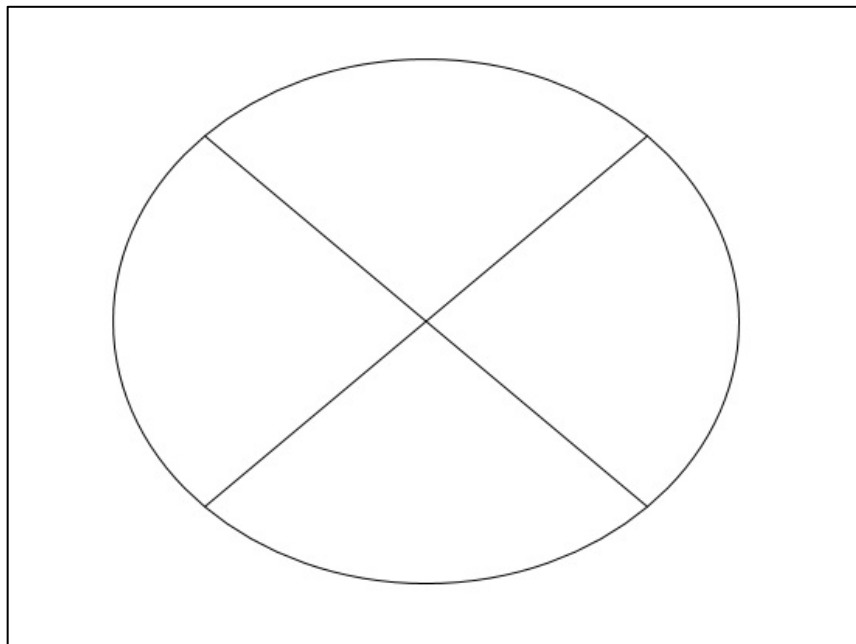
Figure 4.15 Ground plans of the Arian Cathedral and Baptistery complex 1:100. (Deichmann 1976 2.II, Plan 15)

Movement was therefore imperative for understanding viewership in these two spaces: people were potentially only allowed in once a year, and probably for a short amount of time as they participated in the ritual. This heightened the 'mysterious' quality of an interior and intimate space, for which a participatory decorative programme was created and the whole ritual was overseen by the city's highest cleric. The baptisteries were specialised buildings compared to the basilicas that were regularly attended for mass, and whose decorative programmes will be explored in the following chapter.

4.7. Conclusion: A Christian Capital

Briefly, this chapter has surveyed Ravenna from its origin as a late Roman imperial capital through its expansion under the Ostrogoths as the capital of their Italian kingdom. There are some notable gaps in our conception of the cityscape – especially residential areas and secular houses. The only private building known to us from the mid-sixth century is a large private domus known as the 'domus dei tappeti di pietra' or 'the house of the stone carpets', located in the north-west of the city just above the old Roman colony (Branzi Maltoni et al. 2003, 29-30). While this domus saw multiphase use and expansion, its

excavators believe the multitude of mosaic 'carpets' date to an expansion in the sixth century during the Ostrogothic or early Byzantine period. This 14-room house reveals the wealth of urban residents in the mid-sixth century and contributes to the picture of a thriving urban capital.

Ravenna's Christian identity was tied directly to the late Roman emperors, but was reinforced under the Ostrogoths with new buildings throughout the city. Royal and secular display reached its peak under Theoderic, yet he too chose to lavishly adorn his palace church and (presumably) the Arian cathedral of St. Theodore. Theoderic died in 526 and without a male heir the Amal dynasty faltered and Ostrogothic rule of Ravenna changed hands a number of times. In the East, Justinian took the throne in Constantinople in 527. Ravenna remained in Ostrogothic hands for another 13 years but fell to Byzantine invasion in 540 (*Wars* 6.29.39-41). The next chapter will focus on Ravenna's famous Byzantine monuments.

Chapter 5. Ravenna in the Byzantine West

5.1.   Introduction: Between *imperium* and *sacerdotum*

As the previous chapter demonstrated, Ravenna's cityscape was created by and transformed through royal and ecclesiastical patronage across the fifth and early sixth century. Thus far, the discussion of space has been largely in terms of spatial relationships between Ravenna's buildings, and the relational position of people to artwork in those spaces. This chapter will turn toward some of Ravenna's most famous spaces, and also some of the more intimate ones, to discuss how churches became an arena for political discourse in the Byzantine period. The Byzantine phase of Ravenna is perhaps the most famous and enduring in its life as a capital city, exemplified by the twin portraits of Justinian and Theodora in the church of San Vitale. However, after 540 Ravenna ceased to be a true imperial capital and, more accurately, it became the administrative centre for Byzantine Italy. Thus Ravenna became an 'imperial' capital without a resident imperial figure.

It was the seat of the Byzantine governor, the Exarch, up to the Lombard conquest in 751. It also became the seat of a wealthy Archbishop during the reign of the Byzantine-appointed Bishop Maximian (546-556). Ravenna was a Holy See between Rome and Constantinople whose visual programmes attest to the wealth of Ravenna's Church in the sixth century. Agnellus (*LPR* 100) remarked during the life of John II (578-595) that 'if you want to consider it, a bishop is greater than a king' because kings are preoccupied with earthly concerns like death and succession. Bishops, however, could concern themselves only with salvation of the soul: 'the king thinks that bodies may be destroyed, the bishop that the soul may be crowned'. This distinction between the sacred and the secular, *imperium* versus *sacerdotum* is a theme throughout Agnellus' writing, yet it is not out of place within this Byzantine-period bishop's life. Ravenna was an episcopal city that made use of a range of imperial images, demonstrating the active cooperation, and, at times, the tension between these two channels of power.

Section 5.1.1. of this chapter will examine Ravenna's reorganisation as a Byzantine city and as a 'capital' whose Emperor never once set foot inside its walls. Section 5.2 will

outline the social role churches played in the cityscape. The Byzantine phase of building included several new intramural basilicas and vast upgrades to the *episcopium*, and two major basilicas erected in Classe (Fig. 5.1). Section 5.3 provides a case study of bishop's spaces in the city. These spaces include San Vitale, a church that boasts 'imperial' decorative programmes but of wholly local foundation and patronage, and the archbishop's private chapel within the *episcopium*. These competing visual narratives within the city may help expose certain modes of viewing in Ravenna, and more widely the Byzantine West. Finally, this chapter will question how far we might we understand the Byzantine gaze in light of Ravenna's mix of western and eastern liturgical practices?
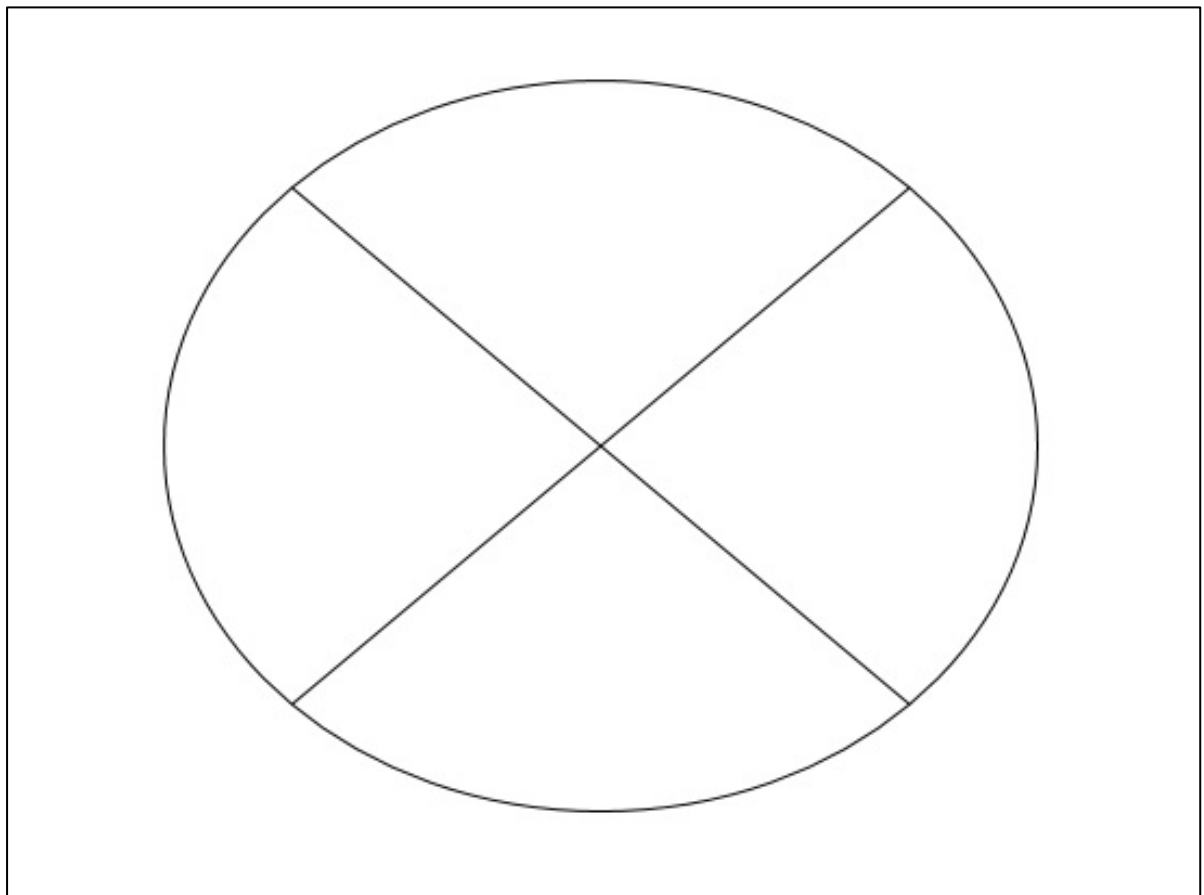
5.1.1. *Ravenna's Role in Italy*

Figure 5.1 Map of early Byzantine Ravenna c. AD 600. After Deliyannis (2010, 202)

The 're'-conquest of Italy was a fixation of Emperor Justinian: although the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy functioned quite independently of the former Eastern Empire, the notion that Italy - 'Rome' - was indeed being ruled by a foreigner became the perfect ideology

under which to incorporate Italy into the (now) Byzantine Empire. Ravenna and the surrounding territories were reorganised into the Exarchate of Italy under the administration of an Exarch (more or less a provincial governor) and his staff, and also largely governed by members of the military elite (Brown 1984, 18). The absence of an imperial or royal figure in the palace seems to break with Ravenna's immediate past: for the most part Ostrogothic rule meant that a monarch was resident in the city, or at the very least resident in one of his palaces in a city nearby. The same is not true for Byzantine Ravenna: the Byzantine Emperor lived in and ruled from Constantinople and in fact, Emperor Justinian rarely travelled west and never once visited Ravenna. The day-to-day governance of Byzantine Ravenna, therefore, fell somewhere between a new aristocracy and the Church.

It is difficult to know the exact makeup of the Byzantine government or the new aristocracy in the early decades following the conquest – Brown (1986a, 148) concluded that the general chronological trend after the conquest was of new military elites gradually taking possession of land and titles through a strong alliance with the Church. The dates of the first Exarch are unknown, but it seems plausible that one was sent toward the end of the sixth century. The Exarch's official duty as the representative of the Byzantine Emperor was to administer laws to the province (Noble 1984, 4), but it was also expected on some level that the Exarch resolve disputes between the bishop and his clergy, or between the bishop and the people, and even at times between the Pope of Rome and the bishop of Ravenna (*LPR* 120-123; 152; also see Brown 1979 on the relationship between the Exarch and the Archbishops in the seventh century).

A key debate about Ravenna's incorporation into the Byzantine Empire is whether this coincided with a fundamental socio-cultural transformation in the mid-sixth century, essentially asking the question 'how Byzantine was Ravenna?'. This debate traditionally centres on three main criteria: the degree of immigration from Constantinople, the diffusion of Greek language, and the introduction of eastern or Greek institutions and devotional practices (Cosentino 2015, 58), and I would further add art and architectural styles to these criteria. Guillou (1969, 202) proposed using the attested personal names or derivatives from 150 tombstones to provide evidence of Ravenna's demographics at the beginning of the sixth century. He found that Ravenna was made up of mostly Latins/native Italians, with 14% Goths, and 16% easterners from Greece, Armenia, Persia

and Syria. By the end of the sixth century, Guillou found that these percentages had changed: 50% Latins/native Italian, 7% Goths, and 43% easterners. This marked increase in eastern residents could be explained by the settlement of Byzantine mercenaries and *foederati* at the end of the Gothic Wars, and they accounted for a wealthy portion of the population: large land owners, soldiers, merchants, bankers, and officials from the east. Brown (1986a, 138), however, has argued that while this increase might be significant, it is actually less important than at first glance: Greek names were already part of a common Greco-Roman repertoire of Christian names and many Greek-speaking people were already important in Ravenna's society before the conquest. Even if this evidence reflects a change in naming patterns, it is still likely to only be those of a new elite and not of Ravenna's wider Italian population.

The final criterion, that of eastern institutions or practices, is the most difficult of the three to ascertain. A specific Ravennate liturgy has never been recorded, and it has been argued that Ravennates practised a mix of western Latin liturgies and eastern Greek liturgies with local variations for multiple occasions (Smith 1990, 202). Cosentino (2015, 58) notes that it is actually quite difficult to highlight specific elements of Byzantine Ravenna that differ greatly from late Roman or Ostrogothic Ravenna. We might say, therefore, that Ravenna was increasingly 'Byzantine' in population, but that this is harder to read in its institutions, rituals, and artwork.

Urban centres within the Exarchate (mainly the modern province of Emilia-Romagna) were places where produce from lands belonging to the archbishop of Ravenna could be collected and accounted for (Brown and Christie 1989, 384). Brown and Christie (1989, 386) suggest this pattern was broadly reflective of the importance of the archbishop to public administration in the Exarchate. In the 520s Church-owned estates were yielding 17,000 *solidi* yearly, but by the middle of the seventh century Church land income was at least 70,000 *solidi* (Cosentino 2015, 59). This significant increase in income was largely due to land grants to Ravenna's Church made by the Byzantine Emperors, beginning with Justinian's gifts just after the re-conquest and continuing through the seventh century under Constans II (c. 666) and Constantine IV (c. 669-674). Alongside the Church, the port city of Classe maintained commercial contacts with both North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. Excavations here between 2001 and 2005 revealed a number of warehouses stocked with wine, olive oil, fish sauce, and cereals and grains. Since the full

capacity of these warehouses would have exceeded the needs of the local population in the fifth and sixth centuries (roughly 10,000 people), Augenti and Cirelli (2012, 207) speculate that this meant that Ravenna and Classe functioned as redistribution centres for foodstuffs for the whole of northern Italy up to the seventh century. Even as commercial routes broke down in the seventh century and Classe's warehouses no longer functioned at full capacity, Ravenna's economy remained strong through the export of Church estate produce up to middle of the eighth century (Augenti and Cirelli 2012, 209).

In the Byzantine period, Ravenna was a showcase of power: it was the location for imperial embassies and papal visits that were essential to 'populate' and enrich the city. As noted above in Chapter 4, Ravenna had only a fraction of the population of Rome or Constantinople in Late Antiquity, and likewise the city walls were less than half the circumference of those at Rome. It leads us to wonder how contemporaries saw it in comparison: was it a small but elegant city that entertained people at its court or within its basilicas?

Broadly, Byzantine Ravenna was an elite city with a large population of rich land-owning elites and re-settled military elites. As will be shown below, the city functioned more or less as a showpiece of Byzantine splendour in the West, but not as an imperial residence. While Byzantine emperors granted Ravenna's Church large tracts of lands, there is little to no direct imperial patronage for specific churches founded during the Exarchate, although it is possible that Justinian gave money to the bishops of Ravenna or at least gave them a return on tax remissions that allowed Bishop Victor (538-545) to lavish the cathedral and *episcopium* with new furnishing (*LPR* 66). There are few examples that the Exarchs had much influence on Ravenna in terms of its architectural landscape, but Agnellus records activities of the seventh-century exarch Theodore (679-693) that include sponsoring a *monasterium* near Theoderic's palace church and gifting it gold chalices (*LPR* 119), and refurbishing the church of St. Paul together with Archbishop Theodore (667-691). The majority of the land in Ravenna's environs belonged to the Church by the middle of the seventh century, and although the city was certainly wealthier it was not much larger – its population still never exceeded 10,000 inhabitants during the Justinianic period (Cosentino 2015, 59; cf. Cosentino 2005, 406-413). The Church became the centre of economic, administrative, and institutional stability during the Exarchate, effectively making Ravenna an episcopal city more than anything else. The Church's new wealth can

clearly be read in its monuments: some of the most opulent and richly decorated spaces in Ravenna were constructed, decorated, or consecrated during the first decades of the Exarchate.

5.2. Churches in the landscape in Byzantine Ravenna and Classe

As mentioned in Section 4.4.1., large-scale church building by the Orthodox Church resumed after the death of Theoderic. The construction of several churches began under Bishop Ecclesius (522-532) that were not finished until after the Byzantine conquest. This section will discuss the use of Byzantine-era churches in the social and urban landscapes of Ravenna and Classe: both as places of worship, but also as foci of sacrality concerning saints and martyrs and their relics. The Byzantine bishops were increasingly aware of wanting to represent a long Orthodox tradition within Ravenna's walls, thus relics were brought to the city from the East and from Rome. We also have record of church donations from private citizens, the most prominent being a wealthy banker named Julian. It comes as no surprise that patronage shifted away from direct imperial benefaction and toward local initiative as Ravenna's general population became wealthier. Major basilicas constructed or completed in the Byzantine sixth century (c. 540-595) include San Vitale, St. Andrew Major, St. Stephen, and St. Michael (San Michele *in Africisco*) in Ravenna, and Sant'Apollinare and St. Severus (San Severo) in Classe. I will not treat each of these in turn as with the previous chapter, but wish instead to talk about churches as a collective category of built environment. With so much construction activity happening in Ravenna, how did these churches change the urban and suburban landscape? Did these churches get much traffic in terms of pilgrimage or viewing? Much of what can be inferred about Ravenna's churches comes directly from their size, architectural features, location, and decoration.

5.2.1. *Locating the Cult of Saints*

Yasin (2009, 15) defined the 'place of the sacred' as 'locatable in physical thing or site', while 'sacred space' encompasses 'an area of collective worship defined by the special actions of the community'. Architecturally, churches are sacred spaces with 'platial' functions: they locate the sacred by housing relics, and they become sacred through the ritual of mass and the actions of a congregation at worship. Relics, the holy remains of a

saint or martyr's body and/or objects that had touched their body, were increasingly important in the West compared to the East (a subject that will be explored further below), where icons emerged as the dominant epistemology (Yasin 2009, 24-25; Deliyannis 1996, 560). Christian spaces developed two types from the late fourth century onward: Biblical places in the East, and those organised around the remains of saints in the West (Yasin 2009, 24). Sabine MacCormack (1990, 19-20) clarified that in the West 'space was ordered in a system of focal points of sacred power – that is, by the saints in their churches'. The earliest Christian churches were consecrated with a simple performance of the Eucharist, but during the sixth century the act of consecration began to be more tightly associated with a rite of purification and the deposition of a saint's relics into the ground or under the altar in order to sanctify the site (Iogna-Prat 2008, 367).

Ravenna had a local martyr tradition going back to its early Christian period. Presumably some of these churches contained the bodies or relics of saints such as Apollinaris, Eleuchadius, Probus, Agatha and Agnes. We also know that St. Germanus' relics were kept in Ravenna after his death in the city in the fifth century (Chapter 4). The site over which San Vitale was built has been identified as the location of a *memoria* to St. Vitalis (first or second century AD): archaeological investigations below the floor revealed a small chapel with remains of an altar that date to the fifth century (Deliyannis 2010, 244; Verhoeven 2011, 73-74). However, Archbishop Maximian appears to be the first bishop to have actively sought out relics for Ravenna's churches in order to give them the same kind of antiquity and status as Milan, Rome, or Constantinople. A lengthy list of the relics he brought to the city is provided by Agnellus (*LPR* 72), as well as the story of Maximian attempting to steal the body of St. Andrew before being stopped by Emperor Justinian (*LPR* 76); on this occasion, even though he was unable to bring the saint's body, Maximian did manage to steal St. Andrew's beard and return to Ravenna with several other relics given by the Emperor. This episode highlights the competition for relics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: this competition took various forms but tended to revolve around issues of local authority, interactions between bishops and their clergy, and issues of legitimacy/authenticity within a regional church. Further, no medieval ecclesiastical legislation defines exactly what relics were, thus bodies and any objects that touched them were open to interpretation as 'relics' (Smith 2015, 45).

The idea that relics required display and visitation was only just coming into circulation: the only well-known statement of the place of relics in Latin Christianity comes from Gennadius of Marseille c. 500 in the *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*:

> We believe that the bodies of saints and especially the relics of blessed martyrs should be honoured very sincerely as the limbs of Christ, and that basilicas dedicated in their names, as holy places given over to worship, should be visited with very reverent love and most faithful devotion.
>
> (PL 58:997, quoted by Smith 2015, 51)

Peter Brown (1981, 3) noted that 'By the end of the sixth century, the graves of the saints, which lay in the cemetery areas outside the walls of most of the cities of the former Western Empire, had become centres of the ecclesiastical life in their region. This was because the saint in Heaven was believed to be "present" at his tomb on earth'. Yasin (2009, 26) argued that this conception was a 'radical' invention in Late Antiquity – monumental churches speak to the invention of a concept of sacred *place*, and the meanings attached to it are important for how we model the way people interacted with holy relics and icons (see below Section 5.5).

That Ravenna had so many early saints in its 'collection' hints at rivalries with Rome and Milan. Bishop Ambrose had fortunately found the relics of Sts. Gervase and Protase in Milan and transferred them to his great cathedral (*Epistula* 77), and, according to Paulinus of Milan (Ambrose's notary) he also discovered the relics of St. Agricola in Bologna which he transferred to churches in Milan and Florence (*Vita Ambrosii* 14, c. AD 422). Ravenna had none as important to show for itself until the sixth century, when a letter attributed to Ambrose appeared containing the miraculous story of Vitalis (supposedly the father of Gervase and Protase) being martyred in Ravenna (Deliyannis 2010, 224; published as Pseudo-Ambrose, Epi. 2). As detailed below, the church dedicated in his name became a showpiece of Byzantine splendour under Maximian.

5.2.2. *Benefactors: Julianus Argentarius and his Churches*

A major development in late antique urban planning is the shift in focus of private patronage from traditional euergetism to ecclesiastical benefaction: close behind the bishop's generous contributions to the Church were those of private citizens. Large-scale private benefaction was actually uncommon in the west, and Ravenna is fairly exceptional in the number of basilicas sponsored by private citizens. By comparison, the last privately

built basilica in Rome was Santa Sabina (c. AD 430-440), finished nearly a century before San Vitale (Barnish 1985, 8). Ravenna owed a prominent body of major churches to one man: *Julianus Argentarius* (Julian 'the banker'). We know almost nothing about Julian, save what was recorded by Agnellus: that he was called 'the banker' and that he financed three churches - a small basilica to San Michele in the region *ad Frigiselo* (*in Africisco*) that no longer stands, the basilica of San Vitale, and Sant'Apollinare in Classe. Julian thus financed two of the most famous and perhaps most grandly decorated churches in the early Byzantine period, spending 26,000 *solidi* on San Vitale alone (*LPR* 59).

Most scholars agree that his agnomen '*argentarius*' means that literally he was a banker. Banking was a particularly thriving business in sixth century Ravenna, with nearly three times as many active *argentarii* recorded in documentary evidences here as in Rome (Cosentino 2014, 248; 250). Yet, 'banking' in Late Antiquity may have meant a number of activities: selling gold or silver wares, depositing money or metallic wealth, or weighing of metal goods, but more typically it meant 'money changing'. This last activity is how Julian probably made his money, and it is worth remembering that he most likely amassed his fortune while Ravenna was at peace during the Ostrogothic period. Ravenna was a prime place for this activity, with a high concentration of merchants and trade income and a relatively small population (Cosentino 2014, 253).

Barnish (1985, 6) reasoned, based on the proportion of a typical annual income for *argentarii*, that all three churches might have cost Julian around 60,000 *solidi* in total; however, this amount was not so lavish in comparison to what was being spent on imperial foundations in the east, such as Hagia Sophia (a project much larger in scale, to be sure). He further elaborates that Julian's total yearly salary might have been 20,000 *solidi* a year – far more than merchant classes and most types of official or clerical jobs, but certainly much less than the wealth of the senatorial aristocracy or the patriarchs themselves. But in the absence of direct imperial benefaction in Byzantine Ravenna, Julian is only just below the Archbishop in importance and prominence. Julian represents a cross-section of Ravenna's new elite: wealthy, visible, and of Eastern descent. Deichmann (1951) argued that although he signed his name and profession with Latin words, he used Greek letters and therefore was probably of Eastern origin. Cosentino (2014, 250) highlighted how his monogram appears in both Greek and Latin in San Vitale, but because his churches are so connected to local cults he may not have been a recent

immigrant. He seems, by all counts, to be an independent and private individual willing to spend his wealth on the Church.

Julian is certainly a unique figure in later antiquity given how much he was able to donate at one time in one place, however there are a few other instances of private benefaction in Ravenna such as Adeodatus, 'the groom of the prefecture' paying for the ambo of the church of Sts. John and Paul (Deliyannis 2010, 220). Indeed many people are known to have donated small amounts to the church to pay for floor tiles or small mosaic panels, as attested at other Adriatic sites like St. Eufemia in Grado (Christie 2006, 174-175). So far, the only indication we have seen of where donor portraits should appear within a church comes from Ravenna's previous patrons – Theoderic (as a donor or financier) appeared on the back wall of his palace church, Galla Placidia and members of her family appeared in the sanctuary mosaics of San Giovanni Evangelista, and in San Vitale the 'donor portrait' is actually that of Ecclesius in the apse mosaic where he presents a small model of the church to Christ Enthroned. These are all examples of royal or ecclesiastical elites, so how appropriate was it for a private citizen to appear in portraiture inside of a church? There is no other evidence to suggest that lay persons appeared in ecclesiastical portraiture the way they may have appeared in public spaces during the Roman period (see Stewart 2008, 77-107 on Roman portraiture); rather, the typical church donation by a lay person would be commemorated in text as an inscription (usually in the pavement) (Janes 1998, 136-137).

Many scholars have speculated on the extent of Julian's role in church building as a donor or a financier, and whether or not this extended to aspects of design or decorative choice. This seems supremely unlikely, as all of the documentation citing him only mention his profession as a banker. And while he is clearly named among the inscriptions and stamped on column capitals, other scholars have speculated on his possible appearance among the figures in the Justinian panel in the sanctuary of San Vitale (most notably Von Simson 1948, 6, following the much earlier argument made by Testi-Rasponi). Given that the only person named in the panel is Archbishop Maximian and it is well established that the panel depicts Emperor Justinian and a royal court with their retinue (see Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold 1997 for their analysis of the figures in the panel), such speculation is problematic, and, as noted, it might not have even been appropriate for him to be honoured by an image. What is nonetheless important to note is Julian's prominent

role in shaping Ravenna's cityscape alongside the bishop: the bishops acted as dedicators, donors, and facilitators of authority yet they required the active cooperation of local citizens like Julian in order to support and fund their projects (cf. Deliyannis 2010, 220).

Churches thus served as a vehicle for civic euergetism in Late Antiquity because few other architectural or monumental possibilities still existed. Euergetism in Roman imperial periods was often commemorated through inscription – a monumental epigraphic habit that lasted up to the fifth century. Over the course of the sixth century this epigraphic habit in civic spaces almost completely disappeared. However, Yasin (2009, 109) argued that churches were the new epigraphic environment, and they were an integral part of a new gift economy. While Julian is not represented in mosaic, he was commemorated by an inscription that befit his status as donor – if we think of text as image, rather than simple script, then we can broaden the concept of donor 'images' within a church. Yasin's (2009, 149) study of donor inscriptions revealed them to be commemorative landscapes that brought together multiple elements of the old Roman system, but incorporated a community element into their form: 'the intended readers of these monumental texts [pavement inscriptions] are exclusively Christians who would, at the moment of viewing, be on their way or already gathered together to participate in communal ritual'.

5.2.3. *Bishops, Saints, and Clergy: Accessing the Divine in Ravenna's Churches*

The clergy, though they perhaps made up a small portion of the population, had special access to ecclesiastical spaces that the non-ecclesiastical viewer would not. Agnellus often tells us how he is able to facilitate viewing of holy objects and sacred bodies. These small asides usually include another member of the clergy or someone in a position of authority, someone who might have insider knowledge and access to what Agnellus wants to know. On one such occasion he was pondering the burial place of Bishop Peter I (Chrysologus), wondering if he was indeed buried within the Petriana church in Classe. Agnellus (*LPR* 26) was sceptical of the information so he enlisted help from a local priest:

> One of the boys, who daily presented himself in my sight, announced to me that George, the priest of the church of Classe, had arrived. He at that time had the care of the church of St. Severus the confessor of Christ […], at once I began to ask him whether perhaps he knew anything from older men, from hearing or sight, about the tomb of this blessed bishop.

He, with a cheerful face, said to me, "Come, I will show you what you greatly desire, where a most precious treasure rests."

Agnellus proceeded to follow George to Classe where he was shown a sarcophagus in the *monasterium* of St. James that was attached to the baptistery of the Petriana, and he and George together decided to lift the cover to gaze upon the body (much to both of their dismay and terror at having disturbed it). While the body they saw most likely belonged to Archbishop Peter III (570-578) (Deliyannis 2004, 124 n. 10), it is one of several instances where Agnellus was able to view something an ordinary person could not because of his clerical status. Additionally it shows that even Agnellus, with all of his resources, did not know exactly where physical bodies ended up inside of a church – perhaps because some of this information was lost by the ninth century, perhaps because there were just so many more saints, relics, and bishops that one could easily mix them up. It also gives us some insight into how local urban priests tended to their churches: although George is singled out as having 'the care of the church of St. Severus', he is more generally labelled 'the priest of the church of Classe' and obviously was someone who had access to special places within important churches.

Sant'Apollinare in Classe is referenced by Agnellus multiple times as a place of activity, worship, and community gathering. According to Agnellus, the Classe Sant'Apollinare was used as the location for community masses when Ravenna's clergy were at odds with their bishop: all the clergy in Ravenna walked to Classe in order to celebrate the Nativity from Sant'Apollinare while the bishop in Ravenna cried that 'the church is empty, there is no keeper' (*LPR* 121). These observations are also, of course, tied to Agnellus' ninth-century view, a time when much of Classe and Caesarea had already been abandoned and Agnellus had an unfavourable view of his own Archbishop George (837-846). Classe nonetheless remained an important religious centre into the Middle Ages, since San Severo received additions and adornments into the tenth century, and a Benedictine monastery was built alongside the original basilica at the beginning of the ninth century (Vandini *et al*. 2014, 92). Unfortunately, there is little left of Classe to help visualise its importance, it was the victim of a terrible earthquake c. 726-744 that destroyed many of its churches including the sizeable basilica Petriana sponsored by Peter Chrysologus. Regular alluviation over its flat fields damaged many of its other structures (Augenti 2012, 53).

Sant'Apollinare is the only extant late antique church in Classe, perhaps surviving precisely because it was the house of Ravenna's only martyr and mythical first bishop, St. Apollinaris – hence, its importance to Agnellus' stories is made clearer: the church of Sant'Apollinare was the proper stage for a protest because Ravenna's first bishop could be called upon to protect his clergy:

> Rise, St. Apollinaris, celebrate with us the mass of the day of the nativity of the Lord. Holy Peter gave you to us as a shepherd. Therefore we are your sheep. We gather around you, save us.
>
> (LPR 122)

This contextualisation of the sacred demonstrates the importance individual saints had in Latin Christianity: while all churches were conventionally places of worship to God, only specific basilicas/chapels/altars warranted devotion to a single saint and could become a conduit for their favour.

In sum, Ravenna's churches provided an arena for various discourses in the sixth-century Byzantine cityscape: they brought people into direct context with the holy by physically housing the remains of saints, and they constituted a new epigraphic environment for commemorating civic patrons and creating communal memory. They also became a way for bishops and private citizens to collaborate, and provided public spaces for people to gather and pray, or even to demonstrate. These are all categorically transparent reasons for so many churches to exist in such a limited area with a modest population. I believe it might not have been particularly important for every ecclesiastical space to be heavily frequented or used for particular purpose, but it was important that they existed – either in testament to a local saintly tradition ('we have this'), or the wealth of Ravenna's private citizens ('I built this') – they are part of the 'second nature' of late antique cityscapes.

5.3. Case Study: Bishop's Spaces for a Bishop's City

To gain an insight into how some of these spaces were viewed, we might start with spaces with a known audience. Two such spaces in particular are connected directly to Ravenna's bishops: the archiepiscopal chapel to St. Andrew in the bishop's residence, and the sanctuary decorations of San Vitale. These are two quite different spaces: one a private house chapel and the other a large, Byzantine-style congregational church. However, the decoration of both speaks to the direct involvement of the bishop in visualising sacred

space and in creating visual programmes for the public and for themselves. One of the goals of this section is to frame the imperial portraits within their spatial setting and recognize that while they certainly contain messages of 'imperial power', San Vitale itself plays an important ecclesiastical role within the city. This space was commissioned, decorated, and consecrated over the course of at least three bishops' reigns under the direct order of the bishops in cooperation with Julian *Argentarius*; Emperor Justinian did not commission this church or his portrait and in fact never saw either. A second goal is to use the chapel in the *episcopium* to discuss viewing in a more intimate space than San Vitale, especially because it has a specific viewer: the bishop himself. A final consideration will be the so called 'reconciliation' of Ostrogothic churches under Archbishop Agnellus (556-559), specifically his handling of Theoderic's palace-church and restructuring of the decorative programme – to what end was it necessary for the bishop to visually change this space rather than simply re-dedicating it?

5.3.1. *San Vitale*

Our later tour guide, Agnellus noted that 'no church in Italy is similar in structures and in mechanical works' (*LPR* 59) to San Vitale, and Richard Krautheimer believed the architect of San Vitale 'designed the one truly great building of the West in the sixth century' (1986, 236). Indeed, San Vitale is the most innovative building in Ravenna for its design of a double-shell octagon that once connected to a narthex and colonnaded atrium (Fig. 5.2). Our understanding of San Vitale's construction is hindered by how little we actually know about it, despite its good state of survival. We do not know exactly how long it took to build, the size of the workforce, who the main architect was or under whose direction the mosaic decorations came to fruition. San Vitale was tightly connected to Ravenna's bishops: it was constructed under two, but possibly up to four, of its sixth-century bishops and decorated with over-life-size portraits of two of these bishops. It may seem obvious that these famous 'imperial panels' were meant for the glorification of the emperor, but we must be aware that access to and interpretation of these mosaics varied greatly throughout multi-period use of the basilica. Rank and participation in liturgical rituals, gender, and social status dictated who was allowed into the most intimate church spaces and therefore who was able to view these decorative programmes up close. These mosaics may have functioned primarily as means for Bishop Maximian to legitimise and negotiate his power with the location population.
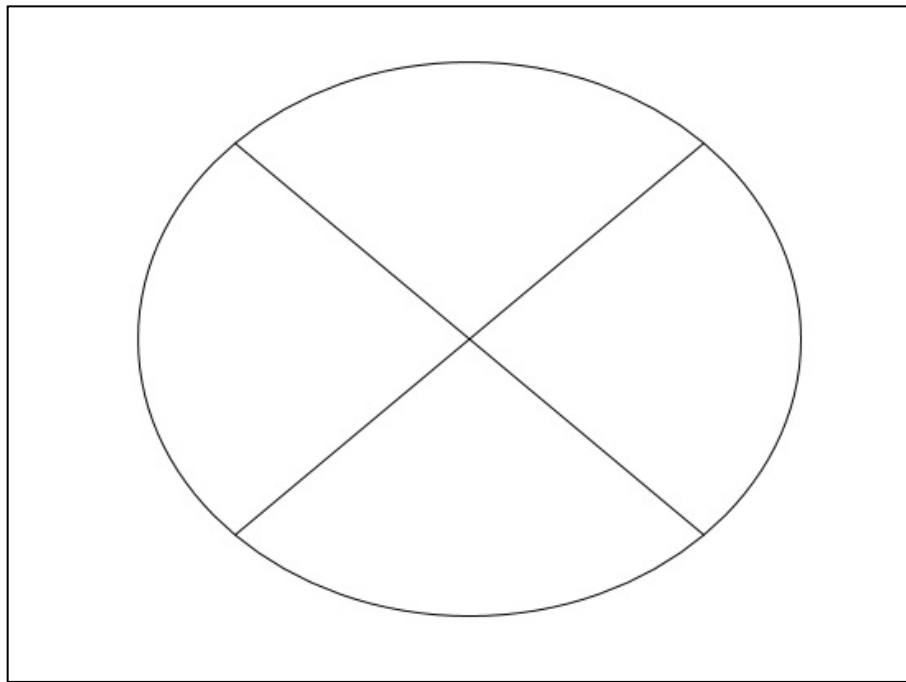
Figure 5.2 Floor plan of San Vitale, from Deliyannis 2010, after Deichmann.

An inscription recorded by Agnellus (*LPR* 77) tells us that Archbishop Maximian consecrated the church in 547. The Emperor is not mentioned:

> Julian the banker built the basilica of the blessed martyr Vitalis from the foundations, authorized by the *vir beatissimus* Bishop Ecclesius, and decorated and dedicated it, with the *vir reverendissimus* Bishop Maximian consecrated it April 19, in the tenth indiction, in the sixth year after the consulship of Basilius [AD 547]

The wording of the inscription has been much debated: does it mean that construction of the building itself began under Ecclesius (522-532), or simply that Bishop Ecclesius gave permission or land to Julian to begin work on the church because it was built near or upon his personal property (as mentioned in *LPR* 57 - Deichmann 1976, 7-33 proposed that the words for 'authorized', 'built' and 'dedicated' in the inscription are actual legal terms to describe the procedure for commissioning a church in the sixth century; see Deliyannis 2010, 225 for discussion). If Ecclessius' role was simply to give permission to build on his land, it is possible that proper construction began under his successor Ursicinus (533-536) or, more likely, under Victor (538-545), whose monogram in fact appears on several carved column capitals on the lower storey. If so, the whole project may have been delayed or interrupted by the outbreak of the Gothic War from 535-540. Deichmann

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argued that construction actually only began after 540, with the city's re-conquest by the Byzantine army and with the appointment of the Byzantine Archbishop (Deichmann II, 1976; cited by Verhoeven 2011, 47). However, it seems evident that Ecclesius was viewed as the church donor because his portrait appears in the apse handing a small model of the church to Christ (Deliyannis 2010, 225). Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold's (1997, 716) detailed study (from scaffolds) of the mosaic programme in the sanctuary revealed that work on all of the mosaics was indeed interrupted at some point, and that the workload of all of the mosaics was divided as a result of the distribution of labour by the mosaic workshop. This would indicated that whole building took twenty-five years at most to complete (if begun at the start of Ecclesius' reign), and at seven (if begun in the year of the Byzantine takeover). Deliyannis (2010, 226) proposed the longer timeline for the construction of the church and added that the design may have even changed in the time between its initial commissioning and final dedication (Fig. 5.3).
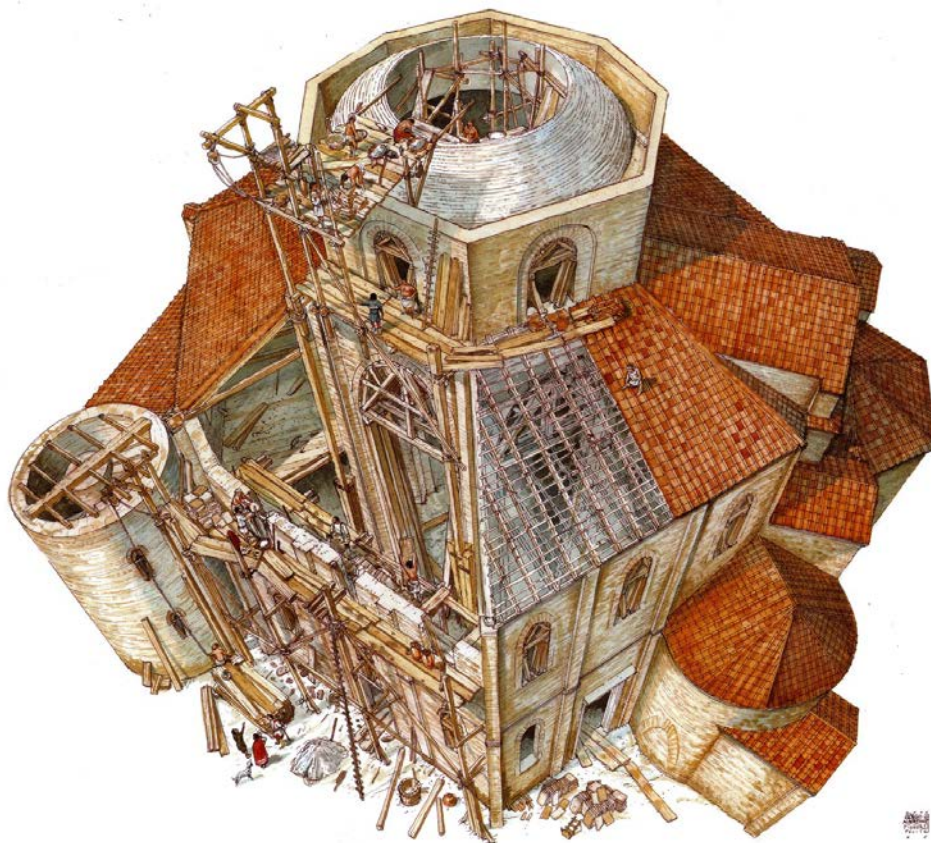
Figure 5.3 Reconstruction of San Vitale during its construction by Giorgio Albertini.
http://www.giorgioalbertini.com/

As Deliyannis (2010, 225) noted, the date of the foundation of San Vitale really only matters when considering its relationship to other notable churches being built in Constantinople under Emperor Justinian around the same time, namely the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and an often-cited connection the Hagia Sophia. This observation has also led to speculation about whether San Vitale's architect was an Easterner (Krautheimer 1986, 236 believes the architect was Western; Russo 2005 believes it was a master architect from Constantinople), and whether Julian had a role in the building's design as its patron. While an octagonal floor plan for a church like San Vitale was indeed unique in the West, this design was in fashion in the East from the later Roman period (Krautherimer 1986, Antioch: 76; Syria, general: 138; Palestine and Jordan: 157; Ravenna as a rarity: 232). However, as shown in Chapter 4, the octagonal design was in use in Ravenna at least since the fifth century not for churches, but for the shape of both the Neonian and Arian baptisteries.

A recent study by Tronchin and Knight (2016) mapped the interior of San Vitale using virtual modelling and archaeoacoustics to produce some insights about the building's design and symmetry and its relationship to other buildings in Ravenna. Importantly, they converted the building's metric measurements recorded by Deichmann (1989) into original Roman units and found that San Vitale had an internal mathematical harmony that cannot truly be perceived when standing inside the building, but is apparent when analysing the model. Since San Vitale shares several innovative features with the Arian Baptistery – such as the ratios of the building's concentric octagons and an ambulatory interrupted by the apse - they concluded that these were local, Ravennate architectural features (Tronchin and Knight 2016, 132). This indicates to some extent that Ravenna's architecture is contextually Italian, even with an innovative building like San Vitale, much of its style and influence was local: patrons and architects drew from what they saw around them, leading many scholars to dub the architectural style of Ravenna's buildings as 'Ravennate' (Galassi 1930; Wharton 1995, 3-12; Deliyannis 2010, 17-18).

From Agnellus' later account, we gain a clear picture of Archbishop Maximian as a patron of the city, and of Byzantine Ravenna as a place busy with construction (*LPR* 70, 72-77, 79, 80, 82-83). Maximian is named as the patron, decorator, or consecrator of five different churches, making it seem that a church was finished (or at least consecrated) every two years in the early part of his episcopacy. Maximian had access to good building

materials and artisans from the East – whereas the late Roman basilicas were made of reused brick, San Vitale is completely new in its building and decorating materials. This bishop was also a very visible figure within Ravenna's ecclesiastical landscape: thus, Agnellus tell us he built the church of St. Stephen where 'in the vaults of the apse his image is fixed in multicolored mosaic, and is surrounded by wonderful glasswork' (*LPR* 72) and that he put his name on two dedications inside the church, and further constructed a small *monasteria* nearby where 'above the capitals of all the columns the name of this Maximian is carved' (*LPR* 72). He decorated St. Andrew and gifted it with martyr relics, consecrated both San Michele and San Vitale, and consecrated Sant'Apollinare in Classe. Agnellus pays much attention to the inscriptions and dedications in the churches, but most especially to the long list of saintly and martyr relics Maximian personally brought to the city.

5.3.1.1. Rereading the Imperial panels

In contrast to all that Agnellus has to say about Maximian's acquisition of relics, he offers only this one short sentence about the decoration of San Vitale: 'And in the apse of San Vitale the image of this same Maximian and of the emperor and empress are beautifully created in mosaic' (*LPR* 77). It appears that at least at the time of Agnellus in the ninth century these panels were noteworthy, but the decoration of San Vitale was neither more nor less special than any of the other churches in which Maximian was depicted or named. Although up to four bishops may have been involved with the construction of this church, only Ecclesius and Maximian are named in the inscription, and are also the only two bishops featured in the decoration of the apse (Fig. 5.4), with Ursicinus and Victor omitted.

Figure 5.4 Apse mosaic San Vitale. Photo by author.

However, within two years of the consecration of San Vitale, Maximian would also dedicate Sant'Apollinare in Classe, which depicts his predecessors Severus, Ursus, Ursicinus, and Ecclesius in the apse. The tradition of depicting bishops in their own churches was common in Ravenna, and arguably began there in the sixth century (Deliyannis 2014, 52-53). Maximian's portrait in San Vitale, however, takes the more traditional bishop-as-donor portrait and turns it into a conversation about power, place, and the role of images as more than decoration or commemoration.

The two imperial panels have been scrutinized many times over for their meaning and interpretation (Von Simson 1948; Deichmann 1969 and 1976; Kitzinger 1977; MacCormack 1981; Maguire 1987; Barber 1990; Andreescu-Treadgold 1994; Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold 1997; Bassett 2008). I will not be analysing either panel in detail or in terms of their individual imagery; rather, I argue that we need to take into account the immediate spatial context of such famous artwork and frame it within the building itself and the building's history. Two of the more often cited interpretations of the panels are first that they were completed in a post-Gothic Ravenna and thus represent a re-conquest of space and proclaim the returned glory of the 'Roman' Empire (McCormick 1986, 67; 120; Elsner 1995, 177; Reece 1999, 66); and second a straightforward 'reading' of the images as an exact representations of the Emperor and

Empress participating in the Little Entrance at the start of the liturgy (Mathews 1971, 146-147; Barber 1900; cf. Elsner 1995, 179).

In response to the first view, I would take into consideration the fact that the building was probably begun during Ostrogothic rule, and that the general timeline for completion and decoration is, as noted, debatable. San Vitale was a newly built church, on a bishop's private property, in the north-western quadrant of the city – nowhere near any of the Ostrogothic buildings. It seems unlikely that if Julian or Bishop Ecclesius wished to make a statement about conquering space or appropriating the urban landscape that they would do so in such a subdued and inoffensive way. It is also worth restating that San Vitale was not an imperial commission – Justinian had no personal role in any phase of this church as far as we know. Thus the presence of the imperial couple in these panels cannot be read as part of an intentional visual programme representing 'conquest' or 'Roman imperial power' over former Ostrogothic spaces. It may, however, have supplanted the Ostrogothic churches by moving the focus of power and ceremony to a different area of the city with a large and sumptuous new basilica.

As far as the second interpretation goes, Von Simson (1948, 30) argued that perhaps these mosaics were meant to depict what Byzantine Emperors do, as he interpreted the whole of San Vitale as definitely 'Byzantine' in its artwork. However, Von Simson (1948, 30; 37) also notes that the participation of the Emperor in offertory rites was common practice in the East, but at least since the time of Bishop Ambrose and Theodosius I in the late fourth century this had not been common in the West. This begs the questions of whether or not San Vitale was one of the churches in which a completely Byzantine liturgy was practised. If not, it would have been odd for Ravennate locals to interpret the panels based on a Byzantine motif that takes literal the presence of the Emperor. As discussed in Chapter 4, Ravenna owed much of its liturgical and ecclesiastical legacy to Milan. However, the introduction of Eastern devotional practices by eastern officials and migrants is one measure by which historians often class Ravenna has being a wholly 'Byzantine' city.   Barber (1990, 39-40) perhaps most thoroughly explored this interpretation through analysing the panels as two separate and distinct representations of not just what Emperors do, but what imperial men and women do: he concluded that each panel fulfils the social and gender norms within which the Byzantine Emperor and Empress were received:

> The Justinian mosaic is a paradigm of imperial representation, fulfilling the expectations of the viewer. The Theodora panel has to compensate for the transgression of Theodora into public affairs which so horrified Procopios. […] Just as the image of Justinian at San Vitale fulfils the norms within which the Emperor was perceived, so too does the image of Theodora fulfil the norms within which the Empress was perceived.

A third, sometimes casually stated, argument for the panels is that they form a general representation of imperial rule – either to glorify the Emperor and Empress (Brown 1979, 7), or unspecific to Justinian and Theodora, but specific to the role that imperial power needed to play in relation to the rest of the decorative scheme (Barber 1990, 34), (this is perhaps a more enduring interpretation). Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold (1997, 722) proposed that the imperial couple were not the most important: they conclude, rather, that we might read the panels as we would a modern photograph or video of political leader alongside party candidates in need of a 'boost' at election time (they propose General Belisarius, John the Nephew of Vitalian, and Maximian as the 'candidates' in the 'photo'). More directly, Elsner (1995, 160) argued that the imperial panels represent the epitome of Roman imperial imagery, the transcendent representation of the Emperor – abstract, scriptural, and hierarchically inferior to the image of Christ enthroned in the apse. In his total analysis of imperial imagery, Elsner (1995) chose a limited and specific path of Roman images – the Augustus Prima Porta, the paintings of Diocletian and the Tetrarchs in Luxor, and, of course, the imperial panels of San Vitale. This path does indeed highlight arguably the most famous imperial portrait of all (the Prima Porta statue), the 'transitional' period of Tetrarchic imagery, and a Christianised version of the Emperor in the imperial panels. However, his argument that all late antique artwork is 'scriptural' lacks a more complete approach to viewership inside specific spaces, and does not question modes of commission, production, or placement – indeed his analysis of viewership lies wholly within the idea that viewers would interpret the mosaic through Late Antiquity's dominant mode of 'mystic viewing'. While there is scope to discuss the decorative programme of San Vitale within Elsner's model, it is critical to turn to more spatially (and 'platially') oriented discussion.

Although we think of them as 'imperial' panels, they are better thought of in their ecclesiastical setting. This is certainly not to say that ordinary people did not understand the monumentality or overall general message of imperial power in San Vitale, and surely

they knew their Emperor – he was depicted on common coinage all over the Byzantine Empire. Rather, here I would like to unpack considerations of access to and control of this space: while almost all the above cited literature has confronted the interpretation of these panels again and again, they all assume that the panels were in *plain view* and broadly available to a large audience. But perhaps we need to ask: could all citizens enter, view, and marvel at the artwork of San Vitale? It is very hard to accept that the average lay person had easy viewing access to the panels at all: first of all, the portraits flank the side of the high altar in such a way that someone sitting or standing in the church's central space would have a hard time getting a clear view. Additionally, we do not know what the internal arrangement of the sanctuary was, whether there were chancel screens or rood curtains, how big the ambo or altar pieces were, or if these things moved frequently or obstructed the view. And while later texts, such as Agnellus, do suggest these mosaics were well known at least within the city and more widely within Italy, we have few indications that San Vitale was somehow an ancient 'tourist' venue or that people were widely aware that the imperial panels existed.

Paliou and Knight's mapping (2013) of San Vitale for visual integration (Fig. 5.5) is, as mentioned in Chapter 1, one method for exploring some of these problems. The map shows us red values as areas of 'high integration' and blue values as areas that are 'low'. Their graph shows us what we might expect: namely that the very centre of the room, under the central dome, is the most 'visually integrated' space in the building – in other words, it can be seen from relatively numerous viewpoints. Paliou and Knight used this method to discuss viewer access from the gallery (second storey) to the ground floor, and to ask questions about what kind of sensory experience people (mostly women, who were often made to stand in the gallery) on this level might have. Paliou and Knight were asking not specifically about the decoration, but the entire performance of a mass or ceremony within the church including auditory and olfactory senses. While this method presents some interesting results and possibilities for investigating sensory perception, a graph of this type cannot show us precisely how things looked on the ground or how much of the decoration one could actually see (and, as they note in their paper, this graph in particular is only useful in 2D analysis). For the case of the imperial panels it does reveal two problems: first, the panels flank the inside of the high altar, meaning that they are in one of the areas of relatively low 'integration' (with a pale green colour). If a member of the congregation were to look directly at the sanctuary from the central dome area, they would

not be able to see the panels except at a severe angle. Second, standing under the central dome in the main nave seems an unlikely place for the congregation to stand at all given that this space is the most 'visually integrated' on the ground floor, although this space is the one from which most tourists would view the sanctuary
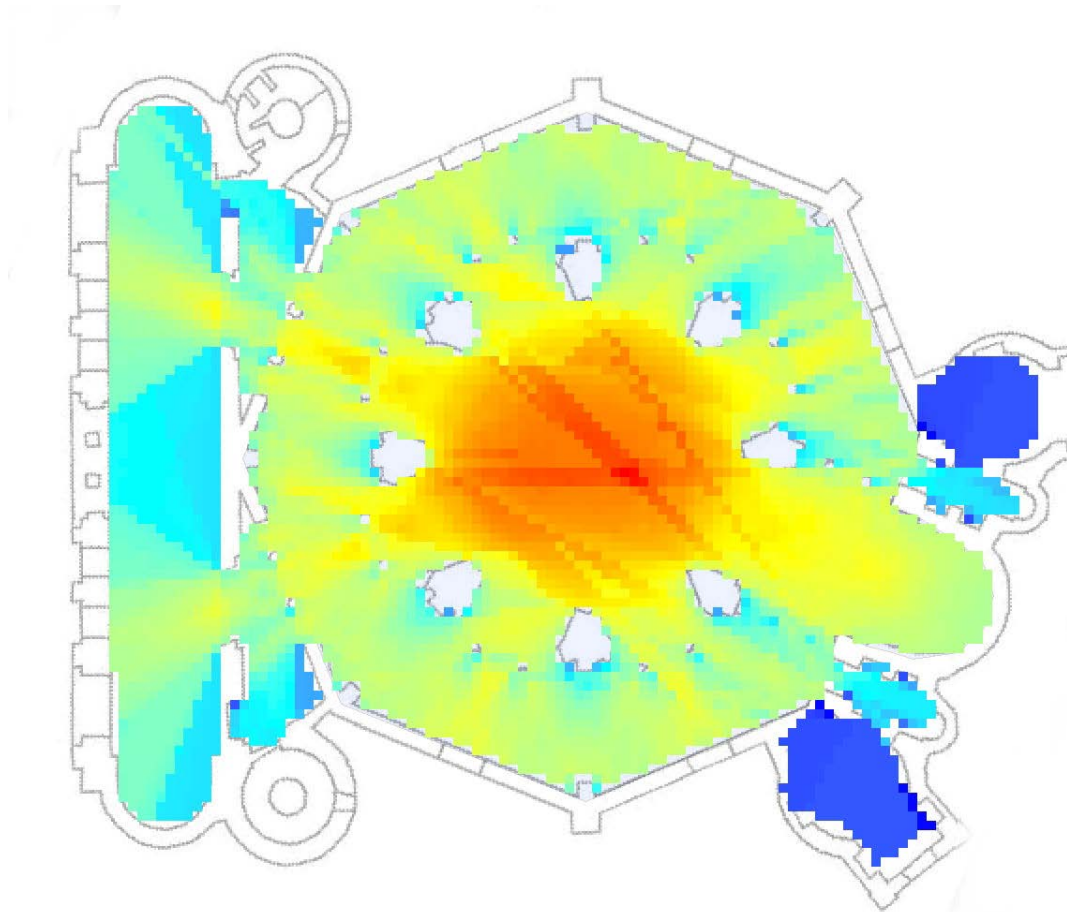
Figure 5.5 Visual integration map of San Vitale where red = high level of integration, blue = low. Map by E. Paliou, reproduced with permission.

It is useful to consider this insight in light of the performance that could have taken place in San Vitale. Marinis (2012, 348) noted that the floor plan of some of the tenth to thirteenth-century ambulatory-style churches in Constantinople posed a problem for Byzantine liturgy: it involved a series of circular processions through the nave in which the clergy brought the Gospel books from the altar into the nave and back to the altar again in a 'U' path. Thus, a church with a floor plan which inhibits these processions or blocks the view of the congregation would not have been the location of such a ceremony. San Vitale, however, seems perfectly adapted to such a performance, if we assume that most people congregated in the ambulatory and faced inward *toward* the space under the

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central dome in order to watch the processions, rather than standing in the centre of the church and facing the apse. This indicates that viewers could have seen one or the other panels from the ambulatory if they were close enough and if no choir chancel or rood screen inhibited their view

Individual agency impacted upon space as much as ritual, belief, and socio-cultural structures (Marinis 2012, 339), such that patrons could have had an impact upon the shape and use of buildings they commissioned. This can be demonstrated through Maximian's considerable impact upon the power discourse within San Vitale and Ravenna more widely. Agnellus reminds us that Maximian was not a native of Italy, but a foreign, Byzantine-appointed bishop (*LPR* 70). Maximian may have chosen the medium of mosaic as monumental art to speak to those Ravennate elites who might have had a hard time accepting his appointment as their new bishop. It also speaks to his concept of historical memory – all future bishops seated in that chair would see his portrait stamped with his name (cf. Andreescu-Treadgold and Treadgold 1997, 722 who feel he might have only cared about impressing his contemporaries). Thus the building was a negotiation of what was liturgically appropriate or permissible, and what Maximian (or perhaps even Julian) wished to convey as a patron. If a Byzantine style liturgy was practiced in San Vitale, it may indeed have meant that only those allowed into the sanctuary during more intimate ceremonies had the most unobstructed view of the imperial panels: meaning the archbishop, and the imperial couple (should they have ever chosen to visit Ravenna).

While images held one meaning for their patrons and benefactors (namely to legitimize, commemorate, or praise), they could hold entirely different meanings for viewers once they became part of a certain kind of performance. Perhaps it is fair to suggest that the ordinary person who did not usually see these works of art was greatly impressed and their awe was heightened by the rarity of seeing it. Alison Sharrock (2002, 270-272) rejected the notion that there is a single angle (or literal viewpoint) from which to look at any work of art. The debate about reader response has much to do with authority and who makes meaning: was it Maximian who created the message? Some readings are directed by the internal viewer, such as one of the figures in the panel – Maximian is one of these figures in addition to being a commissioner, the other most prominent individuals are the Emperor or Empress. If we use Sharrock's fragmentation model (see Chapter 2), it allows us to analyse the internal viewer's point, but realize that this is an act of interpretation and

not an absolute given. Replacing the internal viewer's reading with a new one, Sharrock warns, simply replaces one monoview with another and defeats the purpose of deconstruction. If we leave the act of viewing fragmented, between the bishop and the Emperor and the audience, we find more possibility for interpreting the panels in light of who could actually access them and who would read their authoritative message most strongly.

To return to one of the opening question of this thesis: why have the imperial panels become so famous and ubiquitous in modern scholarship? The answer may be because these portraits are important to us as another diagnostic feature: representations of the Byzantine court are very rare, even in Constantinople. We go back to these images often because they are almost the only ones available, certainly the only ones of their particular medium (mosaic). These panels stand out for us because we think much of Emperors and power in the context of the political history of the later Roman and early Byzantine Empires. Thus, the vision in mosaic of Justinian and Theodora give us a powerful impression of two well-documented figures who had considerable sway over the course history, as opposed to Maximian who lives in relative obscurity unless specifically studying Ravenna. A modern audience is prone to see 'imperial power' displayed here, but that does not mean Maximian's contemporaries *only* saw imperial power. Imperial images are always negotiated through local means, and the presence of 'imperial power' within these images is almost taken for granted. Imperial portraits in an otherwise episcopal city do seem particularly significant, but framing them within episcopal space reveals that the 'imperial panels' are an ecclesiastical message which make use of the symbols of imperial power, and not necessarily an imperial message which makes use of the symbols of ecclesiastical power. These traditions borrow from each other and mutually support ideas of power and locality without the bishop's power or the emperor's power becoming mutually exclusive.

5.3.2. *The Archbishop's chapel (St. Andrew) in the Episcopium*

The archbishop's chapel, a small sanctuary in the episcopal residence, is the least studied of all of Ravenna's surviving monuments (Deliyannis 2010, 189). Perhaps because it is so small, or because it is now part of an exhibit within the archbishop's museum, or even because it stands out as a rare example of a late antique chapel with a known function and

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so needs no further explanation. This chapel is important more widely because none of the private chapels of the laity have survived to present day, and even among clergy chapels it is a sole survivor (Mackie 2003, 104). The chapel occupied part of the top floor of a three-storey structure founded by Bishop Peter II (494-520) during the reign of Theoderic. By Agnellus' time the chapel had been dedicated to St. Andrew (Deichmann 1974, 199, after Gerola 1932 suspects the relics of St. Andrew were moved there later). This chapel is the only Orthodox monument built during the reign of Theoderic (LPR 39; Verhoeven 2011, 150), thus it seems unlikely that it saw official use in the Ostrogothic period. The Orthrodox *episcopium* received the most additions and, I would argue, official visits during the Byzantine period and thus can be explored for its early medieval audience.

Almost all of the mosaics in the chapel have been restored to some degree, and parts of the building were modified in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the entire chapel was moved to its current location and rebuilt in the early twentieth century (Gerola 1932). However, this is really all we know (for short surveys of the building: Gerola 1932; Deichmann 1974, 198-304; Miller 2000, 29-31; Mackie 2003, 104-115; Deliyannis 2010, 188-196). How the archbishop used it, or what its full range of decoration was, we do not know. This section will briefly explore some aspects of the viewer experience inside of this space.

The chapel is entered through a small narthex (the same entry used by today's tourist) - a narrow passage with a vaulted ceiling covered by abstract natural patterns in mosaic. Above the entrance door (behind you as you enter, or, more correctly, in front of you as you exit the chapel) is a large mosaic of a youthful Christ dressed as a warrior 'treading on the beasts'. In his hand he holds an open codex which reads 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita', 'I am the way, truth and life'. This victorious Christ has often been interpreted as a distinct 'anti-Arian' mosaic for its proclamation of Christ as divine (Deichmann 1974, 203, Deliyannis 2010, 196). Verhoeven (2011, 151), however, notes that while the image is distinctly Orthodox, it is not so obviously 'anti-Arian': instead we might read it as a sign of Theoderic's tolerance for Orthodox beliefs. It might also be fair to say that a small chapel within the Orthodox bishop's palace was somewhat of a concession to the Orthodox Bishop, while no monumental churches were being constructed by the Orthodox Church, a small, 'private' chapel was more acceptable.

The walls of the chapel's narthex are lined on either side by a replica of a poem lauding Bishop Peter II for its creation, now restored based on the passage recorded by Agnellus in *LPR* 50 (quoted below). The sanctuary itself is a small cruciform room with very shallow arms and an apse oriented northeast. Much of this chapel today has been restored: the mosaics over the windows are not original, and those in the lunettes of the chapel's arms do not survive. Agnellus notes that there once was a depiction of Bishop Peter himself over the doors (*LPR* 50). The decoration of the vaults, however, does survive in good condition; each contains seven medallions with portrait heads of various holy people (see Deliyannis 2010, 194 for a list). The central vault is crowned by a gold *christomon* at its apex being held up by four angels and surrounded by the four Evangelists. There are also many abstract patterns, plus small lambs, as well as Bishop Peter's monogram visible in small lunettes in the vaulting. The apse mosaic has been entirely reconstructed from fallen tesserae, and has been modelled after the ceiling of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia as a golden cross against a dark blue sky, surrounded by gold and silver stars (Deliyannis 2010, 196).

Immediately beyond the chapel was a hallway leading out into a large room in the old Salustra tower that is now the main room of the Archivescovile Museum. This room was used for entertaining, gatherings, judicial hearings, and other such official meetings into the Middle Ages, but Miller (2000, 30) notes that its late antique use is unknown. The interconnection of the chapel with this room may suggest that the chapel was open for any guest who wished to stop and make an offering, and may not have been for exclusive use by the bishop. We can expect that important meetings took place here in the Byzantine period, as late antique bishops generally used the meeting halls of their *episcopium* for civic or judicial purposes (Rapp 2005, 2010; *LPR* 123). Bishop Victor was granted funds from Justinian that he used to restore the bathhouse in the *episcopium* and decorate it with marble and mosaics (*LPR* 66), and it was Maximian who completed the other audience halls in the bishop's residence that remained in a state of partial completion up to his reign, as well as decorating them with a series of bishops' portraits including himself and his predecessors (*LPR* 75). Mackie (2003, 105) notes that Agnellus' evidence for Maximian as one of the original patrons of the chapel is flimsy, but perhaps he was responsible for dedicating it to St. Andrew, to whom Maximian was particularly devoted (as demonstrated above, by bringing the relics of this saint to Ravenna). It is reasonable

to suggest that the chapel remained a small showpiece of the *episcopium* into the Byzantine period and beyond.

Miller (2000, 30) says of the chapel's mosaics: 'one feels dwarfed and overwhelmed by these intense images; this is probably what Bishop Peter had in mind'. This general feeling of brilliance, splendour, and seemingly overwhelming presence of divine symbolism is often how the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia has been described (as by Delyannis 2010, 76). Ravenna's small chapels, though not meant for large-scale public spectacle, can overpower a single private viewer through the encompassing feeling of the complete decorative programme. Indeed, this idea comes across quite clearly in the poem written on the narthex walls, which proclaims:

> Either light was born here, or captured here it reigns free; it is the law, from which source the current glory of heaven excels. Or the deprived roofs have produced gleaming day, and the enclosed radiance gleams forth as if from secluded Olympus. See, the marble flourishes with bright rays, and all the stones struck in starry purple shine in value, the gifts of the founder Peter. To him honor and merit are granted, thus to beautify small things, so that although confined in space, they surpass the large. Nothing is small to Christ; He well occupies confining buildings, whose temples exist within the human heart.
>
> (*LPR* 50)

The reference to 'light' in the inscription holds a double meaning: first as real, actual light, and second as the 'light' of God. This play on words reveals some interesting things about late antique notions of gaze. Mosaics as a medium need light to function – they depend upon and play with light to shine, glitter, or otherwise engage the viewer (James 1996a, 4-5). Janes (1998, 146) notes that such inscriptions were common in late antique churches, and that they may have been reinforced by the employment of artificial lights like the vast number of lamps recorded for churches by Rome's *Liber Pontificalis*.

That the inscription says Christ 'well occupies confining buildings', and 'nothing is small to Christ' reveals attitudes toward the importance of small chapels and *monasteria*. Miller (2000, 14) argued that the late antique *episcopium* was a variant on the classical Roman house, using the vocabulary of Roman domestic architecture to articulate a new set of ideas about power in the Late Antiquity (after Clarke 1991 on Roman domestic décor and MacCormack 1981 on episcopal borrowing of secular and imperial practices). Private chapels were part of elite homes of the laity, but, as noted, none of these chapels have survived to present. Ravenna's episcopal chapel, therefore, represents a rare insight into

the world of private house chapels: while a wealthy figure like Julian may have been able to finance entire basilicas, smaller, more intimate chapels seem to have been endowed with the same care and decoration.

5.3.3. *Reconciliation of the Ostrogothic 'Arian' Churches under Archbishop Agnellus (556-559)*

A case for exploring the Byzantine 're-conquest' theory of Ravenna's artwork is more fittingly Archbishop Agnellus' redecoration of Theoderic's palace church. 'Reconciliation' was a legal process through which heretical Arian churches were cleansed and re-dedicated as Orthodox churches after Emperor Justinian officially granted the Orthodox Church of Ravenna all of the lands formerly belonging to the Ostrogoths. We know of the handing over of Arian patrimony through the information recorded by Agnellus (*LPR* 85) and from a papyrus dated between 565 and 570 documenting the exchange (Papyrus 2 in Tjader I 1955). While the land grant is well documented, there is no source that provides a description of what the ritual of 'reconciliatio' consisted of. We know many Arian churches were rededicated to Orthodox saints with the deposition of new relics in Rome (Verhoeven 2011, 151), so most likely this also happened in Ravenna. Some of these 'reconciled churches', including Theoderic's palace-church, were given a brand new decorative scheme by the archbishop to accompany their rededication.

Bishop Agnellus not only re-dedicated Theoderic's palace church to St. Martin of Tours (a popular saint in the mid-sixth century), but also saw fit to completely unmake Theoderic's decorative scheme: 'he decorated the apse and both side walls with images in mosaic of processions of martyrs and virgins; indeed he laid over this stucco covered with gold, he stuck mulitcolored stones to the side walls and composed a pavement of wonderful cut marble pieces' (*LPR* 86). This programme included replacing the entire nave scheme with a procession of Orthodox saints and martyrs and erasing the figures in both the Classe and *palatium* mosaics (on the restoration and discovery of the erasure: Bovini 1966). How effective was the erasure of the Ostrogothic imagery on the nave walls or the erasure of the figures from the *palatium* mosaic? Tellingly, this church was still described by Agnellus as the palace church of Theoderic, the only concession being that he just as often calls it St. Martin. This space thus represents a tension of histories: the

Ostrogothic (Arian) palace church, and a Byzantine (Orthodox) decorative scheme. Do we read Sant'Apollinare Nuovo today as a Byzantine church, or as Theoderic's palace church?

One of the more vexing details of the campaign to 'reclaim' Ravenna's spaces is the fact that the Byzantine-period artists did a rather poor job – leaving disembodied limbs over the columns of the *palatium* mosaic, and giving each of the saints and martyrs carbon-copy faces (Fig. 5.6 and 5.7).
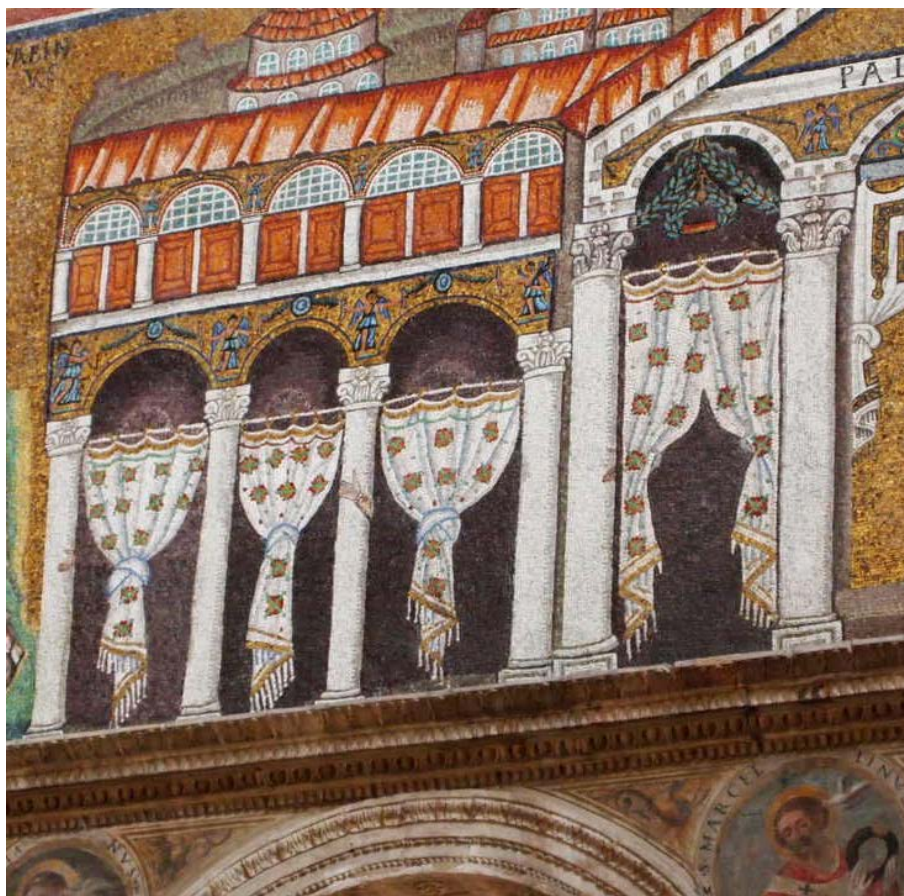
Figure 5.6 The hands are easily seen in the columns of the palace while standing in the central nave. Photo by author.

Figure 5.7 Less obvious, but still apparent, is the sudden change in ground level between the procession of saints and the mosaics of the Virgin and Jesus at the end of the nave. Photo by author.

As discussed in Chapter 4, reconstructing whatever scene was erased from the lower register of the church's clerestory is mostly speculative so understanding why the Byzantine bishop chose to leave some of it and erase some of it is a difficult task. This has been interpreted variously as the 'redefinition of identity, and the transformation and control of memory' (Urbano 2005, 73) or else as a practical and careless erasure of mosaic by unskilled artists (Reece 1999, 65). In the first case, it means actively rewriting the history of a space through cleansing and visually transforming it – a purposeful, political act.

Following arguments made by Hendrick (2000) about *damnatio memoriae* in the Roman world, Urbano (2005, 95) suggested that the erasure of the figures was perhaps not about obliteration or destruction (because this is a given), but more about controlling what happens to the memory of Ostrogothic Ravenna: as long as part of the programme was allowed to stand, the memory of the original creator persists. This process actually encourages the viewer to 'remember to forget' (Urbano 2005, 96); memory is then condemned rather than erased – thus the hands were left intentionally. To what end are we meant to understand the clues left by the bishop or his craftsmen?

Agnellus (*LPR* 86) tells us that after the re-dedication, Bishop Agnellus held a feast:

> And after he consecrated it, he feasted in the episcopal palace of that confessor. Indeed in the apse, if you look closely, you will find the following written above the windows in stone letters: 'King Theoderic made this church from its foundations in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

> Et postquam consecrauit, in ipsius confessoris episcopio ibidem epulatus est. In tribunal uero, si diligenter inquisieritis, super fenestras inuenietis ex lapideis litteris exaratum ita: 'Theodoricus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine Domini nostril Iesu Christi fecit'.

Like so many of the events Agnellus records, the first line of this passage is difficult to interpret, and I have included the Latin for clarity (thought it seems no clearer): does he mean a feast in the 'episcopal palace' of the Arians near St. Theodore? Or does he mean the episcopal palace 'of [St. Martin] that confessor'? , which might have had its own hall? The apse of St. Martin fell in as a result of the same earthquake that destroyed the Petriana church in the eighth century (Agnellus describes it in c. 89 and c. 151), so it seems odd that the inscription would survive, unless the apse and its windows were only partially ruined or perhaps the description in c. 89 refers to the apse in St. Martin's baptistery and not in the basilica itself. Urbano (2005, 97) further suggests that Agnellus' phrase 'if you look closely' / 'si diligenter inquisieritis' (or 'search carefully' in Urbano's translation) meant that the inscription was actually hard to see. Either way, why would the bishop feel the need to feast in the Arian episcopal palace, when he has his own splendid hall in which to celebrate?

Although a second consecration ceremony and second dedication took place under Bishop Agnellus, he did not remove the original inscription or the top two registers of the mosaic programme. Von Simson suggested that Bishop Agnellus' willingness to keep Theoderic's inscription and pieces of his decorative programme was a deliberate snub by the bishop, a native of Ravenna, against the Byzantine dynasty – Von Simson (1948, 70-71) believed that in contrast to Maximian, who was a Byzantine appointee, Bishop Agnellus owed little to Justinian and need not have worried about 'reconquering' a space for the absent Emperor. Alternatively, it could indicate Bishop Agnellus' genuine disinterest in erasing imagery that probably did not differ significantly from Orthodox imagery. The tension between what can be considered proper Orthodox imagery and

heretical Arian imagery and thus the couching of reconciliation as a religious issue has been strongly questioned (Urbano 2005, 107).

I am inclined to agree with one part of Von Simson's argument: Agnellus may have felt total security regarding his position in Ravenna's history alongside Theoderic, perhaps not as a snub, but because he was a local official who grew up in Ravenna surrounded by Ostrogothic buildings. The continuity of the spaces and ornate craftsmanship of St. Martin was meaningful and historically valuable – the only challenge was erasing the specifically Ostrogothic elements of the civic scenes (Theoderic himself and possible court officials). This made reconciliation a political and legal issue more than a religious one. As noted in Chapter 4, there is no way to know what the original nave wall decoration was or why it was deemed so offensive to the Byzantine bishop. Whether these were 'Arian' decorations (arguably, there were no specifically 'Arian' decorations that we know of) or a further elaboration of the Ostrogothic court procession, we can only guess.

Futhermore, Agnellus notes that there was a mosaic of Bishop Agnellus and Emperor Justinian on the inner façade of St. Martin (*LPR* 86) – suggesting, against Von Simon's analysis, that Agnellus and Justinian's relationship could not have been so strained (Fig. 5.8). Or, like Maximian, Bishop Agnellus required the presence of imperial power in his portraits as well.
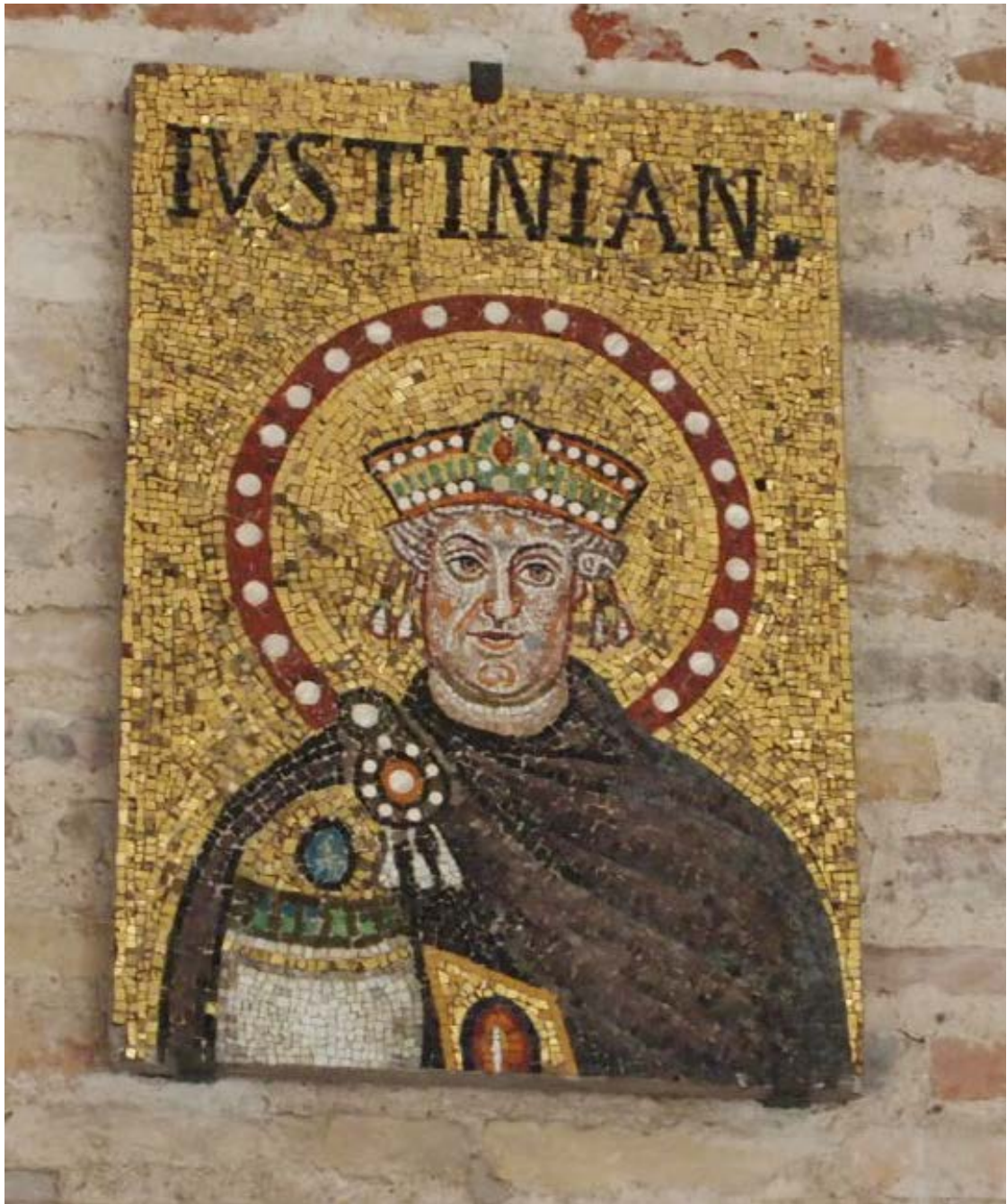
Figure 5.8 The restored head of a man in imperial dress on the back wall of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, labelled 'IUSTINIAN' by its nineteenth century restorers. Photo by author.

We must recall, of course, that imperial officials were based in the capital from the later sixth century. Whether this is the mosaic previously depicting Theoderic (Chapter 4) which had been altered to reflect Justinian is up for debate. It leads to the same question both times: why put the portrait on the back wall and not in apse, as Maximian so clearly did in San Vitale and as we have seen in donor portraits elsewhere? I wonder, as a possibility, if this mosaic that Agnellus describes is actually Theoderic and his Arian

bishop – Arnold (2014) argues quite convincingly that Theoderic's vestments may have been those he requested back from the East shortly after capturing Ravenna and thus why they look so similar to an Eastern Emperor's with the imperial brooch (*kaiserfibel*). Perhaps the mosaic was only slightly reworked under Bishop Agnellus, if only to approximate his and Justinian's faces. And, to be sure, Justinian's face looks noticeably different in this mosaic from the one found in San Vitale – he is an older, heavier looking man with grey hair. Otherwise, the Sant'Apollinare Nuovo portrait would have been made between 559 and when Justinian died in 565 - why create a new portrait of Justinian as an older man that is less profoundly visible than the one in San Vitale that was finished only ten to fifteen years earlier?

The decorative programme of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo today shows us the intersection of Ostrogothic and Byzantine history in Ravenna: it encapsulates a moment in the church's (and city's) history when something had to be changed, erased, remade. Importantly, it shows us another personal choice by a powerful individual in the sixth century – a local bishop. Bishop Agnellus may have had more control of the process of reconciliation in his churches than he has been given credit for; perhaps indeed the decorative changes were his choice. Why leave disembodied hands, Theoderic's inscription, or indeed Theoderic's portrait even if altered? I have already noted how wealthy the Orthodox Church became following the re-conquest, and certainly remained so while Justinian was alive. There is no reason why the reconciled mosaics would have to be 'careless' as Reece (1999, 65) suggested, when the workshop that produced San Vitale was active just ten years prior. And surely not, when Byzantine mosaic as a medium was flourishing elsewhere in the Mediterranean (the Hagia Sophia would not receive its famous dome mosaic until the ninth century) – skilled craftsmen could have been sent to Ravenna to ensure a job well done. These questions make Urbano's (2005) argument compelling in that other suggestions do not hold much merit. One possibility is that the Orthodox Church truly did not care very much about older, Arian churches that might have lain largely dissused after the dispersal of the Arian population. With such impressive buildings as San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, why use the 'old Arian palace church' for anything more important than congregational service, or to 'add' St. Martin to Ravenna's list of patrons? After all, as far as we know, Theoderic's equestrian statue still stood just outside this church in all its glory – and so, the general public was still free to make associations between the building and the former king if they wanted.

5.4. Epilogue? The Holy Roman Empire

At the beginning of the seventh century, Byzantine Italy consisted of the Exarchate of Ravenna (with its bishop and exarch) and the Duchy of Rome (with the pope and a duke), connected through a slim channel of land resisting the Lombard conquests (Christie 2006, 41). The Byzantines remained in control of Sicily and parts of North Africa, Sardinia, and parts of Spain. However, the Byzantine government became increasingly irrelevant in the course of Italian politics up to the official Lombard conquest of Ravenna in 750 (Deliyannis 2010, 278). Between the end of the sixth and early seventh centuries, Constantinople suffered invasion, plague, and the financial crisis left by Justinian's wars. Furthermore, the Byzantine Emperors of the seventh century (c. 630-680) were theologically at odds with Rome's Popes over the question of Christ's divinity, leaving Ravenna in a tenuous position between Emperor and Pope. Thus by 600 there were no more 'Romans' or 'Goths' in Italy (Amory 1997, 320), and by 800 no more Byzantines either. In 801 Charlemagne, newly crowned the Holy Roman Emperor on Christmas day AD 800, visited Ravenna. He obtained special permission from Pope Hadrian (Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* c. 26; *Codex Carolinus* 81) to pillage the old capital for marble and building material to take to his palace in Aachen (on Ravenna's inspiration for Charlemagne's capital, see Nelson 2016). For his personal prize he chose the equestrian statue of Theoderic, which still stood in the courtyard in front of the palace's Chalk Gate (*LPR* 94). After confirmation of the statue's presence in Aachen by the poet Walahfrid Strabo in 829 (*De imagine Tetrici*), its location and fate are completely unknown. At the same time that Strabo was composing political poems in Aachen, Agnellus was just beginning to write the *LPR* in Ravenna. By this time three centuries had passed since the death of Theoderic and Ravenna's glory days as the capital of the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy and the seat of the Exarch of Italy.

It is often at this point in the story that Ravenna's grand narrative comes to an end, left to dwindle in the face of the Carolingian Renaissance happening elsewhere in Western Europe, or the growth of Papal Rome. Agnellus tells us that Ravenna is the neighbour of 'destroyed Classe' (*LPR* 13), alluding to its poor condition after having been destroyed by both earthquakes and the Lombard assault in the eighth century (*LPR* 151), but already damaged by reduced maritime trade and a shifting coastline (Augenti 2012, 45-46). During Agnellus' lifetime the Ursiana remained in use, but many other churches struggled

or failed. He mentions on several occasions that gifts or endowments to a particular church now reside with the Ursiana's collection, perhaps as a measure of centralising and protecting Ravenna's remaining treasures (*LPR* 36, 41). We get a sense of the further pilfering of antiquities in the Carolingian period from Agnellus, who says the sarcophagus of Archbishop Maurus (642-671) was removed from Sant'Apollinare in Classe under the orders of Emperor Lothar I (829-830), who had it sent to France and placed on the altar of St. Sebastian (*LPR* 113). Agnellus then says that Bishop Petronax of Ravenna (c. 818-837) commanded him to accompany the sarcophagus to ensure the workmen were careful with it, but Agnellus says his heart was too 'full of grief' and so did not go. In a way, it is unsurprising that much interest in Ravenna's past stops with the ninth century when our sources for it are so gloomy.

The relationship between the viewer and Ravenna was clearly changing but certainly not finished: pieces of its history were being relocated, adopted, and rewritten in the ninth century. For both Strabo and Agnellus, the visual legacy of both the Ostrogothic king and the Byzantine emperor were present and clear. Strabo's poem is composed as a dialogue between Strabo and his muse, Scintilla, as they walk beside a statue group placed by a fountain in front of the palace of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. The statue of Theoderic seems uncharacteristically out of place in front of the Frankish palace, and it is clear from these lines that Strabo disapproves of its presence:

> If perchance the craftsmen gave this statue to him while living,
> Rest assured it was to soothe a raging lion through their art,
> Or else – and I think it more likely – the dreadful man himself
> Commissioned the likeness, which is often the prerogative of pride.
> (38-42)

> Why does he appear to carry a little bell on his right side?
> And I suppose that he is nude just to enjoy dark skin?
> (52-53)

> Greed flashes all golden from his embellished parts,
> It carries the darts with the power to stir lazy flanks
> And kindle hearts to habitual plunder.
> (*De imagine Tetrici*, 60-63)

Agnellus, writing as abbot in Ravenna, knows the story of Charlemagne removing the statue and knows that it now resides in Aachen, but he has never seen it himself (*LPR*

94). But what Agnellus certainly had seen in person were the portraits of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora in the church of San Vitale. The power of these images is the power of place – the fixed quality of these portraits has an impact on their 'power' vis-à-vis a modern viewer: they never lose context; we are always aware that these portraits were commissioned for this particular building and for this space within this building – it has been here since 'the beginning', for Agnellus and all those after him. The statue of Theoderic, by contrast, has passed completely out of the historical record after Strabo's poem, and so out of public memory. These are thus two very different takes on material culture from the same city. In a strange way, Ravenna remained untouched because it was remote and already 'unimportant' in the ninth century. Although it was extremely important as the 'stage' for the drama of the 'fall' of the Western Roman Empire, the coming of the Ostrogothic barbarians, the Byzantine re-conquest and the rise of the Church, somehow most of its monuments remained intact and untouched, except for the statue that 'got away' (or so it seems to us). Public artwork that has lost its context also seems to lose its meaning (or take on a new, unrelated meaning) – Ravenna's artwork remains forever contextualised for us within its fifth and sixth century buildings. However, the question of what happens to decontextualised public art and to the information encoded in contextualised art are still part of Ravenna's story and these questions will be explored further in Chapter 6.

5.5. Discussion: Mapping the Sacred in Byzantine Basilicas

This chapter has taken many buildings and set them into a historical framework to consider questions of commission, access, and use. I would like to end with a discussion of these buildings as environments that map out interactions with the sacred through Byzantine notions of viewing. Churches are buildings that contextualise the gaze through specific foci: relics, icons, altars, and places of performance. The role that some of these foci played in ceremony is well documented through canonical law, written descriptions of liturgies, and surviving artistic evidences. For others, the loss of archaeological evidences or lack of written sources requires educated guesses about how spaces were used and for what reasons. However, using a proposal set forth by Yasin (2012; following on from James 2000 and Hourihane (ed.) 2010), we may be able to 'map' the visual dialogue between these foci within a sacred space to gain an understanding of how past viewers interpreted both space and decoration.

As discussed in Chapter 2, viewing in Roman and Byzantine society was a physical act: eyes could touch, 'ensoul', 'desoul', shame, honour, or worship with their gaze. Most of these interactions revolved around the body's interaction with space. Fredericks (2002b, 237) argued that 'Roman space reflects and encodes degrees of immersion in the body that vary with social class and gender'. He analysed the Roman forum, amphitheatre and elite houses to determine collective patterns of space and gaze; unsurprisingly, those closest to the apex of viewing – whether that was a gladiator fight in an amphitheatre or a fresco in a private house – were those with the most power. In Late Antiquity and in the Byzantine World the physical conception of the gaze remained true, however, the spaces in which bodies and eyes were brought together differed. The basilica was a kind of space that navigated viewership not just laterally, between viewers in the same place, but hierarchically between God and individual.

It remains true for church architecture that prominent action took place nearest the 'apexes': principal services were performed in the main sanctuaries and eminent individuals were buried below altars or inside apsidal side-chambers; minor services and less important people (women, neophytes or the uninitiated) found themselves in the ambulatory, gallery, or narthex (Marinis 2012, 255). Space within a basilica can thus be said to have been hierarchical, gendered, and above all, ritualised. Some spaces were not meant for an earthly viewer – they were for the glory of God, only to be seen by his servants (the bishops, patriarchs, and in middle Byzantine ceremony, the Emperor). How did Ravennate viewers understand and interpret these spaces and their various methods of knowing the sacred, and how did church decorations (mosaics) figure into their experience?

5.5.1. Seeing is Believing?

The dichotomy between belief and ritual is nowhere clearer than in Byzantine ceremony. Belief is a set of tenets accepted as true by a group of people, while ritual encodes, enacts, and performs those beliefs (Marinis 2012, 338 after Geertz 1973, 126-131). Marinis (2012, 338) noted that an aspect of ritual that is largely ignored is the idea that ritual is situational, meaning most of what can be understood about it cannot be understood outside of its context. In this sense, ritual is space and place dependent - it must happen

within a setting purposefully constructed for ceremonial needs, and one that becomes meaningful through the enactment of the ceremony itself; the basilica was this setting for the performance of the liturgy.

We might also ask the age-old adage: is seeing believing? The Byzantine conception of the gaze strongly affirmed that physical manifestations of the Incarnation were critical for contemplating the divine (Connor 2016, 135). The Byzantine Patriarch Photius' (c. 810-893) Seventeenth Homily reveals the nature of this claim:

> No less – indeed much greater – is the power of sight. For surely, having somehow through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays touched and encompassed the object, it too sends the essence of the thing seen on to the mind, letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailing knowledge. Has the mind seen? Has it grasped? Has it visualised? Then it has effortlessly transmitted the forms to the memory.
>
> (quoted in Connor 2016, 135)

This homily shows that vision was still held as the most important sense, and the primary way that a person could know something. Eyes must physically touch an image in order for that image to make an impression and become knowledge. While Photius was specifically speaking of the mosaic programme in Constantinople's Hagia Sophia, this emphasis on sight and memory surely applied to a number of concepts. Ceremonial (especially liturgical performance) requires suspension of belief for the viewer, thus the context in which Byzantine ceremonies took place must have maximized viewer engagement. A study done by Chadford Clark (2007) and his team offers one possible method for assessing visibility from the congregation to certain liturgical focuses (the altar, the ambo, the Bishop's chair). In what he called a 'modest visual experiment', using the ruins of Byzantine churches in Jordan, he had participants stand at measured distances from the altar and then created a scale of visibility for how clearly participants could distinctly make out fine details (hand gestures, facial features, etc.) (Chadford Clark 2007, 87-88). His paper effectively showed that certain points within the church are more distinctly visible than others depending on the size of the hall and location of the foci, clearly demonstrating that churches were built to maximise the visibility of the liturgies (Chadford Clark 2007, 98).

The Byzantine liturgy reached its peak in the 'Golden Age' of Justinian and his immediate successors in Constantinople, when the ceremony was enriched and increasingly tied to

imperial splendour (Taft 2008, 600). In general, Byzantine liturgy before Iconoclasm (726-843) was heavily characterised by movement: entrances, processions, and accessions. Taft (2008, 600) notes that descriptions of such ceremony before Iconoclasm tend to focus on what took place *outside* of churches rather than inside of them, leaving a considerable gap in our knowledge about the use of church interiors. Most of these descriptions pertain to Justinian's Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, where the 'rite of the Great Church' was in the process of developing. The liturgy began with the congregation gathering in an outer atrium before worship, and the narthex area was used for hierarchical 'forming up' of the clergy for the procession before the first Entrance (Doig 2008, 77). This Great Entrance included the bringing of gifts and a 'bloodless sacrifice'. Beyond the sixth century, the Byzantine liturgy became more and more intimate and dramatized where the performers (clergy) only appeared at certain intervals (Marinis 2012, 346; on the development of Byzantine rites: Taft 1992).

Two of the largest and most splendid churches dedicated in Ravenna under the Byzantines, San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, have architectural features that point to their ceremonial use. While they have different ground plans (San Vitale being octagonal and Sant'Apollinare being a traditional three-aisle basilica, Fig. 5.9), both churches contain large outer atria and narthexes, and multiple doors in their façade that likely functioned as entrance and exit points for processions. Deliyannis (2010, 388 n. 294) points out that only Sant'Apollinare in Classe and San Vitale have so many doors leading to the exterior. San Vitale had a door in each of its eight walls, while Sant'Apollinare in Classe had three doors leading in from the narthex and three each on the north and south exterior walls of the aisles, making nine in total. It suggests multiple pathways for traffic into or out of both churches. Doig (2008, 77) noted that the many doors of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople were made to allow the congregation to 'flood in' and be in their places by the start of the ceremony; this is perhaps a possible reason for San Vitale's eight doors, however, it is a much smaller church with a much smaller congregation. The development of the Byzantine rite over time sees different uses for different doors and interior spaces: as noted above, the Middle Byzantine rite was characterised by the 'U' shape procession from the altar to the nave, where the Little Entrance actually began in the sanctuary of the church rather than in the outer narthex, and centralised spaces (such as those under San Vitale's dome) became important to the ceremony (Doig 2008, 77).
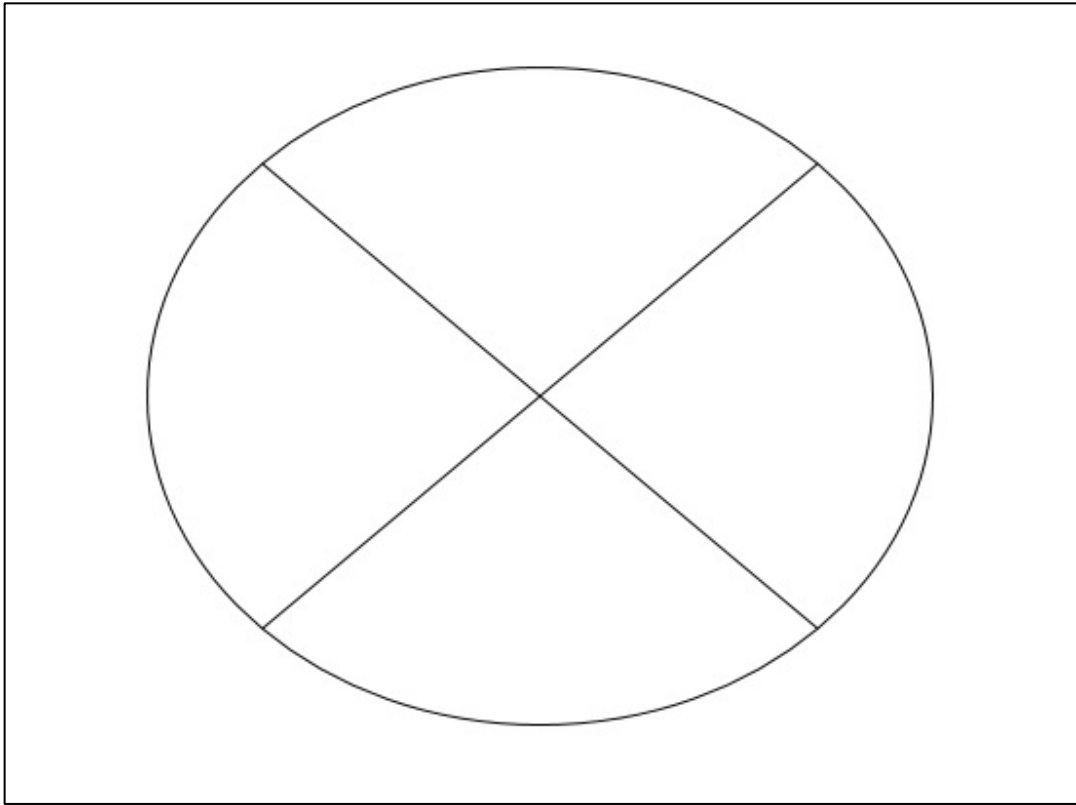
If we turn to church interiors we will find a number of ways that focal points could be articulated through architectural features and subtle framing devices such as ciboria with curtains, and the use of screens or chancels. Hiding parts of the ceremonial from the congregation could heighten the appearance of clergy and liturgical vessels. The fusion of saints' *memoria* and the liturgical altar began with Ambrose in Milan and became increasingly common over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries (Yasin 2012, 249). In many basilicas, however, multiple, distinct centres of liturgical foci existed. Yasin (2012) dealt with Italian pilgrimage churches that purposefully separated liturgical foci and saintly veneration by suggesting that the articulation of sanctity was as much visual as it was architectural. In this way, churchgoers experienced visual prompts as they moved through the space of the church – foci may be physically separate, but connected through movement and vision.

Sant'Apollinare in Classe is an example of a large basilica whose common nave space entices viewers with multiple focal points (see Mazzotti 1954 for an overview of the

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church's history). The tomb of Apollinaris was originally set up in the narthex of the church under Maximian, but translated to the centre of the nave under Archbishop Maurus (642-671) (*LPR* 114). Agnellus recorded that Maurus set up 'silver sheets' with the history of Apollinaris next to his body. Deliyannis (2004, n. 231) notes that this 'history' may have been a series of panels with pictures rather than a text, which would further add to the contextually visual nature of saint veneration and indicate that this location within the basilica was meant for interaction. This place of prominence further ensured its visibility to anyone entering the church and placed the tomb within plain site of the main altar. It also localised the saint amidst the congregation: here they could venerate St. Apollinaris while participating in the mass, or what Yasin (2012, 260) dubbed 'ritual multitasking'. In this way his relics became more public and accessible than if they had been deposited under the altar in the sanctuary. These relics were transferred to the church of St. Martin in Ravenna in the 850s, giving it the name of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. In the twelfth century, however, they were transferred back to Sant'Apollinare in Classe under the authority of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181). Today, the tomb is covered by the twelfth-century marble altar in the central part of the nave (Fig 5.10 and 5.11), and so remains a central part of the viewer experience in Sant'Apollinare.
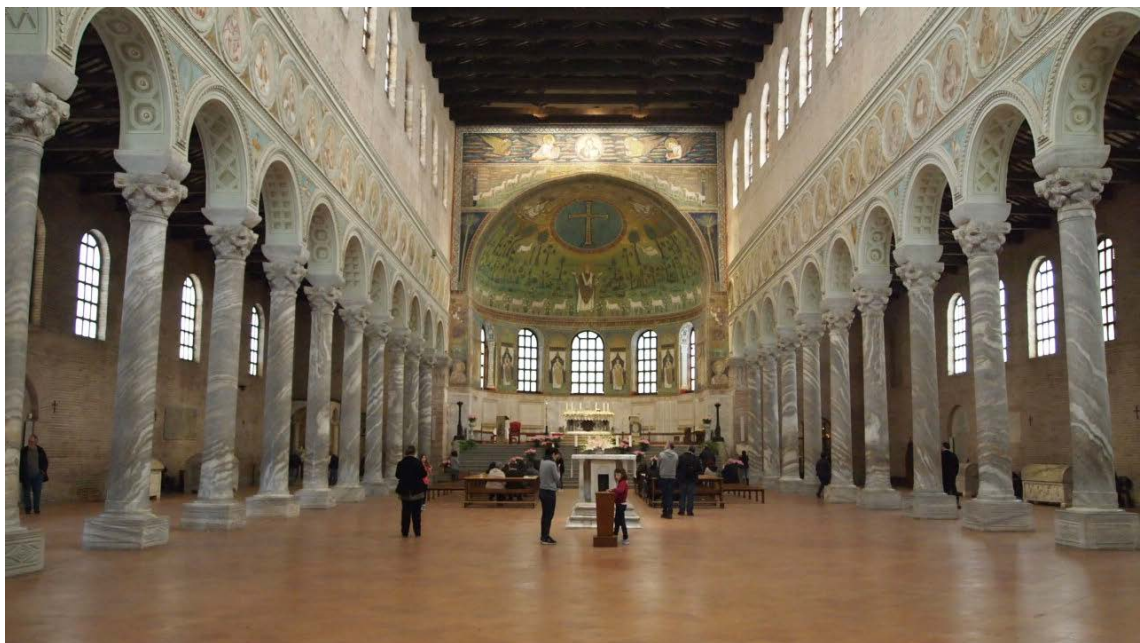
Figure 5.10 Sant'Apollinare in Classe. Interior view, facing the altar.

Figure 5.11 The tomb and altar of St. Apollinaris. Photo by author.

The second, and perhaps 'secondary', aspect of church interiors is their fine decoration. The case of the imperial panels at San Vitale has been dealt with above, but revisiting this question more generally can help reveal decorative programmes as part of the wider discourse of ceremonial, viewer participation, and veneration within Late Antique and Byzantine churches. Otto Von Simson (1948, 98) argued in his analysis of Ravenna's mosaics that churchgoers experienced the decoration as part of the setting for a liturgical performance. Paul Zanker (1997, 183) echoed this argument more broadly by stating that Roman people only ever experienced art or architecture when it was part of a performance or parade or any other ceremony, whether secular or sacred. Both of these arguments suggest that the way people interact with public art is through cognitive experience and performance rather than simple appreciation and reception.

A potential example is given to us by Agnellus (*LPR* 130) in the life of Archbishop Damian (692-708), about the bishop and a member of his congregation. The man, who remains unnamed, often went into the Ursiana cathedral before mass and sang psalms

while 'his shoulders clung to the upper part of a column of the temple'. He was invited by the bishop to celebrate the benediction of St. Apollinaris in the Ursiana and when they had finished, Damian asked the man why he always stared at the bishop's face during mass. The man gave him this surprising answer:

> 'I do not gaze at you, best of bishops, but rather at him who stands behind your back, whose beauty I can hardly bear. And when you sanctify, he stands next to you. Your face now is not like his, who is always with you at the celebration of the mass and never leaves you.'

The passage implies that he was gazing (perhaps) at a mosaic in the apse of the Ursiana, behind the bishop as he stood in celebration at the main altar. As noted in Chapter 4, the original decoration of the Ursiana is unknown, except by descriptions given to us by Agnellus about some of the depictions in the nave. A candidate for the Ursiana's apse mosaic is a representation of the Resurrection of Christ, given that the Ursiana was dedicated to the Anastasis. This would have been an unusual motif for a fifth-century basilica; however, the dedication of the cathedral to the Anastasis was in itself unusual. While the theme of the Anastaius was known from the fourth to sixth centuries, specific representations of Christ within this theme are what would seem contrary to all other evidences; other allegorical and symbolic representations were used to depict the Resurrection. Some of the earliest known depictions of Christ in the Anastasis come from the late seventh century (Kartsonis 1986 on the development of this image).

So what are we to make of the man's description of 'him who stands behind [the] back [of the bishop]'? Some figure was surely represented in the apse, whether an allegorical Resurrection in the vault, or perhaps an image of Christ below the vault. The story is a strange interlude, one that Agnellus says he knows of because he has seen a small cross, affixed to one of the columns in the Ursiana, commemorating that man. Whether the cross contained the whole story or Agnellus has elaborated on a simple memorial, it demonstrates the fervor with which people in the early medieval world celebrated: the man was so overcome with his singing that it seems he had to lean against the columns of the church for support, and further, he gazed so intently upon the figures in the apse during mass that his bishop had to ask him why he did so. It implies that thinking of church decorations simply as 'stage decorations' (Von Simson 1948, 98) might be too simplistic; viewer interactions with church interiors were complex and multi-focal. What might have captured the attention of one member of the congregation could have been

ignored by another, and equally a major rite that required their full attention surely distracted from gazing at the ceiling or apse. However, the spatial experience of sacred architecture relied on sensory immersion to enhanced ceremonial, and for many these experiences were tantamount to belief.

5.5.2. *Relics and Iconoclasm*

Byzantine Iconoclasm is a subject that has been exhaustively analysed since the 1970s (esp. Bryer and Herrin 1977), taking into account the cultural and historical setting of the controversy (Cameron 1992, Brown 1973), the theological convictions behind it (Barber 2002), and critical debate over the textual sources evidencing Iconoclasm (see Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 772 for overview of debates). Brubaker and Haldon's (2011) thorough volume does not attempt to answer the question of 'what was Iconoclasm?' until page 773, stating that the answer is both simple and extremely complicated. Iconoclasm was (in their view, and the view of many of the works just mentioned) a theological debate that problematized many questions about the veneration of holy objects, but its main concern was about real presence: could images of the holy perform like relics of the holy, and did this performance suggest actual presence of the holy within an image? Byzantine Iconoclasm thus represents a key shift in the theological debate about images, that from ontology (the nature of God) to epistemology (how God was to be known) (Elsner 2012, 376).

In the West, holy portraits did not become 'icons' for worship the way they did in the East, thus scholarship about the debate has been couched in terms of Papal, Lombard, and/or Carolingian response to Byzantine policy (Bronwen 2000; Noble 2009). How did these debates affect viewership in Ravenna, a place both 'Byzantine' and 'West'? Deliyannis (1996) tackled this question by examining Agnellus' *LPR* for traces of iconoclast or iconophyle sentiment, however, her conclusions can only really settle a debate about Agnellus's position on images. Whether he represents a wider portion of early medieval Ravennates is hard to say due to the lack of sources. Exploring the question within the context of both images and relics (as suggested by Appleby 1992) may help shed further light on the problem. Brukbaker and Haldon (2011, 38-39) have convincingly shown that in the period leading up to the iconoclastic debates, relics were more important than images: they produced more miracles, and were written about in

greater numbers. Ultimately, they argued, images/icons did not replace relics, but rather became an important component of the cult of saints: 'there is no "cult of image" independent of the cult of saints' (2011, 61).

Icon theory can be traced back to Basil of Caesarea in the mid-fourth century, who wrote of imperial images that 'the honour shown to the image is transmitted to the prototype' (quoted in Brubaker and Haldon 2011, 54). This concept was rediscovered and applied to holy images by John of Damascus in the mid-eighth century in *On Holy Images* (trans. Allies 1898). Icons were a way to access God: worshippers prayed to an icon (or a relic) of a saint or martyr and asked them to intercede on their behalf with God or Jesus (notably argued by Brown 1981, 6). Knowing something through an image implies a level of real presence in the image: the Emperor, Christ, God – all of these might manifest in their images and be 'known' to people through the act of looking. This, however, was cause for confusion in the eighth century. The first debate about iconoclasm took place c. 726-787 and centred on the role of images in worship: were images even allowed in churches, and did their use amount to worshiping false idols?

The theme of Christian art had shifted perspective from the more abstract and natural art of the early Christian period to more specifically focus on the Trinity: who they were, who attended them, and where they existed (Mackie 2003, 94). The trouble with representing the Trinity was that two out of the three (the Father and the Holy Spirit) could not be represented bodily or materially. The Son, in his Incarnation as Jesus, was both human and divine and could be represented as a human being. God as the Father was traditionally shown as a hand reaching down from the heavens - as depicted in the apse mosaics in Sant'Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 5.12) and the contemporary Basilica Eufrasiana in Porec. The Holy Spirit sometimes took the form of a dove, as seen in the twelfth-century apse mosaics of Ravenna's Ursiana. The Iconophyles (those in favour of images) felt that images were acceptable and useful as long as they represented something that could be seen or known. Thus if God became knowable through the person of Christ (i.e. people could see him), then it followed that it was possible to know God through images of him in that particular incarnation.

Figure 5.12 Apse mosaic of Sant'Apollinare in Classe depicting St.Apollinaris and a vision of the cross, with the hand of God reaching down from the heavens above. Photo by author.

The Iconoclasts (those against the use of images) were led by Byzantine Emperor Leo III (717-741), who promoted the idea that that all images were idols and should be banned. Indeed, by 754 a Byzantine council held at Hiereia officially declared that images were blasphemous. The Roman *Liber pontificalis* describes the Italian reaction and rebellion against Emperor Leo III (V. Gregorii II, 17), and Pope Gregory III's decision to excommunicate the emperor and all of the iconoclasts (V. Gergorii III, 3), effectively signalling Rome's non-involvement in what seemed to be a Byzantine controversy. At this time, Ravenna's local elites were consolidating their power against the rule of the foreign Exarch and the frequent Lombard invasions aimed at breaking the Byzantine hold in Italy (covered in detail by Deliyannis 1996). This confusing juxtaposition of loyalties caught Italians at a crossroad: they no longer wished to be Byzantine, but certainly did not wish to fall to Lombard invasion either. The Lombards captured Ravenna in 751. Unable to turn to the excommunicated Byzantine Emperor for help against the Lombards, the Roman Pope turned to the Frankish, who were also doctrinally opposed to iconoclasm (Deliyannis 1996, 560). Charlemagne conquered northern Italy in 774 and forced the Lombards to return the Italian lands to the Pope rather than to the Byzantine Emperor (Noble 1984 on the situation of Ravenna between Charlemagne's conquest and the emergence of Papal States). In general, the first period of Iconoclasm revealed Ravenna's

liturgical heritage and similarity with Rome, with whom they agreed over the issue of images and the excommunication of the Byzantine Emperor.

In 787 the Second Nicene Council was held during the reign of Empress Irene as part of a Byzantine effort to end the iconoclastic movement, thus the use of holy images in worship was reinstated. Pope Hadrian I seemed to echo the iconophyle stance in a letter to Charlemagne in 792:

> Throughout the world, wherever Christianity is to be found, these holy images exist and are honoured by all the faithful so that by a spiritual effect our mind may be elevated through the visible countenance to the invisible majesty of the divinity through the contemplation of the figured image according to the flesh which the song of God deigned to take on for our salvation.
>
> (quoted in Noble 2009, 111)

The Carolingians, however, responded with their own statement, the *Libri Carolini*, completed in 793. It outlines three acceptable uses for images: 'they may be hung in churches as fitting decorations and ornaments for consecrated places; they may commemorate the events of the Bible and memorialize biblical prophesies not yet fulfilled; and it is possible that they might be used in teaching and indoctrination' (Appleby 1992, 334). In the Frankish West at the end of the eighth century, then, images were acceptable for decoration and teaching, and in Papal Italy they were perhaps even acceptable for veneration.

The second period of Iconoclasm (815-843) concerned ritual: where and how was it appropriate to set up images? (Elsner 2012, 385). Appleby (1992, 339) put it thusly:

> To acknowledge that a class of objects was worthy of veneration not merely as symbols but as holy things was to raise the question of how to identify these venerable objects. Who would determine which images were holy and which were not? Would it be the artisans who made them, and if so, where did the clergy fit in? Could just anyone make holy images?

Delyannis (1996, 561) noted that the effect of this period in the West is harder to gauge because there was little official contact between the Carolingians and the Byzantines. In her analysis of Agnellus' text, she argued that the *LPR* does not specifically say anything about Iconoclasm or any of the councils which discuss it because it was widely known that the Pope and the Roman Catholic church supported the iconophyles, and at the time Agnellus and the Ravennate clergy were very anti-papal. However, she concludes from

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analysis of the text that Agnellus was in fact pro-image, but he could not explicitly say in the course of a text that was meant to be anti-Roman.

This analysis, however, does not deal with a central question: what would it mean to be 'pro-image' in eighth or ninth century Italy? Images were certainly widely used in Ravenna, as they were in nearly all fifth and sixth century Italy churches, but as this chapter has shown images were used in conjunction with the liturgy and with loci of saintly veneration. None of the portraiture found in Ravenna could be considered an icon. Appleby (1992, 333) has argued that relics and other holy objects became part of a peculiarly western feature of the iconoclastic debate. His study of Carolingian literature brought about an important conclusion: Carolingian debate changed over the course of the ninth century when the question of relics was brought against that of images (1992, 339). Indeed relics, as a class of holy object, could be regulated by the church hierarchy with strict guidelines about what were official, canonical relics and what were 'popular' relics.

The relationship between relics and art was thus one of association with the sacred. As Brubaker and Haldon (2011, 775) called them, early icons were 'relic-images', art attempting to imitate sacred object. In the west the two concepts never fused the way they did in the east, but art still functioned alongside relics in the way it was used to frame sacred space.

5.6. Concluding Remarks

As this chapter has shown, Ravenna was a showpiece of the Byzantine West. Its role in Italy was both administrative and ceremonial. However, one interesting point to remember is its small size, especially in comparison to Rome and Constantinople. Estimates of Ravenna's population remained around 10,000 people (Cosentino 2015, 59; cf. Cosentino 2005, 406-413), making it a considerably small 'capital'. This suggests that much of the building activity may have been in preparation for imperial or Papal visits, perhaps as a demonstration of Byzantine wealth and authority from afar. The cooperation of Bishops and wealthy laypersons created a significant new approach to ecclesiastical building. The case of Julian the banker is an exceptional one among late antique cities

and further demonstrates Ravenna's status as a wealthy, thriving urban centre in the sixth century (Fig. 5.13).
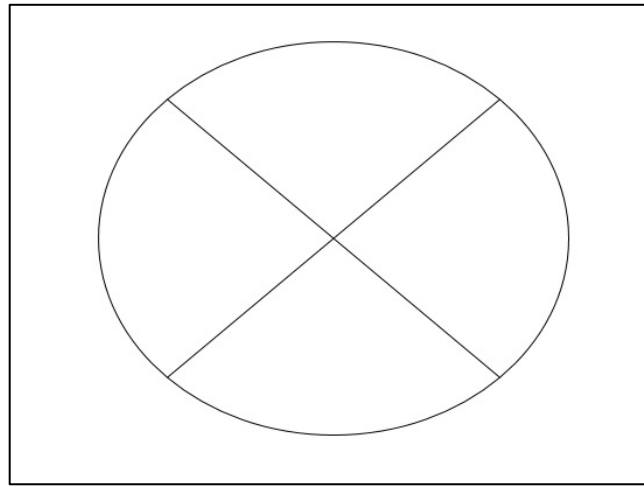
Figure 5.13 A reconstruction of a mass in Sant'Apollinare in Classe done by Leicester locals Helen and Richard Leacroft for a children's book, *The Buildlings of Byzantium* (1977).

This chapter has not attempted to answer whether or not Ravenna was truly 'Byzantine', in large part because the question has been addressed many times. The answer will only change our understanding of its art and architecture if we take its buildings as static: only a Latin or only a Byzantine liturgy could have been practice there, only Italian or only Byzantine people would have viewed its images. This chapter has demonstrated that neither of those things were categorically true. Ravenna's buildings represent a mixture of Western and Eastern influences because its people were a mixture of Western and Eastern descent, and indeed recent consensus on the subject implies that Ravenna was both 'Byzantine' and 'Western' and so uniquely 'Ravennate' (Deliyannis 2010; Verhoeven 2011). Even if a basilica had been designed with a particular ceremony in mind, over time the interiors could change to accommodate new practices and ideas; new artwork could be added to incorporate more saints and martyrs, new emperors, and new histories.

In her conclusions on Byzantine Ravenna, Verhoeven (2011, 135) agreed that much of the architecture in Ravenna is related to architectural styles and buildings in Constantinople. However, this observation does not necessarily make Ravenna a 'Byzantine' city. Verhoeven argued that the construction of Ravenna as a Byzantine city is a modern one, fostered by Ravenna's designation as the 'city of mosaics' which holds

Justinian and Theodora as its icons. This is not an unfair assessment, but as we will see in the following chapter, this new designation as the 'city of mosaics' and the 'city of art' made Ravenna more attractive as a tourist site. The next chapter will turn away from the time when these basilicas were primarily used as sites of worship and veneration, and to a time when they were seen as pieces of antiquity to be visited. This is a turn away from the ceremonial world of Byzantine and toward the consumer world of modern tourists.

Chapter 6. Modern Perspectives: From the Grand Tour to the Present

6.1. Introduction

Much of what has been presented in preceding chapters has concentrated on aspects of the late antique world that cannot be reconstructed with any certainty - mainly the ways that 'ordinary', everyday inhabitants of Ravenna perceived their urban environment and how they responded to art and architecture. This chapter jumps forward from the ninth century to the eighteenth century for several reasons, the first being that I want to examine the origin of 'modern' Ravenna as a tourist site rather than as an ancient capital.

In the nine centuries between Agnellus and the Grand Tour, Ravenna became an increasingly remote location because it was no longer the seat of an important government. It did enjoy political favour and religious investment into the eleventh century - many of Ravenna's characteristic cylindrical bell towers were built in this period with the help of the Holy Roman Emperors (David 2013, 222; also see Cirelli 2008 on the archaeology of this period, and Herrin and Nelson eds. 2016 on Ravenna's role in early medieval Europe). Overall, however, Ravenna's medieval and early modern periods were characterised by political tensions between the Holy Roman Empire, the Papal States, and the Republic of Venice – the latter wielding considerable influence along the northern Adriatic coast. Ravenna was eventually annexed into Venetian territory in 1440, and consequently new building took place in the capacity of fortifications to the city walls, a new Venetian fort called the Rocca Brancaleone, and general repairs to roads and plazas. Ravenna again fell into the sphere of the Papal State in the early 1500s, and continued to waver between Italian powers all the way up to its incorporation into the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 – a period in which David (2013, 258) claims that Ravenna became 'the remote frontier of a pontifical land'.

The main reason I am choosing to skip these centuries, apart from their considerably dense political history, is that they seemed to not matter much to anyone embarking on the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century, nor to Italy's own conservation officers in the

nineteenth century. Verhoeven (2011, 223) has made the point that many of Ravenna's churches have been 'lost' because the past was not always held in high esteem; until end of the Byzantine Exarchate in AD 751 there were more than sixty churches in Ravenna and Classe, but now only a dozen survive. Of the major basilicas surveyed so far in this thesis, San Giovanni Evangelista, San Francesco, and Spirito Santo have 'white-washed' interiors due to damage or reconstruction over time, while the Ursiana cathedral, Santa Croce, San Severo, and San Michele in Africisco are entirely 'lost' to us. Some of this is the result of the loss of prestige; some the simple logistics and expense of maintenance and restoration; and some of it to notions about which versions of the past were the most important to preserve.

Another reason for jumping forward in time is that the task of extrapolating viewer response from a primary source gets easier as we come closer in time to the present and as the genre of travel writing becomes far more expository. Additionally, during the nineteenth century visual material played a large role in the growing tourist industry by bringing far away cities back to the public at home. The final reason to look ahead to the early modern period is because there is a good case that modern tourism is somewhat continuous from the Grand Tour to the present. Modern tourism really begins with British travellers in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is even more explicitly built upon in the nineteenth century when travel became cheaper and easier. This chapter is a survey of modern literature and narratives, as well as a consideration of the visual material that helped spread consumer culture. It will then turn toward Italian conservation policy and how Ravenna's monuments have been shaped by late nineteenth century ideas about nationalism, preservation, and the hunt for 'original' buildings.

In Section 6.2 I will explore some Grand Tour literature from (mostly) British travellers to Italy. This genre helped to magnify the impact of tourism by bringing culture to those who did not (or could not) travel (Black 2003, 3). Although there is enough material on British travels to Ravenna in the eighteenth century alone to fill a whole chapter, only a few points will be made here to demonstrate the considerable gap in viewership between Byzantine period worshippers and the modern tourist. These accounts will also reveal how some knowledge about Ravenna was lost between the Early Middle Ages and the early modern period – this includes some basic history and facts about how monuments were set up, what they were for, and even something as basic as which imperial couple

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was depicted in San Vitale. As noted in Chapter 3, Agnellus' work was not widely consulted by most modern travellers because it had been stored away in the library of the Duke of Modena until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Grand Tour narratives often provide revealing insights into the state of Ravenna's monuments at this time, and what sorts of art objects interested Grand Tour travellers: marble seemed much more fascinating than mosaic, for instance.

Section 6.3 moves from narrative to visual media to demonstrate the rise of a new visual culture in the nineteenth century. Photographs, etchings, and engravings became popular media for tourists and professionals alike. Popular magazines distributed these images, bringing tourism into the middle class home in Europe and America. Architectural photography especially became popular as architecture lent itself well to the long exposure times required by the early photographic process (Nilsen 2011, 17). Phyllis Lambert has argued that photographs are primary sources that can be read as images, and that they are as inherently interpretive as any other work of art (Pare 1982, 10). Robert Elwall has echoed this sentiment by stating that 'architectural photography is an undervalued genre'; and 'too often architectural photographs have been taken for granted, discussed as if they were the buildings themselves rather than a portrayal of them at a particular moment in time (1994, 5). Several photographic collections house nineteenth century photos of Ravenna, those surveyed here have come from the A. D. White Architectural Photograph Collection in Cornell University Library, New York.

Section 6.4 will examine how ideas generated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shaped the ways that heritage sites were managed, restored, and opened to tourists. The nineteenth century is particularly important for the development of Italy's tourism industry in that many socio-political factors collided to produce a national focus on heritage: the unification of Italy into one kingdom, Romanticism's emphasis on nostalgia for the past, and the creation of Italy's various regional offices dedicated to preservation and heritage at the end of the century. Ravenna became the site of the first of these superintendents' offices, and a case study in 'isolate and rescue' restoration methods. The monuments we see in Ravenna today are largely a product of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century restoration efforts which sought to restore the buildings to their 'original' forms.

The goal of this chapter is not to specifically answer all of the remaining questions about heritage management (as there may not be many specific answers), but to raise new questions and issues regarding our understanding and interpretation of decorative artwork in a late antique city and at a UNESCO site. How have ideas about travel, tourism, and viewership changed since the Grand Tour, and what ideas have largely stayed the same?

6.2. Ravenna in the Grand Tour

The 'Grand Tour' broadly refers to a period between the mid-sixteenth and the early nineteenth century when it was common for young British (usually, though not always) nobility to embark on a tour of 'Europe' (typically southern Europe) in search of the art, architecture, and culture of Classical Antiquity and the Renaissance. The fact that these travellers were mostly British and mostly elites reflects a fusion of tourism and social status during these centuries: travel was expensive, exclusive, and explicitly linked with concepts of personal fulfilment and enlightenment in ways it had not been in other periods (Black 2003, 1). Many of these young nobles wrote detailed accounts of their travels, some with the intention to be published and some as informal letters to friends or family at home. The Grand Tour had a fairly standard itinerary for British travellers – straight down into France in order to tour Paris, then over the Alps into northern Italy. As the source of both the Roman Empire and the European Renaissance, Italy received the most attention with cities like Turin, Milan, Pisa, Padua, Florence, and Venice all on the itinerary. Rome was, of course, the inevitable climax of the Grand Tour and it hosted the most tourists at any given time (Naddeo 2005, 183).

Ravenna, however, was not a very grand location in the eighteenth century. For example, Thomas Broderick (1753, 346) remarked bitingly that 'the church is a very ill master: the towns I have yet seen have all been declining from the time in which they fell under its jurisdiction, but none more than Ravenna'. The interest in going to Ravenna was mostly to 'tick' it off of the list or to see it as part of a tour of the Adriatic coast if one was already in Venice and planning to head down toward Rimini and Ancona. This section will make use of both narratives and visual material from the Grand Tour period to get a sense of how the city looked, how travellers perceived it, and what sorts of monuments were routinely visited.

6.2.1. *Period Sources*

The types of sources available for the Grand Tour vary in length and detail, but most of them conform to certain standards of literary composition. Black (2003, 20) has made the argument that many widely-read narratives leave out the more gritty and personal aspects of travel in the eighteenth century because of their link with literary trends of the period – in fact they are quite removed from the experiences of an ordinary tourist because they were meant to be read almost as a form of fiction. They also leave out the varied political and cultural factors that affected travel to southern Europe, along with the blatant xenophobia felt by most British nobles. Accounts that were published with the intention to be distributed to a large market were meant to please and encourage people to travel, and so show a concern for tone and style (Black 2003, 19). Arguably, accounts that were published to be shared between friends and family, certain social circles, or for a patron might give us better insight into how tourism 'really was' in the eighteenth century. Sweet (2012, 14), however, has shown that using a wide range of both published and personal sources reveals how attitudes toward Italy's classical past changed over the course of the eighteenth century.

I will primarily exploit published sources – some written in narrative form, some as letters, and others as a diary that were eventually published for a wider audience. While there is an exceptional number of primary sources for this period, writers who mention Ravenna are nowhere near as frequent as those chronicling Rome, Venice, Florence, or Naples. The earliest publication used in this section is Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), an extremely literary account illustrated by ancient quotes about Italy's geography. Addison's book is most exemplary of the 'civic humanist education and the dominance of the classical ideal' that characterised travel writing of the early eighteenth century (Sweet 2012, 5). John Breval's *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe* (1738) is undoubtedly one of the longest texts used here and his chapter on Ravenna is one of the lengthiest I could find. Thankfully he seemed to appreciate the city more than Joseph Addison or Henry de Blainville, who wrote a short chapter on Ravenna in his *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, but especially Italy* (1757). Breval says he 'found all the English accounts [he] had hitherto met with concerning that famous city extremely superficial and defective' (1738, 184). Though longer, his account is not any more accurate. For example, he mistakenly says that Honorius moved the

capital from Rome, when in fact the capital at that time was Milan, and also states that Honorius is the emperor depicted in the panel at San Vitale. It was not only British travellers who made the tour: Johann Georg Keyssler, a German noble and scholar who became a fellow of London's Royal Society, wrote a detailed account of his European travels that was widely read by a British audience. The book was first published in Germany, then translated into English in the hope that it would 'be received with candour by the English reader' (1765, 1).

Many of these works were about showing off knowledge (even somewhat erroneous knowledge) in the first hand – they often strung together quotes from texts they had read with what they could see or read there in real life. John Breval, for instance, could translate some basic Latin, spoke a little French (aided by his French guide), and was very well read in Italian history. Most travellers were quick to dismiss any local tales they heard about monuments or antiquities. They often recorded the stories locals told them, but supplemented these stories with 'facts' from their own education to juxtapose against the lore of the 'the common people' - as Keyssler (1765, 74) called them. Keyssler was even dismissive of church plaques and inscriptions, saying of San Giovanni Evangelista that he felt it very 'suspicious' that Galla Placidia could have founded the church simply based on the supposed association with her crossing the sea (1765, 79). Thomas Broderick (1753, 221) saw in Pavia's marketplace an equestrian bronze statue called the Regisole and remarked that 'a hundred people were immediately explaining it to me at once, and giving me its history'. One local told him that a magician in his court made it for Theoderic the Great, while another told him the statue was of Odoacer. Broderick asks his reader 'what will be your opinion of the antiquarians of Pavia, when I have told you that this magic Regisole is a very noble remain of the ancient statuary, and is an image of Marcus Aurelius?' (1753, 222), which, according to Broderick's sources, was brought to Pavia from Ravenna. Breval (1738, 172) also mentions this statue, and notes that some people believed it was brought to Pavia by Charlemagne, who intended to then take it to France. As discussed in Chapter 5, Charlemagne successfully brought Theoderic's equestrian statue back to Aachen, thus Pavia's Regisole may have no connection to Ravenna at all – but the story remained deeply ingrained in Pavia's civic lore.

From these accounts, we get the sense that by the eighteenth century Ravenna had been neglected for a long time. The city was difficult to travel to, some of its buildings were

run down, and many of its antiquities (notably the sarcophagi) were scattered all over the city. Grand Tour visitors were particularly interested in marbles (sculpted altars, sarcophagi, and columns), while the mosaics that have come to symbolise late antique artwork appear almost incidental to the Grand Tour accounts (if they are mentioned at all!). One traveller noted that Ravenna's cathedral contained 'some very old mosaic work' in the choir (Keyssler 1765, 75), which must have been the twelfth century mosaic programme representing the Resurrection in the apse and on the triumphal arch (Verhoeven 2011, 90). There seemed to be some interest in Gothic and Byzantine history, but notably travellers were thinking of Ravenna as a kind of 'Roman' relic more than a Byzantine one, contextualised as it was within a tour of European (Roman) history.

As noted above, visual material also played an important role in Grand Tour writing. Alongside British gentry, artists and architects became frequent travellers and often acted as drawing masters or tour guides for tourists (Sweet 2012, 8). By the late eighteenth century travel guides were routinely published in Britain, and remained popular into the nineteenth century. Additionally, the market for travel literature grew as other European countries began to publish regular travel magazines. Between Grand Tour artists and Italian locals there is a large corpus of sketches, engravings, and city plans from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that we may draw upon for visual reference.

A brief note is needed here on names and places in the eighteenth century: many of Ravenna's buildings had transformed over the centuries with added monastic or convent structures, new chapels, and removal or repair of damaged antiquities. Theoderic's Mausoleum served as the core of a small church called Santa Maria della Rotonda - called 'the Rotonda' by Grand Tour travellers. Other churches retained their original dedications but often were colloquially called by the order of a nearby convent – in some cases this makes it hard to tell the difference between when a writer uses 'convent' to mean a category of new building and when they mean 'convent' as a group of clerical order living together in an existing building.

San Vitale, for instance, was given to the Benedictine order by Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (983-1002) and they built a monastery in the space that used to be the original narthex (Verhoeven 2012, 274). The cloisters of this building are now the National Museum of Ravenna. San Vitale was called St. Vitalis by most Grand Tour travellers, but

sometimes it was also referred to as 'the convent of St. Vitalis' or the 'convent of the Benedictines' - however, this second designation could also refer to the actual monastery. Breval confuses us the most by accidentally calling it the 'convent of the Theatines', and his account was closely copied by Broderick who also mistakenly attributes the building to the Theatine order (see below). The Theatines were indeed in possession of a building in Ravenna, but it was that of the former Arian Cathedral/St. Theodore. Keyssler and Breval both mention this church in connection to a legend about the Holy Spirit descending through the window in the form of a Dove to select Ravenna's bishops. Keyssler (1765, 75) rightly designates this building as the 'Theatine church', while Breval (1738, 187) calls it by its new name of San Spirito – a close derivative of its modern name, Spirito Santo (on the name of this church see Verhoeven 2011, 91). Sant'Apollinare Nuovo was called St. Apollinaris but none of the authors seem to make the connection that this was Theoderic's palace church. More than one believes it is a church standing on top of where the palace used to be, or possibly that it was a church made out of material from the demolished palace. We are also told that a convent of the Soccolanti was connected to the building, but it is unclear if there was an actual monastery of this order nearby.

6.2.2. The Road to Ravenna

Finding a Grand Tour author who wrote as positively about Ravenna as they wrote about Rome or Florence is no easy task. Ravenna was not particularly easy to reach, in part from its remoteness out on the Adriatic coast and in part from the swampy environment all around the lower Po delta. The various channels of the Po River, once a source of sustenance and protection for a fortified Ravenna, became a source of endless frustration for travellers. Eighteenth-century travellers had three options: to go over land by horse-drawn carriage, to go down the channels of the Po on a riverboat (though these were scarce), or to take a sea route down the Adriatic coast. Northern Italy notably suffered from the most unpredictable road conditions in the country due to its poorly draining clay-like soil (Black 2003, 83). Thus George, Viscount Parker (1697-1764) remarked in a letter to his father from Venice that overland travel to Ravenna was not possible: 'The roads between this place and Ravenna being most extraordinarily bad, we determined to go to that place by water' (quoted in Black 2003, 88) – recalling, perhaps, the letter of Sidonius Apollinaris where he complained that Caesar's road 'separates' rather than unites. But

for those not sailing along the Adriatic coast, Ravenna did not lie on an obvious overland route at all – one could avoid the whole Po delta by travelling through Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna and then taking the road straight down to Rimini rather than trying to go east out toward Ravenna (Fig. 6.1). Travel by land was possible, but much worse, since Keyssler wrote that 'though Ferrara is but five stages from Ravenna, it is a whole day's journey; and unless it be in very dry weather, there is no travelling the nearest way' (1765, 83). He notes that Bologna is a similar distance from Ravenna, but even today by train Ravenna is still an hour's journey from Bologna, belying how close the two cities appear on a map. Going to Ravenna seems to have been more trouble than it was worth for many writers, as some have not much more than a page of things to say about it (indicating that they perhaps did not visit and only culled a summary from other sources).

Joseph Addison gave one chapter to the cities of Ferrara, Ravenna, and Rimini together in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* and did not have much to say of Ravenna itself but did have much to complain about in getting there. He in fact seemed underwhelmed by the whole of Emilia-Romagna, commenting that 'At Ferrara I met nothing extraordinary. The town is very large, but extremely thin of people' (1705, 75). 'Thin of people' was a theme for this region:

> I came down a Branch of the Po, as far as Alberto, within ten Miles of Ravenna. All this space lies miserably uncultivated 'till you come near Ravenna, where the soil is made extremely fruitful, and shows what much of the rest might be, were there hands enough to manage it to the best advantage.
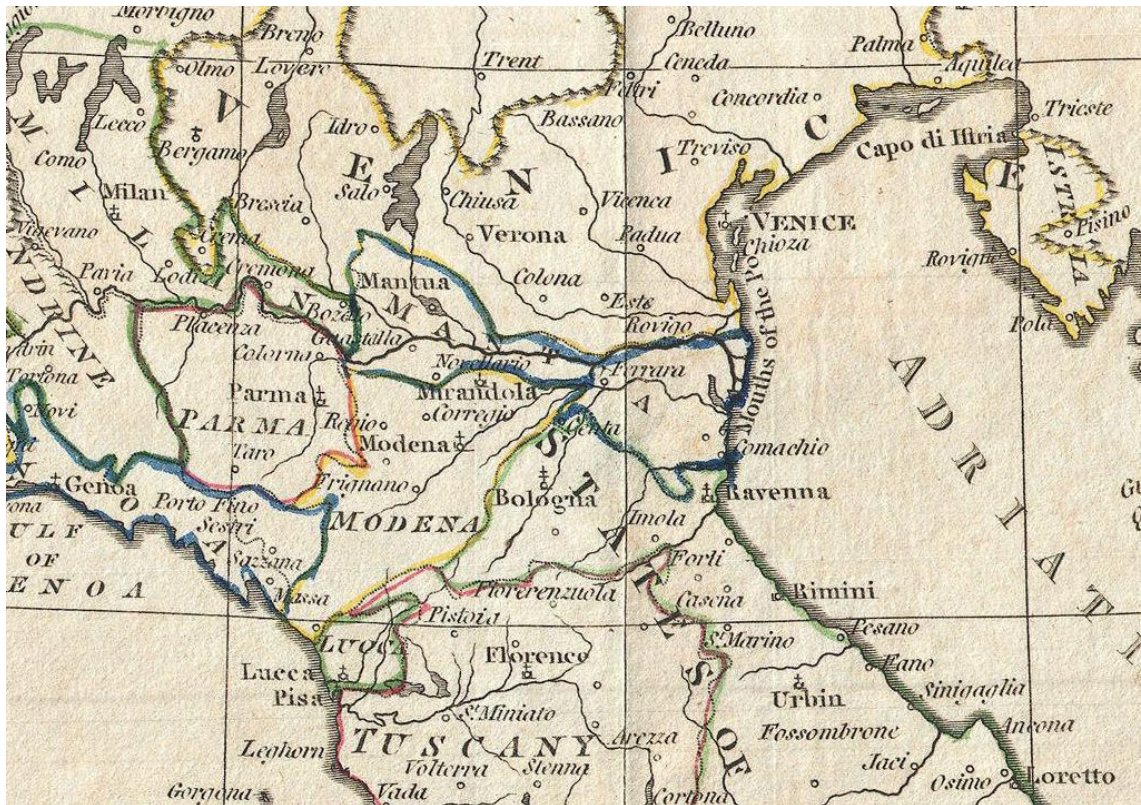
Figure 6.1 Part of a 1799 map of Italy by the English map publisher Clement Cruttwell, showing Northern Italy. Provided by Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, distributed by Wikimedia Commons as part of a cooperative project.

Henry de Blainville, whose account is written more or less as a journal, travelled to the area of Ravenna in 1707. It seems doubtful from his account that he actually went into the city itself; more likely he only passed by on the road to Forli. Instead of an account of monuments, he devotes several pages to the parts of Ravenna's history that he deems interesting, but no details of sightseeing are given. Like Addison he felt Emilia-Romagna was very desolate, commenting that Ravenna was even less appealing than Ferrara had been (1757, 175):

> The reason why we did not, upon leaving Ferrara, this morning take the road by Ravenna, was because we were certainly informed that we could see nothing there that could repay the trouble of passing through such a vast number of wretched roads, and that the town itself was still more desolate and more dispeopled than Ferrara.

By contrast, Thomas Broderick (1753, 346) wrote admiringly of the city in letters home to a friend, but even he admitted that 'one can scarce believe it the city one reads of so flourishing a few ages ago'. All in all, Ravenna disappoints from the outset and was not comparable to Rome in anyone's eyes. One entire volume of Keyssler's four-volume set

is devoted to Rome's monuments, and Addison said of Rome that 'no part of the antiquities pleas'd me so much as the statues' (1705, 177) - something Ravenna distinctly lacked. Keyssler's (1765, 70) description lends itself well to imagining how the town appeared to a foreigner in the eighteenth century:

> It contains at present scarce fifteen thousand inhabitants, which bears such a disproportion to the convents, being no less than four-and-twenty, that the city must sensibly feel the weight of this useless load.

At 15,000 people, Ravenna had barely grown in size since the Byzantine period, and Keyssler moreover noticed a disproportionate percentage of the population belonged to the Church in some way. Perhaps it seemed that there were almost *too many* churches for such a small place now that many of them had grown into proper monasteries instead of the small chapels noted by Agnellus so many centuries ago. This observation certainly recalls Ravenna's traditional cityscape: it was a place of buildings, not of statues.

6.2.3. Points of Interest

Despite a rather disappointing introduction to this former grand capital, some travellers found redeeming qualities to write about. A few places stand out as frequently visited locations for Grand Tour travellers: Theoderic's Mausoleum ('the Rotonda') and his palace church (St. Apollinaris), San Vitale, and the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Surprisingly, while all of the authors mention Classe as being the port of Ravenna and that the city once lay closer to the sea than it does now, few ventured out to see Sant'Apollinare. Theoderic's mausoleum seems to have attracted people mostly for its famous roof, made from one solid piece of Istrian limestone that covered the whole dome in a manner seemingly unaccountable for 'barbarians'. The building had in fact suffered at the hands of the French in the sixteenth century and several writers had something to say about the defiling of the church. San Vitale had belonged to the Benedictines since the tenth century and seems to be one of the richer places in the city. Galla Placidia's mausoleum was (as it is somewhat today) a by-product of visiting San Vitale that most people describe as being 'in the garden' of that church. A few writers had their own particular interests – Keyssler, for instance, describes the broken down and 'ruinous' lighthouse of Ravenna outside the city walls (1765, 73). Each of their accounts is anecdotal, they provide some information on how monuments and buildings looked and

where certain antiquities were placed, but they also related small asides about stories that they have heard or people they met.

One building that is often conspicuously absent from the tour is Ravenna's cathedral. Keyssler, who visited Italy 1729-1730, is one of the few who mentions visiting this building, to which he assigns only a small paragraph that praises the wooden doors (this compared to his visit to Florence where the impressive Renaissance *duomo* is the first building he describes in great detail). In the early part of the eighteenth century the building would have still been Ravenna's ancient Ursiana (with many later additions), which was demolished in 1733 and built over by a modern cathedral (Novara 1997, 8). Any traveller before 1733 would have seen the old building, whereas any between 1733-1745 presumably saw the new cathedral under construction, and those travelling after 1745 could admire the completed, Baroque-style building whose architect, Gian Francesco Buonamici (1692-1752), did his best to incorporate visual references to the old building including the use of some original pavements and columns (Novara 1997, 10; Fig. 6.2). Although Thomas Broderick's (1753, 346) letters were supposedly written in 1750 and published 1753-54, it is hard to imagine why he described the modern Baroque building as an 'old Gothic structure':

> The cathedral is an old Gothic structure, but with nothing very elegant about it: the most elegant thing in it is the double row of pillars on each side of the nave supporting the roof; they are of Grecian marble, and make a grand appearance. The roof is mosaic, and the materials are good, but the design has no great merit; the floor also is mosaic, but there is less merit in the design in this than above.

This could be a confusion of dates for the source, or a judgement value about the Baroque building being of inferior quality. Much of the scholarship on Ravenna has regarded the decision to demolish the Ursiana, perhaps the most important and oldest Christian building in the city, as shameful (Verhoeven 2011, 207). And, as Verhoeven (2011, 207) stated, this event seems unparalleled for a city that generally upheld and cherished its past. Judging from the Grant Tour sources, however, the old cathedral was in poor shape by the early eighteenth century. Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) granted funds to Archbishop Crispi (1720-1727) of Ravenna to restore the cathedral, but because of a series of misappropriations these plans were never realised (Pasini 1985; Novara 1997). The next Archbishop, Maffeo Farsetti (1727-1741), consulted several architects from

Rome over the question of restorations, but ultimately he had to make the decision to pull the cathedral down and start anew, presumably due to the lack of funds for what must have been a massive undertaking to preserve the original fabric of the church (Pasini 1985, 118). The original apse and twelfth century mosaics were lost during the second building phase (1741-1745) when that part of the building collapsed. The new cathedral opened in May, 1745.

Figure 6.2 Interior of Ravenna's modern cathedral, view toward the apse showing the opus sectile pavement. Photo by José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro, distributed by Wikimedia Commons.

Theoderic's tomb was often the first monument that travellers described. Ricci (1878, 229) guessed that the church attached to it might have been destroyed in 1719, but a drawing by Giovanni Battista Piranesi shows it still standing c. 1720-1778, though perhaps in a state of ruin (Fig. 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Sketch of Theoderic's tomb by Giovanni Battista Piranesi showing the Rotonda church that had been built around it. The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

As noted, most visitors were extremely impressed with its monolithic roof and the craftsmanship of the building, but the fact that it was built by 'barbarians' made it both beautiful and unbelievable. Keyssler, for his part, calls it a 'ruined chapel', and also noted that the floor was underwater (1765, 71); Breval, meanwhile, thought the tomb could 'not to be matched' in Europe (1738, 184). Keyssler (1756, 71) records an interesting bit of information, noting that 'an account written on vellum and kept on the altar of the chapel' described the building of the mausoleum and the church, saying that its dome was made of a solid block of stone 'brought out of Egypt'. As noted, the whole mausoleum is made from ashlar blocks of limestone imported from Istria (across the Adriatic from Ravenna), the roof of the same material (Deliyannis 2010b, 367). They are, however, correct in noting its architectural uniqueness as it is unlike any other building in Ravenna.

During the 'Great Wars' that ravaged much of Northern Italy in the sixteenth century, French forces under the command of Gaston de Foix besieged Ravenna in 1512 against Papal-Spanish aligned troops. The Battle of Ravenna ended in a French victory, but at the cost of damaging some of Ravenna's monuments with heavy cannon fire. Breval notes

that the porphyry tub that once held Theoderic's body was missing from the building, and that it was damaged by a French cannon and had been moved to another location (see below). Addison (1705, 75) noticed a large crack in the vaulted ceiling of the church and says the same canon ball that broke the porphyry tub probably damaged the ceiling too. Locals, however, told him that the ceiling was cracked by 'thunder' that also killed one of their princes. Addison then says that he spoke to an Abbot in the church and asked him the name of this prince, but the Abbot could not remember so he simply responded 'Julius Caesar', at which Addison scoffed. Modern scholars, however, have proposed that the crack developed at the time of building due to the technical difficulty of placing the monolithic stone (Deliyannis 2010a, 134; after Bovini 1959, 54; Fig. 6.4).

Figure 6.4 A modern view of Theoderic's Mausoleum. Photo by author.

As mentioned above, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo was a place of interest for Grand Tour travellers but there was general confusion about the building's history. Breval (1738, 186) could not resist admiring the church's columns, which he believed came from Theoderic's palace:

> Since we are on the subject of pillars, I cannot pass in silence the great number of antique ones, which are at the church of St. Apollinaris, particularly four of porphyry, and two of alabastro cotonino. As Theoderic's palace stood partly on this individual spot, 'tis highly probable these are some part of its decor, as likewise many other sumptuous fragments of the Roman times that I saw scattered up and down.

Broderick, too, says St. Apollinaris is where 'Theoderick had a superb palace' (1753, 352), though it now belongs to the convent of the Soccolanti. Broderick arrived at St. Apollinaris the way many travellers did, by way of chasing the location of the porphyry tub from Theoderic's tomb. It resided (apparently) partially within a wall of the church where it had been moved for safekeeping, as noted by Breval (1738, 187):

> The porphyry coffin, or sarcophagus, in which were Theoderic's ashes, had been remov'd hither, as I observed before from the Rotonda, but they have wedg'd it in the Wall in such a manner, that only one side of it appears, and that extremely shatter'd, which was occasion'd, as the tradition has it, by a cannon-ball in the time of the siege, when it stood fix'd to the roof of the Rotonda.

Keyssler recorded the inscription over the porphyry tub (1765, 71; his translation):

> Vas hoc Porphyriacum ol. Theodorici Gothorum Imp. cineres in Rotonda
> Apice recondens huc Petro Donato Casio Narnien. Prasule savente translatum
> Ad perennem memoriam Sapientes Reip. Rav. P. P. C. MDLXIIII

> This porphyry vase, formerly placed on top of the Rotonda, and containing the ashes of Theoderic king of the Goths was, with the consent of Pietro Donato Casi bishop of Narni, and by order of the wise magistracy of the commonwealth of Ravenna, removed hither, for better preservation of this valuable piece of antiquity. 1564.

Addison also tells us that the porphyry tub used to sit on top of the roof, so presumably he also saw this inscription though he did not write about it. This would have been a very odd place for the tub in antiquity, perhaps the wording meant on the second storey of the mausoleum, below the roof. However, if local tradition firmly held that the tub was damaged by a cannon because it was exposed on the outside (and indeed the sixteenth century inscription demonstrates the date of removal for preservation), perhaps 'on top of' or 'to the roof of' the Rotonda was a strange choice made at one time in the building's history. We have no record of the building's history after Agnellus, and likewise do not know when Theoderic's body was removed from the tomb (Deliyannis 2010a, 133). It is one among many examples of a piece of antiquity vacillating between display and conservation in the eighteenth century. The desire to preserve was not yet matched by a distinct policy of doing so.

In describing Sant'Apollinare Nuovo's mosaics, Breval and Keyssler offer two different scenes. Keyssler notes that the church 'deserves a traveller's notice' (1765, 76) because the mosaics on the nave walls are beautiful and was further impressed by the marble altars, sculptures, and paintings that decorated each of the side chapels. Breval (1738, 187) says that the 'ancient Bishops of Ravenna are most of them represented in mosaic on the walls of this church, together with the Emperor Justinian; and they show'd us besides a suppos'd elevation of the façade of the palace: it was here the Arrian Bishops were us'd to assemble in Council'. As noted in Chapter 4, the nave wall mosaics of processions out of the palace and Classe are male saints and female martyrs; no bishops, Orthodox or Arian, are depicted anywhere. The association with Theoderic and 'barbarian' artwork was quite strong, but neither traveller mentioned the reconciliation or that the nave mosaics 'cover' the original artwork. In general, the memory of King Theoderic was attached to the building because it was near the location of the royal palace (which explains why the porphyry tub might have been moved there), but no one made the leap to recognize this being a church of his direct sponsorship.

San Vitale drew every traveller's attention. It is the only other place mentioned by Addison (1705, 79), who says he saw some large sarcophagi in the gardens outside of this church, but that they had no inscriptions so he was unable to record who they were for but his best guess was Honorius, Galla Placidia and Valentinian III. Breval (1738, 185) made mention of San Vitale's mosaics in his description (as noted, he mistakenly called it the 'convent of the Theatines'):

> I went next to the noble Convent of Theatines, the Figure of which is round like the former, but vastly more spacious, and built, as they pretend, upon the model of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The mosaics, yet undefaced in a great measure, are a proof of the antiquity of this church, and respresent the first consecration of the monastery by Honorius, and his sister Placidia, (the real foundress of it) who are in imperial robes.

Broderick's (1753, 352) description follows Breval's so closely that we might assume that he lifted it wholesale:

> The convent of the Theatines, is a round building, like the Rotonda, but it is vastly larger. It is built on the model of the famous St. Sophia at Constantinople. Placidia was the real foundress of this church: she and her brother Honorius are represented in it in imperial robes, at the act of the consecration. On the further side of the garden is a chapel, in which there is also a great deal more of mosaic work, of about the same time, in which there are three marble sarcophagi.

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Both of these men make three interesting observations: (i) that San Vitale was based on the Hagia Sophia; (ii) the mistake that the imperial panels are actually depicting Honorius and Galla Placidia rather than Justinian and Theodora; and (iii) that without any debate these mosaics depict them in the act of consecrating the church. As Charles Barber (1990, 34) argued of the Justinian mosaic, the function of imperial power within the mosaic was simply to be present, meaning that an unnamed man was dressed in the symbols of power – imperial purple, the imperial brooch and crown. The person in the panel can thus only be read as *an* emperor, not *the* Emperor Justinian. This fact seems quite proven by the Emperor's mistaken identity in Grand Tour literature, it could easily be Emperor Honorius because of the city's strong associations with late Roman history. The close proximity of Galla Placidia's 'mausoleum', confined within the wall of San Vitale's 'garden', likewise seems to contextualise San Vitale as a Roman monument. It does seem odd that neither Breval nor Broderick mention Bishop Maximian, whose name is clearly inscribed across the top of the mosaic; more so given that Keyssler stated that the mosaic depicts Justinian and the archbishop Maximian, so we can presume that the mosaic was clean and in good enough condition to read his name.

That Breval and Broderick described the building as 'round' has everything to do with sensory experience. San Vitale has an octagonal floor plan, and the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is also indeed not 'round': it has a central dome set upon a square supported by four archways (Krautheimer 1986, 205-207). However, one may describe the experience of being inside of these buildings as being inside of a 'round' church because they are a completely different visual experience to that of the Roman-style three-aisle basilica that was so typical in Italy. As Doig (2008, 62) observed about SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople (see Chapter 5 for its connection to San Vitale): 'the centralized plan appears to be relatively simple, but viewed from the ambulatories or the galleries – that is, from the point of view of the congregation – it is difficult to make sense of the complicated space that appears to billow out from the area in which the liturgy is performed'. Essentially, centrally-planned churches envelop the viewer in a 'round' space and create a less structured relationship with decoration and liturgical foci. Without the straight central nave leading toward the apse, one might wander around the ambulatory before ending up there, feeling they have gone in a circle or semi-circle.

Figure 6.5 The Martyrdom of St. Vitalis by Federico Barocci. 1583. Image courtesy of the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, where the painting is on display.

Keyssler notes that San Vitale belonged to the Benedictines when he visited and that its revenues were upward of 13,000 Italian scudi. Broderick, too, alludes to the wealth of the convent in this period: he describes an open well behind one of the altars that he believes to be the well of St. Vitalis. However, he is critical of the monks who tend the church and says they distribute this 'medicine of Ravenna' only to whom they please (1753, 348). It seems that while the cathedral was in a poor state of repair San Vitale thrived into the eighteenth century. It did not, however, escape natural damage: Keyssler recorded an inscription on a plaque inside the church that records a flood in May of 1636 which apparently badly damaged the floor of the building. It reads 'O traveller, kindly pray that our river may keep kindly in its bed' (1765, 78). Each author mentions the beautiful side chapels (sixteenth century), and the altar of Vitalis which depicted the Martyrdom of St.

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Vitalis (Fig. 6.5) painted by Ravennate local Federico Barocci (1535-1612). Broderick was so impressed by Barocci's paintings that he likens them to Correggio and Rafael (1753, 349).

The primacy of painting and marble over mosaic is a theme throughout the Grand Tour. Indeed, even the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, one of the most complete mosaic programmes in the city, receives lengthy descriptions of the sarcophagi including historical debate about who rested inside of them, while Breval remembers to say, almost as an aside, that it has 'considerable remains of mosaic work' (1738, 187). He goes on to describe a scene when some soldiers were keeping quarter in the tomb during the 'former war in Italy' and entertained themselves by shooting several bullets at the ceiling and around the mosaics for fun, despite the admonishment of the friars. The lack of awe for mosaics might be related to the lack of interest in Byzantine history at the time. Marble and sculpture were well within Classical traditions, whereas mosaic was notably a late antique, and, especially Byzantine, art form.

6.2.4.   What's in a Name?

While there are certainly more sources for the Grand Tour than for Late Antiquity, they too can only tell us about monuments in their own time and place. They reveal contemporary taste in art and architecture, Enlightenment reasoning, and a sense of arrogance about education, status, and social class. Sometimes these accounts were convoluted in their narrative style: they certainly do not reflect a scientific or categorical record of Ravenna's monuments; rather, they are simply accounts of personal pleasure. Nor do they necessarily lend themselves well to a 'spatial' image of the city as writers hop back and forth between different monuments while supplementing their tour with facts and anecdotes. However, they reveal the importance of place as a means for solidifying and contextualising history - physical locations contained within them both material to describe and stories to hear.

Place (as location) had deep associations with both legends (some holy) and historical events, and as a result some buildings changed names over the centuries to reflect the emphasis of an age. Spirito Santo, the church in which Keyssler and Breval learned the legend of Bishop Severus being selected by the holy dove, is one of the best examples.

Built as the Arian Cathedral dedicated to 'Anastasius Gothorum' in the late fifth or early sixth century (Deichmann 1974, II, I 245), it was then rededicated to St. Theodore after the reconciliation in the late sixth century (*LPR* 86). In the eleventh century, a sermon of St. Peter Damian mentions the legend of St. Severus being appointed bishop by the Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove – a story presumably lifted from Agnellus' life of Bishop Severus (Verhoeven 2011, 90). This legend was so widespread by the early part of the twelfth century that it was then 'visually sanctioned' in a new apse mosaic in the Basilica Ursiana (Verhoeven 2011, 90).

By the sixteenth century the church of St. Theodore was called San Spirito after becoming associated with the place where the dove appeared to St. Severus (Rossi 1589; Fabri 1664 – both quoted in Verhoeven 2011, 91). This church was so tightly associated with the legend of the dove that by this time that no one was aware that this edifice was originally the Arian Cathedral. Rossi (1589, 333) thought that it had been built after the death of St. Severus (c. 340s), and Fabri (1664, 347) guessed the church was much older, built in the time of St. Agapitus in the early third century. Verhoeven (2011, 92) notes that the association is 'incomprehensible' and her analysis does not conclude how the story attached itself to this building; the only reasoning that I can see for this location is the architecture of the building itself: the addition of an ocular window in the new sixteenth-century edifice. Churches of the Holy Spirit were built throughout Italy between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries: most notably those built in Florence, Siena, and Palermo. This small architectural element appears in most of them - a round window in the façade of the central nave that could perhaps be designated as the place where the Holy Dove could fly through.

It begs the question of whether or not this particular architectural feature led to the addition of the story in Ravenna, or if the façade of Spirito Santo was re-designed with this legend in mind. Granted, ocular windows and later rose window were a popular architectural choice in the late medieval period for all basilicas, not just those designated as 'Holy Spirit'. So possibly I might suggest that Spirito Santo's new façade - with the addition of an ocular window - helped facilitate a link between place and legend simply by giving a visual cue.

In the eighteenth century the building briefly belonged to the Theatines so it was sometimes called the 'Theatine church' or 'convent of the Theatines', but today this church is known as Spirito Santo. For British travellers of the eighteenth century the legend of the Dove was a miraculous tale to record, and it is the edifice's window that lends reference to their story. Keyssler says, with a note of scepticism, that the window is the one 'through which it is pretended the Holy Dove came' (1765, 75), and Breval (1738, 187) remarks that the legend was backed by a 'pompous Latin inscription near the pulpit'. Breval (1738, 187, emphasis mine) quoted Italian scholar Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750) to comment upon the origin of the representation of the Holy Ghost as a dove:

> The painters of those times, to comply with the notion of the vulgar […] were us'd to represent the Dove over the head of every Prelate, whose picture they drew, **in order to render sensible to the eye, what was purely and simply to be considered as the effect of an invisible power**. From this cause, in process of time, as the ages increas'd in ignorance, **what had been originally meant for a type or symbol only, came to be mistaken for a thing real** of which abuse there are a thousand other instances.

This demonstrates two issues: the first is one of making something 'invisible' something comprehensible through viewing; the second is whether or not this visual interpretation then became the basis of the legend. As discussed in Chapter 5, the symbol of the dove came into being because of the belief in the reality of the story, rather than the story coming into existence from viewing that motif as a decorative choice. The strong emphasis on viewing as the means for understanding both the story AND the 'invisible power' of God made the ephemeral more tangible – even with the eighteenth century's Enlightenment scepticism, the act of looking was important as a means of knowing.

The physical evidence of Spirito Santo made it a selling point whether one believed the story or not – travellers could stand in front of it or inside of it and have someone point to the window while telling a miraculous story of Ravenna's mysterious early Christian history. It demonstrates how spatial associations were loosely configured, and how over time stories could 'attach' themselves to a place if someone could view it and visually make sense of an event happening in that location. Even if the story was somewhat inconceivable a tourist, then as now, could add to the discussion by challenging, denying, or rethinking the story in light of the space they were in.

6.3.   A New Visual Culture: Mass Production in the late Nineteenth Century

As the Grand Tour accounts outlined above demonstrate, interest in Italy's antiquities drew visitors from all over Europe. The end of the Grand Tour era certainly did not close the door on Italian tourism, on the contrary, the flow of visitors would only increase into the next two centuries. Internationally, the nineteenth century marks a new age in travel – the Grand Tour came to a close just as mass public transit and steam power made travel more affordable and available to people of all classes. It also made it easier for those from different continents, notably North and South America, to visit Europe. From the mid- to late-nineteenth century travellers were, for the first time, able to experience heritage landscapes in way their Grand Tour predecessors could not: through the medium of photography. Photography became important as a tool for archaeologists and architects, but also for middle class travellers and adventure photographers. Popular travel magazines, such as the Paris weekly *Le Tour du Monde*, aided in the distribution of visual material such as engravings, etchings, and lithographs. These changes contributed to a new way to travel in the late nineteenth century, a way that was faster, easier, and more connective. It was now possible to share images of one's own travels with friends and family abroad, or even to stay at home and enjoy images brought to you by magazines, friends, books, and special viewing devices created for the average middle class home.

Figure 6.6 Engraving of the interior of Sant'Apollinare by E. Therond (1877, *Le Tour du Monde*).

From the early nineteenth century, mixed engravings or other forms of intaglio-prints were a favoured method of mass production. Engraving was a technique that involved a tool-carved plate (usually in a copper plate, but sometimes as a woodcutting or a 'xylograph') that could then be used to stamp-print multiple impressions (Worthen, 'Engraving'). Printmaking as an art form was unpopular in some parts of Europe, notably in Britain, but was regarded more highly in France and Germany. From the eighteenth century onward, Paris became an important centre of intaglio-print production (Worthen, 'Engraving'). The travel magazine *Tour du Monde, A Journal of Travel and Travellers,* which ran 1860-1914 from Paris, produced many full-page engravings for its readers (Fig. 6.6). The many engraving produced for *Le Tour du Monde* were woodprints created 'based upon a photograph', as the bottom of the plates read (Fig. 6.7 and 6.8). These were not exact photographic copies, like later photogravure would be, but the engravings are still extremely detailed; they show people engaged with each other and also with the building itself. Its readership may have only been local (the journal only printed in French), but the magazine garnered attention from both Great Britain and the United States. A London review of the magazine noted, the engravings are 'bright and

expressive, two desirable qualities at all times' (*The Athenaeum*; Jan 8, 1870, 58-59); and a review from the American magazine *Science* (1896, 733) favoured its visual material by reporting that it 'supplies so many excellent illustrations well reproduced from photographs taken in various parts of the world, that it deserves mention as a contributor to physiographic knowledge'.

Figure 6.7 Photograph of San Vitale 1865-1895; Compare with the engraving below. (Andrew Dickson White Architectural Photograph Collection, #15-5-3090. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library).
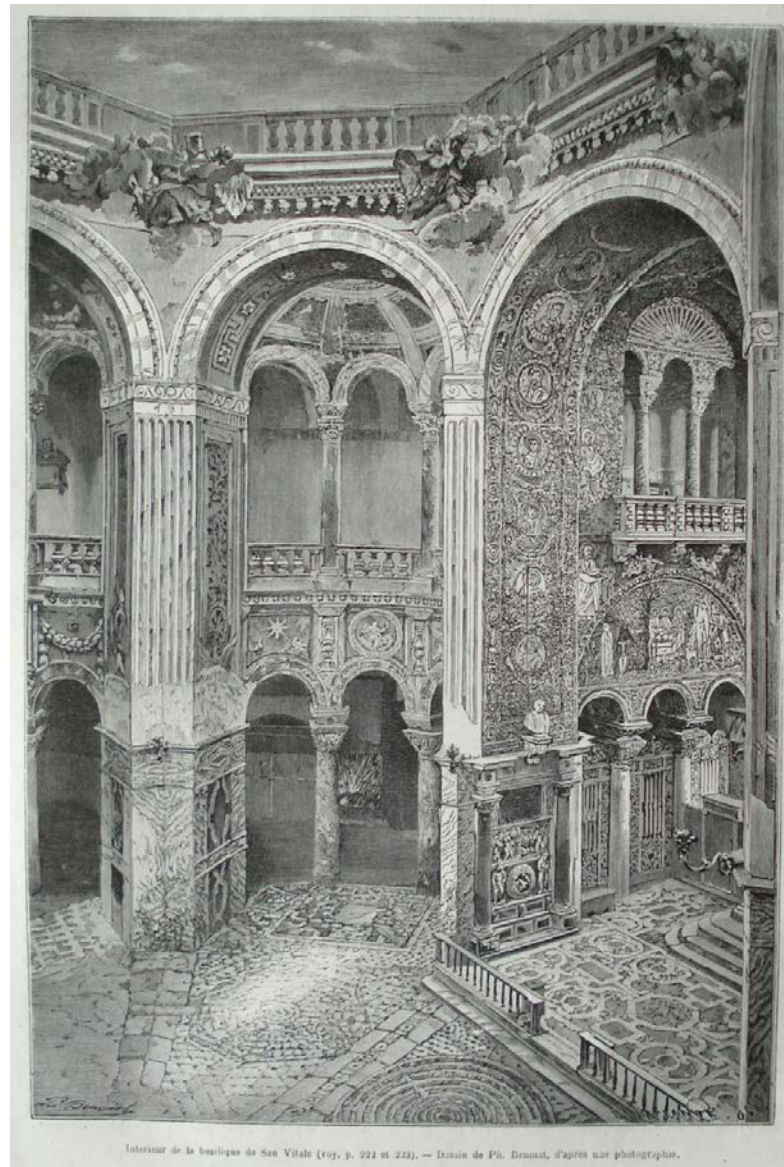
Figure 6.8 Engraving of the interior of San Vitale by Ph. Benoist (1877, *Le Tour du Monde*).

The photo of San Vitale and Benoist's engraving both preserve for us a view of the church's interior in the late nineteenth century. It shows how the presbytery was sectioned off with a small chancel, and that a large main altar had been set in front of the apse area. Wooden choir stalls were installed in the apse at this time. The altar was demolished in 1898 under the authority of Corrado Ricci when he wished to reconstruct the sixth century altar (see below). The photograph especially shows the amount of brilliant natural daylight streaming through San Vitale's many windows, some of which would later be tinted in an effort to hide the dome fresco. Because the perspective of both of these images is from the gallery level, it is hard to say how much of the apse mosaics were visible from the ground level in this period, but certainly this set up is not that of a church that is also

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a major tourist site. Although Grand Tour narratives made it clear that people were allowed to visit the church, the church's main function was still for regular masses.

Printmaking of all kinds remained popular in the mid-nineteenth century, but began to decline toward its end with the rise of lithography, and, especially, with the rise of actual photographic reproductions from the later nineteenth century. From 1860, commercial firms were able to mass-distribute smaller sized photographs aimed at the consumer market - tourists and middle class collectors (Nilsen 2011, 18). One such short-lived form of home entertainment in this vein was the stereoscope, a binocular device that showed very small side-by-side photos (called 'stereoviews') that generated a three-dimensional effect (Fig. 6.9 and 6.10). It was popularised in the mid-nineteenth century and remained so until the mid-twentieth century. Parmeggiani (2016, 232) has argued that the stereoscope, more so than ordinary photography, promoted the effect of immersion in a scene, to the point of helping the viewer forget the invisible modes of production. By the mid-nineteenth century the London Stereoscopic Company had sold roughly half a million stereoscopic sets, clearly reflecting their attraction to middle class homes the way televisions are attractive today (Kockelkoren 2003, 71). In the United States, the publishing company Underwood & Underwood made box sets of stereoviews a popular choice that combined maps and descriptive guidebooks. Parmeggiani's (2016, 232) study of Underwood & Underwood's boxed sets revealed that they 'turned the ancient nobility's "Grand Tour" into a middle class "Virtual Tour"', as a way to gain the subjective experience of travel without the expenses of the real thing.

Figure 6.9 A typical stereoview card sold by Underwood & Underwood.

Figure 6.10 Girl using a stereoscope. Courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

With the advancement of the 'half tone' in the 1890s - a method using a grid of dots to represent middle tones of the photograph - it became cost-effective enough to distribute

photographs on ordinary paper (like the paper in a magazine or a book rather than a photo plate). Indeed, Nilsen (2011, 19) has noted the correlation between the adoption of half tone printing and the foundation of a number of architectural journals in the 1890s. Later issues of *Tour du Monde* reproduced more photographs than engravings. Once the process of photographic sizing and reproduction became simplified, photographs became of particular value to scholarly work, especially art historians, but also that of archaeologists wanting to record excavation and/or restoration activities

Early photographs are markedly helpful to us when attempting to reconstruct the process of restorations of monuments and architecture. As noted in Chapter 2, such images are extremely valuable in recording methods and processes lost to us. Many nineteenth century publications about Ravenna visually documented the cityscape using both intaglio-print methods and photographs (Novara 2009, 4). Luigi Ricci (1823-1896), Corrado Ricci's father, was one of the first people to realise the potential of photography as a new art medium, and the potential of Ravenna's monumental cityscape as a subject (Novara 2016, 123). He was both a photographer and a print maker, who opened a small reproduction studio that produced several catalogues of photos.
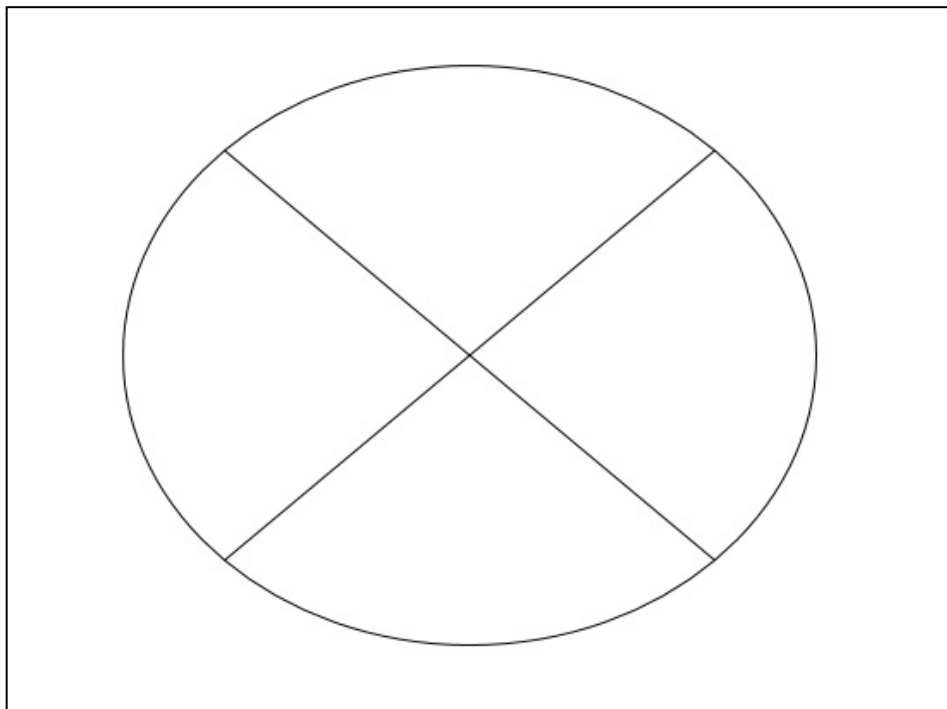

Figure 6.11 Photograph by Luigi Ricci, c. 1880 showing the Arian Baptistery still surrounded by a portico called the Oratory of the Cross. From Randali and Novara 2013, 66.

In the 1875, the Italian Minister of Education had sent out a circular to the local Prefecture of Ravenna's Conservation Commission asking for a list of its monuments that had been 'approved' by the Academy of Fine Arts and that this list include corresponding photographs. In 1876 this task was given to Luigi Ricci, in a letter containing a very specific set of photos: 1. External side of Sant'Apollinare in Classe; 2. Apse of Sant'Apollinare in Class; 3. Interior of Sant'Apollinare in Class; 4. Exterior of San Vitale; 5. Interior of San Vitale; 6. Exterior of [Masusoleum of] Galla Placidia; 7. Interior of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; 8. Theodoric's Mausoleum; 9. Exterior of the Metropolitan [Neonian] Baptistery; 10. External door of San Giovanni Evangelista; 11. Facade of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori; 12. 'Side or other piece worthy of recollection' (Novara 2016, 126). Ricci finished this work in 1882 and published it as one of his catalogues along with many other photos of Ravenna's monuments. Novara (2016, 126) argues that he was the first, and, for many years, the only person to print photographs of Ravenna's monuments. Additionally, the remaining glass plates of his work (almost 900 pieces, much of it housed in the Biblioteca Classense) are rare and valuable for what they show us of Ravenna's cityscape before the intensive period of restorations that began in 1898 under his son Corrado (Fig. 6.11).

6.4. The Case for 'Original' Monuments' in Italian Heritage Practice c. 1860-1930

The second half of the nineteenth century marked an important change of direction for Italy's self-image: the combination of the very end of the Grand Tour, the era of Romanticism in European art and literature, and, most importantly, the unification (*Risorgimento*) of Italy into one kingdom between 1815 and 1871 changed the ways that foreign visitors thought about Italian heritage and, especially, the ways that the Italian government approached care of its monuments. A new policy of active conservation of heritage fitted Italy's nationalist agenda, with regional and civic councils appearing around the country. Local initiatives (notably those in Ravenna) on the back of Unification policies helped Italy to start to embrace its Byzantine heritage. Ravenna's office of the Superintendent of Monuments was founded in 1897 - the first of these kinds of institutions in Italy - created as part of the Ministero della Pubblica Instruzione (Verhoeven 2011, 227). Corrado Ricci was at the helm of this new institution until 1906, although much of the restoration work that ensued was coordinated from a distance, and

under his direction many of Ravenna's monuments were updated, restored, and 'rescued' from centuries of additions.

Across the nineteenth century, Ravenna also attracted a number of famous poets, writers, and other intellectuals, many of whom commented upon the city and its environs in their letters or writing (many of their works have been collected by Baldini and Bolognese 2015). Among them was early nineteenth century English Romantic poet Lord Byron, who lived in Ravenna 1819-1821 and wrote prolifically in that time. Byron's writings inspired a series of poetic travellers from England, Europe, and Russia to trace his footsteps on a 'pilgrimage' to the poet's city and Dante's tomb. Oscar Wilde's poem recounts his visit to Ravenna in 1877. It recalls the bleak Romanticism left by Byron, and reveals that the state of Ravenna's buildings had not improved by the late nineteenth century:

IV
How lone this palace is; how grey the walls!
No minstrel now wakes echoes in these halls.
The broken chain lies rusting on the door,
And noisome weeds have split the marble floor:
Here lurks the snake, and here the lizards run
By the stone lions blinking in the sun.

VI
O lone Ravenna! many a tale is told
Of thy great glories in the days of old:
Two thousand years have passed since thou didst see
Caesar ride forth to royal victory.
Mighty thy name when Rome's lean eagles flew
From Britain's isles to far Euphrates blue;
And of the peoples thou wast noble queen,
Till in thy streets the Goth and Hun were seen.
Discrowned by man, deserted by the sea,
Thou sleepest, rocked in lonely misery!

(from *Ravenna* 1878)

In literary imagination Ravenna was a relic; it held fascination for Wilde and his fellow poets as Dante's resting place, but certainly not as a tourist location. These writers and poets helped solidify Ravenna's image as a place where one lamented the fall of Rome rather than celebrated the art of Byzantium.

This attitude was, however, certainly changing in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as British travellers 're-discovered' Byzantine art and architecture through the rise of 'aesthetic pietism' (Bullen 2006, 117). Ravenna now fascinated pious travellers for a reason Rome could not: it seemingly contained no remnants of a pagan past, but many of an ancient Christian tradition (Bullen 2006, 177). As Nicholas Wiseman, a leader in the Catholic Church, wrote in the *Dubline Review* (1839, 21): 'Ravenna has only one antiquity, and that is Christian'. Roger Fry, both artist and art critic, travelled to Italy in the late nineteenth century on the auscipe of learning more about Italian Renaissance painting but instead found himself coming to terms with his 'complete ignorance' about Byzanitne mosaic artwork in Palermo and Ravenna (Bullen 2006, 178). His trips would profoundly influence his art critique and publication routes in the early nineteenth century.

Yet the reality of Wilde's ruinious Ravenna might not have been far off: a series of campaigns to update and restore Ravenna's monuments began in earnest in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first period of policy toward Ravenna's monuments occurred c. 1860-1897, and was characterised by the search for practical and technical solutions to restoring those buildings that had been damaged by old age and rising ground water (Verhoeven 2011, 226). For Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, for example, the rising water level had been a problem since the sixteenth century, when a new pavement was laid, raising the floor level by 0.45 m. and in doing so covering the column bases (Penni Iacco 2004, 103). The nineteenth century pavement was laid at the same level, covering the column bases even more (*Archivo Documenti*, Ra 14/94; Penni Iacco 2004, 122 n. 12; Fig. 6.12). The column bases were not uncovered until the pavement was lowered again in 1918 (Penni Iacco 2004, 135). Filippo Lanciani (1818-1894), the head of the local Genio Civile that was in charge of planning and guidance, led the early period of restoration. The general plan for most of the buildings was to isolate and elevate them, meaning later additions such as side chapels and staircases would have to be demolished and areas around the buildings would be excavated to form a protective barrier. Lanciani's plan to excavate and then elevate the Orthodox Baptistery onto a raised platform attracted national and international opposition (Kostof 1965, 25-26), even from British organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) who thought the plans too radical and might result in damage to the building or its mosaics.

Figure 6.12 Photo Sant'Apollinare Nuovo c. 1869-1895, showing the floor level covering the column bases. Andrew Dickson White Architectural Photograph Collection, #15-5-3090. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

6.4.1. *Corrado Ricci and Ravenna*

The proposal to raise the baptistery was eventually rejected, and many of Lanciani's plans remained unrealised or unfinished before his transfer to Rome in 1883 (Verhoeven 2011, 227). It was only under Ricci in his capacity of Superintendent of Monuments in Ravenna that a campaign of revealing the original layers of the city's monuments began. He was one of the most outspoken critics of Lanciani's plan to raise the Orthodox Baptistery (Kostof 1965, 27), believing it would do nothing to save the building from humidity or ground water, but would most definitely ruin the integrity of the original structure. Ricci aimed to bring Ravenna into the modern tourism age and 'rescue' it from its relative obscurity and showcase it as a city of art, as evident in some of his publications about the city, notably his 1901 book that served as the first in a series of Italian art books published by the Instituto Italiano d'Arti Grafi.
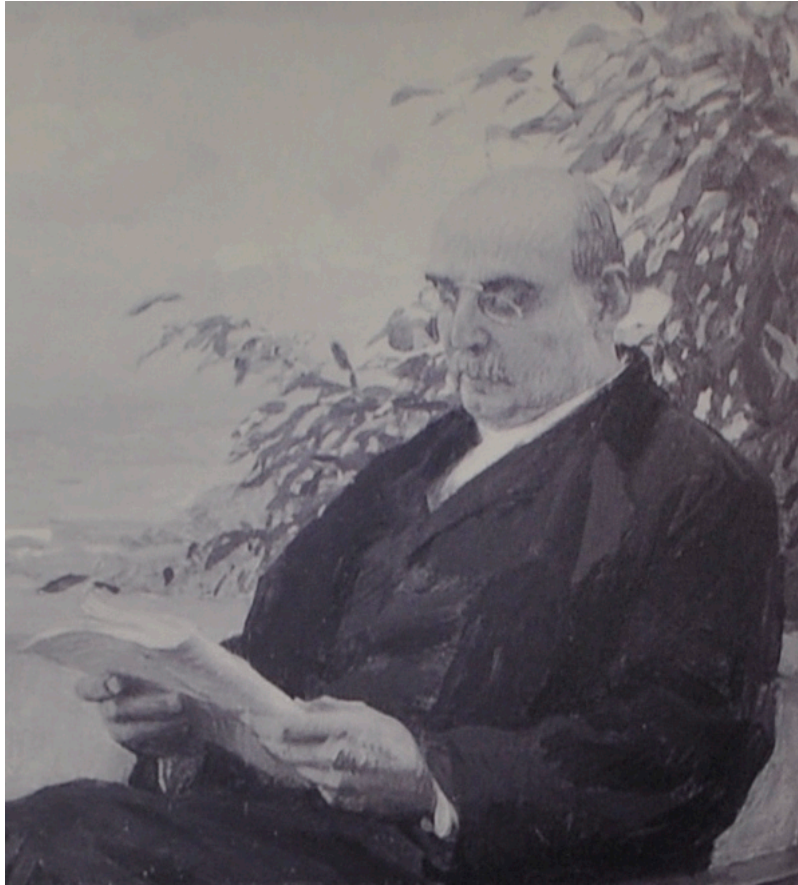
Figure 6.13 Portrait of Corrado Ricci by Ettore Titio. Oil on Canvas, 1913, Mar Pinacoteca, Ravenna.

Ricci (Fig. 6.13) was born and educated in Ravenna at its Academy of Fine Arts, and later studied Law at the University of Bologna. His passion for the arts and archaeology turned him back toward the history of his home city, and his art-historical survey *Ravenna and its Surroundings* (1878) was published when he was just twenty years old. Over the course of his long career, he was an art critic and historian, archaeologist, museum curator, and director of public education. He served as the curator of art galleries in Parma and Modena, Superintendent of Monuments of Ravenna, Director of Museums in Milan (1899) and Florence (1903), and Director General of Fine Arts and Antiquities for Italy (part of the Ministero della Pubblica Instruzione) in Rome from 1906 to 1916, where he oversaw influential work in the Foro Romano and the Baths of Diocletian (see bibliographic notes from Ridley 1996, 'Corrado Ricci').

As a museum director, Ricci was interested in reaching a variety of people. The challenge of communicating museum displays to the public was certainly part of his work in Parma and Milan:

Ma perché noi, potendo, non andiamo incontro ai giovani, agli amatori, ai curiosi, al pubblico in genere, con l'intento di agevolare la conoscenza di tali balzi, dei vari caratteri storici delle scuole nostre?

But why can't we meet young people, amateurs, curious people, and the general public with the intent of facilitating knowledge of these [connections, between modes of thinking about art], of the various historical characteristics of our schools?

<div align="right">(quoted in Cecchini 2013, 52)</div>

He strongly believed that a museum should help create a link between viewers and the artwork through the way that exhibitions were laid out. As the director of the galleries in Parma it was his goal to create relational dialogue between the real spaces in the city of Parma, and those same spaces as depicted in the paintings in the gallery; he felt that it made the inhabitants of the city 'cittadini' of the museum and vice versa (Cecchini 2013, 54). Ricci was interested in telling a story about the city and its people through the medium of art, so his exhibitions often included topographic history (with photographs and city maps) in a room preceeding the artwork in order to demonstrate the close links between a lived urban experience and the kind of artwork it helped to generate. These ideas were linked to Ricci's desire to link people to their past; telling them a story helped contextualise distant history and make it more relatable.

Arguably, some of these notions seem contradictory to his treatment of Ravenna's monuments, where Ricci held past original work in high regard over more recent additions, decorations, or modifications. Ricci was one of the people who thought that the demolition of Ravenna's Ursiana was a 'massacre', and that architect Buonamici's new building was 'artificial' (Ricci 1931, 11; Fig. 6.14). Verhoeven (who is among Ricci's critics) argued that Ricci's feelings were a 'judgement based on what was lost, not what was saved' (2011, 215), and moreover that other scholars have been too harsh on Buonamici, even his modern authors (Novara and Pasini); criticising the demolition does not give enough credit to the fact that it would have been a huge undertaking to actually save the ancient building, nor to the fact that it had of course undergone many changes between its original foundation and the eighteenth century, the building demolished by Bishop Farsetti was not the building made by Bishop Ursus. The 'rescue' approach to restoration assumes that somewhere underneath the transformed layers there lies an 'original' building that can be revealed like a plaster cast from its mould.

Figure 6.14 Engraving by Giuseppe Barberis (c. 1840-1917), exterior of Ravenna's cathedral from the back, showing the bell tower and Neonian Baptistery. From Strafforello (1901) *La Patria: Geografia dell'Italia.*

San Vitale was the first major monument to be restored by Ricci and its restoration is one that most exemplifies 'isolation and rescue' approach: between 1898-1908, its Venetian porticoes, fifteenth to eighteenth century exterior chapels and integration into the larger monastery complex, and some of its Baroque decorations were destroyed or demolished in an effort to reveal the 'original' monument beneath these layers (Verhoeven 2011, 228; her study of Ricci's restorations is based on Bencivenni and Mazzei 1982, whose study drew in part on Ricci's diaries housed in the Bibilioteca Classense). The church's Baroque paintings and liturgical furnishings were Ricci's least favourite among all of the 'extras'. The whole of the main nave and dome are covered in a frescoes produced by multiple hands over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fig. 6.15). Ricci said of them, 'there was nothing exceptional – nothing at all – about this painting, which makes it so worth saving for future generations at the expense of the "glorioso tipo bizantino del

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Monumento'" (quoted in Verhoeven 2011, 232). His original plan included white washing the whole of the interior except for the presbytery, where the sixth century mosaics were restored.

Figure 6.15 The ceiling of the dome in San Vitale, depicting the Glory of St. Vitalis and St. Benedict. Photo by Nico B., distributed by Wikimedia Commons.

As none of the original decoration of San Vitale survives except for the mosaics in the presbytery, and the original motifs are unknown (see Chapter 5), Ricci's plan would have left nearly the entirety of San Vitale's interior surfaces blank. Although Agnellus claimed that Bishop Ursus 'arranged diverse figures in multicolored mosaics over the vault of the whole temple' (*LPR* 23), Ricci concluded that the dome had never been covered in a mosaic and might instead have had a Byzantine-style figural painting that was covered up by the Baroque fresco (Verhoeven 2011, 232 n. 37 to Document 85 of the Diary of Corrado Ricci, as cited in Bencivenni and Mazzei 1982, 217). In the end, Ricci decided that rather than rendering most of San Vitale's interior white/blank, he would install dark yellow-tinted windows in the dome in an effort to hide the offending painting (Fig. 6.16).

He remarked that 'the stuff produced a good result. Now the paintings are no longer distracting they can remain as they are. It does not give me the slightest satisfaction that I can save these provoking indifferent paintings' (quoted in Verhoeven 2011, 232).

Figure 6.16 The tinted windows around the dome of San Vitale. Photo by author.

Why was there such heavy emphasis on isolating the 'original' layer of the monuments? And what did 'original' even mean? Ricci was not without critics, even in his own time. The issue of restoration, especially of ecclesiastical monuments and their decorations, was a contentious one by the late nineteenth century. As Terry and Maguire (2007, 31) couched this debate in their study of the sixth century Eufrasian Basilica in Poreč (on the other side of the Adriatic): 'Should the restoration be a patchwork of original fragments and blank stones inscribed with dates, or should the entire work of art be appreciable as a unified entity, as it had been when first created?' This question produced a number of theories about how to approach restoration. Some were of the opinion that any restoration at all would damage monuments more than help them, and others argued for their value as long as later restorers attributed their work to their own time. One of the most influential contributors to restoration theories in the latter vein was John Ruskin, in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). The most radical example of the former is perhaps the restoration of the mosaics in San Marco in Venice from 1822-1858, where restorer Giovanni Moro was found guilty of removing the heads of the mosaics and selling them, while replacing the originals with copies of his own making (Terry and Maguire 2007, 27).

Indeed, Ravenna did not escape an early phase of poorly executed restorations done by Felice Kibel (1814-1872), a painter from Rome, and, later, by Giovanni Moro. Many of Kibel's restorations and 'completion' of Ravenna's mosaics were so clumsily done that they had to be fixed again not long after: Kostof (1965, 25) noted that his 'deplorable results' were fixed under Ricci, but we perhaps lost some of the original mosaic designs. In 1850, prior to his work on San Marco, Moro was commissioned by the Prussian consul in Venice to do restoration work on the mosaics of San Michele *in Africisco* (which by this time had become a fish market) in Ravenna in order for their eventual transfer to Berlin after their purchase by the Prussian Kaiser (see Bullen 2003, 24-33 on Prussian collecting of Byzanitne art in the nineteenth century). The apse mosaic was removed from the wall and transferred from Ravenna to Venice in its entirety for Moro's restoration (Andreescu-Treadgold 1990 and 2007 on the history of the San Michele mosaics). Later, during the trial after the San Marco incident, the Venetian art dealer in charge of the San Michele sale, Francesco Pajarao, was called as witness to Moro's work. He revealed that Moro had in fact made a completely new apse with entirely new mosaic material, while the original pieces of the mosaic lay in piles around the studio (Andreescu-Treadgold 3013, 280). Adreescu-Treadgold (2013, 281) notes that Moro was just one of many such fake restoerers of his time, and that these activities went undetected, unreported, or reported to no avail under the auspice of Prussian collecting. Moro's fake San Michele apse is still on display in the Bode Museum in Berlin, presented as an original sixth century mosaic.

The report on Moro's activities from the Commission of Fine Arts in Venice raised further important questions: should a restored mosaic reproduce the original defects, or should they be fixed in the course of restoration? The answer to both of the questions depends entirely on one's expectation of viewership. First, is it important that we see an authentic monument, in other words, one with all of its changes, so that we may 'read' the building as a textbook of its own history, as Ruskin proposed? Or is it more important that contemporary viewers are immersed in a visual experience that tries to capture the original intention of the building? Is history more intelligible and 'readable' through that feeling than through studying the building's progress? Second, should the decorations, with their defects, be shown to the modern viewer just how they would have been at the time of their installation, or is it better to fix them so that the whole programme reads

more cohesively in a way that aids an immersive experience? In later nineteenth-century Ravenna, the restoration approaches seemed to corroborate the idea that a cohesive whole, fixed, cleaned, and 'original' looking was the most favoured option.

The quest for sixth-century Ravenna seems all the more bizarre given that some of its mosaics had indeed already been restored several times before the nineteenth century. Most notably, Andreescu-Treadgold (1994, 175) showed in her detailed study via scaffold that the mosaics in the apse at San Vitale underwent extensive restorations in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that changed some of the figures' costumes to reflect Middle Byzantine court fashion. Ricci was certainly aware of these restorations, as he identified many of them and published them with plates drawn by Alessandro Azzaroni between 1930 and 1935. However, Andreescu-Treadgold (1994, 185) implies that perhaps the restorers in Ricci's time were fooled (reasonably) into thinking these restorations or additions were much older or closer to the 'original': 'we can register the existence of a brilliant and previously unsuspected Byzantine workshop that repaired the sixth-century mosaics of San Vitale sometime around 1100, and did it so well that it has deceived nearly all modern observers'.

Indeed, the idea of 'unchanged' Ravenna was enduring in scholarship. Von Simon believed in the 'purity' of Ravenna as a place which has pristinely and distinctly preserved its past, unlike Rome or Athens: 'no other city in the world has preserved the life and breath of the past as completely as has Ravenna', and 'Only Florence can compare with Ravenna in the integrity and purity with which it embodies a great period of the past' (1948, 2). This reveals an attitude about how people *should* view monuments: just as they always had, in an unchanging form. Gasbarri (2015, 32) has argued that Italy lacked a tradition of national art history and, especially, of Byzantine art history, until the early twentieth century. Ricci was not the only intellectual of his age engaged in showcasing Italy's artistic heritage: the marked increase in publications about Ravenna over the nineteenth century has been helpfully documented by Paola Novara (2009), who compiled a bibliography of nearly 1000 books published between 1801 and 1865 alone that focus wholly or largely on Ravenna (admittedly many are by local authors, but her collection is yet to be completed). By the turn of the twentieth century, Italian scholars were asking new questions about their late antique, early Christian, and Byzantine heritage; questions that sometimes conflicted with the new nationalist agenda that

privileged Rome above all other places. G. Gasbarri's recent work, notably his 2013 PhD thesis (now in preparation for publication), focuses on Italian historiography of Byzantine art, and the contribution of the Italian art press to 'rediscovering' Byzantium (2015).

What does this add to our understanding of the way Ravenna looks today? It means questioning the value of an 'original' monument, and whether or not we might think that this is more important than what would have been an 'authentic' monument with all its various additions (Verhoeven 2011, 232). Some buildings were simply too expensive to repair or restore (such as the cathedral), and presumably some were so long out of use that their restoration was not of any paramount importance. Conserving only selected buildings thus tells a narrower story of Ravenna's history, but it also created a very sellable one: one presenting a direct window into chosen past spaces and their artwork. Corrado Ricci's legacy lasted into the twentieth century with work carried out by his successor Superintendents. Between 1950 and 1986 the Baroque apse of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo was covered by a reconstructed one representing the 'original' apse (Fig. 6.17), after finding its foundations during a 1950 excavation (Penni Iacco 2004, 137). In 1986 it was decided by Superintendent Francesco Zurli to knock down this false construction and again reveal the Baroque period apse to the public (Fig. 6.18; Penni Iacco 2004, 138). This decision came from a new front for the Soprintendenze, one that recognized and appreciated that all historical periods could be valued and protected.

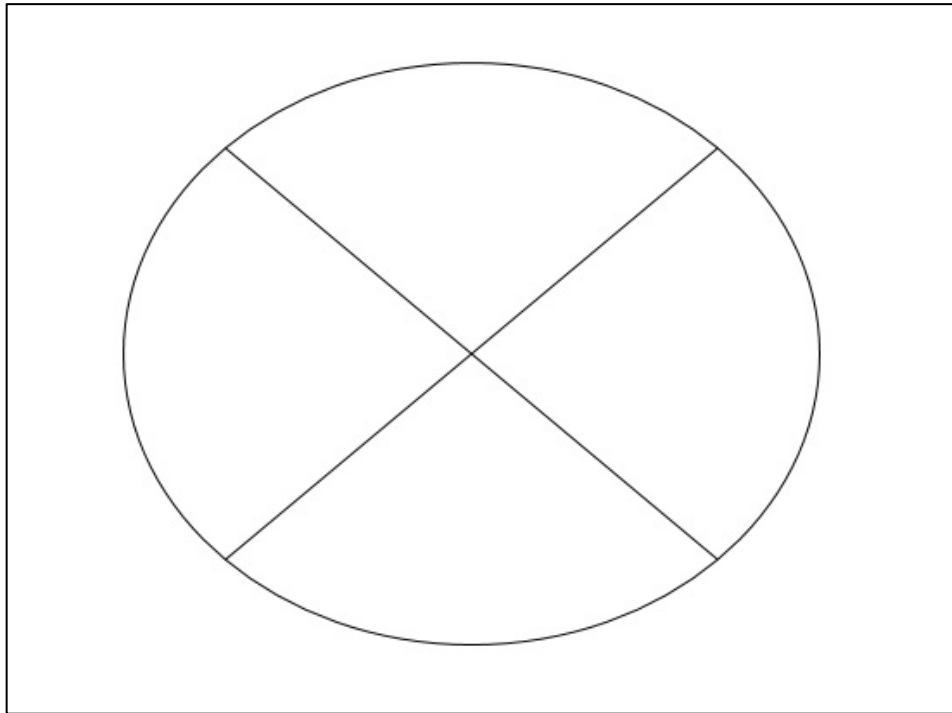*Figure 6.17* Photograph dating 1950-1986 view toward the apse of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Unknown author.
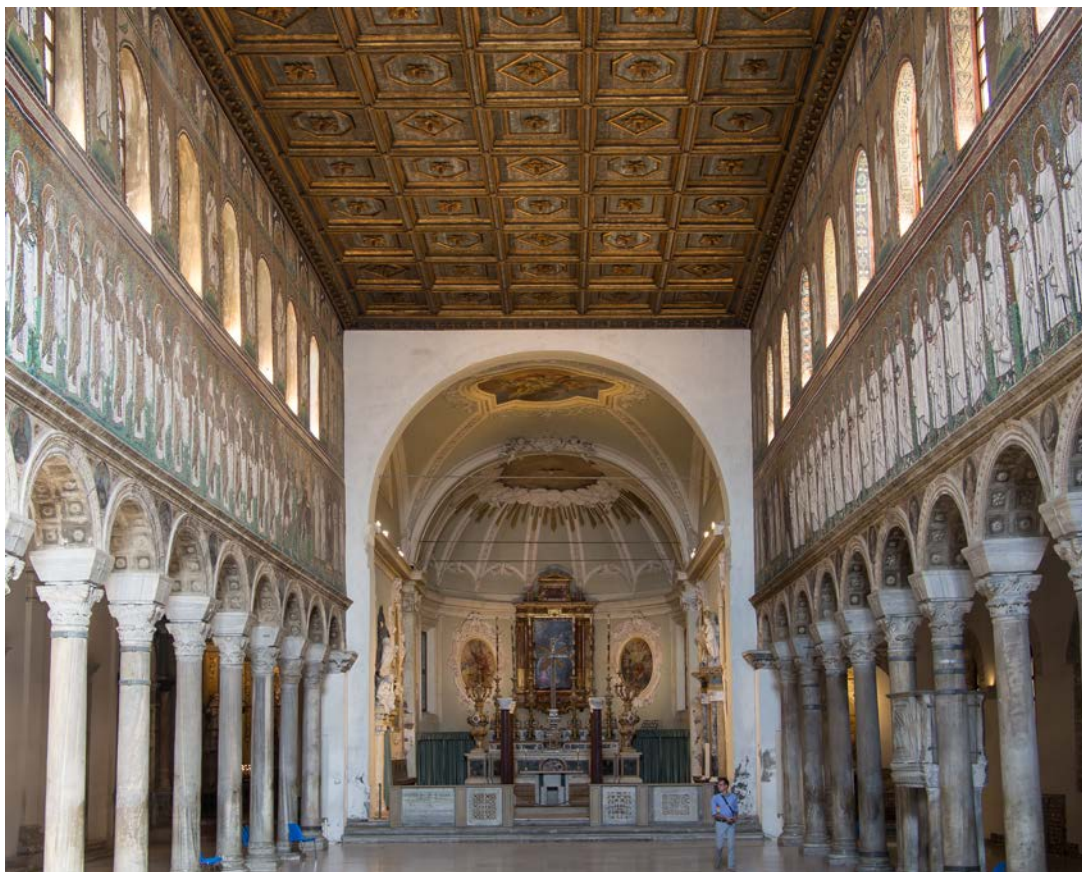

Figure 6.18 Photograph from 2016, view toward the apse of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo showing the Baroque apse. Distributed by Wikimedia Commons.

6.5. Conclusion: Reading Modern Sources

The way that visitors have engaged with visual material in Ravenna's late antique buildings has certainly changed over time. Very few travellers on the Grand Tour would have said that they were visiting a church to commune with a saint, or to pray at an altar, or to light a votive candle: rather, they were touring and appreciating churches as pieces of antiquity, and with this tour came the Enlightenment's sense of reason and classification. The rise of new visual material in the nineteenth century changed the way people engaged with buildings again: now they could share them with people back home who did not see them, not through letters or books, but through a picture. And those who did not travel themselves could go 'on tour' through the use of home entertainment media like *Tour du Monde* or a stereoscope. Photographs, travel guides, souvenirs – things that inform the way we expect to see certain sites and monuments – curate notions of a 'directed gaze' that allows people to see things before they go, decide how they want to see things, or see them even if they have never been.

'Reading' the restoration of Ravenna's buildings tells us a different story - one tightly tied to nationalistic agendas of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and about the extremes of architectural restoration. Even Luigi Ricci's photographic catalogues were born of the necessity to record and preserve monuments, as part of a regional directive. Under his son, Corrado, Ravenna's buildings underwent sometimes drastic changes. The search for 'originality' in those buildings has left us with this version of them today: cleared of later additions, with sixth century products at the shining centre of Ravenna's tourist industry.

This chapter has not provided a deeper discussion of the rise of European nationalism in the late nineteenth century that led to twentieth century fascism and its appropriation of the past (extremely evident in Italy's fascist art and architecture). The Kingdom of Italy lasted until 1946 when it became a Republic, but between 1922 and 1943 it was under a Fascist regime. Although Corrado Ricci was an extremely influential and important figure in Ravenna's modern history, he also had personal biases that influenced his thinking. He did a great deal to open up Ravenna's heritage to people outside of Ravenna, showcasing its Byzantine roots long before Byzantine Art History became a mainstream subject. He clearly had a deep appreciation for all Italian arts, but his tone had turned distinctly

nationalistic in some of his later work, as he had this to say on Italian theatre sets (1928, 257):

> At the end of this study I wish to say one last word in defence of Italian scenography. It must at every cost be preserved and kept alive, especially in architectural schools, without prejudice to any other styles that may pass over the theatrical stage, as over the bridge of Stamboul pass all the costume of Europe and Asia, of the East and the West. Italian scenography with its perspectives, has a greater glory and a higher mission.

Ricci's signing of the *Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals* in 1925 perhaps proves this tone to be more than nationalistic. How did two decades of fascism impact upon what versions of the past were held in highest regard, and how did they change people's engagement with the past? If some restoration and appropriation of the past comes from a place of deep political controversy, how are we to handle it today? These are perhaps questions for the direction of future research.

Today our tour is mapped not by sacred foci, but by points of visual interest and historic value. A good majority of the popular visual media from the nineteenth century is still valuable to collectors today – search any number of second-hand websites and you will find vintage stereoviews, engravings, bookplates, and lithographs for sale. At Ravenna, mosaics and artwork have come to the foreground, while the actual functions of the buildings as sacred sites have moved into the background. Even Hagia Sophia, in all of its historic glory as the centrepiece of Byzantine ceremonial in Constantinople, through its conversion into a mosque in the fifteenth century, is now a museum; indeed, the use of the building for worship has been forbidden since its conversion to a museum under Turkey's first president, Mustafa Atatürk in 1935 (though this has become a very recent topic of controversy). Ravenna's San Vitale, on the other hand, is still an active basilica, but one would never know it to visit on an ordinary day. It is, largely, a museum for its mosaics.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

In 2015 I had the pleasure of visiting Barcelona for the first time. Like some three million other people that year, I visited its most famous monument and arguably the most famous piece of Art Nouveau/Gothic revival architecture in the world, the Basilica Sagrada Familia. This building is also, in my opinion, the most successful example of a construction-site-turned-tourist-attraction. I paid for a full entrance ticket to the site, including the museum in the 'basement' below the completed Passion façade. I did wonder what there could possibly be in a 'museum' for a church that had only been consecrated in 2010 (and in a building still under construction), but Sagrada Familia houses a treasure trove of architect Antoni Gaudí's original models, drawings, and a complete history of its inception and realisation. One of the things that struck me most about this building and its museum is how self-aware it is, with the advantage of being able to tell its history before it has even been completed. As I wandered down a long hallway of photographs documenting Gaudi's designs and drawings, I stopped in front of a photo of his studio and workshop that stood just outside the Sagrada Familia where he spent the last six months of his life. This photograph dated to between 1925 and 1936 - the year the Spanish Civil War began and anti-Church revolutionaries set Gaudi's studio and parts of the basilica's crypt on fire. There on the walls of Gaudi's studio were photos of other monuments and their Christian art and architecture, including, as the caption informed me, photos of San Vitale at Ravenna (Fig. 7.1).

While I would be hard pressed to claim that the Sagrada Familia was directly inspired by San Vitale, Gaudí was certainly inspired by a great number of past artistic styles, and believed firmly in the idea that Mediterranean people had a shared sense of gaze:

> Let us think what it means to be Mediterranean. It means we are equidistant from the blinding light of the tropics and the northern lack of light which creates ghosts. We are brothers to the Italians; and this makes use more apt for creative (plastic) work. The Catalans have a natural sense of plasticity which gives them an idea of the objects as wholes and also of the relationship of objects to one another. The sea and the light of Mediterranean countries give this admirable clarity, and because of this, real objects do not mislead Mediterranean peoples, but instruct them.

<div align="right">(quoted in Sweeney and Sert 1960, 55)</div>

Figure 7.1 Photo of the interior of Gaudí's studio outside of the Sagrada Familia. This photograph is not particularly high quality, and it is difficult at a glance to tell which belong to Ravenna. Courtesy of the Documentation and Archiving Services of the Sagrada Familia museum. (arxiu@sagradafamilia.org)

Gaudí fully understood the implications of splendour and gaze when he proposed erecting one of the vertical façades in its entirety, predicting that 'Vendrá gente de todo el mundo a ver lo que hacemos' ('People from around the world will come to see what we are making', quoted by his fellow architect Jordi Bonet 2003, 260; Fig. 7.2). To my knowledge, no other basilica has been built by first raising a single façade and several of its belltowers (indeed, I am not even sure there is another basilica in existence with twelve separate belltowers). Certainly he has been proven right: the Sagrada Familia is one of the most visited UNESCO monuments in the world. Although UNESCO does not have a ranking system for individual site visits, one indicator might be to use tourism indicators like TripAdvisor, where the Sagrada Familia has more reviews than any other single location.
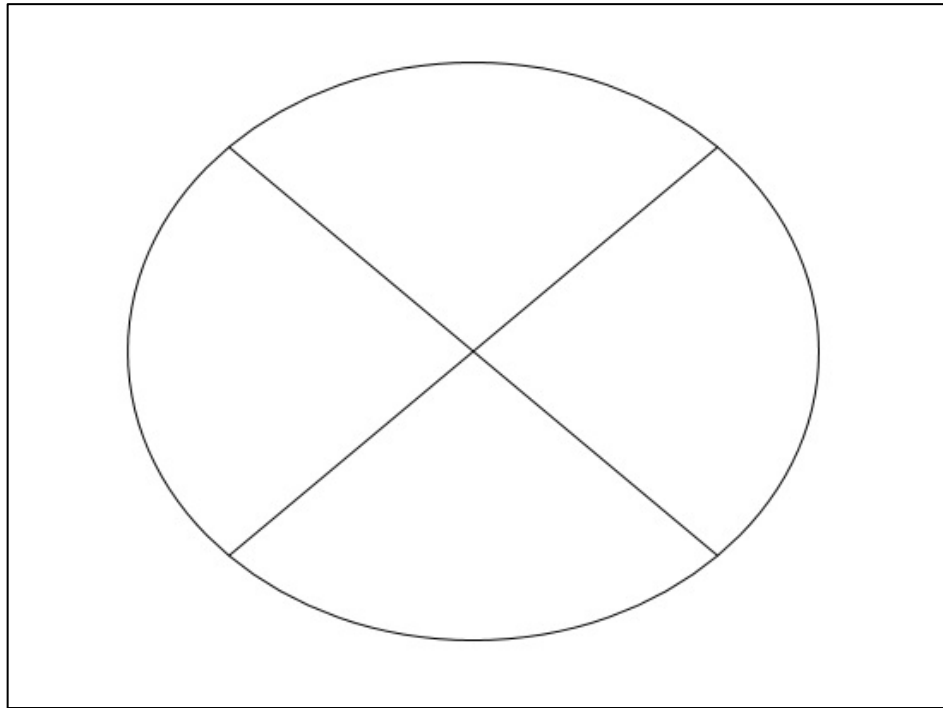
Figure 7.2 Sagrada Família in 1925, completion of the St. Barnabus Belltower, the only one Gaudí saw before his death in 1926.

Analogy to contemporary buildings and spaces can be useful for thinking through how people experience a space. Interpretation by analogy is what Richard Reece termed 'theory level 1' (Reece 1993, 36). This theory would posit that Gaudí was correct in his assumption that the landscapes, sea, and sun of Mediterranean countries bind them together in their sense of the visual and that this sense was as deeply historical as it is geographical, and for this reason light and glass play prominent roles in church building around the Mediterranean throughout the ages. However, as this thesis has continually demonstrated, modes of viewing are not necessarily transhistorical. They need to be understood within their own time and place, their cultural and spatial settings, and within particular categories of response to built space. Current theory concerning gaze and viewing *can* help our interpretations, if we are careful to take into consideration the full spectrum of circumstances under which people respond to built environment; but these theories are most helpful when turning a critical eye to the way the gaze and viewing *has been written about* rather than how the gaze *has been*.

7.1. Concluding Remarks: The Role of Cultural Capitals through Time

As outlined in Chapter 2, viewing is both period-specific *and* person-specific, but my thesis has attempted to combine this constructivist position on body history with an essentialist critique of vision and the gaze. Sociological theories of how people interact with space and place also played a prominent role in discovering how spaces were perceived in the various historic periods covered in the preceeding chapters.

Chapters 4 and 5 provided general surveys of Ravenna's architecture and artwork in the fifth and sixth centuries, and allowed me to model modes of viewership and visuality during the peak phase of Ravenna's artistic innovation as both a royal/imperial and episcopal capital. It was my strong desire to not present a history of Ravenna in distinct and separate phases as 'Roman -> Ostrogothic -> Byzantine' (because this has been almost the only way its history is ever presented), but rather to frame the transformation of Ravenna into a capital within a discussion of how a city becomes a capital city. This was aided by discussion about what the city looked like to its past inhabitants as well as to modern archaeologists and historians who have sought to define a 'capital' through easy identifiably diagnostic features. Chapter 4 essentially answered the question 'What is a capital, diagnostically and spatially?' The necessity to separate out 'Byzantine' Ravenna in Chapter 5 came from attempting to understand whether or not its population viewed buildings and artwork within Byzantine modes of viewing or within essentially Western, Italian modes of viewing (and indeed whether or not it was even relevant to ask this question of a city with such a mixed population).

The outcome of these 'model' chapters was to show how accurately we might reconstruct rituals, processions, and ceremonial within or around Ravenna's buildings and how these various activities related to static artwork. The answer was, largely, that we cannot be completely accurate with our reconstructions, but there are clues within the architecture and artwork that signpost to the ways people might have moved around these spaces and interacted with artwork and sacred foci like altars and relics. Rethinking these spaces in light of movement and with variant forms of liturgies revealed how Ravenna's buildings were planned out, but also, cruicially, how their use could change with time and fashion. They also showed how people and spaces have a more organic relationship than at first

glance: people respond to space, and thus space is produced in order to illicit responses – such as the configuration of altars and saints' relics in Sant'Apollinare in Classe.

Chapter 6 showed how those modes changed with time and retrospective, especially in response to the Enlightenment, Romanticism, Italian Unification, and modern restoration policies. This chapter began by analysing Grand Tour accounts of Ravenna to demonstrate the wide gap in viewership between Byzantine viewers (Chapter 5) and the modern period. Tourism shows us a wholly different mode in which people engaged with buildings, and the Grand Tour contextualises this viewing within Enlightenment scepticism and reasoning. The rest of the chapter focused on bringing Ravenna to a wider audience through mass-produced media and restoration efforts, asking how connected the restoration theories were to 'original' modes of viewing, and whether or not modes of viewing had been projected backward.

This same chapter provides the basis for a study of modern tourism from both sides of the coin: from the perspective of foreign tourists and from the Italian bodies that manage heritage sites. The staying 'power' of the imperial portraits in San Vitale lies in an emotional element of tourism, spectacle, and historical memory - they are powerful for us for much the same reason they were for Agnellus or Ricci: they have been here 'since the beginning of time' (as many an undergraduate essay has begun). In this case, it almost does not matter what other restorations or additions have happened since they were first installed (if one would like to argue that these mosaics are not 'original' because of the number of restorations they have received); these later adjustments are not well known or perceivable to the average (non-specialist) person. The mosaics in Ravenna are read as 'original', 'beautiful', and 'old', and that generates so much of the interest in seeing them.

Overall, this thesis sought to answer these main questions about viewing:

- What did Ravenna look like in the past?
- How did people in the past look at it?

This thesis asked whether or not these two questions are different: is there actually an empirical way to recreate past landscapes that is separate from the way they have been

written about by past inhabitants? We might argue that this is the goal of archaeology and archaeological reconstructions; that is why professional illustrators exist, and is certainly a reason why I have used several of them in my thesis. However, a simple illustrative or panoptic view of a place or its decoration certainly does not amount to a single authoritative way to view the past. I believe they help modern people to conceptualise spaces and places, but they do not recreate a *mode of viewing*. The people who originally conceive of a place (whether we look at their writing or their visual material) can only dictate some of the guidelines for its shape and use. The enduring 'image' of a place and its artwork is a product of the *longue durée* – a composite one made up of the historical contexts that helped to generate the original products and the way they were written about. This is further compounded by scholarship about them, and by the pathways through which knowledge is conveyed to the public such as tourism, photographs, and popular media. We cannot say that *only* the 'original' layer speaks to us, or *only* the scholarship about it creates public knowledge or mental images of past landscapes.

This thesis originally began as a more panoptic project than it ended up: I did seek to ask 'What did it look like?', objectively, and to find ways by which I could produce an 'accurate' image of Ravenna in the past. How could this goal even be achieved: through archaeological reconstruction? Isovist analysis or Space Syntax maps? Photographic evidence that modelled viewsheds? Throughout the course of my doctoral research, it became clear that producing 'objective' or 'accurate' views of the past was only another mode of viewing - my own, as a modern researcher. If I sought to show how things 'actually were' I would risk undermining the fact that late antique and early medieval rhetorical devices *are* ways of seeing (or at least, expressions thereof), and that these ways of seeing are 'how things actually were' for those people.

That said, these expressions of viewing would not be valid if the materials were not actually there to be viewed, and so part of the effort of reconstruction is to compare available visual material to how they have been written about. Modern visual material is an extremely valuable way through which people engage with the past; whether this is through a site visit, illustration, photographs, engravings, or other such media. They help us think in pictures rather than in words (especially for those who have trouble thinking in words in the first place), and are beneficial tools for teaching. Further, these various media may illicit similar emotional response in modern viewers, especially if we take

them as an art form unto themselves; take for example this painting by Italian absurdist, playwright, and 'historian', the late Dario Fo for his *Vera Storia di Ravenna* (Fig. 7.3). They create connective associations between past and present, and help us visualise people in past landscapes even if they cannot tell us exactly what those people are thinking or feeling.
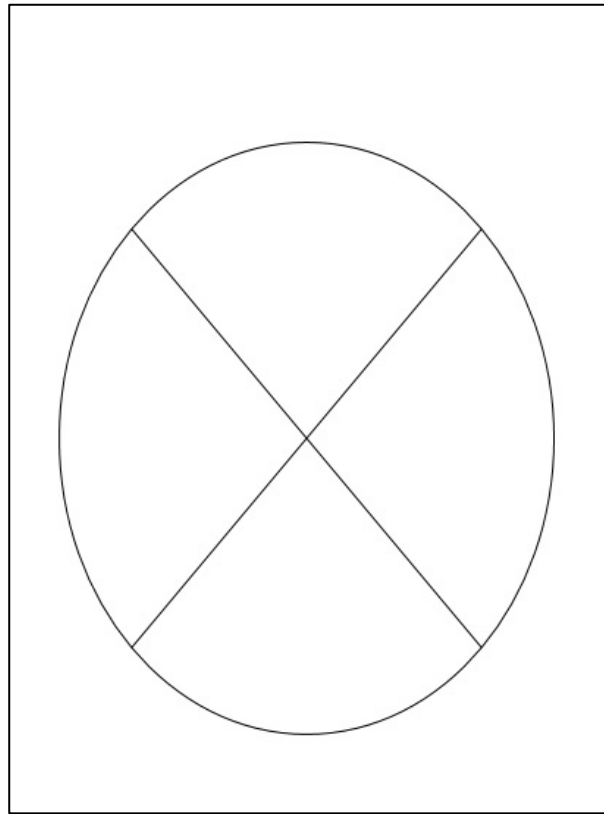
Figure 7.3 'If all of the churches in Ravenna grew again', by Dario Fo (1999).

- What could people see (literally, physically)?
- What did they say they could see?

These questions relate to whether or not we think it important that ancient descriptions of artwork and buildings do not match our own methods of observation and recording. In this sense, using Agnellus as a prominent historic voice might have led me to make him a 'false friend' by believing too strongly that he takes the time to record things as he 'actually' saw them (a point made by my supervisor, Andrew Merrills), rather than within the bounds of his own early medieval, ecclesiastical mode of viewing. These questions

also relate to how much emphasis we (as modern scholars) put on certain extant images like the imperial panels: if they were shrouded in mystery and pageantry, surely they did not serve the same purpose in antiquity as they do now. Access to the images in the past is an important factor because it helps us conceptualise their impact and function within a given spatial setting (especially in the absence of contemporary texts which describe them).

- What is the difference between the two, and when does it become important?

The difference, arguably, is that the first question wants an empirical answer to what images people in the past had access to: were they allowed into the spaces that contained them; were these images in good condition; and how often did people go to look at them? If a space or building no longer stands, can we reconstruct its physical properties to recreate a space for viewing? The second question asks about perception and how spaces and images impacted upon viewers: how did they *perceive* qualities within the artwork like power, sacredness, the natural world, or recurring popular legends and myths?

This difference becomes important when we ask about the relationship between how people viewed Ravenna in Late Antiquity and how people view it today: do we gain anything from trying to recreate past modes of viewing for modern viewers?; are we benefitting in any way from putting everything back the 'way it was', as Corrado Ricci attempted to do? We might, in a perfect world where the reconstructions and restorations have not disturbed any of the material, gain a window into the sixth century that reveals their motifs and decorative scheme to us for analysis. However, the only thing we have actually gained is a less nuanced version of history, one that might arguably be freer of 'clutter' so as to present some of these buildings in a cleaner state (and, perhaps, one that could arguably be better for their preservation). It also gives visitors direct access to what we have designated as the most important parts of Ravenna's past. One of the difficulties, it seems, in the preservation of Ravenna's heritage is whether we approach it as buildings that simply house and contextualise ancient artwork, or as buildings that still need to be used for their original function, or indeed a multitude of events and programmes. How these two spheres interact is part of the ongoing discussion.

Do modern tourists engage with any of these questions at all, and is it important to try to signpost these problems at heritage sites? None of my argument has been to say that Ravenna's current policies are impeding upon the dissemination of knowledge, or that UNESCO has tailored its approach to monuments so much that it is only capable of generating tourism. Rather, my project has aimed to broaden the scope of cases we might analyse when talking about viewing Ravenna's monuments in the past: not just the sixth century past, but also the many versions in between then and now. It has highlighted how Ravenna's tourist industry hinges upon selling key elements of its past (like the imperial panels) and so the history of these elements is often held up as more important than any others, despite the fact that they have undergone multiple changes. This project acknowledges that the various filters through which we 'read' history in these buildings are valid historic interpretations themselves: the ninth-century world of Agnellus; the fourteenth-century city of Dante; the Romanesque, Venetian, and Baroque period decorative phases; and even the nineteenth-century restoration efforts all speak to a particular milieu in which the buildings were regarded. The ways that modern tourists conspicuously and purposefully consume history is also a valid and evolving field for interpretation.

7.2. Heritage in Italy Today / Directions of Future Research

In 2014 Ravenna made a bid to become the European Capital of Culture for 2019[5], and though it lost to Matera, it has helped the city revise its thinking on how it would like to offer its antiquities to visitors. Ravenna began the bid with several key cultural themes and programmes in mind. One of the main aims of the bid (aside from developing wider European cultural trends and connections) is to develop the ability to be more attractive to tourists. As Collini (2012, 80) has noted: 'a high level of attention must be kept on cultural tourism for the enhancement of the heritage of the city', meaning that the designation as a 'Capital of Culture' is, above all, an incentive for growth. The strong connotations of community at global and local levels are meant to challenge the city to create integrated programmes for tourists and local citizens alike.

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[5] http://www.ravenna2019.eu/en/

One avenue for further research regards a greater overview of restoration and heritage theories and policies in Italy (and the rest of Europe more generally) during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and how these discussions have grown or changed with the implementation of a supranational body like UNESCO. UNESCO sets out Action Plans for national authorities in participating States to help them set out priorities, strategies, and policies regarding care of their sites. The Cycle II reports that I presented in Chapter 1 were published near the end of 2014; UNESCO suspended implementation of Cycle III to designate 2015-2017 as a 'Reflection Period'[6] in which States could respond to a questionnaire regarding how they were using the data from Cycle II. The reflection period report from 2016 revealed that 40% of the States felt that Objective 4 of the Cycle Report ('to provide a mechanism for regional co-operation and exchange of information and experiences among States Parties concerning the implementation of the Convention and World Heritage conservation') was not adequately addressed, and that there was a very close response for whether or not Periodic Reporting helped to mobilize 'stakeholders' at site level in monitoring and management of properties (56% Yes to 44% No).

It will be of interest to track Cycle III (2017-2022) to see what UNESCO has done with its response period and how this might change management and tracking at World Heritage sites. However, local and regional policies will still be important, as Ravenna has shown, not all heritage sites in a given place have been inscribed with UNESCO. Sites that represent local heritage rather than global or universal heritage must be managed alongside the UNESCO sites and the balance of these two identities will play a role in how they are presented.

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) is a specialised unit within the UN that has been tracking and promoting short-term tourism strategies since 2000. Italy has more UNESCO sites than any other nation in the world[7], and ranks number 5 in tourist arrivals and number 7 in tourist expenditure on the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, behind larger tourist economies in France, the United States, Spain, and China (UNWTO Tourism Highlights 2016, 6). When I spoke with Professor Andrea Augenti (University of Bologna) in March 2016 about his vision for a Ravenna-Classe museum that opened up the story of Ravenna's heritage to a wider audience in a more cohesive

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[6] See http://whc.unesco.org/en/prcycle3 and http://whc.unesco.org/en/pr-reflection
[7] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/statis

and connective way, he spoke of his frustration with getting the project off the ground. Perhaps surprisingly, Ravennate locals are not as enthusiastic about the idea of bringing more tourists to their city. They see the prosperity and benefit of UNESCO's presence and are quite satisfied with how things are at the moment. There is no push to capitalize any farther upon its antiquities. Indeed, Ravenna greatly benefits from UNESCO's presence and local restaurants, shops, and hotels generate business through completely embracing and capitalizing upon Ravenna's heritage (Fig. 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Some of the local hotels in Ravenna have obviously embraced their famous heritage. Photo by author.

This doctoral study does not offer a solution for how anyone *should* approach heritage sites or past landscapes, or for how Ravenna's multiple offices of heritage management ought to set up future engagement practices. Simply based on numbers, there is obvious room for developing Ravenna's tourist market (and Italy's more widely), but because it relies obviously upon its great number of World Heritage sites there may not be any need to push them farther: afterall, the world knows 'Rome'. It would be helpful to see a wider range of international scholars and artists engaging with Ravenna's material in order to bring it to the public through the means set out by Ravenna's bid for European Capital of Culture. Additionally, reconstruction and archaeological illustration are woefully underfunded arts in most places, and many of these programmes have disappeared from

British undergraduate courses. Further, I know that I have only used a small portion of the vast corpus of visual material representing late antique to modern Ravenna. Studies of specific photographic collections, etchings and drawings, or engravings could show us specific iterations of the gaze in their respective eras.

From the perspective of scholarship, it would help to see more of Ravenna's local publications available outside of Ravenna: much of the Italian scholarship I surveyed required that I travellled to Ravenna where it is kept in single rooms in the University of Bologna's Ravenna Campus or in the Biblioteca Classense. It would facilitate greater exchange of ideas between local and wider Italian scholars (who arguably have closer connections to their own heritage) and international scholars like myself who see Italy's heritage both as a tourist and as an academic.

7.2.1. *Wider Implications*

I hope that this study is of use not only to Ravenna or even only to Italy; at its core it has been a study about how people engage with visual material, past and present. It has also certainly shown that material that has continually been engaged with can still be 'read' in new ways by different people. The wider application of my approach may be helpful in studying the relationship between museum and monuments, how tourist engage with the past, and how we might 'read' monuments and material better through time. A large part of my wider research has been engaged with how people interact with public artwork (Thomas 2016), and how this artwork arrives to public spaces and why it does so.

Another strand of future research will be locating and engaging with tourism indicators that we might use to gauge the way people understand the past. One suggestion that I have made is to exploit TripAdvisor, where people may leave reviews of their visits to tourist sites. Glen Farrugia's recent PhD (2017) about Malta's heritage and tourist industry may also offer helpful insights into avenues of tourism research and management and interpretation of heritage sites – asking tour guides about their experiences, considering training needs, and things like what goes onto a display board and the types of literature available for tourists. Another may be a more ethnographic approach to tourists and their personal narratives in the form of collecting many different stories, perspectives, and photographs from many people over the course of a tourist season.

The search for the 'tourist gaze' (as referenced in Chapter 2) in photography is indeed a developing area of research: see Belk and Yeh (2011) on tourist photos, Dinholp and Gretzel (2016) on social media's affect on the tourist gaze, and Toscano (2017) on the Instagram as an indicator of social and spatial perception. Belk and Yeh's paper is quite 'recent' and yet already sounds 'out of date' as it tries to analyse the various reasons that tourists might capture so many images on their cameras or 'camcorders' (a word and a device largely out of use in today's world of smart phones with cameras): their conclusion already in 2011 was that the vast corpus of images available to us means 'most of the world will little note, long remember, nor even encounter the self productions we have in mind when we record these images' (350). The application of these new theories to heritage sites may yield results in understanding how people want to engage with the past.

Beyond Italy, the question of how people relate to past historic visual material encompasses a broad spectrum of things and places - public artwork, statues and monuments; memorials; buildings; and heritage landscapes. One example from my own country (the United States) is the recent controversy over Confederate statues in many states around the country, beginning in August 2017 when an angry crowd pulled down the statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville, Virginia[8]. The majority of the statues in question were not actually set up during the Confederacy (1861-1865), but actually from the end of Reconstruction (1877) to the end of Jim Crow (1965), and they reflect an era of white supremacy, racism, and failed political aspirations. Many other cities are now purposefully scheduling removal of Confederate statues. Public opinion seems to fall into two camps: pulling the statues down erases a part of our history (the American Civil War) so they should be saved; or all of the statues need to be pulled down because they were set up not to honour Confederate leaders, but to intimidate and oppress in post-Reconstruction America. Do these statues then belong in a museum? Or, because they are ostensibly public art, is pulling them down a new and valid engagement with past material? Recent heritage, surely, evokes more emotive responses because of the complication of living memory. It does force us to ask which is more responsible: do we tell the story of the past with all of its additions, even the morally compromising ones,

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[8] See Fortin, 'The Statue at the Center of Charlottesville's Storm' (Aug 13, 2017)
(https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/charlottesville-rally-protest-statue.html?mcubz=3)

or do we accept that erasure or destruction is sometimes a valid part how people engage with material? Is a museum the proper venue for this story?

This study – like most research - has obviously produced more questions than I have been able to answer, but the directions for future research hold promise to shed light on them. The means by which people engage with the visual are only growing with technologies like virtual and augmented reality becoming a part of heritage management and tourist practice and I believe that many will become exciting avenues of exploration.

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Appendix I: Table of Ecclesiastical Structures in Ravenna

(Note: All of the 'Names' are English translations of names given by Agnellus, while the 'Modern Name' is a building's commonly used Italian name)

Name	Date	Founder/Patron	Location	Extant?	Modern Name	Textual Reference
St. Euphemia *ad Arietem*	? (thought to be first baptistery in Ravenna)	? (Apollinaris mentioned)	? (Deliyannis map has it W quadrant, near Sts John & Paul)	No		LPR 1, 168
St. Eleuchadius	?	Bishop Eleuchadius?	Classe	No		LPR 4, 5, 7
Monasterium of St. Pullio	? before 405	Bishop Liberius III?	Near Porta Novis, NE corner of the city	No		LPR 22
St. Lawrence *monasterium* of Sts. Gervase and Protase	c. 402-420	Honorius / Lauricius	Caesarea	No – demolished 16th century		LPR 34, 35 Augustine. *Serm* 23 LPR 36
Ursiana Cathedral	c. 405-431	Bishop Ursus	SW quadrant in the *oppidium*	No	Modern cathedral exists on the site, built 1743	LPR 23, 28, 127
Episcopium (of the Ursiana): *Triclinium* (dining hall) *Tricollis* Bath house	c. 405-431? c. 450-473 c. 494-520 ?	Bishop Ursus? Bishop Neon Bishop Peter II Restored by Bishop Victor, 538-545	collective area of the *Episcopium* = episcopal palace of the Ursiana, a walled precinct behind the apse made up of several buildings.	No No No No		LPR 28 LPR 29 LPR 50, 75 LPR 66 Excavations: Rizzardi 1989
Monasterium St. Andrew (chapel) House of Felix	c. 494-520 c. 709-725	Bishop Peter II Bishop Felix		Part No	The *arcivescovile* chapel/museum	LPR 50 LPR 145
Baptistery (of the Ursiana)	c. 450-473	Bishop Ursus? Bishop Neon		Yes	Orthodox or Neonian Baptistery	LPR 28

St. John the Evangelist	c. 425-435	Galla Placidia	NE quadrant	Yes	San Giovanni Evangelista	LPR 27, 42, 147
Church of the Holy Cross (or *Sancta Ierusalem*)	c. 425-435	Galla Placidia	NW quadrant Near San Vitale	Part; redesigned 11th c.; broken up 17th c.	'Mausoleum' of Galla Placidia	LPR 41
Monasterium St. Zacharias	c. 425-435	Singledia	Attached to Church of the Holy Cross	No		LPR 41
Petriana (St. Peter) Baptistery *monasteria* of St. Matthew and St. James	c. 431-450 c. 494-520 decorated c. 557-570	Bishop Peter I Bishop Peter II Bishop Agnellus	Classe	No – destroyed by earthquake in ninth century No No		LPR 24, 115, 151, 155 LPR 50 LPR 91
St. Agnes	c. 473-477	Gemellys	W/central, near ad Nimpheos	No – destroyed 1930		LPR 31
St. Agatha	? (Before 494)	?	S/central	No – parts reused in the new cathedral		LPR 44, 84, 92
Church of the Holy Apostles *Monasterium* St. Petronilla	? (before 473) ? (mentioned early as Florentius)	Possibly Neon? ?	S/central	Yes	San Francisco (13th century building) Excavated crypt below the altar	LPR 29, 56 LPR 21
St. Martin	c. 493-526	Theoderic the Great	E/central, along the Via Caesaris	Yes	Sant'Apollinare Nuovo	LPR 86, 88, 89, 119
St. Eusebius	c. 514	Bishop Unimundus (Arian Bishop)	Outside city walls, NW quadrant (Deliyannis); or NE quadrant outside city walls (Cirelli)	No – destroyed in ninth century to make the Valerian House in the Orthodox *episcopium*		LPR 70, 86
St. Victor	?	?	On *fossa Sconii*	No		LPR 70

St. George	' in the time of the Arians' Or in the consulship of Basilius - 541	?	?	No, destroyed in ninth century to make the Valerian House in the Orthodox *episcopium*		LPR 70, 86
St. Mary Major	522-532	Bishop Ecclesius	Just south of San Vitale	No – completely rebuilt 1671	Santa Maria Maggiore	LPR 57, 121 (?)
St. Sergius	?	?	Classe			LPR 86
St. Zeno	?	?	Caesarea			LPR 86
St. Theodore House of Drocdo Baths *Monasterium* St. Apollinaris	Sometime in the Gothic period	?	Cathedral + Episcopal palace of the Arians, N/central	Yes (16th c. building) No No No	Spirito Santo	LPR 86
St. Mary *in Cosmedin*	Re-dedicated after 561	?	Baptistery of St. Theodore	Yes	Arian Baptistery	LPR 86, 121(?), 157
Monasterium St. Andrew the Apostle (San Andrea dei Goti?)	?	Theoderic?	NE corner of the city, Agnellus twice says 'near the church of the Goths'	No – pulled down by Venetians 1457-1465		LPR 121, 167
Monasterium St. Andrew *Jerichomium*	? (where Joahnnicis lived early 8th century) Maybe rebuilt c. 709-725	? Bishop Felix	Deliyannis (2004, 272 n26) seems to imply that St. Andrew the Apostle and St. Andrew *Jerichomium* are probably the same church.	No		LPR 148 LPR 149
'Church of the Goths' / Ecclesia Gothorum	During the reign of Theoderic, presumably	Theoderic	NE corner of the city near St. Andrew and St. Pullio	No – demolished in Venetian period (Deichmann II, 2)		LPR 121, 167

St. Vitalis	c. 522-532 Consecrated 547	Bishop Ecclesius Julian Argentarius	NW quadrant	Yes	San Vitale	LPR 57, 59, 61, 65, 68, 77
St. Apollinaris	c. 533-536	Bishop Ursicinus and Julian	Classe	Yes	Sant'Apollinare	LPR 63, 77 (inscription), 98, 107, 109, 113, 121, 122, 124
Apse mosaic, lower N. wall	Consecrated 549 c. 671-677	Bishop Maximian Bishop Reparatus		Yes		LPR 115
monasterium of Sts. Mark, Marcellus, and Felicula	c. 578-595	Bishop John II				
St. Stephen	550	Bishop Maximian	NW quadrant, near Ovilian gate	No		LPR 72
St. Andrew Major	Decorated c. 546-557	Bishop Maximian	In the region of the 'Herculana', in the *oppidium*	No – by 19th century run down, relics transferred to the cathedral		LPR 76, 82 (?), 83 (?)
St. Michael (San Michele in Africisco)	545	Bacauda and Julian	*'Ad Frigiselo'* , along the Fossa Soomii N/central	Part – building is now a clothing store. Apse mosaic in Bode museum, Berlin		LPR 77, 172 (?)
monasterium St. George	c. 557-570	Bishop Agnellus	*?*	?		LPR 89
Sts. John and Barbatian	c. 575-577	Bishop Peter III?	NW quadrant, above San Vitale	No		LPR 51
St. Probus	? (before 578)	?	Classe	No		LPR 6, 97
St. Euphemia *ad mare*	? (before 578)	?	Classe	No		LPR 97
Sts. Mark, Marcellus, and Felicula	c. 578-595	Bishop John II	Classe; attached to St. Apollinaris	No		LPR 98
St. Severus *monasterium* St. Rophilius	c. 578-595	Bishop John II	Classe	No – pulled down in the Venetian period 1468		LPR 26, 98, 113

monasterium of St. Bartholemew	? (before Maurus, c 642, who was 'abbot' here)	?	?	No		LPR 110, 136
St. Mary *ad Blachernas*	? (Agnellus was abbot here, lived here)	?	Outside SE gate, near Wandalaria	No		LPR 26, 119
monasterium St. Apollinaris *in veclo*	Before 671	?	Near the 'Ovilian gate in the place which is called the Public Mint'	No		LPR 115, 164
monasterium St. Theodore Deacon	c. 679-693	Theodore, exarch of Ravenna	Next to St. Martin, unclear if attached or not	No?		LPR 119
St. Paul (Former Jewish 'sinagoga', unsure of founding date or usage period)	c. 677-691	Bishop Theodore, and exarch Theodore (?)	Near Wandalaria, outside the city gates, SE	No		LPR 119 *An. Val* 80 for existence of Jewish community
Monasterium St. Mary At the Tomb of King Theoderic	? (exists at the time of Agnellus)	?	'Ad Farum' Near Mausoleum of Theoderic	No		LPR 39
Monasterium St. John *ad Titum*	? (existed end of seventh century)	?	Classe, 'ad Titum' or 'ad Pinum'	No		LPR 131
monasterium St. Severinus	? (end of seventh century)	?	In the 'regio Latronum', SW corner	No		LPR 129
'*cella*' of St. Apollinaris?	c. 744-749	Bishop Sergius	Either unknown location, or attached to the church of St. Apollinaris in Classe.	No		LPR 159

monasterium St. Donatus *in Monterione*	? (before 778)	?	Just outside the gate of St. Lawrence, near Wandalaria			LPR 162
monasterium St. Martin *in Aqua Longa*	? (before 778)	?	?			LPR 163
Monasterium Sts. John and Paul	?	?	*Oppidium*, inside the wall (according to Deliyannis)			LPR 174
Monasterium of St. Mary	? (exists at the time of Agnellus)	?	Off-shore island, formerly small palace of Theoderic. Six miles up coast from Ravenna	No		LPR 39; Excavated (Bermond Montanari 1983 CARB)
St. Saviour	8th or 9th century	?	Just south of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo	Part	San Salvador – only the façade exists. Is the tourist site 'Palace of Theoderic'	LPR 94

Number of basilicas (structures that include nave, aisles, apses): 28
Number of *monasteria* (side champers or small structures): 27
Missing: St John the Baptist (on map Deliyannis 2004 map, no ref), St Peter Orfanumtrophium (location unknown, *LPR* 62 - NB, I do not read this as being in Ravenna)

Appendix II: Table of Public Buildings/Structures in Ravenna

Name	Date	Founder/Patron	Location	Extant?	Modern Name	Textual Reference
Aqueduct	? (second century) Restored by Theoderic c. 493-526	Trajan	?	No		*An. Val.* 2.12.70-71
Amphitheatre	? presumably Roman period	?	Near the Porta Aurea in the wall of the old Roman colony, though Agnellus suggests it is not there anymore.	No		LPR 2, 129
Palace 'at the Laurel'	c. 424-440	Valentinian III	? possibly SE quadrant	No		LPR 39, 40, 132 (?)
City Walls	c. 424-440	Valentinian III		Part		LPR 40
Small palace	c. 493-526	Theoderic the Great	Off-shore island, formerly small palace of Theoderic. Six miles up coast from Ravenna	No – destroyed by Agnellus to make an episcopal house ninth century		LPR 39; Excavated (Bermond Montanari 1983 CARB)
Ostrogothic Imperial Palace (Palace of Theoderic)	c.493-526	Theoderic the Great	E/central, along the Via Caesaris	No		Excavated LPR 94 *An. Val.* 2.12.70-71 LPR 120

						LPR 132 = Exarch is in Theoderic's palace
Imperial mint/ *Moneia Aurea*	Sixth century	?	North west of the imperial palace/St. Martin	No		Cirelli p 89 LPR 115, 164
Mausoleum	c. 493-526	Theoderic the Great	Outside city, NE quadrant	Yes	Mausoleum of Theoderic	LPR 39 *An. Val.* 2.16.96
Barracks of the First Flag	c. 546-557	Bishop Maximian	In the *oppidium*, north of the cathedral	No		LPR 77
Stadium tabulae (Deichmann though this was the circus 2.4, 40. Meaning of the words is unclear)	?	?	Outside the Artemetorian Gate in Coriandiran Field. NE of the city	No		LPR 22, 153