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In 1191, Philip II, King of France, traveled through the Italian peninsula as he made his way home from the Third Crusade. His itinerary, preserved in a chronicle of the deeds of Henry II and Richard I, suggests that as he passed through the hilly region of Lunigiana, he traversed the Frigido River via a bridge near the church of San Leonardo with its accompanying hospice. The text only records the name of the place, "*per Seint Leonard*."[2] While a medieval description of the site is lacking, the surviving remains of the church indicate it was small and rectangular (17.8 x 6.2 m) with three

[1] I am indebted to the Metropolitan Museum of Art staff for their assistance in the archives and for executing measurements of the San Leonardo portal for me. Moreover, I am grateful for the financial support of the Adjunct Fund for Scholarly Research at Queen's University. Many thanks to Doot Bokelman and Barbara Haeger as well as *Peregrinations*' reviewers and editor for their many insightful suggestions.

[2] "Ex gestis Henrici II et Ricardi I," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Digital* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, n.d.): 27: 131. The settlement was referred to as *Taberna frigida* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Codex Vindobonensis 324 in Österreicheische Nationalbibliothek). It fell within the medieval diocese of the Bishop of Luni. Medieval Lunigiana roughly corresponds to the modern-day provinces of La Spezia and Massa-Carrara. Unfortunately, records regarding the church have been lost; hence the builders and the order associated with the edifice during the Romanesque period are unknown.

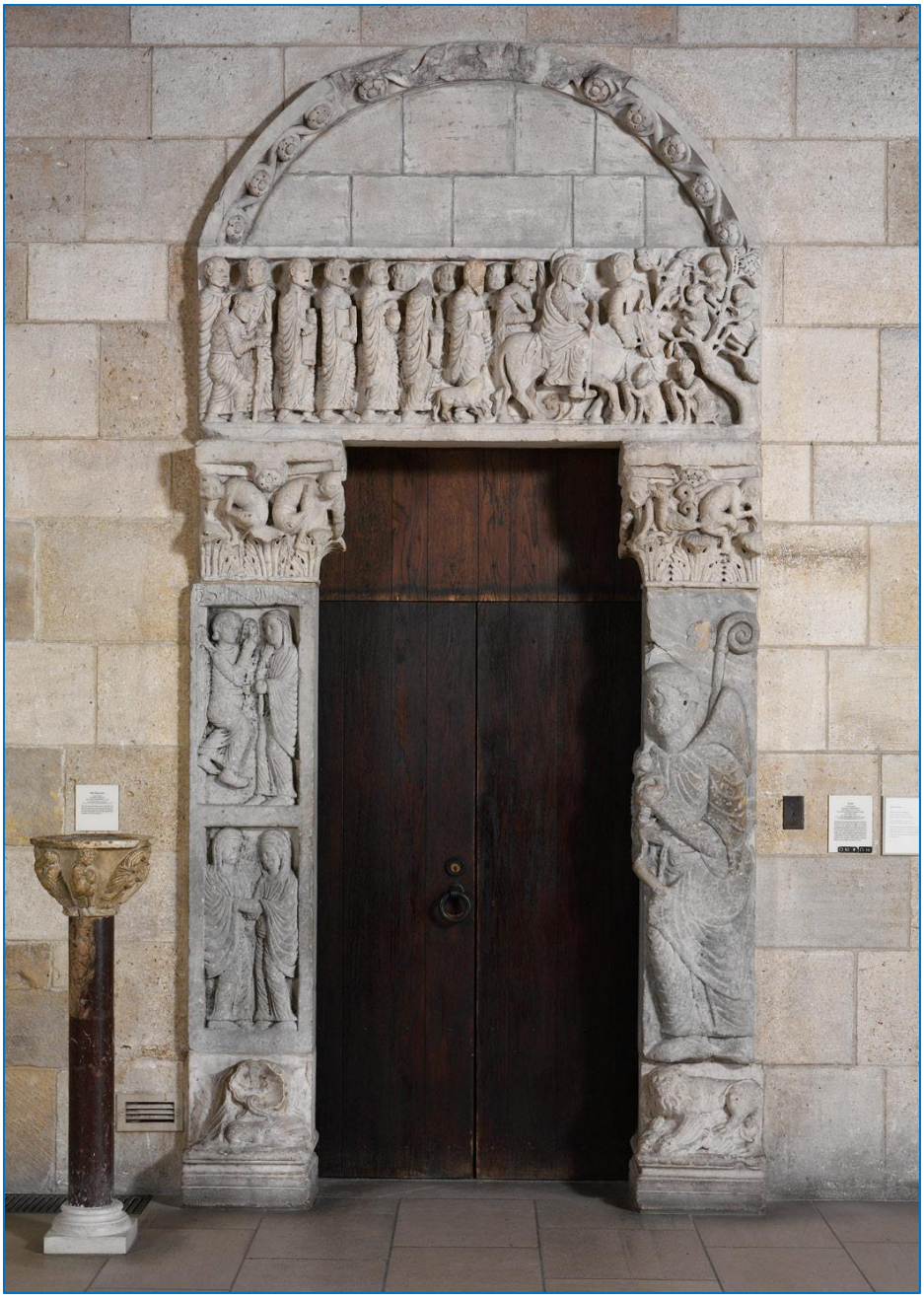

Figure 1 Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, 12th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

doorways: one each on its west, north, and south sides, the last of which connected the sacred interior to a courtyard of the hospice.[3] The king

[3] Pier Luigi Most-Zonder, "S. Leonardo e il Portale del Biduiuno. Elementi artistici e architettonici," *La Via Francigena* (Modena and Massa: Aedes Muratoriana, 1997): 139. Enrica Salvtori's census of hospitals in Lunigiana notes that the hospice and church were joined, "S. Leonardo al Frigido" formerly accessible via, web.arte.unipi.it/salvatori/luni/spedali.htm#64a. Enrica Salvatori, "*Strutture ospedaliere in Lunigiana: dal censimento alla microanalisi*," *Riviera de Levante tra Emilia e Toscana: un crocevia per l'ordine di San Giovanni* (Genoa: Istituto internazionale di Studi Liguri, 2001): 6. The church's website also notes that link between the south door and a courtyard of the hospice, https://www.terredilunigiana.com/riviera-apuana/massasanleonardo.php.

would have noticed the sacred building because one of the doors, on the west side facing the road, featured a sculpted stone portal **(Fig. 1)**. The carvings which marked the west face of the church as the "front" and the focal point of interest, signaled it as a liminal site of appropriate entry, directed movement into the building, and served as advertisement for the church, its rituals and services.[4] In this manner, a portal like this, although an object, was an active participant in relationships with humans. At the church of San Leonardo al Frigido the ability for sculptures to act may have affected not only passersby, but also patrons and artists during the doorway's creation.

Today, the portal is housed in The Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Inv. No. 62.189) having been severed from the building at some point between 1879 and 1893.[5] The surviving pieces including jambs, capitals, and a lintel, representing biblical events and the patron saint of the site, are characterized by varying stylistic features which recent scholarship suggests were executed at different

[4] For more on the functions of portals, see Christine B. Verzár, "Medieval Passageways and Performance Art: Art and Ritual at the Threshold," *Arte medievale*, n.s. 3, no. 2 (2004): 63-73.

[5] The pieces were sold to Countess Benkendorff-Schouvaloff who incorporated them into her villa near Nice, France. She notified Italian authorities of the portal's location in a letter accompanied by photographs discovered in the Brera Gallery archives in Milan by Mario Salmi, "Sant' Jacopo all'Altopascio e il Duomo di Pisa," *Dedalo* 6 (1925-26): 512, note 14. For a summary of the portal's known history, see James J. Rorimer, *Medieval Monuments at the Cloisters as They Were and as They Are*, revised edition by Katherine Serrell Rorimer (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972): 52-55 and Lisbeth Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Jack Soultanian, "16. Portal – Material and Condition," *Italian Medieval Sculpture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Cloisters* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010): 69-70.

Figure 2 (Left) St. Leonard, Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, *c*. 1130-40, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

Figure 3 *Annunciation* and *Visitation*, Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, *c*. 1130-40, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

times during the 12th century.[6] Yet despite this portal's composite nature, I believe that it can still be examined as a cohesive program because it is the result of complex interactions actively mediated by the art objects.

The Romanesque jambs appear to be by the same hand. On the right vertical support, a nearly life-size St. Leonard holds a small, shackled figure which partially projects from the inner face of the jamb as he is being thrust towards the portal opening **(Fig. 2)**. This sculpture broadcasts the church's patron saint who was a 6th -century hermit from Noblat, particularly renowned for freeing prisoners.[7] On the left, the doorpost, divided into two framed sections, displays the *Annunciation* (Luke 1: 26-38) on the top, with the inscription "H[IC] E[ST] SALUTATIO MAR[IAE],[8] while the bottom presents the *Visitation* (Luke 1: 39-56; **Fig. 3**), emphasizing the Incarnation and events associated with the life of the Virgin Mary.

[6] The portal's bases are not from the medieval era and therefore will not be examined further in this paper. Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 65. While stylistically of a later date, the bases' iconography reflects the importance of medieval pilgrimage. The left base bears a scallop shell, the symbol associated with St. James' shrine in Compostela, Spain. The right base has a lion atop its prey, a common motif on Italian Romanesque doorways and liturgical furnishings as well as a symbol associated with Rome. For the link between the lion and Rome, see Christine Bornstein Verzár, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma: Artegrafica Silva s.r.l., 1988): 36.

[7] *Acta Sanctorum* 1643-1940, 66: 139-209. For information on the expansion of this saint's cult, see Steven D. Sargent, "Religious Responses to Social Violence in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine," *Historical Reflection* 12 (1985): 219-40.

[8] Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 65.

The carved capitals and lintel, which are stylistically similar to each other, have garnered the most interest since they have been attributed to a known master sculptor of the Romanesque period, Biduinus (act. last quarter of the 12th century).[9] Each jamb is topped by a capital with chained apes which, in turn, support a lintel with a rendition of *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (Matt. 21:1-10, Mark 11:1-10, Luke 19:28-40, and John 12: 12-19; **Figs. 4, 5, 6**). A row of singing apostles carrying palm fronds and other objects follow behind Christ who is riding on the ass, while the children of Jerusalem greet him. The biblical event has been personalized for the site by including a second representation of St. Leonard, identified by his tonsure and monastic clothing, at the rear of the procession.

The combination of patron saint and biblical narrative suggests a concerted effort by the patrons to actively capture the attention of a variety of viewers via the portal.[10] This attempt to understand the sculptures in the light of dynamic engagement with people is to follow in the footsteps of the anthropologist Alfred Gell. He proposed that artworks were physical manifestations of agency that act upon a viewer for another

[9] For more on Biduinus' oeuvre, see: V. Ascani, "Biduino." *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, vol. 3 (Rome, Isituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992): 504-45, and Maria Laura Testi Cristiani, "Biduino architetto-scultore nella Chiesa dei Ss. Ippolito e Cassiano," *Arte Medievale a Pisa tra Oriente e Occidente* (Rome: Consiglio Nationale delle *Richerche*, 2009): 216-31. Hanns Swarzenski has questioned the attribution of the lintel to Biduinus, "Before and After Pisano," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 68 (1970): 178-96.

[10] Dorothy Glass sees the amalgam of universal and local as a characteristic of Italian Romanesque art, "'Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened': A Lintel from San Cassiano a Settimo," *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002): 148.

Figure 4 *Entry into Jerusalem*, Biduinus, Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, *c*.1175, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

person be that an artist, patron, and/or owner.[11] Scholars in various disciplines continue to expand and adapt this idea by investigating networks in which "things" can be nodes

[11] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): especially chapter 1.

of interaction between other objects and different social groups.[12] Interestingly, Albena Yaneva examined the nexus of people connected through the 21st-century restoration of a 17th-century building; the process involved the collaboration of humans with an edifice that through its constructed, material presence responded to, resisted, and channeled the conceptual and physical interventions of various parties over time.[13] Such restorations echo the medieval phenomenon of monument adaptation. Large stone structures, like churches and portals, demanded huge resources in a period in which accessible materials and funds could be inconsistent and meagre; moreover, art and architecture could be sanctified by miracle or important patronage that required accommodation and preservation. In these circumstances, patrons, artists, and communities often chose to amend existing monuments to meet new needs, desires, and functions. Thereby, these structures became larger expressions of cumulative encounters between people and art spread across time.

Such was the case of San Leonardo al Frigido's portal. Its church likely was erected in the late 11th century and thus the architecture predates the doorway's

[12] For an interdisciplinary approach to the agency of objects see: Carl Knappet, "Photographs, Skeuomorphs and Marionettes: Some Thoughts on Mind, Agency and Object," *Journal of Material Culture* 7 (2002): 97-117.

[13] Albena Yaneva, "How Buildings Surprise: The Renovation of the *Alte Aula* in Vienna," *Science Studies* 21.1 (2008): 8-28. Yaneva's research uses and adapts Actor-Network Theory and Science and Technology Studies which both accept that objects actively engage with humans.

carvings.[14] Like Yaneva, we can examine the evolution of this entryway as a response by people to available material objects including the edifice itself since the new portal would have had to fit within preexisting dimensions. After considering the historiography of the portal and the implications of new measurements of the capitals, I will examine the evolution of the doorway over time. Beginning with the earliest sculptures, I will argue that the church and the subsequent carvings were part of complicated interactions involving patrons and artists that ultimately determined the portal's configuration, part of which survives in New York.[15] From this perspective, the doorway is a material node in medieval receptive and productive networks that spanned decades and geographical distances. Further, as agents in the portal's creation, the earlier carvings provided the framework for subsequent action. I will propose that the ultimate result was a program that incorporated knowledge of contemporaneous social customs which act as thematic cords interweaving the portal's diverse parts into a dynamic whole laden with meaning.

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[14] The site may have had shelter for travelers as early as the Roman era, Salvatori, 7. Luigi Pfanner noted the difficulties of dating the architecture and suggests it was built before the 12th century, *Le Origini di Massa (La 'Taberna Frigida" e la Chiesa con l'Ospedale di S. Leonardo al Frigido) in occasione del restauro della Chiesa* (Massa: Edizioni Medici, 1954): 27. Salvatori, 7, concurs, dating the architecture to the 11th century. The church's website dates the building to the beginning of the 12th century, https://www.terredilunigiana.com/riviera-apuana/massasanleonardo.php. In 1953-54, the church's remnants were restored and converted into a memorial to WWII victims.

[15] Unfortunately, imagery of the tympanum has been lost. The portal was described *in situ* by Giovanni Antonio Matteoni, *Guida delle chiese di Massa Lunese* (Massa: Tipografia di S. Pietro, 1879): 94-96 where he observed a fresco of the Madonna and child seated between two saints in the lunette, but the date of the painting is unknown.

With the arrival of the sculptures in New York in 1962, the number of publications addressing the portal increased. Initially scholars who tackled the attribution of the carvings desired to attribute the doorway to a master artist with a singular conception. These researchers attributed the entire program to Biduinus and can be subdivided into two groups. One faction, including Susanne Heydasch-Lehmann and Pier Luigi Mosti-Zonder, argued that the whole portal was carved by the master himself.[16] Carmen Gomez-Moreno, too, adhered to this theory and asserted that the differences in style between the jambs and the lintel were evidence of Biduinus' evolution as an independent artist working with different impulses as he searched for his signature style.[17] The other group, including Umberto Giampaoli, Isa Belli Barsali, Valerio Ascani, and Maria Laura Testi Cristiani, suggested that Biduinus designed the whole portal and personally sculpted the lintel and capitals, but that a member of his workshop contributed the jambs, which for these scholars accounts for the different style of execution.[18] Regardless, the generally accepted attribution of the lintel and

[16] Susanne Heydasch-Lehmann *Die "Taufbrunnen" in San Frediano in Lucca und die Entwicklung der toskanischer Plastik in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt and Paris: Peter Lang, 1991): 157 and Pier Luigi Mosti-Zonder, "S. Leonardo e il Portale del Biduino. Elementi Artistici ed Architettonici," *La Via Francigena* (Modena-Massa, Aedes Muratoriana, 1997): 139-42.

[17] Carmen Gómez-Moreno, "The Doorway of San Leonardo al Frigido and the Problem of Master Biduino," *MMAB* 23, no. 10 (1965): 359-60.

[18] Umberto Giampoli, "Una Scultura di Maestro Biduino nella Chiesa di S. Leonardo al Frigido," *Giornale Storico della Lunigiana* 13 (1923): 118-19; Isa Belli Barsali, "Biduino," *Dizinario Biografico degli Italiani* 10 (1968): 365-67; Ascani, 5045; and Cristiani, 230

Figure 5 Capital with Apes, Biduinus, Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, *c*. 1175, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

capitals to an identifiable master's oeuvre meant that most scholarly attention focused on Biduinus and the *Entry into Jerusalem*.

However, beginning in the 1990's there was a shift in scholarship away from the need to attribute the entire portal to one master and a return to a proposal made by the

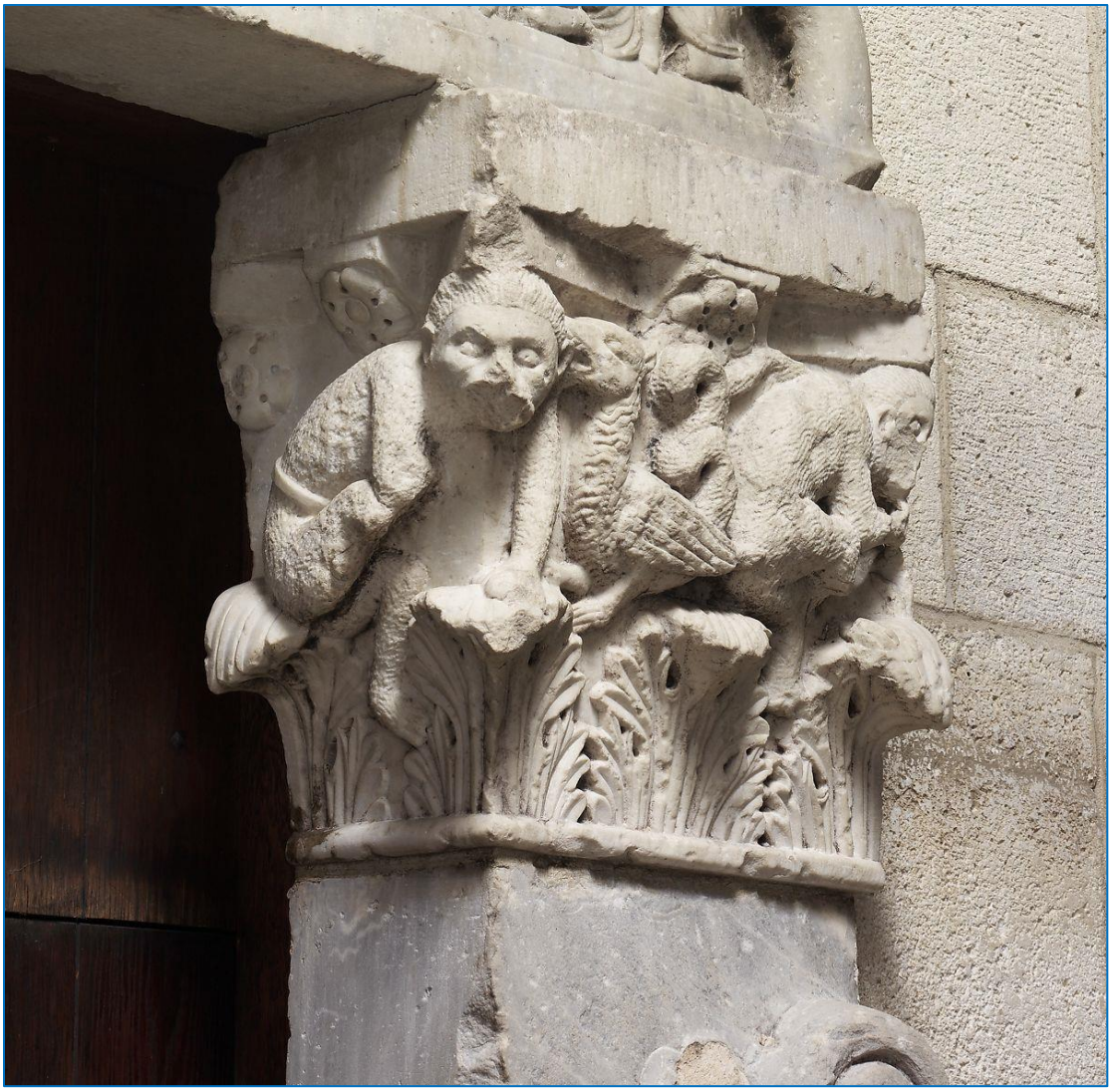

Figure 6 Capital with Apes and Dragon, Biduinus, Portal from the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido, *c*. 1175, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Public Domain.

last person to record seeing the sculptures *in situ*, Giovanni Matteoni.[19] Matteoni believed that the jambs were older than the capitals and lintel.[20] Most prominently,

[19] Matteoni, 94-96.

[20] Matteoni, 94.

Dorothy Glass agreed that the jambs were of earlier date and that the current configuration of the doorway was comprised of parts made at various times. She asserted, "The lintel from San Leonardo al Frigido, together with the capitals on which it rests, were likely carved at a different time from the portal's decorated doorposts; the portal as a whole is best viewed as a pastiche."[21] This possibility was endorsed by Lisbeth Castelnouvo-Tedesco who, with Jack Soultanian, examined the pieces through a combination of art historical research and scientific testing.[22]

New measurements of the capitals seem to corroborate the portal's creation in two campaigns. To date all publications about the portal have relied on the measurements of the upper edges of the capitals, stressing the physical coordination of the parts contributed by Biduinus. These measurements ignore the importance of the widths of the *lower edges* of the capitals in comparison to those of the jambs. Overall, there is a relative similarity between the widths of the right doorpost (37 cm or 14 9/16") and the bottoms of both capitals with their decorative bulging astragals (right: 39.1 cm or 15 3/8"; left: 39.7 cm or 15 5/8").[23] Still, there is a significant discrepancy between the width of the capitals and the left jamb since that vertical support is wider (42.1 cm or 16

[21] Glass, "'Then the eyes," 146.

[22] Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 70.

[23] Each astragal's bulge is approximately 0.95cm (3/8").

9/16″).[24] If the capitals and jambs were carved by Biduinus and his shop at the same time, one would not expect a disjuncture between the parts being fit together. Yet, if Glass is correct in proposing that Biduinus shipped sculptures to various sites from his shop's location in Pisa,[25] then the discrepancy could be the result of two campaigns of creation and communication over distance. Possibly the patrons provided or the sculptor used the width of one jamb, that of the right, to size both capitals. Biduinus would not have been able to check the correspondence between his products and the preexisting elements preventing him from adjusting his work in the case of the left capital.

With this incorporation of time and distance into our understanding of the portal's construction, the doorway becomes a more complex phenomenon and more typical of the medieval approach to larger projects. Rather than being the product of one master and patron generating a singular design at one interval, the portal can be seen as the culmination of interventions reflecting changing networks of influence and connections. Yet, the final product can still be treated as a program with meaningful links between its parts and designed to actively engage an audience if we consider

[24] The measurement of the left jamb given here differs from that published by Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 65.

[25] Glass, "Then the eyes," 146-47.

objects as dynamic agents in those networks and affecting the evolution of the doorway from its beginning.

Whether a new addition or replacing a prior arrangement, the creation of a stone portal would have been an expensive undertaking for those managing a church and a hospice located amidst a relatively small population typical of the region. 12th-century Lunigiana was dominated by vying local powers, including the Bishop of Luni as well as the Obertenghi and their relatives, branches of the Malaspina family. The nobles' feudal strength in combination with the territory's varied geography favored tiny communities.[26] At the same time, the area was important for human travel by land and San Leonardo's position near a bridge made it a valuable link on the pilgrimage route, the *Via Francigena* with its system of paths over the Apennines.[27] Due to this topography and political situation, over the course of a year the residents around the church were likely outnumbered by the travelers who visited the area, including pilgrims, merchants, and crusaders.[28] The clergy would have had to satisfy large and varied

[26] Massimo Dadà, *Archeologia dei Monasteri in Lunigiana: Documenti e cultura materiale dalle origini al XII secolo* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2012): 41.

[27] Further south, the *Via Frangicena* aligned with the ancient road towards Rome and the routes became less variable, Dadà, 58-59.

[28] The numerous medieval hospitals in Lunigiana attest to the large numbers of people moving through it, Dadà, 59. Salvatori, 3, calculated that between the 9th and 15th centuries, Lunigiana had one hospital for every 30km^2. Medieval hospitals combined modern roles of hostel, hospice, and hospital, Sally Mayall Brasher, *Hospitals and Charity: Religious Culture and Civic Life in Medieval Northern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017): 98.

demands but may have had minimal, sustainable resources locally. Efficient use of regional assets would have been necessary and this need is evident in the jambs **(Figs. 2-3)**.

When inserted into architecture, as they are today within the museum, the jambs appear to be solid pieces of Carrara marble;[29] however, these vertical supports were carved on reused, hollowed stone. Numerous scholars have accepted the suggestion that the marble is from an ancient sarcophagus, split in half. [30] While this theory is indeed plausible, an ancient fountain trough also could have been a possible source, as troughs were converted into new monuments, including being used as sarcophagi themselves, during the Middle Ages.[31] Throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, patrons, builders, and sculptors responded to ancient materials available for reuse by making sophisticated choices that ensured the quality and dimensions of *spolia* were suitable for new projects. [32] As an existing piece of quarried stone, splitting an ancient sarcophagus

[29] Soultanian's stone analysis revealed that all of the sculptures are made of Carrara marble despite the different colors, Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 70.

[30] Gómez-Moreno, 353; Rorimer, 54; Bonnie Young, *A Walk through the Cloisters* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979): 19; Mosti-Zonder, 142; Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 419; Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 65, 70, and fig. 16.1, and Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture*, rev. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012): 41.

[31] Rosa Maria Bacile, "A Porphyry Workshop in Norman Palermo," *Romanesque and the Mediterranean*, eds. Rosa Maria Bacile and John McNeill (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2015): 135.

[32] Arnold Esch, "On the Reuse of Antiquity: The Perspectives of the Archaeologist and of the Historian," *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, eds. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011): 15, 17. Incorporation of ancient

or trough in half would have provided the patrons and the artist at San Leonardo with easily accessible as well as more affordable material that could form two vertical supports of almost equal height (left jamb, 161 cm; right jamb, 161.6 cm). Their length could be augmented with the addition of bases and capitals on the short flat ends to achieve the exact measurement dictated by the preexisting space of the church's doorway.

The sculptures of these doorposts are more eroded than those on the capitals and lintel due to longer exposure to the elements and/or human touch; for example, the angel's right sandal is heavily worn **(Fig. 3)**.[33] This poorer state of preservation may be due in part to greater age as well as to the relatively low relief style used by the artist. The use of pre-thinned stone likely dictated that the carver work shallowly in order to prevent breaking the available material. The use of *spolia* may also have determined the sculptor's great respect for the frontal plane; s/he sometimes flattened draperies and limbs at the upper surface of the marble. However, the carver exhibits a similar respect for boundaries in the compositions. For example, the angel's wing and heel overlap the

pieces could include appropriation of meaning and the absorption of past power as suggested by Ilene H. Forsyth, "The Vita Apostolica and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations," *Gesta* 25, no. 1 (1986): 75-82; Greenhalgh, 419; and John McNeill, "*Veteres Statuas Emit Rome*: Romanesque Attitudes to the Past," *Romanesque and the Past*, eds. John McNeil and Richard Plant (Leeds: British Archaeology Association, 2013): 1-24. At San Leonardo, the use of hollow stone, which was left unfinished on the inner sides, suggests that these sculptures were intended to have been part of a larger structure with an architectural component that would have hidden the evidence of recycling.

[33] For the state of preservation see Castelnuovo and Soultanian, 70-72.

inner part of the *Annunciation* frame, but form a straight line echoing its outer edge. Therefore, the available material likely acted upon the patrons requiring them to choose an artist who greatly respected limits and tended to shallow relief rather than opting for a sculptor who would be forced to adapt their carving style to the stone.

The style of the jamb carvings resembles other mid-12th-century works located in modern-day Emilia-Romagna. In her study of the San Leonardo portal, Glass concluded that the faces and drapery folds were comparable to carvings executed about 1130-60 in the Po Valley, as exemplified by a capital with Samson and Delilah on the north transept apse of Parma Cathedral.[34] Arturo Quintavalle noted that the composition and style of the San Leonardo jamb scenes were similar to a *Visitation* from the presbytery enclosure of a collegiate church in Castell'arquato (Piacenza) dated *c*.1120-30;[35] both monuments have figures who fill the height and width of the available space within the boundary of the plain frame and who exhibit a similar treatment of folds around the legs. This comparative material supports the thesis that the San Leonardo jambs were made *c*. 1130-40 by an artisan who likely had worked in the Po Valley, an inland region of the northern Italian peninsula.

[34] Dorothy Glass, *Portals, Pilgrimage and Crusade in Western Tuscany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 33-34; "'Then the eyes," 146.

[35] Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Romanico Mediopadano: Strada, Città, Ecclesia* (Parma: Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Parma, 1978): 35-36, figs. 12-13; Heydasch-Lehmann, 159-60, concurs.

The proposal that the mid-12th-century patrons on the Frigido River used social networks to hire an artist from the Po region is strengthened by the very use of figured images for the portal's vertical supports. This choice is unique for Lunigiana where doorways typically had plain pilasters for jambs, as exemplified by the 12th-century entryways of Carrara Cathedral.[36] Doorposts with sculpted figures were more typical of Romanesque churches elsewhere in Europe, including nearby Emilia-Romagna. General knowledge of the figures on portal supports could have been brought to San Leonardo by people from various places moving along the pilgrimage routes. Social ties between members of the religious orders in the two regions would have fostered an exchange of visual traditions and perhaps even artists. Some of the monasteries of Lunigiana and the Po Valley were related through religious institutional networks. For instance, the Hospital of San Lorenzo di Centocroci (Lunigiana) became a dependent of the Monastery of San Prospero in Reggio Emilia in 1137 according to a diploma of Emperor Lothar III.[37] Moreover, communicative contacts existed amongst the early- to mid-12th-century nobility since the elite were bound by alliances and marriages across regions; for example, Mathilda of Canossa was related to the Malaspina.[38] These secular and

[36] Gómez-Moreno, 357; Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 70.

[37] Dadà, 61."Diploma of Lothar III, January 21, 1137" in *Momumenta Germaniae Historica*, DD reg. imp. Germ. 8, 176-78.

[38] For the Malaspina family tree, see Giuseppe Caciagli, *Storia della Lunigiana* (Pisa: Arnera Edizioni, 1992): 57.

sacred associations provide a partial explanation for the cross-fertilization of visual traditions at San Leonardo, for the desire of the patrons to seek to incorporate a portal composition new to the area, and for a turn to an artist who had worked in the Po Valley region.

Whenever the sculptures were conceived as the vertical supports for San Leonardo's door, they would have necessitated a permanent, horizontal element to physically complete a portal. The impetus to satisfy that demand appears to have arrived about thirty to forty years after the completion of the jambs, at some point in the early to mid-1170's when the sculptor Biduinus was commissioned to provide the capitals and the lintel **(Figs. 4-6)**. One is tempted to connect the decision to engage a sculptor from Pisa in modern-day Tuscany to a revived interest in the church provided by new guardians with different contacts outside of Lunigiana, instigating a turn from artistic traditions of the inland regions towards those of the coast. This patronage shift may have been encouraged by the continuing instability in the Po Valley region due to wars between the north Italian cities and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa between 1158 and 1183. That insecurity also made Lunigiana a more attractive option for land travel, likely increasing the number of foreigners using the bridge on the Frigido River and thereby enhancing the desire for a suitable church doorway.

One religious group that may have assumed responsibility for the church and would account for that change of connections towards areas with major ports, like Pisa where Biduinus was located, was that of the Knights of St. John or Hospitallers, an order with its genesis in the Holy Land. By the late 12th century, the Hospitallers were a militant monastic order; originally solely dedicated to caring for pilgrims and the poor, they gradually accrued the duty to protect the eastern sacred sites.[39] Since their primary concern was public charity, the Knights maintained vast estates, hospices, and roads throughout Christendom.[40] Already in the bull of 1113 that formally recognized the Order, its welfare mission, and the seminal importance of its hospital in Jerusalem, Pope Pascal II referred to Hospitaller possessions located in both France and Italy.[41]

[39] Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530," *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995): 64-65. The precise origins of the Order are obscure. Its Hospital in Jerusalem was established by Amalfi merchants *c.*1070, but the Order was not founded before the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Judith Bronstein, "*Servus Pauperum Christi*: the Hospitallers" Services to Pilgrims in the Latin East, XI-XIII Centuries," *Memoria Y Civilización* 16 (2003): 220-221.

[40] David Jacoby, "Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean," *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean, and Europe*, eds. Anthony Luttrell, Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015): 57. All Hospitaller establishments made *repensiones* or annual payments of one-third of their produce to the headquarters in Jerusalem, Bronstein, "*Servus*," 231-32; Judith Bronstein, "The Hospitallers: From Land to Sea – An Examination of the Hospitallers' Naval Activities in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *The Medieval History Journal* 22.1 (2019): 55.

[41] *CCCLVII Bulla que apostolicae sedis tuitionem concedit xenodochio S. Joannis Hierosolymitani,* Paschalis II Romani Pontificis Epistolae e Privilegia, CCCLVII, *PL*, vol. 163, 314D-316A.

According to an inventory of its Priory in Pisa, the Hospitallers were in charge of the Church of San Leonardo al Frigido in 1333.[42] Although this is the earliest known text mentioning the Knight's control of the area, it refers to the church already being in their care and the exact date of transfer into their possession is unknown. Yet Enrica Salvatori believes that the church and hospice became the property of the Knights in the second half of the 12th century[43] and the surviving evidence of the Order's activities corroborates this proposal. The Knights were increasingly prominent in the ports of Southern France and Italy during the latter half of the 12th century as they sought to ensure the movement of valuables from their western holdings to the imperiled Holy Land. The need to guarantee that efficient flow of goods and people through Lunigiana may have been acute since not only were areas of Northern Italy in turmoil, but the Order did not have a permanent maritime base in Genoa[44] meaning that using alternative ports where they had a presence, such as Pisa, would have been more profitable. The Hospitallers were assuming control of other sites along the northern

[42] Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 70; Maria Grazia Armanini, "S. Leonardo al Frigido: Un insediamento lungo cammino della via Francigena," *La via Francigena: Atti della giornata di studi; la via Francigena dalla Toscana a Sarzana, attraverso il territorio di Massa e Carrara; luoghi, figure e fatti, Massa, 5 maggio 1996*, ed. Giordano Bertuzzi (Modena and Masss: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi, 1997): 177-203.

[43] Salvatori, 8.

[44] For more on the ports used by the Hospitallers see Bronstein, "The Hospitallers," 53-91 and Jacoby, 57-72.

Tyrrhenian coast in the second half of the twelfth century to secure lines of travel[45] and organizing their vast holdings in Italy into priories for better efficiency.[46] Procuring San Leonardo may have been part of those efforts since the church and hospice were located next to an all-important bridge needed to cross the Frigido River.

The iconography of the carved doorposts would have attracted the Order's members. St. Leonard's propensity to free prisoners not only would have appealed to the Knights, but also to those they aided, especially the pilgrims who risked imprisonment when moving to and through the Holy Land. In addition, the biblical scenes were renditions of events that took place in the East and would have interested the Hospitallers especially since their Order and hospital were dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The *Visitation* was the first moment of meeting and recognition of Christ by the saint *in utero*. Sculptures representing a biblical event tied to their holy patron through his mother, Elizabeth, would have been particularly engaging. Legends being accrued by the Order in the late 12th century would only have enhanced this appeal. By 1185, the story that St. John's parents had served the poor in the Knights' Jerusalem hospital was documented in text and by the late 12th or early 13th century, the Virgin herself was

[45] Salvatori, 8-9 and Bronstein, "The Hospitallers," 75.

[46] Despite having numerous possessions in the West by the early 12th century, the Hospitallers developed their provincial organization late; for example, the priory of Lombardy was organized in 1176 and that of Pisa founded in 1182, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *History of the Oder of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, ed. Lionel Butler, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1967): 355-56.

believed to have spent three years living in the hospital before being bodily assumed into heaven.[47]

For the community seeking to complete a portal for the church in the 1170's, the jambs, whether already incorporated into the doorway or awaiting use, must have actively framed the ideas for expansion of the portal's subjects, demanding complementary iconography to be placed upon the capitals and lintel. On that horizontal element, Biduinus carved the *Entry into Jerusalem* and made it site specific by the inclusion of St. Leonard **(Fig. 4)**.[48] The combination of subjects created a thematic cord linking sculptures from different times through repeated representation of the patron saint and a continuation of the narrative of Christ's earthly life prior to the Passion. Further, the saint's practice of following in Christ's footsteps would have appealed to any patron with a church located on a pilgrimage route. If Biduinus' contribution is truly early from his career (*c*. 1175), this lintel with its combination of biblical *Entry* and local saint, made to create a coherent program from disparate parts, may have set a trend since it bears iconographic kinship to later lintels carved by this

[47] Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001): 3-4. Legends of apostolic origin may have been invented between 1140 and 1160, Luttrell, 66. By 1185, the Hospitallers claimed Maccabean foundation, Nicholson, 3.

[48] The presence of the saint for a second time is another indication for Glass that the portal is a pastiche, *Portals*, 35.

master and his shop for San Cassiano a Settimo (Pisa, signed and dated 1180) and Sant'Angelo in Campo (currently in the Palazzo Mazzarosa, Lucca, *c*. 1180).

In addition to turning to a Pisan sculptor, the patrons assumed the added expense of solid Carrara marble to finish the doorway. This choice may reflect greater resources available to the late-12th-century guardians compared to those of the patrons who paid for the doorjambs. The use of thick material allowed Biduinus to exhibit the hallmarks of his style: higher relief, emphasis on repeated patterns of rounded folds, and crowds of people conceived as overlapping planes in arrangements heavily influenced by compositions found on Early Christian sarcophagi.[49] By drawing on ancient visual vocabulary, the sculptor referenced a recognizable language that consciously evoked the apostolic era when the *Entry* took place, a prestigious past to be admired and emulated. The freedom that the sculptor exhibits in the height of his relief mirrors his approach to frames as well. In contrast to the sculptor of the jambs, Biduinus was less bound by the edge as exemplified by Christ's halo and the tree both of which completely break through the frame. Hence, the use of solid stone may have forced fewer strictures on the patrons allowing them to choose not only an artist from a different region with his own access to materials, but one that exhibited a style that was pleasing to their late-12th-century aesthetic taste.

[49] Gómez-Moreno, 353-54; Greenhalgh, 419.

Biduinus' style also is exhibited on the capitals, the transitional elements between the pre-existing jambs and the lintel **(Figs. 5-6)**. Each of the pair has depictions of apes who are tethered at their waists. While both capitals present the animals with heads protruding at the corners and set above a layer of abstracted acanthus leaves, the example on the left features only primates, while the stone on the right portrays a dragon "whisper[ing] in the ear of the innermost ape."[50] These pieces bear iconographic and compositional similarities to a capital that once decorated the campanile in Pisa where the master's shop was located.[51] That capital, currently located in the Schloss-Glienicke (Berlin), and those of San Leonardo have corners sporting hunch-backed apes with thin necks holding large heads. These similarities associated the tiny church in Lunigiana with the larger Christian community and may have been designed to create visual echoes with other sites within the patrons' social networks in the minds of travelers.

In addition, the frequent appearance of chained apes on 12th-century capitals throughout Europe suggests that this imagery had important threads of meaning that were being transplanted with the iconography from one site to another.[52] Since primates

[50] Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Soultanian, 65.

[51] Friedrich Kobler, "Das Pisaner Affenkapitell in Berlin-Gleinicke," *Munuscula Discipulorum: Kunsthistorische Studien Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966*, ed. Tilmann Buddensieg and Matthias Winner (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1968): 159-62; Glass, *Portals*, 34.

[52] The Index of Medieval Art (Princeton University) contains records of at least thirteen more 12th-century capitals with a tethered ape or monkey located in Auvergne, Burgundy, Tuscany, and Spain.

were symbols of evil as well as popular pets, Glass suggested that these capitals evoked multiple interpretations.[53] In the case of San Leonardo's door, the chain of the prisoner and the tethers around the apes' waists are an inversion of the saint's power to release.[54] While the apes will remain tethered, perhaps continuing to be seduced by sin represented by the dragon, the prisoner has hope of release through divine intervention. Together, the capitals and jamb create a visual play between captivity and potential freedom, an oppositional theme which Gigetta Dalli Regoli noted was an inherent characteristic of the saint's cult.[55] The presence of St. Leonard holding a captive on the earlier jambs may have inspired the patrons and artist to take advantage of that concept to provide another unifying thread between the sculptures carved at different times.

The portal resulting from the combination of older church and earlier jambs with Biduinus' capitals and lintel would be a unified program made from disparate parts through a network of choices mediated by objects **(Fig. 1)**. Once combined as an entryway, the sculptures worked together to attract viewers and present content that

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[53] Glass, *Portals,* 34-35.

[54] Gigetta Dalli Regoli, "Il tema dell'Entrata in Gerusalemme nelle interpetazioni di Biduino," *Forme e Storia: Scritti di arte medieval e modern per Francesco Gandolfo*, eds. Walter Angelelli and Francesca Pomarici. (Rome: Editoriale Artemide, 2011): 228-29.

[55] Dalli Regoli, 228-29.

would affect local and foreign audiences. In other words, the carvings reflect more than just the interests of one group, like the Hospitallers, in order to be meaningful to the large numbers of people using the road.

But what other thematic cords could have woven these sculptures together into a coherent whole that could stimulate potential audiences? The answer lies in viewing the carvings as part of the architecture occupying that liminal position between heavenly Jerusalem and the terrestrial world, like other church entryways. The power of this passageway made medieval doorways seminal sites for rituals of communal importance such as religious rites, liturgical dramas, judicial rulings, and business transactions, all of which, according to Christine Verzár, formed a kind of medieval performance art.[56] These social events, employed sequences of actions that were replicated in a recognizable manner and included familiar symbols, repeated forms, and gestures that artists could incorporate into their compositions.[57] As settings for these rites, the doorways themselves were active participants, imposing themselves upon the event and, thereby, the minds of the people. By including in its physical fabric

[56] Verzár, "Medieval Passageways," 63. Major publications dealing with rituals and Romanesque portals in Italy include: Christine B. Verzár, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of NIcholaus in Context* (Parma: Università di Parma, 1988). Dorothy Glass, *Romanesque Sculpture in Campania: Patrons Programs, and Style* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Dorothy Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca 1095-1130* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

[57] Gerd Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 71; Jeffrey Andrew Barasch, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016): 59, 97.

references to those rituals in which it was a key player, a doorway could affect viewers' behavior by activating memories of social experiences. In the case of the San Leonardo portal the medieval rituals of the liturgy, greetings, and oaths may have been particularly important.

For example, in the *Entry* the disciples do not just reenact a historic moment **(Fig. 4)**. The event is melded with the present through the addition of liturgical details: open mouths of the chanting apostles, palm fronds, scrolls, and books in their hands, as well as a censer held by the fifth apostle from the left who also has a key hanging from his belt.[58] These specifics lend the rendition a sacramental overtone by evoking associations with medieval processions, especially those of Palm Sunday when citizens, in imitation of the biblical event, would line a route to a church to welcome with blessed branches, prostrations, and chants a representative of Christ who could be a member of the clergy, a Gospel book, or an image.[59] The embrace of multiple moments in Christian time was expanded through the inclusion of St. Leonard who encouraged the faithful to emulate

[58] C. Griffith Mann stresses the emphasis on singing in this rendition of the Entry as paraliturgical in nature, "Encounter: The San Leonardo al Frigido Portal at the Cloisters," *Gesta* 53 (2014): 2. Dalli Regoli identifies the object held by the apostle as a casket to be opened with the key, 226. It appears to be a globe divided into upper and lower portions. Along the top, next to the disciple's hand, are lines which may indicate chains; so this object may be a censer.

[59] Glass, *Portals*, 35. Max Harris, "Interpreting the Role of Christ and his Donkey: The Palmesel as Actor in the Processional Theatre of Palm Sunday," *European Medieval Drama* 16 (2012): 3. Such processions ultimately were modeled on those performed in Jerusalem since the late 4th century. For blessings and readings used during Palm Sunday rituals, see Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième Siecle*, vol. 2, (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963): 40-54.

him by traveling physically in Christ's footsteps and/or by engaging in the Church's rituals locally. Aside from the palm fronds, the liturgical references could be an allusion to numerous ceremonies since many Christian rites, such as Mass, involved the processional use of books, censers, and songs as well as being reenactments tied symbolically to scriptural events.[60] These iconographic elements could activate recall of participation in various liturgies and urge viewers to continue on their ritual journeys. Moreover, specific processional memories may have been evoked for certain groups; for example, the Hospitallers would have found this rendition attractive since not only is Christ shown entering Jerusalem, but the procession seems to echo rites that took place in their eastern hospital. According to chapter sixteen of their Rule composed under Raymond du Puy (1120-60), "on Sundays a procession with aspersion into the house of the sick [occurred] and reading of the Gospel there took place."[61]

The sculptures of both the lintel and the jamb with Marian scenes also employ elements of another type of significant social ritual: greetings, a particularly appropriate theme to unite different parts of a doorway. The *Entry, Annunciation*, and *Visitation* were biblical moments of greeting, a point emphasized by the inscription on the right jamb **(Figs. 3-4)**. Every medieval person had to engage in greetings, casual and serious, to

[60] Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967): 15-43.

[61] Timothy S. Miller, "The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 718. For the rule see J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jerusalem*, vol. 2, (Paris: 1897): entry 70, p. 67.

initiate social, commercial, religious, and political exchanges. These moments were liminal and could be fraught with tension as negotiations of relationships were initiated.[62] Despite all efforts, no one could be sure at the time of address whether hopes for good relations would be fulfilled and consequently, these moments were often clothed in ritual to encourage success.

Upon meeting, subordinates would use gestures to indicate deference to another's greater status, such as humbly kneeling. Within the lintel, the children bow to lay garments on the ground to welcome Christ. In the case of the *Annunciation*, the angel has literally just appeared since its feet do not yet touch the ground, but its knee is already bent to assume a kneeling position and its hand is raised in a gesture of spoken address. Alternatively, actions could be reciprocal in nature indicating a more equal relationship between participants (e.g. kissing or embracing).[63] In the *Visitation*, the two kinswomen join hands in an act of greeting. Mary's two meetings led to successful outcomes: the conception of Christ and the coming together of cousins in the womb. Through these scenes, the door incited viewers to recall experiences of greeting,

[62] Barbara D. Palmer, "Gestures of Greeting: Annunciations, Sacred and Secular," *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Western Michigan University: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001): 128.

[63] J.A. Burrows, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 27-28.

signaled the need for gestures that would show due respect as one entered the church, and primed the entrant to expect a welcome.

Greetings were particularly important as they could form the first step in other more complex ritual behaviors including one experience that I believe is deserving of more study in relation to portals: the swearing of oaths. Like liturgical ceremonies and rituals of greeting, oaths were an essential phenomenon throughout medieval Europe. People from all levels of society engaged in uttering vows since it was the primary vehicle of social bonding in all facets of life. An oath could be an assertion of guarantee or a promissory vow that united parties to conditions that would lead to mutual satisfaction.[64] An example of the former was the personal pledge in which members of the peasantry promised themselves as security for another's ability to pay debt or exhibit good behavior.[65]

In contrast, the promissory vow structured reciprocal relationships through various benefits and obligations.[66] Feudal and communal oaths fall into this category. In Lunigiana, a form of feudal oath likely prevailed due to the nobility's regional

[64] John Spurr, "A Profane History of Early Modern Oaths," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 57.

[65] David Postles, "Personal Pledging: Medieval 'Reciprocity' or 'Symbolic Capital'?" *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 26, no. 3 (1996): 419-20.

[66] Chris Wickham, *Courts and Conflict in Twelfth Century Tuscany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 28.

strength. In this case, individuals swore allegiance to a more powerful figure, vowing to abide by various obligations, like providing military aid; in return, the lord promised to offer his protection and could give the subordinate a fief. Promissory oaths also were crucial for binding compromises that promoted peace and reconciliation during an otherwise violent era. An example of placating through promises occurred in Lunigiana in 1124, when a peace agreement between the Bishop of Luni and the Obertenghi was brokered by the Lucchesi; the two sides and their followers contested the possession of a hill which the nobles wished to fortify. In the settlement, the bishop accepted half of the hill and monetary compensation, while the Obertenghi received the other half and promised ("*repromissionem*") not to build on the disputed site.[67] While this oath was recorded in text, Katherine Jansen argues that most peace settlements with their oaths were likely undocumented, being used by everyone to negotiate disputes without engaging higher authorities.[68]

In each case, adherence to the oath provided the opportunity to create and to maintain peace or unified social action and, in the process, allowed the rigid

[67] M. Lupo Gentile, ed., *Il regesto del Codice Pelavicino* in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*. vol. 44 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1912): no. 50.

[68] Katherine Jansen, *Peace and Penance in Late Medieval Italy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018): 17, 95. Patrick Geary made similar arguments in "Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution," vol. 1, *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (Secoli V-VIII)* (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1995): 569-606.

hierarchical bonds of medieval society to be reconfigured harmoniously.[69] The more significant the vow or individuals partaking in it, the more ceremonial the public display to engage witnesses and to imprint the event upon the collective memory. The use of the church as a public locale for the taking of oaths had been fostered since the time of Charlemagne.[70] The rituals involved liminal locations (especially doorways and altars), uttered words often used in liturgical settings (e.g. *confessio*, *confiteor*, *bona fide*, *sacramentum*),[71] particular gestures, (like the joining of hands or the kiss of peace), and the engagement of holy witnesses through invocation or the touching of the Gospels or relics.[72] The resulting vows carried heavenly as well as terrestrial retribution if the conditions were violated.[73]

Since entryways were a location associated with oath-taking, imagery on church doorways could have primed viewers to recall those ritual moments upon approach and thereby affect people's behavior.[74] Due to space constraints, here I will examine the

[69] Otto Gerhad Oexle, "Peace through Conspiracy," *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, ed. Bernhard Jussen, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001): 290.

[70] Spurr, 57.

[71] Oexle, 293.

[72] Spurr, 45.

[73] Spurr, 38, argues that oaths were a form of "self-curse."

[74] Lion doorknobs could be held during the swearing of feudal oaths, Verzár, *Portals*, 39. A feudal vow made at Montpellier in 1175 is documented as having taken place at the entry porch or hall of a house: "*Factum est hoc in Monte pessulano, in domo magistri Guidonis, in porticu*," in "*Sacramentum, super castro*

oath in relation to the patron saint and, particularly, the life-size rendition of him on the jamb **(Fig. 2)**. This imagery provides a pivotal point of contact between vows and the portal since the sacrality of an oath was heightened in the case of promises sworn to the divine, such as crusader vows, monastic oaths, or promissory petitions to a saint. The latter was likely the most pervasive type since this vow could be used by anyone to garner the favor or satisfy the demands of a powerful holy figure. Whether they sought a miracle or the expiation of sin, petitioners of the divine entered a bargain that mirrored the obligations and rewards of an oath to a terrestrial lord. Such propitiatory promises bound heaven and earth together and thereby made the church façade, which tied sacred interior to terrestrial exterior, an appropriate site to implement images invoking memories of this relationship.

This intimacy with the divine often was expressed on portals throughout the territories of Northern Italy by the prominent portrayal of the church's holy patron. Public renditions of saints are presentations of protectors who intervened on behalf of the community or its inhabitants.[75] However, the conspicuous presence of God's representative on church portals could have had more than local significance since it

suprascripto, de fidelitate, quod fecit Raimundus de Piniano, Guillelmo, Domino Monte Pessulani," *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium: Cartulaire des Guilhems de Montpellier* (Montpellier: La Société Archéologique de Montpellier, 1884-6): no. 417.

[75] Diane Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-State*s (London: J. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996): 6.

could cue anyone's recall of sworn obligations to maintain heavenly favor. Saints were so intimately associated with oaths that medieval poets and authors could employ this connection to add drama or insider knowledge to a story.[76] Thus, the placement of the saint's image twice on the door not only united the sculptures thematically, but would have forced viewers to consider the reciprocal relationship between heaven and earth and to recall vows to God and his saints, both witnessed and taken.

In order to initiate the oaths that bind, the saint had to hear one's words of greeting, petition, and promised offerings. The profile presentation of St. Leonard on the jamb permitted the prominent rendition of his left proper ear protruding beneath his tonsure and with a deep, dark canal visible at some distance from the sculpture. Mosti-Zonder suggested that this auditory cavity emphasized the saint's ability to hear confessions as well as pleas for help and I would add the proposed promissory conditions for that aid.[77] This visual emphasis upon the ear mirrored the stress placed on hearing oaths as indicated by examples of vows recorded in cartularies, many of which survive from parts of Southern France. For example, several entries in the

[76] Jan Ziolkonski, "Saints in Invocations and Oaths in Medieval Literature," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 87, no. 2 (1988): 180.

[77] Mosti-Zonder, 143. Twelfth-century petitioners likely would have voiced their requests since at this time European societies were transitioning from predominantly oral to written cultures and texts were often read aloud. For more information on texts and their listeners, see: Joyce Coleman, "Audiences," *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2013): 155-170 and D. H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature, 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 3-34.

cartulary of the Guillelms de Montpellier from the 11th through the 12th centuries begin with the command, "*Audi*" or "Listen," despite being written records of oral events.[78] In many of these cases, the order to hear engaged a powerful figure, often a bishop, and pious petitioners would need to perform similar verbal action to gain the attention of a divine personage. On the little church on the Frigido River, the saint was rendered as listening and the image could have encouraged viewers to literally utter their pleas as they passed.

St. Leonard's ability to hear was matched by his proficiency at gaining divine favor to act on behalf of his petitioners. His ties to the sacred hierarchy are revealed not by a halo or hieratic presentation, but by his staff, a rod of authority, and pose suggesting action. Steven Sargent argued that this saint's popularity in the Romanesque period reflected his ability to counter abusive, terrestrial authority with just, supernatural power and thereby restore order and maintain peace.[79] That ability was expressed most dramatically through his miraculous liberations of captives referenced by the shackled prisoner held in his hands on the jamb. The ability to free those in chains made St. Leonard appealing to the nobility who could be captured and ransomed especially while on crusade as exemplified by his most famous releasee,

[78] For example, see: *Liber*, nos. 41, 46, 47, 48.

[79] Sargent, 228-40. The saint's miracles were widely disseminated starting in the early 12th century, Jessica Richardson, "Between the Limousin and the Holy Land: Prisoners, Performance, and the Portal of San Leonardo at Siponto," *Gesta* 54, no. 2 (2015): 77.

Bohemund of Taranto, prince of Antioch. In 1100, while imprisoned by Muslims, this crusading Norman ruler prayed, promising to visit the saint's remains and to give him offerings in return for divine intercession; Bohemund believed that his promissory oath induced the saint to act when the prince was released in 1103.[80]

Although the nobility and crusaders aided the spread of St. Leonard's cult along the pilgrimage routes, Sargent notes that this saint's power was originally attractive to commoners subject to the whims of local rulers.[81] That ability likely made this saint particularly appealing in Lunigiana where people remained subject to the nobility's power, including the possibility of just or unjust imprisonment.[82] Hence, while the saint's strength would have answered the needs of powerless locals fearing confinement, it also addressed the similar anxieties of the wider mobile community. Since the prisoner held by the saint does not have an identifying attribute, he becomes an accoutrement or sign for that power.

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[80] "*Quo itaque Boamundus audito, vovit se Deo et praedicto beatissimo Leonardo quod, si meritis eius Deus eripert eum ex illius captione barbaricae gentis et reduceret sanum et incolumoem in latinam aridam christianitatem, quanto celeries valeret, cum magnis votis et oblationibus visitaturus esset suum corpus et locum in quo terrae conditum est.*" from *Acta Sanctorum*, 66, 161-62. For a discussion of Bohemund and St. Leonard's cult in southern Italy, see: Richardson, 165-194.

[81] Sargent, 236.

[82] This power may explain the presence in Lunigiana of other churches dedicated to this saint, for example, San Leonardo in Capite Paludis. In some 19th- and 20th-century sources San Leonardo al Frigido is confused with San Leonardo del Padule which was conceded by the Bishop of Luni to the canons of San Frediano, Lucca, in 1151. The error was corrected by Giampoli, 118-19.

However, we should not limit our definition of shackles to those physically imposed on captives; figurative chains of sin bound everyone. Already by the 10th century, the remission of sins was believed to be a benefit of pilgrimage since the Romano-Germanic pontifical included a request to God to absolve the traveler of sin, a belief that became pervasive throughout Europe by the early eleventh century.[83] In the 12th century, Odo of Canterbury preached that following Christ allowed humans to break the chains of disease and sin of both body and spirit.[84] The idea of being bound by transgressions may be referenced by the tethered apes creating a physical and thematic link between the door jambs and the later sculptures **(Figs. 2, 5-6)** and, as noted earlier, the saint's ability to free his petitioners was an inversion of that spiritual imprisonment enabled by his following of Christ as visualized on the lintel.

With regards to the rendition of Saint Leonard on the jamb, Jessica Richardson interprets his gesture of holding the captive as propelling the prisoner to the church's door where he will subsequently be freed and deposit his chains in gratitude.[85] While not denying that such a miraculous conclusion is implied, I would argue that the

[83] M. Cecelia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure," *Speculum* 88 (2013): 49-50.

[84] Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c.1150-1400* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011): 39. For this sermon, entitled *Ad vincula sancti Petri*, see: Odo of Canterbury, *The Latin Sermons*, ed. Charles de Clerq (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, 1983): 191-92.

[85] Richardson, 185.

Figure 7 *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, Wiligelmo, West façade of Modena Cathedral, *c*. 1106 Photo: Alfredo degli Orti/Art Resource, NY, #ART552060.

gesture is more one of active supplication for judgement. By stepping forward and raising the captive's body with bent arms before him, St. Leonard echoes the ritual gestures of others who supplicated God, such as Cain and Abel when they petitioned Him to adjudicate their sacrifices. In the rendition of the Genesis cycle by Wiligelmo on Modena Cathedral **(Fig. 7)**, the position of the brothers with one leg forward and holding their offerings before them echoes St. Leonard's pose. In the case of the saint, he is petitioning God, the source of holy power, by referring the plight of his client further up the divine hierarchy. The petitioner's contrition, devotional acts, vows, and/or gifts are thereby offered to God who will hopefully return a judgement of mercy.

Finally, the saint's posture with one leg bent and holding the prisoner forward for judgement is particularly fitting if one recalls Christ's promise, "I am the door. By me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved," (John 10:7; **Fig. 1**). The physical opening to the church is Christ, an allegorical interpretation of the door prevalent throughout Romanesque Europe.[86] In the case of the San Leonardo portal, the entry is Christ both as petitioned judge and means of access to salvation within the building if deemed worthy. The image of the saint is one of ritualized potential that could be initiated by a vow to the divine and could have encouraged the faithful to pass through the doorway to attain their own spiritual aid.

Through such evocations of social events, the portal engaged with the people who traveled by and through its passageway. Oaths, greetings, and liturgical rites provided ritual gestures and poses used throughout the entire doorway, uniting the sculptures of different styles and times into an imposing whole. The social connections embedded in the iconography provided the door with multiple ways to spiritually and intellectually engage viewers, be they king, peasant, merchant, or pilgrim. These connective cords of meaning suggest a conscious effort on the part of Biduinus' patrons to create a richly decorated doorway and a unified program through response and

[86] For a discussion of this allegory, see: Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998): 51-68.

innovation. The portal, like the church itself, was thus a node in a set of productive and receptive networks driven by desire to further activate the church façade. ❧