

Space, Place, and Motion

*Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and
Early Modern City*

Edited by

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On the Road to Emmaus: Tivoli's "Inchinata" Procession and the Evolving Allegorical Landscape of the Late Medieval City

Rebekah Perry

One of the oldest religious rites in the central Italian region of Lazio is a procession performed every year in the city of Tivoli on the night of August 14, the vigil of the Assumption Feast. The procession features an early twelfth-century wooden triptych—the “Trittico del Salvatore”¹ (Fig. 6.1)—whose central panel depicts Christ Enthroned making a gesture of blessing. On the wings, standing figures of the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist turn toward Christ with arms raised in attitudes of supplication. The bottoms of the wings are decorated with narrative scenes of the Virgin's Dormition (on the left) (Fig. 6.2) and John preaching (on the right). On the evening before Assumption Day, the triptych, clad in its fifteenth-century silver covering, is carried out of the cathedral of San Lorenzo (Fig. 6.3 A) on a giant processional litter by the Confraternita del Salvatore (Confraternity of the Savior). Behind the bishop, clergy, and other confraternities, and ahead of the civic officials and townspeople, the Confraternita del Salvatore processes the image around the city's historic center (Fig. 6.4). The company follows the contours of the eleventh-century defensive wall, long ago swallowed up by later medieval structures or, for what survived into the twentieth century, destroyed by Allied bombs.

Along the way the procession stops at Ponte Gregoriano (Fig. 6.3 B), the bridge over the Anio River. The river demarcates the eastern boundary of the medieval city and skirts the famous Tiburtine “acropolis” (Fig. 6.5, Fig. 6.3 E) with its two ruined Roman temples. On Ponte Gregoriano, the Confraternity of

¹ The triptych was made around 1100, possibly a few decades earlier, according to iconographic and stylistic evidence. For the most recent literature on the icon: Giorgio Leone, ed., *Icone di Roma e del Lazio* (Rome: L'Erma Di Bretschneider, 2012), 67–68; Lorenzo Riccardi, “Esposizioni e restauri del medioevo laziale,” in *Tavole miracolose* (Rome: L'Erma Di Bretschneider, 2012), 30–31; Nino Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous and Its Reproduction: Medieval Paintings of the Savior in Rome and Latium,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55 (2010): 234–35, 239–42, 244, 251–53; Herbert Kessler, “The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli,” in *Immagine e Ideologia: Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, ed. Arturo Calzona et al. (Milan: Electa, 2007), 117–25.



FIGURE 6.1
Savior triptych, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Tivoli.
 PHOTO: COURTESY OF
 THE SOPRINTENDENZA
 PER I BENI STORICI
 ARTISTICI ED ETNO-
 ANTROPOLOGICI DEL
 LAZIO.

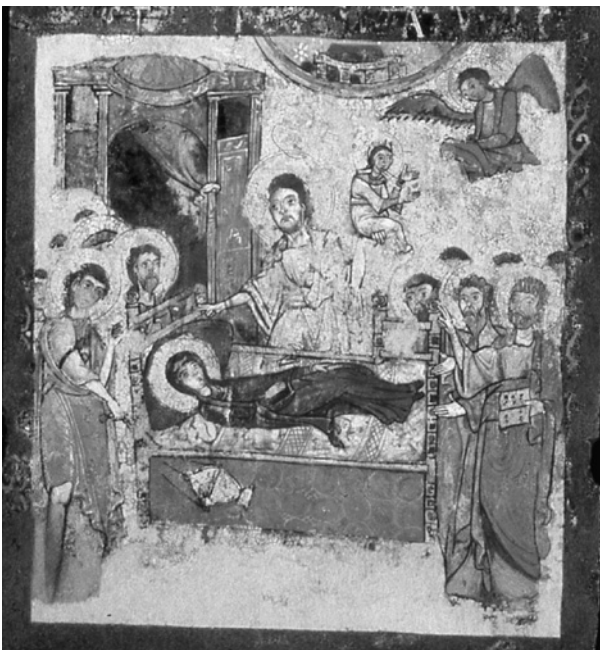


FIGURE 6.2
Dormition of the Virgin, bottom left wing of Savior triptych, Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Tivoli.
 PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE
 SOPRINTENDENZA PER I
 BENI STORICI ARTISTICI
 ED ETNOANTROPOLOGICI
 DEL LAZIO.

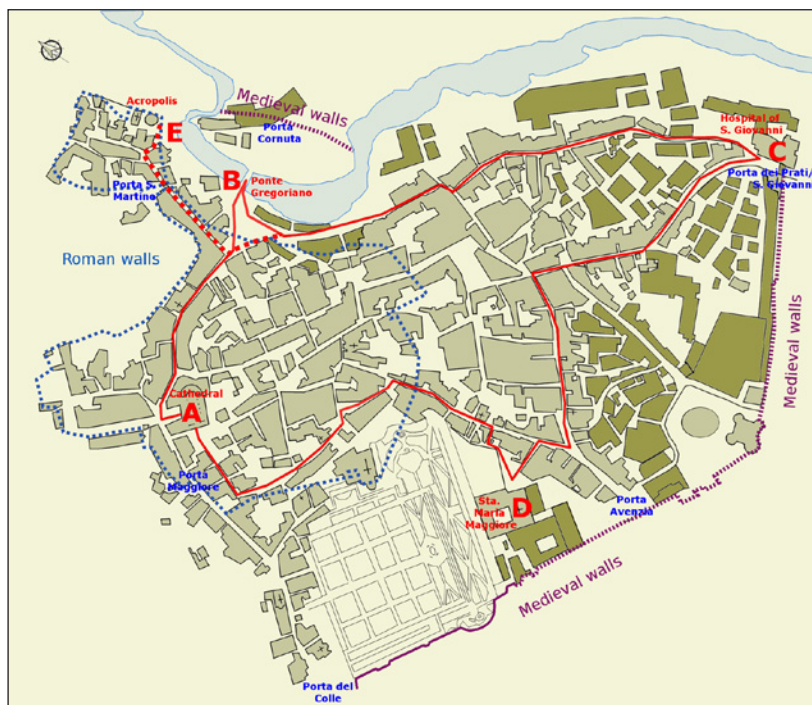


FIGURE 6.3 Map of Tivoli's historic center. Gray areas indicate medieval structures. Dark green areas indicate post-medieval structures. Solid red line indicates route of today's Inchinata procession. Dotted red line indicates where medieval route continued up to "acropolis" and original bridge over river gorge.

PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY, BASED ON A MAP ILLUSTRATED FOR THE 1910 VOLUME STATUTI DELLA PROVINCIA ROMANA.



FIGURE 6.4 Confraternity of the Savior carrying Savior triptych in Inchinata procession, Tivoli, 2009. PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.

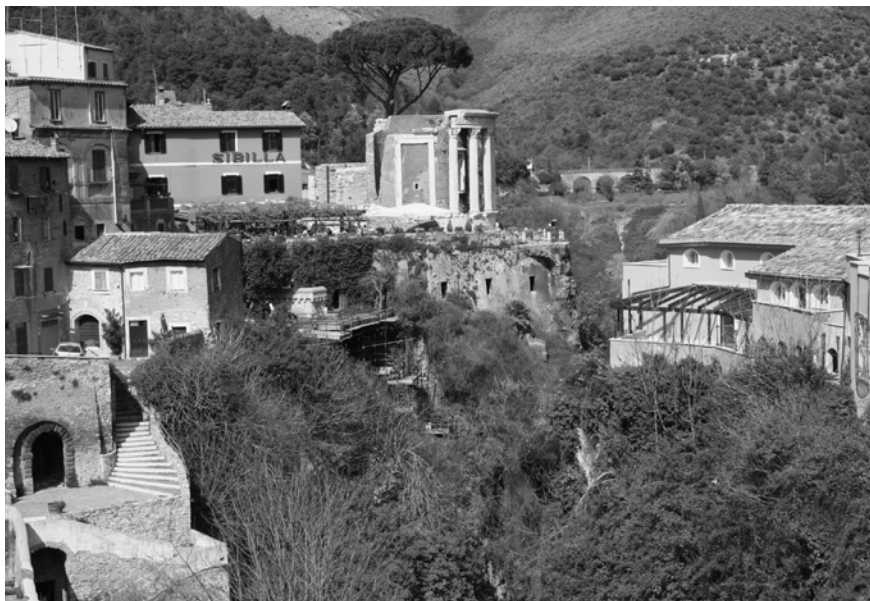


FIGURE 6.5 *"Acropolis" with round Roman temple (center), Tivoli. PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.*



FIGURE 6.6 *Ritual stop on Ponte Gregoriano during Inchinata procession, Tivoli, 2016. PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.*

the Savior turns the icon to face each of the four cardinal directions as the bishop prays for the protection and salvation of the Tiburtini (as the inhabitants of Tivoli are called) (Fig. 6.6). The confraternity's captain retrieves a candle from the icon's litter, lights it, and throws it burning into the river below. Later, the procession pauses in the courtyard in front of the hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista (dedicated to Santo Spirito until 1404) (Fig. 6.7, Fig. 6.3 C). The faithful fill the intimate space of the courtyard as the image's feet are ritually washed and censed (Fig. 6.8) and the bishop enters the hospital to visit and bless the sick. Finally, the procession reaches its destination: the piazza of the Franciscan church of Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 6.3 D). At the Savior's arrival in the piazza, the masons' guild carries out of the church the "Madonna delle Grazie" (Madonna of the Graces) (Fig. 6.9), a thirteenth-century image of the Virgin depicted half-length with arms raised in a gesture of intercession that echoes the Marian figure on the Savior triptych's left wing (Fig. 6.1). The two confraternities incline their respective images toward each other three times in a triple 'bow' of salutation as the people shout "Misericordia! Misericordia!" ("Mercy! Mercy!") (Fig. 6.10). This dramatic ritual is called the "Inchinata" (the bow) and symbolizes the apocryphal reunion of Mary with her son Jesus Christ when, at the end of her mortal existence, she was assumed into heaven. After the bow, the icons are carried into Santa Maria Maggiore and positioned opposite each other in the nave as the faithful enter to venerate them. The next morning, Assumption Day, Mass is celebrated in the church, the triple bow between the icons is repeated in the piazza, and the Savior triptych is processed back to its home in the cathedral.²

This spectacle has been documented in Tivoli since the early fourteenth century, but it probably dates to the early twelfth century, when the Savior triptych was made.³ In the Middle Ages, as now, Tivoli's cityscape functioned as a stage set upon which the *Inchinata* played out as a ritual narrative. But that stage set was not static. The city's institutions and built environment evolved after the procession's inception in the twelfth century. This evolution affected the dialogue between the image-protagonist and its ritual setting and added layers of meaning for audience and participants, lending new dimensions to the procession's central messages of religious supplication and communal solidarity. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the increasing economic

² This description is based on my personal observations of the *Inchinata* procession in 2009, 2011, 2013, and 2016, and on the vernacular text containing the liturgy and instructions for participants distributed each year in pamphlet form by the diocese of Tivoli.

³ See Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 117.



FIGURE 6.7 *Ritual stop at hospital of San Giovanni during Inchinata procession, Tivoli, 2011.*
PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.



FIGURE 6.8 *Washing of Savior triptych at hospital of San Giovanni during Inchinata procession, Tivoli, 2013.* PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.



FIGURE 6.9
Madonna delle Grazie, church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Tivoli. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE SOPRINTENDENZA PER I BENI STORICI ARTISTICI ED ETNOANTROPOLOGICI DEL LAZIO.



FIGURE 6.10 *Bowing ritual between Savior triptych and Madonna delle Grazie at Santa Maria Maggiore at climax of Inchinata procession, Tivoli.* PHOTO: COURTESY OF <<http://www.tibursuperbum.it>>.

and social prominence of professional trade guilds and the appearance of mendicant religious orders and devotional confraternities transformed Tivoli's civic culture and urban landscape. These transformations introduced changes to the *Inchinata* procession, both in the nuances of its performance and in the character of the cityscape within which the performance was staged—two reciprocal factors in the meaning of the rite. Featuring the city's trade guilds in carefully ranked order, the procession came to embody an increasingly codified social hierarchy.

But more than that, the spectacle expressed new models of bourgeois Christian conduct promoted by that hierarchy. Liturgical and iconographic evidence suggests that as hospitals and charitable institutions rose up along its route, Tivoli's annual Assumption procession took on the character of an allegorical 'pilgrimage,' a moving morality play in which the Savior, made material in his wooden triptych effigy, played the role of the 'wandering stranger.' The hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni did not exist at the site of the foot-washing ritual before the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Therefore, the ritual predates the hospital. But by at least the early Renaissance the manner in which the ceremony was staged was integrally connected with the hospital setting and was performed under the auspices of mendicant friars and their affiliated lay societies. Thus the ancient scene of the foot washing was furnished with a new stage set and new actors—actors invested in promoting a civic ideal of personal religiosity and good works. Because of these changes, the message of the rite expanded from intercession and spiritual salvation to include an emphasis on charity, humility, and Christian mercy. The degree to which late medieval and early modern municipal and confraternal statutes regulated and enforced the performative elements of Tivoli's Assumption procession and its analogues in other city communes of the region in turn reveals the preoccupation of the new civil ruling class with promoting public morality and reinforcing social order by exploiting communal ritual as a didactic and political tool.

Origins and Early Symbolism of the *Inchinata* Procession

Tivoli's Savior triptych is the oldest of a family of monumental wooden panel paintings of Christ Enthroned made in Lazio in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The panels were modeled on the sixth-century "Acheropita" cult icon housed in the pope's private chapel at the Lateran Palace in Rome and carried in that city's Assumption procession from at least the ninth century until the

spectacle was suppressed in the sixteenth century by Pope Pius V (r. 1566–72).⁴ The Acheropita's replicas were used as civic palladia (communal protective devices)⁵ in local Assumption processions inspired by the Roman model. These processions were the most important public spectacles of the liturgical year in medieval Lazio. They survive today only in Tivoli and, in modified form, in Subiaco.⁶ Elsewhere in the region the tradition disappeared in the wake of the Counter-Reformation.

The first textual mention of Tivoli's Assumption procession dates to 1305. The city statutes of that year set forth a penalty for fighting in public on the eve of the Assumption "when the men go with the Savior in procession."⁷ The ritual appears many more times in late medieval, early modern, and modern documents, indicating its continuous staging between the fourteenth century and the present day.⁸ In 1929 local historian Vincenzo Pacifici recorded parts of its

4 For the most recent literature on the Acheropita and Roman Assumption procession: Leone, ed., *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*, 54–55; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 221–63; Kirstin Noreen, "Re-covering Christ in Late Medieval Rome: The Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum," *Gesta* 49, no. 2 (2010): 117–35; Enrico Parlato, "La processione di Ferragosto e l'acheropita del Sancta Sanctorum," in *Imago Christi* (Gaeta: Type Studio, 2007), 51–63; Kirstin Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space: The Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)," in *Roma Felix*, ed. É.Ó. Carragáin et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 159–87; Kirstin Noreen, "Revealing the Sacred: The Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome," *Word & Image* 22, no. 3 (July–Sept 2006): 228–37.

5 Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 238–39; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus populi romani* (Weinham: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1990), 33, 73–76, 79–80.

6 On Subiaco, see n. 50, below.

7 Tivoli, Biblioteca Comunale, Statuto del 1305, fol. 83v.

8 *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus* (Rome: per Etienne Guillery, 1522), fol. 24r; Giovanni Maria Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacifici (Tivoli: Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, 1920), 83–85; "Libro delle Lettere Spedite 1664–1685," Archivio Storico Comunale di Tivoli (hereafter ACT), sezione preunitaria, ms. 681, fol. 64r; Vincenzo Pacifici, "Una Baruffa nella Processione dell'Inchinata del 1725," *Atti e memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte* 4 (1924): 81–84; Giovanni Carlo Crocchianti, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli* (Rome: Girolamo Raindardi, 1726), 59, 75; Giovanni Marangoni, *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio o cappella di San Lorenzo* (Rome: Stamperia di San Michele per Ottavio Puccinelli, 1747), 143–45; "Ordinanza da tenersi nelle Processioni del Corpus Domini e del ss. Salvatore...del 2 giugno 1819," Tivoli, Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita del Salvatore (published by Gino Mezzetti in *Usanze e tradizioni secolari dell'antica Tibur: 1256–1986* [Tivoli: Tipografica S. Paolo, 1986], 19); Filippo Alessandro Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli* (Foligno: Tipografia Tomassini, 1828), 36–44; Francesco Bulgarini, *Notizie storiche antiquarie intorno alla città di Tivoli* (Rome: Tipografia di Giovanni Battista Zampi, 1848), 63, 76–77, 145; Stanislao Melchiorri, *Memorie storiche del culto e venerazione dell'immagine di Maria Santissima* (Rome: Tipografia Monaldi, 1865), 45–49; Vincenzo Pacifici, "L'Inchinata: il significato della cerimonia," *Bollettino di studi storici ed archeologici di Tivoli* 11 (1929): 1423–39.

Latin liturgy,⁹ which was later replaced by the vernacular. Both versions of the liturgy performed at the procession's climax at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore contain the same antiphons found in medieval Roman missals, breviaries, and antiphonals for the Mass and office of the Assumption.¹⁰ The procession's route and performance are consistent with the earliest narrative record of the event, the sixteenth-century history of Tivoli by Giovanni Maria Zappi, who repeatedly emphasizes the antiquity of the rite.¹¹ The principal landmarks of the procession's itinerary—the cathedral, hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni, bridge at the acropolis, and church of Santa Maria Maggiore—are all medieval (although rebuilt to varying degrees in later periods). The disposition and core structural fabric of the city's historic center overall has changed little since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. All these factors indicate that the procession's archetypally circular route and the monuments it encounters or pauses at—which all had special importance for the medieval Tiburtini¹²—reflect long-standing tradition.

In the twelfth century the *Inchinata* procession had two fundamental meanings. On the one hand, it had a liturgical meaning related to Assumption theology: Mary is raised up and reigns as Queen of Heaven at Christ's side and acts as advocate and intercessor on mankind's behalf; Christ in turn redeems mankind through his atoning sacrifice on the cross. This theology is expressed in the *Inchinata* in multiple ways, including in the iconography of the Savior triptych itself, as Herbert Kessler has thoroughly demonstrated.¹³ We see it in the supplicatory gestures of Mary and John on the triptych's wings; in the Latin inscription on Christ's book that paraphrases John 8:12 ("I am the light of the

9 Pacifici, "L'*Inchinata*."

10 "Hodie Maria Virgo coelos ascendit" and "Gaudent angeli, exsultant archangeli in Maria virgine." See Rachel Fulton, "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?' The Song of Songs as the Historia for the Office of the Assumption," *Mediaeval Studies* 60–61 (1998–99): 82–85; René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 1 (Rome: Herder, 1963), 282–89; Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, vol. 78 (Paris, 1895), 798–800.

11 Zappi, *Annali e Memorie di Tivoli*, 83–85. Zappi does not mention the bridge ceremony, so we cannot say with certainty when this rite originated; however, the apotropaic practice of throwing ceremonial objects into bodies of water has ancient origins and is known elsewhere in medieval Italy, such as in Venice, where every May at the Feast of Sensa the doge threw a gold ring into the lagoon to symbolize Venice's rule over, and symbolic marriage to, the sea.

12 Rebekah Perry, "The Medieval *Inchinata* Procession at Tivoli: Ritual Construction of Civic Identity in the Age of the Commune," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, forthcoming March 2017.

13 Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli."

world: he that followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life"); in the two stags below Christ's feet, drinking from the four rivers representing the Gospels and the message of Christ's redeeming grace; in the scene of Mary's Dormition/Assumption; and in the scene of John preaching, which evokes the apocryphal sermon the Evangelist delivered at his grave, supplicating the Lord as "the root of immortality and the fount of incorruption."¹⁴ The *Inchinata*'s bridge ritual also references salvation through Christ, as does the foot washing at the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni. The latter recalls the New Testament scene in the house of the Pharisee in which a penitent woman washes Christ's feet with her tears and dries them with her hair and he tells her she is forgiven of her sins (Luke 7:36–50).¹⁵

Within the *Inchinata* procession's atonement theology are embedded apotropaic archetypes. These are expressed in the rogation elements of the ritual. In medieval Europe, Rogation Day processions circled cities and towns, reciting litanies, penitential hymns, and prayers, and supplicating God to bless the crops and proffer protection from outside enemies. The rogations were rooted in the ancient *Robigalia*, a ritual procession performed to protect the fields during the annual agricultural festival.¹⁶ The *Inchinata* is evocative of the rogation processions in its circumambulation of the city (Fig. 6.3) with psalm-chanting and litanies and in its pauses at key topographical landmarks corresponding to the four cardinal directions for Gospel readings and recitations of supplicatory antiphons and responses.

The other meaning of the twelfth-century *Inchinata* was civic. Modern scholars theorize that Rome exported the cult of the Acheropita and the Assumption procession to Lazio around the beginning of the twelfth century as part of a papal campaign to codify liturgical practice and secure loyalty in this region, a papal stronghold.¹⁷ Those ceremonies and their cult images

¹⁴ See Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 120 and n. 56.

¹⁵ See William Tronzo, "Apse Decoration, the Liturgy, and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, ed. William Tronzo (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989), 182; and Kirstin Noreen, "Revealing the Sacred," 233, 234.

¹⁶ Franklin Toker, *On Holy Ground: Liturgy, Architecture and Urbanism in the Cathedral and the Streets of Medieval Florence* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 137; Enrico Parlato, "Le icone in processione," in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, ed. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca book, 2000), 70.

¹⁷ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 327; Brenda Bolton, "Except the Lord Keep the City": Towns in the Papal States at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," in *Church and City 1000–1500. Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. David

soon came to function as assertions of civic identity as the newly independent municipal communes of the 'hinterland' sought increasing political autonomy.

My research adds to this body of scholarship by testing this assertion—which heretofore has remained largely theoretical—to ascertain if and how it applies in specific communities with idiomatic histories and topographies. I discovered that while elements of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession were inspired by the analogous spectacle in Rome and by contemporary social and civic phenomena that accounted for the latter's changes over time, the two events had many differences; the performative details of each were affected by local events and distinctive cityscapes. My reconstruction of the medieval route and performance of Tivoli's *Inchinata* within the context of contemporary topography, political tensions, and historical events suggests that the procession was a unique, site-specific ritual that drew on multiple sources. It conflated borrowings from Rome (a ceremonial image and certain liturgical elements) with a native rogation-style apotropaic ritual that incorporated foundation narratives embedded in local landmarks and topography. Civic leaders may have used this amalgamation to consciously invoke the New Jerusalem—through activation of the latent cosmographical choreography of the procession that echoed contemporary schematic depictions of that holy city—as an appeal to divine authority for Tivoli's salvation, and thus justification for self-rule.¹⁸ But in the course of my research I observed something more, something that came to form the premise of the present study. Details in the late medieval and early modern textual sources for the *Inchinata* procession—which are supported by elements of the procession's modern liturgy—coincide with contemporary changes in Tivoli's social structure and built environment, suggesting evolving meanings for the spectacle, which we shall now consider.

Trade Guilds, Confraternities, and a Transforming Cityscape

Tivoli's Assumption procession was most likely introduced in the city through episcopal channels. It would thus have originally featured the clergy, echoing the conceptualization and performance of its counterpart in Rome at that time. Textual sources indicate that by the fourteenth century, however, with rapid political and economic modernization, professional guilds and religious

Abulafia et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 214–15; Hans Belting, "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century," in Tronzo, ed., *Italian Church Decoration*, 36–41.

¹⁸ Perry, "The Medieval *Inchinata* Procession at Tivoli."

confraternities had taken center stage as the featured actors in both cities' processions. These brotherhoods played an active role in shaping the message and scenography of the spectacles by exploiting them as vehicles for reinforcing institutional hierarchies and by founding charitable hospitals and hospices that became some of the key staging areas for the processions' ceremonies. In Rome in the fourteenth century, the Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum founded at the Lateran a hospital dedicated to Sant'Angelo.¹⁹ This hospital became the stopping place for the first of a series of foot-washing rituals with the Acheropita icon in the procession. This was an obvious model for Tivoli, where from the early fourteenth century the Inchinata's foot washing with the Savior triptych took place at the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni, also founded by local confraternities. In Tivoli, however, there was another phenomenon occurring: by the fourteenth century, the many hospitals and charitable institutions founded and patronized by local lay societies had formed a ring around the city, coinciding with the Inchinata procession route. I contend that this influenced the way the procession was conceptualized and performed in Tivoli. I shall now turn my attention to these brotherhoods and the manner in which their involvement restyled the spectacle.

Late medieval Tiburtine municipal statutes, dating to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, designate the order to be followed in the Inchinata procession by the city's trade guilds.²⁰ The ordinance places the greengrocers at the head of the procession, behind the Savior triptych. The greengrocers are followed by the wagoners, millers, carpenters, shoemakers, butchers, merchants, ironsmiths, notaries, and plowmen, in that order, with each guild carrying a *dupplerium*, or wax votive candle. This ordering of the guilds is not random; it reflects the relative prestige of each professional brotherhood within the community and reveals the procession to be by that time a microcosm of the city's social and economic hierarchy.

The hierarchical nature of the Tiburtine arrangement is underscored by a similar regulation in Rome. A stone inscription in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori on Rome's Campidoglio (seat of the medieval Senate) prescribes the order to be followed by the professional guilds behind "the holy image" (the Acheropita) in that city's Assumption procession.²¹ The inscrip-

19 For a concise history of the hospital and the Società dei Raccomandati's connections to it, see Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space."

20 *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae*, fol. 24r.

21 See a summary of the inscription in Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 501–2. According to Belting, the inscription probably dates from the early sixteenth century but reproduces an earlier decree that the magistrate had had inscribed permanently in his stone seat.

tion explicitly states that the purpose of the regulation is to avoid conflicts among the guilds and that “those who are closer to the image have a higher rank.” The inscription then lists twenty-five professions, along with a fine of twenty-five gold *scudi* for violation of the designated order. Thus by the late Middle Ages the protagonists of Lazio’s Assumption processions were not clerics but secular brotherhoods, each of which had its place in a strict hierarchy that mirrored that of the larger institutionalized social structure of the commune, comprised of an increasingly diversified, commercial middle class.

Religious confraternities, whose membership often drew primarily or exclusively from a particular trade guild, also came to play a central role in Tivoli’s annual Assumption procession, as happened in Rome. All three of Tivoli’s earliest confraternities with an expressly religious function are mentioned as featured players in Zappi’s sixteenth-century description of the procession. These are the Confraternity of Santo Spirito (documented from 1320²²), the Confraternity of the Annunziata (documented from 1321²³), and the Confraternity of the Savior (documented unequivocally from the 1380s²⁴ but implied already in 1305 by the reference in the city statutes of that year to “the men who go with the Savior in procession”²⁵). Zappi’s account illustrates how over time the pageantry of the procession became more elaborate and the role of the city’s confraternities and trade guilds as ‘actors’ in the spectacle ever more central. Zappi’s records that in the procession:

all the artisans bring their *talami* [portable processional apparatuses] to piazza S. Lorenzo at the cathedral of the city. These *talami* are decorated according to each craft, with a fire lighted inside, carried by four porters each. All the officials of the guilds carry a white lighted torch of at least four pounds. In order after these are the officials of the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista, of the Annunziata, of S. Maria del Ponte, of S. Maria della Oliva, of S. Rocco and finally the most noble, the confraternity of the Salvatore, with all the lords, officials, and magistrates of the city, with the governor and judge of the municipality. They go two by two, according to the customs and precedence of the city of Rome, all with

22 See Giuseppe Cascioli, “Un antico inventario di beni in Tivoli di proprietà della Basilica Vaticana coi nomi dei possessori dell’anno 1320,” *Bollettino di studi storici ed archeologici di Tivoli* 2 (1920): 37, n. 5.

23 Rome, Archivio Generale della Congregazione della Missione (hereafter ACM), 5.5.1, fol. 127.

24 Rome, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASR), Ospedale del Salvatore, cass. 445, n. 14; ACT, Sezione Preunitarie, *Testamentum*, fol. 147v.

25 See n. 7, above.

lighted torches in hand, of such beautiful type and style, and they count in the number of 120 torches, all white, except the men and confratelli of the company of S. Maria della Oliva who carry green, and the company of S. Rocco who carry red, because this is the old custom.²⁶

These confraternities were not just featured participants in the *Inchinata* procession; as founders and sponsors of hospitals and charitable institutions, they were also shapers of the urban landscape within which the spectacle unfolded, which in turn affected the nuances of the ritual's performance and meaning. The impetus for the founding of hospitals by confraternities was the example set by the new urban mendicant orders. The do-it-yourself spirituality of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, centering on discipline and good works, was inspired by the principle of *imitatio Christi*, which first gained major currency in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Benedictine and Cistercian communities as a model for behavior and devotion. The paradigm had older origins, and in that early form was a matter of man's divinization—his participation in the resurrection by assimilating himself to Christ as the image of God.²⁷ Later, *imitatio Christi* came to focus more on Christ's humanity and the emulation of his earthly life and good works.²⁸ After the twelfth century, the ideal of imitating Christ increasingly entered the main stream of late medieval spirituality and became equated with the Christian way of life.²⁹ It was this model that was promulgated with special enthusiasm by the Franciscans and other mendicant orders beginning with their arrival on the scene in the thirteenth century.

One way *imitatio Christi* was enacted in urban centers was through the founding and operating of hospitals. In Tivoli the confraternity of the Annunziata founded a church and hospital in the city by 1348. Two decades later, the complex was moved to the Santa Croce neighborhood, where the deconsecrated church still stands today in Piazza Annunziata (Fig. 6.11 A).³⁰ The confraternity of Santo Spirito followed the example of the hospitallers of Santo Spirito in Saxia in Rome, founded at the end of the twelfth century under Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) and organized on the model of the Augustinians. The Tiburtine

²⁶ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 834–35.

²⁷ Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ" in *Three Studies of Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 146.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 169–70.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 218.

³⁰ Rome, Archivio della Curia Generalizia dei Frati Minori, Archivio di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, cass. 25, n. 25; ACM, 5.5.1, fols. 9–10.

foundation's original seat was established sometime before 1320 in the southwest corner of the city at Porta del Colle.³¹ In 1337 it was moved to Porta dei Prati³² (Fig. 6.11 C) where the Inchinata's foot-washing ritual with the Savior triptych takes place (in 1404 the hospital was taken over by the Confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista, affiliated with the Dominicans³³; they rededicated the complex to San Giovanni and the nearby gate also adopted the new name).³⁴ Surviving records of the Confraternity of the Savior are few, but its activities must have been similar to those of its counterpart in Rome, the Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, founded around the cult of the Lateran Acheropita in the fourteenth century. Besides maintaining the Acheropita and carrying it in the August Assumption procession,³⁵ the Roman society was responsible for visiting the poor and sick at the hospitals the confraternity operated at the Lateran and Colosseum.³⁶ A 1462 chronicle of the confraternity's activities further elaborates on these charitable occupations, specifying that the purpose of the Lateran hospital was to receive pilgrims, the poor, and the sick; to heal the body and mind; and to bury the dead.³⁷ It was this hospital that was the site of the first foot-washing ritual with the Acheropita.

Other Tiburtine lay societies and pious individuals built and operated institutions for the poor, the sick, and weary pilgrims traveling along the Via Tiburtina Valeria, the east-west artery connecting the Adriatic coast with Rome. These new charitable institutions were concentrated at the gates and adjoining roads, creating a circular formation around the city inside the walls. Of the twelve hospitals documented in Tivoli at the end of the fourteenth century, eleven were on or adjacent to the course of the procession (Fig. 6.11). The largest and most important of these hospitals were situated at the city gates. Since all the Inchinata's ritual pauses took place at the gates, hospitals now provided the backdrops—or stage sets—for these ceremonies.

31 See n. 22, above.

32 Vincenzo Pacifici, ed., *L'archivio tiburtino di S. Giovanni Evangelista*, vol. 2 of *Studi e fonti per la storia della regione tiburtina* (Tivoli: Società di San Giovanni Evangelista, 1922), 28–31, doc. XVII; 39–41, doc. XXIV.

33 *Ibid.*, 3, n. 1.

34 For more on the history of Tivoli's medieval hospitals and a critical discussion of the primary sources, see Renzo Mosti, "Istituti assistenziali e ospitalieri nel medioevo a Tivoli," *Atti e memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte* 54 (1981): 87–205.

35 ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1006, chp. 11.

36 ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1006, fols. 51–19r.

37 ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, fols. 8–9.

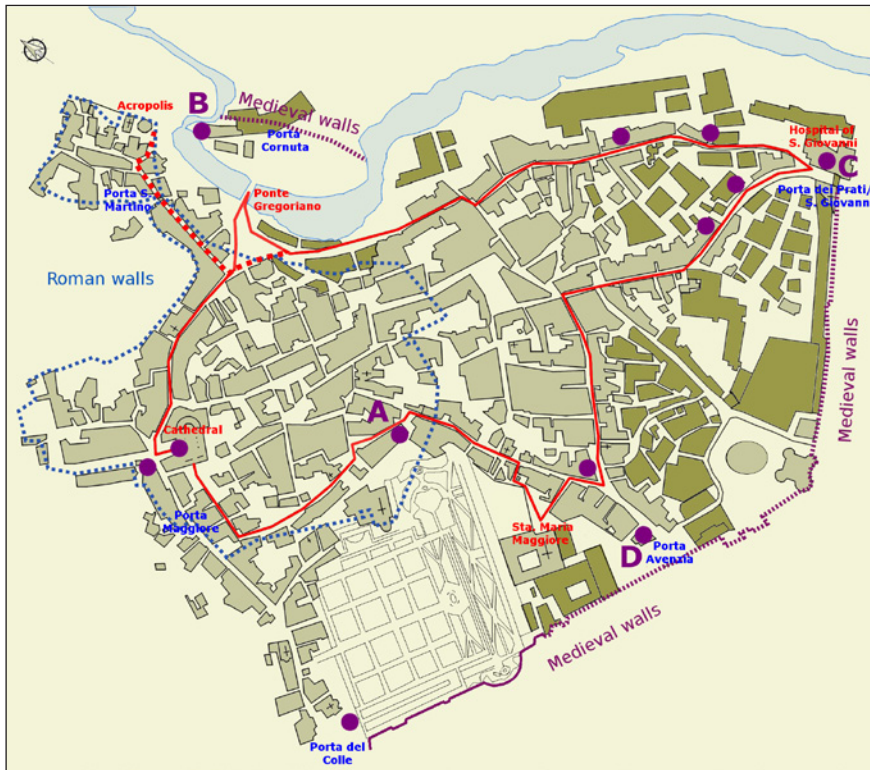


FIGURE 6.11 Map of Tivoli's historic center. Purple dots indicate locations of the city's hospitals in the fourteenth century. PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.

From at least 1292 the hospital of Cornuta (later Santa Maria del Ponte) (Fig. 6.11 B) stood at the gate on the far side of the bridge connecting the acropolis to the small outlying borgo of Cornuta (see Fig. 6.5; the modern hotel facing the Temple of the Sibyl from across the gorge sits on this very site). It was here on this bridge that the Savior panel blessed the city during the medieval procession's first stop (since the nineteenth century the ritual has been performed on the new bridge built a couple of dozen meters upriver [Fig. 6.6, Fig. 6.3 B]). From 1337 the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni, where the foot-washing ritual takes place, has stood at Porta dei Prati/San Giovanni (Fig. 6.11 C). And from at least 1320 the hospital of San Giacomo stood at Porta Avenza (Fig. 6.11 D), adjacent to the piazza of Santa Maria Maggiore (Fig. 6.3 D)—the destination of the procession and the site of the ritual bow between the icons (Fig. 6.10). Mid-sixteenth-century legal documents relating to Santa Maria Maggiore indicate that Tivoli was not only a way-station for travelers headed for Rome

but also a pilgrimage destination in its own right, albeit a minor one: testimonies of several Tiburtini complain that Cardinal Ippolito D'Este, in building his famous gardens abutting the church, tore down what is described as an ancient *scala sancta* (holy stair), which pilgrims ascended on their knees to the church.³⁸

Thus by the fourteenth century, the *Inchinata* procession and the Savior triptych were not just making a penitential/apotropaic circumambulation of the city walls and gates, or celebrating civic identity and solidarity; they were also, in a sense, making a circuit of the city's charitable institutions, particularly the largest and most important ones situated at the gates, which were set up to receive pilgrims. I believe that the advent of these institutions and their conspicuous positioning played a role in contemporary conceptualizations of the procession and its rituals. This was the product of the ongoing dialogue between the procession and the built environment, the interactive relationship, to continue my metaphor, among the actors, the stage set, and the script (the liturgy and its choreography). As the charitable brotherhoods were mediating the performance, they were also, consciously or unconsciously, restyling it in a manner that expressed a particular idiom of contemporary popular devotion: the allegorical pilgrimage.

Christ as Pilgrim

The subject of conceptual pilgrimage in the late Middle Ages has typically been examined from the standpoint of an imagined journey to the Holy Land for monks, who, by nature of their cloistered existence or ministerial duties, were prevented from making an actual pilgrimage. These monastics were aided by visual media like maps and labyrinth pavements that allowed them to

38 For the published depositions, see "Querele contro il Card. Ippolito d'Este sporte dai frati francescani e dai cittadini di Tivoli," *Bollettino di studi storici ed archeologici di Tivoli* anno I, n. 4 (Oct. 1919): 167–68; anno II, n. 5 (Jan 1920): 33–34; anno II, n. 6 (April, 1920): 68–70; anno II, n. 7 (July 1920): 118–19; and anno II, n. 8 (Oct 1920): 158–61. Though not explicitly stated in the documentary record, I presume the pilgrims were drawn by the Madonna delle Grazie icon, whose cult enjoyed a long history at Santa Maria Maggiore. Dating to the second half of the thirteenth century, it was a copy of the famous Madonna Avvocata image at the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome, and was believed to have miraculous powers in its own right. See "The Cult of the Madonna delle Grazie and the Franciscan Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore," in Rebekah Perry, "Sacred Image, Civic Spectacle, and Ritual Space: Tivoli's *Inchinata* Procession and Icons in Urban Liturgical Theater in Late Medieval Italy" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2011).

spiritually ‘visit’ the sacred sites of Christ’s life, death, and resurrection.³⁹ I propose to think about the paradigm of the conceptual pilgrimage in a different light, one that considers its exploration and application among laypeople in their own urban environments. And not just in the sense of a meditational exercise, but of physical performance. In what follows I will argue that Tivoli’s late medieval and early modern *Inchinata* procession evoked for participants and viewers an allegorical journey in which the Savior triptych took on the didactic narrative role of pious wandering stranger or pilgrim.

Vincenzo Pacifici briefly suggested a characterization of Tivoli’s Savior triptych as a pilgrim in 1929.⁴⁰ Pacifici, however, cited no historical sources for this interpretation nor attempted to contextualize it within the contemporary cultural milieu or larger topographical scheme of the historic city. Nevertheless, it is an insightful interpretation that bears further exploration. Indeed, a number of factors provide evidence for this model. The metaphor of Christ as a traveling stranger or pilgrim was common in medieval religious discourse. Its origins lie in the New Testament. In Matthew 25:35–36 Jesus says to his disciples, “For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me.”⁴¹ The Emmaus story in the Gospel of Luke was another inspiration for the metaphor. Jesus appears as a fellow traveler to two disciples journeying toward the town of Emmaus on their way to Jerusalem. That evening in Emmaus the pilgrims share their supper with Christ, who then reveals to them his true identity. The allegorical value of the story enjoyed widespread currency in late medieval popular religion.⁴² It was read in the liturgy on Easter Monday and often staged as an Easter drama known as the *Peregrinus* (pilgrim) play. It was also used as a topos in late medieval literature, including in Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and *Vita Nuova*.

Christ-as-pilgrim was also an iconographic conceit frequently used in depictions of the Emmaus story in late medieval central Italian art. Examples include a panel in Duccio’s *Maestà* altarpiece in Siena, a fresco in the church of San Pellegrino (St. Pilgrim) in Bominaco, a scene painted on a cross in the Museo

39 See esp. Daniel K. Connolly, “Imagined Pilgrimage in Gothic Art: Maps, Manuscripts and Labyrinths” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1998).

40 Pacifici, “L’*Inchinata*.”

41 As worded in the Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible.

42 On the theological and iconographic tradition of the Emmaus episode, see William J. Travis, “The Journey to Emmaus Capital at Saint-Lazare of Autun,” in *Art and Architecture of the Late Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 187–215.

Nazionale di San Matteo in Pisa, and a fresco by Fra Angelico now in the Museo di San Marco in Florence. In these works Christ is depicted in variations of the distinctive costume and attributes of a penitential pilgrim: a short hair-tunic or poor garment that leaves the breast naked, a broad-brimmed hat, a walking staff, a flask, a scrip inscribed with the shell motif of Santiago de Compostela, and bare feet. In the Fra Angelico fresco, the two disciples in the scene with Christ are depicted as Dominican friars, recognizable by their distinctive white habits and blue cloaks. A later monumental terracotta frieze (made in the early sixteenth century) on the thirteenth-century Ospedale del Ceppo in Pistoia features the hospital's rector, Certosan monk Leonardo Buonafede, on his knee washing the right foot of a seated figure of Christ wearing a pilgrim's hair shirt and holding a walking staff (Fig. 6.12).

In Tivoli, the scene at the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni suggests that the late medieval and early modern *Inchinata* procession contained elements of this allegorical paradigm. Before the hospital was founded by the confraternity of Santo Spirito in 1337, the site hosted a church dedicated to St. Christopher. Since a foot-washing ritual is documented in the Roman Assumption procession from the early twelfth century⁴³—and this procession was a model for Tivoli's *Inchinata*—it is probable that the Tiburtine procession also had a foot-washing ritual from its inception in the twelfth century. The church of St. Christopher was the most obvious location for the ceremony, given that site's special significance in Tivoli's metaphysical topography: it is located at the gate at the terminus of the city's east-west axis (Fig. 6.11 C); like the gates corresponding to the other three cardinal directions of the city, Porta dei Prati/San Giovanni had a cosmographical role in the *Inchinata* procession as a ritual place for prayers and gospel readings. This pronounced rogation formula hints at some kind of preexisting local apotropaic rite into which the *Inchinata* was absorbed when it was introduced from Rome.⁴⁴

Thus there is little doubt that a foot-washing ritual with Tivoli's Savior icon was always part of the *Inchinata* procession and that it took place at this site. And given that the corresponding Roman ceremony in the twelfth century—when the custom was most likely introduced in Tivoli—was performed by the pope, we can presume that the Tiburtine ceremony in its early form in the twelfth century was performed by the bishop or cathedral canons. The performance of the scene subsequently shifted to confraternities, which were

43 Canon Benedict, *Liber Politicus*, copied in *Liber Censum*: see Louis Duchesne and Paul Fabre, eds., *Le Liber Censum de l'église romaine (Registres des papes du XIII siècle)* (Rome: De Boccard, 1910), 158–59.

44 Perry, "The Medieval *Inchinata* Procession at Tivoli."



FIGURE 6.12 *Santi Buglioni, terracotta frieze of the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia, with scene of rector Leonardo Buonafede washing feet of Christ depicted as a pilgrim, c. 1525.*

PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY.

communicating new values and a new message. When the Confraternity of Santo Spirito established itself at Porta dei Prati/San Giovanni in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and built one of the city's most prominent hospitals and pilgrim way-stations, the foot-washing ritual seems to have taken on a new significance. Now, the scriptural foot washing that likely resonated with the most immediacy in the minds of participants and spectators was the episode in John 13:4–14 in which Christ washes the feet of the apostles at the Last Supper. This scene is associated in Christian discourse with Christ's example of humility to his disciplines.⁴⁵

Practiced in Benedictine monasteries already in the eleventh century, the ritual of foot washing as a charitable act for pilgrims and the poor became widespread in the later Middle Ages in urban hospitals operated by mendicants and lay religious societies. It was one application of the model of *imitatio Christi*. Here, as John Henderson explains, "the association between Christ and the poor refers to the idea of Christ the Pilgrim; in the context of the hospital the patient is seen as sharing Christ's sufferings as a stage towards salvation. The hospital is therefore presented as the institutional embodiment of two of

45 See Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," 185.

the Seven Works of Mercy: housing travelers and pilgrims, and tending to the sick.”⁴⁶ Henderson observes that late medieval hospital statutes even use such rhetorical language; for example, the statutes of 1374 of the Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova remark that the poor were “almost like Christ in their persons.”⁴⁷

A mid-fourteenth-century edition of the *Liber regulae Sancti Spiritus*, the rule book of the Santo Spirito hospitallers, gives an explicit directive for the sisters of the order to wash the feet of the poor every Thursday in hospital.⁴⁸ This practice is illustrated by a miniature accompanying these instructions (Fig. 6.13). Since the hospital of Santo Spirito in Tivoli followed the rule of the Roman mother house, we can assume this foot-washing custom was practiced there too. When Tivoli’s Santo Spirito community ceded operation of the hospital to the Confraternity of San Giovanni in 1404, the charitable mendicant model—now represented by the Dominicans—continued. According to Zappi’s sixteenth-century account of the *Inchinata* procession:

The Savior arrives at the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista [at the hospital of San Giovanni], before whose door stands a friar of the Dominican order adorned in cloak and stole who takes in hand a bowl of rose water and washes the holy feet of our Salvatore, an act performed anciently, a ceremony done with good faith and holy charity...And while this ceremony is performed the men of the company of S. Giovanni stand with an infinity of lighted torches while the Savior passes.⁴⁹

The liturgy of today’s *Inchinata* procession offers further indications of how the ritual pause at the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni evolved to emphasize an explicit prescriptive model of Christian conduct in imitation of Jesus’s earthly ministry. It also indicates a heightened sense of pageantry consistent with the manner in which confraternities mediated public religious devotion through ever more innovative and theatrical expressions. These are valuable insights because Tivoli is the only place in Lazio where such a ceremony, once widespread in the region, survives.⁵⁰ It therefore offers clues to the

46 John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 162.

47 *Ibid.*, 161–62.

48 ASR, Ospedale di S. Spirito, ms. 3193 (*Liber regulae Sancti Spiritus*), chp. XLII.

49 Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 84.

50 Even in Subiaco, where what appears to be a simplified version of the medieval Assumption procession survives, no ritual foot washing with the Savior panel is performed. It was most likely a part of the original procession and then later discontinued.



FIGURE 6.13 *Female member of Confraternity of Santo Spirito in Saxia washing feet of a pauper, Liber regulae Sancti Spiritus, Archivio di Stato di Roma, ms. 9193, fol. 128r. PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI E DEL TURISMO.*

liturgical and performative elements of Rome's medieval Assumption procession—about which little is known of the foot-washing liturgy—as well as of the Assumption processions in many other urban centers of late medieval and early modern Lazio where the tradition has disappeared.⁵¹

As the Savior triptych arrives at the courtyard and is set down facing the hospital door in the midst of the crowd of faithful (Fig. 6.7), the captain of the Confraternity of the Savior removes a bundle of flowers from the foot of the icon and gives it to the chaplain of the hospital to distribute among the sick. Approaching the hospital door, the captain kneels on the steps and kisses its threshold (Fig. 6.14). Pacifici in 1929 described this ritual as the “bacio al dolore,”

⁵¹ The eroded, sawn-off, or much repainted bottoms of many of Lazio's medieval Savior panels indicate repeated ritual foot washings. See Wolfgang Volbach, “Il Cristo di Sutri e la venerazione del ss. Salvatore nel Lazio,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 17 (1940–41): 97, 110; Parlato, “La processione di Ferragosto,” 60; Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous,” 243.

or “kiss of pain,” and explains it as “a symbol of the power and wealth that bow to misery and humility, to human anguish that makes all equal, and [it is done] in fraternal ardor of the charity of the Savior.”⁵²

While we do not know when this particular gesture originated, it clearly expresses the meaning and intent the hospital scene has had since the late Middle Ages. The liturgy performed in conjunction with it underscores this. The hospital chaplain approaches the Savior image and tosses rosewater on its feet with an aspergillum (Fig. 6.8) and a reader recites a vernacular version of the Gregorian supplicatory chant *Deus a quo desideria*: “O God, from whom come holy desires, just counsel and good works, bestow on us your servants that peace that the world cannot give: make our hearts follow your desire and free from the oppression of guilt, under your protection we may enjoy tranquil days.” Following the prayer, the chaplain censes the icon and the faithful sing the hymn “Dov’è carità e amore qui c’è Dio” (Where charity and love are, God is). This is a modern vernacular translation of the medieval Gregorian hymn “Ubi caritas et amor,” which was sung as an antiphon when a priest or bishop washed the feet of congregation members on Holy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter.⁵³ After the hymn is sung, a reader recites from the apostle Paul’s letter in the second chapter of Philippians, which describes Christ taking on the humble guise of humanity for his earthly ministry (“For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross”⁵⁴). Then a reader recites from the second chapter of the Gospel of John the account of Jesus washing the feet of his apostles at the Last Supper. The liturgy for the scene is then concluded with the reading of Matthew 25: 35–36.

The road to Emmaus/Jerusalem is a metaphor for the road to salvation. In this metaphor Christ travels along the road and invites the faithful to journey with him. Tivoli’s Assumption procession has always been fundamentally about redemption and can be viewed as a liturgical *mis-en-scène* of this journey. Over time this was conceptualized and expressed in new ways. By the late Middle Ages, the ‘journey’s’ sojourn at the hospital of Santo Spirito/San Giovanni functioned as a didactic sermon that cast the Savior—embodied in his effigy—in the role not just of Savior but of model and teacher. As the pilgrim or traveling stranger, the effigy functioned as both the object of physical

52 Pacifici, “L’Inchinata,” 1429.

53 See *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 2 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1961), 24–26.

54 As worded in the Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible.



FIGURE 6.14 *Luigi Gaudenzi, pastel illustrating 'bacio al dolore' at hospital of San Giovanni during Inchinata procession, Tivoli, 1920s. PHOTO: REBEKAH PERRY, WITH SPECIAL THANKS TO OWNER VINCENZO PACIFICI FOR GRACIOUSLY MAKING THE PAINTING AVAILABLE TO HER.*

Christian mercy and the metaphysical mediator of that mercy's salvific corollary. An integral component of this morality play is its interactive relationship with the hospital complex. In addition to what the hospital's presence symbolizes for the ritual, its physical structure functions as a stage set, providing spaces and props for the choreography of the performance. The disposition of the courtyard (Fig. 6.8) with the entrances of the hospital and church facing each other and the Savior triptych positioned in between, and the city gate comprising the third wall in the rear, forms a kind of theater-in-the-round in which the faithful too are participants. The ritual blurs the line between actor and spectator.

The centrality of the pilgrim allegory and its elaborately dramatized narration and staging, already hinted at in Zappi's early sixteenth-century account, were likely products of the institutional and infrastructural innovations that transformed Italian urban life and popular religion beginning in the thirteenth century. This is underscored by the extent to which public processions were codified under civil laws and norms in this period. It is telling that it is not ecclesiastical records but municipal and confraternal statutes that are the richest sources of information on Lazio's Assumption processions and their ritual use of cult images in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. These texts carefully controlled and regulated minute details of the performances, sometimes even specifying monetary fines for non-compliance.

The statutes of the Viterbo butchers guild of 1384,⁵⁵ for example, mandate that members accompany the guild's officials in the Assumption procession, each carrying a candle, and those who fail to fulfill the obligation be fined ten *soldi*.⁵⁶ The commune's municipal statutes of 1469 specify that all the guilds of the city are to gather at the sound of the bell in the main square to follow the Savior icon in procession.⁵⁷ The statutes also mandate the obligations of the city officials: they are to make an offering of two candles of twenty-five pounds in the church of Santa Maria Nuova while Mass is said, and to accompany the Savior icon from there to the cathedral with a new wax candle.⁵⁸ The statutes of 1379 of the greengrocers of Tarquinia specify that guild members are to make an offering of a candle of pure wax weighing thirty pounds. With this candle they

55 Viterbo, Biblioteca degli Ardenti, ms. II G I 4.

56 As transcribed from the original text (see n. 55, above) by Giuseppe Petrilli in his university thesis: Petrilli, "L'arte del macello minore di Viterbo" (University thesis, Università di Roma La Sapienza), 1966–67, 118.

57 Corrado Buzzi, ed., *Lo Statute del comune di Viterbo del 1469* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2004), 360–61.

58 Ibid., 318.

are to accompany the Savior icon in procession and then conduct it back to its church.⁵⁹ The Anagni city statutes of 1517, copied from an earlier version possibly dating to the fourteenth century, declare that on the eve of the Assumption an image of the Savior is to be carried from the church of Sant'Andrea to the cathedral, accompanied by the city officials and confraternities.⁶⁰

These regulations reveal a picture of a true, fully formed bourgeois religiosity. They are exemplary of the larger trend in the late Middle Ages of regulating public behavior through civil law as the communes' societies and economies became more complex and diverse and their governance more sophisticated. Contemporary statutes—composed by civic authorities who were likely some of the same men who were leading the communes' religious confraternities—reveal very real anxieties about public behaviors that could undermine social stability. In addition to the ubiquitous prohibitions on public brawling, drunkenness, curfew violation, theft, rape, and murder, the late medieval municipal statutes of Lazio and elsewhere in Italy frequently contain penalties for blaspheming God or the saints through verbal profanation or physical damage to their cult images. These penalties are shockingly severe and include public beatings and the amputation of a tongue or hand.⁶¹ In the late medieval city, maintaining public order was a priority. In many ways confraternities and trade guilds were the models and mediators of this order. Tivoli exemplifies this phenomenon. The city's lay brotherhoods used the *Inchinata* procession as a public platform dually for reinforcing their status within the community and promoting public values and models of behavior that both served the common interest and fulfilled Christian duty as defined at that time.

Conclusion

As a pilgrimage destination and way-station on the Via Tiburtina Valeria, Tivoli saw, beginning in the thirteenth century, the rise of hospitals and charitable institutions along its city wall, with concentrations at its gates. The circular placement of these institutions synchronized with the *Inchinata* procession route and the sites of its ritual ceremonies, suggesting an evolving symbolism for the procession in an evolving urban culture. The new topography and

59 Francesco Guerri, ed., *Lo Statuto dell'arte degli ortolani dell'anno 1379* (Rome: G. Bertero, 1909), 15–17.

60 ASR, Statuto di Anagni, Stat. 640, fols. 316r–17v. See also Rafaella Ambrosi De Magistris, *Lo Statuto di Anagni* (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1880), 14–15.

61 See, for example, ACT, Statuto del 1305, chps. 144–45.

religious impulses of the urban lay brotherhoods added a moralizing message to the existing civic and supplicatory/salvific functions of the procession. Ritual movement through a landscape of ubiquitous hospitals and charitable institutions reinforced consciousness of Jesus's New Testament role as a model of Christian love and charity. In providing stage sets for the *Inchinata's* ceremonial stops, these new institutions added depth and complexity to the purpose of the procession and the meaning of its protagonist, the Savior triptych. The image now, in addition to being an apotropaic civic protector and a mediator of salvation, functioned as a kind of exemplar of contemporary Christian conduct. In its journey through an urban landscape that served as a metaphor for the universal Christian experience, the effigy pilgrim received the very mercy, shelter, and succor that Christ taught during his earthly ministry and which the mendicant friars and their associated confraternities and lay societies sought to emulate. This allegory was expressed in increasingly elaborate dramatic and narrative elements that evoke a kind of mobile morality play in which contemporary models of bourgeois Christianity were 'performed' by the image. At the same time, the staging of the 'play' was codified by municipal law with increasing rigor and specificity to visually reinforce the social hierarchy and promote public order.