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Animated Sculptures
of the
Crucified Christ

in the Religious Culture
of the Latin Middle Ages

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Acknowledgments

Introduction

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, equipped with mechanisms allowing movement of selected parts of the Saviour's body – arms, legs, head, eyes, and mouth – can be regarded as one of the most interesting manifestations of the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages. Rendering faithfully the features of the human body which relate to its movement, they stand apart from other sculptural images of the crucified Christ in their exceptional degree of realism. Used throughout the liturgical year, they played a special part in the *paschal triduum* period, when they were used in theatricalised liturgical and paraliturgical ceremonies, as well as in mystery plays.

To date, there has been no study presenting animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from a broad, pan-European perspective. The available works examine them mainly within the local context of a particular country or region of the Continent. The existing registers of artefacts of this type, analyses of functions fulfilled by such sculptures and numerous studies pertaining to formal and stylistic aspects are owed mostly to art historians, who devoted a great deal of attention to these sculptures. The figures were also mentioned by theatre historians – usually on the margin of deliberations on the shape and course of theatricalised Holy Week liturgical ceremonies. References to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ can also be found in the works of historians, puppet theatre historians and ethnologists.

The aim of this study is to present, in a comprehensive way, the issues related to the functioning of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages. The dissertation touches on results made between the 12ᵗʰ and 16ᵗʰ centuries in Western and Central Europe, in countries under the influence of the Roman Church. The work presents the entire area where animated sculptures of the crucified Christ existed, and addresses issues related to their dating, style and construction. We will discuss how figures of this type functioned throughout the liturgical year, especially during Holy Week, and how they were perceived by the faithful. These considerations will be supplemented by discussion of the topic, poorly researched so far, of the

presence of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the religious culture of later periods – a presence confirming the vitality and permanence of medieval customs, which continue to be practised in some regions of the world to this day.

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ constitute a group of works which cannot be properly understood without conducting interdisciplinary research. The analysis of figures of this type, based on the findings of representatives of a chosen scientific discipline, would lead to the creation of a cursory, incomplete picture of the phenomenon they represented in the Middle Ages and in later periods. That is another reason why in this study the results of research conducted by art historians serve merely as a starting point and constitute one of several elements which allow us to reconstruct the part played by animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages.

CHAPTER I

The current state of research and nomenclature issues

1. The current state of research

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have recently become a topic of interest among researchers of medieval art. Apart from marginal mentions of individual relics in Austria,[1] the Czech Republic,[2] Slovakia,[3] Spain,[4] Germany,[5] Poland,[6] Portugal,[7] Switzerland,[8] and Italy,[9] we can state that the first study on the topic was written by Gesine and Johannes Taubert. Their work was entitled *Mittelalterliche Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen. Ein Beitrag zur Verwendung von Bildwerken in der Liturgie* and was published in 1969 in "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft".[10] In the context of previous publications, whose authors often neglected that the described sculptures feature moveable arms,[11] the Taubert's publication constitutes an insightful

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[1] Garzarolli von Thurnlackh, 1941, pp. 27-28, 97; Reiner, 1929; Woiserschläger-Mayer, 1964, p. 118.

[2] Kutal, 1962, p. 12.

[3] Kampis, 1932, p. 52; Lajta, 1960, p. 89; Radocsay, 1967, p. 213; *Vztunu nart...*, 1937, p. 42, cat. no. 206.

[4] Alcolea, 1958, p. 45; Ceballos-Escalera de, 1953, p. 52.

[5] Berliner, 1955, p. 198 (note 422); Breuer, 1959, p. 357; D'Achiardi, 1904, p. 357; Frodl, Macku, 1932, p. 60; Gurlitt, 1903, p. 22; Kautzsch, 1907, p. 42; Milesi, 1960, p. 210; Piel, 1964, p. 541; Roediger, 1938, p. 99 (note 66); Schädler, 1959, p. 50; Schildhauer, 1923, p. 122; Schornmüller, 1933, p. 147; Toesca, 1950, p. 331; Venturi, 1906, p. 866; Bode von, 1886, pp. 212-214; Bode von, Tschudi von, 1888, p. 11, cat. no. 25; Fabriczy von, 1909, p. 27; Schmarsow von, 1887, p. 141; Vöhosh, 1924, p. 105.

[6] Galicka, Sygietyńska, 1967, p. 23; Tomaszkiewicz, 1966, pp. 189, 190.

[7] Russell Cortez, 1962, p. 73-74.

[8] Baier-Futterer, 1936, pp. 73-74.

[9] Mesnil, 1904, p. 72; Paatz, 1931, pp. 360-361; Pietralunga da, 1926, p. 62; Procacci, 1933, pp. 233-238; Toscano, 1963, p. 66.

[10] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 79-121.

[11] A good example of this is the literature on the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ equipped with moveable arms and tongue which is kept in the Pinacoteca Comunale di Terni (origin:

analysis of the form, construction, origin and function of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Thus, to this day it remains the point of reference and a valuable source of information for anyone conducting research on these types of objects.[12]

The authors were the first to create a catalogue of the surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, including information on thirty-five examples from Austria, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Slovakia, Switzerland and Italy[13] (it lacks information on sculptures from Spain,[14]

chiesa di San Francesco, Terni). In 1910, Luigi Lanzi wrote about it: "Un valentissimo maestro, Giovanni Tedesco, sculpisce per la chiesa di San Francesco *un Crocifisso*, quasi a naturali grandezza di uomo. L'aiutante gallico, emaciato delle artrici sofferenze del martirii, splanca sulla croce solemnemente le braccia: il capo reclinato serba ancora una espressione di maestà: la bocca semiaperta par che lievemente respiri e il petto sembra ancora sollevarsi nell'ansia ultima dell'agonia, ma la palpebra dice che il martire è spento: non è chiusa, è caduta per rialzarsi mai più."; Lanzi, 1910, p. 70. The work was thoroughly described from the perspective of who it was created by and in its style in 1960 by Margrit Lisner, who also provides no information as to the figure's possessing movable arms and tongue: Lisner 1960, p. 184. In 1986, Paolo Rinaldi, while describing the collection of Pinacoteca Comunale di Terni, was the first to provide information about the sculpture's movable arms: "Il Cristo di dimensioni naturali pende agonizzanti dalla Croce. L'anatomia del corpo-disteso dal lungo martirio è perfetta: l'espressione del volto è dal un segno imponente e pietosa; morbido e ben reso è il petroma, e le braccia, meccanicamente articolate, sono condotte con tale perfezione da non lasciare innervosdere i punti di giuntura."; Rinaldi, 1986, p. 23. It is described in the context of other works in this study by Elvio Lunghi: "Il Cristo [referring to the work by Giovanni Tedesco from Basilica inferiore di San Francesco d'Assisi] ha le braccia ripiegabili, per poter essere trasformato in un 'Deposto' durante le funzioni del Venerdì Santo; dello stesso scultore si conoscono altri due 'Deposti'. L'uno ritratto nella Pinacoteca Comunale di Terni della locale chiesa di S. Francesco [...]"; Longhi, 2000, p. 123. Cf.: Casio, 2005, p. 225; Fratini, 2000, pp. 22, 39-41. To date, the literature on the sculpture in the Pinacoteca Comunale di Terni has failed to mention Christ's movable tongue. A detailed study by Bruno Bruni devoted to this sculpture has remained in preparing publication (Bruni, 2007; the author would like to express his most sincere gratitude to Mr Bruno Bruni for making his study available to him). A meaningful example of the lack of interest in the sculptures' movable elements is researchers' treatment of the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ created by Donatello for the Santa Croce Church in Florence. In the extensive literature devoted to it, only several passages contain information about the sculpture's having movable arms. The function of Donatello's sculpture, as proved by its construction, is usually not described. The possibility of the sculpture's use in Good Friday ceremonies is casually mentioned in, among others: Janson, 1957, p. 9; Kauffmann, 1935, p. 200; Paoletti, 1993, p. 88.

[12] This is evidenced by the fact that few studies on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ written after 1969 contain any new conclusions. Most researchers do not surpass the efforts of the Tauberts. The situation changed in the second half of the 1990s, when many new studies appeared containing new historical and source material, which allowed broadened scope of research.

[13] Additionally, as an appendix, they included information on five crucifixes known from source material.

[14] In those days, three examples of the type we are interested in were known. The first of these was the so-called *Cristo de los Gascones*, the sculpture imprecisely dated to the 12th century which is on display in the San Justo Church in Segovia as a figure of Christ in the Tomb. Though about the *Cristo de los Gascones* in brief, not treating it as a representation of the crucified Christ: Alcolea, 1958, p. 45; Ceballos-Escalera, 1953, p. 52. The second, a figure from the town of Aguilar, was

Poland[15] and Portugal,[16] which were being researched at the time). On the basis of the collected historical data, the researchers thoroughly analysed the function of the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, indicating in their introduction that the conclusions were possible by a comparison of the claims made by art historians with those made by the representatives of other disciplines, such as philologists and liturgical historians.[17] Thus, their publication places a strong emphasis on source material, especially records of liturgical Holy Week ceremonies practised during the Middle Ages.

The Tauberts refer to fragments of the *Ordinarium* from the Benedictine convent in Barking (1370), the *Ordinarium* from the Benedictine monastery in Prüfening (1489), the *Processionale* from a Florentine cathedral (1490) as well as a foundational document from Wittenberg relating to the local All Saints Church, *Die Stiftung der abnemung des bildniss vnsers liebn herrn vnd Seligmachern vom Creutz vnd wie die beschung des grabs von dem vierzehen manifestierßen zu Wittenberg in aller heyligen kirchen bescheen soll. 1517*. Based on these documents, they were able to reconstruct the procedure of the Holy Week *Depositio Crucis* ceremony, which recounted the events of Christ dying on the cross and his body being laid to rest. They paid particularly close attention to those fragments of the texts which mentioned those fragments of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ as part of the ceremony. In the course of their arguments, supported with references to other records of the *Depositio Crucis* from the Benedictine monasteries in Rheinau (15th century), Hirsau (early 12th century) and Prague (14th century), the Tauberts presented different variants of the ceremony, in which a cross was placed, sometimes together with a Host, into the tomb instead of a figure of Christ. The researchers also delineated the procedure for other ceremonies practised during Holy Week: *Adoratio Crucis* and *Elevatio Crucis*.

described in: Huidobro Serna, 1980 (first ed.: 1954), pp. 19-20, 38-39, 46-49, 52-58. The third, from the town of Liria, was mentioned in: Tormo, 1923, p. 184.

[15] The authors list an example from Moszczonów but date it to ca. 1700, referencing information from the *Catalogue of Works of Art in Poland* (Galicka, Sygietyńska, 1967, p. 23). It was mentioned in passing; in the context of short considerations on the reminiscence of medieval Holy Week ceremonies in the Modern era.

[16] Russell Cortez, 1967, p. 4.

[17] "Dem Philologen fehlt oft der Bearbeitung der Quellen häufig die notwendige Kenntnis ihrer Art, der Bestimmung ihrer Form, während dem Kunsthistoriker meist die philologischen Voraussetzungen für die Bearbeitung von Schriftquellen als die modernen des Arbeits versagt. Je nach nach der Verwendung von Kruzifixen mit schwenkbaren Armen anzulegen: der Kunsthistoriker der Denkmäler bearbeitend, die Philologe die erreichbaren Quellen auswertend. Im Verlauf der Arbeit reifte die Erkenntnis, daß die zu bewältigenden Probleme nicht allein in angelegte Studien zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Karfreitags- und Osterzeremonien zu lösen sind. Bei der Bearbeitung der sich darauf beziehenden Schriftquellen wurde die in der Liturgiegeschichte im üblichen Methode der eingehenden Vergleiche der Zeremonien, insbesondere der liturgischen Gesänge, übernommen."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 79.

Other texts, such as the so-called *das Kreuzabnahmespiele* from Wels (ca. 1500), and *Passionsspiel aus St. Stephan* from Vienna (1687) also found their way into the Tauberts' field of study. The researchers include them in the category of dramatic works derived from the *Depositio Crucis*. In both dramas, written partly in German and partly in Latin, the laying to rest of Christ's body constitutes one element of a whole which includes other scenes. They feature well-defined roles, and the dialogues between the characters – Pontius Pilate, Centurion, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus – are well-developed. The researchers liken both dramas to the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which is conducted on the day of the Resurrection, and treat them as ceremonies of a liturgical nature.[18] The two dramas constitute a particular type of text to the researchers – one which provides evidence of the fact that during the Middle Ages, sculptural images of the Saviour may have functioned, or have been seen by the faithful, as actors.[19]

In addition to determining the procedures of the Holy Week ceremonies, the Tauberts examined issues connected with permanent and temporary replicas of the Holy Sepulchre, into which a sculpture, a Host or an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was placed during the *Depositio Crucis*. They include these Sepulchres in the category of devotional objects that are items of worship for the faithful over the course of the entire liturgical year. In the researchers' opinion, they did not belong in the same category as animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, which were not meant for permanent exposition in church interiors, and thus did not serve to generate devotional behaviour on the part of the faithful.[20]

Another section of the Tauberts' article was devoted to problems associated with the status of the *Depositio Crucis* and the terminology used to describe animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the source material. In spite of the suggestions made by Neil C. Brooks and Karl Young,[21] the authors of primary studies on the subject of theatricalising *paschal triduum* ceremonies, the Tauberts

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[18] "Die Bezeichnung der Kreuzabnahmespiele als liturgische Spiele erfolgt in Analogie zu den Osterspielen der Visitatio Sepulchri, deren liturgischer Charakter nicht bestritten wird."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 116.

[19] "Der Gebrauch von Bildwerken in der Liturgie anstelle der lebenden Christusdarsteller in den eigentlichen Passionsspielen der mittelalterlichen große Bedeutung der Skulpturen für den mittelalterlichen Menschen: ein hölzernes Bildnis Christi im Schoße eines lebenden Marienderstellers wird nicht als störend empfunden. Das Bildwerk tritt zu diesem Zeitpunkt sichtbar an die Stelle Christi, ist 'Bildnis Christi' oder 'Unser lieber Herr' wie es in den Quellen heißt. Gerade diese, mitunter ohne große Kunstfertigkeit geschnitzten Bildwerke können eine Vorstellung davon vermitteln, welchen Realitätsgrad Skulpturen im Mittelalter besitzen können."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 121.

[20] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 113. The fact that they were displayed to the faithful occasionally was supposed to explain the low artistic quality of the works known to the Tauberts. The researchers suggest that, since their use was defined by their moment, little importance was attributed to the artists and those who commissioned them; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 91, 121.

[21] Expressed in: Young, 1933; Brooks, 1921.

claim that the *Depositio Crucis* should be treated as an integral part of liturgy and not as an "extra-liturgical" ceremony, as Brooks and Young classify it. In taking this position, they adduce the findings of Kolumban Gschwend OSB, author of the seminal work entitled *Die Depositio und Elevatio Crucis im Raum der alten Diözese Brixen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Grablegung am Karfreitag und der Auferstehungsfeier am Ostermorgen*.[22] In reference to the terminology used in the Middle Ages, they ascertain that no term can be found in the sources for the *Depositio Crucis* which is beyond any doubt restricted to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

The question of when and why animated sculptures of the crucified Christ started to become implemented in the *Depositio Crucis* is an important part of the Tauberts' considerations. In their detailed examination of the *Ordinarium* from Barking (ca. 1370), which is the first text to contain information on the "imago" taken down from the cross and laid into a tomb on Good Friday, they point out that the custom of using such sculptures reached England via Germany, where it is said to have been practised since the early 11th century. The replacement of the symbolic cross or Host with an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in the *Depositio Crucis* was meant to lend realism to the scene and enable a deeper connection to the mystery of death and salvation. "War in der Grablegung mit dem Kreuz die Erwartung der Auferstehung eingeschlossen, so wird in der Grablegung mit dem Kruzifix das Leiden Christi und die Trauer über seinen Tod vergegenwärtigt."[23] Generally, it can be said to be connected to the advancement – in the 13th century – of Passion-related devotion.

After the publication of their paper in 1969, the Tauberts approached the problems connected with animated sculptures of the crucified Christ on several later occasions. The analysis of Gesine Taubert, in which she analysed other texts relating to dramas performed at the turn of the 16th century in Tyrol (included in an analogous to so called "Debs-Kodex" from Vipiteno/Sterzing), which are analogous to those from Wels and Vienna,[24] are especially significant for the further study of performances of this type. The author discussed their dramatic structure,

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[22] Gschwend, 1965. The researchers cite, a fragment in which Gschwend states: "Die meisten dieser Namen zum Teil uralten Nebenformen gruppieren sich um das Hl. Grab, das in vielen Kirchen zum Gedächtnis der Grabesruhe des Herrn aufgestellt wurde. Besonders Anfangs- und Schlußpunkte dieser Grabesandacht gaben Anlaß zu den regionalen, vom Volksempfinden getragenen Eigenformen der Grablegungs- und Auferstehungsfeier. Sie waren aus dem offiziellen Gottesdienst der Kirche herausgewachsen und vom Geist der Liturgie getragen. Da die einzelnen Diözesen und Kirchenprovinzen bis ins 16. Jh. weitgehend ihre eigenen liturgischen Formen bildeten und bewahrten, waren auch diese Nebenformen in vollem Sinn Gottesdienst der Kirche, also liturgisch."; Gschwend, 1965, pp. 1-2.

[23] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 109. This was also achieved by placing the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in the Sepulchre along with a consecrated Host, which was important because inside a special compartment within the sculpture. In this case, the sculpture would become a *repositorium* in a meaningfully and strongly impactful form as a result of its similarity to the body of Christ.

[24] Taubert, 1974, pp. 53-89; Taubert, 1975, pp. 607-627; Taubert, 1977, pp. 32-72.

dialogues, and production methods as well as the issue of their dependence on the *Depositio Crucis*. Just as in the publication several years earlier, she maintains that these performances have a direct connexion to and constitute a part of liturgy, despite the fact that they were performed in German and were in the strictest sense theatrical plays. Johannes Taubert's 1978 article on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ is a synopsis of the theses and conclusions he and Gesine Taubert had elucidated nine years earlier.[25] The only area on which the author expanded was the catalogue of the surviving sculptures of this type, although the method he used may be considered far from satisfactory.[26] The researcher added five new examples without including any information as to their dimensions, dating, and, in some cases, even the locations in which they reside. In addition, the paper lacks photographic documentation of the newly-added sculptures. His catalogue lists twenty-three other examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Florence and Tuscany from the period of 1300 to the beginning of the 16th century, which had been included in a publication by Margrit Lisner several years earlier.[27]

In the above-mentioned work by Margrit Lisner, we can find a great deal of detailed information regarding the dating, attributes and style of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. However, her work lacks any insight as to their function and construction. Yet this omission in no way detracts from her book – the data regarding the existence of eleven surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Florence, and several others in the region, testifies to the popularity of such pieces in Italy. Lisner's work demands broader examination of the issues surrounding the origins, functions and incidence of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, something that Taubert essentially examined only in the context of the sources and examples found in the German-speaking regions of medieval Europe.

A relevant book for understanding the origins and functions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ is Elizabeth C. Parker's *The Descent from the Cross: Its Relation to the Extra-Liturgical "Depositio" Drama*.[28] Although the author provides only a superficial discussion of the sculptures themselves – limited to the extent of mentioning that a dozen or so remain in Austria, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, and that they had been used in Good Friday ceremonies – her book offers a broad examination of the issues concerning their origin, form and function in Good Friday ceremonies, which the author terms "extra-liturgical *Depositio Crucis* performances". In her analysis of specific *Depositio Crucis* records,

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[25] Taubert, 1978, pp. 38-50.

[26] The article was published several years after the author's death. See: Ramisch, 1975/1978, pp. 245-247; Schmidt-Thomsen, 1976, pp. 98-100. We can assume that Taubert was not able to complete it in the way he had hoped to.

[27] Lisner, 1970.

[28] Parker, 1978.

Elizabeth C. Parker pays particularly close attention to those which refer to the act of placing a cross into the Sepulchre.

In the course of her work, she presents a group of early small crosses dated from the 10th to the 12th centuries, made of various materials which were used in Burial ceremonies on Good Friday.[29] Among them was the so-called *Bury St. Edmunds Cross* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), made of walrus tusk and dated to the mid-12th century.[30] The author links it to an armless figurine of the crucified Christ from the Kunstindustrimuseet in Oslo which resembles many animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in its construction (in the method used to make the shoulder section). The only difference is that in the figurine from Oslo, only the right arm of the Christ could be folded down parallel to the body. The similarity in construction led the author to the hypothesis that figurines such as the one complementing the *Bury St. Edmunds Cross* were precursors of the larger animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, which fulfil the same function in the proceedings of the *Depositio Crucis*.[30]

Especially worthy of attention are the conclusions of Elizabeth C. Parker concerning monumental multi-figure *Deposition* sculpture groups from 12th- to 14th-century Spain, Italy and southern France. In the author's opinion, these were used in ceremonies conducted during Holy Week, and thus display a kinship with animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. This hypothesis was expounded by Hans Belting three years after the publication of Elizabeth C. Parker's book.[31]

Another mention of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was made by Hans-Joachim Krause in his examination of Resurrected Christ figures which were used during theatricalised Ascension ceremonies.[32] While addressing the status of the sculptures that constitute our field of interest, he stated that they ought not be ascribed to the category of devotional images permanently accessible to the faithful. As their implementation occurred only during theatricalised liturgical ceremonies taking place on holidays, they were intended for use in churches during specific designated periods (thus, Krause describes them using the term *liturgisches Brauchbild*). Similar beliefs – based on the conviction that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ should be examined above all in the context of

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[29] The author includes among them: the Bernward reliquary cross from Hildesheim, dated to 996; the so-called Reichskreuz, dated to ca. 1030; and the Theophano reliquary cross from the mid-11th century.

[30] Parker, 1978, p. 96. Sixteen years after the publication of *The Descent from... Parker*, along with Charles T. Little published the book *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning* (Parker, Little, 1994), which was entirely devoted to the *Bury St. Edmunds Cross* and the sculpture of Christ associated with it. The authors, emphasising the connection of both pieces to the *Depositio Crucis*, express the opinion that the figure from Oslo was not paired with the cross and was a later addition.

[31] Belting, 1981, pp. 218-251.

[32] Krause, 1987, pp. 281-353.

dialogues, and production methods as well as the issue of their dependence on the *Depositio Crucis*. Just as in the publication several years earlier, she maintains that these performances have a direct connexion to and constitute a part of liturgy, despite the fact that they were performed in German and were in the strictest sense theatrical plays. Johannes Taubert's 1978 article on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ is a synopsis of the theses and conclusions he and Gesine Taubert had elucidated nine years earlier.[25] The only area on which the author expanded was the catalogue of the surviving sculptures of this type, although the method he used may be considered far from satisfactory.[26] The researcher added five new examples without including any information as to their dimensions, dating, and, in some, even the locations in which they reside. In addition, the paper lacks photographic documentation of the newly-added sculptures. His catalogue lists twenty-three other examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Florence and Tuscany from the period of 1300 to the beginning of the 16th century, which had been included in a publication by Margrit Lisner several years earlier.[27]

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[32] Krause, 1987, pp. 281-353.

Good Friday liturgical ceremonies – were expressed by Ulla Haastrup,[33] Pamela Sheingorn,[34] Bogna Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, [35] Andrzej Woziński,[36] and Peter Jezler[37] in the 1980s.

Peter Jezler was the first to describe the negative attitudes held by Protestant Reformers towards the sculptures used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies. He emphasised that items of this type were often the subject of criticism by iconoclasts, yet he did not present any examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ being destroyed by their opponents.[38] It was David Freedberg who pointed out the potential of the sculptures to create an impact and illusion through their construction, which allowed the sculptures the movement of a human form.[39] In addition to the above studies, several works in the 70s and 80s referred to examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ,[40] some of which had not appeared in earlier studies from an art history perspective.[41]

Interest in animated sculptures of the crucified Christ has grown in the last few years. Numerous works devoted in whole or in part to these relics surfaced in the second half of the 1990s. The authors of several of these not only describe examples which have never been mentioned before, but they also present interesting archival sources on the *Depositio Crucis* and other Good Friday ceremonies directly connected with theatrical forms of expression (such as Italian *laude* and *sacre rappresentazioni*). During the same period issues associated with the construction and methods of creating the sculptures were addressed in a broader scope.

The 1990 article by Volker Ehlich entitled *Der konstruktive Aufbau zweier italianischer Holzkruzifixe aus dem Bestand der Skulpturensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* focussed in part on one of the most complicated, in terms of construction, relics – an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ made at the end of the 14th century by a sculptor from the workshop of Andrea di Ugolino Pisano.[42] The article's author describes in detail the mechanisms which enable the arms, legs and head of the Christ to be moved. A probing article in a similar vein was written by Andreas Schulze, a restorer who in 1999 worked on an animated

33 Haastrup, 1987, p. 146-147.

34 Sheingorn, 1987, passim.

35 Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, 1985, pp. 65-87; Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, 1989, pp. 129-143.

36 Woziński, 1985, pp. 32-33.

37 Jezler, 1989, pp. 619-622.

38 Jezler, 1983, pp. 236-249.

39 Freedberg, 1989, pp. 286-291.

40 Alemann, 1975, p. 15; Arens, 1980, pp. 20-21; Arens, Bühlten, 1971, pp. 75-76; Helm, 1982, pp. 77-78; Parrocchi, 1986, p. 18; Previtali, 1970, pp. 16-17; Schnell, 1971, pp. 17, 19.

41 Espunca, 1978, p. 204; Hernandez Diaz, 1979, p. 62; Mattiauda, 1986, cat. no. 46; Previtali, 1994, pp. 32-33; Valtña Sampedro, 1989, p. 241.

42 Ehlich, 1990, p. 98-106.

sculpture of the crucified Christ from the St. Nicolai church in Döbeln.[43] The author, aside from describing the various stages of the restoration, reconstructs its history and the process of its creation, lists the materials it was made of, and describes the method by which the arms, legs and head are attached to the torso. He pays a great deal of attention to the container for blood found in the figure's back which is connected to the wound in its side, the material which covers the body and conceals the mechanisms allowing for the positioning of the Christ's body, as well as the remnants of natural hair on the figure's head.[44] The author also delves into the sculpture's functions, mentioning its use in Holy Week passion plays (*das Passionsspiel*), which more closely resembled mystery plays than *Depositio Crucis* ceremonies.

Another article is significant, not only with regard to the construction of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ but also their functions and the way they were perceived by the faithful, is the work of Elżbieta Pilecka on a figure of the "Christ in the Tomb" from an old Cistercian church in Chełmno, dated to the last quarter of the 14ᵗʰ century.[45] She describes the relic, which had been known to researchers for decades,[46] but had been treated as a representation of Christ in the Tomb as a result of its being on display with the arms folded down against the side of the body and the impossibility of examining it in detail. Restoration works in 1992-1996 and the resulting records enabled Pilecka to conduct a thorough study of the object. She describes its construction, focussing in detail on the chamber connecting the head and mouth which was used for storing a sacred relic or a consecrated Host. She devotes a large section of her article to the stylistic issues, in order to determine the sculpture's formal genealogy. The author links the sculpture's function to Holy Week liturgical ceremonies, which she briefly describes. An interesting aspect of the article is its attempt to link the described sculpture to the mysticism associated with female religious orders. Sculpted works such as the Chełmno Christ were meant to serve as, according to Pilecka, "a type of medium through which the grace of God descends, [...] a step in the mystic experience."[47]

Another work relevant to our considerations is one by Nicolás López Martínez,[48] in which the author presents the story of the *Cristo de Burgos*, one

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[43] Schulze, 1999, pp. 126-132. Andreas Schulze also co-authored (with Annegret Michel) a shorter and more general article on the sculpture from Döbeln and its construction, published in 2000 in the magazine "Die Denkmalpflege" (Michel, Schulze, 2000, pp. 41-44).

[44] This problem, in relation to the sculpture from Döbeln, is also addressed by Georg von Knorre: Knorre, 1999, p. 99.

[45] Pilecka, 1999, pp. 321-359.

[46] Chrzanowski, Kornecki, 1991, p. 172; Domasłowski, 1983, pp. 42-43; Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, 1985, p. 80; Horwat-Bankiewicz, 1993, pp. 193-194; Mroczko, 1976, p. 50; Mroczko, 1985; Tomaszkiewicz, 1964, pp. 189, 190.

[47] Pilecka, 1999, p. 342.

[48] Martínez, 1997.

of the more interesting animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, dating to the second quarter of the 14th century. It has been described many times, although without analysis of the issues surrounding its style, workmanship or construction. The *Cristo de Burgos* had been the object of a specific cult for centuries, being worshipped not only in Spain but beyond. It was famous for numerous miracles and marvels, which significantly influenced the way it was described in the various accounts.[49] Those discussing this sculpture of Christ, which is today on display in the Burgos cathedral, do not describe its moveable arms, legs and head, the container for blood in the back at the level of the wound in the side, the fact that it is covered in calf skin, giving it a human-like appearance, or the natural hair moving the head. The accounts which mention the Burgos Christ moving its arms or bleeding usually refer to its miraculous properties rather than its construction as a sculpture.[50] Prior to Nicolás López Martínez, who described the moveable features of the sculpture and synthesized available information on its construction[51] in the mid-1990s, Francisco Cornejo Vega was the only author to clearly state that the *Cristo de Burgos* is an animated sculpture.[52]

The first large study devoted to the above-mentioned piece was published by María José Martínez Martínez in 2004.[53] In her work, she presented the sculpture's rich history and gave a detailed description of its construction. Martínez Martínez's article also contains references to other Spanish animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. In analysing the *Cristo de Burgos*' function in the Middle Ages, the researcher describes, among others, the figure known as the *Cristo de los Gascones*, dating from the 12th century, from the San Justo church in Segovia. Several years earlier, this sculpture was the subject of a broader study by Eduardo

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[49] The *Cristo de Burgos* features, in contrast to the majority of sculptures of the crucified Christ, an exceptionally extensive bibliography reaching back to the 16th century. However, most of them are single references from what can be considered religious literature (see, e.g.: Anónimo, 1554; Anónimo, 1604; Anónimo, 1622; 1684; Flórez, 1772, pp. 483-508; Loviano, 1740, 1908) or travel diaries (see e.g.: Gautier, 1979, pp. 46-47; Manier, 1890, pp. 56-59; Sobieski, 1991, p. 127).

[50] Unfortunately, Martínez's small book cannot be considered an exhaustive study on the *Cristo de Burgos*, if only for the fact that the author does not contrast the work with other animated sculptures of the crucified Christ (he doesn't even mention the existence of any others) and does not reflect on the sculpture's original function. Writing about the sculpture's conservation, he does not describe the state of its condition nor the mechanisms enabling the movement of the Saviour's arms and legs.

[51] Cornejo Vega, 1996, p. 241. Pedro Loviano had earlier mentioned the fact that the sculpture possessed moveable elements: Loviano, 1720. There are reliable studies on the *Cristo de Burgos* which address not only the sculpture itself but also the sculptural and painting copies which appeared from the 16th to 20th centuries in the Iberian Peninsula and in Central and South America. See: Buendía, Gutiérrez Pastor, 1986; Gila Medina, 1978; Gila Medina, 1995; Gila Medina, 2002; González Echegaray, 1985, pp. 141-168; Martínez Murillo, pp. 275-361; Mójica Pinilla, 1991; Pagnaire, 1896.

[52] Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-246.

Carrero Santamaría and Daniel Rico Camps, who pointed out the fact that the sculpture was used during Holy Week liturgical ceremonies.[54]

Two sculptures, from Lugo and Tui, were introduced into the literature by Carmen Manso Porto in her broad study of medieval Galician art. In this work, the author also described sculptures from Orense and Vilabade, which had never been discussed in greater detail.[55] Other examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from the Iberian Peninsula were presented by Francesco Español in his article entitled *Los Descendimientos Hispano*, which concerned Spanish monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups.[56] Analysing the two types of works, he outlined the Holy Week ceremonies conducted in Spain at the time of the Middle Ages as well as the paraliturgical performances of a theatrical nature in which the sculptures were utilised.

A large number of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been discovered in Italy over the last several years. Wide-scale research into Italian late-medieval sculpture, resulting in several large exhibitions presenting selected regions and artistic circles,[57] has borne fruit in the form of studies – pertaining to authorship, chronology, style, construction and function – on previously unknown or little-described relics, such as those from Buti,[58] Cagli,[59] Piza,[60] Orvieto,[61] Spello,[62] Tosse di Noli,[63] and Zuccarello.[64]

Numerous sculptures of the type that constitute our field of interest – including early examples from the late 13th and the first half of the 14th century – were

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[54] Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 461-477; Rico Camps, 2001, pp. 179-189. Also writing about the sculpture, not addressing the issue of its function: Castán Lanaspa, 2003, pp. 355-356; Herbosa, 1999, p. 79.

[55] Manso Porto, 1993, pp. 357-358; Manso Porto, 1996, pp. 449, 452. José Hervella Vázquez wrote about the work from Orense in 1993: Hervella Vázquez, 1993, pp. 148-149. Elisa Valiña Sampedro wrote about the work from Vilabade in 1983: Valiña Sampedro, 1983, p. 241.

[56] Español, 2004, pp. 511-554. The works listed by the researcher had been mentioned earlier: Hernando Garrido, 1995, p. 97; Huidobro Serna, 1980 (First ed.: 1954), pp. 19-20, 38-39, 46-49, 52-58 (Aguilar de Campóo); Pascual, 1994, pp. 269-271 (Palma de Mallorca); Tormo, 1923, p. 184 (Liria).

[57] See exhibition cat.: Baracci, 1995; Boggero, Donati, 2004; Burresi, 2000. See also: Jurkowlaniec, 2004, pp. 195-213.

[58] Cardone, Carletti, 2000, p. 235.

[59] Facchechi, 1999, p. 158. The sculpture was briefly described in 1997 by: Mazzacchera, 1997, pp. 129-133.

[60] Collareta, 2000, pp. 231-232.

[61] Fratini, 1999, pp. 47, 50; Paoli, 1999, p. 191. The example had been previously mentioned in: Paoli, 1997, pp. 91-95.

[62] Ceino, 1991, p. 22; Fratini, 1990, p. 28; Fratini, 1995, pp. 39-94; Marabottini, 1994, p. 6; Tini Brunozzi, 1994, p. 69.

[63] Bartoletti, Boggero, Cervini, 2004, p. 56. The sculpture from Tosse di Noli had been presented earlier in: Marmadiada, 1986, cat. no. 46.

[64] Bartoletti, Boggero, Cervini, 2004, p. 66. The sculpture from Zuccarello had been previously mentioned in: Bogerro, Cervini, 1995, p. 52; Giardelli, 1992, pp. 156-157.

presented by Elvio Lunghi in his book *La Passione degli Umbri. Crocifissi di legno in Valle Umbra tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*,[65] in which the author also addressed the issues relating to the origins and functions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. He reveals that they had been used in dramatically sophisticated paraliturgical performances (*laude*) typically consisting of several scenes and presented inside churches or in the town streets, such as the *Deposition, The Lament of the Virgin Mary* or *Entombment*. Lunghi pointed out the role of the Franciscans in the emergence of this type of performance. He also emphasised the considerable influence of the Friars Minor on the form and development of late medieval piety, which led to a more affective observance of Christ's suffering while laying the foundation for the evolution of works similar in nature to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. In reference to their formal origins, he states that they ought to be grouped with the multi-figured *Deposition* sculptural groups which were so characteristic of 12th- and 13th-century Italy and Spain.[66]

A significant contribution to knowledge on the subject of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was made by Teresa Perusini, who in two articles presented hitherto unknown figures of Christ with moveable arms from Pontebba as well as others which differed in their animation possibilities, including ones from Rimini and Valvasone.[67] The figure of the crucified Christ from Valvasone which she described features not only joints in the shoulders and elbows but also legs which are pliable at both the hips and knees. In turn, the figures from Porcia, Pordenone[68] and Rimini[69] possess no moveable appendages except their tongues. In addition to providing information on the history of the sculptures and their design and construction, Perusini addressed the issue of their functioning. While outlining the tradition of the theatricalised *Depositio Crucis* ceremony, she points out that figures such as the one from Valvasone may have been used not only during the ceremony but also during other theatricalised performances based on the texts of the *Planctus Marie*. In reference to the relics from Porcia, Pordenone and Rimini, she states, "Non è ancora stata fatta alcuna prova di ricostruzione del funzionamento del meccanismo, ma a quanto si può capire, con esso non era possibile spingere la lingua avanti o indietro (per esempio per farla fuoriuscire al momento della morte), ma piuttosto farla muovere come per parlare (per l'affidamento reciproco di Giovanni e la Madonna o le ultime parole del Crocifisso)."[70]

[65] Lunghi, 2000. The researcher describes in detail the early example from Pinacoteca di Palazzo Santi in the town of Cascia, which he dated to the turn of the 14th century, as well as other sculptures, including those from Acquasparta, Assisi, Bettona and Sangemini.

[66] In this context, see also: Lunghi, 2004, pp. 275-277.

[67] Perusini, 2000, pp. 19-38; Perusini, 2006, pp. 191-205.

[68] The sculpture was previously described in: Francescutti, 2004; Francescutti, 2004, pp. 178-187, CE: Francescutti, 2006, pp. 207-223.

[69] The sculpture had been briefly described earlier in: Schmidt, 2002, cat. no. 62, pp. 568-569.

[70] Perusini, 2006, p. 201.

In 1999, Reinhard Rampold published an article on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from the vicinity of the present-day border between Italy and Austria. The author presented three pieces which had thus far never been studied – from Lana, Schwaz and Tannheim.[71] Rampold's study, aside from introducing three new examples to the literature, undertakes the question of their use in the *Depositio Crucis*. However, on this subject, the author does not expand on the conclusions reached by Gesine and Johannes Taubert thirty years earlier.

In 1998, an attempt at a broader description of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was made by Johannes Tripps in his book entitled *Das handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik*, which was devoted to sculptures used in the various ceremonies conducted during the liturgical year.[72] The descriptions and analyses of animated sculptures such as the figure of Christ on a donkey (*Palmesel*), the crucified Christ laid in the tomb on Good Friday, the Resurrected Christ hoisted with ropes to the vaults of the church on the day of the Ascension, as well as stage machinery used in, e.g., depicting specific scenes from the life of Mary, constitute the best compendium of knowledge on the medieval Church's drive towards a theatricalised liturgy to date.

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ account for one of several lines of study presented in the book. Tripps does not attempt an exhaustive description of the individual pieces nor to shed light on the issues of their local context and incidence in Europe. Instead, he focuses to limit his focus to summary descriptions of several selected pieces from France, Italy and Germany, basing his arguments mainly on the foundations established by Gesine and Johannes Taubert. Tripps places animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in a category of works termed *handelnde*, i.e. "moveable" and "flexible". He emphasises their potential to enrich and make more attractive the Holy Week liturgy by veristic presentation of the *paschal triduum*'s most important moments. Changes in the liturgy, manifested in, among other things, the emergence of ceremonies such as the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum*, *Depositio Crucis* and *Elevatio Crucis* in the 10th century are linked, according to the author, with the aspiration to directly illustrate the truths of the faith and the story of the salvation for the faithful. Animated sculptures playing an "active" role in this illustration were well-suited to fulfil this goal, strengthening the ties between the participants in a particular ceremony and God by creating the impression of direct contact.[73] It is Tripps's belief that the evolution of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was influenced by

[71] Rampold, 1999, pp. 425-436.

[72] Tripps, 1998. The second, expanded, edition of the book appeared in 2000.

[73] Tripps indicates that figures of Christ on a donkey, whose origins he traces to the iconography of Ottonian days, were the first to be used in Holy Week liturgy, most likely already in the 10th century. In reference to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ he states that the earliest examples date back to the second quarter of the 14th century.
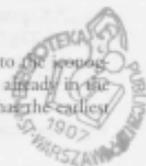
the development of Passion piety which focussed on a detailed and affective observance of the suffering of Christ. The book's author also states that along with the growing incidence of animated sculptures, we can observe a peculiar primitivisation of liturgical forms as they were to a considerable degree adjusted to the specific needs of laypeople and of broad social masses.

An important thread in Tripps's study is the issue of the status of sculptures used in holiday celebrations, including animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The author defines them as both cult and devotional images – yet he uses both terms rather arbitrarily.[74] Generally, however, he leans towards the conclusion that the sculptures did not aid in individual contemplation but were meant for rare and temporary display in holiday seasons during celebrations which necessitated that they be viewed and experienced by the faithful collectively. In the author's opinion, the "moveable" figures, as determined by the way and frequency in which they were used, were also to a considerable degree independent from the other elements used to decorate churches, such as altarpieces which were otherwise also subordinated to the collective perception during liturgy. Thus reasoning, Tripps classifies the sculptures he describes as cult objects, which – due to the importance of movement in their operation – cannot be compared to other works which may be similar in nature.[75]

A significant feature of Tripps's book is his examination of the spaces in which liturgical celebrations employing animated sculptures of the crucified Christ or permanent and temporary Holy Sepulchres took place. The author, basing his argument on the writings of, among others, Suger and Hugh of St. Victor, treats the churches as a "heavenly Jerusalem". In his discussion, he makes a detailed reconstruction of the architecture's symbolism, pointing out that animated sculptures, including representations of the crucified Christ, appeared in different places inside the church during different ceremonies and conveyed new symbolic meanings that referred to the events of the Salvation being recounted in the liturgy. In this context, the author underpins the peculiar stage character of the church interior while pointing out other elements which contribute to strengthening the effect, such as paintings whose subject matter could enrich or complement the events taking place.

A researcher who addresses the issues associated with animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in broad scope is Mateusz Kapustka. In his unpublished theses – master's and doctoral – he focused on the issues of how sculptures used in liturgical celebrations, particularly those conducted during Holy Week, were

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[74] Kapustka pointed this out in his review of Tripps's book: Kapustka, 2004, pp. 218-220.

[75] Marcinkowski (Marcinkowski, 1994, pp. 78-81) discussed the status of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The researcher places a strong emphasis on the temporary function of these types of works within the church – as "dramatic props" and not devotional images which were regularly available to the faithful.

perceived and understood by the faithful.[76] He does not devote much attention to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, only cursorily mentioning several surviving examples. Both of his theses aim to reveal the potential of sculptures used in theatricalised liturgy, which could be treated by the faithful not only as images of God but rather His personification. In this context, the author focuses on the connection between animated sculptures of the crucified Christ and the Host, which at times was laid in the Sepulchre along with the sculpture – the sculpture somehow becoming, by its contact with the Host, the Saviour himself.

Kapustka, following Tripp's conclusions, also states that animated sculptures, including those of the crucified Christ, should be categorized with cult images, owing their status to the collective perception during liturgy and to their construction features which enabled them to be "brought to life". The various designations applied to art works used in theatricalised liturgy which appear in numerous medieval sources also attest to the specific importance attributed to these works. Analysing the records of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*, in which we find terms such as *Imago Crucifixi* and *unser Lieber Herr*, Kapustka states that this terminology is evidence of the sculptures being elevated to "the level of personal existence"[77] by participants in the celebrations. This matter was taken up by the author in a separate study which concerned the meaning of the term *Imago* during the late Middle Ages.[78]

Another question addressed by Kapustka is the negative attitude of Protestant Reformers towards sculptures used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, which is confirmed by the numerous documented acts of iconoclasm directed towards sculptures of Christ on a donkey and the resurrected Christ. Although Kapustka presents no evidence suggesting the destruction of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ during the Reformation, he does acknowledge, by way of analogy, that the attitude towards them was similar to that towards other sculptures used in theatricalised liturgical celebrations.[79]

In the context of research into animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, yet another important book is Justin A. Kroesen's *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages*, in which the author discusses in broad scope the issues associated with the origins, history and function of temporary Holy Sepulchres.[80] In the course of his arguments, Kroesen makes numerous references to sculptures of the type we

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[76] Kapustka, 1998; Kapustka, 2003 (writing this, I thank the author for making both works available).

[77] Kapustka, 2003, p. 120.

[78] Kapustka, 2002, pp. 275-287.

[79] In 2008 Kapustka published a book based on his doctoral thesis: Kapustka, 2008. His main attitude toward animated sculptures of the crucified Christ hasn't changed. The researcher pays even closer attention to the subject of Host, especially to its relation to effigies of dead Christ, and meticulously analyzes texts of *Kreuzabnahmespiele* from Wels, as well as texts of plays included in the so-called "Debs-Kodex".

[80] Kroesen, 2000a. Cf.: Kroesen, 2004, pp. 289-313.

are interested in, analysing the way they were utilized in Good Friday liturgical celebrations conducted at permanent or temporary structures such as those he examines. The author also points out the continuity of the tradition of the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Good Friday liturgical ceremonies as well as in paraliturgical celebrations, which are to this day conducted not only in Europe (mostly in Italy and Spain) but also in Latin America.

In recent years there have been several articles published which are devoted to theatricalised liturgical celebrations or religious visual presentations conducted in the Middle Ages and later in the Kingdom of Poland. The authors – Urszula Janicka-Krzywda,[81] Paweł Migasiewicz[82] and Jolanta Rzegocka[83] – make passing references to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, including them in their analysis of the function of other animated sculptures such as that of Christ on a donkey and the risen Christ.

The author of the present study has also published several articles on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. In *Late Mediaeval and Baroque Animated Crucifixes* the author addresses the issues connected with the findings of researchers focusing on works originating in puppet theatre, findings previously overlooked by art historians.[84] The article describes the findings of Henryk Jurkowski, George Speaight and most of all, Charles Magnin, the author of the first synthetic study concerning the history of puppet theatre, who in the mid-19th century described several examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ and the ways they were used. The article also provides basic information about surviving sculptures of this type and addresses the problems associated with their nomenclature. The author of the present study believes that these figures should not be designated as theatrical props, as many researchers tend to believe, but should be classed among animated sculptures on account of their construction and functional characteristics. The author also points out the fact that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ can be compared with other sculptural works of this type which do not possess moveable elements. The works we are interested in were not displayed to the faithful on a strictly occasional basis but may have functioned inside churches during the whole of the liturgical year as images of a devotional nature or objects of pilgrimages.

Two other articles have been devoted to individual examples, i.e. the sculptures from Boxley[85] and Burgos.[86] The latter of which is one of the most complex in terms of construction. Their history, construction and functionality in the liturgical year were presented therein. The author of the present study devoted yet

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[81] Janicka-Krzywda, 2002, pp. 465-502.
[82] Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 29-46.
[83] Rzegocka, 2005, pp. 177-194.
[84] Kopania, 2004a, pp. 40-46.
[85] Kopania 2004b, pp. 119-129.
[86] Kopania, 2007, pp. 495-509.

another article to examining the most structurally complex animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, including those in Berlin, Bad Wimpfen, Boxley, Burgos, Döbeln, Orense, Valvasone and Zurich, as well as those which featured only a moveable tongue, i.e. from Paris, Porcia, Pordenone and Rimini.[87]

2. Nomenclature issues

In the present study we use the term *animated sculptures of the crucified Christ*. The term does not as a rule appear in this form in the existing literature on the subject,[88] although the term *animated sculpture* itself was used by researchers in reference to sculptures of the crucified Christ which, due to the nature and methods of their construction, display features characteristic of the human body which are connected to movement.[89]

In reference to these types of sculptures, German art historians use the term *crucifixes with moveable arms* (*Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen*),[90] and Italians *Crocifisso-Deposto*.[91] Yet another term – *theatrical prop*[92] – appears in the works of other researchers. In the last decade, we have seen studies featuring terms

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[87] Kopania, 2009, pp. 131-148.

[88] The exception being two articles by the author of the present study: Kopania, 2007, pp. 502-506 (*antinomous rzeźby Chrystusa Ukrzyżowanego*); Kopania, 2009, pp. 131-148 (*animated sculptures of the crucified Christ*).

[89] The term animated sculpture (*occultura animáda*) is used by: Cornejo Vega, 1996, pp. 239-261; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-266. In Polish, it was used by Marek Walczak (Walczak), 1990, p. 7) and Kamil Kopania (Kopania 2004a, p. 42). Julio I. González Montañes uses a similar term, writing about *crucifixos con Cristo articulado* (González Montañes, 2002, pp. 32-34). The examples of "*Crucis animés*" were introduced by Fabienne Joubert (Joubert, 1988, p. 517, note 14).

[90] The term *Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen* appears for the first time in a basic study on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ: Taubert, Taubert 1969, pp. 79-121. It became generally adopted by German researchers (sometimes they use a parallel term: *Kruzifixe mit beweglichen Armen*), see e.g. Ehlich, 1990, p. 100; Jezler, 1983, pp. 236, 238; Schmidt, 1998, p. 130; Tripps, 2000a, passim. It is also used in translation to other languages, e.g. French, Polish and Italian: Bernardi, 2000, p. 15; Bernardi, 2005, pp. 82-84 (*Crocifissi snodabili*); Caleca, 2000, p. 55 (*Crocifisso con le braccia articolate*); Gentile, 2002, p. 167 (*crucifissi con braccia pieghevoli*); Guerrini, 1996, p. 131; Lunghi, 2000, p. 40 (*crocifissi a braccia mobili*); Koller, 2001, p. 171 (*Kruzifixy s pohyblivými pažemi*); Migaszewicz, 2004, p. 40 (*krucyfiksy z ruchomymi ramionami*); Lunghi, 2000, passim; Perusini, 2000, pp. 19-38 (*crocifissi con le braccia mobili*); Recht, 1999, p. 270 (*crucifix aux bras mobiles*); Tripps, 2001, cat. no. 84, p. 232 (*crocifissi a bras mobili*); Tomasi, 2000, pp. 59, 61 (*crocifissi con le braccia mobili*).

[91] See e.g.: Collareta, 2000a, pp. 129-134; Collareta, 2000b, pp. 231-232; Giometti, 2001, pp. 78-79; Lunghi, 2000, passim.

[92] Huduk, 1998, p. 82; Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, 1985, pp. 80-81 (*rekwizyt dramatyczny*); Grinder-Hansen, 2004, p. 239 (*prop*); Iżycka, 1997, pp. 133-170 (*stage prop*); Jakubek-Raczkowska, Raczkowski, 2005, pp. 183-184; Król-Kaczorowska, undated, pp. 3-5; Król-Kaczorowska, 1971, pp. 95-96; Marcinkowski, 1994, in particular pp. 78-81; Walanus, 2006, pp. 92-101 (*rekwizyt dramatyczny*).

such as *handelnde Bildwerk* or *mobile sculpture* or *mobilium*, which also apply to other sculptural works such as figures of Christ on a donkey (*Palmesel*) or the risen Christ.[93]

Representatives of other disciplines, especially theatre historians, use still other terms such as *marionette*[94] or *puppet*, the latter also appearing in English-language studies as *puppet image*.[95] We also encounter the term *automaton*.[96] The studies of theatre and art historians which focus on the analysis of liturgical books at times contain references to terms found in these books, which accounts for the presence of Latin terms, such as *Imago Crucifixi*,[97] in the records of the *Depositio Crucis*, indicating the possible use of animated sculptures used during this ceremony. We also encounter articles in which animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are called figures of Christ in the Tomb.[98]

The multitude of terms used by researchers in reference to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ does little to aid our understanding of their origins, functions and essence. The varying terminology in the literature is also evidence of the fact that the research conducted thus far has not been of an inter-disciplinary nature. Art historians did not make serious attempts to compare their conclusions with those of theatre historians, and vice versa. In the eyes of representatives of the various disciplines, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were in some way radically different objects – theatre historians, for example, paid scant attention to the fact that Christ figures taken down from a cross could be analysed as works of art which functioned inside the church throughout the entire liturgical year and not solely during the theatricalised liturgical ceremonies of Holy Week. In light of the above fact, a critical analysis of the terminology used by the researchers seems wholly justified.

The term *crucifixes with moveable arms*, though widespread and established in art history literature, is not an appropriate designation for the type of works we are interested in. Apart from its lack of logic,[99] it should be noted that the

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[93] See, among others: Jezler, 1989, pp. 619-622; Marcinkowski, 1994, passim; Tripps, 2000a.

[94] Allegri, 1991, pp. 21-25; Lewański, 1981, p. 39; Targosz, 1995, p. 206.

[95] Aston, 1989, p. 56; Davidson, 1988, pp. 33-36; Speaight, 1990, p. 32. Animated sculptures being used in Holy Week liturgy as *puppets* are described by Pamela Sheingorn: Sheingorn, 1989, p. 59. Jaime Lara, writing about animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Mexico, uses terms *puppet* and *Christ-puppet*; Lara, 2007, p. 159; Lara, 2008, passim, in particular pp. 217-224.

[96] Allegri, 1991, pp. 21-25; Jurkowski, 1971, p. 12.

[97] See e.g.: Lewański, 1999, p. 60; Young, 1920, pp. 81, 86, 94, 119, 124. Terms referring to works of the type we are interested in, such as *Imago Crucifixi*, are used interchangeably with *Kruzifix mit schwenkbaren Armen* by Gesine and Johannes Taubert: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, passim. However, the researchers only do this when analysing specific *Depositio Crucis* records which contain terms such as *Imago Crucifixi*.

[98] The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Segovia, for example, is described as a *Cristo Yacente*: Alcolea, 1958, p. 45; Ceballos-Escalera, 1953, p. 52; Cantón Larraspa, 2003, p. 255.

[99] When with a representation of Christ is termed a crucifix. This definition is universally accepted, as evidenced by the definition of the term "crucifix" in the *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk*

term attributes only moveable arms to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which often also (or instead) had moveable legs, tongues and heads.[100] We should therefore abandon the term *Crucifixo-Deposto*, which narrows the functionality of the sculptures. Generally, they were used in *Depositio Crucis* liturgical ceremonies and Good Friday paraliturgical ceremonies of a theatrical nature, during which the sculptures were taken down from the cross and laid in a permanent or temporary Sepulchre. Can the term *Crucifixo-Deposto* be used to describe sculptures of the crucified Christ which did not possess moveable arms and were thus unsuitable for being taken down from the cross? Taking into account the fact that the function of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was not limited to theatrical ceremonies and religious performances, such doubts seem all the more justified.[101]

The terms *crucifix with moveable arms* and *Crucifixo-Deposto* explain to only a limited degree what the works in question in fact are. The term *dramatic prop* gives a false impression and, moreover, implies that they fall solely within the jurisdiction of the theatre. We use the term *dramatic prop*, or *theatrical prop*, for objects from a set which are used or manipulated by actors during a performance, as supported by dictionary definitions of the word *prop*, which also apply to the theatre of the Middle Ages.[102] In the *Depositio Crucis*, the props – items used by the ceremony participants while carrying out specific actions – were the nails taken out of the Christ's hands, the stones used to seal the Tomb and the canvas in which the Saviour's body was wrapped.[103] The animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were not treated as props but rather as a peculiar kind of actors – a fact which accordingly pointed out by theatre and art historians.[104] It is noteworthy that in structurally developed religious

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piękność [Dictionary of Fine Arts Terminology] (Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1997). See also: Turner, 1996, vol. 8, p. 210 (*Crucifix*). The term *crucifix with moveable arms* is suggested for instances when both the figure of Christ and the cross on which it hangs possess moveable arms.

[100] Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Berlin, Burgos, Valvasone and Döbeln all feature moveable arms, legs and head. The examples from Bad Wimpfen and Zurich possess moveable arms and head; from Boxley (now surviving) and Paris – eyes and lips (now surviving – or missing) – arms and eyes; from Norcia, Terni (two examples) and probably Sangemini – arms and tongue. The examples from Pietrarossa, Porcia, Pordenone and Rimini feature only a moveable tongue.

[101] Figures of this type were used throughout the entire liturgical year just like other sculptures of the crucified Christ which did not possess moveable dimensions. These issues are the subject of analysis in a later section of the study (Chapter V). Non-theatrical implementation of sculptures of the type we are interested in are discussed in, among other works: Kopania, 2004a, pp. 40–46; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 119–129; Kopania, 2007, pp. 495–509; Kopania, 2009, pp. 131–148; Turner, 1997, passim.

[102] Granville, 1952, terms: *hand-props*, *personal props*, *props*; Hartnoll, 1967, term: *props*; Pavis, 1998, term: *rekwizyty* [*prop*]; Taylor, 1966, passim.

[103] Kopania, 2004a, p. 42; Lewański, 1966, p. 42; Modzelewski, 1964, pp. 49-51.

[104] Kopania, 2002, p. 12; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 127-128; Lewański, 1966, p. 48; Lewański, 1981, pp. 38-39; Lewański, 1999, p. 62; Modzelewski, 1964, pp. 48-51. The term *rekwizyt*

performances and theatricalised celebrations featuring dialogues, the sculptures, along with live actors, played out a role which was assigned to them.[105] Hence, the term *dramatic prop* is a rather useless designation for animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

The German designation *handelndes Bildwerk*, as well as its Polish equivalents *rzeźba mobilna* (*mobile sculpture*) and *mobilium*, are used in reference to many objects of diverse characteristics and functions. In this category Johannes Tripps includes *handelnden* figurines, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, Resurrected Christ statues which were raised to the vaults of churches, sculpted *Pietàs* which "talk" or "cry" by virtue of internal mechanisms, sculptures of the blessing-bestowing Infant carried in processions, figures of Christ on a donkey, and even complex machines used during religious performances. Mateusz Kapustka writes about the fact that the term is quite broad and rather imprecise.[106] In his review of Tripps's *Das Handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik*, he states: "in the introduction, the term *das handelnde Bildwerk* is applied to works fulfilling the criterion of mobility, i.e. a mechanical property of the work. Elsewhere, however, the «effect» (*das Handeln*) seems not to refer so much to mobility as to the object's ability to create an impression [...]."[107] In addition, he points out that 'the works collectively designated by Tripps as *handelnde Bildwerke* constitute [...] a collection of works which vary too greatly, not only from the perspective of typology but also of how they were perceived, to be assigned a single common designation.'[108]

From among the terms used by these historians, the term *marionette* can with all certainty be abandoned. Its usage is groundless as it is difficult to find any resemblance between the sculptures we are discussing and these puppets with moveable joints which are put into motion with the use of strings attached to a special device called a crosspiece. The term *marionette* should be treated

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[*dramaturgy*] (dramatic prop) is used by Wojciech Marcinkowski in reference to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ (Marcinkowski, 1994, pp. 78-81). The author states that using this term, "we understand works that, due to their iconography and construction technique, could have been used – at least in theory – as props in theatricalised liturgy according to the concept of the *die liturgische Funktion*' used by G. and J. Taubert". The definition however is tautological and we learn little from the claims that dramatic props are works used as props in theatricalised liturgy. The liturgical function which Gesine and Johannes Taubert talked about does not constitute a logical premise to conclude that works of the type we are interested in were treated as props. The German researchers do not use the term "prop" in their work. What's more, they indicate that the ceremony participants could have seen the wooden likeness of Christ as God himself and not as an object/symbol (Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 120).

[105] Bernardini, 1991, passim; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 121. It is worth noting that the moveable tongue of several of the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could in fact have facilitated the performing of scenes in which a living actor engages in a dialogue with Christ, see: Perusini, 2006, p. 201.

[106] Kapustka, 2004, pp. 215-223.

[107] Kapustka, 2017, p. 217.

[108] Kapustka, 2017, p. 219.

as an anachronism, used to underscore the characteristics and use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which fulfil their purpose in motion and are therefore similar to the contemporary marionettes or puppet theatre.[109] We can assume that the choice of such a term is likely tied to the theory of Edward Gordon Craig, who saw the beginnings of theatre in religious performances and rituals where sculptural objects were used to enable fuller contact with supernatural forces.[110] Craig's ideas, which were important to 20th-century theatre, are also not lacking in influence on historical research.[111]

The terms *puppet* and *puppet image* should also be treated as oversimplifications. They appear in the works of English and American theatre historians[112] who seem to be unaware of the surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.[113] Renowned scholars of the first half of the 20th century, such as Neil C. Brooks and Karl Young,[114] could not have known of the existence of such sculptures owing to the lack of literature on the subject at that time, yet this could hardly be used as an excuse for the current generation of researchers. It was their inability to compare the source references for animated sculptures of the crucified Christ with the surviving examples which most likely led them to choose the word *puppet*, which described the general characteristics and use of these types of sculptures.

The term *automaton* suggests that the sculptures under consideration were not animated but rather set to be wound up and make certain well-defined movements for a given period of time, thanks to the activation of some mechanism. None of the sculptures discussed here possess such a property. The difference which separates them from automatons can be seen in the manner described by Alfred Chapuis and Edmund Droz in the book *Automates, figures artificielles d'hommes et d'animaux, histoire et technique*. The small scale group of sculptures

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[109] Paweł Migasiewicz pointed out the groundlessness of using this term in reference to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ: Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 41-42.

[110] Craig, 2009.

[111] It should also be noted that the one of the basic terms used by Edward Gordon Craig in his writings on theatre was the term *Über-marionette*. On Craig, his theatre theory and his analysis of the history of the stage, see: Bablet, 1981; Braun, 1984, pp. 121-123; Jelewska, 2007, *passim*, especially pp. 135-179; Jurkowski, 2006, pp. 99-108; Jurkowski, 2008; Ribi, 2000; Segel, 1995, pp. 55-57.

[112] Unusually, the term *puppet* is only used by art historians: Janson, 1957, pp. 7-12.

[113] Gail McMurray Gibson openly admits to this while discussing an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley (it should be noted that the researcher does not use the term *puppet* in her book): "Although I know of no medieval image of the crucified Christ that could literally move its hands down from the cross and embrace the worshipper, records do survive of a celebrated crucifix, the Rood of Grace from the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley in Kent, which had been designed by means of 'certain engines and old wires' to nod its head, move its eyes, and to shed tears in response to the prayers of penitents."; McMurray Gibson, 1994, p. 15. In the context of the use of the term *puppet* see an interesting study by Leanne Groeneveld: Groeneveld, 2007, pp. 11-49.

[114] Brooks, 1921; Young, 1920; Young, 1933.

from Brittany, imprecisely dated to the 16th century, shows Christ on the cross surrounded by the Virgin Mary and three other women. It was fitted with a clock-like mechanism which enabled each of the figures to carry out a repeated motion.[115] In terms of iconographic similitude, the form and construction of this group of sculptures is in every way distinct from those of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.[116]

The best solution to the problem of nomenclature concerning the discussed sculptures would be to employ the term used in the Middle Ages. For example, the term *Imago Crucifixi* which appears in records of the *Depositio Crucis* may signify the necessity of using an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in the ceremony.[117] Yet the term does not apply strictly to this type of object in every record. It can apply to a cross or crucifix which is placed into a tomb.[118] There

[115] "Avant de parler des horloges en bois, nous nous arrêtons un instant à une oeuvre d'un tout autre genre, mais qui s'apparente à celles-ci par la matière dont elle est confectionnée, par son mécanisme, et, par son esprit, à certaines pièces d'orfèvrerie dont il a été question au chapitre IV. Il s'agit d'un Christ articulé en bois sculpté d'un mètre et demi de hauteur environ avec le socle. Les yeux et la bouche du Crucifié sont mobiles et, à un moment donné, une croix noire se lève, tournant sur elle-même et, paraît jaillir du sol; un peu de bois mis ensuite et teintée de rouge à son extrémité, qui descend. Quatre personnages, la Vierge et trois autres femmes font divers gestes de la tête et des bras au pied de la croix et, chose curieuse, un ange replié (symbole de la Trinité) placée au-dessus de la croix, bouge les yeux de droite et de gauche. Cette œuvre rappelle la calvaire de Bretagne, plus haut, de ceux d'autres autres détails, comme la séparation des deux pieds du XVI siècle, du car semblerai indiquer certains détails. comme la séparation des deux pieds indiquerait, quelle, que, plus tard, ils sont toujours croisés. Le mécanisme animant la sculpture se trouve dans le socle; il est très rudimentaire. Le mouvement d'horlogerie à poids enrouler (celui-ci ne pèse pas moins de 20 livres) anime un long tambour sur lequel sont plantés des des tunnels plus ou moins longs faits de bandes métalliques. Ils servent de cames et commande à leur passage les leviers, qui mettent en marche les têtes et bras des personnages, reliées chacune à l'organe qui elles mettent en mouvement."; Chapuis, Droz, 1949, pp. 125-126.

[116] On the subject of medieval automatons, their construction, function and presence in the culture of the mid and late Middle Ages, see: Artioli, Bartoli, 1993; Bérenson, 2003, pp. 197-222; Boehm von, 1972; Camille, 1989, pp. 244-258; Chapuis, Gélis, 1928; Chapuis, Droz, 1949; Franke, 1997; Frieß, 1994; Kaufmann, Stock, 2003; Rogers, 2005, pp. 46-47.

[117] Karl Young had already pointed out: "That the words *Imago Crucifixi* mean the *corpus* alone seems to be certain from the following passage in the *Customarium* of Sarum (W.H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, vol. I, Cambridge 1898, p. 219): 'Omnibus dominicis quadragesime, excepta prima dominica, deferatur una crux ante presbyterium signa a ymagine crucifixi"; Young, 1920, p. 81.

[118] In was pointed out by Gesine and Johannes Taubert: "Ein weiteres Problem bei der Deutung der liturgischen Quellen ist die unterschiedliche Bezeichnung der Depositionsfiguren. Schon die drei besprochenen, wohl beweiskräftigen Quellen aus Barking, Prüfening und Wittenberg benutzten für offensichtlich die gleiche Sache drei verschiedene Bezeichnungen: in Barking entweder nur 'Imago' oder aber nur 'Crucifixus', in Prüfening immer 'Imago Crucifixi', in Wittenberg statt der homonymen Übersetzung: 'Bildnis des Gekreuzigten die Bezeichnung 'Bildnus unsers lieben Herrn und Seligmachen' (dem lateinisch viel eher 'Imago salvatoris' entspräche, den u.U. als Bezeichnung eines Auferstehungsbildes vorkommt). Findet man in einer Quelle eine dieser Bezeichnungen, so könnte man auf die Verwendung eines Kruzifixus mit schwenkbaren Armen

are certain sources which suggest the probable use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ but use the term *Ymago Resurrectionis*,[119] *Ymago Salvatoris*[120]

schließen, diese aber nicht bewiesen. Die Verwendung solcher Kreuzfixe wird nur dann beweisbar sein, wenn entweder eine Kreuzabnahme direkt erwähnt wird, oder aber der Ritus dem aus Barking oder Prüfening sonst sehr ähnlich ist. So bleibt u. E. für eine weitere Untersuchung der Quellen auf dem Gebrauch von Kruzifixen mit schwenkbaren Armen hin nur der auch bei Gschwend durchgeführte Vergleich von kurzgefaßten mit ausführlichen liturgischen Quellen. Dazu ist noch anzumerken, daß ebenso wie in Barking 'Ymago' und 'Crucifixus' nebeneinander, der gleichbedeutend gebraucht werden, in anderen Quellen 'crux' und 'Crucifixum' als Synonyma vorkommen. Einzelne Quellen geben zu der Bezeichnung 'crux' nähere Erläuterungen, aus denen ersichtlich wird, daß unter 'crux' auch der Kruzifixus allein verstanden werden kann. So in St. Lambrecht, 14. Jh.: 'crucis caput' in Mainz, 15. Jh.: 'stigmata crucis' in Augsburg, 1491: 'crucis pecatore',"; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 103. Cf.: Kapustka, 2003, p. 145; Schmiddunner, 2008, p. 22.

[119] As in the case of the *Cracow Missal*, published in 1509: "[...] MINISTRIS cum Luminibus ante eos precedentibus. Posito autem Corpore Christi ubi decet [...] et Crux de loco salutationis et feratur ad Sepulchrum. Et PRELATUS divina celebrans in Corporali Corpus Christi accipiens fert post eos. Candelis, Thuribulo, et Aqua Benedicta precedentibus, cantantibus subtinuae voce Responsorium: [...] una cum suis Versibus. Ad Sepulchrum autem solemniter coopertum venientes, apposito portatili et subtracto corporali Corpus Christi cum reverentiali super eum ponatur, ibidem Ymagine Resurrectionis vel Crucis in Sepulchrum imposita, et psumto a PRELATO Ymagine Aqua Benedicta aspergatur et thurificetur"; Missale Cracoviense (impr.) Kraków, J. Haller, 1509, p. 102. Regarding of the text in: Lewański, 1999, p. 253. As noted by Julian Lewański (p. 62): "The Cracow Missal [...] allows us to deduce that the figure was carried, but it does not provide a clear indication of the fact." The term *Imago Resurrectionis* is generally connected to sculptures of Resurrected Christ used in the *Elevatio Crucis*.

[120] As in the case of *Breviar des Augustiner-Chorherrenstifts Indersdorf*, 1496, pp. 113-114, 119-121 (Munchen, Staatsbibliothek Ms clm 7691): "DEPOSITIO CRUCIS / Antequam POPULUS recedat, DUO SACERDOTES [...] accedant ad se ... per Pupule messi cantanuntur, PRE-LATO immediate sequente similiter in casula cum albis cum et MINISTRIS in albis portantibus reliquia Sanctorum precedentibus, Ymaginem Salvatoris portent ad sepulendum, una voce infine totum Ecclesiam circumeundo Conventu processionaliter cum candelis precedente et cum impressa ac legudeti voce cantante Responsorium: [...] Cum Responsorio: / Recessit pastor <...> / Quibus finitis, locertur Ymago in Sepulchrum, et inponit CANTOR inponit Responsorium: / Sepulto Domino <...> / Absque Versu, postea illuc inmodum, videclecet Versu: / In pace factus est locus eius <...> / Et percussa tabula ad Vesperas, CONVENTUS per duos Chores legat Vesperas circa Sepulchrum. Et SACRISTA aquas benedicitam cum pulveres procuret et reliquia sanctorum accipiat a ministris. et psuam in Sepulchrum corum Ymaginem Salvatoris. Sido. / Magnificat <...> / Vero aggregatur Sepulchrum et thurificetur a PRELATO. Et Psalmo: / Miserere mei Deus <...> / A prostratis dicto, subsequatur Versum: / In pace factus est locus <...> / Deinde DOMINUS PRELATUS dicat: / Dominus vobiscum <...> / ORATIO: / Da nobis, quaesumus, Domine, locum suplice <...> / Completis omnibus, postquam FRATRES ad cellas redierint, SACRISTA per se vel per alium ob memoriam dominice exspirationis faciat feri pulsum ad tabulas in loco quem superior deputaverit propter indulgentias ad hoc datas". It is worth noting that *Ymago Crucifixi* is taken out of the tomb during the *Elevatio Crucis*: "[...] Thurificata et aspersa Ymagine Crucifixi, DOMINUS PRELATUS sumat ipsam Ymaginem una cum DUOBUS SENIORIBUS cum summa reverentia et porrent ad chorum ante summum altare cantantes humili ac mediocri voce Antiphonam: / Christus resurgens ex mortuis [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 973-975. See also: Krause, 1987, pp. 312, 313 (note 134).

34   1. The current state of research and nomenclature issues

or just *Ymago*.[121] In certain liturgical books it is indicated that a cross (*crux*) be placed into the sepulchre during the *Depositio Crucis* while an *Imago Crucifixi* be ceremonionally taken out of the Sepulchre and carried to the main altar in the *Elevatio Crucis*.[122] Even in the single record of the *Depositio Crucis* we may find two different designations of the object which is to be placed in the Sepulchre.[123]

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[121] *Breviar das dem Augustinerchorstift Diessen*, 15ᵗʰ c., fol. 19b-20a (München, Staatsbibliothek, Mh clm 5545): "[...] His finitis DUO PRESBITERI induti portent Ymaginem, que supeforda est precedente CONVENTU cum accensis candelis et thuribus incedat PROCESSIONEM per Ecclesiam circumeundo et cantando lugubri voce Responsorium [...] (*Depositio Crucis*). "In ipsa sancta nocte ante pulsationem clam surgant. Sitque paratum thuribulum cum incenso et SACERDOS cum summa reverencia accedat ad Sepulchrum et stans dicat hos Psalmos // Domine quid multiplicati [...] et Pulmo: // in thuribuli Ymaginem Crucifixi [...] *Elevatio Crucis*); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1092-1094. Compare with: *Ordinarium des Passauer Domes*, 14ᵗʰ c., fol. 48b-49a, 50b-51b (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 1934 (766)); *Breviar des Domstifts Passau*, end of the 14ᵗʰ c., fol. 245b, 248b, 249a-b (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms Hb I 109 (ohne: Westgarten F 56)); *Breviar der Diözese Passau 1568, geschrieben im Hospital zu Passau*, fol. 255b-256a, 258b (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 1568 (16722)); *Ordinarium des Passauer Domes*, ca. fol. 35a-b, 36b-37a (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 1114 (1718, olim 1093)); *Breviarium Pataviense, Augsburg 1490 (Falin 3873)*, fol. 145a-147b, 148a-b (München, Staatsbibliothek, 2° Liturg 293v.); *Breviarium Pataviense, Venedig 1490 (Hain 3877)*, fol. 245b, 249b, 250ᵃ-b (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° I. Liturg. 156b); *Breviarium Pataviense, secundum ritum ecclesie Pataviensis, Venedig 1498 (Hain 3880), 324ᵃ-325b (Wolfenbüttel, Ink. 876-64); Breviarium secundum chorum et ritum alme ecclesie Pataviensis, Venedig 1515, fol. 298b-299a, 302b (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Liturg. 129b); Breviarium Pataviense, Venedig 1517 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 2° Liturg. 340), fol. IV, 1976, pp. 1100-1103, 1105-1107, 1117-1119, 1122-1125, 1127-1135, 1141, 1142, 1150-1152, 1154 (see above: 1 Abbr. 324); in the texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis* we also encounter terms such as *corpus dominicum*, which most likely refer to figures of Christ in the Tomb; Pfeiffer, 1908, p. 20.

[123] *Ordinarium für Klosterneuburg*, beginning of the 16ᵗʰ c., fol. 105b (Klosterneuburg, Augustinerchorherrenstift, Ms CCl 1014): "Post Communionem PRELATUS cum MINISTRIS conferimon <> certa aram <> diurnale quiesit. Quo finito PRELATUS reincipiat Sacramentum inpositum in calicem et annulo Prelati sigillatum cum MINISTRIS et CLERO procedat ad locum, ubi Crux collocatum fuit. Ibi DUO SACERDOTES, qui fuerint statuti, recipiant Ymaginem Crucifixi, sed ferretro ad hoc preparato precedunte Prelatum, quam antecedat totus Ductus, et Chorus processionaliter procedat per Ecclesiam et per abitum inclinatam ad Capellam per Sepulchrum S. Leopoldi et cantatis hunmili et submissa voce hoc Responsorio: [...] Et sic iter peragendo S. Petri edicet et signum Crucis prima benediccione ministerium in Sepulchrum imponat [...] Lapidem benediccionem apponant et iuxta Sepulchrum stent et cantent salmos ad Vesperas dicant: [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 1007-1008. In *Elevatio Crucis* "Corpus Dominicum et Crucem" are taken out of the Sepulchre: "In sancta nocte, antequam

We should also mention that in certain cases local-language terminology was also used.[124] In addition, the meaning of the term *Imago* itself is semantically unclear. In medieval source material it is used in reference to works made of various materials and with various techniques.[125] In light of this, the term *Imago* cannot be treated as describing a specific distinguishing feature of the type of sculptures we are discussing, nor as a concrete and precise name for them.[126]

The sporadically used term *Christ in the Tomb* appears in the literature on the subject due to the fact that some animated sculptures of the crucified Christ functioned as devotional images.[127] This was often the case in Spain and Sicily, where the sculptures, placed in glass-topped wooden or metal coffins, were

sonentur MATUTINE, PRELATUS, sibi alquibus adjunctis sibi Corpus Dominicum, et Crucem de Sepulchro tollunt cum summa devocione et reverencia [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 1089. *Obsequiale benedictionum Salisburgense Opus*, Nürnberg 1495 (Hain 11932), fol. 42a-44a (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Inc. c. a. 1323): "Communione completa et Sepulchro preparato usque decenter ornato sint in prompto cria thuribula cum incenso, mure et thimiamate, et quatuor candele ardentes et PRESBITER cum aliis SACERDOTIBUS et MINISTRIS portent Imaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum lugubri voce cantantes Responsorium [...] Finito Responsorio collocetur Crucifixum in Sepulchro et linthaminibus et nudato cooperiatur. Deinde lapis superponatur et cantentur RESPONSORIA tria [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 1092-1303. See also: *Agenda secundum rubricam Ecclesie cathedralis Saxenburgensis*, Basel 1511 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 24), *Libellus agendarum Salisburg. 1557* (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 368, 12a-b (Admont, Stiftsbibl., Ms 474): Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 1306, *Directorium der Benediktinerabtei Admont*, ca. 1500, Bl. 125a-b (Admont, Stiftsbibl., Ms 474): Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 709-710, and *Missale des 15. Jhds. aus der Diözese Salzburg, bestimmt für die Burgkapelle St. Katharina auf Pfannberg (bei Fronleiten), Steiermark*, fol. 84 a (Pannonhalma, Ungarn, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei, Ms. A. 12); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 1333-1334; Rabus, 1973, pp. 186-190.

[124] See e.g.: Brooks, 1928, p. 149; Young, 1920, p. 81 (*picture*); Kapuscka, 1998, pp. 32-33; Kapuscka, 2003, pp. 123-124. Occasionally, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ – those to which pilgrimages were made and which were famed for the miracles associated with them – were given individual names. The animated sculptures from Burgos and Boxley were usually called *Rood of Grace* and *Cristo de Burgos* (or, for example, *Santo Crucifijo*) in the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries; Kapuscka, 2004b, pp. 119, 122; Kapania, 2007, pp. 499-501.

[125] Bauch, 1960, pp. 9-28; Camille, 1989, pp. 42-44; Dürig, 1952; Kapuscka, 2002, pp. 275-287; Maisel, 2002, p. 5; Marcinkowski, 1994, passim; Schmiddunser, 2008, p. 22. See also: Belting, 2000, passim.

[126] It is worth noting that the term *Corpus* was sometimes used to designate animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, as in case of breviary from Meissen, dated 1520: "[...] Fläque PROCESSIO ex choro in ambitum instando Ecclesiam, circumpirando per Capellam ducum usque ad locum, ubi Sepulchrum paratum est in Capella Simonis et Iude. Ibique ponatur Corpus cum phereto et Sacramentum super altare ibidem [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, p. 1040, vol. VII, pp. 524-525. This record, however, lacks the description of the act removing the sculpted depiction of Christ from the cross. The need of use the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the ceremony is certified nor by the main text of the *Depositio Crucis et Hostiae*, but by a short phrase included in the previous part of breviary: "Sub predicatione passionis eripitur crux in medio chori cum vexagine crucifixi haberi iunxuna flexibiles in scapulis."; Kroeven, 1987, p. 288.

[127] In some cases they fulfil this role up to today: Kroesen 2000a, pp. 181-187.

subject of year-round adoration by the faithful.[128] The term *Christ in the Tomb* conveys, above all, the method in which the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were displayed inside the church.

The above points lead to the conclusion that the terminology employed by researchers is inaccurate or erroneous. It is therefore difficult to consider it usable. It seems that some of the researchers writing about animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are aware of this fact and avoid using a specific designation, identifying only the characteristic traits of the figure of Christ.[129] This approach can be deemed wholly justified, but is only useful for studies of individual works. Yet if a study hopes to address the whole group of crucified Christ figures which feature moveable arms, head, legs or eyes, it would be better to use a specific designation in order to create a clear picture of the phenomenon that sculptures of this type constituted in the Middle Ages.

The best solution in this situation is to include all figures of the crucified Christ which have moveable elements into the group of *animated sculptures*. The designation *animated sculpture of the crucified Christ* best conveys the status and function of the discussed works.[130] The noun *sculpture* indicates that we are dealing with a work of art (in all its complexity) and the adjective *animated* reveals its theatrical or paratheatrical function (not as an object/prop but as a realistic--in-appearance figure put into motion and intended to convincingly represent the Saviour, i.e. in such a way as to enable the faithful participating in the theatricalised Holy Week ceremonies to feel a real sense of closeness to Him).[131]

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[128] Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 461–477; Castán Lanaspa, 2003, pp. 355-256; Kroesen, 2000a, passim.

[129] This is done by Elżbieta Pilecka (Pilecka, 1999, pp. 321-359).

[130] Kopania, 2004a, p. 42.

[131] Andrzej Kącki wrote casually on the topic of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ (in reference to a work from the Museum of the Warsaw Archdiocese). He stated that in the case of such sculptures, we are dealing with "simple artistic animation". The author means by this, "a coming to life of a hieratic sculpture according to the concept of creation, which in essence in parathetarical as well as ceremonial activity and not always used to develop dramatic parabola or subject matter."; Kącki, 2004, p. 28.

CHAPTER II

Artefact overview

The author of the present study is aware of the existence of one hundred and twenty six surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ as well as twenty three which are mentioned in written sources. The geographic range in which these sculptures appear covers most of Europe. The artefacts, residing in churches, museums and private collections, are usually accompanied by literature; but it is rare that we find in this literature basic information regarding the dimensions, formal characteristics, origins and dates of the sculptures. In some cases, they fail even to inform us as to the piece's current location. Therefore, during the preparations for this study, it was necessary to determine, verify and update this data. It should be added that some of the artefacts – this applies especially to those in private collections – are known exclusively from photos.

Surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been categorised according to the country of their residence, and we have decided to use the current geopolitical boundaries of Europe and contemporary geographic and administrative titles in their descriptions. The sculptures found in countries with the most artefacts are discussed first, followed by those from countries which possess only single works. This formula applies also to the sculptures which are known only from source material.

The source records have been divided into two groups. The first contains those which directly and unquestionably refer to an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, constituting reliable evidence of the existence of specific works in a given place and at a given time. The second category contains records which simply suggest the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, e.g. as in the *Depositio Crucis* ceremony. Hence, these records cannot be acknowledged as confirming beyond any doubt the existence of a specific figure in a given time and place, and are treated as only indirect and unverifiable material. Subsequent sections of this chapter are dedicated to an analysis of the style and chronology of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

1. Surviving works

The largest number of surviving artefacts is located in today's Italy: sixty-four examples, the city of Florence boasting the largest concentration (eleven pieces)[1] along with the surrounding area (seven pieces)[2] and Tuscany as a whole having (in addition to the already mentioned eighteen) another thirteen pieces.[3] Fifteen sculptures survive in Umbria,[4] five in the region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia,[5] and of Lombardy.[6] Three sculptures of the type we are interested in are found in Veneto,[7] two in Liguria,[8] and one in each of Emilia-Romagna,[9] Marche[10] and Trento.[11] By this, we can observe that the majority of sculptures, forty-six out of the total sixty-four identified, are located in central Italy – in Tuscany, Umbria and Marche – with considerably fewer located in Northern parts of the Italian Peninsula. It should be noted that in the case of the artefact acquired in the 1960s by the Nella Longari Gallery in Milan, we are unable to determine whether it should be attributed to Lombardy. This sculpture, which may have earlier in circulation on the armour market, was created in central Italy, although the exact location of its original home is unknown.[12]

[1] Istituto San Salvatore; 2. Calza monastery (origin: San Giusto); 3. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (originally: baptistery); 4. Palazzo Pitti; 5. Santa Croce; 6. San Felice in Piazza; 7. San Giovanni dei Cavalieri; 8. Santa Maria Novella; 9. Santa Maria in Campo; 10. Santo Spirito; 11. Santa Trinità.

[2] 1. Calcinaia, San Stefano; 2. Campi Bisenzio, Santa Maria e il Castello; 3. Ema, San Pietro; 4. Mugello, San Francesco al Bosco; 5. Roverzano, Sant' Andrea; 6. San Casciano, Collegiata dei Santi Leonardo e Callisto; 7. Villa della Petraia.

[3] 1. Arezzo, cathedral; 2. Buti, San Giovanni Battista; 3. Castelfranco di Sotto, San Pietro Apostolo; 4. Colle di Buggiano; 5. Palaia, Sant' Andrea; 6. Pisa, Santa Croce in Fossabranda; 7. Pistoia, San Paolo; 8. Prato, San Vincenzo; 9. Prato, San Domenico; 10. Prato, seminary; 11. San Miniato, Santi Michele e Stefano; 12. San Miniato, San Domenico; 13. Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

[4] 1. Acquasparta, San Francesco; 2. Assisi, Basilica inferiore di San Francesco d'Assisi; 3. Bettona, San Crispolto (originally: Perugia, San Francesco); 4. Bovara di Trevi, San Pietro; 5. Cannara, Oratorio della Buona Morte; 6. Foligno, San Feliciano; 7. Marano, convento di San Bartolomeo; 8. Norcia, Santa Maria Argentea; 9. Spello, San Ludovico (origin: San Bernardino); 10. Pietrarossa, Santa Maria; 11. Sangemini, San Francesco; 12. Spello, Pinacoteca Comunale (origin: Spello, Santa Maria Maggiore); 13. Spello, Chiesa dell'Ospedale (vestry); 14. Terni, Pinacoteca Comunale (origin: Terni, San Francesco); 15. Terni, Pinacoteca Comunale (origin: Trevi, Santa Maria delle Grazie).

[5] 1. Pontebba, S. Giovanni Battista; 2. Pontebba, Santa Maria Assunta; 3. Porcia, Chiesa della Madonna; 4. Pordenone, Chiesa del Cristo; 5. Valvasone, private collection.

[6] 1. Palazzolo sullo Scrivia, Santuario di Scortanole; 2. Caravaggio, San Bernardino; 3. Como, Holy Cross Sanctuary; 4. Milan, collection of Nella Longari gallery (origin: unknown, condition as of 1968); 5. Travagliato, Santi Pietro e Paolo.

[7] 1. Palazzolo di Sona, San Giacomo; 2. Sappada, Santa Margherita; 3. Verona, Santa Toscana.

[8] 1. Tosse di Noli, oratorio di Santo Stefano; 2. Zuccarello, San Bartolomeo.

[9] Rimini, Museo della Città (origin: Rimini, Chiesa di Santa Maria della Misericordia).

[10] Sagli, San Giuseppe.

[11] The Order of Brothers of the German House Saint Mary in Jerusalem, convent in Lana.

[12] The sculpture was part of the Medici-Peruzzi collection until 1968. See: *Notable Works of Art...*, 1968, plate VII; Paoli, 1999, p. 191; Previtali, 1991, pp. 22-23; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 15; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 15.

In discussing the surviving artefacts from Italy, we should also be wary of whether to associate the sculpture housed in the church of the Teutonic Order in Lana with the cultural and religious environment of Italy in the Middle Ages. Lana is a town in southern Tyrol which belonged to the Bishopric of Brixen from the 10th century, later becoming more strongly associated with the German Empire and in the 1360s amalgamated into Austria.[13] The region found itself within the territory of Italy beginning only in the year 1919.[14] The fact that the sculpture was created for the German knightly order constitutes another argument for its exclusion from the Italian group of artefacts.

In addition to the sculptures surviving in Italy, we should mention the piece bought in Florence in 1885 for the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The sculpture, created by the workshop of Andrea di Ugolino Pisano, originally comes from a church in Lucca[15] and hence can justifiably be attributed to the artistic legacy of Tuscany. It is also acknowledged as having originated and functioned in Lucca for centuries and therefore belongs to the religious culture of Italy. A more troublesome issue is determining the original homes of two other sculptures, also currently residing outside of Italy, previously in circulation on the antiques market or belonged to private collections. The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ acquired by the Bode-Museum in Berlin as a donation and traced back to the workshop of Baccio da Montelupo is one of these.[16] Is it a fact that it should be associated with Tuscan art of the turn of the 16th century, but there is no evidence to suggest it was created for any church in the region.

A similar problem arises in the case of the piece donated by an antiques dealer to the Saint-Germain-des-Prés parish in Paris.[17] There is no data as to the sculpture's original home. Its connexion to Florentine art of the last quarter of the 15th century, and especially to the work of Verrocchio, is the only basis for the tentative conclusion that Florence was indeed the place of its residence for centuries. Margrit Lisner, who analysed the figure in detail in terms of style,[18] states that the sculpture arrived in Paris just after the year 1480,[19] yet provides no evidence to support this.[20]

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[13] On the subject of Brixen diocese history see: Gschwend, 1965, pp. 23-29, including bibliography.

[14] In fact even today the region is strongly influenced by German minority. This is confirmed by the legal status of the province in which Lana is located – since 1970 it is an *Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol / Alto Adige* – as well as the fact that a significant percentage of the inhabitants of the province consider German and its local dialects to be their native language.

[15] Bode von, 1886, pp. 212-214.

[16] Schormüller, 1933, p. 147, no. 7139.

[17] Taubert, Taubert, 1968, p. 86, cat. no. 21; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 21.

[18] Lisner, 1970, pp. 95-96.

[19] "Der Gekreuzigte mag in der achtziger Jahren von Verrocchios Werkstatt nach Paris geliefert worden sein."; Lisner, 1970, p. 96.

[20] The sculpture may have been acquired for the parish after World War II. A catalogue note in the Tauberts' article suggests that the authors gathered the information on the sculpture themselves by contacting the Saint-Germain-des-Prés parish priest.

In discussing artefacts from Italy, we should single out sculptures that were converted into animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, such as those from Cascia[21] and Tolentino,[22] which were originally elements of monumental sculptural groups depicting the *Deposition*. In both cases, we are dealing with representations of crucified Christ, though His hands are not nailed to the cross but gently hanging down so as to constitute the type of figure termed an *Imago Pietatis*. As a result of modifications to the structures of the works – the arms were detached from the torso and then re-attached using a simple mechanism – it became possible to extend Christ's arms lengthwise along His body.

Nineteen artefacts are housed in German churches and museums. Two of those are the pieces already mentioned, originating in Italy, which are now located in the collections of Berlin museums. Aside from the Berlin artefacts, the remaining surviving sculptures are found in the south of Germany: in Baden-Württemberg (five works)[23] and Bavaria (nine).[24] Single artefacts have survived in Hessen, the North Rhine and Saxony.[25] We know nothing regarding the original homes of the sculptures from Lage and Passau-Grubweg. The former is mentioned by Roland Recht, who provides no concrete information on the sculpture aside from the fact that it is now located in Lage.[26] The latter was most likely created in what is today Austria, though we do not know whether it was from there that the sculpture was brought to Germany. Certain doubts also surround the origins of a piece in the collection of the Stadtmuseum Weilheim in Oberbayern – it most likely belonged to the local parish church, although there is no evidence to support this.[27]

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[21] Museo di Palazzo Santi (Cascia, Collegiata di Santa Maria) [Umbria].

[22] Cattedrale di San Catervo [Marche].

[23] 1. Altheim, parish church; 2. Bad Wimpfen am Berg, evangelical church; 3. Lorch, former monastic church; 4. Oberndorf, parish church; 5. Rottweil.

[24] 1. Aufhein, Museum Kartause Aufheim; 2. Kempten, St. Lorenz; 3. Laufen; 4. Memmingen, St. Johann Baptist; 5. Ottobeuren, museum at Benedictine Abbey; 6. Passau-Grubweg, private collection; 7. Sulzschneid, St. Pancras parish church; 8. Weilheim, Stadtmuseum; 9. Unterhausen, Mariä Heimsuchung.

[25] 1. Lage (North Rhine-Westphalia); 2. Schneidhain (Hessen), St. Johannes der Täufer (originally: Schneidhain, Königsteiner Burgkapelle); 3. Döbeln (Saxony), Döbelner Stadtmuseum (originally: St. Nicolai).

[26] Recht, 1999, p. 272. The description of the sculpture by Roland Recht is laconic: "Le crucifix en bois de Lage ini monté sur un curieux dispositif formant trois petites 'caisses' dans lesquelles sont placés respectivement le corps et chacun des bras".

[27] "Der ausgestellte Christus war, wie sich mancher Weilheimer vielleicht noch erinnern wird, in der Kreuzkapelle noch bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg in Gebrauch.", Höhn, 1982, p. 78. Dr. Reinhardt Helm, director of the city museum in Weilheim i.OB, in a letter to the author of the present study (3 XII 2004) writes: "In den zur Stadtpfarrei Mariae Himmelfahrt gehörenden Archivalien sur Kapelle (reichlich der Stadtmauer) war allerdings ein historisches Eigentum bisher nicht nachweisbar. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine Wiederaufnahme des Brauches, ausgehend von dem Bestände des Museums aufgenommen war (Gründung 1882). Seit wann sich der Christus in Weilheim befindet, ist nicht bekannt (Entstehung 1490)".

The above artefacts lead us to conclude that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were especially common in southern Germany: Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. There are no traces of their existence in the northern part of the country, and as for the central regions, the sculptures from Lage, Schneidhein and Döbeln suggest that figures of the type we are interested in were not an altogether uncommon sight.

Eighteen surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ can be found on the Iberian Peninsula. Most of the are located in Spain, in the northwest part of the country – in Galicia[28] and in Castile and León.[29] Three pieces are located in towns in Andalusia,[30] Valencia[31] and the Balearic Archipelago.[32] Two artefacts are known in Portugal – the first, whose original home is unknown, is located in the Museu Grão-Vasco in Viseu, and the second is located in the town of Portel.[33]

Again, we must set apart the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which comprised monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups. As applies to works of this type in Italy, there are no examples of individual representations of Christ whose original construction enabled the sculpture to be posed. Figures of crucified Christ from Mig Aran[34] and Taüll[35] (both in Catalonia) were modified to be used during theatricalised Good Friday ceremonies. Their arms were broken off and reattached with simple metal fasteners to enable them to be folded down along the body.

In Austria there are twelve surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Three of them are found in Lower Austria,[36] the same number in Tyrol,[37] two each in Upper Austria[38] and Carinthia[39] and one each in Salzburg[40] and

[28] 1. Fisterra, Iglesia de la Sangre de Cristo; 2. Lugo, San Pedro Félix de Hospital do Incio; 3. Orense, cathedral; 4. Tui, Museo Diocesano de Tui (origin: Tui, Convento de Santo Domingo); 5. Villabade, parish church.

[29] 1. Aguilar de Campoo; 2. Arrabal de Portillo; 3. Burgos, cathedral; 4. Esquevillas de Esgueva; 5. Palencia, las Claras de Palencia; 6. Segovia, Iglesia de San Justo; 7. Toro, Iglesia de la Santísima Trinidad; 8. Villalcampo, Iglesia de San Lorenzo.

[30] Castillo de Lebrija.

[31] Liria, Iglesia de la Sangre de Cristo.

[32] Palma de Mallorca, cathedral.

[33] Igreja da Misericórdia.

[34] Val d'Aran, Sant Miguèu de Vielha (origin: Val d'Aran, Santa Maria).

[35] Taüll, Santa María (cutrently: Barcelona, Museu Nacional de Arte de Catalunya).

[36] 1. Göttweig, Benedictine monastery; 2. Schönbach, parish church; 3. Seitenstetten, Benediktinerstift Stiftssammlungen.

[37] 1. Rietz, parish church (origin: Rietz, cemetery chapel); 2. Schwaz, cemetery chapel; 3. Tannheim, parish church.

[38] 1. Ried im Innkreis, Museum Innviertler Volkskundehaus; 2. Ried im Innkreis, private collection.

[39] 1. Klagenfurt, Diözesanmuseum (origin: Klagenfurt, St. Veit a. d. Glan); 2. Maria Wörth, parish church.

[40] Salzburg, Priesterseminar der Erzdiözese.

Styria.[41] The original home of the surviving artefact from Ried im Innkreis (Upper Austria) has not been established.

There are three surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Switzerland. One of these, from the collections of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich, was housed in Grancia in the canton of Ticino before being relocated to the museum.[42] The other two, which were mentioned and pictured in Gesine and Johannes Taubert's article, were part of a private collection (Agnuzzo) in the 1960s[43] or were traded on the antiques market (Lausanne). The latter displays a strong formal similarity to the piece in Zurich and is likewise dated to the beginning of the 16th century. Both feature identical mechanisms allowing for the movement of the Christ's arms[44] and in both cases the hair is not sculpted but applied as a wig. There are also visible similarities in the way the torso is shaped – a sunken stomach contrasted with the rib cage, which was clearly defined by the line formed by the lower ribs. The arrangement of the legs, the hip bones, and the prominent shoulders which are separated from the arms and neck by a border of sorts, are all identical in both artefacts. The fact that both were made in Ticino does not necessarily prove that the artefact from Lausanne was an element of one of the churches of the region before finding its way onto the antiques market.

There are two animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the Czech Republic. The first of these is part of the collections of the Alšova Jihočeská Gallery in Hluboká.[45] The other, originally from a Barnabite church in Prague, was for many years part of the Czech National Museum collection. At the beginning of the 1990s it was conveyed to the Carmelite convent in Hradčany in Prague as per the agreement on the restitution of cultural goods.[46] Two artefacts are also known in what is today Slovakia. They are: a sculpture created for the church of the St. Benedict monastery in Hronský Beňadik,[47] where it resides to this day, and a sculpture from the parish church in Spišská Belá.[48] Both these historical artefacts should be associated with the Kingdom of Hungary, with the lands of present-day Slovakia once belonged.

41 Steirisch-Laßnitz, parish church (origin: St. Lambrecht, Benedictine monastery).
42 Baier-Futterer, 1936, p. 73.
43 The original residence of the sculpture from Agnuzzo is unknown.
44 Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 35.
45 Origin: Boletice (Český Krumlov).
46 In a letter to the author of the present study (of 16.06.2007) Dr. Jan Klípa from the National Gallery in Prague wrote: "der Kruzifix, an den Sie Interesse haben, besteht in der Sammlungen der Nationalgalerie leider nicht mehr. Er war in unmittelbaren Besitzer am Anfang der 90. Jahre während der Restitutionen zurückgestellt. Das Werk ist heute in Besitztum des Ordens der Karmelitinnen in Hradschin/Prag."
47 The sculpture worked in tandem with a wooden, moveable Holy Sepulchre, currently located in Esztergom (Keresztény Múzeum): Endrődi, 2003, pp. 716-717, cat. no. 4. 46.
48 Kampis, 1932, p. 52; Lajta, 1960, p. 89; Pilecka, 1999, p. 331; Radocsay, 1967, p. 213; Výstava staré... 1937, p. 42, cat. no. 206.

Two animated sculptures of the crucified Christ can be found in Poland. One of these, surviving as a figure of Christ in the Tomb with a mechanism allowing the folding down of the arms removed, is currently housed in the Warsaw Archdiocese Museum.[49] It is believed to have been created in Mszczonów. In 1966, it was discovered in the St. John the Baptist parish church by Izabela Galicka and Hanna Sygietyńska.[50] However, the fact that is found in Mszczonów does not prove that the sculpture should be associated with that church. The medieval church, which was in fact built long after the figure had been created, burned down completely, along with all of its furnishings, at the beginning of the 19th century. It is possible the sculpture was brought to the newly-erected church from another town after the fire. The other sculpture is located at the former Cistercian church in Chełmno. Since Chełmno belonged to the Monastic State of the Teutonic Knights until the second half of the 15th century and the convent of Cistercian nuns for whom the sculpture had been made was connected to convents in southern Germany, it would be justifiable to treat this sculpture as a work associated with the culture of German-speaking lands.

Two animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are known to exist in France. One of them was described earlier in the section concerning artefacts from Italy, and the other is a sculpture located in the Piraud collection in Paris as of the 1920s. A concise description and picture of the sculpture can be found in the book *Le Monde des Automates. Étude historique et technique*.[51] In later years, the sculpture was mentioned several times,[52] yet none of the authors writing about it established its original or current location. Even less can be said about the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Huy in Belgium. This artefact was introduced in the literature on the subject by Johannes Taubert, who however provided no information about it aside from the name of the town where it resides and that it dates from the 14th century.[53]

One animated sculpture of the crucified Christ made of walrus tusk, surviving in incomplete condition – without arms – is found in the collections of the Kunstindustrimuseet in Oslo. It is not certain whether the figure was made in Norway; it is possible that it was imported from England.[54] Because of the material it was made of and its height (25 cm), it is distinct from the

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[49] Inventory no. 828.

[50] Galicka, Sygietyńska, 1994, pp. 16-17.

[51] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95.

[52] Kapustka, 1998, p. 47; Kapustka, 2003, p. 155; Kapustka, 2008, p. 160; Kopania, 2004a, p. 43 (note 17); Kopania, 2007, p. 126; Kopania, 2009, p. 146; Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 22; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 22; Tripps, 2000a, p. 157.

[53] Taubert, 1978, p. 43; cat. no. 41. It was this sculpture that was probably mentioned by Martine Joway-Marchal, who wrote that it was hanged on the external wall of the church of Saint-Étienne-au-Mont (Joway-Marchal, 1990, p. 293). Unfortunately in 2010 the sculpture was not in the same place.

[54] Especially see: Parker, Little, 1994, pp. 30, 37, 80, 159, 253-258.

other artefacts that make up our field of interest. Although the figure in the Kunstindustrimuseet is the only known animated sculpture surviving to this day in Scandinavia, it is reasonable to presume that such figures once belonged to churches in Denmark, Finland and Sweden. Research by art and theatre historians conducted in the last several decades revealed the existence of medieval sculptures used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies in Scandinavia. Among these are portable and permanent Holy Sepulchres with figures of the Saviour that could be taken out, as well as sculptures of the Resurrected Christ which were raised to church vaults with ropes on the day of the Ascension.[55]

2. Works known from source records

In Italy, there are ten surviving manuscript sources which mention no longer extant animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Eight of them refer to figures used in theatricalised paraliturgical ceremonies which were conducted by the members of various religious confraternities. The oldest of these are 14th-century *laude* records. In codex 36/4 housed at the San Rufino Cathedral in Assisi is a *lauda* for Good Friday which begins with the words "Ista laus dicitur in die veneris sancti propter scavigliationem domini nostri Iesu Christi", which was enacted by the members of the local San Stefano confraternity (*disciplinati di S. Stefano*).[56] The Latin instructions concerning the staging of the *Deposition* leave no doubt as to the need for an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the presentation, especially since the text lacks any lines for an actor playing the part of the Saviour[57]: "Iohannes, videns unam manum scavigliatami), ait Marie", "Scavigliatur alia manus. Iohannes dicat:", "Decaviglietur corpus totum et detur in gremio Mariae."[58] The most important scenes enacted with the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ – the *Deposition* and the *Burial* – are recorded as follows:

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[55] It is described in detail by: Grinder-Hansen, 2004, pp. 233-239; Haastrup, 1973, pp. 37-48; Haastrup, 1987, pp. 133-170; Kaspersen, 1988, pp. 203-205; Ringbom, 1998, pp. 737-757; Stolt, 1993, pp. 25-27, 49-64; Stolt, 1998, pp. 55-70.

[56] Archivio Capitolare di San Rufino di Assisi. Full text of the *laude*, dated to 1381 contained in: Santucci, 1995, pp. 243-263.

[57] The lack of lines for an actor playing the part of the Saviour is also seen in other 14th c. *lauda* from Assisi: Lunghi, 2000, pp. 116-118; Mancini, 1990.

[58] "Nel codice 36/4 della cattedrale di San Rufino in Assisi la stessa lauda comincia con la rubrica 'Ista laus dicitur in die veneris sancti propter scavigliationem domini nostri Iesu Christi' e prosegue con le indicazioni in latino riguardanti l'azione della deposizione, quali 'Decavigliatur corpus totum et detur in gremio Mariae', per lo 'sconficcamento' di Gesù dalla croce, e 'Deinde venit Magdalena et alie Marie, que stabant a longe et vadunt ad pedes Domini et dicunt', per il compianto."; Bernardi, 2000, pp. 16-17. See also: Fortini, 1961, pp. 459-469.

[...]
Iosep et Nicodemus actinguent crucem:
Recate avem le ferram(en)ta;
onn' altra gente cesse via;
solo remangha chi lam(en)ta
piacciave dar ne la via.
Quel Iesù mo' esferramo
et de la croce mo' 'l levamo.

Maria Iosep et Nicodemus
No me pare vedere quell'ora
c'um poco lo possa toccare;
tanto dolore em me demora:
no vorria più en vita stare.
O Iusèp, or te spaccia
Et pollome fra le mie braccia.

Iosep solus super crucem quando vadit ad
scavigliandum:
Segnor mio, no so' degno,
io peccatore, de toccarte;
ma, per levarte de legno,
onde io voglio esconficarte,
per tua Matre consolare
che sta quasi nel pasmare.

Iohannes, videns unam manum
scavi(gliatam), ait Marie:
Matre mia, or te conforta
ch'una mano è scavigliata;
tuo dolore um poco scorta:
no star più angustiata,
satesfacta um poco d'essa,
et più ad alto ad lui t'apressa.

Scavigliatur alia manus. Iohannes dicat:
Recive, matre, l'altra mano,
che ve porge Nicodemo,
tanto n'è suto lontano:
satisfarne ne podimo.
T'uò le braccia et no s' lenta:
el tuo figliol omai sostenta.

Decavigietur corpus totum et detur im gremio
Marie. Iohannes dicat:
Ecco el corpo del tuo figlio;
or lo recive, o cara matre.
Relucea sopra onne giglio
el mio Signore, maestro et padre,
cho' no prendemmo Iuda iersera,
quando ad la mensa con noi era.

Deinde venit Magdalena et alie Marie, que
stabant a longe et vadunt ad pedes Domini
et dicunt:
Or, esguarda Segnor mio,
a la pietà de Magdalena,
ché me foste tanto pio
stéendo con Semone ad cena.
No me voglio da te partire;
agli tuoi fiei voglio morire.

Item Magdalena ad pedes Domini:
Ecco i piei, quali io bagnai
de lacreme et più de pentimento.
No me voglio partire giamai,
vivere più no consento.
Poi cha 'l mio maestro è morto,
non averò giamai conforto.

Maria, tenens filium im gremio, dicit:
Dov'è la tua bella faccia,
lucente più che rosa d'orto?
Tucta pare che me desfaccia
vedendo te, figliol mio, morto.
O sorelle, et cho' farimio
che 'l mio figlio morto vedimo?

Maria:
Figliolo, col dolce parlamento
onne core si remutavi.
Dov'è et tuo bello portamento
et l'onestà che demonstravi
et la tua grande bellecça?
Dave a me grande alegrecça.

Iterum Maria:
Questa bocca, figliol mio,
de lacte mio sì la bagnaie.
Féle et aceto, o trista io,
con mirra misto asaggiato àie,
che tu fuor con spogna porte;
perciò le labra ài così morte.

Item Maria:
Drappo nullo, né vile né caro,
li quali, tristi, avia cositi,
figliolo mio, non te lassato:
'nanti l'uom fra loro partiti;
tucto t'àm lassato nudo,
Pilato, cho' fuste sì crudo?

Veniunt Iosep et Nicodemus. Dicunt ad Mariam:
Matre, danne Iesu Cristo;
mo' 'l portamo ad seppellire.

Maria:
Trista, col core tristo,
volentier vorria morire,
poi che Crito me tollete;
con essolui me soppellete!

Dicunt omnes portantes Christum ad
monumentum:
Noi el portamo ad seppellire;
da onne gente abbandonato.
Fo facto ad gram remore morire,
dai suoi discipoli lassato.
Oymé, tristi, or co' farimo,
poi che sença se armarimo?

Iosep et Nicodemus dicunt Marie:
Sepelliamol, puoi ch'è morto
et mecciamolo nel sepolcro.

Maria:
Certo, amice, no farite;
'nante a me lo rendarite.
Or vedete crudel duolo
Partire la matre dal figliolo.

Maria:
Poi ch'egl'è sepellito,
no me voglio da lui partire.
Sempre meco serà unito:
qui voglio vivere e morire.[59]

The *Deposition* and the *Burial* were staged in a similar manner on Good
Friday in Perugia, which is evidenced by the fact that the LXII *lauda* of the local
San Andrea confraternity, dated to 1374, is similar in character (but contains
no stage directions).[60] Earlier inventories of the religious confraternities active in
Perugia attest to the long tradition of enacting *laude* with the use of animated
sculptures of the crucified Christ. In the inventory of San Domenico oratory,
dated to 1339, we can read, "una croce a colonna de la Devotione [...] tre chiuove

torte dai crocifixo [...] uno crocifixo grande acto a fare la Devotione."[61] What is more, the members of the San Stefano confraternity ordered a crucifix, two crowns, four angel's wings and pegs – items necessary for the enactment of the Good Friday ceremony – from Pietruccio di Piziche in 1338.[62] In an inventory of the confraternity from 1363, there is even a mention of two animated sculptures of the crucified Christ found in the oratory, "In Sala superiori oratori dice fraternitatis. Item duo crucifixi emplorumati."[63] As for later days, in the chronicles of Perugia, under the year 1448, we find a record of a complex performance held in the town streets on Good Friday. An animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was used in the course of this performance, at a certain moment taking the place of a live actor playing the Saviour:

> On 29 March, which was Good Friday, the said Friar Ruberto started again his daily preaching in the square. On Holy Thursday he preached on Communion and invited the whole population to come on Good Friday; and at the end of the said sermon on the Passion he performed this play [rappresentatione]: this is, he preached at the top of the square outside the door of San Lorenzo where a platform was prepared [?era ordinato un terrato] from the door to the corner towards the house of Cherubino degli Armanne. And there, when it was time to show the Crucifix, out San Lorenzo came Eliseo de Cristofano, barber, at the Gate of Sant'Agnolo, representing [a guisa de] the naked Christ with the cross on his shoulder and the crown of thorns on his head, and his flesh seemed beaten and scourged, as when Christ was scourged. And there several armed men [armaro] took him to be crucified. And they went down towards the fountain, around the Court, as far as the entrance to the Scudellari, and they turned [argiero] at the Exchange [audienza del Cambio] and returned [argiero] to the door of San Lorenzo and went onto the said platform [terrato] and there, in the middle of the platform, someone [una] went towards him in the garb of the Virgin Mary dressed all in black, weeping and speaking sorrowfully, as was done in the similar play [misterio] of the Passion of Jesus Christ; and when they arrived at the scaffold [?pergolo] of Friar Roberto, he stood there for a long time with the cross on his shoulder, and all the while the people wept and cried for mercy. When they put down the said cross and took up a crucifix which was already there, and they erected the said cross; and then the wailing of the people grew louder. At the foot of said cross, Our Lady started her lament together with St. John and Mary Magdalene and Mary Salome, and they said some stanzas from the lament of the Passion. Then came Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimatheo, and they freed the body of Jesus Christ from the nails [scavigliarono], put it in the lap of Our Lady, and then laid it in the sepulchre, and throughout the people continued to weep loudly. And many said that there had never been performed in Perugia a more beautiful and pious play [devozione] than this one.

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[61] Lunghi, 2000, p. 124.

[62] Lunghi, 2000, p. 124.

[63] Lunghi, 2000, p. 125. The author indicates that we cannot be entirely certain if the sculptures found in the oratory belonged to the category of animated sculptures. He states they could have been processional crucifixes: "Loratorio della confraternita di S. Stefano non conserva oggetti tanto antichi, non sappiamo dunque se si tratava di Crocifissi per le devozioni del Venerdì Santo o di croci per le processioni" (p. 125). As we shall try to demonstrate in the later part of this study, the two functions are not mutually exclusive. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could also have been used as processional crucifixes (see Chapter V).

And on that morning six friars were professed [:ne fecero]: one was the said Eliseo, who was a foolish youth, Tomasso de Marchegino, Bino who used to live with the Priors, the son of Bocco del Borgo de Santo Antonio, and Master Riciere de Francescone de Tanolo, and many others had taken the habit before, because of the sermons of the said Friar Roberto. And after three of four months the said Friar Eliseo de Crisofano de Porta Sant'Angelo left the friary and returned to the barber's trade, and they call him Lord God [Domendido]; and then he married and was a greater scoundrel than before.[64]

An analogous figure was used in Bologna in the second half of the 15th century, as evidenced by the record of the *sacra rappresentazione*, titled *Pianto de nostra Donna*, contained in a manuscript numbered 483 from the collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome.[65] However, the text does not contain any clearly expressed information as to the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the performance. Yet it is difficult to imagine a different method for the enactment of the *Deposition* (there are no references to an actor who could have played Christ in the *Pianto de nostra Donna*):

Yoseph e Nicodemo se lievino suxo e ponano le scale a la croce, e Yoseph vada suxo per la scala e prima lighi il corpo de Christo a la croce a traverso con un panexello. Poi voltisi a la man dritta e con lo martello dia una botta ne la puncta del chiodo per mostrare de cavarlo. E subito che la Vergene Maria santa quella botta, con gran lamento dica ad alta voce, e Yoseph stia fermo ad ascoltarla [...]. Yoseph cavi fuora el chiodo de la man dritta e con giesti da cavallo per forza. Poi voltisi da San Zohanne e dicali porgendoli il chiodo [...]. Yoseph cavi quello da la sinestra mano e dialo a San Zohanne senza dir altro. Poi Yoseph sentenga el corpo e Nicodemo cavi fuora el chiodo di piedi e dialo a san Zohanne. Poi mandino giuso il corpo e tucti lo sostengano. La Vergene Maria el prenda a traverso e ponase a sedere in mego con le spalle aperate in la croce e tenga el corpo. Poi el popolo e tenga il corpo del figliol morto disteso in grembo a traverso. Le due Marie, ne stia una da un lato de la Vergene e l'altra dal altro lato, volta inver la croce ver la Vergene. Yoseph e Nicodemo stiano verso il capo de Christo. La Magdalena stia di piedi e san Zohanne dal lato de la Magdalena. Come sono acunci a li luochi suoi, tucti insieme piangano battandosi con le mani.[66]

Another important source is the inventory written in the first quarter of the 15th century of the San Feliciano confraternity, which was active at the cathedral in Foligno. In it we read that the brotherhood possessed a figure of Christ whose function was to be taken down from the cross during the Good Friday *schiavel-*

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latione. It featured moveable arms as well as a mechanism which allowed the Christ's eyes to be opened and closed: "Nell'inventario del 1425 sono ricordate esplicitamente tre devozioni: quella di Natale, di Pasqua sulla resurrezione di Cristo e quella del venerdì santo, detta 'schiavellatione', da schiavellare, togliere i chiodi al crocifisso. Tre suppelletilli interessante è il 'crocifisso de lingno che apre et chiude l'ochi."[67] We can presume that the sculpture was housed in the Foligno cathedral, although there is no confirmation of this in the source material.

In addition to the source material connected with the activities of religious confraternities, we have at our disposal three documents which refer to clergy activity. One of these is a record kept at the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence. It indicates that in 1490 the clergy of the Santa Maria del Fiore church commissioned Andrea della Robia to make a sculpture of crucified Christ with moveable arms which was to be displayed to the people on Good Friday: "1490 dicta di XXquarta Januarii. Item (deliberaverunt) quod fiat quidam crucifixus ligneus ita congegnatus ut membra moveri videantur et serviat pro illum ostendendo populo in venere sancto quolibet anno a quicumque fuet expeditus in quo ad plus expendantur fj sex largh. pro valore... fj 6 Ll quatuor."[68]

In turn, in an inventory of the Siena cathedral prepared several years earlier we read: "La sacristia: [...] Una ymagine di legno di nostro Signore resuscitato si mette in sull'altare maggiore per la Pasqua di resurrectione. Uno crocifisso di legno, rilevato, grande, che si adopera il venerdì Santo."[69] The record does not directly state that an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was used in the Siena cathedral. However, the "Crocifixo di legno" housed at the sacristy was mentioned together with a figure of the Resurrected Christ ("ymagine di legno di nostro Signore resuscitato"). both works were to fulfil their respective functions on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. This leads us to assume that we can treat the crucifix in question as an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ.

The record of the *Depositio Crucis* and *Hostiae* from the *Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquileiensis* can attest to the existence of similar animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which have not survived.[70] This agenda, although printed later, in Venice in 1575, contains liturgical guidelines in use in Aquileia from

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[67] Bernardi, 1991, p. 442. Cf.: Bernardi, 2000, p. 17; Sensi, 1974, pp. 151-155, 193-194. See also: Picogli, 1980, pp. 34-35. Inventory of the San Feliciano confraternity – *Inventario di Sagrestia, 1425, aprile 10* (Foligno, Archivio di Stato, Ospedale 926, Ms cartaceo, privo di guardia) – was published by Mario Sensi (Sensi, 1974, pp. 193-194). It contains: "(41) Item uno crocefisso de lingno che apre et chiude l'ochi".

[68] Arch. Dell'Opera. Deliber. 1486-1491 a p. 78'. Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 90-91, cat. no. 57. Cf.: Fabriczy von, 1906, p. 284; Fabriczy von, 1909, p. 31, no. 94.

[69] *Inventario degli arredi artistici dell'Opera Metropolitana di Siena dell'anno 1482.* Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 91, cat. no. 59. Cf.: Fabriczy von, 1909, p. 67, no. 40.

[70] On the subject of the Agenda and the Holy Week liturgical ceremonies contained therein see: Bernardi, 1991, pp. 182-185; Lange, 1887, pp. 13, 105-106; Young, 1920, pp. 93-94; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 143-145.

the 11th century.[71] It mentions the use of an *Imago crucifixi* during the Good Friday ceremony, which suggests the hypothetical existence of a sculpture of the type we are interested in.[72]

German liturgical source materials also mention other non-surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The term *Imago Crucifixi* appears in nineteen records of the *Depositio Crucis* from Bavaria. In the case of one of these, it is beyond doubt that the term refers to an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. The record in question is the 1489 *Ordo de divinis officiis* of the Benedictines in Prüfening.[73] This high-developed version of the *Depositio Crucis et Hostiae* contains orders for the use of a sculpture of Christ which is to be taken down from the cross and then laid into the Sepulchre along with a Host:

> Deinde Dominus Abbas et qui Crucem cum eo portat imponunt responsorium *Vadis propiciator*, quo cantu fit processio de choro ad monasterium, et precedit primo conuentus, deinde ministri, videlicet diaconus et subdiaconus, post hos duo iuuenes cum candelis, ultimo profitentes crucis, et fit stacio ante altare Sancte Crucis quod anrea a custode loco Dominici Sepulchri limbo magno speculariter ad hoc apto velatum existit [...] Quibus omnibus riti expeditis, singulis rursum genua flectentibus, cantor imponit antiphonam *Super omnia ligna cedrorum* tractim a choro canendam, qua inchoata, Dominus Abbas et cui cum eo Crucem tenuit Ymaginem Crucifixi totam populo de Cruce deponunt quam Dominus Abbas intra velum ante altare Sancte Crucis protensum in eodem stari vice Dominici Sepulchri preparato ponit et pannis ac lintheis ibidem positis reuerenter operit. Crucem vero in qua dicta Ymago pependerit custos per ministrum suum ad locum debitum deportari facit. Ipse vero mox chorum ingrediens scrinuum reliquiarum retro altare in quo Corpus Dominicum recondium est gerit, approseriumque cum turribulo ut ibidem habeantur et reliqua necessaria pro communione sancta rite disponit. [...]

> De Corpore Dominico in sarcofago in altari vice Dominici Sepulchri preparato recondendo. Expeditis omnibus supradictis, postquam Dominus Abbas, repositus iam nero altare Sacramento, redierit ad altare, sumit capsulam alteram in quam prius particulam vnam Eucharistie reposuit, et defert eam sub casula ad altare Sancte Crucis, vice Dominici Sepulchri preparatum. Et precedit eum totus conuentus processionaliter de choro egredientes et ante Sepulchrum in vtroque choro stacionem facturi. Et post

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[71] Bernardi, 1991, pp. 182-185; Rava, 1939, p. 14. See e.g.: *Agenda Diocesis Aquilegensis*, Venedig 1495, fol. 98b-101a (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Inc., a. 1172 [Hain 366]); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 733-734.

[72] "FINITO HYMNO INCIPIT OFFICIUM DIEI, UT IN MISSALI CONTINETUR. ORATIONE VERO EXPLETA, *et* SEPULCHRO PREPARATO *et* DECENTER ORNATO, ASSINT INPROMPTU TRIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSO THURIS, MIRRHE, *et* THIMIAMATIS, *et* QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES, *et* MINISTRI CUm SACERDOTIBUS PORTENT IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, *et* OFFICIANS SEQUATUR PORTANS SACRAMENTUM EUCHARISTIE IN SANCTUARIO REPOSITUM. [...] DEInDE MINISTRI, *et* SACERDOTES IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI COLLOCEnt IN SEPULCHRO, *et* COOPERIAnT LINTHEAMINIBUS *et* SUDARIO, *et* SUPPONAnT LAPIDEm. [...] OFFICIANS VERO THURIFICANT IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI SIC IN SEPULCHRUM POSITAM, *et* ASPERGAT AQUA BENEDICTA"; citat after: Young, 1920, p. 93.

[73] *Ordo Prusneingense saec. XV-XVI* (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 12018); Brooks, 1921, pp. 105-106; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. II, 1976, pp. 393-396, vol. VII, 1990, pp. 229-231; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 157-161; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 92-96.

conventum secuntur duo ceroferarii et altaris ministri eo ordine quo supra in deportatione Sacramenti processerant, post hoc Dominus Abbas cum Sacramento, deinde capellanus. Custos autem prouideat ut illico quinque lampades circa Sepulchrum locentur, mosque incendantur usque ante Nocturnas in sancta nocte Dominice Resurreccionis ingiter arsure, que tamen cum ceteris luminibus hac proxima nocte ad Matutinum extinguentur; post hoc autem vice ueria incendantur. In ipso autem egressu processionis de choro cantor imponit responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*. Quo cantato in ipsa statione, sequitur responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, deinde antiphona *Joseph ab Arimathia*; post hoc, responsorium *Sepulto Domino*. Dictorum vero responsorium versus cantare debent cantores ante Sepulchrum. Insuper est notandum que ceroferarii Sepulchrum non ingrediuntur sed, candelabris ante Sepulchrum in utroque choro in terra locatis, stabunt ad loca sua; nec extinguantur ille candele usque ad finem Vesperarum. Dominus Abbas vero et ministri nec non capellanus huius Sepulchri, inter istra velum ante altare Sancte Crucis circumstantum, ingrediuntur. Est autem in ipso altari prius per custodem sarcophagum quoddam reliquiarum positum in quod mox ut Dominus Abbas ingreditur reponit capsam cum Corpore Dominico, statimque cum ministris et capellano legit responsorium *Ecce quomodo*; versum responsorium *Recessit pastor*; antiphonam *Joseph ab Arimathia*. Deinde claudit Dominus Abbas sarcofagum. Quo clauso et linthiis quibus et Ynagini Crucifixi operta est cooperto, subiungunt responsorium *Sepulto Domino*. Versus autem predictorum responsorium pronunciantur a capellano. Deinde subiungit Dominus Abbas versiculum *Tu autem, Domine, miserere mei*. Respondent ministri *Et resuscita me te retribuam ii*. Dominus Abbas dicit Dominus vobicum. Oremus: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui Christi filii tui beatam passionem*. Et concludit hanc collectam hoc modo: *Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum*. Respondent ministri *Amen*. Deinde tam Dominus Abbas quam ministri flexis genibus dicentes *Pater Noster*, denuoque surgentes similiter orent versus in Sepulchro secundum rubricam infra scriptam. Quibus dictis, Dominus Abbas aqua benedicta aspergit et deinde thurificat tam sacrophagum Sepulchri quam Ymaginem Crucifixi. Quo facto, Dominus Abbas et ministri et capellanus non expectantes conuentum mox ad chorum vel ad sacristiam vadunt et vestibus sacris se exuunt.[74]

The term *Imago Crucifixi* also appears in the *Depositio Crucis* records contained in the breviaries from Andechs,[75] Chiemsee,[76] Diessen,[77]

[74] Cited after: Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 157-158. It is the opinion of Gesine and Johannes Taubert, who conducted a detailed analysis of the cited record, that the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ used in Prüfening measured between 90 and 120 cm in height, with a wingspan of likely 1 meter; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 93.

[75] *Breviarium Andecense saec XV*, fol. 269ʳ (München, Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 24882): "Deinde Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato, sint inprompto tria thuribula cum incenso, thure, mirra, et minimate, et quatuor candele ardentes. Et Pontifex siue Prespiter cum aliis ministris et sacerdotibus portent Ymaginem Crucifixi cantando responsorium Ecce quomodo moritur iustus [...]"; Young, 1920, pp. 80-81.

[76] *Breviar des Augustinerchorherrenstifts Chiemsee saec. XV* (München, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 5349), fol. 195ʳ-195ᵛ: "Sacerdotibus et ministris portent Ymaginem Crucifixi mox responsorium Ecce quomodo moritur iustus": Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 848-849; Young, 1910, p. 543. The same description of the *Depositio* in the *Breviarium karmense. Pars hyemalis*, Venedig 1515 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8ᵛ. Liturg. 105), fol. 241b-242a; 244a, 245a-b; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 852-853.

[77] *Breviar des 15. Jhds. aus dem Augustinerchorherrenstift Diessen*, fol. 146b-147a (München, Staatsbibliothek Ms clm. 5546): "[...] Officio Misse finito et Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato

Ranshofen,[78] Reichenhall,[79] various liturgical books from Freising,[80] as well as in

sint impromptu tria thuribula cum incenso, thura, mirra et thymiamate et quatuor candele incense et PONTIFEX sive PRESBITER cum ALIIS SACERDOTIBUS et MINISTRIS portantes Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum lugubri voce cantent hoc Responsorium [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 858. The same form of the *Depositio Crucis* in: *Brevier des Augustinerchorherrenstiftes Diesen,* 15th c., fol. 163a-164a (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 5550); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 861. *Ordinarium Diesense saec. XV* (München, Staatsbibliothek, Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 5545), fol. 19r-20v: "His finitis duo Presbyteri induti albis portent Ymaginem que sepelienda est, precedente *Conventu* cum accensis candelis et thuribulo, faciant processionem per ecclesiam circumeundo et cantando lugubri voce versum: *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* etc. hanc fiunt ...": Posteа locent Ymaginem ad Sepulchrum cum thurificatione et aspersione. Et dicant Vesperos ibidem priuatim. *Psalmus.* Confitebor, cum versiculo. Sequitur *Magnificat. Antiphona:* Cum accepisset. *Psalmus.* Miserere mei, cum *versiculo.* Sequitur *Magnificat. Antiphona:* Sepulto Domino. *Versus:* Ne forte veniant. Sic redeant in diuersum. Tunc computantur tabule omnes."; Young, 1920, p. 124.

[79] *Ordinarium Ranshofenenense saec. XIII,* p. 56 (München, Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 12635): "Deinde Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato, sint impromptu tria thuribula cum incenso et thimiamate, et IIII^or candele ardentes. *Et Pontifex sive Presbyter* cum aliis sacerdotibus et ministris portent Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulcrum lugubri voce cantantes hec responsorium: *Responsorium: Ecce* quomodo moritur. *Versus:* In pace factus. *Responsorio finito collocetur* in Sepulcro, et linteaminibus et sudario cooperiatur. Deinde lapis superponatur. Quo facto clerus imponat responsorium istud: Responsorium: Sepulto Domino. *Versus:* Ne forte. Responsorium: Recessit pastor. *Versus:* Ante cuius. Quibus finitis dicatur versus: *Versus:* In pace factus. Postea sequitur Vesperos supprema voce dicenda."; Young, 1920, p. 87.

[79] *Brevier des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes St. Zeno, Reichenhall,* 14th c., fol. 286a, 290a, 291a-b (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 23 143): "Deinde Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato sint in prompta tria thuribula cum incenso, thura, mirra et thymiamate et quatuor candele ardentes et PONTIFEX sive PRESBITER cum aliis MINISTRIS seu SACERDOTES portent Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum lugubri voce cantantes hoc Responsorium [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, p. 1251. See also: *Brevier des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes St. Zeno, Reichenhall,* 15th c. fol. 205b, 273a, 274b-280a (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 24 882); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1254-1255.

[80] *Breviarium Frisingense (Hain 3841),* Bamberg 1482, fol. 203r-b (München, Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels, Ink.: B IV): "Nota quando Ymago Crucifixi portatur ad Sepulchrum cantetur hoc Responsorium: / *Ecce quomodo moritur Iustus <...> / Sumissa voce.* Sepulto Crucifixo canitur RESPONSORIUM: / Sepulto Domino <...> [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 912-913. *Breviarium Frisingense (Hain 3842),* Venice 1491, fol. 227b-228; 236b; 231b-232b (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Inc. c. a. 1023/1): "Quando Ymago Crucifixi defertur ad Sepulchrum, canitur RESPONSORIUM: / Sepulto Domino <...> / submissa voce. Collocata Imagine ad Sepulchrum, RESPONSORIUM: / Sepulto Domino <...>"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 916-917; *Obsequiale seu Benedictionale secundum diocesim Frisingense (Hain 11 929),* Bamberg 1484, fol. 50a (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 388): "Sequitur in die reportetur Corpus Christi ad locum suum. Et Sepulchro preparato Ymago Crucifixi defeatur RESPONSORIUM: / Sepulto Domino <...> / submissa voce. Finito Responsorio ponatur Ymago Crucifixi in Sepulchro, linteaminibus et sudario cooperiatur et claudatur Sepulchrum et cantetur remisse RESPONSORIUM: / Sepulto Domino [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 918-919. The same form of the *Depositio Crucis* in: *Obsequiale seu Benedictionale Frisingense (Hain 11 930),* Augsburg 1493 (München, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. c. a. 4° 1027vo) and *Liber obsequiorum Eccl. Frisingensis,* Ingolstadt 1547 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 460); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 921. *Breviarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis,* Venice 1516, fol. 194r: "Quando Imago Crucifixi defertur

Processionale from Augsburg,[81] *Ordinarium* from Polling[82] and three *Agenda* from Passau.[83] The same nomenclature is present in one *Ordinarium* from Blaubeuren

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[81] ad Sepulchrum canitur *responsorium*: / Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, / submissa voce. Collocata Imagine ad Sepulchrum *responsorium*: Sepulto Domino... versus: / Ut infra Sabbato sequenti. Deinde *versus*: / In pace factus est locus eius. Te habitatio eius in Sion."; Young, 1920, pp. 84-85. See also: *Scamnalia secundum ritum ac ordinem ecclesie et diocesis Frisingensis. Pars hyemalis*, Venice 1520, fol. 145b (München, Staatsbibliothek, 2° Liturg. 49); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 923.

[82] *Processionale aus der Benediktinerabtei St. Ulrich und Afra*, 15th c., fol. 25b-28b, 44a-47a (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm. 4325): "DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIAE / In die Parasceves fit PROCESSIO ad Sepulchrum cum Responsorio: QUATUOR SENIORES portant Ymaginem Crucifixi in humeris, IUNIORES precedunt in Processionem, deinde CONVENTUS, deinde PORTANTES Ymaginem, postea ABBAS cum MINISTRIS cantando Responsorium ,Recessit pastor': / RESPONSORIUM: "Recessit pastor... / <VERSUS>: / "Destruxit quidem... / Postquam ventum fuerit ad Sepulchrum, deponitur Imago in illud ar DOMINUS ABBAS Sacramentum aliud ponit ei tunc thurificat et aspergit Sacramentum et Sepulchrum. Qualibus sic peractis intratur ad chorum cum Responsorio cantando: / "Sepulto Domino... / <VERSUS>: / "Accederent..."; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 754-755.

[83] *Ordinarium aus dem Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Polling*, 15th-16th c., fol. 59b-60a, 62a-63a (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 11735): "PROCESSIO CUM FERETRO ET IMAGINE CRUCIFIXI. / Et postquam Crucem adoraverint, Custos ECCLESIE eseat et Crucem ad Sacristiam reportet et ordinet infraunda de feretro. Finita Communione DUO SACERDOTES chorum ingrediantur. PRELATO cum MINISTRIS sub alia cortina permanente et CONVENTUS ordinet se ad PROCESSIONEM tali modo: ILLI DUO SACERDOTES, qui cantaverunt 'Popule meus', induti sacris vestibus et caulis rubeis, recipiant feretrum cum Imagine Crucifixi, munda sindone coopertam et imponant reverenter in humereos suos ac precedant Sacramentum precensibus et immediate post eos CONVENTUS processurus cum candelis accensis subsequatur cantantes lugubri voce Responsorio: [...] Cum autem pervenerint ad altare Apostolorum DOMINUS PRELATUS corpus Dominicum in pixide portet. Et in fine Processionis vadat, duabus candelis accensis immediate ante eum precedentibus, percutientungue tabula ligna, quumdiu Corpus Dominicum ad chorum DUO MINISTRI qualibus in latere uno Prelatum cum Corpore Dominico in manu ducentes. Et si fiat PROCESSIO per ambitum magna cum urbanitate et gressu tardiori. Cum autem pervenerint ad Sepulchrum CONVENTUS se dividat, ut nec CHORUS versus CHORUM circa Sepulchrum, ut pre PRELATUS Sacramentum cum pixide in superiori parte Sepulchri locet, SACERDOTIBUS interim Imaginem Crucifixi tenentibus. Locato vero Sacramento vadant Imaginem DOMINUS PRELATUS accipiat et in Sepulchrum ponat cooperiatque syndone. Deinde dicantur VESPERE circa Sepulchrum: [...] Sub quo PRELATUS Imaginem thurificet et aspergat saltim modicum VERSUS: [...] Sub quo PRELATUS leuabat FRATIBUS de Sepulchro, devote ab omnibus prius Imago Christi deosculetur."; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1161-1162.

[*] *Agenda aus den Benediktionalis patavienis (Hain 372)*, Passau 1490, fol. 67b-77°, 90b-93°: "Deinde sepulchro preparato in loco suo ponitu imma Ymagine Crucifixi tecta cum sindone et duo deinceps posita de capite usque ad pedes et modicus lapis super peetus Ymaginis crucifixi. Et inter cos in pro impius ibi thuribulum et quatuor candele ardentes. Et PRESBYTER cum aliis MINISTRIS adferant Corpus Christi in Kepsida ad Sepulchrum, baguleti suae cantantes Responsorium [...]; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, p. 1143. See also: *Agenda sive benedictionale de acibus ecclesie secundum chorum et observacionem ecclesie Patavienis* (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 203); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1148-1149 and *Agenda Patavienis*, Wien 1514 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 213); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, p. 1149. Georg-Hubertus Karnowka writes about the Holy Week liturgical theatricalised ceremonies conducted in Passau at the turn of

in Baden-Württemberg.[84] These records, however, lack detailed descriptions of the act of removing the sculptural depiction of Christ from the cross, which prevents us from forming the conclusion that an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ rather than a crucifix was used in the *Depositio Crucis*. But, it should be taken into account that a large majority of surviving German animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been found in Bavaria. Their widespread presence in the region could be reflected in the records of the *Depositio Crucis* ceremony, especially the later ones from the 15th and 16th centuries.

Beyond all doubt, one of the most interesting and detailed records directly related to animated sculpture of the crucified Christ is one from Meissen (Saxony). It is the foundation document dated to the 23rd of March 1513, done by prince George the Bearded, Duke of Saxony and his wife Barbara of Poland.[85] According to their will several Masses and liturgical celebrations of Easter were listed to have taken place since then in Meissen cathedral.[86] The description of the elaborated Good Friday ceremony reads as follows:

Cremoniae in die parasceue in ecclesia Misnensi peragendae. Erigatur crux in medio chori cum imagine crucifixi habenti iuncturas flexibiles in scapulis, et induantur duo canonici et duo vicarii albis et stolis, quos praecedant duo iuvenes istae angelorum ornati indutique albis, habentes stolas et numeralia rubea similiter et precias inferiores de serico, raso rubeo vulgo atlasiam appellato, et inceptis vesperis deferant ex sacristia phreetrum ornatum, super quo linteum candorem sericeum et sericum, ponantque ante crucem. Et hi quatuor claves extrahant, pononant corpus de cruce, coronam de capite, et angelorum claves, alteri vero coronam ad ferendum corpus robust, apertum tamen facie, lintes involurae et sericio tegatur ponanturque anguli unus ad caput alter sed pedes phreetri, ipsi quatuor duo ad pedes et duo ad caput stent ad phreetrum, linteum ardentia capitque humeralibus tecta, et finitis vesperis omnes personae lumina ardentia habentes suvenis et canes, praecedantque phreetrum iuvenes, chorales et capellani. Post

hos ab his quatuor deferatur pheretrum cum iuuenibus, pheretrum sequatur plebanus
chori cum sacramento, hunc sequantur canonici, hunc sequantur omnes cantantes: post qui
moritur iustus,¹ fatque processio ex choro in ambitum intrando ecclesiam per longum,
usque in capellam ducum redeundo ad sepulchrum, iterum per longum perlustranda: et inter
usque ad solitum ecclesiae sepulchrum ibique ponatur corpus cum pheretro et sacramento
legantaque septem psalmi more solito[47]

In this case we come across the detailed description of the act of two clerics
removing the sculptural depiction of Christ from the cross and – accompanied
by numerous clergymen – carrying it on a bier to the Sepulchre. The use
of using such figure in Meissen cathedral during Good Friday ceremony is
confirmed by the content of *Breviarius denuo reuisus et emendatus Ceremonia
Rituum canendi legendi ceterasque consuetudines in choro insignis et ingenue Misnensis
Ecclesie observandas compendiose explicans* (Meissen 1520).[88] As we can read,
for the purposes of the *Depositio crucis et Hostiae* "Sub predicatione passionis
erigitur crux in medio chori cum sanguine crucifixi habenti iuncturas flexibiles
in scapulis."[89] The course of the ceremony is almost identical to that described
in the above foundation document:

Deinde dyaconus reportet Eucharistiam ad sacristiam candelis precedentibus
et subdyacono cum tabula Ipso chorus cantante: Hoc corpus. Deinde induant duo
Canonici et quatuor vicarii albis et stolis quasi precedani duo pueri induti ornamentorum
ornati induitque albis: habentes stolas et humeralia rubra, similiter et pecia inferiores
de serico rubeo. Postea vero sacristia pheretrum inornatum portant. Hoc corpus
pheretrum vicariis deferunt et sacristia ponunt eo corpus pheretrum, super quo
lintheum candidatum superiacet et sericum. ponanturque ante crucem. Et in quatuor
angulorum cruces. Deponant corpus de cruce, coronam de capite. Tum angelorum chevo,
alteri vero ponant ad ferendum tribuant. Corpus operitum in facie lintheo inuoluatur,
et sericio tegatur ponanturque angeli unus pheretrum ad caput coronam, alter ad pedes
claues tenes, omnes capitque humeralibus tecta[90]

⁴⁷ Cited after: Gersdorf, 1867, p. 331.
⁸⁸ *Breviarius...*, 1520.
⁸⁹ *Breviarius...*, 1520. See also: Krause, 1987, p. 288.
⁹⁰ *Breviarius...*, 1520. Remaining part of the ceremony was published by Walther Lipphardt:
"Finitis Vesperis, OMNES PERSONE lumina ardentia habentes, IUVENES et SENES, prece-
dantque SCOLARES, CHORALES et CAPELLANI; post hos, qui pheretrum portant. Mox sequi-
tur pheretrum OFFICIANS cum Sacramento; hunc precedit DYACONUS et SUBDYACONUS,
UNUS valualm ante processionem. Hinc sequantur CANONICI, post VICARII OMNES cantantes:
Ecce quomodo moritur iustus <...>. / Et cetera. / Fitque PROCESSIO ex choro in ambitum intrando
Ecclesiam, circumgirande per Capellam ducum usque ad Sepulchrum paratum est in
Capella Simonis et Iude. Ibique ponitur Corpus cum pheretro et Sacramento super altare ibidem.
Et Officians aqua benedicta aspero et thurificato pheretro, inquiantque septem PSALMI more solito.
Quibus finitis dicitur: / Christus factus est pro nobis obediens <...> et cetera. / Et OFFICIANS
dicit Collectam: / Respice, quesumus, Domine <...> in una 'Oremus' et una conclusione. Quibus
peracta rede PROCESSIO ad chorum et in choro cantatur hoc responsorium sine versiculo per Respon-
sorio: / Sepulto Domino <...> / Et tunc Chorales sint statim parati ad legendum Psalterium.";
Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 1040, vol. VII, 1990, p. 524-525.

Similar in content to the Meissen record from 1513 is the Wittenberg foundational document from 1517 drawn up by Elector Friedrich der Weise, titled *Die Stiftung der abnemung des bildnus vnsers lieb herrn vom Creutz vnd wie die heuchung des grab von den vierzehen manßpersonen zcu Wittenberg in aller heyligen kirchen beschen soll. 1517.*[71] It contains detailed instructions concerning the ceremonies, which were to be, by will of the Elector, conducted during Holy Week at the local All Saints church. In this document, the most festive character and most developed form can be seen in the *Depositio*, during which, as the title of the document indicates, the taking down of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from the cross, i.e. *"der abnemung des bildnus vnsers lieb herrn [...] vom Creutz"*, takes place.[72] The procedure of the ceremony is as follows:

Am Grunen Donerstag zcu abent soll man die *Creutz mit dem bildnus vnsers lieben herrn vnd Seligmachers* in das aufgehawen loch vor des heyligen *Creutz* altar setzt, Das der Custer bestellen vnd vorordnen soll.

Am heyligen karfreytag, bald *nach dem heylign Passion* singen, vnd *vor der vesper* zusamen der heyligen kirchen beyeynander seyn, vnd vor *der abnemung des bildnus* vnsers lieben herrn von Creutz in die *Sacristen* geen Vnd berufte *Capellan* doselbst die *Judenclaider* anthun Vnd die vierzehen manßpersonen, die in *keynen weg wesß an die bessle* stehen, Vnd ir liecht mit den wapen in die hende nemen. So halt dan *die vesper im grossen khor annbeh*, soll die vierzehen manßperßon, wie ir wapen schregen, vnd zcwen vnd zcwen auf einen Schrit geen Dechanten erwordrung auß geen, Vnd die benante vier Capellan yhan volgen, das *bildnus von dem Creutz* abzunemen.

Vnd ehe sie auß der Sacristen gheen, soll der Custer die zcwu *leyttern* darzcu gemacht haben, vnd das benante vier Capellan, durch rat des Dechants klar vor dem *par darzcu* vorordent mit dem *nachern* fur denselben altar schaffen, Auch *die par darzcu* vorordent mit den *nachern* fur denselben altar schaffen.

Vnd wen die vierzehen manßperßhon fur berurts Creutz mit dem bildnus komen, sollen sie ir knye biegen, Vnd eyner nach seyten seben nach der lenge nacheynander knen, Vnd ir angesicht gegen dem bildnuß mit brynnenden liechten wenden Vnd zcu dancksagung des heyligenwigen vnd bittern sterben vnsers herrn vnd Seligmachers, Auch zu hey, trost vnd selickeit vnsers gnedigsten herrn des Churfursten zcu Sachsen Vicarien v, vnd der gantze Christenheit funff valer vntde, funff Aue Maria vnd eyn glauben beten, Vnd in des die vier Caplan die *leyttern* aufhengen, vnd *bildnus* ordenlich *abnermen*, Vnd das bildnus in die par legen, Vnd mit dem *schregen*, das das *bildnus bedecken*, das das bildnus eygentlich bloß vnd bedacket bleybe. Vnd so bald das bildnus auf die par gelegt sollen die vierzehen manßperßon by zcwen vnd zcwen yn Irer ordnung wie sie geweyst werden zcu das herrn Dechants klvar vor der par *schregen* draggen, Vnd die vier Caplan die par mit dem bildnus den vierzehen manßperßonen folgen vnd wem das bildnus vnd aller vier sachen dohyn gericht werden, da wenn die par mit dem bildnus kombt, Die prelaten, thumbern vnd andere prelaten der kirchen mit der vesper berey seyn vnd ir brynnende liecht auch in henden haben.

Es sollen auch vnter *der abnemung des bildnus* die *zcweyvndzcwentzig liecht* auf den vier *schregen vmbd das grab* angezcundt werden, vnd das bildnus an die vier grossen

[91] Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv, Reg. O 158, sheets 25-32.
[92] In addition to the *Depositio*, the Resurrection, in a similar form to the *Elevatio Crucis*, was also performed. A sculpture of Resurrected Christ was used during the performance. See: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 98, 100-101.

ortlich sechsvndreissig seyn, Vnd an eyn itlichs vnsers lieben hern vnd Seligmachers *wapn* eyns geheft werden. *Wie man aus den fürstlichen begengnussen vnd iargedechtnussen* pflegt zeugebrauch Es sollen auch zwey vndsiebentzig liecht vorordent seyn ye zwey auf anderhalb phundt. Also das schwevndreissig liecht brynnen, vnd so den grab stehn an die vorbenante vier ortlich Nemlich mit diesser ordnung, das auf vier schregen die zwey vnd zwentzig liecht, Vnd auf den mogenen zeuchtern die vierzehen liecht der vierzehen manßperßon stecken.

Vnd wenn man in berurter ordnung mit der bildnus vnsers lieben hern in khor komen, Soll der Probst zcu stund mit sambt dem Dechant vnd den allerheyligsten *Sacrament* vnd alle perßon der kirchen auß dem grossn vnd vnser lieben frawen khor in der procession mit brynnenden liechten sein, Vnd so zcwen vnd zwentzig liecht vorordent sein der bildnus zcuuambe dem hochwirdigen Sacrament in das grab legen vnd steten Dann wer der vmbgang ordenlich vorbracht ist, sollen sich die perßon der kirchen also abteyln, das eyn tayl auf die seytten seyns khors kome, So vnser lieben herrn also abteyln, das auf eyner seytten seyns khors kome, So vnser lieben man also abteyln, das auf eyner seytten seyms vor dem grab, nacheynander knyen, Vnd it geheft, weyl man das *bildnus vnd hochwirdig Sacrament* eynordnet, vnd *in das grab legt vnd setzt* speicht, Vnd wen man das hochwirdig Sacrament vnd bildnus in das grab geordent hat, sollen die vierzehen perßon vor dem grab, Die vierzehen manßperßon aufstehn, yr vierzehen liecht auf die vierzehen mesingen leuchter stecken, *Darnach man das bildnus vnd hochwirdig Sacrament mit ehrerbietigung geen.*[93]

Austrian source materials also contain significant information regarding the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the Middle Ages. One of these – also the most problematic – is the *Breviarium maioris ecclesiae Salisburgensis (potius instructio liturgica pro functionibus)* from 1160.[94] In it, we find very early, in comparison to other European texts, information on the use of *Imago Crucifixi* during the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis* ceremonies:

[...] Deinde sepulchro preparato ad decenter ornato, in promptu tria thuribula cum incenso thure, myrra et thimiamate, et quatuor candele ardentes et pontifex siue presbyter cum aliis sacerdotibus et ministris portent ymaginem crucifixi versus sepulchrum, lugubri cantu dicentes Responsoria. In sepulchro in pace f. Responsorio finito collocatur in sepulchro et linteaminibus et sudario cooperiatur, dicente Responsorio. Quo facto, clerus psalmorat responsoria. Sepulto domino, No forte. Recessit pastor noster. Ante cuius. Quibus finitis dicatur versus In pace pactus. No. versu omnes properant hore claudantur.

In sancta nocte ac matutinis diuersam latent surgunt, sinque parata eria thuribula cum thure et duabus candelis accensis pontifex cum senioribus quos assumere voluerit cum magna reuerentia accedant ad sepulchrum et tolant ymaginem f. Domine pressisti, et thuriferant yngiment crucifixi sublatamque de sepulchro secum portant in chorum ante altare, decantando Responsorium. Surrexit pastor bonus, cum versu. Surrexit dominus et an. Christe resurgens ex mortuus. Quibus finitis statim ante altare et dominus a matutina caritate se inuicem osculantes dicant. Surrexit dominus vere et apparuit symoni. et dicatur oratio de resurrectione. Deinde compulsatione signorum facta, conueniant omnes ad matutinas. et more solito dicat pontifex siue sacerdos Domine labia.[95]

[93] Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 99-100.
[94] Salzburg, Studienbibliothek, M II 6. On the subject of the breviary, see: Forstner, 1984, p. 304; Tietze, 1905, pp. 55, 56.
[95] Cited after: Gschwend, 1965, p. 68.

The great interest researchers studying animated sculpture of the crucified Christ have in the *Breviarium maioris... results* from the fact that the version of the *Depositio Crucis* it contains had a substantial influence on the development and spread of this ceremony in East-Central Europe.[96] If *Imago Crucifixi* can be acknowledged as a term for an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, a legitimate basis emerges for recognising Salzburg as having played a special role in the proliferation of the custom of using animated sculptures of the crucified Christ during Holy Week liturgical ceremonies.

However, from the above-quoted record we cannot conclude beyond all doubt that the figure of Christ taken down from the cross was used in Salzburg as early as the second half of the 12th century. Neither can we assume from the context that the participants in the ceremony performed procedures analogous to those in, for example, the *Ordo of the Benedictines from Prüfening*.[97] Researchers analysing this fragment of the *Breviarium maioris ecclesiae Salisburgensis* are inclined to believe that the term *Imago Crucifixi* may not refer to an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ but rather a crucifix or cross,[98] perhaps even a figure of Christ in the Tomb.[99]

The term *Imago Crucifixi* also appears, as a result of the direct influence of the Holy Week ceremony texts contained in the *Breviarium maioris ecclesiae*

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[96] Gschwend, 1965, p. 67; Jung, 2006, pp. 59-61; Schmidtdunser, 2008, p. 21; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 104.

[97] It also concerns texts of the *Depositio Crucis* in other liturgical books related to the *Breviary: Brevier der Benediktinerinnenstift Nonnberg* Salzburg, 15th c., fol. 117b (München, Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 15 914): "[...] OFFICIO MISSE finito et Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato suis inpromypto ita thuribula cum incenso, thure, mirra et thymiamate et quatuor candele accense [...] PRESBITER cum alio SACERDOTIBUS et alii cantoribus cum ministris portantes Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum lugubri voce canenti hoc Responsorio [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, p. 1289. See also similar expressions in: *Breviarium Saltzburgense 1482* (Hain 3931), (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Inc., c. a. 217), *Breviarium Saltzburgense*, Venedig 1497 (Hain 3931) (München, Staatsbibliothek, Inc., c. a. 217), *Breviarium Salzburgense*, Nürnberg 1497 (Hain 3931) (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Liturg. 155, d, 1), *Breviarium Salzburgense*, Venedig 1500 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Liturg. 155, d, I), *Breviarium secundum usum Alme Ecclesie Salzburgensis. Pars hyemalis*, Venedig 1509 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Liturg. 159, l), *Breviarium secundum usum Alme Ecclesie Salzburgensis. Pars hyemalis*, Venedig 1518 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8° Liturg. 160), *Brevier aus Salzburg*, 15th c., fol. 212a (Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms M II 134); Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 1274-1275, 1300-1302.

[98] On the subject of the *Imago Crucifixi*, in the sentence of the *Breviary* discussed here, Kolumban Gschwend writes: "Bemerkenswert in dieser frühen Zeit sind die Angaben für das HL. Grab. Es soll 'hergerichtet' werden, wahrscheinlich in einer eigenen Kapelle, da man Angabe in der Elevatio über eine Responsoriensingang vom Chor entfernt war. Das HL. Grab soll 'geschmückt' werden, wohl mit Blumen und Lichtern. Die imago crucifixi – in der Agende vom 1496, 1511 und 1575 wird sie ausdrücklich als 'crucifixum' bezeichnet – dürfte eine Gabelkreuz-Figur gewesen sein, vermutlich das der Adoratio Crucis weiterverwendete Kreuz, gewesen sein. Der Bischof brauchte die Hilfe der Priester, um es zum HL. Grab zu tragen."; Gschwend, 1965, p. 68, see also p. 79. Cf.: Taubert, Taubert, 1968, pp. 103-105; Tripps, 2000a, p. 142.

[99] Jezler, 1983, p. 245 (note 20). Cf: Tripps, 2001, p. 234, cat. no. 85.

Salisburgensis from 1160, in source materials connected with the diocese of Brixen.[100] In a fragment of the 15th century *ceremoniale* from the Augustine monastery in Neustift, we encounter information that during the *Depositio Crucis* "Fratres Juniores deportant imaginem et Sacerdos corpus Christi: sepulturae non alia, nisi huiusque servata, ratio habetur. Et vespere dicuntur, ut in Breviario."[101] Similar passages appear in three other late benedictionals from Neustift dated to 1507, 1523 and 1578.[102] And, in the *Obsequiale Brixinense* from 1560 we find: "hijs omnibus expletis et sepulchro preparato. ymago crucifixi deferatur secundum morem ecclesiae ad sepulchrum."[103] Each of the above mentioned sources – just as in the case of the *Breviarium maioris ecclesiae Salisburgensis* from 1160 – are rather ambiguous and cannot be considered evidence for the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Neustift and Brixen.[105]

While the Austrian *Depositio Crucis* records do not contain descriptions of the procedure for taking a figure of Christ down from the cross, fragments of the so-called *das Kreuzabnahmespiel* from Wels, dated to ca. 1500, give detailed information regarding the necessity of using an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the enactment.[106] A figure of this type played a key role in the scenes depicting the *Deposition*, *Pietà* and *Burial of Christ*. The German Latin text reads as follows:

[...]

Et sic deponunt corpuß et vna ymago praesentatur
Maria ad gremium. Joseph dicit deponendo

[100] Gschwend, 1965, pp. 67-81.
[101] *Ceremoniale-Fragmenten das 15. Jh. aus Neustift* (Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 553). Cited after: Gschwend, 1965, p. 54.
[102] *Benedictionale au Neustift 1507* (Stiftsbibliothek Neustift, Cod. 194); *Manuale benedictionum, ac rituum, Neucellenium, geschrieben 1523 von Franciscus Prenstainer, Dekan von Neustift* (Stiftsbibliothek Neustift, Cod. 726); *Benedictionale von Neustift, geschr. 1578* (Neustift Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14820). See: Gschwend, 1965, pp. 86-89.
[103] *Obsequiale Brixinense. Sequuntur Benedictiones ac Cerimonalia scdm cõnsuetudinem et Rubricam Ecclesie Brixinensis*, Augsburg 1560.
[104] Cited after: Gschwend, 1965, p. 63.
[105] This is also the case of other liturgical records from Upper Austria (Mondsee, Reichersberg am Inn) and Styria (Vorau). *Brevier der Benedictiner Abtei Mondsee*, 15th c., fol. 445b, 451a, 452a-b (Wien ÖNB, Ms 4005): "[...] PONTIFEX sive PRESBITER cum alijs SACERDOTIBUS et MINISTRIS portent Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum.]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 1066-1067. *Processionale des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Reichersberg am Inn*, fol. 49a-51a (St. Pölten, Diözesan-Archiv, Ms 76): "[...] Sepulchro preparato et decenter ornato PRELATUS cum alijs PRESBITERIS et MINISTRIS portent Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1256-1257. *Directorium des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Vorau*, 1220-1260, fol. 34a, 35a-b (Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 99): "[...] Et PONTIFEX sive PRESBYTER cum alijs SACERDOTIBUS et MINISTRIS portent Ymaginem Crucifixi versus Sepulchrum [...]"; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1415-1416.
[106] Wels, Stadtarchiv, Historisches Archiv Akten, Sch. Nr. 1227. On the subject of the drama see: Kapustka, 2008, pp. 131-164; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 114-116; Taubert, 1974, pp. 53-89.

corpuß:

> Chum her, mein have vnd mein trost,
> Dw hast dy welt nun erlost
> Von der pittern helle pein
> Vnd thue mier dein hillff schein.
> Ich pit dich, her, die welkst mier geben
> Ein guet end vnd daß ewig leben.

Et Joseph praesentat ymaginem ad gremium Mariae et dicit:

> Se hin, Maria, dein chindt zu dißt frist,
> Dw walst wol, wie lieb es dir ym leben gewesen ist.

Maria canit:

> Awe kind, dein wanglein sind dir so gar enplichen,
> all dein chrafft vnd all dein macht
> ist dir so gar entwichen.

[...]

Et sic recipiunt *corpus* et ponunt super *feretrum*.

[...]

Et sic fiat *processio*: Maria postea plangit cantando:

> 'O liebew chind der cristenhait!'[107]

It is the opinion of Gesine and Johannes Taubert that the *das Kreuzab-nahmespiel* from Wels should be treated as a developed and, as a dramatic work, fully autonomous version of the *Depositio Crucis*, during which the sculptural depiction of the Saviour which was taken down from the cross was used as an actor.[108]

Similar enactments were played out in the St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna. The *Passionsspiel aus St. Stephan in Wien* is known to us from a later, modern transcript from 1687.[109] In terms of composition and course of events, it displays a clear similarity to the enactment from Wels,[110] which allows us to treat it as a text written towards the beginning of the 15th century.[111] The prologue, meaningful in its content, also suggests a medieval origin for the liturgical-style

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[107] Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 114.

[108] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 115. Cf.: Kapustka, 2008, pp. 131-164.

[109] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8227. On the *Passionsspiel* in: Bergmann, 1986, pp. 359-361; Brooks, 1928, pp. 154-155; Gamestna von, 1869, pp. 327-340; Capra, 1945/1946, pp. 116-157; Hadamowsky, 1988, pp. 57-60; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 116-120; Taubert, 1974, pp. 66-69. See also: Ogesser, 1779.

[110] "Der Handlungsverlauf entspricht in allen wesentlichen Punkten dem des Spiels aus Wels. Es beginnt mit einem Prolog und setzt dann mit der Handlung des 2. Welser Fragments ein. Im Spiel selbst finden sich sogar wörtliche Anklänge an das Welser Fragment, was jedoch keine direkte Abhängigkeit bedeutet. Vielmehr wird es gegen Ende des 15. Jh. während der Kreuzabnahmespiele im österreichischen Raum gegeben haben, die einander ähnlich waren. Die Gestalt des Centurio in Wiener Spiel durch Longinus ersetzt, der von Pilatus ausgeschickt wird, um nach dem Tod Christi zu überprüfen. Solch ein philologisch entspricht und präzis geklärt werden, daß der Kern des Wiener Spiels zweifelsfrei mittelalterlich ist.": Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 116.

[111] Bergmann, 1986, p. 360.

performance, as it includes a statement that the enactment had been performed since long ago[112] along with information regarding a 15th century Holy Sepulchre which was used during the ceremony.[113]

The *Passionsspiel aus St. Stephan in Wien* contains detailed descriptions enabling a faithful rendition of the performance in which an active part was played not only by the clergy but also members of the Corpus Christi confraternity and city officials. The wording used in reference to the scenes depicting the *Deposition* and *Burial* leaves no doubt as to the necessity of using an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the performance:

> Diese obgemelte Reimen, oder Comaedi von dem Bittern leyden Christi vnd der Gottes-dienst samben dennen gebräuchlichen Ceremonien werden also eingerichtet, dass Sie zu einiger Zeit interrupirt vnd aufgehebt werden, worauff dan die *Procession mit dem Hochwürdigen zu dem HL Grab* erfolget, vor dennen Dom-Herren, verscheidlichen Cavalliern, Dämen vnd den gansam Stadt-Magistrat, vnd hohen Adel, samt aller der Brüderschafft Corporis Christi einveleibten Brüdern vnd Schwestern, welche alle brennende Fackel vnd Kertzen in den Händen tragen, begleitet wird.
>
> Es wird auch dem Hochwürdigen der eine Tag von vier Priestern vnd lanter mit schwartzen Leviten-Röcken bekleydet, vnnd den Nicodemo vnd Servo *vuser lieber Herr, so zum auf der Bühn stehenden Creütz abgenommen werden,* getragen; beyder Seithen die Tragen gehen viel Knaben, welche mit schwartzen Röcken vnd mit dem Kopff mit schwartzen tuch bedeckt, denen eitliche Windlichtern, ettliche aber vich vergoldete in silbernen Stangen, darauf brennende Kertzen gestecht tragen. Obgedachter Baar oder Trag folgen nach die Personen der ergemeldten Comaedi, disen gehet nach 24 mit weisser Schleyer gantz bedeckte Frauen, deren jede in Form einer Ampel vermachte Kertzen in der Handt traget, vnter wehrender Zeit, da die Procession von dem Freythoff herumb gehet, wirdt inn einem gewissen Winckel, so dem Viraltzet Zeit angelegten *Heilig Grab* auff Rädern stehendt, welches gar Jahr hindurch gegen die grossen Kirchthür über auff dem Freythoff in einem gewölb verwahret wirdt, in die Kirchen... gebracht, auff dem folgende wort mit Altertheichen Buchstaben geschriben stehen: Cum pletum est hoc Sepulchrum D.N.I.C.A° 1437.
>
> Unterdessen kombt die Procession in die Kirchen, darinnen man auch einmal herumb gehet, vnd wann man zum Heil. Grab kombt... legt man hinein vnser lieben Herrn, den man auf der Baar getragen, an den Spitz des H. Grabs wird ein Gätter gesetzt das *Hochwürdige,* wo daselbe vmeid der vergoldete Hölzernne Gätter vorgemacht, welches sambe mehrgedachten H. Grab vmbfasset, vnd mit roth-Carmesin-Seydenen Schnur auf allen Ecken mit zwen Schlüsseln das diesser dar zue diese Function verrichtet, vnd des selbigen Zeit regierenden Burgermeisters Wappen vnd Petschafft eigenhändig versiglet.[114]

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112 "es werden auch in dieser Kirchen von uralt Zeit her bis an den heutigen Tag in der Charwochen gewisse Ceremonien observiert." Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 117.

113 Brooks, 1928, pp. 153-155; Hadamowsky, 1988, p. 167; Walanus, 2008a, p. 164.

114 Cited after: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 117-118.

The so-called "Debs-Codex" from Vipiteno/Sterzing (now Italy)[115] contains two other plays which are similar in content and narration.[116] The first, titled *Commemoracio sepulture in die parasceve*[117], reads as follows:

JOSEPH *dicit* JOHANNI:

> Got danck dir, lieber Johann,
> Der anburt dj dw mir hast getan,
> Das mich gebert Maria, dj rain.
> Ich vnd Nicodemus sein worten vberain,
> Wir wellen nemen Jhesum ab dem kreucze herab
> Vnd legen in ein news grab,
> Dar ni vor niembt gelegen ist,
> Wan sein wertt ist Jhesus Crist.

Ibi NICODEMUS vadit ante corpus flexendo genibus dicit:

> Jhesus, herr vnd maister mein,
> Ich muess sechen den vnschulding tod dein,
> Dw pist mir warden khund
> In der nacht ler von dir empfieng.
> Ez man dich an das krewcz hieng,
> Das es geschach, das ist mir laid,
> Ich wolt mir wer der tod werait.

SERUUS NICODEMI *dicit* DOMINO *suo*:

> Ja, herr, dw hast sein recht,
> Ich pin vill laider ein armer knecht.
> Ich pin Jhesum woll so hold,
> Vnd hiett ich silber vnd gold,

Das wolt ich darumb geben,
Das Jhesus noch hiert sein leben.

Joseph *ad* NICODEMUM:

Nicodeme, nün greiff zue an allen has,
Das wir nün vollenden das,
Darumb wir her klomen sein,
Das rat ich pey den trewen mein.

NICODEMUS *respondit:*

Joseph, guetter gottes man,
Ich hilff als pest ich khan.
Sic apponunt scalam:

Ich steig auff zu seines krewcz ende
Vnd loss im auff sein hende,
Los dw im ab dj fues,
Das vm gott helffen mueß,
Das wir in also wegraben,
Das wir mit im das ewig leben haben.

JOSEPH *dicit ad* POPULUM:

Lieben Cristen, lat euch gen zu herczen
Den grossen jamer vnd schmerczen,
den Jhesus erliten hatt
vmb vnsser aller missetat,
Vnd hat mir der pitteren marter sein
Vm erledigt von der helle pein.
Darumb lat euch erparmen dise noit.
Der welt hailant ist an dem kreucz tad
Vnd mariam dj rainen,
Dy so vast wegunt zu wainen,
das sy nit gesprechen mag
Ein aings wort auff disen tag,
Da mit Jhesum westat wurd,
Nach seiner edlen gepurt.
Darumb lieber knecht,
Gib her allen gerecht
Das wir Jhesum nemen herab
Vnd in bestatten zu dem grab.

SERUUS JOSEPH *respondit* DOMINO *suo:*

Herr ich hab es alles pracht,
wen ich hab mir woll gedacht,
Das vnsser herr Jhesus Crist
Wegraben wurt zu diser frist

Ibi deponunt crucifixum. NICODEMUS *dicit rigkmum*
Postea ponunt in sinum MARIE.

Khum her, mein haill vnd mein trost,
Dw hast nun dy welt erlost
Von der pitteren helle pein,
Nun thue mir dein hilff schein.
Ich pit dich, herre, das thue mir welst geben
Ein guts endt vnd das ewig leben.

Ibi MARIA *crucifixum recipit ad sinum et plangit:*

[...]

Nicodeme, wildw pegraben das kind mein,
So leg mich an dj seyten sein.

NICODEMUS *ad mariam:*

Maria, da dein grosse nott,
Do Jhesus staind mit pluet so ratt
An dem krewcz pluetiger gar,
Do gab er dich offenbar
Dem sunder vnd sunderin zu trost,
Dy er mit seiner marter hat erlost.
Darumb soltu ewigkleich leben
Vnd den sunderen auff erden geben,
Was er mit andacht pegert:
Wan vor dich pitt, der wirt gebert.

JOHANNES *ad* MARIAM:

Maria, liebe maym mein,
Gib herab das lieb kind dein
Vnd las vns das yezund tragen,
Das es von Joseph werd pegraben.

MARIA *osculat crucifixum et dat eis.*
JOHANNES *dicit* :

Nun nembt den lieben vnd tragt in hin –
Was welt ir lenger hie stenn?
Den edlen vnd den werden
Vnd bestat in zu der erden
Damit das euch got pewar
Haymleich vnd offenbar.

Et sic recipiunt crucifixum et ponunt ad feretrum,
Interim MARIA *dicit Rigknum:*

Ir man vnd ir frawn,
Ir mugt woll an schawn,
Wie ich leid so iamerliche nott
Durich meines lieben kinds tad
Vnd hab an meinem herczen
Emphunden grossen smerczen,
Das ich nit mag gesiczen noch gesten,
Darumb muos ich von hin genn
Vnd gib euch meinen segen.
Got, mein kind, mues ewr aller phlegen.

Deinde instant ecclesiam cum crucifixo,
MARIA *sequitur cantans:*

[...]

Explicit ludus de deposicione crucifixi.[118]

The second play from "the Debs-Codex" which we should focus on, titled
In die parasceus Incipit planctus / circa horam vndecimam[119], reads:

[...]

JOSEPH *dicit ad* NICODEMUS:

Nicodeme, seid dw dich wild erparmen
Vber Jhesum den vill armen,
So soltu trewlich helffen mir.
Des will ich yner danchen dir.

Et sic ponunt corpus de cruce et NICODEMUS *porrigit*
MARIE *dicene:*

Maria, la dein chlagen sein,
So nym hin den herren dein.

Et sic MARIA *recepit corpus ad gremium et plagendo*
canit:

[...]

Awe iamer vnd smerczen,
Was ich des trag an meinem herczen
Vmb mein liebs chindelein,
Das so gar verphlicht under den augen sein.

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118 Cited after: Lipphardt, Roloff, 1981, pp. 67-71.
119 Vipiteno/Sterring, Stadtarchiv, Hs. IV (Debs-Codex), fol. 102ʳ-107ʳ, probably written ca. 1460 (see: Bergmann, 1986, pp. 301-302; Lipphardt, 1976, p. 140).

NOCODEMUS *dicit* MARIE:

Maria, la dein chlagen,
Wir belen Jhesum zw dem grab tragen.
Nun leich vns her den herren dein,
Der erlitn hat grasse pein.

NICOLDEMUS *auf* JOSEPH:

Joseph, nun greiff zw
Vnd las in pinten in ein tuech
Vnd legen auf dy par
Vnd jn tragen zw dem grab.

JOSEPH *dicit*:

Des pin ich willig vnd perayt,
Das Maria geringert bird ir layd.

*Et portante eum per ecclesiam cum omnibus militibus et
prophetis, qui interunt ludo. Et* MARIA *plangendo canit:* [...][128]

In both dramas, we encounter terms for animated sculptures of the crucified
Christ which differ from those found in the texts from Wels and Vienna. In
Commemoracio sepulture in die parasceve we see the designation "crucifixum"
and in *In die parasceus Incipit planctus / circa horam vndecimam*, "corpus". The
course of events and the carefully described procedures for taking the body of
Christ down from the cross, laying it in the lap of Mary and carrying it on
a bier to the Tomb leave no doubt as to the fact that an animated sculpture of
the crucified Christ was a peculiar kind of actor playing the part of the Saviour
(it is possible that the figure possessed not only moveable arms but also legs,
which would facilitate the enactment of the Pietà).

Moving on to the source materials from Poland, it must be noted that
these are neither as numerous nor as detailed in their descriptions of animated
sculptures of the crucified Christ as those from Austria. In fact, we possess no
records which would prove the existence of no longer extant figures of the type
we are discussing. Yet, it is possible that such figures were used in Żagań and
Cracow. A *Depositio Crucis* text from the *Breviary* of the Canons Regular in
Żagań mentions that:

> Tunc FRATRES vadant processionaliter ad Sepulchrum cantantes Responsorium:
> Ecce quomodo moritur iustus...
>   voce submissa, quos sequitur ABBAS, deinde QUATUOR SENIORES Imaginem
> Christi et Feretro portantes, quam in Sepulchrum reponat. Tunc ABBAS intrans Sepul-
> chrum dicat Orationes in libro contentas cum Collecta:

---

[128] Lipphardt, Roloff, 1981, pp. 369-370.

Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei <vivi>, gloriosissime conditor...

Qua dicta Imaginem Syndone munda tegat aque thurificet. Quibus peractis eodem
ordine in Chorum revertentes cantantes Responsorium:

Sepulto Domino...

Et nullam teneantur faciant, sed ante Sacristiam cum cantu cessent.[121]

It would have surely been a sculpture of large proportions, carried to the
Sepulchre by four senior Canons. However, it cannot be acknowledged with any
degree of certainty that the sculpture was an animated sculpture of the crucified
Christ, as the text lacks any reference to the act of taking the figure down from
the cross. It is equally likely to have been a sculpture of Christ in the Tomb.
Even more ambiguous is the *Depositio Crucis* included in the 1509 Cracow
Missal, in which we read that a cross or – "si est" – an *Imago Resurrectionis*
can be used during the ceremony.[122] In this case, not only do we lack a description
of the act of taking the sculptural representation of Christ down from the cross,
but we also encounter a term which would most likely be applied to a figure of
the Resurrected Christ than to an animated figure of Christ.

One written source informs us about the animated sculpture of the cruci-
fied Christ which was used in Weiningen (Switzerland), and was destroyed by
iconoclasts in 1524. In the detailed account of the destruction of the furnishings
of the local church[123] "bildnuß unsers herrn am crüz genommen, dann man
am karfraytag zöigt" is listed:

Demnach so haben iren vier von Winingen iren mördel nach verschlagen und
die heiligen ut dem voralltern [Nebenaltären] hinweg tragen, daß noch niemand weiß, wo
sie sind, ane [ohne] gunst und wüssen einer gemeind, und mördeß hat es nieman wellen
gethan haben. Uf das die erbern alten sind mordteß zuogefaren und die koestlich bildtnuß
tafel, die eben vil gekostet, ut dem Honalter [d. h. das Hochalterretabel], genommen und
sie in die kammer uf den beinhuß ineschlossen, und der pfaff und der sigrist jeder
ein schlüssel darzuo, und sunst niemands. Do das die unrüewigen vernommen, haben
sie die kammer ufbrochen und zerschlagen, dieselb tafel in das wirtshus tragen
und die bild Sant Johannsen und Sant Katherinen ut der tafel genommen, uf das
Sant Katherinen gelegt und Sant Johannsen daby gleit so si sollten junge
machen; demnach einer uf inen gerdt, hat man beid Sant Katherinen und die bild Johannsen wellen
gryfen, da konnd ich vor dem oberrock nit darzuo kon [kommen], und zuolotst, nach
vil und langem muowillen, die tafel und alle bild verbrennt. Darzuo wil ich allein an die
benügt, sunder hat einer die bildnuß unsers herrn am crüz genommen, die man den
am

121 *Breviarium Can. Reg. S. Augustini (Rubrica Sagunensis)*, 15th c., fol. 99r (Biblioteka Uni-
wersytecka we Wrocławiu – Wrocław University Library, Ms I Oct. 61). Cited after: Lewański,
1999, p. 247. On the subject of the source, see Lewański, 1966, pp. 144-145;
Lewański, 1999, pp. 62-63.

122 *Missale Cracoviense*, Cracow 1509, p. 102r. See: Lewański, 1966, pp. 62, 253; Michalak,
1939, p. 206.

123 *Urteil und handlung des kilchherrn zuo Winingen und siner underthanen*; Strickler, 1873, t. IV,
p. 359.

karfrytag zöigt, und in dy dem bart träfentlich erwüschet und gesprochen, o du eierdieb, wie hast uns so lang umb vil eyer beschissen, und damit zuckt [die Waffe gezückt] und unserm herrn den kopf abgehowen.[124]

Lack of detailed description prevents us from saying anything precise about this sculpture, its exact construction, or the time when it was carved.

As for animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Great Britain, we have at our disposal only written documents which inform us of the existence of four such sculptures in the British Isles between the 12th century and the beginning of the 16th century. Only one of the sources refers to a *Depositio Crucis* ceremony. The remaining two are dramatic works – one being a mystery play employing numerous actors and having complex sets, intended to be presented in the city streets; and the other a simpler theatrical presentation meant for performance in church interiors and having no direct links to liturgy. Several others mention an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Boxley which was publicly destroyed in London in 1538.

The sculpture which is best documented and described in most detail is the one from the church of the Cistercian monastery in Boxley, in the county of Kent, which lies two miles from Maidstone on the road to Canterbury.[125] The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, hanging from one of the church pillars, got the attention of Protestant Reformers, who discovered it in 1538 while doing work related to the dissolution of the monastery, part of a larger initiative planned and supervised by Henry VIII. The *Rood of Grace*, as the sculpture is referred to in 16th-century sources, was considered by the Reformers a telling symptom of the Catholic church's false piety. Along with other animated figures, it was given as an example of idolatry exploited by the clergy to intentionally beguile and cheat the faithful who themselves amassing riches at the expense of their generous victims. Thus, it was publicly destroyed in London in 1538. The propaganda role which was attributed to the Boxley sculpture during the religious changes underway in England directly accounts for the large number of descriptions, some of which are very detailed and enable us to reconstruct not only the piece's history but also its mechanisms and therefore its range of motion.[126]

Important to our considerations is the record of the *Depositio Crucis* from the *Ordinarium Barkingense* written in ca. 1363-1367.[127] It is clear from its content that on Good Friday in the Benedictine convent in Barking, a sculpture of the

[124] Strickler, 1873, p. 359. Cited after: Jezler, 1990, p. 152.

[125] On the subject of the *Rood of Grace* see: Kopania, 2004, pp. 119-129; includes a detailed bibliography. Of the new passages on the sculpture see: Butterworth, 2005, pp. 123, 126, 127, 131, 155; Kopania, 2007, pp. 503-504; Kopania, 2009, pp. 142-146.

[126] More on this later in the present study.

[127] Oxford, University College, Ms 169.

Saviour was taken down from the cross and washed with water and wine.[128] This is the oldest living record of the *Depositio Crucis* which mentions an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. Although the ceremony procedures are described in detail, we are unable to say anything concrete regarding the sculpture used during the ceremony itself, which is inconsistently referred to as both *Ymago* and *Crucifixi*:

> Cum autem Sancta Crux fuerit adorata, sacerdos de loco predicto Crucem eleuantes incipiant antiphonam:
>
> *Super omnia ligna,*
>
> Et choro illo subsequente totam concinant, cantrice incipiente. Deferant Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi, de ligno deponentes Ymaginem, uulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua. Dum autem hec fiunt, concinat conuentus responsorium:
>
> *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus,*
>
> Sacerdote cantrice respondente et conuentu succinente. Post vnlnorum ablucionem cum candelabris et turribulo deferant illam ad Sepulcrum hac canentes antiphona: *In pace in idipsum.* Antiphona *Habitabit.* Antiphona *Caro mea.* Cumque in predictum locum tapetum palleo auriculari quoque et lintheis nitidissimis decenter ornatum illam cum reuerencia locauerint, claudat sacerdos Sepulcrum et incipiat responsorium:
>
> *Sepulto Domino.*
>
> Et tunc adhibeat offerat cereum, qui iugiter ardeat ante Sepulcrum, nec extinguatur donec Ymago in noctte Pasche quo Dominus de Sepulcro cum cereis et thure et processione resumpta, suo reponatur in loco. Hiis itaque gestis, redeat conuentus in chorum, et sacerdos in uestiarium.[129]

The earliest known source referring to an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, including those from Great Britain, is a text of *La Seinte Resureccion*, a mystery play written in the Anglo-Norman language. Today, two copies exist. Both are incomplete and each contains different editorial versions of the scenes.[130] The first – older, and designated in the literature by the letter

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[128] A large amount of literature exists on the *Depositio Crucis* from *Ordinarium Barkingense*, see in particular: Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. V, 1976, pp. 1454-1458, vol. VIII, 1990, pp. 680-683; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 36, pp. 96-98; Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 36, p. 46; Tolhurst, 1927, pp. 100, 107-108; Wright, 1935, p. 38; Young, 1909, pp. 926-929; Young, 1920, pp. 118-121; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 164-166.

[129] Cited after: Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 164-165.

[130] These two texts are treated by some researchers not as the remaining fragments of a single drama, but of two distinct dramas from the same area and from roughly the same period. Hardison is one of those who is inclined to support such a theory: "We have not one but two lengthy vernacular dramas from the twelfth century. They are apparently both from England and in Anglo-Norman, they use similar staging techniques and the same verse form, they are both independent of the liturgical tradition, and they are both far more complex than any of the surviving Latin Biblical plays."; Hardison, 1969, p. 257. The *La Seinte Resureccion* begins with a scene in which Joseph of Arimathea asks Pilate to allow Christ's burial. The following scenes are loose motifs based on the Apocrypha, such as Joseph's arrest, Joseph in jail and Joseph's miraculous liberation. The Deposition and the Burial are highly developed, presenting the sequential action in detail as well

"C" – is dated to 1275 and is currently part of the collection of the British Library in London. It has generally been accepted that this copy was written in Canterbury.[131] The other one, dated to the turn of the 14th century and designated "P" in the literature, is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The place of its origin is undetermined.[132] Detailed analysis of both documents led to the conclusion that the manuscript in Paris, although more recent, contains an earlier version of the text. Regarding the time of the work's creation, it is accepted that it was written in the 12th century, most likely around 1175.[133] Researchers maintain that *La Sainte Resurreccion* is more closely tied to the literature, language and theatre of medieval England than to those of the other nations of Europe, including France.[134]

The text contains no clear indication of the need for using an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. A thorough analysis, however, leaves little doubt as to the necessity of one during the performance. As O.B. Hardison remarks, the performance of *La Sainte Resurreccion* was dependent on a monument. Fourteen stage "areas" were required for the performance of subsequent scenes in which at least forty-two actors appeared.[135] A large amount of information on this aspect can be found in the prologue, as transcribed below:

as the words of the people gathered on Golgotha, especially Longinus, Joseph, Nicodemus and Mary. The fragments of the text which depict the events after the resurrection have not survived to the present day. The stage directions which remain enable us to assume that these sections contain, among others, Christ with his disciples at Emmaus, and the Ascension. See: Axton, 1974, pp. 108-112.

[131] Additional MS 45103, fol. 215r-220r.

[132] Ms fr. 902.

[133] A detailed linguistic analysis of *La Sainte Resurreccion*, the full text of both versions, as well as information concerning its authorship, history, and the history of the manuscripts can be found in: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943.

[134] Hardison emphasised this point especially vehemently, pointing out that *La Sainte Resurreccion* is a piece of fundamental evidence of an early development of secular religious drama in England: Hardison, 1969, pp. 253-283. On the basis of linguistic analysis, the authors of the prologue to the classic edition of both texts (see previous note) also support the theory that the works were written in the British Isles: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943, pp. cxxxi-cxxxii. While not disputing the English origin of the plays, Grace Frank points out the strong ties between England and France at that time: "The play reflects English rather than continental traditions in its language, versification, and handling of certain incidents. But in its close relation to the liturgical drama it represents the universal evolution from the source of the theatre in both France and England. And when one remembers the political connections between the two lands at this time, the continuous crossings of the Channel in both directions by kings, nobles, and their retainers, it is easy to understand why the *Mystère d'Adam* and the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection*, for all their insular traits, may well have been witnessed in England, not only by the natives and their conquerors, but also by the continental Poitevins, Angevins, Normans, and even Francs de France who, for one reason or another, frequented that island occupied by the Normans and ruled over by kings who were dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, counts of Anjou."; Frank, 1954, p. 92. See also: Bevington, 1975, pp. 122-136.

[135] Hardison, 1969, pp. 262-267.

P

En ceste manere recitom
La seinte resureccion.
Primerement apareillons
Tus les lius e les mansions,
Le crucifix primerement
E puis aprés le monument;
Vne jaiole i deit aver
Pur les prisons enprisoner;
Enfer seit mis de cele part
Es mansions del altere part

C

Si vus avez devociun
De la sainte resurrectiun
En l'onur Deu representer
E devant le puple reciter,
Purveez ke il eit espace
Pur fere asez large place,
E si devez bien purver
Cum les lius devez aser;
E les maisuns qui afferunt
Bien purveez serrunt:

P

E puis le ciel; e as estals
Primes Pilate od ces vassals
Sis a set chivaliers avra;
Cayphas en l'altre serra
Od lui vne la Juerie
Puis Joseph d'Arunachie;
El quart liu seit danz Nichodemus
Chescons i ad od sei les soens
El quint les disciples Crist;
Les treis Maries saient el sist.

C

Le crucifix premerement
E puis aprés le monument,
Les serganz ke i agueterunt
E les Maries ke la vendrunt;
Les disciples en lur estage
Se contenent cum sage;
Nichodemus i averat sun liu
E dan Longin mendif e ciu
E li dan Joseph de Arimathie
E Pilat od sa chevalerie,
Caiphas, Annas e li Jeu;
La tur Davi e dan Thorlomeu
E une gaole mise i soit,

Les prisuns mettre en destroit;
Del une part i soit enfer mis,
Leinz serrunt les anemis
Ensemble od les anciens
Ke la serrunt mis en liens.
Le'cel ne devez ublier,
U les angles deivent habiter.

P
Si seit purveu que l'om face
Galilee en mi la place;
Iemaus uncore i seit fait,
U Jesus fut al hostel trait.
E cum la gent est route asise
E la pes de tutes parz mise,
Dan Joseph, cil de Arunache,
Venge a Pilate, si lui die: [...]

C
Seit purveu ke l'un face
Galilee en mi la place!
Er Emaus, un petit chastel,
U il pelerin prendrunt hostel.
E quant la gent ert rut asise
E la peis de tutes parz mise,
Joseph de Arimathie
Vienge a Pilate, si die: [...][136]

An observation which is important in the context of this study is the fact that nowhere in the quoted fragment nor elsewhere in the text is there mention of an actor playing the part of the Saviour. There are no lines prepared for him – not even Christ's last words as He hung on the cross just before His death. The text also lacks any dialogue between Jesus and the two thieves. The character somehow functions in the background. Obviously, His is the foremost role in *La Seinte Resurreccion*, yet the actor is still and silent, present only on the visual plane, which cannot be said for the characters of Joseph of Arimathea, Pilate, Nicodemus and Mary Magdalene. The prologue, with its instructions for the set design, indicates the need for areas representing hell, Emmaus and Galilee. This suggests the presence of a live actor playing Jesus in the scenes of His descent into Limbo and His appearance to His disciples in Emmaus and Galilee. Unfortunately, the fragment of the texts which would correspond to the above scenes has not survived. Considering the possible presence of lines for an actor playing the part of the Resurrected Christ in the missing fragment, we

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[136] Cited after: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943, pp. 1-3, ll. 1-28 ("P"), 1-37 ("C").

can conclude that the contrast between the scenes before the Burial and after is all the more apparent. This allows us to form the hypothesis that in the first part of the mystery, the part of Christ was played not by a live actor but by the sculpture, which Hardison designates a 'stage prop': "It [= *La Sainte Resurreccion*] requires [...] sophisticated stage props such as a cross with a detachable figure that can be made to 'bleed' when struck with a spear."[137]

The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, surely one of large proportions, equal in size to the average man or perhaps even still larger,[138] was to be used in two scenes: the piercing of Christ's side by Longinus, and the *Deposition*. The dialogue between Longinus and the soldier who passes him the spear was written in such a way as to build tension up to the culminating moment of the visually arresting scene of blood and water pouring out from the Saviour's side:

P
PILATUS
Levez, serganz, hastivement;
Alez tost la u celui pent.
Alez a cel crucifieed
Saver mun s'il est devié.
Dunt s'en alerent dous des serganz,
Lances od sei en main portanz,
Si une dit a Longin le ciu,
Que uni trové seant en un liu:

UNUS MILITUM
Longin, frere, vus tu guainner?

C
PILATUS
Levez, serganz, hastivement;
Alez la u celui pent.
Alez a cel crucifieed
Saver mun s'il est devié.
Dunc alerent dous des serganz,
Lances od sei en mains portanz,
Si une dit a Longin le ciu,
Ke il troverent seant en un liu:

UNUS MILITUM
Longins, frere, vos tu gaigner?

P
LONGINUS
Oïl, bel sire, n'en dotez mie.

MILES
Viên, si avras duzein dener
Pur le costé celui percer.

LONGINUS
Mult volenters od vus vendrai,
Car del gainner grant mester ai.
Povres sui, despense ne faut;
Asez demand, mes poi me vaut.

C
LONGINUS
Oïl, beals sire, mult de bon quer.

MILES
Vien, si en averas duzein dener
Pur le costé Jesu percer.

LONGINUS
Mult volenters od vus vendrai,
Kar del guainer grant mester ai.
Poveres sui, despens me faut;
Asez demand, mes poi me vaut,
Kar ieo ne pus aler ça ne la.
Quant la veue me faut, mal m'esta.

P
Quant il vendrent devant la croiz,
Une lance li mistrent es poinz.

UNUS MILITUM
Pren ceste lance en ta main,
Ne baes amont e nent en vaim.
Lessez culer desqu'al pulmon.
Si saverum s'il est mort u non.
Il prist la lance, ci.l feri
Al quer, dunc sanc e ewe en issi:

C
MILES
Or ça ta main, si te merrai.

LONGINUS
Bel sire, pas alrement n'en irrai.
Quant il estoient venu la,
Li sa lance en main bailla.

MILES
Pren ceste lance, durement le fer.

LONGINUS
Jeo la mettrai endroit le quer.

MILES
Leez cure tresque al pomun,
Si saverum se il est mort u nun.
Il prist la lance, al quor le feri,
Dunt ensemble sanc e eve en issi:

P
Si li est as mainz avalé,
Dunt il ad face muillee,
E quant a ces oils li mist,
Dunc vit un eire, e puis si dit:

LONGINUS
Ohi, Jesu! Ohi, beal sire!
Ore ne [sai] suz ciel que dire:
Mes mult par es tu bon mire
Quant en merci turnes ta ire.
Vers tei ai la mort deservi,
E tu m'as fait si grant merci
Que ore vei des oilz que aínz ne vi.
A vus me rend, merci vus cri.
Dunc se culcha en afflicions

C
Dever val li est as mains avalee,
Dunt il ad sa face muillee,
E cum il a ses oilz le mist,
An eire vit, pus si dist:

LONGINUS
Ohy, Jesu! Ohy, beal sire!
Ore ne sai sur cel ke dire:
Mais mult par es bon mire,
Quant en merci turnes ta ire.
Ver toi ai la mort deservi,
Et tu m'as fet si grant merci
Ke ore vai des oilz ke einz ne vi.
A vus me rend, merci vus cri.
Dunc se cuchat en oraisuns.

P
E dit tut suef uns oreisons,
Les chivalers s'en vunt arere,
Si unt dit en ceste manere:

UNUS MILITUM
Bel sire prince, sacher de fi:
Jesus est de vie transi.[139]

The dialogue was accompanied by a fragment of the Gospel of John (19:34),
which was written in the margin of the "P" next to verses 109-112, beginning
with the words "Si li est as mainz avalé"; "Lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo
exiuit sanguis et aqua". The above quoted fragment is one of four New Testament
quotes written in the margins of this version of the mystery play which were to
serve as markers for the key moments in the action.[140] To highlight the scene in
which Longinus pierces the Saviour's side, especially the moment in which blood
and water pour out of the wound, the use of special stage effects was called for.[141]
Some of the later animated sculptures of the crucified Christ featured special
recesses in their backs at the level of the wound which contained receptacles
for blood.[142] We can assume that the figure used in the performance of the *La
Seinte resureccion* was of a similar nature.

Further support for this hypothesis is the fact that the subsequent scene of
the *Deposition* is highly developed and contains a carefully listed sequence of
actions carried out by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. In reality, we can
see five consecutive episodes: the removal of the nails from Christ's hands, the
actual taking down of Christ from the cross, the anointing, the prayer for
a proper burial, and the placing of Christ's body in the tomb:

P
Nichodeum ses ustilz prist,
E dan Joseph issi lui dist:
JOSEPHUS
Alez as piez primerement
NICHODEMUS
Volenters, sire, e dulcement.
JOSEPHUS
Montés as mains, ostez les clous.

---

[139] Cited after: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943, pp. 9-13, ll. 85-126 ("P"),
97-137 ("C").

[140] According to Hardison: "The quotation provides a basis for the summoning of the soldiers
by Pilate, the journey to the Cross, the hiring of Lazarus, the piercing of Christ's side, the report
to Pilate, and the imprisonment of Lazarus [...]. To give the piercing of Christ's side dramatic
weight, the author has added apocryphal and legendary material and has fused the centurion of
Luke 23: 52 with Longinus. The arrangement of the Joseph-Pilate and Longinus episodes is explained
by the fact that the piercing of Christ's side is mentioned only by John [...]", Hardison, 1969,
p. 261.

[141] Hardison writes: "After Longinus has accepted the lance, he must plunge it into Christ's
side, causing blood and water to flow over his hands. This is obviously a high point [...]. Although
the episode derives most of its effect from the spectacle of the bleeding figure of Christ, the conven-
tion that each episode must have dialogue is observed"; Hardison, 1969, pp. 267-268.

[142] More on this later in the study (Chapter III).

NICHODEMUS
Sire, mult volenters, ambesdouz.
Quann Nichodem l'out fait issi,
Dist a Joseph, qui le cors saisi:

C
Nichodemus ses ustils prist,
E dan Joseph issi li dist:
JOSEPHUS
Alez as piez prememement.
NICHODEMUS
Volenters, sire, e ducement.
JOSEPHUS
Muntez as mains, ostez les clous
NICHODEMUS
Sire, si frai jeo, ambedous.
Quant Nichodemus out fait issi,
Dit a Joseph, ke le cors saisi:

P
NICHODEMUS
Suef le pernez entre vos braz.
JOSEPHUS
Saches treisben que jo si faz.
Dunt mistrent bel le cors aval
E Joseph dit a son vaissal:
JOSEPHUS
Baillez mei ça cel uinnement,
Si en oindrum cest cors present
Tant cum l'oinnement lui baun.

Nichodem dit tut en haut:

C
NICHODEMUS
Suef le pernez entre voz braz.
JOSEPHUS
Sacez le bien ke si le far.
Dunc mistrent bel le cors aval,
Et Joseph dit al un vassal:
JOSEPHUS
Baillez moi cel oignement,
Si enoingdrai cest cors present.
Tant cum le oingnement li balt,
Nichodemus dit tut en halt:

P
NICHODEMUS
Ahi! Deus omnipotent!
Ciel e terre e ewe e vent
Trestuz comanablement

Sunt al ton comandement,
E tutes choses ensement,
Fors sul en terre male gent
Qui unt cestui mis a turment.
Livrez a mort senz jugement
Untore i avrat vengement,
Mes tu es sire mult pacient.
Dune nus faire dignement
A cest seint cors enterment.

C

NICHODEMUS
Ahy! Deus omnipotent!
Cel e terre, ewe e vent
Trestut comunablement
Sunt a tun comandement,
E trestutes choses ensement,
For sul en terre male gent
Ke unt cesti mis a turment,
Livrez a mort senz jugement—
Uncore i avrat grant vengement,
Mes tu es sire mult pacient.
Dune nus faire dignement
A cest saint cors enterment.

P

Quant le cors enoint avient,
Sur la bere il le metient.
NICHODEMUS
Sire Joseph, vus estes einz nez:
Alez al chef, jo vois as piez,
Si alum tost ensevelir.
Avez veu u il pout gisir?
JOSEPHUS
Jo ai un monument mult bel,
De pere est fait trestut novel.
Ore i alum a dreit hure,
Laenz avra sepulture.[143]

C

Quant le cors en oint avient,
Sur une bere il le metient.

---

[143] In the margin of the "P" version, next to verses 273-276, we find one of the quotations from the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Posuit eum in monumento nouo quod excideratur a petra" (27, 60). Hardison writes: "This quotation justifies the conversation between Joseph and Nichodemus, the Deposition, and the burial. [...] this is an essential part of Gospel history mentioned by Mark (15, 46), Luke (25, 53), and John (19, 39-42). John is the only Evangelist to state that Nichodemus assisted Joseph."; Hardison, 1969, p. 261.

NICHODEMUS
Sire Joseph, vus estes ainnez:
Alez al chief, jeo vois as piez,
Sil alum tost ensevelir.
Avez veu u il deit gisir?

JOSEPHUS
Jeo ai un monument mult bel
De pere fet, trestut novel.
Ore le pernum a draiture,
Laenz avera sepulture.
La sunt venuz, mettent la bere;
Joseph dit en ceste manere:

JOSEPHUS
Dan Nichodemus, ore vus dirai
De ço sarcu ke jo fait ai.
Ainz ke feïsse faire sarcu,
Vi de la piere mult grant vertu,
En mun dormant, par avisiun;
Mult i out bele visitaciun:
Ceo me fu vis ke angles del ciel,
U sis u set, ne sai le quel,
Vindrent aval od grant lumere,
Un grant paile devoluperent,
E sur ceste piere la leisererent;
Le drap fu dedenz tut blanc,
Defors ert vermail cum sancs.
Quant cest ci veü, dunc me esmerveillai
E a mun pere le sunge cuntai.
Il me dit ço ke il entendi,
Ke un saint cors i serat enseveli;
E jeo pur ço en fis cel sarcu.

NICHODEMUS
Certes, dan Joseph, ore est avenu,
Kar plus saint cors unkes ne fu
Ke cist est, ke ore mettrun tu.

JOSEPHUS
Ceste piere ert sur lui posee,
Ke jeo oï einz a ço aturnee.

P
Quant il fust enterrez et la pere mise,
Caiphas, qui est levez, dit en ceste place: [...][144]

Short dialogues, considerably less developed than those in the previous parts of the work, characterise the further scenes of the *Deposition*. The author placed the main emphasis on the actions of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus while paying particular attention to the body of Christ. The use of an animated

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[144] Cited after: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943, pp. 25-30 ("P"), 273-336 ("C").

sculpture of the crucified Christ in this scene would have been thoroughly justified and would have allowed a faithful presentation of subsequent episodes.

Another source, the so-called *Christ's Burial*, gives us reason to believe that during the scenes of the *Deposition* and the subsequent *Mourning of the Virgin (Planctus)* an animated sculpture was used in the role of Christ instead of a live actor.[145] The document is a drama text included in a larger work – a Carthusian chronicle most likely written in 1518 and referred to as Ms e Museo 160 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[146] This text, engulfed in controversy for many years and the subject of numerous studies by theatre historians who repeatedly deemed it to be non-dramatic in character,[147] is presently considered beyond any doubt to be a literary work meant for performance in a church but having no connexion to liturgy per se.[148] The phrasing in several fragments of the text suggests that aside from live actors, the performance featured a sculptural depiction of Christ which was carefully and gently taken down from the cross by Nicodemus, Joseph and Mary Magdalene:

> *Joseph, redy to tak Crist down, seis:*
> [JOSEPH]
> To tak down this body, lat vs assaye.
> Brother Nichodemus, help, I yow praye.
> On arme I wald ye bade, ' To knokk out thes nayles so sturdy and grete.
> O, Safyoure! They sparid not your body to bete!
> Thay aught now to be sadd.
> MAWDLEYN.
> Gude Josephe, handille hym tenderlye!
> JOSEPHE.
> Stonde ner, Nichodemus, resaue hym softlye.

[145] *Christ's Burial* starts with the scene of Joseph of Arimathea's contemplations and the lamentations of the three Maries. Mary Magdalene describes to Joseph the event of Christ's crucifixion and the Virgin Mary's reaction to her Son's suffering. Christ's last words are collectively pondered. Nicodemus appears in the next scene and he and Joseph take Christ's body down from the cross. Meanwhile Mary and St. John arrive. The scene in which Christ's body is passed to the Virgin Mary and she holds it in her lap (*Pietà*) initiates the subsequent part of the drama – Mary's long threepart lament. In the final scene, St. John, Joseph of Arimathea and Mary Magdalene persuade the Virgin Mary to leave Christ for her Son's body so it can be buried. Mary Magdalene expects to buy the oils for anointing Jesus' body, while Joseph and Nicodemus recall Christ's promise that he will rise after three days. Full text of the drama: Baker, Murphy, Hall, 1982, pp. 141-168. Facsimile of the drama contained in Ms e Museo 160: Baker, Murphy, 1976.

[146] A detailed description of the manuscript, the essay of its authorship, the context of its origin as well as an analysis of the content and language in: Rowntree, 1990, pp. 5-72 (with bibliography).

[147] Chambers, 1903, vol. II, p. 129; Craig, 1955, pp. 318-319; Woolf, 1968, pp. 263-264.

[148] Davidson, 2005b, pp. 51-67; Meredith, 1997, pp. 133-155; Rowntree, 1990, pp. 11-15; Woolf, 1972, pp. 331-333. The origin of the manuscript and the Carthusian chapel in which it was to be performed cannot be determined. With caution, we can assume the author of Ms e Museo 160 was connected to the abbey in Mount Grace or Kingston-upon-Hill, while the person transcribing the text was the Carthusians from Axholme, see: Rowntree, 1990, pp. 21-30.

Mawdleyn, hold ye his fete.
MAWDLEYNE.
Haste rowe, gode Josephe, hast yow whiklye!
For Marye, his moder, wille com, fer I.
A, A, that virgyne most swete!
NICHODEMUS.
I saw lie benethe on the other sid:
With John, I am sure sho wille not abid
Longe frome this place.[149]

The body of Christ is placed into the lap of the Virgin upon her clear request:

MARIE VIRGYNE.
John, I shalle do os ye thinke gude.
Gentile Josephe, lat me sit vnder your rude,
And holde my son a while.[150]

MARIE VIRGYNE.
Slayn of men no mercy hadd.
Had they no mercy? I reporte me, see!
To se this bludy body, is not your hart sadd?
Sad and sorowfulle? Haue ye no pitee,
Pite and compassion, to se this crueltee?
Crueltee? Vnkindnese! O men most vnkind!
Ye that can not wepe, com lern at mee,
Kepinge this crucifixe stille in your mynd.[151]

The length of the individual scenes,[152] the intention to convey an accurate presentation of specific events,[153] and the presence of the word *crucifixe* in the section where Mary implores the others to remember the image of her tormented Son, all increase the likelihood of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ having been used in a theatrical performance.[154]

[149] Verses 434-449, fol. 147v-148r, cited after: Baker, Murphy, Hall, 1982, pp. 154-155.
[150] Verses 603-605, fol. 151r-151v, cited after: Baker, Murphy, Hall,1982, p. 160.
[151] Peter Meredith (Meredith, 1997, p. 150) puts special emphasis on the fragment in which Mary, holding the body of dead Christ on her lap, says: "Ye that can not wepe, com lern at mee, / Kepinge this crucifixe stille in your mynd" (ll. 710-717, fol. 153r, cited after: Baker, Murphy, Hall, 1982, p. 163). The use of the word *crucifixe* instead of a direct reference to Christ, can be considered an indication that a sculptural depiction of the Christ rested in the lap of the actor playing Mary.
[152] The length of the dialogues and conversations between Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mary would have required a great deal of physical stamina from the actor playing the part of Christ (and the actor playing Mary, who was holding Christ in her lap).
[153] The clearly emphasised action of removing the nails from the hands of the crucified Christ constitutes another argument for the fact a sculpture was used during the performance. In the mystery plays of the British Isles and of the Continent, we find no indication which would allow us to presume that the *Deposition* was ever performed in this way – specifically emphasising the moment when Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea pull the nails out from Christ's hands.
[154] Cf. Meredith, 1997, p. 150.

It is possible that an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was also used at the beginning of the 16th century in Flensburg, Denmark (since 1864 – in Germany). On Good Friday in the local church, four priests would enact the "Tragedy", which culminated in the scene depicting *Christ's Burial*. A sculptural representation of the Saviour was used during the performance. There is no way to determine what type of figure the four priests carried and later placed into the Sepulchre. Paul Grinder-Hansen is inclined to hypothesise that it was not a sculpture of Christ taken down from the cross but rather a sculpture of the dead Saviour with His arms lengthwise to His body. The researcher also acknowledges the possibility that it was only a Host that was placed into the Sepulchre.[155]

3. Dating

In numerous studies, we encounter the claim that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ first appeared in Germany, most likely at the beginning of the 14th century.[156] The researchers supporting this origin hypothesis employ the following course of reasoning:

1. The oldest surviving animated sculpture of the crucified Christ made in Germany is dated to around 1350.[157] It can be presumed that sculptures of this type could have been created several decades earlier, for at the end of the 13th century, the first sculptural depictions of the dead Christ which were to be placed into previously-prepared permanent or temporary Sepulchres appeared in German-speaking countries.[158]

2. A significant influence on the evolution of the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ was the development of German mysticism and passion piety.[159]

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[155] "A reference to a tomb of Christ is known from early 16th-century Flensburg, where a group of four priests each year performed what was called a 'tragedy' of the holy Jesus Christ, placing him in a special bricklayed grave. We do not know, however, if a wooden figure of Christ was used in this case. Props in the shape of dead Christ were undoubtedly used in some churches, and in other cases the devotional representations of Christ in his tomb could be used for depositing the host in connexion with the Easter liturgy."; Grinder-Hansen, 2004, p. 239. The researcher provides no information on the source he discusses, simply referring readers to the following study: S. Kaspersen (Ed.), *Dansk Litteratur historie*, vol. 1, *Fra runer til riddardigtning u. 800-1480*, Copenhagen 1984, p. 565; this source was not available to the author of the present book.

[156] This claim was made by Gesine and Johannes Taubert: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 120. A significant number of researchers followed the Tauberts, including: Aballea, 2003, p. 17; Jung, 2006, p. 67; Kopania, 2008, passim, in particular p. 48; Maisel, 2002, pp. 83-84; Pilecka, 1999, pp. 338-340; Rampold, 1999, p. 427.

[157] I.e. the sculpture from the St. Lorenz church in Kempten. Regarding the date of the work's creation see: Emmerling, 1994, p. 87; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 83, cat. no. 12; Taubert, 1978, pp. 39-40, cat. no. 12; Hugo Schnell dates the sculpture to 1350-1360 (Schnell, 1971, pp. 17, 19).

[158] As the oldest example of this type of work, the Tauberts present the Holy Sepulchre from Wienhausen. On this work, see: Appuhn, 1961, pp. 73-138; Appuhn, 1986, pp. 22-30.

[159] See in particular: Tripps, 2000a, passim.

3. The tradition of performing the *Depositio Crucis* in German-speaking territories dates back to the 10th century and is considerably older than in Italy, where the oldest surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been found.[160] The fact that the oldest figures of the type we are interested in do not survive north of the Alps is a matter of chance. Some researchers even express the belief that the lack of early examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in German-speaking countries is a consequence of the Reformation and the numerous religious wars associated with it, during which works of art were frequently destroyed.[161]

4. The oldest record of the *Depositio Crucis* which contains a mention of the removal of an animated sculpture of Christ from the cross and its placement into a Sepulchre comes from the Benedictine convent in Barking. Researchers emphasise that the custom of conducting the *Depositio Crucis* must have arrived from Germany, and that the convent's prioress, Catherine of Sutton, had strong German ties dating back to the times of liturgical reforms in the sisterhood and to the writing of the *Ordo* which contains the text of the ceremony.[162]

The available historical material indicates that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ had indeed been known before the mid-14th century, but above all in the south and not the north of Europe. The largest number of examples created before the mid-14th century have survived in Italy. Aside from the two mentioned in the work of Gesine and Johannes Taubert – those from the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence (1339)[163] and the Nella Longari Gallery in

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[160] The researchers supporting the German genesis of animated sculptures of crucified Christ base their arguments exclusively on historical sources contained in the catalogue compiled by Gesine and Johannes Taubert. The oldest work mentioned by the Tauberts is a sculpture from a Florentine baptistery dated to 1339.

[161] This opinion is expressed by María José Martínez Martínez. In discussing Spanish examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which were known to her, especially the *Cristo de Burgos* from the Burgos cathedral, she states: "El área de difusión geográfica de estas imágenes está muy delimitada, prioritariamente el espacio centroeuropeo del Sacro Imperio Romano-Germánico, donde se han inventariado un total de sesenta y cuatro tallas. Fuera del mismo se sitúan las cuatro imágenes españolas y la desaparecida del monasterio de Barking, en las cercanías de Londres, con toda probabilidad de origen germánico. No se han conservado actualmente en los Países Bajos, circunstancia que no implica la inexistencia de las mismas, de hecho la escultura del Santo Cristo de Burgos se importó con toda probabilidad desde allí. También es probable que el número de tallas alemanas fuese más elevado, debido a que ello se daría de las podrían haber destruido en las distintas guerras de religión que asolaron Europa central. Estas información sobre la destrucción generalizada de imágenes en 1566 en los enfrentamientos entre protestantes y católicos en los Países Bajos, situación que también fue frecuente en Alemania."; Martínez Martínez, 2006, p. 267. It would be difficult to investigate why it happened that specifically the oldest animated sculptures of crucified Christ suffered the most as a result of religious wars while many a large number of more recent ones survived.

[162] More on this topic later in the study (Chapter IV).

[163] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 4.

Milan (first quarter of the 14th century),[164] these include the figures from the San Domenico church in San Miniato (1270-1280),[165] the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (1330s),[166] the Museo di Palazzo Santi in Cascia (first quarter of the 14th century),[167] the Sant'Andrea church in Palaia (1340),[168] the San Pietro Apostolo church in Castelfranco di Sotto (1310-1320)[169] as well as the Pinacoteca Comunale in Spello (end of the 13th or first decade of the 14th century).[170] Two figures modified to be animated sculptures of the crucified Christ – from Cascia and Tolentino – are dated to the first decade of the 14th century[171] and the second half of the 13th century[172], respectively.

In addition to the above sculptures, it is worthwhile to mention other, later animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from the San Giovanni Battista church in Butti (mid-14th century),[173] the San Luigi church in Orvieto (late 14th century),[174] the Santissimo Crocifisso sanctuary in Cuna (late 14th century)[175] and San Feliciano church in Foligno (generally dated to the 14th century).[176] The previously-mentioned written sources referring to religious confraternities who presented theatrical *laude* in Assisi and Perugia are also evidence of the prevalence of the sculptures in question in 14th-century Italy.

A large number of surviving early examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are also found on the Iberian Peninsula. These sculptures have in essence been ignored in the studies devoted to such works of art (for some reason they are very cursorily described and studied).[177] The oldest surviving animated sculpture of the crucified Christ found on the Iberian Peninsula is the so-called *Cristo*

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[164] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 15.

[165] Bernardi, 2000, p. 15; Caleca, 2000, pp. 55-56.

[166] Collareta, 2000, pp. 129-134; Lisner, 1970, p. 28.

[167] Lunghi, 2000, pp. 104, 106-107; Sapori, Toscano, 2004, pp. 275-284.

[168] Carletti, 2001, pp. 39-40; Carli, 1960, p. 42; Collareta, 2000, pp. 129-134; Perusini, 2000, p. 22; Procacci, 1933, pp. 253-258; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 19.

[169] Bernardi, 2000, p. 15; Tomasi, 2000, pp. 73-74.

[170] Ceino, 1991, p. 22; Fratini, 1990, p. 28; Fratini, 1995, pp. 93-94; Lunghi, 2000, p. 107; Maraldottini, 1994, p. 6; Tini Brunozzi, 1994, p. 69.

[171] Lunghi, 2000, pp. 275-277.

[172] Giannatiempo López, Bruni, 2004, pp. 219-220.

[173] Cardone, Carletti, 2001, pp. 235.

[174] Fratini, 1999, pp. 47, 50; Lunghi, 2000, p. 124; Paoli, 1997, pp. 91-95; Paoli, 1999, p. 191.

[175] Tameni, 2004.

[176] Elvio Lunghi mentioned the sculpture (Lunghi, 2000, p. 104), while not giving a date for its creation. Ilaria Tameni states it is generally to the 14th century (Tameni, 2004).

[177] These were discussed only by Spanish and Portuguese researchers, who did not address the issues connected to the dating of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ nor did the rest of Europe while unquestioningly accepting the conclusions of Gesine and Johannes Taubert suggesting that they first appeared in Germany (Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 235). The only exception is the sculpture from the cathedral in Burgos – the so-called *Cristo de Burgos* – on which several broader studies have been published, see: Kopania, 2007, pp. 495-509; Martínez, 1997; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-246.

de los Gascones, dated to the 12th century, from the San Justo church in Segovia.[178] The figure of Christ from the collections of the Museu Grão-Vasco in Viseu, Portugal was created in the 12th or possibly 13th century.[179] The works from Liria[180] and Toro[181] were made in the 13th century.[182] The sculpture from San Pedro Félix de Hospital do Incio in Lugo can be dated to the end of the 13th century or the first quarter of the 14th century.[182] Several other examples were also made in the second quarter of the 14th century. Among them are: the *Cristo de Burgos* from the Burgos cathedral (1330s),[183] the sculpture from the de la Sangre de Cristo church in the town of Fisterra (second quarter of the 14th century)[184] as well as the sculpture from the cathedral in Orense (1330s).[185] The sculpture from the Diocesan Museum in Tui dates from the mid-14th century,[186] while the

[178] Alcolea, 1958, p. 45; Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 463; Castán Lanaspa, 2003, p. 355; Ceballos-Escalera de, 1953, p. 52; Español, 2004, p. 547; Herbosa, 1999, p. 79.
[179] Passos, 1999, pp. 30-31; Russell Cortez, 1967, p. 4.
[180] Tormo, 1923, p. 184.
[181] The figure has been dated to the first half of the 13th century; *Santo Entierro...*, 1994, pp. 52-53, cat. no. 14.
[182] Carmen Manso Porto, who was the first to describe and study this example in broader scope, points out a number of features which would justify its being dated to the end of the 13th century. At the same time, she states that the way in which the calves are shaped and the face crafted may suggest a significantly later date, as late as the second half of the 14th century: "El Crucificado de San Pedro Félix de Hospital de O Incio representa a Cristo con los pies paralelos sujetos a la cruz con dos clavos, largo *perizonium* ajustado al cuerpo y más largo por la parte trasera, brazos articulados por encima de la horizontal y completamente extendidos, costillas marcadas con incisiones paralelas, rostro doloroso con la mirada baja y ladeado hacia la derecha, cabellos en mechones y corona nupeada con espinas y herida sangrantes. Pose a la tosquedad de los rasgos anatómicos del vientre y las costillas, y al empleo de cuatro clavos, más frecuentes en ejemplares del siglo XIII, el tipo de rostro doloroso y hacia la derecha, con las pantorrillas muy desarrolladas, permiten entrar su cronología hacia la salida del siglo XIV. El paño de pureza es muy parecido al de los Cristos románicos de San Salvador dos Penedos (Allariz) y al de los Desamparados de la catedral de Ourense."; Manso Porto, 1996, p. 449. Manso Porto's doubts do not seem justified. It is difficult to even liken the Christ's face to the faces of *crucifixos dolorosos* sculptures of Christ on the cross which are characteristic of Spain in the second and third quarter of the 14th century (on the subject of Spanish sculptures of this type see: Franco Mata, 1989, pp. 5-64; Franco Mata, 2002, pp. 13-39; Martínez Martínez, 2009, pp. 107-128). The strong facial features, especially the robust brow lines and mouth, small and thin lips, as well as an almond shape of the head can be acknowledged as characteristic traits of Romanesque sculptures, including those from the second half of the 13th century. Contrary to Manso Porto's opinion, it should also be stated that the way in which the calves were crafted does not differ from the way in which the chest, arms, chest and thighs were crafted. The entire body of the Saviour is represented in simplified form, is symmetrical, and, aside from accurately presented ribs, is devoid of any anatomical details, it therefore seems fully justifiable to attribute the sculpture to the end of the 13th century.
[183] Kopania, 2007, p. 498; Martínez, 1997, p. 20; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 241-245.
[184] González Montañés, 2002, p. 34.
[185] Manso Porto, 1996, p. 452.
[186] Manso Porto, 1993, pp. 357-358.

sculptures from the monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups from Mig Aran[187] and Taüll[188] are dated to the 12th century.

Among the German sculptures, only two – from Museum Kartause Astheim (ca. 1350-1375)[189] and from the St. Lorenz church in Kempten (1350)[190] – date back to the 14th century. Broadening the territorial range to include other German-speaking lands and cities or those under the control of the Holy Roman Empire or the Teutonic Order, we should also mention the examples from the former Cistercian church in Chełmno (third quarter of the 14th century),[191] the Benedictine monastery in Göttweig (1380),[192] the parish church in Steirisch-Laßnitz (1350–1360),[193] the parish church in Spišská Belá (ca. 1390),[194] the Carmelite convent in Hradčany in Prague (ca. 1350)[195] as well as the Alšova Jihočeská Gallery in Hluboká (1390).[196] There are eight of them in total, none created earlier than 1350.

The oldest surviving examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Italy, Spain and Portugal demand a revision of hitherto prevalent views on the time and location of the emergence of this type of works. While considering the historical material, we cannot simply rush to the conclusion that it was in fact from Italy and the Iberian Peninsula that these sculptures spread to the rest of Europe. It is worthwhile here to mention the existence of the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from the Kunstindustriemuseet in Oslo, dated to 1170/1180 or perhaps ca. 1200.[197] This figure was most likely an import from the British Isles. It should, however, not be linked, as has been done for decades with the Cloisters Cross from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which was most likely created for the Bury St. Edmunds Abbey;[198] nevertheless,

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[187] Dector, 2004, p. 80.

[188] Camps i Sòria, 2004, p. 92.

[189] Information: courtesy of Rev. Prof. Ryszard Knapiński.

[190] Emmerling, 1994, p. 87; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 83, cat. no. 12; Taubert, 1978, pp. 39-40, cat. no. 12. Hugo Schnell dates the sculpture to 1350-1360 (Schnell, 1971, pp. 17, 19).

[191] Pilecka, 1999, pp. 328-336.

[192] Migasiewicz, 2004, p. 40; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 9.

[193] Biedermann, Roth, 1992, p. 160; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 89, cat. no. 31; Woisetschläger-Mayer, 1964, p. 118.

[194] Lajta, 1960, p. 89; Pilecka, 1999, p. 331; Radocsay, 1967, p. 213; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 88-89, cat. no. 30. In the 14th century Spišská Belá was a part of the Kingdom of Hungary, but was founded (ca. 1263) and inhabited by German settlers. In 1412, under the reign of Lubovla, it passed to Kingdom of Poland.

[195] Kutal, 1962, p. 12; Kutal, 1971, p. 3; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 23.

[196] Pocheło, 1977, p. 384; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 10.

[197] Blindheim, 1969, pp. 22-32; Goldschmidt, 1914-1926, vol. III, no. 128a, b; Hoffmann, 1970, p. XVIII; Longland, 1969, p. 166; Nilgen, 1985, p. 64; Parker, 1978, pp. 95-96; Parker, Little, 1994, pp. 30, 37, 80, 159, 253-258.

[198] This also does not mean that the sculpture was not created around the same time as the Cloister Cross, as was pointed out by Ursula Nilgen, supporting a pre-1200 dating for the figure: "Der Kruzifixus in Oslo darf m. E. nicht so weit von Stillage und Werkstatt des Kreuzes der Cloisters

the figure's English origin should not be disputed. In terms of where animated sculptures of the crucified Christ first appeared, the key point is that the example from the Kunstindustrimuseet in Oslo should be connected with the British Isles. Moreover, it is not the only evidence of the presence of this type of work in Britain at around 1200. The previously-discussed *La Sainte Resurreccion* (dated to ca. 1175), the performance of which was probably connected with the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, was created and most likely performed in England.

The sculpture found in the Benedictine convent in Barking should also be considered a 14th-century work. The *Depositio Crucis* contained in the *Ordinarium Berkingense* most likely came into being in 1370. Taking into consideration the fact that Holy Week liturgical ceremonies were introduced into the liturgical calendar of the Barking sisterhood by the convent's prioress, Catherine of Sutton, it would be realistic to hypothesise that the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ used in the convent was also created in 1370.

A relatively small number of the surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ date back to the 15th century. One place where we notice a larger number of these is Italy, and especially Florence, where the sculptures dating from the first half of the 15th century dominate. These are the sculptures from the Santa Croce church (1415),[199] San Felize in Piazza (1405-1415),[200] Santa Maria in Campo (mid-15th century)[201] and Palazzo Pitti (1430-1440).[202] To these we can add the example from San Stefano church in Calcinaia (second half of the 15th century),[203] a town near Florence. Other examples are the works found in modern-day Italy, we should also add the works found in the Teutonic Order Convent in Lana (beginning of the 15th century),[204] the San Vincenzo church in Palazzolo di Sona (beginning of the 15th century),[205] the San Giacomo monastery in Prato (1460-1470),[206] the San Crispolto church in Bettona (1460-1470),[207] Chiesa del Cristo in Pordenone (1446),[208] the San Bartolomeo church in

abgedruckt werden. Er diente im gleichen Ambiente des englischen 'Channel Style', etwa um 1170/80 oder wenig später, entstanden sein."; Nilgen, 1985, p. 64.

[199] See, for example: Janson, 1957, pp. 7-12; Lisner, 1970, pp. 11, 12, 54-55, 64; Parker, 1978, pp. 61-62, 147; Parnocchi, 1976, pp. 50-55; Parnocchi, 1998, pp. 39-52; Petrucci, 2003, p. 104.

[200] Lisner, 1968, pp. 121-122; Lisner, 1970, pp. 57-58; Meoni, 1993, pp. 174-175; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 6; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 6.

[201] Lisner, 1970, pp. 60-61.

[202] Lisner, 1970, p. 62.

[203] Lisner, 1970, p. 107 (note 169).

[204] Rampold, 1999, p. 428. It should be kept in mind that Lana belonged to the Habsburg empire and thus the example should not be linked with the medieval artistic and religious culture of Italy.

[205] Tameni, 1999, p. 60.

[206] Lisner, 1970, p. 60.

[207] Langhi, 2000, pp. 133-146; Perusini, 2006, p. 194.

[208] Francescutti, 2004(2005), pp. 178-187; Francescutti, 2006, pp. 207-223; Perusini, 2006,

Zuccarello (1440-1460),[208] and the Pinacoteca Comunale in Terni (1460).[210] Sources referring to the activities of Italian religious confraternities mention the existence of two animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which were used in theatricalised Good Friday *laude* in the 15th century. There is, however, no way to determine whether the sculpture mentioned in the inventory of the San Feliciano confraternity in Foligno was created in the first half of the 15th century or still in the 14th. We are also unable to determine the date of creation of the sculpture used in the *Pianto de nostra Donna – sacra rappresentatione*, which was performed in the second half of the 15th century in Bologna.

In the rest of Europe, we find no regions or countries with a high concentration of 15th century animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The sculpture from Mszczonów, housed at the Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw, is dated to ca. 1400.[211] The sculpture from the church of the Monastery of Santa Clara in Palencia was created at roughly the same time, most likely before 1410.[212] In Spain there are three other surviving 15th-century figures of the type we are interested in – from the parish church in Vilabade (right before the half of the 15th century),[213] Arrabal de Portillo (15th century)[214] and Esguevillas de Esgueva (15th century)[215]. Among the works from the Iberian Peninsula, we should also mention the sculpture from the Portuguese town of Pórtel (15th century).[216] The work from the Benedictine monastery in Hronský Beňadik (now Slovakia) is dated to 1470-1490.[217] The sculpture from the Parisian Saint-Germain-des-Prés church, which is already mentioned, should be assigned to the group of

pp. 197, 198, 199, 200-201.

[208] Bartoletti, Boggero, Cervini, 2004, p. 66; Bogerro, Cervini, 1995, p. 32; Giardelli, 1992, pp. 156-157.

[209] Fratini, 2000, pp. 22, 39-41; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 123, 163; Rinaldi, 1986, p. 23.

[210] Dziechciaruk-Jedrak, 1985, p. 80; Rzegocka, 2005, p. 180; Sygietyńska, 1994, p. 425. In certain works, generally those not written by art historians, we encounter a general dating to the 15th century, such as in: Lewański, 1999, p. 62; Raszewski, 1990, p. 10; Targosz, 1995, p. 206.

[211] Ara Gil, 1995, pp. 284, 288.

[212] González Montañés, 2002, p. 34; Valiña Sampedro, 1983, p. 241; Manso Porto, 1996, pp. 452-453.

[213] Information courtesy of Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia.

[214] Information courtesy of Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia.

[215] Espanca, 1978, p. 204.

[216] Bodnár Szent-Lály, 1981, pp. 60-62; Bodnár Szent-Lály, 1987, pp. 155-157; Brooks, 1921, p. 43; Cséfalvay, 1993, pp. 139-140; Csefalvay, 1911, pp. 545-548; Dziechciaruk-Jedrak, 1985, pp. 75-76; Endrödi, 2003, pp. 716-717, cat. no. 4; 46; Hienzelmann, 1866, pp. 138-140; Homolka, 1972, pp. 68, 393; Kampis, 1940, pp. 64-66; Kapustka, 1998, p. 24; Kapustka, 2003, p. 103; Król-Kaczorowska, undated, pages unnumbered; Król-Kaczorowska, 1971, p. 95; Prokopp, 1984, p. 36; Radocsay, 1967, pp. 74-76, 166; Rzegocka, 2005, p. 180; Schütez, Wiese, 1938, pp. 73, 194, 197; Tkkacs, 2001, pp. 180-182; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 82-83, cat. no. 11; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 11; Trajdos, 1964, pp. 334-345; Trajdos, 1970, pp. 94-96; Tripps, 2000a, pp. 131, 134; Wagner, 1930, pp. 73-74. Schwarzweber dates the figure and the wooden Holy Sepulchre of which the figure is a part to ca. 1500: Schwarzweber, 1940, p. 43.

sculptures made and used in Italy, is estimated to have been created after 1480.[218] The creation of the sculpture found in the 1920s in the Piraud collection in Paris is estimated to have taken place in the 15th century.[219]

It is impossible to determine a precise date of origin for the work from the Cistercian monastery in Boxley which is known only from the source records. With a high degree of certainty, we can assume that it was made in the 15th century, most likely in the first half of the century. J. Brownbill emphasises that the Cistercian abbey in Boxley, in the county of Kent,[220] where the figure was displayed as early as the second quarter of the 15th century, was known for possessing a miraculous image, which we may identify as the *Rood of Grace*.[221] That the *Rood of Grace* was a cult object and a pilgrimage destination in the 16th century, a fact supported by source records, further supports this hypothesis.[222] However, owing to the lack of detailed source material, a precise date cannot be established for the sculpture.

The vast majority of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are dated to the period between 1490 and 1530. An especially large number of works was created in the 16th century. It seems entirely reasonable to suggest that the peak in the popularity of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ falls at the turn of the 16th century. A significant number of these later works have survived in Florence. Sculptures from the churches of Santa Maria Novella,[223] Santo Spirito,[224] San Giorgio dei Cavalieri,[225] Santa Trinità,[226] the Calza monastery[227] and Istituto San Salvatore[228] are dated to the turn of the 16th century. Similarly

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[218] Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 95-96; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 21; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 21.

[219] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95; Kapustka, 1998, p. 47; Kapustka, 2003, p. 155; Kopania, 2004a, p. 43 (note 17); Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 22; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 22.

[220] The Cistercian abbey in Boxley was founded in 1146 by Willian de Ypres, Duke of Kent and dissolved in 1538. A concise history of the organisation along with a list of subsequent abbots is given in: Brownbill, 1883, pp. 162-165. On the subject of archaeological works carried out in Boxley and the related reconstruction of the original abbey, see: Tester, 1973, pp. 129-158.

[221] "There seems to be no account of the image earlier than the time of its destruction [This statement is untrue. The researcher was not familiar with earlier sources: Kopania, 2004b, p. 120], so that the real nature of the attraction must remain unknown; so it was so famous that the Abbey was called 'Holly Cross' Abbey; and the first allusion to the image is in a state paper in the year 1432, describing the Abbey as 'S. Crucis de Gratiis'.", Brownbill, 1883, p. 164.

[222] Kopania, 2004b, p. 120.

[223] Thanks to surviving archival documents, we know that the sculpture was produced by commission of Ammadadio d'Amaddio del Giocondo, member of Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino and donated to the brotherhood on 3 March, 1502; Turner, 1997, p. 120.

[224] Lisner, 1970, pp. 85, 189; Turner, 1997, pp. 164-165, cat. no. 11B.

[225] Lisner, 1969, p. 111; Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 90.

[226] Lisner, 1970, pp. 77-82.

[227] Lisner, 1969, p. 120.

[228] Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 97.

dated examples are also found in the nearby vicinity of the city:[229] at the church of the Santa Maria e di San Lorenzo in Campi Bisenzio,[230] the San Vincenzo monastery in Parto,[231] the seminary in Prato,[232] the parish church in San Casciano,[233] the Sant'Andrea church in Rovezzano[234] as well as the chapel in Villa della Petraia.[235]

Sculptures from the northern regions of Italy are usually dated to the first decades of the century. This includes the sculptures from the Santi Pietro e Paolo church in Travagliato, the two examples from Pontebba, those from the San Giovanni Battista church and the Santa Maria church (ca. 1520),[236] and the sculptures from the Santa Margherita church in the town of Sappada (1530),[237] the Santa Madonna church in Porcia (first half of the 16th century), the San Francesco church in Sangemini (early 16th century),[238] San Bernardino church in Caravaggio (first decades of the 16th century),[239] the chiesa dell'Ospedale in Spello (first quarter of the 16th century),[240] Santa Maria Argentea in Norcia (1494),[241] the Museo della Città in Rimini (late 15th century)[242] and a private collection in Valsavone (late 15th century).[243]

A significant concentration of sculptures created at the turn of the 16th century are found in the southwestern regions of Germany. From the region of Baden-Württemberg, we should list the sculptures from the parish church in Altheim (ca. 1500),[244] the evangelical church in Bad Wimpfen am Berg (1480, first half of the 16th century),[245] the former monastery church in Lorch

[229] The sculptures known only from sources should be remembered: an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was commissioned by the clergy of the Santa Maria del Fiore cathedral in Florence in 1492 (Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 90-91, cat. no. 37).

[230] Gatteschi, 1993, p. 59; Lisner, 1970, p. 85.

[231] Lisner, 1970, p. 60.

[232] Lisner, 1970, p. 85.

[233] Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 84.

[234] Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 97, 109 (note 192).

[235] Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 81.

[236] Perusini, 2000, pp. 19-38.

[237] Perusini, 2006, pp. 197, 198, 199.

[238] Bruni, 2007; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 104, 123; Lunghi, 2004, p. 277.

[239] Bernardi, 2005, p. 83; Pacia, 2001, p. 39.

[240] Lunghi, 2000, p. 104.

[241] Bruni, 2007; Cordella, 1995, p. 48; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 165-166.

[242] Colombi Ferretti, 1999, p. 148; Tripps, 1998, p. 88; Bernardi, 2000, pp. 200-201; Schmidt, 2002, p. 568.

[243] Perusini, 2000, p. 31; Perusini, 2006, pp. 199-200.

[244] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 66, cat. no. 21. Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 21.

[245] The sculpture is dated to 1481 by most of the researchers: Arens, 1980, fig. 23; Arens, Bühlen, 1971, pp. 75-76; Dehio, 1993, p. 44; Piel, 1964, p. 541; Schnellbach, 1931, p. 168; Tripps, 2000a, pp. 175, 215. However, in his article on the life and work of Sebald Bocksdorfer, Albrecht Miller states that the sculpture from Bad Wimpfen is a late work, created after the middle of the 16th c. Miller argues that the date of 1481 is the result of an error on the part of a researcher

(ca. 1500)[246] and the parish church in Oberndorf (1540).[247] From among the works found in Bavaria, one should mention the examples from the St. Johann church in Memmingen (1510),[248] the towns of Laufen (1530)[249] and Ottobeuren (1530),[250] a private collection in Passau-Grubweg (1520),[251] the St. Pancras parish church in Sulzschneid (1550),[252] the Stadtmuseum in Weilheim i.OB (1490)[253] and the parish church in Unterhausen (1525).[254]

Among the surviving Austrian examples, a large majority date from the period between 1500 and 1510. This applies to the works from the Diocesan Museum in Klagenfurt,[255] the parish church in Maria Wörth,[256] private collections and the collections of the Museum Innviertler Volkskundehaus in Ried im Innkreis,[257] the St. Valentin parish church in Rietz,[258] the Archdiocesan Seminary in Salzburg,[259] the Sts. Michael and Vitus seminary chapel in Schwaz,[260] the Benediktinerstift Stiftssammlungen in Seitenstetten[261] and the parish church

who misread the source discussing the creation of the sculpture. Its creator, Osfald Bocksdorfer, is supposed to have created it not in the year 1481 but at the age of 81: "Außerdem wird in der kunsthistorischen Literatur von einem Oswald Bocksdorfer aus Memmingen berichtet, der sich auf einem Zettel im Inneren eines lebensgroßen Kruzifixus in der evangelischen Pfarrkirche in Wimpfen am Berg verewigt hat. Die unkorrekte Wiedergabe des Textes durch Schnellbach erweckte den Anschein, es handle sich um ein Werk Oswald Bocksdorfers aus dem Jahre 1481. Tatsächlich lautet die Inschrift: Oswald Bocksdorfer von memmingen got sey im gnädig gewest im 81 jor. Den Schriftbild nach stammt der Zettel aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Demnach dürfte Oswald Bocksdorfer das Werk, das wohl der Memminger Kunst der Spätgotik nichts zu tun hat, in seinem 81. Lebensjahr gestiftet haben. Als Bildschnitzer scheidet er somit aus."; Müller, 1995, p. 81.

[246] Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 43.
[247] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 18; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 18.
[248] Altmann, 1975, p. 15; Breuer, 1959, p. 17; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 17; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 17.
[249] Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 40.
[250] Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 40.
[251] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 20; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 20.
[252] Perzet, 1966, p. 214; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 89, cat. no. 32; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 32.
[253] Helm, 1982, pp. 77-78; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 34; Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 34.
[254] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 89-90, cat. no. 35; Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 35.
[255] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 25; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 13.
[256] Milesi, 1960, p. 210; Reichmann-Endres, 1995, p. 19; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 12.
[257] The privately-owned work: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 86-87, cat. no. 24; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 24. The piece from the Innviertler Volkskundliche Museum: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 25; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 25.
[258] Rampold, 1999, p. 433; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 26; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 26.
[259] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 27; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 27.
[260] Rampold, 1999, pp. 430-432; Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 45.
[261] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 27; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 28.

in Tannheim.[262] The only one to be dated earlier is the sculpture from the parish church in Schönbach, which was most likely made in 1490.[263]

We can date two of the three works from Switzerland to the same time period as the Austrian works. The sculpture from Lausanne was most likely made at the beginning of the 16th century,[264] as was the one belonging to the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zürich.[265] Later single examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are found in other regions of Europe. Among those from Germany, we should name the sculpture from the City Museum in Döbeln in Saxony, which was most likely dated in 1510,[266] the figure from the St. Johann parish church in Schneidheim, made at the turn of the 16th century,[267] the sculpture from the collection of the Bode-Museum in Berlin, dated to ca. 1510,[268] and perhaps the not-surviving work mentioned in the 1517 Wittenburg foundational document issued by Elector Friedrich der Weise.[269]

It is impossible to determine a date for the sculpture whose use is suggested in the *Christ's Burial* play contained in the Ms e Museo 160 from the Bodleian Library. Taking into consideration the fact that this source is dated to 1518, we can hypothetically assume that the sculpture used in the performance of the play could have been made at roughly the same time. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the *Christ's Burial* text was based on Holy Week customs which had been in practice for some time already. It is equally probable that

[262] Rampold, 1999, p. 432.

[263] Kapustka, 2008, p. 160 (note 392); Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 28; Taubert, 1978, p. 42 cat. no. 28.

[264] Kapustka, 2003, p. 157 (note 11); Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 14; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 14.

[265] Baier-Futterman, 1936, pp. 73-74; Flühler-Kreis, Wyer, 2007, p. 199; Kapustka, 1998, p. 47; Kapustka, 2003, p. 155; Kapustka, 2008, p. 160; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 35; Taubert, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 35.

[266] Bechter, 2002, pp. 24-25; Franke, 2002, p. 114; Gurlitt, 1903, p. 22; Habenicht, 1999, pp. 73-74; Kapustka, 1998, p. 47; Kapustka, 2003, pp. 155-156; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 160-163; Knorre von, 1999, pp. 99, 102; Kapunia, 2004a, p. 41; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 126-127; Lutk, 2004, pp. 213-214; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 236-238; Michel, Schulze, 2000, pp. 41-44; Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 40-41; Perunini, 2000, p. 31; Schmidt, 1998, p. 130; Schulze, 1999, pp. 126-132; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 93; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 3; Tripps, 2000a, pp. 161, 176, 182, 237.

[267] Wolfgang Erdmann, who provided the first broader analysis of the work, states: "Bestimmte Eigenarten, wie etwa die Bart- und Haarausbildung, die über einen Strick fallende Lendentuch, die Anatomie von Busch und des pirahse- liegenden Rippetansatzes weisen auf einen Entstehungs- zeitraum in der spätesten Entwicklungsphase 'spätgotischer' Skulptur zwischen etwa um 1480 und um 1510 hin, in welcher der Künstlerindividualismus mehr sich wird getrieben und direkte Einflüsse der italienischen Renaissance spürbar werden."; Erdmann, 2002, pages unnumbered. Cf.: Großmann- Hofmann, Köster, 1998, p. 93; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 235.

[268] Schottmuller, 1933, p. 147, no. 7139.

[269] As the document lacks any specific information pertaining to an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ used on Good Friday, a precise determination of its date of creation is not possible.

a sculpture of this kind could previously have been used in a Carthusian church earlier, in the 15th century, with no relation to the 1518 play, and only later adapted for use in the performance.

4. Style

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ cannot be attributed to any single specific style period. This obviously stems from the fact that they were created by representatives of various artistic milieux in the period between the 12th and 16th centuries within the broad territory of Western and Central Europe. In reference to the formal qualities of the sculptures, we should not, in spite of the suggestions made by certain researchers, treat them as belonging to a homogenous group in which we mostly encounter works of modest quality attributed to artistically-challenged provincial craftsmen.[270] Generally speaking, specific animated sculptures of the crucified Christ are closely related to their kindred, from a perspective of time and place, ordinary crucifixes. At most, we can include specific examples of these types of sculptures in a broader group of works of a defined time and with a defined set of traits, as suggested by Mateusz Kapustka. He states: "The 14th century works are marked with the then-prevalent stamp of dolorism – representing a radically haggard body of the Saviour in unnaturally deformed positions, and thus fitting into the category of the so-called

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[270] Taubers, Taubert, 1969, p. 121; Turner, 1997, p. 68. A fragment of the work by Tanya A. Jung tellingly states that all attempts at a general analysis of the issue connected to the style, creation dates and dimensions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been fruitless. In her endeavor to create an analysis of all animated sculptures of the crucified Christ used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies the researcher tries to list their common characteristics. These similarities are exceptionally general and at times even odd: "The criteria for my grouping of these images include the forms, media, and functions that they share as a group. While there were movable images of Christ used at different points in the liturgical year, all of my images correspond to the iconography of Christ at various moments in the Holy Week narrative. Most are free-standing figures and range in size from one to two meters. They were carved in the round from lindenwood (also known as limewood) by anonymous sculptors and were painted by those same sculptors, their apprentices, or artisans who specialized in polychromy. Communities and individuals commissioned and used these images throughout Western and Central Europe from at least the thirteenth century and they continue to be made and used today [...]. The highest concentration of extant movable Christ images comes from southern German-speaking regions and this concentration is the scope of my study. Most are from Swabia, Bavaria, and the Tyrol and date to c. 1490-1530. There is no evidence that these images were made or used in Eastern Christendom. Rather they are a Catholic phenomenon and as Protestantism spread across Europe over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we have fewer occurrences of these images in the art-factual and textual record. Their most important common factor, however, is that they all stimulated Christ in form and action during different ritual points in the annual narrative performance his last days, death, and Resurrection."; Jung, 2006, pp. 16-17.

mystic crucifixes."271 Good examples of this are the sculptures from the St. Lorenz church in Kempen and the parish church in Steirisch-Laßnitz. Both works are characterised by their direct portrayal of Christ's suffering – the obvious wound in the side, the rib cage, the sunken stomach with similarly shaped muscles, the folds of cloth that fall symmetrically on both sides of the hips in sharply-defined and dynamic creases; with both figures hanging from forked crosses. A clear intent to depict the suffering of Christ can also be seen in the works from Spain which emerged at roughly the same time, from the cathedrals in Burgos and Orense, which in terms of their vivid depiction of Christ's wounds exhibit fundamental differences from their counterparts in other parts of Europe.272 Thus, both works lack the typical traits of other sculptural representations due to their peculiar crafting techniques, which focus on the magnitude of Christ's suffering as a way to make an impression on the viewer.

The only consistent feature among almost all animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, aside from the obvious matter of the mechanisms used to enable the movement of select appendages of the Saviour, is the way in which the loincloth is shaped. In almost all the examples observed, independent of the time and location of their creation, we notice a highly advanced formal simplicity in the loincloth. Only two examples deviate from this norm. We notice a richly-shaped, rippling and pleated loincloth on the sculptures of Christ from the parish church in Maria Wörth and the evangelical church in Bad Wimpfen. We can deduce that in animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, the design of a simple, tightly-fitting loincloth was a result of practical considerations. A figure placed into a previously-prepared – often narrow – Holy Sepulchre on Good Friday had to fit inside it easily and also to be shaped in such a way as not to hinder the process of its prior removal from the cross.273

As pointed out earlier, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ should not be regarded as works of low artistic value. Obviously, in the group of works discussed we do find figures which are rather primitive in terms of craftsmanship, e.g. the work discussed and reproduced by Alfred Chapuis and Edouard Gelis from the Parisian Piraud collection, as well as those which reveal the limited abilities of their creators in representing the human form, particularly in anatomical detail, not to mention their ineffectiveness in portraying Christ's emotion or suffering. We can include the Austrian sculptures from the parish church in Rietz and the Benediktinerstift Stiftssammlungen in Seitenstetten in

271 Kapustka, 1998, p. 23.
272 On the subject of Spanish mystic crucifixes, see in particular: Franco Mata, 2002, pp. 13-39 (includes a thorough bibliography); Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-246. See also: Hoffmann, 2006, pp. 130-131. It is worth mentioning that some researchers consider the *Cristo de Burgos* to have been created in Flanders, yet it would be difficult to find an analogous work in this region. The figure from Burgos should be considered locally-made, like: Kopania, 2007, pp. 498-499.
273 Kapustka, 1998, p. 24.

this second category, as well as some German works, most notably the figure from the Catholic church in Oberndorf.

Conversely, we should remember the works of high quality created by recognised artists who, in certain cases, exerted an influence on European art that can be considered significant. We should consider several works from Italy as the most prominent examples of this, above all the sculpture from the Santa Croce church in Florence created by Donatello (one of the most important works in his artistic legacy and a significant work of art in terms of the development of Florentine art in the first half of the 15th century). The slightly older sculpture from the workshop of Andrea di Ugolino Pisano, currently housed in Berlin, and the sculpture from the Santa Trinità church in Florence from 1500, linked to the workshop of Sangallo, are also characterised by exceptional formal qualities.

While on the subject of the Italian artistic environment, we should mention several animated sculptures of the crucified Christ created at the beginning of the 16th century by Baccio da Montelupo and his workshop. Margrit Lisner lists nine works which can be linked to this artist. As these works do not constitute a stylistically-unified group, the researcher defines some of them as having come from "Baccio da Montelupo circles."[274] John Turner, the author of a doctoral dissertation on the subject of the above-mentioned artist, is more circumspect in addressing the issue of attribution with regard to the type of works we are interested in. He states that earlier research attributes to the artist many works which in reality have no similarity to the artist's style.[275] The researcher also points out that crucifixes are the most problematic in the master's rich artistic legacy.[276] It is for reasons such as these that Turner included in his corpus of the Italian artist's work only those sculptures which can be safely attributed to Baccio da Montelupo on the basis of archival records or rigorous stylistic comparison. He acknowledges four animated sculptures of the crucified Christ

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[274] Lisner, 1970, pp. 82-85. Lisner lists the sculptures from: 1. the cathedral in Arezzo (p. 85); 2. the Skulpturensammlung of Berlin's Bode-Museum (p. 84); 3. the Santa Maria e di San Lorenzo in Campi Bisenzio (p. 85); 4. the Santa Maria Novella Church in Florence (pp. 82-85); 5. the San Giovanni dei Cavalieri Church in Florence (p. 85); 6. the San Vincenzo Church in Prato (p. 84) as well as 7. the seminary in Prato (p. 105, note 98; p. 109, note 192); 8. the San Francesco al Bosco Church in Rovezzano (p. 85); 9. the parish church in San Casciano (p. 84). Most of these are supposed to have been created by artists from Baccio da Montelupo's circles.

[275] Turner, 1997, p. 72. In this context, the researcher refers to the doctoral dissertation monograph on Baccio da Montelupo's artistic work by Riccardo Gatteschi (Gatteschi, 1993). According to Turner, despite all of its undeniable virtues, related, among other things, to its publication of previously-unknown archives concerning the artist's life and work, its author mentions many works which have no direct links with the master's achievements.

[276] "No other group of sculptures in the artist's oeuvre displays such a wide variety of figure types and styles, all variations on a single theme throughout most of Baccio's professional career.": Turner, 1997, p. 63. On the subject of crucifixes created by Baccio da Montelupo, see also: Turner, 2004, pp. 49-54.

as being the works of this master,[277] all of them dated to the beginning of the 16th century and all dependent in terms of form on the crucifix from the San Marco church in Florence, created in 1496.[278]

Several animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were also created by Giovanni Tedesco, an artist working in Umbria in the second half of the 15th century. They are characterised not only by their exceptional construction, which allows for the movement of their tongues, but also by their highly-advanced realism in the portrayal of the Saviour's body, as well as musculature and vasculature details.[279] However, the instances of one artist or one workshop being responsible for the creation of several animated sculptures of the crucified Christ and endowing them with uniform stylistic traits are rare and do not occur in other European countries.

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[277] 1. Berlin. Staatliche Museen (Turner, 1997, pp. 140-141, cat. no. 1B); 2. Florence, San Giovanni dei Cavalieri (Turner, 1997, pp. 164-165, cat. no. 11B); 3. Florence, Santa Maria Novella (Turner, 1997, pp. 119-122, cat. no. 5A); 4. San Casciano, parish church (Turner, 1997, pp. 178-179, cat. no. 16B). Turner did not discuss several crucifixes listed by Lisner, which the latter identified as works from "Baccio da Montelupo cirlces". The researcher defines the sculpture from the Arezzo cathedral sacristy as a work imitating da Montelupo (Turner, 1997, p. 183, cat. no. 2C). According to Turner, the term "Baccio da Montelupo circles" is imprecise and does not carry any specific meaning. The researcher's goal was to define those works which can be attributed to Baccio da Montelupo himself as well as those which were products of the artist's workshop.

[278] On the subject of the crucifix: Turner, 1997, pp. 65-66, 117-119. Analysing the terracotta *Lamentation* group from the Museo of San Domenico in Bologna, Turner firmly lists the characteristic features of Baccio da Montelupo's early works: "The Bologna *Magdalene* has a morphology of face and hair comparable to that of the crucifix [from the San Marco church in Florence]. In both figures, the stylization of lengthy, undulating hair is paired with other forms and motifs that appear throughout Baccio's early work: the elongated facial type with high, narrow cheekbones and prominent nose; the simplicity of intersecting planes adjacent to the eyes; and slightly parted lips, with softly rounded corners revealing a straight row of upper teeth." (Turner, 1997, p. 20.

[279] On the subject of the artist and the distinguishing features of his style, see: Francescutti, 2004(2005), pp. 178-187; Francescutti, 2006, pp. 207-223; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 161-169; Perusini, 2006, passim; Schmidt, 2002, pp. 568-569.

CHAPTER III

Construction

The issue of how animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were con-
structed has not been broadly examined. Information concerning the
technical construction details of specific examples contained in survey
articles does not provide an exhaustive source of knowledge on the subject as these
articles are typically limited to cursory descriptions of the mechanism which allow
for the sculptures' motion and in some cases the elements which mask them.[1]
These queries are also rarely addressed in the works of authors concentrating on
individual examples. Only those whose focuses on the most complicated
sculptures in terms of animation have undertaken to describe their construction
in greater detail.[2] Without analysing a larger number of mechanisms and materials
characteristic of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, we will be unable
to compile a reliable base of information on sculptures of this type.

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[1] Perusini, 2006, pp. 191-205; Rampold, 1999, pp. 428-433; Taubert, Taubert, 1969,
pp. 80-91; Taubert, 1979, pp. 38-43. In the study by Gesine and Johannes Taubert information
concerning the construction of individual pieces was presented in the catalogue section. However,
most of the sculptures were not described in the context of their construction. Tanya A. Jung is
the only one so generally discuss the materials used in animated sculptures of Christ (not limited
to crucified Christ). The researcher states that the majority were made of linden wood, which was
connected to their function as well as the practices of workshops operating in the German-
-language regions of late Middle Ages Europe: "Most extant moveable Christ sculptures were carved
of linden wood (also called lime wood) despite the abundance of oak, walnut, poplar, pine, and
alder forests in southern areas of Europe. It was the most popular material for sculpture in late
medieval Germany, and though its use was not mandatory, it was preferred for religious sculpture.
The physical qualities of linden wood provided a material that was both strong and lightweight
when compared to oak or walnut. The lightweight quality permitted patrons to request and sculp-
tors to create elaborate and enormous retables that could be placed safely atop main and side altars.
It also allowed for the type of image manipulation that characterized the processions and elevations
of liturgical and popular performances such as the *Elevatio* and the Ascension Day ceremony";
Jung, 2006, pp. 21-22, see also further, to p. 23.

[2] Ehrlich, 1990, pp. 98-106; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 119-129; Kopania, 2009, pp. 131-148;
Martínez, 1997, passim; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-246; Michel, Schulze, 2000,
pp. 41-44; Perusini, 2006, pp. 191-205; Schulze, 1999, pp. 126-132.

1. Dimensions

We find no regularity with respect to the dimensions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Among the surviving examples, we encounter both small-scale animated figurines' as well as those significantly larger in stature than the average human being. Additionally, there is no correlation between the dimensions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ and the place and time of their origin. In individual countries, irrespective of whether the sculptures are from the 13th, 14th or 15th century, we find both small-scale examples not exceeding 100 cm in height and large ones not exceeding 200 cm tall.

The smallest surviving animated sculpture of the crucified Christ is the figure from the Kunstindustriemuseet in Oslo. As it survives to this day only in damaged form – without arms and lower legs – we are unable to determine its precise original dimensions. Yet, given that it had been affixed to an altar cross or processional cross, and comparing it to other surviving representations of the crucified Christ which are similar in form and materials, we can assume that it measured no more than 25 cm.[3] The sculptures from the Piraud collection in Paris (60 cm),[4] the collections of the Bode-Museum in Berlin (54 cm),[5] the San Vincenzo monastery in Prato (50 cm)[6] and the Villa della Petraia chapel near Florence (42 cm) are also less than 60 cm tall.[7]

A large number of the sculptures fall in the range of 70 to 100 cm. These include, for example, the sculptures from Passau-Grubweg (70 cm),[8] Spišská Belá (72.5 cm),[9] Hluboká (76 cm),[10] Florence (from the San Spirito Church, 80 cm),[11] Weilheim (80 cm),[12] Lausanne (85 cm),[13] Ried im Innkreis (Innviertler Volkskundehaus Museum, 84 cm),[14] Salzburg (86 cm),[15] Sulzschneid (90 cm),[16] Sappada (90 cm),[17] Altheim (97.5 cm),[18] Paris (Saint-Germain-de-Prés, 98 cm),[19]

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[3] Parker, Little, 1994, pp. 253-258.

[4] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95.

[5] Schottmüller, 1933, p. 147, no. 7139.

[6] Lisner, 1970, p. 60.

[7] Lisner, 1970, p. 81.

[8] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 20.

[9] Rodocsay, 1967, p. 213.

[10] Information about the sculpture was given to the author of the present study by Dr. Hynek Rulíšek from the Aliova Jihočeski Gallery.

[11] Lisner, 1970, p. 97.

[12] Helm, 1982, p. 77.

[13] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 14.

[14] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 25.

[15] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 27.

[16] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 89, cat. no. 32.

[17] Perusini, 2006, p. 199.

[18] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 80, cat. no. 2.

[19] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 21.

Lana (100 cm)[20] and Milan (100 cm).[21] Not much larger are the sculptures from Warsaw (102 cm),[22] Unterhausen (104 cm),[23] Klagenfurt (110 cm),[24] Rietz (105 cm),[25] Vilabade (113 cm),[26] Memmingen (115 cm)[27] and Pontebba (San Giovanni Battista, 115 cm).[28]

Several of the sculptures measure 120 to 150 cm in height, including those from Buti (123 cm),[29] Prague (123 cm),[30] Pontebba (Santa Maria Assunta, 130 cm),[31] Seitenstetten (130 cm),[32] Pisa (142 cm)[33] and Zürich (146 cm).[34] The sculptures whose height is consistent with that of an average human being include those from Kempten (166 cm),[35] Florence (Santa Croce, 168 cm),[36] Terni (170 cm),[37] Bovara di Trevi (172 cm),[38] Berlin (Bode-Museum, 176 cm),[39] Tannheim (177 cm),[40] Spello (182 cm),[41] Segovia (182 cm),[42] Rimini (183 cm)[43] and Döbeln (190 cm).[44]

We find considerably fewer surviving sculptures measuring over 200 cm. One work from a private collection in Agnuzzo measures 220 cm[45] and another from the parish church in Steirisch-Laßnitz measures 240 cm.[46] The largest, measuring 270 cm, is the sculpture housed in the church of the Daughters of Charity convent (formerly: Cistercian convent) in Chełmno.[47]

[20] Rampoldi, 1999, p. 428.
[21] Previtali, 1991, pp. 22-23.
[22] Przeździecki, 1986, p. 277, cat. no. 84.
[23] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 89-90, cat. no. 33.
[24] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 13.
[25] Rampoldi, 1999, p. 433.
[26] Sampedro, 1983, p. 241.
[27] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 17.
[28] Perusini, 2000, p. 33; Perusini, 2006, pp. 197, 198, 199.
[29] Cardone, Carletti, 2000, p. 235.
[30] Kuśal, 1962, p. 12; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 23; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 23.
[31] Perusini, 2000, p. 33; Perusini, 2006, pp. 197-199.
[32] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 29; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 29.
[33] Collareta, 2000, pp. 251-252; Carletti, Giometti, 2001, pp. 78-79.
[34] Baier-Futterer, 1936, p. 73; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 35; Taubert, 1978, p. 44, cat. no. 35.
[35] Janson, 1957, p. 7.
[36] Fracini, 2000, pp. 39-41; Lunghi, 2000, p. 123; Rinaldi, 1986, p. 23.
[37] Lunghi, 2000, p. 102; Previtali, 1984, p. 34 (note 9).
[38] Ehlih, 1990, p. 58.
[39] Rampoldi, 1999, p. 432.
[40] Fratini, 1995, p. 93; Lunghi 2000, p. 107.
[41] Castán Lanaspa, 2003, p. 355.
[42] Schmidt, 2002, p. 568.
[43] Schmidt, 1998, p. 130.
[44] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 80, cat. no. 1.
[45] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 92, cat. no. 31.
[46] Pilecka, 1999, p. 325.

2. The most common construction types

From among the total number of one hundred and twenty six animated sculptures of the crucified Christ known to the author of the present study, a large majority possess a mechanism allowing the arms to be folded down along the body. This type of sculptures were made of wood and consist of three parts. The first is a torso, fully carved on each side.[48] The other two parts are the arms which are attached to the torso with a mechanism allowing them to be folded down along the body. Only the figure from the Kunstindustrimuseet in Oslo deviates from the above model as it is made of walrus tusk[49] and has only one moveable arm – the right.[50]

The mechanism necessitated a specific design for the arms, the upper parts of which were fitted with a flat fixture having a hole in the middle. This allowed the arms to be mounted into the shoulder section of the torso which features hollows in the side in the armpit area. Openings in the sides of the hollows correspond to the hole in the arm fixture, thus allowing a wooden or metal dowel to be inserted in order to hold the arms in place, affixed to the torso. The dowel also acts as a hinge allowing the arms to move smoothly up and down and to be lowered lengthwise with the body.[51] The necessity of employing such a mechanism resulted in the shoulder area of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ being rather complex. In examples of higher artistic quality, we can see that their creators had no problem making the shoulder area look natural. In those cases, Christ is represented as a well-built man with a broad chest. Artists

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[48] While the sculpture was being taken down from the cross and then moved and laid into the Sepulchre, it was visible from all angles. The lack of, at least, a simple finishing of the back section would have undermined its realism and thus the realism of the presented *Deposition* and *Burial* scenes.

[49] Parker, Little, 1994, p. 255, cf. p. 30.

[50] "In addition to its roughly symmetrical arm sockets, the Oslo corpus has two sockets in the right shoulder going in a reverse direction. These suggest that there was more than one choice for the position of the right arm and that the corpus may have also functioned as a Deposition figure, with the right arm hanging down."; Parker, Little, 1994, pp. 255-256, cf. p. 159. In fact it is difficult to prove that the Oslo corpus was used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies of Good Friday. The way in which the right shoulder was carved indicates that the right arm was moveable but rather odd. The fastening of right arm could result from the quality of the material, i.e. its irregularity.

[51] On the subject of the approach used in the back section, in the context of the mechanism it contained, Gesine and Johannes Taubert write in general: "Die Beweglichkeit der Arme ist in der Regel auf folgende Weise erreicht worden: Die Schultern oder Oberarmansätze des Kruzifixus erhielten tiefe Schlitze, diese bilden Nuten, in die passen die besonders gearbeiteten Arme mit Federn hineinpassen. Ein Dübel verbindet Nut und Feder und dient als Schultergelenk. Die Nuten sind unterschiedlich breit. Entweder haben die Arme sehr flache Federn, die sich scharf von der Schnitzerei absetzen oder die Oberarme passen in ihrer ganzen Breite in die Nute."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 80.

of lesser abilities were unable to achieve the same effect, which resulted in their sculptures having clearly unbalanced proportions – the area where the arms are connected to the torso looks unnatural as a consequence.

In some cases we find a different mounting method for the arms. The animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Passau-Grubweg, Schneidheim, Kempten and Lausanne all lack a complete shoulder section and feature openings which would allow the use of a dowel in affixing the arms. A common characteristic of the first two examples above is a clear curve in the part of the arm that is attached to the trunk. The rounded ends of the upper arms do not fit tightly into the shoulder girdles, which are not as massive and do not feature a hollow in the armpit area as compared to those sculptures which have a flat puck-shaped fixture with an opening for a dowel.

This method of construction is closely related to the type of movement mechanism employed. In this case, with a dowel acting as a type of hinge allowing the arms to be folded down along one axis that constitutes the integral element of the mechanism. The mechanism used in the figure from Passau-Grubweg consists of three elements: a narrow inset at the end of each arm, a metal spring mounted inside the shoulder girdles, and dowels as fasteners. The springs are connected to the insets by way of the dowels, thus allowing the arms to be folded down along the body.[52]

In terms of construction characteristics, the figure from the St. Johannes der Täufer parish church in Schneidheim is similar to the sculpture from Passau-Grubweg. However, the latter is equipped with metal elements in the mechanism allowing the arms to be folded down along the body whereas the movement of the arms of the former is made possible not by a mechanism per se but by a rope reinforced with leather elements that runs inside the sculpture. It should also be noted that the arms of Schneidheim sculpture are moveable in both the shoulders and the elbows.[53]

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[52] "Die Schulterpartien sind die an den Armen kugelförmig angeschnittenen Gelenke hineingesunken. Der schmalen Nute in jedem Arm entspricht eine schmale Feder in jeder Schulterpartie: die Verbindung schafft ein Dübel."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 20.

[53] The sculpture was restored between 1980–1983 by Kurt Knüttel. Wolfgang Erdmann writes on the stages of the restoration with particular attention devoted to construction issues: "Danach kam das Kruzifix einige Tage in die Königsteiner Werkstatt Knüttels. Dort entlastete man und reinigte er es fachmännisch. Zudem setzte er ein spezielles Lederpflegemittel ein – entwickelt vom Offenbacher Ledermuseum – und tränkte damit mittels Injektion die innen liegenden Lederbänder, damit sie sich nicht weiterhin zusammen und biegsam bleiben. Das ist die wohl interessante Besonderheit des Schneidheim Kruzifixes, daß es in Schulter und Ellenbogen seiner Arme hölzerne Gelenkskugeln besitzt, um die ein Kreuz ausgeknotetes Oberarme nach Abnahme hiervon anlegen und die Unterarme beugen zu können. Die hölzernen Gelenkskugeln werden durch Lederbänder gehalten, welche in den Innerarme der hölzernen Gelenkkugeln festgehalten. [...] Hände und Füße der Figur wären holzverdübelte nur mittels eingelassene Löcher auf. Diese Haltung müßte mit den 'Nägel hindurchgeführt worden sein, mittels Corpus am Holzkreuz befestigt war. Damit erweisen sich die erhaltenen Kreuznägel als neueren Datums und nicht ursprünglich. Die älteren dürften – von

The sculptures from Kempten and Lausanne are characterised by still a different construction method. The Kempten sculpture, like the one from the St. Johannes der Täufer parish church in Schneidhain, possesses arms which are moveable in both the shoulders and elbows.[54] Neither the sculpture's chest nor arms are very complex. Nevertheless, the shoulder section is clearly defined by the upper ribs, which create fluid lines that meet the thick contours over the clavicles. Using modern anatomical terminology, we could call this part of the sculpture the deltoid muscle. The arms, set deeply under the shoulder contours, can be folded down towards the metal hinges hidden under a layer of elastic parchment. The elbow joints were crafted in much the same fashion.[55]

The Lausanne sculpture which appeared on the antiques market in the 1960s features a similarly shaped shoulder area. Taking into account the method used to shape the shoulders – above all, the clear, thick contours over the clavicles, as well as the lack of dowels acting as hinges – we may presume that the mechanism used in this sculpture is very similar to the mechanism we see in the sculpture from Kempten. Gestine and Johannes Taubert state that it is analogous to that of the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from the collection of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich.[56] The detailed description of the

außen nicht erkennbar – als Holzschrauben ausgeführt gewesen sein: Mit ihnen konnte man die Figur durch Drehen der 'Nägel' vom Kreuz lösen und dann wieder anheften: Die in Achseln und Ellenbogen beweglichen Arme erfodern andererseits eine solche Mechanismus, um das Kruzifix längstens nutzen zu können. Dazu war die Armhaltung, ob gestreckt oder angeklappt bzw. gebogen, auch fixierbar: Aus den hohlen Unter- und Oberarmen sind längst erneuerte Bindfaden durch ein Löchlein im Nacken der Figur gezogen; verknotete man die ausgehöhlten Arme, war die jeweilige Armhaltung arretiert."; Endmann, 2002, pages unnumbered. Cf.: Endmann, 1996, pp. 19-37.

[54] "Beweglich waren die Arme ursprünglich sowohl in den Schultergelenken als auch in den Ellbogen."; Emmerling, 1994, p. 87. See also: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 83, cat. no. 12. In a letter to the author of the present study written by the parish priest of the St. Lorenz church in Kempten, we read that currently, the arms are completely immobilised: "Die Arme sind jetzt nicht mehr zu bewegen. Wann sie fixiert worden sind, ist nicht mehr feststellbar."; letter dated 11.01.2005.

[55] "Die Arme sind mit Metallscharnieren in den ursprünglich noch ausgearbeiteten Schulterpartien befestigt. Die Gelenke sind mit Pergament kaschiert, das sich beim Bewegen der Arme entsprechend faltete. Auf dem Pergament befinden sich noch Reste der ursprünglichen Bemalung. Die Arme sind im Ellenbogengelenk abgewinkelt. Ein Metallscharnier im Ellenbogen und die entsprechend Abschrägung von Unter- und Oberarm ermöglicht das Zusammenlegen der Hände vor dem Körper. Auch diese Gelenke – in späterer Zeit mit Gips festgelegt – dürften ursprünglich mit Pergament oder einem flexiblen Stoff kaschiert gewesen sein."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 83, cat. no. 12. According to Erwin Emmerling, the mechanism in the elbow joint had been replaced: "Zu unbekannter Zeit wurde der Klappmechanismus an den Ellbogen entfernt und die jetzigen Holzergänzungen eingefügt. Die beiden Hände sind späte Ergänzungen."; Emmerling, 1994, p. 87.

[56] Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 14. Describing the mechanism of the sculpture from Zurich, the researchers cite a fragment of the study by Ilse Baier-Futterer, who laconically stated: "Desgleichen [bewegliches] sind die Arme so in den Achselhöhlen eingefügt, daß sie herunter geklappt werden können."; Baier-Futterer, 1936, p. 73.

sculpture contained in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum collections catalogue gives us reason to agree with the Tauberts.[57]

While analysing animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which are simple in terms of construction, it is worth mentioning the piece found in the collection of the Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw. This particular example is atypical in terms of how its arms are crafted. It is a damaged sculpture – at some point in the past it was stripped of the mechanisms which allowed movement of the arms (screws permanently fastening the arms to the torso can be seen on both shoulders) and converted into a sculpture of Christ in the Tomb. In the back of the shoulder section, two large rectangular hollows remain where the mechanisms used to reside. Attached to these hollows are the upper arms, which were made later from separate pieces of wood. Due to the degree of modification the sculpture has been subject to, we are unable to reconstruct the mechanisms which were originally used in the shoulder sections. A detailed inspection, however, reveals a different and rather characteristic trait of the sculpture – unlike the majority of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, the arms are not made from a single piece of wood but from several. According to conservation documents, the arms were originally moveable not only in the shoulders but also in the elbows.[58]

However, this issue demands further elucidation, as the conservation documents are vague. The documents lack a detailed description of the condition of the arms – angled slightly at the meeting point of the upper arm with the forearms, and permanently immobilized – and the method of their creation.[59]

[57] "Die Skulptur ist aus vier Teilen zusammengesetzt, dem Rumpf mit den Beinen, zwei beweg-lichen Armen und dem verstellbaren Kopf. [...] Jeder Arm hat zwei durchgehenden Bohrlöchern. Das obere, nahe beim Armansatz, läßt sich an der Schulter verdübeln, damit Christus als Gekreu-ziger montiert werden kann. Das zweite Loch auf der Höhe des Bizeps kann am Rumpf knapp unter der Schulter verdübelt werden, wenn Jesus als Grabchristus gezeigt wird."; Flühler-Kreis, Wyer, 2007, p. 199.

[58] "The sculpture is full, slightly concave in the back, with the back painted. It is made from a single piece of linden wood. The arms, moveable in the elbow and shoulder joints and able to be positioned in whatever configuration required in the presentation, were sculpted separately. They are attached to the torso with the use of mechanisms located in specially designed hollows in the back shoulder joint areas."; Romanowicz, 1983, p. 3. Also, p. 6: "Two hollow spaces which housed the mechanisms for raising the arms remain in the back shoulder area. After its removal, new shoulder joints were crafted from new wood and the arms were immobilized by fixing the elbow joints with glue and fastening the arms to the torso with the use of screws at mid-forearm."

[59] The conservation documentation concerning the work contains no information on the method used to prepare the arms. Only describing the state of the paint does Aldona Romanowicz write, quite incomprehensibly: "The layers on the arm are identical to those on the torso. On frag-ments of sculpted forms added at a later time, such as the shoulder joints and exterior parts of the arm shoulders [sic!] we see: the oldest wood with a light hard putty which fills dimples and the gaps where the new and old wood come together. On top of the putty is a layer of oil-based primer which is then covered by thickly-applied white pigment which conceals the grey coat [...]"; Romanowicz, 1983, p. 4.

The upper arms are composed of roughly equal-size pieces of wood cut lengthwise and held together with glue. The external forearms – at one third length from the elbow – are marked with scale-like notches filled in with accordingly shaped pieces of wood. Because both arms are crafted in the same way, we may attribute their current condition to some sort of damage connected with the removal of the mechanisms allowing them to be bent at the elbows. It is difficult to assume that this feature is a result of repairs made to fix, for example, mechanical damage to the figure; such damage would have to have been the same in both arms, which seems rather improbable.

Because its original construction allows the arms to be moveable in both the shoulders and elbows, the piece from the Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw can be compared to the examples from Kempten and Schneidheim. Similar moveability also characterise the *Cristo de los Gascones* from Segovia, the oldest known animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. The simple mechanism allowing the sculpture's arms to be bent at the elbows and shoulders[60] are clearly visible; there is no indication of any attempts ever being made to conceal the mechanism. Even the repairs carried out in later centuries, indispensable due to the regular use of the *Cristo de los Gascones* in Good Friday ceremonies, did not result in any re-sculpting of the parts being fixed. With each repair, the forearms were simply replaced while the mechanism that allowed them to bend – and gave them such a primitive appearance – was kept unchanged.[61]

In discussing the examples whose animation was limited to folding arms, we should mention the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from Taüll, MigAran, Cascia and Tolentino which comprised parts of monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups. In the case of these sculptures, we are dealing with later modifications which enabled the removal of the permanently attached arms and their subsequent re-attachment using simple elements which enabled the sculptures to be posed. The Taüll Christ possesses fasteners in the form of bent and intertwined metal rods driven in through the exterior of the sculpture in the upper arms and shoulders.[62] A similar arm attachment method can be seen in the partially-surviving MigAran Christ, in which only one fastener remains – on the Saviour's right shoulder.[63] The fact that the sculpture's mobility was not part of its creator's original intentions is evidenced by the sculpted hand of Joseph of Arimathea which we can see on the lower left section of the Saviour's chest. If the sculpture had from the beginning been used in enactments of the *Deposition* or

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[60] Analogous to the majority of the simplest animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, only executed in a cruder manner.

[61] Castán Lanaspa, 2003, p. 356.

[62] The arms of the Saviour were simply clipped at the point where they met with the shoulders and then reattached with the use of metal fasteners.

[63] The figure possessed unfinished, shallow, rectangular depressions at the front shoulders into which the arms were set.

Burial then the figure of Joseph of Arimathea would not have been adjoined to it.[64] The sculpture from Cascia is more complex in construction. The folding of its arms, attached with nails to the torso, was made possible by wooden dowels located in the armpits.[65] In the case of the Tolentino sculpture, the dislodged arms were reattached with the use of leather bands.[66]

3. Less common construction types

Among animated sculptures of the crucified Christ we also encounter works with a broader range of animation possibilities. Some possess not only moveable arms in the shoulders (sometimes both in the shoulders and elbows) but also moveable legs, head, eyes and tongue. A number of the figures are also distinguished by the particular materials of which they are made and with which they are decorated; among these we find sculptures covered in leather and parchment. Some sculptures feature natural hair wigs, flaxen loincloths and even blood receptacles hidden in the back area that supply blood to the wound in Christ's side. A dozen or so figures of this type have survived. One especially interesting in terms of construction is known to us from source material. These sculptures comprise a group worth distinguishing among the rather small collection of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ known to us.

In the figure created in the workshop of Andrea di Ugolino Pisano, currently housed in the collections of the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, we notice

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[64] The situation is analogous to that of the Taüll figure.

[65] "La vicenda critica di questa scultura è tutta recente, posteriore al restauro eseguito da Mario Picchi tra il maggio 1988 e il maggio 1989, per conto della Soprintendenza ai BAAAS dell'Umbria e sotto la direzione di Giordana Benazzi. Dal restauro sono emerse: le braccia del *Crocifisso* erano collegate alle spalle grazie a un tassello ligneo alloggiato in un incavo, mediante il quale, solo i chiodi che fissavano le mani e il busto, le braccia potevano essere reclinate lungo i fianchi e il Cristo crocifisso poteva essere deposto dalla croce e transportato in un sepolcro. Fu adottata la decisione di collegare fisso, in tal meccanismo di incastro per raggiungere la versatilità della scultura". Lunghi, 2004, p. 275. "[...] ha subito consistenti manomissioni per quanto riguarda i mobilità le braccia fisse del Deposto: le braccia sono state tagliate all'altezza delle spalle e ristrette per farle combaciare al corpo nella posizione di Crocifisso e collegate per mezzo di tasselli lignei e occhielli di ferro alloggiati in un incavo rozzamente praticato sul lato interno del corpo: è stata apportata materia anche per raccordarlo meglio alla nuova posizione delle braccia." Bruni, 2004, p. 277.

[66] "I traumi inferti da queste pratiche devozionali, maggiormente erano impressi in modo evidente e irreversibile sia nelle materià costitutiva dell'opera (il taglio delle braccia ne comportava l'asportazione parziale dell'avorio e la lacerazione dell'incamottatura di protezione [...] in luogo del lungo avambraccio, il fissa diverso con chiodo inchiodate sulla spalla consentivano il movimento delle braccia); sia nella delicata superficie cromatica, ricoperta da depositi di cera e di nerofumo, derivati dal continuo contatto con le candele con cui le braccia erano devotamente periodicamente l'opera. [...] l'articolazione era a cavallo del Cristo in croce inchiodate alle spalle.". Giannatiempo López, Bruni, 2004, pp. 219-220. In 1992-1994 the sculpture was restored to its original condition, rendering the arms unmoveable.

a construction similar to many simple animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The sculpture was made from a single piece of poplar wood which was cut into several individual pieces and then re-composed with the use of wooden dowels at the joints in the knees, shoulders and neck which acted as hinges and enabled the movement of the Saviour's legs, arms and head.[67] As the technique of joining the various body parts left many visible marks on the exterior of the sculpture, the craftsmen often used a concealing material – glue-soaked linen, which also acted as a foundation for later polychrome.[68] This type of procedure which relied on the use of linen, leather or parchment in covering the figure's motion mechanism is also seen in sculptures that are less complex in their animation possibilities – such as those from the San Pietro church in Bovara di Trevi and the St. Lorenz church in Kempten. In both of these cases, the covering (leather and parchment respectively) is applied only to the area linking the arms to the torso.[69]

One sculpture which is entirely different in terms of construction and materials used is the figure from the Stadtmuseum in Döbeln. As a result of its rich animation possibilities and its exceptional level of realism, it is often referred to in the literature as the "Mirakelmann aus Döbeln".[70] The sculpture possesses moveable arms – in the shoulders, elbows and wrists – moveable legs, although only in the hips, and a moveable head. Its main elements were made of linden wood, while other materials, such as canvas, leather and parchment, were used to decorate the figure. A cylindrical metal receptacle for blood, connected to the wound in the side, is placed in a hollow in the back and concealed with a flap.[71] The figure's loincloth is made of canvas and the partially surviving hair and beard are natural.[72]

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[67] "Die Aufnahmen mit dem computertomographen zeigen, daß das Kruzifix aus einem einzigen Staum gefertigt wurde. Der Stamm war lediglich längs aufgeschnitten, ausgehöhlt und als zwei Halbschalen mit Holznägeln wieder zusammengesetzt worden. Erst dann erfolgte das Ausarbeiten der feinen Formen."; Ehlich, 1990, p. 101.

[68] "Auf an Korpus ist anschließend in Zusammenhang mit der Grundierung eine Leinwand aufgeleimt worden, die auch die Kniegelenke verdeckt."; Ehlich, 1990, p. 101. The linen masses and the back of the neck were not covered with canvas – the mechanisms are exposed in these areas.

[69] Previtali, 1984, p. 33, 34 (note 9); Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 83, cat. no. 12.

[70] Franke, 2002, p. 114; Kapustka, 2008, p. 160; Kapustka, 2004a, p. 41; Kapustka, 2007, pp. 502-503; Kopania, 2009, pp. 136-137; Michel, Schulze, 2000, pp. 41-44; Schmidt, 1998, p. 130; Schulze, 1999, pp. 126-132.

[71] "Im Rücken befindet sich ein nunmehr leerer (jetzt fehlende) Klappe geschlossener Hohlzylinder, zu dem sich die Seitenwunde öffnet. Dadurch konnte der Lanzenstich in die Seite durch den Austritt einer roten Flüssigkeit realisch nachvollzogen werden."; Franke, 2002, p. 114. See also Jung, 2006, p. 213 (also contains a detailed description of another bleeding figure of Christ, made of bronze and dated to 1470-1480, housed in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London).

[72] Natural hair was removed at the end of the 19th century; see: Schulze, 1999, p. 130. On the subject of natural hair wigs in the context of late medieval figures of the crucified Christ, see: Knorre von, 1999, pp. 98-104; Wagner, 2004, pp. 99-106.

In terms of construction, the most complex part of the figure is the area where the arms are attached – with iron hinges – to the torso. One end of the hinge is fastened with nails just under the armpit and the other end to the upper arm. The whole mechanism is covered in pieces of canvas and then with a type of elastic leather which covers the construction elements.[73] The head is attached to the torso in a simple manner, by the use of a metal hook which allows the head to unwind to the right and left at an angle of up to 20 degrees.[74] The legs are attached to the body with short leather straps which allow the lower body to be bent as much as 10 degrees.[75] The elbow and wrist joints are flexible – also within a limited field of motion – thanks to ropes running between the upper arms, forearms and hands.[76] Concealing patches are applied to the areas where the moveable parts of the figure meet. In the shoulder area, as mentioned earlier, these patches are chiefly leather, where in the other joints they are made of canvas.[77] Regarding the area where the legs enter the torso, the joints are concealed by the leather.

With respect to materials and construction, the *Cristo de Burgos* is even more complex.[78] The sculpture falls into the category of mystic crucifixes (*crucifixus dolorosus*), characterised by a high degree of realism and a level of exaggeration in the depiction of Christ's physical marks of suffering. In the case of the figure from Burgos, the creator's desire to convey the magnitude of Christ's suffering resulted in an exceptional work of art which deviated, in terms of the artistic means

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[73] "Alle Gelenke waren mit farbig gefältem Leder verkleidet [...]"; Schulze, 1999, p. 129.

[74] "Im Halsbereich der Figur wird dies durch zwei ineinandergreifende eiserne Ösen bewirkt. Ohne sie würde der Kopf tatsächlich auf dem Rumpf hin und her pendeln beziehungsweise mitunter die Schultern herabsinken. Die Blickrichtung des Kopfes ist korrespondierend mit der Bewegungsrichtung der Ösen um circa 20° nach seitwärts gedreht."; Schulze, 1999, p. 129.

[75] "[...] haben die Beine gegenüber dem Oberkörper nur einen Bewegungsspielraum von etwa 10° nach allen Seiten. Das genügt jedoch zum Beispiel für das Übereinanderlegen der Füße bei der Kreuzigung völlig. Größere Bewegungen wurden durch geringe Abstände zwischen den Schnittflächen der Beine und der Rumpfes sowie durch jeweils vier aufgenagelte Lederstreifen verhindert."; Schulze, 1999, p. 129.

[76] "Bei den Ellbogengelenken verbinden lediglich einige eingedübelte Schnüre ein etwaiges Abreißen der Unterarme. Allerdings diese Schnüre sind als 'Rettungsleinen' zu bezeichnen, da sie bei intakten Gelenken stark gestaucht sind."; Schulze, 1999, p. 129.

[77] Some of the patches also served to conceal the heads of nails or irregularities in the surface of the wood: "Jetzt folgte eine Bekleidung aller Nagelkanten, der Holzfehler, Risse und Durchschnittzungen mit Leinwand."; Schulze, 1999, p. 130.

[78] There is no separate conservation report for the *Cristo de Burgos*. The works devoted to it also lack illustrations depicting its parts and the mechanisms making the sculpture's movement possible – the works are dominated by photos of the figure and its neo-Gothic altar to which it was attached in the second half of the 19th century. Nicolás López Martínez's book contains only a summary of the stages of the sculpture's restoration, which took place in the 1980s (Martínez, 1997, pp. 83-86), while the article by María José Martínez Martínez contains comments by Luis Cristóbal, head of the restoration team responsible for the work (Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 219). See also: Kopania, 2007, pp. 495-509; Kopania, 2009, pp. 138-141.

employed in its construction, from not only the majority of mystic crucifixes but also from many of the most complex animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

The trait that differentiates this sculpture is the way in which the Saviour's body is crafted. Even a cursory look is enough to notice that the figure seems to be made of a material other than wood. The numerous accounts and descriptions from the 16th to the end of the 19th centuries stating that the *Cristo de Burgos* is covered in human skin or that the figure is in fact an exceptionally-preserved human body, in reality are not too far from the truth.[79] The sculpture, made of pine wood, was indeed covered in calfskin, properly treated and painted. The dominating feature of the polychrome is the streaks of blood profusely running down the saviour's body.[80] Sheep skin was in turn used to create the

[79] The *Cristo de Burgos*' exceptional realism was noted by, among others, J.B. Varesio, author of the 1554 work titled *Milagros del Crucifixo de Burgos y sus Milagros* (Burgos 1604): "Tiene el Santo Crucifijo las cinco plagas de tal arte, que parece haberlas allí sucido como a un cuerpo humano, y no se le cortan, como algunas gentes simples piensan, ni los cabellos tampoco porque los cabellos y uñas crecen en el cuerpo humano, por virtud de los humores corporales." (fol. 12); cited after: Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 215 (note 20). Cf. another excerpt from the work by J.B. Varesio, cited on p. 215 of Martínez Martínez's article. Similar descriptions appear often in the following centuries: Kopania, 2007, pp. 49, 499; Martínez, 1997, passim; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 212-219. The conviction that the *Cristo de Burgos* was covered in human skin was still common in the 19th century, as evidenced by Théophile Gautier's description of the sculpture in *A Romantic in Spain*: "[...] this in not stone or painted wood, but human skin (at least that is what people say) applied very skilfully and with great care."; Gautier, 1979, p. 46. The most telling evidence of the faithful's belief in the exceptionality of the *Cristo de Burgos* is the fact that in 1881, Archbishop Anastasio Rodrigo Yuso was forced to officially refer to and end the debate regarding the material of which the figure was made. The 1881 se reavíva el tema en España debido a que el escritor F. Urquijo, que había vivido en Burgos, publicó un artículo en el periódico católico *La Fe*, donde transcribe el dictamen médico realizado por el célebre doctor navarro Salvador Rodríguez, en el que se afirmaba: *Un cadáver milagrosamente conservado con un hálito de vida por espacio de varios siglos*. La aparición de estas publicaciones incrementó el interés de los creyentes por la naturaleza física de la imagen, reflejado en los numerosos devotos que acudían a analizar la talla. Ante esta situación el arzobispo Anastasio Rodrigo Yuso prohibió que los creyentes analizaran la pieza, y zanjó con fin a todas las especulaciones, atacando al: Cantón Salazar, quien también justificó el resultado de su análisis en un periódico. *El orden público*, negando que se tratase de un cadáver, sino de una escultura de madera revestida de piel curtida.'; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 216.

[80] Martínez, 1997, p. 16 (on the subject of the state of the polychrome prior to the restoration: p. 84). "Algunas partes como mano y pies están totalmente realizadas en piel según se ha visto anteriormente, la piel se adhería a la madera con cola y tachuelas, para que no se cuarte se le ha aplicado una pintura al óleo, mediante veladuras incrementando la elasticidad de la misma."; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 240. The researcher also pays particular attention to the material used in fashioning the Christ's eyes: "Los ojos del crucificado burgalés no eran esculpidos, sino pintados con una textura próxima a la del vidrio, con esta técnica es mixta de templo graso de huevo y pintura al óleo, ajena a la policromía española de este período. El empleo de esta técnica de policromado apunta a que son una escuela de una pintura más aislada, facilitando la delimitación de su posible zona de procedencia.'; p. 240. It is worth noting that the use of oil paint in creating the polychromy is, according to María José Martínez Martínez, proof of the sculpture's Flanders

large wounds covering the Christ's entire body.[81] Another singular feature is the way in which the fingernails were crafted. They were made of pieces of animal horn shaped with the use of heat and individually affixed to the leather-less fingertips.[82] The sculpture's realism is heightened not only in its visual aspects. In certain old descriptions of the *Cristo de Burgos*, such as the one from the 18th century by Pedro de Loviano, we find information that the sculpture is soft to the touch.[83] This softness was achieved by means of a woollen lining placed under the leather.[84]

The layer of calf skin which imitates the natural softness, colour and texture of a human body also conceals the mechanisms allowing for the animation of the sculpture.[85] The *Cristo de Burgos* features arms moveable in the shoulders, elbows and wrists, as well as moveable legs in the knees. In addition, the fingers and toes can be bent and the head swivelled to the left and right. Animation is possible thanks to metal wires, whose structure, method of execution and method of attachment to the wooden body are unfortunately not described in any study devoted to the sculpture.[86] It should be added that the figure possesses

provenance. However, it would be difficult to find similar sculptures in Flanders. In turn, several similar sculptures, including animated ones, have survived in Spain, as discussed further in the present chapter. Oil paints were not used exclusively in this area (see: Sleśiński, 1984, pp. 130-131).

[81] "Una mano de cola de retazos de piel y, seguidamente, una primera capas de aparejo de yeso grueso semihidratado, con determinada proporción de la misma cola. Secas estas capas de yeso, se distribuyen por todo el cuerpo unos pequeños 'montecillos' hechos con yeso y cola. Sobre estos se adhieren con cola de retazos piezas ovaladas de hueco, desgarradas en su parte central para conformar heridas abiertas. Un aparejo final, confeccionado con yeso mate y cola, se ha conformado un chorreo en relieve que va a semejar la sangre saliendo de las llagas y heridas abiertas. Para cerrar el poro del aparejo se aplicó una delgada mano de cola animal." Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 219.

[82] "En el extremo de cada dedo se ha abierto, en la piel, el arranque para pegar unas uñas hechas de asta, curvadas mediante calor, que confieren a los dedos de manos y pies un aspecto muy naturalista." Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 219.

[83] "Es tan admirable su arquitectura y su contextura tan rara que todo es naturalmente tratable y flexible, de suerte que cede fácilmente en cualquiera parte que le apliquen el dedo, como si fuera de carne"; Loviano, 1740 (1908), pp. 36-43. Cf.: Jurkowski, 1996, p. 64; Martínez, 1997, p. 15.

[84] "La madera esté recubierta con piel de ternera, lo suficientemente flexible para que ceda al tacto, cual si de carne humana se tratara."; Martínez, 1997, p. 16. "Se ha utilizado piel bovina para ocultar los mecanismos de articulación y lana picada para rellenarlos. [...] Entre las abrazaderas y la piel que las forra se ha precedido a rellenar *el interior de la articulación con fibras de lana para dotarlas de la precisa turgencia sin impedir su movimiento*."; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 220.

[85] The fact that the Christ's arms could be folded down along the body is evidenced by two small screws on both shoulders. This is the only visible feature which betrays the presence of mechanisms beneath the skin.

[86] "Las articulaciones forradas de cuero son: las manos con los dedos y muñeca, los codos, los hombros, el cuello, las rodillas y los dedos de los pies. [...] En la piel que conforma el cuello se practican unos costuras con hilo de cáñamo para semejar los tendones. La piel de las manos y pies se coge a modo de guantes, colocándose en su interior las falanges de madera. En las manos, dentro de cada dedo, se ha introducido un alambre de hierro que sirve para colocar los dedos en una

a wig of natural hair[87] as well as a receptacle which fed blood to the wound in the Christ's side. The receptacle is similar in terms of construction to that which we find in the sculpture from Döbeln.[88]

Among the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ created in Europe, and especially the Iberian Peninsula, only the animated sculpture in the cathedral in Orense can rival the *Cristo de Burgos* in terms of realism and the intensity of the effects portraying the suffering Christ endured during his passion.[89] According to Carmen Manso Porto, who wrote a large-scale description of the figure from the cathedral in Orense with respect to its structure and materials, it was covered in a strong linen canvas onto which a thick layer of paint was applied. It is not known whether, in addition to the arms, other parts of the Christ's body were poseable, or how the mechanisms enabling animation worked.[90]

In the context of the *Cristo de Burgos* and the figure from Orense, it is worthwhile to discuss the sculpture of the crucified Christ from Valvasone in more detail. It features arms moveable at the shoulders and elbows, as well as moveable at the hips and knees.[91] No restorer's documents remain concerning

posición determinada."; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 219. In most of the texts on the *Cristo de Burgos* we find absolutely no information about the figure features moveable elements (e.g.: López Mata, 1966, pp. 147-150). Some texts contain incomplete descriptions according to which the Christ is moveable (e.g. only in the head and arms (Gila Medina, 2002, p. 43). Even the sculptor's monographer describes it with exceptional superficiality in this respect, stating that: "La imagen es de madera, con articulaciones que permiten la movilidad de cabeza, brazos y piernas."; Martínez, 1997, p. 15.

[87] Martínez, 1997, passim; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, passim.

[88] "Una pequeña calabaza que, por medio de un conducto, se comunica con la abertura exterior de la llaga del costado derecho. La unión del conducto medían con dicha calabaza se sella con resina. El interior del torso se rellena con estopa de cáñamo para evitar los desplazamientos de dicho artificio."; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 219. Cf.: Gila Medina, 2002, p. 43; Martínez, 1997, p. 15.

[89] Español, 2000, pp. 546-547; Kopania, 2009, p. 139; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 212. Clementina Julia Ara Gil also compares a sculpture from the church of the Monastery of Santa Clara in Palencia to the *Cristo de Burgos*. Ara Gil, 1995, p. 288.

[90] "La imagen del Santo Cristo de la catedral de Ourense fue traída de Fisterra por el prelado don Vasco Pérez Mariño (1333-1343). De su primer emplazamiento, el altar de la Cruz en el costado noroccidental del transepto, fue trasladada a la devota. El Crucificado ha sido tallado en madera recubierta por un fuerte tejido de lino y una gruesa capa de pintura. La profunda llaga del costado ofrece un relleno de fibra. Las del pecho y los verdugones del tronco se marcan con pintura. Las formas anómalas de los brazos y su enlace con los hombros, proporcionan un Descendimiento articulado y luego recolocarlos para fijarlo en la cruz de 'gajos' dando así un aspecto de miembros desconyuntados, al igual que la apariencia hinchada del cuerpo y el pelo natural, un dualo contribuyen a que su imagen fuese considerada una momia, al dar testimonio numerosas leyendas. El realismo de la cabeza inclinada al frente, con gesto de dolor natural y corona suplicada desgarra, se acentúa con el rostro sangrante, la boca entreabierta, y los ojos caídos."; Manso Porto, 1996, pp. 451-452. Cf.: Hervella Vázquez, 1993, pp. 148-149.

[91] Kopania, 2009, pp. 141-142; Perusini, 2000, p. 31; Perusini, 2006, pp. 199-200.

the sculpture, but Teresa Perusini casually states that the attachment of the various parts of the figure was achieved by way of a ball mechanism – *i giunti "a-palla"*.[92] The mechanism, on account of the fact that the clearly rounded end of the upper arm, which really resembles a ball – seems to be similar to that employed in the previously-discussed figure from Schneidheim. It is possible that this type of mechanism was used in the hips, yet the photographs contained in articles on the sculpture do not provide enough detail to allow a conclusive verdict. There is, however, no doubt that the solid and carefully crafted metal hinges mounted at the elbow and knee joints are not what is commonly known as ball mechanisms. These hinges consist of two elements, each directly affixed to the wooden elements of the sculpture. One was shaped like a peg and the other like a ball divided in half, so that the peg could be placed inside. The two elements were then held together by a metal rod which also acted as a guide. We thus find here the most commonly seen mechanism, used in animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which are the simplest in terms of animation possibilities. The difference here is that the fastening elements of this sculpture were made independently of the body parts and constructed from a material much more durable than wood.

The mechanisms allowing moveability are currently exposed, which was not the figure's original state. The work of art from Valvasone should be considered partially damaged. The obviously rough and crude way in which the Saviour's body was crafted, especially the arms and legs, indicates that its surface must have been covered by some type of outer layer. Its being decorated only by polychrome seems rather improbable.[93] The large, solid and independent metal mechanisms would have remained clearly visible even if the sculpture had been painted. The use of localised concealing patches also seems unlikely as these would have covered only small areas of the otherwise unfinished arms and legs. Thus, we can surmise that the final look of the torso and limbs was achieved by the use of a covering material.

Teresa Perusini puts forward the hypothesis that the figure was covered in parchment and that the loincloth was made of canvas. She compares it to the sculpture from Döbeln and mentions the sculpture found at Santa Margherita parish church in Sappada.[94] The legs, moveable at the hips, leave no doubt as

⁹² Perusini, 2006, p. 200.

⁹³ Slight signs of polychrome have survived on the sculpture's exterior – Teresa Perusini discusses them in the context of the work's provenance, see next note.

⁹⁴ "I giunti 'a-palla', oggi fastidiosamente in vista, dovevano essere in origine ricoperti da pergamena dipinta, come nel 'Deposto' di Döbeln e nel *Crucifixon* di Sappada. I bordi in leggero sottosquadro vicino ai giunti (dove sono visibili i buchi dei chiodi), servivano al fissaggio della pergamena che cosi veniva a trovarsi a filo delle parti sculpite e preparate. Il fatto che il 'Deposto' di Valvasone abbia solo minime tracce di policromia (forse nappore originale), rende difficile la sua collocazione storico-stilistica che ci pare tuttavia da situare in Italia alla fine del XV secolo. Parlano in tal senso il volto composto e sereno, privo di esasperazione espressionistica e la stilizza-

to the use of real canvas in creating the loincloth, as this would have been the only method which allowed their movement. Yet it is worth considering whether the mechanisms of this particular sculpture, which allowed the arms and legs to be bent to a rather wide angle, did not require the use of a covering material more durable than parchment. It is possible that the sculpture from Valvasone was originally covered with leather, just like the *Cristo de Burgos*. Leather, which is, after all, considerably more durable and elastic than parchment, would have been much better suited for use in a sculpture so complex in terms of structure and animation possibilities. These issues require further study based on detailed conservation data, while there is hope that the figure from Valvasone will undergo a complete restoration in the near future.

Also characterised by its structural complexity is the *Rood of Grace* from the Cistercian abbey in Boxley, in the county of Kent.[95] From among the numerous sources on the figure, let us presently focus on those mentioning the materials used in its creation and the mechanism allowing its movement, specifically the movement of its lips, eyes and head. Especially noteworthy is a letter dated 7 February 1538 from Geoffrey Chamber, liquidator of Boxley Abbey, to his friend and colleague Thomas Cromwell. In it, we read:

> My singular good Lord, my duty remembered unto your Lordship, this shall be to advertise the same that upon the defacing of the late monastery of Boxley, and plucking down of the images of the same, I found in the image of the Rood called the Rood of Grace, the which heretofore hath been held in great veneration of people, certain engines and old wire, with old rotten sticks in the back of the same, that did cause the eyes of the same to move and stare in the head thereof like unto a living thing; and also the nether lip in likewise to move as though it should speak.[96]

Chamber's letter, being the direct account of a person involved in the discovery of the *Rood of Grace*, should be acknowledged as the most valuable source of information on the figure from Boxley. In Chamber's words we notice no openly polemic stance toward ancient or then-current church practice. The contents of the letter were not intended to be made public, and especially not intended as direct propaganda. In fact, we are dealing with private correspondence which contains basic information on the *Rood of Grace* – its appearance, the circumstances of its discovery and its further fate.

Returning to the issues of the sculpture's construction, it follows from the letter that the Christ's head, eyes and mouth were moveable thanks to mecha-

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zione anatomica del corpo. È però sempre difficile datare queste opere di media qualità, perché possono provenire da ambiti periferici dove utilizzi antiquati si mantengono a lungo. Il perizoma del 'Deposto' di Valvasone era in vera stoffa, scelta obbligata per una scultura con le anche mobili. L'uso di realizzare i perizomi con vere tele gessate avviene al lombi dei crocifissi in legno o in altri materiali è del resto attestata in Italia almeno dal XV secolo."; Perusini, 2006, p. 200.

[95] Kopania, 2004b, pp. 119-129; Kopania, 2009, pp. 142-146.

[96] Cook, 1965, p. 144.

nisms located inside the back of the sculpture. Yet the letter, just like other descriptions of the figure, contains no mention of the possibility of the arms being folded. The mechanisms allowing the animation of the sculpture were never analysed in detail. We know only that they comprised wires along with wooden elements which were in poor technical condition and described by Chambers as rotten. Unfortunately, Chamber's description does not allow us to determine the sculpture's dimensions or the materials it was made of.

Chamber's words are authenticated by a letter written in Latin by John Hooker from Maidstone ("Johannes Hokerus, Maidestoniensis"), an eye-witness to the events taking place at Boxley in early 1538. The author relates the same animation characteristics of the *Rood of Grace* while providing a detailed description of the mechanism found inside the figure:

> There was lately discovered wooden god of Kentish folk, a hanging Christ, who might have vied with Proteus himself, for he most cunningly knew how to nod with his head, to scowl with his eyes, to wag his beard, to bend his body, to reject or receive the prayers of pilgrims. [...] Throughout his hollowed body were hidden pipes, in which the master of the mysteries had introduced through little apertures a flexible wire, the passages being nevertheless concealed by thin plates.[97]

Later sources referring to the *Rood of Grace*, however, are not as valuable as the letters by the liquidator of Boxley Abbey and John Hooker. Characteristically of Reformers' writings, they are dominated by polemics and exaggerated descriptions of the sculpture.[98] A fitting example is William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent: Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shire. Written in the Yere 1570*.[99] The author of this work expressed an equally negative stance towards the figure from Boxley and its owners, whom he describes with the appellation "False Romish Foxes". He claims the Christ possessed moveable

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[97] Cited in English translation after: Cave-Browne, 1892, p. 62. Quite a similar description is given by John Finch in an undated letter to Conrad Humpard. Finch writes that *Rood of Grace* was activated "[...] by means of some person pulling a cord, most artfully contrived and ingeniously inserted at the back, the image rolled about its eyes just like a living creature; and on the pulling of other cords it gave a nod of assent or dissent according to the occasion [...]"; cited after: Robinson, 1847, p. 606 (*Letter CCLXXVIII John Finch to Conrad Humpard*).

[98] This was already pointed out by John Cave-Browne: "The volume of Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society, contains several other accounts, one from a William Peterson, another from one John Finch, a third from Nicholas Partridge [the author cross-references the following item: *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society, 1847), pp. 604, 606, 609]; but all these are at second-hand, for these men only retail to their friends accounts which came to them on the Continent through a certain German merchant, and each would seem to vie with the others in the strength and extravagant bitterness of what may be admitted to be exaggerations. Yet, what more natural than that the very fact and circumstances of their exile, as they believed for the truth's sake, should stimulate their powers of imagination, and move them to pour an additional infusion of gall into their ink?"; Cave-Browne, 1892, p. 63-64.

[99] The 1826 edition is used for the purposes of the current study: Lambarde, 1826.

arms and legs, nodded his head, rolled his eyes, opened and closed his eyes, and shivered – that it was lifelike in every way:

> It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time, a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the wartes betweene us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfie for his raunsome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliverance) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compasse of his owne Art and skill, to make himselfe some money withall: And therefore, getting togither fit matter for his purpose, he compacted of wood, wyer, paste and gipsen, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellence, that it not onely matched in comelynesse and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sort: but in straunge motion, variety of gesture, and nimblenes of ioints, passed al other that before had been seene: the same being able to bow down and lift up it selfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bende the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde: biting the lippe, and gathering a frowning, froward, and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence: and also shewing a most milde, amiable, and smyling cheere and countenaunce, when it would seeme to be well pleased.[100]

The author of the *Perambulation of Kent* undoubtedly embellished his description of the *Rood of Grace's* animation possibilities. This, however, does not mean that we should deem the document worthless in the context of our considerations. The information relating to the materials from which the sculpture was made can be accepted as credible. According to William Lambarde, the *Rood of Grace* was made of wood, a malleable mass which is not defined further (*paste*), paper and wire (*wyer*). The wire and wooden elements had been earlier mentioned by Geoffrey Chamber,[101] which only lends credence to the account in the *Perambulation of Kent*. In turn, Charles Wriothesley wrote that the *Rood of Grace* "was made of paper and cloutes from the legges upward; each legges and armes were of timber."[102]

The works of Giovanni Tedesco, an artist working in Umbria in the second half of the 15th century, presents evidence of the practice of using such materials. Tedesco created crucified Christ figures comparable to the *Rood of Grace*. Among his works, he found sculptures of crucified Christ made of a malleable mass composed of canvas, glue and plaster cast in wooden molds. The hollow sculptures, made of two sections which were sewn together with rope, were supported from the inside by a framework of wooden boards.[103]

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[100] Lambarde, 1826, pp. 205-206.

[101] In Chamber's letter, we can clearly sense his surprise at the discovery of a sculpture featuring a concealed mechanism in the back which enabled the movement of the Christ's head, eyes and mouth. This very aspect of the sculpture's animation dominated his account – Chamber did not even mention the sculpture's material elements.

[102] Wriothesley, 1559, pp. 75-76. Cited after: Aston, 1989, p. 83 (note 17).

[103] Franceschetti writes in detail on sculptures of this type, the materials they were made of and their construction: Franceschetti, 2006, pp. 207-223.

From among the works of Giovanni Tedesco it is also worth mentioning his sculptures from the chiesa del Cristo in Pordenone[104] and the Museo della Città in Rimini.[105] In both of these works, it was possible to move the tongue by pulling a rope which was tied to a metal latch in the figure's head.[106] The sculptures were made of wood, and the one from Pordenone was finished with highly realistic polychromie.[107] It was recently discovered that four other works attributed to Giovanni Tedesco which have been known for a long time in the literature – from the churches of Santa Maria Argentea in Norcia, Santa Maria delle Grazie and San Francesco in Termi (both housed at the Pinacoteca Comunale in Termi), as well as Santa Maria in Pietrarossa – also possessed similar mechanisms.[108]

The most studied and described in terms of construction are the sculptures from Norcia and Terni. The former, like the *Rood of Grace*, is hollow. The sculpture's torso (along with the thighs), made of linden wood, was hollowed out in the back area and as a result features a uniform rectangular cavity from the shoulder blades to the hips. The cavity is sealed-off by a cover attached to the torso with diagonal wooden pegs.[109] Additionally, the head, which could be tilted thanks to a wooden element resembling a cradle, was hollowed-out and covered by a wooden wedge, which has not survived.[110]

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[104] Franceschetti, 2005, pp. 178-187; Franceschetti, 2007-223; Kopania, 2009, p. 144; Perusini, 2016, pp. 197-201.

[105] Colombi Ferretti, 1999, p. 146; Colombi Ferretti, 2000, pp. 135-143; Kopania, 2009, pp. 144, 146; Pasini, 1999, pp. 98-102; Pasini, 1980, pp. 273-274; Pasini, 1983, p. 88; Pasini, 1998, p. 186; Pasini, 1999, p. 85; Perusini, 2006, pp. 200, 201; Schmidt, 2002, pp. 568-569; Turchini, 2000, pp. 480-484.

[106] Il meccanismo che permette la mobilità della lingua [this refers to the *Pordenone sculpture*] è simile a quello del *Crocifisso di Rimini*. Esso è raggiungibile sollevando uno sportellino rettangolare sulla calotta che si vede anche oggi. All'interno della calotta, in prossimità dello sportellino, in un vano piuttosto ampio ricavato svuotando il mascello, si intravede una barretta di ferro fornita all'estremità superiore di un'asola ove verosimilmente andava attaccato un cordino che fuoriusciva dal buco nel cranio. Perché la barretta e infilata nella linguetta di legno, mobile fra le labbra occhiuse. Due piccoli taratti alla corda, la barra metallica faceva muovere la lingua."; Perusini, 2006, p. 201.

[107] "Il naturalismo del *Crocifisso di Pordenone* è accentuato dalla resa realistica della preparazione e dalla policromia nelle quali sono risolte le parti sporgenti (ottenute incollando cordini di canapa sulla preparazione, che ne rivestono la crescita consueta all'epoca nei paesi tedeschi) e il ritratto aggregato che esce dalla ferite (risolto a 'pastiglia' con lo stesso materiale della preparazione e non con vernice a rilievo [...]"; Perusini, 2006, p. 201.

[108] The fact that the mentioned sculptures are characterised by animation possibilities analogous to those of the sculptures from Pordenone and Rimini was discovered during restoration works led by *Cav.Re.C. Spaleto*. The person in charge of restoring the sculptures was Bruno Bruni, who recounted the process and results of the restoration at a conference in Pergola in December of 2007; Bruni, 2007.

[109] "Il corpo, compreso le cosce, è ricavato in un solo tronco, scavato all'interno attraverso un'apertura regolare di forma rettangolare allungata disposta all'altezza delle scapole fino alle anche, richiusa poi da cavicchi trasversali."; Bruni, 2007.

[110] "La testa è realizzata a parte e completamente scavata all'interno attraverso un'apertura regolare (cm 14 x 7) praticata alla sommità del cranio in origine era chiusa da un tassello

The hollow in the sculpture enabled the installation of the mechanism which allowed the figure's tongue to be moved left to right and up and down. It would also be reasonable to presume that the cavity in the Christ's head along with the cradle inside it made it possible for fragrant smoke to be emitted from the mouth, symbolising Christ's last breath. The sculpture's movement was possible thanks to ropes attached to the corresponding mechanisms and protruding from openings in the Saviour's back.[111]

The sculpture from the San Francesco church in Terni, currently housed in the collections of the Pinacoteca Comunale, features moveable arms in addition to its moveable tongue. At present, the mechanism allowing the movement of the tongue is broken and its repair is hindered by the fact that the hollow sculpture's exterior cover cannot be easily removed to allow access to the cavity inside. The mechanism allowing the movement of the tongue, composed of two simple elements – a piece of wood shaped like a tongue and a dowel attached to it – was activated with a rope hanging out through a small aperture in the head, which also served for the attachment of the Christ's no longer extant halo.[112]

asportabile ora mancante; è collegata al corpo mediante quattro grossi caviccchi verticali ben visibili all'interno della cavità. Il reclinamento del capo è ottenuto interponendo tra testa e spalle una porzione di legno a forma di cuneo."; Bruni, 2007.

[111] "Un perno di legno è parzialmente inserito, ma non bloccato, sul fondo nella parte posteriore della cavità ed è tenuto in posizione nella parte alta da un perno fissato alla parte posteriore della cavità ed espunto in un foro scavato in alto in modo da permettere al perno di mantenere una certa rotazione sul suo asse che è funzionale agli spostamenti orizzontali della lingua; nella parte bassa il perno presenta in questo un elemento trasversale passante in cui è inserito un elemento ligneo che termina, nella parte distale, con una forcella che ospita il sistema di rotazione dell'elemento ligneo in cui s'intaglia la lingua che si scorge dietro ai denti nella fessura della bocca; l'incastro è tenuto da un piccolo cavicchio che fa da perno per il movimento verticale della lingua. Un foro praticato dietro le spalle e all'estremità della cioccca centrale dei capelli sfocia alla base della cavità della testa proprio al disotto della lingua ed è quindi lecito immaginare un congegno in grado di movimentare la lingua senza dover accedere alla cavità dall'alto asportando il guscio di chiusura che rimane accessibile per le sole manutenzioni del meccanismo. Una semplice asta rigida o semi-rigida spinta dal retro della schiena avrebbe facilmente permesso il sollevamento della lingua mentre per gli spostamenti laterali possiamo immaginare sia una cordicella passante sopra al capo sporgenti dietro al piccolo cavicchio alla base della lingua, avvolta intorno ad un perno principale e tirata alternativamente per mezzo di capi uscenti sulla schiena [...] Durante la pulitura dell'interno della cavità della testa si è spriginato un distinto odore di incenso che fa ben immaginare, forse in modo del tutto peregrino, ulteriori usi di questa cavità oltre alla possibilità di convogliare al suo interno, attraverso una cannula, fumi odorosi che sarebbero poi fuoriusciti dalla bocca, a simulare l'esalazione dell'ultimo respiro di Cristo."; Bruni, 2007.

[112] "Il Crocifisso proveniente dalla chiesa di San Francesco a Terni ed ora in Pinacoteca è stato velocemente esaminato di recente in occasione del trasferimento della Pinacoteca nei nuovi locali dell'ex SIRI (ora verrà realizzato un nuovo allestimento). Misura cm 168 x 160 in piena estensione giacché si tratta di un Cristo con le braccia mobili per mezzo di un preciso incastro a tenone e forcella con impuntatura mobile che consente di allineare le braccia al busto nel caso il Cristo venga trasformato in Deposto. Sono scavati sia il corpo sia la testa ma in questo caso il tassello di chiusura del capo (cm 11,5 x 5,3) è incollato e pertanto l'unico modo di accedere al meccanismo interno, è attraverso un

In addition to the works of Giovanni Tedesco, it would be worthwhile to mention other 15th century sculptures characterised by animation features similar to those of the *Rood of Grace*. Among these are: the small crucifix (about 60 cm in height) with a figure of Christ which possesses a simple mechanism allowing the movement of the lips and eyes, housed in the 1920s in the Parisian Piraud collection,[113] as well as a similarly-shaped "bald" figure with moveable head, eyes, and tongue, belonging to the Musée de Cluny.[114] Because of scale and quality of craftsmanship, the sculpture from the collection of the Zchweizerische Landesmuseum in Zürich and its work of art from the evangelical church in Bad Wimpfen am Berg also bear mentioning. In the case of the former, in addition to the arms being moveable, the Saviour's head can be lifted and lowered. This is possible thanks to a metal latch to which a rope was attached. The rope was concealed in a narrow vertical groove cut into the back of the figure which was most likely originally covered by a correspondingly-shaped wooden cover. The sculpture's realism was also intensified thanks to a wig of real hair, which unfortunately has not survived to this day.[115] The work from Bad Wimpfen,

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foro (mm 11) presente sul sastello alla sommità del capo che veniva utilizzato per innestare l'asserola, ora mancante, sta che presenta un lungo invito posteriore (cm 5,6) entro cui, si intuisce, potesse scorrere la conuera corda, manovrata dal retro, per attivare il meccanismo: purtroppo esso è ora rotto e dal foro si intravedono la lingua ed un lungo cavicchio depositati sul fondo della cavità."; Bano, 2007.

[113] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95. The authors of this study write about them in relation to the type which were created in the 17th or 18th centuries: "Un de nous amis, M. le Commandant PIRAUD à Paris, possède entre mille curiosités, un christ articulés construits eux aussi dans un but culturel. L'un d'eux, parait-être du XVe siècle. Haut de 60 cm, il est en bois peint exécuté d'un main fruste et très naïve; en lui fait ouvrir la bouche et baisser les yeux au moyen d'une corde fixe derrière la croix. Le second, probablement du XVIIe siècle, est à peu près de la même grandeur (63 cm.); il est chauve d'un matière qui semble le tissu. Lorsqu'on tire sur une corde, bien-être te relève et remue les paupières – on lui tire aussi la langue par un petit tuyau en maigre permet de même impression. Le troisième christ, non reproduit ici, est à peu près du même art et se meut par le même artifice." Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, pp. 95-96. Gesine and Johannes Taubert guardevole of 15th-century sculpture of the crucified Christ which was described by Alfred Chapuis and Edouard Gélis: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 86; cat. no. 22.

[114] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95. Cf.: Andrè, 1883, p. 279; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 125-126; Kopania, 2009, pp. 146-147.

[115] Individual parts of the sculpture have been repaired. However, it is not true that its current form and range of movement are the result of harm done to the sculpture in the Baroque period, as believed by Ilse Baier-Futterer. Gesine and Johannes Taubert write about this in a short passage devoted to the sculpture's construction: "Kleiner Kopf, für sich gearbeitet und iose durch eine Schnur im Halsrohr gehaltet, bewegt durch die Arme in den Achselhöhlen eingefügt, daß sie immer gleichzeitig bewegt werden können. Frau Baier-Futterer hält die Beweglichkeit von Kopf und Armen für eine barocke Veränderung des älteren Kruzifixum. Diese Annahme läßt sich nicht mehr Prüfung des Bildwerks mit Herrn Konservator Dr. Ch. Lapaire nicht aufrechterhalten: Kopf und Arme des Kruzifixus sind gleichzeitig entstanden, der Bewegungsmechanismus ist ursprünglich, lediglich die Schnur und die Schraubösen sind jüngeren Datums."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 35. In the latest study on the sculpture, we read: "Zumpf sehr stark

characterised by analogous animation possibilities, features natural hair and a natural beard which have both survived.[116]

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und grob gehölt, die Höhlung aussen rechteckig und schmal gelegt, möglicherweise ursprünglich mit einem Verschlussbrett geschlossen. [...] Zusätzlich kann der bewegliche Kopf durch einen Schnurzug etwas angehoben werden. *Das Haupt war mir einer nur verloren Perücke versehen.*"; Flühler-Kreis, Wyer, 2007, p. 87.

[116] Arens, 1980, p. 20; Arens, Bührlen, 1971, p. 75; Habenicht, 1999 [electronic publication: 2002], p. 73.

CHAPTER IV

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ during Holy Week

The matter of the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ during Holy Week is complex and has not yet been analysed in broad scope. Studies on figures of this type conducted thus far have been dominated by research connected to their use in Good Friday *Depositio Crucis* ceremonies, which were especially common in German-speaking countries. However, certain researchers have focused their efforts on the different functions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula, where the *Depositio Crucis* was rarely performed in the way we know it to have been conducted in countries north of the Alps. In light of the research carried out, a rich tradition of *laude* and of highly-developed processional performances enacted with the active participation of members of various religious confraternities appears to be an important point of reference in examining the issues connected to the origins and functions of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ we are discussing. A different point of interest is the role of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the so-called *Kreuzabnahmespiele* – dramatic works with dialogues and roles performed at the turn of the 16th century on the territory of present-day Austria and Italy – as well as other, similar plays which can be categorised as mystery plays.

1. The use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ
   in *Depositio Crucis* Good Friday liturgical ceremonies
   in Northern European countries

The first source to mention the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in a *Depositio Crucis* liturgical ceremony is a fragment of the *Ordinarium Barkingense* (ca. 1363-1367) from the Benedictine convent in Barking near London.[1] The fact that it is in England that we find the oldest record referring to

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[1] Compare with: pp. 69-70 of the present study.

a figure of the Saviour being taken down from the cross, washed with wine and water (*Deferant Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi, de ligno deponens Ymaginem, vulnera Crucifixi vino abluant et aqua*) and then ceremoniously placed into a pre-prepared Sepulchre (*Et tunc abbatissa offerat cereum, qui iugiter ardeat ante Sepulcrum, nunquam extinguatur donec Ymago in nocte Pasche post Matutinas de Sepulcro cum cereis et thure et processione resumatur, suo reponatur in loco*) during Good Friday may be considered a coincidence. The liturgical ceremonies contained in the *Ordinarium Barkingense* – including the *Adoratio Crucis*, *Elevatio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri* in addition to the *Depositio Crucis*[2] – owe their existence to Catherine of Sutton, who was the prioress of the Barking convent between 1363 and 1376.[3] However, Catherine of Sutton cannot be credited with their authorship as they all constitute variations of ceremonies known for centuries previously.[4]

The tradition of putting on theatricalised liturgical ceremonies during the *paschal triduum* dates back to at least the 7th century. It was then that the *Adoratio Crucis* – a Good Friday ceremony related to Christ's death on the cross[5]

[2] Full transcript of the text in: Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. V, 1976, pp. 1454-1458, vol. VIII, pp. 680-683; Tolhurst, 1928. *Depositio & Elevatio Crucis* published by Karl Young: Young, 1910, pp. 926-931; Young, 1920, pp. 119-122. The *Depositio Crucis* alone in: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 97; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 164-166. *Visitatio Sepulchri*: Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 381-384. The ceremonies in English translation: Tydemann, 2001, pp. 83-87. On the subject of the ceremonies in Barking, see: Dolan, 1975, pp. 121-140; Heslop, 1981, pp. 157-160; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 90, cat. no. 36, 96-98; Taubert, 1978, pp. 43, cat. no. 36, 46; Tolhurst, 1928, pp. 100, 107-108; Tripps, 2000a, p. 151; Young, 1909, pp. 926-929; Young, 1910, pp. 345-347; Young, 1920, pp. 118-121; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 164-166.

[3] Catherine of Sutton was responsible for conducting the liturgical reform in the convent: Davidson, 1991, pp. 12-15; Dugdale, 1849, p. 437; Young, 1920, p. 120. On the subject of Catherine of Sutton, see: Cotton, 1978, pp. 475-481; also containing bibliographical references.

[4] This concerns the *Depositio Crucis* in particular. That Catherine of Sutton could not have been the first person to consider using animated sculptures of the Crucified Christ during ceremonies is supported by the fact that figures of this type are known to have existed two centuries earlier. Moreover, the record of the ceremony in the *Ordinarium Barkingense* shows distinct similarities to its previous South German and Austrian versions: "Es ist also denkbar, daß die Äbtisin Katharina von Sutton mit ihren Depositionsformen [...] vom Festland übernommen hat, und zwar aus Süddeutschland oder Österreich."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 98. Clifford Davidson expresses the opinion that Catherine of Sutton could not have been the author of Holy Week ceremonies contained in the *Ordinarium*, while also leaning towards acknowledging her as the one responsible for theatricalising the centuries-old ceremonies: Davidson, 1991, pp. 14-15.

[5] On the subject of Good Friday liturgy, see above all: Capelle, 1953, pp. 263-283; Huglo, 1977, pp. 93-105; Rauwel, 2004, pp. 55-59; Rokseth, 1949, pp. 1-58; Rokseth, 1950, pp. 35-52; Römer, 1955, pp. 39-93 (see also: Heffernan, Matter, 2001). On the *Adoratio Crucis*: Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 123-139; Bino, 2008, passim; Gjerløw, 1961; Hardison, 1969, pp. 130-134; Tripps, 2000a, passim. See: Brinkmann, 1929; Kopański, 1999, pp. 83-89; Maisel, 2002, pp. 66-71; Michalak, 1939, pp. 201-203; Parker, 1978, passim; Petersen, 2004, passim; Sartore, 1977, pp. 119-125; Schmiddunner, 2008, pp. 13-70; Thurston, 1904, pp. 345-362; Tripps, 2000a, passim, especially pp. 129-131; Young, 1920, pp. 18-29.

– first appeared in the Western Church. Its origins can be traced back to earlier customs from Jerusalem. The *Itinerarium* by Egeria, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the ninth decade of the 4th century, is evidence of this fact. The detailed description of the *Adoratio Crucis* given by the pilgrim indicates that the ceremony constituted an established liturgical rite at that time.[6] The object of the faithful's adoration in Jerusalem were relics of the Holy Cross and their specific rank was not without influence in the Western Churches adoption of the *Adoratio Crucis*.[7] The rite was especially ceremoniously conducted in Rome, becoming a part of the *Ordines Romani*, and thus a part of the Roman Catholic liturgy.[8]

The *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis* evolved later, most likely in the 10th century.[9] The *Adoratio Crucis* concerned the Crucifixion and demonstrated

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[6] Baldovin, 1987, passim; Bedingfield, 2002, p. 125; Parker, 1978, p. 103; Puchat, 1990, pp. 13-19; Sartore, 1977, pp. 120-121; Schmid&hauser, 2008, p. 13; Sticka, 2000, pp. 20-32; Sum-wieyski, 1978; Young, 1920, pp. 18-19; Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 102. "Et in primor cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post Crucem, quae stat nunc; residet episcopus hic cathedra; ponitur ante cum mensa sublineata; stant in giro mensa diacones; et affertur loculus argenteus deauratus in quo est lignum sanctum crucis; aperitur et profertur; ponitur in mensa quam lignum crucis quam titulus. Cum ergo positum fuerit in mensa, episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitates at ligno sancto prement; diacones autem qui in giro stant custodient. Hoc autem propterea sic custoditur, quia consuetudo est ut unus et unus omnis populus veniens, tam fideles quam cathecumini, acclinant se ad mensam, osculentur sanctum lignum, et pertranseant. Et quoniam, nescio quando, dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasse sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne quis veniens audeat denuo sic facere. Ac sic ergo omnis populus transit, unus et unus, toti acclinantes se, primum de fronte, sic de oculis tangentes crucem et titulum et sic osculantes crucem pertranseunt; manum autem nemo mittit ad tangendum.", quoted from: Young, 1920, p. 19..

[7] Jungmann, 1952, pp. 188-190, 192. The oldest description of the ceremony is found in the Life of St. Ulrich, in the fragment referring to liturgical customs practised in the Cathedral in Augsburg ca. 950: "De autem Parasceve... mane dilucalo psalterium explere festinavit, et sacro Dei mysterio peperato, populoque sacro Christi Corpore saginato, et consuetudinario more, quod remunerat, sepulto, iterum inter ecclesias ambulando, psalterium explevit decantando... Desidera-tissimo quasi sanctorum Paschali die advenimet, post primam invervit ecclesiam Sancti Ambrosii, ubi die Parasceve Corpus Christi superposito lapide collocavit, ibique cum paucis clericis Missam de sancta Trinitate explevit. Expleta autem Missa... secum portato Christo «Corpore» et Euangelio et cereis et incenso, et cum congrua salutatione venum a puero post decantatumo secum per alterum ad ecclesiam Sancti Ioannis Baptistae.", quoted from: Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 553. On the subject of the quoted fragment of the Life of St. Ulrych, see: Brinkmann, 1929, p. 2; Drumbl, 1981, pp. 245-249; Michalak, 1939, p. 204; Parker, 1978, pp. 87-88; Tydeman, 1978, p. 33.

[8] Baldovin, 1987, passim; Bino, 2008, pp. 86-91; Brinkmann, 1929, p. 17; Hardison, 1969, pp. 124, 131; Jeuler, 1985, p. 63; Jurkowski, 2009, p. 48; Maisel, 2002, p. 68; Sartore, 1977, pp. 121-125; Sticca, 1970, p. 41; Tydeman, 1978, p. 33; Young, 1920, pp. 22-27.

[9] Baldovin, 1987, passim; Bino, 2008, pp. 86-91; Brinkmann, 1929, p. 17; Hardison, 1969, pp. 124, 131; Jeuler, 1985, p. 63; Jurkowski, 2009, p. 48; Maisel, 2002, p. 68; Sartore, 1977, pp. 121-125; Sticca, 1970, p. 41; Tydeman, 1978, p. 33; Young, 1920, pp. 22-27.

Christ's redemptive suffering, which was not repeated in the Holy Mass on Good Friday. The *Depositio Crucis* can be seen as the logical continuation of the *Adoratio Crucis*.[10] The procedure of the ceremony was concisely described by Julian Lewański: "Hence our office prevents the removal of the depiction of Jesus from the church and assigns to it a form of a funeral. The crucifix is taken from the main altar and carried to the prepared Sepulchre; this is accompanied by responsoria sung in lowered voice. We could say that we are watching a part of a mystery play depicting one of the events from Jerusalem. The Sepulchre is closed, stones laid and the Sepulchre sealed. And guards are even set outside the Sepulchre."[11]

Among the impulses which would become fundamental to the development of the *Depositio Crucis*, the researchers notice the *Missa Praesanctificatorum*, i.e. the so-called Mass of the Presanctified gifts performed on Good Friday during which the turning of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ does not take place (a Holy Communion does indeed take place, yet not as part of a Mass since a Mass is not performed on the day of Christ's death).[12] The consecration of additional Hosts, which were necessary for the *Missa Praesanctificatorum*, on Holy Thursday carried with it the need for the Hosts to be ceremonially stored for the following day, which in turn could have elicited an association with the burial of Christ's body. It was described by Karl Young as follows: "Resemblances between the liturgical reservation from Holy Thursday to Good Friday and the extra-liturgical dramatic ceremonials are not difficult to discern. The chest, or tabernacle, in which the reserved Host is placed has a parallel in the *sepulchrum* of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*; the placing of the Host upon a special altar points to the use of the altar itself as a *sepulchrum* in some versions of the dramatic ceremonials; the light before the altar of the reservation is matched by lights used at the *sepulchrum*, and the depositing of the reserved Host in a chalice is clearly a possible antecedent for a similar use of the chalice in certain versions of the dramatic observances."[13]

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[10] As described by Karl Young: "In the first place, since the *Adoratio* itself is a vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion, nothing could be more natural than that a vivid commemoration of the Burial should be invented as a sequel to the *Adoratio*. Any taking down of the Cross after the ceremony of the *Adoratio* must inevitably suggest a representation of the burial of the crucified Christ Himself."); Young, 1920, pp. 26-27. Compare with: Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 130-131; Brooks, 1921, p. 32; Maisel, 2002, pp. 70-71.

[11] Lewański, 1999, p. 60. Compare with: Alt, 1846, pp. 348-349.

[12] Thurston, 1909, pp. 362-368.

[13] Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 115. The researcher points out that this hypothesis, despite not being wholly confirmed by the available sources, is highly probable: "Although the extant documents do not enable us to demonstrate that each of these ceremonies of the reservation of Holy Thursday antedates the earliest versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, in the tenth century, the probability is that the authorized liturgical usages preceded the extra-liturgical ones. In any case, the traditional reservation of the Host, in some form, was available as an ancient model for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

The *Elevatio Crucis* was nothing other than the completion of this entire specific interpretation of the Salvation. It presented the Resurrection and thus Christ's triumph over death, which was the culminating moment of the *paschal triduum*.[14] The exact moment of the Resurrection is not described in the Gospels and this doubtless influenced the form of the ceremony, which did not present the event itself but rather consisted of a cross, Host or crucifix ceremoniously taken out of the Sepulchre and carried out to the altar – to be adored.[15] The peculiar symbolism of its re-enactment of the Resurrection distinguished the *Elevatio Crucis* from the subsequent *paschal triduum* ceremony, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. In the case of the latter ceremony, we see a play which aim is to depict the events described in the New Testament. Clergy members dressed in the appropriate costumes played the roles of the three Marys visiting the Saviour's Tomb and of the angel announcing to them the joyous news of the Resurrection.[16] Due to its theatrical nature, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was treated as distinct from the *Adoratio*, *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*. Its origins are above all traced back to choral liturgical songs which laid the foundations for the ceremony's dialogues and which had been spreading through Western Europe since the Carolingian Renaissance.[17] We also notice the connexion linking the

Elevatio, and in some fashion, probably, it was so regarded"; Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 115. Cf.: Young, 1920, pp. 10-18. See also: Chambers, 1957, pp. 4-5; Hardison, 1969, pp. 109-128; Heitz, 1963, pp. 178-179; Tydeman, 1978, p. 33.

[14] The need for enacting the moment of the Resurrection during Holy Week is obvious, as the Resurrection is the point of Christ's suffering which is depicted in the *Adoratio* and *Depositio Crucis*. A possible source for the inspiration behind the development of the *Elevatio Crucis* may have been the practise of consecrating the Host needed for the *Missa Praesanctificatorum* on Holy Thursday. Quoting Young, "It is to be observed, however, that none of the observances connected with the Adoration contributes anything toward the forming of the *Elevatio*. For this a model may have been found in the taking up of the pretsanctified Host from the place of reservation for the Mass of Good Friday. More probably no such specific inspiration was required: for, once the object, whether Host or Cross, was 'buried', it must eventually be 'raised'. Given the *Depositio* of Good Friday, an *Elevatio* at some time before dawn on Easter Day became inevitable."; Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 121 (compare with: Chambers, 1957, pp. 4-5).

[15] The course of the ceremony was concisely described by Julian Lewański: "The ceremony begins with a procession moving towards the Sepulchre. Upon arrival, the appropriated prayers and antiphones are recited in lowered voice. The second element, which is of an immaterial nature, is the removal of the Host, crucifix and figure of the Resurrected Christ – whether it be all three together, two or just one, depending on where the ceremony was taking place – from the Sepulchre. The third phase was the processional march through the church which may have been highlighted by the station during which the Harrowing of Hell is depicted. The ceremony ends with the placement of the figure on the altar and its adoration."; Lewański, 1966, p. 54. Compare with: Lewański, 1999, pp. 67-68.

[16] On the subject of acting in the context of *Visitatio Sepulchri*, see: Bering, 1992, pp. 134-135; Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 161-164; Mazouer, 1998, pp. 361-367; Ogden, 2002; Rickerby, Park, 1991, pp. 27-31; Rousse, 2006, pp. 38-47.

[17] Of primary significance to the development of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* were tropes and the hymn *Te Deum*. Dunbar H. Ogden, in reference to the genesis of the above-mentioned ceremony,

Visitatio Sepulchri with the practise of performing the sacrament of baptism during Easter. The ceremony explains the point of the practise while at the same time influencing the fundamental spiritual transformation of the catechumen.[18]

From the perspective of our considerations on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, the issues connected to the origin of the above-mentioned ceremonies are not fundamentally significant. The first figures of the type we are interested in appeared at a time when the *paschal triduum* ceremonies had already been firmly established.[19] The ceremonies were characterised by a permanent format which was subject to limited modifications. The *Adoratio Crucis* was most likely already being performed in the 6th century, although the first records appear at a somewhat later time, as for example the record of the Roman *Ordo* I:

states: "There are two beginning points for the *Quem quaeritis* piece, originally composed in the artistic range of the Carolingian Renaissance. It originated as a trope. A trope is in addition to the regular liturgic one or more extra-liturgical lines inserted in and sung during a regular church rite. The *Quem quaeritis* trope in dialogue form beginning with the question, 'Whom do you seek in the Sepulchre', and the answer, 'Jesus of Nazareth'. One version of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue precedes the Introit to the Easter Mass. It concludes with 'Alleluia resurrexit dominus' [...] The other version was sung just before the final hymn, the *Te Deum*, of Easter Matins. It concludes not with the 'Alleluia' but with the traditional antiphon 'Surrexit dominus de sepulchro'.": Ogden, 2002, p. 20 (compare with other discussions of the issue of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*) dependence on liturgical chants: Apollonio, 1981, pp. 35-43; Brinkmann, 1929, pp. 4-6; Cargill, 1930, pp. 10-36; Drumbl, 1979, pp. 45-96; Drumbl, 1981; Fichte, 1975, pp. 8-13; Forsyth, 1945, pp. 163-165; Hardison, 1970, pp. 27-37; Jonsson, 1977, pp. 53-73; Lieger, 1947, pp. 126-138; Lintilhac, 1904, pp. 22-24; Lipphardt, 1977, pp. 17-31; Pascal, 1941, pp. 276-377; Schwietering, 1925, pp. 1-20; Sepet, 1908, pp. 10-12; Smoldon, 1946, pp. 1-17; Smoldon, 1973, pp. 121-154; Tydeman, 1978, pp. 34-35; Wolański, 2005, passim; Young, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 201-238; Zino, 1977, pp. 273-293). On the subject of tropes, see: Arlt, Bjöŕkvall, 1993; Berger, 1976, passim, in particular pp. 152-156; Castro Caridad, 1991; Evans, 1961, pp. 119-131; Gautier, 1886; Iversen, 1983; Lipphardt, 1977, pp. 17-31; Muller, 1924, pp. 544-575; Planchart, 1977; Reiners, 1884; Silagi, 1985; Sticca, 1970, pp. 19-27; Weakland, 1958, pp. 477-488; Young, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 178-197.

[18] In the ninth century a close relation existed between baptism and the liturgy of Easter. The Church was allowed to baptise at only two seasons of the year, Easter and Pentecost, and these Easter was by far the most important. From the early days of the Church the Easter vigil service had been organized around a ceremony of mass baptism. On the authority of Paul to the Romans, baptism was considered a death and rebirth. It was considered only fitting that the regeneration of the individual Christian should occur at the same time as the celebration of Christ's Resurrection. Interest in baptism therefore meant renewed interest in the history, ceremonial, and symbolism of the Easter liturgy – and, inevitably, in the events depicted in the *Quem quaeritis* play.": Hardison, 1969, p. 81. Elizabeth C. Parker connects not only the *Visitatio Sepulchri* but also the the remaining *paschal triduum* ceremonies with the practise of performing the sacrament of baptism during Holy Week: "It was for him [the catechumen], after all, that these Easter dramas were designed – to gift ultimate significance to his Baptism on Easter Sunday Eve."; Parker, 1978, p. 97. See also: Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 171-190.

[19] This point concerns not only animated sculptures of the crucified Christ but also figures of Christ in the Tomb (the oldest surviving figure of this type is the work from Visby, ca. 1200. See: Schmiddunser, 2008, p. 25; Tripps, 2001, p. 234, cat. no. 85).

Post orationes praeparatur crux ante altare, interposito spatio inter ipsam & altare, sustentata hinc inde a duobus acolythis, posito ante eam oratorio. Venit Pontifex, & adorantam deosculatur cruicem; deinde presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, & ceteri per ordinem; deinde populus. Pontifex vero sedet in sede, usque dum omnes salutent. [...] Pontifex vero dum persalutet populus crucem. Nam salutante Pontifice vel populo crucem, canitur semper antiphona, *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit; venite adoremus.* Dicitur psalmus civ: id est, *Beati immaculati.* Qua salutata & reposita in loco suo, descendit Pontifex ante altare.[20]

The first known record of the *Depositio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri* is in turn contained in the so-called *Regularis concordia.* The document, written by the Bishop of Winchester, St. Aethelwold, ca. 970 for the use of English Benedictine orders, comprises a set of guidelines concerning the methods of conducting liturgy in monastery churches.[21] In it, in reference to the *Depositio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri,* we read:

DEPOSITIO CRUCIS

Nam quia ea die depositionem Corporis Saluatoris nostri celebramus, usum quorundam religiosorum imitabilem ad fidem indocti uulgi ac neofitorum corroborandam equiparando sequi, si ita cui uisum fuerit uel sibi taliter placuerit hoc modo decreuimus. Sit autem in una parte altaris qua uacuam fuerit quedam assimilatio Sepulchri uelamenque quoddam in gyro tensum quod dum sancta Crux adoreta fuerit deponatur hoc ordine. Veniant Diaconi qui prius portauerunt eam, *et* inuoluant eam sindone in loco adorata est. Tunc reportent eam canentes antiphonas:

Item in ipsum. Habitabit,

Item:

Caro mea requiescet in spe,

Donec ueniant ad locum monumenti deposita*que* Cruce, ac si Domini Nostri Ihesu Xpisti Corpore sepulto, dicant antiphonam:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. In eodem loco sancta crux cum omni reuerentia custodiatur usque Dominice noctem Resurrectionis. Nocte uero ordinentur duo Fratres aut tres aut plures si tanta fuerint congregatio, qui ibidem psalmos decantando excubias fideles exerceant.[22]

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[20] Quoted from: Young, 1920, p. 22. On this subject: Young, 1920, pp. 22-26.

[21] The *Regularis concordia* is known to us in two versions: one written ca. 1050-1100 (British Library, Cotton Ms Tiberius A3) and the end of the 10th century (British Library, Cotton Ms Faustina B3). In its details, the *Regularis concordia* text exhibits a resemblance to liturgical sources from France and Germany. On the subject of the *Regularis concordia,* see: Abbalca, 2003, pp. 10-12; Axton, 1974, pp. 19, 65; Berger, 1976, passim; Bedingfield, 2002, passim; Bino, 2008, pp. 151-155; Brinkmann, 1929, p. 12; Chambers, 1996, vol. II, pp. 307-308; Doig, 2008, pp. 152-153; Donovan, 1958, pp. 12-13; Hardison, 1969, passim, especially pp. 192-198; Heitz, 1963, pp. 179-181; Holloway, 1991, pp. 24-42; Kobialka, 1999; Kornexl, 1995, pp. 95-130; Kurvers, 1996, passim; Liegey, 1947, pp. 126-138; Liénne, 1993, pp. 22-23; Muir, 1995, pp. 14-16; Ogden, 2002, pp. 19-26; Parker, 1978, pp. 39-81; Petersen, 2004, passim, especially pp. 88-98; Snoek, 1995, p. 45; Schmiddunser, 2008, p. 15; Sticca, 1970, pp. 22-24; Stroud, 2006, passim, especially pp. 37-59; Tolhurst, 1993, passim; Tydeman, 1978, pp. 35-37.

[22] Quoted from: Young, 1920, p. 73.

VISITATIO SEPULCHRI

Dum tertia recitatur lectio quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus acsi ad aliud agendum ingrediatur atque latenter Sepulchri locum adeat, ibique manu tenens palmam quietus sedeat. Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium, residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turibulis cum incenso manibus gestantes ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid ueniant ante locum Sepulchri adeant. Aguntur enim hęc ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento, atque Mulierum cum aromatibus uenientium, ut ungerent corpus Ihesu. Cum ergo ille residens tres uelut erraneos, ac aliquid querentes, uiderit sibi approximare, incipiat mediocri uoce dulcisone cantare:

Quem quaeritis <in sepulchro, o Christicolae>?

Quo decantato fine tenus, respondeant hi tres uno ore:

Ihesum Nazarenum <crucifixum, o coelicola>.

Quibus ille :

Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat; ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.

Cuius iussionis uoce uertant se illi tres ad chorum dicentes:

Alleluia: resurrexit Dominus, <hodie resurrexit leo fortis, Christus, filius Dei.>

Dicto hoc rursus ille residens uelut reuocans illos dicat antiphonam:

Venite et uidete locum <ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia>.

Hęc uero dicens surgat, et uelum tollat, ostendatque eis locum Cruce nudatum, sed tantum linteamina posita quibus Crux inuoluta erat. Quo uiso deponant turibula quę gestauerant in eodem Sepulchro, sumantque linteum et extendant contra clerum, ac ueluti ostendentes, quod surrexerit Dominus, et iam non sit illo inuolutus, hanc canant antiphonam:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, <qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia>.

Superponantque linteum altari. Finita antiphona, prior congaudens pro triumpho regis nostri, quod deuicta morte surrexit, incipiant hymnum Te deum laudamus. Quo incepto, una pulsantur omnia signa.[23]

An example of an early *Elevatio Crucis* could be the record contained in the 11th-century *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* by Jean d'Avranches, the Archbishop of Rouen:[24]

Decima hora noctis pauci clerici induti veniant, et Crucifixum cum incenso et thymiamate levantes, antiphonam *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro* <cantantes>, loco suo honorifice constituant. Post cuncta campanis sonantibus, januas ecclesiae aperiant, et Matutinas incipiant.[25]

The above records of the ceremonies can be treated as representative of records from the whole of the Middle Ages – they differ very little in their composition from later versions dating from the 12th, 14th or 15th centuries. Obviously we notice regional variations between individual ceremonies.[26]

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[23] Quoted from: Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 249-250.

[24] The full text of the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, its analysis, and information on Jean d'Avranches: Delamare, 1923.

[25] Quoted from: Young, 1920, pp. 76-77.

[26] This is clearly underscored by Maurice Accarie: Accarie, 1983, pp. 23-25. See also: Wright, 1936; Bering, 1992, pp. 134-135.

Numerous texts contain different responsories and antiphons, and we also find differences – sometimes substantial – in the lengths of the ceremonies, the numbers of participants, the route of the ceremonial procession and the set design inside the church, most notably the Holy Sepulchres, which existed as either temporary or permanent structures.[27] Finally, we encounter a situation where the *Depositio Crucis* and *Elevatio Crucis* are replaced with the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Hostiae* or the *Depositio Crucis et Hostiae* and *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae*.[28] Taking into account the fact that the ceremonies were conducted over a span of hundreds of years in Benedictine, Franciscan and Dominican monastery churches as well as in cathedrals and parish churches, it is little wonder that differences emerged.[29] The differences, however, do not influence the fundamental nature

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[27] John K. Bonell was the first, in 1916, to classify Holy Sepulchres in the context of Holy Week liturgical ceremonies. The researcher based his study of those rites on the presence of the *Depositio Crucis*, *Elevatio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri* rather than on existing structures. On the basis of information contained in the texts, he undertook to reconstruct temporary Holy Sepulchres which were created strictly for their use in the above-mentioned ceremonies and to compare them to altar structures: Bonnell, 1916, pp. 664-712. A typological classification of medieval Holy Sepulchres on the basis of historical materials as well as source texts was prepared by Justin E.A. Kroesen: Kroesen, 2000a, pp. 45-109. See also: Aballea, 2003; Bond, 1916; Bonnds, 1921; Brooks, 1928, pp. 141-142; Dalman, 1922; Davidson, 1991, pp. 7-10; Dziechciaruk-Jedrak, 1985, pp. 65-87; Forsyth, 1970; Gugitz, 1949, pp. 175-179; Hubach, 2006, pp. 415-498; Jezler, 1983; Jezler, 1985, pp. 91-128; Kapustka, 2008, passim; Kroesen, Steensma, 2004, pp. 289-313; Maisel, 2002; Martin, 1997; Möller, 1987a; Möller, 1978b; Morris, 2005; Niehoff, 1990, pp. 7-68; Ouiterhout, 1981, pp. 311-321; Prokopp, 1984; Reiners, 1941, pp. 254-258; Schmidlcheldt, 2000, passim; Schwarzweber, 1940; Sheingorn, 1987; Thümmel, 2003, pp. 67-83; Uppn, 2000a, passim.

[28] It is worth pointing out that certain researchers dispute the possibility of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Hostiae* being older than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*. Some researchers also claim that the two types of ceremonies are independent of each other: "Indeed, the Depositio Crucis can only be seen as a ceremony separately conceived and essentially independent from the Reservation of the Host, the Depositio Hostiae. The two rites are first of all radically different in kind. Whilst the Maundy Thursday Reservation, even when transplanted to Good Friday, is simply a provision for a liturgical necessity, the Good Friday Depositio Crucis is an optional extraliturgical addition designed to reenact that part of the Passion story which historically had taken place on that day": Parker, 1978, p. 88 (see also, e.g.: Berger, 1976, pp. 76-77, 79; Drumbl, 1981, pp. 244-258; Snook, 1995, pp. 45-46). These disputes are of no consequence to us as both types of rituals were practised and widespread for a significant period prior to the appearance of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

[29] We have at our disposal numerous editions of liturgical sources referring to Holy Week. The records of the *Depositio Crucis*, *Elevatio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri*, as well as other ceremonies, for example the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum*, surviving throughout nearly all of Europe, were published by Walther Lipphardt in a monumental nine-volume work: Lipphardt, 1976-1990. The corpus of the sources found within present-day Poland was published by Julian Lewański: Lewański, 1999 (see also: Lewański, 1965, pp. 96-174); Sweden by Audrey Ekdahl Davidson: Davidson, 1990 (see also: Schmid, 1952, pp. 1-14); Spain by Richard B. Donovan: Donovan, 1958 (see also: Vila, 1996, pp. 91-109); Hungary by Josef Danko: Danko, 1872. The classic studies by Neil C. Brooks (Brooks, 1909; Brooks, 1921; Brooks, 1928), Edmund Kerchever Chambers (Chambers, 1996) and Karl Young (Young, 1909a; Young, 1909b; Young, 1910; Young, 1920; Young, 1933) stand out in terms of

of the ceremonies; the successive phases, and most of all, the meaning and significance thereof remain the same.[30]

The *Adoratio*, *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*, as well as the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, popular opinion to the contrary, can be considered liturgical ceremonies[31] (this

their content and analysis of source material. See also: Huppert, 1928; Maisel, 2002, passim, in particular pp. 72-84.

[30] From among the above-mentioned ceremonies, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was distinct in its degree of autonomy and dramatic development as it at times included apocryphal threads, such as, e.g. Mary's purchase of oils. "The earliest example of an extra-biblical addition to the Easter *Visitatio* play appears in the early twelfth century when the *Mercator* (merchant, sometimes also called the *Unguentarius*), who sells the Marys their spices before they go to the sepulchre, makes his debut in a text from the Catalan abbey of Ripoll. He was to play a major role in later Easter plays, both Latin and vernacular.", Muir, 1995, p. 17 (compare with: Donovan, 1958, pp. 78-84). Norma Kroll writes about the autonomy of dramatically developed versions of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in terms of liturgy: Kroll, 2005, pp. 452-483. See also: Berger, 1976, pp. 215-243.

[31] See meticulous, in-depth analysis of this problem by M. Bradford Bedingfield (Bedingfield, 2002), Markus Maisel (Maisel, 2002, pp. 65-90) and Christoph Petersen (who – in fact – presents a more traditional point of view of the above ceremonies, which he calls "paraliturgical". At the same time he treats them as clearly related to liturgy, as a kind of ritual, not theatre: Petersen, 2004. Compare with: Biню, 2008, pp. 124-145). One of the first researchers to point this out was Pierce Butler: Butler, 1901, p. 46-52. Recently focused on is the liturgical character of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which was treated as the first independent drama created in the cultural environment of the Latin Church in most of the older studies. We also encounter this opinion in numerous more recent discussions on medieval theatre. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* has been written about as *a play* – by, e.g. Lynette E. Muir: Muir, 1995, passim. Compare with e.g.: Linke, 1987, pp. 132-134; Mathieu, 1969, pp. 95-117; Tydeman, 1978, pp. 36-37. Conclusions of this type are directly connected to the fact that the *Visitatio* contains dialogue, the basic element of drama (compare with the points made by Andrzej Wolański: Wolański, 2005, pp. 64-66 and Richard B. Donovan: Donovan, 1958, p. 6). Richard B. Donovan (Donovan, 1958, pp. 6-19, in particular p. 7) and O.B. Hardison (Hardison, 1969, passim) wrote on the fact that despite the above, they were in the strict sense merely liturgical ceremonies endowed with theatrical elements. In Hardison's opinion, the *Visitatio Sepulchri* constitutes a ritual and the faithful gathered in the church were not so much an audience watching a scene based on the New Testament as eye-witness participants (an effect achieved by theatrical elements). Several decades later, this was broadly examined by C. Clifford Flanigan, who stated: "Let us briefly try to understand the ritual rationale of the Visitatio text in the *Regularis concordia*. This ceremony is a part of the liturgy; it is not 'paraliturgical', a term which is devoid of meaning for the period under discussion as nothing in the manuscripts supports such a distinction. Further, on the new account of the construction of the liturgy in the Frankish lands, what scholars in the past erroneously termed the 'paraliturgical' is but the next step in the creation of ritual forms in verbal and musical texts. Finally, the use of this term perpetuates an understanding of the liturgy which neither medieval nor contemporary, but a product of the Counter-Reformation. This ceremony is a part of the regular but festive monastic cursus. It follows the reading at Nocturns, which is itself the mythic account of the resurrection. It is tied to other rituals in use in this particular community, the *depositio* and *elevatio* of the cross. It functions as a trope to explain the liturgical meaning of the day." (Flanigan, 1996, pp. 15-16 (compare with: Flanigan, 1974a, 1974b, pp. 263-284; Flanigan, 1974b, pp. 45-62). See also: Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 156-170; Campbell, 1981, pp. 289-301; Ogden, 2005, pp. 28-35. The status of theatricalised liturgical ceremonies in the broad context of religious and secular theatre was addressed by Maurice Accarie, who pointed out that contemporary classifications of dramatic works as well as dramatic genres cannot be applied

also applies to the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum*, conducted during Holy Week, although before the *paschal triduum*.[32] Although these ceremonies have never enjoyed a strictly defined liturgical status and were never officially included in the liturgy,[33] they were nonetheless always treated as such in practise. In reference to theatricalised medieval liturgical ceremonies in Spain, Richard B. Donovan writes: "In our study of plays from the Hispanic peninsula, without endeavouring to define the term with any absolute precision, we shall consider as *liturgical* any ceremonies which were performed in the church, in a devotional spirit, and in close connection with some liturgical office".[34] In relation to this, it

to the Middle Ages. In that period theatre took on many forms: liturgical ceremonies could have taken on dramatic forms and highly-developed religious performances could therefore be assigned a status somewhat like that of liturgical ceremonies: Accarie, 2006, pp. 25-37. See also: Bärsch, 1996, pp. 41-66; Brinkman, 1932; Cavenaugh, 2006a, passim; Cavenaugh 2004b, pp. 1-25; Dąbrówka, 2001, passim; Demarchi, 1997, pp. 295-305; Fichte, 1975; Huglo, 1977, pp. 93-105; Kurvers, 1996, passim; Maisel, 2002; Rico Camps, 2001, pp. 179-189; Weber, 1987; Wright, 1935, pp. 38-35.

[32] In cases such as this, the commercial could, however, at times transform into a sort of folk festival. This applies to situations in which the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum* was performed before city streets with the use of a figure of Christ on a donkey and with the active participation of the throngs of faithful. As Peter Jezler concisely stated, "Cependant nous ne manquons pas de sources qui parlent de farce et de plaisanterie. Il semble que la prétention par trop mimétique de ce véhicule cohortant à travers les rues avec une sorte d'idole ait toujours produit, entre autres, un effet burlesque. Nous avons connaissance de plusieurs cas de détournement de l'âne, et dans une série de farces le comique résulte de la confusion entre l'image et la réalité à laquelle elle renvoie"; Jezler, 2001, p. 228. See also: Bela, 1990, pp. 29-30; Geybels, 2006, pp. 183-198; Gugitz, 1949, pp. 151-157. The faithful's lack of detachment from the figure of Christ on a donkey also resulted from the fact that these figures did not have the status of devotional or cult objects (see Chapter V of the present study). On the subject of the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum*, see: Bedingfield, 2002, pp. 90-113; Bela, 1990, pp. 25-29; Erler, 1995, pp. 58-81; Jurkowski, 2009, pp. 82-85; Lewański, 1999, pp. 33-46; Liposwzer, 1995, pp. 20-27; Modzelewski, 1964, pp. 20-42.

[33] Maurice Accarie writes about this, emphasising that Holy Week ceremonies were first and foremost connected to liturgy and not theatre. However, on account of them having never been officially included in liturgy, the researcher firmly writes about them as "paraliturgical dramas". Accarie states: "In reality, it [the paraliturgical drama] is not strictly connected to liturgy and, above all, it could not replace it. It exists (if it indeed exists) next to liturgy. We know from other sources what place it occupies, performed before the Midnight Mass and the Resurrection or at the beginning or the end of the matins performed on the day of the two great feasts: Christmas and Easter. Therefore, it is performed before or after the religious ceremonies, and not, obviously, during the inviolable sacred moments. As Blandine-Dominique Berger maintains, these dramas 'in reality never had a strictly defined status in medieval liturgy, and even when they played a very important almost obvious part' (Accarie references Berger, 1976).", Accarie, 2006, pp. 89-90. "In the Middle Ages the 'official liturgy' of the Church [...] was limited to the essential part of Catholic worship, such as the Canon of the Mass, etc.; in the main secondary portions, usage varied considerably from diocese to diocese." The liturgical plays were one of these secondary forms."; Donovan, 1958, p. 7. Cf. Kapustka, 1998, p. 16.

[34] Donovan, 1958, p. 7. Julian Lewański expressed a similar opinion in reference to the Holy Week ceremonies taking place in what is now Poland which he listed and described: "So we gathered dramatic pieces which were performed in various sacred places, especially in cathedrals and

bears mention that even those Holy Week theatricalised ceremonies which were performed in the vernacular did not necessarily lose their connexion to liturgy.[35]

Holy Week ceremonies, often designated with the term liturgical "dramatisation" or "drama",[36] in reality reveal few traits in common with theatre.[37]

[35] "Closely connected with the question of date is that of the vernacular. If a play is late in date, and especially if it makes use of the vernacular, dramatic historians have been inclined to exclude it automatically from the classification *liturgical*, readily concluding that the play must have been put on outside the church, or, if within the church, without any connexion with the liturgical services."; Donovan, 1958, p. 39 (the researcher gives several examples of this type of situation; see: pp. 37-50).

[36] Lewański, 1966, p. 22. The latter term is used most often in reference to the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. The second term (used in reference to the ceremonies we are interested in) has exceeded the two named. Aside from these, we also encounter terms such as, e.g. "ritual drama" (Tydeman, 1978, pp. 36-37). See: Kobialka, 1999, p. 87.

[37] In an earlier study, Accarie emphasises that the theatrical character of the liturgical ceremonies largely results from the way Christians understand time: "la nouveauté du Judaïsme, puis du Christianisme, était d'avoir transformé les événements mystiques en événements vraiment historiques. La monde a eu un commencement et il aura une fin: de la Création au Jugement Dernier existe une continuité, une durée historique. Les événements rapportés par les Livres saints ont une date bien définie, ils font partie d'un passé qu'on peut certes commémorer, mais qui n'est plus réellement récupérable. Le Christianisme repose donc sur une ambivalence qui est presque une contradiction: il s'appuie à la fois sur l'historicité et la périodicité, c'est à la fois historique et a-historique. Le chrétien en foi et bien *partagé* entre le sens historique de la religion, qui lui indique un passé précis, et la certitude que la vie du Christ se répète indéfiniment dans l'année liturgique. [...] Ainsi – on trop loin en soutenant qu'à est la liturgie ce que l'histoire est la périodicité? Il ne remplace pas en effet le rituel, et ce n'est comme une autre forme, moins allégorique, plus concrète; il est en quelque sorte son complément historique. Il va ainsi se fixer non pas le Christ, mais les cérémonies de Pâques et de Noël, c'est-à-dire par le moment de l'année, mais à l'aire d'un événement né et mort. Il ne se développe donc pas à partir de *l'éternel présent*, mais à partir d'un *moment historique*. [...] Le drame liturgique est un *moment historique* où le chrétien a conscience de célébrer un événement passé: la liturgie est une représentation historique; une commémoration sacré est perçu comme un passé destiné à *être reproduit*, et non plus à se *reproduire* éternellement. Le drame de l'église est une cérémonie extra-liturgique *liée* au cette conscience historique qui est la nouveauté du Christianisme. [...] Il est certes tous de la liturgie, et il est réellement drame; l'un et garde les caractères extérieurs, la solennité, le hiératisme des gestes, l'utilisation du chant. Mais fondamentalement il est différent parce qu'il repose sur la représentation d'événements historiques irrévocables. Aussi ne peut-il y avoir, chez le fidèle, identification propre le spectacle, comme c'est le cas dans la messe où, allégoriquement on croit, on imagine. Le sacrifice a lieu à nouveau, où les fidèles doivent être réellement le purgée de Judée, les apôtres, les saintes compagnons du Christ. Certes, en assistant au drame, ces mêmes fidèles ont la faculté de se projeter dans le passé, non seulement pour contempler les événements, non pour y participer, pour voir évoluer des personnages, non

The *Adoratio, Depositio, Elevatio Crucis*, as well as *Visitatio Sepulchri* texts were contained in missals, breviaries and agendas – and thus were included in the annual liturgical ceremony cycle observed in a given diocese and in a given monastery, cathedral, parish church, etc.[38] These theatricalised Holy Week ceremonies were the domain of the clergy, whose members participated in them not as actors playing out specific events of the New Testament or as spectators witnessing a pious play, but as participants in an event of a ceremonial nature.[39] The role of the faithful gathered in the church, i.e. the potential audience, was of marginal importance,[40] and they were even at times hold out of the church during the culminating moments of the particular ceremonies,[41] which was to

pour s'identifier à eux. Le caractère historique des pièces de l'église provoque nécessairement une *distanciation* entre le public et le spectacle."; Accarie, 1983, pp. 30-32. Accarie, however, does not take into consideration the fact that theatricalised Holy Week liturgical ceremonies could have been understood by the participants as being uniquely timeless, i.e. not simply illustrating specific fragments of evangelical stories but rather expiating the meaning of life from an eschatological perspective. Thus, they were to solidify neophytes' and believers' belief in the rightness of life in accordance with Christian faith. Yet, above all, they enabled the formation of a direct emotional connection with the Saviour by their referencing individual human life.

[38] Julian Lewański points out that that the ceremonies we are interested in were "facultative [...] in respect to the entire church organisation", yet "surely in effect obligatory as the churches in which the dramas were entered into the appropriate places of the liturgical books used."; Lewański, 1966, p. 19. Elsewhere (p. 21), the researcher writes: "These pieces are subordinate to the church's liturgy; they are its extension and supplement. In this sense they are not independent, they do not appear on their own, separately and they do not encompass other liturgical or customary functions. From the organisation of the liturgy, it follows that there is a very-precisely defined time in which the dramas can be performed – a prescribed season, day, month and even the recital of a liturgical formula." Cf: Bedingfield, 2002, passim; Chambers, 2002, passim; Fischer, 1975, pp. 11-12; Kobialka, 2003, passim; Modzelewski, 1964, p. 50; Pascal, 1941, pp. 379-381; Smoarski, 1981, p. 99.

[39] In comparing liturgical dramas to mystery plays Maurice Accarie states: "The first [...] is a presentation by the clergy, especially that clergy, specifically those connected to monastic settings. Thus, it can be said that it is God's play – not simply 'a discourse on God' but a discourse by God himself. Liturgical dramas – like the mass of that era, exclude the active participation of the faithful, like the architecture with a rood screen [...], in order to separate the sacred presbytery space from the nave designated for the commoners – permits the presence of the people yet keeps them at a distance."; Accarie, 2006, p. 27. See also: Bela, 1990, p. 26; Brooks, 1921, p. 42; Chambers, 1957, pp. 20-21; Diller, 1992, pp. 3-4; Snoek, 1995, pp. 275, 370. See also: Bedingfield, 2002, p. 98; Sputrell, 1992, p. 167.

[40] The removal of the faithful from the church during the *Depositio Crucis* is recommended in, among others, the *Missale Cracoviense* of 1509: "Exclusis utaten populo atuu Communionem de Ecclesia PRELATUS accepto Corpore Christi quod remanet, deponit ad locum pristinum, et aliis PRESBYTERIS Communionem cantentibus [...]"; Lewański, 1966, p. 47; Lewański, 1999, p. 253. See also: Michalak, 1939, p. 205. See also the decision of the Synod of Worms, which took place in 1316: "Cum a nostris antecessoribus ad nos usque pervenerit, ut in sacra nocte Dominicae Resurrectionis ad sustollendam Crucifixi Imaginem de Sepulcro, ubi in Parascove locata fuerat,

strengthen the clergy members' feeling of being part of an exceptional event, known to them from the pages of the Holy Bible but in a way taking place in reality.[42] It should be noted here that the situation in which the faithful were once again invited to watch the subsequent stages of the ceremony did not automatically lead to a division of those gathered inside the church into those who are purely viewers and those who are actors, or into audience and stage.[43]

trinita vitiorum et mulierum numerosita certatim sese comprehendo, ecclesiam simul cum canonicis et vicariis introite nitamur, opitantes errenee quod, si viderent Crucifixi Imaginem suatolli, evaderent hoc anno inevitabilem mortis horam, his itaque obviantes statuimus, ut Resurrectionis mysterium anni ingressuram plebis in occlasionem pietates peragitur."; Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 553; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. II, 1976, p. 492.

[42] Father Zenon Modzelewski interprets the leading out of the faithful from the church during the *Depositio Crucis* as an expression of the desire to bestow a convention of mimicry to the ceremony: "[...] as far as form is concerned, at least in a negative way, it was attempted to maintain a mimicry convention. When those only a small handful of friends took part in Christ's burial. The ceremony latches on to this account and that is why the older records do now allow the participation of the people in the burial ceremony. The instructions strongly emphasise that it all must take place 'expulso populo et ianuis clausis.'"; Modzelewski, 1964, p. 50. Julian Lewański expresses a similar opinion: "It is not clear why certain records order the ceremony [*Depositio Crucis*] to be conducted after the removal of the faithful from the church. One explanation is connected to [...] the tendency to treat this ceremony in a more theatrical way. That is to say, since only a small number of people – Joseph, Nicodemus and perhaps the Marys – were present at Christ's burial, it is appropriate, for the sake of historic accuracy, to limit the participation in this ceremony to only the clergy."; Lewański, 1966, p. 48. It is worthwhile to consider if indeed the removal of the faithful from the church during Holy Week theatricalised liturgical ceremonies was a manifestation of a mimicry convention. In reality, though, the goal may not only have been to simply create a convincing theatrical scene, but rather to strengthen the impact of subsequent stages of the ceremony on those actively participating in it and creating the impression that they were taking part in actually occurring real-time events. With the faithful – the ceremony's least active spectators, largely just watching the actions of the clergy – being led out of the church during the *Depositio Crucis* became more of a ceremony and not simply a theatrical play. Cf. Pascal, 1941, pp. 379-381; Sremmler, 1970, passim.

[43] In this context, it is especially worthwhile to recall the opinion of Julian Lewański regarding the immanent features of the dramatisation and liturgical dramas: "It is time to clarify that we set yet another situation which is also unique among cultural phenomena. The audience to this strange theatre is both a part of the presentation and absent from the presentation. The spectators are integrally connected to the performance; are even participants. It is they who bring it to life and, in a sense, concelebrate it. There are three categories of this participation: the laypeople, once more referred to as the people (*populus*) in the manuscripts, watching only some of the scenes and no doubt understanding the meaning. They participate by their presence alone, in their position at certain moments, their acceptance of blessings, their following in the procession, and finally, their readiness for prayer. The second type of participation in the dramatisation is that of the clergy, the seminarians and singers, who, knowing Latin, can fully perceive all the ceremony's ideological and artistic meaning. This depends on one's level of education and intellectual sensitivity – in the larger colleges, cathedrals and monasteries they number up to one hundred – it was not a small group. Finally, the third type is that which performs the ceremony: the bishop, the canon college, the prelates and the singers (*schola, psori*) – they performed a very important act of prayer. Most likely, it is they, along with the better educated spectators, who were able to fully comprehend the event and experience, both through emotion and prayer, the highest number of the numerous connections between theatricalised liturgical ceremonies and the rest of the liturgy. The uniqueness

Even the fact that the *paschal triduum* ceremonials could play a didactic role, did not necessarily weaken their relations with the liturgy.[64]

The liturgical nature of these celebrations is also evident in the use of the space, garments and objects normally employed during the liturgy — we are referring here to the church interiors, liturgical vestments, censers, etc.[65] The amount of props used exclusively during the Holy Week ceremonies was minor and included, among other things, the rock for sealing the Sepulchre during *Depositio Crucis*. In addition, the movements, gestures and chanting were predominantly liturgical, not theatrical in nature.[66]

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of this religious theatre resulted mainly from the fact that the majority of the signification, both verbal and gestural (visual), had a double meaning. A young chorister approaching the crucifix in order to place a bunch of catkin branches at the foot of the crucifix is obviously paying homage to Jesus, but in the context of the re-enacted Palm Procession his gestures display an homage which was paid by Jewish boys in Jerusalem. Still other meanings are present in this act – it was one of the elements in the ceremony of greeting the King. After all, the Son of David rode in on a donkey, as had been sung in antiphon a moment earlier and as would later be sung in the hymn about the king's banners. [...] It is difficult to imagine that it would be possible to gather an audience with as broad an abundance of knowledge; desire for accurate interpretation, emotional engagement, and constant transformation of communication from theatrical to pious as was done in the Middle Ages."; Lewański, 1999, pp. 24-25. See also remarks of M. Bradford Bedingfield (Bedingfield, 2002, passim, in particular pp. 21-22, 55-56, 65, 95-106, 131-135) and Bob Scribner (Scribner, 2001, p. 93).

[64] In the context of ceremony records contained in the *Regularis Concordia*, Clifford Davidson states: "The early examples, sometimes marginalized in modern commentary as *paraliturgical* or *extraliturgical*, were developed as ceremonies that reinforced the liturgy and made the presentation of events at the center of sacred history more vivid, especially for the unlearned and for neophytes."; Davidson, 2003a, p. 199 (see also the following pages of the article as well as: Bedingfield, 2002, passim, in particular pp. 55-57, 131-132).

[65] On this topic, see above all the in-depth study by Dunbar H. Ogden: Ogden, 2002. See also: Bärsch, 1998, pp. 163-186; Davidson, 1991, pp. 7-18; Dziechciaruk-Jędrak, 1989, p. 142; Evans, 1955, pp. 52-54; Kobialka, 2000, pp. 128-148; Massip, 1984, passim, especially pp. 37-53; Massip, 2000, pp. 9-27; Niehoff, 1990, pp. 7-68; Parker Mclachlan, 2001, pp. 415-420; Petersen, 2004, passim, especially pp. 76-111; Pochat, 1990, passim; Rava, 1939; Revol, 1999, pp. 37-64; Swanson, 1992, pp. 239-253; Szpilewska, 2002, pp. 81-108; Tripps, 2000b, pp. 235-247; Wasson, 1997, pp. 25-38.

[66] Chambers, 1957, pp. 34-35; Davidson, 2003a, pp. 199-200; Lewański, 1966, pp. 12-13, 25, 26, 30, 58; McGee, 1976, pp. 1-29; Modzelewski, 1964, pp. 8-20, 50-51; Ogden, 1999, pp. 17-57; Ogden, 2001, pp. 26-47; Ogden, 2002; Paterno, 1989, passim; Petersen, 1996, pp. 181-204; Petersen, 2004, passim; Szpilewska, 2002, pp. 81-108. Recapitulating the above considerations, it is worth quoting Eva Castro, who makes the following claim about theatricalised liturgical ceremonies of Holy Week: "El hecho de que podamos reconocer en esas antiguas manifestaciones de la liturgia categorías bien definidas por nuestra competencia literaria y estética, posibilita que dichas composiciones sean actualizadas con frecuencia como espectáculos teatrales para compañías de actores profesionales o aficionados. Pero ello no implica que esa fuera la génesis del drama litúrgico, ni la intención primera de sus creadores medievales, ni el horizonte de expectativa de sus contemporáneos; por el contrario, todo parece indicar – y así se empieza a reconocer en la actualidad – que ni los autores, ni los actuantes ni el 'público' del drama litúrgico percibían en él una manifestación teatral ajena a la dramaticidad propia de la liturgia, sino que lo entendían y sentían como una

The direct relations between the theatricalised ceremonies of the *paschal triduum* and the liturgy are best demonstrated in *das Kreuzabnahmespiel* from Wels and *Passionspiel aus St. Stephan in Wien*. Although, considering the artistic means used, they could be categorised as theatrical works – as they developed forms of the *Depositio Crucis*. Both plays – enacted in church interiors, partially in Latin and partially in German – should be described as liturgical, as they were included in the plan of ceremonies performed in Holy Week, and, most importantly, were treated as an element of the Holy Week liturgy by both laymen and clergy.[47] Thus these productions decisively prove that even the influence of

ceremonia más, engastada en el ritual romano oficial. Numerosos argumentos corroboran esta afirmación; por ejemplo, el modo de identificación por medio de sustantivos como *officium*, *ordo*, *consuetudo* en las rúbricas de las ceremonias oficiales; en el modo de transmisión en fase escrita, que es parejo a las mismas creaciones poético-musicales de uso no obligado; y el 'soporte' utilizado por esa transmisión, que fueron bien los códices litúrgicos creados a tal fin (himnarios, troparios o prosarios), bien los libros confeccionados del rito como graduales, antifonarios, consonarios, etc.; ni su *performance*, que fue en el templo, como colofón de algún rito fijo, y que se sirvió de objetos litúrgicos usados quasi-teatralmente (vestiduras, incensarios, etc.). Es más, la textura literaria y musical de estas piezas fue fundamentalmente escrituraria y litúrgica"; Castro, 1997, pp. 27-28. Cf. Belting, 2000, p. 234.

[47] As regards the ceremonies from Wels, Gesine and Johannes Tauberts wrote: "Es wird also durch den Darsteller des Joseph von Arimathia unter Mithilfe von Nikodemus und einem Knecht eine 'ymago', ein holzgeschnitztes Bildnis Christi, vom Kreuz abgenommen und dann wahrscheinlich in ein Grab gelegt. Dieser höherne Kruzifixus muß schwenkbare Arme gehabt haben, denn wie sollte ein Kruzifixus mit starr abgespreizten Armen in den Schoß gelegt werden? Wurden jedoch die Arme des Kruzifixus an den Körper angelegt, so würde der Darsteller der Maria mit dem Bildnis eine 'Pietà'-Gruppe ähnlich. In solch einem Fall würde das Spiel des zur Darstellung der Pietà verwendeten Bildnisses dar Witzenburg auf eine Bahre (feretrum) gelegt und mit einem im süddeutschen Raum weit verbreiteten Gesang die Prozession beginnen. Es darf wohl angenommen werden, daß diese Prozession am Hl. Grabe, d. h. in der zählten liturgischen Depositio endete. [...] So mag es sich bei dem Welser Spiel um ein eigenes, in sich geschlossenes Spiel der Kreuzabnahme gehandelt haben, die z. B. in Barking, Prüfening, Wittenberg in einer rein liturgischen Feier vom Geistlichen vollzogen wurde. Es wäre dann eine erweiterte, durch handelnde Personen und gesungene lyrische Partien ausgeschmückte Form der liturgischen Kreuzabnahme, d. h. ein Spiel mit ausgesprochen liturgischem Charakter. Im Mittelpunkt des Spiels steht die wahrscheinlich zuvor in der Adoratio Crucis verehrte Kreuz, von dem in feierlicher Form, die Zuhörer immer wieder zum Mitleiden auffordernd, der Kruzifixus abgenommen wird, anschließend auf einer Bahre an den liturgischen Ort des Hl. Grabes getragen, unter den üblichen liturgischen Gesängen, in Tücher gehüllt und nach der Legende ins Grabe verschlossen wird. Die Tatsache, daß dabei offensichtlich verkleidete Darsteller agierten, ist kein Argument gegen den liturgischen Charakter des Welser Spiels, wir erinnern in diesem Zusammenhang an die in 'Judenkleyder' gehüllten Kaplätne" des *Depositio Crucis* in Wittenberg"; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 115 (these threads are expanded in: Taubert, 1974, pp. 80-85. See also: Maisel, 2002, pp. 85-86). Detailed information on plays from Vienna and Wels, see: Kapustka, 2008, pp. 131-164; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 114-120; Taubert, 1974, pp. 53-89; Taubert, 1975, pp. 607-627, in particular pp. 620-621). On the liturgical nature of plays included in the so-called "Debs-Codex", see: Taubert, 1974, pp. 69-71; Taubert, 1977, pp. 32-35.

the mystery play format on the *Depositio Crucis* type of ceremonies did not have to weaken their actual relations with the liturgy.[48]

Therefore, theatricalised Holy Week ceremonies should be treated first of all as a meaningful manifestation of the desire to extend and diversify the liturgy. The intention of the clergymen who created them was not to produce independent dramatic works or pious religious performances, but to give liturgical rites an especially rich and ceremonial form that would encourage deeper worship of God. Their emergence, was, after all, the consequence of a number of other efforts taken to this end. "Cult practises of a theatrical nature can be traced to the 10th and 11th centuries; particularly the dramatisation of Mass readings and the symbolic colours of liturgical vestments. The same period witnesses the development of Gregorian chants and melodic ornaments, such as tropes and *alleluia* sequences (descants), which have been believed to initiate sacral drama. Taking on a more direct approach, there are several 'official' texts from Amalarius of Metz to Honorius of Autun, which encourage this dramatisation. Contrary to other texts, which deplored this tendency, they thereby confirm its presence. The grand period in the history of liturgical drama was also influenced by Cluny, whose style is of an undeniably spectacular nature."[49]

The first signs of the theatricalisation of liturgy can be found even before the 10th or 11th centuries, something indirectly confirmed by the author of the above-mentioned quotation, recalling Amalarius of Metz (775/780-850/852), the author of *Liber Officialis* (ca. 823). In his work Amalarius likened the Holy Mass to a peculiar kind of performance, during which the priest fulfils a function similar to acting. The church interior constitutes the stage, where the Salvation is presented through words, music, gestures and liturgical paraphernalia. Amalarius of Metz obviously did not deny the significance of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or

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[48] As well as in two small drama texts contained in the so-called "Debs-Codex" the plays from "Debs-Codex" seem to be more independent of liturgy than the two mentioned above. But we have to remember the distinct remarks in both texts: at the end of each play respectively *crucifix* (*Commemoracio sepulture in die panaceve*) and *corpus* (*In die panaceve Incipit planctus / circa bonam vendecinam*) should be carried into the church. Both texts also include extensive *Planctus Mariae*. It seems that both plays weren't only pious spectacles. They were staged in South Tirol. In this case it is worth taking potential Italian influences into consideration. The dramatic tradition of staging *Laude*, so typical for Italy (see next subsection), may have served as some kind of example for the authors of the plays included in "Debs-Codex". If so, we may be dealing with plays staged by laypeople with strong support from the clergy. The use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ – which we may suppose to have been a cult object belonged to a local church – also somehow links both plays with ecclesiastical activities and liturgy. It is worth adding here that this type of plays probably made use of the most emblematic, in terms of construction animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. For example the figure from Döbeln in Saxony made it possible to enact not only *Deposition* and *Entombment*, but also other scenes, such as *Piercing of the Saviour's side* or *Pietà*. This was indicated, among others, by: Mateusz Kapustka (Kapustka, 2008, pp. 160-163), Andreas Schulze (Schulze, 1999, pp. 127-128) and Johannes Tripps (Tripps, 2001, p. 232).

[49] Accarie, 2006, p. 29.

the fact that it actually took place, in real time, in the presence of the faithful gathered during the church; he merely drew attention to the power of the images generated during the Mass. *Liber Officialis* suggests that the Church liturgy constitutes a Christian counterpart to classical (pagan) drama.[50] The fact that Amalarius of Metz formulated these kinds of opinions is directly related to the fact that as early as in the Carolingian period, and not in the 10th or 11th century as suggested by Maurice Accarie, liturgy definitely became more theatrical and more spectacular than it had been in the previous centuries. The approach to liturgy, characteristic of the author of *Liber Officialis*, as well as the new form of church rites, introduced throughout the 9th century, created adequate grounds for ceremonies that were performed during Holy Week and produced with full awareness of their theatrical potential.[51]

Adoratio, *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis* never became purely religious performances enacted in church interiors. They maintained their connexion to liturgy throughout the Middle Ages. Even the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which – owing to their dialogue – became transformed, when viewed as literature, into sizeable, independent dramatic works, remained within the framework of liturgical rites. What needs to be resolved is why, as a result of what, and when exactly sculptural representations of the Saviour, and particularly the sculptures of the crucified Christ forming the subject of this study, were first used during these types of ceremonies. The latter were used in the *Depositio Crucis*, as well as in *Adoratio* and *Elevatio Crucis*.[52] They may therefore form the starting point for more extensive

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[50] This aspect has been addressed by Hardison: Hardison, 1969, passim, in particular pp. 37-79. The researcher claims, for example, that the Holy Mass is characterised by a peculiarly understood dramatic construction: "From beginning to the end, but especially during the Canon and Communion, the Mass is a remeorative drama depicting the life, death, resurrection, remeorative of Christ. Although other elements vary according to the ingenuity of the interpreter, remeorative allegory is always present." and "Religious ritual nor the drama of the early Middle Ages and had been ever since the decline of the classical theater": Hardison, 1969, respectively p. 44, viii. Compare with: Schmasberg, 1988, pp. 249-355. On dramatic and theatrical aspects of liturgy see: Beckwith, 1992, pp. 65-89; Bino, 2008, passim; Dąbrówka, 2001, passim; Doig, 2008, passim; Edwards, 1976, pp. 9-31; Fehr, 1887, pp. 358-361; Fichte, 1975, pp. 5-14; Hardin, 1983, pp. 846-862; Knighorn, 1968, p. 23; Lintilhac, 1904, pp. 9-12; Méril da, 1849, pp. 40-43; Paterno, 1989, pp. 41-66; Petersen, 2004, pp. 17-75; Reynolds, 2000, pp. 127-142; Schmasenberg, 1988; Sofia de Vito, 1998, pp. 123-134; Sticca, 1967, pp. 1031-1034; Vavra, 1994, pp. 315-322; Young, 1910, passim, in particular pp. 332-334, 340-341. On Amulatius of Metz and his way of perceiving the liturgy as a peculiar performance see: Berger, 1976, pp. 132-134; Bino, 2008, passim, especially pp. 95-97; Chazelle, 2005, pp. 327-357; Doig, 2008, pp. 129-130; Dox, 2004a, pp. 29-45; Dox, 2004b, in particular pp. 49-66; Kroll, 2005, pp. 458-459; Petersen, 2004, passim; Schnasenberg, 1988, pp. 167-355; Tydeman, 1978, p. 37.

[51] In the context of the writings of Amalarius of Metz, Donnalee Dox writes about this claiming, for example: "Indeed, allegorical explanations of the Mass seem to differ from the *Quem quaeritis* and *Visitatio* ceremonies of the tenth and eleventh centuries only by the degree of conscious performativity the latter events imply."; Dox, 2004, p. 29.

[52] According to William Tydeman, who considered the issue of precedence of *Depositio Hostiae* over *Depositio Crucis*, the cross somewhat visually linked the three ceremonies mentioned (during

deliberations on the use of sculptures in theatricalised ceremonies of the *paschal triduum*. They also fit this purpose because of their distinctive construction which allowed them to imitate human movement. Other figures – Christ in the Tomb or the resurrected Christ – used in theatricalised ceremonies performed during this period of the liturgical year were not equipped with mechanisms allowing for the movement of particular body parts. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were more advanced in terms of the workmanship technique, and as such had greater power to influence the shape of the ceremonies and the emotions of the participants.

Records of the *Depositio Crucis* which refer to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ allow us to conclude that the use of this type of figures did not have an impact on the composition of the ceremony. The fundamental difference with regard to texts containing references to the cross, the crucifix or the Host is – rather obviously – the terminology used. Sources recording the need to use animated sculptures of the crucified Christ usually refer to *Imago Crucifixi*, instead of *crux* or *Corpore Domini*. The description of the act of carrying and burying the cross, crucifix or the Host is usually replaced with the description of carrying and burying an animated figure of the Saviour which had been taken down from the cross.[55]

Adoratio Crucis ever since its first occurrence the cross relics were worshipped, the cross or the crucifix, and not the Host – used in *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Aside from the issue of precedence of *Depositio Hostiae* over *Depositio Crucis*, we can conclude that the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ could have fulfilled a similar function. "It is uncertain at what time or in what place a cross or crucifix became substituted for the Host as the central object of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* ceremonies, or why the exchange was made: suffice it to say that the cross came in time to link together the three rituals of *Adoratio*, *Depositio*, and *Elevatio*, and that the cloth in which it was wrapped, and which remained in the place of reservation when the cross was returned to the altar, became the central feature of another originally separate ceremony performed in some churches and called the *Visitatio*."; Tydeman, 1978, p. 33.

[55] Only small fragments of the text could have been extended, which was attributed to the fact that the act of removing the sculptural image from the cross had to be emphasised. In *Ordo* from *Prüfening* we read: "Quibus omnibus rite expeditis, singulis rursum genua flectentibus, cantor imponit antiphonam *Super omnia ligna cedrorum*, tractim a choro canendam; qua inchoata, Dominus Abbas et cui cum eo Crucem tenuit Ymaginem Crucifixi coram populo de Cruce deponunt, quam Dominus Abbas intra velum ad altare Sancte Crucis pretensum in eodem altari vice Dominici Sepulchri preparato ponit et pannis ac litheis ibidem positis reuerenter operit."; cited after: Tauber, Tauberi, 1969, p. 92, p. 91 and in *Ordinarium Barkingense* we read: "Et choro illo subsequente rerum concinnant, cantrice incipiente. Deferant Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Joseph et Nichodemi, de ligno deponentes Ymaginem, uulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua."; cited after: Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 164. However, taking into account the fact that the number of surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ considerably exceeds the number of records of *Depositio Crucis*, in which we find references to these figures, we may assume that instructions stating the need to use this type of figures during the ceremony were completely unnecessary. This is also proven by the terminology applied in the texts of *Depositio Crucis*. Throughout hundreds of years of the ceremony's functioning no new term was coined than would unambiguously refer to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

The use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the *Depositio Crucis* led to a modification of the ceremony's convention. The sculptural image added realism to the ceremony; there was some symbolic poetics in the laying of the cross, crucifix or the Host in the Sepulchre. The desire to create a convincing image of the *Depositio of Christ and Entombment of Christ* was probably the underlying cause for using the sculptures in question in the *Depositio Crucis*. Julian Lewański wrote,[54] "Sculptures of the crucified Christ include a certain number of figures with movable arms. Hence, following the *impropria*, the figure could be taken down from the cross, carried in a procession to the Sepulchre and then laid in the grave."[55] [...] What we encounter here is a peculiar naturalisation of the symbol. When certain circles decided to change the convention from symbolic-allegoric to naturalistic, funeral services performed over a crucifix seemed meaningless. Since it was difficult to give up the realistic vision of a funeral, the central requisite was changed. The poetics of the performance became more consistent, at least within the frameworks of the adopted objective."[56]

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, realistically imitating the motor functions of a human body, had a powerful influence on the emotions and experiences of the attendants.[57] Additionally, the sculptural representation gained special status in the *Depositio Crucis*, as, in fact, only the animated sculpture of the

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[54] Lewański, 1966, p. 48.

[55] Lewański analyses the course of the *Entombment* ceremony in detail on the basis of the 13th c. *Graduale Rothomagense* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms no. 904), *Missale Cracoviense* (Kraków 1509), the Wrocław agenda from the Wrocław University Library (Ms I Oct. 54, *Rubrics Wratislaviensis*, 15th c.) and *Missale Wratislaviense* from the Wrocław Chapter Library (Ms no. 47ń); Lewański, 1966, pp. 46-48.

[56] Further on Lewański writes: "It seems that this change took place in the face of a choice: one could conduct a funeral of the Host, that is, in realistic terms – as understood by the faithful – of Christ in the form of the Host (then all the funeral-related actions had meaning, even twofold, because in fact, from the Passion to the *matutinum* of Easter Sunday, Christ is liturgically absent from the church); and when, for example, it was physically impossible to organise adequate guards outside the Sepulchre, then a sculpture with movable arms was used." It should be noted, however, that placing a consecrated Host, that is, the living Body of Christ, into a Sepulchre was, as a matter of fact, illogical. This is referred to in a fragment of *Depositio Crucis* contained on the pages of the 13th-c. *Ordinarium Turicense* (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms C. 8b, fol. 52'): "Contra omnem rationem est, quod in quibusdam ecclesiis Eucharistia in huiusmodi archa Sepulchri repraesentare poni consuevit et claudi, ibi enim Eucharistia, que est uerum et uiuum Corpus Christi, ipsum Christi Corpus mortuum repraesentat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum."; cited after: Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 132, 152. See also: Brooks, 1921, p. 40; Brooks, 1928, pp. 156-157; Corbin, 1960, pp. 224-225; Eisler, 1969, p. 238; Kapustka, 1998, p. 59. Laying in the Sepulchre both the Host and an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, which was also practised, can be interpreted as follows: "Because the Host is the living body, and thus cannot be used to depict a burial, this function is taken over by an image, which can be considered a faithful representation of the dead Saviour: it turns out to be the very embodiment of the tormented Christ, something the Host–which was no longer 'buried' but placed in a temporary *repository* – could not have been."; Kapustka, 1998, p. 59.

[57] Kapustka, 2008, passim.

crucified Christ functioned as a character in the drama. It attracted the attention of all the faithful gathered in the church interior and it alone built consecutive images referring to the Biblical narrative. The clergymen conducting the ceremony do not represent any of the figures present during the death and burial of Jesus. It is worthwhile citing the words of Father Zenon Modzelewski, who wrote about the participants of the *Depositio Crucis* and the imitative potential of their actions: "[...] the leading character in the drama is Christ embodied by the Eucharist, the symbol of the cross or an adequate figure. His presence weighs upon the entire ceremony, the more so because several imitative actions and gestures resembling the behaviour of Joseph and Nicodemus or borrowed from the repertoire of ritual gesticulation are performed in relation to the figure or the symbol. There are no references to other participants representing historical figures. Only a 15th-century record from the Chapter Library in Nysa refers to the cross in the following way: ut ponatur in locum sepulcri sicut Joseph et Nycodemus cum sanctis mulieribus sepelierunt corpus domini."[38] But here reference is made only to imitating actions, not to representing persons. Therefore, those present at Christ's burial are only participants in a ceremony, the more so in that their actions and gestures are of a ritual and not merely imitative nature. In any case, the ritual rather than theatrical concept of the figures is also evident in the fact that single participants in the ceremony carry out actions which historically were performed by different individuals. If a celebrant washes the cross, covers the Sepulchre with a rock and seals it, then he resembles in his actions the Roman soldiers, Joseph, Nicodemus and the Pharisees, all at the same time. Therefore, imitative interpretation of these figures would lead to absurd consequences."[39]

Julian Lewański is of a similar opinion. In order to explain the above issues he adopted a surprising, yet apt comparison of the *Depositio Crucis* to Japanese puppet theatre: "The performance [*Depositio Crucis*] is unique in the way it treats characters, namely being devoid of *dramatis personae*. None of the participants wear a costume or deliver their lines. In exceptional situations one can only presume that the person carrying the crucifix or the figure is Joseph or Nicodemus. However, it's hard to imagine that the celebrant sealing the Sepulchre is a rabbi or Pontius Pilate's deputy. From this we conclude that in this performance the celebrant and his assistants do not represent specific characters, but only perform actions, the sequence of which sets forth the drama. It is a special drama, in which the characters are invisible in spite of the fact that they are

[38] The researcher refers to *Depositio Crucis* from: *Missale Wratislaviense* (Colleg. Nissensis), a. 1417, fol. 119[v]-120[r] (Wrocław, Chapter Library, Ms 48 n). Entire text of *Depositio Crucis* published in: Lewański, 1999, p. 239. We encounter an analogous situation in the case of *Ordinarium Barkingense*: "Deferam Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Joseph et Nichodemi."; cited after: Young, 1933, vol. I, p. 164.

[39] Modzelewski, 1964, p. 50.

on stage. The bishop sealing the Sepulchre does not imitate the actions of the rabbi, but presents to the audience only the action of sealing the Sepulchre. Similarly, the assistants washing the crucifix represent neither the Marys, John, Joseph nor Nicodemus, but remind the audience that the body of Christ was washed after being taken down from the cross. To further clarify one might refer here to a similar situation in Japanese puppet theatre, where each character on stage is accompanied by three ningyo-zukais performing all the activities; these operators, dressed in black robes and hoods covering their faces, are also 'invisible' to the audience. Therefore, the *Depositio Crucis* is an excellent action drama [...].[60]

The unexpected comparison drawn by Julian Lewański renders perfectly the functioning of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The figures, personalizing the Saviour in the *Depositio Crucis*, attracted the thoughts, emotions and activities of the ceremony participants, forming the fundamental and single point of reference.[61] Further comparisons pivoting on issues related to puppet theatre will help us fully understand the real status of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the *Depositio Crucis*.

Incorporating animated sculptures into ceremonies was by no means characteristic of the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages.[62] Sculptural images were used in different types of rituals and practises in nearly every cultural circle.[63] The presence of sculptural images and puppets in the ritual is one of

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[60] Lewański, 1966, p. 49. Cf.: "The liturgical enactment of Christ's burial was already known in the 10th century. The author of the life of St. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, states that on Good Friday, after communion, the Holy Sacrament was hidden in St. Ambrose church and covered with a stone. Nothing is mentioned about the people participating in the performance. The performers of the ceremony, although somehow representing Joseph and Nicodemus, never existed in the theatrical way and in fact never belonged to the characters of the drama. The only *persona dramatis* is Christ Himself. Because the Holy Sacrament took part in the performance, the *persona dramatis* was present not through theatrical imitation, but through a specific real presence – therefore, the performers of burial deliberately were not assigned theatrical personalities. Otherwise, two different methods of portraying a character's existence would have been mixed, and that not without a hitch."; Modzelewski, 1964, pp. 48-49.

[61] See also: Belting, 2000, pp. 218-234.

[62] As Lorenzo Carleni and Cristiano Giometti put it briefly: "From the early classical period, monumental wooden *simulacra* representing pagan divinities were set up in urban and rural temples. The Roman historian Livy, among others, indicates that these statues played an important role in sacred ceremonies.' From the temple of Apollo two white cows were led through the Porta Carmentalis into the city; behind these two statues of Juno Regina in cypress wood were carried . The rich corpus of extant medieval wooden sculptures, together with some detailed written sources, confirm the substantial affinity between the pagan and Christian worlds. Obviously the actors change."; Carleni, Giometti, 2003, p. 57. Cf.: Donnelly, 1981-1983, pp. 32-35.

[63] Numerous examples of using animated sculptures in different types of religious ceremonies are given by puppet theatre historians. As regards ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, see: Boehn, 1972a, passim; Byrom, 1996; Early, 1955, pp. 13-38; Jurkowski, 1996, pp. 35-51; Magnin, 1862, pp. 9-34. See also: Elderkin, 1930, pp. 455-479.

fundamental issues addressed by theatre historians, who ascribed the origins of this branch of art to behaviours related to the worship of deities.[64] In the light of our deliberations what is important is that different types of figures, sculptures or puppets have assisted man in contact with the supernatural since the dawn of time. What is more, they themselves were endowed with divine power, or identified with the figures of deities and gods. Bearing in mind the multitude of differences between Christian culture and other religious cultures, we can say that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, used in the *Depositio Crucis*, in their own way also interceded between man and God. Moreover, they could be identified with Him; indeed the problem of idolatry, animation of images, and treating them as miraculous representations which interacted with the faithful, constituted one of the most significant features of the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages.[65]

The introduction of the figures we are interested in into the *Depositio Crucis* strengthened the realism of the ceremony and helped to present the scenes of the *Deposition* and *Entombment* in a more credible manner. This does not mean, however, that the ceremony itself thus became more similar to theatre.

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[64] From the point of view of these considerations, especially noteworthy is the study by Henryk Jurkowski: Jurkowski, 1998, pp. 35–43. In this study, the researcher refers to contemporary religious practices using puppets, characteristic of Asia and Africa. "Using the example of the diverse currently used religious customs of puppets one could attempt to show one of the most important cultural processes in the history of mankind: from ritual to secular use of puppets; in other words, from the sacral functions of the prototheatre to its application in the *profanum* – a pure entertainment". And further: "It is almost certain that the puppet with movable parts originates directly from cult figures, such as fetish, talisman or idol. An idol – a motionless figurative sculpture – depicted a deity or idolized ancestor, or their acolytes (e.g., the house spirit), affixed to a sort of base (pedestal?). The need to mobilize parts of the figure probably originated in the course of interactions between the deity and man. African figures provide us with evidence in this respect. Some of them, immobilised on pedestals, have movable heads and arms. At this stage they maintained their 'divine' functions, which was also proven by their use in many African rituals. In some cultures, puppets were generally assigned a divine status [...]"; Jurkowski, 1998, p. 35. Cf.: Jurkowski, 1970, pp. 23-28; Jurkowski, 1996, pp. 28-34.

[65] This issue is widely covered – not only with reference to the Middle Ages – by David Freedberg (Freedberg, 2005), Hans Belting (Belting (Belting, 1994) and Michael Camille (Camille, 1989). See also: Bernardi, 1999, pp. 6-17; Bracha, 1995, pp. 64-71; Wakelin, 1985, pp. 76-86. A good example of interactions between the faithful and sculptural images of saints, treating them like living human beings is the custom of dressing and decorating. On this topic see in-depth study by Richard C. Trexler: Trexler, 1991, pp. 195-231; Trexler, 1992, pp. 337-364; Trexler, 2004, pp. 15-27. Other examples include small-sized sculptural depictions of Infant Jesus, described by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Klapisch-Zuber, 1987, pp. 310-331): "These objects were considered a practical means to open up the way to God to women and children by exciting their imaginations (ingenuously or deliberately). By the contemplation of these objects, by their manipulation in play, ritual or dramatic fantasizing, these souls of 'weaker' and more 'malleable' constitution were led to a spiritual vision of the sacred verities. Play, dream, and rite were three facets of a drama that was played out between the believer and his God, in which the former gave life to the image of the infant, set it up as a sentient actor, and conversed directly with it." (p. 311). On this topic see also: Tripps, 2000a, pp. 69-87.

The use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in the *Depositio Crucis* could lead to an opposite result – the intensification of the immanent features of the ceremony itself as ceremony. The participants in the ceremony regarded the cross or crucifix laid into the Sepulchre on Good Friday as a sign of divine presence, evoking the figure of the Saviour. The Host was, in fact, perceived as the real body of Christ, though – in terms of visual perception – it did not bear the form of a body. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ showed God Incarnate in a realistic way, in human shape, and as such could generate particularly strong emotions.[66]

We do not encounter situations where a cross, crucifix, the host or an animated sculpture of crucified Christ would be replaced by an actor. Theoretically, an individual impersonating Christ would seem to create the most convincing image of the Saviour's suffering and death, as well as the events directly following Christ's death. However, it is doubtful that the ceremony attendants would identify the actor with Christ. The actor – being a specific person, often an acquaintance of the ceremony attendants – would resemble the Saviour only for a short period of time, within a specific artistic convention.[67]

The faithful attending the *Depositio Crucis*, when looking at the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ resembling – sometimes very convincingly – the

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[66] In this context see: Maisel, 2002, p. 84. However, one has to remember that not all animated sculptures of the crucified Christ showed Him in a truly realistic way. Really strong emotions could have been generated by life-size figures, especially when equipped in mechanisms enabling movement of head, legs or tongue. Smaller sculptures (especially under one meter high), should be perceived as less realistic, not so strongly stimulating the participants of Good Friday theatricalised ceremonies.

[67] This case is best explained by the practise of commemorial mystery plays, usually involving members of the local community, such as the townsmen and clergy. It is difficult to believe that the spectators watching the mystery play failed to identify the characters they were watching as real people, usually people they knew. Temporarily impersonating the roles assigned to them. The fact that representatives of the local communities participated in mystery plays is evidenced by an entry in the chronicle of the city of Metz, referring to the Passion play staged in 1437, pointing at the same time to the dangers associated with being an actor: "And the role of God was taken by a priest called lord Nicolle from Neufchâteau in Lorraine who was at that time the parish priest of St. Victor's Church in Metz. And this priest was in great danger of his life and nearly died during the Crucifixion, for he fainted and would have died had he not been rescued. And it was necessary for another priest to take his place and finish playing the part of God, which priest was one of the executioners and guards in that said play. Nevertheless they gave his role to another and played out the Crucifixion for that day. And the following day, the said priest from St. Victor was restored to health and played out the Resurrection and performed his part very nobly. And this play lasted four days. And in this play was yet another priest called lord Jehan de Missey who was chaplain of Mairange, who took the part of Judas; and because he was left hanging too long, he also was unconscious and seemed dead, for he hanged himself, therefore he was swiftly taken down and carried to a place nearby where he was rubbed with vinegar and things to restore him."; cited, in English translation, after: Meredith, Tailby, 1983, pp. 115–116 (in this publication, numerous other source records pertaining to people enacting Christ in mystery plays). On the method of shaping the role of Christ in mystery plays, see, in particular: Dominguez, 2007; Muir (L.), 1997, pp. 25–50. See also: Robinson, 1991, pp. 176–200.

appearance and features of a human body, could feel that they were really relating with Christ. The figure, which enhanced the realism of the ceremony, had a status that could not be assigned to an actor. Being a cult or devotional object, a permanent element of the church interior, the destination of pilgrimages and at times renowned for its miracles, the figure was perceived as being endowed with special powers[68] (the import of the image grew when it functioned simultaneously as a *repository* for the Host, as it contained the real body of the Saviour).[69] In this context we can conclude that the introduction of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ into the *Depositio Crucis* increased the realism of subsequent stages of the ceremony, it did nothing to weaken its ties to the liturgy. On the contrary, it raised the status of the ceremony and its impact on the faithful.

What remains to be addressed is the issue of when, where and in what circumstances animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were used for the first time. The origins of this type of figures are usually traced to the need to adapt liturgical rites hundreds of years old to newly developing forms of piety

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[68] This is not taken into consideration by, e.g., Julian Lewański, who writing about the function and status of animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, used in Żagań, evidenced by the record of the *Depositio Crucis* in the breviary of the Canons Regular, claims: "In Żagań such two senior canons carried the figure on a bier towards the Sepulchre [...]. Apart from the effect of removing the figure from the cross, equally important are practical considerations. The large crucifix fit into the tomb with difficulty, while the figure with folded arms was easily placed on or inside a long wooden coffin. One can also perceive this action as an attempt to realistically repeat the activities carried out on Calvary – a commendable intention, though shifting this fragment from allegoric to mystery play poetics. When the figure of Jesus was taken down from the cross, it was devoid of its religious significance and became a sculpture, a piece of art, and for our purposes – a silent actor.": Lewański, 1959, p. 62. It is hard to understand why the figure removed from the cross would lose rather than gain "its religious significance". Equally hard to comprehend is why it became a "sculpture, piece of art" only after having been removed from the cross. Finally the status held by animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, used throughout the liturgical stage on the same terms as all other figures of the Saviour hung on the cross, devoid of movable elements, does not permit them to be treated as a peculiar kind of "actors". And as regards the change from allegoric to mystery play poetics – the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in the *Depositio Crucis* could only raise the stature of the ceremony, and not have impact on its secularisation. In this context see comments of Irene H. Forsyth on the use of sculptures of Virgin Mary and Child in the liturgical dramatizations of *Officium Stellae*, performed in France between the 11th and 13th centuries: Forsyth, 1968, pp. 215-222; Forsyth, 1972, pp. 49-59.

[69] "The figure containing the Host can be called Christ's Body, not only through devotional associations caused by the naturalism of the form and unambiguity of function, or pure analogy between the depiction and the sacramental bread, but simultaneously by transferring the power *ex contactu*. The sculpture became a miraculous 'image' by the emergence of a semantic mechanism characteristic of reliquaries, whose constituent example thanks to the fact that they contain holy relics. The figure of *Depositio* becomes, therefore, a reliquary containing the Host – the most valuable of relics. And as such the influential power of the sculpture extends its scope. Christ becomes realistically present in it.": Kapustka, 1998, pp. 60-61. On this subject – but mostly in the context of permanent monumental Holy Sepulchres with figure of dead Christ – see: Abdha, 2003, passim; Kapustka, 2008; Schmidtunser, 2008, passim. See also: Petersen, 2004, pp. 121-124; Tripps, 2000, p. 155.

in the 13th century in Northern Europe, particularly in the German-speaking countries.[70] Passion piety and German mysticism were thought to create the right atmosphere for these sculptural representations of a realistic nature that could strongly affect the emotions of the faithful participating in the increasingly common theatricalised Holy Week liturgical ceremonies.[71]

These ideas, however, are not confirmed by the records of the *Depositio Crucis*. The analysis of the records does not provide any evidence for presuming that the use of these figures in liturgical ceremonies was directly related to then-developing Passion piety or mystic trends. As already mentioned, the texts of the *Depositio Crucis*, mentioning the need to use animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, do not differ significantly from earlier texts referring to the need to introduce the cross, the crucifix or the host into the Good Friday ceremony. Of course we should not trivialise the effect of passion piety or mystic trends in popularising more realistic presentations of the scenes of the *Deposition* and *Entombment* in the *Depositio Crucis*. In no way can they be regarded as having an immediate effect on the development of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Many iconographic themes present in late medieval paintings or sculptures actually owe their existence to Passion treatises or mystic visions.[72] It bears mentioning that the sculptures discussed here do not differ in principle from other figures of the crucified Christ, their only distinguishing feature being the mechanisms allowing for the animation of the image. In terms of style they are similar to other sculptures of the crucified Christ common in Europe in the late Middle Ages.

Most importantly, the oldest animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, either known from sources or preserved, do not display any links with the *Depositio Crucis*; neither do they have any connexion with German-language territory. One of them, which has not been preserved, was used in a Passion play, namely the Anglo-Norman *La Seinte Resureccion*, dating back to *ca.* 1175.[73] Several of the oldest sculptures which have survived to the present day were created in Italy or Spain, where the *Depositio Crucis* emerged late and was not widely used.[74] Some of them constituted elements of monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups – in their case, the possibility of folding the Saviour's arms is the effect of tampering with the works' original structures.[75] In attempting to establish the origins of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, one must

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[70] The shape of late medieval piety and its determinants is widely addressed by: Kopeć, 1975; Kopeć, 1981; Köpf, 1980; Swanson, 2000.

[71] See, in particular: Taubert, Taubert, 1969, passim.

[72] On iconographic motifs inspired by Passion treatises or mystical visions see, e.g.: Dobrzeniecki, 1981, pp. 131-151; Marrow, 1979; Pickering, 1966; Ringbom, 1965; Schupisser, 1993, pp. 169-210.

[73] See Chapter II in the present study.

[74] See: Bernardini, 1995, p. 28; Corbin, 1960, p. 243; Donovan, 1958, p. 21.

[75] See: Chapter II in the present study.

consider the theatrical functioning of the monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups, as well as the potential impact of Passion plays on Holy Week liturgy.

2. The use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in paraliturgical Good Friday ceremonies in Spain and Italy

Monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups were created between the 12th and 13th centuries. Sixty-nine of them survived to the present day, with a decisive majority on the territory of Italy (33) and Spain (30).[76] The oldest of these relics, dating back to the 12th century, come from the Iberian Peninsula.[77] There is no consistency as regards their original location – they were made both for cathedral and parish churches; some were elements of sacral interiors intended for religious orders, such as the Benedictines or Augustans.

Little information is available on paraliturgical Good Friday ceremonies which made use of the Spanish *Deposition* sculptural groups, and most importantly, there are no related records.[78] It is certain that the Holy Week ceremonies performed in Spain in the 12th and 13th centuries were not associated with the *Depositio Crucis*, which was not present in liturgical books from the Iberian Peninsula.[79] We do, however, have at our disposal the texts of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, characterised by a developed dramatic structure and particularly extensive dialogues.[80] The monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups themselves give us a picture of the early theatricalised *paschal triduum* ceremonies. Often, these sculptural groups functioned within the context of other paintings and sculptures – specific in their iconography and symbolism.

The 12th century sculpture of the crucified Christ from the Benedictine church of San Pedro in Siresa, originally one element in a monumental *Deposition* group (other sculptures comprising the group did not survive), can serve as our starting point for the reconstruction of early forms of Good Friday ceremonies celebrated in Spain, and the origins of the animated sculptures of crucified

[76] Five artefacts survived in France and one in Belgium. The primary study pertaining to the monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups is the publication *La Deposizione lignea in Europa. L'immagine, il culto, la forma* (Sapori, Toscano, 2004). It contains detailed information on works of this type: the time and place of their existence, workmanship technique, iconographic features and their function. Additionally, it includes an exceptionally rich list of literature on the subject. See also: Bernardi, 2005, pp. 76-78; Bino, 2008, pp. 218-226.

[77] On Spanish relics, see in particular: Schäfcke, 1975; Camps i Sòria, Dectot, 2004.

[78] The absence of early sources on Good Friday ceremonies, and possible link between monumental *Deposition* groups and the *paschal triduum* rituals, is indicated by: Julio I. González Montañés (González Montañés, 2002, pp. 31-33) and Xavier Dectot (Dectot, 2004, pp. 66-69). Cf. Sanchez del Barrio, 1991, p. 23; Trippo, 2000a, pp. 148-149. See also: Bino, 2008, pp. 218-226.

[79] Corbin, 1960, pp. 120-121.

[80] Castro, 1997; Donovan, 1958; Vila, 1996, pp. 91-109.

Christ. The work from Siresa features a hollow in its back part used for storing relics of the Holy Cross. Inside the church, the work was displayed in a special place, namely in the *westwerk* part, which was a symbolic reference to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. This is where liturgy was performed during Holy Week, and ceremonies referring to the *paschal triduum* events organised.[81]

We can only surmise that the Holy Week ceremonies practised in Siresa consisted of the adoration of the sculptural group, whose most important element was the figure of the crucified Christ containing a piece of wood from the Holy Cross, one of the most significant Passion-related relics. The adoration must have been expressed through appropriate gestures, movements, symbolic activities (e.g. incense), liturgical chanting, and perhaps even specially composed songs.[82] Their content would find a visual equivalent in the monumental *Deposition* group, depicting Joseph and Nicodemus, Mary, St. John, and perhaps also the thieves. Here we would be dealing with a theatrical visualisation of Gospel stories, achieved through sculptural representations, which were passed on in choral pieces – liturgical (e.g. antiphons) or containing only religious content. The *westwerk* itself could serve as stage design for the celebration of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.[83]

Architectural replicas of the Holy Sepulchre taking on various forms in Spain, from *westwerks* to independent chapels attached to the proper church building, were often used as venues for Holy Week celebrations.[84] This is evidenced by,

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[81] On the sculpture from Siresa, see: Español, 2004, pp. 520-521, 543-544; Lacarra Ducay, 1995, pp. 483-497.

[82] In this case the tradition of composing and singing *Planctus* is worth mentioning, see: Bino, 2008, pp. 231-258. See also: Pinell, 1977, pp. 127-138.

[83] Francesca Español wrote about the use of the sculpture in question in theatricalised Holy Week ceremonies: "El *Crucifiado del desaparecido Descendimiento* de Siresa, con su reconditorio de reliquias encierado en su dorso, se retuerce en una agonía escenográfica con una peculiaridad anquintcténica bastante excepcional en el panorama hispano: un espacio elevado por encima de la puerta de entrada que permite interpretar como versión atrofiada del *westwerk* europeo. Puede que la reliquia de la Vera Cruz existente en el monasterio ya en el siglo IX, la trasladara a esta zona de la iglesia durante la conmemoración anual de la muerte y resurrección de Cristo. Pero la referencia cristológica no se reduce a la repetición simbólica San Sepulcro de Jerusalén, como ocurría en otras muchas iglesias dotadas de cuerpo occidental. Aunque resulta aventurado pretender tender un puente entre los Descendimientos conocidos y estas prácticas litúrgicas, en ciertos que en el caso de Siresa la abertura que comunica la tribuna con la nave de la iglesia, el propio ámbito elevado, habrían constituido un espléndido escenario para un Descendimiento de la magnitud del que se venera y que hoy podemos evocar a través de una única imagen: el Crucificado de 2 metros de altura, la única que ha conservado la totalidad." Español, 2006, pp. 543-544.

[84] This situation took place, for example, in the cathedral in Girona: "La catedral románica de Girona dispuso también de un *westwerk* cuyo cripo piso ha utilizado como sede de relevantes prácticas litúrgicas pascuales, que ahí acabaron por determinar la aparición del drama sacro. En Girona, desde el siglo XII se configuró la *Visitatio Sepulchri*, el espacio elevado de la torre occidental, conocida como *Sepulcro*, era su escenario. Esta dedicación estaría perfectamente acorde con lo que constataron en edificios de características similares. Como se ha visto, es probable que en esta catedral hubiera un nuevo Descendimiento. Ignoramos cuál pudo haber sido su exacta

among other things, groups of paintings and architectural sculptures adorning these types of structures. The Passion-related themes depicted in these bring to mind direct associations with the theatricalised celebrations of Holy Week.[85] From the point of view of our deliberations, especially worthy of attention is the San Justo parish church in Segovia, dating back to the 12th century, with the adjoining chapel of the Holy Sepulchre,[86] adorned with wall paintings and portal sculpture featuring iconography related to the events of the *paschal triduum*. The church houses the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ called the *Cristo de los Gascones*.[87]

The 12th-century animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, with arms that are moveable in both the shoulders and the elbows, unlike the previously mentioned work from Siresa, did not form part of the *Deposition* sculptural group.[88] The use of the *Cristo de los Gascones* in theatricalised Holy Week liturgical ceremonies is not confirmed by written sources. Its construction, however, leaves no doubt as to the function it fulfilled in this special period of the liturgical year. This is also indirectly proven by the other aforementioned works from

localización, pero no podemos olvidar, ni descartar como posible localización, el espacio elevado consagrado a la Santa Cruz, situado sobre la entrada o abierto hacia la nave de la iglesia donde se custodiaban importantes reliquias." Español, 2004, pp. 545-546. On texts of liturgical dramas from Girona see: Donovan, 1958, pp. 98-119.

[85] "Un grupo de este género habría armonizado perfectamente en ese marco arquitectónico y lo prueba la presencia de este tema (o secuencias de la Pasión, Muerte y Resurrección de Cristo que lo antecedan y sucedan) en otros espacios de una dimensión simbólica equivalente. Es así en la tribuna de *Saint-Jean-sur-Gartempe*, cuya decoración pictórica abarca un amplio ciclo de este género y donde el Descendimiento – y su Crucifixión – se ubica en el tímpano de la abertura que da sobre la nave de la iglesia. Saint-Jean Le Liget, una réplica arquitectónica del Santo Sepulcro de Jerusalén, se decora con un ciclo de pinturas que incluye la Natividad junto a la Dormición de la Virgen. Los dos únicos episodios alusivos a la Pasión corresponden al Descendimiento y la Resurrección de Cristo, en la iglesia del Santo Sepulcro de Torres del Río, en Navarra, de nuevo un edificio de planta centralizada duplicación del de Tierra Santa, los dos capiteles situados en el arco triunfal, en la embocadura del ábside, presentan de nuevo un Descendimiento y una Resurrección." Español, 2004, pp. 544-545.

[86] On the church, its interior and liturgical ceremonies conducted therein, see: Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 461-477.

[87] Castán Lanaspa, 2003, pp. 355-356; Schmiddunser, 2008, pp. 22-24.

[88] In the iglesia, se venera una inusual talla de madera conocida como el *Cristo de los Gascones*. Tradicionalmente, se ha admitido que la imagen fue llevada a Segovia por los repobladores de la ciudad procedentes de Gascuña y Alemania, a mediados del siglo XII. Estilísticamente cercano al Cristo de Ohe (Burgos), la singularidad del Cristo segoviano radica en un tipo de imagen yacente de características románicas si por lo tanto, cronológicamente temprana en relación a la posterior popularización de esta representación cristológica. Creció no con certeza y está articulado de hombros y codos, evidenciando su participación en una liturgia de Semana Santa. El Cristo de los Gascones debió jugar un papel primordial en la representación paratextual de la Pasión, ceremonia que podemos suponer integrada por la Pasión – como revelan las perforaciones de los pies – el Descendimiento, la Lamentación, el Santo Entierro y una *Visitatio Sepulchri*." Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 463-464. See also: Schmiddunser, 2008, p. 22-24.

the San Justo church. The apse, located in the building's eastern part, features a group of paintings focussing on the victorious suffering of the Saviour. The central scene, *Maiestas Domini*, is accompanied by the scenes of the *Last Supper*, *Arrest of Christ*, *Crucifixion* and *Deposition from the Cross*.[89] The tympanum in the portal leading to the Holy Sepulchre chapel includes an exceptional – in iconographic terms – representation of the transfer of the relics of the Holy Cross by St. Helen to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem;[90] its composition is related to the scenes depicting the *Three Marys at the Tomb*.[91]

The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was the most important cult object of the San Justo church in Segovia. The *Cristo de los Gascones*, like the figure from Siresa, most probably functioned as a reliquary: "La talla del Cristo segoviano debió adquirir connotaciones cuasi reliquarias y ser venerado como tal".[92] That is why it was displayed above the main altar, somehow against the

[89] "Mientras en el cascarón de la bóveda se ubicó una *maiestas Domini* de carácter apocalíptico, en el tramo recto y en el cilindro absidial se realizó un ciclo dedicado a la Pasión de Cristo, poco habitual en esta zona de la iglesia. El tramo recto presenta a izquierda y derecha, respectivamente, la Santa Cena y una detallada escena del Prendimiento, mientras en el cilindro absidial se situaron la Crucifixión y el Descendimiento,". Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 471. On paintings, see: Fernández Somoza, 1999, pp. 227-240.

[90] Details on this topic, see: Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 461-477; Kopański, 1999, pp. 89-92.

[91] "Ciertamente, en San Justo se quiso representar la adoración por Santa Elena de los restos de la Cruz colocados en la nueva basílica del Santo Sepulcro. Con toda probabilidad, el maestro que esculpió el tímpano de la capilla fue aleccionado sobre la escena a representar mas, careciendo de un modelo a todas luces inusual en la escultura románica castellana, debió tomar como patrón iconográfico la Vista de las Marías al Sepulcro, introduciéndose algunas variantes con el fin de evitar la confusión. Estos fueron, en primer lugar, la alegoría de la Anástasis representada mediante un altar con una cruz relicario y cubierto por un baldoquino, junto al que no se incluyeron los habituales soldados dormidos que guardaban el sepulcro tal y como lo exigía la Vista de las Marías. Por otro lado, la aparición de la primera dama coronada como la emperatriz Elena y, por último, pero no menos importante, el papel determinante en la narración, la comparecencia de Judas-Ciraco situado junto a un cáliz episcopal. Elena, considerada como la heredera de la reina de Saba en la historia del *lignum crucis* y a antítesis de Elena de Troya, es representada en el tímpano segoviano como una dama con una copa con nuevas Marías acercándose, esta vez, al Santo Sepulcro de Jerusalén,". Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 470-471. See also: Rico Camps, 2001, pp. 188-190.

[92] Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 472. The researcher did not, for the purpose of his study, personally examine the figure from Siresa or Segovia, which is why he did not ascertain that there was a hollow in the figure's back that could have served for storing relics or the Host ("Desconozco si la talla albergaba en la espalda una teca eucarística, como ocurre en otros casos,"). At the same time he should stress that the disposition of the interior and certain elements of the interior decoration allow one to assert that *Cristo de los Gascones* did fulfill the role of a reliquary: "Esto influenció determinantemente el orden de la topografía eclesial, con la ubicación de una capilla del Santo Sepulcro en la zona inferior de la cabecera,". The influence of the relics on the disposition of a church is conocida desde la Alta Edad Media, al igual que la liturgia, factor determinante en la estructuración de los templos y en su articulación. En San Justo de Segovia, es sugestivo el hecho de la confluencia de varios elementos plásticos y arquitectónicos – tímpano, imagen, capilla y ciclo pictórico – invocando un culto muy determinado,". Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 472.

background of wall paintings depicting the *Maiestas Domini* and Passion scenes. Cyclically, in the most important period of the liturgical year, in the Holy Week, it became the focal point of theatrical celebrations – conducted both in the organ loft and in the Holy Sepulchre chapel – referring to the *Crucifixion, Deposition* and *Resurrection*: "[...] la liturgia teatral llevada a cabo en San Justo se concentraría en la zona oriental de la iglesia, donde el Cristo de los Gascones debía ser izado en la Cruz, descendido y 'sepultado' en la capilla del Santo Sepulcro hasta el Domingo de Resurrección, momento en que se representaría la *Visitatio Sepulchri*: Tras la compra de los ungüentos para ungir el cuerpo de Jesús, las tres Marías se dirigen al sepulcro, donde encuentran a un ángel que les pregunta a quién buscaban, produciéndose entonces un cruce de frases que culminan en el testimonio de la Resurrección. La cruz, hasta el momento depositada en el sepulcro, es llevada de nuevo al altar."[93]

Unfortunately we are not able to state the nature of the ceremonies conducted in Segovia. The first mention of these celebrations, imprecise and lacking direct reference to San Justo church, dates back to the second half of the 14th century. These are the conclusions of the 1375 synod which contain reference to the *Visitatio Sepulchri*: "Otrosi, en las iglesias no se deven fazer juegos, sinon si sean juegos de las fiestas, asi commo de las Marías o del monumento, pero an de catar los clerigos que por tales juegos non trayan el divinal oficio."[94] Since official synod documents pertaining to the method of staging the *Visitatio Sepulchri* treat the celebration as a "festive game" (*juego de la fiesta*), we can assume that the remaining ceremonies of the *paschal triduum* enjoyed a similar, non-liturgical status. The above record refers, however, to the second half of the 14th century, not to the period prior to the 12th century.

The lack of source records pertaining to Good Friday ceremonies means that before the 14th century, the Iberian Peninsula had neither the form of a liturgical ritual, as was the case in Northern Europe, nor religious performance organised by laymen, as was the case in Italy (more on this topic further in this chapter). If the Spanish Good Friday ceremonies had functioned as liturgical rituals or theatrical performances, source evidence would surely have survived. It is difficult to believe that the Spanish Church failed to record ceremonies conducted on one of the most important days of the year, especially given that we do find *Visitatio Sepulchri* texts in liturgical books from the Iberian Peninsula. Religious performances also would have left some traces, e.g., musical pieces composed to be performed in church interiors or documented involvement of laymen in organising the Holy Week productions. Multiple sources of this type have survived in many European countries. Their absence on the Iberian Peninsula proves the distinction of the Spanish customs as compared to those practised in

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[93] Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 474.

[94] Carrero Santamaría, 1997, p. 474 (the researcher cites after: García y García, 1993, p. 351).

other countries of the Old Continent. Considering the lack of any records or descriptions of the celebrations, we can only draw a general conclusion that the Spanish Good Friday celebrations in their early stage were probably based mainly on collective adoration of the sculptural representations. However, celebrative stagings of the *Deposition* and *Entombment* were initiated as early as in the 12th century, which is evidenced by the aforementioned interior of the San Justo church in Segovia, and particularly the earliest European animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.[95]

In light of the research we have carried out, what is of utmost importance is the fact that the desire to carry out a realistic performance of the *Deposition* and *Entombment* was related to the use of sculptures whose construction allowed for their animation. The emergence of this type of figure should be directly traced to monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups. The *Cristo de los Gascones* with moveable arms dates back to the 12th century. Two monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups have survived from those times, in which the figure of the Saviour was retransformed into an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ – we are referring here to the works from Mig Aran and Taüll.[96] Very likely they preceded the development of independent animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.[97]

The monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups are also typical of Italy, where their theatrical use was chiefly related to the activities of laymen – usually members of the various types of religious confraternities rapidly developing in the 13th century.[98] For the members of these confraternities, one of the fundamental ways of expressing religious feelings and piety was to sing the *laude*, lyrical songs describing different episodes from the life of the Saviour, the Virgin Mary and the saints. Some of them assumed the form of a peculiar quasi-theatrical story, or simply a drama, with defined roles, intended to be staged in churches and in

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[95] In this context we should also mention numerous Spanish Holy Sepulchres and figures of the Dead Christ, some of which dated as early as the second quarter of the 14th century. For a detailed study of Agathe Schmiddunser: Schmiddunser, 2008, passim, especially pp. 19-35.

[96] Cf.: p. 41 in the present study. The possible development of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from monumental *Deposition* groups was mentioned by Elvio Lunghi, referring to the example of the figure from Taüll: Lunghi, 2000, p. 106.

[97] Schälicke, 1975, pp. 68-69.

[98] Belting, 2000, p. 235; Bernardi, 2000, pp. 15-18; Bernardi, 2005, pp. 69-85; Lunghi, 2000. It must be noted that *Depositio Crucis* was not very widespread in Italy. Only few records from relatively late periods (the earliest record is dated to the 13th century) are available. Furthermore, *Depositio Crucis* had a particularly developed form in Italy, probably as a consequence of theatricalised Good Friday *laude*. Solange Corbin describes the Italian *Depositio Crucis* as "forme liturgique ornée". See: Bernardi, 2005, p. 79; Corbin, 1960, pp. 20, 22-24, 37-39, 82, 114-120. See also: Cattin, 1977, pp. 243-265.

the streets.[99] The most widespread were those intended for Holy Week, which focused on the suffering of Virgin Mary after losing her Son, or those presenting the stages of the Passion, including the experiences of Mary.[100]

In Italy *laude* developed through the activity of two types of religious confraternities – *Laudesi* and *Disciplinati*.[101] Theatrical pieces were created primarily by the *Disciplinati*, who because of their body mortification practices would give them a special, sometimes drastic, setting practices.[102] The *Laudesi* confraternities,

[99] On *laude* see, in particular, the thorough historical and literary study by Elisabeth Leeker: Leeker, 2003 (also rich bibliography, including specification of published *laude* from the territory of Italy). A rich selection of *laude* has also been included in the classical study by Vincenzo De Bartholomaeis: Bartholomaeis, 1943.

[100] "In einer Geschichte der Lauda bilden die Texte zum Thema der Passion ein zentrales Kapitel, da an ihnen verschiedene Entwicklungsstränge dieser Gattung ablesbaren sind. Die große Anzahl von Passionslauden in Sammlungen unterschiedlichster Herkunft spiegelt den in dem 11./12. Jahrhundert zu beobachtenden Wandel von einer österlichen, auf den auferstandenen Christus konzentrierten Frömmigkeit zu einer Passionsfrömmigkeit wieder, die das Augenmerk stärker auf den leidenden Gottesknecht richtet, wie er bereits von dem Propheten Jesaja beschrieben wird (vgl. Jes. 52, 13-53, 12). Auf inhaltlicher Ebene lassen sich drei Arten von Texte erkennen: Zum einen gibt es Lauden, die im wesentlichen aus Erzählung bestehen, d.h. in deren Zentrum die *Mater dolorosa* steht. Sie beschreiben die Passion Christi ganz aus der Sicht der Gottesmutter und appellieren an das Mitleid der Gläubigen. Der zweite Typ von Gesängen ist stärker christologisch ausgerichtet. Hier werden die einzelnen Kreuzwegstationen erzählend oder in Form eines Dialogs beschrieben, wohingegen sie in den Marienklagen häufig nur als Ausgangspunkte dienen und folglich nur angedeutet werden. Eine dritte Art von Passionslauden stellt eine Verbindung der beiden zeitgenannten Typen dar, d.h. in eine Passionserzählung werden eine oder mehrere Marienklagen eingebaut."; Leeker, 2003, p. 163 (see also further in the text, pp. 163-202).

[101] "Im Zusammenhang mit den religiösen Bewegungen im Italien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts wurde bereits angedeutet, daß sich dort in jener Zeit zwei Arten von Bruderschaften – *Laudesi* und *Disciplinati* – herausbildet, denen für die Entstehung und Verbreitung des Laudenspiels eine wichtige Funktion zukommt."; Leeker, 2003, p. 79 (and further, up to p. 83). See also: Baldelli, 1962, pp. 338-367; Bernardi, 2005, p. 79. Angela Maria Terruggia also points to the "dei Raccomandati di Mara" confraternities which were similar in nature to the *Laudesi*; Terrugia, 1962, p. 435. On the activity of confraternities, see, e.g.: Dehmer, 2002; Gazzini, 2006; Weissman, 1982.

[102] "The *lauda* as a genre developed along lines sharply differentiated not only by geography, function, and time but also by the different orientation of the *Laudesi* and the *Disciplinati*, the two main types of confraternity responsible for the dissemination of these popular vernacular hymns. While Tuscan *laude* of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries tend to be lyrical in style, Umbrian examples of the same period are more often dramatic and closely associated with ritual practices, including the rite of auto-self-flagellation."; Barr, 1991, pp. 11-12. See also: Gravestock, 2006, pp. 138-139; Herford, 1891, pp. 646-673. Angela Maria Terruggia describes *Disciplinati* in the following way: "[...] Disciplinati sono soltanto uomini e certamente si tratta di decade disciplinandosi o, dopo il contrario degli Oratori, durante la devozione che vi è li generalmente il venerdì sera a la mattina della domenica e delle loro laude esprimeva devozione di quelle delle altre Fraternite per quali la laude era una preghiera e una vita della Madonna, al Signore e ai Santi. La disciplina in la flagellatione di Gesù e quindi tutta la Passione e il mistero della Redenzione. Sia per sponarsi a battersi, questa narrazione avveniva in modo più dettagliato con la presenza della passione o la segavanno, le loro laude sono narrazione della Passione e del dolori di Gesù e della loro Madre."; Terruggia, 1962, p. 436. See also: *Il Movimento dei Disciplinati...*, 1962; Linage Conde, 1995, pp. 55-57; Meloni, 1972, pp. 14-98; Sticca, 1970, pp. 149-150.

who preceded the *Disciplinati*, initially focused entirely on singing, and not on enacting the *laude*[103] — traces of their theatrical activity are first recorded at the beginning of the 14th century.[104] Since the mid-13th century, *laude* began to spread through the activity of mendicant orders. The Dominicans and the Franciscans (especially the latter), propagators of passion piety, noticed a definite evangelizational potential in the *laude*. For this reason, they lavished attention on the aforementioned confraternities, and supported their theatrical activities.[105] By the 14th century, this literary genre was already fully developed[106] and had achieved an expanded, entirely dramatic form, mainly due to the *laude*, whose creation was tied to commemorating the events of Good Friday.[107]

In the initial phase of the genre's development, in the 13th century, *laude* were sung in church interiors. Members of religious confraternities performed them

[103] As Angela Maria Terragni writes: "Il titlò di *Laudesi* spetta a quelle primo tipo (formate di uomini e donne), di fondazione più antica e più remota nel loro chiese proprie, ma hanno come unico scopo di cantare le laude alla sera e nei giorni festivi in una determinata chiesa dalla quale con il volgere degli anni, la loro confraternità prenderà il nome. Largomento delle loro laude è il più vario."; Terragni, 1962, p. 435.

[104] Barr, 1991, p. 12. See also: Sticca, 1970, p. 150.

[105] It is important at the outset to note the role of the Mendicant Friars whose use of *laude* and popular sermons in their evangelizing greatly facilitated the dissemination of this poetry. The numerous *lauda* manuscripts belonging to various fourteenth-century confraternities of flagellants – usually under the direction of the Mendicant Orders – are a rich repository of the development of this poetry. *Lauda lirica* (usually short hymns of praise) to *lauda drammatica* (which might vary from simple dialogue to more elaborate and complex dramas with music performed for Easter, Barr, 1991, p. 11. See also: Lunghi, 2000, passim.

[106] In the context of the development of the *laude* in Italy, Elisabeth Lunghi writes: "Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, daß fünf verschiedene Faktoren zur Entstehung der institutionalisierten Laudengesang in Italien beitrugen: 1. Das Wesen der mittelalterlichen Bruderschaften allgemein. 2. die Entstehung von Marienbruderschaften, 3. die Entstehung von Laudenbruderschaften und den Laudengesang spezialisieren (*Laudesi*), 3. die Franziskaner und deren spezifische Spiritualität, 4. die *Disciplinati* und 5. der Dominikanerorden. Bei jeder dieser fünf versuchte ich zu zeigen sein wird, in welchem Maße sie zur Entwicklung der Lauda als Mittel zur Belehrung einsetzt. Dabei darf die Rolle der *Laudesi* nicht unterschätzt werden, da sich in ihnen die Lauda selbst entfaltete. Die Tatsache, daß die Literaturwissenschaft die Geschichte der Lauda um das Jahr 1260 beginnt, muß einer wirklich für die Bedeutung, die *Disciplinati* diesbezüglich zukommt. Es muß jedoch davor gewarnt werden, die *Disciplinati* als die Erfinder dieser Gattung zu bezeichnen. Bei vielen Manuskripten nämlich vergessen werden, daß die Lauda nicht von heute auf morgen aus dem Nichts entstand, sondern daß der Boden, auf dem sie gewachsen ist, schon Jahrzehnte vorher vorbereitet worden war: Eine neue Spiritualität, insbesondere geprägt durch die Franziskaner und durch verschiedene religiöse Bewegungen, bildet die Voraussetzung dafür, daß sich die Lauda um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts durch das Wirken der *Laudesi* und *Disciplinati* als Gattung entfalten und sich durchsetzen kann."; Lunghi, 2003, p. 83.

[107] "Le laude erano prevalentemente liriche, cioè destinate ad essere cantate nel chiuso dell'oratorio o in pubblico durante le processioni, quando il momento drammatizzato della rappresentazione, la martina del Venerdì Santo, quando il racconto della passione di Cristo era affidato a più voci recitanti, con il ruolo prevalente di Maria."; Lunghi, 2000, p. 115. See also: Bino, 1999, pp. 18-39.

against a backdrop of various painted or sculptured representations – including monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups and crucifixes, adding to the expressiveness of the lyrical stories about Christ's torment and the related suffering of Mary.[108] Works of art illustrated and visualised the lyrics of the pious songs. Functioning as cult objects, constituting a special point of reference for the faithful throughout the liturgical year, assisting individual and collective prayer, and serving the liturgy, they were particularly effective at influencing the emotions of the faithful and inspiring them to experience the sacred stories in a deep and wholehearted way.

The increasingly dramatic character of the *laude*, in which the dialogue, from the second half of the 13th century on, became more extensive, and the development of the custom of singing them not only in church interiors but also in the streets, required a change in performance convention. The monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups we are interested in, because of their scale and the immobility of individual sculptures, did not provide the freedom to create pious stagings. Neither was this freedom granted by crucifixes with the figure of Christ devoid of moveable parts, which could not be used in realistic enactments of the *Deposition* or *Entombment*.[109] The sculptures, forming a background for the members of confraternities singing the *laude*, fit perfectly into the convention of this specific story, accented its meaning and added to its attractiveness in their own peculiar way. But when the singers became actors enacting subsequent scenes from the life of Christ and Mary, often before wide audiences gathered in the streets,[110] motionless sculptural representations simply lost their utility.[111]

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[108] Bacci, 1995, pp. 34-35; Bino, 2008, passim; Carletti, Giometti, 2003, pp. 39-42; Gentile, 2000, pp. 166-167; Kapustka, 2003, pp. 261-262; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 115-116; Scarpellini, 1973, pp. 3-31; Scarpellini, 1981, pp. 165-185; Verdon, 1989, pp. 629-631.

[109] In this context, it is worth noting that even paintings, e.g. wall paintings, lost – in the course of transformations related to the way *laude* were performed – their significance and dramatic potential.

[110] Elvio Lunghi writes about the way dramatic *laude* was staged (Lunghi, 2000, passim, in particular, pp. 113-132; Cyrilla Barr (Barr, 1991, pp. 11-32).

[111] This was noted by Claudio Bernardi, for example: "I gruppi lignei di deposizione vengono abbandonati dopo il tredicesimo secolo, perché la loro iconografia non è più così funzionale e narrativa come le nuove forme di rappresentazione della passione di Cristo, sia dipinte che lasciate, influenzate oltre che dalla spiritualità dei nuovi ordini mendicanti anche dalle devozioni delle nuove confraternite di disciplini che si diffondono nella penisola a partire dal 1260 e la cui preghiera motiva è l'esultanate performatività sia pubblica che privata (canti narrativi, processioni, penitenze pubbliche, laude drammatiche).''; Bernardi, 2000, p. 16; cf.: Bernardi, 2005, pp. 78-79. Cf.: "At the turn of the thirteenth century, wooden Depositions lose their function or the devotional forms promoted by the new mendicant orders, such as processions, public penitences and dramatic *laude*. The translation of biblical texts from Latin to the vernacular, and from prose to verse, demanded the representation of the various episodes of the Passion, and not just of its paradigmatic scene. Gradually, static forms of representation developed into more exuberant and choral performances, in which the main character was still in wood but the other roles were represented by living people.''; Carletti, Giometti, 2003, p. 42.

Nevertheless, none of the confraternity members could play the role of Christ. This role had to be 'enacted' by a sculpture, realistic in nature, and at the same time maintaining the status of a cult object, surrounded by an aura of holiness.[112]

The change in performance convention led to staging problems. As a contemporary solution, the monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups could be adapted to theatrical requirements. The desired effect was achieved by transforming the central figure into an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, as was the case in 12th-century Spain. The figure from the cathedral church in Tolentino is evidence of this. The figure, forming an element of the monumental *Deposition* group, taken down from the cross, laid down on a bier and carried in a procession inside the church and along the streets, maintained its status of cult object, and at the same time served as a special type of actor in the Good Friday ceremonies staged by the religious confraternities.[113] Most likely, at the end of the 13th century a simpler and more practical solution was incorporated – religious performances began to introduce independent sculptural representations of the crucified Christ equipped with moveable parts and created with the intention of being used for theatrical purposes.

The use of independent animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, which could fulfil a number of functions other than theatrical throughout the liturgical year,[114] showed the members of confraternities to perform theatricalised *laude*. From the 14th century the *laude* take on increasingly developed forms. They are enacted not only in sacral interiors, chapels or the oratories of confraternities, but also in the streets and city squares. They turn into extended processions, during which pious songs are sung, sermons delivered, acts of mortification and scenes from the life of Christ and Mary performed.[115] These tendencies strengthen in the 15th century, and, in terms of staging, bring the theatricalised *laude*, originally taking on rather small forms, closer to the developed *sacre rappresentazioni*, which were also organised by laymen.[116] The largest number of animated sculptures

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[112] An actor performing the role of Christ in the church, could not have been the object of cult and worship on the part of the faithful: "Nel passaggio dalle croci dipinte ai crocifissi gotici dolorosi, dalle statiche sculture di deposizione dei secoli XII e XIII ai compianti altamente drammatici del Quattrocento [...], dai crocifissi snodabili ai sacri mostri, si evidenzia nell'arte sacra un movimento di drammatizzazione e di spettacolarità che riguarda soprattutto le scene di passione e che tiene conto di un grande limite del teatro religioso: l'impossibilità di usare il corpo di un attore, anche umile, come oggetto di culto e di rinnovata esperienza da parte dei fedeli. I crocifissi snodabili univano invece la fascinazione del teatro con l'aura sacra di un oggetto devozionale." Bernardi 2000, p. 17. CE: Bernardi 2005, p. 84.

[113] CE: Belting, 2000, pp. 224-242.

[114] On this topic, see next chapter in the present study.

[115] Belting, 2000, pp. 242-251; Lunghi, 2000, passim; Sensi, 1974, pp. 139-217; Terruggia, 1962, pp. 434-459.

[116] In this context it is worth quoting a fragment of an article by Claudio Bernardi, pertaining to the ceremonies conducted in Italy with animated sculptures of the crucified Christ: "La vicenda dei crocifissi snodabili non è solo un capitolo singolare nella storia di quel 'teatro delle statue' che

of the crucified Christ originated in this very period. Some are characterised by a unique construction that facilitates not only folding the Saviour's arms but also moving the legs, head or tongue. Thanks to these figures it was possible to realistically present the *Deposition*, *Entombment* and a number of other scenes, for example, the *Pietà*. Those with moveable tongues could even be used in scenes with dialogues intended for Christ, although unfortunately there is no evidence to support this.[117]

Customs practised from the second half of the 13th century in Italy spread into Spain. As little as is known of the exact origin and form of Spanish Good Friday ceremonies performed in the 12th and 13th centuries, those which were typical of the 14th and 15th centuries, and even more so of modern times, show direct similarities to the performances organised in Italian towns and cities.[118] Some of the Spanish ceremonies were based on the pattern of staging the early theatricalised *laude*,[119] others assumed the shape of extended processional

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vede nell'occidente cristiano lo sviluppo prodigioso della scultura, proibita nella Chiesa d'oriente, ma si propone forse come l'esempio più significativo dell'originale drammaturgia del culto e della pietà che nel Medioevo si distingue sia dal dramma religioso che dalla espressione liturgica per il fatto di sviluppare le azioni rituali delle principali fessi cristiane attraverso il connubio di simulacri, immagini, macchine, apparati e attori vivi. Costruzioni non sono propri e Magi del tempo natalizio, calvari e sepolcri nella Settimana Santa, statue della Vergine o di Cristo che salgono verso l'alto per l'Assunzione o l'Ascensione, carri processionali, trionfi di santi, quadri viventi nel Corpus Domini."; Bernardi, 2000, p. 15. CE; Bernardi, 2005, pp. 69-70. In sce scene scene cfr: Ancona, 1872; Bacci, 1995, pp. 31-41; Bernardi, 2005, pp. 69-85; Campbell, 2005, pp. 435-463; Jurkowski, 2006, pp. 2-14; Newbigin, 1990, pp. 361-375; Newbigin, 1996; Sensi, 1974, pp. 139-217; Tripps, 2000, passim. See also: Helas, 1999.

[117] On sculptures with moveable tongues from Pordenone and Rimini, Teresa Perusini writes: "Non è ancora stata fatta alcuna prova di ricostruzione del funzionamento del meccanismo, ma a quanto si può capire, con esso non era possibile spingere la lingua avanti o indietro (per esempio per farla fuoriuscire al momento della morte), ma piuttosto farla muovere come per parlare (per l'affidamento reciproco di Giovanni e la Madonna o le ultime parole del Crocifisso). E suggestiva immaginare che di questo lontano artificio sia rimasta memoria nel detto popolare che il *Crocifisso di Pordenone sabaie* (parla)."; Perusini, 2006, p. 201.

[118] Schmidtunner, 2008, p. 60. It must be emphasised, however, that the number of Spanish sources from the 14th and even from the 15th century Good Friday ceremonies using animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, is not great. We do not, for example, have information on the way the figure of *Cristo de Burgos* – especially complex in terms of construction – was used in Holy Week although we do have at our disposal a considerable set of sources referring to its function as an object of pilgrimage famous for its miracles (Kopania, 2007, pp. 499-502). We can refer in detail to the Holy Week *Deposition* ceremonies conducted between the 16th and 18th centuries; more on this topic in Chapter VI of this study.

[119] This applies mainly to 14th-century ceremonies. Unlike performances in Italy, they were not organised exclusively by laity. Spanish theatricalised *laude* was performed by the clergy, which is evidenced by Good Friday ceremonies practised in the cathedral in Palma de Mallorca. See: Massip, 1993, pp. 201-245; Castro, 1995, pp. 237-239. On other Holy Week ceremonies in medieval Spain, see: García de la Concha, 1977, pp. 153-175; Gibral, 1881, pp. 182-191; Sánchez Herrero, 2003, p. 17; Schmiddunner, 2008, passim.

performances enacted in the streets by the members of religious confraternities.[120] The ceremonies conducted on the Iberian Peninsula were characterised by an especially celebrative form, considerably richer in their staging.[121]

The Good Friday celebrations characteristic of Spain and Italy are inarguably different from those practised in other countries of the Old Continent. The north European *Depositio Crucis* was created in the course of the evolution of liturgical rites, from which it never succeeded in freeing itself. This is evident in the fact that throughout the Middle Ages it was performed only by clergymen, with the passive participation of the faithful.[122] The ceremonies conducted in Spain, and especially in Italy, must first of all be perceived as theatrical. They were created not in order to develop known and practised liturgical rites, but from a desire to create new forms for worshipping God.[123] The credit for the emergence of ceremonial performances depicting the *Crucifixion*, *Deposition* and *Entombment* goes not to the members of the clergy, but rather to laymen who wanted to manifest their faith in this particular way. This does not mean that the performances organised by religious confraternities failed to demonstrate connexions with the liturgy.[124] Ritually conducted once a year, they gained the status of dramatic, theatrical ceremonies of a paraliturgical nature.[125] To

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[120] On medieval religious confraternities of this region of Europe, see: García de la Concha Delgado, 1987; Godinho Vieira da Rocha Beirante, 1990; Linage Conde, 1995, pp. 43-60; Miura Andrades, García Martínez, 1995, pp. 277-286; Sánchez Herrero, 1988, pp. 9-34; Sánchez Herrero, 1988, pp. 426-432; Sánchez Herrero, 2003, pp. 13-66.

[121] Schmiddunser, 2008; Webster, 1998. In Spain, as in Italy, other types of religious ceremonies and performances in animated sculptures were used developed simultaneously, organised by laity: Massip, 1991, pp. 17-28; Massip, 2005, pp. 262-274; Varey, 1957.

[122] Exceptions from this rule are dramatic ceremonies conducted in Vienna and Wels, which – included in the annual cycle of liturgical rites conducted by the clergy – not only were characterised by a dramatic structure, including dialogues, but were also conducted with the active involvement of laity (see Chapter II in the present study). These cases are the only ones that evince the possibility of a peculiar marriage between liturgical rites and the mystery play form.

[123] It is typical that in as much as *Depositio Crucis* was recorded only in liturgical books, the *laude* were included in books created for the needs of religious confraternities who owned them. See, e.g.: Lunghi, 2000, passim.

[124] As Claudio Bernardi claims: "Nonostante la loro graduale drammatizzazione con l'introduzione di statue mobili, lamenti della Vergine o *planctus Mariae*, dialoghi e canti polifonici, le ceremonie ecclesiastiche di sepoltura si mantengono nell'ambito culturale, in quanto eseguite in luoghi, tempi e modi liturgici."; Bernardi, 2000, p. 16.

[125] "Ciò però non è nel suo interesse e la situazione di medietà tra rappresentazione teatrale e liturgia ossia la drammaturgia devozionale. Essa venne sviluppata dalle confraternite laicali, in ambito cittadino e popolare. Mentre il Corpo di Cristo, che risultano le maggiori committenti di *Crucifissi* mobili, Christi morti, sepolcri e scene di l'*Depositione*. Il senso profondo delle forme teatrali e delle devozioni confraternali, con conseguente employe delle immagini e delle statue, è l'accessibilità dei laici al sacro e all'atto rituale riservato, soprattutto con l'affermazione del culto eucaristico, al chierico. L'evento rituale e la devozione non possono essere ridotti a pura rappresentazione teatrale, ma senza 'finzità' e realtà del corpo non esiste incarnazione della Parola."; Bernardi, 2005, p. 80. The fact that ceremonies of this type were commonly accepted and supported by the church hierarchy

a great extent this was attributable to the fact that they made use of cult objects, constituting elements of the church interior, and not only "dramatic props" or theatrical puppets, used occasionally, once a year, during a religious performance.

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ formed an element – completely distinct in character and form – that involved Good Friday ceremonies conducted north and south of the Alps. The sculptures discussed here, which in the north functioned in the context of liturgical rites, and in the south in the context of theatrical paraliturgical ceremonies organised by laymen, in both cases retained their autonomy vis à vis entirely independent theatrical spectacles. The latter could not gain the status of liturgical or paraliturgical performances – as their goal is to depict the sacred events described in the Holy Bible, whose content was supplemented and detailed with apocryphal writings, information obtained from Passion treatises, collections of sermons or *exempla*.[126] This does not mean, however, that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were not used in e.g. mystery plays. Although such situations have been recorded, they are exceptional.

3. The use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in mystery plays in England

The presence of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in mystery plays is a separate issue. We have at our disposal two plays whose staging required the use of figures of the type we are interested in. In both cases we are dealing with dramas written in England: *La Seinte Resureccion* dating back to ca. 1175 and the so called *Christ's Burial*, dating back to ca. 1518.[127] Since these texts were written over a span of more than three hundred years, we cannot claim that the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in mystery plays was widespread or typical of medieval England.

La Seinte Resureccion is one of the earliest dramas belonging to the group of texts written in the vernacular, intended for staging outside church walls.[128] Although some researchers suggest that this text shows immediate ties to the *Depositio Crucis*,[129] it would be difficult to find arguments in favour of this

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was of considerable importance in this case. Detailed description of the status of this type of ceremonies in particular cities and regions of Italy: Bernardi, 1991, passim.

[126] Religious features in theatrical performances were concisely described by Carlo Bernardi: "Vere e proprie rappresentazioni teatrali erano invece le passioni in cui Cristo era impersonato da un attore o luoghi, oggetti e interpreti erano intenzionalmente scelti per la scena."; Bernardi, 2000, p. 16. Cf.: Bernardi, 2005, p. 79. Broad description of medieval religious performances, see: Muir, 1995.

[127] See chapter II in the present study.

[128] Hardison, 1969, p. 253.

[129] The ties between *La Seinte Resureccion* and *Depositio Crucis* have been described by Elizabeth Parker and Charles T. Little (Parker, Little, 1994, pp. 159-160): "The earliest preserved drama text

thesis.[130] There is no conclusive evidence that the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was prompted by the desire to reference this ceremony. The figures discussed by us were not used during the *Depositio Crucis* in the 12th century. And the possibility that the authors of *La Seinte Resureccion* were inspired by animated sculptures then in use in Spain is unlikely.

Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that the figure used in *La Seinte Resureccion* had a status similar to that of the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ used in the *Depositio Crucis* of later periods. The text contains no specific information pertaining to the figure, which most probably was not a cult object, permanently on display in a church. And it definitely did not personify the Saviour. It fulfilled only the function of an actor performing His role – in the scenes following the *Crucifixion* and *Deposition*, Christ was presented not by a sculpted image but by a living human being.[131] In this context the most plausible explanation for the use of an animated sculpture in *La Seinte Resureccion* would be practical and artistic reasons.

The decision to use the figure of Christ could have been motivated by a desire to relieve the actor playing the Saviour, who in the *Crucifixion* scene, and especially in the *Deposition* scene, had no dialogue. It must be remembered that these scenes are lengthy, and the first part deals with scenes directly related to the *Crucifixion* and *Entombment* (*La Seinte Resureccion* starts with the conversation between Joseph of Arimathea and Pontius Pilate). This is due to the fact that the person portraying Christ would have to hang passively on the cross for some time, and then be taken down from the cross and buried – a task which would require considerable strength from the actor and could cause technical problems.

Furthermore, having analysed the text of *La Seinte Resureccion* we can conclude that the author, assuming the need for an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, incorporated a sophisticated artistic device. For a long time, the

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to include an enactment of the *Deposition* is from an Anglo-Norman vernacular play, *La Seinte Resureccion*, thought to have originated in England in the second half of the twelfth century. Ties to the liturgy are demonstrated by the stage directions for a scene immediately preceding the actual detachment of the corpus from the cross by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. In this scene, Longinus, who was blind according to popular legend, regained his sight when he pierced Christ's side with the lance." The researchers words can be treated only as a casual suggestion. Pamela and Little, as a matter of fact, do not present any specific argument supporting the ties between the play discussed and liturgy.

[130] As Hardison points out rightly: "*La Seinte Resureccion* is [...] markedly independent of the liturgical tradition. It has no Latin passages, no suggestion of attachment to a church festival or service, and no reference indicating that it was performed in or near the church. [...] there is not a single suggestion of liturgical costumes, clerical actors, a choir, or such liturgical properties as thuribles, unison, or candles. The movements of the actors are evidently representational rather than ceremonial, and the audience never becomes involved in the play's action. In short, while all surviving Latin Easter plays have obvious ceremonial vestiges, *La Seinte Resureccion* has none."; Hardison, 1969, pp. 254-255 (see also further on up to p. 258). See also: Fichte, 1975, pp. 51-55.

[131] Cf.: Chapter II in the present study.

figure of the Saviour functioned only on a visual plane. As such it constituted
a meaningful contrast to other characters in the play, who moved from mansion
to mansion, conducting lively discussions, gesticulating, and delivering emotional
monologues. By incorporating a sculptural representation, the production made
the imagery of Christ's death more dramatic. And the presence of a live actor
in subsequent scenes could further emphasised the significance of the upcoming
event, namely the Resurrection.

Christ's Burial is different from *La Seinte Resurreccion*. It was not performed in
the urban space; intended for an enclosed monastic order, it was enacted in the
church interior. This does not mean, however, that it should be categorised as
a theatricalised liturgical ceremony. It was meant to function as an independent
drama presented to a small audience, provoking monks to meditational reflections
on the course and meaning of the Passion.[132] *Christ's Burial* was based not so
much on action and dialogues (which were quite limited) but on lengthy lyrical
and emphatic monologues, demonstrating the enormous pain suffered by the
Saviour during the Passion.[133] The narrowed subject matter of the play is the
only feature of *Christ's Burial* that may resemble, albeit roughly, the composition
pattern of *Christ's Burial*,[134] which, in any case, was not performed by

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[132] "An analogy with liturgical drama seems to have been in the author's mind, in the idea of
dividing the play and using the traditional Easter sequences […]; but there is no suggestion of his
having designed it to form a part of the liturgy, either in his own description of f. 140v. or in any
of the directions of the text. Nor is there any evidence from carthusian liturgy to indicate whether
special circumstances might have helped create the plays. In any case they are clearly not a throw-
back to the origins of drama in the liturgy, or in any sense a development from them, but rather,
the dramatization, on an certain analogy, of contemporary meditational materials."; Baker, Murphy,
Hall, 1982, pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix.

[133] Clifford Davidson drawns attention to the meditational nature of *Christ's Burial*. According
to the researcher, *Christ's Burial* shows clear similarities with the type of Carthusian spirituality;
Davidson, 2007, pp. 171-177. Cf.: Baker, Murphy, Hall, 1982, pp. lxxvii-lxxxix.

[134] With reference to *Christ's Burial* and *Christ's Resurrection* included in the same Carthusian
chronicle, Peter Meredith writes: "The style of the plays is undoubtedly unusual. They are charac-
terized by long speeches and very little action, and concentrate upon those parts of the Passion and
Resurrection that were already material for liturgical plays, the *Depositio* and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.
This is not to say that they are like any other liturgical play from England. Rosemary Woolf [Woolf,
1972, p. 332] rightly says that 'it seems clear that the place of performance was a church and that the
focus of them the Easter Sepulchre', but they seem to be plays which spring out of the liturgical
drama rather than being themselves liturgical. In the *Burial* the audience is made to look long and
closely at the meaning of the Passion, and made to feel the horror and the sadness of it; in the
Resurrection it is made to feel, besides the obvious change from sadness to joy, the near despair of
one who can apparently no longer redeem his fault, and the correspondingly ecstatic joy of know-
ing that forgiveness is possible through Christ's conquest of death. The plays are meditational
because it is through the speeches and not through the dramatic action that the meaning is put
across: but they remain plays. It is not quite true to say, as Rosemary Woolf does, that action is
performed only in mime. The Deposition dialogue in the *Burial* is as long and the actions are as
clear as they are in any of the cycle versions"; Meredith, 1997, p. 150. Cf.: Baker, Murphy, 1968,
pp. 292-293; Craig, 1995, p. 319; Woolf, 1972, pp. 331-333.

the Carthusians.[135] In literary terms it is closer to the tradition of lay religious theatre, widespread in late medieval England, including Yorkshire, its most likely place of origin.[136]

By no means can this drama be included in the broad group of mystery plays produced for laymen, particularly town dwellers. Clifford Davidson referred to *Christ's Burial* and to the succeeding *Christ's Resurrection* as "atypical drama".[137] The researcher draws attention to the fact that, "The Bodley *Christ's Burial* and *Christ's Resurrection* are characterized by their strong appeal to emotion, but in other ways as well they seem quite separate from the main traditions of early English drama as understood in modern scholarship. They also differ in spirit from the traditional Latin liturgical ceremonies and dramas designated for Holy Week and Easter".[138] *Christ's Burial* can be regarded as an intimate mystery play, unique in the context of European theatre; it was performed in church interiors, produced by and for the exclusive use of Carthusians, and intended to intensify religious experiences.

As regards the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ used in *Christ's Burial*: presumably it was a cult object, permanently exhibited within the interior of the Carthusian church, where the play was staged. It seems rather unlikely that the Carthusians would use in their performance a figure of similar status to that of the sculpture employed in *La Seinte Resurreccion*. The sculpted image – taken down from the cross and laid on Mary's lap – was to define and intensify the Carthusians' emotions; a figure the monks could pray to throughout the liturgical year was highly appropriate for this purpose.[139]

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[135] Clifford Davidson, on the basis of the findings of Archdale A. King (King, 1955, pp. 29-30) writes: "The *Depositio, Elevatio,* and *Visitatio* of Good Friday were not, of course, included in Carthusian rite, which was held to be in no need of reformation at the time of the Council of Trent since it had not been susceptible to the kinds of elaborations that had taken hold elsewhere."; Davidson, 2007, p. 172 (note 12).

[136] Quoting Peter Meredith once again: "The origin and purpose of the plays is a more difficult problem. They are written in a mixed North / North Midland dialect, quite probably of Yorkshire, and this appears to be original to the plays as well as the dialect of the scribe. In Yorkshire there was still being performed in the sixteenth century some of the finest vernacular drama produced in England, and it could well be that, inspired by the great civic plays, the *Burial* and *Resurrection* were written for one of the great or one of the lesser religious houses in the area. It would be wrong in view of the wide range of dramatic activity that is being revealed at the moment in England during the sixteenth century automatically to assign the plays to York, but that is a possibility – as is Beverley or Hull or Selby."; Meredith, 1997, p. 145.

[137] Davidson, 2007, p. 170.

[138] Davidson, 2007, p. 170. Cf.: Davidson, 2003b, p. 53.

[139] It is worth quoting here a fragment from Clifford Davidson's book, presenting a detailed analysis of one of the scenes from *Christ's Burial*. This scene is the significant role of the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, which functioned in the context of many references: "The lamentations of the Marys, approaching Joseph of Arimathe, thus involve coming before the image of the dead Christ on a cross, for Mary Magdalen says, 'O, god Josephe, approche vs here. / Behold hym wowndit with a spere' [...]. Like Joseph, the plays emphasis on the wounds, which are noted

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ used in mystery plays comple-ment the function fulfilled by this type of representations during the *paschal triduum*. The works discussed by us were, therefore, utilised in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies (*Depositio Crucis*), theatricalised paraliturgical ceremonies (Spanish Good Friday paraliturgical ceremonies, Italian *laude* and related Good Friday ceremonies performed in the streets); and, occasionally, in enactments of religious dramas addressed to laymen or the clergy.

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under the terminology of the 'welle of mercy' [...], invoking the Fountain of Life imagery that was commonly used in reference to the holy blood. This iconography, which appeared in Nether-landish painting and in emblem literature, involved a representation of a fountain that might bring the saving blood of Christ to the people of God. In the iconography the symbolism is Eucharistic in reference to the wine in the Eucharist. In the play it is literally the blood of Christ that is being represented as an object of devotion. The physical scene as staged is at this point not abstract symbolism but a depiction using an image of a 'highe kinge flat hinges befor our face' [...]. It is also not the ubiquitous rood under the chancel arch with its figures of Mary and John – figures almost always present on roods in pre-Reformation parish Churches – but a single crucifix painted to show Christ's wounds that serves as a focus for the scene and the lamentations of Magdalen."; Davidson, 2007, pp. 177-178.

How animated sculptures of the crucified Christ functioned outside Holy Week

R esearch on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ focuses mainly on issues related to the function they fulfilled during Holy Week. The fact that these images were used in theatricalised ceremonies has clearly guided the analyses performed by art historians and theatre historians, who only occasionally reflected on other potential uses of these figures.

As mentioned earlier, Gesine and Johannes Taubert claimed that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were not intended for permanent display in church interiors. They were to be used occasionally during the annual *Depositio Crucis*, which usually assumed the form of a celebration, liturgical in nature. Thus, researchers excluded the possibility of categorising them as devotional objects.[1] Although they did not provide evidence confirming the incidental use of this type of works, confining themselves only to casual suggestions, this opinion became permanently enshrined in the literature on the subject.[2] Those who shared

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[1] "Die nachträglichen Bildwerke waren ohnehin nur für kurze Zeit sichtbar, wurden sie doch im Mittelalter tatsächlich im Hl. Grab eingeschlossen. Das bedeutet, daß sie aus der Gruppe der Andachtsbilder, die wie die Pietà oder die Kreuzigungs-schmerzhaft ganze Jahr über die andächtige Verehrung der Gläubigen erhielten, aus ruscheiden sind."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 113. When describing the sculptures of the Resurrected Christ, Hans-Joachim Krause notes: "Auf das Auffahrtsbild bezogen, obwohl dies bedeutet, daß es seinen Inhalt nach die Andacht in der visuellen Kommemoration des dargestellten Geschehens einschließt, doch kein Kontemplationsbild ist, seiner Funktion nach, das primär wie der Palmeselchristus und das Depositionsbild, sei es nun als Grabchristus oder Kruzifixus mit schwenkbaren Armen – ein tief benutztter liturgisches Brauchbild darstellt."; Krause, 1987, p. 335. While Wojciech Marcinkowski writes: "While we must acknowledge that the distinguishing feature of devotional objects is the permanent access to them, dramatic props were, in the nature of things, used only short-term."; Marcinkowski, 1994, p. 78.

[2] The Tauberts merely emphasise that the majority of animated sculptures of crucified Christ are of low artistic value. Since the theme of their design was consummated in motion, by serving the requirements of theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, the producers of these figures focused mainly on construction issues. Poor aesthetic value in this context could suggest that sculptures of this type were not permanent components of the church interior; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 91, 113, 121. A similar reasoning was shared by Andrzej Woziński sixteen years later. Writing about the figures of Christ in the Tomb, the author freely links with other sculptures used in theatricalised Holy

the Tauberts' opinion did not present any specific arguments supporting the German researchers' thesis. When reading studies on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, one has the impression that the authors of most of these works simply assumed that since these sculptures had been fitted with mechanisms allowing for the movement of specific parts of the body of the presented figure, their quasi-theatrical function was the main, if not the only, function.

Some researchers chose to study less the role of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies than the way they were perceived by participants in these ceremonies. This very aspect drew the attention of Johannes Tripps,[8] who described the figures in question as cult images of an exceptional nature, which constituted an object of mass perception and generated mass emotions only in the holiday season. Presented to the faithful only occasionally and being fully realised in motion, they had a considerable influence on the people.

Undoubtedly, the underlying reason for fitting sculptures of the crucified Christ with mechanisms allowing for their animation was to use them for purposes that could not be achieved by standard figures of the Saviour nailed to the

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Week ceremonies, he claims: "The iconographic and formal orthodoxy of the images of Crucified Christ was attributable to the function they fulfilled. The sculpture of the dead Saviour, serving as a ceremonial prop, came to life only in motion and hence was often made in a superficial, sketchy way. It inspired the audience not through details, but through its general composition. Thanks to a certain peculiar ceremony, when the prop was the leading actor, the sculpture had to be large in order to be well visible. Often, its dimensions were supernatural, as in the sculpture in Toruń [Woziński refers to the figure of Christ in the Tomb in the Franciscan church, see Elżbieta-Raczkowska, Raczkowski, 2005, pp. 181-202], which drew additional emphasis to the ceremony's action. Furthermore, the fact that form was adapted to function was proved by a relatively big and deep wound in Christ's side when the Host was inserted."; Woziński, 1985, p. 33.

[7] As the Tauberts wrote: "Spätestens ab 1350 lassen sich Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen feststellen, ebenfalls ein neuer, eigens für die Depositio geschaffener Bildtypus, der es möglich machte, die Kreuzabnahme nachzuvollziehen. Wie in der Adoratio Crucis die Kommemoration der Kreuzigung, in der Depositio Crucis die der Grablegung gefeiert, so wurde nun darzwischen, in Anlehnung an das biblisch überlieferte Geschehen, die Kreuzabnahme vollzogen."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 120. Elizabeth C. Parker claims with regard to the Bury St. Edmunds Cross and the associated small-size figure of Christ, used during the Depositio Crucis: "No firm decision has been reached as to whether this corpus actually belongs to the Bury cross and, if so, whether or not it was added later. The projection of the cross's central medallion makes it difficult to mount the corpus at the proper height – a special hole was drilled recently for the present arrangement; it may be the reason for the special arm arrangement. On the other hand, the character of the medallion and the fact that it shows no signs of wear suggest the further possibility that the corpus was not always displayed, perhaps only for the Good Friday ceremonies."; Parker, 1978, pp. 95-96. Mateusz Kapustka, however, writes: "Apart from the holiday, [Holy Week sculptures] had no [...] right to exist, they did not participate in church life. Hence, they played a somewhat singular 'role', although one cannot speak here of acting in the strict meaning of the word. Their emergence was rather closer to the primary, magical and authentic expression of the realism of objects."; Kapustka, 1998, pp. 79-80. See also: Kapustka, 2008, passim; Krause, 1987, passim; Marcinkowski, 1994, pp. 78-81.

[8] Tripps, 2000a, passim.

cross. The underlying reason for making these types of figures was always the desire to add a certain realism to specific scenes from the life and death of Jesus, presented during theatricalised liturgical ceremonies or religious performances staged in church interiors, and to make them more attractive visually. This does not mean, however, that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were only commissioned with the intention to make occasional use of them.

The figures discussed herein occupy a special place among sculptures with a quasi-theatrical function. As a matter of fact, the only feature that differentiates them from other sculptures of the crucified Christ is the embedded mechanism; otherwise they represent the same iconographic type, showing similar development phases and characteristics of style. This differentiates them from, for example, the sculptures of Christ on a donkey,[5] which are exceptional in iconographical terms[6] and rely on a single construction variant.[7] In their case both the subject and the form arguably imply a purely theatrical function. It would be difficult to justify the year-round presence of a sculpture of Christ on a donkey in a church. Although they were displayed in churches from time to time, they generally lacked the ability to influence followers in the way characteristic of, for example, devotional images;[8] they could not be used as an element of the altarpiece or a larger independent sculptural group decorating the church interior, etc. The figures of Christ on a donkey were stored in the vestry or other rooms, and occasionally, once a year, taken out to participate in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies or folk religious processions.[9] Meanwhile,

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[5] On the sculptures of Christ on a donkey see first: Knapen, Valvekens 2006 (with extensive bibliography and list of sculptures from all around Europe and New World). See also: Walanus, 2008a, pp. 381-392.

[6] The image of Christ on a donkey was not an independent iconographic motif in works belonging to other branches of art, such as panel or miniature painting; it constituted an element of the *Entrance into Jerusalem*. In fact, we have here an isolated motif being an element of a greater whole.

[7] Early stagings of *Processio in Ramis Palmarum* (Italy, 11th c.) sometimes used panel paintings depicting the *Entrance into Jerusalem*. They should not, however, be linked to independent sculptural images of the Saviour sitting on a donkey, with his hand raised in blessing, which were probably absent in those days (the oldest examples date back to the turn of the 12th century); Jezler, 2001, p. 228; Woziński, 1992, pp. 80-81.

[8] Over the past several decades, features that would make it possible to an expert devotional images from all other medieval art works have been the object of a good many disputes. Some researchers have stressed their certain iconographic topics – ahistorical and devoid of narrative elements, such as the group depicting Christ with St. John the Evangelist or Man of Sorrows – determine the place of a particular piece of work within this category. Others have claimed that it was not the subject but the location – enabling the faithful to stay in constant contact with a painting or sculpture – that decided the character of a piece of work. No matter which opinion we deem valid (and several more have been formulated), the figures of Christ on a donkey do not meet the criteria for devotional images. See: Marcinkowski, 1994, pp. 20-36, 78-81.

[9] In 18th-century Poznań we note a figure of Christ on a donkey belonging to the Jesuits. Since the order's church lacked a separate room for storing the sculpture, a Poznań townsman built an independent stable for it. See: Trajdos, 1964, p. 350.

animated figures of the crucified Christ could fulfil many different functions. Furthermore, the faithful understood and perceived them in a wider context than that of Holy Week.

In 1501, Baccio da Montelupo made, on a commission from Amaddio d'Amaddio del Giocondo, an animated figure of the *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino* religious confraternity active at the Santa Maria Novella church in Florence, an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. Considering its dimensions alone (94 cm in height) we can assume that it was used not only during Holy Week but also throughout the liturgical year – as a processional crucifix.[10] In this context the size of the sculpture would be determined by practical reasons – the figure carried during a procession should be neither too large nor too heavy. This intended use of Baccio da Montelupo's figure is confirmed in the documents of the *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino*, especially the one regarding the presentation of the sculpture to the said confraternity:

> Amaddio damaddió delgiochondo Setaiuolo Vno de[i]nostri frategli dono allanostra cho[m]pagnia delpellegrino questo di 3 dimarzio 1501 Vno Crocifisso Grande dibr. j°3/4 in circha ed è dirileuo el quale è daportarf[uor] quando si ua aprocessione elu lauorato ebnito dimano dibartolomeo dig[i]ouan] dastore damo[n]telupo schultore el quale detto amadio da pellanor didio e per salute dellanima sua.[11]

Interestingly, the document does not mention the moveable arms with which the figure of the Saviour had been equipped. Since Amaddio d'Amaddio del Gioconco commissioned Baccio da Montelupo to produce a piece of work of such a special construction, then the members of the confraternity must have celebrated the Holy Week *Descent from the Cross*. This was not, however, the only ceremony celebrated in the Santa Maria Novella church at the initiative of *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino*.[12] As we recall, expressing and manifesting faith through theatricalised ceremonial processions was common among religious confraternities active on the territory of Italy in the Middle Ages. Other groups of believers, with a less stable formal and legal structure, yet sharing the same ideas and customs, such as flagellants,[13] also resorted to similar means.

[10] Lüner, 1970, pp. 82-83; Turner, 1997, pp. 66-67, 121.

[11] *Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, nr 906, Protocolli di Testamenti e Contratti, 1404-1504*, c. 18v, Archivio di Stato, Florence; after: Turner, 1997, p. 221. See also: Gatteschi, 1993, pp. 57-58.

[12] On the activity of *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino* and processions organised by the confraternity, see: Gatteschi, 1993, p. 57; Giles Arthur, 1990, pp. 336-360; Mesnil, 1904, pp. 64-73; Turner, 1997, pp. 66, 69-70, 120-121.

[13] In the context of deliberations on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, we should mention the *Bianchi* movement, active on the territory of Italy at the turn of the 15th century. During processions, members of the movement occasionally used crucifixes peculiar in their properties. The figure of Christ had a receptacle for blood in its back, which after activating the proper mechanism flowed from the wound in Christ's side. Sculptures of this type had to many overuses

The sculpture by Baccio da Montelupo not only served as a processional crucifix, but also as an altar crucifix. It was permanently displayed in the oratory of the Santa Maria Novella church, used by the members of *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino*.[14] Here we must refer to the statutes of the confraternity, in which we read that the processional crucifix owned by the confraternity should also serve as an altar crucifix:

> Della Insegna, et del Crucifisso, et dellaltare, et del suggello, et de libri. Cap.lo XI [...] Ancora ordiniamo una altare fornito di n[e]ro, et una insegna del n[ost]ro Sig.re Crucifisso bella et honorevole p[er]p[r]ocessione, et uno suggello grande con Chr[ist]o Crucifisso, con lettere dintorno, come dal la Comp.a del discip[u]lati di santa Croce di Firenze, et quattro Libri p[er]l[o]meno [...].[15]

According to J. Mesnil, the fact that Baccio's sculpture was placed over the altar in the *Compagnia di Gesù Pellegrino's* oratory is documented by an entry in the confraternity's inventory from 1520, in which we read:

> Vno crocifisso grande sop[ra] l'altare chonu[n]pa[n]no nero didrieto e p[a]n[n]onero djna[n]zi [....] dua angn[i]ol[i] di gesso dipinti apie didetto crocifisso.[16]

and aberrations, causing concern among church officials. Daniel Ethan Bornstein, who studies the *Bianchi* movement, claims: "The segmented nature of the Roman processions may have been in part to lingering official mistrust. Boniface IX was widely reported to be apprehensive about this confluence of foreigners. Zaccaria Trevisan, the senator of Rome, passed from Coluccio Salutati a glowing description of the Bianchi devotions in Florence, but he showed himself considerably less enthusiastic about the Bianchi in Rome. He took it upon himself to investigate someone who displayed a bleeding crucifix and claimed to be John the Baptist reborn. Carpenters who examined the crucifix at his behest quickly discovered the mechanism by which the charlatan called forth mock blood. Boniface and Trevisan had good reason to be watchful, for in this time of religious excitement, the people of Rome were all too ready to believe in this self-proclaimed John the Baptist and his wonderful bleeding crucifix, or in any other reported miracle. When a rumour of miracles at Santa Maria in Campo di Fiori and at Castel Sant'Angelo flew through the city one night, the streets suddenly filled with torch-carrying Romans, flagellating themselves and crying for divine mercy. In such circumstances, the authorities evidently thought it best not to sponsor a general procession." Bornstein, 1993, p. 100. Elsewhere he writes: "In Rome Zaccaria Trevisan arrested a charlatan who had a hollow cross rigged to ooze fake blood on command. In Florence, according to Francesco di Montemarte, a Spaniard was arrested for working fraudulent miracles with a bleeding crucifix – a trick he said he had learned from a priest at Santa Croce in Rome for punishment. He was also found to have unguents and powders (presumably for use in magical ceremonies), as well as the tools of a cutpurse."; Bornstein, 1993, p. 166. Cf: Dominici, 1933, pp. 204-206. On Bianchi movement see also: Vitali, 1998, pp. 153-194.

[14] The Confraternity's headquarters in S. Maria Novella were built around 1347 in the north-east section of the Cloister, and they included an entryway facing the St. Lorenzo Chapel, a narrow cloister with two altars, an anteroom, and an oratory with the main altar; Turner, 1997, pp. 120-121, Cf: Gatteschi, 1993, p. 57.

[15] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Magliabecchiano VIII, no. 1332, *Capitoli antiche della Compagnia del Gesù*, (bef. 1453), fol. 15v; cited after: Turner, 1997, p. 222.

[16] Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, nr 903, G. IV, G.: *Libro delle inventario delle maserizie della compagnia del pelegrino*, c. 9v; Archivio di Stato, Firenze; cited after: Turner, 1997, p. 221. Cf: Gatteschi, 1993, pp. 57-58; Mesnil, 1904, p. 67.

John Douglas Turner, analysing the above fragment, draws attention to the expression "Vno chrocifisso grande", which does not suit a sculpture measuring 94 cm. At the same time he claims that the information about the ornaments decorating the lower part of the crucifix leaves no doubt as to which piece of work the inventory refers to; according to another source, the sculpture was supposed to originally be present over the altar in the confraternity's oratory in the 18th century.[17]

To recapitulate, the sculpture commissioned by Amaddio d'Amaddio del Giocondo is substantial proof of the multifunctional nature of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. As John Douglas Turner put it briefly: "The identification of Baccio's Crucifix as an altar decoration or as a portable cult object, along with its moveable arms, suggests a grounding of the sculpture in various time-honored, ritualistic traditions: it was certainly a kind of standard behind which the Confraternity members matched in their public displays of penitence; and probably also the central focus of re-enactments of the death and resurrection of their symbolic leader."[18]

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ – being a component of the processional crucifix – were often found in Italy. The large object of this type of relics includes other three pieces associated with the workshop of Baccio da Montelupo: one stored in the vestry of the cathedral in Arezzo,[19] a second in the San Francesco al Bosco al Frati church in Mugello,[20] and a third one found in the collection of the Berlin Staatliche Museen, which owing to its small size

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[17] "According to Mesnil, Baccio's sculpture can be traced through a pair of documentary records of the Confraternity, namely: i) an entry in an inventory of 1520, a 'large crucifix over the altar with a black cloth behind and in front of it' [...]. It would seem that this does not refer to Baccio's Crucifix, which is not large, were it not for the mention of 'two painted *angioli di gesso* at the feet of said crucifix', which is a feature of Baccio's Crucifix. If this document of 1520 does refer to Baccio's Crucifix, it would simply confirm that the piece was still over one of the Confraternity's altars in that year; ii) a notation in the confraternity's records from the eighteenth century, stating that 'The said crucifix [...] is today placed at the altar in the large room at the back of the tribuna of the confraternity' ['detto Crocifisso è oggi posto all'altare della stanza grande di dietro alla tribuna della Compagnia'; see: Gatteschi, 1993, p. 66 (note 8); Mesnil, p. 72 (note 2)]. Presumably this location refers to the oratory mentioned above."; Turner, 1997, p. 121.

[18] Turner, 1997, p. 68.

[19] Margrit Lisner calls the sculpture from Arezzo a procession crucifix: Lisner, 1970, p. 85. Riccardo Gatteschi writes briefly about it: "Ad Arezzo è presente un altro *crocifisso* in legno di piccole dimensioni collocato sopra la pregiato dell'ultima fra le varie stanze che compongono la sagrestia della cattedrale."; Gatteschi, 1993, p. 39. It is mentioned by Turner: Turner, 1997, p. 184, cat. no. 2. Only Lisner points out that the figure of Christ has moveable arms.

[20] The sculpture was stolen in 1979. It was called a processional crucifix by Gatteschi: "Nell'area del Mugello Baccio ebbe ancora occasione di lavorare, nel primo decennio del XVI secolo, dopo aver terminato l'incarico ricevuto dai padri servi per le sculture di San Godenzo. Stavolta furono i francescani del convento del Bosco ai Frati, posto sotto l'ala protettrice della famiglia Medici, a commissionargli un *crocifisso da processione* per la loro sagrestia."; Gatteschi, 1993, p. 70. Margrit Lisner associates the work with the aforementioned sculpture from Arezzo: Lisner, 1970, p. 85.

(54 cm) also must have served the purpose of a processional or altar crucifix.[21] Apart from the figures made by Baccio, the sculptures located in the vestry of the Santo Spirito church in Florence,[22] the San Vincenzo cathedral in Prato[23] and the Villa della Petraia chapel near Florence are worthy of note. With reference to the latter, Margrit Lisner uses the term "Altarkreuz".[24] A large number of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been found north of the Alps. As they do not exceed 100 cm in height, we may assume that they were used not only in theatricalised Good Friday ceremonies, but also throughout the liturgical year – as a processional or altar crucifixes.

The group of small-sized figures contains such relics as the one found in the 1920s in Piraud's collection in Paris.[25] This figure of Christ, measuring 60 cm and made in the 15th century, was fitted with a mechanism allowing for the movement of the figure's eyes and jaw. It can be animated by means of a rope placed in the back area of the cross. The lack of moveable arms excluded this sculpture from being used in the *Depositio Crucis*. Of course the figure attached to the cross could be laid in the Sepulchre; indeed, the crucifix and the Host – manifesting as Christ – would present the primary point of reference for the participants of the *Depositio Crucis*. This possibility, however, seems unlikely. The moveable eyes and jaw only enhanced the sculpture's realism. The absence of moving arms made it impossible to faithfully render the moment of the *Deposition* in Sangemini, created by Giovanni Tedesco, would have worked well in these scenes. The figure, fitted with mechanisms allowing for the movement of the arms and tongue, was suitable not only for the scenes mentioned above, but also for the preceding ones – *Christ's Talk with Mary and John* or *The Death of the Saviour*. In contrast to the work from the Piraud collection, the piece from Sangemini's dimensions are considerable. Elvio Lunghi claims that it is "di dimensioni inferiori al naturale."[26] As such, it was readily visible to the participants of the theatricalised Good Friday ceremonies.

The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from the Piraud collection was most probably not used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies. It rather served to illustrate and render more attractive sermons addressed to a small group of the faithful, as in the case of the "bad thief" figure from the collections of Musée de Cluny in Paris, which featured a moveable head, tongue and eyes. The

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[21] None of the researchers describing the sculpture mentions its function. Schottmüller refers to it as a "Statuette mit beweglichen Schultergelenken."; Schottmüller, 1933, p. 147, no. 7139.

[22] Margrit Lisner refers to it as a "Prozessionskruzifixus mit drehbaren Armen."; Lisner, 1970, p. 97.

[23] Lisner, 1970, p. 60.

[24] Lisner, 1970, p. 81.

[25] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95.

[26] Lunghi, 2000, p. 123.

it was placed on was mounted on a base, which allowed the entire object to be fixed to, for example, a pulpit. The rope attached at the back of the cross and running through the base could be pulled by foot. This construction proved useful for the person delivering the sermon. The preacher, wishing to strengthen the power of his words with a suggestive image, was not limited to his gestures.[27] Although the cross, which carries the figure of Christ from the Piraud collection, does not have a similar base facilitating its mounting to a pulpit, nor a rope that can be operated by foot, it is likely that it functioned similarly to the so-called "bad thief". Considering its lack of moveable arms, it would be difficult to find another use for it.[28]

Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could be included in a processional or altar crucifix, and sometimes serve as a particular type of aid to the preacher. Thus, they were not used only occasionally, but throughout the liturgical year. And in fact, being permanently displayed in the church interior, they could also – despite widespread opinion – play the role of devotional or cult images.[29]

Wojciech Marcinkowski, who rejects the possibility that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could function simultaneously as "props" and devotional images, claims: "The above arguments already indicate a fundamental discrepancy

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[27] "Et des chers détails articulés, qui paraient avoir fort répandus, nous connaissons une naïve et rustique figurine du 'mauvais larron', d'origine auvergnate ou limousine, qui semble dater du XVᵉ siècle. Nous présumons que le prédicateur devait la placer près de lui sur la chaire et qu'au moment impressionnant davantage ses fidèles, soulignant les phrases de son sermon par les grimaces du personnage, il appuyait sur une pédale pour actionner le levier disposé derrière la croix: le mauvais larron baissait la tête, roulait les yeux et tirait la langue, geste caractéristique de la méchanceté.": Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 95. The sculpture was mentioned several decades earlier by J. L. André, who treated it as a depiction of the crucified Christ: "In the Catalogue of the Museum at the Hotel de Cluny, Paris, ed. 1864, is the following entry under No. 3734. Preacher's Christ, in carved and painted wood, of the 11ᵗʰ or 12ᵗʰ century'. To which is appended the following note by Mr. Du Sommerand. 'This Christ, thirty centimeters high, is placed upon a wooden cross, of which the base is formed into a foot-piece intended to be fixed on the balustrade of the pulpit. The head of the Saviour is moveable, working up and down by means of an inside spring, which also moves the enameled eyes and the tongue, which advances and recedes by the effect of a slight pressure. This spring still remains, and can be put in action without the help of the hands, the cross being pierced throughout its entire length for the passage of a rod of iron, which, traversing the foot-piece, is obedient to the pressure of the foot of the preacher'.": André, 1883, p. 279. It is difficult to consent to André's suggestion that the Parisian figure is an image of Christ. The figure hung on the cross has an unpleasant expression, it had hair on its head, and what's more, the tongue does not move in an upward-downward or right-left direction, suggesting utterance of words, but protrudes towards the viewer. Cf.: Chesnais, 1949, p. 79; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 125-126.

[28] The use of Christ figures during sermons was mentioned by Rudolf Berliner: "In Strasbund, Germany, for example, in the early sixteenth century a priest illustrated his sermon on the Passion with the demonstration of five or six doll-like figures of Christ.": Berliner, 1955a, p. 146 (the researcher references the following work: Landmann, 1900, p. 113, note 6).

[29] In this context reference is made to a cult image whose special status is not attributable to the fact the sculpture of the crucified Christ had been fitted with a mechanism allowing its animation.

between the essence of devotional images and dramatic props. Inasmuch as devotional images' constant accessibility should be regarded as their distinguishing feature, dramatic props, by nature, were used only short-term. This mutual exclusion of the tasks means that a given piece could not function s i m u l t a n e o u s l y as a devotional image and dramatic prop. It could, however, be a devotional image and dramatic prop a l t e r n a t e l y.[30]

Marcinkowski oversimplifies the issues related to the status of sculptures in theatricalised liturgical celebrations. By creating strict iconographic and functional classifications of art works he seems to assume that a medieval worshiper also inclined toward this type of methodical and rational categorization. According to Marcinkowski, the sculptures we are interested in could not have simultaneously been both devotional images and "dramatic props" – they could only be devotional images and "dramatic props" alternately.[31] Churchgoers probably refrained from making such distinctions altogether. They had permanent access to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, as most of them were displayed in sacral interiors in the same way as crucifixes with the figure of the Saviour devoid of moveable parts.[32] The works we are interested in were placed in chapels,[33]

[30] Marcinkowski, 1994, pp. 78-79. Underscoring – W. Marcinkowski.

[31] When discussing the changing status of the figures used during theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, Marcinkowski mentions "two sculptures with a confirmed devotional 'everyday' application". These were: "a crucifix with moveable arms (*imago crucifixi* habent iuncturas flexibiles in scapulis) and the *Resurrected Christ*, used […] once a year as props in the dramatic celebration of the *descent* and *ascension* in the cathedral in Halle". Giving these examples, the author of the book refers the readers to an article by Hans-Joachim Krause "*Imago ascensionis*" *and "Himmelloch": Zum "Bild"-Gebrauch in der spätmittelalterlichen Liturgie* (secz: Krause, 1987), where pages 288 and 332-334 are supposed to contain descriptions of the sculptures in Halle. On these pages Krause does not refer to animated sculptures and ceremonies from Halle, but discuses the Halberstadt breviary from 1520. The breviary mentions the need to use an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ during the *Depositio Crucis* (*imagine crucifixi habent iuncturas flexibiles in scapulis*) and an *image resurrtionis*, laid down upon the altar on Easter morning, but says nothing about the sculptures' function as devotional objects. And a relevant fragment of the article pertaining to the *Breviaríus gloriose et pretantissime ecclesie Collegiate Sanctorum Mauritii et Marie Magdalene Halle ad Suderium* from 1532 (pp. 289-296) lacks any reference to the sculptures being used during Holy Week – Krause describes the ceremony of the Ascension.

[32] Some animated sculptures of the crucified Christ indeed functioned (and still function to the present day) in an area which was not constantly accessible to the faithful. This applies in particular to works used as processional crucifixes. The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Arezzo is stored in the vestry of the cathedral church; the vestry also houses the sculpture from Santo Spirito in Florence and used to house the animated sculpture from the Franciscan church in Mugello, which was stolen in the 1970s.

[33] For instance, the sculpture from Schneidheim was stored in a chapel of a local castle (Erdmann, 1995, p. 3; Erdmann, 1996, pp. 19-37; Erdmann, 2002; Großmann-Hofmann, Köster, 1998, p. 93; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 235), the figure from Segovia – in the Holy Sepulchre chapel at the San Justo church (Alcolea, 1958, p. 45; Carrero Santamaría, 1997, pp. 461-477; Castán Lanaspa, 2003, pp. 355-256; de Ceballos-Escalera, 1955, p. 52; Español, 2004, p. 547; Herbosa, 1999, p. 79; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, p. 238; Rico Camps, 2001, pp. 179-189),

in the nave or in the aisle of the church,[34] and even hung from the rainbow arch separating the nave from the presbytery, as did a figure from the Benedictine church in Hronský Beňadik in Slovakia.[35] As such, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could become objects of devotion. Accessible to the worshippers throughout the liturgical year, they must have had an even stronger power to influence their emotions owing to their construction, which enabled a realistic presentation of human motor traits. The fact that they were used in theatricalised Holy Week liturgical ceremonies intensified behaviours described in contemporary language as pious.

Some of the images, by virtue of the iconographic variant they represented alone, could become devotional images *par excellence*. This comment refers to the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ by Donatello. None of the sources permit us to determine the exact original location of the sculpture in the Santa Croce Basilica in Florence, but this most likely accessible, as demonstrated by 16th-century sources. According to John T. Paoletti, who studied the method of displaying near-life-sized sculptures of the crucified Christ in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries: "They were originally not intended to be seen the way we see them today; that is over altars within chapels. This is not surprising since the large size of Renaissance altarpieces filled a good part of the wall space of chapels, leaving little useable space for a life-sized crucifix. The earliest reference to the *Santa Croce Crucifix* in the *Libro di Antonio Billi* (ca. 1530), describes it as being 'a mezza la chiesa'. Shortly afterwards Vasari wrote that Taddeo Gaddi's fresco of a miracle of St. Francis was on the rood screen which divided Santa Croce, and that it was painted above the crucifix of Donatello', implying that the wooden crucifix was in the middle of the church as Billi had written and also low to the ground."[36]

Placing Donatello's work in the centre of the church, directly on the floor or just above it, that is, *de facto*, in the worshipers' line of sight, achieved the goal generally ascribed to sculptures of the crucified Christ. Their accessibility was meant to stimulate piety, influence the emotions of those praying in front of them, and allow direct contact with the Saviour.[37] In the case of Donatello's piece, a factor that could largely determine the state of prayer was the possibility of animating the image. The sculpture from the Santa Croce Basilica in Florence is characterised by a construction similar to that of the

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and the one from Marano in the Santo Sepolchro chapel at the Franciscan convent of San Bartolomeo (Lunghi, 2000, p. 104).

[34] For example the sculpture from the cathedral in Orense (Español, 2004, pp. 546-547; Manso Porto, 1996, p. 452; Hervella Vázquez, 1993, pp. 148-149) or from San'Andrea church in Palaia (Carletti, Giometti, 2003, pp. 42-44).

[35] Endrődi, 2003, pp. 716-717, cat. no. 4.46; Trajdos, 1964, p. 337.

[36] Paoletti, 1992, p. 88.

[37] Paoletti, 1992, pp. 88-92.

majority of the figures we are interested in, the only difference being that it is impossible to completely fold the Christ's arms along his body. Upon removing the nails from the hands and lowering the arms, the resulting image resembles an *Imago Pietatis*.

On the other hand, the possibility of using the discussed sculpture in the scene of the *Entombment* seems unlikely. The figure – taken down from the cross with hands that cannot be folded along its sides – would look unnatural.[38] As we can hardly suggest that Donatello had difficulty designing the sculpture properly, since many less reputable artists before and after Donatello managed to produce the shoulder part in a way allowing for the Christ's arms to be folded to His sides, so that the figure could be removed from the cross, wrapped in the shroud and laid in the Sepulchre. The construction of the sculpture in the Santa Croce Basilica does not, however, exclude the possibility of using it in theatralised liturgical ceremonies. The figure could serve to illustrate the special moment between the *Descent from the Cross* and *Entombment*. We are referring here to the scene where the Virgin Mary and Saint John support the hands of the Saviour, while Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea remove the nails from His feet. This scene could be regarded as a less important fragment of the *Descent from the Cross*, if not for the fact that Christ's presence in this scene has strong associations with the timeless and ahistorical *Imago Pietatis*,[39] incorporated into the group of devotional images.[40]

Not without relevance to our considerations is the fact that some of the monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups portray this very scene.[41] The sculptures from Pescia,[42] Volterra[43] or Valdarno[44] are representative examples of this. As we know, these types of sculptural groups were used in religious performances and liturgical ceremonies, and at the same time were the objects of adoration by the faithful throughout the liturgical year. The latter undoubtedly perceived the sculptures through the prism of Holy Week rites of a theatrical nature. It is

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[38] John T. Paoletti draws attention to this fact: "[...] its arms fold only part way to its sides to create an iconic Man of Sorrows rather than the dead Christ of historical narrative."; Paoletti, 1992, p. 92.

[39] "The motif of holding Christ's hands already occurs in thirteenth-century representations of the Deposition in wood sculpture. In the paintings as well in some of these sculptures the posture of Christ's arms makes the tension felt between his being dead and alive at the same time. For one thing his posture seems to be caused by the Virgin and St. John having taken his hands for another there is a strong suggestion that Christ himself has stretched out his arms."; Ründerbos, 1998, p. 166. On *Imago Pietatis* see an in-depth study by Grażyna Jurkowlaniec: Jurkowlaniec, 2001.

[40] Marcinkowski, 1994, p. 21.

[41] Hans Belting drew attention to this: Belting, 2000, *passim*.

[42] Caleca, Bruni, 2004, pp. 255-273.

[43] Burresi, 2004, pp. 563-572.

[44] Caleca, 2004, pp. 325-337. It is worth noting that in the case of some monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups the only surviving parts were the figures of Christ with folded arms at His side, see examples in: Sapori, Toscano, 2004, pp. 69-80, 99-108, 131-140, 195-206.

difficult to suppose that – following Wojciech Marcinkowski's hypothesis – they treated them as devotional images, or a group of sculptures that could be referred to as "dramatic props". More likely the lyrical scene of Holy Mary holding the hand of her crucified Son, enacted in the church using this monumental *Deposition* sculptural group, became somehow permanently engraved in the audience's memory. As such it could form a starting point for the desire to identify with the feelings of the Virgin Mary.[45] The scene of Christ hanging on the cross, simultaneously embracing his follower, or holding out his hand to him, was among the most popular scenes in the Middle Ages, as shown by both written and iconographic sources.[46] The sculpture of crucified Christ with folded arms from the Santa Croce Basilica could have invoked an analogous image in the minds of the faithful.

To recapitulate, in the 15th century the Donatello's figure formed an element of a crucifix, continuously displayed within the church, which could have been transformed into an *Imago Pietatis* image; additionally, it was most probably used occasionally in Good Friday religious performances or theatrical/liturgical ceremonies. As such, the work by Donatello is not a single one among both cult images, that is works that, "represent dogmas, serve as Holy Mass instruments and are a consequence of liturgical needs",[47] as well as devotional figures, "pious [...] appealing for joint religious experience",[48] which were meant to influence

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[45] The fact that the depictions of the Crucified Christ were perceived by the faithful in a multidimensional way was described in the context of late medieval England by Eamon Duffy. The researcher drew particular attention to the fact that the use of a crucifix or a cross in liturgical ceremonies of a theatrical nature only enhanced devotional behaviours. Mystical visions also owed much to the Holy Week liturgy: "Images of the crucifix were integrated into giving meaning by the dramatic and liturgical use of the cross which is evident in the culmination of feature both of the English drama and, more importantly, of the late medieval liturgy."; Duffy, 1990, p. 22; "The Book of Margery Kempe offers an unrivalled insight into the mental world of an East Anglian bourgeois woman, and reveals a piety exceptional only in its intensity. [...] Typical triggers for the visionary Passion scenes in her book include the Blessed Sacrament and the images of Pieta and crucifix, but most characteristically the liturgical use of cross and crucifix. Her most extended descriptions are explicitly associated with the liturgy of Palm Sunday and Good Friday. [...] On the eve of the Reformation, then, the crucifix functioned simultaneously at the focus both of liturgical and personal piety. There was tendency to collapse the two functions together. Thus some writers offered an account of the liturgical use of the cross that assimilated it to the meditational and didactic use of the cross in private."; Duffy, 1990, pp. 26-27.

[46] "Whereas the motif of the Virgin embracing her Son indicates how one should embrace Christ, the motif of Christ stretching out his arms invites the devotee to allow himself to be embraced. The idea of Christ embracing the pious soul is connected with St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in whose *vita* it is recorded that in a vision he was embraced by the crucified Christ. In the Pseudo-Bernardine text [...] the mystical embracement is equated with Christ's sacrifice on the Cross: 'O how intensely thou embraced me, good Jesus, when the blood went forth from thy heart.'"; Ridderbos, 1998, p. 167. See also: Freedberg, 2005, passim, in particular: pp. 291-296.

[47] Pilecka, 1999, p. 340 (note 77).

[48] Pilecka, 1999, p. 340 (note 77).

the emotions of people praying in front of it. It was certainly not a cult and devotional image alternately, but a cult and devotional image at the same time. And as such it confirms that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ should be treated as works of a complex nature.[49]

Many animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, including the one from the former Cistercian church in Chełmno, functioned similarly to the figure from the Santa Croce Basilica. In the case of the figure from Chełmno we are dealing with a piece of work that became fully realised through Holy Week liturgy, and at the same time fulfilled the role of a mystical-devotional image, especially important for the local congregation. Elżbieta Pilecka, a monographer of sculpture, rightly points out the similarities that link the relic from Chełmno with a group of three figures from the turn of the 14th century kept in the Cistercian Wienhausen Convent. The crucifix, the wooden Sepulchre with the figure of the Saviour and the sculpture of the Resurrected Christ, used in Holy Week liturgy, were the most important cult and mystical-devotional images for the convent: "The cult (Kultbild) and at the same time mystical-devotional (mystische Andachtsbild) images which survived in Wienhausen, were the highest expression of the mysticism of north-German convents ca. 1300. They not only served to illustrate and recreate the events of the Passion, but demonstrated the inconceivable mystery of divinity, and moved the audience deeply by depicting it".[50] In order to fulfil their assigned functions, they had to be constantly available to the nuns. Numerous source documents confirm the presence of the aforementioned sculptures in the convent's church throughout the liturgical year.[51]

The sculpture of the resurrected Christ from Wienhausen possesses a built-in repository for storing relics or the Host.[52] The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Chełmno features a similar repository, which generally gave the figures a special status, as they not only presented Christ but personified Him, constituting an important medium enabling union with God. As Elżbieta Pilecka put it: "Sculptures played a significant and strictly defined part in the mysticism of north-German convents – a sculpture was perceived as a medium through which God's grace flowed down. The figures moved, and even 'spoke'. Definite associations with these sculptures are found in the nuns' recorded visions. The works represented, therefore, a step in mystical experience: from the *lectio* through the *meditatio* to the *contemplatio* [...] The mystical *unio* encompassed a whole set of spiritual exercises, in which the nuns were aided by private prayer books

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[49] It should be stressed that Donatello's sculpture is the only one in which it is impossible to fold the Christ's arms all the way to his sides. The same goes for sculptures from Palaia, Pisa and Spello.

[50] Pilecka, 1999, p. 341.

[51] Appuhn, 1986, pp. 22-30; Hengevoss-Dürkop, 1994a, passim; Hengevoss-Dürkop, 1994b, pp. 288-296; Schmidduuuser, 2008, pp. 26-29.

[52] Appuhn, 1961, pp. 73-138; Möller, 1987, p. 16.

and their illuminations. In the spirit of mysticism understood in this way, the presence of Christ's figure in the Cistercian convent in Chełmno could also have been a figure for mystical union. The Saviour's presence could be felt in an entirely realistic way – He was 'visualised' through a sculpture of a specific type possessing a sophisticated artistic form. This interpretation is supported by the complex genesis of the type and style, and the high quality of workmanship. The emotions evoked by the sculpture – understood in the spirit of 14th-century mysticism – can be compared to the emotions involved in the perception of the sculpture in Wienhausen in the 14th century. According to the records in the chronicle of that convent, the nuns understood the presence of Resurrected Christ, presented in the form of a figure placed on the main altar, to be absolutely realistic. By storing the relics of the Holy Blood and the Host in the sculpture, the True Body and True Blood of Christ were incorporated into it as in the Sacramentarium. Thus, as in the Sacramentarium, Resurrected Christ was present in His depiction. Additionally, the wound hole in the figure's side allowed the participants of the liturgy to experience 'direct' contact with the relics, that is, with the Saviour Himself. The hole in the head of the figure in Chełmno also proves that it stored the consecrated Host or relics. Thanks to the open mouth, eye contact with the figure was almost literal. The figure, taken off the cross and laid in the Sepulchre became Christ Himself."[53]

There are no sources which allow us to determine the original location of the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Chełmno. Elżbieta Pilecka puts forward the hypothesis that it was placed on the inner gallery intended for nuns in the convent church in Chełmno.[54] The proof for this hypothesis is found in the cycle of wall paintings in the church. According to the researcher it does not represent an independent group of paintings. It should be considered distinct from other elements of the church's interior, particularly sculptural depictions. An analogous situation occurred in the Cistercian Wienhausen Convent, where "a complex of cult sculptures and paintings embraced and united the painted interior as a whole."[55] In Wienhausen the cycle of paintings illustrated scenes pertaining to the Kingdom of God and Jerusalem, and was subject to the liturgy of the most important holiday, namely Palm Sunday. The paintings "by their narrative lead from scenes from the Old Testament to Christ's Passion and

[53] Pilecka, 1999, pp. 342-343. Reporting on the course of restoration works, Pilecka writes about the *repositorium* for the Host or the relics as follows: "[...] the head was empty and joined by wooden dowel pins like two nutshells, and the open mouth was hollowed right through. The crown of the head featured a round hole with a dimension of more than ten centimetres closed with a lid, whose size and design prove that it was not a remnant of the woodworking, but a place for storing relics or the consecrated Host in the sculpture's hollowed head."; Pilecka, 1999, p. 325. On the sculpture from Wienhausen and Chełmno and their functions as *repositories* for the Host or relics see also: Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 39-40.

[54] Pilecka, 1999, pp. 344-345.

[55] Pilecka, 1999, p. 343.

Resurrection. The figure of the Resurrected Christ was presented in the form of a wooden sculpture, placed on the altar of the nuns' choir. This was the main 'Andachtsbild' of the convent and all the wall paintings were subordinate to it."[56]

In this way the cycle of paintings on the walls in the nuns' gallery could have been subordinate to the animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in Chełmno. The cycle illustrates *The Song of Solomon*, and depicts scenes from the life of Jesus and Mary, especially those pertaining to the Passion. The presented motifs from *The Song of Solomon* revolve around man's desire for mystical union with God.[57] The sculptural image of God in the form of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, containing relics or the Host, could have been the means to achieving this goal.[58]

The sculpture from Chełmno fulfilled the role of both a cult and devotional image for a specific group, namely nuns from a contemplative convent. To the Cistercian nuns the figure of the crucified Christ could have personified the Saviour whose contemplation would be one of the steps in mystical experience.[59] Two surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Austria could have a similar meaning, yet for a different type of devotees. The figures, fitted with a repository for the Host or relics, came from the Benedictine Monastery in Göttweig[60]

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[56] Pilecka, 1999, pp. 343-344.

[57] On wall paintings see: Domasłowski, 2004, pp. 25-26 and Herniczek, 2009 (including bibliographical data).

[58] It is worth mentioning here that in the High and Late Middle Ages, sculptures which accommodated relics or the Host were especially hallowed. On sculptures featuring repositories for relics or the Host see: Nowróżki, 2004, pp. 120-130; Pilecka, 2008, pp. 257-270; Taubert, 1978b. In-depth information on the methods of storing and presenting the Eucharist in the Middle Ages see: Nussbaum, 1979.

[59] It is worthwhile quoting Elżbieta Pilecka once again, "[...] the sculpture of Christ from Chełmno was too meant to serve 'theatricalisation', understood as introducing the chapel into the mystery play enacted for an 'audience' – as happened in the case of figures in Franciscan monasteries or those organised in cathedrals, parish churches, or even at cemeteries in the Late Middle Ages. It was, however, a 'medium' of mystical experience 'at the foot of the altar', in the spirit of Cistercian mysticism. It should be regarded as functioning within the framework of a celebrative setting of the Easter liturgy in a convent closed for a larger group of audience, where the nuns led their own crusade of convent life on the territory of a missionary state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. This purpose and use of the sculpture would also express the observed duality in the formal modelling – synthetic and monumental forms show that the sculpture functions as a 'medium' in the highest mystical experience of *unio*, while the care for detail and elegant workmanship give rise an earlier stage of *meditatio*, that is, direct, 'personal' contact of a group of nuns gathered at a small choir with the Saviour's figure, has also been incorporated. For theatricalisation of the liturgical setting, a more synthetic, signifying form of sculpture would suffice [...]."; Pilecka, 1999, pp. 347-348.

[60] "Nach dem Bericht des Restaurators war die Seitenwunde ursprünglich offen, sie führten in eine größere viereckige ca. 10 cm tiefe Kammer. Diese Kammer hatte einen Deckel, der in einem Falz lag und mit einem Holzdübel verschlossen werden konnte. Die Kammer war karminrot gefaßt."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 9, Cf.: Migasiewicz, 2004, p. 40. Tanya A. Jung claims that the container was used for storing a liquid that imitated blood and could seep through the wound in the side; Jung, 2006, pp. 121-122. The absence of any traces of such a container which could

and the St. Primus and Felician parish church in Maria Wörth.[61] The first one served a religious order that was characterised by a different spirituality than that of the Cistercian nuns, and the second one was the object of devotional practices of a small community in a peripheral settlement.[62]

The situation in Chełmno, and probably in Göttweig and Maria Wörth, was not exceptional. Other animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, devoid of the repository for the Host or relics, were also worshipped. By this we are referring to a number of surviving works on the territory of Umbria, produced on commission from the local Franciscan convents. Elvio Lunghi, the author of a study devoted to sculptural images of the crucified Christ considered first and foremost in the context of Franciscan spirituality and religious customs, presents a wide overview of their functioning in the Umbria convents. Apart from analysing the way animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were used in theatricalised paraliturgical ceremonies related to Holy Week, which on the territory of Italy were developed to a great extent by the Order of Friars Minor, he also describes their role in the everyday prayer practices of the monks.

Lunghi's research demonstrated that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ often had a special significance for the Friars Minor. The attention given for centuries to the figure from the Benedictine church of San Pietro in Bovara di Trevi, was attributable to the fact that it was associated with an important episode from the life of St. Francis. During his stay in this locality Francis of Assisi was supposed to have prayed passionately in the church. In his prayer he was accompanied by Brother Pacifico della Marca, who, equipped with a crucifix,

have stored a liquid similar to that used in the sculpture from Döbeln, excludes this possibility. The wound in the side is big, so the Host contained in the repository hollowed in the figure's back would be seen through the wound, as the Host stored in Christ's head in Chełmno was visible through the figure's mouth. The sculpture from Göttweig lost its *repository* function in the modern period, which is proven by a thick layer of polychrome covering the wound in the side. The existence of a repository for a Host or relics was unknown and the restoration works carried out in the 1960s. "Bei der Abnahme einer barocken Übermalung, 'konnte eine Kammer im Bereich der Seitenwunde entdeckt werden, die in der barocken Fassung durch Überkitten unsichtbar gemacht worden war' (Bericht des Restaurators M. Pfaffenbichler vom 23. 4. 1965)."; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 9.

[61] Elisabeth Reichmann-Endres writes about the depression in the wound in the side which served as a repository for the Host: Reichmann-Endres, 1995, p. 19. Richard Milesi writes so suggestiveness: "Im Innern der Pfarrkirche ist an der Nordwand der Kruzifixus aus dem beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert – vielleicht ehemals als Triumphkreuz verwendet (in einem barocken Altar eingefügt) – ein Schnitzwerk der höheren Kunst. Besonders der Kopf ist hervorzuheben. In der Drastik des Mundes und der brechenden Augen lebt an der Schwelle der Renaissance noch die alte Schnitztradition der deutschen Vesperbildgruppen des 14. Jahrhunderts auf. Zeitstil und die vormodern-mittelalterlichen Hauptbaupte und das Gebärde der Dornenkrone."; Milesi, 1960, p. 210.

[62] That the sculpture was an important image for the local community is evidenced indirectly by the fact that it was exhibited as part of the altar constructed in 1760; Reichmann-Endres, 1995, p. 19.

experienced a vision of the heavenly thrones.[63] Although the surviving sculpture could not have been the one mentioned in the life of St. Francis, as it was created ca. 1330,[64] in formal terms: it does, as suggested by Lunghi on the basis of Giovanni Previtali's findings,[65] represent features typical of 13th-century works.[66] The distinctive archaism of the sculpture can be regarded as a deliberate measure applied by the artist, who wanted to refer to the cited story from the saint's life. Even if we regard the above hypothesis as problematic, there is no denying that the sculpture was treated by the local community both in the Middle Ages and today as a cult image; it is also a pilgrimage destination.[67]

We encounter a special situation in the case of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ by Giovanni Tedesco. Their origin should be linked with a typical trait of Franciscan spirituality, expressed in an emotional experiencing of the Passion, very popular in Umbria in the second half of the 15th century. According to Elvio Lunghi, the spiritual needs of the Friars Minor were catered to by the sculptural depictions of the crucified Christ, which thanks to Giovanni Tedesco's skills, gained an exceptional dose of realism and expression.[68] As such they prompted emotions from the friars praying in front of them and the throngs

[63] "Questa croce era già nota agli studiosi di cose francescane per il richiamo ad un celebre episodio della vita di san Francesco, ricordata da Tommaso da Celano nella Vita secunda. Un giorno Francesco giunse ad una chiesa diroccata nei pressi dall'abitato, in compagna di fra Pacifico. Desiderando appressarsi in preghiera, ingiunse il suo compagno incendiò a chiedere ospitalità ad un ospedale nei dintorni, e vegliò tutta la notte sotto l'assillo di tentazioni diaboliche. Fattosi giorno, fra Pacifico tornò alla chiesa e trovò il santo abstato in silenziosa preghiera dinanzi all'altare. Restò allora in estasi fuoor dal coro e si mise a pregare con fervore davanti ad una croce, quando fu rapito in estasi vide in cielo un gran numero di troni, in mezzo ai quali ne era uno più bello di tutti, ornato di pietre preziose e raggiante di gloria, e udì una voce dire che quel trono era appartenuto ad un angelo ribelle e che ora era riservato a Francesco. Riavutosi dalla visione, fra Pacifico si gettò ai piedi di Francesco, nel bel frattempo era tornato dalla preghiera."; Lunghi, 2000, p. 99.

[64] Although some date it to the 12th century: Bizzozzero, 1925.

[65] Previtali, 1984, pp. 33-34.

[66] "Prima di Previtali, il Crocifisso davanti al quale si rivolta la visione veniva indicato in una croce di legno conservata nella cappella a cornu evangelii rispetto all'altare maggiore, ma le ricerche dello studioso hanno dimostrato che l'autore della croce è 'fedele all'arcaica iconografia di un quattro chiodi, non il 'serpes' del Cristo morto nelle piccole proporzioni e nell'anatomia, ai segetti della naturaleza dei gliottechi, ai gliottechi, in questo caso, della seconda generazione [che indicavano come] avesse visto all'opera, oltre che Giotto, il suo geniale allievo assistente, Puccio Capana'. È implicito che se il Crocifisso è trecentesco, non può essere la stessa immagine di fronte alla quale sarebbe in preghiera fra Pacifico."; Lunghi, 2000, pp. 101-102.

[67] On Good Friday the figure is taken down from the cross and carried through the city streets in a celebrative procession. On the functioning of the image in the 19th century, see: Pallucchi, 1892.

[68] Detailed information on this topic: Lunghi, 2000, pp. 147-171. The sculptures by Giovanni Tedesco can be regarded as both lyrical and expressive. The delicately drawn and peaceful line of Christ's body spread against the cross, and His gentle countenance, were contrasted with a distinctive network of veins, encompassing His legs, torso and arms. A detailed account on this topic was provided by Bruno Bruni in his study on the technical aspects of the artist's workshop: Bruni, 2007.

of faithful coming to the Franciscan church where they were permanently displayed.[69]

The sculptures from the San Francesco church in Acquasparta and Basilica inferiore di San Francesco in Assisi were fitted with moveable arms. The ones from the Franciscan churches in Sangemini and Terni also had, apart from their moveable arms, a moveable tongue. In the case of the sculpture from the Museo della Città in Rimini the only moveable part is the tongue. Beyond all doubt, the figures mentioned were used in theatricalised liturgical or paraliturgical ceremonies, common among the Franciscans. However, a question arises as to the possibility of using the works with a moveable tongue in a different way. These can not only enact the scene of the Saviour's death, but may also serve for enacting a peculiar dialogue between Christ and the person praying in front of His image.

The rope allowing movement of the tongue placed in the back part of the sculpture did not have to be used only during Holy Week. With a proper display of the figure in the church interior, the rope could have been pulled imperceptibly, and thus impact the emotions of the faithful who had the impression of encountering a "talking" image of the crucified Christ. In this case we would be dealing with a peculiar overuse on the part of the Franciscans, but such a situation would not be unprecedented. In the case of sculptures by Giovanni Tedesco, there are no available source materials supporting our hypothesis. We do, however, have at our disposal materials concerning figures from other regions of Europe, whose construction made it possible to imitate a voice or cry.

A representative example of a sculpture of this type is the no longer extant 14th-century figure of the Virgin Mary from Saint Mary's church in Rostock. This figure's head housed a tank filled with water, thanks to a fish swimming in it, seeped through the holes in the eyes.[70] In the beginning of the 16th century, in Bern, the Dominicans used sculptures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, which they bestowed with a voice by means of cane reeds directing sound to the lips of the images. In the work by Ludwig Lavater, entitled *Of ghostes and spirites walking by nyght and of strange noyses, crackes, and sondry forewarnynges, whiche commonly happen before the death of menne, great slaughters, [and] alterations of kyngdomes. One booke, written by Lewes Lauaterus of Tigurine. And translated into Englyshe by R.H* (1572) we can read how they were used:

[69] Sculptures by Tedesco can be found in the Franciscan churches in Acquasparta, Assisi, Sangemini and Terni. One of the figures was kept in the Poor Clares church in Rimini.

[70] "Durch eine Inschrift des Jahres 1399 am Südportal der Rostocker Marienkirche erfahren wir von einem Marienbilde 'der losynge eres / kindes theau cristi namme cruce'; also einem Versperbild, das schon viele Wunder getan habe und noch alle Tage vollbringe. Ein öffenstlich damals bereits altehrwürdiges Werk, letztmals erwähnt in der Nibenochsen Beschreibung der Jahre 1777, die denn auch den Mechanismus des Weinens verriet: Nemlich es sind die Augen durchlöchert, da man den Kopf voll Wasser gegossen, und darin kleine lebendige Fischlein gesetzet, und das selbige sich darinnen beweget, so ist das Wasser durch die Löcher gedrungen, und das hat man fürgeben, wären Thränen, welche dies Bilde vergiße."; Tripps, 2000a, p. 178.

After long instruction and teaching, they placed him on the altar of our Lady, kneeling on his knees within a chappell before the image of the holy virgine: Where one of the Monkes standing behinde a cloath, spake through a cane reede, as if it were Christ talking with his mother, in this wise: Mother why dost thou weep; haue I not promised thee, y⁴ whatsoeuer thou willest, shal be done; Wherto the image made answere: I weepe, because this businesse findeth no end. Then sayd the image of Christ: Beleeue me mother, this matter shall be made manifest. This doone, the Monke priuely departing, the chappell dores were shut. As soone as these things were scattered about the citie, by & by ther was a great throwing of people.[71]

It is believed that these dishonest tricks led the Dominicans to the stake – allegedly they were burnt in Bern in 1509.[72] We are not able to say whether the Franciscans from Umbria influenced the emotions of the faithful in a similar way. Surely they had the means to do so, as did the priests from Norcia, Pietrarosa and Trevi, who also possessed animated sculptures of the crucified Christ with moveable arms and tongues made by Giovanni Tedesco.[73] The *Rood of Grace* from Boxley, is a good example of how sculptures of this type could provide their owners with substantial revenues.

The marvellous figure stored in the Cistercian Abbey in Boxley, in Kent, attracted thousands of faithful. The first proven records concerning the *Rood of Grace* date to the beginning of the 16th century and pertain to its function as an attraction for pilgrims. Christ – lowering and raising his head, rolling his eyes and opening his mouth,[74] reputedly in response to prayers of the faithful, as if directly and eloquently accepting or rejecting their contributions – could have made a great impression on those coming to the church. Thanks to the fame and miraculous nature of the crucifix, the Cistercian Abbey in Boxley enjoyed the status of a pilgrimage centre, known, as it seems, outside the region.[75]

[71] Lavater, 1572, p. 34, cited after: Butterworth, 2005, p. 106. See also: Jurkowski, 2009, p. 78.

[72] Lavater titles the quoted story as follows: "famous historie of foure monkes of the order of preachers (who were brent at Berna in Heluetia in the yeare of our Lord 1509, the last day of May) by what subtilties they deceyued a poore simple Frier who they had lately retained into their monasttie."; see: Butterworth, 2005, p. 106.

[73] Reference is made to the figures in Norcia (Santa Maria Argentea), the parish church in Pietrarosa and Terni (Pinacoteca Comunale, origin: Trevi, Santa Maria delle Grazie).

[74] The number of gestures and movements made by the sculpture representing Christ grew with time, and additionally depended on the person describing it. See: Bridgett, 1893; Dickinson, 1989, p. 97; Kopania, 2004b, p. 121; Kopania, 2009, p. 143; Marshall, 1995, p. 691.

[75] The Abbey in Boxley was located less than two miles from Maidstone, on the way to Canterbury. This favourable location undoubtedly was conducive to pilgrimages. On Boxley and its pilgrimage center: Aston, 1988, p. 217; Aston, 1989, p. 56; Brownbill, 1883, p. 164; Cave-Browne, 1892, pp. 46-47; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 121-122; McMurray Gibson, 1989, p. 15; Lambarde, 1826, p. 205; Philips, 1973, p. 51; Sumpton, 1975, p. 56; Webb, 1999, pp. 143, 242. As appears in the case of sculptures attracting throngs of pilgrims, the *Rood of Grace* is associated with various miraculous stories and events. There is a remarkable story of how the figure from Boxley was miraculously acquired by the Cistercians. As legend has it, an ingenious and skilful carpenter made

Some early documents related to the image we are interested seem to confirm this – the fact that Henry VIII visited Boxley shortly after ascending to the throne to make an offering to the *Rood of Grace* is quite meaningful.[76] A few years later, in 1518, the papal legate Lorenzo Campeggio stopped at the monastery on his way to London.[77]

Another pilgrimage centre of a special rank was Burgos in Spain, where the *Cristo de Burgos*, famous for its miracles, was presented in the Augustinian church. Considering the complexity and the formal expression of the sculpture, no wonder it soon gained the status of a cult image, and its fame extended beyond the borders of Spain.[78] As legend has it, the *Cristo de Burgos*, known from 15th-century records, came to Spain thanks to a Pedro Ruiz de Minguijuán, a merchant who had acquired the sculpture for the town and St. Augustine convent through miraculous circumstances.[79] Setting off for Flanders, the merchant entrusted himself to God and left an adequate donation at the St. Augustine church. During his journey, an extraordinary event took place – Pedro Ruiz de Minguijuán noticed a coffin-shaped trunk drifting in the sea.

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the figure for fun and to make his imprisonment in French captivity more enjoyable. After escaping, or having been released, he set out back to England with the image tied to his horse's side. Near Rochester the horse ran away from his master, who was resting in an inn, and cantered towards Maidstone, then to Boxley, with the *Rood of Grace* at his side. Having reached the Cistercian abbey, he banged on the gate with his hoof until the monks let him in. After entering the premises, the horse headed toward the church, where he stopped in front of one of the pillars. The carpenter evidently could not come to terms with losing his mount and his original piece of work, as he soon followed his disobedient horse and approached the abbey gates to recover his property. In this regard he was completely understood by the monks who seemingly could not manage the unexpected and unruly guest unceremoniously breaking into the church. In the end, the carpenter was allowed to take his horse and the crucifix from the church. But at this point the horse did want to move from his place, and the carpenter was not able to lift the sculpture which he had taken off the horse's back. In the context of these amazing events, the friars considered the entire situation as a visible sign of God's intervention and, willed, and decided to take the sculpture into their possession, compensating the creator of the figure for any related losses. As the owners of the miraculous figure sent down from God, they put it atop the pillar in front of which the horse had stopped. William Lambarde, a historiographer of Kent, was the first one to account for this legend in his book *A Perambulation of Kent*, published in 1570. See the following edition: Lambarde 1826, p. 205. His account is followed by J. Brownbill: Brownbill, 1883, pp. 164-165 (see also: Kopania, 2004b, pp. 120-121; Richards, 1870, pp. 13-14).

[76] British Library Ms Add. 21,481, fol. 10[r], record under the date 29 July 1509: "Item for the kinges offring at the Roode of grace of Boxle" Cf. Ms Harl. 433, fol. 255; Aston, 1989, p. 56 and footnote 16. Some researchers give 1510 as the date related to Henry VIII pilgrimage to Boxley, see: Davidson, 1989, p. 96; Phillips, 1973, p. 73; Satz, 2007, p. 43. In turn George Bernards writes: "In September 1514 offerings were made when the king came to the rood of grace at St. Augustine's Canterbury, at St Thomas's shrine in the cathedral."; Bernards, 1999, p. 75.

[77] Aston, 1989, p. 56.

[78] Gómez Roji, 1914; Kopania, 2007, pp. 495-509.

[79] On legends related to the *Cristo de Burgos* see: *Historia de cómo fué hallada...*, 1554.

In this trunk, hidden in a glass box, was the sculpture of Christ with arms folded along its sides.[80]

According to several versions of the legend, the sculpture had been made by Nicodemus, who, being a witness to the Crucifixion and one of those taking Christ down from the cross, was predisposed better than anyone else to create a realistic sculptural depiction of the Saviour. For a long time the *Cristo de Burgos* was reportedly stored in Beirut, where in 765 it was defiled by the Jews.[81] It is believed that the figure remained there until the eighties of the 12th century when Saladin forced the Crusaders out from the Holy Land. In those times the inhabitants of the city, concerned about the fate of the sculpture made by Nicodemus, decided to seal it in a trunk, and released it into the sea. And this very trunk was encountered by Pedro Ruiz de Minguijuán travelling to Flanders.[82]

Records from the 15th century clearly demonstrate the enormous scale of the cult of the image from Burgos.[83] The sculpture presented in the Augustin-

[80] This is what H. Flórez writes about this event, on the basis of a familiar document of the general chapter of the Augustinians, which took place in Mantua in 1475: "El modo con que Dios le traxo y mantiene en casa Casa es también maravilloso. Un mercader de Burgos, muy devoto de los augustinos de S. Andrés, pasó á Flandes. Pidióles le encomendasen a Dios en su viaje, ofreciendo traerles alguna cosa del devoto aquella cierra. A la vuelta halló en el mar un cajón a modo de ataúd que, recogido y abierto, tenía dentro de una caja de vidrio y en ella la soberana imagen del Christo crucificado, con los brazos sobre el pecho (pues que, puesto aún en flexible) pero con longas de el costado, y las manos y los pies con los clavos, como cuerpo humano crucificado. Gozoso el mercader con la preciosa margarita y acordándose de la oferta que hizo a los eremitanos, la cumplió entregándoles el sagrado tesoro que venía escondido en aquella arca; y dicen que, al llegar, se tocaron las campanas por sí mismas.": Flórez, 1772, pp. 497–499, cited after: Martínez, 1997, p. 18.

[81] Legends about the sculpture by Nicodemus and kept for a long time in the Holy Land were popular in the Middle Ages, serving, among other things, to emphasize the exceptional "origin" of the particular depiction and its miraculousness. The commonness of this type of stories is proven by its presence in a fragment of *Legends on the Day of the Holy Cross*, part of the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine.

[82] Martínez, 1997, pp. 21–22.

[83] See, for example: "Pues bien ha querido el Padre volcar su misericordia, a veces en forma milagrosa, a través de esta singular imagen de su Hijo crucificado. Los hechos son los hechos. La gratitud, la credulidad, suele ser crédula. Fue el pueblo el que, por experiencia, contribuyó decisivamente a que viñase ese sentido de los milagros obrados por el Cristo de Burgos. A tanto llegó que el rey D. Juan II se sintió obligado a cerciorarse acerca de lo que había de verdad en ello. Desde Tordesillas escribió, el 13 de mayo de 1454, al obispo D. Alonso de Cartagena, encargándole que hiciera 'enquisición y pesquisa' sobre algunos casos que la gente contaba como milagrosos. D. Alonso de Cartagena, por mano mandado, convocó en el cabildo del Sarmental, el 22 de mayo de 1454, a la curia episcopal, a los párrocos de la ciudad y a Fray Pedro de Nogales, prior del convento de San Agustín, para examinar, en presencia del notario que levantaba acta de todo, algunos casos presentados por el mismo notario. El pueblo el que, por experiencia, contribuyó a una noticia bien veníada por la devoción que la buena gente sin duda tenía y veíglar la capilla del Crucifixo, que es dentro del cnastro de dicho monesterio, que auian haceníçido algunos miraglos, los quales el nuestro Señor por su misericordia le plazía aver mostrado en la dicha capilla; e porque a él, así como a perlado desta dióçesi perteneçía ynquirir e saber la

ian church became the destination of numerous pilgrimages,[86] which was due even more to the favourable location of Burgos on the route to one of the most important pilgrimage centres in medieval Europe, namely Santiago de Compostela.[85] The *Cristo de Burgos* was famous for its miracles, protected the city it was located in against the plague,[86] was perceived as an advocate of the prayers of slaves and captives,[87] and, generally speaking, fulfilled the wishes of many worshippers,[88] which is evidenced in the books of its miracles.[89]

verdad dello, por que los fieles cristianos que saberlo quisieren, ynformados verdaderamente, sin mistura de fición alguna…', empezaba la primera de una serie de sesiones dedicadas al tema. Terminaron, de momento, el 6 septiembre de 1455'; Martínez, 1997, p. 46. See also: Berliner, 1953, p. 146.

[84] See, e.g.: Huidobro y Serna, 1950, pp. 165-171; Kopania, 2007, pp. 500-501; Lacarra, 1949, pp. 194-196.

[85] On pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela see. among others: Antón Vilasánchez; 2000; Kuhn, 2005; *Santiago de Compostela…*, 1985; Maníkowska, 2008, passim, especially pp. 365-421; Stokstad, 1978. A rich bibliography on the topic in: Dunn, Kay Davidson, 1994.

[86] 'Dos solían ser los motivos principales que impulsaban a los burguleses a acudir masivamente al Cristo de San Agustín. La peste y la sequía. Una vez a flagelaban con despiadada frecuencia a la ciudad y en entorno. Tampoco faltaban otras calamidades públicas más naturales, como la plaga de langosta o las amenazas y desastres de la guerra, que movían a las autoridades a convocar al pueblo para implorar todos a una la protección del Santo Crucifijo.'; Martínez, 1997, p. 33. In order to conciliate *Cristo de Burgos* numerous processions were organized and meant to provide protection against diseases of this type.' En aquella ocasión [the plague which overtook the city in 1405] el Ayuntamiento se puso al frente de una procesión penitencial para pedir misericordia al Cristo de San Agustín. La peste terminó y el Ayuntamiento hizo voto de acudir corporativamente cada año, el 14 de septiembre, en acción de gracias. Voto retomado en 1994 y vigente en la actualidad.'; Martínez, 1997, p. 34. On processions see also: López Mata, 1966, pp. 147-151. On processions in Burgos see: Martínez, 1629.

[87] Martínez, 1997, p. 35.

[88] Pedro Loviano claimed that the *Cristo de Burgos* was worshipped by Queen Isabella the Catholic. One day, during prayer, the queen touched the Christ's hand, causing a nail to fall out of it, which in turn caused one arm to drop along the side. The queen deemed her deed a sin and, terrified by the situation, decided to seek expiation: 'Este es un milagro autentico en su contextura tan rara, que todia en notablemente tratable y medible, de suerte que cede felizmente en cualquiera parte que la apliquen el dedo, como si fuera de carne. La sagrada cabeza se tiene inclinada al lado derecho y se deja mover con facilidad al tacto de la mano. Estando su Magestad en Oración la Reina Católica Doña Isabel hubo de costarla la mila el rey de manera que deslizando de su Santa Imagen, y deseando con relíquia suya, pidió la diesen un clavo de sus manos. Quiso hallarse presente al tiempo que se le explican, que parecía el logro, y mandó poner unas gradas de mano, para mirar de más cerca el rostro y demás perfecciones de la Santa Imagen. Vió, que quitando el clavo, com lento movimiento se baxo el brazo derecho a unire con su lado; y causó como pavor y espanto en el real católico pecho, que cayó desmayada, la que por no tener culpas contrarios de moros. Rindióla causa el accidente, que mucho los de los circunstantes la lloraron muerta; pero volviendo en sí, mandó que sacasen el Santo Crucifijo, que en toda su cura y peligro de su humanrada quedó el divino Crucifijo, que en todas sus enfermedades no tuvo mucho confianza.'; Loviano, 1740; cited after: Varey, 1957, p. 31 (Cf.: Jurkowski, 1996, p. 64).

[89] Anónimo Augustino, 1574, 1604, 1622; *Historia del Santo Crucifijo…*, 1604; *Libro de los milagros…*, 1574; *Libro de los milagros…*, 1622; Sierra, 1737, 1763.

The cult of the miraculous image from the Augustinian convent only gathered strength in modern times, as demonstrated by the numerous religious confraternities devoted to the *Cristo de Burgos* and paintings thereof, produced mainly in the 17th century and found in churches throughout Spain. During colonial expansion, the *Cristo de Burgos* found its way, in the form of numerous more or less detailed copies, to Central and South America. Churches in Bolivia, Peru, and Mexico successfully developed local cults of *El Señor de Burgos*, as this was the name given to the image in this land so far away from Spain. The cult and fame of the *Cristo de Burgos* weakened in the 19th century, although it would be unjust to speak of a thorough collapse. One can quite easily come upon sculptural copies, produced relatively recently, and religious brotherhoods devoted to it.[39] The scale and permanence of the cult of the *Cristo de Burgos* are presumably the most significant proof that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could fulfil functions similar to those normally assigned to figures devoid of mechanisms allowing movement of particular parts of the Saviour's body.

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[39] On the topic, see: Kopania, 2007, pp. 501–502 (including bibliography).

CHAPTER VI

The persistence of medieval customs –
from early modern times to the present day

Works pertaining to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ often assert that the Reformation period closes the curtain on their history. The first half of the 16th century is treated as a time when sculptures of this type begin to lose their significance, cease to function in their current context or completely disappear – in the literature on the subject we come sporadically upon information about figures of this type produced in modern times.[1] Researchers stress the negative attitude of Protestant reformers towards sculptures used in the Holy Week period.[2] They also point to the importance of the Council of Trent, by which ceremonies such as the *Depositio Crucis* were abolished.[3]

According to this view, the 16th century would present a break, due to the Reformation and Council decrees, in the centuries-old tradition of celebrating religious rites which used animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, as well as Christ on a donkey or the Resurrected Christ. Old church ceremonies – as stressed by researchers – were not forgotten, however. Taken over by lower social classes, they continued to function in a new, more primitive form, as an element of folk culture.

Such views have been expressed by Karolina Targosz, for example, who in her book, *Korzenie i kształty teatru do 1500 roku w perspektywie Krakowa* [*The Roots and Forms of Theatre up to the Year 1500 from the Perspective of Cracow*] describes a few animated figures used on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland

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[1] Gesine and Johannes Taubert marginally mention six sculptures originating in the modern era, including one figure from Mszczonów which they incorrectly date to ca. 1700. The researchers specify two Austrian relics, and one Italian, one French and one German. Reinhard Rampold recalls and briefly describes a sculpture from Widum near Trins, dated to the beginning of the 17th c. and from Lana from the 2nd half of the 18th c.; Rampold, 1999, p. 433.

[2] See e.g.: Hubach, 2006, pp. 478-482; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 269-285.

[3] On the decisions of the Council of Trent, as regards the images we are interested in, see: Jezler, 1983, p. 240; Lewański, 1999, p. 25.

in liturgical ceremonies of a theatrical nature.[4] In outlining the history of rituals such as the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum* or *Depositio Crucis*, she points out that they were common between the 13th and 16th centuries. At the same time she indicates that the turn of the 16th century was a decadent period in their development: "Official cultivation of theatricalisation and liturgical dramas in the Catholic church did not last much longer. In the beginning of the 16th century they would be the object of aggressive attacks by the advocates of the Reformation, who derided them as serving as a cover for pagan forms of cult worship and of being nothing more than idolatry. Since the Reformation movement aimed at purifying Christianity of these liturgical dramatisations, new religious factions completely did away with them. The reform of the Church itself, effected at the Council of Trent, would also demand their removal from liturgy."[5] Elsewhere the researcher points to a lasting continuance of medieval traditions, manifested, for example, in the cultivation of the custom of organizing theatricalised processions on Palm Sunday: "With time, celebrations with Christ on a donkey became so popular that when these had eventually been removed from the official liturgy, they were still performed with pleasure by urban and rural people."[6]

Claims of this kind are not faithful to reality and should be treated as major oversimplifications. Animated mentions of the crucified Christ, Christ on a donkey or the resurrected Christ (especially the first) still occasionally constitute an important element of the religious culture shaped by the Catholic church. The guidelines and decisions of the Council of Trent did not inhibit the tendency to commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ by means of celebrative ceremonies using animated sculptures. In many places, rites of

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[4] The researcher mentions an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Mszczonów (Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw), a sculpture of Christ on a donkey from Szydłowiec (National Museum in Cracow, see in particular: Bela, 1990, p. 27; Kopera, Kwiatkowski, 1931, pp. 24–25; Kopera, Kwiatkowski, 1931, pp. 24–25; *Polen im Zeitalter der...*, p. 282, cat. no. 100; Woziński, 1992, p. 86) and a figure of the resurrected Christ from the Poor Clares Convent in Cracow (see in-depth study by Paweł Migasiewicz: Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 29-46).

[5] Targosz, 1995, p. 209.

[6] Targosz, 1995, p. 196. Similar opinions have been expressed by: Jung, 1906, passim; Lewański, 1999, pp. 25, 96. The study by Justin A.E. Kroesen on the Holy Sepulchres and the way they were used from the Middle Ages till the present day needs to be mentioned separately. In general, the researcher formulates opinions similar to those of Karolina Targosz. He does stress, however, that the Catholic Church in the 16th c. did not break away radically from medieval Holy Week customs, but rather thoroughly remodeled them, adopting them to the religious practice shaped by the Reformation and the council revival of the Catholic Church. According to Kroesen, a peculiar taking over of former church ceremonies by lower social classes did actually take place, yet this was not the only phenomenon that should be considered in terms of the Holy Week ceremonies we are interested in. Apart from this we also observe – especially in southern European countries – the birth and development of Holy Week processions, which are difficult to treat as a vulgarised adaptation of former liturgical rites, such as the *Depositio Crucis*. During this type of processions animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were frequently used. See: Kroesen, 2000a, in particular pp. 181-187.

had been officially abolished by the Council, including the *Depositio Crucis*, which is relevant to our considerations, were practiced and even developed over centuries. In this context, it's no wonder that the number of surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ produced between the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 20th century is considerable, and perhaps even exceeds the number of such works created in the Middle Ages. It is also worth mentioning that the attacks of the reformers on this type of images, as well as ceremonies in which they were used, were neither as frequent, nor as severe, as some researchers claim. Animated sculptures and the celebrations in which they were used, were not an important subject of doctrinal polemics. In view of our considerations, it should be stressed that amongst all animated sculptures used in theatricalised church rituals, those depicting the crucified Christ were least often the subject of the reformers' attacks.

1. The Reformation – opposition to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ

Sixteenth-century reformers took notice of and condemned various religious rites conducted on Palm Sunday, Good Friday and Ascension Day.[7] This does not imply, however, that they displayed a particular interest in this type of ceremonies, or focused on contending with animated figures used during these ceremonies, which would only confirm their common presence and importance among works of art produced in the Late Middle Ages.[8] There are no separate treatises devoted to the issue of non-compliance of Holy Week liturgical practices with Christian faith or morality. They are not discussed in the writings of the most prominent and most influential representatives of the Reformation, such as Martin Luther, John Calvin or Ulrich Zwingli, although all of them commented on Roman Church rites and related art works.[9] Neither do we find any reference to them in doctrinal polemics directly focusing on issues related to the theatricalisation of liturgy and the dramatic potential of the Holy Mass. Among

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[7] Dupeux, Jezler, Wirth, 2001, passim; Harasimowicz, 1986, pp. 17-19; Hoelbeck, 1977/1978, p. 35; Hubach, 2006, pp. 479-484; Jezler, 1983, pp. 236-240; Jezler, 1989, pp. 619-622; Jezler, Jezler, Görtler, 1984, pp. 83-102, in particular pp. 93-94; Jurkowlaniec, 2007, p. 384; Lira, 2007, passim; Michalski, 1990, p. 91-94; Sheingorn, 1987, pp. 60-62; Sheingorn, 1989, pp. 145-163; Wandel, 1995, passim.

[8] This opinion has been formulated by Mateusz Kapustka. According to the researcher, the particular aversion of the reformers to animated sculptures stems from the fact that devotees perceived them not as depictions of specific characters, but as their personifications: Kapustka, 1998, pp. 65-76; Kapustka, 2003, pp. 318-319; Kapustka, 2008, passim.

[9] The reformers' attitude towards works of art is described in detail by Sergiusz Michalski: Michalski, 1993. See also: Collinson, 2005, pp. 155-171; Eire, 1990, pp. 51-68; Jezler, 1990, pp. 143-174; Joby 2007; Koerner 2004; Lórincz, 2002; Scavizzi, 1981; Scavizzi 1992; Schnitzler, 1996; Wandel 1995.

the numerous writings of this type originating on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where liturgical ceremonies of a theatrical nature were commonly conducted, we do not notice any references to the *Processio in Ramis Palmarum*, *Depositio Crucis*, nor *Ascensio Domini*, let alone animated sculptures.[10]

Ceremonies of a theatrical nature were criticised in works written with the underlying desire to create an in-depth, comprehensive description of all practices of the Roman Catholic Church condemned by the reformers. Occasionally, related issues were incorporated into more extensive works forming monumental compendia of knowledge on the world familiar to the people of the 16th century, as in the case of *Weltbuch: spiegel vnd bildtnisß des gantzen erdtbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wördensi in vier bücher, nemlich in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam, vnd Americam, geteilt vnd abteilt...*[11] by Sebastian Franck (1499-1542), published in Tübingen in 1534. In the chapter "Von der Rhömischen Christen fest, feyer, tempel, altar, begrebniß, besingnus vnd breüchen durch das gantz jar" the author – a German freethinker, a chronicler and geographer,[12] and a radical reformer whose views were criticised not only by representatives of the Catholic Church, but also by Martin Luther and John Calvin – presented a description of numerous liturgical ceremonies of a theatrical nature, including ceremonies conducted during Holy Week:

> Am Karfreitag vor Ostern tregt man aber eyn Creütz herumb in eyner Procession, legt eyn gross gestorben Menschen-Bild in eyn Grab. Darbei kniet man, brent ser vil Liechter vnd singt darbei Tag vnd Nacht den Psalter mit abgewechseltem Chor, bestecktt das Grab ein Feibel vund allerley Bluomen, opffert darein Gelt, Eyerfladen etc., biss das Bild ersteher. An Exter Abent weihet man den tauff gehet mir vilerten fanen ehnb den tauff steyn rings vmb verdeton sich sie neun malDarnach steher man still vund segnet den tauff mit seltzamer Ceremoni witfft creut weiss pachtelmit ol oder Chrisam darein auch behr mann versüncken ersteyn darein. Den tauff holet nachmals das volct mir vil geschirr farende vmmd tregt jn zu mancherlei vnglüct heyen zu haus. Item man segnet in dem vor hof des templs das feur das vach an das feur gelegt für all vetter vund vngestimb hilffe als dann werden die glocten wider lebendig vund leüten die fastengen hymel. Hernach in der Osternacht, bald nach mitnacht, steher yeder man

[10] The issue of the reformers' critical outlook on the context of customs prevailing in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is discussed by Katarzyna Meller: Meller, 1998, pp. 19-44. The researcher underlines that in the Reformation polemics analysed by her there is no reference not only to theatricalised liturgical ceremonies but also to mystery plays (Meller, 1998, p. 22).

[11] The complete title of the work is as follows: *Weltbuch: spiegel vnd bildtnisß des gantzen erdtbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wördensi in vier bücher, nemlich in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam, vnd Americam, geteilt vnd abteilt: auch aller darinn begriffner Länder, nation, Prouintzen, vnd Insein...: auß vilen, weitleüffigen büchern in ein handtbüch eingeleibt vnd verfasst, vormals dergleichen in Teütsch nie außgangen...*

[12] On Sebastian Franck, see in particular: Hayden-Roy, 1994; Koyré, 1995; Müller, 1993; Wollgast, 1999.

uff den Metten. Da nimpt man den hültzin Bloch oder Bild Christi auss dem Grab, erhebet in und tregt in voy yederman her, und singen all einhellig: "Christ ist erstanden". Als dann ist der Fasten gen Himmel geleüttet. Da zeuchet yeder man, was er hat. Folge zuo morgen der Ostertag. Da weihet man den Anbiss Kram, Fladen, Kess, Gebeck auff den Altar. und schicken die Freünd einander des Geweyheten oder Fladens. Darauff hat man das Hoch-Ampt mit Freüden. Da nimpt man mit Schall das erdig[ng], mit feinen Buollleiden, unnd hofiert also mit Figurieren, Singen, Pfeiffen, den Oren der Menschen das Fleysch zuo kitzeln, das etwan an eines Fürsten Hof zuovil wer. Wer dann diss drei Tag vor Ostern zum Sacrament gehet, der schickt sich puot heüchlerisch und mit eyner gezüerten angenummen Andacht darzuo, beicht, gärt sein. Gürtel ab, legt die zuo seinem Huot etwan im Tempel und gehet dahin zuo unserm Herrgot. Den rechsten Tag darnach gehet man gen Emaus. Daran ist fast all Andacht auss. Gehe hin unnd spott nun der Juden Ceremonien.[13]

Franck's work lacks any mention of the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Good Friday ceremonies. During the procession, a cross ("eyn Creütz") was carried, and a figure of the Dead Saviour ("eyn gross gestorben Menschen-Bild") was buried in the Sepulchre. On Easter morning, the faithful were ceremonially presented with a sculpture, which would logically be understood as depicting the Resurrected Christ, although in the text this is not clearly stated ("den hültzin Bloch oder Bild Christi"). Descriptions of the subsequent stages of the ceremony are brief and lack details. Franck is interested more in the behaviour of the faithful who worshipped the sculptural depictions of Jesus and administered numerous gifts in the church.

One of the best known, and at the same time most influential books focusing on radical criticism of Roman Church liturgy and of religious behaviours and customs was *Regnum Papisticum. Opus lectu jucundum omnibus veritatis amantibus; in quo Papa cum suis membris, vita, fide, cultu, religione, gloueris, quantum fieri potuit, vere et breviter describuntur, distinctum in Libro quatuor* (Basel, 1553) by Thomas Kirchmeyer, called Thomas Naogeorgus, a German Protestant theologian, dramatist and pamphleteer.[14] Kirchmeyer's book enjoyed great popularity. It was reprinted in Basel in 1559. In 1557 and 1563 it was translated into German by a dramatist and fabler, Burkhard Waldis (1490-1556),[15] and published under the title *Paepstliche Reich ein Buch lustig zu lesen allen so die Wahrheit lieb haben, darin der Papst mit seinen Gliedern, Leben, Glauben, Gottesdienste, Gebraeuchen und Zeremonien soviel moeglich wahrhaftig und auch kurzest beschrieben.* An English translation, by poet Barnabe Googe (1540-1590),[16] based on the second edition of *Regnum Papisticum,* was published

[13] Franck, 1534, pp. 131-132. Cf.: Dupeux, Jezler, Wirth, 2001, pp. 218-219; Jezler, 1983, pp. 239-240.

[14] On Kirchmeyer, see, among others: Hauser, 1926; Roloff, 2003a; Roloff, 2003b; Roloff, 2003c; Sieveke, 1993; Theobald, 1908; Theobald, 1931; Werner, 1988; Wiener, 1907.

[15] On Burkhard Waldis, see, among others: Bezzenberger, 1984; Schmidt, 1974.

[16] Achiley, 1909, pp. 292-293. On Barnabe Googe see, among others: Sheidley, 1981.

in 1570 under the name *The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist (Spirituall Husbandrie)* written in Latine verse by Thomas Naogeorgus, and englyshed [*in verse*] by B. Googe. B.L.[17]

In *Regnum Papisticum* Kirchmeyer describes the customs prevailing among the clergy and the faithful, numerous church holydays, and the way liturgy was conducted on particular days of the year. The many issues addressed include theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, starting from the *Entry into Jerusalem* and the *Last Supper* through the *Entombment*, and then the *Resurrection, Ascension* and *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*. The fragment that is relevant from our point of view is the one where the author of *Regnum Papisticum* describes the *Entombment* ceremony:

> Luce sacerdotes duo circum altare sequenti
> Idolum portant humeris Christi in cruce fixi.
> Ruffa confectum casula, lugubre canentes.
> Strata super villosa tapeta, suppositumque
> Pulvinar capiti, hinc prostrati corpore toto,
> Omnibus infigunt perfossis basia membris,
> Ligneum et idolum summo venerantur honore.
> Hos dein certatim tangunt ora sequuntur.
> Impietatis ut artifices atali semper
> Praecedant: post quos tractabit vulgus adorat,
> Dona ferens pariter, nummos Cereremque, vel ova,
> Aucupium rasis gratum, cubusque scelesti
> Speratum pretium. Quo pacto idola coluntur,
> Catholica haec si sunt, Christique imitentur sponsae?
> Praeterea ne quid simulacris ludere credant,
> Et pro deritu regnantem exponere Christum,
> Assumunt aliam statuam pro more iacentem
> Atque decussatim componis pectore palmis,
> Et pompa cantuque pio ad factum atque sepulcrum
> Portant, sericeis tectam membra omnia peplis.
> Sic iacet tantum in cerni possint, multicia dicas
> Serica, sic visum monstrarunt, cunctaque monstrant.
> Praecedunt pueri tabulis inamoena crepantes.
> Lumen er aedituo praefert, scit signa popellus,
> Ingenua exemplo cadit, aur terrae oscula figit.
> Extenditque manus, et multis pectora tundit,
> Et statuam quernam divinum ut numen adorat.
> Defuncti regium, porrectis cruribus apte,
> Miscuius adfertur quoque et una claudirur intus
> Panis, ut impietas crecat, cultusque profanus.
> Sacrifuus supplex statuam venerantur inertem
> Primus, et Assyrios pani succendit odores.

> Multa statim populus comportat lumina circum.
> Cancellisque haeret, noctemque diemque precatur
> Curvatis genibus, violisque et flore sepulcrum
> Omnigeno exornat, suaque affert munera large.
> Adsunt conducti quoque qui psalteria cantent
> Alternis, defuncto homini velut, atque recantent,
> Ut magis hinc plebes ad munera danda vocetur.[18]

The cited fragment provides a mocking description of the *Adoratio* and *Depositio Crucis*. It does not mention animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, which the author of *Regnum Papisticum* was surely familiar with, since they were common in the Late Middle Ages on the territory of southern Germany, where he lived and worked. The crucifix is the object of adoration ("Idolum portant humeris Christi in cruce fixi"), but in the *Entombment* scenes a figure of the dead Saviour with the arms folded down alongside the body ("Praeterea ne quid simulacris ludere cessent, / Et pro derisu clamantem exponere Christum, / Assumunt aliam statuam pro more iacentem"). In Kirchmeyer's pamphlet, special attention was drawn, as in the works of Sebastian Franck, not to the ceremonies themselves but to the reactions and behaviours of the clergy and the faithful participating in them. It is their attitude that is mainly the subject of criticism. Naogeorg does his utmost to condemn the act of worshipping "a wooden idol", manifested in the gestures made by those present in the church and in the gifts presented by them. That Kirchmeyer does not describe animated figures of the crucified Christ, whose construction sometimes allowed a high level of realism and strongly impacted the emotions of the faithful, says much about the loss of interest in this type of figures among reformers.[19] Generally, Kirchmeyer, like

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[18] Kirchmeyer, 1553, pp. 147-149.

[19] Kirchmeyer pays more attention to other animated sculptures, which fulfil their purpose in motion but are devoid of moveable parts, such as the figure of Christ on a donkey, used on Palm Sunday and constituting the main motif and point of reference for the poetic description: "Hinc ridenda rerum faciunt spectacla Papistae, / Insigni valde pompa, factoque decoro. / Ligneum habent asinum, et simulacrum equitantis in illo / Ingenis: at ero rabula consistit asellus, / Quatuor aeque rotis trahitur, quem mane parvula / Rotant eros templi statuunt. populus vestit adorans. / Arbores portans ramos. ubicunque transit, / Quos tempestates contra, caelique fragorem / Adiurat pastor. multo grandique precate. / Mox quemvis setat prosternit asello. / Sacrificus longa quem virga percutit ahet. / Postquam surrexit, grandes de corte scholarum / Se duo prosternunt iidem mirabili amictu. / Cantaque absurdo: qui ut surrexere, in acervum / Protenduant eundem digitos, monstrantque camentes / Hunc esse illum, qui quondam venturus in urbem, / Credentem Israel a iure redemerit Horci, / Cuique viam ramis turba exornavit olivae. / His descantis. mores denic protinus omnes / Coniciunt partim in simulacrum, partim in asellum, / Cuius et ante pedes magnus cumulatur acervus. / Hunc fert a tribulis trahitur, praeuuntibus uncis / Consequitur populus, / quamvis certamine magno / Praetendit tibi in cruce, quisque sua ait vestigia frondes. / Fulet omnem statum praesertim virtibus illas / Contra hieiem pollere putant, et fulmina dira. / Impia nonne haec sunt? ita nonne idola colunt? / Sed vigi cordatos reges, sed imbutos, genibus flexis procumbere coram / Talibus idolis, summumque impendere cultum. / Est ubi nummati cives, vulgoque

other Reformation polemicists, condemned the worshiping of any depictions, without really focusing on any specific genres, e.g. animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

The ceremonial laying of a crucifix into the Sepulchre is mentioned by Philips van Marnix (1540-1598), a Calvinist, thinker and writer active on the territory of the Netherlands.[20] He describes the celebration in his best-known polemic work against the Roman Church, published in 1569 and written under the pseudonym, Isaac Rabbotenu: *De Bïenkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke. Welck is een clare ende grondelike wtlegginghe des Sendtbriefs M. Gentiani Heruet, nu corts wtghegaen int Fransoys ende int Duvtsch. Ghescreven aen de eerghiewaelde van het Christen gheloove…*. The book was reissued several times,[21] and published in foreign languages. It was translated into English by a diplomat and translator, George Gilpin Senior (1514?-1602), and into German by a satirist, Johann Fischart (1547-1591), hiding under the pen name Jeswalt Pickhart.[22] In the English edition – *The Bee hive of the Romishe Churche. Wherein the Authour (Isaac Rabbotenu) a zealous Protestant, under the person of a superstitious Papist, doth so drolely refell the grose opinions of Popery, and so divinely defend the articles of Christianitie, that … there is not a booke to be founde … sweeter for thy comforte. [In answer to G. Hervet's "Missive … aen de verdolde van den Christen geloove." Translated out of Dutch into Englishe by George Gilpin the Elder. MS. notes. B.I.* (London 1579[23]) – we read the following about the *Entombment*:

> In summe, Christ hath not done anie thing in his death and passion, but they do plaie and counterfeite the same after him, so trimlie and liuelie that no plaier nor iuggler is able to do it better.
>
> Yes, do we not see likewise, that vppon good Friday they haue a Crucifixe, either of wood, or of stone, which they laie downe softlie vpon the ground, that euerie bodie may comme creeping to it, vpon handes and knees, and so kisse the feete of it, as men are accustomed to doe to the Pope of Rome: And then they put him in a graue, till Easter: at which time they take him vppe againe, and sing, Resurrexit, non est Here, Alleluia: He

verendi, / Non paucis nobilium nuntios sibi iura trahendi / Huc illuc saini, atque utuntur herilit- ter illi, / Non permittentes alium contingere quemquam. / Quippe putant magnum, se Christo impendere honorem. / Mirque accepto illi, et permulta mereri. / Et nisi eos aúnos patet, haud erraverit herele. / Talia cum faciant uncti, populusque tributim, / Ilico sectantur pueri post prandia, / Cornut / Dicitur aedituo pretium, damnatque cavetur. / Assumuntque asinum, et per vicce atque plateas / Carmina cantantes quaedam notissima reptant, / Quod summi a populo, vel panes dantur, et ova. / Praedae huius partem ludi praestare magistro / Coguntur mediam, ne exsors sit solus asellus. Kirchmeyer, 1553, pp. 144-145.
[20] On van Marnix see, among others: Haec van der. 1874; Lacroix. 1858; Nolet. 1948.
[21] Amsterdam 1631; Utrecht 1648.
[22] *Bienekorb des Heiligen römischen Imenschwarms, seiner Hummelzellen (oder Himmelzellen), Hurnaufsiedzer, Brätenzuchtwürm und Wäspengsitäl sampt Läuterung der heyl. röm. Kirchen-Honigwaben.* trans. Jeswalt Pickhart (proper name: Johann Fischart), Strasbourg 1580, 1581, 1586, 1588, 1590. On Fischart see, among others: Seelbach. 2000; Sommerhalder. 1960.
[23] The work was republished in 1580, 1598, 1623, 1636.

is risen, he is not here: God be thanked. Yea and in some places, they make the graue in a hie place in the church where men must goe vp manie steppes, which are decked with blacke cloth from aboue to beneath, and vpon euerie steppe standeth a siluer candlesticke with a waxe candle burning in it, and there doe walke souldiours in harnesse, as bright as Saint George, which keepe the graue, till the Priests come and take him vp: and then cometh sodenlie a flash of fire, wherwith they are all afraid and fall downe: and then up-startes the man, and they begin to sing Alleluia, on all handes, and then the clocke striketh eleuen.[24]

Of the authors mentioned, Philips van Marnix paid special attention to the theatrical nature of Holy Week liturgical ceremonies. However, the reformer's field of interest includes, chiefly, their specific set design, namely the richly decorated and large-scale Holy Sepulchre, into which the wooden or – what is noteworthy – stone crucifix is laid ("a Crucifixe, either of wood, or of stone"). He also attaches considerable importance to the pyrotechnic effects which the faithful could experience on Easter morning.

Another important work of interest is the treatise, *A Declaration of Christe and of his office*[25] by John Hooper (1495?-1555), later a bishop of Gloucester.[26] The English reformer, like Naogeorgus and van Marnix broadly describing church customs, takes a dim view of celebrative performances of the *Resurrection* rite:

[Christ] hankyd not the picture of his body vpon the crosse to theache them his deathe as our late lernyd men hathe done. The plowghman, he new wowed it, shalbe better be instructyd of Christes deathe and passion by the corn that he sowithe in the fyld and likwyce of Christes resurrection, then he all the did postes that hang in the churche or pullyd out of the sepulchre withe, Christus resurgens. What resemblaunce hathe the taking of the crosse our of the sepulchre and goying a procession withe it withe the resurrection of Christe: none at all, the ded post is a ded, when they sing, Iam non moritur, as it was, when they boryd it, withe, in pace factus est locus eius. If my precher would manyfest the resurrexion of Christe vnto the sences. Why shoyld he not teache them by the grayne of the fyld, that is rysyn out of the Erthe, and committhe of the ded corn, that he sawid in the winter.[27]

According to Hooper, ceremonies of this type yield no good effects, and can – although the author does not say this explicitly – lead to identifying the image of the crucified Christ with Christ Himself. Pamela Sheingorn claims: "The special object of Hooper's rage was the wooden image of Christ placed in the Easter Sepulchre on Good Friday and raised from it on Easter morning. In addition to yield such didactic value to such image, Hooper derisively calls it a 'ded post.'"[28] Despite Sheingorn's suggestions, it is not evident from Hooper's text which type

[24] Rabboteus, 1579, p. 200. Cited after: Young, 1933, vol. II, pp. 537-538.
[25] Zurich 1547.
[26] On John Hooper, see: Franke, 1996; Hunt, 1992; Newcombe, 1989.
[27] Hooper, 1547, sig. E³. Cited after: Sheingorn, 1989, p. 152.
[28] Sheingorn, 1989, p. 152.

of sculptural depiction of the Saviour was used in the ceremonies described. It is even difficult to accept without any reservations that it was a wooden figure of Christ. First, Hooper writes generally about "all the dead postes that hang in the churche or pullyd out of the sepulchre withe, Christus resurgens", and then he clearly states that a cross was taken out from the Sepulchre ("What resemblaynce hathe the taking of the crosse out of the sepulchre and goying à prossession with it withe the resurrection of Christ").

The Anglicans tended to focus less on Holy Week ceremonies than on the Easter Sepulchres beside which they were conducted. Permanent and temporary Easter Sepulchres constituted an especially important element of religious life in late medieval England. The faithful did not treat them as objects created merely for the needs of ceremonies presenting the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection, used for a clearly defined purpose once a year during the Holy Week period. Commonly present in English churches, they were perceived in terms of individual human fate related to the belief in resurrection and eternal life. Hence, they were the object of a number of devotional practices of varying nature, which acquired greater intensity, for obvious reasons, during Holy Week.[29] The wealthy strove to be buried in their vicinity, or simply commissioned tombs which were meant to serve simultaneously as Easter Sepulchres. These types of structures were often used in the collective adoration of the Holy Sacrament.[30]

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[29] Issues related to English Easter Sepulchres are discussed in detail by Pamela Sheingorn: Sheingorn, 1978, pp. 37-60; Sheingorn, 1987. When referring to devotional practices related to Easter Sepulchres we have in mind the burning of candles, placing monetary gifts, decorating with flowers, fabric, etc. Cf.: Bond, 1916, pp. 220-224. Structures of this type as well as related customs were also popular in other parts of Europe, for more on this see: Grinder-Hansen, 2004, pp. 229-243; Knoesen, 2000a, pp. 175-180; Maisel, 2002, passim, in particular pp. 110-132.

[30] "The Easter sepulchre and its accompanying ceremonial constitute something of an interpretative crux for any proper understanding of late medieval English religion. The sepulchre was emphatically a central part of the official liturgy of Holy Week, designed to inculcate and give dramatic expression to orthodox teaching, not merely on the saving power of Christ's cross and Passion but on the doctrine of Eucharist. With its abundance of lights and night watches it constituted an especially solemn form of public worship of the Host, in many communities far more elaborated even than the Corpus Christi procession. At the same time it had become by the fifteenth century an intense and genuinely popular focus for lay piety and devotional initiative. The complexity of the cluster of ideas and observances which gathered around the sepulchre in popular understanding and practice suggests that we should not too hastily accept the widely held view of the theological imbalance of late medieval Christianity, where it sometimes seems that 'piety is becoming fevered, and that Christ's *humanitas* has become synonymous with his passibility.' Expressing to the full as it did the late medieval sense of the pathos of the Passion, the sepulchre and its ceremonies were also the principal vehicle for the Easter proclamation of Resurrection.": Duffy, 1992, p. 31. "The Easter Sepulchre, which stood at the center of the celebration of the most important events in Christian history, was no remote from the central concerns of individual Christians. Parishioners revealed their understanding that their own funerary ritual, and also the hope that their souls would be received in heaven, were intimately connected with the ritual burial and resurrection of Christ conducted at the Easter Sepulchre."; Sheingorn, 1989, p. 149. Cf.: Duffy, 1992,

The theatrical ceremonies conducted on Good Friday, Easter Sunday and other days of the liturgical year were officially banned and condemned only around 1570. Until then they had been tolerated, and attempts had been made to fully restore them during the resurgence of English Catholicism under Mary I.[51] At the end of the 16th century they were at times mentioned with nostalgia, as in the case of the anonymous *Description or Briefe declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customes within the Monastical Church of Durham before the suppression. Written in 1593.*[52] The friar from the defunct Benedictine Abbey in Durham described the liturgical ceremonies celebrated on Good Friday as follows:

> Within the Abbye Church of Durham upon good friday there was marveilous solemne service, in the which service time after the passion was sung two of the eldest monkes did take a goodly large crucifix all of gold of the picture of our saviour Christ nailed uppon the crosse lyinge uppon a velvett cushion, havinge St Cuthberts armes uppon it all imbrodered with gold bringinge that betwixt them uppon the said cushion to the lowest stepps in the quier, and there betwixt them did hold the said picture of our saviour sittinge of every side on their knees of that, and then one of the said monkes did rise and went a pretrye way from it sittinge downe uppon his knees with his shoes put of[f] verye reverently did creepe awey uppon his knees unto the said crosse and most reverently did kisse it, and after him the other monkes did so likewise, and then they did sitt them downe on eyther side of the said crosse and holdinge it betwixt them, and after the passion came forth of his stall, and did sitt him downe of his knees with his shooes of[f] and in like sort did creepe also unto the said crosse and all the monkes after him one after an nother, in the same order, and, in the meane time all the whole quire singinge an Himne, the service beinge ended the two monkes did carrye it to the sepulchre with great reverence, which sepulchre was sett upp in the morninge on the north side of the quire nigh to the high altar before the service time and there did lay it within the said sepulchre, with great devotion with other picture of our saviour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose with great reverence the most holy and blessed sacrament

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pp. 32-33. See also: Kroesen, 2000b, pp. 290-300; Maisel, 2002, pp. 99-110; Schmidtunser, 2008, pp. 37-70.

[51] It is clearly stressed by Clifford Davidson: "At first during the Reformation in England certain ceremonies of a highly visual and quasi-dramatic nature were not disturbed. The Palm Sunday procession, the rites of *Depositio* and *Elevatio* on Good Friday and Easter, and perhaps the less common dramatic *Visitatio Sepulchri* were not widely affected until the reign of Edward VI, when they were suppressed. At Wriothesley noted, these rites were returned under Queen Mary, but then were banned under Elizabeth I as examples of 'Popish' practices not to be allowed. The official view came to be synonymous with the harsh and hostile satire of Barnabe Googe's *The Popish Kingdome* (London, 1570), which was a translation of a work by a violently Protestant continental writer, Thomas Kirchmeyer's *Latin Regnum Papisticum* of 1553."; Davidson, 1989, pp. 104-105. See also: Kroesen, 2000a, p. 182.

[52] The work was printed in London in 1842, edited by James Raine Senior, in the series "Publications of the Surtees Society", vol. 15; Raine, 1842. The Holy Week liturgical ceremonies conducted in Durham were described in detail in 1672 by John Davies of Kidwelly in *The Ancient Rites, and Monuments of the Monastical, & Cathedral Church of Durham. Collected out of ancient manuscripts, about the time of the suppression* (London 1672). William Hone, who included a lengthy passage on these ceremonies, refers to this work: Hone, 1823, pp. 221-223. See also: Davidson, 1989, p. 105; Jurkowski, 2009, p. 52.

of the altar sencinge and prayinge unto it upon theire knees a great space settinge two taper lighted before it, which tapers did burne unto Easter day in the morninge that it was taken forth.[33]

The writings of Protestant reformers – both from England and from the countries of continental Europe – generally lack any discussion of theatricalised liturgical ceremonies as a specific kind of theatrical and literary pieces performed in church interiors, featuring a specific structure and interrelated textual, gestural or musical elements, which were meant to influence the audience.[34] These very issues are addressed by the author of *A Description or Briefe declaration*... On the basis of the vocabulary used we can conclude that he was highly impressed by the ceremonies known to him since childhood and delighted by their magnificence and splendour.

The *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*, described in detail in *A Description or Briefe declaration*..., should be perceived as high culture. Generally, theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, recorded on the pages of missals, breviaries or agendas, were

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[33] Cited after: Fowler, 1903, pp. 11-12. Equally spectacular was the rite conducted on Easter Sunday using a unique figure of the Saviour featuring in its torso a transparent, crystal container for the Host: "There was in the abbey church of duresme [Durham] verye solemnie service upon easter day betweene 3 and 4 of the clocke in the morninge in honour of the resurrection when 2 of the oldest monkes of the quire came to the sepulchre, being sett upp upon good friday after the passion all covered with redd velvett and embrodered with gold, and then did once it either monke with a paire of silver sencors settinge them on theire knees before the sepulchre, then they both rising came to the sepulchre, out of the which with great reverence they tooke a marvelous beautifull Image of our saviour representinge the resurrection with a crosse in his hand in the breast wherof was enclosed in bright Christall the holy sacrament of the altar, through the which christall the blessed host was conspicuous, to the beholders, then after the elevation of the said picture carryed by the said 2 monkes uppon a faire velvett cushion all embrodered singinge the anthem of christus resurgens they brought to the high altar settinge that on the midst therof wheron it stood the two monkes kneelinge on theire knees before the altar, and sencing it all the time that the rest of the whole quire was in singinge the foresaid anthem of Xpus resurgens, the which anthem being ended the 2 monkes tooke up the cushion and the picture from the altar supportinge it betwixt them, proceedinge in procession from the high altar to the south quire dore where there was 4 antient gentlemen belonginge to the prior appointed to attend there cominge holdinge upp a most rich canopye of purple velvett tached round about with redd silke, and gold fringe, and at every corner did stand one of theise antient gentlemen to beare it over the said Image, with the holy sacrament carried by two monkes round about the church the whole quire waitinge uppon it with goodly torches and great store of other lights, all singinge reioyceinge and praising god most devoutly till they came to the high altar againe, wheron they did place the said Image, with the holy sacrament cleere unto it, there to remaine untill the assention day.'; cited after: Fowler, 1903, pp. 12-13. See also: Rubin, 1992, pp. 294-297.

[34] As rightly noticed by Peter Jezler: "Les polemiques humanistes et protestantes du XVIe siècle présentent une série de descriptions surprenantes qui sont autant de relevés ethnographiques des usages traditionnels. Ces relations décrivent le déroulement des rites profanes et sacrés de l'année liturgique, mais renoncent à donner des explications sur leur signification. Aussi, les rites sont décrits nous apparaissent-ils comme l'incompréhensible agitation d'une peuplade exotique, qui s'expose à la dérision, étant donné que l'on ne peut ou ne veut comprendre la signification des cérémonies."; Jezler, 2001, p. 218.

created within elite intellectual church circles, related to monastic or cathedral centers. As such they were sophisticated textual and formal additions to liturgy.[35] Reformers treated them in a different way. Instead of describing the liturgical ceremonies celebrated by higher ranking clergy, often in the absence of the faithful, the reformers focused on criticizing various types of ceremonies conducted in provincial localities, strongly marked with folk culture or religiousness, or in city churches attended by crowds of plebeians. This allowed such polemicists as Kirchmeyer, Hooper and van Marnix to direct their sharpest criticism towards the behaviour of the faithful. All of these reformers condemn first the naïve, primitively superstitious faith of the participants in Holy Week ceremonies, accuse them of worshipping "wooden idols", and criticise idolatrous behaviours. The attacks, in this context, are also targeted at the clergy who in fact accept and encourage such behaviours.[36]

We can also observe this approach in various kinds of satirical texts, which usually poke fun at ceremonies conducted on Palm Sunday and Ascension Day. References to animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, as well as ceremonies celebrated on Good Friday, appear only in passing. Works of this type include *Facetiae* by Heinrich Bebel (1472-1518). Bebel was a humanist in the court of Maximilian I, a poet, and professor of poetry and rhetoric at the university in Tübingen.[37] Bebel's literary activity belongs to the critical preceding the first efforts of the reformers and the author's at times critical attitude towards the Church and the clergy tends to be seen as anticipating new religious ideas. The *Facetiae* (Strasbourg 1508) are, however, first and foremost satirical stories and not polemics against the Roman Church. In one of them, entitled *De quodam Ulmensi sacerdote. Leonartus Clemens*, we read:

> Fuit Ulmae sacerdos indoctus et in re litteraria parum instructus. qui dum in comoes-
> sationibus sibi sacello (quod situm est illic extra portam beatae virginis, cuno itinere quanto
> Calvarie. locus, ubi Christus crucifixus est ab Hierosolymis distiisse fertur, proinde

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[35] Davidson, 2003, pp. 199-200; Lewański, 1999, pp. 23-24.

[36] Apart from religious polemics, we should otherwise agree, that folk festivity/ criticism was not ungrounded. The faithful often treated specific ceremonies as a perfect opportunity for primitive in nature folk entertainment, which had nothing in common with worshiping and respecting God. Bob Scribner looks in depth about folk piety at the turn of the 16th century in the context of the emerging reformation movements. The author mentions different types of church ceremonies and processions which made use of animated sculptures, emphasising the popularity of these types of religious activities among representatives of lower social classes in late medieval Germany. The terms that Scribner uses with reference to the ceremonies described are: 'civic ritual' and 'folklorised ritual'. Scribner's findings allow us to contest that the behaviour of the faithful during specific ceremonies, and the attitude towards the sculptural depictions participating in these ceremonies, were similar to those described and condemned by the reformers (although, as must be emphasised, they were not manifested in such drastic forms or often imagined by the reformers). Scribner, 1987, pp. 23-31; Scribner, 1989, pp. 448-469. See also: Düsselbacher, Bauer, 1990.

[37] Liebmann, 1981, pp. 49-51. See also: Kapuścia, 2008, p. 274.

ad requiem dominicam dictam) in die Parasceues, ut sit, imaginem Christi crucifixi in sepulcrum in magna populi cum religione spectatis frequentia posuisset. quocumque accerca sollicite cogitaret (nam nonnulli etiam sacerdotes aderant) qua oratione, quae ab illis collecta dicitur, inter thurificandum ut deberet, mox elata voce in ea verba prorupit (gaudens ut ipse putavit se optimum modum invenisse) Deus indulgentiarum domine da animae famuli tui summi pontificis, cuius primum depositionis diem hodie agimus, refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, et veri luminis claritatem etc. populo devotionem suspirante, sacerdotes ob sacerdotis ruditatem in summum sunt risum effusi.[38]

The story about the priest from Ulm is inherently the criticism of the level of education of some members of the clergy. It is not a polemic against the tradition of performing theatricalised liturgical ceremonies; it is not the ceremonies that are the subject of the anecdote but a particular person's poor knowledge of Latin. It therefore lacks detailed information about the *Depositio* ceremony. We must however state indisputably what type of figure was used during the ceremony. Michael J. Liebmann subscribes to the belief it was an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. In arguing this thesis, the researcher makes use of the poet's two other *facetiae*, which refer to theatricalised ceremonies: conducted during Holy Week[39] and on Ascension Day.[40] In each of his works Bebel uses the expression "imago crucifixi",[41] and in the case of the story about the priest from Ulm he adds: "imaginem Christi crucifixi in sepulchrum... posuisset". According to Liebmann, in the latter case Bebel wrote about an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ

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[38] Bebel, 1508, pages unnumbered.

[39] "VON EINEM SCHWEIZER. Ein Schweizer, der sich der Teichweide halber allweg im Gebirge aufhielt und drum gar selten in die Kirchen kame, ging einmal an einem heiligen Wochen [...] in die Metten. Wie dann auf einmal die Lichter aus gelöscht wurden, und ich ein Gerumpel und Gepolter erhoben, was denn geduldter Morts unähnlich weit, anzuzeigen, wie Christus von den Juden sei gefangen worden, zoge der Bauer sein Schwert heraus, stund in die Ecken und forcht sein aufs heftigst [...]" Bebel, 1508, fl, 77. Cited after: Liebmann, 1981, p. 50 [translated from Latin into German by A. Wesselski].

[40] "VON DEMSELBEN. Bei den Teutschen ist im Brauch, daß an Himmelfahrtstag die Bild des Gekreuzigten als eines schon triumphierenden mit Gesang erhoben wird bis an das oberst Gefäll der Kirchen und unter Sinnbild der Auffahrt des Herrn. Als nun Melchior einmal aufgestiegen war zu diesem Gefäll, schaue da, wie, du wie, wie vermeint, einem Bauern in dem gedichter Morts anähnlich, der aufs höchsten Unvillen: 'O Du schändlicher Nichtsnutz und Betrüger, was liegst Du da! Wo die Leute glauben, du steist zum Himmel mit Gesang, was versteckest Du Du Schelm, was versteckest Du Dich'. Warf ihn in Grund und Boden, daß er in tausend Stücke zersprange. Zu Cannisart aber war er Melmer, der schrie am Himmelfahrtstage die Jünglinge, so über sie hell zu anzeigen, wie sie mit zauderien, vor allem Volk also an: 'Erhebet ihn in aller Teufels Namen', vermeinet den Erläser. Zu Canisart ward er zu Unehr Gottes, gnanten, war er in tausend Stücke zerbrochen" Bebel, 1508, fl, 181. Cited after: Liebmann, 1981, p. 51 [translated from Latin into German by A. Wesselski].

[41] Liebmann, 1981, pp. 50-51.

laid into a Sepulchre and in the first two about a crucifix.[62] Considering the fact that in Bebel's times the vocabulary pertaining to the images we are interested in was changing and inconcrete, it is difficult to support Liebmann's theories. We would have no doubts if Bebel had described the act of taking down a sculptural image of Christ from a cross.

In comparison to Bebel's *Facetiae*, fragments of Mikołaj Rej's poetry are of a distinctly mocking nature. Rej, referring in his *Postylle* to the custom of organizing a procession with the figure of Christ on a donkey, claimed that "Who failed to swallow a catkin and lead an oaken Christ to town on Palm Sunday, was belittled spiritual salvation."[63] Elsewhere he writes about the custom of enacting Christ's Ascension: "Who on Ascension Day pulls linden Jesus with ropes like a thief up into heaven, and throws the devil down from the top and then roams the streets with him will receive indulgence and favours from God."[64] This type of sarcastic comments in the poetry of the Reformation age did not occur often – theatricalised liturgical ceremonies and religious performances using animated sculptures were not a significant subject for writers engaged in religious polemics.

We can find out more about the negative attitude of Protestant reformers towards animated sculptures used in theatricalised liturgical ceremonies from sources dealing with iconoclasm. The fact that the reformers derided the masses' faith in the miraculousness and power of animated sculptures of Christ is evidenced in, e.g. the reports of Heinrich von Pflummern (1475-1561) from Biberach in southern Germany. He was a local priest, who, in 1531, dismayed at the advancement of reformation, joined the Augustinian Abbey in Waldsee. There, in 1545, he wrote a polemic which became a critical commentary on the actions of the advocates of Zwingli in Biberach, who performed a number of iconoclastic acts. The author of *Etwas als wenig von der aller grusamlichsten, unerhertosten, unewangelichosten, gotzlosisten, ketzerischosten und verfierichosten Lutery, die sich verlofen haut ungefarlich vom 1523 jar bis setz in das 1544 iar* had two goals. He wanted to stigmatize heretics and leave a record

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[62] "Aus dieser Fazetie spricht die Sitte, im Karfreitag die Grablegung Christi zu reproduzieren. Ihre Quellen liegen einerseits im Nachahmen der Ostermysterien, andererseits – in der Wirksamkeit der Bruderschaften zum Heiligen Grabe. Im Spätmittelalter wurde das Holzbild am Karfreitag in das Sepulcrum gelegt, wo es tiefs bis zum Ostermorgen behielt. Es gab Holzkruzifixe mit in Scharnieren beweglichen, schwenkbaren Armen. Das Christus-Bild wurde vom Kreuz genommen, die Arme gesenkt und die Figur als 'Leichnam' in das Grab getan. Daß wir es in unserem Falle mit einer Figur Christi und nicht mit einem Kruzifix, das ins Grab gebettet wurde (wie es auch zu geschehen pflegte), zu tun haben, folgere ich aus dem Text. Im Original steht es 'imaginem Christi crucifixi in sepulcrum... posuisset'. Wenn die Rede von einem Kruzifix ist, heißt es sonst 'imago crucifixi', Liebmann, 1981, pp. 50-51.

[63] Rej, 1557, fol. 201. See also: Bystroń, 1994, pp. 50-52; Rzegocka, 2005, p. 189; Smosarski, 1988, p. 120; Targosz, 1995, p. 108.

[64] Rej, 1560, k. 225'; cited after: Jurkowlaniec, 2007, p. 384. See also: Fischer, 1913, p. 58.

of the abandoned practices of the Catholic Church, including those related to Holy Week.[45]

Heinrich von Pflummern mentions, among others, a Michel Rocher, who acquired a figure of Christ on a donkey used in the enactment of *Christ's entry into Jerusalem*. According to the chronicler, Rocher displayed it outside his barbershop, and then burnt it in order to heat water for a bath.[46] The sculpture, treated earlier as a cult object, an important element of the Holy Week procession, the focus of attention for the faithful,[47] became a kind of advertisement, encouraging people to make use of the barber services offered by the reformer from Biberach.[48] In his memoirs, Heinrich von Pflummern claims with satisfaction that Rocher got his comeuppance for the sin he had committed: he died not long after destroying the sculpture.[49]

In 16th-century sources we find more information confirming that the figures of Christ on a donkey became the object of attacks by iconoclasts. Sculptures of this type were burned, drowned in lakes, or, as was the case in Biberach – used as forms of advertisement.[50] Cases of iconoclastic actions towards the figures of

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[45] On Heinrich von Pflummern and his work see: Litz, 2007, pp. 160-162, 166, 168, 169A, 173-176; Schelling, 1875, pp. 143-145; Wood, 1988, pp. 25-44. His work was published in: Schelling, 1875, pp. 146-238. The current location of the manuscript is not known. When it was published, it belonged to the family of Heinrich von Pflummern.

[46] Schelling, 1875, p. 203; Litz, 2007, pp. 165, 174; Wood, 1988, pp. 40-41.

[47] The importance of the ceremonies commemorating Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, as well as the Last Supper and the Washing of the Apostles' Feet, to the inhabitants of Biberach is evidenced in an anonymous account entitled *Die religiösen und kirchlichen zustände der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Biberach unmittelbar vor einführung der Reformation*. This work, similar in nature and purpose to Heinrich von Pflummern's account, was written in Biberach in the 1530s, most probably by a local priest. In it we can find a description of numerous ceremonies conducted in St. Martin's parish church with the wide participation of the faithful and use of rich *mise-en-scène*. With respect to Good Friday rituals, it must be concluded that the *Entombment* scene was not performed; instead, adoration of the cross took place. However, Holy Sepulchre was the object of adoration. The figure of the dead Saviour placed in the Sepulchre was called by the author "Herrgott" ("Da ist ein andechtiger Herrgott gelegen, verdeckht mit ainem Tünnen Thuech, das man Unnsern Herrgott dadurch hat mögen sehen, den das grab ist vergöttert gewesst"). Ascension Day and the Descent of the Holy Spirit were also celebrated in Biberach. In the former, an important element of the performance was an animated sculpture of the Resurrected Christ, pulled up by ropes above the ceiling through a hole in it. In the second ceremony, a gold plated image of the Holy Spirit was used. It was placed in a vaguely described case-container decorated with many candles and then lowered through the same hole into the church aisles. More on this topic in: Wood, 1988, pp. 34-35. The text of the work, surviving in a 17th-c. transcript was published by A. Schilling: Schilling, 1887, pp. 1-191 (see in particular pp. 117-134). On theatricalised liturgical ceremonies in Biberach see also: Scribner, 1987, pp. 25-26.

[48] Wood, 1988, pp. 40-41.

[49] Wood, 1988, pp. 40-41.

[50] See: Jezler, 1989, p. 622 (note 22); Jezler, 2001, p. 228; Jezler, Jezler, Göttler, 1984, p. 99; Jung, 2006, p. 117; Litz, 2007, *passim*; Michalski, 1990, pp. 88, 92; Restu, 1957, p. 398; Wandel, 1995, pp. 90-92; Woziński, 1992, p. 82.

the resurrected Christ were also reported. A sculpture of this type, complex in construction, characterised by rich animation possibilities, was destroyed, together with other "idols" in London in 1547. This event was described in *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559* by Charles Wriothesley (ca. 1508-1562):

> The xxviith daie of November, being the first Soundaie of Aduent, preched at Poules Cross Doctor Barlowe, Bishopp of Sainct Davides, where he shewed a picture of the resurrection of our Lord made with vices, which putt out his legges of sepulchre and blessed with his hand, and turned his heade [...]. And in his sermon he declared the great abhomination of idolatrie in images, with other fayned ceremonies contrarie to scripture, to the extolling of Godes glorie, and to the great comfort of the audience. After the sermon the boyes brooke the idolls in peaces.[51]

A good description is also provided of an event that took place on Ascension Day in St. Maurice church in Augsburg, in 1533. At that time sacristan Max

[51] Wriothesley, 1875, p. 1. See also: Aston, 1989, pp. 71-72; Butterworth, 2005, pp. 115-116; Lindley, 2001, p. 34; MacLure, 1958, pp. 40-41; Sheingorn, 1987, p. 61; Sheingorn, 1989, pp. 152-154. Pamela Sheingorn calls the discussed depiction a "Resurrection puppet" (Sheingorn, 1989, p. 152), situating it in the context of medieval performances using theatrical puppets. The researcher pays particular attention to the description of the performance in Witney (Oxfordshire), mentioned in the *Dictionarium Angliae Topographicum...* by William Lambarde (1536-1601): "In the Dayes of ceremonial Religion they used at Wytney to set foorthe yearly in manner of a Shew, or Enterlude, the Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christe, partly of purpose to draw thythter some Concourse of People that might spend their Money in the Towne, but cheiflie to allure by pleasant Spectacle the comon Sort to the Likinge of Popishe Maumetrie: for the which Purpose, and the more lyvely thearby to exhibite to the Eye the hole Action of the Resurrection, the Preistes garnished out certein smalle Puppets, representing the Parsons of Christe, the Watchmen, Marie, and others, amongst the which one bare the Parte of a wakinge Watchman, who (espinge Christ to arise) made a continual Noyce, like to the Sound that is caused by the Metinge of two Styckes, and was thearof comonly called, *Jack Snacker of Wytney*"; Lambarde, 1730, p. 459. On the performance in Witney, see also: Butterworth, 2005, pp. 130-131; Chambers, 1957, pp. 157-158; Davidson, 1966, pp. 15-16; Hone, 1823, p. 250; Jurkowski, 1996, pp. 69-70; Robinson, 1973, p. 113; Shershow, 1995, pp. 41-42; Speaight, 1970, pp. 31-32; Speaight, 1990, p. 34; Warton, 1775, pp. 240-241. It is hard to treat the figure of the Resurrected Christ destroyed in London as a theatrical puppet. There is nothing that suggests that it had functioned in the context of other puppets, as in the case of the performance enacted in Witney, in which Christ was accompanied by the Virgin Mary and the tomb guards. It is also hard to describe what kind of puppet the Resurrected Christ presented in London could have been; in this regard Wriothesley's description is unspecific. Neither does Lambarde's description allow us to clearly state what type of puppets were used in Witney – some researchers point to marionettes (e.g. Speaight), others to hand puppets (Butterworth). Considering historical materials from continental Europe, we can conclude that the sculpture of Christ destroyed in London was in fact an animated sculpture of the Resurrected Christ. This type of work (in literature on the subject called the "Man of Sorrows" – "Schmerzensmann"), featuring moveable arms in the shoulders and elbows and a moveable head, dated to ca. 1500, is found in the former Servite church in Rattenberg (Tyrol), see: Kolfer, 2001, p. 171; Rampold, 1999, pp. 433-435. A sculpture of the Resurrected Christ from ca. 1500, featuring moveable arms and feet was also present until 1944 in the Mariacki church in Gdańsk; Drost, 1963, p. 129; Hirsch, 1843, p. 418; Woziński, 2002, p. 78.

Ehem, a supporter of the reformers, wanting to prevent a ceremony conducted with the figure of the resurrected Christ, stole the liturgical vessels, candles and the sculpture used during the ceremony and blocked the hole in the church ceiling. Members of the Fuggers family of bankers, who took care of the church, financed the replacement of the sculpture and the ceremony. On Ascension Day they unblocked the hole in the ceiling. Undeterred, Ehem broke into the church with his partisans during the ceremony. Aided by his brother, Jeremy, he began to pull down the figure of Christ which was already above the ceiling. When it was twenty feet above the ground the Ehem brothers let go of the rope holding the figure, which consequently crashed on the church floor.[52] In the same year Max Ehem tried to disrupt a ceremony conducted on Good Friday by obstructing the cover of the Holy Sepulchre. We do not, however, have any information suggesting that an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was supposed to be buried in the Holy Sepulchre.

The only use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ by the reformers as an important weapon in their combat against the Roman Church was an episode involving the *Rood of Grace* from the Cistercian Abbey in Boxley. The figure was discovered by Geoffrey Chamber in early February of 1538. In his letter dated 7 February to Thomas Cromwell, Chamber described its mechanism in detail, and discussed the first measures which this discovery prompted him to take.[53] The liquidator of the Boxley Abbey decided to present the sculpture in public in the nearby Maidstone:

[I] did convey the said image unto Maidstone this present Thursday, then being the market day, and in time of the market time, did show it openly unto all the people there being present, to see the false, crafty, and subtle handling thereof, to the dishonour

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[52] This event has been described in detail and analysed by Robert W. Scribner: Scribner, 1987, pp. 108-109. See also: Jung, 2006, p. 118; Kapustka, 2003, pp. 322-323; Kapustka, 2008, p. 274-275; Muir (E.), 1997, pp. 187-188.

[53] An important source mentioning the discovery of the sculpture is a letter from Robert Southwell, another liquidator of the Boxley Abbey, who within a month after Chamber's account wrote to Cromwell as follows: "Sir, – Ther poer men have not speared to confesse the trewth [...] whereby in my pore mynde they deserve the more favour, and I dare saie in their hartes thinke them stiffes rather to have mrytred perdon by their ignoraunce than praye or lawde for their forme of byvinge. Whether ther was cawse why that Boxley shulde recognyce as moche or more, it may please you to judge, whom it also pleased to shewe me the Idolle that stode there, in myne opynyeon a very monstruows sight. Here was also of late in this monastery a pece of Saint Andrew's fynger, covered with an unce of sylver or ther aboughte, a very poyntous iuell in the estimation of many, and now leyde to pledge by the monastery to one of the towne XL. li., whiche we intende nat to redeime of the pryce, except we be commaundid so to do. [...] There have growne no decay by this priour that we can learn, but surely his predecessours pheaced moche in being odoryfeous unsavery, as it should seme by their convertng the remes of their monastery, that were wonte to be paide in coyne and grayne, into golden flowers and roses... Sir, we have practysed with the pore men for their pencions as eraselý to the Kynges charges and to his graces honour as we could devyse... 3 of Merche. Robert Southwell."; cited after: Cave-Browne, 1892, pp. 61-62.

of God, and illusion of the said people, who I daresay, that if in case the said monastery were to be defaced again, the King's Grace would be offended, they would either pluck it down to the ground, or else burn it, for they have the said matter in wondrous detestation and hatred, as at my repair unto your Lordship and bringing the same image with me.[54]

According to this account, the inhabitants of Maidstone were surprised, or rather indignant, that the *Rood of Grace* contained a mechanism allowing movement of selected parts of the Saviour's body. This is confirmed by a later account by Charles Wriothesley, who wrote in 1559:

> [...] and there shewed openlye to the people the craft of movinge the eyes and lipps, that all the people there might see illusion that had been used in the sayde image by the monckes of the saide place of manye yeares tyme owt of mynde, whereby they had gotten great riches in deceavinge the people thickinge that the sayde image had so moved by the power of God, which now playnlye appeared to the contrary.[55]

The people gathered in Maidstone at the marketplace were prepared to destroy the sculpture. However, Chamber did not allow this to happen and decided to transport it to London, where it was shown to Henry VIII.[56] On Sunday, the 24th day of the month, at Paul's Cross church, John Hilsey, the bishop of Rochester, gave a sermon on the figure, and at the same time displayed the image of Christ to the public and showed how the mechanism inside the sculpture worked.[57] The faithful gathered in the church, encouraged by the bishop's words, demonstrating the mechanical sculpture as an example of an idol and sign of false piety, symbolically destroyed it, first desacralizing it by removing from it the church.[58] The sermon itself, as well as the moment of the image's destruction, was rather dramatic. In the letter of John Hooker from Maidstone we read:

> Being laid open, he afforded a sportive sight, first to all Maidstonians, [...] From thence he was taken to London. He paid a visit to the Royal Court. This new guest salutes the King himself after a novel fashion. [...] The matter was referred to the Council. After a few days a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Rochester Hilsey. [...] Then, when the preacher began to wax warm, and the Word of God to work secretly in the hearts of heaters, the wooden trunk was hurled among the most crowded of the audience. And

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[54] Cook, 1965, p. 144.

[55] Wriothesley, 1875, p. 74.

[56] Finucane, 1977, p. 209; Marshall, 1995, p. 692. See also: Burnet, 1816, vol. III, part II, no. 55, pp. 175-176.

[57] Aston, 1989, pp. 56-57; Collinson, 2003, p. 162; Finucane, 1977, p. 209; MacLure, p. 30; Philips, 1973, pp. 73-74; Speaght, 1991, p. 32.

[58] Aston, 1989, p. 58. In Charles Wriothesley's chronicle of the events taking place in London we read: "After the sermon was done, the bishopp rooke the said image of the roode into the pulpit and brooke the vice of the same, and after gave it to the people againe, and then the rude people and boyes brake the said image in peeces, so that they left not one piece whole."; Wriothesley, 1875, pp. 75-76. Cf: Aston, 1989, pp. 56-57. References to other accounts related to the destruction of the *Rood of Grace* in: Aston, 1989, pp. 83-84 (note 18).

now was heard a tremendous clamour. He is snatched, torn, broken in pieces, bit by bit, split up into a thousand fragments, and at last thrown upon the fire: and thus was an end of him.[39]

Even more detailed is the description given by John Finch. In the letter addressed to Conrad Humpart we read as follows:

[...] A certain German merchant here, who is acquainted with the English language, told me as a certain fact, that all the images, which used to work miracles by the artifices of the devil and his angels, that is to say, the monks, friars, fisheaters, and others of that stump, were conveyed on horseback to London, at the command of the bishops: that a public sermon was preached from the pulpit of St Paul's to the congregation assembled in Christ; after which a certain image brought away from Kent, and called in English 'The rood of grace in Kent', was first exhibited. The preacher, the bishop of Rochester, explained all the trickery and imposture in the presence of the people. By means of some person pulling a cord, most artfully contrived and ingeniously inserted in the back, the image rolled about its eyes just like a living creature; and on the pulling of other cords it gave a nod of assent to dissent according to the occasion: it never restored health to any sick person, notwithstanding great numbers afflicted with divers diseases were carried to it, and laid prostrate before it, unless some one disguised himself or set purpose, and pretended to be sick; in which case it would give a nod, as though promising the restoration of health, that it might by this means confirm its imposture. Then again, by some other contrivance unknown to me, it opened and shut its mouth; and, to make an end of my story at once, after all its tricks had been exposed to the people, it was broken into small pieces, and it was a great delight to any one who could obtain a single fragment, either, as I suppose, to put in the fire in their own houses, or else to keep by them by way of reproof to such kind of impostors. [...][40]

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[39] Cited after: Cave-Browne, 1882, p. 62. Entire text of the letter in: Gorham, 1857, pp. 17-19. See also: Philips, 1973, p. 74.

[40] Letter CCLXXVIII John Finch to Conrad Humpard, Robinson, 1847, pp. 605-607. Cf: "[...] A certain German, who belongs to one of the merchant companies residing in London, has told us some marvellous stories respecting some [images of] saints, which were formerly fixed an immoveable at some distance from London; namely, that they have now ridden to London, and performed most wonderful miracles in a numerous assembly. Concerning the bearded crucifix of Kent, called in our language 'The Rood of grace near Maidstone', he told us, that while the bishop of Rochester was preaching at Paul's cross to a most crowded congregation of nobility and others, in the presence too of many other famous saints of wood and stone, it turned its head about, rolled its eyes, foamed at the mouth, and poured forth tears down its cheeks. The bishop had before thundered forth against these images: the satellite saints of the Kentish image acted in pretty much the same way. It is expected that the virgin of Walsingham, and St Thomas of Canterbury, and likewise some other images, will soon perform their miracles in the same place which, of what character they are, you may, I think, judge for yourself. For the trickery of the wicked knaves was so publicly exposed in the image of the crucifix, that every one was indignant against the monks and impostors of that kind, and execrated both the idols and those who worshipped them. God grant that we may really banish all idols from our hearts! [...]"; Robinson, 1847, pp. 609-610. See also: Burnet, 1816, vol. I, part I, book III, pp. 440-441 and vol. III, part I, book III, pp. 227-228 and vol. III, part II, no. 55, pp. 175-176; Letter CCLXXVII. William Peterson to Conrad Pulbert (probably written in 1538); Robinson, 1847, pp. 604-605.

The public destruction of the *Rood of Grace*, preceded by a sermon on idols, echoed far and wide in England. It was recalled long after 1538, undoubtedly thanks to the emergence of literature on the crucifix and its fate.[61] The literature was of a satirical nature, jeering at the marvellous image from Boxley.[62] It was also exaggerated in the description of the mechanisms' complexity, which could well serve to stress the "devilish" tricks of friars, who had no scruples about beguiling the faithful.[63] But most of all it served – both in the country and outside its borders – to legitimize, justify and explain the actions of Henry VIII, who was introducing his new religious order in the country. In the context of the story of the *Rood of Grace* the king became a model Christian ruler, who preserved the purity of the faith and who opposed abuses of its expression.[64]

The story of the *Rood of Grace* is unique. Among all the numerous animated sculptures of Christ used in the Late Middle Ages on the territory of Europe it was the only one that became particularly important to the reformers in propaganda and religious terms. Of course they had noticed and condemned different types of animated sculptures, but these were rarely mentioned in sources, and if so, never in the same way as the figure from Boxley was. Animated sculptures are incidentally found in numerous, often very detailed, source materials from Germany, Switzerland and England, pertaining to the destruction of religious art works in 16th-century Europe – this refers in particular to the animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which interest us.

Considering the scale and development of iconoclastic activities, as well as the number and the variety of objects that were destroyed or damaged as a result,[65] we may dismiss as ungrounded claims about the particular attention allegedly attached by reformers to animated sculptures. The fact that few animated

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[61] William Lambarde writes: "For, it is yet freshe in minde to some, and shall (I doubt not) to the profite of the one, by continued in perpetuall memorie to all posteritie, by what notable imposture, fraud, Juggling, and Legierdemain, the sillie lambes of Gods flocke were (not long since) seduced by the false Romish Foxes at this Abbay. The manner whereof, I will set downe, in such sorte onely, as the same was sometime by themselues published in print for their estimation and credite, and yet remaineth deeply imprinted in the mindes and memories of many on liue, to their euerlasting reproche, shame, and confusion."; Lambarde, 1826, p. 205. "I shall not neede to reporte, howe lewdly these Monkes, to their own enriching and the spoile of Gods people, abused this wooden God after they had thus gotten him, because a good sort be yet on liue that sawe the fraude openly detected at Paules Crosse, and others may reade it disclosed in bookes extant, and commonly abroad."; Lambarde, 1826, p. 209.

[62] Groeneveld, 2007, passim; Marshall, 1995, p. 696.

[63] First of all see: Groeneveld, 2007, pp. 11-49. See also: Finucane, 1977, p. 210.

[64] On this subject see the in-depth study by Peter Marshall: Marshall, 1995, in particular pp. 693-694.

[65] On this topic see, among others: Aston, 1989, pp. 47-91; Davidson, 1989, pp. 92-144; Dimmick, Simpson, Zeeman, 2002; Dupeux, Jezler, Wirth, 2001; Maarbjerg, 1993, pp. 577-593; Michalski, 1990, pp. 69-124; Phillips, 1973; Scribner, 1990; Wandel, 1995.

sculptures of the crucified Christ[66] have survived in regions and countries where Protestant denominations prevail does not necessarily stem from the aversion to the sculptures felt by Reformation denominations.[67] Animated sculptures, particularly those of the crucified Christ, have constituted and still constitute a small group. They were not an obligatory element of theatricalised liturgical ceremonies which more often, especially in northern Europe, used the cross or the Host. It would be difficult to expect a great number of these sculptures to have survived the times of religious turmoil and iconoclastic undertakings. Belonging to the category of rare depictions, they were obviously especially prone to destruction.

2. Examples of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ made between the 16th and 20th centuries

That damaged animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were repaired in the modern age proves that the Reformation era did not put an end to them. However, the most meaningful proof of this are sculptures produced between the mid-16th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a great number of which have survived till the present day.

Although a separate study on the conservation of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the modern period is not available, single references to specific objects show that the sculptures discussed here were used continuously between the 16th and 20th centuries. Some of them, in accordance with the guidelines of the Council of Trent, have lost their original function. The animated sculpture of the crucified Christ from Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw was, at unknown time, divested of the mechanism that allowed the folding of its arms and transformed into a figure of Christ in the Tomb. We may assume that if the *Depositio Crucis* had been celebrated in modern times in the church where it was originally located, the mechanism would have remained in its original form, subject to repairs as needed. The fact that the Saviour's arms were

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[66] Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ either did not survive or have not yet been discovered, in northern Germany, Holland, Sweden and Finland. We do, however, encounter other sculptures used in Holy Week ceremonies on these territories, see: Grinder-Hansen, 2004, pp. 229-243; Haastrup, 1973, pp. 37-48; Haastrup, 1987, pp. 133-170; Stolt, 1993, pp. 21-22, 25-27, 27-31, 49-64; Stolt, 1998, pp. 55-70.

[67] It is worth noting that in some Protestant communities the attitude towards animated sculptures was by no means negative: "And a few Protestant communities continued to use their movable Christ image, though in a less ritualized but equally powerful capacity. The thief-thwarting *Palmesel* from Kalbensteinberg, for instance, has remained in its traditional place of honor (in front of the tabernacle of the church) to this day, even though the town converted to Lutheranism in 1540."; Jung, 2006, p. 122.

immobilised after being folded down alongside the body may mean that attempts were made to adapt the figure to its new function. From then on the figure could serve as the most significant element of an expositional Holy Sepulchre, typical of modern times.

The figure from Spišská Belá in Slovakia was restored in the 18th century, when the mechanism allowing the folding of its arms was replaced by a new one.[68] If the mechanism had not been used in accordance with its original purpose, the restoration works would have been pointless. It would have been easier to deal with the sculpture in the same way as with the sculpture from Warsaw, or to immobilize the outstretched arms, transforming it into a typical crucifix. In modern times the figure from Stift Göttweig received a pair of new arms.[69] The sculpture from the parish church in Schönbach most probably gained moveable arms in the Baroque period.[70]

Moving on to sculptures produced between the 16th and 18th centuries, it is worth mentioning two pieces of work referred to by Gesine and Johannes Taubert.[71] The first one, from the Dachau Museum,[72] is 120 cm tall and dates back to the 18th century. It features a mechanism, activated by a rope in the back of the cross, allowing the movement of Christ's head, eyes and mouth.[73] Analogous animation possibilities characterise a 17th-century artefact from the territory of France, which in the 1920s became private property.[74] Especially relevant

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[68] "Die Armengelenke erneuert, wahrscheinlich 18 Jh., partim in Erinnerung an die originalen. Unter dem neuen Gelenk noch sichtbarer Einschnitt, was das frühere Gelenk noch umdrehte. Am erhaltenen Arm noch das Segment des Ausschnittes, wo der Arm an den Deltamuskel anpasste. Ähnlich bei dem großen Kruzifix vom Donatello in Santa Croce in Florenz, das gleichen Zweichen diente. Die neuen Gelenke angesetzt, aber längst, wie das ursprüngliche Nagelloch im Kreuz beweist, etwa 5 cm weiter nach innen liegt. (Bericht des Restaurators H. Kotrba vom 26. 6. 1966).": Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 88-89, cat. no. 30. The sculpture from the San Justo church in Segovia had its arms replaced with new ones (most likely in the 16th c.).

[69] "Beide Arme [wahrscheinlich] barocke Ergänzungen. Die Ansatzstellen der Arme waren für Scharnierarme gezirkelt und es befinden sich noch an den Armansatzstellen im Corpus die entsprechenden Ausnehmungen.": Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 9.

[70] "Die Arme scheinen ursprünglich beweglich gewesen zu sein, wie aus den scharnierartig ausgebildeten Schultergelenken geschlossen werden kann. Ursprünglich bewegliche Arme in Baroker Zeit fixiert. […] Der Kopf des Kruzifixus mit mit echtem Haar ausgestatet.": Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 28.

[71] Both were already discussed in more detail in the 1920s by Alfred Chapuis and Eduard Gélis: Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, pp. 95-96.

[72] According to researchers it is supposed to have come from one of the nearby churches.

[73] The sculpture also features applied natural hair: Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, p. 96.

[74] Chapuis, Gélis, 1928, pp. 95-96. The authors of the book also mention a more complex piece of work from the territory of Spain: "Non moins impressionnant est celui de Limpias, près de Santander en Espagne, donc on parlait déjà au XVIIIe siècle et qui existe encore aujourd'hui. Ce christ, qu'on croirait véritablement humain, remue les lèvres, roule les yeux, ouvre et ferme les paupières; sa figure se contracte et se ride; selon la croyance populaire, sa peau même transpirerait du sang." (p. 96). In this case, however, we are not dealing with, as Chapuis and Gelis suggest, an

is a newly discovered animated sculpture of crucified Christ from a Dominican monastery in Cracow, dated roughly to the 17th century. This figure of Christ has moveable arms, left elbow and legs (in knees and hips).[73] Other works produced in northern Europe and not mentioned by the Tauberts include a figure found in the collections of Museum Innviertler Volkskundehaus in Ried.[74] Dated to the beginning of the 17th century and 84 cm tall, it has low artistic value.[75]

The greatest number of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ made between the 16th and 20th centuries have survived in southern Europe, particularly in Sicily and Spain, where Holy Week ceremonies using the figures we are interested in remain popular to the present day. Justin E.A. Kroesen writes about the frequency of these types of effigies of Christ in Sicily, sometimes featuring not only moveable arms but also a moveable head: "The island of Sicily was (and is) particularly rich in popular traditions associated with Good Friday and Easter. In most villages and towns an image of the dead Christ in a coffin, a *Sacra Urna*, was carried in procession through the streets, for example in Caltanissetta and Trápani. In about a third of the towns and villages in Sicily a special effigy of Christ with moveable arms is used. This effigy can be removed from the cross and laid in the coffin with the arms folded down alongside the body, a custom which was already familiar in the Middle Ages. One example is to be found in the Santa Maria Maggiore in Mazzarino, where a heavily blood-stained Christ lying in the sarcophagus functions as a devotional image in the aisle throughout the year. In several cases the head was also moveable, so that the exact moment of death could be indicated."[78] The creation, incidence and form of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in modern times and later on the territory of Sicily have never been the subject of a separate study. The images we are interested in are mentioned on the margins of detailed deliberations on the development of particular religious ceremonies conducted during Holy Week, which we will discuss later.[79]

The largest number of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ between the 2nd half of the 16th century and the end of the 19th century is found on the

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animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. The researchers describe it which in fact was adored by the local community, but was devoid of any moveable parts. On this figure and the related cult, see: Espiago Pérez, 1983.

[73] The information about this sculpture was provided by Dr. Wojciech Walanus, from Jagiellonian University in Cracow, for which the author wishes to express his sincere gratitude.

[74] Inv. no. VKH 063.

[75] A description of the sculpture and bibliography in: Erzherzofer, 2002, p. 469. In modern times other sculptures used in Holy Week celebrations were also made, such as, e.g., figures of Christ on a donkey, see, among others: Dasset, 1983, pp. 102-116; Knapen, Valvekens, 2006, passim; *Der Palmesel...*, 2000.

[76] Kroesen, 2000a, p. 197.

[79] Modern Sicilian animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have been mentioned in: Falzone, 1996; Plumari, 1996.

territory of Spain. Julio I. González Montañés mentions a dozen or so works of this type located in Augasantas, Baños de Molgas, Cangas, Cepeda, Fornelos de Montes, Herguijuela, La Alberca, Miranda, Santiago de Compostela (Museo do Pobo Galego), Tui (in San Antonio church and San Miguel de Pexegueiro church), Verduцido, Viveiro and Xunqueira de Ambía.[80] To these we can add other relics, such as the *Santo Cristo de las Ánimas* from the San Mateo church in Tarifa (17th century),[81] the *Cristo de la Salud* from the parish church in Serradilla (19th century)[82] or two figures from the turn of the 17th century in Piedrahíta[83] and Jerez.[84] The region of Zamora itself has a few examples of such pieces. These are the sculptures from Alcañices (17th century),[85] the San Juan Bautista church in Almeida de Sayago (1st half of 17th century),[86] San Pedro church in Villalpando (ca. 1650),[87] San Mamés in Bercianos de Aliste (1680)[88] and a sculpture owned by Almacén de la Real Cofradía del Santo Entierro in Zamora (1620).[89] A dozen sculptures carved between 16th and the end of the 19th century are discussed in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Anna Laura de la Iglesia.[90] Solange Corbin and José María Domínguez Moreno, but without any specific information about them, only a description of the ceremonies they were used in,[91]

Among Spanish animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, the *Cristo de las Penas*, made in 1585 by Miguel Adán, is particularly remarkable. In terms of animation capabilities and workmanship, the sculpture is similar to the *Cristo de Burgos*, as the figure has moveable joints in the shoulder and knee areas; the artist concealed the mechanisms allowing movement using leather patches. The realism of the sculpture is enhanced by a perizonium made of hardened fabric.[92]

From the territory of Spain we also have contracts for animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which specify the functions they were to fulfill during Holy Week and the animation capabilities they were to feature.[93] An example of

[80] González Montañés, 2002, p. 33 (note 83), p. 34 (note 88).

[81] Terán Gil, 2002.

[82] Bravo, undated.

[83] The creator of the sculpture was Gregorio Hernández (1566-1636). Unpublished.

[84] Iglesia conventual de Santa María de la Merced. Unpublished.

[85] Schmidduner, 2008, p. 35.

[86] *Santo entierro...*, pp. 60-61.

[87] *Santo entierro...*, pp. 56-57.

[88] *Santo entierro...*, pp. 58-59; Schmidduner, 2008, p. 35.

[89] *Santo entierro...*, pp. 82-83. Authors of the sculpture: Gaspar González and Antonio Sánchez.

[90] Iglesia, 2009.

[91] Corbin, 1960, pp. 123-124, 126; Moreno, 1987, pp. 147-153. See also e.g.: Igual Ubeda, 1964, pp. 42, 57.

[92] Webster, 1998a, pp. 65-66.

[93] "In order to function convincingly in the descent ceremony, the arms of the sculptures had to be able to move from an open to a closed position. A document of commission for an articulated Christ of 1580 specified the different iconographic poses that the sculpture must adopt. In

a detailed document of this type is a contract from 1635 in which the sculptor, Augustín Muñoz, undertakes to:

> daros hecho un Cristo Crucificado del tamaño y proporción de un hombre alto, lo más devoto y que más mueva a devoción.
>
> Por cuanto la parte para donde ha de ser la imagen, pretende que haya de servir para el paso del Descendimiento de la Cruz que se hace el Viernes Santo, ha de tener dispuestos los brazos de manera que sirva para dicho efecto; y que cuando se desenclaven los brazos y dejen caer queden de tal forma que no hagan fealdad ninguna en los hombros y estén dispuestos de forma que no descubran hueco ninguno.
>
> Yes declaración, que se hace un Santo Cristo este dispuesto de manera que al caer los brazos pueda tener firme el cuerpo y que al torcer de clavos y gonces así para pies y manos como para lo demás sean de bronce. La madera ha de ser de ciprés, me obligo de darlo encarnado a mi costa y entregarlo en el mes de octubre del año de 1636 en precio de 200 ducados.[94]

The definition of using animated sculptures of the crucified Christ spread to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.[95] The numerous figures of this type include: Brazilian figures from the Museum of Sacral Art in São Paulo (origin: church of do Vale do Paraíba)[96] and from one of the churches in Ouro Preto;[97] Argentinian, from the Museo Fernández Blanco in Buenos Aires;[98] and four Mexican figures from the Puebla cathedral,[99] the parish church in Metztitlán[100]

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[94] document, the Confraternity of the Soledad in the town of Puerto Santa María required that the sculpture must have its arms in such a way that its hands can be moved together so that it can become crucified and enshrouded [*amortajade*]. In 1587, a contract between the sculptor Baltázar López and the Confraternity of the Santo Entierro in the village of Constantina for an articulated image of Christ explicitly states the intended ritual function of the sculpture: the confraternity wanted 'a sculpture of the crucified Christ with moveable arms in order to perform the descent from the cross'; Webster, 1998a, p. 67.

[94] Cited after: Webster, 1998a, p. 232 (note 16; in English translation on p. 67).

[95] Lara, 2004, passim; Lara, 2007, p. 159; Lara, 2008, passim, in particular pp. 217–222; Webster, 2005, pp. 245-261.

[96] Made from cedar wood, 188 cm tall, the figure was made in the 18th c. (artistic circle: Sorocaba). For more on the sculpture, see: de Balanda, Uribe Echeverría, 1999, fig. 80.

[97] The author of the text, which is a short report on Holy Week customs prevailing in the 1950s in Ouro Preto, claims: "In the lumber-room of the rich baroque church of Our Lady, in Ouro Preto, Brazil, there lies a supine figure of Christ. It was made in Portugal in the eighteenth century, with joints that can be moved. Once a year, in Holy Week, it is brought out, and used to represent Christ in the different stages of the Easter Story. It is set at the centre of the table at the Last Supper; it is crucified in the church, and again outside; it is carried in procession back to the church; the resurrection follows, and it is replaced above the altar. Then, after Easter, it disappears again for a year". Under the illustration depicting the sculpture we read: "Here the figure hangs in the church on Good Friday, after it has been nailed to the Cross; models of the two thieves are at its side, and the Holy Women, with The Virgin in white, are at its foot. This is the darkest moment of Easter in Ouro Preto"; unsigned, 1954.

[98] Sculpture dated to the 17th c. (Bailey, 2001, pp. 166, 174).

[99] Lara, 2007, p. 159.

[100] Lara, 2004, p. 182; Lara, 2008, p. 222.

and Franciscan churches in Huejotzingo[101] and Tlaxcala.[102] A greater number of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were preserved in these territories, particularly from the territory of New Spain.[103]

When considering issues pertaining to modern animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, found outside Europe, it is worth mentioning the no longer extant figure used during the Good Friday ceremonies conducted by the Franciscans in Jerusalem. This work, introduced into the literature on the subject by Charles Magnin,[104] had considerable animation capabilities – the Christ had moveable arms and legs. Among the many descriptions of the figure, the most detailed one, authored by Henry Maundrell, a chaplain of an English factory in Aleppo, is included in his book *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* (London).

Discussing subsequent stages of Good Friday ceremonies, the author repeatedly presents the figure we are interested in to readers:

> Amongst the other crucifixes, there was one of a very large size, which bore upon it the image of our Lord, as big as the life. The image was fasten'd to a great nail, crown'd with thorns, besmear'd with blood; and so exquisitely is it form'd, that it represented in a very lively manner the lamentable spectacle of our Lord's body, as it hung upon the cross.

A few paragraphs later he adds more details concerning its appearance and features:

> The ceremony of the passion being over, and the guardian's sermon ended, two fryars, personating the one Joseph of Arimathea, the other Nicodemus, approach'd the cross, and with a most solemn concern'd air, both of aspect and behaviour, drew out the great

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[101] Webster, 1997, pp. 28–29; Webster, 2005, pp. 248, 250.

[102] Webster, 1997, p. 29 (note 49).

[103] As regards Mexico, for example, Susan Webster claims: "Articulated sculptures of the dead Christ are ubiquitous in Mexican churches and monasteries, where they serve as a mute testimony to the dramatic performances of Holy Week during the colonial era. Many of them are undocumented, and frequent repainting has made them difficult to date with any certainty."; Webster, 2005, p. 250. Solange Corbin briefly writes about an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ used in Good Friday ceremonies celebrated in Xachimilco: "A Xachimilco, près de Mexico, on dépend de la Croix un Christ articulé à la fin de l'après-midi du Vendredi Saint. On l'emmène en procession jusqu'à un faux tombeau où des pleureuses l'entourent (jusqu'au dimanche de Pâques?). Il se semble pas que cette costume soit très familière, car de cir célèbre dans la région, passe pour curieuse et l'on s'y rend de loin."; Corbin, 1960, pp. 128-129. On other animated sculptures used in religious ceremonies conducted in Central and South America, see, for instance: Morgan, 1999, pp. 69-70.

[104] Magnin, 1859, pp. 57-58. See also: Chesnais, 1949, pp. 78-79; Kopania, 2004, p. 40; Kopania, 2007, p. 40.

[105] Maundrell, 1963, p. 97 (first edition: 1703). On Maundrell, the background and nature of *A Journey from...* see the introduction authored by David Howell contained in: Maundrell, 1963, pp. vi-xxxv.

nails, and reook down the feigned body from the cross. It was an effigie so contriv'd, that its limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real flesh: and nothing could be more surprising, than to see the two pretended mourners bend down the arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the trunk, in such a manner as is usual in corpses.[106]

Other source materials are available which confirm that the sculpture of Christ used in Jerusalem was nailed to the cross, then taken down and ceremoniously laid in the Sepulchre. However, they describe mainly the celebration itself, and not the form or properties of the figure we are interested in. We do not have any information that would allow us to determine the precise date of the sculpture's creation. The first information about the figure comes from 1623. The oldest description of Good Friday celebrations dates back to 1552 and does not indicate that a sculpture of Christ was used in this period. Hence, we may assume that the object in question was made not earlier than the 2nd half of the 16th century.[107]

3. The use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Holy Week celebrations after the Council of Trent

"It is common knowledge that the Council of Trent destroyed the enormous and wonderful legacy of the artistic superstructure of liturgy, removed thousands of sequences and hymns in the name of strictly religious values, and stipulated praising God in a different way. It gave up secondary methods of cult worship, otherwise valuable for some forms of religious life which had earlier taken place between the priest and the faithful."[108] The decrees of the Council of Trent had a significant impact on the fate of the *Depositio Crucis* and the other theatricalised liturgical ceremonies of Holy Week. Being an example of "secondary forms of cult worship", which were sometimes closer to folk forms of piety than to official liturgy, they drew the attention of church reformers, who were striving to simplify and unify the way liturgy was conducted.[109] They were not, however,

[106] Maundrell, 1963, p. 99.
[107] The Good Friday ceremony, which used the sculpture mentioned, will be discussed in the following subchapter.
[108] Lewański, 1999, p. 25.
[109] As Justin E.A. Kroesen put it: "In Northern European countries, the liturgical rituals of depositio, elevatio and visitatio were abolished in most places under the influence of the reformation. But in Catholic countries there was also a significant curtailment of the lively Easter customs which had developed during the late Middle Ages. The prevailing opinion was that the dramatised representation of the Easter story had become so closely linked to superstition, rowdiness and mockery that its true meaning had been lost from sight or even desecrated. [...] In fact, the official church preferred to get rid of it altogether because of the riot of details which overshadowed the

completely abolished – they underwent far-reaching transformations. As Julian Lewański writes: "they survived [...] the period of reforms and, as rituals, are conducted to this day, but without the theatrical apparatus."[110]

The fact that the *Depositio Crucis* was celebrated for centuries after the Council of Trent is evidenced by 17th-, 18th-, 19th- and 20th century records of the ritual. The available source material is not as plentiful as that surviving from the medieval period, but is nevertheless sufficient to justify the conclusion that the tradition of holding theatricalised ceremonies of a liturgical nature on Good Friday was not suddenly and definitively interrupted.[111]

A few post-Trent *Depositio Crucis* were published and thoroughly discussed by Karl Young[112] and Neil C. Brooks.[113] The majority of the sources they mentioned, as well as many more recent ones, have been presented by Solange Corbin, who emphasised the continuity of the medieval tradition of the ceremonies laying of the Host, cross or sometimes animated sculpture of the crucified Christ or the figure of the dead Saviour into the Holy Sepulchre. In her study we can find a summary and reprint of records of such ceremonies (sometimes only generally reminiscent of the medieval *Depositio Crucis*), contained on the pages of agendas, breviaries, missals, *processionale* or *rituale*, occurring between the beginning of the 17th century and mid-20th century.[114] Numerous records

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essential meaning. the authors of the *Missale Romanum* published in 1570, 'seemed to leave no room for such customs in Holy Week, and certainly spoke of the «unliturgical» characters of these rituals'. The Council forbade the singing of tropes, and the universally practised custom of *depositio/elevatio* and *visitatio* were not included in the missal."; Kroesen, 2000a, pp. 182-183.

[110] Lewański, 1991, p. 10. Cf.: Jelzer, 1985, p. 108; Lewański, 1966, p. 34. An example of a theatricalised liturgical ceremony performed contemporaneously is the *Casus Domini*: "This ritual clipped halfway has survived in liturgy till the present day. Today only the second one of the Holy Thursday event is enacted, namely the washing of the feet."; Lewański, 1966, p. 41.

[111] This applies also to other Holy Week rituals, such as the *Processio in Ramis Palmorum* (Layet, 1981, pp. 224-235) or *Elevatio Crucis* (Gschwend, 1965, passim; Young, 1920, passim).

[112] Young publishes *Depositio Crucis* from *Ordinarium officii Divini secundum consuetudinem Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (Tirnaviae 1580), *Rituale Salisburgense* (1686), *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* (Coloniae 1590), *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae Sancti Marci Venetiarum* (Venetiis 1736), *Agenda Dioecesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis* (Venice 1575) (Apart from the *Depositio crucis et hostiae*, the agenda contains the *Elevatio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri*. The celebration of these ceremonies in Aquileia was banned in 1595, see: Bernardi, 1991, p. 182), *Agenda Bambergensis* (Ingolstadii 1587), *Benedictionale ecclesiae... Constantiensis* (Constance 1597), Young, 1909, pp. 911-912; Young, 1920, pp. 32-33, 35-37, 40-41, 67-69, 93-94, 113-115; Young, 1933, pp. 123-124, 143-144, 553, 554.

[113] Brooks adds a new *Depositio Crucis* text to those published in *Rituale Romanum* (Munich 1673); Brooks, 1921, p. 46.

[114] These ceremonies mentioned by Young and Brooks – from the German-speaking regions Corbin lists: *Agenda Osnabrugense* (Cologne 1653), *Liber Benedictionum* (Paris 1777) from St-Florian, *Rituale* from Salzburg (1686), *Rituale Augustanum* (Vienna 1764), *Rituale Wratislaviense...* (Regensburg 1891); the researcher also refers to 20th-century records of customs practised in Cologne, Paderborn and Swidnica, however, she does not give a precise bibliography. From France,

– mostly from Austria and Germany – written between 1570 and 1807 were also published by Walther Lipphardt.[113] Blandine-Dominique Berger in turn

Corbin mentions *Processionale Bajocense* (Caen, 1822), from Poland *Rituale romanorum... Ecclesiis Poloniae adaptatum* (Karowice, 1927) and *Continuatio ecclesiasticarum* (Warsaw, 1950), from Italy *Officium Hebdomadae sanctae... Sancti Marci* (Venice, 1736). From Portugal she specifies surviving fragments of a manuscript from Ponte de Lima, located in Arquivo de la Misericorde in Ponte de Lima (end of the 16th c.), *Liber processionum et Stationum ecclesiae Olysiponensis... eucns... ab Eduardo Lupo* (Lisbonae 1607), *Processionarium humanarum* (Coimbra 1727), *Liber processionis... Ulysiponensis* (Lisbonae, 1728), *Processionale Cisterciense* (Lisbonae 1757), a manuscript of Cistercian *Processionale* from Alcobaça (18th c.), *Directorium Chori, ad usum Carmelitarum* (Lisbonae 18th c.), *Directoria de Cerimonias do com e parochus... pela beneficiado Raymundo Ferreyra de Abreu* (1738), *Livro das Uso de Cerimonia Cisterciences... de Santa Maria de Alcobaça* (Lisbonae 1788), *Processionale ac Rituale romanum cum officio sepulturae secularium, regularium, et parvulorum... ad usum omnium clericorum et regularium* (Lisbonae 1803), *Motetos a quatro para a Enterre de Jesus Christo* (Coimbra 1633-1825), *Methodo da Liturgia Brachavova...* (Braga 1824). [113] *Rituale Passionis* (Roma 1924). In Solange Corbin's work we can also find references to indirect sources which mention the celebration of liturgical Holy Friday ceremonies of *Entombment*, in among others, Menton, Monaco, Naples (19th c.) and the town of Grassina, Bergame, Cagliari, Rougundone, Sospel, Breil and Saorge (20th c.). See: Corbin, 1960, pp. 42-69 (list of sources), 249-287 (excerpts from sources). See also: Corbin, 1947, pp. 63-71.

[115] *Processionale domesticum aus der Benediktinerpropstei Johannesberg bei Fulda*, 1612 (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Ms Aa 153?); *Ordinarius... nigrorum Monachorum de observantia Burstfeldesi. bestimmt für Fulda*, 18th c. (Fulda, Landesbibliothek, Ms B'Aa 138); *Ordinarium des Damenstiftes in Gerresheim*, 1685-1692 (Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Ms Gerrescheim. Rep. u. HS. 4 g.); *Processionale bei Damenstifts Gerresheim, Abschrift des vorigen Ordinariums aus dem 18. Jh* (Düsseldorf, Staatsarchiv, Ms Gerrescheim Rep. u. Hs. 4 c.); *Agenda seu Benedictionale iuxta ritum et normam Ecclesiae et Episcopatus Constantiensis*, Ingolstadt 1570 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°. Liturg. 18); *Obsequiale sive Sacerdotale ecclesiae et Diocesis Constantiensis Konstanz*, 1597 (Freiburg, Univ.-Bibl.: 0 5605 g.); *Rituale Augustanum*, Würzburg 1671 (Mainz, Priesterseminar, 30 q); *Processionale für die Mainzer Marienkirche Maria ad gradus*, 1762 (Mainz, Priesterseminar, Ms 121); *Processionale für die Mainzer Domes von 1790* (Mainz, Priesterseminar, Hs. 142); *Ordinarium des Domes*, 1599, in der Abschrift von 1696 (Münster, Archiv und Bibliothek des Bistums Münster, Dom Hs. 7); *Libellus Rituum manulium et Recurs in Caenobio Marienbrunck Confeldidae regularis Ordinis S. Augustin. Cum variis relationibus notatis, sitis necessariis ad usum R' fratres hurus necessibil*, 1607 (Münster, Staatsarchiv Alterntümsverein, Ms Hs. 4 c.); *Agenda seu Rituale Osnabrugense*, Köln, 1653; *Agenda Ecclesiae Paderbornensis*, 1602 (Münster, Priesterseminar, K° 4, S. 283-289); *Processionale für das ganze Jahr 1600* (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 757); *Processionale des Ordens St. Gallen*, 1582 (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 520); *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis*, Köln, 1590 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4° Liturg. 13); *Ceremoniale der Augustiner-Eremiten von St. Thomas in Brünn* (Brünn), 1734-1776 (Brünn, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms A 38) (Lipphard, 1975-1990, vol. II, 1076, pp. 367, 269, 272-273, 275, 307, 308, 329-330, 332, 334, 367, 272-373, 384, 391-392, 406, 436-437, 462, 519); *Processionale secundum chorum ecclesiae Aschaffenburgensis ca.* 1567 (Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms perg. 36); *Rituale Augustanum*, Rome, 1570 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 80); *Rituale Ecclesiastici Augustensis Ecclesiae*, Dillingen 1580 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 587°); *Liber visualis...*, Dillingen, 1612 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 565); *Rituale Augustanum Romana conformatum*, Dillingen, 1656 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 566); *Rituale Augustanum*, Augsburg, 1764 (München, Bibliothek des Metropolitankapitels, Lit. 41); *Agenda Bambergense* ..., Ingolstadt 1597 (Nürnberg, Germ. Mus., Liturg. 40); *Processionale Romano-Bambergense, sive Congeries Rituum in Processionibus publicis...*, Bamberg, 1724;

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mentions *Depositio* and *Elevatio* conducted in the 20th century in the diocese of Luxembourg.[116]

An important record of the *Depositio Crucis*, contained in *Agenda seu ritus caeremoniarum ecclesiasticarum et uniformem Ecclesiarum per univeras Prouincias Regni Poloniae, officio Romano confirmato ex decreto Synodi Prouincialis Petricouiensis* (Cracoviae 1591, 1596, 1605) by Hieronim Powodowski (1543-1613), is published by Julian Lewański.[117] Powodowski's work is important, as its underlying purpose was to adapt liturgical rituals practiced on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the recommendations of the Council of Trent. The *Depositio Crucis* contained in *Agenda seu ritus...* proves that the Church approved of some pre-council liturgical customs and ceremonial forms, continuing their use.[118]

The findings of Kolumban Gschwend OSB, who examined the history of celebrating the *Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis* in the Brixen diocese, are also

Diurnale secundum Breviarium Eystettense. Pars hiemalis, Ingolstadt 1589 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 8°, Liturg. 120); *LIBER RITVVUM ECCLESIASTICORVM EPISCOPATVS EYSTETTENSIS AD NORMAM RITVALIS ROMANI ACCOMODATUS*, Ingolstadt 1619 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 769); *RITUALE ROMANO-EICHSTETTENSE...*, Eichstätt 1798 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 93); *RITUALE FRISINGENSE EX NORMA ET RITV ROMANO SVMPTUM*, München 1673 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 572); *RITUALE FRISINGENSE JUXTA NORMAM ET RITUM ROMANUM...*, Freising, 1743 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 573); *Ordinarium für Klosterneuburg 1570* (Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 180); *Processionarium ad om Damenstift Neuenberse bei Paderborn*, ca. 1700 (Paderborn, Akadem. Bibl., Ms Paδ 5) [Liupbard, 1975-1990, vol. III, 1976, pp. 744, 768-769, 770-771, 775-777, 780, 780-782, 794, 794-795, 894-895, 897, 900, 924-926, 930, 1011-1012, 1078]; *Obsequiale vel Liber Agendorum...*, Ingolstadt 1570 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 463); *Obsequiale Ratisbonense*, Ingolstadt 1624 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 463); *Liber agendorum secundum antiquam usum Metropolitanae Salisburgensis Ecclesiae II*, Dillingen, 1575 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 127); *RITUALE SALISBURGENSE ad usum Romanum accomodatum...*, Salzburg, 1640 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 582); *RITUALE SALISBURGENSE ad usum Romanum accomodatum...*, Salzburg 1686 (München, Staatsbibliothek, 4°, Liturg. 583); *Processionale der Benediktinerabtei St. Lambrecht*, 1571 (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms I. 1459) [Liupbard, 1975-1990, vol. IV, 1976, pp. 1247, 1251, 1307, 1309-1312, 1312-1313, 1390].

[116] "Le double rite de la *Depositio* et de l'*Elevatio* s'est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours en certaines régions de tradition allemanique. C'est ainsi que l'*Euchiridion Rituum specialium* approuvé pour le diocèse de Luxembourg (Tournai 1932) comporte un Ordo *sepelendi Crucifixum in die Parascore*, où l'on chante le répons *Sepulto Domino*, et une *Processio* in nocte paschali ad elevandam Crucem, qui a lieu *ante auroram. On y chante le dialogue: *Tollite portas.*"; Berger, 1976, p. 77 (note 72). See also: Kurvers, 1996, p. 95 (note 51).

[117] Reprint of the *Depositio Crucis* from Powodowski's *Agenda* in: Lewański, 1999, pp. 255-259.

[118] Lewański himself draws attention to this in one of his works: "*Agenda* [...] facilitates the understanding of some descriptions of rituals from the 15th century and contrary to the repeated opinions and the title note it extends certain medieval ceremonial forms at least until the 17th century and anticipates local varieties. For example, it recommends laying shrouds (sheets) in the Sepulchre during the *Depositio Crucis*, and that the Sepulchre should be sealed: signat sigillo vel aliqua clausura."; Lewański, 1991, p. 10 (note 11). See also: Smosarski, 1988, p. 119; Udalska, 1997, pp. 174-175. On Hieronim Powodowski, see, in particular: Glinka, 1961, pp. 65-96; Misiurek, 1984, pp. 140-152.

important to our considerations. He demonstrated that the custom of con-
ducting theatricalised liturgical ceremonies on Good Friday and Holy Saturday
continued without interruption from the Middle Ages until the mid-20th century.
In the case of the Brixen diocese we cannot even locate a distinct turning
point related to the Council of Trent – the development of both rituals is not
interrupted suddenly, nor their form transformed radically.[119] Ceremonies that
had been celebrated for centuries were adapted to the new reality connected
with changes in liturgy in an evolutionary manner, reacting, for example, to
the emergence of – typical of the Baroque – the expositional Holy Sepulchre,
which, owing to its scale and form, usually determined the shape of the
rituals celebrated.[120]

Hence, after the Council in Trent, the *Depositio Crucis*, although not as
popular as in the Middle Ages, continued to be practiced in Europe. Pace
Julian Lewański, the ceremony's "theatrical apparatus" was not reduced, or if
so – not noticeably. Upon analysing modern records of Good Friday ceremonies,
we conclude that they were conducted in a manner similar to that of earlier
ages. A celebrative procession of clergymen always constituted the core of these
ceremonies. Their actions and gestures were accompanied by liturgical singing.
We note the use of props during the celebrations, and in particular various
liturgical items. The church interior formed a peculiarly designed set, where
the most important element was of course the Holy Sepulchre, where the cross,
the Host or an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was placed.[121] In this
context, modern *Entombment* ceremonies practiced in the churches in Spain
and Portugal should be considered as particularly highly developed in terms of

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[119] Gschwend, 1965, passim. Amongst other research mentioning the continuing tradition
of celebrating the *Depositio Crucis* in different parts of Europe, see, e.g.: Brooks, 1928, pp. 148-149;
Dalman, 1922, p. 14. See also: Martène, 1706, p. 367.

[120] Brooks, 1928, pp. 155-158.

[121] This is confirmed by, among other things, the formally highly developed *Depositio Hostiae*,
whose record was contained in *Rituale Salisburgense* (1686). Karl Young writes about its develop-
ment: "Of the location of the *sepulchrum*, in this case, we are told only that is in a 'place or
chapel'. After the Communion of the *Missa Praesanctificatorum* the celebrant places the Host in
a chalice covered by a paten and a pall, and carries it in procession to the *sepulchrum*, the choir
singing the responsory *Recessit pastor*. Here the Host is removed from the chalice, deposited in
a monstrance, placed *in throne*, and censed. Meanwhile the choir sing the responsory *Tenebrae
factae*, at the conclusion of which the celebrant says the verse *Christus factus* and a prayer. After the
monstrance has stood exposed until seven in the evening, it is placed in a tabernacle apart. On
Saturday morning the Host is returned to the *sepulchrum*, where it is censed and again exposed in
the monstrance"; Young, 1920, pp. 36-37. Even more developed was, for example, the *Depositio
Hostiae* from *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae Sancti Marci
Venetiarum* (Venice 1730), with a celebrative procession and accompanying liturgical singing: "This
office is performed *post prandium*, immediately before Compline. The most conspicuous part of the
ceremonial is the elaborate procession into the church, and of this procession the most notable
aspect is the use of the *Improperia* at the beginning and at three subsequent stations"; Young, 1920,
p. 69.

form.[122] The "theatrical apparatus" was not assigned merely to ceremonies having a medieval origin, performed during the *paschal triduum*. Generally, the entire post-council liturgy was characterized by a considerable degree of theatricality, even grander than in the Middle Ages.[123]

The continuing practice of the *Depositio Crucis* and other ceremonies similar in form after the Council of Trent should not blind us to the fact that from the second half of the 16th century this ritual began to be superseded by Good Friday celebrations of a different character. In the north of the continent we encounter an intensification of the adoration of Holy Sepulchres. Peter Jezler opposes the medieval Holy Sepulchre to the modern one, whose form and function stems largely from changes in liturgy and piety, driven by the decisions of the Council of Trent. The researcher refers to the first as *Depositionsgrab*, and to the second one as *Expositionsgrab*. The medieval Holy Sepulchre was meant to serve theatricalised liturgical ceremonies, such as the *Depositio Crucis*, *Elevatio Crucis* and *Visitatio Sepulchri*, while the significance of the modern Holy Sepulchre was based on a ceremonial presentation of the figure of the dead Saviour and the Host contained in the monstrance.[124]

Expositional Holy Sepulchres peaked in popularity in the 17th and 18th centuries, with particularly imposing Holy Sepulchres created in what is now Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[125] They often acquired a monumental architectural form, sometimes determined by the set design of court theatres. Key elements included the previously mentioned figure of the dead Christ and

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[122] See, for example: "Da processão do Enterro" from *Directorio de Cerimonias de coro e parochos… pelo beneficiado Raymundo Ferreyra de Abreu* (1738) and *Livro dos Usos de Cremonias Cistercienes… da Santa Maria de Alcobaça* (1748), reprinted by Solange Corbin: Corbin, 1960, pp. 271–272, 274–277. The researcher writing about modern Good Friday rites characteristic of Portugal stresses their uniqueness in comparison to rituals practiced in other parts of Europe, relating it to the fact that on the territory of Portugal they developed relatively late, not until the 16th century; see: Corbin, 1947, pp. 64-67.

[123] See, in particular, the in-depth study by Ursula Brossette. The researcher – when discussing the relations between religious architecture, painting and sculpture and liturgical practice typical of southern Germany in modern times – showed that the theatricalisation of the cult was one of the effects of the Council of Trent reforms. Theatricalised forms of liturgy were supported by Church, and in particular propagated by the Jesuits: Brossette, 1998.

[124] "Der Wandel vom mittelalterlichen 'Depositions'- zum barocken 'Expositions'- Grab hat sich in zeitlicher Nähe zum Abschluß des Tridentinum vollzogen."; Jezler, 1983, p. 236, Details on this subject: pp. 136-137. Cf.: Kroesen, 2000a, pp. 181-185. The differentiation made by Jezler should be considered apt, though it is worth noticing that in the German-speaking territories, where *Expositionsgrab* gained special popularity and occurred in an especially extended form, the tradition of celebrating the *Depositio Crucis* continued for a long time – and therefore, theatricalised practices – medieval in origin – did not have to be in opposition to the new forms. See: Maisel, 2002, pp. 86-89.

[125] Brossette, 1998; Ederer, Reinecke, 1998; Feuchtmayr, 1989; Forcher, 1987; Gugitz, 1949, pp. 175-179. Generally on modern Holy Sepulchres, see: Brooks, 1921, pp. 44-46; Kroesen, 2000a, pp. 181-187.

the ceremonially exposed Host. Painted or sculptured human figures, gathered around the central motif, trees and shrubs beautifying the structure, as well as real flowers and candles, could also form a significant element of Holy Sepulchre. Thanks to this setting, the modern *Expositionsgrab* had considerable theatrical potential, based on considered set-design effects, which were intended to display the figure of the dead Saviour and the Host, and consequently to stimulate and shape the religious emotions of the faithful.[126]

At times the Holy Sepulchres became a religious element in theatrical performances which were not directly linked to liturgy. These performances – partly enacted in the urban space, partly in church interiors – acquired the form of processions.[127] Usually supported by the church, they were organized at the initiative and with the active participation of the faithful, often acquiring the traits of a folk religious holiday. It is difficult to speak of a typical theatrical process in this case. Dialogues – and, consequently, the narrative – were limited. They should be treated more as a set of idiosyncratic moving images and allegories – created by costumed, unprofessional actors selected from among the local congregation, participants in processions – referring to the characters and events from the pages of the Holy Bible. They preceded, announced and explained the culminating scene, enacted at the Holy Sepulchre, staged around the adoration of the Holy Sacrament and the figure of the dead Saviour;[128] there is no information that

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[126] Features of a modern *Expositionsgrab* are briefly and pertinently described by Peter Jezler: "Das barocke Expositionsgrab in der Form des Wiener erhält entgegen seiner ehemaligen Form der dramatischen Funktion gänzlich. You the modern keine Episode der Heilsgeschichte gespielt, der Apparat, der das ganze Presbyterium hinter sich abschließt, zelebriert sich selbst. Es zeigt einen Architekturaufbau, vor und auf welchem überlebensgroße, z. T. ausgang maschinell bewegte Figurengruppen Szenen der Passion darstellen. Zwar um der mischemarig verzierten Anlage befindet sich ein vom Engeln getragener Strahlenkranz, vor welchem in der Monstrranz das Sanctissimum ausgesetzt ist. Das eigentliche Grab oder die Ruhe von einem Christus liegt dagegen unsichtbar im unteren Teil der Nische. Durch tausend Lämpchen, die im Halbdunkel zwischen verästelten Kulissen angebracht waren und die Monstrranz in strahlendes Licht tauchen, erhielt das Grab seine besondere Wirkung. Vom Aufbau vollzog sich die Anbetung des Allerheiligsten, die manchmal durch Oratorien berichtet wurde. Der Höhepunkt der Festlichkeiten war beim Expositionsgrab die auf den Samstagnachmittag vorgezogene Auferstehungsfeierlichkeit, während der das Sanctissimum auf dem Hochaltar zurück gesetzt wurde. Dabei verschwand das Bild des toten Christus automatisch in der Versenkung oder hinter einem Vorhang – stattdessen erschien die Auferstehungfigur, die in einigen Orten an einem Seil bis ins Kirchengewölbe emporgezogen wurde", Jezler, 1983, p. 237.

[127] A related issue are the Holy Week performances enacted in Calvaries dispersed throughout Europe. The performances presented the most significant episodes of Christ's Passion within a space simulating, in topographical terms, the reality of the Holy Land. Usually they were not performed in terms of dialogue, but they did use sculptures, for example, of Christ in the Tomb.

[128] In the context of the Birzsen diocese these are mentioned by Kolumban Gschwend OSB: "Unter dem Einfluß der Jesuiten entstand um die Wende von 17. Jh. eine neue Art der Karfreitagsprozession. 1596 zogen in Innsbruck in den Abendstunden des Karfreitags Sodalen und Geißeln durch die Straßen der Stadt. Mit jedem Jahre mehrten sich die Teilnehmer; es bildeten sich kosti-

would allow us to conclude that they made use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.[129]

Processions of a theatrical nature gained some popularity in the countries of northern Europe; nevertheless, it is in southern Europe that we encounter this type of religious activity acquiring different, and thus much more developed and varied forms, determined in large part by the customs known from the Middle Ages. They were commonly organized in Italy, where they became one of the elementary manifestations of folk piety in the Easter season.[130] The most important element of these processions was the ceremonial *Deposition*, enacted with the aid of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, later laid in the arms of a figure depicting the Virgin Mary. After the *Pietà* scene, the sculptural depiction of the Saviour was placed on a bier and carried around the city streets. The pattern outlined above was found in most performances

mierte Gruppen von Personen, welche biblische Bilder des Alten und Neuen Testaments darstellten oder mit sich trugen. An anderen Orten bedienten sich die Kapuziner dieses Karfreitagsumzuges zur Veranschaulichung und Unterstützung ihrer Passionspredigten. Mancherorts fanden die mittelalterlichen Passionsspiele in der Karfreitagsprozession ihre neue Existenzmöglichkeit, so breiteten sich die Karfreitagsprozessionen zu Beginn des 17. Jh. in vielen Städten der Brixner Diözese aus: gemeinsam war ihnen lediglich der barocke Aufwand. Mit der Deposition hatte diese Prozession aber nichts zu tun. In den meisten Fällen Prozessionsordnungen wird der Grab des Herrn erwähnt, und manchmal wurde die Grablegung am Schluß der Prozession auch dargestellt. Das waren aber lediglich Bilder und Szenen, wie alle anderen während der Prozession; das liturgische Hl. Grab blieb von ihnen unberührt."; Gschwendt, 1965, p. 127. At times, ceremonies of this type organised in Tyrol made use of automata depicting Christ praying in the garden of Gethsemane, see, e.g.: Brockhoff, Dünninger, Henker, 1990, passim, in particular p. 276; Fundrey, 1985, pp. 34-35, 156-159; Rampold, 1987, pp. 43-46.

[129] When talking about modern theatre performances, it is worth mentioning that – unlike in the Middle Ages – we do not encounter mystery plays in which animated sculptures of the crucified Christ would be used. The stage direction published by Julian Lewański, included in the text of a 17th-century play written on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and kept in the Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich [The Ossoliński National Institute] in Wrocław, manuscript Ossolineum 2040/I can be treated as unique: "...he took a mask of fabric with a crucifix at the peak should be prayed, so that the tree on his arms. head, and legs moved as if alive"; Lewański, 1960, p. 433, note. 23 (Cf.: Żwirkowska, 1888, pp. 98-102). In the 2nd decade of the 19th century, peculiar religious performances using "a mechanical statue" of Christ were organised by count Józef August Iliński in Romanów in Volhynia region (now Ukraine). Stage were staged in palace interiors, palace gardens and theatre (Kopania, 2006, pp. 15-22). Numerous sculptures were used in theatricalised religious ceremonies and mystery plays on the territory of Bavaria and Tyrol; they do not, however, include animated sculptures of the crucified Christ or other figures featuring moveable parts (excluding automata that had complex construction): Brockhoff, Dünninger, Henker, 1990, passim; Mayerhofer, 1985, pp. 107-119.

[130] Seminal study on this subject: Bernardi, 1991, including a rich bibliography. See also: Bernardi, 1996, pp. 27-31, in which the author gives a concise outline of the history and form of this type of Good Friday processional performances called, depending on the region in which they were organised, *lu scravamentu* (Sardinia), *scenneua* or *stisa de sa crusci* (Sicily), *scavigliazione* (Umbria), *calata dalla croce* (Liguria). This type of religious performances can also be observed on Corsica (see, e.g.: Vendoni, 2003) and Sardinia (see, e.g.: Caredda, 1990).

of this type, although, obviously, numerous deviations can be observed.[131] The organisation of the *Deposition* ceremony and the accompanying processions was the domain of the local communities; often they were prepared by local religious confraternities. Clerical authorities did not always look kindly on this particular way of commemorating Christ's Passion; being outside of liturgy and reflecting public piety. There were situations, however, where the *Deposition*, and the accompanying procession, were closer to an elaborate ritual of a liturgical nature, conducted with the support and in the presence of the clergy.[132]

An obvious increase in the popularity of theatricalised Good Friday rituals, usually taking on the form of processional performances, conducted with the aid of animated sculptures, is characteristic of modern Spain. Thus some researchers, such as José María Domínguez Moreno, even suggest that the true beginning of the *Deposition* ceremonies should be placed in the 16th century: "Aunque la documentación que poseemos no es muy precisa, parece que la práctica del Descendimiento se inicia en España coincidiendo con el Concilio de Trento, aunque el auge lo adivinamos con posterioridad a 1563, año de su finalización".[133]

With the long-lasting tradition of organizing theatricalised *pascal triduum* ceremonies on the Iberian Peninsula dating back to the 12th century, it is, obviously, impossible to maintain the hypothesis about the modern genesis of Spanish Good Friday rituals. This would also be contradicted by the oldest surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ from this region of Europe. It is true, however, that medieval sources from the Iberian Peninsula are relatively scarce as regards the *Deposition* ceremony. The number of sources referring to Good Friday rituals clearly rises in the 16th century, and this trend is maintained in the 17th and 18th centuries. Numerous descriptions and records of modern *Deposition* ceremonies, as well as visual documents that refer to them, i.e. either paintings or prints. Particularly valuable are sources documenting the activity of religious confraternities that were usually responsible for organizing events of this type.

The *Deposition* ceremonies conducted in Spain after the Council of Trent took various forms. Some of them were based on 14th-century performances such

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[131] The Good Friday *Deposition* could also fit into the stream of Holy Week theatricalised rituals, lasting from Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday, as was the case in Sardinia: "En Sardaigne la descente de croix est la fonction la plus consommée et la plus émouvante du jeu sacré. On l'appelle *s'iscravamentu*, à la lettre le déclouement, et elle se présente comme un acte du projet dramaturgique ou paraliturgique du triduum pascal qui comprend, dans sa plus vaste articulation, la recherche du Christ de la part de sa mère, le soir et la nuit du jeudi saint: la rencontre entre la Vierge et le Fils le matin du vendredi; la descente de croix dans l'après-midi; la procession du Christ mort et son enterrement (*s'interru*) le soir du vendredi; et enfin, le matin de Pâques, la rencontre (*s'incontra*) joyeuse de l'image de la Vierge avec celle du Christ ressuscité"; Bernardi, 1996, p. 27.

[132] It is worth noting that in some parts of Italy the *Deposition* and accompanying celebrative processions are organised to this day: Bernardi, 1991, passim; Bernardi, 1996, p. 27.

[133] Domínguez Moreno, 1987, p. 147.

as the *Planctus Mariae*, e.g. at the cathedral in Palma de Mallorca, where after the Council of Trent, *Devallament* based on 14th-century *Planctus Mariae* were enacted in the vernacular: "Ay ten greus son nostras dolors."[134] Performed with the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ, at the end of the 17th century it acquired a more liturgical nature as a consequence of a dispute between the local cathedral chapter and the archbishop, Pedro de Alagón, who supported the restriction of this type of religious activity. In the case of the *Deposition*, enacted in the Palma de Mallorca cathedral, a compromise was reached – which otherwise confirmed the significance of this ceremony for the local clergy and the congregation. As a result, the performance was accepted by the archbishop; only the number of characters acting in it was reduced at his request, and the text of the play was translated into Latin.[135] We can say, without much doubt, that the *Deposition* did not lose much of its theatricality because of these modifications, and, in fact, it achieved a higher rank due to its closer connexion with liturgy.[136]

A considerable group of theatricalised Good Friday ceremonies were of a different nature, as they stemmed from customs cultivated by penitential brotherhoods.[137] The latter, whose creation was probably related to the activity

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[134] Llabrés i Martorell, 1995, p. 222; Llompart, 1995, p. 93. For a detailed description of the ceremonies, see: Castro, 1997, pp. 237-239; Llompart, 1978, pp. 109-133. See also: Schmidduner, 2008, p. 60.

[135] "Como consequencia del sentido teatral de este ceremonial el obispado y el cabildo en 1691, la representación se convirtió en una especie de oratorio sacro, despojada al traducción del catalán al latín (1705), mixto de imágenes y personajes, cuya acción se limita a los amigos de Jesús desclavando y bajando la figura del Crucificado." Llompart, 1995, p. 93. Cf.: "Al principio se organizó así en nuestra catedral: de ésta salía la procesión hacia la iglesia de los dominicos, donde se custodiaba la imagen de Cristo Resucitado. Esta era la puerta de la Almudaina por otra procesión que llevaba la imagen de Nuestra Señora; se entonaba al *Regina coeli* mientras la imagen de la Madre se inclinaba tres veces ante el hijo y se incorporaba a la procesión que entraba en la Seo. Esta procesión pascual conectaba con la del Descendimiento del Señor del Viernes Santo, pues el día del Descendimiento o Santo Cristo bajado se iniciaba en la Seo la procesión hacia San Domingo en la que era enterrado el cuerpo de Jesús. Pero el *Devallament*, cuyos orígenes se remontan al *Planctus* que habrían visto documentado en la Seo en el siglo XIV, originó la representación entre el obispo Pedro de Alagón y el cabildo en 1691. El pleito acusó abusos en la representación del *Devallament* a casa del teatro mallorquín. Tras fuerte réplica del cabildo, se llegó al compromiso de clausurar la representación pero con texto latino. De tal representación quedan testimonios impresos en los años 1705 y 1749, también en parroquias de pueblos como Felanitx y Sóller, que en el siglo XVIII imitaban la representación de la catedral, con vestigios hasta época actual." Llabrés i Martorell, 1995, p. 227.

[136] More on modern ceremonies originating from medieval performances: González Montañés, 2002, pp. 31-38; Schmidduner, 2008, passim.

[137] Writing about Spanish religious confraternities, Susan Verdi Webster divides them into three types: sacramental, devotional and confraternal. For our considerations the last is the most significant, since their activities focused around Christ's Passion, worshiped by means of intricate processions of a material nature, which made use of animated sculptures – at times of a complex construction: "Three major types of confraternities existed in Spain during the Golden Age: sacramental groups that venerated the Eucharist; devotional groups, dedicated to one of the saints, the souls in Purgatory, or an aspect of the Virgin; and penitential groups, devoted to a specific moment

of Italian religious confraternities,[138] and the mendicant orders (especially the Franciscans),[139] emerged in the 15th century and enjoyed particular popularity in the next century.[140] The Spanish penitential confraternities devised various forms of adoring and commemorating Christ's Passion. Among the most important were the theatricalised Good Friday processions, during which sculptural depictions of the crucified Christ, dead Christ,[141] Jesús Nazareno, Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and Mary Magdalene, often dressed in rich clothes decorated with precious stones, were carried on special platforms (pasos).[142] Some of the figures used were outfitted with a construction that made it possible to animate them – they featured moveable arms, legs or heads. They were used to re-enact subsequent episodes of the Passion, including the Deposition. They fulfilled the role of actors and undoubtedly constituted one of the key elements shaping the emotions of the procession participants.[143]

In comparison with the Depositio Crucis or performances similar to the Devallament from Palma de Mallorca, the Holy Week processions of the penitential

of Christ's Passion. All brotherhoods maintained a yearly cycle of devotional meetings and masses held in their private chapels or at side altars in local churches and monasteries, and most groups performed some acts of charity either among themselves or the poor of their community. Although there were minor organisational differences between the penitential confraternities and other types of brotherhoods, three significant features distinguish the penitential groups from the others: their primary devotion to the Passion, the nature and characteristics of their public processions, and their role as patrons of a unique and highly specialized form of sculpture."; Webster, 1998a, p. 15. The researcher writes in detail on the differences between the activity of confraternities on pp. 14-56; with numerous references to the literature on the subject. See also: Schmiddunser, 2008, passim.

[138] "Their [Spanish penitential confraternities'] development on the Iberian peninsula parallels that of penitential organisations in other European countries, particularly those in Italy. Like the Italian flagellant confraternities, the fraternïe dei battuti [...], the Spanish penitential confraternities experienced their greatest growth during the sixteenth century, and their evolution is in many ways similar to that of the Italian brotherhoods."; Webster, 1998a, p. 16.

[139] "The strong influence of the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans, is another major component of the development of penitential confraternities in Spain. The earliest formally organized penitential groups in Europe were often closely associated with the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans. Of the twenty confraternities established in Florence during the thirteenth century, eleven were founded by mendicant churches, and the Dominican order was responsible for the founding of numerous flagellant groups in Tuscany during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest Spanish brotherhoods, the confraternities of the Vera-Cruz, were founded in Franciscan monasteries and were found consistently throughout the peninsula, predating all other penitential groups."; Webster, 1998a, p. 21.

[140] Schmiddunser, 2008, passim; Webster, 1998a, p. 16 (both publications also contain rich references to the literature on the subject).

[141] These were most often placed in glazed and richly decorated coffins, see: Schmiddunser, 2008, passim.

[142] On pasos and types and constructions of sculptures used during the processions, see: Webster, 1998a, passim, in particular pp. 57-142.

[143] On the perception of sculptures by the participants of processions, see in particular: Webster, 1998a, pp. 164-188.

confraternities were characterized by far-reaching autonomy in liturgical rites. They were the domain of the laity, and the clergy were rarely directly involved in their organisation or functioning.[144] They usually took place in open space, urban or rural, outside the church interior.[145] There are a number of detailed studies on this type of religious activity available. However, it must be noted that the Good Friday ceremonies were heterogeneous in terms of form and course. Depending on the place where they were conducted, we can distinguish numerous local variations among these rituals.[146] Some, performed in smaller localities, took the form of the *Via Crucis*.[147] They naturally included the scenes of the *Deposition* and *Entombment*, which constitute the thirteenth and fourteenth Stations of the Cross.[148] At times they gained a special rank, becoming an element of Good Friday liturgy.[149] The custom of extended Good Friday processions,

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[144] Penitential confraternities often functioned outside the tutelage of the Church. They came into existence often at the bottom-up initiative of a specific group of faithful, who did not feel the need to officially legalise their activity. Hence, between the 16th and 18th centuries, we can see a considerable number of Church decisions (e.g., council decrees) against religious confraternities. See: Webster, 1998a, passim, in particular pp. 41-53.

[145] This was not the rule, though. Some confraternities organised religious performances in their own chapels or oratories, focusing on the scene of the *Deposition* or *Resurrection*. A synod celebrated in 1511 by Archbishop Diego de Deza reiterated the earlier prohibition of night vigils, which arises both to their popularity and to the insistence of the laity in the face of clerical intervention. The synod of Archbishop Deza also added a new prohibition forbidding the representation of religious dramas in churches and monasteries. This was the first of many prohibitions against religious drama that were to be repeated throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the penitential confraternities were not specifically cited, the prohibition explicitly referred to the 'descent' and 'resurrection' ceremonies frequently enacted by local penitential groups. The Confraternity of the Santo Entierro, for example, routinely performed such ceremonies at their private oratory, reenacting episodes of the Passion with both sculpted and human 'actors' on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. The episcopal edict directed secular and regular clergy to forbid such representations on their premises, implying that these performances were undertaken by the laity."; Webster, 1998a, p. 42.

[146] Agromayor, 1987; Cea Gutiérrez, 1987, pp. 33-37; Domínguez Moreno, 1987, pp. 147-152; Gabriel Llompart, 1995, pp. 91-97; González Montañés, 2002, pp. 9-44; Gutiérrez, 1987, pp. 33-37; Llompart Moragues, 1978, pp. 109-133; Martínez, 1987, pp. 679-689; Pradilla y Esteban, 1996, pp. 337-353; Rodríguez-Motino Soriano, Cruz Cabrera, Cruz Martínez, 1997; Sánchez del Barrio, 1991, pp. 23-26; Schmiddunser, 2008; Webster, 1998a.

[147] "[...] The majority of these dramatic phenomena related to the Passion in the open air setting are a mountain or hill called 'Calvary' in the local toponomy. There the markers of the fourteen Stations of the *Via Crucis* (podiums with Crosses, landmarks, etc.) are still partially or mostly preserved. In some towns, a church or hermitage crowns the mountain top. A makeshift or permanent pulpit or even a sepulchre are also frequent. Towards such a setting, a procession leaves from a nearby church, normally with a statue of Christ Crucified or carrying the Cross and another of the Virgin. There the actual ceremony performed on this site is a sermon of the Passion delivered by a priest and this is sometimes preceded by pious comments at precise points along the route."; Portillo, Gomez Lara, 1996, p. 88.

[148] Portillo, Gomez Lara, 1996, pp. 91-92.

[149] "In Bercianos de Aliste and Peralada de la Mata it is part of the liturgy of Good Friday and the deacon and subdeacon themselves lower the figure of Christ, then place it in the arms of a statue

using sculptures to re-enact the *Deposition*, for example, is cultivated in some towns and villages in Spain to the present day, constituting significant evidence of the endurance of devotional forms originating in the Middle Ages.[150]

The customs known from Spain were transferred to countries of the New World. The religious traditions practiced in colonies are easy reflected in the context of mediaeval practices, which is one reason why it is worth devoting more attention to them. Good Friday rituals that made use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were popular, for example, on the territory of New Spain, that is, today's Mexico, in the southern part of the United States of America, and in Central American countries,[151] fulfilling an important role in the evangelisation of the local population.[152] As was the case in Spain, the ceremonies acquired

of Mary and finally lay it out in a glass coffin. At this point, a procession is organised in which the coffin is carried and later it is either returned to the church or left in a kind of sepulchre."; Portillo, Gomez Lara, 1996, p. 92.

[150] A summary and description of ceremonies of this type, celebrated in the eighties of the 20th century on the territory of Andalusia, were prepared by Rafael Portillo and Manuel Gomez Lara: Portillo, Gomez Lara, 1986, pp. 119-133. The *Deposition* was performed in such towns as Doña Mencía, Moratalón and Aguadulce. Especially noteworthy is the ceremony in Doña Mencía, which has been described by the researchers as follows: "Most of the old dramatic traditions have been lost here but a depositio (the lowering of Christ from the Cross) is still enacted. This takes place on the evening of Good Friday at the church entrance during the Sermón de las Siete Palabras ('Sermon of the Seven Words' or the Seven Phrases that Christ uttered on the Cross). A statue of Christ with movable arms is lowered from the Cross and placed in a tomb while the statue of Our Lady of Sorrows looks on. At the same moment a great veil or curtain is torn in two by means of mechanical device. After that, the body of Christ, now lying in the tomb, is carried on a float in the procession of 'Christ's Holy Burial' (El Santo Entierro)."; Portillo, Gomez Lara, 1986, pp. 123-124.

[151] The dependency of the religiosity of New Spain on the religiosity of the Kingdom of Spain between the 2nd quarter of the 16th c. and the beginning of the 19th c. is abundantly described by: Broggio, 2003, pp. 53-85; Lara, 2004; Lara, 2008; Spicer, Ross Crumrine, 1997; Webster, 2005, pp. 245-261. See also: Corbin, 1960, pp. 128-129. Cf.: Dean, 1996, pp. 171-182; Kennedy, 2002.

[152] Webster, 1997, passim. The researcher mainly discusses the evangelisation efforts undertaken by the Franciscans. Dorothy S. Beals writes about the role of the Jesuits in the propagation of theatricalised liturgical ceremonies on the territory of Northern Mexico and south-east regions of today's United States of America: Beals, 1997, pp. 117-125. Othon Arróniz writes in broad scope on the evangelisation of the native population of New Spain through theatricalised ceremonies and spectacles: Arróniz, 1979. It is worth mentioning here the evangelisation practices undertaken by Portugese Jesuits in Japan. They included the *Depositio Hostiae*. Solange Corbin specifies two sources from the 2nd half of the 16th c. which describe the course of these actions: Corbin, 1960, pp. 67, 83, 147-148, 264-265. We encounter theatricalised Good Friday ceremonies enacting the *Deposition* also in other parts of the world more directly subject to or remaining under the influence of the Kingdom of Portugal (India, South America): Cannell, 1995, pp. 377-394; Corbin, 1960, pp. 147, 263-264; Lohmann Villena, 1996; Martin, 1959; Mendoza, 1977, pp. 21-32; Piamota, 1974, pp. 109-133, in particular pp. 114-116. One of the most interesting accounts of such a ceremony is that of Henry Koster, who in 1809, in Recife (Pernambuko), Brazil, saw an elaborate Descent from the Cross: "On the following day, Good Friday, the decorations of the churches, and

sophisticated forms, were characterized by rich set-design and were organized by religious confraternities, usually with the active involvement of the clergy.[153] Some of them should be perceived as liturgical rituals whose essence was to re-enact the events described in the Holy Bible; others, pantomime performances meant to explain the fundamental truths of faith.[154]

In the case of New Spain, a representative example of a Good Friday ceremony, where an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ played the main

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dress of the women, and even the manner of both sexes was changed; all was dismal. In the morning I went with the same gentlemen to the church of the Sacramento, to witness a representation of our Saviour's descent from the Cross. We entered the church by a side door; it was much crowded, and the difficulty of getting in was considerable. An enormous curtain hung from the ceiling, excluding from the sight the whole of the principal chapel. An Italian Missionary Friar of the Penha convent, with a long beard, and dressed in a thick dark brown cloth habit, was in the pulpit, and about to commence an extempore sermon. After an exordium of some length, adapted to the day, he cried out 'Behold him;' the curtain immediately dropped, and discovered an enormous Cross, with a full-sized wooden image of our Saviour, exceedingly well carved and painted, and around it a number of angels represented by several young persons, all finely decked out, and each bearing a large pair of out-stretched wings, made of gauze; it was dismal, to a bob wig, and a pea green robe, as St. John, and a female kneeling at the foot of the Cross, as the Magdalene, whose character, as I was informed, seemingly that nothing might be wanting, was not the most pure. The friar continued, with much vehemence, and much action, his narrative of the crucifixion, and after some minutes, again cried out 'Behold, they take him down'; when four men, habited in imitation of Roman soldiers, stepped forwards. The countenances of these persons were in part concealed by black crape. Two of them ascended ladders placed on each side against the Cross, and one took down the board, bearing the letters I.N.R.I. Then was removed the crown of thorns; and a white cloth was put over, and pressed down upon the head; which was soon taken off, and shown to the people, stained with the circular mark of the crown in blood: this done, the nails which transfix the hands, were by degrees knocked out, and then produced a violent beating of breasts among the female part of the congregation. A long white linen bandage was next passed under each arm-pit of the image: the nail which secured the feet was removed; the figure was let down very gently, and was carefully wrapped up in a white sheet. All this was done by word of command from the preacher. The sermon was then quickly brought to a conclusion, and we left the church. I was quite amazed; I had heard that something of this kind was to be done, but I had no idea of the extent to which the representation would be carried."; Koster, 1816, pp. 18-19.

[153] "The penitential processions were not the only rituals of Holy Week in which the confraternities participated. They also witnessed and contributed to important forms of liturgical drama and representations of the Passion, such as Lavatorio or Mandato (Washing of the Feet), Descendimiento (Descent from the Cross), and Encuentro (Encounter of the Virgin and Christ). Such liturgical dramas enjoyed a long tradition in Spain, where they were often performed by confraternities associated with monasteries."; Webster, 1997, p. 12. More on this subject: Lara, 2004, passim; Webster, 1997, passim; Webster, 2005, passim. On the activity of religious confraternities in Mexico see, among others: Bazarte Martínez, 1989; Gruzinski, 1990, pp. 215-218. Generally on the activity of religious confraternities in New World see, for example: Black, Graveside, 2000; López Gutiérrez, 1995, pp. 555-580; Mateos, 1995, pp. 513-536; Perleche Roggero, 1995, pp. 801-804; Rábanos, 1995, pp. 473-502; Webster, 1998b, pp. 13-24.

[154] "Dramatic performances ranged from the ritual enactment of battle scenes and episodes from the Nativity and Passion of Christ, using both sculpted and 'live' actors, to simplified pantomime performances that dramatized Christian beliefs."; Webster, 2005, p. 24. Cf. Webster, 1997, pp. 6-7.

part, was the ceremony described in *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México de la orden de predicadores* (Madrid 1596). The author, a Dominican named Agustín Dávila Padilla, witnessed the *Deposition* in the Santo Domingo monastic church in the city of Mexico in 1582. According to the friar's account, the ceremony was conducted by clergymen, but the responsibility for its organisation was assumed by the *Descendimiento y Sepulcro de Cristo*, a penitential confraternity associated with the monastery. Representatives of the confraternity did not take active part in the ceremony, restricting themselves to assisting until the final stage of the ritual, namely the procession of the flagellants.[155]

The ceremony was conducted in the monastery church, opposite the main altar. There, a stage was mounted, on which three crosses with sculpted depictions of Christ and the thieves were erected. The crosses stood on top of a large rock overgrown with plants, but the cross with Christ was surrounded by *Arma Passionis* – a spear, sponge, crown of thorns, etc. The sculptures of the Virgin Mary and St. John were in the foreground. The re-enactment of the *Descent from the Cross* was preceded by a sermon. Afterwards a couple of priests, carrying ladders, went from the vestry under the stage where they knelt down. One of them, with a censer, censed the interior. The clergyman at the front of the procession turned towards the Virgin Mary, asking permission to take Christ's body down from the cross. When the ladders were put up and subsequent insignia of the Passion were placed in the Virgin Mary's hands; each one was interpreted in the context of the Redemption by a priest standing at the forefront of the procession. In the culminating scene, the nails were removed from the hands of Jesus and He was ceremoniously taken down from the cross with the help of previously prepared pieces of cloth. The sculptural depiction of the Saviour was laid on Mary's knees and after she gave permission to bury her Son, the sculpture was placed on a bier and carried in a procession to the Sepulchre, accompanied by choral hymns.

The Mexican ceremony can be regarded as complex both in terms of narration and the stage means employed. Between the ceremonial and symbolic *Deposition* and *Entombment*, the lyrical *Pietà* was enacted,[156] and the subsequent stages of the ceremony were supplemented with peculiar kind of presentations in the form of sermons. The main actors performing on the stage, erected in the church interior and filled with extended set design elements, were animated sculptures, which included not only the figure of Christ, but also of Mary.[157] At the vital

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[155] On the work by Agustín Dávila Padilla and the descriptions of the ceremony contained therein, see: Webster, 2005, pp. 245-261.

[156] Agustín Dávila Padilla emphasises, that this scene had a strong impact on the faithful: Webster, 2005, p. 249.

[157] "[...] sculptures of the *dolorosa*, or sorrowing Virgin, were given articulated limbs so that the body of Christ, once lowered from the cross, could be placed in her arms to re-enact the scene

moments of the ceremony, the active participants, i.e., the clergy, functioned as if in the background, making room for the sculptures, which completely took over the function of actors and became the primary elements conveying meaning, shaping emotions and attracting the attention of the spectators of this peculiar religious performance.

Documents rich in detail, and which confirm the popularity of Good Friday rituals conducted using animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, are groups of 16th- and 17th- century wall paintings that survived in monastery churches in central Mexico.[158] These paintings, little-known and rarely mentioned in the studies of art and theatre historians, show an original method of presenting subjects present in the Christian iconography for centuries, related to Good Friday events. The primary distinguishing feature of the scenes comprising these painting cycles is the presence of friars and penitential confraternities in them. Similarly to the ceremony described in the work of Agustín Dávila Padilla, the friars are shown removing Christ's body from the cross, and the members of penitential confraternities as the observers of the event and participants in the procession to the Sepulchre and the march of flagellants. Performances of this type should thus be considered primarily as visual documents of the Good Friday *Deposition* ceremony, and not, as for example, a didactic illustration of the New Testament narrative.[159]

This type of wall paintings can be found in places such as the Franciscan Church of San Miguel in Huejotzingo (Puebla province)[160] and the Dominican Church of San Juan in Teitipac (Oaxaca province).[161] The sections of the church featuring these paintings confirm that Good Friday *Deposition* ceremonies occupied an important place in the life of monastic congregations and religious confraternities active on the territory of Mexico.[162]

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of the pietà. In some cases, sculptures of the *dolorosa* were outfitted with internal mechanisms of cogs and pulleys that, when compressed, permitted the sculpture to incline its head, raise its arms, and bow from the waist. The *dolorosa* that Dávila Padilla describes was equipped with such a mechanism. The movements of the sculpture were manipulated by cords that extended below the platform on which the image stood. When each insignia of the Passion was placed in the hands of the image, the cords could be raised and the head lowered to make it appear that the Virgin was kissing or weeping over the object. Dávila Padilla notes that this act greatly moved the spectators to devotion."; Webster, 2005, p. 249.

[158] Webster, 2005, p. 250.

[159] Webster, 2005, p. 250.

[160] Descriptions and interpretations of paintings dated to 1571-1592 or to the period between 1582 and 1640, have been included in the following works: Estrada de Gerlero, 1983, pp. 642-662; Lara, 2008, pp. 220-221; Webster, 1997, pp. 12-40; Webster, 2005, pp. 250-257.

[161] Lara, 2008, pp. 220-221; Webster, 2005, pp. 254-256.

[162] On wall paintings in Teitipac, Susan Webster writes: "At the [...] Dominican Monastery of San Juan, Teitipac, [...] mural paintings [...] cover a significant part of the interior walls of the *porterí* or exterior cloister entrance. The *prostería* was a highly visible area of sixteenth-century monasteries and often served, among other things, as a meeting place for friars and the

Both works have substantial documentary value – their creators depicted in detail the subsequent stages of Good Friday ceremonies, paying close attention to the participants' costume detail, the props used, and elements of the set design.[163]

The aforementioned Good Friday ceremonies and the wall paintings from monastic churches in Mexico illustrating the ceremonies should be linked to the 16th century. We are thus referring to the early period of the spread of Christianity in this area. It should be noted, that the *Deposition* ceremonies only gained popularity over the next century. Problems with organising them arose in the 18th century, when they became the object of attacks by the inquisitors, who perceived them as a threat to the purity of Christian faith. The underlying cause of the negative attitude of the Inquisition to theatricalised Holy Week ceremonies of the *Deposition* was the belief that they could generate negative emotions among the faithful, and even lead to idolatry. Not without significance was the fact that some of the ceremonies had been performed in the vernacular, which could result in an erroneous or false communication of Christian truths and church doctrine.[164]

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native community."; Webster, 2005, p. 254. The researcher indicates the date of origin of the paintings as the turn of the 17th century. Cf.: Webster, 1997, p. 16 (note 27).

[163] Let us quote a fragment of an article by Susan Webster pertaining to the paintings in Tetitpac: "On the back wall of the *pretería*, above the portal that leads to the cloister, is a scene of the Descent from the Cross which is performed by Dominican friars attired in traditional black and white habits. One friar carefully from the body of Christ with a long towel, while another prepares to remove the nail from the left hand. On the adjoining wall of the *pretería*, the subsequent penitential procession is depicted. The procession is organized in two registers that are joined on the far right. In the upper left, the start of the procession, about to enter a portal, is led by two young boys and several black-garbed penitents, arranged in groups of three carrying the *Arma Christi* and guided by a friar. The second half of the procession continues on the lower register, where it has just exited a portal [...]. Groups of secular figures bring up the rear of the procession, and before them appear people dressed as the Virgin, Mary Magdalen, and, seemingly, St. John the Evangelist. These figures are preceded by eight rather opulently attired friars carrying a bier upon which is a sculpture of the dead Christ wrapped in winding cloths. Another group of friars leads the platform, one of whom swings a censer, sanctifying the space through which the image of Christ will pass."; Webster, 2005, pp. 255, 256. Cf.: Webster, 1997, pp. 20-22. A few pages earlier the researcher discusses the paintings from Huejotzingo, proving at the same time that they realistically portray the subsequent stages of the *Deposition* organised by the Franciscans. This is confirmed by 17th-century inventories of a local penitential confraternity, co-responsible for preparing the ceremony, which specify the props used during the ceremony. The list of props matches those featured on the walls of San Miguel's Church; Webster, 2005, pp. 253-254. See also in-depth description of wall paintings from Huejotzingo: Webster, 1997, pp. 12-40.

[164] Inquisitors filed charges leveled specifically against Passion plays, and in so doing they cited variety of indecencies, abuses, and scandals, including superstitions and idolatry, associated with such performances. Of particular irritation to the Inquisitors was the fact that most of these plays were performed in native languages, which purportedly gave rise to all manner of errors and unorthodox interpretations."; Webster, 2005, pp. 256-257. On this subject, see in particular, Inquisition documents in: *Las representaciones*, 1934, pp. 332-356.

Inquisition operations did not destroy the tradition of organizing *Deposition* ceremonies which used animated sculptures of the crucified Christ or the Virgin Mary. They rather strengthened ties between this type of activity and the culture and belief of rural communities, which were much more difficult for inquisitors to control. From the 18th century we observe a loosening of ties between Holy Week ceremonies conducted in different parts of New Spain and the official liturgical practice of the Catholic Church, although this does not mean that such ties completely disappeared.[165] Ceremonies become more dependent on folk customs and beliefs rooted in pagan times. That is why they also disappeared from the field of vision of art historians, becoming an object of interest for ethnologists. Studies prepared by researchers of folk culture provide us with good records of this type of religious activity, e.g., on the territory of northern Mexico in the southern regions of the United States, where the *Descent from the Cross* was commonly enacted by local communities even before the mid-20th century.[166]

[165] In some parts of Mexico, the *Deposition* is organised to this day by local religious confraternities with the support of the clergy. Susan Verdi Webster witnessed such a ceremony and described it in the following way: "I witnessed a ceremony of the Descent from the Cross performed with sculpted images in Antigua Guatemala, at the Franciscan establishment of the Escuela de Cristo. The entire ceremony was performed by members of the confraternity of the Escuela de Cristo. The sculptures used in the performance are said to have belonged to the nearby hermitage of the Vera Cruz in early colonial times. After the sculpture of the dead Christ is carried in a penitential procession which includes images of the Virgin and Saint John, and people dressed as archangels carrying the instruments of the Passion. When the procession returns to the church, the sculpture of the dead Christ is placed in a sepulchre located in a special room just off the cloister."; Webster, 1997, pp. 29-30 (note 49).

[166] See: Spicer, Crumrine, 1997 – there also a rich bibliography pertaining to Holy Week ceremonies characteristic of the rural communities of the aforementioned territories. In the detailed descriptions of the ceremonies conducted in particular villages in the region, we repeatedly come upon information about different types of sculptures used – for example, of Christ on a donkey, Jesús Nazareno or the Virgin Mary. Reference is also made to crucifixes, from which the figure of the Saviour is removed. Unfortunately the latter are not described in detail – researchers tend to focus more on discussing the stages of the ceremonies and on the behaviours of the participants of the theatricalised rituals. However, from the narration it is evident that none of them are animated sculptures of the crucified Christ with arms folded down along the sides. It's hard to accept that in the later stages of the ceremonies, for example, in the procession to the Sepulchre with the figure laid down on a bier, an image of the Saviour with arms spread out was used. A good example of such an imprecise description is the article by Rosamond B. Spicer, where, with regard to ceremonies celebrated in Pasqua, we read: "A large grey cross was used in all Friday processions and the crucified Christ was tied to it on Good Friday [...]"; Spicer, 1997, p. 96. Further in the text we find the following description: "Immediately, the Fariseos turned and ran around the Way of the Cross. On returning to the church, they stood at four men in white robes gently removed the figure of Christ from the cross and [...] carried the Christ to the Cruz Mayor and back. They laid him on a leaf- and confetti-covered cloth on the ground beside the 'coffin'."; p. 103. An analogous description of the fragment of the ceremony when the Saviour's body is taken down from the cross and laid inside a coffin (*urnia*), is given by Spicer with reference to customs known from Potam (p. 103).

Sources pertaining to religious practices known from Jerusalem make an important contribution to our knowledge of the use of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in Good Friday ceremonies organized after the decisions of the Council of Trent came into effect. In the Holy City, the Franciscans organized an extended processional ceremony presenting and commemorating Christ's Passion. We are familiar with numerous descriptions of it from 17th- and 18th-century sources. Their content allows us to precisely reconstruct the stages of this religious performance, in which an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ with moveable arms and legs was used.

On the basis of the available sources, we can conclude that the Order of Friars Minor most probably started the custom of organizing theatricalized Good Friday ceremonies in the first half of the 16th century.[167] In beginning it was limited only to carrying the Holy Sacrament in a procession from Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre church; an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was not used during the ceremony, as the Body of Christ in the form of bread was laid in the Sepulchre, a fact confirmed by an account from 1552 by Franciscan Boniface of Raguse, contained in his *Liber de Perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae et de fructuosa ejus peregrinatione, Auctore fr. Bonifacio Ragusino* (Venice 1573).[168]

Probably the earliest description of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ in Jerusalem is that contained in *Discours spirituel de la Terre sainte* by Antoine Cestier[169], who participated in the Good Friday ceremony in 1604[170];

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[167] Gomez-Géraud, 1999, pp. 549-552. There is no information that allows us to claim that it was celebrated in the Middle Ages, as was the case with the *Entry into Jerusalem* ceremony. Descriptions of the latter are available from as early as the early Christian times. The first one was written down by Egeria and contained on the pages of her *Itinerarium*. See: Corbin, 1960, pp. 169-173; Facchini, 1986, p. 26.

[168] "His meditationibus pie peractis, et matutinali officio expleto, cum jam sero factum sit. Praesul sacri montis Syon munitam cum ministris, sacris vestibus induitur, cum Christi Corpus sub specie panis ferens, Catholicorum, Latinorum, Maronitarum, Aethioporum, Cophtorum, Armenorum, Assyriorum, Jacobitarum, Maronitarum, Clero et turba stipatus descendit de monte, ac sacram Crucem petit loci Sepulchrum ejus gloriosum, anni quod laudes Deo debitae solvuntur. [...] Peractis autem a Latinis supplicationibus, Aethiopiani humilitur a Praesule sacri montis Syon petunt abiret in Golgotha, ut ad votum ibi eo sacrum faciant; deferunt eidem Praesuli in signum humilitatis et obedientiae, quam debent Romanae Ecclesiae, quinque alhas candelas. Suo ritu peracto, descendunt de monte portantes imaginem similem Christo de Cruce exclavato, pie enim eam deferunt cum lacrymis et ululata magno ad locum unctionis sanctae, inde ad Sepulchrum gloriosum, et ante illud complent Aethiopice Psalmum octuagesimum octavum, et discedunt." Boniface, 1875, p. 41, cited after: Facchini, 1986, pp. 26-27. See what sources referring to this form of Good Friday ceremonies practiced in Jerusalem: Facchini, 1986, pp. 27-28. Facchini stresses that: "Questa processione non era ancor praticata dai Frati Minori nel secolo XVI". Teste Bonifacio da Raguse, essa veniva allora celebrata dagli Etiopi, mentre i minori frati regi facevano un'altra funzione, che consisteva nel trasportare processionalmente il Sumo Sacramento dal Calvario al S. Sepolcro, e da qui alla capella dell'Apparizione."; Facchini, 1986, p. 26.

[169] Cestier, 1605, pp. 49-51.

[170] On Antoine Cestier and his travel account see: Gomez-Géraud, 1999, passim.

Sur le matin qu'estoit le Vendredy Sainct retournasmes en procession au Mont de Calvarie, & commençasmes à prier Sacrement qu'avoit reposé vingt-quatre heures dans la Chapelle de l'Apparition, en estans arrivez l'office fut commencé et la Passion chantée à trois personnages disant le Pere Gardien les sept paroles que dict nostre Seigneur estant sur la Croix, au droict du permis ou elle avoit esté plantée. L'Office parachevé descendismes du Mont potant un grand Crucifix en Procession par toute l'Eglise, chantans plusieurs Hymnes de la Passion, puis nous retirasmes dans l'Apparition iusques au iour retournasmes en procession portans le Crucifix et chantans un *Miserere mei Deus*, avec *Repice quæsumui*, etc. en chacune station. Estans remontez audit Mont, un Pere Religieux iulan fit un petit Sermon de la Passion, nous representant que nos pieds touchoyent le mesme lieu ou le Redempteur de noz ames avoit esté cloué sur le poteau de la Croix, et plusieurs autres belles remonstrances, tenant toujours le Crucifix sur ses espaules avec telle devotion qu'il nous fit espandre beaucoup de larmes: Apres le Sermon le suidct Crucifix fut descloüé de la Croix et mis dans un linge brodé tres richement et porté processionnellement sur le Mont de l'Onction, avant ledict Crucifix ie fus tombant en bas par artifice. Il fut estendu sur icelle avec le suidct linge, et le Pere Gardien fit l'Onction avec devotes ceremonies, ayant devant luy de fines espices d'or et d'argent, y ayant aux uns des Roses fraisches, aux autres de Mirrhe et Aloës, au de Musc, avec certaines poudres de senteurs, venant le tout sur ledict Crucifix en commemoration d'un semblable office que les amis de nostre Seigneur y avoyent faict autrefois. L'Onction estant achevée le Crucifix fut porté estendu dans ledict suaire sur le S. Sepulcre.[171]

Especially significant for our considerations is the description from 1623 included in the pages of the third volume of the monumental work, *Annales Minorum seu trium Ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum ex fide ponderosius asseruntur, calumniae refellantur, praeclara quaeque monumenta ab oblivione vendicantur* (Rome, 1625-1654), written by a Franciscan historian, Luke Wadding.[172] In it, we read for the first time that the Good Friday ceremony acquires the form of an extended procession, whose participants, accompanied by singing, move from station to station – places directly related to the Passion. During the procession they listen to sermons. Most importantly, however, it mentions the use of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. According to the description, it was used not only in the *Entombment* scene, but also during the scene of *Christ being nailed to the cross*:

Die Veneris in eodem sacello (Calvariae) canitur Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Joannem. Referente autem Diacono illa verba: *Susceperunt autem Jesum, & eduxerunt, & bajulans sibi crucem exivit in eum, qui dicitur Calvariae locum, Hebraice Golgota,* ubi crucifixerunt eum, in ipso crucifixionis loco paratae cruci cruci clavis affigitur Christi effigies, ad singulos mallei ictus per dolore et repraesentatione passionis Dominicae collachrymantibus & gementibus universis, & consideratibus vere in eodem loco mundi Salvatorem diris clavibus transfixum. Hinc magnam hanc effaret Crucem & Crucifixi effigiem, & ipso in foramine, quo fixa est vera Christi crux, statim erigunt in typum.

Prosequitur deinde Diaconus historiam passionis; dum vero profestudi autem verba, quae Christus dixit in Cruce, tacet, ut Guardianus tunc in Calvariamanu crucifixo adhaerens

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[171] Cistier, 1605, pp. 49-51. Cited after Gomez-Géraud, 1999, p. 549-550.
[172] Vol. III, p. 497. On Wadding. See among others: Cleary, 1925; O'Shea, 1885.

es Christi nomine profert, singultibus & gemitibus saepe obstruentibus loquelam, dicens: *Mulier, ecce filius tuus*, deinde: *Ecce Mater tua*; tertio: *Sitio*; demum lenta & lugubri voce: *Consummatum est*. Ad haec pietatis spectacula, & viva Passionis Christi simulachra gementibus et flentibus cunctis, qui ad pia ista mysteria celebranda concurrunt. Ad illa vero textus Evangelici verba: *Post haec autem rogavit Pilatum Joseph ab Arimathia etc.*, Christi effigiem ex cruce deponunt, & pretioso linteo auro gemmisque interserto imponunt, quod per quatuor angulos, praecedentibus omnibus Christianis cum candelis accensis & ex Monte Calvario descendentibus, ferunt quatuor sacerdotes sacris induti usque ad lapidem unctionis. Accedit Guardianus cum aliis, pullis vestibus maximi preti quas Philippus tertius Hispanus ad hoc ministerium donavit, amicti, & ad similitudinem Josephi & Nicodemi corpus odoriferis aquis lavant, & sumpta ex calice magno auro mixtura myrrhae & aloes, totum inungant ipso ritu, quo pii illi viri super eundem lapidem verum Christi Corpus unxerunt. Mox reducto munda involutum ad sepulchrum portant, ipsum illud monumentum excisum in petra, in quo nullus ante nec post ipsum positus erat, & novis tenerae compassionis indiciis sacrum pignus reverenter deponunt.

Eadem die Veneris, vespertino crepusculo, regrediuntur omnes ad sacellum Montis Calvariae, ubi praemisso gravi & devoto sermone de passione Domini, flagris se cedunt, canentes lugubri voce septies psalmos quos diximus superius.[173]

The account of Henry Maundrell, who stays straightforwardly that the Good Friday ceremony celebrated in Jerusalem is worthy of detailed description owing to its pomp and magnificence, is most rewarding. In it, the chaplain of a factory in Aleppo present the spectacle's various stages, paying particular attention to the most important and most impressive moments of the extraordinary performance. Maundrell's account also contains detailed information about the visual aspects of the places where the scenes of the Passion were presented. A significant feature of *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* is the reliability of the descriptions made, attributable to the author's sharp and synthesising sense of observation. Although he does at times express several judgments about the religious and social relations prevailing in Jerusalem,[174] they function somewhat on a different plane than more reliable presentations of specific places and events

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[173] Cited after: Fachini, 1986, pp. 28-29.

[174] This is well exemplified by a fragment of the work in which Maundrell discusses the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. While giving a detailed description of its interior, he also talks about the groups of Christians who make use of and alter its altar in. At the same time the chaplain makes a point of criticising the fierce fights breaking out among Christians in Jerusalem, conflicting with the dignity of the Holy place: "In galleries round about the church, and also in little buildings annext to it on the out side, are certain apartments for the reception of fryars and pilgrims; and in these place almost every christian nation anciently maintained a small society of monks; each society having its proper quarter assign'd to it, by the appointment of the Turks: such as Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Abyssines, Georgians, Nestorians, Copthtes, Maronites, &c. all which had anciently their several apartments in the church. But those have laid all, excerpt four, forsaken their quarters; not being able to sustain to severe rents and extortions which their Turkish landlords impose upon them. The Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Cophtites keep their footing still, but of these four, the Cophtites have now only one poor representative of their nation left: and the Armenians are run so much in debt, that tis supposed they are hastning apace to follow the examples of their brethren, who have deserted before them.

which are clearly devoid of emotional traits. Under the date of 26 March, 1697, we read:

> The Latins, of whom there are always about ten or twelve residing at the church, have a president over them, make every day a solemn procession, with tapers and crucifixes, and other processionary solemnities, to the several sanctuaries; singing at everyone of them a Latin hymn relating to the subject of each place. These Latins being more polite and exact in their functions than the other monks here residing, and also our conversation being chiefly with them, I will only describe their ceremonies, without taking notice of what was done by others, who did not so much come under our observation.
>
> Their ceremony begins on Good Friday night, which is call'd by them the *nox tenebrosa*, and is observ'd with such an extraordinary solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular description of it.
>
> As soon as it grew dusk, all the fryars and pilgrims were convend in the chappel of the apparition (which is a small oratory on the north side of the holy grave, adjoining to the apartment of the Latins) in order to go in a procession round the church. But, before they set out, one of the fryars preached a sermon in Italian in that chappel. He began his discourse thus: *In questa notte tenebrosa, &c.* at which words all the candles were instantly put out, to yield a livelier image of the occasion. And so we were held by the preacher, for near half an hour, very much in the dark. Sermon being ended, every person present had a large lighted taper put into his hand, as if it were to make amends for the former darkness; and the crucifixes and other utensils were dispos'd in order for beginning the procession. Amongst the other crucifixes, there was one of a very large

Besides their several apartments, each fraternity have their altars and sanctuary, properly and distinctly allotted to their own use. At which places they have a peculiar right to perform their own divine service, and to exclude other nations from them.

But that which has always been the great point contended for by the several sects, is the command and appropriation of the holy sepulcher: a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between Greeks and Latins, that in disputing which party should go into it to celebrate their mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds even at the very door of the sepulcher; mingling their own blood with their sacrifices. An evidence of which fury the father guardian shewed us in a great scar upon his arm, which he told us was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars. Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of infidels? Or if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them! seeing even in their present state of captivity, they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity.

For putting an end to these infamous quarrels, the French king interpos'd, by a letter to the grand visier, about twelve years since; requesting him to order the holy sepulcher to be put into the hands of Latins, according to the tenour of the capitulation made in the year 1673. The consequence of which letter, and of other instances made by the French king, was, that the holy sepulcher was appropriated to the Latins: this was not accomplished till the year 1690, they alone having the privilege to say mass in it. And tho' it be permitted to christians of all nations to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may solemnize any public office of religion there, but the Latins.

The daily employment of these recluses is to trim the lamps, and to make devotional visits and processions to the several sanctuaries in the church. Thus they spend their time, many of them for four or six years together; nay so far are some transported with the pleasing contemplations in which they here entertain themselves, that they will never come out to their dying day, burying themselves (as it were) alive in our Lord's grave.": Maundrell, 1963, pp. 92-94.

size, which bore upon it the image of our Lord, as big as the life. The image was fasten'd to it with great nails, crownd with thorns, besmear'd with blood; and so exquisitely was it form'd, that it represented in a very lively manner the lamentable spectacle of our Lord's body, as it hung upon the cross. This figure was carried all along in the head of the procession; after which, the company follow'd to all the sanctuaries in the church, singing their appointed hymn at every one.

The first place they visited was that of the pillar of flagellation, a large piece of which is kept in a little cell just at the door of the chappel of the Apparition. There they sung their proper hymn; and another fryar entertain'd the company with a sermon in Spanish, touching the scourging of our Lord.

From hence they proceeded in solemn order to the prison of Christ, where they pretend he was secur'd whilst the souldiers made things ready for his crucifixion; here likewise they sung their hymn, and a third fryar preach'd in French.

From the prison they went to the altar of the division of Christ's garments; where they only sung their hymn, without adding any sermon.

Having done here, they advanced to the chappel of the Derision; at which, after their hymn, they had a fourth sermon (as I remember) in French.

From this place they went up to Calvary, leaving their shoes at the bottom of the stairs. Here are two altars to be visited: one where our Lord is supposed to have been nail'd to his cross; another where his cross was erected. At the former of these they laid down the great crucifix, (which I but now described) upon the floor, and acted a kind of a resemblance of Christ's being nailed to the cross; and after the hymn, one of the fryars preached another sermon in Spanish, upon the crucifixion.

From hence they remov'd to the adjoyning altar, where the cross is supposed to have been erected, bearing the image of our Lord's body. At this altar is a hole in the natural rock, said to be the very same individual one, in which the foot of our Lord's cross stood. Here they set up their cross, with the bloody crucified image upon it; and leaving it in that posture, their first sung their hymn, and then the father guardian, sitting in a chair before it, preached a passion sermon in Italian.

At about one yard and a half distance from the hole in which the foot of the cross was fix'd, is seen that memorable cleft in the rock, said to have been made by the earthquake which happen'd at the suffering of the God of Nature; when (as St. Matthew, chap. 27, v. 51, witnesseth) *the rocks rent, and the very graves were opened.* This cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a span wide at its upper part, and two deep; after which it closes; but it opens again below, (as you may see in another chappel contiguous to the side of Calvary); and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake, that happened at our Lord's passion, there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him; for the sides of it fit like two tallys to each other; and yet it runs in such intricate windings as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arriv'd at by any instruments.

The ceremony of the passion being over, and the guardian's sermon ended, two fryars, personating the one Joseph of Arimathea, the other Nicodemus, approach'd the cross, and with a most solemn concern'd air, both of aspect and behaviour, drew out the great nails, and took down the feigned body from the cross. It was an effigies so contriv'd, that its limbs were soft and flexible, as if they had been real flesh: and nothing could be more surprising, than to see the two pretended mourners bend down the arms, which were before extended, and dispose them upon the trunk, in such a manner as is usual in corpses.

The body being taken down from the cross, was receiv'd in a fair large winding-sheet, and carried down from Calvary; the whole company attending as before, to the stone of

unction. This is taken for the very place where the process where our Lord was anointed, for the burial, John 19.39, 40. Here they laid down their imaginary corps, and casting over it several sweet powders and spices, wrapped it up in a fine linen cloth: this was doing, they sung their proper hymn, and afterwards one of the fryars preached in Arabick, a funeral sermon.

Their devotion being finished, they carried off their fancied corps, and laid it in the sepulcher; shutting up the door till Easter morning. And now after so many sermons, and so long, not to say tedious a ceremony, it may well be imagined, that the weariness of the congregation, as well as the hour of the night, made it needful to go to rest.[175]

The above lengthy descriptions of the crucified Christ Friday in which an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was used, nailed to the cross and then laid in the Sepulchre, are not the only ones that survived from the 17th century. Apart from them, worth mentioning is a brief, yet pithy account of Francesco da Secli, included in his *Viaggio di Gerusalemme nel quale si hara Minutia, e distinta notitia delli santi luoghi* (Lecce 1639):[176]

Il giovedì santo di notte, (sul Calvario) il P. Guardiano fa un sermone della Passione, ma breve e finito quello, tutti ci facciamo la disciplina su questo santo luogo e dopo aver giambicato l'Indulgenze si accendono le torci, si prende al solito il Frate e si ordina la processione quali inferiormente ne' luoghi più principali, il P. Guardiano ... lo fanno preparato, si piglia una croce di legno, e con grandissima devotione si discende nello luogo dove fu crocifisso Christo, tutto vi quel punto che 'l nospare, come vi è detto, appresso si piglia un Christo fatto a vita e con grandissime lagrime e pianti, si dismonte su della Croce e si dalle le mani similmente e poi alle braccia e vi funi, si mettono nelle mani e nelli piedi dopo si discono alcune parole di pietà sopra questo misero, e si alza il Crucifisso, e s'intona l'Inno *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, e si va all'altra parte del detto monte, là in quella buca ovvia si mette il Crocifisso, della quale habbiamo detto; e qui un altro Padre dice un sermone della sepoltura, qual se finisce, s'intuona e così tutti si fanno in ad tempo, in tal luogo si fa simile rappresentazione considerando su delle leggete. Fatto questo, si dispiega la Croce, e di nuovo si distende il Crucifisso e si dischiode, e si mette dentro una pianga di detto sandichiama, e questo fatto bisognìo il quattro capi del panno, il Padre Guardiano e poi prelati della terra, ciascuno un capo, e calano giù dal Monte; e ce ti andaimo nella piera dell'unzione, sempre cantando, ma più piangendo qui distendono il benedetto Cristo, appesso il luo, e s'incensano gli altri, ma si vi scende, appresso al un altro e si fa in simile, si segnita la processione, e s'intona il Crocifisso nel Santo Sepolcro, dove si ... e il simigliano Sagramento, pone della Croce nella tomba, conforme alle rubriche del Missale, e li Frati rimangono a far oratione sino a giorno.[177]

Equally poetic and emphatic is the description of the stages of the Good Friday experience contained in [*Les bouquet sacré, comprisé des plus belles fleurs de*

175 Mundrell, 1963, pp. 97-100.
176 Secli, 1639, pp. 124-125.
177 Cited after Tacchini, 1986, pp. 29-30.

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la Terre Saincte (Paris 1645) by Franciscan Jean Boucher, an active participant of the ritual, who delivered the following sermon accompanying one of the scenes:[178]

Le Vendredy nous allâmes dès le service, chanter la Passion, & adorer la Saincte Croix sur le mont de Calvaire. Et cela fait nous allâmes nous prendre chacun un morceau de pain, & vin verre d'eau, & attendant les cinq heures du soir, chacun se couchoit là mesme, ou dans la Chapelle des Latins, ou en la Chapelle de l'Apparition. Or sur les cinq heures du soir on commença le service des heures de devotion, qui ont la Passion, qui au Saint Sepulchre. Les cinq heures du soir venuës nous nous mismes à genoux dans la Chapelle des Latins, & recitant que nous eusmes d'oremus procédant, nous commençasmes à aller processionellement par tous les lieux de la Passion & de la Resurrection.

Premierement nous allâmes à la Colomne de la Prison, de la à la lieu de la division des vestements de nostre Seigneur, de là à la Colomne des improperes, & de là au Calvaire, qui est tout tapissé de noir, esclairé de soixante & quatorze lampes, & excepté que nous laissasmes là la procession ... iceluy Calvaire, ou estoit en sa chaire Porthodoxe, pontificalement revestu, au milieu de deux Porte-Antiques, d'où descendit un un Porte-Croix, & de l'autre le Maistre des Ceremonies, nous fut donnée la benediction pour prescher, laquelle ayant receuë l'entre en chaire, mais je ne sçay, (ô Lecteur) ny comment, ny pourquoy, à l'y entray mort ou vif, tant je fus prise pres-laisse me sentant à la chaire du Prelat & celle du Predicateur estoit là mesme place, on laquelle il tel jour le Saueur du monde fut cloué en Croix, sur laquelle estoit estendu ce Crucifix de bois très bien fait, aiuoant d'un sang ...

... nous vis que nous prescer aux pieds du Prelat, luy demande la benediction pour prescher, laquelle ayant receuë l'entre en chaire, mais je ne sçay, (ô Lecteur) ny comment, ny pourquoy, à l'y entray mort ou vif. Et estans arrivez à ... à la pointe de S. Luc. Et puisques venérant in locum, qui dicitur ... du Crucisement dévoileront du Saueur au mesme lieu & mesme lieu que qu'il avoit esté faict, ceus des langues de des tesmoins à présenter à la prédication, de la & mesme tout qu'il avoit esté faict, & nous fit l'énumeration de les chose de Lecteur que nous l'assistance venant en vis portrait du Crucifiement dévoileront du Saueur au mesme lieu & mesme tout qu'il avoit esté faict, ce cas là estre langes & des sainges & penseurs & de persuaden de Lecteur que nous l'assistance venant en nous vis portrait du Crucifiement dévoileront du Saueur au mesme lieu & mesme tout qu'il avoit esté faict, & quatre Religieux ordonnez pour cela prirent le Crucifix enveloppé dans un linge digne de fin lin, & vinrent de façon au luy faict en le portant en porté fin lin, le conduisit de drap noir, & fut posé à la porte d'Oraison, là où descendirent les dessus ci-devant pour qu'il avoit esté faict avec cela, & nous en enveloppé dans un linge de Crucifix, & vinrent de façon au cela, nous chantions en Musique une Procession jusques au Saint Sepulchre, lequel après estoit entourée par trois fois, l'Image du Crucifix fut portée dedans, où il demeura jusques à Dimanche main qu'on l'alla querir pour le porter dans la Chapelle de la Resurrection.

Chacun donc reprenant son ordre, nous descendismes tous du Calvaire, & venus à laditte pierre, le Crucifix fut estendu sur icelle par les quatre Porteurs, & par le Prelat & son Vicaire fut armé d'eaux, precieuses, & aromatiques, & couvert de poudres odoriferantes, & si fit faict, que toute l'Église en estoit parfumée. Et tandis qu'ils faisoient cela, nous chantions en Musique une Procession jusques au Saint Sepulchre, lequel après estoit ...

178 Boucher, 1645, pp. 465-468. Cf. Boucher, 2008, pp. 370-372; Magnin, 1862, pp. 56-57. On Boucher see in particular an introduction to the modern edition of his work, written by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (Boucher 2008), pp. 9-39 (with extensive bibliography).

A number of other descriptions written between the second half of the 17th century and the end of the 18th century are listed by Augusto Facchini.[179] The Good Friday ceremony organised by the Franciscans is in fact a theatrical performance (it is illustrative that Francesco da Secli refers to it as "la rappresentatione delli misterij sagrosanti della passione di N.S."), using specific elements of liturgy, such as ceremonious hymns and implements applied during the Mass. The stations of the Passion are theatrical scenes, created by means of an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. Each of the scenes is accompanied by commentary in the form of a sermon, explaining and elaborating on the subsequent scenes of the mystery of salvation. In this context, the faithful should be treated not so much as active participants, then as observers of the religious spectacle. The performance organised by the Franciscans was to a great extent subordinate to the needs of the gathered pious audience. Thanks to the Order of Friars Minor the pilgrims visiting the Holy Land had the opportunity to watch a special religious spectacle on Good Friday. Watching episodes of the Passion in places where it actually took place had, according to the sources, a very strong impact on them. Sermons in different languages allowed them to easily understand this peculiar mystery play. The ceremony in Jerusalem did not so much repeat the events known from the pages of the Holy Bible, as ingeniously commemorate them by showing them in the context of the place in which they occurred.

Conclusions

To summarise our considerations, we conclude the following:

1. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were made and used throughout all of medieval Europe. Relics of this type have survived to this day in Italy, Spain, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Poland, France, and Slovakia. To our knowledge, no sculptures of this type have survived in countries dominated by Protestant denominations, such as Denmark, Finland, Holland, Sweden or Great Britain, although they did exist, which is evidenced by written sources, and indirectly by similar figures, e.g., of Christ in the Tomb or of the resurrected Christ, which have survived to the present day.

2. The sculptures discussed enjoyed particular popularity in southern Europe. Of the one hundred and twenty six surviving figures, sixty four are found in Italy, sixteen in Spain, and two in Portugal. A significant number of sculptures – nineteen and twelve – have survived in Germany and Austria, respectively. In the remaining countries only single examples have been recorded. On the basis of written sources we may add to the aforementioned one hundred and twenty six a further twenty-three animated sculptures of the crucified Christ which have not survived to this day (twelve from Italy, four from Great Britain, four from Germany, two from Austria and one from Switzerland).

3. The earliest animated sculptures of the crucified Christ have survived in the south of Europe, in Italy and Spain. They antedate the oldest surviving northern European examples.

4. In Italy and Spain we also encounter four monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups, dated to the 12th century (Spanish relics) or to the 13th century (Italian relics), in the case of which the figures of the Saviour had been retransformed into animated sculptures of the crucified Christ.

5. The earliest recorded north European animated sculpture of the crucified Christ was the figure used in the fourth quarter of the 12th century for the enactment of the Anglo-Norman mystery play, *La Seinte Resurreccion*.

6. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ as a group do not having unifying formal characteristics. Since they were produced over a span of several centuries

throughout Europe, they represent different stylistic trends. It is not true that most of them were made by artists of lesser ability.

7. We observe no regularity in size among animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. The surviving works range from 42 to 270 cm in height.

8. In terms of construction features, the works in question can be divided into three groups:

a) sculptures with moveable arms only,

b) sculptures fitted with mechanisms allowing movement of either the head or the tongue,

c) sculptures whose construction allows movement of several parts of the body simultaneously – the arms, legs, head and tongue.

Some sculptures of the type we are interested in (usually belonging to the third group) were equipped with mechanisms feeding blood to the wound on Christ's side, or were covered with an unusual material that was meant to enhance their realism, e.g., treated animal skin that imitated human skin. We also find sculptures that feature repositories for the Host or for sacred relics.

9. During the *paschal triduum* period, animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were used in:

a) theatricalised *Depositio Crucis* liturgical ceremonies characteristic of countries located north of the Alps,

b) paraliturgical ceremonies practiced, primarily, in Italy and Spain, usually conducted by members of religious confraternities,

c) mystery plays, performed on the territory of today's Great Britain; these uses occurred sporadically.

10. Evidence pertaining to the functions fulfilled by animated sculptures of the crucified Christ used during Holy Week suggest that, based on the available source texts and historical materials, we are not in a position to determine the exact time, place or circumstances of the emergence of the figures discussed in this work in medieval Europe. The oldest surviving works are dated to the 12th century and originated in Spain. Examples from Italy are nearly one hundred years younger. We do not know how exactly the Spanish animated sculptures of the crucified Christ were used in the early period. Neither do we know whether their functioning on the Iberian Peninsula had a direct impact on the development of this type of works in Italy.

We are faced with an equally complex situation in the case of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ in the countries of northern Europe, for the first surviving examples date back to the mid-14th century and were used during the *Depositio Crucis*. The fact that they were incorporated into the Good Friday rite most likely had nothing to do with the ceremonies in Spain and Italy which had been organised for nearly two hundred years and differed in nature from the *Depositio Crucis*. Although the oldest preserved figure of the type we are interested in, produced in northern Europe, namely England, was

used in the 12th century *La Seinte Resureccion* mystery play, it is a completely isolated case. With the current state of knowledge on the subject, it appears impossible to determine the genesis and expansion of sculptural animated figures of the crucified Christ in medieval Europe, due to the small number of figures and scant content of the few surviving sources. Furthermore, the possibility that works of this type could have appeared in countries of medieval Europe independently of one another, at various times and in different circumstances, must also be borne in mind.

11. For the greater part of the liturgical year, such figures could fulfil the same functions as the majority of sculptural representations of the crucified Christ, i.e. those whose construction did not allow for animation. Within the group of works discussed here, we can isolate those constituting processional or altar crucifixes.

12. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ could function as devotional or cult objects. The figures of the type we are interested in were worshiped and perceived as miraculous; some performed the role of pilgrimage objects and attracted throngs of pilgrims to their locations.

13. Protestant reformers did not focus much of their attention on animated sculptures of the crucified Christ, as evidenced by sparse references to the figures in the writings of Reformation theologians and polemicists. Only sporadically do we note cases of iconoclasm directed at these works.

14. The Council of Trent does not constitute a distinct turning point in the history of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ. Although Council decrees abolished the Holy Week ceremonies in which they were used, the Roman Church not only tolerated them for succeeding centuries, but often endorsed them. The commonness of the solemn *Deposition* ceremonies in Italy or Spain, and in the European colonies is indicative proof of this.

15. The fact that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ should not be associated only with the Middle Ages is confirmed by a considerable number of works of this type produced between the 16th and 20th centuries. Figures of this type from modern times can be found in Austria, Spain, Germany, Poland, Italy and in New World countries such as Brazil and Mexico.

The findings recorded herein lead us to the conclusion that animated sculptures of the crucified Christ occupied a special place in the religious culture of the Latin Middle Ages. They are a peculiar testimony to the impact that works of art had on the emotions of the faithful. One cannot fully understand the religious life of those times and the way faith was experienced without taking into consideration the part played by these sculptures in the rites of the Roman Church.

CATALOGUE OF MEDIEVAL ANIMATED SCULPTURES
OF THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST

The present catalogue of animated sculptures of the crucified Christ is modelled on the catalogue compiled by Gesine and Johannes Taubert, which constitutes a part of their breakthrough article "Mittelalterliche Kruzifixe mit schwenkbaren Armen. Ein Beitrag zur Verwendung von Bildwerken in der Liturgie" (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, no. 23, 1969, pp. 79-121).

It is not a catalogue in which the reader shall find complete information regarding particular sculptures. Similarly to the compilation made by the Tauberts, it includes those data which the author was able to establish during the course of his research. In each case, the amount of data presented in the entry was constrained by various factors. It was not possible for the author to personally view all the listed objects, which are scattered all over Europe and often located in remote places that are quite difficult to reach. Also, the parishes and museum institutions were not always willing to share information regarding the objects in their possession or to make photographs available upon request. In many cases, therefore, entries contain data based on records found in specialist literature. The account of extant works is supplemented with a list of sources containing data on lost sculptures; the principles and constraints of its compilation are identical to those related to the section concerning extant works.

Aware of the numerous shortcomings of his study, the author is nevertheless certain that the catalogue may be of use as a point of departure for future research, which will undoubtedly lead to the clarification and correction of the data it contains.

1. Surviving animated sculptures of the crucified Christ

AUSTRIA

1. [1] Göttweig
Date of completion: ca. 1380
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Lower Austria
Description: moveable arms (most likely a Baroque addition); wound in the side, connected with a hollowed hole in the back, ca. 10 cm deep – a receptacle for blood; the hole had a cover, held in place with a wooden peg
Location: the Benedictine monastery
Lit.: Jung, 2006, p. 122; Migasiewicz, 2004, p. 40; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 9; Taubert, 1974, p. 58; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 9

2. [2] Klagenfurt
Date of completion: ca. 1510-1515
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Carinthia
Dimensions: height 105 cm; arm span 101 cm
Location: Diocese Museum (originally: St. Veit a. d. Glan)
Lit.: Hubach, 2006, p. 443; Reiner, 1929; Schmidt, 1971, p. 44; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 13; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 13; Tripps, 2001, cat. no. 84, p. 232

3. [3] Maria Wörth
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Carinthia
Description: moveable arms; *Repositorium* for the Host in a wound in the side
Location: parish church
Lit.: Frodl, Macku, 1932, p. 60; Hartig, 1939, p. 8; Jung, 2006, p. 125; Milesi, 1960, p. 210; Reichmann-Endres, 1995, p. 19; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 84, cat. no. 16; Taubert, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 16

4. [4] Ried im Innkreis
Date of completion: ca. 1510
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Upper Austria
Dimensions: height 162 cm; arm span 158 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: private collection (as of ?)
Lit.: Jung, 2006, p. 125; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 86-87, cat. no. 24; Taubert, 1978, cat. no. 24

5. [5] Ried im Innkreis
Date of completion: ca. 1510
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: region of Salzburg or Lower Bavaria
Dimensions: height 84 cm; arm span 79 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Museum Innviertler Volkskundehaus
Lit.: Baumgartner, 1994; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 25; Taubert, 1974, p. 58; Taubert, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 25

6. [6] **Rietz**
Date of completion: ca. 1510
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tyrol
Dimensions: height 105 cm; arm span 95 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: parish church (originally: cemetery chapel)
Lit.: **Gschwend**, 1965, p. 84; **Rampold**, 1999, p. 433; **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 26; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 26

7. [7] **Salzburg**
Date of completion: ca. 1525
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tyrol or Salzburg
Dimensions: height 86 cm
Description: moveable arms (re-sculpted and shortened at an undefined time)
Location: seminary
Lit.: **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 27; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 27

8. [8] **Schönbach**
Date of completion: ca. 1490
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Lower Austria
Dimensions: height 198 cm; arm span 180 cm
Description: moveable arms (most probably the effect of modification in the modern era); natural hair wig
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Jung**, 2006, p. 125; **Kapustka**, 2003, p. 157 (note 11); **Kapustka**, 2008, p. 160 (note 392); **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 28; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 28

9. [9] **Schwaz**
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tyrol
Dimensions: height 138 cm; arm span 120 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: cemetery chapel
Lit.: **Rampold**, 1999, pp. 430-432; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 45

10. [10] **Seitenstetten**
Date of completion: ca. 1520
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Upper Austria
Dimensions: height 130 cm; arm span 110 cm
Description: moveable arms, natural hair wig
Location: Benediktinerstift Stiftssammlungen
Lit.: **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 88, cat. no. 29; **Taubert**, 1974, p. 58; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 29

11. [11] Steirisch-Laßnitz
Date of completion: ca. 1350-1360
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Styria, Meister der Neuberger Maria (imitator)
Dimensions: height 198 cm; arm span 186 cm
(or 240 cm and 200 cm respectively, according
to Garzarolli von Thurnlackh)
Description: moveable arms
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Biedermann**, **Roth**, 1992, pp. 33,
160; **Brucher**, 2000, p. 24; **Garzarolli von
Thurnlackh**, 1941, pp. 27-28, 97; **Kapustka**,
1998, p. 24; **Kapustka**, 2003, p. 102;
Kapustka, 2008, pp. 104-105; **Perusini**,
2000, p. 21; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 89,
cat. no. 31; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 31;
Woisetschläger-Mayer, 1964, p. 118
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of
Warsaw (Slide Archive)

12. [12] Tannheim
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tyrol
Dimensions: height 177 cm; arm span 108 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Rampold**, 1999, p. 432

BELGIUM

13. [1] Huy
Date of completion: 14th c. (?)
Description: moveable arms
Location: church of Saint-Étienne-au-Mont
Lit.: **Joway-Marchal**, 1990, p. 293; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 41

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

14. [1] Hluboka
Date of completion: ca. 1390
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Moravia
Dimensions: height 76 cm; arm span 70 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Alšova Jihočeská Galerie, inv. no.
P-217 (originally: Boletice)
Lit.: **Kopania**, 2009, p. 133; **Pocheho**, 1977,
p. 384; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 82, cat. no.
10; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 10
Photo: Alšova Jihočeská Galerie, Hluboká

15. [2] **Prague**
Date of completion: ca. 1350
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Prague
Dimensions: height 123,5 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Řád bosých sester blahoslavené Panny Marie z hory Karmel (originally: the Barnabite church in Prague, until recently – Národní Galerie, Prague)
Lit.: **Kutal**, 1962, p. 12; **Kutal**, 1971, p. 3; **Pilecka**, 1999, pp. 330, 331; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 23; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 23
Photo: National Gallery in Prague

FRANCE

16. [1] **Paris**
Date of completion: ca. 1480-1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence, workshop of Verrocchio
Dimensions: height 98 cm; arm span 106 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Saint-Germain-des-Prés
Lit.: **Kopania**, 2009, p. 133; **Lisner**, 1970, p. 14 (note 21), pp. 95-96; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 21; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 21
Photo: Kamil Kopania

17. [2] Paris
Date of completion: 15th c.
Dimensions: height 60 cm
Description: moveable eyes and jaw, activated by means of a rope attached at the back of the cross
Location: Piraud collection (as of the 1920s)
Lit.: **Chapuis, Gélis**, 1928, p. 95; **Kapustka**, 1998, p. 47; **Kapustka**, 2003, p. 155; **Kapustka**, 2008, p. 160; **Kopania**, 2004, p. 43 (note 17); **Kopania**, 2007, p. 126; **Kopania**, 2009, p. 146; **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 22; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 22; **Tripps**, 2000a, p. 157

GERMANY

18. [1] Altheim
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: southern Swabia
Dimensions: height 97.5 cm; arm span 89.5 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 80, cat. no. 2; **Taubert**, 1978, cat. no. 2

19. [2] Astheim
Date of completion: ca. 1350-1375
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Franconia
Description: moveable arms
Location: Museum Kartause Astheim
Information: courtesy of Rev. Prof. Ryszard Knapiński
Photo: Rev. Prof. Ryszard Knapiński

20. [3] Bad Wimpfen am Berg
Date of completion: 1481 (or 1st half of the 16th c.)
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Oswald Bockstorfer of Memmingen
Description: moveable arms and head, natural hair wig
Location: the Evangelical church
Lit.: **Arens**, 1980, pp. 20-21; **Arens, Bührlen**, 1971, pp. 75-76; **Berliner**, 1955, p. 198 (note 422); **Dehio**, 1964, p. 541; **Dehio**, 1993, p. 44; **Ehrhard**, 1995; **Habenicht**, 1999, p. 73; **Jung**, 2006, pp. 15, 98; **Kautzsch**, 1907, p. 42; **Miller**, 1995, p. 81; **Schnellbach**, 1931, p. 168; **Tripps**, 2000, pp. 176, 215
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

21. [4] Berlin
Date of completion: ca. 1502
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Baccio da Montelupo
Dimensions: height 54 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Bode-Museum, Skulpturensammlung
Lit.: **Gatteschi**, 1993, pp. 57, 59; **Lisner**, 1970, p. 84; **Schottmüller**, 1933, p. 147, no. 7139; **Turner**, 1997, pp. 140-141, cat. no. 1B
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

22. [5] Berlin

Date of completion: end of the 14th c.

Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Andrea di Ugolino Pisano (workshop)

Dimensions: height 176 cm; arm span 151 cm

Description: moveable arms, legs (at the knees) and head

Location: Bode-Museum, Skulpturensammlung (originally: Lucca)

Lit.: von Bode, 1886, pp. 212-214; von Bode, von Tschudi, 1888, p. 11, cat. no. 25; D'Achiardi, 1904, p. 357; Ehlich, 1990, pp. 98-101; von Fabriczy, 1909, p. 17; Kopania, 2009, pp. 133, 135; Kreytenberg, 1984, p. 138; Lisner, 1970, p. 25; von Schnraosw, 1887, p. 141; Volbach, 1930, p. 105; Toesca, 1951, p. 331; Tripps, 2000a, p. 157; Venturi, 1906, p. 866

Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

23. [6] Döbeln

Date of completion: ca. 1510

Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Saxony

Dimensions: height 190 cm; arm span 190 cm

Description: moveable arms (at the shoulders and elbows); moveable legs (at the hips); moveable head (to the right and left). A receptacle for blood at the back connected with the wound in the side; natural hair wig and beard (partially preserved); sculpture covered with parchment.

Location: Stadtmuseum (originally: St. Nicolai)

Lit.: Bechtel, 2002, pp. 24-25; Franke, 2002, p. 114; Guelfrit, 1903, p. 22; Habenicht, 1999, pp. 73-74; Jung, 2006, p. 98; Kapustka, 1998, p. 47; Kapustka, 2003, pp. 155-156; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 160-163; von Knorre, 1999, pp. 99, 102; Kopania, 2004a, p. 41; Kopania, 2004b, pp. 126-127; Kopania, 2007, pp. 502-503; Kopania, 2009, pp. 136-137; Latk, 2004, pp. 213-214; Martinez Martinez, 2003-2004, pp. 236-238; Michel, Schulze, 2000, pp. 41-44; Migasiewicz, 2004, pp. 40-41; Mörbitz, 1727, pp. 69-70, 186-187; Perusini, 2000, p. 31; Perusini, 2006, p. 200; Schmidt, 1998, pp. 130-132; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 3; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 3; Tripps, 2000, pp. 161, 176, 182, 237; Tripps, 2001, cat. no. 84, p. 232

Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

24. [7] Kempten
Date of completion: ca. 1350
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Swabia
Dimensions: height 166 cm; arm span 167 cm
Description: arms moveable at the shoulders
and elbows. Leather patches concealing the
mechanisms
Location: St. Lorenz
Lit.: *Bayern – Kunst und Kultur*, 1972, cat.
no. 186; Emmerling, 1994, p. 87; Hoffmann,
2006, p. 140; Kapustka, 1998, pp. 23, 24;
Kapustka, 2003, p. 102; Kapustka, 2008,
p. 104; Kopania, 2009, p. 135; Naumann,
1994, p. 35; Roediger, 1938, p. 99 (note
60); Schädler, undated, p. 10; Schädler, 1959,
p. 50; Schildhauer, 1923, p. 122; Schnell,
1971, pp. 17, 19; Taubert, Taubert, 1969,
p. 83, cat. no. 12; Taubert, 1978, pp. 39-40,
cat. no. 12
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia (below)
and Bildarchiv Foto Marburg – Aufsberg, Lala

25. [8] **Lage**
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Recht**, 1999, p. 272

26. [9] **Laufen**
Date of completion: ca. 1530
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Upper Bavaria
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 42

27. [10] **Lorch**
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Description: moveable arms
Location: former monastic church
Lit.: **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 43
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia (left) and
Bildarchiv Foto Marburg – Aufsberg, Lala

28. [11] **Memmingen**
Date of completion: ca. 1510
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Ivo Strigel (workshop)
Dimensions: height 115 cm; arm span 95 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: St. Johann
Lit.: **Altmann**, 1975, p. 15; **Breuer**, 1959, p. 17; **Kapustka**, 2008, p. 104; **Recht**, 1999,
p. 273; **Taubert**, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 17; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 17; **Vavra**,
1984, pp. 315-322

29. [12] **Oberndorf am Neckar**
Date of completion: ca. 1540
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Swabia
Dimensions: height 85 cm; arm span 85 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 18; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 40, cat. no. 18

30. [13] Ottobeuren
Date of completion: ca. 1530
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Swabia
Dimensions: height 151 cm; arm span 136 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Museum at the Benedictine Abbey
Lit.: **Purwin**, 1995, p. 65; **Taubert**, 1978,
p. 40, cat. no. 44
Photo: Museum at the Benedictine Abbey

31. [14] Passau-Grubweg
Date of completion: ca. 1520
Dimensions: height 70 cm; arm span 70 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: private collection (as of 1978)
Lit.: **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 86, cat. no. 20; **Taubert**, 1974, p. 58; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42,
cat. no. 20

32. [15] **Rottweil**
Date of completion: 15th c. (?)
Description: moveable arms
Location: Heilig-Kreuz-Münster
Information: courtesy of Dr. Anna Laura de
la Iglesia
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

33. [16] **Schneidhain**
Date of completion: ca. 1480-1510
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Italy
Description: moveable arms
Location: St. Johann (originally: castle chapel)
Lit.: **Erdmann**, 1995, p. 3; **Erdmann**, 1996, pp. 19-37; **Erdmann**, 2002; **Großmann-Hofmann**, **Köster**, 1998, p. 93; **Martinez Martinez**, 2003-2004, p. 235

34. [17] **Sulzschneid**
Date of completion: ca. 1550
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Swabia
Dimensions: height 90 cm; arm span 75 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: St. Pancras
Lit.: **Petzet**, 1966, p. 214; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 89, cat. no. 32; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 32

35. [18] **Weilheim**
Date of completion: ca. 1490
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Upper Bavaria
Dimensions: height 80 cm; arm span 72.5 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Stadtmuseum (inv. no. Br 143)
Lit.: **Helm**, 1982, pp. 77;78; **Jung**, 2006,
p. 130; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 90, cat.
no. 34; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 34
Photo: Stadtmuseum Weilheim i.OB

36. [19] **Unterhausen**
Date of completion: ca. 1525
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Upper Bavaria
Dimensions: height 104 cm, arm span 94 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Mariä Heimsuchung
Lit.: **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, pp. 89-90, cat. no. 33; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 33

ITALY

37. [1] **Acquasparta**
Date of completion: 2nd half of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria (imitator of Giovanni Tedesco)
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Francesco
Lit.: **Bruni**, 2007; **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 104

38. [2] **Arezzo**
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Baccio da Montelupo
Description: moveable arms
Location: cathedral (vestry)
Lit.: **Gatteschi**, 1993, p. 39; **Lisner**, 1970, p. 14 (note 21), 85; **Turner**, 1997, p. 184, cat. no. 2C

39. [3] **Assisi**
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giovanni Tedesco
Description: moveable arms
Location: Basilica inferiore di San Francesco d'Assisi
Lit.: **Lisner**, 1960, pp. 187-188; **Lunghi**, 2000, pp. 104, 121-123; **Lunghi**, 2004, p. 277; **Nessi**, 1982, pp. 342-344, 350-351; **Pietralunga da**, 1926, p. 62; **Tameni**, 2004

40. [4]. **Bettona**
Date of completion: 1460s or 1470s
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Agostino di Duccio
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Crispolto (originally: San Francesco, Prato)
Lit.: **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 104, 133-146; **Lunghi**, 2004, p. 277; **Perusini**, 2006, p. 194; **Tameni**, 2004

41. [5] **Borgoforte**
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Clemente Zamara (Brescia)
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Domenico di Scorsarolo
Lit.: **Tameni**, 1999, p. 60

42 [6]. Bovara di Trevi
Date of completion: 1330s or 1340s
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria
Dimensions: height 172 cm; arm span 154 cm
Description: moveable arms; mechanism hidden under a leather patch
Location: San Pietro
Lit.: **Bizzozero**, 1925; **Guardabassi**, 1872; **Kopania**, 2009, p. 135; **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 102; **Lunghi**, 2004, p. 277; **Pallucchi**, 1892; **Previtali**, 1984, pp. 33, 34 (note 9); **Toscano**, 1963, p. 236

43 [7]. Buti
Date of completion: mid-14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Dimensions: height 123 cm; arm span 118 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Giovanni Battista
Lit.: **Cardone**, **Carletti**, 2000, p. 235

44. [8] Cagli
Date of completion: mid-16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: central Italy
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Giuseppe
Lit.: **Fachechi**, 1999, p. 158; **Mazzacchera**, 1997, pp. 129-133

45. [9] Calcinaia near Florence
Date of completion: 2nd half of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Stefano
Lit.: **Lisner**, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 107 (note 169)

46. [10] Campi Bisenzio near Florence
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Baccio da Montelupo
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Maria e di San Lorenzo
Lit.: **Gatteschi**, 1993, p. 59; **Lisner**, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 85; **Santoni**, 1847, p. 385
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

47. [11] **Cannara**
Date of completion: end of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria
Description: moveable arms
Location: Oratorio della Buona Morte
Lit.: **Perusini**, 2006, p. 197; **Turrioni**, 2002; **Turroni**, 2004, pp. 18-26

48. [12] **Caravaggio**
Date of completion: 1st decade of the 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Lombardy
Description: moveable arms; wig (not preserved)
Location: San Bernardino
Lit.: **Bernardi**, 2005, p. 83; **Pacia**, 2001, p. 39

49. [13] **Castelfranco di Sotto**
Date of completion: 1310-1320
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Dimensions: height 190 cm; arm span 176 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Pietro Apostolo
Lit.: **Bernardi**, 2000, p. 15; **Tomasi**, 2000, pp. 70-71

50. [14] **Colle di Buggiano**
Date of completion: turn of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Lorenzo
Lit.: **Vitali**, 1998, p. 192

51. [15] **Como**
Date of completion: last decade of the 14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence
Description: moveable arms; wig
Location: Santuario Santissimo Crocifisso
Lit.: **Tameni**, 2004

52. [16] **Ema near Florence**
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Pietro
Lit.: **Lisner**, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 109 (note 192)

53. [17] Florence
Date of completion: before 1339
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giovanni di Balduccio or Maestro della Santa Cecilia
Dimensions: height 190 cm; arm span 176 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (originally; Baptistery)
Lit.: **Befani**, 1884, p. 97; **Brunetti**, 1969, pp. 231-232; **Cavallucci**, 1888, p. 36; **Del Migliore**, 1684, p. 94; **Fantozzi**, 1842, pp. 363-364; **Follini**, 1791, p. 46; **Lisner**, 1968, p. 116; **Lisner**, 1970, pp. 22-23, 44 (note 41); **Lumachi**, 1782, pp. 51, 67-68; **Parronchi**, 1986, p. 18; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 4; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 4; **Tripps**, 2000, p. 157; **Tripps**, 2001, p. 232, cat. no. 84

54. [18] Florence
Date of completion: ca. 1405-1415
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Felice in Piazza
Lit.: **Fantozzi**, 1842, p. 678; **Francini Bruni**, 1928, p. 27; **Kauffmann**, 1936, p. 200 (note 47); **Lisner**, 1968, pp. 121-122; **Lisner**, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 57-58; **Meoni**, 1993, pp. 174-175; **Paatz, Paatz**, vol. II, 1941, p. 49; **Seymour Jr**, 1966, p. 31; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 6; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 6
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

55. [19] Florence

Date of completion: ca. 1415
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Donatello
Dimensions: height 168 cm; arm span 173 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Croce
Lit.: degli Albertini, 1909 (first edition: 1510); Alinari, undated, pp. 122-125; Avery, 1991, p. 24; Baldini, Nardini, 1983; Bertaux, 1910, pp. 28-31; Billi, 1969, p. 320; Bocchi, 1971 (first edition - 1591), p. 165; Colasanti, 1927, pp. 41-44; Collareta, 1995, p. 4; Cruttwell, 1911, pp. 25-26; Frey, 1893, pp. 65-66, 305-306; Gelli, 1896, 50-51; Greenhalgh, 1982, pp. 43-44; Janson, 1957, pp. 7-12; Kauffmann, 1936, pp. 17-19; Kurth, 1912, pp. 40-41; Lányi, 1936, p. 128; Lisner, 1968, p. 115; Lisner, 1970, pp. 11, 12, 54-55, 64; Lunghi, 2000, p. 149; Lunghi, 2004, p. 277; Meoni, 1993, pp. 175, 195 (note 62); Messeri, 1887, pp. 18-22; Micheletti, Paolucci, 1977, pp. 33-43; Mäntz, 1885, pp. 7-8; Paatz, vol. I, 1940, p. 669; Parker, 1978, pp. 61-62, 147; Parronchi, 1976, pp. 50-55; Parronchi, 1998, pp. 39-52; Petrucci, 2003, p. 104; Planiscig, 1947, p. 41; Reymond, 1898, p. 125; Rosenauer, 1993, pp. 307-308; Schmarsow, 1886, p. 6; Sachs, 1982, cat. no. 5; Schottmüller, 1904, pp. 80-81, 121; Schubring, 1907, p. 29; Schüssler, 1997, pp. 49-72; Semper, 1887, pp. 26-27; Seymour jr, 1966, pp. 73-74; Tameni, 1999, p. 59; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 5; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 5; von Tschudi, 1887, p. 10; Vasari, 1845, p. 184; Vasari, vol. I, 1985, p. 380; Vasari, vol. II, 1985, pp. 147-148; Vasari, vol. II, 1985, p. 109; Verdon, 1989, p. 630
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia (below) and Bildarchiv Foto Marburg (above)

56. [20] Florence

Date of completion: ca. 1420-1430
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Luca della Robbia (?)
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Maria in Campo
Lit.: Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 60-61; Paatz, Paatz, vol. III, 1952, p. 172

57. [21] **Florence**
Date of completion: 1430-1440
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence
Description: moveable arms
Location: Palazzo Pitti
Lit.: Lisner, 1970, p. 62

58. [22] **Florence**
Date of completion: ca. 1490-1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giuliano da Sangallo (workshop)
Description: moveable arms
Location: S. Trinità
Lit.: Lisner, 1969, p. 111; Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 90; Paatz, Paatz, 1953, vol. V, p. 303; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 82, cat. no. 8; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 8

59. [23] **Florence**
Date of completion: end of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Benedetto da Maiano
Description: moveable arms
Location: Calza Monastery (originally: San Giusto)
Lit.: Lisner, 1970, p. 15 (note 21), 78-82; Paatz, vol. II, 1941, p. 276; Uccelli, 1865, p. 128; Vasari, vol. III, 1985, p. 202

60. [24] **Florence**
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Baccio da Montelupo
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Giovanni dei Cavalieri
Lit.: Lisner, 1970, p. 14 (note 21), 85, 189; Santoni, 1847, p. 46; Paatz, Paatz, vol. II, 1941, p. 310; Turner, 1997, pp. 164-165, cat. no. 11B

61. [25] **Florence**
Date of completion: ca. 1502
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Baccio da Montelupo
Dimensions: 94 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Maria Novella
Lit.: Gatteschi, 1993, pp. 57-58, 59; Lisner, 1970, pp. 14 (note 21), 82-85; Mesnil, 1904, pp. 64, 72; Paatz, 1931, pp. 360-361; Paatz, Paatz, 1952, p. 704; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 81, cat. no. 7; Taubert, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 7
Photo: Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

71. [35] **Palaia**
Date of completion: ca. 1340
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence or Siena
Dimensions: height 163.5 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Sant'Andrea
Lit.: **Burresi**, 1998; **Carletti**, 2001, pp. 39-40; **Carletti, Giometti**, 2003, pp. 42-44; **Carli**, 1960, p. 42; **Collareta**, 2000, pp. 129-134; **Perusini**, 2000, p. 22; **Procacci**, 1933, pp. 233-238; **Taubert, Taubert**, 1969, p. 85, cat. no. 19; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 19
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

72. [36] **Palazzolo di Sona**
Date of completion: early 15th c. (see: Tameni)/early 16th c. (see: Guerrini)
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Verona
Description: moveable arms, natural hair wig
Location: San Giacomo (originally: Santa Cristina)
Lit.: **Guerrini**, 1996, p. 41; **Tameni**, 1999, p. 60

73. [37] **Pietrarossa**
Date of completion: 2nd half of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria (Giovanni Tedesco?)
Dimensions: height 140 cm; arm span 130 cm
Description: moveable tongue
Location: Santa Maria (from 1997 in *Con.Be.C.* Spoleto for conservation purposes)
Lit.: **Bruni**, 2007

74. [38] **Pisa**
Date of completion: end of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Florence
Dimensions: height 142 cm; arm span 78 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Croce in Fossabonda
Lit.: **Collareta**, 2000, pp. 231-232; **Giometti**, 2001, pp. 78-79

75. [39] **Pistoia**
Date of completion: ca. 1500
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Tuscany
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Paolo
Lit.: **Lisner**, 1970, p. 14 (note 21), 97

76. [40] **Pontebba**
Date of completion: ca. 1520
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Master Enrico, Pontebba
Dimensions: height 115 cm; arm span 102 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Giovanni Battista
Lit.: **Perusini**, 2000, pp. 19-38; **Perusini**, 2006, pp. 197, 198, 199

77. [41] **Pontebba**
Date of completion: ca. 1520
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Master Enrico, Pontebba
Dimensions: height 130 cm; arm span 115 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Maria
Lit.: **Perusini**, 2000, pp. 19-38; **Perusini**, 2006, pp. 197-199

78. [42] **Porcia**
Date of completion: 1st half of the 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Friuli
Description: moveable tongue
Location: Santa Madonna
Lit.: **Perusini**, 2006, pp. 197-198

79. [43] **Pordenone**
Date of completion: 1466
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giovanni Tedesco
Description: moveable tongue
Location: Santa Maria degli Angeli detta del Cristo
Lit.: **Francescutti**, 2005, pp. 178-187; **Francescutti**, 2006, pp. 207-223; **Kopania**, 2009, p. 144; **Perusini**, 2006, pp. 197, 198, 199, 200-201

91. [55] Spello
Date of completion: end of the 13th c./1st or 2nd decade of the 14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria
Dimensions: height 182 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Pinacoteca Comunale (originally: Santa Maria Maggiore)
Lit.: **Ceino**, 1991, p. 22; **Fratini**, 1990, p. 28; **Fratini**, 1995, pp. 93-94; **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 107; **Lunghi**, 2004, p. 277; **Marabottini**, 1994, p. 6; **Tini Brunozzi**, 1994, p. 69

92. [56] Spello
Date of completion: 1st quarter of the 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria
Description: moveable arms
Location: Chiesa dell'Ospedale (vestry)
Lit.: **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 104

93. [57] Terni
Date of completion: 1450-1460
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giovanni Tedesco
Dimensions: height 168 cm; arm span 160 cm
Description: moveable arms, moveable tongue (direction: up-down)
Location: Pinacoteca Comunale (originally: San Francesco)
Lit.: **Bruni**, 2007; **Cassio**, 2005, p. 225; **Fratini**, 2000, pp. 22, 39-41; **Lanzi**, 1910, p. 70; **Lisner**, 1960, p. 184; **Lunghi**, 2000, pp. 104, 123, 163; **Lunghi**, 2004, p. 277; **Rinaldi**, 1986, p. 23; *Touring...*, 1950, p. 247

94. [58] Terni
Date of completion: 4th quarter of the 15th c. (?)
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Giovanni Tedesco
Dimensions: height 152 cm; arm span 145 cm
Description: moveable arms, moveable tongue (direction: up-down)
Location: Pinacoteca Comunale (originally: Trevi, Santa Maria delle Grazie)
Lit.: **Bruni**, 2007

95. [59] Tosse di Noli
Date of completion: end of the 14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Liguria
Description: moveable arms
Location: oratorio di San Stefano
Lit.: **Bartoletti, Boggero, Cervini**, 2004, p. 56; **Mattiauda**, 1986, cat. no. 46

96. [60] Travagliato
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Francesco Giolfino (?), Maffeo Olivieri (?)
Dimensions: height 100 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santi Pietro e Paolo
Lit.: **Guerrini**, 1996, p. 44; **Tameni**, 1999, p. 60

97. [61] **Valvasone**
Date of completion: end of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
north-east Italy
Description: moveable arms (at the shoulders
and elbows), moveable legs (at the hips and
knees), originally probably covered with some
material (leather?) concealing the metal mecha-
nism allowing to animate the image
Location: private collection
Lit.: **Kopania**, 2009, pp. 141-142; **Perusini**,
2000, p. 31; **Perusini**, 2006, pp. 197, 199-200
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of
Warsaw (Slide Archive)

98. [62] **Verona**
Description: moveable arms
Location: Chiesa di Santa Toscana
Lit.: **Tameni**, 1999, p. 60 (note 66)

99. [63] **Villa della Petraia near Florence**
Date of completion: end of the 15th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Benedetto da Maiano (workshop)
Dimensions: height 42 cm
Description: moveable arms
Location: Villa della Petraia
Lit.: **Lisner**, 1970, p. 14 (note 21), 81

100. [64] **Zuccarello**
Date of completion: 1440-1460
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Liguria
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Bartolomeo
Lit.: **Bartoletti, Boggero, Cervini**, 2004, p. 66; **Boggero, Cervini**, 1995, p. 32; **Giardelli**,
1992, pp. 156-157

NORWAY

101. [1] Oslo
Date of completion: ca. 1200
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: England
Dimensions: height originally ca. 25 cm
Description: moveable right arm (lost)
Location: Kunstindustriemuseet
Lit.: **Blindheim**, 1969, pp. 22-32; **Goldschmidt**, 1914-26, vol. III, no. 128a, b; **Hoffmann**, 1970, p. XVIII; **Longland**, 1969, p. 166; **Nilgen**, 1985, p. 64; **Parker**, 1978, passim; **Parker, Little**, 1984, pp. 60-67; **Parker, Little**, 1994, pp. 30, 37, 80, 159, 253-258

POLAND

102. [1] **Chelmno**
Date of completion: ca. 1350-1375
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Most probably an artist from Franconia, Thuringia or Saxony. Associated with a circle of convents: the Cistercian convent in Sonnefeld near Coburg and the Ursuline convent in Erfurt
Dimensions: height 270 cm
Description: moveable arms. At the crown of the head a circular opening several centimeters in diameter, wound in the side pierced right through, three round holes in its lower edge (receptacle for blood?)
Location: Church of the Convent of the Daughters of Charity (originally: Cistercian Church)
Lit.: **Chrzanowski, Kornecki**, 1991, p. 172; **Domasłowski**, 1983, pp. 42-43; **Dziechciaruk-Jędrak**, 1985, p. 80; **Horwatt-Baniewicz**, 1993, pp. 193-194; **KC**, 2005, p. 373, cat. no. 263; **Migasiewicz**, 2004, p. 40; **Mroczko**, 1976, p. 50; **Mroczko**, 1985; **Pilecka**, 1999, pp. 321-359; **Rzegocka**, 2005, p. 180; **Tomaszkiewicz**, 1966, pp. 189, 190
Photo: Sławomir Majoch

103. [2] **Warsaw**
Date of completion: ca. 1400
Dimensions: height 102 cm
Description: moveable arms (originally also at the elbows?), currently permanently folded down alongside the body, mechanisms allowing to animate the sculpture have not survived. Re-sculpted upper parts of the arms
Location: Archdiocesan Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 828 (originally church of St. John the Baptist in Mszczonów?)
Lit.: **Dziechciaruk-Jędrak**, 1985., p. 80; **Galicka, Sygietyńska**, 1967, p. 23; **Galicka, Sygietyńska**, 1994, pp. 16-17; **Jurkowski**, 2009, p. 52; **Kącki**, 2004, p. 28; **Lewański**, 1999, p. 62; **Przekaziński**, 1986, p. 277, cat. no. 84; **Raszewski**, 1990, p. 10; **Romanowicz**, 1983; **Rzegocka**, 2005, p. 180; **Sygietyńska**, 1994, p. 425; **Targosz**, 1995, p. 206; **Wojcie-chowska**, 2000, pp. 151-155
Photo: Kamil Kopania

PORTUGAL

104. [1] Portel
Date of completion: 15th c.
Description: moveable arms
Location: Igreja da Misericórdia
Lit.: **Espanca**, 1978, p. 204

105. [2] Viseu
Date of completion: 13th-14th c.
Description: according to information received at the Museu Grão-Vasco, the figure of Christ comprises a 14th-c. torso with moveable arms and a head made earlier, in the 13th c.
Location: Museu Grão-Vasco
Lit.: **Passos**, 1999, pp. 30-31; **Russell Cortez**, 1967, p. 4

SLOVAKIA

106. [1] Hronský Beňadik
Date of completion: ca. 1470-1490
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Poprad
Description: moveable arms
Location: Benedictine church
Lit.: **Bodorné Szent-Gály**, 1987, pp. 155-157; **Bodorné Szent-Gály**, 1987, pp. 155-157; **Brooks**, 1921, p. 63; **Csefalvay**, 1993, pp. 178-179; **Dankó**, 1972, pp. 244-248; **Divald**, 1911, pp. 545-548; **Dziechciaruk-Jędrak**, 1985, pp. 75-76; **Endrődi**, 2003, pp. 716-717, cat. no. 4.46; **Gerevich**, 1942; **Glatz**, 1982, pp. 230-231; **Glatz**, 1985, p. 50; **Haiczl**, 1913, pp. 132-134; **Henszlmann**, 1866, pp. 138-140; **Homolka**, 1972, pp. 68, 393; **Kampis**, 1940, pp. 64-66; **Kapustka**, 1998, p. 24; **Kapustka**, 2003, p. 103; **Kapustka**, 2008, pp. 105-106; **Król-Kaczorowska**, 1971, p. 95; **Prokopp**, 1982, p. 36; **Radocsay**, 1967, pp. 74-76, 166; **Rzegocka**, 2005, p. 180; **Schürer**, **Wiese**, 1938, pp. 73, 194, 197; **Schwarzweber**, 1940, p. 43; **Takács**, 2001, pp. 180-182; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, pp. 82-83, cat. no. 11; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 39, cat. no. 11; **Török**, 1989, p. 6; **Trajdos**, 1964, pp. 335-342; **Trajdos**, 1970, pp. 94-96; **Tripps**, 2000, pp. 131, 134; **Wagner**, 1930, pp. 73-74

107. [2] Spišská Belá
Date of completion: ca. 1390
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Poprad
Dimensions: height 72.5 cm
Description: moveable arms, replaced in the 18th c.
Location: parish church
Lit.: **Jung**, 2006, p. 125; **Kampis**, 1932, p. 52; **Lajta**, 1960, p. 89; **Pilecka**, 1999, p. 331; **Radocsay**, 1967, p. 213; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, pp. 88-89, cat. no. 30; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 42, cat. no. 30; *Výstava starého umění...*, 1937, p. 42, cat. no. 206; **Vaculí**, 1975, photo 118

SPAIN

108. [1] Aguilar de Campóo.
Date of completion: 13th c.
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: Tôxar de. 1790; Hernando Garrido. 1995, p. 97; Huidobro Serna, 1980, pp. 19-20, 38-39, 46-49, 52-58

109. [2] Arrabal de Portillo
Date of completion: 15th c.
Description: moveable arms
Information: courtesy of Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

110. [3] Burgos
Date of completion: 2nd quarter of the 14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Galicia
Description: Moveable arms and head. A blood receptacle in the wound in the side. Sculpture covered with treated calf- and sheepskin lined with wool underneath, natural hair, nails from animal horn

Location: cathedral (originally: convento de San Agustin)
Lit.: Albarellos, 1964; Anónimo, undated; Anónimo, 1554; Anónimo, 1604; Anónimo, 1622; Anónimo Augustino, 1574, 1604, 1622, 1684; Ara Gil, 1995, p. 288; Ubierna, 1939; Berliner, 1955, p. 146; Boehn von, 1972, pp. 100-101; Buendía, Gutiérrez Pastor, de la Calancha, 1639, 1653; Collin de Plancy, 1821, pp. 215-217; Cornejo Vega, 1996, p. 241; Díez de Antón, 1830, 1850; Español, 2004, pp. 546-547; Fernández, 1825; Fernández del Valle y de Quintana, 1974, pp. 93-116; Flórez, 1772, pp. 483-508; Flynn, 1998, p. 51; García, 1921; García de Quevedo, 1931; Gautier, 1979, pp. 46-47; Gila Medina, 1979; Gila Medina, 1985; Gila Medina, 2002; Gómez Rojí, 1914a; Gómez Rojí, 1914b; Gómez Rojí, 1916; González Echegaray, 1985, pp. 141-168; Heras, 1978; Hermenegildo,1958; Huidobro y Serna, 1950, pp. 165-171; Jurkowski, 1996, p. 64; Kopania, 2004a, p. 40; Kopania, 2007, pp. 495-509; Kopania, 2009, pp. 138-141; Lacarra, 1949, pp. 194-196; Lampérez y Romea, 1899, p. 175; Lohmann Villena, 1966; López Mata, 1966, pp. 147-151; López Mata, 1935, pp. 251-257; Loviano, 1740, 1908; Manier, 1890, pp. 56-59; de Maris, 1609; Martínez Martínez, 2003-2004, pp. 207-246; Martínez Martínez, 1991, pp. 275-361; Martínez y Sanz, 1866, p. 84; Moreto, 1670, pp. 77-112; Morfi, 1774; Mújica Pinilla, 1991; Pacho Polvorinos. 1996, pp. 329-358; Portal, 1924; Pugnaire, 1896; Riaño Campo,

1944; **Rico Santamaría**, 1985, pp. 256-261; **Ruiz**, 1938, pp. 1312-1319; **Salvá**, 1913; **Sierra**, 1737, 1763; **Simón Cabarga**, 1974, pp. 117-122; **Sobieski**, 1991, p. 127
Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg and Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive) (left)

111. [4] **Castillo de Lebrija**
Date of completion: 15th c.
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Cornejo Vega**, 1996, p. 241; **Hernandez Díaz**, 1979, p. 62

112. [5] **Esguevillas de Esgueva**
Date of completion: 15th c.
Description: moveable arms
Information: courtesy of Dr. Anna Laura de la Iglesia

113. [6] **Fisterra**
Date of completion: 2nd quarter of the 15th c.
Description: moveable arms
Location: Cristo de Santa María das Areas de Fisterra
Lit.: **González Montañés**, 2002, p. 34

114. [7] **Liria**
Date of completion: 13th c.
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Español**, 2004, p. 547; **Tormo**, 1923, p. 184

115. [8] **Lugo**
Date of completion: end of the 13th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Galicia
Description: moveable arms
Location: San Pedro Félix de Hospital do Incio
Lit.: **González Montañés**, 2002, p. 34; **Manso Porto**, 1996, p. 449
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

116. [9] Orense
Date of completion: 1330s
Place of completion/author/artistic circle:
Galicia
Description: moveable arms, natural hair wig,
sculpture covered with malleable mass imitating
the colour and texture of human skin
Location: cathedral
Lit.: **Español**, 2004, p. 546-547; **Kopania**,
2009, p. 139; **Manso Porto**, 1996, p. 452;
Hervella Vázquez, 1993, pp. 148-149
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of
Warsaw (Slide Archive)

117. [10] Palencia
Date of completion: 1410
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Castile
Description: moveable arms
Location: las Clarisas de Palencia
Lit.: **Ara Gil**, 1995, pp. 284, 288; **Caballero**, 2006; **Español**, 2004, p. 548; **Fernández
García**, 2006; **Martínez Martínez**, 2003-2004, p. 212

118. [11] Pallma de Mallorca
Date of completion: 14th c.
Description: moveable arms, natural hair wig
Location: cathedral
Lit.: **Español**, 2004, p. 548; **Pascual**, 1995

119. [12] Segovia
Date of completion: 12th c.
Dimensions: height 182 cm
Description: moveable arms in the shoulders
and elbows. Arms replaced probably in the
16th c.
Location: San Justo
Lit.: **Alcolea**, 1958, p. 45; **Carrero Santamaria**, 1997, pp. 461-477; **Castán Lanaspa**,
2005, pp. 355-356; **Ceballos-Escalera de**, 1953, p. 52; **Español**, 2004, p. 549; **Herbosa**,
1999, p. 79; **Martínez Martínez**, 2003-2004, p. 238; **Rico Camps**, 2001, pp. 179-189;
Schmiddunser, 2008, pp. 22-24
Photo: Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw (Slide Archive)

126. [3] **Zurich**
Date of completion: early 16th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Locarno (?)
Dimensions: height 146 cm
Description: moveable arms and head, animated by means of a rope located in the hollowed part of the head; natural hair wig (not preserved)
Location: Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (originally: Grancia, Ticino)
Lit.: **Baier-Futterer**, 1936, pp. 73-74; **Flühler-Kreis**, Wyer, 2007, pp. 173-175, 199; **Flynn**, 1998, p. 14; **Jung**, 2006, p. 125; **Kapustka**, 1998, p. 47; **Kapustka**, 2003, p. 155; **Kapustka**, 2008, p. 160; **Kopania**, 2009, pp. 137-138; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 35; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 3

2. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ comprising monumental *Deposition* sculptural groups

SPAIN

1. [1] **Mig Aran**
Date of completion: 12th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Catalonia (Erill)
Dimensions: the only surviving parts of the figure are Christ's torso and head (height 65 cm, width 40 cm)
Description: moveable arms (lost) animated by means of iron hitches
Location: Val d'Aran, Sant Miguel de Viella (originally: Val d'Aran, Santa Maria)
Lit.: **Camps i Sòria**, **Dectot**, 2004, p. 80 (including complete bibliography)

2. [2] **Taüll**
Date of completion: end of the 12th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Catalonia
Dimensions: height 122 cm; arm span 168 cm
Description: moveable arms (attached by means of iron hitches)
Location: Museo Nazionale d'Arte Catalana di Barcelona (originally: Taüll, Santa Maria)
Lit.: **Camps i Sòria**, **Dectot**, 2004, pp. 74, 92 (including complete bibliography)

ITALY

3. [1] **Cascia**
Date of completion: 1st decade of 14th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Umbria
Dimensions: height 182 cm; arm span 113 cm
Description: moveable arms (arms, attached to the torso with nails, can be folded by means of wooden pegs located under the armpits)
Location: Museo di Palazzo Santi (originally: Santa Maria)
Lit.: **Bruni**, 2004, pp. 277-279; **Ceccarelli**, 1993, p. 50; **Lunghi**, 2000, pp. 104, 106-107; **Lunghi**, 2004, pp. 275-277

4. [2] **Tolentino**
Date of completion: 2nd half of the 13th c.
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: central Italy
Dimensions: height 175 cm, arm span 89 cm
Description: the figure was an element of the monumental *Deposition* sculptural group. At an undefined time the arms were broken off, turning the figure into an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ. The point of contact of the arms with the torso was covered with leather bands. After conservation in 1992-1994 it was restored to its original state.
Location: Cattedrale di San Catervo
Lit.: Giannatiempo López, Bruni, 2004, pp. 219-220

3. Animated sculptures of the crucified Christ known from historical sources

AUSTRIA

1. [1] **Wels**
Source: Wels, Stadtarchiv, Historisches Archiv, Akten, Sch. Nr. 1227, *Kreuzabnahmespiel*
Lit.: Bergmann, **1986**, pp. 350-352; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 131-164; Maisel, 2002, pp. 66, 81-82; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 79-121; Zinhobler, 1964/1965, pp. 45-50

2. [2] **Vienna**
Source: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8227, *Passionspiel aus St. Stephan in Wien*
Lit.: Bergmann, **1986**, pp. 359-361; Brooks, 1928, pp. 153-155; von Camesina, 1869; Hadamowsky, **1988**, pp. 57-60; Kapustka, 2008, p. 133; Maisel, 2002, pp. 81-82, 85-89; Ogesser, 1779; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 79-121

GERMANY

3. [1] **Meissen**
Source: Stiftsarchiv zu Meissen, *(1513. 23. März) Herzog Georg in Gemeinschaft mit seiner Gemahlin der Herzogin Barbara gleitet von dem Gedanken, dass sich hier keine bleibende Stätte haben, wünscht die Menschen zu einer tiefern und andächtigen Betrachtung des bittern Leidens und Sterbens des Erlösers anzuleiten und deshalb an ihrem Fürbitte für ein seliges Abbleben und eine fröhliche Auferstehung zu erlangen [...]*
Original location: St. Johannis und St. Donatus (Meißner Dom)
Lit.: Gersdorf, 1867, pp. 329-332, no. 1348; Jurkowski, 2009, pp. 52-53; Krause, 1987, p. 288; Tripps, 2000, pp. 123, 125, 163

4. [2] **Meissen**
Source: *Breviarius denuo reuisus et emendatus Ceremonias, Ritum canendi, legendi, ceteraeque consuetudines in choro insignis et ingenue Misnensis Ecclesiae observandas compendiose explicans.* Meissen 1520
Original location: St. Johannis und St. Donatus (Meißner Dom)
Lit.: Bohatta, **1937**, no. 2444; Krause, 1987, p. 284-288; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. III, p. 1040, vol. VII, pp. 524-525

5. (3) Prüfening

Source: Prüfening (near Regensburg), Staatsbibliothek, Ms clm 12018, *Ordinarium Prueningense* saec. XV-XVI, fol. 64v–65v.

Date of completion: 15th c.

Original location: Benedictine monastery

Lit.: Brooks, 1921, passim; Kapustka, 2008, p. 139; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. II, 1976, nos. 838-688/839; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 91, cat. no. 38, 52-56; Taubert, 1978, p. 45, cat. no. 38; Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 157-160

6. (4) Wittenberg

Source: Weimar, Staatsarchiv Weimar, Ernestinisches Gesamtarchiv, Reg. O 158, *Die Ordnung der ohrnnung des hildnus unsers liben herren vnd Seligmachers vom Crucis vnd wie die beschlusug ... des andern gots fleisch an tag geteylt ist ... geweslich zu Wittenberg in aller heyligen kirchen beschren soll.*

Date of completion: 15/16th c.

Original location: Wittenberg, Schloßkirche

Lit.: Halbach, 2006, pp. 472-473; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 131-164; Maiod, 2002, pp. 77-78; Schnate, 1999, p. 128; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, pp. 91, cat. no. 40, 46-47; Tripps, 2000a, p. 163

GREAT BRITAIN

7. (1) Barking near London

Source: Oxford, University College MS 169, *Ordinarium Berkingense* saec. XV, ms. (1363-1367).

Date of completion: 12th c.

Location: Benedictine convent in Barking

Lit.: Brooks, 1921, pp. 121-140; Kapustka, 2008, pp. 152-153; Lipphardt, 1975-1990, vol. V, 1976, pp. 1454-1458, vol. VIII, pp. 688-689/683; Maiod, 2002, p. 79; Taubert, Taubert, 1969, p. 90, cat. no. 36, 44-46, 98-99; Tripps, 2000a, p. 43; pp. 926-929; Young, 1920, pp. 1181-215, Young, 1933, vol. I, pp. 164-166

8. (2) Boxley

Source: e.g. G.H. Cook, *Letters to Cromwell and Others on the suppression of the Monasteries*, London 1965, p. 114

Date of completion: 13th c. (destroyed in 1538)

Description: moveable head, eyes, mouth mechanism activated by means of ropes in the back. Mechanism could not be seen, operated back part of the sculpture. Made from unfolded malleable masses. Mechanism comprised ropes and wires

Location: Cistercian monastery

Lit.: Anddle, 1885, pp. 233-279; Aston, 1988, pp. 217, 234-236, 429-430; Aston, 1993, pp. 56-65; Brewer, 1993, pp. 267-270, 276, 282, 306-307; Astle, Grose, Jeffery, 1807-1809, vol. III, pp. 349-356; Berliner, 1953, p. 1n6; Bernard, 1991, p. 75; Brewer, Gardner, Brodie, 1862-1910, vol. XIII (1), p. 348; Bridgett, 1888, pp. 162-165; Chapuis, Géits, 1928, p. 95; Chesnais, 1969, p. 87; Butterworth, 2005, pp. 123-124, 127-133; Caiger-Smith, 1963, p. 79; Collier, 1788-1 6, vol. II, document no. 67; Collin de Plancy, 1821, pp. 203-204; Collinson, 2003, p. 162; Cook, 1965, p. 144; Cox, Harvey, 1907, pp. 94-96; Davidson, 1989, p. 158; Duffy, 1994, pp. 403-404; Duffy, 2002, p. 172; 1927, p. 136; Dickens, 1989, p. 158; Duffy, 1994, pp. 403-404; Duffy, 2002, p. 172

Ellis, 1824-1846, vol. III, pt. 3, pp. 168-169; Elton, 1972, pp. 195-198; Evans, 1862, pp. 238, 253-254; Finucane, 1977, pp. 205, 208-210; Frost, 1871, pp. 61, 181; Gairdner, 1876, pp. 449-450, 470-471; Gatton, 1857, pp. 17-19; Groeneveld, 2007, pp. 13-149; Gross, 1808, pp. 349-350; Hook, Anthowe, 1999, p. 8; Hopper, 1859, p. 11; Hudson, 1978, p. 87; Hussey, 1907, p. 348; Jacob, 1961, p. 122; Jansen, 1985, p. 65; Johnston, 2001, pp. 264-270; Jones, 1998, p. 87; Jones, 1999, p. 222, 239, 301, 304; Kapustka, 2008, p. 153; Kölbing, 1914, p. 98; Lambarde, 1826, p. 205; Lindley, 2001, pp. 29-57; Leader, 2009, pp. 142-146; Lambarde, 1826, p. 205; Lindley, 2001, pp. 29-57; Leader, Kapustka, 2008, pp. 134, 151, 301; Maiod, 2002, p. 79; Marshall, 2003, p. 304-305; Magnin, 1852, p. 57; Mellinkoff, 1989, p. 176; Mellor, 1989, p. 129; Phillips, 1973, pp. 73-76; Robertson, 1842, pp. 551-602; Redworth, 1986, p. 49; Richards, 1870, pp. 12-14; Roberts, 2002, pp. 213-214; Robinson, 1847, pp. 604-610; Rogers, 2005, p. 47; Saxe, 2007, pp. 42-43; Schneider, 1954, p. 167; Schwarz, 1993, p. 57; Simpson, 1992, p. 32; Tanner, 1997, p. 14; Stanley, 1973, pp. 152-158; Thomas, 1861, p. 99; Tripps, 2000a, pp. 154, 176; Vallance, 1947, pp. 35-35; Walsh, 2006, pp. 98-99, 139, 198, 243, 253-254, 255, 257, 258, 261; Wright, 1843, p. 172; Wriothesley, 1875, pp. 74-76

9. (3) Canterbury

Source: London, British Library, Additional Ms 45103, *La Sainte Resurrection*, fol. 215v-229v. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms fr. 902

Date of completion: 12th c.

Description: moveable arms, blood receptacle in the back

Lit.: Atkinson Jenkins, Manly, Pope, Wright, 1943; Axton, 1974, pp. 100, 108-112, 161, 163, 170; Bevington, 1975, pp. 122-136; Fichte, 1975, pp. 51-55, 57-62; Frank, 1954, p. 102; Mistrano, 1959, vol. II, pp. 178-180; Spivack, 1973, p. 178; Tanner, 1997, p. 15; Thomas, 1861, p. 99

10. (4) York

Source: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms e Museo 160

Description: moveable arms, moveable legs (?)

Lit.: Baker, Murphy, 1968, pp. 290-299; Baker, Murphy, 1976, pp. xiv-xv; Baker, Murphy, Hall Jr., 1982, pp. 139-172; Davidson, 2000a, pp. xi-67; Meredith, 1997, pp. 153-155; Rowntree, 1996, pp. 5-72; Woolf, 1968, pp. 262-263; Woolf, 1972, pp. 331-333

ITALY

11. (1) Assisi

Source: Assisi, Archivio Capitolare, Code no. 3614, *Quadri: Vita loro dicitur in die veneris sancte propter representationem Passionis Iesus Christi*

Date of completion: 12th c.

Location: San Feliciano

Lit.: Bernardi, 1991, p. 457; Bernardi, 2000, pp. 16-17; Torrini, 1961, pp. 303, 459-460

12. (2) Bologna

Source: Rome, Vittorio Emanuele Fund of National Library in Rome, Ms cn 483

Date of completion: 2nd half of the 13th c. (?)

Tunesi, 2004

Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Anna
Lit.: **Taměni**, 2004

13. [3] Florence
Source: Florence, Arch. Dell'Opera del Duomo, Deliber. 1486-1491 a p. 78ʳ
Date of completion: 1490
Place of completion/author/artistic circle: Andrea della Robia
Description: moveable arms
Location: Santa Maria del Fiore
Lit.: **Bernardi**, 2005, p. 79; **von Fabriczy**, 1906, p. 284; **von Fabriczy**, 1909, p. 31, no. 94; **Lisner**, 1970, p. 11; **Taměni**, 2004; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, pp. 90-91, cat. no. 37; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 37; **Tripps**, 2000a, pp. 157-158

14. [4] Foligno
Source: Foligno, Archivio di Stato, *Ospedale 926*, ms cartaceo, privo di guardia, *Inventario di Sagrestia, 1425, aprile 10 (Registro della fraternita e ospitale di S. Feliciano)*
Description: moveable arms, moveable eyes (reportedly Christ opened and closed his eyes)
Original location: cathedral
Lit.: **Bernardi**, 1991, p. 442; **Bernardi**, 2000, p. 17; **Picugi**, 1980, p. 34; **Sensi**, 1974, pp. 151-155; 193-194; **Taměni**, 2000

15. [5] Perugia
Source: *Lauda LXII* of the local confraternita di Sant'Andrea (1374)
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Baldelli** 1962, pp. 343-345; **Falvey**, 1978, pp. 179-196; **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 118

16. [6] Perugia
Source: Inventory of the oratory of the confraternita di San Dominico, 1339
Lit.: **Carletti**, **Giometti**, 2003, p. 42; **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 124

17. [7] Perugia
Source: Expense book of the confraternita di San Stefano, 1338 (cost of making an animated sculpture of the crucified Christ by Pietruccio di Piczìche)
Lit.: **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 124

18. [8] Perugia
Source: Inventory of the confraternita di San Stefano, 1363
Lit.: **Lunghi**, 2000, p. 124

19. [9] Perugia
Source: Chronicle of the city of Perugia, 1448
Lit.: **D'Ancona**, 1966, vol. I, p. 280; **Meredith**, **Tailby**, 1983, pp. 248-249; **Tripps**, 2000a, p. 158

20. [10] Siena
Dource: *Inventario degli arredi artistici dell'Opera Metropolitana di Siena dell'anno 1482*
Date of completion: 15ᵗʰ c. (?)
Description: moveable arms
Original location: cathedral
Lit.: **von Fabriczy**, 1909, p. 67, no. 50; **Taubert**, **Taubert**, 1969, p. 91, cat. no. 39; **Taubert**, 1978, p. 43, cat. no. 39

21. [11] **Vipiteno/Sterzing**
Source: Vipiteno/Sterzing, Stadtarchiv, Hs. IV (Dehs-Codex), *Commemoracio sepulture in die parasceve*, fol. 12v-17v
Lit.: **Bergmann**, 1986, pp. 301-309; **Kapustka**, 2008, pp. 131-164; **Linke**, 1993, p. 27; **Lipphardt**, 1976, pp. 127-166; **Lipphardt**, **Roloff**, 1986, pp. 429-435; **Maisel**, 2002, pp. 81-82; **Taubert**, 1977, pp. 32-72

22. [12] **Vipiteno/Sterzing**
Source: Vipiteno/Sterzing, Stadtarchiv, Hs. IV (Dehs-Codex), *In die parasceve Incipit planctul circa horam vndecimam*, fol. 102v-107v
Lit.: **Bergmann**, 1986, pp. 301-309; **Kapustka**, 2008, pp. 131-164; **Linke**, 1993, p. 27; **Lipphardt**, **1976**, pp. 127-166; **Lipphardt**, **Roloff**, 1986, pp. 429-435; **Maisel**, 2002, pp. 81-82; **Taubert**, 1977, pp. 32-72

SWITZERLAND

23. [1] **Weiningen**
Source: The leaflet entitled *Urtiteil und handlung des kilchherrn zuo Winingen und siner underthanten* (1524)
Description: moveable arms
Lit.: **Jezler**, 1990. p. 152; **Strickler**, 1873, p. 359

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